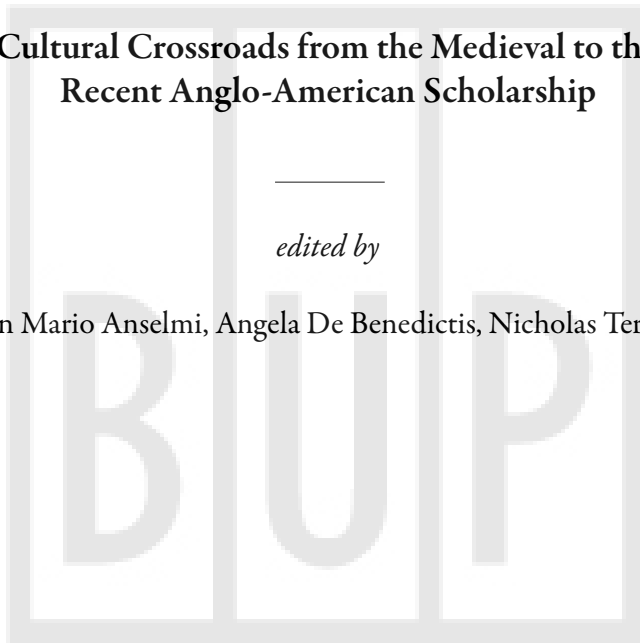


**Bologna. Cultural Crossroads from the Medieval to the Baroque:
Recent Anglo-American Scholarship**

—

edited by

Gian Mario Anselmi, Angela De Benedictis, Nicholas Terpstra





FONDAZIONE
CASSA DI RISPARMIO
IN BOLOGNA



CENTRO STUDI SUL RINASCIMENTO
FONDAZIONE CASSA DI RISPARMIO IN BOLOGNA



ALMA MATER STUDIORUM
UNIVERSITÀ DI BOLOGNA
DIPARTIMENTO DI FILOLOGIA CLASSICA E ITALIANISTICA - FICLIT

Bononia University Press
Via Farini 37, 40124 Bologna
tel. (+39) 051 232 882
fax (+39) 051 221 019

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ISBN 978-88-7395-793-5

www.buonline.com
info@buonline.com

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In copertina: Sala di Lettura della Biblioteca d'Arte e di Storia di San Giorgio in Poggiale, Bologna.
Sul retro: Claudio Parmiggiani, *Campo dei Fiori* (2006).

Progetto grafico e impaginazione: Lucia Bottegaro

Stampa: Industrie Grafiche Tipografia Moderna (Bologna)

Prima edizione: gennaio 2013

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CAROLINE DUROSELLE-MELISH

**A Local-Transnational Business:
The Book Trade in Late Renaissance Bologna***

Studies in the history of the book trade in Bologna have unearthed a wealth of documents. One has to admire in particular the work of Albano Sorbelli, whose paleographical skills and thorough exploration of archives have resurfaced in his posthumous publication *Corpus chartarum Italiae ad rem typographicam pertinentium*.¹ Nevertheless, recent studies have tended to focus on Bolognese printing history in the fifteenth century and the first part of the sixteenth century.² Dennis Rhodes's call in 1960 for a history of the later sixteenth-century, therefore, has remained in large part unanswered.³

This essay begins to address this lacuna by focusing on the Bolognese book trade between 1550 and the early 1600s. The presence of forty-three printers, publishers and booksellers active in Bologna during the first part of the sixteenth century, and sixty-four between 1550 and 1600 indicates that the city was a lively book center throughout the century.⁴ In the second half of the period, the professions of printing and selling books were becoming increasingly specialized. If printers were also retail booksellers and sold mostly their own production, the reverse was far from being true. Numerous booksellers specialized in trading vast numbers of books, offering in their shops a large assortment of

* I would like to thank Diane Booton, Chris Coppens and Angela Nuovo for reading this text and for providing valuable comments. Research for this project was generously funded by a Research Grant from the Renaissance Society of America.

¹ A. SORBELLI, *Corpus chartarum Italiae ad rem typographicam pertinentium ab arte inventa ad ann. MDL. Volume I, Bologna*, a cura di M.G. TAVONI, Roma, Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, Libreria dello Stato, 2004.

² See for example, C.F. BÜHLER, *The University and the Press in Fifteenth-Century Bologna*, «Texts and Studies in the History of Mediaeval Education», VII (1958), pp. 1-109; A. SERRA-ZANETTI, *L'arte della stampa in Bologna nel primo ventennio del Cinquecento*, Bologna, 1959; G. BONIFATI, *Dal libro manoscritto al libro stampato. Sistemi di mercato a Bologna e a Firenze agli albori del capitalismo*, Torino, Rosenberg & Sellier, 2008.

³ D. RHODES, *The Book Collector*, Spring 1960, p. 84.

⁴ These figures are the result of a search in EDIT 16. Marco Santoro has noted, however, a decline in printing production in Bologna in the second part of the century (M. SANTORO, *Storia del libro italiano. Libro e società in Italia dal Quattrocento al nuovo millennio*, Milano, Bibliografica, 2008, nuova ed. riveduta e ampliata, p. 131.)

publications, but they did not own a press.⁵ When they did engage in publishing activities, they commissioned the printing from someone else.

The first part of this paper examines the different actors involved in bookselling in Bologna. This study is based partly on a group of book dealers mentioned in the notebooks of the naturalist and book collector Ulisse Aldrovandi (1522-1605). In the process of building the largest Bolognese book collection of his time, Aldrovandi acquired a thorough knowledge of books and their market: his notes provide a window into the activity of bookselling, for which very few documents are extant. Through his dealers active over a period of fifty years, one can start mapping the trends of the Bolognese book trade. The second part of the paper looks at the different constituencies of the Bolognese booksellers' clientele and how they formed the nucleus of authors for Bolognese printers and publishers. Finally, we turn to the dealer Gaspare Bindoni as a case study in the book culture of late-sixteenth-century Bologna, and examine how he was firmly established locally while at the same time strongly connected to the regional and transnational markets of the period.

Between 1507 and 1514 local booksellers had tried and failed to prohibit non-Bolognese dealers from doing business in the city.⁶ No other attempt at protectionism was pursued later, its proponents perhaps having realized the inevitable failure of such a measure. Consequently, the influx of foreign and Italian booksellers to Bologna was regular from the late 1530s on. Dealers, attracted by Bologna's business potential, passed through or settled down in the city.⁷ By the 1550s, Bologna had also attracted the three most important Italian book entrepreneurs of the time: Vincenzo Valgrisi of Venice (active 1539-73), the Giunti family of Florence and Venice (active 1489-1627) and the firm of Gabriele Giolito di Ferrari (active 1536-79), also of Venice.⁸ Whereas the Giunti worked with agents and booksellers in the city, Valgrisi and Giolito owned bookshops in Bologna whence they sold their own numerous publications and those printed by others. Other dealers could not rival their stock because these firms controlled the book market throughout Italy.⁹ Valgrisi, and to a lesser degree the Giunti, provided collectors like Aldrovandi with the majority of the books they bought in the 1560s and 1570s. Through these dealers, Aldrovandi acquired hundreds of publications produced in Venice, Italy and the rest of Europe.¹⁰

⁵ A. NUOVO, *Il commercio librario nell'Italia del Rinascimento*, Milano, F. Angeli, 2003 (nuova ed. riveduta e ampliata), p. 147.

⁶ SORBELLI, *Corpus chartarum Italiae*, pp. 390-91, 396.

⁷ See the case of Northern European booksellers who were doing business with German students in G. DALL'OLIO, *Eretici e inquisitori nella Bologna del Cinquecento*, Bologna, Istituto per la Storia di Bologna, 1999, p. 126.

