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Brunetto Latini's *Tesoro* in print

Brunetto Latini (c. 1220-1294), a Florentine notary, wrote one of the first European encyclopaediae in the vernacular, *Li Livres dou Tresor*, during an exile in France (1260-1266/7).² This literary work consists of three books, hence the plural in its title.³ The first book deals with theoretical knowledge. After a brief presentation of the encyclopaedia's organisational plan this book starts with a discussion of theological matters. Its central section contains a universal history. It continues with physics, cosmology, and geography, and it ends with mechanical arts and a bestiary. The first section of the second book is a translation of Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, while the second part contains a panoply of moral precepts. The third and final book revolves around the art of rhetoric and politics.

The *Tresor* instantly became a bestseller and its fortune extended widely beyond its place of origin. Originally written in the *langue d'oïl* (Old French) translations into Old Italian, generally referred to as the *Tesoro*, were quickly produced. The manuscript tradition spanned almost three centuries

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² The standard work on the life and work of Brunetto Latini is: Thor Sundby, *Della vita e delle opera di Brunetto Latini*, trans. by Rodolfo Renier (Firenze: Le Monnier, 1884). See also: Bianca Ceva, *Brunetto Latini. L'uomo e l'opera* (Milano: Riccardo Ricciardi, 1965); A. D'Addario, 'Brunetto Latini', in *Enciclopedia Dantesca* (Roma: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 1971), pp. 579-88; Amedeo De Vincentiis, 'Le parole di ser Brunetto', in *Atlante della letteratura italiana*, ed. by Sergio Luzzato and Gabriele Pedullà, I: *Dalle origini al Rinascimento*, ed. by Amedeo De Vincentiis (Torino: Einaudi, 2010), pp. 41-47; Julia Bolton Holloway, *Twice-Told Tales: Brunetto Latini and Dante Alighieri* (New York: Peter Lang, 1993); G. Inglese, 'Brunetto Latini', in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* (Roma: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 2005), pp. 4-12. On the different spellings of his name in notarial documents, literary manuscripts and printed documents (*i.e.* Latino instead of Latini and/or Burnetto instead of Brunetto), see: Ceva, pp. 13-14.

³ For the most recent edition: Brunetto Latini, *Tresor*, ed. by Pietro Beltrami, Paolo Squillacioti, Plinio Torri and Sergio Vatteroni (Torino: Einaudi, 2007).

running from the late thirteenth to the early sixteenth century.⁴ Experts in Latini studies have studied this rich manuscript corpus of the *Tesoro* in detail.⁵ However the *Tesoro* also made it into the print age, as evidenced by an *editio princeps* (1474) and two early reprints (1528 and 1533). This print production has remained largely unexplored, except for a mere mention of its existence or a determination of textual links between manuscript and print versions.⁶

This imbalance in scholarly attention is striking for different reasons. From a purely quantitative perspective, academic interest does not reflect the numerical significance of the manuscript and print traditions. To determine the number of printed copies that existed of the *Tesoro* one has to take into account that scholars cite varying figures for the fifteenth century, ranging from not more than 200 copies per edition to an average run of 500 copies, and anything in between.⁷ For the sixteenth century this figure is said to have risen to an average of 1,000 copies per edition.⁸ Even if one applies the lowest estimates for the number of copies printed per edition, this print

⁴ For a general overview of the French and Italian manuscript traditions (including a discussion of their differences and relationship): Jennifer Marshall, 'The Manuscript Tradition of Brunetto Latini's *Tresor* and its Italian Versions' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Royal Holloway University of London, 2001).

⁵ For a discussion of the Italian corpus: Marco Giola, 'Sul volgarizzamento italiano del "Tresor" di Brunetto Latini' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Università degli Studi di Ferrara, 2004-2006). See also: Marco Giola, 'Per la tradizione del *Tresor* volgarizzato: Appunti su una redazione meridionale (Δ)', *Medioevo Romanzo*, 35, no.2 (2011), 344-80; Marco Giola, *La tradizione dei volgarizzamenti toscani del "Tresor" di Brunetto Latini* (Verona: QuiEdit, 2010). On the authorship of the *Tesoro* (especially the later, erroneous ascription to Bono Giamboni): Marshall, pp. 158-178 (with further references).

⁶ Ceva, p. 114; Adolfo Mussafia, 'Sul testo del Tesoro di Brunetto Latini', in *Della vita e delle opera di Brunetto Latini*, pp. 281, 283 and 289; Giola, *Volgarizzamento*, p. 41; Paolo Squillaciotti, 'La pecora smarrita. Ricerche sulla tradizione del "Tesoro" toscano', in *A scuola con ser Brunetto: Indagini sulla ricezione di Brunetto Latini dal Medioevo al Rinascimento (Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi, Università di Basilea, 8-10 giugno 2006)*, ed. by Irene Maffia Scariati (Firenze: Galluzzo, 2008), pp. 547-63 (p. 556).

⁷ Vittore Branca, 'Il libro veneziano nei secoli', *Revue des Études Italiennes*, 26 (1981), 300-33 (p. 309) (between 200 and 300); Peter Burke, 'The Circulation of Knowledge', in *The Renaissance World*, ed. by John Jeffries Martin (New York: Routledge, 2007), pp. 191-207 (p. 192) (500); R. Ekkart, *Vroege boekdrukkunst uit Italië* ('s-Gravenhage: Staatsuitgeverij, 1987), p. 19 (between 400 and 500); Leonardas Vytautas Gerulaitis, *Printing and Publishing in Fifteenth-Century Venice* (Chicago: American Library Association, 1976), p. 8 (between 400 and 500); Victor Scholderer, 'Printers and Readers in Italy in the Fifteenth Century', in *Fifty Essays in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Bibliography*, ed. by Dennis Rhodes (Amsterdam: Menno Hertzberger, 1966), p. 205 (250); Sigfrid Steinberg, *Five Hundred Years of Printing*, rev. by John Trevitt (London: The British Library, 1996), p. 63 (200).

⁸ Marco Santoro, *Storia del libro italiano: Libro e società in Italia dal Quattrocento al Novecento* (Milano: Bibliografica, 1994), p. 110.

production must have outnumbered the centuries-old manuscript tradition. Although a census of extant copies cannot be equated to a reconstruction of past circulation, it does provide useful indications of the number of manuscripts and print copies that existed. A recent count of *Tesoro* manuscripts lists 52 known exemplars, only nine of which contain the complete text of the *Tesoro*, and this text alone.⁹ Unfortunately, a similar count of print copies of the *Tesoro* is not available. The lack of a worldwide list of editions printed from 1450 until 1550 makes such a count even more difficult. In the *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, covering early prints up to 1500, twenty-five libraries holding one or more copies of the 1474 print are mentioned worldwide, and fourteen in Italy alone.¹⁰ For the period after 1500 the evidence is more incomplete and imperfect. The ongoing Italian census of sixteenth-century prints, *Edit16*, mentions thirty-seven libraries for the 1528 reprint and fifty libraries for the 1533 reprint.¹¹ Its sister system, *Servizio Bibliotecario Nazionale (SBN)*, adds another three libraries for the 1528 reprint, and another five for the 1533 reprint, bringing the total for both reprints to ninety-five libraries in Italy alone.¹² Notwithstanding a clear distinction between the rare 1474 print and the more readily available 1528 and 1533 reprints, this evidence supports the hypothesis that the print production outnumbered the manuscript production, particularly in the category of copies containing the complete text, and only this text.¹³ Of course, academic interest in a topic should not be solely

⁹ List assembled by Paolo Squillaciotti for the 2007 edition of the *Tresor* cited in footnote 2. Paolo Divizia has revised and completed this list, adding mainly a series of small fragments found in miscellanies. Paolo Divizia, 'Aggiunte (e una sottrazione) al censimento dei codici delle versioni italiane del *Tresor* di Brunetto Latini', *Medioevo Romano*, 32 (2008), 377-94.

