

in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries across Western and Northern Europe. Includes: Kate van Orden, 'Introduction: Music among the Bibliographic Disciplines'; Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl, 'The Pioneers of Mensural Music Printing in German-Speaking Lands: Networks and Type Repertoria'; John Milsom, 'Printed Music Papers: Research Opportunities and Challenges'; Beat Föllmi, 'Musical Editions for the Protestant Churches of Strasbourg until the End of the Interim (1555)'; Elisabeth Giselsbrecht, 'Reading the *Melopoiae* (1507): A Search for its Owners and Users'; Moritz Kelber, 'Power and Ambition: Georg Rhau's Strategies for Music Publishing'; Carlo Bosi, 'Three *Libri missarum* of Early Lutheran Germany: Some Reflections on their Repertory'; Martin Ham, 'A Date with Tylman Susato: Reconsidering the Printer's Editions'; Maria Schildt, 'The Music Printers Madeleine and Marie Phalèse in Antwerp, 1629–1675'; Grantley McDonald and Stephen Rose, 'Privileges for Printed Music in the Holy Roman Empire during the Sixteenth Century'; Leendert van der Miesen, "Unbelievably hard work": Marin Mersenne's *Harmonie universelle* at the Printers'; Royston Gustavson, 'The Montanus & Neuber catalogue of 1560: Prices, Losses, and a New Polyphonic Music Edition from 1556'; Louisa Hunter-Bradley, 'The Officina Plantiniana as Publishers and Distributors of Music, 1578–1600'; Iain Fenlon, 'Competition, Collaboration and Consumption: Early Music Printing in Seville'.

London

JOHN L. FLOOD

ITALY

La biblioteca di Dostoevskij. La storia e il catalogo. By LUCIO COCO. (Piccola biblioteca umanistica, 5.) Florence: Olschki. 2021. xxxiii + 124 pp. €20. ISBN 978 88 222 6732 0.

As a writer and intellectual in Tsarist Russia, Fyodor Dostoevsky (1821–81) led a troubled existence, including four years in prison in Siberia and six of obligatory military service. Though it is always interesting to know what a creative genius has on his bookshelves at home, his personal library was never a large one and was subject to his financial troubles, worsened by his gambling habit. Most of his books therefore have been lost, or are difficult to identify in the libraries that inherited the collection of his second wife, Anna Slitkina (1846–1918); she herself compiled two lists, which are the main sources for the reconstruction here, though they are not sourced in the individual entries. The majority are in Russian, including translations of foreign fiction and history; a final section lists works in other languages, mostly French, including translations of Dickens and Scott. The entries are given in Italian, followed by the original Russian, or whatever; the few instances in which the copy has been identified are given in a note. Though this is undoubtedly a learned book and compiled with care, I am puzzled as to what its deeper purpose might be, presuming there is one, quite apart from the fact that the potential readership, bilingual in Italian and Russian, and interested in Dostoevsky, is not a large one.

Collezionismo e bibliofilia a Napoli tra Sette e Ottocento: un ritratto epistolare; in appendice Angelo Maria d'Elci, Lettere bibliografiche a Francesco Taccone (1803–1807). By VINCENZO TROMBETTA; introduction by EDOARDO BARBIERI; ed. by MASSIMO GATTA. Macerata: Bibliohaus. 2020. xiii + 224 pp. €15. ISBN 978 88 95844 57 2.

This small publishing house in Macerata has initiated a policy of reprinting little-known works of bibliographical erudition, with the addition of a modern critical apparatus; as such the enterprise is a worthy one, though some doubt subsists about the quality of the execution in this instance, especially the lack of an index and the failure to cite any bibliographical repertories for incunabula later than Dibdin. The title of the present volume is a trifle misleading, since the real protagonist here, to

