

**SPANISH INCUNABULA IN THE  
JOHN RYLANDS UNIVERSITY LIBRARY  
OF MANCHESTER**

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## INTRODUCTION

In the Spring of 1983, the John Rylands University Library of Manchester held an exhibition in its Deansgate Building to coincide with the Annual Conference of the Association of Hispanists of Great Britain and Ireland. On display were Spanish manuscripts, including the tenth-century Visigothic minuscule of the *Moralia* of St Gregory assigned to the scriptorium of San Pedro de Cardeña, and the superb Rylands *Beatus* with its more than 100 miniatures in gold and colours, 35 of them full-page. There were also several Spanish Hebrew manuscripts, Roman artefacts of Iberian origin, and a large number of modern Spanish and Portuguese first editions.

But the focus of the Deansgate exhibition was provided by the 20 Rylands Spanish incunabula, all of which were included along with one volume printed in 1488 at Toulouse in Southern France for export to Spain.<sup>1</sup> Both at the time and since, colleagues enquired whether it might not prove possible to provide a fuller description of these fifteenth-century volumes than I was able to offer in the exhibition catalogue, and I am grateful to Dr Frank Taylor and his successor, Dr Clive Field, for allowing my notes on these volumes to appear in the *Bulletin of the Library*.<sup>2</sup>

The Rylands collection of 20 Spanish incunables is not a particularly large one: the British Library has over 180, the Bodleian 58.<sup>3</sup> But

<sup>1</sup> This volume, with its 195 woodcuts, has been studied by Guthrie Vine, 'Around the Earliest Spanish Version of Aesop's Fables', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, xxv (1941), 3–24; one of the two printers involved, Juan Parix of Heidelberg, had spent some time in Segovia in the 1470s, possibly at the invitation of the local bishop, Juan Arias Dávila: A. Lambert (O.S.B.), 'Jean Parix imprimeur en Espagne (1472?–1478?) puis à Toulouse', *Annales du Midi*, xlili (1931), 377–91. The anonymous *Espejo de la conciencia* (JRULM R129310), catalogued as '[?Salamanca.] [?Printer of Nebrija, *Grammatica*.] [c. 1498.]' (GKW 9394, BOOST<sub>3</sub>, n°. 2283) is almost certainly Norton, DC, 173–4, n°. 476: 'Salamanca. Juan de Porras. [c. 1505?]'; missing 2A–2E (JRULM copy not in Norton), an identification based on typographical evidence and on the complex collation and numeration identical to both: 2°: b–x<sup>6</sup> A–C<sup>6</sup> E–G<sup>6</sup> H<sup>8</sup> 2a–2i<sup>6</sup> 2k<sup>4</sup> [\$<sub>3</sub>] signed (+ a<sub>4</sub>, b<sub>4</sub>, H<sub>4</sub>; – a<sub>1</sub>, x<sub>3</sub>; C<sub>2–3</sub> signed 'D<sub>2–3</sub>', E<sub>2</sub> 'C<sub>2</sub>', 2a<sub>3</sub> 'a<sub>3</sub>')]; 236 leaves, ff. (roman) <sup>7</sup>/<sub>2</sub>–<sup>125</sup><sub>126</sub>–<sup>128</sup><sub>1–43</sub> 44 <sup>x1</sup><sub>2–58</sub> (foliating <sup>7</sup>32 as '31', <sup>7</sup>63 '62', <sup>7</sup>66 '65', <sup>7</sup>71 '70', <sup>7</sup>87 '82', <sup>7</sup>91 '88', <sup>7</sup>92 '88', <sup>7</sup>93 '90', <sup>7</sup>97 '98', 40 '60', <sup>x13</sup> '11', <sup>x36–42</sup> '35–41', <sup>x44–45</sup> '34–35', <sup>x46–48</sup> '45–47').

<sup>2</sup> Some of the comments below were first formulated in two papers delivered in the Deansgate Library – in November 1986 to the Research Seminar of the Department of Spanish and Portuguese Studies of the University of Manchester, and in November 1987 to the Manchester Bibliographical Society. I am grateful to those who offered comments and criticisms on those occasions, and especially to David Riley of the Deansgate Library who tolerated my uninformed blunderings in an area of scholarship unfamiliar to me.

<sup>3</sup> Dr Dennis Rhodes of the British Library informs me that the Library has acquired ten Spanish incunabula since the publication of BMC x; for information on Bodleian holdings not in Sheppard, I am grateful to Dr Kristian Jensen.

it compares favourably with the Cambridge University Library and with college holdings in the ancient Universities, and almost all the important early centres of printing in Spain are represented in it. Most of the volumes are in a splendid condition, having been part of the famous Althorp Library formed by George John, 2nd Earl Spencer, and bought by Mrs Rylands in 1892.<sup>4</sup>

The method of description adopted here is largely an adaptation of that recommended by Gaskell for the recording of printed books; the need for lengthy transcription has been obviated by the inclusion of photographs (not, unfortunately, actual size – many of the volumes described here are folios).<sup>5</sup> The following departures from Gaskell's method, however, should be noted:

1. No mention has been made of paper, far too little being known about paper in Spain for any comments, however detailed, to be of practical use in identifying editions and printers.<sup>6</sup>
2. The measurement of type-page is always minus headers and signatures.
3. None of the editions described here has catchwords, though these were common in incunable editions, as they had been in manuscripts.
4. The volumes are identified initially by Sosa numbers only; other standard reference books only being referred to where they disagree over date, printer, or place of printing. A concordance of reference numbers is provided immediately before the descriptions to facilitate easy identification of the volumes concerned.<sup>7</sup>
5. In the listing of copies in other libraries, the following order has been observed: (i) *Spain*, with Madrid first and other places listed in alphabetical order; (ii) *Europe* (other than Spain and the British Isles) in alphabetical order of country; (iii) *British Isles*, with London first and other places in alphabetical order; (iv) *United States*, with Washington and New York first, and other places listed alphabetically; (v) *Others*. Asterisks are used to denote booksellers and private collectors.

I have attempted to provide a wider range of information than is commonly encountered in descriptions of incunabula. This is because, despite the attention recently given to certain aspects of early Spanish

<sup>4</sup> J.C.T. Oates, *A Catalogue of the Fifteenth-Century Printed Books in the University Library Cambridge* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954), recording twenty-one from Spain; and Dennis E. Rhodes, *A Catalogue of Incunabula in All the Libraries of Oxford University Outside the Bodleian* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), only five.

<sup>5</sup> Philip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972; reprinted, with corrections, 1979), 368–80.

<sup>6</sup> Jean Irigoin, 'L'Introduction du papier italien en Espagne', *Papiergeschichte: Zeitschrift der Forschungsstelle Papiergeschichte in Mainz*, x (1960), 29–32: 'De tous les pays de l'Europe occidentale, l'Espagne est celui où la fabrication du papier a commencé le plus tôt [early 10th century], sous la domination arabe; mais c'est aussi la région où l'histoire du papier a été le moins étudiée; . . . les plus grandes enquêtes, celle de Briquet par exemple, n'ont pas franchi la barrière des Pyrénées'.

<sup>7</sup> Sosa is certainly no more reliable than other works of reference, but only he and Vindel record all twenty volumes described here. The most secure reference work remains BMC x, which has only nine of the editions that follow.

printing, Iberia remains the Cinderella of incunable studies. This is not, as is sometimes supposed, because few books were printed in the Peninsula; in 1971, when the *Catalogue of Books Printed in the XVth Century now in the British Museum* reached Part X, covering Spain and Portugal, 856 Spanish incunable editions had been identified, a figure surpassed only by Italy, Germany (including Switzerland), France, and Holland. A number of new editions have come to light since, and the survival of so many Spanish incunables in single copies is a clear indication that more are still unknown to us. Nor, as Madurell, Berger, and others have shown, is the neglect of printing beyond the Pyrenees occasioned by a dearth of archival evidence, save in the case of Salamanca.<sup>8</sup>

Although printers were still relatively scarce in Iberia at the beginning of the 1480s, their numbers swelled significantly during that decade. Foreigners, and particularly Germans, may have been preponderant among them, and would continue to be so well into the sixteenth century: of the 25 printers known to have operated in the city of Valencia between 1474 and 1560, for example, only eight were native-born Spaniards. Of the German community in Catalonia in the last years of the fifteenth century, Jordi Rubió i Balaguer writes

Constituían un grupo admirado . . . [y] se habían familiarizado con las costumbres del país . . . Aquellos ricos comerciantes, con residencia más o menos larga en nuestras poblaciones, vivían en comunicación constante con la patria alemana . . . Constituirían de ordinario un núcleo flotante, siempre con el pie en el estribo, dispuesto a levantar casa para acudir a donde las condiciones del negocio lo exigieran.<sup>9</sup>

But many of these outsiders were to settle permanently in the Peninsula, marry local women, become citizens, and remain in the country for generations.

The early printers in Iberia were almost all businessmen. For them, printing was, initially at least, simply another capitalist venture, even if it was often to prove a high-risk one: the sad history of Gutenberg's finances was repeated time and again throughout Europe, and Spain was no exception. The choice of titles to print, the length of the print-run, and the selection of illustrative material were all largely dictated by market factors, and patronage played an important role in the printers' search for financial security.

In marked contrast with the picture that was to develop in the late

<sup>8</sup> The disappearance of so much archival material has made the identification of Salamanca editions extremely difficult, especially as only four of the over one hundred Salamanca incunables now known bear their printers' names (Norton, *Printing*, 20).

<sup>9</sup> 'Integración de los impresores alemanes en la vida social y económica de Cataluña y Valencia en los siglos xv-xvi', *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kulturgeschichte Spaniens*, Spanische Forschungen der Görresgesellschaft, series i, xx (1962) [= Georg Schreiber zum 80. Geburtstag 5. Januar 1962, ii], 103–22 (103, 106).

sixteenth century, the standard of Spanish printing in the incunable and immediate post-incunable period is remarkably high. Many of these volumes are illustrated, some lavishly so. Engravings and woodcuts became more common (as did title-pages) as the fifteenth century wore on, though the art of woodblock cutting developed much later in Spain than it had done in Northern Europe and Italy, and little of the illustrative material used in Spanish incunabula until the 1490s is of native design. Paulus Hurus, printer of four of the volumes described below, even took a woodcutter from his native Constance to work with him in Spain. The use of cuts would have greatly increased the production costs of a printed book, and the willingness of a printer to include them, even if it may in some editions have been dictated by precedent, is an indication that the printer was confident that they would make his edition more marketable.<sup>10</sup> As Stillwell comments of the *Fasciculus temporum* (n°. 2, below), the typographical arrangement of many early editions 'is infinitely more complicated than any modern printer would care to undertake'.<sup>11</sup>

In Spain, the proportion of vernacular editions to those in Latin is relatively high, as is the number of translations, some of them commissioned for the presses. Of the twenty editions described below, of which six are in Castilian, and two in Catalan, eight are translations of one kind or another.<sup>12</sup> Yet this should not be taken by itself as evidence of a lower level of interest in the classics than elsewhere in Europe. Certain specialized books were imported in large numbers, a trend which would eventually lead, around 1540, to there being more books printed outside the Peninsula in Spanish than within, and there is plenty of evidence to suggest the presence of vigorous vernacular humanism in Spain in the second half of the fifteenth century.<sup>13</sup>

I would like to express my thanks to Jeremy Lawrance, Dennis Rhodes, and, above all, my brother, Clive, all of whom read and commented on drafts of these notes.

<sup>10</sup> Griffin, 183–6.

<sup>11</sup> Margaret Bingham Stillwell, 'The *Fasciculus temporum*: A Genealogical Survey of Editions before 1480', *Bibliographical Essays: A Tribute to Wilberforce Eames*, ed. George Parker Winship & others (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1924), 409–40 (413).

<sup>12</sup> Compare the estimate of the proportion of vernacular editions to Latin ones throughout Europe made by Cedric E. Pickford, 'Fiction and the Reading Public in the Fifteenth Century', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, xlvi (1963), 423–38 (430–1, 436).

<sup>13</sup> Griffin, 13 and 106; Christian Péligray, 'Les Éditeurs lyonnais et le marché espagnol aux xvi<sup>e</sup> et xvii<sup>e</sup> siècles', *Livre et lecture en Espagne et en France sous l'Ancien Régime: Colloque de la Casa de Velázquez*, ed. Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz & others (Paris: Éditions A.D.P.F., 1981), 85–93.

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

### *General*

A	= Academia/Académie
B	= Biblioteca/Biblioteka/Bibliotheca/ Bibliotheek/Bibliothek/Bibliothèque/Biblijoteka
C	= Central/Centrale
Cat	= Catedral/Catedralicia
Coll	= Colegio/Collège/Collegio
Com	= Comunale
D	= Diocesana
L	= Library
N	= Nacional/National/Nationale/Nazionale
P	= Provincial
Pal	= Palacio/Palatina
Pub	= Public/Pública/Publique
R	= Real/Reale/Royale
U	= Universidad/Universität(s-)/Universitaire/ Universitaria/Universiteit/University

### *Libraries*

BAV	= Vatican City, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana
BL	= London, British Library (formerly, British Museum)
HEHL	= San Marino, California, H.E. Huntington Library
HSA	= New York, Hispanic Society of America
JRULM	= Manchester, John Rylands University Library of Manchester (Deansgate Building)

### *References*

BMC x = *Catalogue of Books Printed in the XVth Century now in the British Museum*, 12 vol. (London: The Trustees of the British Museum, 1908–71), vol. x: *Spain and Portugal* (1971)

Cat. Inc. = *Catálogo de incunables de la Biblioteca Nacional*, compiled by Diosdado García Rojo & Gonzalo Ortiz de Montalván (Madrid: Biblioteca Nacional, 1945)

Dibdin = Thomas Frognall Dibdin, *Bibliotheca Spenceriana: A Descriptive Catalogue of the Books Printed in the Fifteenth Century and of many Valuable Additions in the Library of George John Earl*

- Spencer, K.G., &c. &c. &c., 7 vol.* (London: Longman, etc., 1814–23)
- BOOCT<sub>1</sub> = *Bibliography of Old Catalan Texts*, compiled by Beatrice Jorgensen Concheff (Madison: The Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1985)
- BOOST<sub>3</sub> = *Bibliography of Old Spanish Texts*, 3rd edition, compiled by Charles B. Faulhaber & others (Madison: The Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1984)
- GKW = *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, 9 vol. [to date: A-GAZ] (Leipzig: Karl W. Hiersemann, 1925–)
- Goff = Frederick Richmond Goff, *Incunabula in American Libraries: A Third Census of Books Recorded in North American Collections* (New York: The Bibliographical Society of America, 1972)
- Goff, *Supplement* = Frederick Richmond Goff, *Incunabula in American Libraries: A Supplement to the Third Census of Books Recorded in North American Collections* (1964) (New York: The Bibliographical Society of America, 1972)
- Griffin = Clive Griffin, *The Crombergers of Seville: The History of a Printing and Merchant Dynasty* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988)
- Haebler = Konrad Haebler, *Bibliografía ibérica del siglo xv: enumeración de todos los libros impresos en España y Portugal hasta el año de 1500, con notas críticas*, 2 vol. (The Hague: Nijhoff & Leipzig: Hiersemann, 1904–17)
- Haebler, *Geschichte* = Konrad Haebler, *Geschichte des spanischen Frühdruckes in Stammbäumen* (Leipzig: Karl W. Hiersemann, 1923)
- Haebler, *Tipografía* = Konrad Haebler, *Tipografía Ibérica del siglo XV: Reproducción en facsímile de todos los caracteres tipográficos empleados en España y Portugal hasta el año de 1500, con notas críticas y biográficas* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff & Leipzig: Karl W. Hiersemann, 1902)
- IGI = *Indici generale degli incunaboli delle biblioteche d'Italia*, 6 vol. (Rome: La Libreria dello Stato [later Ministero dell'Educazione Nazionale], 1943–81)
- Kurz = Martin Kurz, *Handbuch der Iberischen Bilddrucke des xv. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig: Hiersemann, 1931)
- Lyell = James P.R. Lyell, *Early Book Illustration in Spain*, with an introduction by Konrad Haebler (London: Grafton & Co., 1926; lithographic reprint, New York: Hacker Art Books, 1976)
- Madurell & Rubió = *Documentos para la historia de la imprenta y librería en Barcelona (1474–1553), recogidos por José María Madurell Marimón y anotados por Jorge Rubió y Balaguer* (Barcelona: Gremios de Editores, de Libreros, y de Maestros Impresores, 1955)
- Norton, *Printing* = F.J. Norton, *Printing in Spain, 1501–1520, with a Note on the Early Editions of the 'Celestina'* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 1966)
- Norton, DC = F.J. Norton, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Printing in Spain and Portugal, 1501–1520* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 1978)

Palau = Antonio Palau y Dulcet, *Manual del librero hispano-americano: bibliografía general española e hispano-americana*, 28 vol. (Barcelona: Librería Palau & Oxford: Dolphin, 1948–77)

Pellechet = Marie Pellechet, *Catalogue générale des incunables des bibliothèques publiques de France*, 3 vol. (Paris, 1897–1909; reprint, with introduction by Frederick R. Goff, Nendeln: Kraus-Thomson, 1970)

Penney = Clara Louisa Penney, *Printed Books 1468–1700 in the Hispanic Society of America: A Listing*, Hispanic Notes and Monographs Catalogue Series (New York: Hispanic Society of America, 1965)

Proctor = Robert Proctor, *An Index to the Early Printed Books in the British Museum: From the Invention of Printing to the Year 1500. With Notes of those in the Bodleian Library* (London: Holland, 1898; reprinted 1960)

Reichling = Dieter Reichling, *Appendices ad Hainii-Copingeri Repertorium Bibliographicum: Additiones et Emendationes*, 2 vol. (Milan: Görlich, 1953)

Sosa = Guillermo S. Sosa, *Incunabula Iberica: A Catalogue of Books Printed in Spain and Portugal in the XVth Century; With Additions* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones del Libro, 1973)

Vindel = Francisco Vindel, *El arte tipográfico en España durante el siglo xv*, 9 vol. (Madrid: Dirección General de Relaciones Culturales, 1945–51)

Vindel, *Escudos* = Francisco Vindel, *Escudos y marcas de impresores y libreros en España durante los siglos xv a xix (1485–1850) con 818 facsímiles* (Barcelona: Orbis, 1942); *Appendix* (Madrid: Vindel, 1950).

## CHECKLIST OF EDITIONS DESCRIBED

1. [Laudivio ZACCHIA]. [*Epistolae Magni Turci*]. [Barcelona]. [Johannes of Salzburg & Paulus Hurus]. [?1475]. JRULM 18486
2. ROLEWINCK, Werner. *Fasciculus temporum*. (Followed by extracts of Diogenes Laertius. *De vita et moribus philosophorum auctoritates extractae*.) Seville. Bartolomé Segura & Alonso del Puerto. 1480. JRULM 23010.
3. ARISTOTLE. *Politica*. Translated by Leonardo Bruni. [Barcelona]. [Nicolaus Spindeler]. [c.1480]. JRULM 18382.1.
4. pseudo-ARISTOTLE. *Oeconomica*. Translated by Leonardo Bruni. [Barcelona]. [Nicolaus Spindeler]. [c.1480]. JRULM 18382.2.
5. BARBERIIS, Philippus de. *Chronica virorum illustrium*. [?Seville]. [Unknown printer, usually known as the 'Printer of Barberiis']. [c.1480]. JRULM 19688.
6. CAOURSIN, Guillaume. *Rhodiae obsidionis descriptio*. [Zaragoza]. [Paul Hurus & Johannes Planck, for Domingo Salvador]. 28 February/1 March 1481. JRULM R14205.
7. PEREZ DE VALENCIA, Jaume. *Commentum in Psalms*. [Valencia]. [Alonso Fernández de Córdoba (with Gabriel Luis de Arinyo)]. 6 September 1484. JRULM 19258.
8. CAVALCA, Domenico. *Espejo de la Cruz*. Translated by Alfonso de Palencia. Seville. Antonio Martínez. 20 February 1486. JRULM 4557.
9. DEZA, Diego de. *Defensiones Sancti Thomae Aquinatis*. Seville. Meinard (Meinhard) Ungut & Stanislaus Polonus (Stanisław Polski). 4 February 1491. JRULM R5362.
10. MEXIA, Ferrant. *Nobiliario*. Seville. Petrus Brun & Juan Gentil. 30 June 1492. JRULM 18393.
11. BONETUS, Nicolaus. *Metaphysica*. Barcelona. Pere Miquel. 24 November 1493. JRULM 18276.
12. SALLUSTIUS CRISPUS, Caius. [*Obras*]. Translated by Vasco Ramírez de Guzmán and revised by Francisco Vidal de Noya. Zaragoza. Paulus Hurus. 1493. JRULM 19686.
13. GILES OF ROME. *Regimiento de los príncipes*. Translated by Juan García de Castrojeriz. Seville. Meinard Ungut & Stanislaus Polonus (for Konrad Alemán & Melchior Gorricio). 20 October 1494. JRULM 19644.

14. DIES, Manuel. *Libro de albeytería de los caballos* (and *Libro de albeytería para las mulas*). Translated by Martín Martínez de Ampiés. Zaragoza. Paulus Hurus. 6 May 1495. JRULM 18508.
15. pseudo-GERSON. *Remediar a Cristo y menosprecio de todas las vanidades del mundo* (followed by *Tratado del pensamiento*). Translator(s) anonymous. Burgos. Fadrique de Basilea. 24 December 1495. JRULM 20791.
16. [King FERDINAND OF ARAGON]. *Sentència reial*. [Barcelona]. [Diego de Gumiell]. [c. 1496]. JRULM R109166.
17. pseudo-BONAVENTURE. *Diaeta salutis*, and *De resurrectione hominis*. Pamplona. Arnau Guillén de Brocar. 3 November 1497. JRULM 15886.
18. GILES OF ROME. *El regiment dels princeps*. ?Translated by Arnau Stranyol. Barcelona. Johann Luschner (for Frank Ferber). 22 October 1498. JRULM 19254.
19. pseudo-BONAVENTURE. *Meditationes vite domini nostri iesu christi*. Montserrat. Johann Luschner (for the monastery). 16 April 1499. JRULM 19902.
20. *Missale mixtum dictum Mozarabes*. Edited by Alfonso de Ortiz & others. Toledo. Peter Hagembach (for Melchior Gorricio). 9 January 1500. JRULM 263.

## CONCORDANCE OF REFERENCE NUMBERS

## SPANISH INCUNABULA

15

JRULM	Hain-Copinger-Reichling	Proctor	GKW	Goff	IGI	BL	Haebler	Sosa	Vindel	BOOST <sub>3</sub> , Kurz (*BOOC <sub>T<sub>1</sub></sub> )
1 18486	-	8803	-	-	-	-	509	iv.23:6	-	-
2 23010	HCR 6927	9519	-	R-263	8415	IB 52305	583	732	v.31:9	-
3 18382.1	H 1770a(1)	-	2446	A-1022	-	-	35	100	i.40:13	-
4 18382.2	H 1770a(2)	-	2433	-	-	-	34(5)	99	i.38:12	-
5 19688	H 2456	-	3384	B-117	-	-	40	117	v.42:11	-
6 R14205	-	-	6008	C-109a	-	-	-	189	iv.28:9	-
7 19258	HR 12597	9500A	-	P-276	7408	IB 52025	535	682	iii.45:18	-
8 4557	H 4791	-	6429	-	2652-A	-	144	209	v.53:13	1979
9 R5362	HCR 6040	9527	8259	D-145	3406	IB 52353	203	266	v.71:19	-
10 18393	H 11132 (=HCl1133)	9545	-	M-531	6401	IB 52424	411	586	v.130:44	2085
11 18276	HC 3580*	9549	4846	B-975	1958	IA 52535	72	163	i.133:78	-
12 19686	HC 14234	9511	-	S-86	-	IB 52145	594	742	iv.164:55	2118

JRULM	Hain-Copinger-Reichling	Proctor	GKW	Goff	IGI	BL	Haebler	Sosa	Vindel	BOOST <sup>3</sup> (*BOOCT <sub>1</sub> )
13 19644	H 112*	9532	7222	A-91	3096-A	IB 52374	156	3	v.182:69	1980 94
14 18508	HC 1963b	-	8287	D-167	-	-	206	268	iv.206:65	2405 106
15 20791	HC 3257	-	-	I-56	-	-	296	448	vii.98:36	2041 177
16 R109166	HCR 326	-	-	-	-	-	623(6)	367	i.196:118	*778 -
17 15886	HC 3529	9612	4729	B-878	-	IA 54113	64	157	vi.211:10	- 73
18 19254	HCR 32a	-	7221	-	3096	-	157	2	i.208:128	*615 95
19 19902	H 3556	-	4760	B-900	-	-	69	161	i.215:134	- 76
20 263	HC 11336	9607	- .	M-732	6573	IB 53535	446	619	vi.109:31	- 273

## DESCRIPTIONS AND FIGURES OF EDITIONS

**1.** [Laudivio ZACCHIA]. [*Epistolae Magni Turci*]. [Barcelona]. [Johannes of Salzburg & Paulus Hurus]. [?1475].

Sosa 509 ('about 1476'); Vindel, iv. 23–4, n°. 6 ('Zaragoza: Pablo Hurus & Juan Blanco [Planck], [1479–84]').

(i) Madrid BN.

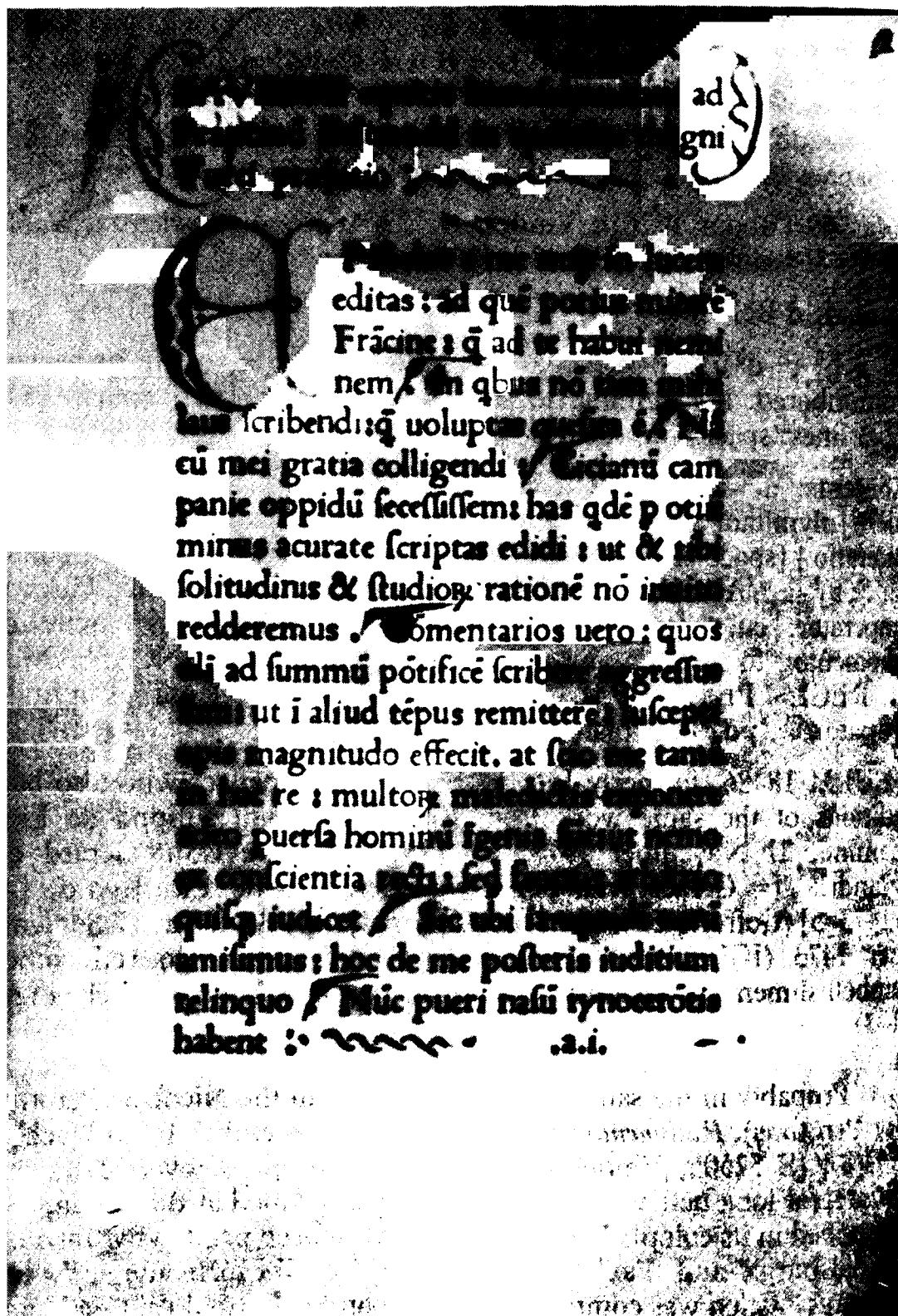
4°: a–b<sup>8</sup> c<sup>6</sup> d<sup>8</sup> [§<sub>4</sub> signed (–a<sub>1</sub>, c<sub>4</sub>; a<sub>2</sub>–a<sub>4</sub> signed 'a<sub>1</sub>–a<sub>3</sub>')]; 30 leaves, unnumbered. No running titles. 131 × 74.5 mm. (b<sub>1</sub><sup>a</sup>); roman 111; 22–3 lines; spaces for capitals.

Contents: a<sub>1</sub><sup>a</sup>–a<sub>1</sub><sup>b</sup> blank; a<sub>2</sub><sup>a</sup> preface (Fig. 1) 'LAVIDVII equitis hierosolymitani ad | Francinū Beltrandū in epistolas magni | Turci præfatio | [space of one line] | (E)Piſtolas a me nup in lucem | editas . . .'; a<sub>2</sub><sup>b</sup>–a<sub>3</sub><sup>a</sup> 'ARGVMENTVM. | EPISTOLAR | (H)Aumetes Turcarū imperator: | cui poſtea ex magnitudiē reſ | geſtarum magnus Turcus Co | gnomento fuit . . .'; a<sub>3</sub><sup>a</sup>–d<sub>7</sub><sup>a</sup> text 'TVRCVS. ZANCASSANO. | REGI. PERSARVM. | (A)Vdio te ad leptā Euphrate ſupato . . .'; d<sub>7</sub><sup>b</sup>–d<sub>8</sub><sup>b</sup> blank.

JRULM 18486 (formerly Inc. 14 F 3). From Spencer who also had editions of the same work from Rome: Giovanni Filippo de Lignamine, 27 November 1473 (IA 17397–8), [Treviso]: 'Gerard de Flandria' [= Geraert van der Leye (Gerardus de Lisa)], n.d. [= ?1473–5] (Goff, M–59), and Naples: Arnaldo de Bruxella, 17 September 1473 (IGI 5964).<sup>14</sup> Initials supplied by hand in red; other embellishments in a variety of inks; pagination in hand in black (Figs. 1–2).

Probably in the same roman type found in the Nicolaus Perottus (or Perothus), *Rudimenta grammaticae* of 12 December 1475 (Haebler 542(8); IB 52505; Vindel, i. 21–2, n°. 3; unique copy in Zaragoza BCat), for long believed to be the first book printed at Barcelona, and described in its colophon (sig. r<sub>10</sub><sup>a</sup>) as having been printed by 'Iohanne de Salsburga' and 'Paulo de Constantia' 'qui ibi forte aderant'. The Perottus, which was commissioned by Joan Peyró (d. 1497), secretary

<sup>14</sup> Dibdin, vi. 123, n°s. 1109–10; vii. 120, n°. 177 (this last purchased from the Cassano Library in March 1821). On the first of these editions see Paola Farenga, 'Le prefazioni di Giovanni Filippo de Lignamine', *Scrittura, biblioteche, e stampa a Roma nel Quattrocento: atti del 2º seminario, 6–8 maggio 1982*, ed. Massimo Miglio (with Paola Farenga & Anna Modigliani) (Vatican City: Scuola Vaticana di Paleografia, Diplomatica, e Archivistica, 1983), 135–74 (170).

FIG. 1. JRULM 18486, sig. a<sup>2</sup>.

(*proto-notario*) to John II of Aragon and one-time pupil of the humanist Arnau Fenolleda – Peyró is described in the colophon as ‘vir etsi hispanus latinus tamen et in Latio educatus’<sup>15</sup> –, also has Greek quotations in a Greek fount (111G), based on that used in an edition of the same work printed by Giovanni Filippo de Lignamine at Rome, 10 May 1474 (IB 17406). Spain was thus the third country (after Germany and Italy, both 1465) in which Greek type was used.<sup>16</sup> The arabic 3 used throughout in the signatures of this edition of the *Epistolae Magni Turci* is found only in gathering b of the Perottus. The same roman type used in both was also employed in three unsigned editions: a Florus *Epitome* (IB 52503, Vindel, i. 19–20, n°. 2), a Sallust (IB 52502, Vindel, i. 15–18, n°. 1), both of 1475 (and therefore probably printed before the Perottus which was not completed until 12 December), and an undated Cicero, *In Catalinam invectivae* (IB 52504, Vindel, i. 23–4, n°. 4);<sup>17</sup> some of it reappears in the Caoursin, *Rhodiae obsidionis descriptio* of 28 February/1 March 1481 (below, n°. 6).

<sup>15</sup> BMX x, plate I<sup>S</sup>. For an indication of the intricacies and heat of the debate on the primacy of individual towns or cities in the history of Spanish printing (an argument presently decided in favour of Segovia), see Manuel Serrano y Sanz, ‘La imprenta de Zaragoza es la más antigua de España: prueba documental’, *Arte Aragónés* (Zaragoza), i (1914–15), n°. 9/12, 157–82, reprinted with corrections, *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos*, xxxv (= third series, xx) (1916 [1917]), 243–71; Laurence Witten, ‘The Earliest Books Printed in Spain’, *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, liii (1959), 91–113 (104–5); Jordi Rubió i Balaguer, ‘Wurden die ersten Pressen in Barcelona und Zaragoza von einem Mann geleitet?’, *Gutenberg – Jahrbuch* (1960), 96–100; Rubió i Balaguer, ‘Els autors clàssics a la biblioteca de Pere Miquel Carbonell, fins a l’any 1484’, *Miscel·lania Crevells*, Publicacions de la Fundació Bernat Metge 1 (Barcelona: Fundació Bernat Metge, 1929), 205–22 (208–9); George D. Painter, ‘The First Press at Barcelona’, *Gutenberg – Jahrbuch* (1962), 136–49 (142–3); Pedro Bohigas, ‘La introducción de la tipografía en España: estado actual de la cuestión’, *Biblioteconomía*, xxiii (1966), n°. 63/64, 13–32; Bohigas, *El libro español (ensayo histórico)* (Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, 1962), 87, fig. 22. On roman and other founts, Griffin, 174–5.

<sup>16</sup> BMC x, plate I<sup>S</sup>. It is the case, however, that no further Greek types are known to have been used in Spain during the fifteenth century: A. Lambert, ‘Notes sur divers incunables d’Aragon inédits ou peu connus’, *Bulletin Hispanique*, xii (1910), 23–48 (24–9); Dennis E. Rhodes, ‘The First Use of Greek Type in Spain’, *Gutenberg – Jahrbuch* (1960), 93–5; Antonio Alatorre, ‘Para la historia de la tipografía griega en España’, *Revue de Littérature Comparée*, lii (1978), 233–44 (233). On the later use of Greek type in Spain, see J. Simón Palmer, ‘Estudio paleográfico y bibliográfico de los libros impresos en España en los siglos XVI, XVII, y XVIII’, 2 vol. (Universidad Complutense de Madrid, *licenciatura* thesis, 1977), and Luis Gil Fernández, *Panorama social del humanismo español (1500–1800)* (Madrid: Alhambra, 1981), 584–90.

<sup>17</sup> All three are bound in a single volume in BU Barcelona (Vindel, i. 18 n.). See also Witten, ‘The Earliest Books’, 92–3; Antonio Odriozola Pietas, *Nacimiento de la imprenta en España*, Publicaciones de la Fundación Universitaria Española, Conferencias 28 (Madrid: FUE, 1976), 20, 28 n., and plate 6. BMC x (2), Witten (93 n.), and Vindel (i. 22 n.) all suggest that a Catalan translation by Joan Vilar of Valascus de Taranta, *De epidemia et peste*, 1475 (Haebler 664), first cited by Nicolás Antonio, *Bibliotheca hispana vetus, sive hispani scriptores qui ab Octaviani Augusti aeo ad annum Christi MD. floruerunt*, 2nd ed., 2 vol. (Madrid: Ibarra, 1788), ii. 306 (Book 10, chapter xii, n°. 651), of which no copy is now known to survive, may also be from this same press. See also Painter, ‘The First Press’, 139; and Victor Scholderer, ‘The Oldest Books Printed at Barcelona’, *The Library*, 4th series, xii (1932), 109–12, who reproduces a page of type in this distinctive roman. Both Madurell & Rubió, 61\* n., and Antoni Cardoner i Planas, *Història de la medicina a la Corona d’Aragó (1162–1479)* (Barcelona: Editorial Scientia, 1973), 43, 57 n., rightly suggest that the date 1475 is that of the Catalan translation rather than that of any printed edition.

The *Epistolae Magni Turci*, a collection of the supposed letters of Muhammad II The Conqueror, Sultan of the Turks (1451–81; see also below, pp. 44–5), but in reality the work of Laudivio Zacchia (or Zaccaria), a fifteenth-century man of letters from Vazzano Ligure (Genoa), were widely printed from 1473, IGI recording nine separate incunable editions (5964–72), and Goff eleven (M57–67).<sup>18</sup> Zacchia's life of St Jerome (Rome, 1495) is also dedicated to the unidentified Beltrandus.

A graduate of the University of Basle, Paulus Hurus, or Paulus de Constantia, was a member of the patrician family of that name and, like other members of his family and merchant-printers such as the Vitzlandts (or Wisslands: below, p. 52), he acted as an agent in Spain for at least one Northern-European trading consortium.<sup>19</sup> After working at Barcelona with Johannes of Salzburg (see below, pp. 21, 47) in 1475 and possibly the early months of 1476, he is known to have been at Zaragoza from at least the late summer of 1476 where on 22 October he and the Saxon printer Heinrich Botel of Embich (first encountered in Spain at Barcelona and sometimes recorded in documents as Henricus de Saxonia) invited subscriptions for an edition they planned of the Laws of Aragon.<sup>20</sup> Once Hurus had established a reputation as a printer, he commissioned new works for his presses, many of them translations (see below, p. 86), and signed editions in Zaragoza with both Botel and Johannes Planck; after Botel transferred his operation to Lérida (1479), Hurus continued to print alone at Zaragoza. He was clearly not just another journeyman printer of the kind that abounded in Southern Europe in the 1470s and 1480s but a large-scale businessman with extensive commercial interests who frequently travelled over a relatively wide area which included Zaragoza and Barcelona.<sup>21</sup> He enjoyed close friendships not only with a number of important citizens of Zaragoza but also with the cathedral chapter, as witness the prefatory letter he addressed to the local Archbishop don Alfonso de Aragón, the illegitimate son of King Ferdinand, in the edition he printed, with his brother Johannes, of a Zaragoza Missal of 27 October 1485 (Haebler 441, Sosa 615, Vindel, iv. 53–60, n°. 19), and he also continued to travel in Northern Europe as an agent for the Great

<sup>18</sup> A more complete listing is Franz Babinger, *Laudivius Zacchia, Erdichter der "Epistolae Magni Turci"* (Neapel 1473 u. ö), Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte, Heft 13 (Munich: Verlag des Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1960), 39–42.

<sup>19</sup> Leslie A. Sheppard & George D. Painter, 'Introduction to the Presses' (= BMC x, xxxvi–lxxv), xxxix.

<sup>20</sup> Painter, 'The First Press', 139. This was later printed as the large 378-leaf *Fori Regni Aragonum*, completed ?Jan./March 1477 (Haebler 278), one folio of which is reproduced (as plate xi) by Antonio Odriozola Pietas, 'La imprenta en Castilla en el siglo XV', *Historia de la imprenta hispana*, ed. Carlos Romeo de Lecea & others (Madrid: Editora Nacional, 1982), 91–220 (190).

<sup>21</sup> Bohigas, 'La introducción', 19: '[su] actividad industrial se desarrolló en una zona bastante amplia que le obligaba a desplazamientos'.

Trading Company of Ravensburg.<sup>22</sup> He is found at Valencia, Avignon, and Lyons in the late summer of 1480, doubtless on his way to Germany, was in Southern Germany again in the winter of 1483–4, and at the Lyons fair in both 1484 and 1485. His last known edition is of 1499 (see below, p. 98), after which he would seem to have transferred his press to Georg Koch (or Coci) before retiring to Constance where his name appears in documents until at least 1510.<sup>23</sup> Haebler, probably correctly, also identifies Hurus with the 'Printer of Turrecremata' – that is, of the works of the prolific Juan de Torquemada (1388–1468), author of the first work printed in Rome – who was active at Zaragoza 1481–2.<sup>24</sup>

There is no record of any book printed by 'Johannes of Salzburg' after 1475 but he may be the same man as the Johannes Planck (*alias* Juan Blanch or Blanco), a native of Hall im Tirol, who is known to have worked with Botel at Barcelona and with Hurus at Zaragoza.<sup>25</sup>

**2.** ROLEWINCK, Werner. *Fasciculus temporum.* (Followed by extracts of Diogenes Laertius. *De vita et moribus philosophorum auctioritates extractae.*) Seville. Bartolomé Segura & Alonso del Puerto. 1480. Sosa 732.

(i) Madrid BN and BU Complutense; Córdoba BCat; Salamanca BU; Segovia BCat (two copies); Seville BU (imperfect); Toledo BP (imperfect); Valladolid BU; Vitoria, B del Seminario; (ii) Leiden UB; Parma BPal; (iii) BL; Oxford Bodleian (imperfect); (iv) HSA; HEHL (imperfect); Providence (R.I.) Annmary Brown L; Hartford (Connecticut) Watkins Reference L.

2°: [1–10<sup>8</sup>], unsigned; 80 leaves, ff. [8] 1–71 72 (misnumbering 20 as '02', 30 '03'). No running titles. 215 × 160 mm. ([2]<sub>1</sub><sup>a</sup>)<sup>26</sup>; table in 3

<sup>22</sup> Alfred Hartmann & others (eds.), *Die Amerbachkorrespondenz*, 9 vol. (10 parts) (Basel: Verlag der Universitätsbibliothek, 1942–83), i. 9–13, docs. 8–9; Sheppard & Painter, 'Introduction to the Presses', lii.

<sup>23</sup> Agustín Millares Carlo, *Introducción a la historia del libro y de las bibliotecas* (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1971; reprinted 1975 and 1981), 105–9; Aloys Schulte, *Geschichte der Grossen Ravensburger Handelsgesellschaft, 1380–1530*, 3 vol. (Stuttgart & Berlin: Deutsche Verlags – Anstalt, 1923), i. 349–52; Painter, 'The First Press', 142–3.

<sup>24</sup> Haebler, *Geschichte*, 275–9; Carlos Romeo de Lecea, 'Raíces romanas de la imprenta hispana', *Historia de la imprenta hispana*, 7–89 (29–64).

<sup>25</sup> Sheppard & Painter, 'Introduction to the Presses', xxxvii–xxxviii; Painter, 'The First Press', 138–9; Millares Carlo, *Introducción*, 104–7. Serrano y Sanz, 'La imprenta' (1916 [1917]), 259–63, reproduces in facsimile both the 22 October 1476 invitation and the agreement between Botel, Georg vom Holz of Hoeltingen, and Planck dated at Zaragoza 5 January 1473 (the 1473 agreement is also Plate 24 of Eudaldo Canibell y Masbernat, 'Precedentes e introducción de la imprenta en España', *Gutenberg Festschrift: Zur Feier des 25jährigen Bestehens des Gutenbergmuseums in Mainz*, ed. Aloys Ruppel (Mainz: Gutenberg-Gesellschaft, 1925), 241–7). The originals (in Zaragoza, Archivo de Protocolos) are also transcribed fully by Serrano y Sanz, 'La imprenta', and by Vindel, iv, pp. xii–xiii, 5–6.

<sup>26</sup> Only [2]<sub>1</sub><sup>a–b</sup>, [10]<sub>1</sub><sup>a</sup>–[10]<sub>7</sub><sup>a</sup> have a complete page of uninterrupted type.

columns, text in 2 or more columns or long lines; gothic with roman capitals 92;<sup>27</sup> lombards (see Fig. 2); diagrams; 47–50 lines; spaces for capitals on [1]<sub>2</sub><sup>a</sup>–[1]<sub>8</sub><sup>a</sup> [9]<sub>8</sub><sup>a</sup>–[10]<sub>7</sub><sup>a</sup>; cuts: Noah's Ark ([2]<sub>3</sub><sup>b</sup>: 55 × 115 mm.; Fig. 3), Tower of Babel ([2]<sub>4</sub><sup>b</sup>: 110 × 50 mm.; Fig. 4), Solomon's Temple ([3]<sub>1</sub><sup>b</sup>: 65 × 50 mm.), Christ surrounded by the four Evangelists ([5]<sub>2</sub><sup>a</sup>: 41 × 41 mm.), and various cities (the same cuts being used on occasion to illustrate different cities): (i) (56 × 32 mm.) Nineveh ([2]<sub>5</sub><sup>a</sup>: Fig. 5) and Rome ([3]<sub>5</sub><sup>b</sup>); (ii) (55 × 59 mm.) Trier ([2]<sub>5</sub><sup>b</sup>: Fig. 6), Catania ([3]<sub>5</sub><sup>b</sup>), Byzantium ([3]<sub>6</sub><sup>b</sup>), and Ostia ([3]<sub>7</sub><sup>a</sup>); (iii) (54 × 84 mm.) Syracuse ([3]<sub>5</sub><sup>b</sup>) Athens ([4]<sub>1</sub><sup>b</sup>), and Cologne ([4]<sub>8</sub><sup>a</sup>); (iv) (76 × 55 mm.) Venice ([6]<sub>7</sub><sup>b</sup>).<sup>28</sup>

Contents: [1]<sub>1</sub><sup>a–b</sup> blank; [1]<sub>2</sub><sup>a</sup>–[1]<sub>8</sub><sup>b</sup> Table ‘¶ Tabula breuis ¶ vtilis super li | bello quodā qui dīr fasciculus tē | poꝝ . . .’; [2]<sub>1</sub><sup>a</sup>–[2]<sub>2</sub><sup>a</sup> Prologue (Fig. 7) ‘(G)Eneratio ¶ generatio laudabit opera tua: ¶ potenciam tuam pronunciabūt . . .’; [2]<sub>2</sub><sup>b</sup>–[9]<sub>8</sub><sup>a</sup> text ‘¶ Fasciculus temporū: omnes antiquūz [sic] cronicas completens: incipit feliciter. ¶ In principio creauit deus celum et terra<sub>3</sub> . . .’; [9]<sub>8</sub><sup>a</sup> colophon [left column] (Fig. 8) ‘¶ Cronica q̄ dicitur fasciculus tpoꝝ: edita in alma vniuersitate co | lonie agrippine a quodā deuoto cartuſienſi: ¶ impressa Iſpaleñ. | singulari induſtria atq<sub>3</sub> impensa Barthoalomei [sic] ſegura atq<sub>3</sub> Al | fonſi de portu anno domini 1480. Sixto q̄rto pōtifice maximo: fi | nit feliciter.’; [9]<sub>8</sub><sup>b</sup> blank; [10]<sub>1</sub><sup>a</sup>–[10]<sub>7</sub><sup>a</sup> text of separate work (Fig. 9) ‘¶ Ex laertio de vita ¶ moribus phōꝝ autoritates extracte incipiunt. | (T)Ales phūs aſianus athenis claruit . . .’; [10]<sub>7</sub><sup>b</sup>–[10]<sub>8</sub><sup>b</sup> blank.

