

[Palma (Georg)]

Altdorf 1543 – 1591 Nuremberg

Du Rosier (Simon) & Ochino (Bernardino)

Antithesis de præclaris Christi et indignis Papæ facinoribus, cum Dei decalogis mandatis Antichristi oppositis, cumque utriusque morum descriptione : quemadmodum Sancta Scriptura tradit

[Geneva]: Zacharie Durant, 1557

SEXTODECIMO (132 × 84 mm), 48 ff., signed A-F⁸ and paginated (7) 1-88 (1), printer's device on title-page (51 × 37 mm), with motto 'Non accenditur lucerna ut sub modio, sed ut in candelabro ponatur. Matth. V.' (Heitz 85; Silvestre 1075); 36 woodcuts (each c. 60 × 45 mm) printed with the text (those on pp. 1, 2, 5, 6, 14, 29, 54 in contemporary hand-colouring).

Interleaved by the binder (58 leaves; fragment of watermark: two towers, each with a single window, a gate between; letter 'w' in the base);¹ inscriptions on 14 pages by ten friends of Georg Palma.

PROVENANCE Georg Palma (1543-1591) — bibliographical notes in German in a 19th-century hand (front endpaper) — with Librairie Vénot, Lyon — Maurice Burrus (1882-1959), his exlibris and acquisition label dated 1934 — sale by Christie's, 'Maurice Burrus (1882-1959): la Bibliothèque d'un homme de goût. Première partie', Paris, 15 December 2015, lot 190

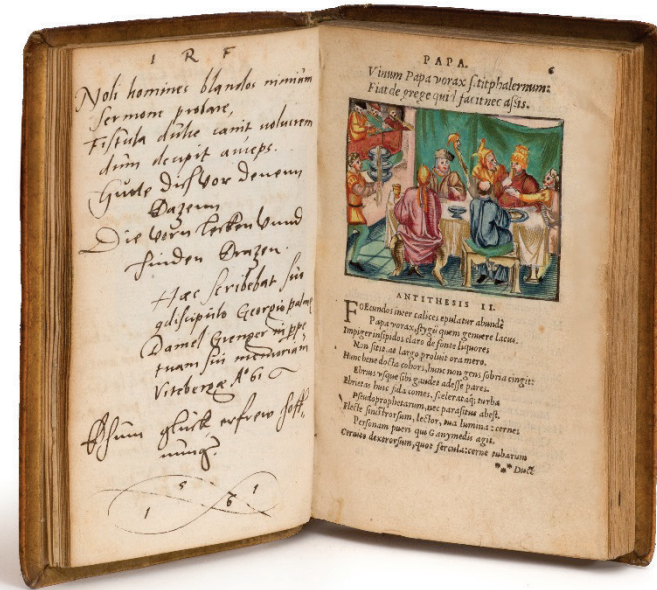
Title loosening, expert repair in fore-margin (loss of c. 20 letters from tetrastichon printed on verso); 7 mm trimmed from top margin of folio A3. Binding covers rubbed.

BOUND in contemporary German pigskin: panel stamp on upper cover (80 × 47 mm) representing Pyramus and Thisbe, with motto *Amor nil moderabile suad[et]*, signed in the middle: N.A.; panel stamp on lower cover (80 × 45 mm) representing Venus and Amor, with motto *Species mulieris mult*, signed on a tablet in the vault: N.A.

Reproduced opposite
Entry of Daniel Gienger of Nuremberg, 1561

¹ Cf. Piccard-online ([motive](#)).

² For the life, work and library of Georg Palma, see Klaus König, 'Die Bibliothek des Nürnberger Arztes Georg Palma (1543-1591)' in *Mitteilungen aus der Stadtbibliothek Nürnberg* 3 (1955), Heft 3, pp.5-11; Klaus König, *Der Nürnberger Stadtarzt Dr. Georg Palma, 1543-1591*, Medizin in Geschichte und Kultur; Bd. 1 (Stuttgart 1961); Elisabeth Becker, *Die Bibliothek des Nürnberger Arztes und Humanisten Georg Palma (1543-1591)*, Ausstellungskatalog der Stadtbibliothek Nürnberg; 85



ALBUM AMICORUM of the humanist-physician Georg Palma (1543-1591), in the form of a printed book, interleaved with blank paper for autograph inscriptions of his fellow-students at the university of Wittenberg, in the years 1561 to 1564.² Hitherto unknown, this newly recovered 'Stammbuch' is a significant contribution to our knowledge of Georg Palma's academic friendships – paternal friends, mentors, patrons, and fellow students.

The academic album amicorum ('Gelehrtenstammbuch') had evolved at Wittenberg, where Luther's followers collected inscriptions in order to provide themselves with material links to the leaders of the Reformation. Students and clerics transmitted the custom to other centres of learning, and as the fashion spread beyond the universities the alba amicorum became less uniform. The original model was a small book, often Alciati's *Emblematum liber* or Melancthon's *Loci communes theologici*.³ The chosen book was given blank interleaves by

(Nuremberg 1975); Werner Wilhelm Schnabel, "'Vita sine literis mors...': Georg Palma (1543-1591) und seine Bibliothek" in *Librarium* 40 (1997), pp.2-11. A paper by Hannah Murphy, 'Georg Palma's Library: Local Knowledge in Sixteenth-Century Medicine' was read at the Annual Meeting of the Renaissance Society of America, Washington, DC, 22-24 March 2012 ([abstract](#)).

³ For a list of printed books used for alba, see Wolfgang Klose, *Corpus Alborum Amicorum: CAAC, Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Stammbücher des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart 1988), pp.359-364.

a binder; friends would select a blank page, according to the text or image opposite, for their contribution, usually a salutation accompanied by short epigrams or quotations culled from classical sources.⁴ The earliest extant album amicorum contains nineteen entries, including one by Philipp Melanchthon, dated at Wittenberg, 17 April 1545.⁵



Entry of Paul Clarner (Klarner) of Nuremberg, 15 June 1561

A description of the practice is attributed Melanchthon, the leading academic of the Reformation:

⁴ For a textual analysis of inscriptions, see Wolfgang Klose, 'Stammbucheintragungen im 16. Jahrhundert im Spiegel kultureller Strömungen' in *Stammbücher des 16. Jahrhunderts*, edited by W. Klose (Wiesbaden 1989), pp.13-31. Also useful is Friedrich-Carl Freiherr von Stechow, *Lexikon der Stammbuchsprüche* (Neustadt/Aisch 1996).

