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LOST BOOKS

Reconstructing the Print World of Pre-Industrial Europe

Edited by Flavia Bruni and Andrew Pettegree

BRILL *Series edited by* Andrew Pettegree

Lost Books

Library of the Written Word

VOLUME 46

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List of Abbreviations

EEBO	Early English Books Online, online: <http://eebo.chadwyck.com>
Edit16 CNCE	Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo Unico delle biblioteche italiane e per le informazioni bibliografiche, *Censimento nazionale delle edizioni italiane del XVI secolo*, online: <http://edit16.iccu.sbn.it>
ESTC	*English Short Title Catalogue*, online: <http://estc.bl.uk>
GW	*Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, online: <http://www.gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de>
HPB	*Heritage of The Printed Book in Europe*, online: <http://www.cerl.org/resources/hpb/main>
IGI	Centro nazionale d'informazioni bibliografiche, *Indice generale degli incunaboli delle biblioteche d'Italia* (Rome: Istituto poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, Libreria dello Stato, 1943–1981)
ISTC	*Incunabula Short Title Catalogue*, online: <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/istc>
RICI	*Ricerca sull'Inchiesta della Congregazione dell'Indice*, online: <http://rici.vatlib.it>
RISM	*Répertoire International des Sources Musicales*, online: <https://opac.rism.info>
STCN	*Short Title Catalogue, Netherlands*, online: <https://www.kb.nl/en/organisation/research-expertise/for-libraries/short-title-catalogue-netherlands-stcn>
STCV	*Short Title Catalogue Flanders*, online: <http://www.vlaamse-erfgoedbibliotheek.be/en/stcv>
USTC	*Universal Short Title Catalogue*, online: <http://www.ustc.ac.uk>
VD16	*Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des 16. Jahrhunderts*, online: <http://www.vd16.de>
VD17	*Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachraum erschienenen Drucke des 17. Jahrhunderts*, online: <http://*www.vd17*.de>

Notes on Contributors

Flavia Bruni
is a Post-Doctoral Fellow at the University of Rome La Sapienza and a Honorary Research Fellow at the University of St Andrews. She has a Master in History of the Reformation from the Sapienza University of Rome, a Master in Early Printed Books from the University of Siena, a PhD from Bologna and the diploma from the Vatican Library School. She has worked for the bibliography of sixteenth-century Italian books Edit16, the Italian collective catalogue SBN, the project on broadsheets of the Inquisition of the Biblioteca Casanatense of Rome and the RICI on sixteenth-century booklists of Italian religious houses. She is responsible for the survey of seventeenth-century Italian editions for the Universal Short Title Catalogue and currently working on her second monograph on censorship in Counter-Reformation Italy (forthcoming Brill, 2017).

Andrew Pettegree
is Professor of Modern History at the University of St Andrews and Director of the Universal Short Title Catalogue. He is the author of over a dozen books in the fields of Reformation history and the history of communication including *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion* (Cambridge University Press, 2005), *The Book in the Renaissance* (Yale University Press, 2010) and *The Invention of News* (Yale University Press, 2014). His most recent book, *Brand Luther: 1517, Print and the Making of the Reformation* (Penguin USA) was published in October 2015. His new projects include a study of Newspaper Advertising in the Low Countries and 'Preserving the World's Rarest Books', a collaborative project with libraries funded by the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation.

Jan L. Alessandrini
was until recently a Post-Doctoral Fellow and German subject specialist on the Universal Short Title Catalogue Project at the University of St Andrews. He was an undergraduate at University College London, earned a Masters with Distinction at the University of Oxford, and returned to UCL to write a doctoral thesis. In 2017 he will publish a monograph based on his doctoral research entitled *Laughing All the Way to the Bank – Popular Comic Literature and the Early Modern German Print Industry* (*1555–1618*), and in 2018 *Bombs on Books – Rescue, Reconstruction and Restitution of German Libraries Destroyed by the Allies in World War II*.

Christine Bénévent
was educated at the *École Normale Supérieure* of Fontenay/Saint-Cloud, and has been a junior member of the *Institut Universitaire de France* since 2013. She was a lecturer at the *Centre d'Études Supérieures de la Renaissance* of the University of Tours before becoming director of studies in book history at the *École nationale des chartes* in Paris. After completing a thesis on Erasmus's correspondence, she is currently preparing a critical edition of Guillaume Budé's *De l'Institution du Prince* and working on the reception of Erasmus in sixteenth-century France.

Maria Teresa Biagetti
is Professor of Library Science at the Sapienza University of Rome since 1998. From 1984 to 1998 she was a Researcher at the Sapienza University of Rome. From 1999 to 2008 she was a member of the Committee of supervisors of the PhD course offered by the University of Udine in 'Scienze bibliografiche', and since 2009 she is a member of the Committee of supervisors of the PhD course in 'Scienze librarie e documentarie' established by the Sapienza University of Rome. Her interests focus on History of libraries, History of cataloguing, Theory of indexing and the Theoretical foundation of knowledge organization.

Rosa Marisa Borraccini
is Full Professor of Library Science and History of the book and libraries at the University of Macerata. Her research focuses on the first age of printing, the networks for book trade and circulation, and the role of private and public libraries from the Mediaeval Age to the present day. Since 2003 she has been part of the RICI project for which she edited the volumes *Libri, biblioteche e cultura degli Ordini regolari nell'Italia moderna attraverso la documentazione della Congregazione dell'Indice* (Vatican Library, 2006, with Roberto Rusconi), and *Dalla 'notitia librorum' degli inventari agli esemplari. Saggi di indagine su libri e biblioteche dai codici Vaticani Latini 11266–11326* (EUM – Edizioni dell'Università di Macerata, 2009). She coordinated and edited, with Giuseppe Lipari, Carmela Reale, Marco Santoro and Giancarlo Volpato, the three volumes of the *Dizionario degli editori, tipografi, librai itineranti in Italia tra Quattrocento e Seicento* (*DETLI*) (Fabrizio Serra, 2013).

Michele Camaioni
is a Post-Doctoral Research Fellow at the Eberhard Karls University of Tübingen working on the project *Bedrohungskommunikation in Predigten und Schauspielen des Spätmittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit*. He obtained his degree, a

master and a PhD from the University of Roma Tre and the diploma in Mediaeval Studies from the Pontifical University Antonianum in Rome. He has been a Post-Doctoral Fellow at the Istituto Italiano per gli Studi Storici of Naples and at the Fondazione Michele Pellegrino of Turin. His research focuses on the cultural and religious history of Renaissance Italy, especially on the connections between preaching, printing and religious dissent. He is currently working on the Senese Capuchin preacher Bernardino Ochino and on the production, readership and censorship of Franciscan spiritual works in the Italian peninsula in the Early Modern Age.

Anna Giulia Cavagna
graduated in modern history from the University of Pavia and obtained her doctorate in European social history jointly from the universities of Pavia, Milan and Trieste. She taught Bibliography and the History of Publishing as Associate Professor at the University of Udine before moving to the University of Genoa as Full Professor, where she teaches History of the Book and of Publishing. Her research interests focus on the history of printing, in particular the development of the professional identity of printers, of reading, and of libraries in the sixteenth century. She has worked extensively in archives throughout Europe and has held scholarships and research grants from various European institutions, including Wolfenbüttel and the Bibliographical Society in the United Kingdom. Her recent publications include *Il tipografo nel paratesto. Identità, pubblicità, celebrità* (Droz, 2010) and *La biblioteca di Alfonso II Del Carretto marchese di Finale. Libri tra Vienna e la Liguria nel XVI secolo* (2012).

Domenico Ciccarello
is a librarian at the University of Palermo, Italy. He graduated in Library Science at the Sapienza University of Rome in 2001, and was awarded a MPhil in Studies on Early Printed Books in 2004. He participated in the RICI project on sixteenth-century booklists of Italian monastic libraries and has studied mobility of Italian publishers, printers, booksellers between the fifteenth and seventeenth century. He has recently completed a bibliography of seventeenth-century books printed in Sicily through a doctoral thesis at the University of Siena. He is now pursuing a post-doctoral research fellowship on printing and the book trade in Sicily in the seventeenth century. He is part of the editorial board of several Italian journals of Library Science. He is a member of the *Società italiana di Scienze Bibliografiche e Biblioteconomiche* (SISBB). He has been a speaker in conferences in Italy and abroad, and has contributed papers to miscellaneous volumes and academic journals.

Falk Eisermann
has been head of the Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke (Union Catalogue of Incunabula) at the Berlin State Library since 2007. After receiving his PhD in Medieval German Literature at Göttingen University (1995), he held post-doctoral positions at the Universities of Münster (Germany) and Groningen (The Netherlands), where he worked on a three-volume catalogue of fifteenth-century broadsides (published in 2004). From 2002 to 2007 he catalogued German Mediaeval manuscripts at Leipzig University Library. He has published on the transmission of vernacular texts in the later Middle Ages, on manuscripts, incunabula and early printing, and on medieval and early modern epigraphy. In 2010 he was Harris German/Dartmouth Distinguished Visiting Professor at Dartmouth College.

Iain Fenlon
is Professor of Historical Musicology in the University of Cambridge and a Fellow of King's College. In the course of his career he has been affiliated to a number of other academic institutions including Harvard University, All Souls College, Oxford, New College Oxford, the École Normale Supérieure, Paris, and the University of Bologna. Most of his work has been concerned with the social and cultural history of music, particularly in Italy and Spain. His most recent books are *The Ceremonial City: History, Memory and Myth in Renaissance Venice* (Yale University Press, 2007), *Piazza San Marco* (Harvard University Press, 2009), and a collection co-edited with Inga Groote, *Heinrich Glarean's Books: The Intellectual World of a Sixteenth- Century Musical Humanist* (Cambridge University Press, 2013).

Giovanna Granata
graduated in Classics at the University of Pisa, obtaining a master in Library Science in 1992 (Scuola Speciale per Archivisti e Bibliotecari, Rome) and a PhD in Ancient History in 1997. She has been professor of Bibliography since 2001 and she has taught at the University of Cagliari since 2004. Her main research interests are in the field of the History of the Book and Libraries, with a main focus on religious and private libraries in the Modern and Contemporary period. She is member of the RICI (Ricerca sull'Inchiesta della Congregazione dell'Indice) and 'Biblioteche filosofiche private in età moderna e contemporanea' (Scuola Normale di Pisa) research groups.

Jonathan Green
is a lecturer of German at Auburn University, specialising in older German literature and early printing. He is the author of two books on late medieval and

early modern prophetic texts, *Printing and Prophecy: Prognostication and Media Change, 1450–1550* (2012) and *The Strange and Terrible Visions of Wilhelm Friess: The Paths of Prophecy in Reformation Europe* (2014). He has also published on Nicolas Copernicus, Hildegard of Bingen, and the history of reading. His research projects have been supported by Fulbright, DAAD, and Humboldt fellowships.

Alexandra Hill
graduated from the University of St Andrews with a degree in History in 2012. Having enjoyed writing her undergraduate dissertation on the Stationers' Company Register and printing in London, she remained at St Andrews to complete a Masters in book history. She is now a PhD student at the University and a member of the Universal Short Title Catalogue Project. Her research is based on analysing the lost print revealed by the Stationers' Company Register to gain a broader picture of early modern printing in England.

Martine Julia van Ittersum
is a Senior Lecturer in European History at the University of Dundee in Scotland (UK). Her monograph *Profit and Principle: Hugo Grotius, Natural Rights Theories and the Rise of Dutch Power in the East Indies, 1595–1615* appeared with Brill in 2006. She is currently working on a book-length project on the transmission and dispersal of Grotius' working papers (17th–20th centuries). A complete list of her publications is available at <http://www.dundee.ac.uk/humanities/staff/profile/martine-juliavan-ittersum?huma-staff>.

Justyna Kiliańczyk-Zięba
is an Assistant Professor in the Faculty of Polish Studies at the Jagiellonian University, Kraków. She is the author *of Czcionką i piórem. Jan Januszowski w roli pisarza i tłumacza* (2007) and *Sygnety drukarskie w Rzeczypospolitej XVI wieku. Źródła ikonograficzne i treści ideowe* (forthcoming).

Saskia Limbach
studied German, English and History at the University of Cologne. She first came to St Andrews in 2009 as an exchange student and started working with the Universal Short Title Catalogue. One of her tasks was to identify medical publications within the overall book production in sixteenth-century Basel. This work finally led her to her dissertation topic on medical disputations printed on broadsheets. After finishing her degree in Cologne, Saskia began her PhD on government use of print in the Holy Roman Empire in St Andrews in 2012. She is also responsible for accumulating data on German broadsheets printed between 1500–1650 to enrich the corpus of the USTC.

Frank McIntyre
is an Assistant Professor of Economics in the Department of Finance and Economics in the Rutgers Business School. His interests center on applications of statistics to education, law, and history. His work has been published in a variety of sources including the Journal of Labor Economics, the Journal of Law and Economics, the Journal of Economic Behavior and Organization, Texas Law Review, the Journal of Legal Studies, and the Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America.

Tomasz Nastulczyk
works at the Polish Bibliography Research Centre of the Jagiellonian University, Kraków. He graduated from the Faculty of Polish Studies in 2007. His doctoral dissertation, a study on classical Latin adages in the Old Polish cultural dimension, was defended in 2013. His academic interests cover the history of Old Polish books and libraries, the literary culture of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, classical literature, paremiology and paremiography. He is also interested in contemporary Polish theatre.

Goran Proot
is curator at the Bibliothèque Mazarine (Paris), where he is in charge of the digital library and the conservation laboratory. From 2012 until 2014 he was Andrew W. Mellon Curator of Rare Books at the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington, DC, and before that he was Head of Historical Collections at Antwerp University Library. He holds a master in Language and Literature from KU Leuven, a bachelor's degree in Philosophy at the same university, a master in Information and Library Sciences from Antwerp University, where he also obtained a PhD about Jesuit Theatre in the Early Modern Period. In 2000 he co-founded the *Short Title Catalogue Flanders* (STCV), the retrospective bibliography of Flemish imprints from the hand-press period. His postdoc focused on layout and design of Early Modern books, a field he continues to develop. He is editor in chief of *De Gulden Passer* [The Golden Compasses], an international journal for book history.

Roberto Rusconi
is Honorary Professor of History of Christianity at the University of Roma Tre. He graduated from the Catholic University of the Sacred Heart in Milan, and taught at the universities of Trieste, Perugia, Salerno, L'Aquila. He has been Visiting Professor at several universities in Europe and the United States. He is a member of the scientific committee of numerous historical journals and a member of the direction of the *Rivista di storia del cristianesimo* and co-editor of the journal *Iconographica*. He has written books and essays on the religious

history of Mediaeval and Modern Italy, especially on ecclesiastical pastoral and prophecy, and recently published several books on the history of the sanctity of the popes and on contemporary papacy.

Mark Towsey
is Senior Lecturer in Modern History at the University of Liverpool. He has published extensively on the history of reading and the cultural history of libraries in the long eighteenth century, including *Reading the Scottish Enlightenment: Books and their Readers in Provincial Scotland, 1750–1820* (Brill, 2010). He currently serves as Editor-in-Chief of *Library & Information History*, and was a British Academy Mid-Career Fellow in 2014–15.

Wolfgang Undorf
studied Library Science, History and Musicology at the University of Cologne. From 1991 to 1994 he was responsible for the volume on Swedish collections of the *Handbuch historischer deutscher Buchbestände in Europa*. Since 1997 he has been senior librarian and coordinator of early printed books at Kungliga biblioteket, The National Library of Sweden in Stockholm. He has published extensively on Early Modern Book History, including the first national Swedish incunabula catalogue (2012). He has a PhD in Book History from the Humboldt-University of Berlin. *From Gutenberg to Luther. Transnational Print Cultures in Scandinavia 1450–1525* (Brill, 2014) is his most recent publication.

Alison Walker
has been Lead Researcher on the Sloane Printed Books project at the British Library since 2008. In 2012 she co-edited papers from the 2010 conference on Sloane, *From Books to Bezoars.* She was previously Head of the National Preservation Office at the British Library.

Malcolm Walsby
is a lecturer at the University of Rennes II and co-director of the Universal Short Title Catalogue project. He is the author of *The Counts of Laval. Culture, Patronage and Religion in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century France* (Ashgate, 2007) and *The Printed Book in Brittany (1484–1600)* (Brill, 2011). He has published a number of bibliographies, edited collections, and articles on the history of the book and is currently working on a monograph on the book trade in Renaissance France.

Arthur der Weduwen
is a PhD student at the University of St Andrews. He has a first class degree in History and International Relations from the University of Exeter, and an

M.Litt. in Book History from St Andrews. His PhD is a study of government attempts to cultivate public opinion in the seventeenth-century Low Countries. He is a long-term associate of the Universal Short Title Catalogue, having first worked for the St Andrews-based project as an intern during his undergraduate years in Exeter. In 2017 he will publish with Brill the first complete bibliography of *Dutch and Flemish Newspapers in the Low Countries, 1618–1700* and in 2018 *News, Business and the Birth of Modern Advertising. Advertisements and Public Announcements in Dutch and Flemish Newspapers, 1620–1672* (with Andrew Pettegree).

CHAPTER 1

The Legion of the Lost. Recovering the Lost Books of Early Modern Europe

Andrew Pettegree

For students of material bibliography the issue of lost books – by definition immaterial – is inherently problematic. It is universally agreed that autopsy, the examination of the copy, book in hand, represents the gold standard of bibliography. Many highly valued bibliographical projects, such as the Dutch Short Title Catalogue Netherlands (STCN) or the Belgian Short Title Catalogue Vlaanderen (STCV), do not deviate from this standard; their repertories consist only of books examined by members of their team. Major collective catalogues, such as the KVK or CERL's Heritage of the Printed Books, apply essentially the same methodology, though here the inspection is delegated to participating libraries. These are catalogues (or more properly metaopacs) in which edition-specific entries are invariably connected to surviving copies.

This stress on materiality synchronises with other important trends in the development of book history, a relatively young field that has made enormous strides in recent times. Book historians have developed their discipline in the last three decades by insisting repeatedly that the book is more than a mere repository of text; that to understand its place in the economy of knowledge it is necessary to take account of the manufacturing process, the typographical set-up, the physical appearance and layout of early books. Against the onward rush of digital editions they had argued that it is really is necessary to have the book in hand, the physical artefact, to understand print. To have carried the day in arguments within the discipline and then to have this undermined by a quixotic appeal to incorporate into the narrative books that no longer exist – this might seem perplexing and paradoxical.

But consider this. The rate of survival of many early printed books is very low. The best and most well-known books, like the Gutenberg Bible, Shakespeare's First Folio or early editions of Copernicus survive in large numbers.[1] They are valuable but not rare. By a strange inversion of value and rarity, books which

1 Gutenberg's Bible survives in 48 full or partial copies, an estimated 30% of the original print run; the *De revolutionibus* of Copernicus is known in 277 copies today, and Shakespeare's First Folio in 233. The magnificent Nuremberg Chronicle, one of the most spectacular books of the first age of print, survives in over 500 copies.

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command a much lower sale value can be very rare indeed. How little this relationship between rarity and value is understood was beautifully illustrated by the *New York Times*, reporting the discovery in 2014 of a previously unrecorded copy of the Shakespeare *First Folio*: "First folios of Shakespeare's plays are among the world's rarest books", it claimed, totally inaccurately, as was demonstrated a few lines further down the same article. "Now a previously unknown folio has surfaced at a small library in northern France, bringing the world's known total of surviving First Folios to 233".[2] Though this is indeed an exciting discovery, the *First Folio* is one of the least rare, rather than the rarest of early printed books.

The reason for this disjunction lies in the history of how books published in the early years of print were treated in the years immediately after publication. Unlike the *First Folio*, which was much prized by contemporaries, many printed works published in the first two centuries of print were never destined for the shelves of libraries. They served their purpose, were read for the information they contained, and then discarded. Many are known now from only a single copy, often grubby and worn. This applies, as we shall see, to around 30% of the known corpus of books printed before 1601. It is fairly obvious that if we know of many of these books only through the chance discovery of a single stray survivor, often in a library far distant from the original place of publication, then many other early editions must be lost altogether.

The logic of this was expressed with brutal clarity by Paul Needham, the distinguished historian of early print now at Princeton. The first edition of the collected works of St Ambrose was published in Basel in 1492. It survives in more than 150 copies. This is the only recorded edition of Ambrose in the fifteenth century, and in the light of its very high survival rate, one can be fairly confident in asserting that there were no other early editions which have disappeared. By contrast, six fifteenth-century editions are currently known of the popular French chivalric romance *Paris et Vienne*. One edition is recorded in two copies, the remainder are known by a single copy each. Given such a pattern, it is highly likely that other editions were printed and have failed to survive. "Indeed", writes Needham,

> if one wanted to believe that only these six known editions of *Paris et Vienne* were printed before 1501, one would almost have to suppose that an all-seeing fate intervened when each of the editions was almost lost and lent a special protection to the last survivor.[3]

2 'Shakespeare First Folio Discovered in France', *New York Times*, 25 November 2014.

3 Paul Needham, *The Printer and the Pardoner* (Washington: Library of Congress, 1986), p. 30.

The logic is unanswerable, though precisely what we should do with this information is rather less clear. It is not unusual for scholars to acknowledge the potential absence of many currently unknown editions; then, having done so, analysis proceeds, as before, on the basis of surviving copies. Here the difficulty of dealing with the immaterial is laid bare: is there in fact any alternative to relying of the evidence we have to hand, in the corpus of books assembled in the world's libraries? Might this in fact be the best way to proceed, recognising the high attrition rate as one of the inconvenient truths of book scholarship – simply acknowledging the disappearance of this vast shadow army of lost books as an unavoidable fact of historical scholarship, recognisable but ultimately not susceptible of correction?

Why does this even matter? There are many reasons to argue that if we are to assess the impact of publishing on the culture and economy of Europe, we have to base these conclusions on a more holistic sense of what was published, rather than merely what libraries have preserved. This is even more the case because it is clear that the rates of survival and loss are very uneven across different types of printed book. The sorts of books that survive best are those that were destined for libraries. These were generally books that were large, tended to be more expensive, and were more likely to be in Latin. They were bought, admired, and then made their way onto the library shelves. They were not necessarily widely read: indeed many such books were primarily intended for reference rather than consecutive reading. Some were bought because it was unthinkable that a prestigious institution would not have a copy of an important text like Calepino's multi-language dictionary.[4] In these cases the individual copies have probably survived so well, often in pristine copies, precisely because they were not extensively used.

Facing this uncomfortable paradox – that the best surviving books from the first age of print may indeed have been the least well used – is the spur to a more systematic attempt to grapple with issues of survival and loss. In this volume, and in the underpinning work that lies behind it, contributors have attempted to cast light on that part of the market for print most vulnerable to loss and disappearance. And once you acknowledge the necessity of this sort of enquiry, it is in fact much easier to make some progress than the paradoxical nature of documenting the invisible might suggest. At last, the tools are to hand.

Here, scholarship has undoubtedly received an enormous boost from the free availability of digital catalogues, enabling scholars to obtain access to

4 Albert Labarre, *Bibliographie du dictionarium d'Ambrogio Calepino: (1502–1779)* (Baden-Baden: Koerner, 1975).

hugely increased quantities of data from the world's libraries, archives and museums. Much of this is aggregated into the Universal Short Title Catalogue, a transnational survey of works published throughout Europe in the first age of print.[5] When we announced that 'Lost Books' would be the theme of the latest in the sequence of annual conferences on the history of the book that the project team hosts in St Andrews, it attracted far more paper proposals than could comfortably be accommodated. That we should reach this subject was something of an inevitability given the direction of travel of the USTC, where we have systematically recorded information on lost books since our first years working on French materials. But that the announcement of the subject found such a resonance, indicates I think a real evolution in thinking as scholars in the field begin to grapple with the implications of the great mass of information now available in the digital age, and its potential as a tool of analysis.

The contributions marshalled here suggest a variety of possible approaches to the issue. One is to design statistical models that offer estimates of the extent of losses for the population as a whole within specific time periods or geographical areas.[6] This approach has already produced some of the more interesting, though mathematically challenging work. The second approach is to examine contemporary documentation of the book trade, print and archival, and see what lost editions can be recovered in this way. This sort of bibliographical archival work has a long history, and editions that cannot be linked to a surviving copy have, in this way, routinely been incorporated into specialist bibliographical works. This sort of recovery from contemporary documents has also been a major focus of the work of the St Andrews USTC project group, leading to the incorporation of several thousand such lost books into the online resource. A third approach is the recreation of contemporary libraries, a rich strand of research in the history of the book well represented in this volume.

Statistical Modelling

In the last years there have been several attempts to investigate this question of loss in a systematic way, aimed at computing the number of editions at present undiscovered for different samples of texts. Some of these involve

5 <http://ustc.ac.uk/>. The USTC initially covered the first 150 years of print, to 1601; coverage was extended to 1650 in 2016.

6 Goran Proot, 'Hoe volledig zijn de STCN en de STCV?', in Edwin Bloemsaat *et al.* (eds.), *Janboel. Opstellen aangeboden aan Jan Bos* (The Hague: 2009), pp. 123–132.

mathematical models of great sophistication; others a simpler method known as zero graphing. Zero graphing has the beguiling advantage that conceptually and mathematically it is straightforward. It is necessary, first, to have a sufficient sample, based on a relatively comprehensive search for surviving copies. With that achieved one can plot the distribution of surviving copies of every edition, ten or more down to three, two and one. By extrapolating the graph line to zero, a projection is achieved predicting how many editions do not survive at all. A more sophisticated, cautious variation is to limit the projection to the first two points, for one and two copies, which offers a flatter curve so a lower estimate for zero.

The first analysis using such a technique was offered by Neil Harris, an imaginative pioneer in this and other fields of analysis. His corpus was a survey of Italian chivalric romances, an extraordinarily popular genre, and one that one might imagine would be subject to heavy attrition through use. Harris identified 377 surviving editions published before 1601, one of which, the 1572 edition of the *Ciriffo Calvaneo*, survives in an impressive 108 copies. At the other end of the scale, 36 editions survive in 3 copies, 73 in 2 and 206 in one copy. Here a projection based on zero-graphing would suggest something in the region of 600 lost editions, that is, nearly twice the number of documented survivors.[7]

A similar survey had been attempted more recently with a rather larger corpus, French-language books published over the period 1470–1600.[8] The keystone of this project was a prolonged period of investigation, incorporating data from over 300 libraries in France and many more abroad; this work outside France was crucial, and differentiated this project from other national bibliographies such as Edit16 and the VD16, which by and large include data only from participating libraries within their own national domain. The virtue of the wider search conducted for France was revealed by the fact that of the French editions, around 30 per cent survive only in libraries outside France. Dealing then with a corpus of around 52,000 editions, the data for France revealed that 4,521 editions survive in three copies, 8,165 in two and a remarkable 21,119 (40% of the total) in one copy.[9] Basing the projection on the last two

7 Neil Harris, 'The Italian Renaissance Book: Catalogues, Censuses and Survival', in Malcolm Walsby and Graeme Kemp (eds.), *The Book Triumphant. Print in Transition in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), pp. 26–56, at pp. 54–55.

8 Andrew Pettegree, Malcolm Walsby and Alexander Wilkinson, *FB. French Vernacular Books. Books Published in the French Vernacular before 1601* (Leiden: Brill, 2007). The results are now incorporated into the Universal Short Title Catalogue, available online: <http://www.ustc.ac.uk/>.

9 As reported in Harris, 'Italian Renaissance Book', pp. 53–54.

data points suggests 59,000 lost editions; following the curve of the graph gives a far higher figure.

A further extrapolation, presented with far more sophisticated mathematical underpinnings, is provided by a milestone survey of incunabula conducted by Jonathan Green and Frank McIntyre, contributors to this volume, in an earlier piece of research co-authored with Paul Needham.[10] Dealing with a total population of 28,767 editions published throughout Europe in the fifteenth century, they found 2,039 surviving in three copies, 3,217 in two copies, and 7,488 in one copy only. The conservative calculation based on the last two graph points offers a total of around 20,000 lost editions.

Of course it is by no means obvious that the results from a survey of fifteenth century survivors can stand as typical for the whole early modern period. Incunabula were regarded as collectable from the time of their first publication onwards, so they were far less likely to be subject to the brutal attrition of more mundane print in later years. The contribution of Falk Eisermann in this volume demonstrates there is still a great deal to be said about incunabula editions that have not yet found their way into the online ISTC. What we can note, however, as a common feature of all these attempts to gauge the real size of discreet populations of production, is the very steep upward curve between two and one copies. We will never, through this method aspire to exact calculations for lost editions, but for all the models so far attempted the number is clearly very large, and most likely increasing, rather than decreasing, in the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and even beyond.

Here the most sobering study is that conducted by Goran Proot and Leo Egghe, estimating the total original production of Jesuit play programmes. Since these were printed to be distributed free of charge to those who attended such performances, the scale of loss is bound to be very large, in this case spectacularly so. Proot and Egghe estimate three editions lost for every survivor.[11] This seems very plausible for ephemeral works of this type, which seldom survive in more than one copy. But it is also the case that with ephemera of this sort, the assiduous efforts of one collector may have a significant influence on any statistical analysis, particularly in cases like this where a single bound

10 Jonathan Green, Frank McIntyre and Paul Needham, 'The Shape of Incunable Survival and Statistical Estimation of Lost Editions', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 105 (2011), pp. 141–175.

11 Goran Proot and Leo Egghe, 'Estimating Editions on the Basis of Survivals: Printed Programmes of Jesuit Plays in the Provincia Flandro-Belgica before 1773, with a Note on the "Book Historical Law"', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 102 (2008), pp. 149–174.

volume might represent a considerable proportion of the whole corpus of surviving copies. In this volume Goran Proot continues this strand of analysis, demonstrating the significant role played by such bound volumes, *Sammelbände*, in the survival of small books.[12] What this article also brings home is that the loss or survival of early printed books is likely to be very genre specific: some types of books are far more likely to survive than others. If we turn away from our algorithms and examine other contemporary sources for the disinterring of lost books, this becomes ever more evident.

Serials

Let us begin with someone with whom I have become quite closely acquainted in the last years, Abraham Verhoeven of Antwerp. Verhoeven was in some respects a rather disreputable man, prone to fighting, whose career was bedevilled by a long and debilitating struggle with his wife and in-laws. But he was also a highly original and innovative publisher, turning his early training as an engraver and woodcut artist to good effect with a series of highly successful news broadsheets. These are worthy of study in their own right, but the principal interest of Verhoeven for our purposes today is that he was the purveyor of Antwerp's first regular news serial. The online bibliography for Belgian publishing, the STCV, has 398 entries for Verhoeven, but by chasing these fugitive news periodicals around the various holding collections I have built this up to 2,146.[13]

The fun starts when Verhoeven begins to number as well as date his serials. Of the two thousand surviving items well over half can be traced in only one copy. Some are clearly lost altogether. But if the issue of 3 February is numbered 15, and that of 12 February number 17, I think we can, without reaching too far into the realms of speculation, assume the publication of a now lost number 16. So that is what we have done. This technique has resulted in the addition of at least 150 books to the bibliography for Verhoeven, for items now lost but plausibly assumed to have been published. But how far can you go? For some of the earliest provincial English newspapers the first known issue appears to date from some time into the run. The first

12 Chapter 8, below.

13 Data collected for the planned extension of the USTC to 1650, accessed 7 October 2015. See also Andrew Pettegree, 'Tabloid Values. On the Trail of Europe's First News Hound', in Richard Kirwan and Sophie Mullins (eds.), *Specialist Markets in the European Book World* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), pp. 17–34.

known issue of the *Bristol Post-Boy* is number 91 of 12 August 1704, suggesting that if the paper followed a regular weekly pattern the first issue would have been published two years earlier. The next issue to have survived is number 281 of 20 March 1708. For the *Norwich Post* we have no issue before number 287 of 3 May 1707. The only surviving issue of the *Exeter Post-Man* is number 556, from 10 August 1711, suggesting that this, with regular weekly editions, would actually have preceded these other early papers with a first issue in December 1700.[14]

This low level of survival is not at all unusual. We know of early newspapers, documented from other sources, for which not a single issue survives.[15] How should we treat these serials bibliographically? Should these stray survivors generate a vast shadow army of issues – books – presumed to have existed?

There is, in fact, a strong argument that they should, not least because these missing issues would have represented a high proportion of the total printing output of many presses; this was sometimes particularly the case in small provincial towns where a printing press teetered on the brink of unviability. And what is the alternative to assuming these lost issues did actually at one time exist? It is hard to predicate a plausible reason why a printer should start a new venture with a mythical claim to previous issues. Where the first issue of a news serial does survive we see that it is normal to begin with some sort of editorial statement of purpose coupled with an invitation to new subscribers. It would go against all business logic to tease the reader with the claim to have printed several hundred issues that did not in fact exist. Numbering served as a prompt to purchasers to send to the office for back numbers, so that they had a complete back run. To invent a mythical pre-history would have served only to irritate subscribers who had to be wooed and conciliated. So we are inclined to believe that these early lost issues did once exist. The lost, but presumably once existing issues can play an important part in helping us comprehend the economics of regional presses, which are otherwise responsible only for a very small number of identifiable works.

14 R.M. Wiles, *Freshest Advices. Early Provincial Newspapers in England* (Columbus: Ohio State, 1965), pp. 14–16.

15 For a Rotterdam newspaper from the 1680s known only from archival references and an English translation see M.M. Kleerkooper, 'De Haarlemsche (en de Rotterdamsche) courant in het Engelsch', *Tijdschrift voor Boek- en Bibliotheekwezen* 4 (1906), pp. 99–107 and W.P. Sautijn Kluit, 'De Rotterdamsche Courant', *Jaarboek van de Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde, 1878* (Leiden, 1878), pp. 3–92. The erratic survival of early German newspapers can be followed in Else Bogel and Elgar Blühm, *Die deutschen Zeitungen des 17. Jahrhunderts. Ein Bestandverzeichnis* (2 vols, Bremen: Schünemann, 1971).

Cheap Print

Early printed books that survive in large numbers do so essentially because they were destined for libraries. They by and large served the needs of scholars, and were therefore often in the scholarly languages. Their chances of survival were improved because use diminished over time; either they were superseded by other more modern texts, or particularly in the case of Latin books, the shift towards vernacular reading rendered them increasing redundant. Once they had reached the safety of institutional collections they were not, on the whole discarded, their antiquity providing a measure of protection; but neither were they heavily consulted. Nevertheless, they remain, often in considerable numbers, the staples of many rare book collections.

The publication of books of this sort was not particularly profitable for printers; indeed they often lost money on prestige projects.[16] The sorts of works that delivered steady profits were usually the unregarded pamphlets, broadsheets and printed ephemera that were never intended to dignify the shelves of a library. They were intended for use: and that of course impacted in a negative way on their chances of surviving through to the present day. The thousands of early printed books that survive in only one copy very often fall into this category: usually small formats, often (though not invariably) printed in vernacular languages. Printed works of this sort survive, if they do, only by chance or thanks to the eclectic collecting of someone who would at the time have been regarded as deeply eccentric.

This sort of cheap print was the real economic backbone of the industry, and has attracted a lot of interest in recent years. A great deal of this material was printed on commission for the local power, civil or ecclesiastical. Printers eagerly sought out opportunities to act as the official printer to the local city, ecclesiastical or state authorities, for the privilege to print official mandates was the nearest thing possible to a licence to print money.[17] These were perfect assignments for a printer: the whole job took only a couple of days, they were usually paid cash and the whole edition was delivered to a single customer. In the first age of print the equivalent was printed indulgences: indulgences were among the first works published by Gutenberg, and they continued to provide easy profits for the next sixty years, right up to the first

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16 Ian Maclean, 'Murder, Debt and Retribution in the Italico-Franco-Spanish Book Trade: The Beraud-Michel-Ruiz Affair, 1586–1591', in his *Learning and the Market Place* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), pp. 227–272.

17 Lauren Kim, 'French Royal Acts Printed before 1601. A Bibliographical Study' (St Andrews PhD dissertation, 2007).

decade of the Reformation.[18] The quantities involved were quite vast. We know of two examples documented from surviving contracts which make the point in a very graphic way. Between 1498 and 1500 the great Benedictine convent of Montserrat in Catalonia commissioned the printing of more than 200,000 indulgences, from different printers in Barcelona and Montserrat itself. Of these 200,000 only 6 examples survive. Similarly in 1500 the Bishop of Cefalù in Sicily commissioned a Messina printer to print 130,000 indulgence certificates. Not one single example survives today.[19]

We can easily understand why printers were attracted to work of this sort. There were none of the problems and expense involved in meeting the complex challenges of distribution, exchange, warehousing and transportation that were bound up with the publishing of large books. Only the largest and best capitalised firms could print large books, whereas even the modest enterprise could print a broadsheet or brochure. But this does not imply that this sort of work was usually consigned to smaller shops. What is becoming increasingly clear is that even the publishers who were responsible for the most ambitious ventures also eagerly sought out opportunities to bring out ephemeral print.[20] Often it provided them with the means of generating cash flow while the larger books went through the press; authors learned to be vigilant that their own cherished project was not unceremoniously laid aside in this way.[21] For a big book it might be as long as 18 months between beginning the work and having complete books to sell, and another 18 months before they had recouped costs and began to show a profit. That was three years of fixed costs, wages, interest payments and equipment costs. That was a large burden and only the most heavily capitalised firms could contemplate it. A pamphlet could be printed in two days and show a profit in a week. It is no surprise then if we now believe that it was this hidden underbelly of ephemeral publishing that floated the printing industry, rather than the more elevated texts that so excited the first historians of the printed book.[22]

18 Albert Kapr, *Johann Gutenberg. The Man and His Invention* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1996), pp. 189–197. Hans Volz, 'Der St. Peters-Ablass und das Deutsche Druckgewerbe', *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, 1966, pp. 156–172.

19 Paul Needham, *The Printer and the Pardoner* (Washington: Library of Congress, 1986), p. 31.

20 Dirk Imhof, *Jan Moretus and the Continuation of the Plantin Press* (Leiden: Brill/HES & De Graaf, 2014).

21 Jan Machielsen, 'How (Not) to Get Published: The Plantin Press in the early 1590s', *Dutch Crossing*, 34 (2010), pp. 99–114.

22 Andrew Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance* (London: Yale, 2010). Joad Raymond, *Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

Into the Archives

Discovering what became of such ephemeral works, however, is a very different matter. Broadside ordinances were meant for public exhibition; they were usually left on the church or town hall door until destroyed by wind and rain. If they have survived at all it was usually because the issuing authority (or in Plantin's case, the printer) kept a file copy.[23] In consequence such broadsheet survivors will more usually be found today located in archives rather than libraries, often uncatalogued: a lot of work still needs to be done to document fully those preserved in this way and as Saskia Limbach shows in this volume, the search can be both intricate and venturesome.[24] Sometimes they are clearly lost altogether: we are only aware that they were ever printed because the text was transcribed into a local archival record of ordinances and decrees, or because the city accounts recorded a payment to the responsible printer.[25] Archival records, as it turns out, represent another very fruitful source of lost books.

In 1617 Abraham Verhoeven received a valuable commission, so lucrative indeed that it might have alerted his fellow Antwerp printers to Verhoeven's access to the sort of official patronage which later landed him the lucrative monopoly in news. In this year he was commissioned to print 100,000 copies of the list of prizes to be offered in a forthcoming lottery. The contract stipulated different versions in six separate languages. Of this mass of print, only three items survive: one copy of the Spanish version, and two of the French.[26] So we can infer the existence of four further lost editions.

Archival records of this sort – particularly contracts or registration of payments in city accounts – provide quite a rich harvest of books commissioned but no longer surviving. Overwhelmingly these relate to official print, or works commissioned by the local ecclesiastical authorities. Much of this sort of

23 For Plantin's production of ordinances for the local authority see Leon Voet, *The Plantin Press (1555–1589). A Bibliography of the Works Printed and Published by Christopher Plantin at Antwerp and Leiden* (6 vols., Amsterdam: Van Hoeve, 1980–1983), I 68–569. Moretus Continued the Practice: see Imhof, *Moretus*, pp. 745–878.

24 Chapter 24, below.

25 See for instance Karl Härtner and Michael Stolleis (eds.), *Repertorium der Policeyordnungen der Fuhen Neuzeit* (10 vols., Frankfurt: Klostermann, 1996–2010). Frustratingly these volumes do not always systematically record whether the individual items recorded are print or manuscript.

26 *Blanco o Loteria general, que se instituye en la villa de Brusselas, para elmonte de Piedad* (Antwerp: Verhoeven, 1617). Brussels Royal Library. *Blanques ou lotheries generals* (Antwerp: Verhoeven, 1617). Brussels ARB, Washington, Folger Library: 183551.

jobbing work was never intended for commercial sale, but either to be exhibited or distributed for information purposes. This non-commercial print was a part of the market that is only just beginning to attract sustained attention, but it obviously was extremely important for printers for whom it was very commercial indeed. This remained true far beyond the first age of print. Jane McLeod, in her powerful study of French provincial printing in the *Ancien Régime*, demonstrates how the title of printer to the city council, bishop or king was bitterly contested in many French towns, where it was not only very lucrative work but often the only work.[27]

This was brought vividly home to us in an early stage of our French work, when we came across an account book in the city archives of Bourges, featuring a series of payments to a printer active in the town.[28] The payments, for a sequence of local reprints of royal edicts, were remarkably generous, and the editions relatively large. But not a single one of any of these imprints has yet materialised in any library or archive. But for the survival of these registered payments, we would know nothing of this printer at all, since these are his only known publications.

Book Trade Records

These archival discoveries are all the more important because the rate of survival for French single-sheet printing is very poor. There is nothing like the magnificent series of file copies retained by Christophe Plantin in his Antwerp office. Plantin seems to have kept one or more copies of every official edict he published, which makes this the most marvellous treasure trove for any historian interested in the expanding role of government in the sixteenth century.[29] But even in the meticulously documented Plantin workshop there were some books that cannot be traced today: as we know from the equally meticulous Plantin accounts. Here he documents the production, the print runs and the despatch of all his projects, and these include a handful of books that have completely disappeared. Mostly the lost books of the Plantin press are either small format educational texts – ABC books – or devotional texts. These are types of books that have exceptionally poor survival rates, precisely because

27 Jane McLeod, *Licensing Loyalty. Printers, Patrons and the State in Early Modern France* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2011).

28 Archives municipales of Bourges, CC 349–CC 646. See *Répertoire bibliographique du livre du seizième siècle*, vol. 13 (Bourges).

29 Voet, *Plantin Press*, nos. 121–563.

they were so intensively used. For England we know of one ABC book authorised for publication in an edition of 10,000 copies, of which not one single copy survives.[30]

But in terms of volume these opportunistic rediscoveries are less significant than the relatively large number of currently unknown books that can be recovered from contemporary published book-lists. Here a special place must be reserved for the rather grand encyclopaedic projects that aspired to document the entire learning of a particular era or country. Two of these were published in France: the *Premier volume de la bibliotheque* of François de la Croix du Maine (1584), and Antoine du Verdier's *La bibliotheque* (1585). These books themselves are not rare at all: they adorned the shelves of so many libraries they may be regarded as virtually a compulsory purchase to anyone aspiring to create a serious collection, or indeed to celebrate the cultural achievements of the French nation. But included in du Verdier's pages are a considerable number of books that can no longer be traced. Given that du Verdier was working from physical copies or data supplied to him by friends in the trade, it can by and large be assumed that these references are relatively reliable.[31]

The very best lists, and a source still ripe for investigation, are the registers of the Frankfurt Book Fair. From 1564 an enterprising Augsburg bookseller published, for every fair, a list of the recently issued titles that publishers intended to offer for sale.[32] In many cases, since this was a service mainly for other publishers and booksellers that might be expected to buy wholesale, these lists included the printer, place of printing and format. And yet there has been no systematic analysis of which of the items offered for sale can be linked to a surviving copy. When I examined the limited number of French titles sold at Frankfurt over a period of some twenty years I found that around 10% cannot now be paired with a surviving book.[33] But these French titles were a tiny proportion of the books sold at Frankfurt. For anyone looking for a subject that takes them to the heart of the European book trade this, I think, offers huge potential.

The Frankfurt Fair catalogue is by far the most famous, but by no means the only such collective catalogue generated from within the book trade. In 1639 the

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30 H. Anders, 'The Elizabethan ABC and the Catechism', *The Library*, 4th ser., 16 (1935), pp. 32–48.

31 Alexander S. Wilkinson, 'Lost Books Printed in French before 1601', *The Library*, 7th ser., 10 (2009), pp. 188–205.

32 The whole sequence of catalogues for the period 1564–1600 is available as a facsimile reprint: Bernhard Fabian, *Die Messkataloge des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts* (5 vols., Hildesheim, 1972–2001).

33 Andrew Pettegree, 'French Books at the Frankfurt Fair', in his *The French Book and the European Book World* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), pp. 129–176.

Amsterdam printer Broer Jansz used his newspaper to ask other publishers to send details of their new works to him, so that he could create a bi-annual list of books published in the Dutch Republic. The Republic was by this point one of Europe's major centres of publication, so this was a large task, but Broer Jansz persevered, and the catalogue duly appeared.[34] Broer Jansz maintained this venture until his death thirteen years later, publishing his lists on a bi-annual and then annual basis. Like the Frankfurt Book Fair Catalogue, this list has never been analysed to see whether all of these items could be identified from surviving copies.

Broer Jansz was the proprietor of one of two weekly newspapers in Amsterdam, both published on Saturdays, the other by his long-term competitor Jan van Hilten.[35] These two imaginative publishers were the first to include paid advertisements in their papers on a systematic basis, a crucial innovation that would in time come to underpin the finances of the newspaper industry, and free it from dependence on subsidies from the local state authorities. In the first decades after Broer Jansz and van Hilten began to include advertisements, these were almost always for newly published books. To this point no-one has yet made a systematic study of these advertisements, or attempted to link them to surviving copies of the books concerned. The records are, in fact, extremely well adapted to this purpose: each advertisement gives a full version of the title, together with details of the publisher; and they can generally be assumed to have been published close to the date of the newspaper in which they were advertised. Even so, a remarkably high proportion cannot presently be linked to any known surviving copy. To this point around a third of the titles thus far examined are lost books. If this trend were to be maintained for the entire seventeenth century, it would result in the addition of over 1,600 items to the Dutch national bibliography.[36]

London

With these excellent records we finally approach one other potential book industry cornucopia of data, the records of the Stationers' Company of London.

34 H.W. de Kooker (ed.), *The Catalogus Universalis of Broer Jansz (1640–1652). A Facsimile Edition of the Dutch Booktrade Catalogues Compiled and Published by Broer Jansz, Amsterdam, 1640–1652* (Leiden: Hes & De Graaf, 1986).

35 Arthur der Weduwen, *Dutch and Flemish Newspapers of the Seventeenth Century, 1618–1700* (Leiden: Brill, 2017).

36 Arthur der Weduwen and Andrew Pettegree, *News, Business and the Birth of Modern Advertising. Advertisements and Public Announcements in Dutch and Flemish Newspapers, 1618–1672* (Leiden: Brill, 2018). See also Chapter 9, in this volume.

In England, uniquely in Europe, the regulation of output and production was sub-contracted to a private body: in this case a city guild, the Stationers' Company. Those wishing to publish a book could for a fee register new titles, which should then protect them from predatory editions undertaken by other brethren in the trade.[37] This was the equivalent of the privilege system which operated in other parts of Europe, which was intended to guarantee that anyone investing in the costs of a new text, translations and so on, could be assured of a reasonable return on their investment.

The London trade was small and close-knit, policed by the privileged few who made up the masters of the Company, so the chances of going undetected in the publication of unauthorised or pirate editions was small enough to discourage flagrant abuse.[38] Of course, like all sixteenth-century systems of regulation, the system worked better in theory than in practice. Many books were published without being entered in the Stationers' Register. But in other cases, indeed, as Alexandra Hill shows in this volume, many thousands of cases, titles were registered which cannot now be linked to a surviving copy.[39]

This has been recognised by students of the English print trade for a considerable time, without anyone making systematic use of this potential goldmine of information.[40] Some important scruples lie behind this reticence. It could be argued that the fact that a printer registered a title with the Stationers' Company does not provide proof positive that it was ever published. This is true. One could imagine that a publisher might wish to forestall a rival, or indeed to be planning to publish a book and for one reason or another – a failure to raise the necessary funds, or second thoughts about whether there was sufficient demand – simply abandon the project.

But these considerations are likely to apply only in a small number of cases, and generally speaking for larger books, the sort for which continental publishers would generally seek privileges. In these cases the effort and relatively small cost of registering a book might be a reasonable contingency expense in the larger framework of publishing a book of any size. Most of the unknown books in the Stationers' registers were not of this character at all. They were small books or broadsheet ballads: the type of printed artefacts for which survival is in any case very fragile.

37 Edward Arber (ed.), *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554–1640* (5 vols., London: Privately printed, 1875–1894).

38 For the colourful and bruising career of a serial pirate see Alexander Rodger, 'Roger Ward's Shrewsbury Stock: An Inventory of 1585', *The Library*, 5th ser., 13 (1958), pp. 247–268.

39 Below, Chapter 7.

40 See, for instance, Cyndia Clegg, *Press Censorship in Elizabethan England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 18–19.

It is very hard to see why a printer would have gone to the trouble of registering a ballad and then not publish it. This was the sort of book where immediacy was of the essence. It was intended to catch a moment of particular interest for a contemporary event; it could be put to the press and out onto the streets in a single day.[41] There was no great investment in paper or wages to be protected. Furthermore it is hard to see how registration of a then unpublished ballad would forestall a potential competitor: they could simply publish the same text under a different title. So the overwhelming likelihood is that ballads registered in the Stationers' Company, often with very precise titles, were indeed published, and are now simply lost. We intend in the next two years to integrate these references into the USTC, searchable in exactly the same way as surviving books. It will be the largest injection of new data into the corpus of early British printing for the best part of forty years, and it should have a significant impact on our understanding of the functioning of the industry.[42]

Censorship

Other published book-lists come in three main types. A printer might publish in the back of a book a list of other works he had published, or works by the same author. A bookseller might exhibit a list of books available from his shop.[43] And the church or state might publish lists of books that its citizens were forbidden to buy, sell or even to possess.

This last category is especially interesting, because it brings into our study books that are not lost through use or casual discarding, but because they were purposefully destroyed. Non-survival in this case is not an accident of history, but a deliberate act of policy. So this information should be especially valuable. Some parts of these lists are of course more valuable than others. An index of forbidden books that states that all the works of a stated author – Calvin or Rabelais – are forbidden, does not take us much farther forward. But some entries on these lists are remarkably specific: particularly, as is often the case,

41 See, for examples taken from Armada year, 1588, Bertrand T. Whitehead, *Brags and Boasts. Propaganda in the Year of the Armada* (Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1994).

42 Since publication of the second volume of the revised edition of the STC, in 1986.

43 The fundamental study is G. Pollard and A. Ehrmann, *The Distribution of Books by Catalogue from the Invention of Printing to A.D. 1800* (Cambridge: Roxburghe Club, 1965). Andrew Pettegree, 'Emden as a Centre of the Sixteenth-Century Book Trade: A Catalogue of the Bookseller Gaspar Staphorst', in his *The French Book and the European Book World* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), pp. 177–201.

when they deal with anonymous tracts of an evangelical character. Here the list often gives the title verbatim. The edict is clearly set up with copies of the proscribed books in hand. These would then, presumably, be destroyed: an early example of the practice of material bibliography, if with a somewhat malign intent.[44]

The same desire to deny readers access to disapproved texts that stimulated the published Indices of Forbidden Books also left its imprint on the manuscript sources. When a bookseller came under suspicion, it was not unusual to send another loyal and orthodox member of the trade into their shop to work their way around the shelves, noting the titles.[45] This provides some fantastic material for historians of the book trade, though it is not necessarily a particularly rich source of lost books. In cases of this sort there was a pronounced tendency towards obfuscation: the assessing bookseller, who might be a close friend of the colleague under suspicion, might well allow his gaze to slide past articles in the stockroom that would bring serious consequences if included in the inventory. With so much at stake it was hard to ensure that the inspectors carried out their duties punctiliously. The same can be said, for rather different reasons, of the audit of stock taken at the death of a bookseller or printer, or as a result of a legal dispute between two book trade professionals. Here, where the emphasis was entirely on making an estimate of stock value, there was no imperative to gather more information than necessary to serve this narrow economic purpose.

But the investigation of orthodoxy does offer one potentially very rich harvest of information, though it must be used with delicacy and real care. Towards the end of the sixteenth century the leaders of the Church in Italy began tightening the screw on the sale and ownership of unorthodox books. They were particularly concerned lest members of the monastic communities be led astray. All local religious authorities were required to send in lists of any banned materials in the possession of those under their jurisdiction. This particular initiative turned up predictably little; local authorities were understandably reluctant to call down trouble upon their heads, and could take

44 See Jesús Martínez De Bujanda, Francis M. Higman and James K. Farge (eds.), *Index de l'Université de Paris: 1544, 1545, 1547, 1549, 1551, 1556* (Sherbrooke, Québec: Université, Centre d'Études de la Renaissance – Geneva: Droz, 1985) and others in this series of modern editions of the sixteenth-century indices.

45 Pierre Delsaerdt, 'A Bookshop for a New Age: The Inventory of the Bookshop of the Louvain Bookseller Hieronymus Cloet, 1543', in Lotte Hellinga *et al.*, *The Bookshop of the World. The Role of the Low Countries in the Book-Trade, 1473–1941* (Goy-Houten: De Graaf, 2001), pp. 75–86.

refuge in the ambiguities arising from conflicts between the numerous indices of forbidden books. The religious orders also, equally predictably, protested any encroachment on their right of self-regulation: they insisted on the right to conduct their own surveys. This was conceded, but the terms of the survey were also made much broader. The Roman authorities now asked the religious orders to send the lists of all their books, not just forbidden ones, held in monasteries and cloisters or personally owned by monks or friars. The Congregation of the Index also insisted on the rules for the compilation of inventories: they must include not only the author's name and the title of the work, but also indicate the language, place of printing, printers and year of publication.

This is of course bibliographical gold dust. Carried out between 1597 and 1603, this snapshot of Italian religious collections constitutes what one historian has called as "the biggest national bibliography of the Counter-Reformation".[46] The resulting manuscript lists, mostly deposited in the Vatican Library, comprise approximately 19,000 handwritten pages. They report on more than 9,500 libraries owned by 31 different religious orders. Between them these inventories list between eight hundred thousand and one million items.[47]

These materials have in the last years been the subject of a painstaking investigative study, the collaborative project Ricerca sull'Inchiesta della Congregazione dell'Indice (RICI).[48] Although not yet complete, enough work has been done to demonstrate the potential of this sort of material. We can assess which were the most popular titles, and compare the numbers logged in the sixteenth century collections with the number of surviving copies today. We can assess whether the Italian monasteries were adequately supplied with books from Italian presses, or whether they bought many books published abroad – for instance in Paris or Lyon. But we can also find a lot of books that do not seem to be identifiable as any presently known editions.

46 Romeo De Maio, 'I modelli culturali della Controriforma. Le biblioteche dei conventi italiani alla fine del Cinquecento', in Romeo De Maio (ed.), *Riforme e miti nella Chiesa del Cinquecento* (Naples: Guida, 1992), pp. 355–370, p. 363.

47 Roberto Rusconi, 'I religiosi e i loro libri in Italia alla fine del secolo XVI', in Rosa Marisa Borraccini, Giovanna Granata and Roberto Rusconi, 'A proposito dell'inchiesta della S. Congregazione dell'Indice dei libri proibiti alla fine del'500', *Il capitale culturale*, 6 (2013), pp. 13–45, at p. 15.

48 See especially now the essays in part three of this volume. For an introductory description of the project and a sample investigation, Flavia Bruni, 'The book inventories of Servite authors and the survey of the Roman Congregation of the Index in Counter-Reformation Italy. From instrument of censorship to bibliographical resource', in Malcolm Walsby and Natasha Constantinidou (eds.), *Documenting the Early Modern Book World. Inventories and Catalogues in Manuscript and Print* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 207–230.

These records need to be treated with some subtlety, as Roberto Rusconi here makes clear.[49] Particularly when dealing with volumes that contained several titles, the visitors could be a little slapdash. Sometimes they would create a sort of pantomime horse by darting from the title at the beginning of a volume to a colophon at the end, ignoring the fact that there were several books in the volume. Thus they create a hybrid title, made up of the details of two quite different texts. But the RICI researchers are alert to these possibilities, and their careful, cautious work has resulted in the recovery of many books lost since the sixteenth century. The full richness of this material is made clear by the several contributions included in this volume.[50]

Bestsellers

So much, for now, for the information on lost books that can be extracted from contemporary official documentation: account books, documents of regulation and registration. Let us now turn to the books themselves. There are several ways in which we can follow the trace of lost books in other surviving books.

One very obvious category is re-issues and reprints. When a book is published in Paris stating on the title-page that it is reproduced "after the copy published in Rouen by Martin le Mesgissier" we may be fairly confident that this is a real (rather than invented) original that may no longer survive. The same is true of cases where the title-page of a book claims to be the third edition and the first or second appears no longer to be extant. This is exceptionally valuable information, since the books that went through multiple editions often fell into areas of the book trade particularly vulnerable to attrition. These included popular devotional texts, instructional manuals or language primers.

These sort of texts are also, as it happens, extremely well represented among the books for which advertisements were placed in the early Dutch newspapers. Thus the popular devotional text *Het lof des Heeren*, edited by Jacob Trigland, and offered for sale in Amsterdam by Marten Jansz Brandt in 1642 is advertised as the ninth edition.[51] Only two of these previous eight editions have currently been identified. The previous year Brandt published the fifth edition of Charles Drelincourt, *Gebeden ende Meditatien om sich te bereyden tot*

49 Chapter 14, below.

50 Chapters 12 to 15.

51 Broer Jansz, *Tijdinghen uyt verscheyden Quartieren*, 1642, no. 43 (25.10.1642).

het H. Avontmael, but a copy of only one previous edition has survived.[52] Meynert Semeyns's short description of the herring fishery, published in 1639 was the fourth edition, but the first to survive.[53] This is really invaluable information for one of Europe's most vibrant book markets, where short popular texts could find a sufficiently large market to sell out within a year, justifying the expense of taking advertisement space to publicise a new edition. These were books which were far more likely to have been appreciated by contemporary users than by those building a library. For evidence of their popularity we are therefore almost obliged to look beyond the corpus of surviving copies. Such an investigation turns up an astonishing amount of new material for the seventeenth-century Low Countries; the potential for similar investigations in other national print domains is demonstrated by the contributions of Rosa Marisi Borraccini and Giovanna Granata in this collection.[54]

Music

With music books the opposite was the case: these were books with a rather narrower and more circumscribed market, defined by high initiation costs and expensive both from the producer and consumer point of view. Large parts of this market were controlled by a small number of publishers, since the publication of books with musical type required considerable skill, as well as the investment to procure the necessary special fonts for the printing of musical notation.

Despite these forbiddingly high entry costs, the production of books of music became a flourishing and important part of the early modern book world. During the sixteenth century several thousand titles were published of four or five part arrangements intended for performance by choirs or in domestic settings. For the convenience of the singers the separate parts were printed in separate books. Although these were expensive books, rates of survival are very low: not unusually for books which were heavily used. Often these musical imprints survive only in bound collections now in specialist music libraries. These bound volumes often contain the alto or bass part of a sequence of different books. It may be that the other parts cannot be traced at all. In these cases it is straightforward to predicate the existence of absent superius or tenor parts. Replicated across the corpus, this allows the recovery of several thousand lost books. In passing it is worth remarking that several major bibliographical

52 Jan van Hilten, *Courante uyt Italien, Duytslandt, &c.*, 1641 no. 42 (19.10.1641).

53 Jan van Hilten, *Courante uyt Italien, Duytslandt, &c.*, 1639, no. 51 (17.12.1639).

54 Chapters 13 and 15.

projects persist in regarding the separate parts of these publications as a single bibliographical item.[55] Yet in bibliographical terms these were quite separate publications, each with their own title page and collation, and have to be regarded as such, even if they were intended to be used together.

The collection history of books with music, whether intended for liturgical or recreational purposes, was very particular. Iain Fenlon's careful study of liturgical texts owned by Spanish Cathedrals reveals many items that are now extremely rare, and often, where the record is a contemporary inventory, known only from this fragile manuscript source.[56] A high proportion of the musical part books that have come down to us today have done so because they made their way into a royal or ducal library, and were therefore preserved. It was not that these princely courts were the only markets for such books, more that these were the places they were most likely to survive. Thus the history of lost books is inevitably intricately bound up with the history of contemporary collecting; what records we have documenting such collecting practice must therefore form part of our scrutiny.

Building a Library

The dawn of print opened a new era in the history of collecting. Books became both abundant and affordable: individuals who in the manuscript age would have owned no more than a handful of books could now aspire to assemble considerable collections. By the end of the sixteenth century some private collections extended to many thousands of books.

Recovering the history of this collecting is now extremely challenging. Building a library was the work of a lifetime; but preserving the collection after the death of its creator was well nigh impossible. For many heirs the much cherished library was more of a burden; treasured and carefully assembled collections were soon dispersed, lost or sold. Sadly, few collectors were as assiduous in documenting their books as they were in seeking them out, which is why the rare exceptions, including the cases studied in the volume, are so very valuable. With these book lists we can begin to reconstruct the mental world of these owners, and this is the purpose to which such documentary material is mostly put.[57] To identify from these inventories the actual edition a collector

55 See, for instance, VD16.

56 Chapter 4, below.

57 The genre is most comprehensively explored in Malcolm Walsby and Natasha Constantinidou (eds.), *Documenting the Early Modern Book World. Inventories and Catalogues in Manuscript and Print* (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

owned can be far more challenging. As a rule these lists are not normally furnished with sufficient bibliographical detail to link the contents to particular editions, particularly when they relate to books published in many editions. This is even more the case with lists compiled after the death of the first owner. The main purpose of such inventories was valuation, and in assessing the retail value of such property, books were treated much like furniture. The size of the book and the quality of the binding played as significant a role in arriving at a valuation as the contents of the text. The description of the book itself was often perfunctory: the name of the printer, for instance, was usually only mentioned if the press was sufficiently distinguished to materially impact the resale value (the Aldine press, for instance, or books published by Plantin or Estienne). This lack of specificity in recording the edition owned is the main reason why it has proved so difficult to link information in major resources of testamentary information like the Private Libraries of Renaissance England database to our USTC as we would like ideally to do.[58]

Probate inventories are particularly frustrating in their tendency to bundle small works: of little value so not worth the effort to enumerate separately. Thus the works most vulnerable to loss, and often the most interesting indications of the owner's personality and recreational tastes, are not separately listed; the main part of these collections, the books carefully valued, are otherwise heavily slanted towards professional use.[59] Rather more can be gleaned from a class of document that emerges in the seventeenth century, auction catalogues, since these often include far more in the way of specific bibliographical detail.[60]

Most valuable of all are catalogues compiled by (or more usually, for) rich collectors; this was especially so if they hoped these collections might be preserved after their death for the common good. The collection of Sir Hans Sloane, described by Alison Walker here, was remarkable both for its extraordinarily comprehensive collection of medical books, and for its eclectic extension into different branches of printed ephemera. Sloane owned remarkable collections of both medical advertising literature and academic dissertations.

58 <http://plre.folger.edu/>.

59 E.S. Leedham-Green, *Books in Cambridge Inventories: Book-Lists from Vice-Chancellor's Court Probate Inventories in the Tudor and Stuart Periods* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

60 Karel Bostoen *et al.* (eds.), *Book Sales Catalogues Online. Book Auctioning in the Dutch Republic, 1599–ca. 1800*: <http://www.brill.com/products/online-resources/book-sales-catalogues-dutch-republic-online>.

This form of scholarly ephemera is among the least well documented parts of the European book world. Disputations and dissertations published by students and professors in Europe's expanding universities provided valued commissions for Europe's printers, and the reconstruction of this market has never really been attempted. These are books lost in the most extraordinary way – that is, safely stowed in many of Europe's major libraries, but largely uncatalogued, and, indeed, beyond the reach of any conceivable cataloguing project. Several of Europe's major libraries have many thousands, in some case hundreds of thousands of such publications, which must for the moment count as functionally lost, even though their physical location is not in doubt. A major initiative may be required to recover this important part of the publishing industry and of early modern intellectual culture.[61]

Modern Destruction

With all of these different resources we are beginning to create a typography not only of survival, but also of loss. Most early printed books that survive, particularly those that survive in many copies, do so because they were collected and preserved close to the date of publication. There were probably not very many works published by William Caxton that have disappeared altogether, because he was recognised as collectable very early.[62]

With broadsheets and many small pamphlets the opposite was the case. Many small texts – particularly almanacs with a limited shelf life, and educational texts – were used and discarded close to their date of publication (often in the case of educational texts, with great relief by their young owners). Polemical pamphlets on political or religious subjects often survive rather better, because they were bound together in collections and made their way into libraries. They often survive in a larger number of copies, though here we really do need to examine the actual books to reveal what frequently turn out to be variant editions, rather than two copies of the same book. Official print was different again: posted up, distributed and only occasionally systematically filed away.

Even in the case of books that made their way into libraries, fire, flood, bombs and neglect can subvert the best laid plans. Some of the cruellest losses

61 Douwe B. Breimer *et al.*, *Hora Est! On Dissertations* (Leiden: Leiden University, 2005).

62 Though an unrecorded indulgence, cut up for quire guards in a volume now in the possession of the Library of Congress, was discovered as recently as 1980. See Needham, *The Printer and the Pardoner*.

have taken place in the last two hundred years. In 1870 the National Library of Strasbourg was razed to the ground by German bombardment, the priceless collection replaced, in a gesture of sly penitence, with duplicates contributed by German collections (creating what is now a largely Germanic collection). The collection of the University of Louvain was lost in 1917 and again in 1940. The German assault of 1940 and the allied invasion of France in 1944 claimed the libraries of Beauvais, Calais, Chartres, Douai and Tours.[63]

These losses were severe, but in terms of scale dwarfed by the enormous destruction and churning of the German printed heritage during the last years of the war and subsequent Soviet occupation (explored in this volume by Jan Alessandrini).[64] The State Library of Berlin still does not know which of its books have survived, and where they might have gone. Some are certainly in Kraków, a partial restitution for the destruction of the library of Warsaw in 1944, and an unknown quantity in St Petersburg. The Soviet occupiers and the satellite states of Eastern Europe no doubt regarded this as small recompense for the terrible losses suffered during the period of Nazi aggression, which in the Polish case amounted to an attempt at the eradication of a national culture.[65]

War is not the only hazard. The royal library in Stockholm went up in flames in the eighteenth century, consuming many of the books plundered by Swedish armies during the Thirty Years' War. Other war booty remains securely tucked away in the University of Uppsala.[66] As recently as 2003 an electrical fault left the baroque Anna Amelia Library in Weimar gutted. In 2009 the building of a new underground line caused the collapse of the City Archives in Cologne.[67] In 2014 the library of the Glasgow School of Art, designed by Charles Rennie Mackintosh and universally regarded as one of his most exquisite works, went up in flames, along with all of its contents. In all of these cases, at least since the nineteenth century, the existence of printed catalogues document many

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63 Lucien X. Polastron, *Books on Fire, The Tumultuous Story of the World's Great Libraries* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2007), p. 174. Hilda Urén Stubbings, *Blitzkrieg and Books. British and European Libraries as Casualties of World War II* (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1993).

64 Chapter 21, with an exhaustive survey of the existing literature.

65 Poland lost more than 16 million volumes, 80% of its total stock, from public libraries during the Nazi occupation. Polastron, *Books on Fire*, p. 185, and the article by Tomasz Nastulczcyk in this volume.

66 Josef Trypucko, Michał Spandowski and Slawomir Szyller, *The Catalogue of the Book Collection of the Jesuit College in Braniewo held in the University Library in Uppsala* (3 vols., Uppsala: Uppsala Universitetsbibliotek; Warszawa: Biblioteka Narodowa, 2007).

67 Below, Chapter 24.

editions now lost, and these too are included in our records: though with a recognition that some particulars, notably format, cannot be regarded as reliable.

This unreliability can be compounded by the conversion of these old print or card catalogues into digital records, a conversion routinely effected without re-examination of the books. We are perfectly aware that the methodologies described above, and the level of trust we repose in records compiled for quite different purposes, will have created some ghosts. But this number is likely to be quite small – and certainly much smaller than the number of ghosts we have eliminated in the course of our library visits. Most of these ghosts are created by twenty-first century cataloguing practice, in particular the desire of libraries to hurtle towards the creation of digital catalogues without sufficient care. In these cases a single false keystroke can create a unique book that never existed; books that then have to be eliminated by examination.

Lost Books: Methodological Assumptions

From a methodological point of view it now seems incontrovertible that the gain in recovering these lost books, which will cumulatively amount to many thousands of editions, far outweigh the dangers inherent in the working assumptions applied. The probability that a certain source – a book list, a printed reference or an official source – can be relied upon always has to be carefully weighed, and experience handling these documents is important too. We are also only too ruefully aware that our most diligent efforts will only recover a small proportion of what has not survived in physical form. But the effort is important, because the methods we have applied impact most particularly on classes of literature most susceptible to destruction: almanacs, cheap print, ABCs, indulgences, printed ordinances and ballads. It is only really in recent years that books of this sort have begun to be recognised as the bedrock of the industry, and their true significance in the cultural economy of communication has been acknowledged.[68] When, forty years ago, German bibliographers began what became the VD16, their equivalent of the English Short Title Catalogue, they left out broadsheet materials.[69] So, even more inexplicably,

68 In an expanding literature see especially Joad Raymond (ed.), *Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

69 So, for instance, the broadsheet editions of Luther's 95 theses, one of the foundational documents of German culture, are not included in the German national bibliography. USTC 751649, 751650.

did those who set up the Netherlandish Short Title Catalogue twenty years later. These lacunae have had to be painstakingly made good: with the extension of the coverage of the Universal Short Title Catalogue to 1650, it now contains records of at least forty thousand documented examples of single-sheet publications.[70]

To some extent all historical investigation involves the assessment of a balance of probabilities. When historians read a letter, let us say, from Sir Francis Walsingham in Paris to William Cecil in London, offering his first reaction to the St Bartholomew's day massacre, this is treated as a valuable first hand eyewitness account. We do not waste a great deal of time examining the possibilities that the letter might have been forged, or that Sir Francis was not actually in Paris. This is because these contrary possibilities are extremely remote: all historical scholarship is, in this respect, inherently probabilistic.[71]

The reticence in applying similar familiar techniques for the weighing of evidence to the field of material bibliography is all the more striking when we consider that other disciplines in the history of the book have embraced far more speculative strands of scholarship. I think here particularly of the freight attached to manuscript marginalia and annotations in the quest to assess reader responses to text. In fact in the vast majority of cases such marginalia are extremely unrevealing.[72] We scarcely know whether an annotation signals assent or disagreement, or even which of a sequence of owners is making it.

My modest proposal to scholars of material bibliography is not to follow such researches into the field of the imagination, but merely to accept the probability that when careful contemporaries recorded the existence of a book, this book did indeed exist; and to act on that probability, rather than reject this specific class of evidence because of an absence of certainty. For the gains of adjusting our perceptions in this manner are potentially massive. Once we obtain, in so far as we can, a more holistic view of what was printed, we will understand far better the constraints and motivations that governed the choice of particular texts. A printer fed a reliable stream of commissions from the local bishop or town council was far less likely to dabble in forbidden

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70 A survey of the existing state of knowledge, with a first attempt to offer a quantitative analysis, is Andrew Pettegree (ed.), *Broadsheets. Single-Sheet Publishing in the First Age of Print* (Leiden: Brill, 2017).

71 For reflections on the applications of probability to a wide range of intellectual areas see now Nate Silver, *The Signal and the Noise* (New York: Penguin, 2012).

72 Ann Blair, 'Errata lists and the reader as corrector', in Sabrina Alcorn Baron *et al.* (eds.), *Agent of Change: Print culture studies after Elizabeth L. Eisenstein* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007), pp. 21–41.

or sensitive publications, a lesson well learned in *Ancien Régime* France. Keeping printers busy and rich was a far more effective assurance of loyalty than any regime of censorship. Robert Darnton's *Forbidden bestsellers* were published abroad not because the control of French printing was particularly oppressive, but because French printers preferred not to jeopardise their existing business.[73] We are reminded once again that the greatest threat to freedom is not censorship, but conformity. To understand the economy of print is not to turn one's back on the world of ideas. It is a necessary prerequisite to understanding that world.

73 Robert Darnton, *The Forbidden Bestsellers of Pre-revolutionary France* (New York: Norton, 1995).

PART 1

In the Beginning: Lost Incunabula

CHAPTER 2

The Gutenberg Galaxy's Dark Matter: Lost Incunabula, and Ways to Retrieve Them

Falk Eisermann

In Memory of Dieter Mertens and Jochen Bepler

After almost four hundred years of bibliographical effort, it seems safe to say that the Gutenberg Galaxy is a comparatively small clump of stars.[1] The overall figure of surviving incunabula editions known today is only slightly bigger than the estimate given in 1972 by German librarians Karl Dachs and Wieland Schmidt, who by way of a simple calculation concluded that the number of fifteenth-century books and broadsides preserved in at least one copy stands around 27,000.[2] However, when it comes to counting incunabula there is a range of uncertainties. Many early editions cannot be dated much more accurately than 'circa 1500' and may belong to either side of the incunabular watershed; others, formerly described as incunabula, have since been dated to the sixteenth century. Not all ghosts and duplicate descriptions in the various repertories have yet been identified, and there are forgeries and bibliographical hoaxes waiting to be discovered.[3] Bibliographers also tend to find differing,

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1 Earlier versions of this paper were presented in a Graham Pollard Memorial Lecture, 17 April 2012, to the Bibliographical Society, London, and to audiences at the Centres for Medieval Studies at the Universities of Göttingen and Greifswald. I am grateful to the colleagues participating in the discussions after these presentations, and above all to Andrew Pettegree, Flavia Bruni and the participants of the St Andrews Lost Books Conference, where many of my preliminary ideas were put into perspective. I also thank Martin Davies, Richard L. Kremer, Michael Laird, Christine Magin, Paul Needham and Eric White for their input, suggestions and corrections. All online resources quoted in this article were last consulted on 20 October 2014.

2 Karl Dachs and Wieland Schmidt, 'Wieviele Inkunabelausgaben gibt es wirklich?' *Bibliotheksforum Bayern*, 2 (1974), pp. 83–95. Most recently Lotte Hellinga, *Texts in Transit. Manuscript to Proof and Print in the Fifteenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), p. 20, gives an estimate of "between 28,000 and 28,500". On 17 September 2014, my ISTC count for editions printed before 1501 was 28,623; the overall number given on the ISTC website as of March 2014 was 30,375 editions, including dubious material and imprints from after 1500. The GW database contains more than 36,000 descriptions including many ghosts not eligible for ISTC (see below).

3 For a rather obvious (and lame) bibliographical joke see Hans A. Halbey, *Ein unbekannter deutschsprachiger Druck Gutenbergs. Zu einer Entdeckung im Gutenberg-Museum* (Rheinbach-Merzbach, 1984). There are hoaxes in both the ISTC (via BSB-Ink) and GW databases. I am not

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if not controversial, answers to the question "what is a variant, and what constitutes an edition of its own right?" Furthermore, both the Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke (GW) and the ISTC frequently add new entries to their databases.[4] Thus the number of known, documented, and surviving incunabula editions is slightly higher today than forty years ago, but still fluctuating. No reliable estimates, however, are available for what can be termed the "dark matter of the Gutenberg Galaxy": entire editions which are known to have existed but have vanished altogether.

The existence of dark matter in the real universe was first mathematically discovered in the 1930s, when the Swiss astrophysicist Fritz Zwicky analysed the *Coma Cluster*, a conglomerate of galaxies 300 million light years away in the constellation Coma Berenice. Zwicky observed that the radial velocity of the galaxies in this conspicuous cloud, their "getting away from each other" in layman's terms, is much too high in relation to the calculated mass of the cluster's visible stars. His observation did not comply with contemporary theories on mass-gravitation relations, according to which the cluster should have disintegrated long ago. Something was wrong with the astronomical equations, as too much of the required mass was not accounted for, and Zwicky concluded: "Should this turn out to be true, the surprising result would follow that dark matter is present in a much higher density than radiating matter".[5]

Historians of all disciplines, including historians of the book, find themselves confronted with similar problems of measure and relation. We have to deal with the basic question asked by Arnold Esch: how do historical perception and research relate not only to extant documents and sources, but to the totality of what was once there?[6] Like astronomers we constantly look back in

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going to identify them here, but see Martin Davies' review of *Bibliothèque nationale de France. Catalogue des incunables* (*CIBN*), Tome 1, Fasc. 3: C-D (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 2006), *The Library*, 9 (2008), pp. 225–228, at pp. 226–227.

4 *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, 11 vols. (to be continued), vols. 1–8 (Leipzig: Hiersemann, 1925–1940), 2nd rev. ed. vols. 1–7 (Stuttgart-New York: Hiersemann, 1968); vol. 8ff. (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1978–). GW numbers without preceding letter 'M' can be looked up in the printed volumes as well as in the database; for the 'M' numbers see <www.gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de>.

5 Robert H. Sanders, *The Dark Matter Problem. A Historical Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 14.

6 Arnold Esch, 'Überlieferungs-Chance und Überlieferungs-Zufall als methodisches Problem des Historikers', *Historische Zeitschrift*, 240 (1985), pp. 529–570. For a case study on the loss of charters, see Stefan Sonderegger, 'Verluste – Zahlen statt Spekulationen: drei Fälle von quantifizierbaren Urkundenverlusten in der Sanktgaller Überlieferung des Spätmittelalters', *Archiv für Diplomatik*, 59 (2013), pp. 433–452.

time and find that a large number of material objects of interest are untraceable. Like astronomers, we know of the dark matter, but cannot see it. Thus we need to find ways of approximation and methods which help us close some of the knowledge gaps caused by the unreliability of historical transmission. Mathematics, the magic weapon of astrophysicists, seems inept for our purposes. Recent statistical experiments applied to the world of books are interesting, but unsatisfactory from a bibliographical point of view.[7] We know that many books, even entire editions, have been lost, but do we really need calculations which apply complicated statistics in order to demonstrate that many, many books seem indeed to be lost?

On the other hand, there is no systematic survey focussing on the dark matter. I myself cannot offer such a survey at this point, but will try to map some ways of retrieving information about lost incunabula which may enhance our general bibliographical knowledge. My interest in this subject was instigated by a lively exchange on the mailing list *Exlibris*; subsequently, I began to compare the total number of entries in GW and ISTC in order to find editions not included in ISTC because no surviving copy is recorded.[8] Delving into the very large number of these "ISTC-less" entries in the GW database – at the time of writing the number stands at more than 6,200 – I found myself on a journey into a very interesting,

7 Jonathan Green, Frank McIntyre and Paul Needham, 'The Shape of Incunable Survival and Statistical Estimation of Lost Editions', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 105 (2012), pp. 141–175. See also Jonathan Green and Frank McIntyre's contribution in the present volume. Other surveys, often on manuscripts and/or early modern books, that were helpful during the preparation of the present article include Peter Beal, 'Lost: the Destruction, Dispersal and Rediscovery of Manuscripts', in Robin Myers, Michael Harris and Giles Mandelbrote (eds.), *Books on the Move. Tracking Copies through Collections and the Book Trade* (London: Oak Knoll Press/The British Library, 2007), pp. 1–15; Neil Harris, 'The Italian Renaissance Book: Catalogues, Censuses and Survival', in Malcolm Walsby and Graeme Kemp (eds.), *The Book Triumphant. Print in Transition in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), pp. 26–56, and Neil Harris, 'La sopravvivenza del libro, ossia appunti per una lista della lavandaia', *Ecdotica*, 4 (2007), pp. 24–65; David McKitterick, 'The Survival of Books', *The Book Collector*, 43 (1994), pp. 9–26; Paul Needham, 'The Late Use of Incunables and the Paths of Book Survival', *Wolfenbütteler Notizen zur Buchgeschichte*, 29 (2004), pp. 35–59; Goran Proot and Leo Egghe, 'Estimating Editions on the Basis of Survivals: Printed Programmes of Jesuit Plays in the Provincia Flandro-Belgica before 1733, with a Note on the "Book Historical Law"', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 102 (2008), pp. 149–174; Alexander S. Wilkinson, 'Lost Books in French before 1601', *The Library*, 10 (2009), pp. 188–205.

8 Special thanks to Michael Laird who first suggested the term 'dark matter' in reference to early printed books, and gratefully allowed me to use it for my purposes. I profited very much from our communication about the subject since 2008.

and often strange, bibliographical field. Of course many of these entries are easily recognisable as, for instance, errors, duplicate descriptions, or descriptions of editions patently belonging to the sixteenth century. By far the largest part are ghosts and other non-existing entities that once upon a time were conjured up by bibliographical sorcerers (or their apprentices). Still, a considerable, not yet quantified number of 'not in ISTC' entries in GW relates to lost incunabula. A subsequent survey of wildly varying sources and scholarship has detected much more material of this kind than hitherto recognised. The search continues, and it has to be stressed that what follows is just a small first step, and by no means a giant leap for incunabula bibliography.

Documented Examples of Losing Books

Substantial losses of books, including incunabula, are not limited to the historical past. An as of yet uncounted number of fifteenth-century editions were lost in the twentieth century alone. The most recent reminder of the vulnerability of what Germans call 'historisches Gedächtnis' was the collapse of the main building of the Cologne Municipal Archive in March 2009.[9] Among the Archive's many precious holdings were about 50 incunabula, including unique items such as the *Diurnale Coloniense*, printed c.1480 by Johannes de Bel (GW 0853210N), and a couple of broadsides. As of today we have no information whether any of these items have been recovered from the remaining pile of rubble. "Every lost edition", Paul Needham once wrote, "had, in principle, a date of death", and it must be feared that Tuesday, 3 March 2009, was such a date.[10]

The Incunabula and Rare Book Collections of the Berlin State Library (Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, hereafter SBB) suffered considerable losses during World War II.[11] Even though the books had been

9 Max Plassmann, 'Zustand und Benutzung der Urkundenbestände des Historischen Archivs der Stadt Köln nach dem 3. März 2009', *Archiv für Diplomatik*, 58 (2012), pp. 343–352. See also the article by Saskia Limbach in this volume.

10 Needham, 'The Late Use', p. 39.

11 Gudrun Voigt, *Die kriegsbedingte Auslagerung von Beständen der Preußischen Staatsbibliothek und ihre Rückführung. Eine historische Skizze auf der Grundlage von Archivmaterialien* (Hannover: Laurentius-Verlag, 1995); *Verlagert, verschollen, vernichtet. Das Schicksal der im 2. Weltkrieg ausgelagerten Bestände der Preußischen Staatsbibliothek* (Berlin: Staatsbibliothek, 2nd ed., 1998), pp. 18–19; Werner Schochow, *Bücherschicksale. Die Verlagerungsgeschichte der Preußischen Staatsbibliothek. Auslagerung, Zerstörung, Entfremdung, Rückführung* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2003). For historical images of Gröditzburg castle, see Schochow, p. 270 (pl. 24), and Voigt, p. 128 (pl. 54).

evacuated to remote locations before the intense bombing of Berlin began, more than 3,900 incunabula, including over 40 unique copies, suffered a tragic fate in February 1945, when the depot in Gröditzberg (Grodziec, Silesia), where the holdings were stored, burnt down. The fires raged from 18 February to 3 March, and eyewitnesses reported months later that the building's remains were covered in a thick layer of ashes, among which only the odd spine and masses of crumbling, half-burnt paper residue were recognisable.[12] Incunabula losses included about 90 percent of the SBB's pre-war holdings from places of printing such as Augsburg, Basel, Leipzig, Nuremberg, Speyer, and Strasbourg, and a considerable part of the vast collection of Italian, French, and Dutch imprints. It is small comfort that they had at least partly been documented in the handwritten GW manuscript, which after the foundation of the Kommission für den Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke in November 1904 had been compiled in preparation for the printed GW.

However, undocumented files relating to dark matter are occasionally found in the SBB's historical catalogues, even outside the Incunabula Collection proper. According to scattered entries in the old alphabetical catalogue (AK) and the Realkatalog (RK), before World War II the SBB owned a substantial miscellany of printed edicts from Leipzig, containing at least 178 items from the fifteenth to the first half of the eighteenth centuries.[13] Little is known about its pre-1500 content, but the second item is described in the catalogues as a folio leaf containing "Keyserlich Privilegium/Der Stadt Leipzig Jahrmärkte (Lpz. 1497.) (1 Bl.)". No such broadside is recorded in the incunabula repertories, and AK and RK give no indication that this was a handwritten item, hence it might have been a copy of the hypothetical first edition of the royal privilege for the Leipzig fair, granted by king Maximilian I on 20 July 1497. As it stands the surviving information is hardly sufficient to add this broadside to the incunabula repertories. There is indeed at least one printed edition of the 1497 privilege. This broadside, however, though transmitting the original text of the decree, dates from the late sixteenth, if not the seventeenth century, as evident from its typographical material; it might have been issued in 1597 to celebrate the 100th anniversary of the privilege.[14] The miscellany to which the *Privilegium*

12 Schochow, *Bücherschicksale*, p. 77.

13 *Privilegien und Verordnungen der Stadt Leipzig vor 1494–1736*, shelfmark Gq 3850.

14 Volker Rodekamp (ed.), *Leipzig original. Stadtgeschichte vom Mittelalter bis zur Völkerschlacht. Katalog zur Dauerausstellung des Stadtgeschichtlichen Museums im Alten Rathaus, Teil 1* (Altenburg: DZA, 2006), p. 143: *Erstes großes Messeprivileg von 1497* (shelfmark I D 590); Manfred Straube, '"Wir Maximilian von Gottes Gnaden…". Über die Bedeutung des Messeprivilegs Maximilians I. von 1497', in Volker Rodekamp (ed.), *Leipzig,*

belonged was not part of the Incunabula Collection, and never attracted the attention of the resident incunabulists, therefore no type analysis is available. Consequently, the *Privilegium* from the SBB miscellany cannot be counted as an incunabulum.

During World War II, a huge number of Polish libraries were destroyed by German occupation forces. The National Library in Warsaw lost almost all of its fifteenth-century books, including unique copies such as a French *Legenda aurea* printed by Matthias Huss in Lyons on 27 April 1491, a *Missale Posnaniense*, [Strasbourg, s.n., c.1491], and a *Breviarium* for the diocese of Gnesen, Venice: [Peter Liechtenstein(?)], 17 March 1500.[15] It is particularly regrettable that the only other contemporary edition of the *Breviarium Gnesnense* is also part of the dark matter, and its existence is documented by archival sources only.[16] On 26 April 1499, the cathedral chapter ordered the merchant Petrus de Posnania to have the breviary printed, and provided him with the manuscript to do so; on 7 May 1500, the price for the completion of the finished books had been established, so by then we know that the job had been executed. No copies are known to survive, as is the case with so many liturgical incunabula, and there is no way of knowing what the first printed breviaries for this particular diocese looked like.

In the case of the Warsaw National Library, and many other collections in Poland and elsewhere, no sufficient bibliographical descriptions exist from which a basic collation for these lost editions could be reconstructed. Of those books only the titles and some imprint data remain, whereas the Cologne books and broadsides had at least been properly described by GW and others before the collapse of the archive building. Of course items 'survive' in modern surrogates such as microfilms or photocopies.[17]

Stadt der wahren Wunder. 500 Jahre Reichsmesseprivileg (Leipzig: Messe-Verlag, 1997), pp. 17–20 (with plate). I am grateful to Marko Kuhn, Stadtgeschichtliches Museum Leipzig, for providing an image of this item, and to my colleague Veronika Mantei (SBB) for information about Gq 3850.

15 Respectively, GW M1145220, GW M2463210, and GW 0534720N. On Polish WWII losses see Michal Spandowski, 'Die verlorenen Inkunabeln. Von den Arbeiten am Zentralkatalog der Inkunabeln in Polen', in *Johannes Gutenberg – Regionale Aspekte des frühen Buchdrucks. Vorträge der Internationalen Konferenz zum 550. Jubiläum der Buchdruckerkunst am 26. und 27. Juni 1990 in Berlin* (Berlin: Staatsbibliothek, 1993), pp. 189–192. For a bibliography of Polish losses, see Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa, Maria Bohonos and Eliza Szandorowska (eds.), *Incunabula quae in Bibliothecis Poloniae asservantur*, vol. 3: *Addenda. Indices* (Wrocław: Institutum Ossolinianum, 1993), pp. 175–434, listing 2349 editions, often in multiple copies.

16 See GW 0534710 for further references. The printer may have been Jakob Wolff of Basel.

17 The GW has a microfilm of the *Diurnale* and xeroxes of a number of broadsides from the archive.

These examples may suffice to show that natural and man-made catastrophes, war, deliberate destruction, neglect, and mundane activities of all sorts – "the endless series of disasters that have befallen libraries over the centuries" – have always caused and will continue to cause losses, and new numbers will be added to the dark matter.[18] More than 130 years ago, William Blades in his classic *The Enemies of Books* provided a list of factors threatening the survival of books; his chapter headings read 'Fire', 'Water', 'Gas and heat', 'Dust and neglect', 'Ignorance', 'The Bookworm', 'Other vermin', finally and notably 'Bookbinders' and 'Collectors'.[19] One cannot help but notice that 'Librarians (and Library users)' are not among the perpetrators, but recent events like the Girolamini case in Naples are painful reminders that there are also enemies of books who act from within the library system.[20]

One factor not mentioned by Blades is censorship, and rightly so. Even though often labeled as a main reason for book destruction, censorship did not play an overly important role, at least in the fifteenth century.[21] Given that there were hardly any effective methods to control the dispersal of printed books, with privileging policies just beginning to develop, there is comparatively little evidence of successful institutional suppression of incunabula.[22] One exceptional and well-documented German case occurred in summer 1492, when duke George of Saxony tried to suppress and confiscate a pamphlet composed by the Leipzig law professor Johannes von Breitenbach.[23] In his *Consilium ad concessionem*

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18 For reasons and patterns of book losses, book destruction, and the precarious state of book collections, see John Flood, 'Varieties of Vandalism', *Common Knowledge*, 8.2 (2012), pp. 366–386, the quote at p. 367.

19 William Blades, *The Enemies of Books* (London: Trübner, 1880), table of contents at pp. vii–x. Blades' list of horrors has been explored in detail and considerably expanded by Harris, 'La sopravvivenza'.

20 See for example Rachel Donadio, 'Rare Books Vanish, with a Librarian in the Plot', *The New York Times*, 29 November, 2013 <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/11/30/books/unraveling-huge-thefts-from-girolamini-library-in-naples.html>. The abundant literature on lost libraries cannot be covered here. For the situation in the former GDR, see Hans-Joachim Koppitz, 'Verschleppt, zerstört, zerteilt. Ein vorläufiger Überblick über die wissenschaftlichen Bibliotheken auf dem Gebiet der DDR nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg', *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, 1992, pp. 383–396. Regarding Nazi confiscations, see Cornelia Briel, *Beschlagnahmt, erpresst, erbeutet. NS-Raubgut, Reichstauschstelle und Preußische Staatsbibliothek zwischen 1933 und 1945* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2013).

21 Harris, 'La sopravvivenza', pp. 49–51.

22 For an overview on book privileges in Italy, see Angela Nuovo, *The Book Trade in the Italian Renaissance* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 195–257.

23 The following paragraph is based on Christoph Volkmar, *Reform statt Reformation. Die Kirchenpolitik Herzog Georgs von Sachsen 1488–1525* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), pp. 378–380, 416–417.

lacticiniorum pertinens (GW 5094), a quarto edition of 14 leaves printed by Gregor Boettiger, Breitenbach had argued against a dispensation regarding the consumption of dairy products during Lent granted by pope Innocent VIII for the Saxonian territories; this had also been propagated by means of the press. The duke's order was executed by the bishop of Merseburg, who reported "that we have confiscated at the printing house, and have also forbidden, doctor Breitenbach's print about the papal bull on the use of dairy products". Contemporary sources claim that no fewer than 5,000 copies had been printed, a very large figure considering other known press runs of the period.[24] These sources, however, were all written by the confiscating party, and might have exaggerated in order to present a more dramatic picture of the perceived threat. According to the duke's order, the whole press run was to be destroyed, but despite all efforts at least two complete copies and one fragment have survived.

In the overwhelming majority of cases, however, the destruction of books was an unspectacular event: day-to-day routine.[25] In monastic and other libraries of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, especially, manuscripts and early printed books were disposed of for many reasons, as new texts replaced old ones on a regular basis due to historical, technological, or theological (mostly liturgical) changes. Options for the reuse of the discarded books include exchange, sale, palimpsesting, and maculation, mainly for purposes of binding. Countless copies ended up as maculature, some of them after only a very brief life span. Liturgical innovations and changes introduced by monastic reforms demanded that texts be constantly improved, which led to a quick obsolescence. Fragments are thus mainly found in bindings, but also in other contexts; one example recently examined by the GW redaction is a minuscule paper fragment from Peter Schöffer's 1470 Jerome edition that was used as an enhancement in a helmet mantling.[26] Incunabula fragments are a different kind of darkish matter and are not within the scope of the present paper. However, the fact that an unknown number of fifteenth-century editions exist only in fragmentary states should be taken into account in statistical enquiries.[27]

24 See Eric White's documentation *Researching Print Runs* on the website of the Consortium of European Research Libraries (CERL): <http://www.cerl.org/_media/resources/links_to_other_resources/15cprintruns.pdf>.

25 Gerhardt Powitz, '*Libri inutiles* in mittelalterlichen Bibliotheken: Bemerkungen über Alienatio, Palimpsestierung und Makulierung', *Scriptorium*, 50 (1996), pp. 288–304. This seminal study on manuscript destruction is also applicable to incunabula: "Every theme [Powitz] explores with regard to the various fates of medieval manuscripts…can be precisely paralleled with regard to early printing" (Needham, 'The Late Use', p. 46, no. 14).

26 GW 12424; Berlin, Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst.

27 There are innumerable case studies, but no comprehensive surveys of incunabula fragments. For an overview see Oliver Duntze and Falk Eisermann, 'Fortschritt oder Fidibus?

Ghostly Matters

All bibliographers are familiar with ghosts, which I believe is a special type of dark matter. Panzer, Hain, Copinger, Reichling, and also the GW have conjured up thousands of non-existing editions which entered the bibliographies at one point or another and are difficult to eradicate. Ghostbusting is an ongoing task, the Sisyphean boulder of the bibliographer.[28] Ghosts are often created due to banal happenstances: poor quality microfilm, transposed digits, scribal errors originating from bibliographers themselves, for example. The first description of an 'incunabulum' in an older repertory may have relied on a copy lacking the colophon; and later it transpired that the book in question had already been described elsewhere, or was printed at a later date than previously assumed. A common mishap is the conflation of two or more texts bound in composite volumes.[29]

Über Bestimmung, Bewahrung und Bedeutung von Inkunabelfragmenten', in Hanns-Peter Neuheuser and Wolfgang Schmitz (eds.), *Fragment und Makulatur. Überlieferungsstörungen und Forschungsbedarf bei Kulturgut in Archiven und Bibliotheken* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2015), pp. 281–307.

28 See for example Peter Amelung, 'Drei Inkunabeln, die es nicht gibt', *Beiträge zur Inkunabelkunde*, 3rd ser., 3 (1967), pp. 178–183; Edoardo Barbieri, 'A Biblical Ghost: Goff P 1077', *The Library*, 12 (1990), pp. 232–233 (GW M36260); Curt F. Bühler, 'The Laying of a Ghost. Observations on the 1483 Ratdolt Edition of the *Fasciculus Temporum*', *Studies in Bibliography*, 4 (1951–1952), pp. 155–159 (GW M38734); George Watson Cole, 'Bibliographical Ghosts', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 13 (1919), pp. 87–112; John R. Clark, 'Two Ghost Editions of Marsilio Ficino's *De Vita inanes esse figuras suspicor* (*op.* 559)', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 73 (1999), pp. 75–79; Philip Gaskell, 'A Fust and Schoeffer Forgery', *The Library*, 19 (1964), pp. 200–201 (GW M41520); Leofranc Holford-Strevens, 'Parva Gelliana', *Classical Quarterly*, 44 (1994), pp. 480–489 (GW vol. IX col. 342a); Maria E. Kronenberg, 'The Creation of a Ghost', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 49 (1955), pp. 249–252 (GW M23488); Alfred W. Pollard, 'A Real Bibliographical Ghost', *Gazette of the Grolier Club*, 1.3 (1922), pp. 54–58 (GW 0090510N); Roberto Ridolfi, '"Un incunabolo sconosciuto" (e inesistente)', *La Bibliofilía*, 73 (1971), pp. 191–195. Wolfgang Strobl, 'Zu einer Druckausgabe der lateinischen Viten Plutarchs von Sweynheym und Pannartz', *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch*, 48 (2013), pp. 207–215, discusses the probability of the existence of GW M34776, an alleged copy last described, but not seen, in 1754. These are random examples, many other studies will be known to specialists. Needless to say that hundreds of ghosts have quietly been laid to rest in the course of the GW's progress.

29 For a random example see GW, vol. VIII, col. 52, concerning an alleged edition of "Ephrem Syrus: *Sermones selecti*, lat. Nürnberg: Anton Koberger, 1492". The older repertories described a *Sammelband* containing the undated Ephrem edition GW 9334 bound together with Bartholomaeus Anglicus, *De proprietatibus rerum*, Nürnberg: Koberger, 20 June 1492 (GW 3413). Relating the colophon of GW 3413 to GW 9334, they created a non-existent '1492' edition of Ephrem's sermons.

Forgeries and manipulations are more difficult to detect, because not all cases are as clear-cut as the description in the Polish union catalogue of the *Psalterium quincuplex* by Jacobus Faber Stapulensis allegedly printed in 1500 (GW M3605250), which should have been detected quickly, given that Faber composed the synopsis in 1507. This bibliographical faux-pas was caused by a simple, not even particularly subtle manipulation of the colophon; the described copy actually belongs to a Rouen edition of 1515.[30]

A particularly intriguing problem is the 'ghost printer', here defined as any individual named as a printer in the sources to whom no surviving edition can be attributed or who was named in a unique copy that has subsequently been lost. Often enough, the sources in question disclose important details. Orléans, for instance, is mentioned in only a single incunabulum as place of origin.[31] However, the French librarian Prosper Marchand (1678–1756) in his 1740 *Histoire de l'Imprimerie* refers to a work written by the law professor Johannes Anglebermaeus Pyrrhus, allegedly published in Orléans by Pierre Asselin in 1500.[32] While this might be a conflation with the rare 1518 edition of the same text, a real ghost printer is also on the record: one "Maistre Jehan Le Roy bachelier en lois impresseur et libraire demeurant à Orléans", who is mentioned in a marriage contract as early as 1481.[33] No books from his press are known, but it is possible that Orléans had more, and earlier, printing presses than just the ephemeral enterprise of Mathieu Vivian.

30 Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa, Maria Bohonos and Eliza Szandorowska (eds.), *Incunabula quae in Bibliothecis Poloniae asservantur* (Wrocław etc.: Institutum Ossolinianum, 1970), no. 4617 (and pl. XXX). Kronenberg, 'The Creation', analyses an 'edition' probably forged from two Dutch post-incunabula to look like a fifteenth-century work. A similar case is the Milan copy of GW M4232350, Hieronymus Sirinus: *Libro de gratia*, Venice: Simon de Luere, 3 October '1500' (i.e. 1515; Edit16 CNCE 59874); Fausto Lincio, 'Un presunto incunabolo veneziano e un caso problematico di descrizione del libro antico (Girolamo Sirino, Libro de gratia, Venezia, Simon de Luere, 3 ottobre 1500 [ma 1515])', *La Bibliofilía*, 107 (2005), pp. 205–220. See also Curt F. Bühler, 'False Information in the Colophons of Incunabula', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 114 (1970), pp. 398–406.

31 Guido de Monte Rochen, *Manipulus curatorum* in Latin and French, Orléans: Mathieu Vivian, 31 March 1490/91 (GW 11834).

32 GW M36700. On the author see Cornelia M. Ridderikhoff, *Jean Pyrrhus d'Anglebermes. Rechtswetenschap en humanisme aan de Universiteit van Orléans in het begin van de 16e eeuw* (The Hague: Leiden University Press, 1981). The edition is mentioned by Henri Herluison, *Recherches sur les imprimeurs & libraires d'Orléans. Recueil de documents* (Orléans: Herluison, 1868), p. 6; for the 1518 edition see Andrew Pettegree, Malcolm Walsby and Alexander Wilkinson (eds.), *FB. French Vernacular Books. Books published in the French language before 1601* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), no. 53303. USTC 110805.

33 Louis Jarry, *Les débuts de l'imprimerie à Orléans* (Orléans: Herluison, 1884), pp. 15–29.

According to bibliographers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the otherwise unknown Nuremberg printer Wilhelm Winter published an edition, with full imprint, of Thomas a Kempis' *Hortulus rosarum* and other texts on 17 September 1500 (GW M46681). Given the detailed descriptions, it seems plausible that this book actually once existed. Whereas Wilhelm Winter is not recorded as a printer anywhere else in the incunabula period, a Nuremberg-born bookbinder of this name is attested in Erfurt and Bamberg c.1470–1485, and may well have taken up printing in his home town later on.[34] The colophon of the *Hortulus rosarum* ends with the phrase 'Nihil sine causa', indicating that this was perhaps a reprint of the 1499 edition by Johannes Bergmann of Basel (GW M46679). The copy of Winter's *Hortulus* described by Panzer was kept in the Franciscan monastery in Ingolstadt at the end of the eighteenth century, but neither this nor any other copy of this edition has been seen since.

One 'Buchdrucker Pfister', who was to receive three guilders from the Benedictine abbey at Ensdorf, is named in an episcopal document from Regensburg on 26 April 1495.[35] This may have been Friedrich Pfister who commissioned the first edition of the *Diurnale Ratisponense* at Kaspar Hochfeder's printing house in Nuremberg on 29 September 1495 (GW 8557). The *Diurnale* evidently caused Pfister some trouble. On 1 December bishop Rupert of Regensburg prohibited the use of this unapproved and incorrect edition, whereupon Pfister appealed to the city council.[36] Pfister may have been the only printer in Regensburg at that time, since Matthäus Roritzer's workshop had been shut down around 1490. However, apart from his participation in the printing of the *Diurnale* no other books can be connected with Pfister's hypothetical workshop.

Even more intriguing is the case of a printing house in Graz which introduces the aspect of an incunabular 'ghost town'. Around 1494–95, an anonymous printer received a four-year privilege from king Maximilian I for an edition of "Concordancias Ewangelistarum vnd auszug des alten vnd newen gesetz" – a gospel concordance and extract of the Old and New Testament – "in vnser stat Gratz in der Steiermargk mit figuren zudrucken".[37] Given that the

34 Einbanddatenbank <http://www.hist-einband.de>, workshop w000118. For references see GW M46681.

35 Staatsarchiv Amberg (Bavaria), Kloster Ensdorf, Urkunden Nr. 508 (1495 IV 26), referred to in the online finding aid: <http://www.gda.bayern.de/findmittel/pdf/staam_k-ensdorf-u_001_2008.pdf>. For details on GW 8557 see the GW database entry.

36 The results of this appeals are unknown; six copies of the *Diurnale* are presently listed in GW.

37 Roland Schäffer, 'Buchdruck in Graz um 1494. Das früheste Reichsprivileg für eine Druckerei und die erste deutsche Evangelienkonkordanz?' *Historisches Jahrbuch der Stadt*

first known press in Graz only began to operate in 1559, this privilege is a truly remarkable source. It not only adds a hitherto unrecorded place of printing to the incunabular atlas, but also implies the possible existence of the very first printed Gospel concordance in German, quite likely a substantial illustrated edition ("mit figuren").[38] Moreover, the document itself presents the earliest imperial privilege for a printing house in the German-speaking lands. It is difficult to imagine a single archival source boasting more book-historical superlatives.

The case of the French humanist Jean Serra (d. 1470) and the Barcelona-based printer/publisher Bartholomaeus Labarola poses another combined ghost printer/lost edition problem. In December 1485, the theologian Gabriel Cardona developed a plan to publish Serra's *Grammatica* and *Rhetorica*, texts which are preserved in a number of manuscripts.[39] He approached Labarola, addressed in the sources as 'mestre de letre de stampa', who agreed to print 110 copies within three months. If this edition was in fact published, no copy seems to have survived (GW M4185310). Labarola remains a shadowy entrepreneur anyway. Two years earlier, on 6 August 1483, he had accepted a commission for 150 copies of a Latin and a Catalan Book of Hours, respectively, both of which have also vanished without trace; the latter would have been the first and only incunabula Hours in the Catalan vernacular.[40]

Graz, 10 (1978), pp. 73–90, according to a concept of a royal decree in the Maximiliana-Akten in Vienna's Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv to be dated between July 1494 and March 1495 (text of the document at pp. 89–90).

38 There are other such 'ghost towns', for example Aarhus, Lauingen, and Schussenried, which allegedly had (monastic) presses but remain doubtful as places of early printing; Falk Eisermann, 'A Golden Age? Monastic Printing Houses in the Fifteenth Century', in Benito Rial Costas (ed.), *Print Culture and Peripheries in Early Modern Europe. A Contribution to the History of Printing and the Book Trade in Small European and Spanish Cities* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 37–67, at pp. 51–52.

39 Evencio Beltran (ed.), *Humanistes français du milieu du XVe siècle. Textes inédits de P. de La Hazardière, Jean Serra, Guillaume Fichet* (Geneva: Droz, 1989) pp. 9–16, edition of the Latin *Rhetorica* at pp. 57–126.

40 Agustí Duran i Sanpere, 'Contribucio a la historia de la impremta a Barcelona', *Butlletí de la Acadèmia de Bones Lletres de Barcelona*, 16 (1933–1936), pp. 120–144, at pp. 120–123, 128–131; José Maria Madurell Marimón, *Documentos para la historia de la imprenta y libreria en Barcelona (1474–1553)* (Barcelona: Gremio de editores, de libreros y de maestros impresores, 1955), pp. 38–41, 62–65; Josep Hernando i Delgado, 'Del llibre manuscrit al llibre imprès. La confecció del llibre a Barcelona durant el segle XV. Documentació notarial', *Arxiu de textos catalans antics*, 21 (2002), pp. 257–603, at pp. 466–468 (*Horae*) and 477–478 (Cardona contract); online: <http://www.raco.cat/index.php/ArxiuTextos/article/viewFile/253084/339849>, an invaluable source.

The earliest Leipzig printer whose output has survived was Marcus Brandis, who set up shop in 1480. However, there are various records which seem to indicate that he had as many as three predecessors. Already in 1467/8 the protocols of the Leipzig City Council refer to a 'drocker' or 'buchdrucker' named Heinrich Heilemann, and in December 1479 one 'Lang Nickel puchtrukker' apparently forgot to pay taxes. Then there is the unresolved case of Andreas Frisner, who had returned from Nuremberg to his *Alma mater Lipsiensis* in 1478 after a distinguished career as partner and editor in the Nuremberg printing house of Johann Sensenschmidt. Frisner is one of a couple of candidates for the mysterious 'printer of Capotius', the dark horse of early Leipzig printing, but nothing about his work there is known. The same is true for Frisner's colleagues Heinrich Heilemann and Lang Nickel.[41] The Heilemann reference is particularly intriguing. If we can ever find undeniable proof – a dated or datable and located imprint – that a Leipzig printing press operated in the late 1460s, this would obviously entail the need to rewrite substantial chapters of the earliest history of printing altogether. As of now there are only traces of circumstantial evidence for the existence of this press. However, the recent discovery of two copies of an indulgence by Heinrich Institoris, definitely related to the Leipzig/Saxonian area and printed in late 1469 or early 1470 in a previously unrecorded type (GW M1245150), demonstrated that a great deal of unrecognised material is still hidden in archives and other collections.[42]

Occasionally, as we have seen, bibliographers and book historians have to juggle, and even struggle, with distressing patterns of dark matter: lost editions by unknown printers (sometimes located in incunabulistic ghost towns), containing texts not preserved anywhere else, even representing works of hitherto unrecorded authors.[43] A seventeenth-century inventory of the library of the

41 Falk Eisermann, 'Die schwarze Gunst. Buchdruck und Humanismus in Leipzig um 1500', *Pirckheimer-Jahrbuch für Renaissance- und Humanismusforschung*, 23 (2008), pp. 149–179, at pp. 152–153, and Eisermann, 'Archivgut und chronikalische Überlieferung als vernachlässigte Quellen der Frühdruckforschung', *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, 2006, pp. 50–61. For the Capotius dispute: Ursula Altmann, 'Andreas Frisner, der Drucker des Capotius und Martin Landsberg', in *Johannes Gutenberg – Regionale Aspekte*, pp. 203–217.

42 Enno Bünz, Hartmut Kühne and Thomas T. Müller (eds.), *Alltag und Frömmigkeit am Vorabend der Reformation in Mitteldeutschland. Katalog zur Ausstellung "Umsonst ist der Tod"* (Petersberg: Imhof, 2013), pp. 369–373, no. 7.2.5a. It should be noted that the type has been assigned to '[Strasbourg?]' by the GW, based on the similarity to contemporary Strasbourg fonts. That does not deny the possible existence of an early press in Leipzig. The relevance of archival material for existing editions and dark matter is discussed by Eisermann, 'Archivgut'.

43 For examples from German mediaeval literature in the vernacular, see Horst Brunner, 'Dichter ohne Werk. Zu einer überlieferungsbedingten Grenze mittelalterlicher Literaturgeschichte',

Poor Clares in Bologna, for example, not only allows us to identify a lost edition from a Bolognese press, dated 28 March 1495, of the widespread *Regulae grammaticales* by Guarinus Veronensis (GW 1161420N).[44] The inventory also contains an entry for an Italian textbook on reading, writing, and accounting, called *Libretto d'imparare di leggere, scrivere et tenere conto*, with the imprint date 14 January 1491 (GW M2680250).[45] Textbooks like the *Libretto* are quite rare, and we would certainly like to see a copy of this book and welcome any kind of information about its elusive author, Nicolò de Vimercati, but both the author and the edition have to the best of my knowledge not been recorded in any sources, early or modern. I have not collected information on lost incunabula from late mediaeval and early modern library catalogues systematically, but my general impression is that these sources, unlike the Bologna example, often do not provide sufficient bibliographical data to assess the character of the recorded editions. There are exceptions, some of them quite remarkable, such as the *Secunda decas T. Livii* recorded in the inventory of the private library of the Frankfurt jurist Ludwig von Marburg zum Paradies (c.1435–1502), which consisted mainly of printed books. The second decade of Livy's *Ab urbe condita libri* (*Historiae Romanae decades*) is considered lost altogether.[46]

"Printed Books That Never were"

Not quite a ghost, but a shadowy creature nonetheless, left its mark in a number of copies of Ptolemy's *Liber quadripartitus* published by Erhard Ratdolt in 1484 (GW M36411). On the verso of the last leaf there are five lines of a canonistic text, printed in red. They represent an unrecorded edition of the *Casus breves*, plus the *Regulae iuris*, of which only the general heading and the first two rubrics were printed. *Casus breves* summaries were common for works of Roman Law and for parts of the Decretals; the Ratdolt example is special because these few lines represent the only record of an octavo edition for

in Kurt Ruh, Konrad Kunze, Johannes G. Mayer and Bernhard Schnell (eds.), *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Editionen und Studien zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters. Kurt Ruh zum 75. Geburtstag* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1989), pp. 1–31.

44 Serena Spanò Martinelli, 'La biblioteca del "Corpus Domini" bolognese: l'inconsueto spaccato di una cultura monastica femminile', *La Bibliofilía*, 88 (1986), pp. 1–23, p. 7, no. 3[1].

45 Spanò Martinelli, 'La biblioteca', p. 14, no. 25.

46 Gerhardt Powitz, 'Die Bibliothek des Frankfurter Juristen Ludwig von Marburg zum Paradies. Eine Büchersammlung aus der Frühzeit des Buchdrucks', *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens*, 51 (1999), pp. 333–369, p. 361, no. 127.

which the imposition had been executed and the production process clearly had begun. Joseph Dane, who described the case, stressed that this is not a proofsheet, because the copy he examined also shows traces of black type.[47] Yet, no copy of the finished book is known.

Ratdolt was a master printer with a long and distinguished career. However, if the *Casus breves* was in fact published, it would have been out of place in his printing program. With one exception, he only printed liturgical books in octavo, and canonistic texts in this format were not produced in Venice until later. Had Ratdolt, who rarely printed law books, actually published this octavo, he would have launched a completely new type of merchandise, namely a pocket-sized law book. In his contemporary book advertisement (GW 5677) he offers forty-five Venetian books, including the Ptolemy, but no mention is made of the *Casus breves*, which would have been a substantial volume of about 150–200 leaves. The five red lines surviving in some Ptolemy copies thus bear witness to a publishing project that for reasons unknown was discontinued right after the start. With considerable understatement Dane concluded: "Bibliographically, such examples can prove difficult to classify". Such a shadow edition is a bit more visible than a ghost, but in a specific way it is "that bibliographically malevolent example of a book, and even a text, that we cannot say exists or does not exist".[48]

Ratdolt's presumably aborted *Casus breves* project is an example of another fascinating matter – darker even than the dark matter proper, and lingering in a parallel, and hypothetical, universe made up of "printed books that never were", to rephrase the title of an article by Alasdair MacDonald.[49] Some potentially spectacular projects collapsed during early preparatory phases, such as the *Archetypus triumphantis Romae*, a humanist joint-venture which would have resulted in one of the most splendid books of the fifteenth century; as it is, we only have a couple of woodcuts in secondary use, contracts and a good deal of preliminary paperwork.[50] During the acrimonious dispute surrounding

47 Joseph Dane, 'A Shadow Edition in Ratdolt's 1484 Ptolemaeus', *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, 2002, pp. 90–93 (with color plate).

48 Dane, 'Shadow Edition', p. 93.

49 Alasdair A. MacDonald, 'The Printed Book that Never was: George Bannatyne's Poetic Anthology', in Jos M.M. Hermans and Klaas van der Hoek (eds.), *Boeken in de late Middeleeuwen. Verslag van de Groningse codicologendagen 1992* (Groningen: Forsten, 1994), pp. 101–110.

50 Rainer Schoch, 'Der "Archetypus triumphantis Romae". Zu einem gescheiterten Buchprojekt des Nürnberger Frühhumanismus', in Uwe Müller (ed.), *50 Jahre Sammler und Mäzen. Der Historische Verein Schweinfurt seinem Ehrenmitglied Dr phil. h.c. Otto Schäfer (1912–2000) zum Gedenken* (Schweinfurt: Historischer Verein, 2001), pp. 261–298.

the plans of a council to be held in Basel, the aforementioned friar-inquisitor Heinrich Institoris, of later *Malleus maleficarum* notoriety, prepared a substantial tract *De potestate papae* against the council plotters led by his fellow Dominican Andreas Jamometić. According to the papal legate Angelo Geraldini this text would have comprised 30 quinternios, i.e. 300 leaves; Institoris intended to publish it by means of the press, as he had done with a number of smaller documents and pamphlets related to the Basel conflict. In a report submitted to the papal court on 4 June 1483 Geraldini confirms that he has already seen and read parts of the work.[51]

If this substantial book ever made it to the press, no copy seems to have survived; no Basel or Strasbourg or other imprints with this title are known to have been published after 1482. It seems likely that the publication plans were aborted after the conciliar movement in Basel had been smothered by the Papal legates and inquisitors and Jamometić's subsequent suicide in a Basel prison on 12 November 1484.[52]

Another spectacular project – and a long-time personal favourite of mine – concerns the Austin Canon Wilhelm von Velde, who desperately tried a number of times to publish some of his many writings, to no avail.[53] Almost his entire output is lost with the exception of *Das cleyne Empyreal*, an encyclopedic work on the history and spirituality of Christendom, consisting of seven books, written in the vernacular for a lay audience. In the prologue, Wilhelm explains to the dedicatee, the mother of Johann von Dalberg, influential bishop of Worms: "Your son has inspected this book and liked it so much that he had

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51 "Et quidam inquisitor heretice pravitatis ordinis Predicatorum existens prope Argentinam [i.e. Institoris] respondit, librum compilans elegantem *De potestate pape*, et qui dicitur esse futuros .xxx. quinternionium petialium, cuius ipse partem vidi legique, que tam inde impressa fuerat, atque sedulo ille operi incumbit"; Jürgen Petersohn (ed.), *Diplomatische Berichte und Denkschriften des päpstlichen Legaten Angelo Geraldini aus der Zeit seiner Basel-Legation (1482–1483)* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1987), p. 102, repeated almost verbatim in another letter of 18 July 1483 (p. 113); and Petersohn, 'Konziliaristen und Hexen. Ein unbekannter Brief des Inquisitors Heinrich Institoris an Papst Sixtus IV. aus dem Jahre 1484', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*, 44 (1988), pp. 120–160, at pp. 133–134.

52 Jürgen Petersohn, 'Zum Personalakt eines Kirchenrebellen. Name, Herkunft und Amtssprengel des Basler Konzilsinitiators Andreas Jamometić', *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung*, 13 (1986), pp. 1–14; Alfred Stoecklin, *Der Basler Konzilsversuch des Andreas Zamometic vom Jahre 1482* (*Genesis und Wende*) (Basel: Hess, 1938).

53 Falk Eisermann, 'Wer Bücher schreibt, kommt in den Himmel. Leben und Werk des Frankenthaler Chorherrn Wilhelm von Velde', in Edgar J. Hürkey (ed.), *Schätze aus Pergament. Mittelalterliche Handschriften aus Frankenthal* (Frankenthal: Erkenbert-Museum, 2007), pp. 35–45; the *Empyreal* manuscript is Cod. Ms. Theol. 294 Cim. of the Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen, see *ibid.*, no. 10, pp. 167–171.

it copied in order to have it printed". Ever since I wrote my master's thesis on this subject in 1988, I have been searching for this incunable; it appears that this is another printed book that never was.

The above three examples are by no means semi-obscure projects conjured up by marginal individuals; on the contrary: *Archetypus*, *De potestate pape*, the *Empyreal* and similar aborted projects were substantial undertakings promoted by important, albeit partially underestimated humanists and theologians. There is no doubt that their books, had they made it to press, would have had a lasting impact on our perspective upon the Gutenberg Galaxy.

Historical Surrogates: Manuscripts Copied from Printed Books

Another dark matter related subject that has yet to be explored are manuscripts copied from printed books. One starting point for such an exploration would certainly be Curt Bühler's seminal study *The Fifteenth-Century Book*. Among many other interesting facts Bühler presents the case of a manuscript of Johannes de Garlandia's *Libellus de modo confitendi* (*Poeniteas cito*) distinguished by its colophon: "finished by me, Gerard Leeu, in the merchant city of Antwerp, on 8 January 1486".[54] This codex was obviously copied from an incunable, yet none of Leeu's *Libellus* editions has this specific date, whereas textually identical editions from his press are known from 28 January 1485 and from exactly the same day one year later. Bühler argued that the colophon was corrupt and that the copy-text belonged to the latter edition. However, we should take into consideration that Leeu could easily have reprinted the popular text-book within a short span of time, and there could indeed once have been an edition of 8 January 1486 that has not survived except through this manuscript. Another case of bibliographical bewilderment: Are we supposed to allow a *Libellus* edition of 8 January 1486 into the incunabula repertories, due to the information conveyed in the Bühler codex?

On the other hand, there are straightforward examples leaving little bibliographical doubt about the former existence of a printed copy-text, such as a Leipzig miscellaneous manuscript where the scribe noted in the margins of a papal proclamation dated 6 September 1480: "Bulla pape impressa" (GW M4248750).[55] A copy of this broadside has yet to be found. In many other

54 Curt F. Bühler, *The Fifteenth-Century Book: The Scribes, the Printers, the Decorators* (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 1960), pp. 15–16; online: <https://archive.org/details/fiteenthcenturyboobh>. The manuscript is now New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, call number B1 347 A MS B.0004. My thanks to John McQuillen of the PML for this information.

55 Leipzig, University Library, Ms 1674, fol. 243v–246r, online: <http://archive.thulb.uni-jena.de/hisbest/receive/HisBest_cbu_00013635>; Eisermann, 'Archivgut', pp. 57–58.

instances, however, copy-texts for many manuscripts copied from incunabula still survive. In cases where fifteenth-century authors wrote texts for instant distribution in print, all or most of the surviving manuscripts are copies of printed books, as is the case with Heinrich Steinhöwel's German translation of Boccaccio's *De claris mulieribus*. The manuscript tradition provides a valuable bibliographical clue, because one codex has a colophon dated 28 March 1474, providing a *terminus ante quem* for the undated Ulm edition (GW 4486).[56]

Our next case also begins with a manuscript *Druckabschrift* for which no copy-text has survived, a small-format German prayer book containing, among other devotional texts, the *Fifteen Orations*, wrongly attributed to Saint Bridget.[57] The colophon reads:

> These prayers were printed by Erhard Ratdolt in the imperial city of Augsburg at the request of Florian Waldauf von Waldenstein… Maximilian's, the Roman king's, protonotary…in the year 1492.[58]

Thus it can be concluded with a maximum degree of plausibility that this incunabulum once existed.

Concerning Florian Waldauf, there is further corroboration that this lost prayer book was part of a whole cluster of dark matter related to his pious activities.[59] Fulfilling a vow taken after a narrow escape from distress at sea in 1489, he founded a chapel at Hall, near Innsbruck. An ardent admirer of Saint Bridget, he instructed his chaplains to read her *Orations* daily in church. In his *Heiltumsbuch*, the illustrated catalogue of the relic collection in Hall, compiled

56 Vienna, Austrian National Library, Cod. 14288; online descriptions: <http://mrfh.de/11120> and <http://www.handschriftencensus.de/18431>. An overview over the manuscripts at <http://www.handschriftencensus.de/werke/2979>.

57 Munich, University Library, 8° Cod. ms. 273, fol. 1*r*–33*r*; Gisela Kornrumpf and Paul-Gerhard Völker, *Die deutschen mittelalterlichen Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek München* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1968), pp. 277–286.

58 "Item die gepette send gedruckt worden durch Erharten Radolt in der keyserlichen stat Augspurg auf fleissiges begerens vnnd pete Florian Waltauf vonn Waldenstein… Maximilian Römischen kunigs etc. Prothonotarien… Tausent fuerhundert vnnd in dem czwai vnnd neunczigisten iare"; see GW 0438420N.

59 The following is based on Volker Honemann, '"Spätmittelalterliche" und "humanistische" Frömmigkeit: Florian Waldauf von Waldenstein und Heinrich Bebel', in Rudolf Suntrup and Jan R. Veenstra (eds.), *Tradition and Innovation in an Era of Change/Tradition und Innovation im Übergang zur Frühen Neuzeit* (Frankfurt am Main etc.: Peter Lang, 2001), pp. 75–97; and Ulrich Montag, *Das Werk der heiligen Birgitta von Schweden in oberdeutscher Überlieferung* (Munich: Beck, 1968), pp. 107–109.

a couple of years later, Waldauf mentions various printed works he had commissioned; the *Heiltumsbuch* thus confirms that the *Fifteen Orations* had been published not only in German, but also in Latin. Thus, apart from the vernacular version preserved in the Munich codex there is evidence of an earlier Latin incunable of the *Orations*, which has to be considered the only fifteenth-century edition of this text printed outside Rome. Waldauf adds that many more prayers were printed on his behalf on large paper sheets, which were distributed and publicly affixed all over Europe. All these booklets and broadsides seem to be lost.

Bibliographically valuable information on dark matter is also preserved in more recent transcriptions and publications. One example is GW 0285950N, a curious Augsburg broadside known only from a historical manuscript of the late eighteenth century.[60] The GW also has an entry for a royal decree concerning the order of St George that is based on an anonymous article in the 1791 issue of Johann Georg Meusel's *Historisch-litterarisch-bibliographisches Magazin*, where the text of the decree was 'reprinted' in a mock facsimile imitating gothic types.[61] Even though this presentation does not allow a typographical assessment, the colophon and printer's device as given in the *Magazin* indicate an otherwise unrecorded 1494 edition by the aforementioned Leipzig printer Gregor Boettiger (GW M22167).[62]

Texts and Paratexts

Many incunabula contain paratexts such as title pages, colophons, prologues, epilogues, etc. In such paratexts, authors, contributors, editors, and printers

60 Hans-Jörg *Künast,* 'Klosterdruckereien vom Spätmittelalter bis zum beginnenden 19. Jahrhundert – ein kirchlicher Impuls für Urbanisierungsprozesse', in Helmut Flachenecker and Rolf Kießling (eds.), *Urbanisierung und Urbanität. Der Beitrag der kirchlichen Institutionen zur Stadtentwicklung in Bayern* (Munich: Beck, 2008), pp. 127–153, at p. 138, no. 35.

61 Johann Georg Meusel (ed.), *Historisch-litterarisch-bibliographisches Magazin*, 3. Stück (Zürich, 1791), pp. 37–54, see <http://www.ub.uni-bielefeld.de/diglib/aufkl/histlittbibliomag/histlittbibliomag.htm>.

62 For an even more curious case from Rostock (not in GW) see Eisermann, 'A Golden Age?' pp. 58–59; Georg Christian Friedrich Lisch, 'Buchdruckerei der Brüder vom gemeinsamen Leben zu St. Michael in Rostock', *Jahrbücher des Vereins für Meklenburgische Geschichte und Altertumskunde*, 4 (1839), pp. 1–62, 211–281, at pp. 20–21, no. 5; a facsimile reprint of Lisch's study in Nilüfer Krüger, *Die Rostocker Brüder vom Gemeinsamen Leben zu Sankt Michael. Hommage zur baulichen Vollendung des ehemaligen Michaelisklosters im Herbst 1999* (Rostock: Universitätsbibliothek, 1999), pp. 38–175.

often mention other books: printer's copy, continuations, supplements, additional volumes, preceding editions and piracies, and also hand out praise or criticism to colleagues and competitors. This ubiquitous reference material has, to the best of my knowledge, never been analysed with regard to dark matter. One well-known example is the 1471/72 Sweynheym-Pannartz Lyra edition, comprising more than 1,800 leaves in five volumes (GW M26523). In vol. 5 their editor Giovanni Andrea de Bussis listed all their printed publications to date.[63] As all entries in Bussi's list give press run figures, it is a very important source for the study of the earliest Italian print culture altogether. The first entry reads *Donatus pro pueris* and specifies that it was printed in 300 copies (GW 8814). Whereas all subsequently named imprints have survived, this particular one is lost. As it is generally known that schoolbooks and grammars had a distinct tendency to be 'read to pieces', this does not come as a surprise. By design they were created in order to be heavily used; with regard to the number of recorded editions, they not only form the largest conglomeration of early printing altogether, but also the most densely populated cluster of dark matter.[64] The bespoke Sweynheym-Pannartz Donatus is just another case in point, even though a special one: traditionally this lost incunable was considered the first book printed in Italy, but recently it has been shown that this honour likely belongs to the *Passione di Cristo* printed c.1463, perhaps in Bologna or Ferrara (GW M29659).[65] One also has to pay attention to a contract of 24 February 1463, in which a German named Ulrich Pursmid "undertook to create for the parish priest, also a German and a canon of Siena, 'formam unam unius Donati et formam unius psalterii puerorum et formam unius Tabule puerorum'…in a 'textura formata rotunda legibilis', superior in quality to the lettering of a *Salve regina* that he had already made".[66] However, these commissions may refer to blockbooks or even tablets rather than typographic prints.

63 Edwin Hall, *Sweynheym & Pannartz and the Origins of Printing in Italy. German Technology and Italian Humanism in Renaissance Rome* (McMinnville, Or.: Pirages, 1991), pp. 14–21, 96; Massimo Miglio, *Saggi di Stampa. Tipografi e cultura a Roma nel Quattrocento*, ed. Anna Modigliani (Rome: Roma nel Rinascimento, 2002), pp. 23–85.

64 See for instance Michael Milway, 'Forgotten Best-Sellers from the Dawn of the Reformation', in Robert J. Bast and Andrew C. Gow (eds.), *Continuity and Change. The Harvest of Late Medieval and Reformation History. Essays Presented to Heiko A. Oberman on his 70th Birthday* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), pp. 113–142.

65 Paul Needham, 'Prints in the Early Printing Shops', in Peter Parshall (ed.), *The Woodcut in Fifteenth-Century Europe* (Washington: National Gallery of Art; New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2009), pp. 39–91, at pp. 70–71.

66 Needham, 'Prints', p. 70.

Elsewhere, editions are mentioned so casually that they can hardly be identified. The Nuremberg author and part-time printer Hans Folz refers to printed books at least twice in his poems. In the *Book of Confectionery* (*Konfektbuch*) he claims that after his manuscript had been stolen a faulty version had been published by some stranger; indeed there is a 1485 Bamberg imprint of this text.[67] To mend the textual deficiencies, and to prevent readers from being fooled by the inaccurate piracy, Folz decided to publish the text himself.[68] Whereas here it seems possible to identify the source of the author's indignation, another case is more enigmatic. In his account of the 1491 Nuremberg diet and its festivities (GW 10141), Folz unfolds a similar scenario:[69] "Although I was not present at the events, I know about them from someone who wrote before me; his printed book I read. But I can do this much clearer and better".[70] It is not quite clear to which printed book Folz refers. A likely candidate is an anonymous four-page octavo in the British Library, *Die Sammlung der Fürsten des königlichen Tags zu Nürnberg*, formerly dated to the 1520s, which two decades ago was identified as printed by Peter Wagner in Nuremberg, presumably soon after 28 April, 1491 (GW M39781).[71] It describes the festive entry of the princes and their entourage before the Diet. Unusually enough, the text comprises 189 verses in rhyming couplets. The enumeration of no fewer than 144 persons and their respective status led to a ponderously inelegant presentation, which might have motivated Folz to draft a more satisfying narrative of the event.

Truth in Advertising, or in Accounting?

Around 1478/79, the Lübeck printer Lukas Brandis published two book advertisements, one in Latin and one in Low German. The Latin text of GW 5013 does not name individual books, but praises Brandis' whole backlist, which included

67 Hanns Fischer (ed.), *Hans Folz. Die Reimpaarsprüche* (Munich: Beck, 1961), no. 41, pp. XXXI–II, 369–379. GW records Folz's undated edition as no. 10161, dating for typographical reasons [c.1483–1488], and the Bamberg edition as no. 10162.

68 Fischer, *Folz*, pp. 378–379: "Wie ich an dis confectpuch kum, / Ist drum: es wart mir tragen ab. / Wers aber vor getrücket hab, / Weiß ich nit, dan fast falsch es was: / Zu kurcz, zu lang, und über das / An gar vil reymen ungerecht. / Auch das es nimant irrung precht, / Übt es mich das zu trücken ser. / Also spricht Hans Folcz barwirer".

69 Fischer, *Folz*, no. 38, pp. XXIX, 319–330.

70 *Ibid.*, p. 319: "Wie ich nit was darpey, / Pin ich doch unterricht / Von eym, der vor mir dicht; / Des truck ich überlas. / Ich meint, klerer und pas / Es pringen auff die pan."

71 Irmgard Bezzel, 'Die "Sammlung der Fürsten 1491" in Nürnberg', *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, 1992, pp. 56–61.

titles by other printers, highlighting their 'Venetian' types.[72] The Low German advertisement GW 5014 contains 16 vernacular titles. Both lists were probably published in preparation for a clearance sale, as Brandis was about to move from Lübeck to Magdeburg in order to print a missal with Bartholomaeus Ghotan (GW M24521, published in 1480). Most of the editions mentioned in the Low German list survive in at least one copy.[73] A significant number of German book advertisements from the incunabula period have been analysed with regard to the survival rate of the advertised books.[74] Given that an average of only five to ten percent of the listed titles could not be identified, scholarship concluded that only small parts of the overall output of fifteenth-century printing houses are completely lost.[75] This line of reasoning has been dismissed as the "'truth in advertising' school of thought", but such an extensive sample should be taken seriously and cannot be characterised as resulting from pure chance.[76]

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72 "Hec volumina habentur in littera ut dixi impressa diuersis in locis et litteris puta veneciana que cunctis excellentior habetur et in legendo plus delectabilis" (lines 21–23).

73 Three out of 16 items on the list remain unidentified. It should be noted that the alleged fragment of *Van viij stade der minschen in der ee* (GW M43235) was misidentified in Thomas Wilhelmi, Konrad von Rabenau and Ewa Dubowik-Belka, *Inkunabeln in Greifswalder Bibliotheken* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1997), no. 677. This fragment actually belongs to an otherwise lost edition of a *Lübecker Luxusordnung* (for details see GW M1944050); color plate of the fragment in Irene Erfen, Nadja Plöger and Hendrik Wieck, *Schätze der schwarzen Kunst. Wiegendrucke in Greifswald* (Rostock: Edition Temmen, 1997), p. 37 (pl. 30).

74 E.g., Sylvia Kohushölter, 'Lateinisch-deutsche Bücheranzeigen der Inkunabelzeit', in Volker Honemann, Sabine Griese, Falk Eisermann and Marcus Ostermann (eds.), *Einblattdrucke des 15. und frühen 16. Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2000), pp. 445–465; her sample, the book advertisements by Günther and Johannes Zainer, does not contain any unidentified edition.

75 See Green, McIntyre and Needham, 'The Shape of Incunable Survival', pp. 141–143, for an overview.

76 *Ibid.*, p. 141. Nuovo, *Book Trade*, p. 334, refers to the *Zornale* of Francesco de Madiis: "Even within such a large number of titles sold (nearly thirteen thousand) and within a time span covering several years of activity, the number of books whose titles can be identified but of which no copy of a contemporary edition has come down on us is fairly low: only 6.8 percent of the total sold". It remains to be seen whether this estimate holds up once the announced edition of the *Zornale* by Cristina Dondi and Neil Harris is available; for the time being see Dondi and Harris, 'Oil and Green Ginger: The *Zornale* of the Venetian Bookseller Francesco de Madiis, 1484–1488', in Malcolm Walsby and Natasha Constantinidou (eds.), *Documenting the Early Modern Book World. Inventories and Catalogues in Manuscript and Print* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 341–406; at pp. 361–406, the sample edition and analysis for the entries of June 1484 indicates a small number of lost editions; and their 'Best selling Titles and Books of Hours in a Venetian Bookshop of the 1480s: the *Zornale* of Francesco de Madiis', *La Bibliofilía*, 115 (2013), pp. 63–82. It may be

The argument to the contrary, however, can also rely on strong evidence. One key witness is the famous manuscript account book of the Florence printing house located in the Dominican nunnery of San Jacopo di Ripoli, a unique if incomplete source documenting business activities, financial transactions, details on commissions, clients, and press-runs from 1476 to 1484.[77] The Ripoli ledger presents an altogether different picture than the one suggested by coeval book advertisements. Of the overall output documented for the year 1477, only five editions survive, and no less than thirteen Ripoli editions are completely unaccounted for. Similar results can be seen in all nine years recorded in the ledger: Some fifty percent of the Ripoli books are not known from any surviving copy. This is not surprising, as the press relied heavily on texts of immediate relevance or interests in the form of broadsides and other ephemera, the survival rate of which was negligible. Their substantial works are fairly well preserved, attesting to the bibliographic axiom: the bigger the book, the better its chances of survival. Bibliographers inclined towards political incorrectness might label this familiar pattern 'survival of the fattest', but perhaps one should stick with Owen Gingerich's elegant aphorism 'bigger books linger longer'.[78] The Ripoli ledger backs the argument that an immensely large number of incunabula editions has perished. But again, sources such as the *Diario* do not necessarily have greater bibliographical implications than book advertisements, only different ones. We will have to live with this kind of contradictory evidence. It teaches us to take into account all available contextual information when we make up our mind about the condition and composition of dark matter.

Standard Models and Surprises

In conclusion, three points may be emphasised. First: as evident from the variety of sources quoted above (and many others could not be considered here), there is no standard model, other than perhaps 'bigger books linger longer', to explain and fully explore dark matter, at least not in bibliographical terms.[79]

noted that the unique Dresden copy of Johann Hamann's 1494 *Pater noster* edition (GW M29758) pronounced lost in 'Best selling Titles', p. 67, is actually in the Russian State Library, Moscow (shelfmark MK Inc/2207).

77 Melissa Conway, *The Diario of the Printing Press of San Jacopo di Ripoli 1476–1484. Commentary and Transcription* (Florence: Olschki, 1999).

78 Owen Gingerich, *The Book Nobody Read: Chasing the Revolutions of Nicolaus Copernicus* (New York: Walter & Co., 2004), pp. 113–134.

79 A wide range of dark matter is to be found in auction lists and book dealers' catalogues, regarding ghosts (mostly created through faulty descriptions) as well as unique copies showing up on the market once or twice only to disappear quickly, like comets. See for

Much depends on chance; and the whole question is not about quantity, but about quality. Each new finding can and will enrich our general knowledge about early printing, often in quite impressive detail, but even hundreds of findings will not dramatically change the overall estimate – give or take 28,500 editions – mentioned in the beginning. Second: in order to retrieve as much material as possible we must consider a large array of sources, which have to be analysed within their social, literary, historical, and printing house contexts. The individual scholar's ability to assess the reliability of these sources is of central importance, because it takes more than bibliographical efforts to come to terms with books you cannot physically describe.

Finally, new pieces of the puzzle are almost always pieces one did not even suspect missing. In 2013, the SBB acquired an unrecorded, undated, and unlocalised edition of an otherwise unknown text by an author whose name had been conspicuously absent from all incunabula catalogues: Jacobus Leonicenus, *Carmina diversorum poetarum* (GW M1777050). It comes without imprint information but can be dated 'not before 1486', as the *Carmina* deal with the expulsion of the jews from Vicenza in that year, and the book was very likely printed soon afterwards. Due to the surprising discovery that both its large *antiqua* and small gothic types seem to have no parallels in the fifteenth century, the GW type analysts had to create a new imprint: [Venice?: Printer of Leonicenus, *Carmina*]. Thus, the inconspicuous twelve-leaf quarto can be considered unique in a quadruplicate sense: in terms of author, text, edition, and types. This is one of the most recent additions to the GW, which 90 years ago commenced with the letter A and the article *Abbey of the Holy Ghost*. At that time two Wynkyn de Worde editions – GW 1 and GW 2 – were known. Curt Bühler's paper on *The First Edition of the Abbey of the Holy Ghost*, published 30 years later, must have caused some perplexity in the GW redaction: he introduced another edition, of which GW 1 was obviously a reprint; consequently, the new imprint was assigned the GW number 0/10.[80]

example Martin Ferguson Smith and David Butterfield, 'Not a Ghost: The 1496 Brescia Edition of Lucretius', *Aevum*, 84 (2010), pp. 683–693 (GW M1912910, copy last seen in 1900); Christian Coppens, 'The Incunabula of Parc Abbey (Heverlee, Leuven)', *De Gulden Passer*, 88.2 (2010), pp. 23–70, at pp. 37 and 54 no. 30, referring to *Catalogue d'une très-riche, superbe et nombreuse collection de livres et manuscrits en tous genres de sciences… Dont la Vente publique aura lieu en florins des Pays-bas…jeudi 22 Octobre 1829 et jours suivans…sous la direction de Henri Baumans*, Leuven 1829, which lists an otherwise unrecorded illustrated edition of Lichtenberger's *Prognosticatio*, Cologne 1491: "Joan. Lichtenbergers prognosticatio cum figuris Col. 1491 rel. b. c. opus singulare" (GW M1822150).

80 Curt F. Bühler, 'The First Edition of the Abbey of the Holy Ghost', *Studies in Bibliography*, 6 (1953–1954), pp. 101–106. The identifier in the GW database is 0000010N.

CHAPTER 3

Lost Incunable Editions: Closing in on an Estimate

Jonathan Green and Frank McIntyre

Imagine, if you will, that you are a lepidopterist stationed in the butterfly-rich environment of a tropical Malaysian island. You hope to determine the number of butterfly species that live on the island, and so you resolve to survey an acre-sized patch of it for a month and record the number of individuals of each species that you find. At the end of the month, you find that a few species of butterfly are represented by a large number of specimens, while many species are represented by only one or a few specimens. These results lead you to suspect that there remain many species of butterfly on the island that your survey has missed, but how many? And how many more species can you expect to discover with additional months of observation? As your opportunity to spend additional months on a tropical island depends on your presenting a convincing argument to your funding agency, these questions are of some urgency for you.

This is a brief statement of what is known as the unseen species problem, which has been an area of intense study both within and well outside of the field of ecology for several decades. The example above concerning Malaysian butterflies is drawn from a pathbreaking article published in 1943 by Ronald Fisher, one of the founders of modern biology and statistics, who proposed statistical methods for estimating the number of unseen butterfly species.[1] Since then, the development and implementation of these methods has continued, so that several current statistical software packages can provide both an estimate of the number of missing species and determine the confidence interval of that estimation, that is, the range within which one is reasonably certain the actual number lies.[2] In an ideal situation, the number of observed butterfly species will rise with each additional month of observation, but the estimate of total species will change only modestly as the confidence interval

1 R.A. Fisher, A. Steven Corbet and C.B. Williams, 'The Relation between the Number of Species and the Number of Individuals in a Random Sample of an Animal Population', *Journal of Animal Ecology*, 12 (1943), pp. 42–58.

2 For a comprehensive overview of research on this question, see J. Bunge and M. Fitzpatrick, 'Estimating the Number of Species: A Review', *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, 88 (1993), pp. 364–373. Bunge maintains an updated bibliography on the unseen species problem and related problems in statistics at <https://courses.cit.cornell.edu/jab18/bibliography.html>.

 | DOI 10.1163/9789004311824_004

grows narrower and narrower (and, one hopes, the grant to observe butterflies on a tropical island is extended indefinitely). Variations on the unseen species problem have a long history in the humanities, including attempts to determine the total size of Shakespeare's vocabulary or to estimate the number of different dies used for stamping issues of ancient coins.[3]

Mention of dies, stamps, and issues should suggest to scholars of early printing that we have our own variation of the unseen species problem, where copies are the specimens and editions are the species. A formulation of the unseen species problem in print history – in larval form, at least – was advanced by Ernst Consentius already in 1932: "How many incunables are for example present in seven copies, in six copies, etc. down to the vast number of incunables that are only known in one copy. Plotted on a graph, these numbers produce a curve whose course might provide information for the question: What has been lost to us?"[4] (See the realization of the graph proposed by Consentius in fig. 3.1.)

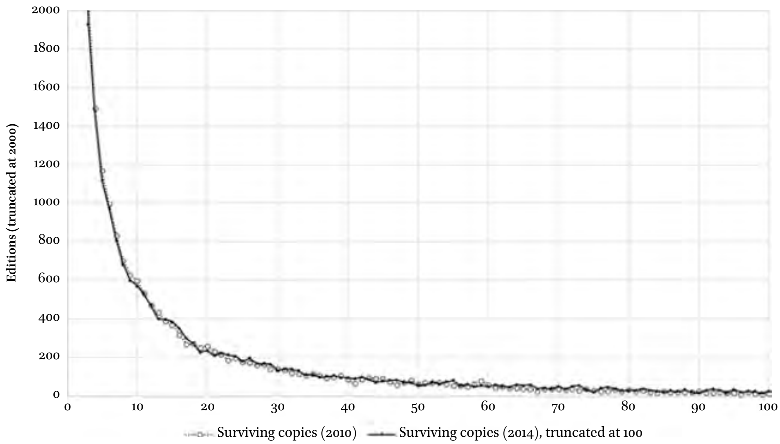

FIGURE 3.1 *Consentius's curve of incunable preservation*

3 Bradley Efron and Ronald Thisted, 'Estimating the Number of Unseen Species: How Many Words Did Shakespeare Know?', *Biometrika*, 63 (1976), pp. 435–447; A.J. Stam, 'Statistical Problems in Ancient Numismatics', *Statistica Neerlandica*, 41 (1987), pp. 151–174.

4 Ernst Consentius, 'Die Typen und der Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke. Eine Kritik', *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, 7 (1932), pp. 55–109, here p. 84: "Wieviel Inkunabeln sind z.B. in sieben Exemplaren vorhanden, in sechs Exemplaren usw. bis herunter zu der Unsumme von Inkunabeln, die nur in einem Exemplar bekannt sind. Diese Zahlen, in eine graphische Tabelle eingezeichnet, ergeben eine Kurve, deren Verlauf für die Frage: Was ist uns verloren? Aufschluß geben dürfte."

Scholars of early printing have been slow to recognize both what the graph proposed by Consentius would look like, and its troubling implications. One can find estimates that as few as five percent of incunable editions have entirely disappeared even in relatively recent literature.[5] A few scholars, however, including Paul Needham and Neil Harris, have pointed out that the number of editions known from one or a few copies suggests a much higher number of missing editions.[6] Sketching out the graph proposed by Consentius was hindered for decades by delays in publishing comprehensive incunable censuses, while even the newest online databases make it no simple task to determine the number of known copies of each edition.

Attempts from the field of early printing to estimate the number of lost editions have proceeded largely independently of the massive statistical literature on the unseen species problem and the now well-established methods and tools that have followed from it. In a series of articles since 1993, Neil Harris has analyzed loss and survival of early printed editions in terms of exponential decay, assuming a constant ratio between editions recorded in some number of copies and the number of editions recorded in the next lower number of copies: in a hypothetical case, "400 are recorded in a single copy, 240 in two, 144 in three, 86 in four, 52 in five, and so on." With a constant ratio of 0.6 between them, one could then project that 667 editions (400 divided by 0.6) were entirely lost.[7] Harris's method pointed to a higher number of missing editions in many situations than previously assumed, and represented a first step towards determining an estimate. But there is no obvious reason for the survival of early printed books to take the form of exponential decay, and it is now clear that this model does not fit the data for incunables. Quite apart from any statistical test of goodness of fit, no constant ratio can be found that fits the steep decline between 1- and 2-copy editions that can also account for the many incunable editions surviving in hundreds of copies. The curve of Consentius cannot be described as exponential decay.

An important step forward came with the publication in 2007 and 2008 of two articles by Goran Proot and Leo Egghe that applied probabilistic reasoning to estimating the number of Jesuit play programs printed in Flanders in the

5 See for example Uwe Neddermeyer, *Von der Handschrift zum gedruckten Buch: Schriftlichkeit und Leseinteresse im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit. Quantitative und qualitative Aspekte* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1998), I. 120–121.

6 Paul Needham, 'The Late Use of Incunables and the Paths of Book Survival', *Wolfenbütteler Notizen zur Buchgeschichte*, 29 (2004), pp. 35–60, here p. 36.

7 Neil Harris, 'Marin Sanudo, Forerunner of Melzi', *La Bibliofilia*, 95–96 (1993–94), pp. 1–37, 101–145, 15–42; here p. 12, n. 19.

eighteenth century based on the number of surviving copies.[8] Crucially, they show that the estimation of lost editions does not depend on knowing the total or average print runs as long as one can assume a print run of around 150 copies or more, a quite reasonable assumption for early printing. Proot and Egghe propose an equation based on the number of editions surviving in one and two copies to establish a point estimate of the number of missing editions. Their method depends on the assumption that copies survive independently of each other: that is, the survival or loss of one copy does not affect the survival or loss of another copy. One could argue that this is true of the Jesuit play programs they took as their data set, but it is a point that has been vigorously opposed by Joseph Dane and may not be tenable for more diverse material.[9]

The next step forward came with Quentin Burrell's response to Proot and Egghe's paper in 2008.[10] Burrell observed that Proot and Egghe's approach involves the assumption that print runs and survival rates are similar for each edition, which is again plausible for play programs (but may not be true of other genres and is certainly not true of incunables as a whole). Burrell showed that cases like the Jesuit play programs described by Proot and Egghe, where the print run is high and the likelihood that any copy will survive is low, represent a particular case of the unseen species problem, and that the number of lost play programs could be estimated using established statistical methods.[11] Burrell was able to demonstrate that the binomial distribution used by Proot and Egghe was consistent with their data, but could also be described as a special case of another type of distribution, the Poisson distribution. With this insight, Burrell was able to establish a confidence interval for the number of original editions. Rather than the values put forward as precise estimates by Proot and Egghe – 3,903 original editions with 3,099 now lost – Burrell showed

8 Leo Egghe and Goran Proot, 'The Estimation of the Number of Lost Multi-copy Documents: A New Type of Informetrics Theory', *Journal of Informetrics*, 1 (2007), pp. 257–268; Goran Proot and Leo Egghe, 'Estimating Editions on the Basis of Survivals: Printed Programmes of Jesuit Plays in the Provincia Flandro-Belgica before 1773, with a Note on the "Book Historical Law"', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 102 (2008), pp. 149–174.

9 Joseph A. Dane and Rosemary A. Roberts, 'The Calculus of Calculus: W.W. Greg and the Mathematics of Everyman Editions', *Studies in Bibliography*, 53 (2000), pp. 117–128.

10 Quentin L. Burrell, 'Some Comments on "The Estimation of Lost Multi-copy Documents: A New Type of Informetrics Theory" by Egghe and Proot', *Journal of Informetrics*, 2 (2008), pp. 101–105.

11 Burrell, 'Some Comments', p. 102: "In what follows we assume that, for each document, n is large and θ is small"; "We need to make the assumption, implicit in [Egghe and Proot], that $\lambda = n\theta$ is similar for each document."

that the range of possible values lay (with 95% certainty) between 3,165 and 4,442 original editions, of which the range of lost editions lay between 2,361 and 3,638.

Our article, published with Paul Needham in 2010, represented a first attempt to apply current statistical methods to the problem of lost incunable editions.[12] Our approach began with the recognition that the curve proposed by Consentius could be described as a statistical distribution. We proposed a negative binomial distribution as the best fit for the data. Although not seen in popular literature and journalism as often as the bell curve of the normal distribution, negative binomial distributions are common in statistical work. Already in 1943, Fisher used a negative binomial distribution to address the unseen species problem posed by Malaysian butterflies. A negative binomial distribution can be thought of as a distribution composed of many different Poisson distributions, each of which models the chance of an event occurring a certain number of times. For our treatment of incunable survival, each Poisson sub-distribution models the process whereby some class of editions might survive, and the negative binomial distribution aggregates this information into an overall distribution for incunables.

A negative binomial distribution has the additional important quality that it can describe outcomes that are correlated rather than independent. This is a significant advantage, as any historically coherent account of book loss or survival has to take into account that books are not preserved or destroyed independently of each other. Most obviously, books are collected together in the same binding or in the same library, and when one goes up in flames the chances become very high that others will as well. What is not as obvious is that the decision to discard an old book is not independent of the same decision reached by another owner: when one person observes another's discarding of a book as unfashionable or outdated or heretical, it affects the first person's choice about whether to keep or discard their copy. Inasmuch as book owners influenced each other's decisions to discard books, their decisions were not entirely independent. Alternately, a book may be deemed less important by many different owners acting independently, but all of them expressing correlated tastes or preferences. Statistical arguments about incunable survival require a distribution such as a negative binomial that tolerates dependence across observations.

12 Jonathan Green, Frank McIntyre and Paul Needham, 'The Shape of Incunable Survival and Statistical Estimation of Lost Editions', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 105 (2011), pp. 141–175.