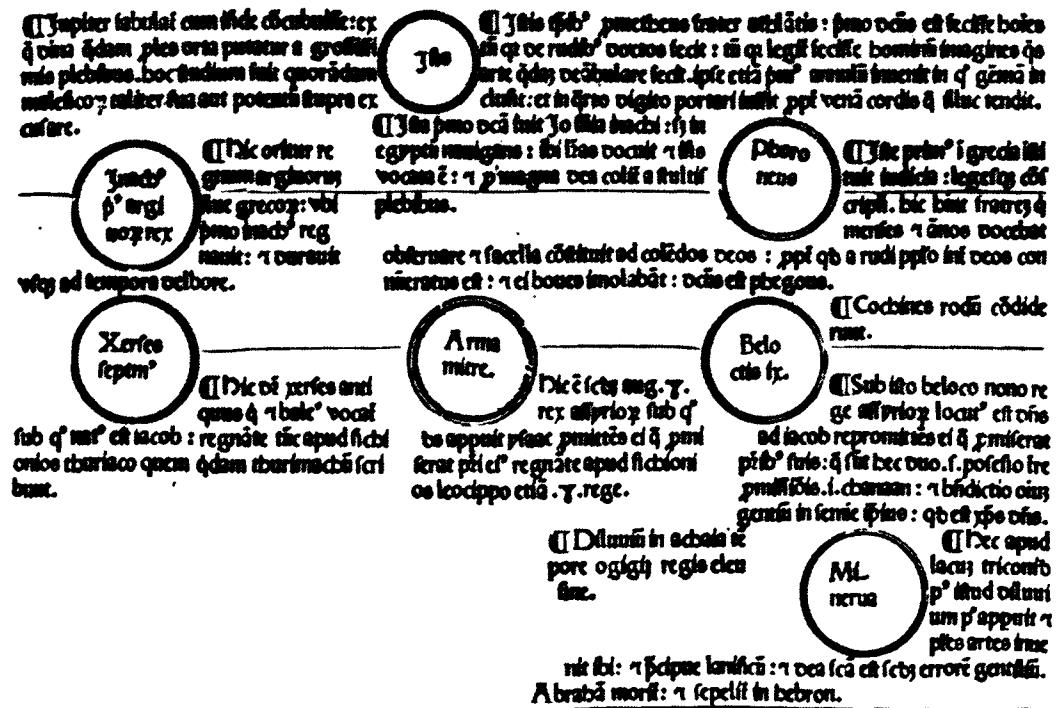
JRULM 23010 (formerly Inc. 16 G 4); badly cropped. From Spencer who had at least five other editions of the *Fasciculus*;<sup>29</sup> marginal annotations in several hands in Spanish.

The Carthusian Werner Rolewinck (1425 Laer bei Horstmar, Westphalia – Cologne 26 August 1502) lived and worked at the Charterhouse of St Barbara at Cologne from 1477 until his death. He wrote over 50 works on a whole variety of biblical subjects, many of them never printed. The *Fasciculus temporum* (1470), the most popular of them all, is a brief chronicle of the world from the Creation until the author's own times. Editions show little or no sign of humanist influence (as witness the indiscriminate use of identical cuts for different cities), but it was translated into numerous languages, extensively used as a school text, and widely printed. At least 55 separate editions of it are represented, for example, among the 119

<sup>27</sup> BMC x, plate X<sup>s</sup>.

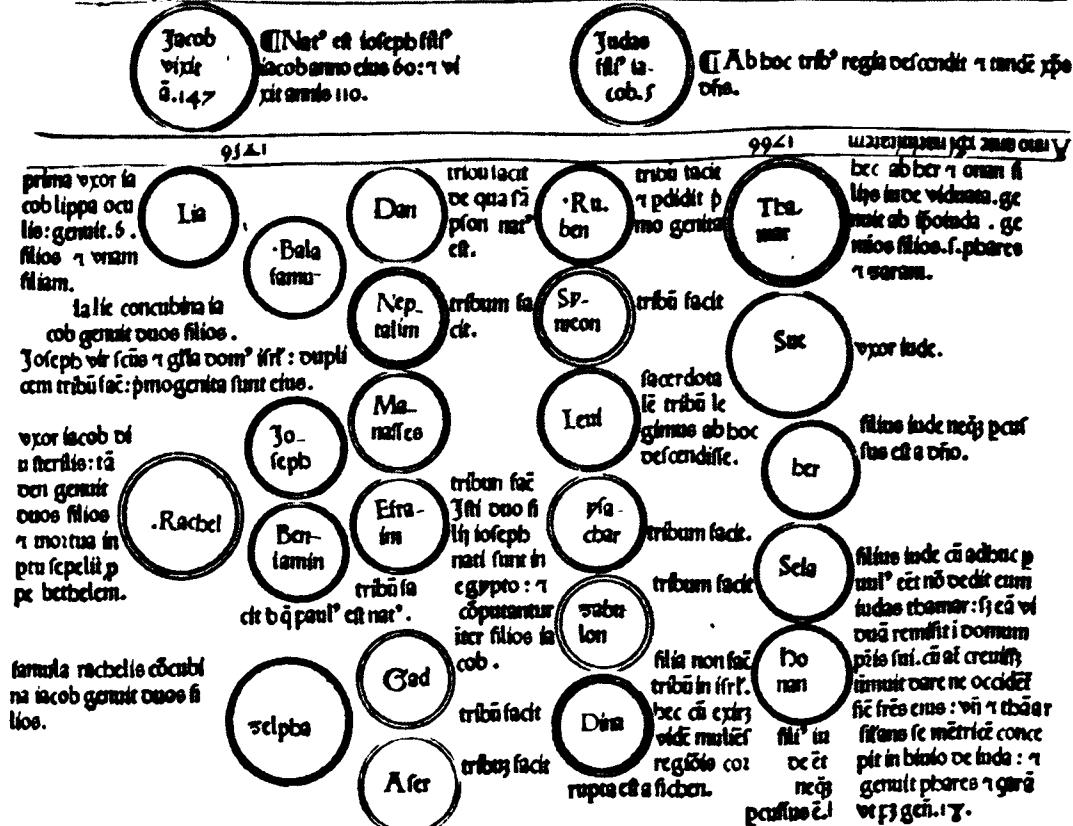
<sup>28</sup> These cuts are described at length by José Luis Portillo Muñoz, *La ilustración gráfica de los incunable sevillanos (1470–1500)*, Publicaciones de la Excma Diputación Provincial de Sevilla, Sección Arte, series i, n°. 16 (Seville: Diputación Provincial de Sevilla, 1982), 28–35. Portillo Muñoz reproduces those on [2]<sub>3</sub><sup>b</sup>, [2]<sub>4</sub><sup>b</sup>, [5]<sub>2</sub><sup>a</sup>, and [6]<sub>7</sub><sup>b</sup> as his figs. 2–5, and Lyell those on [2]<sub>4</sub><sup>b</sup> and [3]<sub>5</sub><sup>b</sup> as his figs. 1–2. See also Bohigas, *El libro español*, 106, fig. 29.

<sup>29</sup> Dibdin, iii. 318–23 (n°s. 692–4); vi. 126–7 (n°s. 1113–14).



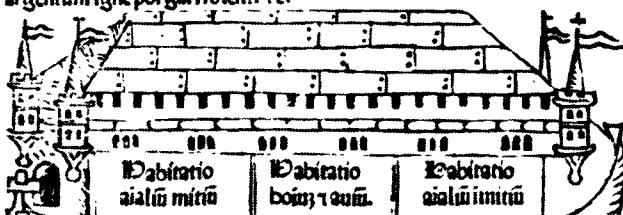
344

3434


 FIG. 2. JRULM 23010, sig. [2]<sup>a</sup>.

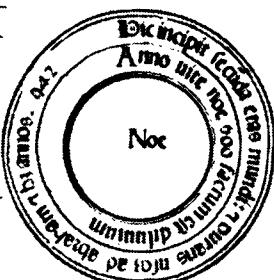
**¶** Pro intellectu hoc est aduersus: quod uerissime de istis tribus filiis noe et genites percreate sunt: ut p. gen. x. vñ et ad designandum mysterium hoc: dñs ihu et discipulos misit ad facie suam: ut dicitur x. De hac materia diligentius tractat aug. 17. et d. tel. inter cetera dicit: quod plures alii nati sunt: qui propter ea non sunt commemorati: quod genibus alijs nascendo antecelerunt: ipsi autem genites facti reuequeruntur: hanc autem genitum vocabula partum manifestant: ita ut hodieque apparet vñ fuerint deriuata: sic ex assur affirmit: et ex hebreo hebrei. Parti ipsorum veritatem mutata sunt: ita ut vix homines doctissimi antiquissimas p'scrutantes historias: nec omnium: si aliquum ex istis origines genitum reperire potuerunt. Et si omnia considerentur: plura mutata quod manentia nomina apparuerunt.

**¶** Nota secundum doctores debet penam hoc tempore mundo inflatur: quod enim luxuria habundauit: quod corpora polluit: ideo per aquam terra lota et mundata fuit. In fine autem mundi quia cupiditas habundabit: per ignem existentur. Autrum enim et argentum igne purgari solent. et c.



Anno unundi 1642.

Nostra: et.



**¶** Noe vero fuit genitus etiam coram domino: cum enim esset annus quinque gentium genitus chama sem et iaphet. Archam de mandato domini edificare cepit: eamque in 100 annis perfecit. Centesimo igitur anno iam archa completa: iterum dñs apparuit ei: mādane: ut ei uxori sua et filiis: coniuncti uxoriis archam intraret: et cum animalibꝫ et sc̄i diluvium invenerunt: sicutque aqua super altissimos montes cubitis xv. gen. 7. Erat nō: quod eodem die dominico in maio quod ingressus fuit: anno revolutio cum viuenteris quod ibi erant: egressus est. Post diluvium accidit ipsi noe illa famosa ebrietas: cuius occasio ipse filius. s. sem et iaphet per bonum patrem et bonum verecundia benedixit. Filio vero suo chā per irrisione et irreverentia male dicto. Et hec secundus aug. 16. in prima mentio de seruitute et per oppositum et nobilitate. nec potius est quod oīs de chā descendentes fuerint ignobiles et impotentes: cuiusceps primo esse potentes super terrā: ut p. de noeroth et regibus chama et astroz et c. nec oīs de sem et iaphet fuerunt virtuosū sive nobiles aut potentes: cuī pene oīs idolatrie criminē occiderunt: et ab aliis opīs sepe fuerunt. Si hec maledictio et bñdictio via et virtutes respicit: ppi que uel qualibꝫ homo veraciter dicitur ignobilis. Pari modo qui si de abrātis sectari: ponit dicuntur eius filii: quod iudei: qui carnaliter ab eo descenduntur. Nobis uero nichil nouum quodam sp̄lita p'scrutatio et eo propter meritum patris ac bñdictio. Et ex istis tribus filiis noe: sed chā sem et iaphet: ipso adhuc uiuentem in terra philonis historiā: 24 milia et centū viroꝫ: non sunt extra mulieres et pauperes: hanc super se tres p'impes: noeroth: iaphet: et sem.

**¶** Noc signum federe quod do inter me et vos et ad omnem animam. gen. ix.

**Arc' pluvialis**  
sunt tria duos colores p'nci  
paliter habet: quod duo iudicia reprē-  
sentat. A quod diluvius p'teritū figurat:  
ne ampli' timeat. Igitur futurū iudicium  
significat p' igne: ut certitudinali expectet

**¶** Iste ionichus fuit filius noe: de quod non  
se facit: sapientia: p'umo post diluvium at  
tronomia invenit: et quedam futura pieci-  
dit: et maxime de ortu et regno et copia  
occasu: cumque pater occidit ei munera:  
uit in terram ethiā: et habitauit ibi gentem constituta.  
Ecce fertur consilium dedisse noeroth quā regnare posset.

De sem et generationes.

**¶** Iste sem benevoli post diluvium genuit arphax-  
dus: et fertur sufficere melchisedech: quod p'um  
debet: et coegerit virbe sale. ipa est bieru  
m' et co fecerunt generationes et cetera possidet.

**¶** Iste clam videns deinde regnabat  
ridens etiam ob quod diluvium  
boarentur prebas exemplum  
De clam jo gnoea.  
obtinet.

**¶** Iste iaphet apatre benedictus est: propter ingenuitatem  
litatem: dilatationemque et impietatem: et ab eo descendunt  
generationes. xv.

**¶** Hos et filios habuit iaphet: et

**Japhet**  
filii noe  
europæ  
babet

Gomer

magog

**Ablito**  
dece-  
derit galatice: et p'  
gallici: additio p' gnoea.

**Ablito**  
de  
gotri traxiū  
origine s'combie  
ronimū.

Aſſe,  
nes.

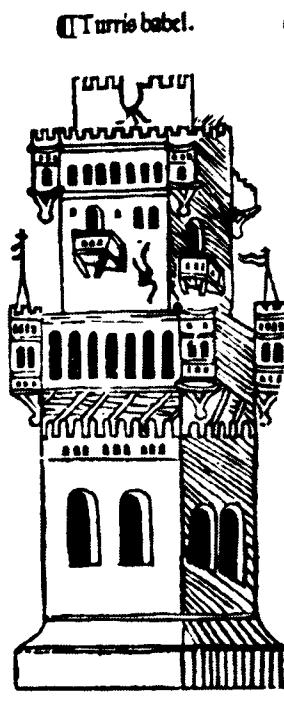
Ri-  
phat.

Tog.  
orma

Ab illo sunt  
friges.

**Ablito**  
afloca farma  
te venerunt: quos greci regios vocat.

FIG. 3. JRULM 23010, sig. [2]3<sup>b</sup>.



¶ Turris babel.

**D**e malitia babilonie narroth p[er] me sunt libri. forte divino indicio actum est: ut nero in eius voca bulo plane se offerat: qui simile infamiam habuere. Nam post confirmationem linguarum ad persas abiit: eos ignem docuit colere: babelo relictus filio suo belo: qui ei successit: et sic deinceps post ritas eius regnum illud obtinuit usq[ue] ad quartum chiliodem: secundum methodium et ceterum. Sed auctor. dicit eum fugientem inde: et quod alii alter regnum illud obliteruerunt et tenuerunt usq[ue] ad annos 130. et ceterum.

neroth  
princeps  
de châIectan  
et faleg  
de semSupbene  
de lapbet

**D**oc regni scitay i; sit veritatis murum: in q[uo]d barbarorum est inter principalia regna nime copula tur. vni p[er]pet[er] illius populi in excedentem sine grosiciem regio illa semper dicta est barbarica: test magna valde: quia metropolis paluitibus indigenis inter oceani nubium et oceanum septentrionalentrosc[em] ad germaniam porrigitur. Et est prima pars europe: in qua primo regnauit Tan[us] de stirpe iapet: Gotib[us]. vngari sunt de his et domini et ceteri.

Scitay  
regnum  
ot[er] p[er]Amaro  
nū sine  
magefatarū  
regni  
oritur. i. feminas p[er]uer  
scitas et albanos ver  
sus septentrionem. de  
scitay trabunt originem.

**I**hi tres principes cum p[er]fis suis co[n]uerterunt in campum sennar: formidantes oculum suum posse inuincere: dixerunt eis Ediscem[us] turri: cuius altitudo pertingat usq[ue] ad celum et ceterum. ut babetur gen. x. Vides autem deus frustulam illoꝝ: mira culose in penam peccati confudit lingers eoz: et sic dispersi sunt per totum mundum.

**D**ic omnes  
egiptiorum regni: quod diversis alienationibus crebro mutatus fertur. et sepe fit menio de his in sacra scriptura. Duravit usq[ue] ad augustum.

Anno mundi 2643:

2773

Linea xpi.

p[er]ale g  
virg[ine]s  
nos 239

9332

Reu[er]e  
ragau[er]t  
nos 242

9372

**S**ic p[er]ale filmis beber sic dicitus est: quia in diebus eius facta fuit contumeliam: quasi ipse dominus sit ab aliis: quia in domo sua manefit lingua Latina. vni secundus auguri. in hoc non peruum iusticie vestigium apparuit: q[ui]lta dominus liberus fuit ab hac pena: quasi non fuerit princeps in culpa. Et nota sedi: unde q[ui] numerus lingua p[er]fuit secundum numerum gloriarum. s. 72. Autem autem enim nomen gentium multo amplius q[ui] lingua p[er]fuit. nam in una lingua plurimas gentes nouimus.

**N**obilitas circa hec tempora fertur introducta. Et nota q[ui] pluribus de causis instituta fuit. Prima fuit necessitas. crescente enim humano genere: cum hoies ad malum p[er]irent p[er]libet in iustus peccato p[er]aduersus bonos: video eligeretur aliquis vir bonus iustus: ceteris atque prudenter: qui coartat p[er]fidet: virtuosos p[ro]mouet mediocres defendet: et malos coercet. hunc dictus est nobilis quasi p[er] aliis in viribus nobilis. Vnde b[ea]tronimus. Nichil aliud video in nobilitate appetendum: nisi q[ui] nobilis quadam necessitate costringatur: ne ab antiquis p[er]stant degenerent. Secunda causa fuit descolia plebium que rectum iudicium ignoscet: et inter se pacare viscent: nam adeo ebetes fuerunt q[ui] nichil magis impendere poterant: nisi q[ui] vulgaris opinione celebrabantur. vni ex parte diebat p[er] ipsorum pacem conseruanda: vi ex ratione nobilium principes habebant. Tercia causa p[er] certis ex aliquo sortitione singulare. Nonnumquid enim communiter gravata est incurvus bovis: tale editum famigerunt: vi quicunq[ue] primam a talibus licet exararet: ius nobilitatis p[er] se et hereditatis fuit p[er]petuo obtineret. Hoc modo plures nobilitati leguntur. Quarta causa ex abundancia divisa fumitur. Ali quando enim popularis nimis penuria virtualiter attenuata: tradiderunt se et sua alicui donati: ut diuinum oraculum inveniret.

FIG. 4. JRULM 23010, sig. [2]4<sup>b</sup>.

<p><b>Aigaleo p' rex</b> Subiecto p' regis etiam Agialeo no p'li m' rex</p> <p><b>Spota nefret baecti</b> Tunc p' regis etiam Spota nefret baecti</p> <p><b>Belus p' rex affyri-</b> Tunc p' regis etiam Belus p' rex affyri-</p>	<p><b>Sicut dictum angustissimum</b> i. y. de d. dei regnum fleschionoy ad modi paruum erat : de quo doctissimum varro vobis omisit tempore expositus est percutit tandem ad asternit : uicende ad latitudo : uicende ad romanos. hinc fleschit europa 2<sup>o</sup> rex fleschiorum : et duravit usq; ad tempora beli sacerdotio : et iudicio iste d.</p> <p><b>Iste</b> vox auctioris dicimus scimus angusti. risticus primus q; o nominis est : nec aliquid boni monstra nos sic ritis poteris dicas cum omnibus coniuncte sit florido hinc mundum latere uirtutem n; q; magis canit : et a nito in bello superatus est amorum primus quodammodo libens cibosuit.</p> <p><b>Era</b> principalis cuiuslibet : et genitilis q; antiqua spora commemorant hinc leboit communiter</p> <p><b>Hoc</b> regnum pene numerique paucum fuit.</p> <p><b>Iste</b> Augustinus : et plurima regna terra bel' di in obliuio regnasse: q; p' uim belli p'li. Et hinc fuit p'ntus q; error: p'li uicum suffic' p'ntus: unde diuersae gentes etiam si modi cu nominant. f. bel: basi: basi: boc p'p'g'go: beli sebus et c. Ex illici hinc exomis error in genere b'ano v'ra duo milia anno y.</p>	<p><b>Dane</b> dominium magnum n'nos d'plinie rex suo mihi uide appellauit : que est metropolis affliox.</p>  <p><b>Natura p' rex mo-</b></p> <p><b>natura</b> prim' regnauit annis 5-4.</p> <p><b>Iste</b> habidne obliandi permor' ut lactice regnum per set frumentis idem vicinio suis bella struit. et quia populus aduersus eis fuit : nec bellandi : nec armis p'ciam habuit : cito pene totam eis fibi subiugauit : factusq; est primus monarca orientalis. dico nimis dolerit te morte patris sui beli fecit fibi in solarium suis magna genitrix est : cui tantam reuerentiam exhibebat : ut quibuscumq; rebus ad ipsam configentibus' periret : et penitus indulgeret. Huius ex'pli plures claris suis mortuis imagines dedicare ceperunt. Videntur enim maligni spiritus curiositatee populi : innata laetitia et responda deodoris deos esse detinunt ad diuinos honores fibi fieri reverentur. sicut hoc infelicitissimi idolatrie criminis introductum est diuina magia et maxime officium. et in omni bec vestaria crevit : capitai suis pleat retur qui eos boice suffic' affirmaret.</p>
2005	3015	3114
<p><b>Sara cb virg d 230-</b> 4022</p>	<p><b>No. chri. d. 147-</b> 1912</p>	<p><b>Tbare an. 205.</b> 5207</p>
<p>2005</p>	<p>3015</p>	<p>3114</p>
<p>2005</p>	<p>3015</p>	<p>3114</p>

FIG. 5. JRULM 23010, sig. [2]<sup>a</sup>.



Exordio 7 generatio laudabilis opera tua : 7 potenciam tuam pronuncias. Scribitur  
 psalmus 144. Cum non sine multa diligentia : sed etiam patrum studia : temporum decursus  
 superpetat : non dubium quoniam magis vestitus ecclesiastico viro : 7 precipue illo qui  
 ecclesiasticam pollicem gubernare babent : inde proteret : nec vili statui hominum  
 hoc parvum prodicis credendam est : si tempora mente ad tertii ghetarum bistroas :  
 quae ob clamam memoriam studiorum viri conscripserunt oculos lessere : quamvis pte  
 riq; id minus perspectant. Debet namque virtus virtuosos precedentium facta sepe ad  
 memoriam resuere : ut bona exemplis diligenter operib' infondere : 7 in malis  
 velut perditionis suspicione redire. Verum nulli preceptum a vili separari frusta concupiscentia se tem-  
 perare non volens : in tenetibus assaginem precepit carissimi mergeretur. Ob hoc sancti doctores videntes :  
 q; ad intellectum sacrae scripturae ex ecclesi regimur bistroarum decursus ex parte necessario est:  
 summi omnium ghetorum congerie inservit : tum pro sui magnitudine : tum pro superfluirum 7 velut  
 factorum repetitione superabundante : quafdam nobis bistroes canonizaverunt : amputatis fabulo supereritio  
 fies : ac genealogiae interminatae : que ad rem non pertinent. Sicq; factum est per maximos eorum labo-  
 res : ut pene summi totius temporum bistroia bistrissimo studio a qualibet intelligentia iam nedium sine labore :  
 summo cum cordis oblectatione possit incorporari. Deinde quoq; ad ornatum scripture : ut hac pulchritu-  
 mae non circat : que omnibus genibus tangere lucerna prefalida in obscuru loco propoundinga fuit. In  
 genium in super humana quod magnifice plura comprehendere faciliter potest : hoc delicio prout di-  
 uerstantur florum primaria non debuit : in quo varia virtutum exempla reperiens : factaque reprouba : que  
 confidantur: illa corpore : hec praeterire moneretur. Idem enim super modum est delectabile : qualiter  
 prius nostri parentes ex quibus originem tenuissimum instituti fuerunt a summo omnium gubernatore deo :  
 deinde quis decursus eorum : quomodo defecit 7 proficit rationabilis creatura in sapientia : virtute : po-  
 tentia : sanctitate : longevitate : 7 sic de aliis : 7 in omnibus his virtutibus regimen admirari : quam sit te  
 nos misericordia in creaturis fuit : qui numquam administrare coheret illo quae condidit : quoniam creatio de  
 longaminis 7 misericordia : 7 quam inscrutabilis visus eius: inscio: um oblitus. Nec 7 infinita alia per  
 uolans humana industria permisit quibusdam interne contemplationis : non solum pictoria 7 presentia : 7  
 enim futura metitur : tum ex similitudinibus ad similitudines progressatur : cui si bona voluntas adiuncta fuerit : te  
 dilo quodam incolatus hunc in oculum surgit. ad laudandum 7 regnandum 7 contemplandum : cupido  
 dilectionis : 7 est cum christo interior. Incipit ergo hec exemplatio in locutione speculacione scripturarum : 7  
 finit in felicitate tedi coram eis : appetitus creativus : inyan illius pietatis. Quid enim nichil est in celo : 7 a te  
 quid volit super terram : nichil autem edocere deo bonum est. Nec sicut in preciis tempore verbo: idem  
 psalmista noble perfundere nuntiat : oikou. Generatio 7 generatio laudabilis opera tua : 7 potenciam tua  
 pronunciantur: quasi dicas : per omnia que in mundo cultura certamine : ad te qui numquam deficit tende-  
 re debemus : que utique sententia valde accomoda est ad propositum nostrum. Cum enim testis Aquinus  
 dicit : plura in facie scripture clementiamque nichil significant : 7 tamen necessaria sunt propter ea que  
 aliquid significant : necesse est salutis ius uti : quamvis terribilis sunt : sicut illis que secunda damnatione inci-  
 citur in deum mentem nostram subvertunt : aliqui non recte scripturam legimus : in qua semper spiri-  
 tuus sanctus loquitur credendus est. Sunt ergo arida quo ad superficie littere : sed grande quo ad spiritum intelligentiam. Que autem in altera sunt : ut nequaquam spiritus in intelligi possint : aut non expedit  
 omni tamem veneratione diligenter inueniuntur : qui est scire 7 diligere deum. Et  
 de hoc genere videtur esse suppositione auctorum : que in facie bistrois diligentissime annosca contine-  
 tur : de qua ut idem Aquinus testatur : hoc certissime tenendum est : q; tanto est oikou austoritatem ro-  
 boosa : ut omnino falsissimum sit : quicquid ab ea ha discrepat quod cum ea omnino concordari non pos-  
 sit. Quae cum ita sit : mirum videlicet : cur facies scripture tractatores de hac materia in annis sunt  
 colueri in pluribus locis usq; bistro : ut aut omnino aut vix nequeant concordari. Et reddit filii antiqua 7  
 famosa quodlibet translatione sepaugina interpretari : ut poetis ei stolidum sit in suppositione annorum : an  
 textus bistroorum : quem moyses ille maximus 7 prius legis promulgator editit. His contribuerunt sed

FIG. 7. JRULM 23010, sig. [2]1<sup>a</sup>.

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¶ Pueri scilicet michaelis peregrinatur cum magno seruore per unum viam longam ad mare: et se timor casti ne spiritus neq; egredi coe: si statim celosque ppter et diuinum itinerium et famem quod partebantur 1457. et anno precedentem fuit maximus terremotus in neapoli: et perferunt multi 40 milia.

¶ Ante hunc mense celeritate fabulationes solito sunt. Et impie sones libatoꝝ multiplicantur in terra.

¶ Huius deformatioꝝ magna plurimo: um monasteriorum in desertis mundi parvissime sive. Et nota q; buxomodi reformationes crebro leguntur facte: si pene nulla remansit qd solito morte p; sue ultimis spatioꝝ ad perfidiam relabentur longoꝝ p; venerabilis ipsoꝝ mortem.

¶ Post transfigurationis Institutioꝝ a calixto p; gratiarum actione illius vicerit miraculoſe facte contra thurcū in uaria codice dicitur. f. sancti fixti 1457.

¶ Vicitoria miraculoſa ultime votum ipsius in uirginitate terreni castitatis qd thurcū magnis: et peditis multos et fugit turpis de nimbo boſili p;: cu meo cu p;frequenter. folia manu et ceterum cum in die festi fixti anno xp̄i 1456. Sanctus lobanus de capitulo p;nis fuit: et p;uocatus p;pmi credidit et p;fugendum infidelis fugientes: et facta est vltio magna. Dixerint enim thurci qd rā immensus numerus armigerorum insequenter eos qd vix anni lucrum respicere: et ideo fugienter reticunt omibꝝ. Ipsi fucrunt sceti angeli.

¶ Puerella nomine Anna imprimis Venitpaulic in oppido q; ha- mo dicitur a peccat veritatem figurata omni p;ffitionis horum in mandib; et pedib; ac latere: virgo nouit eōveris anno. f. 1454. post spatiis aut 15. ab domo dux circa festū venerabilis sacramenti corā 12. testibus oīditi ea: et p;dictis qd p; duas horas redirent qd nō innuenirent ea: et sic factū fuit: qd loca illa sanata erant.

¶ Leodium multis tribulacionib; atterritur et territur et post anno 1467. destrux totaliter p; Karolū ouē burgundie: et obiit anno p;cedenti: etiā idē anno 73. intravit terra gelrie: et obtinuit etiā.

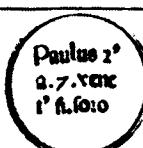
¶ Jubileus mutatur in ianuaria p; pauli de m. 1472. Circa festum sancti agnac vicefimmo quinto in 25. annis transiuit super colonias in oppo- num ut quia abundanter sit libet: et caudam longam quasi quatas superabundet et gradum 30. misit ad occidente. in festo gracia. to sancti blasii: nec in aricete et misit caudam quasi ad pliades versus orientem. vagabundus erat: alia qd qd flāmca crinita qd valde. Se quoniam bella et epidemic in diversis partibus. Et anno 73. fuit eius scrupulissima et succi- tis inaudita: et in quibusdam terris ignis sub terra successus ut qd ad arenaam fuit.

¶ Jobannes soeth prior generalis ac reformatoꝝ carmelici ordinis vir sancte vite: et singulariter xp̄o fructificus: postea qd carmelum totum 20. rexerat annis inde gratias obiit 25. iulij: ubi quāplurimis: nunc miraculis conuictus fuit.

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663

663



1454

¶ Hic calixtus vir valde se- ne electus fuit et continuo i- sumus: nec potuit velut su- a p;fere que qd thurcos coe- pi ipediente ferio morteq; p;fuerit electus fuit 1455. moritur 1457. ipso die scilicet ipso festi trāfigurati omni anno uno clauso.

res exalmenta venientia romā: ipso em; benedictione remansit ad propria: eo qd non sufficiens: et statim ipse post mortuus 1464. die 14. mensis augusti.

¶ Croesus qd dictor fasculinus ipso p; edita in alma universitate co- loniae agrippine a quodā decimo cartusiensi: et impreſſa Ispeleū. fregulari fudicula etiā imperia Bartolomei legata etiā. Al- ionis de portu anno domini 1470. Sisto qd p;ofice maximo: si- nū fideliter.

volgo fucreri vocantur: atrocipicio trucidatus est viceriosissime. Epitaphiu cui p; editum tale extat. Te p;guit pacis tenui-

1464

¶ Hic p;ius electus est anno dñi 1457. et vo- cabatur eneas vir eloquentia ora- torio magnus: poetaq; laureatus: imperatoris abbas: et fuit: et in concilio basiliensi. non absolvit tra- citū scriptū p; exortate eiusdem. Ipse etiam canonizauit sanctam Katerinā de senis 1461. Hic p;af- fagiū ordinare cupiens: cum plu- rimi sex. Norabatur quoq; ut ad resūdū se disponeret.

¶ Hic paulus electus est anno dñi 1464. et statim approbauerit celebostet; scilicet p;resentationis bīc vīrginis gloriose fiscus p;. Hic in fig- nacio petitionibus matutinali- bus fuit et iustitie tenax qd melius foret pauca cōdonare: et qd firmiter fucrari qd plurimis lig- nore et statim renuocare. Grā- de palatium construxit apd scūm marchā: ante cōpletio- ne moritur anno 1471. die 21. iulij

¶ Hic ante cardinalatum fuit generalis in ordine mi- noꝝ: electus anno 1471. vocabatur autē frāctiū de floriꝝ p;pe iannia: bone fame et moꝝ. Fuit enim vo- canus ad cardinalatum ab ip- si electo suo. eccl̄e anno oratione bernardū lustrinante ve- torum recitatione corā eo qd thurcū abstulisset xp̄ianita- ti duo ipia: qd regna: 20. p;uidae: 1200. vides: populumq; absq; numero

¶ Karolus ouē burgundie cum ciuitatem namē vici- onis reibardi lothringie dux inclin obsecutus magna ei potencia: tandem ab oede reibardo auxilio et manu for- ti Sigismundi italissimi ducis austri: argentinū. quoq; et ballieni: cum reliquo federe sacrificiū cōglobatis qd Epitaphiu cui p; editum tale extat. Te p;guit pacis tenui-

FIG. 8. JRULM 23010, sig. [9]8<sup>a</sup>.

¶ Ex laetio ex vita et moribus proborum autoritates extracte hanciplant.

Alio plus obscuris astrolo claruit. Hic primus sapientia appellatus est. Secundus quem et septem sapientes vocati sunt. fuit quidem consilium ciuii noster. Ideo talis inscius vicius est. Hic post politicas naturalis pise factus est Speculator. Et innotior fuit in se magis et naturalis astrologie. Et primus inter probos de hoc astrolo gloria transire. et primus natus innotescit postulat. et de natura disputat. Tempora quoque anni certar inveniret et tristes sequentes quinque circa transire. Hic miles ut Mucius. et. etiam. dicit pofitum apud grecos primus pscrutatus est. Erat autem pamp. qui pote vacans studijs acquisitioni pecuniarum insondere non valebat. Coniuge certe. Et interrogatur utrum in sacerdotem non valesset. respondit ob filios amorem. Fertur quod dum nocte discenderet extra domum iuctula ut alfractus pderent et inde diri te sacerdotem: eo quoque lugere dixit vetusta. Tu quidem o miles que ante pedes tuos sunt videre nequiesce quomodo et in celo sunt putas cognoscere. Hic fertur deinde boz trium glos ago: fortuna. primo quidem. quod homo scis sum et non beata Deinde quod mias. et non femina. Tertio quod grecus et non barbarus. Huius hec dicta scribitur ut in laetitia in libro de vita probi lofotop. Antiquissimum enim ingenium et ceterum est docere. Optimam enim est mundus. Nam opus dei. Maximum enim est locus eius namque caput. Videlicet enim intellectus. postum etenim currunt. Videlicet enim necessitas. videntur enim cunctis. prudenter enim ipsi: adiuvent enim omnia. Interrogatur enim quidam si latet deos homo inustus agens: scio nec cogitare inquit. Interrogatus quidem difficile: at si ibi agnoscere. Interrogatus quid dulcissimum: at acquirere. Interrogatus quid est natus: at quo nec pincipium habet nec fine. Interrogatus qualiter quis iuste vivere possit ait: si que inibi aliis: sic agat. Interrogatus quis felix sit: ait. qui famam corpore: aida copiosus: natura docilis. Obiit autem tales anno etatis sue septuagesimo octavo. claruit vero auctor regis inde temporibus.

Olor plus viris de septem sapientibus grecis. natione atberensis. A themis claramit. Hic ut beneficiis leges optimas edidit: quae postmodum romani ab atberensis accepunt. multaque beneficia eis contulit. Et multo tempore eos pudentia sua a seruitute et tyranno liberavit. Et tunc fortuna mutata pinguis in egyptum se transluxit. Deinde. cre sedulo et regi adiuvit. Denum in cipro senatus exegit: ibique mortuus est. Claruit autem tempore esse regis inde. Inter et teras eius leges inuite sunt. be. ut ait laetitus. Si quis parentes indigentes non alat ingloria sit. filii eorum quodque republicas obire publice innotescit. et doceatur. Ite benevit tutor cum orphano et matre non habite. nec tutoris officium exercere in quae defunctione et sepulture sustentata puererit. Et si uxori occisi habentem quis illo priuauerit. vice verba ipse genuit. caret. Et qui si princeps ebriosus fuerit. uice doceatur. Huius be. legitur fasile sine. Saturatio ab opibus generatur. Coniunctio la uero a saturitate. Que non possuntene tollere. potestare luxuriantem certiori etate. A misere ut dico possideas: quae aut posideris ne reprobes. Consule non dulciora sed optima. Intellectum fac doce. Ne malis loquntur. Deos bonorum patres reuertere. Nemine quia diu viuis vicias esse felicem: eo quodque non ultimum viae die possit fortuna mutari. felicitas uero in deo. dies ultimus est. Rex inicia debentur fortuna. Interrogatus solon quid est uerbum Respondit: simago opes. Quo firmatur herba? silencio. Quo firmatur silentium? timentia. Interrogatur quid est rex? fortis potestas. Quid est lex? animus vel laquei si in carnem incideret quidem debile restaretur. graue autem perennit nulla recta. Interrogatus quia si pectus tam amictus resisteret pallidore tyranum: aut senectute. Huic soloni mortuus illum lugetur sed esse fieri quidam eo quod flere nescit prodesse. cui ille ego magis ploro. et tamquam meum irremediabile video. Cum in loco quoddam multo loquuntur solon non loquitur. Interrogatus et plando utrum ppter uerbo et inopia: an quia frustus esset taceret? Qui ait. Nemo frustus tam potest. Interrogatus qualis debet esse populi rector? K respodit populi rector prius se quodque rectificare debet. Alioquin erit uelut qui vmbra curua rectificare conatur. plusque uirga curua umbram facere res. Interrogatus quid acutus gladio? Respedit prius bonum lingua. Interrogatus quis esset liberalis? ait qui sua bona libenter alijs impetrat. uoluntatum rerum cupiditate caret. Interrogatus qualiter ciuitas bene regi posset: ait. Si princeps et magister secundum leges vixerunt.

Huius plus lacrimosus virus de septem sapientibus grecis. Hic ut dicitur in pollicato libro primo. Iungende societas causa missus fuit chorintum. Vbi doceat et senior: ce populi iudeces inuenient in alia. ppter quo in uero negotio reverstas est dicens. Se nolle gloriam spartano et bac maculare infamia ut dicteretur cum allatoribus contrarie se societas. Fuit autem chilon brevilocus. Vix annis quinquaginta sex. Et claruit tempore sedebit regis inde. Docebat autem hoc omni lingue et praesertim in conuentio. non esse male dicendum proximis: alioquin oportere audire ea quibus quis tristabitur. Item non esse iniurandum cuique: quoniam hoc muliebre est. Cicias ad calamitatem amicorum ppter pperito ut Nuptias hominum facere. Non esse male: cedum mortuo. seruum bonorum arcere. Cuicunque sibi spes tamquam male quodque puerum habet. Illud enim semel costristabit. Hoc autem utique quaque. Non irritare infelice. fortis et uincitorum manifestum esse: ut puerum

incunable copies of the work in Paris BN, and many are listed in important Spanish libraries of the late-fifteenth and early-sixteenth centuries. Some later editions contain extra material bringing the chronicle up to date.<sup>30</sup>

Quire [10] contains a shortened version, in the *Speculum* tradition, of the Lives of the Philosophers of the third-century biographer Diogenes Laertius, a work proposed as early as the 1430s as a model for the lives of Christians, and used extensively as a primary source by Walter Burley.<sup>31</sup>

Bartolomé Segura and Alonso del Puerto, along with Antonio Martínez (the printer of n°. 8, below), are recorded, in the verse colophon of Alfonso Díaz de Montalvo, *Repertorium quaestionum super Nicolaum de Tudeschis*, 1477 (Haebler 210, GKW 8302), as the first printers in Seville, soon to become the largest and most prosperous city in Castile.<sup>32</sup> The names of all three appear also on two editions commissioned by Pedro Fernández de Solís, bishop of Cadiz and Vicar-General to the Cardinal-Archbishop of Seville, dated 1 August 1477 and 28 May 1478 respectively (Haebler 597–8), of the *Sacramental* of the early-fifteenth-century archdeacon of Valderas (León), Clemente Sánchez de Vercial, a work later banned by the Valdés *Index* of 1559.<sup>33</sup> Alonso del Puerto continued to print alone, as witness his

<sup>30</sup> On the earliest editions, see Stillwell, 'The *Fasciculus temporum*'; on editions in Iberian collections, Augustin Redondo, 'La Bibliothèque de don Francisco de Zúñiga Guzmán y Sotomayor, troisième Duc de Béjar (1500?–1544)', *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez*, iii (1967), 147–96 (186). It may have been a copy of the edition described here that figured in the inventory of the effects of the distinguished Barcelona jurist Lluís Llull, 28 April/6 June 1496 (Madurell & Rubió, 223–30, doc. 120, item 9).

<sup>31</sup> Maristella de Panizza Lorch, 'Voluptas, molle quoddam et non invidiosum nomen: Lorenzo Valla's Defence of *Voluptas* in the Preface to his *De voluptate*', *Philosophy and Humanism: Renaissance Essays in Honor of Paul Oskar Kristeller*, ed. Edward P. Mahoney (Leiden: E.J. Brill & New York: Columbia University Press, 1976), 214–28 (223).

<sup>32</sup> Stephen Gaselee, *The Early Spanish Printing Press: A Lecture Delivered Before the Anglo-Spanish Society of Great Britain and the Spanish-Speaking Countries on Wednesday, December 19th, 1923* (London: The Anglo-Spanish Society [Hudson & Kearns Ltd.], 1924), 4. Sheppard & Painter, 'Introduction to the Presses', reproduce the colophon (lvi), which reads:

Si petis artifices primos quos Ispalis olim  
vidit et ingenio proprio monstrante peritos  
tres fuerunt homines martini Antonius atque  
de portu Alphonus segura et Bartholomeus,

and comment that 'olim' need not necessarily mean 'some time ago', but is perhaps rather to be taken with 'primos' with the meaning of 'unquam', i.e. 'the first ever'

<sup>33</sup> Vindel, who photographed in 1934 a copy (at the time in the possession of José Lázaro Galdiano, and recently rediscovered in Madrid BN) of a 'Seville, 1470' edition of Sánchez de Vercial, *Sacramental*, evolved a hypothesis (v, pp. xxxi–xxxii) about the previous activities of Puerto and Segura. Other scholars have repeatedly referred to Bulls and Indulgences printed in the city in the early 1470s. But a recent study attributes the printing of the 'Seville, 1470' edition to Castile (?Burgos), and there is no hard evidence to support any theory about printing in Seville before 1477. See María Luisa López-Vidriero, 'El *Sacramental* de Clemente Sánchez de Vercial', to be published in the *Actas* of the first Coloquio sobre el Libro Antiguo Español, held in Madrid, 14–20 December 1986; Odriozola, 'La imprenta en Castilla', 133–4; and William I. Knapp, *The Earliest Royal Decree on Printing; or, Thierry Martins in Spain (Seville, December 25, 1477)* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1881).

1482 edition of Diego de Valera, *Crónica de España* (IB 52308), in the second colophon of which there is a short history of printing. Like many early Spanish printers, Segura seems to have belonged to a prominent family of scribes and notaries.<sup>34</sup>

The Rolewinck, the last known edition to bear the names of Segura and Alonso del Puerto together, is also the first illustrated book known to have been published in Spain.<sup>35</sup> Both the imposition and the illustrative material closely follow the edition printed by Georg Walch at Venice in 1479 (IB 20883), of which Spencer also had a copy now in JRULM,<sup>36</sup> retaining several German features, such as the years printed in a band across the middle of the page (set off from the text by double rules and occasionally with print set upside-down: Fig. 2), and the names and numbers of Kings and Emperors set in circles (Figs. 3–6, 8).<sup>37</sup> The Walch edition does not contain the final quire devoted to extracts from Diogenes Laertius.

JRULM also has a copy (10240) of the second issue of the Cologne edition of 1474, set up under the personal supervision of the author and printed by Arnold ther Hoernen, which is rightly considered the father of all the later incunable editions of the work.<sup>38</sup>

### 3. ARISTOTLE. *Politica*. Translated by Leonardo Bruni. [Barcelona]. [Nicolaus Spindeler]. [c.1480].

Sosa 100.

(i) Madrid BN; Barcelona BU; Zaragoza BU; (iv) HSA.

<sup>34</sup> Joaquín Hazañas y la Rúa, *La imprenta en Sevilla: noticias inéditas de sus impresores desde la introducción del arte tipográfico en esta ciudad hasta el siglo xix*, 2 vol. (Seville: Diputación Provincial de Sevilla, Junta de Patronato del Archivo y Sección de Publicaciones, 1945–9), i. 6–7. Griffin points out (15) that, by the 1470s, Seville had become the major Castilian supplier of manuscript books for a growing lay readership, and comments (175) on the close association in the minds of some in the 1520s between general scribal activity ('writing') and printing ('writing with type'). See also Jeremy N.H. Lawrence, 'Nuño de Guzmán: Life and Works', unpublished D.Phil. thesis, Oxford University, 1983, 90–4.

<sup>35</sup> Lyell, 3; Josefina Viduar y Cortaberría, 'El primer libro impreso en España con ilustraciones', *Boletín de Bibliotecas y Bibliografía*, ii (1935), 207–21; Portillo Muñoz, *La ilustración gráfica*, 27. Another JRULM edition, that of Johann Veldenes at Louvain, 29 December 1475 (BMC ix, 136), was exhibited in the JRULM Caxton Quincentennial Exhibition in 1976 (*Caxton in the Context of European Printing, 1476–1976*, n°. 26).

<sup>36</sup> JRULM 3458; BMC, v [= Venice (1924)], 274.

<sup>37</sup> Luis Redonet, 'Incunables, humanismo y humanistas', *Revista de Bibliografía Nacional*, vi (1945), 1–10, reproduces (fig. 2) one fol. ('48<sup>v</sup> recte 56<sup>v</sup>) of another Venice edition – the fourth of those from the office of Erhart Ratdolt, dated 28 May 1484 (IB 20536) – which also displays a very similar layout. Facsimiles of the Seville edition are reproduced by Vindel and by Haebler, *Tipografía*. See also Lyell, 3–5, Marlene Chambers, 'Early Printing and Book Illustration in Spain', *Library Chronicle*, xxxix (1973), 3–17 (10), and Arthur Mayger Hind, *An Introduction to a History of Woodcut, with a Detailed Survey of Work Done in the Fifteenth Century*, 2 vol. (Boston & New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1935; lithographic reprint, New York: Dover, 1963), ii. 456, 741, 747–8.

<sup>38</sup> This was consulted by A.G.W. Murray, 'The Edition of the *Fasciculus temporum* Printed by Arnold ther Hoernen in 1474', *The Library*, 3rd series, iv (1913), 57–71.

2<sup>o</sup>: a–k<sup>12</sup> [§<sub>6</sub> signed (–a<sub>1</sub>; a<sub>2</sub>–a<sub>6</sub> signed ‘a<sub>1</sub>–a<sub>5</sub>’)]; 120 leaves, unnumbered. No running titles. 200 × 118 mm. (‘a<sub>2</sub><sup>a</sup>’ [recte a<sub>3</sub><sup>a</sup>]}; gothic 138; 27–9 lines; spaces for capitals throughout.

Contents: a<sub>1</sub><sup>a–b</sup> blank; a<sub>2</sub><sup>a</sup>–k<sub>12</sub><sup>a</sup> text (Fig. 10) ‘(Q)UONJAM Videmus omne<sub>3</sub> ciuitatē | eſſe ſocietatem quandam: et omnem ſocie | tate<sub>3</sub> boni alicuius gratia cōſtituta . . .’; k<sub>12</sub><sup>b</sup> blank.

