



A copy census of the first printed editions of the Bible in Italian (1471-1494).

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D.Phil. Medieval and Modern Languages (Italian)

Trinity Term 2024

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Short abstract

This thesis examines the post-publication fortunes of the first printed editions of the Bible in Italian through the study of surviving copies of these editions, with a particular focus on evidence from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Following the 1466 Mentelin Bible in Middle High German, Italy was the second country to see a vernacular Bible translation in print, with two competing translations produced in 1471, and nine further complete Italian Bible editions before the end of the century. Just over 200 copies of these editions survive in institutional collections, each with its individual history revealed through the material evidence it contains, such as owners' inscriptions, marginal annotations or other provenance marks.

The findings are first contextualised in a chapter which studies the cultural developments which led to the publication of these editions in late fifteenth-century Venice. The following chapters consider the physical characteristics of the surviving copies, including a study of their decoration, and analyse the findings of the census in terms of early ownership up to the end of the sixteenth century, and how these early owners and readers interacted with the Bible, based on evidence found within the copies. Following a brief consideration of the loss and survival of copies, a detailed catalogue provides descriptions of each of the surviving copies.

The wealth of previously understudied (and often entirely unstudied) evidence for Italians' encounters with the Holy Scriptures revealed within this thesis demonstrates the value of systematic study of surviving early printed books for understanding their history of reception and use.

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Long abstract

This thesis is built around the study of the surviving copies of the fifteenth-century editions of the Bible in Italian. Analysing the copy-specific evidence found in these books provides reliable data for their post-publication fortunes: how they were distributed, purchased, used and circulated. This methodology, employed in a growing number of studies by scholars from a range of academic backgrounds, is described in the thesis introduction, alongside contextualising the thesis in terms of existing research.

The ideas of Nicolò Malerbi, whose translation appears in some form in all of the surviving editions, on the benefits of universal direct access and resulting understanding of the Holy Scriptures, revealed in his prefatory epistle, were decidedly ahead of their time, and, as examined in the first chapter (Chapter 1. Fifteenth-century Venice and the first printed Italian Bible), the publication of his work seems the result of a conflation of complementary religious and commercial interests in his native Venice. Erroneously ascribing this novel approach to a later period, as some scholars do, would ignore the valuable insight that may be gained from early examples of the Bible reaching a non-Latinate audience.

A discussion of some of the physical and textual features of these early editions, with a particular focus on the August 1471 edition, considers their gradual evolution over time (Chapter 2. A product for a market). Alongside translating the text of the Bible, Malerbi was also involved in preparing additional materials presented to his readers.

In the chapter about hand-decorated and illustrated copies and editions in the census (Chapter 3. Hand decoration and woodcut illustrations), I describe their presence and development, including several new attributions of illuminations found in previously unpublished copies. Some of these are especially valuable as they provide further examples of designs by artists who would later be employed to create designs for woodcut decorations found in Italian Bible editions from 1490 onwards.

An analysis of the census' findings with regards to the geographic spread of the editions' distribution before the end of the sixteenth century follows (Chapter 4. '[T]utti universalmente senza alcuna differentia de maschio o de femina o de età': early owners and readers of the printed Bible in Italian). The high proportion of early provenance, such as decoration and owners' coats of arms, assigned to Venice and nearby cities and towns in the Veneto, especially in the very first editions of 1471, suggests a very local distribution. However, copies also soon made their way across Italy, and some were even found abroad before the end of the sixteenth century.

The tumultuous sixteenth-century religious landscape is reflected in the evidence provided by some of the surviving copies: linked with owners whose beliefs did not align with those

insisted upon by Rome, taken abroad, or locked away in the stores of catholic institutions, away from the reach of their original owners. Evidence also emerges of owners who actively sought to adhere to the ecclesiastical authorities' changing guidelines on vernacular Bible ownership, for instance by applying for ownership licenses, examples of which are found within copies considered in the census.

The evidence of various interactions with the surviving copies is further explored in a separate chapter (Chapter 5. How readers interacted with their Bibles). The discussion is shaped by the variety of readers' marks left behind in the copies: from annotations to drawings and 'objective users' traces', a term which encapsulates the often unintentional smudges and debris sometimes encountered in books.

Although the historical context which shaped the production and use of vernacular Bibles in the sixteenth century must be acknowledged in terms of its impact on their survival (briefly described in Chapter 6. The survival and later fortunes of Italian Bible incunables), plenty of valuable historical evidence can be encountered in the copies that survive. Otherwise, "[t]he risk is to concentrate too much on what has been lost before a proper investigation of what still remains" (Cristina Dondi, *Printed Books of Hours from Fifteenth-Century Italy: The Texts, the Books, and the Survival of a Long-Lasting Genre* (Florence: Olschki, 2016), p. 80). There are of course questions regarding vernacular Bible ownership and use which the study of surviving copies cannot hope to answer. The results presented here are not intended as exhaustive, however, despite its limitations, the copy census allows for a wider, more multifaceted and evidence-based understanding of the role biblical translations played in fifteenth- and sixteenth- century society, and shed light on early readers' otherwise undocumented encounters with what was for its time an innovative and significant step towards the introduction of non-Latinate audiences to the Holy Scriptures in unadulterated form.

Limits imposed on the length of the thesis meant that I was not able to explore the later provenance of the copies and contextualise this fully in a dedicated chapter. Nonetheless, later provenance information for each copy is presented within individual catalogue entries. Although the covid-19 pandemic posed additional challenges in gathering and analysing data, these could be overcome thanks to the cooperation from the holding institutions, and I believe the thesis successfully shows the potential of assessing the early fortunes of a printed edition (or set of editions) through the close study of surviving copies.

The careful study of the evidence revealed by the books – even if at times obscured by later owners – has revealed the identities and reading habits of many previously unknown vernacular Italian Bible readers, opening the doors to multiple possible strands of further enquiry. This illustrates the breadth of evidence offered by the various marks left behind by owners and readers of early printed books.

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Finally, my family, especially my parents and brother for their enthusiasm for my work, inestimable support, and the by now customary “Do they have any of your Bibles?” whenever picking holiday destinations. My thesis is dedicated to them, and to those dearly departed who did not get to see me submit.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHIC ABBREVIATIONS

DBI, Dizionario biografico degli Italiani, <<http://treccani.it/biografie>>

GW, Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke,
<<https://www.gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de/>>

ISTC, Incunabula Short Title Catalogue, <http://data.cerl.org/istc/_search.html>

MEI, Material Evidence in Incunabula, <http://data.cerl.org/mei/_search.html>

RICI, Ricerca sull'Inchiesta della Congregazione dell'Indice, <<https://rici.vatlib.it>>

TEXT-inc, <<http://textinc.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/>>

Typenrepertorium der Wegendrucke, <<https://tw.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/queries/typechronology.xql?id=of0001>>

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Lyon, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 1367-1368

Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, F 30 Inf.

Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale Augusta, 1086

Venice, Archivio di Stato, Corporazioni religiose, 3204 S. Mattia di Murano (Venezia), Busta 3, n. 1

Incunable editions

Alighieri, Dante, La Commedia. Comm: Christophorus Landinus. Ed: Piero da Figino. Add: Pseudo-Dante: Il Credo. Venice: Bernardinus Benalius and Matteo Capcasa (di Codeca), 3 Mar. 1491) (ISTC id00032000)

Bessarion, Cardinal, Adversus calumniatorem Platonis. Add: Correctio librorum Platonis de legibus Georgio Trapezuntio interprete. De natura et arte Rome: Conradus Sweynheym and Arnoldus Pannartz, [before 28 Aug. 1469] (ISTC ib00518000)

Biblia [Catalan]. Tr: Bonifacio Ferrer. Ed: Jauma Borrell, Valencia: Alfonso Fernández de Córdoba and Lambert Palmart, for Philip Vizlant, Mar. 1478. ISTC ib00622000

Biblia [Italian] (Tr: Niccolò Malermi). Add: Aristeeas: Ad Philocratem de lxx interpretibus (Tr: Bartolomeo Pontio). Ed: Marino de Venezia. Venice: Antonio di Bartolommeo Miscomini, 1477 (ISTC ib00640500)

Biblia [Italian] (Tr: Niccolò Malermi). Add: Aristeas: Ad Philocratem de lxx interpretibus (Tr: Bartolomeo Pontio). Ed: Hieronymus Squarzafricanus. Venice: Gabriele di Pietro, 1477-78 (ISTC ib00541000)

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Biblia [Italian] (Tr: Niccolò Malermi). With additions by Hieronymus Squarzafricanus. Venice: Vindelinius de Spira, 1 Aug. 1471 (ISTC ib00640000)

Biblia [Italian]. [Venice: Adam de Ambergau], 1 Oct. 1471 (ISTC ib00639000)

Biblia latina (cum postillis Nicolai de Lyra et expositionibus Guillelmi Britonis in omnes prologos S. Hieronymi et additionibus Pauli Burgensis replicisque Matthiae Doering). Add: Nicolaus de Lyra: Contra perfidiam Judaeorum. Venice: [Bonetus Locatellus], for Octavianus Scotus, 8 Aug. 1489 (ISTC ib00616000)

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Breviarium Camaldulense. Ed: Petrus Delphinus. Florence: Antonio di Bartolommeo Miscomini, 13 Apr. 1484 (ISTC ib01132000)

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Hieronymus, Vita et transitus (i.e., Eusebius Cremonensis: Epistola de morte Hieronymi; Aurelius Augustinus, S: Epistola de magnificentiis Hieronymi; Cyrillus: De Miraculis Hieronymi) [Italian] La vita el transito. Add: Certi miracoli; Certi detti dei santi e dottori sopra S. Girolamo. Inno al S. Girolamo. Venice: Matteo Capcasa (di Codeca), for Lucantonio fiorentino, 14 Feb. 1489/90 (ISTC ih00258000)

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Passione di Cristo [Northern Italy?: Ulrich Han (Udalricus Gallus)?, about 1462-63] (ISTC ip00147000)

[Psalterium abbreviatum] Psalterium Sancti Hieronymi [Italian and Latin] Tr: Niccolò Malermi [Florence: Societas Colubris, for] Piero Pacini, [about 1498] (ISTC ih00188600)

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ADDITIONAL ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE CATALOGUE

ABPC – American Book Prices Current

Aedes Althorpianae – *Aedes Althorpianae, to which is added A supplement to the Bibliotheca Spenceriana* (London: Shakespeare Press, 1822)

Archivio dei possessori – <<http://marciana.venezia.sbn.it/la-biblioteca/cataloghi/archivio-possessori>>

Argelati – Filippo Argelati, *Philippi Argelati Bibliotheca Scriptorum Mediolanensium, Seu Acta et Elogia ... Add. Literariis Monumentis Post Eorumdem Obitum Relictis [...]* Mediolani: Palatin, 1745

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Armstrong, Studies of Renaissance Miniaturists – Lilian Armstrong, *Studies of Renaissance Miniaturists in Venice*, in 2 vols (London: Pindar Press, 2003)

Barbaro, Genealogie – Archivio di Stato di Venezia, *Miscellanea codici, Storia veneta* (Genealogie Barbaro)

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Bibliotheca Smithiana – Giovanni Battista Pasquali and Joseph Smith, *Bibliotheca Smithiana, Seu Catalogus Librorum d. Josephi Smithii. [Followed by] Addenda, & Corrigenda in Superiori Catalogo* (Venice, 1755)

Bibliotheca Spenceriana – Thomas Frognall Dibdin, *Bibliotheca Spenceriana, or, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Books Printed in the Fifteenth Century and of Many Valuable First Editions in the Library of George Jon Earl Spencer, K.G. &C.*, in 4 vols. (London: Printed for the author by W. Bulmer and Co., Shakspeare Press and published by Longman, Hurst, Rees & col, 1814-15)

Bibliothecae Regiae Catalogus – Frederick Augusta Barnard, *Bibliothecae Regiae Catalogus* (London: W. Bulmer and W. Nicol, 1820-1829)

BMC – Catalogue of books printed in the XVth century now in the British Museum [British Library]. 13 parts. London, 't Goy-Houten, 1963-2007 (Pts I-IX reproduced from the working copies of the original edition (London, 1908-62) annotated at the Museum).

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Briquet – C.-M. Briquet, *Les filigranes: dictionnaire historique des marques du papier dès leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu'en 1600*, in 4 vols (Paris: A. Picard & fils; Genève: A. Jullien, 1907)

BSB-Ink – <<https://inkunabeln.digitale-sammlungen.de/sucheEin.html>>

CERL Thesaurus – <<https://thesaurus.cerl.org>>

CIBN – *Catalogue des incunables* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 1981-)

Crollanza – Giovanni Battista di Crollanza, *Dizionario storico-blasonico delle famiglie nobili e notabili italiane, estinte e fiorenti*, in 3 vols (Pisa, 1886-1890)

Custoza, *Libro d'arme di Venezia* – Eugenio Morando di Custoza, *Libro d'arme di Venezia* (Verona, 1979)

Data.BNF – <<http://data.bnf.fr>>

Deutsche Biographie – <<https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/>>

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INKA – Inkunabelkatalog INKA, <<http://www.inka.uni-tuebingen.de/>>

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Mead – H.R. Mead, *Incunabula in the Huntington Library* (San Marino, CA: The Huntington Library, 1937)

Morigia – Paolo Morigia, *La nobiltà di Milano*, in 2 vols. (In Milano: Nella Stampa del quon. Pacifico Pontio, 1595)

ODNB – Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, <<http://oxforddnb.com>>

ÖNB-Ink – Otto Mazal and Konstanze Mittendorfer, *Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Inkunabelkatalog : ÖNB-Ink* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2004-)

Paitoni – Jacopo Maria Paitoni, *Biblioteca degli autori antichi greci, e latini volgarizzati, : che abbraccia la notizia delle loro edizioni, nella quale si esamina particolarmente quanto ne hanno scritto i celebri Maffei, Fontanini, Zeno, ed Argellati. In fine si dà la notizia de'volgarizzamenti della Bibbia, del Messale, e del Breviario*, vol. V, In Venezia: Appresso Gaspare Storti, 1766.

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INTRODUCTION.

STUDYING THE USE OF EARLY PRINTED ITALIAN-LANGUAGE BIBLES (1471-1494): QUESTIONS, ISSUES, CHALLENGES AND METHODS

What can the study of surviving copies of fifteenth-century printed Bibles in Italian reveal about their early reception and later fortunes? Previously scattered, often unstudied historical evidence contained within these copies can provide answers to a myriad of questions: what was the social status, gender and nationality of these books' early readers? How soon, and under what circumstances, were copies taken abroad? Answers to such questions are especially valuable for this early attempt to bring one of the foundational texts of European life to the Latin-illiterate at a scale only allowed for by the printing press. The present introduction places the study within its wider context, and examines issues related to methodologies previously employed to examine this aspect of the literary and cultural past.

The Bible and its history have received much scholarly attention, however generalist work that considers its role in Medieval and Early Modern European society often focusses either on the manuscript tradition, or the Reformation and its aftermath.¹ A divide between the backward mentality of the Middle Ages' limited access to the Scriptures beyond the exclusive clerical and academic circles, and the supposedly unfettered access promoted by Martin Luther and his followers, permeates many studies on the topic. The marginalisation of pre-Lutheran vernacular Bibles dates back to Luther himself, who claimed Italy to be a region unfamiliar with the Bible,² despite the presence of both Latin

¹ Gigliola Fragnito, *La Bibbia al rogo: la censura ecclesiastica e i volgarizzamenti della Scrittura (1471-1605)* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1997), p. 44.

² In 1539, he is to have said: 'Nam in Italia scriptura sancta ita neglecta est, ut rarissime biblia ibi reperantur' (*Tischreden*, no. 4423), quoted in Edoardo Barbieri, *Le Bibbie italiane del Quattrocento e del Cinquecento: storia e bibliografia ragionata delle edizioni in lingua italiana dal 1471 al 1600*, in 2 vols. (Milano: Editrice Bibliografica, 1992), vol. 1, p. 155. Subsequent references are to the first

and vernacular Bibles in manuscript and printed form across the peninsula providing proof of the contrary. Already in the early eighteenth century German scholars were working against these deeply entrenched preconceptions, however they have proven durable and survive in generalist, and, less frequently, specialist literature, refuelled by the recent quincentenary of the publication of Luther's theses.³ As recently as 2014, Susan Powell reinforced claims of Luther's innovativeness in a book-historical reference through the factually incorrect claim that 'The first vernacular (German) bible to be printed was that of Luther',⁴ when a German translation of the Bible had already been published in Strasbourg in 1466 by Johan Mentelin, decades ahead of Luther's New Testament (1522), and Bible (1534) translations. In his assessment of Bible ownership and readership in Medieval Germany, Andrew C. Gow rightly notes, 'many (non-specialist) scholars still see Luther's Bible as a radical novelty and break with the 'medieval' past', rather than the natural next step in the history of Bible translations it was, enforcing a then-vs-now interpretation of the historical past.⁵

Such a narrow view prevents us from appreciating the wealth of vernacular translations in circulation before Luther's work. Complete Bible editions were printed in five European vernacular languages by the turn of the century: German (1466), Italian (1471), Catalan (1478), Czech (1488), French (1494-5), the Old Testament in Dutch (1477), alongside

volume of this work. See also Andrew C. Gow, 'The Contested History of a Book: The German Bible of the Later Middle Ages and Reformation in Legend, Ideology and Scholarship', *The Journal of Hebrew Scriptures*, 9 (2009), 1-37 (pp. 19-20).

³ Gow, 'The Contested History', pp. 14-15.

⁴ Susan Powell, 'The Secular Clergy', in *Companion to the Early Printed Book in Britain 1476-1558*, ed. by Vincent Gillespie and Susan Powell (Cambridge: Brewer, 2014), pp. 150-175, (p. 163). Other examples are listed in Gow, 'The Contested History', and *idem*, 'Challenging the Protestant Paradigm: Bible Reading in Lay and Urban Contexts of the Later Middle Ages', in *Scripture and Pluralism: Reading the Bible in the Religiously Plural Worlds of the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. by Thomas J. Heffernan and Thomas E. Burman (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2005), pp. 161-191.

⁵ Gow, 'The Contested History', pp. 3, 14. For example, this may be seen in Steven R. Fischer, *A History of Reading* (London: Reaktion, 2004), pp. 226-8.

numerous related publications.⁶ The printing press certainly served as a tool for the Reformation, but this myopic focus has resulted in earlier publications aimed at encouraging direct familiarity with the Bible receiving little attention.

Therefore, within this landscape, due attention should be paid to orthodox attempts to bring the Bible to the faithful in an idiom they would understand, especially in the first decades following the introduction of printing. Notwithstanding recurring concerns regarding the possible misinterpretation of the Scriptures by those who lacked an extensive background in patristics and theology, there were no outright universal bans on the part of the ecclesiastical authorities on Bible reading or ownership throughout much of Christianity—with the notable exception of England, where between the 1410s-1550s, the reading and ownership of vernacular Bibles could lead to being branded a heretic.⁷ Fortunately, a growing corpus of studies, such as the ‘Holy Writ & Lay Readers. A Social History of Vernacular Bible Translations in the Late Middle Ages’ or ‘The Laity and the Bible. Religious Reading in Early Modern Europe’ projects (led by Sabrina Corbellini and Erminia Ardissino, respectively), provides scholarship addressing this topic, and, to use Gow’s article title, ‘debunking the Protestant paradigm’.⁸ This thesis is therefore an attempt to add to the growing body of contemporary research, and, based on the example of the Italian tradition, highlighting the consistent presence of vernacular biblical translations in the period leading up to the gradual tightening of restrictions of ownership in the second half of the sixteenth century.

⁶ For the Italian tradition, see Anne Jacobson Schutte, *Printed Italian vernacular religious books, 1465-1550: a finding list* (Geneva: Droz, 1983); Erminia Ardissino, Elise Boillet, *Repertorio di letteratura biblica in italiano a stampa (Ca. 1462-1650)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2023).

⁷ Gow, ‘The Contested History’, 20-21.

⁸ Sabrina Corbellini and Margaret Hoogvliet, ‘Holy Writ and Lay Readers in Late Medieval Europe: Translation and Participation’, in *Texts, Transmissions, Receptions: Modern Approaches to Narratives*, ed. by André Lardinois et al. (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2014). *Lay Readings of the Bible in Early Modern Europe*, ed by Erminia Ardissino and Élise Boillet (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2019).

How did this consistent presence manifest itself? What do we know about the level of familiarity of the general populace with the Bible and its contents?⁹ This varied depending on the level of education of the individual. Despite the growing prominence of the vernacular in the fifteenth century, Latin remained the language of learning and liturgy. Knowledge of Latin, typically acquired as part of clerical training, or through a university (and, to a lesser degree, school) education, opened the doors to a wealth of religious literature: the Vulgate Bible, the writings of the Church Fathers and more recent theological treatises. However, a decreasing familiarity with Latin within the literate population made vernacular translations inevitable.¹⁰ Ever more vernacular publications were catering to the needs of readers who had little or no Latin—for instance the cities’ growing merchant class.¹¹ Even these readers constituted a minority; Paul F. Grendler estimated 23% of Venice’s inhabitants in 1587 were able to read, ‘a figure that may have been typical of an Italian Renaissance city’; one can assume the figure was lower when vernacular Bibles first appeared in print.¹² Women’s literacy rates remained lower than for men: approximately one in eight women acquired at least basic literacy in 1580s Venice; ‘[n]uns as a group were probably the best educated women in Italy’.¹³

From the scholarship available, often based on small data samples and hypotheses unconfirmed by systematically assessing all available evidence, the access of the illiterate to biblical material seems limited. For many, the only comprehensible element of Medieval

⁹ Given the vast nature of the topic, only a few relevant points are raised here.

¹⁰ Giovanni Rizzi, ‘Bibbia’, in *Dizionario Storico Tematico La Chiesa in Italia*, vol. 1, *Dalle origini all’Unità Nazionale* (Rome, 2015) [<http://www.storiadellachiesa.it/glossary/bibbia-e-la-chiesa-in-italia/>], accessed May 2019]. See also Brian Richardson, *Printing, Writers and Readers in Renaissance Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 140.

¹¹ Armando Petrucci, *Writers and readers in medieval Italy: studies in the history of written culture*, trans. by Charles M. Radding (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1995), p. 178.

¹² Paul F. Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy: Literacy and Learning (1300-1600)* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), p. 403. Brian Richardson on literacy of less than 25% for the male population, and even lower for women: p. 110.

¹³ Paul F. Grendler, ‘Education in the Republic of Venice’ in *A Companion to Venetian History, 1400-1797*, ed. by Eric Dursteler (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2013), pp. 675-699 (p. 682).

Church services was the sermon, a 'medium of biblical knowledge' which allowed them to attain some degree of 'biblical literacy'.¹⁴ The figurative arts were likely instrumental for conveying key tenets of Christian teachings to the illiterate.¹⁵

As for vernacular religious reading available to non-Latinate audiences, full (or pandect) Bibles were collectively outnumbered in terms of the number of printed editions and manuscripts by Gospel books, psalters, and devotional literature, including the versified penitential psalms, or the prose *Fioretti della Bibbia*, Lives and Passions of Christ, all of which contributed to readers' biblical literacy,¹⁶ acknowledged as generally high among Italians in the proceedings of the Council of Trent.¹⁷ Somebody reading the Bible pandect was able to do so in a more self-guided manner than if accessing biblical content through a Biblical pericope or listening to a sermon. Meanwhile, for the church authorities mediated access to the Scriptures was certainly preferred.¹⁸ Much of the available material, such as lectionaries and gospel books, was selective and ordered in conformance with the liturgical year. Similarly, 'devotion tutored by clergy' was being disseminated through texts such as Books of Hours,¹⁹ often the only book readers possessed.²⁰ Was the Bible as jealously guarded by the clergy as some assume? Scholars have already discovered many examples of lay members of society having access to Bibles in translation: ownership and

¹⁴ Christopher Ocker, 'The Bible in the Fifteenth Century', *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, v. 4 (2009), p. 472-493 (p. 490-1).

¹⁵ Rizzi, see footnote 9 above.

¹⁶ Fragnito, p. 326.

¹⁷ *Concilium Tridentinum. Diariorum, Actorum, Epistularum, Tractatum nova collectio* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1963) v.1, 518-9, quoted in Fragnito, p. 79, footnote 9.

¹⁸ Eyal Poleg, *Approaching the Bible in Medieval England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016), p. 1.

¹⁹ Ocker, 'The Bible in the Fifteenth Century', p. 484.

²⁰ Richard Chartier, *The Cultural Uses of Print in Early Modern France*, trans. by Lydia G. Cochrane (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987), p. 149. For further insight based on documentary evidence, see Cristina Dondi, *Printed Books of Hours from Fifteenth-Century Italy: The Texts, the Books, and the Survival of a Long-Lasting Genre* (Florence: Olschki, 2016).

use of Bibles in translation is attested among the Burghers of Medieval Germany,²¹ and in private and institutional libraries across medieval Europe. For instance, Margaret Deanesly dedicates a chapter of her monograph on the Lollards to readers using the available materials without descending into heterodoxy.²²

When they first appeared in print, pandect Bibles in Italian were a relative novelty. In fact, the few surviving manuscripts of the complete Bible in Italian are roughly coeval with the appearance in print of the Camaldolese friar Nicolò Malerbi's vernacular Bible translation.²³ Partial manuscripts, containing select books of the Bible, often in miscellanies with other texts, constitute the majority of extant manuscripts from the thirteenth century onwards, suggesting they were far more common.²⁴ Whilst ensuring greater accessibility of vernacular biblical material, such miscellanies offered reading experiences that were different from those of the seemingly scant pandect Bibles that were available. It might be that, given the widespread use of partial translations, looking at just pandect Bibles may not be representative of the experience of readers in the late fifteenth century.²⁵ However, partly due to limits of time and scope imposed on the present research, my work focusses on pandect Bibles, publications that allow for decidedly more unguided reading. Given the association of pandect Bibles with Protestantism,²⁶ the close

²¹ Erich Zimmermann, *Die deutsche Bibel im religiösen Leben des Spätmittelalters* (Potsdam: Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft Athenaion, 1938). Hans Rost, *Die Bibel im Mittelalter: Beiträge zur Geschichte und Bibliographie der Bibel* (Augsburg: M. Seitz, 1939).

²² Margaret Deanesly, *The Lollard Bible and Other Medieval Biblical Versions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1920). More recently, the Lollard Bible was studied by Anne Hudson, culminating with her AHRC-funded digital edition of the Wycliffite Bible, *Towards a new edition of the Wycliffite Bible* (2016-2020): <<https://wycliffite-bible.english.ox.ac.uk/#/>>.

²³ Lino Leonardi, 'La traduzione della Bibbia in italiano (secc. XIII-XV)', in *Le traduzioni Italiane della bibbia nel medioevo: Catalogo dei manoscritti (secoli XIII-XV)* ed. by Lino Leonardi, Caterina Menichetti, and Sara Natale (Florence: Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2018), pp. XVI-XXVII (p. XXI).

²⁴ As witnessed by the *Catalogo dei manoscritti*, cited above.

²⁵ Mart van Duijn, 'Printing, Public and Power: Shaping the First Printed Bible in Dutch', *Church History and Religious Culture*, 92 (2013), 275-299 (p. 281).

²⁶ van Duijn, 'Printing, Public and Power...', 281.

study of pre-1501 Bibles appears rewarding precisely because it constituted an orthodox attempt to bring the whole Bible to the reading public before such an association emerged. The particular ways Bibles were used in the Medieval and Early Modern period have been considered by some scholars, whose work serves as a useful starting point for the present study of a vernacular Bible's use. The typology of use proposed in Kristian Jensen's close study of surviving Latin Bible copies highlights that buyers were not necessarily the intended owners; instead, these could be purchased with the intention of being donated to a religious institution.²⁷ A Bible could serve as a 'display of piety', simply by virtue of being owned or when gifted to a religious institution.²⁸ It could be the object of detailed academic study,²⁹ or used during liturgy, ahead of the standardisation of the order of mass and the use of missals through the Tridentine Mass in 1570.³⁰ Another study which has expressly addressed the use and reading of Bibles considers their ornamental and symbolic role within Medieval English society, given that low literacy rates would have rendered any 'use' of the books that did not require the ability to read even more significant.³¹ Books were an 'essential component of the sacred visual culture of the household', and listed in household inventories alongside devotional items such as holy water receptacles or religious paintings, suggesting they occupied the same spaces, and were used (even 'exhibited') in a devotional context, highlighting the visual aspect, especially of the books that were hand-decorated or illustrated with woodcuts.³² Thus, book 'use' did not always signify reading. A book may lay untouched by its owner for years, be read by someone who

²⁷ Kristian Jensen, 'Printing the Bible in the Fifteenth Century: Devotion, Philology and Commerce', in *Incunabula and their Readers: Printing, Selling and Using Books in the Fifteenth Century* ed. by Kristian Jensen (London: British Library, 2003), pp. 115-138 (pp. 131, 138).

²⁸ Jensen, p. 133-4.

²⁹ Jensen, p. 134.

³⁰ Jensen, p. 137.

³¹ Eyal Poleg, *Approaching the Bible in Medieval England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016). Also, more recently, *ibid.*, *A Material History of the Bible, England 1200-1553* (Oxford: OUP, 2020).

³² Margaret A. Morse, 'Creating sacred space: the religious visual culture of the Renaissance Venetian casa', *Renaissance Studies* 21/2 (2007), 151-184 (pp. 165-166).

does not own it, or fulfil other functions than that of reading material. Even reading itself is a highly subjective experience. Therefore, it is difficult – if not impossible – to envisage the full range of books’ ‘uses’ in a study such as the present thesis.³³

Some of the readers’ interactions leave behind traces within the books: annotations, provenance marks and any other relevant copy-specific evidence, the study of which may provide data in a field where evidence of use is generally scarce. Despite its challenges, the study of annotations has become a frequent tool for assessing whether early readers interacted with their books.³⁴ Early marginalia are ‘valued as a contemporary response’ to the text,³⁵ providing direct historic evidence, distinct from the general guesswork and assumptions that sometimes characterise early reception studies. Indeed, the topic of vernacular Bible readership and ownership is already being approached by scholars through assessing the evidence extant in surviving copies: by Mack P. Holt for French sixteenth-century Bibles, and Mart van Duijn for the 1477 Delft Bible.³⁶

The earliest studies of the printed Bible in Italian date back to the eighteenth century, however, as with Samuel Berger’s 1894 study, their focus remains on the editions’ textual content, rather than reception.³⁷ More recently, Edoardo Barbieri’s 1992 monograph contextualised the work of Malerbi and later sixteenth-century translators, offering textual criticism of certain aspects of the text, with a careful bibliographical description (*bibliografia ragionata*) of all known vernacular Italian Bible editions printed before 1600. A

³³ van Duijn, ‘Printing, Public and Power’, 292.

³⁴ Luigi Balsamo, ‘Libro postillato, libro usato’ in *Libri a stampa postillati*, p. 17.

³⁵ H. J. Jackson, *Marginalia: Readers Writing in Books* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2002), p. 2 [emphasis in original text].

³⁶ Mack P. Holt, ‘Reading the Bible in Sixteenth-century France’, in *Emancipating Calvin: Culture and Confessional Identity in Francophone Reformed Communities.*, ed. by Karen E. Spierling, Erik A. de Boer and R. Ward Holder (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2017), pp. 177-210. For Mart van Duijn’s work, see footnote 25 above and his monograph, *De Delftse Bijbel: een sociale geschiedenis 1477-circa 1500* (Zutphen: WalburgPers, 2017).

³⁷ Samuel Berger, ‘La Bible italienne au moyen âge’, *Romania*, 23 (1894), 358-431.

chapter of Barbieri's work devoted to the reception of the text³⁸ describes some of the earliest known responses to Malerbi's translation: Filippo da Strata's polemic on the evils of the printing press, where he attacks the translation as 'brutta, obscura', written from the Dominican monastery in Murano, just a few hundred metres from where Malerbi had worked on his translation,³⁹ and Bernardino da Feltre's disparaging comments regarding printed vernacular Bibles, from a sermon delivered in Pavia in 1493.⁴⁰ While valuable, such contemporary responses paint an incomplete picture of the reception.

Another key study of early printed Italian Bibles by Gigliola Fragnito also discusses their early fortunes, with a focus predominantly on sixteenth-century editions, and the period's restrictions on the availability of vernacular religious reading following the Council of Trent and the introduction of the Indices of Prohibited Books, based predominantly on documentary evidence, including materials from the Archive of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith.⁴¹ This understandably results in a rather one-sided image of sixteenth-century Bible use. As she notes, while heterodox readers have left behind evidence of their approach to the Bible, e.g. in records of their Inquisition trials, no corresponding documentary sources exist on the reading habits of orthodox readers.⁴²

What is lacking is therefore a study of the readership of the Bible in Italian, both in the first decades after it was put into circulation in a time when it was not explicitly banned by the Church, and in the following centuries which saw the spread of Protestant ideas and their growing association with vernacular Bibles.⁴³ Information on the material aspects of particular copies has appeared in publications such as Lilian Armstrong's studies on

³⁸ 'VII. Note sulla fortuna della Bibbia volgare italiana', pp. 155-184.

³⁹ Barbieri, p. 155-7.

⁴⁰ Barbieri, p. 160.

⁴¹ See footnote 1.

⁴² Fragnito, p. 74.

⁴³ Barbieri suggests this approach in his monograph, p. 184; *ibid.*, 'La fortuna della *Bibbia Vulgarizzata* di Nicolò Malerbi', *Aevum*, 63 (1989), 418-500 (p.432).

Venetian book illumination,⁴⁴ in collection-specific studies,⁴⁵ and within individual libraries' incunable catalogues, however no study focussing on the copy-specific evidence within the entire surviving corpus exists to date.

For this reason, a copy census of over 200 surviving copies of the incunable editions of the Bible in Italian lies at the centre of my project. Analysing the copy-specific evidence found in these can provide reliable data about their production, distribution, and use. The methodology identifies actual owners and readers, without assumptions drawn from secondary sources, or potential biases from contemporaries' comments regarding reception, like those of Martin Luther or Filippo da Strada cited earlier in the chapter. Thanks to the pre-mechanised processes that created them, books from the first decades of printing are unique, and each acquired individual marks that reveal something about its history. Despite the significant challenges posed by the completion of a copy census, valuable evidence, much of it previously unstudied in this context, may be gathered from the books, with some insight to be gleaned even from a seemingly untouched copy.

The copy census is a method of growing popularity, increasingly deemed 'necessary' for assessing textual reception.⁴⁶ As a flexible method of research, it has been used by scholars coming from varying research backgrounds; for instance, in his formative survey of 600-odd copies of Copernicus' *De revolutionibus*, science historian Owen Gingerich aimed to disprove a preconception regarding the supposedly limited readership of the

⁴⁴ Lilian Armstrong, 'The Hand Illumination of Venetian Bibles in the Incunable Period', in *Incunabula and their readers*, ed. by Kristian Jensen (London: British Library, 2003), pp. 83-113.

⁴⁵ Luigina Orlandi, 'Smarrite ma non perdute: antiche Bibbie a stampa in volgare tra Milano e Roma', *Miscellanea Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae XXI* (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2015), pp. 331-382. I am grateful to Fabrizio Pagani of the Archivio storico diocesano in Milan for information about this invaluable article.

⁴⁶ MEI website, 'Copy Census or Assessing the reception of texts' [<http://15cbooktrade.ox.ac.uk/distribution-use/>], accessed May 2019]. Neil Harris has asserted such studies are 'here to stay' in his review, 'De Revolutionibus in Bibliography: Analysing the Copernican Census', *The Library*, 7 (2006), 320-329, 328. See also, David Pearson, 'The Importance of the Copy Census as a Methodology in Book History', in *Early Printed Books as Material Objects*, ed. by Bettina Wagner and Marcia Reed (Berlin; New York: De Gruyter, 2010), pp. 307-320.

work's first two editions.⁴⁷ In Anthony West's copy census of Shakespeare First Folios, tracing provenance served as a means of understanding 'socio-cultural history': in this instance, it was not questioned whether the books had been at all read, and their symbolic value was deemed just as important as the content.⁴⁸ For Lilian Armstrong, the art-historical aspect of Nicolaus Jenson's *Breviarium romanum* formed the principal focus of her copy census.⁴⁹ The growing number of less comprehensive studies centred around annotations in early printed books now includes the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, and the English translation of Jacobus de Voragine.⁵⁰ Significantly, the method has now gone beyond the Anglo-American sphere of studies, with studies on fifteenth-century Books of Hours printed in Italy, the editions of sixteenth-century author Bernardino Telesio and, most recently, studies of two of the earliest printed editions of the Divine Comedy.⁵¹ The 42-Line Bible has been the focus of such study, first through the work of Paul Needham,

⁴⁷ Owen Gingerich, *An Annotated Census of Copernicus' De Revolutionibus (Nuremberg 1543 and Basel, 1566)* (Leiden: Brill, 2003).

⁴⁸ Anthony James West, 'Ownership of Shakespeare First Folios Over Four Centuries', *The Library: The Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*, 10 (2009), 405-408, 408. Idem, *The Shakespeare first folio: the history of the book*, 2 vols (Oxford: OUP, 2001-2003); Idem, 'Update of the Shakespeare First Folio Census', *The Library*, 24 (December 2023), 454-464.

⁴⁹ Lilian Armstrong, 'Nicolaus Jenson's *Breviarium Romanum*, Venice, 1478: Decoration and Distribution', in *Incunabula: Studies in Fifteenth-Century Printed Books presented to Lotte Hellings*, ed. by Martin Davies (London: British Library, 1999), pp. 421-467.

⁵⁰ James Charles Russel, "Many Other Things Worthy of Knowledge and Memory": The *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* and its Annotators, 1499-1700' (doctoral thesis, Durham University, 2014), available at Durham E-Theses Online: <<http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/10757/>>. Morgan Ring, 'Annotating the *Golden Legend* in Early Modern England', *Renaissance Quarterly*, vol. 72 no. 3 (2019), 816-862.

⁵¹ Dondi, *Printed Books of Hours*; Giliola Barbero and Adriana Paolini, *Le edizioni antiche di Bernardino Telesio: censimento e storia* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2017); For the "Dante 1481" project, by Marina Venier and Camila Marangoni, overseen by Cristina Dondi, see the project website: <<https://www.printingrevolution.eu/dante-1481/>>; Dondi, Cristina, 'Circolazione e uso delle edizioni quattrocentesche della Commedia: dalla banca dati Material Evidence in Incunabula e dal libro dei conti di Francesco de Madiis', in *Le forme dei libri e le tradizioni dei testi Dante, Petrarca, Boccaccio. Atti del convegno, Napoli, 18-20 novembre 2019*, ed. by Andrea Mazzucchi (Roma-Padova: Antenore, 2023), pp. 67-116; for 'Dante 1491' see Martyna Grzesiak and Ilenia Maschietto, 'Il progetto "Dante 1491" alla Fondazione Giorgio Cini: un censimento illustrato degli esemplari superstiti', in *Dante, com'era nel 1472 (e come si lesse da allora): prime edizioni, incunaboli, post-incunaboli e altro. Quaderno di studi danteschi*, ed. by Francesco Ciabattini and Alessandro Scarsella (Venice: Bibliion, 2023), pp. 45-60, and the project website, <<https://www.archive-venice.org/project/dante-1491/>>.

then continued by Eric White,⁵² and the studies of Mack P. Holt and Mart van Duijn on French and Dutch vernacular Bibles are a valuable indication of the potential of such work.

THE COPY CENSUS AS A METHODOLOGY TO ASSESS THE HISTORY OF THE FIRST PRINTED BIBLES IN ITALIAN

The following section outlines the steps undertaken in my project, beginning with the preliminary survey carried out in order to establish the extent of the source material available, and the way in which the data has been gathered in a detailed catalogue of provenance.

A copy census constitutes a blended methodological approach, combining both quantitative and qualitative features. Quantitative elements, namely the statistical analysis of data gathered from a significant number of books (here the vast majority of the known copies of the editions concerned, and therefore as representative a sample of the entire corpus as may be hoped for), have provided the basic dataset for the analysis of trends and patterns in the appearance, contents and provenance of the books studied. However, just as Robert Darnton has pointed out, the figures and percentages obtained through such work may, on their own, result lacklustre and 'too general to be satisfying'.⁵³ A qualitative microhistorical approach, highlighting individual reading and ownership experiences, is thus complementary to the quantitative study of the material evidence gathered. While some of the individual stories might not be considered representative of any general trends found, their idiosyncrasies often prove interesting and valuable in and of themselves.⁵⁴

⁵² Eric M. White, *Editio Princeps: A History of the Gutenberg Bible* (London: Harvey Miller, 2017).

⁵³ Robert Darnton, 'History of Reading', in *New Perspectives on Historical Writing*, ed. by Peter Burke (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991), pp. 140-167 (p. 143).

⁵⁴ Famously shown by Carlo Ginzburg in *Il formaggio e i vermi: il cosmo di un mugnaio del '500* (Turin: Einaudi, 1976).

The extent of the study is limited to eleven full editions of the Bible in Italian published before 1500. The full Bible editions are the following: Venice: Vindelinus de Spira, 1 Aug. 1471 (ISTC ib00640000); [Venice: Adam de Ambergau], 1 Oct. 1471 (ISTC ib00639000); Venice: Antonio di Bartolommeo Miscomini, 1477 (ISTC ib00640500);⁵⁵ Venice: Gabriele di Pietro, 1477-78 (ISTC ib00541000); Venice: Octavianus Scotus, 1481 (ISTC ib00642000); Venice: Andreas de Paltasichis, 1484 (ISTC ib00642500); Venice: Johannes Rubeus Vercellensis, for Tommaso Trevisano, 31 Oct. 1487 (ISTC ib00643000); Venice: Giovanni Ragazzo, for Lucantonio Giunta, 15 Oct. 1490 (ISTC ib00644000); Venice: Giovanni Ragazzo, for Lucantonio Giunta, July 1492 (ISTC ib00645000); Venice: Guilelmus Anima Mia, Tridinensis [and Antonio da Trino], 23 Apr. 1493 (ISTC ib00646000); Venice: Johannes Rubeus Vercellensis, for Lucantonio Giunta, June 1494 (ISTC ib00647000). Nicolò Malerbi's translation appears to some degree in all of these: 10 editions are attributed to him, the 1471 October edition uses significant parts of his translation, particularly the Psalms, the Book of Maccabees, and the New Testament.⁵⁶ While manuscript copies of Malerbi's Bible exist, they have been dated to the eighteenth century, and do not belong to the period of production in question.⁵⁷ The limit of editions up to the turn of the century follows the conventional temporal divide, partly necessitated by the sheer volume of material available.

A preliminary survey of known editions, and the number and location of surviving copies was carried out using the standard reference repertories: ISTC, GW, together with Edoardo Barbieri's catalogue, with some discrepancies between these sources. The second step

⁵⁵ For a discussion of the high likelihood the edition should be dated 1478, see Barbieri's description for this edition in the catalogue in *Le Bibbie italiane*.

⁵⁶ Barbieri, 'La fortuna della *Biblia*', pp. 445-8. Parts of Malerbi's translation also appear in two editions which are not part of this census: *Psalterium Sancti Hieronymi* [Italian]. Tr: Niccolò Malermi; [Milan: Printer of 'Psalterio in volgare', 1476], 10 Oct. 1476. (ISTC ih00188500). *Psalterium Sancti Hieronymi* [Italian and Latin] Tr: Niccolò Malermi [Florence: Societas Colubris, for] Piero Pacini, [about 1498], ISTC ih00188600. Five fifteenth-century phantom-editions are listed by Barbieri in 'La fortuna della *Biblia*', see in particular pp. 448-50 and 466.

⁵⁷ See Barbieri, 'La fortuna della *Biblia*...', p. 432, footnote 92.

was to consult national and, where available, library- and collection-specific catalogues, increasingly supplemented by up-to-date online library catalogues. This provided further information, including basic data and, in some cases, more detailed copy-specific data. Although a growing number of catalogues – including those online – hold detailed copy-specific information, these remain a minority.

The 2020 pandemic and resulting restrictions on travel meant that I was unable to complete all of the planned fieldwork, and have had to rely to a greater degree than originally planned on correspondence with holding institutions. For libraries where a visit was not viable, especially those where little information was available in published catalogues or in pre-existing MEI database descriptions, a combination of detailed questionnaires (in English, Italian and German, in accordance with the greatest concentration of surviving copies) and specific questions geared at supplementing published information allowed for their inclusion in the catalogue.⁵⁸ The questionnaire's content closely reflected the cataloguing principles of the Material Evidence in Incunabula database. I also encouraged recipients to share photographs of the copies, which helped circumvent the challenges to in-person study. Without the invaluable help of library staff lending their collection-specific expertise to better understand evidence found in their books, the present thesis would be significantly poorer.

In the preliminary survey, 208 institutional copies of the relevant editions were identified. After verification and further research, the current number of copies in institutional ownership in the catalogue is 203. I was able to study 93 copies in person; 46 through digitisations (two of these provided to me directly in response to the questionnaire). For 41 copies, my entries are based around information and images provided by library staff, and

⁵⁸ Even in pre-pandemic times, this method for gathering data from distant holding institutions was employed, for example by van Duijn, or Barbero and Paolini.

for 19 copies, the descriptions are based predominantly on information found in published catalogues. Entries in the MEI database had previously been created by other editors for 31 copies, providing key copy-specific data.

Due to its comprehensive nature, the MEI database has provided the framework for the typology of data gathered. Where possible, this evidence is supplemented and contextualised using library catalogues, sales catalogues, and any relevant secondary literature. This then allows for a 'narrative' of the books' use which accounts for their movement across time and space – both collectively and individually. Alongside the detailed Catalogue, the data is also presented in the MEI database. This serves as a back-up repository for the data collected, and a freely accessible platform for the early dissemination of the project's findings. The chronological format of the MEI database entries promotes the division of the information into 'blocks of provenance', permitting for the information to be accessed in a more linear manner, alongside its more traditional, discursive presentation in the Catalogue.

Due to constraints of space, I have devoted little attention to historical and trade copies which are not currently identifiable with those in institutional collections, for which I have gathered data from historic sales catalogues and other sources. Some of the sale copies could be matched with institutional copies listed in the census, for instance, the 1487 edition copy now at the Library of Congress (**131**), whose distinct imperfection in having its leaves burned through by corrosive ink allowed for its identification in three separate sale catalogues.

The main obstacle faced when conducting such a project is of course the accessibility of data; here it meant obtaining consistently detailed and comprehensive data on books from 104 holding institutions in 16 countries.⁵⁹ As already discussed, the use of published

⁵⁹ Counting Scotland as part of the United Kingdom, and the Vatican as separate from Italy.

catalogues and online resources, as well as direct contact with the holding institutions has done much to address this.

Uncertainties regarding book survival mean that the census does not necessarily arrive at a representative image of the entire tradition, an issue inherent to any studies of early printed books. It is possible that copies owned by heterodox owners were destroyed, or that owners of lavishly decorated copies were more inclined to ensure their survival than that of their plain, unembellished counterparts. Even for copies that survive (out of an unknown number produced), one must allow for the loss of some of post-production evidence over time. Some do not survive in full, whether because parts of the text were deemed less useful or have suffered damage. Some were rebound, due to their condition, or changing taste, often resulting in the loss of evidence from marginal annotations, earlier flyleaves or textblock edges. One enduring example of this is the issue of 18th- and 19th-century Bibliophile practices, whereby antiquarian book purchases often had their pages bleached and were rebound in accordance with the aesthetic of the time. While ultimately part of the book's history, such practices meant the loss of earlier evidence.

Extending the scope of the study to all pre-1500 printed Italian Bibles aims at minimising the effect of this, similarly to the wide scope of Cristina Dondi's copy census, distinct in being 'a census not of an edition, but of a genre', since 'only by adopting such an inclusive approach [is it possible] to extract some historical sense from a much depleted bibliographical tradition'.⁶⁰ While the Italian Bible editions considered have a higher rate of survival than many of the editions studied by Dondi, a similarly wide scope is nonetheless beneficial.

⁶⁰ *Books of Hours*, p. XLIII.

As already noted, not all reading experiences leave behind tangible marks. Passive reading,⁶¹ listening to a group reading,⁶² or ritualistic uses as procession props or oath books would not leave behind clear traces of use in the way that a reader underlining passages in their Bible, if any.⁶³ Evidently, no single research methodology provides exhaustive answers, and only through bringing together evidence gathered using complementary research methodologies might we approach a better understanding of the complex role the Bible played in its readers' lives. Evidence external to surviving copies, such as mentions of encounters with the Bible found in archival sources, or direct and indirect citations in Italians' writings, all constitute potential avenues for further study.⁶⁴

First, however, evidence should be looked for in the surviving copies themselves, which remain the best as yet unexplored source available for this type of enquiry.



⁶¹ Holt, p. 208.

⁶² Darnton, p. 150.

⁶³ Poleg, *Approaching the Bible in Medieval England*, pp. 76-79.

⁶⁴ Numerous approaches are considered in Darnton, 'History of Reading'.

CHAPTER 1.

FIFTEENTH-CENTURY VENICE AND THE FIRST PRINTED ITALIAN BIBLE

Nicolò Malerbi's aim in presenting to the world an Italian Bible in print was simple: to enable the growing audience of vernacular readers to gain direct access to a text whose edification had largely been limited to those able to comprehend Jerome's Latin. This idea was met with a decidedly positive response, as testified by the number of editions and reprints: after the first edition dated 1 August 1471, nine further editions came out in Venice by the end of the century. The present section provides an analysis the set of historical circumstances favourable to the conception, execution and successful reception of this edition, with particular attention paid to the intellectual and cultural backdrop, and to the individuals involved in the publication's preparation. We can better understand this precocious development thanks to Malerbi's explicit acknowledgment of his two major translations, the *Biblia vulgare* and *Legenda aurea*,⁶⁵ and the presence of his collaborators' names in the editions' paratextual apparatus.⁶⁶ The anonymous translation of the October 1471 edition also invites valuable considerations of its publication context.

While many continue to associate religious change with the following century, the fifteenth century (and Late Medieval period more broadly) witnessed developments which showed the European religious landscape as anything but stagnant: the Observant Reform, the *Devotio moderna* movement, and the laity's involvement in confraternities. Many of these revolved around the growing relevance of the vernacular in the religious sphere. The

⁶⁵ Jacobus de Voragine, *Leggenda aurea sanctorum* [Italian] (Venice: Nicolaus Jenson, [between 1 July 1475 and 23 Feb. 1476]) ISTC ij00174000.

⁶⁶ According to Sansovino, during the reign of doge Pietro Mocenigo, i.e. in the years 1474-76, 'Nicolò Manerbio dell'ordine di Camaldoli, mandò fuori un trattato col titolo, De secundo Domini adventu.' Francesco Sansovino, *Venetia città nobilissima e singolare* (Venice, 1663), p. 583, cited in Meneghin Vittorino Meneghin, *S. Michele in Isola di Venezia*, in 3 vols (Venice: Stamperia di Venezia, 1962), v. 1, p. 146. This work is considered lost.

period's 'new landscape of vernacular preaching, reading and devotion, of humanist learning' contributed to the plurality of religious experiences, specific 'religious microclimates' characterising Christian religious culture in fifteenth-century Europe.⁶⁷ Within this panorama of religious experience and growing demand for new forms of devotion, Venice provided a junction of observant religious institutions, humanist intellectuals and printing industry workers, the conflation of which served as a backdrop, and likely catalyst to the publication of the first Italian Bible translations.

VENETIAN SOCIETY AND FIFTEENTH-CENTURY INTELLECTUAL CULTURE

Over the centuries, Venice had built up a distinct identity, even in relation to the religious authorities in Rome; 'Venice's ecclesiastical vocation [...] allowed it to confront papal power in the name of Christian values and to develop an ethico-religious identity independent of papal protection'.⁶⁸ The patrician class' influence was notable in many cultural and religious institutions; the Venetian Senate even elected the Venetian Patriarch, an office instituted in 1451. Built around piety and charitable activities, Venice's confraternities allowed for regular interactions between Venetians from all walks of life.⁶⁹ Records from surviving confraternity *mariegole* highlight this, with high-ranking civil servants listed as members alongside merchants, construction workers and labourers.⁷⁰ In this way, the *Serenissima* stands apart amongst the religious "microclimates" developing across Europe.

⁶⁷ James D. Mixson, 'Religious life and Observant Reform in the Fifteenth Century', *History Compass*, 11.3 (March 2013), 201-214 (pp. 201-202).

⁶⁸ Cecilia Cristellon and Silvana Seidel Menchi, 'Religious Life', in *A Companion to Venetian History, 1400-1797*, ed. by Eric Dursteler (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 379-419 (p. 379).

⁶⁹ Richard MacKenny, 'Devotional Confraternities in Renaissance Venice', *Studies in Church History*, 23 (1986), 85-96 (p. 85); *idem*, *Venice as the Polity of Mercy: Guilds, Confraternities and the Social Order, c. 1250-c. 1650* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2019).

⁷⁰ Brian S. Pullan, *Rich and Poor in Renaissance Venice: the Social Institutions of a Catholic State, to 1620* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1971), p. 96.

Any discussion of a substantial fifteenth-century literary work must also consider the growing relevance of humanism. Although traditionally scholars of the period have insisted on its incompatibility with religion,⁷¹ links between the two certainly existed, given the notable number of humanists in the clergy and religious orders, and their efforts to reconcile classical learning with Christian belief. Venice's mix of civic culture and religious autonomy fostered a climate where humanism, used elsewhere to dismantle deep-rooted religious beliefs, would develop a synergy with the city's persistent adherence to medieval conceptions of Christianity.⁷² Instead, Venetian humanists respected and advocated established social hierarchies underpinning civic and religious life, and the apparently disparate modes of thinking of humanism and religion existed in 'symbiosis'.⁷³ This dynamic is unsurprising in a setting where civic and religious authorities were linked by ties as close as those in Venice, partly due to the high number of patrician and religious humanists active in fifteenth-century Venice, whose work fostered this Venetian "brand" of humanism:⁷⁴ over a third of humanists active in Venice in the fifteenth century, wrote about matters of religion and theology.⁷⁵ Religion constituted 'a civic as well as a private concern' for local humanists in a city whose stability as a republic was thought to depend on social cohesion bolstered by piety and charity, and this focus would have percolated to

⁷¹ This is discussed in Cécile Caby, 'L'humanisme au service de l'observance: quelques pistes de recherche', in *Humanisme et Église en Italie et en France méridionale (XVe siècle-milieu du XVIe siècle)* ed. by Patrick Gill (Rome: l'École française de Rome, 2004), pp. 115-148 (p. 117), and *ibid.*, 'Oltre l'"umanesimo religioso": umanisti e Chiesa nel quattrocento', in *Cultura e desiderio di Dio: L'Umanesimo e le Clarisse dell'Osservanza*, ed. by Pietro Messa, Angela Emmanuela Scandella and Mario Sensi (S. Maria degli Angeli (PG): Porziuncola, 2009), pp. 15-33.

⁷² Margaret L. King, 'L'umanesimo cristiano nella Venezia del Quattrocento', in *La chiesa di Venezia tra medioevo ed età moderna*, ed. by Bianca Betto, Giorgio Cracco and Giorgio Fedalto (Venice: Edizioni Studium Cattolico Veneziano, 1989), pp. 15-54 (p. 16).

⁷³ King, 'L'umanesimo cristiano', pp. 16-17.

⁷⁴ King, 'L'umanesimo cristiano', pp. 17-18.

⁷⁵ King, 'L'umanesimo cristiano', p. 24; Branca, Vittore, 'L'umanesimo', in *Storia di Venezia: dalle origini alla caduta della Serenissima*, in 8 vols (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1992-1998), 4: *Il Rinascimento. Politica e cultura*, ed. Alberto Tenenti and Ugo Tucci (1996), pp. 723-755.

other areas of life, beyond the purely scholarly.⁷⁶ As discussed below, similar notions informed the work of Nicolò Malerbi.

There are several implications of the development of humanism and its Venetian and religious currents for the first Italian vernacular Bible. Malerbi's translations correlate with the culture of piety and charity for the glory of the *Serenissima* espoused by her intellectual elites. Venice's humanist patricians can be credited with the introduction of moveable type printing in their city. Members of the local patriciate, such as the 'Morosini, Correr, Condulmer, Giustiniani and Barbo' actively promoted the observant movement in Venice.⁷⁷ In such a close-knit society, the need for new religious publications for the less educated may have been recognised by those with the financial and technological resources to meet those needs. The coats of arms of some of Venice's most influential families, such as the Priuli or the Malipiero present in illuminated copies of the *editio princeps* (cat. nos. **1**, **22**), point to their interest in the new publication.⁷⁸ The copies may have even constituted lavish gifts for patrons as thanks for their financial support of the edition's production. Unique additions in first edition copies owned by the Priuli, Corner and Macigni, absent from other surviving copies (discussed again on pp. 57-58), further suggest an especially close relationship with the edition's creators. Given its subject matter, whoever funded the publication was likely motivated by the ideals of Venice's civic republicanism and piety, and not merely hope of material returns on their investment.

⁷⁶ Margaret L. King, *Venetian Humanism in an Age of Patrician Dominance* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986), p. 35-36.

⁷⁷ Kaspar Elm, 'Riforme e osservanze nel XIV e XV secolo. Una sinossi', in *Ordini religiosi e società politica in Italia e Germania nei secoli XIV e XV*, ed. by Giorgio Chittolini and Kaspar Elm (Bologna: Il mulino, 2001), pp. 489-504 (p. 498).

⁷⁸ The Priuli family's links to the French printer Nicolas Jenson, previously noted by Martin Lowry, have since been confirmed by a high number of copies of various early imprints decorated with their arms. Lilian Armstrong, 'The Decoration and Illustration of Venetian Incunabula. From Hand Illumination to the Design of Woodcuts', in *Printing R-Evolution and Society*, pp. 775-818 (p. 790).

OBSERVANT REFORM AND THE PRODUCTION OF RELIGIOUS LITERATURE

Humanism's concern for education was mirrored by another, less widely studied and more explicitly religious intellectual movement: the Observant Reform.⁷⁹ The movement 'was able to integrate itself into and to become a leader of the broader process of cultural transformation signalled by the invention of the printing press, and the extension of literacy among the laity and particularly women.'⁸⁰ It 'was very much in tune with the transformations of the late medieval world',⁸¹ and can be held accountable for many changes in religious and devotional practice (at times with undesirable consequences for marginalised parts of society).⁸² One particularly fruitful branch of this movement was the *devotio moderna*, centred around a 'focus on the eucharist and individual devotion through meditation', sometimes even called the 'Christian renaissance'.⁸³ The *devotio moderna* originated and remained concentrated in monasteries and brethren houses of the Low Countries and Germany. Echoes of their activity likely reverberated throughout the continent. Fragnito has suggested that out of the whole peninsula the Veneto had the closest ties with the Low Countries, and Venice may have been exposed to ideas propagated by the likes of Ludovico Barbo.⁸⁴ Thus, the insistence on individual devotional practice, such as reading Thomas a Kempis' *De imitatio Christi*, which Barbo actively

⁷⁹ Bert Roest, 'Observant Reform in Religious Orders', in *The Cambridge History of Christianity, 4: Christianity in Western Europe c.1100-c.1500*, ed. by Miri Rubin and Walter Simons (Cambridge: 2009), pp. 446-57 (p. 456). Mixson, p. 202.

⁸⁰ Gabriella Zarri, 'Ecclesiastical Institutions and Religious Life in the Observant Century', in *A Companion to Observant Reform*, ed. by James Mixson and Bert Roest, pp. 21-59 (p. 59).

⁸¹ Roest, p. 457.

⁸² Ugo Rozzo, 'Il presunto omicidio rituale di Simonino di Trento e il primo santo tipografico', *Atti dell'Accademia Udinese di Scienze, Lettere e Arti*, 90 (1997), 185-223.

⁸³ L. Giovanna Urist, 'Lorenzo Giustiniani and the Politics of Obedience: Church and State in Fifteenth-Century Venice' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Syracuse University, 2016), p. 59. Albert Hyma, *The Christian Renaissance: a History of the "Devotio moderna"* (New York; London: Century, 1924).

⁸⁴ Fragnito, *La Bibbia al rogo*, p. 66; Daniela Rando, 'Le avventure della 'Devotio moderna' nell'Italia del Tre-Quattrocento fra storia e storiografia', in *Die "Neue Frömmigkeit" in Europa im Spätmittelalter*, ed. by Marek Derwich and Martial Staub (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004), pp. 331-51; Giorgio Picasso, 'L'imitazione di Cristo nell'epoca della 'Devotio moderna' e nella spiritualità monastica del sec. XV in Italia', *Rivista di storia e letteratura religiosa*, 4.1 (1968), 11-32.

promoted, may have contributed to a growing demand for vernacular religious publications for Venetians to study and meditate on within the privacy of their homes.⁸⁵ This personal element, a shared thread between the *devotio moderna* and humanism, greatly contributed to the direction taken by religious expression in the fifteenth century.⁸⁶

Poised at renovating and rebuilding their own religious orders, Observants also turned their attention to wider society, with the aim to bring about there the renewal they sought for themselves.⁸⁷ This resulted in a gradual change in religious practice. For instance, reciting the Divine Office became more common, 'no longer limited to the clergy but also widespread among lay men and women'.⁸⁸ Some printed Books of Hours (which facilitated this) were produced with the involvement of Observant Franciscans, marketed not only at members of the order, but also members of associated confraternities.⁸⁹ The ideals promoted by the movement invited growing demand for the provision of more accessible materials for the laity to engage in these new modes of religious practice, reinforcing ideas imparted on the faithful through preaching, which remained key for the transmission of religious ideas in the vernacular.⁹⁰

As Ugo Rozzo has stressed, the origins of the printed book are steeped in religion.⁹¹ Attitudes regarding who should have access to the knowledge imparted by books differed within this panorama of book production. Some religious institutions, including many associated with the *Devotio moderna*, hoarded their members' literary production within their walls, limiting who could benefit from them. Meanwhile, others soon began to exploit

⁸⁵ Fragnito, p. 65-66.

⁸⁶ Gregorio Penco, *Il monachesimo fra spiritualità e cultura* (Milan: Jaca Book, 1991), pp. 301-302.

⁸⁷ Roest, p. 455.

⁸⁸ Zarri, p. 50.

⁸⁹ Dondi, *Books of Hours*, pp. 25-29.

⁹⁰ Pietro Delcorno, "Quomodo discet sine docente?" Observant Efforts towards Education and Pastoral Care', in *A Companion to the Observant Reform*, pp. 147-184 (p. 152).

⁹¹ Ugo Rozzo, *Linee per una storia dell'editoria religiosa in Italia (1450-1600)* (Udine: Arti Grafiche Friulane, 1993), p. 7.

the potential of print for spreading the written word. This new mode of producing books was valued not only for the speed with which large numbers of copies could be produced, but also, just as significantly, the ability to influence, and correct, a textual tradition through an authoritative printed edition.⁹²

Examples of printed publications aimed at members of specific religious orders – in the form of authorised versions of foundational texts – include the editorial production of the Carmelite order where turn-of-the-century editors such as Giovanni Maria Poluzzi and Giovanni Battista de' Cathaneis focussed on an institutional target audience, with works such as breviaries, missals and hagiographies intended for use within the order.⁹³ Other orders include the Knights of St John,⁹⁴ or, most relevantly, the Camaldolese. Pietro Dolfin, secretary general of the Camaldolese order and an acquaintance of Malerbi, would oversee the publication of a revised *Breviarium camaldulense* by the same printer who was responsible for one of the fifteenth century editions of Malerbi's Italian Bible translation. A beautifully decorated copy of this publication with the Dolfin coat of arms, probably owned by Pietro, is now at the British Library.⁹⁵ A systematic study of liturgical editions aimed at specific religious orders could shed further light on this dynamic.

Elsewhere, the printing press would be treated as 'a divine gift for the instruction of the lay reader in devotional matters'.⁹⁶ Examples of this include the Mohnkopf Press in Lübeck,

⁹² Koen Goudriaan, 'The Franciscans, the Laity and the Printing Press', in *Piety in Practice and Print Piety in practice and print: essays on the Late medieval religious landscape*, ed. by Anna Dlabacová and Ad Tervoort (Hilversum: Verloren, 2016), pp. 279-308; Francesco Trentini, 'Il torchio e la Regola. Incunaboli e cinquecentine nella riforma carmelitana', *La Bibliofilia*, 121.1 (2019), 107-130.

⁹³ Francesco Trentini, pp. 111-113.

⁹⁴ Cristina Dondi, 'Liturgical Policies of the Hospitallers Between the Invention of Printing and the Council of Trent: the Evidence of the Early Printed Breviaries and Missals', in *The Military Orders. Volume 3: History and Heritage*, ed. Victor Mallia-Milanes (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 63-71.

⁹⁵ *Breviarium Camaldulense*. Ed: Petrus Delphinus. Florence: Antonio di Bartolommeo Miscomini, 13 Apr. 1484 (ISTC ib01132000). British Library, IA.27171, MEI 02001073, MEI entry by Alessandra Panzanelli.

⁹⁶ Elizabeth Andersen, 'Religious Devotion and Business: The Pre-Reformation Enterprise of the Lübeck Presses', *Ons Geestelijk Erf*, 87 (2016) 200-223 (pp. 212-213). Mai-Britt Wiechmann, 'Agenda, Einfluss, Reichweiten: Buchdruck und Frömmigkeit in Lübeck um 1500' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 2022).

whose activity seems to have explicitly focussed on producing vernacular devotional material for a lay readership, the printing press of the Dominican nuns at San Jacopo di Ripoli, whose 'largely religious output' is documented for the years 1474-1484,⁹⁷ or the Franciscan printing press in 1470s Venice.⁹⁸

Genres such as the immensely popular sermons were committed to print with a lay readership in mind, ensuring their survival and permitting repeated study. This was the case for Antonio Balocco da Vercelli's vernacular sermon series of 1467, already available in print in 1470 as *Consegni della salute del peccatore*, a handy 54-leaf *quarto* volume accessible to a wider audience than the Franciscan preacher's original listeners at Borgo San Sepolcro (ISTC ia00917000).⁹⁹ Thanks to printing, even female religious writers' works, such as Caterina Vigri da Bologna's *Sette armi spirituali* (ISTC ic00279000), and Camilla Battista da Varano's *I dolori mentali del Cristo* (ISTC id00302900), were disseminated more widely. Despite this range, Koen Goudriaan advises caution when approaching this topic: evidence of the ecclesiastical authorities' involvement should not be instantly read as evidence of a concerted Church-sanctioned use of the printing press, or a particular order's collective and conscious engagement with the new medium.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁷ Melissa Conway, *The Diario of the Printing Press of San Jacopo di Ripoli, 1476-1484: Commentary and Transcription* (Florence: Olschki, 1999), p. 67.

⁹⁸ Martin Lowry, '«Nel Beretin Convento»: The Franciscans and the Venetian Press (1474-78), *La Bibliofilia*, 85 (1983), 27-40 (p. 39).

⁹⁹ Roberto Rusconi, 'Da Costanza al Laterano: la «calcolata devozione» del ceto mercantile-borghese nell'Italia del Quattrocento', in *Storia dell'Italia religiosa*, in 3 vols. ed. by André Vauchez (Rome: Laterza, 1993-1995), I. *L'antichità e il medioevo* (1993), pp. 505-536 (pp. 520-521).

¹⁰⁰ Koen Goudriaan, 'The Church and the Market: Vernacular Religious Works and the Early Printing Press in the Low Countries, 1477-1540' in *Cultures of Religious Reading in the Late Middle Ages: Instructing the Soul, Feeding the Spirit, and Awakening the Passion*, ed. by Sabrina Corbellini (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2013) pp. 93-116. Goudriaan, 'The Franciscans, the Laity and the Printing Press', p. 280.

THE PLACE OF THE CAMALDOLESE MONASTERIES OF SAN MICHELE AND SAN MATTIA IN MURANO WITHIN THE VENETIAN CULTURAL LANDSCAPE

Having considered some pertinent aspects of the intellectual context of the decades leading up to the appearance of Nicolò Malerbi's Bible translation, the more immediate context of the religious order to which he belonged deserves some attention. Among the religious institutions dotted around the Venetian lagoon, such as San Giorgio in Alga (Canons Regular of St Giorgio in Alga), San Giorgio Maggiore (OSB), and San Francesco del Deserto (OFMObs), stood the Camaldolese monasteries of San Mattia di Murano and San Michele in Isola.¹⁰¹ Divided by a brief boat ride, these two constitute the cultural milieu that gave Malerbi the means to publish his translation in print, and thus merit closer examination, particularly in terms of their relationship with the Venetian intellectual world; uniquely situated within reach of Venice, but separate from it, 'a ca(n)to a l'alma patria Veneta', in Malerbi's own words.¹⁰²

Founded by St Romuald in the eleventh century, the order was an offshoot of the Benedictines, and, following the tenets set up by the Rule of Saint Benedict, held learning in high regard; in fact, before being admitted to take their vows, a prospective novice had to be able to read, sing, and show a commitment to study.¹⁰³ From its origins the Camaldolese order was an eremitic order, which may seem an unusual foundation for a public and outward move such as publishing a Bible translation. The order migrated to more densely populated areas in a tendency characteristic of the medieval period, termed *inurbamento*, which saw key religious and public institutions concentrate in towns and

¹⁰¹ For the Camaldolese Order see the rich bibliography of Caby's monograph, *De l'érémisme rural au monachisme urbain: les camaldules en Italie à la fin du Moyen âge* (Rome, Ecole française de Rome, 1999). More recently, *San Michele in Isola. Isola della conoscenza. Ottocento anni di storia e cultura camaldolesi nella laguna di Venezia*, ed. by Marcello Brusegan, Paolo Eleuteri and Gianfranco Fiaccadori (Turin: UTET, 2012).

¹⁰² *Leggenda Aurea* (fol. [1]v).

¹⁰³ Meneghin, p. 109.

cities.¹⁰⁴ The Camaldolese were actively involved in the fifteenth-century Observant Reform, including, as evidence suggests, its outward-looking, pastoral facet. Key to this, the interplay between Camaldolese ideas on education and the Observant Reform is traced by Delcorno in his article on ‘Observant Efforts towards Education and Pastoral Care’. The order embraced education as a pillar of their pastoral activity directed beyond the microcosm of the island monastery.¹⁰⁵

While not as known for their participation in local cultural activity as the Florentine Camaldolese of Santa Maria degli Angeli,¹⁰⁶ Venice’s Camaldolese were actively involved in scholarly life. Extensive work devoted to the Camaldolese community based in Murano carried out by Cécile Caby sheds light on the cultural milieu that served as a home for Nicolò Malerbi as he worked on his translation. Certain Camadolese writers’ output stands out as closely related to Malerbi’s activity. For instance, Malerbi’s fellow Camaldolese, the Florentine Mauro Lapi (1399-1478), who arrived in Murano after having joined the Camaldolese order at its founding monastery in Camaldoli, was in many ways a direct predecessor of Malerbi’s literary activity.¹⁰⁷ Lapi produced vernacular translations of religious works, such as the writings of pseudo-Bonaventure and St Bernard of Siena, and hagiographic work on Saint Romuald and Pietro da Sardegna (another Camaldolese monk). Lapi’s work garnered him, together with his home monastery, the interest and favour of Venetian patricians, as well as certain prominent men of cloth. Their resulting intellectual discourse can be witnessed in his surviving epistolary exchanges with the likes of Ludovico Foscarini, Marco Barbo, Pietro Foscarini and Giovanni Marcanova: Malerbi will have witnessed this when at San Mattia at the same time as Lapi. As Caby has noted, this ‘réseau

¹⁰⁴ Caby, *De l’érémisme rural*, p. 4-5.

¹⁰⁵ Delcorno, p. 161.

¹⁰⁶ Delcorno, p. 164.

¹⁰⁷ Discussion of Michele Lapi in the present paragraph is based on Caby, *De l’érémisme rural*, pp. 632-634. See also Barbieri, *Il libro nella storia*, pp. 35-73.

d'échange culturel' was something for which monasteries of San Michele in Isola and San Mattia di Murano were renowned,¹⁰⁸ and allowed the monks to keep abreast of intellectual and cultural developments across the lagoon. A slightly earlier historical source of some relevance to the topic at hand may be witnessed in the epistolary exchange between Ambrogio Traversari and the Venetian humanist Leonardo Giustiniani in 1429.¹⁰⁹ The letters witness the search for a manuscript of the Old Testament in the vernacular in Florence, after similar enquiries in Venice proved fruitless. The well-educated Giustiniani would not have required the manuscript for his own use, so the demand must have come from others in his circle – and, as we have seen already, in Venice this may have meant acquaintances from all sorts of backgrounds. The letters provide valuable evidence of a conflation of Venetian and Camaldolese interest in vernacular translations several decades ahead of Malerbi's arrival in the 1470s. Finally, the famous *Libellus ad Leonem X*, a 1513 document by two Camaldolese Venetian patricians, Paolo Giustiniani and Pietro Querini, advocating for church reform during the time of the Fifth Lateran Council, constitutes another instance of members of Malerbi's order advocating for access to the Bible in the vernacular as beneficial remedy for the faithful, and for the church.¹¹⁰ This, they argue, would help dispel the ignorance and superstition plaguing the faithful. Surprisingly, they never mention the translation by their fellow Camaldolese Malerbi, despite its continued appearance in print during the early sixteenth century.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁸ Caby, *De l'érémisme rural*, p. 631.

¹⁰⁹ The epistolary exchange is quoted in Barbieri, *Le Bibbie italiane*, p. 9.

¹¹⁰ Paolo Giustiniani and Vincenzo Querini, *Libellus ad Leonem X Pontificem Maximum*, in *Annales camaldulenses ordinis Sancti Benedicti*, ed. by Giovanni Benedetto Mittarelli and Giovanni Domenico Costadoni, 9 vols (1755-73), vol. 9 (1773), Appendix, columns 612-719. Silvio Tramontin, 'Un programma di riforma della Chiesa per il Concilio Lateranese V: il *Libellus ad Leonem X* dei veneziani Paolo Giustiniani e Pietro Quirini', in *Venezia e Concili*, ed. by Antonio Niero (Venice: Quaderni del Laurentianum, 1962), pp. 67-93.

¹¹¹ Fragnito interprets this omission as veiled criticism, *La Bibbia al rogo*, pp. 27-28.

NICOLÒ MALERBI AND HIS REASONS FOR TRANSLATING THE BIBLE

Relatively little is known about the man behind the first printed Italian Bible translation, with few appearances in historical and archival sources.¹¹² A native of Venice (or the Veneto),¹¹³ nothing is known of his life before 1470: scholars' speculations include a life as a teacher, a priest, or perhaps even an involvement with book production.¹¹⁴ Malerbi joined the order already in possession of a sound educational background, 'una cultura di tipo letterario';¹¹⁵ this is confirmed by the speed with which he completed the extensive task of translating the entire Vulgate into Italian within less than two years of entering the order. Beyond the role of translator, sources show him in the role of a scribe on at least one occasion, teaching other monks, and acting as confessor for the women's monastery of Saint Cristina and Saint Parisius in nearby Treviso during his later years, spent in the monastery of San Michele in Isola.¹¹⁶

Malerbi's first documented activity is his entry into the order at the reformed monastery of Sant'Apollinare in Classe near Ravenna, sometime around the year 1470.¹¹⁷ He soon returned to his native Venice, where he seems to have moved between the monasteries of San Michele in Isola, and the slightly further-removed San Mattia in Murano. The content of the *Epistola ad Laurentio* places him at San Mattia during the period preceding the publication of his Bible translation.¹¹⁸ A narrow booklet at the Venetian Archivio di Stato with records of the inhabitants of San Mattia, compiled by its prior and first started in 1462, lists 22 friars, novices and employees present there on 19 December 1474 which confirms

¹¹² For biographical information on Malerbi see Edoardo Barbieri, 'Malerbi, Nicolò', *DBI*, vol. 68 (2007), and the chapter 'Per una biografia di Nicolò Malerbi' in Barbieri, *Le Bibbie italiane*, pp. 15-35.

¹¹³ In the final lines of the prefatory epistle in the *editio princeps*, Malerbi describes himself as 'veneto'. See also the *DBI* entry, where Barbieri interprets the descriptor 'Venetus' as meaning from Venice or Verona, and Barbieri's monograph, p. 18-19, with other theories of Malerbi's origins. The Venetian colouring of the monk's language serves as a further argument in favour of this.

¹¹⁴ Barbieri, *Le Bibbie italiane*, p. 19, esp. footnote 35.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁶ Meneghin, pp. 139-146.

¹¹⁷ Barbieri, *Le Bibbie italiane*, p. 20.

¹¹⁸ Barbieri, *Le Bibbie italiane*, pp. 20, 22.

Malerbi's temporary presence there, and return to San Michele the following year: 'Don Nicolo di Malerbi da venesia monacho p(ro)fesso di chiassi & prior de san michel de leme. tenemo p(er) hospito in forestaria ale spese n(ost)re el qual ha i(n) forestaria i suo bisogni', with a later addition: 'El d(i)c(t)o Ritorno astar a san michel de muran p(er) monaco co(n)ve(n)tual. Deputado p(ri)or de san michel de leme. de hystria. del 1475'.¹¹⁹ As the inhabitant with the shortest tenure, Malerbi is listed last of the monks, at number 19, and ahead of people linked with San Mattia who hadn't taken their vows, three members of the Schiavon family, employed to guard over the near-abandoned San Martin Rotto monastery in Friuli (Stefano Schiavon), or in charge of the garden at San Mattia (the *hortolaio* Zorzi Schiavon). Inhabitants of San Mattia came from Venice but also Milan, Florence, Faenza, and further afield in the dominion of the *Serenissima* on the Dalmatian coast. In each case, the prior provides their full name followed by their city (or region) of origin, confirming Venice as Malerbi's city of origin. The date also confirms Malerbi's stay at San Mattia, mentioned in the preface to his *Legenda aurea* translation: within easy reach of the library resources of San Mattia,¹²⁰ and of an experienced author of hagiographies from whom to seek support, Mauro Lapi, listed at number one of the December 1474 list.

Despite evidence from the latter part of the decade pointing to Malerbi's movement between Classe, on the outskirts of Ravenna, where he joined the order, and Leme (today's Kloštar, on the Croatian coast), his close association with the Venetian Camaldolese community continued throughout the following years. He was still at San Michele on 22 August 1481 during the visit of the newly appointed general of the order, Paolo Lapi. Malerbi

¹¹⁹ ASVe, Corporazioni religiose, 3204 S. Mattia di Murano (Venezia), Busta 3, n. 1. Presumably this is the document cited by Meneghin with the incorrect date 8 February 1472, perhaps taken from elsewhere in the document (p. 189, footnote 79). Barbieri, *Il libro nella storia. Tre percorsi* (Milan: CUSL, 2000), pp. 17-18, footnote 43. Briefly mentioned in Cécile Caby, 'Bernardino Gadolo ou les débuts de l'historiographie camaldule', *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Moyen-Age*, 109-1 (1997), 225-268 (pp. 233-234, esp. footnote 25).

¹²⁰ Edoardo Barbieri, 'Produrre, conservare, distruggere: per una storia della biblioteca di S. Mattia di Murano', in *Ateneo Veneto*, 185 (1997), 13-55; *ibid.*, *Il libro nella storia*.

confirmed to Lapi that he owned a Breviary. His age (59 years), as well as time spent in the order (11 years) were recorded.¹²¹

Some scholars have questioned the origin of Malerbi's interest and involvement in the publication: for Barbieri this interest 'resta infatti fundamentalmente inspiegato',¹²² Fragnito similarly doubts Malerbi's understanding of the printing press' potential.¹²³ Conversely, Franco Pierno questions this, pertinently quoting Amadeo Quondam's praise for Malerbi's *Legenda aurea* translation published just four years later as '[u]na precisa, articolata sin nei dettagli, consapevolezza di cosa significhi volgarizzare e stampare un volgarizzamento, per un destinatario esteso quanto il popolo cristiano'.¹²⁴ Pierno even goes on to theorise Malerbi's active involvement in the process of procuring the help of a humanist (Squarzacicus) with the publication, and his monastery's close collaboration with Vindelinus de Spira's workshop during the publication process.¹²⁵ The reluctance to accept that in 1471 a newly-ordained Camaldolese monk might appreciate the potential of the printing press may be rebuffed through other examples for the positive reception of the new medium, such as the oft-cited enthusiasm of soon-to-be pope Enea Silvio Piccolomini after witnessing the quires of printed leaves of Gutenberg's Bible in Mainz.¹²⁶ As well as many of the authors and editors mentioned throughout this chapter, Cardinal Torquemada, abbot of the Benedictine monastery of Santa Scholastica in Subiaco, showed faith in the new tool for book production when he entrusted his *Meditationes de vita Christi* to Ulrichus Han in

¹²¹ Barbieri, *Le Bibbie italiane*, pp. 26-28; 34-35. Archivio Storico di Camaldoli, MS San Michele 613, fols 221-232.

¹²² Barbieri, *Le Bibbie italiane*, p. 20, footnote 34, but see also footnote 137 below.

¹²³ Fragnito, p. 40-41.

¹²⁴ Amadeo Quondam, 'La letteratura in tipografia' in *Letteratura italiana*, II, *Produzione e consumo* ed. by Albero Asor Rosa (Turin: Einaudi, 1983), pp. 555-696 (pp. 660-661).

¹²⁵ Franco Pierno, 'Pregiudizi e canone letterario. La Bibbia in volgare di Nicolò Malerbi (Venezia, 1471)', *Rassegna europea di letteratura italiana*, 36 (2010), 143-157, 145 footnote 3.

¹²⁶ Martin Davies, 'Juan de Carvajal and Early Printing: The 42-line Bible and the Sweynheym and Pannartz Aquinas', *The Library*, 18 (1996), 193-215. White, *Editio Princeps*, p. 23.

1467—as did Cardinal Bessarion, whose *Adversus calumniatorem Platonis* was printed not long after by Sweynheym and Pannartz.¹²⁷

Resources for disseminating Malerbi’s translation were readily available; in their first years, Venice’s first printing presses produced 4 surviving editions dated or datable to 1469, 23 for 1470, and a further 88 for 1471.¹²⁸ And who else to be the first to embark on such a project than Vindelinus de Spira: brother to Venice’s first printer Johannes de Spira, who continued his brother’s work following Johannes’ death in 1470.¹²⁹ We even have evidence of what may have been the first book printed with moveable type encountered by Malerbi. As witnessed by a surviving account book, a paper copy of Pliny’s *Historia naturalis*, printed by Johannes de Spira in 1469, was purchased for the library of San Michele di Murano in September 1469 for 8 ducats and 16 soldi, in the same week that Johannes presented his work to Venice’s *Excellentissimo collegio* as part of the application for a printing privilege, and two years before that same press would publish Malerbi’s Bible translation.¹³⁰

Together with the 1475 translation of the *Legenda aurea*, Malerbi’s Bible translation has been interpreted as part of a larger, premeditated project on the part of the monk. Executed soon after the publication of his *Biblia vulgare*, Malerbi’s second major translation highlights even further the link between religion and statehood in late quattrocento Venice,

¹²⁷ Johannes de Turrecremata, *Meditationes seu Contemplationes devotissimae* (Rome: Ulrich Han (Udalricus Gallus), 31 Dec. 1467), ISTC it00534800; Bessarion, *Adversus calumniatorem Platonis*. Rome: Conradus Sweynheym and Arnoldus Pannartz, [before 28 Aug. 1469], ISTC ib00518000. On their activity in Subiaco see Lucina Branciani, ‘Printing in Subiaco’, <<http://digitale.bnc.roma.sbn.it/progettopolonsky/en/209/santa-scolastica>>. Margaret Meserve, ‘The Papacy, Power, and Print: The Publication of Papal Decrees in the First Fifty Years of Printing’ in *Print and Power in Early Modern Europe (1500-1800)*, ed. by Nina Lamal, Jamie Cumby and Helmer J. Helmers (Brill, 2021), pp. 259-299.

¹²⁸ Source: ISTC.

¹²⁹ Martin Lowry, *Nicholas Jenson and the Rise of Venetian Publishing in Renaissance Europe* (Oxford; Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1991), p. 94.

¹³⁰ Archivio di Stato di Roma, Camaldolesi in S. Gregorio al Celio (inv. 25/11, n. 9), n. 64: *entrata e uscita*, San Michele di Murano (1469-1478; 1541-1573), fol. 24 (22 Sept. 1469), cited in Barbieri, *Il libro nella storia*, p. 25. Joanna Kostylo, ‘Commentary on Johannes of Speyer’s Venetian monopoly (1469)’, in *Primary Sources on Copyright (1450-1900)*, ed. by L. Bently & M. Kretschmer (2008) <<http://www.copyrighthistory.org>> [accessed 30 May 2020].

discussed above. Jacobus de Voragine's text was subject to many changes in its manuscript and print circulation, including the number and order of lives of saints described. This was also the case with Malerbi's Italian translation, who likely used multiple different source manuscripts in compiling his translation, and includes some *Lives* which appear extraneous to the tradition of Jacobus de Voragine's work.¹³¹ Significantly, these include the lives of holy figures associated with Venice, either by birth or through having churches devoted to them within the city, in what Pagnotta interprets as a celebration of Venice's cultural primacy. Unsurprisingly, among Malerbi's additions are two members of the Camaldolese order (its founder, Saint Romuald, and 'Beato Parisio', the long-serving chaplain for the Camaldolese nuns of Santa Cristina in Treviso – coincidentally Malerbi's predecessor in this role), as well as Lorenzo Giustiniani, the first patriarch of Venice who had passed away just two decades before the translation's publication. These additions all account for saints active after Jacobus de Voragine had died, and Malerbi evidently deemed his *confratelli* and a fellow Venetian worthy of appearing in this new updated pantheon of models of piety for his readers to emulate. A similar focus on Venice, as well as individuals linked with the Camaldolese order, is present in the hagiographic work of Mauro Lapi.¹³² Venetian life was also reflected in other publications, such as Jenson's Books of Hours, where distinct feasts specific to Venetian churches were included in the calendars of church feasts, soon copied by printers in other parts of the peninsula, and even Paris.¹³³ It was only natural for a city's literary output to reflect its local characteristics.

