

LORENZO BALDACCHINI

THE FIRST LUTHER'S EDITION IN ITALY

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Dipartimento di Lettere e culture moderne
Piazzale Aldo Moro 5, 00185 Roma
Tel. 06.49693342 • e-mail: alberto.petrucciani@uniroma1.it
Amministrazione:
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SAPIENZA UNIVERSITÀ DI ROMA

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LORENZO BALDACCHINI*

THE FIRST LUTHER'S EDITION IN ITALY

About the first editions of Lutheran texts in Italian language the studies of Silvana Seidel Menchi¹ are still fundamental, because since 1977 she had already put a firm point on the matter. I had the occasion to read once again her contributions during my decennial work on the publisher Nicolò Zoppino, who printed four of the six known Italian editions of the *Kurze Form der zehn Gebote*. I have recently published a bibliographic work about him: *Alle origini dell'editoria in volgare: Niccolò Zoppino da Ferrara a Venezia: annali (1503-1544)*, Manziana, Vecchiarelli, 2011 (from now cited as: Baldacchini). Zoppino printed the first edition in 1525, *Uno libretto volgare: con la dechiaratione de li dieci comandamenti: del Credo: del Pater noster con una breve annotatione del vivere christiano: cose certamente utili & necessarie a ciascheduno fidele christiano. Nouamente stampato. MDXXV* (colophon:) Stampata in Vinegia per Nicolò di Aristotile detto Zoppino. M.D.XXV (Baldacchini n. 166). Then other three. In 1526: *La declarazione delli dieci commandamenti; del Credo: del Pater noster: con una breve annotatione del vivere christiano per Erasmo Rotherodamo utile & necessaria a ciascuno fidele christiano. Historiata.* (colophon:) Stampata in Vinegia per Nicolo di Aristotile detto Zoppino. M.D.xxvj (Baldacchini n. 198); then another in 1532: *La dichiaratione delli dieci Commandamenti: del Credo: del Paternostro: con una breve Annotatione del vivere Christiano per Erasmo Roterodamo: utile & necessaria a ciscuno fedele Christiano. Historiata.* (colophon:) Stampata in Vinegia per Nicolo di Aristotile detto Zoppino. Del mese di Settembre, MDXXXII (Baldacchini n. 316). The last one: *La dichiaratione de I dieci Comandamenti: dil credo e dil Pater noster: con una breve Annotatione del vivere Christiano, per Erasmo Roterodamo, utile, e necessaria.*

* Università di Bologna.

¹ SILVANA SEIDEL MENCHI, *Le traduzioni italiane di Lutero nella prima metà del Cinquecento, «Rinascimento», II serie, 17 (1977), pp. 31-108.*

ria a ciascuno fedele Christiano. Historiata. Opera nuova dilla dichiaratione dil nome di Giesu mirabile. Composta per Peregrino Moreto Mantoano, e Ferrarese, non più stampata... In Vinegia. Per Nicolò de Aristotele detto il Zoppino. Negli anni dil Signore M.D.X.L. Dil mese di Gennaio (Baldacchini n. 407; these last three under the false name of Erasmus as author). It will be interesting to note the rarity of these four books. The 1525 edition in fact survives in only one copy at the National Library in Florence. The second and the third one are now outside of Italy: of the 1526 edition is now known the only copy of the Koninklijke Bibliotheek in Den Haag, whereas I found a copy of 1532 edition in the Universiteitsbibliotheek in Gent, given that the copy of Staatsbibliothek in Berlin has been destroyed during the Second World War. Only of the 1540 edition survive more than one copy: one at the National Library of Florence and another in the Biblioteca Augusta in Perugia, but both unfortunately imperfect. It is remarkable the fact that in the 1540 edition we can read, as author of another work, the name of the humanist Fulvio Pellegrino Morato, father of the poetess Olimpia² who afterwards sympathized with the Calvinism through Renata of France and moreover that still in 1540 Zoppino signed a book of this kind.