Our next step was to apply another standard tool of contemporary statistics that also has its origins in the work of Ronald Fisher: the maximum likelihood estimation. Most statistical distributions can be characterized by one or a few parameters. The bell curve of the normal distribution, for example, can be entirely defined by its mean – the peak of the curve – and by its standard deviation. If one has a data set, such as physical measurements or survey results, that conform to a normal distribution (and there are reliable ways to determine if they do), then one can discover which values for the arithmetic mean and the standard deviation define the bell curve that best fits the collected data. The equations for finding the optimal values for these parameters that yield the best fit with the known data – the maximum likelihood estimation – are already well known for most distributions, including the negative binomial distribution, although their solutions may require the use of computational methods rather than simply 'solving for *x*' familiar from secondary school level algebra. By establishing the parameters that yield the best fit for the existing data, one receives in return a distribution that includes projections for those areas where the data are missing and thus the most likely estimate of the missing data. By determining the parameters of a negative binomial distribution that best fit the data for incunable editions surviving in one to more than 1,200 copies, one can predict the probable number of missing editions surviving in zero copies. Our 2010 article found that the initial estimated loss rates for incunables were implausibly high; a continuing challenge of determining a maximum likelihood estimation for incunables is that Consentius's curve points sharply upward. As a recourse we limited the projection by introducing some reasonable assumptions about how many editions a single printer could publish over the span of a career.

Since 2010, the ISTC has expanded to include more incunable editions and additional copies, particularly from Austrian libraries. These new records have not changed the curve of Consentius significantly, but they have contributed to establishing a more tractable estimate. Table 3.1 summarizes the current data on how many copies are known of each incunable edition, which we use to determine a maximum likelihood estimation for a negative binomial distribution. The first column on the left shows the number of existing copies of each format known to the ISTC. The next column shows the fraction of those editions that are known from only a single copy, while the next column provides the result of a maximum likelihood estimation for the number of editions with zero copies. This number can be added to the number of known editions, yielding an estimate of the total number of editions and the estimated loss rate. The result is around 42,500 total editions printed in the fifteenth century, compared to the 29,000-odd editions known to the ISTC today, and a loss rate

TABLE 3.1 *Incunable loss rate by format*

Format	Existing editions	Fraction with one copy	Estimated number with zero copies	Estimated number printed	Estimated loss rate		
					Lower bound	Mean	Upper bound
Folio	7927	0.06	1433	9360	0.14	**0.15**	0.16
Quarto	13312	0.23	5354	18666	0.27	**0.29**	0.30
Octavo	5092	0.45	3438	8530	0.38	**0.40**	0.43
Broadside	2356	0.60	3594	5950	0.58	**0.60**	0.63
SUM	28687	0.24	13819	42506	0.30	**0.31**	0.32

of around 31%, with a narrow range between the lower and upper bounds at 30 and 33% (although we will soon complicate this projection somewhat).

The method outlined here is the approach that has been suggested by modern statistics for over seventy years, and the approach that should be used for estimating the number of missing incunable editions and in similar problems in early printing. In general terms, the necessary steps for this approach entail the following:

1. Gathering data for the number of copies that exist of each relevant edition (in sufficient number in order to avoid unreliable results), and counting how many editions survive in a given number of copies.
2. Identifying a distribution, suitably truncated to account for the fact that missing editions are not seen, and applying the appropriate statistical tests to show that the distribution is a good fit for the data in question.[13]
3. Using the maximum likelihood estimation for the proposed distribution to find the parameters that yield the best fit for the data.
4. Applying these parameters to extend the truncated distribution to include zero in order to estimate the number of missing copies and find the confidence interval for the estimation.

13 Without this step, the formula described by Proot and Egghe, 'Estimating Editions', p. 163 cannot be applied to any other data set. For data sets that can be shown to fit the Poisson distribution underlying the work of Proot and Egghe, Burrell, 'Some Comments', 104–105 urges researchers to "adopt this more robust approach" that he outlines in his response.

We discuss our statistical methods in greater detail in the appendix. While there are no alternatives to the general approach described above, our implementation of it is not unassailable. One could argue, for example, that another distribution would be more appropriate than the negative binomial distribution that we use. Even more crucially, how we arrive at an estimate depends not only on having enough data, but also on how we include or exclude data from our distribution. It is still necessary for book historians to determine how copies are to be assigned to different editions and how editions should be grouped together in particular categories. Even the most advanced application of statistical methods still requires scholars to make decisions based on historical evidence about how early printed books survived or were lost.

For example, one question that book historians will have to answer for themselves is if there is a single phenomenon known as 'incunable survival.' Certainly there is today: the vast majority of incunables reside in libraries and museums, and copies or editions are lost only when something extraordinary and terrible happens. But for the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, 'incunable survival' must mean multiple things depending on the kind of book one has in mind. A handful of broadsides (that may have been used as printer's waste in book bindings) may not be directly comparable to a legal reference work (that was transferred in orderly fashion from one institutional owner to the next up to the present day). If we combine them together in a single estimate of incunable survival, then the number of surviving broadsides will affect how we estimate the number of surviving folio editions, and the number of surviving folios will affect how we estimate the number of surviving broadsides. Perhaps we want that to be the case, but perhaps we do not. The decision is not trivial, and there are significant consequences for our estimate.

We might decide, for example, that the format of an incunable, whether broadside, octavo, quarto, or folio, although a rough and imperfect categorization, nevertheless tells us something important about the kind of life a book was supposed to lead. We might therefore assume that the use and survival of an octavo, quarto, folio, and broadside (not to mention the rarer or more exotic formats) were different enough from each other that we should derive an independent estimate for each format that is not influenced by the surviving editions of other formats. Certainly the variations in surviving copies according to format suggest that we should take that possibility seriously (see fig. 3.2). If we derive separate estimates for each format, then we find that we estimate fewer lost folio editions, but quite a few more quartos, and many more missing octavos, while the data for broadsides does not permit any sensible estimate. The estimation does not fail for broadsides, but rather is entirely imprecise, to the point that we cannot reject any reasonable hypothesis or even many unreasonable

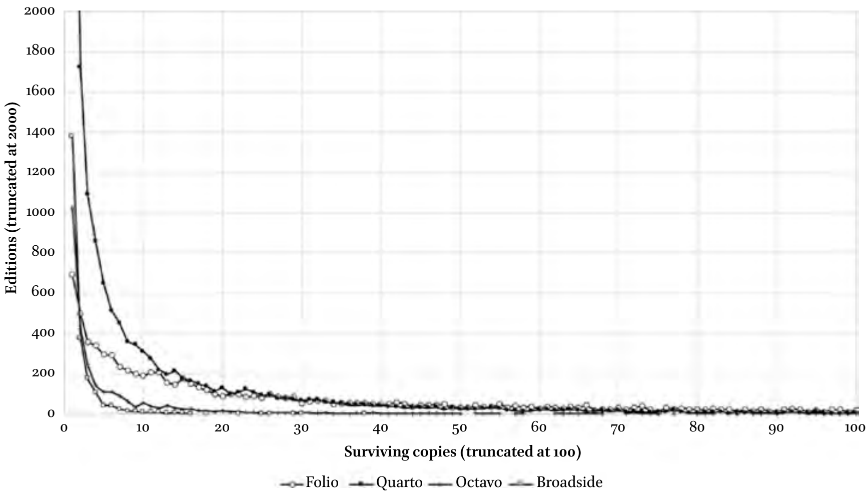

FIGURE 3.2 *Surviving editions by incunable format*

hypotheses. By combining these separate projections, we can then estimate the total loss rate (excluding a probably large number of broadsides) as having a lower bound of 49% and a mean projection of 62%, while the upper bound becomes difficult to limit, largely due to the octavos (see table 3.2).

There is some reason to think that this second approach, using separate estimates based on format (while treating the higher estimates for octavos with some caution), is preferable. Initial analysis of other factors such as language, region, or year of production suggests that no other variable seems to affect survival as much as format does. While a book's physical size is a product of both its format and the number of leaves it contains, the format has a far greater effect than the leaf count on incunable survival. Books with more leaves usually tend to survive better, but doubling the number of leaves in a quarto does not make it behave like a folio in terms of its estimated loss rate, and doubling the number of leaves in an octavo does not make it behave like a quarto (see fig. 3.3). While the size and the number of leaves in a printed book are both factors in the book's bulk, they are distinct variables in what owners expected from their books and how they treated them.

And yet if the physical form of a book has implications for its expected use, one might reasonably wonder if the survival patterns differ not just between formats but also according to whether a book was comprised of few, several, or many leaves, and attempt to derive separate estimates for each segment. Table 3.3 displays the results of this analysis. For folios, the results are little changed, while the number of missing quartos rises significantly. For octavos,

TABLE 3.2 *Incunable loss rate estimated separately by format*

Incunable format	Lower bound	Mean	Upper bound
Folio	0.07	**0.08**	0.08
Quarto	0.48	**0.50**	0.53
Octavo	0.80	**0.91**	0.99
Total	0.49	**0.62**	0.95

Note: Estimating Broadsides by themselves did not yield any useful information, as the estimates were extremely imprecise.

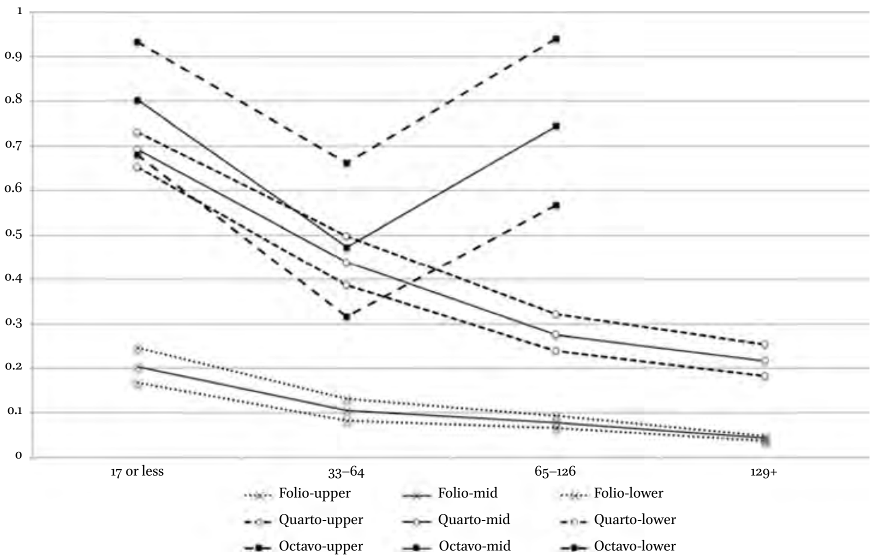

FIGURE 3.3 *Incunable loss rate by size and leaf count*

the smaller sample sizes allow only estimates with relatively high degrees of uncertainty or do not yield an estimate.

Using this approach, we might cautiously estimate the overall loss rate as around 63% of non-broadsides, just above our previous estimate, but the confidence interval is much broader – the upper bound is only limited by the assumption that none of the octavo categories have a loss rate higher than 95%. These three figures – 31% of all incunables, and 62 or 63% of non-broadsides – are not necessarily lower and upper bounds, but they are useful guideposts in our discussion. These estimates are in line with what we found in 2010 and still significantly higher than most prior estimates.

TABLE 3.3 *Incunable loss rate by size and leaf count*

Incunable format		**1–32**	**33–64**	**65–128**	**129+**
	Upper interval	0.25	0.13	0.09	0.05
Folio	Mean	**0.20**	**0.11**	**0.08**	**0.04**
	Lower interval	0.17	0.08	0.07	0.04
	Upper interval	0.73	0.50	0.32	0.25
Quarto	Mean	**0.69**	**0.44**	**0.28**	**0.22**
	Lower interval	0.65	0.39	0.24	0.18
	Upper interval	0.93	0.66	0.94	*
Octavo	Mean	**0.80**	**0.47**	**0.74**	>**0.95**
	Lower interval	0.68	0.32	0.57	*
		Total Calculated Loss Rate = 0.63			

Note. For octavos, loss rate estimates for editions with greater than 128 leaves are unavailable.
Total calculated loss rate is based on the assumption that no category suffers greater than 0.95 loss rate.

One might object that surviving incunables recorded in ISTC are not necessarily a representative sample of all books printed in the fifteenth century, but the objection is not quite on target. The statistical methods used here are not those of voter surveys, where one hopes that the mean response of the surveyed group is similar to the mean response of all voters. Of course the editions recorded by the ISTC are in some sense more likely to survive: they survived, and the others did not. But the advantage of using a negative binomial distribution is that it assumes that each edition has its own survival probability, and using a truncated distribution takes into account editions whose rate of survival is zero. As the method described here accounts for the truncation, the impact of having a sample skewed towards survival is minimized.

A more precisely differentiated estimate of missing editions helps us better understand fifteenth-century printing. When characterizing the careers of fifteenth-century printers, for example, we should take into account the size, format, and number of remaining copies of existing editions in order to gain an awareness of how much of the total output may be composed of the dark matter of missing editions. The exercise of thinking carefully about the data and applying current statistical methods to the problem of missing editions also allows us to make some useful observations about the lost books of various times and places. Preliminary analysis suggests that of all the major fifteenth-century printing regions, France has the highest loss rates. One must remember, however, that 'loss' in this context means 'failure to become visible to ISTC as of yet', for which the physical destruction of all copies is only one possible cause. The slow rate of incorporation of the French regional incunable survey is another explanation, so that one may yet hope for the discovery of more editions from fifteenth-century French printers in collections off the beaten path.

The method employed here should be more broadly applicable to other centuries, although none of the databases of early printing for any region or century currently provide straightforward copy counts, and only a few (the *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* and VD16, for sixteenth-century German printing) provide a leaf count or something resembling one. In the one case we can compare, which is German printing of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries excluding broadsides, tentative analysis suggests a somewhat higher loss rate in the sixteenth century, with the lowest loss rate for German sixteenth-century printing apparently found in the 1520s, suggesting a durable interest in collecting and preserving works of the early Reformation. One must however be aware of the potential limitations of VD16 as a data source. Drawing on VD16 invites the objection (raised at our conference by Andrew Pettegree and Malcolm Walsby) that VD16's census of copies is incomplete, that it lacks information about holdings outside of German-speaking Europe, and that it overlooks editions intended for export to other countries.

While all of these are valid concerns for book historians, they do not represent serious challenges to the approach described above for the statistical estimation of lost editions. Let us return to the island of the butterflies. We wish to estimate how many total species live on the island, but we are only able to survey a limited area. The relative prevalence of butterfly species on the island is of course interesting information for a lepidopterist, but our survey makes no claims about it; for that, a different sampling methodology and different type of statistical analysis would be required. That our survey overlooks many species, or that the surveyed area does not include the whole island, is not just unsurprising: it is precisely the point of the exercise. An increasingly complete survey may result in a more precise estimate, even as the estimate remains within the original range.

For sixteenth-century German printing, the survey plot comprises those libraries that provide data to VD16. For the book historian and bibliographer, our goal is naturally to have a record of every extant copy. But that is not a requirement for a statistically valid estimation of the number of editions unrecorded in VD16. The number of copies and editions suggest that the database records only a fraction of sixteenth-century German printing, but one must not forget that the unseen portion includes both editions that have been irretrievably lost, and editions that have not yet been recorded. That there are libraries and archives whose holdings of sixteenth-century German printing are yet to be incorporated into VD16, and that the database has only recently begun to include German-language editions printed abroad, are grounds for hope of discoveries yet to be made. As more editions come to light, we can expect a more accurate and likely larger estimate of the number of original editions. The database also omits some copies of well-represented items, but this may have only a minor effect on the confidence interval of the estimate of lost sixteenth-century German editions; Ronald Fisher's work with butterflies stopped counting specimens for each species when it reached 25 individuals.

What might make one hesitant about making pronouncements about sixteenth-century German printing based on VD16, however, are the types of material it excludes, as the database ignores broadsides, maps, and music notation. While VD16 includes Latin works printed in the core German-language area, early modern linguistic borders were complex and defy simple definition today.[14] These editions are certainly relevant according to many definitions of sixteenth-century German printing, but VD16 banishes them from its island, so to speak, or swats them away like a lepidopterist might treat a mosquito. Yet for all its shortcomings, VD16 remains the best source of data (as opposed to mere information) about German printing in the sixteenth century. VD16 excels all other bibliographic databases in consistently formatting its data, making its full records easily accessible, and clearly distinguishing multiple copies held by single libraries. It may yet be eclipsed in completeness or accessibility by some other database, but that moment has not yet come. It is already clear, however, that applying any statistical technique to other segments of early printing requires careful consideration of a database's history and limitations, and that progress depends on bibliographic censuses' commitment to clarity, accuracy, and accessibility.

Neil Harris has raised the objection that miscellanies, compilations of multiple pamphlets as a single bound volume, should be eliminated from the count of surviving copies because the survival of an item in a miscellany was due only to its association with some other edition and not to any intrinsic

14 On the problematic borders of VD16, see Jürgen Beyer, 'How Complete are the German National Bibliographies for the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (VD16 and VD17)?', in Malcolm Walsby and Graeme Kemp (eds.), *The Book Triumphant: Print in Transition in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), pp. 57–77.

quality of the item itself.[15] But the path by which a particular book survived into the present is partially or entirely unknown for most surviving incunables, so that there is no way to know for certain which pamphlets were at one time part of a miscellany and which were not. In addition, the particular path of survival plays no role in the statistical analysis presented here. Many and perhaps most quarto pamphlets are preserved in miscellanies or show signs of having been bound in such a volume at one time; it would be a mistake to eliminate from consideration those pamphlets that were preserved in the primary way that most pamphlets were preserved. It is true, however, that more study is needed of miscellanies and other paths of book survival, both as individual objects and as conglomerates, so that we can better characterize them using statistical or computational methods and improve our understanding of how books were preserved over the centuries. As noted above, deciding whether incunable survival is one thing or many things has significant consequences for estimating the number of lost editions.

Finally, where does this leave the curve of Consentius? As the incunable censuses and databases of early printing progress towards a comprehensive record of attested editions and extant copies, there are reasons to be cautiously optimistic that estimates of the character and number of lost incunable editions will stabilize. There are of course hypothetical cases where the discovery of new editions or copies of known editions in significant numbers would require a substantial revision of the number of lost editions. As the estimate of lost editions is most strongly affected by the ratio of 1-copy editions to the 2- and 3-copy editions, the discovery of many new 1-copy editions would create an even larger initial spike in the graph of editions known from a single copy, which would increase the estimate of the number of missing editions. And the discovery of many more second, third, and fourth copies of editions now known only by a single copy would decrease the ratio of 1-copy editions to other editions, leading to a lower estimate of missing editions.

But the cataloging efforts of the last several years have not brought about either of these outcomes. The ISTC now records over 75,000 more copies than it did in 2010, bringing the total number of copies known to it close to 500,000. Some of these newly added copies represent previously unknown editions, but most are additional copies of already well-known works. There are now only 2,400 more copies recorded of the more than 25,000 editions known in as many as 30 copies, while the 4,400 editions known in 31–150 copies grew by over 50,000 copies since 2010. Consequently the ratio of 1-copy editions to 2- or

15 Neil Harris, 'Statistiche e sopravvivenze di antichi romanzi di cavalleria', in Michelangelo Picone and Luisa Rubini (eds.), *Il cantare italiano fra folklore e letteratura* (Florence: Olschki, 2007), pp. 383–412, here pp. 399–400.

3-copy editions has remained virtually unchanged. On the basis of the new records, the lowest current projection of missing editions is now somewhat lower than the lower bound we estimated in 2010, and the estimation of confidence intervals has become more tractable.[16] We can look forward to more progress of this kind in the future as more copies and new editions are recorded, hopefully bringing more precision to estimates involving small quartos or octavos. The poor preservation of broadsides, however, may leave anything more than an impressionistic guess about their loss rates forever out of reach.

Statistical Appendix

Here we describe in more detail the statistical methods we used for the results discussed in the text. Our approach uses a negative binomial regression to model book survival, with the distribution truncated at zero to recognize that lost editions with zero copies were not observed. Once we estimated the parameters of this model based on the observable data, we calculated the probability that an edition would have zero observations, which was what we needed in order to estimate the number of missing editions.[17]

We provide several estimates of missing editions in the text, each resulting from successively relaxing the constraints on the data. Our first estimate involved a maximum likelihood estimate of a truncated negative binomial model where we included the following terms as mean shifters, comparable to regressors in a standard regression, or in other words, the factors that affect the survival rates we wish to analyze:

1. Dummy variables (in statistical parlance, a variable that represents not a numerical quantity but rather a yes-no condition such as quarto or non-quarto, octavo or non-octavo) for each of the formats smaller than folio to allow for baseline differences across formats.
2. A quartic polynomial function to model the influence of leaf count on survival, with different estimates of the coefficients for each multi-leaf format (folio, quarto, and octavo).[18]

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16 Cf. Green, McIntyre and Needham, 'The Shape of Incunable Survival', p. 169.

17 The STATA statistical software includes built-in functions for truncated negative binomial maximum likelihood models, which are easily run once the data has been prepared and cleaned.

18 If L_i represents the number of leaves in some folio edition i, then the polynomial equation would be $\alpha_1^{folio} L_i + \alpha_2^{folio} L_i^2 + \alpha_3^{folio} L_i^3 + \alpha_4^{folio} L_i^4$. We estimate different coefficients a_1–a_4 for octavos and quartos.

3. Dummy variables for the regions beyond Italy where the works were published: Bohemia, England, France, Germany, Netherlands, Spain, and other. Thus Italy is the baseline.
4. Dummy variables for the decades from 1460 to 1490.
5. Dummy variables for languages besides Latin: German, French, Italian, and other.

In this first pass, table 3.4 gives the results in full for the estimation.

The largest concern is that the negative binomial distribution may have a different shape for the different formats such that the same parameters will not fit both a set of broadsides and folios, for example. Thus we rerun the above regression separately for the four different formats. This regression still includes all the variables mentioned above, with appropriate modifications

TABLE 3.4 *Incunable loss rate regression results*

Total	**Coefficient**	**Standard error**
log Leaves	−0.09	0.36
log Leaves squared	0.34	0.16
log Leaves cubed	−0.07	0.03
log Leaves quartic	0.00	0.00
Quarto interaction		
log Leaves	0.54	0.49
log Leaves squared	−0.50	0.23
log Leaves cubed	0.12	0.04
log Leaves quartic	−0.01	0.00
Octavo interaction		
log Leaves	−1.96	1.34
log Leaves squared	1.01	0.58
log Leaves cubed	−0.17	0.11
log Leaves quartic	0.01	0.01
Format (baseline Folio)		
Broadsides	−0.82	0.30
Quarto	−0.08	0.38
Octavo	−0.31	1.09

Total	**Coefficient**	**Standard error**
Region (baseline Italy)		
Bohemia	−1.09	0.20
England	−1.21	0.08
France	−1.32	0.03
Germany	0.07	0.02
Netherlands	−1.10	0.04
Spain	−1.74	0.06
Other	−1.26	0.15
Decade (baseline 1450's)		
1460	−1.31	0.29
1470	−1.18	0.27
1480	−1.05	0.27
1490	−0.93	0.27
Language (baseline Latin)		
German	−1.22	0.03
Italian	−1.07	0.03
French	−1.55	0.05
Other	−0.68	0.05
Constant	2.55	0.40
N = 25,878		

(we do not, for example, include a dummy variable for octavos in the quarto regression). We do not provide all the underlying estimation results here, but the resulting loss rates and confidence intervals are reported in the text. Full estimation results are available from the authors.

Finally, we also allow for a very open optimization process where we estimate the model separately by number of leaves and format. For this approach to estimating survival rates, even with hundreds or thousands of editions in each category, it is in some cases difficult to make confident predictions and in some cases the estimation procedures fails to yield any useful information. We no longer need to include the flexible leaf count polynomial, so we replace it with a simple linear variable for the number of leaves. We also eliminate region (as it overlaps strongly with language) and restrict decade to a linear term rather than dummy variables. This simplification reduces the demands on the nonlinear optimization without doing too much violence to the estimation.

Determining confidence intervals can be difficult for these nonlinear estimators. We used a bootstrapping technique which involved rerunning our estimation 500 times on a subsample of the observed data for each loss rate estimate in order to determine a confidence interval for the loss rate. When the results had difficulty converging, the bootstrap could fail. Furthermore, maximum likelihood estimation at boundaries is problematic, and this problem is not solved by bootstrapping, thus the confidence intervals for estimates near 100% loss are only tentative.

For each of the observed editions, we estimate an expected loss rate. Once we have an expected loss rate for each observed edition, we then determine a weighted average of the loss rates, as found in the text above. The weighting is necessary to account for the fact that we want to know the loss rate for the latent population of all editions, including missing editions, but we only see the surviving editions. Thus one edition with an expected loss rate of 90% represents ten editions, including itself and nine others that have disappeared. An edition with an estimated loss rate of 50% would represent two editions, including one that has disappeared.[19] The sum of all observed editions and the additional lost editions that each surviving edition represents is used to determine the average loss rate.

19 The appropriate weights are computed as $\frac{1}{1-\textit{loss rate}}$.

PART 2

National Case-Studies

CHAPTER 4

Lost Books of Polyphony from Renaissance Spain

Iain Fenlon

The books of printed and manuscript polyphony that survive in the libraries of Spanish cathedrals, collegiate churches, and monasteries represent only a small fraction of what must have originally existed.[1] That much is clear from inventories, which survive in some number and which, in some cases, offer sufficient detail to allow titles and editions of printed books to be accurately identified. Other types of documentation, such as notarial records, contracts, correspondence, and *Actas Capitulares* (the latter being a particularly rich source for the purchase of music by cathedrals and donations), help to augment the picture. Occasionally, copies acquired by both institutional libraries and private collectors in more recent times carry indications of provenance that connect them to their original owners.[2] By bringing together evidence from this rich and variegated documentary base augmented by surviving copies, it is possible to acquire not only some sense of the processes of the

1 Much of the information presented in this article was gathered in the course of the research project 'Music, Print and Culture in Spain and Portugal during the Renaissance', funded by a personal grant from The Leverhulme Trust and based at the Faculty of Music, University of Cambridge. Tess Knighton was employed as a full-time research assistant on the project during its initial phase and, thanks to a grant from the Banco Bilbao Viscaya Argentaria, the work benefitted enormously from the advice of Emilio Ros Fabregas during a term that he spent as a visitor. References to surviving copies of printed books of music follow the system used by the *Recueils imprimées des sources musicales, Einzeldrucke vor 1800*, 14 vols. to date (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1971–) [henceforward RISM]. The starting point for any consideration of sixteenth-century inventories of books of polyphony is the fundamental article by Emilio Ros Fábregas, 'Libros de música en bibliotecas españolas del siglo XVI', *Pliegos de bibliofilia,* 15 (2001), pp. 37–62, 16 (2001), pp. 33–46, and 17 (2001), pp. 17–54.

2 There are many such cases. For one example, see the copy of Tomás Luis de Victoria's *Officium hebdomadae* (Rome: Alessandro Gardano, 1585) [RISM 1432] now in the British Library (shelfmark k.9.c.14), which contains the contemporary inscription "Da livr[raria] da Novicia de S[an]ta Cruz de Coimbra" [f. Aii]. The book was acquired by the British Museum in 1864. For sixteenth-century printed editions that were once at Santa Cruz see Owen Rees, *Polyphony in Portugal c. 1530–c. 1620: Sources from the Monastery of Santa Cruz, Coimbra* (New York and London: Garland, 1995), pp. 87–97 and, for the dispersal of the library after the suppression of the religious orders in Portugal in 1834, pp. 5–9. MS. 44, still in Coimbra, bears an identical inscription.

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transmission and dissemination of printed music seen within the general context of the early-modern Iberian book trade, but also to put back into the historical account of the repertories performed in individual institutions the many books of music that were once used but have been lost through time, theft, neglect, and war.

The general practice in Spanish institutions was that books of music, both chant and polyphony, were kept in both the sacristy and the choir. Everyday responsibility for their care was usually entrusted to one of the senior *mozos de coro*, who carried them to and from the choir as needed.[3] Typically, chants for the complete liturgical year were professionally copied into a series of large folio choirbooks which were brought into use according to the time of year and their place in the calendrical cycle.[4] Often illuminated and decorated with penwork cadels,[5] they were usually bound in heavy wooden boards with metal clasps, reinforced corners, and bosses designed to protect the covers. Throughout the sixteenth century and beyond, polyphonic codices continued to be copied into custom-made vellum polyphonic choirbooks notwithstanding the widespread circulation of printed books most of which were imported; among the collections that survive, those of Toledo Cathedral are remarkable for both their repertorial range and extent.[6] In functional terms, the spatial arrangement of the typical Spanish *coro*, constituted as an enclosed structure placed in the centre of the nave and usually finished on its eastern side with an elaborate wrought-iron screen, facilitated the performance of both chant and polyphony from a lectern facing the High Altar (see fig. 4.1). Despite the emphasis placed upon increased accessibility to and visibility of the central sacral area in the decrees of the

3 See, for example, the following extract from the *Constituciones* of the Chapel Royal of 1584: "Los mozos de capilla, saliendo ésta a alguna parte fuera de palacio, en servicio de S.M., sean obligados a llevar y volver los libros de canto y ponellos en su lugar y si en esto fueren negligentes no ganen distribución y sean penados en dos reales", as transcribed in Emilio Casares (ed.), *Francisco Asenjo Barbieri: Documentos sobre música española y epistolario* (*Legado Barbieri*) (Madrid: Fundación Banco Exterior, 1986–1988), vol. I, no. 161, at p. 53.

4 For a characteristic example of a single collection, that of Málaga Cathedral, see María Julieta Vega Garcia-Ferrer, *Los cantorales de canto llano en el Catedral de Málaga* (Granada: Junta de Andalucia, 2007) and, for the largest collection of indigenously produced plainsong manuscripts, Michael Noone and Graeme Skinner, 'Toledo Cathedral's Collection of Manuscript Choirbooks: A Preliminary Report and Checklist', *Notes*, second series, 63 (2006), pp. 289–328.

5 See J.J.G. Alexander, *The Decorated Letter* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1978), p. 27 and plates XXIX and XXX.

6 Michael Noone, 'A Manuscript Case-Study: The Compilation of a Polyphonic Choirbook', in David Fallows and Tess Knighton (eds.), *Companion to Medieval and Renaissance Music* (London: Dent, 1992), pp. 239–246.

Council of Trent, this traditional arrangement continued in many places, and choirbooks both manuscript and printed continued to be produced for the Spanish market both locally as well as elsewhere in Europe.

Other kinds of books might be kept in a chest below the lectern in the choir, while smaller format breviaries and other liturgical books in constant use were often chained to the choirstalls to prevent their disappearance. One of the duties of the *maestro di capilla*, who had overall control of the choir and the choir school, was to ensure that the books of polyphony were kept safe and in a decent condition; it was partly to ensure this that periodic inventories were called for by the chapter, particularly at the point when one chapelmaster relinquished his post and another took charge. Inventories were also commonly made in relation to pastoral visits, and on occasions when the chapter had reason to believe that the books were not being properly protected. A documented episode from the cathedral of La Seo in Zaragoza gives the flavour of such concerns. On 14 August 1653 the chapter ordered that the music should be placed

> in a cupboard…and that it should be inventoried and handed over to the care of whoever the sacristan might be…and that the day before the feast on which the music is needed, the musicians should ask the canon who holds the key for what is required for that day, and above all he should ensure that they…return [it] to the cupboard once it has been sung.[7]

Inventories relating to both the acquisition and preservation of printed books of polyphony are one of the main sources of information about books which no longer survive. A typical example of their utility is provided by documents in the Archivo Capitular of Tarazona Cathedral, which still houses one of the most substantial collection of printed books of music from the sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries in any Spanish ecclesiastical institution, as well as seventeen manuscripts from the same period.[8] The importance of a number of these contemporary inventories was first recognized in the nineteenth century,[9]

7 Antonio Ezquerro Esteban and Luis Antonio González Marín, 'Catálogo del fondo documental del siglo XVII del Archivo de las Catedrales de Zaragoza', *Anuario Musical*, 46 (1991), pp. 127–171, pp. 127–128, and Pedro Calahorra Martínez: *Música en Zaragoza. Siglos XVI–XVII* (Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 1977–1978), vol. I, p. 102.

8 Justo Sevillano, 'Catálogo musical del Archivo Capitular de Tarazona', *Anuario Musical*, 26 (1961), pp. 149–176; Julián Ruiz Izquierdo, José Antonio Mosquera and Justo Sevillano Ruiz, *Biblioteca de la Iglesia Catedral de Tarazona. Catálogo de libros manuscritos, incunables y de música* (Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 1984).

9 Vicente de la Fuente, *Las santas Iglesias de Tarazona y Tudela en sus estados antiguo y moderno* (Madrid: s.n., 1865–1866).

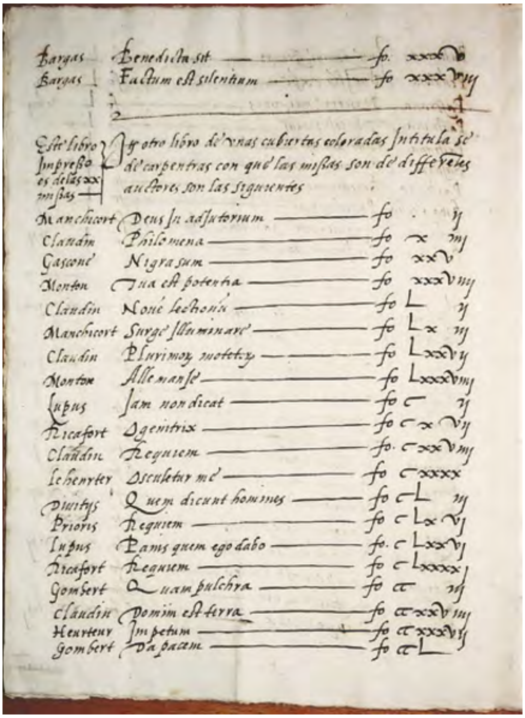
Bargas Benedicta sit
Bargas Factum est silentium
Este libro impresso es de las xx missas
Ay otro libro de unas cubiertas coloradas intitula se de carpentras con que las missas son de differentes auctores son las siguientes
Manchicort Deus in adjutorium
Claudin Philomena
Gascone Nigra sum
Monton Qua est potentia
Claudin Nove lectionis
Manchicort Surge illuminare
Claudin Plurimos motetos
Monton Allemanse
Lupus Jam non dicat
Ricafort O genitrix
Claudin Requiem
Le henrter Osculetur me
Dinitys Quem dicunt homines
Priors Requiem
Lupus Panis quem ego dabo
Ricafort Requiem
Gombert Quam pulchra
Claudin Domini est terra
Heurteur Impetum
Gombert Da pacem

ILLUSTRATION 4.1 *Tarazona Cathedral, Memoria c. 1619.*

and since then both these and others that have since come to light have received a good deal of scholarly attention.[10] The earliest is undated, is almost certainly incomplete, and contains detailed listings of twenty-five books of music. A second, more extensive inventory, the *Memoria* of c. 1619, includes almost all the books listed in the first, together with a further sixty-eight items. The rubric at the end of the first part of this second inventory indicates that it is based in turn on an earlier inventory, now lost, of 1570; a second inventory from later in the sixteenth century is also missing. The Tarazona inventories correspond only in part with the editions of printed music that have survived, and while some are listed that have now been lost, others that are extant are not recorded. In consequence, correlation between the entries in the *Memoria* and the books surviving in Tarazona is only possible because of the nature of the descriptions, which extends to listing the contents of both printed and manuscript

10 For the latest studies see Pedro Calahora Martinez, 'Los fondos musicales en el siglo XVI de la Catedral de Tarazona. I. Inventarios', *Nasarre*, 8 (1992), pp. 9–56; Fábregas, 'Libro de música', no. 57.

volumes in some bibliographic detail. Another consequence is that most of the volumes that have disappeared can be identified from their descriptions; they include editions of masses and motets by Clemens non Papa,[11] the seven magnificent choirbooks containing a total of twenty Masses published by Pierre Attaingnant in 1532,[12] the book of five masses by Carpentras,[13] a book of motets by Eliseo Ghibellini,[14] and a book of six-voice motets by Adriano Willaert.[15]

Also listed is "un libro de cubiertas coloradas de quince missas de dibersos auctores" whose contents are described in detail. From this it is clear that this was a manuscript copy of a substantial part of the *Liber quindecim missarum*, a choirbook printed by Andrea Antico in Rome (a title that was widely disseminated throughout the Iberian Peninsula), with more recent repertory added.[16] Despite the frequency with which Antico's choirbook appears in Spanish inventories, only one copy of the book is known to survive in the whole of Spain, in the archive of the Iglesia-colegiata in the small town of Pastrana.[17] As a collection the *Liber quindecim missarum* was extraordinarily long lived, largely

11 The mass volume would have been one of the series issued by Pierre Phalèse in Leuven in 1556 (RISM C2666–2683). Similarly, the part-book edition of the motets would most probably have been one of those published by Phalèse (RISM C2685–2707) with the *Quintus liber modulorm quinque vocum* ([Paris]: Simon du Bosc, 1556) [RISM C2685] as an outside possibility.

12 Daniel Heartz, *Pierre Attaignant, Royal Printer of Music: A Historical Study and Bibliographical Catalogue* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), nos. 33–39, pp. 245–249 [RISM 1532/1-1532/7].

13 *Liber primus missarum* (Avignon: Jean de Channay, 1532) [RISM G1571].

14 Two published editions of Eliseo Ghibellini's five-voice motets are known. The first, with the title *Motetta super plano cantu cum quinque vocibus…liber primus*, produced by an unnamed printer appeared in Venice in 1546 [RISM G1770]. The second, a re-edition of the first, entitled *Motectorum…cum quinque vocibus liber primus*, was published by Girolamo Scotto in 1548 [RISM G1771]. It would seem more likely that Tarazona cathedral owned the Scotto edition since this, according to Jane Bernstein, *Music Printing in Renaissance Venice: The Scotto Press* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), no. 69, pp. 361–363 has 24 leaves, which agrees with the inventory description.

15 Presumably the *Musicorum sex vocum, que vulgo motecta dicuntur…liber primus* (Venice: Antonio Gardano, 1542) [RISM W1112]. According to Mary Lewis, *Antonio Gardano, Venetian Music Printer 1538–1569: A Descriptive Bibliography and Historical Study* (London: Garland, 1988–2005), vol. I, no. 34, pp. 343–347, this has 24 leaves, which matches the inventory description.

16 *Liber quindecim missarum* (Rome: Andrea Antico, 1516) [RISM 1516/1].

17 Details of the design of the binding of this copy, which carries the arms of the Duke of Pastrana, suggests that it was acquired or at least used for performance in the early seventeenth century, possibly during the period after the death of the third duke in 1626, when the archbishop of Sigünza, Pedro González de Mendoza (d. 1639) became a major patron

because of its value as a collection of masses by Josquin which continued to be performed throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[18] A rubric at the end of one of the Tarazona inventories reveals that it was common practice for books that had become too worn to be recopied and then discarded, and that new music was copied into blank pages in some of the existing books. In these circumstances some later manuscripts, where they have survive, provide the physical evidence for the existence of copies of earlier printed books which do not.

Although few institutional collections are so well inventoried, often such information can be supplemented by other types of documentation. In the case of Burgos Cathedral, an inventory of books kept in the sacristy in 1560 makes only one reference to books of polyphony ("quatro libros de musica de canto de organo"),[19] but acquisitions are occasionally recorded in the chapter acts.[20] Among the references that can be picked up in this way is an entry for September 1541, when the Archdeacon of Treviño, in the province of Burgos, gave three books of polyphony to the cathedral, including "one of twenty masses and another of fourteen and another of ten" which a week later were handed over to the chapelmaster, Rodrigo de Ceballos, for safekeeping.[21] The first of these is almost certain to have been, as in the case of Tarazona, a complete set of Attaingnant's *folio* choirbooks which together provide twenty mass settings as advertised on the title-page of the first volume of the series,[22] while the third is probably Moderne's *Liber decem missarum*, another folio choirbook which was widely circulated in Spain.[23] Some twenty years later

of a number of ecclesiastical institutions in Pastrana and took a direct interest in their musical activities.

18 The Pastrana copy of the *Liber quindecim missarum* does not appear in a list of the music books made in 1557, but is recorded in the *Memoria* of 1654; see Carlos Martinez Gil, *Catálogo de música del Archivo Parroquial* (*Antigua Colegiata*) *de Pastrana* (*Guadalajara*) (Universidad de Salamanca, Cursos de Doctorado, Bienio 1993–1994, unpublished), pp. vii–ix.

19 Ros Fábregas, 'Libros de musica', no. 46.

20 For the surviving sources see Demetrio Mansanill Reoyo, *Catálogo de los códices de la Catedral de Burgos* (Madrid: Instituto Enrique Florez, CSIC, 1952); Demetrio Mansanilla, *Archivo Capitular de la Catedral de Burgos: breve guía y sumaria descripción de sus fondos* (Burgos: Ediciones Aldecoa, 1956); José López Calo, *La música en la catedral de Burgos*, 3 vols. (Burgos: Caja de Ahorros del Círculo Católico, 1996).

21 López Calo, *La música en la cathedral de Burgos*, nos. 78, 347–348.

22 *Primus liber viginti missarum musicalium* (Paris: Attaignant, 1532); see Heartz, *Pierre Attaignant*, pp. 245–249, nos. 33–39 [RISM 1532/1–1532/7].

23 Samuel F. Pogue, *Jacques Moderne: Lyons Music Printer of the Sixteenth Century* (Geneva: Droz, 1969), pp. 117–122. For the distribution of Moderne's choirbooks see my article

Francisco Guerrero wrote to the chapter in January 1572 concerning some books of music that he was sending to the cathedral: "ciertos libros de música de misas e magnificas y motetes".[24] This practice of sending books of printed music to cathedral chapters in the hope that they would be purchased outright or recognized by some form of *pourboire* was common.[25] By this date the composer had published one book each of masses, motets, and magnificats, and it would seem that it was these, rather than a manuscript containing a selection of his works, that he was dispatching to Burgos.[26] None of these books now survive, and what must have been a typical collection of choirbooks and partbooks of polyphony to complement the usual set of *cantorales* is now represented by just one volume, Juan Navarro's collection of psalms, hymns and magnificats, published in Rome in 1590.[27]

The importance of musical provision at the primatial cathedral in Toledo is evident from the rich archival documentation that has survived.[28] The importance of this material, which includes not only a number of book inventories but also records of book purchases, has been acknowledged by a number of historians, beginning with Felice Rubio Piqueras who was the first to describe the collection in print.[29] Even earlier, Francisco Asenjo Barbieri had transcribed various inventories of the music library together with payment documents

'Jacques Moderne's Choirbooks and the Iberian Music Trade', forthcoming in the book of memorial essays for Frank Dobbins.

24 López Calo, *La música en la cathedral de Burgos*, nos. 165, 715.

25 Among other Spanish composers Tomás Luis de Victoria used this practice extensively after his return to his native country in 1585–1586. See Alfonso de Vicente, *Tomás Luis de Victoria: Cartas (1582–1606)* (Madrid: Fundación Caja Madrid (Los siglos de oro), 2008).

26 Namely, the *Liber primus missarum* (Paris: Nicholas du Cemin, 1566), the *Canticum Beatae Mariae* (Leuven: Phalèse, 1563), and three editions of the motets [RISM G4866; G4867; G4871].

27 Juan Navarro [*Psalmi, hymni ac Magnificat totius anni, secundum ritum Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae, quatuor, quinque ac sex vocibus concinendi, necnon Beatae Virginis Dei genitricis Mariae diversorum temporum antiphonae in finem horarum dicendae*] (Rome: Francesco Coattino, 1590); this copy lacks all before fol. 4 (ff. 1–2) are supplied in manuscript (sec. XVII^{ex}–XVIII^{in}) [RISM N283].

28 François Reynaud, *La polyphonie tolédane et son milieu des premiers témoignages aux environs de 1600* (Tours: CNRS Editions, 1996).

29 Felice Rubio Piqueras, *Música y músicos toledanos: contribución a su estudio* (Toledo: Establecimiento Tipográfico de Sucesor de J. Peláez, 1923); Felice Rubio Piqueras, *Códices polifónicos toledanos: estudio crítico de los mismos con motivo del VII Centenario de la Catedral Primada* (Toledo: s.n., 1925). See also Robert Stevenson, 'The Toledo manuscript polyphonic choirbooks and some other lost of little known Flemish sources', *Fontes Artis Musice*, 20 (1973), pp. 87–107. For a richly-illuminated manuscript whose existence was

relating to purchases.[30] Michael Noone has recently described and analysed a number of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century inventories, some of which have not been previously published, of the printed music.[31] Taken together, these different kinds of evidence reveal a large number of editions of music that were known to have been owned by the cathedral but which have now disappeared, including Andrea Antico's ubiquitous *Liber quindecim missarum*, music by Morales (probably the two books of masses), Victoria's *Hymni totius anni* and his *Cantica B. Virginis*, Navarro's psalms, and a good deal of music by Guerrero.[32] In repertorial terms none of this is particularly surprising. Less expected is the presence of books of polyphony printed some fifty years before their acquisition, notably the three editions of Sebastián de Vivanco's music, one volume each of magnificats, masses, and motets issued by Artus Taberniel in Salamanca between 1607 and 1610, but acquired by the Toledo chapter as late as 1658.[33] The persistence of *stile antico* liturgical polyphony in Spanish institutions is not in itself a novelty; it is evident from both surviving sources and inventories that music by Palestrina, Morales, Guerrero and Victoria, the staples of the international Catholic repertory, continued to be acquired throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and that it was performed, in what is a continuous tradition, as late as the twentieth, until the Second Vatican Council brought the practice to a halt. It is more of a surprise perhaps to find music by a local composer still in circulation so long after it was printed.

Different again is the case of Córdoba Cathedral, which occupies a somewhat unrivalled position in the architectural history of Spanish ecclesiastical institutions due to its extraordinary amalgamation of Moorish and Christian elements. Following the reconquest of the city in 1236, the Great Mosque was re-founded as a cathedral and duly consecrated. Chapels and other Christian architectural and decorative elements were gradually added to the building, but it was only in the sixteenth century that the bishop and chapter found royal support for the erection of a cathedral transept, including choirstalls. This entailed demolition of part of the mosque, an action that was bitterly

known to Stevenson but which could not then be consulted see Robert Snow, 'Toledo Cathedral MS. Reservado 23', *Journal of Musicology*, 2 (1984), pp. 246–277.

30 Casares (ed.), *Francisco Asenjo Barbieri*, I, p. 401 (inventory of 27 March, 1563, drawn up by Bernardino Ribera), p. 231 (inventory of 24 September 1590, drawn up by Alonso Gascón), and p. 558 (inventory of 30 April 1793, various extracts).

31 Michael Noone, 'Printed Polyphony Acquired by Toledo Cathedral', in Iain Fenlon and Tess Knighton (eds.), *Early Music Printing and Publishing in the Iberian World* (Kassel: Edition Reichenberger, 2006), pp. 241–272.

32 See Appendix 1 below.

33 Noone, 'Printed Polyphony', pp. 264–265.

opposed by the city but supported by Charles V; at his instigation building work began in September 1523. The alterations, which clearly had important ramifications for the celebration of the liturgy and the performance of polyphony, were not finished until 1607. Stimulated by the completion of the choir stalls in that year, the regular performance of polyphony became established.[34] As part of the general account of the cathedral's goods made in connection with a pastoral visit by the Visitor General in April 1629, an inventory was made of the books of music, both printed and manuscript, formerly in the care of the *maestro de capilla*. Most of these contain polyphonic repertories of Vespers and Mass music by Spanish, Portugese, and Flemish composers, together with works by Josquin, Lassus, Palestrina and others.[35] Further details emerge from payment documents. In March 1566 Guerrero presented a copy of his first book of masses to the chapter, and about a month later the chapter agreed to pay him an honorarium.[36] In June 1622, a book of music by Duarte Lobo was presented in a similar way to the chapter. Sadly, only six of the books in the list are still extant; all are choirbooks most of which have lost their title-pages through use:

Guerrero, Francisco: *Missarum liber secundus* (Rome: Domenico Basa/ Francesco Zanetti, 1582) [RISM G4872].

Lobo, Alonso: *Liber primus missarum* (Madrid: Johannes Flandre, 1602) [RISM L2588].

[Lobo, Duarte]: [*Cantica Beatae Maria Virginis*] (Antwerp: Ex officina Plantiniana, 1605). [RISM L2590].

[Lobo, Duarte]: [*Liber missarum*] [Antwerp: Ex officina Plantiniana, 1621] [RISM L2591].

[Rogier, Philippe] [*Missae sex*] (Madrid: Johannes Flandre, 1598) [RISM R1937].

[Victoria, Tomás Luis de] [*Motecta festorum totius anni*] (Rome: Alessandro Gardano, 1585) [RISM V1433].

The cathedrals of Toledo and Córdoba, and to a lesser extent Tarazona, were all major institutions with considerable financial resources. As is clear from the

34 Juan Rafael Vázquez Lesmes, 'La capilla de música de la catedral cordobesa', *Boletín de la Real Academia de Córdoba, de Ciencias, Bellas Letras y Nobles Artes*, 57/110 (1986), pp. 113–141.

35 See Appendix 2 below.

36 The book would have been the *Liber primus missarum* (Paris: Nicholas du Chemin, 1566); for the payment by the chapter see *Monumentos de la Música Española* XXXVI (Barcelona, 1978), p. 59.

inventories of the collegiate churches in Daroca and Orihuela, smaller institutions with a college of canons some of whom could perform polyphony might possess a reasonable collection of printed books of music. Daroca, which lies to the south of Zaragoza, possessed a large collection of chant books together with two choirbooks of masses and a manuscript of magnificats by Morales, and partbooks containing motets by Guerrero.[37] In Orihuela, in the province of Alicante, an inventory of the books made before 1562, just two years before the church was raised to cathedral status, records a copy of the *Liber quindecim missarum*, the two books of masses by Morales in either the Dorico or Moderne edition, masses by Pierre Colin, and four sets of partbooks containing magnificats and motets by Festa, Ruffo, and Crequillon together with some manuscripts of polyphony.[38] None of these books survive.

Cuenca Cathedral provides an example of a less prestigious cathedral whose library of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century printed music, most of which has almost completely disappeared, can only be re-constructed from a range of documentary evidence of various kinds.[39] Rugged and somewhat remote, Cuenca lies in the Castille-La Mancha region of south-eastern central Spain; the cathedral itself is one of a number in the ecclesiastical province of Toledo. During the later Mediaeval period, when the city had reached the height of its wealth, music in the cathedral prospered, and documentation from the latter part of the century reveals that books of music were purchased and copied on a regular basis. By 1637, when the carpenter Juan de Alarcón was ordered by the cathedral chapter to make a chest or cupboard ('caxon') for them, there must have been a considerable collection, but most of it has disappeared.[40] From payment records it is known that although most of the books were bound by local booksellers, the majority were purchased in major centres of the book trade such as Seville and Medina del Campo.[41]

37 Pedro Calahorra Martinez, 'Dos inventarios de los siglos XVI y XVII en la collegial de Daroca y dos pequeñas cronicas darocenses', *Revista de musicologia*, 3 (1980), pp. 1–43, at pp. 7–9: "La primera y segunda parte de Morales, en dos cuerpos", presumably either the Moderne or Dorico mass volumes, "otro libro de magnificats de Morales, escrito de mano", and "Los motetes de Guerrero, en cinco cuerpos".

38 Esperanza Rodríguez-García, 'El repertorio polifónico de la colegiata de Orihuela según un inventario de mitad del siglo XVI', *Anuario musical*, 63 (2008), pp. 3–24.

39 For what survives see Restituto Navarro Gonzalo, *Catálogo musical del Archivo de la Santa Iglesia Basílica de Cuenca* (Cuenca: Inst. de Música Religiosa, 2/1973), pp. 329–337.

40 Martínez Millán, *Historia musical de la catedral de Cuenca* (Cuenca: Diputación Provincial de Cuenca, 1988), p. 62.

41 Martínez Millán, *Historia musical*, p. 61.

There were also 'donations'. Following a common practice, already noted in connection with the cathedrals in Burgos and Córdoba, both Morales and Victoria sent copies of their latest publications to the chapter in the expectation that they would be financially rewarded. In October 1545 the chapter agreed to pay Morales for the two printed books of Masses he had sent; these, which were already bound, presumably to give the appearance of a more handsome donation, must have been copies of the choirbooks published by Valerio Dorico in Rome in the previous year.[42] Similarly, in 1600 Victoria sent the *folio* edition of his masses, magnificats and other liturgical settings recently published by the Typographia Regia in Madrid for which the chapter also agreed to pay him in the following year.[43] Although none of these acquisitions has survived, a substantial collection of early editions of works by Palestrina is still in Cuenca; it does not appear in the inventories, and its provenance is unknown. Among this mixture of partbooks and choirbooks is the Torniero and Donangelo edition of the *Hymni totius anni* of 1590, and assorted sets of Venetian editions of some of the books of masses. Many of these volumes, now in poor condition and incomplete, show clear signs of use over a long period of time.

Damage through use is a frequently-encountered feature of the printed books of music that survive in Spanish ecclesiastical libraries and archives. An extreme instance is that of copies of the Dorico edition of the second book of Morales' masses and a Craesbeeck edition of masses by Cardoso which were dismembered in order to patch up the organ of the Iglesia-colegiata in Pastrana.[44] Also common is the total destruction of a complete collection as part of the exacting toll paid by many towns and cities as a result of the ravages of the many wars and civil disturbances that mark the troubled history of the peninsula from the War of Independence to the Spanish Civil War. One of the most dramatic sixteenth-century episodes of this kind took place as the result of the victory of the combined English and Dutch fleets over the Spanish at Cádiz, and the subsequent sack of the city itself on 21 June 1596. This devasting

42 See Martínez Millán, *Historia musical*, p. 54: "dos libros que enviaba para la dicha Iglesia de Misas estampadas y por él compuestas e bien encuadernadas", presumably RISM M3580–M3581. The Scotto and Gardano part-book editions are to be excluded here since Spanish inventories usually refer to a set of five books as 'cincos libros'. For these editions of the Morales masses see Suzanne G. Cusick, *Valerio Dorico, Music Printer in Sixteenth-Century Rome* (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms International, 1981), pp. 171–172.

43 Tomas Luis de Victoria, *Missae, Magnificat, motecta, psalmi…* (Madrid: Ex typographia regia/Joannes Flandre, 1600) [RISM V1435]. See Martínez Millán, *Historia musical*, p. 106, "por unos Libros de Canto que envió al Cabildo que eran de Misas, Salmos, Salves y otras cosas y a dos y tres coros de Canto de Organo".

44 See Martinez-Gil, *Catálogo de música*, p. ix.

assault, carried out by troops under the Earl of Essex, was one of the most decisive military successes of the long conflict between England and Spain, a conflict which effectively stretched from the Earl of Leicester's expedition to the Netherlands in support of the States-General in 1585 to the Treaty of London in 1604.[45] Reports of the scale of destruction vary. As a major institution, the cathedral would undoubtedly have housed a collection of liturgical books and music both printed and manuscript, including choirbooks containing both chant and polyphony. These would surely have been seen by the soldiery as no more than the tools of a despised religion. Together with much else, including images and vestments, they were presumably destroyed when the building was torched by the occupying soldiers before leaving the city.[46] A heavily-damaged antiphoner, removed during the sack, was presented shortly after Essex's return to King's College, Cambridge, where it was displayed to visitors as war booty during the early seventeenth century.[47] Books from the Jesuit College did not necessarily share the same fate, even though it too was razed to the ground. Here Edward Doughtie, official chaplain to the expedition and later Dean of Hereford, selected a number of volumes from the library and brought them back to England.[48] A sixteenth-century choirbook containing plainchant, now in the National Library of Scotland in Edinburgh, was also removed from the Jesuit College during the raid.[49]

45 For overviews see Julian S. Corbett, *The successors of Drake* (London: Longmans, Green and Company, 1900), and R.B. Wernham, *The return of the Armada. The last years of the Elizabethan war against Spain, 1595–1603* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994). For different perspectives see Magdalena de Pazzis Pi Corrales, 'The view from Spain: Distant images and English political reality in the late sixteenth century', and Bernardo J. García García, 'Peace with England, from convenience to necessity, 1596–1604', both in Anne J. Cruz (ed.), *Material and symbolic circulation between Spain and England, 1554–1604* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), at pp. 13–27 and 135–149 respectively.

46 Castro, *Historia del saqueo*, p. 7.

47 King's College, Cambridge, MS. 41; see Montague R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts other than Oriental in the Library of King's College, Cambridge* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1895), pp. 67–68, and Iain Fenlon, 'A Spanish Choirbook and some Elizabethan Book Thieves', in Jean Michel Massing and Nicolette Zeeman (eds.), *King's College Chapel 1515–2015: Art, Music and Religion in Cambridge* (London and Turnhout: Harvey Miller, 2014), pp. 181–198 and 383–385.

48 Percy S. Allen, 'Books brought from Spain in 1596', *English Historical Review*, 31 (1916), pp. 606–610, at pp. 609–610, gives a figure of seventeen. However, only nine of the volumes now in Hereford contain an inscription indicating that they were removed from Cádiz.

49 Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, MS 1905; see *National Library of Scotland: Catalogue of Manuscripts Acquired since 1925*, 8 vols. to date (Edinburgh: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1938–92), vol. 2, p. 18, and Fenlon, 'A Spanish Choirbook', p. 188.

Although the destruction of the cathedral in 1596 inevitably resulted in much loss of documentation, some chapter acts do survive from the 1580s, and these reflect an active musical life and record the acquisition of a number of music books that were probably in use at the time of Essex's expedition.[50] On 9 November 1583 Guerrero sent "un libro de música", and at about the same time two sets of printed partbooks were also acquired in Rome by the Archdeacon of Cádiz and sent to the cathedral. In 1585 the chapter acquired a book of music by Victoria, and in 1589, it bought two further books of music by Guerrero. Rebuilding of the cathedral began almost immediately after the sack, and soon books of printed music were acquired including two by Victoria (one of which was his *Officium defunctorum*), and unspecified titles by Duarte Lobo and Vivanco. None of these have survived; the one that has, Guerrero's *Liber vesperarum* of 1584, may well have been sent to the cathedral, like the others noted in the chapter acts, by the composer himself, in the hope of financial reward.[51]

A similar instance of the re-invention of a collection following destruction is that of Segovia Cathedral, where the church itself was largely destroyed during the revolt of the *comuneros* in the early 1520s, and the foundation stone of a 'new' cathedral was then laid in 1525. This period of reconstruction of the fabric coincides with the organization and expansion of its musical chapel.[52] Although it is clear that a substantial collection of polyphony was assembled in the process, only a part of it still survives.[53] Its extent in the early seventeenth century can be recovered from the only known inventory, compiled not long after Juan de Leon was appointed *maestro de capilla* in 1620. Among the books listed which still survive are the Masses and Magnificats by Vivanco,[54]

50 See Pablo Antón Solé, 'Bibliotecas y bibliófilos gaditanos', *Archivo Hispalense*, 176 (1974), pp. 41–58; Máximo Pajares Barón, *Archivo de música de la Catedral de Cádiz* (Granada: Junta de Andalucía, 1993), from which the following notices are taken.

51 Libro de Polifonía 1 (Registro, 1/1–45); see Pajares Barón, *Archivo de música*, pp. xvi–xvii. The copy of Francisco Guerrero: [*Liber vesperarum*] [Rome: Domenico Basa/ Alessandro Gardano, 1584], which is not recorded in RISM G4873, lacks its title page and a number of other folios.

52 For which see the extracts from the chapter acts published in José López-Calo, *Documentario musical de la catedral de Segovia*, I: *Actas Capitulares* (Santiago: Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, 1990). For the history of music in the cathedral in general see José López-Calo, *La música en la catedral de Segovia*, 2 vols. (Segovia: Diputación Provincial de Segovia, 1988–1989).

53 For a complete catalogue see Hilario Sanz y Sanz, *Catálogo de cantorales y libro de coro* (Segovia: Gabel, 1972).

54 RISM V2250 and V2249.

the Magnificats by Aguilera de Heredia,[55] and two books of music by Guerrero, namely the *Liber vesperarum* and the Masses.[56] This leaves some eleven titles which were present in 1620 but which have subsequently been lost:

Esquivel, *Missarum…liber primus* (Salamanca: A. Taberniel, 1608). [RISM E825].

Esquivel, *Motecta festorum*, (Salamanca, 1613). [RISM E826].

Guerrero, *Liber primus missarum* (Paris, N. du Chemin, 1566). [RISM G4870].

Lobo, *Liber primus missarum* (Madrid: J. Flandre, 1602). [RISM L2588]

Morales, *Missarum liber primus* (Rome: V. & L. Dorico, 1544). [RISM M3580].[57]

Morales, *Missarum liber secundus* (Rome: V. & L. Dorico, 1544). [RISM M3582].[58]

Morales, [Magnificats] [Not identifiable].

Palestrina, *Missarum liber tertius* (Rome: heirs of V. & A. Dorico, 1570). [RISM].

Palestrina, *Hymni totius anni* (Venice: A. Gardano, 1589). [RISM P738].[59]

Palestrina, [four books] [i.e. partbooks].

Rogier, *Missae sex* (Madrid: J. Flandre, 1598). [RISM R1937].

In the case of the collegiate church of Santa María de la Encarnación ('la Mayor') in Ronda, it is a wonder that so much of the interior decoration and the possessions of the church has survived at all. Largely destroyed by an earthquake in 1580, the church was then reconstructed; remarkably, given its later history, it still preserves its elaborately carved choirstalls. During the Spanish Civil War, Ronda was fiercely Republican, and outbursts of anti-clerical feeling were common during the 'Red Terror' of 1936 before the town fell to the Nationalists. These not only took the form of violence against the clergy, but also the destruction of churches, convents, and their contents. In June 1937,

55 RISM A450.

56 *Liber vesperarum…* (Rome: Domenico Basa/Alessandro Gardano, 1584) [RISM G4873]; either the *Liber primus missarum* (Paris: N. du Chemin, 1566) [RISM G4870] and/or the *Missarum liber secundus* (Domenico Basa/Francesco Zanetto, 1582) [G4872]. All three are choirbooks.

57 This could also be the Moderne edition, Lyon 1546 [RISM M3581].

58 This could also be the Moderne edition, Lyon 1551 [RISM M3583].

59 This could be either the 1590 edition (heirs of G. Scotto), or that of 1589 (G. Turniero & B. Donangelo).

Miguel Artigas, who had been director of the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid until the outbreak of war, published an open letter to the 'Hispanists of the world' condemning the destruction of museums, libraries, and archives under Republican control.[60] Since, as a collegiate church, Santa Maria de la Encarnación, had been well equipped to perform polyphony, it seems likely that a considerable collection of books of music was destroyed along with the church's Baroque organ. Just one survived as a result of the prompt actions of the sacristan who succeeded in hiding it before the looting of the church began: the unique copy of the printed edition of Juan de Esquivel Barahona's psalms, hymns and magnificats printed in distant Salamanca in 1613.[61]

Of all the instances that could be cited of the loss of books of polyphony from Spanish cathedrals and churches, none can compare with the disastrous reception history of the extraordinary library assembled by Fernando Colón, son of Cristoforo Colombo. Following a brief period as a colonial administrator in Hispaniola (Cuba), Colón returned to Spain, where he devoted much of his time to acquiring and cataloguing a collection of printed books, prints, and manuscripts. This, with some 15,370 volumes a small number of which had been inherited from his father, was unparalleled for its time in both size and scope. In his will of 3 July 1539 Fernando Colón bequeathed his library to his nephew Luis Colón, on condition that he allocate 100,000 *maravedís per annum* towards both its upkeep and further acquisitions. Should his nephew fail to do this, the library would pass to the cathedral, together with sufficient funds for the same purpose. In fact, the chapter quickly expressed its interest following Colón's death, and when it became clear that Luis Colón had no intention of meeting his obligations, the chapter was ready to claim it. A protracted legal wrangle ensured, but eventually in March 1552 the court decided in the cathedral's favour, and preparations were made to receive the books and inventory them. This process took almost a year, which is hardly surprising given the size of the collection, but it was then several decades before Colón's collection was housed. Various inventories compiled over the course of the sixteenth century

60 Sebastiaan Faber, *Anglo-American Hispanists and the Spanish Civil War. Hispanophilia, Commitment, and Discipline* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), p. 10.

61 Juan (de) Esquivel Barahona, *Psalmorum, hymnorum, magnificarum et b*[*eatae*] *Mariae quatuor antiphonarum de tempore, necnon et missarum tomus secundus* (Salamanca: Francisco de la Cea Tesa, 1613). Robert J. Snow, *The 1613 Print of Juan Esquivel Barahona* (Detroit: Information Coordinators, 1978), pp. 10–36; Higino Anglés, *Cataleg del manuscrits musicals de la collecció Pedrell* (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 1921), pp. 25–26; Clive Walkley, *Juan Esquivel: A Master of Sacred Music during the Spanish Golden Age* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2010).

reveal that many books were withdrawn or destroyed. Further losses were sustained over the centuries, and even up to modern times, and only a fraction of the Biblioteca Columbina, as it came to be known, now remains in Seville. The separate collection in the Biblioteca Capitular did not fare any better. Here the earliest surviving inventory to include books of music dates from 19 February 1588, they were re-inventoried in the years 1603–1605, and then again in 1618, following the death of the *maestro de capilla* and the appointment of his successor.[62] Nearly all the printed books listed in these inventories have been lost except for copies of Aguilera de Heredia's volume of magnificats, and Duarte Lobo's masses.[63]

Notwithstanding these losses, enough survives of both the library and Colón's meticulously-kept records to provide a good deal of useful information. From the documentation it is clear that many of his books were acquired not only from booksellers and agents all over Europe, but were bought personally in the course of four extended trips to Italy and Northern Europe. It is possible to reconstruct Colón's book-buying activities with some precision, since he entered the details of his acquisitions in his *Registra*, which were to be used in conjunction with their respective alphabetical indexes – the *Abecedarium* and the *Supplementum*. Taken together with the notes recording place of purchase and sometimes the price paid that are sometimes to be found on the fly-leaves of the relatively small number of surviving books from his library, it is possible to piece together a reasonably detailed impression of the four book-buying 'voyages' that Colón made outside Spain. These began in September 1512 with a trip to Rome, where he remained for almost a year. Subsequent forays took him not only back to Italy, but also to the Low Countries, to a number of German-speaking cities, then to Basel, London, and finally France. Most (though not all) of his French books, including some printed

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62 See Carmen Álvarez Márquez, *El mundo del Libro en la Iglesia Catedral de Sevillas en el Siglo XVI* (Seville: Diputación Provincial, 1992), particularly pp. 249–251 where six inventories, drawn up in 1522, 1552, 1588, 1592 (two) and 1596 are published; Ros Fábregas, 'Libros de música', no. 54 and, for the most recent account of music at the Cathedral, Juan Ruiz Jiménez, *La librería de canto de órgano. Creación y pervivencia del repertorio de Renacimiento en la actividad de la cathedral de Sevilla* (Granada: Junta de Andalucia, 2007), pp. 21–33, with transcriptions of various inventories in Apéndice 1.

63 Sebastian Aguilera de Heredia, *Canticorum Magnificat Beatissime Virginis Deiparae Mariae* (Zaragoza: Cabarte, 1618) [RISM A450], and Duarte Lobo, [*Liber Missarum*] (Antwerp: Officina Plantiniana, 1621) [RISM L2591]. A copy of Francisco Guerrero, *Motecta…quae partim quaternis…* (Venice: Vincenti, 1597) [RISM G4877] now in the Biblioteca Columbina is presumably from the Cathedral library.

music, were acquired on this fourth and last of these journeys. Had Colón's library been preserved intact, it would be without doubt the most important repository of early sixteenth-century printed music to have survived anywhere. Even in its present, much depleted condition, it is crucial for our understanding of the earliest phase of music-printing and publishing in Europe. For it is clear from both the surviving copies and the records of his library, that Colón owned a copy of nearly every Italian and French music book now known to have been published up to 1535, including a considerable number that have not survived in even a single examplar. The general level of accuracy in Colón's catalogues is high, and there is no reason to suspect that his references to titles that have not been identified are 'ghosts'. On the contrary, the details recorded in the Columbina catalogues are invaluable for resolving some of the difficulties caused by the poor survival rate of the books themselves. Two dramatic examples of lost music books recorded in the Biblioteca Columbina catalogues make the point. In the 1990s, the contract for the *Libro primo de musica de la salamandra*, printed in Rome in 1526, was discovered, thus confirming the printing of a title of which Colón owned a copy but of which no surviving examples are known.[64] Similarly, a copy of Piéton's penitential psalm settings, recently identified in the library of the Collegiate Church in Castell'Arquato, is a book that was owned and catalogued by Colón but had previously been thought to be lost.[65]

The example of Colón's bibliophilia, which extended to the accumulation of manuscripts and prints as well as printed books, is exceptional by any standards. Nonetheless the example which he provides of travelling outside Spain in order to build up a library was a common one. Other collections of printed books, sometimes including music, were similarly assembled by private individuals and bequeathed to ecclesiastical institutions but are now lost. Juan Bernal Diaz de Luco, Bishop of Calahorra, one of the principal Spanish delegates to the Council of Trent, collected a sizeable library including books of music which he left to his cathedral on his death in 1556.[66] This included partbooks of motets by Josquin and Guerrero (at this date

64 For the printing contract which confirms the existence (and hence the accuracy of Colón's catalogue entry for it) see Bonnie J. Blackburn, 'The Printing Contract for the *Libro primo de musica de la salamandra* (Rome, 1526)', *Journal of Musicology*, 12 (1994), pp. 345–356.

65 Laurent Guillo, 'Les motets de Layolle et les Psaumes de Piéton: Deux nouvelles éditions Lyonnaises du seizième siècle', *Fontes artis musicae*, 32 (1985), pp. 186–191.

66 T. Marín Martinez, 'La biblioteca del obispo Juan Bernal Diaz de Luco (1495–1556)', *Hispania sacra*, 5 (1952), pp. 263–326, and 'La biblioteca del obispo Juan Bernal Diáz de Luco, Lista de autores y obras', *Hispania sacra*, 7 (1954), pp. 47–84.

presumably the Montesdoca edition), and the now familiar folio choirbooks of masses by Morales printed in either Rome or Lyon.[67] All these have now disappeared.[68] Such examples could be multiplied, and represent just one route by which repertory, some of it bought abroad, could be accumulated by men of substance.[69] Another conduit for the acquisition of music from abroad was provided by those of more limited means – clerics, musicians and chapelmasters – who also travelled and in the process acquired books for the use of their institutions.[70]

From this selective account of some of the losses of printed music sustained over the centuries by Spanish church institutions three significant conclusions emerge. Firstly, the impression created by a reconstruction of the lost books of polyphony is remarkably consistent. Andrea Antico's *Liber quindecim missarum* was widely distributed throughout the peninsula and, encouraged by the traditional placing of the *coro* and its associated furnishings including a lectern from which polyphony would have been performed, established the printed choirbook within the Iberian trade. As might be expected, the core repertory of Spanish and Portuguese choral institutions mapped onto that of Catholic Europe as whole with the music of Palestrina particularly prominent. Not surprisingly, the music of Guerrero and Victoria was to be found everywhere, and to lesser extent Morales, much of it also in choirbook form. The somewhat 'closed' market serviced by local printers and publishers ensured that liturgical music by Vivanco, Esquivel, and Aguilera, while distributed throughout Iberia, did not travel elsewhere. Even here there were regional patterns as with Aguilera de Heredia's *Canticum Beatissime Virginis*, where both the surviving copies as well as lost ones were concentrated in the area around

67 Francisco Guerrero, *Sacrae cantiones* (Seville: Martin Montesdoca, 1555).

68 Juan Bernal also owned Moderne's edition of one of the *Mottetti del fiore* produced between 1532 and 1542, and the partbooks of Gardano's two collections of the *Mottetti del frutto*. His donation of music to Calahorra Cathedral was the largest to be made anywhere by a sixteenth-century ecclesiastic; see Ros Fabrégas no. 42.

69 For the modest donation of Canon Lancis to the Cathedral of La Seo in Zaragoza see Tess Knighton, 'La circulación de la polifonía europea en el medio urbano: libro impresos de música en la Zaragoza de mediados del siglo XVI' in Andrea Bombi, Juan José Carreras and Miguel Ángel Marín (eds.), *Música y cultura urbana en la edad moderna* (Valencia: Universitat de Valencia, 2005), pp. 337–349.

70 For the purchases of books of music by the canons of the monastery of Santa Cruz in Coimbra see Owen Rees, *Polyphony in Portugal c.1530–c.1620. Sources from the Monastery of Santa Cruz, Coimbra* (New York and London: Garland, 1995), pp. 93–94, and for Tarazona Owen Rees, 'Roman Polyphony at Tarazona', *Early Music*, 23 (1995), pp. 410–419.

Zaragoza where the book was produced, or the choirbooks by Craesbeeck printed in Lisbon and rarely found outside Portugal.[71]

Second, while for obvious geo-political reasons both Antwerp and Venice were major centres of supply for the Spanish book trade, Lyon was also of considerable importance, particularly during the first half of the century when the presses of Jacques Moderne were at work.[72] This may partly be explained by the economic benefits of the Lyon trade in general, which by 1545 supported twenty-nine bookshops and sixty-five printing houses.[73] The city's geographical position was also crucial; proximity to the Loire provided easy access to the Atlantic, and from there to the sea routes that connected Nantes to the ports of the Cantabrian coast.[74] From Bilbao, bales of books from Lyon were transported overland via an internal road system which linked it to Valladolid, Burgos, Salamanca, and Medina del Campo, home of the most important of the Spanish book fairs.[75] Contacts between merchants operating both there and at the fair in Lyon, the twin poles of an important commercial artery, were strong, and many traders worked in both places.[76] This is one important route for the transportation of books from France to the peninsula.[77] Others were transported down the Rhône to the Mediterranean and then on to Barcelona and Valencia, the two most important ports on the eastern seaboard.[78] Booksellers in both cities bought books from Lyon directly as well as

71 A number of Craesbeeck's editions, including music by Cardoso and Garro, were originally in the library of Toledo Cathedral; see Appendix 1.

72 For the general picture see Christien Péligry, 'Les éditeurs lyonnais et le marché espagnol aux XVI^e^ et XVII^e^ siècles', in *Livre et lecture en Espagne et en France sous l'Ancien Régime* (Paris: Éditions ADPF, 1981), pp. 85–93.

73 Richard Gascon, *Grand commerce et vie urbaine aux XVI^e^ siècle: Lyon et ses marchands* (*environs de 1520–environs de 1580*) (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N., 1971), vol. 1, p. 307.

74 Henri Lapeyre, *Un famille de marchands, les Ruiz* (Paris: Colin, 1955), pp. 170–179. Malcolm Walsby, *The Printed Book in Brittany, 1484–1600* (Leiden: Brill, 2011).

75 Marta de la Mano González, *Mercadores e impresores de libros en la Salamanca del siglo XVI* (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 1998), pp. 200–204.

76 See many of the documents published in Felipe Ruiz Martín, *Lettres marchandes échangées entre Florence et Medina del Campo* (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N., 1965).

77 See Lapeyre, *Une famille des marchands*, pp. 567–573, which deals with French printer-publishers and their factors operating in Medina del Campo in the second half of the century.

78 Gascon, *Grand commerce et vie urbaine*, vol. 1, pp. 104–106, 118–119, 164–165; Miguel Peña Diaz, *Cataluña en el Renaciemento: libros y lenguas* (*Barcelona, 1473–1600*) (Lleida: Milenio, 1966), pp. 96–103, and Philippe Berger, *Libro y lectura en el Valencia de Renacimiento* (Valencia: Edicions Alfons el Magnànim, Institució Valenciana d'Estudis i Investigació, 1987), vol. 1, pp. 272–273.

commissioning editions from printers working there.[79] It was Moderne's success in making use of these existing networks that helps to explain the widespread distribution of his editions in Spain; it was a specific geography that determined commercial, editorial and even authorial decisions.

A third general conclusion concerns the extraordinary persistence of so much of the repertory. From the material condition of many of the surviving books, where generations of singers have added not only music but also signatures and dates, it is clear that some volumes were in continuous use from the moment of their acquisition until as late as the Second Vatican Council. Similarly, there are plenty of instances of printed books being used as exemplars for the copying of much later manuscript choirbooks, presumably as the originals fell into decay. Here, as elsewhere, the picture is of constant renewal of established repertory on the one hand, in tandem with depletion and loss on the other.

Appendix 1

Toledo Cathedral: Lost Books Once Recorded as Part of the Collection

References are to Michael Noone, 'Printed Polyphony Acquired by Toledo Cathedral, 1532–1669', in Iain Fenlon and Tess Knighton (eds.), *Early Music Printing and Publishing in the Iberian World* (Kassel: Edition Reichenberger, 2006), pp. 241–274 (=Noone 2006); and Emilio Casares (ed.), *Francisco Asenjo Barbieri. Biografías y documentos sobrer música y músicos españoles* (*Legado Barbieri*), 2 vols. (Madrid: Fundación Exterior, 1986) (=Casares 1986).

1. *Liber quindecim missarum* (Rome: A. Antico, 1516) [RISM1516^{1}] (Noone 2006, p. 249).
2. Aguilera de Heredia: *Canticum Beatissime Virginis* (Zaragoza: P. Cabarte, 1618) [RISM A450] (Noone 2006, p. 262). Received by the chapter on 15 May 1619. Binding repaired in October 1688. (Inventories of 1649, c.1680 and 1790, by which time 'muy maltratado').

79 For Guardiola see Miguel Peña, 'Librería y edicíon en la Barcelona des XVI: el librero -editor Joan Guardiola', *Manuscrits*, 9 (1991); Miguel Peña, 'Un librero-editor en la Barcelona del XVI. Juan Guardiola', in José Hinojosa Montalvo and Jesús Pradells Nadal (eds.), *1490: En el umbral de la modernidad. El mediterraneo europeo y las cuidades en el transito de los siglos XV–XVI* (Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana-Consell Valencià de Cultura, 1994), vol. 2, pp. 312–331; Peña Diaz, *Cataluña en el Renacimiento*, pp. 97–100 and 201.

3. Cardoso: *Cantica Beatae Mariae Virginis* (Lisbon: P. Craesbeeck, 1613) [RISM C1038] (Casares 1986, I, p. 68; Noone 2006, pp. 262–263). Acquired in 1637. (Inventory of c.1680).
4. Cardoso: *Missae quaternis...liber primus* (Lisbon: P. Craesbeeck, 1625) [RISM C1039] (Casares 1986, I, p. 68; Noone 2006, pp. 262–263). Acquired in 1637. (Inventory of c.1680).
5. Carpentras: *Liber primus missarum* (Avignon: J. de Channay, 1532) [RISM G1571] (Noone 2006, p. 243). (Possibly the Carpentras volume listed in the inventory of 1793).
6. Garro: *Missae quatuor* (Lisbon: P. Craesbeeck, 1609) [RISM G430] (Rees 2000; Noone 2006, p. 261). Acquired after 1600. (Inventory of 1649).
7. Garro: *Francisco Garri Natione Navarri...opera aliquot* (Lisbon: P. Craesbeck) [Not in RISM] (Rees 2000; Noone 2006, p. 261). Acquired after 1600. (Inventories of 1649 and c.1680).
8. Guerrero: *Motetta* (Venice: A. Gardano, 1570) [RISM G4871] (Casares 1986, I, p. 245; Noone 2006, pp. 254–255), where the possibility that this was the *Sacrae cantiones* (Seville: Martin de Montesdoca, 1555), [RISM G4867] is raised. Purchased in 1583. (Inventories of 1600 and 1649).
9. Guerrero: *Motecta...Liber secundus* (Venice: G. Vincenti, 1589) [RISM G4875] (Noone 2006, p. 257). Purchased in 1594. (Inventories of 1600 and 1649).
10. Guerrero: *Canciones y villanescas espirituales* (Venice: G. Vincenti, 1589) [RISM G4876] (Noone 2006, p. 257). Purchased in 1594. (Inventories of 1600 and 1649).
11. La Hèle: *Octo missae* (Antwerp: C. Plantin, 1578) [RISM L285] (Noone 2006, p. 253). Acquired in March 1582. (Inventories of 1600 and 1649).
12. D. Lobo: *Cantica B. Mariae virginis* (Antwerp: Plantin/Moretum, 1605) [RISM L2590] (Noone 2006, p. 264). (Included in the inventory of 1649, but payment not settled until 1655).
13. D. Lobo: *Liber missarum* (Antwerp: Plantin/Moretum, 1621) [RISM L2591] (Noone 2006, p. 264). Payment made on 14 June 1655.
14. Mogavero: *Lamentationem Jeremiae prophete* (Venice: A. Vincenti, 1623) [RISM M2920] (Noone 2006, p. 263). Acquisition date unknown. (Inventories of c.1680 and 1793).
15. Morales: *Missarum liber primus* (Rome: V. & L. Dorico, 1544) [RISM M3580] (Noone 2006, pp. 249–250). Probably purchased from Morales in 1545. (Inventory of 1563, described as old and worn; not in inventory of 1580).
16. Morales: *Missarum liber primus* (Rome: V. & L. Dorico, 1544, or Lyon: J. Moderne, 1546) [RISM M3580 or M3581] (Noone 2006, p. 251).
17. Morales: *Missarum Liber secundus* (Rome: V. & L. Dorico, 1544) [RISM M3582] (Noone 2006, pp. 249–250). Probably purchased from Morales in 1545. (Inventory of 1563, described as old and worn; not in inventory of 1580).

18. Morales: *Missarum liber secundus* (Rome: V. & L. Dorico, 1544, or Lyon: J. Moderne, 1551) [RISM M3582 or M3583] (Noone 2006, p. 251).
19. Rogier: *Sacrarum modulationem…liber primus* (Naples: Stelliolae, 1595) [RISM R1936] (Casares 1986, I, p. 412; Noone 2006, pp. 265–266). Payment was made on 10 July 1663. (Inventory of 1793).
20. Victoria: *Cantica B. Virginis vulgo Magnificat* (Rome: D. Basa, 1581) [RISM V1430] (Noone 2006, pp. 251–252). (Inventories of 1600, 1649, and c.1680, but not that of 1790).
21. Victoria: *Hymni totius anni* (Rome: D. Basa, 1581) [RISM V1428] (Noone 2006, pp. 251–252). (Inventories 1600, 1649, and c.1680, but not that of 1790).
22. Victoria: *Missarum libri duo* (Rome: A. Gardano, 1583) [RISM V1431] (Casares 1986, I, p. 497; Noone 2006, pp. 255–256). Acquired in 1585. (Inventories of 1600, 1649 and c.1680).
23. Victoria: *Missa…liber secundus* (Rome: F. Coattino, 1592) [RISM V1434] (Casares 1986, I, p. 231, and Noone 2006, pp. 256–257). Acquired 31 July 1593. (Inventories of 1600, 1649 and c.1680).
24. Victoria: *Missae, Magnificat, motecta, psalmi* (Madrid: J. Flandres, 1600) [RISM V1435] (Noone 2006, pp. 259–260). Acquired late 1600 or early 1601 and paid for on 11 July 1601. (Inventories of 1600(?), 1649 and c.1680).
25. Vivanco: [*Liber Missarum*] (Salamanca: A. Taberniel, 1608). [RISM V2250] (Casares 1986, I, p. 504 and Noone 2006, pp. 264–265). Acquired in 1658 from Andrés Roldán, sacristan of the church of Colmenar de Oreja.
26. Vivanco: *Liber magnificarum* (Salamanca: A. Taberniel, 1607) [RISM V2249] (Casares 1986, I, p. 504, and Noone 2006, pp. 264–265). Acquired in 1658 from the same source as no. 25, and recorded as lost in 1795.
27. Vivanco: [Liber motectorum] (Salamanca: A. Taberniel, 1610) [RISM V2251]. Acquired in 1658 from the same source as no. 25.

Appendix 2

Córdoba Cathedral: Inventory of 1629[80]

Inventario de los libros de canto de órgano que esta Santa Iglesia Cathedral de Córdoua tiene, los quales están a cargo del maestro de Capilla Gabriel Díaz, presbítero, capellán perpetuo de la capilla de Santa Ignnés…en el dicho día veinte y seis días del mes de abril de mill y seiscientos y veinte y nueve años, el dicho señor Visitador General desta

80 "Ynbentario de los ornamentos…fecho en Córdoua en el mes de nouienbre años de 1628…", fols. 151*r*–154*r*. I am grateful to the Cathedral archive for allowing me to use this typescript transcription of the inventory made by Don Nieto Cumplido.

ciudad, prosiguiendo su visita de la dicha Santa Yglesia, mandó pedir y pidió quenta a Joan de Montiel, maestro de Capilla de la dicha Santa Yglesia, de los libros de canto de órgano que an estado a su cargo y por otro inventario que se hizo a el maestro Joan de Riscos y vn memorial que ay firmado del dicho Joan de Montiel, maestro susoducho, se le fueron pidiendo los dichos libros y se hizo el dicho inventario en la forma e manera siguiente:

Para MISAS

[1] Primeramente el libro de Joan [*sic*] Jusquin.
[2] Primera y segunda parte de Morales.
[3] Primera y segunda parte de Guerrero.
[4] Primera y segunda parte de Victoria.
[5] Primera parte de Alonso Lovo.
[6] Un libro de mano de dos misas y Lamentaciones de Zevallos.
[7] Un libro de ocho misas, asperges y motetes de Duarte Lobo que se trajo de Almagro en septiembre de 1603 años, impresso en Lisboa. [later addition]
[8] Un libro grande de mano enquadernado en pergamino con dos misas estrangeras.
[9] Un libro donde está la missa de mi, fa, la, fa sol la, de mano.
[10] Un libro de mano grande con tablas negras con Lamentaciones y algunas misas.
[11] Otro libro de misas de Lovo, portugués.
[12] Otro libro de misas de Briceño.
[13] Dos juegos de libretes, uno de a ocho libretes, y el otro de a nueve. De los unos es autor Luis de Victoria, y de los otros un autor italiano que fue organista en la Santa Iglesia de Milán, en los quales hay misas, motetes, magnificas y psalmos de a ocho y doce voces. Se compraron en marzo de 1664 [!] [=1604?] [later addition]

Libros para las visperas

[14] Un libro de Zevallos con psalmos y himnos y magnificas.
[15] Un libro de Navarro con psalmos y himnos y magnificas.
[16] Un libro de himnos de Penestrina.
[17] Un libro grande de mano de los himnos de todo el año.
[18] Un libro de misas de Filippe Rogier.
[19] Un libro grande de bitela de hynos de canto de órgano del maestro Gerónimo Durán de la Cueva. [later addition]
[20] Un libro grande de magnificas de Bibanco.
[21] Un libro de magnificas breves de Duarte Lobo.
[22] Un libro de mano de magnificas de diversos autores.
[23] Un libro grande de tablas donde está la primera missa de Vt, re, mi, fa, sol, la.
[24] Un libro de mano donde están las Pasiones y Lamentaciones.
[25] Un libro de mano donde está el Asperges y Beatus.

[26] Un libro grande de motetes de todo el año de Victoria.
[27] Un libro grande de mano con motetes y algunas missas.
[28] Dos libros de pocas hojas, viejos, donde está la missa de Feria.
[29] Un libro de missas de Penestrina donde está Sicut lilium. [in margin: "falta"]
[30] Un libro de Magnificas de Navarro el Moderno.
[31] Un libro de Magnificas de fr. Manuel Cardoso, impresso en Lisboa, que se trajo de Valencia en 12 de julio de 1603 años. [later addition]
[32] Un libro con Asperges y un psalmo del maestro Durán de la Cueva.
[33] Otro libro de Magnificas de Sebastián de Velasco.
[34] Dos Pasionarios de molde y un missal viejo.
[35] Otro libro de Magnificas de Morales.

Libros pequeños de motetes

[36] Dos juegos de libros de motetes de Guerrero. Fáltale la quinta parte.
[37] Dos juegos de libros de a seis de Penestrina. Falta un juego.
[38] Un juego de libros de Orlando.
[39] Un juego de libros a cinco para las procesiones que dice Ossana, etc.
[40] Medio quaderno de Vitoria con officio de Defuntos.
[41] Nueve libros de Vitoria de missas.
[42] Seis libros de motetes de don Fernando de las Ynfantas. [in margin: "faltan quatro"]
[43] Cinco libretes de motetes de Penestrina. [in margin: "faltan"]
[44] Un libro para ministriles intitulado canciones, de diferentes autores para copia de ministriles, que se compró de Acisclos de Salazar en 17 de diciembre de 1603. [later addition]
[45] Cinco libretes de Rogier, estrangero. A este juego le falta un libro [in margin: "faltan todos"]
[46] Ocho libretes de motetes de Vitoria.
[47] Otros cinco libretes de motetes de Rogieri, estrangero, y le falta uno [in margin: "faltan todos"]
[48] Un juego de nueve libretes de quartilla grande del maestro Sebastián López de Velasco.
[49] Mas ay once libretes de diferentes autores que no tienen hermanos.

Y, estando presente el dicho Gabriel Díaz, maestro de Capilla susodicho, y, aviendo visto y entendido el dicho inventario de libros de canto de órgano, se dió por entregado en todos ellos según y de la manera que aquí están escritos e inventariados y apreciados. Y confessó tenellos en su poder y se obligó de dar quenta con pago de todos los dichos libros y de cada uno dellos cumplidamente cada y cuando le sea pedido por juez competente que desta caussa pueda y deba conocer so pena de pagar el doblo y valor del que no entregare con el doblo y costas de cobranza. Y para ello obligó su persona y bienes muebles y raíces auidos y por aver, y dio poder a las justicias de Su Magestad, eclesiásticas y seglares, para que a ello le apremien assy como por sentencia pasada en cossa juzgada, y renunció todas y qualesquier leyes, fueros y derechos que sean en su favor y la general. Y lo firmó de su nombre el otorgante en el registro a quien yo el presente notario, doy fee que conozco, y que el dicho inventario se hizo en mi presencia y de los testigos aquí contenidos que fueron a ellos presentes, Martín Muñoz Mariscal, presbítero, y Joan de Montiel, capellán perpetuo de la dicha Santa Yglesia, y Alonso Manuel de Oblancam notario apostólico, vecinos de Córdoua. Gabriel Díaz, Don Luis de Baeza y Mosquera, notario.

Identifiable Editions

[1] *Liber quindecim missarum* (Rome: A. Antico, 1516) [1516/1].

[2] *Missarum liber primus* (Rome: V. Dorico, 1544) [M3580] or (Lyon, J. Moderne, 1546) [M3581].
Missarum liber secundus (Rome: V. Dorico, 1544) [M3582] or (Lyon: J. Moderne, 1551/2) [M3583].

[3] *Liber primus missarum* (Paris: N. du Chemin, 1566) [G4870].
Missarum liber secundus (Rome: D. Basa/F. Zanetti, 1582) [G4872].

[4] *Liber primus* (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1576) [V1427].
Missarum libri duo (Rome: Angelo Gardano/D. Basa, 1583) [V1431].

[5] *Liber primus missarum* (Madrid: Typographia Regia, 1602) [L2588].

[6]

[7]

[8]

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[10]

[11]

[12]

[13]

[14]

[15] *Psalmi, hymni ac Magnificat totius anni* (Rome: G. Torneri/F. Coattino, 1590) [N283].

[16] *Hymni totius anni* (Rome: G. Torneri/Donangeli, 1589) [P737].

[17]

[18] *Missae sex* (Madrid: Typographia Regia, 1598) [R1937].

[19]

[20] *Liber magnificarum* (Salamanca: A. Taberniel, 1607) [V2249].

[21] *Cantica B. Mariae Virginis, vulgo Magnificat, quaternis vocibus* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1605) [L2590].

[22]
[23]
[24]
[25]
[26] Motecta festorum totius anni (Rome: Alessandro Gardano/D. Basa, 1585) [V1433].
[27]
[28]
[29] *Missarum liber quintus* (Rome: F. Coattino, 1590) [P670].
[30] *Psalmi, hymni ac Magnificat totius anni* (Rome: G. Torneri/F. Coattino, 1590) [N283].
[31] *Cantica Beatae Mariae Virginis* (Lisbon: P. Craesbeck, 1613) [C1038].
[32]
[33] *Libro de missas, motets, salmos, Magnificas* (Madrid: Typographia Regia, 1628) [L2822].
[34]
[35] *Mariae cantica vulgo Magnificat dicta* (Lyon: J. Moderne, 1550) [M3505].
[36]
[37]
[38]
[39]
[40]
[41]
[42]
[43]
[44]
[45] *Sacrarum modulationum* (Naples: Typographia Stelliolae, 1595) [R1936].
[46]
[47] *Sacrarum modulationum* (Naples: Typographia Stelliolae, 1595) [R1936].
[48]
[49]

CHAPTER 5

Lost Books, Lost Libraries, Lost Everything? A Scandinavian Early Modern Perspective

Wolfgang Undorf

The aim of this article is to identity books circulating in Early Modern Scandinavia that cannot now be documented through surviving copies. This quest obviously raises serious methodological questions, in particular how much credence we can place on elliptical and often fragmentary archival sources. The first part deals with individual books and how far we can identify (or not) authors, titles and the editions in question. The second part will give examples of small and large, personal and institutional book collections that have disappeared in Scandinavia in the early modern period. Here, the historiographical value of supplementing bibliographical records with biographical information will be evident. Finally, the third part of this article is devoted to the quantitative dimensions of early modern Scandinavian book culture as they can be traced on the basis of lost books and collections, enhanced by a wide array of archival sources. Taken together, this information allows us to offer some potentially significant conclusions on the nature and volume of the early modern North European book trade.

These remarks draw on a wider survey undertaken as part of a comprehensive search for evidence of book culture in the first era of the printed book.[1] Here I take an inclusive approach, not ignoring the significant evidence of the circulation of print images which do not always fall within the normal definitions adopted for the study of books. Woodcuts were published as parts of the works of Saint Birgitta, usually consisting of a number of woodcut representations of Brigittine iconography produced in The Netherlands and distributed to Sweden. These had a significant impact on Scandinavian visual and religious cultures, as did engravings of works by Albrecht Dürer, the Master E.S. and other artists. The latter once served as models for mural paintings or have been pasted-in components of Brigittine manuscripts. Usually, the originals have been lost. Sometimes copies have survived on the walls of mediaeval churches, though more usually only the space is marked where an engraving had once

1 Wolfgang Undorf, *From Gutenberg to Luther: Transnational Print Cultures in Scandinavia 1450–1525* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), especially the chapter 'Religious Movements and Print Culture: Woodcuts, Broadsheets and Books', pp. 278–293.

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been exhibited. Be that as it may, these traces are important testimonies to the visual worlds of churches and monasteries and the ways the printing press could answer to their needs.[2]

Lost Books

The Malmö List is an inventory of books which has been dated to the early 1520s and located to Denmark's then largest town, Malmö, in what today is southern Sweden.[3] Usually, it has been connected with the Danish humanist and bookseller, Christiern Pedersen. It distinguishes itself from many contemporary book lists by the bibliographical quality of most of its entries. These contain fine specimens of lost books which are quite easy to identify, for example the volume containing numbers 195–196 on the list: "Item 1 psalterium Cisterciensis ordinis et unum diurnal eiusdem ordinis."[4] The only titles which fit with this description are the *Psalterium Cisterciense* of 1486 and the *Diurnale Cisterciense* of about 1487–1488, both printed by Peter Drach II in Speyer. Another likewise easily recognizable title – thanks to the writer's bibliographically meticulous registration – is the *Boecken van der missen ende anderverff corrigeeret* (no. 104), the second edition of this book printed in Antwerp about 1509.[5]

The inventory that was recorded following the death in 1597 of Elisabet Vasa, Swedish princess and duchess of Mecklenburg, contains among others two wonderful examples of books which are lost now, yet still fully decipherable.[6] The first entry has been spelled by the unknown German-speaking secretary or registrator "*Würtzgart**lin** für die kranke Seelen*" (no. 26), the second slightly deviant as "*Wurtzgart**lein** für die kranken seelen*" (no. 62). Otfried Czaika identified the first entry as two variants of Bock's book dated 1562 both

2 Undorf, *From Gutenberg*, pp. 299–305.

3 Johannes Lindbaek and Ellen Jørgensen, 'To bogfortegnelser fra det 16. Aarhundredes Begyndelse', *Danske Magazin*, 6.1 (1913), pp. 319–334; Henrik Horstbøll, *Menigmands medie: Det folkelige boktryck i Danmark 1500–1840 – En kulturhistorisk undersögelse* (Copenhagen: Kongelige bibliotek; Museum Tusculanums forlag, 1999), pp. 220–221. The manuscript belongs to Det Kongelige Bibliotek Denmark, Mogens Gyldenstjernes Arkiv, Indkomne Sager; Lindbaek and Jørgensen, 'To bogfortegnelser', p. 323. Ellen Jörgensen, 'Les bibliothèques Danoises au Moyen âge', *Nordisk Tidskrift för Bok- och Biblioteksväsen*, 2 (1915), pp. 332–351, here pp. 350–351.

4 Undorf, *From Gutenberg*, p. 331.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 326.

6 Otfried Czaika, *Elisabet Vasa. En kvinna på 1500-talet och hennes böcker* (Stockholm: Föreningen Biblis, 2009), pp. 33, 90 and 94.

of which display the same distinctive spelling of *Würtzgartlin*. The spelling of the second entry however represents all later editions of the same book. Elisabet Vasa clearly owned two different copies of this work and it does not seem that the secretary confused the identity of the copies. It so happens that the binding of the *Würtzgartlin* is one of very few described explicitly as being bound in blue velvet embroidered with pearls ("in blaw sammit mit perlen gesticket"). The second copy has no physical details attached to it. The two different spellings of two different entries of one and the same work in the inventory, reinforce the assumption that a list of books, be it a posthumous inventory or a catalogue, might have been executed with enough meticulousness to allow the identification of specific editions of a printed work.

Hans Urne, provost of the cathedral at Odense and a wealthy man, bequeathed in his will of 1503 five diurnals to poor priests.[7] Apparently these five anonymous diurnals represent a lost edition. Circumstantial evidence allows us to make an approximate identification of this edition. In the year 1505, Jørgen Urne, the brother of the then deceased Hans Urne, was involved in a legal case with the otherwise completely unknown printer Simon Brandt. Brandt had been engaged by Hans Urne to print a number of books.[8] This legal document contains an interesting passage, telling us that

> Jørgen Urne spoke to Simon Brandt about diurnals which he had printed for Master Hans Urne, and he said that they haven't been printed correctly and that they were dated at a year, when they couldn't possibly have been printed.[9]

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7 'Om Mester Hans Urne Som Prost i Odense, og hans Testamente 1503', *Danske Magazin*, 1.10 (1745), pp. 289–300.

8 Wolfgang Undorf, 'Printing in the Danish Town of Odense', in Benito Rial Costas (ed.), *Print Culture and Peripheries in Early Modern Europe. A Contribution to the History of Printing and the Book Trade in Small European and Spanish Cities* (Leiden: Brill 2012), pp. 223–248.

9 "Da tiltalte Jørgen Urne Simon Brandt for Diurnaler, som hand trykte for Mester Hans Urne, og sagde han, at de ikke vare ret trykte, og komme til Aars, hvor de ikke kunde vorde trykte. Begierte saa Simon Brandt at faae samme Bøger igien for det de kostede, da swarede Jørgen Urne, at han det ei kunde giøre, hvorfor han samtykte at betale de anden halve Deel for fornævnte Diurnaler, bleve de saa venlig forligte"; 'Om Mester Hans Urne', pp. 299–300. The slightly different edition of this document published by Bruun does not change the meaning of these lines: "Da tiltalede Jörgen Urne Simon Brandt och sagde, at hand haffde trykt Diurnaler for M. Hans Urne, och vare de icke ret trykte, och komme til Aars, hvor de icke kunde derfor vorde soldte. Da svarede Simon Brandt, och begierede, at hand maatte faae samme Böger igien for det som de kostede. Da svarede Jörgen Urne, at hand det ey kunde giöre, hvorfore han och samtyckte at betale den anden Deel for forneffnte Diurnaler etc.

There are no records of a diurnal printed in Denmark – as suggested by this archival source – or abroad until several years later: the *Diurnale Roschildense* of 1511 and the *Diurnale Slesvicense* of 1513, both commissioned and edited by Christiern Pedersen and printed by Jean Badin in Paris. Two editions of the North German *Diurnale Lubicense* had been printed in Lübeck at the end of the fifteenth century: the first by Johan Snell around 1482, the second by Matthaeus Brandis around 1490 for Hans van Ghetelen. Johann Snell's edition has no *impressum*, and if there was one in van Ghetelen's edition, it has not been preserved. Jørgen Urne speaks explicitly of the discrepancy between the publication date of the *Diurnale* and the date claimed by the printer, which suggests that it was possible to establish the date the *Diurnale* was printed. Liturgical argument too speaks against the idea that the work sold to Urne was a copy of a *Diurnale Lubicense*.

A *diurnale* indicated clearly the diocese or religious order whose rite it followed, and for that reason, distributing a liturgical work intended for one diocese to another diocese would have been an error far worse than a simple misprinting of the date of publication and would surely have merited specific comment by Jørgen Urne. This suggests that Brandt had tried to sell Hans Urne recycled or somehow altered copies of an unknown *Diurnale Ottoniense*. Simon Brandt offered to take back all copies of the *Diurnale* in question and to reimburse Jørgen Urne, who rejected this offer. We can conclude from the discussion of the incorrect printing date above that Jørgen Urne or his brother Hans had seen the books in question, and it is quite possible that copies had already been distributed. The *Diurnale* produced by Simon Brandt might not have been altogether useless to its potential purchaser, but it has definitely disappeared.

Hans Urne bequeathed of a quite remarkable book collection in his will of the year 1503. Among more than 260 books mentioned, we find a large number of references to the following literary genres:

– 3 books of prayer,
– 8 chronicles,
– 2 German chronicles,
– 5 diurnals,
– 2 gradual,
– 30 liturgical handbooks,

Bleffue saa venlige och vel foreenede etc."; Christian Bruun, 'Den danske Literatur fra Bogtrykkerkonstens Indførelse i Danmark til 1550', *Aarsberetninger og Meddelelser fra Det Store Kongelige Bibliothek*, 1 (1864–1869), pp. 109–111, 111.

– 1 manual, and
– 200 schoolbooks.

Only further archival evidence could help us make more out of this than a list of literary genres typical for early sixteenth-century religious book culture. The books above were bequeathed to members of Hans Urne's family, to friends and institutions. As far as we know from provenance registers, none of the books has survived. But that they once existed bears witness to the wealth of books available to Hans Urne in a so-called 'provincial' town of Denmark.

During the earliest period of the process of transition from Catholicism to Protestantism, Lutheran works were imported by means that were largely informal, private and illegal. Significant witness of this traffic is found in letters written by Hans Brask, bishop of Linköping.[10] We have no knowledge (so far) of specific Lutheran or other 'heretical' books that came to Sweden during the first half of the 1520s, but Brask seems to have owned or at least had access to a number of such works, which he industriously quotes in his letters. In a letter to his colleague Magnus, the newly elected bishop of Skara, Brask points out the importance of studying Luther's works and pro-Lutheran tracts, which seem to have been readily available to him.[11] These are usually referred to in general terms only; he becomes much more specific, though, in referring to anti-Lutheran books, especially a work against the Ruthenian heresy or the 1521 Rome edition of Henry VIII's *Assertio septem*, which had been sent to Brask directly from Rome in 1523.

Brask was not the only one to make use of private channels for the importation of books into Sweden. In a letter dated 6 June 1524, he informed the citizens of Söderköping that they were forbidden to sell, buy or distribute Luther's books.[12] According to Brask, foreign merchants and other individuals had been importing such works into the country and the diocese of Linköping for some years, apparently through the port of Söderköping. It seems as if we have lost all these smuggled books as well as Brask's own copies. However, they once formed part of Early Modern Swedish book culture. Brask was well acquainted with domestic and foreign book production, as we can read from among other

10 Per Stobaeus, *Hans Brask: en senmedeltida biskop och hans tankevärld* (Skellefteå: Artos 2008); Hedda Gunneng, *Biskop Hans Brasks registratur: textutgåva* (Uppsala: Hedda Gunneng 2003).

11 Gunneng, *Biskop Hans Brask*, no. 193, dated 28 March 1524, and no. 194, dated 29 March 1524.

12 *Ibid.*, no. 228.

sources, a letter he wrote to Margareta, the sister of the newly elected Swedish king Gustavus Vasa:

> When we last visited Stegeborg castle for consultations, we spoke of so many German and Swedish books that I don't fully remember which ones you desired, but we send you now by return of post a German passion.[13]

It is no surprise that a copy of a German *Passionale* that once belonged to Margareta Vasa has not been preserved. And we will never know which German and Swedish books the two talked about and where they had got information about them in the first place.

Lost Libraries

Herrevad monastery in then-Danish Skåne was founded by Cistercians as early as 1144. We know nothing of its library, but we do know of some books once at the disposal of one of its monks. Between 13 and 15 February 1525, Hans Brask, the last Catholic bishop of the diocese of Linköping in Sweden, wrote to the abbot of Herrevad monastery about a lawsuit in his diocese.[14] Brask's letter, a response to a letter from the abbot on behalf of a certain Brother Andreas who had appealed to the authority of the bishop, describes the circumstances of this exchange of letters.

While on a journey through Sweden – the details are not specified – Brother Andreas had left personal belongings in the custody of a certain Gudmund of Ryeholm (probably Ryholm opposite Vadstena, on the western shore of Lake Vättern). Brother Andreas was now appealing for the return of his possessions, among which were a number of items that might seem somewhat surprising to find in the possession of a Cistercian monk: a sum of money, fine clothes, a bath towel, shaving instruments, and saddlery. (This Cistercian monk seems to have sprung from a Protestant, anti-Catholic caricature.) Of particular interest for this study is a list of seven books contained in two travel bags belonging to Brother Andreas (table 5.1).

13 "Tha vi vore senest til samtal pa Stegeborg var pa tall om monge böker tydzsche oc swensche saa at oss ey fullelica drager til minnes ther om edra begäre doch sende vi eder nu med thetta samme bud eth tyst passional"; *ibid.*, no. 182.

14 *Ibid.*, no. 308: "Casum autem fratris Andree tum vestre fraternitatis tum ipsius domini Andree intuitu quamprimum dabitur occasio sic dante domino absolveus".

TABLE 5.1 *The books belonging to brother Andreas*

Author/title	Print
Orationale = Hieronymus de Villa Vitis *Orationale*	Venice 1491 or Hagenau 1509
Donat.	?
Buccolicam Virgilii = Virgilius Maro *Bucolica*	Not later than 1516
Pupillam oculi = Johannes de Burgos *Pupillam oculi*	?
Vocabularium iuris	Venice 1493 or Paris 1514
Viridarium poetarum = *Viridarium ilustrium Poetarum*	1507–1517
Diurnale = *Diurnale Cisterciense*?	Speyer: Drach, 1486?

This list of books, short though it is, has a number of striking features. The titles seem to have been recorded fairly accurately, a quality the list shares with other early modern booklists. It is possible that these works belonged to the monastery and had been selected by Brother Andreas as reading matter for his journey, but neither Virgil's *Buccolica* nor the *Viridarium illustrium poetarum*, a collection of famous classical Latin poets, seems a likely candidate for inclusion in a Cistercian library, unless the study of classical authors was much more common than previously known. It seems more likely that these books might have been Brother Andreas' personal possessions. The *Orationale* and the *Diurnale* would have enabled a Cistercian monk to perform his daily religious routines.

The inclusion of Johannes de Burgos' *Pupillam oculi*, an essential text on the administration of the sacraments, suggests that Brother Andreas was a priest, and the presence of '*vocabularium iuris*' that he was conversant in legal matters. The remaining three titles are possibly linked: Brother Andreas could have studied classical Latin with the help of Virgil, a compilation of ancient poets and a Latin grammar, which would explain their presence in his pack. So far, no book in a contemporary Scandinavian collection has been identified as having once belonged to Brother Andreas.

The following case studies show some of the problems which a book historian can face with regard to early modern book lists. The first is that of a Swedish Dominican monk named Clemens Henricus Rytingh who left us three different lists of books which he himself had acquired or lent out to other people during the 1480s.[15] He owned at least 65 printed books. In this respect

15 Isak Collijn, 'Svenska boksamlingar under medeltiden och deras ägare. 2: Clemens Rytinghs boksamling och bokdepositioner', *Samlaren*, 24 (1903), pp. 125–140.

his example goes a long way towards disproving any suggestion that Sweden would have lacked books during the incunabula period.

We begin with an archival conundrum: each of the three lists appeared within a different printed book, but these books themselves did not appear on the lists they contained. The first list can be dated 1484 or at the latest the beginning of 1485. It is an inventory that also includes three manuscripts as well as personal belongings such as pictures and bed linen. Most important for us is the collection of 28 titles of printed books in 26 volumes. These are books which Rytingh, then perhaps still a member of the Dominican convent in Skara, bequeathed to confreres of his order, as well as churches and convents.

One unidentified book, which Rytingh had acquired in Lübeck, was given to an otherwise unknown Clemens Benedictus, and one book each to the Dominican monasteries in Stockholm and Västerås. The rest of the books were almost equally divided between two recipients: Gudmundus Benedicti, provost at Skara cathedral and later a member of the Dominican monastery in Skara, received 14 books, while 11 were given to Laurentius Magnus, one of the most important members of the Dominican monastery in Stockholm at the end of the fifteenth century.

The second list is dated 1485. It does not represent a donation of any kind, but an astonishingly generous loan from Rytingh to Skara Cathedral library (the particular circumstances of this loan are not known). The list contains 18 titles in 22 volumes. Two thirds of the books were also mentioned on list A, representing there books donated "Jn manibus fratris gudmundi benedicti", i.e. to Gudmundus Benedicti, the aforementioned provost of Skara Cathedral. Not all books given to Gudmundus in 1484 appear on list B. Indeed, Gudmundus Benedicti does not appear at all in document B except at the end, when the writer of list B states that "Item frater gudmundus benedicti Skarensis concessione habet Catholicon". The two books preceding the *Catholicon* were at the time of the loan in the hands of another user, too: "Dominus Matias sueta [!] cum licentia domini prepositi et lectoris fratris clementis [habet] Sermones alberti et Johannem de turre cremata super psalterium".

At least these three books had been lent to other people in Rytingh's monastic and ecclesiastical network. Does this mean that all the books given to Gudmundus in 1484 were only a loan? The passage in document A was crossed out later, so the books left in the hands of these confrères were meant to remain the property of Rytingh and were then disposed of in a different way. The least one can say is that lending large numbers of books without giving up right of ownership seems to have been not at all unusual. This also means that books, from single volumes to collections of books, moved freely between members of an intellectual-literary network. But neither the wording of both lists nor the crossing out of relevant parts of document A rule out other assumptions. Part 2 of Brundelsheim's collection of sermons might or might not be the same copy as the one mentioned in the third list, and the copy of Johannes de Tambaco's *Liber de consolatione theologiae* might indeed be different from the copy preserved in Uppsala University Library which had belonged to Laurentius Magnus. Later, there is one book given to Laurentius Magnus in Stockholm which might be regarded as a loan too, because it appears on list C of Rytingh's books dated about 1487. This might simply have been a new acquisition, since Rytingh had given away his first copy to Laurentius Magnus.

The last list has been dated about 1487. Its sole purpose was to document the books in Rytingh's possession at that time: "Libri infra scripti sunt fratris Clementis Rytingh ordinis predicatorum lectoris Stokholmensis". Rytingh had then definitely moved from Skara to Stockholm. The list contains 38 titles in 34 volumes, among them 10 books which might be identical with books previously lent to Skara Cathedral library and Gudmundus Benedicti. The rest, more than two thirds of the books, are either new acquisitions made since 1484/5 or simply parts of Rytingh's library which had not been the subject of earlier transactions and had therefore never before been registered.

The number of books acquired by Rytingh to replace titles which he had given away is limited. He bought a second copy of Albertus Magnus, *Mariale* as well as another copy of the *Sermones de tempore* by Brundelsheim. Even after this, books continued to circulate within the religious-ecclesiastical circles in which Rytingh himself moved. Two books were later integrated into Vadstena monastery library, recognizable by its characteristic shelf-marks: Busch's *Speculum exemplorum* and the sermons of Hugo de Prato Florido. Another title was earmarked for Uppsala cathedral, Leonardus de Utino's *Sermones de sanctis*, "qui post mortem eiusdem domini fratris clementis pertinet ecclesie vpsalensj".

None of these three documents, and not even all three taken together, give a complete picture of Rytingh's book possessions over time. In addition to the aforementioned in all 64 titles there are four more (see table 5.2).

Rytingh's third book list is contained within his copy of Molitor's *Tabula*, but the text itself does not appear on that same list. Albertus Magnus and Bernoldus are bound together and now in Uppsala University library. They seem to have been part of the library of the Dominican monastery in Stockholm, then of King John III's college in Stockholm. Together with other parts of King Sigismund's private library, this volume was donated to Uppsala University library in 1620/1621. The provenances of the last book, containing the letters of Cyprianus, can be dated quite reliably. Printed ca. 1479, it was acquired by Rytingh after he had been appointed lecturer in theology, according to an annotation by his own hand: "Liber Fratris Clementis Rytinck ordinis predicatorum sacre theologie

TABLE 5.2 *Books owned by Clemens Rytingh not mentioned on lists A–C*

Author/title	Provenance	ID
Albertus Magnus *Compendium theologicae veritatis*	"Liber lectoris fratris clementis rytingh"	25
Bernoldus *Distinctiones de tempore et de sanctis*	"Liber lectoris fratris clementis rytingh"	390
Cyprianus *Epistolae*	"Liber Fratris Clementis Rytinck ordinis predicatorum sacre theologie lectoris"	1020
Molitor *Tabula super Summa theologica Antonini*	"Liber lectoris fratris clementis Rytingh ordinis predicatorum stokholmensis"	2996

lectoris". He may have given it to its second owner, Mathias, dean at Uppsala cathedral since 1487, before April 23, 1485. The second of his book lists mentions two books which then were in the hands of a "Dominus Matias", apparently the same person.[16]

In terms of content, Rytingh's books do not stand out from other theological collections of the same period. Other than two history books, Conradus de Alemania's philosophical *Responsorium curiosorum* and Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum naturale*, Rytingh possessed only works that reflected his theological interests and professional needs as a monk and priest. The collection contained Biblical commentaries and repertories but apparently no edition of the Bible itself. The principal part of Rytingh's collection is made up of catechetical works both by authors frequently encountered such as Albertus Magnus, Angelus de Clavasio, Bernard of Clairvaux and Herolt and authors who were apparently less popular in Scandinavia, such as Johannes Gritsch, Johannes Busch and Conradus Soccus de Brundelsheim. Theological books make up about one quarter of this list, with the majority by high mediaeval and late mediaeval authors. The only liturgical book on the list is an unidentified psalter, yet this work would surely not have been the only liturgical book Rytingh owned or made use of during his lifetime. Liturgical books were often owned by religious institutions rather than by individuals. Among the few pedagogical titles we find bestsellers such as Donatus and Balbus' *Catholicon*.

Rytingh possessed a large and valuable book collection. At the time list A was drawn up, he had returned from his studies. He had begun lecturing at

16 *Ibid.*, p. 133.

Uppsala University at the beginning of the 1480s and was a member of the Dominican monastery in Stockholm. Within only a few years of the appearance of the first booksellers in Sweden and the establishment of printing, Rytingh, like other Swedish customers, seems to have had access to a large variety of authors and titles. He seems also to have benefitted from the growing appeal of the Swedish book market to continental publishers and booksellers, with its customers in cathedral chapters, universities and schools.

We have now come to the not entirely surprising conclusion that not even three consecutive book lists can describe a book collection in its entirety. Actually, not even a post mortem inventory would have. There exists an inherent haziness in all these kinds of sources. Sources may not specify individual familiar items because their identity is known to all parties involved, or they do not include later acquisitions; perhaps books simply are not remembered at the time for the composition of a list.[17] On Rytingh's book lists, books can appear once, twice or three times. Other books do not appear on any of the three lists, even though in one case a book is hiding one of the lists inside its covers. What we know today of the books once in the possession of Clemens Henricus Rytingh, is still nothing more than an approximation of the collection he might have accumulated during his lifetime. This is not the right occasion to talk about the network of individuals and institutions within which Rytingh's books were deposited, loaned and donated. Ten of his books have survived today, in Västerås, Uppsala and Stockholm. This means that there are at least 58 copies of books of well-known authors and content which have disappeared. Our knowledge about these books provides us with an insight into the wealth of books available in a remote region of Northern Europe at the end of the Middle Ages.

Books owned by Clemens Rytingh but now lost
Albertus Magnus Mariale s. de laudibus beatae virginis Mariae
Albertus Magnus Mariale s. de laudibus beatae virginis Mariae
Albertus Magnus Sermones notabiles de tempore et sanctis
Albertus Magnus Super mulierem fortem
Albertus Magnus Unknown title
Alexander de Villa Dei Expositio super Doctrinale
Alphonsus de Spina Fortalicium fidei contra hostes fidei christianae

17 Hans Urne's will contains a passage revealing that he had lent one of his brothers a number of books which he then did not remember in detail or did not bother to have then written down: "And altogether I give him what books I had lent him before" ["Og sammeledis huad Bøger ieg haffde hannem tilforne lett"]; 'Om Mester Hans Urne', p. 293.

Angelus de Clavasio Summa angelica(?)
Antoninus Florentinus Chronicon s. opus historiarum
Aquinas Catena aurea s. Continuum in quatuor evangelistas
Balbus Catholicon
Bartholomaeus Pisanus de S. Concordio Summa de casibus conscientiae
Bernardus Claravallensis Homeliae super evangelio Missus est angelus Gabriel
Bernardus Claravallensis Sermones
Bonaventura Diaeta salutis
Bonaventura Vita Christi s. meditationes vitae Jesu Christi
Caesarius Cisterciensis Dialogus miraculorum
Caracciolus Quadragesimale
Chrysostomus(?)
Conradus (Soccus) de Brundelsheim Sermones de sanctis
Conradus (Soccus) de Brundelsheim Sermones de tempore
Conradus (Soccus) de Brundelsheim Sermones de tempore
Conradus de Alemania Responsorium curiosorum
Conradus de Almania(?) [Unknown title]
Donatus Expositio super Donatum, De octo partibus orationis
Gerson Opera. P. 1–4
Gritsch Quadragesimale
Herolt Liber de eruditione Christifidelium
Hieronymus Vitae patrum
Hugo de Sancto Caro Postilla super IV evangelia
Johannes de Tambaco Liber de consolatione theologiae
Johannes de Turrecremata Expositio super toto psalterio
Lyra Glossae in universa biblia
Lyra Moralia super totam bibliam
Lyra Repertorium in postillam Nicolai de Lyra
Marchesini Mammotrectus super bibliam
Molitor Tabula super Summa theologica Antonini
Nider Praeceptorium legis s. expositio decalogi
Nider Sermones de sanctis
Passionarius cum additamentis
Paulus Burgensis de S. Maria Dialogus qui vocatur Scrutinium scripturarum
Petrus Bergomensis Tabula super omnia opera Thomae Aqvinatis
Petrus Comestor Historia scholastica
Petrus de Palude Sermones thesauri novi de tempore et de sanctis
Psalter
Rolevinck Fasciculus temporum

Thomas Cantipratensis Bonum universale de proprietatibus apum(?)
Turrecremata De potestate papae et concilii generalis
Udine Quadragesimale aureum
[Unknown]
Vincentius Bellovacensis Liber laudem virginis gloriosae(?)
Vincentius Bellovacensis Speculum historiale
Vincentius Bellovacensis Speculum morale
Vincentius Bellovacensis Speculum naturale
Vita Katherine

My next example covers the inventory of an episcopal mansion on the island of Fyn in the diocese of Odense in Denmark (see table 5.3).[18] Although the inventory seems to have been compiled in the early 1530s, the Reformation has left no mark on its contents. It is made up exclusively of Danish Catholic liturgical books and a spectrum of devotional and historical titles that are reminiscent of pre-Reformation book culture. A large number of titles and definitely the majority of the volumes registered are Danish works: the *Breviarium Lundense* and the *Breviarium Roschildense*, one or two versions of a Danish Book of Hours, Danish and Latin editions of Saxo Grammaticus, three copies of an unidentified *Statuta synodalia*, and, finally, twenty copies of a Danish *Oraria*. The presence of these titles reveals the spread of Danish books through the country irrespective of whether they had been printed in Copenhagen, Odense or Paris. A Parisian press seems to have been responsible for Bonaventura's *Vita Christi* and another, anonymous *Vita Christi*, two copies of Books of Hours which might indeed represent two different editions, and John Maior's *In quartum sententiarum quaestiones*.

The entries are substantial and appear bibliographically correct. The compiler of this list includes information on the binding of each book using a language that is very similar to that of the Malmö book list of the early 1520s. Overall the works contained in the Fyn inventory seem to have been of quite recent date. One title was definitely produced in the fifteenth century, although the works of Pius II, Gazio, the anonymously published statutes of a Danish diocese, *Ogier le Danois* and the *Flores poetarum* might have been printed in the fifteenth century as well. Certainly, though, the majority of the books date from the sixteenth century. About one fifth of the titles that can be identified

18 'Fortegnelse over endel Böger og andet Inventarium paa en Biskopsgaard i Fyns Stift', *Aarsberetninger fra Det Kongelige Geheimearchiv*, 4 (1866–1870), Tillaegg III: 1, pp. 38–39. Undorf, *From Gutenberg*, pp. 370–372.

TABLE 5.3 *Books owned by the bishop of Odense at his manor house on the island of Fyn*

Author/title	Date	Origin
Bonaventura *Vita Christi*	1510–1512?	Paris
Breviarium Lundense	1517	Paris
Breviarium Ripense		Denmark?
Breviarium Roschildense	1517	Paris
Champier *De triplici disciplina Medicina*	1508?	Lyon?
Chronicle [German]		Germany
Erasmus *Institutio principis Christiani*	16th c.	
Evangeliariorum		
Flores poetarum de virtutibus et vitiis	15th c.-1517	Cologne?
Gazio *Florida Corona*	1491–1516	Lyon or Venice?
Hora [Danish]	16th c.?	Copenhagen or Paris?
Hora [Danish]		Paris?
Hora [Latin]	16th c.?	Copenhagen or Paris?
Hora [Latin]		Paris?
Ludolphus de Saxonia *Vita Christi*?	16th c.?	Paris?
Maior *In quartum sententiarum quaestiones*	1509–1519	Paris
Ogier le Danois	1498–1525	France
Oraria [Danish]	16th c.	Copenhagen or Paris?
Orationes de sanctis		
Petrus de Montagnano *Fasciculus medicinae*	1513	Venice
Pius II (Piccolomini)	15th c.?	
Policratici *contenta*	1513	Paris
Quadragesimale et adventuale De arte moriendi	1488	Antwerpen
Riccius *De Regibus Galliae, Hispaniae, Hierosolymi, Siciliae et Hungariae*	1517?	Basel?
Saxo Grammaticus *Danorum Regum heroumque historia*	1514?	Paris?
Saxo Grammaticus *De denscke Kroneke*	1502	Odense
Statuta synodalia	1496–1517	Lübeck, Copenhagen or Paris?

were most probably printed in Copenhagen. About half of all identified titles may have been imported from France and in particular from Paris. A title such as the popular *Ogier le Danois* may well have been part of a delivery of books from Paris arranged by Jean Badin in the late 1510s or by Christiern Pedersen in the early 1520s. The remainder of the identified works were printed in Cologne, Basel, Venice or other centres of Western European printing.

The Fyn inventory records the contents of a single episcopal household collection. It is indicative of both the bishop's personal interests and his wider responsibilities both within his household and to the clergy of his diocese. As head of the diocese of Odense, the bishop was involved in the supply and regulation of the printed material required by parishes and clergy. He apparently stocked multiple copies of certain books that would then have been distributed among or sold to clerics, in this case the *Breviarium Ripense*, twenty copies of the *Danish Oraria* and three *Statuta synodalia*. The presence of three medical works in this collection – a *Vocabularius medicine* that may have been

TABLE 5.4 *The Fyn inventory according to literary genre*

Content	Titles
Religious literature	16
Bible	–
Catechetical	1
Devotional	9
Ecclesiastical	1
Liturgical	3
Theology	2
Secular literature	11
Classical	1
History	4
Humanism	1
Law	–
Pedagogical	1
Philosophy	–
Politics	–
Popular	1
Sciences	3
Total	27

Champier's *De triplici disciplina Medicina* or part of this work, Gazio's *Florida corona* (2), and Petrus de Montagnano's *Fasciculus medicinae* – may throw light on the bishop's educational background. It is possible that the Danish and Latin Books of Hours and the Danish and German chronicles were part of the literary life of the mansion's household.

At his mansion on the island of Fyn, the bishop of Odense had access to a small but assorted collection of printed books of almost all genres (table 5.4). Two third of the titles are in Latin and one third in Danish, with one title in French. We find Latin and Danish books in all categories. Although the devotional, ecclesiastical and historical literature is principally Danish, these works are not indicative of domestic Danish book production as they have largely been imported from Paris or German cities. The bishop had access to, and was evidently interested in, a mixture of quite up-to-date Danish and foreign literature.

Lost Book Cultures

All of this evidence of book possession raises the question whether it is at all possible to quantify the European book trade with Scandinavia in the pre-Reformation period. Here archival evidence is scant, but still suggestive. In order to finance the equipping and maintenance of a warship in the 1490s, the city of Lübeck raised a toll, by the pound, on all goods leaving its harbor. This toll was recorded in the so-called *Pfundzollbücher* and spans the years 1492 to 1496.[19] The toll is calculated in Pfennig, as one hundredth of each Mark Lübisch of the value of the cargo. Based on that toll, the value of each cargo can be easily recognized from the records – a toll of 9 Pfennig, for example, gives the value of the cargo in question as 9 Mark Lübisch. The *Pfundzollbücher* include details about barrels, boxes and drums filled with books leaving Lübeck for Denmark and Sweden, but they do not indicate the number of books in each container. We have only a very small number of sources that do address this issue. When the library of Henrik Matsson Huggut, secretary of the Swedish king Johan III, was confiscated in 1601 together with the rest of his property, the authorities registered 272 printed books in 309 volumes in three boxes.[20] The Malmö List, which has been mentioned earlier, contains 283 records for a total of 3,164 books in all formats distributed over one box and 10 barrels, leading to an average number of 288 books per container, or 140 books per box and 302 per barrel.

19 Hans-Jürgen Vogtherr, *Die Lübecker Pfundzollbücher 1492–1496*, 6 vols. (Cologne: Böhlau 1996).

20 Terhi Kiiskinen, *The Library of the Finnish Nobleman, Royal Secretary and Trustee Henrik Matsson (ca. 1540–1617)* (Helsinki: Academia Scientarium Fennica, 2004).

From the Scandinavian and North German sources available we can assume an average number of copies per box of 100 and an average number of books per barrel of about 150.[21]

If reckoned according to the average price of books in pre-Reformation Scandinavia no more than about 155 books would have been exported from Lübeck to Denmark and Sweden between 1492 and 1495. If, however, the calculation is based on an average number of books held by contemporary book containers, then that number would rise to 3,130. I am more inclined to assume that five years of book imports brought several thousand books to Scandinavia. Here we have reached a point where research results offer some suggestive indications of the quantitative outlines of a lost book trade.

The aforementioned Malmö list of books seems to originate from the confiscation of the collection sometime between 1523 and 1525. It is usually connected with the Danish humanist, scholar, editor, printer and bookseller Christiern Pedersen. The Malmö List records 3,164 volumes, a collection on a remarkable scale in any European context.[22] It is most probably not a private library: no individual owner would assemble hundreds of copies of individual titles; the list mentions no name other than Pedersen's and his were not more than eleven books. The combination of multiple copies of single titles and a majority of works in one or a few copies only, together with the explicit statement of every copy's state of binding points rather towards an effort to establish some form of bookshop. That outlet would have been aimed at a market and a clientele which included priests and preachers (we note a large number of editions of *Sermones* of various authors) and the local and regional schools (the collection included 753 copies of a so far unidentified *Alphabeta*), but also lay readers of devotional texts (the list records 1,165 copies of the *Historia s. Clementis*). It was not a homogeneous collection and included Danish books printed both in Denmark and abroad. Some of the books listed may not have been recent arrivals in Denmark at all: a number of titles can only be identified as incunabula editions printed in Germany several decades earlier, such as the *Psalterium Cistercensis ordinis* of 1486 or Conradus de Alemannia's *Responsorium curiosorum* of 1476. Such editions would have been either part of Pedersen's own library or had come from an antiquarian stock of books that had once belonged to other Danish book owners.

Other titles emanate directly from Pedersen's well-documented work as an editor and author in Paris, such as the *Horæ in Danica lingua* and the *Breviarium Lundense*. Others document the trade in which Pedersen appears to have been

21 Undorf, *From Gutenberg*, p. 120.

22 *Ibid.*, pp. 87–103, 321–335.

involved since returning to Denmark. This group contains printed works that had been commissioned by Pedersen as well as titles that had been produced by other printer-publishers in Paris and sent to Denmark. Pedersen himself might have been the publisher of some of the anonymous titles recorded in the list, including schoolbooks such as the *Abcdaria* and *Alphabeta*, and liturgical books such as the *Diurnale Lundense* or the *Psalteria*. Later imports from Koberger in Nuremberg, many works printed in Lyons, and finally books with a variety of north European provenances complete the spectrum of printing evident in the Malmö List.

With regard to the theme of this volume, what did we lose in Malmö in the early 1520s? Certainly we lost a major early modern North European book collection – copies of a number of titles that appear on the Malmö List have survived, but none with provenances linked to the Malmö List or Christiern Pedersen (three books in the Danish National Library by Augustinus and Johannes Versor are linked by inscription to "Christiern Daa Malmö", probably identical with Cristiernus Malmogie, i.e. Christiern Pedersen, but they do not appear on the Malmö List!). We can also find a number of otherwise unidentified editions such as several *Donatus*, *Remigius* and other schoolbooks (nos. 76, 123, 206, 211, 225, 255, 257, 266), Psalters in different formats (nos. 85, 121, 191, 210, 232), books of hours in different sizes and languages (nos. 203, 205, 208, 230, 248, 261, 267, 283) and others. The list also includes a number of unidentified titles, such as the *Gesta Francorum et Lombardorum* (no. 55), the *Diurnalia ad usum Lundensem* (nos. 78, 120, 122), one *Missa de nomine Jesu* bound *in cruda materia* (no. 126) and *Bonifacius de cena purificati ordinis minorum* (no. 273).

Summary and Conclusions

Lost books as a field of research spans a wide variety of different types of loss, but in each case there are sources that might help us re-discover them. The more formal the source, the more reliable inventories seem to be. The more informal the source, on the other hand, the more bibliographical and physical dimensions we lose. The inventory of Elisabet Vasa from the end of the sixteenth century and the Malmö List of the early 1520s display at times a real understanding of the books in question and the bibliographical skills required to document works in quite an exact way. But the same book list might contain exact transcriptions side by side with what I would call rather vague indications of authors and titles. Informal sources such as private letters very often seem to contain only minimal amounts of information – here one thinks of the correspondence between Hans Brask and Margareta Vasa, the Swedish king's sister's referring to "so many German and Swedish books" in a letter dated 9 March 1524, or the same Hans Brask's complaint that year about Lutheran books that had been pouring into the city of Söderköping for some years.

Through all of these sources we have been able to identify a large number of books circulating in Scandinavia during this period, and evidence of a rich and varied print culture. The basis of my research is a database of now more than 6,800 Scandinavian pre-Reformation provenances, most of which are lost books. Collectively these findings transform our understanding of the book culture of the northern kingdoms in this period. To conclude with one single example: up to 1525, only 119 titles were actually printed in all of Scandinavia. Compare this with the Malmö List that, apart from 14 or 15 Danish titles, contains more than 180 titles printed in other parts of Europe, that is, ten times as many. This leads me to two conclusions: first, Scandinavian history contains a multitude of archival sources which contain information on lost books; second, it is both feasible and fascinating to investigate them.

CHAPTER 6

In Search of Lost *Fortuna*. Reconstructing the Publishing History of the Polish Book of Fortune-Telling

Justyna Kiliańczyk-Zięba

The relatively low survival rate for books and printed materials produced in the first two centuries of print is particularly visible in the categories of publications composed in the vernacular intended to appeal to a wide clientele. These books, usually either utilitarian or recreational, were presumably produced in large quantities, in many editions, that required high print runs. But the popular demand that made the printers produce thousands of copies was also the reason why these books perished and left little or no trace in contemporary collections. Karol Estreicher was right in stating that "Latin volumes survived, because the masses did not read them. They were used by scholars, monks, and lawyers – intellectuals who appreciated the results of scholarly effort and thus cherished their books".[1]

There are occasions on which a work is lost to us altogether. It cannot be traced to a surviving copy, and it is only from the archival records that we can make assumptions about the existence of certain texts and therefore editions. Sometimes we are more fortunate: we have access to unique, often fragmentary copies of popular texts. These survivors often suggest that there must have been more editions, produced either earlier or later than the preserved material. These assumptions can sometimes be confirmed through mention of otherwise unknown editions in contemporary documents, as, for instance, booksellers' catalogues or post-mortem inventories. In this way we are sometimes able to demonstrate the existence of lost editions and early texts by examining books produced decades after the original work first

1 Karol Estreicher, *Günther Zainer i Świętopełk Fiol* (Warszawa: Drukarnia Gazety Polskiej, 1867), p. 63. On criteria that influenced early book survival see e.g. Neil Harris, 'Marin Sanudo, forerunner of Melzi', part 1, *La Bibliofilia*, 95 (1993), pp. 12–29. On estimates of lost editions see Jonathan Green, Frank McIntyre and Paul Needham, 'The Shape of Incunable Survival and Statistical Estimation of Lost Editions', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 105 (2011), pp. 141–175 and the works quoted by the authors. Research for this article was supported by a fellowship from the Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel. I would also like to thank Mara R. Wade for all the help I received from her during my work on *Fortuna*.

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found its way to the readers. This is the case of *Fortuna abo Szczęście* (Fortune or Good Luck) by Stanisław Kleryka, an early sixteenth-century Polish book of fortune-telling.

The complete text of *Fortuna* has come down to us only in a recently discovered copy that was printed in 1665, while an incomplete volume represents an edition produced in late 1640s.[2] Both copies are unique. This was a lavish, heavily illustrated folio book: the complete edition of 1665 comprises fifty-five leaves and contains over one hundred woodcuts. These, then, were by no means ephemeral books. This was a text valued both by readers, and by the publishers who profited from their sale. Neverthless this substantial and copiously illustrated work survived in only one complete seventeenth-century copy, the sole intact witness to the popularity of this work. This article will demonstrate how later imprints (produced more than a century after the collection of rhymed oracles was composed and first published) can be analysed as books that reflect or even imitate lost editions of the work, at the same time providing evidence as to where and by whom the *editio princeps* and reprints that followed were issued. Archival records will supply additional information about *Fortuna* editions that have not survived to the present day.

Books of Fortune-Telling

Fortuna abo Szczęście is a book of fortune-telling. It is a Polish example of a genre that flourished in the Mediaeval and Early Modern period. Books of fortune-telling (also known as books of divination or books of fate) were collections of oracles rooted in antiquity, along with subsequently composed compilations exploiting the tradition that had developed over the intervening centuries. The oracles were formulated in Greek, Latin, Hebrew, and vernacular languages and the enquirer could get to the relevant oracle by means of dice, cards, calculations based on the position of planets, or the numerical value of the letters from the name of the enquirer. This led to creation of a fascinating body of texts which, unlike more complex and serious astrological forms of divination, provided enquiring minds with amusing methods of discovering the future.[3]

2 *Fortuna abo Szczęście* (Kraków: Walerian Piątkowski, c.1646–1652 [1649]), copy at Biblioteka Narodowa, Warszawa, XVII.4.3504. *Fortuna abo Szczęście* (Kraków: Dziedzice Stanisława Bertutowica, 1665), copy at Strahovska Knihovna v Klastere Premonstratu, Praha, AG XII 25.

3 For a history of the genre see: Johannes Bolte, 'Anhang', in Johannes Bolte (ed.), *Georg Wikrams Werke*, vol. 4 (Tübingen: Laupp, 1903), pp. 276–278, 319; Johannes Bolte, 'Zur

Books of fortune-telling were first read in manuscript form, and then quickly passed into print. The first printed collection of oracles was an Italian work by Lorenzo Spirito, entitled *Il libro delle sorti*. This was published in 1482, in Perugia. Light-hearted and entertaining, *Il libro delle sorti* enjoyed considerable success, as attested by the number of registered editions: 23 published in Italian by the 1550s and more than two dozen in French, Spanish, English, and Dutch produced by the end of the seventeenth century.[4] Owing to its popularity, *Il libro delle sorti* by Lorenzo Spirito also served as a source of inspiration for later compilations. Spirito's followers include, among others, Sigismondo Fanti, the author of *Triompho di Fortuna* (1527) and Francesco Marcolini, the author of *Le ingeniose sorti intitulate giardino di pensieri* (1550). To these we may add the German writers who compiled *Losbücher*, as well as Jörg Wickram, the author of the collection *Kurzweil* (1539). To these, as we will see, may also be joined the author of the Polish *Fortuna*.

Books of fortune-telling shared a number of characteristics. One common feature was an apparently complicated structure designed to mystify the readers. Consulting such a book meant finding one's way through a maze of tables and diagrams, wandering among astral representations, talking animals, prophets, and philosophers. Searching for references was intended to build excitement and suspense, and to keep the enquirer in a state of uncertainty about the result of divination. *Fortuna abo Szczęście* accords well with this tradition. The volume contains 444 rhymed oracles that provide answers to 21 questions listed at the beginning of the volume. These are all restricted to everyday life and personal matters such as health, wealth, career choice, happiness in love and business. After having chosen one of these questions the enquirer first had to find the page where it reappeared, printed above a 'wheel of fortune', i.e. a spherical table of dice casts named after the bird whose image was placed at its centre. The next step was to throw two dice and find the result of the cast at the woodcut diagram, where it would be combined with a name

Geschichte der Punktier- und Losbücher', *Jahrbuch für historische Volkskunde*, 1 (1925), pp. 185–214; T.C. Skeat, 'An early mediaeval "Book of Fate": the Sortes XII Patriarcharum', *Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies*, 3 (1954), pp. 41–54; Willy Louis Braekman (ed.), *Fortune-Telling by the Casting of Dice. A Middle English Poem and Its Background* (Brussels: Omirel, 1981).

4 Alexander Rosenstock, *Das Losbuch des Lorenzo Spirito von 1482. Eine Spurensuche* (Weissenkorn: Konrad, 2010), pp. 15–18; Manfred Zollinger, *Bibliographie der Spielbücher des 15. bis 18. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 1: *1473–1700* (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1996). Zollinger does not mention any Polish book of fortune-telling, whereas Bolte listed works of Stanisław Kleryka, Seweryn Bączalski, and Jan Gawiński following Karol Estreicher's *Bibliografia polska*. See Bolte, 'Anhang', p. 308.

of a town. In this way, 21 'bird spheres' guided the reader to the 21 'spheres of the animals' – the second set of 'wheels of fortune', above which animal images presided. Here the reader had to find the name of the relevant town, because next to it a reference was added to the list of twelve Sibyls, who each had 37 predictions to give. After the enquirer had found their way through these stages, he or she was able to reach the supposedly relevant answer. At the location determined in fact by the dice throw, the reader would be provided with an oracle: favourable or unfavourable, humorous or simply offensive.

For example, when the enquirer wanted to know if they should live a long life ("Jeśli kto będzie długo żyw"), they would open *Fortuna* at the page where a wheel of fortune was printed with a gander at the centre (ill. 6.1). When the dice happened to turn up, for example, six and six, the reader would be referred to the woodcut sphere with the picture of a sable and asked to look there for the name of the village Bochnia (ill. 6.2). Finding it leads to the oracle number one given by 'Sybilla Persica' (ill. 6.3). The answer reads: "Żadnemu Bóg nie raczył dać tego, / Iżby wiedział wiek zdrowia swego; / Wszakże to powiem iście tobie, / Że ty pomieszkasz na świecie sobie" [I, 1] ["God has hidden from us the date of our death; But I will tell you the honest truth: you are going to stay in the world long enough"].

Editio princeps of Fortuna: Date and Printer

Losbücher, *libros di ventura* and *livres de bonne chance* were popular all over Europe especially in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In fact, browsing through the seventeeth-century copies of *Fortuna abo Szczęście* tells us immediately that the work itself, even if known today from copies produced in 1640s and 1660s is a much earlier one. In the rhymed introduction the book's author introduces himself to the readers as 'Stanisław z Bochnie'. Thus *Fortuna* must have been composed in the first decades of the sixteenth century, since Stanisław z Bochnie Gąsiorek was a poet and a composer who had died some time before 1561. Active in Krakow Stanisław was serving at the court of Zygmunt I (Sigismund I the Old, 1467–1548) as the king's most prominent chaplain, and for that reason he was also called Kleryka.[5] Kleryka's poetical legacy consists primarily of occasional, panegyric poetry composed in the vernacular and published by Krakow printers in 1520 and 1530. This in turn provides a hint that the *editio princeps* of *Fortuna* was also printed in one of the city's workshops in those years.

5 Helena Kapełuś, *Stanisław z Bochnie, kleryka królewski* (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1964).

ILLUSTRATION 6.1 *Stanisław Kleryka, Fortuna abo Szczęście* (*Kraków: Drukarnia Dziedziców Stanisława Bertutowica, 1665*)
© Strahovska Knihovna v Klastere Premonstratu, Prague [AG XII 25]

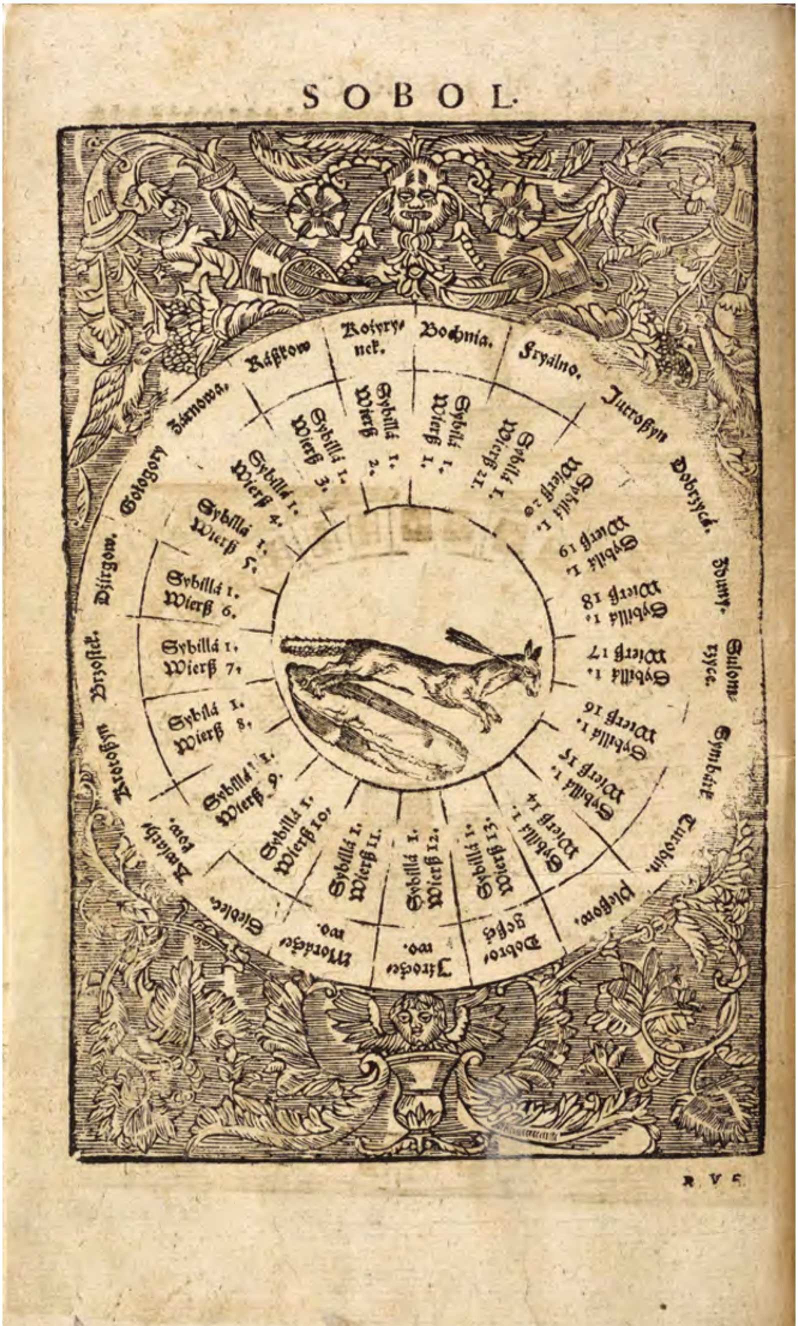


ILLUSTRATION 6.2 *Stanisław Kleryka, Fortuna abo Szczęście* (*Kraków: Drukarnia Dziedziców Stanisława Bertutowica, 1665*)


SYBILLA PERSICA I.

Sybillá Pierſza.

1531

1.	Żadnemu Bog nie raczył dáć tego/ Iżby wiedział wiek zdrowia ſwego: Wſzákże to powiem iście tobie/ Że ty pomieſzkaſz ná świecie ſobie.
2.	Ty maſz myśli rozdwoione/ Chceſz być Popem/ chceſz mieć żone: Pará Aſow tobie prorokuie/ Że cie kurwá wczáruie.
3.	Spráwiedliwieć życże tego/ Doydzieſz rzędu wyſokiego: Będzieſz podwyżſzon nád ſwoy ſtan/ Że ſie temu będzieſz dziwowáć ſam.
4	Abyś iście temu wierzyć chćiálá/ Nie będzieſz ty rychło męża miálá: Muſzeć teraz prawdę doiáć/ Zlaś/ roſpuſtna/ nie śmie ćie nikt poiáć.
5.	Maſz mieć ſzczęście w rzeczy káżdey/ W młodości/ y w ſtárości ſwey: Przyidzieſz k ſtanu wyſokiemu/ Uczyniſz cześć domowi ſwemu.

Chceſzli

ILLUSTRATION 6.3 *Stanisław Kleryka, Fortuna abo Szczęście (Kraków: Drukarnia Dziedziców Stanisława Bertutowica, 1665)*

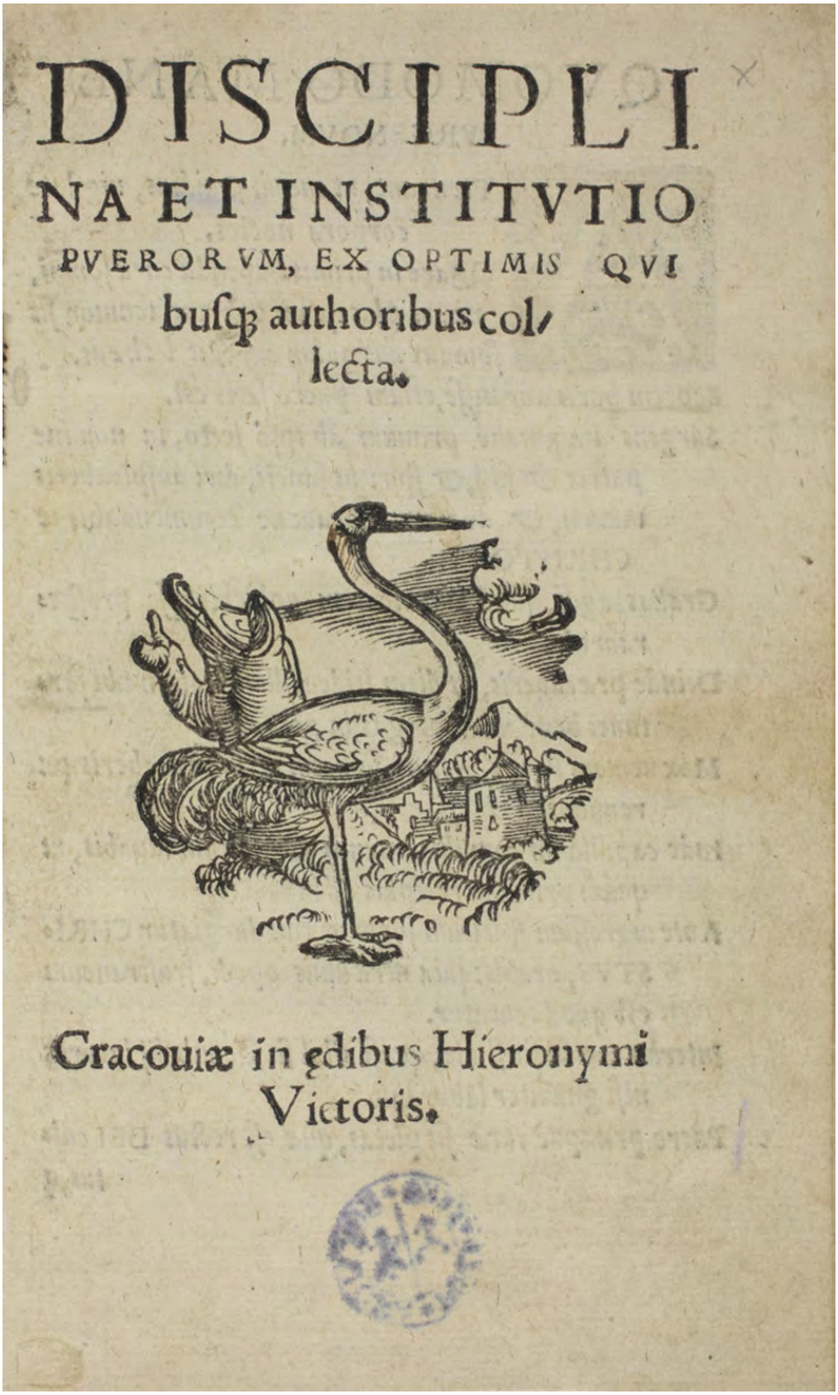
This working hypothesis is confirmed by the woodcut evidence given by the later seventeenth-century copies of Kleryka's work. Examination of the 1665 volume and the fragmentary copy printed in the 1640s reveals that both editions were produced using a very similar set of woodblocks. The printers made do, for the most part, with worn, second-hand cuts originating mostly in the sixteenth century. The sixteenth-century illustrations include not only generic figures, but also images closely connected with the content and structure of *Fortuna*. These include representations of Fortuna-Occasio in classical costume, the image of the wheel of Fortune in accord with Mediaeval iconography, and – more importantly – stylistically uniform series. The first of the series consists of birds and animals and the other is a parade of twelve Sibyls. Both must have been designed and cut with an eye to producing *Fortuna*: birds and animals to be set in the centre of wheels of fortune, and the Sibyls to preside over the prediction pages. Hence the significance of the fact that the two woodcuts belonging to these series – the image of 'gąsiorek' (a gander) (ill. 6.1) and the conventional portrait of 'Sybilla Persica' (ill. 6.3) – bear the date 1531, suggesting that the first edition of *Fortuna abo Szczęście* was printed about that time, most probably after 1531. Interestingly the woodcuts with these dates were not chosen accidentally. Both illustrations open the series to which they belong; the image of a gander is also a pun, or a rebus signature: Gąsiorek was the family name of Stanisław z Bochnie.[6]

Examination of the woodcuts used to produce the seventeenth-century copies of *Fortuna abo Szczęście* strongly suggests not only the date of the work's *editio princeps*, but also its printer, as some of the illustrations of the 1640s and 1665 editions are also to be found in books produced in the first decades of the sixteenth century. Most notably this is the case with the birds and the animals that rule the game in *Fortuna* and belong to the series in all probability commissioned for Kleryka's work (compare ills. 6.4 and 6.5). Also the generic portraits (in *Fortuna* representing mythical characters) appear in numerous books, the earliest of which were printed in the 1530s (compare ills. 6.1 and 6.6).[7]

6 On this tradition see Béatrice Fraenkel, 'La signature et le rébus de nom propre', in Martin Heussner et al. (eds.), *Word and Image. A Selection of Papers Given at the Second International Conference on Word and Image* (Basel: Wiese, 1993), pp. 35–40.