JRULM 18382.1 (formerly Inc. 16 G 1(1)). From Spencer.<sup>39</sup>

Rare edition, without commentary, of the translation of the *Politics* by Leonardo Bruni Aretino (c. 1370–1444). His translations of Aristotle’s political, ethical and ‘economic’ writings were rapidly diffused throughout Europe between 1460 and the end of the century. Despite the criticisms levelled at Bruni’s translations of the *Ethics* by Alonso García de Santa María (the *converso* bishop of Burgos usually known as Alonso de Cartagena or Alfonsus Garsiae Burgensis, 1384–1456) in his *Declinationes super nova quadam Ethicorum Aristotelis translatione* (1430–1), a lengthy and important document which caused a furore in Italian humanistic circles when it was ‘published’ at the Council of Basel in 1436, that translation appeared in the Crown of Aragon in no fewer than six separate editions in the last years of the century.<sup>40</sup> Bruni had personally sent his version of the *Politics* to Alfonso the Magnanimous.<sup>41</sup>

Unsigned, but attributable on the basis of typographical evidence to Nicolaus Spindeler (Pindeler), a native of Zwickau in Saxony.<sup>42</sup> He is first found printing in company with Petrus Brun (see below, n<sup>o</sup>. 9), initially at Tortosa in 1477 and then the following year at Barcelona where they jointly signed editions of Aquinas’s commentary on Aristotle’s *Ethics* (15 June: IB 52506) and *Politics* (18 December: Haebler 636).<sup>43</sup> From 1479, he printed alone at Barcelona, using

<sup>39</sup> Dibdin, vii. 15–16, n<sup>o</sup>. 22, confusing this with the edition of the *Oeconomica* bound in with it (below, n<sup>o</sup>. 4).

<sup>40</sup> For Cartagena’s *Declinationes*, see Alexander Birkenmajer, ‘Der Streit des Alonso von Cartagena mit Leonardo Bruni Aretino’, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters: Texte und Untersuchungen*, xx (1917), n<sup>o</sup>. 5 (= *Vermischte Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Mittelalterlichen Philosophie [Festschrift Baeumker]*), 129–210 (129–55), and, more recently, J.N.H. Lawrence, ‘The Impact of Humanism in the Iberian Peninsula’, in *The Impact of Humanism in Western Europe during the Renaissance*, ed. A.E. Goodman & A.I.K. Mackay (London: Longman, 1989). For details of incunable editions in Spain, Palau, i. 16665–8, 16682–3; *Cat. Inc.*, n<sup>o</sup>s. 184–92; Penney, 39–40; A.R.D. Pagden, ‘The Diffusion of Aristotle’s Moral Philosophy in Spain, ca. 1400 – ca. 1600’, *Traditio*, xxxi (1975), 287–313 (289–99); Josef Soudek, ‘Leonardo Bruni and His Public: A Statistical and Interpretative Study of his Annotated Latin Version of the (Pseudo-)Aristotelian *Economics*’, *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History*, v (1968), 49–136 (135–6, not listing this edition).

<sup>41</sup> His accompanying letter is reproduced by Andrés Soria, *Los humanistas de la corte de Alfonso el Magnánimo (según los epistolarios)* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1956), 116–19. See also below, p. 39.

<sup>42</sup> Painter, ‘The First Press’, 143.

<sup>43</sup> S. Sanpere y Miquel, *De la introducción y establecimiento de la imprenta en las coronas de Aragón y Castilla y de los impresores de incunables catalanes* (Barcelona: Revista de Bibliografía Catalana, 1909), 59, 127, 135, 151 [study originally published in *Revista de Bibliografía Catalana*, iv/v (1904–5)].

MS. PL. 33 v. 10

videlicet omnes; cūitacē  
et societatum quandam; et omnem socie-  
tatem; boni dūcēti gratia cūitacē) nam  
cīus gratia quod; bonum videtur; omnia  
omnes agunt) patet; q̄ bonum aliquod  
omnes coniectant; Maxime vero principalissimū omnis; :  
que est principalissima; et ceteras omnes complectitur. Et  
autem hęc illa; que cūitas appellatur / et cūitas societas;  
Quicunq; vero potest Gubernatoris cūitatis / et Regis /  
patrīsq; familiās / et domini candem esse rationē; non bene  
dicunt. Multitudine enim et paucitāe / sed non specie illos  
singularēs putant differre. Vehementē si pācorū quidēm; domi-  
num, si vero plurimum; patremfamilias, si etiam plurimum;  
Gubernatōrē cūitatis. Vt Regem, q̄si nūl differt magna  
dom' et pāra cūitas; Gubernatōrē cūitatis et Regis. Quā  
do quidēm idem presidet; Regis. Vero sc̄m rōnēm talis  
scīentie in parte presidet; et in parte iubet; : Gubernator cūit-  
atis; Sed hec vera nō sunt. quod manifestū erit sc̄m hanc  
doctrinā; considerantib;. vt enī in alijs compositis; vñq; ad  
incomposita dividere necessariū est ( be nāq; sāne minime  
totius pēculi) ita cūitacē / ex q̄bus cōponit. cōsideratē; et  
qđ illa differt īter se; et siqđ artificij recipiunt; singula ipso in  
enclūmunt. Siqđ igit ab initio rez originez ilipiciant; vt i alijs;  
sic et in istis optime discerneret; Prīmū igit necesse est com-  
binare illos, q̄ non possint cīc simul; eu marē et feminos; ge  
a.s.

FIG. 10. JRULM 18382.1, sig. a<sub>2</sub><sup>a</sup>.

different material from that found in his editions with Brun. Relatively little is known of this period of his activity, though he purchased in June 1481 a consignment of books from the Barcelona bookseller and paper-merchant 'Johannes Raymundus' (= Joan Ramon Corró, son of the earliest known Barcelona bookseller, Antoni Ramon Corró, sentenced to death by the Inquisition in 1489), including 50 copies of an unspecified edition of Aristotle's *Politics*, 53 of his *Ethics*, and 50 of the 'Canonicas', then still believed to be the work of Aristotle (see below, n°. 4).<sup>44</sup> He was still at Barcelona in 1483 but, perhaps because of the plague which swept Barcelona in the summer of 1484, he moved his operations to Tarragona, and is next heard of at Valencia where, in 1489, he established a press which was still active in February 1500 and on which he printed, for the printer-bookseller Hans (Joan) Rix de Chur (Cura) and his heirs, the first edition, in 715 copies (20 November 1490: Haebler 639, IB 52043), of the *Tirant lo Blanc*, written in Valencian largely by Joanot de Martorell (c. 1413–68).<sup>45</sup> That edition, the first in Spain of any romance of chivalry, contained (a<sub>2</sub><sup>a</sup>) what Lyell thought 'perhaps the most beautiful printed page in any Spanish fifteenth-century book'.<sup>46</sup> By 28 November of that same year, and by now married to a local woman possibly related to the Miquel Miravet who copied liturgical works and acted as *bedel* in Barcelona cathedral, Spindeler had set up his press once again in Barcelona (see below, p. 81);<sup>47</sup> his last dated work was the Jaume Pérez de Valencia, *Commentum in Psalmos*, signed at Barcelona on 31 August 1506.<sup>48</sup> He died the following April.<sup>49</sup>

Anselmo discusses a possible identification of Spindeler with the

<sup>44</sup> Madurell & Rubió, 51\*; the same volume contains further documentary references to Spindeler's activities in Barcelona during this period (14–23, docs. 8–10), in which he is described as a 'citizen of Barcelona'. Haebler, *Geschichte*, 121–2, advances the hypothesis that these three volumes were *themselves* products of Spindeler's activities as the first 'editor barcelonés', while Witten, 'The Earliest Books', 108, noting that Spindeler's editions of all three pseudo-Aristotelian works are based closely on Zaragoza models, suggests, following Haebler, that it may be the Zaragoza editions that are involved here (see also Sheppard & Painter, 'Introduction to the Presses', xl).

<sup>45</sup> Sheppard & Painter, 'Introduction to the Presses', xl; Madurell & Rubió, 173; Philippe Berger, *Libros y lectura en la Valencia del Renacimiento*, 2 vol. (Valencia: Edicions Alfons el Magnànim, 1987), ii. 451–3, doc. C-4; Vindel, iii. p. xxvi.

<sup>46</sup> Lyell (19, fig. 13) reproduces the page as do Vindel (iii. 80), Bohigas, *El libro español*, 103, plate xii, Konrad Haebler, 'Hans Rix von Chur: Ein deutscher Buchhändler in Valencia im XV. Jahrhundert', *Zeitschrift für Bücherfreunde*, vii (1903–4), 137–62 (between 160 and 161), and Ferdinand Geldner, *Die deutschen Inkunabelndrucker: Ein Handbuch der deutschen Buchdrucker des XV. Jahrhunderts nach Druckorten*, 2 vol. (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1968–70), ii. 263, plate 104. The contract for the Martorell, dated 28 September 1489, is mentioned by Abelardo Palanca Pons, *Incunables valencianos: sus características tipográficas* (Valencia: Gremio de Maestros Impresores de Valencia y su Provincia, 1962), 18, and Haebler, 'Hans Rix von Chur', 145. See also Chambers, 'Early Printing', 5.

<sup>47</sup> Rubió i Balaguer, 'Integración', 115.

<sup>48</sup> Norton, DC, 37, n°. 88; Madurell & Rubió, 390–1, doc. 226; Lyell, 24 and fig. 16. See also below, p. 77.

<sup>49</sup> Norton, DC, 35.

Nicolau de Saxónia who printed at Lisbon between May and November 1495, in association with ‘Valentino de Moravia’ (Valentim Fernandes: broker, translator, and printer of the first edition of the first compilation of the *Ordenações manuelinas*),<sup>50</sup> at least one thousand copies of a four-volume Portuguese translation, commissioned by Eleanor, consort of John II of Portugal, of Ludolph of Saxony’s lengthy best-selling pietistic work, the *Vita Christi* (IC 56659),<sup>51</sup> Nicolau de Saxónia being described, in a contract to print for the Santiago de Compostela cathedral chapter by 28 July 1496 one thousand Breviaries (‘baxos y muy batidos para que vengan portátiles’), as a ‘mercader de libros e ynpresor dellos’. He printed further works in Lisbon in 1497–8.<sup>52</sup>

**4. pseudo-ARISTOTLE.** *Oeconomica*. Translated by Leonardo Bruni. [Barcelona]. [Nicolaus Spindeler]. [c. 1480].

GKW 2433 (‘Tortosa: Spindeler & Brun, 1477’); Sosa 99 (‘Tortosa: Nicolaus Spindeler & Petrus Brun, about 1477’).

(i) Zaragoza BU.

2°: a<sup>8</sup> [\$<sub>4</sub> signed]); 8 leaves, unnumbered. No running titles. 192 x 118 mm. (a<sub>3</sub><sup>b</sup>); gothic 138; 27 lines; spaces for capitals.

Contents: a<sub>1</sub><sup>a</sup>–a<sub>8</sub><sup>b</sup> text (Fig. 11) ‘(P)RECJOSA Sunt interdum parui cor | poris: quod lapilli gēmeq<sub>3</sub> teſtantur . . .’; a<sub>8</sub><sup>b</sup> explicit (Fig. 12) ‘Economicoru<sub>3</sub> Ariftoteliſ ſtragerici | liber ſecundus feliciter explicit.’.

JRULM 18382.2 (formerly Inc. 16 G 1(2)). From Spencer; final leaves slightly damaged.

<sup>50</sup> Norton, *DC*, 491, 494–8, 503–10; Griffin, 42–3; Sheppard and Painter, ‘Introduction to the Presses’, lxxiv.

<sup>51</sup> Artur Anselmo, *Origens da imprensa em Portugal* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional – Casa da Moeda, 1981), 77, 149–54, 187, 198–205. Jose V. de Pina Martins, *Para a história da cultura portuguesa do Renascimento: a iconografia do livro impresso em Portugal no tempo de Dürer* (Lisbon: Lysia, 1972 [study originally published in *Arquivos do Centro Cultural Português*, v (1972), 80–189]), reproduces, as his Plate 3, the Calvary cut from this edition which he describes as ‘mais esplendoroso incunáculo português’. Spindeler is often referred to in Catalan documents as ‘mestre Nicolau’ (Madurell & Rubió, 15, 31, etc.). On the popularity of the Ludolph in Iberia where it was first printed in Catalan (as *El cartoxá*, 1495) in the version of the prolific Valencian poet Joan Roic de Corella (?1430–1500) and subsequently (1502–3) in Castilian at Alcalá (as *Vita Christi cartujano*) in that of Ambrosio (de) Montesino (O.F.M.) (d. 1513), see Griffin, 148, 154; id., ‘Un curioso inventario de libros de 1528’, to be published in the *Actas* of the first Coloquio sobre el Libro antiguo Español (above, note 33); and Melquíades Andrés, *Le teología española en el siglo xvi*, 2 vol., Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, Maior 13–14 (Madrid: BAC, 1976–7), i. 322–4.

<sup>52</sup> Atanasio López, *La imprenta en Galicia, siglos xv–xviii* (Madrid: Patronato de la Biblioteca Nacional, 1953; reprinted, Santiago de Compostela, Xunta de Galicia, 1987), 14–15; the contract was fulfilled by 31 May.

**R E C 3 O D A** Sunt interdum parui corporis; quod lapilli gemeq; testantur, et homines nonnunq; pueri grandioribus proualent; ut de Tyberio scribit Horatius; a quo brevi et exiguo thebanos omnes certaminibus longe superatos fuisse tradidit. Statim quoq; hoc meru credo secundum te codicem inquit. Maior in exiguo regna bat corpore virtus; Tu igitur Loxia dulcissimum hoc quicquid est libelli ob pagine breuitatem nequaquam desperatis. pueri; quidem est; ac viribus amplius / et precio dignius, quod per has ferias e greco interpretatus / non immixtus (et mihi videtur) puerum destinatus. Cui casus rectius de gubernatione exercitus precipi posset. qd illi: qui exercitum habeat; cui rursus de rei familiaris administracione qd ei / qd rebus amplius possideret; et tamen illam cum laude glorie: et auctore eius dignitate. Licet ergo cuiuscum per te multum sapias: et a patre tuo viro sapientissimo quotidie audire posse: opere precius tamē erit! quid de re familiaris tradiditne excellensima puerorum ingenia - cognovisse; ut enim medicina finis sit sanitas; ita rei familiaris divitiae finis esse constat; Sunt vero utilitas divitiae; cum et ornamento sint possidentibus; et ad virtutem excendam supponitent facultatem; Profunditudo etiam gratias: qui faciliter per illas ad honores dignitatisq; subleuantur. Nam quoru; virtutibus obstat res angusta domi; hanc facili emergunt; ut poete nostri dictar sententia; Quia re tum notiri / tum gnorimi malorumq; caritatem / illarum amplificationi quoad honeste possumus; studendum est. qm / .a. i.

FIG. 11. JRULM 18382.2, sig. a<sup>a</sup>.

¶. nod si sp̄i diffideant; amici quoq; vīlādibūc; et infirmāta  
tem sp̄i sacerdotis magis. Itaq; manifeste p̄cipit poeta virus;!  
et vñorem in ihs; que improba et impudica sunt; fibi inimicis  
consentire nequaq; debere. In ihs vero / que (q̄ magis fieri  
potest) p̄dicā sunt et iusta; cōcorditer fibi inimicis infirmātis

Tudentes primo quidem curam om̄ēm parentib;  
adhibere. Vir quidē vñoris parentibus non min⁹  
q̄ prop̄is / vñor succēdē viri. Scinde filiorū; et ami-  
corum / et rerum domusq; totius / tanq; cōmunitātis curas ba-  
bēat; se īpos studio et diligētia sup̄are certātes. Ut quīq; pli-  
rūnoz bonoz sit auctor et causa, meliorq; exīstāt et iustior de-  
posita q̄dem sup̄bia / industria vñro succēpta / cū benignitate  
et mālueruoie gubernātōis. Ut cū ad senectā p̄coenerint / de-  
posito administratiōis onere / et cōcupiscentijs liberati; et polluti  
et fibi iſ̄! ac filijs suis rōnem reddere; Vñc coruz ma-  
gis pr̄ familie gubernatōis / Ac statim scire / aut p̄  
fortunā ... aut p̄ virtutēz bonū; in dñis / superioritātēz  
p̄mīz a dñis cōsequi ut h̄indarūs īq̄. Dulce enīz fibi cor!  
et spes mortaliū multiplicēz alit volupteatē. Secūdūz vero a  
filijs in senectute feliciter educari; Quapropter et p̄uacim / et  
publice decet cum: qui vitam agit; ad om̄nes deos boīdq;  
respicere. Mūlumactiam ad vñrem / et filios / et parentes;

Economicorūz Bristollis stragerici  
liber secundūs feliciter exp̄icit.

The Latin translation, here without its usual accompanying commentary, of Leonardo Bruni's version of Books 1 and 2 of the *Economics*. This was the first and the most widely read Renaissance translation of this collection of aphorisms in three books compiled in Late Antiquity from a number of sources, among them Xenophon.<sup>53</sup> In the fifteenth century the *Economics* was considered an integral part of Aristotle's philosophy, and an impressive number of manuscript copies of it survive, Soudek listing 219 extant fifteenth-century manuscripts and 15 incunable editions, four of the better MS copies being made in Spain by professional copyists, one of them by Antonio de Nebrija (or Lebrija; see below p. 68). There were four copies in the Neapolitan library of the Kings of Aragon and, as with the *Politics* (above, p. 33), Bruni had personally sent a copy of his translation to Alfonso the Magnanimous.<sup>54</sup>

**5. BARBERIIS, Philippus de. *Chronica virorum illustrium.* [?Seville]. [Unknown printer, usually known as the 'Printer of Barberiis']. [c.1480].**

Goff B-117 (giving no place of printing); Sosa 117 ('Rome: ?Johannes Philippus de Lignamine, ?about 1475'); Vindel, v. 42-4, n°. 11 ('outside Spain').<sup>55</sup>

(i) Madrid BN and BU Complutense (imperfect); (iv) HSA.

4°: [1-7<sup>10</sup> 8<sup>8</sup> 9<sup>4</sup>], unsigned; 82 leaves, unnumbered. No running titles. 122 × 86 mm. ([1]<sub>2</sub><sup>a</sup>); gothic 98.5; 25 lines; spaces for capitals on [1]<sub>1</sub><sup>a</sup>, [1]<sub>1</sub><sup>b</sup>, [2]<sub>7</sub><sup>a</sup>, [4]<sub>1</sub><sup>a</sup>.<sup>56</sup>

Contents: [1]<sub>1</sub><sup>a</sup> Dedicatory epistle (Fig. 13) '(F)RATRIS philipi de

<sup>53</sup> Josef Soudek, 'The Genesis and Tradition of Leonardo Bruni's Annotated Latin Version of the (Pseudo)-Aristotelian *Economics*', *Scriptorium*, xii (1958), 260-8; Soudek, 'A Fifteenth-Century Humanistic Bestseller: The Manuscript Diffusion of Leonardo Bruni's Annotated Latin Version of the (Pseudo-)Aristotelian *Economics*', *Philosophy and Humanism*, ed. Mahoney, 129-43. Fifteenth-century manuscripts of Bruni's translation are in the Escorial (f.II.2, and f.III.25), Madrid BN (7321), and Córdoba BCat (132, fos. 89<sup>r</sup>-91<sup>v</sup>).

<sup>54</sup> Soudek, 'Leonardo Bruni and His Public', 121-3, lists 28 manuscripts now in libraries in Spain; Lorenzo Mehus (ed.), *Leonardi Bruni Arretinarum Libri VIII*, 2 vol. (Florence: Bernardus Paperinius, 1741), ii. 130-4, reproduces Bruni's letter to Alfonso; Andrés Giménez Soler, *Itinerario del rey don Alonso v. de Aragón y i. de Nápoles* (Zaragoza: Tip. Mariano Escar, 1909), 179-80, 185, transcribes letters of 12 August 1440 and 12 March 1441 from Alfonso to Bruni, thanking him for the translation (originals in Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó).

<sup>55</sup> Vindel, who was emphatic that this edition was printed abroad - 'es de indudable estampación extranjera, pues todas sus características tipográficas acusan precedencia italiana, y no sería difícil la identificación de su impresor' - does not identify the Italian printer he believes to be responsible. A comparison of his reproduction (from the Madrid BN copy) with the JRULM copy reveals one characteristic of all early printing, in Spain as elsewhere - the correction of pages during a proof-run: on fo. 1<sup>a</sup> (Vindel also reproduces 35<sup>a</sup> and 81<sup>b</sup>, mistakenly giving the last of these as '82<sup>b</sup>'), the 'R'ATRIS' of BN Madrid has been corrected, in the JRULM copy, to 'R'ATRIS'.

<sup>56</sup> Vindel claims that the Madrid BN copy he examined was signed.

**F**RATRIS philipi de barberiis Siracusi  
Siculicq ordinis p̄dicatorii artiū q̄ theo  
logie iterpretis Ad uenerandū virū lobanem  
alfonsum diuoy canonū bachelariū viroy illus  
triū cronica fideliter incipit.

**V**M pridie petri lombardi theologi p̄f  
tantis quartū s̄nīay codicē te audiēte i  
cathedra legerem: et illa presertim uer  
ba memoratu digna aduenterē: quibus b̄tissū  
mū h̄ieronimū i testem adducit. Non enim fac  
le capiā a temptatore qui bono uacat exercitio  
semp aliqt̄ opis facito inquit h̄ieronim⁹ i eplā  
ad rusticū ut te diabolus iueniat occupatū. Ne  
octio opam dare: quo anim⁹ hebet atq; torpore  
crassatus neqt̄ inde diuina et celestia penetrare  
decreui tandem de uiris illustribus compilare li  
bellū: et cūctis e cronicis flores legere: atq; ex  
cerpe meliora. Aggrediar igit̄ dei opitulante  
fauore tuaq; cōtemplatōe negotiū satis arduū  
et durā guincā capiā p̄ mea penuria ac tenui  
tate: ut aliis a rerū īvestigāday labore proui  
deam. Tu uero qui liboy officina gratularis:  
et cronicas fere om̄s ad man⁹ h̄es ita ut crono  
graph⁹ appellari posse meū ī p̄nay collauda

FIG. 13. JRULM 19688, sig. [1]1<sup>a</sup>.

de Barberis Ordinis predicatorum Theologus  
erudit⁹ qui multa dictitauit opuscula . De i nfor-  
talitate aic⁹ libros tres . De diuina pudentia et  
bōinu⁹ p̄dictinat ūc⁹ libros duos . De inuentorib⁹  
scientiaz et artiū mechanicaz libros tres . Sermo  
nū quadragessimaliū : uolumē pgrande . Aliud  
quoc⁹ dñicaz atq⁹ sanctoz predicationū uolumē  
egregiū . Opus etia⁹ sui itinerarii quod nondum  
expleuit .

**F**init cōonica p me maḡm Phisippum scilienesez  
confecta : directa⁹ ad venerandū uitū ac tñm  
meū pcoleidū . Iohanē alfonsum : Ecclie Ispaleñ  
Canonicū et Bachatariū Locroniensez i cui⁹ sanc  
hospitio hunc librum plut⁹mis uigilis edidi : et  
manu ppriz scripsi . Anno dñi . m̄cccc lxxv .  
Quarta die Ianuarii prorsus expleui

**Xps noster Ihs : Sinc sinc laudeſ Amen.**

FIG. 14. JRULM 19688, sig. [9]3<sup>b</sup>.

Domi Iacobi Magister. Vir omni calliditate gloria  
 Cuius quoq[ue] calumnia totū hispanie regnum tena  
 ci scismate tripartit⁹. Nec multo post. Henrico  
 quartus hispanie rex morit⁹. Qui quās corpo  
 ris pulcritudinis uigilaret; et clara prestiteret in  
 genio; gestis tñ et aio extint⁹ erat. Nempe ab  
 annis iam q[uod]decim obierat. Atq[ue] pleriq[ue] eū fasti  
 natū extitisse. Henrico rege defunto; cōfessum  
 in Ispalensi urbe; vexilla panduntur. Maxima  
 quoq[ue] cum alacritate clamatur ut Hisabella eius  
 germana. Hispanie atq[ue] Siclie regina. Sacro  
 diademate potiret⁹. Vociferat⁹ et iux⁹ vi Ferdi  
 nādūm Siclie p̄ncipem: regine Hisabelle maritū.  
 tocius hispanie regē atq[ue] celarez q[uod]cū cognosceret⁹.  
 Et prona fronte flexo q[uod]p[er] poplēe veneraret⁹.  
 ¶ Prestantissime mi Bachalarie: Amicoz optime  
 breui uolumine iam viroyz illustriū gesta p̄clara  
 digerui: huic libello calcem porrigitur iam temp⁹  
 est. Orate obsecro deum et sc̄is tuis precib⁹ ex  
 ora: ut me sua pietate in columnen atq[ue] sup̄strem  
 seruet et vitam longiorem p̄stet: q[uod]ten⁹ futuroz  
 p̄tisicū atq[ue] impatoz p̄clara facinora memoratu  
 dignissima possim in cōmentarios redigere. Post  
 om̄s uirtus illustres. postremo in loco ponend⁹ est  
 p̄ntis cronicē compilator⁹ magister. — philipus

FIG. 15. JRULM 19688, sig. [9]3<sup>a</sup>.

barberiis Siracusii | Siculiq<sub>3</sub> ordinis p̄dicatorii artiū & theo | logie  
 īterpretis Ad uenerandū uirū Iohanem | alfonsum diuoy canonū  
 bachalariū uiroy illus | triū cronica foeliciter incipit . . .'; [1]<sub>1</sub><sup>b</sup>–[2]<sub>7</sub><sup>a</sup>  
 Book I; [2]<sub>7</sub><sup>a</sup>–[5]<sub>1</sub><sup>a</sup> Book II; [5]<sub>1</sub><sup>a</sup>–[9]<sub>3</sub><sup>b</sup> Book III; [9]<sub>3</sub><sup>b</sup> explicit (Fig. 14)  
 'Finit cronica p̄ me maḡm Ph̄ippum [sic] sicilieneſe<sub>3</sub> | confecta:  
 directaq<sub>3</sub> ad uenerandū uirū ac dñm | meū p̄colendū. Iohanē  
 alfonsum. Ecclie Iſpaleñ | Canonicū et Bachalariū Locronienſe<sub>3</sub>: ī  
 cui<sup>9</sup> ſane | hoſpitio hunc librum plurimis uigiliis edidi: et | manu  
 ppria ſcripsi. Anno dñi. m<sup>o</sup> cccc<sup>o</sup>lxxv. | Quarta die Ianuarii prorſus  
 expleui | [space of one line] || X̄ps noſter Īb̄s: Sine fine laudet̄ [sic]  
 Amen.'; [9]<sub>4</sub> blank.

JRULM 19688 (formerly Inc. 14 F 14), missing [9]<sub>4</sub>. From Spencer; slight worming towards the end of the volume; heavily annotated in Latin in a variety of early hands, with fine decorated capitals provided in various inks (see Figs. 13 and 15). The date '1475', taken from the explicit, given on the spine; the final word on [9]<sub>3</sub><sup>a</sup> ('philipus') supplied by hand in black ink (Fig. 15).

Barberiis (*alias Barbieri*), O.P. (c. 1426 Syracuse – Palermo 1487) initially earned his reputation as a preacher. He undertook missions abroad on behalf of the Papacy, visiting Hungary on at least two occasions before 1474, and travelling in that year to Spain for the first time. He was in Seville again the following year in an effort to obtain formal ratification by Isabella of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragon of the arrangement, supposedly negotiated by Federico I in 1223, under which all goods confiscated from those condemned by the Inquisition in Sicily were shared equally by the Papal See, the Inquisition itself, and the State Treasury. He would seem to have travelled widely in Spain between 1475 and 1480, much of his time being spent on Inquisition business, and he has been credited with masterminding, in the late 1470s and early 1480s, the vigorous campaign against crypto-Jews resident in the Peninsula. From 1475 to 1481, he held office as Inquisitor of Malta, Sardinia, and Sicily, spending the last years of his life back in Sicily. His other works were printed at Rome (on two occasions by his kinsman Giovanni Filippo de Lignamine) and at Naples.<sup>57</sup> He wrote his *Chronica*, as is stated in the colophon, in the house of its dedicatee Johannes Alfonsus, a man it describes as a 'Canon of Seville and Bachelor of Logroño', and completing it on 4 January 1475 (or 1476; see p. 134, below). It may have been written at the request of Ferdinand and Isabella.<sup>58</sup>

<sup>57</sup> GKW 3385–8; Dibdin, iii. 173–9, n<sup>o</sup>s. 626–7.

<sup>58</sup> N.D. Evola, 'Fra Filippo Barbieri, cronista e filosofo siciliano del sec. XV', in *Miscellanea di studi in onore del prof. Eugenio di Carlo*, 2 vol., ed. Nicolò Domenico (Trapani: A. Vento, 1959–60), i. 98–122; Fidel Fita y Colomé, 'Fray Felipe de Barbieri y la Inquisición española', *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* (Madrid), xvi (1890), 563–72; Matteo Angelo Coniglione, *La provincia domenicana di Sicilia: notizie storiche documentate* (Catania: Strano, 1937), 50, 69–72, 153, 173–5, 196, 297; BMC x, liv.

Haebler, having seen the copy in the possession of Vindel, identified it as a product of the first Seville press – that which produced the Rolewinck (nº. 2, above) – a suggestion characterized by Sheppard and Painter as ‘quite possible, although incapable of proof’.<sup>59</sup>

**6.** CAOURSIN, Guillaume. *Rhodiae obsidionis descriptio.* [Zaragoza]. [Paulus Hurus & Johannes Planck, for Domingo Salvador]. 28 February/1 March 1481.

Sosa 189 (‘Barcelona: Johannes de Salzburga & Paulus (Hurus) de Constantia’).

(i) Madrid BPal (imperfect); (ii) Paris BN; BAV; (iv) Santa Barbara U of California L.

4°: a–b<sup>10</sup> [\$<sub>5</sub> signed (–a<sub>5</sub>)]; 20 leaves, unnumbered. No running titles. 144 × 85 mm. (a<sub>4</sub><sup>b</sup>); roman 111, save for the two words ‘LAVS DEO’ on b<sub>10</sub><sup>a</sup> which appear to be in the larger roman type also found in the Perottus (Fig. 17); 26–7 lines; space for capital with guide on a<sub>1</sub><sup>b</sup>.<sup>60</sup>

Contents: a<sub>1</sub><sup>a</sup> blank; a<sub>1</sub><sup>b</sup>–b<sub>10</sub><sup>a</sup> text (Fig. 16) ‘Guillermi Caorsin Rhodiorum Vicecancellaria Rhodie obſidionis deſcriptio. | (R)Hodie vrbis obſidionē deſcripturus: | . . .’; b<sub>10</sub><sup>a</sup> colophon (Fig. 17) ‘Rhodie vrbis a turchis obſidio: venerādi Fratris | Dominici Saluatoris: Caſtellanie empoſte eiusdē | ordinis theſaurarii opera imprefſa: Finit feliciter | pridie kl's Marcii. Anno M°.cccc°.lxxxi°. | [space of one line] | .LAVS DEO.’; b<sub>10</sub><sup>b</sup> blank.<sup>61</sup>

JRULM R14205 (formerly Inc. 14 I 15). Name of erstwhile owner in hand on a<sub>1</sub><sup>a</sup> (‘pertineat phrater marcus del aguila’), together with a number of writing exercises on b<sub>10</sub><sup>b</sup>.<sup>62</sup>

Guillaume Caoursin (or Caorsin) (1430 Douai – Rhodes 1501), was a Vice-Grand-Master of the Order of Knights of St John of Jerusalem. His father having been a native of Rhodes, he on several occasions acted as an ambassador for the Order in both Rome and Naples. His account of their successful resistance in the summer of 1480 of the siege of Rhodes by the troops of Muhammad II The

<sup>59</sup> ‘Introduction to the Presses’, liv; Haebler 40; Haebler, *Geschichte*, 203–4.

<sup>60</sup> See above, p. 17, 19; Matilde López Serrano, ‘Incunables españoles: *Obsidionis Rhodie Descriptio de Guillermo Caoursin*’, *Revista Bibliográfica y Documental*, supplement i (1947), 1–6 + plates (4), reproducing the Madrid BPal copy entire.

<sup>61</sup> Vindel (i. 29) reproduces both states of the colophon: that which (as BPal and here) gives 28 February, and that (as BAV) giving 1 March.

<sup>62</sup> ‘IN Dey nomine Amen Sea a todos manifiesto Como yo fray marco de aguila Vezino de la Ciudad de Toledo hijo de pº Sanchez libre[ro]’, ‘Illmo y mi señor Don blanco De alagon’, ‘La mañana de san Juan’, ‘Nos don Juan Manrique’, etc.

**Guillermi Caorsin Rhodiorum Vicecancellarii Rhodie obsidionis descriptio.**

Hodie vrbis obsidionē descripturus:  
 causas in primis narrare institui. que  
 Turchorū tyrrannū Mahumetū potis  
 sume impulerūt: ut tāto conatu Rhodios aggre  
 deretur. Licet enim cum turchis nō parua diffi  
 dia Rhodii habuerint: tamē cum eo qui nunc  
 imperat post Costantinopolis oppugnationeꝝ  
 grauia gessere bella. Inimic⁹ quidem vires in  
 dies augens insolētior redditur. Cumq; quatu  
 or et viginti annos curriculo complures sibi  
 vicinas ditiōes subegisset: animo inflat⁹ egre  
 admodum tulit Rhodiam vrbem equitumq;  
 Iherosolimōꝝ ditionē finitimam eius imperio  
 liberam absclutamq; esse: maxime q; diuerso  
 tēpore: quatuor classib; instructis Castella et  
 Rhodiorū agros innaserit: obsederie. oppugna  
 uerit: ex quib⁹ ignominia discrimē et clades re  
 portauit. Ex turchis nāq; m̄lti trucidati: palo  
 suffixi: furcis suspēsi: sagittis affecti: lapidisb⁹ ce  
 si: calamis pustis suffossi: gladiis obiecti: membra  
 tim diserpti ferierūt: terra mariq; hollēs suc  
 cutuerūt. Conspecta igitur Rhodiorū militum  
 generositate: quod vi assequi non petuit dolo  
 versutiq; cōptare decrevit. Sepius enī submissus

FIG. 16. JRULM R14205, sig. a<sub>1</sub><sup>b</sup>.

dunetque prope diem venturam erant. Preterea grādem expeditiōe; patā nūciāt q̄ nedū rhodios obsidiōe liberare uerū etiam inimicā classē ex pugnare ac p̄sternere possit. Rhodii leto accepto uincio: demētissimū romanū Pontificē Sextum quartū miris laudib⁹ tollūt: laudant: predican: deoq; p̄ ei⁹ felici statu humiles preces fundunt. Hic quoq; rumor ad turchos transi: qui p̄terri i: ceptum discessum accelerat. Exactis igit nouēt octuaginta diebus: Rhodion: litore classis sol iēs phīscū nauigare p̄perat. Illic milites et supel ecclīsem exonerat: vbi dies vndeclim morata: ad domesticos lares cum clade et ignominia reuertitur. Qui obsidiōis pericula expert⁹ est: et res publico functus officio cognouit: ad laudem dei: christiane religionis exaltationem: Rhodion: glo: iam rerum gestarum cōmentarium edidit. .

Rhodie urbis a turchis obsidio: venerādi Fratris Dominici Saluatoris: Castellanie empoſte eiusdē ordinis theſaurarii opera impresa: Finit feliciter pridie kls Marcii. Anno M<sup>l</sup>.cccc. lxxxi⁹.

.LAVS DEO.



FIG. 17. JRULM R14205, sig. b<sub>10</sub><sup>a</sup>.

Conqueror (1451 – 81; see above, n°. 1) under the command of Mesīh Pasha enjoyed an immediate success throughout Europe, and earned him recognition from the Order, which made him a gift of 1,000 gold sovereigns on the occasion of his marriage. In 1484, he was created Count Palatine and Papal Secretary by Innocent VIII Cibo. As well as the edition described here, incunable printings are known from Venice (two), Parma, Passau, and Bruges (all 1480), Odense (1482), Rome (c. 1482), and Ulm (1496).<sup>63</sup> His account of the siege was translated into Italian (1480), English (1483), and German (c. 1500).

This is the earliest book with a printed date assignable to the activity at Zaragoza of Paulus Hurus of Constance. Unsigned, it is partly in the same type, and treats some of the same material, as the unsigned *Epistolae Magni Turci* of ?1475, printed by Hurus and Johannes of Salzburg who may be the same man as Planck (see above, p. 21).<sup>64</sup>

7. PEREZ DE VALENCIA, Jaume. *Commentum in Psalmos*. [Valencia]. [Alonso Fernández de Córdoba (with Gabriel Luis de Arinyo)]. 6 September 1484.

Sosa 682.

(i) Madrid BN (two copies; one of variant type);<sup>65</sup> Barcelona B de Catalunya and BP de los Franciscanos de Cataluña (Convento de San Antonio); Cáceres BP; Palma de Mallorca BPub; Salamanca BU; Santiago de Compostela BU; Segovia BP; Tarragona BP; Valencia BU and BCat; Zaragoza BP and BCat; (ii) Paris BN; Toulouse B des Capucins; West Berlin StaatsB; Cagliari (Sardinia) B dei Cappuccini; Genoa BU; Bagnoregio (Viterbo) B del Seminario Vescovile; Lisbon BN; (iii) BL; (iv) HSA; New York City \*Henry P. Kraus and \*Alexander P. Rosenberg (imperfect); HEHL; Rockport (Maine) \*Eric H.L. Sexton; San Juan de Puerto Rico \*La Casa del Libro; Providence (R.I.) Annmary Brown L (variant type).

2°:  $\pi a^8 \pi b^{10} \pi c^8 a^8 b^{10} c - 2i^8 21^8 2m^6 A - I^8 L^8 M^{10} x a^{10}$  [\$<sub>4</sub> signed (+  $\pi b_5$ ,  $b_5$ ,  $M_5$ ,  $x a_{5-6}$ ; -  $\pi a_1$ ,  $l_1$ ,  $2m_4$ ;  $\pi a_{2-4}$  signed ‘ $a_{1-3}$ ’,  $d_{3-4}$  ‘ $d_{4-5}$ ’,  $k_i$  ‘ $l_1$ ’,  $k_2$  ‘ $l_2$ ’,  $k_{3-4}$  ‘ $l_{3-4}$ ’)];<sup>66</sup> 398 leaves, unnumbered. Running titles throughout ( $-\pi a_1^a$ ,  $M_9^a - M_{10}^b$ ). 233 × 160 mm. ( $\pi b_8^a$ ); two columns; gothic 88 (text:  $\pi a_2 - \pi c_8$ ,  $e_1 - x a_{10}$ ), gothic 82 (text:  $a_1 - d_8$ ), gothic 92 and gothic 180 (running heads and sub-titles:  $\pi a_2 - \pi c_8$ ,  $e_1 - x a_{10}$ );<sup>67</sup> 54–6 lines ( $a_1 - d_8$ ), and 50 lines ( $\pi a_2 - \pi c_8$ ,  $e_1 - x a_{10}$ ).

<sup>63</sup> IA 18804, 20502–4; IB 9429; GKW 6004–7, 6009–13.

<sup>64</sup> Painter, ‘The First Press’, 142.

<sup>65</sup> Cat. Inc., 365–6, n°. 1421; Vindel, iii. 45 n.

<sup>66</sup> The printer clearly had no k in his type, substituting ‘lz’ (and, in error, ‘I’) in quire k, and omitting ‘K’ later in the sequence.

<sup>67</sup> BMC x, plate VS.

Contents: <sup>a</sup>a<sub>1</sub><sup>b</sup> blank; <sup>a</sup>a<sub>1</sub><sup>b</sup> Dedication, preface, and *argumentum* ‘Reuerendi et optimi patris dō iacobi de valentia | christopolitani ep̄i: Ad reuerendissimū ī x<sup>o</sup> p̄re<sub>3</sub> et do | minū .D. Rodericū boria cardinalē valētinū epm̄ | portuenſe<sub>3</sub> et carthaginense<sub>3</sub> : Sancte rōmne ecclie | vicecācellariū . . .’; <sup>a</sup>a<sub>2</sub><sup>a</sup>–<sup>c</sup>c<sub>8</sub><sup>b</sup> Prologue [left-hand column] ‘(A)pperiā in ps̄al | terio p̄positiō<sub>3</sub> mea<sub>3</sub> . ps̄al– | mo xlviij<sup>o</sup> . . .’; <sup>a</sup>a<sub>1</sub><sup>a</sup>–M<sub>9</sub><sup>a</sup> text [left-hand column] ‘(B)Eatus vir et cetera. Iste liber | vulgariter appellatur liber | ps̄almorum dauid . . .’; M<sub>9</sub><sup>a</sup> colophon (Fig. 18) [left-hand column] ‘.Ihs. | Comentum nouiter eddi | tum per .R. | .D. Jacobu<sub>3</sub> de Valencia ſacre Theo- | logie ordinisq<sub>3</sub> Sancti augustini profes | ſorem / necnon Episcopum Cristopoli- | tanum in ſpalmos [sic] dauid feliciter expli | cit. Impressu<sub>3</sub> ī eadē famosissima yſpa | niarum vrbe Valencie. ſub anno Salua | toris Milleſimo. Quadringenteſimo- | octoageſimoquarto.’; M<sub>9</sub><sup>b</sup> register of first 4 lines of each quire (5 in <sup>a</sup>b and M, though not b); M<sub>10</sub><sup>a–b</sup> Index of first lines of Psalms; <sup>x</sup>a<sub>1</sub><sup>a</sup>–<sup>x</sup>a<sub>9</sub><sup>b</sup> Index (‘.Tabula.’); <sup>x</sup>a<sub>10</sub> blank.

JRULM 19258 (formerly Inc 16 G 11). From Spencer, wanting <sup>a</sup>a<sub>1</sub> and part of <sup>a</sup>a<sub>2</sub>, b<sub>5–6</sub> (supplied in hand), G<sub>3</sub>, G<sub>6</sub>, and M<sub>10</sub> (all supplied in hand; see Fig. 19), and <sup>x</sup>a<sub>10</sub>.<sup>68</sup>

Jaume Pérez de Valencia (O.S.A.) (c. 1408 Ayora – 30 August 1490), from 23 September 1468 titular bishop of Chrysopolis (or Christopolis) *in partibus infidelium*, taught canon law at Valencia from 1459 until 1479, later being appointed to the Chair of Theology. He acted as administrator (*vice* Rodrigo Borja, Pope Alexander VI, dedicatee of this commentary on the Psalms) of the bishoprics of Valencia and Cartagena, and as Augustinian Provincial of Aragon from 1455, before being appointed by King Ferdinand as the first Inquisitor of Valencia. A *converso*, he was a Hebraist and Arabist of ability, and one of the most important Biblical exegetes of fifteenth-century Spain.<sup>69</sup> He had worked for some twenty years on this commentary, probably intended for clerical use, and the virulence of the attacks he made in it on Mosaic law (such violent anti-Semitism being one of the characteristic woodnotes of Spanish *converso* writers) led to widespread protests among the Valencian Jewish community which he then rebutted in his *Tractatus contra Iudeos*, printed at Valencia for Arinyo by Alonso Fernández de Córdoba as the first part

<sup>68</sup> The copy was described by Dibdin (vii. 82, n<sup>o</sup>. 124) as being ‘in a most undesirable condition’.

<sup>69</sup> Eugenio Asensio, ‘Exégesis bíblica en España: encuentro de Fray Cipriano de Huerga con Juan de Valdés en Alcalá’, *Actas del Coloquio interdisciplinar ‘Doce consideraciones sobre el mundo hispano-italiano en tiempos de Alfonso y Juan de Valdés’* (Bolonia, abril de 1976), ed. Francisco Ramos Ortega, Anexos de *Pliegos de Cordel* 1 (Rome: Publicaciones del Instituto Español de Lengua y Literatura de Roma, 1979), 241–62 (246).

**S**perno tamen sufrangere prefatio / opus  
michi impositum et assumptum. prout po-  
ret pio labore peregi et consumant. In qua quicqz  
expositione magis studi votis et ceterioribus sim-  
pli etiam faceretur et religiosoz ac fidelis xpista  
no p. prout ex me exposcerent. satissimacere; qd sub  
tribus dissertationibus inducere. Rursum in eadē  
expositione malum verum sensum / et sanum intel-  
lectum propheticum iuxta mentem prophetæ litté-  
raliter rescrare. qd falsas et ineptas glossas moter  
noz. interroz. punitari. Quia in re non modo inutile  
et inane verum sacrificium et impium existimauit  
propheticam dignitudinem auferre. quam spiritum  
sanctum ipsi dante. prout in regum libris legim?  
nonimus cornuille. Quæz non solum veritas cui  
gelica in spiritu locutum fuisse testatur. vel ut ipa  
vniuersalia ecclesia cum eximiam omnium pro-  
phetarum obiqz terrarum preconizare nō cessar.  
Verum enī vero quia in multi loquio ut inqz. s̄. s̄.  
scfus. non cessit peccatum. Ideo si qd in hoc opere  
scriptum. repertum fuerit qd catholicæ fidei direc-  
te aut moxrecte dissonare videatur. Dolo vel quis  
arbitratur me aliquo tale obstinato animo afferu-  
tis. Deo ex ignorantia aut inadvertentia fuisse lo-  
cutedum. Illud codicex ex impressorum defectu in illa  
parte fuisse mentolum et incorrectum. Quapropter  
omnia in hoc opere et in ceteris per me dicta  
sqz decidero auctoritat sacro scfe romane ecclesie  
orbi cum humilitate relinquendo emendanda et corri-  
genda. Reliquæ est. ut pao isto pio labore premiu  
in hoc seculo non exigam temporale. sed ut portio  
mea sit in terra uterum. ubi christus caput no-  
strum redemptor et pacificator. cum patre et spir-  
itu sancto vivat et regnat etern in secula seculorum.  
A. M. E. 12.

.38.

**Commentum** nouiter eodū  
tom per. R.

D. Jacobus de Valencia sacre Theo-  
logie oxoniensis Sancti augustini profes-  
sorem necnon Episcopum Cristiopolis/  
tanum in psalmos dante feliciter expli-  
cit. Impressus Ieate famosissima yspa-  
marum vnde Valençia. sub anno Salua-  
tis Millefimo Quadragesimo/  
octoegredi moxato.

FIG. 18. JRULM 19258, sig. M<sub>9<sup>a</sup></sub>.

