



(1514-70)
Daniele Barbaro:
In and Beyond the Text

Exhibition of Printed Books

King James Library
1-21 September 2014



University of
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Daniele Barbaro: In and Beyond the Text

*Portrait of Daniele Barbaro, 1556-67, by Paolo Veronese,
Courtesy of Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam*

The Venetian patrician Daniele Barbaro was one of the greatest intellectuals of his time and a prominent patron of artists and scholars, such as Palladio, Veronese and Titian. A complex and multi-faceted personality, he published several books and left unpublished writings on a range of subjects, including philosophy, mathematics, astronomy, optics, history, music, and architecture.

The International Network *Daniele Barbaro (1514-70): In and Beyond the Text*, funded by the Leverhulme Trust, project partners University of St Andrews, Centre d'Études Supérieures de la Renaissance, Tours, and Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice, puts Barbaro under the lens of his

writings, and adopting a cross-disciplinary approach it will provide a reassessment of this figure in the context of the European Renaissance on the occasion of the 500th anniversary of his birth.

This exhibition presents four books related to Daniele Barbaro owned by the University of St Andrews, and has been organised by Daryl Green and Laura Moretti with the assistance of Lenia Kouneni. The event runs in parallel with a workshop on Barbaro's manuscripts and printed works, his relation with printers, and the context of book printing in sixteenth-century Venice (University of St Andrews, 4-5 September 2014). The future activities

of the Network will include another workshop on the reception and influence of Barbaro's writings in the European context during the sixteenth and the following centuries (CESR, Tours, 20-21 April 2015), and a major exhibition of manuscripts and printed books that will be held at the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice (10 December 2015-31 January 2016). The research carried out during the project will be published in a multi-authored book.

All the information regarding this International Network can be found here: <https://arts.st-andrews.ac.uk/danielebarbaro>

Printed books have been circulating in St Andrews since at least the last quarter of the fifteenth century, between the Cathedral Priory, its clergy and the University. The conduit through which most of the early printed books in St Andrews arrived was most certainly through the network of the Cathedral Priory; seven fifteenth-century volumes still survive in the University's collection bearing the marks of ownership of William Scheves, archbishop of St Andrews until his death in 1497, who was also a student and then teacher within the University during the 1450s and 1460s. A fairly liquid flow of book ownership between the Cathedral Priory and the burgeoning University was established early on, a relationship which benefitted the students, clergy (who were often also teaching at the University) and academy in this remote coastal town. Indeed, the majority of the printed books that now bear provenance from the Cathedral Priory also bear provenance from the College of St Leonard where much of the priory's intellectual wealth was transferred to post-Reformation.

The first mention of a library in the University of St Andrews is in 1456, in which a space and wooden lectern had been established for the housing of books. Books were donated for the establishment of this space and recorded in the University's Acts of the Faculty of Arts. They included Aristotle's *Magna Moralia* and *Logica*, Thomas Aquinas' commentary on Aristotle's *Ethics*, and an unidentified commentary on *Ethics*, *Politica* and *Oeconomica*. The individual colleges, as they were established, also set up great stores of books from which their masters and students could work from. From these libraries, the Reformed University rose and produced some of Scotland's greatest theologians, poets and scholars of sixteenth century. John Mair, John Johnston, Andrew Melville, George Buchanan, Robert Balfour, William Fowler and William Dunbar all were reading, teaching from and commenting on books found in these libraries. These libraries operated fairly independently until the seventeenth century when a Common Library was established by Royal decree (now the King James Library).

All of these books on shelves, all of these ideas on paper swirling around this small and bustling town, all of these were arriving from all points south. These ideas, and the books in which

they were conveyed, digested, passed around, discussed, debated and measured, were the life, the matter needed for these Scottish academics to thrive on. Italian humanist works are well represented in pre- and post-Reformation libraries in St Andrews: from provincial works, such as George Buchanan's personal copy of the 1497 *Iliad* printed by Battista Farfengo in Brescia to the great Venetian humanist printers, such as Aldo Manuzio and Andrea Torresani di Asola. The Rare Books Collection today includes around 350 volumes printed in Italy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, including copies of works by Dante, Bembo, Ariosto, Biondo, Fabio Colonna, as well as the works featured in this exhibition.

The University's Common and college libraries grew through various donations in the seventeenth century from the royal family and members of the royal court, from Principals of the individual colleges, from distinguished alumni and from academics. James VI and I and his family, George Abbot, archbishop of Canterbury, Sir Adam Newton, Professor John Johnston, David Lindsay 1st Lord of Balcarres, and many others are all recorded as donors of books during this period. In the eighteenth century, the Common Library's collections grew at an incredible rate as the University was selected as one of nine original Copyright Deposit Libraries outlined by the Copyright Act of Queen Anne in 1709, which required copies of all works registered at Stationers' Hall to be offered to the named deposit libraries. St Andrews remained a deposit library until 1836, the resulting collection of books now constitutes over a quarter of the extant Rare Books Collection and has particular strengths in Scottish Enlightenment works.

At its core, the Rare Book Collection of the University of St Andrews Library preserves the historic collections of this ancient seat of learning. Like most libraries, this collection has become a collection of collections; a place where former students and academics, collectors and donors have given their personal libraries to the benefaction of future researchers. The Rare Book Collection, in all its constituent parts, now number close to 210,000 volumes, and includes printed works from across all six centuries of the University's existence.

Daryl Green

Exhibited Books

Dialoghi di M. Speron Speroni, nuovamente ristampati, & con molta diligenza riveduti, & corretti
Venice: haer. Aldo I Manuzio, 1546
St Andrews Special Collections, Classmark Typ IV.B46AS

In-octavo. Collation: A-V⁸ (ff. A2r-A3v: dedication by Barbaro to Ferdinando Sanseverino, Prince of Salerno; ff. A4r-E2r: *Dialogo d'amore*; E2v-F4v: *Della dignita delle donne*; F5r-G3r: *Del tempo del partorire delle donne*; G3v-I1v: *Della cura familiare*; I2r-K3r: *Della usura*; K3v-M8v: *Dialogo della Discordia*; N1r-P8r: *Dialogo delle lingue*; P8v-T2r: *Dialogo della rhetorica. Libro primo*; T2v-V2v: *Dialogo delle laudi del Cathaio, villa della S. Beatrice Pia de gli Obici*; V2v-V8r: *Dialogo intitolato Panico, et Bichi*). [1], 2-160 leaves. Roman and Italic types. Guide letters for initials. Woodcut device of the heirs of Aldus Manutius on title-page and on f. V8v: a dolphin's body wrapped around the shaft of an anchor and the writing: Aldus (Z43; CNCM 261). **References:** Adams S 1568; Edit16 26969; USTC 857240.

M. Vitruuii Pollionis De architectura libri decem, cum commentariis Danielis Barbari, electi patriarchae Aquileiensis
Venice: Francesco De Franceschi & Johann Criegher, 1567
St Andrews Special Collections, Classmark Typ IV.B67FV

In-fol. Collation: a⁶ b⁴ A-2G⁶ 2H⁸ (ff. a2r-a3v: dedication by Daniele Barbaro to Cardinal Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle; ff. a4r-b4r: Index with *errata* at the end; ff. 2H2v-2H8r: astronomical tables). 10 unnumbered leaves, 376 pages, final page unnumbered. Roman, Greek and italic types. Woodcut initials, ornaments, architectural illustrations, diagrams and music throughout; ff. Q4 and R2 folded. Woodcut device of Francesco De Franceschi on title-page and on f. 2H8v: allegory of peace (a woman with a horn of plenty under her left arm and a olive branch in her right hand); an amphora on the left, in the back; on the basement of a column on the right: pax (V139; V329; Z918; CNCM 560). **References:** Adams V 909; Edit16 48319; USTC 863690.

Aurea in quinquaginta Davidicos psalmos doctorum Graecorum catena. Interprete Daniele Barbaro Electo Patriarcha Aquileiensi
Venice: Giorgio Cavalli, 1569
St Andrews Special Collections, Classmark GHF 27.c(2)

In-fol. Collation: πA⁶ b⁶ †⁶ 2†⁶ A-T⁶ V⁸ X-Z⁶ Aa-Xx⁶ Yy⁸ (ff. πA2r-A3v: dedication by Barbaro to Pius V; ff. πA4r-A5v: prefatory note with dedication by Barbaro to Cardinal Guglielmo Sirleto; †⁶-2†⁶: Index). 6 unnumbered leaves, 13-44 [i.e. 24] pages, 12 unnumbered leaves, 544 pages, 2 unnumbered leaves. Mistakes in pagination. Roman and italic types. Woodcut device of Giorgio Cavalli on title-page and Yy8r: an elephant carries a tower on its back, in frame motto 'Tarde sed tuto' (V308; Z479; CNCM 235). **References:** Edit16 3458; USTC 804639

Gasparis Contareni cardinalis Opera
Paris: Sébastien Nivelles, 1571
St Andrews Special Collections, Classmark Typ FP.B71NC

In-fol. Collation: a⁴ b-c⁶ d⁴ A-G⁶ H⁴ I-Z⁶ Aa-Zz⁶ 2A-2H⁶ 2I⁴ (f. a2r: dedication by Cardinal Alessandro Farnese to Cardinal Luigi Contarini; f. a4r: privilege dated 16 March 1571 issued by Charles IX to Sébastien Nivelles on the complete work of Gaspare Contarini for ten years; ff. b1r-d4r: *Vita* of Gaspare Contarini by Giovanni Della Casa; ff. 2G5v-2I3r: Index rerum ac verborum; ff. 2I3v-2I4r: *Errata*; f. 2I4r: register). 20 unnumbered leaves, 90 pages, 1 blank leaf, 91-627 pages, 12 unnumbered leaves. F. d2 missigned "p2". Mistakes in pagination. Roman, Greek and italic types. Woodcut device of Sébastien Nivelles on title-page: two storks in flight, one feeding the other sitting on its back; four rounds with scenes of filial love in the frame. On the left and right of the frame, motto: 'Honora patrem tuum, et matrem tuam, ut sis longaeuus super Terram. Exod. 20'. On top of the frame, coat of arms with a deer, a cross and two stars. Monogram with the initials of Sébastien Nivelles in the bottom of the frame (S639).

References: Adams C 2560; USTC 170060.

Adams Herbert Mayow Adams, ed., *Catalogue of Books Printed on the Continent of Europe, 1501-1600 in Cambridge Libraries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967).

CNCM Censimento nazionale delle edizioni italiane del XVI secolo

Edit16 Edit16 online: http://edit16.iccu.sbn.it/web_iccu/ermarca.htm.

S Louis-Catherine Silvestre, *Marques typographiques, ou Recueil des monogrammes, chiffres, enseignes, emblemes, devises, rebus et fleurons des libraires et imprimeurs* (Paris: P. Jannet, 1853).

USTC Universal Short Title Catalogue www.ustc.ac.uk.

V Emerenziana Vaccaro, *Le marche dei tipografi ed editori italiani del XVI secolo nella Biblioteca Angelica di Roma* (Florence: Olschki, 1983).

Z Giuseppina Zappella, *Le marche dei tipografi e degli editori italiani del Cinquecento. Repertorio di figure, simboli e soggetti e dei relativi motti* (Milan: Bibliografica, 1986).

Upper Library (now King James Library)
c. 1898 by James Fairweather



Sperone Speroni, *Dialoghi*

Venice: haer. Aldo I Manuzio, 1546

One of the most influential critics of the Italian Renaissance, Sperone Speroni (Padua, 1500-1588) remains an idiosyncratic and complex figure¹. He actively participated in the numerous cultural debates that shaped the intellectual paradigm of sixteenth-century Italy, contributing some of the most ground-breaking and radical ideas, always with a distinctively modest but assertive demeanour. A vital force behind the cultural prominence and distinction of the Accademia degli Infiammati, Speroni lucidly codified his understanding of the cultural function of the Italian vernacular, and, uniquely, emphasized the importance of linguistic issues in philosophical discourse². Of vivid and precocious intellect, he rapidly gained recognition within the academic milieu of the Paduan Studio. However, after a crucial formative period in Bologna as a student of Pomponazzi, during which he befriended Gasparo Contarini³, his promising academic career was brought to a premature end by his father's death in 1528. He nevertheless remained a celebrated master of Italian literature, shaping and influencing the works of prominent linguists and writers from Aretino to Varchi, a role crystallized in Tomitano's *Ragionamenti della lingua Toscana* (1546) where Speroni is portrayed instructing his audience on 'gli ordini & maniere da tenere nel leggere'⁴. Author of one of the most controversial Renaissance tragedies, the *Canace*, Speroni earned critical acclaim with his *Dialoghi*, especially the *Dialogo delle lingue* and the *Dialogo d'amore*, in which he boldly questioned common assumptions on language and love through the voices of an original selection of characters framed within a complex conceptual construction⁶. In fact, whilst the dialogue was undoubtedly an immensely successful literary genre during the sixteenth century⁷, Speroni's choice of form cannot adequately be explained as the external result of fashion. Rather, it is the direct and appropriate expression of his intellectual approach to critical thinking⁸. His dialogues are characterized

by a unique internal dynamism and a distinctive argumentative structure, in which no single perspective clearly prevails or is presented as the author's standpoint. Instead, competing arguments are examined through an effective exchange that often does not reach a conclusive and singular answer to the question debated but rather indicates to the readers the philosophical issues the question entails. As Speroni would declare in his *Dialogo della vita attiva e contemplativa*:

Having lost the road of that demonstrative reasoning which leads directly to the haven of knowledge, yet desirous of reaching the truth [...] and so taking the path of probable and persuasive discussion, I have managed, not without difficulty, to arrive at the approximation of some tentative opinions, which constitute neither the body nor soul, but a mere shadow and resemblance of that true idea, which, in vain, I seek to recover. Thus, not without reason all my writings are dialogues⁹.