7 See e.g. *Istoryja o świętym Jozefie* (Kraków: Hieronim Wietor, 1530), copy at Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Kraków, Cim 103 (Nestor in *Fortuna*); Piotr Ciświcki, *Adolescentis epistola* (Kraków: Hieronim Wietor, 1535), copy at Biblioteka Kórnicka, Cim O.81 (Orestes and Pylades in *Fortuna*); Andreas Guarna, *Grammaticae opus* (Kraków, Hieronim Wietor: 1534), copy at Biblioteka Ossolineum, XVI.O.471 (Fabius in *Fortuna*).

ILLUSTRATION 6.4 *Stanisław Kleryka, Fortuna abo Szczęście (Kraków: Drukarnia Dziedziców Stanisława Bertutowica, 1665)* © Strahovska Knihovna v Klastere Premonstratu, Prague [AG XII 25]



DISCIPLI
NA ET INSTITVTIO
PVERORVM, EX OPTIMIS QVI
busq; authoribus col-
lecta.

Cracouiæ in ędibus Hieronymi
Victoris.

ILLUSTRATION 6.5 *Disciplina puerorum* (*Kraków: Hieronim Wietor, post 1541*)
© Biblioteka Kórnicka [Cim O.335]

ILLUSTRATION 6.6 *Istoryja o świętym Jozefie* (*Kraków: Hieronim Wietor, 1530*) © Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Kraków [Cim 103]

Since the early sixteenth-century imprints that make use of the woodcuts otherwise known from *Fortuna* originate in the workshop of Hieronim Wietor, a printer active in Krakow between 1518 and 1546, it seems reasonable to assume that is was Wietor who was responsible for the first, lost edition of *Fortuna*.[8]

8 Anna Mańkowska, Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa, 'Hieronim Wietor', in Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa (ed.), *Drukarze dawnej Polski*, vol. 1: *Małopolska*, part 1: *Od xv do xvi wieku* (Wrocław: Ossolineum 1983), pp. 325–352.

The woodcut evidence suggests that to print his books Wietor used blocks with generic illustrations as well as those that belonged to the series commissioned to produce *Fortuna* about 1531. To have a set of woodblocks cut was a costly investment, so it made sense to exploit it in more than one book, as well as employ the blocks over a period of decades, as Wietor did.

Crediting Hieronim Wietor with the Kleryka's collection's first edition accords with the reconstruction of the way woodblocks he once owned came into the possession of the seventeenth-century printers of *Fortuna*. In fact, the printing shop established by Wietor *in platea Columbarum* in Krakow was first inherited by Barbara Wietorowa, Hieronim's widow, then by her second husband Łazarz Andrysowic, and finally by Jan Łazarzowic Januszowski, the only son of Barbara and Łazarz.[9] Januszowski gave up printing at the beginning of the seventeenth century. After a few years, the material that originated from Wietor's shop was purchased by Maciej Jędrzejowczyk, who in turn left it to his son-in-law Walerian Piątkowski (in the late 1640s Piątkowski produced the *Fortuna* copy that is incompletely preserved at the National Library in Warsaw). The printing tools he owned and employed were consequently bought by Stanisław Bertutowic and then used as well by his heirs, who in 1665 published another *Fortuna* edition (the only recorded copy being the volume at the Strahov Monastery Library in Prague). Early sixteenth-century woodblocks used to illustrate the seventeenth-century editions of *Fortuna* remained in the workshop *in platea Columbarum* for many decades. Employed first by Hieronim Wietor, they were next used by Barbara Wietorowa, then by Łazarz Andrysowic, and Jan Januszowski.[10] In the seventeenth century these old woodblocks found new owners, and were re-used again.

Attributing the *editio princeps* of *Fortuna* to Hieronim Wietor seems even more justified considering the fact that Wietor was one of the first to publish books in Polish. He issued a number of editions in the vernacular at a time when printers were still learning how to deal with the technical difficulties raised by choosing Polish as the language of a printed text. At the end of the 1520s and the beginning of the 1530s, around the time *Fortuna* was first published, printing books in Polish was no longer an absolute novelty, but was still a practice adopted relatively recently. In Poland, printing started in 1473, but it

9 Justyna Kiliańczyk-Zięba, 'In Platea Columbarum. The printing house of Hieronim Wietor, Łazarz Andrysowic and Jan Januszowski in Renaissance Krakow', *Publishing History*, 47 (2010), pp. 5–37.

10 See e.g. Jan z Łańcuta, *Algorithmus linealis* (Kraków: Barbara Wietorowa, 1548), copy at Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Cim 141; Krzysztof Kobylański, *Variorum epigrammatum libellus* (Kraków: Łazarz Andrysowic, 1551) copy at Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Cim 4417.

took some time before typographers learnt how to produce publications in the vernacular. Texts composed *in lingua vulgari Polonica* were originally added to more extensive Latin works: vernacular prayers were printed in *Statuta synodalia episcoporum Vratislaviensium* from 1475 (Wrocław, Kasper Elyan), *Bogurodzica* (*Mother of God*) in *Commune incliti Poloniae Regni privilegium constitutionum* by Jan Łaski from 1505 (Krakow, Jan Haller).[11] Most probably, books printed entirely in the vernacular started to be produced soon after that, in the first decade of the sixteenth century.[12]

The first printer whose workshop produced a series of books *in lingua vulgari Polonica* in the opening decades of the sixteenth century was Florian Ungler, active in Krakow. On the Polish-language book market his competitor was Hieronim Wietor, a printer-humanist, who at the same time did not shun popular books that sold well. Wietor published his first book in Krakow in 1518 and, as early as in 1520, he printed *Żywot świętej Anny* (*The Life of St Anne*) by Jan z Koszyczek. He took over some Polish texts from Ungler, but he also encouraged local intellectuals to create new ones. A series of translations left Wietor's workshop in the 1520s, including *Rozmowy, ktore miał krol Salomon mądry z Marchołtem grubym a sprosnym* (*The Dialogue of Salomon and Marcolf*, 1521) by Jan z Koszyczek and *Ezop* (*Aesop*, 1522) by Biernat z Lublina. Humorous and appealing to a popular audience, *Fortuna* seems to harmonise well with the Polish-language repertoire of Wietor: its edition of about 1531 emerged out of and further developed an existing vernacular printing tradition.

Illustrations and Layout of Lost Editions

When a book of fortune-telling was reprinted in successive editions, its content and structure, as well as the woodcuts and typographic design, usually followed those of the first imprint. The tendency is best observable in the illustrated editions of *Il libro delle sorti* by Lorenzo Spirito – the most popular early modern book of fortune-telling. Most editions of Spirito's collection in Italian reflect

11 Wiesław Wydra, Wojciech Ryszard Rzepka, 'Niesamoistne drukowane teksty polskie sprzed roku 1521 i ich znaczenie dla historii drukarstwa i języka polskiego', in Stanisław Grzeszczuk and Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa (eds.), *Dawna książka i kultura. Materiały międzynarodowej sesji naukowej z okazji pięćsetlecia sztuki drukarskiej w Polsce* (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1975), pp. 263–288.

12 The discussion about the beginnings of printing in Polish and controversies raised by the subject are summarised by Danuta Bacewiczowa, *Kasper Hochfeder*, in Kawecka-Gryczowa (ed.), *Drukarze*, pp. 65–66.

either the continued use of the same woodblocks, or use illustrations based on earlier cuts; at the same time the arrangement of the text and woodcut material is imitated or re-created.[13] More interestingly the same is true for the translations of *Il libro* into other European vernaculars, especially French: although subsequent editions differ from each other, they all feature the layout of earlier volumes, as a consequence echoing incunabula copies of Spirito's work.[14]

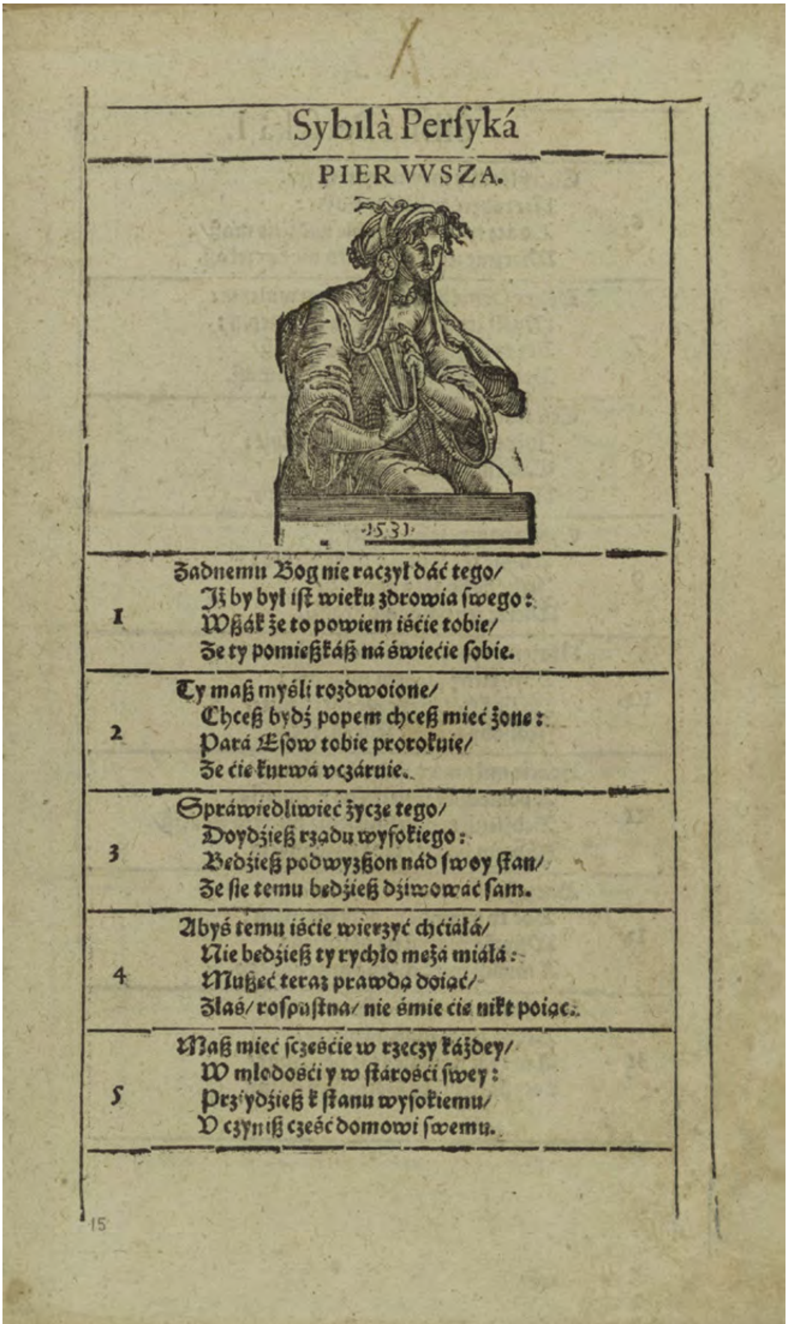
It is thus equally conceivable that in the case of the Polish *Fortuna* the layout of the edition produced about 1531 is reflected in the design of the uniquely preserved copies issued more than a century later. This assumption can be placed in a context that would verify the hypothesis. Firstly, both the fragmented copy from the 1640s and the 1665 book duplicate the same structure and feature an identical layout. The volumes are opened by two full page woodcuts representing Fortuna-Occasio and the mediaeval wheel of Fortune, followed by introductory poems, instructions for playing the games, and the list of questions the readers were to choose from when consulting the book of fate. After that come pages that each contain in the upper-half a query and a woodcut portrait of a mythical figure associated with a respective life dilemma, and in the lower part the woodcut material (decorative borders, representations of birds and animals ruling the game) together with text type (text describing the result of the thrown dice) (compare ills. 6.1 and 6.7). The final pages give answers to the game. Four-line, rhymed oracles are numbered and separated by rules. The predictions are printed arranged in twelve groups and the opening page of each group is headed by a portrait of a Sibyl (compare ills. 6.3 and 6.8). Admittedly the design of the 1665 edition is slightly less sober, since the vertical lines are replaced with ornamental borders composed of tiny elements. Even if both editions do not always conform absolutely, either the 1665 edition is a page for page reprint of the one produced in 1640s, or they both follow the design of an earlier, lost book. Whatever the exact relationship of these preserved copies to each other, in all probability they both in fact feature the layout of a much earlier, possibly sixteenth-century, edition, the design of which certainly echoed the typographical project of the *editio princeps*.

Secondly, considering the fact that the printers who produced the seventeenth-century volumes of Polish *Fortuna* re-used woodcuts over a hundred

13 Tammaro de Marinis, 'Le illustrazioni per il libro de le sorte di Lorenzo Spirito', in Tammaro de Marinis, *Appunti e ricerche bibliografiche* (Milan: U. Hoepli, 1940), pp. 69–83; Daniel de Simone (ed.), *A Heavenly Craft. The Woodcut in Early Printed Books* (New York: George Braziller, 2004), pp. 157–159.

14 Andrew Pettegree, Malcolm Walsby and Alexander Wilkinson, *French Vernacular Books. Books Published in the French Language before 1601* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), nos. 48472–48488.

ILLUSTRATION 6.7 *Stanisław Kleryka, Fortuna abo Szczęście* (*Kraków: Drukarnia Waleriana Piątkowskiego,* [*1646–1652*])
© Biblioteka Narodowa, Warsaw [XVII.4.3504]



Sybilá Perſyká

PIERVVSZA.

1531

1 Zadnemu Bog nie raczył dáć tego/
Iż by był iśt wieku zdrowia ſwego:
Wſzák że to powiem iście tobie/
Że ty pomieſzkáſz ná świećie ſobie.

2 Ty maſz myśli rozdwoione/
Chceſz być popem chceſz mieć żone:
Pará Eſow tobie prorokuie/
Że ćie kurwá vczáruie.

3 Spráwiedliwiec życze tego/
Doydźieſz rządu wyſokiego:
Będźieſz podwyżſzon nád ſwoy ſtan/
Że ſie temu będźieſz dźiwowáć ſam.

4 Abyś temu iście wierzyć chćiáłá/
Nie będźieſz ty rychło męża miáłá:
Muſzeć teraz prawdą doiąć/
Złaś/ roſpuſtna/ nie śmie ćię nikt poiąć.

5 Maſz mieć ſczęśćie w rzeczy káżdey/
W młodośći y w ſtárośći ſwey:
Przyydźieſz k ſtanu wyſokiemu/
V czyniſz cześć domowi ſwemu.

15

ILLUSTRATION 6.8 *Stanisław Kleryka, Fortuna abo Szczęście* (*Kraków: Drukarnia Waleriana Piątkowskiego,* [*1646–1652*]) years old, some of which were cut specially for the edition of c. 1531, it is probable that the great part of the illustrative material found in the later preserved copies had already been used in the *editio princeps* of Kleryka's book. Even if some of the woodcuts originally employed were replaced by more recently designed illustrations, it is reasonable to assume that at least the woodcuts owned by Hieronim Wietor in the 1530s, especially those commissioned for the book of fortune-telling (e.g. the Sibyls) were accommodated within the volume printed about 1531 in the same places as in the seventeenth-century editions. As a consequence a study of the seventeenth-century volumes allows a reconstruction of the typographical structure of the first edition of *Fortuna*.

This observation seems more justified when we look at the editions of *Fortuna* translated into Hungarian in the sixteenth century, as well as a copy published in Krakow in the eighteenth century. The Hungarian version of Kleryka's collection is preserved in unique fragmentary copies, representing two different editions printed at the end of the sixteenth or beginning of the seventeenth century.[15] The copy named *Fortuna* was probably produced in 1599–1610 in Kolozsvár (presently Cluj-Napoca in Romania). The copy named *Sybillák jövendölése* (Sibyls' oracles) is thought to have been printed around 1616 in Bártfa (presently Bardejov in Slovakia). It transmits an older, sixteenth-century variant of the oracles' text, which suggests that an earlier edition of this work might have existed. This assumption is further corroborated (just as in the case of the Polish book of fortune-telling) by woodcut evidence: illustrations from the book of fate designed series are found in a number of sixteenth-century books. Futher proof is offered by the printer's preface in the Kolozsvár volume, where an edition of the work produced a few years before is explicitly mentioned.

The unknown author of the Hungarian book of fortune-telling translated the Polish text and copied the structure of Kleryka's collection. More importantly for our purpose the layout of *Fortuna* and *Sybillák jövendölése* is also clearly dependent on a volume imported from Krakow, even though both Hungarian editions were issued *in quarto* whereas the Polish *Fortuna* was a

15 The information about the Hungarian translation of *Fortuna* is quoted after Helena Kapełuś, Jan Ślaski, 'Polski druk popularny na Węgrzech. Z dziejów "Fortuny"', *Rocznik Biblioteki Narodowej*, 2 (1966), pp. 297–317; Gedeon Borsa, 'Hol és mikor nyomták az eddig ismert két legrégibb magyar sorsvetö könyvet?', in Gedeon Borsa, *Könyvtörténeti írások I. A hazai nyomdászat 15–17 század* (Budapest: Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, 1996), pp. 295–300; Gedeon Borsa, 'A "Fortuna" sorsvetökönyv eredete és utóélete', in Gedeon Borsa, *Könyvtörténeti írások I. A hazai nyomdászat 15–17 század* (Budapest: Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, 1996), pp. 301–306. The edition printed about 1594 is mentioned in Gedeon Borsa (ed.), *Alte siebenbürgische Drucke* (*16. Jahrhundert*) (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 1996), no. 361. Digital facsimile of *Fortuna* is available online: <http://oszkdk.oszk.hu/DRJ/6764>.

folio book. Hungarian printers had the woodblocks cut after the Polish example, though the images in their editions are more naturalistic and less stylised then the illustrations that had been commissioned by Hieronim Wietor. The pages with the oracles' text have been set up following the plan familiar from the 1640s and 1665 unique copies of the Polish *Fortuna*. Naturally a copy representing one of these editions could not serve as a model for the Hungarian printers, whose edition pre-dates them by the best part of a hundred years. The editions from Kolozsvár and Bártfa feature instead the layout of an older sixteenth-century book that in turn most probably followed the design of the *editio princeps* originating about 1531 in the workshop of Hieronim Wietor.

The tendency to imitate the layout and illustrations of older editions of Kleryka's collection was established early on, as the copies of *Fortuna*'s translations into Hungarian strongly suggest. That it became the firmly rooted custom is demonstrated not only by the 1640s and 1665 volumes of *Fortuna*, but also by a mid-eighteenth-century book whose content is a new version of Kleryka's old work. Preparations to print an up-to-date edition of *Fortuna* began at the end of the seventeenth century. Jan Gawiński wrote rhymed oracles, using Kleryka's archaic verses as his starting point.[16] Mikołaj Bereszniewicz provided new woodblocks, cutting them after illustrations in an old volume of *Fortuna*. Bereszniewicz signed his portrait of 'Sybilla Kumea' ('Nicolaus Bereszniewic sculpsit Cracov[iae] 1689') and dated the representations of a gander (1688) and 'Sybilla Persica' (1689) following the example of an anonymous woodcutter who worked for Wietor in 1531 (compare ills. 6.1, 6.9, 6.3, and 6.10). The full-page wheel of Fortune was also dated (1678).

No known copy of a late seventeenth-century edition of *Fortuna* with Gawiński's text and Bereszniewicz's illustrations has come down to us. A copy certainly survived into the nineteenth century when it was recorded in a catalogue as printed by Drukarnia Akademii in Krakow, in 1690.[17] Without this note by a nineteenth-century bibliographer we would have to infer the existence of "an edition from about 1689" – and its illustrations and layout – by examining more recent copies of Gawiński's *Fortuna* that have been preserved until now. These were printed in Krakow in 1744 by Michał Dyjaszewski, who reused the woodblocks by Bereszniewicz and imitated the layout once featured in the editions of Kleryka's *Fortuna*.[18]

16 Dariusz Chemperek, *Poezja Jana Gawińskiego i kultura literacka drugiej połowy XVII wieku* (Lublin: Wydawnictwo UMCS, 2005), pp. 323–336.

17 Żegota Pauli, *Poezyje Jana z Wielomowic Gawińskiego* (Lwów: Jan Milikowski, 1843), pp. 19–20.

18 There are two copies of Gawiński's *Fortuna* registered in the union catalogue of the National Library in Warsaw: (1) at Biblioteka Narodowa, Warszawa, XVIII.3.5734; (2) at Biblioteka Ossolineum, Wrocław, XVIII.15649-IV.

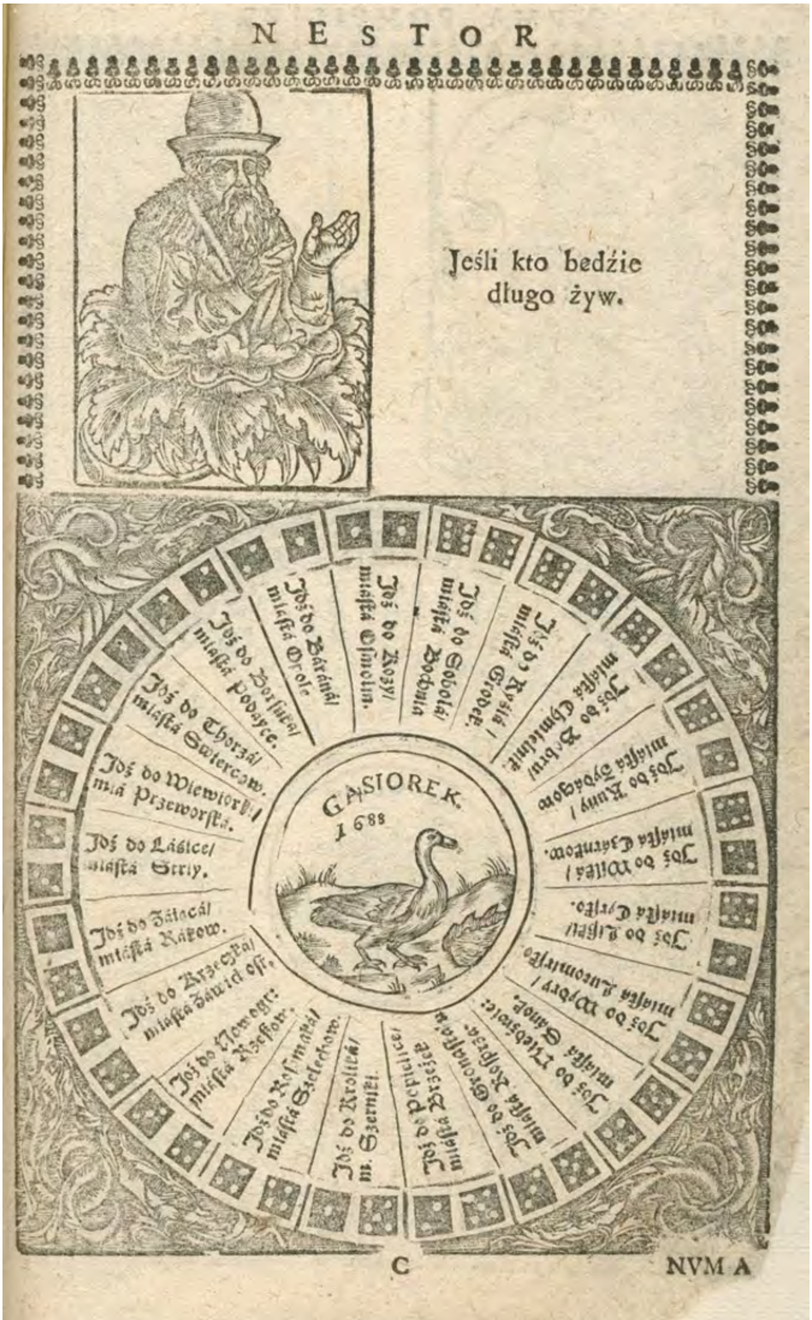


ILLUSTRATION 6.9 *Jan Gawiński, Fortuna albo Szczęście* (*Kraków: Michał Dyjaszewski, 1744*)

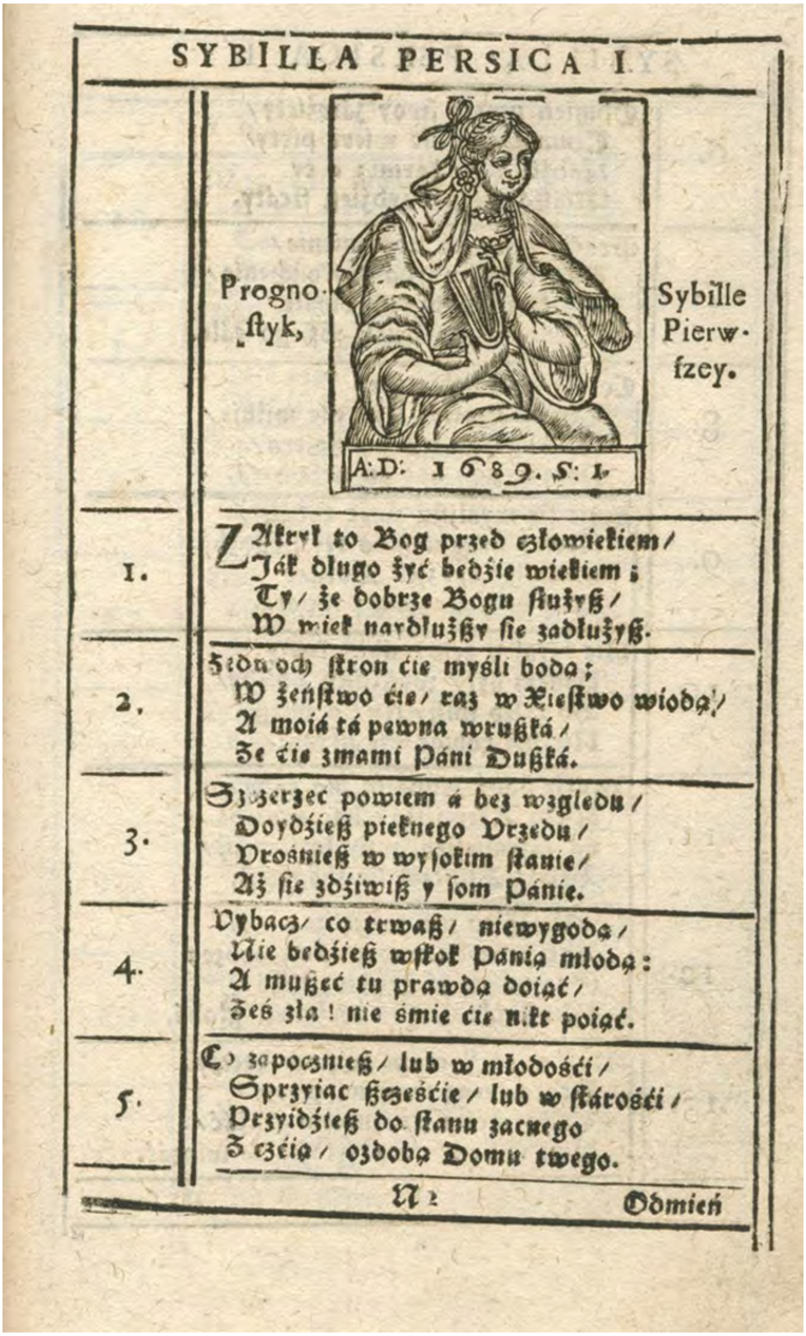


ILLUSTRATION 6.10 *Jan Gawiński, Fortuna albo Szczęście* (*Kraków: Michał Dyjaszewski, 1744*) © Biblioteka Narodowa, Warsaw [XVIII.3.5734]

Dyjaszewski probably modelled his volume on the book produced in 1690 (or one representing a later, now lost edition), but in fact he followed a much older design, as Gawiński's *Fortuna* from 1744 shows the same overall typographical structure as the volumes printed in the 1640s and 1660s and therefore perhaps echoes the layout of the first edition of Kleryka's volume.

The typographical form of Kleryka's work was imitated, modified and recreated by subsequent generations of printers. The sixteenth-century layout maintained its appeal, in spite of the passing decades and even when the volume crossed geographical and national barriers. This certainly owed a lot to the traditionalistic attitude of *Fortuna*'s printers and the woodcutters working for them, who were active in a milieu of limited financial resources, and where fresh talents were rare. But as well as this *Fortuna*'s design must have been considered felicitous – functional and attractive – by the makers of the book and by its readers if no attempt was made to introduce a layout and illustrations inspired by new iconographical models, even for the editions produced a century or two after Kleryka's collection was first issued.

Archival Records for Kleryka's Volume

Scarce material traces provide evidence that *Fortuna* was reprinted in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: woodcuts suggest that the first edition of Kleryka's collection was produced c. 1531 by Hieronim Wietor; there is a tiny binding-waste fragment of a book from the 1570s attributed to Jan Januszowski,[19] a fragmentary copy printed in the late 1640s by Walerian Piątkowski, and a complete 1665 volume produced by Bertutowic's heirs. The existence of four distinct editions can thus be documented. The fragmentary survival of all but one of these raises the reasonable possibility that there were more editions produced after 1531 and in the first decades of the seventeenth century, as the rarity and incompleteness of preserved volumes often suggests that a title might have been frequently reprinted, only for copies to be read or used until quite worn out. In the same way, since most of *Il libro delle sorti* editions preserved until today are represented by unique or incomplete copies it has been suggested that Spirito's work have been printed more frequently than bibliographical evidence implies.[20]

A further example of this phenomenon from a slightly different genre is provided by the fortunes in Polish of the popular comic tale Marcolf. Hieronim

19 Kapełuś, *Stanisław*, pp. 79–80.

20 Rosenstock, *Das Losbuch*, p. 16.

Wietor printed at least six editions of *Rozmowy…z Marchołtem* between the years 1521 and 1553. We would have no bibliographical evidence confirming the existence of most of them if not for Kazimierz Piekarski who discovered binding-waste fragments that represent four separate editions.[21] Kleryka's book of fortune-telling was certainly less popular (and more expensive) than *Rozmowy…z Marchołtem*, and as such, it was printed less frequently. Nonetheless, the Marcolf adventures demonstrate that the readers' favourite recreational books had the potential to be re-printed every few years during their period of peak demand. We can conclude *per analogiam* that apart from the four editions of *Fortuna* mentioned above there must have been others. As survival depends primarily on the nature of early ownership, *Fortuna* copies did not have a high chance of preservation. *Fortuna* readers did not give thought to the long-term preservation of a book that promised a pleasant, undemanding read or could be consulted in the company of friends and used for social entertainment. Books of fortune-telling would not be bought by or given to an institution with a formal library such as a convent or a university where the volumes had a better chance of survival.[22]

Some publishing details for Kleryka's book of fortune-telling are documented in archival sources. Unfortunately, no sixteenth-century book inventories or other contemporary documents I have consulted have preserved any records on editions of *Fortuna* originating from the workshop of Hieronim Wietor, his wife Barbara or her second husband, Łazarz Andrysowic, although Kleryka's book could have been reprinted there in the decades after 1531. *Fortuna* is mentioned, however, in an inventory of 'things that belonged to the deceased Maciej Przywilcki', a bookbinder from Krakow.[23] The inventory was compiled in 1587, so it is possible then that the two copies of *Fortuna* in folio, listed therein, represent the same edition as the fragment printed in the 1570s in Oficyna Łazarzowa of Jan Januszowski that was found hidden away in a late sixteenth-century binding.

21 Kazimierz Piekarski, 'Fragmenty czterech nieznanych wydań *Marchołta*', *Pamiętnik Literacki*, 32 (1935), pp. 481–520.

22 Paul Needham, 'The late use of incunables and the paths of book survival', *Wolfenbütteler Notizen zur Buchgeschichte*, 29.2 (2004), pp. 39–41.

23 Archiwum Narodowe w Krakowie, *Libri scabinalia Cracoviensia*, 207, pp. 948–957; Adam Chmiel, 'Inwentarz rzeczy introligatora krakowskiego Macieja Przywilckiego z roku 1587', *Silva Rerum*, 4 (1928), pp. 175–180; Justyna Kiliańczyk-Zięba, 'The book inventory of the sixteenth-century Krakow bookbinder, Maciej Przywilcki', in Malcolm Walsby and Natasha Constantinidou (eds.), *Documenting the Early Modern Book World. Inventories and Catalogues in Manuscript and Print* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 263–282.

In the second decade of the seventeenth century Kleryka's book of fortune-telling was printed by Maciej Jędrzejowczyk, who purchased Oficyna Łazarzowa from the sons of Jan Januszowski. Archival records mention that Jędrzejowczyk had a valuation done on a copy of *Fortuna* in 1618.[24] That an edition of Kleryka's work was published around that time is also confirmed by a post-mortem inventory of Wawrzyniec Latowicki, a bookbinder from Lublin, compiled in 1619: eight copies of *Fortuna in folio* were listed among the possessions of the deceased.[25]

Another edition of *Fortuna* was most probably published in the late 1630s. This is suggested by the archival record on Walerian Piątkowski, Maciej Jędrzejowczyk's son-in-law. After the old master's death in 1638, Piątkowski complained that some of the quires of a *Fortuna* edition which had already been printed were missing from the workshop he inherited.[26] Piątkowski himself printed *Fortuna* at the end of the 1640s, but it seems unlikely that he published any other editions of the old collection: there are no records concerning the printer after 1649.

Walerian Piątkowski's printing office was taken over by Stanisław Lenczewski Bertutowic, who probably died around 1657. In 1658 his heirs (Bertutowic's widow, Katarzyna, and his sons) were granted a royal privilege for the printing of a series of books, which must have been selling very well if the office decided to apply for a document safeguarding their rights. Among prayer books and primers, the privilege mentioned *Fortuna* in folio – unquestionably Kleryka's book of fortune-telling, apparently still bringing in significant profits.[27] The workshop, which was not managed by Bertutowic's widow herself but by Jan Kubiński, produced at least one edition of *Fortuna,* known from the unique copy of 1665 at the Strahov library in Prague. It is likely that copies of that same edition are also mentioned in an inventory of Kubiński's possessions that was drawn up in 1669 after the manager of the Bertutowic printing office had left

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24 Renata Żurkowa, 'Walerian Jerzy Piątkowski', in Jan Pirożyński (ed.), *Drukarze dawnej Polski od XV do XVIII wieku*, vol. 1: *Małopolska*, part 2/2 (Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 2000), p. 482 ("jeden jej egzemplarz [MJ] dał bowiem do fachowej wyceny").

25 Archiwum Państwowe w Lublinie, *Acta testamentorum et inventariorum*, 126, pp. 258–267; Elżbieta Torój, *Inwentarze książek lubelskich introligatorów z pierwszej połowy XVII wieku* (Lublin: Wydawnictwo UMCS, 2000).

26 Żurkowa, 'Walerian Jerzy Piątkowski', p. 472 ("od tyż *Fortunej* kart wydrukowanych ryz półpiętej").

27 Teodor Wierzbowski, *Materiały do dziejów piśmiennictwa polskiego i biografii pisarzów polskich* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwa Artystyczne i Filmowe, 1978), vol. II, pp. 85–86.

Krakow to escape the plague.[28] Various books in different stages of the production process are listed in this inventory, including 11 copies of *Fortuna* in folio.

If the Strahov copy of the Polish book of fortune-telling comes from the same edition as the books which once belonged to Jan Kubiński, it represents the last edition of *Fortuna* in which woodcuts originating in Hieronim Wietor's workshop formed the majority of illustrative material. Since Jan Kubiński never returned to Krakow, another inventory of the movables he had left in the city was made in 1681. Among the things stored in the cellar of the house in which he had lived, the rotten and destroyed remnants of some printing materials were found, including the *Fortuna* woodblocks commissioned by Hieronim Wietor one hundred and fifty years earlier.[29]

The book of fortune-telling by Stanisław z Bochnie Kleryka enjoyed considerable longevity. *Fortuna*'s text was adapted by epigones and translated into other languages, while the typographic form the collection acquired c. 1531 served as a model for printers of subsequent generations and the woodcutters who cooperated with them. Their work, together with archival evidence, allow us to draw conclusions about the existence of a series of editions of *Fortuna*, even if only the one produced in 1665 has been preserved in a complete, unique copy. Assumptions can be made also as to who produced successive editions and when they were printed. More interestingly, the design of the *editio princeps* as well as its reprints can be tentatively suggested. Copies of these lost editions might not have reached the safety of contemporary libraries, but they have not perished without trace.

28 "Spisanie rzeczy wszystkich, przez pana Jana Kubińskiego zostawionych i zamknionych", Archiwum Narodowe w Krakowie, *Acta inventariorum*, 256, pp. 1036–1044; Jan Kracik, 'Jan Kubiński – nieznany typograf krakowski XVII wieku?' *Biuletyn Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej*, 39 (1989), pp. 13–16.

29 Archiwum Narodowe w Krakowie, *Acta inventariorum*, 258, pp. 284–287 ("relikwije drukarskich rupieci, co to wszystko…wniwecz pogniło i popsowało się"); Kracik, *Jan Kubiński*, p. 16.

CHAPTER 7

Lost Print in England: Entries in the Stationers' Company Register, 1557–1640

Alexandra Hill

Introduction

On 8 August 1588, Queen Elizabeth I of England was riding to Tilbury to give a speech on the Spanish Armada. As it turned out, the most urgent danger posed by the Spanish fleet had already passed: blown off its station by gales, the great Armada had already at this moment passed the Firth of Forth on its painful journey back to Spain. However, neither the Queen nor the crown were aware of this: this famous oration was therefore an important event both for the 17,000 troops in the camp, and for the morale of the country.[1] How the great number present would all have heard the Queen is not recorded; happily, thanks to the wonders of modern technology, news of the Tilbury speech was soon circulating widely. This was not least due to enterprising London publishers who printed and sold ballads immortalising the occasion. Records show that at least twenty-eight ballads were printed on the Armada between June and November 1588, describing the attack and celebrating the victory.[2] Out of these twenty-eight ballads however, only four have survived.[3] This was not unusual. Unless collected soon after printing, the chance that ballads and other ephemeral print would survive was incredibly low, and the reporting of the Spanish Armada is only one of a number of events where this type of printed record has been lost. Fortunately, as book production in England was centred on London and dominated by the members of the Stationers' Company, their records contain valuable additional material with which to augment the evidence of surviving printed texts. In particular we may rely on the Stationers' Company Register, which, with some exceptions, contains the titles of all the books authorised to be printed during the Elizabethan, Jacobean and early

1 Colin Martin and Geoffrey Parker, *The Spanish Armada* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), p. 236.

2 John J. McAleer, 'Ballads on the Spanish Armada', *Texas Studies in Literature and Language*, 4 (1963), pp. 602–612, at p. 602.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 603.

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Caroline periods. This makes the Stationers' Company Register a unique source for printing in early modern England, as it provides a contemporary list of many printed works which cannot be traced to a surviving copy. Studying these entries will greatly enhance our knowledge of those books that have been lost, and provide us with a better and more comprehensive understanding of early modern printing.

The Study of Lost Books

Lost books is a relatively new area of bibliographical and historical study, and only a few works have tackled the problem of how to study and analyse something that has not survived. There are two main methods of calculating the extent of lost print. The first involves using established mathematical formulae to estimate the numbers of copies and editions from data on surviving works.[4] The second method involves correlating printed works from a contemporary list, inventory or bibliography with modern catalogues to produce a list of titles that were printed but have not survived.

One of the challenges of using bibliographies and catalogues in this way is that contemporary records often ignore more evanescent or ephemeral items. The contemporary bibliographies used by Alexander S. Wilkinson to study sixteenth-century French printing were compiled by their authors, La Croix du Maine and Antoine du Verdier, to demonstrate the intellectual superiority of French literary culture. They therefore made extensive use of evidence from private collections, but excluded ephemeral and less intellectual works which they deemed unworthy for inclusion.[5] Franklin B. Williams faced a similar problem with an English printed books catalogue by the English bookseller Andrew Maunsell, as Maunsell had concentrated on works of divinity and science, once again omitting many of the cheaper, more ephemeral works available.[6] The Stationers' Register, however, is a very different type of source, providing evidence of the day-to-day practice within the English book trade.

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4 See Goran Proot and Leo Egghe, 'Estimating Editions on the Basis of Survivals: Printed Programmes of Jesuit Plays', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 102 (2008), pp. 149–174 and Jonathan Green, Frank McIntyre and Paul Needham, 'The Shape of Incunable Survival and Statistical Estimation of Lost Editions', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America,* 105 (2011), pp. 141–175.

5 Alexander S. Wilkinson, 'Lost Books Printed in French before 1601', *The Library*, 10.2 (2009), pp. 188–205, at p. 194.

6 Franklin B. Williams, 'Lost Books of Tudor England', *The Library*, 5.1 (1978), pp. 1–14, at p. 3.

It offers a precious and detailed log of the projects undertaken by the Company's members, free of any particular overt or covert obfuscating intellectual agenda.

The Register is not, for all that, a comprehensive survey of London publishing activity. One thing that the Register cannot fully show is the number of copies printed for each book authorised. It is known that the Stationers' Company limited print runs to 1,500 copies, and 2,000 copies after 1635, with exemptions for works such as almanacs and calendars.[7] Accurate information on actual print runs, however, is often quite elusive. This makes it difficult to assess not only how many editions may have been lost, but also how many copies may have been printed of each. John Barnard compared the number of editions and copies of psalters, ABCs and primers ordered by the Treasurer of the Stationers' stock between 1660 and 1700 with the entries in Wing, the seventeenth-century continuation of the original STC.[8] The research shows a huge level of loss, as out of the hundreds of thousands of small format primers that were printed, only one copy survived.[9] Such dramatic scales of loss are not rare: the study of lost works thus becomes crucial for a better understanding of overall print activity.

The Stationers' Company and Printing in England

The Mistery of Stationers was founded in London in 1403, over half a century before the invention of printing with moveable type. The freemen of the group represented a number of different occupations and skills, including textwriters, illustrators and bookbinders, though the term stationer was mainly associated with booksellers.[10] When printing finally arrived in England with Caxton in 1476 the main printers, however, were not freemen in the mistery, and the guild would remain small until the end of Edward VI's reign.[11] During this period the majority of printed works required by English readers continued to be printed abroad and imported from continental Europe.

7 W.W. Greg, *Some Aspects and Problems of London Publishing between 1550 and 1650* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956), p. 16.

8 J. Barnard, 'The Survival and Loss Rates of Psalms, ABCs, Psalters and Primers from the Stationers' Stock, 1660–1700', *The Library*, 21.2 (1999), pp. 148–150, at p. 148.

9 *Ibid.*, p. 150.

10 Peter W.M. Blayney, *The Stationers' Company and the Printers of London 1501–1557. Volume 1: 1501–1546* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 13.

11 Peter W.M. Blayney, *The Stationers' Company and the Printers of London 1501–1557. Volume 2: 1547–1557* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 933–934.

It was not until 1557 that the stationers were granted a charter by Queen Mary, providing the company and its members with a monopoly over printing in England. Historians have long debated who benefitted most from the charter; the monarchy or the stationers. W.W. Greg argued that the charter was a joint venture between the Crown and stationers, not only creating a monopoly for the members, but also making it easier for the Crown to tackle heretical books.[12] D.F. McKenzie though believed that the charter was a natural progression from its guild status and that, despite the benefits to the company, it was the Crown that always had the final say over what could be printed.[13] More recent research carried out by Peter W.M. Blayney questions both these interpretations, suggesting that before the charter the stationers were not so dominant that a monopoly was the next natural step.[14] Blayney believes that the opportunity only came about after Mary purged the non-stationer printers who had dominated Reformation printing under Edward.[15] The company took advantage of the uncertainty, using the threat of heretical books to promote the necessity of a printing monopoly and presenting themselves as ideal candidates for the task.[16] Crucially, it meant that the printing jobs undertaken by members of the company would henceforth be systematically monitored and recorded.

Not all the books published in London appear in the Register. For instance, the monarch appointed a King's/Queen's printer for government publications and this gave that printer the freedom and responsibility to print official ordinances without further reference to the Stationers' Company. The same applies to privileges and patents that were awarded for the printing of certain works, or categories of work. Thomas Marshe, for instance, was given a twelve-year privilege for two Latin schoolbooks in 1572.[17] The granting of privileges and patents led to a number of internal problems within the company, with many of the poorer members of the company feeling that there was insufficient work available once all the more profitable jobs, such as schoolbooks

12 W.W. Greg and E. Boswell, *Records of the Court of the Stationers' Company, 1576–1602: From Register B* (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1930), p. lx.

13 D.F. McKenzie, 'Stationers' Company Liber A: An Apologia', in Robin Myers and Michael Harris (eds.), *The Stationers' Company and the Book Trade 1550–1990* (Winchester: St. Paul's Bibliographies, 1997), pp. 35–59, at p. 41.

14 Blayney, *The Stationers' Company and the Printers of London 1501–1557 Volume 2*, p. 923.

15 *Ibid.*, p. 935.

16 *Ibid.*, p. 932.

17 Peter Blayney, 'William Cecil and the Stationers', in *The Stationers' Company and the Book Trade 1550–1990*, pp. 11–34, at p. 23.

and catechisms, were in the hands of a small number of privilege holders.[18] Some institutions, such as the city of London also had their own printers.[19]

For the works produced without privilege or patent, members were required to obtain a licence before they could print an item. Even though the original charter was destroyed in the fire of London in 1666, copies reveal that books had to be authorised by the wardens or other officials before they were licensed, although the efficiency of these checks varied over the period.[20] This system was formalised in 1559 when the charter was re-granted to the stationers by the new monarch Elizabeth. Item 51 in the Injunctions specifically stated that,

> because there is a great abuse in the printers of bokes…whereby arriseth great dysorder by publicatyon of vnfrutefull, vayne and infamous bokes and papers: The Quenes maiestie straytly chargethe and commaundeth, that no manner of person shall print any manner of boke or paper, of what sort, nature, or in what language soever it be, excepte the same be first licenced.[21]

To this end, a register was created to keep track of works licensed in this way, providing a contemporary list of a large proportion of the printed works printed in England from the creation of the charter in 1557 until the upheaval of the 1640s. It is by correlating the entries with data on extant copies in the English Short Title Catalogue (ESTC), that a lost world of ballads, news and other ephemeral print can be revealed.

The Register

Between the years 1557 and 1640, there were four Registers, titled A, B, C and D. There were also two types of entry, relating to those printers gaining a licence and those assigning rights, although the proportion changed as the stock system became more prevalent in the seventeenth century, with ever more rights

18 Cyprian Blagden, *The Stationers' Company: A History, 1403–1959* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1960), p. 65.

19 Mark Jenner, 'London', in Joad Raymond (ed.), *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture. Vol. 1: Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 294–307, at p. 303.

20 Greg, *Some Aspects and Problems of London Publishing between 1550 and 1650*, p. 41.

21 'Item 51, Injunctions given by her Maiestie' (1559), cf. Edward Arber (ed.), *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554–1640* (London: Privately printed, 1875–1877), vol. 1, p. xxxviii (hereafter referred to as *Arber* 1, 2, 3 or 4).

to works collected together by the company and stock members.[22] Whenever a member wanted a licence, he went to Stationers' Hall where this would be entered into the Register by one of the elected wardens. There were a small number of female stationers during this period, but they rarely entered items in the Register. Most entries made by women only occurred when they were selling or retaining licences held by recently deceased husbands. Each entry contained the name of the licensee, the title of the work, the date entered and the price. The first entry in 1557 was for a ballad and contained the bare minimum of information: "To William pekerynge a ballett called *a Ryse and wake*, iiij^{d}".[23] As the decades went by, however, entries became more detailed and precise. Below is an entry from 2 November 1598, and in addition to the standard entry details, it also shows who had examined it, the author and the translator.

> Edward Aldee. Entred for his copie vnder the hands of the bishops of LONDON and CHESTER. and of the wardens a booke called *Three books of the Redempcon of mankind* Wrytten in Lattin by JACOB KIMEDONCIUS and Inglished by H. Ince. &c…vj^{d}.[24]

Interestingly, there does not appear to be an extant copy for either entry.

There are, of course, some limitations to the Register entries that need to be taken into account. For example, it might be that, on occasions, a printer might publish a book without having applied for the relevant licence. Hyder E. Rollins argued that the fines and punishments doled out to those who printed without a licence were not particularly harsh, and that the Company was much stricter when it came to punishing those who violated another member's licence or privilege.[25] For the majority of printers who walked the thin line between profit and loss, however, the potential fines imposed for not gaining a licence were not worth the risk involved, and could result in their losing out on subsequent profitable privileges in the future.[26] The harsh punishments for those printers who transgressed another printer's licence, also emphasise how each

22 Cyndia Susan Clegg, *Press Censorship in Jacobean England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 22.

23 *Arber* 1, p. 74.

24 *Arber* 3, p. 130.

25 Hyder E. Rollins, 'The Black-Letter Broadside Ballad', *Proceedings of the Modern Languages Association*, 34 (1919), pp. 258–339, at pp. 283–284.

26 Cyndia Susan Clegg, *Press Censorship in Elizabethan England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 18.

licence became the 'legal proof of ownership' for a work, preventing it from being printed by other members.[27] Maureen Bell's study into extant works concludes that at least 75% of English first editions were printed legally. Further, a correlation of entries with the Short-Title Catalogue, suggests that the Register represents 60% of all first editions printed in England.[28]

Another question that arises with regard to the Register is whether or not each entry actually resulted in a printed edition. Printing was a risky business, and needed a lot of capital, especially for large projects which could take months, even years. Entries could therefore include projects that were abandoned before the anticipated edition could be printed. It is quite possible that some printers obtained a licence to print a work simply in order to prevent a rival pre-empting them with a potentially profitable project. They might indeed have intended to publish it; sometimes, perhaps, they never did. However, such considerations were more likely to apply in the case of larger books involving considerable production costs: foreign editions, for instance, where a translation would first have to be commissioned. This was far less likely in the case of many of the books entered in the Stationers' Register which cannot now be traced to a surviving copy. The lost entries tend to be cheap, ephemeral works; in these cases given the speed and low risk of producing such works, there is little plausible reason for abandoning such a project after going to the expense of obtaining a licence. The relatively high cost of gaining a licence meant there would be little benefit in pre-emptively entering a single-sheet ballad or news pamphlet and then not proceeding with the project.

Some books were not entered for entirely comprehensible reasons. For instance, the fact that the Register was part of a system of pre-publication censorship meant that seditious or contentious works were often published without the permission of the Company: this included Catholic works or pamphlets criticising the government or the church. We have a better chance of reconstructing this demi-monde of subterranean print from rare surviving copies, or from evidence of fines, or documents on book seizures and burnings. For example, the printer William Powell was fined two shillings and sixpence in 1563 for printing someone else's copy of Nostradamus.[29] A number of controversial works were also referenced by entries in the Register for books which responded to seditious works, such as the ballad entry by Alexander Lacy in

27 John Barnard, 'Introduction', in Maureen Bell, John Barnard and D.F. McKenzie (eds.), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain. Volume 4: 1557–1695* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 1–26, at p. 16.

28 Maureen Bell, 'Entrance in the Stationers Register', *The Library*, 16 (1994), pp. 50–54, at p. 54.

29 *Arber* 1, p. 216.

1565–1566 entitled 'A Replye agaynste that sedicious and papesticall written ballet late caste abrode in the stretes of the Cetie of London'.[30] The offensive ballad referred to here cannot be identified.

Preliminary Findings from the 1590s

The 1590s is often regarded as either the decade of crisis in Europe or, in England, as a great age of literature, with writers such as William Shakespeare and Edmund Spenser.[31] In terms of printing, there was a steady increase in book production in England over the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, although studies on key years demonstrate that certain events such as plague, the accession and death of a monarch and war, all made an impact on the demand and availability of print.[32] In the 1590s, 1,238 entries were made in the Register, and figure 7.1 illustrates the ratio of lost books to those entries that can be linked to an extant copy. The Register ran from July to July, with the graph based on year of entry, rather than year of completion, and records entries by 130 separate individuals. The graph shows how the number of entries fluctuated over the years, with a dip in the years 1592–1593 because of printers leaving London to escape the plague. More importantly, the graph demonstrates that roughly half the entries from the 1590s cannot be matched to a copy in the ESTC.

Figure 7.2 reveals the different categories of books that were being entered. Books ranged from heavy tomes on religious doctrine and philosophy, as well as smaller newsbooks and almanacs, to broadsheets on the latest sensational stories and ballads. These works catered for a wide range of readers, even within a particular genre. For example, medical books encompassed both expensive works in Latin made for an educated market, as well as manuals for home remedies and cures for people who could not afford doctors and medicines.[33] There are also a number of instructional and administrative items entered in the Register, showing the increased use of print not just for reading, but also for record keeping and education. Unsurprisingly, a large proportion of the works are of a religious nature, including a large number of catechisms, sermons and

30 *Arber* 1, p. 311.

31 See Peter Clark (ed.), *The European Crisis of the 1590s: Essays in Comparative History* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1985).

32 Thomas Cogswell, '1625'; Jesse M. Lander, '1588–1589'; Matthew Woodcock, '1603', in Raymond, *Popular Print Culture*, pp. 589–598, 557–577 and 578–588 respectively.

33 Mary Fissell, 'Popular Medical Writing', in Raymond, *Popular Print Culture*, pp. 417–430, at p. 249.

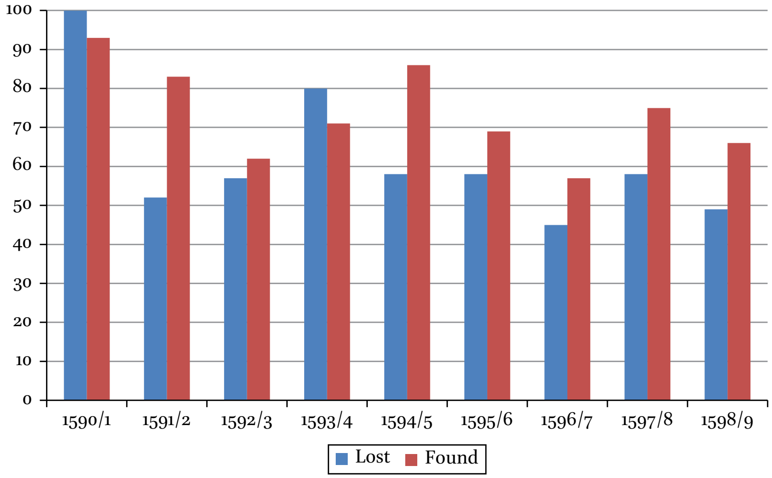

FIGURE 7.1 *Graph showing the ratio of lost and found entries in the Stationers' Register, 1590s.*

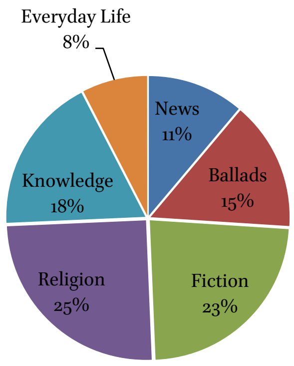

FIGURE 7.2
Chart showing overall entries in the Stationers' Register by category, 1590s.

prayer books; this even though most Bibles and primers were part of patents and privileges and consequently were not licensed.[34] It is also interesting to note the high number of works of fiction being entered. The popularity, or supposed popularity of playbooks, has already caused much debate, and there was clearly a decent market for all kinds of literature during the 1590s.[35] The high number of ballads and news items will be explained in more detail later on in the article.

34 Bell, 'Entrance in the Stationers Register', p. 53.

35 For the debate, see Peter Blayney, 'The Publication of Playbooks', in David Scott Kastan and John D. Cox (eds.), *A New History of Early English Drama* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), pp. 383–422 and Alan B. Farmer and Zachary Lesser, 'The Popularity of Playbooks Revisited', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 56 (2005), pp. 1–32.

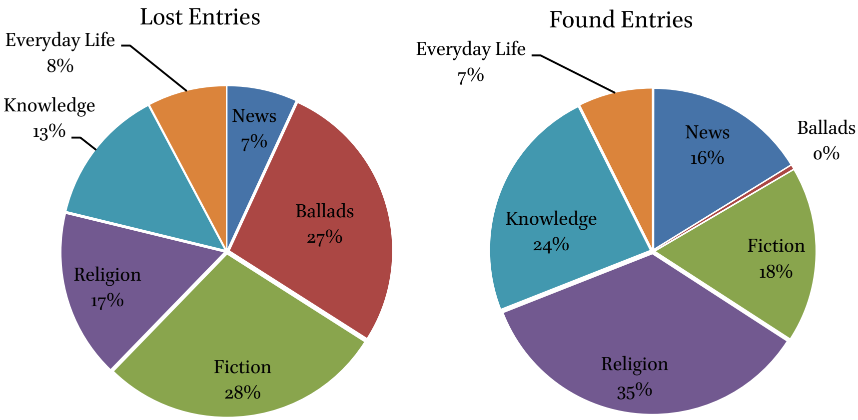

FIGURE 7.3 *Charts comparing lost and found entries in the Stationers' Register, 1590s.*

A very different picture of this book market emerges however when the entries are separated out into separate categories, for those that can be traced in one or more surviving copies and those that are lost altogether (fig. 7.3). If we were to study the Register solely from the point of view of extant works it would suggest that there were no ballads being printed during the 1590s, which is clearly untrue. (In fact, a couple do survive, but so small a number that statistically this is represented by 0%). Figure 7.3 contains 581 lost entries, demonstrating that the works least likely to survive were clearly ballads and fiction, although it is interesting to note that news items overall have a decent survival rate despite the transient nature of their subject matter. Genre clearly had a significant impact on survival rates and this in turn has a great impact on what we know of the output of individual stationers. In the 1590s, Robert Dexter and Edward White both made thirty-four entries in the Register, but whereas we have an extant copy of over half of Dexter's entries, which were mainly religious works, for White who mainly entered ballads, the figure is less than a quarter. Comparing the work of these two printers from the prospect of the Stationers' Register thus presents a wholly different picture from a comparison based on the data in the ESTC. Even within better surviving categories such as religious works, certain types of book survive better than others. In particular the constant use to which catechisms and prayer books were subjected greatly reduced survival rates.[36]

36 Mary Morrisey, 'Sermons, Primers and Prayerbooks', in Raymond, *Popular Print Culture*, p. 496.

Ballads

Literacy and price were two of the largest considerations in the dissemination of print. Literacy is often difficult to evaluate, but the beauty of printed ballads was that they could be enjoyed by those even with only basic literacy levels and, selling for a penny or less, were affordable to a wide range of readers. Recent studies of ballads have shown how the interactive nature of the genre was adapted by contemporaries to disseminate ideas. Tessa Watt's book on ballads and piety revealed that in the first decade of Elizabeth's reign, reformers were keen to spread religious and moral ideals through godly ballads.[37]

A ballad is a work set in verse, on a single-sheet of paper, often accompanied by an illustrative woodcut, and sometimes with the name of the tune to which it was to be sung. One surviving ballad entry from the 1590s was Richard Tarlton's, "A prettie newe ballad, intytuled: The crowe sits upon the wall, please one and please all. To the tune of, Please one and please all", entered in the Register by Henry Kirkham on 18 January 1592.[38] "Please one and please all" is a jaunty tale on the subject of women, containing verses such as,

> Be they sluttish be they gay,
> Love they worke or love they play,
> Whatsoever be theyr cheere,
> Drinke they Ale or drinke they beere,
> whether it be strong or small:
> please one and please all,
> please one and please all.[39]

The tunes, though sometimes overlooked when studying ballads, were a vital part of the genre. These tunes were sufficiently well known that the musical notation was only rarely printed on the ballad. As a result, knowledge of many of the tunes has been lost. Ballad tunes were also referenced in other contemporary literature; 'please one and please all' is referred to in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night*.[40] After

37 Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety 1550–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 125.

38 *Arber* 2, p. 602.

39 Richard Tarlton, 'A prettie newe ballad, intytuled: the crowe sits vpon the wall. To the tune of, Please one and please all' (1592), available through *Early English Books Online* (EEBO), <eebo.chadwyck.com/home>.

40 E.P. Kuhl, 'Malvolio's "Please One, and Please All": (Tw. Night, III, iv, 25)', *Proceedings of the Modern Languages Association*, 47 (1932), pp. 903–904, at p. 903.

Puritan Malvolio is tricked into believing the young mistress Olivia is in love with him through a fake letter, he is keen to show his amenability by following her instructions for him to wear yellow stockings cross-gartered;

> Sad, lady! I could be sad: this does make some
> obstruction in the blood, this cross-gartering; but
> what of that? if it please the eye of one, it is
> with me as the very true sonnet is, 'Please one, and
> please all.'[41]

Ballads were quick and cheap to print, making them a popular genre for printers, some of whom entered multiple ballads at a time. John Danter, for example, entered five ballads on 25 July 1592:

> Englands felicitie with an admonicon to repent By examples of others harmes
> The Coy maidens care sent to her kind companions
> Conscience[s] Crye to all estates in selling of broom
> The conflict between Sathan and ye penitent sinner
> A medecin for Jealous men with ye trial of a wife.[42]

Their fragility, however, and the fact that many were passed around and pasted on walls means that despite the fact that almost 200 ballads are entered in the Stationers' Register, only 2 editions survive in extant copies. The ballads recovered through the Stationers' Records show that ballads covered a whole range of topics. Lost ballad titles, for instance, reflect the hardships of the period, covering the famine and plague, such as the mournful ballad of "The poores lamnetacon for the price of corne with Godes Justice shewed uppon a cruell horder of corne". Others provide light-hearted entertainment on the subjects of love, marriage and everyday life, in "A pleasant ballad of a combat betwene a man and his wyfe for the breches", and "A ballad shewinge the strange qualities of a yonge nagge called Morocco" concerning a horse that performed circus tricks in London.[43] Many lost ballads also had an important moral role, providing warnings against drunkenness and "unbridled youthe".[44]

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41 William Shakespeare, 'Twelfth Night, or What You Will' (1602), available through *Open Source Shakespeare* online: <www.opensourceshakespeare.org/>.

42 *Arber* 2, p. 617.

43 *Arber* 2, p. 662. *Arber* 3, pp. 593, 53.

44 *Arber* 3, p. 45.

Ballads also provided a way of reporting contemporary events. Indeed, since they could be used to tell the stories as they unfolded, they permitted an enterprising publisher to produce a variety of ballads on the same event. In the 1590s, ballads were often used to provide commentaries on crimes, including murders, enabling printers to narrate the crime from different angles. Five ballads, for instance, were entered on the murder of Robert Beech by Thomas Merry between 29 August and 9 September 1594. The first two narrated the murder, the other three focused on the execution of the murderer.[45] Annual events were also a draw for printers of ballads. Every November, there was a tilt celebrating Elizabeth's accession involving jousts and other festivities. Three entries in 1593, 1594 and 1595 announce ballads marking the annual celebrations, but none have survived.[46] It is only by looking at lost entries in the Register that we discover these items existed at all.

News

Even in the period before corantos and newspapers, there was a lively market for news. Although much of the news during this period was transmitted orally or through manuscript, by the 1530s, according to Andrew Pettegree, news was already seen as a commercial product.[47] Printed news came in a variety of different forms with letters, speeches and edicts from a range of countries, covering war and peace as well as more curious phenomena. News pamphlets in early modern England tended to be composed of six to eight pages, in quarto format, plain, printed in black letter and very seldom contained images. This made them cheaper and quicker to print.

A typical surviving news item was "A letter sent from a gentleman of accoumpte concerninge the true estate of the Englishe forces nowe in Ffraunce under the conduct of the righte honorable the E[a]rle of Essex, &c". This was entered on 6 September 1591 by John Wolfe.[48] Authenticity and truth were important aspects of printed news, with trustworthy witnesses an excellent selling point, hence the title is keen to point out that it is from a 'gentleman of account'.[49] The date of

45 *Arber* 2, pp. 658, 659.

46 *Arber* 2, pp. 640, 664. *Arber* 3, p. 53.

47 Andrew Pettegree, *The Invention of News: How the World Came to Know about Itself* (London: Yale University Press, 2014), p. 2.

48 *Arber* 2, p. 594.

49 Fabian Johnson, 'True intelligence sent from a gentleman of account. Concerning, the estate of the English forces now in France, vnder the conduct of the Right Honorable

entries in the Register can also be used to determine how quickly news was reaching printers; with news items speed was of the essence, and a news pamphlet could sometimes be rushed out within a matter of days of the event it described. The latest news in the above entry was from 2 September, although it is important to be aware that the use of different calendars, with France ten days ahead of England at this time, complicates these calculations.[50]

Perhaps surprisingly, printed news items had a high survival rate: 67% of those books registered with the Stationers can be linked to a surviving copy. This suggests that despite their relatively small size and the transiency of their subject matter they were eagerly collected by their purchasers and sometimes bound together for the library. An overwhelming majority of these news pamphlets focused on foreign events: over a third of news items covered the religious wars in France, focusing on Protestant victories and the deeds of the English troops involved. Printers normally tried not to risk venturing into the field of domestic politics, for fear of the possible consequences.

The relatively high survival rate of foreign political news items though contrasts with a much lower survival of works on domestic events. Readers, for instance, could read detailed reports on the latest proclamation affecting shipping in and out of the Low Countries, an earthquake in Vienna or a sensational case of "A most wretched worke of a wretched witche the like whereof none can recorde theis many yeres in Englande" from Huntingdonshire.[51] This implies that the range of events considered to be worthy of publication at that time was somewhat wider than we would believe by studying surviving copies alone. The lost news entries are therefore an important addition to our knowledge on how and what news was reported in print during the early modern period. For all that, despite the popularity of news items in the 1590s, it is clear that printers were unable to rely on news printing as they would in the seventeenth century. Once the fighting in France died down after Henry IV's conversion to Catholicism, the level of news entries dropped significantly.

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the Earle of Essex. Particularly expressing vvhat hath beene done since his departure from England, vntill the second of September last, 1591' (1591). EEBO: <http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:image:13667>. David Randall, *Credibility in Elizabethan and Early Stuart Military News* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2008), p. 58.

50 H.S. Bennet, *English Books and Readers 1558 to 1603 Being a Study in the History of the Book Trade in the Reign of Elizabeth I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965), p. 245.

51 *Arber* 2, pp. 595, 570, 607.

Conclusion

Issues of survival have always presented a barrier to the study of the past. Even contemporary collectors and bibliographers were aware of the impact that the loss of print would have on cultural and historical knowledge, and it is only thanks to bibliographers such as Antoine du Verdier in France and collectors such as John Selden or Samuel Pepys in England that certain ephemeral works survive at all.[52] Only now, with the digitisation of catalogues, can researchers gain an idea of exactly how much has been lost, and whilst research has mainly focused on the reasons behind loss, or on calculating mathematically the number of lost works, the Register goes one step further in allowing for the rediscovery of specific lost items.[53]

Entries in the Register illustrate a greater variety and diversity of printed works available than could be assumed simply by looking at those works that have survived. This is true not just for ballads and news, but also for more everyday items such as indentures, cookery books and manuals. The fact that the Register stretches from 1557 to 1640 provides substantial data on how genre and survival rates changed over the decades. Tessa Watt has already suggested that changing religious attitudes shaped the fortunes of ballads over the decades. A comprehensive study of the broader record of enrolled titles in the Stationers' Register should present a more accurate picture of just what effect those changing attitudes had on the printing of ballads and other publications.[54]

The comparison between existing books and titles enrolled in the Stationers' Registers that cannot be traced highlights a number of factors which can affect survival ratings. Historians have long cited the roles that use and size played in the survival of books, but the Register entries allow for a more detailed analysis, placing survival rates in context and looking at the effect that other factors such as subject and author had on the different genres.

Preliminary research has already shown the effect that foreign events in the 1590s had upon the printing of news items is not always evident simply by looking at those works that have survived; the Register offers not just information on the types of lost print available but also on the full and varied output of

52 Wilkinson, 'Lost Books Printed in French Before 1601', p. 197. R.C. Simmons, 'ABCs, Almanacs, Ballads, Chapbooks, Popular Piety and Textbooks', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, pp. 504–513, at p. 504.

53 Neil Harris, 'The Italian Renaissance Book: Catalogues, Censuses and Survival', in Malcolm Walsby and Graeme Kemp (eds.), *The Book Triumphant. Print in Transition in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), pp. 26–56, at p. 51.

54 Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety*, p. 40.

printers and authors otherwise obscured by low survival ratings. Printing was a risky business, and being able to examine the full scale of output can help explain more about how the business worked, especially for those who specialised in ephemeral print.

By ignoring lost works, we can never hope to gain a full picture of early modern printing in England. This is especially true for a large number of single-sheet items for which the Register is often the only indication that they ever existed. Estimations of the number of lost works indicate that there is a significant gap in our knowledge, and with the help of the Register entries we can go some way towards closing that gap.

CHAPTER 8

Survival Factors of Seventeenth-Century Hand-Press Books Published in the Southern Netherlands: The Importance of Sheet Counts, *Sammelbände* and the Role of Institutional Collections

Goran Proot

In this chapter I deal with products of the printing press in the Southern Netherlands in the seventeenth century and specifically that part of it that is known to us through the *Short Title Catalogue Flanders* (STCV), the bibliography of early modern hand-press books produced or published in this region. In addition to an analysis of what has thus far been recorded in this retrospective bibliography, I will develop a quantitative approach to that part of book production which has not yet been entered in the STCV. The aim of this discussion is to obtain a better understanding of the role of institutional collections and the characteristics of their holdings, of the coverage ratio of the STCV, and of the factors which have a significant impact on survival rates of Early Modern books. This will help establish more clearly what, on the one hand, we can know about the recorded book production – directly, through the works actually described in bibliographies, and, indirectly, what may be added to them in the future – and what, on the other hand, escapes from our knowledge: for much of what has been published has never been collected by institutions, or has not survived in sufficiently large quantities, preventing any scientific estimate of the relationship between known and lost fractions of documents. On the following pages I will not speculate on the latter category of 'dark matter', which is fundamentally unknowable, but concentrate on the book production directly and indirectly known through the STCV and on the limits of this tool.[1]

First of all, I will briefly discuss the method that figures at the heart for this survey and the conditions under which it can be used. This will be followed by a sketch of the aims, scope, and actual content of the *Short Title Catalogue Flanders*, and the corpus I derived from it for my analysis. In the following sections I will discuss the results of this survey and how the outcomes can help

1 For a discussion of 'dark matter' or 'black holes' in bibliographic knowledge, see Piet Verkruijsse, 'Waslijstjes en wenslijstjes. Zwarte gaten in de Nederlandse retrospectieve bibliografie', *Jaarboek voor Nederlandse boekgeschiedenis*, 16 (2009), pp. 45–51.

 | DOI 10.1163/9789004311824_009

assess specific subsets of bibliographical data, such as the known production of individual printers and their profiles. In the concluding remarks, I will come back to the lurking but fundamental theme hinted at in this introduction, i.e., what do we actually know about the output of the printing press, and how this knowledge is inevitably biased by the laboratory, methods, and instruments used in generating that knowledge.

On the Method

In 2006, together with Leo Egghe, I developed a mathematical model enabling 'the estimation of the number of lost multi-copy documents', first published in the *Journal of Informetrics* in 2007, and a year later, in the *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*.[2] The second article was re-edited and contextualised for an audience of book historians. It explains the method step by step in a comprehensible way. Specific to this method is the fact that it includes the notion of 'multi-copy documents' and that it uses the information about the number of items recorded for each document. This dimension is lacking in most studies aiming at an estimate of the total output of printing presses.[3] Instead of the rather abstract terms of 'multi-copy document' and 'item', the latter article refers to 'editions' and 'copies', which in the end are just other names for the same things. The method was tested on a specific collection of printed ephemera, quarto editions of theatre programmes published by the Jesuits in their *Provincia Flandro-Belgica*, typically consisting of one or one half sheet of paper.

As explained in the articles cited, the mathematical method can, under specific circumstances, be used to estimate the total production of different editions based on a random sample of individual copies. More precisely, the model is a stochastic model, based on the notion that an individual copy of an

2 Leo Egghe and Goran Proot, 'The estimation of the number of lost multi-copy documents: A new type of informetrics theory', *Journal of Informetrics*, 1 (2007), pp. 257–268; Goran Proot and Leo Egghe, 'Estimating editions on the basis of survivals: printed programmes of Jesuit plays in the Provincia Flandro-Belgica before 1773, with a note on the "Book Historical Law"', *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 102 (2008), pp. 149–174.

3 See, for instance, Michael F. Suarez, 'Towards a bibliometric analysis of the surviving record, 1701–1800', in Michael F. Suarez and Michael L. Turner (eds.), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, vol. V: 1695–1830 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 39–65. An exception is Jean-François Gilmont, 'Livre, bibliographie et statistiques', *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique,* 65 (1970), pp. 797–816, who takes the number of surviving copies in institutional collections into consideration.

edition has a chance (or probability) of disappearing. Only when all copies of a specific edition are lost is the edition itself irrevocably lost. This means that an edition produced in a print run of 500 copies, is completely lost only if each one of those 500 individual copies is lost.

If the process of the disappearance of copies is a random process, there is a mathematical relationship between the chances that exactly one copy of a specific edition survives, that exactly two copies of a specific edition survive, or three, or four, and so on. Intuitively, one could compare this with playing dice. There is one chance in six of throwing a six; to throw two sixes in a row also has a specific probability, which can be determined stochastically, and the same goes for three sixes in a row, four sixes in a row, and so on. Each outcome has a specific likelihood, and that chance can be mathematically determined.

Let me use another analogy to explain how mathematics can be used to assess the total number of editions. Imagine a big bag containing 150,000 balls, namely 1,000 groups of 150 balls each in a different colour: 150 green balls, 150 red balls, 150 blue balls and so on. If you draw one ball from the bag without looking, you will have one ball of this colour in your collection. If you repeat that process, in the beginning you will most likely draw balls of different colours, but at a given moment, you will begin to draw more often balls of a colour you already have in your collection. The more balls you draw, the more duplicates you will find. If you stop after 1,000 balls, the chances are that you will have found a high number of balls of a specific colour that only turn up once in your collection. Those are sometimes called singletons. But a smaller part of it will consist of pairs of balls of a specific colour (duplicates), and some colours will be present three times (triplets), some even four times (quadruplets). A typical distribution of colours will look like table 8.1:

Each time this exercise is repeated, the outcome is more or less the same. The proportions of colours found only once, found twice, found three times

TABLE 8.1 *Typical distribution of multi-copy documents when drawn randomly from a large collection.*

		No. of multi-copy documents	Copies
P_1	Colours found 1 time	400	400 balls
P_2	Colours found 2 times	220	440 balls
P_3	Colours found 3 times	40	120 balls
P_4	Colours found 4 times	10	40 balls
N_{Found}		660	1,000 balls

and so on, will also be more or less the same, as they abide by the laws of probability. The stochastic model we developed makes it possible to estimate, on the basis of a large enough random sample, the total number of different colours – even if not all different colours show up in the sample – because the findings about the recorded colours contain information about those not recorded.

The first step concerns the estimation of the number of multi-copy documents (in the example: different colours) that did not turn up in the sample, called *lost* documents. For this we use an equation requiring three elements: (1) the number of the most populated category of different multi-copy documents; in the example (Table 8.1) this is indicated as P_1: 400; (2) the number of the second highest populated category (P_2: 220); and (3), the number of copies of the multi-copy documents, in the example this is 150 (there are 150 balls of each different colour). In the case of editions, this is the print run. In the equation, this number is indicated as *a*.

Entering these numbers into the following equation, gives an estimate of multi-documents of which any copy turned up in the sample. In the equation, this number is indicated as P_0:

$$P_0 = \left(\frac{1}{1 + \frac{2P_2}{(a-1)P_1}} \right)^a$$

P_0 is a fraction of the total population of multi-documents (in the example this is the total number of different colours), N_{total}, which was not found in the sample (N_{lost}). With these elements, it is possible to calculate the fraction of the different multi-copy documents found, since $N_{total} = N_{found} + N_{lost}$.

In the example, $P_0 = 0.3312$. This is the fraction of lost colours (N_{lost}). This makes it possible to determine the fraction of found colours (N_{found}): 0.6688. Because it is known from the sample what N_{found} stands for, namely 660, it is now possible to calculate N_{lost}: $660/0.6688 \times 0.3312 = 326.84$ or ≈ 327. The outcome for the total population is $660 + 327 = 987$, which is pretty close to the real total population.

The outcome of this exercise is close, but not exact. Two factors are of importance for the accuracy of the estimation: the size of the total population on the one hand, and the size of the random sample on the other. The smaller the former, and the bigger the latter, the more accurate the outcome will be. Tests show that samples of 1,000 items taken from a corpus of 1,000 different multi-copy documents are quite reliable. This is demonstrated by Fig. 8.1,

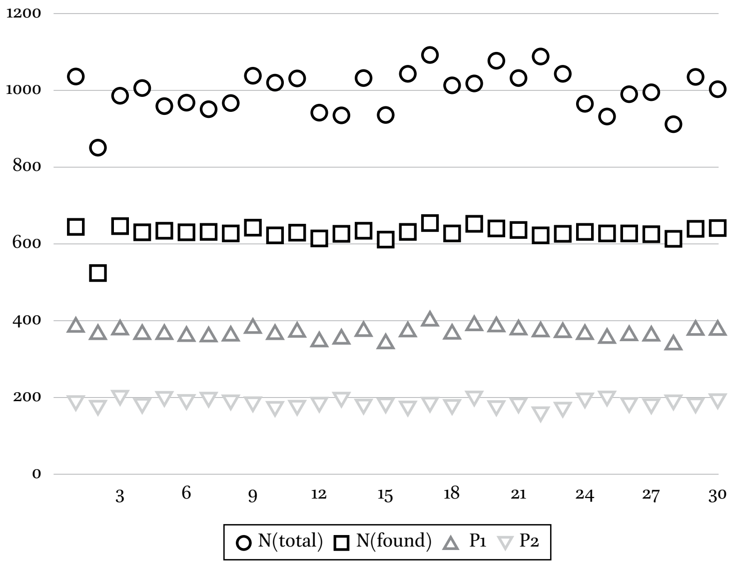


FIGURE 8.1 *Results for estimates of N(total) based on random samples each of 1,000 items. Corpus of 1,000 multi-copy documents, a = 150, 30 different samples*

featuring the results of 30 random samples, for P_1, P_2, N_{found} and the estimation for N_{total} based on the three former values. The average of all 30 estimations for N_{total} is ≈996 (996.53). The lowest estimate differs 14.90% from the actual population (minimum value: 851; maximum value: 1,092).

Figure 8.2 shows the results of 30 samples of 20,000 items randomly taken from a corpus of 20,000 multi-copy documents, each of which exists in a run of 150, in total resulting in a corpus of 3,000,000 items. Although this corpus is 20 times larger than the first test corpus, the estimates are remarkably precise: the average estimate for N_{total} is ≈20,049 (20,049.20; minimum value: 19,469; maximum value: 20,546). This is due to the size of the random sample, which with 20,000 items returns very accurate estimates; the highest estimate differs only 2.73% from the actual total number of multi-copy documents.

There are a number of conditions attached to the use of this stochastic model to estimate the number of multi-copy documents. First of all, the corpus has to consist of multi-copy documents, that is, a number of series of identical copies, and they have to be distinguished as such. In bibliographies, usually this is the case. The STCV describes editions based on the autopsy of copies of physical books. Editions are identified on the basis of a fingerprint,

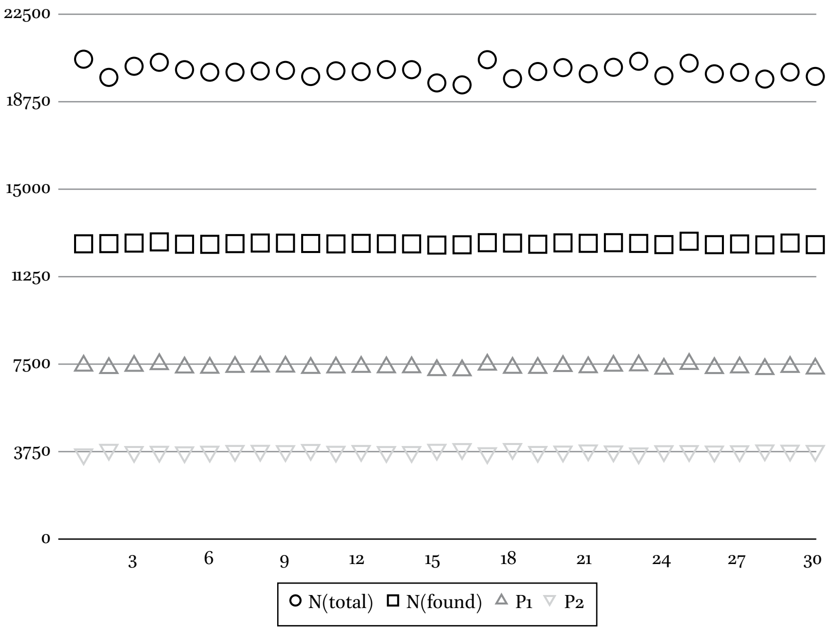


FIGURE 8.2 *Results for estimates of N(total) based on random samples each of 20,000 items. Corpus of 20,000 multi-copy documents, a = 150, 30 different samples*

developed and used by the STCN (*Short Title Catalogue, Netherlands*) project.[4] The total number of editions is known, as well as the distribution of editions per category (singletons, duplicates, triplets, and so on).

Although the print run (the parameter indicated as *a*) cannot be established for the majority of editions, it is safe to state that this number varies between 100 and 3,000.[5] Using a printing press for print runs much smaller than 100

4 For an overview of the activities of the STCN, see the special issue of the *Jaarboek voor Nederlandse boekgeschiedenis*, 16 (2009), especially pp. 1–88. The so-called Dutch fingerprint, systematically used by the STCN and the STCV, was introduced by J. Gerritsen, see P.C.A. Vriesema, 'The STCN Fingerprint', *Studies in Bibliography*, 39 (1986), pp. 93–100, which was also published in Dutch by the same author as 'De STCN-vingerafdruk', *Documentaal. Informatie- en communicatiebulletin voor neerlandici*, 15 (1986), pp. 55–61.

5 For seventeenth-century Paris, Henri-Jean Martin found that print runs fluctuated around the number of 1,350 copies, cf. Gilmont, 'Livre, bibliographie et statistiques', p. 802, footnote 1. I analysed the print runs of 470 editions and (parts of editions on special paper) produced by Plantin's successors between 1601 and 1615, using M 39, fols. 16*v*–24*r* in the Museum Plantin-Moretus in Antwerp (henceforth: MPM). The mathematical average is about 1,168 copies, the mean is 1,250 copies. 95.96% of the print runs are larger than 100, 86.60% of the

was uneconomic and inefficient. More importantly, given that print runs in most cases easily exceed 100 copies, the exact size becomes unimportant for the outcome of the estimations when using our mathematical model. Entering in the formula either 100 or 1,000 for *a* (the print run), modifies the outcome of the calculations by less than 1%. For the estimates following in the next sections, I will assume that *a* is 500, which is the number of sheets in one ream of paper.[6]

Random Sample

Now that all conditions are fulfilled to use the stochastic method, one question remains to be answered: can a bibliography, such as the STCV, be considered to offer a random sample from the entire population of editions? Stated as such, the answer is definitively no – I will come back to this point in the following pages. But I do believe that the STCV, in its present state, can be considered a random sample of a specific part of the seventeenth-century hand-press book production in the Southern Netherlands, and that it can be used to obtain more information about this part of book production. There are at least three important elements contributing to this status. The first one has to do with the nature of the printed book as an object of perfect distribution, the second one has to do with the rationale of collecting institutions, and the third one with time.

Ideally, all copies of a specific edition are, after a certain time, directly or indirectly, optimally distributed over as many owners as there were copies

print runs are 500 copies and over. The most frequent numbers of print runs are: 1,500 copies (58 editions), 1,250 copies (36 editions), 1,550 copies (36 editions), 1,000 copies (31 editions) and 750 copies (28 editions).

6 According to Steven van Impe, in the Southern Netherlands a ream of paper counted 480 sheets, but in other regions a ream counted often 500 sheets, cf. Steven van Impe, '"Schrijfpapieren van diversche groote en qualitijten" De papierwinkel van P.J. Parys in achttiende-eeuws Antwerpen', *Jaarboek voor Nederlandse boekgeschiedenis*, 21 (2014), pp. 135–153, here p. 140. Because one ream consisted of 20 quires, one quire of paper counted either 24 or 25 sheets, see also Philip Gaskell, *A new introduction to bibliography* (2nd edition, New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 2006), p. 59: '…the smaller ream (480 sheets) being normal in England and Holland, while the larger ream (500 sheets) became standard in most but not all French and Italian mills.' It is not clear whether Van Impe's figures specifically pertain to writing paper only, to paper for printing, or both. All but one print runs for the 470 editions (and parts of editions on special paper) produced by Plantin's successors between 1601 and 1615 are multiples of 25 (cf. MPM M 39). Logically, typographers in this firm calculated with quires of 25, and with reams of 500 sheets. The exception concerns a 1613 quarto edition of Justus Lipsius's *Leges regiae* (M 39, f. 23*r*; STCV 12919412; copy Folger Shakespeare Library, DH811 A63 S3 Cage fo.5). This eight-page publication was printed on a run of 1,111 copies for a total amount of 27 *gulden* 15.5 *stuivers* (or 0.5 *stuiver* per copy).

printed. It is in the interest of the person who takes the risk by investing in a book project to sell as many copies as quickly as possible in order to recuperate his investment and to make a profit as soon as all production costs are paid off. He can do this by retailing all copies himself, if the book is intended for a local audience; by furnishing copies to other booksellers, for instance, when an international audience is intended; or by combining both methods. After a certain time, except for those copies still sitting in a bookseller's warehouse or bookshop, all copies will be in the hands of different owners, for it was and still is a rare phenomenon that somebody buys more than one copy for his or her personal collection. This is *a fortiori* the case for specific genres, such as topical works like advertisements, individual issues of newspapers, play bills, theatre programmes, or ordinances. It goes without saying that the impact of chance is at its pinnacle when all copies of a specific edition are distributed according to this general principle: editions are spread locally, regionally and internationally over as many owners or collections as there are copies.

Sooner or later, a fraction of all copies printed ends up in an institutional collection. Because there were always more printed books than anyone could possess, collecting was from the outset a very selective process. All libraries have limited means, room and people to handle acquisitions, and therefore exclude the bulk of what is offered on the market. Moreover, institutions usually refrain from acquiring so-called duplicates – i.e., a copy of an edition of a text already available in the collection. Of course, there are exceptions to this rule, but in most cases, those are clearly motivated, for instance by an important provenance, annotations, or other copy-specific features of the copy. In addition to this rule, institutions had a policy, which is in some places still operative, of weeding duplicates from their holdings. A famous example is the Sloane collection, which, although it was one of the corner stones of the British Museum, was dismantled in order to sell off all copies of which the institution already owned a copy.[7] The result of both processes – that of selection and that of de-selection – is that only a fraction of the printing press's output ends up in institutional collections, and that possible duplicate copies are optimally re-distributed amongst them.

The third element is time. Time does not only devour its own children – for a book historian perhaps even worse – time also consumes books, sometimes just one by one, in other cases thousands at a time. Potential circumstances and modalities by which this happens have been described in detail, but their common denominator is the factor time.[8] Use, fires, floods, theft, vermin,

7 On the Sloane collection see Alison Walker's contribution in this volume.

8 See Neil Harris, 'La sopravvivenza del libro, ossia appunti per une lista della lavandaia', *Ecdotica*, 4 (2007), pp. 24–65, where is also given a selective historiography of the phenomenon of the loss of books and its factors.

fungal infections, censorship, abolition, deselection: the increase of the impact of each of those devastating factors is directly connected with time. Although each disaster wiping out a book or a collection of books can be accounted for, as a whole, the accumulation of calamities and catastrophes over the course of multiple generations is of an accidental nature.

As demonstrated by fig. 8.3, the combination of optimal divergence, of selective convergence, and of continuous loss, result in a random combination of surviving copies, some of which are preserved individually, some in private collections and some in institutional collections. Subsequently, copies kept in various institutional collections may be included in bibliographies such as the STCV.

The outcome of this process, in which the survival of copies is entirely random, can be virtually generated in a test corpus such as the ones used to produce figs. 8.1 and 8.2. It is instructive to consider the entire distribution of singletons, duplicates, triplets and so on, of a random sample in a similar corpus with the distribution in the corpus I derived from the STCV for the purpose of this chapter. fig. 8.4 shows the distribution of editions in a fictitious corpus of 20,000 editions, each of them with a print run of 150 copies; fig. 8.5 represents the distribution in the corpus derived from the STCV. I will discuss the composition of the latter corpus in detail in the next section.

Although fig. 8.5 has a much longer right tail, its right-skewed distribution is similar to that of fig. 8.4, which is the result of a verifiable and truly random sample.

Corpus

The corpus, which is the subject of analysis in the following sections, is based on the STCV, the online, retrospective bibliography for hand-press books printed or published in the Southern Netherlands in the early modern period. The STCV was modelled after the much earlier established STCN, the *Short Title Catalogue, Netherlands*, the online, retrospective bibliography for hand-press books printed or published in the Netherlands before 1801, as well as for books printed in Dutch outside the country's contemporary boundaries in the same period, Belgian books excepted. Since February 2000, the largest part of this deliberate lacuna in the STCN is in the process of being addressed.[9]

9 Not dealt with are Dutch editions printed in Wallonia, the southern, French-speaking part of present day Belgium.

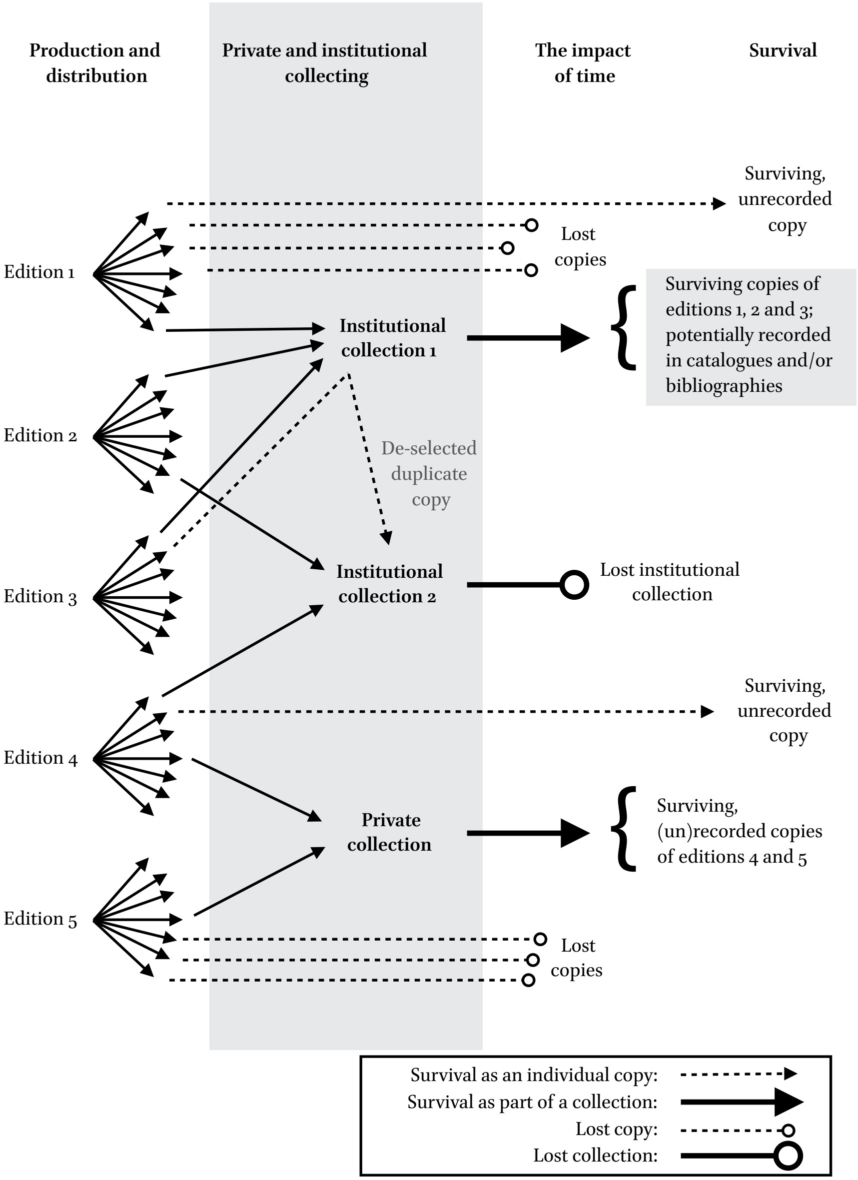


FIGURE 8.3 *Diagram of the process of optimal divergence, selective convergence and continuous loss*

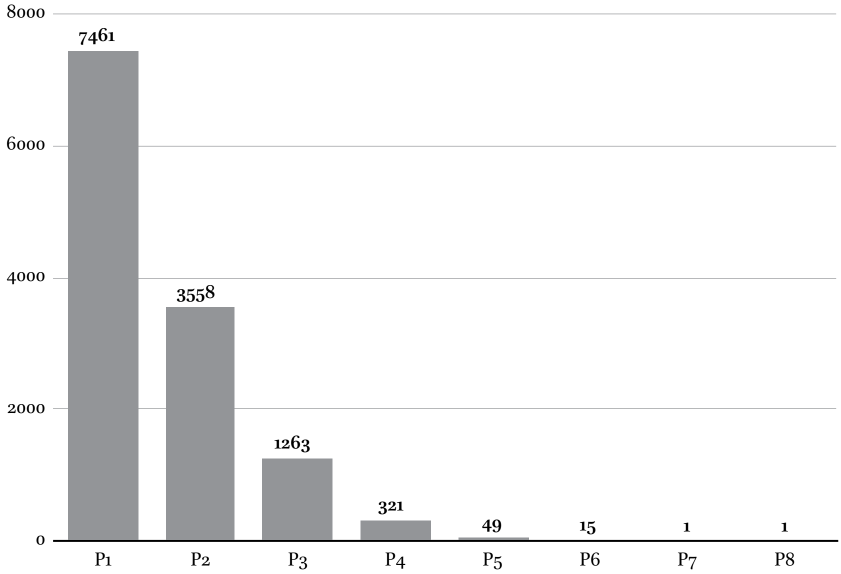


FIGURE 8.4 *Distribution of editions in 1, 2, 3, …, n copies based on a random sample of 20,000 items in a corpus of 20,000 editions for which a = 150*

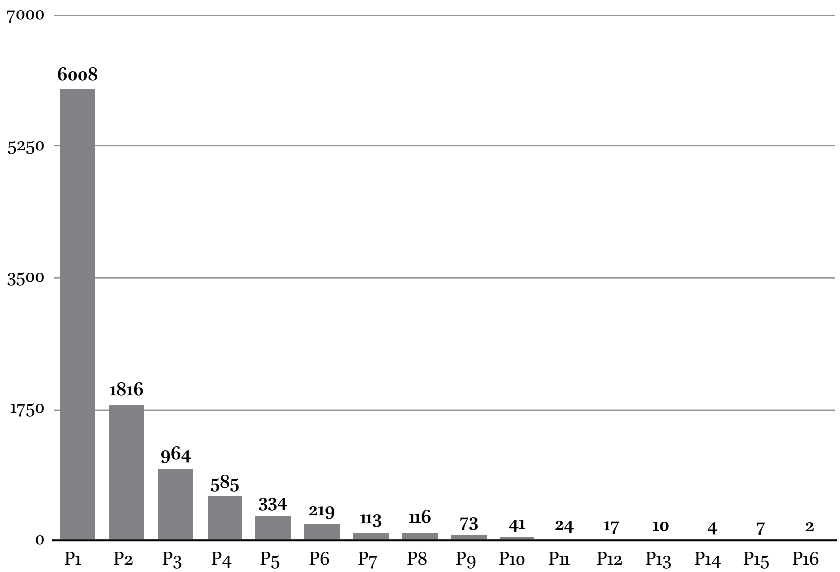


FIGURE 8.5 *Distribution of editions (P1 through P16) in a corpus of seventeenth-century editions derived from* STCV *based on a download of 5 May 2015*

Here I will discuss those features that are most pertinent for the rest of this chapter.[10] In principle, the scope of the STCV is limited to hand-press books from the Early Modern Period, and therefore most editions in the bibliography date from before 1801. For practical reasons, the focus was from the beginning on the seventeenth century, and, as a result, that period is, at present, described best. On 5 May 2015, the database contained 21,763 bibliographic descriptions of which 12,266 have publication dates between 1601 and 1700 (56.36%). With 8,118 descriptions, the eighteenth century is second, but the coverage of this period is, as indicated by fig. 8.6, still less consistent. The weak coverage for the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is compensated for by already existing bibliographies and projects for those periods, such as the *Incunabula Short Title Catalogue* hosted by the British Library (ISTC), Nijhoff and Kronenberg's bibliography of post-incunabula from the Low Countries (NK; 1501–1540), *Belgica typographica* (BT; 1541–1600), and the *Universal Short Title Catalogue* (USTC; describing all known pre–1601 editions), a project based at the University of Saint Andrews in Scotland.[11]

The geographic scope is Flanders, an anachronistic criterion, in principle only taking into consideration books printed in cities part of the present day Flemish Community and Brussels, thus excluding historical printing centres in the Nord de France (amongst others, Cambrai, Douai or Arras) and a number of cities now on Dutch soil (e.g., 's-Hertogenbosch). In addition to the main printing centres Antwerp, Ghent, Louvain and Brussels, hand-press books were produced in this period in Aalst, Audenaerde, Bruges, Courtrai, Dendermonde, Hasselt, Ypres, and Mechelen. In the eighteenth century small printing shops would open in Diksmuide, Temse, Tienen, Turnhout, Ostend, and Ronse.

Because the ordinary user cannot be expected to recognise foreign products bearing false, Flemish, imprints, the STCV also includes books falsely advertised as being printed, for instance, in Antwerp but in fact originating from abroad, such as many editions printed by the Catholic printer Christiaen

10 For a detailed description of both bibliographies, their scope and methodology, see *Handleiding voor de medewerkers van de STCN* (2nd edition, 's-Gravenhage, 1988), and Steven van Impe, Stijn van Rossem and Goran Proot, *Handleiding voor de Short Title Catalogus Vlaanderen* (2nd revised edition, Antwerp: Erfgoedbibliotheken Vlaanderen, 2005).

11 See Steven van Impe, Goran Proot and Susanna de Schepper, 'Beyond description. Bibliographic tools as "big data" for the study of Belgian hand-press books. With an example on the use of typographical ornaments, 1501–1540', *De Gulden Passer*, 92.1 (2014), pp. 103–124, especially 111–113.

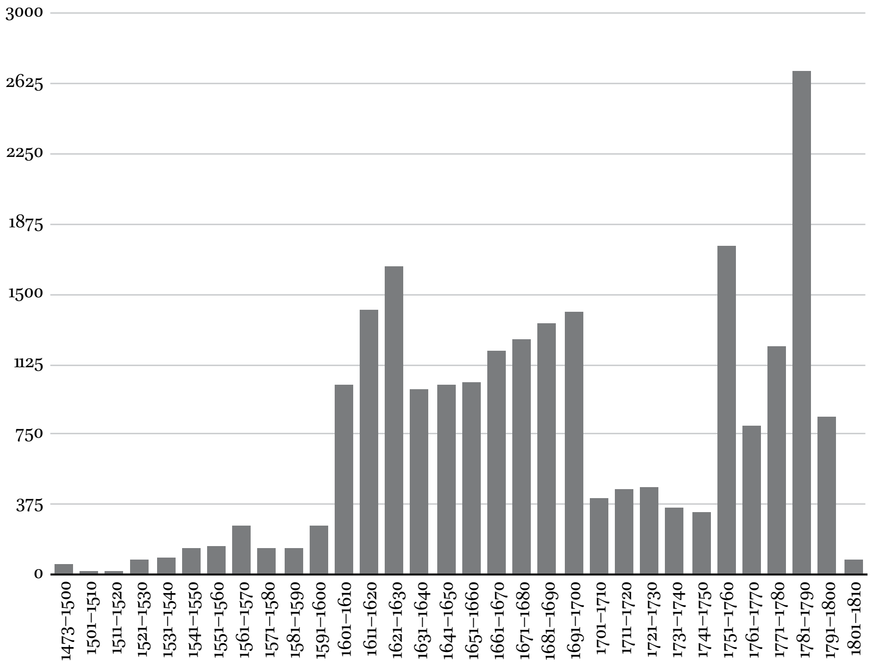


FIGURE 8.6 *Distribution of editions in the* STCV *according to date of publication (some descriptions contain more than one date and appear more than once in this overview; status on 5 May 2015)*

Vermey who was active in Leiden.[12] Likewise editions without a place of publication but which are possibly or probably produced in the Southern Netherlands are included in the online bibliography. During the first phase of the project, only Dutch-language books were entered, but that criterion was abandoned after 2003. At present, the database contains publications in more than a dozen languages, the most important of which are, for the seventeenth century, Dutch (6,150 editions), Latin (4,930) and French (1,529).

Like the STCN, the STCV excluded several categories of printed works, some on purely material grounds, others because they do not comply with the idea of what a 'book' should be. In the latter category, the bibliography does not include newspapers or journals. Before 2007, broadsides (texts printed on one side of a sheet only), were not entered either, but now they are. Atlases and books of prints – that is, books consisting of series of intaglio prints (copper

12 Paul Hoftijzer, 'Antwerpen of Leiden? Opkomst en ondergang van de Leidse katholieke uitgever en boekverkoper Christiaen Vermey (werkzaam 1704–1724)', *De Gulden Passer*, 93.1 (2015), pp. 37–58.

engravings, etchings, or those combining both methods) – without parts printed with moveable type, are not included either.

Both STCV and its sister project STCN have some important qualities in common. Until now, the bibliographic descriptions in both bibliographies have always been based on the inspection of actual copies book in hand. Both projects use a so-called fingerprint to compare copies and to distinguish different editions. More than the STCN, the STCV pays attention to copy-specific features. Defects of inspected copies are always explicitly indicated at copy level. Also systematically indicated in the Flemish bibliography are binding mistakes and the fact that a copy is part of a *Sammelband* (in French: *recueil factice*), meaning that it is bound with other texts in print or manuscript in one physical volume. The decision to systematically indicate the latter feature of actual copies turns out to be extremely useful in understanding loss factors of printed books.

For all books, the STCN records the bibliographic format, mostly followed by extensive collations, and so does the STCV, but in general, the Dutch project does not collate individual parts of most multi-volume works published by the same printing shop. In the STCV, all books are always entirely collated, and if a book contains printed material out of collation, that fact is mentioned in the description, either on the edition or copy level, or, if pertinent, on both. Another difference is that the Flemish bibliography always includes a pagination (or foliation) statement. On the basis of the bibliographic format and the collation, it is possible to calculate how many sheets are required to print one copy of an edition. Also this information turns out to be crucial for a better understanding of the book trade, and of survival and loss, and for that reason this number has recently been added to the descriptions.

Both the STCN and the STCV systematically add subject terms and typographical descriptors to descriptions. The lists for each category of terms and descriptors are limited and well-defined. Unlike the STCN, there is no maximum number of subject terms which can be added to an entry in the STCV. Also, the list of typographical descriptors in this database is slightly more intricate than that of the STCN, distinguishing, for instance, the use of different colours of ink (usually red) on the title page and in the body of the work. For a correct interpretation of the use of subject terms and descriptors users should consult the manual, because their application may differ from term to term. The appearance of *civilité* type in a work, for instance, is always signalled by that descriptor, but for italics, this is only the case when a substantial part of the text is printed in italics – and what is to be understood under 'substantial' in turn is a judgement call. But in principle, all descriptions in both online tools are produced by well-trained bibliographers and reviewed by a senior bibliographer. In addition, the adding of extra copies to an existing description is always based on autopsy and results in a complete review of the record. On 5 May 2015, 33.96% of all descriptions in the STCV referred to more than one copy – two thirds of the editions are singletons.

More than 37,700 images of typographic and engraved title pages, colophons, printer's devices, author's portraits and of specific fingerprint positions facilitate the work of bibliographers and other users. This image collection, together with numerous deep links to copies digitised in full, constitutes a magnificent source for further research.

As a result, the STCV can be considered as a very systematic, coherent and precise bibliographic tool which can be used for metadata analysis. For the purpose of this survey, I concentrated on seventeenth-century book production only, because this period is still the core of the bibliography. Fig. 8.6 shows 12,312 bibliographic records for this century, spread over ten decades. For this survey, I selected 10,339 editions from this period, which, all together, refer to 21,566 individual copies from 24 different institutional collections.

The selection is based on a download of the STCV which dates from 5 May 2015. Not all editions could be used. In total, 1,913 bibliographic descriptions were excluded on one or more grounds. The dataset used for my analysis consists only of descriptions which can be dated between 1 January 1601 and 31 December 1700. Editions potentially printed before or after this period are excluded. In some cases, an edition bears two (or more) dates. From the moment that one of those dates falls outside the temporal scope of this survey, the edition is taken out of the dataset. Also excluded are editions produced outside the present day borders of Flanders, or which suggest a foreign origin, as well as editions with fictitious or false places of publication, unless a Flemish origin is certain. This is also the case when a book bears more than one imprint: it is excluded from the analysis as soon as an imprint certainly is or may be outside the scope of the survey. Furthermore, the dataset does not contain bibliographic descriptions with unclear bibliographic formats or which lack collations, as those elements are indispensable for the analysis. Finally, multi-volume editions, mentioning two or more collations in one bibliographic record, are not considered. This is the case for 395 seventeenth-century records, representing just over 3% of all records from this period.

As a result of this filtering, the final selection for this survey contains 83.97% of all records which initially turned up in a simple search for all seventeenth-century descriptions. With 10,339 records, this cleaned-up corpus is still large enough to perform fairly detailed analysis, even of specific subsets, if only they consist of about 1,000 records or over. As indicated before, much smaller samples may pose problems of reliability.

In order better to understand the nature of the corpus, it is important to consider the origin of the copies in it. The majority of the copies are kept in eleven collections, in nine of which all seventeenth-century books from the Southern Netherlands have been processed. Those nine are the Erfgoedbibliotheek Hendrik Conscience in Antwerp (4,540 copies), Ghent University Library (5,424), Public Library Bruges 'De Biekorf' (947), Antwerp University Library (747), the Library of the City Archives in Mechelen (628), the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington, DC (497), the Library of the City Archives in Turnhout (307), the Provincial Library Limburg (302), and the Library of the City Archives in Oudenaarde (150). Almost fully processed is the collection of Ruusbroecgenootschap Antwerp (2,581) – only a part of the Latin editions needs to be entered. Thus far only a selection of the collections kept at the University Library of KU Leuven in Louvain (Central Library: 2,358; Maurits Sabbe Library: 2,507) have been processed. Selected copies were entered from thirteen more collections, located in Belgium or abroad. In Belgium, 440 copies from the Museum Plantin-Moretus in Antwerp were added, 34 copies from the Aartsbisschoppelijk Archief Mechelen-Brussels, nine from the Library of the Royal Museum of Fine Arts in Antwerp, three from the Royal Library in Brussels, and two from the library at the Abbey of Tongerlo. In France, nine copies from the Bibliothèque Mazarine in Paris were entered, four from the Bibliothèque municipal de Lyon, and two from the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève (Paris). In the Netherlands 38 copies from the National Library of the Netherlands found their way to the database, fifteen from Special Collections at the University of Amsterdam, and one from the Thysiana in Leiden. Finally, the selection contains two copies from Trinity College Dublin (Ireland), and one from the University Library in Basel (Switzerland).

Obviously, there are many more institutions whose collections should be added to the STCV. The fact that copies from the Museum Plantin-Moretus are only entered piecemeal, and that the Royal Library in Brussels is not an official partner of the project, constitutes an important lacuna. While the latter collection is downright vast, and not only for Brussels imprints, the former is a paramount collection for the output of Plantin and his successors as well as for *Antverpiensia* in general.

Fortunately, this absence is partly compensated for by three important Antwerp collections, which also collect *Antverpiensia* in addition to other works. Both the Erfgoedbibliotheek Hendrik Conscience (EHC) and Ghent University Library are very rich collections for *Flandrica* (texts produced in or related to the Southern Netherlands), in addition to books printed in the city where those libraries are located. The same goes for most other libraries in the list: as 'De Biekorf' in Bruges focuses on editions from Bruges, the Library of the City Archives in Mechelen owns an incomparable collection of *Mechliniensia*,[13] and the libraries at the KU Leuven collect editions produced in Louvain and the academic community in this city. And even though the institutional collections in Turnhout, Hasselt (Provincial Library Limburg), and Oudenaarde own much smaller collections, their specific focus on regional works adds much value to the STCV as a virtual meta-collection.

At present, one can only speculate on the effects of the absence of a number of important national collections in the STCV. And as the example of the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington, DC, clearly demonstrates, collections outside Belgium in some cases contain a relatively large part of *unica*, too (see table 8.2). On the other hand, this does not affect the validity of the estimations, as those are based on a very large and cleaned-up corpus of reliable metadata.

TABLE 8.2 *Seventeenth-century editions listed in the STCV, by library*

Collection	Editions	Copies	Unica (ed.)	Ratio unica/ editions (%)
EHC Antwerp	4,038	4,540	2,066	51.16
UL Gent	4,037	5,424	1,720	42.60
RG Antwerp*	1,886	2,581	545	28.90
KU Leuven: MSL*	1,814	2,507	420	23.15
KU Leuven: CL*	2,012	2,358	444	22.07
PL Bruges: De Biekorf	806	947	200	24.81
UL Antwerp	614	747	79	12.87
CA Mechelen	543	628	159	29.28
Folger	478	497	138	28.87
MPM Antwerp*	399	440	79	19.80
CA Turnhout	280	307	34	12.14
PL Limburg	269	302	55	20.45
CA Oudenaarde	144	150	23	15.97

* Collection of seventeenth-century editions not yet fully processed.

13 Cf. Goran Proot, Diederik Lanoye and Willy Van de Vijver (eds.), *Gedrukte stad. Drukken in en voor Mechelen 1581–1800* (Brugge: Van de Wiele, 2010); Diederik Lanoye, 'De Mechelse drukpers voor 1800', *Jaarboek voor Nederlandse boekgeschiedenis,* 16 (2009), pp. 131–150.

Analysis

Before I present the results of the analysis, it is good to think about the nature of the corpus again. Analysed are seventeenth-century records of editions in the STCV, which were printed or published in the Southern Netherlands. Multi-volume editions are excluded, as well as descriptions with a dubious format or collation. The objects in the final corpus include hand-press books only, which are (at least partly) produced with moveable type. The descriptions are based on copies held in national and to some extent international, institutional collections, each of which maintain a specific selection and de-selection policy. This implies that the estimates of the corpus and of its subsets pertain only to an estimated total population of hand-press works with similar features. In other words, the results do not say anything about specific objects which fall outside the collection policy of institutions, or which have an unclear, potential non-Flemish origin, or which may be produced or sold beyond the seventeenth century.

In this section, I present only a selection of the results of estimates based on specific bibliographic features. In the course of this survey, many more were tested, but did not result in relevant findings. In other cases, subsets of records which could be analysed turned out to be too small to generate sound results. The results based on subsets consisting of less than 1,000 records are only mentioned if they seem clearly to indicate an important trend, but the actual estimates based on those small subsets should be interpreted with great caution.

The selection consists of 10,339 editions in 20,235 copies. As demonstrated by fig. 8.5, 6,008 editions are present in one copy only (58.11%). About 17.57% of the editions are recorded in two copies, 9.33% are triplets, 5.66% are quadruplets, and 3.23% of all editions are known in five copies. 219 editions or 2.12% of the corpus are recorded in six copies, 1.09% in seven, and 1.12% in eight copies. From here, the numbers decrease even further and represent less than 1 per cent of the total number of editions. 73 editions have nine copies, 41 have ten, 24 have eleven, 17 have twelve, and 10 have 13 copies. There are only four editions recorded in 14 copies, only seven with 15 copies, and two with 16 copies. The corpus contains one edition each with 17, 18, 19, 23, and 24 copies, and finally, there is one book preserved in 32 copies. It is a lavishly illustrated quarto on large paper, the *Af-beeldinghe van d'eerste eevwe der societeyt Iesv*, a Dutch translation by Laurentius Uwens and Adriaan Poirters of the *Imago primi saeculi*, both of which were published by the Plantin Press. In 1640, the Latin edition was printed as a folio in a run of 1,050 copies, each of which cost

18 *gulden*, making a total of 18,900 *gulden* (ill. 8.3).[14] The STCV records ten copies of this edition (ill 8.1). Although the imprint of both editions clearly mentions 1640, the print information of the Dutch edition is recorded in the papers of the firm under the year 1641, where is noted that the *Af-beeldinghe* was produced as a quarto in 1,525 copies, which were sold at 9 *gulden* each (ill. 8.2).[15]

On the basis of singletons and duplicates and an arbitrary print run of 500, the formula for the estimation of editions returns a loss rate of 54.59%. In other words, the 10,339 recorded editions represent 45.41% of all editions with the same characteristics of the total population of editions, which, as a result of this exercise, can be fixed at 22,767 editions. This is of course an estimate, but, according to simulations with a comparable fictitious corpus, probably a fairly precise one (see fig. 8.2).

Sheet Counts

That both editions related to the centenary of the Jesuit order mentioned in the previous section turn out to be expensive books is not a coincidence. Their price is not only the result of the inclusion of a large amount of copper engravings, but also of the number of sheets required to produce a copy. For each copy of the quarto edition in the vernacular, 91 full sheets of paper were needed, while the Latin edition, which was printed as a folio, required 246 sheets per copy. For unillustrated books, the number of sheets of paper per copy – sometimes indicated as 'edition sheets'[16] – is the most important indicator of an average book's production cost.[17] Printers calculated the production cost by sheet, irrespective the number of pages printed on it. Generally speaking, there is as much work and material involved in the production of an

14 MPM M 39, f. 39*v*, and M 321, f. 108*r*.

15 MPM M 39, f. 40*r*, and M 321, f. 109*r*.

16 For instance David L. Gants, 'A quantitative analysis of the London book trade 1614–1618', *Studies in Bibliography*, 55 (2002), pp. 185–213: "I have employed the edition sheet as the base unit for measuring printing-house output. Bibliographers have employed this term for different concepts, but I take it to mean the number of sheets in an exemplar volume used as a measure of the relative amount of work required to produce the complete run of that volume" (p. 186).

17 In the second half of the sixteenth century, the cost of paper amounted to 30 to 40% of the total production cost of books in Geneva, see H.-J. Bremme, *Buchdrucker und Buchhändler zur Zeit der Glaubenskämpfe. Studien zur Genfer Druckgeschichte 1565–1580* (Geneva: Droz, 1969), p. 32, as cited by Gilmont in his 'Livre, bibliographie et statistiques', p. 801, footnote 1.

ILLUSTRATION 8.1 *Imago primi saeculi Societatis Iesu a Provincia Flandro-Belgica eiusdem Societatis repræsentata* (*Antwerp: Officina Plantiniana; Balthasar Moretus, 1640*)
© Bibliothèque Mazarine, Paris [2° 5417 2e ex]

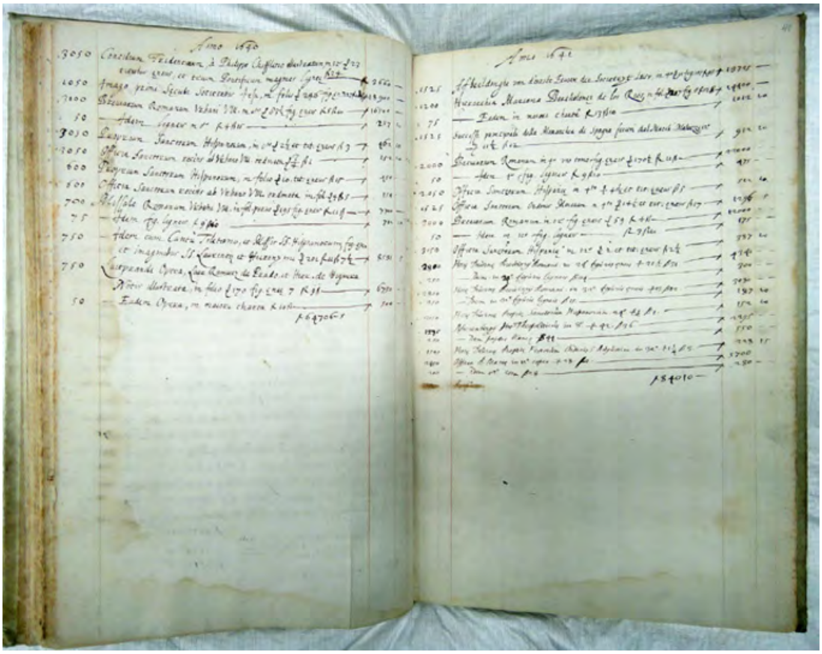
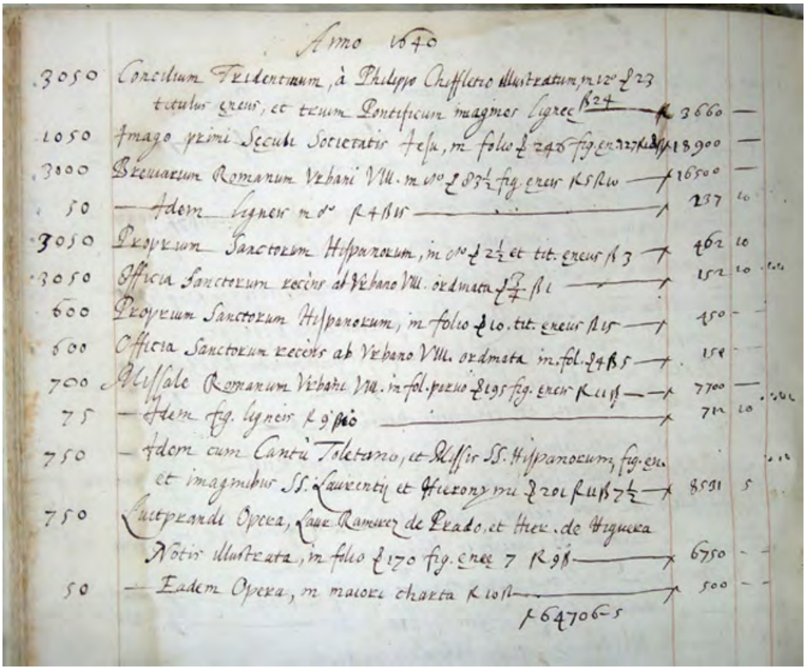


ILLUSTRATION 8.2 *M39, Museum Plantin-Moretus, Antwerp, ff. 39v–40r*



Anno 1640

3050 Concilium Tridentinum, à Philippo Chiffletio illustratum, in 12° ₤23 titulis eneis, et tenim Pontificum imaginibus ligneis ß24 — f 3660 —
1050 Imago primi Seculi Societatis Jesu, in folio ₤ 246 fig. en. — f 18900 —
3000 Breviarium Romanum Urbani VIII. in 8° ₤ 83½ fig. eneis f 5 ß10 — f 16500 —
50 — Idem ligneis in 8° f 4 ß10 — 237 10
3050 Proprium Sanctorum Hispanorum, in 8° ₤ 2½ et tit. eneis ß 3 — 462 10
3050 Officia Sanctorum recens ab Urbano VIII. ordinata ₤ 7/7 ß 1 — 152 10
600 Proprium Sanctorum Hispanorum, in folio ₤ 10. tit. eneis ß 15 — 450 —
600 Officia Sanctorum recens ab Urbano VIII. ordinata in fol. ₤ 4 ß 5 — 158 —
700 Missale Romanum Urbani VIII. in fol. parvo ₤ 195 fig. eneis f 11 — 7700 —
75 — Idem fig. ligneis f 9 ß10 — 712 10
750 — Idem cum Cantu Toletano, et Missis SS. Hispanorum, fig. en. et imaginibus SS. Laurentij et Hieronymi ₤ 201 f 11 ß 7½ — 8531 5
750 Luitprandi Opera, Laur. Ramirez de Prado, et Hier. de Higuera Notis illustrata, in folio ₤ 170 fig. enee 7 ß 9 — 6750 —
50 — Eadem Opera, in maiori charta f 10 ß — 500 —
f 64706-5

ILLUSTRATION 8.3 *M39, Museum Plantin-Moretus, Antwerp, f. 39v (detail)* octavo book counting 16 pages as there is for a duodecimo of 24 pages. For both books a compositor has to compose an inner as well as an outer forme, for both books pressmen have to mount one sheet on the press, to ink the type and to print the sheet on both sides.

Table 8.3 and fig. 8.7 clearly indicate that there is a direct relationship between the number of sheets per copy and survival rates of books. For all editions in the dataset I calculated the number of sheets per copy, information which can easily be derived by dividing the total number of leaves by the bibliographic format. In an octavo book 8 leaves (or 16 pages) make one sheet, in a duodecimo 12 leaves (or 24 pages). Table 8.3 shows ten subsets or categories, which are based on the number of sheets per copy. The first category consists of books for which one sheet or less paper is required to produce one copy. The second category is for books with more than one and up to two sheets per copy, the third category for books counting twice as many sheets, and so on.[18] Categories 8, 9 and 10, for books consisting of more than 64 sheets per copy are marked with a star. They are mentioned here for completeness only – the numbers on which the estimates are based are too weak to be very reliable. For each subset, table 8.3 enumerates the number of singletons (P_1), of duplicates (P_2), and the total number of editions (N_{found}). Based on those numbers, the fraction of found (P_{found}) and of lost (P_{lost}) editions is calculated (here rendered as a percentage), as well as the nominal number of

TABLE 8.3 *Found and lost editions according to sheet counts*

	≤1	**1 ≤ 2**	**2 ≤ 4**	**4 ≤ 8**	**8 ≤ 16**	**16 ≤ 32**	**32 ≤ 64**	**64 ≤ 128***	**128 ≤ 256***	**256 ≤ 512***	**Total**
P1	2,076	713	699	696	712	555	244	140	135	38	6,008
P2	145	138	202	263	381	339	176	91	61	20	1,816
P(found) in %	13.06	32.14	43.94	53.08	65.74	70.55	76.39	72.77	59.53	65.13	45.41
P(lost) in %	86.94	67.86	56.06	46.92	34.26	29.45	23.61	27.23	40.47	34.87	54.59
N(found)	2,268	968	1,113	1,293	1,605	1,472	782	410	328	100	10,339
N(lost)	15,098	2,044	1,420	1,143	836	614	242	153	223	54	12,428
N(total)	17,366	3,012	2,533	2,436	2,441	2,086	1,024	563	551	154	22,767

* Weak numbers, supplied here for comparison only.

18 This method was, to my knowledge, for the first time used by Diederik Lanoye in 'Mechelse drukkers en Mechelse drukken tijdens het ancien régime', in Goran Proot, Diederik Lanoye and Willy Van de Vijver (eds.), *Gedrukte stad. Drukken in en voor Mechelen 1581–1800* (Bruges: Van de Wiele, 2010), pp. 14–51.

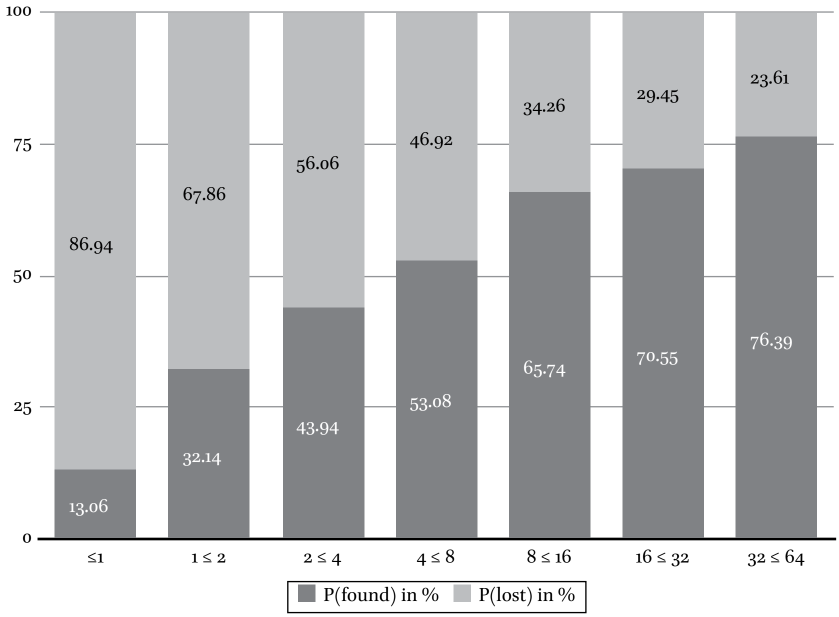


FIGURE 8.7 *Percentage of estimated found and lost editions according to the number of sheets required to produce one copy of an edition*

editions this estimate should represent (N_{lost}), and finally the total number of editions in this category (N_{total}), adding up N_{found} and N_{lost}. The print run (a) is fixed at 500.

Bibliographic Format

In addition to the regular bibliographic formats, the corpus includes 104 works designed in an oblong format: as an oblong broadside (12), folio (4), quarto (4), octavo (32), duodecimo (4), sextodecimo (33), and fifteen more in other oblong formats. In the text, only four formats will be discussed: folio, quarto, octavo and duodecimo (also called 12mo or 'twelvemo'). From a quantitative point of view those four are the most important formats as far as institutional collections are concerned. Combined they represent 93.39% of all editions in this survey. For broadsides, 16mos and smaller formats, the sample size is too small for precise application of the model. Some of the results are counter-intuitive. Books in octavo format in this survey are preserved best. It is estimated that the sample represents 62.51% of all octavos produced. Duodecimos are next, with survival rates of 57.00%, and only third come folios, physically the tallest and widest volumes. Traditionally, this is the format thought of as the best preserved, but that conclusion seems not to hold up as folios show a loss rate of about 54.80%.[19] The format most prone to loss, however, is the quarto: according to the estimates, only about one in three editions are present in the sample (33.97%); almost two thirds of the production with similar features to the quarto books in this survey remain unrecorded.

On average, folios consist of 93.70 sheets per copy, which, according to table 8.3, should be very beneficial for survival rates.[20] Of the three other categories, octavos are the books with the highest number of sheets per copy, i.e. 17.52 sheets.[21] This is significantly more than the average quarto (12.69) or duodecimo (10.89).[22]

TABLE 8.4 *Bibliographical format*

	Broadside	**2o**	**4to**	**8vo**	**12mo**	**16mo***	**18mo***	**24mo***	**32mo***	**Total**
P1	133	616	2,698	1,153	1,006	222	45	120	8	6,008
P2	7	185	559	565	424	21	8	43	1	1,816
P(found) in %	10.01	45.2	33.97	62.51	57	17.27	29.96	51.21	22.15	45.41
P(lost) in %	89.99	54.8	66.03	37.49	43	82.73	70.04	48.79	77.85	54.59
N(found)	144	1,157	3,960	2,676	1,863	262	61	195	10	10,339
N(lost)	1,295	1,403	7,698	1,605	1,406	1,255	143	186	35	12,428
N(total)	1,439	2,560	11,658	4,281	3,269	1,517	204	381	45	22,767

* Weak numbers, supplied here for comparison only.

19 See, for instance, Suarez, 'Towards a bibliometric analysis of the surviving record', p. 57, where the author refers to 'disproportionately high survival rates of large-format books', and 'Roger Stoddard's Law' ('Bigger books linger longer; little books last least'). "Folios and, to a lesser extent, quartos tend to persist; octavos and duodecimos – not only because of their size, but also because of the way they are read and used – commonly perish."

20 The distribution of sheets required to produce one copy of a folio recorded in the sample is the following: ≤1 sheet per copy: 259; 1 ≤ 2 sheets per copy: 27; 2 ≤ 4: 45; 4 ≤ 8: 64; 8 ≤ 16: 81; 16 ≤ 32: 59; 32 ≤ 64: 75; 64 ≤ 128: 152; 128 ≤ 256: 110; and 256 ≤ 512: 100.

21 The distribution of sheets required to produce one copy of an octavo in the sample is the following: ≤1 sheet per copy: 186; 1 ≤ 2 sheets per copy: 137; 2 ≤ 4: 268; 4 ≤ 8: 377; 8 ≤ 16: 537; 16 ≤ 32: 711; 32 ≤ 64: 432; 64 ≤ 128: 28; 128 ≤ 256: 0; and 256 ≤ 512: 0.

22 The distribution of sheets required to produce one copy of a quarto is the following: ≤1 sheet per copy: 1,415; 1 ≤ 2 sheets per copy: 587; 2 ≤ 4: 560; 4 ≤ 8: 393; 8 ≤ 16: 278; 16 ≤ 32: 229; 32 ≤ 64: 250; 64 ≤ 128: 217; 128 ≤ 256: 31; and 256 ≤ 512: 0. For duodecimos: ≤1 sheet per copy: 147; 1 ≤ 2 sheets per copy: 148; 2 ≤ 4: 190; 4 ≤ 8: 352; 8 ≤ 16: 576; 16 ≤ 32: 431; 32 ≤ 64: 19; 64 ≤ 128: 0; 128 ≤ 256: 0; and 256 ≤ 512: 0.

For the sixteenth century, octavo is the most frequently recorded book format across all countries (39.71%), immediately followed by quarto (36.77%).[23] Until about 1525, the latter format outnumbered all others (fig. 8.8). In the 1530s, the majority of publications appear in octavo, which remains the case until the last decade of the sixteenth century, when quarto takes the lead again. Table 8.4 indicates that the quartos remain, in absolute numbers, the most important format for the seventeenth-century Southern Netherlands. The

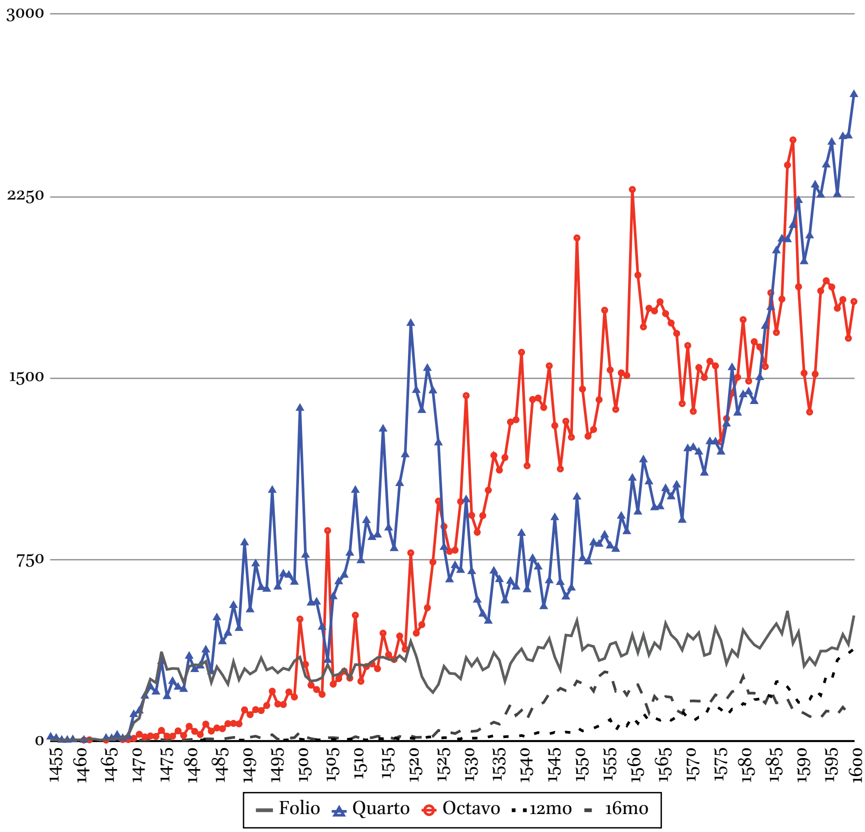


FIGURE 8.8 *Number of folios, quartos, octavos, duodecimos and sedecimos per year as recorded in the* USTC *(searches performed 6 April 2015)*

23 Numbers based on searches performed 6 April 2015 in the USTC database. Compare the data presented by Jan Materné for liturgical books produced in the period 1590–1650 for the Officina Plantiniana: 'The Officina Plantiniana and the dynamics of the Counter-Reformation, 1590–1650', in Simonetta Cavaciocchi (ed.), *Produzione e commercio della carta e del libro secc. XIII–XVIII* (Prato: Le Monnier, 1992), pp. 481–490, here p. 485 (graph 2).

spikes in the period 1515–1525 for quartos in fig. 8.8 indicate how this format is related to specific genres, such as pamphlets, which were massively used in the polemic between Catholics and Protestants in this period.

The quarto is a format which lends itself to swift publication of pamphlets and other ephemeral genres, such as theatre programmes or academic theses, or other texts requiring rapid publication and distribution, such as ordinances and placards. Those text genres have in common that they constitute usually rather slim publications, whose information value expires relatively quickly. Thereafter, those publications become obsolete and tend to disappear more quickly than other books. For theatre programmes ordered by the Flemish Jesuits between 1575 and 1773, which are almost always published as quartos, the survival rate is as low as 20.5%.[24]

Typographical Features

The *Short Title Catalogue Flanders* distinguishes two types of title page: those which contain at least partly printing in relief, and those which are produced using copper plates only.[25] In addition, 344 editions in this survey have no title page or lack a title page, but this category is not taken into account for the calculations presented in table 8.5. Compared to the overall estimation of lost editions throughout the dataset, the category of editions with a typographical title page is slightly better preserved: 50.11%, which is almost 5% more than the overall average (45.41%). Spectacular are the results for works with an engraved title page. Presumably, the corpus describes three quarters of the editions with this feature. The explanation for this is fairly simple. Works with engraved title pages count on average 63.13 sheets per copy. For works with typographical title pages this number is three times lower (21.10 sheets per copy). The latter number is very close to the overall average sheet count of all editions combined in this survey (22.36 sheets per copy).

24 Proot and Egghe, 'Estimating editions on the basis of survivals', p. 165. The economic importance of this kind of publication is underpinned by the fact that printers and commissioning bodies such as the Jesuits went through the trouble of formulating framework agreements for the production of theatre programmes, cf. Goran Proot, 'The importance of jobbing printing. A framework agreement between the Ghent Jesuits and the printer Baudewijn Manilius for the production of theatre programmes (1664)', *Jaarboek voor Nederlandse boekgeschiedenis*, 21 (2014), pp. 89–112.

25 Title pages combining intaglio and relief printing receive the descriptor 'typographic title page'.

TABLE 8.5 *Typographical features*

	Typographical title page	Engraved title page	Illustrations (all combined)	Illustrations on title page/ in the prelims	Colour (all combined)	Roman type	Black letter	Greek type*	Total
P1	4,596	338	1,689	1,372	378	3,566	2,482	62	6,008
P2	1,596	229	607	499	139	1,366	448	37	1,816
P(found) in %	50.11	74.23	51.31	51.73	52.12	53.56	30.34	69.71	45.41
P(lost) in %	49.89	25.77	48.69	48.27	47.88	46.44	69.66	30.29	54.59
N(found)	8,362	1,080	3,372	2,761	704	6,795	3,617	170	10,339
N(lost)	8,324	375	3,200	2,576	647	5,891	8,303	74	12,428
N(total)	16,686	1,455	6,572	5,337	1,351	12,686	11,920	244	22,767

* Weak numbers, supplied here for comparison only.

Engraved title pages are most frequent in octavos (329 editions in this survey), followed by duodecimos (259), folios (203), and quartos (164) – the rest of the editions with a frontispiece are spread over other bibliographical formats (125). This observation seems to suggest that the presence of an engraved title page has an important impact on the survival rate of specific formats, but in absolute numbers, this category represents only about one tenth of the entire dataset (1,080 versus 10,339 editions).

With the exception of engraved title pages the presence of illustrations has no important impact on survival rates, whether they figure in the prelims only, or turn up elsewhere in the book, in or out of collation. Neither does the use of different colours anywhere in the publications seem to be important for survival.

Seventeenth-century editions with text set in roman type have estimated survival rates which are about 8% higher than the average edition in the entire dataset. In contrast, works with text in black letter show bad survival rates: according to the stochastic model, only 30.34% of publications with this typographical feature seem to be present in the corpus. Although the absolute numbers for works mainly set in ancient Greek are too weak to be conclusive, the tentative outcome is illuminating, as it shows opposite numbers: almost seven in ten editions should be recorded, and only three are currently not located. This seems to suggest that collections are more complete for publications of the intellectual elite (Greek, Latin) than for those for more regional and local audiences which are printed in the vernacular (Dutch), but this conclusion requires some qualification. Works with text in roman type consist, on average, of 28.57 sheets per copy, while those in black letter count only 11.33 sheets per copy. With 49.88 sheets per copy, works in ancient Greek are the most expensive in terms of paper usage. As in the case of works with engraved title pages, both factors – type and size – reinforce one other.

Target Language

Works in Latin are much better preserved in institutional collections which contribute to the STCV and the dataset under consideration (table 8.6). Almost six in ten editions are present in the corpus. Works in vernacular languages have weaker survival rates: Dutch-language books only 36.58%. French-language books, on the other hand, show survival rates compatible with the average for the entire collection (45.11%).

TABLE 8.6 *Target language*

	Target language Latin	Target language Dutch	Target language French	Total
P1	1,859	3,541	748	6,008
P2	845	805	224	1,816
P(found) in %	59.75	36.58	45.11	45.41
P(lost) in %	40.25	63.42	54.89	54.59
N(found)	3,975	5,514	1,149	10,339
N(lost)	2,678	9,560	1,398	12,428
N(total)	6,653	15,074	2,547	22,767

Editions in Latin consist on average of 39.82 sheets per copy, works in Dutch of 12.04 sheets and French books of 17.94 sheets. The results for works in black letter (11.33 sheets per copy) and Dutch-language works (12.04 sheets) are consistent throughout the entire dataset. The crucial feature is language, because Dutch-language editions undergo a significant shift in their predominant choice of type in the course of the seventeenth century. Before the 1660s, the majority of books in Dutch were set in black letter, but with time, the majority of those editions will appear in roman type.[26]

Place of Publication

This also explains the survival rates according to place of publication (table 8.7). For Antwerp, 2,187 editions in this dataset were published in Latin against 3,217 in Dutch (41.24% respectively 58% of Antwerp production). The estimated survival rates for Louvain are much better (64.03%). This is beyond any doubt related to the academic status of the city, which housed a university since 1425. The largest part of the city's output was in Latin (925 editions or 78.99% of the Louvain production), against 223 Dutch-language books, representing only 19.04% of the editions in this corpus. It is not clear how the distribution of Dutch-versus Latin-language books should be assessed for Ghent and Brussels.

26 Goran Proot, 'The evolving typographical identity of theatre programmes produced for the Flemish Jesuits in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries', in William A. Kelly and

TABLE 8.7 *Place of publication*

	Antwerp	**Ghent**	**Brussels**	**Louvain**	**Total**
P1	3,256	922	879	558	6,008
P2	862	267	279	285	1,816
P(found) in %	41.16	44.01	47.04	64.03	45.41
P(lost) in %	58.84	55.99	52.96	35.97	54.59
N(found)	5,546	1,482	1,451	1,171	10,339
–In Latin	2,187 (42.24%)	268 (18.08%)	410 (28.26%)	925 (78.99%)	
–In Dutch	3,217 (58%)	1,100 (74.22%)	488 (33.63%)	223 (19.04%)	
N(lost)	7,930	1,885	1,633	658	12,428
N(total)	13,476	3,367	3,084	1,829	22,767

Subject Matter

According to the model, works dealing with Christian Doctrine are preserved best in this sample, which should include six out of ten editions originally published. 'Christian Doctrine' is a very broad category, consisting of all works directly or indirectly related to religious issues, such as sermons, devotional books, religious treatises and lives of saints, but also literary works which are religiously motivated, such as moralising emblem books. The average sheet count is 22.79 sheets per copy – slightly over the overall average of all works in this survey.[27]

Giulia Trentacosti (eds.), *The Book in the Low Countries* (Edinburgh: Merchiston Publishing, 2015), pp. 11–53, here: pp. 32–33 (diagrams 9, 10 and 11). More details about this transition according to text genre and on the title page can be found in Goran Proot, 'De opmars van de romein. Het gebruik van romein en gotisch in Nederlandstalig drukwerk uit de zuidelijke Lage Landen, 1541–1700', *Jaarboek voor Nederlandse boekgeschiedenis*, 19 (2012), pp. 65–85. For a comparative survey for Dutch-language editions published in the Dutch Republic and the Southern Netherlands, see Steven van Impe and Jan Bos, 'Romein en gotisch in zeventiende-eeuws drukwerk. Een voorbeeldonderzoek voor het gebruik van de STCN en STCV', *De zeventiende eeuw*, 22 (2006), pp. 283–297.

27 The distribution of sheets required to produce one copy of an edition recorded in the sample for Christiane Doctrine is the following: ≤1 sheet per copy: 285; 1 ≤ 2 sheets per

The category of state publications – regulations, ordinances and official declarations, issued by official bodies, such as the Antwerp *Gheboden ende wtgheroepen* – shows the most important loss: almost eight in ten editions have not yet been recorded (77.18% of the estimated total output; see table 8.8). The average sheet count for this category is 3.84 sheets per copy, and 60.33% of all recorded editions were produced using only one sheet or under,[28] which is the category of works most susceptible to loss (86.94%, see table 8.3). The number of quartos in this category is also considerable: 1,484 in 1,853 recorded editions (80.08%). The loss rate of quartos, irrespective of their size, is estimated at 66.03% (table 8.4).

Sammelbände

In contrast to most other bibliographies, the STCV systematically records when a copy added to the database was found in a *Sammelband*, a volume consisting of two or more codicological entities, be it in print or in manuscript. No difference is made between contemporary or more recent volumes. The following

TABLE 8.8 *Subject matter*

	Christian doctrine	History (all combined)	Language and literature	State publications	Topical publications	Total
P1	1,837	1,059	583	1,485	1,000	6,008
P2	864	292	182	192	277	1,816
P(found) in %	61	42.44	46.49	22.82	42.58	45.41
P(lost) in %	39	57.56	53.51	77.18	57.42	54.59
N(found)	3,819	1,860	1,080	1,853	1,596	10,339
N(lost)	2,441	2,523	1,243	6,267	2,152	12,428
N(total)	6,260	4,383	2,323	8,120	3,748	22,767

copy: 307; 2 ≤ 4: 412; 4 ≤ 8: 578; 8 ≤ 16: 860; 16 ≤ 32: 789; 32 ≤ 64: 321; 64 ≤ 128: 138; 128 ≤ 256: 110; and 256 ≤ 512: 19.

28 The distribution of sheets required to produce one copy of an edition recorded in the sample for State Publications is the following: ≤1 sheet per copy: 1,118; 1 ≤ 2 sheets per copy: 295; 2 ≤ 4: 225; 4 ≤ 8: 85; 8 ≤ 16: 59; 16 ≤ 32: 38; 32 ≤ 64: 25; 64 ≤ 128: 3; 128 ≤ 256: 4; and 256 ≤ 512: 1.

numbers thus reflect the situation as assessed by the bibliographers entering copies since 1 February 2000. The analysis of this feature is revealing. More than 40% of all copies in the retrospective bibliography are part of a *Sammelband* (15,916 in 39,084 copies as of 5 May 2015). In the corpus under consideration, this number is slightly lower: 37.39% (Table 8.9).

The importance of *Sammelbände* becomes even more obvious when related to the number of sheets required to produce a copy of an edition. Almost three in four copies which are made out of one sheet or less are found in a *Sammelband*, and for works twice or four times this size, that is the case for more than half the number of copies. For editions counting 4 up to 8 sheets, 47.49% of all copies are to be found in a binding with other texts. As demonstrated by Fig. 8.9, the fact that printed editions are bound together is of great importance. The horizontal line marks the average number of copies in *Sammelbände* in this corpus, at 37.39%.

It is illuminating to compare these findings with the estimated survival rates for each category of editions grouped according to their volume in sheets. Supposedly only about 13% of all editions consisting of one sheet or fewer are recorded in the corpus. If only independent copies had been entered, this number would drop to about 3.5%! Similarly, the survival rates for works of 1 to

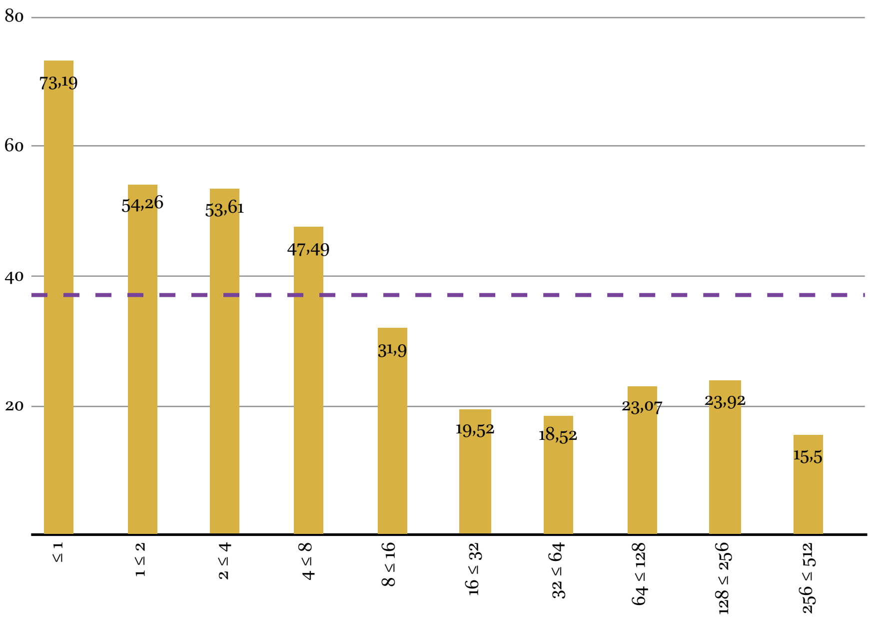


FIGURE 8.9 *The percentage of copies found in a Sammelband, per category of editions with a specific number of sheets per copy*

TABLE 8.9 *Copies as part of a Sammelband*

	≤1	1 ≤ 2	2 ≤ 4	4 ≤ 8	8 ≤ 16	16 ≤ 32	32 ≤ 64	64 ≤ 128	128 ≤ 256	256 ≤ 512	Total
Copies	2,536	1,454	2,035	2,784	3,781	3,965	2,506	1,231	945	329	21,566
Copies in a Sammelband	1,856	789	1,091	1,322	1,206	774	464	284	226	51	8,063
Percentage	73.19	54.26	53.61	47.49	31.9	19.52	18.52	23.07	23.92	15.5	37.39

8 sheets per edition would more or less be halved, too. The impact of *Sammelbände* is of a considerable importance especially for relatively short printed texts.

Printers' Profiles

Amongst the above described survival and loss factors, the number of sheets required for the production of a copy is the one with the greatest impact on the presence of works in institutional collections. The pattern described in table 8.3 and illustrated by fig. 8.7 is instrumental in the assessment of a printer's output in the Southern Netherlands during the seventeenth century and to interpret his or her position in their region and time frame.

Table 8.10 describes the output of six printers, who can be classified in two groups. The first group consists of four printers who focus on small jobs, whereas the printers in the second group (Aertssens and Verdussen) are more involved in the printing and publishing of voluminous works. The six printers discussed here are not taken randomly, but they serve as representative examples for the most important printer's profiles in the analysed corpus.

The corpus contains 398 editions printed and/or published by the Antwerp printer Abraham Verhoeven.[29] Although he is in terms of editions one of the most productive printers in the city, the total recorded number of sheets is negligible. The bulk of this activity consists of topical, one sheet or half sheet publications, in general news pamphlets commenting on recent events. The

29 For secondary literature about Abraham Verhoeven, see Koen de Vlieger-de Wilde (ed.), *Directory of seventeenth-century printers, publishers and booksellers in Flanders* (Antwerp, Vereniging van Antwerpse Bibliofielen, 2004), pp. 73–74 (no. 145).

TABLE 8.10 *Recorded output of six printers according to sheets per copy*

	≤1	1 ≤ 2	2 ≤ 4	4 ≤ 8	8 ≤ 16	16 ≤ 32	32 ≤ 64	64 ≤ 128	128 ≤ 256	256 ≤ 512	Total
A. Verhoeven	372	17	8	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	398
Editions in %	93.47	4.27	2.01	0	0	0.25	0	0	0	0	100
H. Saetreuver	34	26	15	9	4	1	0	0	0	0	89
Editions in %	38.2	29.21	16.85	10.11	4.49	1.12	0	0	0	0	100
H. Anthoon	27	23	14	11	6	5	4	1	1	0	92
Editions in %	29.35	25	15.22	11.96	6.52	5.43	4.35	1.09	1.09	0	100
B. Manilius	62	69	45	23	10	6	2	1	0	0	218
Editions in %	28.44	31.65	20.64	10.55	4.59	2.75	0.92	0.46	0	0	100
H. Aertssens	4	4	10	24	45	72	27	7	6	2	201
Editions in %	1.99	1.99	4.98	11.94	22.39	35.82	13.43	3.48	2.99	1	100
H. Verdussen I	20	9	27	58	63	57	40	14	12	3	303
Editions in %	6.6	2.97	8.91	19.14	20.79	18.81	13.2	4.62	3.96	0.99	100

sum of sheets required to print one copy of each of his publications amounts to 443.25 sheets. Divided over about 21 years of activity (1609–1630), this is a mere 21.10 sheets per year.[30] Expressed in formes which needed to be composed, this equals barely 43 formes, inner and outer formes combined, per year.

The production of the Ghent printer Hendrick Saetreuver, who succeeded Baudewyn Manilius in 1684 and remained active until 1700, is marked by a pattern that is in some ways similar to that of Abraham Verhoeven, but it also shows more diversification in term of sheets per copy.[31] In quantitative terms, one-sheet publications constitute the largest category, followed by other small works, consisting of up to two or four sheets per copy. Those three categories represent almost 85% of his production. The corpus records only a few works of a considerable volume, the most voluminous being the *Imago veri advocati*,

30 The STCV records activity from 1609 onwards until 1630, see, for instance, STCV 6622985 (1609) or STCV 12918860 (1630).

31 For secondary literature about Hendrick Saetreuver, see de Vlieger-de Wilde, *Directory of seventeenth-century printers, publishers and booksellers in Flanders*, p. 121 (no. 258); for Manilius: p. 117 (no. 250).

a law book published in 1687 as a quarto consisting of 111 leaves.[32] His output in terms of sheets totals 253.75 sheets (507.5 formes), representing almost 32 formes per year of activity, which is even less than what is known for Verhoeven.