## Tabula psalmorum.

<b>A</b> d te ueni aia; mea	91	D	eus misericordia;	156	D	ne probal me	281
<b>A</b> d te ueni oculos	342	D	eus innoe tuo	167	D	ne clamauis ad te	305
<b>A</b> d te dñe clamato	94	D	eus auribus tuis	129	<b>E</b> cce quoniam dicite	253	
<b>A</b> ddin; euclularer	328	D	eus nr refugium	135	Ego dixi i dimidio		
<b>A</b> fferte in eis filii	94	D	eus deo; dñe	172	Eripem de nimis	175	
<b>A</b> ttendit opem eius	221	D	eus repulisti nos	176	Eripem de hoce	364	
<b>A</b> udiret qd gentes	146	D	eus in adiutoriu;	199	E ruptus cor meu	130	
<b>A</b> udiret ea qd ergo		D	eus in dñu regi	202	E audi dñe nostri	72	
<b>B</b> eat uir qd abire	26	D	eus uenire gentes	226	E audiatur et dñe	82	
<b>D</b> ecat uir qd temet	310	D	eus iste i synagoga	231	E audi de omni mea & ro	168	
<b>D</b> ecat qd intelligit	125	D	eus qd filii erit abn.	237	E audierit de omni deo	182	
<b>D</b> ecat immaculata	323	D	eus ultor nra dñe	263	E audi de deo amm	174	
<b>D</b> ecat qd amille	101	D	eus laude meam	296	E ualab te dñe	97	
<b>D</b> ecat os qd uenit	107	D	ehez in salutare	333	E ualeat deus	275	
<b>D</b> ecat dñs deus me	374	D	e profundus	347	E xpeditus expectum	121	
<b>D</b> ecat dñs de istud		<b>D</b> iligam ec dñe	73	E xultauit cor meu			
<b>D</b> ecat dñm qd msp	107	D	ligeri qd exaudiet	316	E xultauit deo adiutori	228	
<b>D</b> ecat dñm qd eternu	270	D	luit dñe dñe meo	300	E xultauit uita	105	
<b>D</b> ecat dñm qd mea a ea	273	D	luit insipiet eccl suo. 169		E xurgent deus & dissip	187	
<b>D</b> ecat dñm qd mea a ea	275	D	luit insipiet in eccl suo. 170		<b>R</b> ydamenta eius	247	
<b>D</b> ecat dñm qd mea a ea	276	D	luit in custodia	119	<b>I</b> Helina dñe auorem	242	
<b>D</b> ecat dñm qd mea a ea	277	D	luit in custodia	134	<b>I</b> incoerendo dñe	377	
<b>C</b> antate dñe uocem meam	226	<b>D</b> ominus qd multiplic	6	<b>I</b> in dño confido			
<b>C</b> antate dñe uocem meam	216	D	ne de meus inter	47	<b>I</b> in exitu israel	214	
<b>C</b> antate dñe uocem qd	216	D	ne redire decore	202	<b>I</b> iniquos oculis habui		
<b>C</b> eleb. dñe	70	D	ne terra	89	<b>I</b> in re dñe ferau	99	
<b>C</b> lamauit te corde		D	ne illuminatio	92	<b>I</b> in te d sp. no coherder	199	
<b>C</b> rederi er	216	D	ne in furore tuo	43	<b>I</b> oblate do certissime	270	
<b>C</b> reditur dñe qm		D	ne in fte	116	<b>I</b> ubi do o. p. pl	185	
<b>C</b> reditur dñe qd msp	53	D	ne dñe nr	49	<b>I</b> uicaria mea	92	
<b>C</b> reditur dñe qd msp	207	D	ne gratitab	67	<b>I</b> uideamus nos	110	
<b>C</b> reditur dñe qd msp	53	D	ne iniuste	83	<b>A</b> udier dñe deus	280	
<b>C</b> reditur dñe qd msp	209	D	ne regit me	87	<b>L</b> audauit puerorum	312	
<b>C</b> reditur dñe qd msp	209	D	ne regi gaudiu	253	<b>L</b> audauit dñs qd p. pl	218	
<b>C</b> reditur dñe qd msp	209	D	ne de salutis	247	<b>L</b> audauit nro dñs	224	
<b>C</b> reditur dñe qd msp	209	D	ne regi exulte	267	<b>L</b> audauit eu me dñs	228	
<b>C</b> reditur dñe qd msp	217	D	ne regi ualcat	269	<b>L</b> audauit dñs qd loral	378	
<b>C</b> reditur dñe qd msp	217	D	ne exaudi omnia mudi	267	<b>L</b> audauit dñs qd loral	279	
<b>C</b> reditur dñe qd msp	217	D	ne ex or m. tecloma	272	<b>L</b> audauit dñs qd loral		
<b>C</b> reditur dñe qd msp	217	D	ne audi audiote		<b>L</b> egem pon		
<b>D</b> e s dñs meus respice	84	D	ne no e ualcatu	349			

FIG. 19. JRULM 19258, MS replacing sig. M<sub>10</sub><sup>a</sup>.

## .Vicesimus primus.

bat. Et sic dixit pat̄ si possibile ē transire a me t̄c  
Quæ d̄q̄s oīo t̄ locano nō fuit mortis exsuffia  
sed natūris tumoris et vebemētis colores exp̄fina  
Volēs orde se verā carnez būasse. et p nō vebemē  
tem colorez suftalisse. et se oīēde pat̄ paraūz obe  
dire. Et ad tale sc̄luz plata fuit illa oīo. Cui⁹ sens⁹  
ē iste oī pat̄ h̄ caro int̄ma illū exoareat et timeat  
mortez. et si possibile eset vellet bū calices passio  
nis trāfere t̄ exsuffia m̄ ego nolo p̄cēde et p̄cere  
carni nec p̄fūnire volūtate r̄maz cū ap̄petit sc̄luz  
Oīo cū tua volūtate. Nā luc⁹ caro sit lūrma m̄ p̄  
ymp̄ ē ad obediēm̄z tibi t̄ pacientiū p̄ ḡtē bu  
mano. Et ieo non sicut sicut ego volo. i. sicut caro  
p̄sutzer. Q̄ sicut tu via t̄ p̄cipia. et ab etiō p̄ordi  
nati. et p̄ oīa gr̄bz p̄redoxi. Et q̄ p̄s q̄ volūtā  
j̄ simili p̄spacienti carni t̄ sensuitali obediēbar t̄  
cōfōrmab̄s p̄sime volūtati cui erat vnta p̄cari  
tate et gr̄z. Et sic illa locutio sive oīo j̄ non fuit  
mortis exsuffia s̄ p̄spacienti ad carnem et p̄fō  
mitatis ad p̄fātu voluntatis exp̄fissima. et hic est  
principali sensu buua orationis. Q̄ p̄cēd̄ sap̄  
dictus sens⁹; sed uic illa oratio p̄met fa alia māie  
ria. q̄ explicat dupl̄. de dictu in J. L. de dictu; ante  
ceos q̄ cōfīdāre t̄ voluntati calice sue passio. et oī  
ob hōle trāfisse. et oī saluasse. Q̄ ex p̄cōnti om̄is  
cōfīdāi t̄ volūtatez cōfīdātā q̄ voluntātū saluasse  
per iunatos et penitentes. Tercio p̄ illuz oīōne de  
bit nō coctas ut dīcam⁹ carnī nō cōcēde. Q̄  
būtine volūtari obediēre. Quarto deit coctū ol̄  
bo martirio et om̄ib⁹ sc̄luz; et ex p̄p̄z vīrbos  
nō p̄sumant agresti morte ab oīo uīru auxilio in  
uocato. Et sup̄p̄tis pat̄ q̄ dicentis; ut argu  
mentū nā p̄p̄z i illa oīone nō pos̄vīlant mortem  
t̄ passiones fugi. Q̄ om̄ior infirmatati carnis non  
p̄cōdēs; si p̄i obediēre t̄ recōcipēre; p̄ oībo pos̄u  
lase. Et sic ex p̄p̄tis fuit p̄ sua resuenda t̄ sua petīto  
cōfīdāta s̄p̄ fuit p̄p̄ta. Ato tertū dubius; t̄ ar  
gumētū est dicēdo p̄ eandē regla; et rōes q̄ que  
rcilla quaz p̄p̄s vīcti fācē in sīto p̄s nō ē signallata  
nec māuric disputatīma. Q̄ p̄ts et filii caritatis ex  
p̄fīma et admītrāta. q̄ vīlt cōfīdātā q̄ tanta fuit ca  
ritas p̄s erga gen̄ būanū p̄p̄s filio nō pēpet  
Oīo p̄ nō ips⁹ morti tradidit et tāta fuit obediēna  
filii q̄ malum p̄i q̄ p̄p̄s vite aplāce. et hoc nob̄  
manifestat et nos ē magis redōar obligatōe. Ex  
dictis in p̄mo dubio p̄s. p̄s filii bēliq̄e nichil  
alio fuit n̄ ip̄s⁹ morti trade et uītō potētates;  
et ip̄s⁹ alligēt p̄cēde. Item ex sc̄lo embūo p̄s;  
q̄ p̄p̄s ut calix ab eo trāfīret pat̄ez rogarē nichil  
alio fuit n̄ p̄spacienti carni sumul pat̄i obediēre

Et ex ēdo p̄s q̄ p̄p̄s p̄ modū querelle fuit affīctōes  
ap̄o p̄t̄; expoīte n̄ alio fuit q̄ caritatē p̄s erg  
gen̄ bonanā; admirari et explicare

## Liccundeterūt me vitu

li. Xp̄s in hac p̄te explicat suā affīctionēs. q̄ p̄s p̄t̄  
rice texit discursum sue passionis incipiens a cap  
tione vīz ad mortēz inclusiue. Ato cur⁹ inteligen  
tiaz ē nōnū q̄ x̄ q̄nu nōb⁹ apellat iudicos piec  
tōtes; apellat n̄ eos vīlos. tauros. canes. t̄ leone⁹  
Vñce p̄ vīlos intelligi ministros q̄ cū cū p̄tālāria  
cep̄t̄ et apellat tauros ip̄s p̄ncipes t̄ p̄bā. eos  
a p̄ligatio t̄ potētā. leonis aut̄ apellat eos; q̄ p̄  
trācōuā t̄ fūrā cū q̄ i p̄p̄s iruerit. canē vero eos  
apellat a mōrātātē et latrātā. q̄ s̄p̄ p̄ i p̄p̄s latra  
tā t̄ momozētā. Dicit q̄ x̄p̄ oī pat̄ q̄re me t̄cē  
laquish̄ in potētātē uītōz. q̄n̄ mīti vītūlī circū  
derūt me in oxo t̄ ligauerit me t̄ trābētēs per  
frās ad annā t̄ cayphām̄ me duxerant. et ibi taui  
p̄lingues. i. p̄ncipes fāctōtū Scribe t̄ pharisey q̄  
dīcūt̄ taui p̄p̄tātā t̄ fāctōtū t̄ dīcūt̄ p̄igūs  
a p̄inguez t̄ dīcūt̄z t̄ manerū t̄ oblatōnā. M̄i  
taui p̄igūs et illi vītālī. s̄p̄ mīstī obēctīt̄  
m̄i i tomo dīcūt̄ t̄ cayphā et ibi ap̄uerit sup̄ m̄i os s̄  
uīz sup̄b̄ et iracūt̄ s̄lē leo rugiēt̄ exūcia t̄ op̄bā t̄  
ferēto et fālā crīmina ip̄onēto et blasphemāt̄ apel  
lāco. Vñce sicut leo rugiēt̄ et rāpiēta trābū p̄dāz  
q̄ trāz t̄ lacērat t̄ lamar. Ira me trābēbat p̄ ferē  
cento frāctō collāfīzō t̄ capitulo⁹ caelētō in  
tātā q̄ sic aq̄ effūt̄ sus t̄ oīa oīla māa disp̄fā. et zac  
ta fū sup̄ trāz q̄ ex nūmō labore t̄ affīctionē p̄fūsū  
sū fūtōt̄ sicut aq̄ q̄ trātāt̄ habūtāt̄ i nū fūtōt̄ q̄  
vītēbar p̄fūt̄. I toto corpore sicut aq̄ mādō. Et sic  
sic aq̄ imūpā effūt̄ et p̄cēt̄ exātra com̄az. Ira  
ego fuit effūt̄us et p̄cēt̄ sup̄ trā tanq̄ mātūlī et  
despect⁹. Et nō solū oīla mea mātālātā et p̄sonalā  
fūtōt̄ disp̄fā. Sed etiā oīla oī la mea mātālātā. i. oīs  
ap̄lī fūtōt̄ disp̄fā. q̄ me relēto oīs fūtōt̄. Et sic  
i tāli affīctionē fūtōt̄ el̄ coz mēu tanq̄ cera hītētā  
i medio vētrā. i. corpōs mei. Nā sicut cera lique  
fūtōt̄ ex calōe ignis nō p̄ō resistēt̄. ita ego ex nū  
mō labore trābēt̄ nō p̄ōt̄ ei resistēt̄. nec sup̄  
pedēt̄ mēo fūtōt̄. Nam exātūt̄ omnibus vītō  
coēt̄ tōt̄ vītō. Ita aruit t̄ exfūt̄a fuit rābū t̄ testa  
Nā sicut testa nūtā vīl cūt̄lib̄ frūt̄ aret̄ t̄ sicut  
exbāusto būnōre. Ita torū corp̄ mēu aruit t̄ sc̄lūz  
el̄ mātēt̄ nāfūlāb̄ vītōb̄ exbāusto. t̄ sic si cōp̄t̄  
cēt̄b̄z i trāz. eo q̄ ip̄s vītōt̄ cēt̄b̄z i coz  
t̄ morū i mātūlī. t̄ aīale⁹ te. i. cēt̄b̄z p̄ totūz coz  
p̄. Et sic n̄ solū n̄ p̄t̄z m̄i fūtōt̄z ex cēt̄uā vītō⁹  
d. ut.

FIG. 20. JRULM 19258, sig. h4<sup>a</sup>.

of Pérez's collected *Opuscula* (1484 – 11 Jan. 1485: Haebler 536, Goff P-275, Sosa 684).<sup>70</sup>

In the early 1480s there were more merchants and more printers in Valencia than in any other city in the Iberian Peninsula, Valencia being, until American treasure began to arrive at Seville in quantity, the most important financial capital in either Aragon or Castile. There is evidence for the operation of a press in Valencia as early as January 1475 and records survive that suggest that Philip Vitzlant (or Vitzlant), the brother and heir of a Swabian merchant, Jakob Vitzlant, Valencia representative of the same Hundpiss consortium for which Paulus Hurus also acted as agent (see above, p. 20–1), was involved in printing in the city in 1474.<sup>71</sup>

Described in the agreement dated 31 July 1483 with the Valencia notary and civil lawyer Gabriel Luis de Arinyo to print the works of 'el bisbe' (i.e. Pérez de Valencia) as a 'silversmith and master printer', Alonso Fernández de Córdoba may have been among the first native Spanish printers to cut his own types.<sup>72</sup> He had previously worked with Lambert Palmart (or Palomar), a native of the archdiocese of Cologne who had taken a bachelor's degree at Paris in 1466 before settling in Valencia and marrying a local widow. Fernández de Córdoba and Palmart were commissioned by Philip Vitzlant (above, p. 20) to print a two-volume Bible with translation into Valencian by Bonifaci Ferrer (d. 1417), Prior of the Valencia Charterhouse of Porta Coeli and brother of St Vincent Ferrer whose sermons terrified many Jews into conversion. Of this edition, the *Biblia en Lemosin* (GW 4322, Haebler 49), begun in February 1477 and completed by March 1478, only the colophon leaf is known to survive (in HSA), all copies having been ordered to be burned by an Inquisitorial decree of 2 May 1498, despite the edition's having been previously corrected and approved by Jaume Borrull (O.P.), Inquisitor of the Kingdom of Valencia.<sup>73</sup>

<sup>70</sup> Wilfrid Werbeck, *Jacobus Perez von Valencia: Untersuchungen zu seinem Psalmenkommentar* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1959), esp. 15–35; Alfonso Vittorio Müller, 'Giacomo Perez di Valenza O.S.A., vescovo di Chrysopoli, e la teologia di Lutero', *Bilychnis: Rivista Mensile Illustrata di Studi Religiosi* (Rome), xv (1920), 391–403; Gregorio Santiago Vela, *Ensayo de una biblioteca iberoamericana de la Orden de San Agustín*, 7 vol. (Madrid: Imprenta del Asilo de Huérfanos del S.C. de Jesús [i–vi] & El Escorial: Imprenta del Real Monasterio [vii], 1913–25), vi [1922], 286–309; Justo Pastor Fuster, *Biblioteca valenciana de los escritores que florecieron hasta nuestros días* . . . , 2 vol. (Valencia: José Ximeno, 1827–30), i. 36.

<sup>71</sup> Witten, 'The Earliest Books', 95–6; Sheppard & Painter, 'Introduction to the Presses', xliv–xlv; Berger, *Libros y lectura*, i. 34–5. On what he terms the 'Taller de Vitzlant' in Valencia, see Odriozola, *Nacimiento*, 27–8; and id., 'La imprenta en Castilla', 120–2. Fernández may himself have had links with the Great Trading Company of Ravensburg.

<sup>72</sup> Haebler, *Tipografía*, 11; José Enrique Serrano y Morales, *Reseña histórica en forma de diccionario de las imprentas que han existido en Valencia desde la introducción del arte tipográfico en España hasta el año 1868* . . . (Valencia: Imprenta de F. Doménech, 1898–9), 155–8; Guillermo S. Sosa, 'La imprenta en Valencia en el siglo XV', *Historia de la imprenta hispana*, 361–425 (386–8); Werbeck, *Jacobus Perez*, 39–45; Chambers, 'Early Printing', 6–8.

<sup>73</sup> George D. Painter, 'General Introduction' (= BMC x, ix–xxxv), xiii; Sosa, 'La imprenta en Valencia', plate vi; Penney, 61; Palanca Pons, *Incunables valencianos*, 11; Serrano y Morales,

A Christian with close friendships among the Jewish community in Valencia, Fernández had been sentenced to death *in absentia* by the Valencian authorities, apparently for some relatively minor misdemeanour (possibly the cutting of Hebrew types), and had sought refuge in Murcia, where he printed, in collaboration with his brother Bartolomé, a Cartagena breviary (completed 12 January 1484: Sosa 170).<sup>74</sup> His contract to print Pérez's *Opuscula*, drawn up with Arinyo who had actively supported printing in the city – as witness his dealings with Palmart from 1482 – and with a third party, the prominent and wealthy Játiva (or Xátiva, prov. Valencia) Jewish merchant-printer resident in Murcia in the late 1470s, 'Maimon', *recte* Solomon ben Maimon Zalmati (or Zalman), was signed in Murcia, one of its stipulations being that his partners undertook to seek a temporary safe-conduct from the Governor of Valencia and then to petition for a royal pardon for Fernández which might permit him to resume residence in Valencia.<sup>75</sup> Zalmati was associated with Fernández on a regular basis (his publisher's mark appears below the colophon of the Cartagena breviary, for example) and would publish a Hebrew Pentateuch at Híjar in July–August 1490 (Haebler 530, Sosa 138). That same contract apparently also reveals that Arinyo already had three quires of the *Expositio* printed himself ('eren fets ya tres querns'); though the entire printing was begun afresh, the existence of copies (as here) in which quires a–c are more crudely printed and in a different type from the rest of the book suggests that not all of Arinyo's solo efforts were destroyed.<sup>76</sup>

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*Reseña*, 149–63 (150); Ricardo García Cárcel, *Orígenes de la Inquisición española: el tribunal de Valencia, 1478–1530* (Barcelona: Península, 1976), 219–22.

<sup>74</sup> The suggestion of Haebler (*Geschichte*, 38; *Bibliographia*, 253; *Typographie*, 11–12; 'Hans Rix von Chur', 139), followed by several other students of early printing (e.g. Millares Carlo, *Introducción*, 111), that this condemnation was by the Valencian Holy Office, is firmly dismissed by Cecil Roth, 'Jewish Printers of Non-Jewish Books in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries', *Journal of Jewish Studies*, iv (1953), n°. 3, 1–15 (4–5), though Chambers, 'Early Printing' (6–7), would again appear to be suggesting something along those lines. The documents containing the agreement to print Pérez's works are reproduced by Serrano y Morales, *Reseña*, 12–14, 149–63 (151–9).

<sup>75</sup> Joshua Bloch, 'Early Hebrew Printing in Spain and Portugal', *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, xlvi (1938), 371–420 (386–7). Fritz (= Yitzhak F.) Baer, *Die Juden im Christlichen Spanien*, Veröffentlichungen der Akademie für die Wissenschaft des Judentums: Historische Sektion 4, i [no more published], 2 parts (Berlin, Akademie Verlag, 1929 & Schocken, 1936; reprint, with additional bibliography by H. Beinart, Farnborough: Gregg International, 1970), part i, 862. Ever since Jaume the Conqueror's acquisition of the celebrated Islamic paper industry there in 1248 and his tax-concessions to any Jews prepared to settle in the town, Játiva had been the principal centre of the Valencian paper business, but, from the mid-14th century onwards, Italian paper superior in quality to the native product began appearing in Spain (Irigoin, 'L'Introduction du papier').

<sup>76</sup> Sheppard & Painter, 'Introduction to the Presses', xlvi–xlvii; BMC x, 17. Sosa, 'La imprenta en Valencia', 382–90, calls into question the printing history of this edition and discusses in detail the complex business relationship between Fernández de Córdoba, Arinyo, and Zalmati. Given the costs involved in printing, it was normal practice for printers to enter into agreements with lawyers, ecclesiastical officials, and most often with booksellers, who would put up some of the capital for a particular edition (Griffin, 36–8, and above, p. 8), and it may well have

Fernández de Córdoba's material is later found in the Híjar office of Eliéser (or Eliezer) ben Abraham Alantansi, a goldsmith who, it has been argued, may have learned his trade as a printer from Fernández. Híjar (Ixar), a thriving town in the province of Teruel to the South East of Zaragoza, had a prosperous Jewish community and seems to have been for a short space the centre of Hebrew printing in the Peninsula, as Guadalajara had been before it,<sup>77</sup> but there is no hard evidence that Fernández himself worked at that time outside the kingdom of Valencia. Some of the Hebrew material from the Híjar office appears to have been taken to Lisbon where it was in use by early 1490;<sup>78</sup> after the Lisbon office closed in 1492, the same material is found at Leiria in Portugal (until 1495), Constantinople (1505 – c. 1513), and Fez (from 1516).<sup>79</sup>

Of the close on one thousand Spanish and Portuguese incunable editions now known to survive, some fifty or so are in Hebrew characters.<sup>80</sup> Many others were doubtless destroyed by the Inquisition.

**8. CAVALCA, Domenico. *Espejo de la Cruz*. Translated by Alfonso de Palencia. Seville. Antonio Martínez. 20 February 1486.**

Kurz 60, n°. 88 ('Rylands copy a ghost'); Sosa 209.

(i) Madrid BN; (ii) San Remo (Imperia) BCom; Lisbon BN; (iv) HSA.

4º: a–i<sup>10</sup> k<sup>8</sup> 1<sup>6</sup> [§<sub>5</sub> signed (–a<sub>1</sub>, a<sub>3</sub>, d<sub>5</sub>, k<sub>5</sub>, 1<sub>4–5</sub>)]; 104 leaves, unnumbered. No running titles. 200 × 125 mm. (a<sub>2</sub><sup>b</sup>); gothic 122; 30–3 lines; spaces for capitals throughout; full-page cuts on a<sub>1</sub><sup>b</sup> (188 × 122 mm., Latin cross triumphant, surrounded by the symbols of the

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been cost which persuaded Fernández de Córdoba and his associates to use the sheets Arinyo had already printed, crude as those were in comparison with the rest of the volume which is beautifully printed. Vindel, iii. 48–51, reproduces the two states of a<sub>1</sub> and b<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>77</sup> 'Un bibliófilo aragonés' [= Juan Manuel Sánchez], *Bibliografía zaragozana del siglo xvi* (Madrid: Imprenta Alemana, 1908), 193–7; Vindel, iv. pp. xxxvi–xxxviii, 337–48.

<sup>78</sup> Sheppard and Painter, 'Introduction to the Presses', lxix, lxxiv; Teresa Maria Guarascelli, 'Alfonso Fernandez de Cordova e la prima stampa a Murcia', *Miscellanea bibliografica in memoria di don Tommaso Accurti*, ed. Lamberto Donati (Rome: Edizioni di "Storia e Letteratura", 1947), 125–32; Bloch, 'Early Hebrew Printing', 385–6. The grounds for this association are questioned by Roth, 'Jewish Printers', 7.

<sup>79</sup> Eleutério Cerdeira, 'A imprensa', in Damião Peres & Eleutério Cerdeira (eds.), *História de Portugal*, 8 vol., with two supplements by Franco Nogueira (Barcelos etc.: Portucalense Editora, 1928–81), iv [1932], 278–336 (305–9); Bloch, 'Early Hebrew Printing', 401–2; Alexander Marx, 'Some Notes on the Use of Hebrew Type in Non-Hebrew Books, 1475–1520', *Bibliographical Essays* (see above, n. 11), 381–408 (382, 384), reprinted in Marx, *Studies in Jewish History and Booklore* (New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1944), 296–345 (299–300); Anselmo, *Origens*, 89–91, 359; Lazarus Goldschmidt, *Hebrew Incunables: A Bibliographical Essay*, translated by Immanuel Goldsmith (Oxford: B.H. Blackwell Ltd., 1948), 82–4, who is elsewhere (e.g. 67–74) very severe on much of the critical literature on the history of Hebrew printing in early modern Europe.

<sup>80</sup> Bloch, 'Early Hebrew Printing,' 372; Aron Freimann, 'Die Hebräische Inkunabeln der Druckereien in Spanien und Portugal', *Gutenberg Festschrift*, 203–6.

Evangelists: Fig. 21), a<sub>3</sub><sup>a</sup> (190 × 121 mm., birth of Christ: Fig. 22), a<sub>6</sub><sup>b</sup> (189 × 119 mm., Crucifixion), d<sub>5</sub><sup>a</sup> (188 × 119 mm., Flight into Egypt: Fig. 23), g<sub>10</sub><sup>b</sup> (188 × 120 mm., preacher addressing faithful from pulpit: Fig. 24), h<sub>7</sub><sup>b</sup> (190 × 119 mm., women bringing food to bed-ridden man: Fig. 25).<sup>81</sup>

Contents: a<sub>1</sub><sup>a</sup> blank; a<sub>1</sub><sup>b</sup> cut; a<sub>2</sub><sup>a-b</sup> Prologue (Fig. 26) ‘Comiença el prologo eñl deuoto τ moral libro | intitulado eſpeio dela cruz. | (C)Uenta el ſancto euāgelio por ſemeiāça/que | . . .’; a<sub>3</sub><sup>a</sup> cut; a<sub>3</sub><sup>b</sup>-1<sub>4</sub><sup>b</sup> text ‘Capitulo .i. como dios tomo carne humana por librar | al ſobre de tres defetos ēlos q̄les īcurrio por el pecado . . .’; 1<sub>4</sub><sup>b</sup> explicit and colophon (Fig. 27) ‘(E)STA devota obra intitulada eſpeio dela cruz q̄ | primero fue cōpueſta en lengua toſcana. Conuer | tio en lenguaie caſtellano. Alfonſo de palencia coronis | ta. a ruego del honrrado τ virtuoſo cauallero luys de | medina veynre τ quattro. de ſeuilla τ theſorero dela ca | ſa dela moneda. El año de nueſtra ſalud de mill τ qua | trociētos τ ochenta τ cinco años. acaboſe de interpre | tar. a xxi de iunio. E de īprimir a xx. de febrero. ſea loa | do dios E ſu glorioſa madre. Reyna dl'os cielos. Amē. | (E)L que pmero traxo deſde ytalia a caſtilla este tra | tado impreſſo en toſcano para que ſe cōuertieſſe | en romāce caſtellano. fue el Reuerendo τ muy deuoto | religioſo fray iohā melgareio prior del moneſterio de | sant yſidro cerca de ſeuilla. el qual con zelo dela comun | doctrina lo hizo impreſſir deſpues que fue romançado. | en ſeuilla en caſa de anton martinez dela talla de maeſ | tre pedro. Todas las pſonas catholicas que deſto reſi | bierē puecho ſpiritual ſon obligadas rogar a dios por | la ſalud delas animas delos q̄ fueron deſto miniftriſtros.’; 1<sub>5</sub><sup>a</sup>-1<sub>6</sub><sup>a</sup> Index; 1<sub>6</sub><sup>b</sup> blank.<sup>82</sup>

JRULM 4557 (formerly Inc. 16 H 2). From Spencer. Initial C and rubrication in hand on a<sub>2</sub><sup>a</sup> (Fig. 26). Handwritten notes in old Spanish hand(?s), much faded, on a<sub>1</sub><sup>a</sup> and a<sub>2</sub><sup>a</sup>.

Domenico Cavalca (c.1270 Vico Pisano – Pisa ?1342), who entered the important Dominican house of Santa Caterina in Pisa around the year 1285, was to spend most of his life there, writing some 50 works in all, most of them of an ascetic character; many others are attributed to his pen. The library of Santa Caterina was ideally suited to the composition of works of vulgarization. Cavalca's most original and most widely-read work, the *Speculum crucis*, of which over 100 manuscript copies survive, was probably composed in or around 1333 and had been brought to Spain, according to the colophon of this edition, by Juan Melgarejo, Prior of the Franciscan monastery of San

<sup>81</sup> For detailed discussion of these cuts, which are reproduced in Vindel (with that on g<sub>10</sub><sup>b</sup> significantly different in a number of matters of detail), see Portillo Muñoz, *La ilustración gráfica*, 35-43 + figs. 6-7.

<sup>82</sup> Binding gives date as 'Sevilla 1485'.

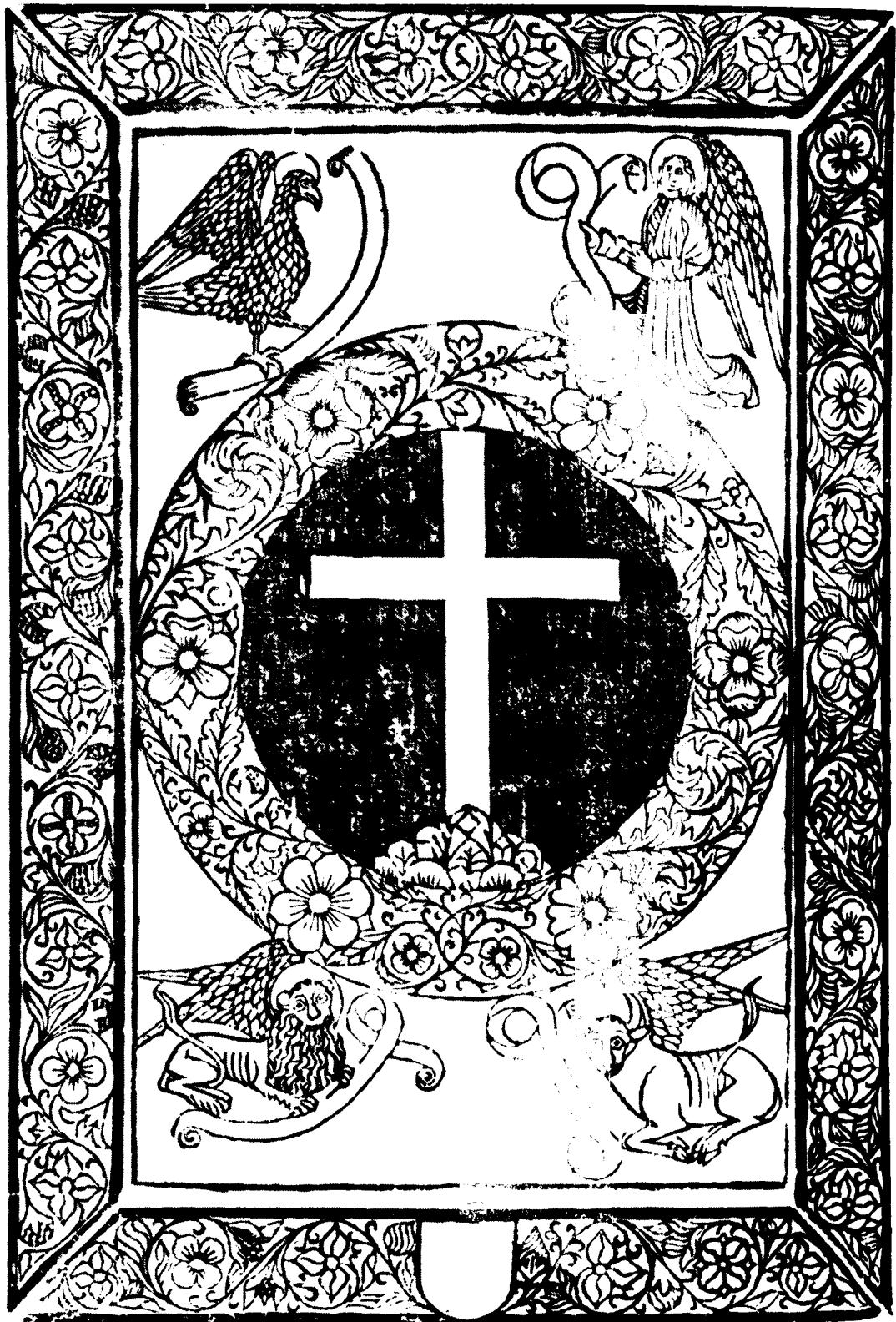
FIG. 21. JRULM 4557, sig. a<sub>1</sub><sup>b</sup>.

FIG. 22. JRULM 4557, sig. a<sub>3</sub><sup>a</sup>.

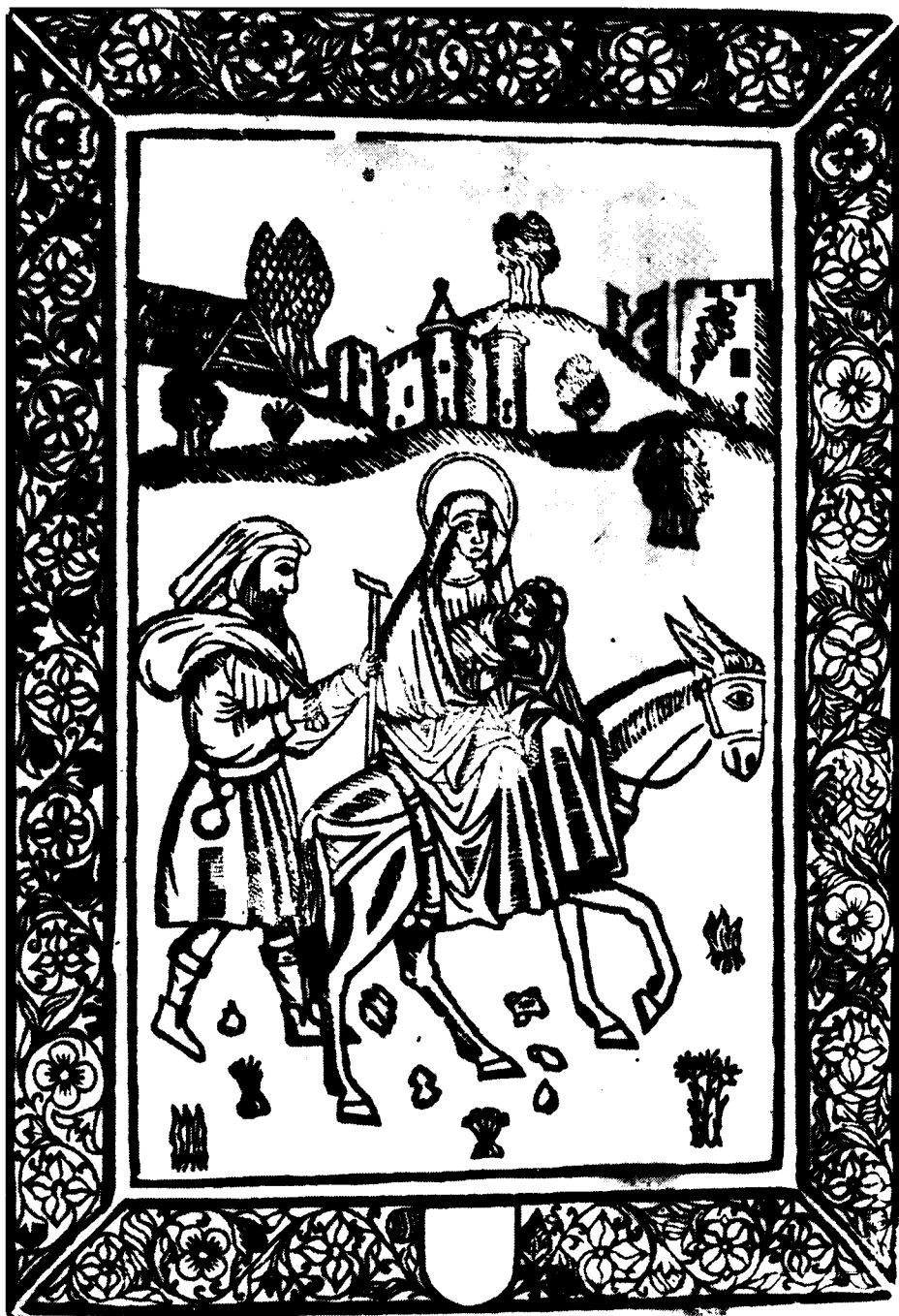
FIG. 23. JRULM 4557, sig. d<sub>5</sub><sup>a</sup>.

FIG. 24. JRULM 4557, sig. g<sub>10</sub><sup>b</sup>.

FIG. 25. JRULM 4557, sig. h<sub>7</sub><sup>b</sup>.

Comiença el paologo en el deuoto & moral libro  
d'incunable en el año de la cristiñ.

**O**mita el sancto en alquidio por seneñçia que  
vn señor príncipe de su ciborio cometio alios  
sietnos cierta pecunia. d'la qual fiziere ga-  
nacia. avno dio cinco talétos. a otto trea. &  
novo vno. & diyo acaba vno bellos. q ganaseñ fast a q  
el tornase. & tornado demádava la cuæta delos talétos  
cometidos. da ganacia. falló q el siervo adem cometi-  
ra vn caléto/niguna cosa avia ganado. & por esto lo fi-  
jo tomari como siervo in vñile. & le fizò meter e carcer  
seneñosa. Alqste señor es dios'. & los sietnos son los  
obres. & los talétos son los dones delas graciæs tñpo-  
rales y spñiales. q dios da & pñete. adem mas & adem  
menos segñ le pñete. E tornado demáda la ganacia  
delos talentos cometidos. por q xpo el qual se pñio de  
nos subierto al cielo. tornando al myrio. apartada mñte  
bemida dura acaba vno la ganacia de todo el biñ qle fue  
en cometido. E alq fallase in vñile fazeñle ba meter e  
la pñia del infierno. mucha es dura esta sentencia. en la  
q se muestra. q no sola mñte qen fiziere mal. mas avn  
qen no fiziere mal si no fiziere biñ. sera coñdenado. y en  
esto se manifiesta. q cada qual es tenido buscar ganacia  
a spñial del poder. o del saber. o de otto bien que dios le  
aya cometido. asy que considerado aquito. como qer q  
el mi poco saber & la mi impfecion me faga negligente  
be pensavo. q avñq yo no pñea traer ganacia de grã  
cosa. qsi como de muchos talétos. alo menos dñ mi po-  
co saber. como de vn taléto. fare vna obra. no soltñ. ni en  
latin. mas e vulgar. porla ql obra fongamos avenoci-  
on a alguno delos deuotos seglares que no son enise-  
fiados. E con las muchas ocupaciones no pñeden  
vacar segun desean en qñ al estudio dela oracion  
a.ii.

FIG. 26. JRULM 4557, sig. a<sub>2</sub><sup>b</sup>.

como estou en la cruz; como maestro en cathedra q no  
enseño. q muestra en que manera cumplio toda la ley.  
q ayudo al proximo las catozas obras de misericordia  
E como las ocho bien aventuranzas que el predicó a  
nos otros el las guardo q las escogio para sy. assi que  
bien es dicha esta obra espejo dela cruz. pues xpo éla  
cruz nos mostro toda perficion suya q todo nñ a manzil  
la la qual por su exemplo nos debemos evitar. Dgo  
gracias.

**S**Ta de vota obra intitulada espejo dela cruz q  
primero fue copiada en lengua toscana. Conser  
cio en lenguaie castellano. Alfonso de palencia coronó  
ta. a ruego del bondoso q virtuoso cavallero luis de  
medina veinte q quattro de semilla q thesorero dela ca  
sa dela moneda. El año de nuestra salut de mill q qua  
trocientos q ochenta q cinco años. acabo de interpre  
tar. a xxi de iunio. E de imprimir a xx. de febrero. sea loa  
dodios E su gloriosa madre. Keyna vlos cielos. Amé.

L que p'mero traxo desde ytalía a castilla este tra  
tado imprepresso en toscano para que se convirtiese  
en romáce castellano. fue el Benetendo q muy denoto  
religioso fray iohá melgarejo prior del monasterio de  
sanctifloro cerca de sevilla. el qual con zelo dela comuni  
dottina lo hizo imprimir despues que fue romançado.  
en sevilla en casa de anton martinez dela talla de maes  
tre pedro. Todas las p'sonas catholicas que desto reç  
bieren puecho spiritual son obligadas rogar avios por  
la salud delas animas delos q fueron desto ministros.

FIG. 27. JRULM 4557, sig. 14<sup>b</sup>.

Isid(o)ro del Campo founded in 1301 at Sevilla la Vieja (the modern Santiponce, just outside the Seville city boundary), which was to become famous in the 1550s as a crucible of Protestant activity.<sup>83</sup>

This Spanish version, from the Italian, is the work of the humanist Alfonso de Palencia (1423–92), the dominant figure in the intellectual history of his age in Castile, who had spent part of his youth in the household of Alfonso de Cartagena, bishop of Burgos (see above, p. 33), and his formative years (?1447–53) in Rome and Florence. There he lived for a time in the household of Cardinal Bessarion, was in contact with another major Greek scholar of the age, the Cretan George of Trebizond, and with the humanist academy of Donato Acciaiuoli, and bought books from the Florentine biographer and bookseller Vespasiano da Bisticci for Alfonso Fonseca the Elder, Archbishop of Seville. He later made several official visits to Rome and was present at the Congress of Mantua (1459–61), summoned by Pius II Piccolomini to discuss Christendom's response to the fall of Constantinople, which has recently been identified as an important catalyst in the development of Spanish humanism.<sup>84</sup> Though there is no evidence that Palencia himself knew Greek, he translated Josephus and Plutarch from Bruni's Latin, and wrote many other works himself, among them a Latin humanistic history in forty books of the events of his times, known generally as the *Decades*, increasingly recognized as the major work of Spanish Renaissance humanism and one of the greatest historiographical works of its age.<sup>85</sup>

This edition of Cavalca, described by Portillo Muñoz as 'un libro riquísimo tanto desde el punto de vista tipográfico como artístico',<sup>86</sup> was paid for by Luis de Medina, a *veinticuatro* (member of the town council) of Seville; an edition of Palencia's translation was signed at Seville by Meinard Ungut and Stanislaus Polonus (see n°. 9, below), 13 November 1492 (Haebler 145, Goff C–354).<sup>87</sup>

<sup>83</sup> José de Sigüenza, *Historia de la Orden de San Jerónimo*, ed. Juan Catalina García, 2 vol. (Madrid: Bailly-Bailliére & Sons, 1907–9), i. 325–9.

<sup>84</sup> Lawrence, 'The Impact'.

<sup>85</sup> Gil Fernández, *Panorama social*, 201–2; R. Brian Tate, 'Political Allegory in Fifteenth-Century Spain: A Study of the *Batalla campal de los perros contra los lobos* by Alfonso de Palencia (1423–92)', *Journal of Hispanic Philology*, i (1977), 169–86 (169–70); id., 'Alfonso de Palencia y los preceptos de la historiografía', *Nebrija y la introducción del Renacimiento en España: actas de la III Academia Literaria Renacentista, Universidad de Salamanca*, 9, 10 y 11 de diciembre de 1981, ed. Víctor García de la Concha (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1983), 37–51 (38–9); id., 'The Civic Humanism of Alfonso de Palencia', *Nottingham Renaissance and Modern Studies*, xxiii (1979), 25–44 (27–9); id., 'La sociedad castellana en la obra de Alfonso de Palencia', *Actas del iii Coloquio de Historia Medieval Andaluza: La sociedad medieval andaluza, grupos no privilegiados*, ed. José Viñals (Jaén: Diputación Provincial de Jaén, Instituto de Cultura, 1984), 5–23 (5–6); Tate & Ansari M. Mundó, 'The *Compendiolum* of Alfonso de Palencia: A Humanist Treatise on the Geography of the Iberian Peninsula', *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, v (1975), 254–78 (254, 260, 263–4). José Antonio Maravall, *Antiguos y modernos: la idea del progreso en el desarrollo inicial de una sociedad* (Madrid: Sociedad de Estudios y Publicaciones, 1966), describes Palencia (537) as 'el escritor que antes que ningún otro se plantea el problema de España'.

<sup>86</sup> *La ilustración gráfica*, 35.

<sup>87</sup> Francisco Collantes y Terán y Delorme, 'Un taller alemán de imprenta en Sevilla en el siglo xv', *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* (1931), 145–65 (157).

Antonio Martínez was one of the earliest indigenous printers in Spain, Seville being the one major printing centre where the trade does not seem to have been begun exclusively by immigrants. He signed two works in 1477 with Bartolomé Segura and Alonso del Puerto, printers of n°. 2, above. Haebler also assigns an unsigned edition of 1473 to Martínez, but this is the first edition in which he is known to have been involved for nine years.<sup>88</sup> The colophon states (sig. 1<sub>4</sub><sup>b</sup>) that the work was printed 'en casa de Antón Martínez de la talla de maestre Pedro'. Although we have no independent evidence for his presence in Seville before 1492 when he printed, with Juan Gentil, the edition of Ferrant Mexía's *Libro de la nobleza* (n°. 10, below), Haebler has argued that this may be a reference to Petrus Brun (see below, p. 77), last heard of at Barcelona in 1481.<sup>89</sup>

## 9. DEZA, Diego de. *Defensiones Sancti Thomae Aquinatis*. Seville. Meinard (Meinhard) Ungut & Stanislaus Polonus (Stanisław Polski). 4 February 1491.<sup>90</sup>

Sosa 266.

(i) Madrid BN and BPal (two copies); Córdoba BP and BCat; Escorial; Granada BU; León B de la Colegiata; Pamplona B General; Seville BU; Toledo BP; Valladolid BU; (ii) Louvain B du Coll Philosophique et Théologique de la Compagnie de Jésus; Florence BNC; Piacenza BComunale Passerini-Landi; Lisbon BN; Cracow Muzeum Narodowe (BCzartoryskich); (iii) BL; Trinity College Dublin; (iv) New York Pierpont Morgan L; HSA (two copies; one imperfect); Saint Bonaventure (NY) Franciscan Institute Saint Bonaventure U (imperfect); Camarillo (Ca.) St John's Seminary, Edward Laurence Doheny Memorial L; HEHL.

4°: a–k<sup>8</sup> [§<sub>4</sub> signed (? –a<sub>1</sub>)]; 80 leaves, unnumbered. Running titles a<sub>4</sub><sup>b</sup>–k<sub>6</sub><sup>a</sup>. 130 × 77 mm. (b<sub>1</sub><sup>a</sup>); gothic 82 (text and colophon),<sup>91</sup> gothic 108 (running titles and chapter headings), occasional gothic 150; 32 lines; spaces for capitals throughout.

Contents: a<sub>1</sub> ?blank; a<sub>2</sub><sup>a</sup>–a<sub>4</sub><sup>a</sup> Dedicatory epistle [in black and red (Fig. 28)] 'Fratri Didaci de Deça ordinis predictoru<sub>3</sub> | uite regularis:

<sup>88</sup> Griffin, 16–17; Odriozola, 'La imprenta', 129.

<sup>89</sup> *Geschichte*, 124–8. Sosa (35, n°. 209) insists that this is the only book printed alone by Alonso Martínez at Seville. The whole question of indigenous printers at Seville, much canvassed by Vindel, is discussed by Odriozola, 'La imprenta', 91–219 (111–13). Even in the sixteenth century, most printers and printing workers continued to be Italian, Swiss, or German (Griffin, 130).

<sup>90</sup> As the dating of this volume to 1491 is dependent on information given in the colophon which reads 'Anno salutis cristiane Millesimo quadragesimo nonagesimo primo' (my emphasis), it may be (see below, p. 134) that the year concerned is, in fact, 1492.

<sup>91</sup> BMC x, plate XI<sup>s</sup>.

