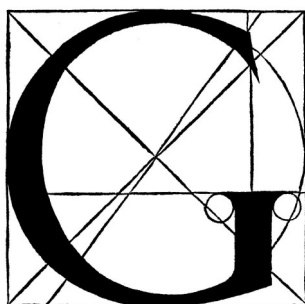


The Sixteenth Century



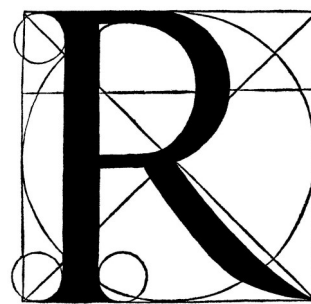
Part XXXIV



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PART: 34

ANNOTATED COPY

1. [ACQUAVIVA, Claudio (1543-1615)]. *Directorium exercitiorum spiritualium* P.N. Ignatii. 12mo. (4), 145, (5), 1 blank leaf. *Woodcut device of the Society of Jesus on the titlepage and a typographical ornament at the end.* Contemporary limp vellum binding made of an earlier manuscript leaf, small tear in the bottom of the spine, contemporary marginal notes and underlining and cancellations, and the handwritten entry of ownership of the Jesuit College of Solothurn (Switzerland): "Societatis Jesu Solodori 1693" (cf. I. Holt, *Die Solothurner Jesuitenbibliothek, 1646-1773, und ihre Gönner*, in: "Jahrbuch für solothurnische Geschichte, 80, 2007, pp. 247-277), a fine genuine copy.

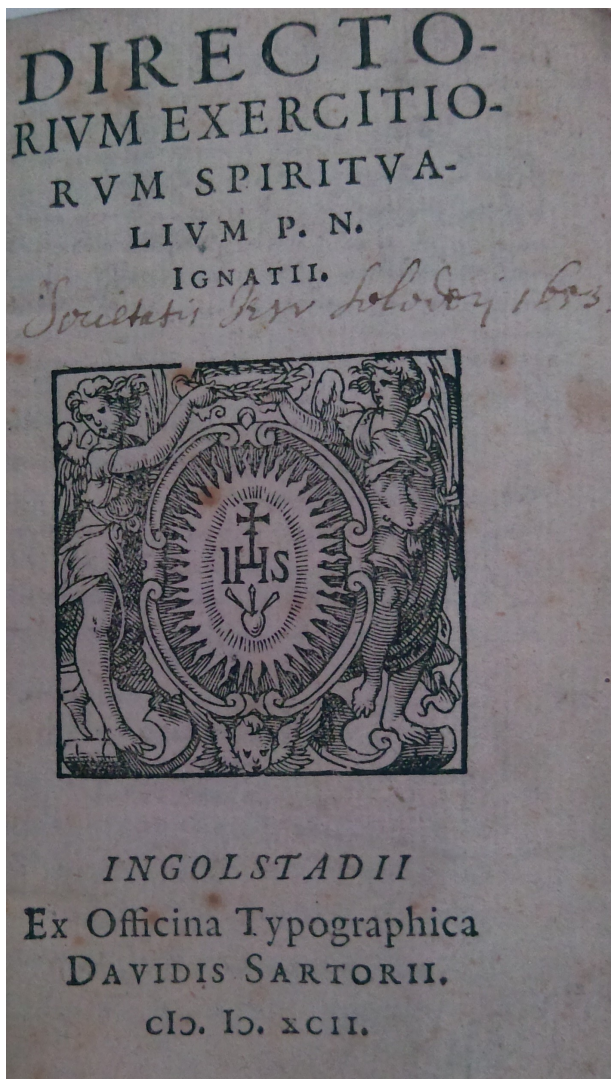
Ingolstadt, David Sartorius, 1592.



VERY RARE SECOND EDITION, the first printed outside of Italy of what is considered the first systematic commentary to the *Exercitia*. The *Directorium* was first issued by the printing press of the Roman Jesuit College in 1591 (cf. V. Romani, *Note e documenti sulla prima editoriale gesuitica*, in: "Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria", 117, 1994, pp. 187-214). Until the apparition of the definitive edition (Firenze, 1599) it was only reprinted at Toulouse in 1593.

Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises* form the most famous modern textbook on ascetic discipline, the nature of sin and Christian perfection by grace. In 1522 Ignatius went first to Montserrat and then to the neighboring Manresa where during a retreat lasting from March 1522 to February 1523, he first sketched out his *Exercitia* in Spanish. They were published, in a Latin version with papal approval, in 1548 after being reviewed by Pierre Favre, Alfonso Salmerón, and Juan Alfonso de Polanco, Loyola's earliest disciples. At least ten editions were published all over Europe until the end of the sixteenth century: Coimbra 1553, Burgos 1574, Roma, 1576, Vilnius 1583, Dillingen, 1583, Douai 1586, Sevilla 1587, Toulouse 1593, Roma, 1596, Valencia 1599.

"The *Exercitia*, though undoubtedly

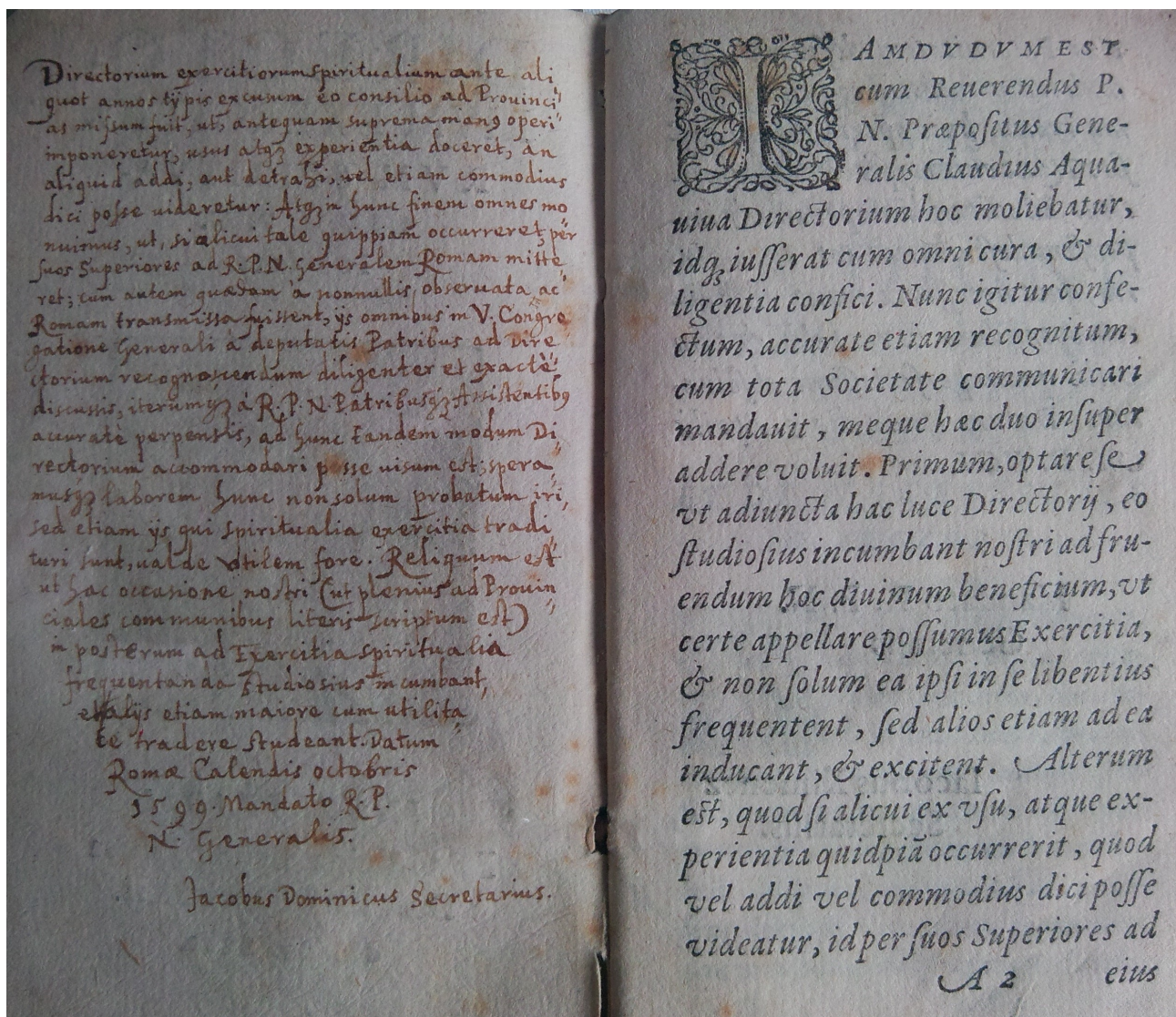


influenced by the ascetic teachings of Garcia de Cisneros of Montserrat and the Brothers of the Common Life, form a unique book, inspired by a remarkable fixity of purpose and designed for a clearly defined and practical end: the molding of character by the precepts of the Gospel. Its ascetism is not one of resignation and withdrawal, but full of a positive recognition of active life. It is this characteristic in particular, which made the book such a powerful influence when it became the handbook of the Society of Jesus, which is devoted to educational, missionary and other active works" (J. Carter & P. Muir, eds., *Printing and the Mind of Man*, London, 1967, pp. 44-45, no. 74).

One of the most innovative and distinctive aspects of Ignatius of Loyola's *Exercises* was that individuals did not undertake them on their own but with the help of another person, who acted as guide, companion, senior partner, or simply helper. Ignatius in fact intended the book more for this person than for those actually making the retreat. In the book he gave the person several suggestions about how those making the *Exercises* might be guided most fruitfully and about dealing with the different circumstances that might arise. Early on, this person began to be referred to as the 'director' of the *Exercises*. Ignatius trained some of the early Jesuits for this delicate role in informal ways, so that a demand grew for him to write down some further indications as to how it was to be per-

formed. Ignatius left a few notes, as did some of the Jesuits he trained, but many Jesuits came to believe that something fuller and more systematic was needed, a "directory". Ignatius's two successors as superior general promoted the idea, but the next general, Everard Mercurian (1571-1580), pushed it forward by himself, composing a draft and successfully requesting another from Juan Alfonso de Polanco, one of Ignatius' closest assistants. The next general, Claudio Acquaviva (1581-1615), was finally able to bring the project to completion through further drafts and consultations. It turned out to be a relatively small book that tried to distill reflections resulting from pastoral experience, for the most part simply elaborating on suggestions already in the *Exercises*. Thus in 1591 Acquaviva was able to circulate for comment a preliminary draft printed by the press of the Collegio Romano of an official directory, carefully compiled from earlier documents. Only in 1599, however, the work was published in its definitive form, divided into forty articles, by the Giunta press in Florence. It was reprinted innumerable times and translated into several languages, was never revised nor has it ever officially been replaced, which is a tribute to its accomplishment. It contains the famous Jesuit dictum: "Fortiter in re suaviter in modo" (cf. M. E. Palmer, ed., *On Giving the Spiritual Exercises: The Early Jesuit Manuscripts Directories and the Official Directory of 1599*, St. Louis, MO, 1996, pp. 2, 289-349, see also G.E. Ganns, ed., *Ignatius of Loyola: The Spiritual Exercises and Selected Works*, New York, 1991, pp. 119-120; and J. De Guibert, *La spiritualité de la Compagnie de Jésus*, Roma 1953, pp. 233-237; I. Iparraquirre, *Historia de los Ejercicios de San Ignacio*, Bilbao & Roma, 1955, II, pp. 459-461).

The present copy is of particular interest since on the blank verso of the title page is transcribed by a very neat contemporary hand the entire preface of the final version of the *Directorium* printed at Florence in 1599 ("Some years ago printed copies of a directory to the spiritual exercises were sent to the provinces, so that before the work was given its final touches practice and experience might indicate whether anything might advantageously be added, removed or better expressed..., it has been



judged that the directory could finally be edited in its present form..."): 'Datum Romae Calendis Octobr. 1599. Mandato R.P.N. Generalis. Iacobus Dominicus Secretarius'. Furthermore, in the whole text (pp. 1-145) are scrupulously annotated all the modifications (additions, omissions, marginalia, and the new numbering of the paragraphs) made in the final version. Thus, the preliminary draft of 1591 (here extant in the faithful Ingolstadt reprint published shortly thereafter) can be read simultaneously with the final version of 1599.

Claudio Acquaviva (1543-1615) was born at Atri (Abruzzi), son of Giovanni Antonio Acquaviva d'Aragona, ninth Duke of Atri, from a noble family illustrious at the court of Naples for its patronage of humanist culture. After initial studies of humanities (Latin, Greek and Hebrew) and mathematics, he studied jurisprudence in Perugia, and then he was appointed as Papal Chamberlain by Pope Pius IV. He had heard of the Society of Jesus through his friendship with Francesco Borgia and Juan de Polanco. He was particularly impressed by the works of the early companions during the plague in 1566 and decided to join the Order in 1567. With the blessing of Pius V, he asked the then Superior General, Francesco Borgia, to be admitted to the novice ship. After completing his studies, he was very soon given positions of important responsibilities, his administrative gifts marking him out for the highest posts. He soon became the Provincial superior of Naples and then of Rome. Upon the death of Everard Mercurian (August 1, 1580), the Fourth General Congregation was called for on February 7, 1581. Acquaviva was elected the next Superior General, being then only thirty-seven years old, to the great surprise of Gregory XIII. However, the extraordinary sense of governance he displayed - in particular when his leadership was questioned -, the continuous apostolic vitality of the Jesuits as well as the regular increase of membership that came to the Society during his long generalate, abundantly justified

axiomata quadam, & viam aperiant ad bene percipiendas, & meditandas illas materias.

VI.

Sed illud cauendum, ne vel legendi, vel scribendi dulcedine ita se quispiam distineri sinat, vt tempus eripatur meditationi, aut etiam preparatio- ni ad meditationem. Semper enim aliquantò ante meditationem debet omnia relinquere, & omnino suam cogitationem conuertere ad puncta illius exercitij quod iam instat. Addo etiam, cauendum hoc quoq; ne nimis legendo, aut scribendo defatigetur animus, & quasi vires eius exhauriantur, oportet enim saluam semper relinqui meditationem, & cetera omnia huic vni seruire.

VII.

Qui exercitia exactè facere volunt, viresq; idoneas habet, iis quinque horæ meditando quotidie præscribi solent, prima circa mediam noctem, quod tempus propter quietem, ac profundum silentium valde aptum est meditationi; secunda sub auroram, tertia paulo ante prandium, quarta post meridiem, quinta sub Vesperam, & post vniuscuiusq; horæ meditatio-

tionem quadrans etiam ad examē præcedentis meditationis. Cum aliis, qui debilioris sunt valetudinis, vel tam exactum modum seruare non possunt, dispensari poterit de hora mediæ noctis, ita vt quinque horæ maneant, aut etiam pauciores, si instructor ita expedire iudicauerit. Vt verò plures sint quàm quinque raro continget, vt expediat. Nam cum nimis continuantur hæc exercitia mentis, ita retundi solet, vt obtusior etiam reddatur intellectus, & voluntas minus efficax.

De loco exercitiis idoneo, & de quibusdam particularibus.

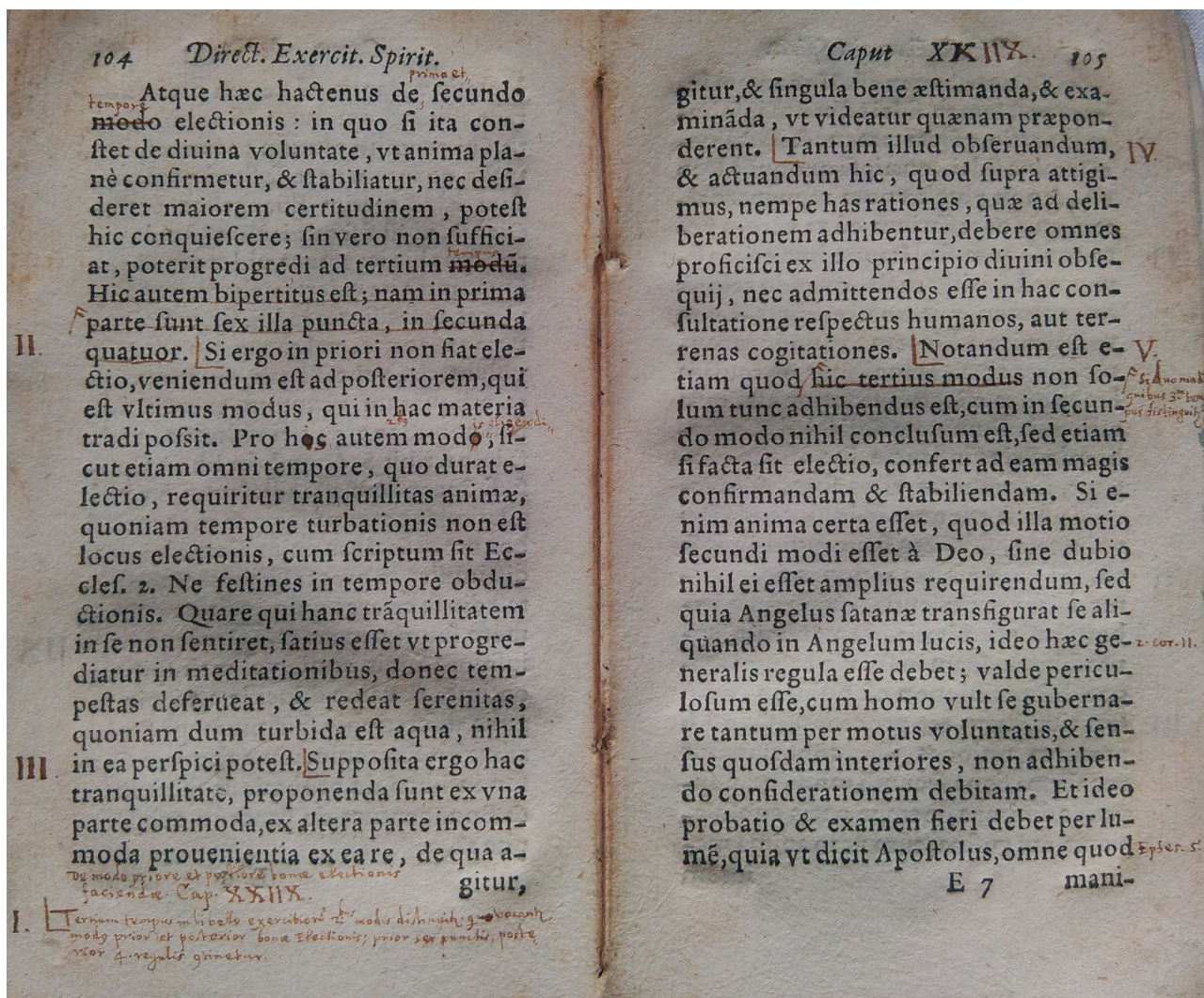
CAPVT III.

LOCVS ad facienda exercitia non est dubium, quin debeat esse remotus ab hominum concursu, & aspectu etiam maximè familiarium. Ita enim monet Pater N. Ignatius annotat. vltima, vbi etiam tres eius rei commemorat vtilitates. Quare si exercitans alibi, tam commodè, & tam fructuose non potest, & Superiori ita

B 2

videa-

the votes of the electors. In his first letter *On the happy increase of the Society* (July 25, 1581), he treats of the necessary qualifications for superiors, and points out that government should be directed not by the maxims of human wisdom but by those of supernatural prudence. He successfully quelled a revolt among the Spanish Jesuits, which was supported by Philip II. A difficult task was also the management of Sixtus V, who was hostile to the Society. By consummate tact and boldness Acquaviva succeeded in playing the king against the pope, Sixtus against Philip. For prudential reasons, he silenced Juan de Mariana, whose doctrine on tyrannicide had produced deep indignation in France; and he also appears to have discountenanced the action of the French Jesuits in favor of the League and was thus able to secure solid advantages when Henry IV overcame the confederacy. During his period as General, the already worldwide Jesuit Missions grew in India and Japan and were established in China under Alessandro Valignano. Acquaviva saw missions established in Paraguay and Canada and he promoted them throughout Protestant Europe, in particular to English Recusants during the Elizabethan Age. To him is due the promulgation of the *Ratio atque institutio studiorum* (1586) summing up years of experience in the field of education and marshalling them into a 'Jesuit system of education'. But the Dominicans denounced it to the Inquisition, and it was condemned both in Spain and in Rome, on account of some opinions concerning the Thomist doctrines of the divine physical promotion in secondary causes and predestination. The incriminated chapters were withdrawn in the edition of 1591. In the fierce disputes that arose between the Jesuit theologians and the Dominicans on the subject of grace, Acquaviva managed, under Clement VIII and Paul V, to save his party from a condemnation that at one time seemed probable. Acquaviva died at Rome in 1615, leaving the Society nearly tripled in size and numbering 13,000 members in 550 houses and 15 provinces. The subsequent influence exercised by the Jesuits, in their golden age, was largely due to the far-seeing policy of Acquaviva, who is undoubtedly one of the greatest Superior Generals to have governed the Society (cf. J. De Guibert,

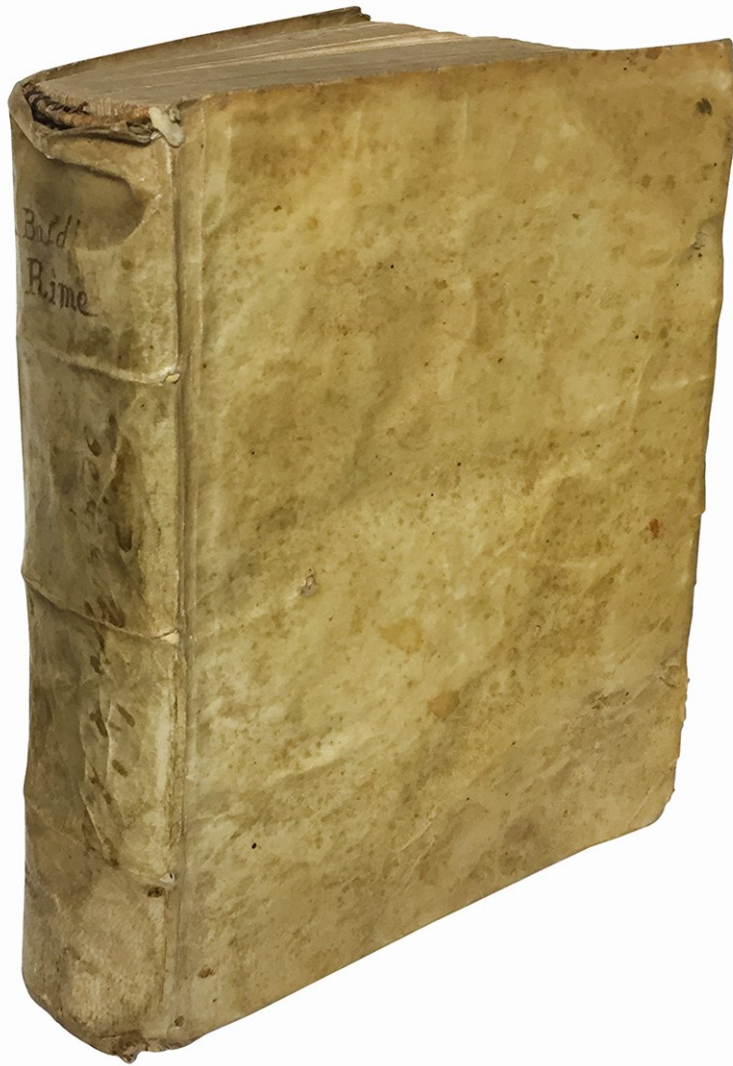


op.cit., pp. 219-270, see also P. Broggio & al., eds, *I gesuiti ai tempi di Claudio Acquaviva: strategie politiche, religiose e culturali tra Cinque e Seicento*, Brescia, 2007, passim; and P.A. Fabre & F. RURALE, eds., *The Acquaviva Project: Claudio Acquaviva's Generalate, 1581-1615, and the Emergence of Modern Catholicism*, Boston, 2017, passim; and M. FOIS, *Il generale dei gesuiti Claudio Acquaviva, 1581-1615: i sommi pontefici e la difesa dell'Istituto Ignaziano*, in: "Archivum Historiae Pontificiae", 40, 2002, pp. 199-233).

VD 16, A-125; Universal STC, no. 637676; A. & A. de Baker, *Bibliothèque des écrivains de la Compagnie de Jesus*, (Liège, 1859), V, p. 467; *Monumenta Ignatiana II, series secunda: Exercitia spiritualia Sancti Ignatii de Loyola et eorum directoria*, J. Iparraguirre, ed., Roma, 1955, p. 563, II.2.

€ 2,800.- / CHF 3,100/ \$ 3,550.-

2. BALDI, Bernardino (1533-1617). Versi e prose... De i versi. La nautica, L'egloghe miste, I sonetti romani, Le rime, varie, La fauola di Leandro di Museo. Delle prose. Vn dialogo della dignità, L'arciero ouero della felicità del principe dialogo, La descrizione del palazzo d'Urbino. Cento apologi. 4to. (12), 9-118, (4), 119-614, (2) pp. *With the printer's device on title page.* Contemporary limp vellum with manuscript title on the spine, slightly soiled and stained, traces of ties, old entry of ownership on the title page "Monasterii Astinensis" and on the front pastedown the bookplate of Count Giacomo Manzoni (1816-1889, cf. *Catalogue de la Bibliothèque du feu M. Le Comte Jacques Manzoni*,



première partie, Città di Castello, 1892, p. 10, no. 94), some light dampstains, a few gatherings a bit browned, but a very good, genuine copy.

Venezia, Francesco de' Franceschi, 1590.

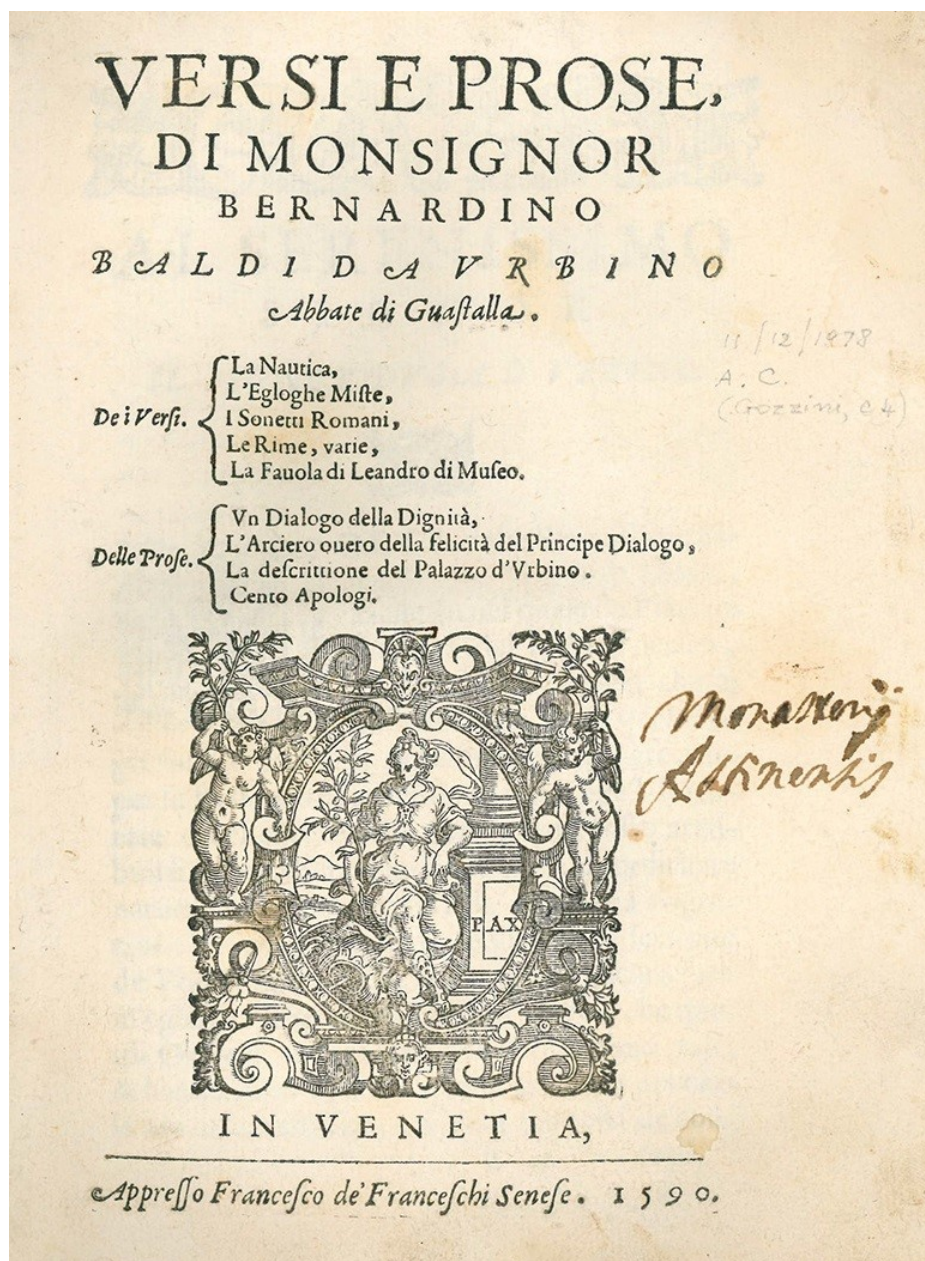
FIRST EDITION of Baldi's collected literary works dedicated to Francesco Maria II. della Rovere, Duke of Urbino. The volume opens with a long didactic poem, *La Nautica*, which is dedicated to Ferrando Gonzaga, Prince of Molfetta. It has some preliminary verses addressed to Baldi and with his answers (e.g., by Torquato Tasso, Giuliano Goselini, Muzio Manfredi, Stefano Guazzo and many others). The work, in four books (pp. 23-1159) condenses most of the knowledge about the art of navigation of the time, including ship building, astronomical, meteorological and geographical notions (cf. G. Zaccagnini, *Le fonti della 'Nautica' di Bernardino Baldi*, in: "Giornale storico della lette-

ratura italiana, 40, 1902, pp. 366-396, and C. Spalanca, *'La nautica' di Bernardino Baldi fra scienza e letteratura*, in: "Letteratura e scienza nella storia della cultura italiana", V. Branca, ed., Palermo, 1978, pp. 452-464).

There follow his eclogues (14, pp. 120-266), dedicated to Ranuccio Farnese, Prince of Parma (cf. F. Venturi, *Bernardino Baldi e la tradizione dell'egloga nel Cinquecento*, in: "Giornale storico della letteratura italiana", 622, 2011, pp. 249-58), and an epitalamium on the marriage of Beatrice degli Obizzi.

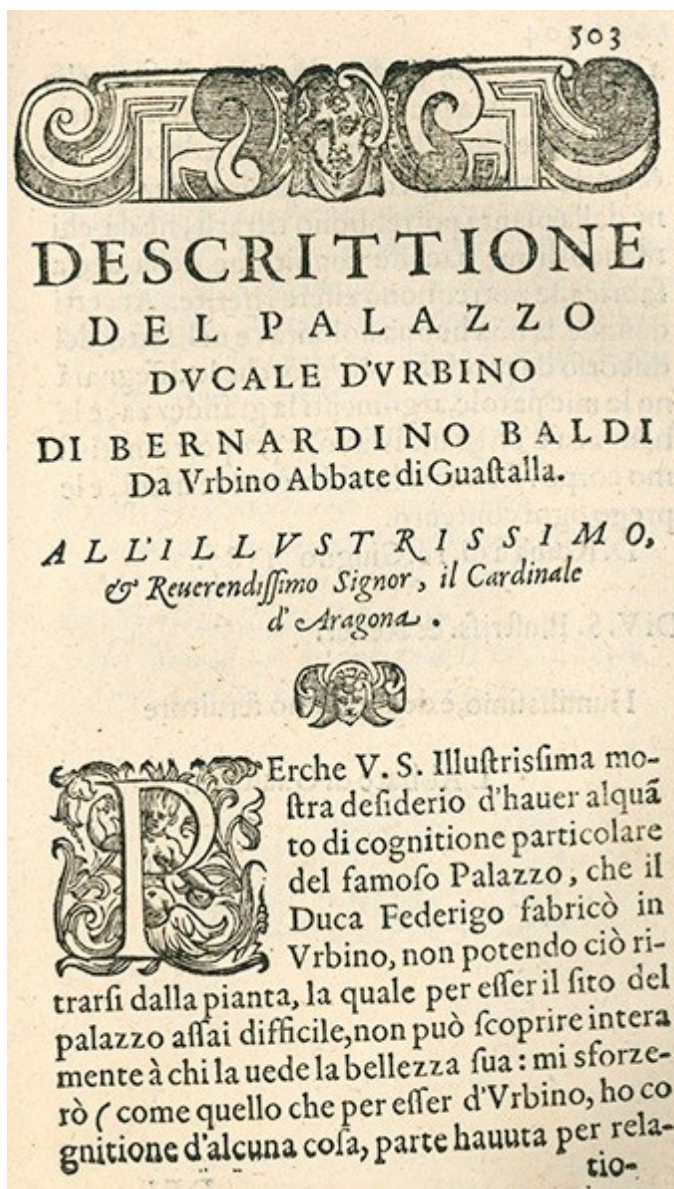
The *Sonetti romani*, (pp. 275-305, on pp. 306-307 is a list of the monuments described), dedicated to Francesco Maria della Rovere, were written during Baldi's sojourn in Rome in the years 1586-1587. They may be linked to those composed by Joachim Du Bellay (*Antiquitez de Rome*, 1558). The fifty-two sonnets describe buildings and works of art of antique Rome. The order of the sonnets follows the usual touristic itinerary from Porta del Popolo to Porta San Paolo (cf. G. Röllinbleck, *Das Ende des Humanismus im 16. Jahrhundert: Bernardino Baldi's 'Sonetti Romani'*, in: "Studia Humanitatis, Ernesto Grassi zum 70. Geburtstag", München, 1973, pp. 149-160, and I. Filograsso, *I 'Sonetti Romani', di Bernardino Baldi*, in: "Bernardino Baldi (1553-1616), studioso rinascimentale: poesia, storia, linguistica, meccanica, architettura", E. Nenci, ed., Milano, 2005, pp. 55-79).

The *Rime varie* (pp. 309-360) contain "quarantacinque testi comparsi nella raccolta veneziana di Versi e prose del 1590, dedicati all'urbinate Vittoria Galli in data novembre 1588: ma la composizione – in quanto avvenuta, come dice proprio Baldi 'in tempi diversi' prima dell'ordinazione – dovrebbe così risalire alla prima metà degli anni '80 circa. Si tratta per lo più di sonetti encomiastici (alla stessa Galli e al figlio Narciso, a Ferrante Gonzaga, a Girolamo Pallantieri e alla moglie, al poeta Muzio Manfredi autore della tragedia Semiramide, eccetera), imbastiti con un linguaggio sostenuto e un robusto apparato classico e mitologico. Di un qualche interesse è un piccolo nucleo di componimenti sulle arti



figurative, in particolare due ampie canzoni... l'una cioè alla pittura e l'altra alla scultura" (M. Volpi, *Bernardino Baldi lirico*, in: "Bernardino Baldi (1553-1616), studioso rinascimentale: poesia, storia, linguistica, meccanica, architettura", E. Nenci, ed., Milano, 2005, p. 26).

