

E-Catalogue 12

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Journal of a
Russian Countess

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I. MYSTICAL ALLEGORY

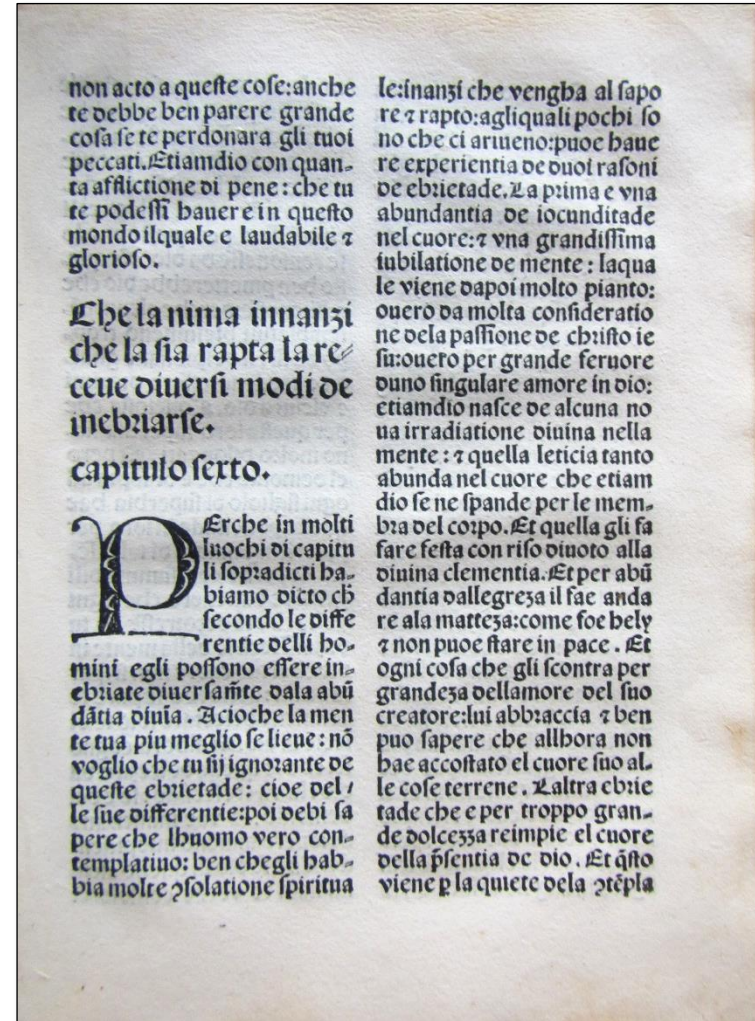
A carpet of "medieval textuality"

1) BONAVENTURA, pseudo- [i.e., HENRICUS DE BALMA and JACOBUS MEDIOLANENSIS]. *Libro intitulado Stimulo de amore.* Composto per el seraphico doctore sancto Bonauentura. Venice: Antonio di Zanchi da Bergamo, 2 October 1501.

4to (209 x 152 mm). [86] leaves. Gothic types in two sizes, double column, white on black woodcut initials. Title with chipped corner and staining from erased inscriptions, a single wormhole decreasing through the first half of text block, a few other small filled wormholes at beginning, occasional faint marginal dampstaining. Later (18th-century?) carta rustica. *Provenance:* two early deleted Italian ownership inscriptions on title-page; William O'Brien (1832-1899), 20th-century booklabel; bequeathed to the Jesuits at Milltown Park. **\$2950**

First complete edition in Italian, and the first to be printed in Italy, of an important Franciscan mystical text which circulated widely in manuscript and print for nearly three centuries. Known in approximately 500 Latin manuscripts, far more than Bonaventura's *Meditationes vitae Christi*, this was an extremely popular devotional work, with translations appearing in Middle High German, Middle Low German, Dutch, French, Italian, Spanish, Polish, Swedish, Danish, and English.

Although most manuscripts attributed it to Bonaventura, the original *Stimulus Amoris* was the work of the thirteenth-century Franciscan friar Giacomo da Milano. His text is a series of spiritual exercises for meditation, leading to a progressive emotional engagement with the Passion, the goal being a mystical identification with Christ (DBI). The original text contained "23 chapters (including some meditations on the Pater Noster, Ave Maria, and the Salve Regina by an unknown author) ... [It] served as a guide to monastic contemplation, expounding ascetic, didactic teaching and incorporating a pseudo-Dionysian language of mystical ascent. The text is itself a composite work integrating passages from, among others, Bernard, Anselm and Bonaventura's *De Perfectione vitae*" (Westphall). Around the



original *Stimulus Amoris*, “later material came to be assimilated by a process of gradual accretion” (ibid.). Scholars have long distinguished two main versions of the text, the original shorter (*minor*) 23-chapter version and the present longer (*maior*) version with additions, divided into 3 books, attributed to Henri de Baume, confessor of Colette of Corbie, founder of the Poor Clares (cf. Distelbrink 217). This longer version, more widely circulated, emphasizes the integration of action and contemplation. Falk Eisermann, in his 2001 study of the manuscript transmission of the *Stimulus amoris* (*Stimulus amoris: Inhalt, lateinische Überlieferung, deutsche Übersetzungen, Rezeption*) distinguished a third version, “*maior II*,” which circulated mainly in Bavaria. The present version, Eisermann’s *maior I*, itself appeared with many variations, making the *Stimulus Amoris* “an example *par excellence* of the variant and interpenetrating nature of medieval textuality” (Westphall).

The first edition of the *Stimulus amoris* (also in the longer version) was printed ca. 1483-84 by the Brothers of the Common Life in Brussels. ISTC lists 13 further incunable editions of the various recensions. This first complete edition in Italian was preceded only by a four-page summary of chapter I, printed in three Florentine editions of pseudo-Augustinus, *Soliloquia* (GW 3016, 3017 and 3020). The printer Antonius de Zanchis, active from 1496 to about 1519, produced mainly religious works, including the pseudo-Bonaventuran *Meditationes vitae Christi*, printed at around the same time as this edition (cf. ISTC). Another edition of the *Stimulus amoris* by Zanchi is dated 2 March 1498, but was in fact published in 1502 (cf. EDIT-16).

I locate no copies outside of Italy. EDIT-16 CNCE 38407; cf. Distelbrink 217 (1st edition); cf. *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 54:221-223; Allan F. Westphall, “The Prickyng of Love” (2010), on website *Geographies of Orthodoxy: mapping English pseudo-Bonaventuran Lives of Christ, 1350-1550*.

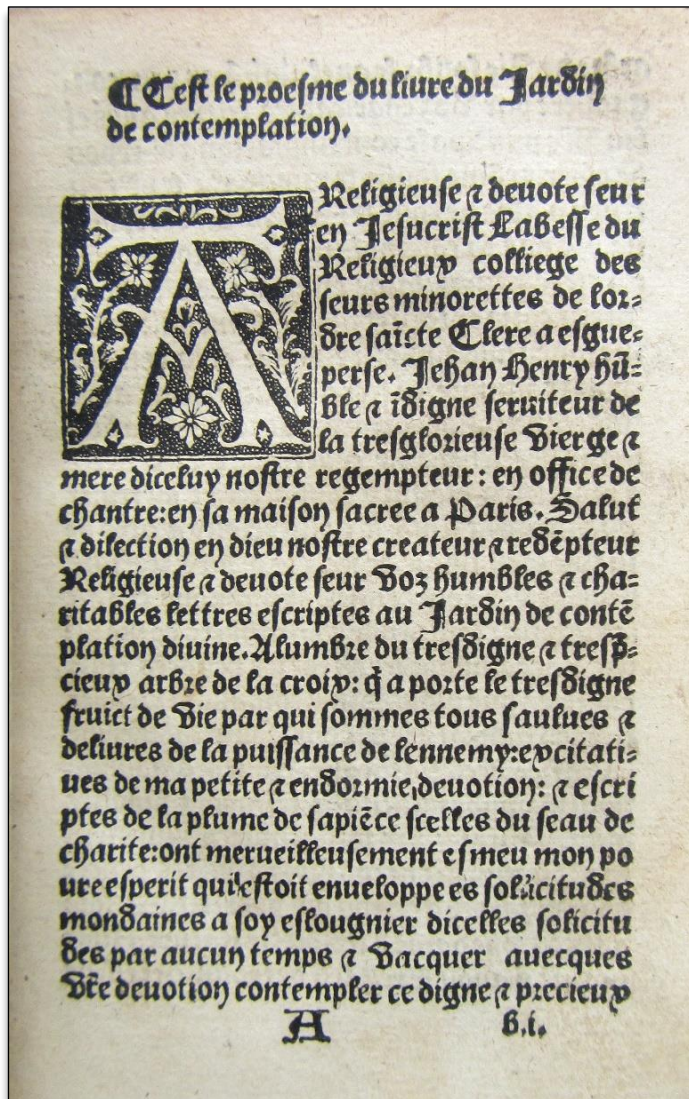
The Duc de La Vallière copy of a mystical allegory for nuns

2) [HENRY, Jean (d. 1484)]. *Le Jardin de contemplation*. Paris: Jean Petit, 25 October 1516.

8vo (134 x 90 mm). Collation: a-z⁸ et⁸ A-D⁸. [224] leaves, including final blank. Batarde types, 27 lines. Publisher’s woodcut device on title (not in Renouard), 8- and 4-line metalcut initials. Colophon printed in a cruciform X-shape. Title and last leaf stained, occasional small stains elsewhere, minor worming in lower margins, not affecting text. 18th-century mottled calf, smooth spine gold-tooled with allover floral decor, edges stained red (joints split, quite worn). *Provenance*: flourished contemporary signature at end (*De cannes?*); traces of deleted annotations in lower margins of first quire and on final blank leaf; 12 [*livres tournois*], 3940, early purchase note in red ink on verso of front free endpaper; Louis-César de la Baume de Blanc, Duc de La Vallière: 18th-century pencil number “759” on front flyleaf = Guillaume François de Bure, *Catalogue des livres provenans de la bibliotheque de M.L.D.D.L.V.* [Monsieur le Duc de La Vallière], Paris 1767, lot 759; Lambert, former Lieutenant-Colonel des Dragons, sale, Paris: De Bure, 14 February 1780, lot 136. **\$11,000**

ONLY EDITION OF AN ALLEGORICAL TALE FOR NUNS. According to the publisher’s brief introduction, and to a preliminary letter from the Mother Superior herself, the work was composed at the request of the Abbess of the convent of the Poor Clares of Aigueperse, founded in 1422, and until the Revolution one of the largest convents in Auvergne. Speaking for all the sisters, the Abbess begs Henry to fulfill his “*large promesse*” of books of religious instruction for the convent. Jean or Jehan Henry (whose name is given in the incipit) was the author of a handful of devotional works, all published posthumously, mainly by the printer-publisher Jean Petit in or around 1516. From a family of Norman *petits nobles*, Henry

became royal councilor in 1463 and served as President of the *Chambre des enquetes* of Parliament. From 1468 he also served as canon and cantor of Notre-Dame in Paris. Henry wrote all his works for a feminine audience, mainly for female religious communities (cf. Berriot-Salvadore), and most were cast as allegorical meditations, as here (cf. Boulton and Hasenohr). His books were acts of piety and apparently self-financed.



The four-part treatise, whose principal theme is the definition of the contemplative life, and its possible reconciliation with the *vie active*, is couched as an allegorical vision experienced by the author after receiving the Abbess's pleas. The dream / allegory features a mystical garden of contemplation, with at center the Tree of the Cross. The author's initial vision appears in the form of a female figure "of very small stature and simple bearing, whose gaze was directed heavenwards, who wore a robe of little color and of poor material, and a black veil and light shawl like a shroud"; he realizes that she is not his usual dreamtime companion, Dame Sollicitude (Lady Worldly Care), who is "of tall stature, light bearing, vague regard, [and] pompous attire of many colors" (ff. b1v-b2r), and he later learns that the mysterious lady is Humility. She narrates Part I, in which humility is presented as the necessary foundation for Faith. Part II is introduced by Faith herself, who explains to the author the meaning of the Tree of the Cross. She is soon joined by a host of other allegorical personages: Prudence, Office [worldly duties], Contemplation, Charity, Pity, Peace, and so on, each arguing her own point of view; the contemplative life is concluded to be superior to the active life. Along the way the author imparts histories of the first anachorites and of the origins of convent life, and explains that the Minorite female communities sought to emulate those early hermits and monks. In a chapter on Elizabeth of Hungary (gg8v-h2r), the establishment of hospitals is presented as a paradigm of charity, embodying Henry's values. In Part III the author, and by extension the reader, by means of her devotional practices, are guided into the garden. The allegorical thread is sustained throughout this exposition of the path to divine understanding, attainable through contemplation of the mysteries of the Passion and of the Seven Words of Christ. In the brief fourth part author and reader attain the top of the Tree of the Cross. Significantly, the work concludes with the recognition, by Prudence, that the contemplative life and an active life in the world are not mutually exclusive.

The *Jardin de Contemplation*, of which at least one manuscript is known (BnF Département des manuscrits, Fr. 997, digitized on Gallica), has been viewed as the first of a series of fictions incorporating gardens as the structuring

principle (Huë); as part of a surge, in the late fifteenth century, of devotional works written for cloistered women (Boulton and Hasenohr, p.

34); and as representative of the late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century vogue for spiritual allegory, linking this type of treatise to morality plays (Hasonohr, p. 44: in Henry's works, "all the instruction is set forth `by *personnages* [characters]', and the author, who presents himself as the `pilgrim' or the `actor' [as here] directs the action" [trans.]).

Jean I Petit, printer and bookseller, was active from ca. 1492 to ca. 1540. The woodcut device used on the title resembles Renouard 883 and features the same whimsical lion and a leopard-like creature holding aloft a shield with the IP monogram, in front of trees with birds and flanking putti, but is printed from a different block, unknown (unusually) to Renouard. Other printing oddities of the book are the calligrammatic colophon, and an upper-case A that is printed before the signature in the signature line of the first recto of each quire. This recalls the abbreviations of usage in the signature lines of French printed books of hours, and may have been a way of distinguishing this edition from the four other tracts by Henry published by Jean Petit at about the same time (3 are undated but attributed to 1516, cf. Moreau II 1374-1377); this would imply that the five editions were printed concurrently.

Like all of Henry's books, this one is rare: OCLC, USTC and the sources cited below locate four copies in French libraries, of which two are imperfect. The present humble copy belonged to one of the greatest French book collectors, and among the greatest anywhere, "the paragon of the French bibliophile" (Coq), the Duc de La Vallière (1708-1780). The Duke bought and sold constantly, improving his collections; many of his books were sold as duplicates during his lifetime, usually through his bookseller *de choix*, Guillaume de Bure. The first of his large dispersals at auction was the 1767 sale by De Bure. In two volumes, it included many rarities, not least a copy (on paper) of the 1462 Fust and Schoeffer Bible (GW 4204), which brought the highest price in the sale. It should be noted that "in contrast to so many other bibliophiles, La Vallière only rarely marked his books with signs of personal possession ... It was as if he were content to have these books as part of his collection, even if it was only a matter of momentary possession" (Coq, p. 323, trans). Thus the faint pencil inscription of a lot number is in many cases the sole internal piece of evidence that a book passed through his hands. (The present binding, although already on the book at the time of the 1767 sale, was not the work of one of La Vallière's customary binders.)

References: Moreau II:1373; Bechtel, *Gothiques* H-19 (incorrect collation); Higman, *Piety and the People*, H3; Brunet III:102. Cf. *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*, vol. 7 (1968), 259-263; Maureen Barry McCann Boulton, *Sacred Fictions of Medieval France: Narrative Theology in the Lives of Christ and the Virgin, 1150-1500* (2015), p. 182; Denis Huë, "Reliure, clôture, culture : le contenu des jardins," *Vergers et jardins dans l'univers médiéval*, Aix-en-Provence, 1990, note 19; Geneviève Hasenohr, "Aspects de la Littérature de Spiritualité en Langue Française," *Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France*, vol. 77, no. 198, 1991, pp. 29-45; Evelyne Berriot-Salvadore, *Les femmes dans la société française de la Renaissance* (1990), pp. 289-90; Thomas Frank, *Heilsame Wortgefechte: Reformen europäischer Hospitaller vom 14. bis 16. Jahrhundert* (2014), chapter III.2, "Das Hotel-Dieu und andere Pariser Hospitäler im 15. Jahrhundert," pp. 157-158; Dominique Coq, "Le duc de la Vallière et sa collection," *Histoire des bibliothèques françaises: les bibliothèques sous l'Ancien Régime 1530-1789*, Paris: Promodis, 1968, pp. 316-331; Richard C. Christie, "The Catalogues of the Library of the Duc de la Vallière," *The Library Chronicle*, vol. II, London 1885, pp. 153-159.

Popular pocket piety

3) **MATTIA A PARMA (1599-1676)**. *Viaggio dell'anima Per andar' a' Dio guidato dalla Divina Volontà. Dove Giesu' Christo insegna ad un' Anima divota un modo facile, breve, e chiaro per conseguire la perfettione di tutta la vita Spirituale, e per giungere ad un stato altissimo d'Unione con Dio.* [Italy, ca. 1660-75].

Manuscript on paper, 24mo (92 x 58 mm). [2], 561 pages. Text in brown ink in a small very neat upright roman minuscule, headings and headlines in red ink, major section headings in red and brown ink, in roman capitals; tiny catchwords on every page and a few nearly microscopic marginal notes (by the scribe). 20 lines including headline, text of every page (except title) within a thick and thin double border in brown ink, all text pages with a frieze-like ornamental band at top and bottom. THIRTEEN FULL-PAGE ALLEGORICAL PEN-AND-INK DRAWINGS, each with a different oval medallion vignette of Jesus and the (female) soul, the surrounding margins filled

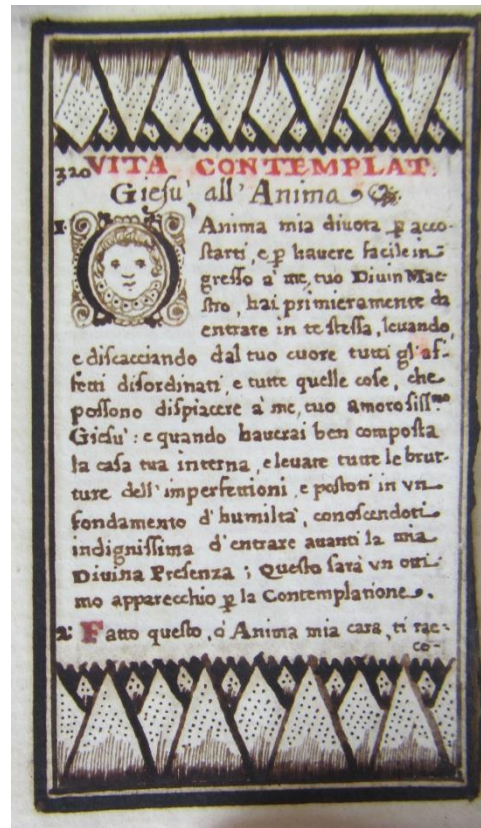


with exuberant penwork filigree decoration including flowers, naturalistic birds, angels, etc. Ornamental and figurative pen-and-ink initials in various sizes. Some splitting along ink text borders from acidic ink, with a few discreet archival reinforcements. Contemporary Italian blind-tooled brown goatskin over pasteboards, sides paneled with parallel fillets, a curlicue border roll framing central panel with a fleur-de-lis tool at each corner, central stamp of the Virgin and Child on front cover and a Franciscan monk or Saint on lower cover, spine with ornamental tooling, pair of leather and brass fore-edge clasps and catches (joints splitting, minor rubbing). *Provenance:* faint 18th-century crowned inkstamp on title; William O'Brien (1832-1899), 20th-century book label; bequeathed to the Jesuits at Milltown Park (label). **\$9500**

An illustrated pocket manuscript of a rare Capuchin mystical text. The only known work by the monk Mattia a Parma, the *Viaggio dell'anima per andare a Dio* was written (in Italian) during a period of expansion of the Capuchin order, which witnessed a flowering of spiritual literature consisting of short devotional texts and longer guides to prayer. Constructed on an allegorical frame, using mystical images and language, but filled with concrete and precise instructions for daily devotional practice, Mattia's text is representative of the genre. The *Viaggio* describes a spiritual pilgrimage of the soul, guided by Christ, toward the blessed Mount of Perfection. As explained in the sub-title, the "voyage" is divided into three parts, moving from a lower to a higher state of being, the *Vita Attiva*, *Vita Contemplativa*, and *Vita Unitiva*, each of these parts being in turn divided into three sections, reflecting the nine echelons of the angels in the heavenly hierarchies.

The illustrations appear on the verso of the title and opening each section, on pages 14, 46, 114, 198, 212, 244, 262, 378, 406, 432, 458, and 534. The first drawing is a Crucifixion, dominating an Italianate city. The remaining drawings depict Jesus and *Anima* on various stages of the soul's spiritual quest. Many show cities or towns in the background. Most also show the *Monte di perfettione*, labeled in red ink and surmounted by a

cross with instruments of the Passion. First seen in the distance, the mountain is gradually approached, and its summit is finally attained in the last two illustrations. These charming, delicate drawings, and their delightfully varied ornamental borders, are the work of an amateur, but one who exercised great care and devoted an enormous amount of time to producing this quite long manuscript: the anonymous artist and the scribe appear to have been the same person, possibly a monk. The size of the manuscript, the minute but easily legible hand, original binding with devotional stamps, and excellent state of preservation make it a most appealing book object, preserving at the same time a very rare seventeenth-century vernacular mystical text. The work was printed in Parma in 1652 and again in 1658; neither edition is held by an American library. The Istituto Storico dei Cappucini published a scholarly edition of the text in 2009.



II. SAMMELBÄNDE

Vernacular for the Devotio moderna

4) DUTCH DEVOTIONAL SAMMELBAND – [THOMAS A KEMPIS]. *Dit is een schoen boecxken ende is ghehete[n] (Qui sequitur me) en[de] metten andere[n] drie[n] boecxke[n]s nu nyeuwe gheprint en[de] neerstelic ghecorrigeert.* Antwerp: Henrick Eckert van Homberch, 28 September 1505.

[Bound with:]

BONAVENTURA, Saint. [*Soliloquium*, Dutch: *Boek van de vier oefeningen*]. *Hier beghint een boeck van die vier oefeninghen bonaventure.* Leiden: Hugo Janszoon van Woerden, [ca. 1500-1502].

[Bound with:]

[NICOLAUS VON STRASSBURG. *Den Gulden Berch*]. *Den berch van gouwen. Een troestelijke leere dienende alle sondighe menschen.* Leiden (colophon: Gheprente leyden in holla[n]t): [Hugo Janszoon van Woerden, ca. 1500-1502].

[Bound with:]

[SUSO, Henricus]. *Tractaet van die ewighe wijsheit.* Leiden: Hugo Janszoon van Woerden, 1502.

4 volumes bound in one, small 8vo (129 x 87 mm.), early 20th-century crushed dark brown Jansenist morocco, spine gilt lettered, turn-ins gold-tooled, gilt edges, by L. Broca of London (gilt stamped on turn-in). *Provenance:* Thomas Thorpe, sale, Sotheby 13 April 1826, lot 1696 (the first work misdated 1528); William O'Brien (1832-1899), *ex legato* bookplate; bequeathed to the Jesuits at Milltown Park (shelf-mark label).