¹⁰ No. M17137 (<<http://www.gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de>> [accessed 8 June 2012]). A double-check of the *Indice Generali degli Incunaboli delle Biblioteche d'Italia* (No. 5696) and the *Third Census of Fifteenth-Century Books Recorded in North-American Collections* (No. L-70) shows that these listings mention the same fourteen Italian and two American libraries covered by the *Gesamtkatalog*.

¹¹ Edit 16: National Census of the Italian editions of the sixteenth century <<http://edit16.iccu.sbn.it>> [accessed 7 June 2012].

¹² Servizio Bibliotecario Nazionale (SBN) <<http://www.sbn.it>> [accessed 7 June 2012].

¹³ This distinction is also supported by the price difference between both groups on the private market. Consultations of an online marketplace (<<http://www.vialibri.net>>) showed a 1474 print on offer for 10,224.90 British pounds on 4 June 2010, while no less than five 1533 reprints were on offer on 7 June 2012 for prices ranging between US\$599 and US\$1,748.

determined on the basis of quantitative arguments. The print production of the *Tesoro* also deserves attention because the 1533 reprint was repeatedly cited by the *Accademia della Crusca*, still today the national language academy of Italy and the first such institution in Europe, in its *Vocabolario* (1612). Furthermore this reprint constituted the basis for the only two existing modern editions of the complete *Tesoro*.¹⁴

This article is not merely intended to fill this gap in the historiography of the *Tesoro*. It will also underline that the introduction of the printing press did not end interest in the work. The production of three print editions, in combination with the rapid succession of the 1528 and 1533 reprints, even points towards a success story. The *Tesoro* tradition carried on, at a different speed and volume, and propelled from a different geographical area. Furthermore, these prints not only deserve to be examined as historical artefacts in their own right, but also offer an excellent opportunity to trace the printing history of a particular work and to focus on the linkage of its print editions.¹⁵ More precisely, the argument will be made that, as a result of it being printed, the *Tesoro* lost its malleability in the hands of copyists. Except for minor deviances between editions the textual message of the work became fixed and standardised. This textual fixity did not, however, mean that its presentation remained unchanged. The physical composition of the prints altered, from edition to edition, under the influence of different production conditions. Finally, although a detailed analysis of the knowledge culture these print

¹⁴ Brunetto Latini, *Il Tesoro di Brunetto Latini volgarizzato da Bono Giamboni*, ed. by Luigi Carrer, 2 vols (Venezia: Gondoliere, 1839); Brunetto Latini, *Il Tesoro, volgarizzato da Bono Giamboni, raffrontato col testo autentico francese edito da P. Chabaille, emendato con mss. ed illustrato da Luigi Gaiter*, ed. by Luigi Gaiter, 4 vols (Bologna: Romagnoli, 1878-1883). For an overview of partial editions: Sandro Bertelli, 'Tipologie librerie e scritture nei più antichi codici fiorentini di ser Brunetto', in *A scuola con ser Brunetto*, ed. by Irene Maffia Scariati, pp. 213-53 (pp. 218-219); Marshall, pp. 78-79, footnotes 9-11.

¹⁵ On the existence of this interconnection: Pietro Beltrami, 'Per il testo del *Tresor*: Appunti sull'edizione di F.J. Carmody', *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa*, 18, no.3 (1988), 961-1009 (p. 965, footnote 13); Paolo Divizia, 'La Formula vitae honestae, il *Tresor* e i rispettivi volgarizzamenti falsamente attribuiti a Bono Giamboni', *La parola del testo*, 11, no.2 (2007), 27-44 (p. 27, footnote 3).

editions represent falls beyond the scope of this article, this account of the *Tesoro*'s absorption into print culture sets the stage for further research on this topic.

Analysis begins with a discussion of the local, private press of Gerardus de Lisa, a Flemish immigrant who became a Trevisan printer-craftsman (1474 print). Two Venetian publishing houses will be considered next. The first firm was a short-lived collaboration entered into by an opportunistic bookseller, Nicolò Garanta (1528 reprint), while the second one was a respected and long-standing publishing outfit, led by Melchiorre Sessa (1533 reprint). Each printer or publishing house will be historically situated within its respective printing market. The place of the *Tesoro* within their specific printing portfolio will also be discussed and the factors leading up to each publishing decision will be examined. Finally, the impact of differences in production context on the content and presentation of each print edition will be highlighted. For this article the following copies of the three print editions were consulted in the *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*: Stamp. Ross. 734 (1474), Ferraioli V 5971 (1528), and Capponi V576 (1533). In addition, a facsimile copy of the 1474 print (*Bibliothèque Mazarine*, Inc. 95), held by the *Mediatheca Fioretta Mazzei*, was examined in Florence. Additional copies of the 1528 and 1533 reprints were studied in the *Biblioteca Riccardiana*: St. 3961 (1528) and N.A.U. 649 (1533).¹⁶

***Editio princeps* (1474)**

The Italian peninsula was the first foreign area to which printers took the invention of printing following the sack of the German city of Mainz by one of its rival archbishops, Adolph of Nassau, on 24 October 1462.¹⁷ When printing really took off in Italy in the 1470s it was,

¹⁶ I am deeply grateful to these institutions for their permission to study these copies.

¹⁷ On the role of Johannes Gutenberg: Steinberg, pp. 4-9 and 30. See also: Luigi Balsamo, 'I primordi della tipografia in Italia e Inghilterra', *Bibliofilia*, 74, no.3 (1977), 231-62 (p. 233); Giovanni Comelli, *L'arte della stampa nel Friuli*

therefore, primarily the playground of locally dispersed and foreign-born typographers.¹⁸ The *editio princeps* of the *Tesoro* fits this picture perfectly. A Flemish immigrant, Gerardus de Lisa (c. 1430-1499), printed this first edition in Treviso on 16 December 1474.¹⁹ Although his name is not mentioned in the colophon, the identity of the printer is specified in a poem attributed to Francesco Rolandello (1427-1490) on the verso side of the folio that contains the colophon.²⁰ This poem in *terza rima* is set up as a response to the unfinished colloquy between Dante Alighieri and Brunetto Latini in the fifteenth canto of the *Inferno* (*Inferno*, XV, 119-120).²¹ This canto ends with Latini's final plea that his *Tesoro* would live on forever. At the end of his composition the poet assures Latini that his last wish has been granted: artfully printing in Treviso at the borders

Venezia Giulia (Udine: Istituto per l'Enciclopedia del Friuli Venezia Giulia, 1981), p. 18. For a short introduction to the history of Italian printing: Neil Harris, 'The History of the Book in Italy', in *The Oxford Companion to the Book: Volume 1. Essays A-C*, ed. by Michael Suarez and H.R. Woudhuysen (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 257-69.