To Baldi's lyric compositions follow his prose dialogues (cf. V. Caputo, 'Leggendo Platone': Bernardino Baldi tra scritti dialogici e scritti biografici, in: "Studi Rinascimentali", 18, 2020, pp. 129-140). In the first work, written in 1587 and entitled *Della Dignità* (pp. 361-398), dedicated to Vespasiano Gonzaga, Duke of Sabbioneta, a dialogue between Fronimo and Nemesio, Baldi es-ta-bli-shes a strong link between the concept of dignity and that of happiness. There is a cor-res-pon-dence between this dialogue and the following, *L'Arciero ouero della felicità del principe* (pp. 399-502, 'The Archer or on the happiness of the Prince'). The two dialogues assume the features of two complementary paragraphs of a common reflection, directly linked to the figure of the prince. There is an explicit relationship between 'dignity', belonging to the private sphere, and 'happiness', belonging to the public sphere, since the first must have as its end the achievement of the second. A similar argument can be found in the homonymous dialogue written by Torquato Tasso in 1581, which greatly influenced Baldi (cf. V. Caputo, 'Dignità' e 'felicità'. Note su Bernardino Baldi e Torquato Tasso, in: "L'io felice. Tra filosofia e letteratura", Milano, 2017, pp. 77-94, and id., *Il principe 'come' arciero. La felicità pubblica secondo Bernardini Baldi*, in: *Il 'Barlume che vacilla'. La felicità nella letteratura italiana dal Quattro al Novecento*", Milano, 2016, pp.



37-56). “Nel dialogo morale, *Arviero*, la denominazione architettonica travalica l’accezione tecnica, acquisendo un significato filosofico e morale di ‘eccellente virtuoso, capace di congiungere e servirsi di varie arti per realizzare un fine’. La virtù ‘architettonica’ è quindi attribuita ai nobili e ai capi militari (‘l’Arciero’, ‘il Capitano’), ‘poiché sotto il fine di quella si raccolgono, et uniscono insieme tutti i fini di altre arti minori’. La virtù ‘architettonichissima’ è sinonimo della ‘civile’ o ‘politica’, qualità essenziale del Principe, il quale affina le arti di governo così come l’artista perfeziona le proprie opere” (A. Siekiera, *L’ingegno e la maniera di Bernardino Baldi*, in: “Saggi di letteratura architettonica da Vitruvio a Winckelmann”, F.P. Di Teodoro, ed., 2009, p. 305).

Of great importance for the history of architecture and art is the following *Descrittione del palazzo ducale di Urbino* (pp. 503-573). The work was written during Baldi’s stay in Rome in 1587. “Il testo sul Palazzo ducale fu scritto, come s’è detto, a Roma, per esplicita richiesta del ‘cardinal d’Aragona’, che quasi sicuramente è da identificarsi con Innico d’Avalos, figlio del marchese del Vasto e di Maria d’Aragona, dal 1561 l’abate commendatario di Procida... Mentre compone la *Descrittione* lontano da Urbino, il Baldi si serve soltanto della sua memoria per ‘ricostruire’ l’intero edificio attraverso l’analisi del progetto e della messa in opera di elementi principali, come le strutture portanti e la disposizione degli ambienti,

accentuando, con vividezza illustrativa, tutte le componenti di significativo linguaggio architettonico, come il cortile d’onore, la sala delle udienze, le soprallogge, lo scalone d’onore, la facciata ad ali e quella dei torricini. La misura costante del valore artistico è per lui l’architettura classica, studiata nei suoi principi nel trattato di Vitruvio e nei testi dei suoi interpreti, Alberti e Barbaro, e così pure indagata nelle opere edificate sia da antichi che da moderni” (A. Siekiera, *Introduzione*, in: “Bernardino Baldi. *Descrittione del Palazzo Ducale di Urbino*”, Alessandria, 2010, p. 12).

There follows a very original work, the *Cento apologi*, which is dedicated to the physician and man of letters at the court of Mantova, Giovanni Battista Cavallara. It is modelled on Leon Battista Alberti’s *Aesopian Apologi centum* (1437), and Baldi substitutes in it talking animals with tools and machines which dialogue on the principles of the *ars mechanica* (cf. A. Siekiera, *La défense des ‘artes mechanicae’ et la poésie de Bernardino Baldi*, in: “Colloque Peyresq: La poésie scientifique de Lucrèce à nos jours, Juin 2008 (online: <https://unimol.academia.edu/SiekieraAnna>, and D. Marsh, *Renaissance Fables: Leon Battista Alberti; Leonardo da Vinci; Bartolomeo Scala; Bernardino Baldi*, Tempe, AZ, 2004, pp. 318ff).

The volume ends with *La favola di Museo de gli amori di Leandro, et d’Ero tradotta dal greco* (pp. 591-614). This is the first Italian translation of Musaeus’s poem, written in 1585 and dedicated to Lavinia Feltria della Rovere (cf. M. Cerutti, *Bernardino Baldi volgarizzatore di Museo*, in: “Bernardino Baldi (1553-1616), studioso rinascimentale: poesia, storia, linguistica, meccanica, architettura”, E. Nenci, ed., Milano, 2005, pp. 81-93, and S. Santosuosso, *Riscrivendo la poesia patriarcale. Il mito di Ero e Leandro in Bernardino Baldi e Isabella Andreini*, in: “Escritoras en los márgenes del texto”, M.M. Clavio & al., eds., Sevilla, 2017, pp. 220-234).

Bernardino Baldi was born at Urbino from a noble family originally from Perugia. He first studied medicine and later philosophy at Padua. In Urbino he devoted himself to mathematics under Federico Commandino and Guidobaldo del Monte. In 1580 he was invited to the court of Mantua by Ferrante Gonzaga, who in 1585 secured him the post of abbot of Guastalla. Baldi then took orders, and thereafter gave much attention to ecclesiastical scholarship. He visited Rome and was made 'Protonotarius Apostolicus'. In 1609 he resigned his abbacy to enter the service of the Duke of Urbino, Francesco Maria della Rovere, as historian and biographer, a post he held until his death. Baldi was also responsible for several public works in the duchy of Ferrara, including the Baccanello Bridge at Guastalla, and the Church of Santa Chiara at Urbino. Besides that, he was a poet and prose stylist of remarkable ability, a historian of architecture, an orientalist, and an expert in twelve languages, including Persian and Arabic. However, his most significant achievements were made in the field of mathematics and physics: his commentary on the *Mechanica* of Aristotle was the most important work of its kind to appear up to that time, and his *Vite dei Matematici* stands as the first large scale history of mathematics (cf. G. Zaccagnini, *Bernardino Baldi nella vita e nelle opere*, Pistoia, 1908, passim, P.L. Rose, *The Italian Renaissance Mathematics*, Genève, 1975, pp. 243-279, and A. Serrai, *Bernardino Baldi. La vita, le opere, la biblioteca*, Milano, 2002, pp. 17-158).

Edit 16, CNCE 3966; Index Aureliensis 111.860; Universal STC, no. 812021; A. Serrai, *op. cit.*, pp. 73-77.

€ 3,400.- / CHF 3,700.- / \$ 4,250.-

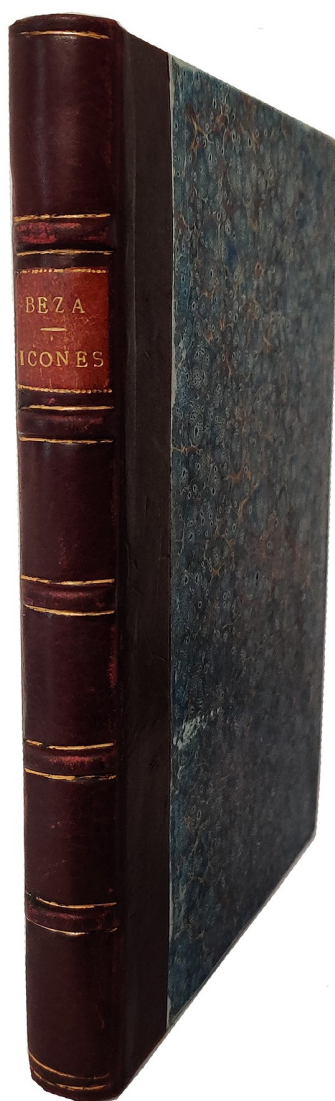
THE FIRST PORTRAIT GALLERY OF REFORMERS

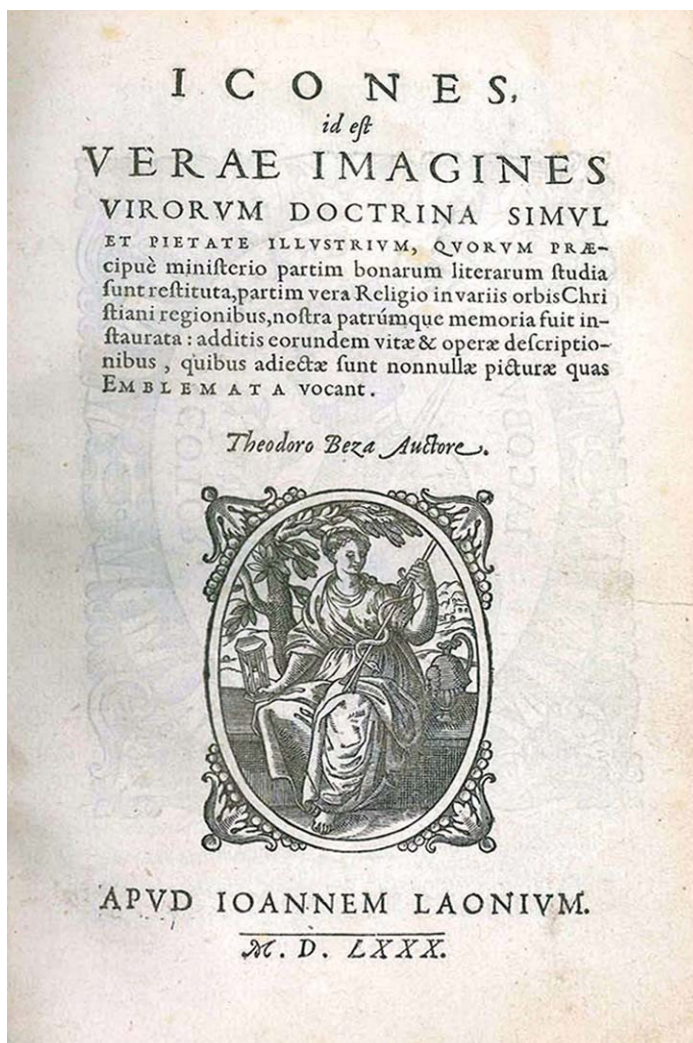
3. BÈZE, Théodore de (1519-1605). *Icones, id est, verae imagines virorum doctrina simul et pietate illustrium, quorum praecipuè ministerio partim bonarum literarum studia sunt restituta, partim vera religio in variis orbis Christiani regionibus, nostra patrúmque memoria fuit instaurata: additis eorundem vitae & operae descriptionibus, quibus adiectae sunt nonnullae picturae quas emblemata vocant.* 4to. (159 of 160) leaves, lacking the final blank Qq4. *With the printer's device on title page and 38 full-page woodcut portraits within decorated woodcut borders (including the dedicatee's portrait on the verso of the title page), 53 woodcut borders without portraits but with two wind-heads and text in each full-page woodcut medallion, and 44 half-page emblematic woodcuts within elaborate woodcut borders.* Old boards, on the inner front wrapper is the engraved bookplate with the initials 'BL' (Bob Louza), slightly browned throughout, some light marginal stains, a fine copy.

[Genève], Jean de Laon, 1580.

FIRST EDITION (variant issue without the printing place of Geneva, probably to be sold in non-Protestant countries).

The plan to publish a portrait gallery of reformers is first mentioned in a letter to Bèze's friend in Nürnberg, the pastor Lorenz Dürnhoffer dated December 3, 1577, asking for a portrait of Joachim Camerarius. On August 7, 1570 he applied for a printing license, which he obtained the same day from the City Council. Judging from the dedication to King James VI of Scotland, dated March 1, 1580, the printing





was finished toward the end of February. What Bèze produced was a luxurious book: “Comme on le voit, les décors abondent et la structure est très rigoureuse. Le nombre de pages blanches est révélateur. On en compte pas moins de 34. Compte tenu du coût du papier, qui représente environ le tiers des coûts d’impression, il n’est pas permis d’hésiter. Il s’agit d’une édition de luxe, idée confortée par la profusion des décors gravés et l’aération de la mise en page (Ch. Chazalon, *Les ‘Icones’ de Théodore de Bèze. Etude d’une galerie idéale de portraits imprimés au temps des guerres de Religion*, Genève, 2001, I, p. 10; see also M. Jardeni, ‘*Eruditio ancilla reformationis: Theodore Beza and the Use of History in the ‘Icones’*’, in: “Knowledge and religion in early modern Europe: studies in honor of Michael Heyd”, A. Be-Tov, ed., Boston, 2007, pp. 13-24).

The subtitle of the *Icones* reveals Bèze’s purpose and hints to their contents: “True portraits of the men illustrious for learning and piety, by whose ministry chiefly, on the one hand, the studies of good letters were restored, and, on the other, true religion was renewed in various regions of the Christian world...; with the addition of descriptions of their life and work”. The

Icones are arranged in geographical or national groups: the vanguard of the Reformation in England, Bohemia, and Italy (e.g. John Wyclif, Jan Hus, Girolamo Savonarola); the Reformers and Humanists of Germany (e.g. Luther and Melancthon, but also Erasmus and Reuchlin); six martyrs of Germany (among them Heinrich von Zupphen and Wolfgang Schuch); the Reformers of Switzerland and neighboring regions (e.g. Huldrych Zwingli, Johannes Oecolampadius, Jean Calvin, but also Conrad Gesner, Sebastian Münster, Johann Froben, and the Italian Pietro Martire Vermigli); Reformers and Humanists of France (e.g. François I, Guillaume Budé, Jacques Lefèvre d’Étaples, Clément Marot, Robert Estienne); Waldensian martyrs; Reformers and Martyrs of England (e.g. Thomas Cranmer, Hugh Latimer); Reformers and martyrs of Scotland (e.g. John Knox, Patrick Hamilton); Reformers and Martyrs of Belgium; Reformers of Poland (John a Lasco); Reformers and martyrs of Italy (Pomponio Algeri, Fanino Fanini); Reformer and martyrs of Spain (e.g. Juan de Enzinas, Juan Diaz). The work contains ninety individual tributes, but Bèze could furnish only thirty-eight portraits at the time of the publication of the *Icones*, since he attached great importance to the authenticity of the portraits (to the French translation by Simon Goulart, authorized by Bèze and printed in 1581, twelve new portraits could be added). All the portraits are placed within decorative woodcut borders (of ten different variants), as well as the names of the other figures. These are placed on the left hand side, whereas the biographical notices (sometimes accompanied by an epigram) are placed on the opposite page (cf. E.J. Hutchinson, *Written Monuments: Theodore Beza’s ‘Icones’ as Testament to and Program for Reformed Humanism*, in: “Beyond Calvin: Essays on the Diversity of the Reformed Tradition”, W.B. Littlejohn & J. Tomes, Leesburg, VA, 2017, pp. 21-62; and T. Casini, *Ritratti parlanti: collezionismo e biografie illustrate nei secoli XVI e XVII*, Firenze, 2004, pp. 88-90).

It is certainly remarkable that just only one portrait of a woman is extant in the gallery: that of Marguerite de Navarre (1492-1549), sister of King Francis I of France, author of the collection of short stories *Heptaméron* (1558), who, although espousing reform within the Catholic Church and often

serving as a mediator between Roman Catholics and Protestants, never joined the Reformation (cf. J.A. Reid, *King's Sister - Queen of Dissent: Marguerite de Navarre and her Evangelical Network*, Leiden, 2009, p. 556). Among the biographical entries another notable woman is eulogized by Bèze: Olimpia Fulvia Morata (1526-1555), Italian by birth, was an extraordinary figure in the sixteenth century European culture. Her reputation as an exceptional humanist scholar, exile 'religionis causa' in Germany, was recognized all over Europe. Her fame allowed to claim that she was the first female university professor of Greek in the Empire (cf. O. Millet, *Bèze poète et fondateur de la mémoire huguenote*, in: "Revue d'Histoire du Protestantisme", 4, 2019, p. 614, and L. Felici, *Olympia Fulvia Morata 'Glory of Womenkind both for Piety and for Wisdom'*, in: "Fruits of migration. Heterodox Italian Migrants and Central European Culture, 1550-1620", C. Zwierlein & V. Lavenia, eds., Leiden, 2018, p. 174). Furthermore, six women martyrs are mentioned in the section on Spain.

After the *Icones* follow forty-four woodcut emblems, enclosed in an ornamental frame and below an epigram in an elegant and well-spaced italic, which constitute a surprisingly anomaly within Bèze's oeuvre. "Some thirteen years before Bèze's emblems appeared, Georgette de Montenay had written an emblem book, *Les Emblèmes ou devises chrétiennes* (1567), dedicated to the Calvinist Queen of Navarre, Jean d'Albret, in which she uses the genre to preach her Christian and often overtly Calvinist faith. Was this the stimulus which caused Bèze to compose his forty-four emblems? If so, they could hardly be more different. To start with they are of course in Latin, and function in a fundamentally different manner: Georgette de Montenay's emblems mostly rely on a web of complex allusions to the Bible, both through the text (many mottoes are quotations which need to be recognized and completed), and through the engraved *picturae* executed by Pierre Woeriot, whereas Bèze's emblems are mostly striking in their simplicity and logical clarity... Certain emblems express general moral truths without reference to faith. But others are outspoken in their espousal of the Protestant and anti-Papist cause... [Bèze's] impact on contemporary writers was immediate: two emblem books of 1581 show undoubted and precise influence [Nicholas Reusner and Juan de Borja]" (A. Adams, *The 'Emblemata' of Théodore de Bèze, 1580*, in: "Mundus Emblematicus. Studies in Neo-Latin Emblem Books", K.A.E. Enenkel & A.S.Q. Visser, eds., Turnhout, 2003, pp. 72, 77, 92; see also A. Adams, *Webs of Allusion: French Protestant Emblem Books of the Sixteenth Century*, Genève, 2003, pp. 119-154).

Some critics, including some of his own ranks, accused him of iconophilia. "Théodore de Bèze, en dépit des protestations d'orthodoxie qu'il accumule dans l'épître dédicatoire [see *Icones*, leaf ij verso] et en dépit de l'inspiration aristotélicienne qui caractérise effectivement sa conception et son utilisation de l'image aussi bien dans les *Emblemata* que dans les *Icones*, n'est pas à l'abri de la tentation hagiographique, qui dépasse en profondeur et en complexité l'iconophilie don't on a voulu le taxer" (R. Sta



CONRADVS GESNERVS.



CONRADVS GESNERVS. TIGVRINVS, IN ACADEMIA TIGVRINA PHILOSOPHIÆ PROFESSOR.

CONRADVM Gesnerum, Tiguri honestis quidē, sed tenuis fortunę parentibus natum, inter etatis nostrę clarissimos homines sua tum pietas tum eruditio, probitas denique singularis meritō collocarunt, vt plurimarum linguarum, ita omnium physices partiū, & intimorum naturę arcanorum vsque aded peritum, tamque diligentem ac laboriosum scriptorem, vt si stylum excolere quā simpliciter ex aliis optima fide collecta pleraque proponere maluisset, neque mors illum immatura sustulisset, ætas hęc nostra in vnico Gesnero tum Varronē alterum, tū Plinium quoque renatum fuerit habitura: cuius vt amicissimi & sub Meliore Volmario communi præceptore Biturigibus suauissimi con discipuli obitum istis *empiricis* versiculis celebraui.

*Te calo mutante solum, Gesnere, volucres
Quęcunque pennis aëra permeant,
Repleuere modis omnia tristibus,
Nigrañtem amicum, extrema supra sidera,
Omnes eum sonitu graui insequuta.
Te calo mutante solum, Gesnere, feroces
Gemuere in antris belluę,
Et stabulis pecudes relictis.
Sibilis colubri te feri gemunt lugubribus,*
R. j.

warz-Luginbühl, *Les Emblemata/Emblèmes Chrestiennes*, 1580/1581 de Théodore de Bèze: un recueil d'emblèmes humaniste et protestant, in: "Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance", 67/3, 2005, pp. 622-623, and P. Eichel-Lojkine, *Les Vrais Portraits' de Théodore de Bèze: comment regarder des images laïques?*, in: "Résistance de l'image", Paris, 1992, pp. 105-137).

Quite a few speculations about the authorship of the portraits, the emblems and the borders were made (cf. Ch. Chazalon, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-38 and E. Doumergue, *Iconographie Calvinienne*, Lausanne 1909, pp. 52-56), without coming to conclusive results. But one name always turns up, that of Pierre Eskrich (also Cruche or Vase, ca. 1520-ca. 1590), a master embroiderer, who converted to the reformed religion, and was very close in the humanist circles and in the world of the printers in Lyon, before settling down in Geneva. His first woodcuts appeared in Lyons around 1548. He produces woodcut illustrations for French translations of Boccaccio Ovid, for the *Picta Poesis* of Barthélémy Aneau, for the *Pegma* of Pierre Cousteau and numerous illustrations for various Bibles printed at Lyons and Geneva (cf. P.C. Finney, *A Note on de Bèze's 'Icones'*, in: "Seeing Beyond the World: Visual Arts and the Calvinist Tradition", Grand Rapids, MI, 1999, p. 261-262).

"C'est dans une toute autre perspective bien sûr qu'Eskrich, un an auparavant, réalise, peut-être avec d'autres graveurs, le portrait de Luther et ceux d'autres réformateurs et précurseurs de la Réforme parus à Genève chez Jean de Laon dans *Les vrais pourtraits des hommes illustres* de son ami Théodore de Bèze, suivis de ses *Emblèmes*, qui sont, eux, incontestablement de sa main. On sait par sa correspondance que Bèze s'était préoccupé avec zèle de rassembler les portraits les plus fidèles des réformateurs, et à une époque où la vogue du portrait, et particulièrement du portrait en taille-douce, ne cesse de s'affirmer après les années 1570, le graveur démontre ici que le portrait gravé sur bois conserve toutes ses lettres de noblesse. C'est le premier exemple protestant de publication d'anthologie de portraits, genre iconographique très répandu au XV^e le siècle, puisant ses racines dans des modèles antiques et classicisants, pour une audience de culture relativement élevée" (V. Selbach, *Artisan ou artiste? La car-*

EMBLEMA XLIII.



*Insanum hunc quicumque vides seseque suosque
Rate perforata mergere,
Ah, quam vera vides! nam quod pictū aspicias, horum
Viva est imago temporum.*

EMBLEMA XLIIII.



*Vidi ego carnificis metuentem verbera saui,
Qui medias sese Ligeris proiecit in undas,
Et quamvis sudore madens, expersque natandi
Fluminis evasit pede calcans ima profundi,
Quem mox non vna poenas pro cade luentem
Vidimus impositum torreret viscera flammis.
Hac age dispicito recte qui tramite vite
Deserto, magis atque magis periturus oberras:
Nam quò tardior est, grauior fit numinis ira.*

rière de Pierre Eskrich, brodeur, peintre et graveur, dans les milieux humanistes de Lyon et Genève (ca. 1550-1580), in: "Chrétien et sociétés. Numéro spécial I: Le calvinisme et les arts", 2011, p. 44).

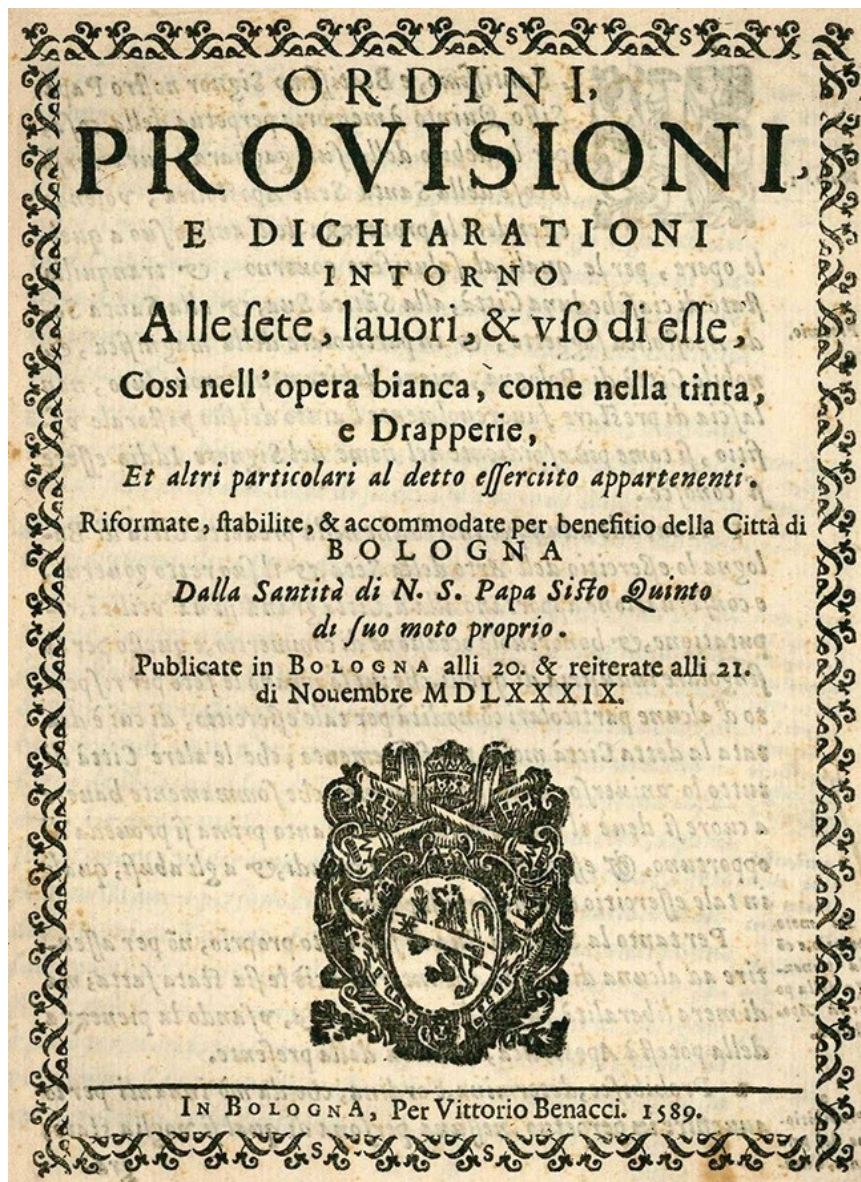
Adams, B-920; Index Aureliensis 118.745; GLN 15-16, no.2829; A. Adams, S. Rawles, A. Saunders; *A Bibliography of French Emblem Books of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, (Genève, 1999), I, pp. 179-182, F-104; J.-P. Barbier, *Ma bibliothèque poétique*, (Genève, 1998), IV/1, pp. 192-212, no. 35; Universal STC, no. 450862; F. Gardy & A. Dufour, *Bibliographie des oeuvres théologiques, littéraires, historiques et juridiques de Théodore de Bèze*, Genève, 1960, no. 338; A. Henkel & A. Schöne, *Emblemata. Handbuch zur Sinnbildkunst des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts*, (Stuttgart, 1978), pp. XXXV-XXXVI; J. Landwehr, *French, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese Book of Devices and Emblems, 1534-1827: A Bibliography*, (Utrecht, 1976), p. 52; M. Pelc, *Illustrium imagines: Das Portraitbuch der Renaissance*, (Leiden, 2002), pp. 56-57; P. Tanner, *Paolo Giorio, Pietro Perna, Tobias Stimmer und ihre Porträtwerke*, in: "Tobias Stimmer, 1539-1584", (Basel, 1984), p. 239, no. 124a.

€ 3,300.- / CHF 3,600.- / \$ 4,100.-

4. (BOLOGNA – SILK MANUFACTURE & COMMERCE). ORDINI provisioni e dichiarazione intorno alle sete, lavori, & uso di esse, così nell'opera bianca, come nella tinta, e drapperie, et altri particolari al detto esserciuto appartenenti. Riformate, stabilite, & accomodate per beneficio della Città di Bologna dalla Santità di N.S. Papa Sisto Quinto di suo moto proprio. Pubblicate in Bologna alli 20. & reiterate alli 21. di Novembre MDLXXXIX. 4to. 16 pages. *Title-page within a woodcut border and the arms of pope Sixtus V.* Unbound, small marginal tear in the first leaf repaired, but a very fine uncut copy.

Bologna, Vittorio Benacci, 1589.

FIRST EDITION of these ordonnances regulating the manufacture and trade of silk in the territory of Bologna, at that time belonging to the States of the Church. Indeed, among Sixtus's V (Felice Peretti, 1521-1590), first concerns after assuming the papacy, was to optimize industry and trade in the



Papal States. In the bull *Cum sicut accepimus* (May 28, 1586 – *Bullarium Romanum*, Torino, 1863, vol. VIII, no. XLIX, pp. 711-719) he ordered that mulberry trees had to be planted throughout the States of the Church in all gardens and vineyards, in every field and wood, over all hills and in every valley, whenever no corn was growing (cf. G. Tomasetti, *L'arte della seta sotto Sisto V* in Roma, in: "Studi e documenti di storia e diritto", 2, 1881, p. 145). Sixtus V clearly saw the importance and the advantages giving support to the silk industry and trade, which contributed in no small share to the well-being and prosperity of a considerable portion of the working classes of the Papal States.

Bologna became a leading silk producer starting in the 15th century thanks to technological and process innovations that brought it to prominence on international markets. The silk production process took place within the city walls in the hands of merchant-entrepreneurs. Negotiations for the purchase of silk cocoons took place in what is now Piazza Galvani. The process was a multi-stage affair involving different facilities, people and methods: filament reeling, in which the cocoons were unwound; silk throwing, in which the filaments were twisted and wound onto bobbins; the weaving done at home by hundreds of women; and the fabric finishing in artisans' workshops. Remarkable was also the artificial water distribution system that traces its origin to the 12th century. The system is composed of locks (on the Reno and Savena Rivers), canals (Reno, Savena, Moline and Navile) and underground conduits known as *chiariche* that extended the water network to many zones of the city. The availability of water, united with the level of technology attained by the silk mills (cf. A. Guenzi & C. Ponì, *Sinergia di due innovazioni: chiariche e mulini da seta a Bologna*, in: "Quaderni storici", 64, 1987, pp.

111-127), allowed the city to play a leadership role in European proto-industry and international trade for over four centuries. Downstream of the city, after the water had been used to power the mills, a port on the Navile Canal took goods and passengers down to the Po River and on to Venice (cf. C. Poni, *La seta in Italia: una grande industria prima della rivoluzione industriale*, Bologna, 2009, p. 266).

“L’Opera bianca, quella dei veli, doveva impiegare - secondo norme coperative solennemente confermate dal governo e da un Breve di papa Sisto V (1589) - solo sete gregge locali, ricavate cioè da bozzoli prodotti o nella campagna bolognese (e circonvicine) o a Bologna... Tutta la produzione dei bozzoli, di cui era probita l’esportazione, doveva esser venduta sul mercato urbano (il “Pavaglione”) ad operatori economici autorizzati: i caldierani “arbitranti” e i mercanti di seta. Una volta entrati in città, la materia greggia non poteva più uscirne se non come prodotto finito. E solo come velo liscio (*gazes*) o crespo (*crêpes*). Questo significa che tutto il processo produttivo dell’Opera bianca, ad eccezione dell’allevamento dei bachi da seta, che era sostanzialmente lavoro di contadini, era concentrato in città: dalla trattatura, alla torcitura, alla tintura, alla tessitura e all’increspatura... Si tratta di un caso eccezionale e credo unico di concentrazione verticale urbana” (C. Poni, *Per la storia del distretto industriale serico di Bologna, secoli XVI-XIX*, in: “Quaderni storici”, 73/a.XXV/1, 1990, p.98).

Edit 16, CNCE 61120; Universal STC, no. 815854; Biblioteca del Senato del Regno, *Catalogo della raccolta di statuti, consuetudini, leggi, decreti, ordini e privilegi dei comuni*: delle associazioni e degli enti locali italiani, dal medioevo alla fine del secolo XVIII, (Roma, 1943), p. 177; Z. Zanardi, ed., *Bononia manifesta*. Bandi, editti, costituzioni e provvedimenti diversi stampati nel XVI secolo per Bologna e il suo territorio, (Firenze, 1996), p. 299, no. 2090.

€ 850.- / CHF 950.- / \$ 1,050.-

FIRST ILLUSTRATED EDITION

5. COLER, Johannes (1566-1639). *Calendarium Perpetuum, Et Libri Oeconomici*, Das ist, Ein stetswerender Calender, darzu sehr nützliche und nötige Haußbücher. Vor die Haußwirt, Ackerleut, Apotecker, Kauffleute, Wanderbleute, Weinherren, Gärtner, den gemeinen Handwercksleuten und all den jenigen so mit Wirtschafften oder Gastungen umbgehen. Darinnen begrieffen ist, Ein gemeine Prognostication, auff eine jederzeit des Jahrs, alle Kreuter, Wurtzel, Blumen und Samen, die man in einem jeden Monat zur Artzney nützlich, samlen, Auch wie sich ein Mensch im Essen und Trincken, und andern sachen der Gesundheit dienlich halten sol. Auch allerley Jarmerckte, sampt vielen andern nützlichen Auffmerckungen, einem jeden in seinem stande sehr nützlich und dienstlich. Jetzund aus sonderlichen Ursachen vom Autore verbessert, wie die Vorrede an den Christlichen Leser außweiset, auch mit schönen Figuren gezieret. 4to. (6) leaves, 288 pp., (26) leaves. *Title printed in red and black within an ornamental border, colored printer's device (repeated at the end), large colored woodcut on leaf (:)⁴verso, twelve woodcuts with the occupations of the months in the calendar (repeated in the text), 6 larger woodcuts (some repeated, including one of a wine cellar), and 29 smaller woodcuts in the text (some repeated, showing herbs and various farm animals).* Contemporary vellum over boards, ties missing, lightly rubbed and soiled, rebacked, green tinted edges, newer endpapers, some browning throughout due to the quality of the paper, a few marginal tears, upper margins partly cut a bit short, but for a reference work of daily use in very good condition, preserved in a box.

Wittenberg, Paul Helwich, 1600.

EXTREMELY RARE FIRST ILLUSTRATED EDITION. Coler's *Calendarium* stood at the beginning of one of the most notable publishing ventures in early modern Germany, and as a treatise on domestic economy and medicine arranged by months is the first of its kind written in Germany.



First published in 1591 as *Calendarium oeconomicum et perpetuum*, and again in 1592, it was followed by four undated unchanged reprints, until 1600 when the present totally revised edition appeared. In 1593 appeared the first volume of *Oeconomia oder Hausbuch* (in three parts), which Coler intended to supplement the *Calendarium*, and what is considered to be the starting point of the genre of *Hausväterliteratur* (literature on husbandry). In 1595 was published the second volume of the *Oeconomia* (containing parts four and five), in 1596 an appendix (forming part six). In 1597 appeared the third (parts seven to nine) and fourth (parts ten to thirteen) volume, followed in 1599 by part five (parts fourteen to sixteen), and in 1601 by part six (parts seventeen to twenty). The first collective edition of all twenty parts was published in 1604 with a reprint of to the present edition of the *Calendarium*. Coler continued to in revise his work until his death 1639, and until the end of the century more than fifty editions of the various parts and fifteen complete folio editions appeared (K. Lindner, *Das Hausbuch des Johann Coler, Druckgeschichte und Bibliographie*, in: "Festschrift für Claus Nissen", E. Geck & G. Pressler, eds., Stuttgart, 1973, pp. 505-509). The *Calendarium* was sold separately, in fact all know copies of the present edition are not bound with any part of the *Oeconomia*.

