

Transferring humanism:

The edition of Vitruvius by Lucimborgo de Gabiano (Lyon 1523)

The economic integration between France and Italy was in place well before the French descended into Italy (1494–95) and before the conquest of Milan by Louis XII (1499), and it was rooted in the growing role played by Lyon as a commercial and financial centre and site of four annual fairs since 1463. Merchants convened there from all over Europe, and the Italian communities (mainly Florentine and Milanese) soon took the lead, thanks to their capacity for organising the trade in luxury goods, founding and managing a banking industry and controlling financial operations and wholesale commerce. In a few decades, the medieval centre, which in 1470 counted about 20,000 inhabitants, became a vibrant economic capital of about 70,000 inhabitants in 1520.¹ From the last decade of the fifteenth century, the king of France was one of the most influential players in the military and political theatre of the peninsula, when the royal court passed through Lyon on several occasions, sometimes with prolonged stays.

Whereas the contribution of the Florentine ‘nation’ to Lyon as a financial and exchange centre was notoriously crucial,² the market connection developed with the Milanese area was greatly increased when the city was ruled by the French (1499–1512).³ Lyon fairs were considered essential by the Milanese merchants, so much so that in 1502 they asked to hold similar ten-day commercial events in their city twice a year.⁴ The most prominent Italians of Lyon came from Genoa, Florence, Lucca and Milan, but Piedmontese and Savoyard merchants also participated widely in this process, as the main routes from Venice or Genoa to Lyon crossed the Piedmont. Not surprisingly, some of the first Italian book merchants/publishers who found a considerable success in Lyon came precisely from the area of Trino and Asti. They developed a book production which was aimed at the strong ecclesiastical, juridical and medical reading publics of the city, but they also tried successfully to spread the achievements of Renaissance culture with a book production that was closely inspired by Italian editions.⁵

The Gabiano family

Among these publishers, the Gabiano family from Piedmont has recently aroused considerable scholarly interest, and their place in the transnational book trade of the sixteenth century is starting to be fully recognized. It has become ever clearer that this familial group included merchants of the highest rank in the early modern book trade, closely comparable to the Giunti, with whom their activities were so often

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1 See the classic work by Richard Gascon, *Grand commerce et vie urbaine au XVI^e siècle. Lyon et ses marchands (environs de 1520–environs de 1580)*, 2 vols., Paris/Mouton/La Haye 1971, I, 47.

2 The first Medici bank branch opened in Lyon in 1466 (Raymond De Roover, *The rise and decline of the Medici Bank: 1397–1494*, Cambridge, MA 1963). On the Italians at the Lyon fairs, see Michele Cassandro, *Le fiere di Lione e gli uomini d'affari italiani nel Cinquecento*, Firenze 1979; Michele Cassandro, ‘I forestieri a Lione nel ‘400 e nel ‘500: la nazione fiorentina’ in Gabriele Rossetti (ed.), *Dentro la città. Stranieri e realtà urbane nell’Europa dei secoli XII–XVI*, Napoli 1989, 151–162; Jacqueline Boucher, *Présence italienne à Lyon à la Renaissance. Du milieu du X^e à la fin du XVI^e siècle*, Lyon 1994; Angela Orlandi, *Le grand parti: Fiorentini a Lione e il debito pubblico francese nel XVI secolo*, Firenze 2002.

3 Stefano Meschini, *La Francia nel ducato di Milano. La politica di Luigi XII (1499–1512)*, Milano 2006, 2 vols.

4 Patrizia Mainoni, ‘Alcune osservazioni sulla politica economica di Milano fra Ludovico il Moro e il dominio francese’ in Letizia Arcangeli (ed.), *Milano e Luigi XII. Ricerche sul primo dominio francese in Lombardia (1499–1512)*, Milano 2002, 341–352; esp. 351–352.

5 William A. Pettas, ‘The Giunti and the Book Trade in Lyon’ in A. Ganda, E. Grignani & A. Petruccianni (eds.), *Libri tipografi biblioteche: Ricerche storiche dedicate a Luigi Balsamo*, 2 vols., Firenze 1997, I, 169–192. Jeanne-Marie Dureau-Lapeyssonnie, ‘Recherches sur les grandes compagnies de libraires lyonnais au XVI^e siècle’ in Roger Chartier et al. (eds.), *Nouvelles études lyonnaises*, Genève 1969, 5–63.

intertwined. The Lyon branch of the Gabiano family was thoroughly studied by Henri Baudrier as early as the nineteenth century, on the basis of a rich documentation held today by the Archives Départementales du Rhône.⁶ Although unusually ample and detailed, this documentation is hardly useful when one strives to understand the relationship of the Lyon branch with the motherhouse in Venice. Equally problematic is the reconstruction of the Italian part of the family that left so few traces, given that it was much more interested in trade than in the production of books.⁷ The Gabianos' business operations therefore have to be investigated more through archival documents than published editions, where their rarely printed name and device of the Fountain [Fig. 1] indicate only a limited part of their entrepreneurial initiatives.⁸ The majority of their business will never be reconstructed in a satisfactory way; therefore, the letters received by Giovanni Bartolomeo Gabiano in Venice in 1522 shed significant light not only on the Gabiano family's activities but also on the early modern European book trade.⁹

The family, whose original name was Lanza,¹⁰ took its name from the village of Gabiano in Piedmont, half way between Lyon and Venice. While active for years in many places (among which, the university city of Pavia), the family seems to have been based in the city of Asti, although they certainly possessed several properties and residences in the area around Asti and in the Monferrato.¹¹

Like other merchant families from Piedmont, such as the Giolito and the Portonari, the Gabiano family entered the world of the book trade from a strategic geographical position on the axis connecting Lyon to Venice across the Po Valley.¹² They, too, sought to extend the geographic range of their business as far as possible, finally becoming at the end of the sixteenth century active in numerous areas, not only in Europe.¹³

Although the Gabiano made their appearance as book publishers first in Lyon around 1501–1502, they must have been in that business many years prior. We know from Baudrier's research that Baldassarre de Gabiano (Balthazar d'Ast) was registered in Lyon tax records from 1493 as the representative of the Compagnie d'Ivry, a booksellers' partnership created in Venice by his uncle Giovanni Bartolomeo de Gabiano and Lorenzo Aliprandi.¹⁴ In reality, members of the Gabiano family were in Venice and in Lyon as early as 1485, as they are mentioned in a merchant's testament

6 Henri Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise. Recherches sur les imprimeurs, libraires, relieurs et fondateurs de lettres de Lyon au XVI^e siècle*, 12 vols., Lyon 1895–1921, VII, 1–245, 449–450.

7 Contributions on the Italian side of the family are: Corrado Marciani, 'I Gabiano, librai italo-francesi del XVI secolo' in *La Bibliofilia*, 74:2 (1972), 191–213; Corrado Marciani, 'I Vuković tipografi-librai slavi a Venezia nel XVI secolo' in *Economia e storia*, 19:3 (1972), 342–362; Paolo Veneziani, 'Il libraio al segno della fontana' in *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, 74 (1999), 242–266; Angela Nuovo, *The book trade in the Italian Renaissance*, Leiden/Boston 2013, 71–80, 165–170, 313–314; Angela Nuovo, 'Una lettera di Michele Tramezino a Giovanni Bartolomeo Gabiano (1522)' in *La Bibliofilia*, 105:1 (2013), 147–156. The growing results in research are also witnessed by the entries in: *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, 'Gabiano, Baldassarre da' (by Mario Infelise), vol. 58 (1998), online at [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/baldassarre-da-gabiano_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/baldassarre-da-gabiano_(Dizionario-Biografico)/); Marco Santoro et al. (eds.), *Dizionario degli editori, tipografi, librai itineranti in Italia tra Quattrocento e Seicento*, Pisa/Roma 2013, 'Gabiano and Gabiano Baldassarre' (by Livia Castelli), II, 437–439; and *Dizionario dei tipografi e degli editori italiani*, vol. 2, forthcoming, 'Gabiano, Giovanni Bartolomeo ed eredi' (by Ennio Sandal) online at <http://www.isontina.beniculturali.it/getFile.php?id=1521>.

8 The device of the Fountain represented the address of a bookshop founded by Franz Renner of Heilbrunn (known in Venice as Francesco della Fontana, active 1471–1486). Giovanni Bartolomeo de Gabiano married Francesco's daughter, Isabella, and soon became the owner of the shop, although there was an heir, Benedetto Fontana, who actually used the sign of the fountain as a publisher's mark for the first time in 1496 (ISTC ia00966000): see Nuovo, 'Una lettera di Michele Tramezino', 152. Under the name 'Zuan Bartolomeo da la Fontana', Gabiano asked for a privilege in 1504 (see Venice, Archivio di Stato, Collegio, *Notatorio*, Registro – segnatura antica 23 (1499–1507), fol. 112v; Nuovo, 'Una

lettera di Michele Tramezino', 150–151), but he never used the device in any of his publications. The mark of the fountain only emerges in Venice as a publisher's device in 1541, much later than the events treated here, when Giovanni Bartolomeo's son and heir, Giovanni Francesco Gabiano, started to use it. In Lyon, the mark of the fountain was not used before Scipione de Gabiano's time, starting in 1529. This mark would have in any case a much longer story, see Veneziani, 'Il libraio al segno della fontana.'

9 Venice, Archivio di Stato, *Miscellanea atti diversi manoscritti*, b. 91: *Lettere di vari scritte a Gio. Bartolomeo da Gabiano*. The complete edition with commentary of these papers is one of the objectives of the ERC-funded project EMOBookTrade which I have directed since 2016. The existence of this important bundle of letters was reported to Victor Massena, prince d'Essling, during the examination of documents he commissioned from Venetian archivists with the goal of writing his work on illustrated

Venetian books (*Les livres à figures vénitiens de la fin du XVe siècle et du commencement du XVI^e siècle sur l'art de la gravure sur bois à Venise*, Florence/Paris 1907–1914). A copy of these informal notes from first-hand examination of documents related to printing is preserved today at the Archivio di Stato of Venice, Archivietto, *Stampatori*, Ricerca Duca di Rivoli. It includes the correspondence of Charles Gérard, Secretary of the Duke of Rivoli, with various archivists in Venice from 1901 to 1904.

Cimpræsum ē p̄sens opus Venetiis per Gregoriū de Gregonis expensis Benediçi Fontanæ Anno salutifere incarnationis domini nostri. M. CCCCXCVI. Dicuero. xiiii. Iulii.