A SPLENDIDLY PRESERVED AND SIGNIFICANT SAMMELBAND OF EARLY SIXTEENTH-CENTURY ILLUSTRATED DEVOTIONAL WORKS, all linked to the *Devotio moderna*, including the second dated edition of the complete *Imitatio Christi* in Dutch, and three extremely rare devotional works printed at Leiden by Hugo Janszoon [or Janszoen] van Woerden, whose output of vernacular devotional texts is represented in American institutions by only a handful of books.

These four books were clearly bound together soon after publication, as they bear uniform rubrication and highlighting of the woodcuts. This small early sixteenth-century volume was in many ways typical of Low Countries book production at the time. It is weightier in portent than meets the eye: as noted by George Painter in his introduction to the Holland volume of the British Museum catalogue of fifteenth-century books (part IX), “the high proportion of pieces in the vernacular printed in Holland suggests that the rise of the Dutch nation was already beginning; and the demand, of an extent hardly paralleled elsewhere, for non-clerical devotional works both Latin and vernacular, is a consequence of the desire among lay folk to think about religion in their own way and in their own language, which in Holland was among the chief causes of the Reformation” (p. xix). \$27,500

1) Thomas a Kempis: 8vo. Collation: [A]⁸ B-F⁸ G⁶; ²A-C⁸; a-o⁸; Aa-Ee⁸ Ff⁴ (Ff4 blank). [54; 24; 128; 44] leaves. 20 lines. Types 2:97/99G (text) and 4:122G (first line of title). Title with Salvator Mundi woodcut flanked by letterpress captions printed vertically; 5- and 4-line initial spaces, the first left blank, the remainder rubricated with red Lombards, two-line xylographic initials highlighted in red, paragraph marks, capital strokes in red, title woodcut with the border and Christ’s halo highlighted in red. Title a trifle darkened, fol. ²A6 with small marginal repair causing loss to a few letters, marginal tear in l6 with no loss.

SECOND KNOWN DATED EDITION OF THE COMPLETE *IMITATIO CHRISTI* IN DUTCH, preceded only by an edition printed earlier that year (in March) by the Antwerp printer Adriaen van Berghen (de Backer 2372), and by an edition of Book 3 only, printed by the Canons Regular in Den Hem (Schoonhoven) in 1504. Two undated Antwerp editions by William Vorsterman (active from 1504) may have also preceded this edition. A supposed earlier edition by Eckert van Homberch, GW M46722, “1500,” is based on a lost copy. Titled *Qui sequitur me* (the incipit, *Vande navolghinghen Christi*, is also sometimes used in identifying the text), these early Dutch editions contain all four books. In this edition, each part is prefaced by its own table of contents.

Henrick Eckert van Homberch printed in Delft before moving his press to Antwerp, apparently in early 1500, bringing his types with him. The Gothic types used by him, and, after about 1496, by the Leiden printer Hugo Janszoon van Woerden, who printed the three other works in this volume, were cast from matrices used from 1492 on by “a large number of printers in the Low Countries” (W. and L. Hellings, *The Fifteenth-Century Printing Types of the Low Countries* I:95). The matrices had been furnished to the printers by a typesetter known as “Henrick die Lettersnider” (who printed a few of his own works, which amounted to type specimens). Because they were cast separately for each printer from matrices, there are occasional differences in measurements. Other minute differences between the fonts used by the various printers were masterfully analyzed by Wytze and Lotte Hellings, who demonstrated that Eckert van Homberch (to return to the present example) supplemented his set of Lettersnider types with a large number of extra sorts. Type 2:97G (Lettersnider Type A) was used by him at the end of his Delft period and later in Antwerp. The typeface used here measures closer to 99 mm. on some pages, a variation possibly due to casting.

In Antwerp Eckert van Homberch remained active until his death in 1523 or 1524, publishing “a continuous flow of works of quite varied natures — classical authors, romances of chivalry and school books included — though chiefly with a religious content. He provided many of his editions with illustrations, and he several times exchanged cuts with Adriaen van Berghen, who was a personal friend,” possibly implying a link between this and the previous 1505 edition (Hendrik D. L. Vervliet, *Post-Incunabula and Their Publishers in the Low Countries* (1979), p. 24. The Salvator Mundi title woodcut also appeared in other works from Eckert’s press. The appearance of the title is unusual, with its laterally disposed (partial) quotation, in Latin on the right and in Dutch on the left, of Christ’s words in John 8:12, which open the text and served as the title of editions of the *Imitatio* in Dutch, Flemish, German, etc.: “Qui sequitur me non ambulat in tenebras dicit dominus” (“He that followeth me walketh not in darkness sayeth the Lord”).



OCLC and USTC list no copies of this edition, or of any of the early Dutch editions, in American libraries, and only the British Library copy outside of Belgium and Holland. Nijhoff-Kronenberg 2011; USTC 403637; C. C. de Bruin, ed., *De Middelnederlandse Vertaling Van de Imitatione Christi* (1954), p. 289.

2) Bonaventura: 8vo. Collation: a-e⁸ f⁴ g-l⁸ m⁴. [88] leaves. 20 lines. Type 2:99G. Eight full-page woodcuts printed from six blocks (the title cut repeated twice). Rubricated as in the previous work, and with red highlighting to the woodcuts. Discreetly repaired tear to blank corner of fol. m1.

A vividly illustrated Dutch edition of Bonaventura’s popular *Soliloquium*, or Four Spiritual Exercises, in a slightly shortened version. “In the Low Countries, particularly, Bonaventure was a popular author, and his influence has been felt since the beginning of Dutch literature, while the leaders of the Modern Devotion admit to having drawn liberally from his works” (Mees, p. 180). Written ca. 1257, the *Soliloquium* “was a mystical tract in the form of a dialogue between the soul – the concrete person who yearns for good but almost always does evil – and the inner man, the opposite of what St. Paul calls the man of flesh, man enlightened by faith and reason, who, with the help of grace alone, desires and seeks supernatural goodness. The inner man tells the soul how he must prepare himself: by examining his own innermost being (first exercise), by seeing how he must react to what is outside him (second exercise); how he must turn against that which is below him, death, judgement and hell (third exercise); and what he must think of that which is above him, the life eternal (fourth exercise)” (op. cit., 180-181). At least 257 manuscripts survive.



Hugo Janszoon van Woerden, active from about 1495 to 1521, specialized in small format devotional books in the vernacular, “probably far more than have come down to us” (Hellinga, *Printing Types* I:97). This edition is an exact reprint of an earlier, dated edition printed by him in 1499 (GW 4700, Goff B-958). Formerly dated to “between 16 October 1499 and 26 July 1500,” the present edition has been shown to have been printed later on the basis of wear to the woodcuts (cf. Mees). The typeface of this edition is incorrectly identified in GW as the narrower type 2:100G, acquired from the estate of Gerard Leeu, which Janszoon had ceased using by this time (both his types are reproduced in BMC Part IX, Holland, plate IX). Although it does indeed measure closer to 100 mm., the present type, Lettersnider type A2, is referred to by Hellinga as type 2:99G (cf. *Printing Types* I:97 and I:pl. 262).



The eight unsigned woodcuts, on a1r (title), a1v, e3v (repeat of title cut), h4r,

h7v, i3v, i6v, and m4v (repeat of title cut), are executed in a simple direct style but are the work of a skilled engraver. The title cut, used once again at the beginning of the second part and again to conclude the work, shows a woman kneeling before a caped and booted gentleman (the author?, the woman being the devout reader?). On the verso of the title is Christ with Instruments of the Passion. Opening part 3 (fol. h4r) is a striking cut of Death with his spear piercing the heart of a man. Devoted to mindfulness of death and the Last Judgment, this third part called for the most excitingly frightening illustrations. It contains two woodcuts, of Christ’s ascension with a pair of kneeling male and female Saints, and lost souls about to descend to hell frantically waving him back (h7v); and a terrifying close-up of the maw of Hell with the souls of the damned in its yawning jaw and a devil with a horn in its hair, next to the xylographic caption *nobis* (i3v). The fourth part opens (i6v) with a cut of Christ enthroned as Salvator Mundi surrounded by angels.

Only two copies of this edition are listed by GW and ISTC, at the Vatican and the BnF. Of the earlier Janszoon van Woerden edition (Goff B-958) the Huntington and LC hold copies. Holdings in the US of any of Janszoon van Woerden's editions are rare: a search of Goff, ISTC, and OCLC reveals 6 copies of 5 editions: *Dat Leuen ons liefs heren Jhesu Christi*, 1496 (Goff L-189), at the Huntington; [Henricus de Herpf], *Die spiegel der volcomenheit*, 1499 (GW M 07329), at Bridwell Library; the 1499 Bonaventura *Soliloquium* (Goff B-958) at the Huntington and LC Rosenwald; *Een salige meditatie des lijdens ons... heren*, published with *Van der orucjten des lijdens... Jhesu Christi* ([after 1500] but Goff M-428 & V-374) also at LC Rosenwald; and an imperfect copy of *Die negen couden*, [1505], at the Morgan Library.

GW 4702; ISTC ib00957350; CIBN I p. 367; Nijhoff-Kronenberg 4129; Campbell-Kronenberg I, 345a; Leonide J. Mees, "Het boec vanden vier inuwendige oefeningen," *Quaerendo*, vol. 4 (3): 180-213, this edition no. III,9.

3) Nicolaus von Strassburg: Collation: [a]⁸ b⁴. [12] leaves. 20 lines. Type: 2:99G. First two words of title in large xylographic letters. 3- and 2-line spaces for initials. Rubricated.

The Sermon on the Golden Mountain (*Den Gulden Berch*, or here "the mountain of gold, a comforting teaching serving all kinds of men"), by the Dominican preacher and teacher (*Lesemeister*) Nicolaus von Strassburg (fl. 1315-1330, identified in this text as the *leesmeester van straetborh*), was widely disseminated in the Netherlands, separately from Nicolaus' other sermons. Recent censuses record 37 surviving manuscripts. As Nicolaus had taught theology at Cologne and had reputedly delivered the sermon in Louvain, in 1324, its exceptional popularity in the Low Countries is "less surprising" (*Verfasserlexikon*). Perhaps also not unrelated to its popularity was Nicolaus' reputation as the defender of Meister Eckhart against charges of heresy, from which he himself narrowly escaped thanks to papal protection.

ISTC records one incunable edition, undated, printed either in Gouda or Leiden ca. 1494, and USTC lists four 16th-century editions, including this one, the only survivors of what were undoubtedly dozens of editions of this slender pamphlet. A single other copy of the present edition is recorded, at Cambridge. Nijhoff-Kronenberg 4184; USTC 420235. Cf. *Verfasserlexikon*² 6:1153-62.

4) Suso: Collation: [A]⁸ B⁴. [12] leaves. 19 lines. Type: 2:99G. 3 woodcuts including title cut. One 3-line initial space. Rubricated, woodcuts with red highlighting. Small marginal repair to final leaf, trace of adhesion in gutter between penultimate and last leaf affecting a couple of letters and causing slight offset, last leaf a trifle frayed.

UNRECORDED EDITION of an abridged Dutch version of the 14th-century Dominican friar and mystic Heinrich Seuse's extremely popular *Büchlein der ewigen Weisheit*, a shorter German version of the *Horologium Sapientiae*. The colophon (B4r) of this edition reads "Gheprent tot leyden in hollant aen / die visch marct bi mi hugo ian soen / In den iare vijftien hondert en twee." The edition no doubt reprints Janszoon's edition of 1501 (Nijhoff-



provided by the Virgo in Sole woodcut (the Madonna and Child in a glory). It is worth noting that the prayer to the Virgin in the Sun is traditionally associated with female religious practice, as is Suso's text itself¹. This ¾-page cut is more primitive than the other woodcuts from Janszoon's stock, used elsewhere in this pamphlet and in the Bonaventura. The title woodcut, stylistically similar to the illustrations of the Bonaventura, shows the Trinity as mystic Pietà, with God holding the dead Christ on his lap, and the Dove floating above, surrounded by thorns

Kronenberg 3974). An undated edition from the same press is also recorded (Nijhoff-Kronenberg 3975, dating it to ca. 1503, probably the same edition as GW M47283, listing a single copy at the Hague).

These Dutch editions are so rare that their contents have been glossed over in the standard bibliographies (GW, Nijhoff-Kronenberg), which provide no author attribution. P. Künzle, in his critical edition of the *Horologium sapientiae* (1977), mentioned the Dutch editions but, having been unable to view them, refused to pass judgment on whether they were related to the *Horologium*, the *Büchlein der Ewigen Weisheit* or to a completely different work (p. 262). Examination of the present text reveals that it conforms to the first part of the *Büchlein*, containing a dialogue between Eternal Wisdom and a disciple, the author / everyman. As noted by the *Verfasserlexikon*, "both the first and third parts of the *Büchlein der ewigen Weisheit* circulated independently in the late Middle Ages as popular devotional tracts" (col. 1122).

"The *Horologium* ... was particularly influential in the Netherlands where Geert Groote recommended it to his followers of the *devotio moderna* and translated a recension of it himself [possibly used for this edition]. It is no wonder then that the work which eclipsed it in popularity ... was a product of that movement and was influenced by the *Horologium*: Thomas a Kempis' *Imitatio Christi*" (*Christ, Plato, Trismegistus, Catalogue of the incunabula in the Bibliotheca Philosophica Hermetica*, II: p. 367).

The Suso text ends on B3r, and is followed, on B3v-B4r, by a prayer to the Virgin in the Sun, attributed to Sixtus IV, who grants an indulgence of 11 thousand years to whomever recites the prayer daily before the image of the Virgin, conveniently

¹ See the description of a Bruges manuscript prayerbook containing the Hundred Articles of Heinrich Seuse, "a text strongly associated with female religious," and similar prayers to the Virgin with indulgences of Sixtus IV (a common trope in both English and Continental manuscripts), in K. M. Rudy, *Piety in Pieces: How Medieval Readers Customized their Manuscripts* (online, Open Book Publishers), fig. 187.

and blossoms. The final woodcut is printed from the same Salvator Mundi block used in the Bonaventura. On the *Büchlein der ewigen Weisheit*, cf. *Verfasserlexikon*² 8:1121-22.

Humanist Sammelband with contemporary accounting of purchase and binding

5) **SENECA, Lucius Annaeus.** *Tragedie.* With the commentaries of Gellius Bernardinus Marmita and Daniel Caietanus. Venice: Filippo Pinzi, 29 October 1510.

[Bound with:]

BREYDENBACH, Bernhard von. *Peregrinationes in Terram Sanctam.* Speier: Peter Drach, 24 November 1502.

[Bound with:]

BOCCACCIO, Giovanni. *Genealogie [deorum gentilium]. - De montibus, syluis, fontibus ... liber.* With the tables of Dominicus de Aretino (i.e. Dominicus Bandini). Paris: Denis Roce, Ludwig Hornken [and Gottfried Hittorp], 22 August 1511.

3 vols. in one, folio (308 x 214 mm). **Seneca:** 149, [1 blank] leaves. Roman type. Text with commentary surround, shoulder notes. Title woodcut showing the author flanked by four commentators, NINE WOODCUT ILLUSTRATIONS from eight blocks, opening each play except *Troas*. Woodcut white-on-black initials. Rubricated (paragraph marks) in red and blue. **Breydenbach:** 72 of [100] leaves, including initial blank. Fragmentary copy, lacking quires b, d, and [m] (each in 8), the 6-leaf Jerusalem view and all but two leaves (the double-



page view of Parenzo) of quire c (in 8): i.e., lacking all but one of the double-page city-views and all the fold-out views, and corresponding text on versos. 7 woodcut text illustrations and double-page Parenzo view. Dedication leaf with illuminated initial in blue with monochrome foliage and gold infill with pricked diaper design, on a green and yellow ground, and with red filigree and leafy tendril extensions (two chips, upper extension cropped). Flourished Lombard initials and paragraph marks supplied in red and blue. Repaired marginal tear in A2. **Boccaccio**: 158 leaves, foliated [1], vi-clxii (complete). Title printed in red and black with large printer's device (Renouard 455, citing this edition). Roman types; table in three columns, *De Montibus* in two columns, shoulder notes. THIRTEEN FULL-PAGE GENEALOGICAL WOODCUTS, large woodcut and metalcut initials, smaller metalcut initials and initial spaces with guide letters, rubricated in red and blue.

Condition: A few small mostly marginal wormholes at beginning of volume and one or two at end, occasional browning in the Seneca, some mostly marginal dampstaining, minor soiling to title of Boccaccio and small stain to last leaf.

Binding: contemporary German blind-stamped pigskin over wooden boards, leafy roll-tool border with a round eagle tool at corners framing a central panel with saltire design of drawer-handle and plant tools, fore-edge with 29 of 32 original knotted index tabs of parchment from an old manuscript; pair of (later?) metal clasps and catches, board edges reinforced with same metal; recased and pastedowns renewed, preserving original pastedowns, mounted; later manuscript spine lettering (showing that the binding was recased upside down).

Provenance: Johannes Rogge, Rector of Leipzig University: ownership inscription on front pastedown containing a detailed manuscript record of the book's purchase, contents, costs of rubrication and binding (see below); two later inscriptions and contents list in an 18th-century hand, initial blank of the Breydenbach with title supplied in the same hand (citing Freytag [*Adparatus litterarius*, Leipzig 1752]); early collation notes and drawing of a watermark (?) on lower pastedown; with Quaritch, *Early Books List*, Autumn 2007, no. 53 (from which the note on Rogge below borrows). \$20,000

A humanist Sammelband, with the original owner's accounting, recording the purchase of each of the three books and costs of their rubrication, illumination, preparation for binding, and final binding.

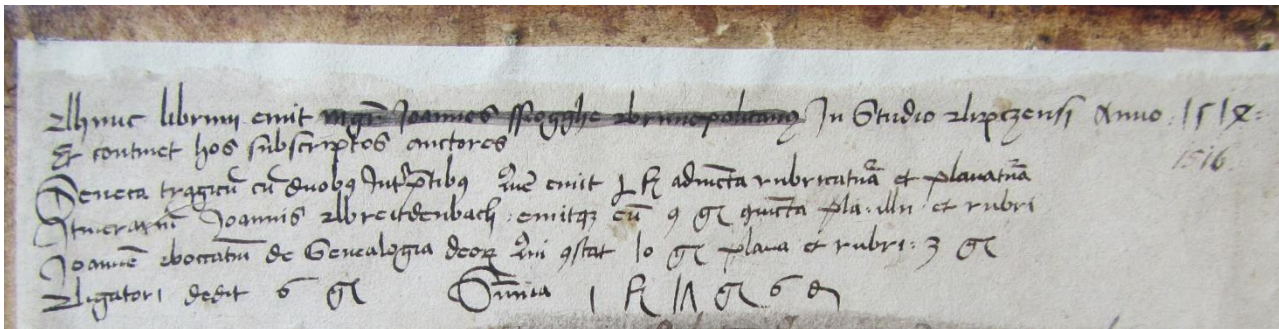
1) Of the ten tragedies of the traditional Senecan corpus, *Octavia* and *Hercules Oetaeus* are not considered his. The plays were first published at Ferrara in 1484. This is the only edition with these woodcuts. The title cut shows an author centrally placed at a high desk, flanked by four assistants or commentators. The central portion of the block (or blocks) was a removable plug, as the flanking figures appeared with a different central figure on the title of a 1505 edition of Horace printed by Filippo Pinzi's relative Donnino Pinzi (Essling 1165), and with two central figures in Bartholmeo Zanni's 1508 edition of Virgil (Essling 56). It also appeared with the same central block as here in an edition of Suetonius printed by Giovanni Rosso in 1506 (Essling 208), where it was signed with an L monogram, here removed. Although the other blocks, cut apparently for this edition, were dismissed by Essling as "mediocre," they possess a primitive charm. EDIT-16 34904; Essling 1690; Sander 6928=6927 (cf. GW M41447).

2) Third Latin edition of Breydenbach's travel account. The woodcuts are copies of those of the 1486 edition. Adams B-2826 (erroneous collation omitting quire e); VD 16 B 8258; Fairfax Murray 94; Davies III.

3) A Franco-German humanist edition of Boccaccio's *Genealogies of the Gods*. The edition was shared with the humanist bookseller-publisher Gottfried Hittorp (1485-1573) of Cologne, to whom the editor Johann Kierker addressed his long dedication on the title verso (followed by a short dedicatory poem to the readers). Hittorp associated himself with his fellow Cologne native Ludwig Hornken in 1511, and remained in Paris until 1525, having meanwhile bought the stock of the Cologne publisher Johannes Ravensberg along with its branches in Paris and Leipzig. He maintained close relationships with Basel and Nuremberg publishers, and later became Bürgermeister of Cologne (cf. data.bnf.fr).

The 13 genealogical woodcuts, at the head of each book, each contain a small figurative portrait of the founder of the mythological "dynasty." OCLC locates a single copy of this edition in the US (Harvard). Adams B-2172; Moreau 1511/24.

Provenance: This volume belonged to Johannes Rogge, rector of Leipzig University from 1515. Rogge appears in the Leipzig University records as Iohannes Rogen de Brunsswigk, matriculated in the faculty of Philosophy in 1501. He became Dean of the faculty in 1513, and Rector in the summer of 1515. The British Library holds another book from his library, bearing a similar inscription: cf. Augustine, *Epistolae*, Basel: Johann Amerbach 1493, purchased by Rogge in 1512 (cf. BMC III, 755, IB. 37362).



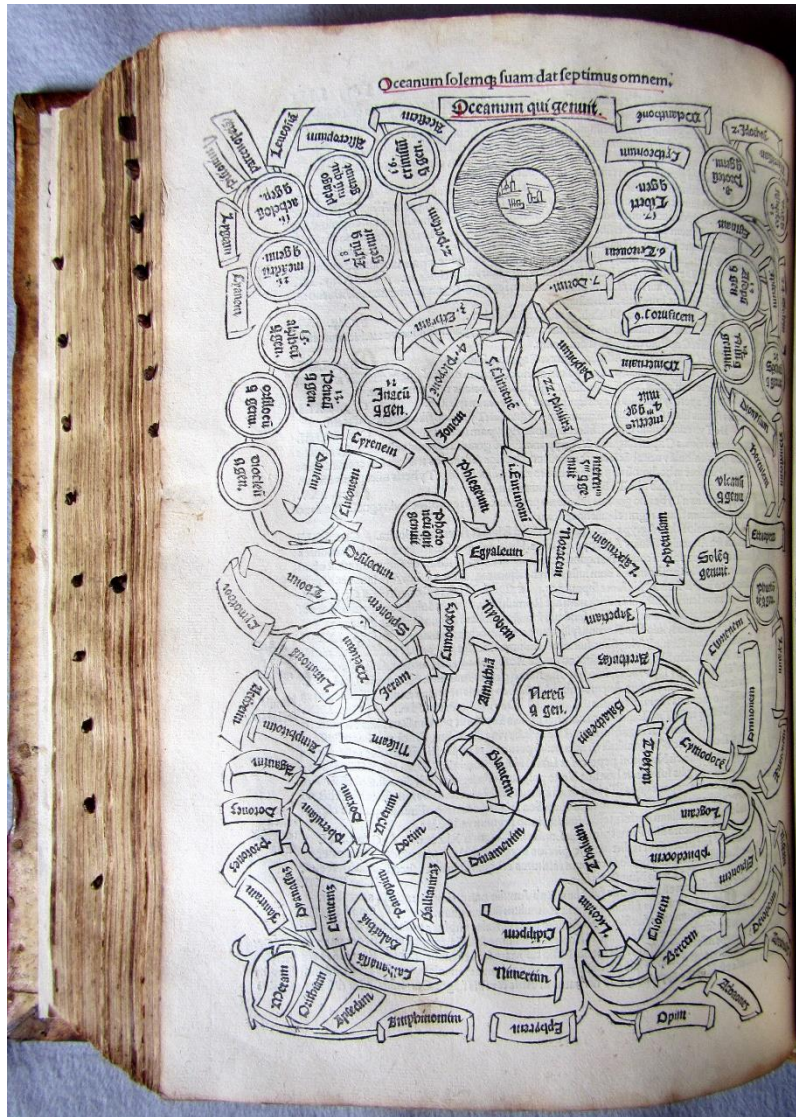
The inscription reads:

*hunc librum emit mgr [magister]
Joannes Rogge brunopolitanus
in studio lippczensi anno 1514 /
et continet hos subscriptos
auctores / Seneca tragicus cum
duobus interpretibus Quem emit
1 fl adiuncta rubricatura et
planatura / Itinerarium Joannis
breitdenbach emitque cum 9 gr*

coniuncta pla[natura] illu[minatione] et rubr[icatura] / Joannem boccacium de Genealogia deorum Qui constat 10 gr. pla[natura] et rubri[catura] 3 gr. / ligatori dedit 6 gr Summa 1 fl 17 gr 6 d.