Coler and the publisher Paul Helwich obtained a privilege for ten years for the *Calendarium* from Emperor Rudolph II, dated Prague, March 29, 1697, which is printed for the first time in the present edition on the verso of the title-page. In the preface to the 'Christian Reader' (leaves (:):¹⁺²) Coler explains that one of the reasons that induced him to publish a new edition completely revised, augmented and provided with numerous illustrations: he wanted to denigrate a pirated edition printed under the name of one Adam Dietenhauser, with the title *Haußbuch*, at Konstanz by Nicolaus Kalt in 1599. Whereas the earlier editions of the *Calendarium* consisted of 88, respectively 92 leaves, the present edition counts 176 leaves (also considering the space needed for the illustrations, the text was considerably augmented).

The *Calendarium* is specially addressed (as stated on the title-page) to farmers, traders, craftsmen, itinerant journeymen, wine growers, gardeners, and apothecaries. Coler gives in great detail for each



month the current astro-medical rules for bloodletting and dispensing of medicines according to the various signs of the zodiac. He also gives directions for the collecting of officinal herbs and their use over the year. Each month opens with a calendar printed in red and black and a large woodcut showing the labors of the month, the time of sunrise and sunset, and giving popular aphorisms on health measures e.g. in March: "Am tage Mariae Verkündigung hüte dich vor Aderklassen" (On Lady-day abstain from blood-letting), the character of a child born under the sign of the zodiac of that month, e.g. in the sign of Aries: "Kinder in diesem Zeichen geboren... sein behertzt, kühn und zenckisch..." (Children born under this sign are spirited, bold and quarrelsome...). There follows a general consideration of the month with mainly astronomical and meteorological aspects, then a long chapter on health rules (in prose and verses), the medical herbs to be collected, and instructions regarding gardening and agriculture (cf. W.-D. Müller-Jahncke, *Medizin und Pharmazie in Almanachen und Kalendern der frühen Neuzeit*, in: "Pharmazie und der gemeine Mann. Hausartznei und Apotheke in der frühen Neuzeit", ed. J. Telle, Weinheim, 1988, p. 41, and E. Johansson, *Hygienische und medizinische Ratschläge im ewigen Kalender des Johannes Colerus*, in: "Sudhoffs Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin und der Naturwissenschaften", 33, 1/2, 1940, pp. 55-103).

"Colers *Calendarium* ist ganz regelmässig angelegt. Nach der Vorrede des Verfassers, bedeutsam für das Verständnis des Werkes und eines gesonderten Wortes würdig, schliesst sich das *Calendarium*

Aufgang hat XXX. Tage. Niedergang.				103			
16	3	42	Iuliana.	Die beghinnis des Morgens umb 1. vhr zu tagen/ vnd Abend nach 9. finster zu werden.	16	8	20
17	3	42	Irenaus.	Donners in diesem Monden/ so wird gut Gerreidiche/ vnd das Vieh verwirfft ihre Fruchte.	17	8	20
18	3	41	Arnolphus.	Wenn die Rosen blähen/ so ist alle tage gut Aderlassen.	18	8	20
19	3	41	Gervasius.	Donners wenn der Mond im Krebs ist/ so wird wenig regens vnd abgang der Gersten/ aber im April vnd Merken viel regens.	19	8	19
20	3	41	Emilia.	Auffbund die Kebb an die stecken frey/ Trag nun/ worzu ds Stroh gut sey.	20	8	19
21	3	42	Wolphon	An S. Johannis Abend steck man alles / was man zu Kresttraut haben wil.	21	8	18
22	3	42	Achatius.	Die schwerme der Bienen/ die vor Johannis gefallen/ auff Viti oder Corporis Christi, das sein die besten/ denn sie stehen aus: Aber die nach Johannis gefallen/ die sein nicht so gut.	22	8	18
23	3	43	Basilus.	Auff Petri vnd Pauli bricht den Korn die Wursel/ vnd reiffet darnach Tag vnd Nacht.	23	8	17
24	3	43	Joan. Bapt.		24	8	17
25	3	44	Elois.		25	8	16
26	3	44	Iohan. Paul.		26	8	16
27	3	45	Ladislaus.		27	8	15
28	3	46	Leonis vigilia.		28	8	14
29	3	47	Petri Paul.		29	8	13
30	3	48	Pauli gedeche.		30	8	12
31	3	49	Mar.		31	8	11

Nic. Marcelle boni dat lun. prima Ba. Cytrini

Viteq. Mar Prethus al sancti Iohan Io vor le Pe Pan.

Dom

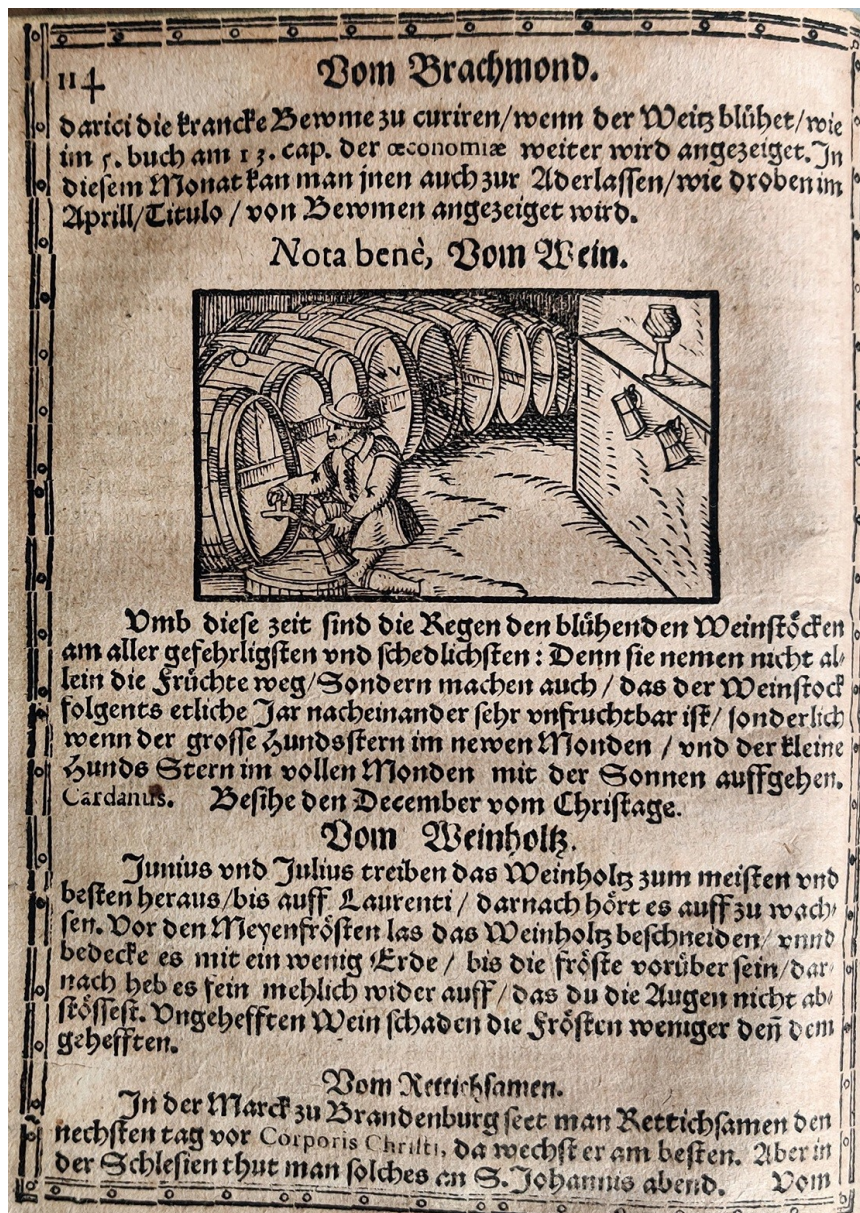
Nic. Marcelle boni dat Iun. prima Ba. Cytrini
Viteq. Mar Prothus al sancti Iohan Io uor le Pe Paw.

Tom



der Monate an, durchgängig auf je zwei Seiten verteilt. Ihm folgen unterschiedlich lange Darstellungen des jeweiligen Monats im Sinne einer ökonomischen Praktik. Der astrologische Gehalt der traditionellen *Bauernpraktik* tritt zurück. Der Realitätsbezug der Arbeitsanweisungen gewinnt an Raum. So erscheint die Beschreibung der Monate als Präsentation dessen, was die Zeiteinheiten im Wechsel der Jahreszeiten für den die Arbeit anweisenden Landmann, den lenkenden Hauswirt, tatsächlich bedeuten, wenngleich kalendarische Tradition, überkommenes Literaturgut, gelehrtes Zitat und astrologische Spekulation unübersehbar bleiben. Dem Kalendarium folgen allgemeine Kalenderregeln und, als selbstständiger Teil, ein alphabetisches Verzeichnis 'aller Jarmerkte oder Messen'. Ein solcher Katalog, der wichtige Meßplätze des alten Reiches, aber auch benachbarter Gebiete nennt, gehört in einen guten Kalender... Schon hier, in der astrologischen Praktik des 'Calendariums', finden sich Spuren dessen, was im zweiten Textteil der Monatsdarstellung als ökonomische Praktik so eindrucksvoll hervortritt. Es gehört zu den charakteristischen Merkmalen des Colerschen Buches, daß Spekulation, Magie, und was sonst in den Kalendern aufzutauchen pflegte, zurücktreten und statt dessen Rationalität und Realismus der Sachinformation vorherrschen" (G. Frühsorge, *Nachwort*, in: "Johann Coler, *Calendarium oeconomicum*", Leipzig, 1988, pp. 7-8, 9-10).

Johannes Coler, a native of Goldberg (Silesia), spent his youth in Berlin and obtained his first instruction from his father Jacob, who was a distinguished Lutheran theologian in the consistory of the electoral court, professor of philosophy at the university of Frankfurt a.O. and collaborator to Elias Hutter's Hebrew edition of the Bible. He then attended schools in Frankfurt, Berlin and Görlitz, where Laurentius Lodovicus from Löwenberg (Silesia), was his teacher. After this basic training *in linguis & artibus*, Coler was tutor in 1586 and 1587 for two landed gentry families from Silesia. In 1588 his parents sent him to the University of Frankfurt a.O., where he studied philosophy with Pelargus and Gartius and medicine with Johann von Knobloch, a student of Jodocus Willich. He finished his studies after three years without a degree and became tutor again, this time in Vienna in the house of Jacob Bieler, imperial war commissioner in Hungary and Croatia. According to his father's wishes, he also studied law there. He spent the next years in Berlin, where his *Calendarium* was published in 1591. In 1595 Coler continued his law studies at the University of Jena, and then returned to Berlin to work there as a lawyer. But he changed his mind and started to study theology in Breslau, obtained a degree



at Rostock and became a preacher in Doveran and in 1603 archdeacon in Parchim (Mecklenburg). In the same year appeared the last volume of his *Oeconomia*. From his father he not only inherited his opponyency to Calvinism, Anabaptists, and other sects, but also the former's passion for farm management. From him he obtained a manuscript on *De re rustica*, the contents of which, however, were modelled mainly on authors of classical antiquity. In his own work Coler wanted to store the contemporary knowledge on the subject. Thus, among the authors cited are not only the great classics like Cato, Varro, Columella and often Palladius, but also modern authors as Conrad Gessner. To manage a household was for Coler a "grosse mächtige Kunst", which he also called "*Oeconomia*" in view of the dispositions serving for securing food supply, which was of primary significance for survival in view of the always present danger of bad harvest and famine (cf. I. Richarz, *Oikos, Haus und Haushalt. Ursprung und Geschichte der Haushaltsökonomik*, Göttingen, 1991, pp. 138-148). In 1616 he published at Wittenberg his main theological work, *Oeconomia Ecclesiastica*, a presentation of the beliefs of Lutheranism confronted with those of the Catholic Church, of Calvinism and of Islam. In 1519 Coler was appointed superintendent of the Parchim church district by Duke Adolph Friedrich von Mecklenburg, a position he held until his death (cf. (see H. Geistfeldt, *Johannes Coler*, in: "Forstliche Biographien aus Mecklenburg-Vorpommern", M. Schorcht, ed., Schwerin, 1999, pp. 71-76, and P. Hahn, *Das Haus im Buch. Konzeption, Publikationsgeschichte und Leserschaft der 'Oeconomia' Johann Colers*, Epfendorf, 2013, pp. 24-29).



VD-16, ZV 3769 (3 copies – Berlin, Erfurt, Leipzig; 1 uncomplete copy in Halle); Index Aureliensis 142.702; Universal STC, no. 673956; K. Lindner, *op. cit.*, pp. 518-519, no. 1.07; K. Lindner, *Bibliographie der deutschen und der niederländischen Jagdliteratur*, (Berlin, 2015), cols. 125-126, no. 11.0369.07; C.A. Wimmer & I. Lauterbach, *Bibliographie der vor 1750 erschienenen deutschen Gartenbücher*, (Nördlingen, 2003), p. 52.

€ 4,500.- / CHF 4,900.- / \$ 5,600.-

6. ERASMUS, Desiderius (1466-1536). Responsio ad Petri Cursii defensionem, nullo adversario bellacem. 8vo. 30 pp., 1 leaf. *With the printer's device on the title page and on the verso of the last leaf.* Sewn in an old vellum manuscript leaf, a fine copy.

Paris, Chrétien Wechel, 1535.



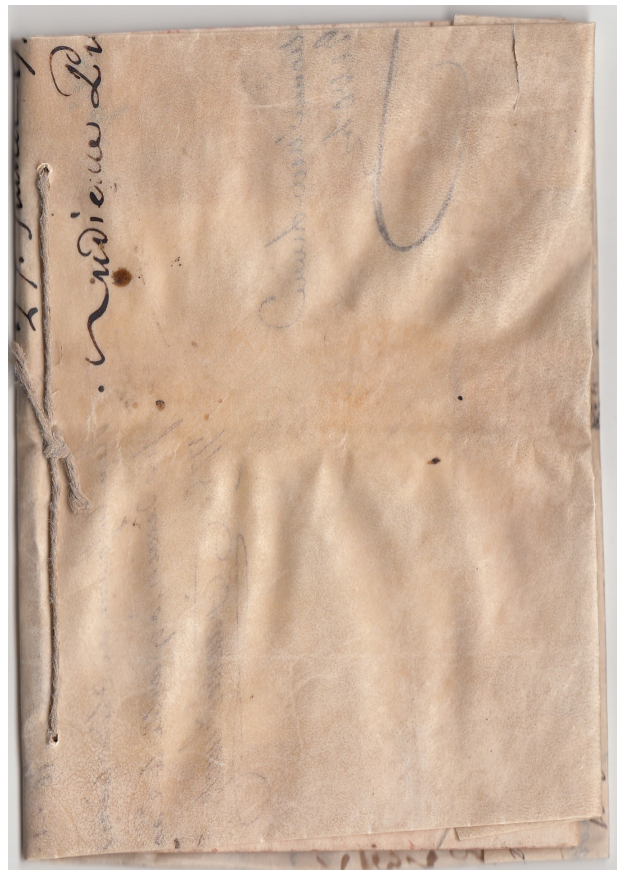
THIS IS AN IMMEDIATE REPRINT of the first edition issued at Basel by Johann Froben in August 1535. There are no other separate printings, but the work was reprinted in Erasmus' *Omnia opera* of 1540.

In the first months of 1535 the Roman humanist published *Defensio pro Italia ad Erasmum Roterdamum*, dedicated to Pope Paul III.

Erasmus in one of his adages, *Myconius calvus* (II.1.7, 'Myconian baldpate'), explained that it was an oxymoron, since the Mycones were proverbially famous for their thick hair, and it would be like saying, he adds, "an erudite Scythian, a bellicose Italian, an honest merchant, a pious soldier or a reliable Carthaginian" ("veluti si quis Scytham dicat eruditum, Italum bellacem, negotiatorem integrum, militem pium aut Poenum fidum"). In his tract Corsi claims that Erasmus had questioned the military valor of the Italians. "But the military issue was by no means Corsi's only concern: for he extended his defense of the Italians into the cultural sphere. Tellingly, he suggested that feelings of cultural superiority had led Erasmus to make excessive claims for the northerners... In response Corsi tried to vindicate Italian excellence in all academic disciplines, including philosophy, law, theology, medicine, mathematics, and the fine arts. He warned especially that Erasmus should respect the leading Italian literati despite their lesser literary scholarly productivity" (K. Gouwens, *Re-*

membering the Renaissance: Humanist Narratives of the Sack of Rome, Leiden, 1998, pp. 95-96).

Erasmus was promptly informed of Corsi's book by his Roman friends. He also received a copy of it, but was at first reluctant to read it. However, in August 1535 he produced a replay in the form of a long letter addressed to his lifelong friend canon Johann Kohler (Choler, d. 1538) (see P.S. Allen, ed., *Opus Epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterdami*, Oxford, 1947, XI, p. 172, no. 3032). "La *Responsio* esprimeva comprensione per Corsi, "vir minime malus, φιλόπατρις", sosteneva che 'bellax', come tutti i nomi con desinenza in 'ax', era peggiorativo, sinonimo di 'ferus', 'barbarus'; e che saggiamente gli italiani preferivano una cattiva pace ad una buona guerra. Fabio Massimo, il Cunctator, "nec bellax erat, nec imbellis". Ridicolo interpretare l'ossimoro come una provocazione nazionalista: "Vtinam Helvetia et Germania minus esset bellax quam antehac fuit!". Menzionava poi i tanti amici e corrispondenti italiani, sottolineando che nemici degli italiani erano piuttosto coloro che pretendevano di discriminare i più colti come sospetti eretici" V. Ilari, *Italum bellacem*. L'ossimoro di Erasmo. *Italian war-likeness according to Erasmus and Gabriel Naudé*, in: "Società Italiana di Storia Militare. Quaderno 1996-1997", Napoli,



2001, pp. 187, see also R. Valentini, *Erasmus da Rotterdam e Pietro Corsi: a proposito di una polemica fraintesa*, in: "Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei, Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filosofiche", 6/12, 1936, pp. 896-922).

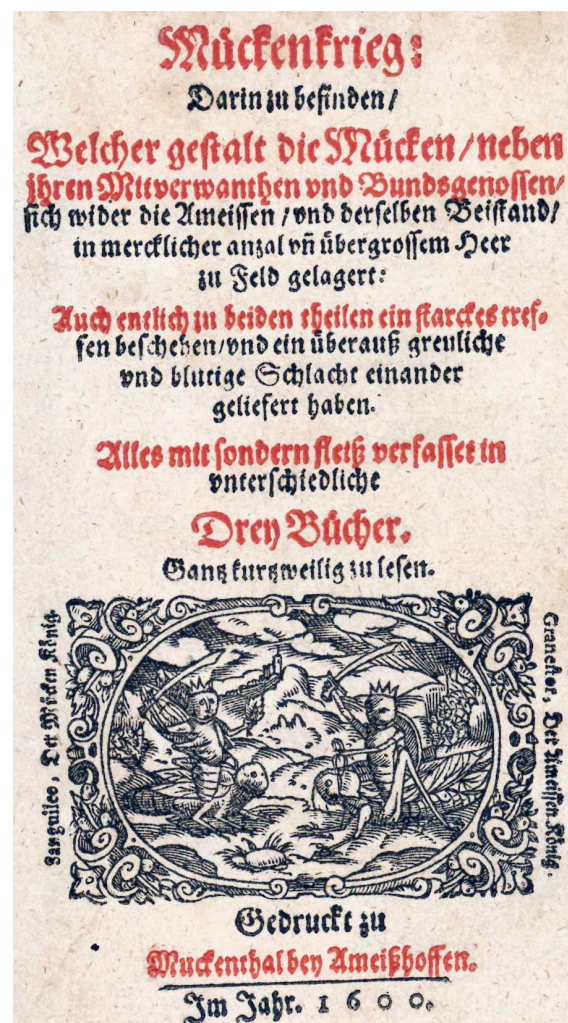
Only two other copies could be traced: one in the Mediathèque Aragon in Le Mans and the other in the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington DC (the two copies cited in Moreau – see below – are not longer extant).

Universal STC, no. 185562 (one copy); F. van der Haeghen, *Bibliotheca Erasiana: repertoire des oeuvres d'Erasmus*, (Gand, 1893), p. 174; B. Moreau, *Inventaire chronologique des éditions parisiens du XVI^e siècle: 1531-1535*, (Paris, 1992), p. 387, no. 1299; A. Pettegree & M. Walsby, *French Books: Books published in France before 1601 in Latin and languages other than French*, (Leiden, 2012), III, no. 69498.

€ 1,200.- / CHF 1,350.- / \$ 1,500.-

7. [FUCHS, Hans Christoph (fl. second half of the 16th century)]. Mückenkrieg, Darin zu befinden, Welcher Gestalt die Mücken, neben ihren Mitverwanthen und Bundsgenossen, sich wider die Ameissen, und derselben Beistand, in mercklicher anzahl un[d] übergroßem Heer zu Feld gelagert: ... und ein überauß greuliche und blutige Schlacht einander geliefert haben. Alles mit sonderm Fleiß verfasst in unterschiedliche Drey Bücher... 4to. 116 pages. Title printed in red and black with a woodcut vignette. Old boards, very lightly browned, but a fine copy.

Muckenthal bey Ameißhoffen [Amberg, Michael Forster], 1600.



EARLIEST OBTAINABLE EDITION. According to earlier bibliographers at least three editions preceded the present one, of which, however, no copies are known: one printed at Schmalkalden in 1580, one printed in Amberg without printer nor date, and one with the title *Mückenkrieg, Tractatus de bello muscarum*, dated 1600 (cf. F.W. Genthe, ed., *H. C. Fuchs's heroisch-komisches Gedicht der Mückenkrieg: Nach der Ausg. von a. 1600, mit den Varianten der Schnurr'schen Bearbeitung von 1612, und einer Einleitung*, Eisleben, 1833, pp. 9-12). It is considered "possibly the least known, but probably also the most underestimated text of its kind" (G. Riedl, "...deren beyspiel man sol volge tun". *Das satirische Tierepos als lehrhaftes Geschichtsexempel*, in: "Tierepik und Tierallegorese: Studien zur Poetologie und historischen Anthropologie vormoderner Literatur", B. Jahn, ed., Frankfurt/Main, 2004, p. 279).

The work is a rather free adaptation of Teofilo Folengo's juvenile mock epic *Moscheide*, written in macaronic verses and first published in his *Maccheronee* (Toscolano, 1521). In his preface Fuchs explicitly mentions Folengo and his peculiar style, which, however, he did not want to imitate.

"Die Grobstruktur des Mückenkriegs ergibt sich aus der bei Teofilo Folengo vorliegenden Einteilung des Textes in drei Bücher, die die Entstehung und Verlauf einer kriegerischen Auseinandersetzung zwischen Mücken und Ameisen schildern. Ausgehend von einer vernichtenden militärischen Niederlage beschliesst Mückenkönig Sanguileo die Einberufung und Rüstung des alliierten Mückenheeres und somit die Kriegserklärung an das Ameisenreich. Nach einer detaillierten Beschreibung der einzelnen Truppenkontingente endet das erste Buch mit der Einschiffung des Heeres. Das zweite Buch handelt von der Ankunft und Rüstung der Ameisen und ihrer Verbündeter, der gefährlichen Seefahrt der Mücken sowie ersten militärischen Erfolge. Das dritte und letzte Buch berichtet die Feldschlacht, die dem Scheitern einen angebotenen Stellvertreterkampf zwischen Myrnuca und Siccaboron folgt. Die Schlachtschilderung wird dabei in Einzelkampfsequenzen zerteilt; die Schlacht endet mit der Flucht des Mückenheeres und der Tötung des tollkühnen Siccaboron... Stand bei Folengo das gebildete Sprachspiel, der formale Sprachwitz, im Vordergrund, so ist bei Fuchs eine Umgewichtung der Aussageintention zu konstatieren, bei der die instruktive, didaktische Funktion der Fürstenspiegelliteratur bzw. der literarisierten Kriegslehre ins Zentrum rückt... Wenn Fuchs auf der einen Seite die komische Aufzählung von Mückenstädten tilgt und auf der anderen Seite sein Tierepos durch Rekurs auf reale Städte (z.B. Antwerpen oder Venedig) konsequenter an die ausserliterarische Realität anbindet, kann dies Ausdruck einer bewussten Authentifizierung der Handlung sein" (H.C. Fuchs, *Der Mückenkrieg. Ein frühneuzeitliches Tierepos herausgegeben und mit einem Kommentar von Sabine Schu, St, Ingbert*, 2012, pp. 405, 447; see also C. Struwe-Rohr, *Von Mücken und Ameisen und einem toten Ochsen. Überlegungen zur Problematik der Geltung und Durchsetzung von Herrschaft sowie Freiheit der Massen im 'Mückenkrieg'*, in: "Reflexionen des Politischen in der europäischen Tierepik, J. Glück et al., eds., Oldenburg, 2016, pp. 182-208).

Little is known about Hans Christoph Fuchs life. He was hereditary lord of Wallenburg in Franconia (cf. O. Gerland, *Hans Christoph Fuchs der Ältere zu Wallenburg und Arnswang, ein humanistischer Ritter des 16. Jahrhunderts*, in: "Zeitschrift des Vereins für hessische Geschichte und Landeskunde", Neue Folge 23, 1898, pp. 204-246).

VD 16, F-1759; Universal STC, no. 673851.

€ 1,800.- / CHF 2.000.- / \$ 2,250.-

8. [LANDO, Ortensio (ca. 1512-1556)]. Sette libri de cathaloghi a' varie cose appartenenti, non solo antiche, ma anche moderne: opera utile molto alla historia, et da cui prender si po materia di favellare d'ogni proposito che ci occorra. 8vo. 567, (1) pp. *With the printer's device on the title page and on the verso of the last leaf.* Seventeenth century mottled calf, gilt spine with lettering piece, sprinkled edges (spine a bit worn and rubbed), on the front pastedown is found a bookplate "Est S. Simpliciani Mediolani ad usum D. Benedicti Antonii [...] Abbatis", entry of ownership on the title page, upper margin cut a bit short (on a few pages slightly affecting the current title and the page number), otherwise a very good, clean copy.

Venezia, Gabriele Giolito de' Ferrari, e fratelli, 1552 (at the end: 1553).



FIRST EDITION of Lando's last larger work, a series 114 lists ('cathaloghi') of men and women from antiquity and from his own time arranged in seven books, each with its own dedicatory letter (mostly Lando's patrons from Brescia). At the beginning of each book is a table of the various 'cataloghi' contained in it: e.g. *Cathalogo di quei, che morirono per soverchia letitia et smoderate risa* (Book I); *Di quei che amarono le lettere e i letterati favorirono, De i grandi bevitori* (Book II), *Degli arroganti, superbi, ambiziosi e gloriosi, Degli huomini sprezzatori degli Iddii* (Book III); *Dei mariti et delle mogli che stremamente si sono amati, Di quei che per se stessi in vari modi si ammazzarono* (Book IV), *Di quei che furono folminati et dal cielo percossi, Di quei che morirono fra le braccia delle lor amate donne* (Book V); *Dei più belli horti, De i pittori antichi et moderni* (Book VI); *Dei più famosi musici, Dei più famosi precettori antichi et moderni* (Book VII).

At the end of the volume is found a letter by Lando dated December 20, to Lucrezia Gonzaga da Gazzuolo (ca. 1521-1576), his patroness and occasional literary collaborator since his publication of *Lettere di molte valorose donne* (1548) (cf. M.K. Ray, *Textual collaboration and spiritual partnership in Sixteenth-century Italy: the case of Ortensio Lando and Lucrezia Gonzaga*, in: "Renaissance Quarterly", LXII/3, 2009, pp. 694-747). In it Lando complains that the authorities had forbidden the publication of the lists of adulterers, traitors,

cruel and ungrateful persons of his own day which he had intended to include. He also points to source he used for the examples from antiquity: "gli essempli vecchi dal Sabellico, del Volterrano, dal Fregoso, dal Calphurnio, dal Domitio, dal Bergamasco Cronichista, ultimamente dal Testore [Tixier], essendo avisato ch'egli piu di ogni altro copioso ne fusse" (pp. 556-567). In fact, many of the ancient examples have been nearly literally translated from the sixteenth century repertory, the *Officina* (1520) by the aforementioned Jean Tixier de Ravisy (ca. 1470-1542). This consistent sacking of the *Officina* was viewed by some critics as plagiarism. "Sull'*Officina*, che il maestro parigino aveva tanto amorosamente attrezzato per la crescita umana e professionale dei suoi scolari del Collège de Navarre, Lando interviene con tagli che intaccano alla radice il requisito della completezza. Evidentemente per lo scrittore e per i suoi lettori l'abbondanza dei riferimenti non è più un valore. A un Tixier affetto da mania catalogatoria che affastella tutto l'elencabile, succede un Linneo ludico che dice di perseguire né più né meno che un gioco di società: 'opera molto utile alla historia, et da cui prender si po materia fi favellare d'ogni proposito che ci occorra'. Il patrimonio classico che a Parigi era censito come una riserva preziosissima di *loci* e di *exempla* da recuperare a fini retorici o parenetici o prosopografici, a Venezia viene manipolato senza nessun timore reverenziale. Da *utilia a peregrina et curiosa*. I *Cataloghi* non cercano – né additano – né sapienza, né dottrina, né bellezza, ma si propongono appena poco più di uno spunto per la conversazione" (P. Procaccioli, '... fecerunt Barberini'. *Attenuanti generiche e specifiche per Ortensio Lando plagiario di Jean Tixier de Ravisy*, in: "Furto e plagio nella letteratura del classicismo", R. Gigliucci, ed., Roma, 1998, p. 295, see also P. Cherchi, *Polimatia di riuso: mezzo secolo di plagio, 1539-1588*, Roma, 1998, pp. 109-111).



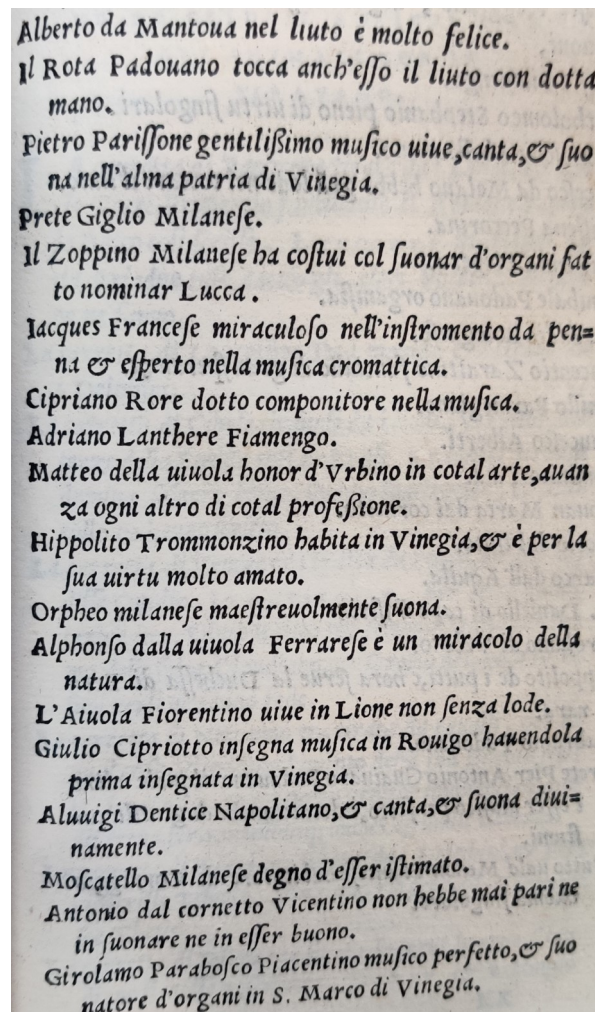
Although the book was published anonymously, Ortensio Lando included his own name amongst those who were ugly (p. 18: “non mi è occorso vedere il piu difforme costui, non vi è parte del corpo suo che imperfettamente non sia... ha le labra di Ethio- po, il naso schiacciato, le mani storte, et è di colore di cenere”); irascible (p. 100: “Credo io fermamante ch’egli non sia come gli altri huomini, composto di quattro elementi, ma di ira, di sdegno, di collera & di alterezza”); ignorant (p. 118: “non puo se non per viva forza leggere alcun libro, & i letterati schiva, come huomini di malo augurio, & di pessimo influsso”); unhappy (p. 343: “infelice in tutto quello che tenta di voler fare, o dire”), scribbler about trivialities (p. 479: “ha cantato la morte d’un cavallo, d’un cane, d’un pidocchio, di una simia, d’una civetta, d’una gaza, d’un mergone, d’un gallo, d’una gatta, d’un grillo, & d’altri vili animali”).

“Prendiamo il Lando, a mio avviso il più sublime e il più rappresentativo degli autori presenti in questo volume. La fantasia del Lando è surreale: vero uomo ‘astratto e fantastico’, egli si incanta nell’inventario dello spettacolo mondano, che per ciò stesso ne esce straniato e stravolto. Per questo il suo capolavoro è probabilmente l’opera in apparenza meno ambiziosa e meno strutturata, quella in cui la forma esibisce provocatoriamente il proprio ‘grado zero’: mi riferisco ai *Sette libri de Cataloghi a varie cose appartenenti* (ma che anche il più orizzontale e adiaforo

dei cataloghi richieda una profonda sapienza è dimostrato dal confronto con i cataloghi – qui veramente ‘minori’ – di un epigono come Luigi Contarini o dai centoni di ‘detti e fatti notabili’ compilati da Lodovico Domenichi). Nei *Cataloghi* landiani tutto è folle perché tutto è svuotato di senso della transitività e dalla continuità degli elenchi (elenchi di uomini brutti o di uomini inghiottiti dalle sabbie mobili, elenchi di nomi di cani ed elenchi di grandi mangiatori...); ed è folle perché la pretesa di categorizzare il mondo in una ratio si rovescia nel proprio contrario, ogni categoria venendo definita dalla somma di tutti gli individui che le pertengono: come nella presunzione dell’imperatore borghesiano che per avere nozione del proprio impero impone ai cartografi di realizzare una mappa in scala 1:1. Ovviamente il circolo è vizioso: il mondo è reso assurdo dalla sua traduzione in elenco di nomi, ma il mondo è traducibile in elenco di nomi solo perché è assurdo” (M. Mari, *Introduzione*, in: “Manieristi e irregolari del Cinquecento”, C. Spila, ed., Roma, 2004, pp. IV-V).

Hortensio Lando ha cantato la morte d'un cavallo, d'un cane, d'un pedocchio, d'una simia, d'una ciuetta, d'una gaza, d'un mergone, d'un gallo, d'una gatta, d'un grillo, & d'altri vili animali.