¹³¹ Linda Pagnotta, *Le Edizioni Italiane Della "Legenda Aurea": (1475-1630)* (Florence: Apax Libri, 2005), pp. 15-16.

¹³² Caby, *De l'érémisme rural*, p. 633.

¹³³ Dondi, *Books of Hours*, pp. 21-23; more on the Venetian Sanctoral on pp. 184-198 and also *eadem*, 'Printers and guilds in Fifteenth-century Venice', *La Bibliofilia*, 106 (2004), 229-265.

The publication of Malerbi's Bible translation was the most impressive printing endeavour the city had seen to date,¹³⁴ this move exploited the potential of Venice's booming industry to mass-produce the means for hundreds to become acquainted with the contents of the foundational text of their faith. Just as the prefatory letter of the *Legenda aurea* explicitly states the publication is aimed at a wide audience beyond Venice, the Bible translation was certainly intended to reach readers throughout Italy.

Could Malerbi have considered devoting his attention to a Bible translation ahead of joining the Camaldolese order? The known timeline appears swift: Malerbi joins the order in Classe sometime in 1470; the first edition of his translation is dated in the kalends of August 1471. Malerbi states the translation took him 8 months, and Malerbi's associate Fra Lorenzo's celebratory *Epistola ad Nicolaum* (added following Malerbi's dedicatory epistle in the *editio princeps*) is dated 15 July, when the translation work was likely finished and its printing well underway. Based on this, Barbieri suggests Malerbi started the translation in the summer months of 1470.¹³⁵ Malerbi joined the order in his late forties, and in his prefatory epistle he describes his idea to produce the translation as the fruit of much deliberation on the need of such a publication.¹³⁶ According to Chapter 58 of the Rule of Saint Benedict, as followed by the Camaldolese, a prospective member of the order must spend an extended period of time at the monastery as a novice, to ensure they were certain of their decision to join. It seems plausible that Malerbi began to contemplate an activity to fill his working days and use his skills – his knowledge of Latin – during the long period spent in Classe before being allowed to take his vows. A transfer to Murano would certainly have required the approval of Malerbi's abbot at Sant'Apollinare in Classe. If he had been

¹³⁴ Lowry, '«Nel Beretin Convento»', pp. 30-31.

¹³⁵ *Le Bibbie italiane*, p. 22.

¹³⁶ The opening sentence of Cap. VII reads, 'cum ponderato consiglio puoseme, postponendo ogni altre mie facende e famigliare tal vollume assumendo la fatica di circa mesi octo, quanto la divina bontà concesso m'ha'. This is contrasted by the *Legenda Aurea*, where Malerbi reveals he was asked by many friends to produce another religious *volgarizzamento*.

entertaining working on a Bible translation for a long time, perhaps a move to Murano, with access to better-stocked libraries than in Classe to facilitate this work, seemed the natural next step and thus gained the approval of his superiors. A compelling example from the Carmelite Order sees Giovanni Maria Poluzzi transferred to Venice in the late fifteenth century by his superiors, seemingly to be closer to the city's vibrant publishing culture and carry out his work of revising religious publications for print.¹³⁷ Something similar may have happened with Malerbi.¹³⁸ The sentimental image of a newly ordained friar devoting this time to translating a basic pastoral 'curriculum' from within the productive withdrawal (or *otium*) of a monastery may be not far off the mark. Eremitic seclusion had long been valued as a setting for intellectual work: Petrarch extolled the opportunities for profound concentration afforded by monastic life, and a Camaldolese monastery served as the setting of a literary dialogue on the topic by Cristoforo Landino (ca. 1474).¹³⁹

Clear parallels can be found between the prefaces Malerbi wrote to the two works, with a focus on providing salubrious literary fare as an alternative to more mundane literary diet readers were pointlessly consuming (implying both non-religious philosophy,¹⁴⁰ and the likes of chivalric poetry – the period's go-to *belles lettres*, explicitly mentioned in the *Legenda aurea* prefatory epistle).¹⁴¹ Malerbi's justification and aims for his translation are

¹³⁷ Trentini, p. 126. In his article about the Benedictine congregation in Subiaco, Uwe Israel similarly writes of reasons for a monk's transfer, such as safety, punishment, and founding or reforming a monastery, 'Monaci tra Subiaco e Germania: riforma benedettina e umanesimo monastico', in *Subiaco, la culla della stampa. Atti dei Convegni*, ed. by Mario Segatori (Subiaco: Iter, 2010), pp. 3-18 (p. 8).

¹³⁸ Barbieri makes a similar suggestion in *Il libro nella storia*, p. 27.

¹³⁹ Caby, 'L'humanisme au service de l'observance', p. 120. For a closer analysis of this relationship between Petrarch's Christian humanism and monastic solitude, see Demetrio S. Yocum, *Petrarch's Humanist Writing and Carthusian Monasticism: The Secret Language of the self* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013).

¹⁴⁰ Such material appears in the prefatory epistle to the Bible translation, in the reference to 'l'altre doctrine ne le qual noi longo tempo rivolti [...] ce disgrossavamo'. Barbieri suggests this likely amounted to 'studi di argomento retorico-filosofico', *Le Bibbie italiane*, p. 53. For the prefatory epistle found in the *editio princeps*, Barbieri's critical edition, based on the text included in the printed editions, has been referred to throughout. For other primary material from the early editions of Malerbi's translations, the original editions were consulted.

¹⁴¹ Delcorno, p. 162.

stated outright in the *Epistola a Laurentio*, which precedes his 1471 Bible translation.¹⁴² As the first thing the reader is faced with upon opening the volume, the epistle sets the tone and explains certain aspects of the translation that follows, including placating potential concerns regarding the idea of granting access to the Holy Scriptures to the unlearned. Malerbi wishes that everyone, ‘tutti universalmente senza alcuna differentia de maschio o de femina o de età’ (Cap. V) should be provided with the means to access the Holy Scriptures. At the heart of Malerbi’s philosophy lies the salvific potential of the Scriptures and offering religious reading to the general public, irrespective of age or gender, as an alternative to morally questionable reading material. His work can be interpreted as a continuation of the traditions already present in the Camaldolese community in Murano, an emulation of some of his predecessors in the order, and the Observant movement at large.¹⁴³

Significantly, Malerbi expresses his belief that different readers can draw different benefits from the Bible. Here, beyond the generalising, all-encompassing audience, he distinguishes two groups: the learned (this likely meant members of the clergy who did not have sufficient command of Latin, or who were using the Italian as an additional aid), and those that hadn’t acquired the theological background required to unlock the Scriptures’ deeper meaning: the ‘docti’ and ‘non docti’ (Cap. I), and the ‘studiosi’ and ‘lectorii’ (Cap. VII).¹⁴⁴ Anticipating fears of misinterpretation and heresy, Malerbi explains that, whilst the Bible is ‘facile a intendere’ (Cap. IV), it reveals different levels of meaning to readers with different levels of learning. Malerbi’s pastoral concerns are apparent when he states that

¹⁴² The epistle is analysed alongside later pre-Tridentine Italian Bible translations’ prefaces in Andrea Bernardelli, ‘Volgarizzare o tradurre: appunti per una ricerca sulle prime Bibbie italiane a stampa (1471-1545), *Quaderni d’italianistica*, 17 (1996), 37-59 (pp. 43-46). See also, Andrea Bernardelli, ‘Le trasformazioni nella retorica degli apparati prefativi delle prime Bibbie italiane a stampa (1471-1551)’, *Schede umanistiche*, 2 (1985), 5-35 (all successive references are to the article ‘Volgarizzare o tradurre’).

¹⁴³ Caby, *De l’érémisme*, p. 635.

¹⁴⁴ A useful parallel can be found in the *Legenda Aurea* prefatory epistle, where Malerbi addresses his work to fulfil the needs of ‘si religiose co(m)e etia(m) laice p(er)sone’.

the translated text he offers ‘a li fidei cristiani’ is intended to awaken their understanding of the truths contained within the Holy Scriptures, and, at the same time, to silence (with the figurative use of the verb ‘addormentarsi’) any vices standing in their way to eternal salvation. Emulating Nicolas of Lyre, one of Malerbi’s acknowledged textual sources, Malerbi steers clear of more complex interpretation, including when drawing on the work of Michele da Bologna for the exposition to the Psalms. Thus, he assures, ‘solamente a noi conviene traducere et exponere *quanto suona in la littera*’, without addressing the more complex, allegorical sense the text contains (Cap. V). This insistence on the literal interpretation of the text further illustrates Malerbi’s imagined audience: those who do not read Latin will not possess the kind of educational background and understanding of church doctrine that will permit them to engage in more complex analysis of the Scriptures. Throughout, in describing the choices undertaken in terms of the translation and any additions, Malerbi clearly prioritises the readers of his translation and their experience. Phrases such as ‘per el satisfamento e maior consolatione di legenti’ and ‘a satisfare a l’intellecto de li lectori’ (Cap. V) illustrate this.

FIRST EDITIONS AS BUSINESS VENTURES

The potential readership of the translation would have been of interest to more people than just the translator himself. Whoever undertook the task of issuing Malerbi’s work to the wider public would also need to think about who might read, or, more importantly, buy such a publication. That two Bible translations – Malerbi’s translation printed by Vindelinius de Spira, and the anonymous work published by Adam de Ambergau just two months later¹⁴⁵ – were being prepared for print unbeknownst to each other suggests the printers both saw a lacuna in the market. A vernacular translation of the Bible was therefore deemed material

¹⁴⁵ Anita Mondolfo, ‘Adamo di Ambergau’, *DBI*, Vol. 1 (1960).

worthy of publication not only from the point of view of Malerbi's (and, presumably, the other anonymous translator's) pastoral motivations, but also the printers' interest in producing a profitable publication.¹⁴⁶

In the summer months of 1470, when the enterprise likely began, Venetian printing was still in its infancy: it is only the previous year that saw the presentation of the first fruits of the de Spira press to the Venetian Collegio dei Savi. Vindelinus de Spira's large folio *Biblia vulgarizata* was 'one of the most ambitious publishing ventures yet attempted in Venice'.¹⁴⁷ And, whilst the city's well-known 'predisposition to risk' in trade may have been one of the factors that allowed this new medium to flourish there,¹⁴⁸ the significant costs involved in the production of an edition called for some degree of forethought if the books were to find an audience and win any potential investors a return on their money.¹⁴⁹

The choice to print a Bible in Italian is a precocious one, given that Italy's first Latin Bible edition only appeared several months prior in Rome.¹⁵⁰ The de Spira press produced mainly Latin texts, with one other major publication in Italian from Vindelinus in 1471: Petrarch's *Canzoniere e Trionfi* (ISTC ip00371000).¹⁵¹ For Adam de Ambergau, his 1471 Italian Bible appears to be his only foray into vernacular printing.¹⁵² In the same year, Adam was most

¹⁴⁶ Similar considerations are discussed in Goudriaan, 'The Church and the Market', p. 95.

¹⁴⁷ Lowry, '«Nel Beretin Convento»', 30-31.

¹⁴⁸ Neil Harris, 'The History of the Book in Italy', in *The Oxford Companion to the Book*, ed. by Michael F. Suarez, S. J. and Henry R. Woodhuysen (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 257-269, (p. 261).

¹⁴⁹ In the same year, Sweynheim and Pannartz would write in their dedicatory epistle directed to Pope Sixtus IV, 'Impensa quidem est maxima: sine qua artem exercere impressoriam non est possibile.' For an overview of the primary sources on this topic see Richardson, *Printing, Writers and Readers*, pp. 25-35; Concetta Bianca, 'Le strade della «sancta ars»: la stampa e la Curia a Roma nel XV secolo', in *La stampa romana nella città dei papi e in Europa*, ed. by Cristina Dondi, Andreina Rita, Adalbert Roth and Marina Venier (Rome: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2016), pp. 1-8.

¹⁵⁰ *Biblia Latina*, Rome: Conradus Sweynheim and Arnoldus Pannartz, [not before 15 Mar.] 1471, ISTC ib00535000.

¹⁵¹ Ennio Sandal, 'La prima edizione delle opere volgari del Petrarca', in *Illustrazione libraria, filologia e esegesi petrarchesca tra Quattrocento e Cinquecento*, ed. by Giuseppe Frasso, Giordana Mariani Canova, and Ennio Sandal (Padua: Antenore, 1990), pp. 1-17.

¹⁵² I am drawing here on the surviving editions cited in ISTC and GW. It is not unlikely smaller publications appeared during this time that have not survived.

likely the printer behind the small ottavo *Erotemata* by Emanuel Chrysoloras, the first basic Greek grammar book to appear in print (ISTC ic00492000).¹⁵³

Work on the vernacular Bible must have been advanced by August 1471 in Adam de Ambergau's printing shop when its rival edition appeared on the market. The greater ease of using a printed source rather than a manuscript must have immediately become apparent to Adam de Ambergau and his team, as the final sections of both volumes copy the text of Malerbi's translation.¹⁵⁴

Convenience was similarly embraced in the preparation of the following edition of Malerbi's translation, where the editor confesses that, instead of producing his own *volgarizzamento* of the Letter of Aristeia added in that edition, he instead turned to the existing Italian version by Bartolomeo Pontio – with the clear difference being the lack of acknowledgment of the source used in the edition printed by Adam de Ambergau. Unfortunately, due to this anonymity, little can be deduced about the origin of this edition.

Martin Lowry has claimed that religious publications directed at a lay audience would remain to be 'seen as a speculative venture in some quarters' for the rest of the decade by the likes of Jenson and John of Cologne.¹⁵⁵ And yet, Malerbi's Italian Bible translation would continue to be published well into the following century, seeing three editions in as many years from a single publisher, Lucantonio Giunta, pointing to a continued interest and resulting sales.

¹⁵³ Geri Della Rocca de Candal, 'Printing in Greek Before Aldus Manutius', in *Printing R-Evolution and Society 1450-1500*, pp. 279-297 (p. 283).

¹⁵⁴ The reproduced sections are: from Psalm 17 to the end of the Book of Psalms for the first volume, and from 2 Maccabees 17 to the end of the New Testament for the second. As Barbieri has noted, credit for outlining the possible chain of events is due to Samuel Berger, 'La Bible italienne au moyen âge', who also pointed out that this is likely evidence of the time it took to set and print the parts of the October Bible that hadn't yet been finished when the Vindelinus de Spira edition appeared in August 1471, allowing for estimates of the press' (and typesetters') working speed.

¹⁵⁵ Lowry, '«Nel Beretin Convento»', p. 36.

There is ample evidence of publishers assessing manuscript production to establish what was worth putting into print.¹⁵⁶ The growing number of such manuscripts being produced in Italian by the fifteenth century, as suggested by the census of surviving manuscripts carried out by Lino Leonardi et al., points to a growing interest in accessing the Scriptures in the vernacular, including in the Veneto.¹⁵⁷ Significantly, complete translations of the Bible into Italian were uncommon. This scarcity would have made the audience of the first edition appreciate the publication, and, in a sense, *ready* for such a next step; there was evidently a gap in the market for a product with a growing target audience among those who had learned to read, but lacked the skill to understand the more commonly available Latin,¹⁵⁸ and one that, unlike for Latin Bibles, did not have to compete with editions from *oltralpe*.

Another potential strategy was to track the types of publications that were appearing on other markets. This has been discussed as the likely case for Malerbi's second major publication, his translation of the *Legenda aurea*: links with the French and German markets meant its publisher, Nicolas Jenson, could keep track of what works were popular there in his early years of activity in Venice – a strategy that would have encouraged him to decide to print the vernacular translation of the *Legenda aurea* in the mid-1470s, following its German precedent in 1471 (Augsburg: Günther Zainer, 1471-72).¹⁵⁹ We can see similar dynamics at play in what may be the earliest surviving work to be printed in Italy, the *Passione di Cristo* from ca. 1462-63. This vernacular devotional opuscle with full-page illustrations is a translation of the German-language *Leiden Christi*.¹⁶⁰ One may only

¹⁵⁶ Gow, 'The Contested History', p. 9.

¹⁵⁷ Leonardi, Lino, 'La traduzione della Bibbia in italiano (secc. XIII-XV)', pp. XVIII-XXI.

¹⁵⁸ Fragnito, p. 41.

¹⁵⁹ Pagnotta, p. 23.

¹⁶⁰ *Passione di Cristo* [Northern Italy: Ulrich Han (Udalricus Gallus)?, about 1462-63], ISTC ip00147000. For discussion of the fragment, now part of the William H. Scheide Library housed at Princeton University Library (call number: 36.8), see: Konrad Haebler, *Die Italienischen Fragmente vom Leiden Christi, das älteste Druckwerk Italiens* (Munich: J. Rosenthal, 1927), the sale catalogue entry by Felix de Marez Oyens, Christie's (London), The Parsons Fragment of Italian Prototypography, Monday 23 November 1998, and recent exhibition, Paul Needham and Eric White, *Gutenberg & After: Europe's First Printers, 1450-1470. Milberg Gallery Exhibition, September 12th, 2019-December*

speculate about whether Jenson's early competitors, Vindelinius de Spira and Adam de Ambergau, undertook the decision to publish an Italian-language Bible in print based on any prior knowledge of a similar endeavour in Strasbourg already having been undertaken several years earlier.¹⁶¹ The idea that the de Spira brothers may have arrived in Venice via Strasbourg and the printing shops of Mentelin and Eggestein could lend some credence to this, however I have not been able to trace this beyond a brief unsubstantiated claim by Bruno Rosada.¹⁶² If true, the de Spira brothers may have been entertaining the idea of a similar venture since before their arrival in Venice in 1469.

Thanks to paratextual elements present in the editions of Malerbi's works published during his lifetime, we can learn that the 'working group' helping Malerbi put his translation into print extends beyond Vindelinius de Spira and the typesetters in his employ. Whether at the behest of the printer, or the translator, their input into the edition may have elevated its appeal.

One of the named individuals, Fra Lorenzo, has been identified as Lorenzo di Ludovico OFM, theology graduate of the University of Padua in 1450.¹⁶³ The nature of his input is explained in Malerbi's prefatory epistle to the *editio princeps*, which is addressed to him. Lorenzo's role has been described as that of a 'revisore teologico'.¹⁶⁴ Although Malerbi may have been a priest before joining the Camaldolese order in 1470,¹⁶⁵ he enlists the help of the university-educated Lorenzo, especially when approaching the translation of parts of

15th, 2019, <<https://dpul.princeton.edu/gutenberg/feature/beyond-mainz-the-diaspora-of-printing-shops>>.

¹⁶¹ One could also consider consulting the surviving copies of the Mentelin Bible for evidence of its early diffusion.

¹⁶² Bruno Rosada, *Storia della letteratura veneta. Volume Primo. Dalle origini al Quattrocento*, ed. by Roberta A. Rosada (London: Lulu, 2011), p. 470: 'Giovanni da Spira, che con il fratello Vindelino aveva forse appreso le tecniche tipografiche a Strasburgo, presso le officine Mentel e Eygestein.'

¹⁶³ Lowry, '«Nel Beretin Convento»' remains the principal study dedicated to Fra Lorenzo and his activity in publishing; Bernardelli, pp. 57-8, footnote 33.

¹⁶⁴ Barbieri, 'Malerbi, Nicolò' in *DBI*; *ibid.*, *Le Bibbie italiane*, pp. 67-69; Bernardelli, p. 44.

¹⁶⁵ His appointment as abbot of San Michele in Leme by the time his first translation was published in 1471 would seem to suggest this, see Barbieri, *Le Bibbie italiane*, pp. 19-20.

the Scriptures that were traditionally considered more theologically complex and challenging, particularly the Psalms.

Another collaborator, Hieronymus Squarzafricanus from Alessandria, perhaps best known for his 1472 *Vita* of Boccaccio, is associated with both the August 1471 edition and its first ‘follow-up’ edition of 1477-8 (printed in Venice by Gabriele di Pietro, ISTC ib00641000).¹⁶⁶ A ‘ubiquitous’ editor in the 1480s, his activity combined work that promoted vernacular and classical literature and seems to have begun with his collaboration with Vindelinius de Spira in 1471: editing work on the Italian Bible, and a biography of Sallust penned by Squarzafricanus accompanying Vindelinius’ 1471 edition of Sallust’s works (ISTC is00054000).¹⁶⁷ Squarzafricanus may have also been involved as an editor in the preparation of Malerbi’s *Legenda aurea* translation.¹⁶⁸ Putting aside some of the recent critical judgements regarding the quality of Squarzafricanus’ work,¹⁶⁹ in obtaining the help of Squarzafricanus, Malerbi has been said to show himself as mindful of the ‘credibilità editoriale della sua operazione’.¹⁷⁰ Squarzafricanus’ own ‘take’ on the collaboration, presented as almost a stamp of quality, can be gleaned from the prefatory letter he adds to the edition of Malerbi’s Bible translation printed by Gabriele di Pietro, where he seems to have once again revised the

¹⁶⁶ Johannes Bartuschat, ‘Squarzafricanus, Gerolamo’, in *DBI* vol. 93 (2018). See also, Joseph Allenspach and Giuseppe Frasso, ‘Vicende, cultura e scritti di Gerolamo Squarzafricanus, Alessandrino’, *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, 23 (1980), 233-92. At the time of writing, the TEXT-inc database lists his name as a contributing author in 32 incunable editions, and editor of another four editions, <<http://textinc-person.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/catalog/5025>>. Some doubts over this identification stem from his origin: the toponym included by Malerbi may point to a consultant who hailed from Florence more concretely than just as a cultural ‘Florentine’ from Liguria. This incongruity has been pointed out by Barbieri, p. 24, Lowry, *Jenson*, p. 120, and Allenspach and Frasso, p.248.

¹⁶⁷ Allenspach and Frasso, p. 244.

¹⁶⁸ Brian Richardson, *Printing in the Renaissance, The Editor and the Vernacular Text, 1470-1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 35.

¹⁶⁹ The TEXT-inc catalogue entry for the Nicolas Jenson edition of the *Legenda Aurea* draws attention to his ‘discontinuous and rather superficial work of revision on the language’, TEXT-inc no. tij00174000 (V. Marucci, ‘Manoscritti e stampe antiche della ‘Legenda Aurea’ di Iacopo da Varagine volgarizzata’, *Filologia e Critica*, 5 (1980), 30-50: pp. 40-1).

¹⁷⁰ Franco Pierno, ‘«In nostro vulgare dice». Le glosse lessicali della Bibbia di Nicolò Malerbi (Venezia, 1471): tra lingua del quotidiano, tradizione lessicografica e Parola di Dio’, *Studium*, 2 (2015), 176-224 (p. 177).

text, and acted as editor.¹⁷¹ We can read towards the end of the letter, ‘Et che questa sia bona et correcta secondo il latino ne posso rendere fedele testimonianza per che gli fui coadiutore in dicta traductione’.¹⁷²

The above is in stark contrast to the presentation of the second printed Italian Bible to appear in 1471. While the August 1471 edition provides us with the imprint date and place, as well as the name of the printer, the translator and the translator’s collaborators, Adam de Ambergau’s October 1471 edition ends abruptly, with no colophon, and lacks any original paratext beyond its table of contents. It remains unclear if no identification was made to avoid criticism for plagiarising fragments of Malerbi’s translation.

CONCLUSIONS

On closer examination, the intellectual and religious context of the publication of the two vernacular Italian Bibles of 1471 suggest that their appearance in print was not down to chance. Considering the persistent devout Christian streak which characterised Venetian politics, intellectual life and social interactions, it is unsurprising that all known complete fifteenth-century vernacular Italian Bible editions originated there. Men of business, men of cloth and men of letters came together to present a novel product to their audience. And, while we may at present lack the sources needed to understand whether Malerbi’s arrival in Venice was, as with Giovanni Maria Poluzzi’s transfer to a Venetian religious institution, more than pure coincidence, clues from his writing contextualise his ideas and the mindset that led him to devote himself to producing vernacular translations of the Bible and the *Legenda Aurea*, two key works of Christian literature.



¹⁷¹ Malerbi was still alive during this time but his involvement with the edition is not directly indicated anywhere.

¹⁷² Allenspach and Frasso interpret this as a sign that the two worked together throughout the preparation of the translation, p. 251, footnote 1.

CHAPTER 2.

A PRODUCT FOR A MARKET

Data gathered from surviving copies of the first printed editions of the Bible in Italian allow for a more detailed analysis of the physical appearance of the first printed Bible editions, providing valuable insight into their conception and execution.

PRINTING MEDIUM AND PAGE LAYOUT

The overwhelming majority of copies survive on paper. The August 1471 edition has the highest number of surviving copies printed on vellum: six of the seven known copies (nos. **1**, **5**, **8** [originally from two different copies], **13** and **20** [originally one copy], **21**). Only one such copy survives of the Adam de Ambergau edition (no. **35**), and none of the subsequent editions. The proportion of surviving Italian Bibles printed on vellum is very low compared to the 30,2% for their manuscript counterparts, as shown by the census of Leonardi et al. This is justified at least in part by the far smaller dimensions of the predominantly partial Bible manuscripts, which as a consequence requires far less of the high-cost material. In the case of the significantly smaller Books of Hours, 53% of the 196 copies examined in Cristina Dondi's census are printed on vellum, however this is likely not indicative of their original proportion: records for books sold in a Venetian bookshop in 1484-1488, from the so-called *Zornale* of Francesco de Madiis, list only 0.003% of books sold as printed on vellum, implying higher survival rates for vellum copies today than what was in circulation in the fifteenth century.¹⁷³

¹⁷³ *Books of Hours*, pp. 58-59; Cristina Dondi, 'From the *Corpus Iuris*, to 'psalterioli da puti', on Parchment, Bound and Gilt... The Price of Any Book Sold in Venice 1484-1488', in *Printing R-Evolution and Society 14500-1500*, pp. 577-599 (pp. 591-592). See also pp 82-83 below.

The associated cost becomes apparent considering calculations carried out for the Gutenberg Bible, a publication of similar dimensions to the first printed Bibles in Italian. That Bible had 20% (35 out of approximately 180) of its copies printed on vellum. Following Eric White's estimate that 'the hide of a calf could yield two Royal folio sheets [=four leaves] of good quality',¹⁷⁴ each vellum copy of the August 1471 Italian Bible, with its 641 leaves, would have required just over 160 calfskins, similarly to the anonymous October 1471 Bible, which totals 649 leaves. Production costs of course meant higher prices for customers, approximately six times higher than paper copies of the same texts in 1484-1488.¹⁷⁵

Alongside the move away from printing deluxe vellum copies, the size, number of pages and page layout of the earliest printed editions of the Bible in Italian shows a gradual progression towards more condensed and manageably sized publications. Similarly to the first printed editions of the Bible in other languages, the first Italian Bibles were cumbersome items, printed on large-scale royal folio paper (with a leaf height of up to 420mm, see cat. nos. **38**, **43**). Subsequent editions mark a move towards a more portable product, with a diminished leaf size,¹⁷⁶ and smaller types allowing for more economic use of the available space. This difference in size was clear to contemporaries: in the 1484-1488 *Zornale*, the 1477 edition printed by Antonio Miscomini (ISTC ib00640500) and the 1481 edition printed by Ottaviano Scoto (ISTC ib00645000) are described as 'Bibia volgare in carta mezzana' and 'Bibia pizola volgare' respectively, confirming they were not perceived as bulky folios by their sellers.¹⁷⁷ From 1481 onwards, the Bibles are typically printed (and bound) as one volume, with subsequent editions divided into two parts, '[f]or convenience

¹⁷⁴ *Editio Princeps*, pp. 48-49.

¹⁷⁵ Dondi, 'From the *Corpus Iuris*, to 'psalterioli da puti'', p. 591.

¹⁷⁶ The tallest copies of the three subsequent editions are: 305mm (**47**), 330mm (**77**), 305mm (**95**).

¹⁷⁷ Information based on the unpublished database compiled by Cristina Dondi and Neil Harris, kindly made available to me by the authors.

of printing rather than of binding'.¹⁷⁸ Buzzetti and Bravi argue that, as the first *ottavo* Bible, the Latin Bible printed by Johannes Froben in Basel in 1491 (ISTC ib00592000) would have attracted new audiences beyond the traditional scholarly and religious 'crowd' thanks to its novel size.¹⁷⁹ However, format alone would not render a publication accessible to the masses; except for readers familiar with Latin, it was more accessible in format only. Italian Bibles in a size smaller than folio would not be printed for several more decades: the first quarto Bible in Italian reached the market in 1566.

The first two editions' page layout reveals a markedly different approach undertaken by the printers. While Vindelinius de Spira lays out Malerbi's text in two columns of 50 lines of text, the page layout in the Adam de Ambergau edition presents the text in a single column, also 49-50 lines of text, in a Roman font. The decidedly more humanist presentation of the October Bible is closer in appearance Sweynehm and Pannartz's Latin Bible of the same year. In a widely cited article, Armando Petrucci has shown the format of books to have been associated with particular texts, first in manuscript books, and later in print. His argument regarding audiences' preference for specific formats for particular types of texts may well apply to the layout chosen by Adam de Ambergau:¹⁸⁰ the single column, "humanist" Bible layout would not be repeated until the 1532 Brucioli Bible, and may have played a role in the limited success of this edition.

Especially in the very first editions, copies leaving the printing shop were essentially unfinished: spaces for incipits, explicits, and capitals were blank, to be filled in by hand after the pages were printed. Among the design elements streamlined in its first decades

¹⁷⁸ Alfred W. Pollard, 'Two Illustrated Italian Bibles', *The Library*, III, Issue 11, (1902) 227–242 (p. 231). Barbieri, *Le Bibbie italiane*, no. 7 (p. 212).

¹⁷⁹ Carlo Buzzetti and Giulio Orazio Bravi 'Edizioni della Bibbia versioni nelle lingue parlate con particolare riferimento all'Italia', in *La Bibbia nell'epoca moderna e contemporanea*, ed. by Rinaldo Fabris (Bologna: Edizioni Dehoniane, 1992), pp. 23-41 (p. 26).

¹⁸⁰ Armando Petrucci, 'Alle origini del libro moderno. Libri da banco, libri da bisaccia, libretti da mano', *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, XII (1969), 295-313 (p. 300).

of publication, the Italian Bible soon dropped capital spaces at the beginning of individual verses in the Psalms. Minor capitals were a feature of some manuscripts containing the Psalms,¹⁸¹ and a similar layout was envisioned by the printers of the August 1471 and the 1477-1478 Bibles. These may have allowed for a visually appealing level of finish during the decoration process, however the vast majority of copies remain unfinished, with blank minor capital spaces throughout the Psalms, or with only a few pen initials added by a reader. Even some copies which received a rubricator's attention lack the 'finish' required in the Psalms. Whether this was the result of a repeated oversight, or unwanted costs for the multiple additional letters, the issue must have soon become apparent to those in charge of production.

A simple title page is first used in the 1490 illustrated edition printed by Lucantonio Giunta, and only with Antonio Brucioli's translation of 1530 do we see elaborate illustrated full-page title pages, representative of the gradual development of the standards for printed books.

Unlike in the Gutenberg Bible, where the earliest phase of printing (so for the earliest quires printed) involved some use of red ink for rubrics,¹⁸² in the 1471 edition of the Malerbi Bible some use of red ink is seen in what were probably some of the final leaves to be printed in the first part of the Bible: hand-stamped head-lines on some leaves of the Psalms in red in the 3:200G type (**3, 9**). One copy (**10**) has all the titles in quinternion [q] in the Book of Ezechiel stamped in red in this new font. These present the first dated use of the 3:200G type in Vindelinius' workshop, who must have been experimenting with its implementation at a smaller scale before using it for chapter incipits in the next attested use of the type the

¹⁸¹ See for instance Eyal Poleg, *A Material History of the Bible, England 1200-1553* (Oxford: OUP, 2020), pp. 70-79.

¹⁸² White, *Editio Princeps*, p. 51.

following year.¹⁸³ Further examples of colour printing are found in copies of the October 1471 edition (in the only surviving vellum copy, gold is used for the opening 4 lines of Genesis (35), and for the running title above them; these are supplied in red (34) or ochre (37) in some other copies), the 1477-1478 Giovanni di Pietro edition (where the opening lines of the second volume are consistently printed in red); and some copies of the 1493 Guglielmus Anima Mia edition (title printed in red, fol. a1r, 183).

Following the initial exuberance and showiness of the first few editions, economic concerns gradually took over, with denser page layouts, and fewer blank spaces in successive editions.

CONTENTS

The textual contents of the Vulgate were only truly codified following the Council of Trent.¹⁸⁴ Echoing the contents of contemporary Latin Bibles, Malerbi's Bible translation includes the apocryphal Prayer of Manasseh and 2 Esdras (the anonymous October 1471 translation only includes 2 Esdras).¹⁸⁵ Jerome's prologues are retained, and exegetical additions are limited. Alongside these, some additions would only appear in single editions, while others stood the test of time and became part of the publication tradition of the Bible in Italian.

'SATISFARE A L'INTELLECTO DI LECTORI' AND A TEXT FIT FOR ALL: MALERBI'S VIEWS ON TRANSLATION

The August 1471 edition's prefatory epistle signed by Nicolò Malerbi, whose contents have already been mentioned in the previous chapter, takes the form of a medieval *prologus*, typically employed in biblical commentaries where Malerbi likely encountered the

¹⁸³ The next attested use for this type in the *Typenrepertorium der Wiegendrucke* is: Johannes Duns Scotus, *Quaestiones in primum librum Sententiarum Petri Lombardi* [Venice]: Vindelinius de Spira, 5 Nov. 1472, ISTC id00374000, GW 9079, <<https://tw.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/ma00004>>.

¹⁸⁴ Jensen, 'Printing the Bible', p. 116.

¹⁸⁵ The information, together with other extracanonical additions, is listed in the editions' catalogue entries in Barbieri, *Le Bibbie italiane*.

model.¹⁸⁶ The form and style of Malerbi's addition displayed links to 'una mentalità spiccatamente medievale'.¹⁸⁷ He seems unaware of relevant works such as *De interpretatione recta* by Leonardo Bruni (ca. 1420), published a few decades before he began working on his Bible translation.¹⁸⁸ Although biblical humanism had already emerged, pioneered in Italy by the milieu surrounding Genoese pope Nicholas V, there is little evidence of Malerbi's familiarity with these developments.¹⁸⁹ The prefatory letter's execution and presentation are in keeping with the priority placed by the Observants on education and accessibility of key ancient and patristic sources, mirroring similar concerns at the heart of the humanist movement.¹⁹⁰ Jerome, Malerbi's source, was considered the translator *par excellence*, and also one of the patristic authors particularly revered by the Camaldolese theologian Ambrogio Traversari, who recommended Jerome's letters as edifying reading.¹⁹¹ Jerome is also invoked in the preface to Malerbi's *Legenda aurea* translation. Jerome's Latin Vulgate Bible remained the traditional, go-to source text, and, judging from the contents of the (vernacular) laudatory poem by Hieronymus Squarzafigus at the end of the *editio princeps* (fol. [K8r]), it did not seem an inadequate source text to Malerbi's humanist acquaintance, even if for some modern commentators it is what keeps Malerbi's translation grounded in a dated tradition. Incidentally, this deference to Saint Jerome would also become part of the textual tradition of Malerbi's Bible translation, especially following his death, as seen in the visual representation of the friar as a new

¹⁸⁶ As analysed by Edoardo Barbieri in his monograph's chapter 'La *Biblia vulgarizata*: le ragioni di Nicolò Malerbi', pp. 37-70.

¹⁸⁷ Barbieri, *Le Bibbie italiane*, p. 37.

¹⁸⁸ Barbieri, *Le Bibbie italiane*, p. 56.

¹⁸⁹ John Monfasani, 'Criticism of Biblical Humanists in Quattrocento Italy', in *A Companion to Biblical Humanism and Scholasticism in the Age of Erasmus*, ed. by Erika Rummel (Leiden; Boston, MA: Brill, 2008), pp. 15-38. Lorenzo Valla's work which heralded the pursuit of a philologically correct Bible version did not become more widely available until the following century, edited by Erasmus in 1505. Salvatore Garofalo, 'Gli umanisti italiani del secolo XV e la Bibbia', *Biblica*, 27.4 (1946) 338-375 (pp. 344-353).

¹⁹⁰ Caby, 'L'humanisme au service de l'observance', p. 117.

¹⁹¹ Benedetto Calati, 'La spiritualità del '400 e la tradizione camaldolese', in *Ambrogio Traversari nel VI centenario della nascita: convegno internazionale di studi (Camaldoli, Firenze, 15-18 Settembre 1986)*, ed. by Gian Carlo Garfagnini (Florence: Olschki, 1988), pp. 27-48 (p. 38).

Jerome in the illustrated editions.¹⁹² Despite the clear parallel, the idea that in translating into Latin Jerome was also transposing the Scriptures into a vernacular does not present itself to Malerbi.¹⁹³

Other authors and thinkers explicitly cited by Malerbi include Michele Aiguani (1320-1400), the author of *Lectura super Psalterium*,¹⁹⁴ and Nicholas of Lyra (1270-1349), whose *Postilla super totam Bibliam* constituted one of the most influential medieval biblical commentaries. Malerbi also made use of the eleventh-century *Elementarium* by Papias, and the twelfth-century *Derivationes* of Uguccione da Pisa.¹⁹⁵ A brief reference to Horace's ideas on translation appears in Malerbi's epistle to Fra Lorenzo, with an extract from Horace's *Ars poetica* rendered in Italian: 'al fido interprete non si cerca de reducir la materia de parola a parola' (Cap. VII). This may well originate from Jerome's letter to Panmachius, where the Saint discusses his own approach to translation.¹⁹⁶ Malerbi's literary culture becomes apparent when compared with the prefatory letter by Hieronymus Squarzaficus that replaces Malerbi's epistle to Fra Lorenzo in the following edition of the *Biblia vulgare* six years later. The dedicatee is Squarzaficus' fellow Alessandrian, Marco Cattaneo, bishop of Novara. It is particularly interesting to see an edition of a vernacular Bible translation effectively addressed to someone so high up on the church 'ladder'. Unlike Malerbi, Squarzaficus draws multiple examples from the works of antiquity; Diodorus Siculus' or Hesiod's pagan ideas about the origin of the world are put in direct opposition with the Bible's 'vere et sancte hystorie'. Succumbing to earthly passions like Dido in the *Aeneid* is likened to the hazards posed by reading Ovid, Propertius and Catullus,

¹⁹² This is further discussed in Chapter 3.

¹⁹³ Bernardelli notes that this parallel between the work of Jerome and what a modern *volgarizzamento* would hope to achieve is drawn several decades later in Paolo Giustiniani and Pietro Querini's *Libellus ad Leonem X*, p. 45.

¹⁹⁴ B. M. Xiberta y Roqueta, 'Michele Aiguani', in *De Scriptoribus scholasticis saec. XIV ex Ordine Carmelitarum* (Louvain: Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique, 1931) pp. 324–93.

¹⁹⁵ Pierno, p. 191.

¹⁹⁶ Barbieri, *Le Bibbie italiane*, p. 48.

‘cose tutte da fugere’. Squarzacicus expands on the rhetoric used by Malerbi in the original prefatory epistle of the translation, displaying his knowledge of the classics even as he discounts them as inferior to truths contained within the Holy Scriptures, in keeping with the setting of his addition.

Interestingly, most scholars who have written about Malerbi’s translation agree on its relatively low linguistic and stylistic value, insisting his work was inferior to that of later translators. For instance, Meneghin describes Malerbi’s prose as characterised by a ‘durezza di stile’.¹⁹⁷ The linguistic aspect deserves some attention as it plays an integral part of the translation’s fortunes and critical reception through the ages. The awkwardness of the text, engendered by an insisted proximity to the text of the Vulgate is reminiscent of word-by-word vernacular renderings of the Vulgate, first emulated in print in the 1466 Mentelin Bible, a decidedly more awkward translation into German, based on a fourteenth-century manuscript source.¹⁹⁸ The mid-fourteenth century Wycliffite Bible, in its earliest version, was likewise a cautiously close rendition of Jerome’s Latin text.¹⁹⁹ Malerbi’s translation is distant from the awkwardness of these, however the insistence to fidelity to the Vulgate remains. Indeed, Malerbi’s text deviates at times from the supposed vernacular source manuscript, introducing language modelled more closely on Jerome’s Latin.²⁰⁰

Lowry ascribes Malerbi’s apparent ignorance of the Venetian manuscript tradition to his religious community’s strong links with the order’s headquarters in Tuscany, in

¹⁹⁷ Meneghin, p. 144.

¹⁹⁸ Karl Schorbach ascribes this to the translator’s poor command of Latin, describing them as ‘keineswegs ein lumen ecclesiae’, *Der Strassburger Frühdrucker Johann Mentelin (1458-1478): Studien zu seinem Leben und Werke* (Mainz: Gutenberg-Gesellschaft, 1932), p.177. See also Johannes Geffcken, *Der Bildercatechismus des 15. Jahrhunderts und die catechetischen Hauptstücke in dieser Zeit bis auf Luther* (Leipzig: Weigel, 1855), p. 5.

¹⁹⁹ Deanesly, p. 252.

²⁰⁰ Anna Cornagliotti, ‘La situazione stemmatica delle traduzioni italiane veterotestamentarie’, *La parola del testo*, 1 (1997), 100-140, cited by Pierno, p. 177, footnote 7. Pierno shows this through comparisons with some late-medieval biblical manuscripts pp. 188-189.

Camaldoli.²⁰¹ Although little direct evidence for such exchanges in relation to the editions discussed here exists, the circulation of books between centres belonging to the same religious order is an attested custom.²⁰² Malerbi does mention earlier translations within his prefatory epistle, however without indicating their provenance or any other identifying features. As shown by the epistolary exchange between Traversari and Giustiniani mentioned in the previous chapter, comprehensive vernacular biblical manuscripts were challenging to procure in previous decades. Whilst partial fifteenth-century vernacular Bible manuscripts produced in the Veneto exist, the Venetian Camaldolese, or others involved in Malerbi's project, may have simply been unaware of their existence.

Malerbi's non-Florentine voice has indeed been scorned upon by modern commentators,²⁰³ which is certainly symptomatic of the customary reverence for the Florentine vernacular. An example of this bias towards the Tuscan dialect in relation to Malerbi's translation lies in the work of Carlo Negroni (1819-1896). In preparing a modern critical edition of what he considered to be the better of the two Bibles based on a copy he owned, Negroni extolled the anonymous October 1471 translation's style as far more closely following fourteenth-century sources' 'golden' language (contrasting with Malerbi's 'leadern' Quattrocento vernacular), ignoring that large sections of the October edition directly copy parts of Malerbi's work.²⁰⁴ During the time Malerbi was compiling his translation, linguistic nuance in the vernacular was not the issue it would become in the

²⁰¹ Lowry, '«Nel Beretin Convento»', p. 32.

²⁰² See for instance Cristina Dondi, Lavinia Prosdoci, Dorit Raines, 'The Incunabula Collection of the Benedictine Library of S. Giorgio Maggiore in Venice. Formation, Use and Dispersal according to Documentary and Material Evidence (from MEI)', in *How the Secularization of Religious Houses Transformed the Libraries of Europe*, ed. by Cristina Dondi, Dorit Raines, †Richard Sharpe (Turnhout, 2022), pp. 567-656 (pp. 583, 588).

²⁰³ See for example the assessment, 'Il lavoro letterariamente non è gran che, infarcito com'è di diversi idiotismi veneziani', in Tramontin, p. 447. Similar scorn for the Venetian linguistic colouring of the translation can also be seen in Meneghin's commentary, repeated beyond the Italoophone sphere of studies, e.g. Ryszard Wróbel, 'Przekłady Biblii na język włoski (XV-XIX wiek)', *Ruch Biblijny i Liturgiczny*, 2 (2011), 109-122 (p. 112).

²⁰⁴ *La Bibbia volgare secondo la rara edizione del 1. di ottobre MCCCCLXXI*, ed. by Carlo Negroni (Bologna: Romagnoli, 1882-87). Translations mine. The copy is no. **30** in my catalogue.

following decades, especially with Bembo's seminal *Prose della volgar lingua* published in Venice in 1525.

Malerbi's linguistic choices have been considered in terms of the 'source-oriented' and 'target-oriented' perspectives.²⁰⁵ His source text is clearly heavily laden with significance, deserving of utmost respect and fidelity, as seen with the insistence on the literal sense of the text. However, the 'implicit linguistic choices' that gear a translation towards its readership deserve a little more attention.²⁰⁶ While an in-depth analysis of Malerbi's use of language lies beyond the scope of the present study, a slow trickle of linguistic studies focussing on the first printed Bible editions without passing filo-Florentine judgement of its characteristics provides an overview of some of the key features of the text. As Bernardelli has noted, Malerbi likely used a contemporary vernacular on purpose,²⁰⁷ including in the linguistic forms present in his intratextual glosses.²⁰⁸ This is especially relevant for a translation likely produced based on Florentine sources, which instead presents something closer to a 'volgare cancelleresco veneziano' the translator himself likely spoke,²⁰⁹ elsewhere described as 'un ibrido venezianeggiante' by Paccagnella.²¹⁰

Only several years later, when preparing the translation of the *Legenda aurea*, Malerbi enlisted 'il dilecto Hieronymo clarissimo cittadino fiorentino', Squarzafico, as editorial consultant. The contribution likely aimed to ensure the text presented to Jenson would be 'depurato il più possibile di venetismi lessicali e soprattutto grafico-fonetici' (though, to some commentators, not sufficiently so).²¹¹ Malerbi's employment of Squarzafico's help

²⁰⁵ Bernardelli, p. 37.

²⁰⁶ Bernardelli, p. 38, trans. mine.

²⁰⁷ Bernardelli, p. 46.

²⁰⁸ Pierno, p. 190.

²⁰⁹ Pierno, p. 180.

²¹⁰ Ivano Paccagnella, 'La questione della lingua', in *Manuale di letteratura italiana: storia per generi e problemi, II, Dal Cinquecento alla metà del Settecento*, ed. by Franco Brioschi and Constanzo di Girolamo (Turin: Bollati Boringhieri, 1994), pp. 119-133, p. 126.

²¹¹ Pagnotta, p. 21; Meneghin, p. 144. On Squarzafico's language, see also Richardson, *Print Culture in Renaissance Italy*, p. 31.

may point to the translator's awareness of the need for a text that was clear and accessible for as wide an audience as possible.²¹²

Upon closer inspection, the entire production of the first printed vernacular Italian Bibles 'reads' thoroughly Venetian. According to Pagnotta, later editions, out of Malerbi's hands, became more Venetian in flavour,²¹³ showing that the linguistic colouring of a text could be conditioned by typesetters and later printers as much as by authors and editors. Unmistakeably Venetian linguistic features may even be found in one of the woodcuts: alongside the dial of Ahaz mentioned in II Kings, the words "ZORNI", "ZIASCVNA" may be read (fol. q5v of the Giunta edition of 1490).²¹⁴ Even the typesetters working the October 1471 Bible, for many 19th-century scholars the more linguistically pure translation, introduced local linguistic colouring, with running titles for St John's Gospel using the decidedly Venetian form of the name, 'Zohane'.²¹⁵

GLOSSES AND TABLES OF CONTENTS

No marginal glosses, presented in the way they had commonly existed in manuscripts (and, most relevantly, common in Bible manuscripts) are printed alongside Malerbi's translation in its fifteenth-century editions. Their inclusion within the body of the text may have been due to the technical difficulty this entailed in the early days of printing.²¹⁶ The first glossed Bible appeared in Germany in 1480 (ib00607000), where the Latin of the Vulgate is encircled by the text of the *Glossa ordinaria*, a familiar sight for anyone who had seen it in manuscript form. Compiling such an edition likely required extensive resources; the sheer number of types in four different fonts required for the desired layout meant they would

²¹² Pagnotta, p. 21. Richardson singles this out as '[a]n early example of a writer having a work scrutinized specifically for printing' (*Print Culture in Renaissance Italy*, p. 2).

²¹³ Pagnotta, p. 21.

²¹⁴ This detail is not copied in the 1493 edition illustration, where the designer reproduces the layout of the woodcut but instead provides the labels "TEMPI" and "CIASCVNA" instead (fol. q3r therein).

²¹⁵ Dondi, *Books of Hours*, p. 197, provides similar examples of different spellings of saints' names in the publications discussed.

²¹⁶ Richardson, *Printing, Writers and Readers*, p. 130.

have been borrowed from other printers.²¹⁷ In the case of the Italian Bible, marginal *postillae* would not appear until the 1517 edition printed by Soardi and Benali (EDIT16 CNCE 5756).

Instead, other guiding devices which required no additional effort from the typesetters were employed in the first printed editions of the Bible in Italian. One of the elements which show Malerbi's input into the textual content of the translation is his use of interlinear lexical glosses.²¹⁸ Appearing in the form of explanations for certain terms, typically signalled by the use of the word 'cioè', the glosses are introduced by Malerbi to explain to his readers the sense behind certain words he did not expect them to understand.²¹⁹ Their use is explicitly related to the readership, and to a concern for supplying them with a text that renders even its complex parts, such as the Psalms, comprehensible, or as Malerbi puts it, 'a satisfare a l'intelleto di lectori' (Cap. V), without deviating from the true sense of Jerome's 'original'. Malerbi justifies the supposedly few additions in his translation as a necessary step towards rendering the texts and clear and accessible as possible for his intended audience: 'E se pur in qualche louoco egli è stato ampliato per necessità, abiamolo facto constrecto per el satisfamento e maior consolatione di legenti' (Cap. V). Again, the practice employed by Malerbi recalls that of his predecessor; in Jerome's letter to Augustine from the year 404 A.D., the saint justifies word choices that render the text clearer to the readers for a lucid translation. Pierno suggests these glosses were motivated by Malerbi's concerns as a translator, rather than as Biblical exegete,²²⁰ with a focus on a literal reading, appropriate for his audience. In fact, the lexical glosses and their role in Malerbi's project tie in with the manuscript tradition. In this early printed translation, '[t]his

²¹⁷ Ferdinand Geldner, 'Amesbach-Studien', *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens*, 5 (1982), 661–692.

²¹⁸ As can be seen in Franco Pierno's study, '«In nostro vulgare dice»'.

²¹⁹ Franco Pierno's recent study reveals precisely which vocabulary Malerbi deemed necessary to explain to his readers: 'Un "vocabolario" nella bibbia. Le glosse lessicali inserite nel volgarizzamento di Nicolò Malerbi (Venezia, 1471)', *Studi di lessicografia italiana*, XL (2023), 45–99.

²²⁰ '«In nostro vulgare dice»', 197.

increased demand for fidelity to the original Latin had paradoxical effects on the dynamics of the tradition, in that both recourse to the Vulgate and the addition of lexical glosses became endemic'.²²¹

The first Italian Bible to visually distinguish between the Bible and any explanatory additions is Antonio Miscomini's edition of 1477. Here, the Dominican Marino Veneto introduces some rubrics of his own to guide his readers. However, the rubrics' typesetting rarely goes beyond dividing them from surrounding text by a blank line above and below the rubric.

Alongside the glosses, Malerbi also acknowledges his input is the edition's table of contents: 'abiamo posto la tavola e di libri come di capitoli dal principio del *Genesis* infino a li libri de Salomone, da li indrieto poniamo la tavola solamente de li libri'. The presence of such navigation aids rendered the text more approachable than a uniform body of text with no shortcuts to facilitate retrieval of specific chapters.²²² It necessitated a joint effort between the translator and the printing shop, since the August 1471 Bible's *Tabula* includes page references (under the heading 'Carte') for each chapter of each book of the Bible. Important survivals in three first edition copies (**8**, formerly two distinct copies; **22**) suggest the collaboration continued after work at the printing shop was concluded. In the first volume, the printed table of contents cuts off at the "Psalterio". In the second volume, the table of contents cuts off at the end of the Old Testament and is absent for the New Testament. These missing lists of Psalms, and of the chapters of the New Testament are provided in manuscript tables of contents in the three copies, and appear to have been created following a common model, with matching textual contents, and in keeping with

²²¹ Lino Leonardi, 'The Bible in Italian', in *The New Cambridge history of the Bible. Volume 2, From 600 to 1450*, ed. by Richard Marsden, E. Ann Matter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 268-287 (p. 279).

²²² Maria Gioia Tavoni, *Circumnavigare il testo. Gli indici in eta' moderna* (Naples: Liguori, 2009), pp. 111-160.

the page layout of the printed tables present in the edition. Rather than a more widely present model, they most likely constitute examples a textual addition that did not make it into the printed edition, either due to oversight or as a result of a rush to complete the edition. What sets the first volume of the Morgan Library copy (**8**) apart is the presence of a handwritten colophon ‘scripta in San Mathia di Murano’ at the end of the added table of contents, which strongly suggests the involvement of the Camaldolese monastery in the hand-finishing of some copies of the edition,²²³ perhaps reserved for copies intended for those who, as discussed in the previous chapter, may have financed the enterprise. Another rare feature found in copies of the same edition, sees a printed *Tabula del testament novo* added in the opening quire of the New Testament on ff. [x1r-v], affecting the following pages in the quire (see **18**, **19** in the catalogue); the error in leaving out this *Tabula* was amended but only after most of the copies, both on paper and vellum, had been printed.

Interestingly, the rubricators’ rubric to Malerbi’s prologue to 1 Maccabees in copies of the first edition identify it as his work, ‘Prologo del vulgarigiatore’ (**1**, **8**, **22**). The content of these handwritten rubrics is another element that is not faithfully reproduced in successive editions, despite its role in signalling to the reader the authorship of this textual addition by the translator. By the time of the 1490 edition, the corresponding printed rubric reads ‘largomento sopra el libro di Machabei’ (NN8r), no longer acknowledging Malerbi’s involvement, in another example of the evolving textual contents of the fifteenth-century Italian Bibles.

LETTER TO ARISTEAS

The first of the two extraneous textual additions which would continue to be reproduced in following editions of the Bible in Italian was a vernacular translation of the *Letter to*

²²³ On the literary culture at San Mattia di Murano see the previous chapter.

Aristeas.²²⁴ This first appeared in the Gabriele di Pietro edition of 1477-1478 (ff. ii1r-kk6r therein) and continued to be included in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century editions of Malerbi's Bible translation. The *Letter to Aristeas* describes the circumstances of creation of the Greek translation of the Septuagint. Its key theme, that of translating the Bible for an audience that appreciates its inherent value, evidently reflects the enterprise at hand. Nonetheless, the editor, Malerbi's humanist friend Hieronymus Squarzaficus, justifies the addition in his dedicatory letter to the bishop of Alessandria, perhaps to stress his own contribution. The translation used was created ten years prior by the Florentine Bartolomeo Pontio (or Della Fonte); Squarzaficus acknowledges this in his preface, explaining that using it was easier than translating the text anew. The addition also mirrors the Latin version of *Aristeas* appearing in the 1471 Sweynheim and Pannartz Latin Bible. Rather than merely parroting novel editorial decisions from similar editions, Squarzaficus elevates the Italian Bible, by treating it similarly to the Latin.²²⁵ At least one later Latin Bible included the *Letter to Aristeas*, but the work did not become as integral a part of the Latin Bible publishing tradition as for the Italian translation.²²⁶

LIFE OF ST JOSEPH

The second non-Biblical text to be successfully added to the transmission 'tradition' of Malerbi's translation is an anonymous Life of St Joseph. It first appears in the 1481 edition printed by Octavianus Scotus, where it occupies just over two pages towards the end of the volume. In 1977 Roland Gauthier attributed the text to Malerbi himself, however this has since been discounted by Barbieri as unsubstantiated.²²⁷ Although none of the vernacular

²²⁴ Albero Vaccari, 'La fortuna della lettera d'Aristea in Italia', *Scritti di erudizione e di filologia*, 2 vols. (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1952-8), vol. 1, pp. 1-23.

²²⁵ Richardson, *Print Culture in Renaissance Italy*, p. 197.

²²⁶ *Biblia latina*. Ed: Johannes Andreas, bishop of Aleria. Add: Aristeas: Ad Philocratem de lxx interpretibus (Tr: Matthias Palmerius). Nuremberg: Johann Sensenschmidt and Andreas Frisner, 9 Dec. 1475. ISTC ib00544000.

²²⁷ Roland Gauthier, 'Présence de Saint Joseph dans les éditions incunables', *Saint Joseph à l'époque de la Renaissance 1450-1600, Cahiers de Joséphologie*, 25 (1977), 98; Edoardo Barbieri,

Bible manuscripts surveyed by Leonardi et al. contains a hagiographic text on Joseph, lives of prominent saints were among the most common additions presented alongside vernacular biblical texts in manuscript, so a similar addition would not have seemed out of place in print. In his 1989 paper on the work, alongside a critical edition, Barbieri has explored the potential input of an Observant Franciscan from Modena, Philippus de Rotingo (or Filippo da Ròdigo), into its inclusion the 1481 Malerbi Bible. Filippo collaborated with Scotus on several editions,²²⁸ and was very active in the revival of the cult of Saint Joseph, a favourite saint of the Franciscan order. In 1480, Pope Sixtus IV, also a Franciscan, named March 19th the feast day of Saint Joseph. Given the potential involvement of Scotus' collaborator, the addition of this Franciscan flavour can reveal something about the edition's target audience. Could this be an early example of promoting an order's devotion to a particular saint beyond their order through print? If so, Fra Lorenzo, addressee of Malerbi's prefatory letter to the August 1471 edition, may not have been the only Franciscan involved in the early publishing fortunes of the Bible in Italian.

AN IMPERFECT PRODUCT

While an in-depth analysis of the textual contents of the two translations printed in the fifteenth century and their variants, or a comparison to the text of the Vulgate, lies beyond the scope of the present study, two minor case studies offer evidence of the impact errors in the text may have on later editions and the text's reception. A Psalm verse omitted from the 1471 August Bible (verse 5 of Psalm 25 (26)), illustrates how typographical errors contributed to a textual tradition just as scribal error might do for manuscripts. The edition was first printed without this verse, resulting in a variant present in the majority of the

'Une vie de s. Joseph du XV^e siècle peu connue', *Cahiers de Joséphologie*, 37 (1989), 197-255. Barbieri, *Le Bibbie...*, p. 216.

²²⁸ Maria Agata Pincelli, 'da Rodigò, Filippo' in *DBI*, vol. 47 (1997).

surviving copies, including all those printed on vellum. In the richly decorated vellum copy (8), the rubricator at San Mattia in Murano supplies the missing text in black ink, together with a small Roman initial in red. Whether it was at this point, or directly at the printing shop that the error was noticed, the page was reset to include the missing verse, and printed resulting in a variant encountered in at least one surviving copy (22).²²⁹ Thanks to the spacious layout employed by Vindelinius, the additional verse could be accommodated without affecting the whole leaf: the opening of the first column, and the end of the second of column are the same in both variants, and the layout of only a few verses changes between the two variants. The absence of the verse in most of the surviving copies would seem to suggest that fewer copies of the corrected variant were produced. In addition to the surveyed copies, we may also consider two notional copies of the edition, used at the printing shops of Andrea Miscomini and Gabriele di Pietro in 1477 to have been of this first variant; both editions reproduce the psalms without the missing verse. Despite later editors' claims at revision and improvement of the translation, the omission of the Psalm verse in 1471 carries through all the subsequent fifteenth-century editions of the translation.²³⁰ The error would persist in subsequent editions, until the 'nuovamente stampata et corretta' edition of 1541 (which brings the translation closer in line with Brucioli's more recent translation)²³¹ where the psalm verse was finally reintroduced.

The 1477-78 Gabriele di Pietro edition had undergone revision to correct any errors present in the first edition, or so claimed the editor, Squarzaficus. However, his efforts seem to have amounted to a revision of the paratext, rather than any major textual corrections; in his

²²⁹ This, along the added table of contents for the New Testament in the August 1471 edition discussed above, suggests that a closer examination of the surviving copies might reveal further variant settings.

²³⁰ The printer's copy used for the 1476 vernacular Psalms edition (ISTC ih00188500) must have been of this corrected variant as it supplies the missing verse.

²³¹ *Le bibbie italiane*, p. 280.

analysis of the *Acts of the Apostles*, Attilio Cicchella notes only one correction ascribable to Squarzaficus.²³²

Another error from Malerbi's translation that goes unnoticed radically changes the sense of a pivotal passage in Matthew; the sense of the Lord's prayer, given to the Apostles in Chapter 6, is inverted from the version we know. Similarly to the missing verse in Psalm XXV, the error is not marked by most readers, suggesting it went unnoticed by many. The error would nonetheless be later assimilated and repeated in one copy (**109**), where a cursive early hand writes 'che io Vengo al regno tuo' (on fol. Y1v of the Book of Psalms, opposite the equally erroneous inscription 'viat voluntas tua', fol. Y2r). The same passage is translated correctly in both the October 1471 edition, and Brucioli's New Testament. As with the missing Psalm verse, the error appeared in subsequent editions of Malerbi's translation until the 1541 text re-introduced a correct reading of the verse. By then, numerous Italians would have learned an erroneous translation of the Lord's Prayer, without questioning the text, accompanied as it was by promises of clerical oversight, first with the provision of the translator's credentials, and then with promise of other learned collaborators and editors, such as the friar Marino da Venezia in the Miscomini edition of 1477, or the humanist Squarzaficus for Gabriele di Pietro's edition of the same year.

Over time, other errors crept into later editions: for instance, in an error akin to the infamous omission of a negative in the seventh commandment in the Wicked Bible of 1631, owners of the 1494 edition of Malerbi's translation could read that John the Baptist was erroneously declaring himself to be Christ when interrogated by the Pharisees (fol. DD5r). This omission would be reproduced in the 1502 edition of the text printed by Bartolomeo Zanni (fol. DD5r therein), potentially resulting in hundreds of readers misunderstanding a

²³² Attilio Cicchella, 'Gli Atti degli Apostoli nell'Editio Princeps della Bibbia in Italiano', *Filologia critica*, 1 (2019), 32-75 (p. 40, footnote 21).

key aspect of the saint's speech.

CONCLUSIONS

All these developments and quirks bear witness to a book production technique and a textual tradition still in development. Successive editions saw the inclusion of several extra-biblical texts. Some, such as Malerbi's prefatory epistle, that of Squarzacicus in the 1477-1478 edition, or the rubrics of Fra Marino from the Miscomini edition, are not a consistent presence in the subsequent editions of the translation, while two others would by their repeated presence grow to become part of the transmission of the first widely available vernacular Italian Bible. Overall, novel additions served as a commercial strategy to mark them apart from the competition. Whether accepted as tried and tested accompaniments to the vernacular Italian Bible, or simply slavishly copied by the typesetters of later editions without much thought to their relevance, some of these additions would reappear in subsequent editions, becoming an integral part of the first printed Italian Bibles. These, alongside small imperfections within these early editions, such as the repeated publication of the erroneously shortened Psalm, serve to illustrate the complexity of the Italian Bible tradition in its first decades in print.



CHAPTER 3.

HAND-DECORATION AND WOODCUT ILLUSTRATIONS

The first known publications containing printed illustrations printed in Italy, the North-Italian *Passione di Cristo* fragment (with metalcuts), and the 1467 *Meditationes de vita Christi* by Cardinal Torquemada (with woodcuts), were works of a religious nature. Just as visual art plays a key role in Christian devotion more broadly, from serving as a medium for the illiterate, to an object to inspire meditation and prayer, it played a similar role in such publications, as exemplified by Torquemada's work, where a series of frescoes at Santa Maria sopra Minerva in Rome served as a source for the illustrations. Similarly, the pictorial embellishment offered in the first illustrated vernacular Bibles not only served to break up the page of text but also played a function in helping readers navigate the text.

HAND-DECORATED COPIES

As 'half-ready goods', still in need of a professional to add incipits, headings, and capitals, the early editions (1471-1487) provided a steady source of employment for book decoration professionals active in Venice in the 1470s.²³³ Before the appearance of printed illustrations (with the exception of the October 1471 stamped-in Days of Creation, present in only two of the 18 known copies where the relevant pages are preserved), the earliest editions likewise relied on artists to provide any pictorial embellishment to the books. Evidence found in surviving copies, for instance the occasionally mismatched *tituli* split across each verso and recto in **1**, support the hypothesis that artists and rubricators were

²³³ Paul Needham, 'The Changing Shape of the Vulgate Bible in Fifteenth-Century Printing Shops', in *The Bible as Book: The First Printed Editions*, ed. By Paul Saenger and Kimberly Van Kampen (London: British Library, 1999), pp. 53-70 (p. 62).

working on loose sheets, delivered from nearby printing shops.²³⁴ Blank armorial shields in **5**, **81** and **101** support Armstrong's suggestion that some printed books were decorated ahead of finding a prospective buyer.²³⁵ Even parchment copies, such as **5** (see Appendix 2, figure 1), could be decorated without a specific buyer in mind.

What happened to the book after its pages had been printed depended on the buyer's means: although only scarce evidence of decoration costs survives, in a recent paper Neil Harris has estimated rubrication, together with some simple initials, would have amounted to around 10-15% of the book's cost in the first decades of print in Venice.²³⁶ More elaborate decoration would naturally cost more. An ever-smaller proportion of the copies produced was receiving any level of finish in the editions up to 1487, with the highest proportion of hand-decorated copies found in the two editions of 1471. Many have remained untouched, at times partly completed by later readers with capitals supplied in ink or pencil to render the text useable.

THE INVOLVEMENT OF ARTISTS IN THE PRINTED EDITIONS' DESIGN

As Lilian Armstrong has shown in her work, the expertise of local artists was drawn on soon following the introduction of the printing press in Venice. Evidence from the two editions of 1471 suggests that book illuminators (specifically Franco de' Russi and the Putti Master) were likely consulted regarding page layout, in view of how they might later be decorated.²³⁷

²³⁴ Lilian Armstrong, 'The Impact of Printing on Miniaturists in Venice after 1469', *Printing the written word: the social history of books, c. 1450-1520*, ed. by Sandra Hindman (Ithaca; London: Cornell University Press, 1991), pp. 174-202 (p. 179).

²³⁵ 'The Impact of Printing', p. 189.

²³⁶ Neil Harris, 'Costs We Don't Think About. An Unusual Copy of Franciscus de Platea, *Opus restitutionum* (1474), and a Few Other Items', in *Printing R-Evolution and Society 1450-1500*, pp. 511-540.

²³⁷ This is most fully elaborated in her papers: 'The Impact of Printing', and, in reference to incunable Bible editions, 'The Hand Illumination of Venetian Bibles in the Incunable Period', pp. 89 and 94.

The appearance of woodcut illustrations in Italian Bibles two decades later was prefigured by less extensive attempts at mechanising the introduction of decoration.²³⁸ The earliest example of ‘semi-mechanical’ decoration was already used in the October 1471 edition: outlines of the figures of God, Adam and Eve, whose design is attributed to an artist known as the Master of the Putti, or the Putti Master, were created for the decoration of the opening pages of the Book of Genesis, meant to serve a similar role as the stamped-in decorative friezes replicating the arduous construction of complicated architectonic or floral motifs in a single movement.²³⁹ Until recently, the Manchester copy of the edition, **26**, was believed to be the only to contain these hand-stamped woodcuts, however a paper by Edoardo Barbieri showed this technique was trialled in other copies: Perugia’s **37** contains the same set of stamped Genesis illustrations, alongside stamped-in floral borders that further facilitated the decoration process.²⁴⁰

Over the following three decades, the relationship between printers and artists would evolve in response to changing technologies. Hand-decoration was supplanted by woodcuts in the 1490 Italian Bible edition, whose arrival would prove influential for Venetian book design, as well as abroad.²⁴¹ The edition was an immediate success: within

²³⁸ Key insights may be found in Victor Masséna, Prince d’Essling, *Les livres à figures vénitiens de la fin du XVe siècle et du commencement du XVIe*, 4 vols (Florence, 1907-14), entries 131-136; Max Sander, *Le livre à figures italien depuis 1467 jusqu’en 1530: essai de sa bibliographie et de son histoire*. 6 vols (New York, 1941), entries 989-990, 992-993.

²³⁹ Lamberto Donati, ‘I fregi xilografici stampati a mano negli incunabuli italiani’, *La Bibliofilia*, 81, (1979), 41–74. Suzy Marcon, ‘Esempi di xilominiatura nella Biblioteca di S. Marco’, *Ateneo Veneto*, 24 (1986), 173-193. Pollard, ‘Two Illustrated Italian Bibles’, p. 230.

²⁴⁰ ‘Un “nuovo” caso di silominiatura: l’esemplare perugino della Bibbia volgare dell’ottobre 1471’, *La Bibliofilia*, 122 (2020), 23-30. Unless an unaccounted-for copy appears in the trade, these can definitively be called the only surviving copies of the edition decorated in this way. Armstrong discusses the apparent confusion among artists commissioned with decorating the Venice and Paris copies of the edition in her paper ‘The Hand Illumination of Venetian Bibles’, pp. 92-93.

²⁴¹ The editions have been the subject of an unpublished doctoral thesis: Johannes Wieninger, ‘Die Illustrationen der Malermi-Bibeln von 1490 und 1492: ein Beitrag zur venezianischen Inkunabelillustration’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Vienna, 1980). Johannes Wieninger, ‘Die Illustrationen der Malermi-Bibeln von 1490-1492’, *Das Münster*, 35 (1982), 53-54. The designs were soon copied in Lyon. Edoardo Barbieri, ‘Le edizioni illustrate della Bibbia volgare (1490-1517): appunti sulle immagini di traduttori’, *La Bibliofilia*, 92 (1990), 1-21 (pp. 4-5 and footnotes 13-15).

the following three years it was reprinted twice with minor modifications (1492 and 1494), and the illustrations were almost immediately plagiarised for the 1493 Italian Bible printed by Guilelmus Anima Mia, with slightly smaller woodcuts, flanked by decorative borders.²⁴² Indeed, Malerbi's name became so closely associated with the set of illustrations created for his translation, that later booksellers erroneously referred to Latin Bibles containing these as "Malermi Bibles", similarly to owners and sellers of the 36-Line Bible erroneously dubbing it the Gutenberg Bible.²⁴³

Stylistic differences in the set of illustrations found in the 1490 edition that had been ascribed to the work of unskilled cutters,²⁴⁴ are rather evidence of multiple artists' involvement in providing woodcut designs for the edition. Just as the most prominent artists working on book decoration in the early 1470s were consulted on the first printed editions' visual design, it seems that Lucantonio Giunta wisely involved two of the period's most experienced artists working on book decoration for the 1490 Italian Bible's woodcut designs: the Pico Master and the Master of the Rimini Ovid. Most of the woodcuts were designed by the former, who reused designs found in Bibles he illuminated throughout the 1470s and 1480s. The Pico Master designed woodcuts for many of the first illustrated Venetian publications, including the 1490 Italian Bible's immediate predecessor, a partially illustrated Latin Bible from 1489, where most of the cuts illustrate specific objects and spaces described in the *Postillae*, rather than directly illustrating the contents of the

²⁴² Based on woodcuts present in the edition, Pollard has suggested that the designers working on the 1493 edition's woodcuts were copying them from an unrecorded edition datable to ca. 1491: 'Two illustrated Italian Bibles', 236-238. See also Barbieri, *Le Bibbie italiane*; Essling, 135; Sander, 992.

²⁴³ White, p. 342. Numerous sale catalogues make this mistake, for instance: Rudolph Weigel's Kunstlager-Catalog No 5 dated 1839/40 (p. 33-34); Paul Graupe, Berlin. (Nr. 78): Manuskripte, Inkunabeln, Holzschnitt- und Kupferstichwerke, 16-18 April 1928 <<https://doi.org/10.11588/diglit.24687#0016>>, lot 28. Similarly, a recently rediscovered copy of the Bevilacqua Bible at the Fondazione Cini in Venice was initially thought to belong to one of the Italian-language editions because of the title on the spine supplied as "BIBBIA DEL MALLERMI", see *Biblia latina*. Venice: Simon Bevilacqua, 8 May 1498; ISTC ib00603000; Venice, Fondazione Cini, FOAN TES 1131, MEI 02145877.

²⁴⁴ Pollard, 'Two Illustrated Italian Bibles', p. 239.

Bible.²⁴⁵ Some of the vignettes present in the 1490 Italian Bible had already appeared in printed works before 15 October 1490, for instance, in a work printed for Giunta by Matteo Capcasa, with a colophon dated 17 February 1489 (using the old Venetian dating system, *more veneto*, so actually 1490),²⁴⁶ or the vernacular *Epistole et Evangelia* from Theodorus de Ragazonibus, whose colophon is dated just two weeks before that of the 1490 Italian Bible, and where most of the 119 vignettes used come from the same set as the Bible.²⁴⁷

Some of the 1490 edition's woodcuts displaying a series of distinct features (prominent jawlines and beards, angular features, and wispy hair), formerly thought to be the work of Benedetto Bordon,²⁴⁸ have been since attributed to the Rimini Ovid Master. This style is mostly absent from the Old Testament, so the artist was either commissioned to produce a set of designs for the New Testament to minimise delays in bringing the work to completion, or he produced a set of designs for an earlier, unknown religious publication.

Thanks to the census of surviving copies of the first printed Bibles in Italian, additional incunabula whose decoration is discussed below can be added to the list of hand-decorated copies containing illuminations that evidently prefigure the Pico Master's and the Rimini Ovid Master's designs for woodcuts found in the 1490 Italian Bible, gathered by Lilian Armstrong.²⁴⁹ A more thorough survey of other contemporary Venetian editions,

²⁴⁵ *Biblia Latina (cum postillis Nicolai de Lyra...)*. Venice: [Bonetus Locatellus], for Octavianus Scotus, 8 Aug. 1489. ISTC ib00616000. Lamberto Donati, 'Della prima Bibbia italiana illustrata (Venezia 1489)', within his chapter 'Appunti di biblioiconologia' in *Miscellanea di scritti di bibliografia ed erudizione in memoria di Luigi Ferrari* (Florence: Olschki, 1952), pp. 243-275 (pp. 252-259). Also discussed in Armstrong, 'The Hand-Illumination of Venetian Bibles in the Incunable Period', pp. 107-113, distinguishing these as 'woodcut diagrams', as opposed to the 'narrative woodcuts' in the 1490 Italian Bible.

²⁴⁶ Hieronymus, *Vita et transitus* [Italian], Venice: Matteo Capcasa (di Codeca), for Lucantonio fiorentino, 14 Feb. 1489/90, ISTC ih00258000, fol. a2r.

²⁴⁷ *Epistolae et Evangelia* [Italian], Venice: Theodorus de Ragazonibus, 1 Oct. 1490, ISTC ie00093400. The only known surviving copy: Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, Pal. D.7.5.4.

²⁴⁸ Essling, p. 128, footnote 1, with reference to two miniatures reproduced on p. 129.

²⁴⁹ The following have already been identified as containing decoration that is closely related to the woodcut designs: cat. nos. **16**, **22**, **24** and **79**, as well as Latin Bibles decorated by the artist, now at the Vatican and in Florence: *Bibbia Latina cum postillis Nicolai de Lyra*. Venice: Johannes Herbolt, 1481. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Inc. 3.29a, and, of the same edition, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Stamp.Ross.1157.

especially Bibles in Latin published and decorated in those years, will likely reveal further examples of these visual models.

PREVIOUSLY ATTRIBUTED DECORATION

Buyers who could afford a more significant additional expense than merely having their book rubricated, picked from among the most recognisable miniaturists active in Venice and the Veneto in the late fifteenth century.²⁵⁰

Among the previously attributed decoration, **8** (originally two separate copies) and **43** were decorated by the Master of the Putti.²⁵¹ The Master of the Rimini Ovid decorated **130**.²⁵² Famously employed to decorate much of the Bible of Borso d'Este in 1450s Ferrara, Franco de' Russi's signature accompanies his decoration of **20**.²⁵³ Antonio Maria Villafora, active in Padua, decorated **36**.²⁵⁴ However, the highest number of attributions has been to the Master of the Pico Pliny, or the Pico Master.²⁵⁵ This artist 'dominated the luxury decoration of Venetian bibles in the late 1470s and early 1480s',²⁵⁶ and decoration in seven of the surveyed copies has previously been attributed to him: **16, 22, 24, 26** (vol. 2), **68, 69, 79**. The decoration in each volume of **38** is likewise stylistically close and likely decorated by someone from the circle of the Pico Master, perhaps an assistant.

²⁵⁰ Sources for these attributions are provided in the relevant catalogue entries.

²⁵¹ Laura Paola Gnaccolini, 'Maestro dei Putti', in *Dizionario biografico dei miniatori*, pp. 466-467.

²⁵² Simonetta Nicolini, 'Maestro dell'Ovidio di Rimini', in *Dizionario biografico dei miniatori*, pp. 612-614.

²⁵³ Giordana Mariani Canova, *La miniatura veneta del Rinascimento, 1450-1500* (Venice: Alfieri, 1969), pp. 26-27. Federica Toniolo, 'Franco dei Russi', in *Dizionario biografico dei miniatori*, pp. 240-244.

²⁵⁴ Laura Paola Gnaccolini, 'Antonio Maria da Villafora', in *Dizionario biografico dei miniatori*, pp. 36-40.

²⁵⁵ Beatrice Bentivoglio-Ravasio, 'Maestro del Plinio di Giovanni Pico della Mirandola/Maestro del Plinio di Pico/Maestro di Pico', in *Dizionario biografico dei miniatori*, pp. 635-642.

²⁵⁶ Armstrong, 'The Hand Illumination of Venetian Bibles', p. 98.

So far, the decoration of one copy has been attributed to an artist active outside of the Veneto region: Jacopo da Balsemo, active in Bergamo where the book is still located (105).²⁵⁷

NEW ATTRIBUTIONS

Alongside these, I would like to suggest new attributions for previously unpublished hand-decorated copies, based on similarities they share with previously attributed decoration.

It is unsurprising to find further examples of the prolific Pico Master's work in previously unstudied copies. The Creation of Eve in an incomplete parchment copy (5, Appendix 2, figure 1), presents God (bearing a striking resemblance to the corresponding illumination in the same edition's 22, Appendix figure 2), blessing the sleeping Adam as Eve emerges from his side.²⁵⁸ In the background, a trio of resting animals, and distinct trees with triangular crowns and meandering trunks are familiar features of the artist's style. Multiple elements present in the decorative border further cement this as the work of the Pico Master, especially the putti's prominent rounded cheeks and compact faces, closely resembling those in 16 (Appendix 2, figure 3).

A second new attribution (74, Appendix 2, figure 4), presents the same scene, with lounging animals, meandering trees and thin clouds which would later reappear in the Master's design for a woodcut of this scene (Appendix 2, figure 5). The colours used, including God's pink mantle over red robes, closely match the colour scheme in the illumination of no. 5. The execution of the scene, its design perhaps the closest to the one submitted to the

²⁵⁷ Chiara Maggioni, 'Jacopo Balsemo', in *Dizionario biografico dei miniatori*, pp. 346-348.

²⁵⁸ Further examples of this scene painted by the artist are reproduced in Lilian Armstrong, 'The Pico Master: A Venetian Miniaturist of the Late Quattrocento' in *Studies in Renaissance Miniaturists in Venice*, 2 vols (London: The Pindar Press, 2003), pp. 536-87.

woodcutters, hints at the artist's style developing and maturing over the course of the 1470s.

A first edition copy, **10** (Appendix 2, figure 6), contains two side-by-side scenes of Solomon sleeping and sitting by a lectern. Alongside several characteristics of the Pico Master's style, such as Solomon's facial features, the skilful use of vivid, complementary colours in a scene dominated by blue, green, and pink (favoured by the artist in his early works),²⁵⁹ or the thin, airy clouds visible through a narrow window, this new attribution is all the more certain thanks to clear parallels with the corresponding woodcut design by the same artist (on fol. AA1r of the 1490 edition, Appendix 2, figure 7). This diptych follows the same model as the carved depictions of the biblical king in the more densely populated scene in the woodcut. Elements such as the curtain by Solomon's bed and Romanesque window shapes also appear in the woodcut design. Lilian Armstrong had previously identified another copy of the same edition with a similar diptych by the same artist, based on its similarities with the woodcut (**22**, Appendix 2, figure 8); here the parallels are even clearer. Even Solomon's curved chair is referenced in the woodcut, as is his lectern's diamond-shaped ornamental woodwork, reimagined in the woodcut as a table runner. The existence of these two hand-illuminated copies answers, at least partially, the doubts of Lamberto Donati, who in his 1975 paper questioned the composition of the corresponding woodcut.²⁶⁰

The decoration of two previously unpublished copies of the 1481 Italian Bible edition likewise displays some features characteristic of the Pico Master. An illumination in **82** (Appendix 2, figure 9), incorporates a full border which combines laurels and a floral border with large flowers in pink and blue. These, like the IHS roundel in gold, are all common

²⁵⁹ Armstorng, 'Il Maestro di Pico', p. 11.

²⁶⁰ Lamberto Donati, 'Il mistero della Bibbia itatica (Venezia, 1490, 1492, 1494)', *La Bibliofilia*, 77 (1975), 93-105 (pp. 97-100).

features of the artist's style. Although the floating halo around God's head differs from those most frequently seen in the artist's work, there are close parallels between God's depiction, specifically with decoration in two Latin Bibles whose decoration has been attributed to the Pico Master: one at the Biblioteca Laurenziana, and another at the Vatican Library (Appendix Figure 10).²⁶¹ God's robes, pink and red, present the same colour scheme as those in **5** and **74**. Damage to the leaf, with part of the face abraded and lacking detail, makes it more difficult to attribute the decoration with certainty. **80** (Appendix 2, figure 11) presents a large miniature of Jerome with close similarities to the Saint's depiction in a marginal medallion in **22**, or in a Bible now at the Bridwell Library, both in the representation of the cardinal's garb, and in his facial features, including the characteristic downturned mouth (Appendix 2, figure 12).²⁶²

The decoration of **17** (Appendix 2, figure 13) is attributable to the Master of the Rimini Ovid, whose activity is attested in Venice from ca. 1469.²⁶³ Similarly to the Pico Master's Nativity scene which adorns the opening page of Proverbs in **68**, rather than the figure of Solomon, the decoration already draws on the New Testament for its content in this traditional point of division of the Bible into two volumes. Human figures in the copy's decoration have the artist's telltale long, feathered hair, slightly upturned heads, and, for the male figures, pointed beards. The cornucopias extending from a scroll that encases the printed running title, and the bas-de-page jousting shield closely resemble those in an illuminated copy of Jenson's 1475 *De Civitate Dei*, attributed to the Rimini Ovid Master.²⁶⁴ Rounded leaves in the laurel wreath surrounding the shield are much alike to those in examples reproduced

²⁶¹ See footnote 249 above.

²⁶² *Biblia latina*. Venice: Franciscus Renner de Heilbronn and Nicolaus de Frankfordia, 1475. Bridwell Library Special Collections, Shelfmark 06127, accessed 20 December 2023, <<https://bridwell.omeka.net/items/show/1313>>.

²⁶³ This attribution is based on a comparison with works by the Master described and reproduced in Lilian Armstrong, 'The Master of the Rimini Ovid: A Miniaturist and Woodcut Designer in Renaissance Venice', *Print Quarterly* 10.4 (1993), 327-363.

²⁶⁴ Now in the Collection of Max Favia del Core and Maria Ludovica Borromeo Arese, reproduced in Armstrong, 'The Master of the Rimini Ovid', p. 330.

in Armstrong's 1993 paper on the artist. The attribution is further supported by similarities to the artist's woodcut designs present in the 1490 and later editions of Malerbi's translation. While not an exact copy, a scene of Jesus teaching his disciples amid nature (Appendix figure 14) presents clear parallels to the earlier Bible's illumination: the huddle of attentive listeners, faced by a speaker whose hand is raised in blessing, with a background of rolling hills and the hint of a city's pointed spires. Other woodcuts designed by the Master, such as Saint John the Baptist in John 4 (C7r of the 1490 edition), repeat this configuration, including trees with long thin trunks and vase-shaped tree crowns echoing those in this illuminated copy. As far as I have been able to establish, no other illuminated Bible has so far been identified with decoration by this artist that could be linked with his 1490 Italian Bible woodcut designs, making this attribution especially valuable.