As illustrated by fig. 8.10, the production in the corpus by the Brussels printer Huybrecht Anthoon I (active 1615–1630)[33] and the Ghent printer Baudewijn Manilius (active 1649–1684) follows the same pattern.[34] Their output profile is

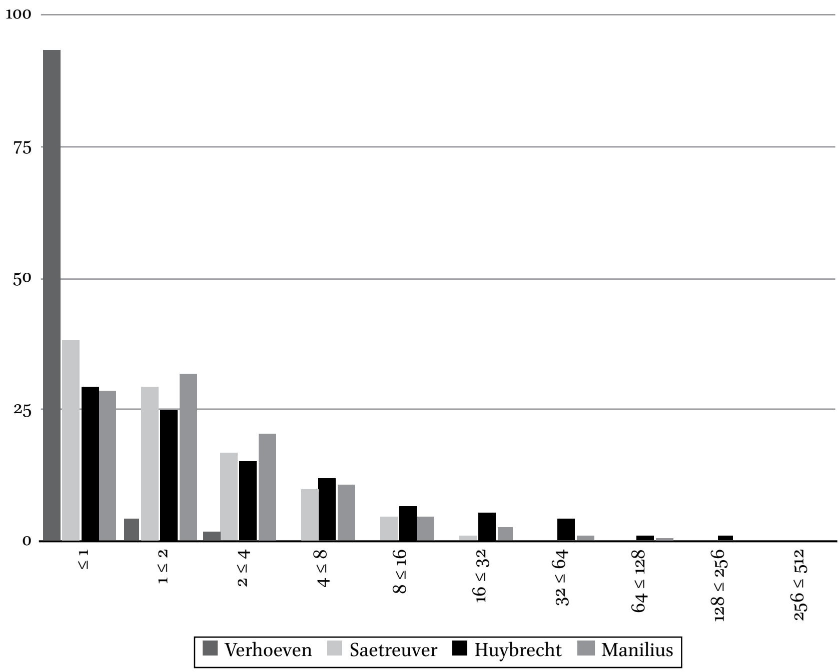


FIGURE 8.10 *Recorded production of Verhoeven, Saetreuver, Huybrecht and Manilius according to the number of sheets per copy of their editions, in relative numbers*

32 STCV 6596783. The work, which has both an engraved and a typographical title page, is recorded in eight copies.

33 For secondary literature about Huybecht Anthoon I, see de Vlieger-de Wilde (ed.), *Directory of seventeenth-century printers, publishers and booksellers*, p. 90 (no. 184).

34 Huybrecht Anthoon I produced 760.90 sheets for 92 editions in 15 years (or almost 102 formes per year), Baudewijn Manilius 824.75 sheets for 218 editions in 35 years (47.13 formes per year).

characterised by a right skewed distribution.[35] The largest part of their work consists of slim editions, in addition to a small amount of 'real books'. All four printers can be characterized as jobbing printers, who lived off small jobs for local audiences. This production was vital to their business, as is demonstrated by the fact that Manilius went to the trouble of drawing up a framework agreement for the production of theatre programmes for the Ghent Jesuits.[36] Within this jobbing market, there is even room for further specialisation for pamphlet printers such as Verhoeven.

The second group consists of printers who produce books of all lengths, with a preference for works of 8 to 32 sheets per copy. As fig. 8.11 indicates, their output is nicely balanced and comes close to a standard normal distribution

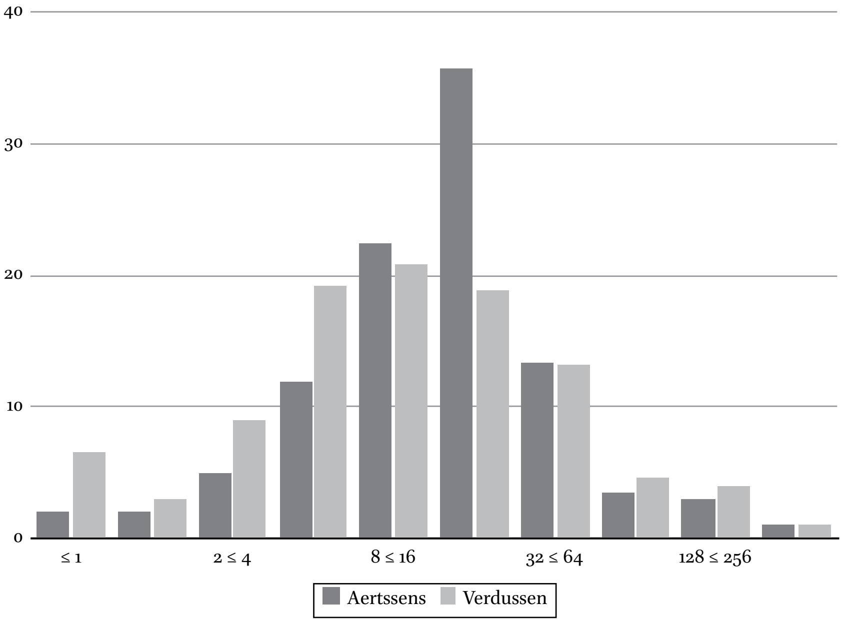


FIGURE 8.11 *Recorded production of Aertssens and Verdussen according to the number of sheets per copy of their editions, in relative numbers*

35 For an introduction to skewness of distributions, see, for instance, Bruno Blondé et al., *Trend en toeval. Inleiding tot de kwantitatieve methoden voor historici* (Louvain: Leuven UP, 2012), pp. 75–76.

36 Proot, 'The importance of jobbing printing'.

(Gauss clock). Both Hendrick Aertssens I (active 1613–1656) and Hieronymus Verdussen I (active 1589–1635) were very prolific businessmen.[37] Of the former, the corpus contains 201 books for a total of almost 5,955 sheets, of the latter it contains 303 titles between 1601 and 1633 for a total of almost 9,167 sheets – the sixteenth-century production by Hieronymus Verdussen I is not included in this analysis.[38] The average length of Aertssens' books is 29.63 sheets per copy, that of Verdussen 30.25 sheets. Recalculated as formes per year, Aertssens had his compositors produce 277 formes per year, and for Verdussen this is 524 formes per year.

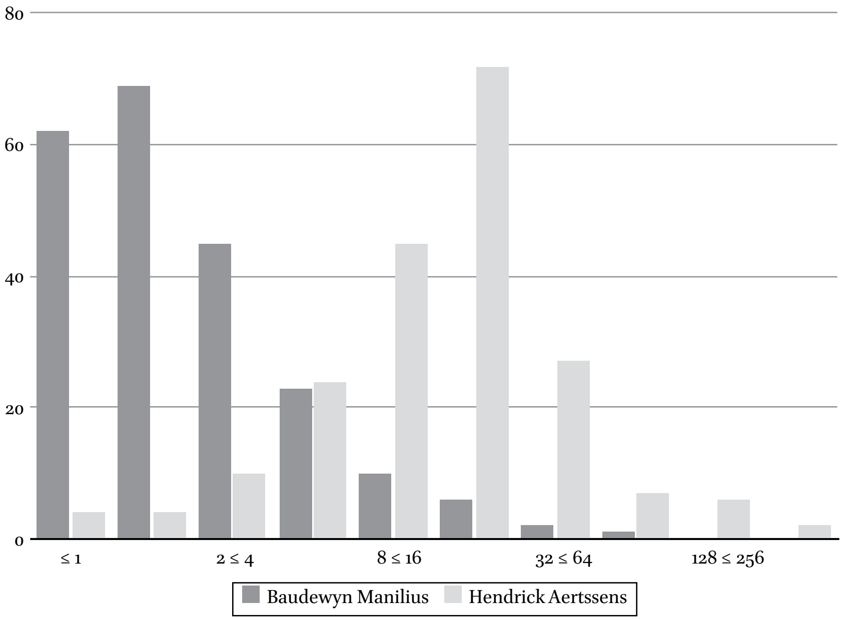


FIGURE 8.12 *The recorded output for Baudewyn Manilius and Hendrik Aertssens I*

37 For secondary literature about Hendrick Aertssens I, see de Vlieger-de Wilde (ed.), *Directory of seventeenth-century printers, publishers and booksellers*, p. 23 (no. 1); for Hieronymus Verdussen I, p. 69 (no. 137). Stijn van Rossem provides an analysis of the publishing activities of the first three generations Verdussen in his prize-winning study *Het gevecht met de boeken. De uitgeversstrategieën van de familie Verdussen* (*Antwerpen, 1589–1689*) (Antwerp: Universiteit Antwerpen, 2014).

38 Stijn van Rossem records 396 editions for Hieronymus Verdussen I, 362 of which were published between 1601 and 1635. At present, not all of them have been entered in STCV.

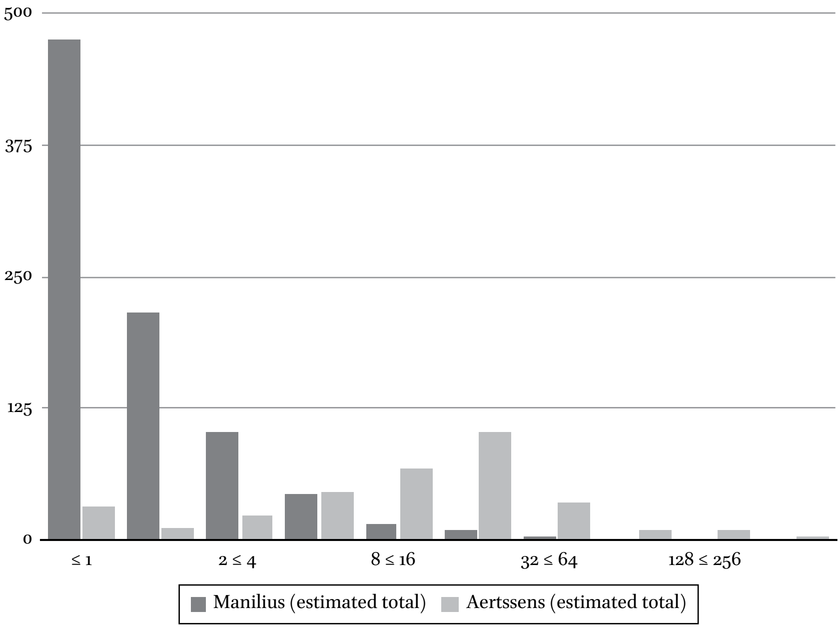


FIGURE 8.13 *Potential total production by Baudewyn Manilius and Hendrik Aertssens I (very rough estimates, based on table 8.3)*

Almost all seventeenth-century printers/publishers in the Southern Netherlands show a production profile similar to that of one or other of these groups. The comparison of both groups in terms of sheets per edition shows how printers developed specific specialisations. The contrasts between them were even more marked than those demonstrated by figs. 8.10 and 8.11, because one should also factor in the loss rates for each of the categories of publications. The difference between what is recorded and what that output may represent hypothetically, may be indicated by figs. 8.12 and 8.13.[39] Since his production concentrates on single sheet jobs, the lion's share of a jobbing printer's output remains in most cases unrecorded. Printers such as Abraham Verhoeven, Baudewijn Manilius or Hendrick Saetreuver could only survive by the grace of large quantities of small jobs, many more than will ever be documented by surviving copies. This is why some of them went to the trouble of writing up

39 The numbers on which the calculated estimates of fig. 8.13 are based are too weak (<1,000) to provide realistic numbers; therefore this graph should not be taken literally, but only serves as an illustration.

framework agreements for jobs as small as one sheet editions, such as theatre programmes.[40]

Conclusion

This chapter focused on the estimation of the actual print output in the Southern Netherlands in the seventeenth century. For methodological reasons, this survey was based on a dataset generated by the retrospective bibliography for the region of present day Flanders, the *Short Title Catalogue Flanders* (STCV). Only records of single volume editions, with an established format and collation formula, and a certain Flemish origin, were included in the analysis. For the estimation of editions recorded ('found') and not (yet) recorded ('lost') in the online bibliography, I used a scientific, stochastic calculation model for multi-copy documents developed in 2007 by Leo Egghe and myself. When used on coherent, controlled datasets of sufficient size in which editions are described based on actual copies, it is possible to estimate how large the fraction is of recorded editions in comparison to the fraction of editions with similar characteristics that are not present in the dataset.

The analysis of the entire dataset reveals that the STCV currently has an estimated coverage of about 45%. In other words, this means that about 55% of the editions, which are commonly collected by institutional libraries and archives represented in this specific online bibliography, are not recorded. Against 10,339 different known editions, there are about 12,428 unknown editions. Analysis of subsets show that some works have better survival rates than others. Two factors are of paramount importance: the number of sheets of paper required to produce one copy of a specific edition, and *Sammelbände*.

40 See Proot, 'The importance of jobbing printing'. For the Dutch Republic, a rare exception is the Utrecht university printer François Halma (1653–1722), who printed seven hundred doctoral theses in the period 1685–1698, or about one thesis per week for 13 years in a row. As Kuniko Forrer points out in her article, these ephemera had "no commercial value and never entered into the normal distribution channels." Cf. Kuniko Forrer, 'Dutch academic theses and printed matter', Kelly and Trentacosti (eds.), *The book in the Low Countries*, pp. 55–79, here: p. 57. The material survives as Halma had a contract with the university, as a result of which a copy of each thesis he produced was collected by the university – in *Sammelbände*. This collection is preserved at Utrecht University Library.

More sheets result in significantly higher chances of being recorded in STCV; survival rates go up each time the amount of paper is doubled.[41] This fundamental insight into the correlation between sheets per copy and survival is important to re-assess the recorded output of printers and their relative position within the trade, even if large parts of their work have not left any bibliographical traces.

The bibliographic format of the book also has an important impact on survival. Surprisingly, seventeenth-century octavo books have better survival rates than books in other formats. Duodecimos are second, followed by folios, even though folio editions count, on average, more sheets per edition. The other 'big format', quarto, turns out to be the bibliographic format most prone to loss. This can be explained by the text genres which are usually produced as quartos: ephemeral or topical publications, in addition to state publications. In addition to bibliographic format, the presence of an engraved title page raises survival rates considerably. Furthermore, works set in roman type have better chances of preservation in institutional collections than works set in black letter, and the same goes for books in Latin, which show significantly better survival rates than those in the vernacular. Even the place of publication has an impact, as editions produced in Louvain, the academic centre of the country, are preserved in larger quantities than books produced elsewhere.

Almost 37% of seventeenth-century printed output in Flanders received the subject term 'Christian Doctrine', a very broad category of works related to religious subjects. As a whole, this category is preserved best (61% survival) compared to other large categories, such as, for instance, History or Language and Literature.

Another important observation is the fact that, for the Southern Netherlands, small publications, i.e., those for which a couple of sheets of paper suffice to produce a copy, owe their survival largely to the *Sammelband*. Those made-up volumes are omnipresent in the collections contributing to the STCV: almost two editions in five are found in *Sammelbände*, a fact that therefore requires much more research. It is my feeling that, compared to the Continent, works are disbound much more often in the English book world, which would prompt the question whether or not this impacts survival rates, and exactly how.

Intellectual output – Latin, in roman type, produced in an academic centre – and works broadly related with religion, have better chances of ending up in

41 An important nuance to Gilmont's intuition: "Il semble cependant que la masse d'un ouvrage (format et épaisseur) soit favorable à sa conservation", Gilmont, 'Livre, bibliographie et statistiques', p. 806.

institutional collections. Those categories do not only reflect some of the main interests of people in the seventeenth century – an era marked by the Counter-Reformation in which mainly Jesuits held the pen – but they also inform us about the views of those people acting as gatekeepers of collections in that and the following centuries, what they esteemed relevant enough, valuable enough and important enough to hand down to future generations. Put this way, the books preserved in institutional collections, which are in turn described in the STCV, are eventually based in social and cultural values which marked our past and which continue to do so today. This survey therefore not only sheds light on features related to survival of individual items, but even more so on the nature of institutional collections, how they were built, and what they hold – or intend to hold – and what not. The social and cultural motivation for those choices invites further research – a history of the de-selection of institutional collections still remains to be written.

In part, the work presented here offers an answer to some fundamental questions put forward by Gilmont, McKenzie and many others. The former lamented "Au fond, on ignore encore largement ce qui faisait le prix d'un livre, pourquoi on le conservait et pourquoi on le laissait se détériorer."[42] McKenzie formulated it as follows:

> There is another problem facing anyone who would study printing and even publishing firms as economic units: establishing precisely who printed and published what. (For wholesalers and retailers there is the further problem of determining their trade in imports and in second-hand books.) The short-title catalogues of books printed in England, Scotland, and Ireland and of English books printed abroad from about 1475 to 1800 supply the only comprehensive evidence we have, but those record only the texts still extant. It may not be much of an exaggeration to say that at least a third of the different items printed in the mid-seventeenth century have since been lost. The fact that books survive better than ephemera also skews the record: in the few cases where printers' archives survive, jobbing work (most of it otherwise unknown) bulks large. Usually it is quite incalculable.[43]

42 Gilmont, 'Livre, bibliographie et statistiques', p. 811.

43 D.F. McKenzie, 'The economies of print, 1550–1750: Scales of production and conditions of constraint', in Cavaciocchi (ed.), *Produzione e commercio della carta e del libro*, pp. 389–425, here p. 394.

It must be admitted that an important part of printed output will probably always escape finer estimations – that is the real 'dark matter', which was, from the outset, not considered important enough to be preserved. But what past generations did value survived at least in part, and sometimes in large enough quantities that it is possible to form a reasonable idea.[44]

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44 I would like to thank Allan B. Farmer, who was so kind to share with me a draft of an article about the same problem of estimating lost editions. In that contribution, Farmer analyses edition statements of second and following editions of English books published before 1641 and their presence in STC.

CHAPTER 9

Publicity and Its Uses. Lost Books as Revealed in Newspaper Advertisements in the Seventeenth-Century Dutch Republic

Arthur der Weduwen and Andrew Pettegree

The first weekly serial digest of news appeared in Strasbourg in 1605. This weekly *Relation*, the work of a bookseller who had until this point run his own manuscript news service, is widely acknowledged as the first printed newspaper. Rather as with the invention of printing one hundred and fifty years before, this novelty found an eager public. Within twenty years a number of cities in Germany and the Low Countries had their own titles; by 1650 at least 50 towns had established a paper, sometimes competing services, and increasingly published twice or three times a week.[1] Experiments in newspaper publishing were also undertaken in France (the Paris *Gazette*), England, Sweden and, more fitfully, in several Italian states.[2] But, as had also turned out to be the case with the invention of printing, this revolution was based on distinctly insecure foundations. The proprietors of these new ventures found it hard to make the economics add up.

Here lay the dilemma. The previously exclusive manuscript services could charge a premium rate, so high indeed that a dozen subscribers could ensure a decent living.[3] A newspaper, however, was generally sold for a couple of pence an issue, the same as the pamphlet on which it was modelled. Even if several hundred copies of each issue could be disposed of, when the expense of printing and newsgathering were taken into account it was virtually impossible to cover costs from sales alone. To avoid bankruptcy, therefore, publishers faced a stark choice. Either they must rely on discreet subsidies from the local

1 Else Bogel & Elgar Blühm, *Die deutschen Zeitungen des 17. Jahrhunderts. Ein Bestandverzeichnis* (2 vols., Bremen: Schünemann Universitätsverlag, 1971); Nachtrag (Munich: Saur, 1985).

2 On the Paris *Gazette*, Stéphane Haffemayer, *L'information dans la France du XVIIe siècle: La Gazette de Renaudot de 1647 à 1663* (Paris: Champion, 2002). On England see Folke Dahl, *A Bibliography of English Corantos and Periodical Newsbooks, 1620–1642* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiskell, 1953). Nina Lamal is now embarked on a survey of the far less well known Italian papers: *Late with the news. Italian engagement with serial news publications in the seventeenth century (1639–1700)* (forthcoming Leiden: Brill, 2018).

3 Andrew Pettegree, *The Invention of News* (London: Yale, 2014).

 | DOI 10.1163/9789004311824_010

authorities (which many of them did), or they needed to find a new source of income. This was the genesis of the move – tentative at first – to include along with the news a number of paid advertisements.[4]

There was little precedent for this in the first age of print; it required a conceptual leap for publishers both to see the opportunity and to seize it.[5] Within a century, however, advertising would be the essential financial underpinning of a rapidly expanding industry, and an important contribution to the development of a free press. In the long term advertising would play a crucial, perhaps the decisive role in liberating newsmen from dependence on a patron or subservience to the government.

It is hardly surprising that the first sustained experiments with the new potential of advertising were undertaken in that most commercial of seventeenth-century societies, the Dutch Republic. Here advertisements quickly became a ubiquitous feature of the press.[6] By 1619 Amsterdam supported two weekly newspaper titles.[7] As far as we can tell, the first advertisements appeared shortly thereafter, in 1621. In the early years neither paper survives in a continuous run; indeed, for some years in the 1620s we can trace only a few stray issues. But as the years went by the papers survive in far greater numbers, and more issues carry one or more advertisements. Overwhelmingly, they advertised other products of the printing press: illustrated broadsheets, engravings and books. For the years between 1621 and 1650, the present authors have documented over 1,300 newly published books offered for sale in the two major Amsterdam papers, joined in the 1640s by other new ventures and the first mid-week editions. These advertisements shed fascinating light on the

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4 For the critical role played by advertising in the periodical press see particularly R.M. Wiles, *Freshest Advices. Early Provincial Newspapers in England* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1965).

5 On the early history of book advertising see Graham Pollard and Albert Ehrman, *The Distribution of books by Catalogue from the Invention of Printing to A.D. 1800* (Cambridge: Roxburghe Club, 1965). Lotte Hellinga, 'Sale Advertisements for Books Printed in the Fifteenth Century', in Robin Myers, Michael Harris and Giles Mandelbrote (eds.), *Books for Sale. The Advertising and Promotion of Print since the Fifteenth Century* (London: British Library, 2009), pp. 1–25.

6 This phenomenon has been noted by various scholars; see most importantly Willem Pieter Sautijn Kluit, 'De Amsterdamsche Courant', *Bijdragen voor Vaderlandsche Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde*, Nieuwe Reeks, Vijfde Deel (1868), pp. 220–221 and Folke Dahl, 'Amsterdam – Earliest Newspaper Centre of Western Europe', *Het Boek*, 25, 3 (1939), p. 183.

7 The whole history of newspaper production in the seventeenth-century Low Countries is now surveyed in Arthur der Weduwen, *Dutch and Flemish Newspapers of the Seventeenth Century, 1618–1700* (Leiden: Brill, 2017).

workings of what had become Europe's most sophisticated book industry: what was sold, what has survived, and crucially, what has been lost.[8]

Jansz and van Hilten

When Johann Carolus published the first print edition of his weekly *Relation* in 1605, there were no clear rules for business success. Some of the newspapers established in imitation of Carolus closed in less than a year, or after just a few issues. But if anywhere in Europe offered the prospect of success, it must have been Amsterdam. Unusually, two papers sprung up here at much the same time, Caspar van Hilten's *Courante uyt Italien, Duytslandt, &c.*, and the *Tijdinghen uyt verscheyde Quartieren* of Broer Jansz. Equally singular was the fact that both were successfully maintained for more than forty years.[9]

Amsterdam was, of course, an almost ideal market. By 1620 this was a thriving (and fast expanding) city of at least 100,000 inhabitants, offering a large potential readership among its prosperous mercantile and bourgeois population. It was also one of the largest centres of the international book trade. This was a market in which both newspaper publishers were well entrenched. Broer Jansz was already an experienced publisher, active since at least 1603, when he specialised in small pamphlets on contemporary events: he was, in this sense, already a veteran newsman. In later years he would reinvest the profits from these works and his newspaper in more ambitious projects. Jan van Hilten, who succeeded his father Caspar in control of the business in 1623, also branched out into other forms of publishing.[10] This was a sensible insurance policy against deterioration in the newspaper trade, always possible if new competitors entered the market, or if the local authorities took offence at a particular story and closed down the press. The most successful newspaper publishers around Europe were always those who published a paper as part of a more diverse portfolio of publications.

8 The material used in this paper is drawn from Arthur der Weduwen and Andrew Pettegree, *News, Business and the Birth of Modern Advertising. Advertisements and Public Announcements in Dutch and Flemish Newspapers, 1620–1672* (forthcoming Leiden: Brill, 2018).

9 The early survey of these two papers is Folke Dahl, *Dutch Corantos 1618–1650: A Bibliography* (Göteborg, 1946). Der Weduwen, *Dutch and Flemish Newspapers* adds further copies not known to Dahl.

10 There are useful biographies in M.M. Kleerkooper and W.P. van Stockum, *De Boekhandel te Amsterdam, voornamelijk in de 17e Eeuw* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1914–1916).

Some of the books that Jansz and van Hilten advertised in their papers were their own publications; not infrequently, interestingly, Jansz also advertised in van Hilten's paper.[11] This was not a relationship of cut-throat competition; sensibly enough, in places where newspapers could not establish a local monopoly they seldom chose to compete on price. From their early days, however, Jansz and van Hilten also took advertisements from other publishers: first in Amsterdam, then from cities further afield.

The Dutch Republic was Europe's most vibrant economy, a wonder of its age. Amsterdam was the international metropolis, but the strength of its economy lay largely in the integration of Amsterdam with a network of other cities throughout the province of Holland and beyond. Places like Leiden, Rotterdam and Haarlem were substantial cities in their own right; none, curiously, immediately spawned their own newspaper. The two Amsterdam newspapers seem to have served this market as well: Broer Jansz and Jan van Hilten published what were to all intents and purposes national newspapers. That this was so has now been definitively demonstrated by Arthur der Weduwen, largely on the basis of an analysis of their advertisements.[12] Once booksellers in Vlissingen, Leeuwarden or Groningen began to advertise their books with Jansz and van Hilten, one can reasonably infer that the Amsterdam papers were circulating widely in these places; a conclusion that is supported by surviving account books and booksellers' receipts.[13]

By this time the form of the advertisements had also become clearly established. Both Amsterdam papers were published on a single half-sheet, printed on both sides. This allowed a remarkably large amount of text to be crammed into the paper (the pamphlet format used for news serials in Germany and elsewhere in Europe was far more wasteful of space and paper). Advertisements were always placed at the very end of the text, at the bottom of the second column on the reverse side. Here they were well placed close to the domestic

11 Such as in *Courante uyt Italien, Duytslandt, &c.* (CID) no. 22 (28.05.1639); CID no. 38 (22.09.1640); CID no. 14 (06.04.1641); CID no. 36 (07.09.1641); CID no. 29 (19.07.1642).

12 Arthur der Weduwen, 'Booksellers, newspaper advertisements and a national market for print in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic', forthcoming in Shanti Graheli (ed.), *Buying and Selling* (Leiden: Brill, 2018).

13 See Henk Borst, 'Van Hilten, Broersz. en Claessen. Handel in boeken en actueel drukwerk tussen Amsterdam en Leeuwarden rond 1639', *De zeventiende eeuw*, 8 (1992), pp. 132–135, Henk Borst, 'Broer Jansz in Antwerpse ogen: de Amsterdamse courantier na de slag bij Kallo in 1638 neergezet als propagandist', *De zeventiende eeuw*, 25, 1 (2009), p. 83 and Otto Lankhorst, 'Newspapers in the Netherlands in the seventeenth century', in Brendan Dooley and Sabrina Baron (eds.), *The Politics of Information in Early Modern Europe* (London: Routledge, 2001), p. 152.

news, always relegated to last place after the foreign despatches. The advertisements and domestic reports could also be expanded if foreign news was thin, or held back if foreign news was abundant.

The *Tijdinghen uyt verscheyde Quartieren* of 23 June 1635 was fairly typical. This contained two advertisements, from different Amsterdam publishers. Jan Evertsz Kloppenburch presented a new translation of Philippe Du Plessis-Mornay's history of the papacy.[14] Marten Jansz Brandt offered a controversial work by the Contra-Remonstrant author Jacobus Trigland (1583–1654), refuting a Remonstrant tract entitled *De War-Religie* [*The Confused Religion*].[15] Both, it should be noted, were substantial tomes. The cost of the advertisement could be set against the expectations of substantial profit from sales. Brandt had also taken the precaution of placing the same advertisement in the other Amsterdam paper, van Hilten's *Courante uyt Italien*. This, again, was not uncommon.

Both these works can be easily identified: they survive in four copies each. More interesting from our point of view are the advertisements carried in the *Tijdinghen uyt verscheyde Quartieren* on 6 October of that same year.[16] Again there were two advertisements. Broer Jansz took advantage in the space of his own paper to advertise two books, *The Way to Heaven* and *The Way to Salvation*, which he was publishing in association with the Gorinchem publisher Adriaen Helmichsz. These books, authorised by the Synod of Goes in 1620, were apparently being reissued. But there are no surviving copies either of these editions or the 1620 originals.[17] In the same paper Jan Evertsz Kloppenburch advertised *Het groote Matery-boeck*, a primer of different scripts in several different language styles. This too, cannot be traced to a surviving copy.[18]

Publication and Loss

How common is this phenomenon? In the course of an intensive year of work on the first generation of Dutch newspapers, the authors of this paper have documented something over 1,300 advertisements offering new books for sale in Dutch newspapers in the years between 1621 and 1650. Around 68% of them

14 USTC 1033126.

15 USTC 1013316.

16 *Tijdinghen uyt verscheyde Quartieren* (TVQ) no. 40 (06.10.1635).

17 USTC 1512382, 1512383, 1512384 and 1512385. In fact, altogether few works attributed to Adriaen Helmichsz survive; between 1608 and 1635 only 23 works are extant.

18 USTC 1512381.

have successfully been matched with a surviving book published at the correct date, and by the advertised publisher. This still leaves over 400 books, one third of the total, for which a surviving copy has not yet materialised: lost books.[19]

This work has been greatly assisted by the quality of the original data. Almost all the books advertised in the newspapers are described with their accurate published title: since the purpose is to encourage retail sales, this is something about which the client would have likely to have been very particular. The advertisement also includes the name of the publisher; sometimes the format, and sometimes also further valuable incidental material, such as the name of the translator. Since advertisements were almost always only placed for newly published works, this means we have all the bibliographical data necessary – title, publisher, date – to match an advertised book with the original. Occasionally a book published in the latter months of one year will be advertised for sale in January or February of the next; occasionally a book will be advertised in December and then only appear in the new year. But these are relatively rare occurrences (and more likely when the book is published outside Amsterdam). Usually the placing of the advertisement was remarkably punctual: it was, in any case, relatively easy for Amsterdam publishers to send a boy round to the newspaper office, with the details (or a proof sheet of the title-page) and the necessary fee. Both Jansz and van Hilten had premises close to the Bourse and the Dam, the city's commercial centre, where many of the city's printers also had their workshops.

For the purpose of this study all of this advertising data has been compared with an analytical list of all books published in the Low Countries between 1601 and 1650. Most of these books are also listed in the *Short Title Catalogue Netherlands*, but by no means all. A quite significant number of these advertisements have been matched only to copies found in libraries outside The Netherlands. Even after this intensive search a fair number of books advertised are not accounted for, presently around a third of the total. Some will no doubt turn up; others will remain lost books.

This is hardly surprising, as the other studies in this collection make abundantly clear. But the scale of the loss is still very striking. For we are not dealing here with a representative cross section of all the books published in the Low

19 The authors matched the advertised books against a master list of books published in the Low Countries between 1601–1650. This master list incorporates both books listed in the STCN, a systematic survey of library holdings in the Netherlands, and data gathered from other collections around the world. The work involved both authors in a double blind process of matching and verification. The list of matched and lost books will be set out in full in Der Weduwen and Pettegree, *News, Business and the Birth of Modern Advertising*.

Countries in these years. Publishers only advertised if this was worth their while: but they were as likely to advertise substantial tomes, where moving another fifty copies could make all the difference between healthy profits and a substantial loss, as small pamphlets. Some of the works advertised are quite small, but a high proportion of these are the newspaper proprietors' own pamphlets. Classes of printed matter that have suffered the highest rates of attrition, such as broadsheet ordinances and other ephemera, do not appear at all in the newspaper advertisements.

So we are often dealing here largely with classes of work that survive well; and yet as many of a third of them cannot be traced to a surviving copy. These advertisements, surveyed in the course of an investigation undertaken for a quite different purpose, have quite unexpectedly revealed a treasure trove of information on a lost part of the seventeenth-century book market.

What then was the character of these lost books – which books of those advertised were most likely to have disappeared altogether? To answer that question we have first to identify more closely that sub-section of the book market for which publishers were likely to go to the extra expense of placing an advertisement in the newspapers. These books were, broadly speaking, most likely to fit into one of four categories: big projects (that is large, expensive books requiring heavy up-front investment); best sellers; the accoutrements of worship (Bibles, psalters and prayer books); and professional handbooks.

News books, interestingly, do not feature particularly strongly in advertisements. The exception to this rule was broadsheet engravings of contemporary events. These, like maps, had relatively high initiation costs, and clearly appealed to the same class of purchaser as were likely to have taken a subscription to one or other of the newspapers. Indeed, for those following the abbreviated, fact-loaded reports of foreign events in a newspaper a map or atlas was presumably something of a necessity. Also exceptionally popular in the Dutch Republic (and, for that matter, in the Southern Netherlands) were maps and town plans showing the progress of a siege or battle. Naturally they sold particular well in the wake of a victory, though long sieges also called forth published engravings showing the disposition of the besieging forces; these could be updated and reissued as the siege went on.[20] For our purposes these pose particular bibliographical challenges, as they were often described in the papers in very general terms: such as the map of the siege of Breda offered by

20 *Europische Dingsdaeghs Courant* (EDC) no. 43 (24.10.1645), *Ordinarise Middel-weeckse Courante* (OMWC) no. 45 (07.11.1645), *Ordinaris Dingsdaegsche Courante* (ODC) no. 49 (05.12.1645), for maps of the siege of Hulst offered for sale by three different Amsterdam publishers.

the Amsterdam publisher/engraver, Claes Jansz Visscher, in the *Tijdinghen uyt verscheyde Quartieren* of 19 November 1624.[21] Self-evidently, broadsheets do not have a title-page, and in the case of engravings often not even a title or heading. It is therefore more than usually challenging to match them to existing examples: very likely some will be lost.

These patriotic engravings were extremely popular with the buying public, and a lucrative part of the publishing trade. Nor did publishers have to rely exclusively on sales for their reward. Two months before his map of the siege of Breda, Claes Jansz Visscher had offered for sale an illustrated map of the Bay of Todos Santos and of the conquest of the city of Salvador de Bahia in Brazil. This was not an initiative of his own, but published with the sponsorship of the West Indian Company.[22] The attempt to challenge the Spanish Empire in Latin America was a controversial venture in Dutch political circles, with as many enemies as friends, particularly among the sponsors of the more entrenched Dutch East India Company. Here it did no harm to give the buying public a nudge towards greater enthusiasm for this feat of Dutch arms. On other occasions the States General would send the publisher of a particularly popular or effective patriotic print a cash reward.[23] This provided a further substantial inducement for publishers to try their hand in what was a very busy part of the market; leading engravers like Claes Jansz Visscher were very much in demand.

The books we have described as big projects also by and large survive. This, again, makes very good sense. Publishers had invested heavily to bring them to the market. They were costly to purchase, and once sold tended to make their way onto the shelves of libraries, where they had a very good chance of survival. It is worth reflecting at this point that Dutch libraries have suffered relatively little from the catastrophic losses that have afflicted other book cultures through pillage, bombardment or deliberate destruction.[24] Many of the books in this category survive in relatively large numbers. They are not, for that reason, without interest. Often they represented a considerable investment on the

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21 This is quite possibly USTC 1515493: *Cort verhael, ende perfecte Afbeeldinge der Stad ende Belegeringe van Breda, Midtsgaders het Leger van den Doorl: Prince van Orangien, tot Ontset der voorsz Stad.* Claes Jansz Visscher advertised at least 17 times in Amsterdam papers between 1621 and 1645.

22 Probably USTC 1116099. See also Michiel van Groesen, 'A Week to Remember: Dutch Publishers and the Competition for News from Brazil, 26 August–2 September 1624', *Quaerendo*, 40 (2010), pp. 26–49.

23 As with Broer Jansz, for a celebratory engraving of the Twelve Years' Truce entitled *Pyramis Pacifica* in 1609. N. Japikse, et al. (eds.), *Resolutiën der Staten-Generaal van 1576 tot 1609, Veertiende Deel* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1970), p. 914.

24 See chapters twenty-one to twenty-three in this volume.

part of a publisher who would normally have been associated with far more modest projects. In 1637, for instance, the Enkhuizen publisher Volchardt Jansz Camerlingh offered for sale *Grondige ende clare Verthooninghe van het onderscheyt in de voornameste hooft-stucken der Christelijcker Religie* [*A clear and fundamental explanation of the differences in the major parts of the Christian Religion*], written by two local ministers.[25] This was a substantial work of almost one thousand pages, and one of only three books known to have been published in Enkhuizen that year. Also in 1637, the Groningen publisher Hans Sas offered for sale a major legal text, Anthoni Matthaeus' *Collegia juris Sex*.[26] This was a demanding assignment for a provincial press, which Sas handled by dividing the work into seven segments. In both this case and that of Camerlingh's *Clear explanation* this single work must have occupied the workshop for the best part of the year; indeed, Camerlingh in Enkhuizen took the sensible precaution of sharing the costs with another Enkhuizen publisher, who also offered it for sale.[27] It is no wonder that, having invested so heavily, the publishers thought it worth their while to pay the small additional sum to bring their work to the attention of a national public.

Best Sellers

Marten Jansz Brandt was a publisher of a very different sort.[28] The owner of an exceptionally busy and successful publishing house, Brandt was a perennial presence in the advertising columns of the newspapers. Generally he offered his stock in trade: religious best sellers. Usually he would advertise one or two books, but the *Courante uyt Italien* of 16 September 1643 offered new editions of no fewer than eight books, all written by the Amsterdam preacher and prolific author Roelof Pietersz (Rudolphus Petri) (1586–1649).

> D. Roelof Pietersz, *Het Lof Jesu Christi onses Heeren*, already published in 1643; Item, *Het Lof der kercke Jesu Christi*, already published in 1643; Item, '*t Lof des Woordts Godts, ofte der H. Schrifture*, published in 1640; Item, *Scherm ende Schilt der kinderen Godes*, an explanation of psalm 91; Item, *De Spiegel der Barmhertigheyt en Gerechtigheyt Gods, in het vergeven en straffen der sonden*; Item, *De Enge poorte, ofte de Wegh der Saligheyt*;

25 CID no. 38 (19.09.1637).
26 TVQ no.43 (24.10.1637).
27 TVQ no. 39 (26.09.1637).
28 There is basic biographical data in Kleerkooper and van Stockum, *Boekhandel*, pp. 103, 1191–3.

> Item, *Eenige korte gulden Regelen eenes heyligen levens;* Item, *Den Evangelischen Arendt* (all enlarged and reviewed, and improved according to the new translation of the Bible) (all Amsterdam, Marten Jansz Brandt).[29]

Such a large advertisement was not unprecedented; in 1639 Willem Jansz Blaeu even took space in the *Tijdinghen uyt verscheyden Quartieren* to advertise nineteen books.[30] But on that occasion Blaeu was clearing old stock: here, as was almost invariably the case, Brandt was advertising new publications. Brandt knew his market. He had taken eight of his most successful publications and revised them to conform to the recently published new translation of the Bible (the *Statenbijbel*). All of them had done well for him, and would continue to do so. Brandt had published the *Scherm ende Schilt der kinderen Godes* already in 1631 and 1636, and would do so again in 1644.[31] *De Spiegel der Barmhertigheyt en Gerechtigheyt Gods, in het vergeven en straffen der sonden* was published in 1628, 1632, 1640 and 1644, in addition to this edition.[32] For *Eenige korte gulden Regelen eenes heyligen levens* there are editions recorded for 1632, 1634, 1638 and 1641, all by Brandt.[33] *Den Evangelischen Arendt* he published in 1637, 1639 and 1646.[34] Interestingly, none of the eight editions advertised here in 1643 can be linked to a surviving edition.

This, indeed, may only be the tip of the iceberg. We can see that Roelof Pietersz's *Het Lof Jesu Christi onses Heeren* is described as the second edition published in this same year, 1643. In the case of the *De Enge poorte, ofte de Wegh der Saligheyt* Brandt will republish this again in 1646, where it is described as the seventh edition.[35] None of the previous editions have yet been traced.[36] This sort of phenomenon is not at all unusual. In 1642 Brandt published *Het Lof des Heeren*, described in the advertisement in the *Tijdinghen uyt verscheyde Quartieren* as the ninth edition.[37] This edition

29 This is a paraphrase of the original Dutch.

30 TVQ no. 36 (03.09.1639).

31 1631 (USTC 1013422), 1636 (1013433), 1644 (1013421), all published by Brandt.

32 This lost edition USTC 1515575. 1628 (1030778), 1632 (1020976), 1640 (1013633), 1644 (1013875).

33 USTC 1515577. 1632 (USTC 1013325), 1634 (1013324), 1638 (1016678), and 1641 (1021123), all for Brandt.

34 USTC 1515578. 1637 (USTC 1013433), 1639 (1013622) and 1645 (1030787). A second part was published in 1645 (STC 1013880) and a third part in 1650 (USTC 1014870).

35 USTC 1013943.

36 Though the same title is used for an earlier work by Eduard Poppius (1576–1624). See USTC 1010725, 1010728.

37 USTC 1019080.

does survive, but we can document only one other of the previous eight. Two years later he offered an edition of Charles Drelincourt's *Gebeden en Meditatien om sich te bereyden tot het H. Avondtmael*.[38] Drelincourt (1595–1669) was a popular French preacher, and this was the sixth edition of a translation by the Beverwijk preacher, Gilles van Breen. This edition does not survive, and the only ones that do are an edition of 1639, and a further subsequent edition of 1649.[39]

The information we can extract from these notices also helps address one significant methodological question. It is legitimate to pose the question whether newspaper notices are always advertising freshly published editions. How when a publisher was advertising a text in 1644 can one be sure that this was a new edition, and not an edition published in 1642 and known from a surviving copy? In the case of these religious best-sellers we can be pretty confident that this was not the case. There is useful corroborative evidence in this respect from the publication history of *Tranen Christi* [*The Tears of Christ*], another work of the prolific Roelof Pietersz. In January 1645 Marten Jansz Brandt advertised a new issue which he described as the third edition.[40] This must have sold well, because in April he was back with a fourth edition. Owners of the previous edition were wooed with the promise that this edition was 'improved and enlarged by half by the author'.[41] Claims of this sort were frequently made by publishers, and the third edition had been accompanied by a similar claim. Neither of these survives: in fact, the only edition known from this year (again published by Brandt) is described on the title-page as a fifth edition.[42]

So Brandt, we now know, published three editions of this book in one year. If this was so, the reconstruction we offer of these religious bestsellers may still represent a considerable understatement of the extent of this market. None of these books has the longevity or success of the *Confessionale* whose extraordinary publishing history is reconstructed in this volume by Rosa Marisa Borraccini.[43] But collectively these books add up to a whole lost world of popular religious classics; often the advertisements in the Amsterdam newspapers offer the only hint of their survival.

38 TVQ no. 9 (27.02.1644).

39 USTC 1021196 (1639), USTC 1019894 (1649).

40 *Extraordinarie Advijsen op Donderdagh* (EAD) 26.11.1645; CID no. 4 (28.01.1645); TVQ no. 6 (11.02.1645).

41 ODC no. 15 (11.04.1645); OMWC no. 15 (11.04.1645); TVQ no. 15 (15.04.1645).

42 USTC 1013848.

43 Chapter 13.

A People of the Word

In the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic there was consistent demand for new editions of the Bible, psalters and prayer books of various descriptions. Amsterdam, as is well known, was one of Europe's major centres of Bible production, and publishers frequently used the newspapers to advertise their new editions.

This proliferation of new publications, from stately folio family Bibles to a variety of small pocket-sized formats, poses real challenges to bibliography. The small editions in particular are often incorrectly catalogued by holding libraries. Editions in 16mo and 32mo are often confused, as are the more infrequent editions in 12mo or 24mo. The result is that editions described in library catalogues in these formats cannot with authority be described as separate editions. Older printed catalogues are often even more imprecise, stipulating a format, quarto, octavo or smaller, based more on shelving practice than physical examination of the copy. One distinguished bibliographer, Paul Valkema Blouw, had so little confidence in such catalogues that he decided to exclude any mention of format from the entries in his *Typographia Batava*, the bibliography of northern Netherlandish imprints between 1541 and 1600.[44]

Here the advertisements can play a decisive role, since it can be assumed that publishers giving notice of new editions knew the formats of their own works very precisely. This was especially the case as publishers often offered a choice of several formats in the same advertisement. Thus in the *Tijdinghen uyt verscheyde Quartieren* of 24 July 1638, an advertisement also placed in the following week's *Courante uyt Italien*, were offered for sale:

> *Het Testamentjen*, 12mo, according to the new translation ordained by the States General; the same *Testamentjen*, 24mo, with a *psalmboeck* (both The Hague, the widow and heirs of Hillebrant Jacobsz van Wouw, Leiden, David Jansz van Ilpendam, and Paulus Aertsz van Ravesteyn).

The duodecimo edition, also advertised in the *Courante uyt Italien* of 17 July, is known from surviving copies; but the 24mo edition cannot currently be traced.[45]

This may at first sight seem rather surprising, as Bibles were cherished possessions, and they have certainly survived in very large numbers. But although

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44 Paul Valkema Blouw, *Dutch Typography in the Sixteenth Century*, ed. Tom Croiset van Uchelen and Paul Dijstelberge (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

45 USTC 1016383.

family Bibles were passed down the generation (and often inscribed with valuable genealogical information), the Bible text was also very heavily used. Many families would own several, with different formats for consultation and study, travel, taking to church or communal family prayers. New copies were always needed as older ones wore out, children grew to adulthood and new family units were formed.

Publishers followed the market with acute attention; one obvious need was for compendia that joined together two or more of the religious staples in everyday use. The *Courante uyt Italien* of 28 November 1643 carried two such advertisements: a combined Psalter and catechism published by the Leiden printer Paulus Aertsz van Ravesteyn, and an edition of the New Testament, "with the psalms and songs along with music-notes". Both were in very small formats, the Leiden *compendium* in an almost impossibly tiny 48mo. In July 1643 Ravesteyn had already advertised a combined New Testament and Psalter in 24mo and a Psalter in 32mo; the November *compendium* was a logical extension of this obviously successful publication strategy.[46] As Ravesteyn was part of the consortium responsible for the publication of the first *Statenbijbel* in 1637, the Bible market was to him a true niche. Other printers sought to take a share of this profitable industry. In 1643 an Amsterdam New Testament, presumably meant for use in church, was also published in 24mo. This was published by a consortium that included the printer of Jan van Hilten's paper, Jan Fredericksz Stam; perhaps he got preferential rates for the advertisement. Neither of the two editions advertised in November survive, nor indeed does an 8o New Testament published by Stam's consortium earlier in the year.[47]

Mechanical Arts

The publishing and marketing strategies revealed in these advertisements leave us in little doubt that the trade in religious literature was the true bedrock of the industry. Unless a publisher was lucky enough to have a profitable monopoly – for instance for an official body such as the States General, the city of Amsterdam or the University of Leiden – this was the most open market to which they had access, and few ignored it. The trade in religious books was essentially three interlocking markets: the official texts of the church, works of controversy and polemic, and popular devotional works. The smouldering aftershocks of the Remonstrant controversy ensured that works of controversy

46 The 24mo is USTC 1011871, and the 32mo USTC 1514671.

47 The same association also published a folio Bible: USTC 1029993.

continued to be published, though they are less frequently advertised in the newspapers than devotional works. Scholars of the Reformation have only recently begun to recognise the importance of this Protestant appetite for devotional literature, characteristically thought of as a Catholic genre. The evidence of the newspapers demonstrates its extraordinary vitality in the Dutch Republic.

For all the towering importance of religious literature, others genres were certainly sufficiently important to feature in the publishers' marketing strategies. We see evidence of the growing importance of a literature of recreation. Curiously, the volumes of romantic tales or chivalric romances that had dominated popular taste in the sixteenth century do not leave much of a trace. What we do see to a quite unexpected degree is the development of a new bourgeois market in music. On 22 December 1644, for instance, Cornelis Leeuw advertised for sale a bumper batch of nine musical texts:

> *Hollandtsche vreught*, with four voices, and an added 'bas-continuo' (BC); the second part of the *Hollandtsche vreught*, with a BC; Hugo de Groot, *Lofsangen op de gheboorte Christi*, with three voices; Idem, *'t Leven Christi*, with three voices; *Verrijsenis Christi*, with three voices; *Hemelvaert Christi*, with three voices; *Sendinghe van den Heyligen Gheest*, with three voices; Hugo de Groot, *Christelijcke Ghebeden*, with three voices, and a BC; D. Camphuysen, *Ses Psalmen*, with four voices.[48]

These were books of a rather different character from the elegant part book editions intended primarily for use by professional choirs: indeed, if those part books survive, they do so mostly in collections derived from the court settings in which they were first used. These Dutch books seem primarily intended for use in the home. This may explain the high rate of attrition: none of the books listed above can be traced to a surviving copy. If copies could be located they might shed interesting light on a part of Dutch bourgeois culture presently rather hidden from view. Certainly there is little sign of texts of this sort in the stately but curiously arid depictions of the bourgeois drawing room in the interior landscapes of the Dutch Golden Age.

Before one could enjoy such pleasures one first had to earn one's place. In the mobile but unforgiving commercial culture of the new republic there were plenty who aspired to better themselves, and publishers were keen to give them a helping hand. Almost from the first days of print there had been an important market for works of technical instruction; unsurprisingly, this was

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48 EAD, 22.12.1644.

especially important in the Dutch Republic. Appropriately enough, the competition between authors was fierce. When masters of arithmetic built a successful practice it was natural that they should seek to expand their client base through print, and many did so. The newspapers advertised books of arithmetic written by Willem Bartjens, Daniel van Houcke, H.C. Mots, David Cock van Enckhuysen and Johan Coutereels. Interestingly, these books did not lose their commercial value with the author's death. Willem Bartjens' heirs put out a whole series of new editions after his death in 1638 (the first edition had been published in 1604), and the works of Coutereel also remained popular after he left the scene.[49] Works of accountancy and book-keeping were also steady sellers. It is interesting to see that even in this period, some centuries after the invention of double entry book-keeping, to advertise that a work followed the Italian method still brought commercial kudos.[50]

Many of these *Cijfferboeken* and *Rekeningen* survive, but many more do not. Pored over by inky fingers late into the night, it is no wonder that books of this sort became soiled and needed frequently to be replaced. For tradesmen and merchants seeking to keep up with the latest developments in practice the lure of a new edition was also strong. This was a lucrative market, though for printers these were challenging texts, with tables of figures, diagrams and complex equations. One can note the rather defensive tone in which Hendrick Tjercksz de Vries advertised the second edition of David Cock van Enckhuysen's *Cijffer-Konst*, "never before so detailed and clearly explained, corrected of all misprints, improved and enlarged by the author".[51] Printers kept plugging away, because this was so profitable a niche market, with a double appeal both for use in the school room and for self-instruction.[52] Also popular in this genre of self-improvement were books giving examples of fine hand-writing, or providing model letters for all occasions, polite, commercial or romantic. Some texts in this genre, as we know from Pre-Revolutionary France, continued to be

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49 Johan Coutereels (1594–1631 fl.), seven editions of five different texts between 1610 and 1646.

50 CID no. 48 (01.12.1640): David Cock van Enckhuysen, *Het Cort begrijp van't gantsch Italiaens boeckhouden*, useful for students but also merchants and accountants, second impression (Amsterdam, Hendrick Tjercksz de Vries). De Vries would publish a third impression in 1641, advertised in CID no. 43 (26.10.1641). Thomas Fonteyn in Haarlem published a competing text on Italian accounting by Jean Belot in 1641: USTC 1018202.

51 TVQ no. 16 (22.04.1645). No copy traced.

52 For example, in the CID of 7 March 1643 the French schoolmaster Samuel Barard advertised his intention to start a school in Alphen, and invites parents to sign up their children in order for them to learn writing, calculations, Italian accounting and the basics of music.

published for the best part of a century, and in enormous numbers.[53] The ultimate expression of this spirit of social aspiration was Jan de Brune's (1616–1649) *Wetsteen der vernuften*, breathlessly advertised by its publisher as "good for all types of people, but especially for those who want to be admired by women and who want to be in the best company".[54] A popular work of emblematic essays, the *Wetsteen* was first published in 1644 and went through further editions in 1652, 1658, 1659 and 1661.

These practical books found a market all over Europe, but in the Dutch Republic they had a special resonance. Whereas in most competitor societies, France and to a lesser extent England, social elites were fixed, and in Spain wholly ossified, the Dutch had no established aristocracy to set the social tone. The self-perpetuating quasi-aristocracy of the eighteenth century was still some way away: immigration, social mobility and constant striving were the life blood of the new state. This was a part of Europe where self-taught autodidacts could read themselves to a better life. The minimal investment on books of self-improvement must have seemed a reasonable wager on the chance of a glittering future.

Catalogus Universalis

On 12 November 1639 Broer Jansz placed a very unusual advertisement in his *Tijdinghen uyt verscheyde Quartieren*:

> Broer Jansz, printer at Amsterdam, has the intention henceforth to publish every six months a Catalogue of all the books that are published in this country, as is done at Frankfurt, and will do so for the first time on the first day of January next exactly: he therefore requests all booksellers and printers to furnish him at their expense with the titles of the books printed by or for them this year, all to be entered under their names according to each faculty and language, for the convenience of booksellers, and all book-lovers.[55]

The first edition duly appears in January 1640. Broer Jansz went on to publish fifteen further editions between 1640 and 1652 in a continuous sequence, at

53 Roger Chartier, 'Sécretaires for the people', in Roger Chartier, Alain Boureau and Céline Dauphin, *Correspondence. Models of Letter-Writing from the Middle Ages to the Nineteenth Century* (London: Polity Press, 1997), pp. 59–111.

54 TVQ no. 47 (21.11.1643).

55 TVQ no. 46 (12.11.1639). Also published in the *Nouvelles de divers Quartiers* no. 46 (14.11.1639).

first twice a year, but from the sixth catalogue at an annual interval.[56] Here Broer Jansz was imitating on a smaller scale the famous collective catalogues published, since the late sixteenth century, for the Frankfurt Fair.[57] The title, *Catalogus Universalis*, and the six monthly intervals envisaged for publication, suggest that Jansz had modelled his venture explicitly on the Frankfurt prototype. The internal structure of the *Catalogus Universalis* also followed closely that of the Frankfurt catalogues. Books in Latin were arrayed in traditional categories: first theology, followed by jurisprudence, medicine, philosophy and literature. Sometimes history was united with jurisprudence, and the smaller categories incorporated into a miscellaneous list. Books in vernacular languages made up the second half of the catalogue, arranged by language with no further sub-divisions.

Each issue of the *Catalogus Universalis* contained an average of 150 entries. Almost half were Latin and the rest largely Dutch: other vernaculars made up only 7% of the total.[58] We can see from this that the *Catalogus Universalis* had a very different role in the book trade. Publishers used the newspapers overwhelmingly to advertise books in Dutch: only around 25% of the advertisements were for Latin titles. We can deduce from this that the two forms of publicity were directed towards different audiences. Publishers clearly saw in newspaper advertising the opportunity to reach a wide potential public, interested mainly in popular religious works, Bibles and technical handbooks. The *Catalogus Universalis* was expected to circulate among other industry professionals, but also to interest serious collectors both within the Dutch Republic and abroad. We know that collectors and librarians seeking to build a personal or institutional collection used the Frankfurt Fair catalogue in this way. That Broer Jansz's *Catalogus Universalis* also found an international audience is at least suggested by the present locations of the rare surviving examples of the individual catalogues: Paris, Dublin, Weimar and St Petersburg.

No other Amsterdam publisher sought to emulate Broer Jansz's venture, though some did issue catalogues of their own stock. In June and July 1639 the Utrecht printer Jan van Doorn advertised catalogues of all the Italian and Flemish

56 See here the facsimile edition prepared by H.W. de Kooker, *The Catalogus Universalis* (Utrecht: H&S, 1986).

57 The catalogues for the period 1564–1600 is available as a facsimile reprint: Bernhard Fabian, *Die Messkataloge des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts* (5 vols., Hildesheim: Olms, 1972–2001).

58 De Kooker, *Catalogus*, p. 19.

music books available in his shop.[59] This seems to have been a specialism of his; when in 1644 the whole stock of his book shop was sold off, this included a considerable number of books in Italian, Spanish and French. This too required a catalogue, duly advertised in the *Tijdinghen uyt verscheyden Quartieren*.[60]

The 1644 catalogue, frustratingly, does not survive, as it would provide a fascinating window onto the book market in Utrecht, an important provincial city. The newspapers also provide an occasional glimpse of another important developing part of the Dutch book market, book auctions. In the *Courante uyt Italien* of 16 January 1644, the guardians of the heirs of the deceased minister Nicolaus Molineus announced the sale of his books, to take place nine days later. As in this case, each of these auctions required a printed catalogue, and these too furnish a remarkable fund of bibliographical data.[61] There is no doubt that a comprehensive survey of any or all of these sources – the *Catalogus*, booksellers' stock catalogues and auction catalogues – would provide a tremendous amount of information on the Dutch book world of this period. No doubt it would also provide a valuable new harvest of lost books.

Changing the Guard

By the late 1630s Broer Jansz was riding high: not only was he the manager of a large and prosperous firm, his son, Joost Broersz was also a successful publisher, putting out books, advertising in his father's newspaper, and even running a paper of his own, the *Ordinaris Dingsdaegsche Courante*.[62] This was quite an achievement, because by the mid-1640s the newspaper market was becoming distinctly crowded. In 1638 François Lieshout had entered the market with a mid-week paper, the *Ordinarise Middel-weeckse Courante*; since this

59 CID no. 26 (25.06.1639) and TVQ no. 28 (09.07.1639).

60 The catalogue was published three months before the planned sale. TVQ no. 9 (27.02.1644). See also EAD 09.06.1644.

61 See especially now Brill's survey of Dutch auction catalogues, Book Sales Catalogues Online: <http://www.brill.com/products/online-resources/book-sales-catalogues-dutch-republic-online>. See also Laura Cruz, *The Paradox of Prosperity*: *The Leiden Booksellers' Guild and the Distribution of Books in Early Modern Europe* (New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 2009) and Bert van Selm, *Een menighte treffelijcke Boecken: Nederlandse Boekhandelscatalogi in het begin van de zeventiende eeuw* (Utrecht: H&S, 1987).

62 Broersz advertised in the TVQ on multiple occasions. See for example TVQ no. 46 (14.11.1637); TVQ no. 12 (21.03.1643); TVQ no. 35 (29.08.1643); and TVQ no. 39 (30.09.1645). In 1639 Joost Broersz started with his own *Courante Extra-Ordinaire*, but from 1640 he settled permanently with the *Ordinaris Dingsdaegsche Courante*.

proved very successful, both van Hilten and Joost Broersz responded with their own mid-week ventures.[63] By 1642 they faced yet another competitor, Mathijs van Meininga, with his thrice weekly paper, the *Europische Dingsdaeghs Courant*, *Europische Donderdaeghs Courant* and *Europische Saterdaeghs Courant*. All but Meininga followed the example of the two pioneers in bolstering their income by taking paid advertising: soon publishers were advertising the same books in three or four different papers.

This multitude of competing papers proved of short duration. By 1647 there is no trace of any of Meininga's newspapers – presumably he had already closed his doors. Even a market as robust as Amsterdam could not sustain so many papers, but perhaps his failure to grasp the importance of advertising contributed to making the paper unprofitable.[64] The market would develop in the second half of the century in a rather different way, with the establishment at last of sustainable papers in other Dutch towns, most notably Haarlem, The Hague, Utrecht and Leiden. This would pose a new challenge to Amsterdam, but perhaps not as serious as might have been thought. Obviously it allowed inhabitants of these towns to obtain their newspaper closer to home, but Dutch publishers were also adept in exploiting the rage for news among subscribers for whom even a paper published three times a week was insufficient. By staggering days of publication in different cities it became possible to get the best of all worlds: taking several subscriptions allowed the real news hound to create what was in effect a daily news service.[65]

The advertising market also changed in the second half of the seventeenth century. The near monopoly of new book publications among the advertisements was gradually eroded as the purveyors of other goods and services began to exploit the potential of the newspapers to reach new customers. Advertisements for language tutors and schoolmasters now vied with patent medicines and other goods and services for space and attention. For all that the book world continued to have a special place in newspaper advertising. Here we can draw a clear contrast with the newspaper market in that other fast developing commercial society, London. The sudden proliferation in newspapers publication in England in the last decade of the seventeenth century was

63 For the first year of publication, Lieshout's newspaper was entitled *Extra-ordinaire of Middel-weeckse Courante*.

64 Meininga did include advertisements in his newspapers, but for the most part only for his own publications.

65 See especially the case of Jan de Boer, explored in Jeroen Blaak, *Literacy in Everyday Life. Reading and Writing in Early Modern Dutch Diaries* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), pp. 189–264.

sustained very largely by the enthusiastic embrace of paid advertising.[66] But in England these advertised very largely goods and services, especially luxury consumables. There was far less room for book advertisements: this remained a special, characteristic feature of the Dutch newspapers.

The Dutch Republic created a very particular environment for a flourishing book market. A close network of large urban communities, each with its own active publishers, linked by efficient and swift internal communication through the canal network, created an ideal environment for both production and sales. One of the incidental revelations from the advertisements placed in the newspapers is the extent to which Amsterdam publishers made use of printers in other towns when local presses were otherwise engaged; stock could easily be moved back to Amsterdam by canal barges.[67] The new state also offered optimum conditions for sales: nowhere else in Europe was there such a large pool of customers with sufficient disposable income to become active purchasers of books.

Publishers cultivated this market by placing advertisements in the newspapers: the importance of this new way of reaching customers can be seen in the speed with which it developed from an experimental novelty to an absolute staple of the business model of publishers and newspaper men alike. In the 1630s and 1640s, over half of documented publishers and booksellers active in the Republic are known to have advertised in one or other of the Amsterdam papers.[68] And here we must remember that we only have surviving copies of about 60% of the issues of the *Courante uyt Italien* and *Tijdinghen uyt verscheyde Quartieren* that must have been published during that time – and only 10–20% of the other Amsterdam newspapers. The advertisements in the missing papers would almost certainly increase this proportion further.

It has long been known that the first Dutch newspapers play an important role in the history of advertising; what has not fully been grasped until this point, is the important additional light they shed on the Dutch book world. A full enumeration of the books advertised in the newspapers of the Dutch Golden Age does not change our view of the market in any fundamental way:

66 See R.B. Walker, 'Advertising in London Newspapers, 1650–1750', *Business History*, 15 (1973) pp. 112–130. The older study of Blanche B. Elliott, *A History of English Advertising* (London: Batsford, 1962) is also still useful. See also Wiles, *Freshest Advices*.

67 For instance, the *Verdediginge der Bewijs-redenen Conradi Victoris voor den Doop der Christen-kinderen* advertised in CID no. 21 (26.05.1640), printed by Hans Paschiers van Wesbusch in Haarlem for Dirk Meyer in Amsterdam (USTC 1013644). USTC 1011177 represents the opposite case, printed in Amsterdam for a Rotterdam publisher.

68 See Der Weduwen, 'Booksellers, newspaper advertisements'.

the books advertised come by and large from genres known to have been staples of the market. What it does show us is that this market was far richer and larger than can possibly be imagined from surviving copies alone. Books known from one or two editions can be shown to have been published in eight, nine or ten. The subtle range of formats in which publishers fed the market for staples of church life can also be demonstrated with new clarity. Taking the first fifty years of Dutch newspaper publication as a whole, the period between the establishment of the *Tijdinghen uyt verscheyde Quartieren* and the *Courante uyt Italien* and the sudden collapse of the De Witt regime in 1672, newspaper advertisements confirm the existence of something approaching a thousand books not otherwise known from surviving copies. This is a major advance in the understanding of this most sophisticated book market.

CHAPTER 10

Lost Books and Dispersed Libraries in Sicily during the Seventeenth Century

Domenico Ciccarello

'Lost Books' in the Bibliographic Universe

The issue of lost books is truly an intriguing one. More often than not, we can feel that bibliographers leave us puzzled about their results when applying statistical methods in the computation of rates of loss. We recognize that this is especially true with investigations of the first centuries of print. Any attempts to speculate on rates of survival, aiming to provide reliable estimates of what has been lost, involve a large measure of conjecture. Too many independent factors are involved in instances of loss – sometimes, the loss of whole collections – over the centuries. Furthermore, many of those factors are likely to have had very variable effects in different parts of the European print domain. It may prove a hard task, by means of strict mathematical rules only, to account for the phenomena of long-term survival given how variable are the circumstances that cause books to be lost. As bibliographers we should be extremely careful as we could very easily get our calculations wrong. For all that, we believe that the effort is still worthwhile, if only because it makes perfect sense from an abstract, purely logical perspective.

We should always treat the 'bibliographic universe' as a mix of *existing*, *lost* and *latent* objects, irrespective of the bibliographic set under investigation. We refer to *existing* books whenever we are able to *identify* specific editions, *ascertain* their survival in one or more copies, and *locate* them either on library shelves, or in any other physical holding places. The notion of *lost* books, on the other hand, encompasses two rather different sets of records: all those *identified* editions/copies, whose former existence we are sure of, although they are known to us only through old bibliographies and catalogues and other suitable documentation, and editions or copies in a bibliographic set whose former existence we might reasonably try to *estimate* by statistical means, regardless of the possibility of identifying them. This latter bibliographic area (*non-identified*, i.e. supposedly once existing but now lost editions) may be addressed by modelling book loss rates with statistical curves, zero-graph estimations, and similar techniques. We should be aware, however, of the importance of the third level

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in the bibliographic universe (*latent books*), comprising all those editions that, despite their actual survival in at least in one copy, we still cannot identify or locate, often because they are waiting to be catalogued. We believe that, with respect to *latent* or 'hidden' books, the different national initiatives that have been put in place so far, encouraging libraries to engage in retrospective cataloguing, are likely to have a tremendous impact on scholarly estimates of survival and loss. In other words, we expect that, as long as cataloguing work gets institutional help to move forward, the bibliographic foundation of future estimations will become more complete and accurate. The stakeholders in each country should make it their concern to urge their institutions to reinforce cooperation projects, both at national and international levels, in the field of retrospective bibliography.

Seventeenth-century Editions in Sicily and Their Bibliographic Treatment

Coming now to the theme of cataloguing of seventeenth-century editions, we are confronted with a bibliographic context marked by broad international projects like the Heritage of the Printed Book in Europe database (HPB) or the Universal Short Title Catalogue (USTC), and country specific projects such as the German VD17. As for Italy, massive retrospective cataloguing seems to have been conducted only for the two first centuries of print. Since the development of *Indice generale degli incunaboli* (IGI)[1] and of Edit16, the Central Institute for the Union Catalogue of Italian Libraries and Bibliographic Information (ICCU) has not launched any further nationwide projects. I am with those Italian scholars who might wish to campaign not only against the announced closure of Edit16, but also for the starting of an equivalent Edit17 programme.

In the absence of specific databases, the main sources for detecting seventeenth-century Italian editions can be listed as follows: a) the SBN opac for early printing; b) the MAI metaopac, capable of searching databases from some libraries and networks of libraries outside the SBN programme; c) OCLC database and other online catalogues worldwide, simultaneously accessible via the KVK metaopac (including the antiquarian booksellers' databases);

1 Centro nazionale d'informazioni bibliografiche (ed.), *Indice generale degli incunaboli delle biblioteche d'Italia – IGI* (Rome: Istituto poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, Libreria dello Stato, 1943–1981), 6 vols.

d) printed catalogues of single libraries or consortia of libraries, by language or by state of publication; e) special bibliographies; f) subject-based reference tools.[2]

Found and Lost Books: Figures from a Bibliographic Census

We now move to a specific case study, the reconstruction of the bibliographical output of seventeenth-century Sicily. Thus far, Sicily has not been particularly well served by the existing scholarly literature: only the city of Messina has been studied extensively, with a reasonably comprehensive survey of output, along with in-depth research conducted on printers and their mobility, false imprints, private libraries and the book trade.[3] As for the other printing centres, relevant bibliographic information is available from just a few printed catalogues published on the initiative of libraries or single researchers in recent years.[4] The absence of a comprehensive study of printing in Palermo

2 SBN online: <http://opac.sbn.it/opacsbn/opac/iccu/antico.jsp>; MAI online: <http://www.aib.it/aib/opac/mai2.htm3>; OCLC online: <http://www.ubka.uni-karlsruhe.de/kvk_en.html>, all accessed 30 September 2014. Amongst the printed catalogues, perhaps the best known is the *Catalogue of seventeenth century Italian books in the British Library* (London: The British Library, 1986); Roberto L. Bruni and D. Win Evans, *Italian 17th-century books in Cambridge libraries. A short-title catalogue* (Florence: Olschki, 1997); Roberto L. Bruni and D. Win Evans, *Seicentine italiane nella National Library of Scotland* (Florence: Olschki, 1998); Roberto L. Bruni and D. Win Evans, *A catalogue of Italian books, 1601–1700 in Exeter libraries* (Exeter: Exeter University Press, 1982); Suzanne and Paul-Henry Michel, *Répertoire des ouvrages imprimés en langue italienne au XVIIe siècle conservés dans les bibliothèques de France* (Paris: CNRS, 1967–1984). Amongst the special bibliographies, Sandro Piantanida, Lamberto Diotallevi and Giancarlo Livraghi, *Autori italiani del '600. Catalogo bibliografico* (Milan: Vinciana, 1948); to conclude with subject-based reference tools: *Répertoire International des Sources Musicales* (*RISM*) (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1960-); Claudio Sartori, *I libretti a stampa dalle origini al 1800* (Cuneo: Bertola & Locatelli, 1993–1994), 7 vols.; *Diritto e cultura nella Sicilia medievale e moderna. Le edizioni giuridiche siciliane, 1478–1699* (Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino, 1994).

3 Maria Teresa Rodriquez (ed.), *Catalogo delle edizioni messinesi dei secoli XV–XVIII* (Palermo: Regione siciliana, Assessorato dei beni culturali e ambientali e della pubblica istruzione, 1997); Giuseppe Lipari, *Gli annali dei tipografi messinesi del '600* (Messina: Sicania, 1990); *Cinque secoli di stampa a Messina* (Messina: G.B.M., 1987); Giuseppe Lipari, *Il falso editoriale a Messina* (Messina: Centro interdipartimentale di studi umanistici – Università di Messina, 2001); Giuseppe Lipari, *Una biblioteca messinese del '600* (Messina: Sicania, 1990).

4 *Edizioni catanesi dei secoli XVII–XVIII possedute dalla Biblioteca centrale della Regione siciliana* (Palermo: Regione siciliana, Assessorato dei beni culturali e ambientali e della pubblica istruzione, 2003); Filippo Evola, *Sulla stampa siciliana fuori di Palermo e di Messina nei secoli XVI e XVII. Ricordi bibliografico-letterari* (Palermo: Tip. dello Statuto, 1885). For this subject, the best known study in Italy is the classic Francesco Barberi, *Il libro italiano del*

during the seventeenth century is particularly deplorable, as Palermo played a very important political and socio-economic role during that period.[5]

A few years ago, I started work on a complete bibliography of seventeenth-century editions printed in Sicily.[6] The project, whose realization has been mainly based on systematic browsing of a wide range of information sources available both in printed form and online, is now complete.[7] The bibliographic census consists of over 4,000 issues, including large formats as well as single-sheet ephemera, and also 'lost books'.[8] In terms of editions, what is lost (i.e. issues listed in old bibliographies and catalogues, which cannot be matched to located copies), stands at about 19% of the corpus, at the time being.[9] The following analysis of data extracted from the census may contribute to a trustworthy overview of the extent of survival of books printed

Seicento (Manziana: Vecchiarelli, 1990). As far as Sicily is concerned, some information on seventeenth-century printers and editions, along with historical notes, in Niccolò Domenico Evola, *Ricerche storiche sulla tipografia siciliana* (Florence: Olschki, 1940). A general overview of the subject is Carlo Pastena, 'Algunas reflexiones sobre la imprenta palermitana entre los siglos XVI y XVII', in Assunta Polizzi (ed.), *Imprenta y cultura de interés hispánico en Sicilia en los siglos XVI and XVII* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2013), pp. 23–36.

5 On the first three decades: Carlo Pastena, 'La tipografia palermitana al tempo del III duca d'Osuna (1600–1630)', in Encarnaciòn Sanchez Garcia and Caterina Ruta (eds.), *Cultura della guerra e arti della pace. Il III Duca di Osuna in Sicilia e a Napoli, 1611–1620* (Naples: Pironti, 2012), pp. 339–352, although this small essay contains very few original observations and some bibliographic mistakes.

6 This became my doctoral research project at the University of Siena, with bibliographic and historical studies concentrated on the nine places where printing offices were active during the seventeenth century: Agrigento, Catania, Mazzarino, Messina, Militello, Monreale, Palermo, Polizzi and Trapani. I wish to express my deepest gratitude to my supervisor, Prof. Lorenzo Baldacchini.

7 Domenico Ciccarello, *Le edizioni siciliane del XVII secolo*, PhD thesis (Università degli Studi di Siena, 2012), currently under revision for publication.

8 When recording lost issues, a signum crucis (†) has been put before the identification number, the title has been given into square brackets, and the description has been limited to the elements provided by the source of information, which has then been referenced at the bottom of the entry. With regard to description criteria, for each record a wide range of elements has been given, including not only the author, title, place of publication, printer and date of publication, but also format and length, signature statement and fingerprint. The over 4,000 entries have been enhanced, whenever possible, with copy locations and links to full-text digital copies.

9 This number might have been different, if full bibliographic description coverage had already been achieved for seventeenth-century issues kept in our libraries. In other words, I believe that cataloguing of *latent* books could produce significant variations in these statistics on editions printed in Sicily.

TABLE 10.1 *Format of seventeenth-century Sicilian editions.*

Folio	500	12.28%
Quarto	1,781	43.73%
Octavo	838	20.57%
Duodecimo	670	16.45%
Other	103	2.53%
Not available	181	4.44%
Total	4,073	100.00%

in Sicily between 1601 and 1700. A statistical-mathematical approach, that could help to further address those unknown, hypothetically lost editions, is outside the scope of this paper, though it would certainly be reasonable to attempt such a thing.

We can observe in table 10.1 the 4,073 editions listed in the bibliography analysed by format of publication. The large predominance of the quarto is evident, followed by smaller formats (octavo, duodecimo), with a smaller but still significant number of folios. Other formats are present only in very small numbers. The smaller formats tend to survive in a markedly smaller number of copies, or are completely lost: this is true, for instance, of both the octavos and duodecimos in our list.

Table 10.2 shows the distribution of the editions by language, revealing that Italian books were much more common than Latin, with very few editions in other languages except Spanish or Sicilian (the one book in French is a truly exceptional case).[10] Here again, the books in these minority linguistic categories characteristically survive in notably fewer copies than the Italian or Latin books.

If we turn to an analysis of our corpus, now classified according to the length of each text, this too offers some suggestive result (table 10.3). These calculations are based on the number of pages in each work (rather than sheets or gatherings). It clearly shows that shorter works of less than one hundred pages predominate. The high number of editions of unknown length is accounted for largely by lost books, detected through bibliographic tools which did not report

10 Robert Paris, *Nuoua grammatica francese, et italiana nella quale sono contenute tutte le regole per imparare a ben leggere, pronunciare, intendere, parlare, e scriuere la lingua francese con molta facilità, e in breue. Con varii dialoghi francesi e italiani…* In Messina, Bisagni, 1675. I have traced 6 copy locations of this edition (4 in Italy, 1 in France, 1 in Spain).

TABLE 10.2 *Language of seventeenth-century Sicilian editions.*

Latin	1,252	30.74%
Italian	2,562	62.90%
Spanish	90	2.20%
Sicilian	112	2.76%
French	1	0.02%
Not available	56	1.38%
Total	4,073	100.00%

TABLE 10.3 *Length (in pages) of seventeenth-century Sicilian editions.*

Over 300 pages	**677**	**16.62%**
101–300	743	18.24%
51–100	345	8.47%
1–50	1,408	34.57%
Not available	900	22.10%
Total	4,073	100.00%

any information on the book's size. Here, again, we will observe a clear relationship between a book's length and the prospects of survival.

Table 10.4 represents the distribution of editions by date, calculated in four periods of 25 years. Here the increase in output over the four periods seems to indicate not only the constant expansion of book production in Sicily (almost doubled from the first half to the second half of the century), but also the importance of the passage of time as a key factor in itself in determining the rate of loss.[11]

As for places of publication, shown in the first column of data in table 10.5, Palermo proves to be the largest centre of production with more than twice the number of Messina, the second major centre. In other smaller places we have

11 It is worth noticing that a bibliographic census of books printed in Palermo during the sixteenth century lists 431 editions, 147 of which (that is around 35%) have no surviving copies. See Biblioteca centrale della Regione siciliana, *Bibliografia delle edizioni palermitane antiche,* vol. I, *Edizioni del XVI secolo* (Palermo, Assessorato regionale dei Beni culturali e ambientali e della pubblica istruzione, 1998).

TABLE 10.4 *Seventeenth-century book production in Sicily by date.*

1676–1700	1341	32.93%
1651–1675	1212	29.76%
1626–1650	932	22.88%
1601–1625	576	14.14%
Not available	12	0.29%
Total	4,073	100.00%

TABLE 10.5 *Sicilian printing places and loss rate.*

Place	Editions	Lost editions	Surviving in place
Agrigento	4 (0.09%)	1 (25.00%)	0 (0.00%)
Catania	156 (3.83%)	43 (27.56%)	53 (33.97%)
Mazzarino	17 (0.41%)	2 (11.76%)	7 (41.17%)
Messina	1014 (24.89%)	204 (20.11%)	422 (41.61%)
Militello	8 (0.19%)	5 (62.50%)	3 (37.50%)
Monreale	7 (0.17%)	0 (0.00%)	6 (85.71%)
Palermo	2793 (68.57%)	504 (18.04%)	1882 (67.38%)
Polizzi	1 (0.02%)	0 (0.00%)	1 (100%)
Trapani	73 (1.79%)	22 (30.13%)	14 (19.17%)
Total	4073	781 (19.17%)	2388 (58.63%)

a spectrum from 1 unique edition, in Polizzi Generosa, to 73 in Trapani and 156 in Catania. In each case I have calculated also the proportion of the known outpost currently believed to be lost (the middle column). The highest percentage of lost books is to be found in Militello in Val di Catania, whereas the smallest (leaving aside three places with very tiny outputs) is in Palermo, a loss rate of about 18%.

The third column introduces a new angle of investigation. Here we record what we might call 'local survival', meaning editions where copies survive in the same area where they were originally printed. These last statistics have been obtained by matching the place of publication with the locations for each surviving copy. In this respect we can observe the best preservation rate in Polizzi, Palermo and Monreale, and the lowest percentages in Trapani and Catania. Historical circumstances may, of course, help account for these local differences. In the second half of the nineteenth century, public and university libraries in Palermo acted as a gathering place for vast collections from monastic libraries dispossessed as a consequence of confiscation laws. At the other extreme, we may reasonably suppose that the town of Catania (and other cities and villages surrounding Mount Etna) might have irretrievably lost a significant number of books due to a dramatic volcano eruption in 1669, followed by a tremendous earthquake in 1693. In these cases for many local editions, all surviving copies could have vanished as a result of this one traumatic event.[12]

An Extraordinary Case of Dispersal: The Branciforti Library

In the course of bibliographic work on Sicilian seventeenth-century printed books it is possible to come across outstanding examples of book loss. Militello in Val di Catania, a small feudal village positioned in the Sicilian hinterland, about 50 miles away from Mount Etna, provides us with a significant historical example of the dispersal of a huge book collection, that is the library established at the beginning of the seventeenth century by the Prince of Pietraperzia, Francesco Branciforti (1545–1622).[13] The Prince of Pietraperzia was a distinguished member of the nobility and very close to the Spanish Court: he had married Juana de Austria (1573–1630), granddaughter

12 The above figures have been used only as a partial and limited study of how useful and reasonable it may be to explore the correlations between a bibliographic corpus of known (either surviving or lost) editions and the number of existing copies for each record. Further investigation would be needed to shed light on other equally crucial factors in loss rate, such as use, cost, literary genres, more or less ephemeral destination of works, local cultural tendencies, ease of transportation and circulation of items. Among the vast literature on the topic, focusing on the Italian scenario see at least Neil Harris, 'The Italian Renaissance book. Catalogues, censuses and survival', in Malcolm Walsby and Graeme Kemp (eds.), *The book triumphant. Print in transition in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), pp. 26–56, and Neil Harris, 'La sopravvivenza del libro ossia appunti per una lista della lavandaia', *Ecdotica*, 4 (2007), pp. 24–65. For a very short theoretic essay, in which mathematical processes are applied to the estimation of loss rates in sixteenth-century Italian editions, see Alfredo Serrai, 'Stima del numero delle edizioni italiane del secolo XVI', *Bibliotheca. Rivista di studi bibliografici*, 1 (2002), pp. 53–56.

13 A biographical account of the Prince of Pietraperzia is given in Francesco Mallegni and Sebastiano Lisi (eds.), *Archivistica e paleobiologia: due parametri per la ricostruzione del profilo storico e biologico del principe Francesco Branciforte di Militello in Val di Catania* (Florence: Latini, 2003).

to the Emperor Charles V. He was also extremely rich thanks to the revenues he could gather from his many land possessions. The Prince surrounded himself with a court of highly cultivated men like Pietro Carrera, Mario Gastone and Mario Tortelli. He also conceived an ambitious cultural programme based on two pillars: a private library[14] and a private printing press.[15] The latter marked the introduction of printing in Militello, with a production of at least nine editions; today, surviving copies are documented for only four of them.[16]

This required an enormous financial investment, above all for the systematic collecting of books. This resulted in the accumulation of a very considerable library, though it was destined only for a very short life, as the early death of Prince Branciforti in 1622 resulted in the sale of both the press (by his wife Juana to the bookseller Francesco Petronio) and the library (by his wife's daughter, Margaret to numerous purchasers).[17] The rapid dismantling of the Prince's cultural programme may explain why such a low percentage of the Militello editions have survived today, as they are now extremely rare. *Il gioco degli scacchi* (1617) is the first and the best known among the works printed in Militello, written by the priest and excellent chess player Pietro Carrera, and printed by Giovanni Rossi, native from Trento. The prefatory letter by Mario Tortelli reads as follows:

> It is fair and convenient that the printing house is complemented with a library which for its richness and variety is renowned not only as the best

14 Salvina Bosco, 'Lo strano caso di una biblioteca', in Francesco Benigno (ed.), *Tra memoria e storia. Ricerche su di una comunità siciliana: Militello in Val di Catania* (Catania: Maimone, 1996), pp. 73–101.

15 A similar case of a private press started in Sicily by initiative of a rich nobleman occurred in Mazzarino towards the end of the same century, where Carlo Maria Carafa had a printing office in his palace for six years, from 1687 to 1692. See Domenico Ciccarello, 'Mobilità dei tipografi e committenza di aristocratici e religiosi nel XVII secolo', *Paratesto*, 10 (2013), pp. 121–148.

16 The four surviving editions are: Pietro Carrera, *Il gioco degli scacchi* (1617); Mario Tortelli, *Dei madrigali…centuria prima* (1620); *Catanensis Ecclesiae Synodus dioecesana* (1623) plus a single broadsheet, dated 1619 (only recently added to the 2012 census). As strange as it may seem, works by Francesco Branciforti himself are among the lost editions. On the products of the printing press in Militello, see Carmelo Erio Fiore, 'Sulla stampa a Militello in Val di Catania negli anni 1617–1623: le edizioni di Giovanni Rossi da Trento', *Lèmbasi. Archivio storico,* 1 (1995), pp. 29–50.

17 The contract was signed in 1622 by the notary Antonio Balba. The new printing house in Catania was jointly managed for some years by Francesco Petronio and Giovanni Rossi, then by Giovanni Rossi alone.

> in Sicily, but also among the most beautiful and rich in Italy, like this library owned by our Prince.[18]

The main source of information about the Branciforti library comes from a legal case of 1681–83 that pitted the monks of the Benedictine Abbey in Militello against the Prince's heirs, many years after his death. A good deal of documentation is kept in Palermo, including reports from several witnesses (people that had served the Prince's family in his palace when they were much younger) from which we can ascertain many detailed facts.[19] We learn, for instance, about the construction of the library building by two notable architects, Mariano Interlizzi and Leonardo La Rocca; the names of the librarian, Francesco Petronio, and of the scholars who regularly used the library;[20] the ways the books were acquired by the owner; and also the location of the printing press in which Giovanni Rossi worked to serve the Branciforti family and their intellectual circle.[21]

From the same documentation, we also learn more about how this extraordinary library of about 8,580 volumes came to be dispersed. The people of Militello were very conscious of the value of the treasure in their midst, to the extent that when Princess Margaret of Austria decided to sell the collection in Naples, they made appreciable attempts to save it; they had even made a proposal to gather money from the community, at their own expense, to persuade the owners to return the library to its original home.[22]

Nevertheless, the book collection would no longer be held in Militello. It was transferred to the Branciforti properties in Naples and then sold, partly in large lots and partly in smaller segments, in Naples and in Rome. A large proportion of the library seems to have passed to the Teatini monastery in Naples, until during the nineteenth century it was confiscated by the Italian State and given to the National Library in Naples.[23] Other scholars believe that a portion of the books were purchased by the Oratorians in Naples, consequently becoming a

18 "Cosa molto di proporzione, e di convenienza, che accopiata fosse la stampa ad una Libreria tanto famosa, che in Cicilia di copiosità, di fioritezza, non che il primo luogo ritiene, ma gareggia colle più belle, e ricche d'Italia, com'è questa del Principe".

19 State Archives of Palermo. Fondo Lanza-Trabia (hereafter ASP.FT).

20 Mario Tortelli was Head of the Academy 'degli Impriggionati' and Nicolò Caruso 'degli Agghiacciati'. ASP.FT, 623, c. 303*v*.

21 ASP.FT, 459, c. 406*r*.

22 ASP.FT, 623, c. 330*v*.

23 Antonio Blandini, 'La Biblioteca 'Palatina' di Militello in Val di Catania', *Agorà*, 10 (2002), pp. 34–36.

TABLE 10.6 *Distribution of the 8,580 books of the Branciforti collection.*

Libri spagnoli (8 casse, 618 libri)	Filosofia (9 casse, 653 libri)
Libri di storia sacra (5 casse, 347 libri)	Casi di coscienza e di diritto canonico e civile (13 casse, 697 libri)
Libri di poesie volgari (4 casse, 497 libri)	Libri spirituali (4 casse, 575 libri)
Libri di poesie latine (4 casse, 430 libri)	Controversie di teologia scolastica (8 casse, 602 libri)
Lettere umane (8 casse, 601 libri)	Sermonari (4 casse, 308 libri)
Miscellanee (5 casse, 385 libri)	Sacre scritture (20 casse, 763 libri)
Matematica (4 casse, 345 libri)	Musica (32 libri)
Politica (4 casse, 467 libri)	Libri doppi (538 libri)
Medicina (11 casse, 723 libri)	

part of the Girolamini State Library; a collection that achieved a wholly unwelcome notoriety as a result of spectacular thefts in recent years.[24]

In the documentation of the 1681 trial, we also find some interesting indications on the content of the Branciforti library. The description of the collection is quite interesting in itself, although it is given in very general terms, by means of a list of the broad categories to which the books belong (see table 10.6), along with the number of boxes and volumes for each category. This gives us a clear idea of the pre-eminent cultural interests of Branciforti and his court, primarily medicine and religion, but also a wide range of literature, law and Hispanic books. These categories were also used to label the boxes when the books were shipped out of Militello.

The fact that Francesco Branciforti was able to accumulate such a collection in so short a time deserves some further comment. Paolo Baldanza, also called De Angelis, an eminent member of the Vatican Court, acted as a key intermediatory in ensuring that the almost embarrassing amount of money that Branciforti was eager to spend to build his collection mainly over the second decade of seventeenth century could be effectively disposed in the Rome book market.[25] Vincenzo Branciforti, a clergyman and Francesco's uncle, contributed significantly to the overall growth of the library by selling his own,

24 Nicholas Schmidle, 'A Very Rare Book. The Mystery surrounding a copy of Galileo's pivotal treatise', *The New Yorker*, 16 December 2013, pp. 62–73.

25 The correspondence between Branciforti and Baldanza regarding the purchase of books from Rome is confirmed by witnesses at the trial, see ASP.FT 623, f. 308. The other books forming the Branciforti library were acquired partly at book fairs in Catania and Lentini, and partly from booksellers in Palermo, Catania, Messina and Militello.

TABLE 10.7 *Sample comparison between items listed in an inventory of the Branciforti library and a note of confiscated items belonging to the Girolamini State Library.*

Militello list	**Naples list**
Vita pontificum et cardinalium, in folio, un tomo	Chacon, Alphonse. *Vita et gesta summorum pontificum…necnon s.r.e. cardinalium*
Nicolao Sandero, in ottavo, un tomo	Nicolai Sanderi *De origine ac progressu schismatis Anglicani*
Rocca, *De sancta cruce*, in ottavo, un tomo	*De particula ex pretioso et vivifico ligno Sacratissimae Crucis*…A F. Angelo Rocca
Bellarminio, *De officio principis*, in ottavo, un tomo	Bellarmino, Roberto. *De officio principis christiani*

well-furnished collection to his brother, who was happy to pass the books on to his son, Francesco. This latter circumstance offers us a unique perspective on the Branciforti books, thanks to an inventory which noted the titles of the books owned by Vincenzo, together with acquisition notes.[26] From these notes we can infer that even from a small centre like Militello it was possible to take advantage of a wide range of book trade opportunities, such as local book fairs, travelling booksellers and other book networks across Italy and Europe.[27]

Unfortunately, the list of books in this document dated 1621 is fairly summary, so it provides little help in identifying the specific editions acquired by the Branciforti family. Even if we are mindful of the types of mistakes that could always occur when transcribing items in an inventory, which often lead to the creation of misleading bibliographic items, we should use further caution in dealing with this list, which is far from being detailed, as it reports only the author, title and only occasionally format, and then not for every item.

Nevertheless, if the absence of evidence is not evidence of absence, I am tempted to compare the list from Militello with another list, found in a truly casual way, browsing over the documentation produced by the judges who are

26 The inventory was authenticated through a notarial act redacted by notary Pietro Magro from Militello.

27 ASP.FT 623, various notes in ff. 567–597.

dealing with the investigation on the recents thefts at the Girolamini Library.[28] Setting some examples alongside one another (see table 10.7), it would seem that there is a good number of similarities between the two lists. We might even dare to hope that when the confiscated items return back to the Oratorians, from whom they have been stolen, and the Girolamini Library opens its doors to the public once again, then a visit might be worthwhile, to check whether any evidence of ownership, such as bookplates or manuscript notes, have been left to help us in discovering any item from the biggest private library in Sicily during the seventeenth century.

28 Part of the documentation relating to the ruling of the court for the Girolamini Library trial is available online: <http://www.penalecontemporaneo.it/materia/–/–/-/2430-la_sentenza_di_primo_grado_per_la___spoliazione___della_biblioteca_dei_girolamini/> (accessed 30 September 2014).

PART 3

Censorship and Its Consequences

CHAPTER 11

Lost Issues and Self-Censorship: Rethinking the Publishing History of Guillaume Budé's *De l'Institution du Prince*

Christine Bénévent and Malcolm Walsby

In 1519 Guillaume Budé, "universally acclaimed as the greatest French humanist and recognised as the inspiration behind the Collège de France", offered a collection of apophthegms to Francis I.[1] Mostly inspired by Plutarch, they had been translated into French by Budé who used them to demonstrate to the King the usefulness of letters and the lettered. Despite the perceived importance of the work, there has been little scholarly research into the different versions of the text. Interest has concentrated on the luxurious original manuscript preserved at the *Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal*. For a long time, it was thought to be the only text that could be attributed to Budé with a degree of certainty.[2] However, Guy Gueudet has since discovered other manuscripts. One of these, the 'Colbert' copy, presents a short version of the text and is almost identical to the original copy.[3] In contrast, seven others offer a much expanded version. Over twice the size of the original, they clearly all belong to the same family, though the Rouen manuscript seems to be an intermediary state. Though it is unclear whether the additional material can be attributed to Budé, all the copies were probably created prior to his death in 1540.[4]

1 "Unanimement salué comme le plus grand humaniste français, reconnu par l'histoire comme l'inspirateur du Collège de France": Marie-Madeleine de La Garanderie, 'Budé (Guillaume) (1468–1540)', in Colette Nativel (ed.), *Centuriae Latinae. Cent une figures humanistes de la Renaissance aux Lumières offertes à Jacques Chomarat* (Geneva: Droz, 1997), p. 221.

2 Louis Delaruelle, *Guillaume Budé. Les origines, les débuts, les idées maîtresses* (Paris: Champion, 1907), Chapter VI : 'Le recueil d'apophtegmes offert à François Ier', pp. 199–220.

3 There are a few variations, mainly orthographic, and some omissions. See Guy Gueudet, 'Guillaume Budé, parrain d'"Encyclopédie", ou le vrai texte de *L'Institution du prince*,' in *Le Génie de la forme, mélanges de langue et littérature offerts à Jean Mourot*, (Nancy: Presses universitaires de Nancy, 1982), pp. 87–96.

4 Gueudet, 'Guillaume Budé' and La Garanderie in her 'Ce que la culture peut espérer du pouvoir. À propos de *l'Institution du Prince* de Guillaume Budé', published in Luigi-Alberto Sanchi (ed.) *Guillaume Budé, philosophe de la culture* (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2010), pp. 205–219, disagree with Delaruelle and suggest that the additions can be attributed to Budé.

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The titles bestowed on the author in the dedicatory epistle would date their composition to 1522.[5]

The number of surviving copies seems to indicate that the text was widely disseminated in manuscript form during the author's lifetime and that he did not wish for the text to be published. It was only once the text was finally printed some years after his death that the short title *De l'institution du prince* was adopted. It has since become accepted practice to use this title, though it is rather misleading: it triggers thoughts of Erasmus's *Institutio principis christiani* when in reality it is closer to his *Apophthegmata*. It does, however, emphasise the importance of the print editions in framing our understanding of the work. Indeed, until the first modern edition of the text was completed in 1965, Budé's text remained mainly accessible to the scholarly public via these print versions – with over 70 surviving copies of the 1547 and 1548 editions, these clearly had an enormous contemporary resonance. Since 1965, Claude Bontems's transcription of the Arsenal manuscript has become the standard text used by academics, despite the fact that it has some major flaws.[6] It modernises spelling and suffers from a number of errors and omissions. But the main problem is that it simply ignores the longer versions of the text as well as the sixteenth-century print editions.[7]

And yet these print editions are particularly interesting. Not only have they framed scholarly understanding of the work for much of the past centuries and given the work the title by which we know it, but they were also the way in which most sixteenth-century readers accessed the text. As we shall see, copies of these editions made their way into the hands of kings, princes of the royal family, members of the aristocracy, but also the elite of the Catholic Church. It is therefore vital to understand the history of the creation of these editions, especially as this is far from being as obvious as it may seem at first glance.

5 Budé is described as 'secretaire du roy' and 'maistre de sa librairie', but not as 'maistre des requestes'. Budé was named 'maistre de la librairie' at the beginning of 1522 and became 'maistre des requestes' in August – a position he kept until his death. See Delaruelle, *Guillaume Budé*, p. 232.

6 Published in Claude Bontems, Léon Pierre Raybaud and Jean-Pierre Brancourt, *Le Prince dans la France des XVI^e^ et XVII^e^ siècles* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1965).

7 This is also a partial edition by Maxim Marin in his *Le livre de l'institution du prince (Kap. I–XX): nach der Ausgabe von Paris 1548 herausgegeben, mit den Ausgaben von l'Arrivour und Lyon (1547) verglichen, übersetzt und kommentiert* (Frankfurt am Main: P. Lang, 1983), which looks at the print editions but with debatable presuppositions. Bruno Petey-Girard used Le Blanc's edition in his 'Libéralité humaniste – mérite humaniste', *Le Verger*, 2 (June 2012), online: <http://cornucopia16.com/blog/series/le-verger-bouquet-ii-la-liberalite-au-xvie-siecle/> (accessed 27 February 2014).

Thanks to the use of material bibliography and research conducted not just in French libraries but on copies located throughout the world, we shall show that existing scholarship on these editions presented a completely misleading vision of the early publishing history of the *Institution du prince*. Further, we shall show that this analysis suggests the previously unsuspected involvement of an iconic figure of Renaissance France.

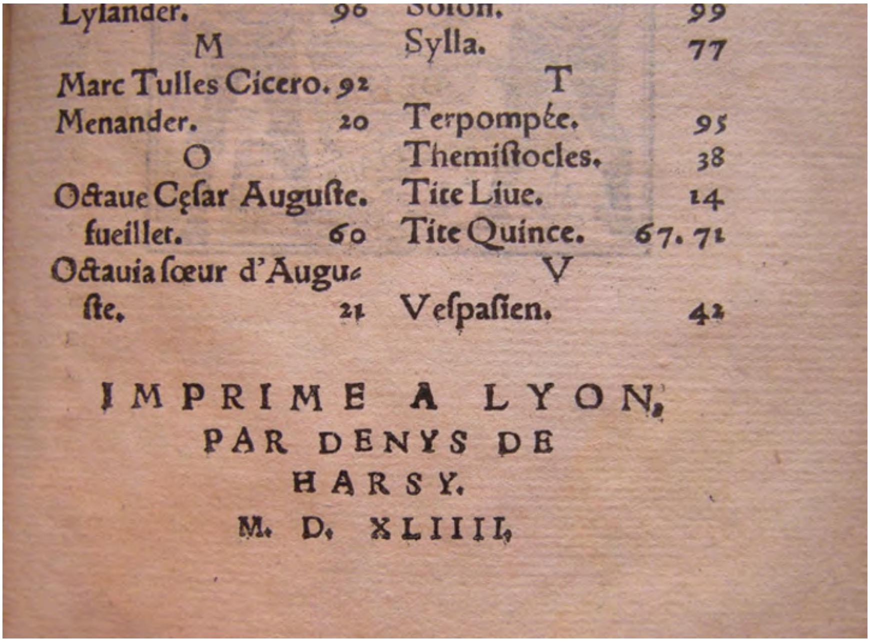
The Print Editions

Current scholarship on the editions of Guillaume Budé's text has sought to present a simple story. Three editions were published in 1547 in three different locations: Paris, Lyon and Larrivour. The tone was set at the beginning of the twentieth century in a book devoted to the life and works of the humanist author by Delaruelle.[8] Delaruelle's own interest in the text was rather limited: he devoted only a comparatively small section of his volume to the *Institution*. But he did include a separate appendix in which he sought to establish the authenticity of the various surviving manuscript versions before embarking on an analysis of the three earliest print editions. This appendix has proved to be very influential and has been accepted without demur by most subsequent scholars.

Delaruelle identified three editions of the text produced, in his view, almost simultaneously in Paris, Lyon and the monastery of Larrivour, not far from Troyes. All three editions, he asserted, were printed in 1547, but used different manuscripts versions of the *Institution*. He noted some anomalies in the Lyon and Larrivour copies that he had been able to consult, but explained them away succinctly. The colophon of the Lyon edition, he noted, bore the date 1544 instead of 1547 (ill. 11.1). This was simply an error made by the compositor who, during the setting up of the type on the forme, misread the text that he was supposed to be following. As a result, he set up the date "M.D. XLIIII" instead of "M.D. XLVII"; quite simply the first two "I"s of the date should have formed a "V". By this sleight of hand, the correct date was re-established and the problem of the discrepancy resolved.

The bizarre nature of the first gathering of the Larrivour edition received even shorter shrift. Delaruelle did not notice – or at least did not believe it noteworthy – that the first gathering always appeared to be incomplete. Yet the third page of the book was signed at the bottom of the page A_4 rather than the expected A_2. Furthermore, the first gathering's pagination ran [1–6] (unpaginated) and then 15–16, though the second gathering (gathering B) starts with page "13". Finally, the

8 Delaruelle, *Guillaume Budé*.



Lyſander. 96	Solon. 99
M	Sylla. 77
Marc Tulles Cicero. 92	T
Menander. 20	Terpompée. 95
O	Themiſtocles. 38
Octaue Ceſar Auguſte.	Tite Liue. 14
fueillet. 60	Tite Quince. 67. 71
Octauia ſœur d'Augu-	V
ſte. 21	Veſpaſien. 42

IMPRIME A LYON,
PAR DENYS DE
HARSY.
M. D. XLIIII.

ILLUSTRATION 11.1 *Colophon of the edition printed in Lyon by Denis de Harsy in 1544, f. n8r*
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last page of the gathering has the header "Epistre." that makes little sense when the following page has "du prince." Explaining these inconsistencies was of little interest. The most important conclusion was that all three editions were therefore published in 1547 – a sudden interest in Budé that coincided with the death of Francis I and the accession of Henry II. Delaruelle's analysis just over a century ago has held sway over all subsequent writing on the first editions of the *Institution*.[9] The text has been the subject of much scholarly interest and the bibliography of the articles and books that analyse the text is considerable.[10] But

9 For instance, Jeanne Veyrin-Forrer in her overview (with Pierre Gasnault) of Budé's work for a 1968 exhibition indicated that the book was first published in three simultaneous editions in 1547: *Guillaume Budé* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 1968) at pp. X and 20–21.

10 See for instance Gueudet, 'Guillaume Budé', pp. 87–92; Marie-Madeleine de La Garanderie, 'Guillaume Budé, prosateur français. À propos de l'Institution du Prince', in *Prose et prosateurs de la Renaissance* (Paris: CDU-SEDES, 1988), pp. 39–47; Mireille Huchon, 'Rabelais, les universités et la mobilité: les phantasmes du Pantagruel à des fins de propagande', in Michel Bideaux and Marie-Madeleine Fragonard (eds.), *Les échanges entre universités européennes à la Renaissance* (Geneva: Droz, 2003), pp. 143–158. A number of M. Huchon's other articles also refer to this.

few deal with the publishing history in any detail. The 'errors' present in both the Lyon and Larrivour editions seem to be proof of the poor quality of some of the work carried out outside Paris.

The problem is that this is simply not true. The printers were Denis de Harsy in Lyon and Nicole Paris in Troyes, both well-established master typographers. The abnormalities noted by scholars should not simply be seen as indicative of poor practice. The discrepancies between what one might have expected to find in the Lyon and Larrivour editions and what is actually to be found should be treated as clues. That they have not been analysed fully until now is symptomatic of the limited impact of material bibliography in the world of francophone scholarship. By gathering together these clues and delving into the context of the editions' production, we can use bibliographic analysis to help us interpret and rewrite comprehensively the earlier publishing history of Guillaume Budé's *Institution du prince*.

The Denis De Harsy and Guillaume Gazeau Lyon Edition

Tesmoignage de || TEMPS, OV ENSEI- || GNEMENS ET ENHOR- || TEMENS POVR L'IN- || STITVTION || D'VN || PRINCE. || [Fleuron] || Composé par Feu maistre Guillaume BVDE' || Conseiller du Roy, & Maistre des Re- || questes ordinaire de son Hostel. || A LYON, || PAR GVILLAVME GAZEAV. || M.D. XLVII.

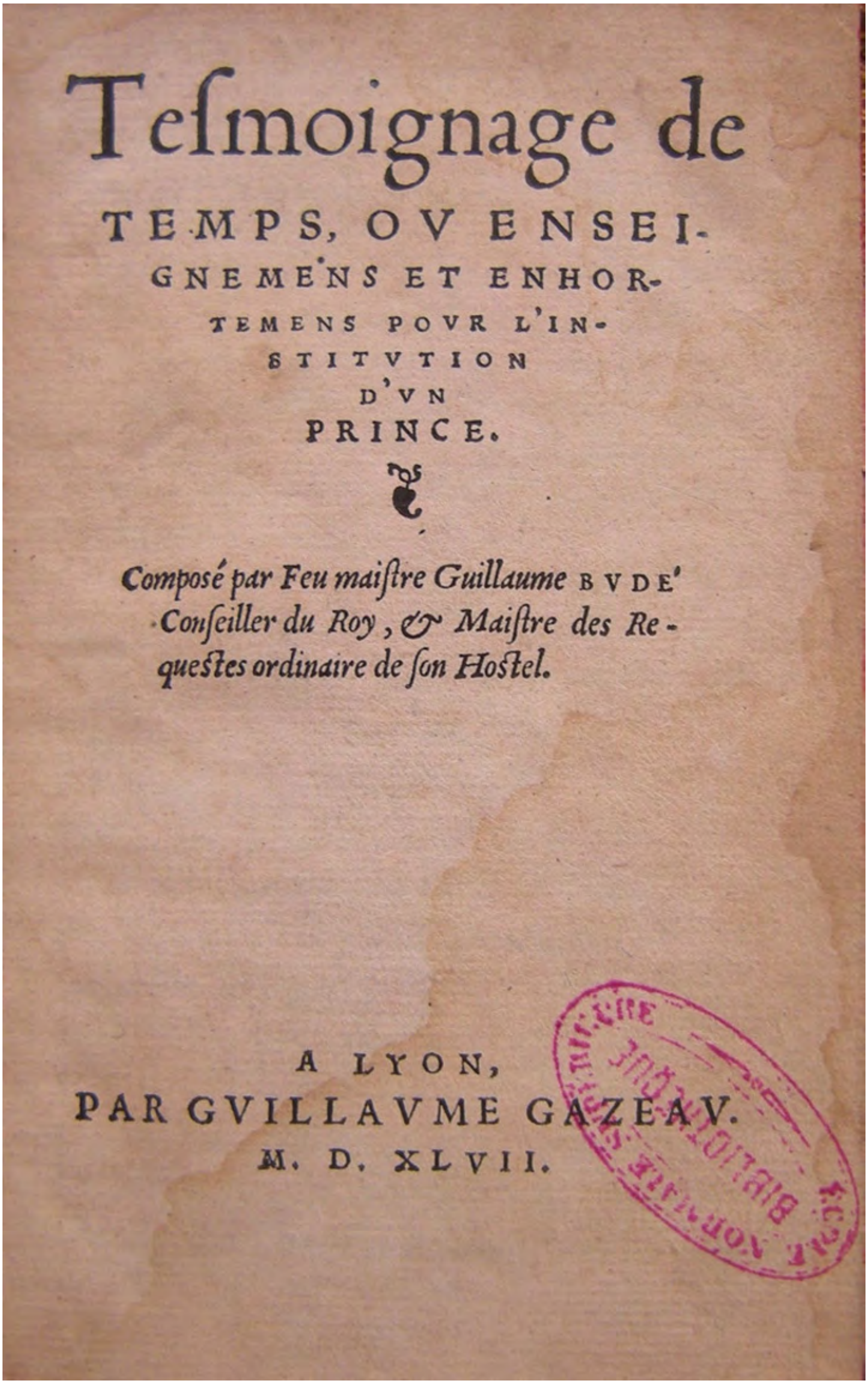
8o; ff. 103 [1]; a-n^8.

The Lyon edition of Budé's work exists in only one variant that names the printer Denis de Harsy in the colophon (ill. 11.1) and bookseller Guillaume Gazeau on the title page (ill. 11.2).[11] It was printed in octavo and required thirteen sheets of paper per copy.[12] This edition is known thanks to seven surviving copies spread throughout Europe and in one copy in the British Library that is now unfortunately destroyed.[13] All the surviving copies, with the exception of the Aberdeen copy that is incomplete, have the exact same title page. The only exception would seem to be the copy held in the University library of the

11 USTC 306; see also Andrew Pettegree, Malcolm Walsby and Alexander Wilkinson, *FB: French Vernacular Books. A Bibliography of Books Published in the French Language Before 1601* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), no. 7814.

12 The signatures run from a through n in eights, and the book is foliated from 2 through 103 with a blank at the end.

13 Aberdeen University Library, Drummond 816; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Pol g 139; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Rés. P F 21; Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 8o S 3873; Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Ecole Normale Supérieure, Lettres Ulm, Rés. XV–X S G ip 414 120; Reims, Bibliothèque municipale, Rés. P 312 and Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, *35 S 125. London, British Library, 8009 a 39.



Teſmoignage de
TEMPS, OV ENSEI-
GNEMENS ET ENHOR-
TEMENS POVR L'IN-
STITVTION
D'VN
PRINCE.

Composé par Feu maiſtre Guillaume BVDE'
Conſeiller du Roy, & Maiſtre des Re-
queſtes ordinaire de ſon Hoſtel.

A LYON,
PAR GVILLAVME GAZEAV.
M. D. XLVII.

ILLUSTRATION 11.2 *Title page of the Guillaume Gazeau issue of 1547*
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Sorbonne as its online catalogue states that their copy is dated 1544. Inspection of the copy, however, reveals the date on the title page of the Sorbonne copy has been tampered with. The original ink has been scratched out and rather crudely replaced with the earlier date. There can be no doubt that the Sorbonne exemplar is exactly similar to all other surviving copies of the Lyon edition of the text and that the title page originally bore the date 1547.

As mentioned earlier, this date contrasts with that indicated in the colophon of the edition on n$_8$*r* which states that the book was: "IMPRIME A LYON, PAR DENYS DE HARSY. M.D. XLIIII". Delaruelle's suggestion that the compositor in charge of setting up the colophon simply misread his orders and prepared "M.D. XLIIII" instead of "M.D. XLVII" is visually clever and superficially attractive. But the proposed explanation does not hold up to scrutiny. By assigning the same date to both the title page and the colophon, Delaruelle implies that there was a single issue of the text. The book would have been printed in its entirety by Denis de Harsy in 1547. An examination of the typographic elements of the surviving editions, however, leads us to question this conclusion.

The vast majority of the edition is typographically coherent. From gathering b onwards, the printer set up the edition using a modest set of characters and ornate letters. This uniformity in presentation and typography was applied to most of the prologue and all the text of the *Institution*, here split up into chapters that present the constituent apophthegms by author, and a short index. In all these parts, the printer selected a small type, corresponding in contemporary French nomenclature to a Roman letter *Cicero* of 82 mm for twenty lines.[14] This choice of a dense and small type allowed the printer to set up the text using as little paper as possible for each copy, though this did not mean that the book was produced without care. The printer employed a selection of ornate letters, integrated some Greek type and included numerous marginal comments to facilitate the reader's perusal of the text. Additionally, he often ended chapters by carefully laying out the text in a V shape in order to fill the bottom of a page and ensure that the following chapter began at the top of a subsequent page.[15]

14 On these typefaces see the work of Hendrik D.L. Vervliet: *French Renaissance Printing Types. A Conspectus* (London: Bibliographical Society, 2010) and his *The Palaeotypography of the French Renaissance. Selected Papers on Sixteenth-century Typefaces* (Leiden: Brill, 2008).

15 See, for instance, the final page of the prologue on d$_3$*v* or the end of the chapters devoted to Philipp of Macedonia (f$_5$*r*) or Antioch, King of Syria (h$_2$*r*). In all, this V-shaped layout occurs thirteen times.

The first gathering is very different. The dedication is printed in a much larger font than that used in the rest of the volume. The printer chose a Roman type that covered 116 mm per twenty lines, making this text stand out compared to the denser main text. Even in the first four pages of the author's prologue, the type chosen was different to that of the rest of the prologue. Here the smaller *Cicero* type enabled the printer to insert twenty lines every 90 mm. The choice of this slightly larger type meant that it was impossible to accommodate as many lines per page; the last four pages of the first gathering comprise 30 lines of text, whilst the pages in the body of the text have 32. In order to include as many characters on the initial pages of the prologue as on the later pages, this loss was compensated by the widening of the column devoted to the text; the width of the column in the gathering a was three millimetres longer than in gathering b.[16]

This change in typography and page layout is particularly visible in the prologue. The inevitable juxtaposition of the type used on a_8v and b_1r makes the changes obvious to the naked eye (ill. 11.3). A further discrepancy between the first gathering and the rest of the volume is the choice of ornate letters. The later letters are woodcuts with the shape of the letter cut out from the woodblock so that they were not inked. In contrast, the two ornate letters in the first gathering were made by following a different process. Though they both sought to match the later initials by presenting the letter in white, they were metalcuts, the background being created by *manière criblée* obtained by using a hand punch (ill. 11.4).

All of these differences mark out the first gathering as abnormal. The first thing to note is that it was undoubtedly printed some time later than the rest of the book. The printer of the gathering was clearly trying to mimic the layout, type and ornate letters used during the creation of the original volume. Here, the fact that he did not have access to the same material as the first printer made his attempt somewhat clumsy and left sufficient clues for the modern bibliographer. This evidence is reinforced by the change in the quality of the paper that had been selected. Though the format of the book has made the identification of the papermaker impossible, we are clearly dealing with reams from different paper mills.[17] The paper used to print the first gathering is softer and less rigid than that employed in the rest of the volume.

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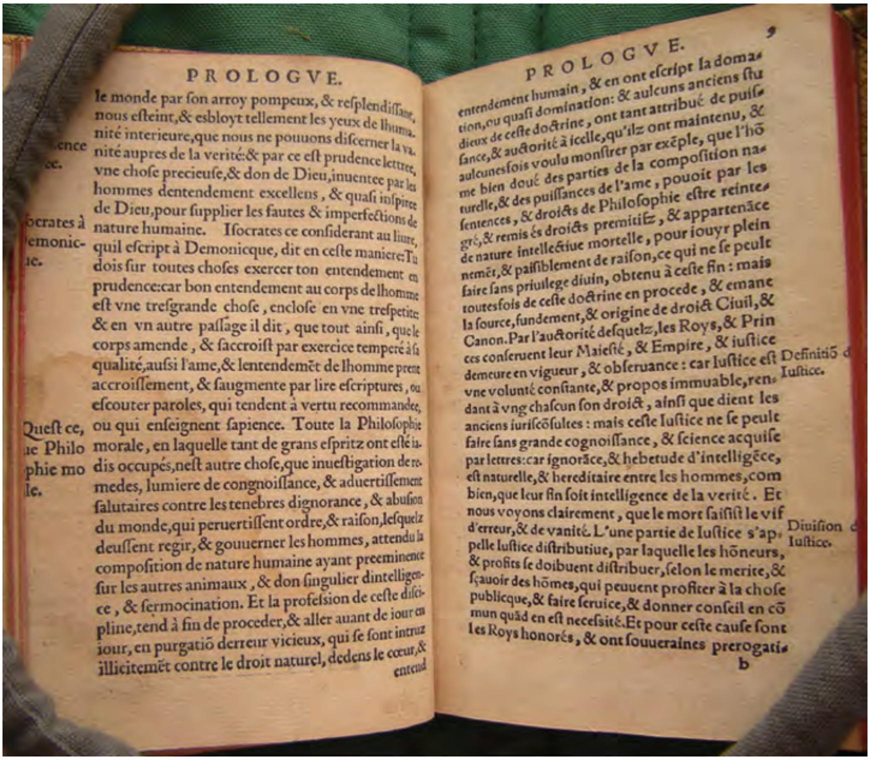
16 The measurements are respectively 77 and 74 mm.

17 The paper's watermark would have given the bibliographer a clear indication of by whom and where the paper had been made. Unfortunately, as the book is an octavo, the watermark would have been situated in the corner of the folded paper and in the process of binding it has been cut off. This is a common problem for this type of format; see Philip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), p. 106.



PROLOGVE.

le monde par son arroy pompeux, & resplendissant,
nous esteint,& esbloyt tellement les yeux de l'huma-
nité interieure,que nous ne pouuons discerner la va-
nité aupres de la verité:& par ce est prudence lettree,
vne chose precieuse,& don de Dieu,inuentee par les
hommes dentendement excellens, & quasi inspirez
de Dieu,pour supplier les fautes & imperfections de
nature humaine. Isocrates ce considerant au liure,
quil escript à Demonicque, dit en ceste maniere:Tu
dois sur toutes choses exercer ton entendement en
prudence:car bon entendement au corps de lhomme
est vne tresgrande chose, enclose en vne trespetite:
& en vn autre passage il dit, que tout ainsi, que le
corps amende, & saccroist par exercice temperé à sa
qualité,aussi l'ame,& lentendemēt de lhomme prent
accroissement, & saugmente par lire escriptures, ou
escouter paroles, qui tendent à vertu recommandee,
ou qui enseignent sapience. Toute la Philosophie
morale, en laquelle tant de grans esprits ont esté ia-
dis occupés,nest autre chose,que inuestigation de re-
medes, lumiere de congnoissance, & aduertissement
salutaires contre les tenebres dignorance, & abusion
du monde,qui peruertissent ordre,& raison,lesquelz
deussent regir, & gouuerner les hommes, attendu la
composition de nature humaine ayant preeminence
sur les autres animaux, & don singulier dintelligen-
ce, & sermocination. Et la profession de ceste disci-
pline,tend à fin de proceder,& aller auant de iour en
iour, en purgatiō derreur vicieux, qui se sont intruz
illicitemēt contre le droit naturel, dedens le cœur,&
entend

...ence
...ce.

...crates à
Demonic-
que.

Quest ce,
que Philo
phie mo
le.

PROLOGVE. 9

entendement humain, & en ont escript la doma-
tion,ou quasi domination: & aulcuns anciens stu-
dieux de ceste doctrine, ont tant attribué de puis-
sance,& auctorité à icelle,qu'ilz ont maintenu, &
aulcunesfois voulu monstrer par exēple, que l'hō-
me bien doué des parties de la composition na-
turelle,& des puissances de l'ame, pouoit par les
sentences, & droicts de Philosophie estre reinte-
gré,& remis és droicts premitifz, & appartenāce
de nature intellectiue mortelle, pour iouyr plein-
nemēt,& paisiblement de raison,ce qui ne se peult
faire sans priuilege diuin, obtenu à ceste fin: mais
toutesfois de ceste doctrine en procede, & emane
la source,fundement,& origine de droict Ciuil,&
Canon.Par l'auctorité desquelz,les Roys,& Prin
ces conseruent leur Maiesté, & Empire, & iustice
demeure en vigueur, & obseruance: car Iustice est
vne volunté constante,& propos immuable,ren-
dant à vng chascun son droict, ainsi que dient les
anciens iuriscōsultes: mais ceste Iustice ne se peult
faire sans grande cognoissance, & science acquise
par lettres:car ignorāce,& hebetude d'intelligēce,
est naturelle,& hereditaire entre les hommes,com
bien,que leur fin soit intelligence de la verité. Et
nous voyons clairement, que le mort saisist le vif
d'erreur,& de vanité. L'une partie de Iustice s'ap-
pelle Iustice distributiue, par laquelle les hōneurs,
& profits se doibuent distribuer,selon le merite,&
sçauoir des hōmes,qui peuuent profiter à la chose
publicque,& faire seruice,& donner conseil en cō
mun quād en est necessité.Et pour ceste cause sont
les Roys honorés, & ont souueraines prerogati-
b

Definitiō d
Iustice.

Diuision d
Iustice.

ILLUSTRATION 11.3 *Pages a$_8$v and b$_1$r of the Guillaume Gazeau issue*
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The materials used offer incontrovertible proof that the two parts of the book were not printed together. But there is also convincing proof that the initial gathering was printed by another workshop. The clues left by the compositorial habits of the workshops show that the formes were set up differently. In the printing of the body of the text, the compositor used catch words sparingly: they are only to be found at the bottom of the last page of each gathering. The compositor of the preliminary gathering was far more enthusiastic and included them on every page. Similarly, they had a different approach with regard to orthography and the use of abbreviations. The first compositor made abundant use of them, whilst the second chose to omit letters far more infrequently. The comparative size of the printed marginalia highlights another difference of approach: in the first gathering the marginalia are of the same size as the main type, but in the rest of the volume considerably smaller. Finally, as we have noted, the first compositor adopted a V-shaped end to his chapters when he wished to make the text spread further down a page. Yet in the first gathering, the compositor chose to employ an hour glass layout – the only time this is done in the volume.

The first gathering was therefore printed after the rest of the volume and by a different workshop. In this regard, we should be inclined to follow the printed evidence and conclude that the vast majority of the text, from gathering b onwards, was printed by Denis de Harsy in 1544.[18] This is confirmed by an analysis of the typographic material, as the ornate letters employed here are also to be found in other Harsy imprints.[19] The first gathering, on the other hand, was printed for the Lyon bookseller Guillaume Gazeau three years later by a different printer; Gazeau was the publisher but did not print the work himself. The clues as to the identity of the second printer are also hidden in the bibliographical analysis of the material used and the compositorial practices. Together, they offer a strong indication of who had undertaken the job of creating the sixteen new pages that Gazeau needed to sell Budé's text under his own name.

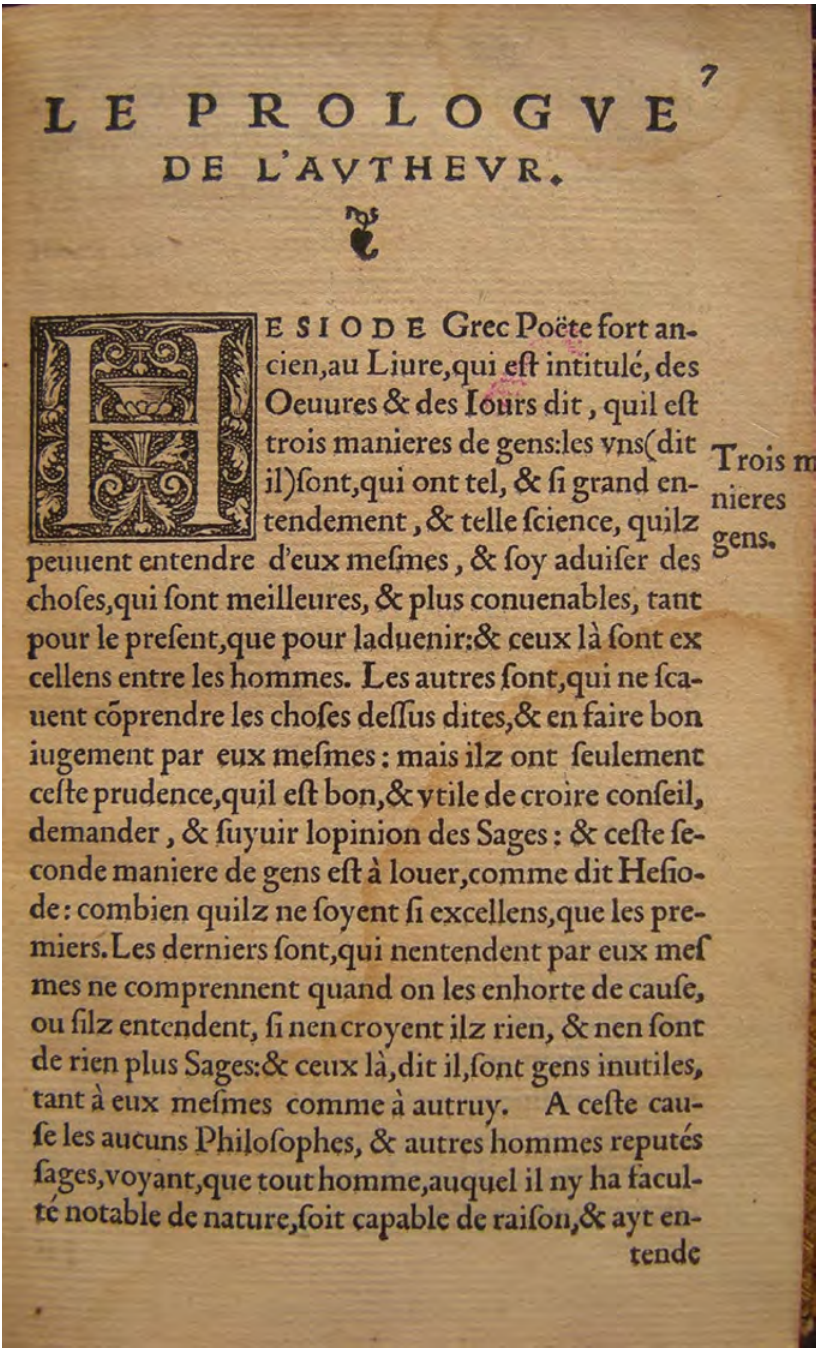
The clearest indication of who might have printed the first gathering comes from the two ornate letters. The metalcut H and S that appear respectively on a_7*r* and a_2*r* belong to the alphabets cut for the Lyon printer Jean I de Tournes (1504–1564) (ill. 11.4).[20] The set comprised three different sizes, 57 × 57, 41 × 41 and 26 × 26 millimetres; our two initials belong to the smallest alphabet.[21] The identification of the printer is consistent with the date of the title page.

18 This variant is enumerated separately in the USTC under the number 79980 (see also Pettegree, Walsby and Wilkinson, *FB: French Vernacular Books,* no. 7809). This is also the case in Yvonne de la Perrière, *Supplément provisoire à la bibliographie lyonnaise du président Baudrier, fasc. 1*, (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1967) no. 65, p. 19 and in Sybille von Gültlingen, *Bibliographie des livres imprimés à Lyon au seizième siècle* (Baden-Baden: V. Koerner, 1992–2012), vol. IV, p. 137, no 124.

19 For instance see the A on E_6 and F_3*r* that is also in Josse Clicthove's *Introductiones artificiales in logicam collectae, ac familiari commentatio declaratae* (Lyon: Denis de Harsy for the heirs of Simon Vincent, 1538) (USTC 157252) at e_3*r* or the C on k_3*v* that is also in Nicolas de Bohier's *Prima pars aurearum decisionum in sacro Burdegalensium Senatu seu Regio parlamento olim discussarum ac promulgatarum quae diligentia et opera nuper recognitae, summariis quoque et indice* (Lyon: Denis de Harsy for Michel Parmentier and Jean-François de Gabiano, 1544) (USTC 149233) on c_5*r*.

20 This identification was made by using the BaTyR (Base de typographie de la Renaissance) database developed by Rémi Jimenes and hosted by the website of the "Bibliothèques Virtuelles Humanistes" of the CESR (University François-Rabelais, Tours), online: <http://www.bvh.univ-tours.fr/materiel_typo.asp>. The ornate S is identical to the one used in the edition of Jean Froissart's chronicles printed by Jean I de Tournes, a multivolume work published between 1559 and 1561 (see USTC 1171).

21 See Alfred Cartier, *Bibliographie des éditions des de Tournes, imprimeurs lyonnais* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 1937–1938), I, pp. 58–59.



7

LE PROLOGVE
DE L'AVTHEVR.

HESIODE Grec Poëte fort ancien, au Liure, qui eſt intitulé, des Oeuures & des Iours dit, quil eſt trois manieres de gens: les vns (dit il) ſont, qui ont tel, & ſi grand entendement, & telle ſcience, quilz peuuent entendre d'eux meſmes, & ſoy aduiſer des choſes, qui ſont meilleures, & plus conuenables, tant pour le preſent, que pour laduenir: & ceux là ſont excellens entre les hommes. Les autres ſont, qui ne ſcauent cõprendre les choſes deſſus dites, & en faire bon iugement par eux meſmes: mais ilz ont ſeulement ceſte prudence, quil eſt bon, & vtile de croire conſeil, demander, & ſuyuir lopinion des Sages: & ceſte ſeconde maniere de gens eſt à louer, comme dit Heſiode: combien quilz ne ſoyent ſi excellens, que les premiers. Les derniers ſont, qui nentendent par eux meſmes ne comprennent quand on les enhorte de cauſe, ou ſilz entendent, ſi nen croyent ilz rien, & nen ſont de rien plus Sages: & ceux là, dit il, ſont gens inutiles, tant à eux meſmes comme à autruy. A ceſte cauſe les aucuns Philoſophes, & autres hommes reputés ſages, voyant, que tout homme, auquel il ny ha faculté notable de nature, ſoit capable de raiſon, & ayt entende

Trois m nieres gens.

ILLUSTRATION 11.4 *Ornate letter from the Guillaume Gazeau issue, f. a$_7$r*
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The ornate letters were used by Jean I de Tournes in other volumes he printed in this period: the H is to be found in his edition of Claude Paradin's *Memoriae nostrae* and the S in Charles Fontaine's translation of Artemidorus Daldianus's *Oneirocritica*.[22]

The dating is also consistent with what we know about the printer and the publisher. Jean I de Tournes's career as a master printer began in 1542 in Lyon where, over the following decades, he set up one of the most successful printing and publishing businesses of the mid-sixteenth century. Guillaume Gazeau, on the other hand, was principally known as a publisher and a bookseller. His career as a publisher began in 1547 and was dominated by his partnership with the de Tournes workshop which accounted for over 90% of his production. His marriage to Jean de Tournes's daughter in 1545 in part explains the strength of this relationship.[23] Gazeau did on occasion work with other printers during this period, but such partnerships remained very much the exception rather than the rule.[24] All this reinforces our previous conclusions, but also adds a further dimension: Guillaume Gazeau could not have been involved in the original 1544 edition. At that date he was not active as a publisher. He must have simply bought up the stock and had Jean I de Tournes print a new first gathering in order to market the volumes as a new edition.

Denis de Harsy therefore undertook the printing for a different publisher. Unfortunately, there are very few clues as to who this might have been. Harsy was a prolific printer and, between 1522 and 1555, he is known to have been involved in the production of over two hundred editions. During these three decades, he produced both large Latin scholarly works and more literary vernacular texts. The importance and variety of his output meant that he was willing to work with a great many different booksellers; only occasionally did he seek to market directly the volumes that he printed.[25] In 1544, year in which he printed Budé's text, Harsy provided books for Jean and François Frellon (1 title), Antoine Vincent (4 titles), Michel Parmentier and Jean-François de Gabiano

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22 Claude Paradin, *Memoriae nostrae libri quatuor* (Lyon: Jean I de Tournes, 1548) (USTC 150083) and Artemidorus Daldianus, *Epitome des trois premiers livres d'Artemidore traictant des songes* (Lyon: Jean I de Tournes, 1546) (USTC 39229).

23 Cartier, *Bibliographie des éditions des de Tournes,* I, p. 8.

24 We have only been able to identify eight instances in which this happened: USTC 6771, 37878, 79597, 130013, 150622, 151062, 154723 and 199838.

25 On the diversity and varying nature of Harsy's output, see Clément Brot, 'Quand la "presse" écrit : l'officine lyonnaise de Denys de Harsy, imprimeur libraire à la marque de Dédale', in Edwige Keller-Rahbe (ed.), *Les Arrière-boutiques de la littérature. Auteurs et imprimeurs-libraires aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles* (Toulouse: Presses universitaires du Mirail, 2010), pp. 23–36.

(3 titles). All these were religious or legal texts printed in Latin; the only other vernacular imprints that year were two histories of Troy that Harsy produced for his own account.[26]

Could Denis de Harsy have envisaged marketing Budé's text himself? It seems unlikely that, having printed the text himself, he then decided to sell his stock and did not offer to print a new first gathering for Guillaume Gazeau. It is perhaps more pertinent to look at Harsy's main partner when printing in French: the bookseller Romain Morin. As a bookseller, Morin seems to have worked principally as a subsidiary shop for the successful Parisian bookseller Galiot du Pré, but he also had a modest career as a publisher.[27] This began in 1516 and, over the following three decades, he is known to have been associated with the production of approximately 70 editions. From 1531 onwards, he worked exclusively in Lyon with Denis de Harsy and commissioned only works in French. The relationship was also important for Harsy: he worked for Morin more than for any other publisher when printing in French, though their total output remained relatively modest. Their business ties went beyond those shared by a printer and a publisher since there is archival evidence that Harsy lived in a house owned by Morin.[28]

The publications that were produced by this partnership share some of the physical characteristics of Harsy's edition of the *Institution du prince*. The books were all printed in an octavo format and contained approximately the same number of gatherings.[29] The main difference is that these collaborative editions were richly illustrated with woodcuts.[30] Perhaps the most interesting circumstantial evidence with regard to the Budé edition derives from the date

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26 These titles were *La destruction de Troye la grande* and *Le recueil des histoires de Troye*, respectively USTC 40379 and 24288. Both title pages indicate that the copies were to be sold by Harsy: "On les vend à Lyon chez Denys de Harsy".

27 See Lucien Febvre, 'Une histoire obscure, la publication du "Cymbalum Mundi"', *Revue du seizième siècle*, 17 (1930), pp. 1–41.

28 See the registers of the possessions of the inhabitants of Lyon, AM Lyon, CC 24 (cited in Paul Ducourtieux, *Les Barbou imprimeurs, Lyon-Limoges-Paris* (*1524–1820*) (Limoges: Ducourtieux, 1896), p. 71). Romain Morin paid the considerable sum of 100 *livres* in tax in 1545 when the city needed to raise 48 000 *livres*, AM Lyon, CC 40.

29 On average, their editions required just fewer than 15 sheets of paper – the Lyon edition of Budé's text required 13 sheets.

30 Most of these editions are included in William Kemp's analysis of Morin's output: 'Les petits livres français illustrés de Romain Morin (1530–1532) et leurs dérivés immédiats' in Antonio Possenti and Giulia Mastrangelo (eds.), *Il Rinascimento a Lione. Atti del Congresso Internazionale di Macerata, 6–11 maggio 1985* (Rome: Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 1988), I, pp. 465–525.

at which Romain Morin ceased to be active as a publisher (1547). Though he only died in 1560, it offers a narrative that can explain the timing of the reuse of the gatherings b through n by Guillaume Gazeau: Gazeau could have bought the sheets from the bookseller. But none of Morin's production dealt with texts similar to the *Institution* and the partnership with Harsy was heavily dominated by a much earlier flurry of publications. Certainly, it seems highly unlikely that Morin was the main instigator behind the choice of this text and the necessary editorial work.

The Nicole Paris Larrivour Edition

[Ornate frame] || DE || Linstitution du || Prince || Liure contenant plusieurs Histoires, En- || seignements, & saiges Dicts des Anciens || tant Grecs que Latins: || Faict & composé par Maistre Guil- || laume Budé, lors Secretaire & mai- || stre de la Librairie, & depuis Maistre || des Requestes, et Conseiller du Roy. || Reueu, enrichy d'Arguments, diuisé par || Chapitres, & augmenté de Scholies & An- || notations, Par hault & puissant Seigneur, || Missire Iean de Luxembourg, Abbé d'Iury || Imprimé à l'Arriuour Abbaye dudict Seigneur, || Par Maistre Nicole Paris. || 1547 || Auec priuilege du Roy, pour cinq ans. (ill. 11.5)

2o; pp. 204 [12]; A-S^{6}.

In many respects the edition of Budé's *Institution du prince* printed by Nicole Paris is very different to the Lyon edition printed by Denis de Harsy. Though the meaning of the text is the same, the wording has been completely revised. This version is further from the earlier known manuscript copies of the *Institution* than the Lyon edition. Delaruelle was dismissive of its intellectual value and, as such, only devoted limited space to its analysis.[31] And yet, for scholars who wish to gauge the impact of the text, this is a mistake. Whatever its literary merits, the Nicole Paris edition was far more influential than any other version of the text. This edition has a far better survival rate than other contemporary impressions: we have been able to track down no fewer than 47 extant copies in public libraries. In addition, analysis of the provenance of these volumes demonstrates that this was the edition that was owned (and possibly read) by the most influential and powerful in early modern Europe.

The relative importance of this edition was obvious from the speed at which it was acquired by individuals as powerful as the king of England. The British Library has a copy bound in a beautiful Renaissance polychrome binding

31 He wrote that the edition should be "rejetée dans l'ombre": Delaruelle, p. 245.

Collegij Metensis Societatis Jesu

DE
Linſtitution du
Prince

Liure contenant pluſieurs Hiſtoires, Enſeignements, & ſaiges Dicts des Anciens tant Grecs que Latins:

Faict & composé par Maiſtre Guillaume Budé, lors Secretaire & maiſtre de la Librairie, & depuis Maiſtre des Requeſtes, et Conſeiller du Roy.

Reueu, enrichy d'Arguments, diuisé par Chapitres, & augmenté de Scholies & Annotations, Par hault & puiſſant Seigneur, Miſsire Iean de Luxembourg, Abbé d'Iury

Imprimé à l'Arriuour Abbaye dudict Seigneur, Par Maiſtre Nicole Paris. 1547

Auec priuilege du Roy, pour cinq ans.

ILLUSTRATION 11.5 *Title page of the 1547 Nicole Paris issue*
© Folger Shakespeare Library [217–125f]

executed for Edward VI.[32] The Larrivour edition retained its importance into the seventeenth century as is demonstrated, for instance, by the exemplar bound for Henry IV's second son, Gaston d'Orléans. His copy, now in the *Bibliothèque nationale de France*, has the arms of the Duke and, from the early institutional stamp, seems to have entered the royal collection soon after.[33] A further copy, now in an undisclosed private library, was originally owned by Louis XIII as is testified by the book's binding that features the king's arms as well as those of his mother, Marie de Medici.[34] The dating of the binding to 1620–1630 as well as the presence of both the arms of the king and of his mother would indicate that the book was bought in Louis's formative years and could have played a role in his education. Another seventeenth-century figure at the head of the French state to own a copy was Cardinal Mazarin whose copy is still in his collection today.[35] Other copies undoubtedly made their way into the hands of the early modern European aristocracy and ecclesiastical hierarchy, as is illustrated by the exemplars owned in the late sixteenth century by Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford (1539–1621), Arthur Throckmorton (–1626), councillor of Elizabeth I, and Cardinal Girolamo Della Rovere (1528–1592).[36]

If the Lyon and the Larrivour editions have different texts and experienced varying levels of success both quantitatively (in terms of extant copies) and qualitatively (with regard to provenance marks from members of Europe's ruling elite), they do have one thing in common: their publishing history is surprisingly complex. And yet if one is to look at all extant scholarship mentioning the Larrivour edition, one finds a very simple story: there was a single issue which, bibliographically, has never attracted much attention. Close bibliographic analysis, however, reveals that the story of the Larrivour edition is far more complicated.

Hitherto scholars only knew of one version of the Larrivour edition that was dated 1547. During the research undertaken for the publication of the short title bibliography, *French Vernacular Books*, a variant was unearthed

32 This volume, shelfmark C 81 i 11, also features other less distinguished provenances (with thanks to David Shaw for sending on the book's bibliographical details). Edward died in 1553.

33 This exemplar is kept at the shelfmark Rés. E* 47.

34 See the description and the photo of the binding given in the catalogue of the *Vente Pierre Berès. 80 ans de passion. 4ème vente: Le cabinet des livres. Mardi 20 juin 2006* (Paris: Drouot Richelieu, 2006), pp. 28–30.

35 Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, 3713(1).

36 Respectively now in Cambridge, Emmanuel College Library (shelfmark 302 5 12), Magdelen College Library, Oxford (Arch B III 3 12) and in the university library in Turin (Biblioteca dell'Istituto di storia del diritto italiano Federico Patetta della Facoltà di giurisprudenza, 36 B 05).

in Leiden University Library with a different title page and the date 1546 (ill. 11.6).[37] Further research since then has led to the identification of a second copy in Turin.[38]

DE || LINSTITVTION || DV PRINCE, || Liure Contenant plusieurs Histoires tant Grecques || que Latins: Ensemble plusieurs enseignemens, & || saiges dicts des Anciens: || Faict & composé par Maistre Guillaume || Budé, Secretaire & Maistre de la Librairie || du Roy, Et reueu, & diuisé par Chapitres, & || augmenté d'Annotations, Par hault & || puissant Seigneur, Missire Iean de Luxem- || bourg, Abbé d'Iury, de la Riuou, & de || Salmoisy. || [device: ASCENDAM, ET APPRAEHENDAM FRVCTVS EIVS.] || A LA RIVOV, || Par le commandement dudict Seigneur. || 1546

In both cases, the colophon and the main text of the copies dated 1546 and 1547 were the same; only the preliminaries had changed. All the sheets involved in these variant versions were printed by Nicole Paris and, unlike the Harsy and Gazeau edition, there was only one printer involved in the Larrivour issues. This is confirmed not just by the consistency in the typeface employed and the layout of the pages, but also, for the 1546 issue, by the use of Paris's device on the title page. In the 1547 issue, the ornate letter H on [A_1v] and the ornamental header on the title page can also be found in his 1545 antiphonary.[39]

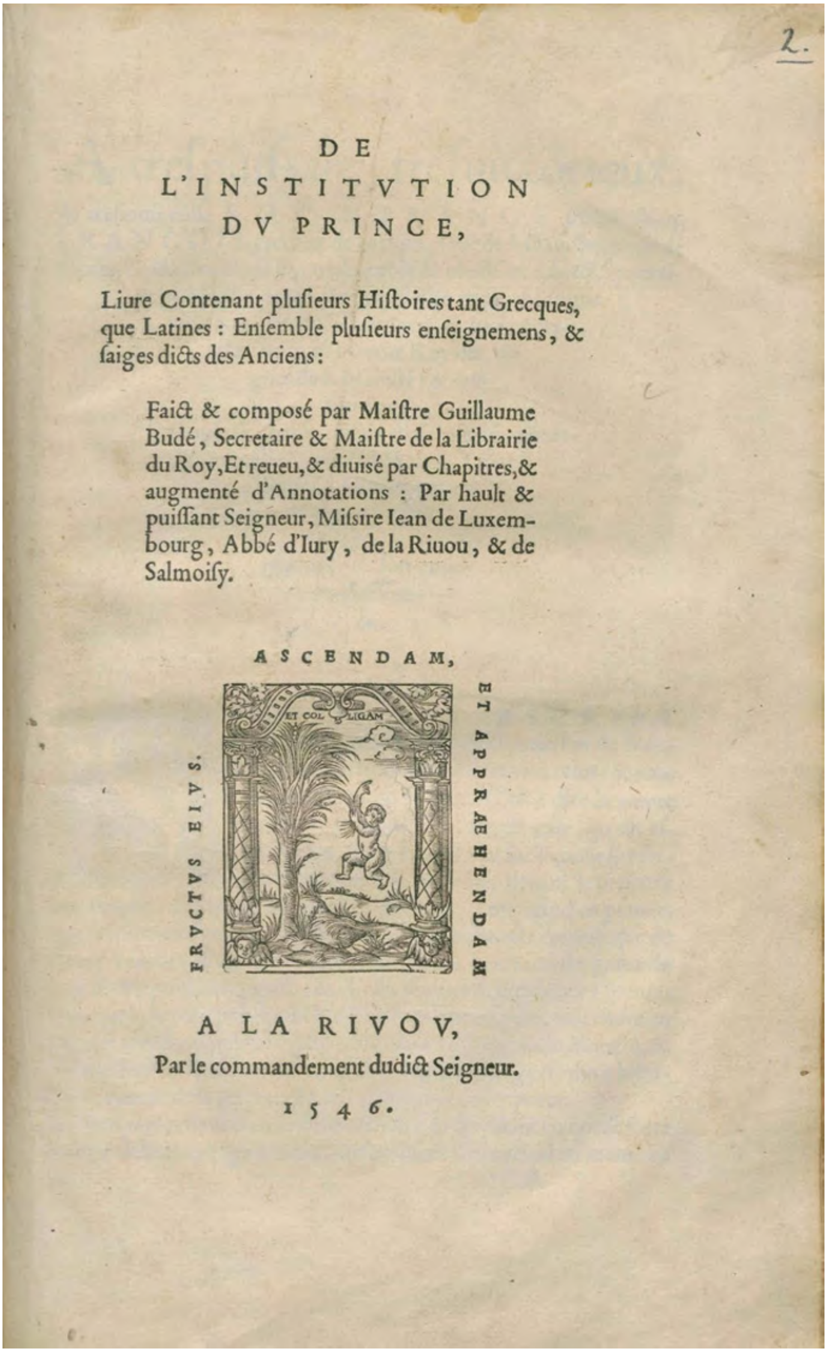
It was common practice in the sixteenth century for booksellers saddled with too much stock to reissue an edition with a more recent publication date in order to revive flagging sales. In the case of the Larrivour edition of Budé's text, there is evidence to prove that this was not the rationale that led to the creation of these different issues. First, the comparative survival rates are not consistent with such practice. Had the book simply been reissued, one would normally assume that the initial publication would have outsold (and therefore out-survived) the second issue. Certainly, one would not expect to find what we have in this case: two copies dated 1546 and 45 dated 1547.[40] Second, the differences are not limited to a change of date on the title page. If the mainstay of the text is the same (gatherings B through S), the first gathering of 1547 contains a preliminary poem absent in the 1546 issue (ills. 11.7 and 11.8). The final two pages of the preliminary address were completely reset, as was the title

37 Pettegree, Walsby and Wilkinson, *FB: French Vernacular Books,* no. 7811. The copy is to be found in Leiden Universiteitsbibliotheek at 20643 B 19 (2). Pierre Bayle, in his *Dictionnaire historique et critique* (Rotterdam: R. Leers, 1697), referred to this issue, but this was dismissed by Delaruelle ("elle ne s'est pas retrouvée de nos jours"): *Guillaume Budé,* p. 234.

38 Turin, Biblioteca dell'Istituto di storia del diritto italiano Federico Patetta della Facoltà di giurisprudenza dell'Università degli studi di Torino, 36 B 05.

39 See respectively folios 22 *recto* and 78 *recto* in his *Antiphonarium de tempore.*

40 This arithmetic includes the known private copy and two copies lacking their title pages but containing the same initial gathering as the 1547 edition.



2.

DE
L'INSTITVTION
DV PRINCE,

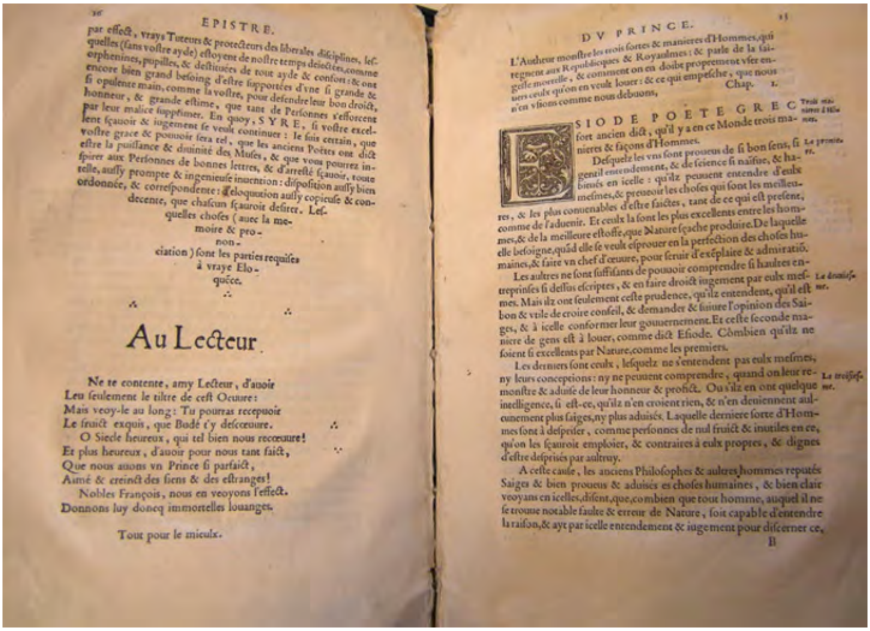
Liure Contenant pluſieurs Hiſtoires tant Grecques, que Latines : Enſemble pluſieurs enſeignemens, & ſaiges dicts des Anciens :

Faict & composé par Maiſtre Guillaume Budé, Secretaire & Maiſtre de la Librairie du Roy, Et reueu, & diuisé par Chapitres, & augmenté d'Annotations : Par hault & puiſſant Seigneur, Miſsire Iean de Luxembourg, Abbé d'Iury, de la Riuou, & de Salmoiſy.

ASCENDAM,
ET APPRAEHENDAM
FRVCTVS EIVS.
ET COL LIGAM

A LA RIVOV,
Par le commandement dudict Seigneur.
1546.

ILLUSTRATION 11.6 *Title page of the 1546 Nicole Paris issue*



36

EPISTRE.

par effect, vrays Tuteurs & protecteurs des liberales disciplines, lesquelles (sans vostre ayde) estoyent de nostre temps deiectées, comme orphenines, pupilles, & destituées de tout ayde & confort: & ont encore bien grand besoing d'estre supportées d'vne si grande & si opulente main, comme la vostre, pour defendre leur bon droict, honneur, & grande estime, que tant de Personnes s'efforcent par leur malice supprimer. En quoy, S Y R E, si vostre excellent sçauoir & iugement se veult continuer: Ie suis certain, que vostre grace & pouuoir sera tel, que les anciens Poëtes ont dict estre la puissance & diuinité des Muses, & que vous pourrez inspirer aux Personnes de bonnes lettres, & d'arresté sçauoir, toute telle, aussy prompte & ingenieuse inuention: disposition aussy bien ordonnée, & correspondente: d'eloquution aussy copieuse & condecente, que chascun sçauroit desirer. Lesquelles choses (auec la memoire & prononciation) sont les parties requises à vraye Eloquẽce.

Au Lecteur.

Ne te contente, amy Lecteur, d'auoir
Leu seulement le tiltre de cest Oeuure:
Mais veoy-le au long: Tu pourras recepuoir
Le fruict exquis, que Budé t'y descœuure.
O Siecle heureux, qui tel bien nous recœuure!
Et plus heureux, d'auoir pour nous tant faict,
Que nous auons vn Prince si parfaict,
Aimé & creinct des siens & des estranges!
Nobles François, nous en veoyons l'effect.
Donnons luy doncq immortelles louanges.

Tout pour le mieulx.

DV PRINCE. 13

L'Autheur monstre les trois sortes & manieres d'Hommes, qui regnent aux Republicques & Royaulmes: & parle de la saigesse mortelle, & comment on en doibt proprement vser enuers ceulx qu'on en veult louer: & ce qui empesche, que nous n'en vsions comme nous debuons, Chap. 1.

ESIODE POETE GREC fort ancien dict, qu'il y a en ce Monde trois manieres & façons d'Hommes. — Trois manieres d'Hommes.

Desquelz les vns sont proueus de si bon sens, si gentil entendement, & de science si naïfue, & habitués en icelle: qu'ilz peuuent entendre d'eulx mesmes, & preueoir les choses qui sont les meilleures, & les plus conuenables d'estre faictes, tant de ce qui est present, comme de l'aduenir. Et ceulx la sont les plus excellents entre les hommes, & de la meilleure estoffe, que Nature sçache produire. De laquelle elle besoigne, quãd elle se veult esprouer en la perfection des choses humaines, & faire vn chef d'œuure, pour seruir d'exẽplaire & admiratiõ. — La premiere.

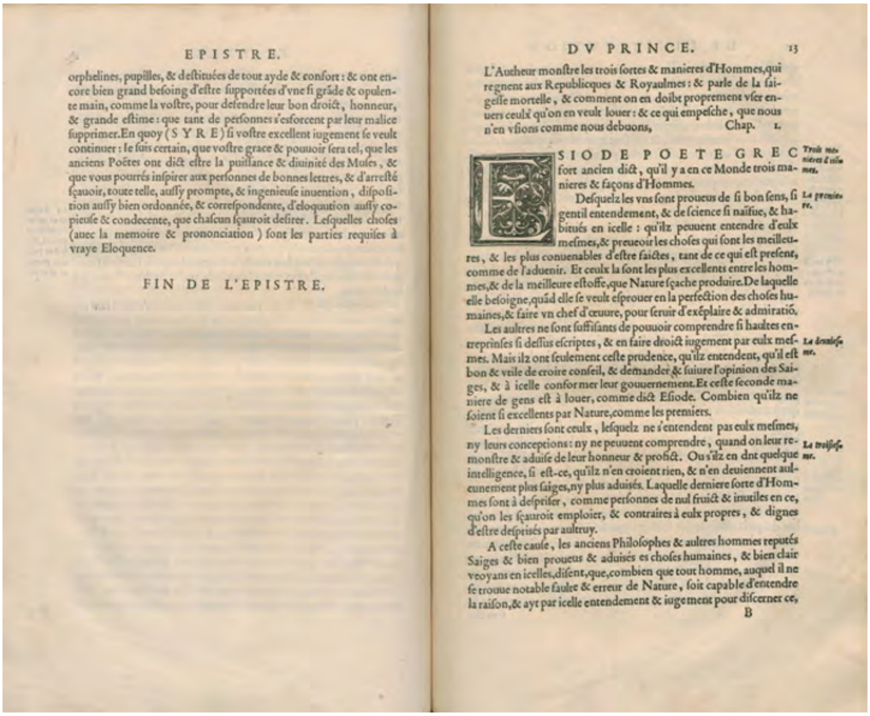
Les aultres ne sont suffisants de pouuoir comprendre si haultes entreprinses si dessus escriptes, & en faire droict iugement par eulx mesmes. Mais ilz ont seulement ceste prudence, qu'ilz entendent, qu'il est bon & vtile de croire conseil, & demander & suiure l'opinion des Saiges, & à icelle conformer leur gouuernement. Et ceste seconde maniere de gens est à louer, comme dict Esiode. Combien qu'ilz ne soient si excellents par Nature, comme les premiers. — La deuxiesme.