In my paper I will focus on the aspects of the 1525 edition, the only known copy, because I think it could be interesting to reconstruct its way. About whom Seidel Menchi wrote:

Il *Libretto volgare* appare corrispondente all'originaria ispirazione di Lutero e adatto alla diffusione in Italia per tre caratteristiche: 1) indirizza il suo messaggio a un pubblico larghissimo, anzi a ogni cristiano, e specialmente ai semplici [...], 2) mantiene il discorso sul terreno dell'esperienza religiosa positiva ed elementare, cioè su quel terreno dal quale era germogliata la nuova pietà e sul quale Lutero avrebbe voluto rimanere (furono i suoi avversari a sviare la discussione sul problema del potere e delle prerogative della chiesa ufficiale), 3) mette il lettore attento in grado di cogliere anche le implicazioni polemiche del discorso, grazie alle omissioni.³

But first, I want to focus briefly on the figure of the printer and bookseller, Nicolò Zoppino, because I believe that this may help us to better understand the environment in which the choice to publish some texts in vulgar of the author of the 1517 thesis has been made.

² See LISA SARACCO, *Morato, Fulvio Pellegrino*, in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, 76, Roma, Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, 2012, pp. 539-540.

³ S. SEIDEL MENCHI, *Le traduzioni italiane di Lutero*, cit., p. 47.

He was born in Ferrara before 1478. His father Aristotile de' Rossi, notary, probably died in that same year. Printer and bookseller not only in Venice, but also in other places in Italy, he has published books for more than forty years and he never interrupted the connection with his country. Recently discovered archival evidence has proved that Zoppino was also a street singer; hence in his itinerant activity he acted as an essential mediator between the worlds of performance and printing. He was in fact arrested in Venice in 1510 with his partner, the street singer Vincenzo di Polo, as a result of having performed, printed and sold in Ferrara a *Barzelletta* against Venice after the battle of Agnadelo. The two were imprisoned for three months, then freed, after the appeal of the important gentleman Marino Morosini.⁴ This is the only known edition printed by Zoppino in Ferrara. It is however interesting to note this fact: the first publisher of Lutheran texts in Italy had some problems with the secular censorship, but not with the religious one. Zoppino was also mentioned by Celio Calcagnini (incidentally: friend of Fulvio Pellegrino Morata) in a letter to Lazzaro Bonamici in 1527, and was witness in 1541 in a document of a notary in Ferrara. However, he started his career in Bologna: there, «Zopino de Ferara libraro» has been said in 1495 debtor of 47 lire and 13 soldi to the printer Bazaliero Bazalieri.⁵

In 1503 «Nicolo di Aristotile dicto il Zoppino de Ferrara» subscribed an edition printed by Caligola Bazalieri: *Il libro del maestro et del discipulo*, of Onorio of Autun (Baldacchini n. 1). Undated, but printed during the dominion of Giovanni II Bentivoglio, once again by Bazalieri, the Works of Serafino Aquilano appeared (Baldacchini n. 2), and there Zoppino is defined as «impressore & venditore de libri», that is to say, printer and bookseller. A third work in Bologna is attributed to him due to the presence of the same letter to the reader of the preceding edition of the Aquilano (Baldacchini n. 3).

About a possible identification with the Aretino's Zoppino in works like *Cortegiana* and *Ragionamenti*, described as one man that «sings in bench», it can be said again that for over one decade, Zoppino worked in close contact with a real street singer, Vincenzo di Polo, who in his will, notarized in Faenza in 1524,⁶ was defined «cantor circumforaneus» (just

⁴ MASSIMO ROSPOCHER, *In vituperium Status Veneti: The case of Niccolò Zoppino*, «The Italianist», 34 (2014), 3, pp. 349-361.

⁵ Archivio di Stato di Bologna, *Archivio notarile, Atti di Tommaso Grengoli*, 5 dicembre 1495, filza 3 n. 31, coll. 7/8.