⁸ NUOVO, *Il commercio librario*, p. 221; A. NUOVO – C. COPPENS, *I Giolito e la stampa nell'Italia del XVI secolo*, Genève, Droz, 2005, p. 59.

⁹ NUOVO, *Il commercio librario*, pp. 184-185.

¹⁰ Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, Fondo Ulisse Aldrovandi, MS 136/11, ff. 16-35rv.

By the late 1570s, a rising crisis in the Venetian printing world and the death of Valgrisi, one of its prominent members, precipitated a shift in the Bolognese book trade. Although plague was endemic in Italy throughout the sixteenth century, one of its worst manifestations came in 1576-77 in Venice. Later, in 1591-92, the city was struck by famine. In addition to these human disasters, Venice's book industry during this period was crippled by the fast-rising production in Rome, which was a direct result of the Counter-Reformation.¹¹ The shift is reflected in Aldrovandi's notes. He now relied on several «Venetian booksellers» (unnamed in his notebooks) who obtained books from the Frankfurt book fair for him in the 1580s.¹² During this period, Frankfurt was increasingly the best place to buy scholarly books. In the last two decades of the sixteenth century, it offered an annual display of over a thousand new publications in Latin, that is three times more than for the period 1570-80.¹³ Furthermore, Frankfurt was one of the most important European printing centers of scientific texts.¹⁴ These developments explain why, in his printing contract of 1594, Aldrovandi stated that his printer Francesco de Franceschi (active 1558-99) should sell copies of his books first in Bologna then in «Germany [i.e. Frankfurt], Venice and Padua».¹⁵ Book imports were becoming the backbone of the bookselling business in Italy.¹⁶ The next generation of book entrepreneurs who settled down in Bologna were all involved in the international book trade through Venice and Frankfurt.

Bolognese book dealers – that is, dealers whose main business was centered in Bologna – owned a mixed stock of local, regional and international books similarly to the stocks of the larger entrepreneurs, Valgrisi, Giunti and Giolito, although their businesses were more modest than those of the latter. They acquired Italian books through regional fairs and placed orders with suppliers based mostly in Venice.¹⁷ They also obtained books from other local booksellers, who commonly traded with one another.¹⁸ Books printed abroad

¹¹ In the 1580s Rome became the second largest printing center in Italy. NUOVO, *Il commercio librario*, p. 222.

¹² Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, Fondo Ulisse Aldrovandi, ms. 136, t. 8, ff. 1-22 rv.

¹³ I. MACLEAN, *The Market for Scholarly Books And Conceptions Of Genre In Northern Europe, 1570-1630*, in *Learning And The Market Place: Essays In The History Of The Early Modern Book*, Leiden-Boston, Brill, 2009, p. 12.

¹⁴ L. PINON, *La culture scientifique à Rome au miroir des livres (1527-1650), apports et limites de l'approche bibliographique*, in *Rome et la science moderne: entre Renaissance et Lumières*, sous la direction d'A. ROMANO, Rome, École française de Rome, 2008, pp. 179-80.

¹⁵ Bologna, Archivio di Stato, *Fondo archivistico notarile*, colloc. 6/7, *Rogiti di Achille Canonici*, anno 94-95, prot. O., cc. 179v-182r, reproduced in *Four Centuries of the Word Geology*, ed. by G.B. VAI – W. CAVAZZA, Bologna, Minerva, Museo geologico Giovanni Capellini, 2003, p. 120.

¹⁶ NUOVO, *Il commercio librario*, p. 227.

¹⁷ K. STEVENS, *Venetian Invoices (1563) as a Source for Understanding the Commercial Book Trade*, in *The Books of Venice. Il libro veneziano*, a cura di L. PON e C. KALLENDORF, Venezia, La Musa Talia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, New Castle, Delaware, Oak Knoll Press, [2009], pp. 277-300.

¹⁸ P. GEHL, *Credit Sales Strategies in the Late Cinquecento Book Trade*, in *Libri tipografi biblioteche. Ricerche storiche dedicate a Luigi Balsamo*, a cura dell'ISTITUTO DI BIBLIOTECONOMIA E PALEOGRAFIA UNIVERSITÀ DEGLI STUDI DI PARMA, Firenze, Olschki, 1997, p. 197.

came through suppliers or by commission. There is evidence, for instance, that in 1570 Giovanni-Battista Mascheroni (n. d.), one of Aldrovandi's local dealers, stocked books, on consignment or on commission, from the Giunti branch in Lyon.¹⁹

Two local booksellers, Sebastiano Bonomi (active c. 1585-1623) and Simone Parlasca (active 1585-1608), provided Aldrovandi with books for over a decade, beginning in the 1590s. Aldrovandi bought at least two hundred books from Bonomi.²⁰ The lists of books from these two dealers show that they were able to acquire scholarly works from all over Italy and Europe, not only from the major printing centers (Frankfurt, Cologne, Antwerp and Paris), but also from London and smaller printing centers like the German towns of Nuremberg and Ingoldstadt, whose products were sold at the Frankfurt book fair.²¹

Booksellers often combined several services in order to strengthen their business. This was traditionally the case with bookselling and bookbinding, which, joined together, improved the quality of services offered to customers.²² Ercole Mascheroni (active 1599), one of Aldrovandi's booksellers, was active as a bookbinder in the 1590s and bound some of the collector's books.²³ Bonomi and Parlasca were both involved in publishing as an auxiliary activity to their bookselling business. In 1616, Bonomi opened a printshop in association with the printer Lorenzo Vincenzi (active c. 1616).²⁴ The books Bonomi printed varied in content and format. Whereas the majority of his publications documented the religious, academic and literary local life and were a hundred pages in length he occasionally undertook more ambitious projects, such as Aldrovandi's volume, *Quadrupedum omnium bisulcorum historia*, running more than a thousand pages. Bonomi also printed on commission for bookseller-publishers, who did not have their own press, such as Simone Parlasca whose printers were Giovanni Rossi (active 1556-95) and Giovanni-Battista Bellagamba (active 1596-1613).²⁵ Parlasca's publications included works in the fields of medicine, law and other academic subjects similar to those he sold as a bookseller. In at least one case, he wrote a piece in Latin, which he dedicated to the famed Bolognese anatomist Flaminio

¹⁹ H.L. BAUDRIER, *Bibliographie lyonnaise. Recherches sur les imprimeurs, libraires, relieurs et fondateurs de lettres de Lyon au XVI^e siècle. Publiées et continuées par J. Baudrier*, Lyon, Librairie ancienne d'Auguste Brun, 1895-1921, p. 232, cited by W. PETTAS, *The Giunti and the Book Trade in Lyon*, in *Libri tipografici biblioteche*, p. 181; Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, Fondo Ulisse Aldrovandi, ms. 136, t. 11, ff. 16-37rv.

²⁰ M.C. BACCHI, *Ulisse Aldrovandi e i suoi libri*, «L'Archiginnasio. Bollettino della Biblioteca comunale di Bologna», 100 (2005), pp. 296-297.

²¹ Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, Fondo Ulisse Aldrovandi, ms. 136, t. 26, ff. 13-48rv and ms. 136, t. 31, ff. 2-8rv.

²² A. HOBSON, *La legatura a Bologna*, in *Legature bolognesi del rinascimento*, a cura di A. HOBSON e L. QUARELLI, Bologna, CLUEB, 1998, pp. 13-14, 19.

²³ Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, Fondo Ulisse Aldrovandi, ms. 136, t. 31, f. 242r.

²⁴ P. BELLETTINI, *Il torchio e i caratteri: l'attrezzatura tipografica a Bologna in età moderna*, in *Libri tipografici biblioteche*, pp. 241-76.

²⁵ Bonomi's extant titles are searchable in the Bolognese OPAC, Sebina, and in *Catalogue of Seventeenth Century Italian Books in the British Library*, London-Wolfeboro, New Hampshire, The Library, 1986.