⁵ Felix Heinzler, 'Das Album amicorum (1545-1569) des Claude de Senarclens' in *Stammbücher des 16. Jahrhunderts*, op. cit. (1989), pp.95-124 (text). The genre is variously defined and Senarclens' album amicorum (Bibliothèque publique et universitaire de Genève, Ms. Lat. 328) has rivals for

These little books certainly have their uses: above all they remind their owners of people, and at the same time bring to mind the wise teaching which has been inscribed in them, and they serve as a reminder to the younger students to be industrious in order that the professor may inscribe some kind and commendatory words on parting so that they may always prove themselves brave and virtuous during the remainder of their lives, inspired, even if only through the names of good men, to follow their example. At the same time the inscription itself teaches knowledge of the character of the contributor, and quite often significant passages from otherwise unknown and little-read authors are found in albums. Finally, they record biographical details which would otherwise be forgotten.⁶



Entry of an unidentified acquaintance of Georg Palma (Christophorus Kun of Halle?), 17 May 1561

primacy, in particular one kept by Nicolaus Reinhold (edition by Wilhelm Herse, *Stammbuch eines Wittenberger Studenten 1542*, Berlin 1927).

⁶ Translation by Margaret A.E. Nickson, *Early Autograph Albums in the British Museum* (London 1970), pp.9-10, from Robert Keil and Richard Keil, *Die deutschen Stammbücher des sechzehnten bis neunzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Berlin 1893), p.9. The 'Judicia Melanchthonis de albis amicorum' are identified as apocryphal by Werner Wilhelm Schnabel, *Das Stammbuch: Konstitution und Geschichte einer textsortenbezogenen Sammelform bis ins erste Drittel des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen 2003), pp.253-260.

Today, these alba are of considerable interest, systematically mined for biographical data of their owners and contributors, knowledge of university life of the times, literary trends, the meaning of ‘academic friendship’, and explored for evidence of intellectual and social networks.⁷ Academic alba amicorum of early date, emanating from Wittenberg, containing autograph entries from students who directly felt Melanchthon’s influence, are few in number, and virtually unknown in the marketplace.

Georg Palma

Georg Palma matriculated in Wittenberg University on 30 May 1559,⁸ aged sixteen, and for next two years followed the obligatory foundation course, which emphasised mathematics and astronomy. Evidently influenced by Caspar Peucer (1525-1602), a humanistically trained professor of medicine, whose lectures he attended in 1563-1564,⁹ Palma decided to pursue a career in medicine. Leaving Wittenberg, he matriculated on 11 November 1564 at Tübingen University,¹⁰ to study under the famous botanist-anatomist Leonard Fuchs (1501-1566). Palma afterwards continued his medical studies at the universities of Padua¹¹ and Ingolstadt;¹² by 1568 he was practising medicine in Nuremberg, and soon was appointed municipal physician.



Reproduced opposite
Entry of Hieronymus Cöler of Nuremberg, 3 September 1561

⁷ The bibliography on this topic is enormous; among recent contributions are Christian Coppens, ‘An album amicorum as a source of provenance’ in *Bibliologia* 5 (2010), pp.107-125; Bronwen Wilson, ‘Social Networking: the album amicorum and early modern public-making’ in *Oltre la sfera pubblica / Beyond the public sphere: opinions, publics, spaces in Early Modern Europe* (Bologna 2012), pp.1-19. A universal database of owners and inscribers of alba amicorum is under construction ([RAA](#)), also databases of Dutch ([Alba Amicorum in Nederland](#)) and Hungarian-related ([Inscriptiones Alborum Amicorum](#)) alba, and of alba in particular collections: [Gießen](#), [HAAB Weimar](#), [Göttingen](#), [Koninklijke Bibliotheek](#), etc.

⁸ Karl Eduard Förstemann, *Album Academiae vitebergensis ab A. Ch. MDII usque ad a. MDLX* (Leipzig 1841), I, p.361 (Georgius Palma Noribergensis).

⁹ Palma’s manuscript copy of Caspar Peucer, ‘Methodus curandi generalis; practica seu methodus de cura morborum particularium’, written at Wittenberg in 1563-1564, is Nürnberg, Stadtbibliothek, Cent. III, 21; cf. Ingeborg Neske, *Die Handschriften der Stadtbibliothek Nürnberg*, IV (Wiesbaden 1997), p.20.

¹⁰ Heinrich Hermelink, *Die Matrikeln der Universität Tübingen* (Stuttgart 1906), I, p.452 (Georgius Palma Nürenbergensis).

Before departing for Tübingen, Palma received farewell gifts from acquaintances,¹³ and collected autographs in his alba. Our volume contains ten commemorative inscriptions, of which three are dated 30 September 1564, and the others May to September 1561:

¹¹ Antonio Favaro, *Atti della Nazione Germanica artista nello Studio di Padova* (Venice 1911), pp.55-56.

¹² Götz Freiherrn von Pölnitz, *Die Matrikel der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität Ingolstadt-Landshut-München, Teil I: Ingolstadt, Band I: 1472-1600* (Munich 1937), p.909.

¹³ The ‘Abschiedsgeschenke’ were books published at Wittenberg in 1564, containing presentation inscriptions to Palma from their authors: Sebastianus Theodoricus (1520-1574), professor of mathematics at Wittenberg; Georg Mauritius (1539-1610), adjunct professor of philosophy at Wittenberg; and Pantaleon Candidus (1540-1608), Magister 1564. They were bound for Palma together with an unscribed book of the same place and date, by Bartholomäus Schönborn, professor of mathematics and medicine at Wittenberg; the *Sammelband* passed with the rest of Palma’s books into the Stadtbibliothek Nürnberg (shelfmark Math. 8. 844; [details](#)). A Latin poem (33 lines) of Pantaleon Candidus was published as an ‘Abschiedsgedicht’: *In honorem honesti iuuenis ... domini Georgii Palmae Noribergensis Witeberga discedentis* (1564); see König, *op. cit.* (1961), p.9 (locating five copies), and Schnabel, *op. cit.* (1997), p.11 (note 5).