Daniele Barbaro met Sperone Speroni almost certainly during his university years in Padua, when they both attended the meetings of various intellectual circles both in Venice and in Padua, especially that of Beatrice Pia Obizzi (d. 1590) in her villa at Catajo near Battaglia Terme¹⁰. Their relationship was also naturally encouraged by their shared friendships with other intellectuals, especially Gaspare Contarini, the eminent Venetian humanist, bishop of Belluno¹¹, and Bernardo Tasso, who received generous patronage from Barbaro and literary guidance and sincere friendship from Speroni¹². However, it is in the context of the Accademia degli Infiammati that their intellectual relationship mainly developed and that the project of the publication of the *Dialoghi* eventually emerged¹³.

As one of its founders, Barbaro certainly had an important role in convincing Speroni to become the Accademia's 'principe' in 1542 and in supporting the pioneering agenda that the Paduan intended to implement in the Accademia, which he was also to lucidly crystallize

in his *Dialoghi*. However, Barbaro's part in disseminating Speroni's early works in print remains problematic and his motives potentially controversial¹⁴. In the *editio princeps* of *I dialogi* [sic] *di Messer Speron Speroni*, which appeared in 1542 from the Aldine press¹⁵, Barbaro himself, in his dedication of the volume to Ferdinando Sanseverino Prince of Salerno, admits publishing the works there collected 'non ricercando il consentimento di M. Sperone' and 'senza la parola sua'¹⁶. Acting instead 'mosso da compassionevole, et giusto sdegno' against the alleged appropriation of some of the dialogues' content through their uncontrolled, presumably manuscript, circulation, Barbaro invokes 'il santo, et sincero nome dell'amicitia' as his main justification for rushing his friend's writings into print¹⁷. A number of circumstances however seem to suggest that Barbaro's devotion for Speroni, which was undeniably sincere, was not his only motivation.

Firstly, the selection of dialogues that Barbaro (or perhaps Paolo Manuzio, as suggested by Sorella) decided to include in the 1542 edition of Speroni's dialogues, and the order in which they appeared, in this as well as in all subsequent versions, suggest heavy and somewhat arbitrary editorial interventions that significantly distort the collection's original configuration¹⁸. Compelled by the relevance of the subject matter and the author's eminence, Barbaro also decided to publish the *Dialogo della rhetorica* despite it being evidently incomplete¹⁹. From the linguistic point of view, the Aldine edition is characterized by a polished and uniform patina that is in many ways alien not only to Speroni's own natural writing style, but also to the linguistic and stylistic theories presented in the *Dialoghi*. This is the result of heavy-handed typographical corrections aimed at a broad homologation of the texts to specific dominant notions, often rooted in the Bembian paradigm, in terms of phonetics, orthography and punctuation, but also of vocabulary and idiomatic expressions. In line with common practices and consolidated policies at the Aldine press, the language is visibly

and extensively Tuscanized whilst all complexities, obscurities, or controversial expressions and references perceived as problematic for a broad readership, are simplified or altogether eliminated²⁰. This editorial strategy proved extremely successful and indeed the *Dialoghi* would be reprinted in virtually identical issues (except some graphic or phonetic variants like the change in the title from *Dialogi* to *Dialoghi*) in 1543, 1544 (1545), 1546, 1550, and 1552 by the Aldine presses although with a deceptive new title²¹. The *Dialoghi* were also reprinted by other Italian presses throughout the sixteenth century²², and some were translated in French as early as 1546²³.

Speroni always maintained a distinctive disinterest for the publication of his writings, as Barbaro conveniently highlighted in his dedication letter. However, the Aldine edition certainly upset him, as he passionately wrote to Barbaro:

Now I am displeased with you because that part of my dialogues, which up until now I have kept hidden from everyone (except those from whom I could not conceal even my heart, let alone anything else) [...] now thanks to you is in print and there for the whole world to see. This is your doing, his is the blame but yours and mine will be the shame that will follow us in life and in death [...]²⁴.

This letter was indeed left unfinished, but it is indicative of the intensity of Speroni's feelings on this matter. Besides, Speroni's attitudes towards the publication of his *Dialoghi* had not changed when in 1574, defending his works from anonymous accusations of immorality and heterodoxy, he wrote in the *Apologia dei dialoghi* of his surprise in listening to a reading of the printed *Dialoghi* and of his fear that his writings had been disingenuously manipulated:

When the reverend Father Master started to read some passages of my dialogues to me, although he was doing so in a soft and kind voice, I was nonetheless stunned by his reading as if the sound of the words were the rumbling of thunder or a cannon firing so that for a long time I could do nothing but look at him in silence. [...] And I kept thinking 'Alas! Did I really write these things? Or did my enemies write them, deceitfully attributing to me words that will shame me in the eyes of good men?'. And I was right to doubt that these were my words because after my dialogues were taken from me and put in the hands of the printers, I (their author!) never saw them again, except for one time and in a French translation²⁵.

The *Dialoghi*, continues Speroni,

were born in private [...]. How and why they were printed, then, is clear from the dedicatory letter to the Prince of Salerno

written by M. Daniele Barbaro, a Venetian gentlemen, soon to become the Patriarch of Aquileia, a man of great learning in every kind of knowledge, a man cultured and moral in equal measure. The sons of Aldo Manuzio, Antonio and Paolo, got my dialogues from him and printed them many times and always rather shoddily, nor did they ever acknowledge me, or give me as a gift even a single one of those little books²⁶.

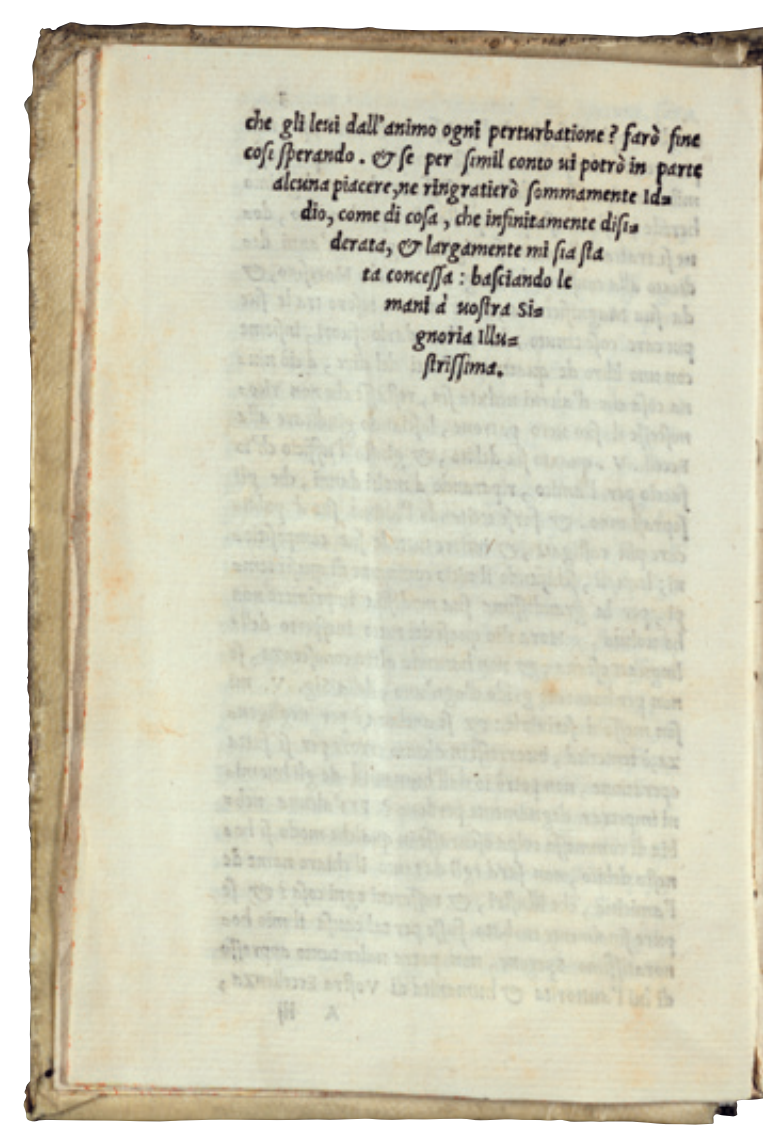
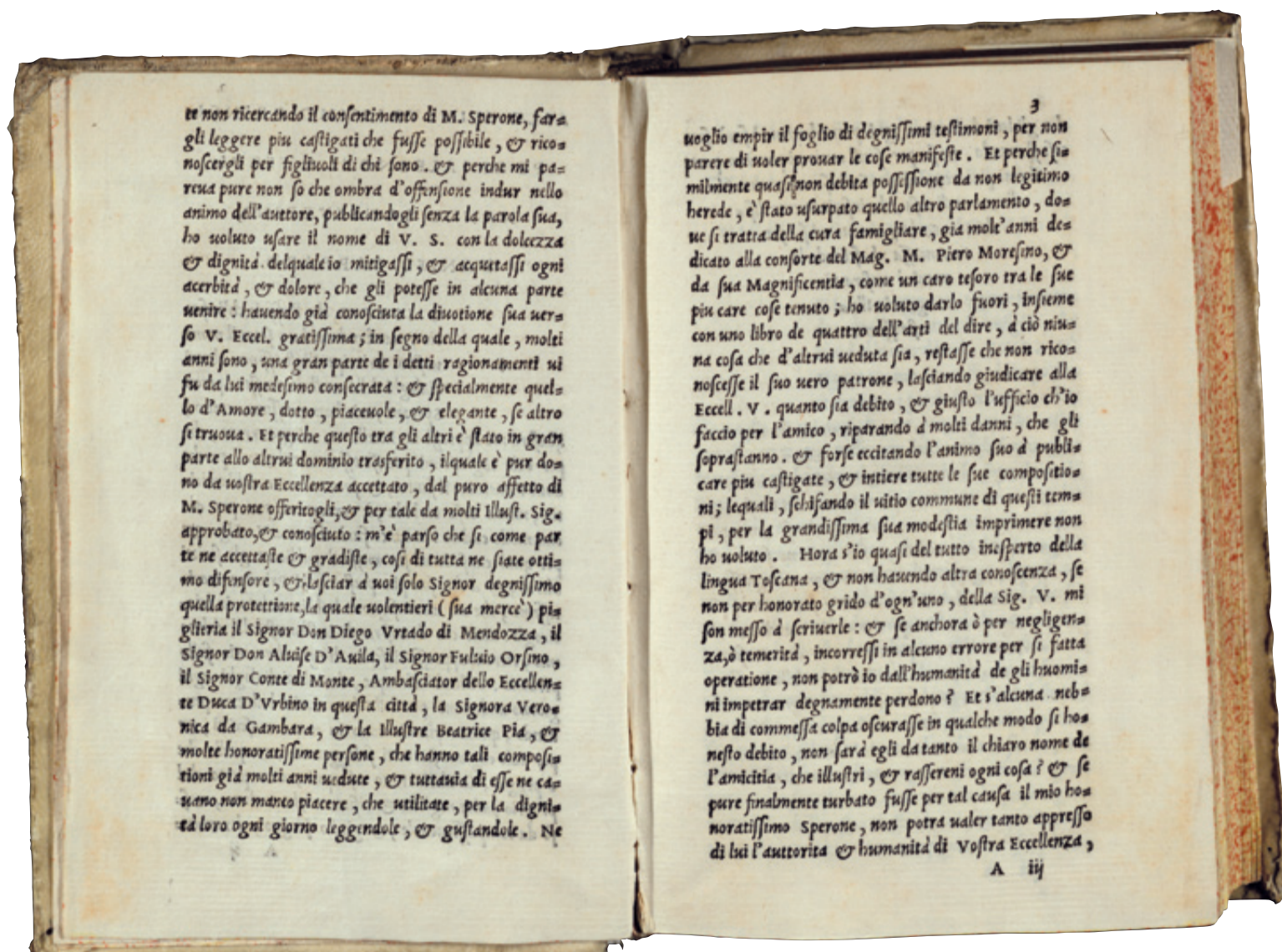
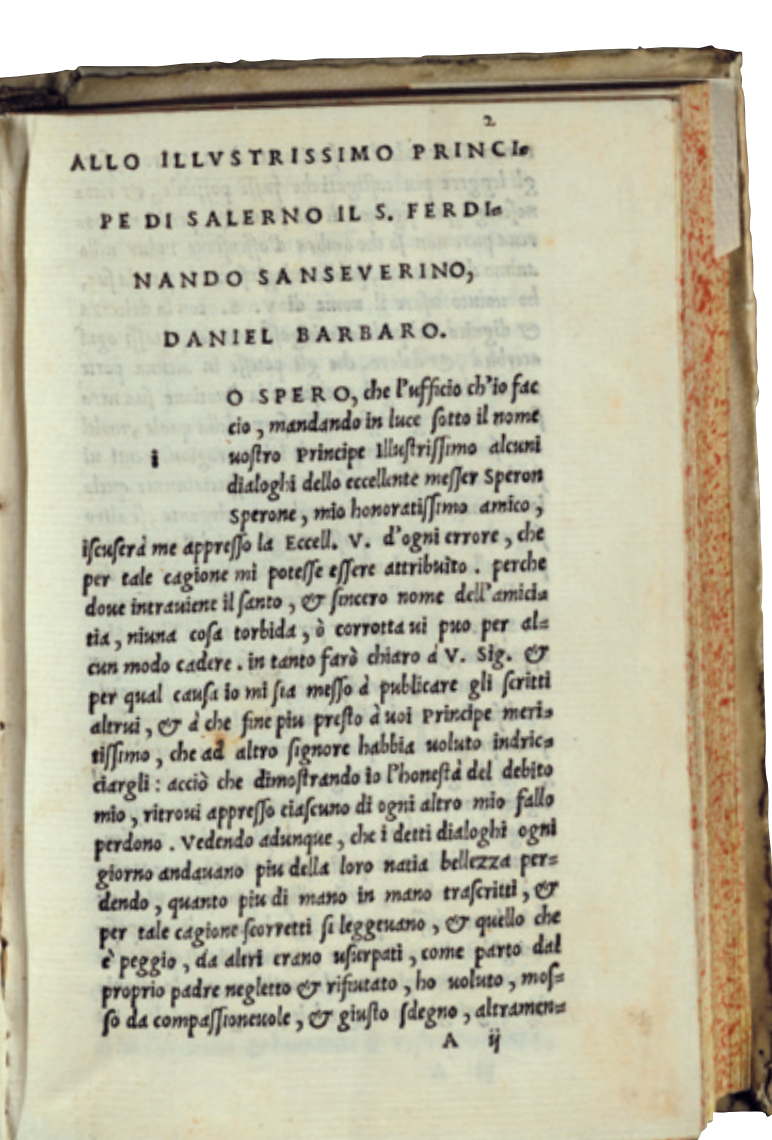
It seems clear that Speroni was particularly resentful about two specific circumstances: on the one hand, he was disappointed by the carelessness with which the publication, in his opinion, had been executed; on the other, he felt unfairly and discourteously excluded not only from the book's initial realisation, but also from subsequent productions. In the *Apologia*, Barbaro is still presented in a rather positive light, as a respectable and learned man who had perhaps simply misjudged the extent to which the Manuzios could be