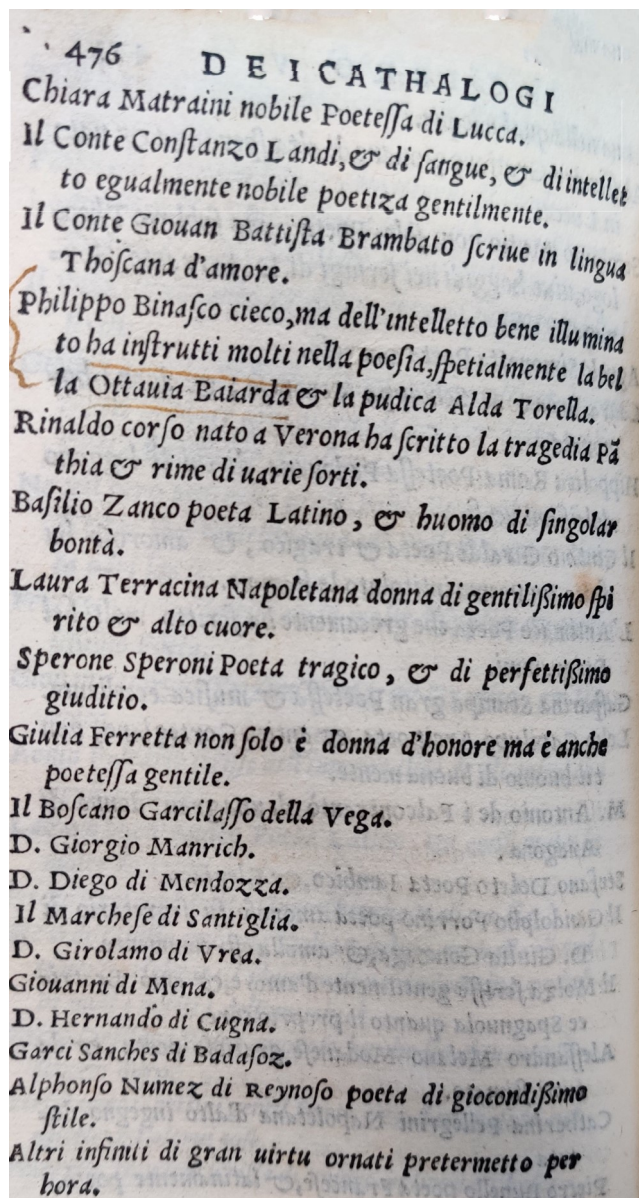
For the history of music, the ‘cathalog’ in Book VII on modern musician (pp. 510-512) is interesting for the citation of little-known musicians and singers (men and women) (cf. K. Schiltz, ed., *A Companion to Music in Sixteenth-Century Venice*, Leiden, 2018, pp. 264-266, and P. Marchetti, ‘*Alli spiriti armonici, et gentili*’. Fortunato Martinengo e il ‘*Lucidario in musica*’ di Pietro Aaron, in: “*Philomusica*”, 15/1, 2016, p. 343).



Alberto da Mantoua nel liuto è molto felice.
 Il Rota Padouano tocca anch'esso il liuto con dotta
 mano.
 Pietro Pariffone gentilissimo musico uiue, canta, & suo
 na nell'alma patria di Vinegia.
 Prete Giglio Milanese.
 Il Zoppino Milanese ha costui col suonar d'organi fat
 to nominar Lucca.
 Jacques Francese miraculoso nell'istromento da pen
 na & esperto nella musica cromattica.
 Cipriano Rore dotto compositore nella musica.
 Adriano Lanthere Fiamengo.
 Matteo della uiuola honor d'Vrbino in cotal arte, auan
 za ogni altro di cotal professione.
 Hippolito Trommonzino habita in Vinegia, & è per la
 sua uirtu molto amato.
 Orpheo milanese maestreuolmente suona.
 Alphonso dalla uiuola Ferrarese è un miracolo della
 natura.
 L'Aiuola Fiorentino uiue in Lione non senza lode.
 Giulio Cipriotto insegna musica in Rouigo hauendola
 prima insegnata in Vinegia.
 Aluuiigi Dentice Napolitano, & canta, & suona diui
 namente.
 Moscatello Milanese degno d'esser istimato.
 Antonio dal cornetto Vicentino non hebbe mai pari ne
 in suonare ne in esser buono.
 Girolamo Parabosco Piacentino musico perfetto, & suo
 natore d'organi in S. Marco di Vinegia.

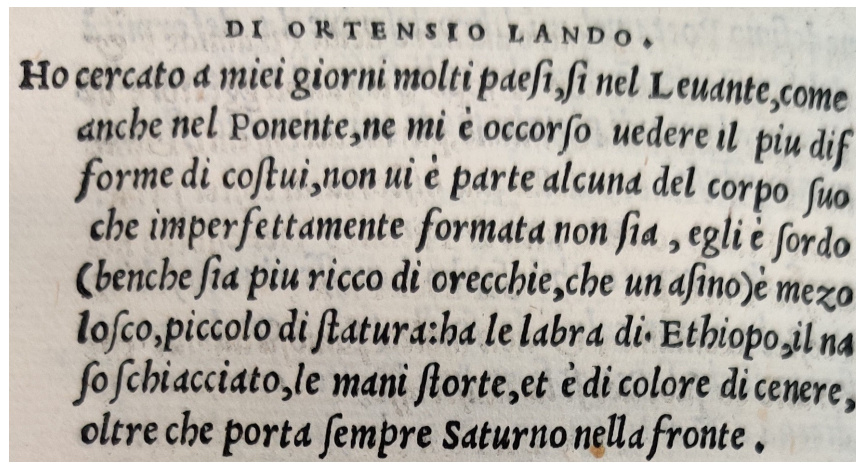
Although there is no evidence that Lando ever met François Rabelais, it could have been quite possible during his stays in Lyon and because of his acquaintance with Etienne Dolet. The affinity between the two authors was noted by various critics. “Bien qu’il n’y ait pas de renvois directs entre les deux auteurs, il est probable que Rabelais ait pu exercer une influence sur Lando. Ce dernier arriva, en effet, à Lyon deux ans après la publication du *Pantagruel* dans la même ville et pendant la période de publication du *Gargantua*. L’éditeur Sébastien Gryphe, qui avait publié les œuvres précédentes de Rabelais, pourrait avoir joué un rôle dans ce sens. En tous cas, si un rapprochement entre les deux auteurs est possible, il concerne l’emploi de certains jeux littéraires, dont les stratégies ne sont toutefois pas complètement assimilables” (F. Greco, *Autopromotion, paradoxe et réécriture dans l’oeuvre d’Ortensio Lando*, Diss., Grenoble, 2018, p. 84). “Au XVI^e les esprits italiens qui reflètent un tempérament rabelaisien ne manquent certainement pas. Quoique ce rapprochement n’ait pas été fait jusqu’à présent, il suffit de citer Ortensio Lando dont l’oeuvre est plain de Pantagruélisme... Dans plusieurs de ses oeuvres, le *Commentario delle più notabili e mostruose cose d’Italia*, les *Sette libri di cathaloghi*,... Lando se dépasse vraiment du point de vue de l’exubérance verbale et se rend facilement l’émule de Rabelais” (M. Tetel, *Rabelais et l’Italie*, Firenze, 1968, pp. 26-27)

Born in Milan, Ortensio Lando studied there under Alessandro Minuziano, Celio Rodogino, and Bernardino Negro. He continued his studies at the University of Bologna and obtained a degree in medicine. For five years (1527 to 1531) he retired in different Augustinian convents (as Fra Gere-



mia da Milano) of Padua, Genoa, Siena, Naples, and Bologna, studying various humanistic disciplines, among them Greek. In these years he became acquainted with the works of Erasmus and kept friends with various scholars with Evangelical inclinations as Giulio Camillo Delminio and Achille Bocchi. After a short stop in Rome, he preferred to leave Italy and settled at Lyon, where he worked as editor in the printing house of Sébastien Gryphe. Here he also met Étienne Dolet and published his first work *Cicero relagatus et Cicero revocatus* (1534). Then he began a wandering life and in the next twelve years he is found in Basel, where he published *Erasmi funus* (1540) and attracted the anger of the city's Reformed church. He visited France and was received at the court of King Francis I. He reappeared at Lyon in 1543, where he printed his first Italian and most successful book *Paradossi* (1543). He then visited Germany and claims also to have seen Antwerp and England. At Augsburg he was welcomed by the wealthy merchant Johann Jakob Fugger. In 1545 he is found in Piacenza, where he was received by Lodovico Domenichi and Anton Francesco Doni in the Accademia degli Ortolani. Then followed a decade of relative peace in which Lando's life became stabilized on Venetian territory. He was present at the opening of the Council of Trent and found a patron in bishop Cristoforo Madruzzo. In Venice he worked for various printers, mainly for Giolito, and often met Pietro Aretino, with whom he had already a correspondence since several years. In 1548 he translated Thomas More's *Utopia*, wrote the *Commentario delle più notabili mostruose cose d'Italia* (1548), and published the *Lettere di molte valorose donne* (1548), the first collection of letters by women. He was also very active in the coming years and published numerous works, in which he criticized the traditional scholarship and learning

and in which he showed close sympathy with the Evangelical movement. In fact, all his writings appeared first in the Venetian indices of 1554 and later in the Roman Index of 1559 (cf. S. Seidel Menchi, *Chi fu Ortensio Lando?*, in: "Rivista Storica Italiana", 106/3, 1994, pp. 501-564, and S. Adorni Braccesi & S. Ragagli, *Ortensio Lando*, in: "Dizionario biografico degli italiani", vol. 63, Roma, 2004, pp. 451-459).



Edit 16, CNCE 27030; Universal STC, no. 837284; S. Bongi, *Annali di Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari*, (Roma, 1890), I, 371; A. Corsaro, *Bibliografia di Ortensio Lando*, (Bologna, 2012), p. 7; D. Marchesi, *Catalogo delle opere di Ortensio Lando, e delle stampe popolari a carattere devozionale che presentano note di possesso, conservati nella Biblioteca Statale di Lucca*, in: "Libri, idee e sentimenti religiosi nel Cinquecento italiano", (Modena, 1987), p. 51; G. Melzi, *Dizionario di opere anonime e pseudonime*, (Milano, 1859), III, p. 62.

€ 1,800.- / CHF 2,000.- / \$ 2,250.-

9. RASCH, Johann (1540-1612). *Practica auff das jar Christi M. D. LXXIX.* Mit viel guten nötigen Erjnnernungen umb lustigers lesens und mehrer ubungs willen reimweis gestellet... 4to. (6) leaves. *With a woodcut on the titlepage.* Boards, some light browning, a fine copy.

N.pl.n.pr., (München, Adam Berg, 1578?).

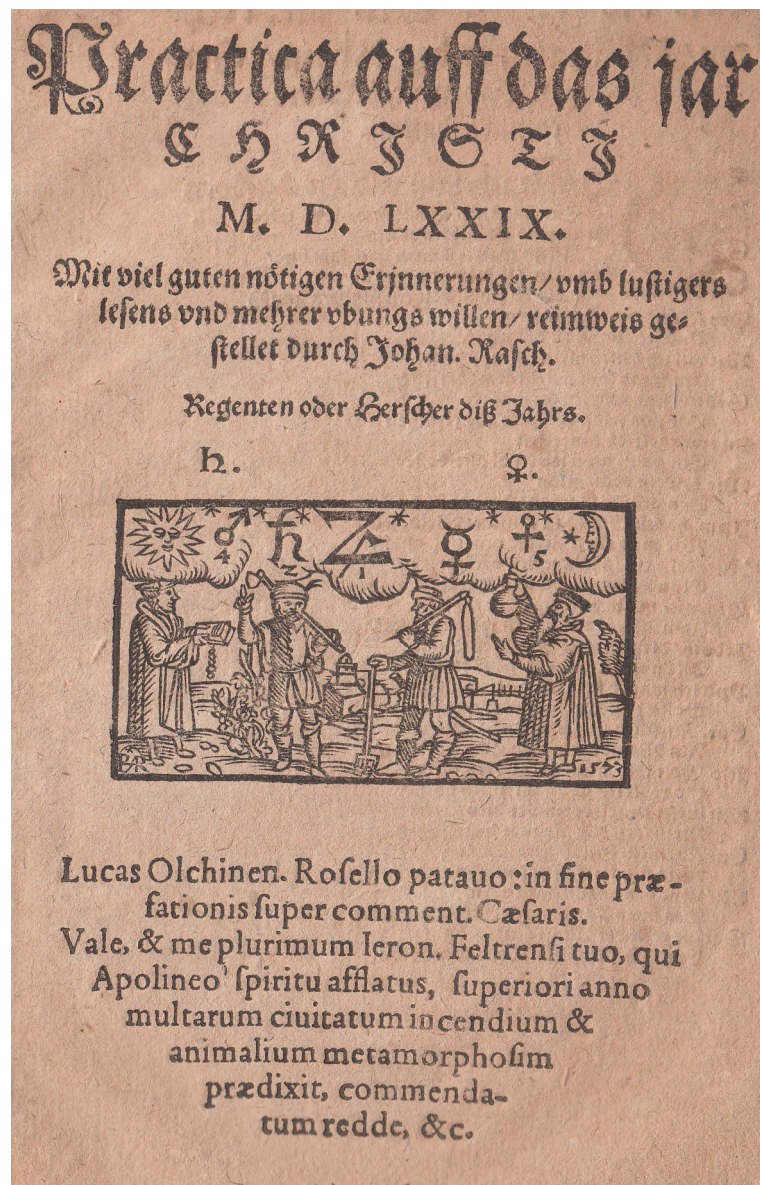
FIRST EDITION. Presented as a 'Practica', i.e., a booklet containing astrological predictions, it is in reality a mocking poem on the genre, about which Rasch holds forth in even greater detail in his *Gegenpractic* of 1584.

In the rhymed dedication poem to Duke Albrecht V. of Bavaria Rasch mentions two of his works to be published, his *Weinbuch* (1580) and the *Cometen Buch* (1582).

Under the woodcut on the titlepage is a Latin citation on predictions from Lucas Panaetius, a humanist from Ulcinj (Montenegro) active in Venice, probably taken from his prefatory letter addressed to Rosello de Rosellis printed in Caesar's *Commentary* (Venezia, 1511).

For him there are three kinds of prognostication: there are first of all, prophecies for no specific year, perhaps dealing with the end times, but most of them are mere dreams; then there are prognostications based on conjunctions and eclipses that treat multiple years, but most of them are mere fantasies; and then there are the prognostications for a single year, called 'practicis', of which there are so many that no one gains much honor from them, and most are held (for good reason) to be full of falsehood. Rasch states that the 'practicis' usually include, first of all, the astrologers' mumbo jumbo based on equinoxes, eclipses, and ruling planets, followed by six sections: first, agricultural fertility; second, illness; third, war and peace; fourth, the good and ill fortunes of human estates; fifth the good

and ill fortune of lands and cities; and sixth, the weather of each season and moon phase (cf. J. Green, *Printing the Future: The Origin and Development of the Practica Teütsch* to 1620, in: *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens*, 67, 2012, pp. 1–18). As a ‘catholic’ polemicist Rasch denounced ‘practicās’ as Lutheran propaganda (cf. R.B. Barnes, *Astrology and Reformation*, Oxford, 2016, pp. 179–180).



Just one name occurs in the poem, that of the Bohemian astronomer, mathematician, and astrologer Cyprian Leovitius (d. 1574), who was the author of several ‘practicās’. Unnamed Rasch addresses his scorn also to Leonhard Thurneysser (1531–1596), who since 1571 had regularly published some ‘practicās’ (cf. T. Odebrecht, *Beiträge zur richtigen Würdigung Leonhard Thurneyssers*, in: *“Märkische Forschungen”*, 7, 1861, pp. 201–202).

Johann Rasch was born around 1540 in Pöchlarn on the Danube in Lower Austria. In his childhood he studied as a choirboy at the collegiate high school of the Benedictine abbey of Mondsee. From there he turned to the university in Wittenberg. He felt repulsed by the squabbles and quarrels’ prevailing there, so that he left Wittenberg after only a short stay and returned again as a cleric from 1561 to 1563 to Mondsee Abbey. In 1565 But he also left this place and enrolled at the University of Vienna, where he studied astronomy and mathematics with Bartholomaeus Reisacher. After graduation, he went to Munich, where he met the printer Adam Berg, but did not found livelihood there and returned to Vienna in 1570 as schoolmaster and organist in the Schottenstift, and also run a bookshop as ‘catholic’ bookseller. He probably received citizenship in Vienna around 1580. In historical re-

search, Rasch was first recognized primarily as a musician (cf. A. Rausch, *Johann Rasch (Rassius)*, in: “Österreichisches Musiklexikon”, R. Flotzinger, ed., Wien, 2005, vol. 4, p. 1869). In the early 1570s he had several compositions printed by Adam Berg in Munich. In addition to the sacred compositions, Rasch also created astronomical, astrological, calendar, prognostic, economic, historical, theological, ethical, and poetic-literary works. He also was the author of one of the earliest German-language wine books *Von Bau, Pflege und Brauch des Weins* (1580) (cf. B. Sutter, *Johannes Keplers Stellung innerhalb der Grazer Kalendertradition des 16. Jahrhunderts*, in: “Johannes Kepler 1571–1971. Gedenkschrift der Universität Graz”, 1975, pp. 281–288, and M. Schilling, *Johann Rasch*, in: “Frühe Neuzeit in Deutschland 1520–1620. Literaturwissenschaftliches Verfasserlexikon”, W. Kühlmann & al., eds, Berlin, 2016, vol. 5, cols. 191–197).

VD 16, R-316 (two copies); USTC 685469; K.D. Herbst, *Johann Rasch*, in: “Bio-bibliographisches Handbuch der Kalendermacher von 1550 bis 1750”, (Jena, 2020), Bd. 9.3: Kalendermacher Heller-Reinstein, no. 22.

€ 1,700.- / CHF 1,900.- / \$ 2,150.-

10. [RIDOLFI, Luca Antonio (1510-1570)]. Ragionamento havuto in Lione, da Claudio de Herberé gentil’huomo franzese, et da Alessandro degli Uberti gentil’huomo fiorentino, sopra alcuni luoghi del Cento novelle di Boccaccio, i quali si ritroveranno secondo i numeri delle carte del Decamerone stampato in Lione, in picciola forma da G. Rovillo. 4to. 100, (1) pp., (1 blank leaf). *Title-page within an elaborate woodcut border with at the center Rouillé’s device.* 18th century vellum over boards, gilt spine, marbled endpapers, red edges; some mild browning, but a good copy.

Lyon, Guillaume Rouillé, 1557.

RARE FIRST EDITION (it was reprinted in 1558 and in 1560). The publisher Guillaume Rouillé (1518?-1588), who, starting with an Italian translation of *De viris illustribus urbis Romae*, published at the Sign of Venice in Lyons during his life over seventy book in Italian. These were addressed not only to the Italians residing in France, but also to the many Frenchmen, who had learned Italian in the course of war, study, or business. Rouillé had apprehended the book business in Venice with Giovanni and Gabriello Giolito and established himself at Lyons in 1543. His book production exceeded that of Robert Estienne, Gryphius and de Tournes, and his learning at least equalled theirs. His firm gained European reputation and his books were also sold in Antwerp, Frankfurt, Medina del Campo, Saragossa, as well as in Venice and Naples (cf. N. Zemon Davis, *Publisher Guillaume Rouillé, Businessman and Humanist*, in: “Editing Sixteenth Century Texts. Papers given at the Editorial Conference University of Toronto”, R.J. Schoeck, ed., Toronto, 1966, pp. 72–112, see also (cfr. J. Balsamo, *L’italianisme lyonnais et l’illustration de la langue française*, in: “Lyon et l’illustration de la langue française à la Renaissance”, Lyon, 2003, pp. 211–229).

Rouillé dedicated his *Decamerone* to Marguerite du Bourg, dame du Cange, wife of a high French financial officer, a very learned lady, to whom he was later to dedicate also his 1558-edition of Petrarch (cf. M.-M. Fontaine, ‘*Un couer mis en gage*’. *Pontus de Tyard, Marguerite du Bourg et le milieu lyonnais des années 1550*, in: “Nouvelle Revue du XVI^e siècle”, 1984/2, p. 76–77, and E. Picot, *Les français italianisants au XVI^e siècle*, Paris, 1906, I, pp. 201–202).

“Il Ridolfi, che collaborò con il Rouillé anche all’edizione del Petrarca (1550) e pubblicò presso lo stesso editore il dialogo l’Aretefila (1560), contribuì con una *Vita di M. Giovanni Boccaccio brevemente descritta* e con il *Raccoglimento di tutte le sentenze* a quella che viene considerata come la prima edizione stampata in Francia del *Decameron* in lingua italiana, la quale uscì dai torchi del Rouillé in formato tascabile nel 1555” (cfr. E. Giudici, *Luc’Antonio Ridolfi et la Renaissance Franco-Italienne*, in: “Quaderni di Filologia e Lingue Romanze”, n.s. 1, Roma, 1985, pp. 115–150).



As clearly can also be presumed from the title, the *Ragionamento* is intended as a page by page commentary to Rouillé's edition of the *Decamerone*. "Le text est anonyme, mais il est sûrement de Ridolfi, ainsi qu'en témoigne une lettre de son ami Alfonso Cambi. Herberé est un Français féru d'italien, qui a été inspiré par un séjour de deux ans dans le cercle de Marguerite de Berry, où tous cultivent le toscan. Herberé cherche à perfectionner son italien à l'aide du *Décameron*, et se met à interroger Degli Uberti sur le text. Ce Degli Uberti est basé probablement sur quelque parent d'Antonio di Niccolò degli Uberti, éditeur du *Décameron* en 1527, mais ce qu'il dit reflète les opinions de Ridolfi lui-même, qui n'oublie pas quelques allusions désobligeantes sur d'autres éditeurs, dont Girolamo Ruscelli (Venise 1552). Ces allusions valurent à Ridolfi quelques médisances de la part d'autres exilés florentins, dont Ludovico Castelvetro dans une lettre à Francesco Giuntini. Mais l'intérêt du dialogue réside dans ce qu'il nous apprend sur la fortune en France de Boccace, ainse que dans les multiples allusions dans le text à la *Divina Commedia*" (R. Cooper, *Le cercle de Lucantonio Ridolfi*, in: "L'émergence littéraire des femmes à Lyon à la Renaissance, 1520-1560", M. Clément & J. Icadorna, eds., Saint-Étienne, 2008, p. 43).

"Lucantonio Ridolfi publie également chez Guillaume Rouillé des dialogues qui mettent en scène une société franco-italienne, riche de débats. Tel est le cas de celui qui oppose un Français (Claude de Herberay) et un Florentin (Alessandro degli Uberti) discutant du *Decamerone* de Boccacce et de questions linguistiques à propos des trois auteurs canoniques, Dante, Pétrarque et Boccacce, et qu'il rapporte dans le *Ragionamento havuto in Lione, da Claudio de Herberè gentil'huomo franzese, et da Alessandro degli Uberti gentil'huomo fiorentino, sopra alcuni luoghi del Cento novelle di Boccaccio* (1557)" (M. Huchon, *Louise Labbé. Une créature de papier*, Genève, 2006, p. 42).

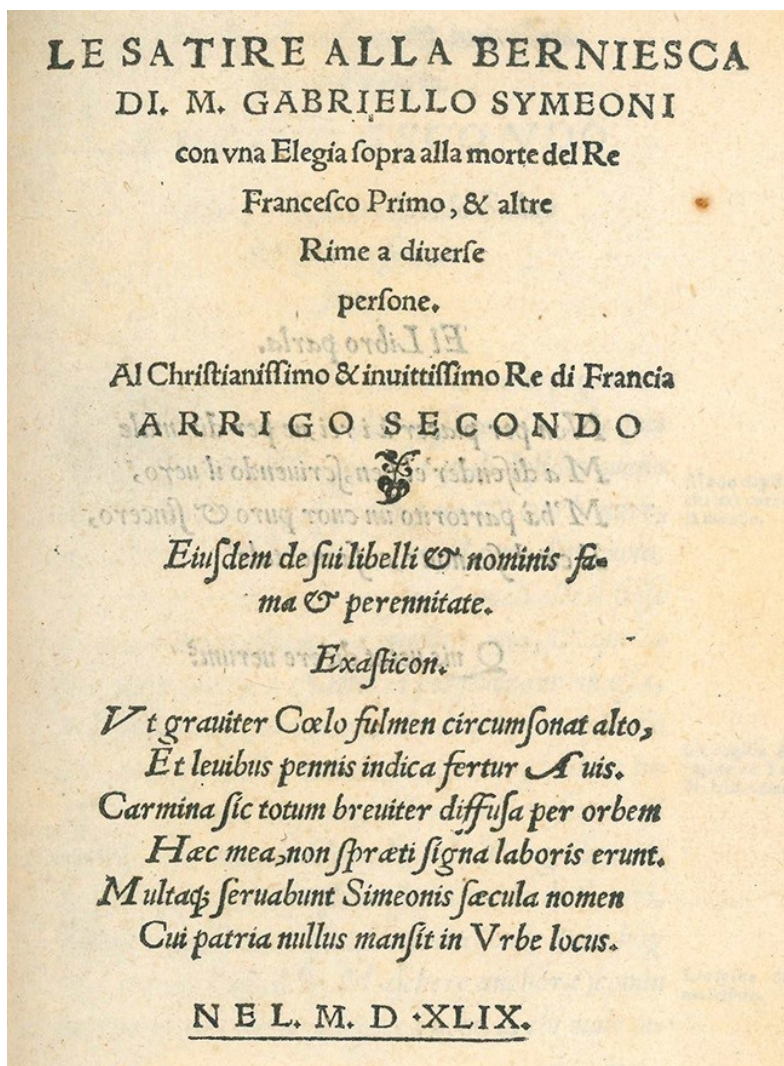
Luc'Antonio Ridolfi was born and had his early education in Florence. At the beginning of the thirties he settled to Rome and became to be known in the literary circles of that city. After the murder of Alessandro de' Medici he took refuge at Lyon as many of his 'Republican' compatriots, but maintained close relations with many Florentine, which remained in Italy as Claudio Tolomei, Niccolò Martelli, Pietro Vettori and Benedetto Varchi. He had come to Lyon as a merchant, but started around 1542 to work for the printing house of Guillaume Rouillé as editor and translator of Italian texts. He spent the last years before his death in Florence (cf. E. Guidici, *Luc'Antonio Ridolfi et la Renaissance franco-italienne*, in: "Quaderni di filologia e lingue romanze", n.s. 1, 1985, pp. 115-150).

Edit 16, CNCE 30149; ; J. Baudrier, *Bibliographie Lyonnaise*, (Lyon & Paris, 1912), IX, p. 242; R. Cooper, *op. cit.*, p. 49; É. Picot, *Les Français italianisants au XVI^e siècle*, Paris, 1906, II, pp. 20-21.

€ 1,800.- / CHF 2,000.- / \$ 2,250.-

11. SIMEONI, Gabriele (1509-1570?). Le Satire alla berniesca... con una Elegia sopra alla morte del Re Francesco Primo, & altre Rime a diverse persone. 4to. (50) leaves (the last is a blank). Modern marbled boards, gilt title along the spine, marbled edges. Some very light foxing and browning, but a very good copy from the library of the French bibliophile Max Cointreau (1922-2016), owner of Cointreau liquor enterprise.

Torino, Martino Cravotto, 1549.



FIRST EDITION of this collection of satirical and encomiastic verses dedicated to King Henry II of France. With these new poetic texts Simeoni aims to win the favor and support of the king, which he did not obtain in Italy. And once again one gets the impression that the author exceeds in his flattery, in his proud frankness, claiming a freedom to speak that is not appropriate to his role as a supplicant. "Se il capitolo Della rosa è il solo testo di franca ispirazione berniesca, le restanti composizioni oscillano tra il capitolo comico, la satira anticortigiana di spirazione aretiniana e quella più misurata di stampo oraziano. Al fine di render grate alla corte transalpina queste scritture modellate su degli esempi italiani, Simeoni procede inoltre per successive addizioni di materiali poetici che tessono l'elogio, oltre che di Enrico II, del suo predecessore e di numerosi esponenti della nobiltà e del clero francese" (C. Lastraioli, *La vena satirica di Simeoni*, in: "Gabriele Simeoni, 1509-1570? Un Florentin en France entre princes et libraires", A. D'Amico & C. Magnien-Simonin,



niesca di Gabriello Simeoni, in: “Estudios Románicos”, 23, 2014, p. 90). It is followed by *Dell’avarizia del mondo* (dedicated to Pietro Aretino), *Di coloro che di poveri divenuti ricchi*, *Contro alle false calunnie*, *Della rosa*, *Della corte*, *Della disgrazia* (dedicated to Annibale Caracciolo) *Della valle di Mariana* (dedicated to Domenico Guidi), and *Di coloro che riprendono le cose che non sanno*. The next composition is a long poem in ‘terza rima’, a eulogy of the late King Francis I dedicated to his sister Margaret of Valois, followed by a sonnet on the coronation of Henry II.

A sonnet addressed to Hélène de Traves, lady-in-waiting to the queen consort Catherine de’ Medici, is apparently answered by herself (leaf H^v). But the sonnet is actually by Mellin de Saint-Gelais (d. 1558). This poem caused a dispute over the author of the first French sonnet (cf. M. Françon, *La date d’un sonnet de Saint-Gelais*, in: “Bibliothèque d’Humanisme et Renaissance”, XV, 1953, pp. 213-214, and C.A. Mayer, *Gabriele Simeoni et le premier sonnet français*, in: “Studi francesi”, 53, 1974, pp. 213-223).

Of interest is also the sonnet on the exile and death of Clément Marot in Turin (September 1544) (cf. R. Cooper, *Dolet et Marot jugés par Jean Binet et Gabriele Simeoni*, in: “Esculape et Dionysos: mélanges en l’honneur de Jean Céard”, J. Dupèbe, ed., Genève, 2008, pp. 520-521)

eds., Genève, 2016, p. 192).

The first composition is entitled *Dello stile berniesco*. “Il programma di cauto rinnovamento linguistico proposto dal Simeoni nella prima satira trova, dunque, un valido riscontro nelle scelte fonomorfologiche e lessicali nel resto della raccolta: un rinnovamento cauto, certo, perché le soluzioni adottate sono ampiamente appoggiate alla tradizione burlesca e dagli usi orali e scritti del fiorentino coevo, alla ricerca di una *medietas* linguistica scevra, allo stesso tempo, da eccessi pedantesca-mente imitativi e pretenziosi – in sostanza gli stilemi petrarcheschi ridotti a elementi triti e consueti nel formulario poetico convenzionale – e dal pericolo di una totale mancanza di convenienza e di misura. In questo modo, le due anime della poesia satirico-burlesca, quella del ‘pazzo giocoso’, che vuole rivendicare la propria libertà espressiva, e quella del ‘saggio satirico’, desideroso di mantenere il *decens* e il *decorum* anche nella propria esperienza in versi⁴⁷, hanno la possibilità di conciliarsi mediante il rifiuto di un canone esclusivamente imperniato sugli autori del classicismo volgare, in un rinnovato spazio letterario” (B. Buono, *Landini, Vellutelli e sonettini: lo stile alla ber-*

Deſcrive le miſerie del mondo.
Nel ſonetto di Monſignor di S. Gelais
Quanto piu laſcio indietro il mio bel Sole
Nel ſonetto della ſua malattia a Moriana
Ond’io d’ogni mio male in colpa reſo.
Nel ſonetto d’Alberto Mantouano
Queſto cō ſuono hor alto, hor graue humile
Nel ſonetto di Clemente Marot
Come fuor di ragion crudele ſtata
Nel ſonetto del Duca d’Urbino
Di Padre illuſtre nata & d’Auoſanto
Nel ſonetto a Dio
Di morte queſto uil corporeo uelo
Nella ſtanza. xviii. uillaneſca
Biſogno ch’abbaffaſſe la uiftera.

Eiuſdem, quod de tribus linguis ipſe in He-
breuſca non poſtremus habebitur.
Monothicon.

Vergilio Tybris fulget Matrōna Maroto,
Arms in eloquio clarus & ipſe meo.

In Turino pro Martino Crauotto.
M.D.XLIX.

Ha somiglianza
pari a quella
nome & la belle
za della madre
della figliuola.

Mostrala propri
za intera del suo
uiso.

Sento il nome suo dolce & la fauella
Sua ricognosco ragionando uoi.
Tutti in somma in uoi trouo i gesti suoi,
Et si la faccia sua uezosa & bella
Che gia di nuouo anchor per uoi uaneggio

Helene de Traues au Segnieur
Gabriel Symeon.

Con gran mede
fia risponde che
non sendo bella
come sua madre,
penfa che quello
amore fa cessato
nò che si rinoui p
lei.

Ha similitudine
du
na figura uiua a
una dipinta par
lando di se et di
sua madre.

Consolalo & que
sto a non si parti
re dal prio ame
re, & così ella me
glio cognoscerà
la sua imperfettio

Concludet che se
pur somiglia in
qualche cosa la
madre e nella gra
titudine che i cà
bio di quella ella
harafeco di si fat
to amore.

SI l'amitie chaste, honorable, & sainte
Que uous aues long temps porte a celle
Dont ie nacquies, na null aultre estincelle
Que de mon feu, elle est morte & estaincte.
Car quelle forme en moy peult estre en praincte
De sa beaulte & louange immortelle,
Veu que ie suis (si lon regarde à elle)
Au pres du uisune figure paincte.
Serues la donc, honorant sa memoire,
Et moy uoiant uostr' amour & sa gloire
Cognostraz mieulx mon imperfection.
Ou sil est uray que en riens ie liu ressemble
Assseures uous, que cest quen moy s'assemble
Toute en uers uous son obligation.

Alla

Alla medesima sopra una disgratia uenuta
tale sul viso per una caduta.



Ime il bel uiso, oime il soaue sguardo,
Vero sforzo et essemplio di Natura,
Così cangiato han tosto altra figura?
Rotto l'Archo d'amor? spuntato il dardo?
Quest'è, quel riso, ond'io sospiro & ardo?
Questa è, la fronte d'alabastro pura,
Quest'è, la uista, ch'hor benigna hor dura
Mi costringe à seguir la hor presto hor tardo?
Ma faccià quanto puo Fortuna ria
Che la uostra beltà mai non sia meno
Helena mia, sì bello il spirto haucte.
O' come è uer' (e'n molti altri il uedete)
Che stabilito è, su nel Ciel sereno
Che nulla qui tra noi perfetto sia.
Alla medesima, S. di Traues.
Dico mia colpa, s'io pensai ch'un quanco
Altra fosse di uoi piu saggia & bella,
O, nata in terra con migliore stella
Per addolcir d'ogni huomo il petto e'l fianco
Dico mia colpa se mai uinto o, stanco
Di nauigar con torbida procella

Entra a pposito
con un uerso del
P. mostrandoloue
e il male, & come
Amore ha pduto
ogni sua forza.

La conforta mo
strando che e piu
cara la bellezza
dell'imo che del
corpo come fug
getta questo alla
fortuna & l'altra
no.

Esclama dichia
rato l'imperfettio
delle cose morta
li per ordine di
Dio.

Risponde a una
tacita obiectio
ne di non hauer la
mai hauuto in man
co pregio per la sua
disgratia.

The musician Alberto da Ripa (d. ca. 1551) is remembered in the *sonnet Sopra al suonar del liuto del S. Alberto Mantovano* (leaf ivr.). He was a renowned lute player at the court of Francis I and Henry II (cf. R.W. Buggert, *Alberto da Ripa, Lutenist and Composer*, Ann Arbor, MI, 1964, I, p. 14).