• fol. 4r-5r. Gabriel Schwab Frybergensis, 16 May 1561¹⁴ • fol. 5v. Christoph <...>, 17 May 1561¹⁵ • fol. 7r. Johannes Maÿr, 25 May 1561¹⁶ • fol. 7v. Daniel Gienger, 1561¹⁷ • fol. 22r. Paulus Clarner, 15 June 1561¹⁸ • fol. 27r. Martinus Huas, 1561¹⁹ • fol. 37v-38v. Hieronymus Cöler iunior Noribergensis, 3 September 1561²⁰ • fol. 39r. Iacobus Redel Hallensis, 30 September 1564²¹ • fol. 42r. Nicolaus Wendenheimer, 30 September 1564²² • fol. 42v. Cyriacus Ruelius Lichan[us], 30 September [1564]²³

¹⁴ Gabriel Schwab of Freiburg in Sachsen. Matriculated 11 December 1559; *Album Academiae Vitebergensis*, I, p.369.

Inscriptions: Thaulerus (Johannes Tauler, c. 1300-1361); Tertullianus; Diogenes; Phocylides (in Greek); ‘Charontas’ (in Greek); Plutarch (in Greek); Philonides; and Cicero: ‘Numquam enim temeritas cum sapientia commiscetur, neque ad consilium casus admittitur’ and ‘Nulla est enim tanta vis tantaque copia, quae non ferro ac viribus debilitari frangique possit’ (from ‘Oratio pro Marco Marcello’, a text edited by Melanchthon).

¹⁵ The family name is uncertain; Khunadt (Kunadt, Kunat, Kunadus, Kunath, Kunaw)? Christophorus Kun Hallensis (matriculated 7 November 1560; *Album Academiae Vitebergensis*, II, p.14)?

Inscription: ‘Virgilius | Multa dies, variusque labor mutabilis aevi | Rettulit in melius, multos alterna revisens | Lusit et in solido rursus fortuna locavit’ (Aeneid, XI, 425-427).

¹⁶ Perhaps the ‘Iohannes Maier Nurnbergensis’, matriculated 13 June 1561, as the signator writes ‘condiscipulo Georgio Palmae in perpetua’: Otto Hartwig, *Album Academiae Vitebergensis ab A. Ch. MDII. usque ad A. MDCII* (Halle 1894), p.21. His name also appears in an undated inscription in the album of a fellow-student, Johann Klarner, kept 1559-1562 (London, British Library, Egerton Ms 1181; cf. Klose, *CAAC, op. cit.*, 1988, p.529 and pp.14-15).

Inscriptions: ‘Apocalip. Cap. 21 | Ego sitienti dabo de fonte aquae viuae gratis’ (Apocalypse, Revelation, 21:6), ‘Crede parum tua serva et quae perire relinque’ (proverb, reputedly recited by Luther and Melanchthon).

¹⁷ Daniel Gienger of Nuremberg. Matriculated 13 June 1561; *Album Academiae Vitebergensis*, II, p.21. An undated inscription by Gienger is in the album of Johann Klarner (see above, note 16; Klose, *CAAC, op. cit.*, 1988, p.449). He may be the ‘Daniel Gienger Nurnbergensis’ who matriculated at Leipzig, Wintersemester 1553 (*Die Matrikel der Universität Leipzig*, edited by Georg Erler, Leipzig 1895, I, p.698; [entry](#)) and/or the ‘Daniel Gienger Noricus’ who matriculated at Tübingen, 4 July 1558 (Hermelink, *op. cit.*, 1906, p.396; [entry](#)).

Inscriptions: ‘I. R. F. | Noli homines blando nimium sermone probare | Fistula dulce canit, volucrem dum decipit auceps’ (Ps.-Cato, Distichs, 1, 27); and couplet in German.

¹⁸ Paul Clarner (Klarner) of Nuremberg. Matriculated 22 April 1558; *Album Academiae Vitebergensis*, I, p.356. An entry by Paul Clarner dated 1561 appears in Johann Klarner’s album (see above, note 16); he also contributed to the album of Georg II Maior (Bretten, Melanchthonhaus, H.-Inv.-Nr. 378-390; Klose, *CAAC, op. cit.*, 1988, p.500 and p.18; Hans-Peter Hasse, ‘Melanchthon und die “Alba amicorum”’ in *Der Theologe Melanchthon*, edited by Günter Frank, Stuttgart 2000, pp.326-327).

Inscriptions: heading ‘P.M.’, two lines in Greek, and ‘Nudus in hanc terram matris sum lapsus ab aluo | Quo, terra excedam, tempore, nudus ero | Quid gravibus curis, studiis quid inanibus angor | Iam veniet tacito mors quoque nuda pede’ (the last line seems not to be Melanchthon’s version of Palladas

The entries are in Latin, with additions in Greek and in German, the texts mostly common-places in the humanist world, the salutations and expressions of friendship formulaic. They are nonetheless truthful self-portraits of the contributors, mementoes of their bond with the owner, Georg Palma, as well as one another. As in other alba amicorum of the period, the entries create a ‘composite mirror’ in which contributors, owner, and the ‘humanist ideal of friendship’ are all reflected.²⁴

of Alexandria’s epigram: Dum loquor, a tergo mors quoque nuda venit, but Johann Stigel’s). In his subscription, Clarner uses the formula ‘conterraneo’; cf. Hasse, *op. cit.* (2000), p.328.

¹⁹ Probably the ‘Martinus Hass Viborgen. Danus’, matriculated 13 April 1560; *Album Academiae Vitebergensis*, I, p.371.

Inscriptions: ‘<...> vult semper esse cum Deo | frequenter oret aut legat | Nam cum oramus cum Deo loquimur | Cum legimus nobiscum orat Deus (version of Isidorus, Sententiae, 3, Caput VIII, De summo bono); two lines in Greek.

²⁰ Hieronymus Cöler. Matriculated 20 October 1558; *Album Academiae Vitebergensis*, I, p.353. He also contributed to Johann Klarner’s album (see above, note 16; Klose, *CAAC, op. cit.*, 1988, p.407) and to Georg II Maior’s album (see above, note 18).

²¹ Jacob Redel of Halle. Matriculated 30 August 1560; *Album Academiae Vitebergensis*, II, p.7.

Inscription: ‘Augustinus. | Aspice vulnera pendentis | Sanguinem morientis | Precium redimentis | citatrices resurgentis | Caput inclinatum ad osculandum | Cor apertum ad diligendum | Bracchia extensa ad amplexandum | totium corpus expositum ad redimendum | Haec quanta sint cogita | in statera cordis tui appende. | Ut totius tibi figatur in corde, | qui totius pro te fixus suit in Croce’ (Saint Augustine, De Virginitate).