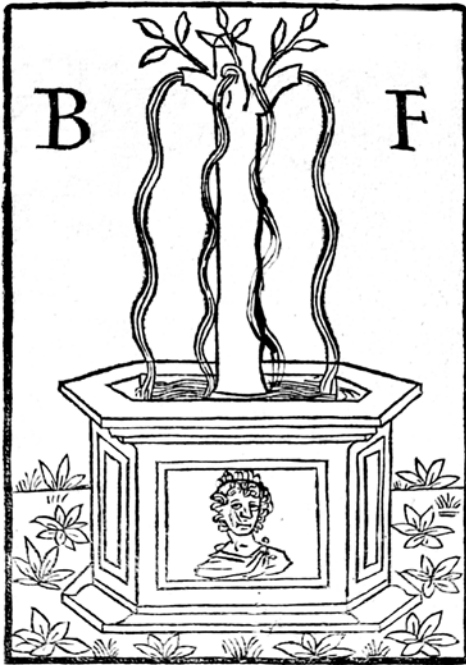


Fig. 1 First appearance of the mark of the Fountain, used by Benedetto Fontana, brother-in-law of Giovanni Bartolomeo Gabiano (ISTC ia00966000). Brussels, Royal Library, INC B 1001, colophon (woodcut 125 × 88 mm).

as business partners.¹⁵ Needless to say, like many other merchant families, they traded in a variety of different merchandise (silk, wheat, wool, paper, and so forth) and would continue to do so while their engagement in the transnational book trade was constantly increasing.

10 Myriam Dal Zio Billanovich, 'L'attività editoriale di Giovanni Domenico del Negro e i Consilia di Angelo da Castro' in *Quaderni per la storia dell'Università di Padova*, 15 (1982), 107–113. The name Lanza was in any case used by some members of the family well into the sixteenth century.

11 The letters discussed below demonstrate this. Because of the war and the troop passages in the area, members of the Gabiano family found themselves dispersed and refugees in various villages, including Verolengo,

Trino, Casale Monferrato, Tonco, Castell'Alfero and Cortanze.

12 Angela Nuovo, 'Da Trino a Venezia a Lione. Le imprese librarie dei mercanti trinesi' in Magda Balboni (ed.) *Trino e l'arte tipografica nel XVI secolo. Dal Marchesato del Monferrato all'Europa al mondo*, Novara 2014, 137–146.

13 Venice, Lyon, Asti and Flanders (unspecified cities) are, according to the remaining documentation, the venues of more intense entrepreneurial activity in that period (Giovanni Bar-

tolomeo de Gabiano's will of 1536, published by Marciani, 'I Gabiano, librai italo-francesi del XVI secolo', 197–198). Traces of their business can be tracked in Slavic countries, through the network of Bozidar Vuković, son-in-law of Giovanni Bartolomeo da Gabiano (see Marciani, 'I Vuković tipografi-librai slavi' and Angela Nuovo, 'La scoperta del Corano arabo, ventisei anni dopo: un riesame' in *Nuovi Annali della Scuola Speciale per Archivisti e Bibliotecari*, 27 (2013), 9–24). In 1568, religionis

causa, the new generations of the family (Barthélemy and Henri, sons of Lucimburgo and his first wife Catherine Gautheret) left Lyon and moved to Geneva, while maintaining commercial ties with Lyon and France in general. The whole Gabiano family group conducted ever larger businesses in London, Constantinople, Seville, and from this latter city, they made investments in printing in Tenochtitlán (Mexico City), as Ennio Sandal has reconstructed in his volume *Giovanni Paoli da Brescia e l'introduzione della stampa nel Nuovo Mondo*, Brescia 2007, 87–96.

14 Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise*, VII, 1; Dureau-Lapeyssonnie, 'Recherches sur les grandes compagnies de libraires lyonnaises', 5–64. Still, he had some activity remaining in Italy, given that he financed the publication of a medical book in Pavia in 1501 (EDIT16, CNCE 23874). He finally came back to Asti in 1518 to print a series of law books of a local jurist, Alberto Bruno (EDIT16, CNCE 7694, 7695, 7696, 7697, 7698). Lorenzo Aliprandi was a partner of Giovanni Bartolomeo Gabiano at least until 1535 (Nuovo, *The book trade*, 77–79).

15 The Monferrato merchant Enrico Calcia declared that the associated printers Tommaso de Blavis and Maffeo de Paterbonis owed him 54 ducats (Venice, Archivio di Stato, *Notarile, Testamenti*, b. 734, no. 25, 25 April 1485); moreover, he stated that Francesco de Gabiano in Lyon owed him a certain quantity of silk, also mentioning Stefano de Gabiano, both obviously members of the same family group (Catherine Kikuchi, *La Venise des livres 1469–1530*, Ceyzérieu 2018, 120–121).

In spite of this vast and ambitious activity, of which only a sketch has been given here, the Gabiano are famous in book historical literature as ‘plagiarists,’ i.e. for their activity of illicit reprinting of the Aldine octavo editions. Baldassarre de Gabiano in particular is known to have printed octavo editions from 1501–1502 that closely resembled those of Aldus Manutius, using italic types very much like those of Griffo.¹⁶

The production of ‘counterfeit’ Aldines

The story of the ‘counterfeit’ Aldines shows how quickly the leading exponents of the book trade of the time, the Gabiano, Giunti and even Gershom Soncino, understood the potential of the novel combination of a new format and typeface for publishing the classics that Aldus had created.¹⁷ Contrary to some scholars’ views on the inefficacy of the Venetian system of book privileges, the history of the non-authorized copies of Aldine octavos confirms that the Venetian system offered efficient protection: the only possibility for their production was to print them outside the Republic of Venice.¹⁸ Being printed abroad, the Lyon (and Florence and Fano) replicas were indeed perfectly legal according to contemporary legislation because no privilege could be enforced beyond the boundaries of the state whose government had granted it. Only the pope could grant privileges that extended their prohibition across the whole of Christianity, but this was true only in theory: Aldus’s repeated efforts to bring his italic typeface under papal protection had a doubtful effect.¹⁹

Scholarly research has focused so far on the real counterfeits, i.e. books printed during the the ten-year span of the original privileges granted to Aldus in Venice. By investigating the reception and the market of the Lyonnaise replicas, William Kemp holds that these initial products were indeed intended mainly for the Italian market because the italic typeface did not reach French readers before 1510–1512. Following the traces of illuminated copies and original bindings, Kemp assumes that the Gabiano distributed their pseudo-Aldines in the Italian States (Rome and Milan in particular) and were probably able to smuggle them even to Venice, where Aldus himself could have seen them.²⁰

In a transnational market, on the other hand, the delocalized, well-organized, and insidious production of counterfeits could only increase, making publishers more and more aware of the multifaceted damages that these illicit competitive initiatives inflicted on their business. In a larger sense, an illicit reprint is any reprint that is detrimental to the interests of the author or the publisher who produced the original

16 The severe judgment came from Antoine-Augustin Renouard, *Annales de l'imprimerie des Aldes, ou histoire des trois Manuce et de leurs éditions*, Paris 1834, 305–316. Too many scholars, even in recent times, followed the same opinion, without paying sufficient attention to the fact that those replicas, provided they were not imported into the Republic of Venice, violated no law. The famous Aldus Manutius’s *Monitum* (Warning against the printers of Lyon, 1503) gives ample evidence that precisely because there was no way of prosecuting the ‘counterfactors,’ Aldus was obliged to create a specific rhetoric in defence of his own editions, with the goal of showing the low quality of the imitations, their textual errors, and their moral impropriety. For the text of the *Monitum* with commentary, see Joanna Kostylo, ‘Commentary on Aldus Manutius’s Warning against the printers of Lyon (1503)’ in Lionel Bently & Martin Kretschmer (eds.), *Primary sources on copyright (1450–1900)*, www.copyrighthistory.org. For a bibliographic analysis of this production, see David J. Shaw, ‘The Lyons counterfeit of Aldus’s italic type: A new chronology’ in Denis V. Reidy (ed.), *The Italian book 1465–1800: Studies presented to Dennis E. Rhodes on his 70th Birthday*, London 1993, 117–33, and William Kemp, ‘Counterfeit Aldines and italic-letter editions printed in Lyons 1502–1510: Early diffusion in Italy and France’ in *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of Canada*, 35:1 (1997), 75–100.

17 The italic typeface was created by the type founder, punchcutter, and type designer Francesco Griffo. See Paolo Tinti, ‘Griffo, Francesco’ in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/francesco-griffo_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/francesco-griffo_(Dizionario-Biografico)/); Rita De Tata, ‘Nuovi documenti su Francesco Griffo e i suoi discendenti bolognesi’ in *Documenta*, 1 (2018), 9–34.

18 Concerning the privilege system in Venice, see Nuovo, *The book trade*, 195–257. See also Rinaldo Fulin, ‘Documenti per servire alla storia della tipografia veneziana’ in *Archivio Veneto*, 23:1 (1882), 84–212; Erika Squassina, ‘Authors and the system of publishers’ privileges in Venice (1469–1545)’ in *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, 91 (2016), 42–74; Christopher Witcombe, *Copyright in the*

Renaissance. Prints and the privilegio in sixteenth-century Venice and Rome, Leiden/Boston 2004. *Book privileges in Venice*, the database of Venetian book privileges is available online: <http://emobooktrade.uniud.it/db/public/frontend/index>.

19 The complete series of privileges granted to Aldus has been published in H. George Fletcher, *New Aldine studies: Documentary essays on the life and work of Aldus Manutius*, San Francisco 1988, 139–156. See also Angela Nuovo, ‘Aldus Manutius and

the world of Venetian publishing’ in Rinaldo Fernando Canalis & Massimo Ciavolella (eds.), *Andreas Vesalius and the Fabrica in the age of printing. Art, anatomy and printing in the Italian Renaissance*, Turnhout 2018.

edition.²¹ Thus, counterfeits cannot be merely defined in strictly legal terms, but they must also be examined from at least three more perspectives: deontological, the perspective Aldus was more eager to stress; bibliographic, for understanding the logic of imitation and the mutual relations of the illicit reprints; and finally economic, certainly the real motivation of this phenomenon.²²

The implications of the Lyonnaise reprints of the Aldines are numerous. Undoubtedly, the economic investment was remarkable, starting from the design and production of the italic typeface, which had appeared in Venice only a couple of years before. The whole operation was certainly planned with care. The preceding ‘market analysis’ was so accurate and sales were so good that the Lyonnaise replicas were reprinted more often than the Venetian originals. Some copies were even printed on vellum, revealing the existence of dedication copies and wealthy recipients.

From the point of view of book history, the paradoxical merits of these editions are twofold: they disseminated Italian Latin humanism across Europe (printing more than a few letters in Greek was beyond Gabiano’s skills) by means of French editions distributed through the fairs, and they contributed to the success of the italic typeface. Furthermore, Baldassarre de Gabiano did not limit himself to replicating Aldine editions of the Latin classics,²³ but undoubtedly at some commercial risk he also produced octavo editions of the vernacular works of Petrarch and Dante, the first editions of these texts to appear in France.

In the case of the Dante, it is even possible to identify some improvements to the original text (edited by Pietro Bembo for Aldus) introduced by Gabiano to his edition. The Lyonnaise edition includes a more accurate, ‘Frenchified’ version of Provençal verses that Dante puts into the mouth of the troubadour Arnault Daniel,²⁴ a textual amendment which shows that editors and correctors were sometimes at work in the Gabiano printing house.