Little is known about Gabriele Simeoni's early education. It seems that at the age of six he was put before Pope Leo X as a precocious genius. In 1528 is documented his appointment as secretary of the Chancellery of the Ten of Florence under Donato Giannotti, one of the leaders of the short-lived Florentine Republic. In the same year he was sent to France following Baldassare Carducci, ambassador of the Florentine Republic at the court of Francis I. The death of Carducci and the fall of the Florentine Republic in August 1530 let him hope for a career as a courtier-poet in France with the aim in mind to emulate the success of Luigi Alamanni. For ten years he then conducted an adventurous life in France in search of riches and fame. He was received by Giovanni Caracciolo, Prince of Melfi, military adviser of Francis I, by Jean Cardinal of Lorraine, and obtained a pension by Anne de Pisseleu, Duchess of Étampes. Later he sought his fortune with little success in Rome, Florence, Venice, Turin and even in England. He contacted in vain Cosimo de' Medici, Ferrante Gonzaga and Pierluigi Farnese as patrons. In July 1546 he accompanied Guillaume Duprat, Bishop of Clermont to the Council of Trent and that lived for some time in the Château at Beauregard as the latter's guest. In February 1548 he is found in Turin, where Giovanni Caracciolo charged him with the supervision of the city guard. After Caracciolo's death in August 1550 he returned to France: first to Lyon and Troyes and then to Paris where he was received by provost Antoine Duprat, brother of the bishop of Clermont. Through his intercession he entered the services of Anne de Montmorency, marshal and constable of France and received 200 écus from King Henry II. He then settled at Lyon, became acquainted with antiquaries such as Antoine de Baif, Guillaume Du Choul and worked for the printers Jean de Tournes and Guillaume Rouillé. In Lyons he published several works: an emblem book (1560), a military treatise and scientific and topographical treatises, an edition of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, the verses for Salomon's Bible illustrations, wrote poetry of every sort, and also essays on astrology, alchemy, and other arcane arts. During this time, he also became a friend and correspondent of Michel de Notredame, physician, astrologer, and author of the famous *Prophéties* (1555). In 1561 he redacted *Vita e rime di Gabbriello Simeoni*, a kind of autobiography with a collection of verses (the manu-

script is preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris), but the last years of his life remain obscure (cf. T. Renucci, *Un aventurier des lettres du XVI^e siècle, Gabriel Syméoni florentin, 1509-1570?*, Paris, 1943, passim, and A. Parnotte, *Gabriele Simeoni*, in: “Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani”, Roma, 2018, vol. 92, pp. 686-689; see also E. Karagiannis-Mazeaud, *Gabriel Simeoni, 1509-1576?, en quête d'un mécène, entre France, Savoie et l'Italie*, in: “Mecenati, artisti e pubblico nel Rinascimento: Atti del XXI convegno internazionale, Pienza-Chianciano Terme 20-23 luglio 2009”, L. Rotondi Secchi Tarugi, ed., Firenze, 2011, pp. 429-453, and P. Simoncelli, *Itinerari politico-culturali di Gabriele Simeoni in Italia. Resoconti e integrazioni*, in: “Bruniana & Campanelliana”, XXV/1, 2019, pp. 235-269).

Edit 16, CNCE 25189; Universal STC, no. 856450; S. D'Amico & C. Magnien-Simonin, *Gabriele Simeoni (1509-1570?). Un Florentin en France entre princes et libraires*, (Genève, 2016), pp. 508-509; T. Renucci, *op. cit.*, p. VI; D. Romei, *Burleschi del Cinquecento*, (Roma, 2006), p. 42.

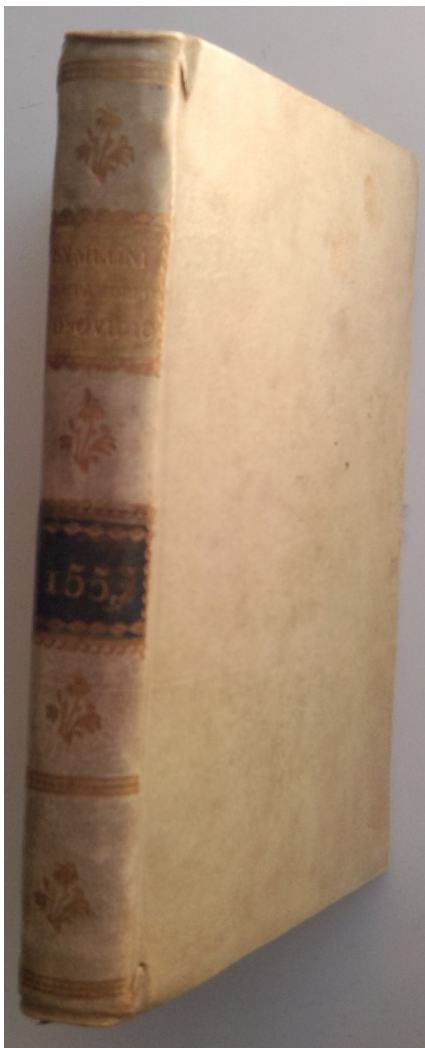
€ 2,400.- / CHF 2,700.- / \$ 3,300.-

A TRIBUTE TO DIANE DE POITIERS

12. SIMEONI, Gabriele (1509-1570?). *La Vita et Metamorphoseo d'Ovidio, Figurato & abbreviato in forma d'epigrammi... Con altre Stanze sopra gl'effetti della luna: il Ritratto d'una Fontana d'Overnia: & un'Apologia generale alla fine del libro.* 3 parts in one volume. 8vo. Pp. (1), 2-245, (11); (16); (32) pp. *The oval woodcut on the title page incorporates a portrait of the author, and is followed by a medallion of Diana on the verso and by 188 woodcuts with verse beneath and rich ornamental borders, the title of part II is set within a historiated border, and followed by one full-page woodcut of 'La Fontana di Roiag in Overnia', the title page of part III bears the woodcut device of the author and has 4 woodcut illustrations.* Old vellum over boards, gilt ornaments on the spine with morocco labels, some light damp stains and spots, on the last leaves a small ink stain has corroded the outer margins for 1-2 mm. From the library of Tommaso de Vargas Macchiucca or Machuca (1679-1775) with his engraved ex-libris. He was a descendant of one of the oldest noble families in Spain, present in Naples since the sixteenth century. A jurist, former first-class Grande of Spain, he was made Duke in 1732. Together with his son Francesco (1699-1785) he created one of the most renowned libraries of the Kingdom of Naples and was the first to adopt a special printed user regulation. In his ex-libris is incorporated his coat of arms with the motto 'Assi Vargas Machuca' to remember the brave deeds of his ancestor Don Diego Perez de Vargas who, having lost his sword in a siege against the Moors in 1247, knocked down many enemies with a simple olive branch, encouraged by the cries of Don Alvaro Perez de Castro, who repeatedly shouted: "Assi, assi Vargas machuca!", (that is: 'Like this, like this, Vargas swipe!'). Since then, the name Machuca or Macchiucca was added to the name Vargas. The Vargas Macchiucca library was dismembered and sold at the end of the nineteenth century, but the main nucleus was incorporated into the Ventimiglia Library in Vatolla (Salerno) and later donated to the University of Salerno (cf. G. Zappella, *Utitor, non abutitor. Notarella in margine a un settecentesco regolamento di biblioteca privata*, in: “Biblioteche oggi”, marzo 1994, pp. 70-71).

Lyon, Jean de Tournes, 1559.

FIRST EDITION of Simeoni's abbreviated form in *ottava rima* of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. It is dedicated with a letter dated Lyon, January 1, 1559 to Diane de Poitiers, Duchess of Valentinois, and certainly represents the culmination of Simeoni's tribute to the most powerful woman in France at that time.



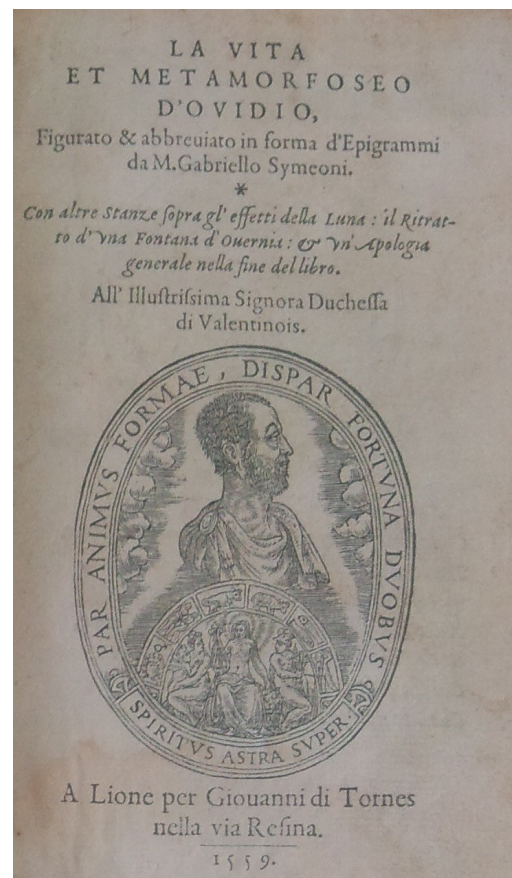
In 1557 Jean de Tournes had published Barthélemy Aneau, *Les Metamorphoses d'Ovid figures* with the same woodcuts by Bernard Salomon. In the present edition six woodcuts present in the earlier edition were omitted and nine new ones added.

“Le travail de Symeoni n’est pas pour autant une plate traduction de la version française: outre les neuf épisodes et vignettes ajoutées à son édition, Simeoni, par l’ambition qui le caractérise et par son acharnement à vouloir afficher sa compétence antiquaire, s’efforce régulièrement de s’affranchir du texte français, tout en restant, a fortiori, ancré à l’illustration. Les décalages fréquents entre l’original latin et sa version sont donc surtout tributaires des xylographies des Bernard Salomon et de ses raccourcis du récit ovidien” (S. Gambino Longo, *L’Ovide de Symeoni*, in: “Gabriele Simeoni, 1509-1570? Un Florentin en France entre princes et libraires”, A. D’Amico & C. Magnien-Simonin, eds., Genève, 2016, p. 209).

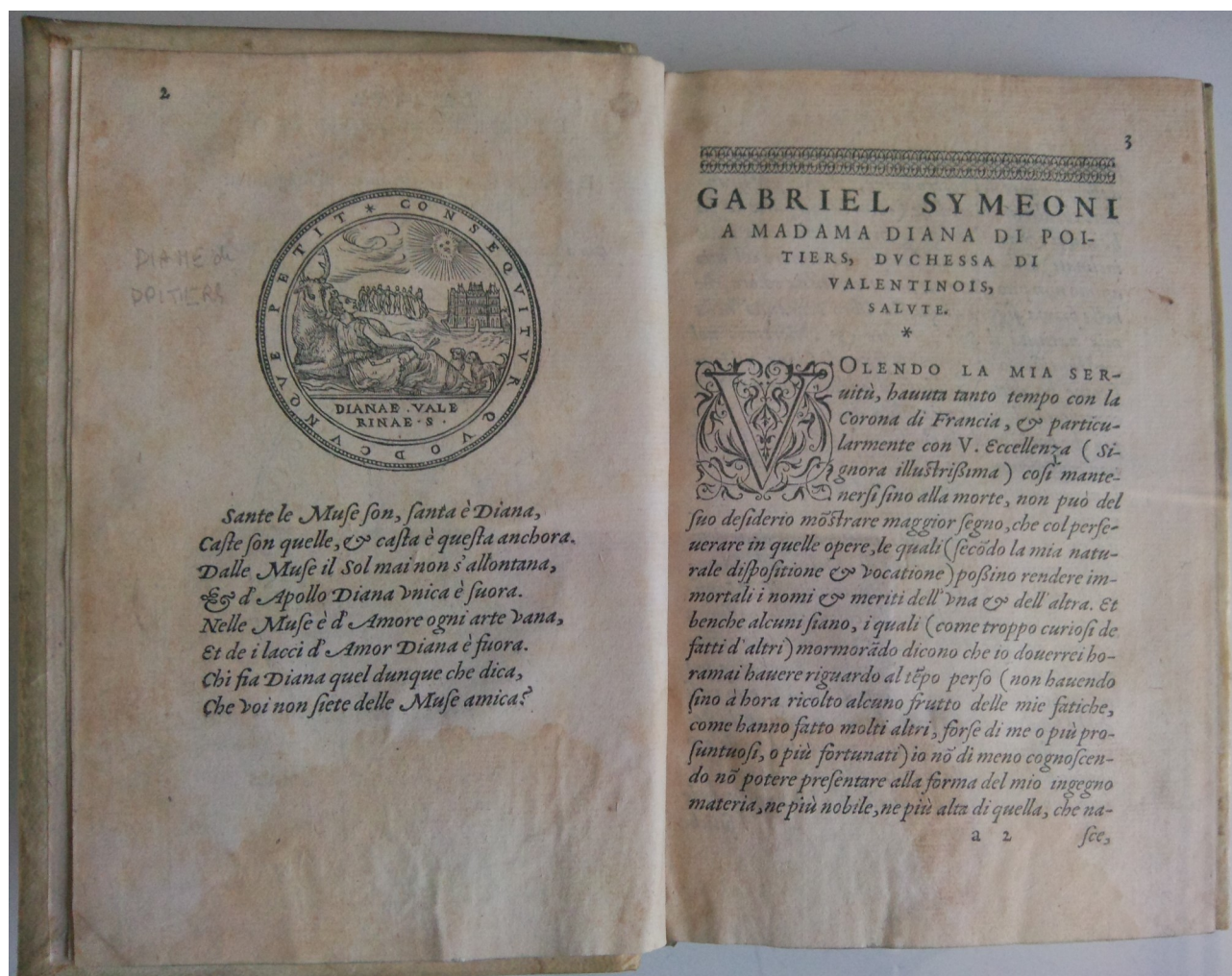
Simeoni’s rewriting includes all the original Ovidian myths, summarized and condensed in separate episodes. This operation implies a reworking of the structure where a segmented narration replaces the fluid continuity of the story, the typically Ovidian ‘carmen perpetuum’. In the case of wellknown myths, the author presents them as a series of stanzas, whereas he limits the narration to only one episode - meaning only one ottava - to the lesser-known ones. This remodeling affects the inner net of connections among the myths: by abolishing the ‘continuum’, Simeoni creates space for new links that exalt the author’s knowledge of the original *Metamorphoses* and also helps the reader to catch similarities among different tales, thus simplifying the reading. The Renaissance author emphasizes the continuity of a same story over a se-

ries of episodes by recalling the previous story in the first verses of the following episode, sacrificing an element of separation for the sake of the narration. He also adds references to seemingly unrelated tales to pinpoint eventual affinities in their plot. These new connections redesign the *Metamorphoses*, producing a new map that the reader can use to navigate more easily through the great number of tales (cf. B. Guthmüller, *Mito, poesia, arte. Saggi sulla traduzione ovidiana nel Rinascimento*, Roma, 1997, pp. 213-236, see also K. S. James, *Making the Stones Speak. The Curious Observations of Gabriel Simeoni*, in: “Itineraries in French Renaissance Literature”, J. Persels, & al., eds., Leiden, 2017, pp. 402-419).

Painter, draughtsman and engraver, Bernard Salomon was probably from a family of belt-makers in Lyon. He was involved as a master painter in the ephemeral decorations for the ceremonial entries of the Archbishop of Lyon in 1540, of Henry II in 1548 and of the Maréchal de Saint-André in 1550. Salomon may have been a Protestant. His son-in-law was the type designer and bookseller Robert Granjon. He was commissioned to provide decorations for the entry of Ippolito II d’Este in Lyon (1540), the entry of Henry II of France also in Lyon (1548), and those for the entry of the governor of the Lyonnais, Jacques d’Albon, Seigneur de Saint Andre (1550). He designed numerous il-



illustrations for printers in Lyon, mainly for de Tournes and Rouillé. and probably also engraved them. His masterworks in this genre were his vignettes the *Quadrins historiques de la Bible* (1553), and for the *Métamorphoses d'Ovide* (cf. P. Sharratt, *Bernard Salomon: illustrateur lyonnais*, Genève, 2005, passim and especially, p. 129-165). Salomon's works conform to the main international trends of the time in both the North and Italy. His compositions were highly influenced by northern masters (e.g., Dürer and Holbein). Some of his illustrations were inspired by, or were updated versions of, prints found in books printed in Paris (e.g., by Denys Janot). He had a taste for Italian art, especially the work of the Mannerist artists active in France and Italy. Like the artist of the Fontainebleau School, he created slender and elegant figures with mannered, theatrical gestures, often set within landscapes that fade into the distance. His work betrays not only his passion for the Antique and his knowledge of the architecture of Sebastiano Serlio, but also his taste for landscape and animals inspired by south Netherlandish prints and illustrated manuscripts.



“Diane incarna quindi la mediazione tra cielo e terra, sovrano e sudditi. Queste sottili allusioni dovevano essere molto chiare agli intellettuali del Rinascimento francese. Lo dimostra l’impresa dedicata alla ‘Illustriissima Signora Duchessa di Valentinois’ che apre *La vita et metamorfoseo d’Ovidio*, edizione di successo curata da Gabriele Simeoni e illustrata da Bernard Salomon. Il motto “CONSEQUITUR QUODCUNQUE PETIT” (ottiene tutto ciò che chiede) completa l’immagine incisa sul frontespizio dove la dea della caccia è ritratta con lo sguardo rivolto verso il Sole. Tra Diana e il Sole, cielo e terra, si scorgono le Muse e un edificio rinascimentale. Si tratta senza dubbio di Anet, il castello di Diane de Poitiers ristrutturato da Philibert De l’Orme per volere di Enrico II” (cf. C. Solacini, *Le metamorfosi di Diane de Poitiers. Un percorso iconografico*, in: “La Rivista di Engramma”, 150, 2017, p. 445).

Polynnestore Re di Tracia
ammazza Polydoro. 158



O rabbiosa dell'oro ingorda sete,
Che non fai tu all'huomo avaro fare?
Priamo, che turbar la sua quiete
Vede, & vuol pure in de i figliuoi saluare,
Polydor mandaua Tracia, & perche liete
Possa l'amiche case ritrouare
Oro gli dà, caquon (non futo o sorte)
Ch' il Tracio avaro Re gli dà la morte.

Pulyfena sacrificata per l'anima
d'Achille. 159

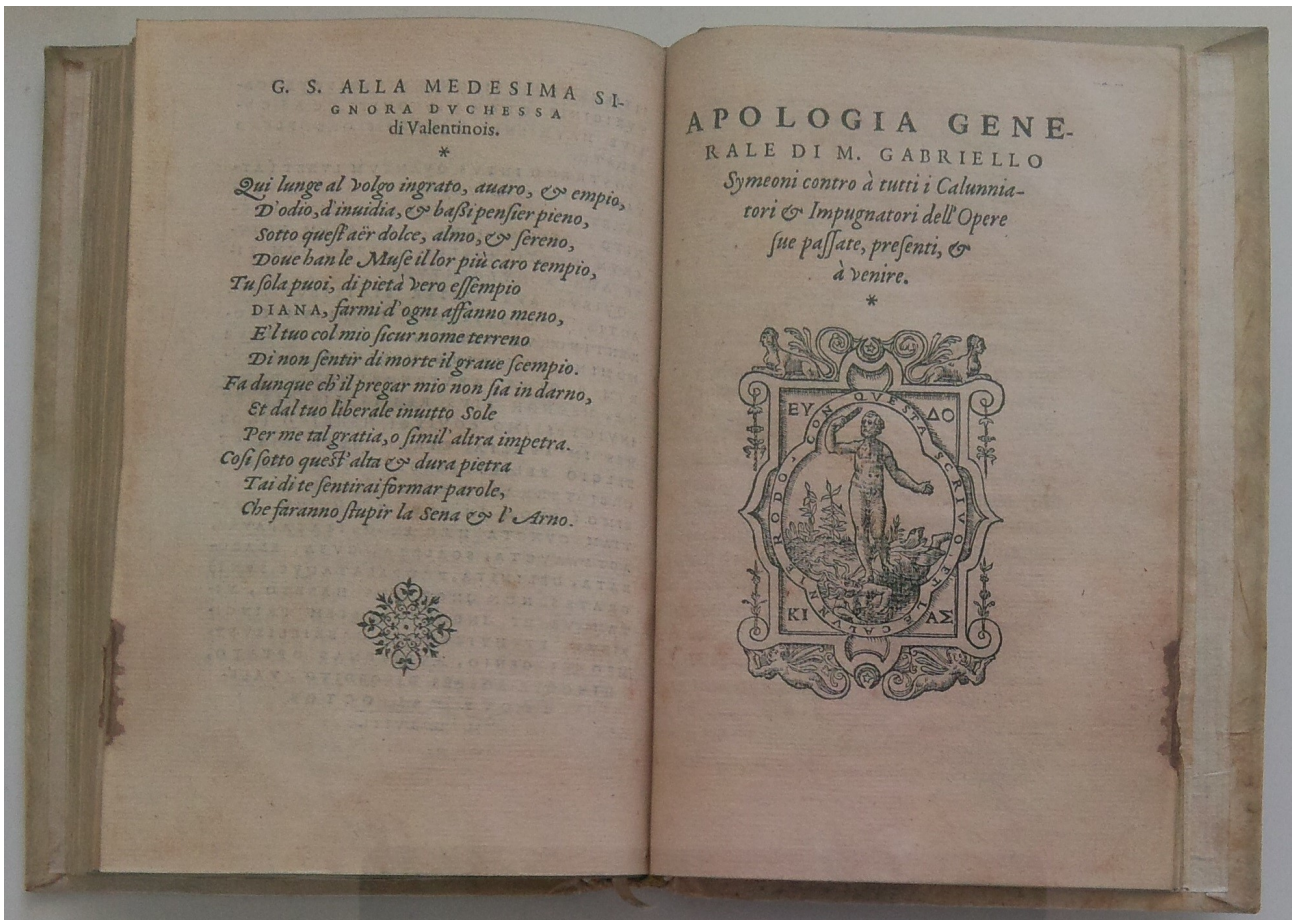


L'ombra, non men crudel, ch' il corpo fero
D' Achille, che restar si vede à Troia,
Conturba il mare, & con parlare aliuero
Monstra ch' uopo è che Pulyfena muoia
Laqual, condotta al sacrificio antero,
L' Esercito nimico anchora annoia,
Che ben cognosce manifestò & scorto,
Che la real fanciulla muore a torto.

One of the few documented patronage relationships that Diane had with a poet can be found in letters from Simeoni, who visited Anet in 1550, 1554, and 1557. In 1550 Simeoni had recently arrived in Paris and needed a source of income. He became acquainted with Diane's son-in law, who solicited Diane on his behalf. In a letter dated September 18, 1550 Simeoni wrote to Robert de la Marck, husband of Diane de Poitiers's daughter Françoise de Brézé, to report that la Marck's appeal to Diane on the poet's behalf had been successful. Diane had spoken to the king, who gave Simeoni permission for a position in Piedmont along with letters of introduction and a sum of money to travel to Turin and claim his post. In November, however, once Simeoni arrived in Turin, he reported that all the places had already been distributed and that he had arrived too late to benefit from Henri's support. He wrote to Diane on November 10, 1550 to say that having found no position in Italy, he was "contrainct de revenir par delà [en France] à pourchasser et attendre en quelque autre endroit recompense du Roy". Simeoni wrote an epigram on "La Fontaine d'Anet" in 1550, later modified and republished in 1558 along with an illustration of the fountain, a short narrative of a visit he had to Anet, and a series of three "Devises pour les basses galleries du jardin d'Anet," which would have decorated this walkway in the garden (cf. F. Bardon, *Diane de Poitiers et le Mythe de Diane*, Paris, 1963, pp. 57-61).

Already in 1553, in the *Épitome de l'origine de la duché de Ferrare*, published in Paris, Simeoni had inserted, translated by himself, certain "Tuscan stanzas" entitled *Épigrammes sur la propriété de la Lune par les douze signes du Ciel*, explicitly dedicating them to Madame la Duchesse de Valentinois, who would even have requested them from him, as is clear from Simeoni's *Autobiografia*. The same stanzas - evidently not taken into consideration by Diana - are re-proposed in the second part of the present work, so that they are used in view of the improvement of the decoration, still to be done, for certain spaces exactly indicated by the author in the dedicatory epistle: "Non è da meravigliarsi se di nuovo ho voluto pubblicare, sotto la sicura protezione del suo felicissimo nome, questo mio nuovo libro del Metamorfoseo figurato & abbreviato con la rinnovazione d'alcune Stanze, appropriate a V. Eccellenza, secondo gl'effetti & corpo della Luna per i XII segni del Cielo, à questo invitandomi l'havere considerato che ne di più piacevoli, ne di più dotte invenzioni, si potrebbero riempire & ornare i luoghi, che l'anno

passato, per mancanza di subietti, io viddi voti nelle loggie del suo gran Giardino, suo reale & divino palagio, nella maestrevole fabbrica & sopr'umano ornamento del quale ella ha impiegato le fatiche & l'arte di tutti i migliori & più rari spiriti del Mondo". It is not known whether, this time, the suggestion had been followed (cf. A. Ceccarelli Pellegrino, *Gabriello Symeoni e Diane de Poitiers*, in: "Lingua, cultura, testo: miscellanea di studi francesi in onore di Sergio Cigada", E. Gallazzi, ed., Milano, 2003, II, pp. 213-226).



In the third part: *Apologia generale contro à tutti i calunniatori e impugnatori dell'opere sue passate, presenti e future*, addressed to his friend and patron, Matteo Balbani from Lucca, Simeoni fights a hard battle against his detractors and critics, especially against those from the milieu of the antiquarians of Lyon and expresses his injured pride against supposed patrons, complains about his status as 'fuoruscito' (exile), giving a long list of his alleged companions in misfortune: "l'arguto Politiano, il copioso Erasmo, il giuditioso Budeo, l'eloquentissimo Iovio, il diligentissimo Vettorio, & tra I volgari il proFondo Dante, il leggiadro Petrarca, lo elegantissimo Boccaccio, il pulito Sannazzaro, il gentile Bembo, l'universale Ariosto, ile delicato Luigi Alamanni, il dottissimo Varchi, il facilissimo Dolce, & l'artifitioso Anquillara" (leaf A4r) (cf. S. D'Amico, *L'esilio nel Cinquecento tra Dante e il Cortigiano: l'esempio di Simeoni*, in: "Chemins de l'Exil, Havres de Paix: Migrations d'Hommes et d'Idées aux XVIe siècle. Actes du Colloque de Tours, 8-9 novembre 2007", Paris, 2010, pp. 381-395).

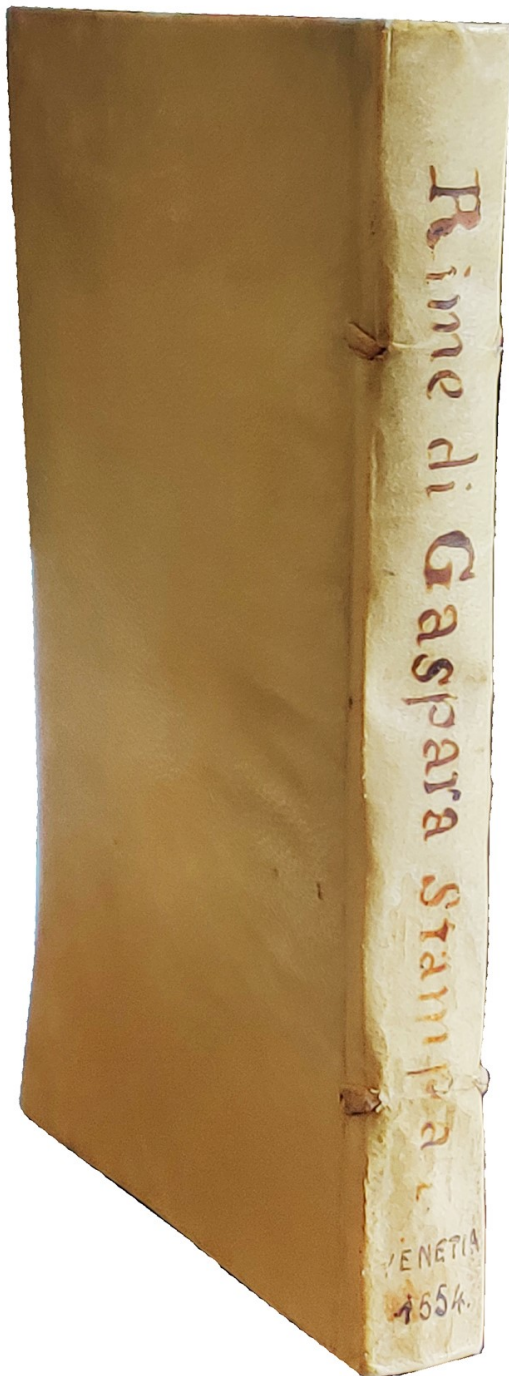
Edit 16, CNCE 35008; Universal STC, no. 152699; Adams O-508A; A. Cartier, *Bibliographie des éditions des de Tournes, imprimeurs lyonnais*, (Paris, 1937-1938), II, pp. 500-501, no. 466; S. von Gültlingen, *Bibliographie des livres imprimés à Lyon au seizième siècle*, (Baden-Baden, 1992-2015), vol. IX, p. 211, no. 469; A. Pettegree & M. Walsby, eds., *French Vernacular Books: Books published in the French Language before 1601*, (Leiden, 2011), no. 86375.

€ 3,300.-

“BELLA E BUONA / SAFFO DE’ NOSTRI GIORNI, ALTA GASPARRA” (Benedetto Varchi, leaf Ψiiii^r)

13. STAMPA, Gaspara (1523-1554). Rime. 8vo. (8) leaves, 177, (13) pp. (lacking the last blank leaf M⁸) *With the printer’s device on the title-page and a woodcut ornament at the end.* Old vellum, green tinted edges, some light browning, and a small damp stain on the lower inner blank margin, with the book plate of Carlo Antonio Dotti (see note below) pasted on the inner front wrapper and his stamp and a long manuscript note on the recto of the front flyleaf, a fine copy.

Venezia, Plinio Pietrasanta, 1554.



VERY RARE FIRST EDITION. The year following Gaspara Stampa’s death in 1553, her sister Cassandra collected “quelle che si sono potute trovare” (‘all those [poems] that could be found’) and published them along with epistles and elegiac poems by her and others. Giorgio Benzoni, a family friend and a poet, aided Cassandra in editing the *Rime*, which she dedicated on October 13, 1554 to Giovanni Della Casa (1503-1556), archbishop of Benevento, papal ‘nuncio’ to Venice, poet, writer on etiquette and society, diplomat, and inquisitor, celebrated for his treatise on polite behavior, *Il Galateo overo de’ costumi* (1558). With this dedication, Cassandra writes, she will surely respect the will of the “benedetta anima della amata sorella mia, se di là s’ha alcun senso o memoria delle cose di questo mondo, la quale vivendo ebbe sempre per mira vostra Signoria Reverendissima, come uno de’ più belli lumi d’Italia” (leaf Ψii^r). After the dedication letter are printed seven sonnets in praise of Gaspara by Benedetto Varchi (3), Giulio Stufa, Giorgio Benzoni and Pietro Bembo’s son Torquato (2). There follow two-hundred and twenty compositions by Gambara, preceded by a letter to Count Collaltino (see below), which she probably sent to him along with several poems. The next two sonnets are dedicated respectively to King Henry II of France and to his consort Catherine de’ Medici (pp. 117-118). There follow sixty-three compositions (mostly sonnets) many addressed to noble personalities from her circle and to fellow poets (Luigi Alamanni, Domenico Vernier, Sperone Speroni, Antonia Paolo de’ Negri, Alvise Priuli, Jacopo Zane, Collaltino and Vinciguerra di Collalto, Girolamo Malin, Domenico or Marcantonio Michiel, Giacomo Balbi, Gabriel Trifone, Elena Barozzi Zanzani, Nicolò Tiepolo, Giovanni Andrea Guiscardo, Antonio Soranzo, Ortensio Lando, Fortunio Spira – see W.J. Kennedy, *Writing as a Pro: Gaspara Stampa and the Men in Her ‘Rime’*, in: “Rethinking Gaspara Stampa



in the Canon of Renaissance Poetry”, U. Falkeid & A.A. Feng, eds., Farnham, 2025, pp. 137-156). Six ‘capitoli’ (pp. 153-167) and nineteen ‘madrigali’ (pp. 168-176) close Gambara’s ‘canzoniere’. Before the index of first lines is printed a sonnet in praise of Gambara (p. 177) by Leonardo Emo with the mention of two poems in response by Gambara (cf. S. Bianchi, *La scrittura poetica al femminile nel Cinquecento veneto: Gaspara Stampa e Veronica Franco*, Manziana, 2013, pp. 40-42, see also G. Forni, *Oltre il classicismo. Come leggere il ‘povero libretto’ di Gaspara Stampa*, in: “Il Petrarchismo. Un modello di poesia per l’Europa”, L. Chines, ed., Roma, 2006, I, pp. 251-264, E. Simonato, *Le ‘Rime’ di Gaspara Stampa. Analisi dell’opera e commento a sonetti scelti*, diss., Padova, 2017, passim, and L. Montuori, *L’urgenza di dirsi: le ‘Rime’ di Gaspara Stampa*, in: “Genealogías. Re-Writing the Canon: Women Writing in XVI-XVII Century Italy”, S. Sontosuosso, ed., Sevilla, 2018, pp. 107-126). Gaspara Stampa certainly was, with Vittoria Colonna and Louise Labé (ca. 1524-1566), one of the luminaries of Renaissance women poets (cf. C. Pelizzari, *Gaspara Stampa e Louise Labé: la poesia femminile in Italia e in Francia nel Rinascimento*, Torino, 2008, pp. 69-72, see also M. Weston Brown, *Vittoria Colonna, Gaspara Stampa and Louise Labé: Their contribution to the development of the Renaissance sonnet*, New York, 1991, passim, and F. J. Warnke, *Three Women Poets: Renaissance and Baroque*, Lewisburg, PA, 1987, p. 16).

“Despite Stampa’s impact on sixteenth-century Italian culture, during the two centuries following her death she was virtually forgotten until the 1738 republication of her poetry, and even then the strange editorial and reception history of her poetic corpus distorted by her memory in such a way that her poetry never regained the prominence it once had. As is often the case with female artists, her biography, and especially, her presumed love affairs have tended to overshadow her works. In the last few decades, however, there has been a substantial increase in critical attention paid to Stampa’s poet-



ry among both European and North American scholars who have sought to refocus Stampa scholarship on her poetics rather than the mystic love and its reception” (U. Falkeid & A.A. Feng, *Introduction*, in: “Rethinking Gaspara Stampa in the Canon of Renaissance Poetry”, Farnham, 2015, p. 2).

“Ma come non ricevette risposta, almeno per quanto siamo in grado di saperne, la lettera a Collaltino con cui Gaspara gli consegnava liminarmente alla *princeps* il suo ‘povero libretto’, così quella brillante società veneziana di letterati, poligrafi, musicisti e mecenati, al di là delle immediate e rituali commemorazioni postume, si sarebbe fin troppo presto dimenticata di lei e della sua anomala raccolta di rime di passione, di eroismo, di dramma, di elegia, di melodia e di ironia” (S. Bianchi, *op. cit.*, p. 75).

“Stampa is not only a woman following a literary code created by and for men, she writes her poetry with confidence, takes tone and makes woman’s voice heard where it traditionally does not exist. She makes a man a subject of her poems, hence he becomes both a muse and an object deprived of voice. She echoes, or even rewrites, Petrarchan poems, and she compares herself to both him and other legendary poets. Her renewing and individual style unifies body and soul in an earthly bound love. It contradicts both the literary love ideal she emulates and the well-established Neoplatonic philosophy on love. Undoubtedly it

makes her ‘unique among all others’ (J. Vernqvist, *A Female Voice in Early Modern Love Poetry- Gaspara Stampa*, in: “TRANS. Revue de littérature générale et comparée”, 15, 2013, p. 14).