("Master Johannes Rogge of Braunschweig bought this book at Leipzig university in 1514, and it contains the following authors: / Seneca's tragedies with two commentaries, which he bought for 1 florin including rubrication and planing. / The Itinerarium of Johannes [sic] Breidenbach, which he bought for 9 groschen including planing, illumination, and rubrication. / Giovanni Boccaccio, Genealogy of the Gods, which cost 10 groschen, plus 3 groschen for the planing and rubrication. He gave the binder 6 groschen. Total 1 florin 17 groschen 6 pfennings.")

The rubrication indeed appears to be uniform throughout the volume; the illuminated initial in the Breydenbach was also evidently commissioned by Rogge. In Rogge's accounting, the term *planatura*, which also appears in his inscription in the British Library Augustine, is apparently a Latinization of the German *planiren*, referring to the smoothing of the leaves preparatory to binding. The term or related terms are found in a few other owners' cost records in this period, mainly but not uniquely in Leipzig incunables, or in books bound in Leipzig or with Leipzig connections. For example, a Sammelband in the Bavarian State Library, containing four Leipzig incunables and a short manuscript tract (cf. BSB-Ink H-441,1), contains an owner's inscription referring to *totam materiam ad planandam 2 gr. argent [&] ad inligandum 3 gr*. Another Leipzig



incunable, Horace, *Epistulae*, [Martin Landsberg, 1492], BSB H-361,1, which was formerly part of a Sammelband, contains an anonymous purchase note, *Item duos denarios ad planandum*. A third example is found in a volume of the works of Virgil printed in Heidelberg by Heinrich Knobloch in 1495, in a Leipzig binding, with a purchase note recording a cost of 9 groschen for the book and 15 pfennigs *zum planiren* (BSB-Ink V-132,1). An apparently non-Leipzig example is a copy at the University of Tübingen of GW M50255, Johannes Versor, *Quaestiones super libros Metaphysicae Aristotelis cum textu* [Cologne: Heinrich Quentell, not after 1 November 1494], containing a 1498 inscription of a Brother Jacob Bemler of Cologne, recording the cost of the binding and “planing”: *pro uno aureo renensi ad ligatura et planatura* (cf. online Inkunabelkatalog INKA of the University of Tübingen).

The binding may have been executed in Braunschweig. Two of the tools are identified with the workshop of the so-called *Kleinfiguren-Meister* (Eindbanddatenbank workshop w000213), active in Braunschweig and nearby areas from ca. 1476 to 1515; the circular Adler tool is apparently EBDB s000022, and the plant tool = EBDB s001285 (Schwenke-Schunke I Blattwerk 471).



III. PILLARS OF THE CHURCH

Liturgy & prayer

Lambach Abbey copy, bound at the monastery, with Lambach manuscript waste and an ingenious early bookmark

6) GRITSCH, Conradus (not after 1409-1475).

Quadragesimale. [Nuremberg]: Anton Koberger, 27 February 1479.

Royal folio (414 x 284 mm). Collation as in BMC & GW. 246 leaves, unfoliated, including first and final blanks. 51 lines and headline, double column. Gothic types 4:160 (headings and headlines), 3:110a (text). Initial spaces. Fine large opening initial supplied in pink with foliate modelling, green filigree geometric infill and leafy extensions; rubricated in red with four-line Lombard pearled initials, some flourished, capital strokes and underlines; small marginal section numbers supplied by the rubricator. A large copy, preserving numerous deckle edges and many contemporary manuscript quire signatures in red ink. Fine condition (a few wormholes at end).

Binding: contemporary Austrian blind-stamped white alum-tawed skin, faded to a tan color except where protected by the now missing metal furniture and title label, over wooden boards, from the cloister bindery of the Lambach Benedictines, sewn on four double sewing supports plus single supports (*Kapitalbünde*) at head and tail, the spine leather extending over the *Kapitalbünde* with perforated tabbed caps, AN EARLY TEXTILE RIBBON BOOKMARK KNOTTED THROUGH ONE OF THE HOLES IN THE TOP EXTENSION, sides paneled with fillets, outer borders containing repeated impressions of small angled stick tools, large central panel

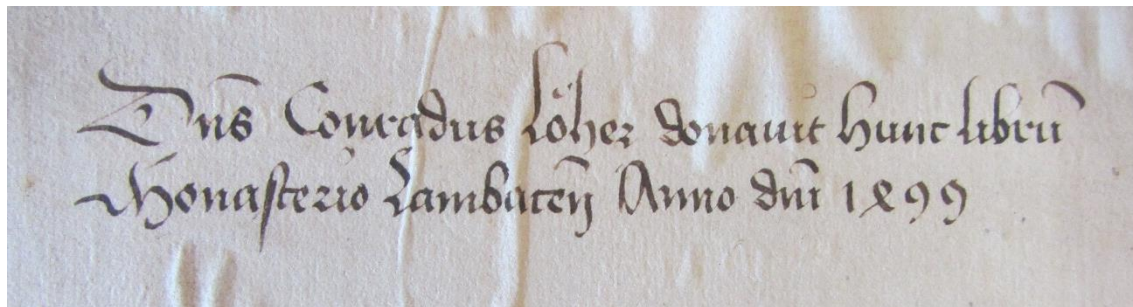


with intersecting diagonal double fillets forming a saltire design, the interstices decorated with several tools including a rosette, palmette, quatrefoil, *Ranke* and star tool, evidence of removed center- and corner-pieces on both covers and of a parchment title label on upper cover, original small parchment label under the space for the title label with Lambach shelfmark "E.18" in red ink; two brass fore-edge catchplates on upper cover and two clasp-strap attachments on lower cover, the leather clasps fragmentary and lacking the metal hook clasps, the brass catchplates and one attachment stamped "Maria," plain endpapers, VELLUM MANUSCRIPT SPINE LINERS FROM A FIFTEENTH-CENTURY RUBRICATED BIBLE (see below), plain endpapers, later stencilled paper lettering piece on spine (rubbed, some scrapes, some worming, especially to lower cover).

Provenance: Conrad Loher or Löher, 1499 presentation inscription to the Benedictines of Lambach: *D[o]m[i]n[u]s Conradus Loher donauit hunc libru[m] Monasterio Lambacensi Anno d[omi]ni 1499*; Lambach (Upper Austria) Benedictines: binding, shelfmark, inscribed identification of the work (full title and author) by the Lambach ?librarian on recto of initial blank leaf, with the number 37 in same hand; a couple of contemporary marginal notes in brown ink, a few manicules in outer margins in the same ink (ff. 14/6r, 27/7r, 28/5r, 29/2r, 30/6r, 31/4v, 31/5r & v); sold Hartung & Hartung, 14 May 2002, lot 150. \$30,000

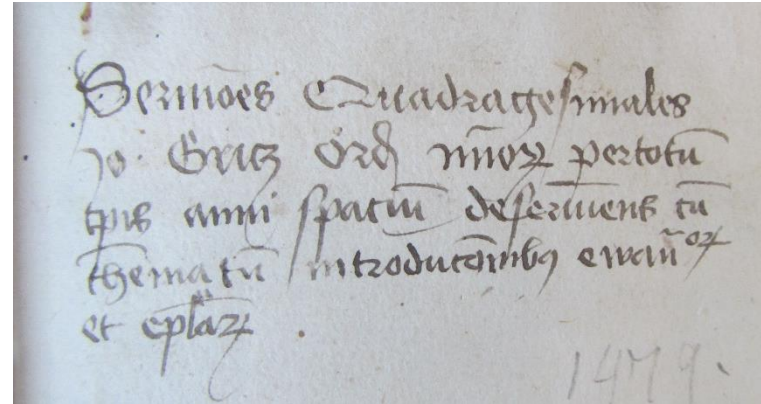
The eighth of 24 known incunable editions of this popular collection of 50 Lenten sermons, and the first of three Koberger editions. The author is identified in the printed editions as Johannes Gritsch, or Grütsch, Professor of Theology (or Law) at Basel, but the true author, as shown by A. Murith in 1940, is now thought to have been Grütsch's brother Conrad, a Franciscan who served churches in Vienna, Zurich, and other locations in Alsace and Switzerland. Intended as a handbook for preachers, the sermons use exempla from the Bible and Church Fathers, as well as from secular medieval and classical sources, including Ovid, which may account for their huge popularity. The *Verfasserlexikon* notes the occasional use of German words and phrases in the Latin text. The work is organized by date, i.e., the Sundays throughout the year, and the 18-leaf subject Register of the two preliminary quires is keyed to both the Sunday (indicated by numerals in the headings and headlines) and the sections within each Sunday's sermon, which are indicated by letters. As these letters are buried in the text in this edition, the rubricator of this copy took care to lightly mark the letters in the outer margins to assist the reader.

This fine copy was probably rubricated and was almost certainly bound in the monastic bindery of Lambach Abbey in Upper Austria, whose scriptorium was active from the 12th century. Lambach became a voracious buyer of books in the late 15th century, amassing a large number of printed books as well as manuscripts. A native of nearby Schwanenstadt, the local parish priest Conrad Loher or Löher (as spelled here) donated



a group of manuscripts and printed books to the monastery in 1499. A number of these books were clearly bound in the monastic shop 20 or so years earlier, providing evidence that this large monastic bindery seems to have carried out work for customers outside the monastery (cf. Holter, p. 284). Similar inscriptions, all dated 1499, appear in the other books donated by Loher.

The monastic inscription identifying the book, on the first blank leaf, appears to be in the same large rather spiky hand as the inscription in a Lambach incunable in the Morgan Library, PML 30218 (William of Ockham, *In primum librum Sententiarum*, [Urach: Conrad Fyner] 1483, Goff O-14).



Approximately two-thirds of the Lambach books were later sold, or made their way to the Austrian National Library, mainly in the twentieth century.

The tools on this binding, many first inventoried by Kurt Holter in 1954, are Einbanddatenbank s015770 (rhombus with four-petalled blossom), s015799 (little angled stick), s015776 (palmette), s015793 (6-pointed star), s015773 (rosette), s015782 (*Ranke* or leafy branch with fruits), s015769 (*Steinbock* or mountain goat), and s015800 (a tiny fleur-de-lis). Several impressions of one or two diamond-shaped tools are too rubbed to identify. The binding is noteworthy for the perforated extensions of the leather or skin of the spine at the head and tail, known as “tab caps,” covering the *Kapitalbünde* (a distinctive feature of late 15th- and early 16th-century South German bookbindings). It appears that the perforations in the flaps may have been intended for other bookmarks, which would have made it easy for the reader to mark several pages at once. The textile bookmark attached to the top tabbed cap is “clearly early but looks to be an amateur addition making use of a convenient hole” (Nicholas Pickwoad, email correspondence: grateful thanks to Dr. Pickwoad for his invaluable comments on the binding material and structure).

The Lambach monastic bindery regularly dismembered old manuscripts from the Abbey scriptorium and re-used them in bindings. Many fragments of older Lambach manuscripts have been recorded, including those held by the Beinecke Library, the subject of an exhibition in 1993 (cf. Babcock, *Reconstructing a medieval library: fragments from Lambach*, New Haven, 1993). In the present example, the vellum spine liner is from a fifteenth-century folio manuscript Bible in a large gothic hand, in 32 lines (recto and verso), with a few lines in smaller script (apparently commentary), this leaf from Genesis 42.13-14. The strip at the front of the text block is blank, being from the margin, the strip visible at the end of the text block has the beginnings of the lines of the recto side and ends of the lines of the verso. On the recto are 5 decorated initials of which 4 in alternating red and blue with contrasting filigree infill.

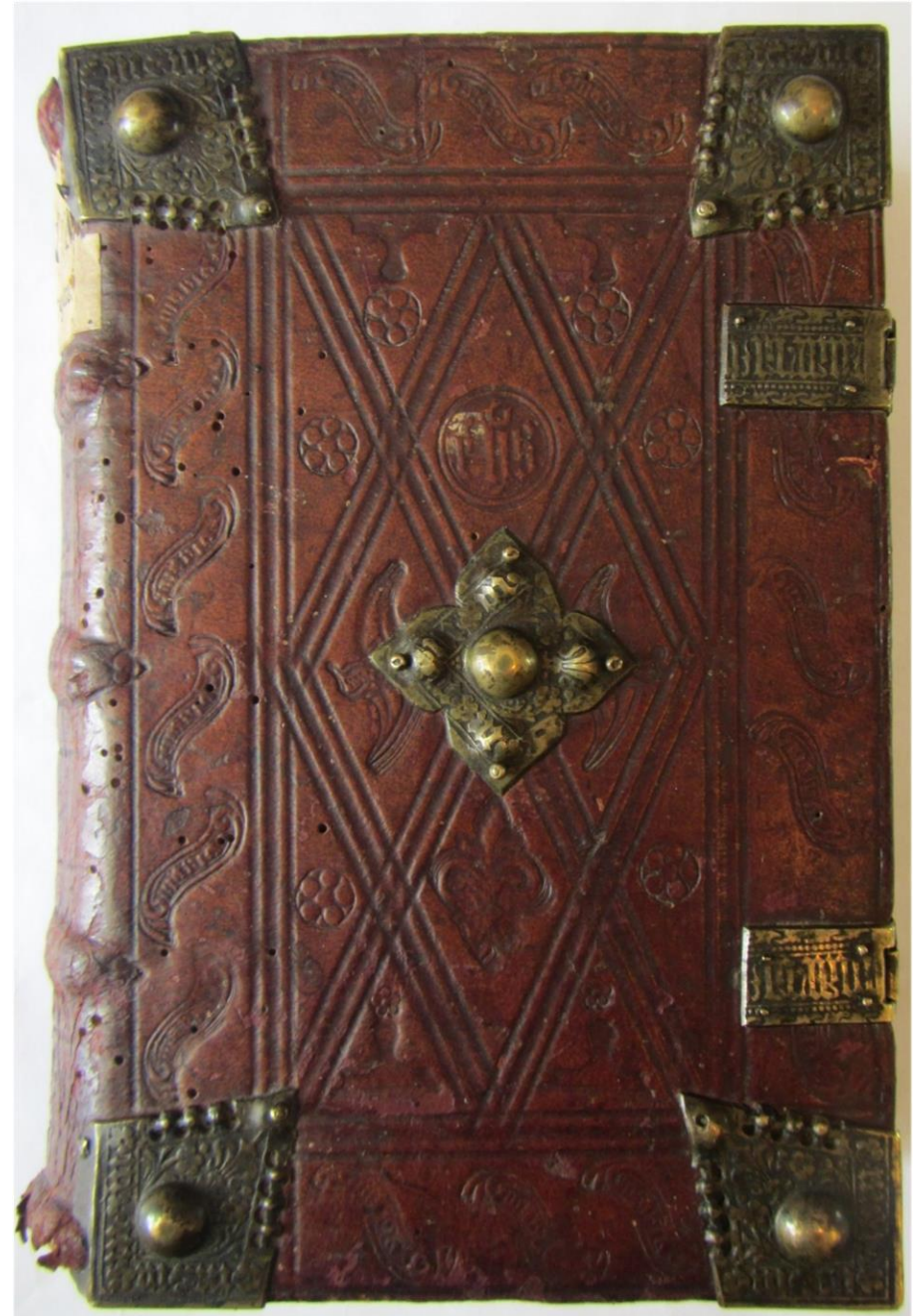
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Goff G-494; BMC II 417 (with erroneous date 26 Feb. 1479); GW 11545. On Gritsch, cf. *Verfasserlexikon*² 3:291-294; on the binding and provenance cf. Kurt Holter, “Zum gotischen Bucheinband in Österreich: Die Buchbinderwerkstatt des Stiftes Lambach,” *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* 1954: 280-289.

7) **MARCHESINUS, Johannes.** *Mammotrectus super Bibliam.*
Venice: Nicolaus Jenson, 23 Sept. 1479.

4to (212 x 146 mm). Collation: A¹⁰ B-C⁸; a-y⁸ 1-6⁸ 7¹⁰. [260] leaves. Double column, 38 lines and headline. Types: 3:106G (headlines and openings of each book), 6:84(75)G (text). Capital spaces with guide letters. Rubricated: pearled Lombard initials in red, some with extenders, many with additional (slightly later?) black penwork infill, capital strokes and paragraph marks in red. CONTEMPORARY MANUSCRIPT REGISTER OF BIBLICAL NAMES on recto of blank leaf A1, neatly written in two columns; contemporary manuscript foliation (1-234), leaf numbers added to the table, and a few marginal notes, all in the same hand. A few wormholes in first few quires, more worming in last few quires, light marginal dampstaining to last 8 or so leaves, a couple of red smudges (rubricator's?) on r5v and y8r. A large copy, preserving some deckle edges.

Contemporary South German or Austrian dark brown blind-stamped calf over wooden boards, covers with central panel outlined by triple fillets and with intersecting fillets forming a saltire design, outer borders stamped with a repeated Maria banderole tool, the compartments of the panel stamped with two sizes of rosettes, a fleur-de-lis, a circular *ih̄s* tool, a three-leaved plant, a teardrop-shaped dragon tool, drawer-handle tool and larger leafy plant tool; ten incised and embossed brass corner- and centerpiece bosses, two brass fore-edge clasps and catches (leather renewed), spine with banderole tools, with erroneous 19th-century paper label "S. Hieronym Expositio antiqua," 5 red-dyed parchment index tabs, quire liners of manuscript waste; spine rubbed, leather abraded at head and tail exposing endbands, oversewn with later thread, worming, especially to lower cover (possibly recased but not a remboîtage, the worming of inner covers matching the text block). Linen folding case.



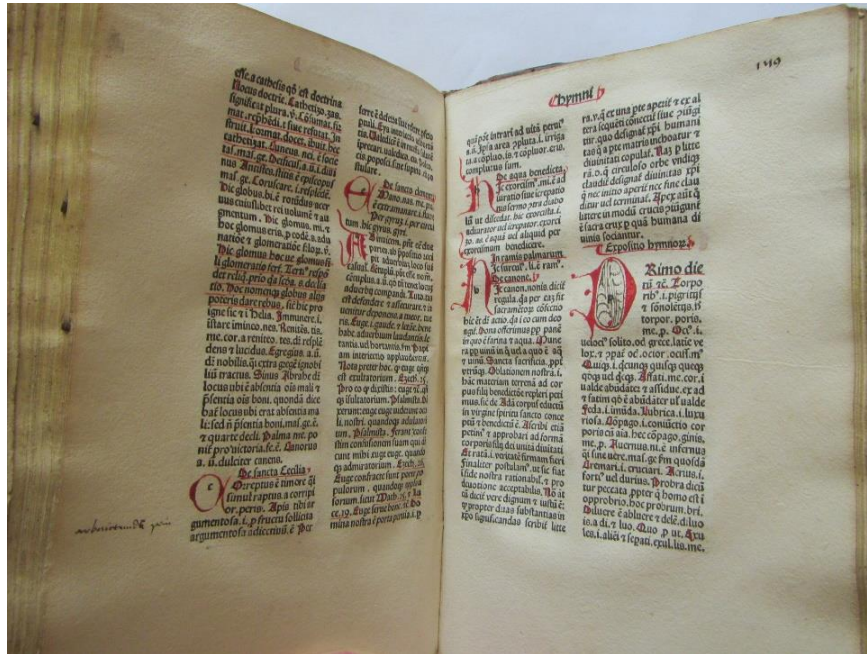
Provenance: contemporary manuscript imprecation against thieves on front pastedown, manuscript register & annotations. \$30,000

A fine copy of Jenson's edition of this important Franciscan Biblical and liturgical aid, popular in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, containing hundreds of short entries providing etymological and grammatical explanations of terms found in the Vulgate and in liturgy.

Written between 1279 and 1297, by Giovanni Marchesino, a friar from Reggio Emilia, the *Mammotrectus* was "maternal milk" for the uneducated clergy (the term had been used by Augustine in his Commentary on the Psalms). Using synonyms and paraphrases, Marchesino taught barely literate priests how to pronounce the Latin words from the Bible which they read aloud and sang in Church, what the words meant, and how to use them in sentences. The first and longest part, arranged in order of the books of the Bible, from Genesis to Apocalypse, provides definitions, etymology, pronunciation and declensions of difficult words. This is followed by sections on the Psalms, the Lives of the Saints, basic Biblical

exegesis, information on Hebrew festivals and customs, and extensive explanations of liturgical texts, including antiphons and responses, Eucharistic prayers, hymns, and sermons for every day of the ecclesiastical calendar. Packed with information, the work remained for two hundred years "the chief manual for poorly-educated priests" (Moss). It was used by young friars, who needed to master the Biblical texts and to use them in preaching. Twenty-three surviving 15th-century editions were followed by only a handful of editions in the early sixteenth century, by which time the *Mammotrectus* had become an object of derision on the part of the Reformists, for whom it was perhaps an unwelcome reminder of the ignorance of the clergy.

Jenson's edition essentially reprints the 1478 edition of Renner and Petrus de Bartua (Goff M238). The omitted line and a half at the end of the second column on y8v appears to have been printed in this copy (not stamped in, as in British Library copy, IA. 197929). Quire 1 is here correctly printed (cf. BMC).