Notwithstanding their Lyonnaise interests, Venice always remained the centre of the family business and of the partnerships in the Gabiano family. It was to the bookshop at the sign of the Fountain near the Rialto Bridge in the parish of San Bartolomeo that a group of surviving letters were sent, addressed to Giovanni Bartolomeo Gabiano. About 110 letters survive from only one year, 1522, sent by about 40 different correspondents.²⁵ One of these correspondents was Giovanni Bartolomeo’s nephew, Lucimborgo da Gabiano.

20 William Kemp, ‘Counterfeit Aldines and italic-letter editions’, 75–100 (especially 82).

21 Silvio Corsini, ‘La contrefaçon du livre sous l’Ancien Régime’ in François Moureau (ed.), *Les presses grises: la contrefaçon du livre, XVI–XVII siècles*, Paris 1988, 21–38.

22 Yann Sordet, ‘La contrefaçon éditoriale: qualification juridique et raison économique’ in *Histoire et civilisation du livre*, special issue: *Contrefaçons dans le livre et l’estampe, XVIe–XXIe siècle*, 13 (2017), 7–15.

23 Some of them had been previously printed by the Giunti in Florence, for instance Suetonius and, as we will see, Vitruvius.

24 As an example, the passage in the Aldine edition of 1502 starts with ‘Tan m’abbelis votre cortois deman; / Chi eu non puous, ne vueil a vos cobrire./ Ieu sui Arnaut; che plor e vai cantan [...]’ while in the Gabiano replica the text reads: ‘Tan m’abbelis votre cortois deman; / Chi eu non puous, ne vueil a vos cobrire./ *Je suis Arnault*, che plor e vo cantan [...]’. The same type of process happens for the Provençal verses included in Petrarch’s *Canzoniere*, LXX (‘Drez et raison es quieu ciant em demori’, according to the Bembo edition, and ‘*Droit et raison es que ie chante damor*’ in the Gabiano replica). For a detailed linguistic analysis of the Lyonnaise octavo editions, see Carlo Pulsoni, ‘I classici italiani e le loro contraffazioni lionesi’ in *Critica del testo*, 5:2 (2002), 477–487.

25 This group of letters (the above-mentioned *Miscellanea atti diversi manoscritti*, b. 91 at the Archivio di Stato), was completely separated from its original context, probably many years ago. As a consequence, its original location in the archives cannot be traced.

Lucimburgo da Gabiano / Luxembourg de Gabiano

About 1517/1518, Baldassarre de Gabiano died and was replaced in Lyon by Lucimburgo da Gabiano, that is, Luxembourg de Gabiano. Born in Asti around 1490, Lucimburgo was introduced to the business by his uncle Giovanni Bartolomeo in Venice and sent to Lyon as early as 1512 to help Baldassarre in the management of the Compagnie d'Ivry, of which he became the principal manager until its dissolution in 1544. In 1519, only three years before the surviving letters, Lucimburgo, together with Ayme de la Porte, Jacques Giunti, Simon Vincent and J. Senneton, founded the Compagnie des lectures and the Compagnie des textes, known thereafter by the name of Compagnie de Messieurs les libraires de Lyon or Grande compagnie des libraires de Lyon.²⁶ These partnerships, several times renewed, were founded by a group of merchants and later on continued by their heirs while attracting many more occasional investors in the meantime. They dominated the production and trade of law books all over Europe for a long time. Remarkably, few hints are found in Lucimburgo's letters about this major company and its business.²⁷

Long past the days of the Aldine replicas, a type of production in which Lucimburgo was never involved,²⁸ he expresses in his letters a real passion for publishing books designed to be as beautiful and attractive as possible. At times, he shows a real pride in what he was able to do, obviously doing his best to impress his uncle. (Not a single reply survives unfortunately; therefore, we have no opportunity to verify if his Venetian interlocutor was indeed impressed.) In this way, Lucimburgo speaks about the editions he had under press in that span of time, namely the *Canon* by Avicenna [Fig. 2],²⁹ the *Vita Christi* by Ludolphus de Saxonia,³⁰ the *Super feudis* by Baldo degli Ubaldi,³¹ and especially Vitruvius, which will be discussed in the following pages. In fact, Lucimburgo, with few exceptions,³² never signed the editions he had printed; therefore, these letters provide crucial evidence for assigning books to him which he financed and had printed. On the basis of the documents available to him, Baudrier wrongly concluded that Lucimburgo had systematically avoided publishing anything outside his partnerships.³³ By reading his letters, we can ascertain, on the contrary, that publishing was an activity he carried out with enthusiasm and absorbed a lot of his time and energy.

In brief, through these letters of 1522, we can see how Venetian publishing houses used their base in Lyon to reach northern (but also, probably, Spanish) markets more efficiently with products that were closely inspired by Venetian or Italian books.

26 In the last few years, Jamie Cumby has studied the *Compagnie des libraires* and the Gabiano family's activity both in Lyon and Zaragoza for her PhD dissertation 'A Publishing Monopoly in Learned Europe: The *Compagnie des libraires* of Lyon 1509–1562', University of St Andrews 2018.

27 In his letter of 17 July, there is a brief mention of the investment needed to participate in the partnership for the printing of the complete works of Bartolo de Sassoferato, which the Compagnie was publishing in several folio volumes between 1521 and 1523 (Andrew Pettegree & Malcolm Walsby (eds.), *French books. III & IV. Books published in France before 1601 in Latin and languages other than French*, Leiden 2012, I: A–G, nos 56121–56135, 56137–56142) under the name of the printer Jean de Jonvelle, dit Piston (Gérard Morisse, 'Pour une approche de l'activité de Sébastien Gryphe, imprimeur-libraire lyonnais du XVII^e siècle' in *Revue française d'histoire du livre*, 126–127, 2005–2006, 25–27).

28 H. George Fletcher has proposed a twofold definition which seems to describe best the production in Lyon. Pseudo-Aldines are the real illicit copies (format, typeface and text) of the Aldines, commonly improperly defined counterfeit, mainly produced in the first years of the century; quasi-Aldines are instead the editions which use the Aldines' formulae (format and types) to print other texts (H. George Fletcher, *In praise of Aldus Manutius. A quincenary exhibition*, New York: The Pierpont Morgan Library – Los Angeles: University Research Library, Dept. of Special Collections – UCLA, 1995, 55). Lucimburgo in fact printed only quasi-Aldines, see the list by David J. Shaw ('The Lyons counterfeit of Aldus's italic type', 117–33).

29 Avicenna, *Liber canonis totius medicine ab arabica lingua in Latinam reductus*, Lyon, opera Jacques Myt, 1522, 4to (USTC 145535; SBN IT\ICCU\RMLE\010335). No bibliography or catalogue mentions Lucimburgo as publisher of this edition.

30 Ludolphus de Saxonia, *Vita Jesu Christi redemptoris nostri ex secundissimis evangeliorum sententijs et approbatis ab ecclesia doctoribus excerpta per Ludolphum de Saxonia sacri chartusianorum ordinis obseruantissimum. Cum tabulis [...]* *Ac sancte Anne vita summisque diui Joachimi laudibus [...]* 1522 (Lugduni: coimpressa opera magistri Guilhelmi Huyon sumptibus Iacobi atque Francisci de Giunta, et sociorum florentini [...]) 1522, 4to (USTC 155559; Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise*, VI,

110–111; SBN IT\ICCU\TO0E\012052 and IT\ICCU\TO0E\033210). Obviously, Lucimburgo was one of the 'Florentine' partners; no bibliography or catalogue mentions his participation in this edition.

31 Baldo degli Ubaldi, *Baldus super feudis, opus aureum vtriusque iuris luminis domini Baldi de Perusia super feudis: cum additionibus doctissimi domini Andree Barbacie: et aliorum clarissimorum doctorum: [...]* *Sunt et*

nouissime adiecta summaria cum nouo et vtili repertorio per magistrum Iohannem de Gradibus [...] Lugduni: in officina Iacobi Myt fidelissimi calcographi, decima die mensis Maii, 1522, 4to (USTC 155558; SBN IT\ICCU



Fig. 2 Avicenna, *Liber canonis totius medicine ab arabica lingua in latinam reductus*, Lyon: Jacques Myt [for Lucimborgo de Gabiano], 1523, 4to, title page. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek 4 Med.g. 15 (218 × 152 mm)

VPARE|049872). No bibliography or catalogue mentions Lucimborgo as publisher of this edition.
 32 Among them, an edition of the Bible: *Biblia, concordantiae in eadem, ex tum Veteri, tum Novo Testamento*,

sacrisque Canonibus: necnon & ex viginti Josephi De Antiquitatibus, & Bello Iudaico Libris excerptae [...] Lugdunum: apud Lucemburgum de Gabiano, 1546, 20. Edition printed by the widow of Jean Crespin, and

shared with Jacques Giunta and the bookseller Jacques Crozet (Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise*, VII, p. 136; SBN IT\ICCU\ARML\025567; USTC 124680).

33 'L. de Gabiano paraît avoir évité, avec soin, d'éditer pour son compte personnel': Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise*, VII, p. 27.

The edition of Vitruvius (Lyon, Lucimborgo di Gabiano, 1523)

A good example of this strategy is his Vitruvius, the first edition of this text outside Italy, published anonymously by Lucimborgo in 1523 and attributed to the family by Baudrier, whose attribution is based solely on the identification of the woodcut frame used on the title page [Fig. 3].³⁴ Thanks to these letters, the responsibility of the edition can be fully confirmed, together with some interesting details.

The edition of Vitruvius belongs to a series of twelve editions of Latin classics in octavo printed in Italian types, published more than ten years after the period of validity of Aldus's privileges. The series, generally recorded in bibliography under the name of the printer Guillaume Huyon, covers the years 1519–1523 and includes Caesar (USTC 145011, with illustrations copied from the 1513 Aldine edition by Fra Giocondo), Suetonius (USTC 145356), Juvenal–Persius (USTC 145444), Lucan (USTC 145445), Virgil (USTC 121677), Vegetius–Frontinus–Aelianus (USTC 145587), Terence (USTC 121679), and our Vitruvius. Most of these editions are replicas of the Giunti octavos, while the edition of Vegetius seems to follow the Paris edition of Jean Petit (1515).³⁵

The edition of Vitruvius is by far the most complex product of the series and not only because it is the richest in illustrations. The edition was created through a careful assembly of the elements of the most recent editions of Vitruvius, published in Italy in the previous decade or so.