Fratri Didaci de Deça ordinis predicatorum  
uite regularis: Serenissimi ac magno Hispaniarum  
principis preceptoris. In defensiones sancti Iho  
me ab impugnationibus magistri Nicholai ma  
gistris Mathie ppugnatoris sui. Ac Illustrissi  
mum ac Reuerendissimum dominum: dominum  
petrum aendoce archipresule Loletan. Hispe  
nie totius primat. in. latae Romane ecclesie car  
inali dignissimum. Epistola.

**L**lustrissimo ac Reuerē  
dissimo in cristo patri dño: do  
mino petro aendoce archip  
suli Loletan. Hispaniaz prima  
ti: sancte Romane ecclesie car  
inali dignissimo. frater Dida  
cus de Deça ordinis predicato  
rū uite regularis S. p. D. Non  
satis cōstat pater optime an ve  
ritas plures habent sectatores an impugnatores  
Et quidem ambiguū non est q̄ a prima rerū cō  
ditione: vix traperit veritas sine aduersante mo  
rulaꝝ. ipsa teste veritate ubi de prima ac pulcher  
rima inquit creaturam. Ille homicida erat ab  
initio & in veritate non stetit. Uerum q̄ alij sola  
obsunt ignorantia. Nam crebro: ut Seneca di  
cit. mendacium specie veritatis obcludit. Et si  
cui cristem frontez amicus & blandam adulatoꝝ  
ostendit: sic uerisimilitudine ut uel fallat uel sur  
ripiat: coloratur veritas. Hoc erroris ep̄plo ga  
late reprehensi sunt: quibus Apostol⁹ ait. O in  
a ii

FIG. 28. JRULM R5362, sig. a<sub>2</sub><sup>a</sup>.

Absolutum hoc opus: editum a Reverendo magistro fratre Didaco de Deça ordinis predicatorum. Magni ac Serenissimi principis Hispaniarum et Sicilie regis, preceptorum. In defensiones sancti Iohome: Hispalis per Reynardum vngut Alemanum et Stanislauum Polonum socios. Anno salutis christiane millesimo quadringentesimo nonagesimo primo. Die vero quarta mensis februarij.



FIG. 29. JRULM R5362, sig. k<sub>7</sub><sup>a</sup>.

*Serenissimi ac magni Hispaniarū | principis preceptoris. In defensiones  
sancti Tho | me ab impugnationibus magistri Nicholai ma | gistroq<sub>3</sub>  
Mathie ppugnatoris sui. Ad Illustriſſi | mum ac Reuerendissimum  
dominum: dominum | Petrum Mendoce archipreſulē Toletañ. Hispa | nie  
totius primatem. Sancte Romane ecclesie car | dinalem dignissimum.  
Epistola. | [space of one line] | (I)Llustrisſimo ac Reuerē | dissimmo  
in cristo patri dño: do | mino Petro Mendoce . . .'; a<sub>4</sub><sup>b</sup>–k<sub>6</sub><sup>b</sup> text 'Circa  
librum Geneſis. | Capitulo primo. | (I)N capitulo primo libri Geneſis  
ſu | per illud . . .'; k<sub>7</sub><sup>a</sup> colophon (Fig. 29), 'Abſolutum hoc opus:  
editum a Reuerendo ma | gistro fratre Didaco de Deça ordinis predica  
| torum. Magni ac Serenissimi principis Hispani | arū ¶ Sicilie ¶ c.  
preceptore. In defensiones sancti | Thome : Hispalis per Meynardum  
vngut Ale | manum ¶ Stanislaum Polonū ſocios. Anno ſa | lutis  
cristiane Millesimo quadringentisimo no | nagesimo primo. Die  
vero quarta mēſis febru | arij. | [printers' device (57.5 × 41 mm.)  
identical to that in n°. 13, below]<sup>92</sup>; k<sub>7</sub><sup>b</sup>–k<sub>8</sub><sup>b</sup> blank.<sup>93</sup>*

JRULM R5362 (formerly Inc. I 1). Missing a<sub>1</sub>, a<sub>8</sub>; slight worming.

The Dominican Diego de Deza (1444 Toro – Toledo 9 June 1523) was successively Bishop of Zamora (1494), Salamanca (1494), Jaén (1498), and Palencia (1500), before becoming Archbishop of Seville in 1504, and of Toledo in 1523. Like his teacher, Pedro Martínez de Osma (d. 1480), Deza lectured in theology at Salamanca according to the principles of Aquinas. He was charged by Alexander VI Borgia to reform the Dominican Order in Spain. Deza also exercised great influence at Court as tutor to Prince John of Castile (d. 1497): it was he who suggested to Columbus that he might approach Queen Isabella in his search for sponsorship for a voyage to the Indies; and, from 1499 to 1507, he acted as Inquisitor-General in succession to his fellow *converso* Tomás de Torquemada. An implacable opponent both of racial minorities and of certain reformist intellectual movements, he caused many works to be burned and, in 1506, confiscated a huge quantity of notes (the *Quinquagena*) amassed over a number of years

<sup>92</sup> Vindel, *Escudos*, 21, n°. 20.

<sup>93</sup> The two biblical scholars referred to in the dedicatory epistle are Nicolas de Lyre (O.F.M.) (1270–1340) and Matthias Döring (or Dörinck) (d. 1469). Lyre, sometimes known as the 'Doctor planus' or 'Doctor utilis', was the author of a famous biblical commentary, the *Postillae perpetuae in universa Biblia* (or *Postillae literalis super totam Bibliam*) composed between 1322 and 1330. Although, unlike Deza, he had a good working knowledge of Hebrew, used Rashi (Rabbi Solomon ben Isaac) extensively, and adopted a less strident posture than many in his writings on Jewish history, the attacks on Lyre as 'simius Salomonis', were without basis, as witness his *Probatio adventus Christi contra Iudeos* (see Henri de Lubac, *Exégèse médiévale: les quatre sens de l'écriture*, 2 vol. (3 parts) (Paris: Aubier, 1959–64), ii/2, 344–67; and Herman Hailperin, *Rashi and the Christian Scholars* (Pittsburgh, Pa: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1963), 137–246). Unlike Lyre, Döring had no Hebrew, yet sought, in his *Replicae*, to defend, often irascibly, the latter's *Postillae* against those, like the bishop of Burgos, Pablo de Santa María (Paulus Burgensis, born Solomon Halevi, ?1350–1435) whose *Additiones* (1434), 'published' at the Council of Basel, charged Lyre with having overused Rashi.

by the greatest of all contemporary Spanish humanist scholars, Nebrija (Antonio Martínez de Lebrija; self-styled Aelius Antonius Nebrissensis, 1444–1522; see below, p. 115), which were intended for a lexical and textual study of the Bible.<sup>94</sup> Deza was eventually forced to resign, in favour of Cisneros, after the public outcry that followed Inquisitorial excesses in Córdoba in 1506, and Nebrija was to dedicate to Cisneros, by now his patron, his defence of the grammarian's philological criticism of Scripture, the *Apologia earum rerum quae illi objiciuntur* ([Logroño]: [Brocar], ?1507). Deza's works continued to be printed in Seville after his resignation.

The work described here is dedicated to the 'Gran Cardenal', Pedro González de Mendoza (1428–95), Archbishop of Toledo, second son of Iñigo López de Mendoza, Marqués de Santillana (see below p. 92), and, like his father, a distinguished man of letters.<sup>95</sup>

This is the first dated book from the press of Ungut and Polonus, the most prolific of fifteenth-century Spain.<sup>96</sup> Both had previously worked at Naples, their early types (including some used in no. 13, below) originating in the office of the Neapolitan printer Mathias Moravus.<sup>97</sup> As they reminded Queen Isabella, in what was to prove a successful petition dated 14 March 1491 requesting exemption from levies for the Granada campaigns and from having soldiers billeted upon them, they had been summoned to Seville by the Crown for the purpose of printing books. The royal purpose in establishing these Seville presses appears initially to have been a desire to promote learning but, in Norton's words, 'it is likely that due weight was given to the advantages of providing the means of multiplying copies of existing and new laws'.<sup>98</sup> To some extent Ungut and Polonus seem to have specialized in the printing of law-books, but there is no indication of any official control of the Seville presses nor of any imposition of a set programme; they were as independent as any other Spanish printers, largely surviving on commissions, many of them from booksellers.<sup>99</sup> It was Ungut and Polonus who probably printed the

<sup>94</sup> Marcel Bataillon, *Erasmo y España: ensayos sobre la historia espiritual del siglo xvi*, translated by Antonio Alatorre, 2nd edition (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1966), 29–30; Francisco Rico, *Nebrija frente a los bárbaros: el canon de gramáticos nefastos en las polémicas del humanismo* (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1978), 61–72.

<sup>95</sup> Norton, *DC*, no. 390; Bataillon, *Erasmo y España*, 32; Gil Fernández, *Panorama social*, 205–6; Armando Cotarelo y Valledor, *Fray Diego de Deza: ensayo biográfico* (Madrid: Imprenta de José Perales y Martínez, 1902); Norton, *DC*, nos. 901, 908; Griffin, Appendix I, nos. 170, 177.

<sup>96</sup> Griffin, 17.

<sup>97</sup> Griffin, Appendix II, Types 7, 9, 15, and 16; BMC vi, 860–1.

<sup>98</sup> Norton, *Printing*, 118. Both Hazañas y la Rúa, *La imprenta*, i. 26–8, and Nicolás Tenorio, 'Algunas noticias de Meinardo Ungut y Lanzalao Polono', *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos*, v (1901), 633–8 (634–7), transcribe this agreement, which is reproduced in photograph, together with the 1491 petition, by Collantes y Terán, 'Un taller alemán', 149–50. The originals are in Archivo Municipal de Sevilla, Tumbo de los Reyes Católicos, iii. fo. 396<sup>v</sup>, and Actas Capitulares 1491, unfoliated.

<sup>99</sup> It was not until the *Pragmática*, issued in July 1502 at Toledo, that the need for a licence to

first edition, now lost, of the early-sixteenth-century Garcí Ordóñez de Montalvo arrangement of the *Amadís de Gaula*, one of the most popular vernacular works of entertainment in sixteenth-century Spain.<sup>100</sup> They printed constantly until 1499, producing more than 60 editions, although Ungut himself also worked, with Johannes Pegnitzer (or Pegnicer) of Nuremberg (one of the surviving ‘Compañeros alemanes’ who printed at Seville from 1490 to 1502 in various combinations),<sup>101</sup> on an edition at Granada of a Castilian translation of Francisco Ximénez (Eiximenis), *Vita Christi* (30 April 1496: Haebler 711, IB 54220) that was, perhaps, the result of a decision to respond to an invitation to printers from the Hieronymite Archbishop of the recently reconquered city of Granada, Fernando (Hernán) de Talavera (1428–1507), by sending there one representative of each of the two major Seville printing-houses.<sup>102</sup> After Ungut’s death, probably in late October or early November 1499 – his last joint colophon with Polonus is of 24 October (Boethius, *Vergel de consolación*: Haebler 60, GKW 4585) – his partner, a Pole who called himself indifferently ‘Stanislao’, ‘Lanzalao’, and ‘Ladislao’, printed alone at Seville (12 November 1499–2 October 1502) and, in 1503, under the joint names of himself and Jacobo Cromberger, the greatest of all the Seville printers, who appears to have taken over the press by 26 January 1504.<sup>103</sup> Polonus printed a number of works at Alcalá de Henares between 22 November 1502 and 2 March 1504 before returning to live out his retirement in Seville.<sup>104</sup> He does not seem to have printed again after March 1504, though he was still alive ten years later.

#### 10. MEXIA, Ferrant. *Nobiliario*. Seville. Petrus Brun & Juan Gentil. 30 June 1492.

Sosa 586.

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print books was introduced. That same decree also provided for the examination by royal appointees of all imported books: José Simón Díaz, *El libro español antiguo: análisis de su estructura* (Kassel: Reichenberger, 1983), 5–7; Norton, *Printing*, 119.

<sup>100</sup> Most printing-houses produced editions of it, the Crombergers, for a time in partnership with Polonus after Ungut’s death, producing at least seven editions of Books i–iv alone between 1526 and 1552 (see Griffin, Appendix I, nos. 260, 321, 342, 382, 426, 514, 552). Others are recorded in Norton, *DC*, nos. 486, 625, 962, 1008.

<sup>101</sup> Paulus de Colonia, Pegnitzer, Magnus Herbst of Fils, and Thomas Glockner.

<sup>102</sup> Collantes y Terán, ‘Un taller alemán’, 155–6 and 164, suggests that Ungut and Pegnitzer may also have printed the unsigned Fernando de Talavara, *Breve y muy provechosa doctrina cristiana* (?1496), which would appear to be in the same type (Geldner, *Die deutscher Inkunabelndrucker*, ii. 303–4 + plate 125; Sheppard and Painter, ‘Introduction to the Presses’, lxxii); Griffin, 18, talks of their printing ‘several books’ on the first Granadine press. Talavera may have been instrumental in the royal invitations to the Compañeros, then probably in Venice, and to Ungut and Polonus, then in Naples (see Romeo de Lecea, ‘Hernando de Talavera y el tránsito en España “del manuscrito al impreso”’, *Studia Hieronymiana: vi centenario de la Orden de San Jerónimo*, ed. Benito Colombás & others, 2 vol. (Madrid, 1973), i. 315–77 (356)).

<sup>103</sup> Hazañas y la Rúa, *La imprenta*, i. 32; Norton, *DC*, nos. 742–6; Griffin, 34–5.

<sup>104</sup> Norton, *DC*, nos. 1–8.

(i) Madrid BN, RA de la Historia, RA Española, BPal, U Complutense Facultad de Filosofía y Letras (two copies), B de San Isidro, B de la Casa Ducal de Alba, and B del Museo Lázaro Galdiano; Barcelona BU; Cuenca BD; Escorial; Pamplona BP; Salamanca BU (two copies; one imperfect); Seville BU; La Laguna (Tenerife) BU and BPub; Toledo BP; Valencia BU; Zaragoza BU; (ii) Vienna Österreichische NB; Copenhagen RL; Paris BN and B Sainte-Geneviève; West Berlin StaatsB; Dresden Sächsische LandesB (?lost); Göttingen Niedersächsische StaatsB und UB; Leipzig StadtB; The Hague Meerman-Westreenien; Florence B Riccardiana; Monreale (Palermo) B De Torres del Seminario Arcivescovile; Rome B Casanatense, BNC Vittorio Emmanuele II, and BU Alessandrina; BAV Barberini Collection; Lisbon BN; (iii) BL (imperfect); Cambridge Fitzwilliam Museum; Edinburgh Advocates L; Oxford Bodleian; (iv) Washington (D.C.) L of Congress (Rare Books Division and Lessing J. Rosenwald Collection); New York City Pierpont Morgan L, \*John K. Fleming, \*H.P. Kraus, and \*Joseph Martini; HSA (six copies; one imperfect); HEHL; Bloomington (Indiana) Indiana U Lilly L; Baltimore (Maryland) Walters Art Gallery (imperfect); Boston (Mass.) Pub L; Bryn Mawr (Pa) Marjorie Goodhart Medieval L; San Juan de Puerto Rico \*La Casa del Libro; Dallas (Texas) Southern Methodist U Bridwell L; (v) Victoria (Melbourne) State L; Rio de Janeiro BN (ex BR); Numerous copies in private hands.

2º: a<sup>6</sup> b–h<sup>8</sup> i<sup>10</sup> k–m<sup>8</sup> [\$<sub>4</sub> signed (+ i<sub>5</sub>; -a<sub>1</sub>, a<sub>4</sub>)]; 96 leaves, unnumbered. Running titles throughout (-a<sub>1</sub><sup>a–b</sup>, m<sub>8</sub><sup>b</sup>). 225 × 145 mm.; two columns; gothic 90 (text),<sup>105</sup> gothic 118 (running titles and chapter headings); red used on a<sub>5</sub><sup>a</sup> and b<sub>1</sub><sup>a</sup> (Figs. 32 and 33); 47–50 lines; woodcut capitals throughout. Woodcut designs of shields and coats of arms on m<sub>5</sub><sup>b</sup>–m<sub>7</sub><sup>b</sup> (see Fig. 30).<sup>106</sup>

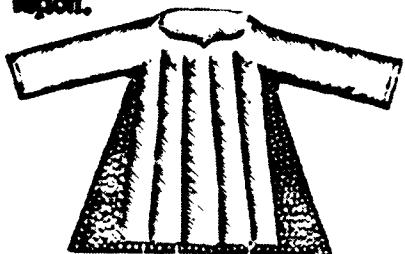
Contents: a<sub>1</sub><sup>a</sup> title (Fig. 31) ‘**C** Libro jntitulado nobiliario perfeta mente copylado **¶** ordenado por el on | rrado cauallero Ferantd Mexia veyn= | te quatro de Jahan **¶**c.’; a<sub>1</sub><sup>b</sup> blank; a<sub>2</sub><sup>a</sup>–a<sub>4</sub><sup>b</sup> Table of contents ‘**C** Comieneça la tabla ð | los capitulos ðla pme | ra parte del libro.’; a<sub>5</sub><sup>a</sup>–a<sub>6</sub><sup>b</sup> Prologue, in black and red (Fig. 32), ‘[left column] **C** Aqui comienza el prolo | go del libro dela nobleza. | **J**ntitulado **¶** llamado no= | biliario vero fecho **¶** orde= | nado **¶** copilado por el on= | rrado cauallero ferratd me= | xia veynite quattro de Jahē | enðreçado al muy alto muy | esclareçido **¶** muy noble el | rrey don Ferrando de ca= | stilla de Aragon **¶** ð çecilia | nuesstro señor fijo del muy al | to **¶** muy esclareçido dō Jo | han Rrey ð Aragō **¶** nje= | to del muy noble **¶** glorio so | señor el señor rrey dō Ferr= | nando Rrey de Aragon. | [space of two lines] | **C** Prologo. | [space of one line] | (E)Sclareçido prinçi= | pe**¶** alto rrey . . .’; b<sub>1</sub><sup>a</sup>–m<sub>8</sub><sup>a</sup> text, in black

<sup>105</sup> BMC x, plate XII<sup>s</sup>.

<sup>106</sup> Some of these are reproduced by Portillo Muñoz, *La ilustración gráfica*, figs. 46–7.

Lib. vij

**C**Es otra manera de cota darmas que se dice timida. La qual tiene tal fagon.



**C**Es otra manera de cota darmas La qual se dice plaque cuya fagon es la siguiente.



**C**Estas diez señas segund francia alemania ynglaterra borgoña bretonia y vngaria.

**S**o saber segund lo pusieron los sables q co- pusiero las prendas q so cinco maneras o señas do segund dize la pme- ta es la q traé los empadores y rey es. E a cerca los sables asi nera de ynsig la q es llama Esta ha de ser y sin barpas. algunos di estandarte. no le deue fallo rey o emperadorz tal figura. Es otra ma- nra q le dize cabdal esta y co barpas dta no de no aquil q suete señoz de no q sea sus vasallos o blazones totales q co

**W**o q dizen es una mania o señia da vadera quadrada se q se dize traer otto esta es de nera de se- es qbrada ue usar: sal gient caua bende arrimo esta pu

Cap. xxix

de traer villa o gisbad. Esto porq se entiende q el rey es cabdullo: y la señia es suya. Esta misma señia puede traer q el quer dlos condes o ordenes o santiago o calatrava y al cantara su figura es esta siguiente. Es otra mane- ra o señia q se llama pen- do potentador el q es an- tra el asta y agudo contra esta señia llevan los ma- di rey. quando va aposen tales asimismo tal señia pu- er las ordenes y los maes cauilleria asimismo los q gien cauilleros. y dende a la quineta: es la forma si. Es otra manera de p- denaron los anti- guos q troxesen los q rouseesen q gien ca- uilleros ayuso fas- ta diez. la q es qua- ga que ancha el ter- so sin barpas ala q q su figura es la sig-

mane es lué dobra traer

yores de tra- misma pue- diez caua- ta cinco po- fia qla de

reys es de- puedre tra- señias das

la sobre di- cha se- fia dela siguiente fi- gura. entiende se de

giales as qlos ada- señias celas villas

los fueren coel es o- da señia al adalid.

caden no puelde lle- le dieren quanto

caden. Dros el al- puede traer señia

los dichos offi- lides traerá las qndo los conce- saber q el rey Dros el almo- uar señia sola q le fisiere almo- mogauar non ninguna. La fi- gura dela dica señia es esta forma.

FIG. 30. JRULM 18393, sig. m<sub>7</sub><sup>b</sup>.

¶ Libro jn titulado nobiliario perfeta  
mente copylado & ordenado por el on  
rrado canallero feranto Mexia veyn  
te quattro de Zaben &c.

FIG. 31. JRULM 18393, sig. a<sub>1</sub><sup>a</sup>.

## Prologo

Aquí comienza el prologo del libro dela nobleza. Intitulado e llamado nobiliario vero fecho e ordenado e copilado por el onrado canallero ferratido merciaey veiente quattro de Yahé endereçado al muy alto muy esclarecido e muy noble el rey don fernando de castilla de Aragon e de cecilia nuestro señor hija del muy alto e muy esclarecido do Jo han Rey d Aragó e nieto del muy noble e glorioso señor el señor rey do fernando Rey de Aragon.

## Prologo.



Esclarecido príncipe e alto rey. Si la alta nobleza es producida de dos tan gloriosas fuentes. La una santa divina e bienaventurada de infinita profundidad de grand mar. La qual es dios glorio so el qual es principio e causa de todas las cosas el qual las creó todas buenas e nobles. La otra fuente es la silla real temporal de donde fue nascida, pousida e engendrada esta alta nobleza de quien entendemos tratar. Pues si nascida e probunda es dios estrados reales. Alquie pertenece mas saber el fundamento e generacion dela nobleza que al príncipe. Otros sus efectos, sus con-

## Prologo

diciones, sus propiedades, sus calidades, sus gloriosos fines con sus oficios e dignidades. e si a príncipe alguno, a muy alto; e si a muy alto a muy virtuoso. e si a muy virtuoso a muy noble. E si a muy noble a muy justo e onesto e si onesto e justo a aquell el q̄les muy amador e celoso dela cosa publica e amador de la divinal justicia. Pues si al tal príncipe pertenece, aquien pertenece. Todas que aura serenidad gloriosa; y bienaventurada. Por buena fe se ninguno segundo se presume. Pues a vos enl mudo entre todos los altos e poderosos ondres esto conviene mas saber. Esta muy pequeuela y rustica obra, a vos deue ser presentada e ostegida. La quien puede o deue mejor saber o rmuexgar las costumbres del hijo que el padre e quien puede o deue con mas amor e afesion amar la salud e vida del hijo que su madre. H̄n pertenece al hijo recordar en sus aduervidades o yn fortunios a otro ante que al padre. Pues vos como padre dela dicha nobleza ynquietidor o ynvestigador de las sus altas costumbres fallareys en la presente escritura todas sus costumbres. e falladas la gloriosa corona real de vuestra magestad amallas ba como madre e amando las amara la nobleza e defendella ba. e si la onorable nobleza en sus presentes aduervidades e contrarietas recordarse a vuestra alta magestad como hijo reclamando subedio e abrazo quieto e tranquilo. creyendo que vuestra benigna e poderosa mano mejor lo puede fazer q nunguno de los otros príncipes soberanos del mundo. Como aquell en quien son ayuntados virtus felicis e fuerço e poder. E poi que toda doctrina segundo bueno e onesto benir segundo virtuosa vida politica, es al-

FIG. 32. JRULM 18393, sig. a5<sup>a</sup>.

## Lib.

## I

## Prologo

**C**AQUI COMIÉCA LA YNTRO/ DICIÓ DEL DICHO LIBRO YNTITULADO / Y LLAMADO NOBILIARIO / VERO FECHO ORDENADO Y COPI/ LLADO POR EL ONTRADO CAUALLIE/ RO FERNANDO MEXIA DE JAHÉ / XXIIJ. DELA DICHA CIBDAD DE / JAHÉ EN DEREÇADO AL MUY / ALTO ECLARECIDO MUY PODE/ ROFO Y MUY NOBLE EL KREY/ DON FERNÁDO NUESTRO SEÑOR / MARIDO DELA MUY ALTA MUY / ECLARECIDA E MUY NOBLE / KREYNA DOÑA Y SABEL HÍJA DEL / MUY ALTO Y MUY ECLARECI/ DO SEÑOR EL KREY DON JUAN / SEGUNDO.



Egund es escrito en el pímero libro dela ley de los puros alabados en el paraiso terrenal el qual era lugar diputado en que auya de morar adam y sus generaciones. La el lugar dla tierra q es este mundo en el qual vivimos: fecho lo auya dios no para el onbre mas pa las bestias E como el pímero padre pecó el peccado era vil y no nada: d'cuya astreperas perleñesq'la usar alas bestias y no al onbre. como el onbre vio de la coidicion y desobediencia das bestias. couino q le fuese dado el lugar das bestias. E asi pliego a dios que fuemos desterrados de aquil lugar santo y limpio en el qual aulamos de

buit P'ero dios misericordioso luego ordeno por su infinita bondad: como si lo supiésemos merecer con nro trabajo con nra humillad y obediencia y complimiento de sus mandamientos ganásemos lugar mas noble y mas santo: q mas se mejase a su nobleza y eternidad. Donde es agora de notar q dios bendito y eterno es suyo criado en tanta perfección y exquicia qnta dios pudo crear segun lo q pudo soñir la materia q se formó. el q'l por el pecado fue tomado de exquiente y resplandeciente circulo y de fermoso seo y de pecto ypersesto y ligero pesado. segundo asimismo nos santos doctores. Lietto es que si no pecara permaneciera en su perfección y fuera ymortal y toda la vida fuera alegre P'ero como pecó toda la vida y la de aquilos q el desendeció fue de trabajo de dolor y de mucha miseria. no obstante esto criadas todas las cosas deye muy bien q dios vivo todas las cosas despues de feas. y dijo q todas eran mas que buenas: ca como dios sea bueno no creó ni pudo crear cosa mala E si algua parece nocilla y mala: no en respecto dela creacion ni de dios. Mas en respecto dela desobediencia del peccado cometido. que quado dios las crió para servitud del onbre las crió: y pa su mejoramiento y ayuda. pero como el onbre desconocio a dios y desobedecio a las bestias y animales desconocieron y desobedecieron al onbre. y como le auya de ferir y apriouetchar asy le espantaron enojaron nuzen y dañan: E si algunos nos nos obedecé siruá y ayudá: es por el arte conla q al las tratamos pero no por su voluntad sola qual en sonces nos obedecieren. de do se comprende q visitas por dios y confirmadas por buenas: asy lo eran: y asy se deve creer ca dios no olvida métria pues el es verdad. P'ero dejo al b

FIG. 33. JRULM 18393, sig. b<sub>1</sub><sup>a</sup>.

Lib. iii

otros vincualllo. otros manojo de miec. o de seno. ala qual ymfia lla-  
meron manipulos y al que la tray a  
manipularius: a cerca d' aquella val-  
turi. i.e. aglam ei jn auspiciu a vno  
la se quā victor bono omne acceptā  
tuncle subtilgallerit: factoverto histo-  
ria entea etiā cōfēdēs illi aquellā in  
capite atq; omniregnū p̄tēdise te-  
statur aquellā autoze. Diodero a cerca  
de los lobos el dicho autor. Lupi  
estigie inter signa militaria exstutis:  
put q̄ eiusmodi animalis lacte mar-  
ti. id est pueri nutriti sunt. a cerca de  
los pueros ap̄que confecto bello  
inter quos par fieret cesan porca se-  
bus solerent firmare t̄c. A cerca del  
dragon. draco etiā aliquādo signum  
fuit ex quo fitone serpente apollo sa-  
gittis interemis t̄c. A cerca del capa-  
lio: de equoru quoq; signo nichil pre-  
dictū: nichil exploratiū satis babco ni-  
si q̄ per huius animangis fortas spe-  
ciem cū bellis interfit plurimūq; va-  
leat t̄c. A cerca del minotauro. mi-  
notauro natura duplīc vi qui vñq;  
ad humeros tauras p̄terra bomo sit  
p̄treda q̄ nō minus varia t̄ oculta  
est debet cōfiliada cū qua fui domici-  
clū quando in cius laborimus t̄c.  
A cerca dlos manojos d'miec. porro  
sub rromulo patip adduc romanus  
exercitus hostis seni manipulos illi-  
gabat t̄ bos p̄ signis gerebat. ouidius  
in faustis illa quide sena federat  
reuerencia seno t̄c. Guarinus ma-  
nipulus d's societas ducentorum mi-  
litia quia anteq; signa essent. mani-  
palos id est fasciculos stipule vel ali-  
cuius herbe sibi p̄ signis faciebant.  
vel quia olim bellū mansibus incipie-  
bant t̄c.



L p̄sente libro llama-  
do nobilitario vero. es  
el original. es assi lla-  
mado por dos colas.  
La vna porq; trata de

Cap. xxix

la alta nobleza E porq; en el esfalla-  
da toda la trayz t̄ ciencia dc fidalgia  
t̄ nobleza. t̄ de todas sus mane-  
ras. assi de nobleza teologal como d'  
nobleza moral otra d'a manera de  
nobleza comū. D otros dela nobleza  
politica t̄ de genero. Es dicho no-  
biliario. como libro o escritura don-  
de yacen las trayzes t̄ fundamiento  
dela alta nobleza t̄ fidalgia. Tercio  
que quiere dezir verdadero porque  
las autoridades q̄ en si contiene con-  
las cuales se pillaia la dicha noble-  
za t̄ yntencion. Son verdaderas t̄  
ciertas. las quales yo por mi mano  
saque de los volumenes t̄ libros de  
los autores alegados. E busq; por  
diversos tratados t̄ cōpedios co alas  
dificultad t̄ trabajo. E mençose en  
año de mil y quattrocientos y sete-  
ta t̄ siete años. En fin el mes de a-  
bril. Acabose de escreuir t̄ de corre-  
gir a. xv. dias del mes de mayo año  
de señor de mil y quattrocientos y  
ochenta t̄ cinco años t̄c.

A dios gracias.

Acabose la presente obra sabado  
xxxi. de junio. año dela incarnation:  
de mil y. ccx. xci. años. En la muy  
noble y leal ciudad d' sevilla impres-  
sa por llos ontrados varones mac-  
tos. Pedro brun. Hué gentil. fiel  
t̄ verdaderamente corregida t̄c.

FIG. 34. JRULM 18393, sig. m<sup>a</sup>.

and red (Fig. 33), '[left column] ¶ Aqui comieça la yntro= | duçio d<sup>l</sup>  
dicho libro yntitu= | lado ¶ llamado nobiliario | vero . . .'; m<sub>8</sub><sup>a</sup> explicit  
and colophon (Fig. 34): explicit '(E)L p<sup>s</sup>ente libro llama= | do  
nobiliario vero. es | el oreginal. es así lla= | mado por dos coſas. | La vna  
porq<sup>t</sup> trata de | [right hand column] la alta nobleza E porq<sup>t</sup> enel es falla  
da toda la rrays ¶ eſençia de fidal= | gia ¶ nobleza. ¶ de todas ſns [sic]  
mane | ras. así de nobleza teologal como ð | nobleza moral otros i ðla  
manera de | nobleza comū. Otros i dela nobleza | politica ¶ de genero.  
Es dicho no= | biliario. como libro o eſcritura don= | de yazen las  
rrayzes ¶ fundamiēto | dela alta nobleza ¶ fidalgja. Uero | que  
quiere dezir verdadero porque | las autoridades q̄ en ſi cōtiene con= |  
las quales ſe prueua la dicha noble | za ¶ yntençion. Son verdaderas ¶  
ciertas. las quales yo por mi mano | ſaque delos volumenes ¶ libros  
de | los autores alegados. E buſq<sup>t</sup> por | diuerſos tratados ¶ cōpēdios  
cō aſaz | dificultad ¶ trabajo. Començoſe eñl | año de mill ¶ quattrocientos  
¶ ſetē= | ta ¶ ſiete años. En fin d<sup>l</sup> mes de a= | bril. Acabose  
de eſcreuir ¶ de corre | gir a .xv. dias del mes de mayo año | del ſeñor de  
mill ¶ quattrocientos ¶ ochenta ¶ cinco años ¶ c: | [space of one line] |  
A dios graçias.'; colophon '¶ Acabose la preſente obra ſabado | xxx. de  
junio. año dela jncarnacion: | de mill y .cccc.xcij. años. Enla muy |  
noble y lleal çibdad ð ſeuilla jnpref= | ſa por llos onrrados varones  
maes | tros. Pedro brun. Juā gentil. fiel | ¶ verdaderamente corregida  
¶ c:.'; m<sub>8</sub><sup>b</sup> blank.

JRULM 18393 (formerly Inc. 16 G 3). From Spencer; cropped.<sup>107</sup>

The author, a *veinticuatro* of Jaén, claims in his prologue that this work was written between 1477 and 1485; it was probably complete, except for minor revisions, by 1479. It consists of a point-by-point rebuttal of the ideas on true nobility canvassed in a number of treatises, and especially in his best-known work, the *De insigniis et armis*, by the jurist Bartolo da Sassoferato (?1314–?57), whose ideas were widely diffused in Spain.<sup>108</sup> There is a fifteenth-century manuscript of the *Nobiliario*, possibly holograph, in the Dominican convent of Valencia.<sup>109</sup>

The *Nobiliario* is the only known work from Brun's first Seville press (with Juan Gentil), the '1485' edition recorded by Hain and Copinger (11132) probably resulting from a misreading of the explicit and colophon (sig. m<sub>8</sub><sup>a</sup>), where the date of writing or revising (April 1477–15 May 1485) is given.<sup>110</sup> This 1492 edition of Mexía was thought by Haebler (who did not know of the Rylands copy), the

<sup>107</sup> Dibdin, vii. 164, n°. 260.

<sup>108</sup> *Codices operum Bartoli a Saxoferrato recensiti*, 2 vol. (to date), Università di Roma, Istituto per la Storia dei Postglossatori e Commentatori 1–2 (Florence: Olschki, 1971–), ii [1973]: *Iter hispanicum*, ed. Antonio García y García.

<sup>109</sup> Fuster, *Bibliotheca valenciana*, i. 21.

<sup>110</sup> BOOST<sub>3</sub>, n°. 3238.

commonest of all Spanish incunables. It is set up in types that show, as is typical of Seville incunable printing, the influence of Venice and Valencia.

Brun, a native of Geneva, had learned his trade at Tortosa as an apprentice of Mateo Flander,<sup>111</sup> going on to print there briefly in June 1477 (Haebler 543), and then at Barcelona, first (1478–81) with ‘Girart alemano’ (=?= Gerardus Preus) and Nicolaus Spindeler of Zwickau (see above, n°. 3), and then (1481) with the ex-priest and printer-bookseller Pere Posa (d. 1506), the most prolific of the printers of Barcelona in the fifteenth century and one famous, above all, for his editions of the works of Ramon Llull.<sup>112</sup> It is possible that Brun may be the ‘maestre Pedro’ mentioned, apparently as a type-cutter resident in Seville, in the colophon of 1486 Cavalca, *Espejo de la cruz* (n°. 8, above).<sup>113</sup> He was certainly in the city from 1492 until 1506, and perhaps as late as 1508, his work there being distinctly poor when compared with that he had produced earlier in Catalonia.<sup>114</sup>

Juan Gentil may have been of Italian origin: the Genoa *Signoria* recorded over 100 Genoese merchants resident in Seville in 1474, and by the 1490s there was a large Italian community in the city, many of them Genoese.<sup>115</sup>

<sup>111</sup> Odriozola, ‘La imprenta’, 114, 127–9.

<sup>112</sup> Painter, ‘Introduction to the Presses’, xl; R. Carreres Valls, *El llibre a Catalunya, 1338–1590* (Barcelona: Imprenta Altés, 1936), 24–30, 117–33. The Posa editions of Llull were executed, according to Rubió, ‘con tal dedicación y empeño, incluso en el aspecto técnico y puramente tipográfico, que no es aventurado ver en ello el estímulo de un adicto a las doctrinas lulianas, relacionado con la Escuela de Barcelona’ (Madurell & Rubió, 80\*, 67, 203, 422–6).

<sup>113</sup> But note the colophon of the commentary on the Pentateuch by Rabbi Solomon ben Isaac (1041–1105), normally known as Rashi, which was printed at Guadalajara, with assistance from the Hebrew scholar Abraham ben Isaac ben Garton, by Solomon ben Moise Levi ibn Alkabi(t)z, 1 September 1476, and in which Alkabitz identifies the ‘maestre Pedro’ who had designed and cut his Spanish Rabbinic types with a local artist, one Pedro de Guadalajara (I. Sonne, ‘Un incunabolo ebraico spagnuolo del 1496 nella Biblioteca Capitolare di Verona’, *Bibliofilia*, xxxix (1937), 195–204 (199), and Sonne, ‘The Beginnings of Hebrew Printing in Spain’ [article in Hebrew], *Kirjath Sepher*, xiv (1937–8), 368–78 (374)).

<sup>114</sup> Haebler, *Geschichte*, 138–40, argued – ‘with a sound instinct but no real evidence’ (Norton, *DC*, 495; see also 282) – that the material used in the 1495 Lisbon *Vita Christi* (see above, p. 36) may have been cut to the design of Brun, a suggestion followed by Anselmo, *Origens*, 150–2, 200, 352.

<sup>115</sup> Alberto Boscolo, ‘Gli insediamenti genovesi nel Sud della Spagna all’epoca di Cristoforo Colombo’, *Atti del ii Convegno Internazionale di Studi Colombiani* (Genoa, 1977), 337, reprinted in his *Saggi sull’età colombiana* (with Francesco Giunta) (Milan: Cisalpino “La Goliardica”, 1982), 11–32 (26–8), mentions members of the Gentil family, and Hazañas comments (*La imprenta*, i. 42) that the name Gentil is frequently met in Seville records ‘entre comerciantes y eclesiásticos’. Ruth Pike, *Enterprise and Adventure: The Genoese in Seville and the Opening of the New World* (Ithaca & London: Cornell University Press, 1966), 2, lists the Gentil(e) as one of the twenty-eight noble Genoese houses in Seville during the sixteenth century recognized as such by law in 1528, while Jacques Heers, *Gênes au xv<sup>e</sup> siècle: activité économique et problèmes sociaux*, Ecole Pratique des Hautes Études – VI<sup>e</sup> Section: Centre de Recherches Historiques – Affaires et Gens d’Affaires 24 (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N., 1961), also notes (250, 470, 565–6) several members of the Gentile family active in international trade. None mentions Gentile involvement in printing, though Griffin (27–8 and 31 n.) refers to purchases of paper from members of that family, paper being a Genoese monopoly in Andalusia (Enrique Otte, ‘El comercio exterior andaluz a fines de la edad media’, *Actas del ii Coloquio de Historia Medieval Andaluza: Hacienda y Comercio, Sevilla, 8–10 de abril, 1981*, ed. Antonio Collantes de Terán & Manuel González Jiménez (Seville: Excma Diputación Provincial de Sevilla, 1982), 193–240 (232)).

11. BONETUS, Nicolaus. *Metaphysica*. Barcelona. Pere Miquel. 24 November 1493.

Sosa 163 ('14 November 1493').

(i) Barcelona BU (imperfect) and B de Catalunya; Palma de Mallorca BProv; (ii) Vienna Osterreichische NB; Munich RL; Assisi BCom; Brescia B Civica Queriniana; Rome Coll Romano, and BNC Vittorio Emmanuele II; BAV; Artena (Rome) B del Convento Francescano di S. Maria del Gesù; Naples BNC; Palermo BN and BCom; Prato (Florence) BCom Roncionana; Leningrad State M.E. Saltykov=Shchedrin PubL; (iii) BL; (iv) Boston (Mass.) Boston Medical L (now incorporated into the A. Countway L of Medicine).

2º: a-q<sup>8</sup> r<sup>4</sup> [\$<sub>4</sub> signed (- a<sub>1</sub>, r<sub>3-4</sub>; o<sub>2</sub> signed 'o<sub>3</sub>', o<sub>4</sub> 'o<sub>3</sub>', p<sub>4</sub> 'p<sub>5</sub>')]; 132 leaves, unnumbered. No running titles. 152 x 97 mm. (a<sub>3</sub><sup>b</sup>); two columns; gothic 82; 36-8 lines; spaces for capitals throughout, with one woodcut capital on a<sub>2</sub><sup>a</sup>.<sup>116</sup>

Contents: a<sub>1</sub> blank, a<sub>2</sub><sup>a</sup>-r<sub>2</sub><sup>b</sup> text (Fig. 35) [left column] 'Acutissimi materiarum me | thaphicaliū [sic] resolutoris domi= | ni boneti ceteris methaphysice | voluminibus opus preclarissi= | mum feliciter incipit. | [space of one line] | (O)mnes hōies imo oēs . . .'; r<sub>2</sub><sup>b</sup> colophon (Fig. 36) [right column] 'Explicit | methaphysica veña= | bil' dotoris ¶ | sacre theologie p̄fes | soris fratris nicholay boneti or= | dinis minorū im̄p̄sa barxinone | p̄ petrum miquaelem vicefima | quarta mēsis nouembbris anno | millesimo. cccclxxxiiij.'; r<sub>3-4</sub> blank.

JRULM 18276 (formerly Inc. 16 H 2), wanting r<sub>4</sub>. From Spencer; notes in Latin in hand on a<sub>2</sub><sup>a</sup>-a<sub>4</sub><sup>a</sup>; slight worming; staining on final four quires.<sup>117</sup>

Nicolas Bonet (O.F.M) (?Tours, c.1280 – ?1342–3), sometimes known as the Doctor pacificus (or proficuus), was believed by some to have been a pupil of Duns Scotus at Paris where he then himself taught for many years, becoming chaplain-royal c.1333. He was appointed legate of Benedict XII Fournier to the Kubilai Khan in 1338 (though he may not have actually taken part in the expedition), and Bishop of Malta in November 1342.<sup>118</sup> This is probably the first edition of his commentary on Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, the untraced 'Barcelona 1473' mentioned by Hain & Copinger (1204) and often treated as the first book printed in Spain almost certainly being a ghost resulting from confusion with it. It is known, however, that this work, influenced by the writings of Averroes (as was Bonet's commentary on

<sup>116</sup> BMC x, plate III<sup>s</sup>.

<sup>117</sup> Dibdin, vii. 24, n°. 36 (bought from the Cassano Library).

<sup>118</sup> Martin de Barcelone, 'Nicolas Bonet (†1343) Tourangeau, Doctor Proficuus O.M.', *Études Franciscaines*, xxxvii (1925), 638–57.

Multipliciter in multis modis me  
duplicabilis resolutio domi.  
ni horum exercitum multitudine  
voluntibus opus pacandi.  
mum selectum incipit.

**S**ed quoniam biles uno oī  
nature inveniuntur  
ales naturales sive  
multitudine hoc secundo a pri-  
mis scibiliis secundū naturā est  
incipienti. Quod manifestū ē autē  
quād nō cognoscere conatur  
aliquid posset sive. Nam  
autē doctrina oīcēs disciplina sci-  
entia hēc pōtētū pūtū in-  
selecta t pūtū scibili vel ali-  
quid quod includit illa. Primo  
autē intellecta sive principia metu-  
fica communissima oībū aut plu-  
ribū. Nominis quoqz cōclusio  
distincta dependet ex nominis di-  
stinctis principiis t nominis disti-  
cta principiis; et nominis distincta  
terminos resolubiliti: t nominis  
distincta terminos resolubiliti:  
ex nominis distinctis terminos ir-  
resolubilitum quoqz perueni-  
atur in terminum irresolubile  
simpliciter. Manifestū ē ergo  
qz oīcēs doctrina: t omnis disciplina  
scientifica termini t subiecti re-  
solubilis sit t deponit a pōtū no-  
minis termini simpliciter simpli-  
cis. Pōtē ergo qz a prioubiſe,

cōfū nominis oī bōl desideranti  
sive naturaliter est inceptū  
ergo a termino oīo irresolubili  
t pōtē sequitur oīo a termino cō-  
muniſimo inceptū. Comuniſima  
nominis oīo sive simplicia t possit  
oīo cauerit principia. Nominis  
autē primi termini irresolubili  
simplicia t metra. appellantur  
a metra. qz ē trātypos qz scis  
qz ē oīo de prima quiditatē ita  
sciendo. Deinceps pūtū genera  
quoqz nō dic appellatur. Pa-  
lam autē qz oīo terciū t cōsolubili  
nōvel ē multiplex analogus vel  
multiplex equiuocus vel nullo  
modo multiplex sive uniuocus

De termino autē multiplici  
ci equiuoco nec doctrina nec cō  
disciplina bētur quia sic ut calo  
mi nō nominis correspondet vnu  
significatum: nec subiectum sive  
plura sic nec vna passio nec vnu  
medium ad eum demōstrandi  
sed plura. ergo propter casū  
vniuersitatis metri cōcludentis pa-  
sionem de subiecto de eo nō est  
scientia possibilis. vna cōmūnē sci-  
entia vnuum tantum habet medium  
t non plura quia demōstratio  
nes augentur sed nō qz media.  
Cōclusio autē demōstracionis ē  
nominis scientifica vnuā autē me-  
diū inscribi vnuum terminū; t  
subiectum cum sit eius distinctio  
nē; t vna distinctio inscribi vnuū  
g. li.

*Multipliciter in multis modis me  
duplicabilis resolutio domi.  
ni horum exercitum multitudine  
voluntibus opus pacandi.  
mum selectum incipit.*

*Cōde termino nō dic  
nō correspōdet vnu  
significatum: nec subiectum sive  
plura sic nec vna passio nec vnu  
medium ad eum demōstrandi  
sed plura. ergo propter casū  
vniuersitatis metri cōcludentis pa-  
sionem de subiecto de eo nō est  
scientia possibilis. vna cōmūnē sci-  
entia vnuum tantum habet medium  
t non plura quia demōstratio  
nes augentur sed nō qz media.  
Cōclusio autē demōstracionis ē  
nominis scientifica vnuā autē me-  
diū inscribi vnuum terminū; t  
subiectum cum sit eius distinctio  
nē; t vna distinctio inscribi vnuū  
g. li.*

FIG. 35. JRULM 18276, sig. a<sub>2</sub><sup>a</sup>.

inabile et prefecibile plures? offere  
et ceterabile et prefecibile. Non  
tibi quod non apparet alijs actus:  
qui sunt prefecibilis p[er]fectio? offere  
tua hoc accedit perfectibili et con-  
venit illi: ut prefecibile et contra.  
Alleluia sic ite acciderit quod possit  
accidere prefaci p[er]fectio? fons et  
quod non possit prefaci p[er]fectio: ita quod  
possibile sit ipsa prefaci p[er]fectio nec  
fons nec successus sic forte est de  
possibili i[n] intellectu nostro et e[st]  
nisi de possibili i[n] intelligentia  
sic acciderit quidam ut quidam  
est quod sufficiente et dividatur p[er]  
tribus virtutibus. Cum enim quodam  
prefecibile: quod nota sunt tria vni-  
co actu perfici: alia autem sunt quae na-  
ta sunt perfici pluribus actionibus

Dicitur ergo i[n] hoc ultimo li-  
bro de divisione entis in p[er]petuum  
ens et quomodo ens descendit in  
sua inferiora et hoc facimus: ut  
possimus invenire subiecta im-  
materialia se habentia ad subiectum  
metab[asis]: quoniam scilicet ordinem  
subiectorum est ordo scientiarum: et  
istius est invenimus subiecto post sub-  
iectus, huius metab[asis]. cum scientia  
immaterialis post metab[asis]. ordinata

Nec debes prefigurari cuius di-  
eo ens dividitur in inferiora quod  
quidam enim sit dum si in in-  
terioribus p[er]mo est o[ste]ndit individualis i[n]  
illis. id ut esse imp[re]dictum quod  
superiora dividuntur i[n] suis inferiori-

b[us]: sicut magis p[er] dicentes q[ue]d  
superiora contabuntur et prefaci p[er]  
officiis opposita sunt dispensata et op-  
posito: secundum: Imponit ergo  
fundit dictum i[n] ista metab[asis]. q[ui] ip[s]i li-  
bus p[er]misib[us] est concita in quo  
p[er]mo determinatur et stabilit hab-  
lectus: quod est ens in operi ens. In  
secundo de babini metab[asis]. dicit  
minus et universitate de omni  
babini et proprietatibus eius: in  
terius de distinctionib[us] ex interi-  
ore rei et poenitentiaibus et occi-  
ris terminis ad metaphysicam  
principiis. In quarto de p[er]  
mo principio et de extremis et  
necnon de omni opposito gene-  
re vel. In vii de passiob[us] simili-  
cibus. In viii de passiob[us] dif-  
ficiis. In viij de p[ro]prietatibus separati  
et plenaria. In viij de v[er]ibus  
q[ui]daturib[us] scilicet p[er]petuos. No-  
no de p[ro]missione et officio eni[m] nec  
no de ordine et connectione scilicet  
admissio scilicet ordinum subiectorum  
et virtutis sua uniuersetur p[er]me in-  
tellegente et q[ui]daturib[us] luminatio  
in p[ro]cessu subiectorum positis.