trusted with Speroni's works. It is certainly difficult to establish how much control Barbaro was able to maintain over the text once it revealed its market potential. However, it remains indeed perplexing, particularly given Barbaro's close friendship with Speroni, that he chose not to involve him in any aspect of the editing, even considering the limited direct control that authors could generally exercise on the printing of their works during the sixteenth century²⁷. Scholars agree that the amount of errors present in the 1542 edition would suggest that Barbaro used an unrevised copy of Speroni's writings and there is no question that, as principal editor of the *Dialoghi*, he must have been aware of the policies used at the Aldine press in preparing them for publication, as well as the format in which they were to appear. Thus, despite the undoubted sincerity of Barbaro's declaration of devoted friendship, his promise to ensure that Speroni's dialogues would be made available in his edition 'più castigati che fusse possibile'

ultimately rings hollow.

The 1546 edition of the *Dialoghi di m. Speron Speroni, nuovamente ristampati, & con molta diligenza riveduti, & corretti* is a separate issue of the 1542 edition, only with different date and colophon, and it reproduces the text of the *princeps* despite the suggestion in the title that it is a revised and corrected new edition. The Roman and italic types, used respectively for the titles and the body of the text, are densely arranged on the page to maximize the use of paper (reduced in this edition from 171 to 160 leaves). This, together with the failed execution of capitals, seems to suggest that this was a swift and economically minded repackaging of a very successful product.

The St Andrews copy of Sperone Speroni's *Dialoghi* still preserves the original vellum binding, with boards measuring 144 × 95 mm. This, as most products of the Aldine press in this period, is plain and unadorned, the only decoration being the gilded spine



title applied directly to the vellum and displaying the abbreviated name of the author and title of the work (SPER./DIAL.). The St Andrews classmark that still identifies the volume has also been added at the bottom of the spine in clear black ink sometime during the twentieth century. The binding has however been visibly damaged by rodents and a detailed worksheet on the back pastedown provides details of the restoration carried out in 1981 by Rafe Fleming, binder of the University at the time.

The edges of the text block are sprinkled red. Two sets of watermarks are clearly visible: one of an ornate cardinal hat shape with a distinctive countermark, a typology that Briquet indicates as exclusively Italian and specifically Venetian during the sixteenth century²⁸; the other of a trifolium with an adjacent bar marked by a dot at each end²⁹.

Unfortunately, no clear mark of provenance can be detected in the volume. The only stamp to be found, on the title-page, is that of the St Andrews University Library. The ex-libris from the same library (the University crest surrounded by the wording ‘Bibliotheca Universitatis Sancti Andreae’ and surmounted by the University’s motto ‘AIEN APIΣTEYEIN’) is on the front pastedown. This also shows two further classmarks: one simply indicates the insertion of the volume on the online catalogue; the other (DL 10.21) is more significant and indicates that the volume has been in the University’s library collections since the beginning of the nineteenth century. The additional number on the title-page is an accession number, but unfortunately cannot be used to further determine the date the volume was acquired by St Andrews, as it was also added during the twentieth century. In the absence of further evidence, it remains impossible to establish how and exactly when this volume came to be acquired by the University library.

Claudia Rossignoli

- ¹ For Speroni biography, Forcellini’s outline in Sperone Speroni, *Opere di M. Sperone Speroni degli Alvarotti tratte da’ mss. originali*, ed. M. Forcellini and N. Dalle Laste (Venice: Occhi, 1740; repr. Manziana: Vecchiarelli, 1989), vol. V, v-lII, is still the most comprehensive. However, Pozzi’s summary of Speroni’s biography in the introduction to his edition of some of the *Dialoghi* is still useful. See M. Pozzi (ed.), *Trattatisti del Cinquecento* (Milan–Naples: Ricciardi, 1978), vol. I, 471–509. There has been considerable scholarly research on Speroni and his writings in the lead up to the fourth centenary of his death, diligently summarised in V. Vianello, “Sperone Speroni: opera, stile e tradizione. Un ventennio di studi (1968–1988),” *Quaderni veneti* 9 (1989): 203–222, and significantly complemented by the special issue of *Filologia veneta* 2 (1989), entitled and entirely dedicated to Speroni. After a less productive decade, research on Speroni and his writings is again attracting significant interest in recent years, as in the ongoing research by Alessio Cotugno.
- ² An exhaustive, but dated, historical account of the Infiammati’s origins, development and features is in G. Gennari, “Saggio storico sopra le Accademie di Padova dell’Abbate Giuseppe Gennari,” in *Saggi scientifici e letterari dell’Accademia di Padova* (Venezia: Bettinelli, 1786), vol. I, 13–71, at 14–23. See also the more recent F. Tomasi, “Le letture di poesia e il petrarchismo nell’Accademia degli Infiammati,” in *Il Petrarchismo. Un modello per l’Europa*, ed. F. Calitti and R. Gigliucci (Rome: Bulzoni, 2006); M. T. Girardi, “La lezione su *Verdi panni, sanguigni, oscuri o persi* di Benedetto Varchi accademico infiammato,” *Aevum* 79 (2005): 667–718; Id., *Il sapere e le lettere in Bernardino Tomitano* (Milan: Vita e pensiero, 1995); A. Daniele, “Sperone Speroni, Bernardino Tomitano e l’Accademia degli Infiammati di Padova,” *Filologia Veneta* 2 (1998): 1–53; V. Vianello, *Il letterato. L’Accademia. Il libro. Contributi sulla cultura veneta del Cinquecento* (Padua: Antenore, 1988); R.S. Samuels, “Benedetto Varchi, the Accademia degli Infiammati, and the Origin of the Italian Academic movement,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 29 (1976): 599–634.
- ³ Their conversations during these important years are notably recorded by Speroni in his *Dialogo della vita attiva e contemplativa*, in which Contarini features as a prominent character. See *Opere di M. Sperone Speroni*, vol. II, 1–43.
- ⁴ *Ragionamenti della lingua Toscana di M. Bernardino Tomitano* (Venice: Farri, 1546), 17–18 (USTC 859344).
- ⁵ Still essential on both the tragedy and the sustained critical debate it ignited, Sperone Speroni, *Canace, e scritti in sua difesa*, ed. C. Roaf (Bologna: Commissione per i

testi di lingua, 1982), esp. xiii–lxi. But see also S. Jossa, *Rappresentazione e scrittura: la crisi delle forme poetiche rinascimentali 1540–1560* (Naples: Vivarium, 1996). The tragedy has recently been translated in Sperone Speroni, *Canace*, ed. and trans. E. Brancaforte (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2013).

⁶ See in particular J. Snyder, “La maschera dialogica. La teoria del dialogo di Sperone Speroni,” *Filologia veneta* 2 (1989): 113–138; C. Vasoli, “Sperone Speroni: La filosofia e la lingua. L’ombra del Pomponazzi e un programma di volgarizzamento del sapere,” in *Il volgare come lingua di cultura dal Trecento al Cinquecento*, ed. A. Calzona et al. (Florence: Olschki, 2003), 339–359. On the *Dialogo d’amore* see J.L. Smarr, “A Dialogue of Dialogues: Tullia d’Aragona and Sperone Speroni,” *Modern Language Notes* 113.1 (1998): 204–212; R. Buranello, “Figura meretricis: Tullia D’Aragona in Sperone Speroni’s Dialogo d’amore,” *Spunti e ricerche* 15 (2000): 53–68; R. Russell, “‘Opinione’ e ‘giuoco’ nel Dialogo d’amore di Sperone Speroni,” *Parola del Testo* 6.1 (2002): 133–146. On the *Dialogo delle lingue* see Sorella’s introduction to Sperone Speroni, *Dialogo delle lingue*, ed. A. Sorella (Pescara: Libreria dell’Università, 1999).

⁷ On the fundamental importance of this specific literary genre in Renaissance culture and its transforming intellectual function see at least R. Snyder, *Writing the Scene of Speaking. Theories of Dialogues in the Late Italian Renaissance* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1989), esp. 87–133; V. Cox, *The Renaissance Dialogue: Literary Dialogue in its Social and Political Contexts, Castiglione to Galileo* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); D. Heitsch and J.-F. Vallée (eds.), *Printed Voices: the Renaissance Culture of Dialogue* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004); J. L. Smarr, *Joining the Conversation: Dialogues by Renaissance Women* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2005).

⁸ See for instance E. Himmel, “Sulla prosa dello Speroni,” *Lingua e Stile* 22.2 (1987): 221–245; J.L. Fournel, “La Rhétorique vagabonde et le portrait de la vérité dans trios dialogues de Sperone Speroni,” in *Discours littéraires et pratiques politiques*, ed. A. C. Fiorato (Paris: Pubs. de la Sorbonne, 1987), 11–59; O. Zorzi Pugliese, “Sperone Speroni and the Labyrinthine Discourse of Renaissance Dialogue,” in *Imagining Culture: Essays in Early Modern History and Literature*, ed. J. Hart (New York: Garland, 1996), 57–72; Id., “Il concetto ludico di dialogo: Problema testuale nell’*Apologia dei dialoghi* di Sperone Speroni,” *Veltro* 40.3–4 (1996): 340–344; P. De Capitani, “De l’art de persuader à l’art de bien juger et de bien dire: La Rhétorique chez Sperone Speroni,” in *La Persuasion*, ed. J.