Textually speaking, any edition of this text had to rely on previous editions published in Venice and Florence. The starting point could only be not the first, but the best edition of Vitruvius, edited and illustrated by Giovanni Giocondo da Verona (1434–1515),³⁶ a beautiful small folio published in Venice by Giovanni Tacuino in 1511 [Fig. 4], which, thanks also to its 136 woodcuts, had a profound influence on the Renaissance reception of the architectural principles of the Romans.³⁷ The only treatise of architecture which has come down to us from classical Antiquity was for the first time understandable not only to scholars and humanists but also to architects and other practitioners in building. Now, readers were helped in understanding the text (a particularly difficult one) by illustrations and a glossary.

The Tacuino edition was republished in a reduced octavo format two years later by the Giunti in Florence.³⁸ The Giuntis' Vitruvius however was not a mere replica. On this occasion, their editorial innovations were indisputable and not merely a commercial ruse. Not only did they reduce the format and radically simplify the illustrations, they also secured the collaboration of Giovanni Giocondo himself, who added the text of Frontinus (*De aqueductibus urbis Romae*) and who also decided to

34 Vitruvius, *M. Vitruvii De architectura libri decem, summa diligentia recogniti, atque excusi, cum nonnullis figuris sub hoc signo * positis, nunquam antea impreassis, additis Iulii Frontini De aqueductibus libris, ppter [i.e. propter] materiae affinitatem*, [Lyon: Guillaume Huyon for Lucimborgo di Gabiano], 1523, 195 [i.e. 179], [16], 2–22 ff.; ill.; 8vo. Sybille von Gültlingen, *Bibliographie des livres imprimés à Lyon au seizième siècle*, Baden-Baden 1995, III, 111–117; Renouard, *Annales*, 315–316. SBN IT \ICCU\BVEE\061663 (10 copies in Italy); Sudoc <http://www.sudoc.fr/135833833>. Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise*, VII, 167; e-rara (digitized copy Stiftung Bibliothek Werner Oechslin, Einsiedeln). In fact, the edition was not printed by G. Huyon, as it will be shown below. I have consulted the following copies: Milan, Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense, AB. 09. 0005; Oxford, All Souls College Library, Great library: HHH. 13.19(1); Los Angeles, University of California. University Research Library – Department of Special Collections, Z23.A41 V83d 1523. Hereafter **Gabiano 1523**.

35 William Kemp & Sandra Richards, 'Les contrefaçons lyonnaises de livres d'Aldo Manuzio et le premier traité illustré sur l'architecture imprimé en France: le Vitruve de 1523', paper presented at the *Onzièmes entretiens du Centre Jacques Cartier*, Lyon 1998, typescript, 4–5 (I thank William Kemp for generously allowing me to read this unpublished text). For David J. Shaw ('The Lyons counterfeit of Aldus's Italic Type', p. 127), these editions belong to the Group II-b of the Lyon Italic: he quotes only the editions of Suetonius, Lucan and Vegetius, stating that Huyon was re-using an old Gabiano type. More correctly, Philippe Pradel de Lamaze groups eight octavos of this series (Caesar, Suetonius, Juvenal–Persius, Lucan, Virgil, Terence, Vegetius and Vitruvius) under the direct responsibility of Lucimborgo di Gabiano, see his *Invention et diffusion de l'Humanisme: les contrefaçons lyonnaises des éditions d'Alde Manuce*, *Mémoire de DEA* sous la direction de Dominique Varry, Villeurbanne 1995, 27–28.

36 Pierre Gros & Pier Nicola Pagliara (eds.), *Giovanni Giocondo umanista, architetto e antiquario*, Venice 2014; Pier Nicola Pagliara, 'Giovanni Giocondo da Verona' in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 56 (2001), http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giovanni-giocondo-da-verona_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/.

37 Vitruvius, *M. Vitruvius per locundum solito castigatior factus cum figuris et tabula ut iam legi et intelligi possit*, *Impressum Venetiis ac magis quam*

unquam aliquo alio tempore emendatum: sumptu miraque diligentia Ioannis de Tridino alias Tacuino, anno Domini 1511 [die.] XXII Maii regnante indycto duce Leonardo Lauredano, [4], 110. [10] ff.; 20. EDIT16 CNCE 48320; SBN IT

\ICCU\BVEE\020845; e-rara (digitized copy Stiftung Bibliothek Werner Oechslin, Einsiedeln. Hereafter **Giocondo-Tacuino 1511**. For the French context, see the website *Les Livres d'Architecture. Manuscrits et imprimés publiés en France, écrits ou*

traduits en français (XVIe siècle–XVIIe siècle), Dir. Frédérique Lemerle & Yves Pauwels, Centre d'Études Supérieures de la Renaissance – Université François-Rabelais, Tours, <http://architecture.cesr.univ-tours.fr/traite/index.asp>.

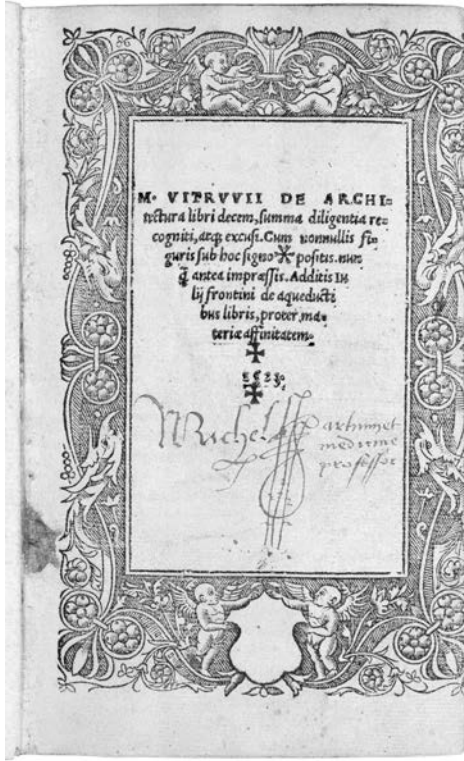


Fig. 3 Vitruvius, **Gabiano 1523**, 8vo, title page (154 × 93 mm). Courtesy of the Newberry Library, Chicago.

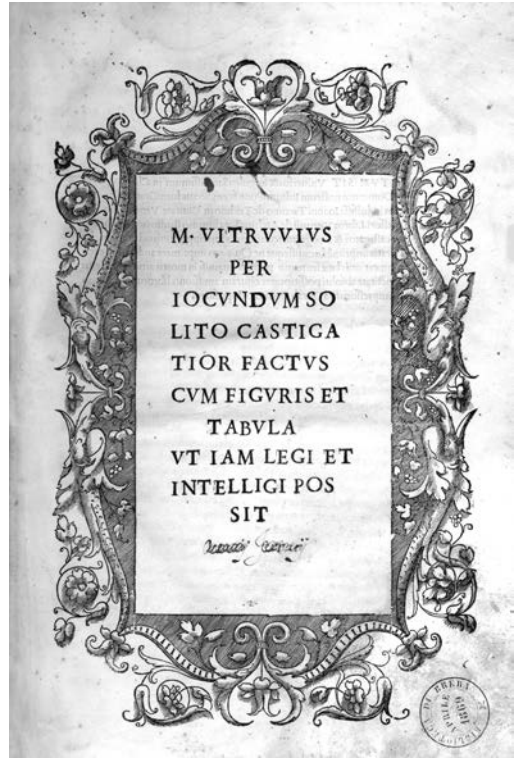


Fig. 4 Vitruvius, **Giocondo-Tacuinio 1511**, fol., title page (210 × 305 mm). Courtesy of the Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense, Milan.

change dedicatee from the now deceased Pope Julius II (Giuliano della Rovere) to Giuliano de' Medici.

The first information on Gabiano 1523 that we can derive from one letter by Lucimborgo is dated 5 June 1522, when he writes to his uncle that the Vitruvius will start printing in one month, when the woodcuts would be ready.³⁹ But on 17 July 1522, i.e. a bit more than one month later, the printing had been postponed. Lucimborgo writes that the woodcuts were completed, but the italic types (*littera cancelaresca*) were in Guillaume Huyon's house, and because he had just died of the plague, they were inaccessible (as it is well known, in cases of plague, houses were nailed shut).⁴⁰ Guillaume Huyon was one of the printers who frequently worked for

38 Vitruvius, *Vitruvius iterum et Frontinus à locundo revisi repurgatique quantum ex collatione licuit*. Florentiae: sumptibus Philippi de Giunta Florentini anno domini, 1513 mense Octobri. 8vo. EDIT16 CNCE 28727; SBN IT\ICCU\PUVE

\013451; e-rara (digitized copy Stiftung Bibliothek Werner Oechslin, Einsiedeln). Hereafter **Giunti 1513**.
39 'Et compito sarà di intagliar le figure del Vitruvio che sarà fra uno mexe si comencerà et sarà bello; et per questo non vi dico altro per non

haver tempo; p(er) el p(rosim)o darovi amplo avixo del tutto'.
40 'Le figure del Vitruvio sono compite di intagliar, ma maestro Guilelmo nostro stampador hè morto di peste et la littera cancelaresca hè in casa sua d[il] modo el non si poterà far

finché sia tornà di Venexia'.
Lucimborgo was planning to go to Venice in September; therefore, he states here that he could not print Vitruvius before coming back to Lyon. In the years 1521–23, the plague hit hard the city of Lyon.

the Italian publishers in Lyon; most scholars believe that he was still alive in 1523, but from Lucimborgo's letter, it can be proven that he died before July 1522.

On 25 November 1522, Lucimborgo touches again on this subject in another letter, describing how the work was proceeding: he commissioned thirty-four illustrations that were previously lacking in Giocondo-Tacuino 1511.⁴¹ The communication of his decision to enrich the graphic apparatus of the edition fails to mention that the new woodcuts were copied from the recent vernacular edition, edited and illustrated by Cesare Cesariano (1475–1543) and printed in Como in 1521 [Fig. 5].⁴² Lucimborgo adds, moreover, that paper for the edition had been bought. He also specifies that printing types had been ordered in Florence, a revealing piece of information.⁴³ Obviously, he could not recover his types from Huyon's house; therefore, he was obliged to make a further investment in this edition. The italic types that he actually used in the Vitruvius edition are very similar to those of the Giunti, and it is very likely that they were made by the Giunti of Florence.⁴⁴

In his last letter, dated 2 January 1523, Lucimborgo reports contradictorily that he was still waiting for the new illustrations.⁴⁵ They had to be placed in the first gatherings of the edition, so the work of printing could not be started. Since the correspondence does not continue unfortunately, we are unable to follow the later and concluding stages of the production.