give him all his names, is Angelo Maria Giuseppe Ambrogio Pannocchieschi d'Elci (1754–1824), a Florentine marquis, and the first ever dedicated collector of ‘first editions’, albeit with an emphasis on the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. After early years in Italy, his conservative views meant that from 1798 he resided principally in Vienna, to keep away from Napoleon; at his death, however, he left his precious collection to the Laurentian Library in Florence, thus providing it with its most valuable incunabula (see *The Library*, VII, 22 (2021), 416). He was in correspondence with librarians and collectors all over Europe and this book focuses on his epistolary relationship with two bibliophiles in Naples, Luigi Serra, duke of Cassano Serra (1747–1825), whose collection of Neapolitan incunabula was bought in 1819–20 by Earl Spencer, was lovingly described by Dibdin in 1823, and is now in the Rylands; and the marquis Francesco Taccone (1763–1818), whose library became the basis of the future National Library in Naples. The volume includes twenty-four letters from d'Elci to Taccone, edited and published in Messina in 1851 by an erudite scholar from Southern Italy, Vito Capialbi (1790–1853), thus performing a service to bibliography, since the originals have been lost. Effectively they make fascinating reading. In order to finance his own collecting habit, d'Elci freely traded in valuable books, sometimes suggesting the exchange of single leaves, while in their fanatical pursuit of treasures these collectors were not always above board. One fascinating quotation from a letter from Serra to d'Elci in 1791 deals with discovery of a copy of the Dante published in Naples in 1477 (not ‘1472’, as here at p. 29) in the Seminary at Fiesole, with the request, if it cannot be purchased, to have it stolen! Since the probable copy concerned (Rylands 18321) now has an early-nineteenth-century binding, this particular detail about its provenance has been obscured.

Gabriele Faerno filologo gourmand. Con un'appendice delle sue lettere a Piero Vettori, nove suoi nuovi postillati e un inedito a stampa. By GIACOMO CARDINALI. (Cahiers d'Humanisme et Renaissance, 172.) Geneva: Droz. 2021. 198 pp. 35 CHF. ISBN 978 2 600 06248 0 (paperback); 978 2 600 36248 1 (e-book).

Gabriele Faerno from Cremona (1510–61), an almost forgotten humanist, is the object of this agile biography. Today he is known mostly for his *Fabulae centum*, an elegant compilation, based on Aesop, of short fables in Latin hexameters, which appeared posthumously in 1563, but fed the age's taste for emblem books and became a minor bestseller, especially in the version with illustrations by Pirro Ligorio. In his youth he is known to have been in the service of the bishop of Cremona; by 1549, however, he had moved to Rome and was taken on in the Vatican library as a copyist, with the task of making new copies of ancient manuscripts, as well as of manuscripts judged important for textual purposes that the collection did not hold. The project was begun under the aegis of cardinal Marcello Cervini (1501–55, very briefly Pope Marcellus II), whose aim was to turn the Vatican into a major centre for textual studies, and continued in the papacy of Pius IV. Consequently, a certain number of printed texts, collated by Faerno against manuscripts and other editions, have survived in the Vatican collection and are described here. Superficially perhaps, Faerno's life exhibits a monitory tale for those scholars who fail to publish in their lifetime and incur the wrath of oblivion. What this biography reveals, instead, is that it was not actually for want of trying. In particular, he made three attempts in his lifetime to publish his edition of Terence. In the first of these, in 1553, the text was set up and partially printed: the present work identifies two copies of the previous Aldine edition of 1541, the first copiously annotated as a working copy, the second prepared as a copy-text for the printer, still bearing the signs of the casting-off and the inky fingerprints of the compositors (it would be interesting to work out how far the work actually progressed). What precisely went wrong is not known. Bibliography has never paid much attention to instances of editions that were never completed, mainly due to a lack of material evidence, but it was

commoner than is usually thought. Further attempts in 1556, with Torrentino in Florence, and in 1558 were likewise unsuccessful; only after Faerno's death was the work published, in Florence in 1565, through the offices of his friend, the classical scholar, Piero Vettori. Much the same happened with Faerno's attempts to publish Cicero's *Philippics* in 1558 and 1561, and likewise his work on the text of the Latin Vulgate, consisting in a richly annotated exemplar of the 1547 Louvain edition, was only put to use in 1590. It is noticeable, however, how much of his scholarship was published after his death by his friends and bears witness to the esteem in which he was held. According to his contemporaries, Faerno's love of the table brought about an early death: 'morto per *gourmandise*' is the epitaph in this volume. He was not of course the first, nor the last, textual scholar to go in that particular way. This biography is rounded off with an edition of fifteen of Faerno's letters to Piero Vettori, written between 1553 and 1561, and mostly held at the British Library.

Osservazioni sulla chirotypografia ossia antica arte di stampare a mano. By VINCENZO REQUENO; introduction by EDOARDO BARBIERI; ed. by ANTONIO CASTRONUOVO. Macerata: Bibliohaus. 2020. 155 pp. ISBN 978 88 95844 86 2.