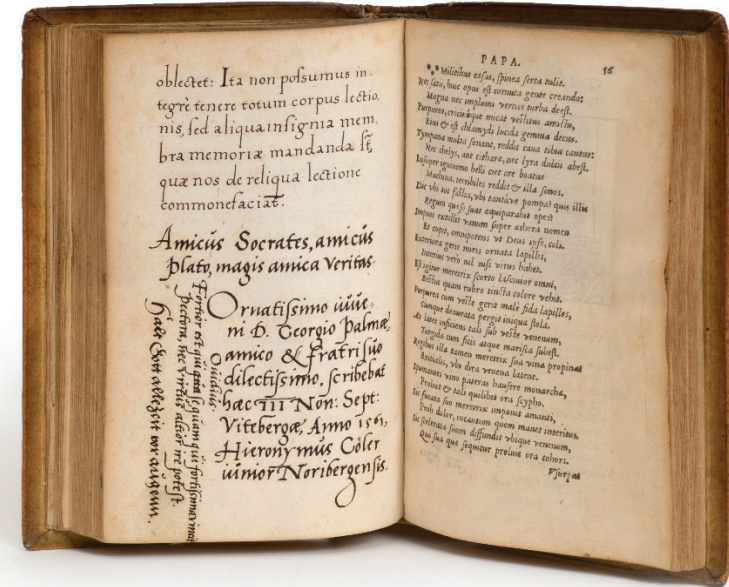
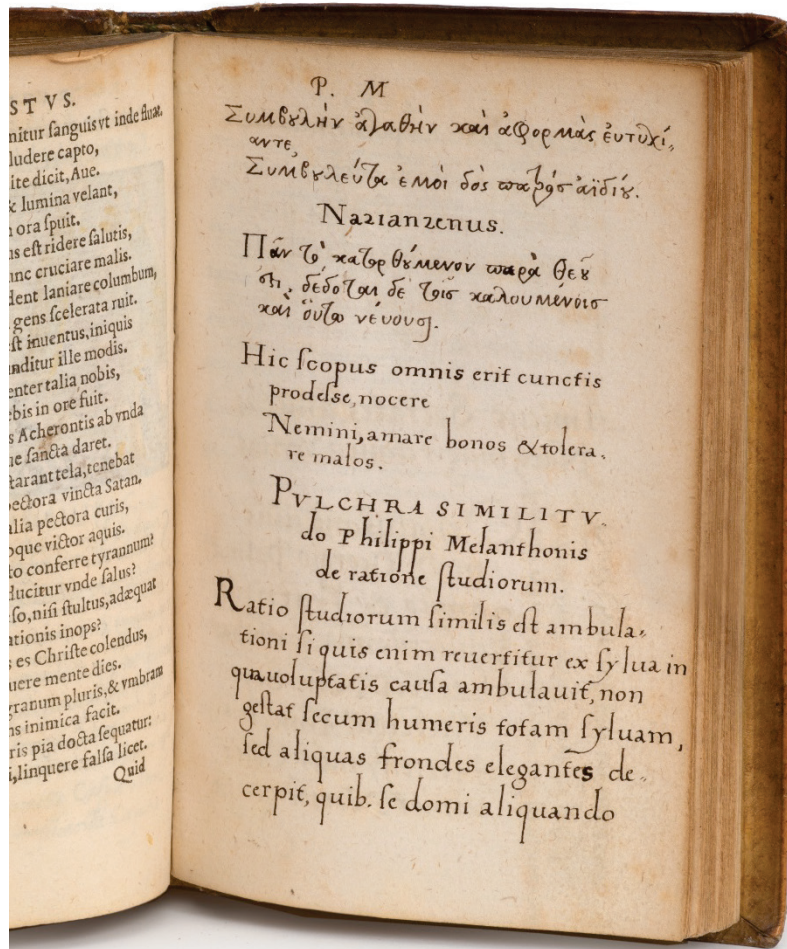
²² Nicolas Wendenheimer of Nuremberg. Matriculated 28 September 1562; *Album Academiae Vitebergensis*, II, p.73. Perhaps related to the ‘Ulricus Fendenheimer Noricus’ who had matriculated 12 December 1559.

Inscriptions: ‘D. Bernhardus | Ad Sananda conscientue vulnera, | nihil est, tam efficax, quam vulnere Christi sedula recogitatio’ (version of Bernhard von Clairvaux, Sermones super Cantica, 62?); ‘Item. | Turbabor, sed non perturbabor | quia vulnere Christi recordabor’ (Ps.-Saint Augustine).

²³ Ciriacus Ruel of Lich in Hessen. Matriculated 16 March 1564; *Album Academiae Vitebergensis*, II, p.63. Cf. Gustav Toepke, *Die Matrikel der Universität Heidelberg [II:] von 1554-1662* (Heidelberg 1886), p.21, as ‘Ciriacus Ruelius, Lychanus’ (26 July 1560). Ruel’s inscribed in 1565 the album of Johannes Itzstein (Copenhagen, Royal Library, Thott 392,8°; Klose, *CAAC, op. cit.*, 1988, p.594 and pp.26-27).

Inscriptions: heading and six lines of verse, reputedly presented to the Avignon Pope Clement IV by a Dominican friar (an antisymmetrical verbal palindrome: if the Pope was to read them backwards he would receive the opposite statement): ‘Pasquillus sotadicus in Clementum Septimum. | Laus tua, non tua fraus, virtus, non copia rerum, | Scandere te fecit, hoc decus eximium. | Posteritas tua sit stabilis nec tempore paucio | Vivere concessum sit tibi pontificem. | Conditio tua sit foelix nec tempore paruo | Vivere te faciat hic Deus omni potens’.

²⁴ Aneta Georgievska-Shine, ‘The Alba amicorum and the Kaleidoscope of the Self’ in *The Anthropomorphic Lens: Anthropomorphism, Microcosmism and Analogy in Early Modern Thought and Visual Arts* (Leiden 2014), pp.179-207 (pp.184-185).



Reproduced above and opposite
Entry of Hieronymus Cöler of Nuremberg, 3 September 1561

The most striking name and longest entry (covering three pages, in a variety of scripts) is contributed by Hieronymus Cöler (Köler) of Nuremberg (1542-1613). His father, a self-made man, who had risen to a high position in the city, sent him to Wittenberg to study, and from there to the University of Tübingen. The first page of Cöler's entry, headed 'De Episcopo raptò à Diabolo', commences 'Fuit Episcopus quidam Bisantii apud Burgundiones adeo ambitiosus & gloriae cupidus ut inferis se deuouere non dubitaret, modo fieret Romanus pontifex...', but soon departs from the received text.²⁵ The page finishes with the Exorcist hexameter: 'Signa te signa temere me tangis & angis | Roma tibi subito motibus ibit amor. Haec dixit in Ratisbonensibus comitiis Casparo Bruschio Claudio Borus D. e consiliarius Caesaris'.²⁶ On the next page, beneath the heading 'P.M.', is Gregory Nazianzen's statement (in Greek) about the relation between man's free will and God's grace, which Melanchthon

²⁵ *Philippi Melanthonis opera quae supersunt omnia*, XX, edited by K.G. Bretschneider and H.E. Bindseil (Braunschweig 1854), col. 593 no. CCLX: De Episcopo ambizioso (Phil. Mel. Historiae quaedam recitatae inter publicas lectiones).