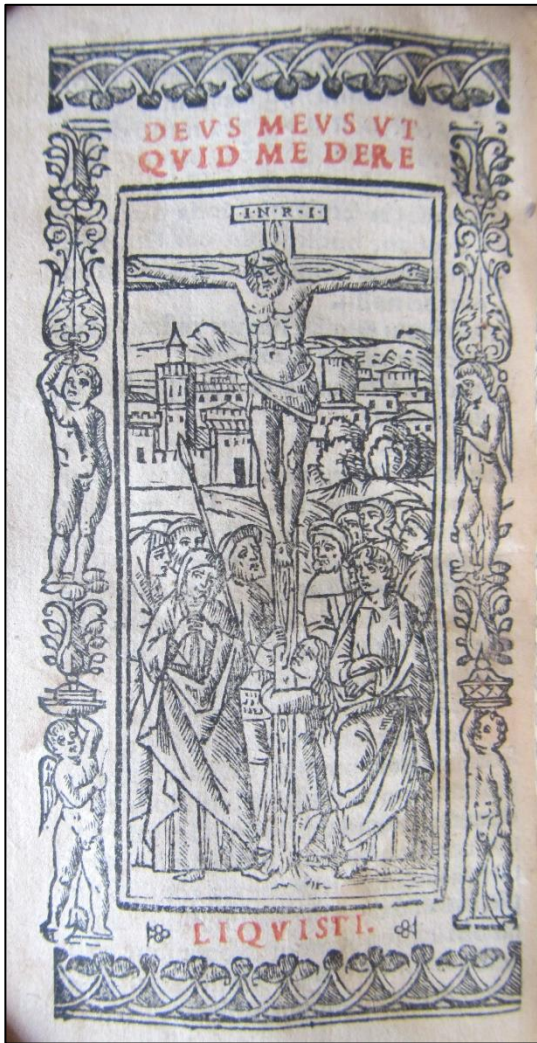


The owner of this attractive copy supplied his own supplemental index of names. I have been unable to identify the binding shop; the tools are not reproduced in the *Einbanddatenbank*, Kyriss, or Schunke, *Schwenke Sammlung*.

Goff M-239; CIBN M-124; Walsh 1593, 1594; BMC V 180; BSB-Ink M-158; GW M20819. Cf. Ann Moss, "Latin Liturgical Hymns and their Early Printing History 1470-1520," *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 36 (1987), 112-37, esp. p. 118; Frans van Liere, "Marchesino da Reggio (Giovanni Marchesini)", *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*.

8) OFFICE OF THE VIRGIN, use of Rome, in Latin. *Officiu[m] immaculate virginis Marie*. Venice: Tommaso Ballarino di Ternengo, 25 February 1530.

Agenda 12mo (136 x 72 mm). Collation: +¹² ++¹² a-p¹². [24], 180 leaves. Roman type, printed in red and black (often with poor registration). Title with half-page woodcut of St. Jerome kneeling before Christ on the Cross, 18 woodcuts, all but one full-page, introducing each section, including 3 repeats, within four-part figurative and ornamental woodcut borders, typographic captions in red printed above and below each cut, and; half-page cut of the Instruments of the Passion (f. 19r), approximately 65 smaller woodcuts including small text cut of Christ's wound printed in red [fol. ++10r), historiated initials. *Condition*: Archival restoration to title leaf, with loss to three or four words, strengthening to fore-edges of first few leaves, fol. m12 defective (restored with blank paper) with loss to text of lower half and corner of small woodcut; soiling and staining. Early flexible vellum, recased, modern endpapers. *Provenance*: Michel Barbier, contemporary ownership inscription below colophon, *Ego sum Michaelis Barbier et amicorum*. Passages crossed out (censured?), on fols. 132r (the first page of a prayer by the Venerable Bede), 141v and 154r. \$6500



AN UNRECORDED POCKET VENETIAN BOOK OF HOURS, cheaply printed for popular consumption, and illustrated with an independent suite of woodcuts not recorded by Essling or Sander. This modest copy seems to be the only remaining example of a suite of woodcuts clearly modeled on other Venetian Passion series used in late 15th and early 16th-century Offices of the Virgin and other Venetian devotional tracts, but differing in many details from even those recorded woodcuts that are iconographically similar.

The Venetian *Officium* illustrations were themselves inspired by French *Horae* illustrations (cf. Essling, *Livres à figures*, 3^{ème} partie, pp. 95-97). Essling reproduces several examples of similar Venetian devotional woodcuts, most in other editions of these books of hours (almost always called *Officii* rather than *Horae* in Italy), none of which, however, provide direct models for or are directly copied from the present cuts; see, for example, the crucifixion cut in Bonaventura, *Meditationi devotissime*, Venice: F. Bindoni & M Pasini, March 1526 (Essling 424, the cut reproduced in Part I, p. 381); the Visitation, Flight in Egypt, and Massacre of the Innocents cuts used in an Office of the Virgin from the press of Gregorius de Gregoriis, 1 Sept. 1512 (Essling 479, reproduced p. 441); or a Crucifixion cut used in an Italian *Officio della gloriosa virgine* printed in 1541 by D. Gilio and D. Gallo (Essling 499, p. 473).

The first preliminary quire contains the title, a two-page table of contents, a double-page tabular calendar for the years 1521-1539 (the years 1521-1526 appearing, oddly, at the end), in 4 pages (2 double-pages); a table of feast days for 1521-1554, printed sideways (4 pp.), and a monthly calendar of Saints' Days (12 pp.). The second quire contains a basic Christian primer: the Ten Commandments with explanatory commentary, Seven Deadly Sins, the Articles of Faith, Seven Works of Mercy, a guide to Confession, the order of Mass, etc., and summaries of the gospels of Luke, Matthew, and Mark. The Office of the Virgin proper opens with Matins on fol. a12r (with an Annunciation woodcut on facing page). Besides the full-page cuts, each Hour opens with an historiated woodcut initial enclosing a saint or other human figure. As in French *Horae*, the signature line of the first recto of each quire contains an abbreviated note of the usage, i.e., "OfR" (misprinted "QfR" on a1r), for *Officium Romanum*. The text contains three Offices of the Virgin: for Roman use, the Office for Advent, and the Office for the Feast of the Purification, The Office of the Dead and several other less common Offices follow (see below), concluding with various prayers, including the Rosary (*Rosarium Marie Virginis*), which is illustrated with a small cut of the *Arma Christi*, and longer texts of all four gospels.

The subjects of the large woodcuts are as follows:

- Annunciation (Matins), fol. ++12v
- Visitation (Laudes), a7v
- Nativity (Prime), a12v
- Adoration of the Shepherds (Terce), b2v
- Adoration of the Magi (Sext), b4v
- Circumcision (None), b6v
- Flight into Egypt (Vespers), b8v
- Massacre of the Innocents (Compline), b7v
- Annunciation, repeated, c2v, introducing the Office for Advent
- same, repeated, d12v, Office for the Feast of the Purification
- same, repeated, g1v, Mass of the Virgin
- David praying (with a theorbo or citterone), g5v, Penitential Psalms
- Raising of Lazarus, h5v, Office of the Dead
- Crucifixion, i7v, Office of the Holy Cross
- Pentecost, k3v, Office of the Holy Spirit
- The Trinity (a smaller woodcut), k6v, Office of the Holy Trinity
- All Saints, k7v, Office of all Saints
- Holy Communion (a priest and acolytes), k8v, Office of the Sacraments

This previously unrecorded edition (not in Bohatta, Essling, Sander, Rava, Harvard / Mortimer *Italian*, OCLC, USTC, or EDIT-16) pushes the dates of activity of the Venetian press of Tommaso Ballarino (originally from Ternengo Vercellese) back by a year. EDIT-16 lists 16 titles from this press, the earliest, an *Officium hebdomade sancte*, dated 1531. Ballarino's name is misspelled "Trenengo" in the colophon (*Venetiis per Thomam de Trenengo Vercellensem*).

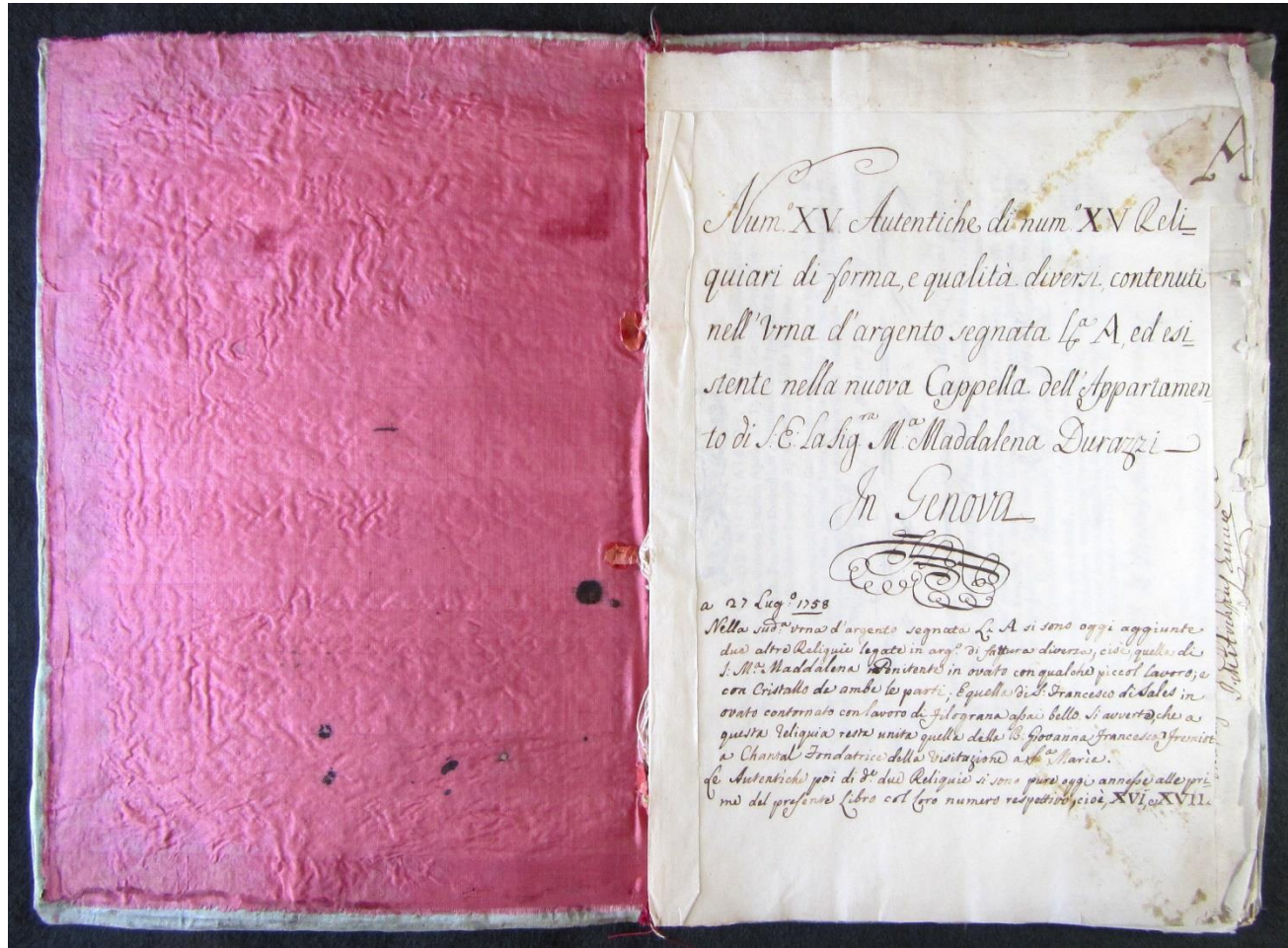




Relics

A noble Italian family's relic authentications, in an embroidered silk armorial binding

9) DURAZZO FAMILY. A collection of printed and manuscript documents relating to religious relics in the private chapels of the Durazzo family palace and villa, including 12 printed and 2 manuscript relic authentications. Genoa, Rome ad other places, 1661-1794.



Binding size 335 x 233 mm. Contents: 18 documents: 12 printed authentication forms ("authentics"), accomplished in manuscript, most with woodcut coats-of-arms of the issuing cleric at top, some with woodcut or typographic three-quarter borders; all with official wax seals or stamps, of which most attach a second sheet of paper; plus two full-sheet (2-leaf) manuscript authentication forms and 4 manuscript sections of notes, one in four pages, totaling 8 pages; with two loosely inserted manuscript slips. Many of the authentication forms originally folded, with residual creases, some fraying and staining, sewing loose, a few documents detached. The documents stitched into pale green silk covers over flexible

boards, SPLENDIDLY EMBROIDERED, both covers with outer yellow border enclosing a silver arabesque border punctuated with abstract fleur-de-lis in silver, beige and brown, at center the large Durazzo coat of arms embroidered in orange, cream, red, gray, and various shades of blue, set within a large and elegant ornamental cartouche in brown, green, cream and green silk, surmounted by a marquess's crown of white-dotted silver wire thread with "gems" in emerald thread; dark pink satin liners; some darkening to covers from paste used for the liners, stains to lower portion of front cover, a few threads frayed, apparent loss to embroidered motifs on spine, some light soiling, but overall in remarkably fine condition. Provenance: Durazzo family, supra-libros & contents; the volume was acquired in Italy and legally exported.

\$18,000

This superlative volume is both a beautiful book object and a window into a routine but often neglected aspect of Catholic religious life, codified in the Council of Trent, but inextricable from Christian practice from the earliest era. Mostly printed forms filled in by Bishops or protonotaries, each with its official wax seal or stamp, the documents contained herein confirm the authenticity of fragments from the bodies, clothes, hair, and personal effects of two dozen Saints, the veil of the Virgin, and several fragments of the True Cross. These precious and highly evocative certificates reveal a side of Catholic bureaucracy rarely seen but nonetheless crucial to the perpetuation of ecclesiastical power. Unusually, the present certificates of authenticity were issued for relics preserved in the private chapels of a prominent noble family, and were carefully stitched into lavishly embroidered covers emblazoned with the family crest. The Durazzo (or Durazzi) family was one of the most powerful families of Genoa, who contributed no fewer than nine Doges to the city. At the time this volume was assembled the paterfamilias was Marcello Durazzo, Doge of Genoa from 1767 until his death in 1791.



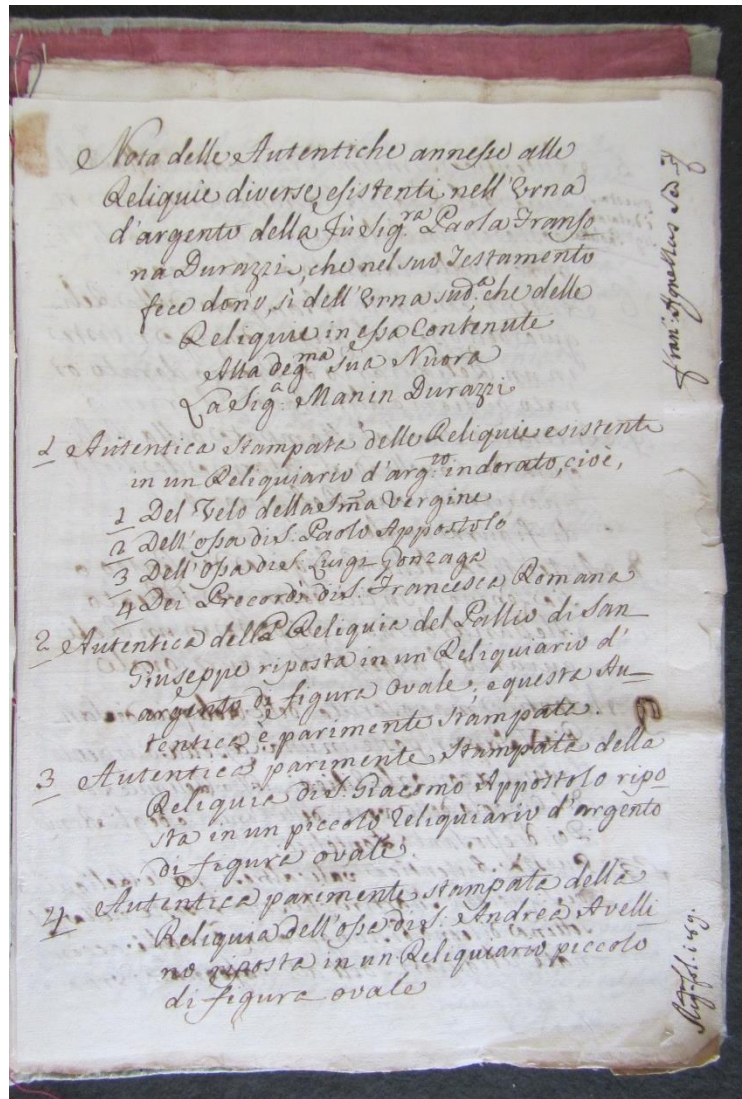
Relics are a bedrock of the Catholic Church. "In opposition to the Iconoclasts ... the Second Council of Nicaea anathematized those who despised holy relics and laid down that no church should be consecrated without them... The theological foundation of the cult of relics was worked out by the Schoolmen, especially St. Thomas Aquinas, on the principles laid down by Jerome and Augustine.... In the 16th century the doctrine was confirmed by the Council of Trent..." (*Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 3rd edition (1997), p.1388). To combat the always looming threat of fakes, the Church developed a regulatory system "requir[ing] the authentication of relics if they were to be publicly venerated. They had to

be sealed in a reliquary and accompanied by a certificate of authentication, signed and sealed by someone in the Congregation for Saints, or by the local Bishop where the saint lived. Without such authentication, relics are not to be used for public veneration. The Congregation for Saints, as part of the Roman Curia, holds the authority to verify relics in which documentation is lost or missing. The documents and reliquaries of authenticated relics are usually affixed with a wax seal" (Wikipedia, article "Relics").

Although these printed forms provide a glimpse of a veritable industry of relic certificates, the rules governing the process were, and remain, rigorous. The Council of Trent decreed, for example, that "in this matter bishops should make use of the advice of theologians and of other

pious persons. It would seem that among the latter should be included those who are trained experts in history and archaeology..." (E. Taunton, *The Law of the Church: A Cyclopaedia of Canon Law* [1906], pp. 54-55). There were a variety of specific rules; whether they were observed to the letter or not, certificates of authentication, known in English as "authentics," granted the right to place and exhibit the relic for the veneration of the faithful in any church, oratory, or chapel. Formulaic phrases came to be used in the authentics (still used in modified forms today). While subject to variation, their consecratory significance remained the same, as is evident from the present documents. Also obvious is the high importance of the vessels holding the holy relics: usually provided with one or two rock crystal faces, to enable viewing of the relic, these reliquaries, almost always of gold or silver and embellished with filigree or bejeweled decoration, are described in at least as much or more detail than the relics themselves.

As explained in two full-page manuscript notes, dated 1758 and 1763, the present volume contains authentications of relics held in two large silver urns, labeled urn A and urn B, kept in the "new" private family chapel in the apartments of Maria Maddalena Durazzo (1715-1780), Marcello's wife (and cousin). It contains fourteen authentication documents, dating from 1661 to 1794, most dating from the 1730s to 1760s (the document from 1794 is a later, loose insert). Twelve are printed forms completed in manuscript and signed by the officials named in the headings, including Bishops, Archbishops and protonotaries from Genoa or Rome but also from as far afield as Myra in Asia Minor or Porphyreon (present-day Jieh, Lebanon). The documents were issued from Rome, Genoa, the Bishopric of Minerbino (near Bari), and Venice, provided with the requisite seals or stamps, and witnessed, often several years later, by clerics receiving them in Genoa (though one is witnessed by one of the family members, one Maria Anna Durazzi). Two further authentics at the end are entirely in manuscript; written from Genoa in a hasty and barely legible scrawl, they appear to relate to the bequest in 1762 of a group



of relics from Marcello Durazzo's mother Paola Fransona Durazzo, to her daughter in law "Manin" (i.e., Maria Maddalena?) Durazzo, the contents of which are itemized in a four-page list. This unusual list consists of a veritable catalogue, not directly of the relics per se, but of the *authentications* of the relics, apparently necessary for record-keeping since the documents themselves are not present in the volume.

Among the relics listed in the authentications, and in the manuscript catalogue of other authentications, a rather large proportion are fragments of the Virgin's veil. There are also several pieces of the Cross, of which one is itself in the form of a cross, and is housed in a cruciform crystal and gilt bronze reliquary; fragments of the bones of St. Anne, of Saints Mary Magdalene, Francis de Sales, Jeanne de Chantal (founder of the Visitation order), the Apostle Paul, Luigi Gonzaga, Andrea Avellino, Paola Matrona Romana, the Patriarch St. Dominic (founder of the Dominican order), St. Francis of Paola (founder of the order of the Minims), St. Paschal of Baylon, St. James the Apostle, and St. Anthony the Abbott (or the Great). Moving beyond bones, there are hairs of St. Catherine of Bologna, teeth of St. Placid, parts of the intestines (*Precordi*) of St. Francis of Rome and St. Filippo Neri, drops of blood and fat of the martyred St. Lawrence, pieces of the cloak of St. Joseph, of the cowl of Francis of Assisi, of the sheet in which St. Alexander Sauli slept, and of Pope Pius V's belt, vest, ashes, and Agnus Dei (small wax disks impressed with the figure of the Lamb; these were blessed at certain seasons by the Pope and sometimes worn as objects of devotion), plus the complete remains of St. Justin Martyr.

When any of the relics (such as the body of St. Justin Martyr, authenticated on 14 August 1758), had to be opened, were moved or exhibited, a new authentication was required, and full details of the relic's movements or adjustments are provided (St. Justin's head, for example, required some "stabilization" after it was moved to the public chapel next to the family's Ramairone villa...).

A few authentications mention the Durazzos specifically or state that the relics were sent as a gift from the Pope, e.g., the second printed document, "from the desk of" Fr. Silvester Merani, Titular Bishop of Porphyreon, signed and dated 19 May 1742, certifying a piece of the Veil of the Virgin, from the church of St. Anastasia in Rome, sent *by special order of Pope Benedict XIV*; or the authentication of the aforementioned body of St. Justin Martyr, a different printed form but also from Merani, dated 14 August 1758, which states that the relic was sent from the Cemeterio [that word being part of the printed formulary] S. Calista, by order of Pope Clement XIII, as a gift to his Excellence Master Marcello, Marquess Durazzo. (The catacombs of St. Callixtus, from the third century the burying ground of the Church in Rome, contained the remains of dozens of martyrs and hundreds of early Christians, and naturally became one of the principal officially sanctioned sources of relics.) These surprising asides seem to imply that relics, which could of course never be sold, could nonetheless be "earned" as a reward for influence or an acknowledgement of social prestige.

The sumptuous embroidered binding appears to date from the second half of the 18th century. Embroidered bindings from this period are usually smaller; examples of this size and quality very seldom survive in such good condition.



Idolatry co-opted?

10) ENDRES, Franz Xaver, artist and publisher – MARIA STEINBACH, Pilgrimage Church. *Wahre Bildnuss der MIRACULOSEN schmerzhaften Mutter Gottes zu Steinbach in oberschwaben. ATTACTA.* A. V. (Augsburg): Franz Xavier Endres, [ca. 1760-1770].

Folio broadsheet (348 x 272 mm). Hand-colored and varnished engraving, trimmed almost to platemark and mounted on contemporary stiff card paper, the contemporary coloring in maroon, reddish orange, green, and pale pink, on a yellow ground; some creasing, a few small tears, patch-repaired on verso, one 1-inch open tear touching image, small border losses, upper edge rubbed. **\$1150**

An unusual hand-colored and varnished engraving, commemorating a pilgrimage to the church of Our Lady of Maria Steinbach, in Legau, Bavaria. The image shows the crowned Virgin on a pedestal with a dagger piercing her breast (a reference to the prophecy of Simeon, Luke 2,35, describing a metaphorical sword piercing Mary's soul), emanating rays and surrounded by 14 winged angels' heads, within a rococo frame; the title is on a cartouche below her feet. The word *Attacta* ("having been touched," feminine perfect passive participle of *attingere*) which concludes the title was used, apparently only in the 18th and 19th centuries, to indicate that a devotional image of a pilgrimage icon had literally touched the holy painting or statue itself and was therefore blessed. In other words, through a magical process, the print itself was openly acknowledged to have become an object of worship, charged with special sanctitude.