Bartuschat (Grenoble: Université Stendhal, 2004), 131–159; K. W. Hempfer, “Die Poetik des Dialogs im Cinquecento und die neuere Dialogtheorie: Zum historischen Fundament aktueller Theorie,” in *Poetik des Dialogs: Aktuelle Theorie und rinascimentales Selbstverständnis*, ed. K. W. Hempfer (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2004), 67–96; F. Malhomme, “La Rhétorique et les arts chez Sperone Speroni,” *Rhetorica* 29.2 (2011): 151–193.

⁹ “avendo io smarrita la strada delle ragioni dimostrative, le quali dirittamente conducono all’albergo delle scienze, vago nondimeno di pervenire alla verità [...] per lo sentiero de’ probabili e persuasivi discorrimenti mettendomi, giungo a gran pena al verisimile d’alcune deboli opinioni, le quali non son corpo né anima, ma ombra solo e sembianza del vero aspetto, che indarno tento di rivedere. Dunque, non senza cagione i miei scritti [...] sono tutti dialogi”. In Sperone Speroni, *Dialogo della vita attiva e contemplativa*, in *Dialoghi del Sig. Sperone Speroni nobile padovano di nuovo ricorretti; A’ quali sono aggiunti molti altri non più stampati. E di più l’Apologia dei primi* (Venice: Meietti, 1596), 180–215 (181); and in *Opere di M. Sperone Speroni*, vol. II, 2–3.

¹⁰ On Beatrice Obizzi see Francesco Agostino Della Chiesa, *Theatro delle donne Letterate con un breve discorso della preminenza, e perfectione del sesso donnesco* (Mondovì: Giovanni Rossi, 1620), 92–93; but also V. Cox, *The Prodigious Muse: Women’s Writing in Counter-Reformation Italy* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2011), 116. Beatrice prominently and meaningfully features in Speroni’s dialogue *Della dignità delle donne*, in which Barbaro is also a central character. This gives us an interesting representation of the intellectual conversations taking place at the villa under Beatrice’s direction, also depicted in Speroni’s *Dialogo delle laudi del Cathaio, villa della S. Beatrice Pia de gli Obici*.

¹¹ On Contarini and his relationship to Barbaro see G. Fragnito, “Contarini, Gaspare,” in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Rome: Istituto dell’Enciclopedia italiana, 1925–; hereafter: DBI), vol. 28 (1983), 172–92, and the more recent E. G. Gleason, *Gasparo Contarini: Venice, Rome, and Reform* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1993), <http://ark.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/ft429005s2/> [accessed 20/05/14].

¹² See G. Alberigo, “Barbaro, Daniele,” in DBI, vol. 6 (1964), 89–95, at 90; Pozzi, “Nota introduttiva,” in *Trattatisti del Cinquecento*, vol. I, 486–88. Speroni’s relationship with Bernardo’s more famous son Torquato will be much more problematic and turbulent, partly due to Speroni’s direct and uncompromising opinions on Torquato’s writings, which the

latter nevertheless eagerly sought, partly as a result of Torquato’s own emotional volatility. See in particular Tasso’s letters to Luca Scalabrino, dated 9 and 24 April 1576, where he openly regrets having involved Speroni in the revision of the *Gerusalemme* and refutes Speroni’s accusations of plagiarism, adding that he ‘non mostra di aver ben letto i poeti’ and calls him ‘maligno e ingrato’ writing the same month to Scipione Gonzaga. See Torquato Tasso, *Prose*, ed. E. Mazzali (Milan–Naples: Ricciardi, 1959), 781–787, at 786; Torquato Tasso, *Le lettere*, ed C. Guasti (Florence: Le Monnier, 1852–1855), vol. I, 166.

¹³ Both Barbaro and Speroni actively participated to the activities of the Accademia from its inception in 1540. See F. Bruni, “Sperone Speroni e gli “Infiammati”,” *Filologia e letteratura* 13 (1967): 24–71; G. Alberigo, “Barbaro,” 90. See also the bibliography at n. 2 above.

¹⁴ Only the copy in St Andrews’ Special Collections will be described in detail. For all other editions cited, I will refer to the bibliographical information provided by the Universal Short Title Catalogue [USTC], available online.

¹⁵ See USTC 857235. The Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale of Florence’s copy of this edition is available digitally through the *Early European Books* database.

¹⁶ See *I Dialogi di M. Speron Sperone*, 2v. The letter appears identical in all subsequent editions.

¹⁷ *I Dialogi di M. Speron Sperone*, 2r. Speroni had publicly accused Alessandro Piccolomini of having plagiarized his dialogues in *De la institutione di tutta la vita de l’huomo nato nobile e in città libera libri X in lingua toscana* (Venice: Scoto, 1542), USTC 848289, reprinted in 1543 (USTC 848290 and 848291), 1545 (USTC 848293), in 1552 for the Bonelli presses (USTC 848304), and in 1559 by Francesco Imperatore (USTC 848321). For the particular speed with which the edition was realised, see Sorella’s introduction to Sperone Speroni, *Dialogo delle lingue*, ed. A. Sorella (Pescara: Libreria dell’Università, 1999), 15–16.

¹⁸ These include, for instance, the omission of the significant *Dialogo della vita attiva e contemplativa* in which Barbaro prominently figures speaking rather positively of Giovan Francesco Valerio, who by 1542 had become an extremely problematic acquaintance, as he was accused of espionage and treason for which he was in fact imprisoned and eventually executed. The *Dialogo d’amore* is also placed at the beginning of the collection in order to mirror, and therefore challenge, Piccolomini’s alleged use of the dialogue in the work mentioned above. On these and other aspects that distance the *princeps* from the copy of the *Dialoghi* provided

by Speroni, see in particular G. Moro, “Appunti sulla preistoria editoriale dei *Dialoghi*,” *Filologia Veneta* 2 (1989): 193–218.

¹⁹ The *Dialogo della rhetorica*, as the added subtitle *libro primo* suggests, only contains the first book of the work and it concludes at. c.146r with an evasive “manca alcuna cosa”. What is missing, wrote Speroni’s editors “ce lo invidiò l’inavvertenza di Marsilio dei Papafavi; il quale (come notò Ingolfo [Speroni’s grandson, himself editor of the *Dialoghi*] nei suoi Mss.) sendo alloggiato a Vigodarzene, villa del Padovano, in casa dello Speroni, ch’era suo suocero; stracciò a caso alcun foglio di sì polito dialogo: di che avidutosi l’autore, e montato perciò in gran collera stracciò il resto; né più volle rifarlo, nonché proseguire l’incominciata materia rettorica fino alla fine, come aveva disegnato da principio”, in Sperone Speroni, *Opere di M. Sperone Speroni degli Alvarotti tratte da’ mss. originali*, ed. N. dalle Laste and M. Forcellino (Venezia: Occhi, 1740), vol. I, 242. On this particular dialogue see also V. Vianello, “*Res et verba* nel *Dialogo della Retorica* di Sperone Spononii,” *Atti dell’Istituto Veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti* 138 (1979–1980): 231–253; P. Mack, *A History of Renaissance Rhetoric 1380–1620* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 293–293; K. Meerhoff, *Rhétorique et poetique au Xvie siecle en France* (Leiden: Brill, 1986), 82–102.

²⁰ See Sorella’s observations in this sense for the *Dialogo delle lingue* in Sperone Speroni, *Dialogo delle lingue*, ed. A. Sorella, 29–56, 57–74. On Speroni’s autographs see C. Bellinati, “Catalogo dei manoscritti di Sperone Speroni nella Biblioteca Capitolare di Padova,” *Filologia Veneta* 2 (1989): 323–355; on his theoretical positions about rhetoric and style see especially Speroni’s own *Dialogo della rhetorica* and M.R. Davi, “Filosofia e retorica nell’opera di Sperone Speroni,” *Filologia Veneta* 2 (1989): 89–112.

²¹ See for 1543 USTC 857236; for 1544, USTC 764901 and 857238; for 1546, USTC 857240; for 1550, USTC 857242; for 1552, USTC 857243. Scholars seem to agree that the slight phonetic and orthographical variations between these prints resulted from the work of proofreaders rather than from any significant revision by a professional editor like Barbaro. However, in all reprints subsequent to the 1542 *princeps* the *Dialoghi* are described in the title as “nuouamente ristampati, & con molta diligenza riueduti, & corretti”. For these and the editions mentioned in n. 23, see M. Magliani, “Bibliografia delle opere a stampa di Sperone Speroni,” *Filologia Veneta* 2 (1989): 275–321, at 284.

²² The *Dialoghi* were also reprinted by Domenico Giglio in Venice in 1558 (USTC

857244), by Francesco Lorenzini in Turin in 1560 (USTC 857245), and Comin da Trino from Monferrato in 1564 (USTC 857247). The 1596 edition published by Meietti is instead an entirely different production, supervised by Giovanni Alberti and allegedly conducted on the basis of Speroni's autographs, given to him by Speroni's grandson Ingolfo de' Conti, and entitled *Dialoghi del sig. Speron Speroni nobile padovano, di nuovo ricorretti, a' quali sono aggiunti molti altri non più stampati. E di più l'Apologia de i primi* (Venice: Meietti, 1596) (USTC 857248). This edition was defined 'monstrous' by dalle Laste and Forcellino in Sperone Speroni, *Opere*, vol. I, 12.

²³ See *De la cure famillere Auec aucuns preceptes de mariage, extraictz de Plutarque. Aussi vn Dialogue de la dignité des femmes, traduit des Dialogues de M. Speron Italien* (Lyon: Tournes, 1546) (USTC 37835). A complete translation will also appear: Sperone Speroni, *Les dialogues*, trans. Claude Gruget (Paris: [Etienne Groulleau] pour Jean Longis, 1551) (USTC 83111), and its subsequent editions. On Speroni's fortune in France and especially on Joachim Du Bellay's use of Speroni's *Dialoghi*, see L. Warner, *The Ideas of Man and Woman in Renaissance France: Print, Rhetoric, and Law* (London: Ashgate, 2011), 37-39; L. Willet, *Poetry and Language in 16th-century France. Du Bellay, Ronsard, Sebillet* (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2003), 15-17, and I. Navarrete, "Strategies of Appropriation in Speroni and Du Bellay," *Comparative Literature* 41.2 (1989): 141-54.

²⁴ "Ora io mi doglio con esso voi, considerando per ciò essere avenuto che quella parte de' miei dialogi, la quale insin ora io ho celata ad ognuno, da quelli infori cui non che altro il proprio core non ho potuto celare, [...] ora per vostra opera, data alla stampa, sia veduta da tutto 'l mondo. Vostra è l'opera, sua è la colpa, e vostra, e mia sia la vergogna che vivi e morti ne seguirà[...]" See M.R. Loi and M. Pozzi, "Le lettere familiari di Sperone Speroni," *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana* 163 (1986): 383-413, at 385.

²⁵ "Quando il reverendo Padre Maestro cominciò a leggermi alcuni luoghi dei miei dialogi, tutto che piano li mi leggesse e in voce piena di carità, io nondimeno alla sua lettura, non altrimenti che se da folgore o da bombarda venisse il suono delle parole, rimasi in guisa intronato che io non fei altro per lungo spazio che riguardarlo e tacere; [...] così diceva nel pensiero: "oimè, ho io scritto sì fatte cose, o l'hanno scritte li miei nemici, attribuendomi con mala arte [...] quel che al giudizio de' santi uomini potesse farmi vergogna?" E bene dovea dubitarne, perciòché poscia che mi fur tolti li miei dialogi e dati in mano alli stampatori, io loro autore no lli rividi mai più, se non

francesi una volta [...]" In Sperone Speroni, *Apologia dei Dialogi*, in *Trattatisti del Cinquecento*, ed. M. Pozzi (Milan-Naples: Ricciardi, 1978), vol. I, 683-724, at 684 and 722-723).

²⁶ "nacquero privatamente [...]. Come poscia e per qual cagione si publicassero, chiaro mostra senza più dirne la epistoletta dedicatoria scritta al Principe di Salerno da M. Daniello Barbaro, gentiluomo veneziano, il qual non molto da poi fu Patriarca aquileiense, uomo dottissimo in ogni genere di scienza e non men buono che litterato. Da lui ebbero li miei dialogi Antonio e Paulo, figliuoli di Aldo Manuzio, e li stamparono molte volte e tutte in forma assai bassa, né mai da me li conobbero, né io da loro mai pur un solo non ebbi in dono di quei libretti". In Sperone Speroni, *Apologia*, vol. I, 683-724, at 722-723.

²⁷ See at least B. Richardson, *Print Culture in Renaissance Italy: The Editor and the Vernacular Text, 1470-1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), especially as regards the Venetian presses at 19-27, 90-126.

²⁸ This particular type of watermark is described in C.-M. Briquet, *Les filigranes: dictionnaire historique des marques du papier dès leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu'en 1600* (Amsterdam: Paper Publications Society, 1968), 222-23; see in particular n.3416, n. 3481 and the types nos. 3452-3516.