⁶ Archivio di Stato di Ravenna, *Notai di Faenza, Atti Evangelista Rontani, Testamenti*, II,

street singer) and bookseller. His connection with the world of street artists is also testified by a 1542 roman engraving representing the torso of Pasquino, surrounded by posters and vulgar and latin satirical verses signed by Antonio Salamanca. On the pedestal we can read a sonnet:

*Io non son (come paio) un Babbuino
 Stroppiato senza piedi e senza mani
 Ne men con gli altri membri sconci e sani
 La simmia son di Nicolo Zoppino.
 Ma son quel famosissimo Pasquino
 Che tremar faccio i signor più soprani
 Et stupir forestieri, et Paesani
 Quando componno in volgare, o in latino
 La mia persona è fatta in tal maniera
 Per i colpi c'hor questo, hor quel m'acconca
 Per ch'io dico i lor falli a buona cera.
 Ma fin ch'io ho l'usata lingua in bocca
 Non ne fo stima, anchor che 'l resto pera,
 E sempre cantarò, Zara a chi tocca
 Che se la gente sciocca
 Non si vuol rimaner de falli suoi,
 Chi terrà me che no'l ridica poi.*⁷

In that same year 1542 Zoppino was in Rome and he published there the dialogue *Il legno della vita* by Giovanni Bracesco (Baldacchini n. 419).

In 1505 its projects brought him to Venice, the capital of printers and booksellers. At first, he published about twenty titles in cooperation with various printers in Venice, Milan, Pesaro, Ancona and – as we have seen – Ferrara. From 1513 to 1524 he formed the partnership – as we said – with Vincenzo di Polo and published 139 books. The two not only collaborated with other firms in Venice (particularly the Milanese Rusconi), but also in Perugia, Ancona, Pesaro. Then, from 1525 to 1544 he operated in Venice with his own typography, while collaborating with printers of other towns: Perugia, Florence (where from 1536 he was an affiliate of the art of the physicians and spice sellers), Bologna, Rome and perhaps Savona. The production of this period exceeded 250 edi-

p. 53, published in GIUSEPPE ROSSINI, *Ulteriori notizie su la cartiera, i librai e le prime stampe faentine*, «Studi romagnoli», 7 (1956), pp. 283-292: 287.

⁷ See CHRYSA DAMIANAKI, *Il Pasquino di Giulio Bonasone e di Antonio Salamanca: per una interpretazione iconografica*, in *Ex marmore: pasquini, pasquinisti, pasquinate nell'Europa moderna: atti del Colloquio internazionale, Lecce-Otranto, 17-19 novembre 2005*, a cura di Chrysa Damianaki, Paolo Procaccioli, Angelo Romano, Manziana, Vecchiarelli, 2006, pp. 275-304: 300.

tions. He was bookseller in Ravenna in the last years of his life with his child Sebastiano, and also in Faenza.

He came into contact with the Lutheran circles and printed – as we know – *Uno libretto volgare: con la dechiaratione de li dieci comandamenti: del Credo: del Pater noster*, Venice 1525 (Baldacchini n. 166), the first Italian translation of Luther, in which he did not worry to conceal his identity. The next year, using the name of Erasmus as shield, he republished the work, subscribing the colophon (Baldacchini n. 198). He did the same in another two cited editions in 1532 (Baldacchini n. 316) and in 1540 (Baldacchini n. 407). Then he published some works of Bernardino Ochino⁸ (*Dialogi quattro ove si contengono del Ladrone in Croce qual salvossi, del pentirsi presto, del peregrinaggio per andare al Paradiso, della Divina professione con uno Spirituale testamento: Opera nuova con somma diligenza corretta, Historiata, e nuovamente stampata*, 1540 (Baldacchini n. 403); *Dialogi sette dove si contiene, Nel primo dell'innamorarsi di Dio, nel secondo il modo di diventar felice, nel terzo di conoscer se stesso, nel quarto del Latrone buono, nel quinto del pelegrinaggio per andar al paradiso, nel sesto della disputa di Christo con l'anima, nel settimo, & ultimo della divina professione con un spirituale testamento, Nuovamente stampata, & historiata*, 1540 (Baldacchini n. 404); *Prediche nove...* 1541 (Baldacchini n. 418); *Dialogi sette, dove si contiene. Nel primo dell'innamorarsi di Dio...* 1542 (Baldacchini n. 422)). He printed also texts by other adherents or sympathizers Protestant. It's quite strange that Zoppino often showed off papal privileges that were never revoked, and the presence of his brand in some copies of the anti-Lutheran text by Giovanni of Fano, printed in Bologna by Giovan Battista Faelli in 1532, could lead us to think of a repentance. But this clashes with 1540 edition of *La dichiaratione de I dieci Comandamenti* (Baldacchini n. 407). So it could be hazardous to see him as an Etienne Dolet, who has been said «to propagandize the Gospel».⁹ Zoppino probably sympathized with Reformation, but took care of his interest and his safety.