This astonishing break with Catholic orthodoxy is especially ironic in the present context: The pilgrimage to the church of Maria Steinbach had originated relatively recently, in 1730, with a rumor that the eyes of a statue of the Virgin within the church were moving, and that its face was flushed as if with weeping. The statue rapidly became the object of a popular pilgrimage, as stories of its miracle-working powers spread. At first, church officials in Constance tried to suppress the movement, but, as often in such cases of spontaneous Marian fervor, it was decided that a wiser move would be to accept it. A commission was formed to take the testimony of witnesses to the miracles under oath, all of which was carefully recorded, and the Bishop of Constance gave his blessing to the new shrine in 1733, demonstrating "the power of the laity over the nature of Catholic devotion" (Forster). A new church, with lavish Rococo decoration, was built on the site, in which scenes of 8 miracles, taken from miracle books of 1738 and 1746, were painted on the ceiling by Franz Georg Hermann. In their presentation by Hermann these miracles were delicately subsumed into a theological context, the clergy being wary of accusations by Protestants from the surrounding area that they were promoting idolatry.

Nonetheless, as always, a parallel practice of religiosity continued, outside the doctrinal boundaries of the Church. People prayed at the shrine, while continuing to practice less orthodox forms of religious "*Andacht*" (devotion). "The statue was even available outside Steinbach": in his testimony to the commission, one witness had stated that "he prayed to a picture of the *Gnadenbild* in his house" (Forster). The present engraving testifies to the continuation of this practice a full generation later.

The yellow tone and application of lacquer or varnish may have been intended to imitate yellow silk: a few devotional engravings from Maria Steinbach printed on silk are known.

The woodcutter, engraver, stencil-maker (*Patronist*) and publisher Franz Xavier Endres or Endress had begun his career as a miniature painter, and was admitted (somewhat controversially) to the ranks of *Patronisten*, or stencil designers (perhaps also designers of woodcut and engraved images) in 1744. From about 1753 to 1780 he managed a successful business publishing devotional imagery and ephemera, of "illustrated prayer cards, blessings for the house and stable, broadsides, indulgences, and so on" ("*Gebetszettel, Haus- und Stallsegen, Bilderbogen, Ablassblättern, usw.*": Spamer, p. 233).

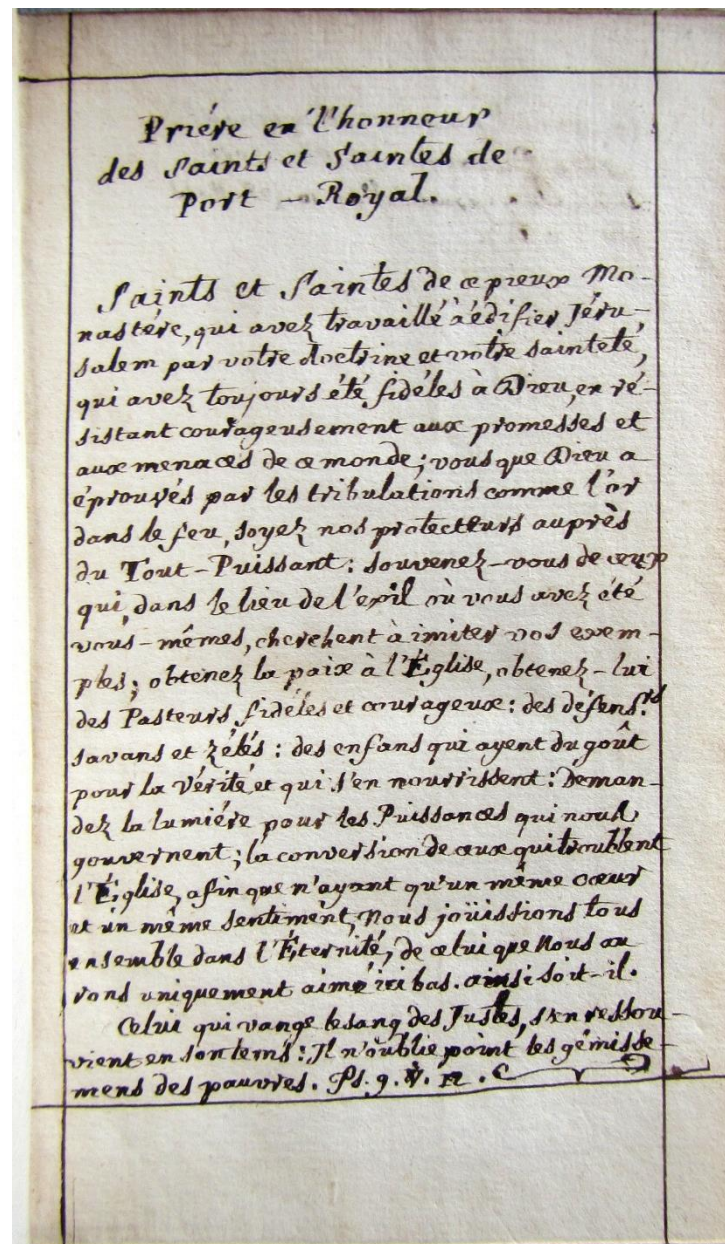
References: A. Spamer, *Das kleine Andachtsbild*, pp. 233 & 190 note 4; Gier & Janota, eds., *Augsburger Buchdruck und Verlagswesen*, pp. 392 & 1285; Marc B. Forster, "Debating the Meaning of Pilgrimage: Maria Steinbach 1733," J. Van Horn Melton, ed., *Cultures of Communication from Reformation to Enlightenment: Constructing Publics in the Early Modern German Lands* (2002, viewed online, unpaginated). A later version of this article appears in Forster's *Catholic Revival in the Age of the Baroque: Religious Identity in Southwest Germany, 1750-1770*, (2004). On the church of Maria Steinbach, see Wikipedia article, "Zur Schmerzhaften Muttergottes und St. Ulrich (Maria Steinbach)."

How to make a holy site

11) [GAZAINES, Jean-Antoine (1717-1802)]. *Manuel des pèlerins de Port-Royal des Champs*. "Au Désert" [Paris?: s.n.], 1767.

12mo (167 x 98 mm). 3 parts: 64; 152; 104, [2] pp. Typographic and woodcut ornaments, headpieces and initials. Extra-illustrated with engraved frontispiece of two priests, titled "Le Pèlerinage de Piété." Small marginal ink smudge on fol. E6r, else fine. Early 19th-century red morocco in an 18th-century style, sides with triple gilt fillet borders, smooth spine gold-tooled and -lettered in compartments, gilt edges, turn-ins gilt (a couple of small scratches, slight scuffing to joints, a small stain). *Provenance*: early 19th-century manuscript "Prière en l'honneur des Saints et Saintes de Port-Royal" on front flyleaf, identifying the author as Gazaignes (giving his date of death as "9 Germinal l'an 10 (28 March 1802)"; modern pencil note, "ex de la Bouderie & Parent-Duchatelet": Jean Labouderie, abbé, owned a large collection of saints lives, rules of religious orders etc., cf. the *Catalogue de la bibliothèque de feu M. l'abbé J. Labouderie* (Paris 1854); with the bookseller Auguste Aubry in 1870: catalogue clipping inserted, item no. 4915 from the *Bulletin du Bouquiniste*, 1 January 1870. \$1600

First Edition, extra-illustrated copy, of a pilgrims' manual and commemorative history of the Abbey of Port-Royal. Founded in the 13th century, this Cistercian abbey of nuns in the Chevreuse valley became a center of Catholic reform and education, and an ascetic retreat for laymen (known as *Solitaires*). Under the Abbess Angélique Arnauld, sister of Antoine Arnauld, it also became the center of Jansenist doctrine, and as such a focal point of resistance to the Jesuit-dominated monarchy. In 1664 those nuns still at Port-Royal (most had moved to a new abbey in Paris after 1624) who had refused to sign the so-called Formulaire of Pope Alexander VII, condemning the tenets of Jansenism, were forbidden the sacraments and essentially held prisoner in the Abbey. This marked the beginning of years of mounting conflict with the King and established Church in France, culminating in the closure of the Abbey in 1707, its official suppression in 1709, and its demolition, by order of the Council of State, in 1711-1713.





No sooner destroyed than the site became a pilgrimage destination; thus commenced the “second history” of Port-Royal. Architectural remnants of the buildings were salvaged by local inhabitants and used for construction. The human remains which had been lain to rest over the centuries of the abbey’s existence having been hastily exhumed to be transported elsewhere, many bits of bone, etc. were dispersed during transport, and quickly came to be viewed as relics. All of this is described in the present account by the abbé Gazaignes. Part 1 contains a necrology of the principal abbesses, priors and nuns, and a history of the abbey. It includes a short-title catalogue of principal works composed by members of Port-Royal (pp. 59-64), which amounts to a succinct bibliography of Jansenism. Part 2 contains the “Office des Saintes Reliques,” in Latin and French, in parallel columns, and Part 3, “Relation de l’exhumation des corps des bienheureux et bienheureuses de Port-Royal,” briefly traces the fates of the exhumed bodies, but is mostly devoted to a description of the Stations of the Cross for the pilgrimage, providing an historical description of each stop, with accompanying psalms. The last, unnumbered leaf contains route directions for pilgrims.

The edition’s fictive place of publication refers to a famous exclamation of Mme. de Sévigné, who called the isolated valley of Port-Royal “un affreux désert.” Typography and signing practice point to a Paris press. The unsigned engraved frontispiece added to this copy contains a caption identifying the two priests as Firmin-Louis Tournus, and François de Paris, Deacon. OCLC lists one copy in the US (Emory, Pitts Theology Library). A few copies are bound with a 36-page *Bénédiction de l’eau et ordinaire de la messe*, not present here (nor in the BSB digitized copy). A modern reprint appeared in 1969 and 1975. Barbier III:44.

Fear & Ignorance

The Brussels massacre

12) **YDENS, Etienne.** *Histoire du S. Sacrement de Miracle. Reposant à Broxelles, en l'Eglise Collegiale de S. Goudele, & des Miracles faitz par iceluy.* Brussels: Rutger Velpius, 1605.

8vo (151 x 93 mm). Collation: *8 **4 e8 A-S8 (S8 blank). [40], 266, [4] pp. Roman and italic types, shoulder notes. 16 engraved illustrations including title vignette, one plate and 14 three-quarter-page or full-page engravings printed in text quires, by Adriaen Collaert, the engraving on p. 242 signed by him; three engravings are corrections mounted over the original engravings (pp. 4, 17 & 28). Lightly washed, but a fine copy, with excellent, dark impressions of the engravings. Late 19th-century Jansenist brown morocco, turn-ins gilt, gilt edges (minor scuffing to joints and corners).

\$3600

ONLY EDITION of an overtly anti-Semitic miracle book, containing a disturbing reminder of the intimate historical links between persecution of the Jews and Christian religious fervor.

The cult of the Holy Sacrament of the Miracle, of which this edition contains the first complete printed account, originated in an infamous host desecration libel, used as justification for the arrest and murder of a group of Brussels Jews in 1370 by order of the Duke of Brabant, and the subsequent expulsion of the Jews from that duchy. According to the libel, a Jew named Jonathan, from Enghien, decided to steal and desecrate communion wafers in revenge for mistreatment of his co-religionists. To do this he supposedly bribed a recently converted Jew named Jean de Louvain to steal the ciborium from the church of Sainte Catherine of Molenbeek-Saint-Jean. Jonathan was assassinated and his widow and son Abraham fled with the ciborium to Brussels, where with a gathering of fellow Jews they purportedly engaged in desecratory stabbing of the wafers, which miraculously gushed blood. The frightened Jews were then said to have consigned the ciborium and its contents to a converted Jew named Catherine, asking her to hide it in Cologne, but she succumbed to remorse and reported the act to the local priest. While the recovered hosts were transported in a procession to the nearby Cathedral of St Michael and St. Gudula (patron saint of Brussels), the accused Jews were burned at the stake and the Jewish community was banished. St. Gudula with its allegedly miraculous hosts became a pilgrimage site, and the reliquary containing the hosts was paraded in an annual procession. The cult of the Sacrament of the Miracle was not discontinued until after WW II.



The supposed miracles enacted by the hosts are described here at length, as is a cold-blooded accounting of the monies taken from the Jewish victims by their persecutors. Also provided is the text of a papal indulgence for pilgrims to St. Gudula; the history of another miraculous host, at the Augustinian monastery in Louvain; and a life of St. Gudula.



The title engraving shows Saints Michael and Gudula flanking a seated God-figure wearing a papal crown holding the Golden cross which housed the miraculous hosts (also illustrated on p. b8 verso and p. 72), and in which they were hidden during the Calvinist Republic (1579-1585). The remaining engravings are illustrations of scenes from the libel, a depiction of the Louvain Host reliquary, and a full-length portrait of Gudula (signed by Collaert).

In his dedication to the ruling monarch, Isabella, Infanta of Spain, dated 14 July 1605, the author, a priest and canon of St. Gudula, explains his motivation for relating this terrible tale. A few partial manuscript and printed accounts of the miracle in Latin and Flemish existed (see Adam), but none circulated in French, the international language of the people. Yden describes blushing at his French, explaining that Latin would have been easier for him, and his indecision as to whether to see his manuscript into print. (French was evidently also not the first language of the compositors, given the number of misprints and misspellings.) But besides informing the faithful, Yden explains, he intends to “confound the Heretics” (fol. *4v), referring to the Protestants, who denied transubstantiation and had publicly cast doubt on the tale of the miracle. The reliquary’s reemergence in 1585, when the Calvinists were chased out, became another miracle to commemorate. Isabella and her husband Archduke Albert made the annual procession of the reliquary a state occasion. The implied parallel between the Jews and the Protestants had already been spelled out in the stained-glass windows of the Chapel of the Holy Sacrament of St. Gudule, made by Jean Haeck in the 1540s, and it had become commonplace to portray the supposed desecrations by medieval Jews as prefigurations of Protestantism. That theme pervades this work, not only in Yden’s text. One contributor, in a preliminary Ode signed “C.D.P.,” calls out jointly the “*pauvre Juif*” and the “*hereticque abominable*” (fol. **2r). Similar paired epithets or exhortations are scattered throughout the preliminary verses, which include an Ode and Sonnet by the poet Maximilien de Wignacourt. The work’s resonance and raison d’être thus went beyond hagiography or miracle accounts. Renaud Adam situates Yden’s text in the context of Habsburgian efforts to maintain Catholic dominance over the Southern

Netherlands, and traces a gradual softening of the anti-Protestant message in later editions of the work (starting with Yden’s own Flemish version of the text in 1608, in which he added witchcraft to his targets): cf. Renaud Adam, “L’Histoire de Saint sacrement de Miracle d’Étienne Ydens (1605), œuvre de dévotion ou œuvre polémique?,” *Revue Belge de Philologie et d’Histoire* 92 (2014), 2:413-433.

OCLC locates a single copy of this edition in North America (Houghton). Brunet V, 469.

Sure thing

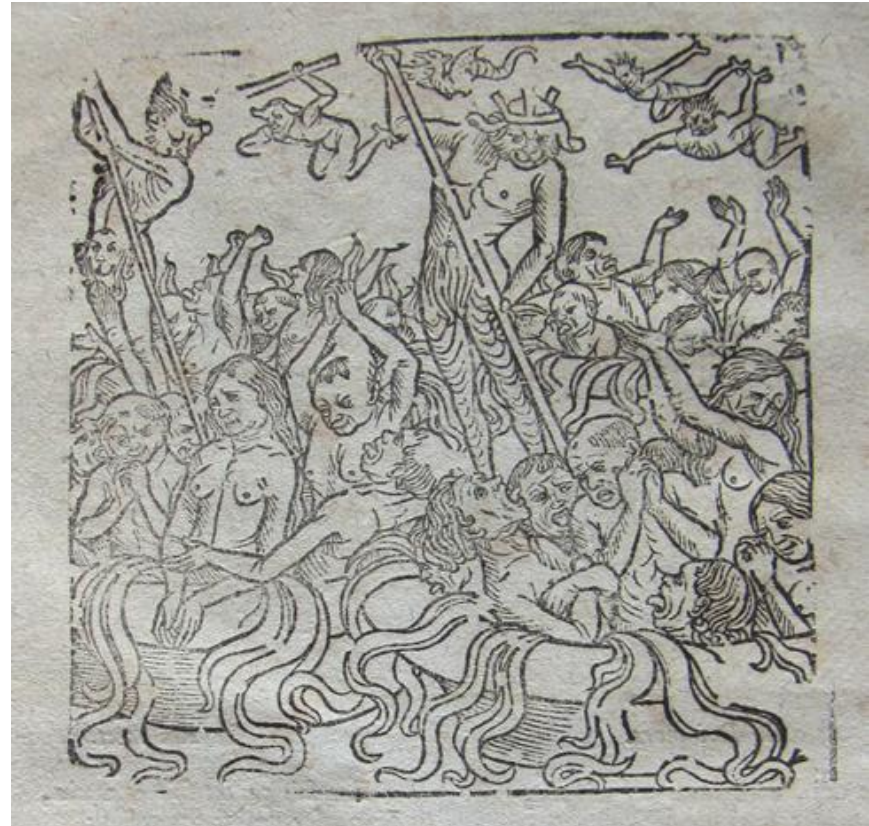
13) DANCE OF DEATH. *La Grande Danse Macabre des Hommes et des Femmes, Historiée & renouvelée de vieux Gaulois, en langage le plus poli de notre temps.* Troyes: Jean-Antoine Garnier, [ca. 1770-1780].

4to (220 x 169 mm). 76 pp. Roman type, double columns. 60 woodcut illustrations, including title-cut, of which 44 oblong and half-page, the others various sizes, including a few repeats; one block signed "VERNIE." Type-ornament head and tail-pieces and a border. Discreetly repaired tears to upper blank corner of fol. C1, occasional foxing as usual. Modern binding (by Lobstein) of 18th-century marbled paper over boards, red morocco longitudinal title label on backstrip with uneven, deliberately "dancing" gold-tooled letters, 3 holes in gutters from the original stab-stitching. A large copy, with deckle edges. **\$2750**

A classic of the chapbook publications known as the *Bibliothèque bleue*, after their originally blue paper covers. This 18th-century Dance of Death is illustrated with woodcut copies of the illustrations from Guy Marchant's editions of the *Danse macabre*, printed between 1485 and 1492. The present undated edition, the second from the Garnier press, is often misdated to 1728, based on the privilege, reprinted verbatim from the edition issued in 1728 by Jean-Antoine Garnier's grandfather Pierre. Born in 1742, Jean-Antoine Garnier was active as a printer-bookseller from 1766 to 1780. Earlier Troyes editions were published by members of the Oudot family, founders of the Troyes chapbook series.

Brunet (II, 495) noted that the Troyes chapbook publishers were suppliers of popular books to all the fairs in France; hence the many Troyes editions of this eternally evocative illustrated book.

The *Danse macabre* proper ends on page 53 and is followed by several other verse texts: *La Mort menace l'humain Lignage*; *Le Débat du corps et de l'âme*, illustrated with a pair of woodcuts, printed twice; *La douloureuse complainte de l'âme damnée*; *L'Exhortation de bien vivre et de bien mourir*, with a large cut of Death carrying a coffin in a graveyard, also used on p. 2 to illustrate the "Author"; *La Vie du mauvais Ante-Christ*; *Les quinze signes* [preceding the Last Judgment]; and *Le Jugement*. The text of the original French *Danse macabre* was heavily altered during the course of the 17th century, as were, no doubt, these additional verse texts; thus the text of this edition differs greatly from that published in editions up to and including the Troyes 1641 edition of Nicolas Oudot (transcribed on Martin Hagstrøm's website).





La Mort.

Femme d'accueil, femme aimable
A toutes gens de qualité,
Acquis avez amis de table,
Vivant avec liberté:
Le temps n'est tel qu'il a été,
Rien ne vaut d'être vagabonde;
Trop parler n'est que vanité,
Il est temps de quitter le monde.

La femme d'accueil.

Aujourd'hui parens & amis,
Nous promettent mones & merveilles;
Mais dès qu'à bas nous sommes mis,
Chacun nous bouche les oreilles.
Ainsi sous ces bas lieux seulement,
Où l'homme est toujours misérable,
Tout est sujet au changement,
Il n'est rien que Dieu qui soit stable.

La Mort.

Nonobstant votre couvre-chef,
Il faut marcher, gosse Nourrice,
Et n'en ayez pas de méchef,
Je vous parle sans artifice;
Laissez enfans & poëlons,
Hochez, moulinet & bouillie,
Venez danser sans violons,
Le dernier branle de sortie.

La Nourrice.

A cette danse il faut aller,
Quoiqu'à regret & avec peine,
Je voudrais encore reculer
Quelques mois ou quelques semaines.
J'ai bien mal au cœur de quitter
Ce poupon, dont j'ai de bons gages;
Mais j'aurois d'autres avantages,
S'il achevoit de me teter.

But the text is mainly a support to the woodcuts, in which Death appears as artfully posed pairs of cadavers, many with their lower torsos sliced open showing their intestines, arriving to take away those whose time has come, from every walk of life and of every age and social class. Arthur Hind incorrectly claimed (*Introduction to a History of Woodcut* II: 647) that a number of the woodcuts of the Garnier editions were printed from the 15th-century blocks used in Marchant's editions. Those original woodcuts, attributed to Pierre le Rouge, were based on manuscripts reproducing an early 15th-century mural in the Cemetery of the Innocents in Paris, painted on a wall which was destroyed in 1669. The Le Rouge blocks were handed down to his son Guillaume, and thence to Guillaume's cousin Nicolas le Rouge, who used them in his own editions in Troyes in the 1520s and 1530s. Many of these blocks survived to the mid-17th-century, when they resurfaced in the 1641 edition of Nicolas Oudot, but later editions, including this one, are illustrated with copies of the original blocks, and often copies of copies. (When a block was lost, it ceased to be copied, and that iconographic theme disappeared from subsequent editions.) Two of the cuts in this edition were indeed printed from 15th-century blocks, from Marchant's editions of the *Compost et kalendrier des bergers*: that of the souls of the damned in hell, on p. 26, and the portrait of the author, on p. 33, which originally represented the month of April; both have damaged or missing borders.