Rota (active 1579-1611). This indicates his extensive education and connections within the Bolognese scientific world.²⁶

If Bonomi's and Parlasca's printing and publishing activities remained secondary to their bookselling business, it is in part due to the fact that after the 1570s printing in Bologna was concentrated in the hands of the printers Giovanni Rossi and Alessandro Benacci (active c. 1550-96). Bonomi's and Parlasca's publishing production of, respectively, thirty-three and forty-five titles is dwarfed in comparison to the five hundred twenty-seven texts printed by Benacci and the nine hundred and eighty-three printed by Rossi.²⁷ As the elected printers to the Bolognese Senate and the cardinal legate, respectively, Rossi and Benacci controlled the print production of official publications.²⁸ They also dominated the market for academic titles by local authors. Rossi in particular benefited from subsidies from the Senate, which since the early 1500s ensured that Bolognese students and professors had the books necessary for their studies.²⁹ This domination over Bologna's printing market continued well into the seventeenth century with Benacci's and Rossi's heirs.³⁰

Rossi's and Benacci's print production was in large part local similarly to those of Bonomi's and Parlasca's: they all cast their nets for authors from within Bolognese society – people whom they knew well – rather than for authors from outside of town, where their literary connections were more limited than those of the large book entrepreneurs.³¹ Publications written by local authors were the strength of these printer-publishers but they could not satiate the ever-greater needs of a clientele that was being offered an increasing array of titles produced throughout Europe.

From the few sources extant, the large book firms handled most of the out-of-city distribution of titles printed in Bologna. As a correspondent informed Aldrovandi, to obtain books from Bologna one could contact either Valgrisi or the bookseller-publisher Francesco de Franceschi in Venice.³² Although he didn't have a branch in Bologna, de Franceschi had been active there as a supplier of books since the late 1560s, when he was becoming a major operator in the Venetian printing world. He may have been one of Simone Par-

²⁶ *Noua methodus medendi Hieronymi Capiuaccaei Patauini, medici, & philosophi excellentiss. ... In florentiss. Gymnasio Patauino lectionibus publicis explicata, & recens suis locis capitibus distincta*, Bononiae, apud Io. Bapt. Bellag., impensis Simeonis Parlascae, 1596.

²⁷ These figures are the result of a search in EDIT 16 and in the *Catalogue of Seventeenth Century Italian Books*, 1986.

²⁸ P. BELLETTINI, *La stamperia camerale di Bologna. I – Alessandro e Vittorio Benacci (1587-1629)*, «La bibliofilia: rivista di storia del libro e di bibliografia», 90 (1988), pp. 21-54.

²⁹ A. SORBELLI, *Storia della stampa in Bologna*, Bologna, N. Zanichelli, 1929, pp. 107-09.

³⁰ This domination logically translated into the number of presses owned by these printers: In 1629 Benacci's son had three presses and Rossi's heir had four presses; by contrast Bonomi had two (BELLETTINI, *Il torchio e i caratteri*, pp. 245-46).

³¹ Bonomi's and Parlasca's texts of non-local authors, in their majority, were first printed in another city.

³² Including Aldrovandi's book on theriac printed by the Rossi firm in 1574. Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, Fondo Ulisse Aldrovandi, ms. 38, t. 4, letters 152-57.

lasca's suppliers, since both men appeared to have been close acquaintances.³³ It was Valgrisi and de Franceschi who had the connections and the experience of selling books in a vast number of places. By contrast, local dealers and printers without such good networks were ill equipped to face the complexities of the trade. For instance, the Società Tipografica Bolognese, active in the 1570s, whose printer was Giovanni Rossi, published books written by Bolognese luminaries under the editorial direction of the historian and professor Carlo Sigonio (1524?-84), but it failed to make any profit from the sale of its books. This was due partly to the expenses involved in producing high-end quality scholarly works – by nature slow to sell as a result of their high price – but also because books were placed on consignment in the out-of-town bookstores of unreliable dealers who never paid the Società.³⁴

The clientele of Bolognese booksellers included various types of readers, not all of whom had ties to the university: booksellers chose areas of specialization based on the customers they aimed to cultivate, and they strove to gather an assortment of books that would distinguish them from other dealers.³⁵ As in previous centuries, however, it was mainly the university that made Bologna an active and attractive center for the distribution and sale of books in the sixteenth century. Throughout the period, the university remained the largest in Italy, with an average of fifteen hundred students and over eighty faculty.³⁶ Following the medieval tradition, booksellers and printers settled down around its area (PLATE 10). After the construction of the Archiginnasio in 1562-63, some moved their shops under its arcades, while others settled down just south of it, in the San Mamolo parish, located in close proximity to several colleges (the Collegio di Spagna and the Collegio di Montalto) and to the center of the German Nation.³⁷

Professors were the booksellers' obvious customers and some of them built up significant libraries. For instance, Carlo Sigonio and the famed professor of medicine Girolamo Mercuriale (1530-1606), who taught at the University of Bologna from 1587 to 1593.³⁸ Aldrovandi's book collection of 4000 volumes was the largest of all. Students also represented a significant part of the booksellers' clientele. While collectors, such as Aldrovandi, had to engage in correspondence with printers, dealers and members of the Republic of Letters throughout Europe to obtain the books they were unable to find in town, students

³³ In his contract with Aldrovandi in 1594, de Franceschi was listed as a guest in Simone Parlasca's home, *Four Centuries of the Word Geology*, p. 118.

³⁴ SORBELLI, *Storia della stampa*, p. 115.

³⁵ NUOVO, *Il Commercio librario*, p. 178.

³⁶ P. GRENDLER, *The Universities of the Italian Renaissance*, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, c2002, appendix, tables A.1 and A.2.

³⁷ E. FREGNI, *Libri e botteghe di libri*, in *Produzione e circolazione libraria a Bologna nel Settecento: avvio di un'indagine. Atti del V colloquio, Bologna, 22-23 febbraio 1985*, Bologna, Istituto per la Storia di Bologna, 1987, p. 300; BONIFATI, *Dal libro manoscritto*, p. 172.

³⁸ Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, Fondo Ulisse Aldrovandi, ms. 136, t. 13, ff. 62-83rv; L. SIMEONI, *Documenti sulla vita e la biblioteca di Carlo Sigonio*, «Studi e memorie per la storia dell'Università di Bologna», 11 (1933), pp. 183-262.

could rely solely on local booksellers for the majority of the books required for their studies, i.e., textbooks and reference books. If some students bought only a few books, others with greater means (especially foreign students) assembled fine collections. Acquisitions must have been stimulated by the increasing need in the sixteenth century for students to own individual texts and by the absence of a public university library.³⁹ During this period, the Collegio di Spagna was the only Bolognese college with a library: this meant that readers had to buy (or borrow) new or secondhand books.⁴⁰

Members of the university were not Bolognese booksellers' only customers. As in other large urban centers, the upper classes acquired books related to their professions (law, medicine) or to their leisurely activities.⁴¹ The growing number of academies had an impact on Bolognese book culture: they enticed their members to write, to publish their writings and to own books. The majority of Bonomi's and Parlasca's authors were local *litterati*, and counted several members of the Accademia dei Gelati, including its founder, Melchiorre Zoppio (1544-1634).⁴² Similarly to Aldrovandi, whose first dealings with his printer Francesco de Franceschi were through the latter's bookselling business, it is likely that Bonomi and Parlasca got to know some of their authors by selling books to them. This hypothesis is reinforced by the fact that bookshops were often places of literary meetings, playing the role both of public library and of academy.⁴³

Booksellers also relied on the business of religious customers, laymen and clerics, who were a stable and predictable clientele.⁴⁴ Some dealers, who worked primarily with these customers, had booths on the steps of the church of San Petronio.⁴⁵ Those located in the parish of San Mamolo were in proximity not only to the colleges but also to the monastery of San Domenico and the convent of the «Corpus Domini».⁴⁶ Clerics formed book collections of various sizes depending on their wealth. The archbishop Gabriele Paleotti (1524-97), a clergyman and a member of a Bolognese family of book collectors, built a li-

³⁹ HOBSON, *La legatura a Bologna*, p. 24; C. COPPENS, *Does a University need books?*, in *Leuven in Books, Books in Leuven: the Oldest University of the Low Countries and its Library*, ed. by C. Coppens, Leuven, Belgium, Universitaire Pers Leuven, 1999, pp. 25-27; Id., *A Student's Reading at the Collegium Trilingue in Louvain in 1547*, «*Quaerendo*», 41 (2011), pp. 155-61.