¹⁸ Balsamo, 240; Neil Harris, 'Ombre della storia del libro italiano', in *The Books of Venice (Miscellanea Marciana, vol. XX (2005-2007))*, ed. by Lisa Pon and Craig Kallendorf (Venezia: La Musa Talia), pp. 455-516 (p. 472); Scholderer, *Printers and Readers*, p. 210.

¹⁹ I.e. a latinization of Geraert van der Leye, also known as Gerardus de Flandria. On this figure: Giovanni d'Alessi, 'Maestri e cantori fiamminghi nella Cappella Musicale del Duomo di Treviso (Italia) (1411-1561)', *Tijdschrift der Vereeniging voor Noord-Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, 15, no.3 (1938), 147-65 (pp. 148-49 and 151); Comelli, pp. 60-62; Agostino Contò, *Calami e torchi: Documenti per la storia del libro nel territorio della Repubblica di Venezia (Sec. XV)* (Verona: Della Scala, 2003) (pointing out that Puttin and Serena used second-hand information (p. 52, footnote 136)); Giuseppe Nova, *Stampatori, librai ed editori bresciani in Italia nel Quattrocento* (Brescia: Fondazione Civiltà Bresciana, 2002), pp. 128-29; Lucio Puttin, 'Nuovi documenti sul prototipografo trevigiano Gerardo da Lisa', *Studi trevisani*, 1-2 (1984), pp. 33-38; Dennis Rhodes, *La stampa a Treviso nel secolo XV* (Treviso: Biblioteca Comunale di Treviso, 1983) (with a critique on findings of Frederici and Serena (pp. 13-21) and Comelli (pp. 22-23)); Augusto Serena, 'La cultura umanistica a Treviso nel secolo decimoquinto', *Miscellanea di storia veneta*, 3, no.2 (1912), 1-558 (pp. 137-144 and 347-352); Victor Scholderer, 'Introduction', in *Catalogue of Books Printed in the XVth Century Now in the British Museum*, IV (London: The British Museum, 1930), p. xlviii; Victor Scholderer, 'A Fleming in Venetia: Gerardus de Lisa, Printer, Bookseller, Schoolmaster, and Musician', in *Fifty Essays in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Bibliography*, ed. by Dennis Rhodes, pp. 113-125; Luigi Suttina, 'Nuovi documenti su Gerardo di Fiandra', *Memorie storiche forogiuliesi*, 23 (1927), 93-96; P.C. van der Meersch, *Recherches sur la vie et les travaux de quelques imprimeurs belges, établis à l'étranger, pendant les XV^e et XV^e siècles: I. Gerardus de Lisa de Flandria* (Gand: Imprimerie de Léonard Hebbelynck, 1844) (whose findings have been disqualified by Scholderer as mere romancing and conjecture).

²⁰ The colophon reads: '[...] A Triviso adi .xvi. dece(m)brio M.cccc.lxxxiiii'. On the attribution to Gerardus de Lisa: Giovanni Biancardi and Cristina Francese, *Prime edizioni di scrittori italiani: Repertorio pratico per bibliofili e librai* (Milano: Oriental Press, 2004), p. 262; Marino Parenti, *Prime edizioni italiane: Manuale di bibliografia pratica ad uso dei bibliofili e dei librai* (Milano: Libri d'Arte e di Filologia, 1948), p. 304.

²¹ On this controversial canto, see recently: Claudia Villa, 'Natura e corpo sociale. Retorica (e cecità) di ser Brunetto', *Rivista di studi danteschi*, 10, no.2 (2010), 233-249 (with further references).

of the river Sile, Gerardus de Lisa has revived Latini's work like a phoenix, multiplying it a thousand fold.²²

Printing had started in Treviso in 1471 with the publication of Saint Augustine's manual *De salute sive de aspiratione animae ad deum* by the same Gerardus de Lisa.²³ About ten years before Gerardus printed his first book he had settled in Treviso, conveniently situated on a commercial route between Flanders and Venice. At the time Treviso was not only a commercial hub, but it also possessed a flourishing university as well as an active humanist circle.²⁴ During the early years of his printing press (1471-1476) Gerardus de Lisa enjoyed a printing monopoly in this vibrant city, but as new entrants, often linked to nearby Venetian printing houses, started to compete in the Trevisan printing market (1476), he moved on to other cities: Venice (1477-1478), Udine (1479, 1483-1488) and Cividale del Friuli (1480-1481).²⁵ Treviso's print production peaked in 1480 with 19 editions.²⁶ It disappeared completely in 1494; the last book printed once more by Gerardus. He had temporarily returned to the city in 1488 after his earlier competitors had disappeared.²⁷ However, in 1496 Gerardus found himself in financial difficulties.²⁸ He resumed his itinerant way of life and died in Aquileia on 16 December 1499, exactly twenty-five years after having published the *Tesoro*.²⁹ Printing did not reappear in Treviso until almost a century later, in 1589.³⁰

²² For a transcript: D.M. Frederici, *Memorie trevigiane sulla tipografia del secolo XV per servire alla storia letteraria e delle belle arti d'Italia* (Venezia: Francesco Andreola, 1805), pp. 50-51 and 185-86. See also: Van der Meersch, pp. 38-39. For an English translation: Scholderer, *A Fleming*, pp. 116-17. On the attribution to Francesco Rolandello: Serena, pp. 141 and 235.

²³ On Trevisan printing in the fifteenth century: Contò, *Calami e torchi*; Neri Pozza, 'La prima diffusione della stampa nel Veneto', in *Il libro a stampa: I primordi*, ed. by Marco Santoro (Napoli: Liguori, 1990), pp. 281-91; Rhodes, *La stampa a Treviso*; Piero Scapecchi, 'Note sulla tipografia trevisana del secolo XV', *Studi trevisani*, 2, no.4 (1985), 21-23.

²⁴ Scholderer, *A Fleming*, p. 118.

²⁵ Comelli, p. 39; Contò, *Calami e torchi*, pp. 21 and 53, footnote 137; Agostino Contò, 'La stampa a Treviso nel secolo XVI: Appunti per un catalogo', *Atti e memorie dell'ateneo di Treviso*, 7 (1989-1990), 137-66 (p. 139); Ekkart, p. 13; Santoro, p. 49; Scholderer, *A Fleming*, pp. 117-18.

²⁶ Scholderer, *A Fleming*, p. 119.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 120.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 123.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 124.