In the first period (1503-1524), more than 50% of the editions belonged to the genre of the courtesan literature. But there are also texts

⁸ GIAN ALBINO RAVALLI MODONI, *Edizioni religiose zoppiniane di Martin Lutero e di Bernardino Ochino*, in *Il bibliotecario inattuale: miscellanea di studi di amici per Giorgio Emanuele Ferrari bibliotecario e bibliografo marciano*, a cura di Stefania Rossi Minutelli, Padova, Novacharta, 2007, II, pp. 215-232.

⁹ LUCIEN FEBVRE, *Un cas désespéré? Dolet propagateur de l'Evangile*, in *Au coeur religieux du XVI^e siècle*, Paris, Ecole des hautes études en sciences sociales-Librairie générale française, 1983, pp. 231-300 (originally printed in 1957); Étienne Dolet 1509-2009, édité par Michèle Clément, Genève, Librairie Droz, 2012.

of popular culture and practice, for instance the *Secreti*. The production of the second period (1525-1544) was mainly vulgar literature in verses, the popular (in which the beautiful manuals of embroidery stood out) remained constant (while the chivalrous poems grew), and you can also notice the emergence of the theatre. The translated texts represent then the second voice of the catalog, that also record a certain amount of the works of devotion while Erasmus and Reformation appeared. The total production amounts to 438 editions, almost all in vulgar language.

And now we come back to the *Libretto volgare* of the 1525. First of all, it is a real booklet, in 16°, that – perhaps not by chance – Zoppino used only once during the 41 years of his production, at least according to how much of this production has survived. A small object which does not overcome 10 cm of height, including the binding. A pocket book, probably thought for being easily hidden. And nevertheless, both in this edition and in the following three, the name of Zoppino appears rather fearlessly in the colophons (even if the name of Luther never appears and in the second and third edition the author is hidden behind the shield of Erasmus). If the editions of 1526, of 1532 and of 1540, in which, besides the name of Zoppino, two of his original brands appear, did not exist, we may have some doubts about their attribution to the Ferrarese.

But its type, a small Gothic written on 20 lines gauges 75mm, is also used other times by Nicolò since 1507 until 1540, in not less than 15 editions, probably with several casting from the same matrices. We can see this type in 1507 Vincenzo Calmeta's *Compendio de cose nove* (Baldacchini n. 7: but here the printer could be Manfredo Bonelli). The last time he used it just in the 1540 *La Dichiaratione de i dieci Comandamenti* (Baldacchini n. 407). Therefore, there are no doubts about the truthfulness of the subscription of the small book. The only known copy is in the National Library in Florence, arrived with the collection of the count Pietro Guicciardini of Florence,¹⁰ descendant from Francesco, donated by him to the city of Florence and to the Library in 1877. In reality, the count had already offered as a gift to the city of Florence, together with a letter of January 10th, 1866, his collection of books concerning the religious reform of the XVIth century, under condition that the Government

¹⁰ Piero Guicciardini 1808-1886: un riformatore religioso nell'Europa dell'Ottocento: atti del convegno di studi: Firenze, 11-12 aprile 1986, a cura di Lorenza Giorgi e Massimo Rubboli, Firenze, Olschki, 1988.

would deposit it in the National Library. On July 20th the Council of Florence accepted the gift and the Government confirmed it with a bill of November 9th. But the two parts obviously misunderstood each other about the respective loads to sustain in the operation, because only on April 13th 1877 (after 11 years, 4 months and 7 days from the first offer) the donation was successfully concluded. Of course, the collection had to be permanently available to the public, even if the volumes could not leave the library. The government recognized the city of Florence as owner, but it was forced to undertake its preservation and management in the National Library. One of the various clauses is particularly interesting, namely the one in which the City was binded towards the Count to receive under the same conditions all the 'similar' books that were given as gifts from the Count or from other heirs in order to be included into the Guicciardiniana.