⁴⁰ A. SORBELLI, *Bibliografia e cultura iberica in Bologna: la "Casa degli Spagnuoli"*, «*Biblioteca de "l'Archiginnasio"*», s. II, 48 (1936), pp. 362-71.

⁴¹ D. REGNIER-ROUX, *Una biblioteca in cifra*, in *Saperi e meraviglie: tradizione e nuove scienze nella libreria del medico genovese Demetrio Canevari*, a cura di L. MALFATTO e E. FERRO, Genova, Sagep, 2004, pp. 27-40.

⁴² A. BATTISTINI, *Le accademie nel XVI e nel XVII secolo*, in *Storia di Bologna*, III, 2, *Bologna nell'età moderna (secoli XVI-XVIII). Cultura, istituzioni culturali, Chiesa e vita religiosa*, a cura di A. PROSPERI, Bologna, Bononia University Press, 2008, pp. 179-208.

⁴³ NUOVO, *Il Commercio librario*, pp. 263-64.

⁴⁴ See GEHL, *Credit Sales Strategies*, p. 206.

⁴⁵ DAL'OLIO, *Eretici e inquisitori*, p. 124.

⁴⁶ On the library of this convent see S. SPANÒ MARTINELLI, *La biblioteca del "Corpus Domini": l'inconsueto spaccato di una cultura monastica femminile*, «*La bibliofilia: rivista di storia del libro e di bibliografia*», 88 (1986), pp. 1-23.

brary of over 3000 volumes, the largest private book collection in town after Aldrovandi's. One of the few extant records of Paleotti's acquisitions shows that in 1586 he paid the lump sum of a hundred and sixty lire for sixty-five books: no doubt, he devoted many of his resources and much of his energy to establishing a library that he hoped would eventually play a central role in reforming the life of the Bolognese clergy.⁴⁷ The fate of his collection is well known: bequeathed by Paleotti to the «palazzo arcivescovile», it was dispersed shortly after his death in 1597. Not all book collections formed by clerics, however, ended in such an unfortunate way: many Bolognese monastic libraries enlarged their collections, through the years, thanks to the donations of laymen and clerics.⁴⁸ In 1601, the general chapter of the Dominican order instructed heads of monasteries to have the books of deceased monks passed on to the libraries of their community. These religious institutions, however, did not rely only on gifts, and actively bought books and manuscripts for their collections: such was the case of the library of the Dominican Congregation of San Salvatore. In 1603, a decree from the provincial Dominican chapter ordered monastic superiors to acquire for their libraries printed books on all the major contemporary problems. In 1605, the San Domenico monastery was ordered by the general Dominican chapter to acquire for its library books written by «modern and serious authors».⁴⁹ Surely Bolognese booksellers profited from these policies.

Bolognese ecclesiastical libraries were notorious for the wealth of their collections.⁵⁰ In the late sixteenth and the first part of the seventeenth century, two clerics traveling through Bologna, the Jesuit Andrea Schott (1552-1629), from Antwerp, and the French Carmelite Louis Jacob (1608-70), praised the collections of San Domenico and San Salvatore.⁵¹ The library of the San Domenico convent was the richest of all, replete with over seven hundred manuscripts and more than 2000 books covering a wide range of topics. So great was its place and prestige in the order of Bolognese libraries that Aldrovandi gave the convent a

⁴⁷ P. PRODI, *Il Cardinale Gabriele Paleotti (1522-1597)*, II, Roma, Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1967, p. 264; G. MONTECCHI, *La biblioteca arcivescovile di Bologna: dal card. Paleotti a papa Lambertini*, in *Produzione e circolazione libraria*, p. 372.

⁴⁸ A number of laics gave their book collections to the convents of San Domenico and of San Salvatore (HOBSON, *La legatura a Bologna*, p. 37, n. 17). See also R. RUSCONI, *Le biblioteche degli ordini religiosi in Italia intorno all'anno 1600 attraverso l'inchiesta della Congregazione dell'Indice*, in *Libri, biblioteche e cultura nell'Italia del Cinque e Seicento*, a cura di E. BARBIERI e D. ZARDIN, Milano, V & P Università, c2002, p. 72.

⁴⁹ V. ALCE – A. D'AMATO, *La biblioteca di S. Domenico in Bologna*, Firenze, Olschki, 1961, pp. 103-05; HOBSON, *La legatura a Bologna*, p. 40. An eighteenth-century inventory of the library of San Domenico lists the fifteenth- and sixteenth-centuries titles still in the library at that time: Bologna, Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio, B. 1946, *Catalogo alfabetico per autori della libreria del Convento di S. Domenico*.

⁵⁰ F. VIGILI, *Fabio Vigili et les bibliothèques de Bologne au début du XVIIe siècle: d'après le Ms. Barb. Lat. 3185*, Éd. par M.H. LAURENT, Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1943.

⁵¹ L. JACOB, *Traicté des plus belles bibliothèques publiques et particulières qui ont esté & qui sont à present dans le monde, divisé en deux parties*, Paris, Chez Rolet le Dvc, 1644; ALCE – D'AMATO, *La biblioteca di S. Domenico*, pp. 110-11.

copy of his set of ornithological books.⁵² The library of San Salvatore was also rich in manuscripts and books especially in the fields of law and science. Both libraries had a historical relationship with the university since earlier members of these convents had participated in the foundation of the university in the eleventh century.⁵³ In his history of public and private libraries, Louis Jacob described the library of San Domenico as a public library. It had been open to the members of the university since its foundation around 1220 and was a place where students, professors, theologians and jurists could consult or borrow the works they needed but could not acquire.⁵⁴

Like booksellers, printers and publishers catered their production to religious customers: religious titles represented one-fifth of the Bolognese printing production.⁵⁵ While the market for liturgical books was concentrated in Venice and Rome, the Bolognese focused on producing devotional and pastoral books. Numerous occasional publications related to the local religious life were also printed, including calendars and lives of the saints, such as San Petronio and Santa Caterina de' Vigri.⁵⁶ Sebastiano Bonomi and Simone Parlasca actively took part in this flourishing market. In addition to the books on religious subjects Bonomi published, the presence of small woodblocks of saints in his typographical equipment suggests that he may have printed ephemeral prints – for which no copy extant is known – and decorated them with these woodblocks. In the early 1600s religious tracts and devotional texts represented more than half of Parlasca's publishing production.⁵⁷ Bonomi and Parlasca's authors, laymen and clerics, were mostly local. They included members of the Jesuit order, whose presence in Bologna was increasingly significant in the late sixteenth century. As with their other local authors, Bonomi and Parlasca may have first worked with them as booksellers.

With its large clientele of readers with wide-ranging book tastes and a number of authors known through their works and their positions (at the university or in society) locally and beyond town, Bologna represented a promising market for an ambitious dealer until

⁵² Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, Fondo Ulisse Aldrovandi, ms. 136, t. 27, f. 215v. Aldrovandi was not the only man of letters to donate his works to this library. See for example, G. MANFRE, *La biblioteca dell'umanista Bolognese Giovanni Garzoni (1419-1505)*, «Accademie e biblioteche d'Italia», 27 (1959), pp. 249-78.