Whereas some scholars maintained that **Gabiano 1523** is a copy of **Giunta 1513**,⁴⁶ a closer look at these editions shows that the Lucimborgo's copy-text was in fact the Giunti reprint of 1522, in which the text was again revised and improved, although without any collaboration with Giovanni Giocondo, who had died in 1515.⁴⁷ This second Giunti octavo, dated 27 October 1522, could have indeed been perfectly available to Lucimborgo because, as his letters testify, he was still waiting to start printing operations in January 1523.⁴⁸ His editions adopt a series of changes and improvements of the text that characterize only the second Florentine edition. For instance, in the initial content list of the Vitruvius work, the 1513 Giunti edition reads 'CAPUT' for the first six 'libri' and starts with the correct word 'CAPITA' only at the seventh. This mistake was corrected in the 1522 reprint. Gabiano's edition has

41 Note that Pagliara counts thirty-six illustrations (Pier Nicola Pagliara, 'Le *De Architectura* de Vitruve édité par les Gabiano, à Lyon en 1523' in Sylvie Deswarte-Rosa (ed.), *Sebastiano Serlio à Lyon. Architecture et imprimerie*, Lyon 2004, 359–365, p. 360), and Kemp and Richards count thirty-five (William Kemp & Sandra Richards, 'Les contrefaçons lyonnaises de livres d'Aldo Manuzio', 8) but there are definitely thirty-four.

42 Vitruvius, *De architectura Libri Decem traducti de latino in Vulgare affigurationi: Commentati: & con mirando ordine Insigniti: per il quale facilmente potrai trovare la multitudine de li abstracti & reconditi Vocabuli a li soi loci & in epsa tabula con summo studio expositi & enucleati ad Immensa utilitate de ciascuno Studioso & beniuolo di epsa opera. Cum Gratia & Priuilegio.* [Colophon:] Qui finisce Lopera praeclara de Lucio Vitruuio Pollione de Architectura traducta de latino in vulgare: Historiata e Commentata a le spese e Instantia del Magnifico .D. Augustino Gallo Citadino Comense e Regio Referendario in epsa Citate: e del nobile .D. Aluisio de Pirovano Patricio Milanese: Emendata e Castigata cum summo studio e diligencia excepto alchune poche cosse quale sono poste ne la infrascripta tabula de li Errori li quali non se hano possuto fugire per languitia del tempo. Niente di meno Caro Lectore tu li poterai restituire a li soi loci con facilitate: talmente che tuta lopera resta Correctissima: e de cio ne pigliarai infinita utilitate e delectatione per la explicatione de tante difficultate e declaratione de passi obscuri: quanti sono ne Lopera latina antedicta: Cossa desiderata e aspectata non solo da li mediocri: ma anchora da summi docti studiosi del Architectonica disciplina: e Impressa nel amoena & delecteoule Citate de Como per magistro Gotardo da Ponte Citadino Milanese: ne lanno del nostro Signore Iesu Christo M.D.XXI. XV mensis Iulii Regnante il Christianissimo Re de Franza Francisco Duca de Milano con Gratia e Priuilegio tanto del praelibato Re quanto de la Sedia Apostolica con pena e Interminatione da non essere Impressa da qui a dece anni: Secundo che amplamente ne li dicti priuilegii se contene. Laus Deo. EDIT16 CNCE 49742, SBN IT\ICCU\VAIE\002025; e-rara (digitized copy ETH-Bibliothek Zürich). Many digital facsimiles of copies of this edition are freely available. Hereafter **Cesariano-Da Ponte 1521**.

43 'El si è apresso a far intagliar 34 figure del Vitruvius, le quali manchavano a quelli di Tacuino et sono quaxi tutte nel principio; chomo si possa començar el si comencherà perché la carta hē comprā et la littera hē in ordine de Firenze.'

44 The Giunti of Florence were trading in matrices and types from the fifteenth century. See Gustavo Bertoli, 'Documenti su Bartolomeo de' Libri e i suoi primi discendenti' in *Rara volumina*, 8 (2001), 1–2, 19–56 and Piero Scapocchi, 'L'inventario di una cassa tipografica di Bartolomeo dei Libri del 1 ottobre 1500 (con alcune considerazioni sulla tipografia fiorentina tra XV e XVI secolo)' in *La Bibliofilia*, 113:1 (2011), 24–29.

45 'El Vitruvius non hē anchora comenzo perché si fa intagliar 34 figure che sono di più di altri et sono al principio, si che sarà per il ritorno mio piaciendo a Dio.'

46 'Lorsque, à Lyon, on commence à préparer l'ouvrage, il se peut que l'édition de Giunta, terminée le 27 octobre 1522, n'était pas encore disponible. En revanche, celle de 1513, presque identique, l'était certainement, avec le privilège de dix ans sur le point d'expirer, comme avait déjà expiré celui de l'édition de 1511': Pagliara, 'Le *De Architectura* de Vitruve édité par les Gabiano', 359. Of course, **Giunti 1513** could not have obtained any privilege (and no privilege is printed in fact in the edition) because it was just a reprint of a published text.

47 Vitruvius, *De architectura Libri decem nuper maxima diligentia castigati atque excusi, additis, Iulij Frontini De aqueductibus libris propter materiae affinitatem.* Impressum Florentiae: per haeredes Philippi Juntae, Anno Domini M.D.XXII. sexto kal. Nouembris. EDIT16 CNCE 28778, SBN IT\ICCU\VAIE\000241; e-rara (Stiftung Bibliothek Werner Oechslin, Einsiedeln, digitized copy). Hereafter **Giunti 1522**.

48 See the letter quoted at note 44.

DI
Lucio
Vitruuio
Pollione de
Architettura Li-
bri Dece traducti de
latino in Vulgare affi-
gurati; Cōmentati: & con
mirando ordine Insigniti: per il
quale facilmente potrai trouare la
multitudine de li abstrusi & reconditi Vo-
cabuli a li soi loci & in epla tabula con sum-
mo studio expositi & enucleati ad Immenfa utili-
tate de ciascuno Studiofo & beniuolo di epla opera.

Cum Gratia & Priuilegio.



Fig. 5 Vitruvius, **Cesariano-Da Ponte 1521**, fol., title page (418 × 283 mm).
Courtesy of the Newberry Library, Chicago.

in itijis me nouissime claritate tuam non pigeat. Na cũ au
 toris huius, cui perrariũ aliũ simile reperies sincerã lectio-
 nẽ uile atq; etiã delectabile habueris cura mea, nõ medio
 cre fructũ latinarũ & græcarũ a nostris etiã receptarũ di-
 ftionum que ad architecturã pertineat, et antiquarũ quo-
 q; ædificationũ cognitionẽ inuenies in quibus etiã gnomo-
 nice & machinatio continetur, vt harũ rerũ alterius nul-
 lius parem copiã habere possis, quẽ si diligentius perseru-
 tatus fueris, nõ modo, architecturæ præcepta condices sed
 cum in ea, tum & in nonnullis alijs quozq; disciplinis per-
 doctus euades, ita vt intelligere tibi liceat quid in suã pro-
 fessionis arte quisq; valeat artifex. & quãtũ liberalia stu-
 dia mechanicis addãt quæ perinde vt viuax spũs sunt cor-
 pori. Quãobrem mi iuliane, vt senes & licetiosior dicto-
 rũ necnõ insolentius etiã dicendorum ueniã peto, nam quis
 mihi persuadere te ipsum magnæ virtutis, et maioris esse
 animi virũ, quoniã tamen virtutũ vires laudibus crescere
 soleant, & ab eo ardetius cõplecti, quẽ ipse cõplectuntur te
 reuerenter moneo quod tanti Pontificis frater cum sis, et
 Florentine Reip. facile primarius, ita te cum omnibus ge-
 ras, vt nostri seculi delicia tenearis, vt sui temporis Titus
 ille fuisse legitur, & iustitiã atq; pietatem antiorũ, pijs
 atq; philosophi amuleris, a quibus quos imiteris omni vir-
 tutũ genere claros, vt dixi, habeas, patrẽ auos atq; pãuos
 tuos, & ab prisicis illis exẽpla sumere, alienum quoq; non
 existimo, p̄sertim tanti cui spacio p̄dicatis, vt ex pluribus
 varijs odoratisq; floribus nexile perpetuãq; coronã capitũ
 tuo imponas, qui iam non tibi soli natus esse videris, sed
 & multis alijs, quorũ profectibus fauens, talẽ te eis p̄beas
 qualẽ quẽq; eorum tibi preberi velles, si in eũ gradũ quẽ
 tu tenes fortuna seu virtus eos constituisset. Felix esto, &
 bene valeas, vetuli tui tocundi memor.

M. VITRUVII DE ARCHITECTURA

CAPITR PRINI LIBRI.

	Vid sit architectura & de architectis in stinentis.	Cap. i.
	Ex quibus rebus architectura cõstet.	Cap. ij.
¶	De partibus architecturæ in priuatorum & publicorum adificiorum distributionibus & gnomonices & ma- chinationis.	Cap. iij.
	De lectione locorũ salubriũ & quæ obfunt salubritati & vnde lumina capiuntur.	Cap. iij.
	De fundamentis murorum & turrium.	Cap. v.
	De diuisione operũ, quæ intra muros sũt, et earũ dispositio ne, vt ventorũ noxijs flatus vitentur.	Cap. vi.
	De electiõne locorũ ad vsũ cõem ciuitatis.	Cap. viij.

CAPITA SECVNDI LIBRI.

	E priscorũ hominũ vita, & de in itijis huãnita- tis atq; tectorũ & incrementis eorũ.	Cap. i.
d	De principijs rerum secundum philosophorum opiniones.	Cap. ij.
	De lateribus.	Cap. iij.
	De arena.	Cap. iij.
	De alce.	Cap. v.
	De puluere puteolano.	Cap. vi.
	De lapicidinis.	Cap. viij.
	De generibus istructuræ & earum qualitatibus, modis ac locis.	Cap. viij.
	De materie cedenda.	Cap. ix.
	De abiete supernate & infernate, cum apemini descri- bitur.	Cap. x.

A iij

Fig. 6 Gabiano 1523, 8vo, A2v-A3r (154 × 180 mm). Courtesy of the Newberry Library, Chicago.

only 'CAPITA' [Fig. 6]. Another change followed by Lucimborgo was the use of small
 guide-letters instead of woodcut initials, a usage found also in the 1522 reprint as
 compared to the 1513. Many more textual features indicate that typesetters of the
 Gabiano printing office had sheets from the 1522 Giunti octavo attached to their
visorìa. However, the correctness of the text printed by Gabiano is much inferior to
 that of the Giunti, especially in the initial pages.⁴⁹ The lack of correctors seems to
 have been a usual event for Lucimborgo's initiatives, because he did not regularly
 employ humanists as proofreaders.

49 As an example from the table in the
 Giunti edition of 1522, one reads
 CAPITA PRIMI LIBRI. (fol. A2v, second
 line), in Gabiano 1523 CAPITR PRINI
 LIBRI. (fol. A3r, second line). Fortu-
 nately, the following pages are much
 more correct.

The privileges of Vitruvius editions

For a long time, publishing an illustrated edition of Vitruvius remained a very complex endeavour, in which several participants had to collaborate: a humanist supervising the scholarly text, an artist of the illustrations with advanced knowledge in the domain of architecture, and a publisher able to guarantee a protected market, at least temporarily, in order to deliver a remunerative return on sales.⁵⁰ In a series of editions of the same work, the reciprocal relationships are also clarified by the legal status of each initiative and by the juridical protection thus provided for each one.