“More than sixty poems in Gaspara Stampa’s 1554 *Rime* reflect on, eschew, bemoan the weakness of, or tout the power of her own poetic voice. A Venetian *virtuosa*, or professional musician, Stampa boldly claims poetic equality with male masters... Through the virtuosity and the wit that her telling puns demonstrate, Stampa models – shows a pattern of and makes – a female poet whose complexity and indeterminacy at times imitate and rivals Petrarch’s. Repeatedly pointing to the act of writing, to its polyvocality and wit, and to the speaker’s sex, Stampa’s deixis constructs subjectivity. Conceits about artistic representation involving perception, matter, and imagination, for example, exemplify her female speaker’s wit and knowledge of philosophical discourse, displaying an ingenuity expected only in male poetic geniuses. The content of these metaphors, furthermore, undermines the gendered dualism of master discourses that associate women with matter and chaos, men with spirit, form, and mind. Directed to an audience she defines at times as female, this witty display affirms women’s complex subjectivity. Insofar as these poems’ wit aims at erotic persuasion, Stampa also assumes that the gifts of mind and intellect that she represents may evoke rather than repel male desire. Wit becomes erotic lure” (M.B. Moore, *Body of Light, Body of Matter. Self-Reference as Self-Modeling in Gaspara Stampa*, in: “Desiring Voices: Women Sonneteers and Petrarchism”, Carbondale, IL, 2000, pp. 58-59)

Gaspara Stampa was born in Padua in 1523 to her mother Cecelia and father Bartolomeo Stampa, who had been a wealthy jeweler. She had two siblings, Cassandra and Baldassare. After the death of her father in 1530, the family moved to Venice, where they had relatives. Stampa was afforded an excellent education at the hand of Fortunio Spira, a grammarian and poet, who taught the children Latin, grammar, and possibly Greek. They were also taught lute and voice by the musician Pierrissone

Cambio. Gaspara was noted for her lovely singing voice by Giolamo Parabosco. She would become an excellent singer, musician, and songwriter in addition to her poetry. Between around 1535 and 1540, the Stampa household became a kind of salon, frequented by literary men like Giolamo Parabosco, Francesco Sansovino, Daniele Barbaro, Ludovico Domenici, Luigi Alamanni, Antonio Brocardo, Ortensio Lando, Sperone Speroni, and Benedetto Varchi (cf. F.A. Bassanese, *Gaspara Stampa*, Boston, 1982, pp. 11-12). Conversation often regarded Petrarch and Petrarchism, the poetic imitation of work, and it must have been a perfect milieu for Stampa, who doubtlessly learned a great deal about versification, meter, rhythm, cadence, imagery, form and rhyme. Early in 1544 Stampa's brother Baldassare, a promising poet, died at the age of nineteen while at the university at Padua. His death precipitated a religious crisis for Stampa. Suor Angelica Paola de' Negri, the abbess of the San Paolo Convent in Milan, in response to the death, sent Stampa a long letter to comfort her, and to urge her to abandon the world and retire to a convent. Instead of following Suor Angelica's advice, Stampa reentered the social scene, mingling with old friends and new acquaintances as Torquato Bembo, Giorgio Benzzone, Girolamo Molin, Paolo Tiepolo, and Domenico Venier., and continuing her work as a singer and musician (cf. D. De Rycke, *On Locating the Courtesan in a Gift of Song: The Venetian Case of Gaspara Stampa*, in: "The Courtesan's Arts: Cross-Cultural Perspectives", M. Feldman & B. Gordon, eds., Oxford, 2006, pp. 124-132). Girolamo Parabosco, organist at St. Mark's in Venice, composer, poet and playwright greatly praised Gaspara's talents: "Chi vide mai tal bellezza in altra parte? chi tanta gratia? & chi mai si dolci maniere? & chi mai si soavi & dolci parole ascoltò? Chi mai senti piu alti concetti? Che dirò io di quella angelica voce, che qual'hora percuote l'aria de suoi divini accenti fa tale & si dolce armonia" (*Lettere amorose*, Venezia, 1545, leaves 24^v-25^r). In the same year, a friend of her now deceased brother, Francesco Sansovino, dedicated his *Ragionamento d'amore* to her. Shortly thereafter Sansovino dedicated both the sixteenth edition of Boccaccio's *Ameto* (1545) and the *Lettura di Benedetto Varchi sopra un sonetto della 'Gelosia' di Monsignor Della Casa* (1545) to Stampa. Once again, in 1547, Stampa was the dedicatee of a published work, this time by Perissone Cambio, her lute and voice instructor and himself a well-respected singer; the book was a collection of madrigals titled *Primo libro di madrigali a quarto voci*. On Christmas Day 1548, in Domenico Venier's *ridotto*, Stampa met Collaltino di Collalto, a landed aristocrat from Friuli, friend of many literati, a soldier, and himself a mediocre poet. This fortuitous meeting began a three-year tumultuous love affair during which Stampa composed her 'canzoniere'. For the most part, Collaltino ignored her advances, but Stampa persisted in writing love sonnets for him, nonetheless. Though her work was never made public during her lifetime, she produced at least 311 poems. After her death, her sister Cassandra edited a collection of Stampa's poetry, with the help of Giorgio Benzzone, and in October 1554, Pietrasanta published the first edition of Rime. It was dedicated to Giovanni della Casa. After the initial publication, her poems were neglected for almost two centuries, until one of Collaltino's descendants had them republished in 1738. Then in May 1549, Stampa enclosed 100 sonnets with a letter and mailed it, with the poems, to Collaltino who was campaigning in France. Initially, Gaspara's mother and her sister hoped that Collaltino would marry her, but his unresponsiveness during his six-month absence crushed their hopes. After his return and a brief reunion with Stampa, he retreated to his estate in Friuli, leaving Stampa to doubt that he still loved her. In 1550 Collaltino took her to his estate, San Salvatore, but ignored her while there. In 1550 Stampa became a member of the *Accademia dei Dubbiosi* using the pseudonym 'Anaxilla' or 'Anissilla'. This would also be the year that we can assume Gaspara suffered her first nervous breakdown, the beginning of a series of illnesses that would lead to her death. Between 1551 and 1552, she met Bartolomeo Zen, a Venetian patrician with whom she began a romantic relationship. In 1553, three of her poems would be published in *Il sesto libro di diversi eccellenti autori*, edited by Girolamo Ruscelli. Stampa would take ill again in 1554, coming down with a violent fever and dying within a fortnight. There were claims that she had committed suicide after learning of the plans of her former lover, Collaltino di Collalto, to marry Giulia Torelli (cf. M. Bellonci, *Introduzione*, in: "Gaspara Stampa, Rime", Milano 1994, pp. 5-25, see also E. Cesaracciu Veronese, *Il testamento di Cassandra Stampa: contributi alla biografia di Gaspara*, in: "Atti e memorie dell'Accademia patavina di scienze, lettere ed arti. Memorie della classe di scienze morali, lettere ed arti", LXXXIX, III, 1976-1977, pp. 89-96; and F.A. Bassanese, *Gaspara Stampa*, Boston, 1982, passim).

Some of the content of her writings in addition to its multiple male addressees have led histori-

ans to speculate as to whether Stampa was one of Venice's famous courtesans (especially after the publication of Abdelkader Salza's article in "Giornale della letteratura italiana", 62, 1913, pp. 1-101). But to date no evidence has surfaced that settles the issue definitively (cf. E.B. Otero, *The Fiction of the 'Rime': Gaspara Stampa's 'Poetic Misprision' of Giovanni Boccaccio's 'The Elegy of Lady Fiammetta'*, diss.; Tampa, FL, 2010, pp. 16-20, and J. Tylus, *Rescuing the Renaissance, Women Writers, Courtesans, and Salza's Stampa*, in: "The Italian Renaissance in the 19th Century", L. Bolzoni & A. Payne, eds., Cambridge, MA, 2018, pp. 419-428).

Amongst her more modern admirers is the German poet, Rainer Maria Rilke, who refers to Stampa in the first of his *Duino Elegies*: "Aber die Liebenden nimmt die erschöpfte Natur / in sich zurück, als wären nicht zweimal die Kräfte, / dieses zu leisten. Hast du der Gaspara Stampa / denn genügend gedacht, daß irgend ein Mädchen, / dem der Geliebte entging, am gesteigerten Beispiel / dieser Liebenden fühlt: daß ich würde wie sie? / Sollen nicht endlich uns diese ältesten Schmerzen / fruchtbarer werden? Ist es nicht Zeit, daß wir liebend / uns vom Geliebten befreien und es bebend bestehn: / wie der Pfeil die Sehne besteht, um gesammelt im Absprung/ mehr zu sein als er selbst. Denn Bleiben ist nirgends" (Rainer Maria Rilke, *Sämtliche Werke*, Wiesbaden & Frankfurt a.M., 1955, I, pp. 685-6, 'But, Nature, spent and exhausted, takes lovers back into herself, as if there were not enough strength to create them a second time. Have you imagined Gaspara Stampa intensely enough so that any girl deserted by her beloved might be inspired by that fierce example of soaring, objectless love and might say to herself, perhaps I can be like her? Shouldn't this most ancient of sufferings finally grow more fruitful for us? Isn't it time that we lovingly freed ourselves from the beloved, and quivering, endured: as the arrow endures the bow-string's tension, so that gathered in the snap of release it can be more than itself. For there is no place where we can remain') (cf. E.E. ter Horst, *The Pendulum of Poetry and Meditation in Rilke's 'Duineser Elegien'*, in: "The German Quarterly", 79/3, 2006, pp. 311-312).

PROVENANCE: Carlo Antonio Dotti (d. 1936), chief inspector of the Italian state railways, book collector and autodidact philologist, is remembered for his Italian translation of the ancient Greek romance *Daphnis and Chloe* by Longus, with a long introduction, *I quattro Ragionamenti dei Pastoralia di Longo*, Milano, 1921 (M.F. Ferrini, *Bibliografia, di Longo*, Macerata, 1991, p. 114; see also N. Bianchi, *Longo nel primo Novecento. Carlo Antonio Dotti traduttore e 'copista' dei 'Pastoralia'*, in: "Il codice del romanzo: tradizione manoscritta e ricezione dei romanzi greci", Bari, 2006, p. 197-205). At the bottom of the engraved book plate Dotti annotated: "Dono a me fatto dal sig. Sante Tenenti nel g(ior)no 8 Luglio 1899." On the recto of the front ply leaf is a long note in Dotti's hand on various editions of Stampa's *Rime*, and the remark "Edizione originale-Rarissima". There is furthermore a marginal note in his hand on leaf 231 regarding the sonnet "S'amor natura al nobile intelletto", which is not by Gambara, but apparently addressed to her (see Gaspara Stampa, *The Complete Poems*, T. Tower & J. Tylus, eds., Chicago, 2010, p. 392, n. 568).

Edit 16, CNCE 34706 ; Universal STC, no. 857433; M. Bianco, *Gaspara Stampa, Rime, Venezia, Plinio Pietrasanta, 1554*, in: "Petrarca e il suo tempo", (Milano, 2006), pp. 535-537.

€ 8,900.- / CHF 9,800.- / \$ 10,200.-

THREE POETS LAUREATE IN ONE VOLUME

14. TAUBMANN, Friedrich (1565-1613). Melodaesia sive epulum musaeum. In quo, praeter recens apparatus, lautiores iterum apponuntur quamplurimae de fugitivis olim columbis poeticis: Et unà eduntur Ludi iuveniles Martinalia & Bacchanalia: Cum productione Gynaecei. 8vo. (24), 614, (10) pp. *With the printer's device at the end.*

Leipzig, Michael Lantzenberger for Thomas Schürer, 1597. – Bound with:

MEIBOM, Heinrich (1555-1625). *Novae parodiae ad odas quasdam Horatianas. Accessere nonnulla alia schediasmata eiusdem auctoris.* 8vo. (32) leaves. *Woodcut ornament on the title page, full-page woodcut coat-of-arms on title-page verso.* Contemporary blind-stamped vellum with overlapping edges and inked title on spine, front panel with “Iustitia” stamp (signed with the monogram “D P”, see K. Haebler, *Rollen- und Plattentempel des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig, 1928, vol. I, p. 325), and the initials “HGH” and date “1599” in black ink, back panel with “Casta Lucretia” stamp (unsigned and undated), red edges (lacking the ties). On the front pastedown, on the first title page and on the following leaf stamps “Ex-libris Klaus Kabs” and “KT”. On the front pastedown handwritten poem in a contemporary hand “Epigramma in H:S.P.” signed by H. Gödek H., i.e., the dean of the Hildesheim Gymnasium Andreanum and ‘Poeta Laureatus’, Heinrich Gödeke (Henricus Goedekenius Hildesianus, 1580-1609, see J.L. Flood, *Poets Laureate in the Holy Roman Empire: A Bio-bibliographical Handbook*, Berlin/Boston, 2019, II, pp. 680-681), who was the first owner of the book and who commissioned the binding. On the back flyleaf and pastedown one or two contemporary hands have copied a few verses from Ovid and some epigrams of Albertus de Rosati and Johannes Monachus, small oxidation hole to leaf Pp⁶ (pp. 603/604) with some loss of a few letters, some light foxing and staining, but overall a very good, genuine copy in a nice, signed and dated contemporary binding.

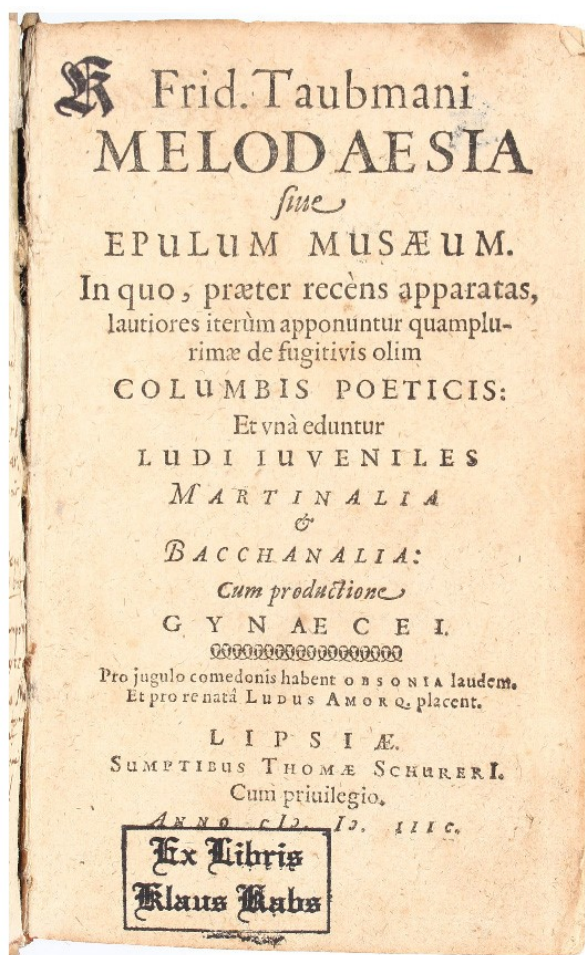
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Helmstedt, Jacob Lucius, 1596.

FIRST EDITION Taubmann's most successful and comprehensive collection of neo-Latin poetry, which was reprinted in 1604, 1615, 1622 and in 1634. It was dedicated to two of his major patrons: "Friedrich Taubmann gestaltet die Widmungsadresse zu seine *Melodaesia* an Friedrich Wilhelm I., Herzog von Sachsen-Weimar (1562-1602) und Georg Friedrich I., Markgraf von Brandenburg (1539-1603), als doppelseitige, dyptichonartige Inschrift, die er mit der antiken römischen epigraphischen Weiheformel 'LIBENS MERITO OFFERT CONSECRATQUE' abschliesst. Nach der Inschrift folgt direkt der erste Satz der Widmung" (K.A.E. Enenkel, *Die Stiftung von Autorschaft in der neulateinischen Literatur, ca. 1350-ca. 1650: zur autorisierenden und wissensvermittelnden Funktion von Widmung, Vorworttexten, Autorportraits und Dedicationsbildern*, Leiden, 2014, p. 119).

The volume contains the following sections: *Sacrorum Libri II* (pp. 1-76); *Bellum Angelicum Librorum III* (pp.

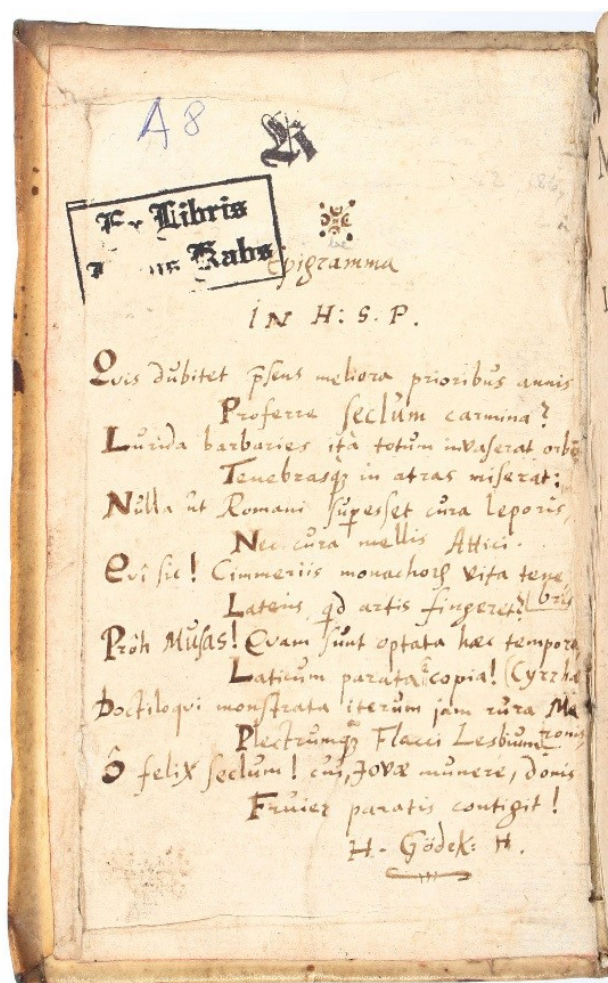


77-107); *Amores et Delitiae* (pp. 108-123)-; *Anacreon Latinus* (pp. 123-142); *Epicorum Libri II* (pp. 143-197); *Lycorum Liber I* (pp. 198-224); *Phalæcorum Libri II* (pp. 224-287); *Elegiarum Liber I* (pp. 288-324); *Epigrammatum Libri VI* (pp. 324-510); *Philothesia* (pp. 511-528); *Juvenilia* [Martinalia, Bacchanalia, Commentum de magno Christophoro, Gynæceum poeticum] (pp. 528-592); *Epistolæ aliquot* (pp. 592-614). Some of the work listed here were already issued before, such as the epyllion on the Saint Martin's day goose, *Martinalia*, and the first neolatin carnival epic written in Germany, *Bacchanalia*, both written at Heilbronn around 1587 and printed at Wittenberg as *Lusus duo pueriles* in 1592 (cf. H. Wiegand, *Bacchanalia Neo-latina. Zur Rezeption antiker Karnevalsmotive in der neulateinischen Literatur*, in: "Karnevaleske Phänomene in antiken und nachantiken Kulturen und Literaturen", S. Dopp, ed., Trier, 1993, pp. 265-286). Also, a part of the earlier collection of poems, *Columbae poeticae* (Wittenberg, 1594) and *Amores* (Wittenberg, 1596), were incorporated, partly revised in *Melodaesia*.

"Still, the most influential poet in the further development of Latin Anacreontics was the professor of poetry in Wittenberg, Friedrich Taubmann... To account for the impact of this collection it is important to know that Taubmann was a brilliant

teacher and a social sensation on account of his notorious humour. Anecdotes from and about him circulated during the whole 17th century; they were published in 1702 as *Taubmanniana*... The Anacreontic poem for which Taubmann was most remembered is his epithalamium to Paul Schede Melissus (1539-1602), then almost universally regarded as the *princeps* of German poets... He will have been pleased when Taubmann presented to him an Anacreontic epithalamium for his late wedding with the 18 years old Emilie Jordan in 1593" (S. Tilg, *Neo-Latin Anacreontic Poetry: Its Shape (s) and Significance*, in: "Imitate, Anacreon! Mimesis, Poiesis and Poetic Inspiration in the 'Carmina Anacreontea'", M. Bambach & N. Dümmler, eds., Berlin, 2014, pp. 187-189).

"Aesthetic concerns, both in prose and in poetry, were at the same time social and ethical concerns; at stake were also the notions of *decorum* and *iudicium*, pertaining directly to one's status in society. Friedrich Taubmann is a typical exponent of this development in Germany... Taubmann gained literary fame particularly as a propagator of Neo-Latin Anacreontic poetry; his outstanding poetic technique was acclaimed by many later authors, far more so than his philological accom-



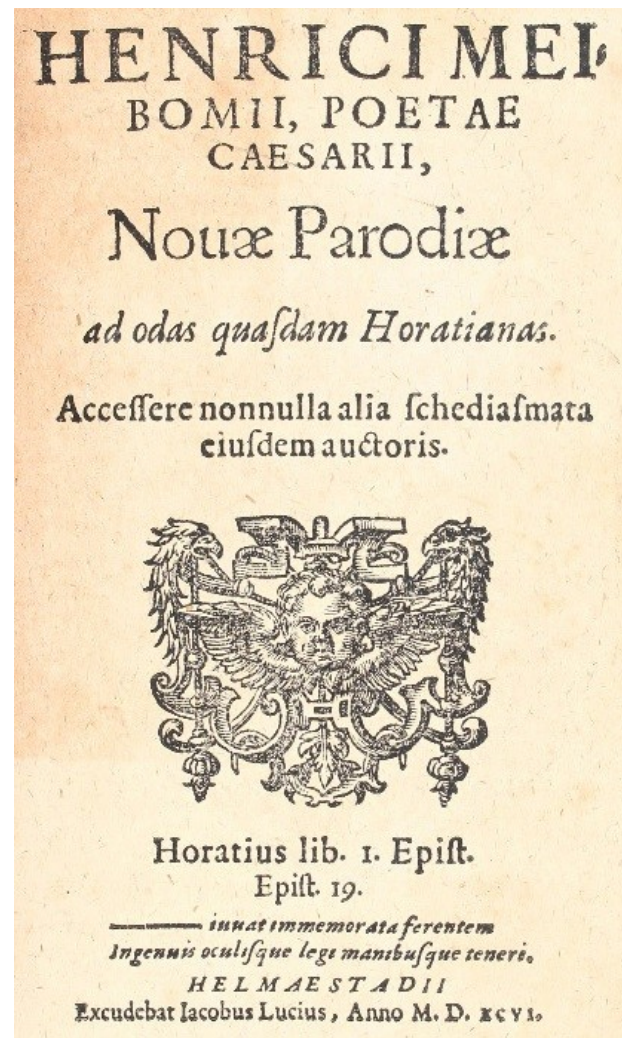
plishments... Taubmann's own poetry, nonetheless, reflects in practice the anticlassicist orientation that emerges from his general theoretical discussion of style in the *Dissertatio*. One of the best known and most influential parts of his Latin poetry is the *Anacreon Latinus*, a collection of Anacreontic poems, published first in his *Melodaesia sive epulum Musaeum*... The *Anacreon Latinus* in particular, but also his other poems in general, are characterized by various linguistic and literary extravagances, which set them off radically from the standards of the so-called Golden Age of Roman poetry... Certain pieces, composed by these authors, reveal that Julius Caesar Scaliger's poems were an important reference for this poetic tradition, as indeed the elder Scaliger seems to have been one of Taubmann's main sources of poetic inspiration. The fundamental belief behind this development of Latin poetry is the idea that the entire repository of Latin literature was free to be exploited in crafting one's own style. This argument had been proffered in the debate on Latin prose style as well, most notably by Poliziano and Erasmus" (M. Laureys, *Taubmann's view on Latin style*, in: "Una lingua morta per lettere vive: il dibattito sul latino come lingua letteraria in età moderna e contemporanea. Atti del congresso internazionale, Roma, 10-12 dicembre 2015", V. Sanzotta, ed., Louvain, 2020, pp. 92-105).

On p. 511 begins the section *Amicorum Album*. "Nur ein Teil der Carmina – nämlich der, der im Inhalt tatsächlich auf eine Eintragssituation Bezug nahm - war durch eine einschlägige Überschrift ausdrücklich als Textteil eines Stammbucheintrags markiert; die anderen Lyrica dagegen firmierten als gängige Freundschaftsgedichte, die durch einen im Dativ stehenden Empfängername lediglich eindeutig adressiert wurden. Versammelt wurden somit keine handschriftlichen und unikalenen, sondern gedruckte und damit vervielfältigte Belege, keine Gedichte, die von den 'Amici' selbst stammten, sondern solche, die für sie verfasst worden waren; als Auswahlinstanz fungierte zudem der Dichter der Carmina, nicht deren ganz unterschiedliche Empfänger. Der entsprechende Abschnitt der Gedichtesammlung Taubmanns bildet so ein Beispiel für die 'Literarisierung' eines Schlagworts, das hier in übertragenen Sinne, orientiert eher an der älteren Bedeutung des Grundwortes als neutrale Sammelform, verwendet wurde" (W.W. Schnabel, *Das Stammbuch Konstitution und Geschichte einer textsortenbezogenen Sammelform bis ins erste Drittel des 18. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 2003, p.283).

Friedrich Taubmann was born in Wonsee near Bayreuth (Upper Franconia) in 1566. After losing both parents, he attended the Kulmbach Latin School from 1578 on, until the Heilsbronn grammar school was founded in April 1582, which he attended as one of the first scholarship holders. After graduating in 1590, he worked for several years as master of ceremonies at the courts for various Franconian aristocrats. In 1592 he obtained from the Margrave of Ansbach a stipend to support university study at Wittenberg. In the same year appeared his *Lusus duo juveniles. Martinalia & Bacchanalia*, which earned him the coronation as 'poeta laureatus' by Emperor Rudolph II (see J.L. Flood, *Poets Laureate in the Holy Roman Empire: A Bio-bibliographical Handbook*, Berlin & Boston, 2019, IV, pp. 2058-2065). A year later he published a collection of Neo-Latin poetry, *Columbae poeticae*. Already from his youth, there were stories redolent of the arrogance, effrontery, brazen discourtesy, and extreme wittiness that came to characterize him in adulthood. Remarkably, several of Taubmann's teachers and fellow students recognized in him more than just a rascal – many thought him brilliant. At Wittenberg, Taubmann devoted himself to poetry and especially to the study of ancient Latin Literature, but he used his time also to read Thomas More's *History of Richard III*, Hector Boethius's *Scotorum Historia*, the poetry of Dante, and the stories of Boccaccio. He also became an attentive reader of Macchiavelli, and also perfected his talents for spontaneous (often humorous) Latin verse. After three semesters he had earned his baccalaureate, and by 1595 his magister in philology. He then immediately applied for a full professorship in the faculty that had just promoted him and obtained the position he wanted through the intercession of Friedrich Wilhelm, Duke of Saxe-Weimar. The present collection of poems, *Melodaesia*, once again confirmed his reputations as a brilliant Latin poet. But it was not until his great Plautus edition of 1605, that he gained international fame. Taubmann's career then oscillated between the poles of university and the court, where he was the learned jester and amusing confidant of the Saxon prince. Much of his poetry was occasional, honoring the weddings of his friends, and equally was ready to blast his enemies with the ferocity of a Juvenal or a Martial. His facility with Latin led him also compose nonsense verses. During his tenure at Wittenberg University, Taubmann was elected dean three times, and in 1608 was elected prorector (cf. H. Wiegand, *Friedrich Taubmann*, in: "Frühe Neuzeit in Deutschland, 1520-1620. Literaturwissenschaftliches Verfasserlexikon", W. Kühl-

mann & al., eds, Berlin, 2017, vol. 6, cols. 259-276, and F. W. Ebeling, *Zur Geschichte der Hofnarren. Friedrich Taubmann. Ein Kulturbild*, (Leipzig 1882), passim, and D. Münch, *Der humorvolle Poet und Philologe Friedrich Taubmann aus Oberfranken*, Bochum, 1984, passim).

VD 16, T-224, Universal STC, no. 2068909; R. Düchting, *Taubmann Melodæsia 1597*, in: "Bibliotheca Palatina. Katalog zur Ausstellung", E. Mittler, ed., (Heidelberg, 1986), no. 102; G. Dünhaupt, *Friedrich Taubmann*, in: "Personalbibliographien zu den Drucken des Barock", (Stuttgart 1993), vol. 6, p. 4005, no. 3.1.



II. FIRST EDITION of a new series of 'parodies' of Horatian odes, which Meibom had started in 1588 and continued in 1589, a genre introduced by Henri Estienne and in Germany by Paul Schede. The work is dedicated to the sons, Julius, and Johann Ernst, of Johann von Jageman, chancellor to Duke Heinrich Julius von Braunschweig. Among the laudatory poems printed after the dedication is one by Friedrich Taubmann. The parodies are followed by *Schediasmata manipulus*, a short collection of epigrams (cf. H. Meibom, *Poemata selecta: ausgewählte Gedichte, 1579-1613*, L. Mundt, ed., Berlin 2012, pp. 501, 599-600)

"Die spielerische und avantgardistische Experimentierfreude von Schedes *parodia* rechnet mit einem kongenialen internationalen Publikum, das sowohl die affektierte Simplizität der verfeinerten Volkspoesie als auch die liebeslyrischen Gattungs- und Diskurskreuzungen goutieren konnte und wollte. Dieser Rezeptionskontext der *parodia Horatiana* wandelt sich jedoch bereits wenige Jahre nach Schedes 'Erfindung' der Gattung. Die Parodie wird – namentlich im protestantischen Raum – zum genus scholasticum und verliert an literarischer Dignität und experimenteller Ambivalenz. Nicht Schede, sondern der Helmstedter Professor für Poetik und Geschichte Heinrich Meibom wird mit seinen zwei Büchern Horazparodien, den ersten Beispielen eines Lyrikwerkes, das nur aus Horaz Parodien besteht,

zum eigentlichen Archegeten per parodia christiana” (J. Robert, *Nachschrift und Gegengesang. Parodie und ‘parodia’ in der Poetik der frühen Neuzeit*, in: “Parodia’ und ‘Parodie’. Aspekte intertextuellen Schreibens in der lateinischen Literatur der frühen Neuzeit”, R. Gleis & al., eds, Tübingen, 2006, p. 59)

Orphaned at an early age, Heinrich Meibom received his first training at the newly organized grammar school in Lemgo, later in Minden, and in 1574 became tutor of the two sons of the Brunswick city superintendent Martin Chemnitz, who played a leading role in the realization of the Reformation in the duchy. Since 1577 he was occupied at the University Helmstedt with historical, philological, philosophical, and theological studies. In 1580 he obtained a master's degree in philosophy, and in 1583 he was appointed professor of poetry and history. He worked alongside Reiner Reineccius (1541–95), who had been ‘professor historiarum conscribendarum’ since 1582, as the actual university teacher of history (‘professor historiae tradendae’), which occupied a prominent place in the university's curriculum. Maibom was vice-rector of the university four times and dean twelve times; he refused a call to Wittenberg in 1592. He became an advisor to Duke Heinrich Julius von Braunschweig on university issues and was also supported by him with diplomatic missions, among others to the imperial court. His poetical works brought him on July 9, 1590 the coronation as “Poeta laureatus” by Emperor Rudolf II (see J.L. Flood, *op.cit.*, III, pp. 1280-1291), to whom he had dedicated a *Carmen de Caesaribus ex Austriaca familia oriundis*. His oeuvre includes a large number of religious poems, as well as secular poetry, predominantly in hexameters or dactylic distiches, especially on the past and contemporary events of the house of the Guelphs, as well as countless occasional poems on the occasion of marriage, birth, and death among the nobility and of the notables of the duchy of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel and the world of scholars in and around Helmstedt. Overall, Meibom proves to be an outstanding representative of the late humanist Latinity, which flourished at the University of Helmstedt under the influence of Johann Cesarius. As a historian he made a special effort to track down and publish narrative sources connected with the history of old Saxony and the Guelphs (cf. I. Henze, *Der Lehrstuhl für Poesie an der Universität Helmstedt bis zum Tode Heinrich Meiboms des Älteren (1625): eine Untersuchung zur Rezeption antiker Dichtung im lutherischen Späthumanismus*, Hildesheim, 1990, passim; and M. Flotho, *Meibom (auch Maybaum, Meibomius), Heinrich (d.Ä.), Prof.*, in: “Braunschweigisches Biographisches Lexikon, 8. bis 18. Jahrhundert”, H.-R. Jarck, & al., eds., Braunschweig, 2006, pp. 485–487

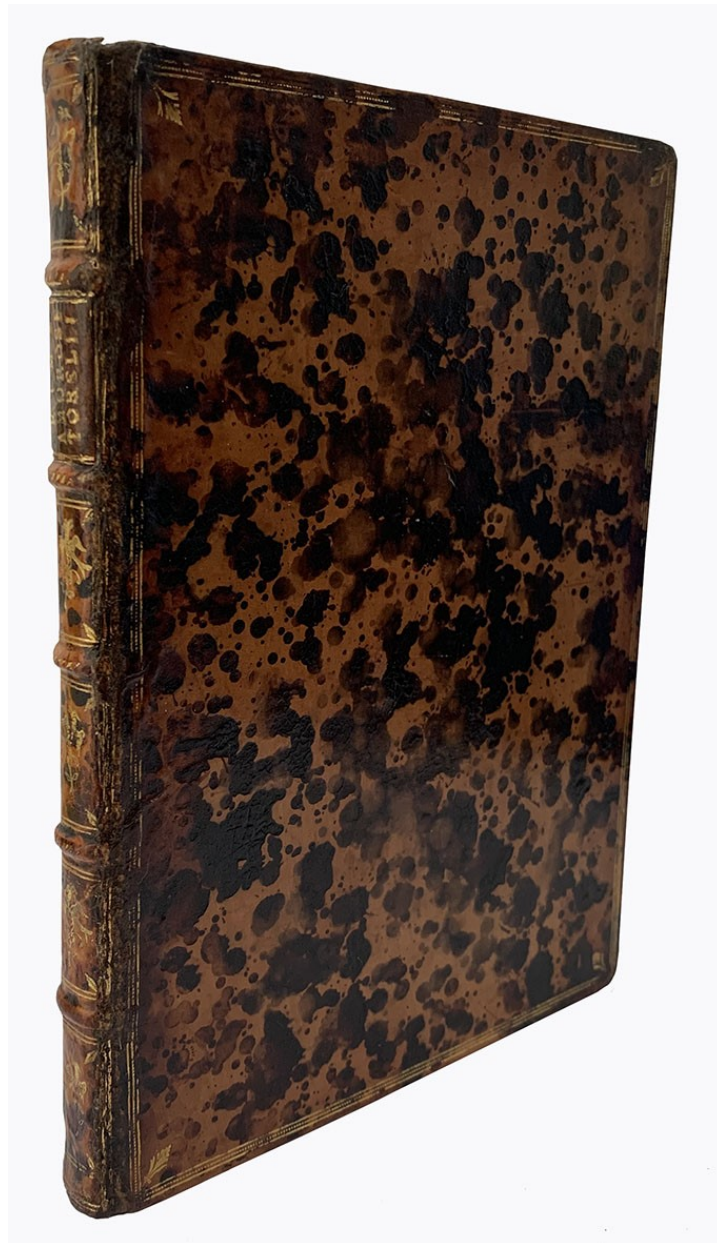
VD 16, M-1949; Universal STC, no. 662034; M. Laureys & al., eds. *Non omnis moriar. Die Horaz-Rezeption in der neulateinischen Literatur vom 15. Bis 17. Jahrhundert*, “Noctes Neolatinae. Neo-Latin Text and Studies”, 35/2, (Hildesheim, 2020), p. 1328.

€ 3,600.- / CHF 4,000.- / \$ 4,500.-

15. TORELLI, Pomponio (1539-1608). Rime amorose...4to. (4), 75, (5) leaves. *Large woodcut arms of the Farnese on the title page, and a large woodcut printer's device on its verso.* 18th-century mottled calf, sides filleted in gilt, paneled spine gilt in compartments with a repeated phoenix motif, marbled endpapers, yellow edges, upper joint repaired, spine label perished, on the title page contemporary unidentified ownership inscription and a few marginalia in an old Italian hand in text, worm track in the lower margins of signatures E-K anciently repaired, not touching text, occasional spotting, quire L lightly browned, from the library of Wilmot Vaughan, fourth Viscount Lisburne (1730-1800) with his armorial bookplate on the front pastedown, all in all a good, genuine copy.

Parma, Seth Viotti, 1575.

FIRST EDITION of a vernacular Renaissance *Canzoniere* dedicated to Ersilia Farnese, one of Duke Ottavio's natural daughters. In the letter dated October 7, 1575, from Parma Torelli explains that he published the collection because several his compositions were being circulated without his approval.