⁵³ C. DOLCINI, *Università e chiesa di Bologna: dall'identità originaria allo sviluppo di molteplici relazioni*, in *Storia della chiesa di Bologna*, a cura di P. PRODI – L. PAOLINI, II, Bergamo, Bolis, c1997, p. 273.

⁵⁴ JACOB, *Traicté des plus belles bibliothèques*, p. 425; ALCE – D'AMATO, *La biblioteca di S. Domenico*, p. 100; G. DAL'OLIO, *L'attività dell'Inquisizione di Bologna dal XVI al XVIII secolo*, in *Storia di Bologna*, III, 2, *Bologna nell'età moderna (secoli XVI-XVIII). Cultura, istituzioni culturali, Chiesa e vita religiosa*, p. 1101.

⁵⁵ SANTORO, *Storia del libro italiano*, pp. 101-02.

⁵⁶ SPANO MARTINELLI, *La biblioteca del "Corpus Domini"*, p. 4; BIBLIOTECA COMUNALE DELL'ARCHIGINNASIO, *La Devozione in tipografia: committenza religiosa a Bologna in Età Moderna*, «Archiginnasio. Bollettino della Biblioteca comunale di Bologna», pp. 368-70; BELLETTINI, *Il torchio e i caratteri*, p. 307.

⁵⁷ BELLETTINI, *Il torchio e i caratteri*, p. 266. On the thirty titles, Parlasca published in the seventeenth century, seventeen of them were on religious subjects.

the end of the sixteenth century. Gaspare Bindoni (1558-1618) was one of the bookseller-publishers who moved to Bologna during this period.⁵⁸ He came from a well-known family of printers and booksellers, active in Venice since the 1520s, who specialized in trading and publishing scholarly books. Bindoni's career in Bologna appears to have begun in 1590 when he ratified, on April 2nd, a partnership with the bookseller Giovanni Francesco Rasca, who owned the bookstore «all'insegna della corona» in the San Mamolo Parish. Despite bringing less capital to the company than Rasca (n. d.), Bindoni was put in charge of the bookshop on equal grounds with Rasca.⁵⁹ In 1592, the two associates started publishing books and used Giovanni Rossi as their printer. In 1594, Bindoni served as a broker at the signing of the printing contract between de Franceschi and Aldrovandi.⁶⁰ This seems to have been the starting point of his relationship with the book collector. Between 1596 and 1598, Bindoni began appearing in Aldrovandi's notes as one of his dealers.⁶¹

A unique document extant at the Biblioteca Arte e Storia di San Giorgio in Poggiale gives a rich insight into Bindoni's activity and the Bolognese book culture of the early seventeenth century.⁶² It is an eight-page catalogue of books that Bindoni brought back from Frankfurt in 1601 (PLATE 11). At that time, Bindoni was becoming an international bookseller, like other members of his family, and traveled regularly to the Frankfurt book fair. His partnership with Rasca, however, appears to have ended as the name of the latter is not to be found anywhere in the pamphlet. Bindoni's catalogue is written in Italian, rather than in Latin, indicating that his clientele was Italian and not international. More specifically, the fact that the price of his items is in Frankfurt currency (which, during this period, maintained an unusually stable rate of exchange) shows that it was likely a wholesale catalogue intended for other booksellers.⁶³ Over six hundred titles are listed with very brief descriptions in no particular order, unlike the titles in the catalogues of the Frankfurt book fair, which were organized by academic subjects: theology, law, science (mathematics, medicine) and the lib-

⁵⁸ I would like to thank Ilde Menis for sharing with me her work on Gaspare Bindoni that will appear in her book, *I Bindoni, una famiglia di editori nella Venezia del cinquecento*.

⁵⁹ Bologna, Archivio di Stato, *Fondo archivistico notarile, Rogiti di Tommaso Passarotti*, «T. T. 1589 ab Aprili ad Aprilem 1590», cc. 360r-61v.

⁶⁰ *Four Centuries of the Word*, p. 121.

⁶¹ Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, Fondo Ulisse Aldrovandi, ms. 136, t. 26, ff. 114r-15r.

⁶² *Catalogo de i libri della Fiera di Franchfort passata di settembre 1601. Di Gasparo Bindoni libraro in Bologna. Con li prezzi a moneta di Alemagna...*, [c. 1601], Bologna, Biblioteca d'Arte e di Storia di San Giorgio in Poggiale, Ambrosini OP 0005 0518.

⁶³ I am grateful to Christian Coppens for this information. It made sense to sell books in one reliable foreign currency since there were many different currencies in use in Italy at the time. Moreover, booklets giving conversions of currencies were available to merchants. See also G. POLLARD – A. EHRMAN, *The Distribution of Books by Catalogue from the Invention Of Printing to A.D. 1800, Based On Material In The Broxbourne Library*, Cambridge [United Kingdom], printed for presentation to members of the Roxburghe Club, 1965, pp. 70-71; C. COPPENS, *I cataloghi degli editori e dei librai in Italia (secoli XV-XVI)*, «Bibliologia: an International Journal of Bibliography, Library Science, History of Typography and the Book», 3 (2008), pp. 111-12.

eral arts.⁶⁴ This absence of order and the numerous typographical errors were no doubt the result of the rush with which the catalogue was prepared in order to reach its customers as quickly as possible.⁶⁵ Speed, clearly, was more important than the accuracy of the descriptions of books, most of which customers already would have known, having either consulted earlier editions of these books or learned of new titles through other readers or the authors themselves. In order to build a good reputation with their customers, who recommended dealers to one another, dealers tried to obtain books shortly after their publication.⁶⁶

The books listed in Bindoni's catalogue came from the major printing centers of Europe and from smaller ones similar to those that produced the books offered by Parlasca and Bonomi. They were primarily intended for Bolognese academic readers as is indicated by some of the languages in which they were written: Latin, Greek, and Italian. Moreover, in their great majority the books listed were in small formats – octavo, sixteenmo – typically destined for a student clientele. Finally, the majority of Bindoni's titles covered the fields taught at the university. They included a number of textbooks-grammars, dictionaries and texts by classical writers (Cicero, Aristotle). They also comprised new scientific publications, such as the influential treatise on magnetism *De magnete*, by the English natural philosopher William Gilbert (1544-1603), printed in London in 1600, as well as new editions of texts, such as *De re anatomica libri XV*, written by the Italian professor of anatomy, Realdo Colombo (1510?-59), and first printed in Venice in 1559.⁶⁷ Hence, the description "a new book" – so crucial as a marketing tool – could signify either that a book was in its first printing, that it was a new edition or that it was a book new to Bindoni's stock.⁶⁸ Works by classicists were also well represented in Bindoni's catalogue, such as those of the prolific author and polymath Joseph Scaliger (1540-1609), with as many as six titles, and those of the Swiss philologist Isaac Casaubon (1559-1614). In view of the significance of the teaching of law at the University of Bologna, it is not surprising that a number of legal treatises were included in the catalogue. Bindoni, also, did not neglect theological works. He listed, for example, a number of works on biblical studies of particular interest in Bologna, where the subject was taught at the university since Paleotti.⁶⁹ Theological treatises were not the only religious works in his catalogue, which also included devotional books written in Italian and French destined for a broad clientele not restricted to academic customers. Many of these titles were written by Jesuit

⁶⁴ MACLEAN, *The Market for Scholarly Books*, p. 18.

⁶⁵ On the problem of inaccuracies in bookdealers' catalogues see D. RHODES, *Spanish Books on Sale in the Venetian Bookshop of G.B. Ciotti, 1602*, «The Library», 12, no. 1 (2011), pp. 50-51.

⁶⁶ For an example of the speed at which bookstores were supplied by dealers, see STEVENS, *Venetian Invoices (1563) as a Source*, p. 280.