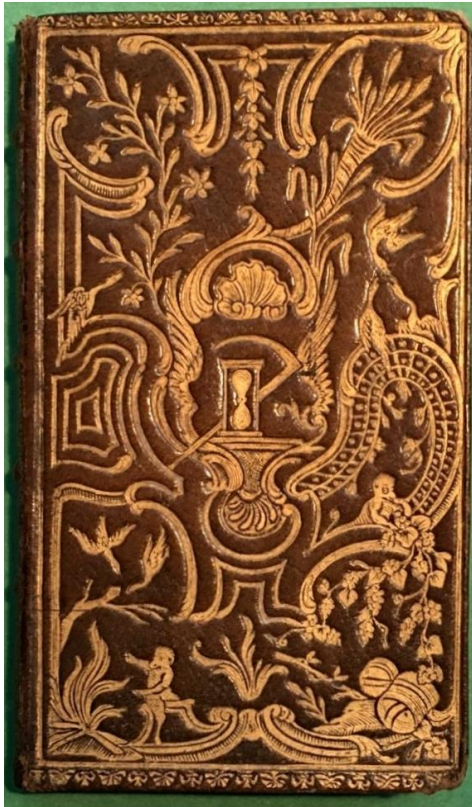
Some of the copies are very exact: for example, the second of the two nearly identical blocks of the African (Moor) sounding a horn, on pages 25 and 27, is a very close copy of the cut used in Nicolas Le Rouge's ca. 1510 and 1531 editions. There are other instances of two different blocks of the same illustration: the title cut of the four cadaver-musicians, for example, is repeated on p. 54, but what appears to be the same illustration

on page 3 is from a different, and better, block. A possible explanation for these duplications lies in the acquisition, in the late 1760s, by either Jean-Antoine Garnier himself or his father Jean Garnier (sources differ) of the Oudot premises at the Rue du Temple in Troyes, purchased from Jean IV Oudot's widow (that address appears in the imprint of this edition, which was therefore published later). Along with the house Garnier acquired the Oudot stock, which would have included the block used on page 3. (Martin Hagstrøm speculates that Jean-Antoine Garnier used the inferior block on the title-page out of respect for his grandfather, who had commissioned it for his 1728 edition.) Morin, *Catalogue descriptif de la Bibliothèque bleue de Troyes*, 434; Nisard, *Histoire des livres populaires* II: 284-311; Fairfax Murray *French* 108. See also Martin Hagstrøm's informative website on the Dance of Death, www.dodedans.com, for information on the text and blocks of the Troyes editions.



IV. ART & DESIGN

14) ALMANAC – *Etrennes mignonnes Curieuses et utiles Augmentées pour l'Année 1743*. Paris: M. Jouenne chez Durand, [1742/43].



24mo (binding size 99 x 57 mm). [64] pp. Engraved frontispiece, additional engraved title, double-page engraved map of France at end. Contemporary emblematic binding of gold-blocked brown goatskin, both covers with a panel stamp incorporating at center a scythe and hourglass, framed in curving lines, drawer-handle ornaments, leaf plants, monkeys, flitting birds, garlands, and sprigs; pink satin liners, gilt edges (small chip to head of spine, corners scuffed). *Provenance*: later 18th-century marginal note “Ma naissance” next to the date 12 August on calendar page for August; late 18th-century inscription at front identifying the note as that of the writer’s mother, born 12 August 1743, and stating that she kept this little book her entire life. **\$1750**

A long-running Paris almanac, in a contemporary binding with a pleasingly asymmetrical rococo decor, mixing *chinoiserie* elements (monkeys) and Western *memento mori* motifs. The *Etrennes mignonnes* were published, with changing subtitles, from 1716 to ca. 1845. The engraved title and frontispiece varied from year to year (up to 1750, after

which none were used), and the map alternated between an ecclesiastical, civil, or military map of France, or a map of the Paris region. This issue has a special frontispiece showing the audience given by the King to the Ottoman Emperor in January 1742. Grand-Carteret 107; cf. Cohen-de Ricci 51.





15) DOESJAN, Adriaan (1740-1817). Set of engraved calligraphic and emblematic display sheets of the seasons: *De Lente - De Zomer - De Herfst - De Winter*. With explanatory letterpress sheet. [Amsterdam:] Cornelius Focking, 1788-1790.

4 oblong broadsheets (sheet size 345/47 x 478/82), trimmed to platemarks but with large internal margins. Etchings with engraving, all after Doesjan, three engraved by Barent de Bakker, the fourth (Winter) by Hendrik Leffert Meyling, each with the large calligraphic name of the season in a different style, within a "picture frame" ornamented with flowers, acanthus designs, scrolling ivy, leafy sprigs, etc., and with two etched scenes within roundels attached or hung with *trompe l'oeil* ribbons to the frame. Watermarks: large crowned fleur-de-lis on shield, one sheet with countermark J Kool (Jan Kool), cf. Heawood 1841 (but larger). A few short marginal tears or holes, marginal soiling, the sheets lightly pressed. With a folio sheet of letterpress explanatory text (a half-sheet of the same paper). **\$3200**

Four elaborate and unusual calligraphic samples including minutely etched genre scenes, mainly of Amsterdam, her residents and canals, boulevards, and quays, designed by a calligrapher from Hoorn (sometimes called Arian Doussyan), and impeccably engraved and printed.

The set is accompanied by a typographic explanatory sheet, with the text enclosed in a type-ornament border, titled: *Verklaaring van vier by elkander behoorende Kunststukken, zynde de Zomer, Winter, Herfst en Lente. Vertoonende de vier getyden des jaars* (Explanation of the four works of art, which belong together, being Summer, Winter, Fall and Spring, showing the four seasons of the year). The odd order of the seasons may reflect the date of production, the engraver's signature for Summer being dated 1788, while that of Fall is dated 1790 (the other engravings are undated). The explanations are apparently the artist's: precise locations are given, and it is repeatedly emphasized that the scenes were drawn from life. The only other set that I have located, at the Rijksmuseum, is without this letterpress sheet.

While the four engravings are laid out uniformly, with the article "De" at top center (artfully incorporating within the letterform of the *D* the three astrological symbols of the respective season), flanked by the two etched roundels, and the Season's name below, each within a *trompe l'oeil* frame, they differ in calligraphic style, decoration and other individual elements: The letters of Summer, in a roman face, are flower-bedecked or incorporate potted plants, while the initial *Z* has additional filigree surround. The roundel on the left shows well-dressed inhabitants, and a man pushing a wheelbarrow, on a tree-lined avenue with a church at the end, identified in the explanation as the Nieuwe-Stads-Herberg; the roundel on the right is a canal city scene with boat, fishermen, a windmill, a steeple etc.: this is the village of Sloterdijk (now part of Amsterdam), the church shown being the Petruskerk.

De Winter has gothic letters, the lower-case letters of "Winter" linked together by an ornamental interlace band, and the capitals *D* and *W* with extremely ornate flourishing and internal ornamentation, oddly interrupted, within the *W*, by four small birds perching on bars. The bottom of the frame is decorated with bare branches. In the left roundel is the frozen river *Ij*, with skaters, ice-bound ships, and a pair of ladies strolling with muffs, with the Tolhuis in the background; on the right, skaters, ice-tents, etc., on the river *Amstel*.

The calligraphy of *Fall* is the most extravagantly ornate, with twisted acanthus leaves and complex parallel filigree, of which some lines are beaded, others are wavy, etc. A close look reveals a spider, a spider web, and a grotesque serpent's head (the latter echoed in the roundel borders), while the initial *H* sports grapevines. The roundels show the city's commercial side: merchants apparently testing wine barrels on a quay in front of the Roman-Catholic Poor Comptoir (a charitable organization) on the Keizersgracht; and a similar scene on a quay with a canal boat, in front of the portal of the Agnietenschool on the canal Oudezijds Voorburgwal.

Spring's lettering is sober, in roman capitals with beaded edges and delicate sprigs along the center of the main letter-stalks, but the article "De" shows some burgeoning buds and leaves, and the initial letter *L* has gently swirling extenders and a tree with a nesting bird, while another bird flies in with a worm. Both roundels show peaceful village scenes with churches, one with a canal, the other with a pond and boaters, identified as *Wilnis* and *Meidrecht* in the explanation, and as *Ouderkerk aan de Amstel* and *Sloten* in the Rijksmuseum description.

Abraham van Stolk, *Atlas van Stolk: Katalogus Der Historie-, Spot- En Zinneprenten Betrekkelijk de Geschiedenis Van Nederland* (1835-1931), vol. 5, no. 3797 (without the letterpress sheet); G. J. Dekker, *Catalogue du Musée de Calligraphie délaissée par feu Monsieur G.J. Dekker ... Vente Publique, 2 juin 1882*, lot 53 (this copy?, with the letterpress sheet). Cf. Thieme-Becker 9:376, 2:380-81, and 24:501.

Once plentiful

16) EMBROIDERED BINDING. *Les Saints Devoirs de l'Ame devote. Où il est enseigné au Chrestien la maniere d'employer le iour au service de Dieu. Par les PP. de la Compagnie de Iesus. Avec l'Office de la Vierge Marie. [Part 2:] Office de la Vierge Marie pour tous les temps de l'année.* Paris: Sebastien Feugé, 1648.

12mo (binding size 143 x 82 mm). 2 parts, separately titled and paginated, 262, [2]; 239, [1] pp. Woodcut title vignettes. A few corners creased. Contemporary French embroidered binding of ivory silk over pasteboards, each cover with a different floral design of flowering plants, buds, fruits and leaves, in variously colored threads, a few tendrils and sequins scattered in the background, within a border of braided metallic ribbon, board edges with additional border of striated silver thread, spine with design of Monogram of the Virgin, instruments of the Passion, and the Sacred Heart, gilt edges, liners of striated pink, white and blue satin, two flyleaves at front and back, two pairs of fore-edge catches; lacking clasps, loss to outer thread borders and to most of the embroidery on the backstrip, a few sequins bent, but overall well preserved. *Provenance:* Dr. Lucien-Graux, bookplate. **\$15,000**

A SUPERB MID-SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY PARISIAN EMBROIDERED BINDING on a popular devotional work. French embroidered bindings from this period survive in smaller numbers than their English counterparts. This beautiful example features large naturalistic flowers, although blossoms from several species sprout from the same stem, including daisies (*marguerites*), carnations, lilies, a bluebell, a pansy, a gooseberry, a strawberry, and thistle flowers. The skilled embroiderer layered in and cross-stitched differently colored threads to create shading and blush on leaves and blossoms. The silk liners – using the colors of what was to become a century and a half later the French national flag – add a further touch of whimsy to this lovely binding.



Neglected in traditional French annals of bookbinding, embroidered bindings nonetheless were part of a long tradition in France. In the medieval period and through the fifteenth century, textile was the material of choice for sumptuous royal manuscripts and books and for dedication copies.



In the course of the sixteenth century, textile bindings were eclipsed by decorated leather bindings. Although a few splendid armorial embroidered bindings from this period survive, most of the small corpus of extant 16th- and 17th-century French embroidered bindings are found on books of religious devotion. Although expensive to produce, embroidery was everywhere in seventeenth-century domestic life – on walls, curtains, furniture, and above all clothing. It was also used on books, but a census carried out by the curators of the important exhibit of embroidered bindings held at the Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal in 1995-96 localized only forty seventeenth-century examples of French embroidered bindings (*Livres en broderie*, p. 24; 33 were included in the exhibit, and the others are inventoried at the end of the catalogue). The low survival rate is due as much to the perishable nature of these fragile bindings as to the French bibliophilic mania for rebinding. Thus, the addition of one of these bindings to the corpus is a rare event.

The editors of the Arsenal catalogue note that the portions of embroidered bindings that have often suffered the most damage are the spines and the joints. They add that the technical complexity of embroidered bindings discouraged book conservators, which has preserved the authenticity and integrity of surviving examples, such as this one.

The Arsenal catalogue includes a binding using similar techniques, possibly from the same workshop, covering the same Marian prayerbook, in a later edition (Paris: Barthelemy Quenet, 1651, *Livres en broderie* no. 38). It is not known where these two embroidered bindings were produced, whether in one of the many professional embroidery workshops in Paris, which employed both men and women, and whose *confrérie* (guild) had been established already in the 13th century; or by the sisters of one of the numerous convents in which embroidery and the other textile arts were an integral part of daily monastic life, some convents being renowned for their exceptional artistry and technical prowess (op. cit. pp. 35-37); or perhaps by a private individual. The anonymity of such embroidered bindings adds to their mystery, while not at all detracting from their beauty.

Lucien Graux (1878-1944), physician, writer, and successful entrepreneur, assembled one of the greatest collections of rare books and manuscripts of 20th-century France. He joined the French resistance under Vichy, was arrested in June 1944, and died at Dachau that October. His collection was dispersed in nine sales from 1953 to 1957. Cf. Sabine Coron & Martine Lefèvre, eds. *Livres en broderie: Reliures françaises du Moyen Age à nos jours*, (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 1995).

17) MANUSCRIPT ORNAMENT PATTERN BOOK – RANCILIO, Luigi. *Raccolta di Trofej Sacri disegnate [sic] di Luigi Rancilio* [manuscript title]. [Italy, late 18th or early 19th century].

Oblong 4to (200 x 277 / 211 x 300) mm.). 36 leaves with graphite drawings on rectos and many versos, foliated and paginated [1] 1-69 [2]. Two titles within cartouches (f. 1r and 23r), 103 pencil drawings of trophies, funerary statue designs, knights in armor, and a full-page allegorical drawing of death, most pages with one to two penciled captions. The four largest leaves signed *Luigi Rancilio dis.*



Deckle edges, ff. 1-14 and 19 on shorter narrower paper, ff. 15-18 on sheets that are too tall for the binding and were folded at bottom. A few sheets with marginal pin-pricks, the drawings on pp. 52-53, 58, and 66-69 showing signs of rubbing (from copying?) and with some highlighting in lead (or ink, on pp. 67-69). Watermarks (partially visible): three fleurs-de-lis atop a double-line pointed oval; crescent moon with human profile; countermark or third watermark of filigree decoration. Some finger-soiling, fraying and a few chips to larger sheets. Early 19th-century calf-backed marbled-paper covered boards, the paper apparently 18th-century, smooth spine gilt lettered “Rancilio Raccolta di Trofei Sacri,” and with parallel gilt fillets; traces of blue paper wrappers in gutters (worn and stained, corners bumped). \$7500

An album of accomplished rococo ornament drawings, largely of the allegorical assemblages of objects known as *trophies*, by an otherwise unknown Italian artist. No two drawings are the same. Evidently dating from the late eighteenth century, the drawings appear to constitute a reservoir of motifs which could be used for book illustrations, or possibly for more general use, by an artist or for the use of a studio of artists.

In the first part, entitled “Sacred trophies,” the many religious motifs include Moses’ tablets entwined with laurel wreaths; a Bishop’s mitre, chalices and the serpent; a pedestal, urn, flaming torches, and the handles of a scroll; the Eye of Providence, the Cross, the Bible, David’s harp, statues of the Crucifixion, Veronica’s veil, and instruments of the Passion. Most pages bear thematic captions, e.g., *Testamento Vecchio, Fede Speranza e Carità*, or *Nuovo Testamento*. Leaves 15-18 (pp. 28-34), the largest sheets in the album, containing drawings on rectos only, are devoted to death and the transition to the afterlife. Page 28, captioned *Monumenta e Trofej Sepolcrale* and

Transit Gloria Mundi, contains on the outer sides two different designs for a funerary monument, and at center four trophies, each a skull wearing respectively a cardinal’s mitre, royal crown, papal tiara, and biretta. More neoclassical designs for tombs and funerary statuary, including women in mourning, a weeping skeleton, Father Time, and a sorrowful winged angel, occupy the next two leaves.

The last leaf in this section contains a full-page allegorical drawing. Captioned *La Morte e il Tempo*, it depicts ravaging Death as two skeletal figures in the foreground, with Time in the center background, all three wielding scythes. Scattered on the ground before them are heaps of dispersed elements of trophies – shields, drums, helmets, arrows, sheaths, spears, crowns, etc. – and in the distant background is a landscape with a neoclassical villa, a gothic ruin, and a tomb or funeral monument with the initials *P A M*. This image sheds light on the meaning of the trophy, an emblem of man's accomplishments, nullified by Time and its partner Death.



In spite of the title, a few of the later drawings in this first part are secular, showing a torso in Roman military dress, classic military trophies with warriors' torsos, helmets, spears, etc., and two pages of knights standing alone and on horseback. The second section, titled *Raccolta di Trofej Sacri e profani* introduces trophies of musical instruments, objects associated with the visual arts, theater, the sciences (globes, telescopes), and agriculture or gardening. Four small beribboned trophies are identified as Justice, Strength, Prudence and Temperance. On the last few pages are six ornate rococo cartouches; these were reworked, and are highlighted in ink.

The watermark of a crescent moon with human profile was used by papermakers of northern and eastern France in the 16th and 17th centuries. The fleur-de-lis watermark may also indicate a French paper, but the album and its binding are Italian. The draughtsman Luigi Rancilio is not identified in any of the standard sources (Thieme-Becker, Nagler, *Dizionario Nazionale degli Italiani*, the *Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon*).

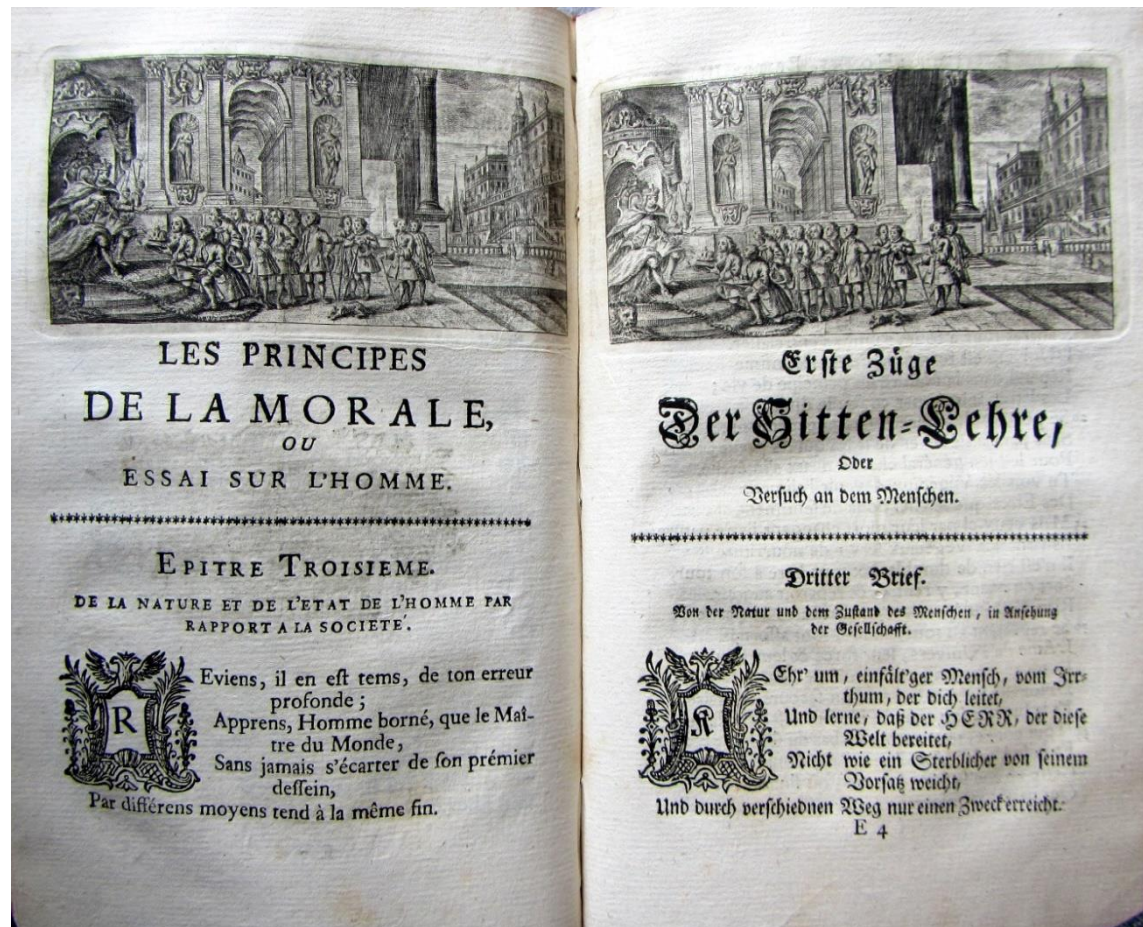
A literary detour

18) **POPE, Alexander.** *Versuch an dem Menschen, In Vier Sitten-Briefen an Henrich St. Jean, Grafen von Bolingbroke, über Die Natur und den Zustand des Menschen.* Frankfurt: Franz Varrentrapp, 1741.

8vo (193 × 121 mm). [46], 191, [1] pp. Title in red and black with engraved publisher's device, text in French and German on facing pages in roman and gothic types, eight engraved illustrations, each printed twice, by Martin Tyroff after G. A. Koch, woodcut tailpieces and *passepertout* initial borders. Occasional very light foxing. 19th-century half sheep and marbled pastepaper, marbled edges (very worn). *Provenance:* 19th-century monogram stamp DG on title. \$850

A dual-language edition of Pope's *Essay on Man*, with the French verse translation of Jean-François Du Resnel du Bellay, translated into German by an anonymous poet. While both preserve the rhyme scheme, neither version adheres in any essential way to Pope's iambic pentameters. Following Pope's poem are additional verses by the Marquis de Racan (Honorat de Bueil), Regnier-Desmarais and Madame Deshoulières (née Antoinette du Ligier de la Garde).

The engraved vignettes at the beginning and end of each of Pope's four epistles were designed by the Frankfurt portrait painter and miniaturist Georg Anton Koch, and printed (unusually) in both the French and German texts. The Nuremberg engraver Martin Tyroff was a master of book illustration, distinguished by the "softness of his modelling of faces, intelligent distribution of light and shadow, technical correctness, carefulness and tenderness" (Thieme-Becker). Lanckaronska and Oehler discerned a French influence in his work,



appropriately for this edition. Packing much information into a small space, the vignettes open with the Creation (showing Adam at the center flanked by animals), pastoral scenes, a scholar in his library, knights and ladies, a monarch and his court amidst architectural splendor, the battle of Zeus and the giants, and an allegorical scene of plenitude.

Pope's influence on German literature and even the German language was significant, but this translation contributed little to it. At this time France and the French language still dominated German culture, and knowledge of English was rare. Du Resnel's French translations of the *Essay on Man* and *An Essay on Criticism* were notoriously unfaithful: "To adapt Pope's two *Essays* to his French readers Du Resnel felt himself compelled to make many changes. Passages too harsh for the aesthetic French ear were entirely omitted, others were rearranged or expanded, and he occasionally found himself obliged to supply the necessary transitions which he felt were lacking in the original, so that the number of alexandrines in his version is more than half as large again as the number of pentameter lines in Pope. The German translator follows his French model very closely... Like his model, he uses the rhymed alexandrine and limits himself exactly to the number of lines in the French" (Heinzelmann p. 321). The present translation moreover appeared a year after the first German translation of the *Essay on Man* made directly from Pope's English, that of Barthold Heinrich Brockes, published in Hamburg. Our anonymous translator, who had already translated *The Rape of the Lock* from the French in 1739 (*Der merkwürdige Haar-Locken-Raub des Herrn Pope*, Dresden 1739), apologizes in his introduction for his lack of skill and ignorance of English, adding that had he known of Brockes' project earlier, he would not have undertaken his own poor translation.

Lanckaronska-Oehler I:54; Rūman, *Das illustrierte Buch des XIX. Jahrhunderts*, 870; cf. Thieme-Becker 21:74 (art. Koch, citing this edition) & 33:514-15.; J. H. Heinzelmann, "Pope in Germany in the eighteenth century," *Modern philology*, vol. X, no. 3, January 1913, pp 317-361 (digitized).