After this portrayal of the figure of Gerardus de Lisa and a discussion of his central position within the Trevisan printing market it befits to have a closer look at his printing activities. Immediately the picture of an occasional, almost private, press emerges.³¹ Gerardus was a man of many occupations who only turned to printing as a side-line.³² His printing career was also somewhat haphazard, albeit innovative.³³ Scholars link Gerardus' production of 37 editions mainly to the stimulating presence of Francesco Rolandello and his circle of friends.³⁴ This son of a local notary, Rolando Rizzo da Asolo, was an accomplished poet and chancellor (1471-1476). He was also an important teacher (*maestro*) in Treviso. Not surprisingly one of the first editions printed by Gerardus de Lisa was a grammar written by the same Rolandello, his *Examinationes grammaticales*.³⁵ In fact, a didactic objective is generally said to be characteristic of all editions printed in Treviso from 1471 until 1476.³⁶ Rolandello's move to Venice (1477-1478) was also related to his teaching activities; he was offered the position of *magister puerorum* and taught the

³⁰ On Trevisan printing in the sixteenth century: Agostino Contò, 'Prime note sulla stampa a Treviso nel '500', *Studi trevisani*, 2, no.4 (1985), 25-35; Contò, *La stampa*, pp. 137-66; Agostino Contò, 'Note per un primo bilancio della ricerca – ancora in corso – su: libri, librai, stampatori a Treviso nel Cinquecento', in *Metodologia bibliografica e storia del libro (Atti del seminario sul libro antico offerti a Dennis E. Rhodes)*, ed. by Alessandro Scarsela (Firenze: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, 1995-1996), pp. 153-65; Agostino Contò, 'Notes on the History of Printing in Treviso in the 15th Century', in *The Italian Book 1465-1800: Studies Presented to Dennis E. Rhodes on his 70th Birthday*, ed. by Denis Reidy (London: The British Library, 1993), pp. 21-29; Harris, *History of the Book*, p. 259; Harris, *Ombre*, pp. 466 and 469-470; Giuseppe Nova, *Stampatori, librai ed editori bresciani in Italia nel Cinquecento* (Brescia: Fondazione Civiltà Bresciana, 2000), p. 142; Dennis Rhodes, 'Un episodio della storia della stampa a Treviso nel tardo Cinquecento', in *Further Studies in Italian and Spanish Bibliography*, ed. by Dennis Rhodes (London: The Pindar Press, 1991), pp. 41-44.

³¹ Scholderer, *Introduction*, p. xlviii; Scholderer, *A Fleming*, p. 114.

³² D'Alessi, pp. 147-65; Contò, *La stampa*, p. 139; Contò, *Notes*, p. 21; Contò, *Note*, p. 161; Scholderer, *A Fleming*, pp. 113-25.

³³ For an overview: *Catalogue of Books Printed in the XVth Century Now in the British Museum*, IV (London: The British Museum, 1930), pp. 882-86; *Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in Italy and of Italian Books Printed in Other Countries from 1465 to 1600 Now in the British Museum* (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1958), pp. 871-72. See also: Gideon Borsa, *Clavis Typographorum Librariorumque Italiae: Tomus I* (Aureliae Aquensis: Koerner, 1980), p. 200. On the innovative character: Scholderer, *A Fleming*, p. 115 (referring to the high number of first editions – including the *Tesoro*).

³⁴ On this figure: Contò, *Notes*, pp. 22-24; Serena, pp. 82-126; Van der Meersch, pp. 27-28. See also: Gideon Borsa, 'Drucker und Verleger in Italien vor 1601 und ihre Ortschaften', in *La stampa in Italia nel Cinquecento (Atti del Convegno – Roma, 17-21 Ottobre 1989)*, I, ed. by Marco Santoro (Roma: Bulzoni, 1992), pp. 135-67 (p. 138) (who underlines that the final decision to print remained that of Gerardus).

³⁵ Comelli, p. 38.

³⁶ Contò, *Calami e torchi*, p. 53.

children of Leonardo Loredano and other members of the Venetian nobility.³⁷ In addition to the aforementioned loss of a printing monopoly in Treviso in 1476, Rolandello's relocation may also have contributed to Gerardus' decision to move his printing business to Venice.³⁸

Set against this historical background, the decision by Gerardus de Lisa to print the *Tesoro* becomes less of an enigma. The *Tesoro* is a political encyclopaedia with a clearly didactic purpose and it was originally written by Brunetto Latini, a prominent political figure belonging to a Florentine family of notaries.³⁹ The publication of such a work had an excellent chance of being of interest to Francesco Rolandello and his circle. In fact, as stated above, Rolandello himself had a notary as father and he was a respected teacher and chancellor. On similar grounds one could venture to speculate that the number of printed copies must have been rather limited. It was probably only intended to serve the local élite of Treviso. Additional support for this supposition can be found in the low survival rate of the *editio princeps* and its characterisation as a rare edition by earlier scholars.⁴⁰

Having outlined the production context of the 1474 print, we can now begin to assess the impact of these printing conditions on the text and physical composition of the edition. With respect to the text of the *editio princeps* it is sufficient to note that scholars have linked it to the text of the *Tesoro* manuscript *Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana*, Pluteo 42.19 (L).⁴¹ It is said to be an almost exact

³⁷ Serena, p. 91.

³⁸ Contò, *Calami e torchi*, pp. 54-55; Nova, *Quattrocento*, pp. 128-29; Scholderer, p. 119.

³⁹ In contrast to the form of address used by the publishing houses the notarial capacity of Brunetto Latini is underlined by the title *ser* in the incipit of the 1474 print. It reads: 'Qui inchomincia el Tesoro di S(er) Brunetto / Latino di Firenze. E parla del nascime(n)to / e della natura di tute le cose.'

⁴⁰ Jacques-Charles Brunet, *Manuel du libraire et de l'amateur de livres*, I (Paris: Dorbon-Ainé, s.d.), p. 1294; Serena, p. 234 (criticising earlier bibliophiles for taking the reference to 1,000 copies in the mentioned poem literally); Van der Meersch, p. 37; Francesco Zambrini, *Le opere volgari a stampa dei secoli XIII e XIV* (Bologna: Nicola Zanichelli, 1884), p. 543.

⁴¹ For a description: Bertelli, *Tipologie*, pp. 228-29; Bolton Holloway, *Twice-Told Tales*, p. 525; Carla Mascheroni, 'I codici del volgarizzamento italiano del "Trésor" di Brunetto Latini', *Aevum*, 43 (1969), 485-510 (p. 499); Brigitte Roux, *Mondes en miniatures: L'iconographie du Livre du Trésor de Brunetto Latini* (Genève: Librairie Droz, 2009), pp. 355-

copy thereof.⁴² Contrary to the surviving manuscript corpus, which consists mainly of fragments and miscellanies and only the occasional single item codex, the 1474 print and the later reprints contain the complete text of the *Tesoro*, and only this text. However, this production format was not an inevitable consequence of printing. In fact, Marco Giola points out that a fragment of the *Tesoro* had already been incorporated into the *Fiore Novello* and printed in 1473 by the Venetian printer Alvise da Sale.⁴³

This brings us to the physical composition of the 1474 print.⁴⁴ A detailed comparison with a corpus of nineteen surviving fifteenth-century manuscripts of the *Tesoro* reveals a number of similarities between both media — as is often the case for early printed books.⁴⁵ Leaving aside

57. On the question as to how such a manuscript (or a related copy) came to Treviso I am indebted to the external reviewers for pointing out the presence of Corso Donati (c. 1250-1308) as *podestà* of that city in 1308. In that function he was assisted by his notary, Francesco da Barberino (1264-1348). On this latter figure and his connection to Brunetto Latini: Emilio Pasquini, 'Francesco da Barberino', in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* (Roma: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 1997), pp. 686-691.