⁶⁷ In many cases, it is difficult or impossible to know which edition of a book Bindoni was selling since he neither included the publication date nor the printer of the titles he listed.

⁶⁸ MACLEAN, *The Market for Scholarly Books*, p. 18.

⁶⁹ G.P. BRIZZI, *Istruzione e istituzioni educative a Bologna nell'età moderna*, in *Storia della Chiesa di Bologna*, II, p. 299.

authors, reflecting the increasing importance of the members of this order in Catholic Europe.

Books on non-academic subjects were written in vernacular languages, mostly Italian, Spanish, and French, as well as in Latin. They comprised a small group of military treatises in Spanish likely aimed primarily at Spanish students and the library of the Collegio di Spagna whose collecting interests focused on the military and political relations of the Spanish court with the rest of Europe.⁷⁰ Bindoni's catalogue also included music books intended for musicians, patricians (for whom music was part of their education) and Bolognese ecclesiastical institutions, whose libraries were rich in music publications, especially the monastery of San Salvatore.⁷¹ The numerous titles in French on history and literature suggest that it was becoming the language of the aristocracy. Overall, Bindoni's catalogue counted many historical and geographical texts, reflecting their increasing success as publishing genres.⁷² The dealer brought back from Frankfurt a number of treatises on navigation as well as atlases and maps appealing both to those involved in scientific pursuits and to armchair travelers. These items – illustrated books and hand-colored maps – were among the most expensive items in Bindoni's catalogue, along with legal or religious encyclopedias such as patological works, and cost as much as fifteen florins. By contrast, almost all octavo books, offered by Bindoni, cost less than a florin. The price of books, thus, shows the extent to which their cost was tied to their format and to their illustrations.⁷³

Bindoni was not only a supplier of books to local booksellers, he also sold books at the Frankfurt book fair and played the role of agent for printers from Bologna and from other towns in Northern Italy.⁷⁴ The books he sold are listed in the official catalogues of the fair. Twenty-six are included for 1601, eighteen for 1602 and thirty-four for 1603. If one relies on these figures, it is clear that exporting books was a significantly smaller part of Bindoni's business than importing them.⁷⁵ In Frankfurt, aside from his own publications, he sold books certain to find an international clientele. These were mostly scholarly titles written by famed Bolognese authors (Carlo Sigonio, Girolamo Mercuriale, Antonio Giganti [n.d.], Guido Ubaldino marchese del Monte [1545-1607]) as well as literary works from the Accademia dei Gelati.⁷⁶ At the spring fair of 1601, Bindoni brought to Frankfurt

⁷⁰ SORBELLI, *Bibliografia e cultura iberica*, pp. 362-71.

⁷¹ J.A. BERNSTEIN, *Print Culture and Music in Sixteenth-Century Venice*, New York, Oxford University Press, 2001, p. 94.

⁷² SANTORO, *Storia del libro italiano*, p. 168; MACLEAN, *The Market for Scholarly Books*, p. 21.

⁷³ In this regard, the alpine octavos, which maintained a high price throughout the sixteenth century, are more an exception than a rule see M. LOWRY, *Book Prices in Renaissance Venice: The Stockbook of Bernardo Giunti*, «Occasional Papers», V, Los Angeles, Dept. of Special Collections, University Research Library, University of California, 1991, pp. 1-36.

⁷⁴ Bindoni also sold a few titles printed in Venice, Ferrara Genoa, Verona and Rome.

⁷⁵ The publication of the *catalogi universales* were supervised by the city board which collected lists of books from the booksellers. I am grateful to Chris Coppens for this information.

⁷⁶ *Catalogus universalis pro nundinis Francofurtensibus vernalibus de anno 1601...*, Francofurti, Permissu

devotional books, and works on the lives of local saints. These books may have been more difficult to sell than Bindoni thought and they do not appear in the following Frankfurt catalogues listing his books.

As mentioned earlier, Bindoni started his career as a publisher, but on occasion, he also acted as a printer. Twenty-one publications in the fields of science, religion and literature are recorded under his name. They reveal that Bindoni applied the same marketing strategy as he did for his bookselling and used local resources to operate on an international level. His two major book productions were written by well-respected Bolognese patricians: Gaspare Tagliacozzi (1545-99), professor of ordinary anatomy at the university and one of the highest paid faculty on record, and Carlo Ruini (1530-98), member of the Bolognese Senate.⁷⁷ Tagliacozzi's book on plastic surgery, *De curtorum chirurgia per insitionem, libri duo...*, was printed in 1597, and Ruini's *Dell'anatomia et dell'infirmità del cavallo*, in 1599.⁷⁸ Bindoni printed these books under his own name in Venice indicating that he had, then, expanded his business to the printing of books in a city that was an international printing center, and where he had family and professional contacts such as de Franceschi.⁷⁹ Both books were in folio format and included numerous fine woodcuts. Ruini's book, in particular, compared well to the work of Vesalius in the excellence of its illustrations and texts. When re-editing Ruini's work (it was first printed in Bologna by Giovanni Rossi's son in 1598), Bindoni transformed it into a work destined for a broad international audience (PLATES 12a, b). On the title page, he added a mention of the worthiness and utility of Ruini's book: it was "suitable [for leisurely reading] by princes and knights and very useful for philosophers, physicians, horsemen and horse-shoers" («Opera nuova, degna di qualsivoglia Principe, & Cavaliere, & molto necessaria à Filosofi, Medici, Cavallerizzi, & Marescalchi»). Bindoni also commented on the novelty of the book and the beauty of its woodcuts, identical to those in the first edition. To add elegance, he printed the text of the title page in black and red, which also gave visual emphasis to the various points he was trying to make. While the Bolognese edition was dedicated to the Cardinal Aldobrandini (1536-1605), whose name was misspelled by Rossi on the title page of some copies, Bin-

Superiorum excudebat Ioannes Saur, in Petri Kopffen Buchladen zu finden, [1601]; *Catalogus uniuersalis pro nundinis Francofurtensibus vernalibus de anno 1602*, Francofurti, Permissu Superiorum excudebat Ioannes Saur, in Petri Kopffen Buchladen zu finden, [1602]; *Catalogus uniuersalis pro nundinis Francofurtensibus autumnalibus de anno 1602*, Francofurti, Permissu Superiorum excudebat Ioannes Saur, in Petri Kopffen Buchladen zu finden, [1602]; *Catalogus uniuersalis pro nundinis Francofurtensibus vernalibus de anno 1603...*, Francofurti, Permissu Superiorum excudebat Ioannes Saur, in Peter Kopffen Buchladen zu finden, [1603]; *Catalogus uniuersalis pro nundinis Francofurtensibus autumnalibus de anno 1603...*, Francofurti, Permissu Superiorum excudebat Ioannes Saur, in Peter Kopffen Buchladen zu finden, [1603].

⁷⁷ GRENDLER, *The Universities of the Italian Renaissance*, p. 340.

⁷⁸ G. TAGLIACOZZI, *De curtorum chirurgia per insitionem, libri duo...*, Venetiis, apud G. Bindonum iuniorum, 1597; C. RUINI, *Anatomia del cavallo, infirmita, et suoi remedii...*, in Venetia, Appresso Gasparo Bindoni, il giovane, 1599.