Explicit metabaphysica velia,  
bel doctoris et sacre theologie p[ro]fes-  
sori fratis nicholay benet or-  
dinis minorum impius barrington  
p[er] petrum mihi quem vicelima  
quarta mensis novembri anno  
millenario. accepit p[ro]p[ter]i.

FIG. 36. JRULM 18276, sig. r<sub>2</sub><sup>b</sup>.

the *Physics*), circulated in manuscript in Barcelona, as witness the will of the merchant Antoni Coll drawn up in July 1484 which specifies, among the contents of his library, ‘Item un altre libre de quart de full desligat, scrit en paper, apellat Matafizica de Bonet’.<sup>119</sup>

Pere Miquel (Petrus Michael, Miqueló, Michelet), described as a citizen of Barcelona in an archival document of 25 October 1488, worked principally as a bookseller, printing only from c. 1491.<sup>120</sup> On 30 January 1489 he entered into a partnership with Johann (Joan) Gherlinc(h), a German who had arrived in Barcelona in 1486, to print 400 copies of a Vich Diurnal (Haebler 233(3); GKW 8562), and Miquel’s name appears in other contracts of 1489 and 1490 as an associate of Gherlinc, of a local bookseller Ramon de Isach, and of another Barcelona-based merchant, Antoni Robinell (or Rubinell). Gherlinc, whose edition of the *Gramática* of Bartolomé Mates, dated in its colophon ‘1468’, has been another candidate for the earliest book printed in Spain, went on to print at Braga (1492) in Portugal and at Monterrey in Galicia (1496).<sup>121</sup> In May 1491 Miquel and Nicolaus Spindeler (see above, n°. 3) owed a debt to Joan Robinell, brother of Antoni, for purchases of a casting-instrument, punches, and matrices, and Spindeler may well have assisted in setting up Miquel’s independent press.<sup>122</sup> The following month Miquel signed an edition of the *Naturae ordo studentium pauperum* which the author, the Llullist Jaume Janer, had completed only three weeks previously (Haebler 334; Vindel, i. 106, n°. 63), and his press was to remain continuously active until 1495 when, on 20 February, the unsigned *Usatges de Barcelona* (IB 52538) appeared printed with his material.<sup>123</sup> Miquel was still alive in January 1497, but had for some time been too ill to continue working on his own account, and on 18 February 1497 the Frenchman Carmini Ferrer, often described as Miquel’s son-in-law but in fact the man who was soon to marry his widow Elisabet, undertook to finish, with his fellow bookseller Joan Trinxer and a Tortosa merchant Pere Durán, in the office of Diego de Gumiell, printer of the royal decree

<sup>119</sup> GKW 4846; Sheppard & Painter, ‘Introduction to the Presses’, xxxvii; Bohigas, ‘La introducción’, 17; Madurell & Rubió, 44–5, doc. 21, item 23. Martin de Barcelone, ‘Nicolas Bonet’, records 15 extant MSS of the work.

<sup>120</sup> Madurell & Rubió, 115–17, doc. 53. Rubió repeatedly insists on the primacy of Miquel’s activities as *librero* over those as printer (66\*–67\*, 71\*, 116, 198).

<sup>121</sup> Madurell & Rubió, 118–20, 128–30, docs. 55, 60. The Mates was almost certainly published not in 1468 but in 1486: Méndez, *Tipografía española, o historia de la introducción, propagación y progresos del arte de la imprenta en España*, 2nd ed., revised and enlarged by Dionisio Hidalgo (Madrid: Oficina Tipográfica del Hospicio, 1861 [dust cover gives ‘1866’]), 262–6; Millares Carlo, *Introducción*, 107–8; Sheppard & Painter, ‘Introduction to the Presses’, xli–xlii, lxx, lxxii, lxxiv.

<sup>122</sup> Madurell & Rubió, 152–3, doc. 73, correcting a misreading of this document by Sanpere (*De la introducción*, 210), and suggesting that this material may once have been in the office of Gherlinc.

<sup>123</sup> Sheppard & Painter, ‘Introduction to the Presses’, xlvi. He was still buying paper in August 1495 (Madurell & Rubió, 205, note to doc. 107).

discussed below (nº. 16), the unfinished second edition of *Tirant lo Blanch* (16 September 1497) begun by Miquel.<sup>124</sup>

**12.** SALLUSTIUS CRISPUS, Caius. [Obras]. Translated by Vasco Ramírez de Guzmán and revised by Francisco Vidal de Noya. Zaragoza. Paulus Hurus. 1493.

Goff S-86 ('a Catalan translation'); Sosa 742.

(i) Madrid BN; Valencia BU; (iii) BL (bound in with a Latin edition of Sallust IB 24021); (iv) Chicago Newberry L; Chapel Hill UL of North Carolina.

2°: a-b<sup>8</sup> c<sup>6</sup> d<sup>8</sup> e-i<sup>6</sup> [\$<sub>4</sub> signed (+a<sub>5</sub>; -a<sub>1</sub>; g<sub>4</sub> signed 'g<sub>3</sub>'); 60 leaves, unnumbered. No running titles. 192 × 133 mm. (a<sub>2</sub><sup>b</sup>); two columns; gothic 100 (text),<sup>125</sup> gothic 140 (title, first line of left-hand column on a<sub>2</sub><sup>a</sup> and c<sub>5</sub><sup>a</sup>, and capitals throughout); 37–9 lines; spaces for capitals, with guides, on a<sub>2</sub><sup>a</sup>, c<sub>5</sub><sup>a</sup>, and, without guides, on a<sub>3</sub><sup>a</sup>, d<sub>6</sub><sup>b</sup>, f<sub>4</sub><sup>b</sup>. The cut on a<sub>1</sub><sup>b</sup> showing an author presenting his book to a king (Fig. 37) – a very common theme in title-page woodcuts in early printed books – had already been used in an edition of Aristotle's *Ethics* signed by Hurus on 22 September 1492 (IB 52143).<sup>126</sup>

Contents: a<sub>1</sub><sup>a</sup> title 'El Salustio Cathilinario: ¶ Jugurtha en Romanç.'; a<sub>1</sub><sup>b</sup> cut, 190 × 116 mm; a<sub>2</sub><sup>a</sup>–c<sub>4</sub><sup>a</sup> text of *Catilines* (Fig. 38) [left hand column] 'Este libro se llama Sa | lustio cathilinario. el ql fue tradu= | zido de latin en romanç ca stella= | no por maestre Francisco vidal de | Noya / en stilo assaz alto ¶ muy ele | gante / segund se sigue. . . .'; c<sub>4</sub><sup>b</sup> blank; c<sub>5</sub><sup>a</sup>–i<sub>6</sub><sup>a</sup> text of *Jugurthine War* [left hand column] 'Aqui comienza la par= | te del Salustio: que se lama [sic] la hy= | storia del Jugurtha . . .'; i<sub>6</sub><sup>a</sup> colophon (Fig. 39) [right hand column] 'Fue la presente obra acabada E | de nouo emendada: por industria. | ¶ expensa de Paulo hurus de Cõ | stancia alaman. Enla insigne ciu= | dad de Saragoça. Año mill. qua= | trocientos ¶. lxxxiiij.'; i<sub>6</sub><sup>b</sup> blank.

<sup>124</sup> Haebler 640; Madurell & Rubió, 236–8, 242–4, docs. 126, 127, 131 (on the family ties between Ferrer and Miquel, see also 896–7, note to doc. 508); Amadeu-J. Soberanas i Lleó, 'La edición barcelonesa de 1511 de las *Introductiones latinae de Nebrija*', *Homenaje a José Manuel Blecua ofrecido por sus discípulos, colegas y amigos*, ed. Dámaso Alonso & others (Madrid: Gredos, 1983), 647–55 (650); Homero Serís, 'La reaparición del *Tirant lo Blanch* de Barcelona de 1497: primera descripción bibliográfica completa', *Homenaje ofrecido a Menéndez Pidal*, 3 vol. (Madrid: Imprenta de la Librería y Casa Editorial Hernando, 1925), iii. 57–76.

<sup>125</sup> BMC x, plate IX<sup>s</sup>.

<sup>126</sup> BMC x, 28 (entry on IB 52143) traces the history of this block: 'The same block had been used in two editions of *Directorium humanae vitae*, Conrad Fyner, Urach [c. 1482], IB 11206 and Hain 4028 (see C.F. Bühler in *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* (1936), 68–70), and later by Johann Prüss, Strassburg, in two editions of the same work, Hain \*4411, 4411a . . . and in Rolewinck, *Fasciculus temporum*, not before 6 April 1490, Hain \*6916. It was further used by Hurus in two editions of *Directorium humanae vitae* in Spanish, 30 March 1493 (Haebler 340), and 15 April 1494 (Goff J-272), in the Sallust, 1493 [the volume described here], and in Seneca, *Epistolae* in Spanish, 3 March 1496 (Haebler 622). It passed to Georg Coci, who used it in Juan de Mena, *Cancionero*, 23 September 1509'. It is reproduced by Vindel, iv. 144.



FIG. 37. JRULM 19686, sig. a<sub>1</sub><sup>b</sup>.

**E**ste libro se llama Sa  
lustio cathulinario. el ql fue tradu  
zido de latin en romance castella  
no por maestre Francisco vidal de  
Moya en stilo assaz altoz muy ele  
gante/segundo se sigue,

**O**dos los hom  
bres que desean  
ser mejores q los  
otros animales:  
con sobiranía dili  
gencia deuen tra  
bajar: en que no passen la vida en  
silencio/como las bestias: las qua  
les la naturaleza somio inclinadas  
a obedecer alla sensualidad z apeti  
to del vientre. **A**has toda nuestra  
fuerça esta enel animo z enel cuer  
po. del coraçón ysamos para man  
dar: dñl cuerpo para servir z obede  
cer/con el vno participamos con  
los dioses / el otro tenemos comū  
con las bestias. **P**or lo qual con  
las fuerças del ingenio buscar glo  
ria: z pries la vida que tenemos es  
breue: dñar memoria de nos la mas  
luenga que podremos: me parece  
mejor q no con las fuerças del cuer  
po. **L**a la gloria delas riquezas z  
beldad es lenable es. z quebradiza  
**L**a sola virtud es estimada escla  
riscida z eterna. Gran contienda  
fue entre los mortales luengamen  
te si el fecho dela guerra prospera  
ua mas por fuerça de cuerpo/o por  
virtud z effuerço de animo. **L**a an

tes de comenzar es menester el con  
sejo despues de aquell: la presta esse  
quucion es necessaria. **A**ssi cadaql  
destas cosas por si siendo imperfe  
ta/ layuda dela otra requiere. **E**n  
comienço del mundo los reyes (ca  
este fue el primer nombre de seno  
rio enla tierra) los vnos exercita  
uā el ingenio/los otros el cuerpo.  
**E**ntronces la vida delos hombres  
abun no conocia codicia ninguna  
z cadauno delo suo se contentaua  
**A**has despues que Liro enla asia  
los atheneses z lacedemonios enla  
grecia : comēgarō a souzgar ciuda  
des z naciones estrañas/mouien  
do los a la guerra la codicia del se  
ñorizar/poniendo la gloria enl grād  
senorio : entonces por experiencia  
z obras fue conocido el saber en  
las guerras ser mas prouechozo. z  
si los reyes z capitanes cō vna mis  
ma virtud de animo enla guerra z  
enla paz se rigissen. mejor z cō ma  
yor firmeza staria las cosas huma  
nas: ni las verias mudadas de uno  
en otro/ni tránsformadas. **L**a el im  
perio facilmente con aquellas artes  
se conserua: cō las quales al comie  
go fue ganado. **A**has despues que  
en lugar del trabajo/la peza. en lu  
gar de templança z justicia: desen  
frenada cobardia z supbia nos sal  
tearō: la fortuna juro cō las costu  
bres se es mudada. pordonde el se  
ñorío muchas vezes del menos bu  
eno al mejor es tránsportado. **P**or  
que las cosas por las quales los  
a ij

FIG. 38. JRULM 19686, sig. a<sub>2</sub><sup>a</sup>.

ganso de verbad; no lo sabemos pero es verbad: q los voluntades de los reyes/ como los apellimadas: así son monstros / muchas veces así mismos perritos. Dípues d' cadena do lugar t' tiepo pa do se ayuntó a fabiar dela paz. Boco abora llamava a Silla/ abora al mäslagero d' Jugurta, t' hania se cō ellos benignidad: t' prometía a entramos una cosa. De gracia: q amos ados hané alegra/ t' llenos d' buena speraça. pero la noche primera/ q fue antes d' dia establecido pa la fabla díye se: qí moro Boco llamo a sus amigos. t' luego mudada la voluntad/ de haver cōsejo con ellos: fizó los yr/ t' cō sigo mesmo grá pieza d' liberio. El qí por el mudamiento del geslo/ t' del color/ t' mouimiento del cuerpo/ t' dela boca díye q mostraua las córrariedades: q tenía en la voluntad: abú q callava. Estoce mádo venir a silla: t' de cōsejo t' ordeñaca suya puso a sechácas al numidianu Jugurta. De aquí como el dia vino/ t' le fue dicho: como Jugurta no stava ya lexos dende: salio a el como por manera de honra/ cō algunos pocos delos suyos allegados. t' cō el el qístor Silla. E fue a un otero: el qí podíal ligeramente mirar: los q stava enlas asechácas E allí se ayuntó cō el Jugurta con muchos d'los suyos/ pero todos sin armas: segundo q era antes dicho t' a cordado. Luego fue hecho señal: a los q le aguardaua. t' salieró junta mieie por todas presas delas asechan

gas t' tomró le t' mataron a todos los otros. Jugurta acado cō cabanas fue entregado a Silla. E fue por el llevado a Edario/ En esa faion Edario Montio/pueblo Sci pió nuestros cabdillos/ hania mal peleado contra los gallos. por lo qí toda Italia edicaua t' aquellos. t' dende abedire todos los romanos: hasta nuestra memoria: tuvieró sié por por cierto: q todas las otras cosas erá obediétes a su virtud: salvo q cō los fráceses: cōcedió mas/ por interese d'la vida q no por la gloria  
 Alcabada la guerra de Numidia: díque fue dicho/ como trajan preso a Jugurta a roma: mario fue hecho cōsul stado absente: t' fue le dada la cōquista dela prouincia de gallia. E triunfo ansi conful En las batallas de enero cō grá gloria. t' desde entóce: toda la speraça t' fechos dela ciudad fueró puestos en Edario.

Fue la presente obra acabada E de nouo emendada: por industria. t' expensa de Paulo hurus de Ló stancia alaman. En la insigne ciudad de Saragoça. Año mill. quattrocientos t. lxxxiiij.

JRULM 19686 (formerly Inc. 16 G 2). From Spencer; finely bound with legend, back and front, 'HONI SOIT QUI MAL Y PENSE'.

Sallust was among the first classical writers to be printed in the Peninsula, Palmart signing an edition in Valencia in 1475 (Haebler 593, Goff S-59).<sup>127</sup> The market for translations, in which Hurus seems to have specialized and for which he employed the Aragonese *converso* lawyer from Zaragoza, Gonzalo García de Santa María (1447–1521), a distant relative of Cartagena (see above, p. 33), was buoyant, and many of these – Caesar, Ovid (in Catalan), the pseudo-Senecan *Proverbia*, Plutarch, Josephus (both in Castilian and Catalan), Livy, and Quintus Curtius – were luxurious folios; they may well have accounted for a large part of the most important non-professional reading-matter in late-fifteenth-century Spain.<sup>128</sup> Santa María's own works – such as his Life of John II of Aragon (1514), commissioned in 1501 by John's son Ferdinand – display the clear influence of Sallust, as do Palencia's *Decades* (above, p. 63). It was in Hurus's Zaragoza bilingual 'Cato' (*El Catón en latín et en romanç*, 1493: BOOST<sub>3</sub>, n°. 1978) that García de Santa María was to complain bitterly that the increase in the supply of books in Spain in the last quarter of the century had not led to any perceptible rise in the standard of scholarship.

The edition here is of a revision by Francisco Vidal de Noya (d. 1492), apostolic protonotary, prior of the Convento del Pilar in Zaragoza and, from 1477, tutor to King Ferdinand of Aragon, of the translation by Vasco Ramírez de Guzmán (of which Santillana had a MS copy) 'en stilo assaz alto & muy elegante segund se sigue' (sig. a<sub>2</sub><sup>a</sup>).<sup>129</sup> The revision may have been commissioned by Hurus.<sup>130</sup>

<sup>127</sup> Witten, 'The Earliest Books', 93–4; Millares Carlo, *Introducción*, 110; Madurell & Rubió, 26\*, 27\*, 45, 69, 320, 504, 559, 796; Rubió, 'Els autors clàssics', 220 n.

<sup>128</sup> García de Santa María acted also as proof-reader for Hurus: R. Brian Tate, 'Four Notes on Gonzalo García de Santa María', *Romance Philology*, xvii/xviii (1963), 362–73 (368–70), reprinted as 'Gonzalo García de Santa María, bibliófilo, jurista, historiador', in Tate, *Ensayos sobre la historiografía peninsular del siglo xv*, translated by Jesús Díaz (Madrid: Gredos, 1970), 212–27; Gil Fernández, *Panorama social*, 563, 566. The most detailed and up-to-date account of García de Santa María's activities is Julián Martín Abad, 'Gonzalo García de Santa María: apuntes bio-bibliográficos', *Homenaje a Luis Morales Oliver* (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 1986), 495–513.

<sup>129</sup> Mario Schiff, *La Bibliothèque du Marquis de Santillane*, Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études 153 (Paris: Librairie Emile Bouillon, 1905), 69, 78–9.

<sup>130</sup> A copy, probably of this edition, was in the library of Melcior Sunyer of Barcelona, according to the inventory of 1504 reprinted in Madurell & Rubió, 381–4, doc. 220 (382, item 2; also 417, 419, 617). See also Jeremy N.H. Lawrence, 'Nueva luz sobre la biblioteca del Conde de Haro: Inventario de 1455', *El Crotalón: Anuario de Filología Española*, i (1984), 1073–1111 (1101, n°. 119), and id., 'On Fifteenth-Century Spanish Vernacular Humanism', *Medieval and Renaissance Studies in Honour of Robert Brian Tate*, ed. Ian Michael & Richard A. Cardwell (Oxford: Dolphin, 1986), 63–79 (72). The question of Spanish printing of classical texts is discussed by Clive Griffin, 'The Crombergers of Seville and the First Italic Book Printed in Spain', *Palaestra Typographica: aspects de la production du livre humaniste et religieux au XVI siècle*, ed. Jean-François Gilmont & others (Aubel: Librairie Pierre M. Gason, 1984), 57–96 (68–9, 87–8, 91–4); Tate, *Ensayos*, 219.

The Hurus Sallust described here served as a model for the Valladolid, Juan de Burgos, edition of the same work, 15 February 1500 (Haebler 595).<sup>131</sup>

**13.** GILES OF ROME. *Regimiento de los príncipes*. Translated by Juan García de Castrojeriz. Seville. Meinard Ungut & Stanislaus Polonus (for Konrad Alemán & Melchior Gorrio). 20 October 1494.

Sosa, 3.

(i) Madrid BN (eight copies), RA de la Historia (imperfect), BU Complutense (two copies), and B de San Isidro; Cuenca BD; Escorial (imperfect); Pamplona BP (imperfect); Salamanca BU (two copies; one imperfect); Toledo BPub; Valladolid BU (Santa Cruz); Zaragoza BU; (ii) Vienna Österreichische NB; Copenhagen RL; Paris BN (three copies) and B Mazarine; Carpentras B; Chantilly Musée Condé; Munich Bayerisches StaatsB; West Berlin Kupferstichkabinett der Staatlichen Museen; Dresden Sächsische LandesB; Piacenza BCom Passerini Landi; Bologna B del Coll di Spagna; Cracow UL, Muzeum Narodowe (B Czartoryski: imperfect), and B Jagiellońska; Warsaw Narodowa; Lisbon BN; Évora BPub e Arquivo Distrital; Mafra B do Mosteiro; Cavtat (Ragusa) Naučna B; (iii) BL; Oxford Bodleian; (iv) Washington (D.C.) L of Congress (Rare Books Division); New York City Pierpont Morgan L (imperfect); HSA (seven copies); Boston (Mass.) Pub L; Cambridge (Mass.) Houghton L Harvard.

2º: a–z<sup>8</sup> A–G<sup>8</sup> H<sup>10</sup> 2A<sup>6</sup> [§<sub>4</sub> signed (+H<sub>5</sub>; -a<sub>1</sub>, 2A<sub>4</sub>)]; 256 leaves, ff. (roman) 1–2 3–249 250–256 (misnumbering 61 as ‘62’, 92 ‘102’, 93 ‘103’, 104 ‘97’, 117 ‘125’, 166 ‘167’, 184 ‘177’, 192 ‘185’, 240 ‘260’). Running titles throughout (- a<sub>1</sub><sup>a</sup>–a<sub>2</sub><sup>a</sup>, H<sub>9</sub><sup>b</sup>–H<sub>10</sub><sup>b</sup>, 2A<sub>6</sub><sup>a–b</sup>). 220 × 150 mm. (a<sub>3</sub><sup>a</sup>); two columns; gothic 98 (text), gothic 112.5 (chapter headings and colophon), gothic 145 (titles of books and running titles); 45 lines; woodcut capitals and spaces for capitals (both with and without guides) throughout; cut (215 × 134 mm.: full-face crowned figure seated on throne holding a sword in its right hand, and a sceptre and orb in its left, with woodcut lettering below, white on black) on a<sub>1</sub><sup>a</sup> (Fig. 40).<sup>132</sup>

<sup>131</sup> Vindel, vi. 41–6, n°. 22; [Sánchez], *Bibliografía zaragozana*, 94–5, n°. 40.

<sup>132</sup> Reproduced in Vindel, v. 183; Guillermo S. Sosa, *Manual de incunables (historia de la imprenta hasta el siglo xviii)* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Historia del Libro, 1972), 268, fig. 27; Collantes de Terán, ‘Un taller alemán’, 154, fig. 6<sup>a</sup>; Geldner, *Die deutschen Inkunabelndrucker*, ii. 284–5, plates 114–15; Portillo Muñoz, *La ilustración gráfica*, fig. 30. JRULM copy has this cut pasted in.

Contents: a<sub>1</sub><sup>a</sup> cut | '§ Regimiēto § De § | Los § Principes'; a<sub>1</sub><sup>b</sup> blank; a<sub>2</sub><sup>a</sup> title (Fig. 41) [single column, in black and red] '(A) *Loor de dios todo poderoſo* ¶ *dela biē* | *auenturada Virgen sin manzilla sancta* | *Maria su madre. Comiença el libro inti* | *tulado Regimiēto de principes. Fecho y ordenado por Don fray Gil de Roma dela orden de sāt Agustín. E fizolo traſladar de latin en romā* | *ce dō Bernardo obispo de Osma: por honrra ¶ en* | *ſeñamiento del muy noble infante don Pedro: fijo* | *primero heredero del muy alto ¶ muy noble Don* | *Alfoso: Rey de Castilla de Toledo de Leon.* ¶ c. | . . .'; a<sub>2</sub><sup>a-b</sup> Dedicatory epistle from Giles of Rome to Philip, Crown-Prince of France (Philip the Fair) [left hand column] 'Primero q̄ otra coſa diga. Esta | es la carta que ēbio el dicho fray | Gil . . .'; a<sub>2</sub><sup>b</sup>-a<sub>3</sub><sup>a</sup> Prologue; a<sub>3</sub><sup>a</sup>-a<sub>3</sub><sup>b</sup> 'Diuision de todo el libro', and table of contents of Book I; a<sub>4</sub><sup>a</sup>-k<sub>3</sub><sup>a</sup> Book I; k<sub>3</sub><sup>b</sup>-t<sub>8</sub><sup>b</sup> Book II; u<sub>1</sub><sup>a</sup>-H<sub>9</sub><sup>b</sup> Book III; H<sub>9</sub><sup>b</sup> colophon (Fig. 42) '¶ Feneſce el libro: intitulado Re | gimiento de principes. Impreſſo | éla muy noble ¶ muy leal cibdad | de Seuilla. A eſpenſas de mae= | ſtre Conrrado aleman: ¶ Melchi | or gurrizo: mercadores de libros | Fue inpreſſo por Meynardo Un | gut alemano: ¶ Stanislaο Polo= | no: compañeros. Acabaronſe a | veynte dias del mes de Octubre | Año del ſeñor de mill ¶ quattro | cientos ¶ nouenta ¶ quattro. | [Printers' device (57.5 × 41mm.), identical to that in n°. 9, above]<sup>133</sup>; H<sub>10</sub><sup>a-b</sup> blank; 2A<sub>1</sub><sup>a</sup>-2A<sub>5</sub><sup>a</sup> Index of chapters; 2A<sub>5</sub><sup>b</sup>-2A<sub>6</sub><sup>b</sup> blank.

JRULM 19644 (formerly Inc. 16 G 5). From Spencer; cropped. Sumptuously bound in Spanish leather with the arms on front and back of Don Francisco Pérez Cabrera y Bobadilla, Marqués de Mola, and the legend in a lozenge on fore-edges: 'R | Regi | mien | to De | Prin | cipes | 1592 [sic]'; occasional annotations in Latin and Spanish in hand throughout.

Giles of Rome (Egidio Romano; Aegidius Romanus), possibly a member of the famous Roman family of Colonna (but see n. 187, below) and an Augustinian hermit at Paris (c. 1243 Rome – Avignon 1316), who attended the lectures of Aquinas in Paris (1269 – 71), was elected General of his Order on 6 January 1292, and Bishop of Bourges three years later.<sup>134</sup> He was later known as the 'Doctor fundatissimus'. His *De regimine principum*, written about the year 1285 for the future Philip the Fair (1268 – 1314) to whom he was tutor, was one of the most widely-read texts in late mediaeval Europe and became one of the most popular works in lay libraries of the fifteenth century, some 200

<sup>133</sup> Lyell, 66, fig. 50 (taken from the Ungut and Polonus *Processionarium*, 3 April 1494; Haebler 557); Vindel, *Escudos*, 21, n°. 20.

<sup>134</sup> On Giles of Rome in Spain, see Madurell & Rubió, 149, 164, 167, 404, 496, and the references in n. 135, below.

FIG. 40. JRULM 19644, sig. a<sub>1</sub><sup>a</sup>.

**A**lto de dios todo poderoso q dela bié  
auenturada Virgen sin manzilla sancta  
Maria su madre. Comienza el libro intit  
ulado Regimient de príncipes, hecho  
y ordenado por Don fray Gil de Roma dela orden  
de snt Agustín. E fizolo trasladar de latin en romá  
cc dñ Bernardo obispo de Olma: por honra q en  
señamiento del muy noble infante don Pedro: hijo  
primero heredero del muy alto q muy noble Don  
Alfoso: Rey de Castilla de Toledo de Leon. qc.

Primer q otra cosa diga. Esta  
es la carta que ébio el dicho fray  
Gil al muy noble Infante primoge  
nito don Felipe heredero del rey  
no de francia. a cuyo ruego el co  
puso este libro delos dichos de  
los philosophos: q principal me  
te de Aristoteles. La qual es esta  
que se sigue.

Al muy alto q muy noble señor don  
Felipe primogenito q heredero: hijo del  
muy noble q muy sancto Rey don Felí  
pe por la gracia de dios rey d' Franchia.  
El su demoto fray Gil romano dela o  
rde de snt Agustín: q muy humildosa  
recomendació: assi mesmo para todo su  
servicio,

**A**l sentencia delas políticas,  
que quiere dezir idéntica de  
gouverniénto das qibdas:  
dice alli. Que todos  
los príncipes no son igual  
mente duraderos: ni tienen medida: to  
dos los gouverniéntos singulares po  
r igual medida de tiepo. La algunos go  
verniéntos só medurados po: vn año  
Otros por vida de vn ombre. Otros

por heredamiento q por sucesió de hijos  
que son iusgados por las cosas natura  
les: muestran q dicen: que ninguna co  
sa puede ser perpetua aquí en la tierra.  
Alquel que mucho deseja quel su prínci  
pado sea perpetuado en si q en los hijos  
que viene enpos del: deue afincada mes  
te estudiar quel su gouernamiento sea na  
tural: por que nunca puede ser ninguno  
gouernador natural si siempre qere go  
uernar co passion q co volúcad. Das  
aquele que es gouernador de laudia no  
deue ordenar ni mandar ninguna cosa  
sin razon q sin ley. La segundo que dice  
el philosophico: asli como es natural me  
te fierio aquell que es fuerte en el cuerpo  
q las virtudes corporales: q fallece en  
el entendimiento: assi aguel q es virtuoso  
q poderoso en el entendimiento: natural  
mente es señor: por gouernamiento q por  
sabiduria: que es razon derecha en to  
das las cosas q ha de fazer. Por la q  
razón si la vña gloriosa noblesa muy era  
morosa mente málo: que yo copiasse  
vn libro de doctrina q gouernamiento se  
gundo razó q segund ley padeceades na  
tural mente gouernar vno reyno: asli co  
mo manifesta merte pareçida periclo  
no vino por ombre: mas vino por dios:

a ij

FIG. 41. JRULM 19644, sig. a<sup>2</sup>.

**L**Ca a mi cumplie me que he enseñoreau  
do a todo el mundo: & ya yo me para el  
dicho: que no me tengo por pagado de  
este mundo: ya me llama dios a mayor  
reyno que este. **E**n affi nacio un tan no-  
ble señor: por un tan falso pascado. **E**n  
alii partio todos sus reynos e reynados  
a aquellos sus ricos oficis e casalleros  
parados: & a sus criados. **E**n dio el rey  
no de Egipto a **P**tolomeo: e man-  
do estrar de su cuerpo en **A**llianoria:  
la qual ciudad el fizca & la nombrara  
al su nombre.

**Laus dco.**

**G**efenesce el libro: intitulado **R**e-  
gimiento de príncipes. Impreso  
en muy noble & muy leal ciudat  
de Sevilla. A expensas de ma-  
estre **C**onrado aleman: & **D**elchi-  
or guttijo: mercadores de libros  
fue impreso por **A**deynardo **G**ut  
alemano: & **S**tanislauo **P**olo/  
no:compañeros. Alcabaron se a  
veynete días del mes de Octubre  
año del señor: de mill & quattro  
cientos & nouenta & quattro.



FIG. 42. JRULM 19644, sig. H<sub>9</sub><sup>b</sup>.

manuscripts of it surviving, in practically every European language, including Hebrew.<sup>135</sup>

This work seems to have had an especial appeal throughout the Iberian Peninsula; its reading was recommended by Chancellor Pero López de Ayala (1332 – 1407) in his *Rimado de palacio*, and one of the greatest patrons of learning in fifteenth-century Spain, Iñigo López de Mendoza, Marquis of Santillana (1398 – 1458), had no fewer than four copies of it in his own library, famous for its rich holdings of Florentine manuscripts.<sup>136</sup> This Castilian translation and gloss was made by a Franciscan monk and confessor to the wife of Alfonso XI of Castile, María of Portugal, Juan García de Castrojeriz (or Castro Xerís), around the year 1345 at the request of Bernabé, Bishop of Osma (1331 – 51) and, from 1344, Chancellor (Canciller Mayor) to Prince Pedro of Castile (later Pedro I ‘El Cruel’), for whose education it may have been intended.<sup>137</sup> A Catalan version is discussed below (nº. 18).

On Ungut and Polonus, see above, pp. 68–9. Melchior Gorricio, a merchant-bookseller originally from Novara and who may have come to Spain at royal request, was later to work closely with Cardinal Jiménez de Cisneros.<sup>138</sup>

The capital ‘A’ on sig. a<sub>2</sub><sup>a</sup> (Fig. 41: white on a black ground with ornament of fruits, tendrils and a (?) fox) is also found in Ortiz, *Cinco tratados* (Seville: Compañeros Alemanes, 1493: IB 52332, BMC x, 40), evidence of some interchange of material between the two great Seville printing-houses of the day, at least after their collaboration in Granada (see above p. 69).<sup>139</sup>

<sup>135</sup> On this translation and others, see François Maillard, ‘Les Traductions du *De regimine principum* de Gilles de Rome’ (*Ecole des Chartes*, Paris, thesis, 1948). There were at least half a dozen French adaptations between 1330 and 1400. References to the *De regimine principum* in library inventories are legion, see K.E. Shaw, ‘Provincial and Pundit: Juan de Castrojeriz’s Version of *De regimine principum*’, *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies*, xxxviii (1961), 55–63; J. Beneyto Pérez (ed.), *Glosa castellana al “Regimiento de príncipes” de Egidio Romano*, 3 vol. (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Políticos, 1947); Silvia Roubaud, ‘Les Manuscrits du *Regimiento de príncipes et l’Amadís*’, *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez*, v (1969), 207–22 (210), reproducing fo. 2<sup>v</sup> of Escorial MS h-I-8.

<sup>136</sup> Helen L. Sears, ‘The *Rimado de palacio* and the “De regimine principum” Tradition of the Middle Ages’, *Hispanic Review*, xx (1952), 1–27 (1–2); Schiff, *La Bibliothèque*, 201–4, 209–11. Examples of the influence of this work during the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella are provided by HSA, MS HC.371/164, entitled (fo. 53r) *Directorio de príncipes*, ed., with a short introduction, by R. Brian Tate, *Exeter Hispanic Texts* 16 (Exeter: University of Exeter, 1977), and by the *refundición* undertaken by Alonso de Madrigal (El Tostado) for Prince Enrique of Castile (later Enrique IV) now in the library of the Victoria and Albert Museum in London.

<sup>137</sup> See the incipit to Escorial MS k-I-15, studied by Arturo García, ‘La obra *De regimine principum* del Bto Egidio de Roma y su traducción castellana en los códices escurialenses’, *Religión y Cultura* (El Escorial), xi (1930), 358–73, xii (1930), 208–23.

<sup>138</sup> Juan de Vallejo, *Memorial de la vida de Fray Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros*, ed. Antonio de la Torre y del Cerro (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Históricos de la Junta para Ampliación de Estudios e Investigaciones Científicas, 1913), 57.

<sup>139</sup> For possible rivalry between them, see Griffin, 187.

**14.** DIES, Manuel. *Libro de albeytería de los caballos* (and *Libro de albeytería para las mulas*). Translated by Martín Martínez de Ampiés. Zaragoza. Paulus Hurus. 6 May 1495.

Sosa 268.

(iv) HSA (imperfect); New Haven (Conn.) Yale U Beinecke L.

2°: a–b<sup>4</sup> c<sup>8</sup> d<sup>6</sup> e<sup>8</sup> f<sup>6</sup> g<sup>8</sup> h–k<sup>6</sup> l<sup>8</sup> [§<sub>4</sub> signed (+ c<sub>5</sub>, e<sub>5</sub>, g<sub>5</sub>, l<sub>5</sub>; – a<sub>1</sub><sup>a</sup>)]; 70 leaves, pp. 1–2 3–16, followed by ff. 17–77 78. Running titles on recto folios c<sub>1</sub>–l<sub>7</sub>. 210 × 140 mm. (b<sub>3</sub><sup>b</sup>); two columns; gothic 101 (text), gothic 138 (running titles and first line of chapter headings); 42 lines; woodcut capitals throughout. Woodcut title (a<sub>1</sub><sup>a</sup>); cut of horse surrounded by signs of zodiac (b<sub>1</sub><sup>b</sup>: 180 × 180 mm.: Fig. 43); small cuts (23 × 23 mm.) of signs of the zodiac (b<sub>2</sub><sup>a</sup>–b<sub>3</sub><sup>a</sup>: Fig. 44).

Contents: a<sub>1</sub><sup>a</sup> title ‘Libro de | albeyteria.’; a<sub>1</sub><sup>b</sup> blank; a<sub>2</sub><sup>a</sup>–b<sub>1</sub><sup>a</sup> table of contents [left-hand column] Comienza la tabla del libro | presente de albeyteria/por la ql se pue | den hallar de ligero todas las partes | enel tratadas . . .’; b<sub>1</sub><sup>b</sup> [cut] | ¶ En la figura presente parecen los doze signos/¶ cada vno dellos Jeñala con | vna barra la parte que manda/o señorea de todo el cuerpo . . .’; b<sub>2</sub><sup>a</sup>–b<sub>3</sub><sup>a</sup> Material on the signs of the zodiac [left-hand column] ‘Comienza ende la declara= | cion delos .xij. signos’; b<sub>3</sub><sup>b</sup>–b<sub>4</sub><sup>a</sup> Prologue [left-hand column] ‘Comienza el prologo de | Martin martinez dampies enla tra | duccion por el hecho [sic] del libro llama= | do de albeyteria . . .’; b<sub>4</sub><sup>a</sup>–b<sub>4</sub><sup>b</sup> Introduction [left-hand column] ‘(F)Ue ordenado el libro pre | gente por este noble mo= | sen Manuel en .xvij. par | tes principales . . .’; c<sub>1</sub><sup>a</sup>–k<sub>3</sub><sup>b</sup> first text [left-hand column] ‘Capi. primero en q̄ manera | deue el cauallo ser engendrado. . . .’; k<sub>4</sub><sup>a</sup>–l<sub>3</sub><sup>b</sup> second text ‘Comienza el li | bro de albeyteria para las mulas . . .’; l<sub>3</sub><sup>b</sup>–l<sub>7</sub><sup>b</sup> prescriptions for treatment of horses and mules; l<sub>7</sub><sup>b</sup> colophon, including a short note in praise of the art of printing, ‘. . . | [woodcut block, with printer’s device (139 × 103 mm.: Fig. 45)]<sup>140</sup> | ¶ Gozē los letores de n̄os dias ¶ los q̄ vinierē/ de bien tamāño como es el | arte dela emprēta: porq̄ parece vna marauilla por dios reuelada para q̄ haya | lūbre los ciegos dela ygnorācia. pues muchos primero andauan turbados en | las tiniebras por mēguia de libros/no instruydos enla doctrina delos costum | bres dela virtud/¶ mal enseñados enla muy sancta ¶ sagrada scriptura: la ql | bien saber es prouechofa como neceſſaria. ¶ pueden agora sin mucho trabajo | con pocos gaſtos hauer tanta parte/ como el ingenio de cada vno tomar pu= | diere. y no en esto solo es prouechofa: empero ahun para los libros de la me= | dicina muy neceſſaria enlas dolencias de nuestros cuerpos muy corruptibles | como enel arte de albeyteria de aſſaz prouecho para los ricos/¶ quien menos | puede: dela qual arte ſon acabados eſtos dos libros: y empremidos enla ma= | gnifica ¶

<sup>140</sup> Reproduced in Vindel, *Escudos*, II, n°. 9.



**C**En la figura presente parecen los doce signos / & cada uno de los señala con una barra la parte que manda/o señorea de todo el cuerpo: es declaracion para que se guarden tocar los miembros aqui señalados quando la luna fuere en cada uno de los dichos signos, sus condiciones & contrariedades en la siguiente scriputa las fallaran muy bien declaradas.

FIG. 43. JRULM 18508, sig. b<sub>1</sub><sup>a</sup>.

## XIII

gría ni tocar con hielo quando la luna va en este signo: es el peligro de muerte: poq segù los dichos doctores si fuere alguno herido en esta parte ya dicha/ corre peligro q pierda la vida: de los planetas es el luno jupiter/ que tiene mando sobre el estano.



**C**apricorno es signo del mes de de zubio/meridional/del elemento es de la tierra/de compleccion de malacoma/ frío y seco: la parte que manda del cuerpo es en las rodillas: quando la luna es en este signo si la dicha pce sangrá o toca con algún hielo es peligroso para q muera. poq segù el tholomeo si en tal tiempo fuere alguno herido en ellas se dije mortal. es de los planetas el luno saturno que señorea sobre el plomo.



**A**quario es signo del mes de enero/ y occidental/ del elemento es del ayre/de compleccion de sangre/ caliente y humedo/ y señorea sobre las camas/ o espumillas/ endóde no deue hacer sangria quando la luna va en este signo/ ni tocar con hielo poq passaría peligro de muerte: que segù desé tholomeo y abù gundo si fuere maftrado alguno en estas partes ya dichas endóde la luna en el dicho signo passa peligro que

pierda la vida. de los siete planetas es el luno saturno que manda sobre el plomo.



**P**isces es signo del mes de enero/ septentrional/del elemento de la agua/ de compleccion frío y humedo/ manda entre las partes del cuerpo los pies. y quando la luna va en este signo es bien de mirar que no brysessen alguna sangria ni toqué con hielo en los dichos miembros poq peligro de muerte corre: q segù escriué el tholomeo y abù gundo si en tal tiempo fuere maftrado alguno en ellos es peligro de perder la vida. es de los planetas el luno jupiter: el qual señorea sobre el estano.

**C**o que arriba se ha tratado de los doce signos/ es muy necesario para que sepa qualche albergar y los que leyeren/ como se guarden y regan obediente y derecho en dar las sangrias/ y apartar los incôvenientes muy peligrosos. enyo deue saber qualquiera q las dichas reglas se mandan tener quando el tiempo quifir lo pudiere: y no en caso de necessidad: poq entonces las leyes dispelan en passar los tie postas peligrosos: guardando siempre la forma deuda en el obrar y tiesto de manos. Lo dicho nos basta enesta materia/ mirando que dios te sobre natura.

b 11

junto se i medido con el sayno y se  
cho vnguento en el qual estan vi po-  
co azucie. Con ello sea el almuarrat de  
do para el dia dos veces en cada

un día faltó que fuese / porque muy poca  
nada es / verdadero / dar le muy poco  
en pocos días,



Con los llores de estos días y los que vienen de la muerte de su hermano  
heredero de la emperatriz; poedrá parecer una maravilla positiva tanto de pureza como de  
libre los riesgos de la pugnacía, pues muchos principes suelen nublar con  
los dudosos por miedos de libertad, no intruyendo cada decimana de los consejos  
boca boca visto; y en el consejo cada muy sencilla y seguida respuesta: lo que  
bien faltó es prudencia como necesaria, y pueden agotar sin mucho trabajo  
con pocos gastos hacer tanto parte como el sacramento de los tres  
días, y no en ello solo es prudencia: empieza bien para los demás, y la  
decima muerte serviría en las dolencias de los demás, sacando muy poco  
como en el arte de alquimia de atlas, pasando para los otros y quedando  
mucho; de la qual arte son acabados otros para otros y para  
ellos mismos y muy noble esfuerzo de la Alquimia para la muerte de la infancia y de los  
niños: que es de la muerte de la infancia y de los

FIG. 45. JRULM 18508, sig. 1<sup>b</sup>.

muy noble ciudad de Caragoça por la industria/instācia/<sup>141</sup> costa de Paulo Hurus aleman de Constancia/a .vj. dias de mayo: corriendo los años de nuestra salud .mil.cccc.xcv.'; 1<sup>a-b</sup> blank.

JRULM 18508 (formerly Inc. 16 G 7). From Spencer, who bought it from Cassano; damage to final folios sympathetically repaired.<sup>141</sup>

The Valencian Manuel Díes (or Díez), described here (b<sub>3</sub><sup>b</sup>) as 'el noble don Manuel Díaz criado mayordomo del muy poderoso rey don Alonso de Aragón de muy infallible y digna memoria', was steward at the Naples court of Alfonso V of Aragon (1416 – 58; King of Naples from 1442), which exercised influential patronage over many Italian Renaissance artists and scholars.<sup>142</sup> The Castilian translation, probably commissioned by Hurus (see above, p. 86), of this treatise on veterinary medicine is the work of Martín Martínez de Ampiés (or Dampiés), described in 1480 as a 'deputado' of the Kingdom of Aragon, several of whose translations, principally on spiritual matters, were printed by Hurus in lavishly illustrated editions, among them his *Triunfo de María* (1495: Haebler 403; BOOST<sub>3</sub>, 217, n°. 2629; Sosa 577), his translation (with original additions) of Bernard of Breidenbach, *Viaje a la tierra santa* (16 January 1498: Vindel, iv. 255–80, n°. 84), and the *Libro del antichristo* (8 and 15 October 1496: Vindel, iv. 245–7, n°. 76; Sosa 50), the last of which – like the richly-illustrated 1497 Burgos edition by Fadrique de Basilea, printer of n°. 15, below (Vindel, vii. 139–56, n°. 52) – contains a lengthy section of letters by Rabbi Samuel to Rabbi Isaac on the errors of the Jews.<sup>143</sup>

This Castilian translation of Díes's work, which survives in several manuscript copies, was reissued in at least three Toledo editions of the early sixteenth century; it also appeared retranslated into Catalan in 1515 under its original title of *Libre de menescalia*.<sup>144</sup> A manuscript of the original text of the *Mules*, which is little more than a transcription and translation on the *Mascalcia* of Lorenzo Rusio, was in the library of Alfonso the Magnanimous.

When the translation described here was re-issued on 16 October 1499 under the impress of Hurus (GKW 8288, Haebler 207, Sosa 269, BOOST<sub>3</sub>, 153, n°. 1990), probably by the syndicate of three Germans

<sup>141</sup> 'Unfortunately, the present copy is, towards the end, in a very wretched condition – from a large, and I fear, immovable stain – which pervades the last twenty leaves . . . Since the preceding was written, this book has returned from the binder (C. Lewis) wonderfully mended and improved: and bound in pale russia' (Dibdin, vii. 46, n°. 71).

<sup>142</sup> See Luis Faraudo de Saint-Germain, 'El texto primitivo inédito del "Tractat de les mules" de Mossén Manuel Dieç', *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona*, xxii (1949), 23–62 (25); on the Naples court, Soria, *Los humanistas, passim*.

<sup>143</sup> Lawrence, 'Nueva luz', 1095, item 77.

<sup>144</sup> Norton, DC, n°s. 125, 1049, 1071, 1113; BOOCT<sub>1</sub>, 138, n°. 1438. Another anonymous Catalan treatise on the same subject has recently been published: *Lo cavall: tractat de menescalia del segle xv*, ed. Joan Gili (Oxford: Dolphin, 1985).