Les derniers sont ceulx, lesquelz ne s'entendent pas eulx mesmes, ny leurs conceptions: ny ne peuuent comprendre, quand on leur remonstre & aduise de leur honneur & proffict. Ou s'ilz en ont quelque intelligence, si est-ce, qu'ilz n'en croient rien, & n'en deuiennent aulcunement plus saiges, ny plus aduisés. Laquelle derniere sorte d'Hommes sont à despriser, comme personnes de nul fruict & inutiles en ce, qu'on les sçauroit emploier, & contraires à eulx propres, & dignes d'estre desprisés par aultruy. — La troisiesme.

A ceste cause, les anciens Philosophes & aultres hommes reputés Saiges & bien proueus & aduisés es choses humaines, & bien clair veoyans en icelles, disent, que, combien que tout homme, auquel il ne se trouue notable faulte & erreur de Nature, soit capable d'entendre la raison, & ayt par icelle entendement & iugement pour discerner ce,

B

ILLUSTRATION 11.7 *End of gathering A and start of gathering B in the 1547 Nicole Paris issue* © Bibliothèque municipale de Saint-Quentin [5944]



EPISTRE.

orphelines, pupilles, & destituées de tout ayde & confort: & ont encore bien grand besoing d'estre supportées d'vne si grãde & opulente main, comme la vostre, pour defendre leur bon droict, honneur, & grande estime: que tant de personnes s'esforcent par leur malice supprimer. En quoy (S Y R E) si vostre excellent iugement se veult continuer: Ie suis certain, que vostre grace & pouuoir sera tel, que les anciens Poëtes ont dict estre la puissance & diuinité des Muses, & que vous pourrés inspirer aux personnes de bonnes lettres, & d'arresté sçauoir, toute telle, aussy prompte, & ingenieuse inuention, disposition aussy bien ordonnée, & correspondente, d'eloquution aussy copieuse & condecente, que chascun sçauroit desirer. Lesquelles choses (auec la memoire & prononciation) sont les parties requises à vraye Eloquence.

FIN DE L'EPISTRE.

DV PRINCE. 13

L'Autheur monstre les trois sortes & manieres d'Hommes, qui regnent aux Republicques & Royaulmes: & parle de la saigesse mortelle, & comment on en doibt proprement vser enuers ceulx qu'on en veult louer: & ce qui empesche, que nous n'en vsions comme nous debuons, Chap. 1.

ESIODE POETE GREC fort ancien dict, qu'il y a en ce Monde trois manieres & façons d'Hommes. — Trois manieres d'Hommes.

Desquelz les vns sont proueus de si bon sens, si gentil entendement, & de science si naïfue, & habitués en icelle: qu'ilz peuuent entendre d'eulx mesmes, & preueoir les choses qui sont les meilleures, & les plus conuenables d'estre faictes, tant de ce qui est present, comme de l'aduenir. Et ceulx la sont les plus excellents entre les hommes, & de la meilleure estoffe, que Nature sçache produire. De laquelle elle besoigne, quãd elle se veult esprouer en la perfection des choses humaines, & faire vn chef d'œuure, pour seruir d'exẽplaire & admiratiõ. — La premiere.

Les aultres ne sont suffisants de pouuoir comprendre si haultes entreprinses si dessus escriptes, & en faire droict iugement par eulx mesmes. Mais ilz ont seulement ceste prudence, qu'ilz entendent, qu'il est bon & vtile de croire conseil, & demander & suiure l'opinion des Saiges, & à icelle conformer leur gouuernement. Et ceste seconde maniere de gens est à louer, comme dict Esiode. Combien qu'ilz ne soient si excellents par Nature, comme les premiers. — La deuxiesme.

Les derniers sont ceulx, lesquelz ne s'entendent pas eulx mesmes, ny leurs conceptions: ny ne peuuent comprendre, quand on leur remonstre & aduise de leur honneur & proffict. Ou s'ilz en dnt quelque intelligence, si est-ce, qu'ilz n'en croient rien, & n'en deuiennent aulcunement plus saiges, ny plus aduisés. Laquelle derniere sorte d'Hommes sont à despriser, comme personnes de nul fruict & inutiles en ce, qu'on les sçauroit emploier, & contraires à eulx propres, & dignes d'estre desprisés par aultruy. — La troisiesme.

A ceste cause, les anciens Philosophes & aultres hommes reputés Saiges & bien proueus & aduisés es choses humaines, & bien clair veoyans en icelles, disent, que, combien que tout homme, auquel il ne se trouue notable faulte & erreur de Nature, soit capable d'entendre la raison, & ayt par icelle entendement & iugement pour discerner ce,

B

ILLUSTRATION 11.8 *End of gathering A and start of gathering B in the 1546 Nicole Paris issue* © Leiden Universiteitsbibliotheek [20643 B19 (2)]

A trefpuifsant, trefuictorieux, & trefinuincible ROY de FRANCE trefchreftian, FRANCOIS premier de ce nom, Duc de Milan, Seigneur de Genes, Guillaume Budé fon treshumble & obeïffant fubiect, Secretaire, & Maiftre de fa Librairie, defire en fanté, longue vie, accroiffement d'honneur, & augmentation de toutes vertuz Royales, dignes de fa Maiefté : & que fon nom eftende fes clartés iufques au dernier cõmandement de l'vniuerfel Monde, Lequel doibt foubhaiter (pour fa plus grande felicité) dependre de fon entiere obeïffance.

SYRE, IL EST ESCRIPT au dixhuictiefme chapitre des Prouerbes de Salomon, Donum hominis, dilatat viam eius : & ante Principes, fpatium ei facit. C'eft à dire, la nature du don que prefente l'homme, eft telle, qu'elle eflargit le chemin, & le rend plus facile, pour luy feruir d'ouuerture a fe prefenter deuant la prefence des Princes. En lifant nagueres ce paffaige, il me veind en pensée, que ie ne pourroye prendre meilleur, ny plus honnefte confeil, que de fuiure l'authorité du Roy Salomon (qui a heu tant de grace de DIEV, pour congnoiftre les chofes diuines & humaines) & vous faire quelque petit prefent du fruict de mes labeurs, pour me rendre en ce, qui me feroit pofsible, plus congneu à voftre grande Maiefté, & infinie bonté : Et vous faire entendre le tefmoignaige de mon humble feruice, & de la perpetuelle obeïffance, que ie luy porte.

Parquoy, eftant en telle deliberation, & doubeant en quelle forte ie m'y debueroye gouuerner, incontinent il me veind en memoire

A

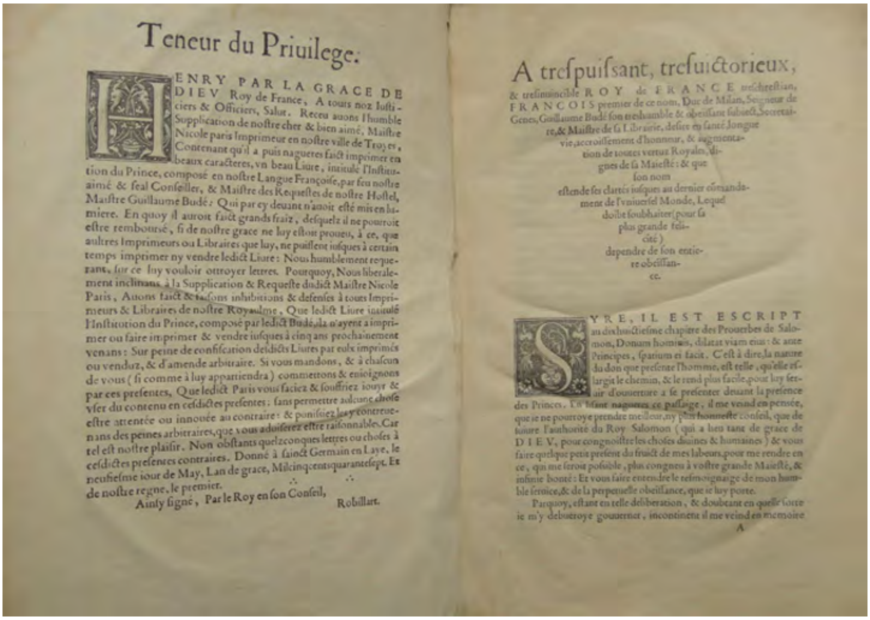
ILLUSTRATION 11.9 *Ff. A_1v and A_4r in the 1546 Nicole Paris issue*

page. The *verso* of the title page was blank in the 1546 issue, but the 1547 issue contained a royal privilege obtained by the printer (ills. 11.9 and 11.10). It is clear that the 1547 issue was a conscious attempt to change the content and the presentation of the initial gathering and not simply a commercial reissue of an edition that had failed to meet the sales expectations of a publisher.

In such circumstances, the A gathering requires close examination.[41] The first thing that strikes the modern bibliographer is the irregular structure of the gathering. In all surviving variations of this edition, it comprises only four folios despite the fact that the register printed above the colophon indicates that it should have six.[42] The signatures run [A^1], A^4, [A^5], [A^6], suggesting that there should have been two additional folios of paper inserted between the title page and A_4. This is further confirmed by the pagination which starts on

41 The peculiarities of the Larrivour edition are so numerous that they comfortably exceed the scope of this article and will be analysed in a further publication.

42 On S_6v, the register lists all the gatherings before indicating that they are 'Touts Ternes': i.e. using three sheets of paper, the equivalent of 6 folios or 12 pages when dealing with a folio format.


Teneur du Priuilege.

A tresfuissant, tresuictorieux,

ILLUSTRATION 11.10 *Ff. A_1v and A_4r in the 1547 Nicole Paris issue*
© Folger Shakespeare Library [217–125F]

B_1*r* at '13' as one would expect when following a gathering with six leaves, not four. In other words, two folios undoubtedly signed A_2 and A_3 have been removed from all existing issues. This suggests that there was an initial state with six folios and that, therefore, the 1546 issue was undoubtedly, at best, a second issue of the edition.

The plot thickens further when the binding of this gathering is considered. In surviving copies it is clear that A_4 and [A_5] are part of the same sheet that has been folded over to create the two folios (ill. 11.11). This sheet was part of the earlier issue and was reused in the 1546 and 1547 issues even though the signature given on the first page was clearly wrong. They are the only pages that have survived from an earlier version of the preliminary texts.[43] The fact that they are part of the same sheet poses a problem: in a folio book, a gathering bound in six should have the first and last, the second and fifth and the

43 All copies have two watermarks one with the arms of Troyes (Briquet 1038 to 1055) for gathering B to K and Q to S, the other with a crowned pot under a fleur-de-lys and a *quadrifolium* in gatherings K to P (similar to Briquet 12789). The first watermark was also used for paper of the title page and $A_{6/8}$ in the 1546 issue, but in the 1547 issue the printer used a watermark bearing the name of J. Nivelle under a fleur-de-lys (Briquet 7079), common in Troyes in 1547–1551.

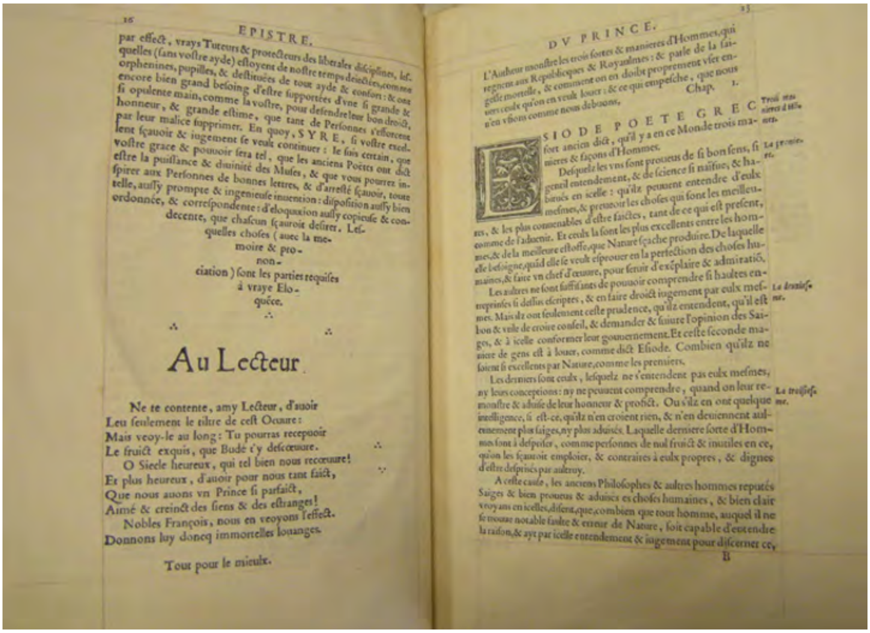


ILLUSTRATION 11.11 *Ff.* A_4v *and* A_5r *in the 1547 Nicole Paris issue*

third and fourth folios on the same sheet so that the gathering could be sown and added to the rest of the volume. The fourth and fifth sheets are only found together in a gathering with eight folios, not six (fig. 11.1).

This seems to indicate that a first version of the initial gathering was created with six folios (as indicated by the colophon), a second with eight, and then the 1546 and 1547 issues with four. Following this logic, two versions of the preliminaries might have been lost. Workshop practice in the sixteenth century suggests another solution. The preliminaries were, traditionally, the final part of the book to be completed.[44] It was possible to print the entirety of the rest of the volume before not only printing the preliminary material, but even before having all the text ready for the initial gathering or gatherings. It was therefore necessary to estimate the number of pages that would be covered by this material, in such circumstances, errors were easy to make.[45] With this in

44 This was, for instance, the case with Bertrand d'Argentré's *Histoire de Bretaigne*: when the censors stopped the presses the edition had been entirely printed with the exception of the preliminary matter. On this work's publication see Malcolm Walsby, *The Printed Book in Brittany, 1484–1600* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), pp. 117 and 132–133.

45 See for instance the first edition of Scévole de Sainte-Marthe's *Poemata* (Poitiers: Jean Blanchet, 1596) (USTC 110484). The pagination begins with the figure nine even though

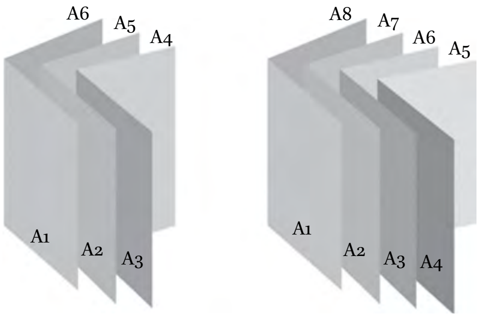


FIGURE 11.1
Structure of three sheet and four sheet gatherings

mind, it is possible that, despite what was suggested by the colophon, the initial gathering never did have six folios – the first version having eight instead. This would seem to be confirmed by the 1546 issue: if the initial few folios are not numbered, the folio [A_6] was numbered '15' and '16'.

The date of the original version of the Larrivour Budé is difficult to determine. The publication of the 1546 issue gives us a definite, if approximate, *terminus ante quem*, but a more precise dating we must turn to circumstantial evidence of Nicole Paris and Jean de Luxembourg's activity. After studying at the University of Paris, Nicole Paris spent the entirety of his career in Troyes.[46] Active as early as 1542, he initially concentrated production on well-known works, before later expanding his repertoire to include new texts. Paris was keen to make the most of local business opportunities, working in particular with members of the ecclesiastical hierarchy to produce a breviary for the use of Troyes as well as texts for the province of Sens.[47] He also worked for the Cistercians, printing a hugely ambitious antiphonary commissioned by the abbot of Clairvaux in 1545 – a large volume that employed rubricated printing throughout.[48] It was undoubtedly his proximity to the Cistercian order and the quality of this production that first brought him into contact with Jean de Luxembourg. Luxembourg was abbot of the Cistercian monastery of Larrivour,

there are twelve unpaginated pages (*4-**2) of preliminary material. This indicates that initially the publisher expected to have just eight pages worth of text.

46 See the entry on Paris in Georges Lepreux, *Gallia typographica ou répertoire biographique et chronologique de tous les imprimeurs de France depuis les origines de l'imprimerie jusqu'à la Révolution. Tome II. Provinces de Champagne et de Barrois* (Paris: H. Champion, 1911), p. 185.

47 *Breviarium Trecense* (Troyes: Nicole Paris, 1543) (USTC 111172) and *Decreta provincialis concilii Senonensis* (Troyes: Nicole Paris, 1546) (USTC 111176).

48 *Antiphonarium de tempore et de sanctis per totum anni circulum secundum usum Cisterciensis ordinis* (Troyes: Nicole Paris, 1545) (USTC 111175).

close to Troyes. An ambitious man, he had real pretentions as an author and sought to attach Paris to his cause.

The first tangible signs of this partnership come in the colophon of a book published in 1546 in which Paris describes himself as having recently become Luxembourg's official printer.[49] Luxembourg's interest in printing was such that he convinced Paris to print at his monastery. The title pages and colophons of a number of editions indicate that the printer made at least one prolonged visit to the abbey in the months that followed.[50] It has been suggested that this address was simply a mark of politeness on Paris's behalf and that the books were in reality printed in Troyes.[51] However, there is no evidence whatsoever that this was the case and the idea seems to be entirely based on an anachronistic understanding of the relationship. The fact that Paris also printed works for Luxembourg which he indicated had been printed in Troyes should suffice to refute this idea.[52] Paris seems to have spent part of 1546 in Larrivour before returning to Troyes where he continued his activity the following year.

This peripatetic period in Paris's career is very important to this study because Budé's *Institution du prince* was printed in Larrivour and this helps us date the initial issue. We know that Nicole Paris finished printing the Cistercian antiphonary in April 1545. At some time in 1546, he went to the abbey of Larrivour at Luxembourg's behest, but we do not know precisely when. The only accounts for the monastery that survive run from October 1546 to October 1547, though they do not refer to any printing activity there.[53] This in itself

49 The original phrase is "Imprimeur à present de hault et puissant seigneur, missire Jean de Luxembourg": [Jean de La Roche], *La vie, et actes triumphans d'une illustre, et renommée damoiselle, nommé Catherine des Bas Souhaiz, femme d'un riche conseiller, au Parlement de Bordeaulx* (Troyes: Nicole Paris, 1546) (USTC 57218).

50 See for instance Jean de Luxembourg's *L'oraison et remonstrance de haulte et puissante Dame, Dame Marie de Cleves* (Larrivour: Nicole Paris, 1546) (USTC 27342).

51 Alexis Socard, *Promenade à la bibliothèque de Troyes* (Troyes: Dufour-Bouquot, 1869). This point of view has, unfortunately, been repeated on a number of occasions.

52 See for instance Colin Royer's *Nouvelle d'un reverend pere en Dieu et bon prelat de nostre mere saincte Eglise demorant en Avignon, et le moyen comme il resuscita de mort à vie* (Troyes: Nicole Paris, 1546) (USTC 40548), which was long attributed to Jean de Luxembourg: Corrard de Breban, *Recherches sur l'établissement et l'exercice de l'imprimerie à Troyes* (Paris: Chossonnery, 1873), pp. 163–164. Mireille Huchon maintains this attribution in her 'Pour une histoire du genre de la nouvelle. *La vie et actes triumphants de Catherine des Bas Souhaiz* et *La Nouvelle d'un reverend pere en Dieu* de Jean de Luxembourg (1546)' in *Esculape et Dionysos. Mélanges en l'honneur de Jean Céard* (Geneva: Droz, 2008), pp. 1013–1028. This attribution is based on a manuscript note in the copy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France (Rés. Y2 799).

53 See the "Compte des receptes et mises du revenu de l'eglise et abbaye nostre dame de Larrivour, ordre de Cisteaulx faictes par frere Claude Bourbon religieux et receveur d'icelle

might be a clue: the accounts do mention an impressive cross-section of the Abbot's undertakings in the abbey. They include such fairly insignificant costs as repairs to the chimney in Luxembourg's bedroom (5 *sous*) or mundane investments such as improvements to the windows and doors of his study.[54] They also report costs not involving the abbey directly, such as a debt incurred with a merchant tanner of Troyes, but nothing about printing.[55] The arrival of a press in the abbey should have generated sufficient costs to be mentioned in this register. This would seem to indicate that the press was active there before October 1546, which is consistent with the fact that all the other surviving Larrivour imprints were produced in 1546.[56] The two other books produced for Luxembourg in 1546 were printed in Troyes and could have easily been published after the printer had returned from Larrivour.[57]

The reasons for these different issues are difficult to ascertain. A couple of clues are perhaps given in the variations in this preliminary matter from one copy to the next. In certain exemplars, [$A_{6/8}$] *recto* has a printed note in the margin that reads "La Langue Grecque introduicte en France, par le Roy Francois premier de ce nom." (ill. 11.12) The absence of the marginalia is significant: could it have been construed as being controversial?[58] Interestingly, the text was removed by the compositor during the printing process rather than added as an afterthought. This is shown by the blanks inserted by the compositor to fill the space initially occupied by the note in the frame. He had selected blocks that protruded slightly and that are therefore visible in certain copies – sometimes slightly inked, sometimes as ghost printing.[59]

abbaye pour hault et puissant seigneur monseigneur Jehan de Luxambourg", 1 October 1546 to 1 October 1547, Archives Départementales de l'Aube, 1 J 832.

54 *Ibidem*, f. 93*rv*.

55 *Ibidem*, f. 100*r*.

56 La Croix du Maine indicated in his *Bibliotheque* (p. 239) the existence of a book authored by Jean de Luxembourg titled *Oraison funebre contenant les louanges de Henri II du nom très chrestien roi de France* which would have also been printed in Larrivour by Nicole Paris but this time in 1547 (see USTC 40574). Until a copy has been seen, however, one must treat La Croix du Maine's imprint details with circumspection.

57 See the aforementioned editions of Royer, *La nouvelle du reverend pere en Dieu* (USTC 40548) and La Roche, *La vie, et actes* (USTC 57218).

58 This issue is debated in Jean-Christophe Saladin, *La Bataille du grec à la Renaissance* (Paris: les Belles lettres, 2000), but see also the translation of Guillaume Budé's, *De Studio Literarum* by Marie-Madeleine de La Garanderie: *L'Étude des lettres: principes pour sa juste et bonne institution* (Paris: Les Belles lettres, 1988), p. 56.

59 This is, for instance, the case in the copies preserved in the *Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève* (Fol R 207 Inv. 225 Rés.), the *Médiathèque Louis Aragon* in Le Mans (SA fol 893) and the Mazarine in Paris at 3713(2).

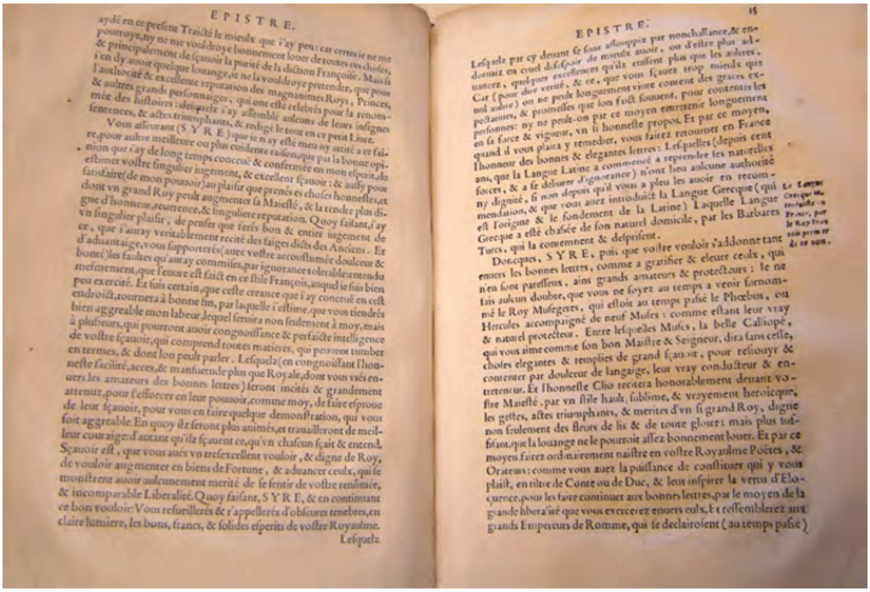


ILLUSTRATION 11.12 *Final recto of gathering A in the 1547 Nicole Paris issue*

Further proof is provided by the fact that the note is present in both copies of the 1546 issue.

The note is fully consistent with the content of the dedication to Francis I; it celebrates his credentials as a Humanist king by linking him to the introduction of the Greek language in his kingdom. This was not strictly correct: after all Budé himself knew the language before Francis's accession; rather the king had helped its teaching by setting up the *College de France* and had encouraged the printer Robert Estienne to acquire the typography so that he could print the language. Furthermore, the 1547 issue was published after the death of Francis I (the privilege is dated 9 May 1547), and it is possible that being overly complimentary to his father was seen as being slightly disrespectful of the new monarch, Henry II. But the most convincing explanation revolves around the perceived connection between Greek scholars and Protestant heretics. In this case, the death of a king traditionally seen as generous to humanist scholars and the accession of a less literary monarch could have been a further incentive to make this point more discreetly.

If this explains the disappearance of the marginal note, the appearance of a stanza in the 1547 issue poses another problem (see ill. 11.7). The additional verse encourages the reader to read all the work ("veoy-le au long") rather than make a snap judgement. Why was it necessary to defend the publication of the book? This is all the more surprising as when comparing the 1546 and 1547 issues it seems clear that the 1547 issue was the one that was most widely circulated. This can be inferred from the survival rate of extant copies but also from contemporary references. In their entries on Jean de Luxembourg, the sixteenth-century bibliographers La Croix du Maine and Antoine du Verdier only acknowledge the existence of the 1547 Larrivour issue.[60] The obvious conclusion is that the initial version was seen as being problematic but the 1547 version was not. In such circumstances, the missing content seems to have been at least part of the problem. The preliminary pages that were removed from the extant copies must have been considered too tainted to include.

After the publication of Budé's work, Nicole Paris and Jean de Luxembourg both disappeared from view. Having been named bishop of Pamiers in 1547, Luxembourg died on the way to Rome.[61] Nicole Paris's disappearance was equally rapid. His activity in 1547 is the last we hear of him and, unlike all other printers and booksellers, he is not mentioned in the tax register of Troyes in 1548.[62] The last document we have that mentions his name is in a new privilege obtained by Nicole Paris for the *Institution du prince* in September 1547 but, bizarrely, this was printed in an edition that was not produced on his presses but in Paris for Jean Foucher. It is now to this edition that we shall turn our attention.

The Jean Foucher Paris Edition

LE LIVRE DE || L'INSTITVTION DV || Prince, au Roy de France treschrestien || Francoys premier de ce nom, faict & || composé par M. Guillaume Bu- || dé son secretaire & maistre || de sa librairie || [Jean Foucher's device] || Auec Priuilege du Roy pour cinq ans. || A PARIS, || Chez Iehan Foucher, a l'escu de Florẽ- || ce, en la rue Sainct Iacques. || 1547. || (ill. 11.13)

8o; ff. [8] 192; ã^8 a-z^8 A^8.

The Jean Foucher edition of the *Institution du prince* is generally thought to be the closest to the long manuscript version of the text. Printed by the successful master printer Jacques Bogard for Foucher, the text is presented in

60 François Grudé, lord of La Croix du Maine, *Premier volume de la bibliotheque* (Paris: Abel L'Angelier, 1584), p. 239 and Antoine du Verdier, *La bibliotheque* (Lyon: Barthélemy Honorat, 1585), pp. 716–717.

61 See Verdun-Léon Saulnier, 'Quel poète pour le Grand-Maître? Jean de Luxembourg et Montmorency', *Bulletin de l'Association Guillaume Budé,* 35 (1976), pp. 386–400.

62 Register of taxation for June 1548, Archives Municipales de Troyes, F 232.

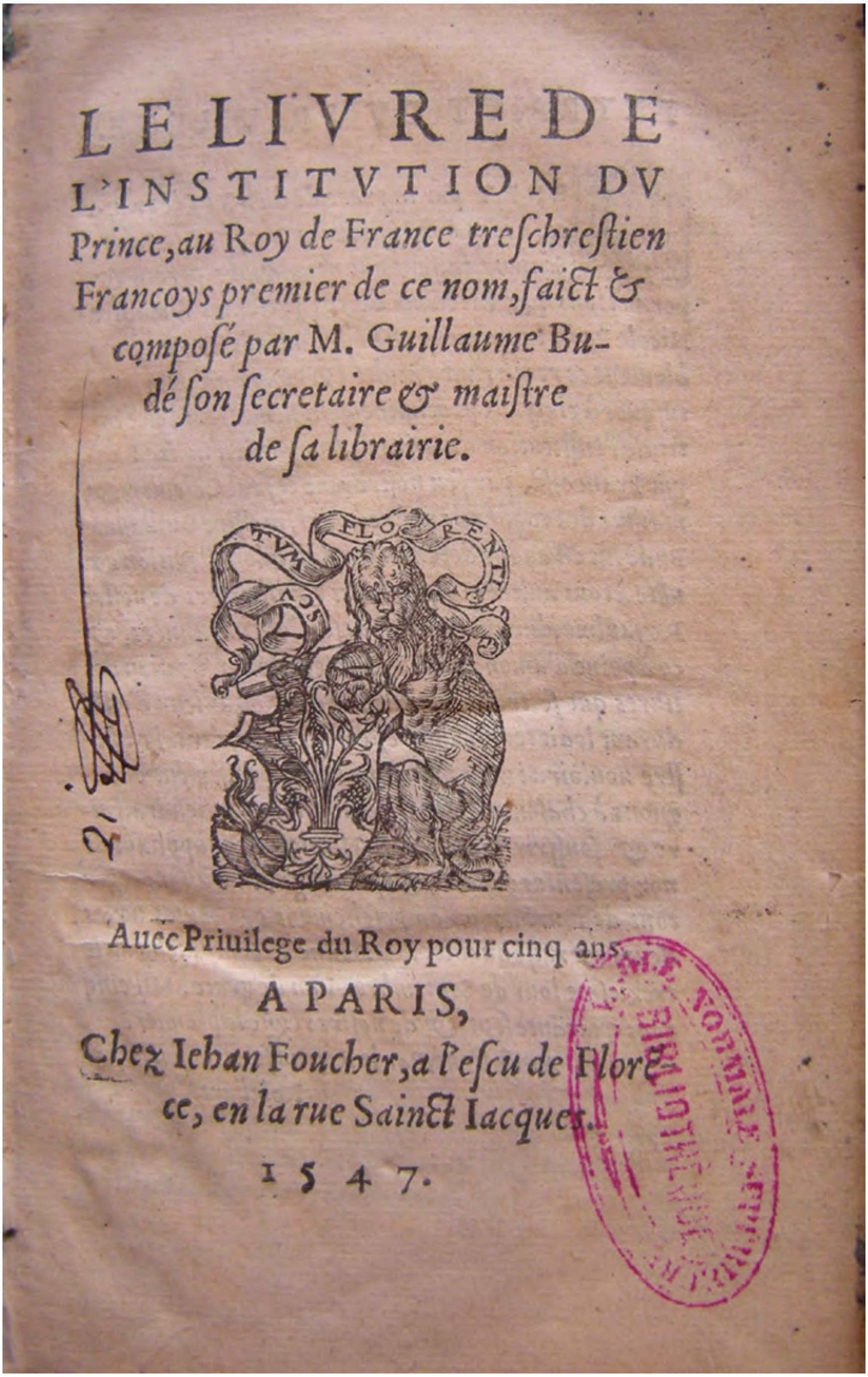


ILLUSTRATION 11.13 *Title page of the 1547 Jean Foucher issue*
© Bibliothèque de l'École normale supérieure [Rés. XV–X S G ip 443 12°]

an octavo format – as was the case for the Lyon edition – but with the same title as the Larrivour edition.[63] This volume was targeting a different market to the more luxurious Larrivour edition, but the differences were not just commercial: the text itself was very different from the one rewritten by Jean de Luxembourg. The editor, Richard Le Blanc, noted in the dedication that the book had been passed on to him by Jean Foucher, though the text had been "copié de quelque ignorante personne en sorte qu'il n'y avoit aucune observation d'orthographe, ny forme de distinction, par quoy l'on peust cognoistre le sens, et sentence du texte".[64]

Was Le Blanc referring to the Larrivour edition? He certainly knew of the text: not only did he keep a similar title but on the verso of the title page, the publisher included the privilege obtained by Nicole Paris. This was not the initial privilege obtained in May 1547, but a second privilege requested just a few months later and dated 13 September 1547. This double privilege can seem surprising. The length of the privileges were the same; the only substantive difference was the phrasing with regard to the object of the privilege. In the first case, the letters seemed only to refer to the precise version Paris had already printed ("qu'il a puis nagueres faict imprimer"), whilst the second adopted a more inclusive phraseology referring to his rights over the text ("faculté et pouvoir d'imprimer"). What this text does show is that, despite what has previously been suggested, the Parisian edition was made available no earlier than September 1547 and was, therefore, the last of the three editions.[65]

The Foucher edition exists in two different versions, the first bearing the date 1547 on the title page and the second 1548. Close examination of copies of both variants indicate that they are two issues of the same edition: the type is set out in exactly the same manner in both cases and a page from one issue can be perfectly superposed on the corresponding page from the other. Furthermore, the title pages themselves show that the 1548 issue was prepared and printed at the same time as the 1547 issue: the layout is precisely the same, the figure eight in the date simply replacing the figure seven. In this case, the publisher's motives in producing two issues seem to have been purely

63 See the section dedicated to Bogard in Sylvie Postel-Lecocq and Marie-Josèphe Beaud's *Imprimeurs et libraires parisiens du XVIe siècle. Tome V, Bocard-Bonamy* (Paris: Service des travaux historiques de la ville de Paris, 1991). The attribution to Bogard is made by the *Bibliothèque nationale de France*'s Renouard team on the basis of the type employed.

64 The dedication is to Claude de Lorraine, duke of Guise. The quote is taken from ã$_2$*v*.

65 Delaruelle conjectured that this edition was completed before the Larrivour edition on the basis of the chapter headings.

commercial and his approach in line with existing practices in the Parisian book world. Publishers adapted their output to integrate such commercial strategies, either having different initial sheets printed with another date on the title page or leaving the final number of the date blank so that it could be filled in later.

As the privilege obtained by Nicole Paris was dated September 1547, the edition must have been published in the final months of the year. It was therefore highly unlikely that all the copies produced for Jean Foucher would have been sold before the end of the calendar year. In such circumstances, the production of a 1548 variant appears to have been a wise marketing strategy. By producing the 1547 and 1548 issues of the title page simultaneously, the publisher was reducing costs.[66] Fig. 11.2 summarises the new chronology of the three editions as established in this article.

Understanding the Evidence

The new chronology of the three editions casts new light on the publication of Budé's *Institution du prince*. Far from being a simple affair, it highlights the difficulties faced by the publishers as they sought to make the text more widely available. This is all the more interesting as quite separately the Lyon and Larrivour editions faced the same problems. If the privilege was to be believed, the Larrivour edition was produced without knowledge of the 1544 Lyon version as it indicated that the work had hitherto not been published ("qui par cy devant n'avoit esté mis en lumiere"). And yet in both cases text was undoubtedly suppressed. In the Lyon edition, the larger font of the dedication as compared to the rest of the work might have been a manner of using less text to cover a larger area, i.e. to fill an entire gathering. It is also worth noting that the entire first gathering was reprinted and not just the title page. This suggests that part of the original text was removed. In the Larrivour version an even more radical approach was adopted: entire sheets were taken out. The key to understanding these developments lies in the analysis of the circumstantial evidence surrounding these editions' publication.

66 This type of strategy was commonplace in the Parisian print world; Guillaume Cavellat published editions with an incomplete date to be filled in later: Isabelle Pantin (ed.), *Imprimeurs et libraires parisiens du XVI^e siècle. Fascicule Cavellat, Marnef et Cavellat* (Paris: Service des travaux historiques de la ville de Paris, 1986), p. 161, no. 191.

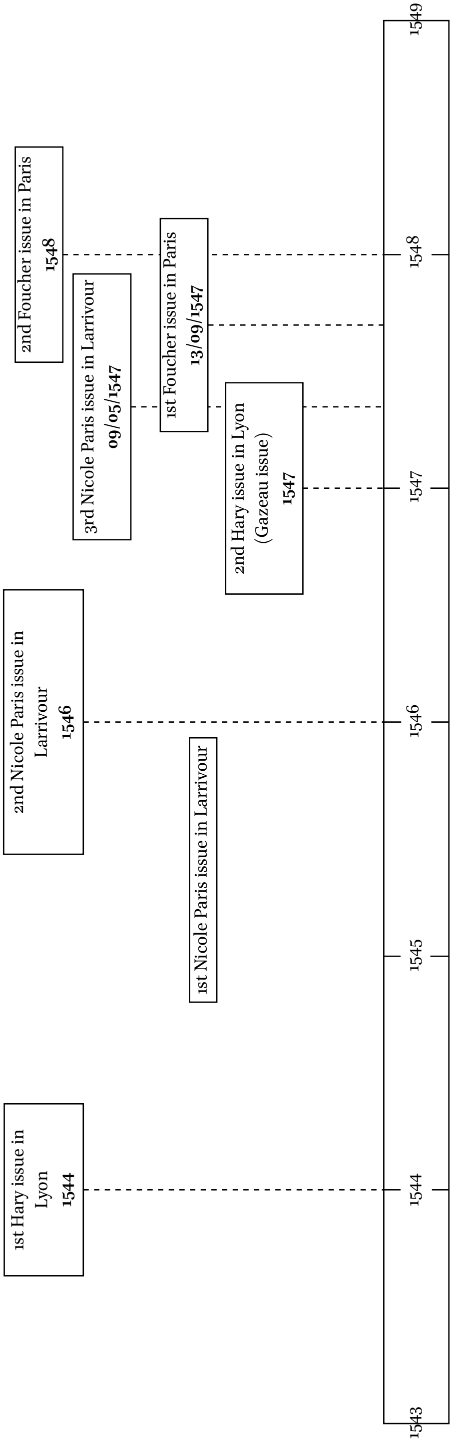


FIGURE 11.2 *Chronology of the printed editions of Budé's Institution du Prince (with terminus post quem dates)*

As we have now ascertained that the Lyon edition was printed as early as 1544 and that the Larrivour was first in 1546 at the latest, the context of their publication has changed radically. Certainly, the death of Francis I on 31 March 1547 can no longer be used to explain why the text was finally printed. Instead, it is necessary to concentrate on the final years of his reign – a period characterised by the monarch's illness and by rising factionalism, in particular after 1544.[67] Within the kingdom, the fight against Protestantism became increasingly violent and was directly affecting the book world. The promulgation of the 25 articles of the faith by the Faculty of Theology of the Sorbonne was followed by the publication of two editions of the index of banned books in 1544 and 1545.[68] The dangers for booksellers and printers in these final years of Francis's reign were emphasised by Dolet's arrest, trial and execution. Was there a clear relationship between these difficult times and the fate of the 1544 and 1546 Budé editions?

The first edition came off the presses in Lyon in 1544, the second was produced near Troyes in 1546, and the third in Paris in 1547. One man made the same journey at roughly the same time: Étienne Dolet. Dolet was a controversial printer and author who had, by 1544, already been arrested twice; he had spent five months in prison in 1542 and ten in 1543.[69] It was only the personal intervention of the King that had saved him on these occasions. Ordered to stand trial in Paris, Dolet escaped from Lyon in January 1544 and sought refuge in Piedmont. Over the following four months, he wrote the epistles that would form part of the *Second Enfer*. In May, he decided to return to France and, if the *Second Enfer* is to be believed, visited Lyon where he perhaps published some of his texts. He did not, however, stay in the city very long and soon fled to Troyes where he had a better version of his text published by none other than

67 See Nathanael Weiss, *La Chambre ardente* (Paris: Fischbacher 1889) (on the seven last years of the reign); Robert J. Knecht, *Un prince de la Renaissance. François Ier et son royaume*, (Paris: Fayard, 1998), in particular Chapter 25 ('Les années sombres (1544–1547)'), pp. 495–519.

68 Weiss, *La Chambre ardente* and 'La Sorbonne, le Parlement de Paris et les livres hérétiques', *Bulletin de la Société d'Histoire du Protestantisme français,* 34 (1885), pp. 19–28; Francis Higman, *Censorship and the Sorbonne. A bibliographical study of books in French censured by the Faculty of Theology of the University of Paris, 1520–1551* (Geneva: Droz, 1979), Chapter IV; Jesús Martínez De Bujanda (ed.), *Index de l'Université de Paris 1544, 1545, 1547, 1548, 1551, 1556* (Sherbrooke, Québec: Université, Centre d'Études de la Renaissance – Geneva: Droz, J.-M. de Bujanda, 1985).

69 On Dolet see Claude Longeon, *Bibliographie des œuvres d'Étienne Dolet: écrivain, éditeur, imprimeur* (Geneva: Droz, 1980) and, most recently, Michèle Clément (ed.) *Étienne Dolet, 1509–2009* (Geneva: Droz, 2012).

the printer of the *Institution du Prince:* Nicole Paris.[70] This escapade did not last long. The Lyon authorities soon caught up with the fugitive, who was rearrested at the end of the August and rapidly transferred to Paris. Imprisoned at the *Conciergerie* for almost two years, Étienne Dolet was burnt on the Place Maubert on 3 August 1546.[71]

The similarities between the route followed by both Dolet and Budé's text, the connection between the Lyon printer and Nicole Paris, and the coincidence in the dates at which Dolet started his journey and the suppression of the Harsy edition are all intriguing and merit closer examination. The Lyon edition of the *Institution* was printed not just in the same year as Dolet's escape, but also at a time when the Sorbonne decreed that certain of his books would be burnt.[72] The Larrivour edition was printed in 1546, when Dolet was executed. There would have been good reasons for not disseminating them immediately if they referred to Dolet at all. All three editions seem only to have been widely distributed in 1547: there are no references to there being a 1544 title page for the Harsy edition and the Nicole Paris version was first advertised at the Frankfurt Fair in 1547.[73] Furthermore, the two privileges we know of all postdate Francis I's death. But such circumstantial evidence alone, whilst highly suggestive, would be insufficient to implicate Dolet in the first editions of Budé's *Institution du prince*.

70 Of the three known issues, two bear the printer's address whilst the third indicates "Lyon" despite clearly belonging to the same edition. Longeon, *Bibliographie des œuvres d'Étienne Dolet*, nos. 250 to 253; André Jammes, 'À propos de l'édition originale (?) du *Second Enfer* d'Étienne Dolet', in Nico Israel, Anthonie Rutger, Alexander Croiset van Uchelen, Koert van der Horst and Günter G Schilder, *Theatrum orbis Librorum Liber amicorum Presented to Nico Israël on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday* (Utrecht: HES Publishers, 1989), pp. 224–229; Guillaume Berthon, 'Quelques nouveautés bibliographiques autour d'Étienne Dolet et Jean de Tournes: les *Psaumes* de Marot et le *Benefice de Jesuchrist* traduit par Claude Le Maistre (1544–1545)', *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français*, 158 (2012), p. 676 and no. 22.

71 See Longeon's introduction to the *Second Enfer* (Geneva: Droz, 1978).

72 Criminal registers of the Paris Parlement, 14 February 1544, Archives nationales X2a96, ff. 455*v*–456*v* (see Longeon, *Documents*, p. 59). A first ruling of 13 October 1543 had already banned these works: Higman, *Censorship and the Sorbonne,* pp. 96–99.

73 *Bibliotheca exotica, sive Catalogus officinalis librorum peregrinis linguis usualibus scriptorum, videlicet Gallica, Italica, Hispanica, Belgica, Anglica, Danica, Bohemica, Ungarica, etc. omnium, quotquot in officinis bibliopolarum indagari potuerunt, et in nundinis Francofurtensibus prostant, ac venales habentur* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Kopf, 1610) (USTC 2054632), at p. 85.

There is, however, some stronger proof that points more decisively in his direction. Foremost in this regard is the manifest admiration that Dolet had for Guillaume Budé and the strong intellectual bonds between the two men. In Dolet's *Epistolae*, there was not only an exchange between Budé and the printer, but also some verse dedicated to Budé.[74] Dolet further championed him in his *Dialogus de imitatione Ciceroniana adversus Desiderium Erasmum* published in 1535. Nor was the friendship between the two men confined to the world of letters. If Dolet is to be believed, they met at a banquet given in honour of Francis I's pardon in the Compaing affair in February 1537. He described the meeting in some detail in his long poem at the start of the second book of his *Carmina*. More interestingly, perhaps, in the two volumes of the *Commentarii Linguae Latinae*, published in 1536 and 1538 respectively, Dolet indicated that he wished to follow in Budé's footsteps. Their title, method and ambition are similar to that of Budé. Each tome is preceded by a letter and a poem to the author of the *De Asse* and scholars have identified a number of instances of plagiarism of the *Annotations aux Pandectes*.[75] Further, Dolet expressed the wish to become the king's official historiographer in his prefaces and appealed to Budé's for his support, not least as Budé had emphasised the importance of the position in the *Institution*.[76] After 1540, Dolet actively promoted the use of French, a 'conversion to the vernacular' that is particularly obvious in his dedication to three treatises that demonstrate this growing preoccupation. Gathered under the title *L'Orateur françoys*, they were entitled *La maniere de bien traduire d'une langue en aultre*, *Les accents de la langue françoyse* and *La punctuation de la langue françoyse*.[77] In this text, he indicated that Budé was one of the authors that he wanted to imitate.[78]

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74 Étienne Dolet, *Orationes duae in Tholosam. Epistolarum libri ii, carminum libri ii, ad eundem epistolarum amicorum liber* (Lyon: Sébastien Gryphe, 1533) (USTC 146636). *Poemata*, 1534, I, 6; and in the *Carmina*, I, XXXVII See the critical edition by Catherine Langlois-Pézeret: *Carmina (1538)* (Geneva: Droz, 2009). *Dialogus, de imitatione Ciceroniana, adversus desiderium Erasmum Roterodamum, pro Christophoro Longolio* (Lyon: Sébastien Gryphe, 1535) (USTC 146891).

75 See Catherine Pézeret, 'Etienne Dolet lecteur des *Verrines* dans l'article *Institutum* des *Commentaires de la langue latine*', *Camenae*, 6 (2009), pp. 1–20, online: <http://www.paris-sorbonne.fr/IMG/pdf/Pezeret.pdf>.

76 For a detailed analysis of these texts and of the intellectual similarities between Budé and Dolet, see Christine Bénévent, Gwladys Brizard *et al.*, *L'Institution du Prince* (Paris: Classiques Garnier, forthcoming).

77 Michel Jourde, 'Étienne Dolet et Jean de Tournes' in Michèle Clément (ed.), *Étienne Dolet, 1509–2009* (Geneva: Droz, 2012), pp. 289–307, at p. 298.

78 Claude Longeon wondered if Dolet 'fait allusion au recueil d'apophtegmes de Budé, encore à l'état de manuscrit en 1540, dont on tira en 1547 l'*Institution du Prince*': Étienne Dolet, *Préfaces françaises*, Claude Longeon (ed.), (Geneva: Droz, 1979), p. 88, note 5.

The most convincing connection between Dolet and the *Institution* comes from the text of the Lyon edition. The analysis of the written forms is particularly revealing. First, the punctuation is distinctive, with an overabundance of commas that are invariably present before each occurrence of 'qui' or 'que' (as a relative pronoun or a conjunction of subordination) and each conjunction of coordination such as 'et', 'ou' and 'ne'. Second, the orthographic choices are peculiar. Masculine past participles finish with 'és', whilst the morphologic final consonants are systematically preserved in the plural form: 'touts', 'gents' and 'ants'. There are also archaic and pseudo-etymologic forms of words such as 'aultre', 'memoyre' and 'authorité'. All of these distinctive choices coincide perfectly with those made by Dolet in his own imprints. These are particularly interesting as they are not used in the first gathering – the gathering that was not printed by Harsy.

We have no proof that Dolet asked Harsy to print the book, but we can conclude that he seems to have prepared the copy. Certainly, the involvement of Dolet makes sense of the bibliographic anomalies that have been identified in the Lyon and Larrivour editions. In both cases, the publishers could have used laudatory texts by Dolet praising Budé. Certainly, we know of a number of editions in which the name of Dolet was explicitly removed. Compellingly, this was sometimes done by reformatting or reprinting the first gathering.[79] A case in point is the *Questions Tusculanes*: Guillaume Berthon has proved that the versions published under Dolet's name in 1543 and under Sabon and Constantin's names in 1549 (and as an undated issue) are in fact the very same edition. The first gathering was simply reprinted in order to remove Dolet's epistle to Francis I and replaced with a table of contents.[80] In other words, Sabon and Constantin used the very same strategy as Gazeau.

A final element of proof comes from the fact that Dolet is known to have delegated the printing of some of his works to other printers during his final troubled years in Lyon. This is all the more interesting as it has recently been confirmed that the printer of the replacement first gathering of the 1547 Lyon edition of the *Institution*, Jean de Tournes, intervened in this process.[81] Jean

79 Thus the *Exhortation à la lecture de la saincte escripture* (Lyon: Étienne Dolet, 1542) is printed without Dolet's preface by Balthasar Arnoullet in 1544; the same is true of *Les prieres et oraisons de la Bible* (Lyon: Étienne Dolet, 1542), reprinted by Jean de Tournes in 1543 and 1544 without the original preface.

80 See Guillaume Berthon, 'Sulpice Sabon, Clément Marot et l'enseigne du Rocher (Lyon, 1542–1544): découvertes, énigmes, enjeux', forthcoming. We would like to thank the author for having very kindly agreed to share his text pre-publication.

81 The hypothesis was first suggested by Maurice Escoffier in his *Autour d'une supercherie de librairie. Clément Marot, Étienne Dolet, Heluyn Dulin*, (Trévoux, [1965]). See also Gérard

de Tournes is known to have stepped into the breach following the arrest, condemnation and execution of Dolet, and republished works that had previously been part of Dolet's repertoire. The sole difference between the originals and the Tournes reprints was that the latter never named Dolet in the text and systematically removed the preliminary texts written by the condemned humanist.[82]

Conclusions

The bibliographical anomalies in the first editions of Guillaume Budé's *Institution du prince* have allowed us thoroughly to revaluate the work's early publishing history. The text was first printed in Lyon in 1544 and not in 1547 as has previously been assumed by scholars. Further, the most influential of the editions, the Larrivour publication, was not initially printed in 1547, but in 1546 at the latest. In both cases, some of the original preliminary text that accompanied these two editions was suppressed by the publishers – presumably because it contained material that could have attracted unwanted attention from the authorities. In one case this meant completely reprinting the first gathering, in the other mixing some of the original sheets with newly printed ones. In this context, the Parisian edition published by Jean Foucher was a later attempt to offer an improved version of the *Institution* in a very different political and intellectual context from the Lyon and Larrivour imprints.

By analysing the chronology of the works' publication, the language of the Lyon edition, and the manner in which his works were published after his arrest, it is possible to identify Étienne Dolet as the source of the suppressed texts. They were undoubtedly either his work or directly associated with him. The proximity of Dolet to Nicole Paris, his visit to Troyes just months before the presumed date of publication of the first edition of the Larrivour edition, and the coincidence of the suppression of preliminary texts in both editions represent particularly suggestive evidence. The fall from grace of

Morisse, 'Dolet et son entreprise d'édition', in *Étienne Dolet,* pp. 395–396, Berthon, 'Quelques nouveautés bibliographiques autour d'Étienne Dolet et Jean de Tournes' and Jourde, 'Étienne Dolet et Jean de Tournes', pp. 303–306.

82 Jourde, 'Étienne Dolet et Jean de Tournes', p. 303. Unlike Claude Longeon who saw this as aggressive competition against Dolet, Jourde prefers to see it as a form of continuity, of cooperation.

the famed printer, publisher, author, editor and translator of humanist works had a profound impact on the sixteenth-century French book world. Self-censorship by contemporary publishers of Dolet's texts is a recognised phenomenon, but one that is particularly difficult to identify. Here, thanks to careful bibliographical analysis, not only has it been possible to rethink when the editions were printed but also to establish the role played by a major figure of Renaissance French printing at the heart of this influential treatise.

CHAPTER 12

The Editorial History of a Rare and Forbidden Franciscan Book of the Italian Renaissance: The *Dialogo della Unione Spirituale di Dio con l'anima* by Bartolomeo Cordoni

Michele Camaioni

The early decades of the Cinquecento witnessed a proliferation of religious publications in the Italian vernacular. In the second half of the century the Council of Trent (1545–1563) and the founding of the Roman Congregations of the Holy Office (1542) and of the Index (1572) would halt the consistent and substantially uncontrolled development of devotional and spiritual literature. But in the generation before this a huge number of pamphlets and books, "from the more traditional to the more innovative", flooded the markets of the Italian peninsula, with considerable impact on the religious thought and practice of both clergy and laypeople.[1] As has been pointed out, spiritual books acted in those years, alongside with popular preaching, as effective vehicles for religious propaganda and for the dissemination of new ideas.[2] They promoted not only the doctrines introduced by the German and Swiss Reformation, but also the anti-dogmatic spirituality and the reform proposals elaborated by Italian evangelical groups clustered around such leading figures as the Venetian cardinal Gaspare Contarini and the Spanish *alumbrado* Juan de Valdés, or by the representatives of the most dynamic religious gatherings of the age, from

1 For an overview on this topic, see Ugo Rozzo, *Linee per una storia dell'editoria religiosa in Italia (1465–1600)* (Udine: Arti Grafiche Friulane, 1993); Edoardo Barbieri, 'Tradition and Change in the Spiritual Literature of the Cinquecento', in Gigliola Fragnito (ed.), *Church, Censorship and Culture in Early Modern Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 111–133; Gabriella Zarri, *Libri di spirito. Editoria religiosa in volgare nei secoli XV–XVII* (Turin: Rosenberg & Sellier, 2009).

2 Cf. Robert W. Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Souls. Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981); Corrie E. Norman, 'The Social History of Preaching: Italy', in Larissa Taylor (ed.), *Preachers and People in the Reformations and Early Modern Period* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), pp. 125–191; Andrew Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

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the lay confraternity of the Divino Amore to the new religious Orders of the Barnabites, the Jesuits and the Capuchins.[3]

Closely connected to the early development of the Capuchins is the printing of one of the most intriguing mystical booklets of the European Renaissance period, the *Dialogo della unione spirituale di Dio con l'anima* by Bartolomeo Cordoni. Despite the censorship of the Roman and Spanish Inquisitions, from the 1530s the book went through several editions in Italy and in Spain and continued to circulate until the first half of the seventeenth century. Its complex editorial history, which this article will attempt to reconstruct, represents a meaningful case of 'editorial longevity' and deserves, for this reason, specific attention.[4]

The book was written by the Observant Franciscan mystic Bartolomeo Cordoni from Città di Castello, a former follower of the humanist Angelo Poliziano. Cordoni was a member of that rigorist movement which, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, promoted the reform of the Order of the Friars Minor through asceticism and hermitic contemplation, inspiring Spanish *alumbradism* and Italian pre-quietism.[5] Published for reasons of prudence after the death of its author in 1535, the *Dialogo della unione* is undoubtedly an heterodox text, since it combines the radical spiritualism of the Franciscan tradition, with the neoplatonic mysticism of the *Mirror of the*

3 Cf. Christopher F. Black, *Italian Confraternities in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); Euan Cameron, 'Italy', in Andrew Pettegree (ed.), *The Early Reformation in Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 188–214; Richard L. DeMolen (ed.), *Religious Orders of the Catholic Reformation. In Honor of John C. Olin on His Seventy-Fifth Brithday* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1994); Constance M. Furey, *Erasmus, Contarini, and the Religious Republic of Letters* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Diana Robin, *Publishing Women. Salons, the Presses, and the Counter-Reformation in Sixteenth-Century Italy* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2007), pp. 41–101; Massimo Firpo, *Juan de Valdés and the Italian Reformation* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2015).

4 Ugo Rozzo, *Biblioteche italiane del Cinquecento tra Riforma e Controriforma* (Udine: Arti Grafiche Friulane, 1994), p. 157.

5 Cf. Paola Zambelli, 'Bartolomeo di Castello', in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Rome: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 1960-), vol. 6 (1964), pp. 707–708. On the spread of Franciscan spiritualism in Italy and Spain at the beginning of the sixteenth century, see Michele Camaioni, 'Libero spirito e genesi cappuccina. Nuove ipotesi e studi sul *Dyalogo della unione spirituale di Dio con l'anima* di Bartolomeo Cordoni e sul misterioso trattato dell'*Amore evangelico*', *Archivio Italiano per la Storia della Pietà*, 25 (2012), pp. 303–372, at pp. 330–333. On Franciscan radicalism between fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, cf. Duncan Nimmo, *Reform and Division in the Franciscan Order* (Rome: Istituto Storico dei Cappuccini, 1995[2]), pp. 637–658.

Simple Souls by Marguerite Porete. This masterpiece of the Mediaeval heresy of Free Spirit was condemned by the Roman Church in 1311–1312 at the Council of Vienne.[6] As scholars have shown, several chapters of the *Dialogo della unione* are translations into Italian of Marguerite's *Mirror*. According to Catholic theologians the main doctrinal error of this work was to assume that through ascetic contemplation, mystical annihilation and illumination, the human soul could reach a status of impeccability, perfect union and oneness with God during earthly life.[7]

The first edition of Cordoni's book was published in Perugia in 1538 under the Latin title *De unione anime cum supereminenti lumine* and the direction of the Franciscan Observant Ilarione Pico da Borgo San Sepolcro (ill. 12.1).[8] A disciple of Bartolomeo Cordoni, friar Ilarione obtained a printing licence from the *cardinal legato* of Perugia, Marino Grimani, and softened the text of the *Dialogo* to avoid the suspicion of begardism, that is the heresy of the Free Spirit.[9]

A few months later, on 10 January 1539, a second and uncensored edition of the *Dialogo* appeared in Milan under the title *Dyalogo de la unione spirituale di Dio con l'anima*.[10] As we learn from the dedicatory letter, this edition was

6 Cf. Paolo Simoncelli, 'Il "Dialogo dell'unione spirituale di Dio con l'anima" tra alumbradismo spagnolo e prequietismo italiano', *Annuario dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per l'Età Moderna e Contemporanea*, 29–30 (1977–1978), pp. 565–601; Costanzo Cargnoni, 'Fonti, tendenze e sviluppi della letteratura spirituale cappuccina primitiva', *Collectanea Franciscana*, 48 (1978), pp. 311–398; Stanislao da Campagnola, 'Bartolomeo Cordoni da Città di Castello e le due prime edizioni del suo "Dialogo"', *Bollettino della Deputazione di Storia Patria per l'Umbria*, 80 (1983), pp. 89–152. On the of circulation of radical spiritual texts in Franciscan Italian libraries, see Roberto Rusconi, 'La tradizione manoscritta delle opere degli Spirituali nelle biblioteche dei predicatori e dei conventi dell'Osservanza', *Picenum Seraphicum*, 12 (1975), pp. 63–137. For an overview, cf. David Burr, *The Spiritual Franciscans. From Protest to Persecution in the Century After Saint Francis* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001).

7 Cf. Sean L. Field, Robert E. Lerner and Sylvain Piron (eds.), *Marguerite Porete et le Miroir des simples âmes. Perspectives historiques, philosophiques et litteraires* (Paris: Vrin, 2013). See also Joanne M. Robinson, *Nobility and Annihilation in Marguerite's Porete's Mirror of Simple Souls* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2001).

8 Bartolomeo da Castello, *De unione anime cum supereminenti lumine. Opera nuova et utile ad ogni fidel christiano. Composta per il reverendo padre frate Bartholomeo da Castello. De l'ordine de l'observantia* (Perugia: nelle case di Girolamo Cartolari; ad instantia de mastro Antonio Pasini, 1538); octavo, ff. 136 (CNCE 4476).

9 Cf. Campagnola, 'Bartolomeo Cordoni', pp. 114–117, 130–137.

10 Bartolomeo da Castello, *Dyalogo de la unione spirituale de Dio con l'anima dove sono interlocutori l'amor divino, la sposa anima, et la ragione humana* (Milan: per Francesco Cantalupo & Innocenzo Cicognara, 10 January 1539); 16mo, ff. [12] 271 [1] (CNCE 4477).


De Unione anime
cum supereminenti lumine.
Opera nuoua ⁊ vtile ad ogni
fidel Christiano.. Compo-
sta per il Reuerēdo pa
dre frate Bartholo
meo da Castello.
De l'Ordine de l'obseruātia

ILLUSTRATION 12.1 *Bartolomeo da Castello, De unione anime cum supereminenti lumine (Perugia: Girolamo Cartolari; ad instantia de Antonio Pasini, September 1538)*
© Pontificium Athenaeum Antonianum, Rome [Rari 0091].

prepared by the Capuchin friar Girolamo Spinazzola da Molfetta, a collaborator of the vicar-general of the Order, Bernardino Ochino, well known for his flight from Italy to Calvin's Geneva in 1542 at the time of the founding of the Roman Holy Office.[11] Another difference between the 'Observant' edition (Perugia, 1538) and the 'Capuchin' (Milan, 1539), can be seen in the number of chapters. Whereas the 'Observant' edition is composed of 52 chapters, the 'Capuchin' edition includes an additional chapter, entitled *Circolo de carità divina* [Circle of divine charity]. This esoteric text, which in the 1580s would have attracted the attention of the Roman Inquisition for the *novum et insolitum orandi modum* ("the new and unusual manner of praying") it prescribed, was probably written not by Cordoni himself, but by the friar Francesco Ripanti da Iesi, a prominent figure among the Capuchins during the 1530s and 1540s.[12]

It is worth explaining that the Capuchin Order had been founded some years earlier, in 1525, by a small group of reformed Observant friars and wandering preachers who wanted to restore the pure and strict observance of the Franciscan Rule.[13] The birth of the Capuchin Order was the result of an unexpected schism in Franciscan Observance, a powerful institution which, thanks to the bull *Ite vos* issued by Pope Leo X a few years earlier in 1517, had incorporated all existing local reforms and had obtained the legal precedence over the Conventuals within the Order of the Friars Minor.[14] This suggests that the publishing of two different editions of Cordoni's *Dialogo*, one by the Observants and one by the Capuchins, could be linked to the struggle for pre-eminence within the Franciscan Order, which in the 1530s was still raging in Italy.

11 Cf. Delio Cantimori, *Eretici italiani del Cinquecento* (Florence: Sansoni, 1939); Roland H. Bainton, *Bernardino Ochino esule e riformatore senese del Cinquecento* (*1487–1563*) (Florence: Sansoni, 1940); John Tedeschi, James M. Lattis and Massimo Firpo (eds.), *The Italian Reformation of the Sixteenth Century and the Diffusion of Renaissance Culture: A Bibliography of the Secondary Literature* (*Ca. 1750–1997*) (Ferrara: Panini, 2000), pp. 361–378.

12 See Campagnola, 'Bartolomeo Cordoni', pp. 117–119; Costanzo Cargnoni, 'Complessità teologiche e ascendenze spirituali del "Circolo de carità divina" di Francesco Ripanti da Iesi', *Collectanea Franciscana*, 60 (1990), pp. 615–663; Bert Roest, *Franciscan Literature of Religious Instruction before the Council of Trent* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), p. 419; Giorgio Caravale, *Forbidden Prayer. Church Censorship and Devotional Literature in Renaissance Italy* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2011), pp. 109–110.

13 Cf. Melchior a Pobladura, *Historia generalis Ordinis Fratrum Minorum Capuccinorum. 1: 1525–1619* (Rome: Institutum Historicum Ord. Fr. Min. Cap., 1947); Costanzo Cargnoni (ed.), *I frati cappuccini. Documenti e testimonianze del primo secolo*, 5 vols. (Perugia: Edizioni Frate Indovino, 1988–1993).

14 Cf. Pacifico Sella, *Leone X e la definitiva divisione dell'Ordine dei Minori* (*OMin.*)*: La bolla "Ite vos"* (*29 maggio 1517*) (Grottaferrata: Frati Editori di Quaracchi, 2001).

Previous studies of Cordoni's *Dialogo* assumed unanimously that the two described editions of the book were the only ones printed before the opening of the Council of Trent in 1545. A survey of recent studies on the dispersed collections of books owned by Italians humanists and an unexpected discovery in a Franciscan library in Rome, however, allow us to present here two previously unknown editions of the *Dialogo* which were probably printed between 1539 and the first half of the 1540s. Both editions show the dedicatory letter of Girolamo da Molfetta and their internal structure is close to that of the Capuchin edition of Milan.[15]

The first of these two new editions was published in Naples on 24 December 1539, by Johann Sultzbach, printer in 1537 of the Capuchins' *Constitutions* (ill. 12.2).[16] It survives in a unique copy, now at the British Library in London.[17] It was identified thanks to a footnote reference by Massimo Danzi in his work dedicated to the history of the library of the famous humanist and cardinal Pietro Bembo.[18]

The other lost and now found edition of the *Dialogo* is more challenging and problematic, since it is published without date or imprint (ill. 12.3).[19] Only four copies survive. The copy I have examined is in the library of the Pontifical University Antonianum in Rome, whose catalogue wrongly listed it as the Milanese edition of 1539. By an analysis of the watermark and by the comparison with other texts of the period we can argue that this edition appeared in Northern Italy, presumably in Venice, between 1539 and the following years.[20]

15 Cf. Camaioni, 'Libero spirito', p. 309.

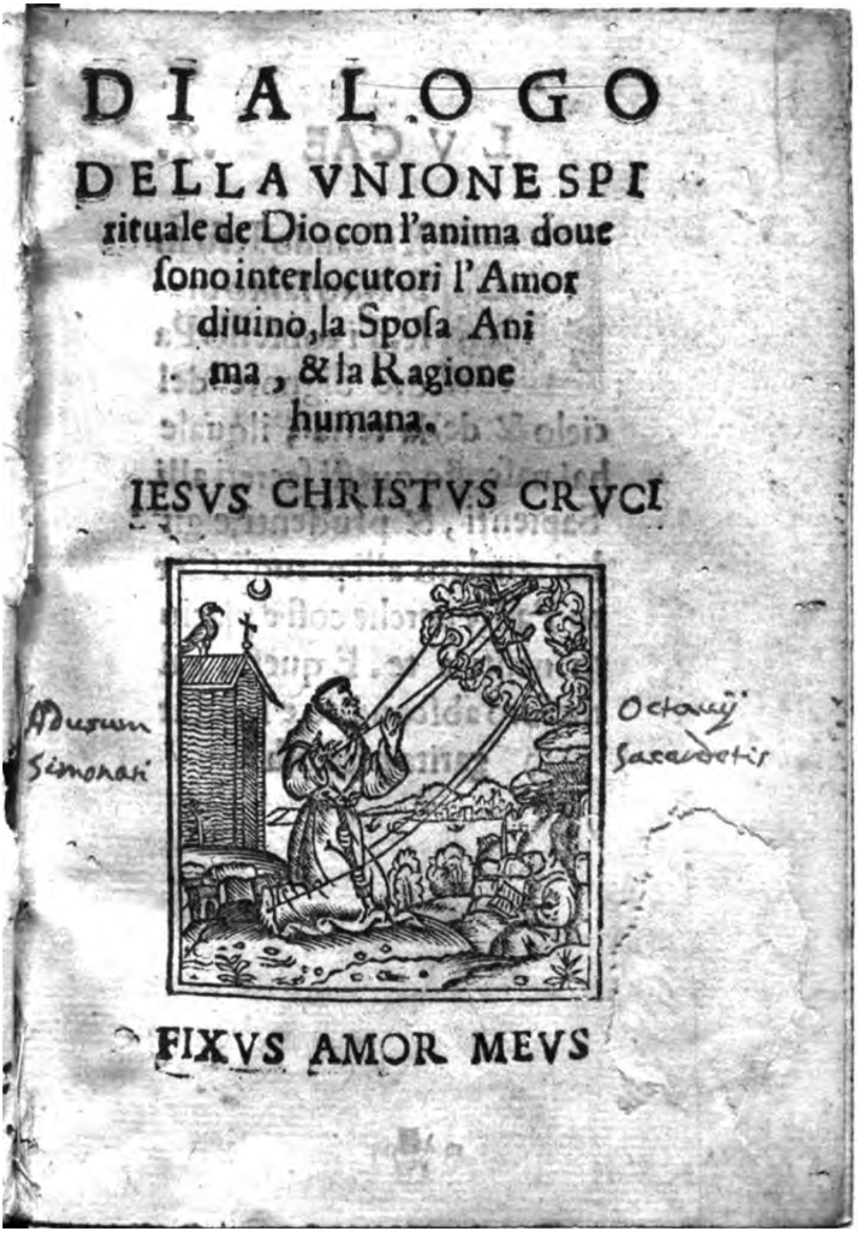
16 Bartolomeo da Castello, *Dialogo della unione spirituale de Dio con l'anima dove sono interlocutori l'Amor divino, la Sposa Anima, et la Ragione humana* (Naples: per Johann Sultzbach, 24 December 1539); 8o, ff. 220. On the editor, see Pietro Manzi, *Annali di Giovanni Sultzbach* (*Napoli, 1529–1544; Capua, 1547*) (Florence: Olschki, 1970).

17 London, British Library, shelfmark R.B.23.a.3427. The book did not appear on the online catalogue of the library, but was identified with the help of Mr Stephen Parkin, curator of the Italian Printed Collections (1501–1850), to whom goes my warm thank.

18 See Massimo Danzi, *La biblioteca del cardinal Pietro Bembo* (Geneva: Droz, 2005), p. 314.

19 Bartolomeo da Castello, *Dyalogo della unione spirituale de Dio con l'anima dove sono interlocutori l'Amor divino, la Sposa Anima et la Ragione humana* (s.l.: s.n, s.d.); 16mo, ff. 148 (CNCE 77517).

20 The watermark appears similar to that of two models reproduced in Briquet's repertoire ("Oiseau inscrit dans un cercle"; "Ancre inscrite dans un cercle surmontée d'una étoile"). See Charles-M. Briquet, *Les Filigranes. Dictionnaire historique des Marques du Papier* (Hildesheim-Zürich-New York: Georg Olms Verlag, 1991), nn. 12215, 12221; 484, 485, 496, 520. See also Nicola Barone, *Le filigrane delle antiche cartiere ne' documenti dell'Archivio di Stato in Napoli* (Naples: Francesco Giannini & Figli, 1889), p. 96. Further investigations would be required on this topic.



DIALOGO

DELLA VNIONE SPI
rituale de Dio con l'anima doue
sono interlocutori l'Amor
diuino, la Sposa Ani
ma, & la Ragione
humana.

IESVS CHRISTVS CRVCI

FIXVS AMOR MEVS

Adusum
Simonati

Octauij
Sacerdotis

ILLUSTRATION 12.2 *Bartolomeo da Castello, Dialogo della unione spirituale de Dio con l'anima* (*Naples: per Johann Sultzbach, 24 December 1539*) © British Library [R.B.23.a.3427].

The same hypothesis has been advanced by the librarians of the Bavarian State Library of Munich, where two further copies of this edition are conserved.[21] The assumption is based, *inter alia*, on the observation that the title page of this edition of Cordoni's *Dialogo* shows the same xylography with Christ on the Cross surrounded by the Virgin Mary and John the Apostle that we find on two printed spiritual treatises which circulated in that period in the Venetian area. The first is an undated edition of Tullio Crispoldi's *De la santissima communione*, a popular treatise on the sacrament of the Holy Eucharist first printed in 1535 in Venice.[22] The second is an anonymous undated spiritual book entitled *Trattato de gli tre discorsi sopra il gaudio, dolore, et gloria, per il quale si camina alla perfettione dell'anima*, now in a miscellany of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek bound with works of Crispoldi and with the very same undated edition of Cordoni's *Dialogo*.[23] The edition of Crispoldi's Eucharistic treatise can be found in the Capuchins' Provincial Archive of Assisi, where it is part of an interesting sextodecimo miscellany composed of works written by Crispoldi himself and by the already mentioned Girolamo da Molfetta.[24]

The discovery of these two lost editions of the *Dialogo* is of great interest for historians of Italian religious dissent of the Renaissance period, because it allows us to shed new light on an unknown feature of the editorial strategy employed by the first Capuchins and Bernardino Ochino, the leading personality among the Order, in their effort to influence the public debate and the agenda of the Catholic Church in these critical years which witnessed the

21 According to Edit16, a further copy of this edition is owned by the Biblioteca Comunale of Terni, a small town in the Umbria region, in Central Italy.

22 Tullio Crispoldi, *De la santissima comunione* (Venice: per Stefano Nicolini da Sabbio, August 1535); octavo, ff. 44 (CNCE 50676).

23 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek [Bavarian State Library], cod. Mor. 248. The Bavarian State Library owns a second copy of the *Trattato de gli tre discorsi*, included in the miscellany signed Asc. 4951. This miscellany contains, among other texts of religious education, an edition of Crispoldi's *De la santissima communione* (Venice: Vittore Ravani, 1540). See Camaioni, 'Libero spirito', pp. 313–314.

24 Assisi, Archivio Provinciale Cappuccino, cod. 8-1-18: 1) Tullio Crispoldi, *Simplici erudimenti over ammaestramenti della fede nostra christiana, raccolti per Tullio Crispoldo da Riete* ([Venice]: per Stefano Nicolini da Sabbio, 1539); 2) Tullio Crispoldi, *Della santissima communione con la esortazione al frequentare e il rispondere alle contrarie obiettioni* (s.l.: s.n., s.d.); 3) *Exhortatione al frequentare la sanctissima communione. Con rispondere alle contrarie obiettioni*, (s.l.: s.n., s.d.); 4) [Girolamo da Molfetta], *Tavola per la dottrina de la religione christiana di tutte quelle cose che ciascuno è tenuto di sapere. Novamente corretta et illustrata* (s.l.: s.n., April 1540); 5) Tullio Crispoldi, *Alcune pratiche del viver christiano* (Venice: per Stefano Nicolini da Sabbio, 1538); 6) Tullio Crispoldi, *Alcuni rimedi appresso a le pratiche del viver christiano* (Venice: per Stefano Nicolini da Sabbio, 1538).

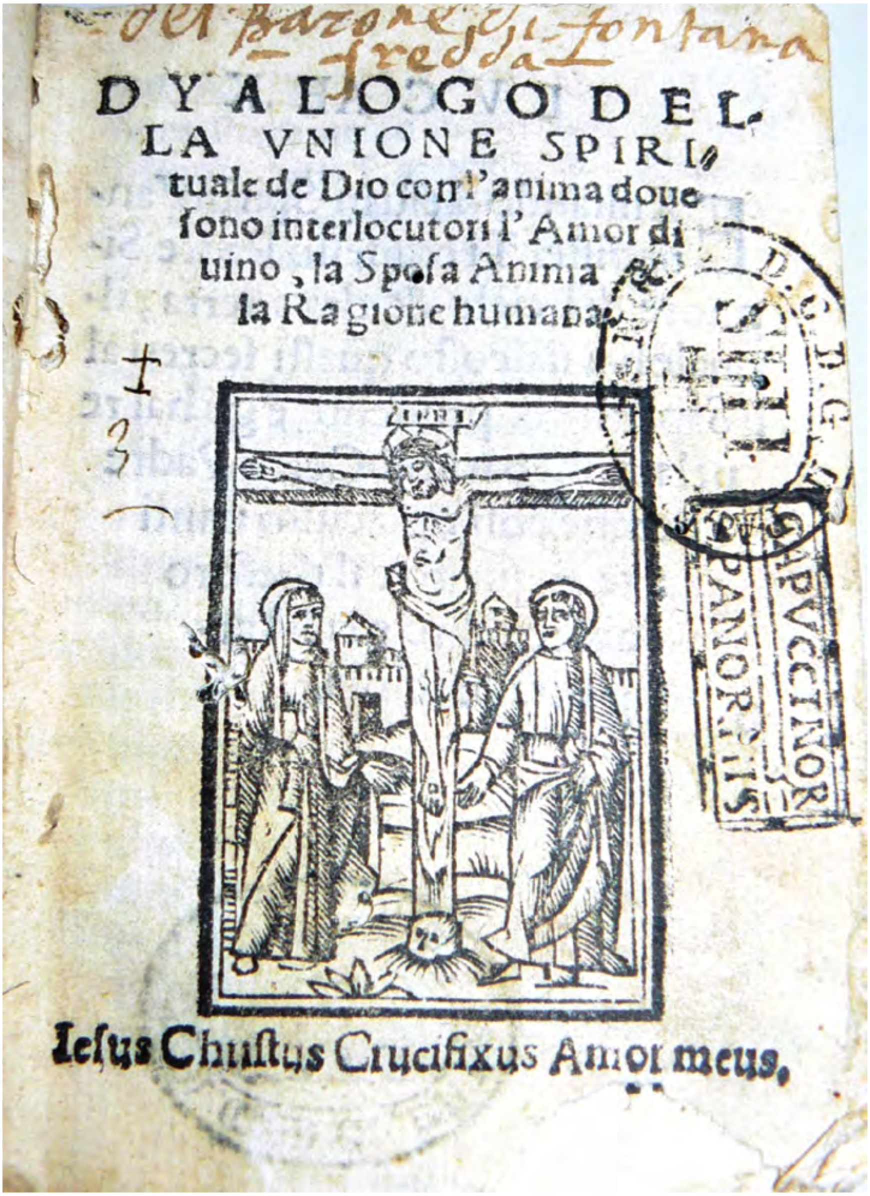


ILLUSTRATION 12.3 *Bartolomeo da Castello, Dyalogo della unione spirituale de Dio con l'anima* (*s.l.d.*)

decisive confrontation between different reform movements within the Roman Curia and of the convocation the Council of Trent.[25]

Two lost books have been re-discovered, but the editorial history of Cordoni's work is not thereby concluded. The *Dialogo della unione*, indeed, was printed again in 1546 in Barcelona, where a Catalan version circulated under the title *Dialogo del amor de Deu*.[26] This Catalan edition, which was the a translation of the Observant edition printed in Perugia in 1538, was soon banned by the Spanish and Portuguese Inquisitions.[27] Notwithstanding this clear signal of orthodox disapprobation, new Italian editions of the book were published in 1548 in Venice, in 1589 in Bologna and in 1593 once more in Venice.[28] It is worth noting that the last two editions mentioned, those of 1589 and 1593, were printed when the *Dialogo della unione* had already been prohibited by the Roman Church.

In the first years after its foundation in 1542, the Holy Office had been forced to face the danger represented by the widespread diffusion of Reformed ideas in the Italian peninsula, paying for this reason scarce attention to the rise of other forms of heterodox spirituality. In the last decades of the century and especially from 1572, when the Congregation of the Index flanked the Roman Inquisition in the cultural and religious battle for the affirmation of the ideals of Catholic Counter-Reformation, many of the spiritual vernacular books printed in the first half of the sixteenth century fell under suspicion.

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25 Cf. Massimo Firpo, *Valdesiani e spirituali. Studi sul Cinquecento religioso italiano* (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2013); John J. Martin, '*Renovatio* and Reform in Early Modern Italy', in Ronald K. Delph, Michelle M. Fontaine and John J. Martin (eds.), *Heresy, Culture, and Religion in Early Modern Italy. Context and Contestations* (Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press, 2006), pp. 1–17.

26 Bartolomeo da Castello, *Dialogo del amor de Deu* (Barcelona: Joan Carles Amorós, 1546).

27 See Jesús M. De Bujanda (ed.), *Index de l'Inquisition espagnole 1551, 1554, 1559, Index des livres interdits*, vol. V (Geneva: Droz, 1984), pp. 472–473; Jesús M. De Bujanda (ed.), *Index de l'Inquisition espagnole 1583, 1584, Index des livres interdits*, vol. VI (Geneva: Droz, 1993), p. 589; Jesús M. De Bujanda (ed.), *Index de l'Inquisition portugaise 1547, 1551, 1564, 1581, Index des livres interdits*, vol. IV (Geneva: Droz, 1995), p. 475; Iveta Nakladova, 'La censura del *Diálogo de la unión del alma con Dios*', in Roger Friedlein (ed.), *Diálogo y censura en el siglo XVI* (Madrid: Iberoamericana Vervuert, forthcoming).

28 Bartolomeo da Castello, *Dialogo de la unione spirituale de Dio con l'anima* (Venice: per Pietro Nicolini da Sabbio, 1548); sextodecimo, ff. 216 (CNCE 4478); Bartolomeo da Castello, *De unione anime cum Deo* (Perugia: per Girolamo Cartolari, 1538. Et ristampata in Bologna: per Fausto Bonardo, 1589); octavo, ff. 136 (CNCE 4479); Bartolomeo da Castello, *Dialogo dell'unione spirituale di Dio con l'anima. Opera di grandissimo frutto, a persone spirituali, & a peccatori. Di nuovo ristampata, e più corretta* (Venice: appresso Bartolomeo Carampello, 1593); octavo, ff. 164 (CNCE 4480).

In 1576, the *Dialogo della unione* was listed in an unpublished catalogue of suspect books drafted by the priest Giovanni di Dio at the request of Cardinal Guglielmo Sirleto.[29] Four years later, in 1580, Cordoni's work was included in the local lists of forbidden books issued in Parma and Alessandria-Tortona.[30] In 1584, finally, the Roman Holy Office issued a decree which condemned the *Dialogo della unione* and the *Circolo de la carità divina* as heretical texts.[31] The decision, which was probably based on the censure of the book compiled by the Capuchin friar Evangelista Ferratina da Cannobio, was confirmed some years later with the inclusion of the *Dialogo della unione* in the unpromulgated Roman Indices of 1590 and 1593.[32]

The title of Cordoni's mystical book does not however appear in the Index issued in 1596 by Clement VIII. The reason for this temporary exclusion of the *Dialogo* from the list of the books forbidden by the Catholic Church can be found in the ambitious attempt by the Congregation of the Index in those years to distinguish between books that had to be absolutely banned and others which should be forbidden *quamdiu expurgantur* or *donec corrigentur*: that is, until they were amended by a censor and therefore restored to their role of useful instruments of religious instruction, moral disciplining and spiritual growth.[33]

In pursuit of this goal, the Congregation of the Index set up a broad inquiry into the libraries of the religious Orders in all of the Italian Provinces. An examination of the surviving lists of this investigation, preserved in the Vatican Library, reveals that despite the condemnation of the Roman Inquisition, at the end of the sixteenth century several Italian convents owned a copy of one of the editions

29 Caravale, *Forbidden Prayer*, pp. 107–108.

30 Cf. Ugo Rozzo, *La strage ignorata. I fogli volanti a stampa nell'Italia dei secoli XV e XVI* (Udine: Forum, 2008), p. 195.

31 Vatican, Archivio della Congregazione per la Dottrina della Fede (Archive of the Roman Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith; hereafter: ACDF), Archivio del Sant'Officio, *Decreta*, 1584, cc. nn.; Archivio della Congregazione dell'Indice (*Index*), Diari I, *Registrum actorum et decretorum Sacrae Congregationis Indicis ab anno 1571* [*ad annum*] *1606*, c. 14*v*; *Index*, Protocolli A, c. 87. A printed edition of this decree (Rome: heirs of Antonio Blado, 1584) is published by Simoncelli, 'Il "Dialogo della unione"', pp. 600–601.

32 Jesús M. De Bujanda, Ugo Rozzo, Peter G. Bietenholz and Paul F. Grendler (eds.), *Index de Rome 1590, 1593, 1596. Avec étude des index de Parme 1580 et Munich 1582*, *Index des livres interdits*, vol. IX (Geneva: Droz, 1994), p. 112. On Evangelista da Cannobio's censures, see Caravale, *Forbidden Prayer*, pp. 114–121. On the Index of 1590 and 1593, see Gigliola Fragnito, *Proibito capire. La Chiesa e il volgare nella prima età moderna* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2005), pp. 43–45; Vittorio Frajese, *Nascita dell'Indice. La censura ecclesiastica dal Rinascimento alla Controriforma* (Brescia: Morcelliana, 2006), pp. 131–147.

33 Cf. Fragnito, *Proibito capire*, *passim*; Frajese, *Nascita dell'Indice*, pp. 177–220, 271–315; Caravale, *Forbidden Prayer*, pp. 123–146.

of Cordoni's heterodox mystical book. Many Franciscan nunneries and friaries of the Umbria region retained copies of the Observant edition of the *Dialogo della unione* printed in Perugia in 1538, and the Capuchins of the Province of Lombardia kept at least a copy of the Venetian edition printed in 1593. The libraries of the Province of Siracusa in Sicily contained two copies of a work listed as *Dialogo del divino amore* by Girolamo da Molfetta, which can be identified as one of the Capuchin editions of Cordoni's *Dialogo della unione*. Evidently, towards the close of the sixteenth century the *Dialogo* was still a popular book among the Capuchin friars who had inherited Cordoni's spiritual legacy.[34]

Nevertheless, from the beginning of the seventeenth century the possession of the *Dialogo della unione once* again became risky for its owners. The book was condemned and banned by the Roman Church in 1600 and in 1603. The decision was taken after the cardinals of the Holy Office had read the appraisal undertaken by a Capuchin friar, Girolamo Mautini da Narni on the orders of the Congregation of the Index. In his handwritten censure, Mautini accused the author of the *Dialogo della unione* of being an "heresiarch", who had drawn on the ancient doctrines "of Begards and Beguines" and made a worst error than Luther, since he pretended "to make men Gods" ("fare gli huomini Dei").[35]

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34 See the RICI database by the project on *Le biblioteche degli ordini regolari in Italia alla fine del secolo XVI*, online: <http://rici.vatlib.it>. On this project, see also Rosa Marisa Borraccini and Roberto Rusconi (eds.), *Libri, Biblioteche e Cultura degli ordini regolari nell'Italia moderna attraverso la documentazione della Congregazione dell'Indice* (Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2006). For Cordoni's dialogue occurrence in the lists provided by the Capuchins – which still have not been poured in RICI's database – see Stanislao da Campagnola, *Le biblioteche dei Cappuccini nel passaggio tra Cinque e Seicento*, in Anselmo Mattioli (ed.), *Biblioteche Cappuccine Italiane* (Perugia: Biblioteca Oasis, 1988), pp. 65–105, now also in Stanislao da Campagnola, *Oratoria sacra. Teorie ideologie biblioteche nell'Italia dei secoli XVI–XIX* (Rome: Istituto Storico dei Cappuccini, 2003), pp. 350–395, at pp. 330, 374, 380–382; Costanzo Cargnoni, 'Libri e biblioteche dei Cappuccini della provincia di Siracusa alla fine del sec. XVI', *Collectanea Franciscana*, 77 (2007), pp. 63–151, at p. 96, 137, 141. See also Ugo Rozzo, *Le biblioteche dei cappuccini nell'inchiesta della Congregazione dell'Indice* (*1597–1603*), in Vincenzo Criscuolo (ed.), *Girolamo Mautini da Narni e l'ordine dei Cappuccini fra '500 e '600* (Rome: Istituto Storico dei Cappuccini, 1998), pp. 57–101; Vincenzo Criscuolo, 'Il catalogo delle biblioteche dei conventi cappuccini della Provincia di Milano alla fine del Cinquecento', *Laurentianum*, 44 (2003), pp. 391–516; Giovanna Granata, *Le biblioteche dei cappuccini in Umbria alle soglie del '600*, in Vincenzo Criscuolo (ed.), *I cappuccini nell'Umbria del Seicento* (Rome: Istituto Storico dei Cappuccini, 2003), pp. 243–270.

35 Girolamo Mautini da Narni, *Censura del* [*libro*] *intitolato Dial*[*ogo*] *dell'unione spirit*[*ua*]*le di Dio con l'anima*, ff. 2*r*–42*r*. The codex of this handwritten *Censura* is in Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, ms. 345.

Mautini's censure was delivered on 29 January 1600 to the Cardinals of the Congregation of the Index, who decided to condemn the *Dialogo della unione*, confirming their decision with a decree on 7 August 1603.[36]

In the same years, the Roman Inquisition determined to investigate the Venetian 1593 edition of *the Dialogo*. This edition, probably to avoid censorship and licence regulation, was published with a false attribution of authorship. On its title page the author is named as "Bartolomeo da Città di Castello, Capucino", while he had been, as we have seen, an Observant friar. This detail was finally noticed by members of the Holy Office, who in 1599 ordered their Venetian *commissario* to investigate the printer Bartolomeo Carampello and the circumstances that led to the the false attribution of authorship.[37] We do not know the outcome of this inquiry. It is tempting to suggest a connection with the "long drawn-out struggle" between the Venetian printing industry and the Roman Inquisition, that arose in the second half of the sixteenth century as a consequence of the publications of the various editions of Roman *Index librorum prohibitorum*.[38]

To round off this brief account on the editorial history of Cordoni's *Dialogo della unione*, we need to proceed into the seventeenth century. In 1647, after almost fifty years of silence on the matter, the Roman Congregation of the Index was forced to pay new attention to the forbidden *Dialogo della unione*.[39] From the documents preserved in the Vatican Archive of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith we find that in those years an anonymous book entitled *Dialogo abbreviato dell'unione di Dio con l'anima* appeared in Italy. This

36 Cf. Jesús M. De Bujanda (ed.), *Index librorum prohibitorum 1600–1966, Index des livres interdits*, vol. XI (Montréal-Geneva: Médiaspaul-Droz, 2002), pp. 198–199. See also Zambelli, "Bartolomeo di Castello", p. 708.

37 ACDF, *Index*, Diari I, f. 129*r*; *Index*, *Registrum litterarum vulgarium et latinarum scriptae Sacrae Congregationis Indicis ab anno 1582 usque 1602*, ff. 119*v*–120*r*. See Michele Camaioni, 'Le vicende editoriali del *Dialogo della unione spirituale di Dio con l'anima* di Bartolomeo Cordoni tra censure preventive e tardivi interventi della congregazione dell'Indice', *Schifanoia*, 44–45 (2013), pp. 147–160, at pp. 156–157.

38 The Archive of the Roman Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith does not indeed give us further information on the inquiry. An investigation into Venice's public archives could, probably, tell us more about it. For an overview on this topic, see Neil Harris, 'The Italian Renaissance Book: Catalogues, Censuses and Survival' in Malcolm Walsby and Graeme Kemp (eds.), *The book triumphant. Print in Transition in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth centuries* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), pp. 26–56, p. 29; Paul F. Grendler, *The Roman Inquisition and the Venetian Press 1540–1605* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977).

39 In the meanwhile, the *Dialogo della unione* had been included in the Roman Index of forbidden books released in 1632: cf. De Bujanda, *Index librorum prohibitorum 1600–1966*, pp. 198–199.

was not good news for the Cardinals of the Index. In the middle of the seventeenth century Roman institutions were considerable exercised by the renewed diffusion of mystical texts: a devotional phenomenon which some years later, in the second half of the century, would inspire the new spiritualist heresy of quietism.

In 1647 the Secretary of the Congregation of the Index Gian Battista de Marini, a Dominican friar, ordered the censorship of this mysterious *Dialogo abbreviato dell'unione*. No reference to this book can be found in catalogues and book lists of this period. It is a lost book, but not completely. Two reports compiled by the priest Antonio Giani and now kept in the *Protocolli* series of the Vatican Archive of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, allow us to partially reconstruct the text of this book, which appears to have been an anthology, a short compilation of selected extracts taken from the *Dialogo della unione* by Bartolomeo Cordoni.[40]

The censor himself realized that there was a connection between the *Dialogo abbreviato* and the *Dialogo dell'unione* by Cordoni: "They are of the same flour", he wrote.[41] For this reason, he decided to dust down Girolamo da Narni's censure of the *Dialogo dell'unione* from 1599–1600, and to employ its structure, based on the identification of 15 "Paradoxes of the union" (i.e. doctrinal errors), to censor the new *Dialogo abbreviato*.[42] The *Dialogo abbreviato* was finally condemned as a text which renewed the ancient heresy of the Free Spirit: "I think that for the listed mistakes, without considering the others contained in it, the book should be burnt and put among the madcap ones", concluded the censor.[43] So we now know that a collection based on the *Dialogo della unione* circulated in Italy in the 1640s, and it has been possible to reconstruct significant passages on the basis of the censures found in the Archive of the Congregation of the Faith.

What, more generally, Cordoni's case shows, is that the attention paid by the Catholic Church to the development of forms of mysticism and spirituality which overstepped the permitted doctrinal boundaries was intermittent until the 1570s; at this point, when the establishment of Protestant churches in the Italian peninsula was no longer a serious threat, the Roman congregations could turn their attention towards other forms of cultural and religious dissent.

40 ACDF, *Index*, Protocolli HH, f. 106*r*–113*v*.

41 *Ibid.*, f. 108*r*.

42 *Ibid.*, ff. 108*v*–113*v*.

43 "Crederei che il libro per li detti errori, tralasciati gli altri in esso contenuti, si potesse abbrugiare e numerare fra pazzerelli": ACDF, *Index*, Protocolli HH, f. 107r.

Nevertheless, despite the repeated condemnations by the Holy Office and the Congregation of the Index, the *Dialogo della unione di Dio con l'anima* was printed again in 1593 and continued to be read in Franciscan convents throughout the first half of the seventeenth century. Finally, in 1647 the defenders of Roman orthodoxy discovered a compilation of Cordoni's work and censored it, underlining the close connection between the original *Dialogo della unione* and this lost booklet, which most likely contributed to paving the way for the spread of the quietist heresy in the Italian peninsula.[44]

44 Cf. Massimo Petrocchi, *Il quietismo italiano del Seicento* (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1948); Adelisa Malena, *L'eresia dei perfetti. Inquisizione romana ed esperienze mistiche nel Seicento italiano* (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 2003).

CHAPTER 13

An Unknown Best-Seller: The *Confessionario* of Girolamo da Palermo

Rosa Marisa Borraccini

This study is based on bibliographical evidence that has emerged from the book inventories of the libraries of Italian religious Orders generated by enquiries carried out at the request of the Congregation of the Index of Prohibited Books between 1597 and 1603.[1] This survey was instituted by the censors to verify the orthodoxy of the works being read by members of the Italian religious communities at a time when the Catholic Reform was having its maximum impact. The unintended result has been to provide an unrivalled vision of the books collected in the convents and monasteries that were home to members of the regular Italian Orders, and to a number of lay brothers and nuns who were within the spiritual and territorial jurisdiction of these Orders. In 1913 the library lists, which had been kept in the Congregation archive, were all transferred – following the suppression of the archive – to the Vatican Library where they now constitute *Vaticani Latini* Codices 11266–11326.[2] The corpus has been studied for many years as part of the research project into the enquiry by the Congregation of the Index (RICI). The joint efforts of several scholars involved in the RICI has produced a substantial collection of studies and a database, now since 2013 publicly available through the servers of the Vatican Library.[3] This digital resource permits the rediscovery of works that are

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1 Roberto Rusconi, 'Le biblioteche degli Ordini religiosi in Italia intorno all'anno 1600 attraverso l'inchiesta della Congregazione dell'Indice', in Edoardo Barbieri and Danilo Zardin (eds.), *Libri, biblioteche e cultura nell'Italia del Cinque e Seicento* (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 2002), pp. 63–84; Rosa Marisa Borraccini and Roberto Rusconi (eds.), *Libri, biblioteche e cultura degli Ordini regolari nell'Italia moderna attraverso la documentazione della Congregazione dell'Indice. Atti del Convegno Internazionale* (*Macerata 30 maggio – 1 giugno 2006*) (Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2006), especially Gigliola Fragnito, 'L'Indice clementino e le biblioteche degli Ordini religiosi', pp. 37–59. All online resources quoted in this article were last consulted on 30 June 2015.

2 Marie-Madeleine Lebreton and Luigi Fiorani, *Codices Vaticani Latini. Codices 11266–11326. Inventari di biblioteche religiose italiane alla fine del Cinquecento* (Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1985).

3 The database, still in progress, is available at <http://rici.vatlib.it/>. See Rosa Marisa Borraccini, Giovanna Granata and Roberto Rusconi, 'A proposito dell'Inchiesta della

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otherwise totally unknown today because all surviving copies have disappeared. This work has confirmed the pioneering intuition of Romeo De Maio who, in 1973, pointed to the Vatican corpus as an extraordinarily valuable contribution towards a more comprehensive knowledge of publishing output in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[4]

A very significant case that can be followed through the RICI archive is the *Confessionario* by the Dominican theologian Girolamo da Palermo, a figure who today is altogether unknown, but who in his time was renowned for his piety and doctrine. Born in Palermo, he studied and made his profession of faith in 1514 in Naples, in the Convent of Santa Caterina a Formello. As a Master of Sacred Theology he lectured at the *Studia* of Naples and Bologna, and shunned the honours and high ecclesiastical office of the episcopal appointment offered to him by Pope Paul IV. The sources restore to him an image of a 'Regularis observantiae cultor eximius, et paupertatis sedulus custos' [*Staunch defender of the Franciscan spirit and assiduous lover of poverty*]. He died in Naples in 1595 and the process for his beatification began in 1670.[5]

Only two works by him are known: the *Confessionario* and the *Catechismus catholicus.* The latter, to date, only survives in a very limited number of copies

S. Congregazione dell'Indice dei libri proibiti di fine '500', *Il capitale culturale*, 6 (2013), pp. 13–45, online: <http://riviste.unimc.it/index.php/cap-cult/article/view/400>; it also includes an extensive bibliography on the topic. See also Flavia Bruni, 'The Book Inventories of Servite Authors and the Survey of the Roman Congregation of the Index in Counter-Reformation Italy', in Malcolm Walsby and Natasha Constantinidou (eds.), *Documenting the Early Modern Book World: Inventories and catalogues in manuscript and print* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), pp. 207–230.

4 Romeo De Maio, 'I modelli culturali della Controriforma: le biblioteche dei conventi italiani alla fine del Cinquecento', in Romeo De Maio, *Riforme e miti nella chiesa del Cinquecento* (Naples: Guida, 1973), pp. 365–381. See also Giovanna Granata, 'La più grande bibliografia nazionale della controriforma: il trattamento informatico dei dati dell'Inchiesta della Congregazione dell'Indice', in Roberto Rusconi (ed.) *Il libro antico tra catalogo storico e catalogazione elettronica* (Rome: Accademia nazionale dei Lincei, 2012), pp. 133–154.

5 *Sacra rituum Congregatione eminentissimo et reverendissimo domino Card. Sancti Caesarei Panormitana beatificationis et canonizationis ven. servi Dei Aloysii La Nuza…positio super virtutibus* (Rome: Tipografia Camerale, 1756), pp. 361–362; Antonino Mongitore, *Bibliotheca sicula sive De scriptoribus siculis* (Palermo: Diego Bua, 1707), vol. I, pp. 282–283; Jacobus Quétif & Jacobus Échard, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum recensiti* (Paris: J.B. Christopher Ballard & Nicolas Simart, 1719–1721), vol. II, pp. 210–211; Alessio Narbone, *Bibliografia sicola sistematica o Apparato metodico alla storia letteraria della Sicilia* (Palermo: Pedone Lauriel, 1850–1855), vol. III, p. 326; Giuseppe Mira, *Bibliografia siciliana* (Palermo: G.B. Gaudiano, 1875–1881), vol. I, p. 436; Pietro Manzi, *La tipografia napoletana nel '500. Annali di Giovanni Paolo Suganappo, Raimondo Amato, Giovanni de Boy, Giovanni Maria Scotto e tipografi minori, 1533–1570* (Florence: Olschki, 1973), p. 192.

of a single edition, printed in Venice by Giordano Ziletti *e soci* in 1571.[6] In this paper, I am going to report on the *Confessionario*, a small, handy confessional manual in the Italian vernacular, which aimed to provide Catholic penitents with a detailed guide to making an accurate examination of their conscience and an effective confession of their sins.

As a result of the religious controversies of the sixteenth century, the Roman Church was persuaded of the need for strict discipline for the faithful under the control of the ecclesiastical institutions. The decrees of the Council of Trent restored the annual obligation of confession and communion, first laid down in 1215 at the fourth Lateran Council with the canon *Omnes utriusque sexus*. The correct administration of the reformed sacrament of penitence made it necessary to train confessors and instruct penitents: confessors were required to be able to examine and evaluate sins, and penitents to know how to recognize and confess their sins. To this end, a strategic role would be played in the post-Tridentine ministry by preaching, catechetical teaching and above all penitential literature.[7] In the second half of the sixteenth century, Italian printers turned out many works with the dual function of offering collections of cases of conscience and providing confession manuals. Some of the texts that would be repeatedly published were traditional works, such as the many S*ummae* – *Pisanella*, *Angelica*, *Antonina*, *Aurea armilla, Silvestrina*, *Pacifica*, *Rosella* – and the *Confessionali* (confession manuals), by Antonino da Firenze, Bernardino da Siena and Girolamo Savonarola. Alongside these works, which were translated into the Italian vernacular and duly abridged and adapted to the needs of the reformed Church, there were also published some fresh new texts, intended to help meet the new pastoral requirements.[8]

The high number of penitential works published in Italy before the mid-seventeenth century (surveyed by Miriam Turrini) can now be confirmed and enhanced by another, very different, survey carried out between 1597 and 1603 by the Sacred Congregation of the Index of Prohibited Books.[9]

The *Confessionario* by Girolamo da Palermo can rightfully be included among the texts produced in the sixteenth century as part of this wave of new

6 Edit16 CNCE 41212.

7 Pierre Michaud-Quantin, *Sommes de casuistique et manuels de confession au moyen âge, XII^e^-XVI^e^ siècles* (Leuven: Nauwelaerts, 1962).

8 Roberto Rusconi, *L'ordine dei peccati. La confessione tra Medioevo ed età moderna* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2002).

9 Miriam Turrini, *La coscienza e le leggi. Morale e diritto nei testi per la confessione della prima età moderna* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1991), pp. 325–497.

writings. Its *editio princeps* was long considered to have been the 1564 Neapolitan edition, printed by Giovanni Maria Scoto for the bookseller Gabriele Benzone. The work was first studied by Pietro Manzi, who in 1973 described the only copy known at the time, owned by the Vatican Library (Incun. VI.39, int. 18), along with further subsequent reprints. Manzi's record reads:

> Confessionario raccolto da dottori catolici, per lo rever. Maestro Girolamo Panormitano del Ordine de Predicatori. Con privilegio. In Napoli. Appresso Gio. Maria Scotto. 1564. 8°. 1ª edizione, cui seguirono numerose altre: Romae, 1575, in 16°; Venetiis, Altobello Silicato, 1582, in 12°; Panormi, Francisci Carrara, 1595, in 12°; Neapoli, Tarquinii Longi, 1611, in 8°; Maceratae, 1619, in 24°; Neapoli, Constantini Vitalis et Octavii Beltrami, 1641, in 8°; Vicentiae et Bassani, Jo. Ant. Remondini, 1670, in 4°; e molte altre ancora.
>
> [*Confessionary compiled by the catholic doctors, for the rev. Master Girolamo Panormitano of the Order of Preachers. With privilege. In Naples. On the premises of Gio. Maria Scotto. 1564. 8°. 1st edition, followed by many others: Romae, 1575, in 16°; Venetiis, Altobello Silicato, 1582, in 12°; Panormi, Francisci Carrara, 1595, in 12°; Neapoli, Tarquinii Longi, 1611, in 8°; Maceratae, 1619, in 24°; Neapoli, Constantini Vitalis et Octavii Beltrami, 1641, in 8°; Vicentiae et Bassani, Jo. Ant. Remondini, 1670, in 4°; and many others*].[10]

In 2006, the Italian national bibliography for the sixteenth century (Edit16) discovered another 1564 edition, produced in Brescia by Ludovico Sabbio for the book merchant Filippo De Salis; only two copies are known to date, one at the Collegio Nazareno, Opera Pia Library in Rome, and the other at the Malatestiana Library in Cesena.[11] The title page of the edition printed in Brescia also carries information of fundamental importance on the editorial history of Girolamo da Palermo's work. It reads:

> Confessionario raccolto da i dottori cattolici per il…p. maestro Girolamo panormitano. Nuouamente ristampato con alcuni aggiunti auisi & osseruationi di molta importanza. [*Confessionary compiled by the catholic doctors for…p. master Girolamo panormitano. Newly reprinted with added information and observations of great importance*].

10 Manzi, *La tipografia napoletana*, pp. 191–192, drawing upon Quétif and Échard, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum*, vol. II, p. 211. For the 1564 Neapolitan edition of the *Confessionario*, see Edit16 CNCE 21304.

11 Edit16 CNCE 65596.

This is crucial information: the edition printed in Brescia in 1564 presents itself to its readers as the latest, and updated, reprint of the work. We should, therefore, infer the existence of previous editions. This evidence is confirmed by seven editions in the RICI database printed before 1564. The work seems indeed to have been repeatedly published in the years 1557–1563: in Venice, by Domenico and Giovanni Battista Guerra, in 1557; again in Venice, by an unknown printer, in 1558; in Naples, by Giovanni Maria Scoto, in 1560; in Brescia, by Tommaso Bozzola, in 1561; in 1562, in Venice, by Andrea Arrivabene, and in Bologna, by Pellegrino Bonardo; and once more in Venice, by Giorgio Cavalli, in 1563.[12]

To date, however, there is no surviving copy of any of these editions. This absence raises a legitimate doubt whether such editions ever actually existed; could they rather be bibliographical ghosts that emerged from mistakes and misspellings in the Vatican inventories? This question needs to be posed, all the more so where the source only reports one single item for an edition.[13] It is not difficult, however, to devise strategies to assess the relative reliability of individual records. The consistency of each bibliographic record with the recorded printer's years of activity, and the reliability of each list in more general terms, should be taken into consideration. Thus the 1562 Venetian edition by Andrea Arrivabene is included in the trustworthy list of Michel'Angelo, a Camaldolese monk of S. Biagio in Fabriano, who described a total of fifteen books with extreme care and accuracy.[14]

A close consideration of the publishing history of Girolamo da Palermo's work is fundamental in assessing the reliability of the records – which must always, in every case, be examined individually. Starting with the edition printed in Brescia in 1564, the work was edited by the Domenican Andrea Alchero from Materno, the Inquisitor of the *Sant'Uffizio* in Mantova, who died in 1574.[15] Alchero prefaced Girolamo's text with some *Avvisi* of his own on sins and on methods of confession, without however adding his name to the title-page. The title page also does not mention Alchero's dedicatory letter to Bishop Domenico Bollani, dated Brescia, 12 February 1564.[16]

12 Editions recorded in the RICI database as BIB 8630; 41240; 12688; 47123; 61772; 13863; 40744.

13 RICI BIB 8630; 41240; 47123; 61772; 13863; 40744.

14 'Jo, d. Michel'Angelo monaco camaldolese, de propria mano ho scritto quanto de sopra' ['I, d. Michel'Angelo Camaldolese monk, with my own hand did write the above']: Vatican Library, collection Vatican Latin (hereafter: VL) 11287, f. 55*r-v*.

15 Quétif and Échard, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum*, vol. II, p. 230.

16 Giovanni Pillinini, 'Bollani, Domenico', in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Rome: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia italiana, 1969), vol. 11, pp. 291–293.

This element of the paratext will turn out to be of crucial importance to understanding the significance of the Brescia edition as a starting point for all the following editions. In an intervention that had been agreed with Bollani, a firm supporter of the Tridentine reforms, a close collaborator of Carlo Borromeo and a diligent reformer of the Diocese of Brescia, Alchero reinforced the efficacy of the *Confessionario* with his additions to the edition that we should note, was published in the immediate aftermath of the Council of Trent. Girolamo's editorial guidance was fully in accord with the renewed emphasis on the discipline of the sacrament of penitence. Alchero reiterated this even in the notice 'To pious readers'. Thanks to this powerful endorsement, the *Confessionario* was regarded as a text of unquestioned orthodoxy and efficacy. It continued to be issued without further changes although, from the end of the 1560s Alchero's name was increasingly added to the title page. New editions also include a further text entitled *Modo breve & risoluto di prepararsi alla confessione* [Brief and resolute way to prepare oneself for confession] by his fellow brother Desiderio Anichini from Verona along with some prayers to be recited before and after the sacraments.[17]

It is likely that this new presentation of Girolamo's text, enriched by these interventions by his two fellow brothers incorporated by all successive publishers, was the reason why the editions that preceded the 1564 Brescia edition had such a poor chance of survival. Many readers seemed more inclined to discard earlier editions in favour of these substantially enhanced texts. It is no surprise that the only copies to survive did so in the institutional collections surveyed for the Vatican investigation at the end of century. This pattern of institutional survival of redundant editions is not unusual. It is not therefore particularly surprising that we cannot find corroboration in surviving examples of the *notitiae* registered in the Vatican inventories. What this investigation certainly confirms is the real value of the RICI research project in reconstructing the publishing history of such forgotten bestsellers.

In the course of the decade after 1564 the title of the work took on its definitive form. De' Ferrari's 1572 Venice edition was entitled:

> Confessionario, raccolto da i dottori cattolici per il r.p. maestro Girolamo Panormitano, dell'ordine de' Predicatori. Nuovamente ampliato d'alcuni utili avisi, & osservationi, per frat'Andrea Alchero da Materno, dell'ordine predetto. Con la giunta di un Modo breve, e risoluto di prepararsi alla

17 Quétif and Échard, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum*, vol. II, p. 257.

confessione. Raccolto dal r. padre fra Desiderio Anichino veronese, predicatore domenicano. Con alcune divote orationi di s. Agostino, di s. Bernardo, & d'altri, alla confessione, & sacratissima communione.

[*Confessionary, compiled by the catholic doctors for the rev. father master Girolamo Panormitano of the Order of Preachers. Recently extended to include some useful information and observations by brother Andrea Alchero from Materno of the aforementioned Order. With the addition of a brief and resolute way of preparing oneself for confession. Compiled by rev. father fra Desiderio Anichino from Verona, Dominican preacher. With some devout prayers of St Augustine, St Bernard and others, for confession and for most holy communion*].[18]

Thus described, this work would continue to experience publishing success that the rarity of the surviving copies does not even lead one to suspect. Not even the most authoritative sources or modern-day repositories and catalogues – both traditional and online – provide adequate information regarding the real number of editions. With further additions by the Dominican Maurizio Gregorio from Cammarata,[19] introduced in the 1611 Neapolitan edition of Tarquinio Longo, the *Confessionario* continued to be reprinted without interruption until the late seventeenth century in many parts of Italy: in Bologna, Brescia, Milan, Naples, Palermo, Rome, Turin, Venice, as well as new locations such as Ancona, L'Aquila, Macerata, Messina, Parma, Perugia and Vicenza, mainly with multiple editions in the same year and in the same town as is shown *ad abundantiam* in the RICI database for the sixteenth century.

The sustained importance of Girolamo's *Confessionario* is further corroborated by references in the works of contemporary authors such as Angelo Michele Castellari, master of Sacred Theology and rector of the parish church of St Matthew in Bologna, who in his *Paragone della conscienza* [Paragon of the Conscience] refers readers to the *Confessionario* for a detailed analysis of sin.[20] In 1630, persuaded of its utility for the evangelisation of the towns of the eastern Adriatic, the *Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* sponsored the publication of a translation of the work into Slavic under the direction of the Friar Minor of the Observance Stefano Mattei. Remondini republished the text in Vicenza and Bassano once again in 1670 and the printer Giuseppe Longhi re-edited it in Bologna in 1679, for reasons that he explained in the notice to readers:

18 (Venice: appresso Gabriele Giolito de' Ferrari, 1572). Edit16 CNCE 54962; USTC 833374.

19 Quétif and Échard, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum*, vol. II, pp. 566–568.

20 In Bologna: printed by Clemente Ferroni, at the request of pupils of the author, 1638.

> Cortese lettore. Mi è venuto alle mani questo libretto già altre volte stampato in questa Città, e poi in Parma, l'anno 1577, a beneficio di quelle Anime, che bramano d'espurgare la propria coscienza da ogni macchia di peccato col Sagramento della Penitenza (mentre egli mostra chiaramente qual colpa sia mortale, e qual veniale) & accioche un opera di tanto frutto non resti assorbita dall'oblivione, hò pensato di ritornarla alla luce per mezzo delle mie stampe. Tu cortese lettore contentati di trascorrerla con gl'occhi del corpo, perche son' sicuro, che da questa ne riceuerai gran' lume per vedere piu chiaro ciò che si deue mirare con la pupilla dell'Anima (f. A2*r*).
>
> [*Gentle reader. This booklet has come into my hands having already been published in this city, and then in Parma, in the year 1577, for the benefit of those Souls who crave to purge their conscience of every stain of sin with the Sacrament of Penitence* (*while it clearly shows which fault is mortal, and which venial*) *& in order to prevent such a fruitful work from descending into oblivion, I have decided to restore it into the light by means of my printing presses. You, gentle reader, be happy to cast the eyes of your body over it, because I am sure that you shall receive great light from it to see more clearly what must be seen with the pupil of our Soul*].[21]

The heirs of Giacomo Amadio once again published the *Confessionario* in Vicenza in 1684 along with the *Meditazioni* by Luis de Granada and the *Corona del rosario* by Teseo Mansueti under the title *Esercitio diurno del christiano, che desidera viuere, e morire in gratia del Signore, e salvar l'anima sua. Con alcune meditationi devote del r.p.f. Luigi Granata. Et insieme il Rosario della B.V. Maria, con altre pie, & sante orationi. Et il copioso Confessionario del r.p. maestro Girolamo Panormitano dell'ordine de' predicatori* [Daily practice of the Christian who wishes to live and die in the grace of the Lord, and to save his soul. With some devout meditations of rev. father fra Luigi Granata. Along with the Rosary of the Blessed Virgin Mary, with other pious and holy prayers. And the copious Confessionary of the rev. father master Girolamo Panormitano of the Order of Preachers].[22]

This was a remarkably successful book, massively popular with readers in Italy and beyond. In the sixteenth century alone, we can contrast the eight

21 Longhi's allusion to the 1577 Parma edition leads us to suppose that he still had access to a copy and adds further editorial evidence to our knowledge: to date, the RICI database for that year only records the editions of Perugia, Baldo Salviani (BIB 41186) and Venice, Al segno della Regina (BIB 59027).

22 The only copy is at the Biblioteca civica Bertoliana in Vicenza.

editions specified by Miriam Turrini and the sixteen described in Edit16 – almost all unique examples –, with the riches of the RICI database; albeit incomplete, this plausibly documents more than one hundred.[23] The ownership of copies throughout Italy by friars and monks and in shared monastic libraries demonstrates the success of the work, otherwise unimaginable due to the high numbers of lost copies.[24] This is yet further proof of the loss of data regarding book production of former times for certain types of text that experienced strong demand but were not necessarily conserved by readers. These clearly included penitential literature in the vernacular. And in the specific case of the *Confessionario* readers were not only men and women in cloisters but also, and to a large degree, clergy and lay penitents.

Appendix

Editions of the Confessionario in the RICI database

1557
Venice, Domenico and Giovanni Battista Guerra (BIB 8630, only copy at the nuns of S. Cassiano of Mortara, Pavia: no known copies survive).
1558
Venice, s.n. (BIB 41240, only copy *ad usum* of Thomas Venetus, Observant friar of S. Francesco della Vigna in Venice: no known copies survive).
1560
Naples, Giovanni Maria Scoto (BIB 12688, only copy *ad usum* of the Augustinian Aurelio di Belforte of the convent of S. Agostino at Monteleone: no known copies survive).
1561
Brescia, Tommaso Bozzola (BIB 47123, only copy *ad usum* of the Lateran Canon Leonardo da Brescia in the convent of S. Salvatore at Brescia: no known copies survive).
1562
Venice, Andrea Arrivabene (BIB 61772, only copy *ad usum* of the Camaldulese Michelangelo in the monastery of S. Biagio at Fabriano: no known copies survive);

23 Turrini, *La coscienza e le leggi*, pp. 427–428, nos. 851–858.

24 On the information potential of the Vatican corpus as a source see also Ugo Rozzo, 'Una fonte integrativa di ISTC: l'inchiesta della Congregazione dell'Indice del 1597–1603', in Borraccini and Rusconi (eds.), *Libri, biblioteche e cultura*, pp. 215–250; Giovanna Granata, 'Le biblioteche dei religiosi in Italia alla fine del Cinquecento attraverso l'Inchiesta della Congregazione dell'Indice. A proposito di libri "scomparsi": il caso dei Francescani Osservanti di Sicilia', in Maria Grazia Del Fuoco (ed.), *Ubi neque aerugo neque tinea demolitur. Studi offerti in onore di Luigi Pellegrini per i suoi settant'anni* (Naples: Liguori, 2006), pp. 329–406.

Bologna, Pellegrino Bonardo (BIB 13863, only copy *ad usum* of Benedetto da San Colombano al Lambro in the convent of the Third Franciscan Order of S. Antonio abate at Piacenza: no known copies survive).

1563

Venice, Giorgio Cavalli (BIB 40744, only copy *ad usum* of the Observant Franciscus de Bagolino at the convent of S. Francesco in Padua: no known copies survive).

1564

Naples, Giovanni Maria Scoto for the bookseller Gabriele Benzone (not recorded in RICI; two copies are known to date, one at Vatican Library and the other at Biblioteca civica Bertoliana of Vicenza, CNCE 21304, USTC 833363);

Brescia, Ludovico Sabbio for the bookseller Filippo De Salis (not recorded in RICI; only two copies are known to date, one at the Collegio Nazareno, Opera Pia Library in Rome, and the other at the Malatestiana Library in Cesena, CNCE 65596, USTC 833364);

Brescia, Giovanni Battista Bozzola (BIB 76771, only copy *ad usum* of the Observant Tommaso da Rocca San Casciano in the friary of S. Francesco at Mirandola: no known copies survive).

1565

Venice, Giorgio Cavalli (BIB 40138, only copy *ad usum* of the friar Paolo Refrigerio at the convent of S. Bartolomeo in Pesaro: no known copies survive).

1566

Venice, Giorgio Cavalli (BIB 55086, only copy *ad usum* of the friar Antonio at the convent of S. Maria in Mombaruzzo: no known copies survive).

1567

Brescia, Vincenzo Sabbio for Tommaso Bozzola (BIB 76834, *ad usum* of Aurelio da Rimini in the friary of S. Maria delle Grazie and S. Bernardino at Rimini; single known copy survived at the Biblioteca Vallicelliana, Rome: CNCE 30107; USTC 833367, ill. 13.1); Brescia, Damiano Turlino (BIB 46800, two copies *ad usum* of the monk Felice da Mantova in the cloister of San Benedetto Po and of the Regular Canon of the Lateran Benedetto da Brescia in the convent of S. Giovanni da Verdara in Padua: no known copies survive);

Naples, Giovanni Maria Scotto (BIB 9431, only copy *ad usum* of Pietro di Comiso in the cloister of S. Maria del Gesù in Modica: no known copies survive);

Parma, Seth Viotti (BIB 19146, only copy at the abbey of S. Sepolcro in Astino, Bergamo: no known copies survive);

Venice, Stefano Zazzera (BIB 46150, only copy *ad usum* of Simone Zauli, Prior of the convent of S. Maria del Voto in Forlì: no known copies survive).

1568

Milan, Valerio and Girolamo Meda (BIB 19658, copies at four religious libraries: no known copies survive);

Venice, Andrea Muschio (BIB 48132, only copy *ad usum* of Agostino da Mantova at the convent of S. Bartolomeo in Mantua: no known copies survive).

1569

Ancona, Astolfo Grandi (BIB 5391, only copy of the female monastery of S. Ponziano at Spoleto: no known copies survive);

Turin, heirs of Niccolò Bevilacqua (BIB 44972, *ad usum* of the friar Alessandro di Torino at the convent of the Minor Observant of Madonna degli Angeli in Cuneo: no known copies survive);

Venice, Andrea Muschio (BIB 9926, copies at six libraries; single copy survived at the Biblioteca Ludovico II De Torres, Monreale: USTC 500226).

1570

Venice, Domenico and Giovanni Battista Guerra (BIB 12215, copies of the convents of Venice, Trivolzio and Palermo: no known copies survive);

Venice, Giovanni Varisco (BIB 41067, copies at five libraries: no known copies survive).

1571

Brescia, Giacomo Britannico senior (BIB 59370, only copy at cenoby of the Cassinesi monks of S. Sisto in Piacenza: no known copies survive);

Venice, Domenico De Franceschi 'al segno della Regina' (BIB 48109, *ad usum* of the regular canon of the Lateran Giuseppe da Cremona at convent of S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro in Pavia: no known copies survive).

1572

Naples, Orazio Salviani (BIB 47330, *ad usum* of Alvise da Padova, regular canon of S. Maria della Carità in Venice: no known copies survive);

Venice, Domenico and Giovanni Battista Guerra (BIB 46453, *ad usum* of Giovanni Battista, Regular Canon of S. Leonardo in Verona: no known copies survive);

Venice, Gabriele Giolito De' Ferrari (BIB 38983, *ad usum* of Modesto d'Ancona at the Franciscan convent of Castelfidardo, and of Paolo da S. Angelo, guardian of the friary of S. Angelo in Brolo; CNCE 54962, USTC 833374: no known copies survive);[25]

Venice, Grazioso Percacino (BIB 38771, two copies of the Camaldolesian hermits of Montecorona in the Caves of Massaccio, today Cupramontana, and of the Lateran Canons of S. Michele degli Scalzi in Pisa: no known copies survive);

Venice, heirs of Melchiorre Sessa (BIB 6817, copies of the Franciscan friary of S. Maria della Grazia in Cassano Ionio, of the nuns of S. Cecilia in Città di Castello,

25 Edit16 dependent upon Salvatore Bongi, *Annali di Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari da Trino di Monferrato stampatore in Venezia* (Rome: presso i principali librai, 1890–1895, 2 vols.).

of the Camaldolese monks of S. Biagio at Fabriano and of the Capuchins of S. Antonio da Padova in Cortona: no known copies survive).

1573

Perugia, *sine nomine* (BIB 6269, copies in four libraries: no known copies survive);

Naples, Giuseppe Cacchi (BIB 77344, copy of the notary Geronimo Terrazzano of Pratola Peligna: no known copies survive);

Siena, *sine nomine* (BIB 37115, *ad usum* of the Minor Observant Salvatore Scalandroni: no known copies survive).

1574

Rome, Giuseppe De Angelis (BIB 6270, copies *ad usum* of the Lateran canon Cristoforo da Piacenza at the convent of S. Maria in the Isole Tremiti, and in the library of S. Francesco in Assisi: no known copies survive).

1575

Rome, Giuseppe De Angelis (BIB 48900, *ad usum* of Gio. Battista di Casale at the friary of S. Bernardino in Alessandria; single surviving testimony at the Biblioteca Casanatense in Rome: CNCE 65834; USTC 833376);

Rome, Giovanni Gigliotti (BIB 15551, *ad usum* of the provincial minister Observant Francesco Crociani da Sartiano in the convent of the SS. Trinità in S. Fiora: no known copies survive);

Milan, Paolo Gottardo Da Ponte (BIB 19670, three copies at the convents of S. Maria in Monteveglio, of S. Giovanni Battista in Bagnocavallo, of S. Alessandro in Zebedia of Milan; only surviving copy at the Biblioteca comunale Manfrediana in Faenza: CNCE 24441; USTC 833377);

Brescia, Vincenzo Sabbio (BIB 66848, single copy recorded at the convent of S. Daniele in Monte of Padua: no known copies survive);

Perugia, *sine nomine* (BIB 22648, *ad usum* of Antonio da Osimo in the friary of S. Francesco in Fermo: no known copies survive);

Venice, Domenico and Giovanni Battista Guerra (BIB 8394, copies at eleven convents: no known copies survive).

1576

Bologna, Giovanni Rossi (BIB 59307, copies at six libraries; only known surviving copy at the Biblioteca provinciale dei Frati minori dell'Emilia in Bologna: CNCE 53075; USTC 833379);

Brescia, appresso i Turlini (not recorded in RICI; single known surviving testimony at Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan: CNCE 68524; USTC 833383);

Venice, Gabriele Giolito De' Ferrari (BIB 15223, two copies at the friary of S. Cataldo in Corato and of S. Maria Maddalena in Mirandola; CNCE 21305; USTC 833381: no known copies survive);[26]

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26 Edit16 dependent upon Bongi, *Annali di Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari*.

Domenico and Giovanni Battista Guerra (BIB 64003, *ad usum* of father Ippolito in the convent of S. Maria Maddalena in Treviso: no known copies survive).

1577

Perugia, Baldo Salviani (BIB 41186, copies at four libraries: no known copies survive);

Venice, in Frezzeria 'al segno della Regina' (BIB 59027, copy of an uncertain monastery of the Camaldolese monks; only known surviving copy at the Biblioteca comunale diocesana S. Benedetto, Norcia: CNCE 69996; USTC 833385).

1579

Siena, *sine nomine* (BIB 7763, copies of the Capucins of S. Antonio da Padova in Cortona and of the nuns of S. Maria Maddalena at L'Aquila: no known copies survive);

Brescia, Giacomo Britannico junior (BIB 75851, copy of the Capucins of S. Geminiano at Busseto: no known copies survive);

Venice, Andrea Muschio (BIB 10536, copy of the Capucins of Santo Spirito at Rogliano: no known copies survive);

Venice, in Frezzeria, 'al segno della Regina' (BIB 43452, *ad usum* of the Friar Minor Simone di Calitri at Nocera and of the Cassinese monk Gio. Angelo Faiella: no known copies survive).

1580

Venice, Domenico and Giovanni Battista Guerra (BIB 21368, *ad usum* of Lucrezio da Milano of the Servants of Mary in Milan: no known copies survive).

1581

Rome, Domenico Piolato (BIB 22873, *ad usum* of Antonio Maria da Macerata at the friary of S. Francesco in Macerata, and of Fulgenzio da Cremona of the friary of S. Maria della Pace in Rome: no known copies survive);

Venice, Domenico Cavalcalupo (BIB 9641, copies at six convents: no known copies survive);

Venice, 'al segno della Regina' (BIB 14973, *ad usum* of the friar Gregorio di Casalnuovo at the convent of S. Andrea in Barletta: no known copies survive);

Bologna, Giovanni Rossi (BIB 49167, *ad usum* of the father Gio. Battista da Fontaneto at the friary of S. Bernardino in Alessandria: no known copies survive).

1582

Naples, Orazio Salviani (BIB 64461, copy of the Capucins of Caltagirone: no known copies survive);

Venice, heirs of Luigi Valvassori 'al segno dell'Ippogrifo' (BIB 31745, copy of the Cassinese monastery of S. Pietro di Modena: no known copies survive);

Altobello Salicato (BIB 9137, copies at six libraries: no known copies survive).

1583

Venice, presso i Gioliti (BIB 50791, *ad usum* of the Cassinese cleric Ottavio Cecere and of the Coronese hermits of S. Maria dell'Incoronata at Benevento; only known surviving copy at the Biblioteca del Seminario vescovile of Padua: CNCE 65833; USTC 833387);

Venice, heirs of Francesco Rampazetto (BIB 25553, three copies at the convents of Montecchio, Acqui and Bologna: no known copies survive);

Venice, Altobello Salicato (BIB 64833, copy of the Capucins of Noto: no known copies survive).

1584

Rome, Vincenzo Accolti (BIB 38113, *ad usum* of Francesco da Parrano at S. Maria della Fratta of Umbertide, of Giacomo Criale at Castellabate and of the nun Caterina Pelletta in the Annunziata of Asti: no known copies survive);

Brescia, Policreto Turlino (BIB 25968, copy of the monastery of S. Maria di Vallombrosa at Regello: no known copies survive);

Brescia, *sine nomine* (BIB 48610, *ad usum* of the canons Andrea da Brescia at S. Lazzaro of Rimini and Giulio da Bergamo at S. Leonardo of Verona: no known copies survive);

Venice, Bernardo Giunta (BIB 17588, *ad usum* of Paolo di Patti at S. Maria del Gesù of Patti; a copy of this edition is likely to be that at Biblioteca comunale Sperelliana, Gubbio, with incomplete title page missing the date: CNCE 21303; USTC 833357);

Venice, Fabio e Agostino Zoppini (BIB 70645, *ad usum* of the canon Illuminato da Brescia at S. Lazzaro of Rimini: no known copies survive).

1585

Brescia, Vincenzo Sabbio (BIB 64394, copy of the Capucins of Malta: no known copies survive);

Venice, Fabio e Agostino Zoppini (BIB 25379, *ad usum* of Antonio da Montecchio at Treia and of Cassinese monk Pietro del Mastro: no known copies survive);

Venice, Francesco Patriani 'all'insegna dell'Ercole' (BIB 53116, *ad usum* of the friars Michele, at S. Maria delle Grazie in Arzignano, and Francesco da Imola, at S. Apollinare in Ravenna: no known copies survive).

1586

Rome, Vincenzo Accolti (edition not recorded in RICI; single known surviving copy at the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale of Rome: CNCE 23322; USTC 833390);

Turin, heir of Niccolò Bevilacqua (BIB 24844, three copies at the Observants of Busca and of Asti and at the Barnabites of Novara: no known copies survive);

Palermo, Giovanni Francesco Carrara (BIB 23515, copies at three libraries of the Conventual Friars of Sicily; CNCE 56990; USTC 833389: no known copies survive);[27]

27 Edit16 dependent upon Carlo Pàstena, Angela Anselmo, Maria Carmela Zimmardi, *Bibliografia delle edizioni palermitane antiche*. I: *Edizioni del XVI secolo* (Palermo: Regione siciliana, Assessorato regionale dei Beni culturali e ambientali e della pubblica istruzione, 1998) (hereafter: BEPA), no. 186.

Florence, Giorgio Marescotti (BIB 55281, copy of the Capucins of S. Maria Immacolata in Montecelso at Siena: no known copies survive);

Venice, Giovanni Varisco & c. (BIB 54966, copies at the Minors Friars of S. Maria di Mombaruzzo in Asti, and at the Coronese hermits of S. Maria dell'Incoronata of Benevento: no known copies survive);

Venice, Fabio and Agostino Zoppini (BIB 31741, copy at cenoby of the Cassinese monks of S. Pietro in Modena: no known copies survive);

Venice, Domenico and Giovanni Battista Guerra (BIB 25880, copy of the Minors Friars of S. Francesco of Sciacca: no known copies survive).

1587

Venice, Domenico and Giovanni Battista Guerra (BIB 9233, ten copies distributed in the cloisters of several religious Orders: no known copies survive);

Rome, Vincenzo Accolti (BIB 38171, *ad usum* of the monk Francesco Antonio Cepolla at Castellabate: no known copies survive);

Naples, Orazio Salviani (BIB 12622, two copies *ad usum* of the friar Pietro at S. Maria delle Grazie a Barisciano in Abruzzo and of the monk Giovanni Battista Vecchi in the monastery of Montevergine at Mercogliano: no known copies survive).

1588

Brescia, heirs of Giacomo Britannico (BIB 38392, copies at the Minors Friars of S. Maria di Campagna in Piacenza and at the Celestine monks of S. Maria Nova in Magenta: no known copies survive);

Vicenza, Agostino Dalla Noce (BIB 40472, four copies at the convents of Naples, Vicenza, Padua and Venice: no known copies survive);

Messina, Fausto Bufalini (BIB 15668, , copies at five libraries: no known copies survive);

Naples, Orazio Salviani (BIB 38567, three copies distributed in the cloisters of the Campania: no known copies survive).

1589

Bologna, Giovanni Rossi (BIB 37970, *ad usum* of the Observant friar Pietro da Firenze: no known copies survive);

Bologna, Pellegrino Bonardo (BIB 61642, library of the Canons of S. Maria fuori porta in Lucca: no known copies survive);

Venice, Giovanni Fiorina (BIB 15710, *ad usum* of Giulio at the convent of the SS. Trinità at Santa Fiora in Tuscany: no known copies survive);

Venice, Giacomo Cornetti (BIB 45629, *ad usum* of the monk Giulio Piroscia at the Montevergine abbey: no known copies survive);

Naples, Orazio Salviani (BIB 45361 and 64684, copies at the Verginian monastery of Salerno and Mercogliano and in the library of the Capucins of Piazza Armerina in Sicily: no known copies survive).

1590
Naples, Giovanni Battista Cappelli (BIB 45012, copies in three libraries of Aversa, Castellabate e Pavia: no known copies survive);

Naples, Giovanni Giacomo Carlino (BIB 29277, *ad usum* of the Augustinian friar Gregorio da Fossato: no known copies survive).

1591
Palermo, Giovanni Battista Maringo (BIB 15673, *ad usum* of Leone di Scicli in the friary of S. Maria del Gesù at Salemi: no known copies survive);

Venice, Giovanni Fiorina (BIB 54107, two copies in the libraries of Acqui and Genova, a copy in the possession of the notary Giovanni Vincenzo Rescigno: no known copies survive);

Venice, Domenico Imberti (BIB 32888, two copies of the books of the Minor Observant Francesco Ramucci and of the rich library of the Camaldolensian Montecorona abbey at Monteconero of Ancon: no known copies survive).

1593
Naples, Giovanni Battista Cappelli (BIB 52891, *ad usum* of the father Cassinese Marco Marotta: no known copies survive).

1595, year of Girolamo's death:

Venice, brothers Guerra (BIB 8265, *ad usum* of the Cassinese nun Prospera Vittoria of S. Teodata in Pavia: no known copies survive);

Rome, *sine nomine* (BIB 30426, at the Franciscan convent of Città Sant'Angelo: no known copies survive);

Palermo, Giovanni Francesco Carrara (edition not recorded in RICI; CNCE 56991; USTC 833392: no known copies survive).[28]

1596
Naples, *sine nomine* (BIB 61191, *ad usum* of the Augustinian friar Michele di Marcellinario at the convent of S. Floro in Nicastro: no known copies survive).

1597
Palermo, Giovanni Battista Maringo (BIB 15111, four copies; CNCE 56992; USTC 833393: no known copies survive);[29]

Messina, Pietro Brea (BIB 9629, three copies in the hands of Minors Friars of the Sicilian convents: no known copies survive);

L'Aquila, Lepido Faci (BIB 25417, *ad usum* of the father confessor Arcangelo Barasca in the convent of Saltareccio at Fermo: no known copies survive);

28 Edit16 dependent upon BEPA, no. 187.

29 Edit16 dependent upon BEPA, no. 188.

Venice, Marco Claseri (BIB 14433, two copies *ad usum* of the friars Arcangelo Borsari da Reggio at the convent of S. Maria degli Angeli in Vicenza and Francesco da Budua at the friary of S. Maria in Piove di Sacco: no known copies survive).

1598

Venice, Marco Claseri (BIB 31215, *ad usum* of the friar Giacinto da Rimini at S. Maria in Porto of Ravenna, of Marsilio Barbante da Fabriano at S. Giovanni in Jesi and a copy at the library of the Coronese abbey of Rua, Padua: no known copies survive).

1599

Venice, Altobello Salicato (BIB 55822, *ad usum* of Antonio da Ferrara in the convent of S. Sebastiano in Venice: no known copies survive).

1600

Rome, Guglielmo Facciotti (BIB 32057, a copy at the library of the Franciscan convent of S. Francesco a Ripa in Rome: no known copies survive).

Unidentified editions due to incomplete or wrong citation in inventories:

[*S.l., s.n., s.a.*] (BIB 53801, copies *ad usum* of the Cassinese cleric Agostino Marotta and in the Augustinian library of Sessa);

[*S.l., s.n., s.a.*] (BIB 65531, only copy in the Augustinian library of Capua);

[*S.l., s.n.*], 1526 (BIB 29086, only copy in the library of the Conventual Friars at Campli);

Venice, [*s.n., s.a.*] (BIB 64555, only copy *ad usum* of Sergio, lay brother at Camaldolese monastery of S. Giovanni Battista, Bagnacavallo);

Rome, Guglielmo Facciotti, [*s.a.*][30] (BIB 16350, only copy *ad usum* of the friar Gabriele Bartoli in the cloister of S. Antonio di Padova in Tivoli);

[Venice], Giorgio Cavalli, [*s.a.*][31] (BIB 10137, copies at the Capucins of S. Maria delle Grazie of Montalto Offugo, Cosenza and *ad usum* of Arcangelo di Cammarata at Observant convent of S. Maria del Gesù in Cammarata);

Naples, Bartolomeo Vassallo, [*s.a.*] (BIB 40563, at the Capucins of S. Maria Lauretana at Itri);[32]

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30 Likely 1600, see below, BIB 32057.

31 Perhaps one of the editions listed below: 1563 (BIB 40744), 1565 (BIB 40138), 1566 (BIB 55086).

32 Another copy *sine anno* is listed among the books of donna Lucretia Galteri di Castellabate (VL 11266, f. 520*r*), not registered in the RICI database yet. This edition is likely to have been printed in the late 1590s, perhaps 1597, with other books printed by Bartolomeo Vassallo, an obscure printer completely unknown to Edit16. On Bartolomeo Vassallo see Giuseppina Zappella, 'Alla ricerca del libro perduto', in Vincenzo De Gregorio (ed.), *Bibliologia e critica dantesca: saggi dedicati a Enzo Esposito*, I: *Saggi bibliologici* (Ravenna: Longo, 1997), pp. 243–293, at pp. 255–256; Carmela Compare, 'Libri di donne e libri di monache alla fine del XVI secolo', and Sara Cosi, 'I libri dei sudditi: Mercogliano, feudo di

Venice, Andrea Arrivabene, 1502[33] (BIB 40365, only copy *ad usum* of Paulus de Salocio at Observant friary of S. Francesco della Vigna in Venice);

Venice, Domenico and Giovanni Battista Guerra, 1509[34] (BIB 25459, only copy *ad usum* of the Observant Angelo di Cammarata in the cloister of S. Maria del Gesù at Cammarata).

Montevergine', in Borraccini and Rusconi (eds.), *Libri, biblioteche e cultura degli Ordini regolari nell'Italia moderna*, pp. 583–622, p. 598; and pp. 623–657, pp. 641–642.

33 Likely to be a mistake for 1562, see below, BIB 61772.

34 The Guerra brothers started their printing activity in the late sixteenth century and reprinted the *Confessionario* many times: see above.


CONFESSIONARIO
RACCOLTO DA I
Dottori Catolici.
PER IL R. P. MAESTRO
Girolamo Panormitano,
dell'Ordine de Pre-
dicatori.
Nuouamente ampliato di alcuni auisi,&
osseruationi d'importanza, per F.
Andrea Alchero da Mater-
no, dell'ordine pre-
detto.

IN BRESCIA,
Appresso Vincenzo di Sabbio.
M. D. LXVII.

ILLUSTRATION 13.1 *Girolamo da Palermo, Confessionario raccolto da i dottori catolici. Nuovamente ampliato di alcuni avisi, & osservationi d'importanza per f. Andrea Alchero da Materno* (*Brescia: Vincenzo Sabbio for Tommaso Bozzola, 1567*), *title page*

CHAPTER 14

The Devil's Trick. Impossible Editions in the Lists of Titles from the Regular Orders in Italy at the End of the Sixteenth Century

Roberto Rusconi

La plus grande malice du diable est
de nous faire croire qu'il n'existe pas
CHARLES BAUDELAIRE

After the publication of an *Index librorum prohibitorum* by Pope Clement VIII, in 1596, the Sacred Congregation of the Index of prohibited books requested the regular orders to submit lists of all the books they owned.[1] Each item in those lists was supposed to include five main bibliographic elements: author, title, place of publication, publisher/printer, year.[2] The surviving lists sent to the Congregation are mainly kept by the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana in Rome.[3] They reveal many titles that cannot be presently connected to a surviving book. Some may indeed be lost books, as has been suggested by other contributors to this volume, and elsewhere. All of this information, has, however to be used with great care. This paper will analyze the morphology of misleading bibliographic items, explaining how mistakes came to be made in the compilation of the book lists. The examples are taken from the work of the RICI project, a comprehensive retrospective analysis of this survey by the Congregation of the Index at the end of the sixteenth century.[4]

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1 See the recostruction of the procedure in Gigliola Fragnito, 'L'Indice clementino e le biblioteche degli Ordini religiosi', in Rosa Marisa Borraccini and Roberto Rusconi (eds.), *Libri, biblioteche e cultura degli ordini regolari nell'Italia moderna attraverso la documentazione della Congregazione dell'Indice. Atti del Convegno Internazionale* (*Macerata 30 maggio – 1 giugno 2006*) (Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2006), pp. 37–59. All online resources quoted in this article were last consulted on 30 June 2015.

2 See the document published by Marc Dykmans, 'Les bibliothèques des religieux d'Italie en l'an 1600', *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae*, 24 (1986), pp. 385–404, here p. 392 (Vatican Library, collection Vatican Latin, hereafter: VL, 11296, f. 123*r*).

3 An analytic description of the manuscripts can be found in Marie-Madeleine Lebreton and Luigi Fiorani, *Codices Vaticani Latini. Codices 11266–11326. Inventari di biblioteche religiose italiane alla fine del Cinquecento* (Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1985).

4 On the project Ricerca sull'Inchiesta della Congregazione dell'Indice (RICI), see Borraccini and Rusconi, *Libri, biblioteche e cultura degli ordini regolari*; Roberto Rusconi, 'Le biblioteche

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That request by the Congregation of the Index that those charged with making the inventories should record the exact bibliographic data of any individual volume in full, clearly responded to the priorities of inquisitorial censorship: the aim was to detect prohibited books. The enquiry sought to pinpoint the exact issue of each text owned by individual monks or in institutional collections. Inaccurate descriptions had to be avoided, because they were often misleading. It happened, however, that the items in the lists were often bibliographically incomplete. As a matter of fact, a truly remarkable number of the lists of the books owned by the regular orders were drafted omitting the requested data concerning the publisher/printer. Monks and friars lacked the appropriate bibliographical skills for such a task. In some cases the missing information seems to have been the result of a strategy of concealment. It was quite common not to mention the editors of an opera omnia or the author of introductions and dedicatory letters when this might have revealed disapproved authors, for instance either Erasmus[5] or Melanchthon.[6]

The list of the titles of the books owned by a Franciscan conventual, master Felice da Avezzano, living in the convent of Tagliacozzo, in the Abruzzi, systematically omitted the indication of the printer. As a consequence, the item listed as: "Bibia sacra. Ven., 1538" might refer to any of three different editions printed in Venice in that same year.[7] The item could have referred to a copy of the Latin Vulgata,[8] or to the Italian translation by Santi Marmochino,[9] or

degli ordini regolari in Italia alla fine del secolo XVI', *Rivista di storia del cristianesimo*, 1 (2004), pp. 189–199; Rosa Marisa Borraccini (ed.), *Dalla "notitia librorum" degli inventari agli esemplari. Saggi di indagine su libri e biblioteche dai codici Vaticani latini 11266–11326* (Macerata: EUM, 2009); Rosa Marisa Borraccini, Giovanna Granata and Roberto Rusconi, 'A proposito dell'inchiesta della S. Congregazione dell'Indice dei libri proibiti alla fine del '500', *Il capitale culturale*, 6 (2013), pp. 13–45, available online: <http://riviste.unimc.it/index.php/cap-cult/article/view/400/434>.

5 Mario Rosa, '"Dottore o seduttor deggio appellarte": note erasmiane', *Rivista di storia e letteratura religiosa*, 26 (1990), pp. 5–33; Silvana Seidel Menchi, 'Sette modi di censurare Erasmo', in Ugo Rozzo (ed.), *La censura libraria nell'Europa del secolo XVI* (Udine: Forum, 1997), pp. 177–207; Flavia Bruni, *"Erano di molti libri proibiti". Frate Lorenzo Lucchesi e la censura libraria a Lucca alla fine del Cinquecento* (Rome: Marianum, 2009).

6 Flavia Bruni, '"Typographi e quorum officinis diversorum haereticorum opera prodiere": religious books printed in Basel in post-Tridentine Italy', *De Gulden Passer* (forthcoming).

7 VL 11291, f. 177*v*.

8 *Biblia. Breves in eadem annotationes, ex doctiss. interpretationibus, et Hebraeorum commentariis. Interpretatio propriorum nominum Hebraicorum* (Venice: Bernardino Stagnino, 1538) (Edit16 CNCE 5785).

9 *La Bibia nuovamente tradotta dalla hebraica verita in lingua thoscana per maestro Santi Marmochino fiorentino dell'Ordine de predicatori della provincia romana* (Venice: haer. Lucantonio Giunta, 1538) (Edit16 CNCE 5762).

indeed the forbidden translation by Antonio Brucioli.[10] An incomplete item would easily raise suspicions, since translations of the Bible and biblical commentaries were at least suspect in the eyes of the inquisitors.[11]

The requested lists were sent to the Congregation of the Index over a period of about five years, starting in 1597. They had been drawn up following various procedures. A particular list could be the copy of a previous inventory, which had been prepared in accordance with the legislation of a regular order (when that prescription was observed).[12] A copy of a document could include (and often did) a remarkable number of misunderstandings of the original text. The range of mistakes included garbling the names of printers and authors who were not Italian and the sort of errors that indicate a weak command of the Latin language. Abbreviation marks were quite often misunderstood. Misspellings in the transcription from a previous list, especially due to misunderstanding of the handwriting, are easy to identify, for instance when this results (and many times it does) from the omission of a sign of abbreviation.

Alternatively, a single list could have been drawn up after a direct inspection of each individual volume, mostly based on the title page. This was the case for the personal lists of friars and monks, who sometimes wrote them in their own hand. It also happened, however, that a member of a regular Order delegated to undertake this task inspected the rooms of the convents, to make a list of the titles of the books 'used' (*ad usum*) by individual friars and monks. Other misleading procedures affected those lists, since it is not unusual to discover that, instead of taking the bibliographical data from the front page of a volume, the redactor reported the intitulation on the spine or on the edges (obviously without any indication either of the place and year of printing or of the name of the

10 *La Biblia quale contiene i sacri libri del Vecchio Testamento tradotti da la hebraica verità in lingua toscana per Antonio Brucioli* (Venice: Francesco Bindoni & Mapheo Pasini, 1538) (Edit16 CNCE 5763). Cf. Jesús Martínez De Bujanda (ed.), *Index des livres interdits*, vol. X (Sherbrooke, Québec: Université, Centre d'Études de la Renaissance – Geneva: Droz, 1996), p. 99.

11 Gigliola Fragnito, *La Bibbia al rogo. La censura ecclesiastica e i volgarizzamenti della Scrittura (1471–1605)* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1997).

12 On the legislation of the regular orders concerning books and libraries, see Silvia Alessandrini Calisti, 'Norme e consuetudini degli Eremiti camaldolesi di Montecorona su libri e biblioteche'; Roberto Biondi, 'Libri, biblioteche e "studia" nella legislazione delle famiglie Francescane (secc. XVI–XVII)'; Giovanni Grosso, 'I Carmelitani e i libri: alcune note sulla legislazione', in Borraccini and Rusconi (eds.), *Libri, biblioteche e cultura degli ordini regolari nell'Italia moderna*, pp. 309–335, pp. 337–379, pp. 381–394 respectively. See also Monica Bocchetta, 'La legislazione dei Minori conventuali sugli studi e sulle biblioteche, secoli XVI–XVII', in Francesca Bartolacci and Roberto Lambertini (eds.), *Presenze francescane nel camerinese (secoli XIII–XVII)* (Ripatransone: Maroni, 2008), pp. 249–271.

printer). In addition, a list could have been compiled by putting together a number of lists of the books owned by different individuals. This kind of procedure was relatively common for the convents without a formal library.[13] The Capuchins[14] and the Reformed Franciscans[15] often elected to prepare a collective list on a provincial basis, since those regular Orders prohibited any kind of personal property by their members, including books.

It was not at all uncommon for the bibliographical elements to be translated into an inventorial Latin, thereby making it hard to be certain of the identification of a specific issue, especially when the same work circulated in Latin and in the vernacular. Some booklists apparently resulted from dictation.[16] Mistakes also arose from the mis-identification of one or more bibliographic elements in the early printed editions, especially when they were

13 In some cases a preliminary statement makes this explicit: "Somma di libri che se ritrouino nel monasterio di S. Maria di Colle Maggio in L'Aquila" (VL 11286, f. 212*r*); "Lista delli libri delli padri et monastero di S. Biagio d'Vgubbio de' Celestini" (VL 11286, f. 251*r*). Many lists of this kind can be found in Samuele Megli and Francesco Salvestrini (eds.), *Congregazione di Santa Maria di Vallombrosa dell'Ordine di san Benedetto* (Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2013), and Cécile Caby and Samuele Megli (eds.), *Congregazione Camaldolese dell'Ordine di san Benedetto* (Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2014) (*Libri e biblioteche degli Ordini religiosi in Italia alla fine del secolo XVI*, 1–2).

14 Edition of some lists by Vincenzo Criscuolo, 'I cappuccini salernitano-lucani e la cultura', in Vincenzo Criscuolo (ed.), *I Frati Minori Cappuccini in Basilicata e nel Salernitano fra '500 e '600* (Rome: Istituto storico dei cappuccini, 1999), pp. 174–271; 'Formazione e cultura tra i Cappuccini della Provincia dell'Umbria tra Cinque e Seicento', in Vincenzo Criscuolo (ed.), *I Cappuccini nell'Umbria del Cinquecento (1525–1619)* (Rome: Istituto Storico dei Cappuccini, 2001), pp. 119–265; 'Il catalogo delle biblioteche dei conventi cappuccini della Provincia di Milano alla fine del Cinquecento', in *Laurentianum*, 44 (2003), pp. 391–516; 'La biblioteca dei cappuccini ad Arezzo alla fine del '500 (cod. Vat. lat. 11322)', *Atti e memorie della Accademia Petrarca di Lettere, Arti e Scienze*, n.s., 66 (2004), pp. 401–429; 'La circolazione dei libri e delle idee nella Provincia dei cappuccini di Cosenza tra Cinque e Seicento: la formazione culturale e il catalogo delle biblioteche', *Laurentianum*, 47 (2006), pp. 439–571. See also Costanzo Cargnoni, 'Libri e biblioteche dei cappuccini della Provincia di Siracusa alla fine del secolo XVI', in *Collectanea Franciscana*, 77 (2007), pp. 63–151.

15 Roberto Biondi, *Le biblioteche dei Francescani Riformati in Italia alla fine del Cinquecento* (PhD thesis, Università di Padova, 2005); Roberto Biondi, '"Vi sono certo altri scritti d'oscurissima interpretatione". Gli inventari dei *fratres strictioris Observantiae* durante l'inchiesta della Congregazione dell'Indice', *Franciscana*, 12 (2010), pp. 215–334.

16 See the arguments by Angelo Turchini, 'Libri, territorio e società in Romagna alla fine del XVI secolo. A proposito delle biblioteche monastiche romagnole nell'inchiesta della Congregazione dell'Indice dei libri proibiti', in Lorenzo Baldacchini and Anna Manfron (eds.), *Il libro in Romagna. Produzione, commercio e consumo dalla fine del secolo XV all'età contemporanea* (Florence: Olschki, 1998), pp. 249–284, p. 251.

lacking the title page. We can easily understand that, at the end of the sixteenth century, a friar or a monk might not easily be able to detect those elements in an old printed edition. It could indeed happen that, when transcribing the publication data, somebody did not realize that in a colophon the digits of a year had been divided into two lines, and for this reason the date in the list had recorded only the date on the first line. For example, the list of the titles for the use of the Franciscan conventual Biagio da Camorano, in the convent of Fermo (in the Marches), included the item: "Margarita Decreti seu Tabula Martiniana edita per fratrem Martinum Ord. Pred. Venet., per Peregrinum de Pascaleo, 1480".[17] As a matter of fact, Pellegrino Pasquali printed that book in the year 1486, and in the colophon the digits had been divided into two lines (see ill. 14.1).[18]

Another example of the same kind was offered by the monastery of S. Sepolcro di Astino (near to Bergamo, in Lombardy), belonging to the monks of the Congregation of Vallombrosa. The item in the list: "Silius Italicus poeta. Mediolani, per Antonium Zarotum, 1480",[19] is likely to correspond to the edition of the Punica, printed in Milan in the following year.[20] In the colophon the year was written in a quite peculiar way: "M.CCCCLXXX.PRIMO./LECTOR. BENIVOLE". It is hardly surprising that somebody did not realize that 'primo', i.e. first, had to be added as 'one' to the sum of Roman digits. It was even more difficult to detect the year from a colophon similar to an epigram. This occurred with a text printed in Venice by Nicolas Jenson.[21] In the list of the titles owned by the library of the monastery Badia of Ripoli, not far from Florence, the list gave the correct indication of author, title and year of the edition, but did not include the place of printing and the printer's name: "Georgius Trapezius, In traductione Eusebij Pamphyli De preparatione euangelica. 1470".[22]

Considering all these possible occasions for confusion, is it really strange to find the year of publication for a printed edition reported as '1441' in some

17 VL 11280, f. 122*v*.

18 Martinus Polonus, *Margarita decreti seu Tabula Martiniana* (Venice: Peregrinus de Pasqualibus Bononiensis and Dominicus Bertochus, 2 Sept. 1486) (ISTC im00324000).