This is of notable importance in the story of *Uno libretto volgare*, because in the first catalog (of December 1875, but published in the 1877) the edition does not appear yet. It does not even appear in the 1881 Second supplement, while it does appear in the 1887 Third supplement (the Count died the year before), date in which we can surely affirm that the translation of the text of Luther was already in the National Library.¹¹ The original purpose of the Guicciardini collection was to put together all the editions of the Bible translated in Italian published in the Reformation period. Since the Count could not fully achieve this goal, he decided to collect the publications that could illustrate the Reformation movement. At the end, the collection was divided in these sections:

- a collection of Bibles and parts of the Bible translated in Italian (translations in the language romancia of the Engadina were also added);
- a collection of works of Reformers;
- a collection of French and English Bibles;
- a collection of works of Jansenists, especially those of Scipione de' Ricci (1740-1810, bishop of Pistoia and Prato, one of the most important italian Jansenist);¹²

¹¹ BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE CENTRALE DI FIRENZE, *Catalogo e suo supplemento del dicembre 1875 della collezione di libri relativi alla riforma religiosa del secolo XVI donata dal conte Piero Guicciardini alla città di Firenze*, Firenze, Giuseppe Pellas, 1877 (Secondo supplemento, maggio 1881; Terzo supplemento, 1887).

¹² BENVENUTO MATTEUCCI, *Scipione de' Ricci: saggio storico-teologico sul giansenismo italiano*, Brescia, Morcelliana, 1941.

- a rich collection of works of controversialists;
- a collection of sermons and ascetic books published during the Reformation or shortly before (Savonarola);
- a collection of history books.¹³

The Count Guicciardini was an important figure in the evangelical movements of the XIX century in Italy. In 1851, in Tuscany he was put on trial, then incarcerated and exiled to have attended the Swiss Chapel in Florence to assist to the cult that was celebrated there in Italian twice a month.¹⁴ The police also contested him because he had read at a friend's house a passage of the John's Gospel translated by Giovanni Diodati,¹⁵ and also because he owned a book containing some kind of Diary of the year 1846. The Grand-ducal Police deduced, arbitrarily, that in that year Guicciardini wanted to overthrow the State religion.

So in 1887 the copy of the 1525 edition was in the Guicciardini collection in the National Library. But how did it arrived there? An important source for reconstructing this story is represented by the front endleaf. In the recto we can read three handwritten notes. The first one concerns a very well-known man: «1728 Di Giaco: Soranzo». Therefore in that year the book belonged to the rich library of the Venetian patrician Jacopo Soranzo, and the dispersion of his manuscripts and printed books is well known.¹⁶

The second note is related instead to a person who has only been studied recently as a collector of books and it presents itself as an update of the preceding one: «now of Pietro Monneret 1835». Claudio Pietro Baldassarre Monneret de Villars,¹⁷ descending from a noble family

¹³ LORENZA GIORGI, *Piero Guicciardini: raccoglitore di opere sulla Riforma italiana e sul movimento evangelico in Italia ed in Europa nell'Ottocento*, in *Piero Guicciardini 1808-1886*, cit., pp. 73-83.

¹⁴ See *Documenti relativi al processo e incarcerazione del conte Piero Guicciardini ed altri esiliati della Toscana con Decreto del 17 maggio 1851*, [s.l., s.n.], 1851.

¹⁵ Just the year before 1850 this vulgar translation of the Holy Bible had been once again printed in London: *La Sacra Bibbia, che contiene il Vecchio e il Nuovo Testamento*, tradotta in lingua italiana da Giovanni Diodati, Londra, Spottiswoode e Shaw, 1850.

¹⁶ VITTORIO ROSSI, *La biblioteca manoscritta del senatore veneziano Jacopo Soranzo*, in *Scritti di critica letteraria*, III, *Dal Rinascimento al Risorgimento*, Firenze, Sansoni, 1930, pp. 251-271. See now the owners' archive of the Marciana Library in Venice: <<https://marciana.venezia.sbn.it/immagini-possessori/38-soranzo-giacomo>>.