⁴² Mussafia, p. 283; Raffaele Spongano, 'Schede per il Catalogo della "Scelta" (Continuazione dai numeri 43-47)', *Studi e problemi di critica testuale*, 48, no.1 (1994), 311-26; Squillaciotti, p. 556; Roberto de Visiani, *Di un nuovo codice del "Tesoro"* (Venice: Antonelli, 1860), p. 28.

⁴³ Marco Giola, 'Tra cultura scolastica e divulgazione enciclopedica: un volgarizzamento del *Trésor* in compilazioni tardomedioevali', *Rivista di letteratura italiana*, 24, no.1 (2006), 21-49 (p. 49).

⁴⁴ For a description of the 1474 print: *Autographes – Dessins – Manuscrits – Incunables – Livres illustrés – Relivres: Vente aux enchères 27-28 novembre 1930* (Milano: Hoepli, 1930), pp. 35-36, no. 69; Brunet, p. 1294; *Catalogue of Books Printed in the XVth Century Now in the British Museum*, IV, p. 884, nos. IB.28317-IB.28318; Ludwig Hain, *Repertorium bibliographicum*, I/1 (Milano: Görlich, 1948), p. 557, no. 4009; Georg Panzer, *Annales typographici*, III (Nürnberg: Eberhard, 1795), p. 32, no. 8; M. Pellechet, *Catalogue générale des incunables des bibliothèques publiques de France*, II (Paris: Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1905), p. 272, no. 3033.

⁴⁵ These fifteenth-century manuscripts are: B, Br¹, Ca, D², F, F², L², L⁵, L⁶, N, P, Pa, R, R³, R⁴, T, V, V¹ and Bologna, Università di Bologna 2593. In identifying and studying these manuscripts I have benefited, in addition to the already cited studies by Bertelli, Bolton Holloway, Divizia, Giola, Marshall, Mascheroni, Roux and Squillaciotti, from the following scholarship: Sandro Bertelli and Marco Giola, 'Il "Tesoro" appartenuto a Roberto de Visiani', *Studi di Filologia Italiana*, 45 (2007), 5-45; Gabriella Cibeï, 'Un libro di famiglia: Il *Tesoro* dei Benivieni', *Rivista di Letteratura Italiana*, 13, no.1-2 (1995), 189-223; Patrick Gauthier d'Alché, 'Pseudo-Asaph, "De natura quatuor elementorum": une traduction latine de la philosophie naturelle du "Trésor" (Paris, B.N.[F], lat. 6556)', in *A scuola con ser Brunetto*, ed. by Irene Maffia Scariati, pp. 147-65; Gabriele Giannini, 'Un estratto inedito del *Tresor*', *Romania*, 126, no.1-2 (2008), 121-44; Marc-René Jung, 'La morale d'Aristote: l'utilisation du "Livre du Trésor" dans le "Trésor de sapience"', in *A scuola con ser Brunetto*, ed. by Irene Maffia Scariati, 93-117; Monica Longobardi, 'Resti di un volgarizzamento toscano del "Trésor"', *Pluteus*, 8-9 (1990-1999), 33-65; Michael Michael, 'A manuscript wedding gift from Philippa of Hainault to Edward III', *The Burlington Magazine*, 127, no.990 (1985), 582-99; María Nieves Sánchez González de Herrero, 'Testimonios medievales de la version castellana del "Libro del Tesoro" de Brunetto Latini', in *A scuola con ser Brunetto*, ed. by Irene Maffia Scariati, pp. 177-84; Pietro Palumbo, *La versione di alcuni capitoli del Trésor di Brunetto Latini in un manoscritto siciliano* (Palermo: Biblioteca del Centro di studi filologici e linguistici siciliani, 1989); Luigi Suttina, 'Un codice del "Tesoro" di Brunetto Latini: La Biblioteca Comunale di San Daniele del Friuli', *Memorie storiche*

technology related changes, such as the absence of ruling or a greater regularity of quires, there is the continued use of rag paper, which had already largely replaced parchment in the fifteenth century.⁴⁶ Structural similarities with respect to size and volume are also easily detectable. The 1474 print has a similar, large (folio) format (23.5 x 18.0 cm) with a spacious lay-out, and it consists of 126 folios.⁴⁷ Contrary to a number of fifteenth-century manuscripts with characteristic long lines, the 1474 print is divided into two columns. In addition, the 1474 print has no signatures or catchwords. At the end of the encyclopaedia a register of catchwords, preceded by an explanatory paragraph, has, however, been inserted. This register lists the beginning and final words of each folio for the first half of each gathering, lettered from *a* until *o*, as well as the final words of the last folio of each gathering. The encyclopaedia also contains a *tabula rubricarum*, an overview list of the work's descriptive chapter titles followed by a chapter number. The chapter numbering starts anew with each subdivision within the tripartite structure of the encyclopaedia.⁴⁸ Furthermore, the chapter titles are preceded by a folio number, although the latter has not been printed.⁴⁹ In line with the formal bookhand typical of a large portion of the examined manuscript corpus, Gerardus de Lisa also used, for the first time, a similar, distinctive Gothic type (105G) when printing the *Tesoro*.⁵⁰ Moreover, the 1474 print contains a number of ornamental additions, such as hand-made initials (with visible guide-letters), borders, rubrication and paragraph signs.

forogiuliesi, 4 (1908), 49; Plinio Torri, 'Sulla tradizione manoscritta del *Tresor*: I codici Vat. Lat. 3203 e Vat. Reg. 1320', *Rivista di letteratura Italiana*, 10 (1992), 255-279; Wendelien Vink, *Brunetto Latini's Livres dou Tresor verbeeld: Een vergelijking van de werkwijze van twee laat-dertiende-eeuwse handschriftateliers in Arras en Th erouanne* (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Universiteit van Amsterdam, 2007).

⁴⁶ According to the register at the end, the following quire structure applies: a⁶, b-f¹⁰, g-k⁸, l-n¹⁰, o⁸. On the use of paper: Mark Bland, *A Guide to Early Printed Books and Manuscripts* (Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), p. 25; Giuseppina Zappella, *Il libro antico a stampa: Struttura, tecniche, tipologie, evoluzione*, I (Milano: Bibliografica, 2001), pp. 27-30.

⁴⁷ On printing formats: Bland, pp. 53-54; Zappella, *Libro antico a stampa*, I, pp. 330, 339-40 (folio) and 341-42 (octavo). The copy of the *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana* misses the sixth folio, jumping in the later added foliation from folio 5 to 7. According to Brunet this blank folio is indeed sometimes missing. Brunet, p. 1294.

⁴⁸ This three-part structure is typical of the original *Tresor* (see above). Exceptionally, extant manuscripts consist of four or five books as a result of a subdivision of the second and/or third book.

⁴⁹ On the hypothesis that a *tabula rubricarum* presupposes a foliation that has not been stamped or is no longer visible because of trimming: Zappella, *Libro antico a stampa*, I, pp. 405-07.

⁵⁰ *Catalogue of Books Printed in the XVth Century Now in the British Museum*, IV, p. 884; Scholderer, *A Fleming*, p. 117.