²⁶ Cf. *Analecta Lutherana et Melanthoniana: Tischreden Luthers und Aussprüche Melanthonis, hauptsächlich nach Aufzeichnungen des Johannes Mathesius; Aus der Nürnberger Handschrift des Germanischen Museums*, edited by Georg Loesche (Gotha 1892), p.183 no. 267 (Dicta Melanthonis).

often quoted late in his life,²⁷ and the popular dictum ‘Hic scopus omnis erit, cunctis prodesse, nocere | Nemini, amare bonos et tolerare malos’.²⁸ Continuing overpage is ‘Pulchra similitudo Philippi Melanthonis de ratione studiorum’, then three mottos: ‘Amicus Socrates, amicus Plato, magis amica veritas’; the well-known line in Ovid ‘Fortior est qui se, quam qui fortissima vincit | Pectora, nec virtus altior ire potest’, an admonition (‘Habt Gott allezeit vor Augenn’), and Cöler’s salutation (‘Amico & fratri suo dilectissimo’).

Five other alba created by Georg Palma are known. Those were contained in Palma’s bequest to the recently founded municipal library, and since 1592 have been preserved in Stadtbibliothek Nürnberg.²⁹ Considering this cluster, it appears that Palma was not a determined collector of commemorative inscriptions: his alba contain comparatively few entries, and once he left the university the books disappeared to the shelves and acquired no new signatures. In our volume there are ten entries, dated 1561-1564; the earliest of the five alba in Nuremberg, bound around 1558, has just one (1558),³⁰ three alba made by Palma in 1564

²⁷ A free translation from *Oratio* 37, 13 (Migne, *Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Graeca* 36, 297; [text](#)). Cf. E.P. Meijering, *Melanchthon and patristic thought* (Leiden 1983), p.59. Cöler entered the same inscription in the album of Georg II Maior (see above, note 18); Hasse, *op. cit.* (2000), p.314 and Abb.10. Melanchthon entered it in his copy of *Examen eorum, qui audiuntur ante ritum publicae ordinationis* (Wittenberg 1558), now Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Rar. 721 ([image](#)); see Wilhelm Krag, ‘Wittenberger Stammbucheinträge in der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München’ in *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* 42 (1925), pp.1-8 (p.3).

²⁸ On 5 January 1576, Hieronymus Cöler entered the same inscription in the album amicorum of Wilhelm Helbig (Louvain, Universitätsbibliothek Katholieke Universiteit, Cod. 8, fol. 172 verso); see L. Le Clercq, ‘L’album amicorum de Wilhelm Helbig de Wurzburg’ in *De Gulden Passer* 16-17, (1938-1939), pp.39-79 (p.49). Cf. Keil & Keil, *op. cit.* (1893), p.80 no. 230 (1586).

²⁹ Werner Wilhelm Schnabel, *Die Stammbücher und Stammbuchfragmente der Stadtbibliothek Nürnberg*, Die Handschriften der Stadtbibliothek Nürnberg, Sonderband (Wiesbaden 1995), pp.6-7, 23-26 nos. 6, 8-11. The size of the library is variously stated; cf. Schnabel, *op. cit.* (1997), p.7 (‘1700 Titel in knapp 800 Bänden’) and Renate Jürgensen, *Bibliotheca Norica: Patrizier und Gelehrtenbibliotheken in Nürnberg zwischen Mittelalter und Aufklärung* (Wiesbaden 2002), p.42 (‘mindestens 638 Bände’).

³⁰ Philipp Melanchthon, *Libellus Graecae Grammaticae* (Leipzig 1557). Nürnberg, Stadtbibliothek, Phil. 380. 8°. Schnabel, *op. cit.* (1995), no. 6. One entry, dated at Wittenberg: Caspar Melisander (Kaspar Bienemann, 1540-1591), 11 August 1558.

³¹ Guillaume Rondelet, *De ponderibus, sive de justa quantitate & proportione medicamentorum, liber nunc denuo diligentissimè auctus, & recognitus ab eodem auctore* (Lyon 1563). Bound with: Carolus Clusius, *Antidotarium sive de exacta componendorum miscendorumque medicamentorum ratione libri tres* (Antwerp 1561). Nürnberg, Stadtbibliothek, Med. 161. 8°. Schnabel, *op. cit.* (1995), no. 8. Eight entries, the first six dated at Wittenberg and the two last dated at Padua: (1) Ehrenreich von Scherffenberg, 29 July 1564. (2) Michael Reichard (c. 1538-1597), 27 August 1564. (3) Seifried von Polheim (1548-1576), 30 August 1564. (4) Sigmund Ludwig von Polheim (1545-1576), 30 August 1564. (5) Johann von Starhemberg (1552-1570), 12 September 1564. (6) Abraham Veldpacher, 13 September 1564. (7) Arnold van Bynspelt, 12 May 1567. (8) Theodor Hollensberg, 31 July 1567.

³² Leonhard Fuchs, *Institutionum Medicinæ, sive methodi ad Hippocratis, Galeni, aliorumque veterum scripta recte intelligenda mire utiles libri quinque ... Editio secunda* (Lyon 1560). Nürnberg, Stadtbibliothek, Med. 102. 8° Rar. Schnabel, *op. cit.* (1995), no. 9. Five entries, the first four dated at

contain respectively eight (1564-1567),³¹ five (1564-1565),³² and two entries (1564),³³ and the last of Palma’s extant alba, made in 1565, contains two entries (1565).³⁴ Nor was Palma a prolific contributor to alba amicorum: we trace entries by him in six volumes, kept respectively by Hieronymus Cöler (1562-1573),³⁵ Veit Seytz (1561-1571),³⁶ Johannes Müller (1581-1591),³⁷ David Wirsung (1583-1589),³⁸ Paul Jenisch (1575-1647?),³⁹ and Wolfgang Rhehlin (1578-1599).⁴⁰

Binding

Our volume is preserved in the original pigskin binding. The upper cover is decorated by a panel depicting Pyramus and Thisbe, lettered ‘Amor nil moderabile suad[et]’, and on the lower cover is a panel of Venus and Cupid, lettered ‘Species mulieris multos’.⁴¹ This classical decoration is remarkable, considering the nature of the book inside, and also that Wittenberg

Wittenberg and the last at Tübingen: (1) Ernst Ludwig von Pommern-Stettin (later Herzog von Pommern-Wolgast, 1545-1592), 31 July 1564. (2) Barnim von Pommern-Stettin (later Herzog von Pommern-Rügenwalde und Stettin, 1549-1603), 31 July 1564. (3) Johann Georg von Solms (1547-1600), 5 September 1564. (4) Otto von Solms-Laubach (1550-1612), 5 September 1564. (5) Leonhard Fuchs (1501-1566), 2 January 1565.