“In 1575 Torelli was thirty-six years old and probably had recovered completely from the love affair with which his poetry deals. At any rate in that year, he married Isabella Bonelli, who brought him a dowry of twenty thousand gold crowns and whose family ranked high in the hierarchy of the Church. Thenceforth he composed Latin poetry on more serious subjects, commented on Aristotle’s *Poetics*, wrote discourses on moral philosophy, and dedicated his energy to tragedy. The *Rime amorose* were inspired by a young countrywoman Torelli met soon after 1561, when having completed his studies at the University of Padua, he returned to his native city of Parma. Her identity has not been established, but we know that in 1566 she gave birth to a son, Pompilio, who was eventually dubbed a Knight of Malta, and was probably recognized by his father, who composed for him a sort of gentleman’s handbook. The woman may have been extremely attractive, for Torelli not only refers to her as a ‘leggiadra contadinella’, but transforms her into a semi-divine creature not unlike Laura or Beatrice... The edition of 1575 is divided into two parts: The first is composed of ten groups of lyrics, each consisting of ten sonnets, a ballad, and a sestina or a canzone except the third group, who has no ballad. It ends with a narrative poem of twenty ottave. The second part, which is considerably shorter, contains six sonnets, a canzone, a ballad, another canzone, another ballad, eight ottave, seventy verses in terza rima, five eclogues, and a dream poem of a hundred ottave” (A.L. Mezzacappa, *Love lyrics of Pomponio Torelli*, in: “*Italica*”, 17/2, 1940, pp. 49-50, see also G. Vernazza, *Poetica e poesia di Pomponio Torelli*, Parma, 1964, pp.159-174).



“Il modello di scrittura poetica offerto da Caro diviene un punto di riferimento importante per gli intellettuali parmensi, e per Pomponio Torelli in primis. Come si mostrerà più compiutamente in seguito, oggetto della poesia non è infatti, per Torelli, il vero (storico e/o naturale), che quindi richiede una forma espressiva razionale, referenziale ed esplicativa; oggetto della poesia è l’immagine mentale ed emotiva di tale vero (copia dunque di secondo grado della verità divina) che ogni individuo ha in sé e che egli può esprimere solo attraverso un linguaggio allusivo, creativo, fortemente icastico. Un linguaggio che, peraltro, consente all’immagine mentale di subentrare al vero naturale quale copia di primo grado della verità divina. Alla poesia viene riconosciuto uno statuto gnoseologico, la forza di andare oltre le apparenze sensibili¹¹. La scrittura poetica (e con essa il suo principio ispiratore, l’immaginazione) rappresenta un elemento mediano e dinamico fra intelletto e senso, tra riproduzione razionale del reale e pura favola. Di questo modello poetico – esito di un’ambizione di nobilitazione filosofica della lirica – le *Rime amoroſe* di Pomponio Torelli, pubblicate per la prima volta nel 1575, costituiscono una valida esemplificazione” (A. Torre, *Pomponio Torelli, gli Innominati e la civiltà letteraria del secondo Cinquecento*, in: “Storia di Parma, IX. Le lettere”, G. Ronchi, ed., Parma, 2012, p. 110)

Pomponio Torelli was born in 1539 at Montechiarugolo near Parma, which until the creation of the Duchy of Parma in 1545 was in the Duchy of Milan. He was the third son of Paolo Torelli and his second wife Beatrice Pico della Mirandola who was the great-niece of Giovanni Pico della Mirandola. In 1545 Torelli’s father died, and he succeeded at the age of six to the title of Count of Montechiarugolo; his mother died in the following year. He was then tutored at home by Andrea Casali a renowned philosopher from Faenza (two of the introductory poems in the present volume are addressed to him). He then studied at Padua under Bernardino Tomitano and Francesco Robortello. In



1566 he was knighted by the second Duke of Parma, Ottavio Farnese, whom he accompanied to a diplomatic mission to Flanders. In 1573 he married Isabella Bonelli, great-niece of pope Pius V and sister of cardinal Michele Bonelli. The third Duke of Parma, Alessandro Farnese, appointed Torelli as tutor to his son Ranuccio, and entrusted him with diplomatic missions in Flanders and in Spain. Under the nickname *Il Perduto*, 'The Lost One', Torelli was a leading figure in the Accademia degli Innominati, a society of learned and literary men founded in Parma on 13 June 1574, which ceased its activity in 1608, the year of Torelli's death (cf. L. Denarosi, *L'Accademia degli Innominati di Parma: teoria letteraria e progetti, 1574-1608*, Firenze, 2003, pp. 108-149). Torelli wrote love poetry in the style of Petrarch, his *Rime* were published in 1575, and in an expanded edition in 1586, and his *Scherzi poetici* in 1598. His six books of *Carmina* in Latin were printed in Parma in 1600. His *Trattato del debito del cavaliere* (1596) and *Trattato delle passioni dell'animo* contain his Neoplatonic philosophical discussions of affects, emotions, and the duties of a knight. He is however principally remembered for his tragedies: *La Merope* was published in 1589, *Il Tancredi* in 1597, *La Galatea* in 1603, and *La Vittoria*, and *Il Polidoro* both in 1605 (cf. F. Bondi, *Pomponio Torelli*, in: "Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani", Roma, 2019, vol. 96, pp. 512-517).

Edit 16, CNCE 39122; Universal STC, no. 859646; J. Balsamo, ed., *De Dante à Chiabrera: poètes italiens de la Renaissance dans la bibliothèque de la Fondation Barbier-Mueller*, (Genève, 2007), II, no. 369; G. Drei *I Viotti stampatori e librai Parmigiani nei secoli XVI-XVII*, in: "La Bibliofilia", 27, no. 6/7, 1925, p. 236.

€ 1,800.- / CHF 2000.- / \$ 2,250.-

16. TROIANO, Girolamo (fl. 16th cent.). Lettera consolatoria..., con alcune rime di diversi eccellenti autori nella morte della signora Lucretia Cavalcanti gentildonna Gaetana. 4to. [16], 59, [5] pp. Leaf E²r opens with a new section entitled "Rime di diversi eccellenti autori, nella morte della Signora Lucretia Cavalcanti de' Gattoli gentildonna Gaetana", with the printer's devices on title pages and at the end.

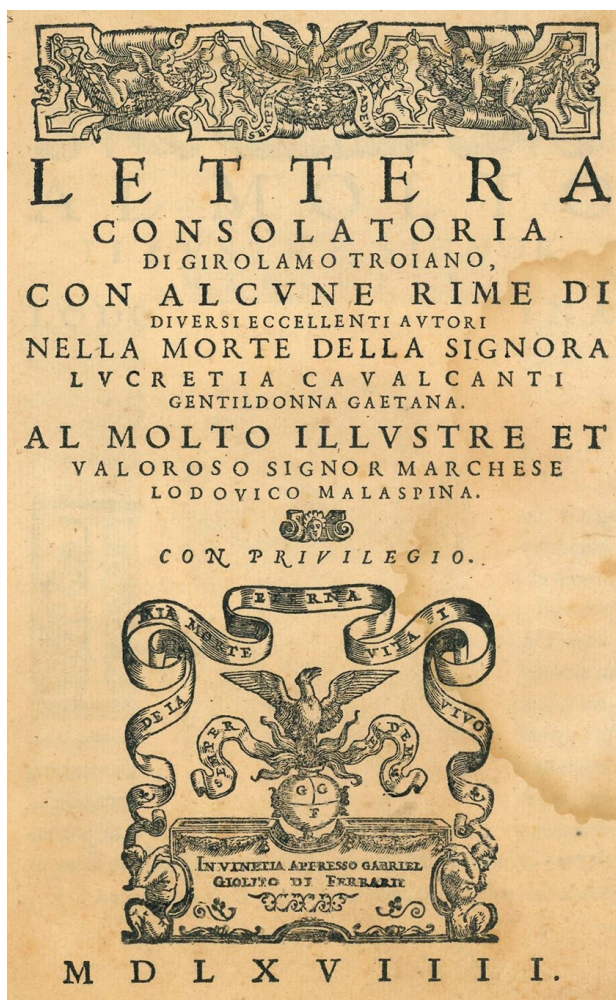
Venezia, Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, 1569 - Bound with:

[TURCHI, Francesco (ca. 1515-1599), ed.]. Discorso spirituale, dove si tratta della carità, et dello innamorarsi in Christo Giesù. Composto da un reverendissimo Padre, & eccellentissimo Theologo: per consolatione della molto magnifica, & divotissima Signora Isabetta Pisana, Moceniga. 4to. 31, [1] pp. *With the printer's devices on title page and at the end, and a large woodcut within an elaborate border on the verso of the titlepage, and 2 woodcut vignettes.* Contemporary limp vellum, a bit soiled and browned, with the engraved bookplate of Pietro Marino Barnabò (c. 1630) on the verso of the first title page (cf. A. Bertarelli, *Gli ex-libris italiani*, Milano, 1902, p. 87), some light marginal stains, a bit browned throughout, but a good, genuine copy.

Venezia, Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, 1568.



(I:) ORIGINAL EDITION (Edit 16 CNCE 26660 records two copies with the date 1568) of this letter of consolation addressed to Giulia Cavalcanti for the loss of her daughter Lucrezia (cf. S. Stroppa, *Dopo Petrarca: rime di lutto e consolazione nel Cinquecento. Il caso di Luigi da Porto*, in: "Forme della consolatoria tra Quattro e Cinquecento. Poesie e prose di lutto tra corte, accademie e 'sodalitas' amicale", S. Stroppa & N. Volta, eds., Lucca, 2019, p. 181). In the dedication to Ludovico Malaspina, a nobleman from Verona, dated from Venice April 1, 1569, Troiano stated that some of the poems had got into the hands of Francesco Turchi, who had them issued in a very defective edition, thus he had them



Atanagi, *De le rime di diversi nobili poeti Toscani*, some of which were set into music by Luca Marenzio (cf. J.M. Chater, *Luca Marenzio and the Italian Madrigal, 1577-1593*, Ann Arbor, 1981, II, pp. 202, 251).

Edit 16, CNCE 26735; Universal STC, no. 861297; A. Jacobson Schutte, *Irene di Spilimbergo: The Image of a Creative Woman in Late Renaissance Italy*, in: "Renaissance Quarterly", 44/1, 1991, p. 61.

(II): FIRST EDITION of this nicely printed anonymous devotional work dedicated in a letter dated October 28, 1568, by the editor, Francesco Turchi to Isabetta Pisana Mocenigo.

"At the time of the Council of Trent, charity was again a hotly debated issue, with religious reformers and lay intellectuals proposing a variety of perspectives... [Charity] has a dual, even paradoxical function: on the one hand charity transfers one's love of God onto one's neighbor, on the other hand it aims at nothing but itself... Similar ideas were formulated by Cardinal Giovanni Domenico Fiorentino, whose *Libro della carità* was re-edited in Venice in 1555. He too, insists that perfect charity requires love of God as a precondition for other forms of love, as such, the practice of true charity mirrors its

reprinted 'con ogni diligenza corrette'. "Della prima stampa di questa raccolta fatta dal Turchi non abbiamo informazioni nissune. Questa seconda, che senza dubbio è preferibile, e sotto il rispetto della stampa deve dirsi bel volume, o per meglio un opuscolo nobilmente e riccamente stampato, è di qualche pregio e non facilmente trovabile" (S. Bongi, *Annali di Gabriel Giolito de Ferrari*, Roma, 1895, p. 288).

This memorial volume contains verses by the following authors: Agostino Ferentilli, Angelico Loccadeli, Bartolomeo Malombra (2), Benedetto d'Uva, Benedetto Guidi (3), Bernardino Tomai, Camillo Pellegrino, Cesare Pavese, Dionigi Atanagi, Erasmo Valvasone (2), Francesco Corelli, Francesco de gli Oratori, Francesco Turchi, Giovanni Antonio Fineo, Giovanni Evangelista Spiriti, Girolamo Calderari (2), Girolamo Troiani (25), Orazio Toscanella, Ortensio Persicino, Lando Ferretti, Lodovico Boschetti, Lodovico Dolce, Lodovico Novello, Lucio Paganino, Nicolò Persicino, Paolo Emilio Pittati, Pietro Nelli and Tommaso de gli Albori (2).

Little is known about Girolamo Troiano, he apparently was a member of the 'Accademia Filarmonica' of Verona and had published several poems in the anthology edited in 1565 by Dionigi



rhetorical significance as a master-metaphor of displacement. Francesco Turchi adapts such late medieval definitions of charity in his *Discorso spirituale, dove di tratta della carità*” (J. G. Sperling, *Allegories of Charity and the Practice of Poor Relief at the Scuola Grande di San Rocco*, in: “Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch”, 70, 2009, pp. 120-121).



Francesco Turchi was born into a wealthy family. He was the son of a blacksmith and arms dealer of Milanese origins, who lived at Treviso. He had an excellent education but was more inclined to the arts than to the trade. He became a Carmelite, settling in the convent of Borbiago or that of Consiglio. He deepened his theological studies in Padua and then moved to the Carmelite convent in Venice. Here he met the printer Gabriele Giolito de' Ferrari, of whom he became a collaborator. In 1565 he was transferred to Florence, where appeared his first work the *Canzone* for Cosimo de' Medici. Having become prior of the convent of Grazia del Carmine in Viterbo in 1567, and a member of the 'Accademia degli Smarriti' (under the name of 'Errante'). In the same years he began to work for Giolito, replacing Lodovico Dolce shortly before his death. In 1570 he was appointed prior of the convent of Consiglio, a position he held until his death. In this period, he traveled throughout the peninsula as a guest of other convents (Florence, Palestrina, Ronciglione, Pisa, Rome) and continued to return to Venice to carry out his assiduous publishing activity, composing several devotional treatises and editing numerous literary texts (see R. Morace, *Francesco Turchi*, in: “Dizionario biografico degli italiani”, 97, Roma, 2020, and S. Augusto, *Il primo supplitore di Livio. Note bio-bibliografiche*, in: “Atti dell'Istituto veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti”, XCVII/2, 1937-1938, pp. 19-52, and P. Zaja, *Salmi e lirica volgare nel Cinquecento*, in: “La Bibbia nella letteratura italiana, vol. V, Dal Medioevo al Rinascimento”, G. Melli & M. Sippione, eds., Brescia, 2013, pp. 549-568).

Edit 16, CNCE17290; Universal STC, no. 804593; S. Bongi, *Annali di Gabriel Giolito de Ferrari*, Roma, 1895, II, p. 263-264.

€ 1,200.- / CHF 1,350.- / \$ 1,500.-

17. TURINI BUFALINI, Francesca (1553-1641). *Rime spirituali sopra i misterii del santissimo rosario.* 4to. (8), 172 pp. (pp. 165-168 are lacking as in many other copies, and are replaced by facsimiles - see note below). *Title and all pages within ornamental borders, arms of Pope Clement VIII on the titlepage, numerous woodcut endpieces.* Rehinged in the original (?) contemporary boards, spine covered with marbled paper, contemporary manuscript title on the lower edge, new endpapers, some very light browning, but a fine copy with large margins.

Roma, Domenico Gigliotti, 1595.

VERY RARE FIRST EDITION of Turini's first publication, which is dedicated to Pope Clement VIII, from whom she was seeking protection. In the two-and-a-half-pages-long letter she not only compliments the Pope and stresses the importance of religious poetry, but also recalls her family's service to the Church.



“In a manner that is consistent with the conventions of the genre, Turina constructs her rosary text not as a simple narration but as part narration, part spiritual exercise; this is an implicitly interactional text that might be used by the reader to structure her own devotional practice... Following the conventions of rosary-themed works generally, Turina’s *Rime spirituali* is divided into three sections: *Gaudioso* (Joyous), *Doloroso* (Sorrowful), and *Glorioso* (Glorious). The first recounts the Annunciation and Christ’s birth and life down to his betrayal by Judas; the second, his passion and death; and the third, his resurrection and ascension, followed by the Virgin’s assumption and coronation... Turina’s dedicatory letter makes the claim that poetry that recognizes its divine source and mission should cloth itself not in ‘meretricious adornments’ but in the ‘vestments of matronly chastity’. The remark is interesting not least for its gendered metaphorical language. The notion that sacred poetry required an idiom of ‘holy and devout simplicity’, widespread in Turina’s culture, allowed her to make a virtue of the ‘feminine’ artlessness and facility of her style. The simplicity of the poetic language she deploys in the *Rime spirituali* corresponds to the ingenuousness of her poet persona, whose focus in her reliving of her sacred narrative is consistently on the human drama of the events narrated rather than their theological significance and whose response flows through channels of affective empathy rather than intellectual analysis” (V. Cox, *The Prodigious Muse, Women’s Writing in Counter-Reformation Italy*, Baltimore, MA, 2011, pp. 138-140).

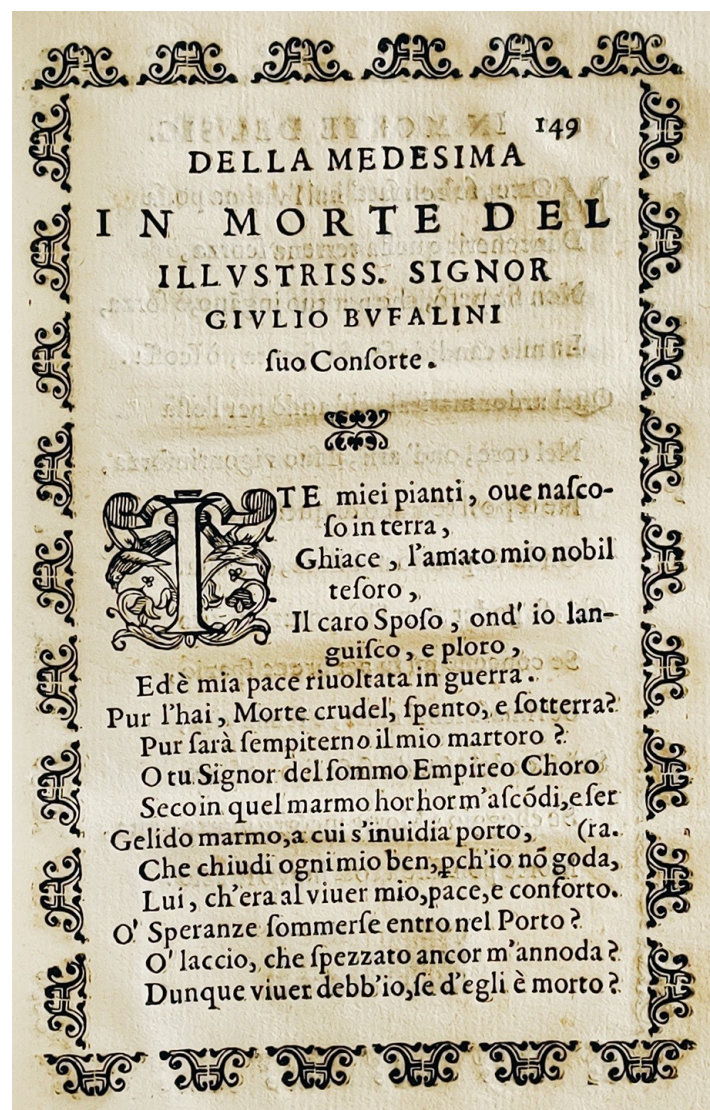
“Of great importance for the scholar of Italian literature are the 24 poems of the sixth and last section (pp. 149-172), that she added at the end of the book under the heading ‘In morte de l’illustrissimo Signor Giulio Bufalini suo consorte’, consisting of 23 sonnets and 1 madrigal. These, stylistically,



are of a better quality than the religious compositions, and have all been included in our edition of 'Turini Bufalini's autobiographical poems, 52-75' (Francesca Turini Bufalini, *Autobiographical Poems, A Bilingual Edition*, N. Costa-Zalesow ed., J.E. Borrelli, trans., New York, 2009, p. 24, see also S. Monti, *Widows, poetry, and portraits: Livia Spinola and Francesca Turina on the portraits of their dead husbands*, in: *Petrarch and Portraiture in Sixteenth-Century Italy*, Amsterdam 2021, forthcoming).

Francesca Turini Bufalini was born in Borgo San Sepolcro (Tuscany). Her father was a professional soldier in the service of Giovanni de' Medici and later in that of Francis I and Henry II of France. She was the youngest of the Turini siblings. Soon after her father's death, she lost her mother as well, and was brought up by her maternal uncle, Count Pietro Carpegna at his castle of Gattara (near Montefeltro), in the wilderness of the Apennines. In the sonnets of her youth, she describes an unusual freedom to roam the woods, ride horseback, hunt, fish and compete in athletic games with the local shepherdesses, although she regrets a lack of formal education that left her ill-equipped for a literary calling. A deep love of nature, developed early in life, forms a central theme in her work. Francesca was not quite twenty-one years old when she was asked in marriage in 1574 by Giulio Bufalini (then seventy years of age), Count of San Giustino, a military man, like her father, in the service of Pope Paul III and Pius IV. Giulio, twice married and widowed, had fathered ten children but no legitimate son, and was thus anxious to produce an heir. Francesca left her woods to take up a new life at

the Bufalini Castle in San Giustino (Umbria) where she divided her time between the castle and the Bufalini palazzo in nearby Città di Castello. With professional military duties in Rome, Giulio was absent for long periods, leaving Francesca to manage his family's practical affairs - lands, servants, finances. During their first years together, she suffered a miscarriage and a serious fever which nearly took her life. She subsequently gave birth to two sons and a daughter but was widowed at age thirty. She did not remarry. Profound grief over Giulio's death forms another significant theme in the last verses of the *Rime spirituali*, the last poem of the volume, reveals Francesca's desire to be remembered, not for her great poetic style, but for her great sorrow – a sorrow that permits her to compete with Vittoria Colonna. Francesca was forced to fight numerous legal battles to secure contested properties and to provide for her children's care. Her maternal love and devotion, evident throughout her poems, is later coupled with the lament of not enjoying a reciprocal affection. Despite her efforts to create harmony, her sons, upon reaching manhood, quarreled with her over money, and also litigated formally against her and against one another, as Giulio, the eldest, would retain future right of inheritance to the Bufalini castle, whereas Ottavio, his younger brother, only the right to reside there. Giulio moreover discouraged his mother's literary endeavors. At age sixty-one, because of the emotional



strain caused by tensions in her family, Francesca left Umbria for Rome to take a post in the Colonna household as lady-in-waiting to the duchess, Lucrezia Tomacelli Colonna. She remained there eight years, returning to Città di Castello only upon Tomacelli's death in 1622 where another tragedy awaited her. In 1623, Ottavio was killed by gunshot (purportedly an accident although suspicion arose regarding Giulio's involvement). With each misfortune, Francesca uses poetry as her outlet to exhort

herself to leave worldly cares behind in order to take a spiritual path. After the publication of the *Rime spirituali*, Francesca continued to write poetry, but published a new collection of poems only in 1627-28, which contains most of her autobiographical poems. Hopes of returning to Rome to the Colonna household did not materialize, thus she lived out the rest of her days in Città di Castello, in relative seclusion. Just before her death in 1641, she completed a narrative poem, *Florio*, which remained unpublished (cf. P. Bà, *La vita, gli scritti, gli inediti*, in: “Francesca Turini Bufalini e la ‘Letteratura di genere’”, J. Butcher, ed., Città di Castello 2018, pp. 33-46, see also N. Costa Zalesow, *Francesca Turini Bufalini*, in: “Dictionary of Literary Biography, 339, Seventeenth Century Italian Poets and Dramatists”, A.N. Mancini & al., eds., Detroit, MI, 2008, pp. 271-276, and G. Rossi, *Un caso raro di donna emergente: Francesca Turini Bufalini, 1553-1641*, in: “Letteratura italiana antica”, XVI, 2015, pp. 595-610).

We tried to compile a census of fairly all known copies (17) in public libraries, which we all tried to contact to find out how complete their copies are. In three of the four copies already inspected by Paolo Bà (*Le ‘Rime spirituali’ di Francesca Turina Bufalini*, in: “Letteratura italiana antica”, VI, 2005, p. 150), pp. 165-168 are lacking, namely in those of the Castori-Fanelli family Città di Castello, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Roma, Biblioteca Alessandrina Roma; only the one in the Città di Castello Library is complete. More complete copies are extant in the following libraries: Marian Library, University of Dayton, OH; British Library, London; Biblioteca Angelo Mai, Bergamo; Biblioteca Casanatese, Roma; Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati, Siena; whereas in the copies in the University of Pennsylvania Library, Philadelphia, PA; Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Dresden; and Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid, pages 165-168 are not present. Further copies are extant in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Città del Vaticano; Biblioteca del Seminario Arcivescovile Maggiore, Firenze; Biblioteca Ludovico Jacobilli del Seminario Vescovile, Foligno; Biblioteca Vallicelliana, (Roma, apparently a fragment only); Nuova Biblioteca Pubblica Luigi Fumi, Orvieto, and Biblioteca Comunale, Terni, which, however, could not be inspected. The fact that in so many copies leaves X³ and X⁴ have been omitted, cannot verisimilarly ascribed to an inadvertence of the binder. Are we possibly dealing here with a rare example of self-censorship?

Edit 16, CNCE 25885; Universal STC, no. 861419; M. Bandini Buti, *Poetesse e scrittrici*, Roma, 1941-1942, vol. 2, p. 318.

€ 2,800.- / CHF 3,100.- / \$ 3,500.-

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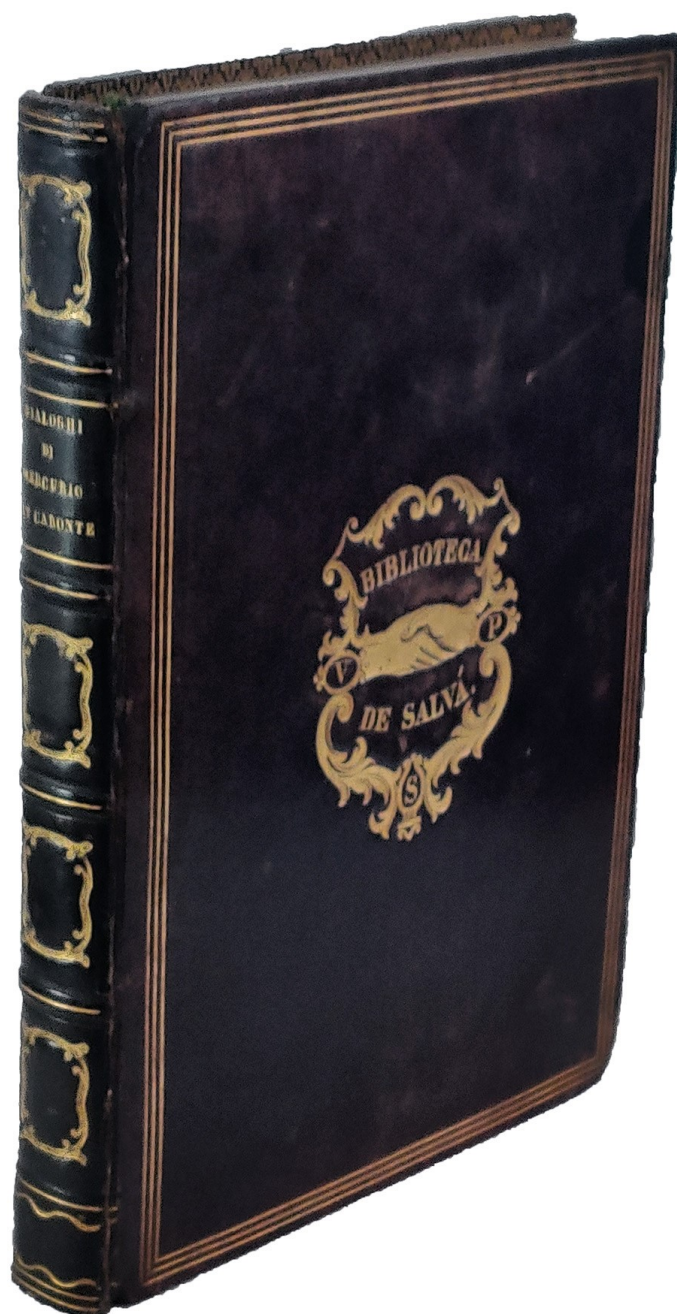
THE SALVA COPY

AN APPARENTLY UNKNOWN VARIANT

18. [VALDES, Alfonso de (ca. 1500/6-1532)]. Due dialoghi. L’vno di Mercvrio et Caronte: Nelquale, oltre molte cose belle, gratiose, & di buona dottrina, si racconta quel, che | accadè nella guerra dopó l’anno, M D X X I. L’altro di Lattantio et di vno archidiacono: Nel quale puntalmente si trattano le cose auenute in Roma nell’anno, M D XXVII. Di Spagnuolo in Italiano con molta accuratezza et tradotti, et reuisti. 8vo. 148 leaves. *Text in italics*. 19th century dark purple morocco, gilt back, plates with gilt supralibros of the ‘Biblioteca da Salva’ (cf. P. Salvá y Mallen, *Catálogo de la Biblioteca de Salvá*, Valencia, 1872, II, p. 468, no. 2919), marbled endpapers, gilt edges, some light spots, and damp stains, two leaves a bit soiled, small restauration to the blank lower margin of one leaf, a goof copy.

Venezia, (n.pr., 154?).

AT LEAST SEVEN OTHER EDITIONS are recorded to have been printed in the years following the first edition of 1546. The present edition is very close to no. 66 (5th edition) cited by E. Boehmer, *Bibliotheca Wiffeniana. Spanish Reformers of Two Centuries from 1520. Their Lives and Writings*, (Strassburg & London), 1874, I, pp. 109-110, to the edition ‘E’ in A. de Valdes, *Due Dialoghi*, G. de Gennaro, ed., Na

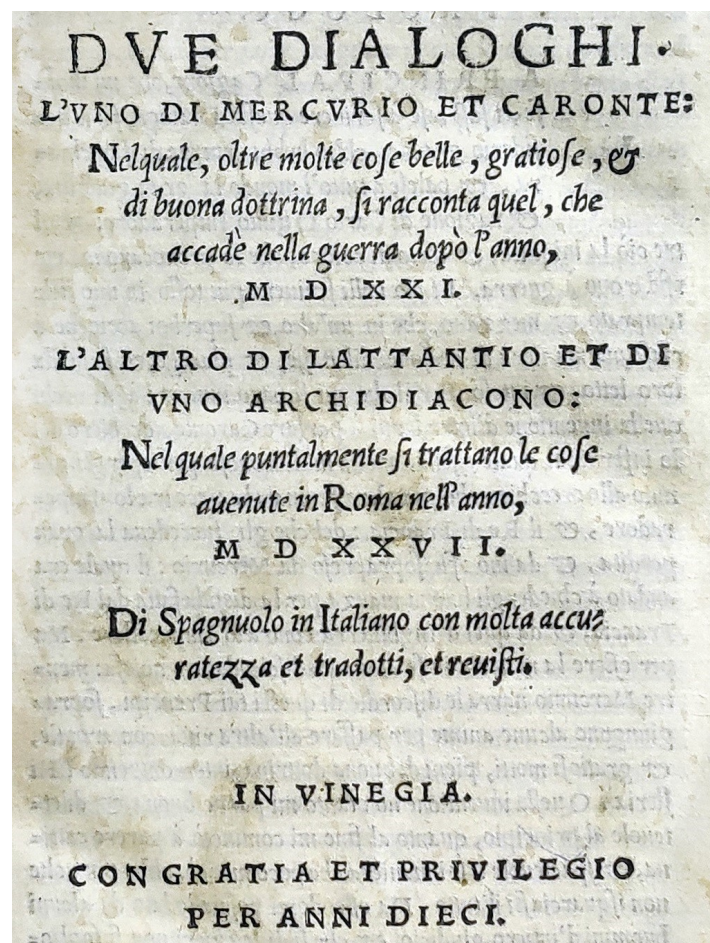


poli, 1968, p. XIX, and to the copies recorded in Edit 16 (CNCE 73415 and 80047), and possibly also no. 98 in E. Cione, *Juan de Valdés. La sua vita e il suo pensiero religioso con una completa bibliografia delle opere del Valdés e degli scritti intorno a lui*, (Bari, 1938), pp. 134-135. They all have the same collation, but by closer inspection, one realizes that the text has been completely reset, and also, that the few woodcut initials used, are completely different.

This anonymous translation had been attributed to Antonio Brucioli, but more likely to Niccolò Franco, one-time secretary to Pietro Aretino, who was tried by the Inquisition and hanged at Rome in 1570. Franco was obviously in Venice at the time when *Due dialoghi* were printed. According to Giuseppe de Gennaro (A. de Valdes, *op. cit.*, pp. XC-XCII) the translation is rather tendentious as shown by the numerous interpolations: “Dallo studio del testo, e sopra tutto dalle interpolazioni di vario genere, si nota la duplice intenzionalità che ispira la traduzione: un interesse remoto di affermare e divulgare i valori dello spiritualismo erasmiano-valdesiano e un interesse immediato, quello cioè di infliggere un colpo alla corrente cattolica romana, che il traduttore avversa chiaramente in un momento particolarmente critico per la cristianità, quale era quello del Concilio Tridentino”.

Valdes's first work the *Dialogue of Lactancio and the Archdeacon*, (written shortly after the Sack of

Rome in 1527 but published only in 1529), draws on his political experience, his Spanish messianism and his imperial and Spanish antagonism to the papacy. Valdes had shown the manuscript to the papal nuncio Baldassare Castiglione. Some of the material of the *Lactancio* was patently critical of the Pope, and Castiglione immediately protested to the Emperor. Charles V, to whose secretarial staff Valdes belonged, submitted the work to an examination for possible heresy. The council, after argument, rejected the charge of heresy and that of Lu-the-ra-nism alleged against Valdes. The *Lactancio* is in fact a theological vindication of the Sack of Rome and an apo-lo-gia of the Emperor. At the religious level Valdes ad-vo-ca-ted Erasmus' piety, and his critique of church abuses, ex-ternals, and ceremonies (K. Bollard de Broce, *Authorizing Literary Propaganda: Alfonso de Valdés' 'Diálogo de las cosas acaecidas en Roma'*, (1527), in: "Hispanic Review", 68, 2000, pp. 131-145).



The *Dialogue of Mercury and Charon* was finished in the summer of 1528. In the preface Valdes displays a humanistic concern in citing his sources: Lucian, Pontano and principally Erasmus. The preface also gives the reader a feeling for the atmosphere in which Valdes wrote, an atmosphere of fear, apprehension and jealousy. The main ideas which sur-face in these conversations are the ideal vision of life as set forth in the New Testament and the manner in which life in practice differs from this ideal picture. Valdes, thought these conversations, unmasks hypocrisy, flattery, religious insincerity, clerical corruption, false devotion, the affluent life of churchmen in opposition to the simple life, warrior-priests, corrupt monarchs, fawning courtiers, superstitious priests, sophist theologians, hypocritical preachers and a corrupt duke. In the second part of the dialogue the satire gives way to a greater seriousness of tone: Valdes here develops precepts regarding monarchy and kingship. Political appointments should be made on merit and not because of lineage, favours, or services. Here also is expressed Valdes' vision of the ideal Christian man, which has much in common with the ideas of the 'alumbrados'. This made him, in the eyes of the Inquisition, even more dangerous than his Erasmianism (cf. A. de Valdes, *Dialogue of Mercury and Charon*, transl. J.V. Recapito, Bloomington, 1986, pp. XV-XVII, and A.

Coroleu, *Erasmus and Alfonso de Valdés: A Note on the 'Diálogo de Mercurio y Carón'*, in: "Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance", 57, 1995, pp. 395-399).

Valdes' dialogues became not only one of the most important vehicles for the dissemination of Erasmian ideas, but also one of the most read books in Italian reformed circles. Banned by a decree of the Inquisition Tribunal of Venice (June 22, 1557), and put on the Index (cf. J.M. de Bujanda, & al. eds, *Index de Rome: 1557, 1559, 1564: les premiers index romains et l'index du Concile de Trente*, Genève, 1990, p. 401), it was regarded with the *Beneficio di Cristo* as one of the most nefarious works to be rigorously suppressed: its possession was already a reason for a death sentence. It played an important role as a count in many inquisitorial proceedings and numerous copies were burnt with their possessors: hence its great rarity.