These additions are executed in various colours, including gold, but, more commonly, in red-and-blue combinations. They are mainly intended to stress the encyclopaedia's basic tripartite division as well as its more intricate subdivisions. Another structural marker is the incipit of the 1474 print. It consists of a discursive beginning, mentioning the title and author of the work, and an explanatory ending.⁵¹ The 1474 print ends with a classic explicit repeating the title and author of the work.⁵² This type of opening and ending is also customary for the manuscript tradition. Contrary to this tradition, the 1474 print has a colophon stating the place and date of publishing.⁵³

Further research on this specific production context and its impact on the content and presentation of the *Tesoro* is warranted to explore the broader ramifications of such an early modern appropriation of a late medieval canon of knowledge in a new context and format.

1528 and 1533 reprints

The 1528 and 1533 reprints tell a distinctively different story than the 1474 edition. From the 1480s onwards, the major printing centres had fully developed, with Venice in a leading role.⁵⁴ The printing business had gone through a concentration of the number of operators, and foreign tutelage of the business had been replaced by native independence.⁵⁵ It should therefore not come as a surprise that, after the local experiment by a Flemish immigrant in Treviso discussed above, the later editions were both printed by Italians situated in the world's printing capital. Furthermore, both editions are no longer the creation of a printer-craftsman enjoying a printing

⁵¹ For the incipit, see footnote 38. On this structure: Zappella, *Libro antico a stampa*, I, p. 530.

⁵² The explicit reads: 'Qui finisce el Tesoro di Ser Brunetto.' (transl.: 'Here ends the Tesoro of Ser Brunetto').

⁵³ For the colophon, see footnote 19.

⁵⁴ On this leading position: Harris, *History of the Book*, pp. 259-61.

⁵⁵ Ekkart, p. 16; Harris, *Ombre*, pp. 464-65 and 472-73; Scholderer, *Printers and Readers*, p. 206; Steinberg, p. 30.

monopoly, but products of publishing houses built upon a division of labour and active in a highly competitive market.⁵⁶

The first reprint was published on 20 March 1528 according to its colophon.⁵⁷ A newly established publishing firm led by Nicolò Garanta and Francesco da Salò was responsible for it.⁵⁸ Nicolò Garanta was born in Brescia, a printing centre located between Lombardy and Venice.⁵⁹ This bookseller by profession had married into a Venetian publishing family headed by Giorgio de' Rusconi (d. 1521).⁶⁰ In 1521 he decided to collaborate with Francesco da Salò in order to fill the gap in the publishing market left by the death of his father-in-law.⁶¹ Under the mark of a dolphin swimming under a star-filled sky, this collaboration produced 17 print editions, two of which were reprints (including Brunetto Latini's *Tesoro*).⁶² The editorial programme was strongly focused on literary texts in the vernacular, both contemporary works and *Trecento* Tuscan classics. This latter interest was stretched to include the late *Duecento* *Tesoro*.⁶³ To this end, the newly inserted and richly decorated frontispiece underlined Brunetto Latini's role as a teacher (*maestro / precettore*) of Dante Alighieri, contrary to the earlier stress on Latini's notarial capacity in the 1474

⁵⁶ Gerulaitis, p. 5-7; Santoro, p. 96.

⁵⁷ On this reprint: Neil Harris, 'Nicolò Garanta, editore a Venezia 1525-1530', *Bibliofilia*, 97, no.2 (1995), 99-148 (pp. 141-43). The colophon reads: 'Stampato in Vineggia per Gioan Antonio et Fratelli da / Sabbio, ad istanza di Nicolo Garanta et France / sco da Salo libbrari et compagni. Adi vinti / Mazo. M. D. XXVIII. Regnan / te il Serenissimo Principe / Andrea Gritti.'

⁵⁸ On this collaboration: Harris, *Garanta*, pp. 99-148. See also: Fernanda Ascarelli and Marco Menato, *La tipografia del '500 in Italia* (Firenze: Olschki, 1984), p. 361; Nova, *Cinquecento*, pp. 179-80; Ester Pastorello, *Tipografi, editori, librai a Venezia nel secolo XVI* (Firenze: Olschki, 1924), p. 39.

⁵⁹ Nova, *Cinquecento*, p. 73.

⁶⁰ Harris, *Garanta*, p. 101.

⁶¹ Ascarelli and Menato, p. 361 (limiting its duration to 1528); Harris, *Garanta*, p. 102 (until 1530).

⁶² Ascarelli and Menato, p. 361; Harris, *Garanta*, pp. 102-03 and 120-21. On the interpretation of this mark: Giuseppina Zappella, *Le marche dei tipografi e degli editori italiani del Cinquecento: Repertorio di figure, simboli e soggetti e dei relative motti*, I (Milano: Bibliografica, 1986), pp. 145-46. For its depiction: Zappella, *Marche*, II, fig. 441. On this print production: Harris, *Garanta*, p. 104.

⁶³ Ascarelli and Menato, p. 361; Harris, *Garanta*, p. 106; Nova, *Cinquecento*, pp. 179-80.

incipit.⁶⁴ In addition to the easily remembered mark, the productions of this publishing house shared this frontispiece to underline their unity.⁶⁵ This homogeneity was further strengthened by a preference for the pocket format (octavo) and the use of italic, more precisely Nicolini I82 for the *Tesoro*.⁶⁶

For the execution of its printing jobs the publishing firm depended on the services of three printing outfits throughout its existence. The firm started out with Gregorio de Gregori (1525-1526), a printer with a proven track record, but, as the latter was winding down his business, the publishing firm moved on to the Nicolini da Sabbio brothers (1526-1528), a printing shop with shared roots in Brescia, a reputation for excellent quality, and an openness to work with small publishing firms.⁶⁷ In 1530, Girolamo Pencio printed only one edition for the account of the firm of Garanta and da Salò.⁶⁸ This last edition was a reprint.⁶⁹ The final edition produced by the Nicolini da Sabbio brothers had also been a reissue, namely the *Tesoro*.⁷⁰ This preference for re-releases in the last stages of the firm's existence has been interpreted as an act of opportunism, linked to the greater likelihood of success of reprints.⁷¹ To further ensure the appeal of the *Tesoro*, Nicolò Garanta also inserted a dedication letter to Piero Morosini, member of one of Venice's

⁶⁴ The title of the 1528 reprint reads: 'IL TESO / RO DI M(aestro) BRUNET / to Latino Firentino, precettore / del Divino Poeta Dante / nel qual si tratta di tut / te le cose che a mor / tali se apparten / gono. / [leaf sign] / M D XXVIII.', while the 1533 reprint states: 'IL TESORO DI M. / BRUNETTO LATINO / Firentino, precettore del Divi / no Poeta Dante, nel qual si / tratta di tutte le cose / che a mortali se / appartengo / no. / [leaf sign]'.

⁶⁵ Harris, *Garanta*, pp. 121-23.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 123.