19 VL 11288, f. 190*v* (cf. Megli and Salvestrini, *Congregazione di Santa Maria di Vallombrosa*, XXII.1, 457, p. 313).

20 Silius Italicus, *Punica*, ed. Petrus Justinus Philelphus (Milan: Antonius Zarotus, for Johannes de Legnano, [not before 7 Nov.] 1481) (ISTC is00505000).

21 Eusebius Caesariensis, *De evangelica praeparatione*, tr. Georgius Trapezuntius. With additions by Antonio Cornazzano (Venice: Nicolaus Jenson, 1470) (ISTC ie00118000).

22 VL 11288, f. 57*v* (cf. Megli and Salvestrini, *Congregazione di Santa Maria di Vallombrosa*, III.1., 143, p. 156).

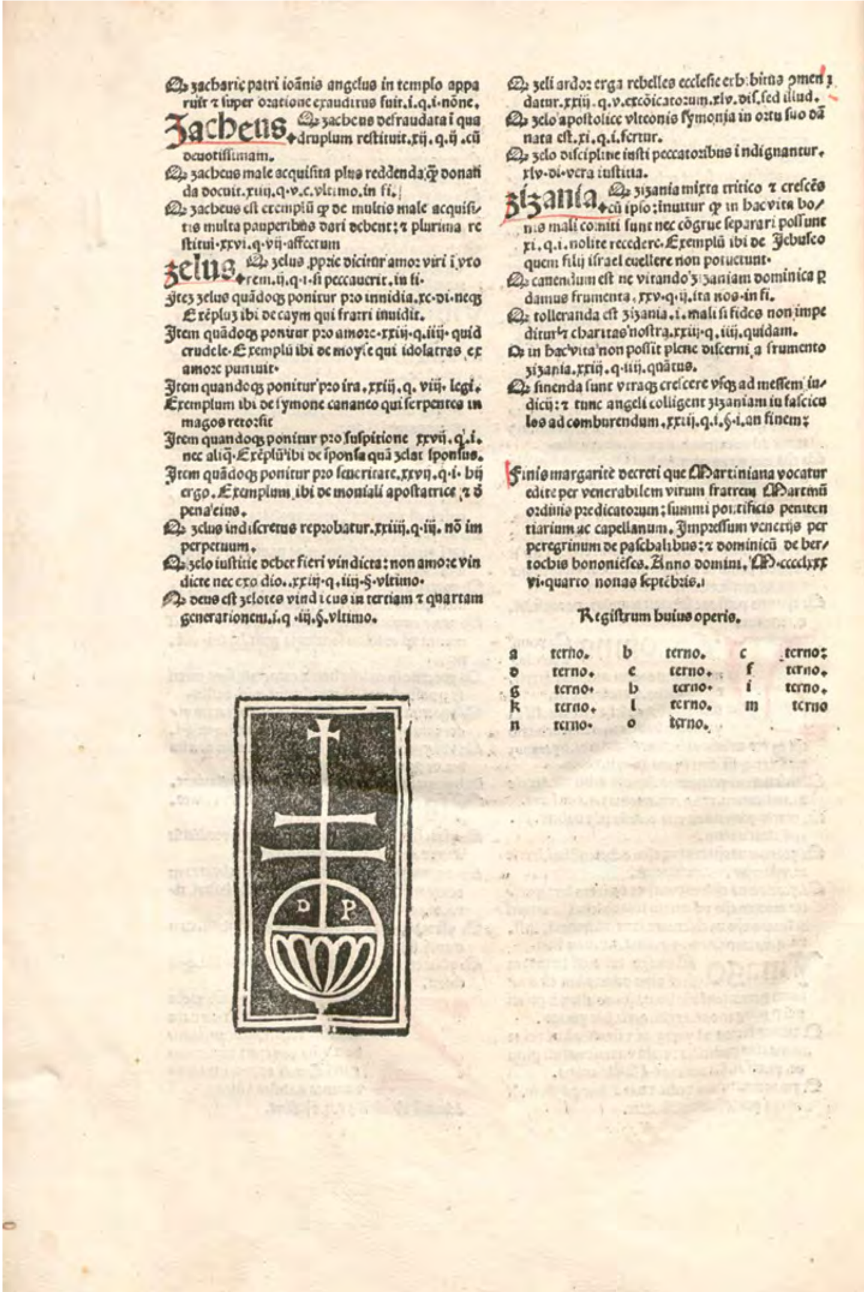


ILLUSTRATION 14.1 *Martinus Polonus, Margarita decreti seu Tabula Martiniana* (*Venice: Peregrinus de Pasqualibus Bononiensis and Dominicus Bertochus, 2 Sept. 1486*), *f. o₄v*
© BSB-Ink M-233 [2.Inc.c.a.1799]

lists?[23] In a number of cases the place and the year had been taken from a letter of dedication, found in the first pages of a volume. A friar belonging to the Servites, Agostino Galli from Milan, wrote this item in his list: "Comentaria Themistij. Ven., 1480".[24] As a matter of fact, Themistius Peripateticus' *Paraphrasis in Aristotelem*, had been printed in Venice by Johannes Hamman in the year 1500.[25] However, in the first page, at the end of a letter by Ermolao Barbaro one could easily read: "Vale. Venetiis. M.CCCC.LXXX." A more common cause of confusion was the incorrect transcription of the title page, notably when expanding abbreviations and above all when changing the indication of the year of printing from Roman to Arabic numerals (not to mention that in many lists mistakes were also made in copying Arabic numerals).

Some mistakes resulted from peculiar printing practices, which gave rise to the indication of strange years. As a consequence, in a list of the books belonging to the monk Mauro da Badia Polesine, in the Camaldolese monastery in Murano (Venice), the year 1273 was assigned[26] to an edition of the *Venetiae* by Germain Audebert, which in fact was printed in Venice by Aldo II Manuzio in the year 1583 (ill. 14.2).[27] Mistakes in the use of Roman numerals on the editions were also possible. *La filosofia morale del Doni* was printed in Ferrara in the year 1590, but according to the Roman numerals on its title page, the year became 1610 (ill. 14.3). To get that result, all it took was to place an X after a C, rather than before.[28]

Similar mistakes appeared quite frequently in the lists of the books owned by the regular Orders. It could also produce peculiar effects. The indication of the year could be even limited to three digits. "Vita beati Francisci s. Bonauenturae. Per Filippum Iuntam, 159" is an item recorded in the list of the books owned by the Reformed Franciscans in the convent of Poggio Nativo (near Rieti).[29] There is no doubt that the corresponding edition was Bonaventura da Bagnorea's *Legenda maior beati Francisci*, printed in Florence

23 See, for instance, the records for the *Summa Pisanella* by Niccolò da Osimo and its *Supplementum* given as printed in the year 1441 in the RICI database: BIB 57579; 28152; 30767; 20097.

24 VL 11321, f. 69*r*.

25 Cf. ISTC it00130000 and ISTC it00131000.

26 VL 11287, f. 203*r*: "Germani Aduberti Aurelij Uen. ad serenissimum principem Nicolaum de Ponte. Venetijs, apud Aldum, 1273" (cf. Megli and Salvestrini, *Congregazione di Santa Maria di Vallombrosa*, XXVII.3, 8, p. 349).

27 Germain Audebert, *Venetiae* (Venice: Aldo Manuzio II, 1583) (Edit16 CNCE 3366).

28 Anton Francesco Doni, *La filosofia morale tratta da molti antichi scrittori* (Ferrara: Benedetto Mammarello, 1610 [i.e. 1590]) (Edit16 CNCE 17722).

29 VL 11286, f. 35*v*.

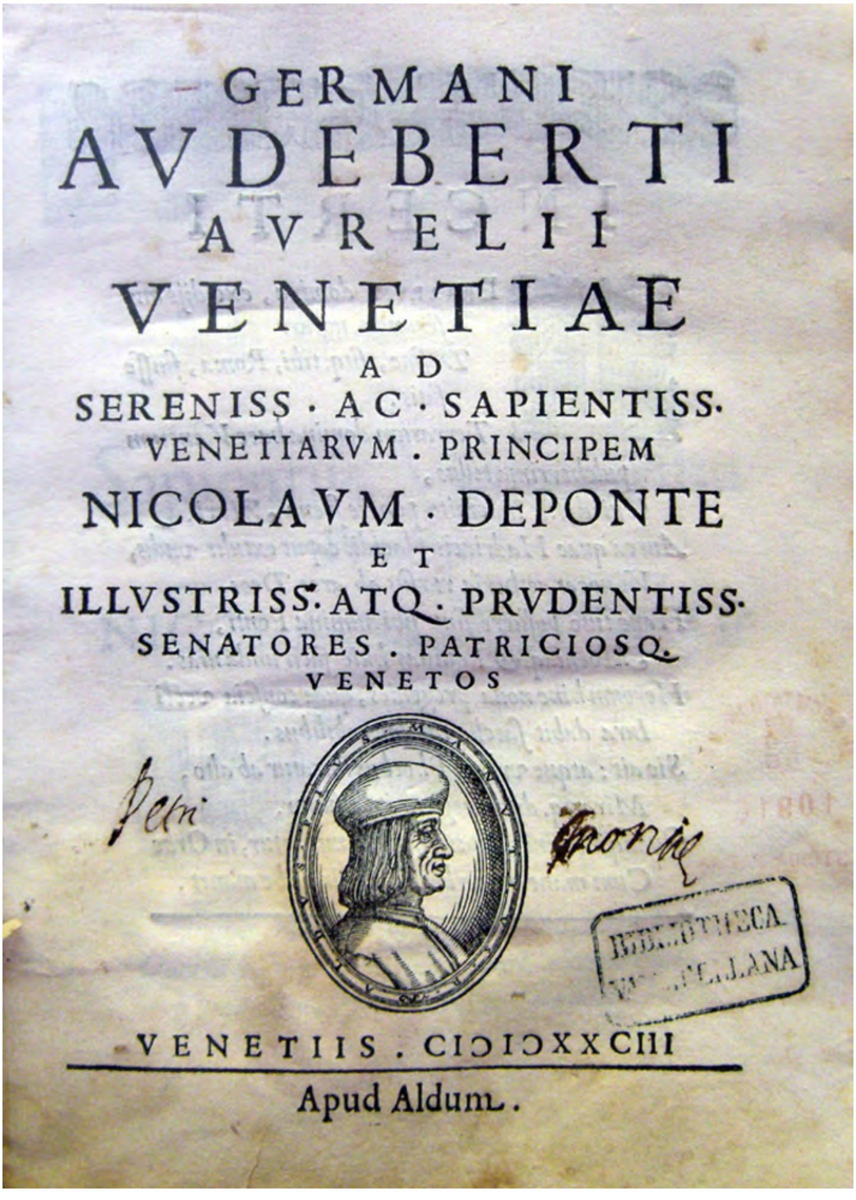

GERMANI
AVDEBERTI
AVRELII
VENETIAE
AD
SERENISS. AC. SAPIENTISS.
VENETIARVM. PRINCIPEM
NICOLAVM. DEPONTE
ET
ILLVSTRISS. ATQ. PRVDENTISS.
SENATORES. PATRICIOSQ.
VENETOS
VENETIIS. CIƆIƆXXCIII
Apud Aldum.

ILLUSTRATION 14.2 *Germain Audebert, Venetiae* (*Venice: Aldo Manuzio II, 1583*), *title page*
© Biblioteca Vallicelliana, Rome [S.Borr.H.II.168]

LA
FILOSOFIA
MORALE,
DEL DONI,
Tratta da molti Antichi Scrittori,
Per amaestramento uniuersale de go-
uerni, & regimento particolare
de gli huomini.
Con modi dotti, & piaceuoli, Nouelle, Motti,
Argutie, & Sententie.
Di nuouo Riccorretta, & da molte incorrettio-
ni emendata.

IN FERRARA.

Appresso Benedetto Mammarello. M. D. C X.
Con licentia de' Superiori.

ILLUSTRATION 14.3 *Anton Francesco Doni, La filosofia morale tratta da molti antichi scrittori (Ferrara: Benedetto Mammarello, 1610 [i.e. 1590]), title page*
© Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Rome [12.27.D.2]

by Filippo Giunta.[30] In this case, a year written in Roman numerals (M.D.IX.) had been simply transliterated into Arabic numerals. The same type of erroneous practice could be really misleading in other cases. In the list of books belonging to the monks of the Benedictine monastery S. Pietro in Modena the item: "Institutiones vitae monasticae Laurentii Iustiniani. Brixiae, per Iacobum Britannicum, 1511"[31] suggests the existence of an unknown edition of the work, if one does not realize that the Roman numerals M.D.II. for 1502 in the printed book[32] had been literally transliterated into the corresponding Arabic numerals as 1.5.11. Even more frequently than the omission or misspelling of names and places, the erroneous indication of the year of printing of a certain issue gives rise to ambiguities that are often very difficult to resolve.

The activity over the years of editorial dynasties could also open the way to errors in the recording of printers' names. In the list of the books of the Benedictine monastery in Modena the item: "Institutiones Urbani Bolzanii. Venet., apud Aldum, 1560"[33] in fact referred to an edition printed by Paolo Manuzio.[34] The bibliographic knowledge of the monk who wrote that list was obviously poor and he simply made reference to the front page, with the famous anchor, dolphin, and the name 'Aldus' (ill. 14.4).

Some practices were almost guaranteed to produce mistakes. In many cases the indication of the title of a volume was absolutely generic, like 'Logica', 'Philosophia', and so on. We can presume that such a generic title had indeed been taken from a direct inspection of each individual volume, but a hasty or careless one that looked no farther than the intitulation on the spine or on the edges (which obviously included no place and year of printing and no printer's name). A more interesting challenge is posed by the incomplete or incorrect identification of bibliographic elements in those instances – not at all uncommon – in which several distinct works had been bound together. The zealous religious who registered the bibliographic information found by checking the first and last pages of such a volume might thus invent a 'mixed' edition, formed by combining the bibliographic data from two different issues.

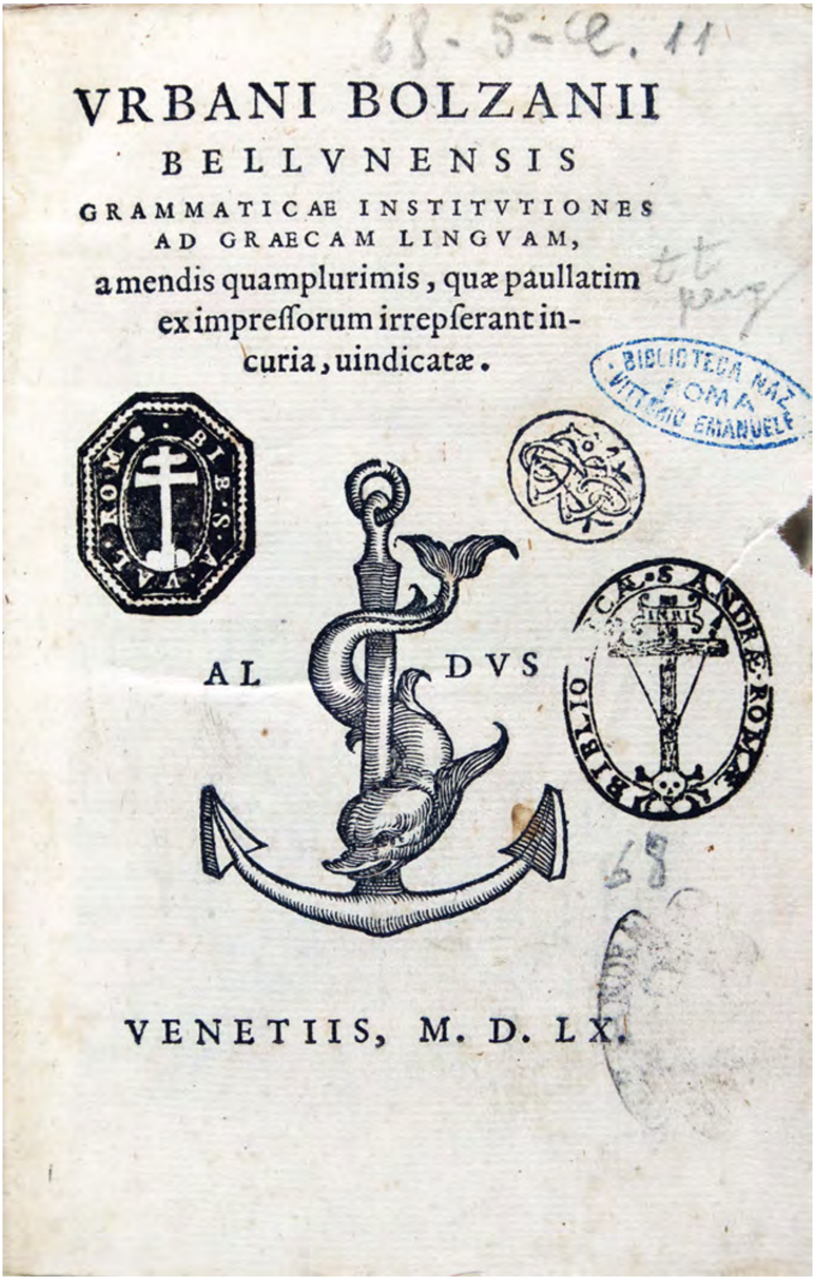
30 Bonaventura da Bagnorea, *Aurea legenda maior beati Francisci* (Florence: Filippo Giunta, 1509) (Edit16 CNCE 6873).

31 VL 11269, f. 278*r*.

32 Lorenzo Giustiniani, *Institutiones vite monastice mortalibus universis ad bene beateque vivendum anhelantitus* [*!*] *quam utilissime* (Brescia: Giacomo Britannico, 1502) (Edit16 CNCE 23230).

33 VL 11269, f. 278*r*.

34 Urbano Bolzanio, *Grammaticae institutiones ad Graecam linguam, a mendis quamplurimis, quae paullatim ex impressorum irrepserant incuria, vindicatae* (Venice: [Paolo Manuzio], 1560) (Edit16 CNCE 6787).


VRBANI BOLZANII
BELLVNENSIS
GRAMMATICAE INSTITVTIONES
AD GRAECAM LINGVAM,
a mendis quamplurimis, quæ paullatim
ex impreſſorum irrepſerant in-
curia, uindicatæ.

AL DVS

VENETIIS, M. D. LX.

ILLUSTRATION 14.4 *Urbano Bolzanio, Grammaticae institutiones ad Graecam linguam, a mendis quamplurimis, quae paullatim ex impressorum irrepserant incuria, vindicatae* (*Venice:* [*Paolo Manuzio*], *1560*), *title page*
© Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Rome [68.5.C.11]

Since many of the volumes belonging to the Congregation of the Oratory in Rome are still preserved in the Biblioteca Vallicelliana at Rome and presumably correspond to the items enumerated in a list at the end of the sixteenth century, it is possible to compare listed item with surviving exemplars and confirm precisely this sort of conflation.[35]

On the contrary, a record including multiple works could prove actually to be referring to a single edition. This is the case, for instance, of the item described as:

> Athinagorę Atheniensis philosophi christ. Apologia pro christianis ad Antoninum et Commodum. Eiusdem De resurrectione mortuorum. Vterque Grece et Latine, interpret. Appologię Corado Gesnero. Henr. Steph., 1557. Corradi Gesneri Annot. in Athenag. Apologiam. Henr. Steph. Epistula ad Petrum Nannium et annotationes in vtramque Athenagore orationem.[36]

The record carefully describes the edition of various works by Athenagoras Atheniensis translated into Latin by Conrad Gesner, whose name is on the title page, and printed in Geneva by Henri Estienne II in 1557.[37]

A record might also include large quotations of the title page. This happened for the description of the

> Comentaria Io. Cocclei De actis et scriptis Mart. Lutheri, cum his uerbis in fronte: Multiplex pręparata et hic lectori vtilitas per rerum gestarum ex fide veritate narrationem, ut cognoscat quanta Luthero fuerit vis ingenij quantaque laborum tolerantia, quantus animi in affectib. impetus, quanta styli seuitia et qualia fuerint de eius doctrina papę, imperatorum, regum, conciliorum, episcoporum vniuersitatum Erasmi et id genus quo doctissimorum quorumlibet iudicia.[38]

35 Vatican, Archivio della Congregazione per la Dottrina della Fede (hereafter: ACDF), *Index*, XXII, ff. 236–280. Elisabetta Caldelli, *Tra le carte: all'interno della lista degli Oratoriani* (Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, forthcoming) (*Libri e biblioteche degli Ordini religiosi in Italia alla fine del secolo XVI*, 3).

36 Vatican, ACDF, *Index*, XXII, ff. 240*v*–241*r*.

37 Athenagoras Atheniensis, *Apologia pro christianis ad imperatores Antoninum & Commodum. De resurrectione mortuorum, uterque Græce et Latine* ([Geneva]: Henri Estienne II, 1557) (USTC 450451).

38 Vatican, ACDF, *Index*, XXII, ff. 245*v*–246*r*.

Even without any information about printer, date or place of printing, the identification of this item with a copy of the edition of the *Commentaria de actis et scriptis Martini Lutheri* by Johann Cochlaeus, printed in Mainz by Franz Behem in 1549, is made certain by the accurate transcription of the title page included in the description above.[39]

The identification of copies of different editions bound together with no indication of printing whatsoever is only made possible by the discovery of the actual volume the record referred to. One excellent example is the series of items listed below:

> Homerocentra. Una cum interpretatione Latina et imagine obscena.
> Nonni Panoplitani. In Euangelium Ioannis in Gręc. .
> Item Io. Chrisostomi Missa Gręcolatina, Erasmo interprete. Paris., apud Christianum Vuecchelum, 1537.
> Item eiusdem Chrisostomi De fato et prouidentia Dei. Basileę, apud Io. Frobenium, 1526.
> Eiusdem In epistulam ad Philipp. homilie duę, Erasmo interprete .
> Item Antonij Tilesij De coronarum generibus.
> Item Eiusdem De celeritate etc.
> Item De regionibus nou. Rom.
> Dialogj Osci et Vollsci etc.
> Item Adriani Turnebij Epitaloemium Francisci Valesij.
> Huld{erici Huteni} arte uersificatoria.[40]

These are actually short and incomplete descriptions of several editions bound together in a single volume of the Biblioteca Vallicelliana in Rome.[41]

Early modern booklists, like the ones investigated by the RICI project, can be a source of knowledge about lost books, notably for editions that were not intended to form part of a library of any kind, for example liturgical books, usually stored in the sacristy of a church. Books intended for everyday use,

39 Johannes Cochlaeus, *Commentaria de actis et scriptis Martini Lutheri* (Mainz: Franz Behem, 1549) (USTC 663508).

40 Vatican, ACDF, *Index*, XXII, ff. 258*v*–259*r*.

41 Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, Sala Borromini, I.IV.215. For details on the editions see ELE 6559 in the RICI database, records 371–381 (forthcoming). For other similar instances amongst the books belonged to the Servite convent of S. Piero Piccolo in Arezzo, see Flavia Bruni, 'The Book Inventories of Servite Authors and the Survey of the Roman Congregation of the Index in Counter-Reformation Italy', in Malcom Walsby and Natasha Constantinidou (eds.), *Documenting the Early Modern Book World. Inventories and Catalogues in Manuscript and Print* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 207–230.

such as devotional works and pastoral manuals, were used until they were completely worn out, discarded or replaced, despite the provisions of the legislation of the regular Orders (for instance, the book used by deceased friars had to be either returned to the library of their own convent or assigned to other friars). An excellent example is the *Confessionario* of the Dominican friar Girolamo da Palermo, a small manual for confession, whose survival rate appears significantly low if compared to the number of copies listed in the RICI database, as carefully analysed by Rosa Marisa Borraccini in this volume. However, we must bear in mind that though the presence of the same bibliographical record in several lists, related to different Orders in different places, often does imply the existence of a new, unknown edition, it does not exclude the possibility that different individuals could have made the same mistake. It is necessary to conclude with another injunction to caution: the Devil is always at work.

CHAPTER 15

On the Track of Lost Editions in Italian Religious Libraries at the End of the Sixteenth Century: A Numerical Analysis of the RICI Database

Giovanna Granata

The bibliographical coverage of early printing and publishing in Europe has widened enormously in previous decades due to the development of electronic databases and collective catalogues. The multitude of records contained in these provide a reasonably accurate idea of what was published in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. However, at the same time this increased availability of data has also raised the bar of expectations; in particular, it has increased the interest of scholars in the phenomenon of lost editions. Now that it is easier to explore the quantitative distribution of surviving copies for each edition, scholars have also been faced, in quite dramatic terms, with the question of the potential number of unknown editions, those for which no copies survive as testimony.[1]

There have been two different approaches to this problem. The first adopts an inferential methodology, based on a statistical projection of the data currently available to us;[2] the second uses an analytical methodology, based on the investigation of specific cases and on the examination of different documentary sources (either archival or bibliographical).[3] The advantage of the first approach is that it provides a degree of global data, but at the same time this data is offered without any possibility of verification; the second is potentially able to reconstruct the main elements of specific unknown editions, but

1 On this subject see the important remarks of Neil Harris, 'La sopravvivenza del libro ossia appunti per una lista della lavandaia', *Ecdotica*, 4 (2007), pp. 24–65 and 'L'unicum in biblioteca: per un'analisi della sopravvivenza del libro antico', in Maria Paola Barlozzini (ed.), *Gli incunaboli e le cinquecentine della Biblioteca di San Gimignano* (San Gimignano: Comune, 2007), vol. II, pp. 51–64.

2 See Jonathan Green, Frank McIntyre and Paul Needham, 'The Shape of Incunable Survival and Statistical Estimation of Lost Editions', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 105 (2011), pp. 141–175.

3 See for example the studies of Jean-François Gilmont on Jean Calvin, Jean Crespin and Carolus Scribani, now collected in Jean-François Gilmont (ed.), *Le livre & ses secrets* (Geneva: Droz, 2003).

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its overall view of a phenomenon for which huge numbers, in the tens of thousands, have been hypothesized is inevitably limited and fragmentary.[4]

In order to merge the different benefits of the two methodologies, it would be necessary to compare the data recorded by modern bibliographical tools with the data taken from sources which are contemporary with the dates of publication of the books in question. The data from these contemporary sources should also be as extensive and detailed as possible in order to ensure both that it is quantitatively significant and bibliographically reliable.

This kind of source, both comprehensive and detailed, is in the nature of things extremely rare. Scholars working in the field of early printed books are increasingly interested in the exploitation of documentary sources, either newly discovered or long familiar,[5] but the results it has been possible to obtain are generally disappointing when they are compared with the size of the gaps in our bibliographical knowledge outlined by the statistical approach.[6]

An important exception to this prevailing situation, however, is the documentation accumulated between 1598 and 1603 as a result of the investigation

4 These fluctuations depend on the mathematical model adopted for calculation; see on this topic the discussion of Green, McIntyre and Needham, 'The Shape of Incunable Survival', who estimated that the number of lost sixteenth-century editions could be either in the range of 40-60% or in the range of 35-50%, depending on the statistical treatment.

5 See for example Alexander S. Wilkinson, 'Lost Books Printed in French before 1601', *The Library*, 10 (2009), pp. 188–205, who resorted to the historical French catalogues of François de La Croix du Maine (1580) and Antoine du Verdier (1585), in order to explore the problem of French vernacular books now lost, by mapping their data to the *French Vernacular Book* (hereafter: FVB) database entries. Studies on the book trade have also been focusing on some inventories which, from a quantitative point of view, are highly significant. See, for example, the *Zornale* of Francesco de Madiis, first mentioned by Horatio Brown in his study on the history of printing in Venice in 1891, the interest of which as a source of evidence for many lost editions has recently been emphasized by Neil Harris and Cristina Dondi, 'Oil and Green Ginger. The Zornale of the Venetian Bookseller Francesco de Madiis, 1484-1488', in Malcolm Walsby and Natasha Constantinidou (eds.), *Documenting the Early Modern book world: Inventories and catalogues in manuscript and print* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 341–406. An extensive survey of the documentary sources of this kind can be found in Angela Nuovo, *The Book Trade in the Italian Renaissance* (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

6 For example, the sample of references used by Wilkinson, 'Lost Books' for mapping data to the FVB database entries in his survey on lost French vernacular books amounted to 5,639 editions, while the estimate of the lost editions made by Neil Harris based on a statistical projection of editions surviving in one or two copies recorded in FVB results in some 59,000. See Neil Harris, 'The Italian Renaissance book: Catalogues, censuses and survival', in Malcolm Walsby and Graeme Kemp (eds.), *The book triumphant. Print in transition in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth centuries* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), pp. 26–56, at p. 54.

carried out by the Congregation of the Index into the books held by the Italian religious orders, in the wake of the so-called Clementine Index in 1596 and the subsequent campaign of control and censorship.[7] Each order was required to provide a description of all the books – not just those which were prohibited or regarded as suspicious – which were held in their communal library as well as those possessed by individual monks and nuns in their cells: the amount of data surveyed and recorded in the resulting manuscript inventories is correspondingly vast.

Romeo De Maio, who was the first to emphasise the importance of these lists for bibliographical studies, described them as "the greatest national bibliography of the Counter-Reformation".[8] This definition, although evidently anachronistic and misleading in a strictly technical sense, has been generally accepted as an appropriate one, since it highlights the two main features of these remarkable documents: their range of coverage and their analytical depth. The census involved almost 2,200 convents and monasteries belonging to thirty-one religious orders throughout Italy, who recorded the books in their possession, following guidelines for their cataloguing which were supplied by the Congregation, with a high degree of accuracy in order to ensure that these editions, whether prohibited, subject to expurgation, or permitted for reading, were correctly identified.

The Enquiry of the Congregation of the Index as a Source for Lost Editions

The relevance of this source to the improvement of our current knowledge of early printing and publishing, and particularly to the search for evidence of lost editions, was immediately appreciated. Several scholars attempted to

7 The documentation is mainly kept in the Vatican Library, mss. Vaticani Latini 11266–11326: see Marie-Madeleine Lebreton and Luigi Fiorani, *Codices Vaticani Latini. Codices 11266–11326. Inventari di biblioteche religiose italiane alla fine del Cinquecento* (Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1985). Some other documents have recently been found, held by other institutions: see Roberto Rusconi, 'I religiosi e i loro libri in Italia alla fine del secolo XVI', in Rosa Marisa Borraccini, Giovanna Granata and Roberto Rusconi, 'A proposito dell'inchiesta della S. Congregazione dell'Indice dei libri proibiti alla fine del '500', *Il capitale culturale*, 6 (2013), pp. 13–45, at p. 17.

8 Romeo De Maio, 'I modelli culturali della Controriforma. Le biblioteche dei conventi italiani alla fine del Cinquecento', in Romeo De Maio (ed.), *Riforme e miti nella Chiesa del Cinquecento* (Naples: Guida, 1992), pp. 355–370, p. 363.

analyse a selection of the lists – the sheer magnitude of the documentation makes it impossible to examine all the available data – from this perspective.[9]

The results of these surveys were encouraging, but they were in effect preliminary skirmishes when measured against the vast amount of data which the documents assembled by the Congregation could potentially make available.

However, new opportunities for research are emerging from the database "Le biblioteche degli ordini regolari in Italia nel XVI secolo" created by the research group 'Ricerca sull'Inchiesta della Congregazione dell'Indice' (the database is hereafter referred to as RICI);[10] in this database, all the manuscript lists compiled by the religious orders in Italy are being transcribed and then analytically indexed in order to ensure a comprehensive and integrated approach to the bibliographical data found in the entire range of the documentation.

The working methodology involves a systematic validation of the editions listed for each religious house by checking against the most current reference

9 See for example Gianvito Resta and Giuseppina Zappella who proposed supplementing the bibliography of Sicilian and Neapolitan early printing respectively by relying on data recorded by the Franciscans in Sicily which had just been published by Diego Ciccarelli in his *La circolazione libraria tra i francescani di Sicilia* (Palermo: Officina di studi medievali, 1990): Gianvito Resta, 'La stampa in Sicilia nel Cinquecento', in Marco Santoro (ed.), *La stampa in Italia nel Cinquecento* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1992), pp. 777–841; Giuseppina Zappella, 'Alla ricerca del libro perduto: supplemento "virtuale" agli annali della tipografia napoletana del Cinquecento' in Vincenzo De Gregorio (ed.), *Bibliologia e critica dantesca. Saggi dedicati a Enzo Esposito. 1: Saggi bibliologici* (Ravenna: Longo, 1997), pp. 243–293. More general remarks are developed by Ugo Rozzo, focusing on incunabula, 'Una fonte integrativa di ISTC: l'inchiesta della Congregazione dell'Indice del 1597–1603', in Rosa Marisa Borraccini and Roberto Rusconi (eds.), *Libri, biblioteche e cultura degli Ordini Regolari nell'Italia moderna attraverso la documentazione della Congregazione dell'Indice. Atti del Convegno Internazionale* (*Macerata 30 maggio – 1 giugno 2006*) (Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2006), pp. 215–250 and, based on some Servite lists, by Flavia Bruni, 'The Book Inventories of Servite Authors and the Survey of the Roman Congregation of the Index in Counter-Reformation Italy', in Walsby and Constantinidou (eds.), *Documenting the Early Modern book world*, pp. 207–220.

10 The database is the main product of the research group RICI (Ricerca sull'Inchiesta della Congregazione dell'Indice), led by Roberto Rusconi and at work since 2000, with the involvement of several Italian universities, cultural Institutes and religious Orders. The papers published by the research group, updated to 2013, are listed in Borraccini, Granata and Rusconi, 'A proposito dell'Inchiesta', pp. 36–45. The general features of the database are documented by Giovanna Granata, 'Struttura e funzionalità della banca dati "Le biblioteche degli ordini regolari in Italia alla fine del secolo XVI', in Borraccini and Rusconi (eds.), *Libri, biblioteche e cultura,* pp. 285–308. The database in now available through the Vatican website: <http.//rici.vatlib.it>.

sources for early printing and publishing, so as to be able to identify those which correspond to editions already known ('matched' editions) and those which do not ('unmatched' editions). This second category of 'unmatched' editions is clearly an important potential resource from which, taking due methodological caution in order to single out possible ghosts, it is possible to reconstruct a plausible (at least) hypothetical list of editions which are unrecorded today because no copies of them survive.

The most innovative character of the database and its main advantage compared with previous research on the lists relate to the comprehensiveness of the information presented in the database, the number of unrecorded (unmatched) editions it contains and as a result the extent of the "hypothetical lists of missing editions" which can be extracted.

Although the original documentation has not yet been completely analysed and the work of transcribing, transferring and indexing is still in progress, the editions which have been successfully identified in the available bibliographical sources already number about 27,500: a considerable figure which confirms the significance of the documentation and already enables us to draw up some overall assessments of the bibliographical nature and reliability of the data it contains.[11] This figure for identified editions may increase to a limited extent, i.e. a few more new editions will eventually be found and matched with currently recorded editions, although it is more probable that a wider distribution of the already identified editions among the holdings of religious houses will be found.

The trend characterizing the editions which have not been matched in bibliographical sources is quite different: at present they number approximately 43,500 and, as the work of transcribing and identifying continues, this number increases at a faster rate than that of the identified editions.[12]

A significant reason for this increase lies in the high number of items which are difficult to identify because the descriptions of them found in the original

11 Some preliminary attempts in this regard have been made by the author of the present paper on different occasions; for a bibliography see Borraccini, Granata and Rusconi, 'A proposito dell'Inchiesta'.

12 In 2006 the number of matched editions amounted to 25,400 versus 20,900 unmatched editions, see Granata, 'Struttura e funzionalità'. About 5 years later, the former total was little varied (about 26,000) while the number of the unmatched editions had almost doubled (about 41,000): see Giovanna Granata, '"La più grande bibliografia nazionale della controriforma": il trattamento informatico dei dati dell'Inchiesta della Congregazione dell'Indice', in Roberto Rusconi (ed.), *Il libro antico tra catalogo storico e catalogazione elettronica* (Rome: Scienze e Lettere, 2012), pp. 133–154. The data discussed in this paper is updated to May 2014.

manuscript inventories are more or less full of omissions; nevertheless, these items are still indexed in the database but only at the level of the title of the work they contain or with a partial description. If we subtract these cases from the above-mentioned total of 43,500, about 21,850 editions remain, which can then be subjected to a more detailed and consistent analysis in order to ascertain whether they are in effect the traces of lost editions.[13]

This figure is much more limited in respect to the total – just over half – but it is no less difficult to handle properly; in such a large amount of data, there is inevitably a reasonably high risk of creating unwittingly the 'deceptive appearances' of apparent editions which are the bane of serious bibliography. To make matters worse, moreover, these appearances, besides taking the form of ghosts, can also depend on the selection of the bibliographical sources used to check the data. In order to minimize this risk, preference has intentionally been given to large and long-established online databases, in what is a strict hierarchy of consultation.

In connection with these points, an empirical test carried out by the author of the present article in 2004 on about one hundred unmatched editions from the database,[14] showed that in the case of at least twenty-one of them, all sixteenth-century Italian editions, the failure to identify and match was possibly due to the use of the Italian national census of sixteenth-century Italian editions (Edit16) as the exclusive source for the matching, especially when we remember a fundamental aspect of the census: that it includes only those editions found in Italian libraries.[15] It is worth noting that for fourteen of these twenty-one Italian editions which could not be found in Edit16, records were retrieved, through a search of their online catalogues, in German and French libraries. Such a result was to be expected of course: the notable survival of Italian editions held outside Italy is well known to bibliographers and the phenomenon is made even more apparent to present-day researchers through the

13 The precise figures are these: there are currently 21,620 editions divided into: (a) 13,242 editions without date of printing (and among them 8,860 without any publication/printing data); (b) 1,280 dated, but without place of printing and publisher/printer; (c) 6,850 dated and with place of printing, but without name of publisher/printer; (d) 265 with date and name of printer, but without place of printing. The remaining 21,846 out of the total of 43,466 form the sample used for the present paper.

14 Giovanna Granata, 'Le biblioteche dei religiosi in Italia alla fine del '600 attraverso l'Inchiesta della Congregazione dell'Indice. A proposito di libri scomparsi: il caso dei francescani Osservanti di Sicilia', in Maria Grazia Del Fuoco (ed.), *Ubi neque aerugo neque tinea demolitur. Studi offerti in onore di Luigi Pellegrini per i suoi settant'anni* (Naples: Liguori, 2006), pp. 329–406.

15 See Edit16.

increasingly broad coverage provided by national and international bibliographical databases. The extent of its impact, though, on this small sample of sixteenth-century editions is still very striking.

In the same way, further analysis of the sample clearly revealed a series of cataloguing errors on the part of those who compiled the lists, mostly due either to trivial misunderstandings or to the inadequacies of the descriptive methodologies employed at the end of the sixteenth century, when some basic distinctions between bibliographical entities were still unknown, resulting in often inappropriate descriptions of some more complex bibliographical units, such as multi-level or collectanea editions. Such errors were not detected during the construction phase of the RICI database, which involved a straightforward comparison of existing bibliographical sources; they emerged only in the course of the more careful analysis – sometimes with book in hand or working with digital images of the cluster of editions which had been misidentified – carried out for the sample.

In this way the in-depth analysis carried out for the sample enabled us to identify just under half the editions which had initially been classified as 'unmatched'; despite this success, fifty-two occurrences of unidentified editions remained. A direct examination of these volumes – assuming it were possible to identify where the copies originally held by the monastic libraries and described in the lists are currently held – might serve to clarify the difficulties of interpretation, i.e. whether they are the result of erroneous descriptions on the part of the friars and monks who compiled the lists or whether they are authentic bibliographical rarities instead of lost editions. Yet even in the absence of direct examination of the copies (which would in any case be realistically impossible on the scale of the documentation), such unresolved entries can still be taken as contemporary documentary evidence for the existence of hypothetical unrecorded lost editions.

To sum up, the sampling survey confirms the need to be extremely cautious in our approach to the 21,850 editions contained in the RICI database which remain hitherto unidentified and it helps us to define the major problems involved in identifying them, but it still does not provide useful elements for the overall analysis of the rest of the documentation.[16]

16 One of the methodological hypotheses requiring verification has been partially confirmed. This is the hypothesis that it is possible to use the distribution of copies throughout the libraries of the religious orders (i.e. the overall number of copies for each edition) as a filter for the identification of actual editions now lost to us, on the assumption that unmatched editions for which a very high number of copies are recorded are more likely to be genuine lost editions, in contrast with unmatched editions for which only a low

Many factors determine the impact of these problems: internal ones, relating to the characteristics of the books themselves which are described in the lists,[17] or external ones, relating in particular to our ignorance of the ways in which the census was carried out – whether on the basis of previously existing inventories or by examining each book again in hand, by more or less bibliographically experienced friars, hurriedly or at leisure, and so on.

For this reason the hundred editions covered in the sample cannot be used as the basis for any general deductions; and even if this were the case, a statistical approach would be able to provide merely numerical data. Only a systematic examination of the data would obtain a significant set of robust bibliographical references. The existence of the RICI database is intended to facilitate such a systematic and wide-ranging examination and it remains a goal for the future. It is already possible to use the vast mass of available data which is transcribed and recorded in the database in connection with specific bibliographical questions, such as those relating to individual authors or printers.[18] For a more global approach to tackling all 21,850 unmatched editions, some preliminary operations of filtering and organising are necessary in order to create a list of the most significant and relevant cases.

number of copies are recorded. However it is not possible to apply this principle as a filter too rigidly. While a very high number of copies would strongly suggest that an edition must have existed (but is now lost) or perhaps still exists (but is now rare or forgotten), there is no evidence, on the other hand, that a single occurrence (i.e. a single copy) has of necessity to be seen as a bibliographical ghost. Moreover, in cases where an average number of copies – neither particularly high nor particularly low – has been recorded, there is evidence of repeated errors in the cataloguing, meaning that, despite the plural occurrences in the lists, these editions can be interpreted as bibliographical ghosts (albeit documented more than once). See Granata, 'Le biblioteche dei religiosi'.

17 The lists for example clearly show some problems in recording incunabula, possibly because these publications were more unfamiliar than sixteenth-century editions: see Granata, 'Le biblioteche dei religiosi'.

18 At least two recent studies which use the database as a source for early printing should be mentioned: the survey of the lost editions of Girolamo da Palermo's *Confessionario* by Rosa Marisa Borraccini in the present volume, 'An Unknown Best-Seller: the *Confessionario* of Girolamo da Palermo'; see also Rosa Marisa Borraccini, 'Il *Confessionario* di Girolamo da Palermo: un *long seller* sconosciuto', in Borraccini, Granata and Rusconi, 'A proposito dell'Inchiesta', pp. 28–36; and the study by Edoardo Barbieri, 'Per monialium poenitentium manus. La tipografia del monastero di Santa Maria Maddalena alla Giudecca, detto delle Convertite (1557–1561)', *La Bibliofilia*, 113 (2011), pp. 303–353, where RICI data is given in the bibliography.

A Quantitative Approach to the RICI Documentation

With this aim in mind, the proposed methodology uses the ratio of the total number of unmatched and matched editions as a threshold value in order to identify some possible trends as well as anomalies and critically significant cases. The value of this ratio is calculated to be around 0.8: as a result, the cases where there is greatest divergence, i.e. when the number of unmatched editions differs significantly from the number of matched ones, can be singled out as being of particular interest. Thus the threshold value ratio has been applied in order to highlight anomalous authors (i.e. those who diverge significantly from it); for each of these the ratio of unmatched and matched editions has been calculated and the resulting values have been sorted along a scale from maximum to minimum. The total number of authors analysed stands at 5,518.[19] On the basis of the calculated threshold value of the ratio, they have been grouped in four separate subsets whose characteristics are discussed below.

Subsets A and B: Authors with no Unmatched or Matched Editions

First of all, for a large number of authors (2,883), corresponding to slightly more than half the total (52.2%), only matched editions are recorded; the ratio of unmatched to matched editions therefore measures 0 (subset A). In theory, this set could potentially be useful in identifying examples of authors whose works have a higher survival rate and/or have been more widely recorded in catalogues and bibliographies. In fact, it is predominantly constituted of authors with a low number of editions to their name; for the vast majority of them (2,698) the editions listed under their names number no more than two or three; only for ten authors does this number rise to between ten and twenty.[20] As will be obvious, the data is therefore insufficient for any analysis in terms of survival rates and coverage.

19 The total number of authors in the database is currently higher (about 8,000). For the purpose of the present analysis, the authors considered are only those indexed in the sample of 21,850 unmatched editions as well as those in the 27,500 matched ones, excluding editions for which the recorded bibliographical information is imperfect. Moreover the analysis has been carried out on authors as main entries, i.e. where they are chiefly responsible for the creation of the work, with the exclusion of cases where they are editors or translators.

20 The list of these last authors, ordered by number of editions, is: Manuel Chrysoloras (20), Orazio Lombardelli (14), Giacomo Novello (13), Girolamo Mercuriale (12), Publius Papinius Statius (12), Irenaeus (11), Pandolfo Collenuccio (11), Gian Giorgio Trissino (10), Aphthonius (10), Marco Mantova Benavides (10).

The subset can probably be best interpreted in a negative sense: since the number of matched editions is consistently low, the absence of unmatched editions is not significant; in other words, there are no authors in this subset for whom the absence of unmatched editions means that it is possible to exclude or limit *a priori* the eventuality of unknown editions (and among them possibly missing works). This is a minimal conclusion which, at least, has the advantage of not contradicting what has already been assumed on other grounds, namely, that the phenomenon of lost editions is fairly extensive. The problem remains in assessing the detail of the phenomenon, i.e. which authors and how many are involved.

At the other end of the spectrum, there is a very limited set of authors (subset B) for whom there are only unmatched editions (i.e. 0 is the value for matched editions): there are 509 of these, i.e. 9.2% of the total. Quite apart from this very low figure, it should be noted that the distribution of the number of editions among these authors is very low, even lower than with the authors in subset A, which therefore again means that this data is inadequate for the identification of large-scale trends.

To be precise, for a significant proportion of the 509 authors (447), just one edition is registered; there are about sixty authors with two or three editions while those with four or five editions can be counted on the fingers of one hand. These are the editions published by the Jesuates, as a corporate entity (and name entry),[21] together with the works of the observant Franciscan preacher Giacomo della Marca,[22] and those of the canon regular Eusebio Corrado.[23]

21 For the Jesuates, the database documents some unknown editions of the *Indulgentie* (or privileges which they had been granted), printed between 1568 and 1595: RICI BIB 61722, 8633, 64071, 35899.

22 For Giacomo della Marca there are five unmatched editions of his *Confessione*, all printed in Italy in the sixteenth century and all attested in a single copy only: two Venetian editions (printed by Bernardino Bindoni in 1538 and by Stefano Bindoni in 1549, respectively RICI BIB 46888 and 76530) and three editions from Naples (printed by Orazio Salviani in 1589 and by Giovanni Giacomo Carlino in 1596 and 1597, respectively RICI BIB 61441, 45633 and 50790). On Giacomo della Marca and his works, see Carla Casagrande, 'Giacomo della Marca, santo', *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 54 (2000), pp. 214–220.

23 For Eusebio Corrado there are four unmatched editions. At least one of them (RICI BIB 57009) can be identified with ISTC ia01324000 (= IGI 1043); the remaining three are two further incunabula (RICI BIB 47244 and 48277, which is probably a ghost) and a sixteenth-century Italian edition (RICI BIB 47623: *De dignitate canonicus reg.*, Florence, Carlo di Giovanni Stefano, 1512) not known to Edit16. On Eusebio Corrado, see Katherine Walsh, 'Corrado, Eusebio', *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 29 (1983).

It is clear that the numbers derived from this subset, as with subset A, do not give prominence to certain authors over others. Although, mathematically speaking, the ratio of unmatched and matched editions leads to an infinite number, it is in fact unable to reveal cases which are abnormal. Moreover, for authors with only unmatched editions, unlike the case of subset A, it is possible to recalculate the value of the denominator on the basis of the number of editions known from modern bibliographical sources, thus obtaining values which are at least more plausible in measuring the extent of the phenomenon.

For example, in the case of Giacomo della Marca seven sixteenth-century editions are known while four incunabula are now recorded for Eusebio Corrado, lowering their respective ratios to 1.5 and 1. In the case of the Jesuates there are seventeen recorded editions, making the ratio value 0.2.

However, what is of real relevance in relation to this set of authors is not the infinite value of the ratio, but the low value of numerator and denominator. Rather than indicating (by the calculus of the fraction) a very high number of books which have been lost for each author, they reveal a low circulation rate of works by these authors specifically within the libraries of the religious orders, though not necessarily elsewhere.[24]

In short, they are 'marginal' authors and it is therefore unsurprising if their books, which were already 'rare' in the past, survive today in just a few copies or even do not survive at all. This serves to confirm what is known as a general tendency but the subset also enables us to carry out more detailed analysis.

Subset C: Authors Below the Threshold Value

More effective elements can be obtained by analysing the remaining 2,126 authors: for these it is possible to calculate the ratio of matched and unmatched editions as values equal to or greater than one. As a consequence, it also becomes possible to observe the resulting trend in relation to the threshold defined by the overall average for the database as a whole.

For over half these authors (1,189, equal to 21.6% of the total), the values are below 0.8%; in other words the ratio of unmatched and matched editions is

24 By way of example, the authors with three unmatched editions and no matched editions are: Andrea Alchero (d. 1574), Vincenzo Ercolani (d. 1539), Georges de Bruxelles, Lorenzo Gherardi (fl. 16th cent.), Giovanni da L'Herba (fl. 1536), Antonio Miserocchi, Sebastião Morais (1534–1588), Ippolito Musso, Cristoforo Scanello (d. about 1593), Michele Verino (about 1469–1487).

lower than the threshold or reference value (these authors form subset C). It is interesting to observe that, again, the number of editions for each author is quite low, even if in this case values are clearly less uniform and display a more marked variability. To be more precise, there are 444 authors with more than ten editions (matched and unmatched), while there are more than fifty editions each for approximately sixty authors.[25]

Among them those authors clearly stand out for whom the coverage in bibliographies and catalogues is both more accurate and comprehensive, as a result of the interest shown in them by literary historians, critics and book collectors. There are, for example, in this list numerous classical authors, especially (listed here by total number of editions in decreasing order): Cicero, Ovid, Terence, Horace, Plutarch, Valerius Maximus, Sallust, Julius Caesar, Galen, Aesop, Pliny the Elder, Livy, Seneca, Suetonius,[26] together with several leading Italian Renaissance humanists and poets, above all Petrarch, Boccaccio, Ariosto and Tasso,[27] but also Pietro Bembo, Aldo Manuzio, Jacopo Sannazzaro and Lorenzo Valla[28] as well as other scholars and polygraphs of the time such as Paolo Giovio, Francesco Sansovino, Lodovico Dolce, Girolamo Ruscelli, Ludovico Pittorio.[29]

Constraints of space do not allow us to look at specific examples; it is however worth underlining how these findings indirectly corroborate the methodological approach that has been adopted for filtering the data. The application of the threshold value, defined as the ratio of unmatched to matched editions,

25 It should be noted that the values are calculated in terms of the number of editions. As a consequence the data is not very useful as a measure of how widespread these authors were among the Italian religious orders at the end of the sixteenth century. To ascertain this it would be more appropriate to look at the number of copies, as the present author has proposed, in 'Biblioteche religiose e circolazione libraria alla fine del '500. Prime note quantitative' in *Essays in honor of Roberto Coroneo* (forthcoming).

26 The number of the editions are: Cicero (459 matched vs. 321 unmatched), Ovid (138 vs. 85), Terence (84 vs. 54), Horace (92 vs. 41), Plutarch (85 vs. 25), Valerius Maximus (73 vs. 31), Sallust (61 vs. 26), Julius Caesar (65 vs. 15), Galen (47 vs. 30), Aesop (45 vs. 26), Pliny the Elder (50 vs. 14), Livy (43 vs. 19), Seneca (38 vs. 17), Suetonius (37 vs. 13). The ratio of unmatched and matched editions for all the authors varies between 0.2 and 0.6, thus remaining far below the standard value of 0.8; only for Cicero does the ratio increase to 0.7, probably owing to the high number of editions.

27 The number of editions are: F. Petrarca (99 matched editions vs. 51 unmatched), G. Boccaccio (52 vs. 19), L. Ariosto (53 vs. 11), T. Tasso (69 vs. 26).

28 The number of editions are: P. Bembo (64 matched editions vs. 26 unmatched), A. Manuzio (50 vs. 40), J. Sannazaro (69 vs. 19), L. Valla (48 vs. 26).

29 The number of editions are: P. Giovio (64 matched editions vs. 17 unmatched), J. Sansovino (61 vs. 16), L. Dolce (48 vs. 20), G. Ruscelli (45 vs. 23), L. Pittorio (35 vs. 28).

indicates negative values (i.e. with a low number of unmatched editions) for those authors whose survival has indeed been less seriously affected. Thus, it is not by chance that, when sorting data by a decreasing ratio value, Ludovico Ariosto, one of the sixteenth century authors whose editions are most widely recorded in bibliographies, occupies the leading position.[30] In a similar way, on the basis of these findings, we can expect to find among the authors with positive values, i.e. those exceeding the threshold value of 0.8, some at least of those for whom the survival of their editions is known to have been more seriously affected.

However, before introducing the analysis of this subset, some further points need to be taken into consideration. Firstly, on the significance of the subset: the low ratio of unmatched and matched editions does not imply that for these authors the possibility of lost editions is to be excluded, but rather that we can assume the possibility has a smaller impact, bearing in mind the fact that the category of unmatched editions may also contain ghosts and other kinds of errors. So the authors included in this subset cannot be regarded as a priority if our aim is to find those authors whose results have a higher statistical significance. It does not of course follow from this that these authors are of no interest in terms of more detailed analysis.

A second point can be made about the internal distribution of data within the subset: it should be noted that among the authors who remain below the threshold value, a significant proportion of them vary widely from it, with a low ratio of unmatched to matched editions. In 914 cases (corresponding to 77% of the subset) the ratio is below 0.5 or, in other words, the unmatched editions do not amount to more than half the matched ones. In particular in 876 cases their number is less than ten. Thus a large part of this subset can be seen as an extension of subset A, confirming again the extent of the phenomenon of 'unknown editions' in the data base, but, unlike subset A, it also yields more detailed data on the phenomenon.

Looking at the higher range of the spectrum, for just 275 authors out of the total of 1,189, the calculated ratio is close to 0.8 and among them only 163 (corresponding to 13.7% of the subset and 3% of the total in the database as a whole) have more than ten editions. So, on the basis of this pattern, a logical

30 For Ariosto, the ratio is 0.2. On the bibliography of the early editions of Ariosto, see Ulisse Guidi, *Annali delle edizioni e delle versioni dell'Orlando Furioso e d'altri lavori al poema relativi* (Bologna: Tipogr. in via Poggiale, 1861) and Giuseppe Agnelli and Giuseppe Ravegnani, *Annali delle edizioni ariostee* (Bologna: Zanichelli, 1933), to whom the works of Conor Fahy should be added, and above all his *L'"Orlando furioso" del 1532. Profilo di una edizione* (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 1989).

consequence would appear to be that a significant occurrence of unmatched editions is more notably found in quite a low percentage of the total sample under consideration, for which the probability of finding possible lost editions is therefore higher.

Subset D: Authors above the Threshold Value

Both these assumptions – the occurrence of unmatched editions in a low percentage of the total sample and the consequent higher probability of finding lost editions – are borne out by the analysis of the last subset of authors, those with a very high number of unmatched editions (subset D).

They number 937, i.e. just 17% of the total and among them less than half (439) vary significantly from the average, with a ratio between one and nine, while for the other 498 cases the average is fairly near to the standard measure. The subset is even more reduced if authors with fewer than ten unmatched editions are taken out. If this is done, just 197 authors remain, all of whom are highly exceptional either in terms of their ratio or in terms of the number of editions listed for them. They correspond to a mere 3.5% of the total number of authors, but overall 10,613 unmatched editions are related to them, amounting to almost half the total number of unmatched editions (table 15.1).[31]

This confirms that the filtering methodology is capable of identifying a restricted sample of statistically useful cases, thus contributing in a significant way to the study of the vast range of data contained in the database as a whole.[32]

In addition, it is important to observe that the filter not only works in quantitative terms, since subsequent analysis of external evidence can shows how the 'statistically useful data' obtained from the methodology can be significant for the identification of possible lost editions.

31 For reasons of space, table 15.1 shows a restricted list from subset D, including only those authors with ratios higher than 1.5; the total number of editions involved is 9,960 out of a total of 21,850.

32 It should be noted that, to find more regular ratios, the sample should be differently considered: in fact the Pareto rule of 20:80 is verified if the abnormal ratio is set at 0.5, with the inclusion of the statistical code of the previous set. There are 275 authors with a ratio higher than 0.5; if they are added to the 937 authors who have an average higher than 0.8, the total (1,212) is 22% of the total number of authors while the number of editions is 17,189, i.e. 79% of the total 21,850. It should also be pointed out that the median for the sample is in fact 0.67, not 0.8.

In fact, if the subset list is sorted according to a decreasing ratio value, the Dominican preacher Girolamo da Palermo occupies first place, with ten known editions as opposed to ninety-one which are unmatched.[33] This author has already attracted the attention of Rosa Marisa Borraccini who has studied the low survival rate of his editions, basing her findings on a comparison of information drawn from the RICI database with information taken from external sources.[34] In this way the position of Girolamo da Palermo appears to parallel to some extent Ariosto's in the previous subset: the fact that this author heads the list serves as a confirmation that the methodology is working.

On the other hand, if we sort the list in decreasing order of the total number of editions for each author, the most prominent turns out to be the Catholic Church, with a very high number of unknown editions of liturgical books.[35] In this case, the reliability of the data is not supported by external evidence, as in the case of Girolamo da Palermo, but such a high rate of loss is extremely plausible when one takes into consideration the extent of liturgical publishing in the sixteenth century, the obvious interest of monastic libraries in acquiring this kind of material, and the degree of wear and tear to which liturgical books were subjected.

These results mean that we can use this subset in order to obtain a degree of positive data, even though this does not imply that all the evidence included in the subset is completely relevant in this context. As has already been pointed out, filtering data produces a short list of the most exceptional cases, those for which there is a higher probability of the presence of possible lost editions. Yet it is also obvious that analysing this data with this aim means first of all possibly identifying and then excluding bibliographical ghosts, since the methodology by itself is not able to reveal these.

For each of the authors in the subset the individual percentage of (hypothetically assumed) ghosts/lost editions will vary and will need to be analysed in detail. There may be cases where, after more accurate analysis, a large number of ghosts are detectable, thus drastically reducing the potential figure of lost editions. Averroes is an example: he is one of the authors with a higher ratio (5.3) and a higher number of editions too which for the most part, however, do not need to be taken into account.[36] As his works were often described under generic titles (such as *In Aristotelem* or *Commentaria* or *Opera*) and often involve complex statements of responsibility (Averroes

33 Table 15.1, no. 26.

34 Borraccini, 'An Unknown Best-Seller'.

35 Table 15.1, no. 1.

36 Table 15.1, no. 37.

being a commentator but also commented on in his turn) – indeed his works could even be associated by topic in composite volumes – most of the unmatched editions under his name in the RICI database can perhaps more confidently be seen as cataloguing errors or subsequent issues rather than editions which have now been lost to us.

The methodological approach outlined here does not offer particular advantages in this respect (except that it enables us to monitor the most commonly found errors), but in any case examples such as Averroes are not problematic since they can either be resolved negatively (by identifying errors, issues, etc.) or cannot be resolved at all.

The problem arises with cases where presumed ghosts are less in evidence, so correspondingly increasing the potential number of authentically lost editions. In these cases analysis usually comes up against the weakness of the classical 'argumentum ex silentio': unknown editions in the database for which there is no plausible evidence of error or misunderstanding on the part of the cataloguer cannot, solely on the grounds that they are listed here, be assumed to be indications of genuinely lost editions.

Yet it is important also to point out that this methodological weakness is to some extent compensated for by numerical evidence. This is the case for example of the grammarian Luigi Antonio Sompano who, with a ratio of nine matched editions and forty-five unmatched editions, all sixteenth-century and Italian, is positioned in the table just after Girolamo da Palermo.[37] Substantial errors of the kind just mentioned appear to be largely absent in the editions listed for this author; in addition, the data now available to us from Edit16 can be integrated, with a high degree of probability, with several of the unmatched editions. Among the forty-five unmatched editions in the RICI database there are, for example, seven published by Orazio Salviani dated between 1567 and 1594,[38] three by Cacchi dated between 1578 and 1580,[39] three by Varisco (also in association with Paganini) dated 1575 and 1595,[40] and two by Ziletti dated 1582 and 1584.[41] No Salviani, Cacchi, Varisco or Ziletti editions of Sompano's works are recorded in Edit16, where a mere twelve editions in total are recorded for

37 Table 15.1, no. 54. On the grammarian Luigi Antonio Sompano, called Sidicino (1496–1557), see Benedetto Croce, 'La tomba del grammatico Sidicino', in Benedetto Croce, *Aneddoti di varia letteratura* (Bari: Laterza, 1953), vol. I, pp. 387–395 and Carlo De Frede, *I lettori di umanità nello studio di Napoli durante il Rinascimento* (Naples: L'Arte Tipografica, 1960), pp. 26–28.

38 RICI BIB 50764, 12484, 10485, 64470, 64374, 39694, 45481.

39 RICI BIB 45465, 46569, 9580.

40 RICI BIB 47975, 53888, 54217.

41 RICI BIB 53866, 26245.

him. So it is legitimate to deduce from the overall data, even in the absence of any external evidence to confirm it, that Sompano was published more widely than the number of surviving editions would suggest.

In other cases the numerical evidence of unmatched editions serves to confirm the popularity of authors whose works were constantly being reprinted, by adding more details on possible unknown editions (or, perhaps more probably, unknown issues) to the current information we have on them. This is true of many of the philosophical, theological and pastoral authors who were especially relevant to the interests of the monastic libraries, such as – to quote just three cases listed in table 15.1 – Crisostomo Javelli, Francisco Toledo and Luis de Granada.

For Javelli, Edit16 registers a gap in the sequence of editions printed by Giovanni Maria Bonelli between 1555 and 1564. This gap can be filled by seven references from the RICI database dated 1558, 1559, 1560, 1562, and 1563 respectively.[42] Similarly the gaps between 1555 and 1567 and between 1567–1577 in the sequence of editions of Javelli's works printed by Girolamo Scoto can be filled by five RICI references dated 1557, 1558, 1562, 1565, 1566[43] and by four more dated 1568, 1569, 1572, 1574.[44]

In the case of Toledo, the already recorded editions by Girolamo Polo, dated 1579, 1582, 1600,[45] are supplemented by the RICI database with another seven, printed between 1576 and 1597.[46] The two editions known to have been published by Giacomo Tornieri[47] are supplemented by six editions from the same publisher printed between 1578 and 1592,[48] while at least seven are cited in the database for Girolamo Scoto and his heirs[49] when no edition printed by the Scoto family is recorded in Edit16. Finally, in the case of Luis de Granada, two examples must suffice: there are nine Bertano editions cited in the database as having been printed between 1572 and 1598[50] to add to the four recorded in Edit16, and four Tramezzino editions which are completely unknown to the Italian census.[51]

42 RICI BIB 21692, 21691, 40693, 37226, 50695, 48348, 11215.

43 RICI BIB 10056, 45931, 48311, 75151, 72969.

44 RICI BIB 60130, 14084, 72035, 58412.

45 Edit16 CNCE 35418, 35436, 35520.

46 RICI BIB 42318, 75570, 34006, 34005, 75166, 10330, 46994.

47 Edit16 CNCE 34433, 61537.

48 RICI BIB 12351, 39317, 75777, 75165, 50277, 76287.

49 RICI BIB 33361, 33359, 33360, 48310, 64098, 64096, 64097, 45207, 72092.

50 RICI BIB 49747, 35507, 13139, 63887, 58450, 67789, 14602, 64540, 9895.

51 RICI BIB 40389, 22546, 39848, 7949.

TABLE 15.1 *The table lists authors with a ratio exceeding 1.5 and more than 10 unmatched editions. Columns show: unmatched editions (UE), matched editions (ME), the ratio of the two values (UE/ME) and the name of the authors given in the form used in the RICI database. The list is ordered by decreasing number of editions (matched plus unmatched)*

	UE	ME	UE/ME	NAME
1	704	453	1.5	Chiesa Cattolica
2	257	148	1.7	Antonino, santo
3	238	151	1.6	Azpilcueta, Martín de
4	180	89	2	Toledo, Francisco
5	180	82	2.2	Bonaventura da Bagnorea
6	186	66	2.8	Duns Scotus, Ioannes
7	158	92	1.7	Iacopo da Varazze
8	141	93	1.5	Concilio di Trento, 1545–1563
9	148	64	2.3	Javelli, Giovanni Crisostomo
10	128	73	1.7	Pepin, Guillaume
11	109	69	1.6	Musso, Cornelio
12	104	58	1.8	Egidio Romano
13	99	63	1.6	Boethius, Anicius Manlius Torquatus Severinus
14	116	45	2.6	Jean de Jandun
15	118	34	3.5	Dias, Filippe
16	102	48	2.1	Vives, Juan Luis
17	110	38	2.9	Loarte, Gaspar de
18	101	44	2.3	Fumo, Bartolomeo
19	91	54	1.7	Paolo Veneto
20	91	49	1.8	Estella, Diego
21	81	46	1.7	Albertus Magnus
22	85	38	2.2	Tartaret, Pierre
23	77	45	1.7	Angelo da Chivasso
24	66	43	1.5	Soto, Domingo de
25	71	33	2.1	Medina, Bartolomé de
26	91	10	9.1	Girolamo da Palermo
27	63	38	1.6	Pelbartus de Temeswar
28	70	29	2.4	Morigia, Paolo
29	61	34	1.8	Corradone, Matteo
30	60	35	1.7	Incarnato, Fabio
31	64	30	2.1	Venuti, Filippo
32	69	22	3.1	Gerson, Jean Charlier de

TABLE 15.1 *The table lists authors with a ratio exceeding 1.5 and more than 10 unmatched editions.* (cont.)

	UE	ME	UE/ME	NAME
33	68	22	3	Berarducci, Mauro Antonio
34	64	24	2.7	Calderari, Cesare
35	55	32	1.7	Zimara, Marcantonio
36	75	11	6.8	Donatus, Aelius
37	69	13	5.3	Averroes
38	57	25	2.3	Burley, Walter
39	59	22	2.7	Andrés, Antonio
40	57	21	2.7	Nicolas de Lyre
41	51	23	2.2	Fiamma, Gabriele
42	41	27	1.5	Denisse, Nicolas
43	49	18	2.7	Pacifico da Novara
44	45	21	2.1	Verrati, Giovanni Maria
45	44	21	2.1	Pietro da Lucca
46	41	24	1.7	Visdomini, Francesco
47	43	21	2	Busti, Bernardino
48	44	18	2	Ammiani, Sebastiano
49	39	23	1.7	Priscianese, Francesco
50	40	20	2	Raulin, Jean
51	46	10	4.6	Franciscus de Mayronis
52	35	20	1.7	Pezzi, Lorenzo
53	33	20	1.6	Viguier, Juan
54	45	5	9	Sompano, Luigi Antonio
55	33	17	1.9	Bartelon, Pantaléon
56	33	15	2.2	Ioannes Climacus,santo
57	31	17	1.8	Barletta, Gabriele
58	30	18	1.7	Despautère, Jean
59	34	12	2.8	Francisco de Osuna
60	32	14	2.3	Zarrabini, Onofrio
61	29	17	1.7	Zabarella, Giacomo
62	28	18	1.5	Giovanni da San Gimignano
63	32	12	2.7	Thomas a Kempis
64	27	17	1.6	Bersuire, Pierre
65	26	17	1.5	Anglés, José
66	35	7	5	Licheto, Francesco
67	28	14	2	Piazzoni, Stefano

	UE	ME	UE/ME	NAME
68	30	10	3	Guarino Veronese
69	27	9	3	Trombetta, Antonio
70	22	13	1.7	Agostiniani
71	25	8	3.1	Ledesma, Diego de
72	20	13	1.5	Besozzi, Giovanni Pietro
73	26	6	4.3	Sirino, Girolamo,
74	21	11	1.9	lberto da Padova
76	23	8	2.9	Giovanni da L'Aquila
77	23	7	3.2	Cantalicio, Giovanni Battista
78	20	10	2	Anselmus, santo
79	19	11	1.7	Osorio, Juan
80	21	8	2.6	Filippo da Moncalieri
81	20	8	2.5	Alexander de Ales
82	20	8	2.5	Sibilla, Bartolomeo
83	19	8	2.4	De Bonis, Emerio
84	18	9	2	Boccadifuoco, Costanzo
85	18	9	2	Achillini, Alessandro
86	21	5	4.2	Francesco d'Assisi, santo
87	16	10	1.6	Carcano, Michele
88	21	4	5.2	Chaves, Tomaz de
89	16	9	1.8	Boccadiferro, Lodovico
90	17	7	2.4	Scarsella, Marco
91	16	8	2	Trovamala, Battista
92	15	9	1.7	Albertus de Saxonia
93	15	9	1.7	Grosseteste, Robert
94	14	9	1.5	Altenstaig, Johannes
95	14	8	1.7	Ferrini, Vincenzo
96	14	7	2	Joannes Canonicus
97	13	7	1.8	Vallone, Giovanni
98	13	6	2.2	Bartolomeo da Rinonico
99	12	7	1.7	Verardi, Cipriano
100	13	5	2.6	Gregorio da Napoli
101	12	6	2	Bologna, Diocesi
102	11	7	1.5	De Grassis, Padovano
103	11	7	1.5	Casarubios, Alfonso de
104	11	7	1.5	Giambelli, Cipriano
105	11	7	1.5	Rainerius de Pisis

TABLE 15.1 *The table lists authors with a ratio exceeding 1.5 and more than 10 unmatched editions.* (cont.)

	UE	ME	UE/ME	NAME
106	14	3	4.7	Caprioli, Jean
107	12	5	2.4	Offredi, Apollinare
108	11	6	1.8	O'Fihely, Maurice
109	11	6	1.8	Vincent de Beauvais
110	11	6	1.8	Bosso, Matteo
111	13	3	4.3	Antonio da Padova
112	11	5	2.2	Maffei, Celso
113	11	5	2.2	Vorilong, Guillaume de

It is probable that there are some bibliographical ghosts among all these, but it is also undeniable that the sheer quantity of editions in the RICI database which are unknown to us is convincing evidence they actually existed and encourages further research.

Conclusions

It is possible, I believe, to draw a positive conclusion from this brief survey. The proposed methodology appears to be effective in identifying subsets of data which can then be used in the search for lost editions. The numerical and statistical analysis of the library inventories compiled at the end of the sixteenth century for the Congregation of the Index can thus act as a compass in the dark bibliographical wood of lost books. A list of the most significant authors in subset D is given in Table 15.1, as a useful starting point for further analysis and research.

PART 4

Libraries, Private and Public

CHAPTER 16

Loss and Meaning. Lost Books, Bibliographic Description and Significance in a Sixteenth-Century Italian Private Library

Anna Giulia Cavagna

The concept of 'lost books' can have different meanings and inflections: the loss of a work (or group of works) by a single writer of which no original or copy (manuscripts or printed editions) or fragment survives; the loss of individual physical volumes, in other words, of copies of books; and the loss of an entire library, private or institutional (which can of course mean the loss of works as well as of notable individual copies of books). In all such cases, along with the actual books information and knowledge are lost as well to a greater or lesser extent.

The loss of individual copies or of an entire library can lead to the loss of information about the owner who acquired and possessed them. This is a common phenomenon in all periods. From Roman times to the twentieth century, obscure provincial men of letters, writers and scholars have owned libraries which have disappeared completely after their owners' deaths leaving no trace which can ever be recovered. In cases where the library as an entity has been dispersed but the copies which once belonged to it have survived, information about the owners frequently survives. The nature and significance of their lost libraries can be reconstructed using a variety of methods, for instance, surviving accounts, either direct or indirect, of a particular owner's habits of acquisition and interest in books. Our knowledge of the original collection can be reconstructed through the material evidence found in the copies themselves, as shown by the numerous studies based on tracing, identifying and recording notes of ownership, bookplates, stamps, bindings, etc. "because every copy of every edition of every book is evidence of a host of human interests and activities…since it continues long after the movements of the book trade that brought each book into existence".[1]

In literature, as early as the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the fictitious losses of invented books are satirised in mock-serious lists. What underpins

1 Nicolas Barker, *Form and Meaning in the History of the Book. Selected Essays* (London: The British Library, 2003), p. 270.

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such satires is the conviction that the loss is compensated for by the number of books which remain in circulation. Such losses can afford to be mocked because they only affect the strange creatures who are scholars.[2] But books, along with the structured collections of books which we call libraries, can be regarded as irreplaceable when they are seen as the expression of a given culture which they represent and express; when they are understood to be an integral and essential part of human memory, of which they are also of course a metaphor.[3] If books are a reliable historical testimony to a certain historical culture, geographical region or individual, then their loss may be perceived as pluri-dimensional, affecting various levels of information. The material and economic loss means that it becomes impossible to acquire a full understanding of the historical context in which the owner/user of the library and his contemporaries existed.

Within this paradigm, the loss of books (texts, editions, copies) is tantamount to losing knowledge and memory: the owners of libraries together with the contents of those libraries are swallowed up by oblivion; what is removed or just disappears is irrecoverable in a way that amounts to both a cultural and intellectual loss, in other words of knowledge and of thought.[4] The loss here spells a kind of moral damage, an affront to the sense of individual identity, comparable to the penalty of *damnatio memoriae* inflicted by Roman law which entailed the cancellation of someone's name and memory for posterity.[5]

2 Thomas Browne, *Certain miscellany tracts* (London: Charles Mearne-Henry Bonwick, 1684), pp. 193–215: *Tract XIII Museum Clausum, or Biblioteca Abscondita:* among the lost bibliographical delights there is the list drawn up by Irish scholars of libraries in existence before Noah's Flood. On imaginary libraries and the history of ideas cf. Dirk Werle, *Copia librorum. Problemgeschichte imaginierter Bibliotheken 1580–1630* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2007); Paolo Albani, 'Cataloghi di libri immaginari', *L'oggetto libro 2001*, 6 (2002), pp. 200–215; Howard Phillips Lovecraft, *I racconti del Necronomicon* (Rome: Tascabili Immaginario Fanucci, 2002); *Necronomicon: storia di un libro che non c'è: a cura di Sergio Basile* (Rome: Fanucci, 2002).

3 Harald Weinrich, 'Metaphora memoriae', in Harald Weinrich, *Metafora e menzogna: la serenità dell'arte* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1976), pp. 31–48; Douwe Draaisma, *Metaphors of Memory. A History of ideas about the mind* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

4 Peter Burke, *The Italian Renaissance. Culture and Society in Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 2: "By culture I mean essentially attitudes and values and their expression and embodiments in artefacts including texts and practices".

5 James Raven (ed.), *Lost libraries. The destruction of great book collections since antiquity* (Basingstoke-New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004); Matthew Fishburn, 'Books Are Weapons: Wartime Responses to the Nazi Bookfires of 1933', *Book History*, 10 (2007), pp. 223–251. On the connections between books, identity and destruction cf. Fernando Baéz*, Nueva historia universal de la destrucción de libros. De las tablillas sumerias a la era digital* (Barcelona: Destino, 2011); Lucien Xavier Polastron, *Livres en feu. Histoire de la destruction sans fin des bibliothèques* (Paris: Denoel, [2004]).

There are numerous reasons why books are lost: accidental, beyond our control, like fires or shipwrecks, or planned.[6] Sometimes the loss is the unforeseen consequence of actions which are not aimed at destruction (such as a bequest which does not go to plan); on other occasions, it is the result of a deliberate intention to destroy, sometimes a collective one as in wars but also individual thefts and depredations. Finally books are removed, prohibited, sequestered as part of an institutional and ideological strategy of control.

The loss of books also occurs when, as physical objects, they are worn and destroyed by excessive handling.[7] If their contents are not valued or the material production itself seems cheap, as is often the case with ephemera, copies easily end up being thrown away.[8] Lack of space to house books often means that copies regarded as redundant are eliminated. There is too a natural dispersal with the passage of time whereby single libraries with a unitary meaning are broken up and the books end up scattered among a myriad of chance owners.

Some of these patterns and procedures of loss can be found – echoed rather than exactly replicated – in an unusual and complex case of book loss in late Renaissance Italy. The following analysis of the case takes account of the modern conceptions of libraries as meeting-points, real or imagined, for an intellectual community, as networks capable of diverse ramification and as cultural capital but above all the idea of an individual library as the personal expression of a coherent bibliographical plan.[9] In addition to the interest of

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6 What has happened, for instance, to much literature from classical times? What about Varron's *Disciplinarum libri*, on which see Sergio Alvarez Campos, *'Disciplinarum libri IX' de M.T. Varron. La primera enciclopedia de la cultura occidental* (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1957) or the various private libraries belonging to Ligurians who worked abroad and which were sent back by sea and partly lost in shipwrecks? The *Ars Signorum vulgo character universalis et lingua philosophica* of George Dalgarno or the *London's Dreadful Visitation, or a collection of all the Bills of Mortality for the present year, 1664, with the Weekly Assize of Bread* (London, 1665) were, for instance, almost completely destroyed in the Great Fire of 1666, cf. Fernand Drujon, *Destructarum editionum centuria* (Paris: Société des Bibliophiles Contemporains, 1893) nos. 7 and 55; Drujon, *Essai bibliographique sur la destruction volontaire des livres, ou Bibliolytie* (Paris: Maison Quantin, 1889).

7 Peter Garside, James Raven and Rainer Schöwerling (eds.), *The English Novel 1770–1829. A Bibliographical Survey of Prose Fiction Published in the British Isles* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000) calculate a loss of 10% for this type of material.

8 Malcolm Walsby, 'Book lists and their meaning', in Malcolm Walsby and Natasha Constantinidou (eds.) *Documenting the early modern book world. Inventories and catalogues in manuscript and print* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 1–25.

9 Leslie Howsam and Jane McLeod (eds.), 'Book Networks and Cultural Capital. Space, Society and the Nation. Réseaux du livre et capital culturel: territoire, société et nation', in Marie-Pier Luneau (ed.), Josée Vincent (dir.), *Mémoires du livre. Studies in Book Culture* ([Sherbrooke]:

the case itself, it might give rise to a reflection, in general, on the different meanings and status of bibliographical loss and, in particular, on the not always straightforward relationship of lists and inventories to the actual (lost or surviving) copies they describe.

This lost sixteenth-century library is an Italian collection only in terms of its intended geographical location, but it came into existence within a Hispanic-Austrian political context and its formation was inspired by Imperial ideological and institutional values. It was built up by drawing on the resources of the German-speaking commercial book world; its intellectual and typographical content reflected central European culture.[10]

In 1574 the agents employed by Alfonso del Carretto marquis of Finale opened the chest of books which had just arrived from Vienna where Carretto was living in exile. They found that 21 books were missing out of the 118 which had been packed (and indicated on the accompanying list which Carretto had with foresight included with the volumes). They had somehow been lost – perhaps stolen or removed because of censorship regulations – during the five years they had taken to arrive in Liguria from Austria.[11] But this was just the

Groupe de recherche sur l'édition littéraire au Québec, 2009), vol. 2, – Groupe de recherche et d'étude sur le livre au Québec n. 1 (2010), DOI: <10.7202/045311ar http://www.erudit.org/revue/memoires/2010/v2/n1/>; Leslie Howsam, 'What Is the Historiography of Books? Recent Studies in Authorship, Publishing, and Reading in Modern Britain and North America', *The Historical Journal,* 51, 4 (2008), pp. 1089–1101; Leslie Howsam, *Old books and new histories. An orientation to studies in book and print culture* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006); David Pearson, 'The English Private Library in the Seventeenth Century', *The Library: The Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*, 13 (2012), pp. 379–399; Alfredo Serrai, 'Storia della biblioteca come evoluzione d'un'idea e d'un sistema' in Alfredo Serrai, *Sistemi bibliotecari e meccanismi catalografici* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1980), pp. 38–67; Alfredo Serrai, 'Storia delle biblioteche Bibliotheca,' *Rivista di studi bibliografici*, 1 (2003), pp. 22–28; Serrai, *Breve storia delle biblioteche in Italia* (Milan: Sylvestre Bonnard, 2006); Pierre Bourdieu, 'Le champ littéraire', *Liber: revue europeenne des livres*, 7 (1991), pp. 1–83; Pierre Bourdieu, *Les règles de l'art. Genèse et structure du champ littéraire* (Paris: Seuil, 1992), trans. Randal Johnson (ed.), *The Field of Cultural Production* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1993).

10 Anna Giulia Cavagna, *La biblioteca di Alfonso II Del Carretto. Libri tra Vienna e la Liguria nel XVI secolo* (Finale: Centro Storico del Finale, 2012).

11 Archivio di Stato di Milano [Milan, State Archive], Fondo Studi, p.a., cart. 19, *Notta de i libri che sono in cassa qua in Vienna 1569 … Adì 1 agosto 1569 inventario delli libri sono in questa cassa che ora si manda … n° 118. 1574 li 7 giugno si sonno trovati libri 97*. Among the works, which disappeared, there were classical Latin texts, educational works, and Christian homiletics by J.L. Vives and Angelo da Bitonto, legal texts by Raimundus de Penafort, István Werboeczy.

beginning: in the following years the whole vast library created by Carretto was destined to disappear.

During more than twenty years of exile, Carretto acquired, in Vienna and in the other Imperial cities, a total of 1,083 printed and manuscript works. The printed volumes came from diverse centres of printing, including Italy. He sent them back to his native Liguria in regular instalments to be kept in the family castle where he planned to establish the dynastic library and where he hoped eventually to return but where, on the contrary, he was destined never to revisit.[12]

The traces of Carretto's political and military activities can be found in many archives across Europe but there is no surviving sixteenth-century source which speaks of his large library. Even his enemies and political opponents in their bitter attacks on him never refer to it. For centuries, all knowledge was lost of the vast collection – even of its very existence. The recent critical edition of a rediscovered document, which lists the contents of the library, has brought it back to virtual life but the books which made up the library appear still to be lost and unavailable for research. Yet, while the material existence and form of the library may be irrecoverable, the recently discovered document paints a vivid picture of the nature and extent of Carretto's cultural initiative. It is a remarkable listing in which the unusually detailed descriptions of copies and printed editions allow us to identify with certainty the 'works' Carretto possessed in his library; he himself unhesitatingly uses the term 'library' ('libraria' in the title of the document) to denote the collection.

The list enumerates the books together with the other objects (works of art, museum pieces, natural curiosities, military items and furniture) in chronological sequence as they were sent from Vienna to Liguria. It is in effect a topographical-chronological catalogue which records the transfers of books from Austria to Liguria. Since Carretto did not keep the library with him in Vienna, it is a record not so much of physical presence as of absence; from its very inception therefore it was in a certain sense a 'virtual' library, one which as Carretto's list reveals was nevertheless devised according to a plan.[13] The list includes sporadic indications in the nature of diary entries referring to personal

12 Over a third of the volumes in Carretto's library which he acquired in Austria and Germany were printed in Italy; a third of the editions come from French-speaking countries, Switzerland and the Netherlands; the remainder was printed in Germany, Austria, Poland, Bohemia and other Imperial territories. Anna Giulia Cavagna, 'Germania e Impero in una biblioteca italiana del XVI secolo', *Gutenberg Jahrbuch*, (2014), pp. 226–238.

13 Riccardo Castellana, 'Il mondo assente. Breve storia del catalogo negativo', *Intersezioni*, 29, 3 (2009), pp. 223–338.

matters or logistical arrangements. There are convincing indications, in the wording of the document, to support the hypothesis that Carretto intended to publish – or at least to publicise – the document, once the entire collection was back in his homeland, as a way of preserving or communicating public memory of the library.[14]

A crucial difference between this list-cum-catalogue and all the other library or bibliographical listings produced throughout Europe in the early modern period known to me is the quality of its bibliographical descriptions. The absence of the physical books in Vienna prevented any reference to the objects themselves and persuaded Carretto to make his listing dense with reference back to the missing printed copy.

There were no uniform shared rules for bibliographical description in the second half of the sixteenth century. Yet the descriptive criteria adopted in this list are precise, consistent and exhaustive: the names in headings are exact, the titles are given in full and accurately transcribed, the formats are correct; the place and date of printing together with the name of the printer/publisher are given complete, accurately copied from either the title-page or colophon. Moreover – and even more remarkably – for a very large and consistent number of the editions which are listed, the descriptions include the names of dedicatees and the details of privileges.[15] The only other known example in the sixteenth century, earlier than Carretto, of the conscious, albeit inconsistent, recording of dedicatees' names in printed editions is found in the auto-bibliography compiled by Kaspar Brusch, a humanist poet from Bohemia who worked in Imperial court circles.[16] Carretto owned a copy of this book and

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14 Luca Gaurico (d. 1558) printed the catalogue of his books he donated to the city by founding the public library, see Dennis E. Rhodes, *Studies in early European printing and book collecting* (London: The Pindar press, 1983), pp. 221–235.

15 For example ff. 9*r*–*v*: "Comentariorū in genealogiam Austriacam libri duo Autore Wolff/ gango Lazio Vienn[ense], ac Gijmnasij vienn[ensi] primario professore et super intendente, cum Ces. M. Privilegio ad deceniū, Basileae per Io: Oporinū et Nicolaum episcopium 1564. Intit: inuictis. Rom: Ces: Ferdinando primo, et Maximiliano Secundo"; or f. 105*r*: "Il Cauallerizo di Claudio Corte da Pauia, nel qual si tratta della[qua]nt[it]a de caualli delle razze del modo Et di tutto q[ue]llo ch[e] a Caualli et a buon Cauallerizo s'appartiene. Con privilegio. In Venetia App[res]so Giordani Ziletti 1573".

16 Cf. Kaspar Brusch, 'Lucubratiuncularum Elenchus Basileae Congestus in Calendis Iuniis anni à nato Christo 1553', in Engelbertus Admontensis, *De Ortu et fine Romani Imperii liber. Cum Gasparis Bruschij…praefatione* (Basel: Oporinus, 1553), pp. 152–164; Pier Paolo Vergerio, *A gl'inquisitori che sono per l'Italia. Del catalogo di libri eretici, stampato in Roma nell'anno presente* (Tübingen: heirs Ulrich, 1559), p. 15; Adalbert Horawitz, *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie, herausgegeben von der Historischen Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, vol. III (1876), pp. 453–455; Jürgen Beyer and Leigh T.I. Penman,

in all probability had read it but in his own catalogue he devised his own style of citation which is far superior to Brusch's.[17]

In 1584, just a year after Carretto's death, François Grudé de La Croix du Maine published his *Premier volume de la bibliothèque…Qui est vn catalogue general de toutes sortes d'Autheurs, qui ont escrit en françois depuis cinq cents ans*, which, very inconsistently and with no obvious criterion of selection, unless from motives of personal flattery, occasionally records some paratextual element in the editions which are listed.[18] The detailed bibliographical descriptions found in the catalogue of Carretto's library, which include such paratextual elements as dedications and the names of the authorities which granted privileges, are directly connected to the political motives which led to the creation of the library, intended to gather and organise information which could be useful in the deployment of Carretto's diplomatic strategies.

In order to understand this better, we need to summarise briefly the military disputes in which Carretto found himself entangled. He was the ruler of a small territory on the Ligurian coast bordering on, on one side, the Genoese Republic and, on the other, the Piedmontese lands belonging to the Savoy dynasty. He held the territory as an Imperial fiefdom; in other words, his legal right to rule over the small State of Finale derived from the Hapsburg Emperor, to whom he owed obedience.[19] But others coveted the enclave of Finale: the Spanish for military reasons, since it was an unavoidable strategic corridor through which their troops had to pass on the way to the Spanish-held territories of Lombardy and Flanders, and the Genoese for economic and maritime claims which were based on ancient but still applicable Mediaeval concessions. The two powers fomented rebellions within the Marquisate and besieged the territory, forcing Carretto to flee into exile in Vienna in 1558. Contemporary political propaganda vilified him as an "ignorant tyrant", a reputation which persisted even as late as the nineteenth century in the account of a French traveller to the region (an account which was also known in England since it was published there in translation). The traveller describes the territory of

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'Printed autobibliographies from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries', in Walsby and Constantinidou (eds.), *Documenting,* pp. 161–184, at pp. 166–168.

17 For example, the work which Brusch lists as "De omnibus Germaniae episcopatibus, opus magnum, cuius antea Epitome prodiit, uel Epitomes potius Tomus primus" is more fully described by Carretto who also owned a copy: "Epitomes de omnib[us] germaniae episcopatibus continens annales Archi/piscopatus Maguntinij, item Babembergensis episopatus etc. 1549. Impre. Norimberge".

18 Alexander S. Wilkinson, 'Lost Books Printed in French before 1601', *The Library*, *7th ser.,* 10 (2009), pp. 188–205.

19 The term "Stato di (del) Final" is found in all the relevant official documents of the period.

Finale as "formerly a powerful and tyrannical marquisate. The last of its princes, Alfonso Del Carretto, was expelled by the people".[20] And again, almost a century later, in 1912, English readers could still find an identical negative judgement on Carretto, whose "proverbial libertinism" had caused him to be "driven from [his] States by the incensed inhabitants".[21] These gentlemen travellers were unaware they were merely repeating the version of historical events constructed by the powers who had come out on top.

For over twenty years in Vienna Carretto pleaded for aid, with varying results, from no fewer than three successive emperors (Ferdinand I, died 1564; Maximilian II, died 1576; Rudolf II, died 1612) in countering the hostile attitude of some diplomats and in reconquering his feudal lands by military force. In seeking to put himself into the Hapsburgs' good books and to become familiar in court circles, Carretto fought for the Hapsburg in their wars against the Ottomans and followed the court as it moved between the various Diets, in the process acquiring a certain personal familiarity with Maximilian II (at the Emperor's funeral ceremony, Carretto was among the few courtiers allowed to carry the coffin).[22] With the Emperor's consent, Carretto exploited his extremely tenuous family links dating back to the tenth century, with the dukes of Saxony; he formed a personal friendship with the Prince Elector Augustus, a Lutheran and like Carretto a collector of works of art and other objects.[23]

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20 Antoine Claude Pasquin Valery, *Historical, literary, and artistical travels in Italy, a complete and methodical guide for travellers and artists…corrected and improved edition by C.E. Clifton* (Paris: Baudry's European Library, 1839), p. 698: "an industrious trading and populous town surrounded by marvellously productive plantations of olives and orange-trees […] in a highly cultivated district, [it] was formerly a powerful and tyrannical marquisate. The last of its princes, Alfonso Del Carretto, was expelled by the people".

21 Frederic Lees, *Wanderings on the Italian Riviera. The record of a leisurely tour in Liguria* (London: Isaac Pitman & Sons, 1912), p. 164.

22 Alexander Koller (ed.), *Nuntiaturen des Orazio Malaspina und des Ottavio Santacroce. Interim des Cesare Dell'Arena (1578–1581)* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012), pp. 25–26, 83, 347; Helmut Goetz (ed.), *Nuntiatur Giovanni Delfinos (1572–1573)* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1982), p. 156; Almut Bues (ed.), *Nuntiatur Giovanni Dolfins (1573–1574)* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1990), pp. XXXVIII, 250, 269, 400, 611; Alexander Koller (ed.), *Nuntiaturen des Giovanni Delfino und des Bartolomeo Portia (1577–1578)* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2003), pp. 255.

23 Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly, *Court Culture in Dresden. From Renaissance to Baroque* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002); J.J.L. Haspels, *Royal Music Machines, vijf eeuwen vorstelijk vermaak* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2006), p. 197, for the mechanical galleon with moving parts, also described by Neil MacGregor, *La storia del mondo in 100 oggetti* (Milan: Adelphi, 2012); Margrit B. Krewson (ed.), *Dresden. Treasures from the Saxon State Library* (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1996), pp. 78–109, 243; *The Diplomatic Correspondence of Thomas Bodley, 1585–1597*, online: <http://www.livesandletters.ac.uk/bodley/bodley.html>.

The Italian orchestrated a systematic campaign of self-promotion, through research into his dynastic genealogy and by collecting; by having a new coat of arms prepared, with the permission of the court chancellery, which displayed more prominently his family's Germanic roots; and by imitating the style and manners of the court. This involved, for example, putting together a small domestic portrait gallery containing images of various Hapsburg Emperors and other leading members of the dynasty and of the Dukes of Saxony and having emblems specially made for him by famous artists such as Ottaviano Strada.[24] Carretto reshaped the image of his dynasty by supplying information to the polygraph authors Natale Conti, Luca Contile, Giovan Carlo Saraceni, Francesco Sansovino and commissioning from them new biographies, intended as propaganda for his cause, of his ancestors and relatives.[25] He also used the medium of print to shape opinion by composing flattering paratexts. Apart from one brief return to Italy he lived in Vienna until his death in 1583, leaving the question of his invaded feudal territory unconcluded. The issue was finally resolved, in 1602, some twenty years later, when the Spanish purchased the territory from the last Carretto heir and installed a military occupation, in the process taking possession of and dispersing documents and archives.

Carretto's library plays an important part in his wide-ranging propaganda campaign, waged in an effort to enhance his reputation and create a positive and modern image of himself.[26] The library was created as a kind of defensive bulwark for his State as well as a a more traditional means of study.[27] The books

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24 Octavius Strada, *Symbola Romanorum imperatorum* (*imperii*) *occidentalis ac orientalis, regumque Hispanorum, Gallicorum, Anglorum...principum*, manuscript in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek [Bavarian State Library], Hss. Cod.icon. 425, [S.l] f. 94r, which can be seen in *CodIcon online. Codices iconographici monacenses* <http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/~db/0001/bsb00011848/images/index.html?id=00011848&fip=193.174.98.30&no=&seite=199>. Among the works of artists he bought there are also paintings by Costantino de Servi who was well-known in England; cf. Caterina Pagnini, *Costantino de' Servi: architetto scenografo fiorentino alla corte d'Inghilterra* (*1611–1615*) (Florence: Società Editrice Fiorentina, 2006).

25 Brendan Dooley and Sabrina A. Baron (eds.), *The politics of information in early modern Europe* (London-New York: Routledge, 2001), p. 1: "we call political information whatever may be thought or said about events connected with the government of states and with cities and their people".

26 Private libraries with a celebratory or propagandistic function are cited as early as 1581 by Francesco Sansovino, *Venetia, città nobilissima et singolare descritta in XIIII libri* (Venice: Giacomo Sansovino, 1581), p. 138. For a wide-ranging definition of propaganda cf. Burke, *The Italian Renaissance*, p. 131; Robert W. Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk. Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994^{2}), pp. xxi–xxii.

27 Paul Nelles, 'The Library as the Instrument of Discovery: Gabriel Naudé and the Uses of History', in Donald R. Kelley (ed.), *History and the Disciplines. The Reclassification of*

Carretto acquired were required to gather information and evidence of various kinds in order to demonstrate the legitimacy of his right to rule over Finale. It was a way of constructing and affirming his identity within the network of European nobility, an intellectual response to his political problems, a tangible demonstration of his ties to the Hapsburg dynasty and the nobility of the Imperial court. The library served in effect as a contemporary Almanach de Gotha. It was for this reason that in his catalogue Carretto recorded, by extracting them from the preliminary pages of the volumes in his library, dedications addressed to monarchs, churchmen, noblemen and patricians of his acquaintance (such as Fugger and Trautson) who he thought might be diplomatically useful to him or who might help him in his political battles.

The choice of the supplementary information he transcribes from the books is entirely based on the social status of the dedicatee. Carretto records the dedications addressed to all those who wield or represent power in those publications which in the sixteenth century more or less explicitly mediate a discourse of political authority. These included books on historical, legal, political and Imperial matters in a whole gamut of contemporary modes, from the legislative to the literary, comprising annals, genealogy, iconography, festivals and ceremonies. It is significant that he never transcribed dedications addressed to humanist scholars, 'gentle readers', women and obscure professionals, seeing them as irrelevant to his purposes.[28]

Carretto's physical examination of the books in order to memorise the names of the influential personages mentioned there shows his wish to enter into some kind of dialogue with those protagonists of the international political scene who interested him. He uses these paratexts as the epistemological mirror of his own condition. In other words, the completeness of Carretto's bibliographical entries is not mere mechanical meticulousness; it is an act of selection, the result of an attentive analysis of the constituent parts of an edition and a sifting of those considered to be useful, and as such a remarkable exhibition of bibliographical awareness and a forerunner of recent developments in cataloguing. The paratexts referring to the European nobility are filleted out from the context of the editions much as the Renaissance method of *ars excerpendi* singled out interesting *loca* in a text, in accordance with an approach to reading of books which saw the activity as a way of defining the individual.[29]

Knowledge in Early Modern Europe (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 1997), pp. 41–57.

28 Cavagna, *La biblioteca,* pp. 142–150.

29 Ross Atkinson, 'An application of Semiotics to the Definition of Bibliography', in *Studies in Bibliography*, (1980), pp. 54–73, in particular p. 62 on the theories of Charles S.S. Pierce.

Thus Carretto's choice of books for his library is based on his perception of them as vectors of social relations but that this was his intention is only made clear through an analysis of the rediscovered document.[30] It is only Carretto's catalogue which shows us unequivocally how his library organised and mediated the knowledge he wanted, as a system of relations which was based from the outset of his collecting on a deliberate bibliographical plan. Only by means of the descriptions of books and accounts of consignments which are found in the documents can we fully understand how Carretto's library (like any other worthy of the name) is much more than the mere bringing together of editions and volumes. If his books had survived whereas the catalogue of them had been definitively lost his purposes in building up the library would remain much less accessible. In this hypothetical case, a modern catalogue which reconstructed Carretto's library by bringing together and describing the copies from it which survive would apply modern criteria of bibliographical description and indicate the presence of paratexts in all sorts of editions and thus lose the link, so evident in his own catalogue, between his diplomatic and military situation as a displaced feudal ruler and his decision – an ingenuous one no doubt but applied with unfaltering determination – to record only the paratexts in those editions of a political or historical content, which mentioned the leading personalities of the Imperial and European ruling classes. In other words, the exhaustive recording of the paratextual apparatus of dedications and privileges which might be found in a modern catalogue would lead us to see them only as editorial and commercial features of the publication and hide the fact, in the case of Carretto, that they are expressions of his political and ideological leanings. The true reason why these books were chosen by him to form part of his library would be lost.

The descriptions of these 'lost books' in the catalogue show us how the mercantile and subordinate relationship of a book's author to the patron, who financed the publication, is mirrored, at a subsequent stage, in the putative relationship of the reader who has acquired the book – Carretto the aspiring courtier pursuing his suit at the Emperor's court – with the grand personages to whom the book's dedications is addressed. The books which go to make up a library are not merely sources of knowledge and information for the library's owner; the library itself, as a structure which has been assembled, arranged and described, creates new meanings, as Carretto's catalogue shows us. The loss of a library as an integral whole is therefore the loss of a particular form of knowledge, of a particular possible interpretation of the world. The intellectual

30 Natalie Davis, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1975), p. 192.

project which lay behind the library, rooted in a specific time and space, and where a mass of associations are accumulated which would otherwise escape us, is lost. The disintegration of a library counts for far more than the loss of the individual books which went to make it up.

In the case of the lost books and the lost library belonging to Carretto, however, we find a curious paradox. The fact that no known copies from his library appear to survive does not spell a complete loss of information on the library and does not prevent us from understanding the plan which lay behind the collection. The numerous other copies which still survive of the works in Carretto's library, testimony of what could be described for the period as mass production, together with the descriptions in the document allow us to preserve the peculiar nature and character of his bibliographical plan. The catalogue, drawn up in order to preserve a record of the books which were sent back to Italy, reveals the governing idea behind the library better than any single surviving copy from the collection could. The loss of the material objects has served to highlight the way books exist not only to be read but also in this case to create a kind of virtual political space where in the pages of the books on the shelves of one's own library the ruling classes and the ruled can encounter each other.[31]

Other losses, however, were incurred with the lost library of Alfonso Del Carretto. Some are irreparable while others are not; some pose methodological questions. The loss of unique copies is irrecoverable: for example, the contemporary medical manuscripts Carretto owned or his personal notebook. The disappearance of this autograph manuscript which contained summaries of the books Carretto had acquired and read, compiled according to the best-known sixteenth-century reading methods, means that information on a fundamental aspect of Carretto, his cultural interests and activities, is lost to us. This *libro verde* or "green book" as it is described would have been an invaluable source for our knowledge of Carretto as both writer and reader and helped us to understand far better than we can at present his intellectual character.[32]

On the other hand, the fact that no copy has yet been found of a 1569 Venetian edition listed in Carretto's document may reflect a shortcoming in

31 Leah Price, 'Reading. The State of the Discipline', *Book History*, 7 (2004), pp. 303–320; Pollie Bromilow (ed.), *Authority in European book culture. 1400–1600* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2013).

32 Francesco Sacchini, *De ratione libros cum profectu legendi libellus, deq. vitanda moribus noxia lectione, oratio* (Rome: Bartolomeo Zannetti, 1613), f. IX; Ann Blair, 'Note Taking as an Art of Transmission', *Critical Inquiry*, 31, (2004), no. 1, pp. 85–107; Ann Blair, 'Reading Strategies for Coping with Information Overload ca. 1550-1700', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 64, (2003), pp. 11–28.

the catalogues and bibliographies available today. The edition was a guide to postal services – a practical genre subject to a very low survival rate – and there is no reason to suppose the entry in Carretto's list is a bibliographical ghost. While there is no surviving copy of this edition, the bibliographical accuracy and reliability of the catalogue is enough to assure us that it did once exist, even without the subsequent confirmation of its publication when it reappears in a slightly later library inventory.[33]

It would be interesting to try to calculate how frequently and how early such a phenomenon occurs in the history of European libraries and compile a database of 'missing books' in other words: of books which are only known to us today, because they are mentioned in documents, but which we also know, on the basis of the reliability of those documents, to have actually existed in individual libraries. We could then begin to compare the numbers of such books (paying due attention to the distinction between copies and editions as well as the various subject matter covered) with the scholarly calculations of the possible percentages of generic 'lost editions' from the bibliographical record.[34] Carretto's incunables, for example, of which until recently nothing was known in so far as they were his personal copies recorded in an unknown catalogue, can certainly be included in the generic statistical tallies of irrecoverably lost

33 Giovanni L'Herba, *Poste di diuerse parte del mondo con tutte le fiere notabili che si fanno per tutto il mondo, et una breue naratione delle sette Chiese di Roma, con il viaggio di S. Iacomo di Galitia* (Venice: Giacomo Piccaglia, 1569); Vatican Library, ms. Vatican Latin 11278, f. 166*v*: "elenco dei libri di frate Agostino di S. Angelo del convento della Comunità di S. Angelo diocesi di Messina", cf. Diego Ciccarelli (ed.), *La circolazione libraria tra i francescani di Sicilia* (Palermo: Officina di studi medievali-Biblioteca francescana, 1990, 2 vols.), v. 1, p. 439. Guides and manuals for the postal services have a high rate of loss: cf. Wilkinson, 'Lost Books Printed in French', p. 199. On the rates of loss for publishing genres and the 'dispersion aberrante' of copies in relation to the print run cf. Jean François Gilmont, *Le livre & ses secrets*, préfaces Francis Higman, Monique Mund-Dopchie (Geneva-Louvain-la-Neuve: Droz-Faculté de philosophie et lettres, Université catholique de Louvain, 2003), pp. 301–320; Oliver Willard, 'The Survival of English Books Printed Before 1640: A Theory and Some Illustrations,' *The Library. The Transactions of the Bibliographical Society,* 23 (1943), pp. 171–190.

34 Jonathan Green, Frank McIntyre and Paul Needham, 'Shape of Incunable Survival and Statistical Estimation of Lost Editions', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 105, 2 (2011), pp. 141–175. Bookseller catalogues, for example, almost always survive in single copies, cfr. Claire Lesage, Eve Netchine and Veronique Sarrazin (eds.), *Catalogues de libraires 1473–1810* ([Paris]: Bibliotheque Nationale de France, 2006), as is also frequently the case with almanacs: cf. Christian Heyden, *Schreibkalender…Auff das Jar M.D.LXXVI* (Nuremberg: Nikolaus Knorr, 1575), copy for sale by the Libreria Alberto Govi in their catalogue 2–2014.

editions on which no information exists. But might the discovery of their specific presence (and therefore, for the reasons we have seen, vouched-for existence) in Carretto's list affect the generic statistical model as this has usually been applied? In other words, is the concept of survival limited to the actually material sense in which we normally understand and use it or does survival within the bibliographical record – the recorded memory of an edition – count as well?

The worst losses are when no traces at all are left meaning that no information can ever be recovered and all hypotheses are in vain. Examples of this kind of loss can also be found in Carretto's library. As an assiduous reader he must have kept books in his residence in Vienna. We know that he decided at the last moment to keep certain medical and pharmaceutical works with him instead of sending them to Liguria, but he probably also possessed a library, or the nucleus of one, for everyday use: a domestic collection of various books which would have accompanied him on his travels with the Imperial court as it moved from one city to another, or of books which he kept permanently in his Vienna residence. While nothing is known about the contents of such libraries, it is almost certain that they existed, as the survival of an unusual manuscript, an armorial album depicting Carretto, the members of his family and his ancestors, which he commissioned from an unidentified artist in Vienna, would seem to suggest, for it is not listed in the catalogue of books sent to Liguria and most probably never went there. It may have been removed from Carretto's Viennese residence after his death in 1583 by his heirs or acquaintances; much later it emerged onto the antiquarian book market, where it was acquired by a private collector who later, in the twentieth century, donated it to an American library.[35]

All these different kinds of losses from Carretto's library may help us to reflect further on the connections between the material loss of books, the loss of information, and the loss of cultural memory. They might lead us to consider in what circumstances and under what conditions the very absence of the physical volume might paradoxically encourage a greater bibliographical and heuristic attentiveness; just as scarcity or inaccessibility can even stimulate a more scrupulous sifting of the evidence resulting in a greater knowledge of the printing and commercial history of an edition; just as the white spaces between words used in printing create the meaning of sentences and of the book as a whole.

The case of Carretto's library, surviving only in the form of his descriptive catalogue compiled in view of the absence of the books he acquired as he

35 Harvard College Library, *Houghton Manuscript* Typ. 298 (Hollis, 007482784).

prepared to send them back to Italy, shows us how books and the libraries of which they form part do not merely represent or transmit knowledge but also shape and interpret knowledge, creating new meanings just as the social use of language shapes our ideas.[36] In attempting to reconstruct libraries by navigating between different degrees and kinds of loss and survival, we should remember that we are, to paraphrase Montaigne's words, "interpreting interpretations [as much as] interpreting things".[37]

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36 Mark Bevir, 'Mente e metodo nella storia delle idee', *Intersezioni*, 21 (2001), pp. 213–242.

37 Cf. Michel de Montaigne, *The essays of Michel Eyquem de Montaigne translated by Charles Cotton; edited by W. Carew Hazlitt* (London: Reeves & Turner. 1877), cap. XIII *Of Experience*, p. 381; first edition *Les essais de Michel seigneur de Montaigne* (Paris: Abel l'Angelier, 1595), lib. III, cap. 13 *De l'Experience*, p. 196: "il y a plus affaire à interpreter les interpretations qu'à interpreter les choses, & plus de livres sur les livres que sur autre suject".

CHAPTER 17

Confiscated Manuscripts and Books: What Happened to the Personal Library and Archive of Hugo Grotius Following His Arrest on Charges of High Treason in August 1618?

Martine Julia van Ittersum

Mindful of his own mortality, Hugo Grotius (1583–1645) wrote to his younger brother in March 1643 that he was preparing a set of manuscripts – "for the writing of which God created me in the first place" – for publication by his heirs. Sixty years old at the time, the Dutch jurist and polymath already had a distinguished publishing record. His intellectual and literary interests ran the gamut from poetry and philology to law, politics, history and theology. The authoritative bibliography of his printed works, compiled by Jacob ter Meulen and P.J.J. Diermanse during the Second World War, lists over 1,330 different editions including reprints in later centuries. The corpus of Grotius' writings has expanded even further in recent times. Early treatises like *De Republica Emendanda* (1600), *Meletius* (1611), and *Tractatus de iure magistratuum circa sacra* (1614), known to a small circle of Grotius' relatives and friends during his own lifetime, were rediscovered and printed in the late twentieth century. The modern edition of Grotius' correspondence, the *Briefwisseling* (1928–2001), includes many new finds as well. Indeed, 'lost' letters of Grotius continue to be discovered until this day. Approximately 10,000 folios of Grotius' working papers are extant in public collections in, primarily, The Netherlands, Sweden and France.[1]

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* The research for this was made possible by fellowships at the Netherlands Institute for Advanced Study (Feb.–June 2005), at Huygens ING in The Hague, a subsidiary of the Royal Dutch Academy of Sciences (Sept. 2009-June 2010), and at Harvard University (Feb.–June 2009 and Aug. 2011–June 2012). In analyzing the fate of Grotius' book and manuscript collection, I have profited greatly from Henk Nellen's comprehensive knowledge of his extant correspondence. The *Briefwisseling van Hugo Grotius*, completed by Nellen in 2001, is an indispensable tool of modern-day research on the life and work of the Delft jurist, particularly his place in the Republic of Letters in the first half of the seventeenth century.

1 *Briefwisseling van Hugo Grotius*, ed. P.C. Molhuysen, B.L. Meulenbroek, P.P. Witkam, H.J.M. Nellen and C.M. Ridderikhoff, 17 vols. (The Hague, 1928–2001) no. 6148 (Grotius to W. de Groot, 27 March 1643), also available electronically at <http://grotius.huygens.knaw.nl/

 | DOI 10.1163/9789004311824_018

Less attention has been paid, however, to the destruction or disappearance of materials once part of Grotius' personal library and archive. It is not a positive or uplifting story, of course. Nor are there reliable quantitative estimates of the losses involved. For that would assume that we have a detailed knowledge of the contents of Grotius' personal library and archive at the time of his death or even before then, which we do not. This essay analyzes the 'loss' of printed and manuscript materials during Grotius' own lifetime, particularly the confiscation proceedings initiated by the States General (i.e. the federal government of the Dutch Republic) in May 1619, following Grotius' conviction for high treason.

Introduction

There were many reasons for the disappearance or destruction of materials once in Grotius' library and personal archive. The development of a (rudimentary) postal system in the seventeenth century made it possible for scholars to circulate manuscripts and printed books in the Republic of Letters more widely than ever before. Yet peer-to-peer lending was not without risk. Things could and did get lost in the post. Not all of Grotius' correspondents were sufficiently conscientious to return materials to him on time, or, indeed, at all. He returned the compliment, of course. While he spent most of his working life as an exile in Paris, he relied on family and friends in Holland to offer him a helping hand in an ambitious programme of scholarly publication. His correspondence shows that his father, wife, younger brother and, later on, his own children were all involved in the editorial process – reading and critiquing manuscripts in Latin and Dutch, preparing printers' copies, and seeing manuscripts through the press. Following Grotius' appointment as Swedish ambassador to the French court in January 1635, friends and relatives in Holland assumed even

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years>; Jacob ter Meulen and P.J.J. Diermanse, *Bibliographie des écrits imprimés de Hugo Grotius* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1950); Hugo Grotius, *De Republica Emendanda* ed. Arthur Eyffinger *et al. Grotiana* (n.s.) 5 (1984); Hugo Grotius, *Meletius, sive De iis quae inter Christianos conveniunt Epistola: Critical Edition with Transtlations, Commentary and Introduction* ed. G.H.M. Posthumus Meyjes (Leiden: Brill, 1988); G.H.M. Posthumus Meyjes, 'Some Remarks on Grotius' Excerpta Theologica, Especially Concerning His Meletius' in H.J.M Nellen and Edwin Rabbie (eds.), *Hugo Grotius, Theologian: Essays in Honour of G.H.M. Posthumus Meyjes* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), pp. 1–17; Harm-Jan van Dam, 'Grotius' manuscript of De Imperio Summarum Potestatum circa Sacra identified', *Grotiana* 11 (1990), pp. 34–42; Hugo Grotius, *Tractatus de Iure Magistratuum Circa Ecclesiastica*, ed. Harm-Jan van Dam and H.J.M. Nellen, *Grotiana* 20/21 (1999/2000), pp. 28–33; *Catalogue de Manuscrits Autographes de Hugo Grotius*, 2nd ed., with annotations by W.J.M van Eysinga and L.J. Noordhoff (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1952).

greater responsibility for the publication of his work. Blaeu in Amsterdam had become one of Grotius' favorite publishers, in fact. All of this required frequent shipments of materials between Holland and Paris, and a lot of organization and planning on the part of Grotius and his younger brother, Willem de Groot, whom he appointed "guardian of my books" in December 1639. It also increased the risk of texts going astray during Grotius' own lifetime.[2]

Another factor that determines the survival rate of Grotius' material legacy is, of course, how well it was taken care of after his death. Here I can only summarize a rather complicated story of transmission and dispersal that covers three-and-a-half centuries. Suffice it to say that Grotius was lucky in his heirs and descendants. His wife, Maria van Reigersberch (1589–1653), inherited all of his worldly possessions upon his death in August 1645. Three years later, she sold his entire book collection to Queen Christina of Sweden. In scholarly families, it was not uncommon for a widow to sell the tools of the trade in order to increase her own pension. Twentieth-century researchers have traced approximately fifty books purchased by Queen Christina to various libraries in Europe, including the Vatican Library, Munich University Library, Leiden University Library, the Royal Library in Stockholm, and Lund University Library. Yet Grotius' widow had no intention of parting with any of his unpublished manuscripts, *Historia Gotthorum* (a history of Sweden) excepted, which she also sold to Christina of Sweden, but on the condition that it would be published. Indeed, the reason why Maria van Reigersberch refused to part with any of the other manuscripts of her late husband was to find suitable editors and publishers for them. *Historia Gotthorum* appeared in print a year after Maria's death, courtesy of Isaac Vossius (1618–1689), a former secretary of Grotius. In 1657, Grotius' two eldest sons published his *Annales et Historiae*, a chronicle of the Dutch Revolt, of which the author had completed a first full draft back in 1613.[3] The pace of publication notably slackened thereafter.

2 *Briefwisseling*, no. 4431 (Grotius to Willem de Groot, 17 Dec. 1639), Martine Julia van Ittersum, 'Knowledge Production in the Dutch Republic: The Household Academy of Hugo Grotius (1583–1645)', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 72.4 (2011), pp. 523–548; C.S.M. Rademaker, 'Books and Grotius at Loevestein', *Quaerendo*, 2.1 (1972), pp. 2–29; Henk Nellen, *Hugo Grotius: A Lifelong Struggle for Peace in Church and State, 1583–1645*, trans. J.C. Grayson (Leiden: Brill, 2015), pp. 298–302, 587–591, 593–598,608–629 and *Hugo de Groot: Een Leven in Strijd om Vrede, 1583–1645* (Amsterdam: Balans, 2007), pp. 236, 255–256, 475–478, 491–506.

3 Hugo Grotius, *Philosophorum sententiae de fato* (Paris, 1648), ff. *2*r*–*3*v*; Nellen, *Hugo Grotius* pp. 746–748, *Hugo de Groot* pp. 600–601 and 'Reigersberch, Maria van', in *Digitaal Vrouwenlexicon van Nederland.* URL: <http//resources.huygens.knaw.nl/vrouwenlexicon/lemmata/data/Reigersberch> [13/01/2014]; F.F. Blok, *Isaac Vossius and His Circle: His Life until His Farewell to Queen Christina of Sweden, 1618–1655* (Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 2000),

Grotius' second son, Pieter de Groot (1615–1678), did not get round to editing his father's *Opera Omnia Theologica* until the 1670s. It was a far cry from the complete works envisaged twenty years earlier. Nor did the publication contain any works of Grotius that had not appeared in print before. Following the deaths of his mother, eldest brother and uncle, Pieter de Groot had inherited the bulk of his father's manuscripts. Yet he clearly did not get round to reading – let alone sorting out – what remained of his father's material legacy. The same was true of his descendants and heirs in the eighteenth century. They locked up Grotius' manuscripts in "chest no. 1," preserving them by non-use. Only as a result of a public auction in 1864 did most of Grotius' extant manuscripts cease to be family heirlooms and end up in public collections in Sweden and The Netherlands.[4]

The present essay focuses on one aspect of Grotius' dramatic life story and its consequences for his library and private archive: the confiscation proceedings initiated by the States General in May 1619. Grotius had been arrested in The Hague nine months earlier, while on his way to a meeting of the States of Holland (i.e. the provincial government of Holland). Years later, he still

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pp. 452–458; Edwin Rabbie, 'The History and Reconstruction of Hugo Grotius' Library: A Survey of the Results of Former Studies with an Indication of New Lines of Approach' in Eugenio Canone (ed.), *Bibliothecae Selectae da Cusano a Leopardi* (Florence: Olschki, 1993), pp. 119–137; F.F. Blok, 'Deux letters en français de Marie de Reigersberg, veuve de Hugo Grotius', *Quaerendo* 20 (1990), pp. 5–23 and 87–95; Kjell Å Modéer, *Hugo Grotius and Lund: The Book Collection of Hugo Grotius in the Lund University Library as an Example of the Learned and Cultural Relations Between The Netherlands and Sweden in the 17th Century* (Lund, 1987); Blok, *Contributions to the History of Isaac Vossius's Library*, Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeeling Letterkunde, n.s., no. 83 (Amsterdam, 1974); E.M. Meijers, *Boeken uit de bibliotheek van De Groot in de Universiteitsbibliotheek te Leiden* (Amsterdam: Noord-Hollandsche Uitgevers, 1949); Folke Dovring, *Une partie de l'héritage littéraire de Grotius retrouvée en Suède* (Amsterdam: Noord-Hollandsche Uitgevers, 1949) and *Nouvelles recherches sur la bibliothèque de Grotius en Suède et en Italie* (Amsterdam: Noord-Hollandsche Uitgevers, 1951).

4 Nellen, *Hugo Grotius* pp. 746–748 and *Hugo de Groot* pp. 600–601; Hugo de Groot, *Kroniek van de Nederlandse Oorlog: De Opstand 1559–1588*, trans. and ed. Jan Waszink (Nijmegen: Van Tilt, 2014); Jan Waszink, 'Hugo Grotius' *Annales et Historiae de Rebus Belgicis* from the Evidence In His Correspondence, 1604–1644', *LIAS: Sources and Documents Relating To The Early Modern History of Ideas*, 31 (2004), 249–269; Martine van Ittersum, 'Confronting Grotius' Legacy in an Age of Revolution: The Cornets de Groot Family in Rotterdam, 1748–1798', *English Historical Review* CXXVII no. 529 (Dec. 2012), pp. 1367–1403; *Catalogue* ed. Eysinga and Noordhoff; L.J. Noordhoff, *Beschrijving van het zich in Nederland bevindende en nog onbeschreven gedeelte der papieren afkomstig van Huig de Groot welke in 1864 te 's-Gravenhage zijn geveild* (Groningen: Noordhoff, 1953), pp. 7–19.

deplored the confiscation, by the Stadtholder's guard, of a bag which he had carried with him, filled with papers. That, however, was the least of his troubles. As Pensionary (i.e. legal adviser) of the town of Rotterdam, he had been the right-hand man of Johan van Oldenbarnevelt, Advocate of Holland and *de facto* political leader of the Dutch Republic. As such, he had been closely identified with Oldenbarnevelt's policies *vis-à-vis* the Dutch Reformed Church. Both men were dyed-in-the-wool Erastians. In their view, the secular authorities had the final say in church government and even in church doctrine. Inevitably, this made the conflict over Arminianism inside the Dutch Reformed Church a highly charged political battle as well. When the situation threatened to spin out of control, Prince Maurice of Nassau – Stadtholder and army leader – intervened and arrested Oldenbarnevelt and Grotius on charges of high treason. Both were found guilty in May 1619: while Oldenbarnevelt was executed, Grotius received a sentence of lifelong imprisonment at Loevestein Castle. Their worldly possessions were confiscated. This disastrous turn in Grotius' life resulted in a substantial loss of books and working papers. Still, the effects were decidedly mixed. Dutch friends and relatives managed to hide materials from the authorities, and, following Grotius' escape from Loevestein Castle in March 1621, in getting the confiscation decree annulled by the Court of Holland (*Hof van Holland*). It proved impossible, however, to retrieve all the books and manuscripts lost in the period August 1618-March 1620.[5]

What Do We Know Already about the Confiscation of Grotius' Library and Working Papers in the Period 1618–1620?

Grotius' conviction for high treason in May 1619 presents a major challenge for modern scholarship in determining the fate of his library and working papers. In theory, the conviction should have resulted in a straightforward confiscation of all of Grotius' worldly possessions. The reality turned out to be different. Both the States General and States of Holland claimed oversight of the confiscation proceedings and demanded a share in the loot. Moreover, the States of Holland and town of Rotterdam were entitled to documents used or produced by Grotius in his capacity as Pensionary of Rotterdam. These conflicting claims and competencies bogged down the confiscation proceedings for a long time, and also created opportunities for Grotius' friends and enemies to abscond with materials unseen. Which books and manuscripts were removed from

5 *Briefwisseling,* no. 2694 (Grotius to N. van Reigersberch, 31 July 1636); Nellen, *Hugo Grotius* pp. 165–312 and *Hugo de Groot*, pp. 144–262.

Grotius' library in Rotterdam, by whom and when? Did Grotius regain access to (part of) his (confiscated) book collection while imprisoned at Loevestein Castle? What happened to his books and papers after his escape in March 1621? To further complicate matters, the Court of Holland decreed in September 1625 that any confiscated property that turned out to belong to Grotius' wife, Maria van Reigersberch, should be returned to her forthwith. In May 1630, the Court of Holland nullified the confiscation of Grotius' possessions in its entirety. What difference did these verdicts make? Was Grotius able to recover books and manuscripts in the 1630s and 1640s that had disappeared from sight during his imprisonment in the period 1618–1621?

A consideration of these issues has immediate ramifications for our understanding of Grotius' intellectual development, particularly the relationship between his 'early' and 'mature' works. For example, are legal historians right to assume that Grotius had access to Ms. BPL 917 (also known to us as *De Jure Praedae/On the Law of Prize and Booty*, written by Grotius in 1604–1608) while he was working on *De Jure Belli ac Pacis* (1625)?[6] Although there are no straightforward answers to these questions, it is useful to investigate the parameters of the problem. I first discuss the secondary literature on the topic, then reconstruct the confiscating proceedings of 1619–1620 and its aftermath, and finally try to assess the consequences for our understanding of Grotius' intellectual development.

The lists of the contents of Grotius' house in Rotterdam drawn up at the instigation of the States General in March 1620 have been fruitful objects of study in the twentieth century. The inventories are examined and reproduced, either in whole or in part, in the publications of G. Moll (1902), E.J.J. van der Heijden (1930), and P.C. Molhuysen (1943). As editor of the *Briefwisseling*, the latter was in an ideal position to compare lists of confiscated books with references found in Grotius' correspondence to his reading and writing. Molhuysen concluded that Grotius' book collection had been catalogued in a rather slipshod fashion. As far as Molhuysen could tell, the man appointed for the job – Louis Elzevier, a bookseller in The Hague – had taken the books from the shelf, inspected them and then called out a shortened title or, in some cases, little more than a key term or just the name of an author. Meanwhile, Elzevier's assistant wrote down what he had heard or what he thought he had heard. Pamphlets and other materials without obvious monetary value were only

6 Peter Haggenmacher, *Grotius et la doctrine de la guerre juste* (Paris: PUF, 1983), p. 386, including notes 1870–1872; Benjamin Straumann, *Hugo Grotius und die Antike: Römischen Recht und römische Ethik im frühneuzeitlichen Naturrecht*, Studien zur Geschichte des Völkerrechts 14 (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2007), p. 192 (footnote 433).

described in the most general of terms – "a bunch of small and blue books of little value" (i.e. pamphlets) and "a couple of unbound books." The fact that the States General intended to sell Grotius' confiscated possessions in order to recover the costs of his trial may well explain Elzevier's failure to properly apprize pamphlets and working papers. Their financial value was close to zero at this point in time – the prisoner at Loevestein Castle was hardly the world-famous scholar he would later become. Molhuysen also noted that certain books which one would have expected in Grotius' library, such as editions of Homer and Virgil, received no mention whatsoever in the inventories of March 1620. Questions remained in Molhuysen's mind, not just with respect to Elzevier's cataloguing methods, but also regarding the ultimate fate of Grotius' library.[7]

Had confiscated books been shipped to Loevestein Castle during Grotius' incarceration there? Molhuysen did not believe so. Otherwise it would be difficult to explain why the prisoner complained about a dearth of books at Loevestein Castle in his letters to Willem de Groot and his friend G.J. Vossius (1577–1649), the father of Isaac Vossius. Did Grotius succeed in reassembling his library in exile in Paris? Molhuysen again expressed his doubts. He pointed out that only a handful of the authors cited in *De Jure Belli ac Pacis* (1625) were represented in the inventories of March 1620. Nor did it seem likely that the verdict of the Court of Holland in May 1630 had resulted in an immediate shipment of books to Paris. Grotius was planning his return to the Dutch Republic at that point. In October 1631, he left Paris for Holland, only to flee Holland again in May 1632, when he took refuge in Hamburg. The wandering scholar did not arrive back in Paris until January 1635. Molhuysen admitted that the newly minted Swedish ambassador could have arranged for a shipment of books at that point. If so, these materials must have formed part of the book collection which Grotius' widow sold to Christina of Sweden in 1648. Yet Molhuysen doubted that sufficient proof would ever be forthcoming. Folke Dovring and E.M. Meijers took up his challenge in a series of extended essays (published in 1949 and 1951, respectively), in which they identified forty-eight books in libraries in Sweden, The Netherlands, and Italy that had once belonged to Grotius. They established that the book collection inherited by Maria van Reigersberch had indeed been shipped to Stockholm in 1648 in order to be incorporated into the library of Queen Christina. Yet

7 G. Moll, 'De confiscatie der goederen van Hugo de Groot', *Oud-Holland*, 20 (1902), pp. 83–111; E.J.J. van der Heijden, 'De boekerij van Grotius', *Grotiana* 3 (1930), pp. 18–38; P.C. Molhuysen, *De bibliotheek van Hugo de Groot in 1618* (Amsterdam: Noord-Hollandsche Uitgevers, 1943), particularly pp. 1–5, 18–19; Rabbie, 'Hugo Grotius' Library', pp. 120–125.

their investigations did not answer all the questions raised by the inventories of March 1620 – far from it.[8]

In 1993, the Dutch jurist Edwin Rabbie published an essay chapter on 'The History and Reconstruction of Hugo Grotius' Library: A Survey of the Results of Former Studies with an Indication of New Lines of Approach'. Not coincidentally, the author is also the modern editor of Grotius' *Ordinum Hollandiae Ac Westfrisiae Pietas* (1613). Any assessment of Grotius' source references is closely bound up with our knowledge of the book collection(s) to which he may have had access at any given moment in time. Rabbie concurs with Molhuysen in the latter's critique of Elzevier's shoddy cataloguing, but also warns that Molhuysen overstated his case in an effort to remedy the situation. Molhuysen's essay includes a long list of book titles and editions that allegedly match the entries in the inventories of March 1620. In Rabbie's view, it is naïve to assume that exceedingly vague entries like "three books by [Conradus] Vorstius" can ever be identified with definite book titles and editions. (Rabbie may be too pessimistic in this regard, but that by the bye.) Of course, it is not difficult for Rabbie to show that the inventories of March 1620 must be incomplete. They do not reflect Grotius' intimate knowledge of Classical poetry, for example. No mention is made of Janus Gruterus' edition of Martial (Heidelberg, 1602), which, according to Arthur Eyffinger, Grotius consulted extensively for his *Instrumentum domesticum*, a cycle of epigrams written in 1602–1603. Rabbie also notes the absence of any entries in the inventories of March 1620 that can plausibly be identified as referring to a presentation copy of Isaac Casaubon's *De rebus sacris et ecclesiasticis exercitationes* (London, 1614), discovered by Dovring in the Vatican Library in Rome. This particular work must have entered Grotius' book collection prior to August 1618. How to explain the riddle? Rabbie contends that Grotius' relatives removed books and manuscripts from his house in Rotterdam as soon as the news of his arrest reached them. Since the States General did not arrange for Grotius' book collection to be catalogued until March 1620, there was a window of opportunity of almost eighteen months. Rabbie also assumes that Willem de Groot rescued books that his elder brother had kept in his lodgings in The Hague. Unfortunately, Rabbie fails to substantiate these tantalizing suggestions. In order to arrive at firm conclusions, it is imperative to reconstruct the confiscation proceedings of 1618–1620, including the fight-back on the part of Grotius and his relatives and friends. The *Briefwisseling* provides key evidence in this respect.[9]

8 Molhuysen, *De bibliotheek*, pp. 1–5; Rademaker, 'Books and Grotius', pp. 7–17; footnote 6 above.

9 Hugo Grotius, *Ordinum Hollandiae Ac Westfrisiae Pietas (1613): Critical Edition*, trans. and ed. Edwin Rabbie, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1995), pp. 46–52; Rabbie, 'Hugo Grotius' Library', pp. 120–125; Molhuysen, *De bibliotheek*, pp. 18–19.

Did Grotius' Relatives Manage to Squirrel away Sensitive Materials Following His Arrest in August 1618?

Strange to say, the States General was in no hurry to obtain the books and papers belonging to Grotius and Oldenbarnevelt following their arrest and imprisonment in August 1618. There was a reason for this. Cognizant of the fact that the States of Holland could lay claim to many papers in Oldenbarnevelt's keeping, the States General did not dare to confiscate these before the Advocate's execution in May 1619. Similar concerns seem to have applied to Grotius. Consequently, there is not a single reference to the prisoners' papers in the trial records, even though Oldenbarnevelt repeatedly asked for permission to go home to "select the registers, charters and documents belonging to the States of Holland and return these to the States of Holland", while Grotius declared that if his judges wanted to trawl through his papers, he would have no objections.[10]

Did the prisoner know that his family members had removed sensitive materials from his house in Rotterdam? It was his father, Jan de Groot, who played a crucial role in this regard. As he wrote to his son in August 1621, he had removed papers from Grotius' house in Rotterdam "on the day after your arrest", and taken these to his own place in Delft. Yet he had not kept them there, or at least not all of them. One set of documents had been transferred to the steward of the Earl of Hornes for safe-keeping, while another set of documents had been stored at the Liesveld estate in the Alblassserwaard, owned by Jan de Groot's employer, the Earl of Hohenlohe.[11]

As Pensionary of Rotterdam, Grotius had been required to attend the meetings of the States of Holland on a regular basis. To this purpose, the Rotterdam burgomaster Cornelis Claeszoon van Driel had provided him with a guest-chamber in his house in The Hague. Rabbie assumes that Willem de Groot was in a position to remove materials from the guest-chamber right after his brother's arrest. That seems unlikely. Grotius' younger brother was on his grand tour, in Paris to be precise, when he learned of the dramatic events in Holland. Although he rode back to Delft in three days, frequently changing horses, the first evidence we have for his arrival at his parents' home is a letter of 15 September 1618. There was very little he could do at that point. Grotius'

10 Robert Fruin, *Verhooren en andere bescheiden betreffende het rechtsgeding van Hugo de Groot* (Utrecht: Kemink en Zoon, 1871), p. 73; H.J. Ph.G. Kaajan, *Het archief van de familie van Oldenbarnevelt* (The Hague: Rijksarchief in Zuid-Holland, 1987), p. xxii; Nellen, *Hugo Grotius*, pp. 264–298 and *Hugo de Groot*, pp. 226–255.

11 *Briefwisseling*, nos. 655A, 671A (Jan de Groot to Grotius, 13 June and 2 August 1621 – I owe these references to Henk Nellen).

correspondence confirms that the books and papers he had kept in the guest-chamber disappeared without a trace. In November 1635, he complained in a letter to Willem de Groot that, following his arrest, the authorities had taken papers "of the greatest use for political affairs" from Van Driel's house in The Hague, and never given them back to him. In July 1638, Van Driel's heirs were happy to return to Willem de Groot the "wooden caskets" which had served as Grotius' filing cabinets. But they did not contain anything at that point.[12]

To Which Books and Manuscript Did Grotius Have Access at Loevestein Castle?

Following his conviction for high treason, Grotius was transferred to Loevestein Castle on 5 June 1619. Maria van Reigersberch joined her husband there a week later, together with their children and servants. On 8 June, Maria had petitioned the States General for permission to move some household effects from their house in Rotterdam to Loevestein Castle, along with "a few books for her husband". When permission was granted, thirty-one volumes were taken from the shelves of Grotius' library in Rotterdam and sent to Loevestein Castle. We have an itemized list of the shipment. It reveals a mixture of legal texts and the Greek and Roman classics – Aristotle, Cicero, Plato, Thucydides, Demosthenes, "a big book of Greek poetry", and a Latin-Greek dictionary, for example. For the sake of Grotius' lucrative lawyer's practice (even as a prisoner, he continued to act as jurisconsult!), at least sixteen legal texts made their way to Loevestein Castle, including Dutch and English statute books, Wielant's and Merula's treatises on Dutch legal procedures in civil cases, first published in 1558 and 1592, respectively, a treatise on "sea-laws" (perhaps *Dat hooghste en oudtste Gotlantsche Waterrecht* of 1603), a copy of the *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, Dominicus Soto's *De Justitia et Jure* (Venice, 1589), Alphonsus a Castro's *De potestate legis poenalis libri II* (second edition, Lyon, 1556), Matthaeus Wesenbecius' *In Pandectas commentarii, olim Paratitla dicti*, first published in 1565, and

12 Henk Nellen, 'Hugo Grotius' Correspondence with his brother Willem de Groot', *Grotiana*, n.s., 24/25 (2003/04), pp. 3–24, in particular p. 5, and 'Dienstbetoon uit broederliefde. Drie onuitgegeven brieven van Willem de Groot, 1619–1621', in P.G. Hoftijzer, O.S. Lankhorst and H.J.M. Nellen (eds.), *Papieren betrekkingen: zevenentwintig brieven uit de vroegmoderne tijd* (Vantilt publishers, 2005), pp. 59–72, particularly p. 61; *Briefwisseling,* nos. 2344 (Grotius to Willem de Groot, 9 Nov. 1635), 3532 (Willem de Groot to Grotius, 19 April 1638), 3643 (Grotius to Willem de Groot, 26 June 1638), 3659, 3694 (Nicolaas van Reigersberch to Grotius, 5 and 26 July 1638).

Cornelius Neostadius' *De pactis antenuptialibus rerum iudicatarum observationes* and his treatise on feudal law, first published in 1594 and 1602, respectively. In addition, "two books written with the hand in folio" were sent to Loevestein Castle – perhaps Ms. BPL 917 and the manuscript of the *Annales et Historiae*, respectively.[13]

Grotius' correspondence suggests that his own books continued to reach Loevestein Castle in other ways as well. As suspected by Molhuysen and Rabbie, the inventories of March 1620 are far from complete. When Grotius wrote to his brother-in-law Nicolaes van Reigersberch (1584–1654) in June 1619, he recalled from this borrower his own copies of Optatus Afer Milevitanus' *Libri sex de schismate Donatistarum* (Paris, 1563) and Marcus Antonius de Dominis' *De Republica Ecclesiastica* (London and Frankfurt, 1617–18). In addition, Grotius requested Willem's copy of the works of the Jewish philosopher Philo Judaeus (first century AD), which apparently contained Grotius' own reading notes. Of course, Grotius' reading had never been limited to the books that he owned himself. His imprisonment made no difference in this respect. At Loevestein Castle, Grotius relied heavily on the material support of G.J. Vossius and the Leiden orientalist Thomas Erpenius (1584–1624) for his philological labors. They lent him the books which he needed to prepare his Stobaeus edition (1623), *Excerpta ex tragoediis et comoediis Graecis* (1626) and his Latin translation of Euripides' *Phoenissae* (1630). Erpenius' plans (never brought to fruition) to compile a polyglot edition of the New Testament induced Grotius to embark on his *Annotationes* project while still in prison, for which purpose he borrowed Hebraica from Erpenius and theological works from Vossius. In October 1620, he could inform the latter that he had completed his commentaries on the first three Evangelists.[14]

The constant flow of books in and out of Loevestein Castle famously became the means of Grotius' escape. On Monday morning, 22 March 1621, the prisoner stepped into the trunk that was normally used for transporting books, wearing little more than his linen underwear and silk stockings. Unwitting soldiers carried the trunk and its contents to the house of the Daetselaer family in Gorinchem, whose members served as intermediaries in the exchange of books with Vossius and Erpenius. Once the soldiers were gone, Grotius stepped

13 Nellen, *Hugo Grotius*, pp. 293–294 and *Hugo de Groot*, pp. 251–252; Heijden, 'De boekerij', pp. 18, 34–35; Moll, 'De confiscatie', pp. 84–85, 106–107; H. Vollenhoven, *Broeders gevangenisse: dagboek van Willem de Groot, betreffende het verblijf van zijnen broeder Hugo op Loevestein* (The Hague, 1842), pp. 182, 184–85; Rabbie, 'Hugo Grotius' Library', pp. 128–129; Molhuysen, *De bibliotheek*, pp. 17–19; Rademaker, 'Books and Grotius', pp. 5–6.

14 Rademaker, 'Books and Grotius', pp. 5–17; Molhuysen, *De bibliotheek*, p. 17.

out of the trunk, donned a bricklayer's outfit (provided by the Daetselaer family) and, thus disguised, managed to flee across the rivers to Antwerp. He then continued on to Paris, where he would remain for the next ten years of his life. What happened meanwhile to his books and papers in Holland? Were his relatives able to retrieve them and ship them south?[15]

Jan de Groot Recovers Some of His Son's Books and Papers in Summer 1621

Maria van Reigersberch and the children traveled to France in September 1621. Willem de Groot kept his brother company in Paris over the summer. Meanwhile, their father tried to sort out Grotius' books and papers. On 19 July, he sent G.J. Vossius a message to request the latter's presence in Delft the following day. He wished to return to Vossius the books borrowed by Grotius during his imprisonment, and "discuss other things as well". Vossius used the occasion to drop off seventeen documents concerning the disputes between the Remonstrants and Counter-Remonstrants. Jan de Groot gave a short description of each document in his letter to Willem de Groot of early August 1621. The itemized list can be correlated with Grotius' extant papers in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Amsterdam University Library and Rotterdam Municipal Library. In all likelihood, Vossius had been asked to provide copies of state papers with an eye to Grotius' *Verantwoordingh van de wettelijcke regieringh van Holland ende West-Vrieslandt* [Defense of the lawful government of Holland and West-Frisia] (1622). In this pamphlet, Grotius sought to rehabilitate Oldenbarnevelt and his political and religious policies, while subjecting both Prince Maurice and the judges who had tried Oldenbarnevelt and himself to blistering attacks. As Henk Nellen notes, the exile requested documentation for his 'apology' in his letters to Nicolaes van Reigersberch of May 1621. Jan de Groot was collecting materials pertinent to the *Verantwoordingh* as well. He wrote to Grotius in early August that he had gathered "your petitions and other documents with respect to Oldenbarnevelt". All these materials were passed on to Grotius' wife, on the understanding that she would send them to Paris.[16]

15 Nellen, *Hugo Grotius*, pp. 302–312, 355–379 and *Hugo de Groot*, pp. 257–262, 298–316.

16 Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. Fonds latin 9722 ff. 65–72 (I owe this reference to Henk Nellen); Amsterdam University Library, Collectie Remonstrantse Kerk, III C5 f. 139, 211–224; Rotterdam Municipal Library, Collectie Remonstrantse Kerk, Ms. 38 and Ms. 566; *Briefwisseling*, nos. 633 (Grotius to G.J. Vossius, 23 April 1621), 642, 645 (Grotius to Nicolaes

That summer, Jan de Groot also sought to retrieve the papers that he had spirited away from Grotius' house in Rotterdam following his son's arrest. It was not a straightforward process. As noted earlier, Jan de Groot had stored some papers at the Liesveld estate in the Alblasserwaard and given others for safekeeping to the steward of the Earl of Hornes. He wrote to Grotius in early August 1621 that he had returned to Maria all the documents "which I had taken from your library in Rotterdam", with the exception of "papers kept by the Earl of Hornes". His gentlemen's agreement with the Earl of Hornes did not allow him to touch this particular set of materials just yet:

> The reason is that, as you recall, I indicated to you immediately after your sentence that I had agreed with [Hornes'] steward that I would undertake to safely transfer those papers to him or burn them. You agreed with me on that. And so I pretended to have burnt them. The next day your wife told me that you had changed your mind and wanted to keep them. It was not expedient for me to dispute with her. For if I had immediately delivered those papers to her, and if she had disclosed their existence to her brother [Nicolaes van Reigersberch] or to somebody else, and this had become public, I could have been accused of mendacity by the noble man. And so I told your wife that I had given her all the papers which I had received from Liesveld – for they had been preserved at that place, with the exception of these – and that if there still was something at another place, your brother Willem would perhaps know this and I could discuss this with him after his return from Paris. Meanwhile, you may rest assured that those papers are well and safely preserved.[17]

This is a crucial passage in Jan de Groot's letter. Although Grotius was a free man again, the same could not be said of his papers. If their existence became public knowledge, they were still liable to be confiscated by the authorities. What role, if any, did Willem de Groot play in salvaging his brother's papers? The letter is ambiguous on this point. Grotius' father faced a difficult balancing act: while answering Maria's queries about the whereabouts of her husband's papers, he had to keep his gentlemen's agreement with the Earl of Hornes.

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van Reigersberch, 14 and 18 May 1621) and 671A (Jan de Groot to Grotius and Willem de Groot, 2 August 1621); Nellen, *Hugo Grotius*, p. 340 and *Hugo de Groot*, p. 286; Rademaker, 'Books and Grotius', pp. 16–17, 24–25; Noordhoff, *Beschrijving* pp. 44–45, 50, 53; Henk Nellen, 'Être à la page de l'ère de l'information: Grotius collectionneur de manuscrits sur l'union des églises', *XVIIe Siècle*, 67 (2015), pp. 91–117, particularly 108.

17 *Briefwisseling,* no. 671A.

Jan de Groot truthfully told his daughter-in-law that he had returned to her all the materials stored at the Liesveld estate, but pretended that he had to consult with Willem de Groot (conveniently in Paris) about other sets of papers hidden elsewhere. It is doubtful, however, that Willem de Groot was aware of the gentlemen's agreement between his father and the Earl of Hornes. Significantly, Jan de Groot wrote two letters on 2 August 1621, one addressed to Grotius, the other to Willem de Groot. His efforts to retrieve Grotius' papers receive no mention whatsoever in the letter to his younger son. Jan de Groot, then, was the sole person responsible for removing sensitive materials from Grotius' house in Rotterdam in August 1618, for hiding these at various locations in Holland in August 1618 and May 1619, and for retrieving some of them in July 1621. Unfortunately, his letters do not contain an itemized list of the papers handed to Grotius' wife the previous day, with the exception of the materials provided by Vossius. Nor did Maria have any intention of taking all of this material to Paris. To Jan de Groot's disappointment, she burnt "many [documents] which she considered useless". We will never know what was lost on that occasion. As for the papers left in the safekeeping of the steward of the Earl of Hornes, it is unclear whether Jan de Groot managed to recover them at a later point. Nor do we have any information about their contents.[18]

What Happened to Grotius' Confiscated Papers?

Although Grotius did not share Oldenbarnevelt's fate in May 1619, many of his papers were subjected to the same careless handling as Oldenbarnevelt's archive. Convicted for *crimen laesae maiestatis,* the Advocate of Holland was executed on 13 May 1619. Two days later, the States General proceeded to confiscate his archive. It immediately faced a conflict of jurisdiction with the States of Holland. Both institutions realized that many state papers in Oldenbarnevelt's possession properly belonged to the County of Holland. On 18 May, the States of Holland demanded that an inventory of the archive be drawn up in the presence of representatives of both institutions, "leaving to the States General what belongs to the States General, and to Holland what belongs to Holland". The papers were in such a state of disarray, however, that an initial inspection suggested it could take months to sort them out. It would be late autumn before seven trunks, filled with the Advocate's papers, could be transported from his house in The Hague to the offices of the Delegated States of South Holland, a standing committee of the States of Holland. Meanwhile, a

18 *Ibidem.*

visitation committee appointed by the States of Holland refused to cooperate with representatives of the States General. At the beginning of July, François van Aerssen van Sommelsdijk (1572–1641), Andries de Witt (1573–1637), Johan van Wassenaer van Duvenvoorde (1577–1645) and Albrecht Franszoon Bruynincx let it be known that they preferred to sort out Oldenbarnevelt's papers themselves. Shortly afterwards, the representatives of the States General were denied all access to the papers. Prince Maurice sought to mediate in this affair, but apparently without much success.[19]

The delays and confusion caused by the conflict of jurisdiction between the States General and States of Holland proved disastrous for the integrity of Oldenbarnevelt's archive. On 30 October 1619, the States of Holland noted that a few trunks filled with papers had disappeared from the Advocate's house in The Hague. In all likelihood, the visitation committee was the guilty party. Van Aerssen, a bitter enemy of Oldenbarnevelt, used the opportunity to eradicate all traces of his correspondence with the Advocate of Holland. The Delegated States of North Holland – another standing committee of the States of Holland – explicitly instructed Bruynincx to select from Oldenbarnevelt's archive any document that could be of importance to them. It should also be noted that Oldenbarnevelt's kith and kin received permission from the States of Holland to remove personal and family papers on at least two occasions. Reinoud van Brederode (1567–1633), Oldenbarnevelt's son-in-law, recovered his papers in December 1619. Another son-in-law, Cornelis van der Myle (1579–1642), was given access to the five remaining trunks in the offices of the Delegated States of South Holland in November 1625. He removed all the papers pertaining to the possessions of Maria van Utrecht (1551–1629), Oldenbarnevelt's widow. Two more trunks disappeared after his visit: one containing the correspondence of Joachim Ortell, the agent of the United Provinces in England from 1584 until his death in 1590, and another comprising "the histories and books written by Pieter Cornelis Bockenberch" (1548–1617), who had been appointed historiographer of Holland in 1591. When, in February 1631, the States of Holland belatedly woke up to the fact that they were losing oversight of their own archive, they commissioned Anthonis van der Wolf, secretary of the

19 Kaajan, *Het archief van de familie van Oldenbarnevelt*, pp. xxii–xxiv and *Het archief van Johan van Oldenbarnevelt, 1586–1619* (*voorlopige inventaris*) (The Hague: Rijksarchief in Zuid-Holland, 1984), vol. 1, pp. lxxiv–lxxvi; Moll, 'De confiscatie', pp. 85–87. Although the Advocate of Holland was required to transfer relevant materials to the archive of the States of Holland, Oldenbarnevelt had only done so intermittently. He had been the Keeper of Holland's Charters (*chartermeester*) since 1604. In that capacity, he must also have kept state papers at his home.

Holland Chamber of Accounts (*Rekenkamer*), to draw up an inventory. At that point, the remainder of Oldenbarnevelt's papers consisted of two of the original seven trunks. Of course, it did nothing to stop the disintegration of Oldenbarnevelt's archive. When Herbert van Beaumont, keeper of the county's charters, did his own inspection in 1665, he concluded that many of the most important papers were missing. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the Kingdom of the Netherlands retrieved parts of Oldenbarnevelt's archive from various sources, including the descendants of members of the visitation committee. This is a long story, however. Suffice to say that the States of Holland subjected Grotius' confiscated books and papers to similarly chaotic archiving procedures. Partly incorporated into Oldenbarnevelt's archive, they shared its fate.[20]

On 15 May 1619, the States General appointed Johan Hallingh as the trustee for the confiscated possessions of Oldenbarnevelt and Grotius. Yet the conflict of jurisdiction between the States General and States of Holland prevented him from making any headway that summer. Two Rotterdam *schepenen* (aldermen), who acted independently from Hallingh, made an inventory of the furniture in Grotius' house in Rotterdam sometime before 8 June. Nor did Hallingh draw up the itemized list of thirty-one volumes taken from Grotius' library and shipped to Loevestein Castle that same month. On 28 June, the States of Holland arrogated to themselves all of Grotius' immovable possessions found within the county's perimeters, so as to maintain "the right of confiscation inherent in a sovereign lordship and the high jurisdiction of a feudal lord". Five days later, the Holland Chamber of Accounts warned Hallingh not to touch any of the prisoner's possessions in Holland. Needless to say, this made it impossible for him to do his work. At the request of the States General, Prince Maurice intervened in the matter in the middle of July. Hallingh was confirmed in his position as sole trustee of the prisoner's possessions in Holland. On 12 August, he received permission from the States General to sell the prisoner's confiscated possessions, a decision endorsed by the States of Holland eight days later. Both institutions had reckoned without Maria van Reigersberch, however.[21]

20 Kaajan, *Het archief van de familie van Oldenbarnevelt*, pp. xxii–xxvii and *Het archief van Johan van Oldenbarnevelt*, vol. 1, pp. lxxv–lxxx; *Briefwisseling*, no. 2345 (Grotius to Willem de Groot, 10 Nov. 1635).

21 Heijden, 'De boekerij', pp. 18–19, 34–35; Moll, 'De confiscatie', pp. 84–91, 107–112; Vollenhoven, *Broeders gevangenisse*, pp. 220–227; Caspar Brandt and Adriaan van Cattenburgh, *Historie van het Leven des Heeren Huig de Groot*, 2 vols. (Dordrecht and Amsterdam, 1727), vol. 1, p. 219.