²⁹ This does not appear to have been catalogued by Briquet.

Portrait of Daniele Barbaro, ca. 1545, by Titian
© Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado



Vitruvius Pollio, *De Architectura*, with commentary by Daniele Barbaro

Venice: Francesco De Franceschi & Johann Criegher, 1567

In 1556 Francesco Marcolini published in Venice a luxurious folio edition of the Italian translation of Vitruvius' *De architectura*, with a commentary by Daniele Barbaro and illustrations by Andrea Palladio¹. It was the fourth Italian translation of the Vitruvian text, and the sixth in a European vernacular language. The edition obtained a printing privilege of ten years, and in 1567, after the expiration of the term, Francesco De Franceschi published two new editions in quarto, one in Italian and one in Latin². Two preparatory manuscripts for the Italian editions are now preserved at the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana in Venice³. From what is stated by Francesco De Franceschi in the preface to the 1567 Italian edition, it seems that Daniele Barbaro worked simultaneously on the two versions⁴. If the illustrated text in vernacular language was addressed to architects and artists who were not able to read Latin, then the Latin edition was directed primarily to an audience of educated and international readers. At that time, in fact Latin was the language used for learned and erudite texts throughout all Europe. The Latin edition is not a mere translation of the Italian version, and indeed presents some variations. It does not include the presentation letter by the publisher and the preface by the author, and it is dedicated to Antoine Perrenot, cardinal de Granvelle, with whom Barbaro shared the same interests in art and architecture⁵. There are also some differences in the illustrative material. For instance, in the Latin edition, Barbaro inserts an unpublished illustration by Palladio: a reconstruction plan of the Greek house described by Vitruvius that does not appear in the Italian editions of 1556 and 1567⁶.

The Library of the University of St Andrews preserves, at least from 1763, a copy of the 1567 Latin edition⁷. From the signature on the title-page we know that the book was owned by the painter Matthew Goodricke, an artist of an important calibre in the context of British painting between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries⁸. This copy presents



another reason for interest: on the occasion of a first inspection, carried out in April 2012, it was evident that the boards of the full-leather binding were made from cut-out fragments of individual printed sheets glued together, in this case printed music sheets. On that occasion it was possible to ascertain that 28 sheets were used to realise the boards, 14 for each board. Two of the sheets were visible in transparency in the internal side of the boards, while the others could be seen from some breaks in the corners of the binding. On one of the printed music sheets on the internal side of the boards it was possible to read the running title 'CADEAC'. Pierre Cadeac, a French composer active in the mid-sixteenth century, was thus recognised as the author of the piece of music printed on that specific sheet⁹. The text legible in

transparency suggested that, in the case of both boards, the printed music was the Gloria of a mass, and probably the scores of Alto and Bass of the same work¹⁰. Pierre Cadeac, as far as we know, was the author of seven masses, a Credo and a Magnificat, several motets and 32 chansons. His works were printed in France by Du Chemin and Adrian Le Roy and Robert Ballard, and abroad in Nuremberg, Strasbourg and Venice. After the examination of a number of editions now preserved at the Museo internazionale e biblioteca della musica in Bologna, and at the Biblioteca Estense Universitaria in Ferrara, it has been possible to identify the source of the cut-outs. They belong in fact to the Gloria of the Mass *Les haults boys*, published in a collection of 1558 in the Parisian workshop of Adrian Le Roy and Robert Ballard,

VENETIIS,
Apud Franciscum Franciscium Senensem, & Ioan. Crugher Germanum.
M. D. LXVII.

Matthew Goodricke Libro
1618

one of the largest music printing presses in Europe at that time. The workshop was founded in Paris in 1551 and remained active until 1825, after several changes of ownership to the Ballard heirs, which had the monopoly of the market in France for more than two centuries¹¹. Being in a folio volume (490×340 mm), from a single sheet it was possible for the artisan who realised the binding to obtain four rectangular cut-outs of the desired size (303×210 mm).

In February 2013 the volume was given to Caroline Scharfenberg, Book and Archive Conservations Services Ltd, Edinburgh, who opened the boards and separated the sheets. It has then been possible, thanks to the excellent work carried out and the good state of preservation of the material, to identify the provenance of all the 28 cut-outs of printed music. All the material was printed out in 1558 in the workshop of Adrian Le Roy and Robert Ballard, and more precisely cut-outs of folios 2, 3, 4, 7, 8, 9 of the collection *Missae tres a Petro Cadeac, Ioanne Herissant, Vulfrano Samin, cum quatuor vocibus condite* [...], were used in this binding, with cut-outs of folio 3 present in two copies, along with cut-outs of folios 2, 9, 10, 11, 14, 17 and 18 of the collection *Missae tres Claudio de Sermisi*¹². We are in the presence of a corpus of homogeneous but rather fragmented material: several pages are missing and one page is present in two copies. This is likely to have come from a residual stock of printed sheets or material printed in surplus. As a result of errors in the process of printing, or at a time later than that of printing, when this kind of repertoire appeared outdated and of commercial value very poor or close to zero, the material remained unsold could be used as waste to be included in the boards of bindings, either in the workshop of the same printer, or sold for

a very cheap price for this specific use. Analysing the endpapers, they both present a watermark with a crown and a bunch of grapes. The front free-endpaper shows a crown placed on top of a bunch made of 27 grapes (see illustration, right) while the back free-endpaper, very similar to the front one, presents a crown, the initials MP and a bunch made of 15 grapes. The bunch of grapes, with a name or initials was very common in French watermarks since the fifteenth century, and in particular during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. A watermark with a crown, initials MP and a bunch of grapes has been detected in a letter of 1603 preserved at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France¹³. This analysis may thus give credit to the hypothesis that the binding was realised in France, probably in Paris, in the early seventeenth century, using waste material from the Ballard shop and paper manufactured in the same context and at the same time.

The book, therefore, was printed in Venice in 1567, and at one point reached France, with all probability Paris, where it was bound in its present binding. The book trade between Venice and Paris in the second half of the sixteenth century was quite prosperous and well organized. It then probably travelled to Britain, where it reached the hands of Matthew Goodricke. Apart from the signature, the book does not present other manuscript notes, and it is very well preserved.

Laura Moretti

¹ *I dieci libri dell'architettura di m. Vitruuio tradutti et commentati da monsignor Barbaro eletto patriarca d'Aquileggia* (Venice: Francesco Marcolini, 1556) (USTC 863689).

² *I dieci libri dell'architettura di m. Vitruuio. Tradotti & commentati da mons. Daniel Barbaro eletto patriarca d'Aquileia, da lui riueduti & ampliati & ora in piu commoda forma ridotti* (Venice: Francesco De Franceschi & Johann Criegher, 1567) (USTC 863691); *M. Vitruuii Pollionis De architectura libri decem, cum commentariis Danielis Barbari, electi patriarchae Aquileiensis; multis aedificiorum, horologiorum, et machinarum descriptionibus, & figuris, unà cum indicibus copiosis, auctis & illustratis* (Venice: Francesco De Franceschi & Johann Criegher, 1567) (USTC 863690). The bibliography on these editions is vast. See especially Daniele Barbaro, *I dieci libri dell'architettura di Vitruvio*, ed. Manuela Morresi and Manfredo Tafuri (Milan: Il Polifilo, 1987); Pierre Caye, *Le savoir de Palladio: architecture, métaphysique et politique dans la Venise du Cinquecento. Précédé du Commentaire au "De Architectura" de Vitruve: livres 1, 2 et 3 par Mgr. Daniel Barbaro* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1995); James S. Ackerman, "Daniele Barbaro and Vitruvius," in *Architectural Studies in Memory of Richard Krautheimer*, Cecil L. Striker, ed. (Mayence: von Zabern, 1996), 1-5; Branko Mitrovic, "Paduan Aristotelianism and Daniele Barbaro's Commentary on Vitruvius' *De architectura*," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 29 (1998): 667-688; Louis Cellauro, "Daniele Barbaro and his Venetian editions of Vitruvius of 1556 and 1567," *Studi Veneziani* N.S. 40 (2000): 87-134; Louis Cellauro, "Daniele Barbaro and Vitruvius: The Architectural Theory of a Renaissance Humanist and Patron," *Papers of the British*

School at Rome 72 (2004): 293-329.

³ Cod. It. Cl. IV, 152 [=4106] and Cod. It. Cl. IV, 37 [=5133].

⁴ This working method is confirmed also by the application for the printing privilege for the 1556 Marcolini edition, which mentions a version in Latin that was not realized at that time.

⁵ Both the 1556 and the 1567 Italian edition were dedicated to Ippolito II d'Este. Granvelle, like Barbaro, studied at the University of Padua. From 1566 to 1571 Granvelle was an ambassador of Philip II of Spain in Rome, and probably they met during the stay of Barbaro in Rome from January to May 1566.

⁶ A slightly modified variant of the same plan is included in the *Quattro libri*, published by Palladio in 1570.

⁷ Typ IV.B67FV.

⁸ 'Matheu Goodriche Libro. 1618'. On Matthew Goodricke, see especially Mary Edmond, "New light on the lives of miniaturists and large-scale portrait-painters working in London in the 16th and 17th centuries," *Walpole Society Journal* 47 (1980): 175-176. The surname is spelled in different ways, both in primary documents and in secondary sources: Goodricke, Goodericke, Goodriche, Goodrich. We know that Goodricke owned at least another book: a copy of Domenico Fontana, *Della Transportatione dell'Obelisco Vaticano* (Rome: Domenico Basa, 1590), now preserved at the Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection, which bears on the title-page the signature 'Mathew Goodricke Anno Dom. 1621'. See John Harris, Stephen Orgel and Roy Strong, eds., *The King's Arcadia: Inigo Jones and the Stuart Court* (London and Bradford: Lund Humphries, 1973), 64.

⁹ On Pierre Cadeac see, especially, Stanley Sadie, ed., *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (Macmillan Publishers



Endpaper watermark

Limited, 2nd edition, 2001), vol. 4, 778-779.

¹⁰ Front board: '[truncation] SSVS. [truncation] pax hominibus bonę voluntatis. Laudamus te. [truncation]cimus te. Gratias agimus tibi pro-[truncation] Deus pater omnipotens. [truncation] Christe. Domine Deus agnus [truncation]'. Back board: 'CADEAC. Et in terra hominibus bonę voluntatis. Laudamus te. Glorificamus te. Gratias agimus tibi Domine Deus rex cœlestis. Deus pater omnipotens. Domine fili vnigenite Iesu Christe Domine Deus agnus Dei filius patris'.

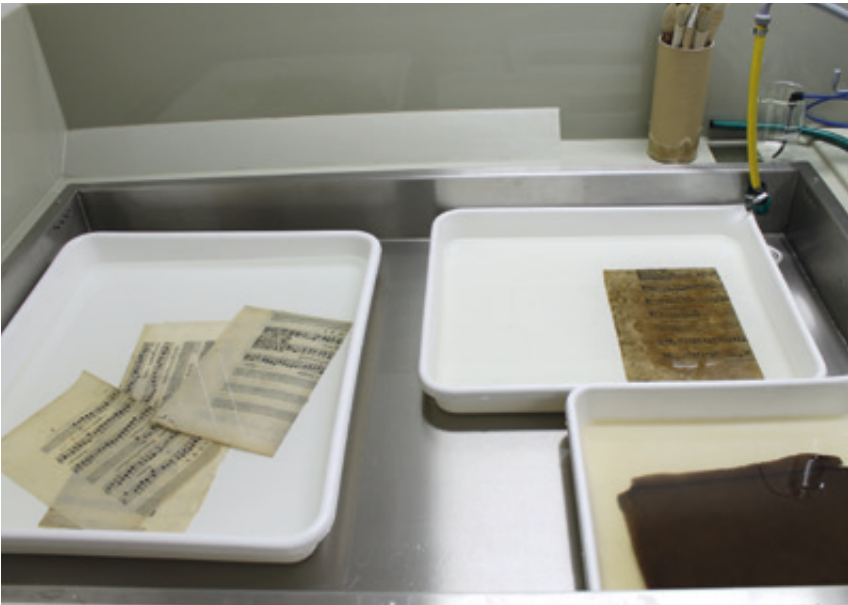
¹¹ *Missae tres a Petro Cadeac, Ioanne Herissant, Vulfrano Samin, cum quatuor vocibus*

condite [...] (Paris: Adrian Le Roy & Robert Ballard, 1558) (USTC 116302). See also François Lesure and Geneviève Thibault, *Bibliographie des éditions musicales d'Adrian Le Roy et Robert Ballard, 1551-1598* (Paris: Société Française de Musicologie, 1955), 75. On the Le Roy and Ballard firm see especially Laurent Guillo, *Pierre I Ballard et Robert III Ballard. Imprimeurs du roy pour la musique (1599-1673)* (Sprimont: Mardaga, 2003), with further bibliography.