³³ Levinus Lemnius, *Occulta naturae miracula, ac varia rerum documenta* (Antwerp 1564). Nürnberg, Stadtbibliothek, Med. 117. 8°. Schnabel, *op. cit.* (1995), no. 10. Two entries, both dated at Wittenberg: (1) Johann Baptist Lechel, 30 September 1564. (2) Gabriel Gienger, 2 October 1564.

³⁴ Andreas Vesalius, *De humani corporis fabrica libri septem* (Basel 1555). Nürnberg, Stadtbibliothek, Med. 155. 2°. Schnabel, *op. cit.* (1995), no. 11. Two entries, both dated at Tübingen: (1) Nicolaus Christoph von Radziwill, Herzog zu Olyka und Nieswitz (1549-1616), 10 January 1565. (2) Christoph von Sbororo, 10 January 1565.

³⁵ British Library, Egerton Ms 1184, fol. 154, dated at Tübingen, 3 January 1565. Cf. Klose, *CAAC, op. cit.* (1988), p.557 (p.19), reporting a second entry by Palma in this album, dated 1562. Nickson, *op. cit.* (1970), pp.14-15. Cöler preceded Palma to the University of Tübingen, matriculating 1 October 1563.

³⁶ Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Coll. Rothschild, Ms 81, fol. 129 verso ([image](#)), dated at Padua, May 1567. A.E. Picot, *Catalogue des livres composant la bibliothèque de feu m. le baron James de Rothschild* (Paris 1884-1920), V, pp.143-151 no. 3365 (p.148, [entry](#)).

³⁷ British Library, Egerton Ms 1198, dated 1581. Karlheinz Goldmann, *Nürnberger und Altdorfer Stammbücher aus vier Jahrhunderten: ein Katalog* (Nuremberg 1981), p.210 no. 1102.

³⁸ Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Rastatt Nr. 54, p.93. Alfred Holder, *Die Handschriften der Badischen Landesbibliothek in Karlsruhe, 3: Die Durlacher und Rastatter Handschriften* (Wiesbaden 1970), pp.137-140 ([entry](#)).

³⁹ Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Cod.hist.qt.299, fol. 141 verso, dated 24 September 1584 ([image](#)). Ingeborg Krekler, *Die Handschriften der Württembergischen Landesbibliothek Stuttgart. Sonderreihe. Band 3: Stammbücher bis 1625* (Wiesbaden 1999), p.57 (StB-Nr. 16-2).

⁴⁰ Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Cod. Hist. 2° 888-3,248, undated entry. Ingeborg Krekler, *Die Handschriften der Württembergischen Landesbibliothek Stuttgart. Sonderreihe. Band 2: Die Autographensammlung des Stuttgarter Konsistorialdirektors Friedrich Wilhelm Frommann (1707-1787)* (Wiesbaden 1992), p.649.

⁴¹ Konrad Haebler, *Rollen- und Plattenstempel des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, Sammlung bibliothekswissenschaftlicher Arbeiten; 41-42 (Leipzig 1928-1929), I, p.23.

binders since 1550 had strongly favoured panels depicting Luther and Melancthon, and rolls showing Biblical characters or medallion portraits of Reformers.⁴²

The bindings of the five alba in Stadtbibliothek Nürnberg display on their upper covers Palma's initials (Georgius Palma Norinbergensis) together with the date of binding (1564 or 1565); several also contain Palma's woodcut exlibris.⁴³ The bindings on those alba appear to have been produced in different shops. One is decorated by an Adam and Eve – Moses with the Tablet – Crucifixion – Resurrection roll, employed with a Moses and the brazen serpent – Abraham and Isaac – Annunciation – Adoration of the Shepherds roll.⁴⁴ Two others feature decoration of the Seven Liberal Arts and Virtues;⁴⁵ Justice and Lucretia;⁴⁶ and the latest of the five alba combines a Biblical roll (Christ – St Paul – St David – John the Baptist), a roll representing the personified virtues (Justitia – Cognitio – Temperantia – Fortitudo), and a Reformer roll (Martin Luther – Jan Hus – Erasmus von Rotterdam – Philipp Melancthon).⁴⁷

Simon Du Rosier

Although we have virtually no knowledge of Palma's personal convictions, merely information gleaned from books in his library,⁴⁸ it seems appropriate that the young undergraduate chose an anticlerical picture book, *Antithesis de præclaris Christi et indignis Papæ*, for his album amicorum.

The *Antithesis* instructs readers in Protestant doctrine through derogatory comparisons with Catholic teachings. Eighteen woodcut illustrations of the life of Christ are paired with eighteen woodcut images of parallel situations in the lives of the popes; the majority contrast

Christ's simplicity, humility, charity, and love of peace, with the Pontiff's pomp, pride, avarice, and militarism. One pair, for example, contrasts an image of Christ washing the feet of his Disciples with one of courtiers kissing the Pope's feet, juxtaposing Christ's humility with the worldly vanity of the popes. Another pair depicts Christ labouring to carry his cross and the pope borne aloft on a splendid litter; a third pair teaches the reader the true meaning of Christ's Last Supper and denounces the misuse of this ceremony in the Catholic mass ([images](#)).

The work is based on a violently anti-Papal Lutheran satire originally published in German in 1521,⁴⁹ reworked in 1533-1534 (the first illustrated book of the French Reformation),⁵⁰ and now published with substantial additional verse by Du Rosier and new woodcut illustrations by Pierre Eskrich.⁵¹ At time of publication, Du Rosier was a teacher in the *schola privata* in Lausanne (1553-1557); he later became maître d'école at Gex (1558-1559), afterwards in the Académie de Lausanne.⁵² He dedicates his book to Hans Steiger and Hieronymus Manuel and appends his own translation of a sermon of Bernardino Ochino on the image of the Antichrist (originally printed, in French and Italian, at Geneva in 1544).