¹⁷ SARA COSI, *La librerie di un pubblico funzionario: Pietro Monneret de Villars (1813-1863)*, in *Virtute et labore: studi offerti a Giuseppe Avarucci per i suoi settant'anni*, a cura di Rosa Marisa Borraccini e Giammario Borri, Spoleto, Fondazione Centro italiano di studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 2008, I, pp. 573-594.

that came from the Lyonnais, was born in Milan on February 14th, 1813. During the Austrian government he stood out because of his intense administrative career, that also continued under the Kingdom of Italy, even if relocated many times between 1859 and 1863. In fact he was regent of the Delegation in Bergamo and then deputy superintendent of that Province; subsequently he was superintendent of the District of Oneglia, adviser in the Government of the Province of Brescia and then of Bergamo. At last, from July 13th, 1862 he was sent to the District of Fermo as *sottoprefetto*. In that period the officials often played an important role in promoting the economic development of the territories, introducing new techniques in agriculture, reforming the educational institutions undertaking vast programs of public works. Monneret contributed to turn the Opera Pia Montani from a charity institute of the ancient regime to a modern Institute of arts and crafts. Besides, he dedicated himself to the creation of a school to make theoretical-practice of agriculture possible.

A few years after his death, on August 6th, 1869, while the Council of Fermo was trying to acquire the library of the dead Serafino duke of Altemps, which had been inherited by the Congregation of Charity, it deliberated to appraise the library of the dead *sottoprefetto*, because they considered it rich «of modern, historical and scientific works that lacked in the Town Library». The estimate was of 1800 liras for 1108 volumes and over 200 pamphlets. However, this was a provisional estimate, considering that, eventually, the price was 2100 liras during the exercises of 1870-1872.

The librarian Filippo Eugenio Mecchi compiled the inventory of the collection amending its consistence in «798 works in 1197 volumes, 138 literary pamphlets, 54 pamphlets of agriculture, 2 manuscripts and 54 volumes of lacking works». The Monneret library, that can still be found at the Public Library in Fermo, is primarily composed of XVIIIth and XIXth century editions, as opposed to the small number of XVIIth century books and the only two *cinquecentine*: G.M. Bonardo, *Le ricchezze dell'agricoltura ... mandate in luce da Luigi Grotto*, Venice, Fabio and Agostino Zoppini, 1590, and G.A. Zerbi, *Discorso in forma di dialogo intorno al Banco di S. Ambrosio della città di Milano*, Milan, Pandolfo Malatesta 1599. Therefore, the copy of *Uno libretto volgare* does not appear on this list.

On the other hand, as noted by Sara Cosi,¹⁸ given the fact that Monneret did not live in Fermo for a long time before his death (from July

¹⁸ *Ivi*, pp. 574-575.

13th, 1862, to March 27th, 1863) he probably did not have enough time to move all of his books to the Marche. Moreover, the third handwritten note (unfortunately the most mysterious one) tells us: «poi di C. Giannini 1864» (if my reading is correct). Then, only one year after the death of the *sottoprefetto*, the book had changed owner once again. It is certain that Monneret had come into possession of the small book at a young age (in 1835 he was 22 years old) and remained its owner until his death. To this point, however, the reconstruction of the passage to the collection of the Count Guicciardini is still missing. We still do not know who the «C. Giannini» that in 1864 attests the ownership of the book may be.

The most reasonable hypothesis is the identification with Crescenzio Giannini, native of Sant'Agata Feltria, who was a teacher in the Liceo of Ferrara and member of the Italian Committee for the texts of the language, founded in 1860 on the inspiration of Luigi Carlo Farini.¹⁹ Giannini was a philologist and a bibliographer, but above all he was in contact with Giacomo Manzoni, with whom he shared the interest for the printers Soncino. In the Fondo Seganti of the Public Library of Lugo in Romagna, there are letters of Pietro Guicciardini to Manzoni. In December 19th, 1885 Guicciardine wrote to Manzoni from Florence:

Gentilissimo Conte Manzoni,

Un mio caro amico il Sig.re Giovanni Betts essendo occupato presentemente della traduzione del processo del Carnesecchi in inglese, desidererebbe molto che voi gli comunicaste o direttamente, o per mio mezzo alcune note che non avete pubblicato nel vostro libro sopra il detto Carnesecchi e che semplicemente avete detto che sono relative a persone, e a cose che riguardano alcune persone rammenate in quel processo. Io vi pregherei molto di voler compiacere quel mio amico, che ve ne sarebbe grato insieme con me. Vi prego di indicarmi la vostra intenzione affinché il Sig.re Betts ne sia informato.