¹² For the first collection see above, note 11. The second one is *Missae tres Claudii de Sermisi regii sacelli magistro praestantissimo musico auctore: nunc primum in lucem editae, cum quatuor vocibus, ad imitationem modulorum: ut sequens tabula indicabit* (Paris: Adrian Le Roy & Robert Ballard, 1558) (USTC 116300). On Claudin de Sermisy, commonly known as Claudin, see in particular Sadie, *The New Grove Dictionary of Music*, vol 23, 128-134.

¹³ BNF, Mss fr., 15578, *Recueil de lettres relatives à l'Histoire de France 1603-1605*, f. 159. See Raymond and Thérèse Gaudriault, *Filigranes et autres caractéristiques des papiers fabriqués en France aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles* (Paris: CNRS, J. Telford, 1995), 303. A watermark with initials MP and bunch of grapes is indicated in Edward Heawood, *Watermarks: mainly of the 17th and 18th centuries* (Hilversum: Paper Publications Society, 1957), n. 2135, 2159, as dating back to 1608-12.

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Aurea in quinquaginta Davidicos psalmos doctorum Graecorum catena, translated by Daniele Barbaro

Venice: Giorgio Cavalli, 1569

Repeatedly encouraged by Cardinal Guglielmo Sirleto, in 1567 Daniele Barbaro undertook a Latin translation of a *catena*, a form of Biblical commentary in use since the Early Middle Ages, in which excerpts taken from the Church Fathers are connected with verses of the Bible like links of a chain¹. Barbaro's translation was published in Venice by the Veronese printer Giorgio Cavalli in 1569². On the title-page Barbaro introduces himself as Patriarch of Aquileia, a title that he shared with Giovanni Grimani³.

Despite the effort by scholarship in tracing the original Greek version, attempts so far been unsuccessful and it has even been suggested that Barbaro himself would have compiled a selection from different works. This conjecture is contradicted by Barbaro's emphasis on his role as a mere translator, on title-page ('*interprete*') and in the dedication to Pius V⁴. Moreover, archival evidence seems to prove that cardinal Sirleto provided Barbaro with the manuscript work to translate, even if no information about it is to be found in the prefatory note with dedication to the same Sirleto⁵.

According to Antonio Possevino, two additional parts of the same commentary remained unpublished, perhaps as a consequence of Barbaro's death, and were left to one of Barbaro's nephews, Francesco⁶. This is likely to be the manuscript from the private library of the Venetian patrician Giacomo Nani consisting of a commentary on fifty-nine psalms, instead of the fifty of the 1569 edition⁷. Nani's collection, including Barbaro's manuscript, was bequeathed to the Biblioteca Marciana of Venice⁸.

The interest in theology was one amongst many others in Barbaro's eclectic mind, and was mostly aimed at supporting his struggle against the Reformation: the words of the Early Church Fathers would strengthen the Catholics against heretics with their reassuring authority. Along the same line were two speeches given by Barbaro at the Council of Trent, between January and February 1562⁹. Barbaro presented a copy of his *Catena* to the Cardinal Archbishop of

Milan Carlo Borromeo¹⁰.

The copy now in St Andrews is bound in tanned calfskin and richly decorated on boards and spine with geometric, floral and *pointillé* gilt tools. The edges are gilt and gauffered and the title of the work, presenting Barbaro as main author, is inscribed in red on fore-edge of the text block. The boards, both measuring 332x220 millimetres, carry the remains of red silk ties on the margins; at the centre, under a cardinal's hat, the coat of arms of Cardinal Michele Bonelli: an oval quartered bendy shield, with a bull in chief of second and third quarter. Hat and coat of arms had been painted on both boards, though only faded traces are left of the one on the back.

Michele Bonelli, born Carlo in 1541, was grand-nephew of Antonio Ghislieri, who became Pope with the name of Pius V in 1566. In 1559 Bonelli followed his great-uncle's path not only by entering the Dominican Order, but also by choosing the same religious name that Ghislieri had as a friar, Michele. Bonelli was the first and only Cardinal created by Ghislieri in the first consistory after his election to the papacy in 1566; he was also a member of the Congregation of the Index and of that of the Council, and prefect of the Congregation of Bishops and Regulars¹¹.

Known as *Cardinal Alexandrinus*, Bonelli owned extensive collections of art and books, and even commissioned the building of the now Palazzo Valentini, in Rome¹². Some books from his dispersed collection can still be identified by his coat of arms on the binding. Three of them, bound in red gilt tooled goatskin, are now in the British Library¹³. The similar, but not identical, bindings of the few books that have been traced from the former Bonelli collection suggest that a basic fine binding from a specialised shop would then be marked by the owner by adding his coat of arms in the suited slot¹⁴.

If we exclude some minor corrections to ff. $\pi A2v$ and $\pi A4v$, and a small piece of paper with annotations on the text, inserted between ff. C4 and C5, the book has no marginalia, creating some doubt as to whether the book was ever actually used. Bonelli's library was intended for reference

or prestige, rather than for everyday use. His role as the protector of the Dominican Order is enough to explain Dominican-related books in his possession, like the ones now in the British Library, and also the dedications of a few books: the reprint by Giovanni Giolito De Ferrari of the Italian translation of the works by the Spanish Dominican Luis de Granada; the handbook on confession by the Spanish Dominican Bartolomé de Medina, also translated into Italian; the biography of the Dominican Ambrosio Sansedoni by another Dominican, Alessandro Guglielmi; the work by the Dominican theologian Arcangelo Caraccia on funerals¹⁵. Moreover, Bonelli's role as a Cardinal explains the dedication of a devotional work by Niccolò Lorenzini in 1591; and the following year, he appears amongst a group of Cardinals, with Costanzo Boccadifuoco, Girolamo Bernieri and Gregorio Petrocchini, to whom the printer and bookseller Giorgio Ferrari dedicated his edition of the work of the jurist Antonio Scappi on the red cap worn by Cardinals of the Roman Church¹⁶.

Following the dispersal of Bonelli's collection, in the mid-nineteenth century his copy of the *Aurea catena* was part of the library of the liturgiologist George Hay Forbes (1821-1875), the rector of the Episcopal Church in Burntisland, near Edinburgh, and a cousin of the Principal of the United College of St Salvator and St Leonard in St Andrews James David Forbes¹⁷. Forbes edited and published for his own press an edition of works of St Gregory of Nyssa and a few liturgical works¹⁸. His interest in patristics explains the presence amongst his books of the *catena* translated by Barbaro that he is likely to have bought from the shop of Charles John Stewart in London¹⁹. After Forbes's death his collection, comprising over 4,000 volumes, mostly early printed books, passed to the trusteeship of the Episcopal Church of Scotland, and became the property of St Andrews University Library in 1984: the *Catena* found its way to St Andrews, where it still is²⁰.

Flavia Bruni

¹ Pio Paschini, “Gli scritti religiosi di Daniele Barbaro,” *Rivista di storia della Chiesa in Italia* 5 (1951): 340-349, at 348-349; and Id., “Daniele Barbaro letterato e prelato veneziano nel Cinquecento,” *Rivista di storia della Chiesa in Italia* 16 (1962): 73-107, at 101-102.

² Some Barbaro’s letters on the edition of the *Catena* are in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, ms. Vat. Lat. 6182: see Giuseppe Alberigo, “Barbaro, Daniele Matteo Alvise,” in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Rome: Istituto dell’Enciclopedia italiana, 1925-; hereafter: DBI), vol. 6 (1964), 89-95, at 95.

³ Grimani designated Barbaro as his successor already in 1550; Barbaro died before him and could never take over the position: see Maria Teresa Girardi and Lucia Signori, “Daniele Barbaro letterato e il *Della eloquenza*,” *Aevum* 71, 3 (1997): 651-689, at 653, note 10.

⁴ *Aurea in quinquaginta Davidicos psalmos doctorum Graecorum catena* (Venice: Giorgio Cavalli, 1569), f. πA3r.
⁵ *Aurea catena*, ff. πA4r-A5v. See Alberigo, “Barbaro,” 94; Giovanni Mercati, “Il Niceforo della *Catena* di Daniele Barbaro e il suo commento del Salterio,” *Biblica* 26.3 (1945): 153-181 and Id., “Ancora per Daniele Barbaro,” *Biblica* 27, 1 (1946): 1-2; Robert Devreesse, “La chaine sur les Psaumes de Daniele Barbaro,” *Revue Biblique* 33 (1924): 65-81; 498-521.

⁶ Antonio Possevino, *Apparatus sacer ad scriptores veteris & novi Testamenti* (Venice: Società veneta, 1606), vol. 1, 385-386. Francesco was one of the sons of Daniele’s brother Marcantonio: see Alberigo, “Barbaro,” 91. Daniele Barbaro died the year after the publication of the *Catena*, on the night between 12 and 13 April 1570: see Paschini, “Daniele Barbaro letterato,” 95-96.

⁷ Jacopo Morelli, ed., *Codices manuscripti Latini bibliothecae Nianianae* (Venice: Antonio Zatta, 1776), 4, ms. V. On Giacomo Nani see Piero Del Negro, “Nani, Giacomo,” in DBI, vol. 77 (2012), 699-703. Paschini suggests that this could be the preparatory manuscript for a revised edition (Paschini, “Daniele Barbaro letterato,” 102).

⁸ See <http://marciana.venezia.sbn.it/la-biblioteca/la-storia-e-il-patrimonio/il-patrimonio/patrimonio-librario/lascito-nani> (accessed June 2014). The manuscript of Barbaro’s *Catena* has classmark Cod. Lat. Cl. I, 62 [=2135].

⁹ Paschini, “Daniele Barbaro letterato,” 90-94.

¹⁰ Francesco Predari, “Daniello Barbaro,” in *Iconografia italiana degli uomini e delle donne celebri dall’epoca del risorgimento delle scienze e belle arti fino ai nostri giorni* (Milan: Locatelli, 1836-1845), vol. 2, 27 (1839). It is likely to be the copy now in the library of the Archbishop’s Seminary of Milan, classmark FV.A.VI.39, bound in gold tooled calfskin with gilt edges: Ubaldo

Valentini, ed., *Incunaboli e Cinquecentine della Biblioteca del Seminario di Milano* (Milan: Duomo, 1981), n. 123.

¹¹ Adriano Prosperi, “Bonelli, Michele,” in DBI, vol. 11 (1969), 766-774; Simona Feci, “Bonelli, Michele,” in *Dizionario storico dell’Inquisizione* (Pisa: Edizioni della Normale, 2010), vol. 1, 214; Salvador Miranda, *The Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church* www2.fiu.edu/~mirandas/bios1566.htm#Bonelli; www2.fiu.edu/~mirandas/bios1557.htm#Ghislieri (accessed June 2014).

¹² See Maria Celeste Cola, *Palazzo Valentini a Roma. La committenza Zambecari, Boncompagni, Bonelli tra Cinquecento e Settecento* (Rome: Gangemi, 2012).

¹³ *Missale secundum Ordinem Fratrum Predicatorum* (Venice: hairs of Lucantonio I Giunta, 1562) (USTC 827237): London, British Library, c.47.k.19; *Missale secundum Ordinem Fratrum Predicatorum* (Venice: Lucantonio II Giunta, 1579) (USTC 827314): London, British Library, c.66.i.13; St Thomas Aquinas, *Quaestiones disputatae de potentia Dei, de malo, de spiritualibus creaturis, de anima, de daemonibus, de angelis, de veritate, et pluribus aliis quaestionibus* (Lyons: Sébastien Honorat, 1557) (USTC 116432): London, British Library, c.47.k.8.

¹⁴ Another book from the Bonelli collection is shown on the *Araldica Vaticana* webpage on Bonelli (www.araldicavaticana.com/

bonelli_fra_michele_michael_bo.htm; accessed June 2014), but without any reference to the classmark or even library where the book is to be found, probably the Vatican. The binding is of a fifth type, different from the ones in the British Library and in St Andrews.

¹⁵ Luis de Granada, *Tutte l’opere* (Venice: Giovanni II & Giovanni Paolo Giolito De Ferrari, 1579) (USTC 839025), ff. *2r-*3r. The dedication is dated 25 June 1568 and was perhaps issued for the edition printed by Gabriel Giolito in 1568: Luis de Granada, *Tutte l’opere* (Venice: Gabriele Giolito De Ferrari, 1568) (USTC 838899), and then included in the many editions of the works of Luis de Granada issued by the Giolito family before 1579; but I could not check any copy of these editions. Bartolomé de Medina, *Breve instruzione de’ confessori, come si debba amministrare il sacramento della penitenzia* (Rome: Alessandro Gardane & Francesco Coattino, 1588) (USTC 841894) ff. a5r-a5v. Alessandro Guglielmi, *Vita del beato Ambrosio Samedoni dell’ordine de Predicatori* (Rome: Guglielmo Facciotti, 1595) (USTC 835366) title-page («dedicata all’illustrissimo et reverendissimo cardinal Alessandrino»), with chalcographic coat of arms of Bonelli, and f. A2r. Arcangelo Caraccia, *Opusculum regularibus omnibus laicisque quam maxime necessarium, in quo de quarta funeralium resolutissime tractatur* (Alessandria: Ercole Quinciano, 1596)

(USTC 818661) title-page with coat of arms of Bonelli, and ff. A2r-A3r Bonelli became protector of the Dominican Order in 1580.