An edition like *Giocondo-Tacuino 1511* marks a turning point in the history of visual culture and not only in Venice. In fact, it was necessary for readers of the Renaissance to understand this fundamental text as well as possible because it brought about a new phase in the history of architecture and that was possible thanks to the decisive contribution of this edition to the architectural modeling and the practical use of Vitruvian standards.⁵¹ The publisher Giovanni Tacuino was obviously well aware of this and accordingly applied for a privilege for his edition from Pope Julius II (to whom the edition was dedicated by Giocondo himself),⁵² and from the Venetian Senate. On the verso of the title page appears the papal privilege,⁵³ while on the last folio of the edition (P9v), just before the colophon and the mark, is printed the Venetian concession. The archival original of the concession allows a comparison between the complete text and that which was published in the edition.⁵⁴ There are predictable gaps, given that Tacuino had presented a request for a collection of texts of classical Latinity, the majority of which were later printed by Aldus Manutius.⁵⁵ It is significant, however, that the privilege was requested for the edition of Vitruvius and Frontinus together, while only the first author was included in the edition of 1511.⁵⁶ It is also worthwhile to underscore that the privilege had been requested for a printing of Vitruvius in Latin as well as in the vernacular, demonstrating how the commercial scope of this venture was larger than could effectively be realized and how it had aimed from the start to target the public of noneducated builders, craftsmen, and architects who would be able on their own to understand only the Italian translation of the text.

50 Frédérique Lemerle, 'La complexité de l'entreprise éditoriale à la Renaissance: le cas du De architectura de Vitruve' in Martine Furno (ed.), *Qui écrit? Figures de l'auteur et des co-élaborateurs du texte (XVe-XVIII siècles)*, Lyon 2009, 151–164.

51 For a philological analysis of this edition, see Lucia A. Ciapponi, 'Fra Giocondo da Verona and his edition of Vitruvius' in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 47 (1984), 72–90.

52 Francesca Salatin, 'Dedica d'architettura, architettura della dedica. Il Vitruvio di Fra Giocondo' in *Margini. Giornale della dedica e altro*, 10, 2016, 3–16 (http://www.margini.unibas.ch/web/rivista/numero_10/saggi/articolo4/salatin.html).

53 See at fol. A1v: *De Apostolico Archetypographo extracto*. The papal privilege chronologically followed the Venetian privilege, given that it explicitly refers to the penalties that the latter promised. The pope, moreover, had

hit the counterfeiters with immediate excommunication.

54 'Serenissimo Principe et Ex.^{mo} ac Ill.^{mo} Sig.^{no}. Cum sit che el fidelissimo servitor di vostra Sub.^{ta} Zuan Tacuino, stampador, cum accurata diligentia et sollicitudine, et cum grandissima sua spesa, habia sempre invigilato de metter in luce opere nove, et non più stampate, et in optima et perfecta lettera da tuti laudata, et sia al presente per imprimere Vitruvio de architectura latino et vulgar, cum

Frontino, cum additione et figure; uno libro de epigrammi molto anti-quissimi; Nonio, Marcello, Festo et Varo cum Caton, correcti, cum alcune zonte; Collumella et Palladio, Salustio cum figure, et comenti, opere non mai più stampate in questi modi et ordeni. Tra le qual alcune sono cum summa diligentia castigat et emendate per el R.^{do} frate Jocundo. Imperhò esso fidelissimo servitor humilmente ricorre a li piedi de vostra Ill.^{ma} Signoria supplicandola de gratia, che a lui solo supplicante sia licito far stampar le ditte opere per anni diece, id est X, et se altri presumerà in ditto termine et spatio di tempo stampar quelle, modo aliquo, in Venesia, over altri loci subditi a vostra Sub.^{ta} aut stampate altrove in esse vender, pagino per ogni volume ducato uno, et perda li libri, la qual pena sia divisa in tre parte, una a li Mag.^{ti} Signori dove sarà fatta la conscientia, 'altra a lo accusator, et l'altra al ditto supplicante. El qual humilmente a quella se ricomanda. Die xx.mo maii 1511. Quod suprascripto supplicant fiat ut petitur' (Venice, Archivio di Stato, *Collegio Notatorio* 16, fol. 86v). Among the signing senators was Bernardo Bembo, owner of one of the manuscripts from which Giocondo had established the new Vitruvian text. A striking network of relationships tied Giocondo and the Bembo (Bernardo and Pietro) for many years (Massimo Danzi, *La biblioteca del cardinal Bembo*, Geneva 2005, 25–32; Francesca Salatin, 'Tra Francia e Venezia. Fra Giocondo, Giano Lascaris e il Vitruvio del 1511' in *Studi Veneziani*, 72 (2015), 447–474). For the complete text of the privilege, see the online database *Book Privileges in Venice* at <http://emobooktrade.uniud.it/db/public/frontend/index>, Id. 563, 20 May 1511.

55 The examination of the privileges shows a hidden collaboration between the firms of Giovanni Tacuino and Aldus Manutius, highlighting a series of rather significant exchanges of privileges obtained by the two publishers, who were both tightly linked to the Bembo family.

56 Traditionally, Vitruvius and Frontinus were published together. Frontinus was moreover a text linked considerably to the professional activities of Giocondo.

The following edition, *Giunti 1513* in octavo, which mentions Giovanni Giocondo's editing on the title page, is an initiative definitely undertaken with a licence from Tacuino (the cession to a third party is always a possible option of any privilege). Needless to say, it did not receive a privilege, being substantially a replica.⁵⁷ However, this would not have infringed upon the Venetian privilege because it had been printed in another state, but it would have been in conflict with the extra-territorial privilege of the pope if it had not carried all the signs of a venture firmly desired by Giocondo himself, as well as the protection of Giuliano de' Medici (brother of the new Pope, Leo X) to whom it was dedicated. This edition thus did not lack traces of sponsorship and patronage, signs of the profound interest which the dominant classes and the most cultivated environment had for Giocondo's studies,⁵⁸ while at the same time, it addressed a public with less spending capacity with respect to buyers of the 1511 edition. The reduced format, related to the customary use of italic types, accompanied a diminution of illustrations which were much rougher and coarser, yet it offered the text of Frontinus that had been omitted from the *princeps*. The collaboration that Giocondo offered the Giunti has been recently substantiated by the identification of the copy of *Giocondo-Tacuino 1511* that served the Florentine publishers in producing their octavo, a copy showing signs of the casting off in the printing shop, as well as of the autograph notes by Giocondo himself who corrected and completed the text and illustrations.⁵⁹

A completely innovative initiative was the new translation into Italian of Cesare Cesariano, printed at Como in 1521 by Gottardo da Ponte and protected by a series of two privileges (*Cesariano-Da Ponte 1521*).⁶⁰ No one indeed would think of investing the large sums that the luxurious illustrated editions of Vitruvius required without protecting one's interests as a precaution against the competition (at least to the extent permitted by the system of privileges). Thus, in this case, the protection was twofold: a territorial one from the king of France and duke of Milan, Francis I (5 June 1521) and an extraterritorial one from Pope Leo X (23 June 1521). Both privileges were intended to last for ten years, with the usual penalties, and were conceded to Agostino Gallo, publisher and financier of the work. Although the privilege of the king of France was clearly valid only in the duchy of Milan (it was in fact granted in Milan), the extraterritorial papal privilege undoubtedly was still valid in 1523, when the edition of Lucimborgo appeared in Lyon. In any case, it is well known that the privileges of the pope were not acknowledged as valid in France.⁶¹ But any legal protection would have been valid if, and only if, the book itself was actually distributed. This might not have been the case with the *Cesariano* edition, as we shall see.

- 57 Strictly, the text of Frontinus (in the dependable version of Giocondo) was unpublished, but even for this, the privilege was already assigned to Tacuino.
- 58 No fewer than six copies printed on parchment survive (Kemp & Richards, 6).
- 59 Adolfo Tura, 'Un Vitruvio a Vicenza, un Alberti a New York' in *Pegasus. Berliner Beiträge zum Nachleben der Antike*, 13 (2011), 29–39. The copy of *Giunti 1511* held by the Biblioteca del Centro Internazionale di Studi di Architettura Andrea Palladio in Vicenza (shelfmark CAP. C.XVI.7) even shows an (erroneous) printing of a portion of the form of another Giunti edition, the *Tragoediae* of Seneca printed in Florence in the same year (EDIT16 CNCE 28726).
- 60 The literature on this edition is abundant. A good starting point is the entry by Sergio Samek Ludovici, 'Cesariano (Cisariano), Cesare' in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 24 (1980), http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/cesare-cesariano_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/. There are also two anastatic reprints: Carol Herselle Krinsky (ed.), *Vitruvius De architectura*, Munich 1969, and Arnaldo Bruschi, Adriano Carugo & Francesco Paolo Fiore (eds.), *De architectura Vitruvius; translato, commentato et affigurato da Cesare Cesariano, 1521*, Milan 1981. Among the most recent studies: Manfredo Tafuri, 'Cesare Cesariano e gli studi vitruviani del Quattrocento' in Arnaldo Bruschi (ed.), *Scritti rinascimentali di architettura*, Milano 1978, 389–438; Maria Luisa Gatti Perer & Alessandro Rovetta (eds.), *Cesare Cesariano e il classicismo di primo Cinquecento*, Milano 1996; Maurizio Coccia, *Cesare Cesariano: ricomposizione di un problema critico*, Roma 2015.
- 61 Elizabeth Armstrong, *Before copyright: The French book-privilege system 1498–1526*, Cambridge/New York 1990, 13, 61–62.

The Vitruvian woodcuts

We have seen that two factors delayed Lucimborgo de Gabiano's edition: the loss of the printing types at Huyon's house and the production of the rich apparatus of illustrations. On the other hand, the privileges show that the competition between the different Italian editions of Vitruvius took place not only at the level of the text but also that of the images.

From the point of view of the effectiveness of the illustrations and their role in understanding a difficult text such as *De architectura*, **Giocondo-Tacino 1511** had no rivals. Giocondo clearly presented the relationship among the captions, text and images in such a way to render each step insightfully even for those who could not understand the Latin text.

In the republication of the text in octavo, the Giunti invested very few resources in the illustrations, and the result is poor, with regard to the aesthetic quality and the loss of a large part of the scientific relationship between the text and illustrations. Giocondo certainly collaborated somewhat at the beginning of the venture, which took place when he was almost eighty years of age, responsible for the prestigious task as architect of San Pietro in Rome and master of Raffaello. **Giunti 1513** was planned to be available to a larger public and less expensive, but it conveyed much less knowledge in comparison to **Giocondo-Tacuino 1511**.

Finally, **Cesariano-Da Ponte 1521** is the product of the work of an artist and architect, not of a scholar having multiple talents like Giovanni Giocondo (who was simultaneously architect, antiquarian, philologist and mathematician). The approach, essentially figurative, to the text of Vitruvius expanded in Cesariano to many more fascinating themes and suggestions. The final result was that of an artist's book, which was also useful to professionals and architects who actually had to build.