A full-page border with a double vignette of the creation of the world, and God blessing Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden (9, Appendix 2, figure 15), bears numerous similarities to the work of Petrus V., an artist active in book decoration in Venice.²⁶⁵ Intermixing classical and religious imagery, a recurring feature of Petrus' work, can be seen here within the border, which incorporates an amphora decorated with two sphynxes with satyr-like faces on the outer margin.²⁶⁶ The lounging animal inhabitants of the Garden of Eden are of a strikingly similar shape to those in works attributed to Petrus. In the depiction of adult figures in previously attributed illuminations, their elongated, drawn-out faces and bodies are a particular point of similarity with the copy, and they often share Adam's lightly feathered page boy haircut. This hairstyle is also seen on the putti, whose lively grouping, each of them with his own task, displays the dynamism consistently present in Petrus'

²⁶⁵ My suggested attribution is based on illustrated volumes attributed to, or signed by, Petrus reproduced in Lilian Armstrong, 'Opus Petri: Renaissance Illuminated Books from Venice and Rome', *Viator*, 21 (1990), 385-412 and accompanying figures, in particular the Glasgow Jenson; MS Vat Lat 1569 and the UCLA Fragment. Additional reproductions of the Glasgow Breviary are on the library's Flickr webpage: <<https://www.flickr.com/photos/uofglibrary/14473208286>> and adjacent uploads. See also Susy Marcon, 'Petrus V.', *Dizionario biografico dei miniatori*, pp. 871-872.

²⁶⁶ 'Opus Petri', p. 395.

work.²⁶⁷ Likewise, their body shape, with prominent demarcation between the ribcage and abdomen is strongly reminiscent of their counterparts in Petrus' works (as in Appendix 2, figure 16). Most of Petrus' putti are unclothed, but short, gathered tunics ending at the hips, like those in **9**, can be seen in some of his works.²⁶⁸ None of the other known works by Petrus V. are found in works printed as early as 1471; perhaps a predecessor, or mentor, of Petrus is responsible for the illumination, or this copy's decoration is an early example of the artist's work, yet to develop in style and skill to the more accomplished miniatures found in his attributed works.

Further unattributed decoration which includes illuminations or inhabited initials can be found in **1** (North Italian); **11** (Venetian?); **32** (contemporary Venetian); **98**; **125**; **59** (possibly Tuscany?). This is in addition to simpler decorated initials found in other copies.

While the decoration style for some copies remains unattributed geographically or to a specific workshop, I have so far not found any evidence of early decoration attributed to artists from outside of Italy in any of the surveyed copies. This fact is consistent with the lower likelihood of these books being exported beyond the Italian peninsula, compared with the numerous Latin publications produced in Venice in the same years.

PORTRAIT OF THE TRANSLATOR

Among the numerous woodcut subjects, space is reserved for the figure of Nicolò Malerbi presented as continuing the legacy of his predecessor, Jerome, by emulating his craft (Appendix 2, figure 17).²⁶⁹ This portrayal of the translator and his workspace has been discussed by Edoardo Barbieri, who traces several potential models for the scene

²⁶⁷ Especially the UCLA fragment, the Glasgow Breviary and the Vatican Library's MS Vat. Lat. 1569; see footnote 33 above.

²⁶⁸ For instance, putti in the UCLA fragment, and the Glasgow Breviary (e1r therein).

²⁶⁹ Barbieri already draws this parallel in his biographic sketch of Malerbi in the DBI.

(including a miniature of Malerbi's fellow Camaldolese Ambrogio Traversari at work in the Vatican Library's MS Vat.Lat.394, fol. 1r) and, more recently, Simona Inserra.²⁷⁰ However, both seem unaware of the earliest surviving depiction of Malerbi, already described by Kotrba in 1989.²⁷¹ Among the numerous historiated initials in the Zurich *editio princeps* copy (**22**), an initial of only three lines' height at the beginning of Malerbi's brief prologue to 1 Maccabees, identified in the copy's handwritten rubric as the work of Malerbi ('Prologo del vulgarigiatore'), depicts our translator at work (Appendix 2, figure 18). Working within this limited space, the Pico Master signals the sitting figure's identity through his clothes: a white monk's habit and white cap, worn in the Camaldolese order.²⁷² While the 1490 woodcut encloses Malerbi within a monastic cell, surrounded by furniture, here strips of blue and green hint at an organic, outdoor setting (although, as seen in the hand-coloured illustration in **163**, an indoor setting did not preclude the use of these colours for the background). Unlike in the woodcut, there is no second book within the frame to represent the source text for Malerbi's work, only the one in his lap. The miniature's sparse background gives a greater immediacy to the figure as he faces the printed result of his efforts on the printed page. As far as I have been able to establish, this small miniature constitutes the only surviving depiction of Malerbi created during his lifetime. Given that

²⁷⁰ Barbieri, 'Le edizioni illustrate', esp. p. 8 onwards. A digitisation of the manuscript is available in the Vatican Library's online repository: <https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.394>. Simona Inserra, 'La rappresentazione del lettore nelle illustrazioni xilografiche di alcune edizioni a stampa del XV secolo: iniziali figurate con lettori in uso nell'officina veneziana dei fratelli Giovanni e Gregorio de Gregori', in *Natura Società Letteratura, Atti del XXII Congresso dell'ADI – Associazione degli Italianisti (Bologna, 13-15 settembre 2018)*, ed. by A. Campana and F. Giunta (Rome: Adi, 2020), pp. 1-11.

²⁷¹ Michael Kotrba, 'Malermis Italienische Bibel 1471. Unbekanntes Werk ferraresischer Buchmalerei in Venedig', in *Zentralbibliothek Zürich. Schatzkammer der Überlieferung*, ed. by Alfred Cattani and Bruno Weber (Zurich: Neue Zürcher Zeitung, 1989), pp. 30-33 (p. 33).

²⁷² The profile wearing the white monk's cap bears much similarity to the commemorative medal depicting the famous mapmaker Fra Mauro, dated sometime around 1460. Placido Zurla, *Il Mappamondo di Fra Mauro camaldolese* (Venice: 1806), reproduced on the front cover. Parallels may also be drawn to the likeness of Paolo Attavanti in the Milanese *Breviarium* of 1479, similarly with monastic dress and headwear, and the backdrop of a study, as in the 1490 woodcut. Paulus Florentinus, *Breviarium totius juris canonici, sive Decretorum breviarium* Milan: Leonardus Pachel and Uldericus Scinzenzeler, 28 Aug. 1479, ISTC ip00178000. See Jules Renouvier, *Des Portraits d'Auteurs dans les Livres du XVe siècle* (Paris: August Aubry, 1863), pp. 12-13.

the Pico Master, identified as responsible for the illumination of the copy, has also been credited with the design of the 1490 edition woodcuts, the tantalising hypothesis presents itself that the famous woodcut does constitute a likeness of Nicolò by a contemporary.

CHANGES BETWEEN THE ILLUSTRATED EDITIONS

Similarly to the changes in the textual content of the editions, the set of woodcuts used in subsequent editions of Malerbi's Bible translation did not remain static following their first use in 1490. New woodcuts were added, while others were removed or altered. For instance, between 1494 and 1502, the translator's name was removed from the cut discussed above, rendering it more universally applicable to other publications.²⁷³ By 1517, the woodcuts were cut anew for the edition printed in Venice by Giorgio Rusconi (EDIT16 CNCE 5755), the old set worn out after almost three decades of use. The first changes to the woodcuts were already made in the year following their first use; the removal of the name of Joachim from the woodcut on u3r of the 1490 edition took place before its reappearance in the 1491 edition of Domenico Cavalca's translation of the *Vitae sanctorum partum* (ISTC ih00232000). The differing number of woodcuts in the successive editions,²⁷⁴ will hopefully be better understood thanks to the continued input of edition data into image matching technology-enhanced databases 15cILLUSTRATION and its successor 1516, providing new evidence of the interactions between printing shops resulting in the reuse and exchange of woodcuts.²⁷⁵

Among the changes, perhaps the most interesting is the fate of the most explicit woodcuts created for the 1490 edition; a small detail that invites some consideration of the role of

²⁷³ Barbieri, 'Le edizioni illustrate', p. 18.

²⁷⁴ Cfr. Essling, Sander, Pollard and Barbieri, *Le Bibbie italiane*.

²⁷⁵ Cristina Dondi, Abishek Dutta, Matilde Malaspina, Andrew Zisserman, 'The Use and Reuse of Printed Illustrations in 15th-century Venetian Editions', in *Printing R-Evolution and Society 1450-1550. Fifty Years that Changed Europe*, pp. 839-839.

commercial interests and the growing scrutiny of printers' work by local religious authorities. Between 1490-1492, two woodcuts, evidently deemed too graphic for a Bible, were removed from the set used by Rosso and Giunta: the predatory advances of Potiphar's wife in Genesis 39 (c5r) and the killing of the Israelite Zimri and his Midianite lover Cozbi *in flagrante* in Numbers 25 (h1r).²⁷⁶ A third explicit woodcut, depicting the scene where Noah's sons find him drunk and disrobed (Genesis 9), is instead reused in the 1492 edition (as well as all subsequent editions where the cut appears) in a sanitised version with the offending detail chipped away in the wooden block, resulting in Noah's legs appearing misproportioned in subsequent uses of this woodcut.²⁷⁷

From evidence available in surviving copies, it appears that not all readers took umbrage with (or even noticed) these explicit images; whether these escaped the notice of local religious authorities is another matter. Beyond their censorship in a few copies (out of 19 copies of the edition that contain the relevant leaves, I am aware of censorship in five: **134, 150, 151, 152, 153**), no sources record the response with which these explicit woodcuts were met. However, less than a decade later, another illustrated vernacular translation produced by the same printer-publisher team, Giovanni Rosso and Lucantonio Giunta, would come under the scrutiny of the relatively lax Venetian religious authorities for its depiction of nudity. Giovanni Bonsignore's partial vernacular translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (ISTC io00185000), was admonished in a patriarchal decree dated 21 February 1497, two months before the edition's colophon date (10 April 1497). Once the local religious authorities became aware of the project and the repeated depictions of

²⁷⁶ Already noted in Pollard, 'Two Illustrated Italian Bibles', p. 233. He also provides further examples of woodcuts that are not reused in later editions.

²⁷⁷ The 1517 Bible which offers some updated versions of the 1490s cuts, reproduces this amended design, and the doctored 1492 cut also appears in *Fiore novello estratto dalla Bibbia*, printed by Matteo Capcasa for Lucantonio Giunta, 6 July 1494, ISTC if00172400 (the woodblock recently reacquired from Johannes Rubeus Vercellensis after work on the 1494 Italian Bible was concluded). The corresponding illustration in the 1493 edition does not shy away from the episode's subject matter, and the fol. C8v cut more closely reflects the content of the story ("Tav. C8" in Barbieri, *Le Bibbie*, vol. II; Pollard, 'Two Illustrated Italian Bibles', p. 237).

nudity its woodcuts contained, the patriarch Tommaso Donà demanded that the edition ‘cum figuris inhonestis’ either not come to light or be cleared (‘figuras honestas facere loco dictarum inhonestarum’) of offending detail (‘mulierum nudarum, priapum et aliarum inhonestarum’) before reaching its audience, under threat of excommunication.²⁷⁸ It made no commercial sense for Giunta and Rosso to commission new woodcuts, or dispose of the hundreds of leaves that had already been printed. Work on the edition must have been near completion, so they opted to undertake the arduous work of covering the offending details by hand with dark ink, as witnessed in a high proportion of surviving copies.²⁷⁹ Ahead of their reuse, the woodcuts underwent a similar process of depuration as the woodcut depicting the drunkenness of Noah. The definitive removal of offensive woodcuts, such as in the two remaining 1490 Bible edition woodcuts cited above, is mirrored by similar scenes removed from the Giunta editions of Boccaccio which otherwise reused a set of woodcuts illustrating the Florentine’s bawdy novellas.²⁸⁰

Unless there was a reason for it, it made little sense to replace a woodcut. For instance, the large Six Days of Creation woodcut suffered damage during the printing of the 1494 edition (indentation left by a fallen type is present in some copies of the edition), however it reappears in the 1498 Latin Bible printed by Simone Bevilaqua (ISTC ib00603000) and subsequent editions of Malerbi’s Italian translation well into the following century.²⁸¹

²⁷⁸ Giuseppina Zappella, ‘La decrittazione delle immagini’, in *Dal torchio alle fiamme. Inquisizione e censura: nuovi contributi dalla più antica Biblioteca Provinciale d’Italia*, ed. by Vittoria Bonani, Giuseppe Gianluca Cicco, Anna Maria Vitale (Salerno: Biblioteca Provinciale di Salerno, 2005), pp. 195-216 (pp. 196-197 and p. 211, figs 1-2). Previously transcribed in Antonio Niero, ‘Decreti pretridentini di due patriarchi di Venezia su stampa di libri’, *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia*, 14 (1960), 450-452.

²⁷⁹ I currently have data on 14 of the 22 copies listed by the ISTC, supplementing data in Zappella’s article with additional research: 11 have undergone censorship, while 3 have not (censored copies: Munich; BNF; London, National Art Gallery; Library of Congress (MEI 02147535); Beinecke Library; in addition to copies listed by Zappella, p. 197 footnote 8: Rome Casanatense; Brescia; Marciana; Museo Correr; BNCF; Udine. Uncensored: Urbino; BNCF Pal. D.7.5.19; British Library).

²⁸⁰ Zappella, pp. 198-199; figures on p. 212.

²⁸¹ For example, *Biblia vulgare nuouamente stampata, et corretta* (Venice, Bernardino Bindoni, 1546), EDIT16 CNCE 5770, fol. a4r. The original woodcut depicting Malerbi at work, discussed above, is used in this edition (fol. a2r), instead of the re-cut version introduced in 1517, suggesting

Evidently, printers were responding to outside pressures (rather than, as some scholars suggested before this evidence came to light, their own pious reawakening),²⁸² while minimising losses incurred by commissioning new woodcuts.

HAND-COLOURED WOODCUTS

Of the 71 copies of the illustrated editions published between 1490-1494 included in the census, I am aware of only 7 where multiple woodcuts have been coloured (or six copies, considering the high likelihood that the first two copies listed were likely originally bound together; **139, 144, 149, 150, 163, 175, 179**, and not counting copies where only single woodcuts have been coloured, e.g. **142, 198**). This low incidence of hand-colouring is consistent with Lippmann's suggestion that, unlike in Germany, the practice was not common in Italy.²⁸³ This added ornamentation was sometimes abandoned after just a few quires (**179**), or inconsistent and executed using only a single ochre or brown pigment (**150**). Gold leaf is only found in one hand-coloured copy, **163** (Appendix 2, figure 17). Its colouring, likely by a professional, is comprehensive and of a consistently high standard, with two-tone shading, and decorative details only hinted at in the woodcuts' designs, such as blood splatters, similar to those found in hand-coloured devotional prints.²⁸⁴ It is also the only copy to contain a note that might refer to the commission of the decoration: "historie figurate #418:", which roughly corresponds to the number of woodcuts in the edition (422 in GW; Sander and Essling cite 430).

the block was in good enough condition to be used, and likely stored together with the large Six Days of Creation woodcut.

²⁸² On this association of the influence of Savonarolan rhetoric on the Florentine Giunta, Lamberto Donati, 'Edizioni quattrocentesche non pervenute delle «Metamorfosi»', in *Atti del Convegno Internazionale Ovidiano*, vol. 1 (Rome, 1959), pp. 111-124 (p. 112).

²⁸³ Friedrich Lippmann, *The Art of Wood-Engraving in Italy in the Fifteenth Century*, translation of *Der italienische Holzschnitt im XV. Jahrhundert* (London: Quaritch, 1888), p. 66.

²⁸⁴ Jeffrey F. Hamburger, "'In gebeen vnd in bilden geschrieben': Prints as Exemplars of Piety and the Culture of the Copy in Fifteenth-Century Germany", in *The Woodcut in Fifteenth-Century Europe*, ed. by Peter Parshall (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2009), pp. 155-190.

In her discussion of Petrarch's *Trionfi*, Armstrong draws two examples of hand-decorated copies with former owners' combined or impaled arms as possible wedding gifts or gifts between spouses: the Sanudo and possibly Venier of Venice (in BNCF copy of ISTC ip00381000, Banco Rari 103), and the Bentivoglio and Albergati of Bologna in a copy with hand-coloured woodcuts (ISTC ip00385000, Bodleian Library, Auct,2Q.inf.I.45, MEI 00202551).²⁸⁵ For the second example, Armstrong hypothesised the involvement of the woodcuts' designer, the Rimini Ovid Master, in the hand-colouring of the copy, due to the high quality of the work. Given the high-level finish, and the presence of impaled arms in **163** (the Cantelmo and Camponeschi of L'Aquila), the copy's decoration seems likewise commissioned from a skilled artist to celebrate a match between the families. Similarly to Petrarch's allegorical *Trionfi*, a beautifully decorated Bible would have had universal appeal, making it an appropriate gift.

The decoration present in the surveyed copies confirms many of Lilian Armstrong's hypotheses regarding the evolution of Venetian book decoration, especially about the reuse of designs present in hand-decorated Bibles in woodcut designs by the same artists. Subsequent readers also interacted with the woodcut illustrations in other ways, discussed alongside other evidence of use in Chapter 4. First, let us turn our attention to the early owners: those whose coats of arms were used to adorn the earliest copies, and those whose presence was recorded in their Bibles in other ways.



²⁸⁵ Armstrong, 'The Master of the Rimini Ovid', pp. 353-359.

CHAPTER 4.

‘[T]UTTI UNIVERSALMENTE SENZA ALCUNA DIFFERENTIA DE MASCHIO O DE FEMINA O DE ETÀ’: EARLY OWNERS AND READERS OF THE PRINTED BIBLE IN ITALIAN

Scholars have speculated about who may have read the first editions of the Bible in Italian, however thanks to the close study of surviving copies of these editions, it is possible to better understand their audience, both in terms of the geographic spread of the editions, and the owners’ identities. In the discussion, the term ‘early’ owners is used to denote readers up to ca. 1600, a somewhat arbitrary temporal cut-off which encapsulates many of the datable signs of use within the copies and roughly coincides with the implementation of the 1596 Clementine Index of Prohibited Books, the culmination of the ecclesiastical authorities’ limitation of vernacular Bible ownership. Perhaps the most obvious use for the study of a text’s reception is precisely to establish whether it reached its intended audience, and as previously already mentioned, Malerbi casts a wide net in search for his audience as he addresses his work to ‘li fedeli cristiani’ in an all-embracing call: ‘convochiamo tutti universalmente senza alcuna differentia de maschio o de femina o de età’.

Evidence from the surviving copies indicates the translation was immediately embraced by the local Venetian market, supporting the argument for the quick turnaround times between successive editions, even by the same publisher, Giunta (involved in editions printed in 1490, 1492 and 1494, as well as further editions following the turn of the century) as evidence of continued demand.²⁸⁶ Soon copies were also being taken or sold elsewhere,

²⁸⁶ Edoardo Barbieri, ‘Il Giglio e la Bibbia. I Giunti di Venezia editori della Sacra Scrittura’, in *Religion et littérature à la Renaissance. Mélanges en l’honneur de Franco Giacone*, ed. by François Roudaut (Paris: Classique Garnier, 2012), pp. 223-242.

with evidence of early distribution in the Veneto region, and throughout much of the Italian peninsula.

GEOGRAPHIC SPREAD IN THE FIRST CENTURY

VENICE AND THE VENETO

At least 26 of the surviving copies have early provenance from Venice.²⁸⁷ A predominantly local distribution is unsurprising, especially for a vernacular publication. The recent Dante 1481 census similarly encountered a high proportion of local owners' provenance marks for the Florentine edition.²⁸⁸ An especially high proportion of the two 1471 editions' surviving copies incorporate the arms of Venetian families. Copies of the August 1471 edition were owned by the Malipiero (**1**), Corner (**8**, vol. I); Macigni (**8**, vol. II); Venier (**9**); Savorgnan (**11**); Donà dalle Trezze (**17**); Priuli (**22**); the October 1471 edition: Lion (**26**, vol. II); Rimodo (/Arimondi, **37**); Migliorati (**38**, vol. II); Trevisan (**43**, vol. I). A later edition copy is decorated with the arms of the Contarini (**82**).²⁸⁹ In addition to these, the following copies have early evidence of use that places them in Venice based on inscriptions: **38**, vol. 1 (Benetto Soranzo, ca. 1557-60, alongside earlier heraldic evidence), **60**, **74** (Molin, alongside earlier evidence from decoration); **82** (in 1583, alongside earlier decoration); based on names in readers' notes or preserved on the binding: **3** (Corner), **14** (Ottobon), **41**; based on decoration: **5**, **10**, **16**, **26**, **43**, probably **67**, **68**, **69**, **74**, **79**, **80**; based on the bindings: **41** (with Venetian surnames on the recycled paper quire guard) and **103**, both consistent with the work of the so-called Rosettenmeister.

²⁸⁷ Excluding manuscript printing shop corrections found in some editions' copies.

²⁸⁸ See Dondi, 'Circolazione e uso delle edizioni quattrocentesche della Commedia', as well as the video by the project's team, 'Dante 1481. The Readers of the "Comedia"' (2021), <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qfDf9R-QNHc>>, and MEI database entries associated with the copies cited therein.

²⁸⁹ The following are new identifications: **9**, **11**, **17**, **26**, **38**, **59**, **103**.

Further evidence for the local distribution of books is provided by the Zornale of Francesco de Madiis, a Venetian bookseller and publisher whose *bottega*, in Rialto, sold around 13,000 books recorded in the ledger between May 1484 and January 1488.²⁹⁰ Among these were 94 copies of the Bible in Italian, likely in two editions: the Antonio Miscomini edition of 1477 (ISTC ib00640500) or the Andreas de Paltasichis edition of 1484 (ISTC ib00640500).²⁹¹ While some books were in the shop within as little as two weeks following their imprint date (e.g. an edition of Augustinus' *Opuscula*, ISTC ia01217000, sold just 11 days following its colophon's imprint date), the Italian Bibles were relatively 'slow selling', with the 1477 edition still available for sale 7 years following its publication. Sales of the 1484 edition begin on 4 August 1484, establishing a *terminus ante quem* for the edition, whose colophon only states the publication year. Copies cost between 124-154 soldi (200 soldi bound) for Miscomini's edition, and between 62-90 soldi (120-160 soldi bound) for Paltasichis' edition. For reference, a day labourer's wages in 1450-1500 Venice were ca. 12-15 soldi a day, 60 soldi bought two months' worth of wine, and 40 soldi a month's supply of bread for one person.²⁹² Some entries include buyers' (or recipients') names, including the printer Benardinus Benalius;²⁹³ and a 'prete Augustino' (who, on another occasion was gifted a vernacular translation of St Augustine's *De civitate Dei*). Two copies were sent to bookbinder Maestro Pezin, suggesting some of the early Venetian bindings found in the present census may have been arranged by the booksellers, rather than buyers. While the

²⁹⁰ For the most recent bibliography on this document see Dondi, 'From the *Corpus Iuris*, to 'psalterioli da puti'', pp. 594-595. Earlier articles cited 25,000 copies sold, this number has now been updated based on continued work on the document (ex info Dondi and Harris).

²⁹¹ Data from the unpublished database compiled by Cristina Dondi and Neil Harris.

²⁹² On a fall in book prices during the years accounted for, see Dondi, 'From the *Corpus Iuris*, to 'psalterioli da puti''. *Printing R-Evolution 1450-1500. I cinquant'anni che hanno cambiato l'Europa / Fifty Years that Changed Europe*, ed. by Cristina Dondi (Venice: Marsilio, 2018), pp. 80-91, based on research by Susan Connell, and Paola Pinelli.

²⁹³ Dondi, *Books of Hours*, p. 117, footnote 59.

sales of Italian Bibles are relatively few, this was just one bookshop among many active in Venice; printers may have also sold their work directly from their workshops.²⁹⁴

Early ownership further afield in the Veneto region is recorded in 16 copies. Padua, seat of Venice's local university, enjoyed close cultural and trade links with the *Serenissima*, also reflected in the book trade, as seen in the example of another invaluable survival: the *Quaderneto*, a list of books to be sold in the Paduan shop of Antonio Moretto in 1480.²⁹⁵ The list includes a single copy of a 'Biblia vulgare', with the price set at 10 lire; Ester Peric suggests the edition was that printed by Gabriele di Pietro between 1477-8, due to its recent publication date, and likely due to the professional links between Moretto and Gabriele di Pietro, who had, for instance, worked together on another incunable edition (ISTC ip00303400).²⁹⁶ Six copies' early provenance links them with Padua: **24** (with a Jewish owner, Elia, 16th century); **25** (ca. 1563-85?, Andrea Greghetto); **197** (before 1556); **183** (inscribed by the local Inquisitor); **54** (16/17th century inscription); possibly also **77**, vol. 2 (pen trials including the city's name, and a reference to the ghetto).²⁹⁷ In addition, at least one copy was decorated in Padua (**35**). Other locations within today's province of Padua include: Montagnana, with an owner from Ferrara (**142**), and two potential locations based on their owners' declared town of origin: a 1490 edition copy, owned 3 years later by a Jewish owner from Monselice (**136**), and another copy in Vincenza (**146**). Copies were also found in Verona: **16** (within a year of being printed), **31** (with an owner who was in Venice in 1471-1472); **161** (ca. 1574-78?); possibly **87** (the city's name is written in the margin by an early reader); and possibly Pordenone, **103**, owned by the di Spilimbergo, a local family with

²⁹⁴ Marino Zorzi, 'Dal manoscritto al libro', in *Storia di Venezia* (1996), accessed online <[https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/dal-manoscritto-al-libro_\(Storia-di-Venezia\)/>](https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/dal-manoscritto-al-libro_(Storia-di-Venezia)/>).

²⁹⁵ Ester Camilla Peric, *Vendere libri a Padova nel 1480. Il «Quaderneto» di Antonio Moretto* (Udine: Forum, 2020).

²⁹⁶ Peric, pp. 183-4.

²⁹⁷ On the relatively permissive climate within the university town see the recent *Libertas: Tra religione, politica e saperi*, ed. by Andrea Caracausi, Paola Molino, Dennj Solera (Padua: Donzelli, 2022).

close links to Venice, including its world of publishing. **60** travelled from Venice to east of Treviso with an owner who moved between Sant'Andrea di Barbarana, Fossalta and Oderzo.

NORTH-WESTERN ITALY

In their study of Francesco de Madiis' sales ledger, Dondi and Harris write of the exchange of printed editions between Venice and Milan, and of 'an impressive and efficient distribution network' between Italian booksellers across the peninsula.²⁹⁸ At least part of Malerbi's translation was already being sold in Milan in 1476, in the form of the Psalms edition which reproduced the text of Malerbi's translation, suggesting the August 1471 edition reached Milan soon after its appearance in Venice. Leonardo da Vinci bought his Italian Bible in Milan for 61 soldi, alongside two other Venetian editions, during the time he was working on the Last Supper. The suggested date of the note, late 1494 or sometime in 1495, means this could have been any of the fifteenth-century editions.²⁹⁹ Of the surveyed copies, at least 11 have Milanese provenance, mostly from the second half of the sixteenth century, both in private and institutional ownership: **64, 96, 98, 100, 114, 127, 128, 180, 181, 182, 199** (later in Varese); based on their shared provenance from the Archives of the Milanese Curia, possibly also a further seven copies (**65, 97, 99, 113, 152, 153, 200**).

The year 1500 tooled onto the binding of the copy likely owned by Antonius Kress von Kressenstein, alongside his surname, coincides with the time he was studying at the University in Pavia, home to Lombardy's only university at the time (**192**). Incidentally, Pavia was the location where a sermon by Bernardino da Feltre in 1493 constitutes one of the earliest attested public responses to Malerbi's translation.³⁰⁰ Copies were found in the hills

²⁹⁸ Cristina Dondi and Neil Harris, 'Exporting Books from Milan to Venice in the Fifteenth Century: Evidence from the Zornale of Francesco de' Madiis', in *Incunabula. Printing, trading, collecting, cataloguing*, ed. by Alessandro Ledda (Florence: Olschki, 2015), pp. 121-148 (p. 124).

²⁹⁹ Recorded in the *Codex Atlanticus* (fol. 288r). See Edoardo Villata, *La biblioteca, il tempo e gli amici. Disegni di Leonardo dal Codice Atlantico* (Novara: De Agostini, 2009) pp. 72-74.

³⁰⁰ See footnote 40 above.

overlooking Varese (**95**; **151**; **199**, likely taken to Milan around 1582) and in Bergamo (**105**, decorated there). One copy, in Bavaria by 1548, was likely brought there from Italy by its Piedmontese owner (**52**). Further south-west, a dated note places no. **192** in Genua in 1587. The only other copy associated with Genua, **190**, was owned by the local Jesuit College, founded in 1604.

TUSCANY

Books printed in Venice were already sold in Florence in the 1470s.³⁰¹ The *Ricordanze* of a Florentine humanist record the purchase of a Malerbi Bible from a *cartolaio* named Benedetto di Giovanni sometime within a decade of its first appearance in Venice.³⁰² This early evidence is significant, given that just a few years later the Florentine Ripoli press produced a now lost vernacular edition of St John's Gospel 1480 (and another in 1481). It has been suggested that the Ripoli press editions were reprints of Malerbi's translation;³⁰³ the same channels which provided Guidetti's copy may have provided the Ripoli Press' copy-text, supporting this hypothesis. A pocket-sized edition of the Psalms in Latin, printed in Florence in 1499, whose local distribution included the cloistered nuns of the Monastero delle Murate, east of the Santa Croce Basilica (MEI 02148401), also uses fragments of Malerbi's translation.³⁰⁴ The arms of the Abbadessa of Florence (**8**) and Macigni, with links to both Florence and Venice (also **8**), provide further evidence of an early distribution of the first edition. The earliest dated Florentine note sees a 1487 edition copy on the local second-hand book market in 1502 (**124**). Other copies with Florentine provenance are: **162** (by 1507), **188** (in the sixteenth century), **131** (late sixteenth century).

³⁰¹ Lorenz Böniger, 'Venetian Incunabula for Florentine Bookshops (ca. 1473-1483)', in *Buying and Selling: The Business of Books in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Shanti Graheli (Leiden: Brill, 2019), pp. 55-71 (p. 56). See also, Lorenz Böniger, 'Da Vespasiano da Bisticci a Franz Renner e Bartolomeo Lupoto. Appunti sul commercio librario tra Venezia, la Toscana e Genova (ca. 1459-1487)', in *Printing R-Evolution and Society 1450-1500*, pp. 623-647.

³⁰² Böniger 'Venetian Incunabula for Florentine Bookshops', p. 64; Lorenzo di Francesco Guidetti, *Ricordanze*, ed. by Lorenz Böniger (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2014), p. XXIII, n. 74.

³⁰³ Barbieri, *Le Bibbie italiane*, cat. no. 6, 8.

³⁰⁴ See footnote 56.

Further evidence for ownership comes from an influential study by Christian Bec where, for the period between 1467-1520,³⁰⁵ we begin seeing possible references to copies of printed editions of the Bible in Italian. Owners' names include Bartolomeo di Piero di Nicholò del Benino (in a list compiled in 1502), Jachopo di Giovanfrancesco (1510), Benedetto di Tuccio Manetti.³⁰⁶ Elsewhere, the post-mortem book inventory of Luca d'Antonio degli Albizzi (1502) lists a vernacular Bible in of the illustrated editions from 1490-1494.³⁰⁷

There is also evidence of early ownership in Pisa, possibly before the end of the fifteenth century, by the Alliata family (**59**). Pisa was the site of Florence's 'local' university (founded only in 1472); similar chains of book distribution as in the case of Padua and Pavia may have likewise involved the sale of texts from outside the university curriculum. One copy, printed in 1492, was in Pietrafitta (province of Siena), before 1507 (**162**). Another copy was possibly in Tuscany based on the linguistic inflection of the marginalia (**86**). In total, 8 copies' early provenance places them in Tuscany.³⁰⁸

CENTRAL AND SOUTHERN ITALY

There is also evidence of Malerbi's translation travelling further south. The first copies known to reach Naples belonged to the rich library of Alfonso II Naples before 1495 (**12, 57, 75, 112**, the last of which came from the library of one of the rebels involved in the unsuccessful Conspiracy of the Barons, Antonio Piccolomini Duke of Amalfi and nephew of the humanist pope Pius II). **193** was possibly in a local convent in Naples in the 16th century. Further east, one copy was in Sarno, province of Salerno (**4**); two copies are associated with L'Aquila (**18, 163**). Two copies' provenance links them with Rome (**15**, by

³⁰⁵ Christian Bec, *Les livres des Florentins (1413-1608)* (Florence: Olschki, 1984), Chapter 2, pp. 37-51.

³⁰⁶ Bec, pp. 208-209.

³⁰⁷ Florence, Archivio di Stato, Notarile antecosimiano, ff. 196r-216v. notaio Bartolomeo Zeffi, quoted in Adriana Alessandrini, *Il libro a stampa e la cultura del rinascimento: un'indagine sulle biblioteche fiorentine degli anni 1470-1520* (Florence: Galluzzo, 2018). Assigned by Alessandrini to the August 1471 edition, the wording more closely matches that present within the later illustrated editions' half-title pages.

³⁰⁸ Treating the two volumes of copy **8** as separate, with distinct early provenance.

1559; possibly **198**). One copy carries inscriptions by owners from Borrello in the Appenines, and the *Terra Sancti Benedicti*, the area surrounding Montecassino in Lazio (16th century(?), **189**), and another was in Subiaco from the late fifteenth/ early sixteenth century (**150**).

This distribution is unsurprising given the growing body of evidence for the early printed book trade. The transport of books from Venice to Naples via ports in Puglia is already attested in the 1470s, with trade facilitated by reduced customs duties on the import of books into Naples.³⁰⁹ Buyers (or their agents) could also travel to book fairs on the eastern coast, such as those in Lanciano or Recanati, where books travelled from Venice by sea.³¹⁰ Buyers did not have to wait long to buy Venetian publications at those fairs: for instance, the March 1491 edition of the Divine Comedy was already sold in Recanati in September of the same year.³¹¹

Over half of the surveyed copies have evidence of use placing them in Italy in the fifteenth-sixteenth centuries, although in some cases this has not yet been assigned to a more specific area.

COPIES TRAVELLING ABROAD IN THE FIFTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH CENTURIES

Finally, a few copies travelled beyond the Italian peninsula by the end of the sixteenth century. The first to leave Italy were the copies taken from Naples to France by the end of the fifteenth century (**12, 57, 75, 112**). Two others have sixteenth-century French provenance (**7, 187**). Based on the early binding, **122** was already in Spain in the late fifteenth century. Copies also travelled to Germany and Switzerland (**52, 154, 109, 164**, the

³⁰⁹ Angela Nuovo, *The Book Trade in the Italian Renaissance* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 266-267.

³¹⁰ Nuovo, pp. 295-314.

³¹¹ Dante Alighieri, *La Commedia*. Comm: Christophorus Landinus (Bernardinus Benalius and Matteo Capcasa (di Codeca), 3 Mar. 1491), Pesaro, Biblioteca Oliveriana, INC I-10-10. MEI 02149032. Grzesiak and Maschietto, p. 56.

last two based on their binding); Moravia (**116**), Poland (**21**, Wrocław, then under Hapsburg rule; **169**, Kraków), and possibly England (**185**).³¹²

The copies' gradual dispersal invites consideration of their distribution. Just how did the books travel, some of them to ever more distant locations?³¹³ It seems that, unlike in the case of Latin publications produced for foreign markets, the diffusion abroad of the earliest vernacular Italian books was capillary, driven by individual rather than commercial interests, taken abroad by religious (**116**) and possibly economic (**52**, **132**, **164**) émigrés, or, an augur of things to come, foreign collectors (**21**). Evidence of foreign readers, such as Catalan courtier Pere Miquel Carbonell (1434-1517), purchasing Italian-language publications in the fifteenth century, indicates there was some early interest for such publications abroad, with buyers actively pursuing specific editions.³¹⁴

Evidence for the involvement of the book trade in the distribution of vernacular Italian Bibles may be found within the books, for instance the examples of booksellers mentioned above, and in archival sources, but other copies reveal a capillary distribution driven by various types of exchanges between individuals. Rare evidence of private networks of book exchange, donations to a religious institution or clergyman (**16**, **60**), gifting between family members, friends (**188**, **152**), inheritance (**74**) gives us a glimpse into the dynamics which fuelled a capillary diffusion of the text. There is also evidence of owners bartering: an Italian Bible was exchanged between two sixteenth-century Freiburg university scholars for a long pike (**154**).



³¹² For more discussion of foreign readers of the Bible in Italian, see Chapter 5.

³¹³ Explored in the monograph of Angela Nuovo, cited above.

³¹⁴ Grzesiak and Maschietto, pp. 56-57.

DEMOGRAPHIC OF THE EARLIEST OWNERS

It has been suggested that despite its universal target audience, Malerbi's translation may not have been to everyone's liking. Gigliola Fragnito hypothesises that the educated ('le minoranze colte') would have preferred to read the Vulgate, until the arrival of the 16th century translations she describes as 'più dignitose stilisticamente e corrette filologicamente'.³¹⁵ Certainly, the first vernacular Bibles' appeal was greater for those unable to read Latin, particularly given the privileged status of Jerome's translation. Malerbi himself extols his predecessor: 'sanctissimo e clarissimo vero interprete, lume de la Chiesa [*sic*], patre di fedeli catolici'.³¹⁶ In reality, not all readers were as discerning. Some even misconstrued the translation as the work of Jerome, as shown by the manuscript title 'Biblia Sacra Volgare Tradota p(er) s(an)to Gierolamo' on one copy's binding (158).³¹⁷ Gow has argued that '[t]he aesthetic and philological quality of the German Bible probably was not the top priority of its noble, burgher and cloistered readers',³¹⁸ whose key concern would have been simply to access a Bible they could understand without the extensive study of Latin. The same seems to have been the case with the vernacular Italian Bible.

Given Malerbi's stirring call for an all-embracing readership, it is worthwhile considering his early readership in terms of their social status and gender.

LAY OWNERSHIP

Over the course of the Middle Ages the laity became ever more active participants, not only in confraternities and 'lay congregations of mendicant orders',³¹⁹ but also in the consumption, production and dissemination of religious literature, including the Holy

³¹⁵ Fragnito, *La Bibbia al rogo*, p. 51.

³¹⁶ 'Capitolo III', quoted in Barbieri, *Le Bibbie italiane*, p. 42.

³¹⁷ Other relevant evidence is described in Chapter 5.

³¹⁸ Gow, 'The Contested History', 32.

³¹⁹ Erminia Ardissino and Élise Boillet, 'Lay Readings of the Bible in Early Modern Europe: Introduction' in *Lay Readings of the Bible in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2020), pp. 1-17 (p. 1).

Scriptures.³²⁰ It is this ‘emancipation’ of the laity, reflected in the rise of vernacular Bible production, that constitutes one of the key findings of Mart van Duijn’s survey of the fifteenth-century Delft Bible copies. By surveying the surviving copies of Malerbi’s Italian Bible translation, we can learn that a significant number of them were owned, or annotated, by laymen and laywomen within the first decades after being printed.

The ‘middle class’ readily welcomed the first printed Bibles in Italian as beautifully decorated copies made their way onto the bookshelves of some of the most prominent local Venetian families, as discussed in Chapter 3 above.³²¹ Owners with roles in local government include a city official from Verona (**31**); Jacobus de Pignis, *camerarius* (chamberlain) for an unspecified prince (**154**); Zasius, unordained(?) lawyer (**154**). Notably, many of these owners came from milieus where access to Latin learning (and therefore Latin reading material, such as the Vulgate Bible) was likely. Most of the surviving incunable Books of Hours printed in Italy were similarly owned not only by high-ranking officials and the most affluent book collectors of the time.³²²

Copies were also owned by artisans and members of various guilds: Simone di Francesco Ambruogi, son of a *pezzarius* (i.e. leather cutter), was likely involved in the family business (**124**); although the name of Giuliano Lapini (**162**) does not appear among those drawn in various Florentine local elections, other people with his surname, whose profession he may have shared, are listed as *corrazzaio* (cuirass-maker, Giovanni di Lapino Lapini, Tratte Record 54929) and *beccaio* (butcher, Giovanni di Andrea Lapini, Tratte Record 50090).³²³ In the second half of the sixteenth century, copies were owned by Andrea Greghetto,

³²⁰ Sabrina Corbellini, ‘Reading, Writing and Collecting: Cultural Dynamics and Italian Vernacular Bible Translations’, *Church History and Religious Culture*, 93 (2013), 189-216 (p. 189).

³²¹ Cristina Dondi also suggests treating copies ‘emerging from aristocratic collections of the eighteenth century’ as potentially there since their purchase by the later owners’ ancestors: *Books of Hours*, pp. 120-122.

³²² Dondi, *Books of Hours*, p. 113.

³²³ The record numbers cited originate from the invaluable database *Online Tratte of Office Holders 1282-1532*, edited by David Herlihy, R. Burr Litchfield, Anthony Molho and Roberto Barducci, <<https://cds.library.brown.edu/projects/tratte/>>.

landowner and member of the apothecaries' guild (*Arte della spezieria*) in Padua (**73**), and Marco Lachi, probably the Florentine-born business broker, or *sensale da cambi*, who appears to have been well-integrated and influential in Venetian society (**26**).³²⁴ In the survey of biblical manuscripts, some of the owners' professions are known: a barber, bellringer, cobbler, goldsmith all owned early manuscript copies of the Bible in Italian.³²⁵ The incidence of professional or guild members' early ownership notes in Italian Books of Hours is similar: professions such as goldsmith, grammarian and stationer are represented among the early owners.³²⁶ It may be that as book consumers, these readers preferred less bulky volumes, or religious publications that were easier to "digest"; only an in-depth study of the evidence surviving in other religious and devotional publications of the period will allow for these findings to be fully contextualized. Sources such as household inventories or testaments may provide further evidence of similar ownership: for instance, a vernacular Bible *in folio* formed part of a modest collection of exclusively religious texts belonging to a Roman tailor in 1524.³²⁷

With a sample size of just over 200 books, two are associated with founding members of the Milanese Accademia degli Inquieti: Giacomo Antonio Tassani (**127**) and Pietro Cantoni (**180**, admittedly only 12 years old at the time of the identifying inscription). While it would, of course, be beneficial to learn what motivated such owners to keep their decades-old

³²⁴ Lachi was active in 1570s Venice according to archival documents: 'un privato, straniero oltretutto, che si dichiara capace di manipolare il consiglio dei dieci a vantaggio di una associazione di categoria', see Gigi Corazzol, 'Varietà notarile: scorci di vita Economica e sociale', in *Storia di Venezia* (1994), <https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/variet%C3%A0-notarile-scorci-di-vita-economica-e-sociale_%28Storia-di-Venezia%29/>.

³²⁵ *Le traduzioni Italiane della bibbia nel medioevo: Catalogo dei manoscritti*, cat. nos. 39, 110, 73, 7.

³²⁶ Dondi, *Books of Hours*, pp. 115-116.

³²⁷ Alda Spotti Tantillo, 'Inventari inediti di interesse librario tratti da protocolli notarili romani (1468-1523)', *Archivio della Società romana di Storia patria*, 98 (1975), pp. 77-94 (pp. 93-94), cited by Fragnito, *La Bibbia al rogo*, p. 51 footnote 76. Margaret A. Morse finds books in artisans' household inventories, 'Creating sacred space: the religious visual culture of the Renaissance Venetian casa', *Renaissance Studies*, 21/2 (2007), 151-184 (pp.165-166); also relevant here is the work of Christian Bec on book ownership in Florence.

Bibles (or whether they possessed other translations they used more readily), the presence of the earliest printed Italian Bibles in the houses of educated Italians puts into question claims of their swift obsolescence at the arrival of the sixteenth-century translations of Antonio Brucioli and his successors,³²⁸ especially when considered alongside the continued appearance of Malerbi's translation in print well into the sixteenth century.

WOMEN

Women's access and engagement with the Holy Scriptures has been the subject of a growing number of studies.³²⁹ As already mentioned in the introductory chapter, their literacy was lower than that of men, especially for those who did not enter a convent. Some names of female scribes and owners are encountered in Bible manuscripts, with the luxurious complete Bible now at the Bibliothèque municipale in Lyon (MS 1367-1368) owned by Lucrezia Tornabuoni, mother of Lorenzo de' Medici, or the glossed gospels copied by Eufrosia, nun of the Poor Clares, in Perugia in ca. 1511-1512 (Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale Augusta, 1086); more common were smaller parabiblical manuscripts containing shorter extracts, at times arranged in accordance with the liturgical year.³³⁰

In the census of fifteenth-century Bibles printed in Italian, 13 women's names are found among the early ownership inscriptions in 11 copies. These included: Caterina and Genesia (in 1498, **154**); Donata Luchesi (in 1562, possibly in Venice or Turin based on other details in the note, **135**); Lucrezia Nina dei Rivi and her friend Livia di Rinzi (**152**); Diamante

³²⁸ See for example Fragnito, *La Bibbia al rogo*, p. 27, and footnote 315 above.

³²⁹ Erminia Ardissino, *Donne interpreti della Bibbia nell'Italia della prima età moderna: comunità ermeneutiche e riscritture* (Turhout: Brepols, 2020). *Donna e Bibbia nel medioevo (secoli xii-xv). Tra ricezione e interpretazione*, ed. by Kari Elisabeth Børresen and Adriana Valerio (Trapani: Il Pozzo di Giacobbe, 2011). A series by Trapani-based publishing house Il Pozzo di Giacobbe, *La Bibbia e le donne*, focusses on women's encounters with the Scriptures.

³³⁰ *Le traduzioni Italiane della bibbia nel medioevo: Catalogo dei manoscritti*, nos. 78, 100. Sabrina Corbellini, 'Donne e Bibbia nell'Italia tardomedievale: letture e lettere', in *Les femmes et la Bible de la fin du Moyen Age à l'époque moderne*, ed. by Élise Boillet and Maria Teresa Ricci (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2017), pp. 19-36 (pp. 22-24). Ibid., 'Vernacular Bible Manuscripts in Late Medieval Italy: Cultural Appropriation and Textual Transformation', in *Form and Function in the Late Medieval Bible*, ed. by Eyal Poleg and Laura Light (Leiden: Brill, 2013) pp. 261-281.

Bianchini (possibly a correspondent of Cieco d’Adria, **175**); Bartolomea, the widow of the Florentine Lapo del Tovaglia (sixteenth century, **188**); some copies record ownership by women alongside their families or husbands: Caterina Cantoni, née Lechi (**180**), or the unnamed wife of Marco Lachi (**26**).³³¹ Known biographical information about other copies’ male owners’ female relatives and their level of education suggests they would have made use of them: Laura Nogarola (**31**); and Camilla Erculiani (**73**). The latter example is particularly illuminating as Camilla, whose father or brother Andrea (who shared the same name) was granted a reading permit from local Inquisitor Massimiliano Beniami, was later put on trial in 1585-86 for the content of her published writings, with Beniami also involved in the beginning stages of her trial.³³² The presence of an impaled coat of arms in **163** suggests a familial setting of ownership, if not use. Further copies associated with female religious ownership are discussed below.

Heidi Brayman Hackel has discussed the absence of women’s names and annotations in their books in the context of societal expectations on women; it may be that the low incidence of ownership inscriptions is to some extent due to such reasons, alongside the usual loss of evidence through later owners’ interventions and rebinding.³³³ For readers’ marks which survive, both Sherman and Holt have written of the difficulty of assessing marginal notes in terms of the scribe’s gender, with any attempts at gendering an

³³¹ This is in addition to the four nuns whose names are listed on p. 98 below. Communal Bible use is also discussed further on in the present and the following chapters. This is in comparison with 34 copies containing fifteenth- and sixteenth-century inscriptions with the names of lay Italian male owners: **3, 14, 15, 24, 26, 31, 38, 52, 60, 73, 74, 75(?)**, **82, 100** (alongside a clergyman), **112, 113, 116, 124, 125(?)**, **127, 131, 136, 142, 146, 154, 161** (alongside family), **162, 174(?), 169(?), 175(?), 180** (alongside family), **183, 189(?), 200(?)**; and three lay foreign owners from the same period (**21, 122, 192**), and six individual religious male owners (**16, 49, 60, 64, 100** (alongside layman brother), **162**; possibly also **1** and **20**).

³³² Eleonora Carinici, ‘Una ‘speziala’ padovana: *Lettere di philosophia naturale* di Camilla Erculiani (1584)’, *Italian Studies*, 68:2 (2013), 202-229 (p. 227).

³³³ Heidi Brayman Hackel, ‘Boasting of silence’: women readers in a patriarchal state’, in *Reading, Society and Politics in Early Modern England*, ed. by Kevin Sharpe and Steven N. Zwicker (Cambridge: CUP, 2003), pp. 101-121.

annotator's ductus making for unreliable evidence.³³⁴ Morgan Ring similarly focusses on women's names penned in margins of *Golden Legend* copies as principal evidence for ownership by women: ten of eighty-eight surveyed copies have such inscriptions.³³⁵ At least 17 of 29 identified owners of Delft Bibles were women,³³⁶ and rare examples of ownership of Italian Books of Hours by nuns and laywomen also exist.³³⁷

FAMILIES AND CHILDREN

Explicit evidence that points specifically towards copies' use by children, one of the groups the Camaldolese translator implies to be part of his target audience, is not easy to identify. Certain marks found in the surveyed copies may have conceivably been introduced in such a context. In **180**, two woodcut illustrations (Jonah thrown overboard into the whale's open mouth, and later safely on the seashore) contain distinct additions. In the first woodcut, brown ink marks on the whale's mouth are consistent with an inked quill being used to point at the animal, especially when considered alongside a narrow manuscript label 'El Ventre' added on the whale's side in the second woodcut (MM6v). This might point towards the illustrations' use as teaching aids in the discussion of this biblical tale, perhaps with a young or illiterate audience. A few leaves later, the names and ages of the members of the Cantoni family are recorded (NN2r, with the eldest child aged 12), provides a further clue as to the copy's use in a family setting. Another of the surveyed copies contains marginal notes praising a schoolteacher, suggesting the context of a classroom (**78**). Some copies contain readers' doodles, including ones added to woodcut illustrations (discussed in the following chapter), however establishing the 'artist's' age is difficult.³³⁸ Some compelling

³³⁴ William H. Sherman devotes a chapter of his monograph to these issues, *Marking Readers in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 'Reading the Matriarchive' pp. 53-67. Holt, pp. 180-181.

³³⁵ Ring, p. 824.

³³⁶ Mart van Duijn, '*Vanuit de marges naar de kern*', p. 40.

³³⁷ Dondi, *Books of Hours*, cat. nos. 1d, 1e, 4b, 74a, possibly also 7; 3d and 5b.

³³⁸ In his study of English Bibles from the Early Modern period, Sherman does indeed treat pen marks such as freeform, swirly additions to printed images or printed coats of arms as the work of young hands, *Used Books*, p. 85, fig. 22.

forays into combining children's psychology and the study of readers' doodles, such as those by Deborah Ellen Thorpe, suggest a potential avenue of research to better understand such marks.³³⁹ The text of the Bible would also have reached children as listeners,³⁴⁰ and smaller fragments of the Scriptures were incorporated in literacy teaching.³⁴¹

Significantly, similarly to the Delft Bible, where private ownership accounts for 85.7% of the copies, and 14.3% for institutional ownership, identifiable private owners' inscriptions outnumber those of institutional owners, with virtually no non-religious institutional owners before 1600, other than the College de Navarre in Paris (**10**).

RELIGIOUS OWNERSHIP

Marks of ownership identifiable as those of religious institutions and individual priests, monks or nuns shows that these books were accepted and welcomed into such spaces. These include the earliest dated inscription found in any of the copies (**16**).

(Smalltown) clergy

The clergy have been suggested by some scholars as some of the most likely readers of Malerbi's translation,³⁴² potentially drawing on citations from the text to use in sermons.³⁴³ Bernardelli interprets Malerbi's reference to scholars in his prefatory epistle as a reference to preachers.³⁴⁴ Rita Librandi has even suggested that, before the standardisation of priests' education following the Council of Trent, many members of the clergy had very

³³⁹ Deborah Ellen Thorpe, 'Young hands, old books: Drawings by children in a fourteenth-century manuscript, LJS MS. 361', *Cogent Arts & Humanities* (2016), <<https://doi.org/10.1080/23311983.2016.1196864>>.

³⁴⁰ Darnton, p. 152. On reading out loud, see pp. 127-129 below.

³⁴¹ Piero Lucchi, 'La Santacroce, il Salterio e il Babuino. Libri per imparare a leggere nel primo secolo della stampa', *Quaderni storici*, 13 (1978), 593-630.

³⁴² This point is raised directly in relation to Malerbi's translation by scholars including: Fragnito, p. 41; Bernardelli, pp. 45-46; Élise Boillet, 'For Early Modern Printed Biblical Literature in Italian: Lay Authorship and Readership', in *Lay Readings of the Bible in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Erminia Ardissino and Élise Boillet (Leiden: Brill, 2019), pp. 170-190 (p 177).

³⁴³ Jensen, 'Printing the Bible', p. 137.

³⁴⁴ Bernardelli, p. 41.

limited knowledge of Latin, and, as a result, of doctrine. As such, they would have benefitted from publications such as those containing vernacular biblical material.³⁴⁵

Two compelling examples from surviving copies confirm their use by small-town priests. One of these, Oliverius Rotengo, was gifted his Bible (**60**) by a Valentin Colonna, seemingly a layman, on 21 March 1507. The date falls during the period of Lent, and may have provided the impetus behind the gift-giving. The copy's two volumes have remained together to this day, and the priest pens several detailed inscriptions in his Bible, which witness the progression of his career and activity in the parishes of Sant'Andrea di Barbarana, and ss. Ermacora and Fortunato in Fossalta, near Venice. The longest inscription, in a Latin coloured by Oliverius' Venetian origins ('arlevatus' instead of 'allevatus'), provides details that go back to his childhood.³⁴⁶ He was raised in the heart of Venice as a child oblate (as suggested by the phrase 'nutritus in ecclesia') at the church of San Moisé in San Marco, a short walk away from the now demolished church of San Geminiano in Saint Mark's Square, near which he lived. After serving as an acolyte at San Tomà, he was sent east of Treviso, to serve parishes on both banks of the Piave river. Alongside his pastoral duties, Rotengo commemorates two initiatives for the public good he funded with his money: a well, and a *capitello*, customarily adorned with candles providing illumination for passers-by.³⁴⁷ Finally, in 1516, he commemorates the purchase of a house in Oderzo, within walking

³⁴⁵ Rita Librandi, 'L'italiano nella comunicazione della Chiesa e nella diffusione della cultura religiosa', *Storia della lingua italiana. I. I luoghi della codificazione*, ed. by Luca Serianni and Pietro Trifone (Turin: Einaudi: 1993), pp. 335-381 (p. 352). Further research will be necessary to ascertain whether primary sources relating to this period support this view.

³⁴⁶ 'Liber R(everendi) d(omini) oliverij Rotengo rector(is) S(ancti) And(re)ae d(el) ponte plabetis tarvisie(nsis) et rector(is) s(anct)orum hermacore et fortunati d(e) fossalta et ca(m)polo(n)go plabis [=plabetis] tarvisien(sis) et Accolit(is) tiutular(is) sanctae thomae venetia(rum) Apostol(i) et comora(n)t(is?) i(n) contrata sancti geminiani venetia(rum) sup platea s. marcij evangel(istae) et Arlevat(us) [=allevatus] vel nutrit(us) i(n) eccl(es)la s(ancti) moysi venetia(rum) Laus deo. hec scripta su(nt?) Ad p(er)petua(m) rei memoriam.'(EE1v).

³⁴⁷ '1515 30 luio lo p(ater) Olivier rotengo rector Al po(n)te ho fatto far un bel capitello d(e) tutti i me d(e)narij lte(m) fatto far un bel pozo Ap(re)sso Al mio capitello' (n4v, similar inscriptions on ff. n2v and t8r). Antonio Niero, 'La pietà popolare', in *Patriarcato di Venezia* ed. by Silvio Tramontin ([Venice]: Giunta regionale del Veneto; Padova: Gregoriana libreria editrice, 1991), pp. 281-302 (p. 292).

distance of Sant'Andrea.³⁴⁸ Another small-town priest, Ser Jacopo, was rector of Santo Jacopo in Pietrafitta, a small parish in the hills north of Siena. His death, based on a mostly erased inscription in the Bible he owned, is datable to sometime before 1510. Unlike Rotengo, he left no obvious marks of use in his copy (**162**), and the record of his ownership comes from a later owner's inscription, highlighting the elusive nature of many former owners. Denise Hillard has identified a copy of the 1483 Latin Bible owned by Pascasius Suchauld, parish priest in a similarly small (and relatively isolated) village, Ménessaire, north of Lyon where it was printed. It was purchased within a year of its publication and was likely passed down to other parish priests.³⁴⁹ Hillard suggests that other priests like Suchauld consisted one of the main audiences for printed Bibles.

Other members of the secular clergy who owned copies were: Antonius Kress (**192**), Diodato Osio (**64**), Franciscus (**49**), Presbyter Battista Biffo (**100**). Two first edition copies may have been decorated for high-ranking clergy: Zuane Malipiero, bishop of Pula (**1**) and Jacopo Zeno, bishop of Padua (**20**).

Religious orders

The translation was immediately welcomed into the libraries of religious institutions. Before the end of the fifteenth century, copies were owned by Augustinian Canonesses Regular in Verona (**16**), the Benedictines at San Giorgio Maggiore in Venice (**104**), and in Subiaco (**150**).

Before the end of the sixteenth century, at least six of the copies were owned by men's religious institutions: Franciscans in Sarno, Campania (**4**); Poor Hermits of Saint Jerome, or Hieronymites, in Padua (**54**, sixteenth/seventeenth century), Dominicans (**198**, exact

³⁴⁸ '1516 24 no(vem)br(is) Ego p(re)sb(ite)r oliverius Rotengo Rector S(ancti) And(rea)e d(e) ponte plavis tar(visiensis) emi unu(m) casalem opiterg(um)' (n5v).

³⁴⁹ Biblia latina, [Lyons: Mathias Huss], 1483, ISTC ib00576000, Paris, BNF, Rés. A-146, reproduced in Denise Hillard, 'Les éditions de la Bible en France au xve siècle', *La Bible imprimée dans l'Europe moderne*, ed. Bertram Eugene Schwarzbach (Paris, 1999), pp. 68-82 (p. 73), also mentioned in Jensen, 'Printing the Bible', pp. 136-138.

location uncertain), alongside the two Benedictine monasteries cited above. Nine were owned by women's religious institutions: four following the rule of Saint Augustine (in Verona, **16**; and in Milan, Santa Marta, **96**; Sant'Agnese, **98**; Santa Maria della Nunziata, **128**); Benedictine Celestines in L'Aquila (by 1600, **18**); *romite ambrosiane* in Sacro Monte Sopra Varese (**95**, **151** and **199**); an unidentified monastery in or near Naples (**193**). Some of these copies also carry names of individual nuns, perhaps those who brought the Bibles with them into their respective monasteries; in an institution where vows of poverty were observed, these would have then become common property:³⁵⁰ Dionisa (**191**), Maria Archangella Dada (**193**), Giustina Violante Martignona (**199**), possibly also Angelica Caterina (**99**).³⁵¹

The earliest dated inscription in any of the copies confirms that individuals aided a capillary distribution of the editions: a Canon regular from Treviso gifts a copy to the nuns of San Giovanni della Beverara in Verona in 1472 (**16**). Similarly, the nuns of San Basilio in L'Aquila were gifted another (now lost) Malerbi Bible by 'd. Francisco Caroli vicario aquilano' (RICI TIT 31467 - ELE 859, no. 61).³⁵² These were distinct from Bibles that might serve as votive gifts donated by lay benefactors to religious institutions,³⁵³ and instead bear witness to vernacular Bibles' presence in religious institutions with the permission and encouragement of members of the clergy, later seen in their involvement in readers obtaining a licence to own vernacular Bibles.³⁵⁴

³⁵⁰ An example of this can be seen in Lucia Roselli, 'Le carte del monastero di Santa Veridiana di Firenze', *Rivista di storia della Chiesa in Italia*, 74 (2020), 381-400 (p. 390).

³⁵¹ Based on later provenance, the copy may have arrived from a religious institution in Milan.

³⁵² Further data from the RICI, or Ricerca sull'Inchiesta della Congregazione dell'Indice database, are discussed below.

³⁵³ Jensen, 'Printing the Bible', pp. 131-133.

³⁵⁴ On these, and friars overseeing book ownership on behalf of the Roman Inquisition are discussed in relation to inquisitorial reading licenses, see the section 'Reading licenses' below.

JEWISH OWNERSHIP

In some cases, manuscript inscriptions may provide evidence of ownership by Jewish owners, as in the case of **24**, **136**, and possibly **77**. The Jewish readership of Brucioli's translation has, for instance, been traced by Alessandro Guetta based on the linguistic similarities of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century texts to Brucioli's translation.³⁵⁵ Marginalia in Hebrew are also found in **16** and **77**. Further work would be required to better understand whether they were the work of assured scribes, or learners of Hebrew.

VERNACULAR BIBLE OWNERSHIP WITHIN THE LANDSCAPE OF THE SIXTEENTH-CENTURY RELIGIOUS FRAGMENTATION OF EUROPE

Of course, the relationship between the first printed Bibles and religion went far beyond their presence in the libraries of some religious houses or individual priests. The growing religious fragmentation of sixteenth-century European society saw among its consequences restrictions to vernacular Bible ownership, attested by then in a variety of households and institutions. Malerbi's translation's final appearance in print in the sixteenth century was in 1567, with an edition endowed with the Church's official approval (proudly proclaimed on the title page, 'con licentia della S. Inquisitione ristampata'). Until then, Malerbi's Bible translation was printed roughly every 3 ½ years, with a similar frequency as in the fifteenth century, despite the appearance on the market of newer translations by Antonio Brucioli or Santi Marmochino.³⁵⁶ Eventually, production of Italian vernacular Bibles moved abroad, with the openly protestant Diodati Bible printed in Geneva, in response to the growing restrictions placed on their production and ownership. However, evidence encountered in many of the surviving copies of the very first editions proves their continued ownership and use throughout the sixteenth century.

³⁵⁵ Alessandro Guetta, "An Ancient Psalm, a Modern Song": *Italian Translations of Hebrew Literature in the Early Modern Period* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2022), pp. 41-107.

³⁵⁶ Buzzetti and Bravi, p. 37. Barbieri, pp. 107-153.

Growing concern in Rome regarding the spread of Lutheran ideas across Europe led to the convocation of the Council of Trent (1545-1563), whose numerous resolutions aimed at ensuring a greater ‘uniformity’ of liturgical and devotional practice, also included the discussion, between February–April 1564, of vernacular Bible translations and a decision to restrict access to them.³⁵⁷ In 1559, the Roman *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* promulgated by Pope Paul IV banned the printing, reading and ownership vernacular Bible translations unless granted a license.³⁵⁸ Successive editions, such as the 1564 *Index*, and smaller publications, such as the 1580 single-leaf imprint *Nota de libri prohibiti* reinforced this.³⁵⁹ The deterrent was the threat of excommunication, announced for anyone subverting the resolutions of the Council of Trent in the 1564 Papal Bull *Benedictus Deus*.³⁶⁰ Successive changes in following indices and disagreements between those setting the rules and those enforcing them resulted in contention and confusion which would eventually lead to

³⁵⁷ Fragnito, *La Bibbia al rogo*, p. 75. Giorgio Caravale, *L’orazione proibita. Censura ecclesiastica e letteratura devozionale nella prima età moderna* (Florence: Olschki, 2003), p. VII. Key reference works include the *Dizionario storico dell’Inquisizione*, the multivolume Librairie Droz series overseen by Jesús Martínéz de Bujanda, *Index des livres interdits* (1984-2002); Vittorio Frajese, *Nascità dell’Indice: la censura ecclesiastica dal Rinascimento alla Controriforma* (Brescia: Morcelliana, 2006).

³⁵⁸ ‘Biblia omnia vulgari idiomate, Germanico, Gallico, Hispanico, Italico, Anglico sive Flandrico, etc. conscripta nullatenus vel imprimi vel legi vel teneri possint absque licentia sacri Offici S. Ro. Inquisitionis’ (fol. l1v); similarly the New Testament (fol. l2r), cited in Fragnito, *La Bibbia al rogo*, pp. 75-95.

³⁵⁹ Fragnito, *La Bibbia al rogo*, pp. 95-109; comprehensive information on the Indices of 1557-1564 is found in *Index des livres interdits*, vol. VII, 1557, 1559, 1564. *Les premiers index romains et l’index du Concile de Trente* (1991). The note bans ‘Biblie vulgari d’ogni sorte, anchora che fussero state concesse per il passato. Et cosi l’uno, & l’altro testamento diviso’. *Nota de libri prohibiti et d’alcuni sospesi, fin che di loro venghi fatta nuova espurgatione dalla Santissima Inquisitione universale. Oltra quelli che sono contenuti nell’Indice generale fatto già per ordine et decreto del sacro Concilio di Trento* (dated ca. 1580 in the *Index des Livres Interdits*, vol. IX (1994)).

³⁶⁰ Elsewhere, in a 1582 edict requiring the locals to surrender their banned books, Charles Borromeo threatened confiscations and throwing the proverbial book at transgressors (confiscations and ‘tutte l’altre censure, e pene [...] co[n]tra quelli che ritengono appresso di se libri prohibiti, statuite’), Orlandi, pp. 351-352.

clearer guidelines.³⁶¹ The 1596 *Index* published during the reign of pope Clement VIII, definitively banned the reading, ownership, and sale of vernacular Italian Bibles.³⁶²

Surviving copies only provide us a piece-meal understanding of the Indices' implementation. Vernacular Bibles that suffered the most intense scrutiny may well be those that were confiscated and destroyed, while the surviving copies evaded the religious authorities' notice. Most copies consulted for the present census have no evidence of having suffered scrutiny in the form of censorship or inquisitorial intervention. Single passages are censored in two copies within the census (**12**, **15**, three speeches of Potiphar's wife explicitly describing her attempted seduction of Joseph (Genesis 39)). A copy of the 1476 Psalms edition, formerly at the women's Benedictine Santa Grata monastery in Bergamo, has undergone expurgation, however the thin intersecting lines added by the anonymous expurgator do not impede access to the text.³⁶³ This could be just as much sign of a censor who placed little importance on the task, as one who had many books to expurgate and had to rush their work.³⁶⁴ Any such censorship may also predate post-Tridentine restrictions on vernacular Bible access, as suggested by the almost immediate disapproval of explicit illustrations in the 1490 *Biblia vulgare*, discussed in Chapter 3.

³⁶¹ Danilo Zardin, 'Bibbia e apparati biblici nei conventi italiani del Cinque-Seicento. Primi appunti', *Libri, biblioteche e cultura degli ordini regolari nell'Italia moderna attraverso la documentazione della Congregazione dell'Indice*, ed. by Rosa Marisa Borracini and Roberto Rusconi (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2006), pp. 63-103 (p. 69).

³⁶² Explored in the chapter 'I volgarizzamenti biblici e l'indice clementino (1596) of Fragnito, *La Bibbia al rogo*, pp. 173-198, with its aftermath considered in the following chapters.

³⁶³ ISTC ih00188500, BNCF, Guicciardini 1.3.2, MEI 02152300.

³⁶⁴ Ludwig Pastor describes the work faced by those tasked with overseeing the application of the *Indices* as overwhelming; *The History of the Popes, from the Close of the Middle Ages: Drawn from the Secret Archives of the Vatican and Other Original Sources. Volume XIV*, edited and translated by Ralph Francis Kerr (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1924), p. 281. A similar example of censorship is found in Bergamo, Biblioteca Civica Cinq. 3.1656, see Barbieri, *Le Bibbie*, p. 184, footnote 166.

READING LICENSES

As well as influencing production, ecclesiastical authorities sought control of books already in circulation. During certain periods of the second half of the sixteenth century, readers were expected to gain permission to own and read prohibited books, including vernacular Bibles.³⁶⁵ Evidence of the practice survives in the archives of the Dicastery for the Doctrine of the Faith with records studied by Vittorio Frajese, Ugo Baldini, and Hannah Marcus, the last of whom has amassed an as-yet unpublished database of over 5000 licences from 1559-1664, which will assuredly identify further pious vernacular Bible owners.³⁶⁶

Thirteen of the surveyed incunable vernacular Italian Bibles contain such manuscript licenses: **15, 26, 38, 73, 74, 95, 100, 114, 135, 151, 161, 183, 199.**³⁶⁷ Two copies record licenses being granted to their owners (**149; 122**, unclear if written by the owner or the inquisitor).

³⁶⁵ Vittorio Frajese, 'Permessi di Lettura', in *Dizionario storico dell'inquisizione*, vol. 3, pp. 1193-1195. Frajese does not describe the process of applying for a licence. Ugo Baldini makes some attempts at systematising the available knowledge on the practicalities of such permits in his 'Un pubblico della scienza nei permessi di lettura dei libri proibiti delle Congregazioni del Sant'Ufficio e dell'Indice (secolo XVI): verso una tipologia professionale e disciplinare', in *Censura ecclesiastica e cultural politica in Italia tra Cinquecento e Seicento*, ed. by Cristina Stango (Florence: Olschki, 2001), pp. 171-201.

³⁶⁶ Baldini, see footnote immediately above; Hannah Marcus, 'Bibliography and Book Bureaucracy: Reading Licences and the Circulation of Prohibited Books in Counter-Reformation Italy', *PBSA*, 110:4 (2016), 433-437; Hannah Marcus, *Forbidden Knowledge: Medicine, Science and Censorship in Early Modern Italy* (Chicago; London: Chicago University Press, 2020).

³⁶⁷ Due to constraints of space, discussion here is focussed predominantly on permits in incunable edition Bibles. Similar licenses are present in two Italian Bible manuscripts (Cambridge, University Library, MS Add. 6685; Siena, Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati, S. III. 4, see *Le traduzioni Italiane della bibbia nel medioevo: Catalogo dei manoscritti*, nos. 4 and 110), and, alongside the sixteenth-century edition copies' licenses which are at least partly transcribed in Orlandi, pp. 369-379, two other sixteenth-century Italian Bible copies: *La Bibbia nuouamente tradotta dalla hebraica verita in lingua thoscana per maestro Santi Marmochino fiorentino[...]* In Vinegia: appresso gli heredi di Luc'antonio Giunti, 1538 nel mese di Aprile, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 80.A.29, title page recto; *Biblia vulgare*, Venetij: apud Bernardinum de Bindonis mediolanensis, 1546, EDIT16 CNCE 5770, Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, A.XI.74, fol. a1r, as well as a New Testament, *Il Nuouo Testamento tradotto in lingva toscana. Nuouamente corretto dal padre fra Zaccheria da Firenze de l'Ordine de predicatori*. In Venetia: [Lucantonio Giunta il vecchio], 1536, EDIT16 CNCE 5940, Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Guicc. 1-4-37, below the frontispiece, reproduced in Barbieri, *Le Bibbie italiane*, vol. 2, tav. A 13 Nuovo Testamento.

Most of the licenses are signed by local inquisitors (Massimiliano Beniami da Crema, OFMConv, Inquisitor of Padua, **73, 183**; Paolo Molaschi da Lodi, OP, Inquisitor of Verona, **161**; Felix Perettus, OFM, Inquisitor of Venice, **26, 38**; Tommaso Scotti, OP, **15**; an unspecified Venetian Inquisitor, **74**; Thomas (?) **135**),³⁶⁸ or their close associates: *vicarius inquisitoris* (Crisostomo Trezio **100**, Ludovico de Landriano, OP, **114**) and a protonotary (Pietro Galesini, OSB, **95, 151, 199**). Accompanying inscriptions in two copies (**95, 199**), confirm adherence to the Fourth Rule of the 1564 *Index*, whereby the applicant's parish priest or confessor had to support an application for vernacular Bible ownership (here it was Tommaso Cigolini, the nuns' confessor).³⁶⁹

Only 3 of the 13 licenses are accompanied by an exact date: 20 June 1559, 21 April 1562, and 2 July 1574. For most of the remaining permits, the information presented allows for an approximate time to be assigned, as shown in the relevant catalogue entries. The earliest were penned almost immediately following the promulgation of the first 1559 Index of Prohibited Books: 20 June, signed by Tommaso Scotti in Rome, where he had just been promoted to the position of General Commissary of the Holy Office; two of the three undated Venetian licences, signed by Felice Peretti, Inquisitor of Venice in 1557-1560, are also from this early period.

The majority of named owners are male (**15, 26, 38, 73, 74, 100, 122, 161, 183**; unspecified or uncertain in **114, 149**). The exceptions to this are Donada Luchesi (**135**); and the nuns of Santa Maria del Monte in Varese (**95, 151, 199**). Two further permits include family members (the recipient's wife or entire family) in the permit (**26, 161**). Hannah Marcus has

³⁶⁸ Cfr. Andrea Del Col, 'Inquisitore', in *Dizionario storico dell'Inquisizione*, vol. 2, pp. 800-802: inquisitors were typically members of the Dominican order, or, for Venice, Franciscans.

³⁶⁹ Tavoni, p. 121.

identified further examples of shared licenses for members of the same family or religious institutions.³⁷⁰

It seems that the format of the notes was decided locally, following discussions with superiors. In a letter dated 18 October 1561, Pietro Galesini asks Carlo Borromeo's opinion on a formula to use when inspecting booksellers' stocks: 'Se pare a v(ostra) S(igno)ria Ill(ustrissi)ma [...] mi sottoscrivero cosi, petrus galesinus pro Ill(ustrissi)mo Archiepiscopo, et pro (reveren)do Inq(uisito)re'. Evidently approved ('questa sottoscrizione piace a mons(igno)re Casello, et al padre Inquisitore'), the formula was used (with slight modifications) in his reading permits.³⁷¹ While Latin is slightly more frequently used, it is not clear whether there was any preference for it over the vernacular: ten of the licenses were written in Latin; six in Italian; Beniami uses the languages interchangeably, while Peretti and Galesini use Latin for their licenses.

Personal connections could pave the way to easier procurement of licences, and consequently the ownership of banned books. The original Biblioteca Pinelliana (distinct from the collection which **26**, as well as two unlocated incunable edition copies, was part of) was able to retain ownership of a wide selection of texts thanks to licenses granted to Gian Vincenzo Pinelli, who in a letter dated 5 August 1574 admits that he would struggle to obtain many of his book ownership licenses if it weren't for his friendship with the Venetian Inquisitor.³⁷² This tendency to favour the nobility is confirmed by the identities of some of the sixteenth-century license recipients seen in Italian Bibles, and by the findings of Baldini

³⁷⁰ 'Bibliography and Book Bureaucracy', p. 455.

³⁷¹ Orlandi, pp. 350-351, Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, F 30 Inf., fol. 252r-v; digitisation available through the Biblioteca Ambrosiana website:

<<https://ambrosiana.comperio.it/opac/detail/view/ambro:catalog:592475>>.

³⁷² The letter is cited in Paul F. Grendler, 'Printing and Censorship', *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy*, ed. by C. B. Schmitt et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 25-54 (p. 53).

for permits granted to own scientific texts: alongside medics, members of the clergy and lecturers they were among the most frequent recipients of such licenses.³⁷³

Some loss of such evidence, typically found on the outermost leaves of copies, can certainly be ascribed to later wear, paper-bleaching and rebinding, seen for instance with **183**, where I was only able to recover the washed note's contents using UV light. Nonetheless, given the number of copies consulted, relatively few carry evidence of any inquisitorial intervention. It may well be that this statistic alone provides some evidence to further Gigliola Fragnito's suggestion that if a Bible did not escape the notice of local church authorities, it was destined to be destroyed in the titular bonfires of her monograph.³⁷⁴

Although we cannot equate the absence of reading licences within surviving copies with protestant ownership, or subversive intent on the part of the owners, the act of subjecting one's book ownership to the relevant authorities certainly was a sign of adherence to their conditions.³⁷⁵ Applying meant temporarily giving up possession of the book to the local Inquisitor and potentially never getting it back; Baldini suggests this was one of the reasons why unauthorised readers of banned books likely far outnumbered those who successfully applied for a licence.³⁷⁶ Accounts of failed attempts at obtaining a license by Venetian noblewomen in 1576,³⁷⁷ suggest not all women were as lucky as those whose copies are mentioned above. A license in a sixteenth-century edition copy granted to public servant Thomas de Armenteros,³⁷⁸ explicitly specifies that the licence is valid until the Pope or the Congregation decide otherwise, displaying an awareness of the potential for changing

³⁷³ p. 159; Frajese, 'Permessi di lettura', p. 1194.

³⁷⁴ *La Bibbia al rogo*, p. 18.

³⁷⁵ Frajese, 'Le licenze di lettura', p. 790.

³⁷⁶ Baldini, p. 181, footnote 23.

³⁷⁷ Fragnito, *La Bibbia al rogo*, pp. 108-109.

³⁷⁸ Now at the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, see footnote 367 above.

official guidelines. Indeed, on 30 December 1623 a papal constitution did just that, revoking all permits granted before that date.³⁷⁹

As a note penned by an owner, who records themselves that they were granted a license (149) shows that not all licenses involved the granting authority's inscription within the copy. In no. 159, an undated note reminds whoever picked up the Bible they needed an appropriate license: 'Non legitur sine licentia'. Similar notes, e.g. 'Prohibito da non potersi leggere senza licenza', appear in other books, suggesting that a licence may not necessarily be linked with a specific copy of a text, but with a prospective reader; Frajese even writes of otherwise unrecorded verbal licenses.³⁸⁰ Archival records of inquisition trials are also a potential source for information about vernacular Bible readers whose reading was not sanctioned by the religious authorities.³⁸¹

Italians continued to apply for licences in the following centuries, as seen in the fragmentary seventeenth-century documentation of the Sant'Uffizio analysed by Frajese, which even registered a temporary increase in applications.³⁸² Evidence of one such application in 1628 is found in a Bible copy in the present census, no. 149.

PROTESTANT USE

Distinguishing marks of Catholic and Protestant ownership, intrinsically linked to the topic of vernacular Bible ownership, poses a challenge, also addressed in recent studies assessing evidence of readership in French Bibles, or the English *Legenda Aurea* translation.³⁸³

³⁷⁹ Frajese, 'Permessi di lettura', p. 1194.

³⁸⁰ *Il Decamerone di messer Giovanni Boccaccio cittadino fiorentino. Di nuovo riformato da Luigi Groto Cieco d'Adria* (Venice: 1590, Fabio & Agostin Zoppini Fratelli, & Onofrio Farri compagni), front flyleaf recto, reproduced in *Dal torchio alle fiamme*, p. 319, fig. 10. Frajese, 'Le licenze di lettura', p. 790.

³⁸¹ Buzzetti and Bravi, p. 38. Fragnito cites various such examples in her monograph.

³⁸² Chapter 5 of *Nascita dell'Indice*.

³⁸³ Holt, p. 254; Ring, pp.830-.

Certain copies display evidence of a clear association with heterodox owners and readers, Protestants and members of other Christian denominations. For instance, **116** travelled across the Alps in the hands of its Anabaptist owner from Padua. The Anabaptists, a religious group considered a sect by both Catholics and Lutherans, sought refuge in isolated communities in Central Europe. Andrea Lorengo de Lorengi (or Lorenzo de Lorenzi) travelled to Moravia in Central Europe precisely when the post-Tridentine crackdown on religious heterodoxy was picking up pace. Andrea does not appear in the graduate lists of his hometown's university, but he may have nonetheless attended lectures, or witnessed the vivid intellectual exchanges taking place around the city. Andrea was 'one of many Italian exiles who joined the Anabaptist settlements' in Moravia, and soon an established group member.³⁸⁴ The Bible remained with the isolated community and was later rebound by an Anabaptist binder, Isaak Dreller, with one of the Hutterites' favourite mottos, 'DIE WAHRHEIT IST VNENDLICH EBIG' ('truth is unendingly eternal'), tooled onto the cover.³⁸⁵ Among the copy's scarce annotations, a sixteenth-century hand provides the Latin text of the last of the Beatitudes, addressed to those suffering persecution (fol. M5v).

Another copy's (**109**) early pigskin binding suggests it had left Italy before 1683, the first dated inscription which places it in the hands of David Orelli, a Swiss businessman whose family had fled to Zurich, following the expulsion of Protestants from Locarno in 1554.³⁸⁶

Yet another Bible (**21**) was taken abroad by young Breslau patrician Thomas Rehdiger, a

³⁸⁴ Emese Bálint, 'Heterogeneous religion: imperfect or braided? Antitrinitarian Anabaptism in Italy, Transylvania and Poland in the 1560s', *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*, 102 (2022), 56-68 (p. 66).

³⁸⁵ Maria H. Krisztinkovich, 'An Anabaptist bookbinder in the Thirty Years War. Isaak Dreller Buechbinder', *The Mennonite Quarterly Review*, 50 (1976), 5-20; Marianne Rozsondai, 'Zwei "Habaner" Ledereinbände aus der Bibliothek der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften', *Einband-Forschung*, 24 (2009), 53-58, footnote 6 on p. 58 lists other bindings which use the same roll.

³⁸⁶ Rodolfo Huber and Martin Illi, 'Orelli', *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz (HLS)* (2017), <<https://hls-dhs-dss.ch/de/articles/020179/2017-05-03/>>, consulted on 04.11.2023; Sundar Henny, 'Failed Reformations', in *A Companion to the Swiss Reformation*, ed. by Amy Nelson Burnett and Emidio Campi (Leiden: Brill, 2016), pp. 264-290.

friend of Phillip Melanchthon, and his lodger while a student of law in Wittenberg. Between the years 1567-1569 Rehdiger was in Italy, and it is likely he purchased his incomplete Italian Bible in Padua or Venice to add to his growing collection of bibliographic and artistic gems; it seems his ties to a prominent Protestant figure did not determine his interest in the copy as much as the rarity of the edition.³⁸⁷

However, overall few copies contain early ownership inscriptions by individuals who declare their denominational allegiance or are easily identifiable as members of heterodox Christian circles. A potential method for assessing Protestant leanings would be to search for evidence of use concentrated around passages linked with Protestant rhetoric and beliefs; most obviously passages in the Pauline epistles cited by many heterodox writers in support of their ideas.³⁸⁸ For the French tradition, Holt suggest that there were no major differences between how Catholics and Protestants read their vernacular Bibles.³⁸⁹ Discontinuous reading, a key feature of the codex format, was traditionally associated with Catholic reading practices,³⁹⁰ and continuous reading with Protestant reading, however, as discussion in the following chapter shows, the only readers to leave explicit traces of this in the surveyed Bibles were not Protestant. Ring treats obliteration of certain elements of the text as evidence of readers anti-papal sentiments; no equivalent of this occurs in any of the Italian Bibles I have seen so far.³⁹¹

³⁸⁷ See the catalogue entry.

³⁸⁸ Of course not exclusively so; see for instance *La lettera di San Paolo ai Romani. Tradotta ed esposta da Lodovico Castelvetro*, ed. by Antrea Barbieri (Florence: Olschki, 2021).

³⁸⁹ 'Reading the Bible', p. 504.

³⁹⁰ Peter Stallybrass, 'Books and Scrolls: Navigating the Bible', in *Books and Readers in Early Modern England*, ed. by Jennifer Andersen, Elizabeth Sauer (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002) pp. 42-79 (p. 42).

³⁹¹ Ring, pp. 835-836.

HISTORICAL COPIES IN THE LIBRARIES OF RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS AT THE TURN OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

A project entitled *Ricerca sull'Inchiesta della Congegazione dell'Indice* (RICI),³⁹² the result of a survey of book-lists from over 2000 religious institutions, convents and monasteries, compiled for the *Sacra Congregazione dell'Indice dei libri proibiti* in 1596-1603 following the publication of the Clementine index, provides invaluable data the later presence of vernacular Bibles in Italy.³⁹³

The number of vernacular Bibles attested within the RICI project's findings is surprisingly low given the number of collections surveyed. The surviving documentation is not exhaustive, and it is likely that copies of banned texts had already been removed from some institutional libraries during the time since the first Indices condemned their ownership. Fragnito suggests that confiscation and destruction followed the banned books' inclusion in the book-lists,³⁹⁴ however at least two vernacular Bibles survive: a copy of the vernacular Psalms without the indication of printer of place of printing, which is in fact the incomplete *editio princeps* copy still with the Celestine nuns of L'Aquila in 1947 (**18**), and the 1490 edition copy belonging to the Benedictines of Santa Scholastica in Subiaco, now in Ravenna (**150**).

Further historical vernacular Bible copies include four fifteenth-century edition copies, likely purchased during the late fifteenth-century Observant Reform.³⁹⁵ Two were in Camaldolese libraries: an August 1471 edition copy at the library of San Mattia in Murano

³⁹² The information is contained in a series of manuscripts, most prominently Vatican Library's Vat. Lat. 11266-11326. Alongside a book series contextualising book ownership within individual orders, the results are consultable in a database hosted by the Vatican Library: <<http://rici.vatlib.it>>. For a recent overview see Giovanna Granata, 'The RICI Database. A Tool for the History of Religious Libraries in Italy at the End of the Sixteenth Century', in *How the Secularization of Religious Houses Transformed the Libraries of Europe*, pp. 549-565.

³⁹³ Gigliola Fragnito, 'L'indice clementino e le biblioteche degli ordini religiosi', in *Libri, biblioteche e cultura degli Ordini Regolari*, pp. 37-59.

³⁹⁴ *La Bibbia al rogo*, pp. 278-1.