¹⁶ Niccolò Lorenzini, *Il peccator contrito* (Florence: Filippo II Giunta, 1591) (USTC 838642) ff. *2r-*4r. Antonio Scappi, *De birreto rubeo datus S.R.E. cardinalibus regularibus. Responsa prudentum diuini humanique iuris* (Rome: Giorgio Ferrari, 1592) (USTC 855449) ff. †3r-†3v.

¹⁷ Ex-libris on front pastedown, ‘From the library of Rev. George Hay Forbes’, and stamps on the *verso* of f. A1 and Yy7: ‘G. H. Forbes Library Edinburgh’.

¹⁸ Gregorius Nyssenus, *Sancti patris nostri Gregorii Nysseni Basilii magni fratris quae supersunt omnia in unum discrevit Georgius H. Forbesius* (Burntisland: Pitsligo Press, 1855-1861); George Hay Forbes and John Mason Neale, eds., *The Ancient Liturgies of the Gallican Church; now first collected, with an introductory dissertation, notes, and various readings, together with parallel passages from the Roman, Ambrosian, and Mozarabic Rites* (Burntisland: Pitsligo Press, 1855-1867); George Hay Forbes, ed., *Missale Drummondense. The ancient Irish Missal in the possession of the Baroness Willoughby de Eresby, Drummond Castle, Perthshire* (Burntisland: Pitsligo Press, 1882).

¹⁹ According to a small printed label in the upper external corner on front pastedown, the book was ‘Sold by C.J. Stewart, 11 King

William St. W. Strand, London; as the bookseller Charles John Stewart traded, mostly religious books, between 1837 and 1882, there is a high chance that the book was sold to Forbes. On Stewart see University of Birmingham, *The British Book Trade Index (BBTI)*: www.bbti.bham.ac.uk/Detailswithsource.htm?TraderID=66376 (accessed June 2014).

²⁰ www.st-andrews.ac.uk/library/specialcollections/collections/rarebooks/named/ghforbescollection (accessed June 2014). Part of the collection is already listed on the online catalogue, available to the URL <https://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/library/specialcollections/collections/rarebooks/>; waiting for the cataloguing to be complete, there is a typed list and a card catalogue for consultation in the Special Collections department, and a partial printed catalogue by Alan Carter, *Catalogue of the George Hay Forbes Library in the Theological College of the Episcopal Church in Scotland* (Thesis approved for Fellowship of the Library Association, 1968).

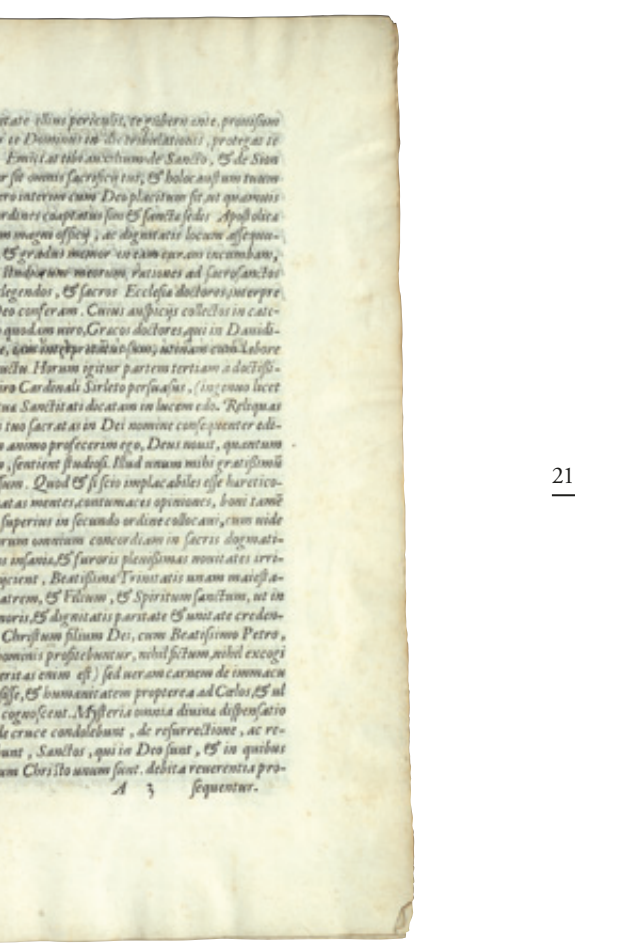
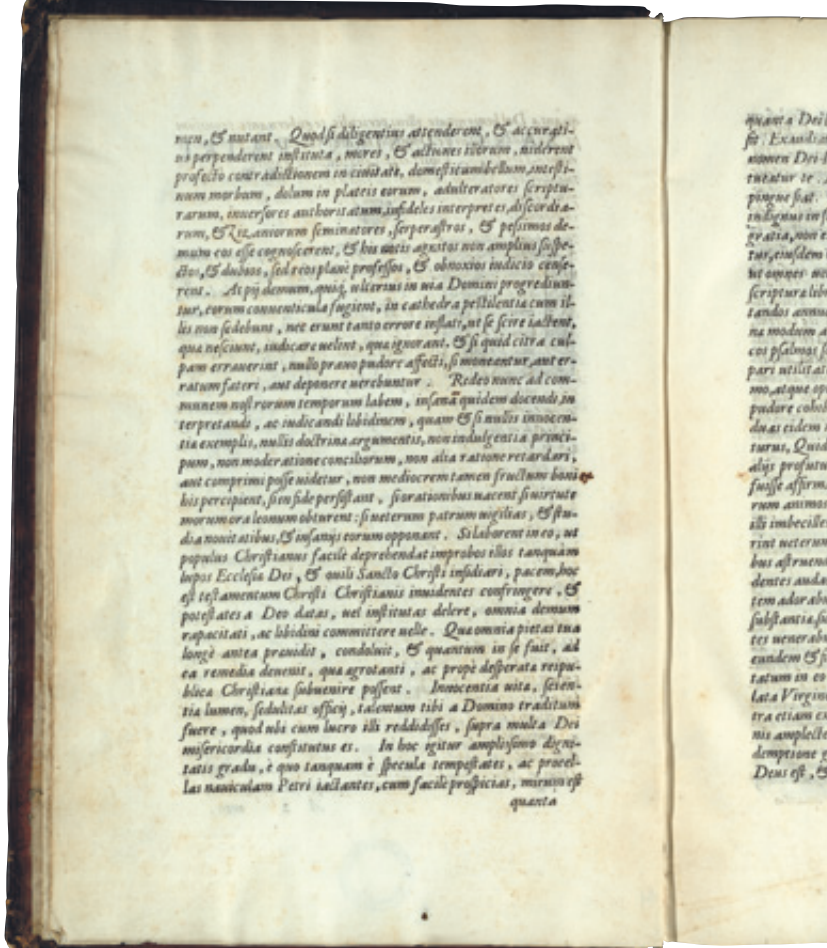
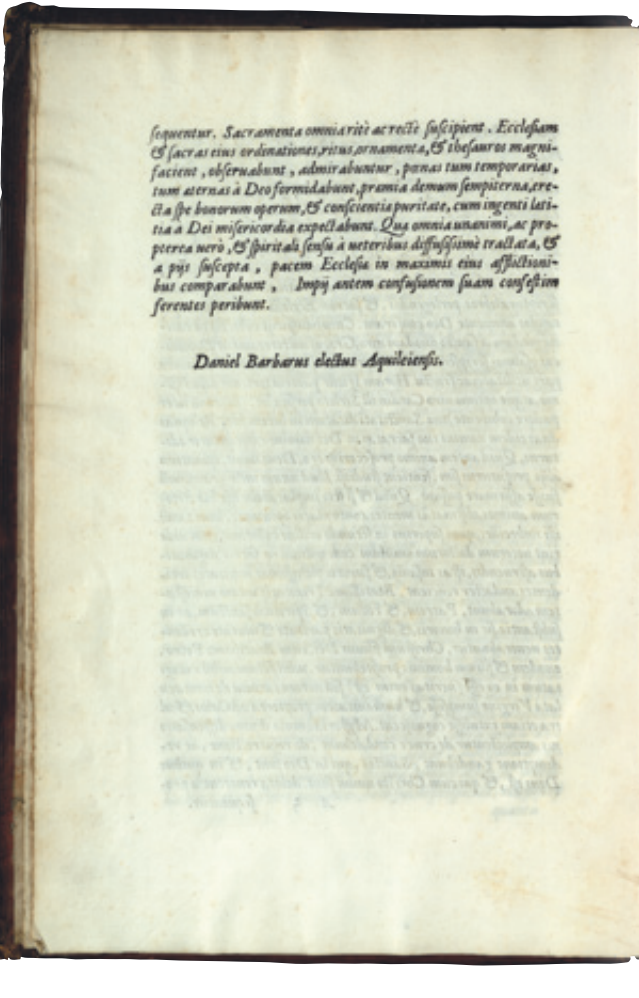


Fig. 1. *Sanctissimo patri Pio V. Pont. Opt. Aurea in quinquaginta Davidicos psalmos doctorum Graecorum catena* (Venice: Giorgio Cavalli, 1569), ff. πA4r-A5v. See Alberigo, “Barbaro,” 94; Giovanni Mercati, “Il Niceforo della *Catena* di Daniele Barbaro e il suo commento del Salterio,” *Biblica* 26.3 (1945): 153-181 and Id., “Ancora per Daniele Barbaro,” *Biblica* 27, 1 (1946): 1-2; Robert Devreesse, “La chaine sur les Psaumes de Daniele Barbaro,” *Revue Biblique* 33 (1924): 65-81; 498-521.

Fig. 2. *Sanctissimo patri Pio V. Pont. Opt. Aurea in quinquaginta Davidicos psalmos doctorum Graecorum catena* (Venice: Giorgio Cavalli, 1569), ff. πA4r-A5v. See Alberigo, “Barbaro,” 94; Giovanni Mercati, “Il Niceforo della *Catena* di Daniele Barbaro e il suo commento del Salterio,” *Biblica* 26.3 (1945): 153-181 and Id., “Ancora per Daniele Barbaro,” *Biblica* 27, 1 (1946): 1-2; Robert Devreesse, “La chaine sur les Psaumes de Daniele Barbaro,” *Revue Biblique* 33 (1924): 65-81; 498-521.



Gaspare Contarini, *Opera*

Paris: Sébastien Nivelles, 1571

Gaspare Contarini (1483-1542) was a Venetian diplomat and later a cardinal and the bishop of Belluno¹. He was educated at the University of Padua, though he could not finish his studies as the *Studium Patavinum* was closed in 1509. He was the Venetian ambassador to Charles V for a little more than four years (1521-1525), travelling through the Holy Roman Empire. He was later sent as an envoy to the pope after the Sack of Rome in 1527. As the great powers of Europe met in Bologna (1530) to discuss and eventually to sign a peace treaty, Contarini could speak to both the pope and the emperor in virtue of their previous acquaintance². In the 1530s he entertained fruitful relations with intellectuals in Venice and Padua that brought him back to his philosophical interests. Among his closest friends were Reginald Pole and Alvise Priuli, Trifone Gabriele, Marcantonio Flaminio. He was nominated cardinal in 1535. In his last few years, dominated by great religious turmoil, he composed various texts related to the life of the Church and spiritual matters. He died in Bologna on 24 August 1542.

Editions in print of Contarini's works started to appear by the 1540s, most of them posthumous³. The most renowned of his texts was the *De magistratibus et republica venetorum*, which was to be fairly popular throughout Europe. This text was the fruit of years spent at the service of Venice as a diplomat and was to appear in various languages from printing presses in Italy, France and the Holy Roman Empire. It offered an explanation of the complex institutions and government of the Republic of Venice. Other works stemmed from Contarini's spiritual interests, such as the *Consilium de Emendanda Ecclesia* and the *De sacramentis christianae legis*, whereas the *De elementis et eorum mixtionibus* was a philosophical text based on theories by Aristotle and Galen.

Most of his letters remained unpublished, yet some of them were issued by the Torrentino press in Florence. The *Quattro lettere di monsig. Gasparo Contarino* and the *De potestate pontificis in usu clauium, et compositionibus, duae*

epistolae were both printed in 1558⁴.