The author of the present work—to give him his full name, Vicente María Requeno y Vives (b. Calatorao 1743; d. Tivoli 1811)—was a Spanish Jesuit, whose published work in his lifetime was nevertheless entirely in Italian and signed as here, Vincenzo Requeno. This fact was due to circumstances beyond his volition and control. In 1759, like the rest of his order, he was expelled from Spain and all the Spanish dominions and had to find refuge in the State of the Catholic Church, which from the late sixteenth century had ruled over a large swathe of central Italy. Alarmed by this influx of intellectuals and social activists, the Papacy ensured that they resided in the cities of the Po valley, well away from the centre of power in Rome; as a result, these scholars and thinkers, with too much time on their hands, dedicated themselves to erudite research, most of it forgotten, and came up with some strange theories. This book, originally published in Rome in 1810 and here reproduced in facsimile, is a good example, illustrating one of bibliography's many blind alleys. The bee in Requeno's bonnet was that, well before Gutenberg's invention of cast type, copyists in monasteries had mastered a technique of printing with hand cut wooden types, and he cites numerous examples of manuscripts where the perfect uniformity of the letters supported his thesis. The theory, if anything, is a tribute to the perfect calligraphy of Renaissance scribes; on the other hand, Requeno never thinks to search for the one proof that would have confirmed his hypothesis beyond any doubt, i.e. the survival of more than one impression from the same identical setting. The original publication is not rare: a dozen copies are recorded in Italian libraries, and it is likewise to be found at the British Library, the Bodleian, and Cambridge University Library, while digital reproductions are inevitably to be found on the web. Nevertheless, the policy of reprinting the original with a modern scholarly apparatus is a good one. It is accompanied by a short biography of Requeno, including a useful list of his known publications and surviving manuscripts, by Antonio Castronuovo and an introduction by Edoardo Barbieri, which pours polite scorn on the whole idea. Since Requeno references some of his examples in an explicit fashion, citing codices in the library of the Monastery at Subiaco, in the Barberini library now in the Vatican and in the Casanatense Library in Rome, it is a pity perhaps that more effort was not dedicated to identifying the same. The book also lacks an index.

Storie di libri e tecnologie. Dall'avvento della stampa al digitale. By MARIA GIOIA TAVONI. (Biblioteca di testi e studi, 1373.) Rome: Carocci. 2021. 223 pp. €25. ISBN 978 88 290 0110 1.

After long career as a librarian and a university professor, in retirement Maria Gioia Tavoni remains industrious and offers this volume of her reflections about the

history of printing, seen as an interaction between the potentiality of the mechanical process and the human agents, who are both creators and consumers. Of course this is a well-beaten path for a book historian and Tavoni rightly acknowledges her precursors, in particular Elizabeth Eisenstein's *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change* (1979); at the same time, it is slimmer, quirkier, and more Mediterranean, and, after an introductory chapter, breaks down into five case studies. Beginning with the famous image of children working in the *Déchetterie* of a paper mill in the *Encyclopédie* of Diderot and D'Alembert (1765), she surveys the treatments of printing and related trades in children's books, with some interesting illustrations from nineteenth-century alphabet books and primers. (On the history of children in the workplace, however, she omits the most graphic account of the life of a printer's devil in any literature, *Il ragazzo di stamperia di cinquant'anni fa* by Salvatore Landi (1894).) In the nineteenth century the growth of newspapers, and a new vehicle, the fiction magazine, often illustrated, had a huge impact on the paper industry, and vice versa, with the rapid diffusion of the Fourdrinier machine. Literature was serialized and authors found themselves constrained to change endings deemed unsatisfactory by their readership: in 1881 Collodi's *Pinocchio* ended with the hanging of the puppet in the *Giornale per i bambini*; in volume form, however, he was allowed to transform into a human boy. (English readers might remember the two endings for Dickens's *Great Expectations* (1861).) Niche printing and resistance to the dictates of mass production introduce the figures of William Morris and the Yeats sisters, founders of the Cuala Press, who published the authors of the Irish Literary Revival, consisting for the most part of their brother. In fiction detailed descriptions of the workings of a printing house occur in two novels: the first, famously, in Balzac's *Illusions perdues* (1837–43); the other, much less known, is in a *giallo*, or whodunnit, by Ezio d'Errico (1892–1972), *La tipografia dei due orsi* (1942), with the discovery that *orsi* and *scimmie* (bears and monkeys) were the trade names for pressmen and compositors. Final thoughts involve the transformations wrought by phototypesetting and offset in the Darwinian climate of the 1980s, when small firms, anchored to Linotype and traditional rotary presses, went to the wall, as well as the futuristic implications of print-on-demand and self-publishing (one might add crowdfunding, as in the instance of *Good Night Stories for Rebel Girls* (2016)). Altogether an interesting volume.