⁶⁷ On Gregorio de Gregori: Ascarelli and Menato, p. 339. On the Nicolini da Sabbio family: Ascarelli and Menato, pp. 353-56; Gedeon Borsa, 'L'attività dei tipografi di origine bresciana, al fuori del territorio bresciano, fino al 1512', in *I primordi della stampa a Brescia 1472-1511 (Atti del convegno internazionale, Brescia, 6-8 giugno 1984)*, ed. by Ennio Sandal (Padova: Antenore, 1986), pp. 25-59 (pp. 34-35); Nova, *Cinquecento*, pp. 153-57; F.J. Norton, *Italian Printers, 1501-1520: An annotated list, with an introduction* (London: Bowes and Bowes, 1958), p. 150; Pastorello, p. 58; Ugo Vaglia, 'I Da Sabbio. Stampatori in Brescia', *Commentari dell'Ateneo di Brescia*, 172 (1973), 59-87. On this reputation and openness: Harris, *Garanta*, p. 109.

⁶⁸ On this printer: Ascarelli and Menato, p. 362.

⁶⁹ Harris, *Garanta*, p. 112.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

most prestigious families, as a preface.⁷² Although the series of printed editions was indeed successful, as demonstrated, *inter alia*, by the interest later exhibited by Melchiorre Sessa, the publishing business turned out to be insufficiently profitable compared to other lines of business, and the collaboration was definitively ended in 1530. From that moment on Nicolò Garanta focused again on his bookselling activities.⁷³

The 1533 reprint was the product of a well-established printing house led by Melchiorre Sessa. Following in the footsteps of his father, Giovanni Battista Sessa (d. 1509), Melchiorre continued this publishing business alone, apart from a temporary association with Pietro di Ravani (1516-1525).⁷⁴ He operated under the well-known family brand of a cat holding a mouse in its mouth.⁷⁵ The decision to reprint almost the entire catalogue of Nicolò Garanta (including Brunetto Latini's *Tesoro*) can be linked to its proven appeal to the reading public, but also to a close personal relationship between the Garanta and Sessa — something not unheard of in the close-knit printing world of Venice.⁷⁶ The colophon does not specify to which printer the printing job was outsourced, but the wording, especially the use of the proposition '*per*', indicates that the printing

⁷² For a transcript: Harris, *Garanta*, p. 118-19. On the usefulness of a dedication in a print environment: Lorenzo Baldacchini, 'Dal manoscritto all'incunabolo: continuità o rottura? Note su qualche studio recente', in *Metodologia bibliografica e storia del libro (Atti del seminario sul libro antico offerti a Dennis E. Rhodes)*, ed. by Alessandro Scarsela (Firenze: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, 1995-1996), pp. 105-19 (p. 113).

⁷³ Harris, *Garanta*, pp. 112-14.

⁷⁴ On this printing family: Nereo Vianello, 'Per gli "Annali" dei Sessa, tipografi ed editori in Venezia nei secoli XV-XVII', *Accademie e biblioteche d'Italia*, 38, no.4-5, (1970), 262-85. See also: Ascarelli and Menato, pp. 327-28; Pastorello, p. 83. On the collaboration with Pietro di Ravani: Silvia Curi Nicolardi, *Una società tipografico-editoriale a Venezia nel secolo XVI: Melchiorre Sessa e Pietro di Ravani (1516-1525)* (Firenze: Olschki, 1984). See also: Borsa, *Tipografi di origine bresciana*, p. 35; Norton, pp. 151-52. On the figure of the father: Silvia Curi Nicolardi, *Un tipografo in Venezia "ad signum gathe": Giovan Battista Sessa (1489-1505)* (Verona: Bonato, 2010).

⁷⁵ On the interpretation of this mark: Bland, p. 107; Zappella, *Libro antico a stampa*, I, p. 590; Zappella, *Marche*, I, pp. 188-89. For its depiction: Zappella, *Marche*, II, figs. 595-98 (different variations) and fig. 604 (incorporated into a cornice).

⁷⁶ Harris, *Garanta*, pp. 112-13 (referring to the fact that Melchiorre Sessa acted as a witness to the testament of Giulia Garanta).

was indeed outsourced — a practice not uncommon to Melchiorre Sessa.⁷⁷ In the *Short-Title Catalogue* Bernardino de Viano is mentioned as the responsible printer.⁷⁸

Following this presentation of the publishing firms responsible for the 1528 and 1533 reprints, their publishing activities, and the factors leading up to their decision to publish, it befits, once more, to ascertain the impact of these production contexts on the text and physical composition of these editions. In line with the opportunistic character of the reprints the text of these reissues was solely based upon the *editio princeps* without any further manuscript consultation.⁷⁹ The 1533 reprint even contains a literal copy of the dedication letter of the 1528 reprint although this letter lists Nicolò Garanta as the responsible publisher.⁸⁰ The text of both reprints is also said to be of a lesser quality than the already corrupted version of the 1474 edition.⁸¹

The business orientation of the publishing houses likewise left its traces in the physical composition of the reprints.⁸² The deliberate choice of a portable format (15 cm x 10 cm), almost half the size of the 1474 print, is indicative of a commercially savvy enterprise attempting to exploit the latest trend in book ownership: the easy-to-transport-and-consult pocket book.⁸³ Given this reduced format, a division into two columns was also no longer needed to secure the text's readability. Although this reduction in size initially more than doubled the print's volume to

⁷⁷ The colophon reads: '[paragraph sign] In Vinegia per Marchio Sessa. Nel anno del Signore / 1533. Regnante il Serenissimo Prin / cipe Andrea Gritti.' (transl.: 'In Venice for Marchio Sessa. In the year of the Lord 1533. During the reign of the Most Serene Doge Andrea Gritti'). On this practice: Vianello, p. 270.

⁷⁸ *Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in Italy and of Books in Italian Printed Abroad 1501-1600 Held in Selected North American Libraries*, II (Boston: G.K. Hall, 1970), p. 228. On this figure: Ascarelli and Menato, p. 359.

⁷⁹ Harris, *Garanta*, pp. 142-43; Mussafia, p. 281.

⁸⁰ This latter factor has been invoked to support a hypothesis of (implied) consent to this reprint by Nicolò Garanta. On this hypothesis: Harris, *Garanta*, pp. 112-13.

⁸¹ Brunet, p. 1294; Gaiter, p. xli; Spongano, p. 320; Zambrini, p. 543.

⁸² For a description: Brunet, p. 1294; Max Sander, *Le livre à figures italien depuis 1467 jusqu'à 1530: Essai de sa bibliographie et de son histoire*, II (Milan: Hoepli, 1942), p. 667, nos. 3871-3872.

⁸³ On this trend: Armando Petrucci, 'Il libro manoscritto', in *Letteratura italiana: Volume secondo: Produzione e consumo*, ed. by Alberto Asor Rosa (Torino: Giulio Einaudi, 1983), pp. 499-524 (p. 524).