³⁹⁵ Roberto Rusconi, 'Fratelli e monaci, libri e biblioteche alla fine del '500', in *Libri, biblioteche e cultura degli ordini regolari*, pp. 13-35 (p. 25).

where Nicolò Malerbi executed his translation (RICI BIB48945),³⁹⁶ and a 1487 edition copy at the order's mother house in Camaldoli (RICI BIB69896). Outside of the Camaldolese order, copies were owned by the Hieronymites at San Girolamo di Scolca in Rimini (1477-78 edition; RICI BIB42936), and the Observant Friars Minor in Prato (1492 edition; RICI BIB28508). Nonetheless, the documentation provides evidence for the geographic spread of Italian vernacular Bibles across the Italian peninsula: sixteenth-century, or unidentified edition copies attested at institutions across Italy.³⁹⁷ Institutions may have been replacing the books they owned with newer editions, so owners of sixteenth-century vernacular Bible editions may therefore have previously owned a copy of one of the incunable editions. The presence of vernacular Bibles and related publications, especially in women's religious institutions whose inhabitants may have possessed limited schooling to access the Bible in Latin, is proof of their place in their life, alongside the surviving copies described above.³⁹⁸

CONCLUSIONS

Despite some evidence of Protestant ownership, vernacular Bibles continued to exist in Catholic spaces, institutional and otherwise. The numerous shifts in the Roman Church's attitudes towards vernacular Bibles show their continued presence within sixteenth-century discourse. Questions surrounding the right conditions for Bible access, readership and ownership, repeatedly revisited by the religious authorities were not purely hypothetical: copies of the editions under question passed through the hands of some of the key figures of the period, such as Felice Peretti, the future pope Sixtus V during his

³⁹⁶ Identified by RICI as the anonymous October 1471 translation (ISTC ib00639000), it more likely belonged to the August 1471 edition: the earlier edition's link with San Mattia aside, the book-list entry is more consistent with the August edition's colophon (which, unlike the October edition, states the imprint location), which was likely the source of the scribe's information on the edition.

³⁹⁷ Discussed in chapter 8 of Fragnito's *La Bibbia al rogo*.

³⁹⁸ *Nascita dell'Indice*, p. 411.

tenure in Venice, Tommaso Scotti, close associate of Michele Ghisleri (later pope Pius IV) in Rome, or close associates of Saint Charles Borromeo in Lombardy as he busied himself with reforming his diocese.



CHAPTER 5.

HOW READERS INTERACTED WITH THEIR BIBLES

What kind of annotations can be found in the first printed Italian Bibles? What do they tell us about the way Italians interacted with the Holy Scripture? Nicolò Malerbi, responsible for the vernacular translation, was aware of the manifold aspects of the text that would attract readers:

‘...quelli che desideranno de intendere la narratione sì de l’istorie, come *etiam* la doctrina de li commandamenti, e gustino la suave dolzeza di *Psalmi*, et imprendo el modo de l’arme e de la gubernatione de la republica e de sé stesso, e sapino observar le istituione domestice, et usar sancti et li ornati costumi, et *etiam* imitar a doctrina evangelica *cum* li documenti de le *Apostolice epistole*...’³⁹⁹

Malerbi shows his readers that the Bible offers all: storytelling, exempla, laws, and guidelines for domestic and personal development in line with the Holy Scriptures. The discussion here reflects the range of interactions with the first printed Bible in Italian suggested by Malerbi, both in relation to the ‘uses’ that the translator may or may not have envisaged, and the Catholic authorities may or may not have condoned.

Manuscript additions were common in sixteenth-century French Bibles (found in 18.5% copies), and in the 1477 Delft Bible (32 out of 61 contain ‘late medieval signs of use’); ‘over half’ of the Geneva Bibles at the British Library contain ‘marginal or prefatory annotation’.⁴⁰⁰

In the surviving incunable Books of Hours printed in Italy, 52% ‘contain contemporary or sixteenth-century annotations, most frequently in the form of additions to the calendar and of prayers.’⁴⁰¹ Finally, based on his extensive study sample, Sherman found surviving early

³⁹⁹ Cap. VII of Malerbi’s prefatory epistle.

⁴⁰⁰ Holt, p. 204. Mart van Duijn, ‘*Vanuit de marges naar de kern. Laatmiddeleeuwse marginalia als bron voor een geschiedenis van de Delftse Bijbel (1477)*’, *Jaarboek voor Nederlandse boekgeschiedenis*, 21 (2014), 31-51 (p. 44). Femke Molekamp, ‘Using a Collection to Discover Reading Practices: The British Library Geneva Bibles and a History of their Early Modern Readers,’ *Electronic British Library Journal* (2006), 1-13 (p. 9).

⁴⁰¹ *Books of Hours*, pp. 108-109.

printed Bibles to have a similar incidence of annotations to other contemporary texts, at over 20%.⁴⁰² The following quote from his monograph aptly addresses the topic of Bible annotations:

‘the transcendence of their texts notwithstanding, Bibles—like all books and, in some ways, *more* than other books— are material objects, created, circulated and used by actual people, in specific settings, for particular purposes. And while religious texts shaped almost every aspect of the lives of Renaissance readers (structuring their daily routines, guiding their beliefs and behaviours, and even inflecting their language), readers for their part did not hesitate to leave their own marks on religious texts—including the Holy Word itself.’⁴⁰³

ANNOTATIONS AS EVIDENCE OF OWNERSHIP

In the absence of other provenance marks, annotations present an appealing alternative as source of information on early owners. However, can an interest in passages related to family life indicate a lay owner searching for guidance, and not a priest marking passages to use when addressing parishioners’ concerns while fulfilling his duties of pastoral care?⁴⁰⁴ Could a copy, whose only underlining marks out a passage that describes Jesus’ attitude to divorce, have been in the hands of someone going through this in their life (**113**)? Could one of the anonymous annotators of **172** (elsewhere interested in the various lessons offered by the Wisdom Books on marriage, parenthood and the properties of wine, adding ‘el vino bevuto moderatame(n)te p(ro)longa la vitta de lomo’ (DD1r)), highlighting the praise offered to members of more humble professions, including potters (with a marginal note, ‘del maestro ch(e) lavora le scudelle e cosi de tute le arte manuale’, by the relevant passage in the Book of Sirach, chapter 38, fol. DD3r), mean that they were a member of a trade, an underrepresented category of former owners in the census?⁴⁰⁵ Some

⁴⁰² Sherman, p. 72-3.

⁴⁰³ Sherman, p. 72 [emphasis in original text].

⁴⁰⁴ Jensen, ‘Printing the Bible’, p. 137.

⁴⁰⁵ For discussion of lay ownership, including professional guild members, see Chapter 4 above. The evidence offered by such marginalia is less certain than ownership evidence discussed in the preceding chapter, however their more detailed analysis might expand our understanding of annotators’ identities.

annotators were particularly drawn to the Wisdom Books (e.g. **26**, **172**, **201**), similarly to early Dutch readers encountered by Van Duijn, annotating passages that warn against vanity and attractive women.⁴⁰⁶ In a world where religion permeated daily life far more than it does today, the Bible provided tips for many aspects of daily life, just as Malerbi anticipated in his prefatory epistle.

TYPES OF ANNOTATIONS

The types of annotations set out in the *Material Evidence in Incunabula* database have provided a useful framework for classifying marginal notes.⁴⁰⁷ Numerous other taxonomies of manuscript additions in books exist; among those, the distinction between ownership inscription, ‘penmanship exercises’, cross-references, liturgical notes, ‘numberings’ (including pagination), corrections, polemical notes and calculations of dates, outlined by Sherman, largely finds confirmation in Italian Bibles studied for the present census.⁴⁰⁸

Sophisticated marginal additions amounting to more than brief sentences or phrases, which signal a highly active engagement with the text, are relatively rare. The most extensive example is found in **32**, where the margins around the printed text of Revelations are filled with a vernacular commentary, identified by Edoardo Barbieri as the late fourteenth-century work of Federico Renoldo da Venezia, possibly already available in print at the time of the edition’s first dissemination.⁴⁰⁹ Less extensive marginal commentaries are found in **101**, where the margins of the Book of Ester are densely annotated with an unidentified chapter-by-chapter commentary in Italian; and in **196**, with a trimmed

⁴⁰⁶ van Duijn, ‘Printing, Public and Power’, p. 296.

⁴⁰⁷ These were also listed in the questionnaire sent out to holding libraries as part of the collection of data for this study.

⁴⁰⁸ Sherman, pp. 80-81.

⁴⁰⁹ *Le Bibbie italiane*, p. 192. Federigo da Venezia, Commentum in Apocalypsim [Italian] [Rome: Printer of the “Apocalypsis”, about 1469], ISTC if00052700.

commentary in Latin, comparing Samson's defeat of a lion to Christ's victory over the devil (Judges 14) covering the entire outer and lower margins. The content of these commentaries, alongside palaeographic evidence, suggest use by educated readers. None of the surveyed copies contain additional texts bound in together with them, such as those encountered in some incunable Latin Bibles.⁴¹⁰ Cross-references, likewise indicative of deeper engagement with the text, often connect passages from the Old Testament and New Testament (**7**; **100**; **121**; **137**; **155**; **192**; in **101**, refer to the table of contents; in **19** to an unidentified publication).

Shorter quotations from identifiable published works which enriched readers' religious experiences include the three foundations of hope from a Saint Bernard of Clairvaux sermon (**135**), and an epitaph on Bible translations by Swiss theologian Samuel Werenfels (**202**), however both are added by later, seventeenth-century readers. Other extra-biblical additions include a maxim about the Bible "Omnia si perdas, videas ut BIBLIA serves. BIBLIA qui servat, servat ipse DEUM." (**192**); or brief rhymes promoting reason as an antidote to the fires of hell: "Al mondo non si[i] ripugno alla raggion | e se il contrario farrai | Giu nell'inferno anderai" (**189**, fol. 91r). Alongside further additions such as prayers, described further along in this chapter, these illustrate the myriad of readers' experiences and encounters with the Holy Scriptures.

Far more common than the longer commentaries are short summaries, comments, and notabilia (including the frequent brief 'nota') in the margins. As in early French Bibles, they call attention to individual characters, or simply events described in the text, more often than to passages related to religious truths and dogmas.⁴¹¹ Manuscript additions aimed at easier retrieval of specific passages in the form of underlining, manicules and other reading

⁴¹⁰ Jensen, 'Printing the Bible', p. 135.

⁴¹¹ Holt, p. 208.

marks are found in approximately 70 of the surveyed copies. These range from small symbols in the margins, vertical lines in the margins, at times elaborate drawings, to inventive marks such as rolled up pieces of candle wax.⁴¹²

CONTINUOUS AND DISCONTINUOUS READING

Evidence of (possibly abandoned) efforts for an engaged, continuous reading of the Bible can be found in copies that carry annotations only in the first few books of the Old Testament (**34, 86, 131**). Similarly, readers' marks in Genesis vastly outnumber those encountered in other parts of the French Bibles studied by Holt, perhaps a sign of soon-abandoned linear readings.⁴¹³

A complete reading of the Bible might warrant a celebratory inscription, providing us with evidence of the practice as in the case of an Armenian owner of **186**, who prides himself on reading the Scriptures thrice in their entirety in a note below the book's colophon. Similar inscriptions are found in a 1498 Latin Bible currently at the Biblioteca Statale del Monumento Nazionale di Santa Scolastica in Subiaco. The earlier of the two readers, Dominicus, declares to have read the Bible 'a principio usque in finem' three times in 20 years. The note is dated 1519, indicating he must have obtained the book soon after it was printed, 1499. A second reader similarly commemorates his complete reading in the copy.⁴¹⁴ Both explicitly address the reading of the Bible in its entirety, and none of the evidence suggests these individuals, members of the secular clergy, were not orthodox

⁴¹² Sherman, 'Towards a History of the Manicule', in *Used Books*, pp. 25-52.

⁴¹³ Holt, p. 207.

⁴¹⁴ MEI 02125070, entry by Marina Venier and Sabrina Minuzzi. See also the blog post 'The sacred book: close reading and lazy readers', <<http://digitale.bnc.roma.sbn.it/progettopolonsky/en/199/blog/post/38/The%20sacred%20book:%20close%20reading%20and%20lazy%20readers>>.

readers of the Scriptures. This of course goes against the frequent association between continuous Bible reading as a Protestant practice.⁴¹⁵

Stallybrass highlights how the presence of ‘aids’ in Early Modern Bible editions facilitated discontinuous reading practices.⁴¹⁶ We encounter this in incunable Bibles in Italian in the form of *tabulae* and indices, present in print from the very first editions, and supplemented with manuscript additions by some early readers. The ‘customisation’ of the copies’ paratextual navigation devices begins as early as 1471, with the addition of manuscript *Tabulae* for the Psalms and the New Testament in some of the first edition copies (**8, 22**).⁴¹⁷

Following these early additions, copies continued to be adapted to their readers’ needs, not all of whom found the printed paratext sufficient. For instance, the 1487 edition only presents chapter numbers in its table of contents, making for tricky navigation. After adding leaf numbers throughout the volume, a reader of a copy now at the Vatican (**127**) also wrote them by the table of contents. However, it seems that they gave up before finishing, as the numeration accompanying each leaf ends halfway through the Book of Ecclesiastes (fol. T6v). In **42**, a reader adds books of the New Testament, missing from the printed table of contents. Other copies which contain readers’ annotations alongside paratextual elements such as the tables of contents, suggesting the readers were actively engaging in discontinuous reading, include **23, 31, 101, 121**.

Unexpected evidence in **172** also seems to attest a sequential reading. A large rusty key has left its imprint in at least seven locations in the copy, indicating its use as a bookmark. Discolouration left by a pair of glasses can similarly be found in **95**.⁴¹⁸ Similarly unexpected

⁴¹⁵ See for example Fragnito, *La Bibbia al rogo*, pp.329-330.

⁴¹⁶ ‘Books and Scrolls’, p. 51.

⁴¹⁷ See Chapter 2.

⁴¹⁸ A Latin Bible at the Fondazione Cini in Venice contains a similar outline, MEI 02145844. A search for the word ‘occhiali’ in MEI reveals 4 books with similar evidence at the Biblioteca Civica di Bergamo (MEI 02006283; MEI 02141621; MEI 02011302 and 02011331, entries by Eleonora Gamba),

marks may be found in a fourteenth-century Northern-European missal, where, for want of a better bookmark, a reader resorted to a rusty pair of scissors, whose mirrored imprint in several instances within the book also attests its repeated use as a makeshift bookmark.⁴¹⁹

CORRECTIONS

Finding errors in these editions is inevitable, despite the printing process including the printing of proof sheets, as seen in the unique example surviving as an archival wrapper in Venice before being sold by Laurence Witten in 1975 (MEI 02149602). The large bifolium served a dual purpose in the printing shop (on one side it contains part of 1 Maccabees, ff. PP1r and PP8v, with the catchword on PP8v erroneously reproducing the final word of that page, and on its verso a faint set-off print of an unidentified publication in 32° format), and is a valuable example illustrating the fine-tuning work carried out in the printing shop.

Some errors were spotted before copies left the printing shop: the earliest corrections (and earliest manuscript additions of any kind) encountered in the surviving copies were added in the printing shops of Adam de Ambergau (October 1471), Antonio Miscomini (1477) and Johannes Rubeus (1494). In the October 1471 Bible, chapter numbers erroneously missed out by the typesetters are corrected by the same hand in at least nine copies (ff. [i5r] and [x3v] of part I, [q10v] of part II: **23, 25, 31, 34, 39, 41, 42, 43, 44**). Copies of the Miscomini edition have the signature of fol. EE3 supplied in manuscript (**69, 70, 74, 75, 78** by the same hand; **72**, possibly by a later annotator), with an apparent stop-press correction where it is printed in some copies (**73, 79**). In the 1494 edition, incorrect signatures were printed on ff.

and one other entry with 'spectacles' cited in the description (MEI 02140648, entry by Camilla Marangoni).

⁴¹⁹ Newberry Library, MS 45.5. Raymond Clemens and Timothy Graham, *Introduction to Manuscript Studies* (Ithaca, NY; London: Cornell University Press, 2007), p. 96. The scissor marks are not mentioned in the manuscript's catalogue entry: Paul Saenger, *A Catalogue of the Pre-1500 Western Manuscript Books at the Newberry Library* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1989), pp. 78-9.

O2r and BB3r, and not printed at all on EE4r (corrected in **184, 186, 187, 188, 190, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 198, 199, 202, 203**; present in print in **192, 194, 198**). Similar manuscript corrections can be found in other early printed books, for instance in some of Aldus Manutius' editions.⁴²⁰

The surveyed Bibles also contain corrections by subsequent readers. Such manuscript additions are present in at least 30 of the surviving copies.⁴²¹ Minor corrections of misprinted details, such as quiring or chapter numbers, are the most common (found in approx. 25 of those copies). Others directly intervene on the textual content of the translation, sometimes dramatically altering the meaning of specific passages. For instance, **196**, which contains numerous annotations in Latin and Italian, includes several such corrections which add the word 'non' to amend the sense of the printed text, for instance for St John the Baptist's speech in Luke (DD5r) mentioned in the previous chapter (p. 61). Elsewhere, the same annotator corrects 'mane' to 'madre' (fol. KK4v). Readers were not always correct, or bringing the text in line with the Vulgate, like where 'mutabile' is erroneously changed to 'nuotabile' by an early reader who assumed it better suited the Genesis passage describing the creation of sea creatures (**202**).⁴²²

The absence of sophisticated corrections in most copies is significant. As modern critics have readily pointed out, the published version of Malerbi's translation contains many textual inaccuracies (a mixture of translation error, typesetting error and editorial oversight). While the correction of misprinted chapter numbers, or the completion of blank spaces resulting from poorly printed individual types, required no knowledge of the text, specific textual corrections would have required a significant level of familiarity with the

⁴²⁰ Geri Della Rocca de Candal, 'MANUS MANUTII: A Preliminary Checklist of Typographical and Manuscript Interventions in Aldine Incunabula (1445-1500)', in *Printing and Misprinting*, ed. by Geri Della Rocca de Candal, Anthony Grafton, and Paolo Sachet (Oxford: OUP, 2023), pp. 121-164.

⁴²¹ This figure is of course not comprehensive; their presence is likely higher, especially for minor corrections to single letters, easy to miss, especially when working from a digitisation.

⁴²² Other copies with textual corrections: **15, 53, 62, 64, 81, 100, 142, 155, 157, 184, 203**.

Bible, or the availability of another translation with which to compare the text. This becomes most apparent when faced with a non-Italian reader's annotations in **122**, where the number and exact nature of the corrections, and the content of the notes that single out extraneous passages, implies a side-by-side reading of two versions of the same text. Alongside **122**, a rare example of a reader highlighting a discrepancy in the text can be found in **189**, where a reader clearly signposts an extraneous passage, one of Malerbi's intralinear glosses, in I Maccabees. Almost two whole columns of text are crossed through, accompanied by the note 'Ista no(n) habe(n)tur i(n) biblia'. In Malerbi's translation, the interjection is signalled within the text 'Come dice el maestro de le hystorie', and ends with the words, 'Ora ritorniamo ale cose contenute nel libro di Machabei'; the annotator may have simply been attentive to the hints left in the text by the translator. While, as I have stated elsewhere, it may be that copies which suffered the most intense scrutiny were taken out of circulation altogether, it is clear that many readers did not feel the need to signal (for themselves or for later readers) where the printed text deviated from the contents of the Vulgate. Many likely lacked the knowledge and resources needed to recognise this. When considered alongside the presence and eventual reproduction of textual errors, discussed in the previous chapter, this phenomenon serves to illustrate the concerns of ecclesiastical authorities with regards to the proliferation of potentially incorrect reading material in a large number of copies.

Thus, annotations in surviving copies show that many errors went unnoticed by their readers, and when readers corrected errors in their Bibles, the corrections were not necessarily a successful attempt to bring the text closer to its correct meaning.

LITURGY

‘The liturgy touched the lives of the faithful every day, in ways that have not been fully enough appreciated.’⁴²³ In theory, publications such as Breviaries or Lectionaries were available that already provided the Bible readings used throughout the year, however some owners of pandect Bibles opted to record such information in their copies, blurring the lines between liturgical and devotional publications, and the Biblical pandect.

A particularly illuminating example may be found in two out of the three vernacular Bibles which belonged to the *romite ambrosiane* nuns of Santa Maria del Monte sopra Varese in the sixteenth century, each containing the same added table of recommended readings for the liturgical year (**95**, **151**). The calendar follows the Ambrosian rite, with a longer Advent period beginning in November, and feasts such as ‘In dedicatio ecclesiae Maioris’ (**95**, a1r). As an example of the layout of each line in the handwritten calendar, a slightly later addition in a different hand reads ‘Conceptio Beate v(ir)ginis marie Lectio libri sapientie: p(ro)verbior(um) D(omi)n(u)s possuit me. c(apitol)o 8 f. 216 [...]’, referring to the feast celebrated on December 8th established by pope Sixtus IV in 1476 (first front flyleaf recto). Readings for each saints’ feast day indicate the relevant book, incipit, and chapter and folio number (in this case, Wisdom chapter 8), with corresponding manuscript foliation added throughout the copies for easier retrieval of readings. A similar manuscript addition with a list of prescribed readings is present on two added leaves in **102**, and while the precise setting in which this was added is uncertain, the language of the added text provides a clue as to its use in Venice. Similar additions survive in Late Medieval Bibles in English, perhaps to be used for readings to the congregation.⁴²⁴ Likewise, additions to the calendar have

⁴²³ Virginia Reinburg, *French Books of Hours. Making an Archive of Prayer, c. 1400-1600* (Cambridge: CUP, 2012), p. 41 (quoted in Dondi, *Books of Hours*, p. XLV).

⁴²⁴ Poleg, *A Material History of the Bible*, pp. 54, p. 66.

already been mentioned as some of the most frequent manuscript additions in Italian Books of Hours.

Evidence also survives of readers directly annotating passages concerned with specific occasions in the liturgical year. The main period of the liturgical year in which readers were interested was the 40-day period of penance leading up to Easter. The heightened focus on Lenten readings encountered in surviving Italian Bibles is supported by archival evidence: among some clergy's concerns regarding cutting off access to vernacular Bibles, was a heightened demand for them during precisely this period of the liturgical year.⁴²⁵ Such marginal annotations continue the type of Bible use evidenced in the manuscript tradition: for instance, Marciana MS It. I, 3 (4889) contains similar additions.⁴²⁶

Marginal annotations related to the liturgical year with a particular interest in Lent are found in at least three surviving copies. These brief indications of when a passage might be read are in Italian, and are concentrated in the New Testament: readings in Mark and Luke, for Wednesday-Friday of the second week of Lent (**67**); readings in Matthew and Mark, apparently only for the first week of Lent, perhaps sign of a reader's zeal that did not last all the way through to Easter (**194**); passages in Matthew, Mark and Luke for Ash Wednesday (QQ5r), the first (QQ6r), third (TT1v), fourth (VV2r), and fifth (VV3r, VV4v) Sundays of Lent, Palm Sunday ('la domenica dala holiva', RR2r), and Easter Sunday (SS4r), as well as All Saints' Day (QQ4v; **172**). A 16-17th century English reader adds similar notes in their 1530 vernacular New Testament copy, further illustrating the practice of adding such annotations.⁴²⁷ Likely related to the Lenten readings is some readers' attention to biblical

⁴²⁵ In a letter dated 13 March 1559, the bishop of Colle Val d'Elsa wrote: 'adesso particolarmente che è la quaresima le desiderano per intendere le Prediche', cited in Fragnito, *Bibbia al rogo*, pp. 281-282.

⁴²⁶ *Le traduzioni Italiane della bibbia nel medioevo: Catalogo dei manoscritti*, 127.

⁴²⁷ Annotations include '4 Sunday in advent' (John 1, p. 130); 'la festa di S. Bartolomeo' (Luke 22, p. 123). *Il Nuouo Testamento, di greco nuouamente tradotto in lingua toscana per Antonio Brucioli*, Venice: Lucantonio Giunta, 1530 (EDIT16 CNCE 5938), British Library, 1016.c.5.

passages that address the topic of fasting, a key element of Lent, for instance in cat. nos. **7, 46, 172**.⁴²⁸ As well as liturgical readings, some readers' annotations draw attention to prayers and other elements of liturgy present in the text: the Lord's Prayer (**32, 137**); the *Magnificat* of Luke 1 (**67**, fol. AA8r), or the *Confiteor* in Matthew 11 (**192**, fol. AA5r). Marginal notes also include the *Benedicite* from the Liturgy of the Hours (**100**). Notes related to the lessons of Job, part of the Office of the Dead, are found in the margins of **71** (Latin incipits of lessons 2-4 and 9) and **98** (Latin incipits of all nine lessons, with one leaf so well-thumbed a corner had to be sewn back in with thread, pointing to its repeated use).⁴²⁹ This confirms the inescapable link between the pandect Bible and liturgy. Other readers would make use of the ample space on copies' endpapers, for instance writing out parts of the *Credo* and the *Angelus* (**50**), or the *Ave Maria* (**95**).

EARLY READERS AND THE PSALMS

The Psalms form a very distinct part of the Holy Scriptures, both in terms of their layout, and the role they played in the liturgy.⁴³⁰ Their popularity is also confirmed by their continued appearance in print: as Psalters and poetic versifications, both in the vernacular and Latin. Their reading formed the basis of regular devotional practices, both within monasteries following the rule of St Benedict (including Malerbi's Camaldolese order), and for laypeople wanting to emulate this, as witnessed by the numerous surviving Books of Hours. Unsurprisingly, they are among the most frequently annotated parts of the surveyed Bibles. In the absence of Latin incipits (by which readers knew the Psalms) in the printed

⁴²⁸ On similar interests in late medieval vernacular manuscripts, see Corbellini, 'Vernacular Bible Manuscripts in Late Medieval Italy', pp. 262-264.

⁴²⁹ For the corresponding passages in the first Book of Hours printed in Italy, see *Officium BVM secundum usum Romanum [Latin]*, Venice: Nicolaus Jenson, 1474, ISTC ih00357230, [s8v]-. Dondi, *Books of Hours*, cat. no. 1 (pp. 239-247). See also Knut Ottosen, *The Responsories and Versicles of the Latin Office of the Dead* (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 1993), pp. 53-.

⁴³⁰ Eyal Poleg, 'Memory, Performance, and Change: The Psalms' Layout in Late Medieval and Early Modern Bibles', in *From Scrolls to Scrolling: Sacred Texts, Materiality and Dynamic Media Cultures*, ed. by Bradford A. Anderson (Berlin; Boston: De Gruyter, 2020), pp. 119-152.

apparatus, readers added these in their Bibles' margins. As with other annotations, some did so systematically (**31**, the only annotated part of the copy), others less so (**16, 71, 105, 124**). Latin incipits would be added in sixteenth-century editions of Malerbi's translation, for instance in 1567 (EDIT 16 CNCE 5779). The same process can be seen in English Bibles: readers' repeated addition of Latin incipits in Bibles lacking them shows a demand that would eventually be met in printed editions.⁴³¹

A smaller subset of the Psalms, the seven Penitential Psalms, would also sometimes be singled out by readers. They were available to fifteenth- and sixteenth-century readers in multiple editions; at least 12 editions including a vernacular translation had been produced during the fifteenth century, most of them in verse.⁴³² Whether out of convenience or to better understand the context, some readers marked them in their Bibles, either by explicitly indicating the number of the psalm in the list of seven, or writing the incipit in the margin (**31, 71, 79, 90, 99, 105, 121, 124, 137, 188**). The annotator of **137** identifies the penitential psalms as well as others, with references to their use in the liturgy of the hours: 'ad vespre la domenica' (cc7r, Psalm 109 (110)), 'ad prima la domenica' (cc8v).

One distinctive set of annotations in a 1476 Italian Psalm edition copy at the Biblioteca Universitaria in Turin illustrates vernacular Bible use that strongly deviated from church-approved practice.⁴³³ Carolus Bergagna, an early reader, pens several marginal notes throughout the copy. Some of these, e.g. 'bellissimo', suggest aesthetic appreciation without superstitious undertones, however others signal this copy to have served as a source for apotropaic prayers, written on small strips of paper or parchment. The words 'utile a portare addosso' (by the first Penitential Psalm, [A6v]), and even suggesting daily

⁴³¹ Poleg, *Material History of the Bible*, p. 185.

⁴³² 12 editions of vernacular Psalmi poenitentiales listed in ISTC; two side-by-side Latin and Italian editions: [Milan: Leonardus Pachel and Uldericus Scinzenzeler, about 1480], ISTC ip01032300; [Venice: Erhard Ratdolt, 1483-85]. ISTC ip01032400, another in ottava rima: [Milan]: Johannes Jacobus Risius, 11 Nov. 1493, ISTC ia00096490.

⁴³³ Shelfmark XV.VII.147, MEI 02131113.

wear, 'Questo e bonno ogni giorno e portar a dosso' (Psalm 90(91), e3r) have clear talismanic connotations. The copy may have even been used as a source for creating *brevi*, enclosed amulets which did not necessitate any level of literacy from the wearer to benefit from their talismanic powers.⁴³⁴ The fact that Carolus records this information suggests that the copy served as source for apotropaic prayers on multiple occasions. Some early publications existed which promoted this type of engagement with the Psalms.⁴³⁵ Readers might even use such 'snippets' for dealing with theft, rabies or bedbugs.⁴³⁶ However, even before the Counter-Reformation began to intervene on the lives of the faithful, Catholic writers condemned superstitious uses of the Scriptures, for instance, Passavanti in his mid-14th century *Specchio di vera penitenza*.⁴³⁷ While evidence of the practice survives in house inventories,⁴³⁸ inquisitorial trials and rare physical examples,⁴³⁹ this incunabulum is a valuable witness to the application of this popular religious practice, as well as evidence of a use of the Scriptures met with the explicit condemnation by the Church authorities.

USES AND ABUSES

Defining what constitutes subversive engagement with the printed Holy Scriptures is challenging across such a wide temporal and cultural divide.⁴⁴⁰ Some readers' additions are impossible to classify as anything other than irreverent, for instance the crude addition of anatomical detail to a mule carrying the captive Joachim to Babylon (**201**, fol. t5v). In a

⁴³⁴ Franco Cardini, 'Il "breve" (secoli XIV-XV): tipologia e funzione', *La Ricerca Folkloristica*, 5 (1982), 63-73.

⁴³⁵ Edoardo Barbieri, 'Di certi usi della Sacra Scrittura condannati: "Il Salmista secondo la Bibbia"', *La Bibliofilia*, 120 (2018), 75-109.

⁴³⁶ James S. Grubb, *Provincial Families of the Renaissance: Private and Public life on the Veneto* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2019), pp. 188-189.

⁴³⁷ Cardini, pp. 66-67.

⁴³⁸ Caroline C. Anderson, 'The Material Culture of Domestic Religion in Early Modern Florence, c.1480-c.1650' (PhD Thesis, University of York, 2007).

⁴³⁹ Some examples are described in Katherine Tycz, 'Material Prayers: The Use of Text in Early Modern Italian Domestic Devotions' (PhD Thesis, University of Cambridge, 2017).

⁴⁴⁰ See the citation from Sherman at the beginning of this chapter.

similarly questionable move, an early reader of another illustrated copy, inspired by the traditional representation of Moses sporting a pair of horns, adds similar horns to figures ranging from David to God himself (**158**, e.g. fol. e5v). The illustrated editions seemed especially to invite additions (see also **137, 140, 150, 198**).⁴⁴¹ Some readers interacted with the printed illustrations in a more intentional manner, by describing their content, or labelling the depicted figures with their names, expanding on the sporadic labels already present in the woodcuts. As with other types of use, some readers added these systematically (**180, 186**), others less so (**172** concentrates on scenes from the Holy Week; **153, 198**). Although relatively infrequent, the types of annotations found alongside printed illustrations in copies of the editions from 1490-1494 go against Lipmann's idea that the 'proper function' of illustrations in Italian books was ornamental.⁴⁴² More humorous additions may also be encountered, such as a caption added to the illustration of 2 Corinthians of a man standing by a walled city gate: 'chie [=chi è] la chi pichia', resulting in something between an early comic strip and the set up to a "knock knock" joke (**198**, HH2v). Elsewhere in the same copy, doodles of birds and smiling faces poking their heads through an open window enliven the printed vignettes. Doodles of human faces, within woodcut vignettes, on the margins or added endpapers, may be found in **47, 58, 77, 115, 124, 140, 180**.

In addition to the excessively explicit woodcuts discussed in Chapter 3, details scratched out by devout readers included the faces of soldiers flogging Jesus in the vignette that accompanies Mark's account of the Passion (**142**, fol. C5r), or a winged Satan in the Book of Zachariah (**163**, fol. M4v). Such interventions are of course not isolated to these editions; examples include the removal of popes condemned to hell in illustrations of a 1491 Divine

⁴⁴¹ Sherman describes printed coats of arms as likewise inviting doodles, p. 84.

⁴⁴² Lippmann, p. 4.

Comedy at the Fondazione Cini in Venice, or the famously defaced depictions of Erasmus in a *Cosmographia Universalis* at the National Library in Madrid.⁴⁴³

It has been suggested that untrained scribes' unsophisticated scribbles and 'penmanship exercises' in Early Modern Bibles constitute 'a sign of someone joining the community of godly readers'.⁴⁴⁴ While some of the encountered evidence can be accepted as such, other marginalia, such as the explicit 'basciami il collo' (**52**), or a trimmed poem with all the earmarks of a drinking song (**39**), are far more surprising to encounter given the context. The former example, in a copy brought to Bavaria by a Piemontese owner, appears to have constituted a language lesson (with an interest in the profane that will be familiar to anyone who has experienced a similar language exchange nowadays) in return for German lessons witnessed elsewhere in the volume in the form of bilingual Latin and German notes, the latter strongly inflected by the annotator's Italian origin (fol. U6v). Owners' personal notes, such as those found in the copy (**52**) often shed a light on their lives and enrich our understanding of the contexts in which the Bibles were used. Some annotations even reflect owners' concerns in relation to turbulent geo-political developments facing their land which perhaps drove them to seek solace in the Holy Scriptures. In **154**, a bleak inscription with echoes of Revelations in relation to the year 1500; **182** has a manuscript prophetic text with anti-French undertones preserved with the book.

UNANNOTATED BIBLES

And what of unannotated Bibles? One of the issues is the risk of treating an unannotated volume as one that lay untouched by its owners: the high incidence of unannotated copies

⁴⁴³ Grzesiak, Maschietto, pp. 49-52. Sebastian Münster, Heinrich Petri, *Cosmographiae universalis lib. VI* Basileæ: Apud Henrichum Petri, mense martio, anno salutis 1550, Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, R/33638, p. 130, digitised via <<http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000188745&page=1>>.

⁴⁴⁴ Sherman, p. 72.

could be read as a sign that owners were ‘reading [them], if they were reading at all, in a very passive and non-interactive way’,⁴⁴⁵ without critical engagement with the text. Counter-arguments of the loss of inscriptions through the washing of the copies, or their readers keeping their notes on the text within separate notebooks,⁴⁴⁶ certainly do not explain away all of the unannotated copies. In reference to Chartier’s *Order of Books*, Holt has written of ‘the overwhelming majority of readers who still read but were less interactive, many having to vocalize what they read in order to understand it, and generally leaving no written evidence of their very real encounters with the text’.⁴⁴⁷ Finger-marks, ink and candlewax stains, plant bookmarks, and various other debris found in the gutters of otherwise unannotated early printed books, termed ‘objective users’ traces’ by Wim François, are evidence of the elusive presence of just such readers.⁴⁴⁸ Within the present census, fragments of candle wax were deliberately used to mark the text in **57** and **165**. Plant matter was found in at least 5 copies (**40**, leaves, possibly rowan or walnut, the latter coincidentally the source of writing ink, in two places in the volume; **95**, olive leaves, flower petals and pieces of reed; **96**, leaves; **99**, rose petals; **129**, chipped wood fragments). Between the pages of a Bible, one may encounter fragments of dark corrugated wool thread (**95**), or, as confirmed by the BNF Conservation Department, communion wafer fragments (**124**).⁴⁴⁹ Although impossible to date, this last addition may be linked to some popular religious use, especially given how much more jealously guarded communion wafers were in the past than today.⁴⁵⁰ While these objective users’ traces present evidence that the

⁴⁴⁵ Holt, p. 208.

⁴⁴⁶ Sherman, p. 7.

⁴⁴⁷ Holt, p. 180.

⁴⁴⁸ Wim François, ‘The Early Modern Bible between Material Book and Immaterial World’, in *The Agency of things in Medieval and Early Modern Art: Materials Power and Manipulation*, ed. by Grażyna Jurkowiec, et al. (Routledge, 2017), pp. 129-143 (p. 136).

⁴⁴⁹ Source: e-mail correspondence with Patrick Morantin, BNF, January 2024.

⁴⁵⁰ Kathryn M. Rudy, ‘Sewing the Body of Christ: Eucharist Wafer Souvenirs Stitched into Fifteenth-Century Manuscripts, primarily in the Netherlands,’ *Journal of Historians of Netherlandish Art*, 8:1 (2016) DOI: 10.5092/jhna.2016.8.1.1.

copies did not lay untouched since their publication, or that not only the annotated pages in a copy had been read, they remain difficult to assess in a meaningful and quantifiable manner.

EVIDENCE OF READING OUT LOUD

Although it has been suggested that Malerbi's target audience implicitly consisted of those who were able to read,⁴⁵¹ he was certainly familiar with listening as a mode of encountering the written word, especially after joining the Camaldolese order, whose adherence to the Benedictine rule involved hearing books read out loud, for instance during mealtimes. The practice certainly was commonplace, both within the private space of the home, and in public. A series of officially sanctioned public readings of the Bible was decided on by the Venetian senate in the summer of 1532; the readings' success is documented in the senate's September 1532 meeting.⁴⁵² That same year, Antonio Brucioli's complete Italian Bible translation appeared in print; and the speaker cited in the document, was the same Fra Zaccaria who translated the New Testament into Italian in 1536 (EDIT16 CNCE 5940). Other archival sources provide glimpses into this practice: for instance, during his Inquisition trial, Niccolò delle Monache, an illiterate carpenter from Conegliano in the Veneto, admitted that the partial vernacular Bible translations found in his house in 1549 were read to him by his children so that he could understand the Latin readings from mass.⁴⁵³

While evidence of such reading is more difficult to identify within copies, readers' notes provide some clues. For instance, an early German reader pens a brief prayer in their copy, which (here in translation) specifically addresses the act of reading and hearing the

⁴⁵¹ Barbieri, *Le Bibbie italiane*, p. 53.

⁴⁵² Buzzetti and Bravi, p. 35, in reference to: ADSVe, Senato-Terra: Deliberazioni, registro 27, c. 51.

⁴⁵³ ASVe, Sant'Uffizio: processi, busta 7, cited in Buzzetti and Bravi, pp. 38-39. Fragnito, *Bibbia al rogo*, pp. 73-74, provides other examples.

Scriptures: ‘May Jesus and Mary and the holy Joseph be with me in illness and on my deathbed [/in the bonds of death] and always and may they help me read and hear the words of this holy [scripture] with devotion.’ (28, see also the catalogue entry). Reading (‘lesen’) and listening (‘hören’) are listed side by side as complementary modes of accessing the Bible. A similar prayer follows the vernacular Proverbs translation in a thirteenth/fourteenth-century Italian manuscript: ‘Or preghiamo a Deo che in tale maniera lo lassi intendere a quelli chello legeranno et odranno’, again showing these activities were linked.⁴⁵⁴ Additions such as end-of-line hyphenation, or cedillas added to printed ‘c’s and ‘z’s for ease of reading suggest copies served this purpose (31, 32). The context in which copies were used, for instance ones whose provenance can be traced back to religious institutions where readings were integral to daily routine, also may point to such use.⁴⁵⁵ However, establishing this type of encounter with the book greatly benefits from external evidence.

LANGUAGE OF ANNOTATIONS AND ITALIAN BIBLES IN THE HANDS OF NON-ITALIAN READERS

A final aspect of the evidence found in the surveyed Bibles, the language of annotations, illustrates the breadth of reach and range of uses for these books.

Alongside Italian, Latin is the most frequent language of marginal annotations. The *editio princeps* of Malerbi’s translation contained additions in Latin, however Squarzaficus’ dedicatory letter in the Gabriele di Pietro edition (see Chapter 2) was in the vernacular; given that the entire work was in Italian, the printer demanded that the entire product be in the vernacular, despite the elevated register Latin would bestow on the addition: ‘non se convenia scrivere litterale sermone essendo [’]opera vulgare’. Latin was nonetheless

⁴⁵⁴ BNCF Conv. Soppr. B.3.173, Leonardi cat. no. 39.

⁴⁵⁵ Bernardelli, p. 41.

inextricably linked with the translation's source text, the Vulgate, which also constituted the form in which it would be regularly encountered: 'part of ordinary life in the form of the three basic prayers all Christians were required to know (the Lord's Prayer, the *Ave Maria*, and the Apostles' Creed) as well as being the language of the religious rites they attended weekly', even if for many their knowledge of Latin did not go far beyond that.⁴⁵⁶ The types of Latin annotations clearly evidence this, often in the form of Latin Bible verses, or brief comments on the text.

Rare annotations in the Biblical languages tend to reflect a limited facility, as might be expected of readers who were not reading the Bible in those languages. In addition to the Jewish ownership discussed in the previous chapter, annotations include the ornamental running titles with the Hebrew names for the biblical books provided in a square script (**5**), or Latin transliterations of the books' Hebrew names written alongside the printed running titles, (**115**). Similar additions would appear in print in later editions of the Bible in Italian, including the 1567 Inquisition-licensed edition (Edit16 CNCE 5779). Interestingly, the Book of Lamentations drew the attention of early readers of **62** and **84**, who both write Roman transliterations of the letters of the Hebrew alphabet in the margins, reflecting the original Hebrew text's composition as an acrostic. Appearances of Greek are similarly rare: a reader's scribbles (**74**), an illuminator's motto (**8**), and a reader's motto (**81**). The rare use of Greek type in the *editio princeps* presents two terms in Jerome's Prologue to the Psalms using Greek type (E1r therein). A reader of **9** provides their transliteration in the interlinear spaces, anticipating the fate of this editorial decision; in later editions the Greek terms are absent and only transliterations, such as those penned by the annotator, are offered to the readers. Their inclusion, perhaps aimed at elevating the publication's status, may have been deemed inopportune in the context of a vernacular text, to justify the added logistical

⁴⁵⁶ Dondi, *Books of Hours*, p. XLV.

challenge of intermingling Greek and Latin alphabet type in a publication that did not intrinsically require it. Except for the occasional use of the letter ‘chi’, to replace the letter ‘x’ in the October 1471 Bible by Adam de Ambergau (who already had the types in his shop for Chrysoloras’ *Erotemata*, also printed in 1471),⁴⁵⁷ Greek type is absent from later 15th-century Italian Bible editions.

While such annotations provide clues of how readers were customising their Italian Bibles in ways that might later appear in printed editions of the text,⁴⁵⁸ marginal notes in European vernacular languages other than Italian shed light on an unexpected aspect of these editions’ post-publication fortunes: readers of other nationalities engaging with the Bible in Italian, rather than in their native language or the more commonly available Latin.

Brief marginal summaries in French, intermingled with Italian written by the same annotator, are found in **7**, later owned by the Toulouse-based collector Justin MacCarthy Reagh. These include brief translations (e.g. ‘mostarde’ written by Malerbi’s printed ‘senapo’, [x8v]), and cross-references to other parts of the Bible. **187**, still in France today, contains similar early annotations in French. Brief marginal (or interlinear) translations in German are found in **179**, formerly of the Teutonic Knight Order’s seminary in Mergentheim. For instance, ‘lachen’ written immediately above the printed ‘riso’ in Genesis 21 verse 6 (fol. b6v). The content of the German prayer discussed above (p. 129), likewise suggests a reader who engaged in devotional reading in a vernacular language other than their own. **122**, now in Madrid, contains annotations by two early Spanish readers. Although neither leave identifying marks, one of the hands is recognisable as the annotator of a March 1491 Divine Comedy (ISTC id0032000) now at another library in the same city. They both share distinct, decorative reading marks (leafy branches, wide-sleeved manicules and bird-like

⁴⁵⁷ See Chapter 1 for references.

⁴⁵⁸ Similar developments may be seen in English publications, William Slights, *Managing Readers: printed marginalia in English Renaissance Books* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001).

manicules whose open beaks points towards the text (e.g. x1v in cat. no. **122**)).⁴⁵⁹ The other reader of the Madrid Bible copy indicates discrepancies between Malerbi's translation and the Vulgate in a tidy humanist cursive. Their annotations expressly identify extraneous additions from Jerome or Malerbi, and errors in the text: 'Deficit illud textus' (r2r); 'Falta la traduction del 40 libro de Esdras' (q10v). As far as I am aware, this is the only copy where the misprinted passage in the Lord's Prayer, discussed earlier (p. 62), is corrected: 'el evangelio no dize q(ue) vamos a su reino, sino q(ue) su reino venga a nosotros[...]' (L4r).

A similar interest is seen in the manuscript notes of a Dutch owner of **155**, who was evidently actively learning Italian. Their annotations reveal an unsurprising focus on 'buon toscano' (a8r), the linguistic model presented to sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Dutch learners of Italian.⁴⁶⁰ On the same leaf, the phrase 'non more che morendo esca di doglio', strongly reminiscent of a verse in Petrarch's *canzone*, *Ben mi credea* ('ché ben muor chi morendo esce di doglia', RVF 207, verse 91), illustrates the Petrarchist lens through which European readers perceived Italian literature. These readers may have deliberately sought out Italian Bibles as language learning aids. A note by an English owner of a sixteenth-century New Testament in Italian suggests that, among Italian learners, demand existed for vernacular translations – e.g. the works of Virgil – and not just Petrarch, Ariosto or Castiglione.⁴⁶¹ Readers across Europe used Italian books to supplement the ever more widely available printed language learning resources: dictionaries, grammars, conversation primers.⁴⁶² Foreign readers of the Bible in Italian would not turn to it as the

⁴⁵⁹ Madrid, Universidad Complutense, Shelfmark BH INC I-19, MEI 02145619.

⁴⁶⁰ Sylviane Lazard, 'Insegnare l'italiano all'estero nel Seicento: il problema del modello di lingua', in *Cuadernos de Filología Italiana*, vol. 11 (2004), 29-60.

⁴⁶¹ See footnote 426 above. The note reads (with modernised punctuation): 'delyveryd unto syr edmu(n)d heuet thes bokes yn ytalyon[:] orlando, Virgilio, carlota de ista[?], camilla, petrarco, cortigiano, quintocorsio, laborinto de amore, de armas,'. Edmund Hewett, mentioned in the note, may have been a relation of William Hewett, Lord Mayor of London in 1559-1560.

⁴⁶² Rocío G. Sumillera, 'Sixteenth-Century Italian, French, Spanish and English Language Learning Material. A Bibliographical Study', *SEDERI*, 23 (2013), 139-158.

authoritative version of the text; while some left marks in their Bibles that show their reverence for the text, for others it served as a learning aid.

Perhaps the most thorough set of annotations by a foreign reader consists of content summaries in Armenian which accompany the printed text and woodcut illustrations throughout **186**, enriching their owner Ałajār Ĵutec'İ's three complete readings of the volume. Another foreign reader, the Ethiopian traveller Zaga Christ, pens some mottos in an imperfect Italian on the outermost leaves of his Bible (**149**), suggesting it likewise served him as a language learning aid during his time in Italy. Evidence of the use of liturgical publications for language learning can likewise be encountered in Greek-language editions of Books of Hours.⁴⁶³

Certainly, when Nicolò Malerbi expressed his wish for his translation to reach a universal audience, he could not have predicted it would encounter such a wide range of uses, and even appeal to a non-Italian audience.



⁴⁶³ Dondi, *Books of Hours*, p. 109.

CHAPTER 6.

THE SURVIVAL AND LATER FORTUNES OF ITALIAN BIBLE INCUNABLES

Given the contentious history of vernacular Bible translations, the question that arises is just how copies survived given that they were banned. How many copies of the incunable editions of the Bible in Italian existed in the fifteenth century? The only known indication of the number of copies produced for any of the printed editions of the Bible in Italian comes from the Ripoli Press diary, whose two editions of the Gospel of Saint John, were likely based on Malerbi's translation.⁴⁶⁴ No copies of either are known to survive, although numerous were produced: 505 copies of the Gospel with a prayer to Saint Roch, in the edition dated before July 1480 are mentioned in the document, and an impressive 1000 copies of the Saint John Gospel in *ottavo* are given to frate Paulo di fra Domenico di Mugello on 27 February 1480.⁴⁶⁵

We can only hope to reach an estimate for the editions considered in this thesis. Of this unknown number of copies produced, just over two hundred survive in institutional collections of the incunable editions. Although documentary sources, such as printers' wills, survive that record the press runs of some coeval editions, no such evidence has been encountered for any of the fifteenth-century editions of the Bible in Italian. In his 1992 monograph, Edoardo Barbieri abstains from any estimates of the copies put into circulation.⁴⁶⁶ Known press runs for other contemporary printed editions can at the very least provide a reference for the number of copies that may have been produced. Most pertinently, figures are available for the number of copies put into circulation by the press

⁴⁶⁴ Barbieri catalogue nos. 6 and 8. "Ghost" editions, whose existence is not confirmed, are also discussed by Barbieri, see footnote 56 above.

⁴⁶⁵ Melissa Conway, 'The *Diario* of the Printing Press of San Jacopo di Ripoli: Commentary and Transcription' (doctoral thesis, Yale University, 1994), p. 417 (fol. 73v in the original document) and p. 428 (fol. 79r) respectively.

⁴⁶⁶ *Le Bibbie italiane*, p. X.

of the de Spira brothers, responsible for the August 1471 Malerbi Bible.⁴⁶⁷ These range from 100-300 for editions printed before Johannes' demise, to 400 copies for Vindelinius' edition of the works of Sallust in quarto format in 1470 (ISTC is00051000), and 1000 copies for his edition of *Lectura super primo et secundo Decretalium* by Nicolaus Panormitanus de Tudeschis (ISTC ip00058000).⁴⁶⁸ The lower figures likely served as a reference for Michael Kotrba, who estimates the first edition's press run as approximately 300 copies.⁴⁶⁹

Scattered data from colophons or documentary sources is available for some contemporary Latin Bibles: ca. 158 copies of the Gutenberg Bible; a declared 275 copies printed in Rome by Sweynhem and Pannartz in 1471 (ISTC ib00535000), 930 copies in Venice by Leonard Wild in 1478 (ISTC ib00558000). In ca. 1498-1502, 1600 copies of the Bible with the *postillae* of Hugo de Sancto Caro, were printed in Basel (ISTC ib00610000).⁴⁷⁰ The trend for ever higher press runs, was likely also the case with vernacular Italian Bibles. While, in comparison with the first printed Catalan translation of 1478, which has no surviving complete copies,⁴⁷¹ the corpus of incunable Italian Bibles appears substantial, it does not rival that of contemporary Venetian Bibles printed in Latin: the first Venetian Latin Bible survives in 87 copies in public collections,⁴⁷² while Wild's 1478 Bible survives in approximately 103 copies, a 11% survival rate of the recorded press run.⁴⁷³ The surveyed vernacular Bible editions' survival rate is certainly lower than the average survival rate of 37

⁴⁶⁷ These have been brought together by Eric White in 'A Census of Print Runs for Fifteenth-Century Books' (CERL, 2012), <https://cerl.org/resources/links_to_other_resources/bibliographical_data#researching_print_runs>.

⁴⁶⁸ White, 'A Census of Print Runs', nos. 59-61, 71, 82.

⁴⁶⁹ Kotrba, p. 32.

⁴⁷⁰ White, 'A Census of Print Runs', nos. 1, 76, 125, 34.

⁴⁷¹ Fragnito, p. 86. A single leaf of this edition survives: New York, Hispanic Society of America, Inc. 37, see ISTC ib00622000.

⁴⁷² Venice: Franciscus Renner, de Heilbronn and Nicolaus de Frankfordia, 1475, ISTC ib00541000.

⁴⁷³ Rinaldo Fulin, 'Documenti per servire alla storia della tipografia veneziana', *Archivio veneto*, 23 (1882), 84-212 (pp. 100-102).

copies per edition, calculated in 2010 from a sample of over 500 editions produced in Venice listed in the ISTC.⁴⁷⁴

Caution is certainly advisable when dealing with the issue of press runs as our understanding of the survival rates of these few editions remains in constant development. For instance, the 1918 Herschel V. Jones library sale catalogue concluded that a particularly high number of copies must have been printed of the 1490 edition to offset the investment incurred by commissioning a full set of woodcuts.⁴⁷⁵ Far fewer surviving copies' whereabouts were known in the early 20th century than are today, which informed those conclusions. At present, the 18 1490 edition copies in institutional ownership do not significantly outnumber the subsequent editions' 16 (1492 edition), 16 (1493 edition, then all but unknown to much of the scholarly community), or 21 attested copies (1494 edition).⁴⁷⁶ Over two centuries earlier, Johann Ludolph Bünemann, likewise convinced of his copy's rarity, offered a significant discount for buyers of his 1487 edition copy (**132**) if they showed him another, when 14 are described alongside it in the present study.

Alongside the survival of copies, the related questions of how copies were lost likewise merits attention. These books were made to be handled and used, and 'the more heavily a book was used, the more vulnerable it was to decay'.⁴⁷⁷ Even a monument of early printing such as the Gutenberg Bible had copies consigned to oblivion as copies were 'replaced [...] with more recent editions [...] turned into binding waste [...] lost or ignored',⁴⁷⁸ as a result of owners purchasing newer editions of the same works to update their libraries.⁴⁷⁹ The idea

⁴⁷⁴ Cristina Dondi, 'The Venetian Booktrade: a Methodological Approach to and First Results', in *Early Printed Books as Material Objects*, ed. by Bettina Wagner and Marcia Reed (Berlin; New York: De Gruyter Saur, 2010), pp. 219-227 (p. 219, based on work carried out together with Paul Needham).

⁴⁷⁵ Herschel V. Jones, *Catalogue of the Library of Herschel V. Jones*, New York Anderson Galleries, 1918, lot no. 101.

⁴⁷⁶ Similar developments in the number of known copies of the Gutenberg Bible over time are charted in Eric White's *Editio Princeps*.

⁴⁷⁷ Sherman, p. 5.

⁴⁷⁸ White, *Editio Princeps*, p. 63.

⁴⁷⁹ Dondi, *Printed Books of Hours*, p. XLIII-XLIV.

of books disappearing as they were 'read to pieces', which has even earned its own term in German ('zerlesen'), is less conceivable for large folio Bibles than with ephemera, such as literacy aids or pamphlets.

One of the most evocative ends an Italian Bible may have met was its destruction in the flames of a book burning.⁴⁸⁰ In its crackdown on unauthorised Bible translations, the Church was not loath to destroy copies in a bid to remove them from circulation. Gigliola Fragnito describes several examples of public book burnings that included vernacular biblical translations; even in the mid-seventeenth century, small local bonfires took place, for instance in Friuli in 1648 where Latin and vernacular Italian Bibles were destroyed.⁴⁸¹ On just one occasion, almost a hundred years earlier, 10,000 books burned in Saint Mark's Square at the encouragement of the Venetian inquisitor and future pope, Felice Peretti, on 18 March 1559.⁴⁸² Indeed, the conflagration did not even have to take up the entirety of Saint Mark's Square; the vernacular Bible read by Menocchio, the miller whose trial by the Inquisition was made famous by the work of Carlo Ginzburg, was burned by his cousin's wife in the oven.⁴⁸³ Doubtless other such bonfires, both great and small, took place without mention in any historical records, and among these burned Bibles would have been also the very first printed translations from the fifteenth century, without distinction between translations associated with the Protestant movement, and those that were not.

⁴⁸⁰ Alongside Fragnito's monograph, see Alexander Murray, 'The Burning of Heretical Books', in *Heresy and the Making of European Culture: Medieval and Modern Perspectives*, ed. By Andrew P. Roach and James R. Simpson (London; New York: Routledge, 2016), pp. 77-87; Carlo De Frede, 'Roghi di libri ereticali nell'Italia del Cinquecento', in *Ricerche storiche ed economiche in memoria di Corrado Barbagallo*, ed. by Luigi De Rosa (Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1970), vol. II, pp. 315-328. Earlier, mainly pre-1520 book-burnings are discussed in Thomas Werner, *Den Irrtum liquidieren: Bücherverbrennungen im Mittelalter* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2007).

⁴⁸¹ *La Bibbia al rogo*, p. 328-9.

⁴⁸² Paul F. Grendler, *The Roman Inquisition and the Venetian press, 1540-1605* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), p. 120, citing Pastor.

⁴⁸³ Ginzburg, p. 36. Barbieri, *Le Bibbie italiane*, pp. 181-183.

We have no way of knowing just how many copies were lost during the period of increased scrutiny from church authorities following the Council of Trent. It is only in the last few decades that scholars have gained access to relevant materials in the archives of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith (recently renamed the Dicastery for the Doctrine of the Faith), and the surviving documentation is fragmentary and inconsistent. Although official Church policy became extremely strict during this period, some voices remained sympathetic to the longstanding habits of the faithful.⁴⁸⁴ It has been suggested that the ecclesiastic authorities' focus shifted elsewhere over time: seventeenth-century censors' attention turned away from heresy (with which biblical translations were associated), to literature of libertine or magic-related content.⁴⁸⁵ This may have meant less attention was placed on other issues that had previously been central to the Church's agenda, with Protestantism now a permanent feature on Europe's religious map.

Thus, during the decades that followed, copies of the Bible in Italian continued to circulate, as witnessed by some dated ownership inscriptions. In the years between the Indices of 1559 and 1596, these include the Venetian Cesare Balino purchasing his 1481 edition copy in 1583 (**82**), or another unidentified owner writing the date October 1584, likely to indicate the date of acquisition, in their copy (**80**). Copies continued to change hands in the following century despite the definitive ban on owning and buying vernacular Italian Bibles: in 1634 Thomas Collins was able to purchase his copy in Venice (**9**), in 1638, Giuseppe Antonio dalle Donne proudly writes 'La Bibbia Volgare e no(n) Latina 1638' in his copy (**189**, fol. E3v); another copy changed hands twice in 1628 and 1634 (**149**); another also has likely seventeenth century provenance (**125**).⁴⁸⁶ Not everyone sought the continued approval of local religious authorities; a clandestine book trade continued, as explored by Paul F.

⁴⁸⁴ Fragnito, *La Bibbia al rogo*, p. 329, footnote 29.

⁴⁸⁵ Mario Infelise, 'Introduzione', in *Libro e Censura*, ed. by Mario Infelise and Federico Barbierato (Milan: S. Bonnard, 2002), pp. 5-17 (p. 11).

⁴⁸⁶ Further examples may be found in Fragnito, *La Bibbia al rogo*, p. 54.

Grendler in the case of Venice.⁴⁸⁷ It is easy to imagine why books which were traded in this way might not carry physical evidence indicating whose hands they passed through. Some copies had by then been taken abroad to areas where this was less enforced: Switzerland, Germany, Poland. Others survived under the proverbial lock and key in ecclesiastical libraries; many of the copies now at the Vatican Library were stored in the Archive of the Milanese Curia, where they likely arrived in 1582, following an edict by Charles Borromeo calling for vernacular Bibles to be surrendered to the Chancellor of the Diocese, alongside other banned books, including those for the ownership of which a license had been obtained.⁴⁸⁸

BIBLES IN THE HANDS OF READERS: THEIR CONTINUED USE

Later evidence from the surviving copies points to their continued use by their owners. Additions included new title pages reflecting evolving aesthetic canons, or missing parts of the text supplied in manuscript. While many of these additions are crude enough not to be the work of modern booksellers, some of the books' supplementation with fragments of other editions may instead be the result of such commercial operations.

While many of the incomplete copies are only missing single (often outermost) leaves, other partial survivals seem to point to readers' interest in specific parts of the text. Rather unsurprisingly, most contain the Psalms or the New Testament: **18** (Psalms, together with the accompanying prologues, and the New Testament Gospels); **19** (New Testament Gospels); **32** (New Testament); **45** (Psalms); **77** (Psalms likely supplied from another copy). Only the Old Testament survives of no. **27**. Unusually, no. **66** only contains the Letter to Aristeia; of particular interest to an owner, or perhaps deemed extraneous to the Bible to

⁴⁸⁷ Chapter VI of *The Venetian Inquisition and the Printing Press* discusses the subversive book trade in the final decades of the sixteenth century that went against the church authorities' rulings.

⁴⁸⁸ Orlandi, pp. 351-352, with examples of books containing inscriptions indicating they were handed over by their owners.

which it originally belonged and thus bound separately. Such survivals do not seem to point to a distribution of the volume in parts, as Mart van Duijn has shown for the first printed Bible in Dutch⁴⁸⁹; early manuscript foliation in **66**, starting with “260” on the first leaf, shows the leaves were originally bound in their intended place, before the volume was disbound. Instead, each time these fragmentary copies seem to have been the result of a conscious choice on the part of the owner.

Copies of the earliest four editions were typically bound in two separate volumes, usually divided between the Psalms and Book of Wisdom, except the following, bound as a single volume: **22, 57** and **70**. One copy is divided into three equal parts for the readers’ convenience; unsurprisingly, given the edition’s dimensions (**23**). Of the editions typically bound in two volumes, the following sets were assembled from previously separate copies: **8, 16, 26, 38, 43(?)**, **58, 69, 77**. Conversely, the following sets present consistent decoration or evidence of use which suggests they have remained together since the fifteenth century: **4, 7, 11, 16** (small parts of both volumes), **22, 23, 25, 30, 31, 34, 35, 36, 39, 41, 44, 48(?)**, **50(?)**, **52, 53, 57, 60, 61, 62, 64, 65(?)**, **67, 70, 72(?)**, **73, 75**. Of the 1481 and later editions, typically bound as one volume, few were bound in two volumes (**139, 144, 155; 136** and **159** are incomplete survivals from such sets).

In a fate familiar to scholars and cataloguers, some copies’ decoration proved too enticing and was removed. Although the outermost leaves’ removal may have resulted from damage due to handling, missing leaves in otherwise decorated copies may well be evidence of such a fate, similarly to copies where leaves from later editions or manuscript facsimiles are found in place of a hand-decorated page, or one with an attractive woodcut border. At times smaller fragments, such as a miniature (**104**; probably **14**), even single woodcuts (**188**, perhaps taken for devotional use) were removed. The damage was

⁴⁸⁹ ‘Printing, Public and Power’, p. 290.

sometimes rectified by later owners (new decoration **14**; with leaves from another hand-decorated copy: **43**; leaves from other illustrated editions: **155, 165, 176, 194**). Other copies where missing hand-decorated leaves or leaves with woodcuts were not replaced include: **67, 171, 173, 189, 192, 199**.⁴⁹⁰

Readers continued to adapt their fifteenth-century Bibles to later aesthetic conventions by creating new title pages and frontispieces that reflected the appearance of books from the time they were added. Such manuscript title pages can be found in **102; 115; 129**. One contains extra-illustration with sixteenth/seventeenth-century metalcuts (**29**); perhaps the same ornamental function was played by the unique incunable fragment formerly part of the binding of **162**. Another binding conserving a valuable fragment, in this case not meant to be visible, is a seventeenth-century quire guard made of a cut-up proof sheet with two variant settings of a *piede di Maria* indulgence, potentially a unique survival of this version of a devotional imprint first attested in Venice in 1610 (**67**). Excluding copies with pen initials by later owners, five contain decoration that was added at a markedly later date (**14**, a reproduction of the Pico Master's decoration in **16; 35**, further embellished following its arrival in France in addition to earlier decoration; **36**, with extensive additions which reference to the visual vocabulary present in contemporary Venetian Bible decoration, perhaps as with **14**, copying from another copy, now lost or awaiting identification; **121**).

Unlike present-day bibliographers, at least some readers were not as concerned about the exact imprint of their Bibles as they were about simply possessing the book. Of course, this is further complicated by the question of when the sets were brought together, which is not always easy to establish. Partial copies of different editions (**136, 159**), or even different translations (**9, 33**) would be treated as *de facto* sets, bound together in one volume, or given matching bindings. Similarly, when supplying missing text in manuscript was

⁴⁹⁰ Coats of arms removed: **20, 23, 24, 43, 67, 74, 90, 130, 136, 184**.

motivated by use and not emulating a perfect copy (**3, 55, 62**, replicating the edition's font and page layout), owners resorted to whatever translation they had at hand (e.g. **129, 194**). For some owners, a more utilitarian replacement with the missing text completed in their everyday cursive hand was enough (**192, 194**).

LATER FORTUNES AND CURRENT WHEREABOUTS: FROM VENICE TO ...?

Given the focus on the earliest provenance of the surviving copies, the present section is necessarily a briefer and more condensed overview of the later provenance of the copies involved. Interest for the books' antiquity is apparent in some later readers' notes: already in 1617, a reader calculates the number of years passed between the colophon year and, presumably, the year in which they were looking at the Bible (**90**); another does the same in a now faded note in their copy (**40**).

From the seventeenth century, there is evidence of copies being taken abroad, often by travellers, a portent of the following centuries' boom in book collecting: England (**9** and **33**, bought in Venice in 1634; **70; 140; 187**, William Sancroft; **202**); France (**187**, Grenoble); Germany (**132**, Italian owner near Dresden in 1604; **135**, in Dresden by 1699). The first printed Bibles in Italian belonged to some of the earliest libraries in Europe to open their doors to external readers (e.g. the Bibliothèque Mazarine, **11** and **112**, or the Rehdigersche Stadtbibliothek, **21**).

Later ownership by religious institutions continues, for example by the Capuchins in Marseille (**136**), Franciscans of San Francesco della Vigna in Venice (**30**, likely after 1600), Theatines in Naples (**138**, 17/18th century?). Copies were also in collections of seminaries abroad: Bordeaux (**148**) or Mergentheim (**179**). Significantly, books that contain early evidence of use, but no clear provenance evidence 'until the copies re-emerged on the book market, either in Italy or abroad', may have been kept in religious institutions'

repositories before their eventual dispersal.⁴⁹¹ The recently published papers of a 2012 conference put into stark relief the impact of secularizations on the history of libraries in Europe.⁴⁹² Copies with no recognisable provenance other than early evidence of use now at libraries where many books arrived from dissolved religious institutions include: **23, 55, 107, 194, 121, 178.**

Over time, 15th-century Italian Bibles acquired the same level of reverence and collectible status held by other early printed books – thanks to their rarity, historical significance and the visual appeal of the illuminated and illustrated copies. Collectors sought to amass a more impressive collection than their peers; for others they became the means of establishing their name on the local,⁴⁹³ or even international arena.⁴⁹⁴ This boom in collecting, dubbed “Bibliomania”, coincided with geopolitical developments that resulted on the one hand in the dispersal of various library collections, and, consequently, a boon for those looking to expand their collections: multiple waves of secularizations, within Italy and across Europe, and numerous sales of private collections both in Italy and abroad.⁴⁹⁵ Within this panorama, private collectors, such as the 2nd Earl Spencer (owner of **7, 26, 160**), were at times in direct competition for purchases with the French authorities’ requisition programme (which included **13, 22**).⁴⁹⁶ The first copies began to cross the Atlantic in the

⁴⁹¹ *Books of Hours*, p. 118.

⁴⁹² *How the Secularization of Religious Houses Transformed the Libraries of Europe*, with a detailed timeline illustrating the waves of secularizations, pp. 18-23.

⁴⁹³ Dorit Raines, ‘La biblioteca-museo patrizia e il suo ‘capitale sociale’ – modelli illuministici veneziani e l’imitazione dei nuovi aggregati’ in *Arte, storia, cultura e musica in Friuli nell’età del Tiepolo. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Udine 19-20 dicembre 1996*, ed. by Caterina Furlan (Udine: Forum, 1997), pp. 63-84.

⁴⁹⁴ Kristian Jensen, *Revolution and the Antiquarian Book: Reshaping the Past, 1780-1815* (Cambridge: CUP, 2014). David McKitterick, *The Invention of Rare Books: Private Interest and Public Memory, 1600-1840* (Cambridge: CUP, 2018).

⁴⁹⁵ See Dondi, *Books of Hours*, pp. 120-121. For an example of this in Britain, see Peter H. Reid, ‘The Decline and Fall of the British Country House Library’, *Libraries & Culture*, 30 (2001), 345-366.

⁴⁹⁶ As discussed in Jensen’s *Revolution and the Antiquarian Book*, Chapter 2, ‘Aristocratic aspirations and the wartime market: competing for the past and the future’, pp. 32-67.

19th century, typically bought by private individuals whose collections were later institutionalised.⁴⁹⁷

The nineteenth century also saw a renewed interest in the topic of Biblical translations, and several of the surviving copies can be identified as those used for the preparation of new critical editions: by Carlo Negroni (**30**); Francesco Curioni (**51**); the Società Veneta dei Bibliofili (**42**).

For the incunable editions of Books of Hours printed in Italy, Cristina Dondi has found that most of the copies were first used in Italy in the first centuries after they were printed, only to be gradually dispersed, especially from the seventeenth century onwards: 36% of the copies surveyed are still in Italy, while 47% are elsewhere in Europe, and 10% in the United States.⁴⁹⁸ For the Delft Bible, 38% are currently in the Netherlands, 53% in the rest of Europe, 17% in the United States, one copy each, or just short of 2%, in South Africa and in Australia.⁴⁹⁹ The current distribution of institutional copies of complete editions of the Bible in Italian is very similar to that of the incunable Books of Hours printed in Italy: 46% of copies are now in Italy, 43.5% in the rest of Europe, 10% have made their way across the Atlantic and 0.5%, or a single copy, is now in the Middle East, in Israel. Of the 93 copies now in Italy (including the Vatican City), at least five have left the peninsula in the past (**109, 115, 183, 78, 201**). The institution with the greatest number of copies is the Vatican Library, with 25 copies. The Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale in Florence holds 11 copies, the Bibliothèque nationale de France 8 copies, and the British Library and Österreichische Nationalbibliothek hold 7 copies each.

⁴⁹⁷ Dondi, *Books of Hours*, p. 110. Robert A. Shaddy, *Books and Book Collecting in America, 1890-1930* (Lewiston; Queenston; Lampeter: Edwin Mellen, 2000).

⁴⁹⁸ *Books of Hours*, p. 110.

⁴⁹⁹ Calculated from van Duijn's catalogue of surviving Delft Bibles. Two further trade copies are unlocated by van Duijn.

THE COPY CENSUS AS A SOURCE FOR THE HISTORY OF A TEXT:

CONCLUSIONS

The ownership of the first printed Italian Bibles established in this thesis largely confirms conclusions in earlier studies: patrician families from cultural centres such as Venice, Florence and Milan, small-town clergymen, monastic libraries across Italy did indeed own copies of these important editions. However, the careful study of surviving copies also allows for this list to be expanded, enriching our understanding of their often-surprising eventual diffusion throughout Italy and beyond by the seventeenth century.

It is uncertain how many copies were lost to time or deliberately destroyed. Given that the copies described here are just a small percentage of what was produced, the presence of vernacular Italian Bibles must have been pervasive, which makes the wealth of evidence in the surviving copies even more valuable. Evidence from within these books bears witness to the multitude of roles these books played in their owners' lives alongside those that might be expected of Bibles, before eventually attaining the status of rare collectibles. Many of the copies took unexpected detours; Malerbi would certainly have been amazed by copies of his translation travelling to lands as far afield as North America, unknown to his contemporary fellow Camaldolese and mapmaker Fra Mauro, and he would likely also have been surprised to see his work serve as a study tool for foreign learners of Italian.

Despite its many challenges, the methodology employed in this study unearthed a multitude of new, previously unstudied evidence, revealing the personal stories of former owners which may otherwise be forgotten by time. The detailed study of the surviving printed Bibles in Italian has paved the way for a better understanding of the hand-painted models that would be reused in the design of woodcut illustrations; typographic findings such as the establishment of the first dated use of the 3:200G type by Vindelinius de Spira;

and uncovered potentially unique survivals in bindings, such as e the example of a *piède di Maria* indulgence preserved in the binding of a Bible still in Venice, almost 550 years after it was printed there. The breadth of findings of the present census highlights the value of the close study of these artefacts, witnesses to interactions with the printed word that other sources may altogether ignore.

The added difficulties in gathering data posed by the covid-19 pandemic fostered, in many cases, a greater involvement of the holding libraries' staff, whose knowledge about their respective collections served to enrich the catalogue. Sharing results back with libraries allowed for a fuller understanding of the historical and artistic value of what for some institutions constituted their most precious holdings.

Of course, further work remains to be done to do justice to the invaluable evidence preserved within these books. Due to constraints of space, little attention could be devoted to the later fortunes of the surviving copies; for now, this is presented alongside the earliest provenance within individual catalogue entries. In due course, I hope to finalise the census, gathering missing information on copies that I was unable to study in person before submitting this thesis. A future version of the catalogue would also devote greater attention to historical copies, and those that have appeared in the trade. Following the example of Mack P. Holt's study, the location of the marks of use within the books could be recorded systematically, to trace readers' interest in particular parts of the text. Finally, as the chance rediscovery of the hand-coloured copy of the 1490 edition at the Museo diocesano in Livorno shortly before submission shows, more copies may yet be hiding in various institutional and private collections, waiting to reveal further evidence of the distribution and use of the first printed Bibles in Italian.

The Council of Trent and the resulting restrictions on vernacular Bible production and leadership undoubtedly affected Italians' access to the Holy Scriptures. Surviving Bibles

produced a century before the definitive ban of the 1596 Index bear witness to a rich history of encounters with the printed word of God, ahead of – and sometimes despite this ban. The surveyed Bibles passed through the hands of saints and sinners, schoolchildren and scholars, nobles, tradesmen and clergy. Copies were owned by Catholics, Protestants, Anabaptists, Jews; Italian and non-Italian speakers alike. Many, though not all, of these encounters left an indelible mark on the pages or the binding within which they are enclosed, bearing witness to the rich and complex relationship Italians had with the Bible in their language. Whether it is by liturgical annotations, marginal prayers or humorous doodles, these books bear witnesses to their readers' devotion and their humanity.

APPENDIX 1.

**CATALOGUE OF COPIES OF FIFTEENTH-CENTURY EDITIONS OF THE
BIBLE PRINTED IN ITALIAN SURVIVING IN INSTITUTIONAL COLLECTIONS**

NOTES: EXPLANATION OF CATALOGUE ENTRIES

Within the catalogue, editors' and printers' names have been provided according to the usage in ISTC. The holding institutions have been listed by the English name of the city or town where they are located. Entries include the original name of the library in the local language, to facilitate identification of resources for the reader. While some studies of this type (e.g. Owen Gingerich) have recorded the data for all editions studied together, in alphabetical order of the cities where the books are currently located, I have chosen to keep information on copies from particular editions together (as in the study of Cristina Dondi); this is mainly due to the number of editions studied, and to avoid the repetition of bibliographical references for each edition throughout the catalogue.

The copy entries are therefore listed in order of editions, and within these sub-groups in alphabetical order of the town name where the copy is held; where multiple copies are present at the same institution, this is clearly indicated. The order of editions varies slightly from the order of editions proposed by Barbieri: he dates the Miscomini edition to February-March of 1478, chronologically placing it after the di Pietro edition. Here, for the sake of consistency, I have followed the typographical data provided by ISTC.

The section of the catalogue devoted to each edition lists the typographic data, as per the ISTC, references to the Barbieri, ISTC and GW catalogues. Barbieri's catalogue can be consulted for more detailed descriptions of the contents of the editions, while the GW provides information about the editions' collation and printing types employed.

When transcribing manuscript material, round brackets are used for abbreviations, square brackets are used for editorial additions, trimmed or damaged inscriptions, and, due to constraints of space, for some omissions in longer notes' transcriptions.

Venice: Vindelinus de Spira, 1 August 1471

Barbieri 1, GW 04311, ISTC ib00640000

Royal folio, in two parts. Without printed signatures.

Part I: 325 leaves ([a¹²b-i¹⁰k¹²l¹⁰mn⁸o-s¹⁰t⁸v-zA¹⁰B¹¹C-G¹⁰H⁹I¹⁰K⁷]).

Part II: 316 leaves ([a²b-p¹⁰q⁹rs¹⁰tv⁸x-z¹⁰A-D¹²E⁹FG⁸H¹⁰IK⁸]).

[1.] Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, 2° Inc 3630, MEI 02126945

Part II only. Printed on parchment.

Binding: worn dark brown leather over pasteboard. Blind-tooled frame on boards. Gilt-tooled title in Latin and narrow floral rolls on spine. Red leather spine label with current shelfmark.

Decoration: on ff. [a1v]-[a2v], rich borders with floral and fantastical animal motifs. On fol. [b1v], full border with classical figures and putti. Illumination depicting the Judgement of Solomon enthroned. Historiated initials at the beginning of most books, depicting the major and minor prophets, and the Evangelists' symbols. Illuminated initials with floral motifs, in colours and gold leaf. Header *tituli* titles in red or blue split across the pages. Alternating red and blue Lombards with elaborate contrasting penwork throughout. Rubrication includes *tituli* (except the rare leaves with stamped *tituli*, e.g. [C3r]), incipits, explicits and pagination in Roman numerals (starting anew for the New Testament).

Manuscript notes: misprinted text completed by hand (244r=[C2r]). Epistolary pen trial in Italian (back flyleaf, 16/17th-century(?)).

Provenance:

Originally owned by a member of the Venetian Malipiero family, whose coat of arms is flanked by the initials "I. M." in gold ([b1v]). The first initial likely stands for a latinised name such as Ioannes, or Zuane: possibly Zuane Malipiero (†1497), who briefly served as bishop in Pula (Barbaro, *Genealogie*, vol. IV, p. 409).

Acquired by the Royal Library of Berlin (now Staatsbibliothek) between 1701-1753: already mentioned in Melchior Ludwig Widekind's *Ausführliches Verzeichnis von raren Büchern...* (Berlin, Haude und Spener, 1753-55), pp. 538-539. Earliest library stamp is the round 'Ex Biblioth Regia Berolinensi' stamp ([b1r]), used between 1795-1840 ('Besitzstempel von 1795 bis heute', <<https://staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/die-staatsbibliothek/geschichte/besitzstempel/abbildungen>>).

Sources: digital reproduction: <<https://stabikat.de/Record/819074756>>.

[2.] Dubrovnik, Samostan sv. Dominika (Dominican Monastery), shelfmark unknown, MEI 02127126

Incomplete copy, only 8 leaves on display in the library ("8 ll. u vitrini Knjižnice"), last attested in 1952.

Source: Josip Badalić, *Inkunabule u Narodnoj Republici Hrvatskoj* (Zagreb, 1952), no. 204.

[3.] Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, D.7.1.6, MEI 02126940
Part I only. Wanting quire [F]; replacement quire bound in its place with the missing Psalms and rubrics supplied in a neat humanist hand that replicates the page layout. Some *tituli* stamped in red in Type 3:200G.
Binding: later vellum, with decoration and edition details on the spine in brown ink.
Decoration: alternating red and blue epigraphic capitals in the Psalms and their prologues, including minor capitals within psalms in Lombardic script.

Provenance:

Washed sixteenth-century inscription “bart(olome)o correrrieri” ([a1r]). Scapecchi suggests the surname as a form of “Corner”; while two individuals named Bortolo Corner are listed in Barbaro, the attribution is tenuous (in vol. III: son of Francesco, born 1511, p. 72, and son of Alvise, 1590-1651, p. 96).

Part of the Fondo Palatino, originating from the collections of the Medici and the House of Lorraine. Old shelfmarks, typical of the collection, in red/purple ink (front pastedown); Biblioteca Nazionale stamp dated 1872 ([a1v], faint).

Sources: digital reproduction via <digitale.beic.it>; Scapecchi BNCF 513.

[4.] Glasgow, University of Glasgow Hunterian Library, Sp Coll Hunterian By.1.9-10, MEI 02018774.

Leaf size: 403x277mm.

Binding: red Morocco with triple gold fillet frame on boards. Gold-tooled spine. Textblock edges gilt. Green silk ribbon bookmarks. Marbled endpapers. Binder's ticket of Paris-based bookbinder Nicolas-Denis Derome (1731-1790): "Relié par Derome le Jeune, rue St. Jacques au dessus de St. Benoît, seul possédent" (vol. 1, front free endpaper verso).

Decoration: pen initial ([b1r], vol. 1).

Manuscript notes: early signatures.

Provenance:

Both volumes owned by the Franciscan convent of San Francesco in Sarno, Campania: inscription “Con(ven)t(us) de Sarno” (final blank pages of both volumes).

Owned by Louis Jean Gaignat (1697-1768), secretary to King Louis XV. On his collecting, see Émile Dacier, ‘Un bibliophile du XVIIIe siècle, Louis-Jean Gaignat’, in *Bulletin du bibliophile et du bibliothécaire*, Durand, 1920.

Lot 79 in the 1769 Gaignat sale. Purchased there by the Scottish physician and collector William Hunter (1718-1783) for 340 livres, with Jean-Baptiste Dessain

(1730-1782) acting as his agent. 186 MEI entries for incunabula at the University of Glasgow, to whom Hunter bequeathed his books, originate from the Gaignat sale.

Sources: Glasgow Incunabula Project B39, with images of binding, ff. [a1v] and [b1r]: <<https://www.gla.ac.uk/myglasgow/incunabula/a-zofauthors-j/b39/>>.

[5.] Göttingen, Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen, 2 BIBL II, 4973 INC RARA, MEI 02126988

Part I only, wanting the four blank leaves. Printed on parchment.

Binding: calf, with gilt decoration on spine (17th/18th century).

Decoration: fol. [b1r], illumination of the creation of Eve. Lower margin taken up by procession of eleven winged putti: at the centre is a carriage, drawn by two putti, upon which five others support a blank shield. The border incorporates three small roundels (dove mid-flight, Jerome, the third damaged, possibly depicting a winged angel's head). For attribution, see Chapter 3. White vine-stem initials with gold leaf. Rubrication in blue and red, includes incipits, explicits, running titles.

Manuscript notes: names of Books of the Bible in Hebrew in an Italian square script, in black ink (Pentateuch only).

Provenance:

Decorated in Venice by the Pico Master.

In London by the mid-18th century. The libraries of Reverend David Comarque of Putney and Rev. Mr. Johnson of St Martin's in the Fields were listed together in a catalogue by the London-based bookseller Thomas Osborne (1704?-1767, O. M. Brack, 'Osborne, Thomas', in *ODNB*), without indication to which collection each item belonged. Cambridge graduate Reverend David Comarque (†late 1745 or early 1746) was Rector of Halsall in West Lancashire, and later curate of Putney in Surrey (see *Graduati Cantabrigienses*). Rev. Johnson's replacement at St Martin's was appointed in March 1746, so he died shortly before then (John Disney, *Memoirs of the life and writings of John Jortin, D.D.* (London: Printed for J. Johnson, MDCCXCII), p. 29).

Date of acquisition by the current library unknown.

Sources: information and images provided by Helmut Rohlfing (Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen); INKA 18000726; Elmar Mittler and Helmut Kind, *Incunabula Gottingensia: Inkunabelkatalog der Niedersächsischen Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1995-), no. 708.

[6.] London, British Library, IC.19527, MEI 02126971

Part I only, wanting quires [E-K] (Psalms). Leaf size: 396x275mm.

Binding: beige paper over cardboard. Paper quire guards. Faded handwritten titling across spine: "Bibia dal Malerbi volgarizata 1470[!]" . Indentation on outer margin of opening quires possibly from a previous binding's clasp. 410x288x75mm.

Manuscript notes: some early quire signatures. Isolated Latin marginal summary: "Melchisedech fuit rex" (Genesis XIII).

Provenance:

With the round black stamp of Museo Cavaleri ([a1v]), the private collection of Milanese lawyer and politician Michele Cavaleri (1813-1890), which he made available to the public, and hoped the city council of Milan would buy to form a public museum. When this failed, Cavaleri's collection was sold in 1873 to Enrico Cernuschi (1821-1896) and moved to Paris where the latter lived (Silvio Mara, 'Il Museo Cavaleri: Il mancato acquisto del Comune di Milano (1870-1873)', in *Annali di critica d'arte*, IX (2013), 313-328, esp. p. 314).

The Anderson Galleries sale catalogue of the Herschel V. Johnes collection (1919) refers to a copy of this edition as "only the second volume, discovered in one of the Benedictine Monasteries, and now belonging to the British Museum" (p. 33). The first claim is factually incorrect, and the basis of the claim regarding the volume's provenance is unclear; according to Silvio Mara, at least some of Cavaleri's purchases originated from suppressed religious institutions.

Recorded in the BMC as purchased in March 1904.

Sources: book in hand; BMC V 157.

[7.] Manchester, John Rylands Library, 17102, MEI 02126936

Many leaves mounted and margins repaired during the rebinding by Lewis (see below). Leaf size: 377x255mm; 376x250mm.

Binding: black straight-grain Morocco; blind- and gilt- tooling on spine, gilt-tooled titling (in a style reserved in Spencer's collection for significant editions, such as an *editio princeps*). Endpapers with visible watermark: "W BALSTONS 1815". Bound in the early 19th century by Charles Lewis (according to Dibdin). JRL monogram stamp in gilt, added in or after 1892.