(Jorge Coci, Leonardo Hutz<sup>145</sup> and Lope Appentegger) known as the ‘fieles compañeros’ who succeeded to Hurus’s press in the late summer of 1499, it contained the same material in praise of the craft of printing that is present in the colophon of this 1495 edition. The suggestion made by Haebler (who had not seen this 1495 edition) that the 1499 re-issue could not be the work of Hurus because a man with an established business reputation would have had no need of such an exercise in self-justification – an argument also taken up by Vindel<sup>146</sup> – loses much of its force when one learns that, after a quarter of a century of commercial success as a printer in Seville, Jacobo Cromberger included just such an encomium of printing as a ‘new art’ in his and his son’s 16 June 1526 edition of Alfonso de la Torre, *Visión delectable de la philosophía*.<sup>147</sup>

**15.** pseudo-GERSON. *Remediar a Cristo y menosprecio de todas las vanidades del mundo* (followed by *Tratado del pensamiento*). Translator(s) anonymous. Burgos. Fadrique de Basilea. 24 December 1495.

Sosa 448.

(i) Madrid BN; (ii) Brussels BN and BR Albert Premier; Paris B Ste-Geneviève (imperfect); (iv) Cambridge (Mass.) Houghton L Harvard.

4°: a–p<sup>8</sup> [\$<sub>4</sub> signed (– a<sub>1</sub>)]; 120 leaves, unnumbered. No running titles. 158 × 102 mm. (a<sub>2</sub><sup>b</sup>); gothic 102 (text), gothic 170 (first line of chapter headings, penultimate line on o<sub>5</sub><sup>b</sup>, headings in Index, material on p<sub>8</sub><sup>b</sup>), occasional roman 111 in signatures;<sup>148</sup> 28 lines; woodcut capitals on a<sub>2</sub><sup>a</sup>, a<sub>2</sub><sup>b</sup>, a<sub>3</sub><sup>b</sup>, etc.; spaces for capitals, with guides, on c<sub>2</sub><sup>a</sup>, m<sub>8</sub><sup>b</sup>, o<sub>7</sub><sup>b</sup> and, without guides, on c<sub>3</sub><sup>b</sup>, d<sub>2</sub><sup>b</sup>. Cuts of Christ in Judgement on a<sub>1</sub><sup>b</sup> (Vindel, vii. 98; missing in the Rylands copy), and The Day of Judgement (90 × 138 mm.) on p<sub>8</sub><sup>b</sup> (Fig. 46; not in Vindel).

Contents: a<sub>1</sub><sup>a</sup> title ‘Contemptus mundi.’; a<sub>1</sub><sup>b</sup> cut; a<sub>2</sub><sup>a</sup>–o<sub>5</sub><sup>b</sup> text of the four books of the *Menosprecio* (Fig. 47) ‘Comieneça el libro primero de juā ger | ſon chanciller de paris/de remediar a xpo: ¶ del meno | ſprecio de todas las vanidades del mūdo. Capi .j. | (Q)uien me ſigue . . .’; o<sub>6</sub><sup>a</sup>–p<sub>4</sub><sup>b</sup> text of *Tratado del pensamiento* ‘Comiença el tratado del

<sup>145</sup> Hutz may be the same man as the Leonard(us) Aleman(us) associated with Lope Sanz at Salamanca in 1496.

<sup>146</sup> Vindel, i. 3, assumes the encomium of printing contained in Rosembach’s Barcelona edition of Joan Vilar’s translation of Valascus de Taranta, *De epidemia et peste* (20 March 1507: Norton, DC, n°. 97) to have been copied from ‘Barcelona, 1475’ (Sosa 1025; no copy now known): ‘debe ser una reimpresión exacta de la primera edición de 1475, porque en aquella época era muy racional un elogio a un nuevo arte, que ya en 1507 es poco oportuno’.

<sup>147</sup> See Griffin, 66 and Appendix I, n°. 261. Haebler was none the less correct in assuming that Hurus had ceased to print himself, as witness the agreement drawn up between him and the ‘fieles compañeros’ (Norton, DC, 220).

<sup>148</sup> BMC x, plate XV<sup>s</sup>.

penſamiē | to del coraçon del ſuſodicho Juā gerſon chanceller de | paris. E contiene .xvij. capitulos . . .'; p<sub>4</sub><sup>b</sup> colophon (Fig. 48) 'Feneçen los quatro libros de Juā Gerſon Chāceller | de Paris del menoſprecio del mūdo. E otro ſu tracta= | do pequeño dela yimaginacion del coraçon. Imprefſa [sic] | por maeftre Fadrique aleman de baſilea enla muy no= | ble 7 muy leal cibdad de burgos a .xxiij. dias del mes | de diciembre. Año del naſcimiēto de nueſtro ſaluador | ſeñor jesu xpo. de mil 7 quattrocientos 7 nouentacinco | años.'; p<sub>5</sub><sup>a</sup>–p<sub>8</sub><sup>a</sup> Index 'Tabla del preſente volumen. 7 pri | meramēte del pmer libro q̄ tiene .xxv. capitulos . . .'; p<sub>8</sub><sup>b</sup> cut, with legend 'Cum dñs ad iudicandum venerit.'

JRULM 20791 (formerly Inc. 16 H 1). From Spencer; missing a<sub>1</sub> (conjugate leaf present).

The *Imitatio Christi* or *Contemptus Mundi*, here in an anonymous Castilian translation, was until recently thought to be the work of Jean le Charlier de Gerson (1363 – 1429), Chancellor of the University of Paris. Spanish and Catalan editions are regularly attributed to him.<sup>149</sup> This edition also contains an anonymous Castilian translation (*Tratado del pensamiento*) of another work attributed to Gerson, the *De meditatione cordis*.

Fadrique de Basilea (or 'Fadrique Alemán') is best known to students of Spanish letters as the printer of the 1499 edition of the *Comedia de Calisto y Melibea*, commonly known as (*La*) *Celestina*, that first known edition surviving in a single copy, once in the possession of the enthusiastic English bibliophile Richard Heber, and now in the library of the HSA.<sup>150</sup> He is probably the same man as the Friedrich Biel (or von Biel) who co-operated in or about the year 1472 with Michael Wenzler at Basel to produce an edition of the *Epistles* of the humanist Gasparino da Barzizza (Gasparinus Pergamensis) (GKW 3676, IB 37037a),<sup>151</sup> and it was probably also he who introduced printing into Burgos, initially making his living by printing broadsheets for the Burgos cathedral authorities (for which he was granted a virtual monopoly on 21 March 1482), his earliest surviving work being an edition of Andrés Gutiérrez de Cerezo's Latin Gram-

<sup>149</sup> Norton, *DC*, n°s. 198, 284, 376, 896, 1101; see also the prologue by Eugenio Asensio to the facsimile edition of Desiderius Erasmus, *Tratado del niño Jesús y en loor del estado de la niñez* (Sevilla, 1516) (Madrid: Castalia, 1969), 53–4; Bataillon, *Erasmo y España*, 207, n. 4; Pedro Sainz Rodríguez, *Introducción a la historia de la literatura mística en España* (Madrid: Editorial Voluntad, 1927), 171–2. The question of authorship is discussed by E.F. Jacob, 'The *Imitatio Christi*', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, xxii (1938), 493–509.

<sup>150</sup> Norton, *Printing*, 142–6; Vindel, vii. 291–6, n°. 91; BMC iii, 717–19.

<sup>151</sup> Geldner, *Die deutschen Inkunabeldrucker*, i. 109–11 + plate 38, ii. 297–301; Carlos Gilly, *Spanien und der Basler Buchdruck: Ein Querschnitt durch die spanische Geistesgeschichte aus der Sicht einer europäischen Buchdruckerstadt* (Basel & Frankfurt-am-Main: Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 1985), 120 n.

**L**um dñs ad iudicandum venit:

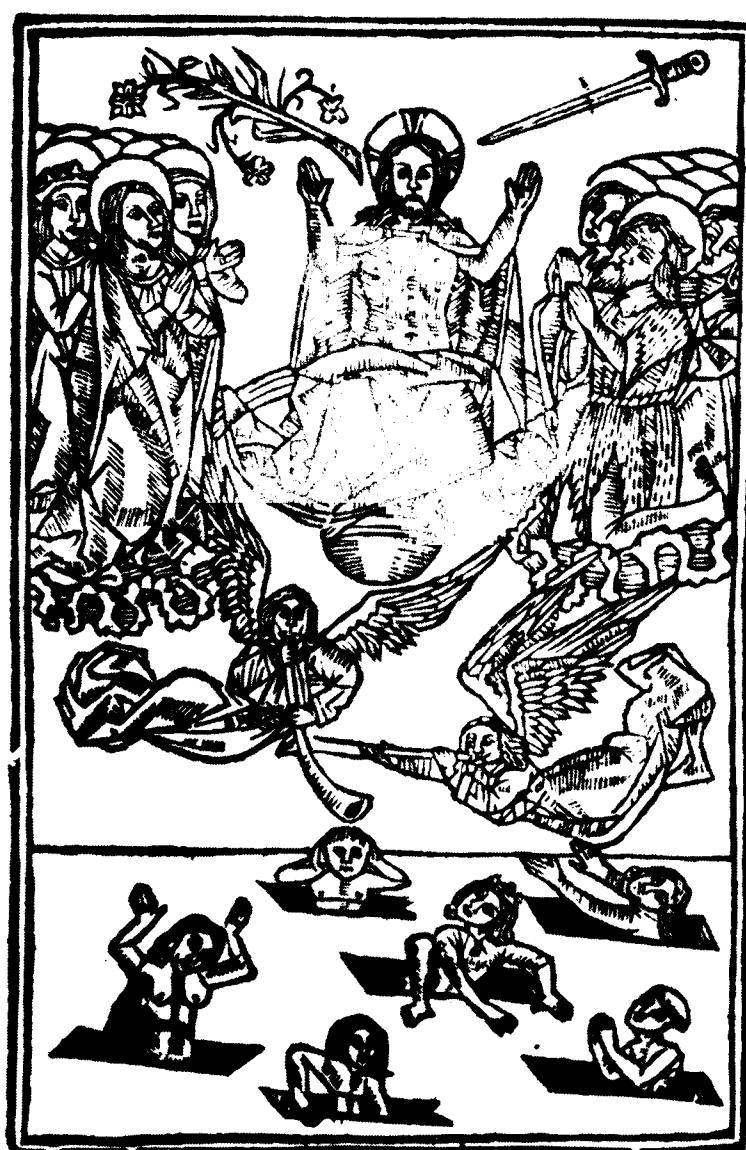


FIG. 46. JRULM 20791, sig. p<sup>b</sup>8.

**L**omiéça el libro primero de juá ger  
son chanciller de paris/de remedar a xpó:z del meno  
spacio de todas las vanidades del mundo. [Capi. i.]



Elien me sigue/no anda  
en tinieblas: mas temia  
la luz dela vida dixe el se  
ñor. Alqstas son palabras  
de xpó: por las qles so  
mos amonestados q res  
medemos su vida/z co  
stumbres. Si qremos ver  
daderamente ser alumbrados/z librados de toda

ceguedad del coraçō. Sea pues todo n̄o estudio pen  
sar en la vida de jh̄u xpó. La enseñanza z doctrina de  
xpó a todas las doctrinas dlos sc̄os sobrepuja: z el q  
convielle fui sp̄u escōdido en illa/fallaria ende dulcedumbre  
z māna. Mas concrece q muchos han q amenudo oyē  
el euangilio/siente pequeño deseo: porque no tiene el  
sp̄u de cristo. Mas el q quiere complida z sabiamēte  
entēder las palabras de xpó: conviene q estudie de cō  
formar ad toda su vida. Que te apruecha disputar  
altas cosas dela trinidad: si careces dla humildad: dō  
de desplegas a esa misma trinidad. porcierto las subi  
das palabras no fazen al hombre sc̄o/ní justo: mas la  
vida virtuosa lo faze amable a dios. Mas deseo sen  
tir la compunction z remordimiento dela consciencia

a ij

FIG. 47. JRULM 20791, sig. a<sub>2</sub><sup>a</sup>.

cō todo el coraçō. Allende todo esto acaeçē q̄el pensari  
uo mientra procura passar ala contéplaciō cae en male  
conia/o alguna lisiō fantastica en tāto q̄ toma las yma  
ginaciones muchas vezes passadas en la virtud ímagi  
nativa por las cosas mūs mas exteriores: z assi les acae  
çē a estos velādo: como a los que sueñan durmiēdo. cu  
yas palabras z obras no estan atadas entre si: ni guar  
dā orden alguno en las q̄les: ni ay principio: ni fin en  
las q̄les como se dixe vulgarmēte: ni ay cabeza: ni cola  
mas de vn gallo saltā avn cisne. en tāto que parece que  
sueñan velādo. E temen las cosas q̄ no son de temer  
z esperā las q̄ no son de esperar. Algora se dessalleçen d  
gozo. Algora de subita tristeza se podreçen: los q̄les hā  
menester mas ayuda de se sagrada q̄ amonestamiento  
z castigo de sabios.

Fin.

Feneçen los quattro libros de Juā Berson Chāceller  
de Paris del menospicio del mundo. E otro su tracta-  
do pequeño dela yimaginacion del coraçon. Impressa  
por maestre Fadrique aleman dc basilea enla muy no-  
ble z muy leal cibdad de burgos a. xxvij. días del mes  
de deciembre. Año del nascimēto de nuestro salvador  
señor jesu xpo. de mil z quatrocientos z nouentacincos  
años.

mar, dated 12 March 1485.<sup>152</sup> He printed works of many noted men of letters (among them Fernando del Pulgar, Cartagena, Peter Martyr of Anghiera, Nebrija, and Diego de San Pedro) as well as the anonymous *Coplas de Mingo Revulgo*, roughly sixty books being safely assignable to his activity before 1500.<sup>153</sup> Fadrique seems to have suffered financially, in common with many printers in Spain, during the first decade of the sixteenth century, even though he continued to carry out work for the Burgos cathedral authorities, four folio editions surviving from this period.<sup>154</sup> From 1509 trade recovered sufficiently for him to issue upwards of fifty books before 1517, some of them in association with Brocar (the printer of the Alcalá or Complutensian Polyglot Bible; see below n<sup>o</sup>. 17). He may have died in 1517, his last-known dated edition being a *Flor de virtudes* signed on 22 August (Norton, DC, n<sup>o</sup>. 292).<sup>155</sup> ‘The history of Fadrique de Basilea shows that the division between the incunable age and the sixteenth century is merely a bibliographical convenience. He had practiced his craft for over thirty years when he disappeared from the records in 1517, thus exemplifying both the continuity between the two centuries and also the remarkable longevity of those fifteenth-century presses which had been able to establish themselves securely in Spanish cities.’<sup>156</sup> He was succeeded by his son-in-law Alonso de Melgar (d. ?1525) who had married Basilea’s daughter Isabel in the summer of 1517.<sup>157</sup> After Melgar’s own death, his widow by his second marriage, who was to live on until 1576, remarried, her second husband being an Italian agent resident in Salamanca since c.1520, Juan de Junta (d. ?December 1557), a member of the famous Giunti family of merchant-printers active in Lyons, Florence, and Venice.<sup>158</sup>

#### 16. [King FERDINAND OF ARAGON]. *Sentència reial*. [Barcelona]. [Diego de Gumiell]. [c.1496].

Sosa 367 ('Johann Rosembach, about 1486'); Vindel, i. 196–7, n<sup>o</sup>. 118 (confusing this with a different edition).

<sup>152</sup> Sheppard & Painter, ‘Introduction to the Presses’, lxii–lxiii; Luisa Cuesta Gutiérrez, ‘Los tipógrafos extranjeros en la imprenta burgalesa des [sic] alemán Fadrique de Basilea al italiano Juan Bautista Vareso’, *Gutenberg – Jahrbuch* (1952), 67–74 (68); Haebler 310; Vindel, vii. 3–12, n<sup>o</sup>. 1; Rico, *Nebrija*, 59, 101–4.

<sup>153</sup> Griffin, 7, characterizes his press as ‘remarkable for its illustrated editions of popular literary works in the vernacular’.

<sup>154</sup> Norton, *Printing*, 58, describing these as ‘lean years’; also Griffin, 34, 136.

<sup>155</sup> Cuesta Gutiérrez, ‘Los tipógrafos’, 69, claims he was still alive in late 1518.

<sup>156</sup> Griffin, 7.

<sup>157</sup> Melgar is a small town, some thirty miles west of Burgos.

<sup>158</sup> A. Rumeau, ‘Isabel de Basilea “mujer impresora”?’; *Bulletin Hispanique*, lxxiii (1971), 231–47; Rumeau, ‘De Fadrique Alemán de Basilea a Alonso de Melgar: Burgos, 1517–1519’, *Bulletin Hispanique*, lxxvii (1975), 117–24. On remarriages among printers’ widows, see Susan V. Lenkey, ‘Printers’ Wives in the Age of Humanism’, *Gutenberg – Jahrbuch* (1975), 331–7; Griffin, 25–6, 72.

## (i) Barcelona BU.

2°: a<sup>6</sup> b<sup>4</sup> [§<sub>4</sub> signed (–a<sub>1</sub>, b<sub>4</sub>)]; 10 leaves, unnumbered. No running titles. 208 × 144 mm. (a<sub>2</sub><sup>b</sup>); gothic 98 (text), gothic 144 (title and section headings); 42 lines; composite woodcut border on a<sub>1</sub><sup>a</sup> and a<sub>2</sub><sup>a</sup>; woodcut capitals throughout; woodcut of arms of Catalonia on a<sub>1</sub><sup>a</sup>.<sup>159</sup>

Contents: a<sub>1</sub><sup>a</sup> [within woodcut border, in black and red (Fig. 49)] ‘¶ La sentencia reyal donada p lo senyor Rey don Ferran | do segõ enla primera cort de Barcelona: paſſant en acte | de cort en virtut ðl poder donat aſa mageſtat per la dita | cort ſobre les diſerencies de part a part deuallants per | cauſa deles turbacions paſſades. | [cut]’; a<sub>1</sub><sup>b</sup> blank; a<sub>2</sub><sup>a</sup>–b<sub>4</sub><sup>a</sup> text [within composite woodcut border (Fig. 50)] ‘¶ La ſentècia donada p lo ſenyor Rey don Fer | rando ſegõ enla primera cort de Barcelona . . .’; b<sub>4</sub><sup>b</sup> blank.

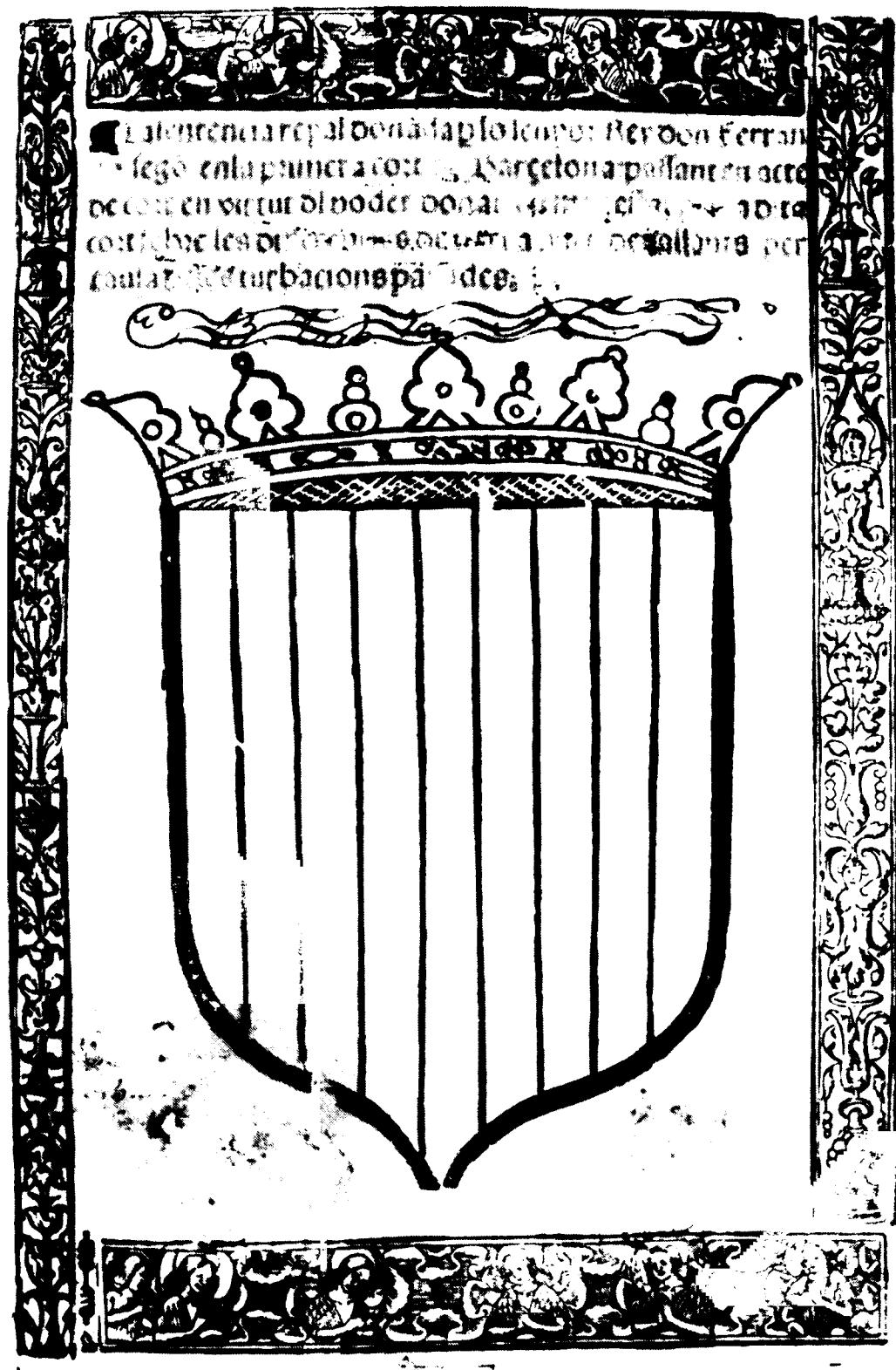
JRULM R109166 (formerly Inc. 26 G). Old shelf-mark ‘(Cº B. Tab. 10.8°.5°)’ and library stamp (?of Barcelona BU) ‘DUPLICAT’ on a<sub>1</sub><sup>a</sup>.

Ferdinand V of Aragon (1479–1516), regent of Castile after the death of his wife Isabella of Castile (1504). This royal *sentència* of 5 November 1481 to the Barcelona *Corts general* of Catalonia, with Catalan text and Latin conclusion, drawn up by Philippus Clementis ‘Regis protonotarius & notarius publicus’, was printed, on occasion with Latin preamble also, in a number of unsigned editions at Barcelona, the first of them probably of 1481 itself (Haebler 623(5), BOOCT<sub>1</sub>, 75, n<sup>o</sup>s. 775–77).<sup>160</sup> It contains a number of financial dispensations, restoring financial and jurisdictional rights (including those of the Crown) lost or confiscated in the aftermath of the civil unrest of the 1470s, and attempting thereby to restore the shortfall in Barcelona municipal finances.

Unsigned, but ascribable on typographical evidence to Diego de Gumiel, presumably from Gumiel de Hizán, a village between Burgos and Aranda de Duero in Old Castile, who is first encountered entering into an association in September 1494 with the Asturian printer Juan de Valdés and two Barcelona booksellers, Gabriel Prats and Pere Ramon Gavarró. The exact purpose of their association is unclear. Gumiel’s earliest known dated edition is the *Scala Dei* of Francisco Ximénez (Eiximenis) of 27 October 1494 (Haebler 710), and it seems that he printed at least nine works in Barcelona between 1494 and 1500, as well as at least one at Gerona: the Catalan translation by Guillem Fontana of Ximénez’s *Psalterium laudatorium* (*Saltiri*), in

<sup>159</sup> This same cut was used in editions of Felipe Malla, *Memorial del peccador remut* ([Barcelona]: [Juan Rosembach], [1495]), and a Vich Missal of 16 June 1496, printed, possibly by Rosembach and Luschner, at Barcelona (Haebler 390 & 449). It was presumably this, rather than any typographical evidence, which induced Sosa to ascribe this edition to Rosembach.

<sup>160</sup> See also Madurell & Rubió, 269–70, doc. 149.

FIG. 49. JRULM R109166, sig. a<sup>1a</sup>.

La sentència donada p lo senyor Rey don ger  
rando legó en la primera cort de Barcelona:pas  
lant en acte d cort en virtut del poder donat a la  
magestat per la d:ra cort sobre les diferències de  
part a part deuallats per causa dles turbacions  
pallades.

**M**os nōs de nře senyor Icluchust e bla humile glo  
riolamare na humilmet invocats. Mos dō Ferran  
do re. Vist lo poder a nřa magestad per la cort gene  
ral ciuitat precent iueat conuocada: que d present en a  
quella le celebra attribuit en e sobre los interessos e di  
ferències qui erē e son d part a part puenints p causa  
dles passades turbacions del principat de Lachalun  
ya: lo qual poder a nos p la dta cort attribuit es del tenor seguent.  
La cort general del principat de Lachalunya conuocada: la qual de  
present le celebra p la magestat del senyor Rey en la ciuitat de Barce  
lona ha feta de liberacio: q autes nos podē concordar los interessos  
particulars e differències q son de part a part dins lo dit pr:incipat de  
Lachalunya prouenint p: causa dles turbacions passades:ien re  
més tots les dites differències a la prefera magestat del senyor  
Rey. a determinació dela qual sobre aquelles se hage destrar. Volēt  
la dta magestat no puja ferir se de donatiu: si peria d:ra cort delibe  
rat sera fersus a tant enles sobredites differències hage declarar la  
alteia. En o ent. ni la dta cort enles sobredites coles remesas cōpen  
dre o parlar se de res de donatiu:ne de redres d justicia: monedes:mer  
cadena:del general:ne dles differències del senyor Rey ab particu  
lars dela cort:ne dles remenses. E volen:que sila present cort tra per  
la magestat del senyor Rey prorogada: a mes de tres mesos: o si a  
quella tera expirada o licenciada: que lo present poder sia extint. Eli  
st. s les dites differències e interessos q erē e son de part a part enlo  
dit principat prouenint per causa dles turbacions passades de a.

U 11

FIG. 50. JRULM R109166, sig. a<sup>2</sup>a.

**B**arçelona e fins en la pacífica jornada no son statos venguts o reduts als obediència del dit senyor Rey e nostra. E totes aquelles qui particularment e voluntaria se son pactats e concordats e tenen sentències arbitrales encara q' sobor aquelles penyes, plet judicis o altres sentències iudiciales passades en cosa jutjada. Com vullam quevis dits pactes e sentències sien servats. Provarem emperore declarar: queles persones que hauran a fer restitucio segons forma dia present nostra declaracio: hagen a pagar les penions o carrechys deles coles: que hauran a restituir. q' es los que sien deguts e degudes de c per lo temps que possent hauran. E aquells e aquelles hagen a pagar les gons forma dela present nostra pronuncia o determinacio e declaracio.

### **L.iii. Excepcio dela vila de Blanes sota del precedent Capitel.**

**E**n mes ne excepta la villa de Blanes e altres terres: que lo egredit Comte d'Urgona e la còrteua mulier sua tenet del rey d'aragó de Lleida fins q' ha sia feta justicia segons orde de ditz. sobre les quals es devant nos plet pendrà. No volem empero: que los dits Comte e Comtessa le pugue alegrar qual seuol do nations e gracies o ditzes acquiuics per causa dels turbacions passades. Ellos lents que lo dit Comte e Comtessa bien tenguts e paguen los còtials e altres carrechys: que sobre la ditz villa e terres son carregats tenint e posseint aquelles segons la forma e orde deuall knita e per nostra magister ordenada.

### **L.iv. Ultra excepcio dels bens del Comte de Modica: los quals te mossen larriera.**

**E**n cara mes ne exceptam si ditz capitulo q' te mossen Joha ferrero si Comte d'Urgona qual mete en le queire amans nostres deenidos per aquelles persones: que per nos bi seran depurades: fins a tant que per nos en altra manera hi sia proveit. Volem empero: que los censals que fa lo dit Comte de Modica: carregats sobre les vilas locs e terres de aquell e los que fan les ditz villes locs e terres sucs conjuncrament o divisa: bien paguen segons forma dels contractes dels ditz censals reduits empero segons la reductio de sus foedors dels censals. No obstant qual seuol gracies o donacions fetes dels ditz censals per causa dels ditz turbacions fetes. les quals de sus hanem revocat e revocam.

### **L.v. Ultra excepcio dels feus.**

**E**n dies ne excepta collenis q' tenen èsfeu e les altres coses q' les tenen en fren al fenderariis o Lòres Vescòres Barons Lavalles e altres singulars q'

2,000 copies for the notary Dalmau Ombert (20 March 1495).<sup>161</sup> He may have moved his press to Gerona between the end of February 1495 and the summer of 1497. He continued to work in close association with Valdés throughout the period of his Barcelona activity, and also had professional links with the press of Pere Miquel after the latter ceased his activity in 1495–6 (see above, n°. 11). From 1502 to 1513, he was at Valladolid, at least twenty-nine known editions coming from his press there, among them the first edition of Francisco de Madrid's translation of Petrarch's *De remediis*.<sup>162</sup> He is one of the few printers (as opposed to booksellers) who would appear to have made a reasonable amount of money from his professional activity, yet some at least of his fortune, perhaps including his estates in Castile, may have come from his marriage to a rich widow, Miquela Vila *née* Carner who certainly had property of her own in Manresa.<sup>163</sup> From Valladolid, Gumiell transferred to Valencia where he was active from July 1513 until at least 1517. Among the works from this last period were the first edition of the well-known romance, the *Questión de amor*,<sup>164</sup> a collection of works by Ramon Llull, and, with a subvention of 200 gold ducats from the City Council, the *Aureum opus regalium privilegiorum civitatis et regni Valentie*, an important collection of documents edited by Luis Alanya which emphasize, presumably for the benefit of the Crown, the rights and privileges enjoyed by the city and kingdom of Valencia, and containing the Catalan chronicle of the founder of the kingdom of Valencia, Jaume I The Conqueror, who seized the city from the Moors in 1238.<sup>165</sup>

## 17. pseudo-BONAVENTURE. *Diaeta salutis*, and *De resurrectione hominis*. Pamplona. Arnao Guillén de Brocar. 3 November 1497.

Sosa 157.

(i) Madrid BN; Cuenca BCat; (ii) Paris BN (imperfect); Lisbon BN and Arquivo N da Torre do Tombo; (iii) BL; Cambridge UL; Dublin Trinity Coll; (iv) HEHL; San Juan de Puerto Rico \*La Casa del Libro.

<sup>161</sup> Madurell & Rubió, 197–200, 322, 329–30, docs. 102, 182, 188; Norton, DC, 466; Curt F. Bühler, 'A Gerona Incunabulum and the Press of Diego de Gumiell', *Gutenberg – Jahrbuch* (1952), 64–6; J. Massó y Torrents, 'Les obres de Fra Francesch Eximenç (1340?–1409?): Essaig d'una bibliografia', *Anuari del Institut d'Estudis Catalans*, iii (1909–10), 588–692 (673–6).

<sup>162</sup> Norton, DC, n°s. 1285–313.

<sup>163</sup> Joana Escobedo, 'Un nuevo incunable catalán en la Biblioteca de Catalunya', *Gutenberg – Jahrbuch* (1985), 143–4; Madurell & Rubió, 219–21, 332–41, docs. 117, 191–2, 194. Rubió, however, dismisses as utopian any attempt at gauging how many printers actually made money from practising their craft ('Integración', 121).

<sup>164</sup> Keith Whinnom, *The Spanish Sentimental Romance, 1440–1550* (London: Grant & Cutler, 1983), 69, n°. L1.

<sup>165</sup> The three editions are dated 2 July 1513, 12 February 1515, and 30 October 1515, respectively (Norton, DC, n°s. 1242, 1247, & 1248).

8°: a–z<sup>8</sup> τ<sup>8</sup> ρ<sup>8</sup> γ<sup>8</sup> 9<sup>4</sup> [§<sub>4</sub> (– a<sub>1</sub>, 2<sub>3</sub> 9<sub>2–4</sub>)]; 212 leaves, ff. 1 2–164 165–212 (misnumbering 77 as ‘79’, 79 ‘77’). Running titles on recto folios, a<sub>2</sub>–z<sub>7</sub>. 110 × 70 mm. (a<sub>2</sub><sup>a</sup>); gothic 88 (text), gothic 133 (headings and first line of each section), gothic 137 (all of a<sub>1</sub><sup>a–b</sup>).<sup>166</sup> Cuts on a<sub>1</sub><sup>a</sup>, a<sub>1</sub><sup>b</sup>.

Contents: a<sub>1</sub><sup>a</sup> ‘[woodcut of the Crucifixion, 69 × 44 mm. (Fig. 52)]<sup>167</sup> | Dieta salutis a beato bonauē | tura edita: nouiter īpres̄sus ac | emendat<sup>9</sup> Incipit feliciter.’; a<sub>1</sub><sup>b</sup> ‘[woodcut of Virgin and Child, with four angels, 68 × 42 mm. (Fig. 53)]<sup>168</sup> | Dignare me laudare te vir | go ſacrata. Da michi virtu | tem contra hoſtes tuos.’; a<sub>2</sub><sup>a</sup>–a<sub>3</sub><sup>b</sup> Prologue (Fig. 54) ‘¶ Prologus ſeu prefatio ī libellū p̄edicatori | bus [sic] maxime perutilē: qui cōmunit’ dieta ſa= | lutis ab omnibus nuncupatur . . .’; a<sub>3</sub><sup>b</sup>–z<sub>7</sub><sup>b</sup> text ‘De pctō ī cōi. Primū capl’m. | Primo igit’ nota de peccato vl’ | vicio in cōmuni . . .’; z<sub>8</sub><sup>a</sup>–y<sub>2</sub><sup>b</sup> Index to *Diaeta salutis*; y<sub>3</sub><sup>a</sup>–y<sub>4</sub><sup>b</sup> ‘¶ Deuota cōtēplatio ſeu meditatio edita a | beato Bonauētura: de natuitate domini no | ſtri ihesu xpi . . .’; y<sub>4</sub><sup>b</sup>–9<sub>2</sub><sup>b</sup> ‘¶ Tractatus de reſurrectione a peccato | ad gratiam admodum vtilis ex dictis ſancti bonauenture excerptus. | Paulus apoſtolus videtur fir= | miter aſſerere . . .’; 9<sub>3</sub><sup>a–b</sup> Index to *De reſurrectione a peccato*; 9<sub>4</sub><sup>a</sup> colophon (Fig. 55) ‘¶ Sancti bonauenture doctoris eximij de | dieta ſalutis vna cum tractatu de reſurrecſtione hominis a peccato | p̄paratione ad graſtiam tractatus emendatus nuper ac recogni | tus: cum tabula q<sub>3</sub> accuratiſſime confecta feli | citer finit. Impresſus pampilone per venera | bilem virum magiſtrum Arnaldum guillier= | mum de brocario. Anno domini Mil .cccc. | xcviij. Die tertia mensis nouembris | [printer’s device, 56 × 42 mm.]’<sup>169</sup>; 9<sub>4</sub><sup>b</sup> blank.

JRULM 15886 (formerly Inc. 16 H). From Spencer; passages marked in hand in black ink on a<sub>4</sub><sup>b</sup> and a<sub>6</sub><sup>a</sup>–a<sub>7</sub><sup>a</sup>; notes in hand on 9<sub>3</sub><sup>b</sup> (Fig. 56) and name of erstwhile owner below printer’s device on 9<sub>4</sub><sup>a</sup> (Fig. 55): ‘es de fray pedro de Cueth ad usum ipsius’. Of this edition and copy, Dibdin gloated (iv. 458–9, n°. 941): ‘It is very rarely that we see a more genuine specimen of early and elegant printing’; ‘The copy before us is almost without the semblance of a blemish’; ‘[an] estimable little volume’; ‘This beautiful volume is splendidly bound in blue morocco, by C. Lewis’.

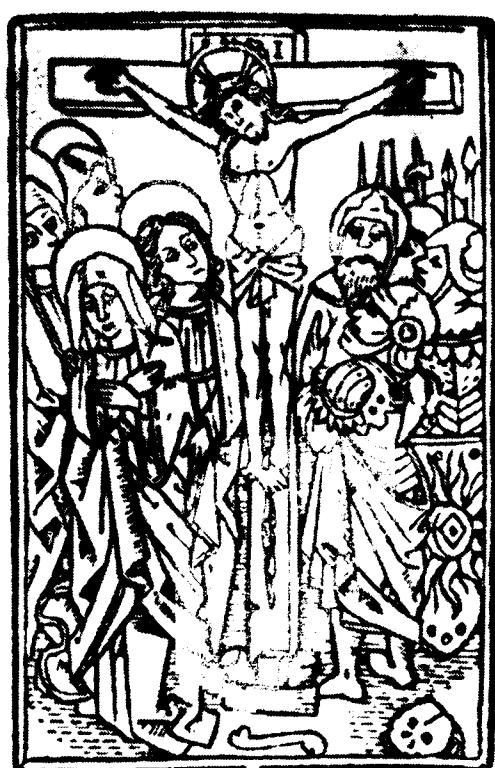
The *Diaeta salutis*, the work of an otherwise unknown Franciscan monk, Guillaume de Lanicia (Lavicea, Canitià, etc; died before 1310), a treatise concentrating on the ascetic life and the perfection of the individual soul, was, like the *De reſurrectione a peccato ad gratiam* (a miscellany compiled from various authors), the *Meditations* (below,

<sup>166</sup> BMC x, plate XVIII<sup>s</sup>.

<sup>167</sup> Vindel, vi. 211.

<sup>168</sup> Vindel, vi. 212.

<sup>169</sup> Reproduced in Vindel, *Escudos*, n°. 29, Lyell, 94, fig. 74, and Gaselee, *The Early Spanish Printing Press*, plates between 2 and 3, figs. 2–4.



**Diet<sup>a</sup> salutis a beato bonauē  
tūra edita: nouiter ipresso: ac  
emendat<sup>9</sup> Iucipit feliciter.**

FIG. 52. JRULM 15886, sig. a<sub>1</sub><sup>a</sup>.



Dignare me laudare te vír  
go sacrata. Da míchi virtu  
tem contra bostes tuos.

FIG. 53. JRULM 15886, sig. a<sub>1</sub><sup>b</sup>.

**prologus.** **fo. ii.**

**C**Prologus seu prefatio i libellū p̄dicatori  
bus maxime perutile: qui cōmuniſ dīca ſa-  
lutiſ ab omnibus nuncupatur.

**H**Ec eſt viā: ambulate iñ ea  
q̄ nō declinetis ad dexteraz neq; ad  
ſinistrā Eſa. xxx. M̄agnā miāz facit  
q̄ errāti viā oſidit: maxime de nocte/ i tra ho-  
ſtiū. z t̄p̄e guerraꝝ. Errātes ſūt pctōres. iux-  
ta illud qđ dī. Ro. iii. D̄es enī peccauerunt:  
z egēt ḡfa dei. Et prime iobis. i. Si dixerim⁹  
q̄ pctōi nō habem⁹: iþi nos ſeducimus/ z ve-  
ritas in nob̄ nō ē. Lū igiſ ōes ſimus pctōres  
ergo ōes ſum⁹ errātes. ſicut dī. yſa. liij. Oſis  
nos q̄ſi oues errauim⁹: vñuſquiſoꝝ iñ viā ſuā  
declineuit. Nor ē pctōi iñſtat niuis frigiduz  
id eſt iñfrigidās dilectionē/ obſcuꝝ. i. obſcu-  
rās rōez: ineptū faciēs ad bonā opationem.  
Tlenit nor q̄ſi nemo poterit opari Terra ho-  
ſtiū: ē mūduſ. iñ q̄ p̄ncipal̄ dyabolus. Jobis  
xii. Tūc p̄nceps mūdi hui⁹ eiſcet foras. Tē  
pus guerre: ē t̄p̄s p̄ſtiovit e q̄ nūc caro p̄cū-  
piscit aduersus ſpīn/ z ſp̄s aduersus carnez.  
vt dī. Gal. v. Quia igiſ ōes pctōres z erran-  
tes ſum⁹: p̄ x̄is extra viā veritatis imus. et i  
nocte/ z i tra hostili/ z i t̄p̄e guerre mortales  
ſum⁹: z exiſtim⁹. Iōo p̄dicatori⁹bi diui mar-  
a ū

FIG. 54. JRULM 15886, sig. a<sub>2</sub><sup>a</sup>.

¶ Sancti bonaventure doctoris eximij de  
dicta salutis vna cum tractatu de resurrectione  
hominis a peccato et preparatione ad gra-  
tiam tractatus emendatus nuper ac recogni-  
tus: cum tabula exactissime confecta feli-  
citer finit. Impressus pampilone per venera-  
bilem virum magistrum Arnaldum guidier-  
mum de brocario. Anno domini MCCCC.  
xcvij. Die tertia mensis nouembris



2.1.2. - o. 6. 1. d. 1. 1. 1. 1.

FIG. 55. JRULM 15886, sig. 9<sup>a</sup>.

**¶ Secunda particula de resistentia  
ad tentationem continens tria.**

**¶ Primo quomodo potest homo a culpa resurgere.  
Secundo quomodo potest a diversariis vincere  
Tertio qualiter tertiosibus potest resistere.**

**¶ Tertia particula est de resurre  
ctione ad gratiam continens tria.**

**¶ Primum de preparatiōe hominis ad gratiam.  
Secundo qualiter potest voluntas in aliquo bonū.  
Tertio quomodo potest mādata dei adiplere.**

pmv Bc. xx m̄. In postilla. s̄r illibitd.  
Mang autē mā nō fit m̄ te. 12.

**Nullus. n. debet de propriā iniuria sumere vindictā  
per se nisi moubat libi ex officio. et tunc meū esset  
q. per alium faceret. Unde legitur de platone q. seruū  
suis peccantē contra se tradidit alteri punitendis.  
ne ipse propria iniuria motus mēsura excederet rōm̄.**

nº. 19), and the *Forma de novitiis* of David of Augsburg, traditionally attributed to the Franciscan monk St Bonaventure (Giovanni di Fidanza: Bagnorea 1221–1274 Lyons), known in the Middle Ages as the ‘Doctor devotus’ and, later and more generally, as the ‘Doctor seraphicus’. The title given to Bonaventure in the colophon to the edition of the *Diaeta* described here, ‘Doctor eximius’, was used variously for Thomas Aquinas, Richard of Middleton, Peter Aureoli, and Francisco Suárez, but not extensively for Bonaventure himself. At least sixteen incunable editions of it are now known, apart from those contained in collections of the works of Bonaventure.

Arnao (or Arnould) Guillén de Brocar, like Pere Posa (see above, p. 77) appears, to judge from the adjective *venerabilis* used of him in a colophon of 1496 (Haebler 133), to have been in minor orders.<sup>170</sup> He was probably of French origin and from the village of Brocq, or Lo Brocar (near Orthez, Basses-Pyrénées), as he printed a missal for the church at Lescar in whose diocese that village fell, that edition dating from 1495, during the period when his activity was centred on Pamplona, the largest city in the independent kingdom of Navarre. His first Pamplona edition was a *Manual* for the cathedral dated 15 December 1490, and his last, the *Constitutiones sinodales diocesis Pamplonensis* (Norton, DC, nº. 443) bears the date 7 August 1501, though he may have continued to work in the city for a few months after that. By the summer of 1502 he was in Logroño, and it was there, in October 1503, that he produced his first edition of Nebrija’s greater Latin Grammar, the *Introductiones latinae*.<sup>171</sup> He is, however, best known for his work at Alcalá de Henares. The contact with Nebrija (see above, p. 68) was probably the turning-point in his career, and for ten years he became virtually the sole publisher of the grammarian’s numerous works; moreover, it seems likely that it was on Nebrija’s recommendation that Cardinal Jiménez de Cisneros (1436–1517) chose Brocar to be the printer for his new university at Alcalá,<sup>172</sup> and to carry out his plans for the publication of a polyglot Bible and of a series of liturgical works for the cathedral at Toledo.<sup>173</sup> Brocar’s Alcalá press began work in 1511, and the last works known from his Logroño

<sup>170</sup> Sheppard & Painter, ‘Introduction to the Presses’, lxxi.

<sup>171</sup> Norton, DC, 159 and nºs. 364, 373, 443–4; Antonio Pérez Goyena, *Ensayo de bibliografía navarra desde la creación de la imprenta en Pamplona hasta el año de 1910*, 9 vol. (Burgos: Diputación Foral de Navarra, C.S.I.C., & Institución Príncipe de Viana, 1947–64), i. 7–10, nº. 1 ('1489').

<sup>172</sup> Archivo General de Simancas, Libros de Cámara, *Libro 22*, fos. 357–8, *privilegio* of 7 Jan./24 Oct. 1511, reprinted in *Cartulario de la Universidad de Salamanca*, ed. Vicente Beltrán de Heredia, 5 vol., *Acta Salmaticensia: Historia de la Universidad* 17, 19–20, 22–3 (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1970–72), ii. 380–1, nº. 358.

<sup>173</sup> Norton, DC, 159. Griffin, 9: ‘There is evidence that printers had to engage in other commercial activities unless they were fortunate enough to corner the market in one of the few lucrative areas of jobbing printing. Brocar, for example, made his money not from the magnificent editions for which he is now remembered, but from the privilege which he enjoyed on the best-selling works of the grammarian, Antonio de Nebrija, and by his appointment as joint

operation are of 1517 (Norton, *DC*, nos. 427–30). He probably died in 1524; certainly, from the early summer of that year, books from his press were signed by his Navarrese son-in-law Miguel de Eguía (b. c.1495), a cousin of St Francis Xavier who combined his activities as a printer with considerable involvement in trade in his native Estella. Eguía would later attract the suspicion of the Holy Office both as printer – of Erasmus's *Enchiridion militis christiani* (1525, and again in 1526), Juan de Valdés's *Diálogo de doctrina cristiana* (14 January 1529), and Vergara's *Antología* – and as host and benefactor in Alcalá, in March 1526, of the then suspect Ignatius of Loyola.<sup>174</sup> Almost as soon as he took over Brocar's presses, Eguía complained in print about the shortage in Spain of humanistic texts, and he repeated his criticism, much quoted by students of Spanish printing, in the dedication he himself wrote to his edition of Alfonso de Fonseca, Archbishop of Toledo, *Precatio dominica* (1525).<sup>175</sup>

**18. GILES OF ROME.** *El regiment dels prínceps.* ?Translated by Arnau Stranyol. Barcelona. Johann Luschner (for Frank Ferber). 22 October 1498.

Sosa 2.

(i) Madrid BN and RA de la Historia; Barcelona BU (imperfect) and B de Catalunya; Palma de Mallorca BP Bartolomé March; Valencia BUP; Vich B del Archivo y Museo Episcopal; (ii) The Hague Meermann Westreenien; Paris BN (two copies); Cagliari BU; Palermo BN; Turin BR.