A few texts authored by Contarini were published in France before being issued by an Italian press. That is the case of the *De magistratibus et republica venetorum*, printed by the Vascosan firm in 1543 and only in 1544 by the Scoto press in Venice⁵. The *De elementis* that appeared in Paris in 1548 (Nicolas Le Riche), and the *Primae philosophiae compendium* (atelier of Guillaume Le Noir) never appeared as independent texts in Italy⁶. The *De magistratibus et republica venetorum* was quite popular with the French public, especially during the long phase of the Italian Wars (1494-1559) when much attention was devoted to the history and customs of the peninsula. It is not surprising, then, that the Contarini family found in Paris a publishing house for Gaspare's works⁷.

Sébastien Nivelles was a prolific Parisian publisher, with some 400 editions issued in the course of a long career (1549-1603)⁴¹. His production was mainly represented by large volumes in Latin, with a distinct stress on religious literature. He worked alone or in collaboration with others, in particular Guillaume Desboys and Guillaume Merlin. At the beginning of the 1570s, Nivelles was undertaking some publishing projects that required a steady capital. These were mostly shared with his associate Guillaume Merlin: a large edition of John Chrysostomus in six volumes, the collective works of Gregorius Magnus and a St Augustine in ten volumes⁸.

In this context we find the publication, by Nivelles alone, of Contarini's *Opera*⁹. The privilege granted by Charles IX (Paris, 16 March 1571) gave him the exclusive to print for ten years all the works reproduced in his folio edition. An index of these texts appears at leaf a2v. This is followed by a bibliography of the printed editions of Contarini's works, and a list of all those presented here for the first time. These included the commentary in St Paul's *Epistles* and other religious works, which had been read and approved by doctors in theology from the Sorbonne. The Parisian edition was used as a model

for the two Italian editions, though carefully censored¹¹. The Aldine edition appeared in 1578 and the Zenaro in 1589, still reproducing the paratext from the French version¹².

The holding Typ FP.B71NC of St Andrews University Library comes as a newly-bound volume in parchment and marbled paper. A slip glued onto the lower pastedown with a "Note by Binder" confirms that this binding was made in 1952 by a British workshop. The price of about £6, stipulated by the binder, identifies that workshop with that of the Cockerell family, Grantchester, established 1870¹³. The spine is covered in parchment and the pasteboards in handmade marbled paper. It was presumably made at the Cockerell workshop, well-versed in the craft of marbleshooting paper¹⁴.

The description of the original binding provided in the note is suggestive of what it looked like, but cannot, unfortunately, substitute the lost artefact. The volume came to the workshop bound in vellum on thin paper boards which were extremely fragile, the sewing was broken and so were the slips. The endleaves, torn but not completely lost, were one of the very few parts to survive from the lost structure. Four of them, two at the front and two at the back, have been preserved, stuck onto new paper. The watermark of a crowned shield, with the letters SPRR, is still legible in transparency¹⁵. Most important, two notes of possession have thus survived. The first one appears on the recto of the upper endleaf "Conuentus Cremonae | Vsuf[rat]ris Stephani Chinolae (?) Gnatisvi Ap.lici Carmelitarum". The dark-brown ink and the handwriting suggest this was written between the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century. The second note is of a later date (full eighteenth century), and reads "Bibliothecae S. Mariae Transpontinae". Both of these establishments were Carmelite convents, one in Cremona, the other in Rome. The transfer of the book from the north to the centre of Italy most likely took place as part of a wider circulation of items or people within Carmelite institutions.

[illegible][illegible]

The second element preserved from the original volume is a series of leaves (nineteen in total) bound at the end of the text. These are written all in the same hand, from the eighteenth century. Judging from the handwriting, in all likelihood they were added to the volume when it was in the hands of Carmelite convent in Rome. The seven epistles here contained are all from Gaspare Contarini

Daniele Barbaro and Gaspare Contarini presumably met through the various circles they both attended in Venice and Padua. The ambassador was by this point a mature man of fifty, and Barbaro a student in his twenties. The relationship between

The letter addressed to Barbaro contained in the St Andrews volume is undated, but it must have been composed at some point after 1535. In that year Barbaro is first known to have been at the University of Padua attending the classes of Marcantonio Passeri called “il Genova”, named in the letter¹⁸. The text is an encouragement for its talented reader to keep practising his writing and cultivate his studies, as deep expectations have risen all around him. “Many a scholar,” wrote Contarini, “even gifted with a great intellect, cannot compose such verses without putting a great deal of attention into it. However you, as Rhambertus told me, and I can see it from the verses you sent me, have achieved that greatness of mind from God Almighty. [...] whether you manage to apply yourself to this everyday due to your own determination,

Shanti Grabeli

⁴ Gaspare Contarini, *Quattro lettere di monsignor Gasparo Contarino cardinale. Nella prima delle quali si tratta con*

⁷ The family was keen on having Gaspare's works published, but it seemed to take more of an effort than they had previously anticipated. Although they commissioned the revision of the texts to Egidio Foscarari,

it was Gaspare’s nephew Alvisè who had to take care of it in the end. See Fragnito, “Contarini, Gaspare,” 190.

⁸ Philippe Renouard, *Répertoire des imprimeurs parisiens, libraires, fondeurs de caractères et correcteurs d’imprimerie depuis l’introduction de l’Imprimerie à Paris (1470) jusqu’à la fin du seizième siècle* (Paris: M. J. Minard, 1965), 324-325.

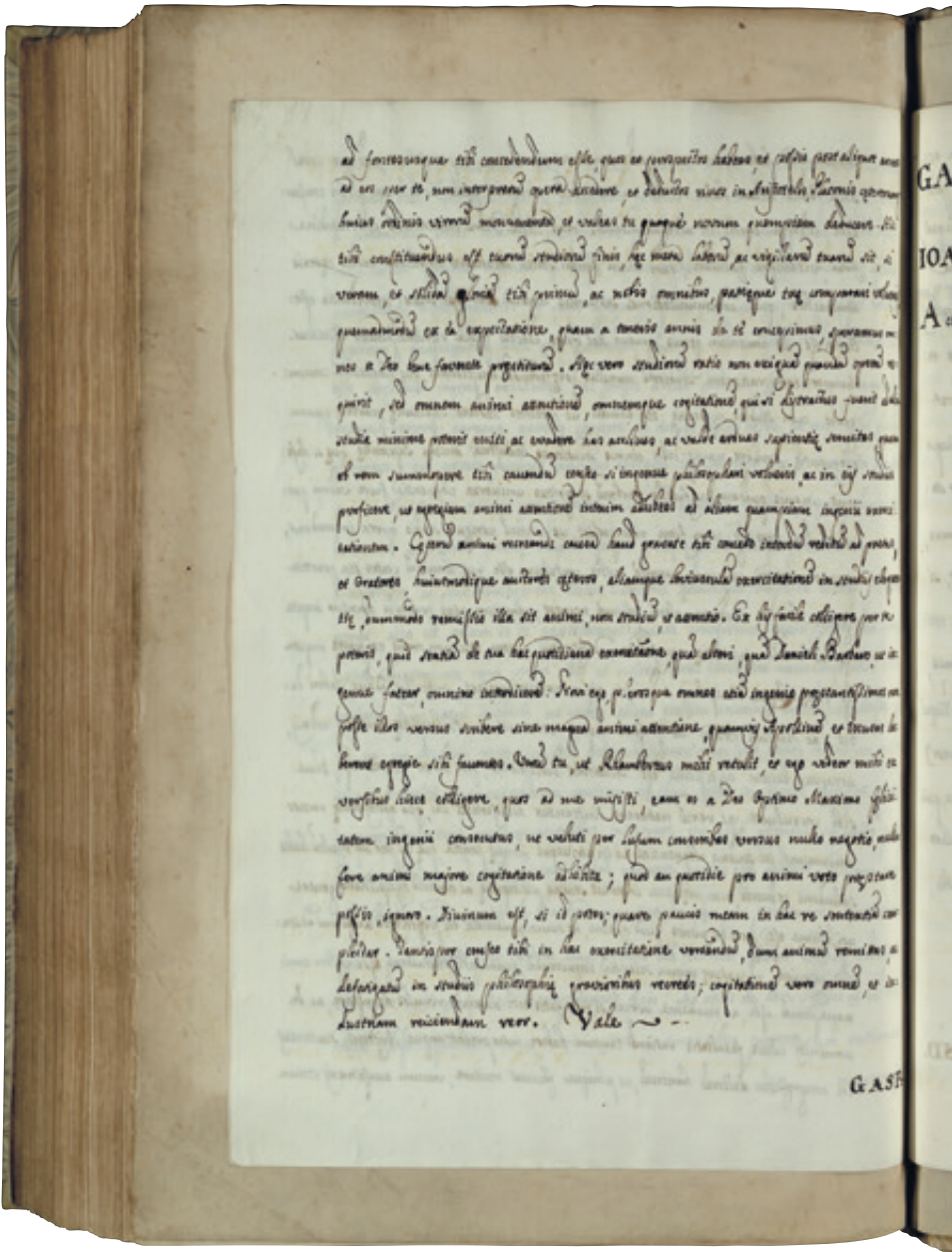
⁹ John Chrysostomus: *Tomus primus omnium operum, locis pene innumeris ad collationem exemplariorum utriusque linguae nunc primum nativae integritati magno cum foenore restitutorum* (Paris: Guillaume Merlin & Sébastien Nivelles, 1570) (USTC 156088); *Tomus secundus operum ea complectens, quae faciunt ad elucidationem Matthaei, Marci, et Lucae, quatenus haberi poterunt* (Paris: Guillaume Merlin & Sébastien Nivelles, 1570) (USTC 138324); *Tomus tertius operum ea continens, quibus evangelium beati Joannis explicatur: Rursus homilias juxta pias* (Paris: Guillaume Merlin & Sébastien Nivelles, 1570) (USTC 138325); *Tomus quartus operum continens omnium divi Pauli epistolarum enarrationem, ad Graeca exemplaria hac postema editione* (Paris: Guillaume Merlin & Sébastien Nivelles, 1570) (USTC 138322); *Tomus quintus et ultimus operum variorum argumentorum, in quo exegetica quaedam, item didactica ac paraenetica, apologetica complectuntur* (Paris: Guillaume Merlin & Sébastien Nivelles, 1570) (USTC 138323); *Index amplissimus insignium sententiarum, quae a divo Joanne Chrysostomo, in suis lucubrationibus praeclare dictae sunt* (Paris: Guillaume Merlin & Sébastien Nivelles, 1570) (USTC 138321); Gregorius Magnus: *Omnia quae extant, opera, nunc demum accuratissima collatione cum multis exemplaribus scriptis recognita, repurgata et aucta. Cum indice duplici* (Paris: Sébastien Nivelles, 1571) (USTC 170059) and *Secundus tomus operum* (Paris: Nicolas Bruslé apud Sébastien Nivelles, 1571) (USTC 162022); St Augustine: *Decimus tomus operum continens tractata et sermones apud populum, nunc denuo emendatus, multisque sermonibus de diversi, et fragmentis auctus* (Paris: Nicolas Bruslé apud Guillaume Merlin & Sébastien Nivelles, 1571) (USTC 138382 to 138391).

¹⁰ Gaspare Contarini, *Opera* (Paris: Sébastien Nivelles, 1571) (USTC 170060).

¹¹ Fragnito, “Contarini, Gaspare,” 190.

¹² Gaspare Contarini, *Opera* (Venice: Aldo II Manuzio, 1578) (USTC 823785) and Id., *Opera omnia* (Venice: Damiano Zenaro, 1589) (USTC823787) respectively.

¹³ The bindery ceased its activity in 1988, after the death of Sidney Cockerell. In 1990 the content of the workshop was auctioned: *The Sale of the Contents of The*



Cockerell Bindery (Phillips, Son & Neale, auction catalogue, sale date: 27 March, 1990).

¹⁴ An amateurs guide to marbled papers: Gabriele Grünebaum, *How to Marbleize Paper. Step-by-step Instructions for 12 Traditional Patterns* (Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 1984) indicates the Cockerell bindery as one of the few establishments in England that could provide marbled paper and the tools to make it.

¹⁵ The watermark is not in C.-M. Briquet, *Les filigranes: dictionnaire historique des marques du papier dès leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu’en 1600* (Amsterdam: Paper Publications Society, 1968), but it is probably from the seventeenth century.

¹⁶ Marina Venier, “The computerised archive of owners in the older publications database of SBN: the experience of the National Central Library of Rome,” *CERL Papers* 5 (2005): 43-53 and Appendix.

¹⁷ Giuseppe Alberigo, “Barbaro, Daniele Matteo Alvisè,” in DBI, vol. 6 (1964), 89-95, at 90.

¹⁸ Alberigo, “Barbaro,” 89.

¹⁹ St Andrews University Library, Typ FP.B71NC, mss. leaves, [2]v.

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All information regarding this project can be found here:

<https://arts.st-andrews.ac.uk/danielebarbaro>

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