Gradite i miei ossequi e mi confermo

Vostro obb.

P. Guicciardini.²⁰

¹⁹ FERNANDA CANEPA, *La “passione dei libri” attraverso la corrispondenza di Giacomo Manzoni, con un’appendice sulla composizione dei carteggi confluiti nell’Archivio Seganti*, in *Giacomo Manzoni: studi, passioni e vita pubblica di un luginese nell’Italia dell’Ottocento*, a cura di Antonio Pirazzini, Faenza, Edit Faenza, 1999, pp. 209-266: 242.

²⁰ Biblioteca comunale “F. Trisi”, Lugo di Romagna, Fondo Seganti, Conte Manzoni 1885 001-002.

The name of Manzoni, in its turn, links him to the Count Guicciardini, who, thanks to the mediation of the bookstore of Silvio Bocca, acquired a good part of «a valuable collection completely composed of books coming from the Manzoni Library».²¹

It would seem possible at this point to hypothesize a passage from Giannini to Guicciardini through Manzoni. But we are still missing a piece of the puzzle that perhaps complicates it a bit. As we have seen, Nicolò Zoppino, whose *Annali* I have published in 2011, was the printer/publisher of *Uno libretto volgare*. Zoppino has been studied, in chronological order, by monsignor Giuseppe Antonelli, librarian of the Arioste, Gian Albino Ravalli Modoni, Dino Prandi of Reggio Emilia, as well as two British scholars, Neil Harris and Jeremy Potter.²² Antonelli has left a corpus of handwritten records about Zoppino in the Arioste,²³ and in one of these (marked To.1.63) the edition is described. Antonelli affirms to have seen a copy in the bookshop of the typographer-book-seller Antonio Taddei in Ferrara on September 11th, 1878. Is it the same or another copy? Ravalli Modoni argues that it is another copy.²⁴ I have the well-founded suspicion that it can actually be the same. There are numerous coincidences:

- Giannini (if he is Crescentino), that acquires the book in 1864, is a teacher in the Liceo of Ferrara (the same town of Antonelli and Taddei), but he also is in correspondence with Giacomo Manzoni of Lugo;
- Manzoni's books related to the reformed texts end up in the Guicciardini collection, with the mediation of Silvio Bocca;
- the dates are very close: in 1878 Antonelli sees the book at Taddei's shop, the next year the Bocca catalog that documents the reformed texts of Manzoni is printed. And this is the base of the acquisition by Guicciardini of part of Manzoni's books. In 1887 (the year after the Count's death), the small book appears in the Third appendix of Guicciardini Catalog.

²¹ MARINO PARENTI, *Aggiunte al Dizionario bio-bibliografico dei bibliotecari e bibliofili italiani di Carlo Frati*, II, Firenze, Sansoni antiquariato, 1959, p. 219. See also *Catalogo di libri di novatori e riformatori luterani e calvinisti soprattutto italiani*, Roma, Bocca, 1879.

²² NEIL HARRIS, *Un ferrarese a Venezia: Nicolò d'Aristotele de' Rossi detto lo Zoppino*, in *I libri di Orlando innamorato*, Modena, Panini, 1987, pp. 88-94; JEREMY M. POTTER, *Nicolò Zoppino and the book-trade network of Perugia*, in *The Italian book: 1465-1800: studies presented to Dennis E. Rhodes on his 70th birthday*, edited by Denis V. Reidy, London, The British Library, 1993, pp. 135-159.

²³ Biblioteca Arioste, Ferrara, *Carte Antonelli*, busta 3.

²⁴ G.A. RAVALLI MODONI, *Edizioni religiose zoppiniane*, cit., p. 216.

Of course it is impossible to have the real evidence that it is the same copy, but I hardly believe that two copies of such a rare book were so close (Lugo-Ferrara) in the same years (1878-1879).

This is the way that has initially brought the book in the hands of the Venetian senator Soranzo, then in those of a viceprefect in Fermo (Monneret), subsequently (probably) in those of a teacher, philologist and bibliographer (Giannini), then in possession of a great collector and patriot (Manzoni), and finally to another collector and patriot, an important figure (Guicciardini) of XIXth century Italian evangelism.