Alfonso was one the six children of Fernando de Valdés, a nobleman of the New Castilian province of Cuenca. Nothing is known about his early education, but probably the Italian humanist Pietro Martire d'Anghiera was his private tutor. In 1520 he went to Germany with the court of Charles V in preparation for the imperial coronation. He was then attached to the secretarial staff of Charles V under the direction of Maximilianus Transylvanus, secretary for Latin correspondence. In 1521 he accompanied the Emperor to the Diet of Worms. In 1526 Alfonso himself was made secretary for Latin correspondence and known as 'imperial secretary'. Later in that year he became a secretary to Mercurino Gattinara, chancellor to Charles V (cf. M. Rivero Rodríguez, *Alfonso de Valdés y el Gran Canciller Mercurino Arborio di Gattinara: El erasmismo en la Cancillería imperial, 1527-1530*, in: "e-Spania", 13, 2012). At this time, he became Erasmus' most enthusiastic supporter at the imperial court, frequently corresponding with him and establishing and maintaining contacts with other Spanish Erasmians. After the Sack of Rome (May 1527) Valdés wrote *Lactantio*, whose anti-papal theme involved him in a bitter conflict with the papal nuncio, Baldassare Castiglione. In summer 1528 Valdés finished his second dialogue *Mercurio y Carón*. By 1529 conditions in Italy had stabilized to the point that the emperor could travel there to deal personally with the pope. Valdés accompanied Charles V, disembarking at Genoa in August 1529. From Clement VII he obtained a brief absolving him and his family of any ecclesiastical censure. In February 1530 he assisted to the coronation of the emperor at Bologna and then followed the imperial court through Italy and Germany. At the Diet of Augsburg, he dealt with Philipp Melanchthon and exercised an irenic and moderating influence. At the emperor's request he translated the Augsburg confession into Spanish. After the failing of the negotiations at Augsburg Valdés attended the coronation of Ferdinand as king of the Romans and followed the imperial court in the Netherlands and Germany. He was present at the diet of Regensburg in the summer of 1532 but did not participate to the negotiations. Finally, an unexpected plague epidemic overtook him in Vienna (October 3, 1532) and his body was buried in the Vienna Cathedral next to those of the first victims of the scourge (see D. Donald & E. Lazaro, *Alfonso de Valdes y su epoca*, Cuenca, 1983, passim, and J.G. Sanguán, *El erasmista Alfonso de Valdes, secretario de Carlos V*, in: "Baetica. Estudios de Arte, Geografía y Historia", 22, 2000, pp. 391-410).

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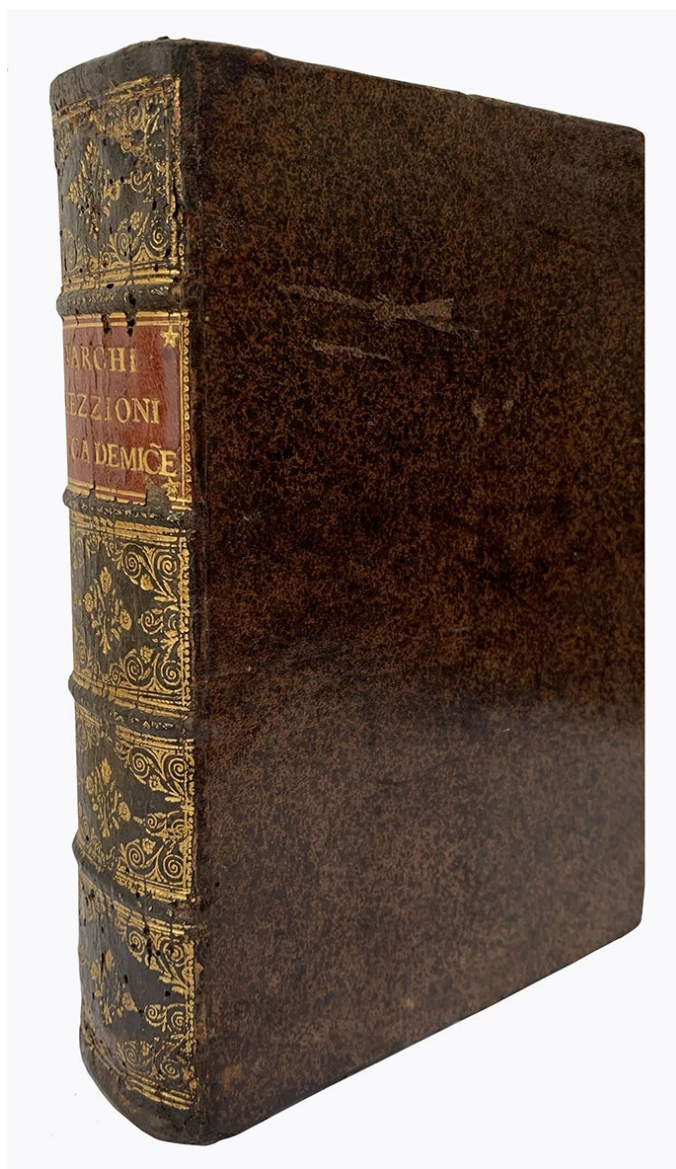
VARCHI'S POETIC THEORY AND HIS EARLIEST BIOGRAPHY

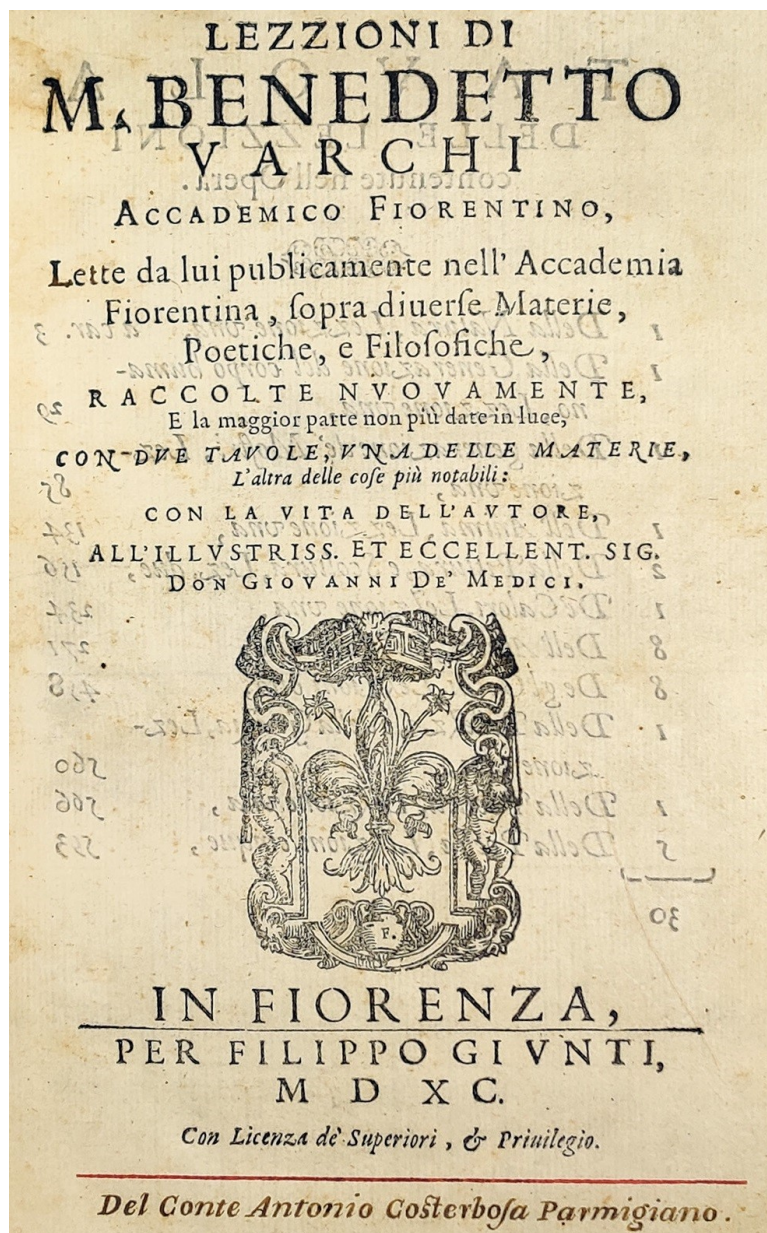
19. VARCHI, Benedetto (1503-1565). Lezzioni..., lette da lui publicamente nell'Accademia Fio-ren-ti-na, ... Raccolte nuovamente, e la maggior parte non più date in luce, con due tavole, ... Con la vita dell'autore. 4to. (24), 682, (22) pp. *With the printer's device on the title page.* 18th-century mottled calf, richly gilt spine with morocco lettering piece, marbled edges, slightly rubbed, top and bottom of spine repaired, on the title page later entry of ownership "Del Conte Antonio Costerbosa Parmigiano" some scattered foxing, a few quires more browned, all in all a very good, genuine copy with wide margins.

Firenze, Filippo Giunta, 1590.

FIRST COLLECTED EDITION of Varchi's lectures held at the Accademia Fiorentina. The *Accademia Fiorentina* was founded in Florence on 1 November 1540 as the *Accademia degli Umidi*, or 'academy of the wet ones', in contrast to or parody of the name of the recently founded *Accademia degli Infiammati*, or 'academy of the burning ones', of Padova. The twelve founding members were Baccio Baccelli, Bartolomeo Benci, Pier Fabbrini, Paolo de Gei, Antonfrancesco Grazzini, Gismondo Martelli, Niccolò Martelli, Giovanni Mazzuoli, Cynthio d'Amelia Romano, Filippo Salvetti, Michelangelo Vivaldi and Simon della Volta. Within 15 months of its foundation, on 25 February 1541, the academy changed its name to *Accademia Fiorentina*, in accordance with the wishes of Cosimo de' Medici.

The volume opens with a dedicatory letter to Giovanni de' Medici by the printer Filippo Giunta, dated February 8, 1589. It contains thirty 'lezioni' and was edited by Silvano Razzi (1527-1611), a native of Marradi near Florence from a family of notaries, who in 1559 entered the order of the Camaldolese friars at the Monastery of Santa Maria degli Angeli in Florence. He wrote three comedies: *La Cecca* (1563), *La Balia* (1564) e *La Gostanza* (1565) and in 1565 became a member of the Accademia Fiorentina and a close friend of Benedetto Varchi, who composed for him forty epigrams (1563-1564). He forged bonds of friendship with all the major Florentine writers of the time, and also established close relations with Giorgio Vasari and helped him with the composition of the latter's *Vita*. Razzi became the editor of various of Varchi's works, and also his executor. He was also the author of numerous religious and moral treatises and historical work, as well as the Varchi's earliest biography published in the present volume (cf. P.G. Riva, *Silvano Razzi*, in: "Dizionario biografico degli italiani, Roma, 2016, vol. 86, 2016, pp. 649-651, and S. Lo Re, *Biografie e biografie di Benedetto Varchi*, in: "Archivio storico italiano", 156/4, 1998, p. 681).



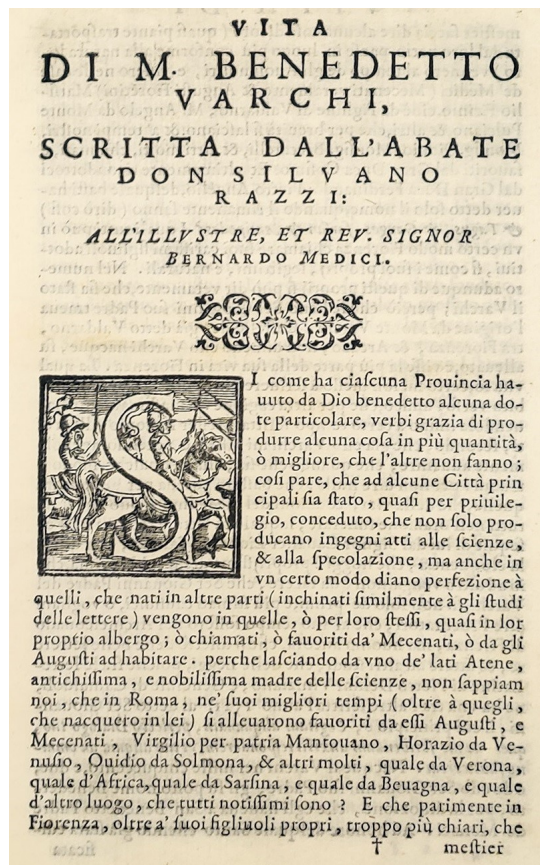


Varchi started to lecture in the Accademia Fiorentina on April 15, 1545 and held in the next twenty years reams of *lezioni*, a few were published during his lifetime, whereas many only in the nineteenth century, and several are certainly lost.

On the verso of the title page there is a table of contents of the work, *Tavola delle Lezzioni contenute nell'Opera*, listing thirty lectures. The first three, *Della Natura* (pp. 3-27); *Della Generazione del corpo humano* (pp. 29-84), and *Della generazione de' Mostri* (pp. 85-32), were already published in *La prima parte delle Lezzioni*, printed by the Giunta press in 1560. The following lecture, *Dell'Anima* (pp. 133-154), which is connected to Canto XXV of Dante's *Purgatorio*, is printed for the first time in the present volume (cf. A. Andreoni, *La via della dottrina. Le lezioni accademiche di Benedetto Varchi*, Pisa, 2012, p. 18). In *Della Pittura, et Scoltura* (pp. 156-231), are united two of Varchi's lectures, which certainly attracted the greatest attention: that on Michelangelo's famous sonnet "Non ha l'ottimo artista alcun concetto", which not only represents the official consecration of Michelangelo's poetry (cf. S. Lo Re, *Varchi e Michelangelo*, in: "Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa", ser. 5, 4/2, 2012, p. 514), but also the starting point of all possible interpretations of Michelangelo's art theory, and that which consisted of three disputes on respectively, the nobility of the arts, the merits of painting and sculpture, and the difference and similarities between poets and painters. For the first time in the history of art several living artist were asked to participate to the 'paragone-discussion' about the superiority of sculpture over painting (cf. F. Dubard de Gaillarbois, *Introduction*, in: "B. Varchi, Deux leçons sur l'art", Paris,

2020, pp. 13-170). These were already printed by Lorenzo Torrentino in 1549. *De' calori* (pp. 234-268), dedicated to Cosimo de' Medici's physician, Andrea Pasquali, was not a 'public' lecture proper, but an autonomous treatise read in front of Cosimo and his physician in December 1544 (cf. A. Andreoni, *op. cit.*, pp. 125-130), and was printed here for the first time. Four of the following eight lectures *Dell'Amore* (pp. 271-457) had already been printed by the Giunti as *La seconda parte delle Lezzioni* in 1561 (cf. A. Andreoni, *op. cit.*, p. 318). New are also the eight private lectures on Petrarch, *De gl'Occhi* (pp. 458-559) (cf. Andreoni, *op. cit.*, pp. 239-268). *Della Bellezza e della Grazia* (pp. 560-565), also published here for the first time, is a private lecture for Leone Orsini, bishop of Fréjus (cf. A. Andreoni, *op. cit.*, p. 128, and F. Janietz, *Benedetto Varchi. Schönheit und Anmut*, in: "Schönheit – Der Körper als Kunstprodukt", E. Sammer & J. Saviello, eds., Berlin, 2019, pp. 203-208). *Della Poetica* (pp. 566-592) and the five lectures *Della Poesia* (pp. 593-682), appeared here for the first time. "In September 1553, a reform of the Accademia Fiorentina established the positions of two *lettori ordinari* for academic readings, one for Dante's *Commedia* and one for the *Canzoniere* of Petrarch. For the first year the duty of lecturing on Dante was entrusted to Giovambattista Gelli, while that of lecturing on Petrarch was given to Benedetto Varchi. The latter, however, did not begin speaking about the *Canzoniere* immediately, but instead embarked on an ambitious series on poetics. An initial lecture entitled *Della poetica in generale*, in Varchi's words a sort of preface, opened a cycle of five, known as *Della poesia*. The six lectures were given in the Florentine year 1553 on the second Sunday of October, the first, second and last Sundays of December, and the first two Sundays of Lent; or in modern style, on October 3, 10 and 31 December 1553, and 11 and 18 February 1554. They remained in manuscript until Giunti's publication of the first collection of Varchi's *Lezioni* in 1590... Instead of accepting the narrow range of the assigned task of commenting on Petrarch, Varchi announced his desire to devote himself to what he call's 'poesia in sé'. In these lectures, Varchi undertook nothing less than a new critical assessment of the entire history of Tuscan literature, in parallel with that of the Greeks and Romans. He focused on two overarching issues: first, the problem of whether there exists a vernacular epic poetry capable of supplanting the model of ancient epic; and second, his conviction of Dante's superiority over Petrarch. Varchi was attempting, with great style, to lay the foundation of his own poetic theory. (A. Andreoni, *Benedetto Varchi's 'Lezioni' on Poetry*, in: "Renaissance Studies in Honor of Joseph Connors", M. Israëls & L.A. Waldman, eds., Firenze, 2013, II, pp. 487-488).

Benedetto Varchi was born from an upper middleclass family of recently arrived Florentines. His grandfather had still lived in the town of Montevarchi in the Valdarno, before, he emigrated to Florence. At the age of 18, Benedetto was sent by his father, a successful notary to study law at the University of Pisa. Shortly after he obtained a degree and then matriculated at the Florentine *arte dei giudici e notai*, as an independent notary. The death of his father in 1524 left Varchi with the prospect of a comfortable career running the family's prosperous office. He did so, and practiced as a notary for a while, then left the profession to indulge his own passion for scholarship, poetry, and eloquence. Immerging himself in the literary circles of the day, the young Varchi soon came in contact with one of the important centers of republican activism in Florence: the *Orti Oricellari*. He became friends with Lodovico Martelli and Bartolomeo Calvalcanti, as well as Annibal Caro and Matteo Franzesi. During the siege of Florence (1530) Varchi was in the Florentine militia, but instead of defending the Republic he preferred accompany the ambassadors sent to attend the coronation of Charles V. In 1532 he returned to Florence and devoted himself to philosophical and humanistic studies, being able to take advantage of two teachers of the level of Francesco Verino and the Greek scholar Pier Vettori. He also took care of Provençal, managing to become one of the major specialists in that language. He also worked as a private tutor in the household of Lorenzo Strozzi, the brother of Filippo, the future leader of the *fuorusciti*. In 1537, after the assassination of Alessandro de' Medici, Varchi was banished from the city. The previous year he had met Pietro Bembo in Padua, and here he settled as an exile, later joining the Academy of the Inflamed, in 1540. Here he entered in contact with the Venetian circle around the poet Pietro Aretino and the painter Titian, from whom Varchi ordered a revealing portrait now in the München Pinakothek. He was also very close to the humanist and philosopher Alessandro Piccolomini from Siena as is known from their correspondence. The following year he went to Bologna to follow the lessons of Lodovico Boccadiferro, a well-known Aristotelian philosopher. Only in 1543 Varchi was recalled to Florence, at the behest of Cosimo I. Here he enrolled in the Florentine



Academy and began to give his lectures in philosophy, literature, and a variety of other subjects. He soon attracted the enmity of several Florentine scholars. Nevertheless, Cosimo I was instrumental in Varchi's election as a consul of the Florentine Academy (February 1, 1545). He also showed him his benevolence entrusting him with the prestigious task of writing *Storia Fiorentina*. In Florence Varchi was in contact, as well as with intellectuals, also with painters of a great fame, to whom he provided his advice to design projects of paintings and frescoes. In later years he published works which consolidated his fame, in particular the translations of Boethius (1551) and Seneca (1554), the first and the second part of the Sonnets (1555 and 1557), and again several lectures and orations. His outstanding linguistic work, *Hervolano*, was published posthumously in 1570 (cf. A. Siekiera, *Benedetto Varchi*, in: "Enciclopedia dell'italiano", R. Simone, ed., Roma, 2011, pp. 1535-1536, and U. Pirotti, *Benedetto Varchi e la cultura del suo tempo*, Firenze, 1971, passim).

Edit 16, CNCE 28815, Universal STC, no. 862036; L. Devlieger, *Benedetto Varchi On the Birth of Artefacts. Architecture, Alchemy and Power, in Late-Renaissance Florence*, (Ghent, 2005), p. 56.

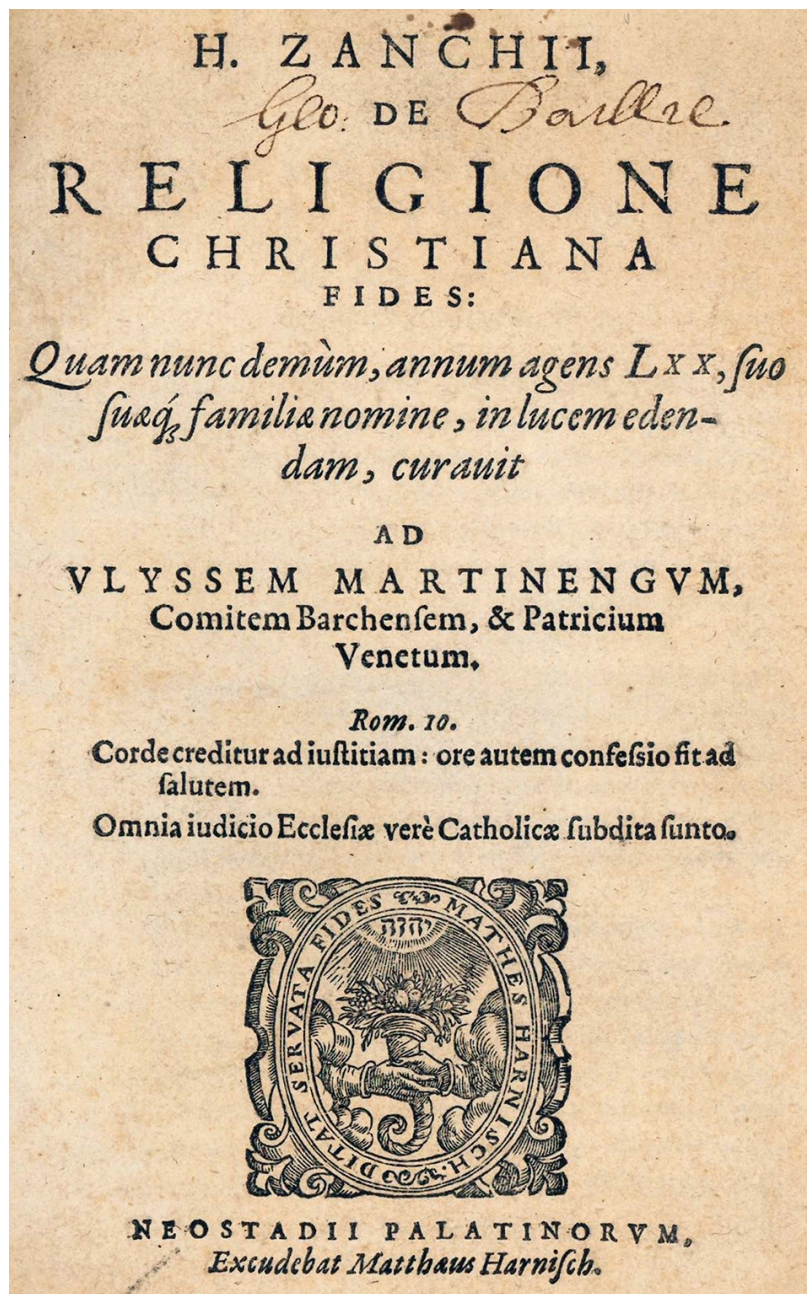
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A RIGOROUS CODIFIER AND SYSTEMATIST OF CALVINIST DOCTRINE

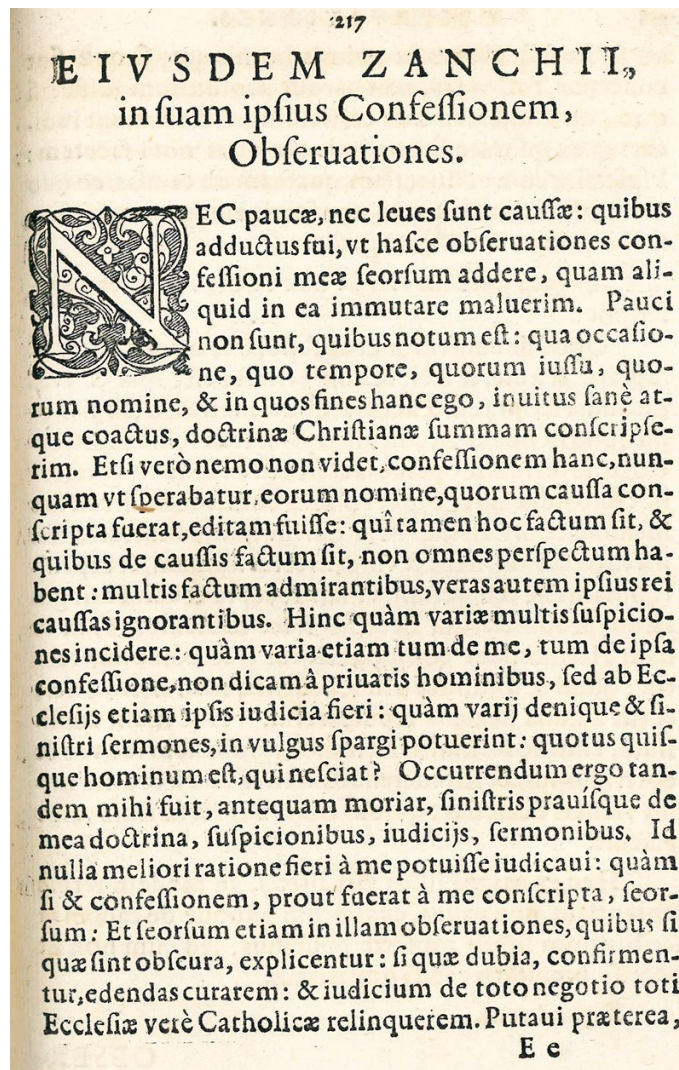
20. ZANCHI, Girolamo (1516-1590). De religione Christiana fides: Quam nunc demum, annum agens Lxx, suo suaque nomine, in lucem edendam, curavit ad Ulyssem Martinengum, Comitem Barchensem, & Patricium Venetum. 4to. (2), 29, (1 blank), 350, pp., 1 leaf (errata). *With the printer's device on title page.* Later wrappers, red edges, on the title page is found a later ownership's inscription "Geo Baillie", possibly by George Baillie (1664-1738) a Scottish politician, who sat in the Parliament of Scotland from 1691 to 1707 and in the British House of Commons from 1708 to 1734, slightly uniformly browned, some marginal staining, but a very good copy.

Neustadt a. d. Haardt, Matthäus Harnisch, [1596].

VERY RARE FIRST EDITION (first issue). The two earliest editions (one in-quarto and one in-octavo) of Zanchi's *magnum opus* are both undated. However, a letter from Johann Wilhelm Stucki in Zanchi's published correspondence provides exact information on the publication date. At the end of August 1586, Stucki thanked Zanchi for sending him a copy of *De religione christiana* and informed him that he was using the work for the examination of future ministers. Stucki was full of praise for Zanchi's achievement, but he demanded an explanation of certain passages that seemed to him in conflict with the Reformed doctrinal consensus. In his reply Zanchi responded in detail to Stucki's questions. He also inserted in *De religione christiana fides* a second preface 'Ad lectorem', in which he again addressed Stucki's first query, albeit without referring to the letter explicitly. Clearly, the work that Stucki received was an earlier version, perhaps with a very small print run, that did not yet include this preface. However, the presence of the second preface in all known copies of the work suggests that the final version of it began to circulate in autumn 1586, at the earliest. Regarding the priority of the two imprints, it is clear that the in-quarto edition preceded the in-octavo edition from a reference in the second preface to a printer's error in the 'Observationes'. Whereas the reference is correct in the in-quarto, it was not amended to take account of the different pagination of the in-octavo (cf. Girolamo Zanchi, *De religione christiana fides – Confession of Christian Religion*, L. Baschera & Ch. Moser, eds., Leiden, 2007, vol. I, p. 20).



The preface is dedicated to Ulisse Martinengo, who belonged to a distinguished family from Brescia, and who became a strong supporter of the Reformation. He had become a close friend of Zanchi during his time in Chiavenna. In this lengthy preface, “Zanchi invokes the image of a city that is forced to defend itself against both external and internal enemies. For Zanchi the city symbolizes the orthodox church, whose peace and unity is threatened by diverse manifestations of heresy. Just as a city takes steps to ward off such threats, so the church must act to prevent and energetically resist the spread of heresy. The purpose of Zanchi’s work is thus to help shore up the church’s doctrinal foundations” (G. Zanchi, *op. cit.*, p. 22).



The publication of the Formula of Concord, which consolidated the Lutheran position, demanded a suitable response from the Reformed churches. At the behest of Count Palatine, Johann Casimir, a conference was arranged in Neustadt an der Haardt in September 1577, “a cui parteciparono emissari delle Chiese riformate di Francia, Polonia, Ungheria e Belgio, nonché una delegazione della corona inglese, [e durante la quale] era maturata la decisione di comporre una confessione di fede comune per tutte le Chiese riformate... Zacharias Ursinus, co-autore del *Catechismo di Heidelberg* e professore di teologia al Casimiranum di Neustadt, declinò tuttavia l’invito a redigere la prima versione del testo, che avrebbe dovuto poi essere spedito alle diverse Chiese per eventuali modifiche e per l’approvazione definitiva. L’incarico fu così affidato, all’inizio del 1578, a Zanchi. Questi lavorò per alcuni anni al progetto, ma il testo da lui prodotto non soddisfece le aspettative dei due supervisori Teodoro di Beza di Ginevra e Rudolf Gwalter di Zurigo. Questi ultimi optarono quindi per una soluzione alternativa, cioè a dire la preparazione di un’antologia delle confessioni di fede riformate già esistenti, che fu in effetti pubblicata poco più tardi con il titolo di *Harmonia confessionum fides orthodoxarum et reformatarum ecclesiarum*

(Ginevra, 1581). Solo dopo il 1585 Zanchi pubblicò privatamente il proprio testo, in forma ampliata, con il titolo *De religione christiana fidei*” (L. Baschera, *Calvinismo italiano e polemica teologica inglese. La ricezione di Girolamo Zanchi nell’opera di A. Mantague Toplady*, in: “Dimensioni e problemi della ricerca storica”, 2, 2018, p. 223, see also G. Zanchi, *op. cit.*, pp. 14-19).

Girolamo Zanchi was born in the city of Alzano near Bergamo. His father was a jurist, as well as a historian. The death of his parents when he was fourteen precipitated his entrance into the monastery of Santo Spirito of Bergamo, a house of the Augustinian Order of Regular Canons in 1531. During his early days in the order, he formed a close friendship with Celso Martinengo and in the Spring of 1541 they both transferred to the priory of San Frediano in Lucca where they fell under the influence of the new prior Peter Martyr Vermigli on his way to becoming the most well-known of the Italian reformers. Under Martyr's tutelage Zanchi partook not only in daily exposition of the Scriptures from a Protestant perspective but was also introduced to several of the leading Reformation thinkers of Germany and Switzerland. During his time at San Frediano, he also produced a synopsis of John Calvin's *Institutes* under the title *Compendium praeceptorum capitum Doctrinae Christianae*. Peter Martyr's direct influence upon his charge proved to be short lived. In 1542, only fifteen months after his arrival, he fled Lucca in the wake of his rising fame for fear of the Inquisition. Despite his absence both Zanchi and Martinengo demonstrated the lasting impression that his Protestantism must have made upon them. They stayed on at the priory after his departure teaching theology and Greek, respectively. In October 1551 Zanchi felt the pressure to be too great, he followed his friends northward and became thus part of the hugely influential Italian Protestant ‘diaspora’. After leaving Italy his travels brought him into contact with many of the key personalities of the Reformation. He met Wolfgang Musculus in Basel, Pierre Viret in Lausanne and John Calvin and Theodore Beza in Geneva (not to mention Martenengo, who had settled there). He intended to work his way northward across the Channel in hopes of joining Peter Martyr in England, but before he was able to do so Zanchi received a request from Jakob Sturm, the chief magistrate of Strasbourg, to become professor of Old Testament at the College of St. Thomas under the rectorship of Johann Sturm. Zanchi's experience at Strasbourg was rarely peaceful. From the first night of his arrival there he became embroiled in disagreements with Johann Marbach, the leading Lutheran preacher of the city. After the death of Jakob Sturm in 1553 the spirit of religious freedom which he had fostered disappeared. Marbach made it his goal to undermine the influence of the Reformed theology which then dominated and replaced it with Lutheranism. As head of the collegiate Chapter of St. Thomas he decided to request the subscription to the *Augsburg Confession* by all the professors. Zanchi refused to sign. In 1561 the troubles in Strasbourg came to a head: Marbach brought charges against Zanchi to Johann Sturm over his doctrines of the Lord's Supper, predestination and free will. Sturm reluctantly brought the matter before the Collegiate Chapter of the college which passed it on to the Church Convention and finally to the magistrates of the city. Zanchi was eventually exonerated of heterodoxy in the matter but this controversy seemed only to spawn others. By the summer of 1563, the rift between himself and his colleagues had become so great that he appreciatively, although not without regrets, accepted an invitation to become the pastor of an Italian Protestant congregation in the Grisons in the city of Chiavenna. But even Chiavenna was not without conflict for him. After ministering only a few years, plague, anti-Trinitarians and factionalism, encouraged him to take up the invitation of Frederick III, Elector Palatine, to become professor of theology at the University of Heidelberg. He assumed his duties at Heidelberg in the winter of 1568 and began to work on a massive Reformed theological system. In 1572 he published *De tribus Elohim*, a refutation of antitrinitarian arguments. This treatise was supplemented in 1577 by *De natura Dei*, which reflected Zanchi's determination to integrate philosophy into theological reflections on God and his works. During this time, he also completed *De operibus Dei*, but only published posthumously in 1591 at Neustadt a.d. Haardt. It deals with the subject of creation, producing what has been described as a sort of theological description of the universe. The death of Frederick III in October 1576 signaled a return to Lutheranism in the Palatinate under his successor Ludwig VI. This was accompanied by a thoroughgoing reform of the university and the replacement of its existing staff. Several Heidelberg professors, including Zanchi, found sanctuary in Neustadt an der Haardt, where the reformed Count Palatine Johann Casimir established a new academy, the so-called ‘Casimirianum’. Zanchi was charged with teaching New Testament. When Ludwig

died in 1583, he was succeeded by the Calvinistic Frederick IV. The aged Zanchi was invited to take up his post once again at Heidelberg, but, weary and in declining health, he preferred to retire and remain in Neustadt, since Johann Casimir had granted him an annual pension for his years of service. The last years of his life were marked by failing eyesight, which slowed his writing and editing. Zanchi died on November 19, 1590, during a visit to Heidelberg and was buried in the university church. His epitaph summed up his turbulent life in the following words “Here lie the bones of the Italian Zanchi, who was exiled from his homeland for love of Christ” (L. Ronchi, *Girolamo Zanchi*, in: “Dizionario biografico degli italiani”, vol. 100, Roma, 2020, pp. 479-482, and C. J. Burchill, *Girolamo Zanchi: Portrait of a Reformed Theologian and His Work*, in: “Sixteenth Century Journal”, XV/2, 1984, pp. 185-207).

VD16, Z-88; Adams, Z-42; Universal STC, no. 661421; G. Zanchi, *op. cit.*, pp. 32-33, no. 4.1 (with reproduction of the titlepage).

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