Thus, in **Gabiano 1523**, the illustrations play a central importance. From the title page, the book praises the presence of new illustrations. By 'new illustrations', Lucimborgo is referring to the special work he had done for the graphic apparatus. In fact, in this case, he is not acting as a mere imitator, a publisher who limits himself to replicating steady-selling Italian editions to take advantage of their market potential in Lyon and beyond. Rather, he works like a true entrepreneur, putting together the best from the previous editions and investing money with the goal of producing the most attractive edition possible. In fact, although he basically follows the layout of the Giunti octavo, he made direct copies of the original cuts from the **Giocondo-Tacuino 1511** folio edition, producing woodcuts which were much better drawn and refined than those in the Giunti edition.

In addition, Lucimborgo publishes thirty-four illustrations which he proudly defines in the title page as 'numquam antea impressi', never before printed, each of them indicated with an asterisk. This is nothing more than pure marketing because, in fact, the 'new' illustrations can scarcely be called such; they are very accurate copies, reduced 65–70% in scale of some of the beautiful illustrations published in **Cesariano-Da Ponte**

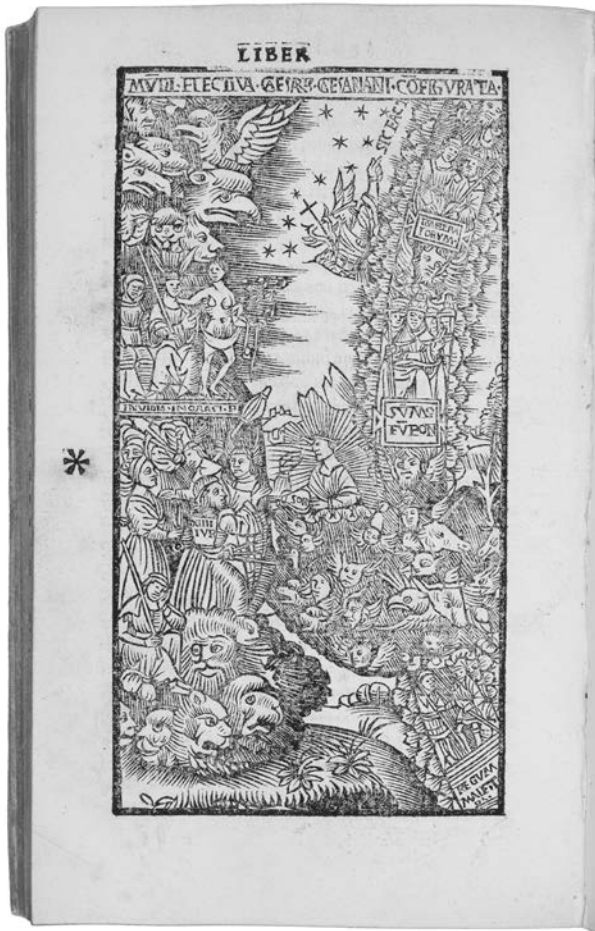


Fig. 8 Allegory of Cesariano's life, illustration from **Gabiano 1523**, fol. 114v (154 × 92 mm). Courtesy of the Newberry Library, Chicago.

and evocative content capable of fascinating readers. Examples are the life of primitive men (**Gabiano 1523**, fol. 29r, **Cesariano-Da Ponte 1521**, fol. 32r), or the *Mundi electiva Caesaris Caesariani configurata* (a moral allegory of the artist's life, a sort of visual autobiography designed by Cesare Cesariano) which is copied along with the name of the author [Fig. 7 and 8].

Yet, how could **Gabiano** state so emphatically that these illustrations, copies of those that Cesariano had published two years before, were unpublished? There could be more than one answer to this question, starting with the fact that nonauthorized reprinting was usually done fairly easily in that period. Perhaps the most crucial factor is that **Cesariano-Da Ponte 1521** was a very troubled undertaking, with major disagreements between the author and the financiers.⁶⁴

⁶⁴ A much more detailed reconstruction of what follows is in the work by Venanzio de Pagave (*Vita di Cesare Cesariano architetto milanese*, edited by Carlo Casati, Milan 1878), who was able to use the notes which Cesariano wrote in his own copy of the edition. During the eighteenth century, this copy was held at the Library of the Accademia di Brera in Milan; its whereabouts has been unknown since the nineteenth century.

Cesare Cesariano's Italian Vitruvius (1521) and its fate

Cesare Cesariano had been working on the text of Vitruvius for more than twenty years before the possibility of its printing finally emerged. In May 1520, the nobleman Agostino Gallo, 'referendario' of the king of France in Como, together with Luigi de Pirovano, professor of mathematics, signed an agreement with Cesariano in Como, in which they committed themselves to bear all expenses of the Vitruvius edition and promised that the woodcuts would remain the common property of the three partners. They also agreed that after selling enough copies to meet the sum of 1,600 lire (i.e. recovering the initial investment), they would begin to share profits in three parts. In July 1520, Agostino Gallo and Cesariano put Gottardo da Ponte and Giovanni Castiglione⁶⁵ in Como under contract for the production of a substantial print-run of 1,312 copies of the illustrated Vitruvius, paying them 2 lire and 10 soldi for each printed ream, while the financiers would provide copy-editors and paper. The edition included 119 woodcuts, 9 full-page illustrations, many of which were cut by Cesariano himself. Printed sheets would be consigned every week to Sebastiano, brother of Agostino Gallo, and never kept in the printing shop.⁶⁶ When Cesariano showed that he was unable to meet his commitment and could not provide the text and illustrations of the whole volume within the agreed upon time, his two partners started to threaten him. They even raided the house where he had taken refuge after leaving Gallo's house (where he had been resident during printing operations) and forcefully seized his manuscript notes and woodcut blocks intended for the last two books (IX and X), with the result that Cesariano could scarcely save his working copy of this part of the text and its related illustrations.⁶⁷ Cesariano escaped immediately to Milan and sued his partners, who, in the meantime (July 1521), had finished the book in which Cesariano's name is nearly concealed. The last two books of Vitruvius were printed in the translation of and with the commentary of the two copy-editors and proof-correctors, Benedetto Giovio and Bono Mauro, who confessed to having an insufficient knowledge for such a complicated text. In short, Cesariano received a totally favourable judgement,⁶⁸ and his rights were reintegrated, although, needless to say, the text and the edition's attribution could not be corrected. In fact, Cesariano's share of the print-run and the profits took a long time to be met. Indeed, on 4 May 1523, Cesariano could recover only a group of fifty copies for himself;⁶⁹ in 1528, another small group of fourteen copies were consigned to him.⁷⁰ Later on, although he was entitled to 438 copies of the edition (about one-third of the print-run which was due to him according to the 1520 agreement), he discovered that his copies had been partly consigned in Milan and in Soncino (a village close to Milan) to other parties (none of them a bookseller), who were distributing them illegally.

Unfortunately, nothing is known for certain about the other two-thirds of the print-run, about 900 copies in the hands of Agostino and Sebastiano Gallo. It is unlikely that Cesariano could have obtained a protective seizure of the volumes in order to defend his honour and his authorship, even when it referred to the woodcut

65 Both were expert printers in Milan. Gottardo da Ponte, from Bruges, was active in Milan from 1498 to 1552, with a noteworthy output. Giovanni (Zanotto) Castiglione was a collaborator of Antonio Zarotto, active 1505–1526. See Chiara Milani, 'Libri, tipografi e autori a Como tra il 1480 e il 1540' in *Culture del testo*, 10–11 (1998), 45–53.

66 These notarial documents have been published in Sergio Gatti & Elio Monducci, *Nuovi documenti su Cesare Cesariano e la sua edizione del 'De Architectura' di Vitruvio (Como 1521)*, Reggio Emilia 1994. See also Sergio Gatti, 'Un contributo alla storia delle vicissitudini incontrate dal Vitruvio di Cesariano subito dopo la sua stampa a Como nel 1521' in *Arte Lombarda*, 96–97 (1991), 132–133.

67 This manuscript was uncovered in Madrid, see Augustin Bustamante & Fernando Marias, 'El Escorial y la cultura arquitectónica de su tiempo' in *El Escorial en la Biblioteca Nacional*, Madrid 1985, 187–190. The codex was subsequently published: Barbara Agosti, *Cesare Cesariano: Volgarizzamento dei libri IX. (capitoli 7 e 8) e X. di Vitruvio, De Architectura, secondo il manoscritto 9/2790 Sección de Cortes della Real Academia de la Historia*, Madrid, Pisa 1996.

68 Unfortunately, the court ruling is not preserved, but it was made well before 4 May 1523.

69 Gatti & Monducci, *Nuovi documenti*, 29.

70 Arnaldo Ganda, 'Il Vitruvio di Cesare Cesariano. Un nuovo contributo documentario' in Giuseppe Maria Pilo et al. (eds.), *Per sovrana risoluzione. Studi in ricordo di Amelio Tagliaferri*, Monfalcone [Trieste] 1998, 587–596 (594).

blocks. In a request, Cesariano stated that the bulk of the print-run had been hidden and dispersed by the Gallo brothers.⁷¹ This is confirmed by the final judgement given in Milan in 1528, in which Cesariano's compensation was calculated on the basis of a quotation of 6 Imperial lire for each volume, or the volumes themselves, if they could indeed be found.⁷² It seems more likely that his two former partners hid as many books as they could and did not permit anyone to know whether copies had been sold and for what sum.⁷³

What seems possible to conclude from this unfortunate chain of events is that the distribution of this wonderful book, a real masterpiece of the Lombard Renaissance, was thwarted and chaotic. The scant evidence about the distribution points to a limited circulation in aristocratic circles. It seems unlikely that copies would have reached the fairs of Lyon for years. The Gabiano family had contacts in Milan, including an agent responsible for their business;⁷⁴ it is possible that the book reached Lucimborgo via this agent. The fact that Lucimborgo did not admit in the letter to his uncle that his 'new' woodcuts were only copies of the illustrations from *Cesariano-Da Ponte 1521*, a lavish book which would never have gone unnoticed in Venice, seems to indicate that he was certain that Giovanni Bartolomeo Gabiano would not discover the truth for a long time.