MANUTIANA

Per la biografia di Aldo Manuzio (1482–1496). By STEFANO PAGLIAROLI. (Percorsi dei classici, 23.) Messina: Centro Internazionale di Studi Umanistici. 2021. 357 pp. + ill. €60. ISBN 978 88 87541 86 1.

The Aldine quincentenary of 2015 is gradually petering out, though for a while it caused a sharp upward blip in the interest for Aldus as a printer and publisher, as is witnessed by the long tail of publications representing the acts of conferences and other events (see *The Library*, VII, 20 (2019), 120–28, 578–80; 21 (2020), 551–53; also Paolo Sachet, 'Cinquecento anni dopo', *La Bibliofilia*, 119 (2017), 81–92). Normality, or what passes for normality in Aldine studies, seems to be re-establishing itself and the present volume is one that takes no account of centenaries or other happenings; it is something that appears when the author, after long patient years of research, is ready.

Without further preamble, I state that it is a remarkable contribution to bibliographical scholarship and should go straight onto the shelf of any collection with a significant investment in Aldus. It is a book about the man and what we know about him (hardly anything), just before he catapulted himself to celebrity status in the late 1490s, the sort of thing Hollywood sometimes takes an interest in. In

something over 300 pages it scrutinizes the chronology of his existence in his unknown decade from 1480 to 1490 (the author's title belies this by giving the dates 1482 to 1496, but the real question is where Aldus was from late in 1479 up to about 1491, when he was definitely established in Venice); it is on the other hand quite a short book if one does not read the lengthy transcriptions of documents with which the text is interlarded (the author firmly believes that any quotation less than a page is too brief, and he also prefers his footnotes deeply learned and chock-a-block with Latin and Greek, for which he does however provide helpful Italian translations). The decade in question concerns Aldus's residence in the minuscule city-state of Carpi, near Modena, where he found gainful employment as tutor to the children of the ruling Pio family, in particular Alberto, who for the rest of his life was to remain a friend and a protector.

When did Aldus come to Carpi and how long did he actually live there? Pagliaroli's starting point is a letter from Aldus to Angelo Poliziano, the superstar humanist of the age, written from Carpi on 28 October 1484. This particular epistle is well known, since Aldus made sure it subsequently appeared in his collected edition of Poliziano's works published in 1498. For the first time, however, the printed text is subjected to a comparison against the two known manuscript copies, neither of them autograph, which conserve an earlier redaction, most certainly nearer the version that actually went through the post; what emerges therefore is some subtle manipulation of the printed text, making Aldus seem more of an equal, while the mention of one contemporary, who in the interim had fallen into disgrace, is airbrushed out. Among other things, the letter provides some important elements of chronology, since Aldus begins by saying that, in order to avoid the war ('bellum fugerem'), two years previously he had moved from Ferrara to Mirandola. The War of Ferrara, also known as the Salt War, basically Venice's attempt to seize the Eastern half of the Este dukedom, which was also a fief of the Church, broke out in the late spring of 1482, but remained a slightly distant, phoney war until the autumn, when a sudden assault brought the Venetians to within shooting distance of the walls of Ferrara itself. There followed over a year of siege, though the city never capitulated and the war dragged into a stalemate, which was ended by the Treaty of Bagnolo in 1484. So Aldus was living in Ferrara from an unspecified date up to the summer or autumn of 1482.

An interesting rapid excursus, certainly deserving a few pages (pp. 113–18), involves the figure of the Flemish/French humanist and future publisher, Josse Bade (1462–1535), who reprinted Poliziano's work in Paris in 1519, adding some personal annotations, including the fact that he was an eye-witness to the war. It has long been known that Bade studied in Ferrara in his youth, while his French biographers have claimed that he was intimate with both Poliziano and Aldus. What Bade states in these notes, however, is that he 'saw' (not 'met') Poliziano, while the latter was passing through Ferrara on his way to Venice and he makes no mention of Aldus. Aldus was of course still an obscure humanist, but, on this evidence, it seems that the two greatest humanist publishers of the age may have done no more than cross each other in the street, if that.