Very little graphic propaganda was produced during the growth period of the French Reformation; by one reckoning just eight prints or sets of prints circulated within France between 1530 and 1575.⁵³ The printmaker and designer known as Pierre Vase, Cruche, or Eskrich (1518/1520-after 1590), executed two of these: the set of thirty-two *Antithesis* wood blocks (1557) and the gigantic, sixteen-block *Mappe-Monde Nouvelle Papistique*, a cosmography of the 'papist world' (devised in 1561, but not published until 1566; reprinted 1577).⁵⁴ The Paris-born son of a German engraver, a member of the Reformed faith, like his

⁴² Geoffrey D. Hobson, 'German Renaissance Patrons of bookbinding' in *The Book Collector* 3 (1954), p.175. The same panels were used to decorate the bindings of an eight-volume set of Cicero's *Opera* (Venice: Aldine press, 1554-1559) formerly in the Mortimer Schiff collection (his sale by Sotheby's, London, 5-7 July 1938, lot 1304).

⁴³ Palma evidently conceived this exlibris in Wittenberg: a drawing of the same design appears in his manuscript of Peucer (see above, note 9; reproduced by Becker, *op. cit.*, 1975 p.[7]); another drawing, inscribed 'Georgius Palma Noriberg' appears in Hieronymus Cöler's album amicorum (see above, note 35). The woodcut exlibris was produced in different sizes, possibly at different times. The smaller version (54 × 52 mm) is dated 'um 1566/70' by Ilse O'Dell, *Deutsche und österreichische Exlibris 1500-1599 im Department of Prints and Drawings im Britischen Museum* (London 2002), p. 70 no. 284 (reproduced p.195).

⁴⁴ Schnabel, *op. cit.* (1995), no.8

⁴⁵ Schnabel, *op. cit.* (1995), no.9.

⁴⁶ Schnabel, *op. cit.* (1995), no.10.

⁴⁷ Schnabel, *op. cit.* (1995), no.11. Palma had bought this book second-hand, and paid 1 fl. to have it rebound in a Tübingen workshop (S.T. Marke Presse). Workshop: EBDB w002982; Haebler, *op. cit.* (1928-1929), I, pp.445-448. Rolls: EBDB r001524; EBDB r001609; EBDB r004855.

⁴⁸ Heidi Rebohl, *Die theologischen Schriften aus der Bibliothek des Nürnberger Stadtarztes Georg Palm* (1543-1591), Magisterarbeit Friedrich-Alexander-Universität Erlangen, 1990.

⁴⁹ *Passional Christi und Antichristi* (Wittenberg, May 1521), 26 woodcuts organised in 13 opposing pairs, with a final page of text (ascribed to Melancthon and Johann Scherffferger). A later, Strasbourg edition increased the number of woodcuts to 31, organised as 15 pairs of antitheses. Karin Groll, *Das Passional Christi und Antichristi von Lucas Cranach d. Ä.* (Frankfurt am Main 1990).

⁵⁰ *Les faictz de Jesus Christi et du Pape* (Neuchâtel: Pierre de Vingle, c. 1533), 32 woodcuts organised in 16 opposing pairs, with substantial new text. Reinhard Bodenmann and William Kemp, 'Les Faictz de Jesus Christ et du Pape (fin 1533). Aux origines germaniques d'un traité illustré de langue française' in *La Réforme dans l'espace germanique au XVIe siècle*, edited by François Vion-Delphin (Montbéliard 2005), pp.181-204; *Les Faictz de Jesus Christ et du pape. Faksimile de 1533ger Ausgabe von Pierre de Vingle*, edited by Reinhard Bodenmann, (Geneva 2009), pp.71-72 (*Antithesis*).

⁵¹ Paul Chaix, 'Un pamphlet genevois du XVIe siècle: L'Antithèse de S. Du Rosier: Recherche iconographique' in *Mélanges offerts à M. Paul-E. Martin par ses amis ses collègues ses élèves* (Geneva 1961), pp.467-482.

⁵² Karine Crousaz, *L'Académie de Lausanne entre humanisme et Réforme (ca. 1537-1560)* (Leiden 2012), p.542.

⁵³ Philip Benedict, 'Propaganda, print, and persuasion in the French Reformation: a review article' in *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 69 (2007), pp. 447-472 (p.469).

⁵⁴ Recent contributions to the substantial literature about the map ([image](#)) and accompanying tract include Dror Wahrman, 'From imaginary drama to dramatized imagery: the "Mappe-monde nouvelle papistique"' in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 54 (1991), pp.186-205; *Mappe-Monde*

wife, Eskrich worked as a book illustrator for the publisher Guillaume Rouillé in Lyon, before emigrating to Geneva in 1552.⁵⁵ Besides religious propaganda, he produced a view of Geneva for the Protestant leader Admiral Gaspard de Coligny (now untraced), and a series of watercolours of birds probably intended as models for book illustrations,⁵⁶ while continuing to work for Rouillé and other Lyonnese publishers.

The *Antithesis* was surreptitiously published in 1557 by Zacharie Durant; in 1558, Durant re-issued the original sheets behind a new title-page.⁵⁷ The same year, the Conseil de Genève banned the sale of the book, ordered the destruction of all existing copies, and sentenced Durant to three days in prison.⁵⁸ Undeterred, he published surreptitiously in 1560-1561 two editions of a French translation. Individual blocks or pairs of blocks from the series were lent to Jean Crespin, to illustrate polemics published in 1557 and 1562.⁵⁹ The set of woodblocks afterwards passed to the publisher Eustache Vignon, who issued editions in French and Latin in 1578, 1584 (French), 1600 (French).⁶⁰

Provisional census of copies

- Aix, Bibliothèque Méjanes, Rés. S. 30 ([notice](#))
- Aurich / Emden, Die Ostfriesische Bibliothek (Johannes a Lasco Bibliothek, Emden), Theol. 8° 0333 M ([notice](#))
- Bamberg,

nouvelle papistique: histoire de la Mappede-Monde papistique, en laquelle est déclaré tout ce qui est contenu et pourtraict en la grande table, ou carte de la Mappede-Monde (Genève, 1566), edited by F. Lestringant and Alessandra Preda, Travaux d'humanisme et Renaissance; 463 (Geneva 2009).