Bound by Legrain

19) **VERGILIUS MARO, Publius.** *Les Églogues ... Texte original et traduction nouvelle par Marc Lafargue. Imprimées par Harry de Kessler. Bois dessinés et exécutés par Aristide Maillol.* Weimar: Cranach Press (sold in Paris by Galerie Druet), 1926.

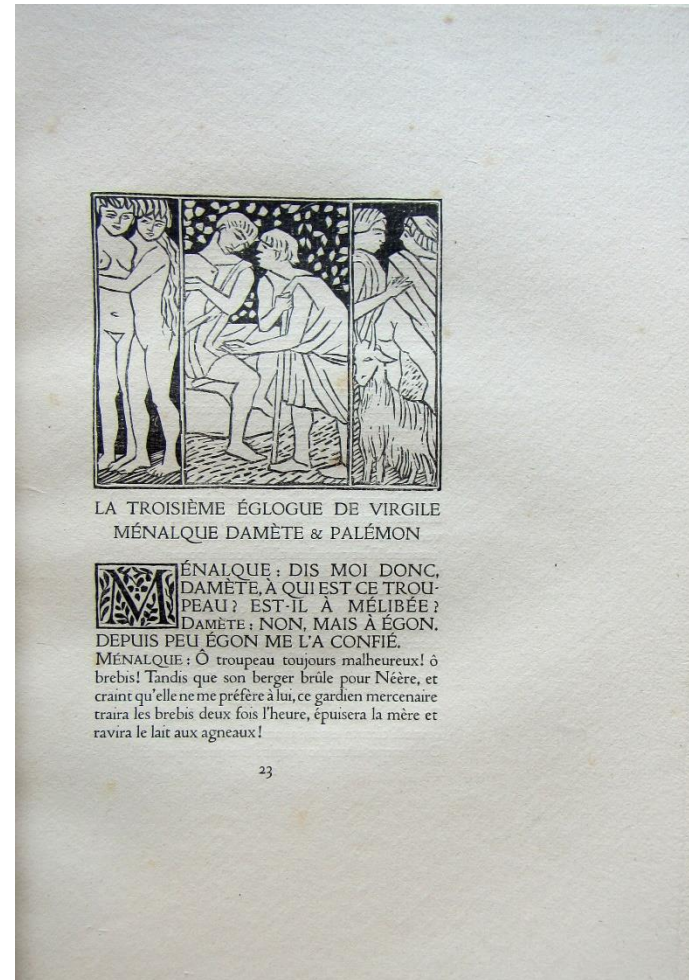
Large 4to (binding: 326 x 242 mm). 110, [5] pp. Text in Latin and French. 44 woodcuts by Aristide Maillol, including Cranach Press device on front wrapper; 16 initials designed by Eric Gill and ornamented by Maillol. Copy no. 74 of the regular issue of 250 on Maillol wove paper, from a total French edition of 292. BOUND BY PIERRE LEGRAIN in chocolate morocco, overall geometric decor of parallel arcs in gold with areas of cross-hatching, in the interstices clusters of variously sized small palladium circles, the design continued onto the spine, which is lettered in palladium, and onto the wide turn-ins, light brown suede doublures, gold, silver and black marbled liners, original illustrated wrappers preserved; front turn-in signed in gilt "Pierre Legrain"; original chemise and slipcase. *Provenance:* Colonel Daniel Sickles, bookplate, sale Paris, 1962-63; with Pierre Berès (sale Paris, Bergé, part 4, 20 June 2006, lot 160).
\$21,500

A SUPERB GEOMETRIC BINDING BY PIERRE LEGRAIN ON ONE OF THE MOST CELEBRATED OF MODERN ARTISTS' BOOKS. The Cranach Virgil was the result of a decade-long collaboration between the Catalan sculptor Aristide Maillol, Count Harry Kessler, Eric Gill, and other book artisans. Maillol and Kessler conceived the idea for this volume while visiting Greece together in 1912. Maillol cut the woodcuts in 1912-1914 in his native village of Banyuls, near the Spanish border. As explained

in Kessler's long colophon, the artist drew on local customs, dances and monuments for inspiration. This was the first of several editions of classical texts illustrated by Maillol. The type was designed by Edward Prince, based on types used by Nicolas Jenson in the 1470s. The wove hemp paper was handmade by Aristide's nephew Gaspard Maillol in a small studio on the road between Marly-le-Roi and Montval. After all this work, the war came, and the book was not completed until the mid-1920s, when it was issued in German, French and English editions.

Pierre Legrain (1889-1929), who revolutionized modern French bookbinding design, was not trained as a binder. The son of a wealthy industrialist, he had studied art at the Ecole Germain Pilon (where Robert Delaunay was one of his fellow students) and contributed drawings to various satirical weeklies, before taking up work with Paul Iribe, principal designer for the couturier and bibliophile Jacques Doucet. Legrain collaborated with Iribe and other designers, creating interiors, African art-inspired furniture, jewelry, and dresses. It was only after 1916, following two years of mobilization, Legrain having volunteered in spite of a bad heart, that he was pushed toward bookbinding design by Doucet himself, who hired Legrain as his principal designer, replacing Iribe who had moved to America in 1914. "It was precisely his lack of expertise in binding and forwarding that contributed to [Legrain's] success. Renouncing the methods of his predecessors, except those related to material perfection and technique, he carried out a radical reform [of binding design], employing geometric forms, executed with the help of a ruler, T-square and compass, [and using new materials] including metals that could be laminated, precious woods, pearl, ivory, skins of reptiles, amphibians, sharks ..." (Devauchelle, *La Reliure* [1995], pp. 294-5, trans.). To carry out his designs he employed various *doreurs*, including René Kieffer, with whom he worked closely from 1919 to 1923, before setting up his own bindery. By the mid-1920s, the period of his most celebrated bindings, including this one, Legrain had mastered binding technique and supervised the production of all of his bindings; during this period he also branched out to all kinds of leather work. He fell ill at the peak of his productivity, and died at the age of 40, leaving behind many unfinished projects, but also a legacy of astonishing quantity and breadth in several decorative arts.

This beautiful copy was exhibited in Paris at the Bibliothèque nationale in 1947, at the *Exposition de la Société de la reliure originale*. Its dynamic design is made up of rhythmic arrays of parallel semi-circles and small fragments of circles, interrupted only by short lines and striking clusters of small palladium circles, the latter motif not commonly used by Legrain. Garvey & Hofer, *The Artist and the Book* 172; Riva Castleman, *A Century of Artists Books*, 110; Rewald, *The Woodcuts of Aristide Maillol*, 8-52. *Pierre Legrain relieur: Répertoire descriptif et bibliographique* (Paris: Blaziot, 1965), no. 1200, pl. LXI.



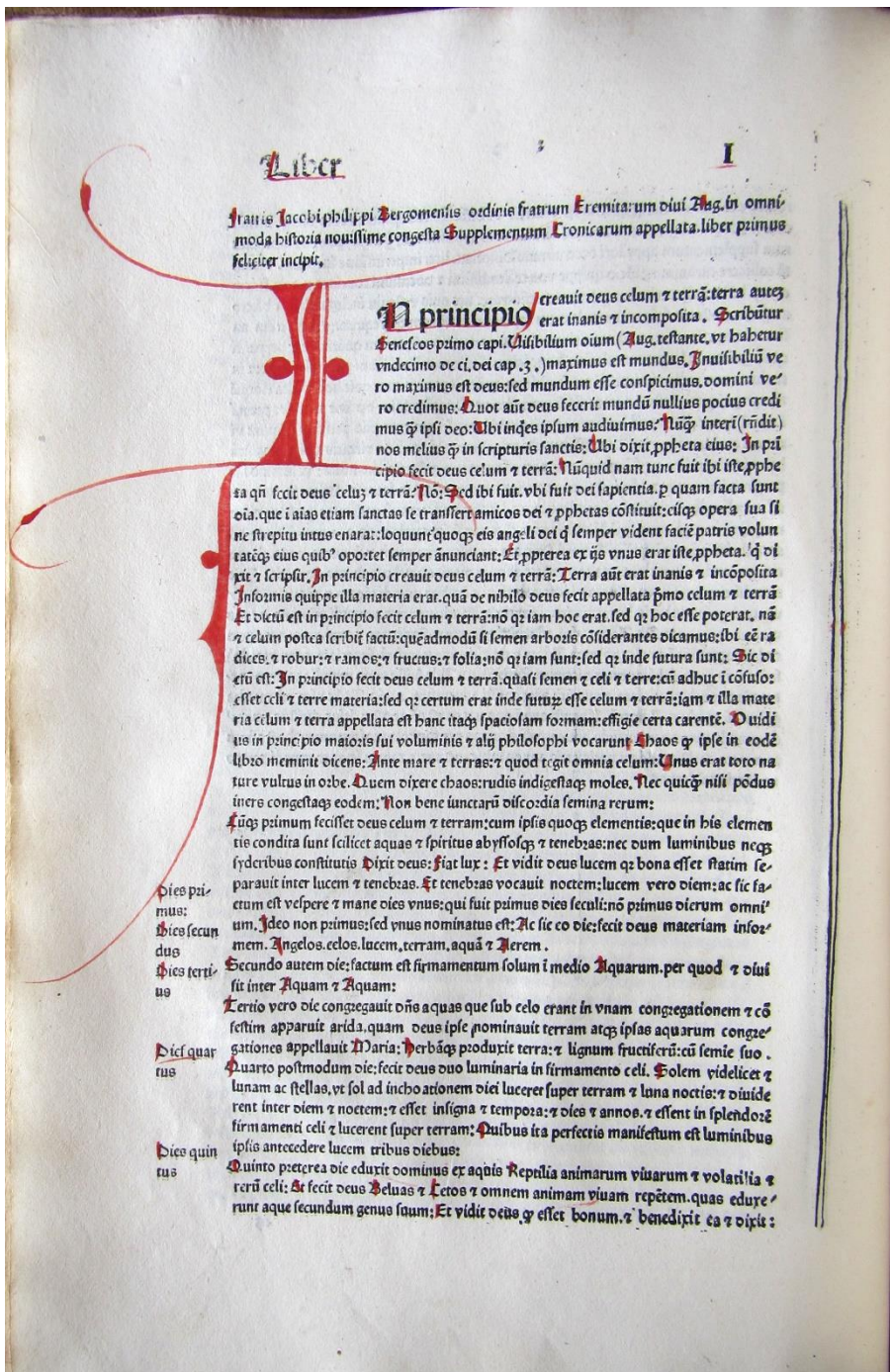
V. WORLD CHRONICLERS

The first European chronicler to include both Arabs and women

20) **GIACOMO FILIPPO FORESTI, DA BERGAMO** (1434-1520). *Supplementum chronicarum*. With additions by Barillas Bergomas. Brescia: Boninus de Boninis, 1 December 1485.

Median folio (311 X 209 mm). Collation as in BMC. [23], 358, [1] leaves, fols. aa1 & b10 blank. 49 lines and headlines. Tables in 2 columns, quire register at end (T8r) in 4 columns, printed marginalia. Types: 6:150G (headlines); 5:93G (text); 3:111R (capitals only). Capital spaces. Double rules along inner margins of text and between table columns. Rubrication: Lombard initials supplied in red, capital strokes and paragraph marks. Top of first blank leaf clipped, sheet a3.7 (a3 signed "a2") on a guard, occasional very minor thumb-soiling, foxing to sheet D1.8, small marginal dampstains in quire L. Contemporary alum-tawed blind-stamped pigskin over wooden boards, sewn on four double and 2 single cords, bound in the monastic shop of the Würzburger Benedictines, sides paneled with six vertical triple fillets and four horizontal triple fillets, decorated with several stamps including a banderole with the name of the monastery; trace of a parchment title label on upper cover, nail holes and discoloration from 10 now lost metal corner- and centerpieces, pair of chased brass and leather fore-edge clasps, plain spine, quire liners from a 14th- or 15th-century manuscript on vellum.

Provenance: Würzburg, Benedictines of St. Stephen (contemporary inscription on front pastedown, *Iste liber pertinet ad S. Stephanum in herbipoli*); a few contemporary marginalia, mainly single words in books 2, 9 and 13; later shelfmark no. 126 in red ink on spine. **\$16,000**

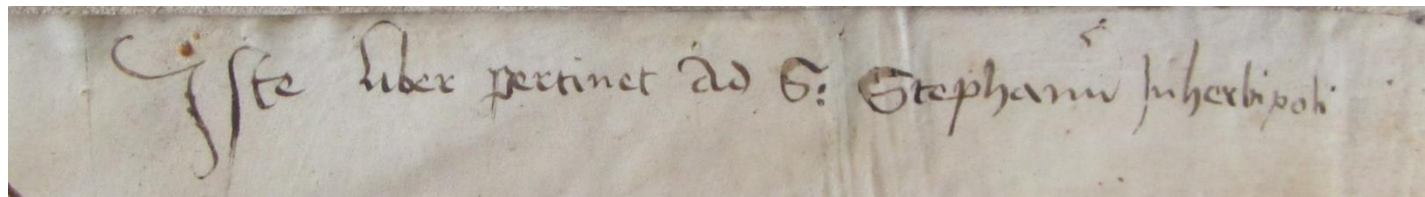


Second edition of a popular world chronicle by an Augustinian cleric, a fine copy in a monastic binding. In his chronicle Foresti proposed to bring together the most important historical facts from each year, starting with Genesis. Although he often placed legend and myth on the same plane as documented history, Foresti's chronicle was the first world history to include short bio-bibliographies of Arab scholars. These were not found in the principal sources cited by the author (Vincent of Beauvais, Boccaccio, Platina, and Antoninus of Florence), attesting to the breadth of his scholarship (cf. Hasse, *Success and Suppression: Arabic Sciences and Philosophy in the Renaissance*, 2016, p. 32). Six incunable editions of Foresti's chronicle are recorded, from 1483 to 1491, the last an Italian translation, all but the present edition printed in Venice.

Bonino de Boninis, a Dalmatian cleric (*de Ragusia*), had worked in Venice in 1479, before setting up a press in Verona, using his Venetian types; he then moved to Brescia. His productions were "dominated throughout by Venetian models and methods" (Scholderer, BMC). Beautifully printed, this edition contains numerous aids to the reader, presumably at least in part as instructed by the author. Two tables in quire aa comprise an alphabetical index of passages mentioning famous women (essentially plagiarizing Boccaccio), and an alphabetical index to cities named in the text. A double-rule chronological bar runs along every page, separating two calendars: on either side of the bar is printed, at the head of each annual section, the date since Creation and the Christian year. Finally, the quire register on the last leaf summarizes the contents of each gathering.

This copy was bound in the monastic shop of the Würzburger Benedictines: Kyriss 37 (1st group, ca. 1478-1494) / Schwenke-Schunke II:317 / EBDB w000063. The tools are: EBDB s004169, two birds on a lily; s004166 = Schwenke Schunke 379a, a banderole with the name of the monastery (*san stef. mrt*); s004167, a large rosette; s004170, a jumping dog (called a lion by Schunke); and a diamond-shaped plant tool (38 x 27 mm.), not found in these repertories.

Goff J-209; CIBN J-141; Walsh 3401; Bod-inc J-088; BMC VII 969; BSB-Ink I-122; GW M10965. Cf. *Dizionario Bibliografico degli Italiani* 48:801-803.



21) **BOTERO, Giovanni** (1544-1617). *Le relationi vniversali ... diuise in sette parti... In oltre vi s' aggiunge ... un breve racconto di Mostri, & Usanze di quelle Indie, con le sue Figure al naturale d' Alessandro de Vecchi ... Quinta impressione stampata & ricorrette.* Venice: Alessandro Vecchi, 1622-1623.



4to (221 x 156 mm). Eight parts, numbered to six (with the *Aggiunta* to Part 4, and Parts 1 & 6 each in two volumes), most separately titled. Collation as in ICCU except Part 2 (see below). Part 1: [30], [2 blank], 208; 71, [1 blank] pp.; part 2: [20], 130, [2 blank] pp.; part 3: 156, [8] pp.; part 4: [16], 68 pp.; *Aggiunta alla quarta parte*: [64] pp.; *Capitani* [i.e., part 5]: [8], 56 pp.; part 6: [8], 52; [16] 17-22, [2 blank] pp. Woodcut printer's devices on all titles except the *Aggiunta*; that on second title-page in part 6 from a smaller block. The *Aggiunta* with 33 woodcuts from 32 blocks, including 30 full-page and 2 half-page, one of the latter repeated on the title, of which 15 of monsters and the remainder of natives of India, Guinea, and East Africa, by HANS BURGMKMAIR. This copy bound without the four small engraved maps called for in part 1. Short inch tear in B5 of the *Aggiunta*, touching edge of woodcut. Slightly later flexible parchment, later manuscript spine title (lower endband renewed), covers dampstained along edges, spine darkened and with surface tears. *Provenance*: Count Wolfgang Engelbert von Auersperg, signature on title-page, noting the inscription in his catalogue, dated 1658; 19th-century bookplate of the Auersperg princely library in Laybach; Helmut N. Friedlaender, book label. **\$22,500**

A fine copy, though bound without the four maps, of the complete series of Botero's *Relationi*, with the scarce and sought after *Aggiunta*, containing an extraordinary series of early 16th-century woodcuts of men and women of India, Guinea and Arabia, now attributed to Hans Burgkmair and considered THE FIRST REALISTIC VISUAL DEPICTIONS OF NATIVE NON-EUROPEAN PEOPLES PRODUCED FOR INCLUSION IN A EUROPEAN TRAVEL ACCOUNT.

Botero, priest and political thinker, was already celebrated for his argument, in *Della ragion di Stato* (1589), that power requires public

consent, contradicting Machiavelli. In 1591 he commenced publication of a multi-part statistical study of the propagation of Christianity. As the succeeding parts appeared over the next five years, and the earlier parts were revised for new editions, the focus of Botero's *Relazioni universali* broadened into an "organic repertory of human geography, with systematic entries on the physical geography, demographic density, economic resources, military power, and political systems of all of the States of the world. The fruit of laborious compilation ... through its accurate method and careful comparison of data the *Relazioni* represented enormous progress compared to existing works in the genre" (DBI 13:357, trans.), and for nearly a century it was considered the best universal geography available, and was widely diffused and often reprinted.

In spite of its intrinsic value, of the many editions of Botero's innovative and important work, the most valuable are the posthumous editions published by Alessandro Vecchi in 1618, 1622 and 1623. These include a Supplement to Part Four containing a series of woodcuts unrelated to Botero's work. Added by the publisher Alessandro Vecchi, who had recently acquired the woodblocks (as stated on the *Aggiunta* title-page: "... con le sue Figure al Naturale, Raccolte nuovamente da Alessandro de Vecchi"), no doubt with the simple goal of enlivening the many pages of Botero's text, this section has made the fortune of this famous book. The stark, strongly hatched woodcuts, half showing mythical monsters, and the other half natives of India, Africa (Guinea) and "Arabia" (East Africa), were identified by Walter Oakeshott in 1960 as early 16th-century productions of Hans Burgkmair and his workshop. Oakeshott convincingly argued that the blocks had been produced for a projected edition of Balthasar Springer's account of his voyage from Portugal around the Cape of Good Hope to India in 1505. No illustrated edition of Springer is known; presumably the project never came to fruition. The first 15 cuts show mythological human-like monsters: a centaur, man with the head of a dog, cyclops, three-eyed man, lion-man, man with a single pod-foot used for shade ... these would have been familiar to readers of Pliny, Herodotus, et al., and imitative of the border cuts in Schedel's Nuremberg Chronicle. But the remaining 17 woodcuts depart from tradition: they depict real men and women, in attire and appearance exotic to European readers, playing music, carrying litters, wielding spears, and watching or holding children. Eight of these cuts, some of which have xylographic captions, formed part of a panorama that was cut up into single vignettes. Oakeshott postulated that this large block was originally intended to show a procession of the King of Cochin. The nine other illustrations of natives were probably also taken from a single large block; both blocks possibly formed a preliminary essay for Burgkmair's huge processional series the *Triumphs of Maximilian*.



The woodcuts must have been known, as they were copied throughout the 16th century, but the blocks themselves were not published until the 1618 edition of *Le relationi universali*. For the 1622 edition (reprinted in the present 1623 edition) Vecchi added a title illustration and improved the layout, using a larger type font. The blocks show signs of wear (cracks and a few wormholes) but the impressions in this copy are mostly sharp and dark.

In this copy, as in the Getty copy, quire a in part 2 contains 10 leaves, not 8 as described in ICCU. Alden & Landis 622/22; cf. *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 13:352-362, esp. 357-8; cf. Sabin 6806-07; Walter Oakeshott, *Some Woodcuts by Hans Burgkmair printed as an Appendix to the Fourth Part of Le Relationi universalis de Giovanni Botero* (Oxford: Roxburghe Club, 1960).



la littérature comme l'expression d'une civilisation
 moderne en Russie au XIX^e siècle. L'idée de lui faire copier
 sa faute ignorée de tous dans son enfant préféré par
 une faute pareille est grande et belle.

15. - Comte de Lauray - Cairrier de Paris, Dictionnaire de
 1857 plus complète que celle que j'avais; j'avis j'ai
 saisi mes vécus de cette lecture, aujourd'hui, après
 la rélecture de Kern, cela m'a paru fade.

16. - Ch. Moscaï - Домо и Море, 5^e nombre.
 Je suis. Tolstoy
 lui avec un ennui et un dégoût croissant; je ne
 parle pas de l'épisode du meurtre de Дураков,
 raconté avec une mauvaise foi évidente, ni de faits
 pris de traverser le caractère si connu de mon illu-
 tre et admirable grand-père et d'en faire un bouf-
 fon et un fou; non, c'est cet esprit de dénigrement
 et de persiflage, ce ton d'ironie en parlant d'une
 aussi grande époque qui me soulève le cœur d'in-
 dignation; cet ouvrage serait écrit par un Polonais,
 un Français noble ou tel autre ennemi de la Rus-
 sie qu'il ne pourrait jeter plus de boue sur une
 époque que non seulement la postérité, mais les con-
 temporains ont proclamé grande et sublime. Excepté
 Koutousoff, qui seul trouve grâce à ses yeux, il
 n'est pas de héros, de personnages célèbres que le Cte
 Tolstoy ne s'attache à amoindrir et à rapetisser
 à son point de vue; or Tolstoy voit tout au tra-
 vers d'un loignon magique qui ne montre que
 le côté laid, mesquin et vulgaire de toute chose et le
 crée au besoin; il lui appartient d'avoir transpor-
 té le réalisme déplorable du 19^e siècle dans la de-
 scription de hauts faits qui égalent ce que l'antiquité

VI. THE READING JOURNAL OF A RUSSIAN COUNTESS

« Il me semblait que je me feuilletais moi-même »

22) ROSTOPCHINA, Lidia Andreevna, Countess (1838-1915). Livres lus par la Comtesse Lydie Rostopchine. Catalogue commencé en 1867. 1868. 1869. 1870. 1871. 1872. Livre N° 1. [Russia, France, Italy, Switzerland and Germany, various places], 1867-1873.