After Aldus's own letter, the only document that unequivocally situates him in Carpi is when he acted as witness to the signing of a will on 5 January 1489. Knowledge of the same goes back to a mention in Castellani's history of printing in Venice in 1889, and it has been regularly cited in the many Aldine biographies; at the same time, however, the document itself has remained unknown. Its discovery in the nineteenth century is to be credited to a local erudite, Paolo Guiatoli (1796–1871), whose papers are conserved in the archive at Carpi; the text of the original document, duly rediscovered, is now published here for the very first time (pp. 151–55). Aldus appears therein as 'magistro Alto de Sermoneta preceptore prefati magnifici Alberti' (Sermoneta was the larger dukedom which included Aldus's home town of Bassiano).

It might not seem an earth-shaking achievement, but it is important in telling us Aldus's whereabouts shortly before his move to Venice, probably in 1490.

The real issue therefore involves the beginning of Aldus's sojourn in Carpi, and here things get interesting. The already-mentioned letter to Poliziano is a solid piece of evidence, putting Aldus there in October 1484. But before that? Well, the matter rests on two documents, cited by all Aldus's biographers: his grant of citizenship of Carpi on 18 March 1480 (due to an error in Pastorello's Aldine chronology of 1965, more recent scholarship has all too often cited this date as 8 March), and the fact that he paid taxes on a house he owned there on 5 August 1480. The source for both these items is the second edition of Girolamo Tiraboschi's *Biblioteca Modenese* (1783), a large, multi-tome compilation of a stultifying dullness. The erudite librarian provides only a brief summary of the two documents (after all his book was not really about Aldus), accompanied by thanks for the Carpi lawyer and several times mayor, Eustachio Cabassi (1730–96), who had provided them. Pagliaroli hunts for documents as a dog seeks truffles, and he has scoured the archives of Carpi and Modena, where the correspondence between Cabassi and Tiraboschi is conserved at the Estense Library, in search of the same. Without any luck, seemingly, as far as the originals are concerned. What he has discovered instead is a copy, made by Guaitoli in the nineteenth century, of a short biography of Aldus at Carpi written by Cabassi and sent to Tiraboschi, probably in the hope that it would be included in its entirety in the *Biblioteca Modenese*. In the event Tiraboschi, who evidently had some reservations, limited himself to a few excerpts.

The mini-biography, which is here transcribed in its entirety (pp. 194–203), includes the full text of the two documents, which are thus made known to Aldine scholarship for the first time. There are, however, some important discrepancies, which Pagliaroli is quick to point out. The award of citizenship states that Aldus has been resident in Carpi for a little while and also acknowledges his loving tutorship of Alberto Pio. In the eighteenth century Alberto's date of birth was unknown and was believed to be around 1471; only in 1877 was a document discovered and published showing it to be instead 23 July 1475. So when Aldus supposedly obtained the honour of becoming a citizen of Carpi, Alberto was still several months short of his fifth birthday. Precocious, but maybe a little too precocious for his own good. At this point something seems rotten in the state of Carpi. Pagliaroli, perhaps over-generously, suggests that in transcribing the documents, the date 1490 might inadvertently have become 1480 (p. 193), and in historical terms this would be plausible. Such an explanation, however, requires us to believe that the same mistake was made twice running, and there remains the odd circumstance that two documents of recognized importance, of which there is no mention previous to Tiraboschi, should both have otherwise disappeared. The real, and necessary, explanation, I believe, is that both documents were a fabrication by Cabassi, who plausibly manipulated the text of another grant of citizenship (Pagliaroli cites several examples) in order to produce what he wanted.

Aldine scholarship has been vaguely conscious in the past of a contradiction between Aldus's statement that he was in Ferrara in 1482 and his presumed residence in Carpi from 1480 onwards, though the two cities are less than fifty miles apart. Aldus was certainly resident in Venice in 1491, when Poliziano mentions him being there; Pagliaroli makes a good case for him having moved earlier, in 1490. In his Latin grammar, written in the Carpi era but only printed in 1493, Aldus, addressing himself to Alberto Pio, states that he had been his tutor for six and a bit years ('sex annos et plus'). Presumably he got the maths right. If his tutorship had begun instead in 1479 or in 1480, the total becomes eleven or even twelve years. At this point, therefore, the argument that Aldus came to Carpi only in 1484, taking up the tutorship to a nine-year old Alberto Pio, and shortly afterwards wrote to Poliziano, becomes a compelling one. Where he was in 1480 remains an open question, but it is

unlikely to be Carpi. It is not easy to achieve a major shift in the known facts in the Aldine biography, and, as I have said, Pagliaroli is reluctant to formulate the definitive J'accuse against Cabassi the evidence warrants. Nevertheless, this formidable piece of research casts considerable doubt on a long-standing 'truth'.

Florence

NEIL HARRIS