Conclusion

The enhancement of *Gabiano 1523* in comparison with the two Giunti editions, thanks to the new woodcuts, was a major issue for Lucimborgo. The letters to his uncle show that over the course of these same months a serious dispute took place between Lucimborgo and Jacques Giunti and, therefore, this episode of competition could be one of its results. His own edition would have attracted more purchasers, thanks to the exceptional set of illustrations which were not included in *Giunti 1513* and *Giunti 1522* [Fig. 11, p. 37].⁷⁵ Although *Gabiano 1523* could only have been produced with some sort of agreement with the Giunti, since the latter had provided types, Lucimborgo's effort to publish something improved and more beautiful than the Florentine editions is conspicuous.⁷⁶ He planned it on the basis of at least three Italian editions of Vitruvius. He hired somebody with enough knowledge of architecture to realize that the Giunti illustrations could not be trusted and would have deprived the Gabiano edition of much of its value. Therefore, Lucimborgo decided to produce a book, merging what was best on the market: for the text, basically *Giunti 1522*, and for the graphic apparatus, a mix between *Giocondo-Tacuino 1511* (ignoring the unsatisfactory images of *Giunti 1513* and *1522*) and *Cesariano-Da Ponte 1521*, while basically following the layout of Giunti's octavos. The artist, active in Lyon, was able to produce such refined woodwork of exceptional quality while maintaining the finest details of Cesariano's originals, despite the drastic reduction in size; unfortunately, his identity is unknown [Figs. 9 and 10].

- 71 Cesare Cantù, 'Cesare Cesariano' in *Archivio storico lombardo*, 2 (1875), 435–439 (the request is undated).
- 72 Gatti-Monducci, *Nuovi documenti*, 53–56 ('si volumina ipsa reperiantur'). Six Imperial lire was equivalent to 4 Venetian lire 3 soldi 7 denari, that is 5.22 denari per printing sheet. This seems to be a rather low quotation, given that ten years later, in 1539, Giovanni Giolito was selling copies of this book for a price equivalent to more than 14 Venetian denari per printing sheet. I thank Francesco Ammannati for his help in this calculation (see the *Book Prices in Early Modern Europe Database* for details).
- 73 A final agreement between the two parties was signed in March 1531. All the woodcut blocks were returned to Cesariano (Ganda, 'Il Vitruvio di Cesare Cesariano', 590).
- 74 The agent's name was Francesco Varadeo.
- 75 It is not clear if Giunti's and Gabiano's editions were really competing in the same market(s). According to Kemp and Richards ('Les contrefaçons lyonnaises de livres d'Aldo Manuzio'), no copy of *Gabiano 1523* shows signs of having an Italian provenance. But, in fact, the copy digitized in e-rara (see note 33) has a note of ownership of Girolamo di Camillo della Volpaia (1530–1614), a clockmaker and builder of scientific instruments in Florence.
- 76 As rightly stated by Pagliara ('*Le De Architectura chez le Gabiano*', 360, 365), there is 'une volonté de surpasser en élégance, en finesse et en richesse les images de l'édition de Giunta' and 'si on la compare aux éditions de Giunta, de même format et sans doute tous aussi économique, l'édition de Lyon apparaît d'une qualité graphique exceptionnelle'.

Ma Colossi sono adificati: nel fiume maxime como già furio in Rhodi & in Roma como Merfio & altri già essendo fette in figure de li Dei p horore niano li uolca adorare. Nerone fece fare una longa cento dece pedi. $\alpha\kappa\rho\lambda\theta\omega\mu$ in uno texto antico: $\alpha\kappa\rho\lambda\theta\omega\mu$ Significa citta fei finita di faxo: Quando scultori operano in epfo maufolo: cioè Scopas: Briax: Timotheo: & Teolocar Ma in lo fimo como dextro il fimo di Venere & di Mercurio: Vede quai como le loro lege part? feno dui tempi piquilano al laltro: & lo Maufolo per il terzo. $\alpha\kappa\lambda\theta\omega\mu$ Salmaacia fu già Citta di Caria da una Nympa celi co? quoniam effeno ueduta abraziata con Ermothrodio feu Mercurio: ambi dui fexi peruenno in uno corpo: & gabulofane fe fi dice per uolunta de li Dei remafe tale: appieta a quel fonte: che iu beue uel entro fi bagna deuantafeno Androgna: perge nera colio a concipere creature che hano & ufanio luno & laltro fexo: confufione & monifimilitamabile: che quali e creden? do in mirando Arcano fi como quelle: prugante mangiando herba: nominata Rinfefe: fano nafcere li figli con lo fuperiore labro abfcofo: quella e certiffima de quifi Hermopitrodio ne parla Anihode uolte per lege non ufano fe non uno numero ceni tale o fano agenti uel patienn & non como le lepore: Vede etiam Plynio & altri hiftorici & medici. $\alpha\kappa\lambda\theta\omega\mu$ Citta di Argo epofa fu dicta dal Re Argo del quale fe dita in lo libro quarto: Ma uede Diodoro Siculo libro fexo. Q. uefta Cita e in Thelida feu Morea: Alias fu chiamata Forena. $\alpha\kappa\lambda\theta\omega\mu$ Et in Afia: Trozene Citta dil Peloponfo: quefta fu adificata da Pelope & c. Scruife in le grece hitorie che quifi Barban dil paese di Caria & di Lelega uicini de Rhodi furio conduci a Maffalia Citta de Italia & in fu conduto grandiffimo numero di gente ad habitare: anchora doue era la pradella fonte quale non e da beffire: ma fi andi cripolanti che per la gula & onafio deuantano ezaminati & molli. Et perho per la fuperabundantia che conuita li fpiriti interiori del corpo & anima: couen conuonano epfo corpo a operare & dgerire: aliter per la crapulenta occupazione cofufa che e in epi fpiriti uitati: excedendo di la racionalia cometenno qualche cofa externa & onomala p quali eroni: fon fia flante le lege che regulano mofta nita humana: Ma il cibo fopra ogni cofa: fa operare & erudire ogni animale: De gli populi Caras Vaglio nel libro octauo del ameda. Et Plynio nel libro feprimo: & Diodoro Siculo & Strabone & Ptolomeo & molti altri digne hano feprto: Cofi de quifi altri popoli quali li fono per no ftato extenderti: Ma che fuffeno conuati dal duro & feroce cofume Bagriaco p la fupradicta fite nel taberna e da parei cofa credida (fi p qualche giorni poffe effe d'ito) ma afai pare difta: il mo a permutare l'anima & la naturale habitudine: quale poffa perficere & reuocare: la confuetudine del naturale libro aritmo.

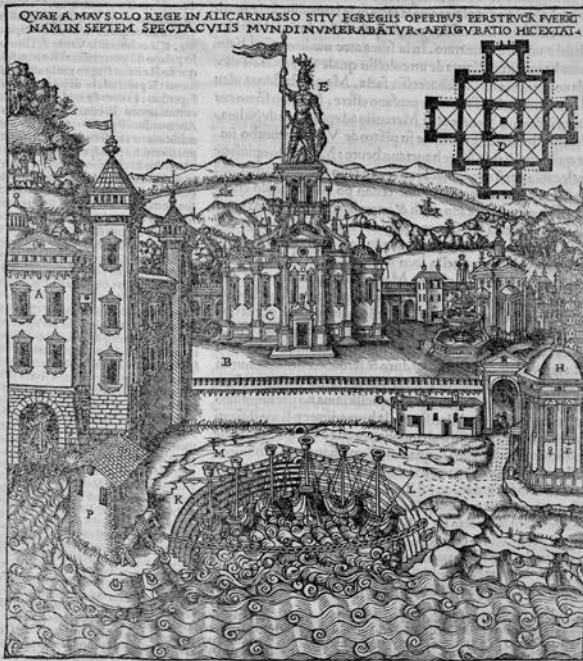


Fig. 9 Mausoleum at Halicarnassus, illustration from *Cesariano-Da Ponte* 1521, fol. 41v (412 × 283 mm). Courtesy of the Newberry Library, Chicago.

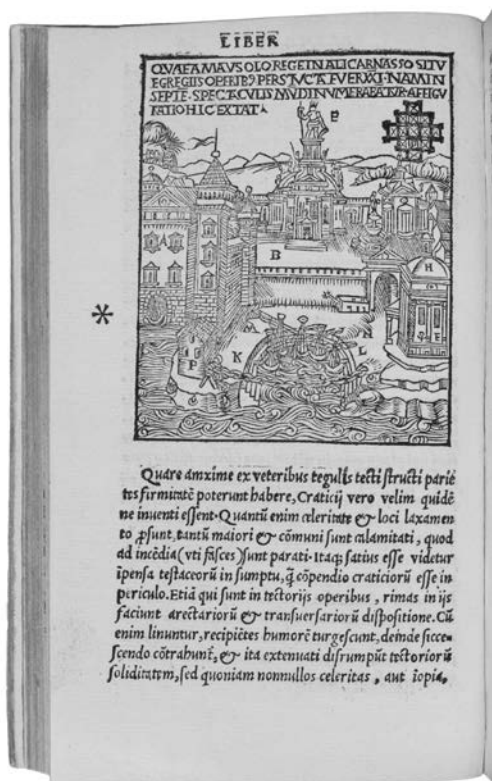


Fig. 10 Mausoleum at Halicarnassus, illustration from **Gabiano 1523**, fol. 39v (154 × 90 mm).
Courtesy of the Newberry Library, Chicago.

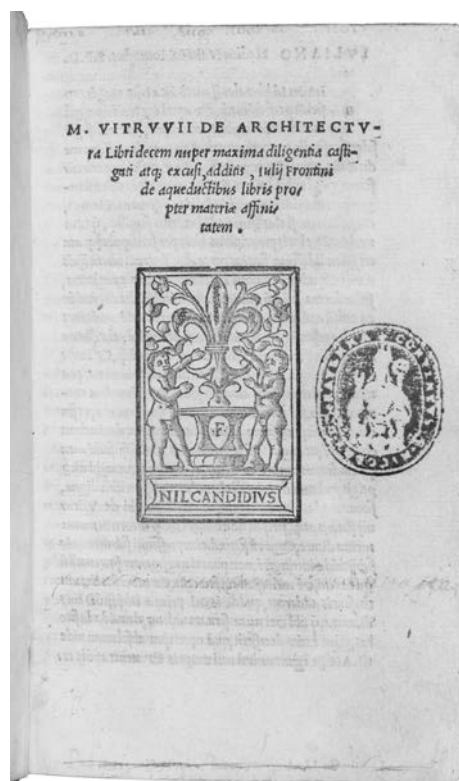


Fig. 11 Vitruvius, **Giunti 1522**, 8vo, title page (160 × 92 mm).
Courtesy of the Newberry Library, Chicago.

Needless to say, the fusion of two illustrative apparatuses born in the context of two publishing initiatives and visual cultures which were sharply different gives rise to a composite and heterogeneous product, in which images lose much of their functionality and become basically ornamentation and embellishment of the text.

The role of Italian publishers, who worked as individual entrepreneurs or in partnerships in the book trade in Lyon in the early sixteenth century, needs to be reassessed. Besides their massive production of law books, Italian publishers created what it would not be misleading to describe as being to a certain extent a 'displaced' production of Venetian and Italian books, in accordance with a guiding vision of a broad potential market interested in humanism and Renaissance culture. Their work was crucial in the dissemination of the Italian Renaissance achievements and cannot be limited to the simplistic and inadequate definition of 'counterfeits'.