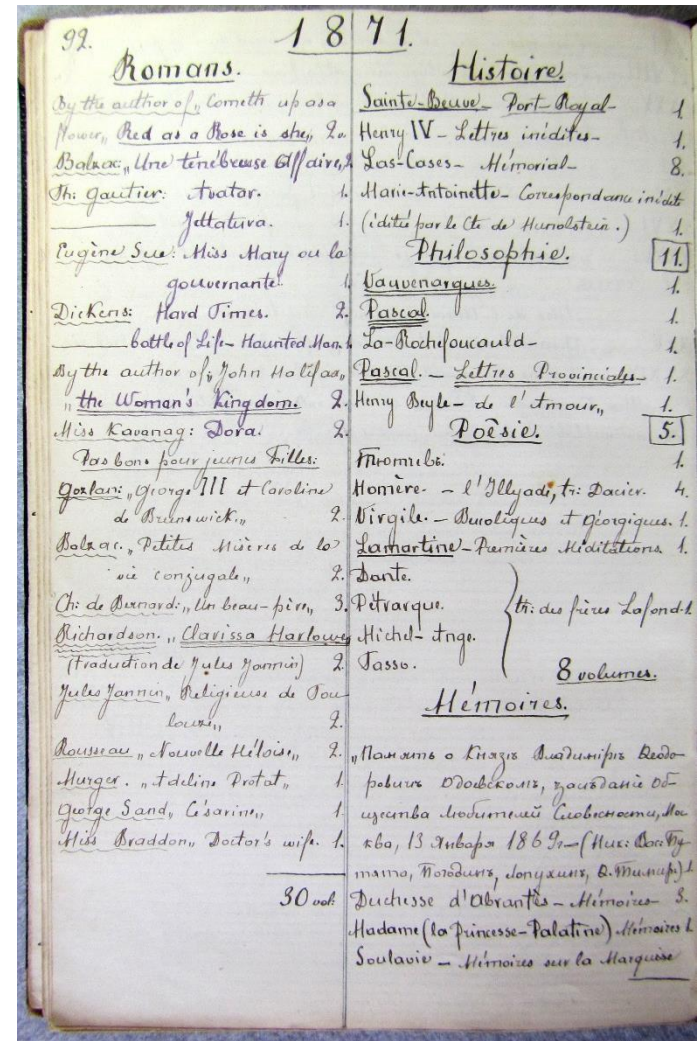
Manuscript (202 x 133 mm). [2], 1-19 [20-21 blank] 22-117 [118-119] 120-132 [133-135, 1 blank] pages. Written in a fluent, legible cursive, in brown, black and purple ink, 32/33 lines per page, mostly one column, a few pages in multiple columns, mainly in French, many titles and some passages in Russian, and a few quotes in English. The handwriting becomes smaller and more upright in the second half, apparently in a deliberate attempt to save space. Occasional later insertions and additions. The journal fills a notebook of contemporary black chagrin-covered boards, rebaked in goatskin.

AN UNPUBLISHED MANUSCRIPT JOURNAL OF A HIGHLY LITERATE FEMALE ARISTOCRAT, containing meticulous notes of six years of extensive reading of Russian, French and other European literature, history and philosophy. Countess Lydia Rostopchina was the granddaughter of the famous Count Rostopchin who is said to have ordered the burning of Moscow to prevent Napoleon's troops from taking it; her aunt was the children's book writer the Comtesse de Ségur, and her mother Evdokia Rostopchina was a poet and author in her own right. Her journal is a record of the cosmopolitan literary

culture of mid-nineteenth-century Russia. Endowed with curiosity, an independent mind, and acute literary sensitivity, Rostopchine (who used the French spelling of her name) records her reactions to such new publications as *War and Peace*, *Crime and Punishment*, *The Idiot*, works by Turgenev and Goncharov, George Sand, Flaubert, and Charlotte Brontë. She provides lengthy and personal commentaries on Dickens, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Pascal, Molière, Alfred de Musset and Saint Augustine, to name just a few of the hundreds of authors whose works she records. Adding a further dimension to the journal are her essay-like reflections on recent history and reminiscences of family members and their extended social circle, prompted by her readings of dozens of memoirs by figures ranging from statesmen to courtesans. \$25,000

Reading, and discussing one's reading, were habits inculcated in the Rostopchine children from an early age (cf. Hédouville, *passim*). Lydie Rostopchine was evidently proud of her prodigious *lectures*. She was 29 when she commenced the journal (the first of what would apparently become a series: "*Livre no. 1*" is scrawled beneath the title in what may be a different or later hand). Rostopchine's reading encompasses novels, history, memoirs, philosophy, works on religion, and theater, and she reads journals and newspapers, in French, Russian, and English, the latter either in French translations or in the original, with German and Italian works in translation. Periods range from Antiquity to the Enlightenment to new publications. Her record-keeping is meticulous: within each year the titles are numbered, with a tally of the total number of works and volumes (always noted) at the end of each annual entry. From 1870 on she supplied tables of her reading arranged by category – *Romans*, *Théâtre*, *Poésie*, *Histoire*, *Mémoires*, *Philosophie*, *Livres de Piété* or *Religion*, *Journaux*, and *Divers* – and for the last two years, 1872 and 1873, a total page count. The yearly results are also tabulated on the verso of the title, ranging from a low of 48 books in 82 volumes in 1869 to highs of 89 books in 98 volumes in 1872 and 67 titles in 148 volumes in 1873 (the latter amounting to 49,481 pages!). As the journal continues she develops certain personal conventions, such as multiple underlines for the books most worthy of note, or the use of purple ink for cited passages.

In her journal Rostopchine provides ample testimony of reading practice. She rereads (often); she is read to, or recalls being read to; she underlines passages in books, or copies passages into a commonplace book. She often reads aloud, noting the occasions, which include such lengthy works as Rousseau's *Confessions* and George Sand's ten-volume *Histoire de Ma Vie*; and reading aloud is often done with others, sometimes with one other person, at other times *en famille*. Throughout the journal she notes how many times she has read a book, returning to many after several years' interval, noting her differing reactions as time passes.



Rostopchine has strong opinions and emotional reactions to many works, and sometimes her reactions combine admiration and loathing, when a beautiful style is paired with what she views as ethical failings. For George Sand, for example, she has a love-hate relationship, reading everything published by Sand (Aurore Dupin, baronne Dudevant), but periodically exploding in dismay tinged by fascination, e.g., on *Lélia*, “*cet abominable ouvrage, c’est infâme, c’est infâme! ... mais ô malheur! Que ce poison a de charmes!*” (p. 7); or “it is not the human heart that George Sand paints, it is from filth and mud that she takes her subjects and decorates them with an, alas, magnificent style” (transl., pp. 6-7).

86.
 qu'on en a les yeux et le cerveau fatigués - bonne lecture
 pour rafraîchir la mémoire à propos des auteurs illustres
 du grand siècle de la littérature.

32. Sainte-Beuve - Port-Royal - hélas! il n'y a rien
 que le 1^{er} volume dont l'intérêt s'avant et religieux me fait
 vivement regretter ceux qui manquent.

33. Lettres inédites d'Henry IV - à Gabrielle et à Momp
 peu intéressantes historiquement et psychologiquement.

34. Nouvelle Héloïse - tout ce que j'ai lu de cette
 œuvre est une fille perdue, a dit Jean-Jacques dans sa
 préface - hé bien! j'ai lu l'Héloïse, non une, mais trois
 fois et je n'en suis pas plus mauvais pour cela; cette
 onnequinisme production porte son contre-poison en
 elle-même qui est la faculté d'ennuyer ses lecteurs
 au point que j'ai dû cesser à lire à haute voix,
 tant elle m'ennuyait invinciblement, même de jour;
 j'ai dû l'achever seul - et Rousseau me donner à
 son pédantesque Julie, toujours prêchante et moralisante,
 qui rien, pas même la mort, ne peut arrêter sur
 cette peste fatale, pour la sœur d'Héloïse, d'Héloïse
 qui restera le type immortel et toujours vivant de
 l'amour!!! quel angeil insensé! Julie n'est qu'une
 gouvernante et Sainte-Puce un extravaguant, pédant
 et ossement comme elle. Tout son rôle dans cette his-
 toire, il n'y a pas un sentiment vrai, l'enthousiasme et
 l'aspiration y gâtent tout; on voit que Rousseau le my-
 sentropel ne connaît pas le cœur humain et méconnaît le
 cœur féminin; Julie et Claire y choquent à chaque pas
 la pudeur et la bienséance; aucune femme n'a écrit
 à son marant ce que Julie lui écrit et n'a entendu
 un langage pareil à celui de Sainte-Puce; cela au-
 rait été à peine supportable en narration et force-

In a diatribe that reflects the *Zeitgeist* and shows her passionate engagement with her reading, while revealing elements of her personal outlook and character, Rostopchine reacts to Jean-Jacques Rousseau: an entry on “Mme. d’Epinay, the 2nd volume” (presumably Epinay’s 3-volume *Mémoires et Correspondance*, 1818), evolves into a rant against Rousseau, and by extension against the hypocrisy of all the “grands hommes” of the Enlightenment whose personal lives fell so far short of their loudly proclaimed ideals. Rousseau was “an impossible, acrimonious, irascible, hateful, envious, and consequently unhappy being... Having read his *Nouvelle Héloïse*, his *Emile* and the *Confessions* as well as an immense quantity of memoirs, letters and other writings of the 18th century, I take away from it all only disgust and pity for all this clique of philosophers and celebrated writers; I admire uniquely in Rousseau the writer, the chiseler, the Benvenuto Cellini of words, but the man revolts me and I say to myself with profound stupefaction, ‘what?! Is this the friend of humanity, the great benefactor and illuminator [éclairé] of the 18th century? What, this man who was unable to be a friend, a spouse, or a father, who put his five children in an orphanage and then wrote *Emile*, this grateful friend always ready to bite the hand that extends him generous benefits, this great citizen who renounced his country and his religion, it is to him that we raise statues and before him that all of thinking and writing humanity kneels!!! As far as I am concerned, miserable great man, I pity you and despise you, and I execrate the memory of all these Diderots, Grimms, d’Alemberts and d’Epinays etc. etc....” (pp. 8-9). Four years later, in 1871, she rereads the *Confessions* (out loud) with the same reactions but somewhat more explicit praise for Rousseau’s style; followed soon after by *La Nouvelle Héloïse*, which she had to stop reading aloud, as it “put me to sleep invincibly, even during the day” (p. 87).

Her reading of the Russian writers is no less critical. She dislikes Turgenev’s *Home of the Gentry* (p. 11), and of his *Smoke* (1867) she writes, in May 1868, “What? Is that all? And this after *Fathers and Sons*...” (p. 10). Revisiting the latter in May 1869 (p. 63), she

finds the characters universally unsympathetic. Of Goncharov’s *The Precipice*, his third novel (and the one he preferred), she praises the female character as “the elevated expression of the old woman in 19th-century Russia” (p. 25). The long-running monthly journal *Russkii Vestnik* (*Russian Messenger*), published during this period in Moscow, had become by mid-century one of the most influential literary magazines in Russia, and the principal novels of Tolstoy, Dostoevsky, and Turgenev, published serially, first appeared in its pages. Rostopchine read the journal

religiously. The earliest version of *War and Peace*, titled *The Year 1805*, appeared serially in the journal in 1865 and 1866. In 1867 Tolstoy significantly edited the text and published the first three volumes of the novel under the title *War and Peace*. In 1868 the fourth volume appeared, and in 1869 the fifth and sixth volumes. (Further modifications to the first four volumes appeared in a second edition, while volumes five and six remained unchanged.) It was only in 1873 that Tolstoy reduced the six parts to four, for the edition of 1873 which appeared in the *Works of Count L. N. Tolstoy*.

Rostopchine seems to have read the first edition, in six parts (being a faithful reader of *Russkiy Vestnik*, she probably had also read some of 1805 when first published there). In 1868, she reads part 3: “the interest created by part 1, published last year, and further excited by the second part, languishes in this 3rd volume, which is quite weak in my opinion. I await the following volumes to judge it definitively, but I declare as of now that Natasha is repulsive” (p. 8). Having read through Part 5 by June 1869, she pens a disparaging three-page review (pp. 25-27): “read with increasing boredom and disgust: not because of the prejudiced travesty of the character of my illustrious and admirable grandfather [Tolstoy depicted Count Rostopchin most unfavorably], portrayed as a crazy buffoon, no, it is his spirit of belittling and mockery, this ironic tone when speaking of a great epoch that makes my stomach turn with indignation... Tolstoy sees everything through a magic monocle that shows only the ugly, mean and vulgar sides of everything....” Rostopchine scorned Tolstoy’s realism, she preferred to view this grandiose period of history through an epic lens, she doubted that he was Christian, and she found him arrogant and conceited. The work, “which is neither a novel, nor history, nor a work of philosophy” was for her far too long. A year later, in 1870 she reads the 6th and final part. Conceding that she is “reconciled somewhat to Natasha, who has become a good wife and mother,” she complains of “understanding nothing of the gobbledygook (*galimatias*) of the end, the philosophy of history à la Tolstoy, even though I read it attentively twice. To sum up, the general impression is not favorable of this novel which when it was first published made a great impact and stirred up so much controversy, but which ultimately ended up boring anyone who was not revolted by it” (p. 56).

In principle, she admires Dostoevsky: she had read *Crime and Punishment* “with lively interest” when it came out in 1866; in 1870 she reads the book again, “with pleasure, and I admired anew this profound analysis of all of the sentiments of the human heart, which perhaps renders the reading a bit fatiguing; one’s heart bleeds painfully at the recitation of all of these poignant and real miseries ... my impression [of this book] is positive enough to allow me to overlook the discomfort caused by the depiction of too realistic but hideous scenes” (p. 64). But *The Idiot*, which she read in 1868-69 as it appeared, in parts, in *Russkiy Vestnik*, leaves her bewildered: “this immense novel, which is far from completion in the December [1868] issue, is so mixed-up, diffuse, and bizarre, that it is impossible to form any kind of opinion of the action; apparently the author has not even halfway finished his work, and already I lack the courage to read it; it is sad to find such a name on such a strange and shapeless work” (pp. 37-38). In 1873 she commences *The Demons*, also published in *Russkiy Vestnik*.

Among other Russian authors read by Rostopchine is “that great poet and citizen” (p. 11) Vasily A. Zhukovsky, whose translations (or rather adaptations) of Homer, Goethe, Schiller, etc., became influential Russian classics on their own, and whose name “has become emblematic of Russian romanticism” (Cornwell, p. 918). Of the realist novelist Aleksey Pisemsky, at the time considered an equal of Turgenev and Dostoevsky, she reads *Troubled Seas*, published in *Russkiy Vestnik* in 1864, judging it “gigantic, amoral, muddled and badly written,” while his autobiographical *People of the Forties* is “very boring” (p. 54). Other portraits, both documentary and novelistic, of the state of Russia affect her deeply: the Russian Slavophile and statesman Yuri Samarin brings her to tears with his description of the sufferings of the peasants (p. 18); Vsevolod Krestovsky’s novel *The Slums of St. Petersburg* (1864) arouses her ire, pity, and frustration at being “not rich” and thus unable to help (p. 51). “With

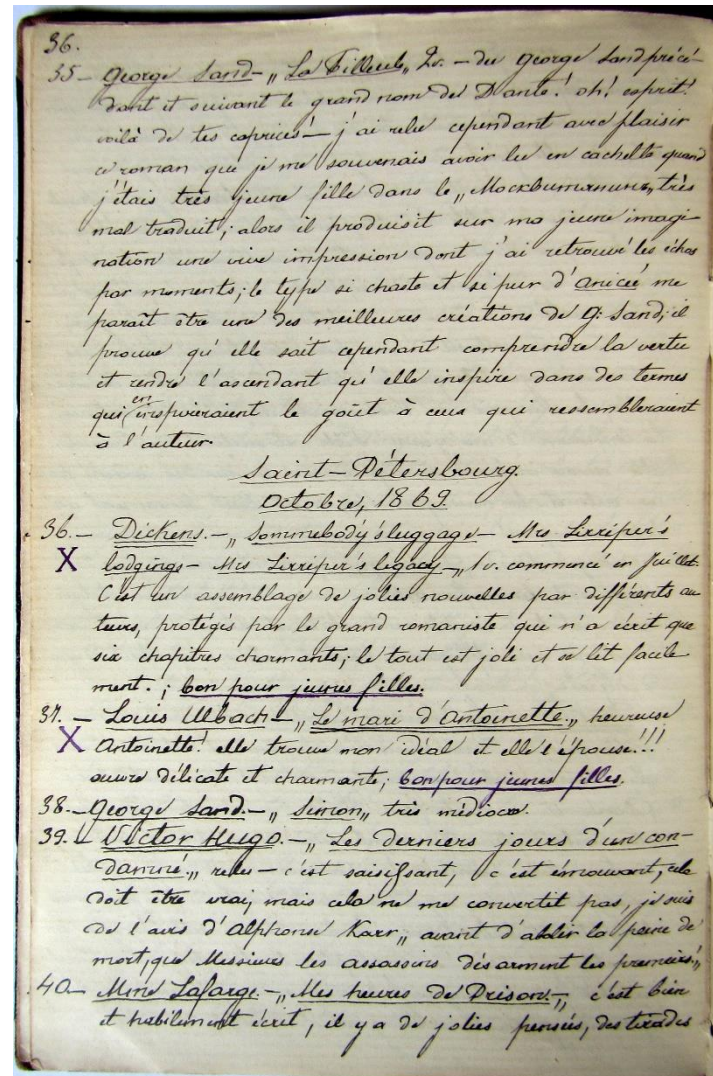
heartwarming tenderness" she reads Count Mikhail Speransky's letters to his daughter from Siberia, where he was governor-general from 1819 (p. 22). She wonders, in contrast, how Alexander Herzen's "mediocre" novel *Who is to Blame?* could have been produced by his pen (p. 15).

Not surprisingly, given her distaste for "realism," Rostopchine disliked *Madame Bovary*, which, in a rare slip, she attributes to Flaubert's contemporary Ernest Feydeau (pp. 30-31). In her defense, she must have read the expurgated version, published in 1857, after Flaubert's trial, which made the work a best-seller, and which had "piqued her curiosity," but she finds the novel "flat, trivial, badly written, of a realism that makes one's stomach turn..."

As one reads through the journal, Rostopchine's character and taste emerge: she demands of literature inspiration and elevation, and in writers and their characters she values humility. The *Confessions* of Saint Augustine, for example, leave her cold, for he lacks that quality that she most prizes; she compares him unfavorably to Francis of Sales (her favorite saint), and is shocked by his "familiar manner of conversing with God." "I retained nothing beneficial to my soul from this reading; my mind undoubtedly profited, but that was not the result that I was seeking" (p. 66). Romanticism, in contrast, strikes an immediate chord. Of Johann Georg Zimmerman's *Solitude* (*Über die Einsamkeit*, in the French translation by X. Marmier), a work far more popular in France and England than in its original German, she writes that "it seemed to me that I was leafing through my own self" (*il me semblait que je me feuilletais moi-même*) ... I wanted to underline all the passages that pleased me the most and I underlined almost the whole book" (p. 47). Lamartine sends her into ecstasies (p. 115). Rostopchine also admired Alfred de Musset, and rereads his *Oeuvres complètes* in 1870 (pp. 61-63); this provokes another outburst against George Sand, whom she blames for de Musset's unhappiness and alcoholism. Reading the *Confessions d'un Enfant de Siècle*, on a day when she was bedridden with fever, a condition that caused all of her sensations to be "tripled," her raptures and the experience of losing herself in the book ("for a few enchanted hours I forgot my personality"), were an experience that "will be one of my life's memories."

As for all dedicated readers, Rostopchine's reading was indeed an integral part of her life, and the reciprocal influence between her reading and "real life" are constantly on display. Some works bring back her childhood – "Swift, Gulliver, the friend of my adolescence, along with the Swiss Family Robinson (*Robinson Suisse*) and Don Quixote of childhood – reread this grand edition, with delight."

(A manuscript list of 42 books owned by Lydie and her two siblings, and written by them: "Catalogue des livres appartenant à Olga, Lydie et Victor Rostopchine," is transcribed in Hédouville, pp. 53-4. No. 21 is "Le Robinson Suisse, par Weyss, 1 vol.") Others elicit more negative reactions. Most



remarkable of the numerous autobiographical digressions in the journal is an 1870 entry on her cousin Anatole de Ségur's biography of their grandfather (*Vie du comte Rostopchine, gouverneur de Moscou en 1812*, Paris 1871), of which he had sent her the manuscript. This 8-page memoir of Rostopchine's family and particularly of her grandmother, the Countess Ekaterina Petrovna Rostopchina, née Protassova (pp. 98-105) contains first-hand accounts of shocking and intimate family incidents, and is charged with a rare and startling expression of anguish and bitterness, in which Rostopchine blames all her family's dissensions and problems, notably her father's dissipation of their immense fortune, on her grandmother, whom she portrays throughout the journal as an inhumane bigot.

A masterful writer herself, Rostopchine read many women writers – of French writers, besides her fixation on George Sand, she read Mme. de Stael, Mme. de Maintenon, Mme. de Genlis, Mme. Augustus Craven (Pauline Marie Armande Aglaé Craven); among the English, Mrs. Gaskell (referred to as Mistriss [sic] Gaskell), “Mistriss” Trollope [Frances Milton Trollope], Ouida (pseudonym of Maria Louise Ramé), and several others. Even an American makes an appearance: she reads Harriet Beecher Stowe's “History of the Byron controversy” (*Lady Byron vindicated: a history of the Byron controversy from its beginning in 1816 to the present time*), an exposé of Byron's reputed affair with his half-sister Aurora Leigh (which damaged Stowe's own reputation). Rostopchine rails against the injustices (including from public opinion) visited upon his silent, suffering wife while Byron enjoyed public adulation. She pictures these two deceased souls, “he with his shining cortège of glory and fame, the prestige of his genius and the smoke of all the incense which bathed him, and she who lived silent and forgotten, carrying in silence the weight of her pain and the bitterness of her abandonment, who suffered in order to expiate his faults... scorned by men, she is great in the eyes of God!” (pp. 52-54). The related theme of female revenge on the men who made them suffer surfaces elsewhere in the journal, as well as in one of Rostopchine's own novels, *Rastaquouéropolis* (Paris and Nice 1897).

Writers not mentioned in this description who appear in Rostopchine's journal include Dante, Homer, Virgil, Milton, Saint Teresa, La Rochefoucauld, Voltaire, Vauvenargues, Bossuet, Victor Hugo, Balzac, Goethe, Heine, Balzac, Wordsworth, Richardson, Hawthorne, Laurence Sterne, Wilkie Collins, Pushkin, Trollope, Jules Verne, Stendhal, Richardson, Zola, Théophile Gautier, Manzoni, Sainte-Beuve. Also of great interest are Rostopchine's many comments on histories and memoirs, including several histories of Napoleon, Queen Victoria's *Leaves from the journal of our life in the Highlands*, the autobiography of the painter Mme. Vigée-Lebrun, Saint-Simon, Sainte-Beuve (*Port-Royal*) and several memoirs and biographical accounts of members of her large and literate family, most of which infuriate her.

A more detailed description of the journal, including details of Lydie Rostopchine's family background and her published writings, is available on request.

Cf. Neil Cornwell, *Reference Guide to Russian Literature* (1998); Marthe de Hédouville, *Les Rostopchine, une grande famille russe au XIXe Siècle*, 1984. Grateful thanks to Irina Savinetskaya for her assistance with the passages in Russian.



FINIS