⁵⁵ The documents concerning his life were published by Natalis Rondot, *Graveurs sur bois à Lyon au seizième siècle* (Paris 1897), pp.88-101, 483-486; N. Rondot, 'Pierre Eskrich, peintre et tailleur d'histoires à Lyon au XVIe siècle' in *Revue du Lyonnais*, fifth series, 31 (1901), pp.241-261, 321-354. Vanessa Selbach, 'Artisan ou artiste? La carrière de Pierre Eskrich, brodeur, peintre et graveur, dans les milieux humanistes de Lyon et Genève (ca. 1550-1580)' in *Chrétiens et Sociétés, Numéro spécial: Le calvinisme et les arts* (2011), pp.37-55 ([open edition](#)).

⁵⁶ Roberta Olson and Alexandra Mazzitelli, 'The discovery of a cache of over 200 sixteenth-century avian watercolors: a missing chapter in the history of ornithological illustration' in *Master Drawings* 45 (2007), especially pp.456-457, 515-516 ('Appendix: further biographical notes on Pierre Vase').

⁵⁷ The year has been changed, and the words after the three stars read thus: Cum decalogis vtriusque oppositis, cumque | amborum morum descriptione : quemad- | modum Sancta Scriptura tradit. All other parts of the title agree with the edition of 1557.

⁵⁸ Chaix, *op. cit.* (1961), p.480. For the entries in the lists of prohibited books, see J.M. De Bujanda, *Thesaurus de la littérature interdite au XVIe siècle* (Sherbrooke 1996), pp.161, 523.

⁵⁹ Chaix, *op. cit.* (1961), p.472.

⁶⁰ For the five editions in French, see *French vernacular books: books published in the French language before 1601*, edited by Andrew Pettegree, Malcolm Walsby, and Alexander Wilkinson (Leiden 2007), p.522 nos. 17560-17564. A German version is also known: *Antithesis. Das ist Kurtze beschreibung, Christi vnd des Antichrists: Darin jr beider Art, lehr, vnd thaten gegen einander werden gehalten* (Heidelberg: Johann Mayer, 1563); VD16 R-3101.

⁶¹ Copy located 'Frankfort o. M. City' by Edward Boehmer, *Bibliotheca Wiffeniana. Spanish reformers of two centuries from 1520* (Strasbourg 1883), II, p.107; not traced in OPAC of Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek Frankfurt am Main.

Staatsbibliothek, 22/JH.A.symbol.o.4 ([notice](#))

- Frankfurt am Main, Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek (lost?)⁶¹
- Geneva, Bibliothèque de Genève (formerly BPU), BC 3499 ([digitised](#))
- Halle, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt, Pon Vg 1393 ([notice](#))⁶²
- Moscow, Russian State Library (two copies, both formerly in the Staatsbibliothek Berlin; [notice](#); [notice](#))
- Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, P.o.lat. 22m ('Verlust, nicht verfügbar'; [notice](#))
- Oxford, University, Wadham College, g28.6
- Paris, Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal, 8-BL-5811 ([notice](#))
- Sydney, State Library of New South Wales⁶³
- Vatican City, Vatican Library, St. Pal. V. 2007. 1⁶⁴
- Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Alt Mag, 146-A ([digitised](#))
- Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, A: 1216.7 Theol. (7) ([notice](#))
- Unlocated, ex-Jacques Auguste de Thou (1553-1617)⁶⁵
- Unlocated, in a calf binding⁶⁶

FURTHER REFERENCES Paul Chaix, Alain Dufour and Gustave Moeckli, *Les livres imprimés à Genève de 1550 à 1600. Nouvelle édition revue et augmentée par Gustave Moeckli* (Geneva 1966), p.32; GLN 15-16 GLN-2028 ([notice](#)), USTC no. 450454 ([notice](#))

⁶² From the Johann August von Ponickau library. According to Boehmer, *op. cit.* (1883), II, p.107, the appended sermon by Bernardino Ochino (pp.74-88) is lacking in this copy.

⁶³ John Fletcher and Rose Smith, *A Short-Title Catalogue of Sixteenth Century Printed Books held in Libraries and Private Collections in New South Wales, with a list of provenances* (Sydney 1979), no. 1726.

⁶⁴ The Bibliotheca Palatina copy was used for microform reproduction: The printed books of the Bibliotheca Palatina, edited by Leonard Boyle and Elmar Mittler (Munich: K.G. Saur, 1989-1996), no. F5177.

⁶⁵ Antoine Augustin Renouard, *Catalogue de la bibliothèque d'un amateur* (Paris 1819), I, p.110 (bound in green morocco with four other works, for J.A. De Thou); Jules Tardieu, *Catalogue d'une précieuse collection de livres, manuscrits, autographes, dessins et gravures composant actuellement la Bibliothèque de M. A.A.R.* (Paris 1853), p.10, no. 92; offered by Librairie J. Techener, 'Catalogue de livres rares et curieux', in *Bulletin du Bibliophile*, March 1855, p.134 no. 83 (fr. 280); Delbergue-Cormont, 'Catalogue de la bibliothèque de feu M. le marquis de Morante', Paris, 21 February 1872, pp.6-7, lot 27.

⁶⁶ Maison Silvestre, 'Catalogue des livres faisant partie du fonds de librairie ancienne et moderne de J.J. et M.J. De Bure', Paris, 22 January 1835, p.94 no. 1893 ('v[eau] f[auve] dent.', 'La figure de la page 6 est raccommoquée'); Maison Silvestre, 'Catalogue des livres, manuscrits et imprimés, composant la bibliothèque de M. Charles Sauvageot', 3 December 1860, p.9 lot 54 ('v[eau] fauve, fil. '); Librairie Morgand et Fatout, *Bulletin mensuel de la Librairie Morgand et Fatout* (Paris 1912, p.131 no. 558 ('veau fauve, dos orné, fil. Fr. 150). Probably the copy offered by Beussant Lefèvre, 'Bibliothèque Marcel Desjardin, Incunables & Livres du XVI e au XXe siècle', Paris, 14-15 May 2013, lot 65 ('veau blond, filet et fine roulette dentelée dorés encadrant les plats, dos à nerfs orné', 'De la bibliothèque Champel, avec ex-libris' [the library of Ernest Stroehlin, dispersed at auction in Paris, 20 January 1910-1 March 1912; and by Bernhard Liebisch, 'Katalog 222: Bibliothek Stroehlin: Drucke des 15. bis 17. Jahrhundert', Leipzig 1914]).