2°: a–f<sup>8</sup> g<sup>6</sup> h–y<sup>8</sup> z<sup>6</sup> ¶<sup>4</sup> [§<sub>4</sub> signed (–a<sub>1</sub>, a<sub>2</sub>; x<sub>2</sub> signed ‘<sub>2</sub>’)].<sup>176</sup> 184 leaves, unnumbered. No running titles. 232 × 144 mm. (a<sub>3</sub><sup>a</sup>); two columns; gothic 98 (text), gothic 134 (chapter-headings and colophon), gothic

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printer of the indulgences of the Santa Cruzada, for which purpose he established branch offices in Toledo and Valladolid, where the monasteries holding the privileges on these indulgences, San Pedro Mártir and Santa María del Prado, were located' (see also 30, 41, 52 and 67 n.). For an example of a printer who ran foul of conflicting attitudes towards privileges to print Bulls of the Santa Cruzada, see the accusations levelled against Andrés de Burgos (Archivo General de Simancas, Libros de cámara, *Libro* 25, fo. 98, repr. in Beltrán de la Heredia, *Cartulario*, ii. 383, no. 362; also Gil Fernández, *Panorama social*, 610–11). Brocar's Valladolid office was active from 1514 to 1519, and the Toledo office from 1518 to 1521. He also subcontracted work to presses in various cities.

<sup>174</sup> Bataillon, *Erasmo y España*, 219, characterizes his activity as a ‘campaña de ediciones erasmianas’. See also J. Goñi Gatzambide, ‘El impresor Miguel de Eguía procesado por la Inquisición (c.1495–1546)’, *Hispania Sacra*, i (1948), 35–88 (41–2, 58–66); Antonio Odriozola, ‘Libros impresos en Estella en el siglo XVI: doce reproducciones seguidas de breves notas’, *Príncipe de Viana*, i (1940), no. 1, 153–63 (156–7); Georg Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier: His Life, His Times*, translated by Joseph Costelloe, 4 vol. (Rome: The Jesuit Historical Institute, 1973–82), i [1973]: *Europe, 1506–1541*, 156, 303, 496–7, 534 n.; Manuel Serrano y Sanz, ‘Juan de Vergara y la Inquisición de Toledo’, *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos*, v (1901), 896–912.

<sup>175</sup> Cited by, among others, Gil Fernández, *Panorama social*, 572–3, but note the cautionary comments of Griffin, 10–11.

<sup>176</sup> Vindel, i. 200, incorrectly gives ‘a–z<sup>8</sup>’.

252 (title), occasional smaller gothic in signatures; 47 lines; large woodcut capitals on a<sub>2</sub><sup>a</sup>, c<sub>5</sub><sup>a</sup>, i<sub>6</sub><sup>b</sup>, k<sub>7</sub><sup>b</sup>, n<sub>3</sub><sup>b</sup>, p<sub>4</sub><sup>a</sup>, r<sub>2</sub><sup>a</sup>, t<sub>2</sub><sup>a</sup>, y<sub>4</sub><sup>a</sup>; smaller woodcut capitals throughout; space for capitals (with guide) on d<sub>2</sub><sup>a</sup>, s<sub>8</sub><sup>b</sup>, u<sub>8</sub><sup>b</sup>. Woodcut border on a<sub>2</sub><sup>a</sup>; woodcut design on u<sub>5</sub><sup>a</sup>.

Contents: a<sub>1</sub><sup>a</sup> title (Fig. 57) 'Epiſtola de frare Egi | di Roma al Rey de | França ſobre lo libre | del regimēt dels Prí | ceps.'; a<sub>1</sub><sup>b</sup> blank; a<sub>2</sub><sup>a</sup> [within woodcut border (Fig. 58)] 'Epiſtola de Frare Egidi | Roma al Rey de frança | ſobre lo libre del regimēt | dels Princeps | . . .'; a<sub>2</sub><sup>a-b</sup> 'Gloſa de Coſa violent . . .'; a<sub>2</sub><sup>b</sup>-k<sub>7</sub><sup>a</sup> Book I; k<sub>7</sub><sup>a</sup>-r<sub>3</sub><sup>b</sup> Book II; r<sub>3</sub><sup>b</sup>-t<sub>4</sub><sup>b</sup> Book III; t<sub>4</sub><sup>b</sup> explicit and colophon (Fig. 59): explicit '[left hand column:] Referida gracia al omnipo | tent deu es dat fi ala pre= | clarissima e diuina obra de | moral philosophia . . .', colophon 'Impſſa en la inſignia ciutat | [right hand column] de Barcelona p[er] Johan lu= | Luschner alemany emprēpta= | dor/A des peſes del hono= | rable Franch Ferber merca | der Alemany/Emendat e | corregit per lo Reuerēd me= | Mestre Aleix regint les ſcoles | en dita ciutat/A .xxij. de oc= | tubre. Any. M.cccc.xcvij.'

JRULM 19254 (formerly Inc. 16 G 6). From Spencer, Dibdin describing it as 'an indifferent copy of a magnificently printed book'.<sup>177</sup> Note, much faded, on a<sub>1</sub><sup>a</sup> in hand.

This translation into Catalan is probably the work of the Carmelite Arnau Stranyol, several manuscript copies of that translation surviving (e.g. Escorial r-I-8; Barcelona B de Catalunya MS 739), many of them at one time in the private collections of 'honoured citizens' (*ciutadans honrats*) of Barcelona.<sup>178</sup> It was corrected in 1480 by 'Mestre Aleix', regent of Barcelona University, for the Barcelona edition completed on 2 November of that year by Nicolaus Spindeler (printer of n°s. 3 and 4 above) for the *converso* bookseller Joan Ca-Coma (Haebler 154, Sosa 1, BOOCT<sub>1</sub>, 58, n°. 614).<sup>179</sup> A Castilian translation is discussed above, n°. 13.

Luschner, a native of Lichtenberg (or Lichtemberck) in either Saxony or Bavaria, is mentioned archivally at Barcelona in April 1494 in connection with the printer Johann Rosembach of Heidelberg who was active in that city from 1492 until 1498 and again from 1506 until his death in 1530.<sup>180</sup> In 1495 and 1496, Luschner printed in associa-

<sup>177</sup> Dibdin, vii. 107, n°. 158. He later refers to it in the same note as 'a very indifferent copy, recently bound in calf'.

<sup>178</sup> Carmen Batlle, 'Las bibliotecas de los ciudadanos de Barcelona en el siglo xv', *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez*, xi (1975), 15-34 (18-19).

<sup>179</sup> Fuster, *Bibliotheca valenciana*, i. 20; Odriozola, 'La imprenta en Castilla', plate xii. It may be the Arnau Stranyol version that is listed in the inventory of the books of Antoni Jaume Ca-Pila, citizen of Barcelona, July/August 1492 (Madurell & Rubió, 162-70, doc. 81 (165, item 37); see also 79, 229, 492, 503, 759); the Barcelona merchant Joan Vicenç de Terrades certainly possessed a copy of the Luschner edition (inventory of 1518/1519: Madurell & Rubió, 593-6, doc. 341 (594, item 5)).

<sup>180</sup> Norton, *Printing*, 107-10.

Epistola de frare Egi  
di Roma al Rey de  
França sobre lo libre  
del regimēt dels pri  
ceps.

FIG. 57. JRULM 19254, sig. a<sub>1</sub><sup>a</sup>.

FIG. 58. JRULM 19254, sig. a<sub>2</sub><sup>a</sup>.

no deuen esser fetes bestiales. per  
que aixom per bestial e seguda la  
superfluitat dels humors es forza  
estada; per la qual es torbada la sa-  
nitat del cors: assí per bestiales los  
humors y los quals es emperat al  
humor e la pua del regne: dene  
més ambiants e morts. E perque si  
el reys e prínceps han hauer iuta  
dumelhanç mostrat totes les ma-  
sters de fer armes e totes les costes  
per los quals puguen vèstre los ene-  
mics. Lo q tot deu esser ordenat  
al le començala pua del ciutadans  
Car si ell engenen en lo le començ  
pua dels ciutadans e reservirà e ob-  
sidran assí pua ciutat. Ena qual  
en multa rerepa lo qual nostre sen-  
yor jesus ha promès als seus fets: q  
deu tincye entorn los angles eternam-  
ment. Amén.

de Barçelona p Fabian  
Schiner alemany campíper  
do. El despeses del hono-  
rable franeb Ferber mercer  
de Alemany. Emendat e  
corregit per lo Reuerend me-  
stre Eleg regent les scoles  
en dita ciutat. El. m. de oc-  
tubre. Ano. M. cccc. xcviij.

Referida gracia al omnipo-  
tent deu es dat si sia pres-  
darissima e divina obra de  
moral philosofia scolligi-  
da de tot lo discors de ethi-  
ca. byconomica e politica  
del peicep dels philosophs  
Aristotil p lo litteratissim.  
e reverend mestre en sacra  
theologia frare Egidi Ros-  
ma del orde d sant Agusti  
en rulgar Catala ab algu-  
nes Gloses molt specials  
posades en la fi dels Capí-  
tols pncmt lo vocable rectu  
al sobre lo qual es la glosa.  
Impressa en la insignia ciutat

FIG. 59. JRULM 19254, sig. **74<sup>b</sup>**.

tion with a number of other German printers then settled in Barcelona, most particularly Gerald Preus. From 1498, and perhaps earlier, he was printing alone, although he would retain close ties with Rosembach all his life.<sup>181</sup> On 28 December 1498 he signed an agreement to establish a press in the Benedictine monastery of Montserrat where, in 1499–1500, he printed a series of works on behalf of the Order, recasting some of his types for the occasion (the first of his Montserrat editions is described below, n<sup>o</sup>. 19). He seems to have completed his work in the monastery by 15 November 1500 (see below, p. 126 and note 195) and was certainly in Barcelona by the following March where, on 16 May, he signed a Catalan-language edition of Eiximenis, *Scala Dei*.<sup>182</sup> His last dated work is of September 1505, but it is known that in 1506–7 he was engaged on a contract he was unable to fulfil, even though he had received some payment in advance; he may well have ended his days in straitened circumstances, perhaps in a debtors' prison.<sup>183</sup> He is mentioned as recently deceased in 1512.<sup>184</sup> His son Joanot, who in 1514 married the daughter of a Barcelona musician, also worked as a printer, though he never acquired his own press, working instead for Carles Amorós (*recte* Boloç) of Tarascon.<sup>185</sup> Frank Ferber (d. c. 1500), who paid for this edition and is described in the colophon (sig. 74<sup>b</sup>) as a 'mercader alemany', was a German merchant from Ulm whose diverse business interests included the provision of paper for printers.<sup>186</sup>

It may have been Luschner who was responsible for the erroneous (and much repeated) identification of Giles of Rome (Egidio Colonna) with Guido de Columnis, a contemporary who lived and worked in Sicily and was author of the oft-printed *Historia Destructionis Troiae* (or *Historia Troiana*).<sup>187</sup>

<sup>181</sup> Madurell & Rubió, 187–90, 216–18, 222, 231, 267–8, 393, 525–6, docs. 95, 116, 119, 121, 147, 228, 291. Some of his early Barcelona editions were undertaken for the Benedictine bishop of Vich and abbot of Montserrat, Joan de Peralta: Jordi Rubió i Balaguer, 'Butlles incunables de Montserrat', *Analecta Montserratensis*, iv (1920–21), 263–77; Anselm M. Albareda, 'Un incunabolo sconosciuto dello stampatore J. Luschner (*Horae secundum Ord. S. Benedicti*)', *Miscellanea Accurti* (above, n. 78), 29–37 (34–7).

<sup>182</sup> Norton, *DC*, n<sup>o</sup>. 143; Madurell & Rubió, 332, doc. 189.

<sup>183</sup> Madurell & Rubió, 433–6, 438–9, 453–4, docs. 240, 242, 248, 250; Griffin, 9; Norton, *Printing*, 110.

<sup>184</sup> Madurell & Rubió, 525–6, doc. 291; Norton, *DC*, 59.

<sup>185</sup> Madurell & Rubió, 761–84, docs. 440–52; Rubió, 'Integración', 116.

<sup>186</sup> Madurell & Rubió, 70\*, 184–5, 214–16, 222, 257–61, 266–7, 283–4, docs. 93, 115, 119, 141–2, 146–7, 158; Rubió, 'Integración', 117. Ferber also financed a number of other editions. Norton (*Printing*, 108) comments that one reason behind many of the temporary business alliances documented at this time is that printers combined to purchase paper.

<sup>187</sup> According to Nathaniel Edward Griffin (ed.), *Guido de Columnis, Historia Destructionis Troiae*, Mediaeval Academy of America Publications 26 (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), xvi, the name of Guido is frequently wrongly given in mediaeval MSS as 'de Columpna' (for 'de Columpnis') due to a belief on the part of Latin scribes that he belonged to the noble Roman family of Colonna. Hence confusion with Egidio.

19. pseudo-BONAVENTURE. *Meditationes vite domini nostri iesu christi*. Montserrat. Johann Luschner (for the monastery). 16 April 1499.

Sosa 161.

(i) Madrid BN; Barcelona B de Catalunya; Cáceres BP; Girona BP; Montserrat Monestir de Montserrat; Orense BP (two copies); Oviedo BU; Santiago de Compostela BU (two copies); Reus \*Pau Font de Rubinat; (ii) Paris BN; Lisbon BN (two copies); (iv) HSA (imperfect); New York City Pierpont Morgan L; HEHL.

8°: a–z<sup>8</sup> 7<sup>8</sup> 8<sup>6</sup> [§<sub>4</sub> signed (– a<sub>1</sub>; l<sub>4</sub> signed ‘4’, r<sub>2</sub> ‘q<sub>2</sub>’, t<sub>2</sub> ‘t<sub>3</sub>’, 7<sub>2</sub> ‘z<sub>2</sub>’, 7<sub>4</sub> ‘z<sub>4</sub>’)]; 198 leaves, unnumbered.<sup>188</sup> No running titles. 107 × 68 mm. (a<sub>2</sub><sup>b</sup>); gothic 78 (text), gothic 100 (chapter-headings and colophon), gothic 67 (title, first line of chapters, and last line of colophon);<sup>189</sup> 27 lines; woodcut capitals throughout; spaces for capitals (with guide) on m<sub>2</sub><sup>a</sup>, m<sub>3</sub><sup>b</sup>, p<sub>1</sub><sup>b</sup>, p<sub>3</sub><sup>a</sup>, r<sub>8</sub><sup>a</sup>, u<sub>4</sub><sup>b</sup>, z<sub>3</sub><sup>b</sup>, z<sub>5</sub><sup>b</sup>, 7<sub>8</sub><sup>b</sup>, 8<sub>1</sub><sup>a</sup>, 8<sub>2</sub><sup>b</sup>.

Contents: a<sub>1</sub><sup>a</sup> Title ‘Liber meditationū vite do | mini nostri iesu christi.’; a<sub>1</sub><sup>b</sup> blank; a<sub>2</sub><sup>a</sup>–a<sub>7</sub><sup>b</sup> Table of contents ‘Prologus meditationū vi= | te dñi nři iſu xpi .Cap. .j. . . .’; a<sub>8</sub><sup>a</sup>–8<sub>5</sub><sup>a</sup> text (Fig. 60) ‘¶ Jncipit prologus meditationu<sub>3</sub> | vite domnii [sic] nostri Jeſu christi . . .’; 8<sub>5</sub><sup>a</sup>–b colophon (Figs. 61–2) ‘¶ Expliciūt meditatiōes quas ſan= | ctus ſcripſit Bonauētura de vita et | paſſione domini nostri Jeſu christi. | ad permaximā vtilitatē in vita ſpi= | rituali proficere cupiētem/in Mo | naſterio beate Marie de monteſer= | rato/ordinis ſancti Benedicti ð ob= | [8<sub>5</sub><sup>b</sup>] ſeruantia Impreſſum. per Johāne<sub>3</sub> | lufchner alamannm [sic]/Sub impenſis | eiudem monaſterij. Anno dñi .Mº. | ccccº. lxxxviiiij. xvij. menſ Aprilis. | Deo gratias. | [printer’s device of mother (Mary) and child with printing-press inside double circlet 33mm. in diameter].’<sup>190</sup>

JRULM 19902. Much material in hand on a<sub>1</sub><sup>a</sup>.

Like the *Diaeta salutis* described above (nº. 17), the *Meditationes*, a Latin version of an anonymous Italian compilation produced no later than 1335 in Tuscany by an unknown Franciscan and variously entitled *Liber aureus de vita Christi*, *Vita Christi*, and *Speculum vitae Christi*, were traditionally, although falsely, attributed to St Bonaventure. They circulated in two versions: the longer text of prologue and 95 chapters (as here), making 108 ‘chapters’ in all, and a shorter one of only 40, and had already been printed at Barcelona by Pere Miquel, 16

<sup>188</sup> Vindel, i. 215, gives ‘196’.

<sup>189</sup> BMC x, plate XIX<sup>s</sup>.

<sup>190</sup> Vindel, i. 216; Vindel, *Escudos*, 54, nº. 59 (also used in Luschner’s Montserrat edition of the *De instructione novitiorum* of ?pseudo-Bonaventure, dated 16 June 1499); Anselm M. Albareda, ‘La impremta de Montserrat (segles xv<sup>e</sup>–xvi<sup>e</sup>)’, *Analecta Montserratensis*, ii (1918), 11–166 (81), study reissued separately, Montserrat: Monestir de Montserrat, 1919 (91).

**I**ncepit prologus meditationu<sup>z</sup>  
vite domini nostri Iesu christi filii  
deuotum sanctu<sup>z</sup> Bonaventuram.  
Capitulum. i.

**A**ter alia virtutu<sup>z</sup>  
et laudu<sup>z</sup> preconia de sanctissima  
angine Eccilia legit. quod euangelio  
christi absconditum semper portas-  
bat in pectore. Quod sic intelligi de-  
bere videt. quod ipsa de vita domini Ies-  
su in evangelio tradita quedam sibi deuotiora pres-  
elegarat. in quibus meditabatur die ac nocte cor-  
de puro et integro. attente precipua et feruenti  
et cum plena circulatione reincipiens iterum. et  
dulci ac suavi gustu ruminans. ea in orbe suo pes-  
ctoris sui collocabat. Simile tibi suadeo faciens  
dam. Super omnia namque inter spiritualis exerci-  
tia studia hoc magis necessarium. magisque profi-  
ciuum credo. et quod ad celiorum gradus produce-  
re possit. Nusquam enim inuenis ubi sic doceri pos-  
ses contra vanam blandimenta et caduca. contra  
tribulationes et aduersa. contra hostium tempta-  
menta et vicia. sicut in vita domini Iesu que fuit  
absque omni defectu perfectissima. Et frequenter  
eum et assuetam meditationem vite ipsius adducitur

FIG. 60. JRULM 19902, sig. a<sup>8</sup>.

supernis in conceptu de spiritu sancto in ortu de  
 virginie in vite iunocetia. in doctrine fluentis. in  
 choruscationsbus miraculorum. in reuelationib⁹  
 sacramento⁹: um. q̄ deniqz rutilans post occasus  
 sol iusticie de corde terre resurgis. q̄ formosus in  
 stola tu i. demum rex glorie in alta celorum te re-  
 cipis: Quomodo non pro omnibus his omnia  
 ossa mea dicent. Domine quis similis tui: Hec  
 ergo simillaqz puto de dilecto intuentē sponsam  
 aduertisse cum diceret. Ecce tu pulcer es et decos-  
 rus. neqz hec sola. sed insuper aliquid proculdu-  
 bio de natura decoris superioris. quod nostrum  
 omnino preteruolat intuitum. et effugit experimē-  
 tum. Ergo iteratio vtriusqz decorum substātie de-  
 signauit. Hec Bernardus. Deo gratiarūactio et  
 beato Bernardo seruo suo dulci et fideli. Amen.

**T**Expliciūt meditatiōes quas san-  
 ctus scripsit Bonaventura de vita et  
 passione domini nostri Iesu christi.  
 ad per maximā utilitatē in vita spi-  
 rituali proficere cupiētum in Mo-  
 nasterio beate Marie de monteseri-  
 rato ordinis sancti Benedicti obi-

FIG. 61. JRULM 19902, sig. 25<sup>a</sup>.

• seruantia Impressum. per Johānez  
• luschner alamanum. Sub impensis  
• eiusdem monasterij. Anno dñi. M°.  
cccc°. lxxxviiiij. xvij. mens Aprilis.  
**Deo gratias.**



FIG. 62. JRULM 19902, sig. 15<sup>b</sup>.

July 1493 (IB 52533, Haebler 67 (=68), Sosa 159). One of the most important works of spirituality throughout the later Middle Ages, it was translated by an anonymous monk of Montserrat at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Copies of it were legion.<sup>191</sup>

Although Luschner had enjoyed close contacts for several years with the Benedictine monastery of Montserrat, some thirty miles north-west of Barcelona, and with its Abbot, García Jiménez de Cisneros (?1455–1510),<sup>192</sup> it was not until December 1498, when he was contacted directly by Fathers Pedro de Burgos and Pedro Camps, that he made any move to establish a press in the monastery itself. The initiative for this venture seems to have come from Cisneros whose programme of reform necessitated the supply of breviaries and bulls.<sup>193</sup> By 28 December Luschner had introduced himself and his team into the Marian sanctuary;<sup>194</sup> a formal agreement was signed by both parties on 7 January 1499, with the monastery undertaking to cover all the costs of material and personnel and to lodge Luschner, his wife, and young son in the nearby castle of Olesa.<sup>195</sup> The press was installed by 4 February, and the edition of the *Meditations* described here was the first to come from it.<sup>196</sup> According to surviving account-books of the monastery press, 600 copies were printed and then sent by Luschner in 1500 to San Benito in Valladolid whence a certain Fray Juan de Amusco distributed them to those Benedictine houses that came under Jiménez de Cisneros's jurisdiction.<sup>197</sup> Although the original agreement had expired at the end of April 1500, Luschner continued to work in the monastery for a further seven months, the last dated work to come from his press there being 1,006 copies of

<sup>191</sup> Alfredo Cione, *Giunte e correzioni al 'Indice generale degli incunaboli'*, (Florence: Edizioni Sansoni Antiquariato, 1960), 18–22. On the authorship and history of the *Meditations* see M. Jordan Stallings (ed.), *Meditationes de passione Christi olim Sancto Bonaventurae attributae*, Catholic University of America Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Latin Language and Literature 25 (Washington D.C.: The Catholic University of America, 1965), 3–14; on their influence in Spain, José-Luis Gotor, 'A propósito de las *Coplas de vita Christi*, de Fray Iñigo de Mendoza', *Studi Ispanici*, iv (1979), 173–214, reprinted with additions in Gotor, *Carte spagnole: dieci saggi di lettere e ricerche*, (Rome: Bulzoni, 1984), 27–69 (44–7).

<sup>192</sup> It was possibly Luschner who was the 'maestre Juan Estampador' that printed some 18,000 bulls for the monastery in May 1498: Rubió i Balaguer, 'Buttles', 263; Sheppard & Painter, 'Introduction to the Presses', xlivi.

<sup>193</sup> Paul J. Donnelly, 'A Study of Spanish Translations of Erasmus's *Colloquia* (1525–1536), with Special Reference to the Translations of Alonso de Virués, together with a Critical Edition of the Versions of *Uxor Mempsigamos*, *Funus*, and Part of *Convivium religiosum*', 2 vol., University of Oxford D.Phil. thesis, 1979, i. chapter i.

<sup>194</sup> Details of the team are provided by Méndez, *Tipografía española*, 170. His information came from notes made before the relevant archival documents were destroyed during the Peninsular War.

<sup>195</sup> Anselm M. Albareda, 'Die Drucke des Klosters Montserrat von ab 1499 bis 1500', *Philobiblon: Eine Zeitschrift für Bücherfreunde*, 9 (1936), unpaginated Beilage.

<sup>196</sup> García M. Colombás, *Un reformador benedictino en tiempo de los Reyes Católicos*, García Jiménez de Cisneros, abad de Montserrat (Montserrat: Abadía de Montserrat, 1955), 109, 136–44, 227.

<sup>197</sup> Méndez, *Tipografía española*, 169–75 (171, 173); Albareda, 'La imprenta' (1918), 80–2 (reissue (1919), 52–6, 62).

Jiménez de Cisneros's own *Exercitatorio espiritual* of 13 November 1500 (Haebler 151). Cisneros's works on spirituality, hugely popular in the sixteenth century in Spain, show clear signs of the influence of the *Meditations* and other works attributed to Bonaventure.<sup>198</sup> Apart from a total of 189,450 bulls, the press printed 7,291 volumes in just over 21 months of ceaseless activity.<sup>199</sup>

**20.** *Missale mixtum dictum Mozarabes*. Edited by Alfonso de Ortiz and others. Toledo. Peter Hagembach (for Melchior Gorricio). 9 January 1500.<sup>200</sup>

Sosa 619.<sup>201</sup>

(i) Madrid BN; Córdoba BCat; Toledo BP and BCat; Zaragoza BCat; (ii) Vienna Österreichische NB; Paris BN and B Sainte-Geneviève; Liepzig StadtB (imperfect); Florence BNC; Genoa BU; Rome B Corsiniana dell'Accademia dei Lincei; Pistoia B Capitolare Fabroniana; Lisbon BN; (iii) BL; Cambridge Emmanuel Coll; (iv) HSA; New York City Pierpont Morgan L.

2<sup>0</sup>: +<sup>8</sup> a–z<sup>8</sup> A–Z<sup>8</sup> 2A–2N<sup>8</sup> [\$<sub>4</sub> signed (– +<sub>1–2</sub>, +<sub>4</sub>; m<sub>3</sub> signed 'l<sub>3</sub>', 2N<sub>3–4</sub> 'N<sub>3–4</sub>')]; 480 leaves, ff. (roman) [8] 1–221 222 223 224 225–469 470–472 (misnumbering 60 as '55', 76 '77', 119 '109', 147 '144', 180 '173', 223 '233', 230 '227', 231 '226', 257 '252', 271 '267', 282 '283', 314 '320', 318 '311', 376 '375'; and giving 'V' for the second 'X' in 27, and 'L' for the second 'C' in 277). Running titles (in red) +<sub>8</sub><sup>a</sup> – 2N<sub>7</sub><sup>b</sup>. 257 × 178 mm. (+<sub>8</sub><sup>a</sup>), one column; 242 × 153 mm. (a<sub>1</sub><sup>b</sup>), two columns; gothic 103 (part of dedicatory epistle, index, and text), gothic 150 (text; 2 founts), gothic 220 (title, colophon and occasional text);<sup>202</sup> 32 lines; space for capital (with guide) on a<sub>1</sub><sup>a</sup>; music E<sub>4</sub><sup>b</sup>–G<sub>2</sub><sup>b</sup>, P<sub>5</sub><sup>a</sup>–P<sub>6</sub><sup>b</sup>; cut of Christ on the Cross, with Mary and a ?saint, surrounded by the emblems of the Evangelists in circlets on F<sub>5</sub><sup>b</sup>;<sup>203</sup> printed circlets on F<sub>6</sub><sup>b</sup>.

Contents: +<sub>1</sub><sup>a</sup> title (Fig. 63) [in black and *red*] '[printer's device (132 × 82 mm.) within composite woodcut border]<sup>204</sup> | *Missale mixtum*

<sup>198</sup> Méndez, *Tipografía española*, 172; Cebrià Barant, 'Les fonts franciscanes dels escrits de Garsias de Cisneros', *Analecta Montserratensis*, ix (1962) (= *Miscel·lània Anselm M. Albareda*, i), 64–78 (70–8); Anselm M. Albareda, *Bibliografia dels monjos de Montserrat (segle XVI)* (Montserrat: Monestir de Montserrat, 1928), reproduces, 59, sigs. n<sub>3</sub><sup>b</sup>–n<sub>4</sub><sup>a</sup> of this ed., but suggests, 95, that Luschner's last work from the monastery press was probably later, perhaps the undated *Directorium horarum canonicarum* of 1500 (Haebler 235). See Lyell, 97–9.

<sup>199</sup> Méndez, *Tipografía española*, 172, incorrectly giving this as '7691 cuerpos de libros'.

<sup>200</sup> Or 1501 (see below, p. 134).

<sup>201</sup> See also Cristóbal Pérez Pastor, *La imprenta en Toledo: descripción bibliográfica de las obras impresas en la imperial ciudad desde 1483 hasta nuestros días* (Madrid: M. Tello, 1887; facsimile reprint, Salamanca: Gráficas Cervantes, 1984), 16–17, n°. 15.

<sup>202</sup> BMC x, plate XVII<sup>s</sup>.

<sup>203</sup> Lyell, 91, fig. 71.

<sup>204</sup> Reproduced in Vindel, *Escudos*, 46, n°. 51; Dibdin, i. 137; Bohigas, *El libro español*, 96, fig. 25.

*Secūdum re | gulam beati Isidori dictum | Mozarabes.*; +<sub>1</sub><sup>b</sup> dedicatory epistle (Fig. 64) [in black and red] ‘Ad reuerendissimum In christo patrem & dñm .d. pre | stantissimū Franciscū ximenē Archiepiscopū Toleta= | nū. Alfonsi ortiz diuini & humani iuris doctoris & Ca= | nonici Toletani prefatio incipit. | [space of one line] | Immortales tibi Antistes celeberrime referat gr̄as se | culi nostri . . .’; +<sub>2</sub><sup>a</sup> – +<sub>7</sub><sup>b</sup> table of Golden Numbers, Latin calendar, and calendar of Saints’ days; +<sub>8</sub><sup>a–b</sup> Benediction (Fig. 65); a<sub>1</sub><sup>a</sup> – 2N<sub>5</sub><sup>b</sup> text [in red and black] ‘**Dominica prima aduētus | domini. Ad missam officiū.** | (E)Cce super montes . . .’; 2N<sub>5</sub><sup>b</sup> – 2N<sub>7</sub><sup>b</sup> Index; 2N<sub>7</sub><sup>b</sup> Benediction; 2N<sub>8</sub><sup>a</sup> colophon [in red (Fig. 66)] ‘Ad laudem omnipotentis dei. | necnon virginis marie matris eius: omnium | sanctorum sanctarumq;. Expletum est missa= | le mixtum scđm regulam beati Isidori dictū | Mozarabes: maxima cum diligentia perle= | ctum et emēdatū per Reuerēdissimū in vtro= | q; iure doctorem dominum Alfonsum ortiz | Canonicum Toletanum. Impressum in re= | gali ciuitate Toleti. Iussu Reuerēdissimi in | christo patris dñi .d. Frācisci ximenes: eiusdē | ciuitatis Archiepiscopi. Impensis Nobilis | Melchioris gorricij Nouariensis. Per magi | strum Petrum hagembach. Alemanum. An | no salutis nostrae Milleſimo quingenteſimo | die Xo nona mensis Ianuarij.’; 2N<sub>8</sub><sup>b</sup> blank.

JRULM 263 (formerly Inc. 16 G). Originally in the splendid collection amassed in the 1660s and 1670s by Louis XIV’s finance minister Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619–1683), with Colbert’s arms on both front and back of the magnificent red-morocco binding. Dibdin gloats: ‘it is, in all respects, “exemplar integerrimum et splendidissimum”’.<sup>205</sup>

Edited (with the assistance of Antonio Rodríguez, Alfonso Martínez, and Jerónimo Gutiérrez, described in the dedicatory epistle as ‘beatarum Iuste et Eulalie ac beati Luci evangeliste ecclesiarum rectoribus’) by Alfonso Ortiz, chaplain to Queen Isabella of Castile, tutor to Prince John (d. 1497), and canon of Toledo cathedral,<sup>206</sup> and dedicated to Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros, Cardinal-Archbishop of Toledo, this volume, commissioned by the Novarese merchant and bookseller Melchior Gorricio (see above, p. 92) on behalf of Jiménez de Cisneros, forms part of a concerted campaign to save from extinction the Mozarabic rite, so lovingly corrected by St Isidore, which had been on the retreat ever since 1074 when Pope Gregory VII

<sup>205</sup> Dibdin, i. 135–44, n°. 54 (144). Colbert imported moroccan hides from the Orient to bind the volumes he acquired both for his own growing collection (*‘La Colbertine’*) and for that of the Royal Library (*‘La Librairie’*).

<sup>206</sup> A few shadowy details of Ortiz’s life can be gleaned from Giovanni Maria Bertini, ‘Un diálogo humanístico sobre la educación del príncipe Don Juan’, *Fernando el Católico y la cultura de su tiempo: V Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón, Estudios*, ed. Jordi Rubió i Balaguer & others (Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico del C.S.I.C. & Excma Diputación Provincial de Zaragoza, 1961), 35–62 (40–2).



Missale mixtum secundum re  
gulam beati Isidori dictum  
Monarabes. ▲

FIG. 63. JRULM 263, sig. +<sup>a</sup>.

**A**d reuerendissimum In christo patrem et dominum deum prec  
stantissimum Franciscum itemque Archiepiscopum Toletan  
um. Alfonsi ortis divini et humani iuris doctoris et La  
nonici Toletani prefatio incipit.

**I**mmortales tibi Antistes celeberrime referat gratias se  
culi nostri boies oppoter: quoniam vetera et quasi absentea nostre religionis archa  
na tanto studio renovare intineris: ut incipiente nostriates maiestati suorum mo  
numenta incolitis characteribus hactenus obstrusa: ingenii cui igniculo respi  
cere ac propriei intueri. Beatisim filios nostri ecclesiastica officia: que in  
urbis regia Toletana: cui tu preces Archiepiscopus quondam ad aurosum ir  
ruptione: cunctis ablobris simul cum christianis: seu captiuis superfluerant:  
nostra erate propria sumptibus restaurare ac in lucem promovere decreueras.  
Ali non immerito quidem: ne tam illustria fidei nostre mysteria abdita iam peni  
tue intercirent. quicquid adeo situ et veritate fuerant effecta et errorum caligine re  
sperfa: ut pugnallous lector congruas sententias multorum librorum indagi  
ne rimari posuerit. Quam proleto de Vallam provinciam mihi seruorum tu  
orum minimo mandare non dubitasti: quatenus summa cum diligentia misericordia  
in primis solennia recenseret: ac vigil i incubatione: que a vero characteri rudi  
tate dimisso iam diu fuerat: nulli non mutato ductu reficeret: seruataq; verborum  
dignitate antiquorum maiestatem custodire. Nam q; p; se antiquitate ferebant  
intacta esse iusseras. et tandem sic actum est. Nam dispersi in ordinem redactis.  
vicio abeatis: dubiusq; enucleata veritate lustratis: et ecu abolit a multa resar  
tione: tuo iussu ut valui omnia illustrauit. Unde conflatus liber iste huit: pret  
eribus ad id opem mihi: venerabilibus presbyteris eiusdem officij periti oribus  
Antonio roderico. Alfonso martino: ac Hieronymo guteno: beatarum Juste  
et Eulabe: ac beati Enec euangeliste ecclesiarum rectoribus: quorum Basilice  
inter prefatas christianorum Toleti fluctuauerant: cum hispania pene omnes  
arabum inundatione subficeret. Quo sit ut habitatibus christianas Toleti in  
ter Arabes eius vobis imperio potitos: nomen Mosarabes inducru hucusque  
permanerent. ut opinor dicti sunt Mosarabes: hoc est inter Arabes degentes.  
ut autem ecclesiasticae coram officia memoriam digna neminem de cetero latarent:  
litteris latinis explosis: Goticis: Impresum nobilis vir Melchior: gen  
ci Mauriciani tribuisti. Cuivis opera et impensis eius impensis in ea re  
valde illustrata est. Assit huc igitur lector: qui fidei Christi itiane ministrata noſe cu  
pe sacramenta. ubi etiam sanctorum pro fide certantium martyrum: gesta praedela  
ra intueri licet: cuius nullibi proferto copiosius ac preclarius repente queat:  
dummodo singula propriei perfusfrer. qui si fidem mihi prebere recusaverent:  
credat filioce clarissimo auctor. Quo quoq; testis locupletissimus alius illuc  
rendissime pater: cuius lumini peraugili animota sunt omnia: que probata st:  
tutis omnibus doctis communia reddere: cui imprimis solerti ea iusseras. Si  
felix oao atq; dia superstes magnificissime dñe.

## Benedictio aque

**v. Notoriorum nostrum in nomine domini & Qui fecit celum et terram. Sic**  
**nomen domini benedictum & Ex hoc dunc et usq[ue] in seculu. Ricet factis**  
**h[oc] signu crucis in ipso sale et insuflat tribus vniuersitatibus: et per**  
**dicat dunc sequentem exortacionem.**

*LXXXVII. 1. 1. 1.*

**Exorciso te creatura salis. In nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti: qui te per elizem in aqua mitti iussit: ut sanarent aqua steriles. Quique diuina oris sui voce ait. Vos estis sal terre. Et per aplum suum vas electois: sermo vestris sit sale probatum. Ideoque efficere sal exortacionem: ut sit in remissione peccatorum et sanitatem mentium. In protectionem animi atque corporis. in confirmationem salutis ad expellendas et excludendas oes demonum temptationes. In nomine dei patris et filii omnipotenter et iesu christi spiritus sancti qui in trinitate unum vivit et regnat in secula seculorum. Amen. O Christus. Iustus tuus in iuncta fortitudine deprecamur dominum secundum prophetam: et ne opes vestras. qui inter omnia necessaria quod per iesum christum dominum nostrum precreare iussisti: non minimam gloriam proferre dignatus es sali: ut ex illo possint vniuersalia perdire oib[us] ad escas: per tuum filium dominum nostrum precasti: te supplices exorramus: ut hoc sal digneris aspicere. Quatenus maiestatis tue virtute protinus oes spiritus immundos valorum possit accipere. Expellat ab omni loco ubi tua fuerit inuocatione ad sparsum: sic quod potest esse pestiferum: ut exhibeat plenum salutis effectum. Detegat oes pristigias inimici: et omnia monstruosorum genitum logique faciat effugare. Graudines oes: fatigantes copescat: et per signum crucis filij tui domini nostri tutelam fidelissimam desiderabit. Propter iste sententia in ratione ad iacobum agitur: et iustus in ibidem tribus diebus excede in iudea spiritus noster et dicat exortacionem. Exorcismus aqua oportet ab oib[us] quibus fides nostra usurpa est religiosis officiis sacramenta: nec per tecum culpam crisi: quod agnoscit potentiam salvatoris. Non enim meriti praedita: sed perceptio. Ricet ipsa potestas ministerum dignitas sit ministri. Te igit coezi dominum a quo creature puenio: ut preservante mortalis sensibilitatem: intelligere subiecti suicio: quod placere deo vtimur: non recuses. Denique a te communionem demonum omnem collegium iniqtat: expurges. Totam fantasmat: labet: capax domine protectionis extermines. ut gratia sanctificationis indepetat: tuo insolu: pariter creatori debito familiatu defuicis: oes spiritus praorū neq[ue]ciā: quicunque loco fuerit ad sparsa denicias: et secundum copiam benedictionis inducas. amen. Per misericordiam tuam deus noster: qui es bene et viuis et omnia regis in**

**Ad laudem omnipotens dei.**  
 necnon virginis marie matris eius: omnium  
 sanctorum sanctorumq. Expletum est missa-  
 le missum secundum regulam beati Isidori dictu-  
 m. Ad sarabes: maxima cum diligentia perle-  
 ctum et emendatum per Reuerendissimum in vtro/  
 q. iure doctorem dominum Alfonsum ortis  
 Canonicum Zoletanum. Impressum in re-  
 gali ciuitate Zolati. Iussu Reuerendissimi in  
 chrisio patris dñi. d. Fratris tamenq; eiusdem  
 ciuitatis Archiepiscopi. Impensis Nobilis  
 Deliboris gomrich Rouariensis. Per magi-  
 strum Petrum bagenbach. Alemanum. An-  
 no salutis nostre millesimo quingentesimo  
 die nona mensis Januarii.

asked Alfonso VI of Castile and León to introduce the Roman rite throughout his realm.<sup>207</sup> Some volumes of this edition were printed on vellum – a not unusual proceeding and one for which vellum was expressly imported from Florence – and the woodcut border cuts have excited much scholarly attention.<sup>208</sup> Jiménez de Cisneros (1436–1517), confessor to Queen Isabella and regent of Spain from 1516, was the only large-scale patron of printing in Spain in the early sixteenth century.<sup>209</sup>

Peter Hagembach, best known to students of Spanish letters in connection with the Toledo 1500 *Comedia de Calisto y Melibea* (or *La Celestina*), printed in Valencia in partnership with another German, Leonard(us) Hutz, from 1493 and perhaps somewhat earlier.<sup>210</sup> They completed together a number of editions for the Lombard merchant and press-owner Jaume Vila, then active in that city.<sup>211</sup> Hutz transferred to Salamanca, where he collaborated with the Spanish cleric Lope Sanz, possibly printing at least one work in 1494 and another in 1495 (Sosa 35, and Haebler 665) and, on 8 January 1496, jointly signing a Villadiego, *Contra haereticum prauitatem* (IB 52862, Sosa 415, Haebler 686). Hagembach next proceeded to set up his independent press, still using his Valencian material, in Toledo, a city where the first secure evidence of printing dates from 1494 when a group of six unsigned editions of Crusade Indulgences were produced on the press of Juan Vázquez. Hagembach was active there, probably by 1497 and certainly by 26 February 1498 when he printed an unsigned edition of the *Leyes del estilo* of which no copy is now known (Haebler 351, Sosa 512). Much, perhaps most, of his work at Toledo was commissioned by Gorricio who had moved to the city from Seville where he had commissioned a number of works from printers in the early 1490s (see above, p. 92) and is known to have been on good terms with the future Cardinal Jiménez de Cisneros. It seems probable that Hagembach came to Toledo at the invitation of Gorricio, and that the invitation had been issued because Jiménez de Cisneros had already projected the printing of liturgical books for his cathedral.<sup>212</sup> This splendidly-

<sup>207</sup> Chambers, ‘Early Printing’, 11; Hind, *An Introduction*, ii. 756. Only ten years earlier, the Barcelona printer Joan Gherlinc(h) had been concerned about the possible financial losses that might result from the rumoured imposition of the Roman rite by the Crown of Aragon (Madurell & Rubió, 124–5, doc. 58 of 25 February 1489).

<sup>208</sup> Attention is drawn to a little-commented aspect of this edition – the presence on sig. 2N<sub>8</sub> of a line of blind lombard capitals, as used in the text – by David L. Paisey, ‘Blind Printing in Continental Books’, *Book Production and Letters in the Western European Renaissance: Essays in Honour of Conor Fahy*, ed. Anna-Laura Lepschy, John Took, & Dennis E. Rhodes, Publications of The Modern Humanities Research Association 12 (London: MHRA, 1986), 220–33 (227).

<sup>209</sup> Norton, *Printing*, 129.

<sup>210</sup> Norton, *Printing*, 141–56, Appendix B: ‘The Early Editions of the “Celestina”’ (146–8); Sheppard & Painter, ‘Introduction to the Presses’, xlviii.

<sup>211</sup> Sosa 265, 329, 441; Haebler, 259, 317, 551.

<sup>212</sup> Jesusa Vega González, *La imprenta en Toledo: estampas del Renacimiento* (Toledo: Instituto Provincial de Investigaciones y Estudios Toledanos, 1983), 25–8; Norton, *DC*, 366.

printed Missal, with its liberal use of red and black, is probably Hagembach's best-known work, although he was also to print on 25 October 1502, on commission from Gorricio, a Breviary (Norton, DC, n°. 1027) produced again by a team of clerics working under the direction of Ortiz.<sup>213</sup>

### A NOTE ON DATING

Various formulae are used in colophons to the editions described in this study to identify the year in which they were printed. These range from (i) the apparently simple 'Anno' ('Año', 'Any') of n°s. 6, 11, 12, and 18, and 'Anno domini' of n°s. 2, 5, 17 and 19, through such forms as (ii) 'Anno salvatoris' (n°. 7), 'Año del Señor' (n°. 13), and 'Año del nacimiento de nuestro Señor' (n°. 15), to (iii) 'Anno salutis christianaæ' (n°. 9), 'Año – or corriendo los años – de nuestra salud' and 'Anno salutis nostræ' found in n°s. 14 and 20. Finally, n°s. 8 and 10 give the year in more than one form, n°. 10 (p. 76) offering the simple 'Año' (as (i), above), as well as 'Año del Señor' (as (ii)), and, using yet another formula (iv), 'Año de la Incarnación'.

In the absence of a detailed study of the output of the printers involved – and perhaps not even then – it must remain impossible to know how carefully or how accurately these formulae were employed. But it should be noted that both the 'Incarnation style', with the new year beginning on Lady Day (25 March), and the so-called 'Circumcision style', in which the new year began, as now, on 1 January, were in use in Spain from the twelfth century, and that these were gradually replaced, until the late-seventeenth century, by 'Nativity style' in which, as the name implies, the year began on 25 December.

The two formulae used by the printer of n°. 8 show (p. 55) that he, for one, considered June and the following February to fall within the same year, and, in the absence of documentary evidence, it would seem proper to exercise a measure of caution in dating all Spanish incunables, even those where the printer employed the simplest of formulae.<sup>214</sup>

<sup>213</sup> JRULM also has a copy of the Breviary (n°. 273), some copies of which, like the Missal, were on vellum (e.g. Madrid BN, R/6714 and Oxford, Bodleian, Auct. 1 Q1.28); see also David M. Rogers & Peter E. Russell, *A Catalogue of Hispanic Manuscripts and Books before 1700 from the Bodleian Library and Oxford College Libraries Exhibited at the Taylor Institution, 6–11 September 1962* (Oxford: Primer Congreso Internacional de Hispanistas, 1962), 9. Méndez, who had seen a copy in the Colegio de San Ildefonso in Alcalá, comments (*Tipografía española*, 148–9): 'Donde más brilla el nombre de Hagembach es en el famoso *Misal Muzárabe*, el que imprimió por mandado del Sr D. Fr. Francisco Ximénez de Cisneros en el año de 1500, á expensas del citado Melchor Gorricio Novariense, ó de Novara, lugar de Italia, de quien [sic] habla Plinio en el libro iii, capítulo 17'.

<sup>214</sup> For a fuller account of this problem see Griffin, Introduction to Appendix I.

## INDEX OF PRINTERS IN SPAIN

N.B. Printers with editions described above are denoted by an asterisk.

Alantansi	<i>see</i> Eliëser ben Abraham Alantansi	
Alemán	<i>see</i> Fadrique de Basilea	
Alkabi(t)z	<i>see</i> Solomon ben Moise Levi ibn Alkabi(t)z	
*Alonso del Puerto	– Seville	*21–32, 64
Amarós	<i>see</i> Boloç	
Appentegger	<i>see</i> Fieles compañeros	
*Arinyo, Gabriel Luis de	– Valencia	*47–54
Biel, Friedrich	<i>see</i> Fadrique de Basilea	
Blanch (Blanco)	<i>see</i> Johannes de Salzburg and Plan(n)ck	
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Botel, Heinrich (Henricus de Saxonia)	– Barcelona, Zaragoza	20, 21n.
*Brun, Petrus	– Tortosa, *Barcelona, Tarragona, Valencia, *Seville	33–34, 36, 64, *69–77
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*Fadrique de Basilea (Friedrich Biel)	– Burgos	97, *98–103
*Fernández de Córdoba, Alonso	– *Valencia, Murcia	*47–54
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Fieles compañeros (Jorge Coci, Leonardo Hutz, Lope Appentegger)	– Zaragoza	97–98
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*Guillén de Brocar, Arnao	– Logroño, Burgos, *Pamplona, Alcalá	103, *108–116
*Gumiel, Diego de	– *Barcelona, Girona, Valladolid, Valencia	81–82, *103–108
*Hagembach, Pedro	– Salamanca, Valencia, *Toledo	*127–134
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*Hurus, Paulus ( <i>Paulus de Constantia</i> ) – *Barcelona,	
*Zaragoza	9, *17–21, *44–47, 54, *82–87, *93–98
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*Miquel, Pere – Barcelona	*78–82, 108
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*Plan(n)ck, Johannes – Zaragoza	20, 21n., 47
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*Spindeler ( <i>Pindeler</i> ), Nicolaus (of Zwickau) – *Barcelona, Tortosa	*32–39, 77, 81, 117
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