⁷⁹ Bindoni published a book in Venice in 1596 with an associate Horatio Zacharia. This partnership seems to have been short-lived. See also *Four Centuries of the Word Geology*, p. 140.

doni dedicated his edition to the French King Henry IV and made sure to print the royal name in red ink.⁸⁰ Through this action Bindoni was placing the book in an international context, whose main actors were located in Northern Europe. The book must have been a success as Bindoni reprinted it in 1602.⁸¹

1602 was a year of intense activity for Bindoni demonstrating his Italian and international publishing ambitions. In addition to reprinting Ruini's *Dell'anatomia et dell'infirmità del cavallo*, Bindoni published a book in Bologna.⁸² Seeing the importance of Frankfurt as a printing center, he published there a text by Girolamo Mercuriale.⁸³ Pursuing his interest in France that was already manifest in 1599 with his dedication of Ruini's book to a French king, Bindoni commissioned the Parisian Pierre Chevalier to print a treatise on natural history and dedicated it to the physician of King Henry IV.⁸⁴ Then in 1603, three more titles, published in Bologna, are recorded under Bindoni's name. Two of them are translations of texts by French authors, counting among them the novelist Honoré d'Urfé (1567-1625). The same year, Bindoni called himself "Venetian Citizen and Bolognese Bookseller" on the title pages of two of his books, indicating his loyalty to both cities.⁸⁵

In just over a decade, Gaspare Bindoni had succeeded in rising from local bookseller to international book entrepreneur. As a bookseller, he cultivated the diverse Bolognese clientele to whom he sold, through his bookshop or other dealers, large numbers of books published throughout Europe. As a supplier of books, he sold the works of printers from Bologna and from other towns. He found the authors of his books in the places where he worked. His various activities spanned three countries and four cities. Yet, they did not prevent Bindoni from disappearing from the book-trade scene after 1603.⁸⁶ As a matter of fact, they may have

⁸⁰ C. RUINI, *Dell'anatomia [sic] et dell'infirmità del cavallo*, Bologna, Presso gli Heredi di G. Rossi, 1598, Typ 525 98.757, Houghton Library, Harvard University.

⁸¹ See I. MENIS, *Annali di Gaspare Bindoni il Giovane*, in her upcoming monograph, *I Bindoni*.

⁸² F. PADOVANI, *Discorso vago, e dotto sopra gl'anni climaterici cioe i piu pericolosi della vita humana [...] Di nuouo dato in luce*, In Bologna, presso gli Heredi di Gio. Rossi, ad istanza di Gasparo Bindoni, 1602.

⁸³ G. MERCURIALE, *Hieronymi Mercurialis Foroliuensis. [...] Commentarii eruditissimi, in Hippocratis Coi Prognostica, Prorrhetica, De victus rat. in morbis acutis, et epidemias historias...*, Francofurti, typis Ioannis Saurii, impensis Caspari Pindoni Bibliopolae veneti, 1602.

⁸⁴ Bindoni explained in the preface of the book that he had found this text in the library of a friend («Opusculum hoc numquam hactenus in publicum aspectum prodiit, sed in amici bibliotheca diligentissime custoditum multos annos latuit»). ABD ALLAH IBN AHMAD, *De limonibus, tractatus Embitar Arabis, per Andream Bellunensem latinitate donates*, Parisiis, apud Petrum Cheualier, impensis Gasparis Bindonij bibliop. Bononiensis, 1602.

⁸⁵ C. DE GONTAUT, *Raccolta memorabile di tutto quello ch'è passato per il fatto del Sig. Duca di Biron mareschal di Francia... Di francese tradotta in italiano per Gasparo Bindoni cittadino venetiano et libraro bolognese. dedicata all'illustrissimo et reverendiss. Mons. Marsilio Landriano vescovo di Vigevene e vicelegato [...] di Bologna*, Bologna, presso gli Heredi di Giovanni Rossi, 1603; M.A. OLMO, *Physiologia barbae humanae, in tres sectiones divisa, hoc est de fine illius philos. et medico [...] Editio altera cui [...] accessit appendix historica et symbolica barbae humanae...*, Bononiae, apud Ioannem Baptistam Bellagambam, Impensis Gasparis Bindoni cuius Veneti, & bibliopolae Bononiensis, 1603.

⁸⁶ Bindoni is recorded, however, in Bologna as a poor widower in 1618. See Ilde Menis' upcoming monograph, *I Bindoni*.

precipitated his vanishing: Bindoni may not have had sufficient funds to expand so quickly. With Bindoni gone, Bologna lost an active representative on the international market.

In the second part of the sixteenth century, Bologna had had a flourishing book-trade culture. The city attracted the most active bookseller-publishers of the time, and books published throughout Italy and Europe were sold by these large firms and by more modest local booksellers. Book dealers catered to a clientele tied to the university, the Church and the aristocracy. When they were also engaged in printing or publishing, booksellers chose their authors from among Bolognese citizens. The books they published were sold both locally and outside of town.

This situation, healthy in appearance, could not avert the crisis looming at the end of the sixteenth century of which Gaspare Bindoni was probably a victim. For, in the early 1600s, the book trade was shaken by a series of events. First, the slow decline of Italian universities, including that of Bologna, which had started in the late sixteenth century, was more pronounced during this period. The body of students and professors grew smaller and, gradually, lost its international character.⁸⁷ Booksellers, who catered primarily to a university clientele, were necessarily impacted by these changes. Matters were made worse by the saturation of the market in some fields, such as law, in part due to the competition of the second hand book market.⁸⁸ In addition, with the death of the two great Bolognese collectors, Paleotti in 1597 and Aldrovandi in 1605, a chapter in the history of the book trade in the city came to a close. Booksellers and publishers increasingly turned to the local aristocracy and religious customers. At the same time, their businesses were under increasing scrutiny from the Inquisition, which, in the last decade of the sixteenth century and the early part of the seventeenth, tightened its control over the circulation of books after a period of relative leniency.⁸⁹ The last blow suffered by the Bolognese book trade came in 1630 in the form of the plague, which drastically reduced print production and demand in the city and its surrounding areas.

Parallel to these local and regional problems, the international book market faced its own difficulties, with the decline of the Frankfurt book fair due, in part, to competition from the Leipzig book fair, the rising proportion of scholarly publications in vernacular languages and, most importantly, the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War.⁹⁰

By the end of this period, the model of international book trade on which dealers such as Bindoni had worked, was over. Yet, in the second half of the seventeenth century, the

⁸⁷ GRENDLER, *The Universities*, pp. 478-508.

⁸⁸ A. NUOVO, *Produzione e circolazione di libri giuridici tra Italia e Francia (sec. XVI): la via commerciale Lione-Trino-Venezia*, in *Dalla pecia all'e-book. Libri per l'università: stampa, editoria, circolazione e lettura. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi, Bologna, 21-25 ottobre 2008*, a cura di G.P. BRIZZI – M.G. TAVONI, Bologna, CLUEB, c2009, p. 343.