At last – as we have seen – it came to the National Library of Florence. And for such a small and fragile object, but at the same time very rare and precious, that was a fascinating trip, but full of risks. This book has recently been shown at the National Library in the exposition *Una riforma religiosa per gli italiani: le edizioni del fondo Piero Guicciardini nella Biblioteca nazionale centrale di Firenze*, edited by Marco Fratini and Laura Venturi, May 3rd-June 30th, 2017. A catalog of this exposition has not been printed.²⁵ We would like to know something more of the story of *Uno libretto volgare*, especially for the two centuries between its printing (1525) and the note of possession of Soranzo (1728), but, at the moment, unfortunately, we cannot say anything about that.

Nel 1525 fu pubblicato in Venezia *Uno libretto volgare: con la dechiaratione de li dieci comandamenti: del Credo: del Pater noster con una breve annotatione del vivere christiano: cose certamente utili & necessarie a ciascheduno fidele christiano. Nouamente stampato*, edizione che oggi sopravvive in unico esemplare presso la Biblioteca nazionale centrale di Firenze. Il saggio ne ricostruisce le vicende, a partire dalla figura del tipografo editore Nicolò Zoppino, nato a Ferrara prima del 1478 e attivo a Venezia e in altri centri cittadini. La sua produzione totale ammonta ad almeno 438 edizioni, quasi tutte in lingua volgare. Documenti d'archivio provano il suo stretto legame con cantastorie e artisti da strada. Infatti Zoppino fu arrestato a Venezia nel 1510 con il suo socio, il cantastorie Vincenzo di Polo, per avere composto, stampato e venduto in Ferrara una *Barzelletta* antiveneziana dopo la battaglia di Agnadello, e i due furono imprigionati per

²⁵ But at the end of the exposition a catalogue of XVIth century editions has been published: *Le cinquecentine del fondo Piero Guicciardini nella Biblioteca nazionale centrale di Firenze*, a cura di Marco Fratini e Laura Venturi, Torre Pellice, Centro culturale valdese, 2017, p. 197. This catalogue, that does not mention the *Annali* of Nicolò Zoppino, unfortunately makes mistakes in reading two of the three owners of the book: «Monnet» for Monneret and «Giovanni» for Giovannini.

tre mesi. Zoppino entrò in contatto con i circoli luterani e stampò *Uno libretto volgare*, la prima traduzione italiana di Lutero, nella quale il tipografo non si preoccupò di celare la propria identità. L'anno dopo, usando il nome di Erasmo come scudo, lo ripubblicò, sempre sottoscrivendo il colophon. E lo stesso fece nel 1532 e nel 1540. Infine pubblicò anche opere di Bernardino Ochino e testi di altri aderenti o simpatizzanti della Riforma. Il saggio ricostruisce quindi la storia dell'unico esemplare ad oggi noto del *Libretto volgare*, ripercorrendone i passaggi tra i vari possessori.

In 1525 was published in Venice, *Uno libretto volgare: con la dechiaratione de li dieci comandamenti: del Credo: del Pater noster con una breve annotatione del vivere christiano: cose certamente utili & necessarie a ciascheduno fidele christiano. Nouamente stampato*, an edition that today survives in a single copy at the Central National Library of Florence. The paper reconstructs the events, starting with the biography of the typographer and publisher Nicolò Zoppino, born in Ferrara before 1478 and active in Venice and other cities. Its total production amounts to at least 438 editions, almost all in vernacular language. Archive documents prove its close connexion with street singers and street artists. In fact Zoppino was arrested in Venice in 1510 with his partner, the street singer Vincenzo di Polo, for having composed, printed and sold in Ferrara a *Barzelletta* after the battle of Agnadello, and the two were imprisoned for three months. Zoppino came into contact with the Lutheran circles and printed *Uno libretto volgare*, the first Italian translation of Luther, in which the printer did not bother to hide his identity. The following year, using the name of Erasmus, he republished it, always signing the colophon. And he did the same in 1532 and in the 1540. He also published works by Bernardino Ochino and texts by other followers of the Reformation. The essay therefore reconstructs the history of the only copy known of *Uno libretto volgare*, retracing the transfer between the various owners.

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