Grotius' wife petitioned the Court of Holland (*Hof van Holland*) on 24 August to confirm her husband in the enjoyment of a privilege granted to the Delft citizenry by Duke Albrecht of Bayern: regardless of the offense committed, a burgher of Delft had the opportunity to recover his confiscated possessions for the payment of sixty guilders. When the Court of Holland decided against her in early November, she immediately lodged a number of appeals, both with the Court of Holland and the States General. Although she would eventually be successful, this was far from clear in the autumn of 1619.[22]

Meanwhile, the Delegated States of South Holland had taken matters into its own hand. Two of its members – Johan Claaszoon Dierhout (d. 1626) and Van Wassenaer-Duvenvoorde, who was responsible for sorting out Oldenbarnevelt's papers as well – received instructions to travel to Rotterdam together with Hallingh, and retrieve "documents, books and papers" from Grotius' house there. Any materials directly relevant to Rotterdam could be handed to the town magistrates, everything else had to be taken to The Hague. Van Wassenaer-Duvenvoorde, Dierhout and Hallingh entered Grotius' house on 3 October 1619. Brushing aside the protests of Grotius' wife, they removed part of her husband's papers, without, however, compiling any kind of inventory. Grotius wrote to Willem de Groot in November 1635 that "many of these papers pertained to Dutch history and law". In addition, materials "of the greatest use for political affairs" had been removed from his guest-chamber in Van Driel's house in The Hague, probably also in October 1619. His wife recalled that these documents – "much more exquisite" than the ones appropriated by Van Wassenaar-Duvenvoorde – had been taken to "the house of Johan Basius" (1575–1646), Auditor General of Holland. This should not surprise us: it was at the prompting of the Holland Chamber of Accounts that the States of Holland had interfered in the confiscation proceedings in summer 1619. It is another indication that Grotius' confiscated papers received the same shoddy treatment as Oldenbarnevelt's archive.[23]

Following the verdict of the Court of Holland of May 1630, both Willem de Groot and Nicolaes van Reigersbergh made great efforts to locate Grotius' confiscated papers. The exile egged them on, of course. In one letter after another, he expressed his ardent desire to have his books and papers back, so he could complete the *Annales et Historia*, for example. In his view, their whereabouts had to be known to several Dutch politicians, including Jacob

22 Idem; *Briefwisseling,* no. 1506 (Grotius to N. van Reigersberch, 24 May 1630).

23 Brandt and Cattenburgh, *Historie*, Vol. 1, pp. 219–120; *Briefwisseling,* nos. 2344, 2345, 2431 (Grotius to Willem de Groot, 9 and 10 Nov. 1635 and 10 Jan. 1636); Moll, 'De confiscatie', pp. 85, 90–91.

Cats (1577–1660), Pensionary of Holland, and the usual suspects Van Aerssen, Van der Wolf, Basius and Van Wassenaer-Duvenvoorde. As noted earlier, Van Aerssen and Van Wassenaer-Duvenvoorde had been members of the visitation committee appointed by the States of Holland that had shamelessly pillaged Oldenbarnevelt's archive. Yet Willem de Groot did not dare to approach the powerful Van Aerssen, whom Grotius regarded as his mortal enemy, and targeted Van Wassenaer-Duvenvoorde, Van der Wolf and Basius instead. Their response was mixed. Van Wassenaer-Duvenvoorde contended in September 1635 that he had simply done his duty and handed the papers to the (Delegated) States of (South) Holland. Nor could Van Wassenaer-Duvenvoorde tell Willem de Groot "what had been done with them or where they had been hidden". In response, Grotius suggested that Van der Wolf might know where to find the confiscated papers, or otherwise the members of the Delegated States of South Holland. Willem de Groot did not have any luck with Van der Wolf either. In December 1635, he reported that Van der Wolf claimed never to have seen any of Grotius' papers. Willem did not know where to turn next, as

> there is nobody among the members of the States of Holland [right now] who governed the commonwealth back then [i.e. in October 1619], apart from Van Wassenaer-Duvenvoorde, who is also ignorant of everything, as I wrote to you before.[24]

Yet Willem de Groot could offer his brother one ray of hope: "those documents relevant to politics" which had been taken to Basius' house in October 1619 had arrived back at "the house of our father" in Delft. They were shipped to Paris in late September 1635, packed in three trunks. Sadly, Willem failed to describe the documents individually. We are better informed about another trunk of papers obtained from Basius in November 1637 and shipped to Paris seven months later. It contained six bound volumes of resolutions of the States of Holland, covering the years 1577–1600, which, Grotius recalled, he had put together during his tenure as Pensionary of Rotterdam. The Rotterdam Municipal Archives acquired these volumes in the nineteenth century. Otherwise, the

24 *Briefwisseling,* nos. 1166 (Grotius to Willem de Groot, 22 August 1627), 1977 (Grotius to N. van Reigersberch, 15 Feb. 1635), 2197, 2250, 2344, 2345, 2431, 2485 (Grotius to Willem de Groot, 27 July, 23 Aug., 9 and 10 Nov. 1635 and 10 Jan. and 21 Feb. 1636), 2200 and 2434 (Grotius to N. van Reigersberch, 27 July 1635 and 10 Jan. 1636), 2295 and 2388 (Willem de Groot to Grotius, 29 Sept. and 12 Dec.1635); 3659, 3694 (Nicolaas van Reigersberch to Grotius, 5 and 26 July 1638).

papers confiscated in October 1619 were never returned, neither to Grotius nor to his family and descendants.[25]

We may deduce what happened from the recent discovery of Grotius' unpublished treatise *Tractatus de iure magistratuum circa sacra* (1614). In May 1997, Nellen found two copies of the *Tractatus* – a draft in the hand of Willem de Groot and a fair copy in the hand of G.J. Vossius – among Oldenbarnevelt's papers in the South Holland Public Records Office in The Hague. In all probability, these copies were never intended for the Advocate of Holland. A mix-up must have occurred when the confiscated papers of Grotius and Oldenbarnevelt were incorporated into the archive of the States of Holland. It is entirely possible that the man entrusted with this task, Van der Wolf, literally had no idea which was which. The extant inventory of 1631 testifies to his sloppiness. The *Tractatus* is not listed separately, but subsumed under entry LVI: "A large bundle of documents concerning the ecclesiastical troubles and disputes". No wonder, then, that neither Van der Wolf nor other members of the (Delegated) States of Holland were able to help Willem de Groot in his search for his brother's confiscated papers. Moreover, materials may have disappeared long before Van der Wolf drew up his inventory. Who could stop members of the visitation committee from pillaging Grotius' confiscated papers as well as Oldenbarnevelt's archive, especially if documents were deposited pell-mell in the offices of the Delegated States of South Holland?[26]

What Happened to Grotius' Confiscated Books?

Determined to salvage her husband's valuable book collection, Maria van Reigersberch unexpectedly received the help of Rotterdam magistrates in October 1619. Ordered to vacate the Pensionary's residence, she immediately

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25 *Briefwisseling,* no. 2197 (Grotius to Willem de Groot, 27 July 1635), nos. 2295, 2388 (Willem de Groot to Grotius, 29 Sept. and 12 Dec. 1635), nos. 2608, 2691 (Grotius to Willem de Groot, 30 May and 31 July 1636), no. 2613, 2694, 2705, 2822, 2904 (Grotius to N. van Reigersberch, 30 May, 31 July, 8 Aug., 30 Oct., and 18 Dec. 1636), 2925, 2958, 3023, 3323 (Grotius to N. van Reigersberch, 15 Jan, 12 Feb., 10 April, and 31 Oct. 1637), 3327 (Willem de Groot to Grotius, 2 Nov. 1637), 3643 (Grotius to Willem de Groot, 26 June 1638) 3638, 3712, 3886 (Grotius to N. van Reigersberch, 7 Aug., 21 Nov. and 11 Dec. 1638), 3694 (N. van Reigersberch to Grotius, 26 July 1638); Noordhoff, *Beschrijving*, pp. 12–13.

26 Harm-Jan van Dam, 'Le droit et le sacré selon Grotius', *Grotiana* 20/21 (1999/2000), pp. 12–27; Grotius, *Tractatus*; Hugo Grotius, *De Imperio Summarum Potestatum Circa Sacra*, ed. and trans. by Harm-Jan van Dam (Leiden: Brill, 2001), pp. 45–48, particularly footnote 2, p. 47.

asked the States General for permission to ship the confiscated furniture, books and papers to Loevestein Castle. In response, the States General instructed Hallingh to return to Rotterdam to apprize the confiscated possessions, prior to their removal elsewhere. In late March 1620, a list of contents was drawn up in the presence of Hallingh, a notary and two Rotterdam aldermen. Like many inventories of the period, it only provides brief descriptions of the furniture, cutlery, and bedclothes found in the Pensionary's residence. Their total value amounted to less than 800 guilders. It is disappointing, however, that the expert engaged by Hallingh to apprize Grotius' book collection – Louis Elzevier – made a complete hash of it. As Molhuysen and Rabbie point out, titles which one would have expected in Grotius' collection are not listed in the inventory, including several books known to have been in Grotius' possession prior to August 1618. The inventory, then, should be handled with great care and circumspection.[27]

It is far from clear what happened to Grotius' confiscated books following Elzevier's appraisal. Were all of them removed to Loevestein Castle in April 1620? It seems unlikely: Grotius continued to borrow materials from Erpenius, G.J. Vossius and Willem de Groot, for example. Nor did he regain access to his book collection after his escape from Loevestein Castle in March 1621. It had always been the intention of the States General to sell the assets of Oldenbarnevelt and Grotius in order to pay for their trials. The total value of Grotius' confiscated book collection was estimated at 340 Dutch guilders, not an insubstantial sum of money. (Presumably, it would also have been easier to auction off Grotius' valuable books than his modest furniture.) In March 1621, the States of Holland discussed the slow pace of the confiscation proceedings with the Advocate-Fiscal (i.e. public prosecutor) of Holland, who promised to do better. A few possessions of Maria van Reigersberch were seized three days after her husband's flight to Antwerp, for example. In August and October 1623 and again in January 1624, the States General asked the States of Utrecht and States of Holland to submit final accounts for the confiscated assets in their territories – Johan Doublet (1580–1650), Receiver General of the Dutch Republic, was still owed 72,000 guilders for the costs of the trials. Still, it is highly improbable that any confiscated books were sold in the meantime. Maria van Reigersberch had petitioned the Court of Holland in August 1619, asking the judges to confirm that, as a Delft citizen, her husband was entitled

27 Heijden, 'De boekerij', pp. 19–21, 23–36; Moll, 'De confiscatie', pp. 89–92, 101–107; Vollenhoven, *Broeders gevangenisse*, pp. 236–242; Rabbie, 'Hugo Grotius', pp. 120–122, 124–125; Molhuysen, *De bibliotheek*, pp. 1–4, 6–19; Brandt and Cattenburgh, *Historie*, vol. 1, pp. 221–222.

to redeem his confiscated possessions for the payment of sixty guilders. Although the wheels of justice turned slowly, it did have one big advantage: a sale of confiscated possessions was out of the question for the duration of the court proceedings.[28]

The protracted legal wrangling does raise the question whether Grotius had access to Ms. BPL 917 (i.e. the manuscript of *De Jure Praedae*) while writing *De Jure Belli ac Pacis*. Many modern-day scholars assume that he did. Did Maria van Reigersberch take it to Paris together with other manuscript materials Grotius had worked with at Loevestein Castle? But why should the States General and Prince Maurice be inclined to be lenient in this matter? In their view, Grotius was still a fugitive from justice. Perhaps Ms. BPL 917 was among the papers that Jan de Groot removed from his son's house in Rotterdam in August 1618 and returned to Grotius' wife three years later. If this was not the case, however, then the earliest opportunity at which Grotius could have regained access to the manuscript was *after* the publication of *De Jure Belli ac Pacis*. In September 1625, the Court of Holland responded favorably to a petition submitted by Maria van Reigersberch the previous summer. The Court restored her in the possession of half the confiscated assets once jointly owned by her and her husband. Unfortunately, Grotius' extant correspondence does not reveal whether any confiscated books or papers were returned to his wife at that point. Only in May 1630 did the Court of Holland annul the confiscation of all of Grotius' possessions. Still, there is no evidence of any immediate shipments to Paris. Grotius' correspondence suggests that he only gave serious thought to reassembling his personal archive and book collection after his appointment as Swedish ambassador. Whether, and when, Grotius had access to Ms. BPL 917 as an exile in Paris will have to be deduced from a systematic comparison of the quotations and marginal source references in Ms. BPL 917 and the 1625 and 1630 editions of *De Jure Belli ac Pacis.* Such a comparison has yet to be undertaken.[29]

28 Moll, 'De confiscatie', pp. 87–89, 93–97; Vollenhoven, *Broeders gevangenisse*, pp. 248, 114–117, 141–143, 148; Molhuysen, *De bibliotheek*, pp. 4–5.

29 Moll, 'De confiscatie', pp. 98–100, 107–112; Brandt and Cattenburgh, *Historie*, vol. I, pp. 320–321; Molhuysen, *De bibliotheek*, pp. 4–5; *Briefwisseling*, no. 1166 (Grotius to Willem de Groot, 22 Aug. 1627), 1155 and 1169 (Maria van Reigersberch to Hugo Grotius, 27 June and 4 Sept. 1627), 1176, 1200, 1279, 1300, 1336, 1349 (Grotius to Nicolaes van Reigersberch, 30 Sept. & 27 Nov. 1627, 24 June, 19 Aug., 11 Nov. and 16 Dec.1628), 1361, 1403 (Nicolaes van Reigersberch to Grotius, 6 Jan. & 27 May 1629), 1508 (Grotius to Willem de Groot, 31 May 1630).

Conclusion

The fate of Grotius' book and manuscript collection suggests that the 'loss rates' of printed and manuscript materials in Western Europe are closely correlated in the early modern period. Just the simple fact that manuscript materials were stored in the same location as printed texts – bound together in one volume, for example, or sitting side-by-side on a bookshelf – increased the chance that they would share a common destiny. This could be something as dramatic as destruction in war, or the more mundane threat of damage by fire or water. It is doubtful, however, that reliable statistics will become available any time soon. The manuscript catalogues of public archives and libraries in Europe and North America are of uneven quality, particularly with respect to early modern materials. Too often I have had to open boxes of archival materials with just a year listed on the outside of the box, and little else besides in the catalogue. Nor have probate inventories and scholarly correspondence from the early modern period been analyzed yet with an eye to quantifying the production and destruction of manuscripts.[30] Even if we could compile datasets large enough to permit statistical analysis, the uncertainty principle of Heisenberg would still apply. The graphs and tables presented elsewhere in this volume pertain to production and loss rates in aggregate. They do not explain why a particular collection of books or manuscripts, or even just one item within a particular collection, survives until today, while others are no longer extant.

Still, the historian's craft yields a few rules of thumb. As every archival researcher knows, it is important to consider a document's physical and historical contexts. Neil Harris correctly notes that for ephemera to survive the ages, they need to 'latch on' to bigger physical objects – a quarto or folio volume, for example. Moreover, readers and other users cause printed and

30 Eltjo Buringh's *Medieval Manuscript Production in the Latin West: Explorations with a Global Database*, Global Economic History Series VI (Leiden: Brill, 2011) is an attempt to quantify both mediaeval manuscript production and subsequent loss rates in England and the rest of the world. Large databases containing the correspondence of members of the Republic of Letters in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are now available online, such as *Mapping the Republic of Letters,* available at <http://republicofletters.stanford.edu/>, *Early Modern Letters On-Line*, available at <http://emlo.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/>, and *Circulation of Knowledge*, available at <http://ckcc.huygens.knaw.nl/>. However, these databases have so far been used for network analysis, not for quantifying the production and loss rates of manuscripts and printed books. See, for example, Yves Gingras, 'Mapping the structure of the intellectual field using citation and co-citation analysis of correspondences', *History of European Ideas*, 36 (2010), pp. 330–339.

manuscript materials to deteriorate over time. The best preservative is a fair amount of neglect, though not too much of it. Grotius' working papers are a case in point. Most documents extant today were bound into large, sturdy volumes in the late 1630s and early 1640s, indexed by the Parisian exile himself. With a few exceptions, these volumes remained in the possession of the Cornets de Groot family for centuries, gathering dust in trunk "no. 1": in other words, preservation through non-use. For Grotius' heirs and descendants, it was a matter of filial piety and family honor to hold on to his material legacy. The Cornets de Groot family, which joined the regent elite of Rotterdam in the second quarter of the eighteenth century, had both the social status and the financial means to do so. Grotius' fame as a scholar also helped to ensure the survival of his working papers. At the time of his death in 1645, his manuscripts were highly sought-after and commanded large sums of money. This was, of course, an important incentive for anybody in possession of his working papers to preserve them carefully.[31]

All this stands in stark contrast to the cavalier treatment of Grotius' book and manuscript collection by the Dutch authorities following his arrest on charges of high treason in August 1618. At that point, Grotius was hardly the prince of humanists and international star that he would become in Paris. He was lucky to escape with his life, in fact. Caught up in a political whirlwind, the collection of books and manuscripts that he had brought together in the Pensionary's residence in Rotterdam quickly disintegrated. Of course, his relatives went to great lengths to salvage what they could. However, it is unclear which documents his father managed to squirrel away and hide at various places in Holland, which materials he retrieved in July 1621 (and later), and which of these his wife decided either to ship to Paris or destroy. The confiscation proceedings initiated by the States General in May 1619 caused even more havoc, largely due to its conflict of jurisdiction with the States of Holland. Two members of the Delegated States of South Holland entered the Pensionary's residence in October 1619 and removed papers without compiling an inventory or even supplying Grotius' wife with a receipt. One part of these papers was incorporated into the archive of Johan van Oldenbarnevelt, Grotius' erstwhile political patron, and thus shared its dismal fate. Another part ended up in the

31 Neil Harris, 'The Italian Renaissance Book: Catalogues, Censuses and Survival', in Malcolm Walsby and Graeme Kemp (eds.), *The Book Triumphant: Print in Transition in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), pp. 26–56, in particular p. 52; Van Ittersum, 'Confronting Grotius' Legacy in an Age of Revolution', pp. 1370–1373, 1375, 1398–1400; F.F. Blok, 'Deux lettres en français de Marie de Reigersberg, veuve de Hugo Grotius', *Quaerendo*, 20 (1990) pp. 5–23, 87–95.

possession of Johan Basius, Auditor General of Holland, who would be the only person to give back previously confiscated papers. Unfortunately, we lack detailed descriptions of the materials returned by Basius in 1635 and 1637, except for the six bound volumes of resolutions of the States of Holland, currently in the Rotterdam Municipal Archives. (Apparently, Basius had felt no need to deposit these volumes in the archive of the States of Holland, even though he had ample opportunity to do so.)

We know even less about what happened to the printed books in the Pensionary's residence in Rotterdam, apart from the fact that Maria van Reigersberch shipped thirty-one volumes (including manuscripts) to Loevestein Castle in June 1619 and that Louis Elzevier made a muddle in appraising the remainder. While the Court of Holland effectively reversed the confiscation of Grotius' possessions in May 1630, the Parisian exile never succeeded in retrieving all of the books and manuscripts confiscated by the Dutch authorities. It is also unclear when certain materials came back into his possession. A case in point is a four-volume edition of Thomas Aquinas' *Summa Theologiae* (Antwerp, 1569–1570) acquired by Grotius from Dom Emmanuel of Portugal, probably at the time of writing of Ms. BPL 917 (1604–1608). Appraised by Louis Elzevier at 12 guilders in March 1620, this splendid edition of Aquinas was sold by Grotius' wife to Christina of Sweden twenty-eight years later. It is still extant at Lund University Library.[32] What we do not know, however, is when exactly Grotius regained access to the four-volume set following his escape from Loevestein Castle. The same is true of quite a few other books once owned by Grotius and extant today.

This suggests that *Quellenforschung* – always a tricky business – is doubly so in the case of Grotius' writings. We need to give careful thought to the question when, and under which circumstances, he could have had access to a particular printed book or manuscript. His checkered life makes sweeping generalizations impossible. I suspect, however, that he is not unique in this respect, and that a similar story could be told with respect to many other scholars and statesmen in early modern Europe. True *Quellenforschung* is the art of the possible: in our historical analysis, we should ask the right questions of the right sources, and never loose sight of the particular.

32 Lund University Library, Bibl. Grotiana 4: *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, 3 volumes (Antwerp: Christopher Plantin, 1569–1570); Dovring, *Une Partie de l'Héritage Littéraire de Grotius Retrouvée en Suède*, p. 241; Heijden, 'De boekerij', p. 34; Martine Julia van Ittersum, 'The Working Methods of Hugo Grotius: Which Sources Did He Use and How Did He Use Them in His Early Writings on Natural Law?', in John W. Cairns and Paul J. du Plessis (eds.), *Ad Fontes: Reassessing Legal Humanism and its Claims* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, forthcoming).

CHAPTER 18

Dispersed Collections of Scientific Books: The Case of the Private Library of Federico Cesi (1585–1630)

Maria Teresa Biagetti

The extraordinary library collected by Federico Cesi, founder in 1603 of the Accademia dei Lincei in Rome, is a clear manifestation of the scientific personality of its owner. In the scientific community of the early seventeenth century, Federico Cesi occupies a prominent position in both the fields of botany and zoology. However, botany was his principal love. In this field, while dutifully acknowledging the authority of Pliny and Theophrastus, he confidently proposed himself as successor of Pietro Andrea Mattioli and Andrea Cesalpino.[1] He was interested in the subfield constituted by the scientific researches of Ulisse Aldrovandi and Giambattista Della Porta, Gaspar Bauhin, Jacobus Theodorus and Matthias de L'Obel.[2] His investigations of the reproduction of the plants, which were never published, were innovative;[3] particularly relevant to the field of botany is his planned encyclopedia synthesized in the *Tabulae Phytosophicae*, which reveals his taste for schematic organization through the creation of tables and diagrams.[4] The desire to analyze the minute details of plants is confirmed by the presence of detailed drawings of plants, flowers and mushrooms in some manuscripts that formed part of his library, now in the

1 Pietro Andrea Mattioli (1500–1577), physician and naturalist, born in Siena. Andrea Cesalpino (c. 1524–1603), physician, botanist, and professor of Medicine at the Sapienza University of Rome.

2 Ulisse Aldrovandi (1522–1605), physician and naturalist from Bologna. Giambattista Della Porta (c. 1540–1615), naturalist, scholar and polymath from Napoli. Jacobus Theodorus Tabernaemontanus (1522–1590), German botanist and physician. The Flemish Matthias de L'Obel (1538–1616), had been physician of William I, Prince of Orange, and physician and botanist of James I, King of England.

3 Antonio Graniti, *Il mondo vegetale nella visione di Federico Cesi*, in Antonio Graniti (ed.), *Federico Cesi: un principe naturalista* (Roma: Bardi, 2006), pp. 18–99.

4 *Tabulae Phytosophicae*, published as an appendix to *Nova plantarum, animalium et mineralium mexicanorum historia a Francisco Hernandez ... Cui demum accessere aliquot ex principis Federici Cæsii Frontispiciis Theatri naturalis Phytosophicæ Tabulæ* ... (Romae, Typis Vitalis Mascardi, 1651), pp. 901–950.

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Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France at Paris.[5] The focus on iconographic documentation probably derived from knowledge of the method adopted by Aldrovandi in the sixteenth century, namely the use of detailed depictions of animals and plants created by engravers and painters to advance scientific work.[6] From 1605 he extended his scientific interests to the study of astronomy, some years before the meeting with Galileo Galilei. Cesi knew the works of Kepler and Tycho Brahe, and supported the theories of Brahe regarding the permeability of the celestial spheres, demonstrated by the appearance and disappearance of comets.[7] In 1605 he decided to publish, at the expense of the Accademia dei Lincei, the *De nova stella disputatio.* by Johannes van Heeck, one of the founders of the Academia.

Federico Cesi was born in Rome on 26 February 1585, the son of Marquis Federico and Olimpia Orsini.[8] The family moved from Umbria to Rome in the fifteenth century and acquired significant positions at the papal court: the family would in due course be rewarded with the appointment of five of their number as cardinals. Federico was the Prince of S. Angelo and S. Polo from 1613 and the second Duke of Acquasparta in June 1630, on the death of his father. He died only a month later in Acquasparta (Umbria) on 1 August 1630.

At the age of eighteen, on 17 August 1603, Federico Cesi became the founder of the Accademia dei Lincei, along with the Dutch physician Joannes van Heeck, his teacher of Botany, the mathematician Francesco Stelluti, and the scholar Anastasio de Filiis. Between 1604 and 1606 the Holy Office tried Joannes van Heeck for heresy, and Federico's father took the opportunity to send him away from Rome and to force his son to suspend his academic activities for a few years.[9] His

5 Luigi Guerrini, *I trattati naturalistici di Federico Cesi* (Roma: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 2006). David Freedberg, *The eye of the lynx. Galileo, his friends and the beginnings of modern natural history* (Chicago-London: The University of Chicago press, 2002).

6 Giuseppe Olmi, *Osservazione della natura e raffigurazione in Ulisse Aldrovandi (1522–1605)*, in Giuseppe Olmi, *L'inventario del mondo. Catalogazione della natura e luoghi del sapere nella prima età moderna* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1992), pp. 21–117, in particular pp. 21–60.

7 Saverio Ricci, *I Lincei e l'esperienza italiana,* in *Storia della scienza*, vol. V: *La rivoluzione scientifica* (Roma: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 2002), pp. 100–107. Previously, Saverio Ricci published *«Una filosofica milizia». Tre studî sull'Accademia dei Lincei*, (Udine: Campanotto, 1994).

8 A biography in Giuseppe Gabrieli, 'Federico Cesi Linceo', *Nuova Antologia*, s. 7, 272 (1930), pp. 353–369.

9 Saverio Ricci, *Il caso Heckius*, in *I primi Lincei e il Sant'Uffizio: questioni di scienza e di fede* (Roma: Bardi, 2005), pp. 207–234.

academic work resumed in Rome in 1609; Galileo Galilei was enrolled in the Accademia in 1611.

Federico Cesi started to assemble his library in the family building in via della Maschera d'oro in Rome (near via dei Coronari) between 1603 and 1612. It was intended for his personal use and that of the Lincei. We can follow the activity of Cesi as book collector in his correspondence, published by the librarian of the Lincei Academy Giuseppe Gabrieli in the early twentieth century (1930–1940).[10] From the letters written to Johannes van Heeck, who was traveling in Europe and especially to Prague, we learn that Cesi sent him money to buy rare books and manuscripts on alchemy, *secreta* (Secrets of Nature) and natural sciences. In the first decade of the seventeenth century, alchemical studies were an area of particular interest at the court of Rudolph II in Prague. The books collected in Cesi's library had an oval stamp with the image of a linx facing to the left, and the inscription:

> EX BIBLIOTH[eca] LYNCAEA FEDERICI CAESII L[ynceorum] P[rincipis] MARCH[ionis] MONT[is] CAEL[ii] II.

The German physician Johannes Faber (Johannes Schmidt),[11] Chancellor and Secretary of the Academy from 1611, who died just a year before Cesi, bequeathed to the Academy his manuscripts relating to scientific matter. Cesi also bought 113 printed books from his library, Cassiano Dal Pozzo acquired 154, and Gabriel

10 Giuseppe Gabrieli, 'Il Carteggio linceo della vecchia Accademia di Federico Cesi (1603–1630). Parte prima (anni 1603–1609)', *Atti della Reale Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. 1938. Serie sesta. Memorie della classe di Scienze Morali, storiche e filologiche*, vol. VII (Roma: Bardi, 1938), pp. 1–120; 'Parte seconda (anni 1610–1624) Sezione I (anni 1610–1615)', *Memorie della R. Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche.* Serie VI. Volume VII. Fascicolo II (Roma: Bardi, 1939), pp. 123–535; 'Parte seconda (anni 1610–1624) Sezione II (anni 1616–1624)' *Memorie della R. Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*. Serie VI. Volume VII. Fascicolo III, (Roma: Bardi, 1941), pp. 538–993; 'Parte III ed ultima (anni 1625–1630). Indici', *Memorie della R. Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*. Serie VI. Volume VII. Fascicolo IV, (Roma: Bardi. 1942), pp. 999–1446.

11 Johannes Faber (Schmidt) (Bamberg 1574 – Rome 1629), arrived in Rome to improve his scientific studies, welcomed by Christoph Schlüssel (Clavius), professor of Mathematics at the Roman College. He became assistant physician at the S. Spirito in Sassia hospital, and in 1600 professor *In simplicibus medicamentis* and lecturer of Anatomy at the Sapienza in Rome, after the death of Andrea Bacci, and also director of the botanical garden of the Pope. He was then enrolled at the Accademia dei Lincei in 1611 and became Chancellor and Secretary.

Naudé, librarian of the Cardinal Giovanni Francesco Guidi di Bagno in Rome, bought 12 books.[12]

Cesi married Artemisia Colonna in 1614 and they lived in the palace located in Acquasparta, near Terni (Umbria), where he also set up his scientific studio. Tragically, Artemisia died two years later, in the aftermath of the premature birth of twins. From 1618 to 1624 Cesi lived in Acquasparta with his second wife Isabella Salviati, the sister of the mathematician Filippo Salviati, Galileo's friend. In his absence the management of the Academy in Rome passed increasingly into the hands of Virginio Cesarini, Master of Chamber of Urban VIII and linceo since 1618. Cesi composed almost all his significant works in Acquasparta, including the *Speculum rationis, Frontispicia* and *Caelispicium*; it was here, too, that he prepared the *Tesoro messicano* for the press. As we can see from the *Carteggio linceo*, Cesi frequently asked Faber to buy the best editions of the works he needed for his researches in Rome, and to send them to Acquasparta. For instance, we read he required a copy of Matthias de l'Obel's *Icones* to classify plants in his scientific work:

> I am preparing the classification plan of each type of plants, which could constitute a part of my *Specchio della Ragione* and *Theatro della natura*, and I think I am almost ready […]. To have help in collocation and organization of plants, I would need two volumes of *Icones* by Matthias de L'Obel […]. So, I beg you to let me have the two unbound volumes; to buy them my trustee Benedetti will give you the money; I beg you to help me as soon as possible and, please, to send me the best existing edition.[13]

12 Gabriella Miggiano, 'Johannes Faber e la sua biblioteca: vecchi e nuovi documenti', *Il Bibliotecario*, s. III, 1–2 (2010), pp. 115–171; 3 (2010), pp. 45–123; 1–2 (2011), pp. 25–96. Gabriella Miggiano, *"Libri prohibiti": qualche appunto dalle carte di Johannes Faber Lynceus Bambergensis*, in Maria Teresa Biagetti (ed.), *L'organizzazione del sapere. Studi in onore di Alfredo Serrai* (Milano: Sylvestre Bonnard, 2004), pp. 245–273. Gabriella Miggiano. *Fra politica e scienza: la biblioteca di Johannes Faber Linceo*, in Fiammetta Sabba (ed.), *Le biblioteche private come paradigma bibliografico* (Roma: Bulzoni, 2008), pp. 107–153.

13 'Mi trovo in quel gran caos della Plantaria distributione metodica, e mi pare quasi haverlo totalmente superato, che sarà una buona parte per il mio *Specchio della Ragione* e *Theatro della Natura* […] ma per più comodo nel locare e ordinare per il fine di questa gran Plantamentatione, haverei di bisogno di doi volumi delle *Icones Lobelliane*…; prego dunque V.S. a procurarmi a tal effetto doi libri sciolti, che per comprarli ad ogni suo cenno il Benedetti mio ministro le sborserà il denaro che bisognerà; e la prego in ciò favorirmi quanto prima, e che li libri siano compiti della miglior editione che possa haversi.' Letter to Johannes Faber, from Acquasparta, 19 November 1622. *Carteggio linceo* (1941), letter no. 643, pp. 778–779.

The Dispersal of the Library

The library of Federico Cesi was situated in the ducal palace in Acquasparta on the first floor, in a large room, 11 meters in length, facing onto the courtyard.[14] As we can see from a letter from Cesi to Faber, it was particularly well-stocked with medical works: "Di medicina V. S. sa che io ho libri esquisiti e molti".[15] Precise information about the library in the Acquasparta palace can be found in documents of the Cesi Archive, since merged into the Massimo d'Aracoeli family archive. Since 1996 these papers have been in the Rome State archive.[16] Particularly important are the documents drawn up between 14 and 21 August 1630, immediately after Cesi's death, concerning the inheritance of Isabella Salviati on behalf of her underage daughters. A folder contains an inventory drawn up by the notary Teodoro Peregrini from Monte Castello, detailing goods, possessions in the Acquasparta area and furnishings in the palace. One paper described the manner in which the library had been classified: 33 divisions containing manuscripts, printed books, letters and papers by the Academy, together with 4 shelves dedicated to Medicine (see table 18.1). The division into 33 classes coincides almost exactly with the boxes of books described in the inventory contained in Ms. A. L. XXXII (see table 18.2).

The library, which probably contained about 3,000 items, was now broken up. After Cesi's death on 1 August 1630, Isabella Salviati with the assistance of Francesco Stelluti, close collaborator of Cesi and the manager of the Accademia, sold the main part of the library to Cassiano Dal Pozzo, a scholar and book

14 The description is offered by Pietro Capparoni, *La sala del palazzo Cesi in Acquasparta dove furono tenute le prime adunanze dell'Accademia dei Lincei e le sue iscrizioni*, in *Atti del 1° Congresso nazionale della Società italiana di Storia critica delle Scienze Mediche e Naturali* (Roma 1912) (Grottaferrata: Tipografia Italo-Orientale S. Nilo, 1914), pp. 3–14. Capparoni uses information from a manuscript of 1759, kept in the archive of the collegiate church of S. Cecilia in Acquasparta.

15 Letter to Johannes Faber, from Acquasparta, March-April 1624. *Carteggio linceo*, 1941, pp. 859–860, letter no. 728.

16 The archive of the Cesi family, which Baldassarre Odescalchi consulted, was transferred from the Albani family to the Massimo family and at the end to the Colonna family. It is described briefly in the paper by Enrica Schettini Piazza, 'Spigolando nell'Archivio Cesi', in Andrea Battistini *et al.* (eds.), *All'origine della scienza moderna: Federico Cesi e l'Accademia dei Lincei* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2007), pp. 467–479. Schettini reports on the composition of the Cesi archive, and of its structure (envelopes 142–287). She also indicates the presence of significant documents for the reconstruction of the family situation and assets of Federico Cesi, and in particular the inventory drawn up after his death. However, she does not transcribe or analyze the documents.

TABLE 18.1 *Archivio di Stato di Roma. Archivio Massimo. Busta 237 – Eredità Cesi. Inuentario della Salviati, f. 18*rv.

A manuscritti
B filosophia scolastica
C fisica scholastica e metafisica
D Secreti e Medicina
E Astronomici e Matematici
F Medicina e Naturalisti
G Medicina e Piante d'Herbe
H Medicina
I Matematici
K Libri varij
L Historici
M Eruditi
N Morali
O Poeti
P Grammatici
Q Libri varij
R Grammatici
S Eruditi
T Historici
V libri varij
X Cosmografia et alii libri varij
Z fighure di dame diuerse
AA lettere de Lincei e loro libri stampati
BB manuscritti con tre scatole con instr(ument)i matematici d ottone
CC manuscritti diuersi
DD libri stampati di diuerse materie
EE libri stampati di diuerse materie
ff libri di diuerse materie
GG libri stampati di diuerse materie
HH libri stampati di diuerse materie
II lettere di diuersi
KK Scritture diuerse
MM Scritture diuerse

TABLE 18.2 *Comparison between the paper describing the divisions of the library in Acquasparta and the disciplinary divisions presented in the A. L. XXXII.*

Inventario Peregrini 1630 (Acquasparta)[17]	**Archivio Linceo XXXII**[18]
A Manuscritti	
B Filosophia scolastica	Cassa B Fisici e Teologici
C Fisica scholastica e metafisica	Cassa C Fisici e Teologici
D Secreti e Medicina	Cassa D Secreti naturali
E Astronomici e Matematici	Cassa E Matematica
F Medicina e Naturalisti	Cassa F Naturali e medicinali
G Medicina e Piante d' Herbe	Cassa G Medicina e piante
H Medicina	Cassa H Libri di Medicina
I Matematici	Cassa I Matematica
K Libri varij	Cassa K Libri vari
L Historici	Cassa L Historici
M Eruditi	Cassa M Eruditi
N Morali	Cassa N Morali et Historici
O Poeti	Cassa O Poeti
P Grammatici	Cassa P Grammatici
Q Libri varij	Cassa Q Libri vari
R Grammatici	Cassa R Grammatici
S Eruditi	Cassa S Eruditi
T Historici	Cassa T Historici
V Libri varij	Cassa V Libri vari
X Cosmografia et alii libri varij	Cassa X Libri vari
Z Fighure di dame diuerse	Cassa Z Libri vari
DD Libri stampati di diuerse materie	Cassa cc Libri vari
EE Libri stampati di diuerse materie	Prima Scantia in f.
ff Libri di diuerse materie	Diversi
GG Libri stampati di diuerse materie	Cassa GG Libri vari
HH Libri stampati di diuerse materie	Libri sciolti
	Scantia 2. in 8°

17 Inventory drawn up by the notary Teodoro Peregrini. Archivio di Stato, Roma. Archivio Massimo. Busta 237 – Eredità Cesi. Inventario della Salviati, f. 18*rv*. In this table, the list of divisions is not complete. See the complete list in table 18.1

18 The disciplinary divisions shown in the A. L. XXXII are here presented not in the original order, but in alphabetical order, to make evident the connection with the Inventario by Teodoro Peregrini.

Inventario Peregrini 1630 (Acquasparta)	Archivio Linceo XXXII
II Lettere di diuersi	
KK Scritture diuerse	
MM Scritture diuerse	

collector enrolled in the Accademia dei Lincei in 1622. Cardinal Francesco Barberini bought many dozens of books. The library was sold to Dal Pozzo on 21 January 1633; he combined it with his own library in via dei Chiavàri in Rome, near the basilica of S. Andrea della Valle.[19]

The last heir of Dal Pozzo, Cosimo Antonio Dal Pozzo, sold the manuscripts in 1703 and the printed books of Cassiano's library to the archbishop Zacagni, principal keeper of the Vatican Apostolic Library, but he could not complete the purchase. The same happened to his successor, Carlo Maielli, who in 1714 was obliged to allow Cardinal Alessandro Albani, nephew of Pope Clement XI and a great collector of works of fine art, to purchase the collection. Alessandro Albani assigned the library to his family with a formal act, and transferred it first to the Quirinale, and then, in 1720, to the Albani palace. For this reason the collection, which also incorporated the extraordinary library of Federico Cesi, was not merged into the Vatican Apostolic Library.[20]

In 1798 the French revolutionaries confiscated the Albani property and the library: probably because Giovanni Francesco Albani, nephew of Cardinal Alessandro, and dean of the Sacred College, was head of the anti-French party and supported the armed resistance against the French army. The French

19 Regarding the library of Cassiano Dal Pozzo, see Ada Alessandrini, *Cimeli lincei a Montpellier* (Roma: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1978). Partial reconstruction of the Dal Pozzo library, based on Manuscript XL of the Archivio Linceo owned by the Accademia of Lincei library, is in the paper by Silvia De Renzi, 'Contributo per una ricostruzione della biblioteca privata di Cassiano Dal Pozzo,' in Eugenio Canone (ed.), *Bibliothecae selectae. Da Cusano a Leopardi* (Firenze: Olschki, 1993), pp. 139–170. Also interesting is the exibition, whose catalogue has been printed: Francesco Solinas (ed.), *I segreti di un collezionista. Le straordinarie raccolte di Cassiano Dal Pozzo*, (Roma: De Luca, 2000).

20 The detailed account of the events in Alessandrini, *Cimeli lincei a Montpellier*. The paper by Enrica Schettini Piazza, 'Più "studio" che "passatempo": la *libraria* di Federico Cesi e le sue peregrinazioni,' in Vincenzo Pirro (ed.), *Federico Cesi e i primi Lincei in Umbria. Atti del Convegno di studi nel IV centenario della fondazione dell'Accademia dei Lincei. Terni, 24–25 ottobre 2003* (Terni: Thyrus, 2005), pp. 129–154, is also helpful.

revolutionaries removed the manuscripts and transported them to France, where the Napoleonic government acquired them in 1804. Many manuscripts owned by Cesi are in fact now in the library of the École de Médecine in Montpellier. The Albani family later bought back part of the printed books.

When the Albani family died out in 1852, their heirs, the Castelbarco and Guidi di Bagno Chigi, decided to sell the bulk of the printed books through two public auctions in 1857 and in 1858; 85 manuscripts were sold to Baldassarre Boncompagni and a small number to Duke Massimo, who later gave them to the Accademia dei nuovi Lincei. Approximately 1,700 books, manuscripts and printed books were bought by the Imperial Library of Berlin on behalf of the Ministries of Finance and Education of Prussia, a sale facilitated by delegates of the Castelbarco and Guidi di Bagno Chigi families, and the assistance of Theodor Mommsen. Unfortunately, the ship with the cargo of 12 crates of books was wrecked in the Atlantic Ocean before arriving in the port of Hamburg, and the books disappeared. Thus some of the books that belonged to Cesi were lost at sea, and some were sold and dispersed in different collections. In the circumstances it will never be possible to achieve more than partial reconstruction of the original library. Anna Capecchi has identified 124 editions of works on Natural history; Enrica Schettini has identified 150 works of literature and erudition and provided information about the surviving copies in various libraries, based on the evidence offered by the copies with the stamp of Federico Cesi.[21]

A bibliographical reconstruction of the extraordinary collection of Federico Cesi can however be attempted on the basis of two manuscript inventories of the seventeenth century owned by the Accademia dei Lincei.[22] Ms. A. L. XXXII, which Paolo Volpicelli gave to the Academy in 1866, is almost surely the oldest inventory, drawn up on behalf of the family after Cesi's death. It consists of 107 leaves containing a list of the houses, other properties, and land in the Acquasparta area, together with an inventory of 23 shelves, 2 little shelves

21 Anna Capecchi, 'Per la ricostruzione di una biblioteca seicentesca: i libri di storia naturale di Federico Cesi Lynceorum Princeps', *Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Serie ottava. Rendiconti. Classe di Scienze morali, storiche, filologiche*. vol. XLI, 5–6 (1986), pp. 145–164; Schettini Piazza, 'Più "studio" che "passatempo": la libraria di Federico Cesi'. The first reconstruction in Giuseppe Gabrieli, 'La prima biblioteca lincea o libreria di Federico Cesi', *Rendiconti della R. Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, s. VI, vol. XIV, (1938), pp. 606–628.

22 The complete reconstruction of the library in Maria Teresa Biagetti, *La biblioteca di Federico Cesi* (Roma: Bulzoni, 2008).

and loose books. It mentions 1,978 items (bibliographical units), providing rough descriptions of works and authors, and is full of inaccuracies. The disciplinary classes are almost exactly those shown in the chart of Cesi family Archive (33 classes of the library in Acquasparta palace, Inventory of the notary Teodoro Peregrini) (see Table 18.2). Ms. A. L. XIII consists of 333 leaves with a series of book lists, often overlapping, along with letters and charts not belonging to the library. One of the most useful lists in this group provides more accurate descriptions of the books realized during the sale by the German bookseller Hermann Scheuss. Here there are many descriptions of law books, not present in Ms XXXII. This list also often includes the prices of the books (*scudi* and *giulii*).

We have evidence regarding a portion of the manuscripts from the library through the work by Martin Fogel (1634–1675), theologian, physician and naturalist, who received bibliographical citations, news, letters and documentation about the Accademia dei Lincei from Antonio Magliabechi and Carlo Antonio Dal Pozzo, brother of Cassiano. Giuseppe Gabrieli published an inventory of 146 manuscripts owned by Cesi, among which we find some manuscripts by Giambattista Della Porta, a considerable number of manuscripts of alchemic and spagyric Medicine, along with manuscript works by Johannes van Heeck, Fabio Colonna, Theophilus Müller and Vincenzo Mirabella.[23]

I decided to transcribe Ms XXXII because it is almost certainly the oldest. We know this because almost all the items listed in the manuscript XXXII date before 1630 with only three 1630 editions. Ms A. L. XIII has eight 1630 editions, three editions printed in 1631, two in 1632 and two in 1633. In addition, the disciplinary divisions of the library in the Acquasparta palace, as is shown by the chart of the Cesi family archive, overlap almost completely with the disciplinary divisions described in the manuscript A. L. XXXII, with almost the same alphabetical letters. This can be seen in table 18.2.

I decided to transcribe Ms. A. L. XXXII (1,978 items) in its entirety and to draw from the lists in Ms. A. L. XIII only the items not already present in the Ms. A. L. XXXII. The bibliographic items contained in Ms. A. L. XXXII, transcribed in full, have been used as a template for comparing the works and editions in all the lists provided by Ms. A. L. XIII. Through a precise comparison of

23 Giuseppe Gabrieli, 'Le "Schede Fogheliane" e la storiografia della prima Accademia Lincea'. *Rendiconti della R. Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Classe di Scienze Morali, storiche e filologiche.* s. 6, vol. XV. (Roma: Bardi, 1939), pp. 140–167, reprinted in Giuseppe Gabrieli, *Contributi alla storia dell'Accademia dei Lincei* (Roma: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1989), pp. 273–296.

the items in the two manuscripts, I have derived about 1,000 new bibliographic items from Ms. A. L. XIII, in particular legal books and works in Spanish and French. In total, there are now 2,972 bibliographic items. I have identified nearly all authors, works and editions where this was possible; a considerable portion of the editions have been described by autopsy. In addition, I have integrated data contained in Ms A. L. XXXII with data contained in Ms A. L. XIII, whenever this was more complete: for example, when this provided the name of an editor or a publisher, or a date of issue, missing in Ms. XXXII, or date of issue that, unlike that of the Ms. XXXII, had an exact match.

Scientific Configuration of the Cesi's Collection

Cesi's library was an extraordinary private library and an encyclopedic collection. It represents the interests of a scientist of great importance in the first half of the seventeenth century, who was involved in scientific discoveries of crucial importance. The library is evidence of the profound scientific enquiries of the historical period in which it was collected: the Copernican revolution, the emergence of the Baconian sciences and the revolution of spagyric medicine.

Cesi was mainly a botanist and a zoologist: in particular, he was interested in plant reproduction. It is not surprising, therefore, to find a part of the library devoted to botany: classical authors as Gaius Plinius Secundus (Pliny the Elder) and Theophrastus, but also works by Pietro Andrea Mattioli (1500–1577), physician and naturalist, and by Andrea Cesalpino (c. 1524–1603), physician, botanist, and professor of Medicine at the Sapienza University of Rome. There are six works by Ulisse Aldrovandi (1522–1605), physician and naturalist of Bologna; eight works by Caspar Bauhin, (1560–1624), botanist and professor of Medicine at Basel, contemporary of Federico Cesi. Ulisse Aldrovandi had a great influence on Cesi's scientific method. Cesi described plants and produced manuscripts with botanic illustrations (for example fungi and algae) following the technique established by Aldrovandi, who in the sixteenth century had made scientific representation of plants and animals using many engravers and painters. Compared to the illustrations made by Aldrovandi, however, Cesi's were original, advanced and innovative, because he had used a microscope since 1625. Johannes Faber had called that tool 'microscopio' and he had reported to Cesi in a letter dated 13 April 1625: "questo novo ochiale di vedere le cose minute et lo chiamo *microscopio*, veda V. Ecc.za se gli piace".[24]

24 Letter to Federico Cesi. *Carteggio linceo*, 1942, letter no. 841, pp. 1038–1039.

The private library of Cesi is most remarkable for the massive presence of medical works of Paracelsan orientation. The Swiss physician Paracelsus (Philipp Theophrast Bombast von Hohenheim) (1493–1541) was especially influential in the use of Alchemy in Medicine. It is known that the Lincei in the early years, in particular the Germans, Johannes Faber, Johannes Schreck and Theophilus Müller, were interested in the diffusion of alchemical studies and thus of medical works of Paracelsan orientation.[25] Cesi owned works by Paracelsus, including *Chirurgia minoris*, and *Metamorphosis*. He also owned works by prominent supporters of the spagyric medicine, such as Joseph Duchesne also known as Quercetanus, including his *Pharmacopea Dogmaticorum restituta* and *Liber de priscorum philosophorum verae medicinae materia*; the *Basilica chymica* of Oswald Croll; some works by Philip Muller, including *Miracula chymica* and by Bernard Penot (a collection of chemical remedies of Paracelsian orientation). In addition there were works by followers of Paracelsus, such as Daniel Sennert (1572–1637), physician and professor at Wittenberg and Jean Béguin (1550–1620); six works by Ramón Lull; many works by Della Porta, including *De distillatione*. Cesi owned alchemical works by Italian authors: Giovanni Bracesco, Leonardo Fioravanti, Giovan Battista Nazari, and the *Corpus alchemicus* (editions 1545 and 1598) attributed to Geber (Jābir ibn Hayyān). The most remarkable portion of the library consists of the works by the German physician Libavius, who used alchemy but rejected extreme positions, such as the occult, including his *Rerum chymicarum* and *Alchymia* (1597 and 1606).[26] It should also be said that Cesi also owned works by Galen and by the opponents of Paracelsus, such as Jean Riolan (1580–1657), an active participant in the disputes in Paris between the supporters of Galen and the followers of Paracelsus.

In its orientation the library of Federico Cesi shows a particular similarity with the chemical collection that Antonio dei Medici (1576–1621), the illegitimate son of Francesco I and Bianca Cappello, had gathered at the Casino di S. Marco in Florence in the early seventeenth century. That library also contained many of the works by Paracelsus, by his European supporters and by his detractors.[27]

25 Saverio Ricci, 'Paracelso *superstitione nudatus*. I primi Lincei e l'alchimia,' in Ricci, «*Una filosofica milizia*», pp. 35–57; Paolo Galluzzi, *Motivi paracelsiani nella Toscana di Cosimo II e di Don Antonio dei Medici: Alchimia, Medicina, «Chimica» e riforma del sapere*, in *Scienze credenze occulte livelli di cultura. Convegno Internazionale di studi* (*Firenze, 26–30 giugno 1980*) (Firenze: Olschki, 1982), pp. 31–62.

26 Andreas Libavius (Libau) (c. 1546–1616).

27 The inventory of the library of Antonio dei Medici has been studied by Galluzzi, *Motivi paracelsiani nella Toscana di Cosimo II e di Don Antonio dei Medici*.

A significant portion of the library of Federico Cesi was devoted to *Secreta naturae*. Alchemy and astrological medicine had been a special point of interest for the Hermetic-magic tradition. Throughout the Renaissance period, that interest was expressed in the production of works that we can ascribe to the genre of Natural Secrets. The library contains about 150 works of popular science, medicinal remedies, results of empirical experimentation, and treatises of practical alchemy.[28] The *Secreta naturae* developed in the Renaissance period and flourished in the seventeenth century. Its success can be ascribed to new experimental empirical sciences based on observation, namely Chemistry, studies of magnetism and electricity. During the seventeenth century, the study of these empirical sciences, which Thomas Kuhn defined as 'Baconian sciences', took its place along with the classical physical sciences, such as mathematics, astronomy, and optics.[29] The genre of Natural Secrets was also connected to the Hermetic tradition. Rather than through the philosophical and religious tradition of the *Corpus Hermeticum*, the connection was through works of Astronomy, Alchemy, Natural sciences and Magic of the disciples of Hermes Trismegistus (*Liber Hermetis Trismegisti* for the Astrology, and *Kyranis ermetica* for Natural sciences and Medicine).[30]

The collection of Federico Cesi has been analysed using the bibliography of books of Natural Secrets by John Ferguson and the studies of Alfredo Serrai.[31] I found a massive presence of the most representative authors of the genre of Natural Secrets, such as Alessio Piemontese, Giambattista Della Porta and Antoine Mizauld, French physician and hermetic-neoplatonist. There is a considerable presence of Italian authors of Medical Secrets, such as Gabriele Falloppio (1523–1562), physician and professor of Anatomy, Pietro Bairo (1468–1558), physician of

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28 They are about 130 in the 'Cassa D Secreti naturali', in the Ms. A. L. XXXII.

29 Thomas S. Kuhn, 'Mathematical vs. Experimental Tradition in the Development of Physical Science', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 7, 1 (1976), pp. 1–31.

30 André Jean Festugière, *La révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste*, 2. ed., ([Paris]: J. Gabalda, 3 vol. 1949–1953). (Reprint Paris: Societé d'édition Les belles lettres, 1981). In vol. 1, *L'Astrologie et les sciences occultes.* 2. ed. ([Paris], J. Gabalda, 1950), (reprint Paris: Societé d'édition Les belles lettres, 1981), Festugière analyzes the tradition of the 'Hermétisme populaire', and sudies the Hermetic works of Astrology, Alchemy, Magic, astrological Botany, Therapeutics, based on the correspondence between the natural elements, and of Iatromathematics (astrological medicine).

31 John Ferguson, *Bibliographical notes on histories of inventions and books of secrets* (London: The Holland Press, 1959) (1981 reprint). Alfredo Serrai, *Storia della Bibliografia. I.* Maria Cochetti (ed.), *Bibliografia e Cabala. Le Enciclopedie rinascimentali* (*I*) (Roma: Bulzoni, 1988), pp. 338–395. Serrai considers the 'Libri di Segreti' as 'technological encyclopedias' within the wide discussion of the encyclopedias of the Renaissance.

Carlo II Duke of Savoy, and Giovanni Battista Zapata. Worthy of note is the presence of the collection of medical and natural contents by the Dutch Levinius Lemnius, of the work of Chemistry applied to Pharmacology by Conrad Gesner, *Thesaurus de remediis secretis*, and the encyclopedia of Natural Philosophy by Girolamo Cardano, *De subtilitate*.

Less substantial from the quantitative viewpoint, but very meaningful for the connection with the ongoing scientific revolution, was the collection of works of Astronomy: *Almagestum* by Tolomeo, works by Kepler and Copernicus, works by Galileo published by the Lincei Academy (*Il Saggiatore*, 1623). Additionally, there are works by the disciples of Galileo, such as Benedetto Castelli and Nicolò Antonio Stelliola, and by the opponents of Galileo, such as Christoph Scheiner and Orazio Grassi, both professors of Mathematics at the Roman College.

The library also included works on the organization of the sciences and of technical support for the memory, such as the works by Giulio Camillo, Cornelius Gemma, Pierre Grégoire, and the organization of knowledge using '*loci communes*', such as the works by Jean Tixier, *Polyanthea* by Domenico Nani Mirabelli, and *Silva* by Pedro Mejia. There were also classics of Latin literature in several different editions and commentaries, works of literature, Italian, French and Spanish, the works of ancient philosophers and modern scholars, and a substantial core of legal works.

Finally, it is important to emphasize that Federico Cesi's collection included a considerable number of forbidden books. These were identified using the Index by Francesco Capiferro Maddaleni (1632), which includes the Index of 1596 and is enriched by references to edicts and decrees of prohibition issued after the Tridentine and Clementine Indices.[32] It provides an overview of the prohibitions in force on the date of the sale of the library of Cesi. Authors in the cumulative Index by Capiferro and owned by Federico Cesi include authors whose works were entirely included in Indexes of prohibition: Conrad Gesner, Heirich Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim, Kaspar Schwenckfeld, Georg Fabricius, Gilbert Cousin, Joachim Camerarius, Johann Lonicer, Leonard Fuchs, Otto Brunfels, Pietro Ramo, Sébastien Châteillon, Valentinus Erythraeus, Paracelso, Johannes Sleidanus. Among authors in the second class, for whom only individual works were forbidden, we find Johannes Reuchlin, Bernard Peinot, Antoine Mizauld (donec corrigatur), Robert Fludd, Andreas Libavius, Theodor Zwinger (nisi corrigatur), Nicolaus Copernicus and Giordano Bruno.

32 *Elenchus librorum omnium tum in Tridentino, Clementinoq. Indice, tum in alijs omnibus sacrae Indicis Congreg.nis particularibus Decretis hactenus prohibitorum; ordine uno alphabetico* […] *digestus*. (Rome: ex Stamperia Camerale, 1623).

CHAPTER 19

Lost in Plain Sight: Rediscovering the Library of Sir Hans Sloane

Alison Walker

Sir Hans Sloane, physician, scientist, collector, President of both the Royal College of Physicians and the Royal Society, left his collections to the nation. They became the foundation of the British Museum (BM), and hence of its daughter institutions, the Natural History Museum (NHM) and the British Library (BL). Among the varied collections listed after his death in 1753, printed books constituted the single largest category, estimated at about 45,000 volumes.[1] Yet today, although most of his books are at the BL and they may be 'in plain sight', individually if painstakingly locatable among other early printed material in the bookstacks, his library cannot be seen as a whole. One cannot go to the BL and simply see Sloane's library. This is because its identity was lost early in the history of the BM, and subsequent events have led to the partial disperal of the collection and the loss, in many cases, of the marks which confirm Sloane's earlier ownership. This article will describe how the Sloane Printed Books project has gone about rediscovering Sloane's books, and to what extent there may indeed be 'lost books'.[2]

The first step towards invisibility was when the Trustees of the BM received the library in 1757 and immediately re-arranged it. The books, they said, were "dispos'd in a very irregular manner, with little regard to the subjects or even the size of them", and directed that they should be "placed on the shelves according to their respective faculties", in other words, by subject.[3] In Sloane's lifetime the books had been arranged principally by size, which makes the Trustees' comments rather puzzling, but also by format and genre, and probably largely set

1 A list of Sloane's collections, transmitted to his executors after his death in 1753, is given by Arthur MacGregor, 'The life, character and career of Sir Hans Sloane', in Arthur MacGregor (ed.), *Sir Hans Sloane Collector, Scientist, Antiquary* (London: British Museum Press, 1994), pp. 28–29.

2 See <www.bl.uk/reshelp/findhelprestype/prbooks/sloaneprintedbooksproject/sloaneprinted.html> and <www.bl.uk/catalogues/sloane>.

3 BM Archives (Trustees' Committee minutes) CE3/1. 117–121, quoted by F. J. Hill, 'The shelving and classification of printed books', in Philip R. Harris (ed.), *The Library of the British Museum* (London: British Library, 1991), p. 4.

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out to fit into the spaces designated for the book collection in his homes, first in Bloomsbury and later at Chelsea. This may explain why the arrangement could have seemed 'irregular' to the Museum's Trustees.

Once in the Museum, Sloane's books were rearranged by subject, and at first kept together in designated rooms at Montagu House, the Museum's first home.[4] However, as the British Museum Library (BML) grew, it was decided in the 1780s to rearrange the whole collection by subject. The move to the new Museum building after 1840 prompted a further reclassification, which remains the basic structure of the oldest parts of the BL printed books collection. Sloane's books now sit mingled with books from the Old Royal Library, the collections of Sir Thomas Birch, Sir William Musgrave, Sir Paul Methuen, Thomas Tyrwhitt, Major Arthur Edwards, Sarah Sophia Banks and various other purchases and donations. It must be recognised that the Museum was not generally in the practice of keeping acquisitions from particular owners together until the late eighteenth century, so Sloane's collection was not alone in being dispersed within the BML. Despite the fact that some of the collections mentioned above were given a distinctive security stamp and in some cases a binding stamp, they too had lost identity because the volumes were not placed together. Sloane's books did not at this time receive a special binding stamp, and the knowledge of how to identify his books seems to have been lost or at least gone underground for a long time.[5] Little attempt seems to have been made to retain manuscript marks or other evidence of his ownership. The very manuscript catalogue which Sloane had used for his library was not known: not until the 1960s was it rediscovered and recognised for what it was.[6]

Sloane's books, therefore, were lost in the sense that they were not identified, recognised or valued for their provenance. Further loss was occasioned by the widespread programme of rebinding which was applied to the early BML collections.[7] A calf binding with a Museum identification stamp, usually incorporating the initials MB for Museum Britannicum, was generally used. In most cases all leaves before and after the text were removed and replaced with new endpapers. It seems that the bindings of many Sloane books had been in poor

4 Sloane's books were initially placed in rooms 4–11. Philip R. Harris, 'Identification of printed books acquired by the BM', in Giles Mandelbrote and Barry Taylor (eds.), *Libraries within the Library* (London: British Library, 2009), p. 405.

5 In the mid-1970s a stamp was designed for use when Sloane books were rebound, based on the stamp used for binding Sloane manuscripts, and continued in use until about 2004.

6 See below, notes 13 and 14.

7 Philip R. Harris, *A History of the British Museum Library* (London: British Library, 1998), pp. 18–19, notes that in 1758 the estimated cost of rebinding and lettering Sloane books was £246, more than for either the Royal Library or the legal deposit books.

condition, and large numbers received 'Museum Britannicum' bindings. At the same time, some economies were made by binding thin items together into tract volumes, or simply placing pamphlets in boxes, a process which would further disperse and relocate Sloane's books and pamphlets. Inevitably, much provenance information was lost. The marks which identify Sloane's books were particularly vulnerable, as they were often written on the pastedowns or blank endleaves.

The early collections also suffered significant loss from dispersal through the BM's sales of duplicate books between 1769 and 1832.[8] The process of classifying the foundation collections had revealed large numbers of apparent duplicates, though in many cases we might not now see them as such since we are much more aware of copy-specific features in hand-press books. But the BM needed funds for new acquisitions, to the extent of often choosing to sell copies with coloured plates or attractive bindings which would reach higher prices, while retaining plainer or uncoloured copies. This practice certainly had an effect on the fate and survival of Sloane's natural history books. In these sales, copies from the earlier collections were often disposed of, and more recently acquired ones retained: thus in the 1818, 1830 and 1831 sales, copies from the library of George III (the King's Library) and the library of Sir Joseph Banks, both of which reached the BM in the early nineteenth century, were often retained in preference to Sloane's copies.[9] The King's and Banks copies may also have been valued for being generally fresher and less heavily used.

The number of Sloane books disposed of in the duplicate sales is unknown but was certainly substantial.[10] Many, of course, have now found safe homes in other collections and libraries, but others may not have survived. Finally, with the founding of the Natural History Museum (NHM) in 1881, the natural history collections were separated out, and as part of the process many of Sloane's natural history books, including a coloured and annotated copy of his own

8 Thomas A. Birrell, 'The BM duplicate sales 1769–1832 and their significance for the early collections' in Mandelbrote and Taylor (eds.), *Libraries within the Library*, pp. 244–260.

9 For example, Sloane's copy of Mark Catesby, *The Natural History of Carolina, Florida and the Bahama Islands* (London, 1731–1748) was sold by the Museum as a duplicate in 1818, while the copies from the libraries of C.M. Cracherode, Joseph Banks and George III were kept. Sloane's copy is now in the library of the Zoological Society of London.

10 A copy of the 1769 sale catalogue marked with the provenance of the items sold (Sloane, Old Royal Library, Birch, etc.) is held by the BL, C.191.a.56, but no such information is available for the subsequent sales, though they all contained considerable numbers of Sloane books.

Voyage to Jamaica, were moved to South Kensington, where they were in due course further dispersed within the various departmental libraries.[11]

The early history of the BML explains why Arundell Esdaile, its first great historian, would write in 1943:

> There is little that can be said about the library of Sir Hans Sloane…. The books have been mixed up with the later acquisitions which formed the Old Library, i.e. up to the middle of the nineteenth century, by the successive shelf-arrangements. Sloane's MS press-marks by which they can be identified have only recently been traced. Nor is there a printed catalogue; but there is an incomplete one in manuscript…. There is no doubt that quantities of so-called duplicates were sold [from Sloane's library] in the sales up to 1805.[12]

This was a pretty accurate assessment at the time, but much has been done to shed light on Sloane's library since then. A crucial finding by Jeremiah Finch, an American scholar, was published in *The Library* in 1941.[13] Finch had been working on the library of Sir Thomas Browne, and his investigations into the catalogue of its sale had led him not only to work out that certain alphanumeric numbers found on the catalogue and on some of Browne's books were Sloane's marks, but to confirm the identity of one of the volumes of Sloane's own manuscript library catalogue, Sloane MS 3972C. The remaining volumes of the catalogue seem to have been located in 1964.[14] Sloane's library was re-emerging from obscurity, and library staff, including Margaret Nickson and Laurence Wood, began ground-breaking work on the books and manuscripts, in particular the decipherment of Sloane's purchase codes.[15] Sloane's manuscripts had

11 *A Voyage to the Islands Madera, Barbados, Nieves, S. Christophers, and Jamaica, with the natural history…of the last of those islands; to which is prefixed an introduction wherein is an account of the inhabitants…trade, etc.* (London, 1707–1725). Sloane's copy, with copious ms notes about specimens, and references to his Horti Sicci collections, is in the Botany Library at NHM. It has no British Museum stamp, which suggests that it was used in conjunction with his collection of specimens, rather than being treated as part of the BML.

12 Arundell Esdaile, *The British Museum Library* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1946), p. 177.

13 Jeremiah S. Finch, 'Sir Hans Sloane's Printed Books', *The Library*, 22.1 (1941), pp. 67–72.

14 According to a note written by J.L. Wood in a photostat copy of Sloane MS 3972C, vol. III.

15 Margaret A.E. Nickson, 'Hans Sloane, book collector and cataloguer', *British Library Journal*, 14 (1988), pp. 52–89; Margaret A.E. Nickson, 'Books and Manuscripts', in MacGregor (ed.), *Sir Hans Sloane*, pp. 263–277; J.L. Wood, 'Sir Hans Sloane's books', *Factotum*, 2 (1978), pp. 15–18.

fared rather better than the books in escaping disperal and disposal, being kept together as a collection although no longer in the numerical order that Sloane had used. The systematic identification of Sloane's printed books started in the 1970s, as interest in the library's named special collections began to increase, and it was realised how little was understood about the content of his library.

The BL now hosts the Sloane Printed Books Project and its catalogue of Sloane's books (SPBC).[16] The database was first created in MSWord and then MSAccess, and since 2008 has used a format designed in house for a number of specialist BL catalogues. When the database was first launched for public access in 2008, it contained 13,000 entries, the product of intermittent work over some 20 years by staff and interns. Funding from the Wellcome Trust between 2008 and 2011 provided an invaluable increase in resources, and the project now continues supported by two part-time former BL staff members. The catalogue now has over 32,000 entries. Bibliographical information derived from the BL's catalogue is supplemented by fields designed to analyse the collection in a variety of ways: it can be used to locate individual Sloane books, but also to search, for example, on place of publication, date and genre, and to perform range searches on Sloane shelf numbers. This facility allows a virtual re-creation of the library's arrangement, within which we can see how Sloane organised his books. The presence of manuscript notes and the names of previous owners are recorded, revealing much information on the libraries from which Sloane acquired his books.

As mentioned above, Sloane's books are now scattered throughout the older part of the BL's collections. The main method we have used to identify Sloane's books is by shelf searches in the Old Library (shelfmark ranges 433–1467) which retains the subject classification devised by Thomas Watts (the 'elastic system') in the 1840s.[17] It is relatively easy to pinpoint areas where clusters of Sloane books are likely to be found, such as medicine, natural history and philology, these being the strengths of his collection. Most of the British Library's early medical books are Sloane's. Not for nothing was his library described by a visitor in 1729 as "the most complete in Europe for books on medicine".[18] Natural history too was a great strength of Sloane's library, though the number of his books still in the BL has been reduced by the overlap with Banks's library and subsequent duplicate disposals, and by the transfers to the Natural History Museum.

16 <www.bl.uk/catalogues/sloane>.

17 Harris, *The British Museum Library*, pp. 194–195.

18 Described by Sauveur Morand. Quoted in Arthur MacGregor, 'The life, character and career of Sir Hans Sloane', in MacGregor (ed.), Sir Hans Sloane, pp. 11–44, appendix 2: Sloane's Museum at Bloomsbury, as described by Sauveur Morand, 1729, p. 31.

When we check the shelves, each book is examined for the distinctive marks that Sloane used and for the presence of the octagonal black Museum Britannicum stamp which marks his books, but which, sadly for us, continued in use on later acquisitions for some years.[19] Sloane's mark is normally an alphanumeric, such as c 3606 or A 293, which was probably used by Sloane as a shelf number, though no shelflist survives which might confirm this.[20] Other manuscript notes, for example a note addressing the work to Sloane, may be used as identification. Even if Sloane's marks have been lost through rebinding or physical damage, the presence of the black stamp means that the book was probably Sloane's, and it is entered in the database as such. Even though we have now moved well beyond the obvious areas outlined above, we find Sloane books in many other categories: there are surprising numbers in theology, philosophy and biography, for example, though very few literary works.

It might have seemed more obvious to use the inverse process, by searching Sloane's own catalogues. After the discovery of the manuscript catalogue, there had been attempts to do this, but it is quite time-consuming, as there are often several copies of each book, each of which might have to be examined. In addition, there are considerable benefits of looking at each copy systematically on the shelf, allowing us to record evidence of provenance, manuscript notes, and significant bindings. Recently, however, we have started to work from the manuscript catalogues, and it is by collating the catalogues with the database that we are likely to turn up 'lost' copies, where an entry in the catalogue cannot be matched up with any of the BL's copies.

Sloane had several library catalogues. The first was started in 1684, and continued in use until 1686. This is now Sloane MS 3995, a small notebook containing a simple listing of bibliographical details and the price paid, with a running total of Sloane's expenditure. Then there is a catalogue hiatus, during the time when Sloane undertook his formative journey to Jamaica in 1687–1688, returned to London, and set up in practice as a physician. Around 1692 he started again, using the two separate catalogues for his books which would

19 The stamp used for Sloane's books is illustrated in Philip R. Harris, 'Appendix I: Identification of printed books acquired by the British Museum, 1753–1836', in Mandelbrote and Taylor (eds.), *Libraries within the Library*, p. 417.

20 Illustrations of Sloane's alphanumerics and other identifying marks can be found in the introduction to the Sloane Printed Books Catalogue online: <www.bl.uk/catalogues/sloane>. Generally, a lower case letter is used for octavo or smaller volumes, and upper case for folio, but there are exceptions; for example R is used for octavo books, c and G both used for quartos. There are also special categories such as Min, for works with coloured illustrations, Pr for books with uncoloured images, Pr Or for oriental books, and Maps. The letter is followed by a running number, usually in order of acquisition.

continue in use until his death. The six-volume manuscript catalogue now Sloane MS 3972C and its two-volume index Sloane MS 3972D is the principal listing.[21] Similar manuscript catalogues of Sloane's natural history and object collections are held at the BM and NHM.[22] Separately, an interleaved copy of *Lindenius renovatus*, the medical bibliography by Joannes Antonides van der Linden revised by Georg Mercklein in 1686, was used by Sloane to record his medical books in Latin.[23]

Sloane MS 3972C was begun about 1692, and used continuously until 1752. Entries were made both by Sloane himself and by the assistants who helped to catalogue the collection. It starts by listing books he already owned, thus there is some repetition of the entries in Sloane MS 3995, and then books were entered as they were acquired, filling up his alphanumeric sequences. Additional sequences were later brought in for books with engravings (using the alphanumeric Pr with a Roman numeral), books and manuscripts with coloured plates (alphanumeric Min with an Arabic numeral), periodicals, maps and Oriental material.

By the mid-1690s Sloane had sufficient income from his profession and through his wife's inheritances to buy regularly at book sales, probably attending many in person; he used sale catalogues as bibliographies and sources, and was generally active, selective and creative in building his collection. He was also weeding out duplicates, particularly medical texts. Many were given to the Bodleian Library at this time, with the assistance of Humphrey Wanley. Books continued to be donated to the Bodleian until the 1730s.[24] Over 800 of these have been identified, though he is said to have given more than 1,400 volumes, so there may be many more yet to find. It is very probable that many of our 'lost' books, listed in Sloane MS 3972C but no longer at the BL, may in fact have been transferred there and remain to be discovered.

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21 Nickson, 'Hans Sloane, book collector'. Amy Blakeway, 'The Library Catalogues of Sir Hans Sloane: Their Authors, Organization, and Functions', *Electronic British Library Journal*, <http://www.bl.uk/eblj/2011articles/article16.html>.

22 'Sir Hans Sloane's catalogues', in MacGregor (ed.), *Sir Hans Sloane*, pp. 291–294.

23 Joannes Antonides van der Linden, *Lindenius renovatus, sive J. van der L. …de scriptis medicis libri duo: …addita plurimorum authorum…vitæ curriculorum succincta descriptione: … continuati, …amplificati, …et…purgati a G. A. Mercklino* (Nuremberg, 1686). BL 878.n.8. This interleaved copy is not normally made available, but it may be consulted on microfilm.

24 William Poole, 'The Duplicates of Hans Sloane in the Bodleian Library: A detective story, with some comments on library organisation', *Bodleian Library Record*, 23 (2010), pp. 192–213.

In general, Sloane MS 3972C is an effective catalogue, with accurate bibliographical records. However, it is not an author catalogue, but is in accession order, supplemented by an author index. The index was apparently written up about 1723 from an earlier version, and added to, not always in alphabetical order, as new authors entered the collection. Anonymous works may be entered under their subject, or under a word from the title. Confusingly, both the early volumes of Sloane MS 3972C and Lindenius include desiderata lists to which shelf numbers have been added later as the works were acquired, but inevitably leaving entries for books which were never bought: these then are not 'lost' from Sloane's collection since they were never there.[25]

The interleaved copy of Lindenius is not easy to use, for several different reasons. In its printed form it is arranged by author's first name, with a surname index. Sloane added his alphanumeric to the printed pages to record his copies, and on interleaved pages he added works and editions not in the original. There are two sets of interleaving which were used to record books not in the printed work, the first set probably used from the start, the second, on larger paper, probably dating to the 1720s when space for new titles ran out. The printed text includes entries for the constituent parts of compilations or general collections, though Sloane does not continue this practice. This means that the same work may appear several times under the authors of its separate sections, and Sloane's amanuenses were not always consistent in attaching his shelf numbers in all the correct places. Sometimes it is very difficult to work out which edition a number applies to, either because of the print layout or because the two sequences of interleaving have separated additional editions from those listed in the source bibliography. Sloane's many hundreds of academic dissertations can be difficult to identify because they are often entered under the examiner (*Praeses*) rather than the candidate (*Respondens*), whereas the BL catalogue normally enters them under the candidate's name. However, since the respective roles of presider/examiner and candidate are not always clear, and cataloguing practice varies between institutions and has varied over time at the BL, it is not surprising that this particular type of publication can cause difficulty.[26]

Most of these difficulties of bibliographical identification can be overcome with time and perseverance. The fact remains, however, that some books listed in Sloane's catalogues cannot now be found in the BL. They could be lost, but

25 Blakeway, 'The Library Catalogues of Sir Hans Sloane', pp. 13–18.

26 See for example, *Hora est! On dissertations* (Leiden: Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden, 2005). Kleine publicaties van de Leidse Universiteitsbibliotheek Nr. 7, especially Joseph S. Freedman, 'Disputations in Europe in the early modern period', pp. 30–50.

we should first look at the ways in which books are known to have left the collection, and where some of them are now to be found.

Sloane certainly disposed of books during his lifetime. Gifts of duplicates to the Bodleian have already been mentioned. It is very probable that other smaller personal gifts may have been made. The Royal College of Physicians is said to have been given duplicate works, though only a few have been found there as yet.[27] However, the great majority of lost or unlocated Sloane books are those that were sold as duplicates by the BM in the sales held between 1769 and 1832. The BL has a copy of the 1769 sale catalogue in which the originating collection has been noted, but for all the others, we do not know which of the books listed came from Sloane, and therefore cannot calculate how many of his books were sold.[28]

The eventual fate of BM duplicates often depended on who was buying at the date of the sale, and on the subsequent moves or dispersals of the buyers' collections. Some clusters of books have descended at one or more removes from the purchasers to their current homes in institutional libraries. Thus, for example, William Hunter (1718–1783), the anatomist, is known to have acquired at least seven Sloane books among the twenty-five lots purchased at the 1769 sale.[29] Among these was the magnificent polyglot Bible edited between 1655 and 1657 by Bishop Brian Walton, for which Hunter paid twelve guineas. Under the terms of Hunter's will, his library and other collections remained in London for several years after his death for the use of his nephew, Dr Matthew Baillie (1761–1823), and finally in 1807 came to Glasgow University where they remain one of the best-known of the library's rare book collections.[30]

The 1788 sale included large numbers of Sloane's medical books and dissertations, many of them probably duplicates from within his collection. A notable buyer of this material was James Sims, President of the Medical Society of London (MSL), which acquired his private collection in 1800. A substantial part of the MSL collection was later deposited at the Wellcome Library, and bought by the Wellcome in 1984. The number of Sloane books bought by Sims at the 1788 sale now in the Wellcome collection may be several hundred. Several items from the remainder of the MSL collection were sold to a Canadian buyer and are now in the Fisher Library at Toronto, which has 12 Sloane books.[31]

27 Alexander Chalmers, *General Biographical Dictionary* (London, 1816), vol. XXVII, p. 69.

28 Birrell, 'The BM duplicate sales', p. 247.

29 *Ibidem*.

30 <http://www.gla.ac.uk/services/specialcollections/collectionsa-z/hunteriancollection/#d.en.119689>.

31 Julianne Simpson, 'From London to Toronto: a case-study of the dispersal of Sloane's library', in A. Walker, A. Macgregor and M. Hunter (eds.), *From Books to Bezoars*, London: British Library, 2012, pp. 221–226.

Similarly over half of the 24 Sloane books at Durham bequeathed by Martin Joseph Routh (1755–1854), patristics scholar and President of Magdalen College, Oxford, are from the 1788 duplicate sale.[32] Also buying in 1788 was Luís Pinto de Sousa Coutinho, first Visconde de Balsemão, 1735–1804, the Portuguese ambassador. 19 Sloane books from his collection are now at the Oporto Public Library. Several are of Hispanic interest, others on natural history or public health.[33]

The Royal Society was not apparently buying at the earliest duplicate sales, but was active at the 1830 and 1831 sales, picking up some remarkable scientific and travel books from Sloane's library, sent as duplicates after the King's Library and Sir Joseph Banks's collection had been received. These included Descartes *Opuscula*, 1701, a large paper copy of Newton's *Principia*, third edition 1726, and some stunning illustrated works: Govard Bidloo's *Anatomia humani corporis* (Amsterdam, 1685); a coloured copy of Eleazar Albin, *A Natural History of Birds* (London, 1731); Maria Sibylla Merian, *Metamorphosis insectorum Surinamentium* (Amsterdam, 1705), this last of particular interest because of manuscript annotations which appear to refer to a specimen collection.

Individual Sloane books are now found in libraries and private collections across the world, from California to New Zealand, and they still turn up on the market: the database records several examples from recent sales and booksellers' catalogues. Sloane books have been found in sixty different locations, and many more certainly await discovery. As one might expect, the great university libraries of North America have substantial numbers of Sloane books; for example Folger, Huntington and Yale. Many more probably remain unidentified in other collections, unrecognised because they rarely bear Sloane's name. It is worth noting that the conscientious cataloguer can sometimes be over-ready to identify provenance, as our Hans Sloane, who did not use a bookplate, has often been confused with another Hans Sloane or Sloane-Stanley (1739–1827), his great-nephew, who had a library and did use a bookplate.[34] Booksellers and librarians alike have been caught in this trap.

32 <https://www.dur.ac.uk/library/asc/collection_information/cldload/?collno=122>.

33 Júlio Costa, ' The Portuguese trail of the scientific and medical library of Hans Sloane: issues and evidences = No rasto português da biblioteca científico-médica de Hans Sloane: problemas e evidências', *PÁGINAS a&b: arquivos e bibliotecas*, 9 (2012), pp. 91–108.

34 The armorial bookplate with the name of 'Hans Sloane Esq.' was used on Sloane-Stanley's books, which seem to have been kept at the family home at Paultons, near Romsey, Hampshire, until the estate was sold in 1955, Roger Cyril Hans Sloane Stanley, *Paultons. A catalogue of a valuable portion of the contents of the mansion formerly the property of Major R.C. Hans Sloane Stanley, etc.* (*Woolley & Wallis, auctioneers.*), ([Salisbury]: Bennett Bros., 1955).

It may be a lengthy task to identify the books from Sloane's collection which have found their way into other libraries, but it is more or less achievable. Other types of publication are more intractable, and it is here that we are most likely to identify 'lost' material. Periodicals, ephemera and dissertations can prove elusive, each genre for its own particular reasons. Sloane had at least 53 separately identified periodical titles, ranging from London Bills of Mortality to the *Journal des Sçavans*. He normally gave periodicals a number and a volume number, separated by a colon, e.g. 4:13, rather than the alphanumeric used for books. Most numerous among these were the publications of the scientific societies which flourished across Europe in the early eighteenth century, which would naturally fall within the scope of Sloane's library. However, many of Sloane's periodicals have disappeared, possibly discarded as incomplete runs or sold as duplicates in favour of the more complete sets acquired with the King's Library and Sir Joseph Banks's collection. Possibly the greatest loss is the Royal Society's *Philosophical Transactions*: the BL no longer has Sloane's set of the journal of which he was editor, and which surely would have significant association value or possible annotations.

Newspapers are even more elusive. It seems probable that Sloane had some newspaper titles, but the only substantial run located so far is the *Daily Advertiser* for 1742–1745, which bears Sloane's alphanumeric C 148–153. However, it has been incorporated in the Burney collection of newspapers purchased by the Museum in 1818, and has a Burney shelfmark. Similarly, Sloane's scattered issues of the *Jamaica Weekly Courant* for 1718 and 1722 have been given numbers within the Burney collection, as has *The New-England Courant* of 1721–1723, with manuscript notes by Benjamin Franklin.

Ephemera too may have suffered from being lost or discarded either in the moves of Sloane's library, or after receipt by the BM, since many single sheet publications listed in his manuscript catalogue cannot now be found. It is very likely that single sheet items and other ephemera were collected by Sloane over periods of time and kept unbound in bundles or heaps. This type of material was certainly in a vulnerable state.[35] Even now pamphlets and other slight material kept and bound up by the BM are frequently found to have grubby first and final leaves, apparently a result of having been unbound and unprotected while in Sloane's possession. Much of his ephemera does survive, often as sole recorded copies, and is now, of course, of considerable bibliographical and historical interest, but a considerable amount appears to have been either lost by accident in the various moves of the collection, or weeded out by the BM.

35 Giles Mandelbrote, 'Sloane and the preservation of printed ephemera', in Mandelbrote and Taylor (eds.), *Libraries within the Library*, pp. 146–170.

Sloane had great numbers of academic theses, dissertations or disputations from continental universities, with very significant collections from Leiden and Paris. Most are very slight, about eight pages on average. Some were addressed to Sloane personally by the authors, but many others were acquired by Sloane in bulk purchases or donations, often leaving evidence of previous numberings and owners' markings. This process of acquisition inevitably led to duplication. The 1788 BM sale, as mentioned above, disposed of a number, many were donated to the Bodleian Library, and many cannot now be located. One group in particular is elusive. Throughout the volumes of Lindenius are listed several hundred sixteenth and seventeenth-century single-sheet Paris folio theses, all with the Sloane alphanumeric A 683, acquired in the 1720s. It is difficult to imagine that such a large body of material would have been simply disposed of by the BM, yet this may be the case, as they have not been located at the BL, and very few copies have been located elsewhere. Only the Bibliothèque Nationale de France and the Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire de Médecine in Paris have any number of these publications.

The number of Sloane printed items classed as 'unlocated', i.e. not found at the BL and not yet located in other libraries or collections, is growing, as the systematic examination of his catalogues moves forward. At present it looks as though the most numerous type of material classed as unlocated is dissertations and theses, of which Sloane had many duplicates, but this very much reflects the work that has been done in analysing Lindenius, which is rich in this type of publication. The proportion may change as we begin to analyse his other catalogues. It is likely that increasing amounts of more significant material will found to be 'unlocated', particularly natural history books sold as duplicates. Once identified, it should prove relatively easy to find such material in academic libraries, and therefore simpler to locate than the ephemeral thesis literature.

To conclude, we have already found a significant part of Sloane's library, and with time, there is a good chance that the great majority of his books will be located. But what are the purpose and outcomes of this exercise? Why is it of interest to trace the copies owned by Sloane, or indeed any other collector, if we can see what he had by using his catalogue? Does it matter if we cannot find Sloane's own copy of a work which survives in many copies in many libraries? In the case of Sloane's library, the value of this exercise lies partly in completeness: we know that Sloane, for example, owned a copy of Caxton's edition of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, over a hundred works on gout, and some extremely rare pamphlets in the Basque language, but it is not until the whole library has been identified, and some analysis made of its content, that we can understand how and why such a diverse collection was built up, and what kind of reflection it presents of the intellectual environment of the day. Again, put in the context of that environment, the library may shed light on Sloane himself as a scientist and physician. Was he, as was often said even by contemporaries, merely an indiscriminate collector of oddities, or can we see a more systematic and innovative mind at work?

A further reason for reconstituting the library is to understand its role in Sloane's collections as a whole. Books were of course only part of Sloane's collection, but an essential one for his understanding of the specimens and objects he collected. The separation of objects and books, dating back to the foundation of the Museum, is a continuing barrier to understanding how the library supported his scientific investigations in practice. We can get some insight into the way Sloane used printed sources through the Introduction to his *Voyage to Jamaica*, 1707–1725, where Sloane explains that his work on the identification of plants found in Jamaica was underpinned by searches of classic and modern authorities which he sought out and consulted before reaching conclusions.[36] His summary of early writers on Jamaica, meticulously collated from printed and manuscript sources, shows very clearly that his library had a dual function, as a collection of objects in its own right, and as an essential tool for his study of his specimens and objects.[37]

The search for authority and evidence also explains his desire, again expressed in the *Voyage*, to update Lindenius, correcting errors and adding works and editions not listed there, with the addition of medical works in European languages. This would have been a tremendous task, being nothing less than building a complete collection of the medical literature, and was not formally completed, though he was careful to note that through his own collection he had doubled the number of editions listed in Lindenius.[38] Again, the reconstruction of his library is a prerequisite for the evaluation of Sloane's role as a collector and bibliographer of the literature of medicine.

The physical evidence found in Sloane's own copies, for example marks, manuscript notes and bindings, often reveals traces of their previous ownership and use, and sometimes shows Sloane's intent as a collector. Sloane himself did not often write in his books, but he seems to have valued the manuscript notes of earlier owners. Perhaps the most notable examples of this are his collection of editions of John Ray's *Catalogus Plantarum Angliae*, 1670 and 1677,

36 Hans Sloane, *A voyage to the islands Madera, Barbados, Nieves, S. Christophers and Jamaica* (London: Printed by B.M. for the author, 1707–1725), vol. I, 1707, sig. A1-B1.

37 Sloane, *Voyage*, vol. I, sig. C1-2.

38 Sloane, *Voyage*, vol. II, sig. a[iii]–a[iv].

nearly all of which have manuscript notes by contemporary botanists,[39] and his 15 copies of 7 editions of the *Pharmacopoeia Londinensis* published by the Royal College of Physicians, 12 of which contain manuscript notes. Physical evidence such as manuscript notes helps us understand what type of knowledge was valued by the collector, and has the further benefit of shedding light on other dispersed collections. By recording evidence of ownership and the presence of manuscript notes, the SPBC not only illuminates Sloane as a scientist and collector, but also brings to light many otherwise lost libraries, many of which can no longer be reassembled, even virtually, whose remnants have ended up in this great national collection.

In order to assess Sloane's achievements as a physician and a scientist, therefore, we should evaluate his collection of supporting literature. In assessing his achievements as a book collector and as a bibliographer of medicine, we should examine the collection and the collecting methodology. In both cases, we can only assess these achievements by knowing as much as we can of what he used or possessed. We could then say how successful Sloane was in collecting medical literature, and how authoritative his own scientific writings were, how informed his medical practice was, and on what research they were based.

Sloane's library itself is no longer 'lost', but many individual items known to have been owned by Sloane are currently unlocated. There may be lost books, and Sloane's copies may be lost, but as the Sloane project progresses, the number is likely to diminish significantly. This library was remarkable in his time for its size and diversity, and its strengths in medicine and natural history. It contained great treasures and supported the equally significant collections of specimens and objects. It is just as remarkable now, yet for many years it went almost unrecognised. We are fortunate that the library of such an eminent and influential person survives to the extent that it does, and should recognise its significance and its potential as a resource for research into intellectual history, the history of libraries and the history of collections.

39 BL 968.f.1-6, 8–9.

CHAPTER 20

Book Use and Sociability in Lost Libraries of the Eighteenth Century: Towards a Union Catalogue

Mark Towsey

The conventional assumption today is that libraries exist primarily as a service to provide books; libraries have come to be valued as a fundamental plank of western, liberal democracy, and as a key element of a universal education. What we tend to forget is that the public library as social service is a very young idea; in Britain, it emerged with the Public Libraries Act of 1850, which established the principle of free public libraries supported by the taxpayer for the very first time.[1] Although take up was slow and uneven thereafter, the new breed of Public Library helped to displace a flourishing unregulated library culture underpinned by commercialism, voluntarism, philanthropy, association and mutual self-improvement which is now almost entirely lost from the social landscape.[2]

In the two centuries before the passage of the Public Libraries Act, libraries proliferated across the Anglophone world on a bewildering variety of organizational models. Libraries emerged to serve particular communities, reflecting the specialist demands of military garrisons, emigrant vessels, prisons, schools, churches, factories and informal networks of medical men and lawyers.[3]

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1 For an American perspective, see Wayne Wiegand, *Part of Our Lives: A People's History of the American Public Library* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015). The research on which this chapter is based was funded by the AHRC, the Bibliographical Society and the Bibliographical Society of America. It was completed during a period of research leave funded by the award of a British Academy Mid-Career Fellowship for 2014–15. The author is grateful to members of the AHRC-funded 'Community Libraries' network whose stimulating work and conversation gave form to some of the ideas laid out here, and particularly to Simon Burrows, Rob Koehler, Laura Miller, Kyle Roberts, Norbert Schürer, Tessa Whitehouse, and Siobhan Talbott for discussing key issues and commenting on earlier drafts.

2 David Allan, *A Nation of Readers: The Lending Library in Georgian England, c.1720–c.1830* (London: The British Library, 2008), pp. 109–110; Alistair Black, Simon Pepper and Kaye Bagshaw, *Books, Buildings and Social Engineering: Early Public Libraries in Britain from Past to Present* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), p. 29. For a list of surviving independent libraries, see the Association of Independent Libraries website at <www.independentlibraries.co.uk> (accessed 24 March 2015).

3 The pioneering account of this library culture is Paul Kaufman, *Libraries and their Users: Collected Papers in Library* History (London: Library Association, 1969). More recent studies

Libraries were part of the newly emerging 'leisure industry', with books available for hire from small-scale operators in inns, taverns, banks, railway stations and coffee houses, and from sprawling city circulating libraries associated with the rise of the novel.[4] The voluntary subscription libraries, book clubs and literary societies collected books within an associational context of conversation, debate and sociability, and made a key contribution to the dissemination and widespread adoption of new cultural, scientific and political ideas.[5]

None of these libraries were 'public' in the modern sense, supported by the taxpayer and lending books free of charge to the whole community – although a handful of philanthropic foundations did allow use of books free of charge, including Chetham's Library in Manchester, Marsh's Library in Dublin, Gray's Library in Haddington and the Innerpeffray Library in rural Perthshire.[6] Rather, scholars consider them to have played a crucial part in the emergence of an

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of specialist community libraries include Bill Bell, 'Print Culture in Exile: the Scottish Emigrant Reader in the Nineteenth Century', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of Canada*, 36.2 (1998), pp. 87–106; Sharon Murphy, 'Imperial Reading? The East India Company's Lending Libraries for Soldiers, c. 1819–1834', *Book History*, 12 (2009), pp. 74–99; Sally Hadden, 'Lawyers' Communal Subscription Libraries in Boston, Philadelphia and Charleston', given at the AHRC-funded 'Libraries in the Atlantic World' colloquium at the University of Liverpool (January, 2014); Rebecca Bowd, 'Useful Knowledge or Polite Learning? A Reappraisal of Approaches to Subscription Library History', *Library & Information History*, 29.3 (August 2013), pp. 182–195.

4 Stephen Colclough, *Consuming Texts: Readers and Reading Communities, 1695–1870* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), p. 93; Keith A. Manley, 'Booksellers, Peruke-makers, and Rabbit Merchants: the Growth of Circulating Libraries in the Eighteenth Century', in Robin Myers, Michael Harris and Giles Mandelbrote (eds.), *Libraries and the Book Trade* (Newcastle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 2000), pp. 39–51.

5 Allan, *Nation of Readers*; David Allan, 'Eighteenth-Century Private Subscription Libraries and Provincial Urban Culture: The Amicable Society of Lancaster, 1769–c.1820', *Library History*, 19.1 (2001), pp. 57–76; James Raven, 'Libraries for Sociability: The Advance of the Subscription Library', in Giles Mandelbrote and Keith A. Manley (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland, Volume II 1640–1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 239–263; James Raven, *London Booksellers and American Customers: Transatlantic Literary Community and the Charleston Library Society, 1748–1811* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2002).

6 Muriel McCarthy, *All Graduates & Gentlemen: Marsh's Library* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1980); Matthew Yeo, *The Acquisition of Books by Chetham's Library, 1655–1700* (Leiden: Brill, 2011); Vivienne S. Dunstan, 'Glimpses into a Town's Reading Habits in Enlightenment Scotland: Analysing the Borrowings of Gray Library, Haddington, 1732–1816', *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies*, 26 (2006), pp. 42–59; Mark Towsey, *Reading the Scottish Enlightenment: Books and their Readers in Provincial Scotland, 1750–1820* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), pp. 121–159.

Enlightened 'public sphere', providing "a space where civic, religious, and commercial values converged and overlapped" for the improvement of the local community.[7] Joanna Innes suggests that "a leitmotif" emerged in this period that "libraries had a *public* function", with "their mission to serve variously conceived publics".[8] At Kirkcudbright, for instance, the local worthies who gathered together in 1770 to found a library by subscription "unanimously agree[d] that a Public Library, established at this place upon a proper foundation and under proper regulations, will be attended with great improvement as well as entertainment";[9] members of the Library Company of Philadelphia wrote as early as 1732 that their collection would address the government's failure to provide for "public Education".[10] A number of library communities even elected to inscribe their 'public' character in the names they choose for their library, including the Norwich Public Library (founded in 1784), the Bolton Public Library (around 1790), the Dundee Public Library (1796) and the short-lived Bath Public Library (1801).[11]

Nevertheless, this lost library culture remained socially exclusive, and at every level users required some form of material, social or religious capital to access the books. To own books required significant capital investment, of course, and although book owners tended to be quite liberal in loaning books to friends, neighbours, business associates and even local tradesmen, artisans, shepherds and estate workers, such library access depended on the generosity, trust and patronage of library owners.[12] In the commercial circulating libraries that became

7 Ross W. Beales and James N. Green, 'Libraries and their Users', in Hugh Amory and David D. Hall (eds.), *A History of the Book in America, Vol. 1: The Colonial Book in the Atlantic World* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 399–404, at p. 400.

8 Joanna Innes, 'Libraries in Context: Social, Cultural and Intellectual Background', in Mandelbrote and Manley (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland*, pp. 285–300, at p. 285.

9 Hornel Library, Broughton House, Kirkcudbright MS4/26, Minute Book of the Kirkcudbright Subscription Library, 1 May 1770; see Towsey, *Reading the Scottish Enlightenment*, pp. 56–57, 63–65.

10 Cited in Raven, *London Booksellers*, p. 9.

11 Robin Alston, 'The Library History Database: British Isles to 1850', <www.r-alston.co.uk/contents.htm> (accessed March 2008); the database is presently off-line at the Institute of English Studies, London.

12 Allan, *Nation of Readers*, pp. 212–214; Mark Towsey, '"The Talent hid in a Napkin": Castle Libraries in Scotland, 1770–1830', in Katie Halsey and W.R. Owens (eds.), *The History of Reading, Vol. 2: Evidence from the British Isles, c. 1750–1950* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), pp. 15–31; Mark Towsey, '"I can't resist sending you the book": Book Lending, Elite Women and Shared Reading Practices in Georgian Scotland', *Library & Information History*, 29.3 (2013), pp. 210–222.

an increasingly ubiquitous feature of British urban development in the late eighteenth century, borrowers paid a fee to take out books, while the associational book clubs, reading societies and subscription libraries levied charges for membership that were generally quite prohibitive. These charges sometimes operated alongside strict entrance criteria enforced by the routine 'black-balling' of undesirable prospective members in a deliberate attempt to maintain exclusivity, allowing local elites to use subscription libraries to exercise cultural leadership.[13] And while efforts intensified to provide libraries for ordinary readers – meeting a demand for mutual self-improvement pioneered in working-class book clubs and mechanics institutes that was later formalised in the Public Libraries movement – these efforts were sometimes driven by social elites, who strove to control not only the range of books that would be made available to the lower orders, but also the conditions in which those books would be read.[14] The Liverpool Mechanics and Apprentices Library, for instance, was founded by well-to-do publisher and philanthropist Egerton Smith and other members of the self-defined "intelligent community" to provide books for "those classes of society, whose pecuniary means are circumscribed". Smith's express hope was

> that an increase of knowledge, afforded to them by providing access to instructive books would render them more valuable as tradesmen and members of society; that infusing them with a taste for the rich stores of science and morality would withdraw them, at their hours of leisure, from the dangerous relaxations of a large town.[15]

If the lost library culture that flourished before the Public Libraries Act of 1850 sometimes acted to reinforce existing social hierarchies, it has thereby taken

13 Allan, *Nation of Readers*, pp. 64–84; Keith A. Manley, *Books, Borrowers, and Shareholders. Scottish Circulating and Subscription Libraries before 1825: A Survey and Listing* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh Bibliographical Society in association with the National Library of Scotland, 2012), pp. 36–45; Raven, *London Booksellers*, pp. 37–52, 67–83, 227.

14 See, for instance, Steven Shapin and Barry Barnes, 'Science, Nature and Control: Interpreting Mechanics' Institutes', *Social Studies of Science*, 7.1 (1977), pp. 31–74. For examples of library culture instigated and exploited by the literate working classes themselves, see Peter Hoare, 'The Operatives' Libraries of Nottingham: A Radical Community's Own Initiative', *Library History*, 19.3 (2003), pp. 173–184; John C. Crawford, 'The Ideology of Mutual Improvement in Scottish Working Class Libraries', *Library History*, 12 (1996), pp. 49–61; John C. Crawford, '"The High State of Culture to which this Part of the Country has Attained": Libraries, Reading, and Society in Paisley, 1760–1830', *Library & Information History*, 30.3 (August 2014), pp. 172–194.

15 *An Account of the Liverpool Mechanics and Apprentices Library* (Liverpool: Rushton and Melling on behalf of the Committee of the Institution, 1824), pp. 3–5.

scholars well beyond questions about the functional provision of books to consider a much wider range of issues concerning the social, political and cultural meanings of library communities – and the lost environments within which books were encountered and used before the passage of the Public Libraries Act.

It is these issues – along with fundamental questions about the circulation and reception of books made possible by historic libraries – that has occupied the AHRC-funded international research network, 'Community Libraries: Connecting Readers in the Atlantic World, c.1650–c.1850'. This chapter reports on the activities of the network, which aims to transform our understanding of the lost library culture of the long eighteenth century.[16] In particular, the network brings together scholars from literature, history, library and information science, digital humanities, computing and other cognate disciplines to explore new digital means of exploiting the interpretive potential of historical bibliometric data contained in library records, including circulation records, catalogues and subscription lists.[17] When considered collectively, surviving library records open up unparalleled opportunities for comparative quantitative analysis of book distribution and circulation in the past, alongside qualitative insights into the wider cultural practices and values that were pursued through libraries of various kinds. To illustrate the potential of this approach, the chapter analyses bibliometric data recovered from a modest subscription library founded in provincial Scotland in the 1790s, before reflecting more broadly on the network's plans to develop a 'Union Catalogue' of library records in the long eighteenth century.

The Community Libraries Network

The *Community Libraries* network has three principal priorities, each of which was defined and scoped out in a separate colloquium held between January 2014 and January 2015. The first priority was to reflect on the emergence of

16 For an archive of the network's activities, a full list of participants, and other resources, see <www.communitylibraries.net> (all websites accessed March 2015 unless stated otherwise).

17 My understanding of 'historical bibliometrics' derives from Simon Burrows, 'Locating the Minister's Looted Books: From Provenance and Library History to the Digital Reconstruction of Print Culture', *Library & Information History*, 31.1 (February 2015), pp. 1–17; see also Jean-Pierre V.M. Herubel, 'Historical Bibliometrics: Its Purpose and Significance to the History of Disciplines', *Libraries & Culture*, 34.4 (Autumn 1999), pp. 380–388.

libraries in comparative perspective.[18] Library history, as with the wider history of books, has tended to be studied within narrowly defined national boundaries. Much of this work has been hugely helpful in establishing patterns of development on a local and national basis, as witnessed particularly in the monumental *Cambridge History of Libraries in Great Britain and Ireland*, but we have yet to see much sustained effort to trace the transnational and comparative history of libraries across different national and linguistic areas. The field remains wedded to the micro-historical case study, reluctant to look beyond the local;[19] it has produced relatively few dedicated research monographs, and only one book-length study of transatlantic library culture.[20]

This is problematic because formal library culture does not seem to have originated in the metropolis, emerging instead in colonial America and spreading from there to some of the more peripheral parts of the British Isles. The first British subscription library was actually Benjamin Franklin's Library Company of Philadelphia in 1731, while at least six more had been founded in colonial America before libraries of this type started appearing first in Scotland in the 1750s and then in the larger industrial towns of northern England in the 1760s. If the early history of subscription libraries in the Atlantic world seems to subvert long-held assumptions about the relationship between metropole and province in the history of print culture, it raises further questions about the emergence of library culture more broadly. What relationship did these institutions have to each other, and how were they related to earlier, more informal experiments in collective book use and reading?[21] How did these libraries in turn influence library culture elsewhere in the Atlantic (in the Caribbean, the Netherlands, and the Iberian peninsula), and elsewhere in the Eurocentric world (in European spheres of influence in Africa, India, South America and Australia, for instance)? What social, political, and cultural conditions explain the very uneven growth of lending libraries in continental Europe,[22] and how were ideas about library culture, administration and book collecting disseminated to new communities, new territories, and new linguistic contexts? And

18 This theme was addressed in a colloquium held at the University of Liverpool and the Liverpool Athenaeum in January 2014, entitled 'Libraries and the Atlantic World'.

19 For similar complaints, see Jonathan Rose, 'Alternative Futures for Library History', *Libraries & Culture*, 38.1 (2003), pp. 50–60.

20 Raven, *London Booksellers*.

21 For an informal precursor to the formal community library in the metropolis, see Markman Ellis, 'Coffee-house Libraries in Mid Eighteenth-Century London', *The Library*, 10.1 (2009), pp. 3–40.

22 There is a useful summary in Martyn Lyons, *A History of Reading and Writing in the Western World* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).

what of the comparison between library development and collective book use in the Eurocentric world, and in the Far East – where very different relationships emerged between written word and reader?[23] By bringing together scholars from across four continents, the network has started to track how library culture emerged in different national contexts, allowing us to compare how libraries functioned in early Enlightenment Dublin, rapidly industrialising Leeds, plantation Jamaica, colonial Mexico and Venezuela, Revolutionary Amsterdam, Federalist America, and settler Australia.

The wider cultural meanings of library activity in these very different contexts were taken up in the network's second priority, which considered the role of libraries in historical processes of identity construction and community formation.[24] By distributing books to a wider audience than they would otherwise have been able to reach, libraries were one of the vehicles through which shared notions of identity were disseminated amongst 'imagined communities' scattered across the globe, separated by time, language and space. In this empirical sense, the network contributes to a critical rethinking of Benedict Anderson's influential ideas about the role of print in the emergence of national identity.[25] But the network has also reinforced the extent to which libraries "are greater than the sum of their books", even before elaborate physical spaces were routinely built to house them.[26] Libraries were communities in their own right, allowing us to enumerate on the one hand the exclusionary tactics employed by libraries of different kinds to restrict membership along political, social, religious or ethnic boundaries, and on the other to recover the practices (some of them illicit) that opened up library books for people on the margins of established reading communities. Particularly striking were the recurring practices of book giving and of book copying noted by network speakers; seemingly philanthropic and 'public'-spirited donations of books allowed some members to shape in material ways the sort of community values their libraries came to reflect, while marginal readers in different times and places resorted to circulating transcribed copies of illicit books to overcome governmental, societal or cultural rules and conventions.

23 Joseph McDermott, *A Social History of the Chinese Book: Books and Literati Culture in Late Imperial China* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2006).

24 This theme was addressed primarily in a colloquium held at Dr Williams's Library and Queen Mary University London in January 2015, entitled 'Libraries in the Community'.

25 Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983).

26 Black, Pepper and Bagshaw, *Books, Buildings and Social Engineering*, p. 1.

Ultimately, the network therefore comes back to the textual world opened up by historic library culture, and a third network priority was to consider new ways of approaching library records to unlock their potential for understanding the circulation and reception of print in the past.[27] Library history has proved itself capable of overturning some of the traditional narratives of intellectual and literary history, but its wider value is sometimes compromised by the disciplinary orientation of researchers. In her pioneering study of the earliest surviving records of a commercial circulating library, for instance, Jan Fergus focuses overwhelmingly on novels to the detriment of genres which she readily admits were "all much more popular among…adult customers", including "almanacs, school texts, Bibles, common prayer books, divinity, sermons, history, and belles letters". Without having access to this data – which Fergus notes was first created using mid-1980s software – scholars interested in how history books or almanacs were circulating at this library will need to replicate the whole process.[28] This is where digital tabulations and analyses of library records made available online can be particularly useful, including the *What Middletown Read* database, the *Easton Library Company Database*, and the *New York Society Library's Circulation Records*.[29] These encourage a more holistic approach to library records, shaped not by the researcher's own disciplinary background, but by the research demands of the user.[30] However, surviving library records are extremely rare and can hardly be considered representative. As Priya Joshi cautions, "the conclusions one could draw from a single library's circulation would need to rest closest to the regional, class and social history of that library only and could probably not be applied too widely before becoming irrelevant".[31]

There is an urgent need, therefore, for library historians to explore seriously the prospect of developing a 'Union Catalogue' which links up digital research

27 This theme was addressed in a colloquium held at the Newberry Library and Loyola University Chicago in May 2014, entitled 'Digital Approaches to Library History'.

28 Jan Fergus, *Provincial Readers in Eighteenth-Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 7, ix.

29 <www.bsu.edu/libraries/wmr>; <https://digital.lafayette.edu/collections/eastonlibrary>; <https://www.nysoclib.org/collection/ledger/circulation-records-1789-1792/people>.

30 See, for instance, the use made of the database by Lynne Tatlock, 'The One and the Many: *The Old Mam'selle's Secret* and the American Traffic in German Fiction (1868–1917)', in Matt Erlin and Lynne Tatlock (eds.), *Distant Readings: Topologies of German Culture in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Rochester, NY: Boydell & Brewer, 2014), pp. 229–258. Tellingly, the volume's cover image features a bubble graph derived from the 'What Middletown Read' database.

31 Priya Joshi, *In Another Country: Colonialism, Culture and the English Novel in India* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), p. 52.

on libraries of different types, in different places, and at different times, lending greater statistical meaning to the circulation, acquisitions, and holdings data available for individual institutions. Two projects have done this successfully for groups of libraries in specific – though very tightly defined – national and institutional contexts, and their vision is suggestive for what might emerge from a more broadly conceived 'Union Catalogue'. The revealing *Australian Common Reader* platform gathers together circulation records from seven small-scale subscription libraries alongside diaries, correspondence and other readerly content to recreate the lived experience of reading in rural Australia at the turn of the twentieth century.[32] Created using contemporary library management software, *Dissenting Academies Online*'s virtual library system shows the scale and depth of what is now possible, collating together in one place over 40,000 separate loan transactions, featuring six hundred borrowers whose borrowing was selected from among twelve thousand different titles.[33] As such, it will serve as an invaluable guide to the role of books in underpinning the institutional and intellectual infrastructure of Protestant dissent in Georgian Britain for years to come, even though it opens up only one small facet of library culture at this pivotal moment in library history.

In workshopping each of these databases, a number of recurrent themes emerged, particularly the importance of inter-operability. Each of the projects involved significant costs in terms of time and effort, but to ensure that this investment produces important scholarship – and to demonstrate the utility of the data to a wider public – the datasets need to be able to talk to each other. Above all this calls for a consistency of approach that is difficult to achieve when the sources themselves are not consistent; even within documentation produced by the same library, there can be wildly fluctuating approaches to data entry, with basic bibliographical details frequently missing from manuscript circulation records and printed catalogues, including place and date of publication, and the name of the publisher. Nevertheless, consistent bibliographical standards need to be applied along with a standard approach to categorising users' occupations and social backgrounds to allow comparisons between libraries to be drawn.

One potential solution to such problems is to work collaboratively, and in greater scale, on a single 'Union Catalogue'. In reflecting on the network's deliberations, Simon Burrows has proposed the development of a large-scale, inter-operable database bringing surviving borrowing registers together with book catalogues, suggestions books, acquisitions ledgers, and book trade

32 <www.australiancommonreader.com>.

33 <vls.english.qmul.ac.uk>.

records. Emerging from tools that are already being developed for the next stage of his successful *French Book Trade in Enlightenment Europe* platform, such a database would need to exploit "a finite ontology" enabling us to "capture, understand, interrogate and analyse" library data alongside "other harvestable historical bibliometric events":

> One choice ahead for the community of library historians is whether to embrace a minimalist approach to the integration of existing historical bibliometric library datasets, by focusing on creating inter-operable library history database resources, or instead to embrace the yet more ambitious dream of a more global system, capable of integrating library historical datasets alongside other historical bibliometric information. While perhaps lacking some of the specificities of purpose-built systems, this would nonetheless be capable of delivering powerful new forms of insight through the interaction and mapping of diverse historical bibliometric datasets against potentially vast databanks on library collections, borrowings, and users.[34]

Bibliometric Data at the Wigtown Library

To consider the opportunities opened up by the proposed 'Union Catalogue', the rest of this chapter will revisit the surviving material from one nascent subscription library founded in 1795 in the small Galwegian community of Wigtown, in the southwest corner of Scotland.[35] The Wigtown Subscription Library was the last of the three main urban centres in Galloway to found such an institution (after Kirkcudbright and Stranraer), and followed what had by that time become a familiar model across the English-speaking world, with the learned professions – clergymen, lawyers and medical men – taking the lead alongside local landowners and a smattering of merchants, tradesmen and artisans. What marks Wigtown out for special attention is the survival of a

34 Burrows, 'Locating the Minister's Looted Books', pp. 2–3; <fbtee.uws.edu.au/stn/interface/>.

35 The following discussion of the Wigtown Library records derives from Mark Towsey, 'First Steps in Associational Reading: Book Use and Sociability at the Wigtown Library, 1795–99', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 103.4 (2009), pp. 455–495; the material on which it is based is held at the Hornel Library, Broughton House, Kirkcudbright, MS 5/27, Regulations of the Wigtown Subscription Library; MS 11/28-30, Borrowing Books of the Wigtown Subscription Library.

borrowing register for three of its first four years of operation, making it one of only a handful of contemporary libraries for which such circulation records survive. Even so, the documentary record is unusually thin in this instance: with the growth of the collection struggling to keep pace with demand in this early period of institutional development, just under 900 loans – or "bibliometric events" – were recorded overall.[36]

It is quite possible that loans started more informally some time before the first loan was recorded on 4 January 1796 (of Jean-Jacques Rousseau's *Eloisa* in three volumes to the widow Mrs McCulloch), but the loan registers and associated administrative records make plain the practical difficulties involved in setting up a lending library from scratch in a relatively undeveloped rural backwater, with the books needing to be ordered from wholesalers in Edinburgh and then bound by the local bookbinder James McBryde before being made available to library users. With library managers struggling to raise the funds to enlarge the collection, and suffering long delays in getting hold of the copies they had prioritised, it is understandable that the rate of borrowing declined dramatically after an initial burst of enthusiasm. Annual borrowing rates declined from 354 loan transactions in 1796, to 274 in 1798 and 194 in 1799, revealing a community of readers steadily working through the books available to them. At the same time, the data clearly implies that reading was a seasonal activity, with loans peeking consistently during the winter months, notwithstanding the additional expense (and notorious personal hazards) involved in reading by candle and firelight. Books were withdrawn much less frequently between August and October, the most crucial moment in the farming calendar when many library members evidently had little time for reading.

These important impressions of how library culture functioned in Wigtown are only possible through detailed analysis of bibliometric data collected from the library circulation and administration records, but this material becomes still more valuable for the wider history of reading when we think about which books were actually taken off the shelves. The collection can only be described as compact throughout this period; although no catalogue comes down to us, a grand total of 59 titles were borrowed in the four years covered by the surviving circulation records, while we know of a handful more that were ordered in

36 In contrast, the surviving folio borrowing registers of the Charleston Library Society for 14 July 1811 to 28 February 1817 record 41,973 loan transactions, featuring 3,033 separate titles and 260 library users; Isabelle Lehuu, 'Reconstructing Reading Vogues in the Old South: Borrowings from the Charleston Library Society, 1811–1817', in Shafquat Towheed and W.R. Owens (eds.), *The History of Reading, vol. 2: International Perspectives, c. 1500–1990* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), pp. 64–83, at p. 66.

this time. Even so, bibliographical analysis of these loans provides an invaluable insight into reading tastes in this small community newly introduced to associational book culture (see table 20.1). Particularly striking is the community's persistent interest in polite historiography, with history books featuring in around 40 percent of all loan transactions. This perhaps points to a local taste for amateur scholarship amongst well-educated landowners and clergymen (some of whom were to become published authors in their own right), and to a more widespread popular zeal for patriotic reading at a time when Britain's celebrated constitutional 'liberty' was being called into question in the fallout from the French Revolution both at home and abroad. But it also reflects history's crucial role in domestic education as a fashionable genre repeatedly recommended to the ever-expanding ranks of leisured readers by pedagogical writers such as Thomas Sheridan, Hester Chapone and Hannah More.[37] Thus Gibbon was borrowed by readers across the Wigtown Library's social compass, from the clergymen and amateur antiquarians John Dickson, John Graham, and John Steven, through to the banker Matthew Campbell, the surgeon Samuel Shortridge, the tanner John McGill, and the widows McKie and Milroy. Such records even hint at how engaged readers could be in what they read; since the number of volumes that could be borrowed at any one time was generally limited, the registers allow us to track clusters of readers working their way through multi-volume texts like Hume's *History of England* and Henry's *History of Great Britain* – and to glimpse readers who borrowed one volume without ever returning to borrow the rest.

The apparent popularity of didactic and morally improving novels by Henry Fielding, Henry Brooke and John Moore perhaps fits more neatly into conventional accounts of reading habits in the late eighteenth century, which in Rolf Engelsing's classic thesis is thought to have witnessed a Reading Revolution with people reading more 'extensively' and across a wider range of genres than before.[38] Classical literature (a key component of the old, 'intensive' approach to reading) is certainly notable for its absence from the Wigtown ledgers, as are religious or devotional books. Indeed, perhaps the most striking feature of the

37 Thomas Sheridan, *A Plan of Education for the Young Nobility and Gentry of Great Britain* (London: E. and C. Dilly, 1769), pp. 97–98; Hester Chapone, *Letters on the Improvement of the Mind, Addressed to a Young Lady* (London: H. Hughs, 1773), 2:212; Hannah More, *Hints Towards Forming the Character of a Young Princess* (London: T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1805), pp. 154–161.

38 Reinhard Wittmann, 'Was there a Reading Revolution at the End of the Eighteenth Century?', in Guglielmo Cavallo and Roger Chartier (eds.), *A History of Reading in the West* (1995; trans., Lydia G. Cochrane, Cambridge: Polity, 1999), pp. 284–312.

TABLE 20.1 *Books borrowed from the Wigtown Subscription Library, 1796–1799* (*works borrowed 10 times or more*)

Author, *Title*	**Number of borrowings**	**Number of borrowers**
Bell's British Theatre	90	23
Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*	79	16
Henry, *History of Great Britain*	53	14
Fielding, *Works*	53	12
Cook, *Voyages*	52	11
Gillies, *History of Ancient Greece*	37	11
Smollett, *History of England*	33	11
Hume, *History*	31	7
Monthly Review	30	14
Johnson, *Lives of the British Poets*	24	8
Annual Register	23	11
Fool of Quality	23	6
Cox, *Travels*	22	10
Raynal, *West Indies*	21	6
Moore, *Zeluco*	20	12
Robertson, *Charles V*	19	6
Rousseau, *Eloisa*	18	7
Watson, *Philip II*	16	6
Arnot, *History of Edinburgh*	12	11
Knox, *Essays*	12	8
Moore, *View of Society*	12	7
Lyttleton, *Henry the Second*	12	5
Guthrie, *General History of Scotland*	11	9
Critical Review	11	8
Savary, *Egypt*	11	7
Watson, *Philip III*	11	5
Volney, *Travels*	10	7
[Mackenzie *et al.*] *The Mirror*	10	5
Smollett, *Roderick Random*	10	4

Wigtown borrowing data is the demonstrable interest in play reading and amateur dramatics in a Presbyterian community that should have been utterly resistant to such forms of entertainment, with *Bell's British Theatre* – leading the list of most frequently borrowed books – collecting together 140 plays in 21 volumes by playwrights including Colley Cibber, Ben Jonson, Nicholas Rowe and George Farquhar (amongst many others). Meanwhile, the interest in the canon-forming imperative that was such a fundamental feature of late eighteenth-century critical culture is also reflected in the circulation of Johnson's popular *Lives of the English Poets*, and indeed in the regular withdrawal of issues of the *Monthly Review*, the *Annual Register*, and the *Critical Review* – all of which were no doubt used to help readers decide what to borrow next from the library.

All of this is hugely suggestive for those interested in the history of reading and in the reception and social impact of specific works and genres, well rewarding the significant amount of time and effort it takes to transcribe and digest such a detailed dataset. But the Wigtown data – as with all surviving datasets – is strictly limited, and can only contribute so much to our understanding of historic reading habits. In this instance, the limited size of the nascent collection at the Wigtown Library throughout the period for which loan records survive is perhaps the most significant impediment, and must have severely restricted the choice available to readers. Some members may well have borrowed (or bought) canonical texts like Hume's *History* or Rousseau's *Eloisa* before the library came into being, while readers could only choose from the select list of titles the library management committee had decided to acquire in the first years of their association. As numerous commentators have indicated, such selections often owed a great deal to the advice offered up in the *Monthly*, the *Critical* and the *Annual Register* – so the fact that our list of most frequently borrowed books looks very much like any list of critically approved books produced in the late eighteenth century is not all that surprising.[39]

For these reasons, a comparative approach to the surviving library records is absolutely crucial in establishing how significant or unusual some of the reading practices on display at Wigtown – and indeed elsewhere – might have been. The wide circulation of histories by Hume, Gibbon, Robertson, Henry and Smollett tallies very well with what we know from other libraries for which such evidence survives, in a variety of different institutional, cultural and demographic contexts, and has been picked up by scholars writing about the

39 Allan, *Nation of Readers*, pp. 8–9, 86; Raven, *London Booksellers*, p. 221; Towsey, 'First Steps', pp. 470–472.

reception of Enlightenment culture in England, Scotland and North America.[40] Less frequently noted is the prominence of play reading, which Wigtown shares with another Scottish subscription library for which borrowing records survive – the Selkirk Subscription Library (founded in 1772), where the dramatic works of William Shakespeare, Joanna Baillie, Thomas Otway, John Dryden, and the French playwright Molière all circulated widely alongside *Bell's British Theatre* between 1799 and 1814.[41]

Presbyterian clergymen were deeply involved in founding and managing both libraries, while the orthodox wing of the Church of Scotland is well known to have fought a number of bitter campaigns against the play reading proclivities of the Enlightenment *literati* in Edinburgh centred around Moderate playwright (and clergyman) John Home and his clerical colleagues William Robertson, Hugh Blair, Adam Ferguson and Alexander 'Jupiter' Carlyle.[42] How far does the wide circulation of these dramatic works call for an adjustment of our understanding of the cultural meaning of play reading in Enlightenment Scotland, and how does this fit with the reception afforded to play books at libraries elsewhere for which such evidence survives? No scholar has yet attempted to write a history of play reading in the long eighteenth century from any disciplinary perspective, and we will not be able to understand more fully the wider significance of this data until the detailed empirical and critical work is done across the full range of eighteenth-century libraries and sources for reading experiences.

Modelling the 'Union Catalogue'

This example points in a small but significant way to the interpretive and interdisciplinary opportunities bound up in the proposed 'Union Catalogue'. There

40 David Allan, *Making British Culture: English Readers and the Scottish Enlightenment, 1740–1830* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2008); Mark Spencer, *Hume in Eighteenth-Century America* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2005); Mark Towsey, '"The book seemed to sink into oblivion": Reading Hume in Eighteenth-Century Scotland', in Mark Spencer (ed.), *Hume: Historical Thinker, Historical Writer* (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2013), pp. 81–102.

41 Scottish Borders Archives, Hawick, S/PL/7, Selkirk Subscription Library Registers, 1799–1814; *Bell's British Theatre* also figures on the list of most widely circulated works at the Charleston Library Society in the 1810s, alongside a number of other playbooks; Lehuu, 'Reconstructing Reading Vogues', p. 70.

42 Richard B. Sher, *Church and University in the Scottish Enlightenment: The Moderate Literati of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1985).

are very few surviving sets of circulation records for subscription libraries founded in the eighteenth-century Atlantic World, each of which speaks to the distinctive interests and occupations of the specific reading communities who produced them. The Selkirk circulation records date from a more mature period in the library's history, by which time members had fully thirty years of collective book acquisition behind them. This gave Selkirk subscribers far greater opportunity to specialise in particular kinds of books, opening up fascinating perspectives on how tenant farmers combined with town-dwelling clergymen, surgeons and solicitors in reading collectively about agricultural improvement, local history, vernacular poetry, or polite education.[43] More complex again are the surviving circulation records of the Bristol Library Society. Only a tiny fraction of Bristol loans have so far attracted scholarly attention, despite the fact that they run in an unbroken sequence from 1773 to 1857 in 77 folio volumes, potentially shedding unrivalled light on the cultural, commercial and political reading of a community unusually exposed to the cosmopolitan currents of the maritime world – a community borrowing more than 2,000 books annually by the time of the turbulent 1790s.[44] No less potentially suggestive are the circulating records surviving on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean for the Charleston Library Society, the New York Society Library, and the Easton Library Company in rural Pennsylvania, amongst other known examples. At a time when the newly independent United States were busy building a nation for themselves, American circulation records point to the long persistence of literary and intellectual influences from the former motherland, particularly at Charleston, which long retained its "Atlantic-wards outlook, together with [its] distain for both the immediate north and the Carolina backcountry".[45]

Great time and effort is needed to transcribe, tabulate and interpret each of these sets of circulation records, and yet the stories that we can tell about them are limited by the range of local beliefs, influences and constraints that shaped borrowers' choices at the libraries involved – and by the disciplinary instincts

43 Mark Towsey, '"Store their Minds with Much Valuable Knowledge": Reading for Improvement at the Selkirk Subscription Library, 1799–1814', *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 38 (2015), pp. 569–584.

44 The classic study remains Paul Kaufman, *Borrowings from the Bristol Library, 1773–1784: A Unique Record of Reading Vogues* (Charlottesville, VA: Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, 1960). The estimate for volume of loans in the 1790s derives from my own unpublished research on the original registers, held at Bristol Central Library, B7465-7468, Registers of the Bristol Library Society, 1796–99.

45 Raven, *London Booksellers*, p. 17; for the prominence of English novels in Charleston loans of the 1810s, see Lehuu, 'Reconstructing Reading Vogues', pp. 74–79.

of each scholar or curator who works on them. The scholar who wants to trace the history of play reading beyond Wigtown and Selkirk will currently need to sift methodically through each set of original sources, accounting for every single loan if play reading is to be put in its widest possible context. But if all of these borrowing registers were fed into a single database (or an inter-operable sequence of linked databases) adopting consistent vocabulary to describe books and borrowers, a standardised approach to data management, and made available on an open access basis, such enquiries would be accomplished in little more than a few hours searching online – thereby opening up a much more comprehensive understanding of book borrowing in the long eighteenth century than has yet been possible, together with more nuanced histories of reading targeted at specific authors, genres and readers.

For the few remaining circulation records to be statistically meaningful, of course, our 'Union Catalogue' would need to be founded on careful bibliographical analysis of the much larger (though still relatively manageable) corpus of book catalogues that survive for eighteenth-century subscription libraries. The two types of source material are co-dependent in histories of reading, with the handful of borrowing registers allowing us to assess the relative frequency with which titles were withdrawn at specific libraries (for a time at least), and the catalogues giving us a more detailed sense of what books readers had available to them, what editions tended to be acquired (and in which formats), and how collections developed over time. Notably, the more favourable survival rates for library catalogues allow for much more rigorous statistical analysis; 51 surviving catalogues have so far been discovered for roughly 250 associational libraries founded in Scotland before 1830,[46] giving the prospective historian of play reading at Wigtown and Selkirk a more acute understanding of how common it was for such libraries to make copies of Shakespeare's works or *Bell's British Theatre* available to subscribers.

Our growing resource might eventually spread out to include other types of library, in the Atlantic world and beyond, including circulation records and catalogues that survive for the charitably endowed libraries at Haddington or Innerpeffray, or university libraries at St Andrews, Harvard or King's College (re-named Columbia in 1784). We might incorporate data from the much maligned commercial circulating libraries, which both Jan Fergus (obliquely) and Norbert Schürer (more stridently) have suggested offered a more nuanced fayre than their contemporary reputation (and much later commentary)

46 Mark Towsey, '"All Partners may be Enlightened and Improved by Reading them": the Distribution of Enlightenment Books in Scottish Subscription Library Catalogues, 1750–c.1820', *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies*, 28 (2007), pp. 20–43.

would have us believe.[47] And we might include records of private book ownership, to capture those library members who bought their own copy of Shakespeare's *Works*, and those who were able to borrow volumes from neighbours, friends or relatives.[48] Such outward spread is necessary because eighteenth-century readers – much like Michel de Certeau's reading 'poachers' – borrowed from different types of library, at different times, and sometimes for different purposes even though these processes can be exceptionally difficult to trace.[49]

The digital platform might then allow for bridges to be built to other large-scale collections of eighteenth-century bibliometric data available online, allowing us to probe still more deeply the intellectual and cultural landscapes in which library users encountered library books. This would certainly need to include the rich publishing data available in the ESTC (particularly important for standardising bibliographic data on titles and specific editions owned by libraries, where these can be identified), as well as book trade records such as those of the famous Enlightenment publishing and wholesaling business the Société Typographique de Neuchâtel, collected together in the *French Book Trade in Enlightenment Europe* database. Cross-referencing library records with those of booksellers, printers and publishers will allow us to think more coherently about how the rich library culture of the long eighteenth century distorted the contemporary book market – guaranteeing a market for certain authors or kinds of books on the one hand, whilst on the other allowing publishers to manage the decline of less fashionable genres. Some library communities certainly suspected booksellers of exploiting their collective demand for books to keep prices artificially high and to offload slow-selling stock, and were constantly on the look out for more affordable channels of supply.[50]

Commercial platforms like Gage's *Eighteenth-Century Collections Online* (*ECCO*), Readex's *Early American Imprints* and *Google Books*, together with non-profit platforms like HathiTrust and the Internet Archive, provide surrogate copies of the material library subscribers used, enabling future users of our 'Union Catalogue' to read for themselves both canonical material and more idiosyncratic readers' choices now all but forgotten. Used in tandem with

47 Fergus, *Provincial Readers*, 7; Norbert Schürer, 'Four Catalogs of the Lowndes Circulating Library, 1755–66', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 101.3 (2007), pp. 329–357.

48 For specific examples, see Lehuu, 'Reconstructing Reading Vogues', pp. 68–69.

49 Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everday* Life (trans. Steven F. Rendall; Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), pp. 165–176; Colclough, *Consuming Texts*, p. 104.

50 Allan, *Nation of Readers*, p. 94; Raven, *London Booksellers*, p. 10.

ECCO, Proquest's vast *British Periodicals Collection* and the British Library's *Burney Collection of British Newspapers* might then be tagged for printed reviews and contemporary commentary on the books acquired by eighteenth-century libraries – sources which library members themselves often relied upon to inform individual and collective reading choices, as we have seen, and to shape how those choices were then read and interpreted. We can even use newspapers to develop an event-driven interpretation of library activity, as Erin Schreiner has done to explain the unusually low number of loans at the New York Society Library on Independence Day in 1791, when many of the society's members were involved in a parade organised by the Tammany Society.[51]

In an ideal world, our 'Union Catalogue' would also need to adopt emerging digital techniques dealing with wider aspects of the relationship between books and their readers in the long eighteenth century. Where library copies survive, our 'Union Catalogue' could incorporate scanned images of provenance marks, marginalia, dog-eared pages, grease stains, soiling and other evidence of use – such as those exhibited so powerfully online by curators, students and scholars of the *Jesuit Libraries Project* at Loyola University Chicago and the Northern Congregational College Collection in *Dissenting Academies Online*.[52] The Open University's *Reading Experience Database* tracks recorded reader response without currently including book borrowing and ownership, thereby allowing us to investigate how the books encountered by our library subscribers were actually used and interpreted by readers whose correspondence, diaries, commonplace books, autobiographies and reading notes survive.[53] For the peculiarly permeable barrier between reading and writing that was facilitated by the collaborative scope of eighteenth-century periodicals, digital projects like the one currently being developed on *The Lady's Magazine* by scholars at the University of Kent will be vital too, in detailing not only what readers were able to read in the specific issues they borrowed, but also uncovering where library members actually contributed to such periodicals in the form of letters, poetry, short stories, or factual reports of a scientific, topographical or antiquarian nature.[54]

The opportunities that the proposed 'Union Catalogue' opens up for deepening and enriching our understanding of lost library culture do not stop there,

51 <http://www.nysoclib.org/blog/july-1791-new-york-society-library>.

52 <http://jesuitlibrariesprovenanceproject.com>; <http://vls.english.qmul.ac.uk>. The New York Society Library ran an exhibition on marginalia in the collection from February to August 2015; see the announcement on <https://www.nysoclib.org/events/annotated-books>.

53 <http://www.open.ac.uk/Arts/RED/>.

54 <http://blogs.kent.ac.uk/ladys-magazine/>.

for as Jonathan Rose has suggested library records "become revealing only when they are situated in a thick description of the community that the library in question serves".[55] To allow us to understand more fully the social penetration of library culture, the database will need to collect detailed prosopographical data on library borrowers and library members. Christine Pawley and William St Clair have both emphasised the ability of libraries to spread reading culture further down the social scale, to "non-elite groups" and to those who "were probably the first generation in their families to have had regular access to newly published books".[56] Membership lists can be index-linked to trade directories, university matriculation records, church records, freeholder lists, military service records, bankruptcies, and other sources that can be used to identify and deepen our understanding of those who joined libraries. Once this data is in place, it will then be possible to associate specific trends in library loans or book suggestions with specific groups of library members categorised by social status, political affiliation, or church membership. By feeding in residential information, we will be able to map the circulation of books using geospatial software,[57] showing how far books travelled from libraries – and, since many of these libraries operated very limited opening hours, often of only two or three hours per week, we might also be able to catch sight of library subscribers travelling to the bookshelves together, perhaps to take out different volumes of the same multi-volume text.

On the rare occasions when the surviving data allows us to do so, we will even be able to use our 'Union Catalogue' to investigate the changing role of library provision in the life cycle of the reader, helping us to understand the evolving meaning of literacy as young men found jobs, set up families, grew old and retired. In so doing, our 'Union Catalogue' could also help unlock more fully the hidden relationship between female readers and library culture. While a handful of widows turn out to have been amongst the most active borrowers at both the Wigtown Library and the Charleston Library Society,[58] the patriarchal structures of British society meant that library subscriptions (as with other types of property) tended to be held by fathers and husbands rather

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55 Jonathan Rose, 'Arriving at a History of Reading', *Historically Speaking*, 5.3 (January 2004), pp. 36–39, at p. 35.

56 Christine Pawley, 'Retrieving Readers: Library Experiences', *The Library* Quarterly, 76.4 (October 2006), pp. 379–387, at p. 379; William St Clair, *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 250.

57 For Katie Halsey's developing project on the Innerpeffray Library, which uses GIS mapping to show the movement of books borrowed, see <http://www.sharpweb.org/innerpeffray-library-a-new-research-project/>.

58 Towsey, 'First Steps', pp. 460–462; Lehuu, 'Reconstructing Reading Vogues', pp. 68, 72–74.

than by women in their own right – and thus their names only rarely appear in library records. By revealing the frequency with which male subscribers' reading choices changed during courtship, after marriage, and following the birth of children, our 'Union Catalogue' will further confirm long-held scholarly suspicion that male library subscribers routinely borrowed material on their female relatives' behalf.[59]

Reconstructing Lost Library Culture

While the 'Union Catalogue' will thereby allow us to overcome some of the well established difficulties in animating the relationship between books and their readers,[60] the work of the 'Community Libraries' network reiterates time and again that eighteenth-century library culture was not purely about the provision of books. By incorporating biographical data on library members, our 'Union Catalogue' will enable scholars to build up a detailed picture of the various social networks that facilitated library culture, be they professional, religious, political, or familial, and of the relative roles played by specific individuals or groups in founding libraries, developing their collections, or taking them in new directions. Our membership lists might be linked to membership lists maintained for other clubs and societies in the long eighteenth century, such as those collated by the 'Networks of Improvement' project at the University of York.[61]

This is where the comparison between active and inactive library membership becomes interesting. Book borrowing in the first years of the Wigtown Library was dominated by a small group of readers excluded from the formal sociability of the library by social status or gender. Five women accounted for 151 loans out of 898 overall, including the widows McCulloch and Milroy who signed for over fifty separate loans apiece. They were joined in making extensive use of the collections by a group of enterprising young men lacking in academic training or access to books from elsewhere, such as the tenant farmer Ebenezer Drew, the tailor John McGill, and the vintner Alexander Murray, who hosted the society's elaborate annual dinners. Conversely, the library was

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59 Allan, *Nation of Readers*, pp. 78–82, 222–224; Fergus, *Provincial Readers*, pp. 209–211; Raven, *London Booksellers*, pp. 16, 220.

60 John Brewer, 'Reconstructing the Reader: Prescriptions, Texts and Strategies in Anna Larpent's Reading', in James Raven, Helen Small and Naomi Tadmor (eds.), *Practice and Representation of Reading in England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 226–245, at p. 227.

61 <https://networksofimprovement.wordpress.com>.

founded and run by a group of wealthy, powerful and highly educated subscribers – all of them men – who rarely borrowed books in this period, including the county's leading law officer, Commissary McConnell, the Earl of Selkirk's estate manager William Mure, and various burgesses, magistrates and clergymen. These men led the library's anniversary meetings, dominated the managerial committee, and showed an insatiable appetite for associational activities (minute taking, ballot voting, rule making and financial accounting) that were perfectly designed to promote the kind of formal social interaction prescribed by leading authorities of the Enlightenment.[62] Such practices only become apparent from a thorough study of one library's circulation and administrative records; our 'Union Catalogue' will enable us to categorise such library patrons, projectors and facilitators globally, tracking how they emerged in specific communities, and how their relationship with libraries changed over time as libraries matured and as these subscribers themselves moved on to new communities and new civic projects.

If some individuals founded subscription libraries not for the books they provided but for the associational values they promoted, the administrative records produced by them – the minute books, correspondence, rules, published mission statements and commemorative pamphlets – are important in helping us to understand the myriad ways in which they sought to shape communities. In Wigtown, for example, the committee voted that the town itself should become an honorary member of the Library, conveying on the symbolic figure of the eldest residing magistrate full membership privileges at the benevolent expense of the Society. Similar civic intent was repeated elsewhere by libraries throughout the Georgian world. At Arbroath, the management committee agreed to award honorary membership to the impoverished merchant's clerk Alexander Balfour to promote his patriotic poetry.[63] With still grander ambitions in mind, social libraries in the United States helped local elites to practice republicanism in the decades either side of the Revolutionary War – drawing up model constitutions, electing worthy leaders, and forming non-circulating collections that situated the advancement of knowledge at the heart of the national project. At Charleston, members repeatedly attempted to establish the Library Society as a site of public science (not always with great success), while even the relatively small library community in Selkirk aspired

62 David Allan, 'Politeness and the Politics of Culture: An Intellectual History of the Eighteenth-Century Subscription Library', *Library & Information History*, 29.3 (August 2013), pp. 159–169.

63 Towsey, *Reading the Scottish Enlightenment*, p. 85.

to generate improving agricultural ventures and publications of its own.[64] Our 'Union Catalogue' will need to capture such individual snapshots of library culture, alongside the many instances in which library members – both collectively and as individuals – sponsored books published by subscription and sought to stimulate other forms of local improvement and literary prestige.

In this way, our 'Union Catalogue' will recognise the extent to which libraries constituted an important mode of behaviour in their own right, building cultural capacity, promoting civil society and disseminating a sense of Enlightened civilisation. By adopting a wide enough comparative lens, it will ultimately allow us to track in unprecedented detail how these behaviours moved across the eighteenth-century world. Little sustained scholarship has yet emerged on this phenomenon, but network members have uncovered suggestive evidence of library subscribers who carried the seeds of library culture with them when they moved from one place to another. For instance, Jon Mee has noted that members of the Newcastle Literary and Philosophical Society were later implicated in the foundation of the Hackney Literary Institution and Subscription Library (1815) and the South African Literary Society (1824) in Cape Town.[65] Selkirk's founder, the Revd. Robert Douglas, was the prime mover in the subscription library set up twenty-five years later in the nearby manufacturing community of Galashiels (whilst retaining his Selkirk subscription for a decade after the Galashiels library was established), and at least two members of the Wigtown Library had earlier subscribed to the subscription library in Kirkcudbright.[66] And once again, the tentacles of library culture can be found spreading out from provincial Scotland into the wider world; the Niagara Library was founded in 1800 by a man whose relatives subscribed to the Kirkcudbright Library, while the first associational library in Tasmania – the Bothwell Literary Society – was founded by a Church of Scotland minister who had been brought up and trained in Wigtown.[67] Keith Adkins suggests that associational libraries like the Bothwell Literary Society provided "improving and instructional literature for the promotion of education, prosperity, sobriety

64 Raven, *London Booksellers*, pp. 166–183, 220; for Selkirk, see Towsey, "'Store their Minds with Much Valuable Knowledge'".

65 Jon Mee, 'Trans-Pennine Enlightenment', unpublished paper given at the 'Networks of Improvement' conference held at the University of York in March 2015.

66 Manley, *Books, Borrowers and Shareholders*, p. 44.

67 For Andrew Heron's role in the foundation of the subscription library at Niagara-on-the-Lake, see <http://www.notlpubliclibrary.org/history.php>; for the Revd. James Garrett's role in the foundation of the Bothwell Literary Society in Tasmania, see Keith Adkins, *Reading in Colonial Tasmania: The Early Years of the Evandale Subscription Library* (Melbourne: Ancora Press, 2010), p. 49.

and cohesion in the fledgling community",[68] but they were also a collective investment in civil society, imported by community leaders to overcome the dislocated isolation and rampant self-interest of early colonial Australia. As Raven notes, the Charleston Library Society – one of the earliest associational libraries anywhere in the Anglophone world – "was founded to prove that the civilisation of Britain and Europe was transportable and sustainable".[69]

Conclusion

The civilising mission of associational libraries in Tasmania and the American South takes us back to fundamental questions about the role of print in forging and disseminating new forms of identity in the modern world; as Raven himself notes, the books purchased from London booksellers by the Charleston Library Society "were lifelines of identity, and they were direct material links to a present and past European culture".[70] These compelling claims – made on behalf of one exceptionally well-documented library positioned at an important node in the eighteenth-century Atlantic – exemplify the vision sketched out by Jonathan Rose for an "alternative future" for library history in 2003. In this, Rose called for library historians "to break into the historiographical mainstream" by reaching out to the wider history of the book and thereby "addressing the great debates that engage professional historians". "Since at least the 1940s", he argues, "library historians have been explaining how society constructs libraries; now they are explaining how libraries construct society".[71]

The proposed 'Union Catalogue' offers a tantalising vision for the next step forward in this mission, unlocking the analytical power of historical bibliometric database software to allow scholars from diverse disciplinary perspectives to recover and interpret global patterns of book use and sociability in the long eighteenth-century. Some of these plans may yet be "castles in the air", as the subversive late Georgian library user Anne Lister liked to call her speculative ideas for the future,[72] and they will undoubtedly require substantial

68 Adkin, *Reading in Colonial Tasmania*, p. 167.

69 Raven, *London Booksellers*, p. 218.

70 Raven, *London Booksellers*, p. 7.

71 Rose, 'Alternative Future', p. 53.

72 Jill Liddington, *Female Fortune: Land, Gender, and Authority. The Anne Lister Diaries and Other Writings, 1833–36* (London: Rivers Oram Press, 1998), p. 45; Jacqueline Pearson, *Women's Reading in Britain, 1750–1835: A Dangerous Recreation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 161.

collaborative scholarly energy to pull off, not to mention the funding to match. The sheer scale and potential reach of the 'Union Catalogue' may also require us to adopt a modular approach, dealing with different types of library and different territories in turn, thereby enriching and deepening the data incrementally over distinct phases of work.[73] Nevertheless the digital tools required "are fast becoming a reality",[74] and the success of the Community Libraries network has brought together a group of collaboratively-minded scholars with the energy and the will to implement them. Their work is proving instrumental in reconstructing a lost library culture that acted not only to encourage and facilitate a taste for reading in the long eighteenth century, but also to bring fundamental change to the communities in which library members lived.

73 One model here might be the Universal Short Title Catalogue at the University of St Andrews, which originally worked on French language books before turning to other areas of Europe, including the Iberian Peninsula and the Low Countries; see <www.ustc.ac.uk>.

74 Burrows, 'Locating the Minister's Looted Books', p. 2.

PART 5

War and Peace: The Depredations of Modern Times

CHAPTER 21

Lost Books of 'Operation Gomorrah': Rescue, Reconstruction, and Restitution at Hamburg's Library in the Second World War

Jan L. Alessandrini

Luther comments on Galatians 5:13 that '[i]t is impossible for the people of Gomorrah to be ruled by the gospel of peace'.[1] This sentiment appears to have been shared by the Allied commanders when they unleashed 'Operation Gomorrah', at the time the most devastating aerial attack ever to be carried out against a city. Its target was the north German port city of Hamburg, and in military terms the raid must be judged a success. Hamburg was engulfed in a firestorm that raged for ten nights and nine days (from 24 July until 3 August 1943), killing over 40,000 (mostly) civilians, leaving at least 900,000 homeless refugees, and razing the city to the ground.[2] The very first wave of attacks of incendiary bombs devastated Hamburg's book district. They destroyed the 'Bibliothek der Hansestadt Hamburg' today called 'Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg Carl von Ossietzky', or affectionately 'Stabi'.[3] An estimated 250,000

1 "Denn es ist unmöglich, dass dieses Volk Gomorras durch das Evangelium des Friedens regiert werden sollte": 'Luthers große Auslegung der Epistel an die Galater und die übrigen exegetischen Schriften', *Dr. Martin Luthers Sämtliche Schriften*, ed. by Johann Georg Walch, v. 9 (Groß-Oesingen: Verlag der Lutherischen Buchhandlung H. Harms, 1987), cols. 657–661, col. 658.

2 As many as 278,000 homes were destroyed or became temporarily uninhabitable according to Hamburg historian Ursula Büttner, *"Gomorrha". Hamburg im Bombenkrieg: die Wirkung der Luftangriffe auf Bevölkerung und Wirtschaft* (Hamburg: Landeszentrale für Politische Bildung, 1993 [2005]), pp. 52–55. For details of the military attack and consequences for civilian population in Hamburg see Erik Verg, *Das Abenteuer das Hamburg heißt: der weite Weg zur Weltstadt* (Hamburg: Ellert & Richter, 1990), pp. 170–179; Hans Erich Nossack, *Der Untergang. Hamburg 1943* (Hamburg: Kabel, 1981).

3 Known during the war as Bibliothek der Hansestadt Hamburg, the old Bibliotheca Hamburgensis Publica would later regain its pre-1918 and current name, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, to which was added the name of pacifist and 1935 Nobel peace prize winner, Carl von Ossietzky, to mark the 50th anniversary of Nazi book burnings in 1983. At the time of destruction the library was 400 years old. Founded by Bugenhagen's 1529 'Kirchenordnung', it flourished from 1613 at its location in St Johannis Kloster am Plan. In 1842, shortly before Hamburg's devastating fire it moved to the Johanneum. It contained rare

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items survived the first bombing in the partially destroyed Johanneum building, which also housed the Commerzbibliothek, before it was finally laid to waste by bombs in June 1944.[4] 700,000 of an original stock of over 850,000 volumes were lost to the flames.[5]

The raids ravaged pre-war holdings that according to the 'Deutsches Gesamtkatalog' placed Hamburg in third position after Berlin and Munich in terms of unique copies.[6] Books that burnt in the reading rooms included an

book treasures, whole bequeathed private collections, most famously Goeze (known to literary history for his unfortunate feud with Lessing), who gave the library its rich Bible and songbook collection, which counted amongst the first and most significant in Germany, as well as collections of the Wolff brothers, Jungius, Placcius, Lindenborg and other learned Hamburg luminaries.

4 Hamburg's second largest academic library, the Commerzbibliothek (Commercial Library), dates from 1735 and had significant historical holdings on the city's economy, but no complete copy of its catalogue exists in any Hamburg library. It lost 174,000 out of 188,000 volumes following an air raid in 1943. Cf. Berta Backe-Dietrich and Eckart Klessmann (eds.), *250 Jahre Commerzbibliothek der Handelskammer Hamburg, 1735–1985* (Hamburg: Christians, 1985), p. 64.

5 Superintendent of Hamburg State Archive Heinrich Reincke's report on the bombings to the Reichs Libraries Advisory Board (Dr Becker, Preussische Staatsbibliothek Berlin, 22 November 1943) estimated the damage to the building and inventory to be 1 million Reichsmark, but the loss of manuscripts and imprints 27 million Reichsmark (Hamburg State Archive, Ministry of Finance, 442–40 K-3000, 22.5.1944); cf. Otto-Ernst Krawehl, 'Verlagert – verschollen – zum Teil restituiert: Das Schicksal der im 2. Weltkrieg ausgelagerten Bestände der Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg', *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Hamburgische Geschichte*, 83 (1997), pp. 235–277, at pp. 248–249. Hermann Tiemann noted that the first bombings represented a record amongst the destruction of German libraries, and estimated the loss at 710,000 items after the second bombing on 27 June 1944. Hermann Tiemann, 'Die wiedererstehende Staats- und Universtitätsbibliothek Hamburg', *Libri*, 2, (1952–1953), pp. 15–20, at p. 15. At the time, the second bombing was deemed to be less destructive though it destroyed 1200–1500 volumes and several thousands of dissertations (SUB, Bonde's Letter to Reich's Exchange Office Berlin, 27 June 1944). Counting the losses at other libraries and institutions, including volumes of the Library of Hamburg's Patriotic Society (75,000), the Society of Hamburg History (25,000), the Hamburg Institute of International Economics (30,000), the Museum of Arts and Crafts (20,000), the German Naval Observatory (13,000), and the Eastern European Seminar (10,000), the war-time losses at Hamburg public libraries reached 1.2 million volumes. For a general overview of (German) library losses during the Second World War see Hans van der Hoeven and J. Van Albada, *Memory of the World: Lost Memory: Libraries and Archives Destroyed in the Twentieth Century*, CII-96/WS/1 (Paris: General Information Programme and UNISIST, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 1996).

6 In 1939, measured in number of books and available storage space, Hamburg library occupied tenth position in Germany behind the Prussian and Bavarian state libraries, or third place after these two in terms of manuscripts held by a public library, and also behind

irreplaceable collection of 'Hamburgensien' with countless unique copies of imprints documenting four-hundred years of Hamburg's idiosyncratic economic history. Almost the entire pre-war catalogue material was lost, including the alphabetically ordered 'Bandkatalog', and two card indices.[7] Most frustratingly, a printed catalogue of holdings up to the end of the nineteenth century, which would have illustrated the library's grandeur before the bombings, had never been undertaken because of prohibitive costs and the belief that only a relatively small proportion of readers would benefit.[8] The 'Realkatolog', in 330 folio volumes, was the only catalogue to survive, but since it was completed in 1859 it appears to leave the modern book historian with a lacuna of seven decades up to the moment of destruction.[9] Had the library retained its pre-war holdings of early imprints (1500–1800), and considering its more recently acquired status as University and State Library, Hamburg would today figure amongst Germany's top five decentralised national libraries with a significant regional mandate.[10]

Books are undeniably collateral victims of war. Hamburg Library's close ties with the university made it a direct target of Allied air raids aimed at the destruction of major institutes of technology. This was a fate it shared with libraries in Göttingen, Munich, Bonn, Frankfurt, Leipzig, Giessen, Münster,

regional and university libraries such as Göttingen, Leipzig, and Dresden. See *Jahrbuch der deutschen Bibliotheken*, 30 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1930), esp. pp. 45–49, 106–144, 166–200.

7 Bibliographies and encyclopaedias in a wide range of subjects were also destroyed; Werner Kayser, Hellmut Braun and Erich Zimmermann (eds.), *500 Jahre wissenschaftliche Bibliothek in Hamburg, 1479–1979: von der Ratsbücherei zur Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek* (Hamburg: Hauswedell, 1979), p. 167. For more on the decentralised library system in Germany and Hamburg's role see Klaus Garber, *Der Untergang der alten Hamburger Stadtbibliothek im Zweiten Weltkrieg: auf immer verlorene Barock- und Hamburgensien-Schätze nebst einer Rekonstruktion der Sammlungen Hamburger Gelegenheitsgedichte* (Herzberg: Traugott Bautz, 1993), p. 242.

8 Not even Hamburg's catastrophic fire of 1842, which destroyed parts of the City Archive and the entire unique 'Bibliothek der Hamburgerischen Gesellschaft zur Beförderung der Künste und nützlichen Gewerbe', the so called 'Patriotische Gesellschaft' (1765), were cause enough for a printed catalogue to be commissioned. For more on the losses at the Patriotic Society see Christian Petersen, *Geschichte der Hamburgerischen Stadtbibliothek* (Hamburg: Perthes-Besser & Mauke, 1838), pp. XV–XVI.

9 See Kayser, *500 Jahre*, p. 167; see also 400 pages of systematic ordering of Hamburg library, *Übersicht der Systematischen Ordnung der Stadtbibliothek zu Hamburg* (Hamburg: Meissner, 1885); Max Schneider, *Sachregister des Realkatalogs der Stadtbibliothek zu Hamburg* (Hamburg: Lütcke & Wulff, 1897).

10 Cf. Garber, *Untergang*, p. 245.

Würzburg, Breslau and Kiel.[11] The damage caused to Germany's great libraries was not of course unique. It will not be possible to address here the equally important, and extensively researched, related issues of book plundering by the Third Reich across Europe; Nazi burning of books on home soil (1933) following the policy against degenerate art ('Entartete Kunst'); expropriation of Jewish libraries, from which Hamburg Library profited, prior to and after its destruction; nor the other numerous German libraries that suffered wartime damages.[12] All these certainly constitute modern, twentieth-century, losses of books. The focus in what follows, necessarily more limited in scope, will be placed on the loss and preservation of early printed books at Hamburg's library in the Second World War. This article sets out first to illustrate some of the measures taken to rescue the library's holdings during the conflict. Secondly, it will describe the reconstruction that took place after the war. Finally, we turn to a discussion of the thorny issue of restitution of looted and dispersed books.

Rescue

The administrative and practical procedures carried out by German libraries to rescue their holdings during the Second World War are still rather neglected by scholarship.[13] The point is well made in Nicola Schneider's recent article on

11 Cf. Hilda Urén Stubbings, *Blitzkrieg and Books: British and European Libraries as Casualties of World War II* (Bloomington, Ind.: Rubena Press, 1993), p. 386.

12 On Nazi plundering see Cornelia Briel, *Beschlagnahmt, Erpresst, Erbeutet: NS-Raubgut, Reichstauschstelle und Preussische Staatsbibliothek zwischen 1933 und 1945* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2013). On acquisitions of former Jewish libraries, see Ernst-Otto Krawehl, 'Erwerbungen der "Bibliothek der Hansestadt Hamburg" aus ehemals jüdischen Besitz (1940 bis 1944)', *Auskunft*, 22 (2002), pp. 3–17. For a comprehensive study of the comparable wartime destruction of the Berlin Library, see Werner Schochow, *Bücherschicksale: die Verlagerungsgeschichte der Preussischen Staatsbibliothek: Auslagerung, Zerstörung, Entfremdung, Rückführung: dargestellt aus den Quellen* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2003).