Decoration: alternating red or blue Lombard initials throughout, some with decorative contrast detailing. Minor initials supplied in the Psalms. Rare pilcrowes (first quire and Psalms only).

Manuscript notes: ink drawings (blank leaf [k12v], washed). In part II, trimmed marginalia in the New Testament, especially Mark, in a 16th-century French hand (summaries, translations, underlining).

Provenance:

In the library of Irish book collector, Justin MacCarthy Reagh (1744-1811, G. Martin Murphy, 'Reagh, Justin MacCarthy', in *ODNB*), who was based for much of his life in Toulouse. The copy's early French marginalia suggest MacCarthy Reagh sourced

the copy from nearby, rather than from Italy. No. 110 in vol. 1 of 1815 sale catalogue of Paris De Bure Freres, who auctioned off MacCarthy's collection in Paris in 1817, where this copy was bought for the British aristocrat George John, 2nd Earl Spencer (1758-1834). *Aedes Althorpianae*, no. 1047.

Spencer's considerable collection of over 40,000 volumes, was purchased *en bloc* from the fifth Earl Spencer by Enriqueta Rylands for the library in 1892.

Sources: book in hand; information provided by Julianne Simpson (John Rylands Library).

[8.] New York City, Morgan Library and Museum, ChL 722 (PML 26983 & PML 26984), MEI 02127001

Parchment copy. Wanting blank leaf [t8] of part I. Leaf size: 395x278mm.

Binding: diced calf, with boards decorated with classicizing rolls in gilt and blind, and a central panel sprinkled brown and gold. Endpapers in a vivid royal blue paper. Textblock edges gilt (19th-century Italy). Armorial ex-libris of John Pierpont Morgan on a hexagonal leather label.

Decoration: each volume richly decorated with a fully realised illumination programme, discussed in: Armstrong, *Renaissance Miniature Painters*, pp. 15-16 and cat. no. 11; Mariani Canova, no. 30 (p. 146); *The Painted Book*, p. 182 and fig. 157.

Manuscript notes: text of missing Psalm verse supplied by the rubricator. Additional contemporary manuscript tables of contents in both volumes in the same hand. In vol. 1, four leaves ([*4]) bound in before the Psalms, containing Italian incipits and brief summaries for each Psalm, followed by the Psalm and leaf number ("I(n)comincia la tauola del psalmista. Beato lhuomo. Consiglia li Cristiani fugano la doct(r)ina de li heretici. ps(alm)o .i. carte. 260", etc.); in vol. 2, eight leaves ([*8]) bound in before the New Testament, with brief chapter summaries and indication of chapter and leaf number. With handwritten colophon: "Finisse la tabula del apocalipsis. et de tutto el testament nouo. scripta in sancto Mathia de murano. A dio laude.", suggesting the work was carried out at the Camaldolese monastery of San Mattia in Murano ([*8r]). See also no. **22**.

Provenance:

The first volume was originally decorated for the Corner family, *per pale or and azure*, over which is overpainted that of subsequent owners, the Abbadessa of Florence, *argent, a roundel within two concentric rings sable*.

The second volume originally decorated for the Macigni (or Macinghi), a noble family with branches in Florence and Venice, "*gules, three crescents palewise or that in chief facing dexter base the other facing dexter chief, overall on a bend azure three fleurs-de-lis or*" (blazoned by Armstrong). Likely moved to Florence by members of the family.

Later in the collection of the Corsini: part of the foundational collection of the Biblioteca Corsiniana, founded in 1754 by Florentine Lorenzo Corsini (later pope Clement XII). Oval stamp “BIBLIOTH: CORSINIA VETVS”, added to the library’s books in 1784 (see <<https://data.cerl.org/owners/00014072>>). Sales of duplicates took place in 1786-90, however today’s Biblioteca Corsiniana only holds copies of two later editions (nos. **62** and **93**).

Brought together in the 19th century by the Milanese writer and book collector, Count Gaetano Melzi (1786-1851, Marica Roda, ‘Melzi, Gaetano’, in *DBI*, vol. 73 (2009)). In his 1820 *Allgemeines bibliographisches Lexikon*, Ebert, cites Melzi as owning only the first volume (“der 1e Bd auf Pg. Graf Melzi zu Mailand”), suggesting it was acquired first. Melzi’s parchment copy was one of the highlights of the collection, appearing in general interest publications (then thought to be illuminated by Mantegna and Gerolamo dai Libri: Gustavo Chiesi, *Provincia di Milano*, vol. 10 of *La Patria. Geografia dell’Italia*, ed. by Gustavo Strafforello (Turin: Unione Tipografico-Editrice, 1894), p. 258).

Brunet claims the copy was purchased by Frank Hall Standish (1799-1840), whose books are now at the Musée Condé (*Dictionnaire de Bibliologie Catholique*, 1860, col. 63-64). Although Melzi intended to sell the Bible to Standish (valued 5,000 lire according to a book-list owned by Melzi’s granddaughter he decided to keep it (cited in Leopold Delisle, *Chantilly. Le cabinet des livres. Imprimés antérieurs au milieu du xvie siècle* (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1905), pp. xxviii-xxxii; lxxxii (no. 14)).

Melzi’s books remained in the family, owned by his son Alessandro, and granddaughter Luisa di Soragna Melzi (1854-1925), before eventually being sold by Camillo Meli Lupi when he inherited the collection.

Acquired by Tammaro de Marinis by 1929, the year he sold the set to the Pierpont Morgan Library, already a public institution since 1924. According to The New York Herald, the sale took place in Paris: ‘Morgan Acquires Old Vellum Bible’, *The New York Herald. European Edition* Paris. Monday. April 27, 1931, p. 1).

Sources: book in hand; online catalogue, with reproduction of ff. [b1r] of part I and [b1v] of part II <<https://www.themorgan.org/incunables/133731>>.

[9.] Oxford, St John’s College Library, HB4/Folios.2.2.1, MEI 02127002

Part I only. Formerly treated as part of a set with the library’s incomplete October 1471 edition copy (no. **33**). Some *tituli* stamped in red in Type 3:200G ([E10r]-[E10v]).

Binding: 17th-century panelled reversed calf, tooled in blind. Likely bound soon after the volume’s arrival in England, later re-backed and with board corners repaired with a reddish-brown leather, conserving an element of the earlier binding with the title “BIBLIA ITAL VOL.I” and corner decoration in gilt.

Decoration: contemporary illumination of two scenes, on the left God in the act of creation; on the right, God stood between Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden with

animals at their feet. Epigraphic initial 'N', accompanied by two winged putti, one holding a white rabbit, the other releasing a golden bird as it takes flight. On the right, a classical border with two winged grotesques of winged lions with male torsos. On the lower margin, eight putti accompany a central coat of arms within a laurel wreath, Venier of Venice, *barry of 6 gules and argent*. All but one of the putti wear short, sleeveless tunics. Their musical instruments and cart are decorated with gold leaf. Undecorated parts of the outer and lower margins covered with a dark blue wash ([b1r]). See also Chapter 3. Alternating red and blue Roman initials throughout.

Manuscript notes: manuscript signatures and early foliation. Interlinear Latin alphabet transliterations of Greek terms in Jerome's Prologue to the Psalms.

Provenance:

Decorated for the Venier of Venice.

Purchased in Venice in 1634 by an Englishman, Thomas Collins: 'Tomaso Collins è il vero padrone di questo libro essendo comprato in Venetia; anno 1634' (manuscript note, [a1r]).

Later owned by Arthur Buckeridge, former Fellow of St John's College, who donated it to the college (inscription: "Liber Coll: D. Joan: Bapt: Oxon(iensis). Ex Dono Arthuri Buckeridge hujus Coll(egii) nuper Socij. 1699", [a1v]). Printed armorial ex-libris of the college ([a1r]). Chain holes on the front boards in both volumes in the set show they were part of the college's chained library. Earlier shelfmarks: "B.26", "G.2.15."

Sources: book in hand; online catalogue; Rhodes (Oxford Colleges), no. 373.

[10.] Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Fol. T. 145, MEI 02151052

Part II only. Fol. [a1] re-margined. Variant: all stamped running titles in entire quire [m10] (Ezechiel) provided in Type 3:200G. Leaf size: 393x271mm. Not in ISTC or GW, notified April-May 2024.

Binding: blind-tooled brown leather over wooden boards (inside bevelled edges). Intertwined lozenge and rectangle frame, made up of central rolls flanked by thin quadruple fillets. Decorative thatching within spine compartments. Evidence of four clasps on the front board, and corresponding catchplates on the lower board. Browned parchment endpapers, attached to the board by the flesh side. Upper and outer textblock edge stained brown (16th century). Repaired at the Bibliothèque Nationale Atelier de Restauration in 1974 (small paper label, inside right corner of [K8v]; endbands re sewn, leather on board edges and spine edges in a matching dark brown).

Decoration: double illuminated vignette divided by a thin gold frame, on the left God and a sleeping Solomon, and on the right King Solomon sat at a lectern ([b1v]). For attribution, see Chapter 3. Below, Roman initial in gold on a field of blue with white filigree, with white vine-stem decoration extending into the outer margin. Alternating red and blue roman initials throughout the volume.

Manuscript notes: two sets of early manuscript signatures, one in red, the other in brown ink, the latter also assigns cardinal numbers to each quire for the bookbinder's ease of use (trimmed). Rare manicules, some with detailed puffed sleeves (Proverbii, Prologue to Song of Songs). Modern pencil foliation in the Apocalypse only.

Provenance:

Decorated in Venice without an owner's coat of arms.

The copy arrived at the College of Navarre in France sometime in the sixteenth century. Inscribed "Pro libraria regalis collegii Campaniae, al(ia)s Navarrae Paris[ius] f[undati]" ([a1r]. Identical inscriptions are found in other books with this provenance, many now at the BNF, e.g.: MS Français 24249). The College was closed during the French Revolution, its library collections dispersed.

Sources: book in hand; digital reproduction <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k8728897d>> (with thanks to Falk Eisermann for information about the digitisation); Paris Bibles 636; *Imprimer! L'Europe de Gutenberg 1450-1620*, ed. Nathalie Coilly and Caroline Vrand (Paris: BNF, 2023), no. 186; Nadine Férey, *Catalogue des incunables de la bibliothèque de l'Arsenal* (Paris: BNF, upcoming publication), no. 254.

[11.] Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, Inc 38 volumes 1 and 2, MEI 02132862

Part I wanting ff. [a12] (not [a8], as stated by the library catalogue), [t8] and [K8] (all blank). Part II wanting ff. [I11-14]. Leaf size: 380x265mm.

Binding: both volumes in matching marbled calf leather (17th century).

Decoration: opening page of Genesis with a richly decorated border in blue, green and pink, and a diptych illumination with two images of God, one in the act of creation, another kneeling down before the prone body of Adam whose body is only visible in outline; Adam's figure abraded or worn away; outer and inner margins with stamped in borders. Simple red and blue rubrication throughout, some corrected by another hand. Some minor initials in the Psalms (vol. I). Volume II undecorated.

Manuscript notes: modern pencil foliation.

Provenance:

Much of the coat of arms has been overpainted with a floral design in brown ink. The original, *argent a chevron sable*, is most obviously associated with the Savorgnan of Udine ([b1r]).

Time of arrival at the Bibliothèque royale in Paris uncertain. The earliest evidence is the historic shelfmark, datable to 1645: "49" (see Léopold Delisle, 'Notice sur les anciens catalogues des livres imprimés de la Bibliothèque du roi', *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes*, tome 43 (1882), pp. 165-201, p. 167). In 1668, the set was moved to the Bibliothèque Mazarine.

Sources: MEI entry by Florine Lévecque-Stankiewicz; digital reproduction: <<http://mazarinum.bibliotheque-mazarine.fr/idurl/1/1772>>, <<http://mazarinum.bibliotheque-mazarine.fr/idurl/1/1773>>; Paris Bibles 636.

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France

[12.] Copy 1: Rés. A. 354, MEI 02126990

Part I only, wanting ff. [t8], [D10] (both blank), [K6]. Small fragment of fol. [a1] missing, repair includes text supplied in manuscript, imitating the printed font; fol. [a1] remounted. Quire [y] without stamped in running titles, supplied in manuscript in black ink.

Bookbinding: red gilt-tooled straight-grain Morocco, with tools including palmette and Grecian key rolls, and topical fleurons (incorporating a cross, the Stone Tablets, and a scroll inscribed 'theos' in Greek; triangle sunburst inscribed in Hebrew). Gilt turn-ins, board edges and textblock edges. Almost identical as the binding of the Wolfenbüttel copy of the same edition (see below), which was in Paris in 1807-1815; both copies must have been rebound in those years.

Manuscript notes: manuscript signatures supplied in an early hand; washed or faded evidence of censorship ([s6v], 'vestito a le carne nude' in col. 2, line 5). Missing text of fol. [K6] supplied on a separate paper slip (253x190mm approx.), stored with the volume, by Joseph Van Praet (1754-1837), librarian at the Bibliothèque du roi (1784-), and throughout its evolutions at the turn of the century.

Provenance:

Part of the Royal Library of the Aragonese dynasty in Naples, seized by Charles VIII's troops in 1495. On the collection, see Tammaro De Marinis, *La biblioteca napoletana dei re d'Aragona*, in 4 vols. (Milano: Hoepli, 1947-1969). In France, the books were first stored at the Royal Library at the Château de Blois. Inscribed "bloys" ([a1v], upper margin). Moved to Paris in 1567.

Sources: book in hand; CIBN B-449; Paris Bibles 636.

[13.] Copy 2: Rés. Vélins 95, MEI 02127003

Leaves [a1]-[a11] only. Formerly part of the Wolfenbüttel copy of this edition. Fol. [a12] (blank) was missing before the removal of these leaves from the copy, as shown by the small part of the illuminated border of [b1r] preserved on [a11r]. Leaf size 270x250mm.

Binding: cloth, with brown and beige Annonay paper over cardboard, bound at the BNF; 480x367x5mm.

Decoration: white vine-stem initial (fol. [a8r]). Rubricated in red and blue, with pilcrows, incipits and manuscript running titles.

Provenance:

For pre-1807 provenance, see no. **20**. Manuscript shelfmark “58.j.th.” ([a1r]), matches the handwritten shelfmark along the upper textblock edge of vol. 1 in Wolfenbüttel. The quire was removed before the rest of the copy was returned to Wolfenbüttel in 1815. BNF stamp: “BIBLIOTHEQUE IMPERIALE IMPR.” ([a8r]).

Sources: book in hand; Van Praet, vol. 1, no. 36; Paris Bibles 636; CIBN B-449 and CIBN Supplément).

[14.] Princeton (NJ), Scheide Library at Princeton University, 60.4, MEI 02127004 Part I only, wanting ff. [a1]-[b1], blank leaf [D10], and quires [E]-[K] (Psalms). Fol. [b1] replaced by a pen facsimile which emulates the printed font, and decoration of the edition, specifically no. **16** (similarly, parts of [b2], and [o1]). Duplicate leaf [D1] in Job. Leaf size: 402x277mm.

Binding: 19th-century vellum, with Italian pattern marbled paper endpapers.

Decoration: gold initial, with a red monochrome acanthus background and partial border ([o1r]). Contemporary white vine-stem initials at beginning of books, alternating red and blue epigraphic initials, rubrication includes incipits and explicits throughout. On the facsimile leaf [b1r], a later (18th-century?) reproduction of the illumination and full border of the edition’s Rovigo copy (**16**). Some details are copied very closely, including the unclear brown ink drawings in the *bas-de-page* armorial space of the original. Differences in execution include the colours used, and the rendering of the figures, especially the putti.

Manuscript notes: trimmed signatures and early pagination. Pen trials and occasional brief summaries in Italian and, less frequently, Latin. Corrections of misprinted chapter numbers. Rare underlining in red crayon.

Provenance:

Late 15th/early 16th-century epistolary pen trial, potentially an early owner’s name: “antonio da milano vostro fidelissimo s(er)vo” (47r=[f7r]).

Later 16th-century pen trials in another hand also include names: “Marcrcro [sic] Ottobon Reverendo fra Izepo” (219r=[A3r]); the former possibly Marco Ottobon (1554-1648), Venetian grand chancellor and father of pope Alexander VIII (Barbaro, *Genealogie*, vol. V, p. 496), the reverend’s name is the Venetian form of the name Giuseppe.

Italian bookseller’s pencil notes (e.g. indicating duplicate leaf in Job; last leaf “segue il Psalterio de David col quale finisce il primo tomo”).

With H. P. Kraus, New York bookseller, in 1955, who sold it to William H. Scheide (1914-2014) in May of the same year. In 1959, Scheide’s books were moved from Titusville to Princeton, where they remain today by his bequest.

Sources: book in hand; online catalogue; ‘Scheide Library’ (Princeton University, 2016), <<https://rbsc.princeton.edu/divisions/scheide-library>>.

[15.] Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, Inc. 47, MEI 02127005

Part I only, wanting ff. [a1] and [K7]. Leaf size 370x255mm.

Binding: parchment over paper boards. Spine sprinkled brown, with a light brown leather spine label with the title in gilt. Sprinkled textblock edges (Italy, 18th century). Repaired in the 20th century (label, "Restauro del libro di LELLI MARIO", back pastedown).

Decoration: three decorative initials with multicolour penwork in red, blue, purple, ochre and green ([a2r], [b1r], [l1r]=Psalm CIX). Lombards in red or blue, some with penwork. Psalms rubrication includes minor capitals.

Manuscript notes: censorship of passages in Genesis 39 (25r-v=[c8]). Marginal correction in Job 2 verse 8 ("mendicava le sue piaghe") (256r=[C8r]).

Provenance:

In Rome by 1559, when Bartholomeo Bergamasco is granted a reading permit dated 20 June 1559, signed by Tommaso Scotti O.P.: "Si concede l'uso et lettione di questo s(anto) libro della prese(n)te Bibia vulgare, a m(esser) Bartholomeo Bergamasco. habita(n)te in Roma Dal .s. officio. alli xx di Giugno 1559", and immediately below, less cursive but still in the same hand, "F(rater) Thomas scotus co(m)miss(arius) S(anc)te Inq(uisitio)nis" ([a7v]). Briefly mentioned in Cecilia Manieri, 'Note di possesso manoscritte negli incunaboli angelicani', *Scripta*, Vol.4 (2011), p. 83.

Another Roman inscription, by an Alvisè (or Aloisio) Ortolani: "Ilic este liber alousius ortulanus in plateis ebraieorum estra domum s(anctae) marie de plantum" (171r=[s3r]). 'Platea Ebraeorum' is the former Piazza degli Ebrei, now Piazza delle Cinque Scole, on the edge of which stands the church of Santa Maria del Pianto (a name assigned to the church soon after a purported miracle in 1545, supplying a *termine post quem* for the inscription: Pompilio Totti, *Ritratto di Roma Moderna*, Rome: V. Mascardi, 1638, pp. 182-183).

Many of the Biblioteca Angelica holdings arrived from religious institutions in Rome; this may also have been the case with this copy. Historic shelfmarks: "2137"; "C 19 1".

Sources: book in hand; information and images received from Claudia Giobbio (Biblioteca Angelica).

[16.] Rovigo, Biblioteca dell'Accademia dei Concordi, Inc. 234-235, MEI 02152290

Leaf size: 400x286mm; 367x250mm. Leaves 131=[o1] and 140=[o10] likely supplied from another volume (different decoration consisting of white vine-stem initials, differences in rubrication and manuscript foliation).

Binding: brown sheepskin over wooden boards, decorated with a single gilt frame

in a geometric roll. Edges sprinkled blue. 405x304x97mm; 410x275x93mm. Indentation on some leaves of vol. I suggests an earlier binding with clasps.

Decoration: on fol. [b1r] of vol. I, two miniatures ('Dove hovering over the Water and Creation of Eve'). White vine-stem border with an IHS roundel and a roundel depicting a bearded male figure, possibly Jerome. Shield with unfinished arms, in faint brown ink, supported by two kneeling putti. Attributed to the Pico Master (Armstrong, *Studies of Renaissance Miniaturists*, p. 329, no. 90).

Volume II: decorated initials with gold leaf. Roman initials in red or blue.

Manuscript notes: in vol. I, isolated manicule and phrase copied from the text "In uno di del et(er)nita" (Psalm 147, 322r=[K7r]); occasional notabilia and marginal reading marks. In vol. II, pen trials of several words in a square Hebrew script (fol. 306v=[I2v] only).

Provenance:

Volume I decorated in Venice. Already in Verona in 1472, gifted to the women's monastery of San Giovanni della Beverara (canonesses regular) by canon regular don Francesco da Treviso. A dedicatory inscription in a red miniscule script: "Questo libro sie de le done religiose del monasterio de sancto çuane de la beverara da verona, dado e donado in elemosina a esse sore dal venerabel padre don francescho da triviso canonico Regular de s(an)cto Augustino unde tute se aricordeno per luj orare. 1472 [...] s(an)cti Amen" (end of Job, [D9]v, script described as "umanistica minuscola libraria" in Barbieri, *Le Bibbie italiane*, vol. I, p. 179).

On partly preserved first leaf of vol. II, part of a large hand-drawn armorial shield, flanked on the left by an initial, 'A'.

The two volumes were brought together by Girolamo Andrea Silvestri (1728-1788, Enrico Zerbini, 'Silvestri, Girolamo Andrea', DBI, vol. 92 (2018)), who acquired the first volume by 1750, according to a letter to Jacopo Maria Paitoni, dated 21 July 1750, cited in the latter's *Biblioteca degli autori antichi*, vol. V, p. 12 ("cui fortunatamente acquistai il primo Tomo"). Silvestri also wrote to Paitoni that the opening leaf of Genesis "per aver avuta una bella miniatura fu da sciocca mano tagliata per metà", suggesting a greater level of damage than seen in the leaf today. Silvestri had a keen interest in *hebraica* and books with Jewish provenance (no. 77 below also contains marginalia in Hebrew).

In 1858, the Silvestri family library was gifted to the Accademia dei Concordi.

Sources: book in hand; information provided by Michela Marangoni (Accademia dei Concordi); *Prime luci della stampa in Polesine*, no. 89, with colour reproduction of fol. [b1r]: p. XXXIII.

[17.] Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Bb ital.147102-2, MEI 02127006

Part II only.

Binding: blind-tooled calf leather, remains of 4 clasps (Italy, late 15th/early 16th century).

Decoration: within a red frame, a large scene of Jesus addressing his disciples from a white marble pulpit, in a grassy outdoor scene with some trees and the outline of a city in the distance. On the upper margin, the printed *titulus* within a scroll, with a winged cherub's head below, flanked by two winged putti playing bugles, and two white cornucopias extending outwards with spiky green leaves and white round fruit spilling out. Inner, outer and lower margins floral with blue, purple and gold flowers, and a round medallion depicting the Judgement of Solomon incorporated in the outer frame. A double bar of gold and blue divides the two columns of text. By the Master of the Rimini Ovid ([b1v], for attribution see Chapter 3). Gold epigraphic initials with pink and blue floral decoration; Lombards in red or blue throughout.

Provenance:

The arms of the Donà dalle Trezze of Venice incorporated in the decoration ([b1v]). The leaf also has two handwritten dates, "A MCCCCLXXI" and "A. 1533".

Acquired by the Königliche Öffentliche Bibliothek in Stuttgart sometime between 1806-1901: library stamp ([a2r]), cf. 'Eigene Besitzstempel' (WLB: 2007), <<http://www.wlb-stuttgart.de/sammlungen/alte-und-wertvolle-drucke/hilfsmittel/eigene-besitzstempel/>>.

Sources: information and images provided by Christian Herrmann (WLB); INKA 10001711; Renner 1208.

[18.] Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (BAV), Inc.I.105, MEI 02126972

Incomplete, contains Psalms and New Testament Gospels only (ff. [E2]-[K7] of part I; [x1]-[B12], John cap. XXI incomplete). Alternative setting of quire [x], with a printed 'Tabula del testamento novo' ([x1r-v]), followed by Jerome's Epistle to Pope Damasus ([x2r-v]) and immediately by the 'Argumento' to Mark, bypassing Jerome's two prologues to the Four Gospels ([x1v-x2v] in most copies of this edition). The remaining leaves of quire [x] also reset. Possibly the only copy with this printed *Tabula* for the New Testament.

Binding: blind-tooled brown leather (sheepskin?) over wooden boards. One of two metal catchplates preserved on the back cover. Historic shelfmark "37 II", and current shelfmark on paper spine labels.

Decoration: simple initials in pencil ([E2r] only).

Manuscript notes: rectangular paper slip glued to front pastedown, partially obscured: "Spiegaz(io)ne dei Salmi di Davide e i [...]", followed by a large "1", possibly an early shelfmark.

Provenance:

Already owned by the Benedictine Celestine nuns in the San Basilio convent in L'Aquila before 1600. At the turn of the century, following the publication of the Clementine Index in 1597, listed in the monastery's book inventory as "Salmi de Daudi vulcari nel quale non ci è né auctore né stanpatore." (BAV MS Vat. lat. 11286, fol. 267r; RICI ELE 859 no. 64). At the time, the nuns also owned a copy of Malerbi's Bible translation in one of the illustrated editions, presumably lost, which they had received from a "d. Francisco Caroli vicario aquilano" (RICI ELE 859 no. 61).

Donated to the Vatican Library in 1948: "Dono delle Monache Benedettine Celestine dell'Aquila 8 ottobre 1948" (ex-dono inscription, front pastedown).

Sources: digital reproduction <<http://digi.vatlib.it/view/Inc.I.105>>; online catalogue.

[19.] Venice, Fondazione Cini, FOAN TES 02, MEI 02124707

Incomplete, 53 leaves only (Prologue to the Gospels, followed by the four Gospels). In the same variant as no. **18** above but wanting the *Tabula del testamento novo*. Leaf size: 363×260mm.

Binding: paper boards covered with brown paper. Marbled endpapers. Blue silk ribbon bookmark. 16/17th-century.

Decoration: gold initials on a red or pink background at the start of books. Rubrication in red: incipits and explicits for each of the prologues and Gospels. Running titles in the same style as those in no. **1**.

Manuscript notes: numerous cross-references to an unidentified text (providing the chapter and leaf numbers, "C(apitolo)... a k(arte)..."). Occasional manicules. An early reader annotates the Lord's Prayer in Matthew ("chiarissit el pater nostro" (3v=[x4v])) and Luke.

Provenance:

Erased inscription, "Ex libris D Caesar de Mayer", accompanied by other notes in the same hand: "1460. 156 sui le [?] 40" (back flyleaf recto). Another incunable owned by Mayer is a Diogenes Laertius now at the Royal Library in The Hague (MEI 02100889, record by Gerline Sonneveld).

With the ex-libris of Tammaro de Marinis (1878-1969), antiquarian bookseller and collector. On De Marinis, see «*Multa renascentur*». *Tammaro De Marinis studioso, bibliofilo, antiquario, collezionista*, ed. by Ilenia Maschietto (Venice: Marsilio, 2023).

Tammaro de Marinis closely collaborated with Vittorio Cini when the latter was building up his library at Monselice. In the early 1960s, Cini's collections were moved to the newly founded Fondazione Giorgio Cini, named in memory of his son.

Sources: book in hand; MEI entry by Carlo Squarzon; Rhodes Cini B50.

[20.] Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Bibel-S. 2° 151 (2), MEI: 02150955
Parchment copy. Wanting the first quire of part I.

Binding: each volume bound in red straight-grain Morocco, decorated in gilt with neo-classical rolls and stamps. Given the decoration style, and the extremely close likeness to the binding of no. **12**, which uses most of the same tools, the binding can be assigned to France, ca. 1807-1815 (see below).

Decoration: illuminated by Franco dei Russi (previously attributed to Benedetto Bordon), signed “Franchi” on a scroll held by a putto ([b1r], vol. 1). Owner’s armorial device cut out, later reinforced on the verso with blank parchment (the 2024 CIBN Supplément claims the excised arms were those of the Franchi of Genua, however Mariani Canova, and a typewritten note stored with the copy, ascribe the signature to the artist, rather than any previous owners). Manuscript rubrication includes incipits, running titles. For descriptions of the copy’s decoration, see: Mariani Canova, p. 21, fig. 5, reproduction of Genesis illumination; *The Painted Book*, p. 180 and fig. 155; *The Painted Page*, no. 82 (entry by Giordana Mariani Canova).

Manuscript notes: occasional manuscript foliation in top right corner of some rectos.

Provenance:

Based on the decoration and its similarity to a Choral owned by bishop Jacopo Zeno (1418-1481), there executed by Antonio Vendramin (now at the Museo della Cattedrale in Ferrara), Mariani Canova suggests this Bible was decorated for Zeno. In the collection of Herzog August of Baunschweig-Lüneburg (1579-1666). At the Herzog August Bibliothek until 1807, when it was seized by the French and taken to Paris. Van Praet (vol. 1, p. 39) describes it as a copy “que la France avoit acquis par ses victoires, est retourné à la Bibl. de Wolfenbüttel”; the French were particularly keen to seize vellum books (Benedicte Savoy, *Patrimoine annexé. Les biens culturels saisis par la France en Allemagne autour de 1800*, in 2 vols (Paris: Maison des Sciences de l’Homme, 2003), esp. chapter IV, ‘Les missions de Dominique-Vivant Denon en Allemagne du Nord et en Autriche 1806-1809’). Together with over 300 manuscripts, 37 early printed books selected from Wolfenbüttel were taken to Paris by Henri Beyle, better known under his penname, Stendhal.

Returned to Wolfenbüttel in 1815, rebound and wanting the 8 leaves kept in Paris.

Sources: book in hand; *Incunabula Guelferbytana* 501.

[21.] Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, XV.F.297, MEI 02149033

Parchment copy. Part I only. Leaf size: 367x249mm.

Binding: gilt-tooled reddish-brown Morocco over pasteboard. With remains of four pairs of silk ties (Italy, 16th century). Endpapers with two different distinct watermarks, similar to mid-16th century watermarks used in Vincenza (Briquet nos. 649, 672).

Manuscript notes: early manuscript signatures, some trimmed.

Provenance:

Owned by Breslau burgher Thomas Rehdiger (1540-1576), possibly acquired in the years 1567-1569 when he was touring Italy. Following his death, Rehdiger's library was gifted to his native city. First housed at the Church of St Elizabeth (1661-1865), then the newly created Rhedigersche Stadtbibliothek zu Breslau in 1865 (round library stamp). In his 1699 *Memorabilia Bibliothecae Publicae Elisabeanae Wratislaviensis*, Gottlob Krantz writes of having seen an Italian Bible printed in two volumes ("Biblia inspexi Italica, duobus voluminibus fat magnis comprehensa, Venetiis Anno 1471 membranis purissimis impressa...", p. 72); the *Bandkatalog* of the Stadtbibliothek zu Breslau also suggests both volumes were present. Old shelfmark: Ink. 1. Following a fire that had destroyed the University Library, the collections of the former Stadtbibliothek were given to the University in 1946. On the collection's history see Albrecht Wilhelm Jakob Wachler, *Thomas Rehdiger und seine Büchersammlung in Breslau: ein bigographisch-literarischer Besuch* (Breslau: J. D. Grüson und Komp., 1828), p. 25; Aleksandra Lipińska, 'Brothers in collecting: Thomas and Jacob Rehdiger: two sixteenth-century Silesian art collectors and bibliophiles', in *Early Modern Merchants as Collectors*, ed. by Christina M. Anderson (Milton Park: Routledge, 2017), pp. 169-183.

Sources: book in hand; Bronisław Kocowski, *Katalog Inkunabutów Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej we Wrocławiu* (Wrocław: Wrocławskie Towarzystwo Naukowe, 1959), no. 549.

[22.] Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, ZB Alte Drucke 2.6, MEI 02130148

Binding: bound as a single volume in half brown leather with marbled paper over paper boards. With the supralibros of the Zurich Stadtbibliothek (18th century).

Decoration: fully realised illumination programme, with six full-page borders, and 151 historiated initials with gold leaf by the Pico Master (attributed in Armstrong, *Studies of Renaissance Miniaturists*, pp. 329-330; see also Michael Kotrba, 'Malermis italienische Bibel: unbekanntes Werk ferraresischer Buchmalerei in Venedig', in *Zentralbibliothek Zürich: Schatzkammer der Überlieferung*, ed. by Alfred Cattani and Bruno Weber (Zürich: Neue Zürcher Zeitung, 1989), pp. 30-33). Alternating blue and red Roman capitals throughout, including minor capitals in Psalms. Rubrication includes incipits and explicits in Italian. Foliation in Roman numerals.

Manuscript notes: the copy contains a manuscript *Tabula* (cf. no. 9 above). The textual model followed is identical, however with more abbreviations and without the Psalm incipits.

Provenance:

With the arms of the Priuli family. The Zentralbibliothek online catalogue suggests the copy may have belonged to the library of Doge Antonio Priuli (1548-1623). First mentioned as belonging to the Stadtbibliothek Zurich in Martin Gebert's *Iter Alemannicum* (Typis San-Blasianis, 1765), pp. 46-47. Absent from the 1744 first volume of the library's catalogue, *Catalogus Librorum Bibliothecae Tigurinae*, so acquired sometime after that year.

Sources: MEI entry and additional images provided by Christian Scheidegger (Zentralbibliothek Zurich); digital reproduction of six leaves: <https://uzb.swisscovery.slsp.ch/permalink/41SLSP_UZB/1d8t6qj/alma990036369470205508>.

[Venice: Adam de Ambergau], 1 October 1471

Barbieri 2, GW 04321, ISTC ib00639000

Royal folio, in two parts. Without printed signatures.

Part I: 316 leaves ([a-i¹⁰k⁸l⁶m-p¹⁰qr⁸s-zA-H¹⁰IK⁸]).

Part II: 333 leaves ([a¹¹b-i¹⁰k-m⁸n-v¹⁰x¹²y¹⁰zA⁸BC¹⁰D⁸E-G¹⁰H⁸IK¹⁰L⁸M⁶]).

[23.] Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, Banco Rari 8-10, MEI 02127147

Binding: divided equally into three volumes. Annotations by the printed table of contents suggest the volumes' early bindings were of different colours: "libro verde p(rim)o", "libro roso secondo", "libro giallo terzo". Occasional parchment quire guards. Now in matching later half brown leather with brown marbled paper over boards. Modern endpapers in vol. 1 watermarked "INGRES (MADE IN ITALY)".

Decoration: at foot of [b2r], two putti mid-flight, in watercolours, support a laurel wreath with coat of arms (excised, with only part of the gold shield tincture remaining). Alternating red or blue Roman initials throughout.

Manuscript notes: printing shop corrections ([i5r], [x3v] of part I; [q10v] in part II). Early signatures (trimmed). Additions to the table of contents, brief summaries and extractions of key words in Italian and Latin, in a neat *mercantesca* script. Rare manicules and pilcrows in brown ink.

Provenance:

Listed in Fossi's 1793 catalogue of the Magliabechiana, the predecessor of today's Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, which had by then acquired collections from suppressed religious houses in Florence and Tuscany, in addition to Antonio Magliabechi's rich library. Historic shelfmark: "1-1-12".

Sources: digital reproduction
<<https://teca.bncf.firenze.sbn.it/manos/browseInc.jsp?idF=8>>; Fossi, vol. 1 col.

343; Scapecchi BNCf 512.

[24.] Ljubljana, Narodna in univerzitetna knjižnica, 9671.IV.Z.a, MEI 02147870 Part I only, wanting ff. [a1], [a5], [a9], [H4] and the two final leaves ([K7]-[K8]). Outermost leaves quite damaged. Following the volume's repair, first gathering misbound in the order: [a6]-[a8], [a2]-[a4]. Not in GW, notified April 2024. Binding: brown blind-tooled leather, panel design with central decoration made up of smaller tools (sixteenth-century Italy).

Decoration: on [a10v], illuminated gold Roman initial 'N', with six hand-painted vignettes on ff. [a10v]-[b1r], depicting the Days of Creation, each within a gilt frame; floral and laurel leaf borders (only partially preserved). On [a10v], a narrow fragment of an illuminated medallion within a laurel wreath, possibly Jerome at work (fragment depicting a book supported by a lectern preserved); unidentified coat of arms within a laurel wreath, now mostly trimmed away: *azure*, with an unidentified charge *or*. Attributed to the Pico Master (*Črna umetnost v barvah* catalogue). White vine-stem initials with gold leaf. Alternating red and blue Roman initials throughout. Manuscript notes: without printer's corrections. Dumbbell-shaped reading marks at roughly even intervals (Pentateuch only). Manuscript signatures throughout (except the opening quire), with ink foliation and later pencil foliation.

Provenance:

Decorated in Venice for an unknown owner.

Ownership inscription of a Jewish owner from Padua named Helia: "questo sie de mi helia del q. maggio heb(re)o da padova" (4r=[a2r]), in a sixteenth-century humanist hand.

Lithographic armorial ex-libris of William Leslie (1657-1727). Leslie may have acquired the book during the time he spent in Italy, at the University of Padova (where he studied theology and, according to the ODNB, was Professor of Theology), before serving as the bishop of Ljubljana from 1718 until his death (David Worthington, 'Leslie, William', *ODNB*).

Historic shelfmark: 'A[nno?] 1725 C: 4' (front pastedown).

Round black stamp of the "K. K. Lyceal Bibliothek zu Laibach [now Ljubljana]", the predecessor of the National and University Library of Ljubljana founded in 1774 (1r=[a6r]). 19th-century manuscript note misattributes the copy to the August edition, with references to De Bure and Panzer (front flyleaf recto).

Sources: information provided by Sonja Svoljšak (Ljubljana, NUK); digital reproduction via *Digitalna knjižnica Slovenije*, <<https://www.dlib.si/details/URN:NBN:SI:DOC-4MSU9J6Z>>; Gspan-Badalić, *Inkunabule v Sloveniji*. no. 125; *Črna umetnost v barvah: naslikane in natisnjene upodobitve v prvotiskih Narodne in univerzitetne knjižnice = The black art in colours: painted and printed images in the National and University Library's incunabula*, ed. by Nataša Golob, Marijan Rupert, Sonja Svoljšak, trans. by Jernej Hočevar (Ljubljana: Narodna in univerzitetna knjižnica, 2017), no. 11 (pp. 136-138).

[25.] London, British Library, C.13.d.5-6, MEI 02013638

Leaf size: 400x270mm; 392x270mm.

Binding: blue straight-grain Morocco over paper boards, with thin single gilt fillet border. With George III's armorial supralibros in gilt. Green, yellow, red and blue French curl marbled endpapers. Incorrectly titled "BIBLIA MALERMI" on spine. Previously bound in parchment (Smith sale catalogue: 'leg. Oll.').

Manuscript notes: printer's corrections ([i5r], [c3v] of vol. I, [q10v] of vol. II). Psalm number (XLIII) corrected. Modern pencil foliation (1-6) and quire signatures.

Provenance:

Owned by Joseph Smith (1673-1770), English consul in Venice. Listed in the 1737 catalogue of his collection, *Catalogus librorum rarissimorum...* (nr 29); *Bibliotheca Smithiana* (1755), p. LIV. Mentioned in the 1753 *Biblioteca dell'eloquenza italiana* by Apostolo Zeno (vol. 2, p. 421). Smith's library was sold in 1762.

Later owned by Amsterdam-based collector Pietro-Antonio Bolongaro-Crevenna (1735-1792): binding matches description of no. 114 in his catalogue; *Bibliotheca Spenceriana* description of no. **26** (see below) also identifies this as the same copy. Bought for the collection of George III. *Bibliothecae Regiae Catalogus*, vol. I, p. 275. Since 1828, part of the Kings Library collection of the British Museum, relocated to today's British Library in 1998. See the papers by Lotte Hellenga, P. R. Harris, John Goldfinch in *Libraries within the Library: The Origins of the British Library's Printed Collections*, ed. by Giles Mandelbrote, Barry Taylor (London: British Library, 2009).

Sources: book in hand; MEI entry by Alessandra Panzanelli.

[26.] Manchester, John Rylands Library, 3071, MEI 02148627

Wanting ff. [a1]-[a2] of part II. Leaf size: 410x275mm, 413x280mm.

Binding: dark blue straight-grain Morocco. Boards and turn-ins decorated with gold-tooled Grecian key rolls. Armorial supralibros of Earl Spencer in blind at centre of both boards. Marbled endpapers.

Decoration: vol. 1: hand-coloured stamped-in woodcut illustrations designed by the Putti Master, each enclosed within a thin red frame (ff. [a10v]-[b1r]). For discussion see Barbieri, 'Un "nuovo" caso di xilominiatura', and Chapter 3). Alternating epigraphic initials in red and blue throughout, with guide letters.

In vol. 2: on [a1]r, full border with monochrome purple roundel of Jerome in a cardinal's *galero* hat holding a book, attributed to the Pico Master (Armstrong, *Renaissance Miniature Painters*, n. 32). With the arms of the Lion of Venice, *azure, a lion rampant or, three red roses on a bend or overall* (cf. Freschot, p. 347). Two decorated initials with gold leaf. Epigraphic capitals and pilcrows in red or blue throughout.

Manuscript notes: vol. 1 unannotated. In vol. 2: frequent notabilia ('nota') accompanied, with brief summaries and some attempts at analysis, showing an

interest in messianic prophecies. Some accompanied by manicules. The early manuscript notes display a Venetian linguistic colouring (e.g. 'fiol', 'giexia' in annotations to Isaiah 30).

Provenance:

Vol. II originally decorated for the Lion family in Venice. The JRL online catalogue proposes the identification of the coat of arms as the Nieri or the Angeli Nieri. Given the continued presence of the book in Venice, an attribution to the Venetian family seems more likely than to families from Tuscany or Umbria.

Inquisitorial reading permit for Marco Lachi and his wife signed by Felice Peretti, the future Pius II: "fr(ater) felix Perettus de mo(n)te alto Rege(n)s, et Inq(uisito)r vidit, et admittit manu propria p(ro) d(omi)no Marco Lachi, et eius uxore, ut in Indice S(anctissimi) Inq(uisitio)nis" ([M5v], vol. II). Possibly the same Florentine Marco Lachi who was an exchange broker in 1570s Venice (Gigi Corazzol, 'Varietà notarile: scorci di vita economica e sociale', in *Storia di Venezia* (1994)).

Part of the library of Maffeo Pinelli (1736-1785), last official state printer of Venice. Jacopo Morelli, *La libreria già raccolta con grande studio dal Signor Maffeo Pinelli Veneziano. Tomo IV* (In Venezia nella Stamperia di Carlo Palese, MDCCVXXXVII), no. 1. James Edwards was responsible for the Pinelli sale in London (1789). Bibliotheca Pinelliana sale catalogue no. 703, £6.5.0.

Oval leather ex-libris: "E BIBLIOTHECA SPENCERIANA" (vol. 1, inside front pastedown). Bibliographic notes in Earl Spencer's hand. *Bibliotheca Spenceriana*, vol. I (1814), no. 31 (pp. 63-67). See also no. 7 above.

Sources: book in hand; online catalogue.

[27.] Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Inc.1412, MEI 02149804

Contains the Old Testament only, bound as a single volume. Wanting ff. [a1-2], and part of fol. [a3] of part I; fol. [a1], part of fol. [x12], as well as the quires [y-M] containing the New Testament in part II. Leaf size: 380x255mm.

Binding: 19th-century cardboard binding.

Decoration: undecorated.

Provenance:

Founded in 1609 by Cardinal Federico Borromeo, the Ambrosiana grew from various acquisitions. Historic shelfmark: S.Q.P.IV.8.

Sources: online catalogue; Barbieri, 'Un "nuovo" caso di silominiatura', p. 27.

[28.] Moscow, Russian State Library (Российская государственная библиотека), MK Inc/2070, MEI 02127146

Part 2 only. Fol. [a1], with the *Tabula*, remounted with only the printed part of the leaf preserved. Leaf size: 345x227mm.

Binding: late 19th-century marbled paper (imitating marble calf leather) over paper

boards. Spine covered with brown leather, corners in brown buckram cloth. Gilt titling on spine. Small rectangular slip to head of spine with former Incunable collection shelfmark, '2o 2898' in a 19th-century hand (another shelfmark, 2070, next to it in pencil). Edges speckled. Binder's ticket on lower pastedown: "A. Schachtschabel Königl. Hofbuchbinder Dresden".

Decoration: alternating red and blue Roman capitals.

Manuscript notes: brief prayer written in German a 17th-century(?) hand: "JESVS vnndt Maria vnndt der heilig Joseph sey mit mir in der kranckheit vnndt d[em] todtbeett [todtbandt?] vnndt allezeitt vnndt helfen mir dise gottes [wordt (miswritten, crossed out)] wordt der heil[igen] mit andacht [hö (crossed out)] lesen vnndt hören. Amen." ([a2r], for translation see Chapter 5, p. 128).

Provenance:

Already annotated by a German-speaking owner in the 17th century.

With the pre-1806 stamp of the Dresden Kurfürstliche Bibliothek (later Sächsische Landes- und Universitätsbibliothek) ([a2r]); cited in Ebert's *Allgemeines bibliographisches Lexicon*, vol. 1 in 1821. Historic shelfmark: 2° 2898.

Part of the Sächsische Landesbibliothek collections taken to Moscow as war reparations in 1949.

Sources: information and images provided by Dmitry Rumyantsev (Moscow State Library). With thanks to Prof. Henrike Lähnemann (University of Oxford) and Prof. Ulrich Bubenheimer for help with the German inscription.

[29.] Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 2° Inc.c.a.48m, MEI 02127271

Part I only.

Binding: blind-tooled brown calf over wooden boards, with panel design, with centrepiece made up of four floral fleurons. Evidence of 4 clasps, and remains of leather ties, possibly decorated in blind (16th century, Italy). Affixed inside front cover is a full-page frontispiece from an early 17th-century set of devotional prints entitled *I principali misterii della Passione di Giesv Christo Sig(no)r N(ost)ro chiamati volgarmente le Cascade*. Originally published as the *Praecipua Passionis d(omini) n(ostri) Iesv Christi mysteria*, the original set by Flemish engraver Jan Sadeler, with accompanying text in Latin, was first issued in 1589. This is probably the front cover from the set's 1617 Italian copy by P. Paolo Torri, printed in Padua (described in the sale catalogue J. G. A. Frenzel, *Sammlung der Kupferstiche und Handzeichnungen Sr. Excellenz des Herrn Grafen Franz v. Sternberg-Manderscheid*, vol. II (Dresden: Hofbuchdruckerei C. C. Meinhold und Söhne, 1838), no. 1538). The Italian copy is very close to Sadeler's original; unlike in the original, the printer's and cutter's names are absent, and the arms of the Elector of Bavaria and the Duke of Elbeuf are replaced with unidentified Italian arms.

Decoration: contemporary red or blue Roman initials throughout. Decorative title page with manuscript title in square capitals: "LA SACRA BIBLIA DI S. GERONIMO VOLGARE, ET ORIGINALE Stampata l'Anno 1463[sic, later amended in red crayon]", framed by a collage of 16th/17th-century lithograph illustrations, including a cut up

frame used by the Giunta in Venice, possibly taken from the 1608 Giunta edition of Avicenna's *Canon Medicinae*. Venezia, industria ac sumptibus Giunta, 1608, USTC 4035773 (the frame is present in the 1588 edition of *Hippocratis Coi Opera quae extant Graecae et Latinae*, EDIT16 CNCE 22546, in an earlier variant, with the initials "L.A." within the Giunta shield). Evidence of other cuttings decorating ff. [a10v]-[b1r] of Genesis, since removed.

Manuscript notes: without printer's corrections. Rare underlining and isolated brief marginal summary in Italian (162r=[s2]r).

Provenance:

Bibliographic note in German cites the 1821 *Allgemeines bibliographisches Lexicon*, vol. 1 by Friedrich Adolf Ebert (Leipzig: Brockhaus). Historic shelfmark: "Collect. Bibl. pag. 1061" (front flyleaf recto, 18/19th-century?).

Sources: digital reproduction <<https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/en/view/bsb00048370>>.

[30.] Novara Biblioteca Civica "Carlo Negroni", G39 & G40 [=Inc. 39-40], MEI 02148453

Leaf size: 415x280mm.

Binding: according to Negroni, the original binding, with remains of furniture, was in poor condition after the two volumes had been stored in a humid room following their removal from the Franciscan convent in 1866; rebound in gilt-tooled leather. Decoration: gold initial on a faded gold and red background, with partial floral border ([a8r]). Alternating Lombards in red or blue.

Provenance:

The copy belonged to a Franciscan convent in Venice, presumably San Francesco della Vigna. Likely acquired after 1600; is not mentioned in the convent's book-list in 1600, RIC1 ELE 1200). During the suppression of Venetian religious institutions, ca. 1800-1835, in custody of Antonio Bravin (1769-1862).

Returned to the Franciscans' library in 1835 by Bravin and remained there during the reinstatement of religious institutions in Venice (1835-1866).

Purchased by Carlo Negroni (1819-1896) in 1881 from an unidentified "pio e dotto Ecclesiastico" (perhaps Giuseppe Cadorin who, according to Francesco Zambrini, made his copy available for the 1846 modern edition of the translation by the Società Veneta dei Bibliofili; however, Zambrini distinguishes between the San Francesco della Vigna and Cadorin copies, claiming both were used for the Società Veneta edition, see *idem*, *Le opere volgari a stampa*, p. 38; cf. Negroni's introduction to his edition of this translation, where he claims, that the present copy was used by the Società Veneta edition (pp. viii-ix; see also no. 42). Negroni bequeathed his book collection to the city of Novara.

Sources: information and images provided by Paolo Testori (Biblioteca Civica); Carlo Negroni, 'Al Commendatore Francesco Zambrini Preseidente della Commisione pei Testi di Lingua', *La Bibbia volgare secondo la rara edizione del I di ottobre mccccxxi. ristampata per cura di Carlo Negroni*, vol. I (Bologna: Gaetano Romagnoli, 1886), pp. v-lii.

[31.] Oxford, Bodleian Library, Holk. b.1-3, MEI 00207841

A single leaf ([a1]) of the 1470 edition of Cicero's *De officiis* (ISTC ic00577000, MEI 00207846, with data imported from Bod-Inc) bound between ff. [I10]-[K1] of part II. Leaf size: 400x275mm; 408x274mm; 408x275mm.

Binding: bound in three volumes; the second half split into the Old Testament (Proverbs-2 Maccabees) and New Testament. Gold-tooled light brown Russia. 422x286x85mm; 422x288x65mm; 422x292x44mm. Bod-inc assigns it to ca. 1718-1728.

Decoration: occasional pen outlines of vine-stem initials. Small manuscript guide letters where not supplied by printer.

Manuscript notes: printing shop corrections (all three present). Contemporary annotations in the first and third volume: Latin psalm incipits, with particular focus on penitential psalms (late 15th-century); marginal summaries and keywords (e.g. locations visited by Paul in Acts 21); diacritic marks, end-of-paragraph hyphenation, correction of some misprinted letters. Reading marks, including occasional underlining, scratched in relief (vol. 2). Trimmed early foliation in vol. 3 (New Testament), with leaf numbers added to the printed table of contents.

Provenance:

Faint late fifteenth-century inscription: 'questo libro fu de mes(ser) Cristofalo de Pelegrin [...]' (parchment endleaf, vol. 2). Possibly the Cristoforo Pellegrini, who, aged around 52, was Veronese ambassador in Venice in the late 1471-early 1472. He was still alive in 1493 when recording his will. His wife, Laura Nogarola, came from a family of educated women (Claudio Bismara, 'La cappella Pellegrini e Pisanello *civis originarius* di Verona nel 1438', *Verona Illustrata* (2013), 1-13; Pompeo Molmenti, *La Dogaresa di Venezia* (Torino: Roux e Favale, 1884), p. 263). A letter fragment (68x170mm), used as a bookmark between ff. [t7]-[t8], mentions Lavagno, a *comune* east of Verona, and the exchange of faulty goods, suggesting a secular setting of use. The date (29 February 150[?], presumably 1504 or 1508, both leap years) and writer's name (Petrus?) are trimmed.

Owned by Thomas Coke, Earl of Leicester (1697-1759) of Holkham Hall. Coke built up his library during his Grand Tour, including in Italy (1712-18). Much of the collection is still at Holkham Hall, but some items were sold to the British and Bodleian Libraries in the twentieth century.

Sources: book in hand; Bod-Inc B-339.

[32.] Oxford, Bodleian Library, N.T.Ital.1471 c.1, MEI 02127521

Incomplete, contains the New Testament only ([y1]-[M6]). Margins cropped,

affecting the printed headlines and marginal notes. Leaf size 377×237mm.
Binding: rough grey-beige paper covered paper boards. Worn manuscript title “Testamento Novo Volgare Malermi 1471”, and early shelfmark, “526” (head of spine). Plain parchment endleaf. 384×256×35mm.

Decoration: contemporary illuminated capital ‘Q’ ([y2r]), with a winged angel in pink robes, on a gold background. Capitals combining Lombardic and Roman characteristics, in red or blue. Pilcrows in red, capitals touched with yellow.

Manuscript notes: brief extractions of key passages, interlinear additions of synonyms (e.g. ‘quindi’>‘de qui’, ‘rubicondo’>‘rosso’, with some linguistic forms attested in the Veneto: ‘chiunque’>‘zaschuno’, ‘giovedì’>‘zobia’), diacritic marks (e.g. cedillas added to printed letters ‘z’), end-of-line hyphenation, by more than one contemporary and early 16th-century hand. The Apocalypse commentary of Federico Renoldo da Venezia (for identification see Barbieri, *Le Bibbie*, no. 2), added to the margins of [L6r]-[M6v], continued on the parchment endpaper (recto).

Provenance:

Decoration and early marginalia suggest the book was first used in the Veneto.

Unidentified early (Italian?) library shelfmark: ‘526’ (head of spine).

Manuscript seller’s note: ‘Eximie varietatis Costò £110-’ ([y1r]). For comparison, incomplete copies of the edition were being sold in Venice for 100 Lire in ca. 1800 (Adolfo Cesare, *Catalogo cronologico di edizioni del secolo XV...*, BNF, Département Littérature et Art, Q-8637).

Acquired by the Bodleian Library sometime between 1847-1892.

Sources: book in hand; Bod-Inc B-339.

[33.] Oxford, St John's College, HB4/Folios.2.2.2, MEI: 02151172

Part II only.

Binding: bound as part of a matching set together with the library’s copy of *edition princeps* (see no. 9 above). Title and former shelfmark (‘Vol.II.’, and the number ‘27’) written across the foredge. The volume similarly has two round chain holes on the front pastedown and has also undergone repair with the same materials.

Decoration: alternating red and blue Lombards throughout.

Provenance:

Uncertain when this volume and no. 9 were brought together. With the same 1699 ex-dono inscription from Arthur Buckeridge as no. 9 (front flyleaf recto). Previous College library shelfmarks: B. 27, C.2.16., A.2.2, A.1.6 (front pastedown and foredge).

Sources: book in hand; Rhodes (Oxford Colleges) 372.

[34.] Paris, BNF, Rés. A 352 (1-2), MEI 02151173

Final word of running title and first four lines printed in red [b1v]. Bifolium [b1.10] possibly supplied from another copy: [b10] is the only rubricated leaf in the

volume). Leaf size: 380x255mm; 378x267mm.

Binding: 17th-century brown leather with Nicolas Fouquet's gilt armorial supralibros on the boards. Smaller stamp with his arms incorporated into the spine decoration. Decoration: unrubricated, except fol. [b10], which has alternating red and blue Roman capitals. In his article on the Perugia copy, no. **37**, Barbieri incorrectly ascribes "delicati disegni con una cornice fitomorfa di gusto classico" of no. **36** to this copy. 387x275x85mm.

Manuscript notes: printer's corrections; occasional reading marks (division sign, ÷, shaped), possibly all by the same reader, in the first half of the volume.

Provenance:

Owned by Nicolas Fouquet (1615-1680), who intensely collected books (both in France and abroad, for example in 1661 his librarian Carcavi travelled to Italy), adding to his father's library, before the 1665 confiscation and dispersal of his possessions. See E. Stewart Saunders, 'Politics and Scholarship in Seventeenth-Century France: The Library of Nicolas Fouquet and the College Royal', in *The Journal of Library History*, 20.1 (1985), 1-24.

Acquired by the Bibliotheque Royale, today's Bibliothèque nationale, following the dispersal of Fouquet's collection.

Sources: book in hand; CIBN B-450; Paris Bibles 637.

[35.] Paris, BNF, Rés. Vel. 96-97, MEI 02148628

The only surviving copy of this edition printed on vellum. Both the title "LIBRO DEL GENESIS" and the incipit printed in gold. Leaf size: 363x247mm; 370x244mm. Binding: 18th-century red Morocco. Gilt floral roll on board turn-ins. Title on the spine in gilt, includes note "EXEMPLAR EXC(ELLENTI)US IN MEMBRANIS". Textblock edges marbled and gilt. 382x270x100mm; 383x273x105mm.

Decoration: two inhabited initials and two decorated initials on ff. [a10v]-[b1r] attributed to Antonio Maria da Villafora (Armstrong, 'The Hand Illumination of Venetian Bibles in the Incunable Period', p 95, with black-and-white reproduction of [a10v]). Later decoration added around 1800 includes a decorative border and illuminations in late 15th-century(?) French style at the beginning of each volume, based on a manuscript owned by MacCarthy-Reagh (see CIBN supplement), and a series of decorative initials, many with floral or animal motifs.

Manuscript notes: without printer's corrections. Isolated correction of misprinted psalm number XLIII. Manuscript foliation bypasses the printed Tabula and begins on fol. [a6r].

Provenance:

In France since the eighteenth century. With manuscript ex-libris of Louis de Chaumejan (or Chaumejean) de Fourilles (1690-1765), commendatory abbot of Saint-Vincent de Senlis, [a1r] of vol. 1.

Part of the Gaignat sale (see no. 4). Lot 79, sale price 400 livres 19 sols (annotated catalogue, Bodleian Library).

Owned by Luis César Duc de la Vallière (1708-1780). Following some partial sales, his library was auctioned in Paris in 1784: *Catalogue des livres de la bibliothèque de feu M. le duc de La Vallière*; part I, lot 89 (72 francs).

Again on the market at the 1815 Justin MacCarthy-Reagh sale: *Catalogue des livres rares et précieux... de feu M. le comte de Mac-Carthy Reagh* (Paris, 1815), v. 1, n. 111 (1199 francs 95 centimes). Purchased there for the Bibliothèque de roi. Van Praet, vol. 1, no. 37.

Sources: book in hand; CIBN B-450 and CIBN Supplement; Paris Bibles 637.

[36.] Paris, Bibliothèque de Sainte Geneviève, 1.OE.XV.17-18, MEI 02148419
Binding: light brown calf (France, 17th-century).

Decoration: contemporary alternating blue and red Roman initials throughout both volumes. Later decorative additions in ink and pastels datable to the eighteenth century. On [a10v] of volume 1, architectural trompe-l'oeil frontispiece, supported by a *bas-de-page* plinth, with the Lottin de Charny shield, *chequy argent and azure* (the arms may predate the decoration). Spaces set aside for decoration by the printer occupied by three scenes of the Creation, and an epigraphic initial decorated with vine leaves. On [b1r], two miniatures of the fifth and sixth days of Creation. The miniatures combine elements of the designs by the Putti Master and the Pico Master seen in other copies of this edition, perhaps with reference to an unidentified/lost copy. In volume 2, gold Roman initial "Q" inhabited by a faun leaning against a tree as he plays a pipe, ornamental frame with floral and classicising motifs in pink, purple, (Prussian?) blue and gold, medallion with a nude Poseidon holding a triton. The letters "N E" flanking Poseidon are likely the artist's initials. Spaces for initials at the beginning of each Book, originally left blank, have Roman initials, likely coeval with the decoration by N. E.

Manuscript notes: without the printer's corrections.

Provenance:

In France by the seventeenth century: the name of François Lottin de Charny (ca.1600-1684) inscribed in both volumes: "Francis(c)us Lotin de Charny".

Paris, Abbaye de Sainte-Geneviève. Inscribed "40 Ex Libris S(anct)e Genovefae Parisiensis 1731". The library, now part of the Sorbonne-Nouvelle University, was able to avoid dispersal following the Abbey's secularisation. Yves Peyré *La bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève À travers les siècles* (Paris: Gallimard, 2011).

Sources: digital reproduction
<<https://archive.org/details/OEXV17RES1/OEXV1702/>>,
<<https://archive.org/details/OEXV18R/OEXV18/>>; Paris Bibles 637; *Catalogue des incunables de la Bbliothèque Sainte-Genevieve rédigé par Daunou* (Paris:

Alphonse Picard, 1892), n. 61.

[37.] Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale Augusta, Inc. 1036, MEI 02151174

Wanting fol. [b1]. Leaf size: 358x240mm.

Binding: later parchment over paper boards, textblock edges decorated in blue and gold. Barbieri suggests the copy was rebound at the Franciscan monastery in Perugia.

Decoration: with the stamped woodcut decoration designed by the Master of the Putti, also seen in no. **26** (first recognised by Barbieri in his 2020 paper, 'Un "nuovo" caso di silominiatura'). Stamped outer frame and the stamped lower border with two putti supporting a shield with the arms of the Rimondo (/Arimondi) of Venice ([a10v]).

Provenance:

Decorated in Venice (see above).

Unidentified seller's note in Italian and French (first front flyleaf recto).

At the monastery of San Francesco del Monte in Perugia until its suppression in 1865. Absent from the 1600 inventory of monastery's library (BAV Vat. lat. 11315, 12r-18v, RIC I ELE 1579; 43r-43v, RIC I ELE 1650). From there, it passed to the Biblioteca Comunale.

Sources: Barbieri, 'Un "nuovo" caso di silominiatura', pp. 23-30.

[38.] Princeton, NJ, Princeton University, Scheide Library, 62.1, MEI 02148494

Wanting first blank of vol. I. Leaf size: vol. I: 420x278mm, vol. II 417x277mm.

Binding: brown leather over wooden boards. Textblock edges of vol. I gilt, vol. II gilt and gaufered (Italy, 18th-century?).

Decoration: on [a10v] of vol. I, two white vine-stem epigraphic initials in gold, three miniatures of days of creation, one within a medallion incorporated in the full white vine-stem border. *Bas-de-page* laurel wreath, with the owner's coat of arms overpainted in black; on [b1r], a miniature of Day 5 of Creation, and a white vine-stem initial, in a style similar to that of the Pico Master (Armstrong, 'The Hand Illumination of Venetian Bibles', p. 94). White vine-stem initials and alternating red and blue Roman initials throughout.

In vol. II, fol. [a2r], miniature of Solomon and lower border by another artist also familiar with the style of the Pico Master (Armstrong). Two angels support the arms of the Migliorati of Venice, *per fess argent and azure, a mullet of eight points or* (Custoza, *Libro d'arme di Venezia*, no. 2087).

Manuscript notes: printer's corrections.

Provenance:

In volume I: inquisitorial reading permit, covered with dark ink by a later owner: "fr. felix perettus de monte alto Reg(ens) et Inquisitor recognovit pro magnifico D.

Benetto Soranzo ut in Indice sanctissime Inquisitionis" (vol. 1, lower margin of [K]8v). The family's genealogical tables in Barbaro reveals two candidates: the elder, born in 1508 and deceased several months following the January 1557 appointment of Peretti in as Inquisitor in Venice, was the younger brother of Vittore Soranzo, the disgraced bishop of Bergamo whose lack of adherence to the resolutions of the Council of Trent (such as promoting vernacular Bible reading on the eve of the introduction of restrictions on vernacular Bible access) and sympathies to the heretodox doctrine of *sola fide* led to an Inquisition trial resulting in his excommunication in 1558 (Barbaro, vol. VII S-Z, p. 45); Giuseppe Trebbi, 'Soranzo, Vittore', in *DBI*, vol. 93 (2018). For the explicit mention of vernacular Bible translations, Massimo Firpo and Sergio Pagano, *I processi inquisitoriali di Vittore Soranzo (1550-1558). Edizione critica*, in 2 vols (Vatican: Archivio Segreto Vaticano, 2004), p. XXII. The second Benetto, born in 1522, was captain of the *Cristo risorto* galley at the 1571 Battle of Lepanto where he died (Barbaro, vol. VII S-Z, p. 50; Angus Konstam, *Lepanto 1571: the Greatest Naval Battle of the Renaissance* (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 2005), p. 80). Peretti's reference to the Index would seem to suggest a slightly later date, and the latter of the two candidates as the owner of the Bible.

Volume II decorated for the Migliorati of Venice. De Ricci's pencil note on the front flyleaf misattributes the arms as "the Venetian family of Medici" (where the mullet would be *countercharged* and *botonny*, as in Freschot, p. 357).

In both volumes, ex-libris of the Pisani family library, with their coat of arms and a historic shelfmark "R.2" supplied in manuscript (front pastedown). Anton Giovanni Bonicelli. *Bibliotheca Pisanorum veneta*, in 3 vols (Venice: A. Curti, 1807-8), vol. 2, pp. 21-22.

According to Gustave Brunet, *Dictionnaire de Bibliologie Catholique*, Migne, 1860, col. 821, the copy belonged to Gaetano Melzi (described on p. 133 of Melzi's *Dizionario di opere anonime e pseudonime di scrittori italiani* but without indication of earlier provenance; see also copy **8** above).

Bibliographic notes by Seymour de Ricci, including collation note (referencing the British Library copy) in vol. I, dated 30 December 1929.

Recorded as purchased from Tammara de Marinis on 1 May 1930.

Sources: book in hand; Paul Needham, 'Incunabula, Bibles and Early Americana in the Scheide library', *The Princeton University Library Chronicle*, vol. 37, no. 2 (Winter 1976), 85-108 (86-87).

[39.] Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Bb ital.1471 01-1 & Bb ital.1471 01-2, MEI 02148626

Part I wanting ff.1 (blank), 2, 311, 314. Leaf size: 346x230mm; 390x280mm.

Binding: Both volumes bound in matching gold-tooled leather over paper boards, with marbled endpapers, edges gilt and gaufered. 17/18th century Germany?.

Decoration: red and blue Lombards in both volumes.

Manuscript notes: rare marginal summaries and keywords in both volumes, e.g.

number of years lived by characters listed in Genesis 5. Cropped rhyme, seemingly profane in nature: ‘Elena mata [?] va dorm[ir?] [...] no(n) cioncar [i.e. get drunk] ta(n)to [...]’ ([z8r]).

Provenance:

Possible ownership inscription, “Io Vetor Pasquali” ([x12v]).

Stamp of the Königliche Öffentliche Bibliothek Stuttgart (1806-) in both volumes.

Sources: information and images provided by Dr Christian Herrmann (Württembergische Landesbibliothek); Renner 1209.

[40.] Turin, Biblioteca Reale, PM Inc. 25, MEI 02131111

Part II only, wanting first two leaves; some leaves have undergone repair. Final leaf (*Tabula de Testamento Novo*) in facsimile. Leaf size: 416x280mm.

Binding: 19th-century half leather with tree-calf patterned paper over thick paper boards (8mm). Spine covered with brown leather, parchment with faint text in a *textualis script* on corners. Simple gilt decoration on spine (double fillet and thin rolls). Titling with the earlier accepted attribution to Jenson: “MALERMI VECCHIO TEST DALLE PARAB DI SALOMONE NUOVO TEST JENSON 1471”. Small rectangular spine label (printed blue border, previous shelfmark in MS: “3011” (17x9mm)), current shelfmark on oval label: “P.M Inc 25” (26x17mm). Outer textblock edge coloured yellow. Plain endpapers. Purple silk ribbon bookmark. 416x280x80mm.

Decoration: single pen initial (Jeremiah 12).

Manuscript notes: rare reading marks in brown ink and in red crayon. Marginal calculation of the number of times Jesus expects Peter to forgive wrongdoers (70 times 7, Matthew 18), and, next to the colophon (time passed since publication until 1650/1670?) by a later reader. Two paper slips with bibliographic notes in Italian glued to first free endleaf (19-20th century). Leaves, possibly black walnut, preserved between ff. [b9]-[b10] and [k8]-[l1].

Provenance:

Unidentified historic shelfmark: “9106” (below the colophon).

Owned by Turin-native, Lodovico Palavicino Mossi (1803-1879): printed armorial ex-libris, “Biblioteca Senatore Marchese Pallavicino-Mossi” (upper pastedown). Acquired by the Biblioteca Reale together with the Pallavicino Mossi archive and library, including 36 incunabula, donated by Margherita Visconti Venosta (1898-1982).

Sources: book in hand; Griselda Russo, *Catalogo degli incunaboli della Biblioteca reale di Torino* (Regione Piemonte, 1987), no. 29.

[41.] Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Inc. 32, MEI 02145746

Part I only, wanting ff. [a6] (blank) and [a10]-[b1].

Binding: 15th-century Venetian Morocco over wooden boards (11mm), later re-

backed in a reddish-brown leather, with thatching on spine in keeping with the original binding style. Binder's tools consistent with those used by the so-called Rosettenmeister. Indentation on the front board from earlier catchplates larger than the current four metal catchplates, suggesting they were replaced. Parchment and paper quire guards on the first few quires. The former include a 14/15th-century manuscript fragment ([b4]-[b5]), the latter a contemporary note which includes local surnames: Marangon, Fossati ([b7]-[b8]). 435x307x100mm.
Decoration: Roman capitals in alternating red and blue.
Manuscript notes: printer's corrections ([i5r], [x3v]).

Provenance:

Decorated and bound in Venice, the book seems to have remained there since it was printed.

Sources: book in hand.

[42.] Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Inc. 112-3, MEI 02148416

Wanting fol. [a6] (blank). First four lines of Genesis printed in red ink.

Binding: Matching binding for both volumes of half leather over paper boards covered with paste paper. Marbled endpapers. The first volume partly re-backed. Title gilt-tooled onto the spine.

Decoration: Lombards in red, blue or purple; consistent across both volumes.
Manuscript notes: printer's corrections ([i5r], [x3v], [q10v]). Underlining, pilcrows and marginal reading marks in red pastel crayon; less extensive paragraph markings in brown ink. Rare brief summaries; books of the New Testament added to the Table of Contents ([a1v]), vol. I. In vol. II, 'Passione' at the relevant chapter of each gospel by an early reader ([z4r], [A6r], [C4v], [D6v]).

Frequent 19th-century pencil notes and corrections, linked with the critical edition by the Società veneta dei bibliofili: *Il libro del Genesi volgarizzato, con annotazioni teologiche e folologiche: Testo di lingua* Venezia, Società Veneta dei Bibliofili: 1846. The annotations, possibly by Francesco Berlan, the editor, match the editorial corrections in the 1846 imprint (e.g. 'loficio' of [d9v], line 27, corrected in pencil and appears as 'l'officio' in the modern edition, p. 94). See also no. **30** above.

Provenance:

Unidentified monogram "CG" (or "CC"?) tooled onto the spine.

In Udine by the first half of the 19th century, where the Venetian patrician Antonio Papadoli (1802-1844) purchased it for 6000 lire from an unidentified seller or library. Donated to the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana by Papadopoli.

Sources: book in hand; online catalogue; Giuseppe Valentinelli, 'Edizioni del secolo XV della Regia Biblioteca Marciana di Venezia Descritte', in *Archivio Veneto*, Anno 4 (1874), 206-226 & 428-446, no. 75.

[43.] Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ink.6.B.2 Bde 1-2, MEI 02107677

First four lines of Genesis printed in red. Wanting fol. [a1] in both volumes (blank in vol. I). Leaf size: 420x282mm; 420x285mm. Copy made up with ff. [b1]-[b2] from another copy (smaller and decorated differently than surrounding leaves).

Binding: blue gilt-tooled Morocco, with the armorial supralibros of Eugene, Prince of Savoy (on boards and, smaller, incorporated into spine decoration).

Decoration: in vol. I, ff. [b1]-[b2], two gold initials on a coloured background with white filigree; four miniatures of the Days of Creation within gold leaf frames, by an 'anonymous north Italian miniaturist' (Armstrong, 'The Hand Illumination of Venetian Bibles', p. 92). Trevisan arms, *or, a chevron azure*, within the *bas-de-page* laurel wreath, surrounded by pink and blue flowers. Unadorned Roman initials with manuscript guide letters ([b2r-v]). Throughout the rest of the volume, ornamental capitals with gold leaf, and red and blue Lombards with elaborate contrasting penwork.

In vol. II: inhabited initial of young Solomon, following the same model as the corresponding illumination in no. **8**, with a partial floral border, by the Master of the Putti ([a1r, Armstrong, 'The Hand Illumination of Venetian Bibles', p. 92). The owner's arms overpainted with black ink (originally *azure, a fess gold*, unclear if with any additional charges). Ornamental capitals and Lombards consistent in style with the first volume.

Manuscript notes: printer's corrections ([i5r], [x3v] of part I, [q10v] of part II). Brief prayer "Laudato sia Iddio Benedetto e maria vergine Benedetta" in a 16/17th-century cursive script ([b1r] of part I).

Provenance:

First two leaves of vol. I decorated in Venice for the Trevisan family.

Original owners' arms in vol. II overpainted by a later owner.

Both volumes owned by French-born field marshal and book collector Eugene of Savoy (1663-1736), whose arms are on the binding. Sold posthumously by his niece, the collection was bought by the Austrian emperor Charles VI for the Viennese Hofbibliothek (today's Österreichische Nationalbibliothek).

Sources: MEI entry with data imported from online catalogue; digital reproduction <<https://onb.digital/result/1003D398>>; ÖNB-Ink B-422.

[44.] Williamstown, MA, Williams College, Chapin Library, Bible 5: 1471, MEI 02148410

Fols 299(=[H9]) and 300(=[H10]) of vol. 1 in facsimile (supplied no later than 1922). Margins of fol. 135(=[o10]) of vol. 2 narrowly trimmed. Fol. [M6] possibly supplied from another copy. Leaf size: 416x270mm; 416x280mm.

Binding: rebound in 1963 by the R. R. Donnelley Extra Bindery, Chicago, in brown blind-tooled calf leather over wood boards. Early titling in brown ink along the outer textblock edge of vol. II: "BIBLIA SECHO(N)DO LIBRO".

Manuscript notes: printing shop correction (in vol. 1 only).

Provenance:

Purchased by Alfred Clark Chapin (1848–1936) from Lathrop C. Harper, NY, on 29 November 1922 for \$800. In 1923, Chapin donated the book to Williams College, his *alma mater*.

Sources: information and images provided by Wayne Hammond and Anne Peale (Chapin Library).

Venice: Gabriele di Pietro, 1477-78

Barbieri 4, GW 04313, ISTC ib00641000, Text-inc tib00641000

Folio, in two parts

Part I (colophon dated 26 November 1477): 298 leaves ((2-5)(1-5)b¹⁰c-z&g2aabb⁸cc¹⁰dd-gg⁸hh-kk⁶)

Part II (colophon dated 12 or 15 January 1478): 290 leaves ([a⁶]AB¹⁰C-V⁸X4Y¹⁰ZAA-LL⁸MM¹⁰)

The collation in Bod-Inc treats the opening quires differently; Part I: [*] [a] b10 c–z [et] [con] [rum] aa 8 cc10 dd–gg8 hh–kk6; part II: 2[*]6 A B10 C–U8 X4 Y10 Z AA–LL8 MM10; used here for ease of use

[45.] Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, 91.1012, MEI 02149430

Psalms only (quires cc-hh). Leaf size 251x180mm. Previously considered the only surviving copy of a “ghost” edition of the psalms dated ca. 1472 (GW M36260) and listed as such in the Olschki and Walters collection catalogues (see below).

Binding: eighteenth-century red Morocco with simple decoration in gilt, re-backed with a matching red leather. Textblock edges gilt. Original marbled paper free endpapers glued to pastedowns, possibly obscuring earlier provenance marks.

Decoration: pen initials, including minor initials within the Psalms, in brown ink.

Manuscript notes: correction of printed psalm number (cc7v). Faint personal notes “amami zovani [i.e. Giovanni?] comme[?]“ (cc2r).

Provenance:

Part of Leo S. Olschki’s *Monumenta Typographica*, a collection that was advertised in consecutive issues of *La Bibliofilia*. Listed at a price of 100 francs. With Olschki’s ex-libris (front pastedown).

The collection was purchased *en bloc* by Henry Walters (1848-1931). Later described in Walters’ 1906 catalogue, largely reproducing the content of Olschki’s catalogue. Since 1909, Walters’ vast collection became available to the public as the Walters Art Gallery and remained so after his death.

Sources: book in hand; ‘Monumenta Typographica’, *La Bibliofilia*, 4, No. 11/12 (1903), pp. 409-424, no. 1378; Edoardo Barbieri, ‘A Biblical Ghost: Goff P 1077’, in

The Library (1990), 232-233.

Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze

[46.] Copy 1, Guicc. 1.2.16, MEI 02127128

Part I only. Blank fol. u8 preserved. Leaf size: 294x200mm.

Binding: quarter leather over brown handbrushed paper-covered paper boards. Red textblock edges.

Decoration: isolated ornamental pen initial (t2v).

Marginal notes: rare reading marks and marginalia in Italian and Latin (16-17th century). Manuscript note incorporates year(?) "1628" ([*]8v-[*]9r); Latin comments in the same hand (g6v, 42r).

Provenance:

Owned by Milanese landscape architect Ercole Silva (1756-1840): rectangular paper ex-libris "EX LIBRIS HERCULIS DE SILVA" (front pastedown); pointed oval armorial stamp (kk6v); *Catalogo de' libri della Biblioteca Silva in Cinisello* (Monza, Dalla Stamperia di Luca Corbetta, 1811), no. 596 (p. 98).

Part of the library of Florentine theologian Pietro Guicciardini (1808-1886), who donated his library of around 10,000 volumes to his native city (Barbara Modugno, 'Guicciardini, Pietro', *DBI*, vol. 61 (2004)). Oval stamp: 'Libreria Religiosa Guicciardini'.

Sources: digital reproduction via <digitale.beic.it>; beic.it online catalogue; Landi no. 70; Scapecchi BNCF 515(1).

[47.] Copy 2, Nenc. 5, MEI 02127244

Part I only. Blank fol. u8 preserved. Leaf size 305x206mm.

Binding: light brown half leather over wooden boards, small paper slip stored with the copy reads, 'legatura monastica'. Board dimensions 316x213mm.

Decoration: gold leaf epigraphic initials on a rectangular blue, pink and green background with white and gold filigree, at the beginning of each book of the Bible. Epigraphic capitals in blue throughout, including the Psalms' minor initials. Small pencil doodle of a man wearing a fathered hat (d7r).

Manuscript notes: manuscript signatures (trimmed). Pen trial (kk6v).

Provenance:

Printed ex-libris of Florentine book collector and tobacco manufacturer Giovanni Nencini (1803-1878) with manuscript addition: "Ex Libris Ioannis Nencini 1874".

Sources: book in hand; Scapecchi BNCF 515(2).

[48.] Göttweig, Benediktinersift, Ink. 135, MEI 02148677

Part II only. Leaf size: 275x192mm.

Binding: rebound following the book's arrival at the library in the early 18th century in a gold-tooled pigskin over wooden boards with supralibros of Gottfried Bessel; early repair to first few leaves of the volume may also date back to this period
Evidence of use: Undecorated and with no marginal notes

Provenance:

Acquired sometime around 1720 by the library. Probably a purchase for the monastery's library during the reign of Abbot Bessel, given the presence of his supralibros on the binding.

Sources: information provided by Bernhard Rameder (Stift Göttweig).

[49.] Kalocsa, Főszékesegyházi Könyvtár, IN 74, MEI 02149716

Part I only. Leaf size: 256x183mm. Not in GW, notified April 2024.

Binding: dark brown leather with gilt oval arabesque centrepiece and small floral cornerpieces within a thin double fillet frame (17/18th century, Central Europe).
263x186x45mm.

Manuscript notes: rare underlining in brown ink.

Provenance:

Washed late 15th/early 16th-century inscription partly obscured by the later inscription by Brunetti described below, now very faint: "Ex lib. Francisci [...] sa(cerdo)tis[...]", possibly an abbreviation of "sacerdotis" (1r).

Scribbled 16th-century ex-dono inscription, "Ang(el)o Schatolaro", on the same leaf. Owned by Tuscan-born Johann Brunetti (1646-1703, Ks. Piotr Nitecki, 'Brunetti Jan' in *Biskupi kościoła w Polsce w latach 965-1999. Słownik biograficzny*, 2nd edition (Warszawa: Instytut Wydawniczy Pax, 2000)): "Joannis Brunetti Can(oni)ci et Off(icialis) Vratis(laviensis) dein(de) Episcopi Lacedaemoniens(is) ac Suffraganei Vratislaviens(is)" (1r). Already owned by him before 1693, the year when he became Bishop of Lacedaemonia and Auxiliary Bishop of Breslau (Wrocław), both titles added to the inscription in a different ink. Resident in Nysa (today in Poland) from 1700 until his death.

Copperplate ex-libris of Wilhelm Alexander Balaus (1711–1752), signed "Martin Tyroff fec(it) N(orem)b(erg)a" (first free flyleaf recto), locates the book in Brno by 1750, the earliest year of three dated bibliographic notes in Balaus' hand (1750, 1751 and 1752). His books were sold at auction in 1754–1756. Vladislav Doloupil, *Dějiny moravských klášterních knihoven* (Brno: Universitní knihovny v Brně, 1972), p. 45.

Several items from Balaus' collection were bought by Archbishop Ádám Patachich (1716-1784) for his library, which constituted the founding nucleus of the Archbishop Palace Library in Kalocsa. This volume cost him 25 forints. Tóth Tamás,

‘Patachich Ádám. Főpap, tudós, mecénás’, in *Olasz–magyar irodalmi és művelődési kapcsolatok a 18–19. században*, ed. by Dóbék Ágnes (Budapest: Reciti, 2022), pp. 277-294 (p. 290).

Sources: information provided by Zita Grócz (Kalocsa Bishop’s Palace Library); digital reproduction via the library’s digital collections <<https://konyvtar.asztrik.hu/>>.

[50.] Milan, Biblioteca dell’archivio storico diocesano, A 108-109, MEI 02016327 Part I wanting fols [*]2, hh5-hh6, kk1-kk6; fols. b5.6 misbound between h4.5; part II wanting bifolium A1.10.

Binding: half parchment over paper boards rebinding (Vatican City, Laboratorio di Restauro, 1940). Manuscript titles from original binding (lower textblock edge of vol. 1; foredge of vol. 2).

Decoration: in vol. 2, 45 illuminated initials, some inhabited; rubrication with capitals and pilcrows in red and blue.

Manuscript notes: in vol. 1, Credo (bb8r) and Angelus (gg5v) supplied in Latin. Pen trials. Rare marginal notes include crude rhyme “giovana [...] sorela de una chagna [...]” (g4v). In vol. 2, pen trials and personal notes, including a lengthy note dated 24 May 1533 ([*]1).

Provenance:

Early manuscript notes in Italian, including one dated 24 May 1533.

Likely acquired by the diocese during the post-Tridentine confiscations of books banned in the *Index librorum prohibitorum*. Brief manuscript notes with edition details (ff. [*]1r, [*]3r) consistent with other copies with this provenance.

Sources: MEI entry (unsigned).

[51.] Milan, Biblioteca dell’Università Cattolica, Inc. 7, MEI 02000218

Part I only.

Manuscript notes: annotations by Francesco Curioni.

Provenance:

According to a handwritten note by Curioni, the volume had belonged to the Trivulziana library in Milan: “Questo volume appartenne alla celebre Trivulziana”.

Manuscript ex-libris of Francesco Curioni (1796-1869), who, convinced the translation was that of Cavalca, used this copy for his edition of *Atti degli Apostoli*, ed. by Francesco Curioni (Milan: Tamburini, 1847 (see Barbieri, *Le Bibbie*, p. 205, ‘La fortuna...’, 30): ‘Del Canonico Curione’ (front flyleaf).

Owned by the Oblates of Saints Ambrose and Charles in Rho (Province of Milan). In 1970-87, they donated 14 incunables to the Università Cattolica. This copy arrived in May 1970.

Sources: MEI entry (unsigned); Tino Foffano, 'Edizioni del secolo XV nella biblioteca dell'Università Cattolica', *Aevum*, 66 (1992), 433-451 (p. 440, no. 7).

[52.] Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Inc.c.a.583; I-497,1, MEI 02127875

Both parts bound in one volume. Copy described in Hain's *Repertorium Bibliographicum*, no. 3152: opening quire (with the table of contents) misbound between kk6 of part I and the beginning of part II. Wanting ff. G1.8 of part II.

Binding: rebound in the second half of the 16th century in alum-tawed pigskin over wooden boards, blind-tooled, with tool shapes including palmette rolls, acorn and small oval medallions with male faces in profile. Traces of two catchplates on the upper board, and remains of two clasps on the lower board.

Manuscript notes: personal notes by Diomedes Drachonus (see below). Rare underlining.