271 folios (1528 reprint), the publishing house continued to pay attention to its profitability. A minimal increase in the number of lines per page (30 in 1533, compared to 29 in 1528 – notwithstanding the same format size) reflects this pursuit of profit. Thanks to this increased efficiency in page use, the 1533 reprint managed to reduce its volume by 20 folios per printed copy, bringing the total down to 251.⁸⁴ The most costly factor for the early printing firm was, of course, paper.⁸⁵ The use of a small-sized italic (I82 compared to 105G) also fits this space-saving enterprise, while the sober execution characteristic of both reprints points towards the same focus. This attention to formal detail is similarly illustrated by the increased regularity of the quire structure.⁸⁶ In turn, this structural consistency is reflected in the absence of a register of catchwords. In both reprints an enumeration of quire letters, followed by a simple formula stating the type of quire, sufficed.⁸⁷ Furthermore, the reissues contain commercially interesting product innovations in the form of para-textual elements inserted either for publicity purposes or to improve the reader's comfort. From a publicity perspective, the introduction of a frontispiece and the insertion of a dedication letter have already been mentioned. In fact, both publishing firms not only strengthen the visual appeal of their frontispiece by framing the long titles within a richly decorated cornice, but they also enhance the visibility of these titles by means of a triangle composition and a distinctive use of capitals of decreasing type sizes.⁸⁸ This attention to marketing is also evident from the fact that, although the typographical data in the frontispiece are incomplete, the identities of the publishing firms (1528 and 1533) and printer (1528) are

⁸⁴ On the foliation error in the 1533 reprint (indicating 249 instead of 251 folios): Brunet, p. 1294.

⁸⁵ Zappella, *Libro antico a stampa*, I, pp. 125 and 128.

⁸⁶ The 1528 print has the following quire structure: a⁸, A-LL⁸, while the quire structure of the 1533 print is: a⁸, A-HH⁸, II⁴.

⁸⁷ In the 1528 reprint this formula reads: 'Tutti sono quaderni.' (transl.: 'All gatherings consist of four folios'), while the formula of the 1533 reprint states: 'Tutti sono quaterni, eccetto II ch'è duerno.' (transl.: 'All gatherings consist of four folios, except for II which is a bi-folio').

⁸⁸ The 1533 reprint, neatly fitting the work's title and author on the two first lines, gives a more balanced impression than the 1528 reprint. See footnote 63 for the transcription of both titles.

clearly indicated in the colophon, again structured in a visually attractive triangle composition.⁸⁹ Furthermore the marks of the publishing houses, important quality indicators, are not only mentioned on a separate folio at the end of the encyclopaedia (1528 and 1533), but also incorporated into the inferior part of the cornice of the frontispiece (1533).⁹⁰ Competition clearly required visibility. To accommodate the reader, the 1528 and 1533 reprints have added table of contents as front matter. Thanks to the stamped foliation of the text, these tables consist of chapter titles followed by a folio number, allowing the reader to consult particular parts of the encyclopaedia.⁹¹ To the same end, running titles have been included, indicating the table of contents or designating the book involved.⁹² In the latter case these running titles reflect a structural change from a tripartite division, typical of the 1474 print, to a division into nine books.⁹³ In line with the task division between publishers and printers, characteristic of the sixteenth-century publishing business, the reprints also contain signatures and catchwords, stamped per gathering, as well as the formula of the quire structure at the end of the encyclopaedia.⁹⁴ These instruments allowed the publishers and their printers to distinguish the gatherings of one edition from those of another work-in-progress. They permitted them to be

⁸⁹ The frontispiece of the 1528 reprint only mentions the date of publishing, while the 1533 reprint incorporates the mark of the publishing firm into the cornice of the frontispiece but leaves out the date and place of publishing.

⁹⁰ In the 1533 print the mark reproduced at the end of the encyclopaedia contains both the cat-and-mouse image and the initials of Melchiorre Sessa, while the mark incorporated into the frontispiece is limited to the image. In the 1528 reprint the mark consists only of the dolphin image.

⁹¹ I.e. a reading practice not yet facilitated by the *tabula rubricarum* of the 1474 print (see above).

⁹² The running title reproduces the word '*tavola*' in capitals in the centre of each folio side in order to indicate the table of contents or it is spread over two folio sides, again in capitals and in the centre of each folio side, in order to designate the book involved. In the latter case the left title reads '*libbro*' (1528) or '*libro*' (1533), while the right one refers to the number of the book (from one until nine).

⁹³ These nine books are: biblical and universal history up to the Old Testament; biblical and universal history from the New Testament onwards, and cosmology; geography and mechanical arts; bestiary: fish and waterbound animals; bestiary: snakes, birds, and airbound and landbound animals; Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*; panoply of moral precepts; rhetoric; and politics.

⁹⁴ The signatures are a combination of alphabetical lettering and Arabic numbering (e.g. A/A2/A3/A4), located in the right-hand corner at the bottom of the first four pages of each quaternion, preceded by the title of the work (*Tesoro*) in a central position on the first page only. The last page of each quaternion contains the first words of the next one.

involved in the publishing of multiple editions at the same time instead of having to adhere to a book-for-book model.⁹⁵

Additional research on the wider implications of this comparison between the *editio princeps* and the more commercially-minded sixteenth-century editions is warranted to develop the current understanding of the adoption of proto-humanist teachings by early modern publishers and their target audience.

Conclusions

This article portrays a fifteenth-century Trevisan printer-craftsman and two sixteenth-century Venetian publishing houses. It has discussed their position within the Trevisan and Venetian printing markets, outlined the general characteristics of their printing portfolios, and examined the factors that led up to their decisions to publish the *editio princeps* or the 1528 and 1533 reprints of the *Tesoro*. Lastly, the impact of these different production conditions on the content and presentation of each print edition has been highlighted.

This study underlines, first of all, that the advent of printing did not end interest in Brunetto Latini's *Tesoro*. It created a period of co-existence of both media and secured the continued dissemination of the *Tesoro*. Printing did, however, entail a shift in the centre of gravity of its production, away from Tuscany to the Veneto region. It also resulted in a faster and wider circulation of the work than in the manuscript era. In fact, the production of three print editions, combined with the rapid succession of the 1528 and 1533 reprints, points towards a success story.

⁹⁵ Zappella, *Libro antico a stampa*, I, pp. 399-402 (signatures) and 402-05 (register of catchwords).

Secondly, this analysis shows that this change from script to print signalled a distinct preference for single item content. In combination with a tendency towards linguistic standardisation this preference heralded the end of the encyclopaedia's malleability in the hands of copyists. It fixated the message based upon a single exemplar of the manuscript tradition (L).

Finally, this examination demonstrates that such textual fixity did not mean that the *Tesoro's* presentation survived unchanged. Although the product of a fifteenth-century printer-craftsman still presented important similarities to fifteenth-century manuscripts, such as the use of paper, the same size and volume, the adoption of a formal letter type or a luxurious execution, the first differences were also discernible, namely a division into two columns. The transition to the sixteenth-century publishing house resulted, however, in the most significant modifications to the work's physical characteristics. The large folio format was swiftly replaced by a portable octavo. Driven by a relentless pursuit of cost-cutting efficiency, close attention was paid to letter type (small italic) and page use (number of lines), whilst a strict use of signatures and catch words enabled the proper execution of the agreed-upon task division between publisher and printer. The sober execution of both reprints confirms the cost-monitoring focus of the publishing houses. Active in a highly competitive market, advertising instruments, like the introduction of a frontispiece, the insertion of a dedication letter or the identification of the publishing houses in the colophon or through their marks, were readily adopted. Simultaneously, foliated table of contents and running titles were introduced to enhance the reading comfort of the buying public.

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