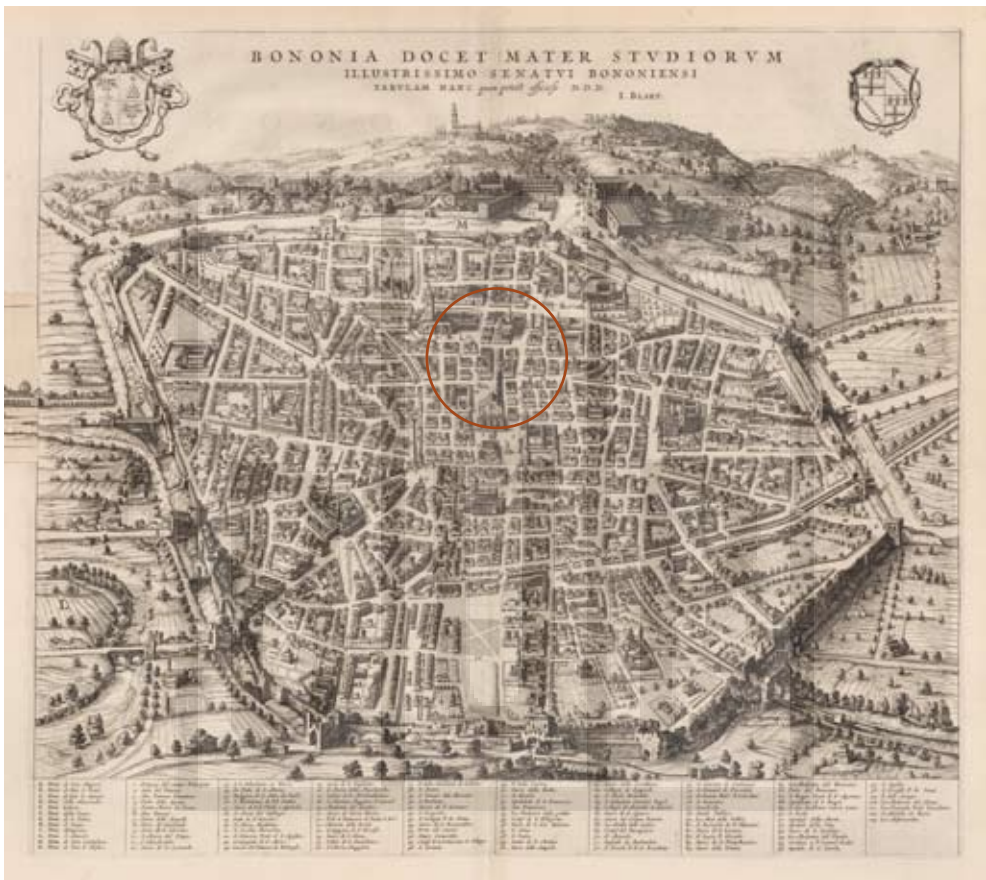
⁸⁹ SORBELLI, *Storia della stampa in Bologna*, p. 129; BACCHI, *Ulisse Aldrovandi*, pp. 334-35; DALL'OLIO, *L'attività dell'Inquisizione di Bologna*, p. 1120.

⁹⁰ POLLARD – EHRMAN, *The Distribution of Books by Catalogue*, p. 84.

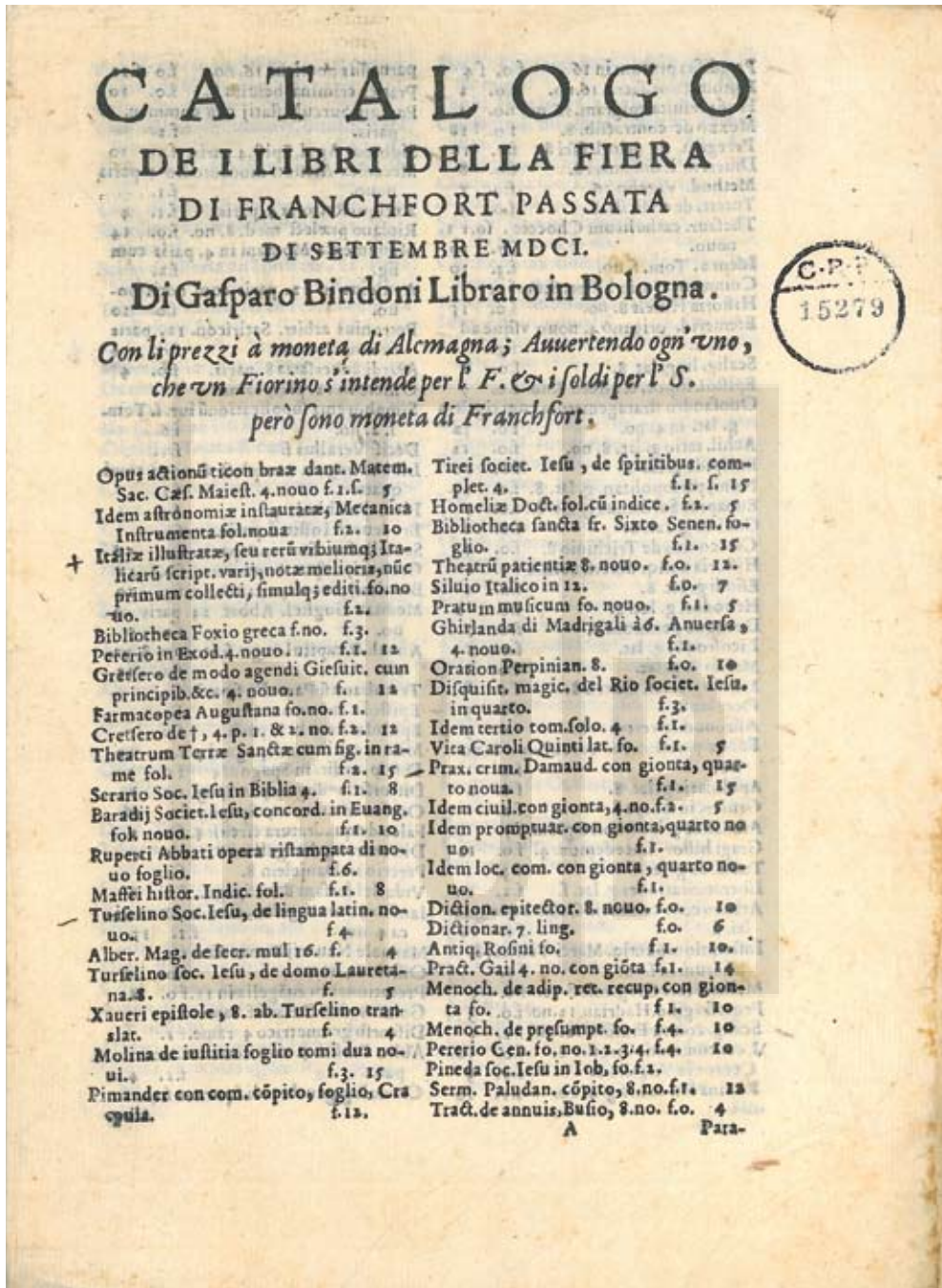
market regained vitality: Bologna was once again an attractive place for trading books as new collectors appeared, religious customers remained important and the university continued to operate (albeit less on an international level). During this period, the city became the third largest printing center in Italy producing mostly publications on commissions from civic and ecclesiastical authorities and from wealthy individuals, as well as for the Senate, which continued to subsidize scholarly publishing.⁹¹ The market for Bolognese publications was mostly local and regional but new ties developed between Bologna and the rest of Europe, especially France, so as to bring foreign dealers to the city once again. Hence, after a hiatus in the first half of the seventeenth century, some of the trends that developed in the second half of the previous century remained extant; the book trade in Bologna continued to operate on local, regional and transnational levels.



⁹¹ FREGNI, *Libri e botteghe*, pp. 295-310; BELLETTINI, *La stamperia camerale di Bologna*, p. 293; Id., *Publishing in the Provinces. Printing houses in Romagna in the 17th century*, in *The Italian Book 1465-1800: studies presented to Dennis E. Rhodes on his 70th birthday*, ed. by D.V. REIDY, London, British Library, 1993, pp. 291-322; SANTORO, *Storia del libro italiano*, p. 175.



10. J. BLAEU, *Theatrum civitatum nec non admirandorum Neapolis et Siciliae regnorum*, Amsterdam, c. 1663, Map Collection, Harvard University.



11. *Catalogo de i libri della Fiera di Franchfort passata di settembre 1601. Di Gasparo Bindoni libraro in Bologna. Con li prezzi a moneta di Alemagna ..., [c. 1601], Bologna, Biblioteca d'Arte e di Storia di San Giorgio in Poggiale.*



12a. C. RUINI, *Dell'anotomia [sic] et dell'infirmità del cavallo*, Bologna, Presso gli Heredi di G. Rossi, 1598, Typ 525.98.757, Houghton Library, Harvard University.



12b. C. RUINI, *Anatomia del cavallo, infermità, et suoi rimedii*, in Venetia, Appresso Gasparo Bindoni, il Giouane, 1599, Boston Medical Library in the Francis A. Countway Library of Medicine, Harvard University.