Provenance:

In Bavaria in 1548, with an Italian owner, Diomedes Drachonus from Asti. Two dated Latin inscriptions place Diomedes in Bavaria in June 1548: one in Landsberg (B10r), and the other in Augusta (kk6r). The latter note mentions the Diet of Augusta and lists famous attendees. Landsberg am Lech was a stopping point on the old Roman Via Claudia Augusta route into Bavaria. Diomedes pens several marginal notes in the copy, including about his feelings for a brewer's daughter in language that echoes the conventions of courtly love ('[...] l[']amor e la belta de la figlola di quello che fa la cervissia mi fara al fin morire [...]', B10v). German language learning notes by an Italian, probably Diomede, with Latin as the intermediary language: 'ego te velis mihi ostende boni eundi auspruch' and the German equivalent, 'hic pit tih tu belest mir zoghen vech auspurch' (=Ich bitt dich, du wollest mir zeigen Weg [nach] Augsburg) (T8v); similar notes elsewhere, e.g. 'ego vidi hic abs ghsen [...]' (U4r). On the same page, epistolary pen trial, perhaps by Diomede, addressed to 'Monsignor ducha d[']alba', likely Fernando Álvarez de Toledo y Pimentel, third duke of Alba (1507-1582), who was in Augsburg in 1550, and a fan of Italian literature, as testified by a letter from Titian to Pietro Aretino describing their meeting (11 November 1550, see *Tiziano. L'Epistolario*, ed. by Lionello Puppi (Florence: Alinari, 2012), pp. 191-192).

In the library of the Ingolstadt University. Historic shelfmark, "A 74" (a1r). Gifted to the Munich Theatine monastery by the University. The earlier Universitätsbibliothek ex-libris inscription supplemented in red crayon to read: "Ex liberal(itate) Bibliothecae academicae Ingolstadiensis PP. Theatinis Monachij 1771" (a1r); paper ex-libris with the Theatine order's armorial device, a calvary cross, signed "Domus S. S. Adelhaidis et Caietani" (front pastedown).

Acquired by Hofbibliothek (now Bayerische Staatsbibliothek) following the Theatine monastery's closure in 1801.

Sources: digital reproduction <<http://daten.digital-sammlungen.de/~db/0004/bsb00048365/images/>>, <<http://daten.digital-sammlungen.de/~db/0004/bsb00048367/images/>>; BSB-Ink B-497.

[53.] Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. Q. sup. 1.26, MEI 00203700

Leaf size: 285x194mm.

Binding: bound as a single volume in parchment over pasteboard, with a central lozenge and thin inter fillet frame in blind. Remains of two sets of green ties. Edges lightly sprinkled blue. Corners of two leaves (s7, x7) folded before cutting revealing previous leaf size as approx. 292x205m (Italy, sixteenth century). Later additions include a (now faint) handwritten title in 'Italijsaense bi[j]bel' in a 17/18th-century Dutch hand, a gilt oval 'BIBLIOTHECA BODLEIANA' stamp superimposed over the central lozenge, and a red and green leather spine label with the title in gilt.

Manuscript notes: minor textual correction (a2v).

Provenance:

A copy of this edition belonged to French theologian André Rivet (1572-1651), professor at Leiden University: "Habeo exemplar Bibliorum Italicorum, editum Venetijs anno 1477. apud Gabrielem de Peiro [*sic*] Trevisanum [...]", without identifying copy-specific information (*idem, Isagoge: seu introductio generalis ad Scripturam sacram Veteris et Novi Testamenti* (Lugduni Bavatorum, Isaac Commelinus, 1627), p. 186). This might be the copy to which he refers; the Dutch manuscript hand on the binding predates the subsequent provenance: Amsterdam-based book collector and tobacco trader Pietro-Antonio Bolongaro-Crevenna (1735-1792, Jos van Heel, 'Crevenna, Pietro Antonio Bolongaro', in *The Oxford Companion to the Book*). Small rectangular label with lot number from the 1789 Crevenna sale with printed lot no. 115 on the lower spine.

Purchased by the Bodleian Library through London bookseller Thomas Payne in 1790 for £1.15.0. 78 incunabula in Bod-Inc were purchased from Payne. According to an annotated copy of the Crevenna sale catalogue, Payne paid 20 Dutch guilder for the copy.

Sources: book in hand; Bod-Inc B-337(1).

Padua, Biblioteca universitaria

[54.] Copy 1, sec. XV. 603, MEI 02148297

Part II only.

Binding: contemporary Italian blind-tooled brown Morocco over wooden boards. Panel design, with a central lozenge with a cross made up of smaller tools at its

centre. Two metal catchplates, one decorated with the IHS Christogram, the other with an ear of grain; manuscript label “Testamento vecch[i]o” in *littera rotunda* (lower board).

Manuscript notes: very rare marginalia (BB5r, MM9r, MM10r), 16/17th-century. Unfinished prayer: “Laudato sia Gesu chr(isto) La assolutione et benedictioni de” (parchment endleaf). Decorative(?) circles drawn in the margins (z2r, z4r).

Provenance:

16/17th-century inscription, “Questo libro sie de li poveri frati Gesuati di .S. Geronimo il nostro monasterio sie nel borgho di ognisanti”. Now inexistent, the Jesuate monastery of San Girolamo appears on early maps of Padua, for instance in Georgius Braun, Franciscus Hohenbergius, *Civitates orbis terrarum*, Coloniae Agrippinae: Petrum à Brachel, 1612-1618. Vol. 6, Table 55. The Christogram on the binding was associated, among other orders, with the Jesuates.

Date of acquisition by the Biblioteca Universitaria uncertain, likely from a local dissolved religious institution. Library stamp incorporating the coat of arms of the House of Savoia, in use after 1866 ([*]1r, MM10r).

Source: information and images provided by Ruocco Ilario (Biblioteca universitaria).

[55.] Copy 2, sec. XV. Dupl. 123, MEI 02151140

Volume 2 only. Wanting ff. [*]1-6, A7, MM10. Text of MM10 supplied in manuscript on a replacement leaf, accompanied by the note: “NB. Hac excerpta Sunt ex quodam exemplari ejusdem editionis.”, preserving the original page layout. Leaf size: 300x210mm.

Binding: Half parchment with marbled paper over paper boards, gilt-tooled brown leather title label (18th-century, Italy).

Manuscript notes: rare reading marks in red crayon (FF2r-v). Missing chapter number supplied in manuscript (A8r). Mathematical sums by the same annotator as the text of MM10r (back flyleaf).

Provenance:

Seventeenth-century ownership inscription of Matteo Zuccati, Venetian translator and jurisconsult (‘Zuccati, Matteo’, *Archivio dei possessori* <<https://archiviopossessori.it/archivio/2635-zuccati-matteo>>): “ex libris Matthei Zuccati i(ure)c(onsulti)”, and a partly obscured paper slip with an embossed stamp ([a]1r). The arrival at the Biblioteca Universitaria possibly a result of the suppressions of religious institutions in 1793 or 1810. Library stamps from the period of the Austrian occupation (1797-1805; 1815-1866), and incorporating the House of Savoy arms (post-1866).

Sources: information and images provided by Ruocco Ilario.

[56.] Copy 3, sec. XV. 603 bis, MEI 02148300

Volume 1 only. Leaf size: 284x202mm.

Binding: maroon blind-tooled Morocco over wooden boards; upper textblock edge coloured blue. Front and back endpapers made of parchment leaves containing a 14th-century commentary to John 16, set over two columns, with red pilcrows and underlining.

Provenance:

Purchased by the University from Renzo Rizzi, antiquarian bookseller from Milan, on 6 November 1982 for 3.300.000 lire.

Sources: information and images provided by Ruocco Ilario.

[57.] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Rés. A 356, MEI 02151175

Complete, including blank leaves. Leaf size: 283x189mm.

Binding: bound in a single volume. Red Morocco over wooden(?) boards. Royal armorial supralibros of Louis XIV. Pink and green sewn endbands. Textblock edges sprinkled red and brown. 293x210x95mm.

Decoration: large decorative initial in red with penwork extending halfway down the outer margin (k7v). Lombards in alternating red or blue (red only up to m5r, blue up to fol. a10v, and l5r-m4r), numerous pilcrows and minor capitals touched with red (up to fol. bb7v). Spaces for capitals at the beginning of individual Books left blank. At the start of Genesis, '[N]' supplied in brown ink (possibly by the same hand as in no. 12).

Manuscript notes: misprinted text along outer edge of the second column of text supplied in manuscript (o3r, similarly the running title on y1r). Brief manuscript addition by colophon of fol. bb7v, cancelled. Individual Psalms marked with numerous round wax fragments (cc3r-gg7r).

Provenance:

Part of the collection taken from Naples to France by Charles III's troops. Subsequent provenance shared with copy 12. No. 458 in 1645 French Royal Library catalogue (also in manuscript: [*]1r).

Sources: book in hand; CIBN B-451; Paris Bibles no. 638.

[58.] Piacenza, Biblioteca comunale Passerini-Landi, Shelfmark: B5.VII.12-13, MEI 02148972

Wanting blank leaf bb8. Leaf size: 285x198mm (vol. 1).

Binding: each volume bound in matching brown marbled leather, with a single floral gilt frame on the boards. Spine compartments decorated with acanthus and star-shaped motifs in gilt, with the title and edition details on a red (“BIBBIA VOLGARIZ. T. I [or II for vol. 2].”) and green (“TREVIGI [*sic*] 1477”) leather labels. Board edges decorated in gilt. Red textblock edges (18th century, Italy).

Decoration: purple laurel wreath at centre of lower margin encloses a faded coat of arms, *per pale, argent and azur (or vert?)* ([*]1r of vol. 1). Decorated initials some with thick leafy tendrils, in green, red, purple (most discoloured). One initial outline uncoloured (n3r). Alternating red and blue Lombardic initials and pilcrows in red or blue. Second volume undecorated.

Manuscript notes: occasional extractions of names ([*]8v-[*]9r, t5v), keywords (a3r, f8v, m7r, cc2r-v), manicules and reading marks. Notes by an early reader, ‘Oro 33 pessi numeradi...’, accompanied by a human face ([*]1r); in Latin, the sibyllic phrase ‘ibis redibis non morieris in bello’ (kk6v, cfr. *Vocabolario Treccani*).

Provenance:

Part of the library of marquis Ferdinando Landi (1778-1853, Francesco Millocca, ‘LANDI, Ferdinando’, in DBI, vol. 63 (2004)), whose collecting greatly expanded the nucleus gathered by his father. Landi stipulated that his library be made available to the public following his death and, in 1872, the books were relocated to today’s Biblioteca comunale.

Sources: information and images provided by Massimo Baucia (Biblioteca comunale).

[59.] Pisa, Biblioteca del Seminario Arcivescovile Santa Caterina, Inc. 14, MEI 02127253

Volume II only. Leaf size 280x200mm.

Binding: parchment over paper boards, with faded manuscript titling on spine (16th century).

Decoration: decorated initial in colours and gold; partial floral border. Alliata family arms within a *bas-de-page* green laurel wreath: *or, three pallets sable* (a1r). Lombards in blue and red.

Manuscript notes: none present.

Provenance:

Owned by the Alliata of Pisa in the late fifteenth/early sixteenth century.

Many items at the Biblioteca del Seminario Arcivescovile arrived from dissolved religious institutions, however it is possible the book arrived as a gift of a member of the family, Ranieri Alliata (1752-1836), Archbishop of Pisa from 1808.

Sources: information provided by dott. Silvia Nannipieri (Biblioteca del Seminario Arcivescovile); *Libreria nostra communis*, no. 56 (entry by S. C.).

[60.] Princeton, Scheide Library at Princeton University, William H. Scheide Library 38.2, MEI 02148411

Binding: later vellum over pasteboard (vol 1); quarter parchment over rough paper boards (vol. 2). Gilt leather Scheide Library ex-libris (front inside pastedown, both volumes).

Decoration: occasional pen initials.

Manuscript notes: some marginalia, reading marks, including manicules and notabilia, e.g. 'Ascolta ben' ([rum]3v, vol. II), in at least two 16/17th-century hands. Early foliation.

Provenance:

Late 15th/early 16th-century ownership inscription, 'Valentin Colona' (CC6v). The surname was quite diffuse in the Veneto region (see Giovanni Pozzi, 'Colonna Francesco', *DBI* vol. 27 (1982)).

Colonna gifted the Bible in 1507 to Oliverius Rotengo, a Venetian clergyman, whose ownership notes, some quite extensive, in both volumes provide valuable biographic information ([*]2r, a1r, n2v, n4v, n5v, t8r, bb7v, ee1r, kk6r; A1r, X4v, Y1r, Y2v, CC6v, EE1v, discussed in Chapter 4, p. 96). Rotengo surrounds Colonna's inscription with a note, "Oliverius rotengo tibi minuschulo [Valentin Colona] trahit Accipo gratissima[...] ipse dedit". Rotengo also adds an open envelope-shaped ex-libris symbol (e.g. a1r).

Another, unnamed reader, adds the date "1645" next to a pen initial (Y8r, vol. 2).

Paper leaf attached to end flyleaf of volume I, with bibliographic notes on the edition in a late 18th-century note on a paper leaf glued to the front flyleaf recto with a bibliographic note about a 1490 edition copy owned by Pietro Paolo Ginanni, 'in San Vitale di Ravenna, acquistata dal [...] D. Pierp(aolo) Ginanni Rav(enna)te L.Anno 1770" (no. **150**, at an institution associated with Ginanni, lacks provenance marks typical of his books; Ginanni also owned no. **92**).

Part of Museo Cavaleri in Milan, moved to Paris with the collection's buyer Cernuschi (see no. **6** above).

Sale catalogue cutting in English, L'Art Ancien, Zurich, lot number 1506 (with the price in Swiss francs cut out), affixed to the front flyleaf, vol 1 (possibly 600 francs, as in an erased pencil note on vol. 1 back pastedown), Erased pencil seller's notes in German probably from this period.

Purchased from L'Art ancien, by John H. Scheide (1 January 1923). The copy was later relocated to Princeton in 1959. Bequeathed to the university by William H. Scheide (1914-2014).

Sources: book in hand; information provided by Dr Paul Needham (Scheide Library); online catalogue.

[61.] Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, Vol. Inc. 224, MEI 02151181

Quire ii of part I misbound after quire kk (indicated by a modern pencil note, fol. ii1r). Early repair to ripped leaf cc2 sewn together with thread.

Binding: both parts bound in one volume. Parchment binding, with manuscript title and an earlier shelfmark "232", in black ink across the spine. Blue textblock edges. Decoration: contemporary Lombards in red and blue. Decorated capital in blue and red with a partial border in red, likely a later addition (a1r). Minor capitals within some of the Psalms supplied in brown ink by a later (17th century?) hand.

Manuscript notes: early corrections of misprinted signatures; Psalm numbers in manuscript where not printed. Rare notabilia and pen trials.

Provenance:

With the characteristic manuscript ex-libris of Venetian senator and bibliophile Giacomo Soranzo (1686-1761): "1740 Di Giaco: Soranzo" (front flyleaf recto). Soranzo's books were sold off by his heirs.

Not listed in 1761 printed catalogue of the Biblioteca Casanatense by Audiffredi (unlike no. **177** below).

Sources: book in hand; card catalogue via <<https://cataloghistorici.bdi.sbn.it/>>.

[62.] Rome, Biblioteca dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana, 26.F.27, MEI 02151182

Part I wanting ff. [*]1 and [*]2. Part II wanting ff. A1, A10, MM1, MM10 and part of MM9. Text of MM9-10 supplied in manuscript with reference to a copy of the edition (16/17th century).

Binding: half dark blue leather with yellow paper stamped with blue and red flowers over paper boards. Misattributes the year of printing as "ANNO 1472", and mislabels the two volumes (with "STORIA SAGRA [*sic*] VOLGARE TOM. II" on the spine of vol. 1, and vice versa).

Manuscript notes: occasional manicules, underlining, corrections (misprinted chapter numbers; textual correction h2v), pen trials (cc4r). In Italian, less frequently Latin, brief summaries, transliteration of the Hebrew alphabet in the margin of Lamentations 1 (L3r-v), likely by a single late 16th/early 17th-century annotator.

Provenance:

Earlier shelfmark "Col=51=F=27=" (front pastedown, repeated on front endleaf); small round stamp in red "BIBLIOTECA LYNCEORUM".

Sources: book in hand.

[63.] St. Meinrad (Indiana), Archabbey Library, Rare +BS254 1477, MEI 02127874

Part I only. Leaf size 275x180mm.

Binding: Brown mottled calf leather over pasteboard; boards decorated with concentric blind frames with four small floral decorations on each cover, two of the same on the spine. Title in gilt on spine. At foot of spine, narrow rectangular slip with former shelfmark printed in black: "D | I". (18th century Italy).

Manuscript notes: early manuscript foliation (Genesis only); some text supplied in manuscript as part of early repair; modern foliation in pencil.

Provenance:

Pencil notes by an unidentified 19/20th-century Italian bookseller: "complet. HB[?] Rarissima" and further down "solo prima parte cc. 298 completa" (front pastedown). Possibly the copy listed in Florence by the Associazione nazionale degli artisti in a private collection sale (Galleria d'arte Associazione nazionale degli artisti, Florence, *Eccezionale vendita all'asta della Biblioteca di una antica famiglia patrizia toscana, Ottobre 1955*, day 3 of sales, 7 October, no. 296).

Acquisition date by St Meinrad Archabbey library (founded in 1854) uncertain. The library's bookplate reads: "Bibliothecae Abbatiae Sti. Meinradi Indiana" (front pastedown).

Sources: information and images provided by Daniel Kolb (Saint Meinrad Archabbey Library); online catalogue.

[64.] Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

Copy 1, Inc.II.869, MEI 02151183

Both parts bound in one volume. Wanting first quire. Quires ii6 and kk6, containing the Letter of Aristeia, misbound at the end of the volume.

Binding: 20th-century parchment rebinding.

Decoration: Lombardic capitals in red ([a]1v-[a]2r only).

Manuscript notes: rare brief summaries; underlining and manicules. Rare textual (BB3v), and quire signature (h2r, q4r) corrections.

Provenance:

16th-century? manuscript ex-libris: "P(res)b(it)er Deodatus de Oxio can(oni)cus eccl(es)ie maioris m(edio)l(an)i" (kk6). This Diodato (or Teodato), a canon of the Milanese Cathedral chapter, was a member of the prominent Milanese Osio family (probably not the lawyer and author by this name (1605–1673), described in Argelati, col. 735-736)).

In the Archivio della Curia di Milano until 1936 when it was part of the collection of incunabula donated to the Vatican Library from the Archivio della Curia di Milano. Printed ex-dono label: "Dono di S. E. il card. A. I. Schuster dall'Archivio della Curia di Milano. 8.I.1936" (front pastedown). On the collection, see Luigina Orlandi, 'Smarrite ma non perdute: antiche Bibbie a stampa in volgare tra Milano e Roma', *Miscellanea Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae XXI* (Biblioteca Apostolica

Vaticana, 2015), 331-382, with a list of books in the donation.

Sources: digital reproduction <<http://digi.vatlib.it/view/Inc.II.869>>; online catalogue; Orlandi 1a.

[65.] Copy 2, Inc.II.870, MEI 02127242

Wanting ff. cc3, A1, L3, Y1-2, CC6.

Binding: 20th-century half parchment rebinding.

Decoration: decorated initials with plant motifs in green, blue and purple on a gold leaf background. Red and blue rubrication.

Manuscript notes: numerous scribbled manicules in Matthew.

Provenance:

Unidentified brown ink monogram “M.D.” incorporating a St Andrew’s cross (final leaf).

Part of the 1936 donation from the Milanese Curia (with printed ex-libris dated 8.I.1936).

Sources: book in hand; online catalogue; Orlandi 1b.

[66.] Venice, Biblioteca del Museo Correr, Inc. F. 66, MEI 00201165

Contains the two final quires of part I, with the Letter to Aristeia. Leaf size 286x200mm.

Binding: 19th-century beige and brown marbled paper over paper boards.

Decoration: Lombards in red and blue, some capitals touched with yellow.

Manuscript notes: faint early foliation in Roman numerals dating back to when the fragment was still bound with the rest of the original volume; bibliographic note in Cicogna’s hand expressing his inability to confirm to which of the two 1477 editions the fragment belongs (front pastedown).

Provenance:

Owned by the Venetian writer and scholar Emmanuele Antonio Cicogna (1789-1868, Paolo Preto, ‘Cicogna, Emmanuele Antonio’, in *DBI*, vol. 25 (1981)). In exchange for a pension for his sisters, he bequeathed his library to the city of Venice. Possible acquisition date in Cicogna’s inscription, “Ven. 1844”; historic shelfmark “Rac. Cic. Inc. 217”. Since 1865, the volume belongs to the Museo Correr.

Sources: book in hand; MEI entry by Monica Viero and Andrea Pavanello.

[67.] Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Inc. V. 482-483, MEI 02000105

Part I wanting the first gathering; fol. bb8 (blank); bifolium a5-6 loose. Leaf size: 270x184mm, 285x200mm.

Binding: imitation monastic rebinding in quarter green leather over plain wooden boards, with catchplates, datable to the 1960s. Volume I with an early front flyleaf (watermark: trimount surmounted by a cross) to provide structure due to missing fol. a1r. A narrow strip of paper containing fragments two variant settings of a devotional print, *Piede di Maria*, printed in red, used as a quire guard on bifolium a3.8:

[1] QVesta è la Lunghezza, e Larghezza del Piede di [illegible, too close to spine] in un Convento di Mona- che di Spagna. [blank line] [start of line trimmed away] dono il	[2] QVesta è la Lunghezza, e Larghezza del Piede di Maria Vergine, Ritro- [illegible, too close to spine] Mona[che di] Spagna. [blank line] [...] a vi dono il
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Such prints were attested in the early 17th century: two ‘intagliadori di stampe in rame’, Francesco Valesio and Cattarin Doni were condemned for their ownership and sale in Venice in 1610 (Venice, Archivio di Stato, Esecutori contro la Bestemmia, Notatorio di sentenze et termin. 1593–1614, b 61, fol. 172v. 12 July 1610, transcribed in Michael Bury, ‘The Measure of the Virgin’s Foot’, in *Images of Medieval Sanctity*, ed. by Debra Higgs Strickland (Leiden: Brill, 2007), pp. 121-134 (p. 121, footnote 1)). The presence of the accented ‘è’ suggests the fragment is later, perhaps 17/18th-century. The second volume has a flyleaf in paper datable to the late 18th century, likely added at the same time as the printer’s waste quire guard in vol. 1.

Decoration: two gold initials on a blue, pink and green background with faded white filligree, with partial floral borders extending from each initial; round *bas-de-page* laurel wreath with an armorial shield (party ber bend, or? and ...), overpainted in black (A1r). Alternating red and blue Lombard initials throughout both volumes. Manuscript notes: rare notabilia, underlining and pen trials, corrections, identification of liturgical readings (‘Mercordi dopo la 2a Domenica di quaresima’ (Z1v); similar on ff. Z2r, CC1v), by early readers.

Provenance:

Circumstances of acquisition uncertain. The Venetian style of the decoration and Italian marginalia suggest the book has never left Italy.

Sources: book in hand. With thanks to prof. Neil Harris (Università degli studi di Udine) for suggestions regarding the printed quire guard, and Claudia Benvestito and Silvia Pugliese (Biblioteca Marciana) for information about the binding.

[68.] Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ink.7.F.23, MEI 02107202
Part II only, wanting fol. [*1] (blank). Fol. [*2] (*Registro*) bound between [*6]-a1.
Binding: brown marbled leather, gilt-tooled spine, marbled endpapers. Textblock edges coloured red. Board dimensions 287x205mm (Austria(?), 18th century).
Decoration: floral border with pink and blue flowers; two decorated initials in pink ('[I]'), pink, blue and green ('[L]') with gold leaf; below the text, vignette depicting the Nativity; on the right margin, small medallion with the IHS Christogram in glory (a1r).
Attributed to the Pico Master (Armstrong, 'The Hand Illumination of Venetian Bibles', p. 234, footnote 55). Red or blue Lombards throughout.
Manuscript notes: unannotated, but with occasional brown ink smudges (e.g. S3r).

Provenance:

Decorated in Venice, without an owner's coat of arms.

With the ca. 19th-century purple "K. K. Hofbibliothek" stamp of the Kaiserlich-Königliche Hofbibliothek (today's Österreichische Nationalbibliothek).

Sources: MEI entry with data imported from online catalogue; digital reproduction <<http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC07066003>>; ÖNB-Ink B-417.

Venice: Antonio di Bartolomeo Miscomini, 1477

Barbieri 5, GW 04312, ISTC ib00640500, Text-inc tib00640500

Folio, in two parts

Part I: 256 leaves (<2-5>aabb¹⁰cc-zzAA-FF⁸GG⁶HH4)

Part II: 252 leaves (1⁸a¹²b-o¹⁰p-zA-C⁸D⁶)

[69.] Bologna, Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio, 16.H.III.14-15, MEI 02126994

Some leaves in both volumes have been remounted or re-margined. In vol. 1, parts of text on cc8 and HH3, and all of HH4r supplied in manuscript, in reference to another copy of this edition.

Binding: both volumes bound in maroon (sheep?) leather, with thin floral frame in gilt on both boards. Marbled endpapers. Two leather onlays with imprint information in gilt on spine. Shelfmark label at head of spine.

Decoration: In vol. 1: "miniature of God the Creator holding a sphere, partial floral borders, roundel with 'IHS' in glory" (aa2r), identified as the work of the Pico Master (Lilian Armstrong, *The Pico Master*, vol. I, p. 321). Capital 'F' in gold leaf on a pink, blue and green background with and leafy tendrils extending several lines above and below in the inner margin (a8r). In vol. 2: two ornamental letters in colours and gold leaf (a1r). Alternating red and blue roman capitals and pilcrows throughout both volumes.

Manuscript notes: manuscript signature (EE3r; s1r correction by the same hand). Rare asterisk-shaped reading marks (Acts, ff. x2v-y1r, and Romans, fol. y3r).

Provenance:

Early 19th-century inscription "Magnani" (vol. 1, back flyleaf): surname of the Jesuit educator and collector Antonio Magnani (1743-1811). Crossed-through historic shelfmarks of the Magnani collection in both volumes: "M. Plut. I.12" "M. Plut. I.13" (for other examples see the library's Archivio dei Possessori, <http://badigit.comune.bologna.it/possessori/risultati_possessore.asp?testo=Magnani,%20Antonio>).

Magnani's bequest for the city, constituted the foundational collection of today's Biblioteca dell'Archiginnasio: round stamp lettered "BIBLIOTECA MAGNANI 1816 CITTA' DI BOLOGNA" ([*]1r; a2r). See Anna Mafron, 'La biblioteca di Antonio Magnani nelle raccolte dell'Archiginnasio. Dall'universo collezionistico di un bibliofilo erudito alle vicende della sua raccolta di edizioni bodoniane', *L'Archiginnasio*, CXIV (2019), 7-77.

Sources: digital reproduction <<http://www.bibliotecaitaliana.it/testo/ib00641000>> ; Albano Sorbelli, 'Index librorum saeculo XV impressorum qui in Civica Bibliotheca Bononiensi Archigymnasii adservantur (Continuazione)', *L'Archiginnasio*, XXVIII (1933), pp. 140-147, no. 456.

[70.] Cambridge, University Library, Inc.2.B.3.21[1447], MEI 00559289

Wanting ff. aa1 of part 1 (blank); D6 of part 2 (blank). Leaf size: 320x224mm.

Binding: bound as a single volume in mottled brown calf over pasteboards. Gilt-tooled spine compartments. Gilt textblock edges. 327×240×98mm (England, possibly Cambridge, late 17th century).

Decoration: ruled in red to resemble a manuscript throughout (possibly contemporary).

Manuscript notes: manuscript signatures (EE3r; r4r; s1r corrected by the same hand). Poorly printed signature corrected by another hand (a6r).

Provenance:

Owned by John Moore (1646-1714), Cambridge graduate and later Bishop of Norwich (1691-1707) and Ely (1707-1714).

Following Moore's death, his library was purchased by King George I, with the intention to immediately present it to Cambridge University Library: armorial bookplate "Munificentia regia 1715" on front pastedown. Historic shelfmarks: '1.10.29', crossed away, on Part I, [*]1r; 'B-2-8', crossed away on bookplate; 'AB-7-20', on bookplate.

Sources: book in hand; online catalogue.

[71.] Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Guicc. 22.I.I., MEI 02127123

Part I only. Leaf size: 317x216mm.

Binding: light brown half Russia over marbled-paper covered paper boards (18th/early 19th century).

Decoration: numerous distinctly shaped pen initials, e.g. imitating foliage, or in the shape of a column.

Manuscript notes: readings from the Office of the Dead in Job (AA3v, AA4v-AA5r) and the Penitential Psalms (with added Latin incipits) marked by an early Italian reader. Psalm numbers provided in Arabic numerals alongside the printed Roman numerals. Rare manicules. Inconsistent early foliation.

Provenance:

The only early ownership inscription is erased and illegible (even under UV light, except the word "Di", a1r).

Seller's pencil notes include price "£1800", "O.9/81 1010S(?)" (back pastedown). Part of the collection Piero Guicciardini (see no. 46 above).

Sources: book in hand; Landi no. 69; Scapecchi BNCf 514.

[72.] Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, Inc.Civ.Lips.456, MEI 02127097

Leaf size: 300x220mm.

Binding: parchment binding, blue and white endbands with remains of ties on the outer board edges. Handwritten title across the spine: "Biblia Ital: Venet. A(nn)o 1477". The appearance of the sewing supports is not consistent with a parchment binding; the book was likely previously bound in wooden boards, and the parchment binding is a later, perhaps seventeenth-century replacement. Uncoloured textblock edges.

Decoration: some pen initials.

Manuscript notes: manuscript signature (EE3r); rare marginal notes, seemingly brief pen trials, possibly by the same early annotator as the signature on EE3r.

Provenance:

Owned by Anton Werner Cuno (1635-1707), Rector of the Magdeburg Gymnasium, several of whose incunabula are now at the Universitätsbibliothek. Copy also carries the ownership mark of Jürgen Elers (1647-1692), Danish official and founder of the Collegium Elersianum in Copenhagen, who graduated Law at the University of Leipzig: G. L. Wad. Jørgen Elers, *Dansk biografisk Lexikon* (1890), pp. 490-491. Gottfried Christian Goetze, librarian, already mentions the copy in his 1711 account of the then newly-opened Stadtbibliothek Leipzig (*Bibliothecam magnifici amplissimique Senatus Lipsiensis ex decreto eius bonae menti iam dedicandam atque apriendam fore indicit Gottfridus Christianus Goetzius* (Lipsia, 1711), p. 17). Historic shelfmark: Biblia 2° 44-a. Since 1964, the collection is housed at the Universitätsbibliothek.

Sources: information provided by Thomas Thibault Döring; *idem* and Thomas Fuchs, *Die Inkunabeln und Blockdrucke in der Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig*, 4 vols (Wiesbaden: Harrassovitz, 2014), B-228.

[73.] London, British Library, IB.20451, MEI 02148387

Wanting fol. D6 of part II (blank). Leaf size: 331x223mm; 326x223mm.

Binding: each volume bound in matching light brown calf over paper boards. Vol. 1 re-jointed, with spine titling in gilt, vol. 2 re-backed, with a small leather shelfmark label on the spine. Pink discolouration, possibly from earlier binding ([*]1r of vol. 1). 340x238x60mm; 340x240x63mm.

Marginal notes: several manicules, some underlining (Psalms in Part I, Prologue to Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, 2 Maccabees in Part II). Pen trials (Part I, [*]1r). Ms. note on front pastedown of both volumes: “collated and perfect E Cockram”.

Provenance:

In Padua in the second half of the 16th century, where Andrea Gregheto is granted an inquisitorial reading permit by Massimiliano Beniami da Crema OFMConv (1563–1585), who figures on the list of inquisitors of Padua, and Adria-Rovigo: “Fra Massimiano Beniami Inq(uisito)re di Padua permette questa bibia a Mr Andrea Gregheto nominato.” (misread in BMC V 241 annotation as “Greglesi”; for Beniami see Tomasz Karlikowski, ‘Lista degli Inquisitori di Padova’, in *Dizionario di eretici, dissidenti e inquisitori nel mondo mediterraneo*).

Later in Murano, with the circular library stamp “with the letters SM surmounted by a crown” (BMC), of the library of the Camaldolese monastery of San Mattia in Murano (in both volumes). Mentioned in 1774 in Paitoni, vol. V, p. 14. For potential itineraries of the copy out of Venice, see Edoardo Barbieri, ‘Produrre, conservare, distruggere: per una storia dei libri e della biblioteca di S. Mattia di Murano’, *Ateneo Veneto* (1997), 13-55.

Unidentified historic shelfmark in red ink “40-” and seller’s mark(?) on front pastedown of vol. 1. “[??] 140 [crossed through, corrected to 155] / [??] / 80” on back pastedown of vol. 1.

Owned by Mark Masterman Sykes (1771-1823) of Sledmere, England. His collection was sold by Evans, London, at the 1824 sale. This copy sold to “Pettigrew”, i.e. Thomas Pettigrew, for Augustus Frederick the Duke of Sussex (1773-1843, son of King George III), for whom Pettigrew worked as librarian. *Catalogue of the Splendid, Curious, and Extensive Library of the Late Sir Mark Masterman Sykes, Bart.* (London: Evans, 11 May 1824), Lot 611, sale price £11/11/- (annotated sale catalogue at Wellcome Library). The Bibliotheca Sussexiana included hundreds of other Bible editions. T. F. Henderson, ‘Augustus Frederick, Prince’, revised by John Van der Kiste, in *ODNB*; T. J. Pettigrew *Bibliotheca Sussexiana*, pp. 191-2.

Sold by Messrs Evans in 1844: Evans, *Bibliotheca Sussexiana*. Ninth Day's Sale, Wednesday, July 10, lot 1878.

Purchased by the British Museum in November 1844 (BMC).

Sources: book in hand.

[74.] Lucera, Biblioteca Comunale “Ruggero Bonghi”, 20-1-1/1, MEI 02149802

Part I only. Fol. aa2r remounted and re-margined. Leaf size 300x220mm.

Binding: 19/20th century binding with blue-grey buckram cloth over boards, and cream-coloured leather over the spine. Two black spine labels with the title in gilt. Decoration: large miniature depicting the creation of Eve, consistent with the work of the Pico Master, historiated initial in gold and colours depicting Jerome in a cardinal's garb holding a book, space for an armorial device at the centre of the lower margin mostly trimmed away (aa2r). Lombards and pilcrowes in red and blue throughout, with contrasting penwork at the beginning of individual biblical books. Manuscript notes: isolated nonsensical marginal note in Greek, seemingly by a learner ('pulcherima optima', transliterated in the Greek alphabet, followed by a Greek translation of the phrase: GG3r).

Provenance:

Decorated in Venice for an unidentified owner (arms effaced; the small fragment still preserved, *azure*, matches the field of the arms of the Molin: *azure, a millwheel or*).

Piero Molin (1492-1533), then his son Antonio Molin (1516-1582) owned the copy. Inquisitorial reading permit by an unidentified Dominican inquisitor from the second half of the sixteenth century: "Conceditur clar(issi)mo D(omi)no Antonio Molino q(uon)da(m) D(omi)ni petri Inq(uis)itor Venetus" (below the printed register). The wording suggests the book was inherited by Antonio from 'dominus Petrus', with only one Antonio son of Piero listed in the genealogic tables compiled by Barbaro (vol. V, p. 232).

The Biblioteca Comunale, formerly the site of the convent of Ss. Salvatore, whose collections passed under the tutelage of the Collegio Reale in Lucera in 1811, has built its collections from donations.

Sources: digital reproduction: <<https://www.comune.lucera.fg.it/lucera/zf/index.php/servizi-aggiuntivi/index/index/idtesto/130>>; R. Fiorillo, 'Incunabuli posseduti dalle biblioteche di Lucera', in Japigia, Rivista pugliese di archeologia storia e arte. n. 7 (1936), 147-164: Lucera, «Biblioteca comunale R. Bonghi», no. 4.

[75.] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Rés. A 357 (1-2), MEI 02151184

Wanting aa1 (blank) of part I. Leaf size 321x224mm; 318x224mm.

Binding: each volume bound in red Morocco over paper boards with the royal arms of Louis XIV. Edges sprinkled red and brown. Green and pink silk endbands. 324x243x50mm; 330x272x57mm. Almost identical to the binding of no. **57** above.

Decoration: 9-line decorated initial 'N' in blue, red, pink and blue, on a background of gold leaf and with a blue flower on a black background with gold filigree (vol. 1, fol. aa2r); alternating red and blue Lombards throughout, some accompanied by manuscript guide letters.

Manuscript notes: rare manuscript signatures (EE3r) and corrections of printed signatures.

Provenance:

Part of the collection which arrived in France from Naples at the start of the 16th century.

Sources: book in hand; CIBN B-452; Paris Bibles 639.

[76.] Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, Inc. Parm. 387, MEI 02127334

Wanting blank fol. 11 of Part I. At the time the Zorzanello catalogue was compiled, the table of contents of part II was misbound at the end of the first volume, with annotation to correct this when the bookbinding undergoes repair.

Binding: 18th-century parchment binding.

Source: digitised card catalogue via <<https://cataloghistorici.bdi.sbn.it>>.

[77.] Rovigo, Accademia dei Concordi, Inc. 218-219, MEI 02152289

Wanting ff. [*]2, [*]3, [*]8, aa1, rr8 of part I and bifolium D1.6 of part II. First quire of vol. 1 misbound in incorrect order. Leaf height 320mm (vol. 1), 330mm (vol. 2).

Binding: light brown calf over paper boards, with two sets of leather/suede ties on the outer edge. 324x220x72mm. 15th-century humanist *antiqua* manuscript fragment used as a quire guard, containing part of Psalm 32 verse 10 ("dissipat (con)silia ge(n)tium: reprobat aut(em) cogitaciones", ff. cc4.5). Vol. 2: brown sheepskin over wooden boards. 347x240x77mm. Both volumes have a historic shelfmark in black in on the top left corner of the front board (illegible on vol. 1; on vol. 2: "148") and matching paper labels with the title in manuscript, (17th/18th century).

Decoration: simple roman initials; pilcrows in red or blue; simple brown pen initial 'N' (aa1r). Faces scratched in relief onto margin of mm1r. Vol. 2 undecorated.

Manuscript notes: in vol. 1, epistolary pen trials, addressed to the writer's patron, and mother, include the words "in getto" and "Padove" (bb4v-bb5r). Note in red crayon: "Qui finisce il mio Malermi" (BB4r). In vol. 2, rare marginal notes in a cursive Hebrew script. Epistolary pen trials, include the words "questa bila [=biblia?] dele hebri [=ebrei?]" and "franceso" (HH4v). Repair to ff. 1-8 of vol. 2 includes the missing text supplied in manuscript in an imitation of the printed text. End of Old Testament and beginning of New Testament signalled in Latin by a later, 17/18th-

century(?) reader (“Veteris Testamento finis” (o8v), “Incipit testament novi liber” (p1r)).

Provenance:

Pen trials suggest the book may have been with a Jewish owner (Francesco?) in Padua in the sixteenth/seventeenth century.

Owned by Girolamo Andrea Silvestri. In a letter dated 1750 (cited by Paitoni, see no. **16**), he writes “Acquistai anche il 2. Tomo di quella impresa in Venezia da Maestro Antonio Bolognese nel 1477”, suggesting that he did not acquire both volumes at the same time, despite their apparently shared earlier provenance.

Sources: book in hand; information provided by Michela Marangoni and Fabrizio Quaglia; *Prime luci della stampa in Polesine*, no. 90.

[78.] Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Inc.Ross.1152, MEI 02127122

Part I only.

Binding: gilt-tooled reddish-brown Morocco, in a style typical of the De Rossi collection. Light blue endpapers. Traces of red on the textblock edges remain from the earlier binding ([*]1r and HH4v).

Decoration: rare pen initials by a later reader.

Marginal notes: Occasional brief summaries in Italian (16/17th century?); occasional underlining in brown ink accompanied by manicules, possibly by the same annotator. Note in Latin by an early annotator: “Domine: petre Amato Da: tutj: çoveni:” (pp4r), suggests a scholastic context (faint notes by the same hand, “PE?TE?”, ff. qq3r, ss3r).

Provenance:

Giovan Francesco De Rossi (1796-1854, Guido Fagioli Vercellone, ‘Rossi, Giovan Francesco De’, in *DBI*, Vol. 39 (1991)), Roman bibliophile, whose considerable collection of rare books and manuscripts was donated to the Jesuit order in 1855, and, after a hiatus of almost 50 years in Vienna and Linz, returned to Rome (the Vatican Library) in 1921. With the De Rossi-Borbone armorial ex-libris (front pastedown).

Sources: digital reproduction <<http://digi.vatlib.it/view/Stamp.Ross.1152>>; online catalogue.

[79.] Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (ÖNB), Ink.5.D.22, MEI 02107427

Part I only. Leaf size: 310x212mm.

Binding: baroque red Morocco over paper boards. Spine tooled in gilt. Textblock edges gilt (Paris, 18th century).

Decoration: *trompe-l'oeil* architectonic border. Small vignettes depicting the days of Creation, a historiated initial depicting the temptation of Adam and Eve. On both sides of the border, lions support unidentified coat of arms, *per fess, azure three helmets argent, vair, overall a fess gules* (aa2r). By the Pico Master (Armstrong, 'The Hand Illumination of Venetian Bibles', p. 234). Gold epigraphic initials on a blue, green and red background at the beginning of Books; alternating red and blue epigraphic initials.

Manuscript notes: Penitential Psalms indicated with simple reading marks.

Provenance:

Decorated in the late fifteenth century for an unidentified Italian noble.

Owned by the Duc de la Vallière (see copy **35**). Faint handwritten ex-libris "E. B. D. d. l. V." ("Ex Bibliotheca Ducis de la Vallière"). Lot 90 in the 1864 sale of his library. Purchased there for the Hofbibliothek (today's Österreichische Nationalbibliothek) for 19 Livres.

Sources: MEI entry with data imported from online catalogue; digital reproduction <<http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC07537253>>; ÖNB-Ink B-416.

Venice: Octavianus Scotus, 1481

Barbieri 7, GW 04314, ISTC ib00642000, TEXT-inc tib00642000

Folio, in one volume: 430 leaves (a¹²b-z&g2A-T⁸V⁶X¹²)

Fol. a6r mislabelled 'a5'. All references in the catalogue use the correct leaf number.

[80.] Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, 91.231, MEI 02147360

Duplicate leaf p2.9 bound between leaves p1.10 and p2.9. Leaf size 290x204mm. Binding: 18th-century vellum over boards, with sewn endbands. Textblock edges coloured blue. Red leather spine label with decorative frame and title in gilt. Below, imprint year in manuscript in brown ink.

Decoration: historiated initial depicting Jerome in cardinal's garb holding a model of the Church, balanced atop a closed book, in his left hand, accompanied by a lion on his right; unidentified Italian coat of arms: *party per fess, 1: azure, an eight-pointed mullet or, 2: argent, a bear sable rampant*, perhaps a compound of two branches of the Orso family, as suggested by the bear (damaged, with some of the pigments faded or flaking away); partial floral border in gold and colours (a6r). For attribution, see Chapter 3. Alternating red and blue Lombards throughout.

Manuscript notes: rare reading marks in brown ink. Isolated manicule (x2v), and citation from the text copied by an early hand (y3v). Early foliation up to fol. 50 (e10r).

Provenance:

Decorated in Venice for an unidentified owner.

Still in Venice at the end of the 16th century: a partly legible faint note reads "? de 8brio 1584 ???lla serena in venetia" (X11v, lower margin). Another washed Italian inscription in a 16/17th-century hand, "Adi [...] 9b(re)[...]" (a2r, lower margin). Historic shelfmark, "Y.s." in dark ink, possibly coeval with the binding (upper pastedown).

Oval blind stamp with a profile of Minerva, used by the Biblioteca Braidense in Milan in 1800-1830 (a2r). Erased early shelfmark, still partly legible, "AN. XVI. [??]" (front pastedown, upper left corner). Shelfmark pattern consistent with this edition's copy at the Braidense ("Al. XII. 26", see below). Apparently deaccessioned as a duplicate. Long bibliographical note signed by the abbot Luigi Razzolini (1819-1881, from Greve in Chianti), claims the translation is not the work of Malerbi, and cites Curioni's 1847 edition of the *Atti*.

Matches the catalogue description of a copy in the collection of Benedetto Maglione (1841-1892) in Naples, auctioned in Paris: *Catalogue de la Bibliothèque de feu M. Benedetto Maglione de Naples. Première partie*. Paris, Em. Paul, L. Huard et Guillemin, 1894. Day 6 (24 January), Lot 3.

In London in 1900 (Bernard Quaritch, London. No. 202. *Catalogue of Spanish & Portuguese and also of Italian Literature*. November 1900. no. 770), listed at a price of £12/12/0. It may be then that Olschki purchased it for the collection he was building. Rectangular ex-libris depicting Olschki in his study, lettered "EX LIBRIS LEONIS S. OLSCHKI" (front pastedown). Olschki inventory number: "28783/240" in Olschki's hand, later amended in blue pencil by another hand to read "231" instead of "240"; no. 795 in Olschki's *Monumenta Typographica* with the price of 600 francs. For details of Henry Walters' purchase, see no. 45.

Sources: book in hand; Walters, pp. 89-90.

Cambridge (UK), University Library

[81.] Copy 1, Inc.3.B.3.46, MEI 00559290

Wanting ff. a1 and X12 (both blank). Leaf size 269x205mm.

Binding: 18th-century English red levant Morocco over pasteboards, panel design with cornerpieces in gilt with and gilt spine. Marbled endpapers. Gilt edges. 278x225x68mm.

Decoration: decorated initial "N" in ink and blue, on a gold background; bar border with acanthus leaves and flowers; blank space for coat of arms within laurel wreath, later inscribed in Greek 'Ei nyn kakos, kai es ysteron' (a6r). Alternating red and blue Lombards throughout.

Manuscript notes: rare underlining and reading marks, manuscript signatures (q5r, s5r), textual correction 'syon'>'silo' (=Shiloh, A2r), and of the running title (K8r).

Provenance:

Part of the collection of Charles Spencer, 3rd Earl of Sunderland (1674-1722). The book remained at the Sunderland Library in Blenheim Palace: old shelfmarks in ink and in pencil (front endpaper). Bibliotheca Sunderlandiana bookplate added later by Quaritch. The library was auctioned off by Messrs Puttick and Simpson of Leicester Square, London in December 1881, where it was bought by the antiquarian bookseller Quaritch for £26.0.0 (Bibliotheca Sunderlandiana sale, first portion, 1-12 December 1881, lot 1449).

Owned by Arthur William Young, M.A. (1852-1936), alumnus of Trinity College Cambridge, lawyer, who donated the book to his alma mater in 1933: dated accession stamp, 6 October 1933 (a2r).

Sources: book in hand; online catalogue.

[82.] Copy 2, Bible Society collection 5576, MEI 02148801

Wanting fol. a1r (blank). Leaf size 280x200mm. Not in GW, notified April 2024.

Binding: 17/18th-century vellum with yapp edges, faded manuscript title across spine: "Biblia volgare Del Abate NICOLO de MALERMI: A. MCCCCL[...]". 293x210x77mm.

Decoration: miniature of God the Father, holding an orb in his left hand, his right hand raised in a sign of blessing. Inside and upper frame made up of stylised laurel, with small initial 'N' incorporated into frame instead of in the 25-line space taken up by the miniature, outer and lower frame floral; on lower margin, the coat of arms of the Contarini of Venice, *bendy or and azure*, within a green laurel wreath (a6r). For possible attribution, see Chapter 3. Alternating red and blue Lombards throughout. Pilcrows in red and blue added to mark beginning of chapters, colophon, and at times passages within the text (especially in Psalms).

Provenance:

Decorated for the Venetian Contarini family in the late fifteenth century.

In 1583, purchased by the Venetian lawyer and writer Giulio Cesare Balino (?-1592, Lia Sbriziolo, 'Balino, Giulio' in *DBI*, vol. 5 (1963)), an acquaintance of Paolo Manuzio: partly trimmed ownership inscription: "Di Giulio Ces. Balino Venitiano" (a2r, upper margin). The inscription also includes the date (of purchase?) in the top left corner of the same leaf, "1583 a ?? di Maggio" and price paid in the top right corner, "£19 s-", 19 lire, in a pattern found in other books owned by Balino (cf. copies listed in *Archivio Possessori* and MEI). Immediately below, date "adi 7 8ct(obre?) 1612" added by an anonymous Italian annotator.

Large bookplate of German theologian Gottfried Thomasius (1660-1746) across the entire front pastedown, incorporates a portrait of Thomasius, resting on a plinth (According to K. Waehmer, the bookplate by Johann Christian Marchand originates from ca. 1690: *Bücherzeichen deutscher Ärzte. Bilder aus vier Jahrhunderten*. Leipzig & Wolgast: Der Kentaur, 1919). Georg W. Panzer, *Bibliotheca Thomasiana*, 1765, vol. I, no. 17.

Two sale catalogue cuttings (glued to front flyleaf): the Bibliotheca Lindesiana, Haigh Hall (Greater Manchester), started by Alexander William Lindsay, 25th Earl of

Crawford and 8th Earl of Balcarres (1812-1880) and cultivated by his son, James Ludovic Lindsay, auctioned by Sotheby's, London, in 1887 (*Bibliotheca Lindesiana. Catalogue of the Library of the Right Hon. The Earl of Crawford. First Portion. Third Day's Sale, Wednesday 15 June 1887, lot 441, attributes the coat of arms on a6r to the Celsi family*). Manuscript lot number "441" on a small round label at the foot of the spine. The second cutting, the sale price trimmed away, is from the Bernard Quaritch (1819-1899) *Catalogue of Bibles, Liturgies, Church History and Theology*. December 1891 catalogue (no. 330), with the price listed as £18/18/0. Bookplate of St John's College, Cambridge, graduate Herbert Watney, MD (1843-1932), with shelfmark "No. R6 Shelf II" and dated inscription with the location of his library in Berkshire, "Herbert Watney Buckhold Jan. 1892". Again in London with Quaritch in 1932: faint pencil seller's notes include price "£47" and the date "27/7/32" (back pastedown). Acquired by the Bible Society and, in 1985, relocated to Cambridge together with the rest of their library.

Sources: book in hand; online catalogue.

[83.] Copenhagen, Det kongelige Bibliotek, Inc. Haun. 716, MEI 02127272

Wanting ff. 1-5, 419, 428-430.

Binding: hardcover, with the initials of King Frederik III (17th century).

Provenance:

Owned by King Frederick III of Denmark (1609-1670), who donated his book collection to the Royal Library upon founding it in 1648.

Sources: Madsen 716.

[84.] Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Inc.139, MEI 02147815

Wanting ff.247-248. Leaf size: 273x190mm.

Binding: vellum hollow back binding over mill boards, textblock edges sprinkled red (17th century?).

Decoration: occasional pen initials by a later, 17/18th-century reader.

Manuscript notes: transliteration of the Hebrew alphabet in the margins of the acrostic opening chapter of Lamentations, by the same reader as the pen initials (C1v-C2r).

Provenance:

19th-century armorial bookplate on front pastedown, possibly of the Fenton family (*argent, a cross sable between three fleurs-de-lis of the same*); an identical ex-libris is found in the Bodleian Library's MEI 00202583.

Unidentified historical shelfmarks: "Inc. 2. 82", "H. 21. a. 3" (front pastedown).

Acquired by the Edinburgh Advocates Library in the 19th century. Small black oval stamp lettered 'ADVOCATES LIBRARY EDINBURGH'; printed 'ADVOCATES'

LIBRARY EDINBURGH', bookplate followed by earlier shelfmark "No. 95" (crossed through, replaced with current shelfmark), (front pastedown).

Advocates Library items that did not deal with legal subject matters were transferred to the newly founded National Library of Scotland in 1925.

Sources: information and images provided by Dr Anette Hagan (NLS).

[85.] Eton College, DDf.2.06, MEI 02129311

Wanting a1 (blank) and final quire X12. Leaf size: 278x205mm.

Binding: 16th-century blind-stamped pigskin over wooden boards, with red textblock edges, described as German in sale catalogues but identified as Italian by John Goldfinch (MEI entry).

Provenance:

Until 1835, in the collection of Georg Franz Burkhard Kloss (1787-1854), historian and book collector from Frankfurt am Main, many of whose books were incunabula from dissolved religious houses: bookplate; bibliographic notes by Kloss in the copy. Sold by Sotheby's, London on 7 May 1835, lot 735. ('Kloss, G. F. B. (Georg Franz Burkhard)' in *The Oxford Companion to the Book*).

1835(?) - 1854, John William Whittaker of Blackburn, Lancashire (1791-1854, Whittaker, John William', in *ODNB*). Anglican clergyman and scholar: bookplate, with manuscript annotation "A. 1857. catal. supt."

Sold to Quaritch for £1/19/- at the Sotheby's, London, 2 May 1857, Whittaker sale, lot 175 (see MEI).

Matches a copy sold at Sotheby's, *A Collection of Books and Manuscripts*, 19 December and following days, 1901 "(folios 419-429, containing the Table, wanted), old stamped pigskin [...] *Ridler*, £2 2s. (Book Prices Current 15 (1901), p. 207). Bought by William Ridler (fl. 1877-1904), bookseller based on London's Strand.

Listed in Sotheby's *A Miscellaneous Collection. Nov. 18th, 1902*, no. 8772 (p. 316). According to Book Auction Records vol. 1a (1902-3), purchased for £7 by Sotheran (also in BPC 17 (1903)). Not listed in Sotheran's catalogues for 1903 or 1904, so possibly acquired by Eton College directly from him.

Sources: MEI entry by John Goldfinch; online catalogue.

[86.] Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, Guicc. 1.2.1., MEI 02127246

Wanting fol. a1 (blank).

Binding: dark brown mottled leather. Gilt-tooled decoration on spine. Pink sprinkled endpapers. Textblock edges coloured red.

Manuscript notes: brief summaries in Italian present up to the Book of Joshua, all in a single hand (possibly Tuscan, based on vocabulary used, “chontra” (e6r); “pechato” (e8r), “precieti” (f8r)).

Provenance:

Part of the collection of Piero Guicciardini (see no. **46**).

Sources: digital reproduction via <digitale.beic.it>; Invernizi, no. 6; Scapecchi, BNCF 516.

[87.] Kalocsa, Főszékesegyházi Könyvtár, IN 157, MEI: 02148249

Wanting fol. a1 (blank). Leaf size: 255x186mm. Not in GW, notified April 2024.

Binding: blind-tooled pigskin with blue textblock edges (17/18th-century, Central Europe). 265x197x72mm.

Decoration: on ff. a2r and a6r, large decorative initials with decorative penwork in red; alternating red and blue Lombards throughout, with some sparse pilcrows in red (more frequent in the New Testament).

Manuscript notes: small reading marks, many of them trimmed, apparently all by the same reader, including pen trials, marks shaped like a deliberate sigla (possibly incorporating the initials L.Z. or L.E.), and corrections of misprinted chapter numbers and running titles (e.g. K8r).

Provenance:

A sixteenth-century inscription ‘Verona’ suggests a possible link with that city (N1r). Part of the library amassed by Archbishop Patachich. Certainly in Kalocsa by Patachich’s death in 1784, but there are no records of the circumstances of the acquisition. Earlier shelfmark: 11989; oval library stamp (b6r).

Sources: information provided by Zita Grócz; digital reproduction via the library’s digital collections <<https://konyvtar.asztrik.hu/>>.

[88.] London, British Library, C.9.c.6 (=IB.21174), MEI 02013918

Wanting the blank leaves. Leaf size: 285x208mm.

Binding: 17th-century Italian red Morocco fan style binding over wooden boards, textblock edges marbled; one of two decorated 17th-century bindings not rebound by Smith. P.J.M. Marks, ‘Consul Joseph Smith’s Gold-Tooled Leather Bookbindings’, *Electronic British Library Journal* (2021), Article 6, DOI: 10.23636/1211; (included in BL Bookbindings database). Small black leather oval with King George III monogram added later.

Manuscript notes: imperfection, possibly a single mark, repaired with a small parchment fragment and missing text supplied in manuscript (r10).

Provenance:

Owned by Joseph Smith (see no. **25**). Listed in his 1737 catalogue, no. 31; and in the 1755 *Bibliotheca Smithiana* (p. LIV, price of 400 ducats handwritten in Smith's copy (BL shelfmark 823.h.26)).

Part of the library of King George III (see no. **25**). *Bibliothecae Regiae Catalogus*, vol. 1, p. 275.

Sources: book in hand; MEI entry by Alessandra Panzanelli; BMC V 267.

[89.] Milan, Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense, Al.XII.26, MEI 02016302

Leaf size 293x210mm.

Binding: 17th century French gold-tooled Morocco over pasteboard, with armorial supralibros of Jean-Baptiste Colbert in gilt on boards. Colbert's monogram stamped in spine compartments. Binding dimensions: 315x215x64mm. *Arte della legatura a Brera: storie di libri e biblioteche. Il Barocco*, a cura di Federico Macchi, no. 92. <http://www.braidense.it/file/arte_legatura_brera_barocco.pdf>.

Provenance:

Bound for Parisian collector Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619-1683). Ownership inscription: "Bibliothecae Colbertinae" (a2r, upper margin). *Bibliotheca Colbertina, seu catalogus librorum bibliothecae...*, Parisiis, Apud Gabrielem Martin, Francisciim Montalant, 1728, lot 84 (price "80-19" francs(?) in annotated sale catalogue, BNF copy).

Purchased by Carlo Pertusati (1674-1755) in 1728 together with other books from Colbert's library which are now also found at the Biblioteca Braidense. Historic shelfmark and note "Al. XII. 26" and Inventory number "Inv. 198" in manuscript.

Sources: MEI entry (unsigned).

[90.] Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 2. Inc. c.a. 1031, MEI 02151185

Wanting ff. a1 (blank), b3 and X12 (blank).

Binding: 16th-century limp vellum, with second front flyleaf bearing a watermark of a winged angel over the letter M or two mountains similar to Briquet 621, used in Udine in 1573.

Decoration: large, decorated initial in pink, green and blue, on a gold leaf background (a6r). The lower margin likely torn away to remove a coat of arms (its outline still visible on a7r). Lombards and pilcrows in blue and red throughout.

Manuscript notes: rare marginal notes in Italian (marking the passage on the rainbow in Genesis 9, a8r; x5r, trimmed). Penitential Psalms numbered in brown ink. Pencil calculation of time passed since the publication year until 1617 (U5v). Small area of discolouration of the opening leaf of the New Testament (K5r) consistent with a glued-on bookmark.

Provenance:

With the rectangular ‘BIBLIOTHECA REGIA MONACENSIS’ stamp. Historic shelfmark: Collect. Bibl. pag. 1062.

Sources: digital reproduction <<http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/~db/0004/bsb00048362/images/>>, online catalogue; BSB-Ink B-498.

[91.] New York City, Public Library, *KB 1481 Bible.Italian, MEI 02149706

Wanting fol. a1 (blank). Leaf size 284x202mm.

Binding: 18th-century(?) blue-grey paper semi-limp binding, with sewing supports exposed. Edges coloured reddish-brown. Small label with the old shelfmark “87” from an unidentified library at head of spine, and lower down edition details in Italian in a 18th-century(?) hand.

Decoration: 20-line high decorated initial in gold leaf on a blue, green and red background (a6r). Alternating red and blue Lombards throughout.

Manuscript notes: marginal annotations in Latin in a neat humanist hand (brief summaries/translations, accompanied by underlining), including the phrase “Libertas Sacerdotum et clericorum” by I Ezra 6, suggesting an interest in clerical matters, perhaps by an ordained annotator. Frequent underlining.

Provenance:

Part of the Lenox Library in New York, founded by philanthropist James Lenox in 1870: armorial ex-libris dated 1870 (front pastedown). Lenox Library Short-Title Lists, No. II, Bibles in Various Languages, p. 9. Together with the Astor and Tilden Library, the Lenox Library was one of the foundational collections of the New York Public Library in 1895.

Sources: book in hand.

[92.] Ravenna, Biblioteca Classense, Inc. 793, MEI: 02151096

Incomplete copy, quires a-n only (up to chapter 28 of 1 Chronicles). Not in ISTC or GW, notified April-May 2024.

Binding: semi-limp parchment binding, manuscript title across spine.

Decoration: decorated initials in red and blue (a2r, a5r); rubricated in red and blue throughout.

Provenance:

Owned by Pierpaolo Ginanni, OSBCas (1698-1774), author of *Rime scelte de' poeti ravennati antichi e moderni* (Ravenna, 1739). He gifted his rich library to the monastery of San Vitale in Ravenna, where he was abbot: narrow paper slip bearing

his typographic ex-libris: “Est S. Vitalis Ravennae ad usum D. Petri Pauli Ginanni à Ravenna” (a2r).

The monastery was suppressed in 1789, and its books taken over by the Biblioteca Comunale di Ravenna, today’s Biblioteca Classense: black oval stamp “BIB. COM. DI RAVENNA” arranged around a pinecone, post-1803. Historic shelfmarks “S.[?]O.2”; “139.1.8” (front flyleaf verso).

Source: information provided by Floriana Amicucci (Biblioteca Classense).

[93.] Rome, Biblioteca Corsiniana, 51.F.17, MEI 02151186

Binding: parchment over paper boards. Gilt title “BIBLIA SACRA VOLGARE” within narrow gilt frame on a beige leather label in the second spine compartment, with publication year in manuscript immediately below. Current shelfmark handwritten within a diamond-shaped paper label at the foot of the spine. Textblock edges coloured blue.

Decoration: large blue Lombardic initial ‘N’ with decorative biting and intricate penwork in red (a6r). Lombards in red throughout.

Manuscript notes: occasional brief summaries in Italian, in the first half of the volume. Marginal numeration of the commandments in Exodus 20 (c6v). Rare manicules. Scattered faint pen trials, mostly in Italian (&3r). Early foliation in Roman numerals in brown ink.

Provenance:

Pen trials include an erased early inscription possibly with the name “Andrea” (T1v). Paper slip with historic seventeenth-century(?) shelfmark: “26”.

Sources: book in hand.

[94.] Urbana, University of Illinois, xq220.55/B47I/1481, MEI 02127178

Wanting ff. 1-52, 183, 222, 360-361, 413, and 418-430. Leaf size 295x220mm.

Binding: rebound in 19th/20th century in thick wooden boards half-bound in brown leather (Morocco?), both seemingly painted over with dark brown paint. Some perforation on boards suggests they previously had clasps.

Manuscript notes: occasional underlining on first few leaves.

Provenance:

Pencil seller’s notes dated 1955.

Recorded as purchased by the University of Illinois from Olschki on 24 May 1956.

Sources: information provided by Jonathan Puckett (University of Illinois, Rare Book & Manuscript Library); Marian Harman, *Incunabula in the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign* (University of Illinois Press, 1979), 130.

[95.] Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

Copy 1, Inc.II.898, MEI 02127130

Leaf size: 305x208mm. Brown impression of a pair of glasses between ff. a8v-a9r.

Binding: blind-tooled brown leather over wooden boards, decorated with floral and acorn-shaped tools (in diamond-shaped clusters of two or four) on the covers. With furniture (studs, cornerpieces, remains of clasps). Spine undecorated. Title on a small parchment slip nailed to the lower board: "Biblia delle Monache de sancta Maria mont" (late 15th/early 16th century). 325x223x93mm. One of the few copies from the Archivio della Curia di Milano not rebound in the 1930-1950s; protected with a thick paper wrapper and stored in a grey archival storage box. Decoration: rare pen initials

Manuscript notes: two leaves bound at the start of the volume with a table of lections in Latin (continued on the blank a1r, two back flyleaves and the back pastedown), starting with November. Throughout, manuscript foliation corresponding to the table of lections. See also no. **151** below and Chapter 5, p. 120. Marginal notes by at least 4 distinct early hands (notabilia, summaries, Latin Bible verses, reading marks). Numerous wax stains and debris in page gutters, including flower petals.

Provenance:

Earliest of three Bibles owned by the *romite ambrosiane* of Santa Maria del Monte, in the hills north of Varese, Lombardy (nos. **95**, **151**, **199**). The earliest note at the monastery is by Thomas Cigolinus, a priest who acted as confessor for the nuns (see also no. **199**). The monastery's archives do not reach back enough to carry any records of this priest (correspondence with Suor Maria Rosella Pedroletti, abbess, January 2022); several letters by him addressed to Charles Borromeo are held by the Biblioteca Ambrosiana (e.g MS F 121 inf. ff. 548r-549v, dated 12 April 1571; MS F 128 inf. ff. 519r-v, 548r-v, dated 13 December 1573). Likely the long-serving parish priest of Traffiume (1530-1574) "Tommaso, detto Cigolino" of the Pizzali of Cannobio family (Crollalanza, *Dizionario storico-blasonico*, vol. II, p. 350); still active in 1582 (*Acta congregationis vicariorum foraneorum, [30-31 gennaio 1582]*, ASD Milano, Sez. VI, n. 184 (=Y 4092), cited in *Monumenta Borromaica, Il Milano inquisita. Inchieste I Carlo Borromeo sulla città e diocesi, 1574-1584*, pp. 139-140). Manuscript note, "Ego presbiter Thomas Cigol(inu)s Vic(ariu)s Montis et confessarius monialiu(m)" (a1v). Contemporary to this note, reading license by Pietro Galesini, OSB (1520ca.-1590ca.), historian, apostolic protonotary and close associate of Saint Charles Borromeo (1538-1584): "De consilio confessarii P(etrus) Galesinus proto(notariu)s Ap(ostoli)cus pro ill(ustrissi)mo Cardinale S. Praxedis Archiep(iscop)o" (a1v); datable to after 1564, the year when Borromeo became Cardinal Priest of Saint Prassede in Rome.

Part of the 1936 donation from the Milanese Curia: manuscript note "S(an)ta Maria del Monte l'Anno 1481" (a2r), in the same hand as similar notes found in other copies with this provenance. Label, "Archivio spirituale. Sezione XIV. Libreria degli stampati" and printed note "Dono di S. E. il card. A. I. Schuster dall'Archivio della Curia di Milano" (front pastedown).

Sources: book in hand; online catalogue; Orlandi 2a.

[96.] Copy 2, Inc.II.899, MEI 02151187

Wanting ff. a1, X12 (both blank). Several leaves in quire a remounted. Quire G8 incorrectly assembled. Leaf size: 291x210mm.

Binding: modern Vatican Library rebinding of half parchment over blue paper-covered paper boards.

Decoration: large, decorated capital at the start of Genesis in red with red and purple filigree extending along the entire inner margin; red Lombardic initials throughout, inconsistent pilcrows in red.

Manuscript notes: occasional completions of misprinted text. Faded note in Italian in red ink (b10v). Scratched reading marks (e.g. 1 Maccabees).

Provenance:

Before arriving at the Archive of the Milanese Curia, the book belonged to a church or convent of St Martha: note in dark ink, “Di S(anct)a Martha” (a2r). Several churches across Lombardy were consecrated to this saint, one in Milan, attached to a monastery of Augustinian nuns (1345–1799).

Part of the 1936 donation from the Milanese Curia (with inscription “In Venezia l’Anno 1481” in a black ink on the upper margin of fol. a2r; without the *ex-dono* label).

Sources: book in hand; online catalogue; Orlandi 2b.

[97.] Copy 3, Inc.II.911, MEI 2145350

Wanting fol. X12. Outer textblock edge singed, suggesting the volume was damaged by a fire.

Binding: modern half parchment over blue paper-covered paper boards.

Manuscript notes: rare underlining (b4r only). Isolated manuscript note in upper margin of fol. A7v: “8 15i9”. typographic notes in dark ink (a2r); some manuscript signatures provided in pencil by a modern hand to make up for the trimmed foliation.

Provenance:

Part of the 1936 donation from the Milanese Curia.

Sources: book in hand; online catalogue; Orlandi 2c.

[98.] Copy 4, Inc.II.932, MEI 02151091

Wanting most of fol. O8, containing from John XX onwards, and the remaining quires (P-T8 U6 and X12).

Binding: 20th-century parchment rebinding, with small fragment of previous binding, a paper slip with the note “N9 1481 ([????] N 6)” in red ink in a 19th-century hand (on front flyleaf recto).

Decoration: 7-line gold historiated initial with Jerome in cardinal’s robes, the horizontal bar of the initial ‘F’ serving as Jerome’s desk, from which falls a scroll; partial bar border in blue and gold on the inside margin, with acanthus tendrils in red, green, blue (a2r). Decorative initial in red and blue (a6r). Alternating blue and red Lombard initials throughout. Rare pen initials.

Manuscript notes: the nine lessons from Job marked with Latin translations (r6v-r8v). Missing signature supplied by hand (s5). Pen trials, including the name ‘Teresa’ (H7v).

Provenance:

Milan, Augustinian women’s monastery of Sant’Agnese (1454-1798): two early notes, one partially legible. “S(anc)te Agnetis M[...].” (a6r), and another, in a more stylised gothic hand, “S(anc)ta Agnesa” (a12r).

Part of the 1936 donation from the Milanese Curia (with the printed paper *ex dono* slip, with added date in ms: “8.I.1936.”). Previous BAV shelfmark, “Inc. III. 508”, in pencil, erased (front pastedown).

Sources: digital reproduction <<http://digi.vatlib.it/view/Inc.II.932>>; online catalogue; Orlandi 2d.

[99.] Copy 5, Inc.II.933, MEI 02145348

Wanting quires a-g (containing the Pentateuch and the first thirteen chapters of Joshua), X12 and ff. h2, h10. Fol. E6 partly ripped out with significant loss of text.

Binding: 20th-century rebinding with half parchment on cardboard covered with blue paper, spine undecorated. The letters “B.D.P.A.” written along the upper textblock edge in brown ink and some parchment and paper quire guards (one of these, between leaves l9-l10, with early humanist cursive writing in brown ink) from the earlier binding.

Decoration: sporadic pen initials in brown ink.

Manuscript notes: marginal annotations in Italian and Latin related to the content of the text, notabilia (e.g. “legi qui d(el) paolo”, P5v), manicules and other small reading marks, including ones scratched in relief into the page, throughout, including by the Penitential Psalms, by several early readers. Rare pen trials. A prayer in an elegant, compact humanist hand, deliberately unsigned: ‘nomine noc patris nati (cum) flamine sancto [...] nomen no(n) pono quia me laudare no(n) volo si nome(n) ponerem me laudare vellem’ (h3r).

Provenance:

Anonymous note dated 1520 (or 1529): “Amor de Dio cosi vol ch(e) il faria [...] adi 29 aprile 1529[/1520?]” (P3r). In another note, the same annotator uses the word ‘fiolo’, perhaps indicating use in the Veneto (A10r).

16th/17th-century ownership inscription, “Angelica Caterina”, written over a

previous, erased, inscription, which also appears to be an owner's name (early front flyleaf immediately before the start of the volume).
Part of the 1936 donation from the Milanese Curia.

Sources: book in hand; online catalogue; Orlandi 2e

[100.] Copy 6, Inc.II.934, MEI 02151188

Wanting ff. a1, X12 (both blank).

Binding: 20th-century rebinding of half-parchment over blue paper.

Decoration: decorated initial in red and blue (a6r). Rubrication in red and blue, including red pilcrows.

Manuscript notes: cross-references (Job, Psalms, Daniel); brief Latin translations (Philippians, fol. S3v); corrections to misprinted and incomplete running titles (throughout 2 Maccabees, Corinthians; fol. K8r in Matthew) and Psalm numbers; textual corrections (k2r). Pen trials (A10v). First verse of the *Benedicite* written in a neat *textualis* hand (x5v). Two notes in Latin identifying liturgical readings in Philippians 2: 'in ramis palmarum' (i.e. Palm Sunday), 'i(n) exaltation(n)e s(anctae) e(ccl)esi(ae)' (S3v).

Provenance:

Inquisitorial reading permit for two brothers, Battista Biffo and Ambrosio Biffo, signed by Crisostomo Trezio (or Trezzo). Trezio's name appears in some late sixteenth-century Milanese printed books, suggesting he was active in the same circles as Counter-reformation figures such as Pietro Galesini: granting licences for publications (for instance, "Fr. Chrisostomus Tretius Lector Vicarius concedit die 20. Iunii 1576.", on fol. [1]v of Massimo Calvi, *Del tractado de la hermosura y del amor compuesto por Maximiliano Calui. Libro primero [-tercero]*, En Milan: por Paulo Gotardo Poncio, 1576, EDIT16 CNCE 8608); he also authored a religious publication, owned by the nuns of Santa Caterina alla Chiusa, Milan, in an inventory dated 1581: "Tavola delle cose pertinenti alle religioni di fra Crisostomo Trezio" (Danilo Zardin, 'Mercato librario e letture devote nella svolta del Cinquecento Tridentino', in *Stampa, libri e letture a Milano nell'eta di Carlo Borromeo*, ed. by Nicola Ramponi and Angelo Turchini (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 1992), pp. 135-246, (p. 167)). The note reads: "Ego fr(ater) Chrisostomus Tretius lector vicarius r(everen)di p(at)ris Inquisitoris M(ediolan)i super bibliothecas M(ediolan)i co(n)cedo facultatem d(omino) Presbitero B(a)p(tis)te [b]iffo, et eius fr(at)re d(omino) Ambrosio [b]iffo, legendi ac tenendi hanc sacra(m) biblia(m): datu(m) die 2.a Iulii 1574" (X1r, lower margin).

Part of the 1936 donation from the Milanese Curia.

Sources: book in hand; online catalogue; Orlandi 2f.

[101.] Venice, Fondazione Querini Stampalia, Inc. 44, MEI 02151189

Wanting leaves a1-5. Fol. u3 misbound before u2. Leaf size: 277x202mm.

Binding: 18th-century(?) parchment binding, brown leather spine label with simple

pontillé decoration in gilt, and title: “BIB: SACRA AN: MCCCLXXX[I]”.

Decoration: large, decorated initial in pink, blue and gold, with a full floral border; blank *bas-de-page* armorial shield (a6r).

Manuscript notes: a few early manuscript signatures (q1r, s1r). Marginal summaries and key words in Italian, mostly in the Pentateuch. Sparse plus-shaped reading marks and manicules. Margins densely annotated with an unidentified commentary of chapters 2-23 of Esther (r1-3); each description begins with a formulaic “nel cap. [number] si vede come [or che]”, followed by a chapter overview; similarly in 1 Maccabees (H3-H6r). Some cross-references in the printed table of contents add quotations from the main text, including in Latin (X6v). Rare marginalia by a later, 17th-century hand (i4r).

Provenance:

The Biblioteca Querini Stampalia is built around the patrimony of the Venetian Querini family; a public institution since 1869, as willed by the family’s last descendant, Giovanni Querini Stampalia. Armorial stamp surmounted by a crown, lettered ‘QUIRINIANÆ’ (U5v).

Sources: book in hand.

[102.] Venice, Istituto Cavanis, Cassetta A4-4, MEI 02145874

Leaf size: 287x193mm.

Binding: plain vellum binding with rectangular gold-tooled brown leather title label on the spine; textblock edges coloured red; pulled paste endpapers (18th century Italy). Has undergone conservation at the Laboratorio di restauro del libro in Praglia in the late 20th century (small lower pastedown label lettered “GABINETTO DI RESTAURO DEL LIBRO”). Faint manuscript shelfmark at head of spine: “A. I. ?”. Decoration: large Lombardic initial ‘N’ with some decorative biting (a6r); alternating red and blue Lombards throughout. Handwritten frontispiece “BIBLIA | SACRA | VVGARE [*sic*] | NOVAMENTE | STAMPATA | ET CO | NLISOMARI | ET | PROLOGHI | HIS [*sic*, reversed(?) Christogram, surmounted by a cross] | IN VENECIA | PEROTAVIANOSCO | MCCCCLXXXI”, strongly reminiscent of the 1590 Sixtine Vulgate’s printed title page (Edit16 CNCE 5805), on a laid paper leaf with an unidentified watermark (uppercase B within a circle surmounted by a trefoil). Manuscript notes: textual correction, ‘de tiran(n)i’>’ultimi’ (S7r); isolated unrefined manicule (&5r). Rare pen trials. Bound in at the end of the volume, two leaves with a handwritten list of liturgical readings for specific feasts, in a 17/18th-century cursive hand displaying some Venetian linguistic features (e.g. ‘lecion’, ‘mercordi’). The readings seem to have been added on more than one occasion and are not listed in any discernible order.

Provenance:

Unidentified library shelfmarks on manuscript frontispiece: “K.c.1.6.1”, underneath it, in pencil, “γ8”.

The circumstances of acquisition by the Istituto Cavanis (founded in 1802), are uncertain, most likely by donation or bequest.

Sources: information and images provided by Dr Prof. Giuseppe Leonardi (Biblioteca dell'Istituto Cavanis).

[103.] Verona, Biblioteca civica, Inc. 416, MEI 02148399

Binding: contemporary or early sixteenth-century blind-tooled dark brown leather employs tools consistent with the work of the Rosettenmeister. Has undergone repair (nineteenth century).

Decoration: Spilimbergo coat of arms within a laurel wreath, flanked by acanthus-like foliage, straddled by two putti and embellished with large red flowers. The design executed in brown ink, coloured with watercolours (red, green, ochre) (a6r, lower margin). No other decoration.

Manuscript notes: modern pencil foliation .

Provenance:

Owned by the Di Spilimbergo family of Pordenone, Friuli, who also had links with Venice, and counted among its members the writer Hercules Albiflorius, author of the 1492 *Vita Sancti Rochi* (ISTC ia00352000). See: Alessandra Maurutto, 'Spilimbergo (di) Adriano', in *Dizionario Biografico dei Friulani*, <<https://www.dizionariobiograficodeifriulani.it/spilimbergo-di-adriano/>>, and, for the family's cultural activity, *I codici miniati del Duomo di Spilimbergo 1484-1507*, ed. by Caterina Furlan (Comune di Spilimbergo, 1989).

Date and circumstances of acquisition unknown by the Biblioteca civica founded in 1793) unknown; the book does not present any identifiable accession marks.

Sources: information and images provided by Dr Laura Rebonato (Biblioteca civica).

[104.] Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ink.17.C.16, MEI 02107193

Quire X misbound at the start of the volume. Leaves U6r and X1r remounted. Part of t1 missing, repaired with text supplied in a later, 17th-century(?) hand. Leaf size: 280x200mm.

Binding: parchment wrappers over pasteboard; textblock edges coloured purple-brown, with manuscript title, "S. Sc(ri)ptu[rae]", in brown ink on the lower textblock edge (possibly Triest, 17th century). Restored in 1923 (front pastedown pencil note).

Decoration: large blue Lombardic initials with geometric infill in red and green, red and green penwork extending down the inner margin (a6r). Lombards and pilcrows in red or blue throughout, capitals touched with yellow.

Marginal notes: sporadic underlining in red crayon and marginalia in Italian by at least two late 15th/early 16th century hands.

Provenance:

Late 15th-century inventory note from the Benedictine monastery of San Giorgio Maggiore in Venice including the early shelfmark, "803": "Iste liber est monachorum congregationis S. Justine de padua ordinis S. Benedicti deputatus ad usum fratrum habitantium in monasterio S. Georgii Maioris Venetiarum signatus numero 803." (fol. X12v). Similar notes, also identifying the monastery as part of the congregation of Santa Giustina in Padua, with inventory numbers, have been identified in 57 surviving incunabula and 23 manuscripts by Dondi, Prosdocimi and Raines (see below).

At the Jesuit College in Trieste between 1628 and its dissolution in 1773: manuscript note, "Collegij Tergestini Societatis Jesu inscriptus Catalogo 1628" (X1r).

Since 1773, at the Hofbibliothek, now Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.

Sources: digital reproduction <<http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC07060068>>; ÖNB-Ink B-418; Cristina Dondi, Lavinia Prosdocimi, and Dorit Raines, 'The incunabula collection of the Benedictine library of S. Giorgio Maggiore in Venice. Formation, use, and dispersal according to documentary and material evidence (from MEI)' in *How the secularization of religious houses transformed the libraries of Europe, 16th-19th centuries*, ed. by Cristina Dondi, Dorit Raines and Richard Sharpe (Turnhout: Brepols, 2022), pp. 567-658, esp. p. 581 and cat. no. 32.

Venice: Andreas de Paltasichis, 1484

Barbieri 9, GW 04315, ISTC ib00642500

Folio, in one volume: 385 leaves (a¹⁰b-z&g2A-H⁸I⁹K-V⁸X⁶Y⁸).

Bergamo, Biblioteca civica Angelo Mai

[105.] Copy 1, Inc. 4.023, MEI 02005996

Wanting ff. a1 (blank), a5; fol. a10 misbound before fol. a9; parts of a2 and Y1 damaged and re-margined. Leaf size: 305x217mm.

Binding: half brown leather, with brown decorative paper sprinkled in black over paper boards. Spine tooled in blind, with a dark leather spine label with gilt-tooled titling. Edges coloured red (18/19th century Italy).

Decoration: decorated initial consistent with the work of Jacopo da Balsemo (active in Bergamo in the second half of the 15th century, see Cristina Quattrini, 'Jacopo da Balsemo', in *DBI*, Vol. 62 (2004)) or his workshop (a2r). Another decorated or illuminated initial was present on the missing fol. a5r (set-off on the facing verso, a4v). Lombardic initials in red and blue throughout.

Marginal notes: a late-15th century reader adds the Latin incipits of the Penitential Psalms. Other marginal notes include the phrase "bibia testamento vechio" written several times by one early hand, and two letter drafts in Italian (H6v, and much shorter on O3v) by another early reader.

Provenance:

Circumstances of arrival to the Biblioteca civica are uncertain. The earliest stamp of the library seems to date back to the 19th century (a2r).

Sources: MEI entry by Eleonora Gamba; *Bibbie a Bergamo*, no. 101; digital reproduction <<https://www.bdl.servizirl.it/vufind/Record/BDL-OGGETTO-2908>>.

[106.] Copy 2, Inc. 4.024, MEI 02005997

Wanting blank fol. a1. Leaf size: 308x210mm.

Binding: 18th-century marbled leather over paper boards, with boards decorated simply in blind, and the title in gilt on the spine; textblock edges coloured red. Possibly bound in Bergamo, as suggested by a watermark on one of the endpapers. Evidence of use: no decoration or marginal notes.

Provenance:

Owned between the 18th century and 1810 by the Capuchins of Sant'Alessandro in Captura in Bergamo, OFM^{Cap}. Printed ex-libris of the monastery (inside front pastedown); with an acquisition note by Alessandro Maria Viscardi, OFM^{Cap} (1722-1790): 'Alla libreria dei Cappuccini di Bergamo. Frate Alessandro Maria' (first front flyleaf).

Sources: MEI entry by Eleonora Gamba; *Bibbie a Bergamo*, no. 101.

[107.] Chieti, Biblioteca provinciale Angelo Camillo de Meis, 1484/I, MEI 02151190

Leaf size: 300x200mm

Binding: half dark brown leather over exposed wooden boards. Two clasps. Brown textblock edges. Repaired by "A. Staderini Roma" (binder's ticket dated November 1933), including new endpapers: a small fragment of an earlier flyleaf preserved on the front pastedown, with the manuscript note "De Malermi Bibia tradotta, con Proemio di S. Girolamo. Venezia 1484" in an 18/19th-century hand (previously glued to a2r).

Manuscript notes: modern pencil foliation (1930 ca.).

Provenance:

The book probably arrived from the Archivio di stato in Chieti in circa 1930, most likely from a suppressed local religious institution.

Sources: information and images provided by Antonella Visca (Biblioteca provinciale); Walter Capezzali, Mario Petti, *Catalogo degli incunabuli delle biblioteche abruzzesi* (L'Aquila: Japadre, 1982), no. 55 and fig. XV (A5r reproduction).

[108.] Copenhagen, Det kongelige Bibliotek, Ink. Fol. 717, MEI 02127273

Wanting ff. 1 (blank), 379, 386.

Binding: leather.

Provenance:

Purchased by the Royal Library in Copenhagen in 1922.

Sources: Madsen 717.

[109.] Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, Guicc. 1.2.2, MEI 02148512

Leaf size: 297x198mm.

Binding: alum-tawed pigskin, with two metal clasps and blue textblock edges (Central Europe, 16/17th-century).

Manuscript notes: rare underlining, reading marks, pen trials. Correction to Exodus XX (in dio>in odio (c6v)). Incorrect Bible citations in a 16/17th-century hand (y1v-y2r).

Provenance:

Owned by Swiss trader Daniel Orelli (1597-1684), and his son Jacob Orelli (1633-1691): inscription the front pastedown, "Dißere Alt Italienische Bibel ist mihr von H. M. Jacob Orell pfarer zu Alsteten a(nn)o 1683. verEhrt worden der solche von H. Großvater Daniel Orell zum Stelze Ererbt hatte" ("This old Italian Bible was given as a gift to me by Herr Magister Jacob Orell, priest at Altstetten [now a suburb of Zurich], AD 1683, who had inherited it from Herr grandfather Daniel Orell, residing at the Stelz" [one of the Orelli family residences in central Zurich]). see Aloys von Orelli, *Geschichte der Familie von Orelli* (Zurich: Orell, Füßli & Co., 1855), pp. 24-25. Based on the reference to Daniel as grandfather and the note "Ex libris Danielis Orelli de Gemsbergh 1683" (a2r), the annotator was probably Amtmann (=bailiff) Daniel Orelli (1653-1726), son of Hans Georg Orelli, see Ludwig Gerster, *Die schweizerischen Bibliothekzeichen* (Bern, 1898), no. 1704.