13 These should not be confused with the measures for the protection of valuable national patrimony, including both physical library sites and holdings, which were slowly being enshrined in international law since the end of the nineteenth-century. Events like the Treaty of Vienna, and the Hague Conferences 1899 and 1907 on the protection of cultural sites caught between belligerent parties (as long as these were not used for military purposes), and the prohibition of naval bombardment of historical buildings, were marred by problems of ratification and signing of agreements, as well as by the identification of what constituted cultural sites, with libraries and archives considered to have a very ambiguous status. Likewise ineffectual were the Roerich Pact between 21 nations (16 April

Darmstadt's library losses during the war.[14] One practical problem, identified by Renate Decke-Cornill, is that many libraries restrict access to their archives, making the reconstruction of wartime administrative procedures a hard task.[15] Art historians and musicologists have undoubtedly fared better reconstructing the wartime history of museums, arguably because looted artworks and the musical notation of famous composers now in places like Russia captivate the attention of the media and the public more easily than rare manuscripts or books scattered across the globe.[16]

1935) that sought to protect educational and cultural institutions, and the Office Internationale des Musées, Assembly of Nations committee conference planned for Sept 1938 and intended to codify and formalise practices for the protection of cultural sites, which never took place. The Declaration of London (Jan. 1943) prohibited allied forces to ransack or loot their adversaries, and stipulated that even apparently formal and lawful selling could be judged as looting. For an explicit mention of archives and libraries we have to wait until the Hague Convention (14 May 1954) under the auspices of the UNESCO, which, however, the US and UK never ratified. For more on this see Stanislaw Edward Nahlik, *La protection internationale des biens culturels en cas de conflit armé*, Académie de droit international. Recueil des cours, 120, 1967-I, (Leiden: Brill, [1967] 2008), p. 110; Lynn H. Nicholas, *The Rape of Europa: The Fate of Europe's Treasures in the Third Reich and the Second World War* (New York: Knopf, 1994), pp. 214–215. For useful studies of wartime protection plans at libraries across Europe (especially Italy), as well as differences between Allied (US and UK) handling of cultural patrimony in German-occupied European territories, see Flavia Cristiano, 'I piani di protezione: le origini' and Ruggero Ranieri, 'Il ruolo degli alleati nella preservazione delle biblioteche e degli archive durante l'esperienza di liberazione/occupazione, 1943–1946', both in Andrea Capaccioni, Andrea Paoli and Ruggero Ranieri (eds.), *Le biblioteche e gli archivi durante la seconda guerra mondiale: il caso italiano* (Bologna: Pendragon, 2007), pp. 1–32 and 167–209, respectively.

14 Nicola Schneider, 'The Losses of the Music Collection of the Hessische Landesbibliothek in Darmstadt in 1944: A Case Study on the Failure to Safeguard Historical Library Holdings', in Anja-Silvia Goeing, Anthony Grafton, Paul Michel and Adam Blauhut (eds.), *Collectors' Knowledge: What is Kept, What is Discarded* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 381–414, at p. 384.

15 Renate Decke-Cornill, *Repertorium bibliotheksgeschichtlicher Quellen: Archivalien bis 1945 in bundesdeutschen Bibliotheken und Archiven,* Repertorien zur Erforschung der frühen Neuzeit, 11 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1992).

16 For case studies of 'lost' German music in other locations including Kraków, Kiev, Moscow, and St Petersburg, see Schochow, *Bücherschicksale*; Dieter Kirsch and Lenz Meierott, *Berliner Lautentabulaturen in Krakau: beschreibender Katalog der handschriftlichen Tabulaturen für Laute und verwandte Instrumente in der Biblioteka Jagiellońska Kraków aus dem Besitz der ehemaligen Preußischen Staatsbibliothek Berlin* (Mainz: Schott, 1992); Aleksandra Patalas, *Catalogue of Early Music Prints from the Collections of the Former Preussische Staatsbibliothek in Berlin, Kept at the Jagiellonian Library in Cracow* (Kraków: Musica Jagellonica, 1999); Patricia Kennedy Grimsted, *Bach is Back in Berlin: The Return of*

It is debatable whether the decentralised nature of German libraries and museums was the cause for the often late and consequently chaotic evacuations of valuable holdings.[17] The fate of many German collections stands in marked contrast to France and Italy, where libraries fared considerably better.[18] Hamburg Library was unusual in making a relatively early start in moving its most vulnerable items to places of safety in September 1939. Evacuations took place in three phases: at the outset of war, between the bombings of 1943 and 1944, and finally, through to the end of the war, with

the Sing-Akademie Archive from Ukraine in the Context of Displaced Cultural Treasures and Restitution Politics (Washington, DC: National Council for Eurasian and East European Research, 2003), pp. 1–45; Viacheslav Kartsovnik and Nina Rjazanova, *Handschriften aus deutschen Sammlungen in der Russischen Nationalbibliothek Sankt Petersburg: Musikmanuskripte und Musikdrucke des 17.-20. Jhs.* (*Signaturgruppe "Fond 956, opis' 2"*) (Berlin: Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, 2004).

17 Contrastingly, it is well-documented that the war had facilitated the centralisation of administration of German archives. Pivotal to this wartime centralisation was Dr Ernst Zipfel, general director of Prussian archive administration; see Astrid M. Eckert, *Kampf Um Die Akten: Die Westalliierten Und Die Rückgabe Von Deutschem Archivgut Nach Dem Zweiten Weltkrieg* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2004), p. 127; Matthias Herrmann, *Das Reichsarchiv* (*1919–1945*)*: Eine Archivische Institution Im Spannungsfeld Der Deutschen Politik* (unpublished doctoral thesis, Humboldt-University, Berlin, 1994), pp. 287, 338–340, 444–446; Wolfgang Leesch, *Die Deutschen Archivare: 1500–1945* (Munich: Saur, 1985), p. 695; Torsten Musial, *Staatsarchive Im Dritten Reich: Zur Geschichte des Staatlichen Archivwesens in Deutschland, 1933–1945* (Potsdam: Verlag für Berlin-Brandenburg, 1996), pp. 40 f., 94–96, 172 f.; Markus Pöhlmann, *Kriegsgeschichte und Geschichtspolitik: Der Erste Weltkrieg: Die Amtliche Deutsche Militärgeschichtsschreibung 1914–1956* (Paderborn: F. Schöningh, 2002), p. 127; Rohr, [Nekrolog] Zipfel; Johanna Weiser, *Geschichte der preußischen Archivverwaltung und ihrer Leitung. Von den Anfängen unter Staatskanzler von Hardenberg bis zur Auflösung im Jahre 1945*, Veröffentlichungen aus den Archiven preußischer Kulturbesitz, 7 (Cologne: Böhlau, 2000), pp. 144–146.

18 The first German official statement concerned with the protection of libraries was issued on 28 June 1939 ('Luftwaffen-Dienstvorschrift' no. 755), three years later than the Italian circular (no. 7774, 15 December 1936) which it copies. Italy's centrally administered libraries, which, having learned from recent wars fought out on her soil, began implementing pragmatic rescue plans. Germany seems to have taken a different approach because she had no experience of war on her soil, and greatly underestimated modern aerial warfare. Cf. Schneider, 'Darmstadt', pp. 382–384; Ettore Apollonj, *La ricostruzione delle biblioteche italiane dopo la guerra 1940–45*, Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, 2 vols. (Rome: Direzione Generale delle Accademie e Biblioteche e per la Diffusione della Cultura, [1947–1953]), vol. 1, p. 12; Andrea Paoli, Giorgio De Gregori, Andrea Capaccioni, and Mauro Guerrini (eds.), *"Salviamo la creatura": protezione e difesa delle biblioteche italiane nella seconda guerra mondiale* (Rome: Associazione Italiana Biblioteche, 2003).

the last salvage transport taking place on 21 February 1945, two months before end of the war.[19]

The initial evacuation operations at the outset of the war focused on three core areas: incunabula, an extensive collection of Reformation and Luther imprints, and German early modern literature, music, and philology.[20] It may appear defeatist and surprising for evacuations to have started as early as September 1939, but this was in fact in line with the aerial defence-raid provision issued on 26 August 1939, which demanded that ‘downright irreplaceable works of culture’ should be brought to fire-proof bomb shelters.[21] The experience of air-raid in June 1940 led the director of the city archive to the ruinous conviction that the centre of Hamburg was less prone to bombings than the suburbs.[22] An initial small consignment of supposedly the most valuable codices, incunabula, autographs, and Bibles, was brought to safes in the Harburg Rathaus and Reichsbank, and vaults under the tower of St Michael’s Church (November 1939). Here irreplaceable books were stored unpackaged on iron shelves, and on the floor, behind a padlocked wooden door with little or no security.[23]

19 The following section on rescue operations is indebted to Otto-Ernst Krawehl’s detailed account of the displacement of Hamburg Library holdings during the Second World War: cf. Krawehl, ‘Verlagert’, p. 249. For a longer study of the comparable fate of Berlin Library see Ralf Breslau, *Verlagert, verschollen, vernichtet…: Das Schicksal der im 2. Weltkrieg ausgelagerten Bestände der Preussischen Staatsbibliothek* (Berlin: Staatsbibliothek, 1995).

20 See Arrey von Dommer, *Lutherdrucke auf der Hamburger Stadtbibliothek 1516–1523* (Leipzig: 1888 [repr. Nieuwkoop: B. de Graaf, 1962]); Otto-Ernst Krawehl and Jürgen Neubacher, ‘Rückgabe kriegsbedingt verlagerter Handschriften and Drucke der Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg Carl von Ossietzky aus Tiflis (1996) und Eriwan (1998)’, *Auskunft. Mitteilungsblatt Hamburger Bibliotheken*, 19 (1999), pp. 133–145, pp. 136–137.

21 Viz. ‘Durchführung des Luftschutzes in Museen, Büchereien, Archiven und ähnlichen Kulturstätten’, L. Dv., 755/6, Richtlinien für die Durchführung des erweiterten Selbstschutzes im Luftschutz, [Der Reichsminister der Luftfahrt und Oberbefehlshaber der Luftwaffe]’ (Berlin: Deutschland Reichsluftfahrtministerium, 1939); Hubert Darsow, Berthold Fokken, and Friedrich Nicolaus, *Kommentar zum Luftschutzgesetz und den Durchführungsbestimmungen nebst den einschlägigen Erlassen, Dienstvorschriften und polizeilichen Bestimmungen* (Munich: Beck, 1943), vol. 1, Appendix 2, ‘Dienstvorschriften’, no. 6, pp. 45–46.

22 See Reincke’s letter to the General Director of the Reich Archive in Berlin, 20.6.1940 (Hamburg State Archive, HE II, 4); cf. Krawehl, ‘Verlagert’, pp. 240–241.

23 Between mid-September 1939 and April 1940, Johann Lemke and Bruno Schalmeyer brought to safety several crates containing valuable items such as 129 volumes of Händel’s original manuscript musical notation, 327 valuable manuscripts, 100 Low German manuscripts and early imprints, papyri, and autographs, as is evidenced by various library work reports; cf. Krawehl, ‘Verlagert’, pp. 240–241.

New guidelines for aerial-protection issued on 28 August 1942 shifted the focus from safeguarding single significant items to entire collections, to be brought to areas less prone to aerial attack, such as remote castles or monasteries.[24] This led to two major transportation operations in Hamburg. First, valuable items previously taken to the church vaults plus further crates containing manuscripts and printed books were taken to surface air-raid shelters and bunkers in autumn 1943.[25] This marked the beginning of a larger scale evacuation of the main library building, and simultaneously the compiling of detailed lists that recorded contents of evacuated crates, known as 'Fluchtgutlisten', which continued until February 1945. Secondly, Schloss Lauenstein in Saxony was chosen for the largest and most valuable war-time transportation in April 1943, a few months before the bombings. This comprised 5,300 manuscripts, including 1,300 musical scores, 800 incunabula, 3,500 Reformation imprints, a variety of more recent printed material and 6,000 unique items from an autograph-collection of Hamburg Jewish ownership.[26]

24 These guidelines, known as 'Richtlinien zur Durchführung des Luftschutzes in Bibliotheken: IV – Schutzmassnahmen an Bergunsorten', published by the Reichsminister für Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung (Hamburg State Archive, HE II, 4), were partly prompted by severe British aerial attacks on Lübeck at the end of March 1942, and followed the mantra that protection should override access and use. See Krawehl, 'Verlagert', pp. 239–241.

25 Air-raid shelters in Hasselbrook and by the harbour (an den Vorzeten) received a total of 113 crates between 28 September and 6 November 1942, comprising materials previously evacuated to St Michael's plus (amongst other books) 34 Bibles, 144 sixteenth-century Hamburg imprints, issues of the 'Hamburger Correspondenten' (1724–1763), 57 Low German imprints and 169 sixteenth- to seventeenth-century volumes of printed music. See Krawehl, 'Verlagert', pp. 242–243.

26 The music Mss were in great part an inheritance from the Society of Hamburg City Theatre containing c.450 Operas and musical comedies. The Reformation imprints were described by Arey von Dommer, who catalogued the collection, as one of the most important of its kind, and Hermann Tiemann defined it as a singular collection in Germany and the world; see Arey von Dommer, *Autotypen der Reformationszeit auf der Hamburger Stadtbibliothek* (Hamburg: Meissner, 1881), p. iii; Hamburg Library Internal Document, Tiemann's communiqué to the Office for Cultural Administration (11 March 1946). Amongst the more recent printed materials were 156 volumes of Friedrich Schiller's reference library, including 48 historical works with the author's annotations; see Georg Ruppelt, 'Zur Geschichte der 'Hamburger Schiller-Bibliothek', *Philobiblon,* 24 (Hamburg: Hauswedell, 1980), pp. 54–56. The autograph collection of Jewish Hamburg merchant Hermann Kiewy (d. 1924) had been bought in October 1942 for 5,550 Reichsmark via Hamburg's Chief Finance Steering Committee, as can be gleaned from entries in the Journal of Acquisitions (27–28.10.1942) as well as the director's report to the Office for Cultural Administration (12 January 1943). In fact, from 1940 onwards the library's acquisition

So comprehensive was the destruction of the city's housing, so high the death toll, that the over-ground bunkers, which had been previously filled with people seeking shelter from the bombs, were designated for the storage of books by the authorities just ten days after the first bombings.[27] While a Flak bunker offered protection for new acquisitions, surface air-raid shelters took in valuable items salvaged from the firestorm, including a final cache of manuscripts and early printed books. The evacuation was hampered by sustained bombing and severe August downpours. The distance to the library posed a problem for salvage transport. Once in the bunkers, humidity and theft were the greatest dangers. Bunker space temporarily used for books from the library would soon be required again for human sanctuary as refugees slowly returned to the city.[28]

The bombings exposed a fatal tendency to underestimate the destructiveness of aerial warfare. Consequently, rescue operations at Hamburg Library that continued until the end of the war were redirected to the transportation of holdings previously salvaged in bunkers and air-raid shelters within the city to locations further afield. In April 1944, castles in Hermsdorf (near Dresden) and Weissig in Upper Lusatia (Saxony) received books from various bunkers and from Lauenstein.[29] However, difficulties in reaching Saxony

journal documents books and autographs that openly came from Jewish private libraries, initially via the Asset Management Agency of the Chief Finance President, later more directly via the Gestapo. The director, Gustav Wahl, wrote to the Office for Cultural Administration on 19 August 1942 stating that Jewish private libraries taken by the Reich were not merely a 'bonus' but that they were urgently needed because of Hamburg's library central regional importance, which subsequently justified the appropriation of parts of or entire Jewish libraries as significant Hamburg cultural assets. Wahl used the same justification to appropriate the library of the Jewish Congregation in Hamburg in May 1943. The 99 so called 'Jewish-crates' ('Judenkisten') were initially held in Berlin, later collected by Schalmayer (22 July 1943), and taken to Weissig Castle (50 crates) and Hermsdorf Castle (49 crates) on 3 August 1943, as stated in an Office for Cultural Administration Memo (20 June 1943), and Schalmeyer's work report (August 1943). See Krawehl, 'Verlagert', pp. 246–247.

27 Paul Theodor Hoffmann, *Mit dem Zeiger der Weltenuhr: Bilder und Erinnerungen* (Hamburg: Springer, 1949), pp. 348–350.

28 Krawehl, 'Verlagert', pp. 248–250.

29 On 18 April 1944, 113 crates stored at bunkers in Hasselbrook and the Harbour, containing some of the most valuable items saved at the outset of war together with those stored at the Reichsbank safes and Castle Lauenstein in Saxony, arrived in Hermsdorf near Dresden. They also contained manuscripts and books from private collections not insured by the library. This was the consequence of a ministerial decree issued in Berlin in February 1944 that obliged libraries in the Reich to protect private collections under their custodianship,

soon led to the evacuation of books to the potash colliery of Grasleben in Helmstedt.[30]

By the end of the war Hamburg's air-raid shelters stored 220,000 volumes. 50,000 unsorted volumes had been evacuated to the potash colliery. 70,000 items went to Saxony, mostly accounted for by the 'Fluchtgutlisten'. A total of 340,000 volumes had been rescued.[31] Of these approximately 12,000 were rare printed books, including incunabula, Reformation and Low German imprints, music, and German seventeenth-century literature. The library's stand-in director at the time would later write that only delicacies were saved, the daily bread that was vital for researchers was destroyed.[32]

Bearing all this in mind, the salvage efforts at Hamburg Library require some further scrutiny: according to what criteria was the most valuable material chosen? How effective were the administrative measures, and what were the practical constraints? It seems rather odd for a library the size of Hamburg that the greatest proportion of material rescued was manuscripts and incunabula, while sixteenth to eighteenth-century imprints made up under 4% of evacuated material.[33] This led one book historian to query whether such a

which, once Hamburg's press widely spread news of this, led to private individuals coming forward to ask for their libraries to be protected by Hamburg Library, whose administration obliged happily. Crates of such family libraries returned from the castles as late as 1996. In 24 April 1944, 69 crates from the surface air-raid shelter on Eiffestrasse, containing material salvaged from ruins, went to Weissig Castle. This shipment was rather odd as two-thirds of it were modern, mechanically printed Hamburg dissertations, and only one-third rare books, including manuscripts and early prints, unique copies, music, erotica and German baroque prints. Cf. Krawehl, 'Verlagert', pp. 251–252.

30 Grasleben in Lower Saxony received 375 crates in five transportations between August 1944 and February 1945. These were mainly new acquisitions, but also rarities from safes in Harburg's Rathaus and Reichsbank. See Krawehl, 'Verlagert', pp. 252–253.

31 Hermann Tiemann on 31 July 1945, having been director of the library for just shy of a month, charted the account of evacuated material, much of it still dispersed; see Hermann Tiemann, 'Bibliothek der Hansestadt Hamburg – Zustand und Zukunftsmöglichkeiten in Hinblick auf die Eröffnung der Hamburger Universität, 31.07.1945', in Gustav Wahl (ed.), *Veröffentlichungen aus der Hamburger Staats- und Universitäts-bibliothek. Neue Folge der Veröffentlichungen aus der Hamburger Stadtbibliothek* (Hamburg: Bibliothek der Hansestadt Hamburg, 1945); Hermann Tiemann, *Der Wiederaufbau der Staats- und Universitäts-Bibliothek* (*Bibliothek der Hansestadt Hamburg*) *bis zum Ende des Jahres 1945* (Hamburg: Hartung, 1946).

32 Hoffmann, *Mit dem Zeiger*, pp. 348–350. Temporary and chaotic arrangements enabled the library to provide access to 27,000 volumes, less than 4% of its pre-war holdings (cf. Krawehl, 'Verlagert', pp. 254–255).

33 Cf. Krawehl, 'Verlagert', p. 244.

disparity should be attributed to lack of expertise or to omission and wilful neglect.[34]

Despite the detailed lists of evacuated holdings, we lack evidence of the criteria applied in the selection process adopted by the directorship at the time. It is hard to imagine that the value of the holdings was underestimated. Whether by choice or necessity, decisions seemed above all to have been dictated by the earlier official guidelines of 1939 which ranked highly only manuscripts, autographs, single copies of incunabula and unique early imprints. The choice of which early imprints to preserve seems to have privileged materials exhibited over the twenty years in the run-up to the war, and perhaps represent an accurate cross-section of what a directorship close to the regime deemed the most valuable holdings.[35]

By salvaging only single items of significance the library chose the first of two principal ways in which German libraries, like Leipzig, went about rescuing their collections at the height of the war. The alternative was to safeguard the integrity of whole collections, chosen by Dresden, for instance, where many of the old books were salvaged, despite equally destructive area bombings, while 'only' modern acquisitions were destroyed. Oddly, however, leaving books on shelves could also save them as it did in Breslau and Danzig for different reasons.[36]

Personnel issues running through the whole administrative hierarchy also affected the practicalities of salvage operations and marred the library's wartime rescue effort. The library's long-serving librarian Gustav Wahl (1877–1947) fell ill and retired in early 1943, and was replaced by Heinrich Reincke (1881–1960), the superintendent of Hamburg's City Archive. He in turn was taken ill, crucially at the time of Operation Gomorrah; Paul Theodor Hoffmann (1891–1952), Hamburg's City Archivist, stood in as a temporary substitute.[37] Hoffmann

34 Garber comments that the equally numerous and precious early imprints are extremely under-represented in 'Fluchtgutlisten'; *Untergang*, pp. 801–802, 835, 846.

35 Cf. Krawehl, 'Verlagert', pp. 245–246.

36 Cf. Klaus Garber, 'Geteilte historische Bibliotheken im vereinten Europa?', in K. Garber (ed.), *Das alte Buch im alten Europa: auf Spurensuche in den Schatzhäusern des alten Kontinents* (Munich: Fink, 2006) pp. 597–675, pp. 656, 670 f.

37 Other important wartime personnel at Hamburg Library include Willy Lüdtke (1875–1945), subject librarian for Theology and Oriental studies, a pivotal figure in the appropriation of Judaic material, who appears never to have asked questions about provenance; Hildegard Bonde (1901–1992), who kept contact with the Reich's Exchange Office ('Reichstauschtelle'); post-war director Hermann Tiemann (1899–1981), who played an important role in reconstruction. Cf. Kayser: *500 Jahre*, p. 158 ff.; Klaus Garber, 'Die Nacht der brennenden Bücher', *Die Zeit*, 48 (30 July 1993), no. 31, p. 28.

concedes that it was impossible to salvage all books, but laments that more could have been saved had it been done more energetically and less bureaucratically.[38] Library personnel that had not perished had fled, and those that stayed were in extremely poor health; documents of the time also illustrate the difficulty of obtaining both forced labour and transportation.[39] The severing of lines of communication made it effectively impossible to coordinate operations.[40] Over 100 wooden crates were delivered to a demolished site a few days after the bombings. They had been ordered 15 months before. Of course, Hamburg librarians had their share of fantastical personal memories and wartime folklore. One librarian was said to have carried Beethoven's Last Will (1803) and a 1000-year old ivory bound Gospel through burning Hamburg to catch the train to Grasleben in 1944.[41]

At the same time, the administrative disorder at the library allowed more pragmatic figures with specialist librarian knowledge, such as Hildegard Bonde, to step into the frame. Her role in selecting books destined for salvage can be gleaned from the 'Fluchtgutlisten', where curiously amongst the most valuable material evacuated very early on we find woodcuts from Iceland. This may be explained by Frau Dr Bonde's predilection for, and expertise in, this subject, and perhaps also explains how her own book on the relationship between Hamburg and Iceland published in 1930 weathered the war. If this shows how personal interest influenced her choices, then the fact that the woodcuts on Iceland were still missing after the war when more significant items with which they had been evacuated returned, casts further aspersions on her conduct.[42] Nonetheless, Bonde played an important, if occasionally unsavoury, role in the aftermath of the bombings, and in particular in the slow process of reconstruction.

38 Hoffmann, *Mit dem Zeiger*, pp. 348–350.

39 See Hamburg Library Letter, Reincke to Wahl, 16.02.1944. Cf. Krawehl, 'Verlagert', p. 248.

40 Hoffmann's recollection of book enthusiasts amongst the prisoners, especially the French who he claims eagerly browsed through long-missed books, and equally the camaraderie he suggests existed between him and the workforce, must be taken with a grain of salt. Hoffmann, *Mit dem Zeiger*, pp. 348–350.

41 Cf. Krawehl, 'Verlagert', pp. 252–253; 'Hamburgs Staatsbibliothek in der Bombennacht. Ein stolzes Kulturwerk der Hansestadt – Teile der wertvollen Bücherschätze gerettet', in *Mittagsblatt. Hamburger Illustrierte für Politik, Sport, Unterhaltung*; *zwischen Front und Heimat*, 5 (31 August 1943), no. 174, p. 3.

42 Maria Kesting, 'Die Suche nach NS-Raubgut in der Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg Carl von Ossietzky', *AKMB-News*, 17, 2 (2011), pp. 18–24.

Reconstruction

Reconstruction of the library started with war still raging immediately after Operation Gomorrah. Without hesitation the library turned to offers from the Reich's Exchange Office ('Reichstauschtelle') in Berlin, which had intensified its redistribution of Gestapo-confiscated material to 'donate' to German libraries that had suffered severe losses during the war. Bonde is reported to have been sent there by Reincke because she could buy more cheaply at the Exchange Office than from private antiquarian booksellers.[43] In this way, 30,000 volumes taken from Jewish private libraries ('Judenbibliotheken') came into the possession of Hamburg Library.[44] Further books arrived via more salubrious avenues of acquisition and donation, including 10,000 volumes each from the Archive of the Hanseatic City, World Economic Archive, and approximately the same amount in total from numerous smaller private collections.[45]

This flood of new arrivals created a major problem: duplicates. Chaotic wartime conditions and understaffing made it difficult if not impossible to check, catalogue and store books.[46] The problem of storage would not be resolved until 1960.[47] All up-to-date catalogues had been burnt. With an estimated two thirds of the library's holdings lost in the war, a guide to all Hamburg libraries listing 280 libraries and 2.5 million books was commissioned in 1945 and first published 1949, providing the basis of Hamburg's new Central Catalogue, which proved to be pivotal to reconstruction.[48]

43 Cf. Kesting, 'NS-Raubgut', p. 19.

44 Kesting, 'NS-Raubgut', p. 18; see also 'NS-Raubgut in der Stabi', an on-going project aimed at the identification of Jewish-owned books looted by the Nazi regime.

45 The base-stock of specialist departments was reconstituted through donated private libraries such as August Kasch's extensive collection of writings from Hamburg and Schleswig-Holstein. Cf. Krawehl, 'Verlagert', p. 250. Other noteworthy libraries include the library of literary historian Heinrich Meyer-Benfey, the Navigation School Library, part of the 'Wehrkreisbücherei' and 'Lehrbibliothek' of the Christianeneum, libraries of Hamburg scholar of English Emil Wolff, Orientalist Arthur Schaade, Herman Stock (a pastor from Bremen), ethnographer Georg Friederici, and Merchant Ernst Kusche. But it also grew through purchases, such as that of the library of music historian and Handel scholar Friedrich Chrysander.

46 By end of 1949 the Commerzbibliothek contained over 30,000 volumes.

47 The new reading rooms would not be completed until 1982.

48 The commencement of the Hamburg Central Catalogue was a major success of the first library congress held in the British-occupied zone in October 1945, and aimed to provide an overview of books that had survived. The catalogue was first published in 1949, then re-published periodically, and is now available online as *Hamburger Bibliotheksführer*.

Attempts to retrieve salvaged books after the war produced very mixed results. Books that were returned in the immediate aftermath of war or during the early years of occupation included those precious books that had weathered the firestorm in nearby air-raid shelters.[49] Also 370 of 375 crates containing some of the most valuable items returned from the potash colliery in December 1945.[50] 113 crates stored in Weissig returned from the gates of a destroyed Dresden on the Elbe back to Hamburg by March 1945.[51] Other books evacuated to Saxony, however, suffered further depredations. The Red Army occupied Hermsdorf castle in 1946. By 1947, 54 crates had been found opened, books stolen, or trampled on the floor, leaving only 30 crates worth of books.[52] That year, the regional government in Saxony took 140 crates, which represented everything that had survived the plunder in Weissig and Hermsdorf, to Dresden's Johanneum for safe-keeping, guaranteeing that Hamburg would have access to its books.

Books in Lauenstein had been inspected, wooden crates and transport by ship ordered, following a British liaison officer's demand for the quick return of collections held in the Russian-occupied zone (1944–1945).[53] But it was too late: crates containing Hamburg books had by this point been confiscated by the Red Army and taken (bar three opened crates) to Berlin by Major Dashin of the Soviet Trophy Commission.[54] 30,000 volumes from Hamburg were included in a batch of 1.2 million books looted from various locations in the Russian-occupied

49 Krawehl and Neubacher, 'Rückgabe', 133; Hamburg Library Letter, Reincke to Office for Cultural Administration, 19.06.1945; cf. Krawehl, 'Verlagert', pp. 254–255.

50 See Krawehl, 'Verlagert', pp. 256–257; Hamburg Library Letter, Tiemann to Capt. Charles [British military government in Hamburg], 8 December 1945.

51 With the Eastern Front closing in following the Dresden bombings (12.02.1945), authorities in Saxony informed Hamburg that items stored at Hermsdorf and Weissig Castles were no longer safe; see report dated 28 June 1948, Hamburg Department of Culture, Memo 36–002.22/1, Vols. 5–7. 50 crates of books of Hamburg's Jewish community, and 4 crates of personal family libraries/archives were left behind (Hamburg Library Memo, 28 March 1945). Cf. Krawehl, 'Verlagert', pp. 254–255.

52 Hamburg Library Letter, Mayor of Hermsdorf to Börner, 23 February 1946; Hamburg Library Internal Document, Dittmer's report on Hamburg's evacuated holdings in Saxony, 05 March 1947; Krawehl, 'Verlagert', pp. 258–259.

53 Hamburg Library Travel Report Erika Kreisner, 04 January 1945; Letter, Kreisner to Reincke, 19 December 1944. Hamburg Library Letter, Office for Cultural Administration to Hamburg Library, 15 November 1945; Krawehl, 'Verlagert', pp. 256–257.

54 Hamburg Library Letter, Castle Administration Launstein to Otto Harrassowitz (publisher), Leipzig, 13 February 1946; Harrassowitz to Hamburg Library, 19 February 1946; Castle Administration Lauenstein to Hamburg Library, 19 February 1946. Cf. Krawehl, 'Verlagert', p. 257.

zone, which the Soviet Military Administration ordered to be handed over to Comrade Senior Lieutenant Margerita Ivanovna Rudomino in 1946 and taken to Moscow.[55] 309 crates marked ‘Hamburg Library’ were part of a staggering 20,000 crates that left for Leningrad in five military trains in August 1946.[56]

Restitution

In June 2013, 70 years after Operation Gomorrah, German chancellor Angela Merkel was not received by President Vladimir Putin, who had invited her to the opening of a Bronze Age exhibition in St Petersburg.[57] The reason: she wanted to use the occasion to reiterate Germany’s claim to artefacts looted during the Second World War – this almost led to a diplomatic debacle between Russia and Germany.[58] Earlier that year two chief editors of *Der Spiegel* lost their positions because of a series of articles on the theme of looted art, as is alleged by a consultation paper on the issue of restitution published in September 2013 by the German Federal Office.[59] Restitution of looted art and books is a sensitive matter, which enmeshes disparate notions of morality, international law, national identity, and cultural memory. Occasionally – especially in moments of political convenience – it can become a highly emotional, divisive, and explosive issue.[60]

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55 Perhaps the books were intended to line the shelves of a ‘super museum’ akin to the one the Soviets had planned for artworks received from defeated Axis countries in Moscow. For more on the ‘super museum’ see Irvine Wayne Sandholtz, *Prohibiting Plunder: How Norms Change* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 159; Konstantin Akinsha and Grigorii Kozlov, *Stolen Treasure: The Hunt for the World’s Lost Masterpieces* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1995).

56 See Ingo Kolosa, ‘“Sag mir, wo die Bücher sind…” Ein Beitrag zu “Beutekulturgütern” und “Trophäenkommissionen”’, in *ZfBB*, 42 (1995), pp. 339–345.

57 Such cancellations, of course, became more frequent with the intensification of the conflict in Ukraine in early 2014, most regrettably leading to the cancellation of the much anticipated ‘Petersburger Dialog’ in Sotchi, autumn 2014.

58 Widely reported in German media outlets, e.g. ‘Eklat überschattet Merkels Besuch in St. Petersburg’, *DPA*, 21.06.2013.

59 See ‘“Spiegel”-braucht neuen Chefredakteur’, DPA, 09.04.2013; Volker M. Schütterle, ‘Beutekunst’, Inforbrief Aktenzeichen: WD 1: Geschichte, Zeitgeschichte und Politik – 3010 – 024/13, 09 September 2013 <https://www.bundestag.de/blob/194698/4f6453dd214bcf2f737 5d3bea0bd2344/beutekunst-data.pdf> (accessed 5 June 2014), pp. 4–19.

60 Cf. Ute Erdsiek-Rave, *Kulturgüter im Zweiten Weltkrieg: Verlagerung – Auffindung – Rückführung*, ed. by Veröffentlichungen der Koordinierungsstelle für Kulturgutverluste, 4 (Magdeburg: Koordinierungsstelle für Kulturgutverluste, 2007), p. 12.

Looted and dispersed books are part of a collective memory of war that unites Germany and Russia. While Germany lost approximately 4.8 million books to Russia alone according to latest calculations, it is hard to deny that Russia lost more books than Germany, even if we take the real figure to be somewhere between 76 million calculated by the Soviets and 4.5 million reckoned by the Germans.[61] Their restitution represents a strange amalgam of the moral with the political. Restitution can be a measure of Russo-German relationships as the near debacle in 2013 illustrates. It may also act as a gauge for inward-looking national discourses: for the first German post-war generations it was taboo to talk about restitution because of its close connection with Germany's own destructive plundering across Europe.[62] It remained a preserve of the far Right and Left.[63] A memoir published in 2010 by a chief German negotiator denounced the obstinacy of both Russian and German governments, and gave voice to the general frustration caused by the issue of restitution.[64] This illustrates a paradigm shift in public opinion towards restitution as

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61 It is worth mentioning the 200,000 works of art and 3 km of archives taken by the Soviets at the end of the war; cf. Herbert Güttler, *Beutekunst? Kritische Betrachtungen zur Kulturpolitik* (Bonn: Bouvier, 2010), p. 26. For more on these figures as well as figures originally published by the Soviet regime in 1957, see Elena Syssoeva, *Kunst im Krieg: eine völkerrechtliche Betrachtung der deutsch-russischen Kontroverse um kriegsbedingt verbrachte Kulturgüter*, Schriften zum Volkerrecht, 152 (Berlin: Duncker und Humblot, 2004), p. 54. It should be borne in mind that the Soviet Union lost more books during the Second World War than (German) books she brought back (Garber, 'Geteilte historische Bibliotheken', pp. 667–668).

62 W.G. Sebald's essay *Luftkrieg und Literatur: mit einem Essay zu Alfred Andersch* (Munich: Hanser, 1999), published in English as *A Natural History of Destruction* (New York: Random House, 2003), was one of the first impassioned accounts of the devastating area bombings suffered by German cities and the aftermath of allied aerial warfare.

63 For more on the politicisation of the post-war cultural dialogue between Germany and Russia see various publications of Lev Kopelev's project 'West-Östliche Spiegelungen', especially Dagmar Herrmann, Astrid Volpert, Maria Klassen and Karl-Heinz Korn (eds.), *Traum und Trauma: Russen und Deutsche im 20. Jahrhundert*, West-Östliche Spiegelungen, 2 (Munich: Fink, 2003).

64 See, for example, Herbert Güttler's first-hand account of his frustration working as one of the German government's chief negotiators with the Russian government on the issue of restitution. His angry memoir (and various news articles) does not pull any punches, painting a hair-raising picture of not just Russian, but also the German government's obstinacy. Furthermore, there are curious cases like that of Poland demanding the return of an item it had sold during a bout of purges of German culture at the end of the nineteenth century, now held in Nuremberg. For more on the general issue of legal ownership of looted art, see Michael Anton, 'Paradigmenwechsel im gutgläubigen Erwerb von Kunst- und Kulturgütern', *Juristische Rundschau*, 10 (2010), pp. 415–423, at p. 417; Syssoeva, *Kunst im Krieg*, p. 54.

a legal matter of social justice, a *Zeitgeist* that is not, however, inhabited by everyone in Russia and Germany.[65]

Russia, or better the Soviet Union, played a key role in the dispersal of Hamburg books in the war. In 1957, the return of 5,432 Hamburg volumes from Saxony – initially in the Russian-occupied zone then part of the German Democratic Republic – occurred only because these books were surreptitiously hidden amongst a restitution of books to Hamburg's Jewish community.[66] Yet this return of books between the two states that made up a divided Germany was itself only possible because of prior Soviet restitutions, or exchanges and 'gestures of goodwill' to East Germany in the 1950s (1955 and 1957), then thought likely to stay within the Soviet sphere of influence indefinitely.[67]

In 1989, 2,000 volumes returned from East Berlin's State Library (where they had been since 1959), including some of the most significant autographs and early imprints thought lost in distant Siberia and the Caucasus.[68] Acts of restitution in the wake of the collapse of the Soviet Union smack of political gestures intended to signal either rapprochement in Russian-German relations, or contrastingly, the distancing of former Soviet states from their Soviet past. In practice, 2,000 manuscripts and 9 incunabula returned from Moscow in 1990. The arrival in 1991 of 2,227 manuscripts from Leningrad (St Petersburg) meant that about 90% of the seventeenth to eighteenth-century music manuscripts had now returned.[69] In 1996, Georgia returned 70,000 titles, but this included only 103 items for Hamburg. In 1998 Armenia returned 575 items to Germany, most of which were for Hamburg.[70] In many of these cases, the administration

65 As exemplified by the unhappy circumstance that opinions of hardliners like Irina Antonova, former Director of the Pushkin Museum in Moscow (1961–2013), or Mikhail Piotrovsky, Director of the State Eremitage in St Petersburg, live on.

66 This haul containing material from Weissig and Hermsdorf Castles arrived in Hamburg in 1957. Cf. Krawehl, 'Verlagert', pp. 264–265.

67 For more on exchanges between the GDR and FDR, as well as between Baltic and Hanseatic archives in the early 1990s, see Krawehl, 'Verlagert', 269–270.

68 Cf. Krawehl, 'Verlagert', pp. 266–268.

69 These had been kept at the Saltykov-Scedrin Library since 1946, as shown by Klaus-Dieter Lehmann and Ingo Kolasa (eds.), *Die Trophäenkommissionen der Roten Armee: eine Dokumentensammlung zur Verschleppung von Büchern aus deutschen Bibliotheken*, Zeitschrift für Bibliothekswesen und Bibliographie, 64 (Frankfurt am Main: Klostermann, 1996), pp. 231–232; cf. K.D. Lehmann and I. Kolasa (eds.), *Restitution von Bibliotheksgut. Runder Tisch deutscher und russischer Bibliothekare in Moskau am 11./12.12.1992*, Zeitschrift für Bibliothekswesen und Bibliographie, 56 (Frankfurt am Main: Klostermann, 1993).

70 For details see Krawehl and Neubacher, 'Rückgabe', pp. 140–145; Horst Gronemeyer, 'Feierliche Übergabe der aus der DDR zurückgekehrten Handschriften am 29. November 1989', *Auskunft. Mitteilungsblatt Hamburger Bibliotheken*, 10 (1990), pp. 7–18; Jürgen Neubacher, 'Rückführung von Hamburger Musikhandschriften aus Armenien', *Die*

was not content with restitutions, questioning the importance and value of manuscripts and imprints saved during the war.[71] Perhaps the returned materials tell us more about Soviet redistribution policies, that is that items deemed less valuable, like ephemera, were sent to peripheral Soviet states, while the more 'valuable' items were kept at the centre of the empire in Moscow and St Petersburg. These restitutions also help illustrate a significant difference in opinion between bibliographers and historians, the latter regarding ephemera as valuable cultural sources worthy of saving, identifying, and retrieving.[72]

Restitution depends on identification. In the case of Hamburg Library (as elsewhere) restitution resulted from painstaking fieldwork in (Russian or Soviet) libraries and archives. Viacheslav Kartsovnik's fieldwork for his bilingual bibliography of German music manuscripts held in Russian libraries, conducted in the 1980s, helped identify Hamburg music items that were returned, but also other imprints that were not.[73] Other exploratory trips to St Petersburg and Tomsk in 1993, 1994, and 1995 revealed that many, if not all, of Hamburg's missing incunabula were in the former city and have not been returned.[74] Some historians attempted to separate the issue of restitution from the issue of identification of Hamburg (and more generally German) books still in Russian libraries and archives. By a strange law of inversion, books that were never used were recovered more easily than books which had been integrated and used in libraries for fifty, sixty or seventy years.[75] Russian worries that German interest in identification would result in claims for restitution continued after the Cold War. Up to the end of last century no instance of restitution appears

Musikforschung, 52 (1999), pp. 89–90; Lehmann and Kolasa, *Die Trophäenkommissionen*; cf. 'Ein Schatz kehrt heim. "Überlebt" und zurückgekehrt. Staatsbibliothek erhält wertvolle Beutekunst-Bücher aus Georgien', in *Hamburger Abendblatt*, 49 (1 November 1996), no. 256, pp. 1, 9; Klaus Garber, 'Eine Geste für Europa. Endlich daheim: Georgien gibt Deutschland 100,000 Bücher aus dem Beutegut des Zweiten Weltkrieg zurück', *Die Zeit*, 51 (8 November 1996), no. 46, p. 52; Stefanie Sifft, 'Staatsbibliothek über Rückgabe enttäuscht. Aus Georgien kamen nur 120 Bücher', *Die Welt* (Hamburg edn) (6 March 1997), no. 55, p. 1.

71 Cf. Krawehl and Neubacher, 'Rückgabe', pp. 133, 135–140.

72 Cf. Klaus Garber, 'Erbeutete Kultur hat im werdenden Europa keinen Platz!', *Zeitschrift für Bibliothekswesen und Bibliographie*, 47 (2000), pp. 143–154, p. 148.

73 Viacheslav Kartsovnik and Nina Rjazanova, *Handschriften aus deutschen Sammlungen in der Russischen Nationalbibliothek Sankt Petersburg. Musikmanuskripte und Musikdrucke des 17.-20. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, 2004).

74 Krawehl, 'Verlagert', pp. 274–276.

75 Cf. Garber, 'Geteilte historische Bibliotheken', p. 668; see also the indefatigable work at the Research Centre for East European Studies ('Forschungsstelle Ostoeuropa') in Bremen.

to have been initiated by Hamburg Library.[76] One possible (anecdotal) explanation for this otherwise remarkable circumstance is that the Russians needed to be seen as the ones magnanimously initiating restitution following the identification of looted books.

Brash politicians and bureaucratic officials all too often undid the trust established by bibliographers prior to such trips. Bilateral agreements between Russia and Germany in 1990 and 1992 initially paved the way for more dispassionate talks about restitution that culminated in the Moscow Round Table in 1992. This marked a paradigm shift in the Russian perspective on the issue of restitution (of books, in particular). While in 1945 the Soviets claimed to save books and other western patrimony from the spectre that fascism might return to the axis countries, throughout the Cold War the notion grew that a tit-for-tat custody for books by German authors was justified because it was akin to Germans holding Tolstoy or Dostoyevsky hostage. By the time of the Moscow Round Table a new consensus had grown around the idea that in terms of world patrimony, as a postulation of rights for entire humanity, it would not be important where books are kept as long as they are made accessible. Yet this academic imperative to guarantee researchers access to 'lost' books over demands for restitution was less than set in stone. Some German academics insisted that restitution was justified in order to place books back into their original cultural context. Others saw an opportunity for the victim to help the former aggressor to rediscover a connection to its pre-fascist past through the medium of books, in order to build a bridge to a new Europe; in any case, it was impossible for Germany to return what she had destroyed.[77] Yet from 1994 to 1998, with an astonishing speed for an otherwise lethargic Russian political apparatus, war trophies were declared Russian property and subject to export restrictions, contravening international law and bilateral agreements.[78] Archives and libraries became inaccessible once more, first in St Petersburg, then Moscow.

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76 Krawehl, 'Verlagert', p. 262.

77 Cf. Garber, 'Geteilte historische Bibliotheken', pp. 669–673; see also Natalia Volkert's master thesis, which offers a succinct analysis of the complex issue of German and Russian art looted in the war by investigating archives like Moscow State Archiv (GARF), the State Archive for Literature and Art (RGALI) and the former Special Archive (CChlDK), many of which have now been closed again; *Kunst- und Kulturraub im Zweiten Weltkrieg. Versuch eines Vergleichs zwischen den Zielsetzungen und Praktiken der deutschen und der sowjetischen Beuteorganisationen unter Berücksichtigung der Restitutionsfragen* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2000).

78 Perhaps it is this kind of loss of face and credibility on the international stage that caused the US and UK not to ratify the 1954 Hague Convention decree on the protection of cultural artefacts in countries they may in the future intervene in militarily. Cf. Lucien X.

By way of conclusion, we may wish to ask where this leaves us with regard to Hamburg. What can be reconstructed? Piecemeal bibliographical reconstructions of Hamburg's lost books have been carried out in the past. In addition to the 330 folio volume 'Realkatalog', and the detailed lists of evacuated materials, there are specialist catalogues of some parts of the early printed material for the sixteenth century and for Luther imprints, as well as registers of acquisition covering the period from 1916 to 1940, and an inventory of holdings published in 1930.[79] All these help reconstruct pre-war collections with some precision – most doggedly by the library's former director Horst Gronemeyer and scholar Klaus Garber. On the other hand, only perfunctory attempts were made to reconstruct Hamburg ephemera, dissertations and disputations, missing ordinances and edicts, and private libraries, despite the existence of various catalogues, bibliographies and inventories.[80] Such reconstruction provided the basis for substitute acquisitions – funding permitting – when restitution proved impossible.

Another question posed is whether there is any viable alternative to physical restitution? In light of myriad projects, initiatives, and online databases dedicated to restitution of artefacts looted during the Second World War, it is worth highlighting the German-Russian Library Dialogue, initiated in 2009 by the M.I. Rudomino Library for Foreign Literature in Moscow and Berlin's State Library.[81] Its ambitious goal: to identify, catalogue, preserve or restore, and

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Polastron, *Books on Fire: The Tumultuous Story of the World's Great Libraries*, trans. [from the French] by Jon E. Graham (London: Thames & Hudson, 2007), p. 232.

79 See Otto Christian Gaedechens (ed.), *Catalog der Hamburgensien der Hamburger Stadtbibliothek* (1839–1840); Werner Kayser and Claus Dehn, *Bibliographie der Hamburger Drucke des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Hamburg: Hauswedell, 1968); Conrad Borchling and Bruno Claussen, *Niederdeutsche Bibliographie; Gesamtverzeichnis der niederdeutschen Drucke bis zum Jahre 1800*, 2 vols. (Neumünster: Wachholtz, 1931–1936); Dommer, *Autotypen*; Arnold Schuback and Peter Simon Brödermann (eds.), *Verzeichniss der von dem verstorbenen Herrn Arnold Schuback hinterlassenen Bibliothek* [with appended auction lists] (Hamburg: Wagener, 1834); Nicolaus Matthias Hübbe, *Alphabetisches Verzeichnis der hamburgerischen Hochzeitsgedichte* (Hamburg: 1847); J.M. Lappenberg, *Geschichte der Buchdruckerkunst in Hamburg* (Hamburg: Weissner, 1840); Georg Behrmann, *Verzeichniß der von dem sel. Herrn Georg Behrmann hinterlassenen merkwürdigen und sehr vollständigen Sammlung gedruckter und geschriebener Hamburgensien und anderer Bücher, welche den 14ten October 1793 in einem bekannten Hause am Gänsemarkt durch den Auctionarius verkauft werden sollen* (Hamburg: Treder, 1793).

80 No printed catalogue of holdings was ever commissioned, not even after the fire of 1842; see acquisition lists ('Neuerwerbungslisten') from 1916–1940 contained in the Realkatalog; *Katalog der Commerz-Bibliothek* (1864). For a (so far only) study of Hamburg's private libraries see Friedrich Lorenz Hoffmann, 'Hamburgische Bibliophilen, Bibliographen und Literaturhistoriker', *Serapeum*, 13–30 (1852–1869).

81 Regrettably, now various joint projects have been put on hold or scrapped entirely, including those intended to transfer technology and investment from Germany to Russia, to

make publicly available books displaced during the war now in Russian and German libraries.[82] This could reunite with their lost readers books lying still un-catalogued for political reasons in German and Russian libraries.

The process of digitization of German books kept in Moscow may be in its infancy but it creates the historically new possibility to reconstitute collections in virtual libraries and catalogues without physical restitution.[83] It does not take recent events in Crimea to remind us of the fragility of relations on which transnational initiatives like this are predicated – Putin's second term has seen a return to the late 1990s with archives and libraries closing or restricting access, visas being denied, and scholars being expelled. Only time will tell whether such projects can provide the middle ground between those who want books returned to their 'cultural context', those that feel entitled to them as compensation for irreparable losses, and those that argue that books should be kept by, or returned to, institutions with the means to preserve and protect them. Digitization may offer one resolution for the difficulty of reuniting physical Hamburg tomes located in different places but not lost. Yet this, given the nature of modern cyber warfare – it may be hoped that lessons have been learned from the past tendency to underestimate such threats – places books and the knowledge they are meant to preserve spread across in other ways volatile repositories: servers.

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help with cataloguing and editing, as in the case of one of the largest neo-Latin collections in St Petersburg, or to aid accessibility (of German books looted in the war) now in former Soviet libraries like St Petersburg, Moscow, Minsk, Kiev, Novosibirsk, and Yerevan (cf. Garber, *Das alte Buch*, p. 674).

82 See Stephanie Jacobs, 'Resitution von Beutebüchern', *Dialog mit Bibliotheken*, 26 (2014), 68–71; cf. <www.lostart.de>.

83 This would give rise to what Elizabeth Niggemann, General Director of German National Library, describes as a mixed centralised and yet decentralised system (Jacobs, 'Restitution', pp. 70–71).

CHAPTER 22

Two Centuries of Looting and the Grand Nazi Book Burning. The Dispersed and Destroyed Libraries of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth: Historical Losses and Contemporary Attempts at Reconstruction

Tomasz Nastulczyk

While losses of early printed books and historical libraries were significant in Western Europe, researchers from Central and Eastern Europe must cope with so many lost and dispersed collections that they may sometimes ironically call themselves 'specialists in nonexistent things'. The history of collections from the lands of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth is one of the most telling examples: here historical events during the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries left only a few historical libraries untouched.

Of course, cases of library looting in the territories of Commonwealth had also happened before this. The most eminent case is the organized plunder of cultural goods, among them libraries, by the Swedish army during the seventeenth-century wars. This 'war booty' can now be found in various places in Sweden: in Uppsala, in Strängnäs and in Stockholm. Most recently, in 2004, an important collection of early printed Polish books was discovered in Skokloster Castle.[1] These collections are generally well preserved and accessible to researchers. From the historical perspective, the Swedish pillaging paradoxically helped to preserve many books which would probably have been lost in the course of history had they stayed in place.

The second half of the eighteenth century, which brought the collapse of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and the partition of its lands between Russia and (on a minor scale) Austria and Prussia, started a process of continuous looting of the numerous existing libraries. The Russian government confiscated entire collections not only because of their value, but also as an act of repression, in an attempt to destroy the local culture. The most eminent among the confiscated libraries was the Załuski Library (the first Polish national

1 Maciej Eder, Elisabeth Westin Berg, and Dariusz Chemperek (eds.), *Polonika ze zbiorów zamku Skokloster. Katalog* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Neriton, 2008).

 | DOI 10.1163/9789004311824_023

library), opened in Warsaw in the middle of the eighteenth century and sent to the Imperial Public Library in Saint Petersburg after the failure of the Polish uprising in 1794. Two other public libraries, namely, the Library of the Warsaw Society of the Friends of Learning and the Warsaw University Library, were confiscated after 1831. Most of the private collections also suffered a similar fate, among them the Library of the Radziwiłł Dukes in Nieśwież (now Nesvizh, Belarus).

To make matters worse, the authorities of the rapidly modernizing Russia would send large parts of the confiscated libraries to every corner of their empire. New academic institutions were opened in Central Asia, Finland, and even deepest Siberia; the ransacked Polish libraries provided them with something to fill their shelves. Some of the books even went back to Russian-governed Warsaw. These transfers were poorly documented, and large sections of confiscated collections were practically lost – traces of the transfers are dim, but the books may still be somewhere, either in the inaccessible, unrecognized and uncatalogued parts of the collections in Saint Petersburg and Moscow or in local academic institutions which used to belong to the Russian Empire. In addition, the Austrian, Prussian and Russian governments embarked on the organized suppression of Catholic monasteries and cloisters, causing their vast libraries to be confiscated and in many cases destroyed as worthless. The political and ideological context of the suppression varied, but in all cases the monastic collections were considered to be merely a group of obscure, old religious writings with no value to the modern, enlightened state. Attempts to reconstruct the original content of certain monastic collections now offers one of the most interesting tasks for Central and Eastern European researchers.

The emergence of an independent Poland in 1918 initiated the consolidation of the dispersed historical collections. The National Library in Warsaw was founded, and the Polish government managed to retrieve several parts of the historical collections confiscated during the eighteenth and nineteenth century from Russia, including the Załuski library. Unfortunately, the beginning of the second world war brought a rapid end to this revival.

Let me start with some basic data, which, however, should be regarded as an estimate. Documentation of war losses in Poland must be based on secondary sources of various quality. In pursuing this question different researchers follow different methodologies, and their studies sometimes vary in points of detail. The exact numbers will probably never be known, despite their best efforts. For all this we may say with a certain degree of authority that the overall scale of losses from Polish public libraries in the second world war is somewhere in the region of 70% of their pre-war stock. Public libraries lost about 89%, and academic and professional libraries about 50%, including, unfortunately, their most valuable collections.[2] The documented number of lost incunabula, early printed books from before 1801, manuscripts, musicalia, theatralia, maps and drawings is estimated to be over two million items.[3] As far as the incunabula are concerned, the war losses have been documented in the central catalogue of the incunabula in Polish libraries.[4] It registers over 2,300 lost bibliographical items in about 4,600 copies.[5]

The biggest and the most painful loss stemmed from the Nazi destruction of books in Warsaw in 1944. The unfortunate reorganization of the city libraries after 1939 resulted in the most valuable special collections of Warsaw's libraries, namely the National Library, the Krasiński Family Library and the Warsaw University Library, being brought together under one roof. Reorganization was rather a continuous process than a single act. German officials most probably tried to prove their usefulness to the Nazi authorities and to avoid military service by initiating such a huge operation, so the books were in constant movement.[6] Moreover, special collections, among them the Załuski Library, had not been fully described before the war, and the existing documentation was mostly burnt together with them. Because of this, the total amount of special collections material gathered by the Nazis in the building of the former Krasiński Family Library can only be roughly estimated at between 300,000 and 400,000 volumes (more detailed studies suggest 388,000 to 400,000 volumes).[7] These collections included about 80,000 books printed before 1801.[8] The special collection from the National Library formed the largest portion of the rare

2 Barbara Bieńkowska, 'II wojna światowa: wstępny bilans strat bibliotek polskich', *Cenne, bezcenne, utracone,* 3/72 (2012), pp. 10–11, here at p. 11.

3 Bieńkowska, 'II wojna światowa: wstępny bilans strat bibliotek polskich', p. 11.

4 Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa etc., 'Incunabula in catalogo generali ante mensem Septembrem a. 1939 composito enumerata, post autem annum 1945 in Polonia non reperta – cum indicibus annexis', in Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa etc. (eds.), *Incunabula quae in bibliothecis Poloniae asservantur,* vol. 2, *Addenda. Indices* (Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków: Zakład Narodowy imienia Ossolińskich – Wydawnictwo, 1993), pp. 175–510.

5 Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa, 'Wstęp', in Kawecka-Gryczowa etc. (eds.), *Incunabula quae in bibliothecis Poloniae asservantur,* vol. 2, p. XV; Michał Spandowski, 'Inkunabuły utracone. Z prac nad Centralnym Katalogiem Inkunabułów w Polsce', *Cenne, bezcenne, utracone,* 3/72 (2012), pp. 16–18, here at p. 18.

6 The reorganization process was described in great detail by Andrzej Mężyński, 'Zbiory na Okólniku. Wrzesień 1939 – październik 1944', in Halina Tchórzewska-Kabata (ed.), *Droga do Okólnika. 1844–1944* (Warszawa: Biblioteka Narodowa, 2005), pp. 113–147.

7 Hanna Łaskarzewska, 'Straty Okólnika w czasie powstania warszawskiego i po jego upadku', in Halina Tchórzewska-Kabata (ed.), *Droga do Okólnika. 1844–1944*, (Warszawa: Biblioteka Narodowa, 2005), pp. 173–174; Mężyński, 'Zbiory na Okólniku', p. 136.

8 Mężyński, 'Zbiory na Okólniku', p. 136.

material gathered in this way. It contained over 2,000 incunabula, 6,700 books from the sixteenth century, 12,000 books from the seventeenth century, and 35,000 books from the eighteenth century.[9] The catalogues were also lost, but one of the pre-war Polish librarians, Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa, had managed to copy the registers of incunabula in previous years, 'just in case', without the Nazi authorities knowing anything about it. Her notes are now the most important source of information about the destroyed collection.[10]

On 5 September 1944, during the Warsaw uprising, the building was bombed and the collections located on the upper floors burnt, but the most important collections, hidden in the basements, were still safe.[11] After the defeat of the uprising in October 1944, when Warsaw became deserted, the Nazi troops started the organized process of burning the city to the ground. The invaluable collections were set on fire by the German Brandkommando before 14 October 1944 and were left burning for a few days.[12] The remains suggested that the separate collections were set on fire methodically, one after another.[13] Destruction was almost total, and only a very small group of manuscripts was recovered from the ruins.[14] The Nazis also burnt the entire stores of the Warsaw Public Library and destroyed several minor public and private collections in the city. Moreover, they threw incendiary grenades into the Zamoyski Family Library, which resulted in the destruction of about 10,000 books printed before 1801, maps and drawings, together with catalogues.[15]

After 1945 Polish researchers were confronted by the fact that the majority of early printed books had been destroyed or were virtually inaccessible. The newly drawn borders and population transfers cut off Polish researchers from many historical libraries that now belonged to the Soviet Union. On the other hand, Soviet political pressure made it very difficult to support international academic contacts, and the local Russian, Ukrainian, Belarussian and Lithuanian librarians were discouraged from working with these materials. However, the

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9 Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa, 'Wstęp', in Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa etc. (eds.), *Incunabula quae in bibliothecis Poloniae asservantur*, vol. 1 (Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków: Zakład Narodowy imienia Ossolińskich – Wydawnictwo, 1970), p. XXXI; Kawecka-Gryczowa, 'Wstęp' in Kawecka-Gryczowa etc., *Incunabula quae in bibliothecis Poloniae asservantur,* vol. 2, p. XIX, footnote 11; Mężyński, 'Zbiory na Okólniku', p. 136; Spandowski, 'Inkunabuły utracone', p. 18.

10 Spandowski, 'Inkunabuły utracone', p. 17.

11 Łaskarzewska, 'Straty Okólnika', pp. 158–159.

12 Łaskarzewska, 'Straty Okólnika', p. 163.

13 See the relation of Tadeusz Makowiecki, quoted by Łaskarzewska, 'Straty Okólnika', p. 166.

14 Łaskarzewska, 'Straty Okólnika', pp. 170–171.

15 Łaskarzewska, 'Straty Okólnika', p. 162.

dissolution of the Soviet Union forty years later created new opportunities. The new possibility of international cooperation caused Polish, Russian, Ukrainian, Belarussian and Lithuanian researchers to dig frenetically into their collections. The University Libraries in Odessa and in Kharkiv prepared catalogues of their early printed Polish books in cooperation with my home institution, the Polish Bibliography Research Centre.[16] The University Library in Nizhyn (Ukraine) has already described their collection, which had been sent there from the Warsaw University Library in the nineteenth century.[17] When one of our Russian colleagues discovered about 1,200 early printed Polish books which had been stored as 'war booty' in the State University Library in Moscow since the war, we managed to prepare an official exhibition despite the uncertain legal status of this collection.[18]

I would like to describe one similar project in greater detail. Together with researchers from Russia, Finland and Poland, the Polish Bibliography Research Centre has attempted to trace and describe Polish books confiscated by Russian soldiers from the first library of the Radziwiłł Dukes in Nieśwież at the end of the eighteenth century.[19] The term 'first library' is related to the complicated history of the Nieśwież collections. In 1749, one of the dukes brought together the old family collections from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries under

16 Hanna Volodymyrivna Velykodna, Ol'ha Leonidivna Lyashenko etc., *Pol's'ki starodruky z kolektsiy universytets'koyi biblioteki. Kataloh. Starodruki polskie ze zbiorów biblioteki uniwersyteckiej. Katalog* (Odessa: Odes'kyy natsional'nyy universytet, 2012); *Kolektsiya pol's'kykh ridkisnykh vydan' u fondi Tsentral'noyi naukovoyi biblioteky imeni V.N. Karazina* (Kharkiv, edition-in-progress).

17 Oleksandr Serhiyovych Morozov etc., *Starodruky XVI – pershoyi polovyny XVIII st. z kolektsiyi 'Polonica' biblioteky Nizhyns'koho derzhavnoho universytetu imeni Mykoly Hoholya. Kataloh* (Nizhyn: TOV Hidromaks, 2010); Oleksandr Serhiyovych Morozov, *Starodruky z kolektsiyi 'Polonica' biblioteky Nizhyns'koho derzhavnoho universytetu imeni Mykoly Hoholya. Druha polovina XVIII – pochatok XIX st. Kataloh* (Nizhyn: Vydavnytstvo NDU im. M. Hoholya, 2012).

18 Stanisław Siess-Krzyszkowski and Irina Leonidovna Velikodnaya, *Polskie książki i rękopisy w zbiorach Biblioteki Naukowej Państwowego Uniwersytetu im. M.W. Łomonosowa w Moskwie. Katalog. Pol'skiye redkiye knigi i rukopisi v fondakh Nauchnoy biblioteki MGU im. M.V. Lomonosova. Katalog* (Moscow: Nauchnaya biblioteka MGU im. M.V. Lomonosova, 2005).

19 Stanisław Siess-Krzyszkowski etc., *Katalog starych druków Biblioteki Ordynacji Nieświeskiej Radziwiłłów w zbiorach Bibliotek: Rosyjskiej Akademii Nauk w Sankt Petersburgu, Państwowego Uniwersytetu im. M.W. Łomonosowa w Moskwie, Narodowej Finlandii w Helsinkach i Uniwersyteckiej w Warszawie. Druki polskie XVI–XVIII w.* (Internet database), (Kraków: Centrum Badawcze Bibliografii Polskiej Estreicherów UJ), online: <http://www.estreicher.uj.edu.pl/bazy_bibliograficzne/index.php/75>.

one roof.[20] This library, about 15,000 volumes, was pillaged in 1772 by the Russians. The Radziwiłł family quickly rebuilt their collection and created a second library, only to see that confiscated by the Russians in 1813 after the unfortunate Napoleonic invasion of Russia. The family started again and a third Nieśwież library was organized. It remained intact till the first days of the second world war, when the Soviet Union invaded the eastern Polish territories and confiscated everything.

Let us go back to the history of the first library. 15,000 volumes from the Nieśwież collection were transferred to the Library of the Imperial Academy of Sciences in Saint Petersburg and carefully catalogued. This catalogue registered 9,673 titles, and was the base for our project, together with the original Polish registers for the sub-collections (i.e. personal book collections of certain family members which supplemented the library).[21]

The collection soon became dispersed. In 1814 over a thousand books were sent to Moscow University Library to replace the collection burned in 1812. In 1829 the newly opened Helsinki University Library received a similar amount of books from the Nieśwież collection. These mostly came from Saint Petersburg, but some of them bear the stamps of the Moscow University Library.[22] Then, in the 1830s, the collection remaining in the Library of the Imperial Academy of Sciences was divided into groups according to language criteria. Publications in Polish were at first transferred to the Russian books department, and then divided between the Slavic books department and the rare books department. The rest, including Polish publications in Latin, were placed in the foreign books department.[23] In the following years, 37,000 items from the Library of the Academy of Sciences in Saint Petersburg were transferred to the University

20 The history of the first Nieśwież library was described in detail by Stanisław Siess-Krzyszkowski, 'Pierwsza Biblioteka Ordynacka w Nieświeżu i jej znaki własnościowe (na podstawie bazy danych: Katalog starych druków Biblioteki Ordynacji Nieświeskiej Radziwiłłów. Druki polskie XVI–XVIII wieku)', in *Rocznik Biblioteki Narodowej*, vol. 41, 2011, pp. 135–160.

21 *Catalogus Bibliothecae Radivilianae,* Archive of the Russian Academy of Sciences in Saint Petersburg, f. 158, op. 1, Nos. 226–227. For the entire list of archival sources and full bibliography of the project, see: Siess-Krzyszkowski etc., *Katalog starych druków Biblioteki Ordynacji Nieświeskiej Radziwiłłów* (Internet database). See also: Rafał Jankowski, 'Przegląd materiałów źródłowych do historii i rekonstrukcji radziwiłłowskiego księgozbioru w Nieświeżu, zgromadzonych w Archiwum Głównym Akt Dawnych w Warszawie', in *Rocznik Biblioteki Narodowej*, vol. 41, 2011, pp. 95–106, and Siess-Krzyszkowski, 'Pierwsza Biblioteka Ordynacka w Nieświeżu', p. 147.

22 Siess-Krzyszkowski, 'Pierwsza Biblioteka Ordynacka w Nieświeżu', pp. 148–149.

23 *Ibid.*, pp. 149–150.

Library in Warsaw, among them numerous early printed books from the first Nieśwież library. There are also dim traces of a similar donation to the Museum of Antiquities in Vilnius, but no volumes have been found thus far.[24] Many duplicates were also put on sale, and so single books from Nieśwież may now be found in many academic libraries, for instance the University Library in Kharkiv.[25] Finally, the vast foreign books department of the Library of the Academy of Sciences in Saint Petersburg was heavily damaged during a fire in 1988, and its losses have not been fully documented.[26]

Our international research team managed to locate 767 items from Nieśwież in Saint Petersburg, 76 items in Moscow, 820 items in Helsinki, and over 23 items in Warsaw. Identification was based on old ownership inscriptions and the aforementioned registers. Among these we have found 911 Polish books printed before 1801 in 766 volumes, plus 64 volumes of duplicates.[27]

The results of this project are presented in the form of an open–access database, which is continuously expanded; study is still in progress. We have not managed to access the rare books and the foreign books departments in Saint Petersburg, and we now have to wait till the current political situation in Russia and Ukraine calms down. Provenance research in Warsaw still continues. The problem of the mysterious donation to Vilnius has still to be fully explained.

Book researchers in Central and Eastern European face a serious task: to reconstruct the shape and history of lost historical collections not only for descriptive purposes, but also in an attempt to rediscover some of the lost books in the vast amounts of materials that have recently surfaced and are not yet fully described. The prospects are very promising, but the amount of work to be done requires constant cooperation between numerous Russian, Ukrainian, Belarussian, Lithuanian and Polish scholars. Knowledge exchange and experience sharing are just as important as practical support in accessing collections or publications that are hardly accessible. The current war in eastern Ukraine and its political, social and financial consequences make this work much harder, but the spirit of professional solidarity is strong and hopefully sooner or later full-scale cooperation will be possible again.

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24 *Ibid.*, pp. 149–150.

25 *Ibid.*, p. 150.

26 *Ibid.*, p. 150.

27 Siess-Krzyszkowski etc., *Katalog starych druków Biblioteki Ordynacji Nieświeskiej Radziwiłłów* (Internet database).

CHAPTER 23

All is not Lost. Italian Archives and Libraries in the Second World War

Flavia Bruni

Immediately after the Liberation, the Allied commission for Monuments, Fine Arts and Archives [MFA&A] published a report on the situation of the Italian archives.[1] A short time later, a volume published by the Directorate-General of Academies and Libraries provided an exhaustive report to the Ministry of Education on the damage and losses suffered by Italian libraries during the second world war. This was followed in 1953 by another volume on the restoration of libraries carried out after the end of the war.[2] These volumes are an excellent starting point for any study on the impact of the second world war on the Italian documentary and library heritage.

The two volumes on libraries provided accurate figures on the condition of collections and buildings and on the costs of reconstruction and restoration of Italian libraries. After an introduction on the Italian wartime plans for preservation,[3] a chapter lists and analyses carefully the most relevant causes of damage for books and buildings: bullets, bombs, aerial bombs, mines and other accidents (ills. 23.1 and 23.2).[4]

1 Commission for Monuments, Fine Arts and Archives, *Rapporto finale sugli Archivi* (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, 1946), available online: <http://www.icar.beniculturali.it/biblio/_view_volume.asp?ID_VOLUME=27>. All online resources quoted in this article were last consulted on 31 August 2015. I am grateful to Jan L. Alessandrini, Anna Manfron, Alberto Petrucciani and Andrew Pettegree for their suggestions on this chapter.

2 Italy. Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, Direzione Generale Accademie e Biblioteche, *La ricostruzione delle biblioteche italiane dopo la guerra 1940–45. I. I danni* and *II. La ricostruzione* (Rome: Ufficio Studi e Pubblicazioni, Fratelli Palombi, [1949–1953]). The two volumes on libraries were edited by Ettore Apollonj and Alda Angelini with the help of Tommaso Bozza for the first one, and Alberto Spina for the second: see Alberto Petrucciani, 'Le biblioteche italiane durante la guerra: i servizi al pubblico', in Andrea Capaccioni, Andrea Paoli and Ruggero Ranieri (eds.), *Le biblioteche e gli archivi durante la seconda guerra mondiale. Il caso italiano* (Bologna: Pendragon, 2007), pp. 99–141, note 3, p. 100.

3 *La ricostruzione delle biblioteche italiane dopo la guerra 1940–45. I. I danni*, 'Misure preventive per la tutela del materiale librario', pp. 11–18.

4 *Ibid.*, 'I danni di guerra alle biblioteche e loro cause', pp. 19–26. A similar analysis is also available for archives in the *Rapporto finale sugli Archivi*, pp. 23–28.

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ILLUSTRATION 23.1 *Book of the State Archive of Palermo burnt and extracted from rubble after the bombing of April 1943*
© Istituto centrale per la patologia del libro, Rome
[AF IST 258]

ILLUSTRATION 23.2 *Book damaged by a bullet*
© Istituto centrale per la patologia del libro, Rome
[AF IST 480]

Working to this template, for each region a first table details the damage suffered by walls, windows, services, scaffolding, furniture and other objects; a second table shows the information available on the conditions of manuscripts, incunabula, sixteenth-century books, other printed books, miscellanies, bindings, collections and catalogues. The number of items that had been lost or damaged in each group is followed by its evaluation in the monetary value of 1945–46. Despite post-war devaluation, these reports were vital to help in planning rescue and reconstruction.

According to the tables at the end of the volume, the war caused the loss of some 38,700 manuscripts and documents, 376 incunabula, about 16,300 sixteenth-century books and almost 2,000,000 later printed books in 315 Italian institutions. To these numbers we should add 33,631 manuscripts and documents, 298 incunabula, 2,315 sixteenth-century books and almost 400,000 other printed books damaged in libraries that were not included in the Ministry survey. The damage to buildings and furniture was estimated at roughly 2,000,000 Italian lira.[5]

5 *La ricostruzione delle biblioteche italiane dopo la guerra 1940–45. I. I danni*, pp. 344–347 and Andrea Paoli, *«Salviamo la creatura». Protezione e difesa delle biblioteche italiane nella*

The reliability of these figures was discussed some sixty years later in a conference in Perugia in 2005, whose proceedings are available in a volume of 21 essays.[6] A few case-histories expose the limits of the data collected immediately after the war and show that the effectiveness of the preservation operations had been grossly overestimated. In the case-study on the libraries of Genoa the contemporary evaluation needs to be raised by 60%, or some 200,000 volumes, to reflect actual losses.[7] Still, the original reports offer an interesting starting point to compare Italian policies for the preservation of cultural heritage before and after the second world war with those of other European countries.

From as early as 1934, in the perspective of an impending war, the Italian Ministry of Education began to develop a plan for the protection of library staff, users, buildings and collections.[8] Between 1935 and 1936 the Directorate-General of Academies and Libraries issued some comprehensive guidelines focused on the selection of books to safeguard. These were based on the division of assets into three classes prior to evacuation. Manuscripts, incunabula and exceptionally rare books were classified as objects of extraordinary cultural significance (class A). These had to be evacuated from the main urban centres, likely to be targets of air attacks, to isolated buildings believed to be secure, such as castles and monasteries in the countryside. A second class of books (B) comprised works of art and scholarship also valuable, like sixteenth-century books, just not as rare as those of the first class. These should be moved to protected rooms likely in the basement of their usual building. A third class (C) of more recent and less valuable books would remain in its usual location.[9] This would avoid the possible damage to civilian morale caused by a complete

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seconda guerra mondiale (Rome: Associazione Italiana Biblioteche, 2003), p. 123 and table at p. 134; Andrea Paoli, 'I piani di protezione: la loro esecuzione', in Capaccioni, Paoli and Ranieri (eds.), *Le biblioteche e gli archivi*, pp. 33–97, pp. 92–94. Paoli, in his note 104 at p. 94, invites us to read the official reports with caution as they did not include all the libraries.

6 Capaccioni, Paoli and Ranieri (eds.), *Le biblioteche e gli archivi*.

7 Alberto Petrucciani, 'Studi di caso: Genova', in Capaccioni, Paoli and Ranieri (eds.), *Le biblioteche e gli archivi*, pp. 371–391, p. 389.

8 See Mauro Guerrini in his Preface to Paoli, *«Salviamo la creatura»*, p. 8; and *ibid.*, p. 13.

9 *La ricostruzione delle biblioteche italiane dopo la guerra 1940–45. I. I danni*, pp. 11–13. See also Flavia Cristiano, 'I piani di protezione: le origini', in Capaccioni, Paoli and Ranieri (eds.), *Le biblioteche e gli archivi*, pp. 1–32, pp. 15–17 and 20–21; and Nicola Schneider, 'The Losses of the Music Collection of the Hessische Landesbibliothek in Darmstadt in 1944: A Case Study on the Failure to Safeguard Historical Library Holdings', in Anja-Silvia Goeing, Anthony Grafton, Paul Michel and Adam Blauhut (eds.), *Collectors' Knowledge: What is Kept, What is Discarded* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 381–414, at p. 383. For a detailed list of shelters and the collections

evacuation of libraries before the start of the war.[10] A substantial part of the collections remained available to users even in wartime, balancing the needs of preservation and continuing access to resources at least in the main public libraries.[11] From 1942–43 the Vatican took charge of safeguarding operations for ecclesiastic archives and libraries ensuring their protection on site or arranging for their temporary storage in the Vatican.[12]

The evacuation of works of art and books had already taken place in Italy during the first world war. A selection of valuable items had been moved from Veneto and Friuli to Florence. A few manuscripts of the Marciana had found their shelter just beside the Laurentian library, in the crypt of the Medici Chapels.[13] These rudimentary wartime plans were also useful inasmuch as they demonstrated the need for more accurate guidelines for heritage preservation. Shortly after the end of the war the Ministry of Education established in 1919 the Soprintendenze bibliografiche, local offices in charge of protection and supervision of book heritage for each region, and in 1926 the Direzione Generale Accademie e Biblioteche [Directorate-General of Academies and Libraries].[14]

Scholars who have studied the question agree that Italian wartime measures for the protection of cultural heritage were well-advanced when compared to other European countries. This prevented the impact of war on archives and libraries from being as destructive as it could have been – and as it actually was

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they would respectively host, see *La ricostruzione delle biblioteche italiane dopo la guerra 1940–45. I. I danni*, 'Misure preventive per la tutela del materiale librario', pp. 13–14; Andrea Paoli, 'I piani di protezione: la loro esecuzione', in Capaccioni, Paoli and Ranieri (eds.), *Le biblioteche e gli archivi*, pp. 33–97, at pp. 45–46; and Paoli, *«Salviamo la creatura»*, pp. 18–45.

10 This was indeed the argument against evacuation in British libraries: Paoli, *«Salviamo la creatura»*, p. 144.

11 Petrucciani, 'Le biblioteche italiane durante la guerra'. See also Cristiano, 'I piani di protezione', pp. 18–19; and Paoli, *«Salviamo la creatura»*, pp. 112–114 and 117.

12 *Rapporto finale sugli Archivi*, pp. 10–12; Massimo Ceresa, 'La Biblioteca Vaticana e le biblioteche romane durante la seconda guerra mondiale', in Capaccioni, Paoli and Ranieri (eds.), *Le biblioteche e gli archivi*, pp. 343–369, p. 345.

13 Cristiano, 'I piani di protezione', pp. 5 and 9–10; Simonetta Buttò, 'I bibliotecari italiani e la seconda guerra mondiale: generazioni a confronto', in Capaccioni, Paoli and Ranieri (eds.), *Le biblioteche e gli archivi*, pp. 249–277, pp. 257–259.

14 Roncuzzi Roversi Monaco, 'La tutela del patrimonio librario', at p. 87; Cristiano, 'I piani di protezione', p. 14; see also the introduction in Capaccioni, Paoli and Ranieri (eds.), *Le biblioteche e gli archivi*, pp. i–xxxvii, p. vii. Nine Soprintendenze archivistiche would only follow in 1939, too late to have a real role in wartime policies: see *Rapporto finale sugli Archivi*, p. 8.

in some other parts of Europe.[15] This was for several reasons. The so-called 'elastic defence' of taking decisions and moving material on the spot when events became too unpredictable worked well in the last phase of the war;[16] the support of the Vatican in hosting books and archives not only from ecclesiastical institution from 1944;[17] lastly, a considerable contribution to the satisfactory outcome of preservation plans must be attributed to the personal commitment and exemplary dedication, nearly heroic, of several resolute Italian librarians and archivists.[18]

The fascist policy of centralisation also determined a consistent line of management for archives and libraries, balancing many centuries of fragmentation of the Italian states. The official plans for archival protection were similar to those for libraries and bibliographic material.[19] By contrast, evacuations of German libraries appear occasional and uncoordinated, mostly entrusted to individual directors of libraries in the absence of any central authority in charge of this task. A lively debate brought Italy and France to similar decisions about safety measures for books and documents a few years before the outbreak of the war. In both countries these priorities were based on the selection of books to evacuate to protect them from aerial attacks.[20] In Germany the first official statement concerned with the protection of libraries was only issued in June 1939 and was a verbatim translation of the Italian circular issued in December 1936 on the division of assets into three classes. Also differently from Italy, archives and libraries were not treated consistently. German archives depended on the Interior Ministry and their evacuation was organised centrally, making their situation slightly better than that of libraries. Such national policies were the results of diverse experiences: Italy planned wartime measures carefully in

15 See *Rapporto finale sugli Archivi*, pp. 8–9, 67–75; Paoli, *«Salviamo la creatura»*, pp. 121 and 130–149, esp. p. 148; Ranieri, 'Il ruolo degli alleati', p. 172; Buttò, 'I bibliotecari italiani', pp. 249–250; Ceresa, 'La Biblioteca Vaticana e le biblioteche romane', pp. 343 and 354.

16 *La ricostruzione delle biblioteche italiane dopo la guerra 1940–45. I. I danni*, p. 18; Paoli, *«Salviamo la creatura»*, p. 131; Paoli, 'I piani di protezione', pp. 76, 78 and 96; Ceresa, 'La Biblioteca Vaticana e le biblioteche romane', p. 343.

17 Ceresa, 'La Biblioteca Vaticana e le biblioteche romane', pp. 343–349; Paoli, 'I piani di protezione', p. 76.

18 Paoli, *«Salviamo la creatura»*, p. 50 *passim*, esp. p. 133; Paoli, 'I piani di protezione', p. 97; Buttò, 'I bibliotecari italiani'; Ceresa, 'La Biblioteca Vaticana e le biblioteche romane', pp. 343–344 and 349–350.

19 *Rapporto finale sugli Archivi*, pp. 7–8; Cristiano, 'I piani di protezione', p. 14 and 17–18; and Schneider, 'The Losses of the Music Collection', p. 382.

20 Paoli, *«Salviamo la creatura»*, p. 145. The rules on the management of refuges were similar.

advance in the anticipation of a new conflict, potentially more destructive than the war just recently fought out on her soil. Germany lacked recent experience as a battlefield and underestimated modern aerial warfare.[21]

This was actually a common mistake, partly shared by the Italian institutions as well. Despite a general awareness of the need to preserve buildings and collections from aerial attacks, the plans for protection were inappropriate to the emergencies of modern aerial warfare.[22] The sixteenth-century building of the Archiginnasio in Bologna was only secured through fire safety measures, which would prove totally inadequate against aerial bombing.[23] Nevertheless, the Italian plans for protection of books proved reasonably appropriate to the task, especially as evacuation was planned so much in advance.[24]

The selection of material actually took longer than the two months expected, and the evacuation of Italian state libraries took place in June 1940.[25] About 200,000 volumes were moved to the identified shelters in about 4,400 crates.[26] In autumn 1942 Allied bombings of Genoa, Turin and Milan encouraged a second round of evacuation. This would also include books of class B and, noteworthy, catalogues, as they might prove essential after the war to document any losses and to help the reconstruction. Conducted in a state of emergency, this second phase of evacuation was completed by August 1943. The crates almost doubled the quantity in the shelters.[27] Evacuation of archives took place from 1941 to 1943 on the basis of similar criteria for the selection of material.[28]

21 Schneider, 'The Losses of the Music Collection', pp. 382–383; see also the article by Jan L. Alessandrini in this volume, esp. note 18.

22 Paoli, *«Salviamo la creatura»*, pp. 15–17; Petrucciani, 'Le biblioteche italiane durante la guerra', p. 114, note 19.

23 Valeria Roncuzzi Roversi Monaco, 'L'Archiginnasio bombardato: i danni all'edificio e al patrimonio librario', in Capaccioni, Paoli and Ranieri (eds.), *Le biblioteche e gli archivi*, pp. 535–545, at pp. 535–536; Roncuzzi Roversi Monaco, 'La tutela del patrimonio librario', pp. 93–95; Paoli, *«Salviamo la creatura»*, pp. 130–131.

24 Paoli, 'I piani di protezione', p. 95; Paoli, *«Salviamo la creatura»*, p. 132.

25 *La ricostruzione delle biblioteche italiane dopo la guerra 1940–45. I. I danni*, 'Misure preventive per la tutela del materiale librario', p. 13; Paoli, *«Salviamo la creatura»*, pp. 23–26.

26 See the introduction in Capaccioni, Paoli and Ranieri (eds.), *Le biblioteche e gli archivi*, p. ix.

27 *La ricostruzione delle biblioteche italiane dopo la guerra 1940–45. I. I danni*, 'Misure preventive per la tutela del materiale librario', pp. 15–16; Paoli, *«Salviamo la creatura»*, pp. 32–44; Paoli, 'I piani di protezione', pp. 66–69.

28 *Rapporto finale sugli Archivi*, pp. 9 and 13.

Evacuation would prove vital for the library of the Archiginnasio in Bologna. Due to its position as a strategic railway node, Bologna was targeted by more than 90 bombings between 1943 and 1945.[29] The Archiginnasio, built in the sixteenth century as the main hall of the University, was bombed in January 1944. Following the stipulated instructions, the most valuable items of the collections had been removed to Torrechiara in 1940. Some more books and catalogues were brought in 1943 to the summer camp of Casaglia. Despite the destruction of both the building of the Archiginnasio and, by a twist of fate, that of Casaglia, the collections suffered some considerable losses but eventually a decent proportion would survive the war.[30]

Some spoilage was even caused by the unforeseen conditions to which evacuated materials were exposed in the refuges. 32 crates of books of the Biblioteca Labronica of Leghorn were flooded by a tributary of the Arno while stored in the chartreuse of Calci in October 1945.[31] The shelters were equipped to some extent against damp, animals and other possible hostile agents, but it was not enough to turn such makeshift accommodations into long-term convenient repositories for books and archival folders. The warm and dry Italian summer climate assisted evacuation in June 1940, but adverse weather conditions during the rest of the year proved detrimental for books.[32] Another weakness of the Italian plans was the accumulation of collections from different libraries in the same refuge, as they could overload the buildings and would all be destroyed in the unfortunate case of a raid. In 1942 the abbey of Torrechiara, in Emilia, hosted books from up to eight libraries simultaneously.[33]

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29 See the dedicated pages on the website of the Comune di Bologna by the Istituzione Bologna Musei and the library of the Archiginnasio, with extensive information, digitised newspapers and other resources: <http://memoriadibologna.comune.bologna.it/bombardamenti-aerei-subiti-da-bologna-95-evento> and <http://badigit.comune.bologna.it/bolognabombardata/index.html>.

30 Roncuzzi Roversi Monaco, 'L'Archiginnasio bombardato'; Roncuzzi Roversi Monaco, 'La tutela del patrimonio librario'; Valeria Roncuzzi Roversi Monaco, 'Il bombardamento sull'Archiginnasio: vicissitudini dell'edificio storico e del patrimonio librario', in Cristina Bersani and Valeria Roncuzzi Roversi Monaco (eds.), *Delenda Bononia: immagini dei bombardamenti 1943–1945* (Bologna: Pàtron, 1995), pp. 119–144; Petrucciani, 'Le biblioteche italiane durante la guerra', pp. 117–118; Paoli, *«Salviamo la creatura»*, p. 112.

31 Paoli, *«Salviamo la creatura»*, p. 102.

32 *Rapporto finale sugli Archivi*, pp. 10 and 49; *La ricostruzione delle biblioteche italiane dopo la guerra 1940–45. I. I danni*, pp. 14–15. See also, for instance, Roncuzzi Roversi Monaco, 'La tutela del patrimonio librario', pp. 95–96; Paoli, 'I piani di protezione', pp. 40, 56–66; and the quotation from Riccardo Filangieri below, pp. 480–481.

33 Paoli, 'I piani di protezione', p. 64 and 91, note 93.

Despite a few accidents, wartime plans worked fairly well until 1943. In July 1943 the Allied landing in Sicily changed the dynamics of the war. On 3 September 1943, General Badoglio signed an armistice with the Allies, marking the exit of Italy from the Axis. In his proclamation on 8 September 1943, Badoglio stated that, after the requested armistice had been granted by General Eisenhower, commander-in-chief of the Anglo-American Allied forces, "all acts of hostility against the Anglo-American force by Italian forces must cease everywhere. But they may react to eventual attacks *from any other source*".[34] This unexpected change of front would reveal previous wartime measures as myopic and tragically out of date. From September 1943, danger was suddenly not coming from aerial attacks anymore, but from German troops retreating up the boot of Italy.[35]

In October 1943 the German military government founded the Abteilung Kunstschutz bei bevollmächtigen General der deutschen Wehrmacht in Italien [usually simply called Kunstschutz], an office formally charged with preserving Italian monuments and works of art. This unit was placed under the direction of the German art historian Hans-Gerhard Evers from the University of Munich.[36] Some steps toward an international agreement on heritage preservation during wartime had already appeared in the proceedings of the conferences of the Hague of 1899 and 1907, but they were valid only for signatory countries and mostly intended to protect works of art, leaving unclear what had to be preserved, and how, in archives and libraries.[37] More critically, they were subject to 'military necessity'; and the contingency of aerial attacks was not even taken into consideration. The peace treaties after the first world war included some additional principles on heritage preservation, notably that of

34 The audio file of the speech, in Italian, read by Pietro Badoglio on the Ente Italiano per le Audizioni Radiofoniche (EIAR) on 8 September 1943 is available online on the RAI – Radiotelevisione Italiana – website: <http://www.rai.tv/dl/RaiTV/programmi/media/ContentItem-779832fd-4b38-4666-993e-fa7507fb2e96.html>. Italics mine.

35 Paoli, *«Salviamo la creatura»*, pp. 46–76 and 98–99: 'Il fronte attraversa l'Italia: 1943'; Paoli, 'I piani di protezione', pp. 74–92.

36 *Rapporto finale sugli Archivi*, p. 12; Lutz Klinkhammer, 'Tra furto e tutela. Le biblioteche nel quadro dell'occupazione tedesca dell'Italia (1943–45)', in Capaccioni, Paoli and Ranieri (eds.), *Le biblioteche e gli archivi*, pp. 143–165, at pp. 147–148. On the work of the Kunstschutz see also Paoli, *«Salviamo la creatura»*, p. 59; and Paoli, 'I piani di protezione', p. 79.

37 This vagueness was already highlighted in the *Rapporto finale sugli Archivi*, p. 7. Rosenne Shabtai (ed.), *The Hague Peace Conferences of 1899 and 1907 and International Arbitration. Reports and Documents* (The Hague: T.M.C. Asser, 2001); James Brown Scott (ed.), *The proceedings of the Hague peace conferences: translation of the official texts prepared in the Division of international law of the Carnegie endowment for international peace* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1920–1921).

restitution. The destruction of Louvain in 1914 reinforced the idea that museums, archives, libraries and 'artistic towns' should somehow be protected from massive destruction.[38] Despite never being formalised, this suggestion still had some influence during the second world war, especially for places such as Rome, Florence and Venice.[39] On the other hand, this fostered the expectation that armies would avoid deliberately targeting works or cities of art, which turned out to be dramatically misleading. The conventional sign on the roofs of the most important libraries to help identifying historical and artistic buildings was mostly ignored.[40]

After the Allied landing in 1943 the commission for Monuments, Fine Arts and Archives [MFA&A] was also involved in the management of the Italian heritage, from 1944 also including archives and libraries. The protection of the Italian heritage from the Nazis was a crucial point in the anti-German propaganda. Interestingly, this actually reacted to the German and fascist argument depicting the Allies as destroyers themselves.[41] It should be noted that an interest in the archives was dictated by other needs alongside propaganda:

> For what concerns papers (archives) and books, it must be considered that even those not looking very old might be of great importance, not only from a historical point of view but because they can contain useful information for actual war purposes.[42]

Unfortunately, all this was not enough to prevent pillage and destruction. Antisemitism encouraged the plunder of books and works of art from Jewish collections. This was also the fate of the two Jewish libraries in Rome, that of the Italian Rabbinical College and the Jewish Community of Rome.[43] In

38 Schneider, 'The Losses of the Music Collection', p. 382.

39 See the introduction in Capaccioni, Paoli and Ranieri (eds.), *Le biblioteche e gli archivi*, pp. ii–v; Cristiano, 'I piani di protezione', pp. 4–5 and 26–29; Paoli, 'I piani di protezione', pp. 76 and 80.

40 Roncuzzi Roversi Monaco, 'La tutela del patrimonio librario', p. 92; Paoli, 'I piani di protezione', p. 95.

41 Ruggero Ranieri, 'Il ruolo degli alleati nella preservazione delle biblioteche e degli archivi durante l'esperienza di liberazione/occupazione (1943–46)', in Capaccioni, Paoli and Ranieri (eds.), *Le biblioteche e gli archivi*, pp. 167–209, esp. pp. 182–185; Paoli, *«Salviamo la creatura»*, pp. 57–58 and 96; Klinkhammer, 'Tra furto e tutela', pp. 148–152.

42 Allied instructions on the Archives, Administrative instruction no. 10 (30 March 1944), reiterated in the Memorandum of 6 December 1944 and in that of 3 April 1945: see *Rapporto finale sugli Archivi*, pp. 52–53.

43 Klinkhammer, 'Tra furto e tutela', pp. 158–159.

December 1943 the library of the Rabbinical College was taken to Frankfurt am Main. It was returned to the College by the US Army after the war. There was no happy ending though for the library of the Community of Rome. This inestimable collection of some 7,000 books, including manuscripts and rare editions printed by Soncino, Bomberg, Bragadin and Giustiniani, is still lost. A Commission for the recovery of the bibliographic patrimony of the Jewish Community of Rome stolen by the Nazis in 1943 was set up under the Presidency of the Italian Council of Ministers in 2002. The Commission, made up of historians and archivists as well as high-ranking government officials, completed its mandate in 2009.[44] In the final report, the Commission expressed the hope that

> the data obtained may in the future be integrated with other data, found by others, perhaps through the exploration of the Russian archives today inaccessible, and that this might lead to the discovery of an invaluable cultural heritage. It is still the Commission's conviction that it cannot have utterly vanished.[45]

After the armistice, the isolated shelters in the countryside where collections had been taken to save them from aerial attacks suddenly turned into unprotected places. Recalled by directors, the crates of books and documents made their way back to urban centres, believed to be more secure after the change of circumstances.[46] Books that had been hosted in the abbey of Montecassino had providentially returned to Rome between December 1943 and January 1944 just before the abbey was razed by the Allies, persuaded it was a German stronghold, in February 1944.[47] Three months later, Allied bombs destroyed part of the monastery of Santa Scolastica in Subiaco, including the rooms where crates with books had been stored in 1940. By then, they were safely back in Rome, hosted by the Vatican.[48]

The burning of the documents of the State Archive of Naples is a well-known example of a tragedy that could not be predicted inasmuch it was caused by

44 See the official translation (Oct. 2010) of the final report (Feb. 2009) on the activities of the Commission for recovery of the bibliographic patrimony of the Jewish community of Rome stolen in 1943, available online: <http://www.governo.it/Presidenza/USRI/confessioni/doc/rapporto_finale_eng.pdf>.

45 *Ibid.*, p. 6.

46 *Rapporto finale sugli Archivi*, pp. 9–10; Paoli, *«Salviamo la creatura»*, pp. 47–49; Paoli, 'I piani di protezione', pp. 74–92.

47 Paoli, *«Salviamo la creatura»*, pp. 57–60 and 95–96.

48 Paoli, *«Salviamo la creatura»*, pp. 60–73; Ceresa, 'La Biblioteca Vaticana e le biblioteche romane', pp. 353–354.

reprisal and not military strategy. German soldiers took Hitler's order to reduce Naples "to mud and ashes" literally. The core of the University founded by Frederick II in the thirteenth century, one of the oldest in Europe, was set on fire. 200,000 volumes, 3,000 folders, 200 bindings, 1,500 maps and 250 coins of the library of the Accademia Pontaniana and of the Royal Society of Science, Letters and Fine Arts of Naples were incinerated.[49] The Archive was vandalised by the retreating German army as it left the city in late September 1943. After surviving many heavy bombings of the town, 866 crates containing over 30,000 volumes and 50,000 documents that had been moved to Villa Montesano near San Paolo Bel Sito for security reasons were destroyed.[50] The State Archive preserved valuable documents from the period of Arabic, Norman, Imperial, French and Spanish domination of Naples. Amongst the losses were fourteenth- and fifteenth-century papers from the Angevin-Aragonese period and the register of Frederick II dating from the years 1239–1240.[51]

The case of Naples offers a number of examples of successful initiatives to rescue and restore damaged or even lost heritage with various techniques. Already in 1935 Riccardo Filangieri, Superintendent of the Napolitan provinces and then Director of the State Archives, had raised his voice against the relocation of documents to the countryside, being aware of at least some of the dangers:

> la mole considerevole, anche delle sole scritture più preziose, la difficoltà di un trasporto improvviso e quella di trovare un luogo sicuro da tutti i pericoli ai quali vanno soggette le scritture, specie l'incendio e l'umidità, consigliano di pensare e preparare entro le stesse mura di questo vasto edificio un ricovero ben munito da ogni pericolo di un trasloco di emergenza;
>
> [*the considerable quantity, even only of the most valuable documents; the difficulty of an unexpected move; and that of finding a safe place where*

49 See Vincenzo Trombetta, 'Biblioteche e archivi napoletani durante la guerra', in Capaccioni, Paoli and Ranieri (eds.), *Le biblioteche e gli archivi*, pp. 393–442, pp. 408–411.

50 Riccardo Filangieri, 'Relazione sulla distruzione del deposito dei documenti di maggiore pregio storico dell'Archivio di Stato di Napoli operata dai tedeschi il 30 settembre 1943', in *Rapporto finale sugli Archivi*, pp. 54–57.

51 Cristina Carbonetti Vendittelli, 'Cancelleria, Registro della (1239–1240)', in *Enciclopedia Treccani*, available online: < http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/registro-della-cancelleria_%28Federiciana%29/>. The register was made of paper: some mandates of the imperial court of Frederick II from the years 1228–1230 are amongst the oldest examples of the use of paper in a chancellery: see Giulio Battelli, *Lezioni di paleografia* (Vatican: Scuola Vaticana di Paleografia e Diplomatica, 1949), p. 34; and Bernhard Bischoff, *Paleografia latina* (Padova: Antenore, 1992), p. 15.

> *papers would not be damaged, especially by fire and damp, would suggest careful reflection and the establishment of a shelter right inside this vast building, well equipped against any risk of an emergency move*].[52]

The news of the destruction of the Neapolitan Archives would have sounded dreadfully bitter to his ears; still he did not give up. Immediately after the war, Filangieri established an office to work on the reconstruction of the content of the documents destroyed in 1943 from sources such as microfilms, photographic reproductions and transcriptions either published or collected by scholars at various times.[53] This enormous enterprise, initially seen by contemporaries as hopeless, was eventually taken over by the Accademia Pontaniana of Naples and has produced fifty volumes so far.[54] The project started by Filangieri is now going through a new, digital stage. In 2001, the University of Naples launched a research project to convert the volumes into an online textual database. Between 2001 and 2008, a purpose-made PHP script converted semi-automatically the text of six volumes into 4,839 records. The work is still in progress and another 4,000 records will be added soon to the online database.[55] The aim of the project is to enhance access to the data through an index and a custom-made search-engine. In a second stage, sources that are not included in the printed volumes will be also digitised and added to

52 Quoted in Trombetta, 'Biblioteche e archivi napoletani', p. 411, note 32.

53 The *Ufficio della ricostruzione angioina* started its work in 1944. See Guido Fagioli Vercellone, 'Filangieri di Candida Gonzaga, Riccardo', in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 47 (1997), available online: <http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/filangieri-di-candida-gonzaga-riccardo_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/>.

54 Riccardo Filangieri etc. (eds.), *I registri della Cancelleria Angioina* (Naples: Accademia Pontaniana, 1949-). The 50th volume has been edited by Stefano Palmieri and published in 2010. After an attempts at discouraging Filangieri from undertaking such a challenge, Benedetto Croce was eventually persuaded of its significance and it was he who proposed the volumes to the Accademia Pontaniana for publication: "L'impresa si presentava ardua, sì che quando esposi il mio intento al venerato mio amico Benedetto Croce, egli in un primo momento non lo credette attuabile, avendone nel suo alto sapere subito intuite le molteplici e non lievi difficoltà. Ma poi, avendo voluto io tentarne un saggio, lo stesso Croce finì per credervi, ed a tal segno che propose egli stesso all'Accademia Pontaniana la pubblicazione dei registri ricostruiti, proposta che…è da vari anni in atto": see Carlo Giglio and Marco Mozzati (eds.), *Inventario delle fonti manoscritte relative alla storia dell'Africa del nord esistenti in Italia*, vol. 3: Teobaldo Filesi (ed.), *Gli archivi pubblici della Campania e in particolare l'Archivio di Stato di Napoli dalle origini al 1922* (Leiden: Brill, 1973), p. 57.

55 I am grateful to Alfredo Cosco for this information.

the database.[56] An edition of the lost register of Frederick II similarly based on photos, abstracts and transcriptions from the original was published in 2002.[57]

Images were a distinctive trait of fascist cultural policy and propaganda. Documenting the present through pictures and videos was the purpose of the Istituto Nazionale Luce, founded between 1924 and 1925.[58] As seen above, the care of cultural heritage played a significant part in propaganda before and during the war. In 1940 the Ministry of Education invited library directors and superintendents to take photos of preservation operations, of the shelters, inside and outside, and of the opening of the crates of books returned to libraries after the war.[59]

The production of photographic documentation was amongst the main functions of the Istituto Centrale di Patologia del Libro [Central Institute for Pathology of the Book], another instance of Italian excellence in the field of book preservation in the first half of the twentieth century. In 1938 Alfonso Gallo, who had also worked on the official plans for preservation between 1934 and 1939,[60] submitted a proposal to the Ministry of Education to create an institute for the study of the book through techniques and methodologies from both scientific and historical knowledge. The plan was supported by the minister of Education Giuseppe Bottai, who shortly after proposed a law on

56 The project *Il Regno angioino* (*secoli XIII–XV*) is directed by Roberto delle Donne and technically managed by Alfredo Cosco, Paolo Di Vece and Manuela Schiano: <http://www.cdlstoria.unina.it/storia/angio/>; the index of the registers is available here: <http://www.cdlstoria.unina.it/storia/angio/registri/toc.php>.

57 Cristina Carbonetti Vendittelli (ed.), *Il Registro della Cancelleria di Federico II del 1239–1240* (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medioevo, 2002).

58 Gian Piero Brunetta, 'Istituto nazionale L.U.C.E.', in *Enciclopedia del Cinema Treccani* (2003), available online: <http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/istituto-nazionale-l-u-c-e_%28Enciclopedia-del-Cinema%29/>; Antonia Liguori, *Luce su Littoria 1932–1944. Aspetti sociali della bonifica nell'Agro pontino* (Latina: Ali di Pan, 2013), 'Il volto della propaganda attraverso la "pupilla" del Regime', pp. 161–163; Antonia Liguori, 'L'occhio del regime sulla Grande guerra: l'Istituto Luce tra informazione, memoria e propaganda', *Dimensioni e problemi della ricerca storica*, 2003, 2, pp. 109–146.

59 Roncuzzi Roversi Monaco, 'La tutela del patrimonio librario', p. 90.

60 Eliana Fileri, 'Gallo, Alfonso', in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 51 (1998), available online: <http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/alfonso-gallo_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/>; Giorgio de Gregori, 'Gallo, Alfonso', in Giorgio de Gregori and Simonetta Buttò, *Per una storia dei bibliotecari italiani del XX secolo: dizionario bio-bibliografico 1900–1990* (Roma: Associazione Italiana Biblioteche, 1999), pp. 95–96, available online: <http://www.aib.it/aib/editoria/dbbi20/gallo.htm>; Cristiano, 'I piani di protezione', pp. 15 and 24–26; Paoli, 'I piani di protezione', pp. 44–45; Paoli, *«Salviamo la creatura»*, pp. 16 and 150; Ceresa, 'La Biblioteca Vaticana e le biblioteche romane', p. 347 and 360.

the “safeguarding of items of historical and artistic interest”.[61] In Gallo’s intention, the institute would mainly work on the restoration of books damaged by war or other accidents.[62]

The Institute had an essential role in the restoration of books harmed in major disasters such as the second world war and the great flood of Florence in 1966; but it also has a more long-term significance as a resource for information on the book as a material and historical object. Since its foundation, the Institute is also home to a museum of conservation “arranged to represent the wide range of causes of damage to library heritage”, measures for prevention and restoration.[63] In 2007 it was merged with the Centre of Photo-reproduction, Bindery and Restoration for the State Archives to become the new Central Institute for the Restoration and Preservation of Archival and Book Heritage.[64] A photographic archive comprising 8,000 plates and 27,000 diapositives and available online through the Institute’s website provides detailed pictures of the restoration work carried out in the Institute from 1938 (ills. 23.3, 23.4, 23.5 and 23.6).[65]

Without underestimating the impact of the second world war on Italian archives and libraries,[66] it is a widely-shared opinion that damage and losses look limited in Italy in comparison with those suffered by other European countries, despite heavy bombardment and three years of war fought on her soil.[67] The most valuable items of state libraries were saved, with the sole exception of 2,800 manuscripts and documents of the abbey of Montecassino. Most of the libraries that experienced considerable losses were not state libraries. These ‘other’ institutions (private, ecclesiastical, local public libraries) complied with the suggestion of Superintendents to move or evacuate books only in small

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61 Law no. 1089 (1939). See the publication at the next note for further details.

62 Mauro Brunello, Laura Ciancio, Paola F. Munafò, Flavia Pinzari and Maria Luisa Riccardi, *Istituto Centrale di Patologia del Libro. A Guide to the Museum* (Rome: Istituto Centrale di Patologia del Libro, 2004), p. 7. The Institute remained under Gallo’s direction until his death in 1952.

63 Brunello, Ciancio, Munafò, Pinzari and Riccardi, *Istituto Centrale di Patologia del Libro*, pp. 7–9; quotation at p. 8.

64 See the website of the Institute: <http://www.icpal.beniculturali.it/storia_e_finalita.html>. An English version of the page is forthcoming.

65 <http://www.icpal.beniculturali.it/fotografico.html>. The archive also includes photos of its own labs, tools and materials, plus pictures of damaged or restored books and of libraries in Italy and abroad.

66 Schneider points up that “it is clear from the official post-war reports that around 80 per cent of the state libraries were heavily damaged in Italy as well” (‘The Losses of the Music Collection’, p. 382, note 6).

67 See above, note 15.

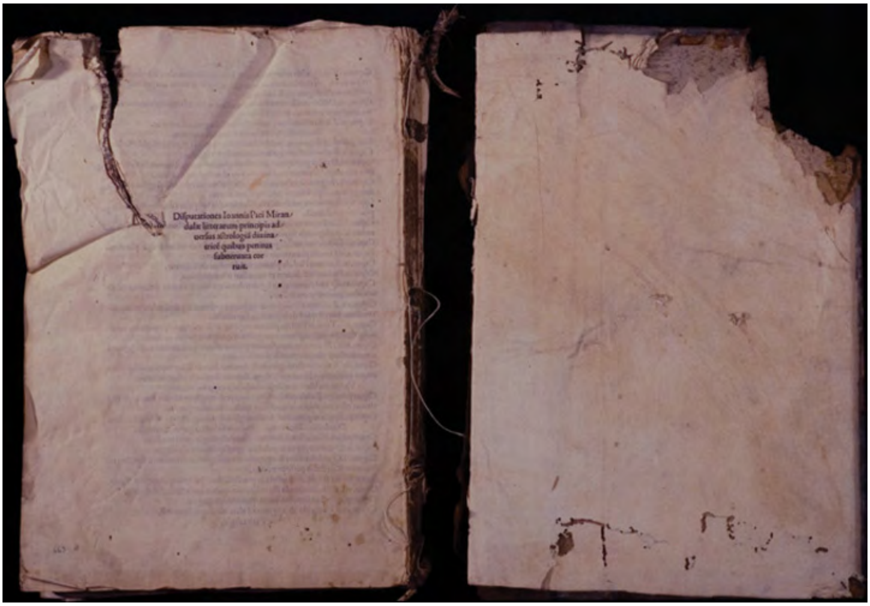

ILLUSTRATION 23.3 *Picus de Mirandula, Opera (Venice: Bernardinus Venetus de Vitalibus, 1498), copy of the Biblioteca del Seminario vescovile, Verona [Giul. 347], final leaf and rear board before restoration*
© Istituto centrale per la patologia del libro, Rome
[AF DIA 05213]

quantities, especially as they were requested to do so at their own expenses.[68] This proves that a clear and centralised policy for the management of archives and libraries in each country and international agreements are both essential for the preservation of cultural heritage not only in exceptional wartime circumstances. Italian evacuation plans also show a praiseworthy awareness of the relevance of catalogues that might prove fundamental in the process of identification of lost or found books, to support their restitution and to prove their existence in the event of massive destruction. This concern for an accurate catalogue should not to be forgotten in peacetime. Similarly, reproductions might prove crucial as well to document any damage and loss, even if they will obviously never be meant to replace the originals. This point should be highlighted in the debate on digitisation and preservation of digital objects.

Books and documents can be seriously damaged or lost not only as a result of dramatic events. To remain on Italian soil, in 2014–15 the Italian

68 *La ricostruzione delle biblioteche italiane dopo la guerra 1940–45. I. I danni*, pp. 14–15. See also Paoli, 'I piani di protezione', pp. 55–56 and 93–94; and Paoli, *«Salviamo la creatura»*, p. 122.

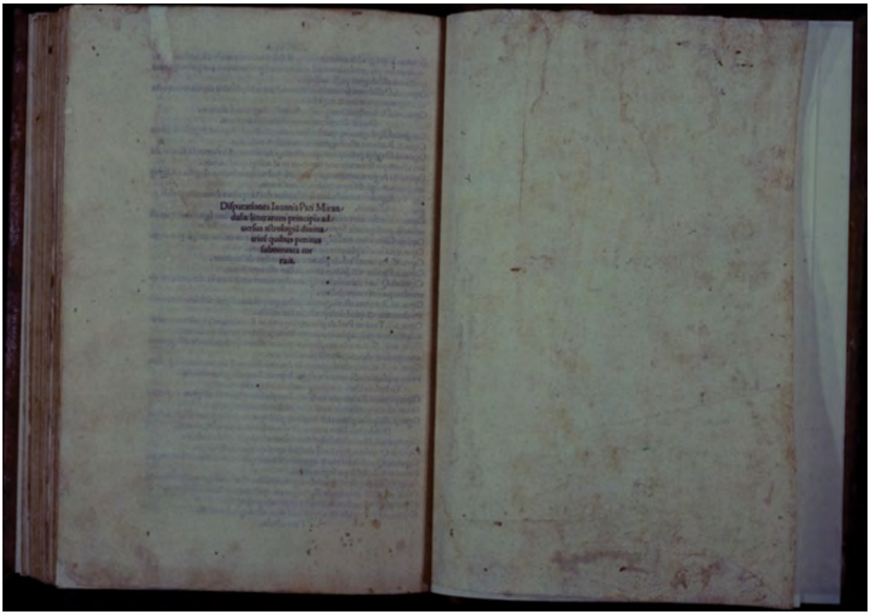

ILLUSTRATION 23.4 *Picus de Mirandula, Opera (Venice: Bernardinus Venetus de Vitalibus, 1498), copy of the Biblioteca del Seminario vescovile, Verona [Giul. 347], final leaf and rear board after restoration*

[AF DIA 07982]

Directorate-General in charge of national archives sponsored, with the contribution of the Regione Sardegna, the restoration of 600 linear metres of documents of the *Società Bonifiche Sarde* dating from 1912 to 1989. Despite their significance for the history of twentieth-century Sardinia, the documents were in a deplorable state of conservation, precluding consultation and putting their own survival at risk.[69]

Some international projects provide support for the preservation of archives under the threats of war or other circumstances. In 1992 UNESCO established the *Memory of the World* Programme to encourage preservation and photographic or digital reproduction of endangered documentary heritage.[70] The *Endangered Archives* Programme of the British Library offers annual grants for

69 The folders are now hosted in the State Archive of Oristano. Some impressive pictures of the documents in their collocation before and after the restoration are available online on the website of the Soprintendenza Archivistica per la Sardegna: <http://www.sa-sardegna.beniculturali.it/index.php?it/191/archivio-sbs-avviato-il-recupero>.

70 See the website of the programme: <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/communication-and-information/flagship-project-activities/memory-of-the-world/homepage/>.

ILLUSTRATION 23.5 *Picus de Mirandula, Opera* (*Venice: Bernardinus Venetus de Vitalibus, 1498*), *copy of the Biblioteca del Seminario vescovile, Verona* [*Giul. 347*], *top edge before restoration*
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[AF DIA 07220]

ILLUSTRATION 23.6
Picus de Mirandula, Opera (*Venice: Bernardinus Venetus de Vitalibus, 1498*), *copy of the Biblioteca del Seminario vescovile, Verona* [*Giul. 347*], *headband after restoration*
© Istituto centrale per la patologia del libro, Rome [AF DIA 07984]

the preservation of archival material that is in danger of destruction, neglect or physical deterioration world-wide. … The grants provide funding to enable successful applicants to locate relevant endangered archival collections, to arrange their transfer to a suitable local archival home

> where possible, to create digital copies of the material and to deposit the copies with local institutions and the British Library.[71]

Similarly, in 2015 the International Federation of Library Associations and Institutions [IFLA] has created a Risk Register for Documentary Cultural Heritage

> in order to raise awareness for the preservation, conservation, and safeguarding of documentary heritage (in any format) world-wide. We aim to gather data on documentary heritage collections in order to be able to respond adequately if confronted with natural or man-made disasters.[72]

Some recent or forthcoming conferences confirm a growing interest in the topic, partly stimulated by alarming contingencies such as the Glasgow School of Art fire of 2014 or the burning of the manuscripts of Timbuktu in 2013.[73] These are positive signs that new policies for the protection of documentary and library heritage may emerge soon in each country and in an international framework. Nonetheless, the development of a shared awareness of the sense of cultural roots, either in a national or world perspective, is still the biggest challenge in the struggle for the preservation of memory.

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71 See the website of the programme: <http://eap.bl.uk>, especially the page on *The Threat to Archives* (<http://eap.bl.uk/pages/threat.html>), and Maja Kominko (ed.), *From Dust to Digital: Ten Years of the Endangered Archives Programme* (Cambridge: Open Book Publishers, 2015).

72 See <http://www.ifla.org/risk-register> and the news about its launch at the IFLA annual conference: <http://www.ifla.org/node/9754>.

73 To mention just a few: *What do we lose when we lose a library?* – International Conference, Leuven, 9 September 2015, University Louvain–La Neuve & KU Leuven, programme available online: <https://kuleuvencongres.be/libconf2015/website/program>; *Fire in the Archives: Experiences Shared, Lessons Learned* – Preservation Committee Event and SCA Annual Members Meeting, Edinburgh, 30 September 2015, programme available online: <http://www.scottisharchives.org.uk/fire>.

CHAPTER 24

Tracing Lost Broadsheet Ordinances Printed in Sixteenth-Century Cologne

Saskia Limbach

Cologne presents a fascinating case for the study of broadsheet ordinances. In the sixteenth century, the metropolis on the Rhine had a population of approximately 40,000.[1] As one of the biggest trading centres in the Holy Roman Empire, many citizens made a living from commerce. Merchants offered a great variety of locally produced cloth, steal, iron and ironware.[2] Farmers from East Friesland, Oldenburg and the region around Münster regularly brought their cattle and other livestock to the markets in Cologne.[3] Thanks to its favourable position on the Rhine, Cologne was well-connected to the long distance international trade permitting many salesmen from within the Empire and beyond to offer their in some cases exotic goods to Cologne citizens.

Naturally this hustle and bustle in the city called for control and the city council was eager to maintain law and order within the city walls. A key part of this regime of regulation was the promulgation and publication of ordinances. During the Middle Ages, the city council of Cologne promulgated ordinances concerning the welfare and peace in the city with so-called 'morning speeches' (*Morgensprachen*), a common practice in north German cities.[4] Every inhabitant was required to attend these 'morning speeches' which regularly took place twice a year, close to the election of the city council – around St John's Eve (23 June) and Christmas Eve (24 December).[5] If a pressing issue presented

1 Heinz Schilling, *Die Stadt in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Munich: Oldenbourgh, 2004), p. 4.

2 Franz Mathis, *Die deutsche Wirtschaft im 16. Jahrhundert* (Munich: Oldenbourgh, 1992), p. 44.

3 Susanna Gramulla, 'Kölner Kaufleute im Handel mit dem Ostseeraum am Ende des 15. und 16. Jahrhundert', *Mitteilungen aus dem Stadtarchiv von Köln*, 60 (1971), pp. 553–598, p. 559.

4 In other German cities these announcements are commonly known as 'Burspraken', See Robert Giel, *Politische Öffentlichkeit im spätmittelalterlich-frühneuzeitlichen Köln (1450–1550)* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1998), p. 53.

5 Klaus Militzer (ed.), *Repertorium der Policeyordnungen der Frühen Neuzeit: Reichsstädte. Köln* (Frankfurt am Main: Klostermann, 2005), vol. 1, p. 8. For more information on the council's election see Manfred Huiskes (ed.), *Beschlüsse des Rates der Stadt Köln, 1320–1550: Die Ratsmemoriale und ergänzende Überlieferung, 1320–1543* (Dusseldorf: Droste, 1990), p. XVI.

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itself, such as severe financial difficulties or rowdy students, the council announced additional 'morning speeches' to explain the current crisis and encourage the public to remain calm.[6]

With the advent of printing, the city council increasingly relied on the new medium to draw their subjects' attention to new regulations. As Cologne was among the first German cities that embraced the invention of moveable type, the council swiftly realised the great opportunities that the 'black art' offered. An important issue that faced the city council in the fifteenth century was the regulation of coinage. To ensure smooth sale transactions it was of great importance to regulate the use of all the different coins that the many foreign salesmen and merchants brought with them. With the help of printing, ordinances concerning the value of coins as well as tables of exchange could be reproduced on a large scale to be hung up in public for everyone to consult. Thus it is hardly surprising that of the fourteen broadsheet ordinances printed in the fifteenth century that have survived, half of them deal with the circulation of specific coins or provide the details of an agreement on coinage with the archbishop and the neighbouring dukes.[7]

Printing also offered the opportunity to spread news easily and swiftly. This gave the council real power, since by presenting recent events from a certain point of view the councillors were able to shape public reaction. The year 1482 proved to be particularly challenging for the city council. Due to financial difficulties over the previous years, Cologne was facing revolt and uproar.[8] The situation escalated in March when enraged townsmen occupied the town hall and imprisoned several councillors. Alarmed by such an assault on their authority, the rest of the council thought it helpful to spread information about the current developments as quickly as possible to those outside the city walls.[9] The council produced a densely printed broadsheet – comprising over 70 lines – which provided an account of the outrages committed by these 'bad, evil and defiant' people. This long statement also specifically named the ringleaders of the uproar along with the punishments that awaited them.

6 Giel, *Politische Öffentlichkeit*, pp. 63–65.

7 The ordinances on coinage are USTC 745654; 745656; 744100; 744094; 744101; 744102; 744103. The other fifteenth-century Cologne ordinances are USTC 744091; 744092; 744093; 744095; 744096; 744098; 744099.

8 Giel, *Politische Öffentlichkeit*, pp. 106–107.

9 USTC 744091; A facsimile of this particular ordinance can be found in Wolfgang Schmitz, *Die Kölner Einblattdrucke des 15. Jahrhunderts* (Cologne: Wamper, 1979), no. 32. The original German text says: "Allen ind ycklichen fursten. herren Grauen vryen Edelmannen Ritteren. knechte[n]".

This wordy report was addressed 'To all princes, dukes and counts as well as their noblemen, knights and servants' and, thanks to a detailed list in the council records, we know that this long broadsheet proclamation was sent to at least 78 recipients. This list shows that the city council sought to inform not only direct neighbours such as the archbishop of Cologne and the dukes of Jülich and Cleve, but also many southern German cities such as Regensburg, Nuremberg, Ulm and Strasbourg. The archbishops in Mainz and Trier also received a copy. Finally, the magistrates considered it as important to notify many cities in the Netherlands such as Antwerp, Amsterdam, Bruges, Gent, Utrecht and Brussels, underlining the close trading connections that Cologne enjoyed with these cities.[10] By circulating this announcement so widely, the council made it very difficult for the banished ringleaders to find a hiding place where people were unaware of the situation.

These then were the main purposes that made the use of print attractive for civic authorities in Cologne and elsewhere. Public authorities in Germany made use of print in this manner quite extensively in the first decades after the introduction of printing. This is not to say that this use of print in any way superseded the importance of traditional means of notifying the public of official acts. Rather the two worked harmoniously together. Indeed, some printed regulations specifically allude to this close connection between oral and written communication by stating that the content of the ordinances had also been openly proclaimed – 'That was outlined and made known in a morning speech'.[11]

The introduction of print into the practices of government was a significant, and perhaps inevitable, change to the regime of Germany's city states: Cologne was in this respect not unusual, though not all places leave such a vivid documentary trace. The sixteenth century would bring further change. The council made increasing use of the new medium to the extent that we discern already a decline in public announcements in form of 'morning speeches' by the 1520s. This was the harbinger of a radical change during the next thirty years when 'morning speeches' became exceptional and new regulations were mostly communicated with the help of printing.[12]

The rise of printed ordinances is matched by an expansion of state activity in many realms of early modern life. Moving on from their initial preoccupation with the regulation of coinage, the city council progressively promulgated ordinances on numerous matters concerning a variety of aspects of public life in Cologne. So we learn, for instance, how salesmen successfully evaded taxes

10 Schmitz, *Kölner Einblattdrucke*, p. 64.

11 *Ibid.*, p. 94, no. 36, 'Dit is uyssgeroiffen ind gemorgenspraicht'.

12 Giel, *Politische Öffentlichkeit,* pp. 66–67.

on flower, bread, malt and meat (and the steps taken to combat this evasion).[13] Some ordinances also reveal how new regulations were perceived, suggesting that some council decision evoked disagreement and anger among the citizens. When in August 1596 the council published new wages for stonecutters, carpenters and roofers, several of those affected angrily tore down the documents and even published lampoons against the city council. The council addressed this unruly behaviour with another ordinance which called for calm after the recent disturbances.[14] Thus these broadsheet ordinances illustrate very effectively what the magistrates perceived as pressing issues that called for immediate regulation, in the process providing intriguing insights into the politics of a vibrant city.

Fascinating as a study of these documents may be, it is by no means clear that the printed documents that we have to hand tell the whole story. Creating a comprehensive corpus of sixteenth-century ordinances is a daunting task. The historian of civic government at least in so far as they rely on print, faces several obstacles. For practical reasons – they could be hung up on walls, houses and churches – the city council of Cologne produced their ordinances primarily as broadsheets. Such single sheets, however, are often difficult to trace, not least as they were excluded from the national bibliography of sixteenth-century Germany, the VD16. By adopting such an unusual strategy, the VD16 differs from other major bibliographical projects that include broadsheets, such as the English STC or the various components of the bibliography of the Low Countries now brought together in *Netherlandish Books*.[15] The

13 Köln – Rat [Cologne City Council]: *Wyr Burgermeystere und Raidt der Stat Collne Doin kundt offentlich und warnen hoe myt* (*Erlass gegen die Hinterziehung der Accise für Mehl, Brot, Malz und Fleisch, 16.03.1527*) ([Cologne]: s.n., 1527). Historisches Archiv der Stadt Köln (hereafter HAStK): Best. 90 (Handel): A 349, f. 6.

14 The ordinances on wages which spurred the unrest was issued on 2 August: Köln – Rat, *Tagelohntaxe für Steinmetzen, Zimmerleute und Leinendecker* ([Cologne]: s.n., 1596). See: Hermann Keussen, 'Inhaltsverzeichniss zu den Sammlungen der Rathsedikte 1493–1819', *Mittheilungen aus dem Stadtarchiv von Köln*, 29 (1899), pp. 159–336, p. 176, no. 376; and the ordinance that called for appeasement was issued on 16 September: Köln – Rat, *Wir Buergermeistere uns Rath dieser deß Heil. Reichs freyer Statt Coelln* (*Schmähschriften sowie Beschädigung und Verhöhnung der Ratsedikte, 16.09.1596*) ([Cologne]: s.n., 1596).

15 A.W. Pollard and G.R. Redgrave (eds.), *A Short-title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland & Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad 1475–1640* (2nd edn, 3 vols, London, The Bibliographical Society, 1976–91); A. Pettegree and M. Walsby (eds.), *Netherlandish Books* (2 vols., Leiden, Brill, 2010); The components are: W. Nijhoff and M.E. Kronenberg (eds.), *Nederlandsche bibliographie van 1500 tot 1540* ('s-Gravenhage, M. Hijhoff, 1923–1971); P. Valkema Blouw, *Typographia Batava 1541–1600: repertorium van boeken gedrukt in Nederlanden tussen 1541 en 1600* (2 vols., Nieuwkoop, De Graaf, 1998); E. Cockx-Indestege, G. Glorieux, B. op de Beeck (eds.), *Belgica typographica 1541–1600: catalogus librorum*

absence of broadsheets from the VD16 means that this vital aspect of sixteenth-century print world is entirely missing from the German national bibliography.[16] The student of civic use of print, in so far as broadsheets were concerned, has therefore to fall back on their own resources.

To be sure, German broadsheets have attracted much attention in the past; here we have especially to thank Falk Eisermann for several illuminating studies.[17] However, most studies concentrate on the well-documented incunabula age, helped here by the inclusion of broadsheets in the standard bibliographies of the period; the *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* and the ISTC. Falk Eisermann has gathered together information on all German fifteenth-century broadsheets items into a separate bibliography, VE15.[18] However, scholars working on broadsheets that were produced after the turn of the sixteenth century, have no such comprehensive survey. Such scholarly interest as there has been has focussed almost exclusively on illustrated material. Max Geisberg and Walter L. Strauss accumulated an extraordinary catalogue of German single-leaf woodcuts produced in the sixteenth century.[19] In addition Wolfgang Harms and Michael Schilling have worked through the rich holdings of several libraries including the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel, the Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek in Darmstadt and the Zentralbibliothek in Zurich, in each case concentrating on illustrated material.[20]

Such publications show the diversity of German broadsheet production – polemical lampoons, portraits, reports of battles, strange and unusual events and natural disasters. However, we must not lose sight of the fact that by far the largest proportions of broadsheets printed were not illustrated. This was the case even in Germany with its rich illustrative tradition. These more mundane publications include calendars as well as almanacs, indulgences, academic disputations, and – by far the largest group of generally unillustrated broadsheets – legal records such as ordinances.

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impressorum ab anno MDXLI ad annum MDC in regionibus quae nunc Regni Belgarum partes sunt (4 vols., Nieuwkoop, De Graaf, 1968–1994).

16 A problem now partially addressed in the USTC, though many 16th century broadsheets undoubtedly still remain to be discovered.

17 Thus for example Volker Honemann, Falk Eisermann, Sabine Griese and Marcus Ostermann (eds.), *Einblattdrucke des 15. und frühen 16. Jahrhunderts: Probleme, Perspektiven, Fallstudien* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2000).

18 Falk Eisermann (ed.), *Verzeichnis der typographischen Einblattdrucke des 15. Jahrhunderts im Heiligen Römischen Reich Deutscher Nation* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2004).

19 Max Geisberg, *The German Single-Leaf Woodcut 1500–1550*, revised and edited by Walter L. Strauss (New York: Hacker, 1984).

20 Wolfgang Harms, *Deutsche Illustrierte Flugblätter des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1985–1997).

The very low survival rate of such items further obstructs the compilation of a comprehensive corpus. Much of this material was simply not intended to be collected and after reading the particular single sheet readers discarded them. Roger Paas, the creator of an extremely lavish bibliography of political broadsheets in the seventeenth century, estimates that less than 1% of all copies survived to the present day.[21] For broadsheets printed one century earlier, the rates of survival may well have been even lower.

Luckily, the situation is not as daunting for official print. Regarded as legal records, ordinances were often kept by contemporaries for administrative purposes. These sober and apparently unadorned printed sheets would not necessarily have made their way into libraries, but we can often find large collections in city or state archives. This is in principle extremely encouraging. Once one recognises that a survey of print needs to look beyond libraries there are very significant discoveries to be found. In the case of Cologne, however, the concentration of collections of official broadsheets in archives rather than libraries presents a particular difficulty, and one of recent making. During construction work for an underground system in 2009 the building hosting the city archive collapsed into its foundations which had been undermined by the tunnelling below. One of the most important collections of archivalia north of the Alps disappeared into the rubble. And if that were not enough, poor weather obstructed the rescue.

As a student, I had the chance to join the many volunteers that offered their help to the task of recovery. We went through innumerable tons of dirt mingled with the precious documents trying to save what was left. The city estimates that about 95% of the archivalia were saved to a certain degree, but during the chaos that followed the collapse these documents were hastily tucked away in boxes which were sent to 20 different archives in Germany.[22] Thus currently one of the major tasks is to investigate this material and restore it to some sort of order. Some recovered material is now available for scholars in a provisional reading room. An overview of these restored documents can be found on the website of the city archives. This overview was first published in May 2013 and has already been updated seven times.[23]

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21 John Roger Paas, *The German Political Broadsheet, 1600–1700. Vol. 1* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1985), p. 25.

22 Inge Schürmann, *Fünf Jahre nach dem Einsturz des Kölner Stadtarchivs*, 24 February 2014 <http://www.stadt-koeln.de/politik-und-verwaltung/presse/fuenf-jahre-nach-dem-einsturz-des-koelner-stadtarchivs> (accessed 24 October 2014).

23 The current list can be found here: Neuigkeiten aus dem HAStK, Liste der im Original verfügbaren Archivalien VIII, <http://www.archive.nrw.de/kommunalarchive/kommu-nalarchive_i-l/k/Koeln/BilderKartenLogosDateien/20150511_im_Original_nutzbar.pdf> (accessed 25 June 2015).

Among the many publications held in the archive was a twenty-four-volume collection of early modern ordinances issued by the city council.[24] Half the volumes were *Sammelbände* consisting of single sheets bound together. Unfortunately, this abundant collection of ordinances is not among the restored documents. If the collection was actually – even only in parts – rescued, it will most likely not be available in the foreseeable future. The large proportion of the archivalia that was rescued will not be available before the completion of the new building housing the city archives which is planned for 2019.

As many contributors in this volume argue, there are numerous reasons why early modern books were lost before the modern era. But even if printed documents manage to survive the dangers of war, fire and destruction of the past centuries, we might still lose them today. With such a devastating loss at the beginning of the twenty-first century, how can we attempt to estimate how many broadsheet ordinances existed in Cologne about 500 years ago?

First of all, we can rely on the help of an inventory that was compiled before the 2009 calamity. Now that the documents are no longer available this published inventory becomes an essential substitute. In 1899 Hermann Keussen, who worked extensively on the history of Cologne, compiled an inventory of ordinances collected in the *Sammelbände*. The inventory provides a short description of contents along with the issue date of the ordinance and the call number.[25] It covers the entire collection which ranges from 1493–1819 and lists nearly 4,000 ordinances for this time period. With the dawn of the sixteenth century we already see a significant rise in the number of ordinances issued. For this century alone the inventory lists nearly 400 items dealing with issues of taxation, military service, the use of firearms, and many other matters brought to the attention of the civic government.

This inventory provides the basis for a reconstructed list of published ordinances even if in many cases they no longer survive either in this archive or in collections elsewhere. Building on this foundation collection, we then find we can add numerous further editions with the help of a more recent bibliography: *The Repertorium der Policeyordnungen der Frühen Neuzeit*.[26] This great project hosted by the Max-Planck-Institute for legal history undertook extensive surveys of ordinances published in many territories of the Holy Roman Empire. Started in 1996, the project published two volumes on Cologne in 2005. These Cologne volumes include a variety of different sources relevant for an investigation of regulations, such as council decisions, 'morning speeches' – and

24 HAStK Bestand 14 (Edikte).
25 Keussen, 'Inhaltsverzeichniss'.
26 Militzer (ed.), *Repertorium*.

most importantly – printed edicts. By the notation '*Dr.*' after the call number of an item, the reader is informed if the item existed in printed form or not, for the German word *Druck*; English: print. (It should be said this is not the case for every volume of the *Policeyordnungen*, where to the frustration of print historians no distinction is made between print ordinances and manuscript entries in a repertory). Most edicts listed in the Cologne volumes refer to at least one printed copy that used to be in the city archive. However, occasionally the council also released other publications – the *Rollen* – which were dealing with one specific item at length, for instance a '*Apothekerrolle*' which lays out several regulations concerning the visitations of chemists.[27] These *Rollen* could appear as broadsheets, but some of them were also issued in pamphlet form. Unfortunately, the *Repertorium* does not specify the format of the printed item. Without the possibility to inspect those items lost from the Cologne archive, one is left wondering if the printed item was actually meant to be hung up in public or was issued in pamphlet form.[28]

Such an extensive survey inevitably has its limitations. Michael Kaiser points out that only a limited selection of material was examined for the *Repertorium*.[29] Some sources – most importantly the significant *Reichskammergerichtsakten* – were not included in the current study although they will undoubtedly shed more light on ordinances in Cologne. Furthermore the *Repertorium* leaves its user in the dark about certain terminology. It is often not clear what distinctions are being made between *Edikte*, *Gesetze*, *Punkte*, *Satzungen*, *Verordnungen* and *Ordnungen* (if there actually were such clear-cut distinctions in the early modern period).

Fortunately, the sources that were used for the *Repertorium* point us to divisions of the city archive that also contained broadsheets beside the ordinance *Sammelbände*. As it turns out there were many more ordinances in sixteenth-century Cologne in addition to those bound together in the *Sammelbände*. So, for instance, a regulation addressing trade issues may well have found its way into the collection on 'trade', alongside manuscript invoices and agreements.[30] Similarly, new legislation for specific guilds can be found in the collection on

27 Köln – Rat, *In wissen des Jedermenniglich, das unsere Herrn vom Rathe sich der alter Rollen von den Apotheken erinnert* (*Visitation von Apotheken, 23.05.1588*) ([Cologne]: s.n., 1564). HAStK Best. 30 (Verfassung und Verwaltung): N 47, f. 19.

28 The original Keussen inventory of the Cologne archive *Sammelbände* also does not specify format.

29 Michael Kaiser, 'Die "gute Policey" in Köln. Beobachtungen zum Repertorium der Kölner Policeyordnungen', *Geschichte in Köln*, 54 (2007), pp. 254–261.

30 HAStK Bestand 90 (Handel).

'guilds'.[31] The editors of the *Repertorium* carefully examined these collections and were able to trace 91 ordinances for the sixteenth century that did not exist in the *Sammelbände*.

Many of the printed ordinances in the 'trade' collection as well as the 'guild' collection existed in several copies. Sadly only a few parts of these two enormous collections have resurfaced to this point, and these surviving documents do not date back as far as the sixteenth century. So we are extremely fortunate that these collections were both microfilmed in the later twentieth century. After the building collapse, these microfilms are now invaluable particularly as the city archive has started to make them available online.[32]

A close examination of these microfilms not only reveals numerous broadsheets but also sheds light on how carefully these documents were kept in sixteenth-century Cologne. Numerous documents are folded and bear contemporary manuscript notes on the back regarding the date and the content of the regulation. It seems that in the early modern period single ordinances were folded and filed in a way that only the short manuscript notes on the back would be visible. Council members were then able to find the appropriate ordinances quickly if they needed to refer to a particular regulation, for instance to draft similar legislation at a later point.

In addition to the inventory and the *Repertorium der Policeyordnungen*, the inspection of collections outside the city archive and even outside Cologne can yield further precious evidence. There are two institutions within the city walls that also collected sixteenth-century ordinances. The City Museum possesses seven ordinances from the second half of the sixteenth century; most of them are the only surviving copy of this particular ordinance.[33] Among these regulations is a peculiar ordinance on coinage from 1564 which is over one meter long and comprises 150 woodcuts in varied sizes. This elaborate reference tool is of very fine quality.[34] Its remarkable illustrations demonstrate very effectively what a vital tool printing was for this particular area of government

31 HAStK Bestand 95 (Zunft).

32 The 'trade' collection can be found online: <http://historischesarchivkoeln.de/de/lesesaal/bestand/76/Best.+90+Handel> (accessed 24 October 2014).

33 Kölnisches Stadtmuseum – Bestand Verordnungen.

34 This particular broadsheet has also survived in the 'trade' collection of the city archive and is thus online: Köln – Rat, *Wie Bürgermeistere und Rath der Statt Co[e]ln thun kunth allen* (*Jülicher Münzverordnung mit Abbildung verbotener Münzen, 31.07.1564*) (Cologne: Jaspar Gennep, 1564). HAStK Best. 90 (Handel): A 927, f. 1, <http://historischesarchivkoeln.de/de/dokument/1130187/Best.+90%2BA+927%2B> (accessed 24 October 2014). The document is so long that it had to be scanned several times and thus stretches now over 4 pages of the scanned book.

regulation. It is impossible to conceive how an ordinance of this type could have been disseminated effectively purely by oral proclamations.

The University Library also has a much larger collection than one may assume. There is one *Sammelband* comprised of coin ordinances that contains 42 items from the sixteenth century.[35] Other broadsheet ordinances can be found in several boxes that contain regulations from the same time period.[36] All in all, the University Library has a surprisingly high number of 81 ordinances for the sixteenth century.[37] Between the City Museum and the University Library there are nearly 100 broadsheet ordinances. In many cases these are the only surviving copy of that particular regulation. In addition to the microfilms from the 'guild' and 'trade' collection the material in the University Library and the City Museum becomes extremely valuable.

Finally, the German Historical Museum in Berlin also has 30 broadsheet ordinances from sixteenth-century Cologne; again a considerable number of them are already digitalised.[38] All of these ordinances date to the last four decades of the century and touch on diverse topics including trading, wages, the spoils of war and regulations on funerals. These broadsheets were almost exclusively bought in two auction sales in 1989 and 1994 from an auction house close to Cologne. As with the copies in the 'guild' and 'trade' collection in the city archive, many of the Berlin copies bear manuscript notes on the issue date and the content of the ordinance on the back. It thus seems more than probable that they used to be in the city archive of Cologne, but got separated over the last five centuries.

Inspecting collections in the hope that they may contain ordinances can be time-consuming, but, as we see, can also be richly rewarding. Inventories can either provide the first clues to the existence of these ordinances or on occasion the only evidence for artefacts which can no longer be located. Archival materials can also offer further valuable information. Here one can take advantage of the fact that in archives ordinances are often intermingled with other contemporary documentation, usually manuscripts, which offer precious information on the functioning of this trade in official documents. When read carefully these documents yield an unexpected harvest of further lost editions,

35 University Library Cologne, RHV2240 Sammlung von Münz-Decreten für die Stadt Köln, 1493–1760.

36 Thus for instance RHKAS 1543, 1544, 1545, 1549, 1550, 1557, 1567, 1570.

37 I would like to express my gratitude to Prof. Wolfgang Schmidt who pointed me in the direction of these broadsheets.

38 I would also like to express my gratitude to Dr. Matthias Miller who brought this collection to my attention and informed me about its background.

as well as providing contextual information about the way the production of these official mandates impacted on the local publishing industry.

One such revealing contemporary source is an invoice presented to the city council by the printer Maternus Cholinus in 1576.[39] Cholinus was among the most successful printers at this time, but also held several offices in the city administration. He was also repeatedly elected to the council. His good connections to the urban elite probably secured him the very lucrative job as *Ratsdrucker* (printer for the council).[40] In this position he printed numerous ordinances for the city and seems to have been the only one entrusted with the production of official print from the mid-1570s onwards.[41] In his invoice, Cholinus charges the city council for fourteen items that he produced between August 1575 and April 1576. He lists eleven ordinances, one privilege and two *Münzstocke* referring to the woodcuts he used to supplement two coin ordinances. On this remarkable list Cholinus not only specifies the exact amount of money he charges, but also describes the content of the regulation and when exactly he produced it.

When we compare the information provided in this invoice with the available lists of published ordinances we get a clear sense of how efficiently the publication of ordinances was organised in Cologne by the 1570s. New regulations were usually printed within a few days of the council meeting. On 3 August 1575 the magistrates forbade farmers to water their cattle at local wells. Cholinus printed the ordinance three days later. New regulations for beggars and coins issued in February and April of the same year appeared two days after the magistrates' decisions. On one occasion, a regulation on the salt trade appeared on the very same day as the council's decision. Perhaps Cholinus himself attended the council meeting and after it finished went straight over to his print shop to order his workmen to set up the type for the ordinance.

Of the eleven ordinances on Cholinus' invoice, eight can be identified with the help of the city archive inventory and the *Repertorium*. Thus the invoice points us to three ordinances that existed in the mid-1570s which have not survived and did not leave a trace in either of these registers. Two of these apparently lost items reveal a very interesting fact – one ordinance could

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39 HAStK Bestand 90 (Handel), A 225 f. 12, <http://historischesarchivkoeln.de/de/dokument/1055809/Best.+90+A+225+>(accessed 24 October 2014).

40 Wolfgang Schmitz, *Die Überlieferung deutscher Texte im Kölner Buchdruck des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts* (Cologne: Habilitation Universität zu Köln, 1990), p. 403.

41 Otto Zaretzky, 'Ein Quentelisches Rechnungsbuch aus der 2. Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts', *Annalen des Historischen Vereins für den Niederrhein*, 93 (1912), pp. 55–102, p. 88.

actually appear in several different editions. This would particularly be the case if a regulation had ramifications in several different jurisdictions.

In April 1576 the circulation of Jever *Taler* was of some concern to the city council. On 18 April the council banned the use of this specific coin. In the introduction to this particular ordinance, the council refers to the recent law on coins from Jever and Holland which was passed by the district assembly: "After the recent district assembly, our men from the council forbade two coins of inferior Taler".[42] This district assembly meeting resulted in an ordinance issued on 11 April which banned *Taler* minted in Jever and Holland. Cholinus supplied the printed regulations two days later. But in contrast to the other ordinances on his invoice, Cholinus divided this job into three entries. He listed the ordinance of the forbidden *Taler* and specifies that 60 copies were for Cologne and continues with *it*[*em*] listing 100 copies for Aachen and 50 copies for Dortmund.

This seems to suggest that the ordinance following the district assembly appeared in three different editions. If the three items on the list were actually one and the same edition to be handed out to all three cities, there would have been no need for Cholinus to list the items individually. This assumption is reinforced by the fact that one of the three editions actually survives in the University Library. The edition intended for the populace in Aachen opens with the following words: "We mayor, lay lawyers and council of the royal seat and city Aachen".[43] Presumably the other two editions differ at least in the beginning as they would most likely open with greetings from the respective local authorities.

This brings into focus one further extremely interesting fact; that a Cologne printer not only produces regulations that applied to the citizens in his city, but also for citizens of surrounding cities issued by their local authority. In the sixteenth century this was not unusual for such a vibrant print centre as Cologne. The dukes of Jülich-Cleves-Berg had all their ordinances printed in Cologne until 1555 when they persuaded a printer to come and work in their

42 "Als unsere Herrn vom Rathe vermo[e]g jungsten hie in der Stat Coln genommenen Kraiß abscheide zweierley sorten von geringen Thaller offentlich verpieten lassen", Köln – Rat, *Zu wissen sey jedermenniglich, als unsere Herrn vom Rathe mit Ernste*[*m*] *bevelch dern hieunden abcontrafeiten Thaller fur Wertschafft keinen zu empfangen, noch ußzugeben oder einzuschleiffen* (*18.04.1576*) ([Cologne: Maternus Cholinus, 1576]), HAStK Bestand 90 (Handel), A 927 f. 10, <http://historischesarchivkoeln.de/de/dokument/1130198/Best.+90+A+927+>(accessed 24 October 2014).

43 Köln – Rat, *Wir Burgermeistere Scheffen un Rath des Königliche Stuls unnd Stadt Aich* (11.04.1576) ([Cologne: Maternus Cholinus], 1581), University Library Cologne.

capital, Düsseldorf.[44] Thus when Cholinus produced the Aachen ordinance in 1576, he fulfilled the task as a Ratsdrucker for this city. However, in Dortmund there were two printers working in 1576 – Albert Sartor and Arnold Westhoff – and they may well have been entrusted with the production of official print for the local magistrates.[45] Perhaps Cholinus was producing these ordinances as they were important for those tradesmen and merchants that had trading relations with these cities. It may also be the case that the city council of Cologne wanted to inform travellers, particularly those visiting the cathedral in Aachen, of the currency acceptable at their destination. In business terms this was certainly a more efficient model since the body of the ordinance only had to be set up once with marginal variations for each jurisdiction. Certainly if it had not been for Cholinus' invoice we would have assumed that the coin regulation appeared in one edition and overlooked the other two that left no trace in the inventory or the *Repertorium*.

The *Repertorium* lists two more instances when one regulation was printed in three different editions. Firstly, in June 1581 the council decided on new regulations for cartage and these were made known to the populace with a printed ordinance. Whereas the inventory only lists one entry, the *Repertorium* differentiates between the regulations for three different areas of Cologne – the *Rheingassen*, the *Trankgassen* and the *Salzgassen*. Fortunately two of these different editions survived in the 'trade' collection and a comparison of the two copies shows clearly that these are two different editions.[46] The third is lost.

When in 1600 another regulation for cartage was issued it again appeared in three different editions. Similar to the ordinance from 1581 two editions addressed the *Rheingassen* and the *Trankgassen*, but the third edition was now regulating the *Mühlengassen*.[47] These three editions were issued on the same

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44 Wolfgang Schmitz, *Die Überlieferung deutscher Texte im Kölner Buchdruck des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts* (Cologne: Habilitation Universität zu Köln, 1990), p. 465.

45 Christoph Reske, *Die Buchdrucker des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts im deutschen Sprachgebiet* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2007), p. 161.

46 Köln – Rat, *Fuhrlohn von der Reingassen in der statt Holtz, Wein und Stein zu fuehren* (*28.06.1581*) ([Cologne: Maternus Cholinus], 1581), HAStK Best. 90 (Handel): A 560, ff. 15 and 16, <http://historischesarchivkoeln.de/de/dokument/1085937/Best.+90%2BA+560%2B>; Köln – Rat, *Fuhrlohn von der Saltzgassen, Haußkrahnen, Hasenpfort von Wein zu fuehren* (*28.06.1581*) ([Cologne: Maternus Cholinus], 1581), HAStK Best. 90 (Handel): A 560, f. 17, <http://historischesarchivkoeln.de/de/dokument/1085938/Best.+90%2BA+560%2B> (both accessed 24 October 2014).

47 Köln – Rat, *Fuhrlohn, was von der Dranckgassen, in die Statt Wein, Holtz und Stein auff zu fu*[*e*]*hren, zu zahlen schuldig seye* (*13.11.1600*) ([Cologne]: s.n., [1600]), HAStK Bestand 90 (Handel): A 560, f. 22, <http://historischesarchivkoeln.de/de/dokument/1085946/Best

day as a regulation for the sale of timber. The printer – Cholinus' successor as *Ratsdrucker* – must have had a busy time producing four different broadsheet ordinances close to the issue date.

Cholinus' invoice is truly a remarkable source. It not only points us to lost editions, but also reveals fascinating insights into the print run and costs of broadsheet ordinances. In the case of the 1576 currency regulation the printer specified on his invoice the number of copies he produced for Cologne, Aachen and Dortmund. The Aachen ordinance was produced in 100 copies and Cholinus asks the city council for a reimbursement of 2 *Taler*. Cholinus printed 60 copies of the Cologne ordinance and 50 copies for Dortmund, asking both times for 1 *Taler*. Although the other items on the list do not indicate the print run of the regulations, the information given for the ordinance on currency provides us with a clue how many copies were produced. As almost all other ordinances on the invoice are priced at 1 *Taler*, it seems that these items were also printed in 50–60 copies.

Another fascinating contemporary source reveals a lost ordinance but in a very different manner. This source is a fish ordinance from 1572 of which two copies were kept in the city archives' collection on 'trade' (so they are fortunately now both online).[48] The last line of the text reveals the issue date of the ordinance – 1st February – *sic conclusum prima februrii Anno etc.* LXXII. The regulation comprises a list of different fish along with their respective prices. These prices are printed in a currency that was commonly used in the Rhineland from the Middle Ages onwards – the *albus* (here shortened to *alb.*). According to this regulation, citizens of Cologne could obtain salmon for 6 *albus* and a pound of eel for 7 *albus*.

A third copy of this particular edition also survived in the collection of the German Historical Museum in Berlin.[49] In contrast to the copies in the city

.+90%2BA+560%2B> (accessed 24 October 2014); Köln – Rat, *Fuhrlohn, was von der Rheingassen in die Statt Wein, Holtz und Stein auff zu fu*[*e*]*hren zu zahlen schuldig seye* (*13.11.1600*) ([Cologne]: s.n., [1600]), HAStK Bestand 90 (Handel): A 560, f. 23, <http://historischesarchivkoeln.de/de/dokument/1085947/Best.+90%2BA+560%2B> (accessed 24 October 2014); Köln – Rat, *Fuhrlohn, was von der Muellengassen in die Statt Wein, Holtz und Stein auff zu fu*[*e*]*hren zu zahlen schuldig seye* (*13.11.1600*) ([Cologne]: s.n., [1600]), HAStK Best. 14 (Edikte): 7, no. 72.

48 Köln – Rat, *Unsere Herren vom Rathe wollen nachgesetzte ordnung bej geldung uns verkauffung der Fisch nach gelegenheit dieser zeit unverbruchtlich gehalten* (*01.02.1572*) ([Cologne]: s.n. [1572]), The city archive used to have two copies – HAStK Bestand 90 (Handel): A 323, ff. 8–9, <http://historischesarchivkoeln.de/de/dokument/1064073/Best.+90%2BA+323%2B> (accessed 24 October 2014).

49 1989/1045.1.

archives, the Berlin broadsheet is heavily annotated by a contemporary hand. One of these changes is the last line of the text which now reads not 1 February 1572, but 13 February 1573. It seems that this copy served as a template for a similar regulation of fish prices, published one year later. It was probably edited by an official of the city council who saw no need to compose an entirely new manuscript for the ordinance. Instead he chose to use a copy of the regulation from the previous year and adjusted it slightly.[50] Most likely this copy was then used to create a manuscript which was sent to the printer for publication. The annotated ordinance, however, was returned to the city officials and the city archive where it remained either for future consultation or to verify that the printer had made the stipulated changes.

The handwritten annotations introduced other changes all of which tighten the regulations on the sale of fish. By carefully crossing out parts of the text at the beginning and end, the places where fish can be sold were limited. Whereas the ordinance from 1572 allowed fishermen to sell their fish in the streets as well as 'at the well-known benches', the new ordinance restricted the sale to the latter. Secondly, the scope of the ordinance was widened by stipulating that it referred to all carp regardless of their size instead of only the small ones (the word 'small' was crossed out). In addition to these textual changes that made the regulation stricter, prices were increased: the price for salmon had gone up by one *albus*, that is, from six to seven *albus*. Similarly, the price for eel was raised by one *albus*. As a result this illuminating annotated broadsheet shows how in cases where the regulation of markets required an annual review printed ordinances could serve as quite adequate templates for new editions.

This regulation of the sale of fish from 1573 cannot be found in the inventory or the bibliography of early modern police ordinances. Neither can it be located in other collections, such as the City Museum of Cologne or the German Historical Museum in Berlin. It is a lost edition and the only evidence of its existence that we have is this annotated copy of the previous year's prices.

Despite the generally poor survival rate of sixteenth-century broadsheets, we can nevertheless still accumulate a substantial collection for ordinances printed in sixteenth-century Cologne. The inventory of the lost ordinance collection in the city archive of Cologne gives us a total of 388 broadsheets. We can add another 91 editions from the *Repertorium*, which included regulations

50 Flavia Bruni also presents evidence of annotated ordinances, printed in seventeenth-century Rome, that served as templates for ordinances printed at a later point in time, see Flavia Bruni, 'In the name of God: governance, public order and theocracy in the broadsheets of the Stamperia Camerale of Rome', in Andrew Pettegree (ed.), *Broadsheets. Single-sheet Publishing in the first age of Print* (forthcoming Leiden: Brill, 2017).

in other collections of the city archive beyond the ordinance collection. Additionally the *Repertorium* differentiates between various editions of a single regulation which further enhances the total. This already substantial corpus can be further enriched with the help of Cholinus' invoice and the annotated fish ordinance which give us another 4 items. Drawing all of this data together, the corpus currently consists of 483 broadsheet ordinances that were printed in sixteenth-century Cologne.

The collapse of the city archives in 2009 made a large number of these ordinances unavailable. However, a close inspection of holdings outside the city archive reveals an astonishing amount of surviving broadsheets. It turns out that the University Library of Cologne, the City Museum of Cologne, as well as the German Historical Museum in Berlin also collected such printed ordinances. Taken together these three institutions possess a considerable total of 188 editions and with the help of modern day technology we can consult many of these editions online. Other copies are available online via the microfilms of the city archive. Thus although most of the nearly 500 editions of broadsheet ordinances disappeared into the rubble in 2009, 100 broadsheet editions of the sixteenth century are still available online.

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