Small rectangular printed ex-libris of Joseph Bucher (1786-1845) "Joseph Bucher von der Wacht bey Buttisholz", a small hamlet in the Swiss Canton of Lucerne (on front pastedown). See Joseph Bölsterli, 'Die Pfarrgeschichte Notwyl', *Der Geschichtsfreund: Mitteilungen des Historischen Vereins Zentralschweiz*, vol. 20 (1864), 1-60 (36).

Soon after Bucher's death, the book was owned by Swiss pastor Albert Secretan (1804-1882): ms. ex-libris 'A Secretan Lausanne 1846' (a2r; a5r. Misread as "Secretar" in the printed library catalogue).

Brought back to Italy by Piero Guicciardini: library stamp, 'Libreria Religiosa Guicciardini' (Y8v).

Sources: digital reproduction via <digitale.beic.it>; Landi no. 7; Scapecchi BNCF 517. With thanks to Prof. Henrike Lähnemann for lending her palaeographic expertise.

[110.] London, British Library, IB.21900, MEI 02150648

Leaf size: 300x205mm.

Binding: brown marbled leather over pasteboard, with thin double gilt fillet frame and gilt armorial supralibros of the Condé. Double gilt fillet along board edges. Spine decorated with gilt floral tools, and title in gilt on a brown leather spine label (incorrectly dated “VENETIIS 1483”). Marbled endpapers. Speckled edges. 306x218x65mm.

Decoration: rare brown pen initials in Genesis only.

Manuscript notes: foliation in Roman numerals.

Provenance:

Owned by Louis-Joseph, 8th (and penultimate) Prince de Condé (1736-1818), whose books were kept at the château in Vanves (today the site of Lycée Michelet): armorial supralibros on the binding, identified in a later English pencil note within the copy. Louis-Joseph was one of the first émigrés of the French Revolution, and his property was confiscated; the Bible is no. 95 in a list of books which the prince (unsuccessfully) wanted hidden away in December 1790: Delisle, *Chantilly: Le cabinet des livres imprimés* pp. LXXIII-LXXVI.

The book carries the stamp of the Prytanée national de Saint-Cyr, founded in 1802 (cf.: ‘Cachets de la Bibliothèque’, <<https://www.bibliotheque-du-prytanee.fr/galleries/cachets-de-la-bibliotheque/prytanee-francais-de-saint-cyr.jpg.html>>). In 1808, part of the library collections at Saint-Cyr were transferred to the newly founded Prytanée national in La Flèche (whose library owns other books with the Condé supralibros).

Later owned by Augustus Frederick, Duke of Sussex (1773-1843); his armorial ex-libris with the manuscript shelfmark “E.f.3” (front inside pastedown). Listed in *Bibliotheca Sussexiana*, vol. 2 (1839), Italian Versions, no. 3 (p. 192). Auctioned in London by Messrs. Evans in the Bibliotheca Sussexiana sale (Day 8, Tuesday, 9 July 1844), lot 1879.

Recorded in BMC as purchased by the British Museum in November 1844.

Sources: book in hand; BMC V 276; information about the Condé and Prytanée collections provided by Sylvie Tisserand (Prytanée national militaire, La Flèche).

[111.] Milan, Biblioteca dell’archivio storico diocesano, Inc. 106, MEI 02016259

Wanting ff. a1 (blank) and Y8. Has undergone repair. Leaf size: 306x214mm.

Binding: rebound in half parchment at the Vatican Library’s *Laboratorio di restauro* in 1940.

Decoration: pen initials (a2r only).

Manuscript notes: rare reading marks and pen trials. Foliation.

Provenance:

Possibly acquired by the Diocese during the late sixteenth century.

Sources: MEI entry (unsigned).

[112.] Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, Inc. 380, MEI 02132854

Wanting fol. a1. Leaf size 304x210mm.

Binding: 17th-century brown sheepskin. Gilt-tooling on spine: title, 'Bibliothèque Mazarine', floral tools. Upper textblock edge coloured brown, outer and lower edges sprinkled red. Dimensions: 319×227×64mm

Decoration: single pen initial "[N]" at the beginning of Genesis (a5r).

Manuscript notes: imprint information in colophon underlined in brown ink previous shelfmarks in dark ink (a1r); modern foliation in pencil in top right corner of each recto.

Provenance:

Owned by Antonio Piccolomini, Duke of Amalfi (1437-1493): inscribed "duca de amerfe" (Y8v; for identification see MEI entry by Lévecque-Stankiewicz). His books were among those seized from local nobility following the 1487 conspiracy of Antonello Petrucci, in which Piccolomini was involved.

Among the books taken to France by the French troops in 1495. Until 1668 at the Bibliothèque Royale, after which it was part of an exchange with the Bibliothèque Mazarine.

Sources: MEI entry by Florine Lévecque-Stankiewicz (Bibliothèque Mazarine); digital reproduction: <<http://mazarinum.bibliotheque-mazarine.fr/idurl/1/1760>>; Paris Bibles 640.

[113.] Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

Copy 1, Inc.II.871, MEI 02127243

Blank leaf l6 preserved (with watermark traced in brown ink by an early reader).

Binding: modern rebinding of half parchment binding on blue-grey paper covered paper boards.

Decoration: large Lombard capital in red and blue (a5r). Alternating red and blue Lombards throughout.

Manuscript notes: mottos ("Mal fruto colie chi al ingrato serve"), personal notes and doodles (early front flyleaf). Occasional pen trials (e.g. x5v, x7v). Capitals of some chapters marked with brown ink as if to indicate chapters read (e.g. in

Ecclesiasticus and Isaiah, quires A-B). Underlining of passage on divorce in Matthew 19 (N1v).

Provenance:

16/17th-century inscription: “Jo. Baptist(a)e Harrigoni” (early front flyleaf, recto). The owner was likely from Lombardy where the surname is fairly common: Rossi lists the Arigoni among the nobility of Naples in his *Teatro della nobiltà d’Italia* (p. 63); a Giovanni Battista Arigoni was murdered in Borgomanero (Province of Novara) in 1556 or 1557 (as recorded in archival documents at the Fondazione Marazza in Borgomanero, see Barbara Gattone, Fondo archivistico Carlo Antonio Molli: Inventario. Fondazione Marazza, 2016, AMB 277 no. 6); another Giovanni Battista Origoni, fl. 1666, was a craftsman employed in the Fabbrica del Duomo di Milano (Annalisa Albuzzi, *Per compire l’apparato che suole farsi ogn’anno nel Duomo di Milano. I più tardi teleri sulla vita di san Carlo: dal progetto alla realizzazione* Perugia: Pliniana, 2009, pp. 31-32).

Part of the 1936 donation from the Milanese Curia (with year and imprint location on a2r, and the printed *ex-dono* label).

Sources: digital reproduction <<http://digi.vatlib.it/view/Inc.II.871>>; online catalogue; Orlandi 4a.

[114.] Copy 2, Inc.II.900, MEI 02127248

Wanting ff. a1.10, quire Y8.

Binding: 20th-century half parchment rebinding. Small, lined paper fragment attached to first front flyleaf with writing in red, “N12 | 1484 | (N3) | (incompleto)”, likely from the Archivio di Stato in Milan.

Decoration: pen initials in brown ink (a7v-a8r only).

Manuscript notes: except isolated early reading marks in Genesis (ff. a7r-v), the only evidence of use, marks such as ink smudges, drips of wax not deliberately left in the book, are concentrated especially in the Book of Psalms. In Luke (ff. O4-5) rust-like marks left behind by a narrow object used as a bookmark.

Provenance:

Manuscript inquisitorial permit for an unnamed owner, signed by Ludovico di Landriano, OP, in Milan: “vidit f(rate)r ludo(vicu)s de landr(ia)no or(din)is pr(aedicatorum) vicari(us) r(everen)di p(atri) Inq(ui)sitoris totius stat(us) m(edio)l(an)i. Et concessit” (a2r, lower margin). Not Ludovico Taverna (1566-1618), son of the count of Landriano, who was not a member of the Dominican Order. A Dominican named Ludovicus de Landriano is attested in 1507, associated with the convent in Bologna (assigned as the teacher for third year students, p. 70; still in Bologna in 1508, 1513 and 1517, cf. *Acta Capitulum Generalium Ordinis Praedicatorum Vol. IV. Ab anno 1501 usque ad annum 1553*. The name does not appear in vols III (1380-1498) or V (1558-1600)).

Eventually the book was taken over by the local religious authorities, in whose stores it remained until the 1936 donation. With the printed *ex-dono* label.

Sources: book in hand; online catalogue; Orlandi 4b.

[115.] Venice, Fondazione Cini, FOAN D 1484 01, MEI 02145883

Wanting fol. I6 (blank) and O8. Leaf size: 302x200mm.

Binding: 19th-century brown half leather with brown paper over paper boards. A stylised monogram in brown ink, with the initials of Ricardus Manerius (see below), joined by a hill surmounted by a cross, along the centre of the outer textblock edge. Decoration: rare pen initials by a later reader. Brown ink doodle of a face in profile (front flyleaf).

Manuscript notes: foliation in Roman numerals by an early reader. Marginal epistolary pen trial in Italian (97v, by Song of Songs, trimmed). Roman transliterations of Hebrew names of biblical books added by Manerius alongside the printed running titles.

Provenance:

Ricardus Manerius (Riccardo Manerio) from Padua: owner's signature in a 17th-century hand, "Ricardus Manerius Patavinus" (X5v).

Alessandro Dudan (1883-1957), senator from Spalato (today Split, Croatia). Albertina Vittoria, "Dudan, Alessandro" in DBI, Vol. 41 (1992). His interest in the volume probably lay in the printer's origins: Paltasichi was the first Slavonic printer in Venice. Purple oval stamp "LIBRERIA SENATORE DUDAN SPALATO" (front pastedown); "A.V.", possibly a former shelfmark, in red crayon. For a description of his collection, and its donation to the Fondazione Cini, see Carlo Cetto Cipriani, *I libri di Alessandro Dudan presso la Fondazione Cini di Venezia* (Rome: Il Calamo, 2004).

Sources: book in hand; information provided by Matteo Giro (Fondazione Cini); Rhodes Cini B51.

[116.] Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ink.23.D.6, MEI 02107196

Wanting blank fol. I6.

Binding: blind-tooled brown leather over wooden boards. Date (1572) and motto ("DIE. WARHEIT. IST. VNDETLICH. EBIG") tooled on the central binding panel. Remains of two clasps. Bound by Isaak Dreller in Moravia. White paint later added over the spine, with the title and shelfmark 'A 31' written in dark ink.

Decoration: blue Lombardic initial 'N' with decorative penwork in red and blue (a5r). Red and blue Lombards throughout.

Manuscript notes: rare marginalia by several different early annotators (k5v, t2r, u3v, A5r, M5v, X5v); manicules (t2r, M1v). Early foliation.

Provenance:

Acquired in the mid-16th century by Andrea Lorengo de Lorengi (?-1584). Taken north to the more religiously accepting Moravia in 1556. Handwritten note: 'Andrea Lorengo de Lorengi nato in padoa', and above, in the same hand: "Anno domini 1556 fui gionto in Morabia" (first front flyleaf recto). In his review of the collection's printed incunabula catalogue ('Incunabolistica internazionale', *La Bibliofilia*, 108 (2006), 221-223), Edoardo Barbieri suggests a different reading of the name as Lorenzo de Lorenzi (a surname which appears in Padua graduate lists: Antonio di Giovanni Lorenzo dei Lorenzi da Padova (1416 *Arti* graduate) and Jacopo di Lorenzo dei Lorenzi da Padova (1413 Law graduate, see BO2022)), the Hutterite Chronicles consistently use the spelling Lorengo. See also Chapter 4, pp.106-107.

Still with the Anabaptists in the seventeenth century (see Binding).

Later owned by the Capuchin monastery in Nikolsburg (today's Mikulov), founded in 1611: inscription "Loci Capucinatorum Nicolspurgensium", accompanied by bibliographic information in the same hand (fols V1a, V1b, 2a). Historic shelfmarks: "A 34" in manuscript on front pastedown, "A 31" on spine.

At the Hofbibliothek following the monastery's dissolution in 1784.

Sources: MEI entry with data imported from online catalogue; digital reproduction <<http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC07063238>>; ÖNB-Ink B-419.

[117.] Zagreb, Nacionalna i sveučilišna knjižnica u Zagrebu, RI-40-16, MEI 02150812

Wanting fol. a1 (blank?); blank fol. l6 preserved. Not in GW, notified April 2024.

Binding: disbound copy, the original covers apparently now lost.

Marginal notes: other than a few brown ink marks within the space surrounding printed guide letters, presumably in chapters of interest to the annotator (ff. G3r, H1v, M2v, Q5, U5v), the only marginalia, in the form of brief summaries, are found in the Letter of Aristeia (z8r-z8v).

Provenance:

The book does not contain any identifiable marks of provenance; likely lost with the book's cover. The National Library's nucleus came from Zagreb's Jesuit college; however, the copy lacks an inscription found in copies with this provenance, and other acquisitions have since expanded the library's holdings.

Sources: digital reproduction <<https://digitalna.nsk.hr/?pr=iiif.v.a&id=10582>>; online catalogue.

Venice: Johannes Rubeus Vercellensis, for Tommaso Trevisano, 1487

Barbieri 10, GW 04316, ISTC ib00643000

Folio, in one volume: 452 leaves (a⁸b-rfs-z&A¹⁰B¹²C-K¹⁰L²⁰M-S¹⁰TV⁶)

[118.] Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, Pal. E.6.1.1, MEI 02127245

Binding: later parchment binding, with gilt-tooled spine. Edges sprinkled red and blue.

Decoration: large Lombardic initials with decorative floral penwork in blue (a2r) or blue, red and green (a6r) extending along the inner margin. Alternating red and blue Lombardic initials throughout.

Manuscript notes: isolated manicule (r1r).

Provenance:

Part of the Fondo Palatino (see no. 3). Historic shelfmark in a pink ink: "B.1 6. 1. 1," (front pastedown). Printed note stored with the copy indicating it was part of the October-November 1991 exhibition on printed Bibles at the Biblioteca Laurenziana.

Sources: book in hand; Scapecchi BNCf 518.

[119.] Göttweig, Benediktinerstift, Ink. 381, MEI 02148676

Binding: 18th-century limp vellum, edges uncoloured.

Decoration: simple pen initials in black ink.

Provenance:

Purchased by the Benedictine monastery in Göttweig, probably in the 18th century. Previous provenance uncertain.

Sources: information provided by Bernhard Rameder.

[120.] London, British Library, IB.23124, MEI 02151180

Quire s made up in 1937 (BMC). Outermost leaves repaired, with some loss of text; many outer margins repaired. Leaf size: 285x186mm.

Binding: blind-tooled brown leather pastiche binding. Small leather shelfmark spine label. Stamped "RECOVERED 1937" (back pastedown). 298x212x80mm.

Decoration: leaves in quire s brought in from another copy, rubricated with Lombards and pilcrows in red and blue, with brown ink manuscript guide letters.

Manuscript notes: occasional reading marks. Faded corrections of printed running titles: 'Gio...' (N9r) and 'Joanne' (N10r).

Provenance:

Purchased for the British Museum in January 1886: stamped “BRITISH MUSEUM 11 JA 86” (final leaf verso).

Sources: book in hand; BMC V 416.

[121.] Lucca, Biblioteca statale, Inc. 152, MEI 02149781

Leaf size 311x211mm.

Binding: parchment, with floral frame and cornerpieces in gilt; textblock edges sprinkled red (17th-century Italy). 317x228x93mm.

Decoration: rare pen initials by an early reader. Later (18th/19th century) decorative initial, built up of pink roses among green foliage, in front of a rural landscape (a2r).

Manuscript notes: numerous cross-references, many of them between specific chapters of the Old Testament and New Testament, (faded, possibly washed). Penitential Psalm Latin incipits. Other marginal notes provide brief summaries and show a particular interest in messianic prophecies (which are also marked in the printed table of contents). Early foliation in Roman numerals.

Provenance:

First free endleaf ripped out, possibly containing earlier provenance evidence. Round stamps of the Biblioteca governativa and Biblioteca pubblica, both previous names of the Biblioteca statale. The exact provenance is uncertain; many books arrived at the library in 1866 from suppressed local religious institutions.

Sources: book in hand; Marco Paoli, *Le edizioni del quattrocento in una raccolta toscana. Gli incunaboli della Biblioteca Statale di Lucca. Catalogo descrittivo* (Lucca: Maria Pacini Fazzi Editore, 1990), vol. 1, no. 147.

[122.] Madrid, Biblioteca nacional, I-1161, MEI 02127296

Binding: dark brown leather with two sets of concentric blind-tooled frames on the boards, incorporating knotwork decoration in gilt. Remains of two clasps. Edges gilt and gaufered in a knotwork pattern similar to the gilt board decoration. Executed in the *mudejar* style, late 15th-century Spain (*Encuadernaciones Españolas*). Spine repair in a matching dark leather.

Manuscript notes: early marginalia by two unidentified Spanish readers (see Chapter 5, p. 131). Mistakes in printed running titles corrected by an early reader.

Provenance:

In Spain soon after 1487, as shown by the early binding and marginalia.

Dated acquisition note: “esta Bliuia es del Duque del Ynfantado mi Señor. Datis xxj Januarij. 1552” (back flyleaf verso). During this time, the title was held by Íñigo López de Mendoza (1493-1566). With an unsigned reading permit for the duke:

“esta Biblia es del Duque del Infantado y tienela con licencia del s(an)to oficio dela Inquisicion” (front flyleaf).

Until 1886 in Guadalajara, part of the library of the Duques de Infantado y Osuna: early shelfmark, “ijj.A.5.” The library was purchased by the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid in 1886, to avoid its dispersal. Previous shelfmark: I-1002.

Sources: images provided by Elena Fogolin; Julián Martín Abad. Catálogo bibliográfico de la colección de incunables de la Biblioteca Nacional de España. Madrid, 2010. B-140; Isabel Ruiz de Elvira Serra, Carmen Crespo Tobarra and María Cristina Guillén Bermejo. *Encuadernaciones españolas en la Biblioteca Nacional* (Madrid, 1992), no. 19 (pp. 51-52, with full-colour reproduction of the binding); *Biblioteca Nacional de España: 300 años haciendo historia. Exposición: Biblioteca Nacional, del 14 de diciembre de 2011 al 15 abril de 2012* (Madrid: BNE, 2011), p. 311.

[123.] Milan, Biblioteca dell’archivio storico diocesano, A 110, MEI: 02016343

Binding: rebound in half parchment over paper boards (1940, Laboratorio di Restauro of the Vatican Library). 320x240x77mm.

Decoration: some pen initials in brown ink.

Provenance:

Likely acquired in or after the second half of the sixteenth century.

Sources: MEI entry (unsigned); Maria Giovanna Cozzi, ‘*Per un catalogo degli incunaboli e delle cinquecentine della biblioteca dell’Archivio storico diocesano di Milano.*’ (unpublished undergraduate thesis, Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore di Brescia, 2001/2002), p. 21 (n. 3).

[124.] Paris, BNF, Rés. A 358, MEI 02150811

Complete, including blank leaves. Small communion fragment preserved between ff. x4-x5. Leaf size: 308x209mm.

Binding: blind-tooled brown leather over wooden boards (7mm thick, inside bevelled edges). Lion’s head binder’s tools used suggest it was executed in Florence (cf. Anthony Hobson, *Humanists and bookbinders: the origins and diffusion of the humanistic bookbinding 1459-1559 with a census of historiated plaque and medallion bindings of the Renaissance*. Cambridge University Press, 1989, pp. 62-63). Remains of two clasps on lower board, evidence of centre- and cornerpieces on both boards, and rectangular catchplates on upper board. Retains early sewn lower endband. Upper textblock edge coloured brown, outer and lower edges a faint reddish-brown. Parchment front and back endpapers (hair side glued to the boards). 321x213x83mm.

Decoration: doodles in red crayon and brown ink on the parchment pastedowns (including a bird's head wearing a hat, human faces). Rare pen initials (D3v-D5r). Manuscript notes: Latin incipits of two Penitential Psalms (37, 50), and Psalm 40 provided in a cursive *mercantesca* script by Simone (see below). Rare manicules. Some line- or cross-shaped scratches in relief in margins and spaces for capital letters seem to serve as reading marks (mostly in the first third of the volume).

Provenance:

Purchased in 1502 by the Florentine Simone di Francesco Ambruogi (1476-?) at the Palazzo del Podestà, today's Bargello. The bookseller seems to be the Bernardo mentioned in the Ripoli Press diary: "+ (Yesus) MDII Q(u)esto lib(r)o (èt) di Simone di Franc(esc)o Amb(r)uogi, chonp(er)atolo da B(er)nardino chartolaio al palagio del podestà, leghato (et) usato, p(er) f(iorino) uno l(arg)o d'oro i(n) oro, a llalde (et) ghrolia [i.e. laude e gloria] dell'onipotente Iddio." (a1r). Simone adheres to the recently introduced terminology for the florin, "fiorino largo d'oro in oro" (cf. Edoardo Martinori, *La moneta: vocabolario generale* (Rome: Istituto Italiano di Numismatica, 1915), p. 166). Simone was born 28 October 1476, in the Unicorn gonfalone in the *quartiere* of Santa Maria Novella (*Online Tratte* record 418201). His name was drawn in some local elections: 27.02.1492, from the minor guilds purse for the office of *priore* (*Online Tratte* record 103715); 28.08.1494, for the position of the Gonfaloniere di Compagnia (*Online Tratte* record 103716). His father, Francesco di Santi Ambruogi, was a *pezzarius*, or *pezzaio*, a leather cutter specialising in making shoe soles (*Online Tratte* record 117485; definition from *Il Nuovo De Mauro*).

Date of acquisition by the BNF uncertain; the earliest BNF stamp is that of the Bibliothèque Imperiale.

Sources: Paris Bibles 641; with thanks to Prof. Irene Ceccherini for her palaeographic expertise and Prof. Cristina Dondi for identification of the stationer.

[125.] Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, Inc 49, MEI 02127300

Binding: 18th-century(?) red gilt-tooled Morocco. Spine with floral stamps and title "BIBLIA DEL MALERMI" in gilt. Marbled endpapers. Has undergone repair (back pastedown stamped "SANTIN OTTAVIA RESTAURO DEL LIBRO 10 LUG 1971").

Decoration: miniature of St Jerome in cardinal's robes: architectural border with five putti, two of them flanking a shield with overpainted coat of arms, inscribed "IHS" (a2r). First page of Genesis decorated with another architectural border and miniature depicting the creation of Eve (a5r). White vine-stem initials in gold-leaf with partial borders at the start of each book, with particular attention paid to the start of Psalms, Matthew, John, and the Pauline Epistles. Lombardic capitals accompanied by intricate filigree in red or purple ink throughout.

Provenance:

Sixteenth/seventeenth-century inscription “Giulii Vetterani” (a1v). Two notable individuals with this name from Urbino are possible matches: one, was secretary to Duke of Urbino Francesco Maria II della Rovere (floruit ca. 1560-), the other, a member of the Accademia degli Assorditi in Urbino (1602-1649). See Carlotta Paltrinieri, ‘«Se sotto questa voce di disegno si comprendino le stampe»: gli accademici del Disegno di Firenze e la disputa sollevata da un «nobile urbinato»’, in *Storia di Critica d’Arte* (2019) 65-72 (67-68).

Circumstances of acquisition uncertain. Historic Biblioteca Angelica shelfmarks: “13 20/C” (spine and inside pastedown); “2169” (front flyleaf).

Sources: digital reproduction via <<https://digitale.beic.it>>.

[126.] Treviso, Biblioteca comunale, Shelfmark: III 098.00G.13834, MEI 02151146

Wanting ff. a1, p9, p10. Leaf size: 275x190mm.

Binding: quarter marbled leather over brown and yellow decorative paper, with 284x210x73mm

Decoration: later (16/17th-century?) decorative gothic pen initials. A few simpler pen initials.

Manuscript notes: correction of misprinted signatures (c3r, d4r). Rare extraction of keywords (place names) in Apocalypse by an early Italian reader.

Provenance:

The copy made its way to Carpenedo, from where it was gifted to a *monsignor*, perhaps a bishop or protonotary, by a local parish priest: “Permetterà monsignore, che il vecchio Par.[roco] di Carpenedo [the parish probably being the Chiesa dei Santi Gervasio e Protasio] offrir le possa la Scrittura Sacra tradotta dal Sig.r abate D. Niccolo de Malermi” accompanied by the date “6. Agosto 1812” (back pastedown).

Sources: information and images provided by Geri Della Rocca de Candal; online catalogue.

[127.] Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

Copy 1, Inc.II.872, MEI 02151191

Wanting bifolium a4.5.

Binding: modern half parchment rebinding.

Decoration: blue Lombard with contrasting red penwork (a2r). Simpler Lombards and occasional pilcrows in red and blue throughout.

Manuscript notes: early manuscript foliation in Arabic numerals throughout, with the leaf numbers added in the printed table of contents (T1r-T6v); occasional brown ink stains. Rare corrections of misprinted chapter numbers (M8r).

Provenance:

In Milan by the sixteenth/seventeenth century: Giacomo Antonio Tassani's ownership inscription in brown ink: 'D(omi)ni Iacobi Antonij Tassani' (a1r), possibly identifiable with one of the speakers at the inaugural meeting of the Milanese Accademia degli Inquieti on 10 June 1594 (Morigia, vol. 1, pp. 181-182).

Part of the 1936 donation from the Milanese Curia: with the printed *ex-dono* label.

Sources: digital reproduction <<http://digi.vatlib.it/view/Inc.II.872>>; online catalogue; Orlandi 5a.

[128.] Copy 2, Inc.II.901, MEI 02151192

Opening quire margins damaged with some text loss.

Binding: modern half parchment rebinding.

Provenance:

Manuscript note, "Di S. Maria della Nuntiata" (V6v), likely indicating provenance from to the Casa di Santa Maria Annunciata, augustinian canonesses regular, CRSA, in Milan (<<https://www.lombardiabeniculturali.it/archivi/soggetti-produttori/ente/MIDB000384/>>).

Part of the 1936 donation from the Milanese Curia.

Sources: book in hand; online catalogue; Orlandi 5b.

[129.] Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, Inc. V. 276, MEI 02121952

Wanting ff. a1-a4, parts of ff. a5, V5 and V7. Leaf size: 308x205mm.

Binding: 17th-century parchment over paper boards; manuscript title to head of spine: "Bibia Sacra del Malermi 1487". Textblock edges sprinkled red.

Decoration: frontispiece, coeval with the rebinding, in the style of a printed page of the period, executed in black and red ink. Epigraphic pen initials by the same hand. Manuscript notes: isolated Latin note, trimmed (B11v). A few early manicules (Matthew) and pen trials. Missing text of fol. a2r-v supplied in a script imitating the printed text (coeval with the rebinding; with the added title "Nouamente dalla Hebraica verità tradotto in lingua Toscana" (a2r), recalling the wording used on some sixteenth-century frontispieces). Pagination written in the margins probably indicates another Bible edition the owner also used ("P.1" up to "P.57"). Minuzzi (MEI entry) suggests the volume's multiple asterisks are added by this later annotator.

Provenance:

Owned by Venetian poet Apostolo Zeno (1668-1750): with a small diamond-shaped symbol surrounded by four dots typically found in books from his collection (a1r).

After his death, Zeno's collection went to the Dominicans of Santa Maria del Rosario, the *Zattere*, in Venice: printed rectangular ex-libris "COLLEGII SS. ROSARII" and part of an earlier shelfmark visible under the Marciana shelfmark label (front pastedown). Mentioned in 1774 in Paitoni, vol. V, p. 17.

Following the forced secularisation of the convent, its books were moved to the Biblioteca Marciana in 1828.

Sources: MEI entry by Sabrina Minuzzi; book in hand.

[130.] Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ink.II.F.22, MEI 02107192

Wanting blank a1. Fol. a5 misbound before a2. Leaf size: 270x192mm.

Binding: brown speckled leather baroque binding, gilt-tooled, edges gilt; with marbled endpapers (Italy, 18th century).

Decoration: first leaf of Genesis with a badly damaged watercolour historiated initial 'N' in gold-leaf behind a sitting Jerome in red cardinal's garb, with a partial floral border in colours and gold-leaf, by the Master of the Rimini Ovid (Armstrong, 'The Hand Illumination of Venetian Bibles', p. 234, footnote 55). Wanting part of the lower margin which perhaps contained an early owner's coat of arms. On a2r, decorated initial in blue, red and green with partial floral border. Epigraphic initials in red and blue; chapter numbers and running titles touched with yellow; table of contents decorated with red, blue and green column ornament; red, blue or green pilcrows.

Manuscript notes: occasional corrections of printer's and rubricator's errors (absent chapter numbers (u7-8), running titles (N9, N10, P1); incorrect capitals (u10r, x1r, x3r)). Rare underlining (in Genesis), manicules, and short reading marks scattered throughout.

Provenance:

Decorated for an unknown owner in the Veneto soon after being printed, the volume was still in Italy in the 18th century (see binding description).

At the ÖNB since before 1918. With the purple stamp of the Hofbibliothek (front flyleaf).

Sources: MEI entry with data imported from online catalogue; digital reproduction: <<http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC07058308>>; ÖNB-Ink B-420.

[131.] Washington D.C., Library of Congress, Incun. 1487. B5 Vollbehr Coll, MEI 02146866

Wanting blank first leaf. Leaf size: 287x203mm.

Binding: 17/18th-century parchment over paper boards, with a thin gilt floral frame on both boards. Spine gilt with brown leather labels in the second and sixth spine compartments containing edition details: "BIBLIA SACRA VOLGARE" and "VENETIÆ 1487".

Decoration: pen initials in the first few leaves of the volume executed in a corrosive ink that has resulted in damage to the paper.

Manuscript notes: some early notes obscured by the rebinding (final leaf inside margin).

Provenance:

Inscription records the purchase of the Bible by an Alessandro di Piero Bencivenni from Michele di Francesco d'Astia ("Questa bibia è dalessandro di p(ie)ro bencivenni chonperata da michele di francescho dastia" (a1r)). Alessandro is listed among the members of the Order of St Stephen in 1585 (Giorgio Vivano Marchesi, *La galeria dell'onore ove sono descritte le segnalate memorie del sagr'Ordine di s. Stefano*, Forlì, Fratelli Marozzi, MDCCXXXV, vol. 1, p. 359).

Owned by the bibliophile cardinal Giuseppe Renato Imperiali (1651-1737). Listed as "Biblia volgare di Niccolò Malermi in fogl." in the 1711 catalogue of his library (Giusto Fontanini. *Bibliothecæ Josephi Renati Imperialis Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae diaconi cardinalis Sancti Georgii catalogus...* Romae, ex officina typographica Francisci Gonzagæ in via Lata, 1711, p. 584); not listed in the first 1793 sale catalogue (Catalogo della Libreria della Ch. Mem. del Cardinal Giuseppe Renato Imperiali... Parte prima. Roma, nella Stamperia Salomoni, M.DCC.XC.III); two stamps lettered "Ex Bibl. los. Ren. Card. Imperialis" (a2r, outer margin).

Identifiable in sale catalogues thanks to the corroded initials. England by the late 19th century, the copy matches the 1487 copy in Sotheby's Henry White Esq. (1822-1900) sale, February 1902, and again in December 1905: "paper of a few ll. discoloured, and several initials filled in with corrosive ink, making the text in a few instances imperfect"; "vellum, gilt back, g. e." Sotheby's, London, *Catalogue of the Valuable and Extensive Library of Printed Books and Illuminated & other important Manuscripts of the late Henry White, Esq, ... Monday 21st April - Friday 2nd May 1902*. First Day, lot 190.

Owned by White by 1877 when he loaned the copy for the Caxton Exhibition in London's Kensington Gardens (Henry Stevens, *The Bibles in the Caxton Exhibition MDCCCLXVII* (London; New York, 1878), no. 688; White's unlocated 1477 Miscomini edition copy at no. 649).

With Sotheby's again in 1905, where, according to an annotated copy of the 6 December 1905 Sotheby's sale catalogue (British Library), the book was purchased by "Napier"; the surname might refer to an agent present at the sale, or possibly Colonel Alexander Napier (1851-1928) who owned other fifteenth-century printed books. Sotheby's, London. *Catalogue of Valuable Rare and Interesting Books... which will be sold by auction by Messrs. Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge... on Wednesday, 6th of December, 1905, and Three following Days...* First Day, lot 188.

The copy also seems to have passed through Voynich's hands twice in these years: first in his *Short Catalogue No. 6* (1902?), no. 58, at a price of £20 12s., and later in *No. 26. An Illustrated Catalogue of Early Printed Books, many with Woodcuts... Part I. Germany. Italy (Rome & Venice)* (1907?), no. 237, listed for £25.

In Frankfurt am Main in 1910, listed at a price of 250 Marks in Joseph Baer & Co. catalogue 585 (consistent with the faintly visible erased pencil note “M 250” on the front pastedown). Joseph Baer & Co, Frankfurt am Main. *Lagerkatalog 585: Incunabula xylographica et typographica: 1455-1500* (1910), no. 433.

By the 1920s, owned by German industrialist-turned-bookseller Otto Vollbehr (1869-1946), who was amassing a collection to sell abroad: Vollbehr number "0277" in red crayon (front flyleaf recto). Pencil notes on upper pastedown likely erased by Vollbehr (including “M 250”, a record of the price listed by Baer). Vollbehr is likely also responsible for the (incomplete) removal of a printed shelfmark label with a serrated edge in the first spine compartment, and the front free endpaper being glued to the pastedown, obscuring earlier provenance.

Part of the \$1.5million purchase of 3000 incunabula by the Library of Congress from Vollbehr in 1930 allowed for by an act of Congress. Included in the celebratory exhibition: Exhibit of Books Printed during the XVth Century and known as Incunabula. Selected from the Vollbehr Collection purchased by Act of Congress 1930. List of Books. (Washington D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1930), p. 2.

Sources: book in hand; information provided by Eric Frazier (Library of Congress).

[132.] Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Bibel.S.4.110, MEI 02151111

Wanting blank first leaf. Leaf size: 298x198mm.

Binding: stiff cardboard with thin parchment over spine. Small brown leather spine label with title and floral ornaments in gilt. Upper textblock edge coloured brown. Plain endpapers with watermark of a postal horn within an asymmetric escutcheon typical of German heraldry; 303x207x77mm.

Decoration: epigraphic initials supplied sporadically in pencil.

Marginal notes: the same hand that supplies the pencil initials also notes down numbers from the text in the opening leaves of Genesis (a5r-a8r), as well as occasional marginal notes in pencil, in a hand consistent with the Italian owner described below.

Provenance:

Already in Germany in the early 17th century, when an unidentified Italian owner living in or near Dresden notes down the details of christenings where the owner acted as godfather, providing date, father's and child's name: “A di 10 de xcembre Ano 1604 so stato p(er) Compare a Mg: Martin Briger Sartor [...] A di 9 de Augusto Ano 1607 in Dresten son stato p(er) Compare dal Mag(nifi)co Christian Bergen Stampator de libri et habe Batizato La mia Santala. Anna Maria. Idio lo fatza Chresser bene”. Anna Maria's father, Christian Bergen, was one of three sons of the Lubeck-born printer Gimel Bergen (1543-1597?) (Rudolf Schmidt: *Deutsche Buchhändler. Deutsche Buchdrucker. Band 4. Berlin/Eberswalde, 1907, pp. 666-670*)

Later owned by the German scholar Johann Ludolph Bünemann (1687-1759). Listed at a price of 60 thaler by Bünemann, who promises a third off the price if anyone can

show him another copy of the edition (cited by David Clement, *Bibliothèque Curieuse Historique et Critique, ou Catalogue Raisonné de Livres Difficiles a Trouver* (Hannover: Guillaume Schmid, 1753), vol. 4, pp. 51-52). Ironically, among the catalogues searched in vain for the edition is that of cardinal Imperiali, who owned the copy described immediately above.

Elisabetha Sophie Maria (1683-1767), Duchess of Braunschweig and Lüneburg. Her large Bible collection, held in the “Grauer Hof” castle in Braunschweig, would go on to increase the biblical holdings in Wolfenbüttel following her bequest: armorial ex-libris lettered “ELISABETHA SOPHIA MARIA VERWITWETE HERZOGINN ZU BR. U. LUN”; shelfmark on the spine; *Bibliotheca Biblica* (Braunschweig: 1752), fol. Y1v. Stephan Bialas-Pophanken’s article suggests the *Herzogin* may have acquired the book before the posthumous Bünemann sale (‘Die *Bibliotheca Biblica* de Herzogin Elisabeth Sophie Marie’, in *Bibliotheksdiens*t 57(3-4) (2023), 192-223)

Sources: book in hand; online catalogue, *Incunabula Guelferbytana* 502.

Venice: Giovanni Ragazzo, for Lucantonio Giunta, 1490

Barbieri 11, GW 043171, ISTC ib00644000, TEXT-inc tib00644000

Folio, in two parts

Part I: 216 leaves (a-x⁸y¹⁰aa-dd⁸ee⁶), 212 woodcuts

Part II: 214 leaves (AA-PPA-L⁸M⁶), 175 woodcuts

[133.] Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, bound with Sign. 2536-1; 2536-2, MEI 02149210

Leaves y4.5 only (according to Barbieri, ff. y3-y6 (*Le Bibbie*, no. 11)). Bound with the library’s copy of the 1492 edition. Early marginal notes on y4.5 match those of adjacent leaves, indicating they have been bound in at an early date. Leaf size: 302x208mm. Not in ISTC or GW, notified April-May 2024.

For the fragment’s provenance, see entry **155** below.

[134.] Cambridge, MS, Harvard College Houghton Library, Typ Inc 5349, MEI 02148566

Wanting ff. a1-8, b2-8, aa4-5, AA7, MM6. Quires GG, F-L taken from another copy (smaller leaf size, 320x200mm, re-margined). According to Dyson Perrins catalogue, some leaves supplied in facsimile (a1, MM6). Leaf size: 322x219 mm.

Binding: early 20th-century maroon levant Morocco binding, with some simple decoration of the board edges and turn-ins. Binder's monogram "WHS" (W. H. Smith) stamped in gilt (lower board turn-in). Seven decorative raised bands on spine, with title in gilt in the second, third and last compartment: "BIBLIA ITALICA NICOLA DE MALERMI FIRST EDITION VENICE 1490". Edges partly coloured red, from earlier binding. The 1914 catalogue does not describe the copy's binding, so its precise dating is uncertain.

Manuscript notes: woodcut censorship (c5r, h1r).

Provenance:

Until 1946, part of the collection of the English businessman and bibliophile Charles William Dyson Perrins (1864-1958): "Bookplate and label of C. W. Dyson Perrins (*Italian Book-Illustration and Early Printing. A Catalogue of Early Italian Books in the Library of C. W. Dyson Perrins* (1914), no. 54).

Sold in the Sotheby's sale in June 1946 (Sotheby's and co., London, Dyson Perrins Sale, June 17-18, 1946, lot 45); purchased there by the Harvard graduate and later librarian, Philip Hofer (1898-1984) and Frances Hofer (1908-1978). Price paid (£140) recorded in pencil by Hofer in the copy, alongside other bibliographic notes in his hand (front flyleaf); Frances Hofer's bookplate (front pastedown).

Donated to the Houghton Library; accessioned in January 1967 (Houghton Library accession books, 1941-2001. 1967. Hofer Deposit. p. 2).

Sources: book in hand; Walsh 2474.

[135.] Dresden, Sächsische Landes- und Universitätsbibliothek, Ink.2.3556, MEI 02151193

Wanting ff. s1, PP4-5; several leaves repaired and remounted. Leaf size: 310x203mm.

Binding: modern half leather rebinding, which preserves the dark brown gilt-tooled 18th-century spine cover, and lightly marbled edges; board dimensions 319x210mm.

Manuscript notes: doodles and personal notes of a religious nature in Colerus' hand (see below), e.g. "In manibus Domini sortes mea", "Tria considero[:] charitatem adop[tionis] Nativitatem promissioni[s] Potestatem redditio[nis]", from Saint Bernard of Clairvaux, Pro Dominica VI Post Pentecostem Sermo III, cf. *Sancti Bernardi Primi Abbatis Clarvallensis Sermones Fasciculus I* (Vienna: Hölder, 1891) p. 424 (a1r); another including numerous biblical characters' names (M6v).

Provenance:

Dated handwritten inquisitorial reading permit for a female owner, Donata Luchesi, from 21 April 1562: "1562, 21 ap(ri)l(e). Se concede lic(en)tia a Madona luch(e)si donada de tenir et leger la bibia volgar Cosj. è[?] ar[?]o thomaso Inq(uisito)re" (MM6v). Based on the lists present in the *Dizionario di eretici, dissidenti e inquisitori*, the two Italian cities who had an inquisitor named Tommaso in 1562 were Venice (Tommaso da Vicenza, OP) and Turin (Tommaso Giacomelli, OP).

Presented as a gift to a Franciscus Colerus: trimmed inscription with his name in the dative, "Fransico Colero" and year "1651" on the mounted title page; the name of the gift-giver has been cut out. A Franciscus Colerus from Reichenbach (in Saxony) enrolled at the university in Frankfurt an der Oder in 1609 (Ernst

Friedländer, *Aeltere Universitäts-Matrikeln. I. Universität Frankfurt a.O.*, Leipzig: Hirzel, 1887), p. 533).

In Dresden by 1699, owned by Italians. Inscribed: “Biblia Volgar Istoria. De Tommaso Riva Bordolo Caprano e Compagni. 1699. Dresden” (MM6v).

Later owned by Giovanni Andrea Puricelli, an Italian merchant who, in 1767, attempted to obtain an exclusive licence to import and sell chocolate in Dresden: “apartenente a Giov. Andrea Puricelli, Dresda, 16 xbre 1756” (MM6r); Christian Hochmuth, ‘What is Tobacco? Illicit Trade with Overseas Commodities in Early Modern Dresden’ in *Shadow Economies and Irregular Work in Urban Europe: 16th to Early 20th century*, ed. by Hoffman Buchner (Münster: LIT Verlag, 2011), pp. 107-127 (pp. 121-122).

Acquired by the Dresden Kurfürstliche Bibliothek between 1749 and 1806, perhaps a donation from Puricelli. Absent from the library’s 1749 catalogue (Bibl.Arch.I.Ba,Vol.123), and the earliest library stamp in the copy was in use until 1806 (fol. a2r).

Sources: images and additional information provided by Janica Kuhr (SLUB); Helmut Deckert, *Katalog der Inkunabeln der Sächsischen Landesbibliothek zu Dresden: ein Bestandsverzeichnis nach den Kriegsverlusten des Jahres 1945* (Leipzig: O. Harrassowitz, 1957), no. 144; INKA 35000184.

[136.] Florence, Biblioteca Marucelliana, R. A. 796, MEI 02148570

Part I only. Formerly bound together with the library's incomplete copy of the 1492 edition (no. **159**). The two were split when the copy was rebound in 1895. This copy's first leaf at the opening of Proverbi (A1r) survives together with the library’s partial 1492 edition copy, glued to the recto of the first leaf of Proverbi. Leaf size: 309x205mm.

Binding: rebound in 1895 in half parchment with plain paper over the boards, and uncoloured textblock edges.

Manuscript notes: rare brown ink smudges and pen trials (d1r; h3r). Stamped foliation in Arabic numerals by the Biblioteca Marucelliana.

Provenance:

With dated 1493 ownership inscription by a Jewish owner in Monselice, David son of Emanuel Vita (Immanu’el Hay):

“לה' הארץ ומלואה / קנין כספי דוד בכ"מ עמנואל ח"י ז"ל ממונצי' שנת הרנ"ג”
("To the Lord [belongs] the Earth and all that it contains. Bought with my money, Dawid [David] son of the revered deceased master Immanu’el Hay from Monselice in the year 5253 [1493] [last word unread]”).

In Marseille by 1583: manuscript note in French in an angular hand, includes names and a reference to a baptism at the church of Saint Martin (i.e. Église Saint-Martin in Marseille?): "Laumet Jauffret [...] net le 25 de nove[m]bre Jaumet reblour et

meyrine maugaride [...] batyssee a saint martin", accompanied by the date 1583 (a1r).

Later owned by the Capuchin monastery in Marseille: "Ad usum Capucinatorum Massiliensium" (a1r, in a 17th-century hand). The order was active in the city in 1578–1800.

Acquired by the Dominicans of Santa Maria Novella, Florence, at an uncertain date: the note in dark ink, "S. Ma. Novella 1821:" (front flyleaf), was added after the volume's arrival at the Biblioteca Marucelliana in 1800, following the dissolution of the convent, alongside collections of other florentine religious institutions: oval stamp lettered "BIBLIOTEC. SE. ME. NOVELLE", with the shield of the Dominicans of Santa Maria Novella (a2r, lower margin). Historic Marucelliana shelfmark: 4.A.11.10/1.

Sources: book in hand; Scapecchi Marucelliana 258; with thanks to Fabrizio Quaglia for the transcription and translation of the Hebrew inscription.

Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze

[137.] Copy 1, Pal. D.7.2.7, MEI 02151039

Wanting ff. M5, M6; quire B of part 2 has decidedly narrower margins, possibly supplied from another copy. Leaf size: 333x220mm.

Binding: later parchment binding. Spine simply decorated with thin rolls and small gilt fleurons. Edition details on two brown and black leather spine labels.

Decoration: minor capitals touched with yellow (including the Tables of contents). Small details in most illustrations, such as halos and crowns, coloured yellow (in the first half of the volume, up to the first leaf of Proverbs, and in the latter part of the New Testament: Epistles, Revelations). Occasional additions to illustrations, e.g. hills added in the background of an outdoor scene (D4r).

Manuscript notes: faint (washed?) brief summaries (mostly in Latin), pen trials, Biblical cross-references, and single letters (e.g. A-D) which appear to divide individual chapters into smaller, equally sized sections (consistent until 1 Kings fol. n3v, then infrequent). The miracle of the sun in Joshua 10 accompanied by a red ink drawing of the sun and a brief note in Italian (k3r). Penitential Psalms and some psalms' liturgical applications identified in the margins. Pilcrow added by the Lord's Prayer (D3r).

Provenance:

Part of the Fondo Palatino (see no. **3**). Faint blind stamp of the Biblioteca Palatina (a1r); handwritten historic shelfmarks alongside current shelfmark, in a red-purple ink (front pastedown). BNCF stamp dated 1872.

Sources: digital reproduction:

<<http://teca.bncf.firenze.sbn.it/ImageViewer/servlet/ImageViewer?idr=BNCF0003771413#page/1/mode/2up>>; Scapecchi BNCF 519.

[138.] Copy 2: P.2.8, MEI 00202375

Wanting ff. a1, a8, M1, M5-M6.

Binding: later parchment binding, with a large brown stain on the back cover.

Evidence of use: no marginal notes or additional decoration.

Provenance:

Faint note, possibly the surname of a former owner: "P(?) Guarini" (M2r, lower margin).

The book belonged to the Casa dei Santi Apostoli in Naples, a Theatine house founded in the 16th century, dissolved in 1809. 17/18th-century stamp on a2r (decorative mantle with putto, Latin cross with initials S. A) matches one in a book now owned by the Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli, shelfmark V.F. 166 C 47 (identified in that library's *Archivio dei possessori*: <<https://www.bnnonline.it/it/324/possessori/3439/santi-apostoli-napoli>>).

The earliest identifiable BNCF mark is a stamp used between 1885-1940 (a2r); bibliographic notes including one dated 1921 (front and back pastedowns).

Sources: digital reproduction via <digitale.beic.it>; Scapecchi BNCF 519.

[139.] Livorno, Museo diocesano, 10270 bis(?), MEI 02151003

Part I only, wanting fol. a8. Ff. b1 and b2 repaired and re-margined. Not in IGI, ISTC or GW, notified April-May 2024.

Binding: parchment binding, with simple decoration in blind on the boards, and title on spine: "Mallermi BIBLIA SACRA VOLGARIZZ[...]". Marbled endpapers. Textblock edges sprinkled blue.

Decoration: woodcuts coloured by hand in highly saturated colours: blues, greens, purple, orange, ochre and brown. A few of the figures remain uncoloured, but the style and range of colours is consistent throughout, suggesting the work was carried out by one person. Woodcut capitals coloured in alternating red and blue, with a contrasting background. Missing initials supplied in red by hand. Margin with space for a coat of arms damaged (b1r).

Provenance:

This incomplete copy was likely originally together with no. **144** below. The hand-colouring shares the same colour scheme, both in the shades used, and their arrangement on the page (e.g. identical use of colours in the full-page decoration of Genesis here and Proverbs in no. **144**). The undulating edges of hand-painted red initials in both copies are also extremely similar.

Part of a significant donation to the diocese of Livorno by Giuseppe Michon, a lawyer from a livornese family of French origin. The donation constitutes the nucleus of the Biblioteca del seminario: rectangular stamp with the cursive initial

“M” (a1r). The book is now on display at the Museo diocesano di arte sacra in Livorno, founded in 2008.

Sources: information provided by Valentina Campedrer (Museo diocesano); digital reproduction:

<<https://www.beweb.chiesacattolica.it/benistorici/bene/5940450/>>.

[140.] London, British Library, IB.23752, MEI 02149608

Wanting fol. M6. Leaf size: 315x210mm.

Binding: brown half-leather with brown bookcloth over paper boards. British Museum supralibros in blind on front cover. Title tooled in gilt on spine, with simple decoration along raised spine bands in blind and gilt. Stamp on back pastedown, “BOUND 1926”. No information about the previous binding in the BMC. 328x228x68mm.

Decoration: coat of arms in brown ink, similar to that of the Collalto of Venice and Rome: *quarterly, sable and argent* (a8v, b1r, BB1r). Some marginal drawings in brown ink: sitting bearded man with a monk’s cap, not corresponding to any figures on adjacent illustrations (l4v). Additions to two illustrations in the Book of Numbers in brown ink: buildings added in the background of the vignette (g6v), a skull drawn in the space within the grave prepared for Aaron’s corpse (g7r).

Manuscript notes: early marginal note ‘Notandum’ by Proverbs 30 (AA8r), and exhortation in Latin, ‘in hoc loco lector diligenter lege’ (NN4v). Pen trials (KK7r, C2r). Sparse foliation in Arabic numerals by an early hand.

Provenance:

Early owner’s coat of arms (see Decoration).

Inscription “Row. St John” above the printed title (a1r) in a 17th century hand suggests the book was owned by Sir Rowland St John (1588-1645), MP and Justice of the Peace for Middlesex and Northamptonshire, whose travels in Europe, including to Italy, between 1609-1612 may be when he acquired the book. Virginia C.D. Moseley and Rosemary Sgroi, ‘ST. JOHN, Rowland’, in *The House of Commons 1604-1625*, ed. by Andrew Thrush & John P. Ferris (Cambridge, CUP, 2010), vol. VI, pp. 148-149. Another Rowland St John was tried in the London Old Bailey in 1682 for the manslaughter of an inhabitant of Lincolns Inn following a drunken brawl. *Old Bailey Proceedings Online*, <www.oldbaileyonline.org>, version 6.0, 17 April 2011, 16th January 1682 (16820116A).

Since May 1897, part of the British Museum (now British Library) collections: dated stamp in red reads “BRITISH MUSEUM 12 MY 97” (fol. a8r; ee6v, M1v, M5v); small oval red British Museum stamp (b1v, AA1v).

Sources: book in hand; BMC V 500-501.

[141.] Los Angeles, UCLA, *A1 .B471I 1490, MEI 02128274

Ff. a1 and M6 in facsimile. According to Olschki, the copy was made up from several incomplete copies of this edition (see report of the Tessier sale in 'Vendite Pubbliche', *La Bibliofilia*, 2, No. 3/5 (1900), 152-155 (p. 153)).

Binding: Dark olive-green Morocco, gilt-tooled edges and turn-ins, with the characteristic turn-in gilt roll design that incorporates the initials of the owner ('VM'). Bordure in red Morocco, with the armorial supralibros in gilt at the centre, in the Ducal variant (in use before the acquisition of the title of Prince d'Essling). VM monogram on the spine. Binding dated 1905, by Marcellin Lortic (1852-1928), of Lortic Frères, signed 'M. Lortic' on the upper board turn-in.

Provenance:

Owned by the Venetian collector and bibliographer Andrea Tessier (1819-1896), whose collection was auctioned off posthumously by J. Rosenthal in Munich: *Katalog eines grossen Theils der Bibliotheken des verstorbenen Cavaliere Andrea Tessier und des Marchese de ***: [...] Versteigerung am 21., 22. u. 23. Mai 1900*. Jacques Rosenthal, München, 1900. no. 323; Rosenthal Catalogue 24 (1900), no. 305. Likely the volume mentioned in *La Bibliofilia* recent auction results: "la prima edizione della *Bibbia di Mallermi* in un esemplare composto da parecchi altri scompleti e con delle carte rifatte [...] Fr. 10400 (!!)", p. 153 in *La Bibliofilia* II (1900), emphasis in original text. The description does not include the lot number. Olschki may have meant to write 'la prima edizione illustrata'; in the previous issue of *La Bibliofilia* the copy is indeed cited as the 1490 edition, with the correct lot number. Later owned by Victor Masséna, Duke of Rivoli, Prince of Essling (1836-1910), who had it rebound by Lortic (see above). Essling number "7378" in blue-indigo ink on the verso of the front flyleaf (similar four-digit numbers are found in other books from the library, however it remains to be seen whether they served as shelfmarks or inventory numbers).

The book then quickly passes through several bibliophile collections:

Listed in the Librairie F. Roth & Cie *Catalogue no. 8: Catalogue de très beaux livres: Voyages, Histoire Naturelle, Calligraphie Et Typographie, Modes Et Costumes*. Lausanne: Librairie F. Roth, 1944. no. 10.

Owned by Swiss academic and International Red Cross vice-president (1947-1964) Martin Bodmer (1899-1971). Martin Bodmer. *Choix d'incunables illustrés de la Bibliothèque Bodmer*. Zürich: Artemis-Verl, 1954. pp. 24-25.

Purchased from New York bookseller H. P. Kraus in 1971 by German industrialist and book collector Otto Schäfer (1912-2000): shelfmark '54'; small round stamp in the shape of a letter 'S' within a circle (i.e. OS), followed by '908' in pencil (back flyleaf). Manfred Von Arnim, and Otto Schäfer. *Katalog Der Bibliothek Otto Schäfer, Schweinfurt*. Stuttgart: E. Hauswedell, 1984. no. 54.

Lot 29 in the Sotheby's New York sale of the non-German part of Schäfer's collection, December 8th, 1994 sale (estimated price \$100,000-150,000, unsold). At auction again in 1996 (Sotheby's New York, Dec 4, 1996, lot 225, \$50,000 hammer price. Source: ABPC). Purchased there for UCLA with Martin Breslauer acting as

agent; printed ex-libris of the Ahmanson-Murphy Early Italian Printing Collection, and small, red oval UCLA library stamp.

Sources: book in hand; online catalogue; information provided by Ilenia Maschietto (Fondazione Cini).

[142.] Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 2° Inc. c.a. 2387, MEI 02150370

Wanting ff. a1-a5. Fol. a1 supplied in facsimile.

Binding: dark brown calf leather over wooden boards, blind-tooled in a panel design with a rhombus between two circles within the central panel incorporating floral and knotwork tools. Traces of 4 catchplates on lower board and of metal bosses on both boards. Partly erased manuscript title on front board: “[BI]BLIA [...]”. Crossbow watermark visible on early paper pastedown on back board (Italy, late 15th/early 16th century).

Decoration: some elements of the full-page decoration at the beginning of Genesis and Proverbs coloured in a yellow pigment; coat of arms supplied in colour (see below). IHS Christogram added in a dark ink within the woodcut heraldic shield (a8v). Manuscript notes: rare corrections (c8r-v), comments (c8r in Italian, A8r in Latin), scribbled pen trials (l3v, L2v). Printer’s ink scratched off an illustration (C5r). Faint early manuscript notes in Italian on parchment endleaves.

Provenance:

An unidentified early owner’s initials, “M.P.”, alongside their slightly tarnished arms, *gules, 3 escallops argent arranged between 2 bends of the same* (b1r and AA1r), possibly coeval with the decoration.

16th-century ownership inscription: “Questo libro sie de la nobiltta de m. Marcho squassamantello da ferara [...] habita[n]te? A Montganana”, a town in the province of Padua (front parchment flyleaf; not “Samantello” as read in BSB-Ink). Immediately below, a simple coat of arms of three leaves *per bend*. Marco Squassamantello’s rare surname is attested in Ferrara in the 14th century (Luigi Napoleone Cittadello, *Notizie relative a Ferrara* (Ferrara: Taddei, 1864), p. 209).

Later owned by the Premonstratensian abbey in Steingaden, Bavaria: ex-libris dated 1786, “Ex Bibliotheca Canonicorum Praemonstratensium in Steingaden” (front pastedown); inscription: “M(onaste)r(i)um Staingadensis” (b1r).

Acquired by the Bavarian Royal Library (now Bayerische Staatsbibliothek) following the abbey’s dissolution in 1803, alongside over 100 other incunabula now listed in BSB-Ink. Rectangular stamp of the “BIBLIOTECA REGIA MONACENSIS” (a6v). Stored with the volume is a message to the library dated 24 March 1902 on Rosenthal letterheaded paper, signed by Jacques Rosenthal, regarding the title page facsimile.

Sources: digital reproduction: <<http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/~db/0004/bsb00048363/images/>>, <<http://nbn->

resolving.de/urn/resolver.pl?urn=urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00048364-2; BSB-Ink B-499,1.

[143.] Naples, Biblioteca Teologica San Luigi, Ar. I, 10, MEI 02151135

Wanting fol. a1, replaced with a leaf where the title is supplied in manuscript, closely reproducing the font of the 1493 edition frontispiece.

Binding: red Morocco, decorated in gilt, both boards bear an armorial supralibros, with the unidentified arms of a protonotary at the centre, *party per fess wavy, in chief a crescent, in base paly wavy of 7*. Similar in style to bindings executed in Rome in the 17-18th centuries.

No marginal notes or other signs of use.

Provenance:

Likely in Rome by the 17-18th century, where it is rebound for an unidentified protonotary.

The circumstances of acquisition by the Biblioteca Teologica are unknown, possibly purchased by the library. Faint purple stamp “Ex libris Bibliotheca Scholasticatus Prov. Neap. S.I.” (a1r).

Sources: information and images supplied by Marcella Marchese (Biblioteca Teologica San Luigi).

[144.] New York City, Metropolitan Museum, Department of Prints, 33.66, MEI 02151040

Part II only. Wanting fol. M6. Leaf size: 297x202mm.

Binding: gilt-tooled reddish-brown Morocco, gilt textblock edges. Bound by Ramage in London in the early 20th century (signed on front board turn-in). Board size: 305x225mm.

Decoration: woodcuts coloured in a range of colours (incl. red, orange, blue, green, yellow, brown) throughout, however parts of the New Testament are unfinished. Unidentified coat of arms: *azure, a cross saltire argent between two bends sinister of the same* (AA1r). Woodcut initials coloured red or blue. Occasional initials in red ink, one of them playfully drawn to resemble a fox (B8r).

Provenance:

Hand-coloured with the arms of an unidentified early owner. Most likely originally bound together with no. **139** above.

Voynich catalogue 29 lists a similar copy (no. 29a), also only part II with hand-coloured woodcuts, which was bound in “old vellum”. Price listed in catalogue: £130. It is possible that, following the publication of the catalogue, the copy was rebound by Voynich or whoever bought the copy from him.

Purchased by the museum from the Harris Brisbane Dick Fund in 1933, shortly after A. Hyatt Mayor was appointed curator.

Sources: information and images provided by John McQuillen; partial reproduction <<http://metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/346047>>; online catalogue.

[145.] Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 244, MEI 00205423

Leaf size: 295x193mm.

Binding: light brown pigskin leather. Boards, spine, doublure frame and board edges tooled in gilt. Marbled paper. Textblock edges gilt. Front board re-jointed. Binder identified in an inscription (see below).

Manuscript notes: illegible scribbled note below printed title (a1r).

Provenance:

Until 1827, owned by the English scholar Henry Joseph Thomas Drury (1778-1841): 'Coll(ated) perf(ect) H. Drury. Harrow. 1818. b(oun)d by Lewis. C.35.2.' (front endleaf). Lot 791 in the 1827 sale by Robert Harding Evans (1778–1857), London, where the edition is incorrectly described as Florentine (*A catalogue of the extensive and valuable library of the Rev. Henry Drury*).

Owned by Francis Douce (1757-1834), Keeper of Manuscripts at the British Museum, whose books were bequeathed to the Bodleian Library: with his armorial ex-libris.

Sources: digital reproduction: <<http://bav.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/douce-244>>; Bod-Inc B-338.

[146.] Padua, Biblioteca civica, C.I.104, MEI 02148383

Wanting fol. M6. Leaf size: 301×200mm.

Binding: rebound in a plain reddish-brown leather the second half of the 20th century at the Gabinetto di restauro del libro in Praglia; the only element of the earlier binding preserved is a large part of the spine cover in a 18th-century? gilt-tooled dark brown leather, with the title "BIBLIA" in the second spine compartment.

Manuscript notes: rare 16th-century annotations in two hands, one pens brief summaries in Italian in brown ink, another adds reading marks in red crayon.

Provenance:

A 16th-century owner, Francesco Rossi from Vicenza, adds his coat of arms in brown ink (a8v, b1r), with an inscription in brown ink: "Di Franc(esc)o Rossi Vicentino", arranged around the coat of arms on b1r.

Acquired by the Biblioteca civica, possibly as a gift or bequest, before 1896 when accession numbers (absent in this copy) began to be used in the library.

Sources: information provided by Vincenza Donvito (Biblioteca Civica).

[147.] Paris, BNF, Rés. A. 359, MEI 02151136

Fol. a1 remounted. Leaf size: 322x211mm.

Binding: parchment over paper boards; boards undecorated, narrow floral roll at head and foot of spine, with light brown rectangular label with edition details in gilt; edges dyed brown, now faded; early shelfmark, “N° 51.” in brown ink on top left corner of front board.

Manuscript notes: pen trials; manicules; rare brief notabilia in Italian and in Latin; early manuscript foliation on top right of each folio, abandoned after fol. n7.

Provenance:

Early painted coat of arms described as French or Italian in the library’s incunabula catalogue, *azure, a curved bend accompanied by three fleurs-de-lys of the same*, possibly linked with that of the French royal family, or the House of Valois (b1r). Earliest Bibliothèque royale stamp (a1r), in use in 1735-1792.

Sources: book in hand; CIBN B-454; Paris Bibles 642.

[148.] Paris, Musée du Louvre, Rothschild Collection, L57LR, MEI 02151130

Bifolium c2.7 bound in incorrectly when the volume was rebound (c7r follows c1v, the early manuscript foliation on these leaves is correct). Leaf size: 324x214mm.

Binding: half parchment over brown and turquoise marbled paper, with plain endpapers, dark leather onlay with edition details and narrow foliage rolls in gilt on spine, textblock edges uncoloured. Assigned by Coq to 18th-century Italy. 330x227x82mm.

Manuscript notes: early brown ink foliation, excluding leaves containing paratext (1-208 for Part 1, 1-122 for the Old Testament section of Part 2, and 1-86 for the New Testament); the same reader also notes the page number of each Book by the printed running title (i.e. ‘Exodus 4’ for the fourth leaf of Exodus, etc.). Modern pencil foliation and numbering of woodcut illustrations, including the printer’s device on the last leaf.

Provenance:

“D.D.R.” (Coq’s catalogue suggests “DOR”), possibly owner’s initials, in a Gothic/Fraktur font, on a small (10x15mm) 19th-century(?) stamp in blind (Frits Lugt, *Les marques de collections de dessins & d’estampes*, L.3176).

According to the printed catalogue, possibly acquired from Olschki (no bookseller’s notes within the copy to confirm this) by Edmond de Rothschild (1845–1934). He donated his books and prints collection to the Louvre, where it is housed from 1935.

Sources: book in hand; Dominique Coq, *Catalogues régionaux des incunables des bibliothèques publiques de France*, vol. XX (Genève: Droz, 2016), n. 67.

[149.] Pessac, Université Bordeaux Montaigne, Bibliothèque Lettres et Sciences humaines, Res 416, MEI 02152288

Wanting ff. a1 and a8. The rest of the opening quire misbound between ff. ee6 and AA1 (after the Psalms). Not in ISTC or GW, notified May 2024.

Binding: sixteenth-century parchment, repaired.

Decoration: woodcut illustrations and initials coloured by hand in orange, yellow, pink and blue. Two unidentified coats of arms drawn in the shields, *three crosses potent between two bendlets sinister* (b1r), and *on a fess, a tree* (AA1r, possibly the Ottelio of Udine: Spreti, vol. 4, p.950; Crollanza, vol. 2, p. 246). Censorship of two nude figures in the woodcut frame *bas-de-page* (b1r).

Provenance:

Manuscript note dated 30 October 1628, mentioning the copy's purchase, and an ownership permit from the Padua Inquisition. Owner's name and purchase price unfortunately erased: "A dj 30 8brio 1628 lo A[...] comprai la P(rese)nte Biblia Sacra volgare per lire [...] et il di med(esim)o hebbi la licenza dal R(everendissi)mo P. F. [=praefectus?] [space left blank for the inquisitor's name] Inquisitore di Padoa di pover legerla; et trattenirla." (front flyleaf). Antonio Vercelli da Lendinara OFMConv was Inquisitor of Padua that year (Tomasz Karlikowski, 'Lista degli Inquisitori di Padova', in *Dizionario di eretici, dissidenti e inquisitori nel mondo mediterraneo*).

Brought to France by a young pretender to the Ethiopian imperial throne, Zaga Christ (1610 ca.-1638). He was in the Veneto in 1634 and travelled to France in 1635: 18th-century manuscript ex-libris "Zaga Christo Principe Etiopiae" (front flyleaf). Two other books owned by him, both religious manuscripts in Ethiopian, are at the BNF in Paris: Hermann Zotenberg, *Catalogue des Manuscrits Éthiopiens de La Bibliothèque Nationale*, (Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1877), pp. 97, 141, mentioned in Matteo Salvatore, "I Was Not Born to Obey, but Rather to Command": The Self-Fashioning of Šägga Krastos, an Ethiopian Traveler in Seventeenth-Century Europe", *Journal of Early Modern History* 25 (2021), 195-226 (222); Serge Aroles, 'Zaga Christ, roi d'Éthiopie (Dambya, ca. 1610–Rueil, 22 avril 1638)', *Bulletin de la Société historique de Rueil-Malmaison*, no. 38 (2013), 55-67.

Stamp of the Bordeaux Seminary: "Ex. Bibliot. semin. Burdigal." (front flyleaf). The seminary was closed following the 1905 legislation on the Separation of the Churches and the State. In 1910 the copy arrived at the local University together with other items from the Seminary, and since 1970 is at the Université Bordeaux Montaigne campus.

Sources: information and images supplied by Alice Mauvillain (Université Bordeaux Montaigne); online catalogue.

[150.] Ravenna, Biblioteca comunale classense, Inc. 35, MEI 02149915

Some leaves have undergone repair. Discolouration especially in quire AA. Leaf size: 308x205mm.

Binding: 18th-century plain parchment binding, manuscript title on spine “Bibbia volgarizzata Per Nicolò Malermi 1490”, and at foot of spine, “N° 35 Edizione pregevole”. Edges sprinkled red and blue. 322x220x87mm.

Decoration: rubrication of the leaves without printed initials by a skilled rubricator who also adds some pilcrow in red on those leaves and adds detail in red ink to indicate Jesus’ wounds (B4r woodcut). Running titles and capitals within the text touched with yellow throughout. Illustrations throughout partly coloured in ochre, with some use of a red-brown wax-based pigment (at times the hue is closer to orange or purple). Brown ink woodcut additions (a leafy reed in the mouth of the fool of Psalm 52, bb3v).

Manuscript notes: infrequent marginalia in Latin or Italian, e.g. “asegna quid est verbum” by Jerome’s Prologue to the Pentateuch (a6v). Woodcut censorship (printer’s ink scratched off, c5r). Rare reading marks (l8v, aa1r).

Provenance:

Acquired at an early date by the Benedictines of Santa Scholastica, Subiaco. Handwritten note: “Est sacri mon(asterii) sublacj S.N. 181.” (b2r, with letters “.S.S.”, *spiritus sanctus*, flanking the woodcut depiction of the Holy Spirit), in a late 15th/early 16th century hand, possibly Nicolaus Gaetanus, OSB, also found in other books owned by the monastery (e.g. MEI 02125458). Faded note, “Iste liber est adusum monacho(rum) mon(asterii) Sublacensis [...]” (a8r, lower margin), likely by Guglielmo Capisacchi OSB (1507–1579), whose name is associated with over 90 other incunabula catalogued in MEI (last checked January 2024). See *I Libri del Silenzio. Scrittura e spiritualità sulle tracce della storia dell’Ordine camaldolese a Ravenna, dalle origini al XVI secolo* ed. by Claudia Giuliani (Ravenna: Longo Editore, 2013), no. 57. Still in Subiaco in September 1599 when a list of banned books in the monastery’s library was prepared (RICI BIB 34755; BAV MS Vat. lat. 11286, fol. 310r).

Sometime after 1599, moved to the Camaldolese monastery in Ravenna, the Abbazia di Classe (later Biblioteca Civica Classense): black oval stamp lettered “BIB. COLL. DI RAVENNA” (26x23mm, fol. a1r); historic shelfmark “127.2.P” (front flyleaf). A partly erased note “Con licentia del Padre Abate” (a1r) may originate from either of the two monasteries. See no. **60** for a possible link with Pierpaolo Ginanni, former owner of no. **92**.

Sources: book in hand; information provided by Manuela Massa and Floriana Amicucci (Biblioteca Classense).

[151.] Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

Copy 1, Inc.II.902, MEI 02151137

Leaf size: 323x214mm.

Binding: 20th-century half parchment rebinding.

Manuscript notes: two paper leaves inserted before title page, containing same liturgical year calendar as the monastery's 1481 edition copy, updated with leaf indications for the present edition. Reproduces the two-column layout; without the later addition of the feast of the Five Holy Wounds. Manuscript foliation throughout, also following the model of no. **95**. Many of the marginal notes reproduce those in no. **95** in a different hand. Woodcut censorship (c5r, h1r), occasional annotations ("ve(n)detta" and "pecc[ato?]" written by the slaying of Cozbi and Zimri, h1r).

Provenance:

One of three copies owned by the *romite ambrosiane* of Santa Maria del Monte in Varese, Lombardy: inscription: "S(anc)ta Maria de Monte" (a1r). With a handwritten reading permit by Pietro Galesini, on behalf of Charles Borromeo: "P(etrus) Galesinus proton(otarius) Ap(osto)licus pro ill(ustrissi)mo archie(pisco)po et [?] r(everendo) inquisitore ad usum Monialium s(anctae) Mariae ad Montem" (M6r). Part of the 1936 donation from the Milanese Curia.

Sources: book in hand; online catalogue; Orlandi 6a.

[152.] Copy 2, Inc.II.903, MEI 02147862

Binding: 20th-century half-parchment rebinding.

Decoration: unidentified coat of arms, *per fess, in chief azure a lion or langued gules between two stars or, in base bendy argent and gules* (a8v, b1r, 2A1r), the argent now oxidised.

Manuscript notes: early reader's personal notes including a list of occupations: "fyxici, cyroyci, [=surgeons] astrologi, nigro(m)e(n)tia, arytmeticha, artimenetia p(ro)spectiva algebra. poexia [...] oratori(a)e", a list of numbers accompanied by the word "nasyone" (i.e. nascita), and, below, "tyba[?]y apostolor(um) et archa(n)gelor(um)" (front flyleaf verso). Woodcut censorship (c5r).

Provenance:

Brief note, possibly an owner's name or epistolary pen trial: "Mon. s(igno)r Porro" (early front flyleaf recto). The surname Porro (or Porri) is listed alongside other Milanese noble families in Flaminio Rossi, *Teatro della nobilta d'Italia* (Napoli: Gio. Iacomo Carlino, 1607), p. 71.

Ex-dono note: "Questa bibia he di D. Lucretia viva[/nina?] di rivi in Do(n) da D. Livia di rinzi" (L8r, along inside margin, incorrectly transcribed in the library's online catalogue as "D[omin]o"). Livia's surname, Rinzi, is also on the list of Milanese nobility in Rossi, p. 72. The surname of the earlier owner, Lucrezia Rivi, is attested in several regions, including Lombardy (Crollanza, *Dizionario storico-blasonico*, vol. 2, p. 426). Given the later provenance, unlikely to be of the Venetian Riva family (as in Barbaro, vol. 6).

Part of the 1936 donation from the Milanese Curia: with imprint information in black ink in an 18/19th-century hand, and the printed *ex-dono* label.

Sources: digital reproduction <<http://digi.vatlib.it/view/Inc.II.903>>; online catalogue; Orlandi 6b.

[153.] Copy 3, Inc.II.904, MEI 02151194

Wanting quires g-h. Leaf size: 320x220mm.

Binding: 20th-century half-parchment rebinding.

Decoration: many woodcut initials embellished with brown ink, frequently incorporating human faces. Missing initials supplied in brown ink.

Manuscript notes: woodcut censorship (c5r). Labels added to woodcut illustrations (characters' names or brief descriptions). Running titles supplementing those in print. References to specific pages added in both "Tabulae". Some underlining. Foliation in Arabic numerals in lower right margin: "fol.º 2" etc. A brief, 20-verse devotional poem in Italian on a paper leaf attached to the front pastedown.

Provenance:

Part of the 1936 donation from the Milanese Curia.

Sources: book in hand; online catalogue; Orlandi 6c.

Venice: Giovanni Ragazzo, for Lucantonio Giunta, 1492

Barbieri 12, GW 04318, ISTC ib00645000

Folio, in two parts

Part I: 208 leaves (a-z&9R⁸). 234 woodcuts

Part II: 202 leaves (A¹⁰B-OAA-LL⁸). 188 woodcuts

[154.] Basel, Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität Basel, FG V 27, MEI 02151138

The Tabula (a2-7) misbound after quire c. Wanting fol. KK7, and with duplicate LL4 in its place.

Binding: quarter leather over marbled paper.

Manuscript notes: mottos written by the early owners, De Pignis (incorporates part of Apocalypse 21 verse 2, "O Tempo schuro che lib(er)ta no(n) vedo[...]") (on preserved early flyleaf) and Zasius ("Memento mori" (front flyleaf), "Non timeo" (a1r)). Unannotated.

Provenance:

Fragments of old endpaper preserved on the front flyleaf contain early provenance evidence; a brief note with two female readers' names "die 19 setem(bre) 1498 Caterina e Genetia [=Genesisia]".

Ownership inscription in a humanist hand, “Jacobus de pignis camarerius Ill(ustrissi)mi principis”, and a longer note by the same hand, erased by a later owner, on the verso of the endpaper fragment. A bleak note dated 1500 (“anno tribulationis”) in Jacobus’ hand on the same leaf suggests he may have been employed at the Sforza court, target of the French invasion that year.

Several notes by a German-speaking owner, Joachim Zasius the Elder (?-1538), who acquired the book from Jörg Besserer von Ravensburg (?-1525) in exchange for a long pike. The two may have met at the University of Freiburg am Breisgau, where both studied (RAG Online: <<https://resource.database.rag-online.org/ngYO1X173Xw9jnuCsX3njWkr>>; <<https://resource.database.rag-online.org/ngYO3P779Y850nuQsYRn9WkB>>). “Jörg bessrer von Ravenspurg hat mir Joachim Zasijs dise bibel geben vmb ein langen spis, vnd ist gemelter Jörg gestorben gott gnad siner seel, saal zu verzet 1525 des 16 tags septembris” (“Jörg Besserer from Ravensburg has given to me, Joachim Zasius, this bible, in exchange for a long pike, and this aforementioned Jörg died - God have mercy on his soul - at verzet [indication of place or time?] 1525, on 16 September.”). On the same leaf: “Ditz haillig buch ist mein vnd aller frommen cristen welhe ir ainige hoffnung in Jesu Christo setzen In glauben und vertrauen. Joachim Zasijs.” (“This holy book is for me and all devout Christians who put their only hope in Jesus Christ in faith and trust.”). Acquisition date by the current holding institution uncertain (over 30 years ago, based on the shelfmark pattern).

Sources: information and images provided by Hans Peter Frey (Universitätsbibliothek Basel); with thanks to Prof. Henrike Lähnemann for help in transcribing and translating the German notes; Pierre L. Van der Haegen, *Die Wiegendrucke der Universitätsbibliothek Basel. Teil 3. Die Wiegendrucke aus Italien, Frankreich und der französischsprachigen Schweiz* (Basel: Schwabe, 2013), no. 50,1.

[155.] Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, Sign. 2536-1; Sign. 2536-2, MEI 02148947 Wanting fols b8, s3.6 (missing chapter already noted by an early reader on adjacent leaves: “qui manca [...]”), y4-5 of part I. The bifolium y4.5 from a copy of the 1490 edition of this work (no. **133**) bound in the place of the missing y4.5 from the present edition, only partly making up for the missing text. The woodcut depicting St Jerome on l5v printed upside down (also in no. **163**). Leaf size: 302x208mm; 304x208mm. Binding: bound in two volumes, in half marbled brown leather with brown, blue and beige French curl marbled paper over paper(?) boards (18th/19th-century). Decoration: armorial spaces filled in brown ink: *a chevron between three mullets* (a8v), and *a fess charged with one bezant, in chief two fleurs-de-lys* (b2r, A1r), likely contemporary with the 17th-century Dutch owner’s notes. Manuscript notes: rare underlining and manuscript corrections (‘la verita’>’l’avaritia’ (D6v), ‘similitudine’>’solitudine’ (m6r)). Numerous notabilia (‘Vedi’), some comments, such as: ‘bella istoria di giuda figlio [di] iacob’ (c4r), and

cross-references (e.g. on fol. f3r) by a sixteenth-century annotator. Many of these have since been covered with strips of paper glued to the margins.

Provenance:

Several inscriptions and notes by an anonymous 17th-century Dutch owner, whose possible initials (“W. V. Har.”), flank the coat of arms on fol. A1r. Inscribed: “Desen bibel hebbe ick gecoft opde Groote Zael inden Haech ende cost mij vijff g. veerthijen stivers behalven dat ickse hebbe laeten op nijeus binden cost -1-10” (“I have bought this Bible at the Groote Zael [today’s Ridderzaal] in The Hague and it cost me 5 guilder and 14 stivers; except that I ordered a new binding costing 1 guilder and 10 stivers”, LL7v lower margin).

Historic shelfmark “5.A.” in red ink (front pastedown of both volumes).

In of the collection of Augustus Frederick, Duke of Sussex: armorial ex-libris on the front pastedown with the shelfmark “E.f.4” supplied in manuscript. See also no. **73** above. Pettigrew, *Bibliotheca Sussexiana*, vol. 1, pp. 193-4.

Sold by in London, Evans, *Bibliotheca Sussexiana*, July 10, lot 1880 “much damaged”.

Sources: book in hand; with thanks to Marieke van Delft and Ed van der Vlist for the transcription and translation of the Dutch inscription.

[156.] Bremen, Kunsthalle, Ill. XV Venedig 1492, MEI 02141348

Binding: rebound in Bremen in the early 20th century, following the copy’s arrival at the Kunsthalle: plain brown calf leather over wooden boards. Binder’s slip: “Martin Lehmann Papierhandlung Kunstgewerbliche Werkstatt Bremen“ (lower pastedown). Two binders with this name, Martin Lehmann and Martin Lehmann Jr, were active in Bremen in the early to mid-twentieth century.

Provenance:

Formerly owned by the Viennese Hofbibliothek (today’s Österreichische Nationalbibliothek), from where it was deaccessioned and sold as a duplicate in the mid-nineteenth century: small oval stamp, “Biblioth. Palat. Vidibon. Dubl.” with the imperial eagle at its centre.

Later owned by Hermann Heinrich Meier Junior (1845-1905), chairman of the Bremen Kunstverein, who bequeathed it to the Kunsthalle, where it is housed since 1909.

Sources: data provided by Kevin Fickert (Bremen Kunsthalle).

[157.] Cambridge (UK), University Library, Bible Society collection 5576.a1, MEI 02149100

Opening quire misbound at the end of the volume, between ff. LL2 and LL3, bringing together all the tables of contents. Wanting a1 (half-title page), H1, LL1 and LL8 (blank). Not in GW, notified April 2024.

Binding: half brown leather, boards covered with maroon buckram. Title tooled in English on spine: "LA BYBLIA 1492". Pencil note in English indicates the book was re-cased in 1958.

Manuscript notes: Early manuscript foliation in Arabic numerals (a2r-a3r only). parts of text supplied in manuscript in a hand trying to imitate the typeface (b2, l8). Isolated correction of printed text (H2r: 'desso' > 'dessemo'). Cursive marginal notes, trimmed and unread (M8r, DD1r).

Provenance:

Part of the Bible Society collection, housed by the Cambridge University Library since 1985. Acquired after 1911; not listed in vol. 2 of Darlow and Moule's catalogue of the collection.

Sources: book in hand.

[158.] Ferrara, Biblioteca comunale ariostea, S.10.4.14, MEI 02149593

Binding: 18th-century parchment binding, has undergone heavy repair in 2016, with the boards recovered in a matching parchment and the addition of new flyleaves. Manuscript title "Biblia Sacra Volgare Tradota p(er) s(an)to Girolamo" (front board); manuscript titles across and along the spine. Edges previously coloured.

Decoration: brown ink additions to printed illustrations (small brown ink lines similar to Moses' horns added above other figures' heads (e5v; r1r)). Amorphous scribble in armorial space (A1r).

Manuscript notes: pen trials, mostly short zigzags or attempts to reproduce the printed font of the text (e.g. a1r, below the printed title). Rare manuscript correction of misprinted chapter numbers. Throughout most of the volume (rare after the Gospel of St John) small plus- or dash-shaped reading marks; less frequently manicules. Latin incipit of Psalm XXXVI: "no(n) emulari maligna(n)tib(us)" by a 16th century hand (z3r).

Provenance:

Formerly at the Università di Ferrara: oval stamp lettered "DELLA P. VNIVERSITA DI FERRARA" surrounding the university's armorial device of a trimount surmounted by an olive tree (a1r).

Early shelfmarks: 'N.F.9' in indigo/purple ink; "O:6:4." by 17th/18th-century hand in brown ink (front flyleaves).

Acquired by the Biblioteca Comunale by 1809, when it was listed in a manuscript catalogue of the incunable collection (Catalogus Codicum Saeculo XV. Impressorum Qui in Publica Bibliotheca Ferrariensi Adservantur. Cum Appendice. Anno 1809. p. 29).

Sources: book in hand; information provided by Mirna Bonazza.

[159.] Florence, Biblioteca Marucelliana, 4.A.11.10/11, MEI 02148581

Part II only. Formerly bound together with the library's incomplete copy of the 1490 edition of this translation (no. **136**); the two volumes were split when the copy was rebound in 1895. Fol. A1r of the 1490 edition (probably from no. **136**), glued to the recto of the opening leaf of *Proverbi*. Leaf size: 309x205mm.

Provenance:

It is unclear at what point the copy was bound together with no. **136**, and which provenance (see the entry above for description) they share. Both carry the stamp of the library of the Dominican convent of Santa Maria Novella in Florence.

Sources: book in hand; Scapecchi Marucelliana n. 285.

[160.] Manchester, John Rylands University Library, 17620, MEI 02151156

Fol. a1 reinforced with a later paper leaf, with a rectangular cut-out through which only the printed title is visible on the recto. Leaf size: 312x213mm.

Binding: early 19th-century dark Russia, gilt- and blind-tooled, with gilt edges, printer's label "Bound by HERING 9 Newman St" ((verso of front flyleaf), a family business in London, active until 1845 (David Pearson, 'Hering, Charles' in *The Oxford Companion to the Book*). JRL monogram stamp in gilt on both boards, added after the book's arrival in Manchester.

Marginal notes: rare later pencil marks, including a correction of the misprinted leaf number "CCCC" ([rum]8r).

Provenance:

Part of the Spencer collection, purchased by Enriqueta Spencer. *Aedes Althorpianae*, no. 1048. See also no. **7** above. Shelfmark "17620" in manuscript next to Hering's printer's label.

Sources: book in hand; information provided by Julianne Simpson (John Rylands Library).

[161.] Princeton, John H. Scheide Library, 39.1, MEI 02127860

Fol. b1 in facsimile. Leaf size: 302x203mm.

Binding: maroon levant Morocco, by Augusto Casciani, signed "A. CASCIANI ROMA" (front board turn-in).

Decoration: outline of a coat of arms supplied in brown and red ink: *per fess and in chief per pale gules and an animal figure rampant, in base a central structure*

surrounded by three eight-pointed stars (a8v).

Manuscript notes: rare modern pencil corrections.

Provenance:

With an erased early inscription (a1r).

Undated reading permit: "Conceditur D. Josepho Beroldo et eius familiae e(st) Fr(ater) Paulus Molaschus Inq(uisit)or veronae" (a2r, lower margin). Paolo Molaschi da Lodi (-1598?, misread as "Mulardus" in the Rosenthal catalogue), served as inquisitor of Verona between 1574-1578 ('Molaschi, Paolo', in *Dizionario di eretici, dissidenti e inquisitori nel mondo mediterraneo*). The owner Josephus Beroldus may be the Veronese artist, Giuseppe Beroldi, credited with a 1573 retable at Madonna di Campagna in Verona ('Beroldi, Giuseppe' in *Benezit Dictionary of Artists*, vol. 2 (Paris: Gründ, 2006), p. 299)).

Still in Italy in the early 20th century when rebound by Casciani.

Listed by Jacques Rosenthal in Munich in 1927 for 7500 Deutschmarks (Jacques Rosenthal, München, Katalog 87: Seltene Drucke des XV. Und XVI. Jahrhunderts (1927), no. 32).

Recorded as acquired for the Scheide Library on 3/4/1927.

Sources: book in hand; MEI entry by John Lancaster.

[162.] Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Roma, 70.6.D.1, MEI 02017074

Leaf size: 312x206mm.

Binding: twentieth-century vellum rebinding; repair to fol. a1r probably from the same period as the rebinding. Red textblock edges from previous binding. The previous binding incorporated two leaves of a unique illustrated and hand-coloured German imprint, now kept under a separate shelfmark: *Die zehn Gebote*. [Reutlingen?: Johann Otmar?, 1492-95?]; ISTC ig00113700; MEI 02018189, entry by M. G. Cerri; library shelfmark: RB 460.

Decoration: coat of arms sketched in brown ink (b1r). Similar arms were born by the Gorini of Florence, *trinciato a tre crescenti attraversanti* (<<http://stemmario.khi.fi.it/Plone/alle-wappen/wap.07932293>>), the Godemini of Pistoia and Florence (<<http://stemmario.khi.fi.it/Plone/alle-wappen/wap.07932288>>), and the Michi of Florence (*Insignia Florentinorum*, BSB-Hss Cod.icon. 277, fol. 97r). In the corresponding space on fol. A1r, three crescents arranged around a large capital "L".

Manuscript notes: trimmed marginal note in Italian, "d(e)l ch?[...]" (AA5r).

Provenance:

Partly obscured early inscription in a *mercantesca* script: "Questa bibia e di m(esser) daniello rustichi el quale rischosse da ser giuliano lapinj che stette aprieta fitta el quale s(er) giuliano riebe [...] alla morte di ser jacopo rectore di s(ant)o jacopo a prieta fitta et questa bibia era di detta chiesa c(he) ale[...] riavuto(?) [...]"

co(n) [...] librij et 28 [...] di panno et [...] pianeta sestiano(?) che piu de 40(?) [...] di [...] detta chiesa [...] fussi [...] et a(n)dass[e?] [...] 1510 [...] chi la chiesa 1506 di marzo a di 5 & poi riebi latenuta 1507 di giugno alla signoria [...]" (a1r). The book was in Pietrafitta, today's province of Siena, before 1506/1507, and following the death of the parish priest, Ser Jacopo, it passed into the hands of Giuliano Lapini. Obtained from him by the Florentine Daniello di Marabottino di Antonio Rustichi (born 30 July 1469, see *Tratte Online* records n. 405339, 309267), who likely penned the note. The word 'rieb[b]e' suggests some closer (perhaps familial) relationship between Giuliano Lapini and Ser Jacopo.

The copy apparently remained in Florence, where it was later owned by Ruberto Rudolfi (1531-1612, Lucinda Byatt, 'RIDOLFI, Ruberto', in *DBI* vol. 87 (2016)), who adds his name in black ink on the same page.

Later owned by the Jesuit *Collegio Romano*, founded in 1551 during a time Ruberto Rudolfi was travelling widely, including into Rome; it is possible he brought the book there with him. Listed in the Jesuit College's 1756 catalogue; stamp, IHS Christogram within a book, lettered "BIBL.SEC.COLL.ROM.SOC.IESV."; former shelfmark: "3.A.9."

Following the dissolution of the Jesuit order in 1867, their books were moved to the newly founded national library in Rome.

Sources: MEI record by Valentina Piccinin; digital reproduction via <digitale.beic.it>; Paolo Veneziani, 'Miscellanea incunabulistica', *La Bibliofilia*, 84 (1982), 23-39 (p. 32, partial transcription of a1r provenance note in footnote 11).

[163.] San Marino (CA), Henry E. Huntington Library, 84885, MEI 02129037

Woodcut on l5v printed upside down. Leaf size: 325x124mm.

Binding: Contemporary calf over oak boards. Boards blind-stamped in a panel design (according to the Quaritch 1897 catalogue, parts 'originally gilt', now faded). Four metal cornerpieces and centrepiece on both boards. Remains of two clasps at fore-edge and one each at top and bottom. Edges gilt and gauffered in a diaper pattern with flower tools. White and green endbands. Heavily restored, with 18th[?]-century endpapers: all board edges with a ca. 25-mm border of different leather (bearing the old clasp marks), into which the blind-tooled leather is placed. Spine leather is contiguous with the border. Although the 1897 catalogue states "The mending and the brass pieces which are added at the corners are very early, not later than 1510-20", later remboîtage is not unlikely. 345×233×97mm.

Manuscript notes: reading marks (line in margin and manicule) on n8v (seemingly incorporates the date "1503") and A8r. Manuscript note in a contemporary hand: "historie figurate #418:" (LL8v).

Decoration: all woodcut vignettes and woodcut initials coloured in yellow, blue, green, pink, orange, brown, gold. Some use of gold leaf, especially on halos. A certain level of artistry displayed, e.g. two-tone shading (see e.g. t2v), or decorative

elements added not suggested in original woodcut outlines (e.g. blood splatters, fol. m3r). Missing initial supplied in blue (x8r). See also Chapter 3.

Provenance:

Impaled coat of arms, *per pale, dexter, or, a lion rampant gules; sinister, argent, a mount of five coupeaux azure* (a8v, b1r and A1r). The impaled arms match those of the Cantelmo and Camponeschi, possibly Restaino (or Rostaino) Cantelmo (?-1514, *DBI* article by Raffaele Feola, vol. 18 (1975)) and Diana Camponeschi. According to the *DBI*, Diana died in 1482 (Peter Partner, 'Camponeschi, Pietro Lalle, conte di Montorio', in *DBI*, Vol. 17 (1974)), however documents at the Archivio di Stato dell'Aquila show she married Restaino on 2 October 1484 (Riformanze Aquilane, ID Seduta S199, 5 September 1484). Their families remained close: in 1502, some Camponeschi joined Restaino in local military skirmishes (Riformanze Aquilane, ID Seduta S880, 15 June 1502); Restaino's second wife, Giovanna Carafa (sister of pope Paul IV), was the daughter of Diana's sister, Vittoria Camponeschi. The attribution is only tentative; a list of books requisitioned from the Cantelmo castle in Popoli in 1494 makes no mention of a printed Bible (Carlo de Frede, 'Biblioteche e cultura di signori napoletani del '400', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 25/1 (1963), 187-197).

The binding and decoration match lot 10 in the posthumous sale catalogue of Graf Ludwig von Paar (1817-1893), an Austrian diplomat who travelled widely for his work, including into Italy, where he may have acquired the copy. *Katalog der reichhaltigen sammlungen weiland sr. excellenz des herrn grafen Ludwig Paar* [20 February 1896 and following days], sold by the Viennese bookseller Samuel Kende (1858-1928).

Acquired there or soon after by Bernard Quaritch Ltd., London. Listed in several Quaritch catalogues between 1896-1900, first at £250 (in 1896); by 1900 the asking price was lowered to £180 (Bernard Quaritch's Rough List, No. 159. A Catalogue of Works of Art and Books of Prints. Part III Wood-Engraving. June 1896. no. 245; Bernard Quaritch's Catalogue No. 166: Examples of the Art of Book-Binding and Volumes Bearing Marks of Distinguished Ownership. January 1897. no. 323; Bernard Quaritch's Rough List, No. 176: Catalogue of Manuscripts Illuminated and Historical with a Collection of Rare Bibles and Liturgies. January 1898. no. 129; Bernard Quaritch's Rough List, No. 202: Catalogue of Spanish & Portuguese and also of Italian Literature. November 1900. no. 1138).

With pictorial bookplate of Ross Winans (1850-1912), grandson of the American inventor of the same name (on front pastedown).

Early 20th-century A5-size typewritten note with bibliographic information inserted between endleaves.

In 1918, Henry E. Huntington (1850-1927) purchased the copy from the New York bookseller George D. Smith (1870-1920) for a sum of \$2500: Invoice, George D. Smith to Henry Huntington, 8 Jan. 1918:49 bis. MS. pencil note at head "Ross Winans collection." (In Huntington Library mssHEH 25/2, folder "George D. Smith 1918"). After Huntington's death, his collection was opened to the public.

Sources: book in hand; information provided by Stephen Tabor (Huntington Library); Mead, no. 3132.

[164.] Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, S GST C rechts I 3, MEI 02148639

The recto of the title page (a1r) has been glued to the preceding flyleaf, with a rectangular opening cut out for the title printed in red. Leaf size: 310x205mm.

Binding: 15/16th-century light brown leather over wooden boards, decorated with tools popular in Germany (palmette design, figures of Christ, Moses, Saint Paul). Two metal clasps. Textblock edges coloured red. Spine later covered with light brown leather, with decoration and title in gilt added later (19th century).

Manuscript notes: occasional early marginalia and manicules.

Provenance:

Manuscript note records the 1674 purchase of the copy by Wolfgang Jakob Ramsberg: "Wolfgangi Jacobi Ramsperg 1674 Lindauii compara[vit]" (front pastedown). Lindau is a trading centre on Lake Constance; the copy may have been brought there by Italian merchants.

An accession note, possibly by the librarian Moritz Müller (1677-1745), indicates the volume was purchased for the Sankt Gallen Abbey during the reign of Abbot Joseph von Rudolphi (1666-1740, abbot 1717-1740), and while Müller was librarian, so sometime between 1717-1738, with the purchase price listed as 1 gulden ("4R 10x (seu uno aureo)"). Rudolphi's armorial ex-libris (front pastedown). Library stamp: "Katholische Stiftsbibliothek Kanton St. Gallen" (title page; back flyleaf).

Sources: information provided by Sabine Bachofner (St Gallen Stiftsbibliothek); digitisation of front pastedown and fol. a1r via library's online catalogue; Verzeichniss der Incunabeln der Stiftsbibliothek von St. Gallen, St. Gallen 1880, bearb. von Gustav Scherrer, No. 248.

[165.] Treviso, Biblioteca comunale, Shelfmark: III 099.00E.12708, MEI 02151145
Bifolium a1.8 supplied from a copy of the 1507 edition of the translation (EDIT16 CNCE 5754).

Binding: parchment binding with short yapp edges; manuscript titling across spine in brown ink, partly obscured by a later (18c?) red leather title label. Textblock edges coloured blue.

Decoration: pen outline of an unidentified (unfinished?) coat of arms, *per pale, a canton sinister* (a8v, b1r).

Manuscript notes: Waxy residue from small pieces of wax used to mark chapters, apparently intentional, in the first four books of the Pentateuch only.

Provenance:

Dated note possibly with price (“24. April 1526: [denari?]40:13”) and historical shelfmarks (front endpapers).

Bibliographic note by Luigi Bailo (1835-1932), director of the Biblioteca Comunale from 1878, shows the book belonged to the library during his tenure.

Sources: information and images provided by Geri Della Rocca de Candal.

[166.] Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ink.3.D.18, MEI 02107206

Wanting fol. LL8 (blank). Leaf size: 317x207mm.

Binding: 18th-century Parisian red Morocco over pasteboard. Boards with fillet frame with small floral tools in corners, title and floral fleurons and rolls in gilt on spine; gilt edges and turn-ins; marbled endpapers; board dimensions: 328x210mm. Marginal notes: modern pencil pagination throughout.

Provenance:

Owned by the Duc de la Vallière (see no. **35**). Purchased by the Hofbibliothek (today's ÖNB) at the 20 January 1784 Paris auction of his possessions, lot 92, for 26 livres and 19 sols.

Sources: MEI entry with data imported from online catalogue; digital reproduction: <<http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC07078639>>; ÖNB-Ink B-421.

[167.] Wiener Neustadt, Zisterzienserstift Neukloster, 0201101011, MEI 02151998

Binding: Baroque white blind-tooled leather over wooden boards. Two clasps. Similar to bindings found on editions and manuscripts at the library from the first half of the 18th century (e.g. 1725 library catalogue, shelfmark C 1).

Provenance:

At the Cistercian Neukloster abbey in Wiener Neustadt by the 18th century. Historic shelfmarks: XI.B.9, 70.A.10, A 11. The Neukloster abbey was joined with the Heiligenkreuz abbey in 1881, but the Bible remained in Wiener Neustadt until recently.

Sources: information provided by Andreas Fingernagel.

Venice: Gulielmus Anima Mia Tridinensis, 1493

Barbieri 13, GW 04319, ISTC ib00646000

Folio, in two parts

Part I: 210 leaves (a-z&g⁸4¹⁰), 226 woodcuts

Part II: 212 leaves (AA-ZZ&&AAA⁸BBBCCC⁶), 214 woodcuts

[168.] Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, Sign. 2581, MEI 02148945

The leaf kk2.7 is present in duplicate. Printing error on leaf BB3.6, with contents of BB3r repeated on BB6r, and BB6v repeated on BB3v, leaving the copy wanting the text of BB3v (Cantica II-V) and BB6r (Sapientia V-VII). Last leaf (CCC6) in facsimile. Minor repairs to many leaves, including singed outer margins of quires AA-EE. Tissue paper repairs (a1, CCC1). Leaf size: 308x204 mm.

Binding: Plain brown leather over paper boards. Title stamped in German in black on a spine label: "BIBLIA VULGAR HISTORIATA VENEDIG 1493", suggesting the book was rebound after its arrival in Berlin in the 20th century. Traces of red on textblock edges from the previous binding. 315×220×70mm.

Manuscript notes: bibliographic note in Italian in a 18th-century(?) hand, reproducing edition information from the colophon (a1r).

Provenance:

Trimmed ownership inscription by Antonius [?]rayningus, perhaps a variant of the surname Breining: "Sum Antoni ?rayningi(?) Bene vivere et Poetare" (a1r, above the printed title).

With Wilfred Voynich in 1899. Alongside the Essling copy, now at the Fondazione Cini, this is one of the two copies "rediscovered" in the same year, bringing the edition to the attention of bibliographers. Pollard cites a Voynich catalogue note indicating the copy's purchase by Quaritch, adding, "who bought, we believe, for a customer" (Alfred W. Pollard, 'Notes on Books and Work', in *The Library*, Volume s2-l, Issue 3 (1899), pp 337–347 (p. 341)).

Oval stamp of the "KOENIGLICHES KUPFERSTICHKABINETT" dated 1900, with the number "115" provided in manuscript within the stamp (a1v, lower margin). Immediately below it, pencil note reads "(vgl Erw[erb] 17-1900)"; another oval stamp of the Kupferstichkabinett (CCC5v, lower margin).

Sources: book in hand.

[169.] Dallas (TX), Bridwell Library at Southern Methodist University, 06146, MEI 02127250

Wanting ff. a1.8 and CCC6. Leaf size: 280x200mm.

Binding: modern brown blind-tooled calf binding, with the title and imprint date in gilt on the spine. Already mentioned in the Kraus sale catalogue.

Manuscript notes: trimmed early marginalia in Italian and Latin, summaries and extractions of key words; some manicules and reading marks.

Provenance:

Listed in New York seller's H. P. Kraus' (1907-1988) Catalogue 107. A Selection of Rare Books and Manuscripts (1964), no. 24, at a price of \$5,000, where it was bought by Arthur Haddaway (1901-1981), a lawyer and member of the Grolier club, based in Fort Worth, TX. With his ex-libris, dated 9 June 1964.

After Haddaway's death, listed in the Haddaway Sale by Christie's New York, 25 September 1981 (lot 191). According to Rare Book Hub, the estimated price was \$7000-9000, and the volume did not immediately sell.

Purchased by the Bridwell Library from the Dechard Turner Book Fund.

Sources: information and images provided by Leonetta Brown (Bridwell Library).

[170.] Frankfurt am Main, Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek, Inc. Qu. 655, MEI 02127084

Binding: rebound in quarter parchment and coloured paper over paper boards, with coloured textblock edges (possibly from the earlier binding).

Provenance:

Part of the Holzhausen family library, 2000 volumes of which (including 30 incunabula) were bequeathed to the library, then Stadtbibliothek, by Adolph von Holzhausen (1866-1923, 'Holzhausen, Adolph von', in *Deutsche Biographie*): ex-libris: "Vermachtnis d. Freiherrn Adolph von Holzhausen † XXI. Juli MCMXXIII." (front cover).

Sources: information provided by Dr. Bernhard Tönnies (Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek); Kurt Ohly and Vera Sack, *Inkunabelkatalog der Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek und anderer öffentlicher Sammlungen in Frankfurt am Main*. 5 vols. Frankfurt a.M., 1966-67, no. 578.

[171.] Jerusalem, Biblioteca Generale della Custodia di Terra Santa, INC A 25, MEI 02149592

Wanting first quire (a1-8). Narrowly trimmed margins. Leaf size: 292x193mm. Not in ISTC or GW, notified April-May 2024.

Binding: marbled leather over paper boards.

Manuscript notes: early note dated 1507 (unread). Another note with some personal names in Hebrew by a modern hand (b1r).

Provenance:

Space for coat of arms blacked out, possibly obscuring earlier provenance (AA1r). Part of the library of the Franciscan convent of San Salvatore in Jerusalem, established in 1560 and home to a printing press since 1847.

Sources: Luca Rivali. *Catalogo degli incunaboli e delle cinquecentine*. no. 24i. (<<https://www.bibliothecaterraesantae.org/incunaboli-400.html>>); Luca Rivali and Lorenzo Salamone. *Ars artificialiter scribendi: una mostra di edizioni quattrocentesche della Custodia Franciscana di Terra Santa : 8th-10th November 2016*. ATS pro Terra sancta, 2016. no. 26; *The Bible on the move: traditions and translations of the Holy Scriptures. November 6th-8th 2018*. A cura del progetto "Libri ponti di pace" del CRELEB - Università Cattolica di Milano e di Associazione pro Terra Sancta. ATS pro Terra sancta, 2018. G.5.

[172.] Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Inc. 2812, MEI 02137974

Wanting ff. CCC5-CCC6. Leaf size: 300x209mm.

Binding: 16th-century blind-tooled dark brown leather over pasteboard, bound in 1597 (according to Wiśtock). Unidentified armorial supralibros at the centre of back board, likely not Polish or Italian: *quartered, 1. and 4. lozeny, 2. and 3. three spurs arranged 2-1, upon the helm a lion rampant, mantled*. Red and yellow stripes on textblock edges. Paper label affixed to lower board, damaged, possibly corresponding to historic shelfmark "6780" found on the front pastedown. Only top left quarter of upper board covering survives. Later repair includes a new paper front board, covered with a decorative printed pink, gold and silver paper (mid-20th century?).

Decoration: rhombus surmounted by a cross drawn in brow ink (blank armorial shield, b1r).

Manuscript notes: marginalia in Italian by several early hands, including key words and passages (with an interest in family matters: 'p(er) castigar e amaistrar li filioli', CC3v); occasional woodcut labels; indications of liturgical readings; completions (g1v-g2r); reading marks. Some notes' linguistic inflection suggests an annotator from the Veneto: 'fiol' (i3v), 'zercare' (CC2v). Outline of a rusty key imprinted between ff. l4v-l5r, s4v-s5r, u8v-x1r, EE1r-EE2r, II1v-II2r, LL8v-MM1r, VV7v-VV8r.

Provenance:

Circumstances of arrival in Kraków unknown, perhaps associated with the increased presence of Italians following the reign of Italian-born queen Bona Sforza, or linked with the city's university. With unidentified arms on the binding. Wiśtock describes an ownership inscription "cum adscriptione in fronte: Ex libris Ioannis Carpentrierij", now lost (possibly during the binding repair), and lists this Carpentrierius among 16th-century donors to the Jagiellonian Library (mid-20th-century manuscript note on the upper pastedown expresses confusion at the Carpentrierius identification).

Previous shelfmark: "395" (a1r); "6780 Theol"; pencil notes, including one that records its rediscovery within the collection ("Odnaleziona w starym zasobie X 1961").

Sources: book in hand; information provided by Jacek Partyka (Biblioteka Jagiellońska); Władysław Wistocki, *Incunabula typographica Bibliothecae Universitatis Jagellonicae Cracoviensis* (Cracoviae, 1900), pp. XIV, 74.

[173.] L'Aquila, Biblioteca provinciale "Salvatore Tommasi", INC D 30, MEI 02151139

Wanting first and final quires (A1-8; CCC1-6).

Sources: online catalogue; Walter Capezzali, Mario Petti, *Catalogo degli incunabuli delle biblioteche abruzzesi* (L'Aquila: L. U. Japadre Editore, 1982), no. 56; fig. XIV.

[174.] London, British Library, IB.23096, MEI 02149731

Wanting ff. a3-7. Fol. a1 mounted. In place of a3r, paper leaf bearing an "AL MASSO" watermark, with a pencil note indicating missing leaves. Several leaves mounted. Leaf size: 299x199mm.

Binding: half parchment over pasteboard covered with beige paper. Light brown leather spine label with the title in gilt. Early titling along upper and outer textblock edges in brown ink: 'BIBBIA-VOLGARE'. 307x216x58mm.

Manuscript notes: rare pen trials (i7r) and pencil marks (kk4r, AAA7r). Faint set-off of a 16th/17th-century handwritten number (earlier shelfmark or price?, CCC6v).

Provenance:

Erased ownership inscription "De Ales(andr)o Pacino" in a 16th/17th-century hand (a1r, legible under UV light). The owner may have been the Florentine Alexander Paccinus active in Rome in 1590 (Gio. Battista Bovio, *La pietà trionfante su le distrutte grandezze del gentilesimo nella magnifica Fondazione dell'insigne Basilica di S. Lorenzo in Damaso di Roma*, in Roma MDCXXIX Appresso Girolamo Mainardi a Monte Citorio, p. 89).

Note indicating missing leaves (see above) by an unidentified late 19th/early 20th century German-speaking bookseller or cataloguer.

Bought by the British Museum: dated British Museum stamp, bearing the date "17 AP[RIL] 1902" (a2v, a8r, AA1v, CCC6v); also present, red oval BRITISH MUSEUM stamp (a1v).

Sources: book in hand; BMC V 412-413.

[175.] Moscow, Russian State Library, MK Inc.4.241 Cum alligg, MEI 02148943

Some leaves have undergone repair. Leaf size: 298x203mm. Not in GW, notified April 2024.

Binding: Brown leather over paper boards. Gold embossing on the spine. Spine with bands. Textblock edges sprinkled light brown and red. Dating uncertain, possibly 17th/18th century.

Decoration: Woodcut illustrations throughout the volume coloured by hand with watercolours in shades of pink, red, green and light brown/ochre. Space for coat of arms filled in brown ink, now faint and difficult to distinguish the content (b1r).

Provenance:

Sixteenth-century owner's inscription in brown ink, flanking the space for a coat of arms "ANTONIO DI BED[...]" (b1r), and below, "Antonio di BDVZO", possibly meant to indicate Beduzzo, a hamlet in the province of Parma.

Erased inscription in a sixteenth-century hand, covered with ink by a later owner but still faintly visible: "Diamante Biancchini" (a1r). Possibly Diamante Bianchini from Bologna, the addressee of a letter of the Venetian poet Luigi Grotto dated 23 June 1569 ("Alla Mag. Sig. Diamante Bianchini in Bologna", in *Lettere famigliari di Luigi Grotto Cieco d'Adria...* In Venetia, MDCVI. Presso Matteo Valentini, p. 62). The Bianchini family also had branches in Venice and Ferrara (Crollalanza, *Dizionario storico-blasonico*, vol. I, p. 131).

Exact date and circumstances of acquisition by the Russian State Library are unknown.

Sources: information and images provided by Dmitry Rumyantsev (RSL); digital reproduction <<https://viewer.rsl.ru/ru/rsl01002423426?page=1&rotate=0&theme=white>> and <<https://viewer.rsl.ru/ru/rsl01004889752?page=1&rotate=0&theme=white>> (with thanks to Falk Eisermann for information about the digitisation).

[176.] New York City, Public Library, Spencer Collection, Spencer Coll. Ital. 1493 (Bible. Italian. 1493), MEI 02148195

Fol. b1 with full-page woodcut frame on the recto supplied from a copy of the 1502 Italian Bible: *Biblia vulgare historiada* (EDIT16 CNCE 5752). According to the card catalogue, the entire second quire comes from a copy of that edition; title page probably in facsimile. Leaf size: 297x207mm.

Binding: modern parchment binding from a manuscript antiphonal. In modern slipcase of off-white calf with floral paper sides. Titling tooled on spine label. 19/20th century, certainly by 1929.

Provenance:

In Milan in 1929: Libreria Antiquaria Hoepli, Milan, *Manoscritti, incunabuli figurati, editiones principes*. 18 Febbraio 1929. Lot 6, auction estimate 185,000 Lire. Purchased there for the New York Public Library.

Sources: information provided by Margaret Glover (Print and Spencer Collections, NYPL); *Dictionary Catalog and Shelf List of The Spencer Collection of Illustrated Books and Manuscripts and Fine Bindings, Volume 1: A-K* (Boston, MS: G.K. Hall & CO., 1971), p. 123.

[177.] Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, Vol. Inc. 257, MEI 02145365

Multiple leaves in outermost quires repaired (inlaid, remounted). Wanting fol. CCC6.

Binding: Plain parchment binding. Printed rectangular paper label 'Badia di Grottaferrata Monumento Nazionale <Roma> Laboratorio Restauro del Libro' (lower pastedown).

Decoration: faint bend sinister within the armorial shield (b1r).

Manuscript notes: additions by two early hands. (1) Colophon correction (reigning pope's name misprinted as Alexander IV), and a marginal note, 'Vita n(ost)ra brevis' (BB5r). (2) More cursive hand pens marginal notes in Ecclesiasticus 25 'cotra [sic] mulieres' (accompanied by a small manicule, and a second manicule halfway down the page pointing at verse 10 of the same chapter, CC7v), Ecclesiasticus 30 'qui parcit virgie [sic] odit filium' (DD1r), a vertical line reading mark along Ecclesiasticus 26, discussing marriage (CC8r). Missing text supplied by hand, attempting to copy the printed font (HH5, upper right corner).

Provenance:

Owned by Cardinal Girolamo Casanate (1620-1700): small oval stamp in black ink with tower surmounted by a Marian star, lettered HCC (i.e. Hieronymi Cardinalis Casanatae), c8r. Listed in vol. 1 of Audiffredi's catalogue (1761), p. 651, under its old shelfmark, A. V. 50. That, together with another historic shelfmark H. VI. 28 on rectangular paper slip affixed to upper pastedown, possibly retrieved from earlier binding. After 1884, the library was secularised.

Sources: digital reproduction
<<http://www.bibliotecaitaliana.it/testo/ib00646000>>; Audiffredi catalogue
digitised via <<http://iccu.sbn.it>>.

[178.] Siena, Biblioteca comunale, M. V. 20, MEI 02148598

Wanting first quire (a1-8). Leaf size: 290x195 mm.

Binding: 19th-century half parchment over paper boards covered with marbled paper. Title stamped in black ink on the spine. Poor quality maroon endpapers. Textblock edges probably coloured blue before the volume was rebound.

Manuscript notes: pen trials (u6v), epistolary pen trial in Italian: "carissimo padre la scrivo questi due versi" in a 18th-century hand (CCC6v).

Provenance:

The Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati was founded in 1758; the exact date of acquisition is unknown, but the lack of an inventory number points to its acquisition early in the library's existence. Many of the library's early acquisitions came from suppressed religious institutions.

Sources: information and images provided by Sara Centi (Biblioteca Comunale).

[179.] Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Bb ital.149301, MEI 02148625

Wanting quires 99 and 44, duplicate quires 9 and 4 misbound between quires 88 and AAA.

Binding: reddish-brown straight-grained half Morocco with Stormont pattern marbled paper. Matching marbled endpapers (19th century Germany?).

Decoration: printed title (a1r) coloured in gold, within a blue and black border. Woodcuts coloured in yellow, brown, green, orange, purplish-brown. The decoration, with varying levels of finish, only in the first few quires (up to fol. f4r) and excluding the woodcut initials, probably not executed by a professional. Rare pen initials (AAA1v).

Manuscript notes: chapter number corrections (k4v-k5r). Scattered German translations of single words from the text (e.g. 'dileza'>'lestert', i.e. lästert (AA4v); 'salute'>'selligkeit' (AAA1v)) and some further brief erased marginal notes, now illegible.

Provenance:

Owned by the seminary of the Teutonic Order in Mergentheim, Germany (1606-1809): "Seminarij Mergentheimensis" (a1v). 226 editions with this provenance at the WLB are currently listed in the INKA catalogue.

With the round armorial stamp of the Königliche Handbibliothek (a1r) which housed the most valuable books taken from the region's forcibly closed religious institutions. On the same leaf, oval stamp indicating move from the Königliche Handbibliothek to the Königliche Landesbibliothek (now the WLB) in 1919. Historic shelfmark: B.ital.fol.1493.

Sources: digital reproduction <<http://digital.wlb-stuttgart.de/purl/bsz511244894>>; INKA 10001713; Renner 1210.

[180.] Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

Copy 1, Inc.II.905, MEI 02151177

Wanting fol. CCC6. Has undergone repair.

Binding: Modern half-parchment rebinding. Preserves early manuscript title along the upper textblock edge, 'BIBLIA .V.', evidence of horizontal storage.

Marginal notes: occasional additions to running titles and woodcut illustrations. Rare pen trials and pencil scribbles (ll3r; faint outline of a human face in profile, ll2r). Two dates noted in margins without explanation: '1577 a di 4 8ottobre' (m7r); "1581, a di 3 Aprile, a hore 3 1/2 lunedì" (o1r).

Provenance:

The book belonged to the Milanese Cantoni family; inscribed with their names and ages: "49 Bartholomeus Cantonus, 34 Caterina Cantonia, 12 Petrus Cantonus, Franciscus Cantonus 8, 2 Anastasius(?) Cantonus, mihaal angelus [C]antonus .m(esi) 2." (NN2r, outer margin). According to an inscription on her tombstone, reported by Argelati (vol. I, col. 276), Caterina, née Lechi, died in 1601 aged 59, and was survived by her husband, and sons Piero and Francesco. Based on that inscription, the note in this copy can be dated to 1576 ca., and the family members' birth years approximated: Bartolomeo born ca. 1527; Piero, *doctor utriusque legis*, born ca. 1564; Michelangelo, a budding scholar, died on 20 November 1597, 'nel più bel fior della sua età' (Morigia, pp. 152-3), aged 18. The sources make no mention of Anastasio, who was two years old in 1576. In 1587, Bartolomeo donated relics for the Madonna dei Miracoli sanctuary in Corbetta, east of Milan (Morigia, p. 59).

Part of the 1936 donation from the Milanese Curia.

Sources: digital reproduction: <<http://digi.vatlib.it/view/Inc.II.905>>; online catalogue; Orlandi 7a.

[181.] Copy 2, Inc.II.906, MEI 02151178

Wanting fol. a1 and quire CCC.

Binding: modern half-parchment rebinding.

Manuscript notes: unidentified acronym in brown ink: "M.G.M.C." (a2v); pencil note: "21. 1493 n.3" (a2r, c1r).

Provenance:

An inscription in brown ink: "Dionisa di S. Celso" (a2r), seems to be a reference to the church of Santa Maria dei Miracoli presso San Celso in Milan (there was no women's convent there, cf. Licia Carubelli, 'Celso, chiesa di S.', in *Dizionario della Chiesa ambrosiana*, vol. II). The inscription would seem to indicate an affiliation with the Milanese monastery of San Celso, which does not seem to have constituted a women's monastery at any point (see Robert Ribaldo, Fabio Bianchini, 'Monastero di S. Celso – complesso. Milano (MI)', SIRBeC scheda ARL - LMD80-00712,

<<https://www.lombardiabeniculturali.it/architetture/schede/LMD80-00712/>>).

There was also a similarly named church in Comerio, near Varese.

Part of the 1936 donation from the Milanese Curia: with the printed *ex-dono* label.

Sources: book in hand; online catalogue; Orlandi 7b.

[182.] Copy 3, Inc.II.907, MEI 02151179

Wanting ff. a1-2. Has undergone repair.

Binding: modern half-parchment rebinding.

Manuscript notes: three rectangular paper leaves glued to the front flyleaf, each with an allegorical ink drawing, followed by 12-16 lines of text in Italian. The content is prophetic, in some cases with clear biblical echoes (e.g. "doman, come dice Cristo, in nel clibano sarrai messo", cf. Matthew 6:30), rooted in the context of the early 16th-century French invasion of Lombardy: three fleur-de-lys drawn obscured by leafless thorny vines reference the French royal arms (2v); an allegorical drawing of the *biscione* serpent with a *scopetta* in its mouth reinforces the Milanese connection (2r). On similar manuscript production, see Roberto Rusconi "'Ex quodam antiquissimo libello". La tradizione manoscritta delle profezie nell'Italia tardomedioevale: dalle collezioni profetiche alle prime edizione a stampa', *The Use and Abuse of Eschatology in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Werner Verbeke, Daniël Verhelst (Leuven University Press, 1988), pp. 441-472.

Provenance:

Owned by Bianca Geronima (or Gerolama) Brivio or Brippio, the daughter of Giovanni Francesco Brivio (+1517), Milanese noble employed at the Sforza court (Franca Petrucci, 'BRIVIO, Giovanni Francesco', in *DBI*, vol. 14 (1972)). She entered the female Benedictine convent of Monastero Maggiore in Milan following her father's death (Franca Leverotti, 'Francesco Brivio, un cortigiano nella Milano del Moro' <<http://lombardianelrinascimento.it/materiali/wp-content/uploads/sites/7/2014/07/f.brivio1.doc>> [no longer online, last accessed March 2017]). She was still alive in 1572, as attested by a dated lapidary inscription at San Maurizio, a church attached to the Monastero Maggiore (Vincenzo Forcella, *Iscrizioni delle chiese e degli altri edifici di Milano. Dal secolo VIII ai giorni nostri*, Milan, Tipografia Bortolotti di Giuseppe Prato, 1890, vol. III, p. 458, no. 604). Inscription in a dark ink: "D(omina) Blanca Jeronima da B[rrippio] mon[aste]rio mazore d[e] m[ilano]" (a6r).

Part of the 1936 donation from the Milanese Curia.

Sources: book in hand; online catalogue; Orlandi 7c.

[183.] Venice, Fondazione Cini, FOAN TES 78, MEI 0200208

Title printed in red (a1r). Wanting ff. R5-R6. Leaf size: 310x210mm.

Binding: blue Morocco over wooden boards. Gilt armorial supralibros of the prince of Essling on both covers. Title and monogram "VM" in gilt on spine. Brown Morocco gilt turn-ins. Peacock-patterned marbled endpapers. Gilt textblock edges. Bound by Lortic in the late 19th century. 315x220x55mm.

Manuscript notes: manuscript foliation in a later, 18th-century(?) hand; washed manuscript notes (a1r).

Provenance:

Washed inquisitorial reading permit by fra Massimiliano Beniami da Crema, OFMConv (see no. **73**), partly legible under UV light: "fr(ater) Masimianus Beniamus

Cremensis Inq(uisito)r Padu[ae] [Messer] Petrus Patavinus da Colombaria" (a1r). The owner's toponym, Petrus Patavinus da Colombaria(?), possibly refers to Colombara, a small *frazione* north of Padua.

Owned by the Prince of Essling, who had it rebound by Lortic. Among many illustrated Venetian books from Essling's collection purchased by Vittorio Cini in 1939 following suggestions from de Marinis. See also nos. **19** and **141**.

Sources: book in hand; MEI entry by Matilde Malaspina; Tamaro De Marinis, Tamaro *Il castello di Monselice: Raccolta degli antichi libri veneziani figurati* (Verona: Bodoni, 1941), pp. 15-16; Rhodes Cini B52.

Venice: Johannes Rubeus Vercellensis, for Lucantonio Giunta, 1494

Barbieri 14, GW 04320, ISTC ib00647000

Folio, in two parts

Part I: 208 leaves (a-z&g²⁸), 250 woodcuts

Part II: 202 leaves (A¹⁰B-OAA-LL⁸), 188 woodcuts

[184.] Bucharest, Biblioteca Națională a României (National Library of Romania), Inc II 42, MEI 02127183

Parts of ff. a8 and b1 of part I and A1 of part II containing a space for a coat of arms effaced, presumably to cover earlier provenance, resulting in a series of small holes pricked into surrounding leaves of part I (a6-b2). Not in GW, notified April 2024. Binding: dark brown sprinkled leather. Plain boards, with board edges decorated in gilt. Spine gilt with a burgundy leather label with the title in gilt, "BIBLIA SACRA". Textblock edges sprinkled blue and red. The front cover is detached, the back cover is loose.

Manuscript notes: printer's signature corrections (O2r, BB3r and EE4r). Sparse marginal reading marks and underlining. Isolated correction (u5r). Pen trials (28v, LL8v).

Provenance:

Early owner's coat of arms removed (a8, b1, A1). Paper slip glued to margin of fol. a2r obscures earlier provenance evidence (possibly a library stamp). Handwritten historic shelfmark "N. 7", crossed through (front flyleaf).

The copy arrived in the library in 1961, from the State Book Fund (Fondul de Stat al Cărții). Some acquisitions through this route came from the antiquarian market, however most were private collections requisitioned during the Communist era.

Sources: digital reproduction via <<http://digitool.bibnat.ro>>; additional information provided by Andreea Răsboiu (Biblioteca Națională).

[185.] Cambridge, Emmanuel College, S1.2.41, MEI 02151141

Binding: plain reversed calf binding, with armorial supralibros of Archbishop of Canterbury (England, 17th century).

Manuscript notes: annotations by Sancroft (a1r). Earlier inscription, partly obscured, includes the year “1576” and “London”.

Provenance:

Part of the book collection of William Sancroft (1617-1693), Archbishop of Canterbury. During his temporary exile in 1657-60, he travelled widely, including to Venice, Padua, and Rome, where he may have purchased the copy (R.A.P.J. Beddard, ‘Sancroft, William’, in ODNB). With his supralibros.

Sancroft donated his 5000-volume rich library to Emmanuel College, where he had studied and served as Master, ensuring its survival as a collection.

Sources: information provided by Helen Carron (Emmanuel College).

[186.] Cambridge (MS), Harvard University Houghton Library, Typ Inc 5136.5, MEI 02148567

Wanting fol. a1. Fol. a8 misbound at the front of the volume with the verso, containing the full-page Six Days of Creation woodcut, serving as the first page. Some worming on first few leaves.

Binding: speckled sheep, spine decorated in gilt, red leather onlay with title in gilt, textblock edges coloured red and speckled brown (18th-century Italy(?)).

Manuscript notes: printer’s correction (EE4r). Marginal annotations in Armenian, in a vivid red ink throughout the volume. These take the form of brief content summaries in Armenian relating to the text at hand, both in the spaces between individual chapters of the text, and as labels for the printed illustrations.

Decoration: effaced coat of arms in brown ink on fols b1r and A1r.

Provenance:

An ownership inscription found beneath the colophon, in the same hand as the numerous marginal inscriptions, reads in translation: “The Holy Book ended. The Bible which in Latin language is called Biblia Sacra. This praiseworthy Bible! Whoever reads and follows [it]. I, Ałajār Ĵotec’i, finished it three times.” Originally from the city of Julfa in Armenia, Ałajār may have been a trader resident in Italy, or perhaps one of the Mekhitarist monks who arrived in the Venetian lagoon in the 18th century. The monastery of San Lazzaro degli Armeni survived the dissolution of monasteries during the Napoleonic period and is still active.

Unidentified library stamp from the 18/19th century: a black oval library stamp with a griffon rampant (a2r, LL8v); similar to a likewise unidentified library stamp reproduced in the Archivio dei Possessori of the Biblioteca dell'Archiginnasio, Bologna, found in the library item shelfmark 5.B.III.15

(<<http://badigit.comune.bologna.it/possessori/dettaglio.asp?lettera=399>>, Item ID 399).

Philip Hofer's bibliographical notes in pencil include information about the volume's purchase: "Bought(?) Olschki Florence July '48 for \$335 incl[...]". In the library of Philip (1898-1984) and Frances Hofer (1908-1978) until 1967 when it was donated to Harvard: printed label "HARVARD COLLEGE LIBRARY From the collection of Philip Hofer Class of 1921 for the DEPARTMENT OF PRINTING AND GRAPHIC ARTS" (centre of front pastedown). Recorded as received in January 1967 (Houghton Library accession books, 1941-2001. 1967. Hofer Deposit. p. 2).

Sources: with thanks to David Zakarian (University of Oxford) for the translation of the Armenian ownership inscription and suggestions about Ałajār's identity; ff. a8r-v digitised on the library's website, <<https://iif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/ids:23066642>>, <<https://iif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/ids:23066643>>; Walsh, 2223.

[187.] Carpentras, Bibliothèque municipale, Inc. C 24, MEI 02148607

Wanting fol. a1. Leaf size 295x205mm. Not in ISTC or GW, notified April-May 2024. Binding: 17th-century French red Morocco over paper boards. Boards decorated with a single gilt fillet frame. Spine with 5 raised bands, gilt-tooled title "BIBLIA. ITAL" within a small rectangular frame made up of small x-shaped tools. Textblock edges speckled red.

Manuscript notes: printer's signature corrections (O2r, BB3r, EE4r). Rare marginalia in French in a 16th-century hand, in Genesis only, summarising the text.

Provenance:

The earliest dated inscription by a Frenchman Philippe Lauze is from 1609 (fol. y1r), where Lauze also describes himself as a merchant ('marchand'), however the marginalia in French seem to predate this.

In 1699, the book was purchased in Grenoble by Louis Tomassin de Mazaugues (1647-1712). His inscription may also indicate the price at which he purchased the book: "emptus 1699 gratianopoli £(?) 70". His collection was inherited by his son, Henri-Joseph de Mazaugues (1684-1743), who continued to enrich it with further purchases. In 1745, the entire collection was acquired by Cardinal Joseph d'Inguibert, O. Cist. (1683-1757) from Joseph, the brother of Henri-Thomassin de Mazaugues who was handling his estate posthumously.

In 1757, the book arrived at the Bibliothèque Municipale Inguibertine as part of the bequest of d'Inguibert, its founder. Previous shelfmark: "450" (small rectangular label on head of spine affixed over another similarly sized label, presumably with an earlier shelfmark). Further spine labels with Pellechet number, imprint year and shelfmark.

Sources: information and images provided by Julie Lochanski (Bibliothèque municipale).

[188.] Florence, Biblioteca Marucelliana, R.A.424, MEI 02148577

Leaf size 329x213mm.

Binding: 17th-century(?) half brown leather and blue-grey paper over pasteboard. Title in gilt on spine, "BIBLIA VOLGARE HISTORIATA".

Manuscript notes: printer's signature corrections (O2r, BB3r). Penitential psalms indicated by a 16th-century Florentine hand. Foliation in Arabic numerals stamped on each recto.

Provenance:

Ownership inscription below printer's device on a1r: "Mona Bartholomea Do(mi)na fu di [i.e. widow of] Lapo del tovaglia". Bartolomea may have been a second wife of the Lapo di Bartolomeo del Tovaglia (1481-1549), who, according to the *DBI* (Sandra Pieri, 'Del Tovaglia, Lapo' *DBI*, vol. 38 (1990)), had married an Alessandra in 1503. Dated note from 16 April 1547 in a similar hand, obscured by a slip of paper but still partly legible: "[q]uesta bibia si he achutata(?) datom[...] di [...] di mj mio nipote e p(er) luj [...] mj C(arissi)ma sua madre hogi q(uesto) dì 16 aprile 1547" (a1v).

Later owned by the Servite monastery of Santissima Annunziata, OSM in Florence. The book remained there until approximately 1810: early 19th-century note introduced around the time of the book's arrival at the Marucelliana: "Annunziata N. 1822" (front flyleaf). Previous Marucelliana shelfmarks 4.A.III.41, 4.A.V.22.

Sources: book in hand; Scapecchi Marucelliana n. 328.

[189.] Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, P.2.10, MEI 02149671

Wanting ff. a1-2, a4, a6-8, A1, LL1. Woodcuts on ff. i8, g1 and KK7 excised. Outer half of KK8 ripped away, and a few other leaves repaired and remounted. Leaf size: 306x212mm.

Binding: old vellum binding, has undergone repair. Title along spine in a calligraphic Gothic hand: "Biblia Sacra".

Decoration: owner's monogram and signature in armorial space of b1r (see below). Manuscript notes: in several 15-17th-century hands in Italian and Latin (mostly by Dalle Donne, see below). Added woodcut labels (d6v, BB5r). Opening of Psalm 14 written in margin of 1 Samuel (I7r). Indication of extraneous textual addition, "Ista no(n) habe(n)tur i(n) biblia" (M7v-M8r). Moralising rhymes (g1r). Multiple trimmed epistolary pen trials in Dalle Donne's hand (see below). Rare manicules and vertical line reading marks.

Provenance:

The copy has several early ownership inscriptions by owners from central Italy:

“Jo[annes] Fran(ces)co Cavallarus t(er)ra civita Burrello pro[vinc]ia[?]Apruzzo [...]” (c7r), likely from the town of Borrello in the Appenines. Another reads, “Hic liber est mei cui nomine vocor Joan(n)es Bernardinus Verardus” (q1v); elsewhere “Jo(an)nes Ber(nardi)nus Ver(ar)dus Terr(a)e S(anc)ti Ben(edicti)” (e1r). The area surrounding the Benedictine Abbey at Montecassino is traditionally known as *Terra Sancti Benedicti*.

Multiple ownership inscriptions of Giuseppe Antonio dalle Donne (also written Joseppe Antonio Delle Donne), including a stylised monogram, with his initials arranged around the central ‘A’ (b1r; A9v; M8v; O6v). Two of his notes are dated: 25 May 1638 (z7v), and 1638 (E3v). The surname is attested in Naples, which is also mentioned in one of his pen trials (“...ormae sia unanno gia chesono partito Dana Pole [*sic*]”, l5r); another fragment is addressed to a Horatio del Drago in Rome (l2r). Collation note dated May 1921 (lower pastedown).

Sources: book in hand; Scapecchi BNCf 520.

[190.] Genoa, Biblioteca universitaria, Rari A.IV.4, MEI 02148680

Wanting the bifolium ll3.6. Its content has been supplied in manuscript leaves bound in within the quire. Ff. O3.6 supplied twice.

Binding: red textured paper over cardboard, with outer corners board corner reinforced with parchment, and light brown leather over the spine; title stamped in gold.

Manuscript notes: printer’s signature corrections (O2r, BB3r). Rare manicules and underlining.

Provenance:

Owned by the Jesuit College in Genoa. The college was founded in 1604, and the exact acquisition circumstances of the copy are unknown; the book is listed in the manuscript catalogue of the Genoese University Library compiled shortly following the institutional transfer of the Jesuit College’s collections: *Bibliothecae Universitatis Genuensis Catalogus secundus auctorum cognomina ordine alphabetico dispositus. Tomus Primus complectens litteras A-B-C-D* [-Tomus quartus S-Z]. anno 1785 [-1787] Shelfmark: BUGe, ATRIO RARI MSS. C 33 (1-4). Following the dissolution of the Jesuit order in 1773, the book passed into the ownership of the University of Genova.

Source: information and images provided by Oriana Cartaregia (Biblioteca universitaria).

[191.] Göttweig, Benediktinerstift, Ink 696, MEI 02148675

Wanting ff. a1-2, Leaf size: 320x213mm.

Binding: brown leather binding signed "A.M.K." and dated "1702". Edges gilt and gauffered.

Provenance:

Probably purchased sometime between 1720-1740 during the reign of abbot Gottfried Bessel (1672-1749), whose programme for revitalising the monastery included numerous purchases of early printed books.

Sources: information provided by Bernhard Rameder (Stift Göttweig).

[192.] Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 2° Inc. c.a. 3020m, MEI 02145234

Wanting ff. a1-7, b1.8, c8 and LL8. Missing text of Genesis 1-3 supplied on three added leaves, by Johann Wilhelm Kress von Kressenstein (see below).

Binding: blind-tooled calf leather over pasteboard, with the name "ANTONIVS KRESS" and date "1500" tooled in gilt (front board), repaired. Gilt supralibros with Karl Theodor's arms added in the 18th century.

Marginal notes: printer's signature corrections (O2r; BB3r. Signature of EE4r printed). Rare Latin summaries (GG4r), cross-references between the New and Old Testaments (e.g. AA5r), in a humanistic *cursive currens* script. Note identifying the Life of Joseph as apocryphal (LL3v). Corrections of running titles (e.g. BB4v), in Johann Wilhelm's hand.

Provenance:

The name of Nuremberg noble Antonius Kress von Kressenstein (1478-1513) tooled on the binding. Kress studied in Italy, and the date, 1500, suggests he may have bought the book while studying in Pavia in 1498-1501 (RAG Online <<https://resource.database.rag-online.org/ngCS4X173BU9lryswB3r2Aoz>>).

Dated note by a Spanish annotator, "1587 en Genova" on back flyleaf, accompanied by a motto in Latin, "QVOD LEGITVR DISCVTVR", and another in Spanish: "la natura, no ha ninguna cosa mas exelente, que la honestad la Alabança y la honra", a confusing addition given that the book is soon in German hands, with a member of the Kress family claiming that the book had belonged to Antonius in a note: "Diese Italienische alte Bibel helt ma(n) dafür das dieselb herrn D: Anthoni Kressen [...] gewesen und solche hinfüro bey meiner lieben posteritet zur gedechnus verbleiben soll." The same hand also pens the motto „Omnia si perdas, videas ut BIBLIA serves. BIBLIA qui servat, servat et ipse DEUM.", and a brief note "Nachbenante Kressen seind in Ihrer iugent in Welschland gewesen" (meaning: the abovementioned Kressen had been in French-speaking Switzerland in his youth).

Armorial ex-libris of Johann Wilhelm Kress von Kressenstein (1589-1657) on front inside pastedown.

Part of the library of Karl Theodor (1724-1799), Elector of Bavaria, located in the Kurpfälzische Bibliothek (Library of the Electoral Palatinate) at his palace in Mannheim. In 1803-1804, his library was transferred to Munich, to today's

Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (see 'Bavarian State Library, Munich', in *The Oxford Companion to the Book*).

Sources: digital reproduction: <<http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/~db/0004/bsb00048359/images/>>, <<http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/~db/0004/bsb00048360/images/>>; BSB-Ink B-500,1-2.

[193.] Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, III.H.12, MEI 02151142

Bifolium f4.5 misbound between f2.7 and f3.6.

Binding: 18th-century(?) brown blind-tooled leather over pasteboard. Textblock edges faintly marbled.

Manuscript notes: printer's signature corrections (O2r, BB3r, EE4r). Phrase written by Maria Archangela, "mia chara vita" (a3r, see below). Rare pen trials by an early reader (CC2r).

Provenance:

Signed by a nun, "Sor Maria archangella dada" in a 16th-century hand (a1v, repeated on a2r, KK6r).

Numerous books at the Biblioteca Nazionale in Naples come from the dissolution of religious institutions; the book likely remained at Maria Arcangela's convent until its dissolution at the end of the 18th century. Small rectangular label on lower pastedown with the inventory number (Numero d'inventario) supplied in manuscript: "808".

Sources: digitisation provided by the library (Lucia Marinelli, Biblioteca Nazionale).

[194.] Palermo, Biblioteca Comunale Leonardo Sciascia, Esp. XI E 2, 0212, MEI 02127237

Minor worming affecting some of the printed text throughout the volume. Wanting ff. a1.8, k1.8, A1, K3. Leaves a8 and A1 supplied from a copy of the 1502 edition of the same translation (EDIT16 CNCE 5752). Missing part of text from k1.8 supplied in manuscript on a replacement leaf, using Sante Marmochino's translation (so post-1538).

Binding: modern parchment binding with five raised bands on spine, spine labels in second and fourth spine compartments; black, red and white marbled endpapers.

Decoration: space for an armorial device on b1r filled with an urn surmounted by a cross sketched in brown ink, possibly meant as a ciborium with its lid.

Manuscript notes: printer's signature corrections (O2r, BB3r; EE4r signature printed). On laid paper leaf added in place of a1, early reader's note "P[?]ne Sciruppi de duabus Infu.s ros damascenum 73"; the same reader supplied the missing text of ff. k1.8.

Provenance:

Circumstances of acquisition by the Biblioteca Comunale are uncertain. Inaugurated in 1760, the library acquired many books from local suppressed religious houses (Gioacchino di Marzo, *Primo Centenario della Biblioteca Comunale di Palermo*, Palermo: Giornale di Sicilia, 1875). Printed ex-libris, with shelfmark added in manuscript: "Pl: CXLIV. Lit: B. Num: 188".

Sources: digitisation provided by library staff (Provvidenza la Mattina and Eliana Calandra); Giuseppina Li Calsi, *Catalogo degli Incunabuli della Biblioteca Comunale di Palermo* (Palermo, 1978) 187.

[195.] Paris, Bibliothèque de l'École nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Masson 2722, MEI 02148582

First leaf (a1) remounted with only a small fragment (120x120mm approx.) remaining. Wanting fol. LL8 (blank). Leaf size 304x207, several leaves trimmed after a corner had become folded over, revealing the previous leaf size to have been approx. 308x218mm.

Binding: 18th-century Italian half-parchment over block-printed paper-covered boards. Manuscript title at the head of the spine, and a cardboard label immediately below with edition details; textblock edges sprinkled (sponged?) red to match the decorative paper. 311x225x63mm.

Manuscript notes: printer's signature corrections (O2r, BB3r, EE4r). Isolated plus-shaped reading mark (A6r, Proverbs).

Provenance:

Unidentified 19th-century pencil notes, possible historic shelfmarks: "163" (front pastedown), "40" (first front flyleaf).

Erased pencil note in a 19th-century(?) cursive hand, possibly in French (back pastedown).

Part of the collection of Jean Masson (1856-1933), a business owner from Amiens. The copy was already in Masson's possession by 1907, when it is mentioned in the first volume of Essling's *Livres à figures vénitiens*. In 1925, Masson donated his collection of 545 incunabula to the École nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts, to ensure it would not be dispersed following his death.

Sources: book in hand; Dominique Coq. *Catalogues régionaux des incunables des Bibliothèques publiques de France. Vol. XVIII: Bibliothèque de l'École nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts*. Genève, 2012, no. 91.

[196.] San Marino (CA), Henry E. Huntington Library, 84935, MEI 02129047

Edges narrowly trimmed, affecting printed headlines and marginal notes. Leaf size: 292x198mm.

Binding: dark purple "Jansen style" levant Morocco (see Jones sale catalogue). Title stamped in gilt on second spine panel. Textblock edges gilt. By Léon Gruel (Paris, 1841-1923): foot of spine stamped with a gilt binder's signature "GRUEL".

Decoration: unfinished outline of a coat of arms in brown ink, *two bends sinister adorned with flowers/fleurs-de-lys, lion rampant sinister* (a8v). Woodcut initials coloured in a dark ink (y4r, y5r).

Manuscript notes: printer's signature corrections (O2r, BB3r, EE4r). Numerous brief marginal notes throughout in a *humanistica cursiva currens*, in Latin and Italian, including brief summaries, corrections (41r, BB3v, DD5r), rare manicules (A8v, A9v), underlining and vertical line reading marks, and some poorly printed text supplied in manuscript (HH9r).

Provenance:

16/17th-century note, possibly historic shelfmark: "fg" (a1r, below printer's device). The description of no. 191 in Voynich's Catalogue 29 (from ca. 1911), priced at £600, largely matches the copy, except the colour of the binding ("crimson French Morocco"). The wording used in the description of this copy in Jones' sale catalogue also closely matches that found in Voynich's catalogue.

Owned by Minneapolis-based Journalist and publisher Herschel V. Jones (1861-1928). Jones purchased both from American book dealers and directly from European sources. Black leather ex-libris tooled in gilt, and printed paper bookplate, both with name "Herschel V. Jones". Herschel V. Jones, "Catalogue of the Library of Herschel V. Jones". New York: Anderson Galleries, 1918, no. 101.

Purchased for Henry E. Huntington at the December 1918-March 1919 sale of Jones' collection, at the suggestion of George D. Smith, a New York bookseller Huntington dealt with on numerous occasions (Donald C. Dickinson, *Henry Huntington's Library of Libraries* (San Marino, CA: Huntington Library Press, 1995), pp. 121-122). See also no. **163** above.

Sources: book in hand; online catalogue; Mead, no. 2984.

[197.] Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

Copy 1, Inc.II.443, MEI 02151195

Leaf size: 324x223mm.

Binding: 20th-century parchment rebinding. Traces of green on the textblock edges remain from the earlier binding.

Manuscript notes: printer's signature corrections (O2r; BB3r).

Provenance:

Unidentified former owner's signature: "Franc.o dil Cullo Bernardo(?)" (LL7v).

Circumstances of acquisition uncertain; not in Orlandi's list of copies acquired from the Milanese Curia.

Sources: book in hand; online catalogue.

[198.] Copy 2, Inc.II.884, MEI 02128281

Fragments of a copy of *Libri tre di M. Lodovico Dolce nei quali si tratta delle diverse sorti delle gemme* (Venice: Gio. Battista, Marchio Sessa, et Fratelli, 1565), EDIT16 CNCE 17388, glued to margins to obscure earlier marginalia.

Binding: mottled calf over paper boards. Thin triple fillet frame on boards, gilt-tooled titles and floral design on the spine. Marbled endpapers and textblock edges. 18/19th-century.

Decoration: coat of arms in brown, consistent with the Dominican order's shield, *sable, a pile inverted argent* (b1r). Parts of the woodcut frame on the same page coloured in the same brown ink. Brown ink additions to some woodcuts, often ornamental. Discolouration on woodcut, possibly evidence of earlier censorship (KK7v).

Manuscript notes: printer's signature corrections (O2r, BB3r; EE4r signature printed). Marginal annotations in brown ink (p4-6r, r6-7r); additional woodcut labels; epistolary pen trials (e.g. o3v, q6v). Occasional woodcut initials coloured in brown, perhaps to indicate chapters read.

Provenance:

Owned by an unidentified Dominican convent in Italy: "Questo libro & defrati p(re)dicatori dellordine di s. Dom(eni)co p(er) me & p(er) uoi" (B3r, repeated on B4r). Marginal notes include brief epistolary pen trials, one of which mentions the name Francesco Bencini - incidentally one person with this name was a Dominican friar in Rome, whose death is reported to have been foretold by Saint Filippo Neri.

Other unidentified marks: "D.F.S." in brown ink (a1r); erased ownership inscription (above that of Rocca).

In Reggio Emilia by the mid-19th century: "Ex libris comitis Francisci Rocca sacerdotis" (front flyleaf verso). Misread in the library's online catalogue as "Biocca". Conte Francesco Rocca is listed among the nobility of Reggio in the *Almanacco della Regia Corte e degli stati estensi* in 1843-1851. With bibliographical notes in Francesco's hand which include a reference to the 1819 *Enciclopedia metodica critico-ragionata delle belle arti* by Pietro Zani.

19th-century? oval library stamp, with a three-letter glyph surrounded by a laurel wreath (a1r), also unidentified in the Archivio dei Possessori della Biblioteca dell'Archiginnasio, <<http://badigit.comune.bologna.it/possessori/dettaglio.asp?lettera=444>>. Leaf with bibliographic notes including references to Zani (1823) and Panzer's *Annales Typographici* (1793-97).

Seminary in Reggio Emilia: oval, purple library stamp, "Biblioteca del Seminario Urbano. Reggio Emilia" (a1v, LL7v).

Likely donated to the Vatican Library.

Sources: digital reproduction: <<http://digi.vatlib.it/view/Inc.II.884>>; online catalogue.

[199.] Copy 3, Inc.II.908, MEI 02151176

Wanting ff. a1, a8 and LL8. Has undergone repair. Leaf size 300x202mm.

Binding: 20th-century parchment rebinding.

Manuscript notes: unidentified pencil note, "23.1494.3" (front flyleaf recto).

Provenance:

The earliest inscription, in a late 15th-century hand, is the name "bart(olome)o de nap(o)lj" (a2r, lower margin). Sixteenth-century inscription by a nun, likely of Santa Maria del Monte: "Suor Giustina violante Martignona" (front flyleaf recto), of the influential Milanese Martignoni family (see Flaminio Rossi, *Teatro della nobiltà d'Italia* (In Napoli, appresso Gio. Iacomo Carlino, M.DCVII), p. 69).

Inscription by Tommaso Cigolini, the nuns' confessor at Santa Maria del Monte (not 18th century, as in the library's online catalogue): "Ego p(res)b(ite)r Thomas Cigol(inu)s vic(ari)us Montis et confessarius Monialiu(m)" (verso of fifth front flyleaf), accompanies a reading permit by Pietro Galesini: "De consilio confessarii P. Galesinus protonotarius ap(ostoli)cus pro Ill.mo Cardinale S. Praxedis Archiep(iscop)o" (see copy **95** above).

Part of the 1936 donation from the Milanese Curia. Inscription, "S[anc]ta Maria de Monte" (a2r), added at the Archivio della Curia.

Sources: book in hand; online catalogue; Orlandi 8a.

[200.] Copy 4, Inc.II.909, MEI 02128280

Binding: 20th-century rebinding with a modern half parchment over grey paper.

Manuscript notes: sporadic annotations in brown ink.

Provenance:

With an early ownership note: "S(igno)re Hieronymo Canobio" (a1v). A Girolamo Canobio, brother of Paolo (+1556ca.), lived in Milan in the first half of the sixteenth century (deceased aged 40 in 1526, see Vincenzo De-Vit, 'Cenni Biografici di altri uomini illustri del Lago Maggiore', in his *Opere varie edite ed inedite*, vol. II (Prato: Alberghetti, 1975), p. 354). The library's online catalogue suggests instead the 18th-century Milanese artist Girolamo Mantelli da Cannobio, who published a collection of woodcuts based on Leonardo da Vinci's sketches.

Part of the 1936 donation from the Milanese Curia (with printed *ex-dono* label).

Sources: book in hand; online catalogue; Orlandi 8b.

[201.] Copy 5, Inc. Ross. 280, MEI 02128278

Wanting fol. LL8.

Binding: red Morocco binding, in a style typical of the De Rossi collection,

Decoration: crude brown ink addition to woodcut (t5v).

Manuscript notes: note in brown ink: "4:5:4:20000" (front pastedown); early reading marks, including extensive underlining in the Wisdom books.

Provenance:

Part of the De Rossi collection, in the Vatican Library since 1921; see copy **78** above.

Sources: book in hand; online catalogue.

[202.] Washington D.C., Library of Congress, Lessing J. Rosenwald Collection ,

Incun. 1494.B5, MEI 02146880

Part of fol. LL8 missing, repair includes text in manuscript. Leaf size 303x205mm.

Binding: signed early 20th-century bookbinding by W. H. Smith (gilt WHS monogram, lower board turn-in). All leaves seem remounted during this rebinding.

Decoration: additional title stamped in on a1r and LL8r.

Manuscript notes: printer's signature corrections (O2r, BB3r, EE4r). Textual correction ('nuotabile' > 'mutabile', b1r). Rare manuscript notes in a 17th-century English hand: bibliographical note on another 15th-century edition ("Legenda Aurea, enpnynted by Wm Caxton, 1493.", verso of front flyleaf); the epigraph on Bible interpretation by Samuel Werenfels: "Hic liber est, in quo quœrit sua Dogmata quisque; Atque in quo reperit Dogmat quisque sua" (a1v). Marginal annotation in Italian: "l'huomo se morira senza figlioli, d'infra." (g7v).

Provenance:

Annotated by an anonymous 17th-century English owner (see above).

Later owned by English businessman Charles William Dyson Perrins (1864-1958). On upper pastedown, small round printed Dyson Perrins ex-libris with the number 81. in manuscript. Lower down, larger rectangular armorial ex-libris of Dyson Perrins: "flowered vines surrounding a circle marked with the initials DP with a double cross; below the circle hangs a shield with a crest of three lion heads above three thistles". Italian Book-Illustration and Early Printing. A Catalogue of Early Italian Books in the Library of C. W. Dyson Perrins. 1914. p. 53-54 (n. 81). See also no. **134**.

Bought by Rosenbach Company at the 1946 Dyson Perrins sale for £750 (source: Rosenwald's annotated copy of the Sotheby's sale catalogue, *Sotheby's & Co.'s Sale of the Magnificent Library Principally of early printed and early illustrated books formed by C. W. Dyson Perrins, Esq.* 17-18 June, 1946, lot 46), together with around 50 other items for Lessing Julius Rosenwald (1891-1979), heir to the Sears fortune. His considerable rare book collection was partly donated and partly bequeathed to the Library of Congress, arriving at the library between 1943-1980. Already

mentioned in the 1954 printed catalogue. Books in the collection typically have a rectangular label which reads "THE GIFT OF LESSING J. ROSENWALD TO THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS", here the label has detached, leaving behind discolouration (foot of upper pastedown).

Sources: digital reproduction: <<https://www.loc.gov/resource/rbc0001.2021rosen0289>>; information provided by Marianna Stell (Library of Congress); *The Rosenwald Collection. A Catalogue of Illustrated Books and Manuscripts, of Books from Celebrated Presses, and of Bindings and Maps, 1150-1950. The Gift of Lessing J. Rosenwald to The Library of Congress*, no. 253; Library of Congress. Lessing J. Rosenwald collection 1977, no. 289; *A Heavenly Craft: The Woodcut in Early Printed Books. Illustrated Books Purchased by Lessing J. Rosenwald at the Sale of the Library of C. W. Dyson Perrins*, ed. by Daniel De Simone (New York: George Braziller; Washington: Library of Congress, 2004), no. 17.

[203.] Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, 161.1.Theol.2, MEI 02149649

Variant: woodcut on a8v undamaged. Leaf size: 328x218mm.

Binding: late 15th/early 16th-century reddish-brown leather (Morocco?) over wooden boards (7mm), with inside bevelled edges. Panel design in blind on both boards, with knotwork and arabesque tools. Thatching in blind on spine. Remains of 4 clasps on front board; metal cornerpieces and evidence of centrepieces. Textblock edges coloured light blue. Repaired, with lighter brown leather to the head and foot of the spine, and new plain endpapers. Title and early shelfmark in black ink across head of spine, subsequent to the repair: "BIBLIA VULGARE HISTORIA[TA] per [NICO]LAO de Male[rmi] Venet. 1494. Do. I. Th.". 350x227x77mm. Manuscript notes: printer's signature corrections (BB3r, EE4r). Rare textual corrections (q1v, BB2r). Pen trials (F2r).

Provenance:

With the round stamp of the Bibliothek zu Wolfenbüttel (a1v). Shelfmark pattern consistent with the classification system used until the early 18th century ('Systematiken der Druckbestände: Augusteer', <<http://dev.hab.de/signaturen/public/skos.php?notation=A>>).

Sources: book in hand; Incunabula Guelferbytana 503.

Uncertain and lost copies

Previously listed by the key repertories (ISTC, GW, Schutte's *Finding list*, Barbieri's 1992 list of known copies), the following copies were reported by library staff as not present at their indicated holding institutions, or their presence could not be confirmed, as described below.

October 1471 edition (ib00639000)

Rein, Cistercian Abbey. Listed by Barbieri. No such copy at the library (ex info Werner Rinner, October 2019).

1484 edition (ib00642500)

Schweidnitz (today Świdnica), Gymnasialbibliothek. Listed by Barbieri and in August Friede, *Verzeichniss der in der Gymnasialbibliothek befindlichen Handschriften und älteren Druckschriften* (Schweidnitz, 1877), p. 24. According to the *Iter Italicum*, the library's manuscripts are "reported to be lost", the same likely happened with this copy following the Second World War.

Tours, Bibliothèque municipale. Listed by Pellechet in 1897 under the shelfmark "112 bis". The Bible was among the 300,000 items lost during the Second World War (ex info Régis Rech, April 2024).

1490 edition (ib00644000)

Messina, Biblioteca universitaria, Listed by Barbieri and Schutte. Not in the library's 1982 printed catalogue of incunabula. No such copy at the library (ex info Massimo Lanza, January 2020).

Paris, BNF, Rés. A. 359 bis. According to Barbieri, the BNF holds two copies of this edition, with the shelfmark provided as Rés. A. 359 bis, however this second copy is not recorded in Pellechet, nor in the Paris Bibles catalogue.

1492 edition (ib00645000)

Altenburg, Benediktinerstift. Listed by Barbieri. The library has no record of the presence of such a volume (ex info P. Albert Groß OSB, March 2024).

Bologna, Biblioteca Centrale dell'Archiginnasio Absent from 1889 incunable catalogue (Caronti). Previously listed in ISTC, but no such edition was found during a stock check in 2020 (ex info Patrizia Busi, January 2021).

El Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial A copy under the shelfmark: 92.IX.12 was listed in Alonso Turienzo, “Índice de incunables de la Real Biblioteca del Escorial y Biblioteca de la Comunidad de PP. Agustinos”, *Ciudad de Dios* (1974). It has since been reattributed to a later edition, Bartholamio de Zanni da Portes: ad instantia di Luca Antonio de Giunta Fiorentino, 1507 (EDIT16 CNCE 5754).

1493 edition (ib00646000)

Saint Petersburg, Академия художеств (Akademija chudozestv, Russian Academy of Arts) Listed by Barbieri. The Library of the Russian Academy of Arts has no records of such an edition in their collections (ex info library staff, September 2019).

1494 edition (ib00647000)

Bologna, Biblioteca Centrale dell'Archiginnasio. Formerly listed in ISTC, GW and Albano Sorbelli's 1936 index of incunabula at the library (no. 457, shelfmark 16. H. IV. 11). Following a 2020 stock check of the library's incunabula, no such edition was found (ex info Patrizia Busi, January 2021). According to Barbieri, this was a copy of the 1507 edition printed in Venice by Bartolomeo Zanni for Lucantonio Giunta, still under the shelfmark cited by Sorbelli.

Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Guicc. 1.2.3. Listed by Barbieri. Assigned to the 1507 edition in the 1984 Guicciardini collection catalogue.

APPENDIX 2.

REPRODUCTIONS FOR CHAPTER 3.

Figure 1. Göttingen, Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen, 2 BIBL II, 4973 INC RARA [=5], fol. [b1]r.



Source: image provided by the library

Figure 2. Zentralbibliothek Zurich, ZB Alte Drucke 2.6 [=22], fol. [b1]r, detail.



Source: library website

<https://uzb.swisscovery.slsp.ch/permalink/41SLSP_UZB/1d8t6qj/alma990036369470205508>

Figure 3. Rovigo, Accademia dei Concordi, Inc. 234 [=16], [b1]r, detail.



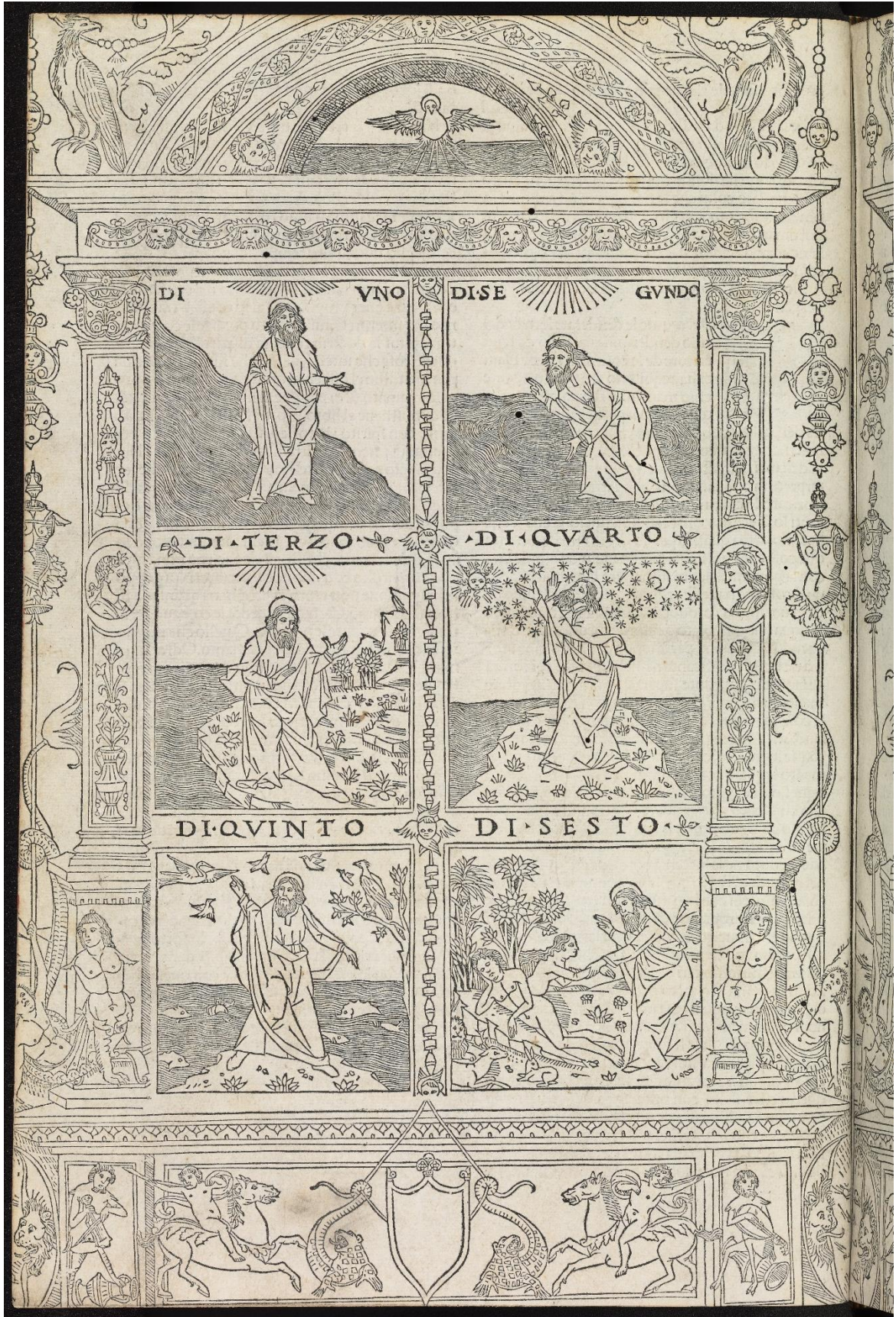
Small colour reproduction also available in the library's printed catalogue.

Figure 4. Lucera, Biblioteca Comunale "Ruggero Bonghi", 20-1-1/1 [=74], fol. aa2r.



Source: copy digitisation, <<https://www.comune.lucera.fg.it/lucera/zf/index.php/servizi-aggiuntivi/index/index/idtesto/130>>

Figure 5. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 224 [=145], fol. a8v.



source: copy digitisation, <<https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/objects/492fe240-6937-411b-80a5-90bceed299fe/>>

Figure 6. Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Fol. T. 145 [=10], fol. [b1]v.



Figure 7. Bodleian Library, Douce 244 [=145], fol. A1r, detail.

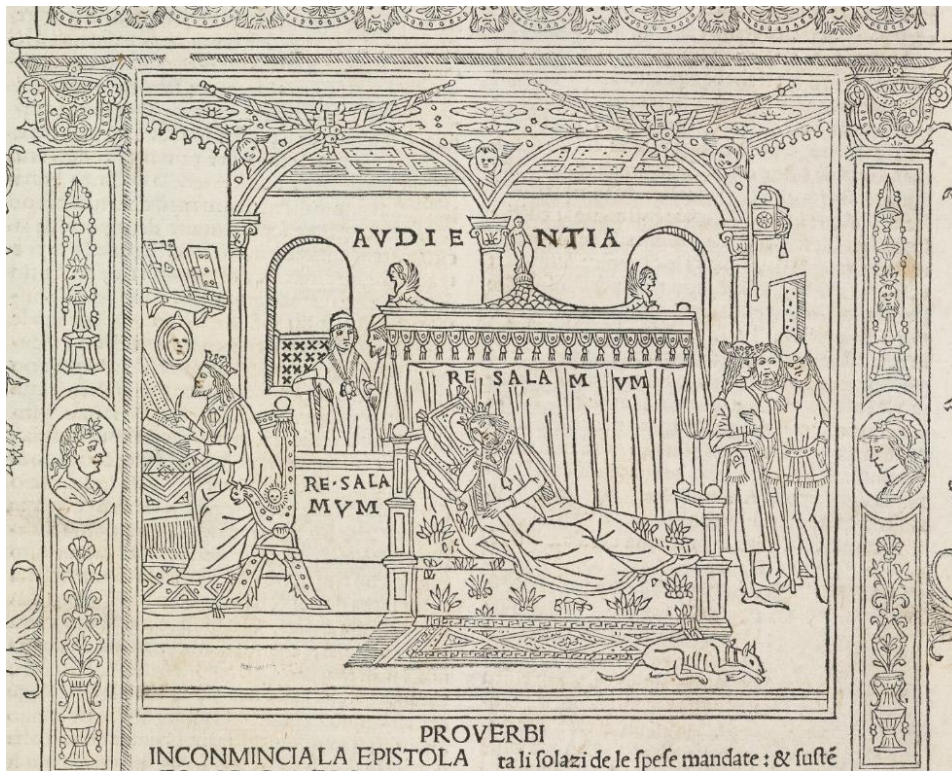


Figure 8. Zentralbibliothek Zurich, ZB Alte Drucke 2.6 [=22], fol. [b1r], detail.



source: library website

<https://uzb.swisscovery.slsp.ch/permalink/41SLSP_UZB/1d8t6qj/alma990036369470205508>

Figure 9. Cambridge University Library, Bible Society Collection 5576 [=82], fol. a6r.



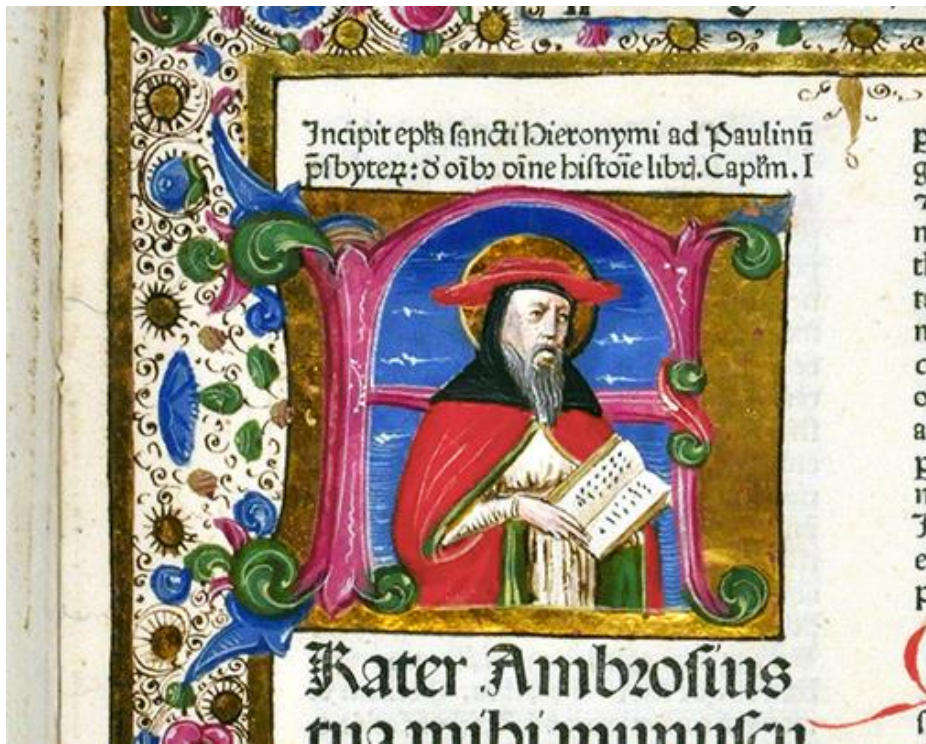
ce dio le stelle: Et puose quelle nel firmamento del
 cielo: perche lucessino sopra la terra: 7 signorizasse
 no al di 7 ala nocte: 7 diuidesseno la luce 7 le tene-
 bre. Et vide dio esser bono: 7 facta e sera 7 matina
 el quarto di. Etia disse dio. Producano le aque el re-
 ptile d lanime viuyente 7 volatile sopra la terra: for-
 to el firmamēto del cielo. Et creo dio le balene grā-
 de: 7 ogni anima viuyente 7 mutabile: le q̄l le aque
 baueno producte ne le sue specie: 7 ogni volatile
 secōdo la sua generatione. Et vide dio esser bono: 7
 benedisse essi dicēdo. Crescete 7 multiplicate: et re-
 pliete le aque del mare. Et multiplicino gli vci-
 eli sopra la terra. Et facta e sera 7 matina el quinto
 di. Disse etia dio produca la terra lanima viuyente
 ne la sua generatione. et iumēti. 7 gli reptili: 7 le be-
 stie d la terra secōdo le sue qualitate. Et facta e co-
 si. Et fece dio le bestie d la terra secōdo le sue specie
 li iumēti 7 ogni reptile dela terra ne la sua genera-
 tiōe: 7 vide dio chera bono 7 disse. Faciamo lhomo
 ala imagine 7 similitudine nostra: el qual sia sopra
 gli pesci del mare: 7 gli vcielli del cielo: 7 a le bestie
 de tutta la terra: 7 ogni reptile che si moue in terra.
 Et creo dio lhomo ala ymagine 7 similitudine sua.
 Ala ymagine d dio creo q̄llo: masculo 7 femia: creo
 essi: 7 dio benedisse quelli: 7 disse. Crescete 7 multi-
 plicate: 7 replete la terra: et subingate q̄lla: et si-
 norizate a gli pesci del mare: 7 a gli vcielli del cielo 7
 a tutti gli animati che si moueno sopra la terra. Et
 disse dio. Ecco chio ho dato a voi ogni herba portā-
 te el seme sopra la terra: 7 tutti gli legni che hano i
 semedefimi el seme de la sua generatione: perche
 a voi siano in cibo: 7 a tutti li animati d la terra: 7
 ogni vciello del cielo: 7 a tutte quelle cose che si mo-
 ueno i terra: 7 in lequale lanima viuyente pche ha
 biano ad vfarle p suo viuere. Et facta e cosi. Et vi-
 de dio tutte le cose ch lui bauena facte: 7 erāo mol-
 to bone: 7 facta e sera 7 matina el sexto di. **II**
A Dunqz son perfecti li cieli 7 la terra: 7 ogni
 lor ornato. Et el settimo di dio finite la sua
 opa: la qual bauena facta: 7 repososi el set-
 timo di d tutta lopera che pfectamēte bauena fac-
 ta: 7 benedisse el settimo di: 7 facti sico quello: pche
 in esso bauena cessato da ogni sua opa la qual creo
 dio: acio che facesse. Queste son le generatione del
 cielo: 7 de la terra quando fuorono create nel di: el
 qual fece dio el cielo: 7 la terra: 7 ogni cosa pululā-
 te del cāpo: 7 prima che nascesse in terra 7 ogni her-
 ba de la regione ināci che la germinasse. El signor
 dio ancoza non bauena puiuuto sopra la terra: et
 non era homo che lauorasse quella: ma de la ter-
 ra ascendeua el fonte ad aquate la yniuersa super-
 ficie de la terra. Adūqz el signor dio formo lhomo
 del luto de la terra. 7 nela sua faccia inspiro el spiri-
 to de vita. 7 facta e lhomo in anima viuyente. Etia
 el signor dio dal pncipio bauena piantato el para-
 diso d illecto: nel qual puose lhomo che bauena
 formato: 7 el signore dio produisse de la terra ogni
 legno bello al vedere: 7 suauē al gustare: etia nel

Figure 10. *Biblia Latina*. Venice: Franciscus Renner, de Heilbronn, 1482-83, ISTC ib00612000, Vatican Library, Stamp. Ross. 1157, fol. c1r, detail.



Source: copy digitisation <<https://digi.vatlib.it/view/Stamp.Ross.1157>>

Figure 12. *Biblia latina*. Venice: Franciscus Renner de Heilbronn and Nicolaus de Frankfordia, 1475, ISTC ib00541000, Bridwell Library, 05127, fol. a2r.



Source: library website <<https://bridwell.omeka.net/items/show/1313>>

Figure 13. Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Bb ital.147102-2 [=17], fol. [b1]v.



Source: image provided by the library

Figure 14. Bodleian Library, Douce 244 [=145], fol. A5r, detail.



Figure 15. Oxford, St John's College, HB4/Folios.2.2.1 [=9], fol. [b1r].



Figure 16. *Breviarium Romanum*, Venice: Nicolaus Jenson, [before 6 May] 1478, ISTC ib01112000, Glasgow, University Library, Sp Coll Hunterian Bf.1.18, fol. a1r.



Source: <<https://www.flickr.com/photos/uofglibrary/14309704209/in/photostream/>>

Figure 17. San Marino (CA), The Huntington Library, 84885 [=163], fol. a5v, detail.



Figure 18. Zentralbibliothek Zurich, ZB Alte Drucke 2.6 [=22], fol. [s1v], detail.



Source: photograph provided by Christian Scheidegger

Figure 19. San Marino (CA), The Huntington Library, 84885 [=163], fol. b1r.

