

LUX LIBRORUM



Lux Librorum

Essays on books and history for

Chris
Coppens

Goran Proot, David McKitterick, Angela Nuovo and Paul F. Gehl (eds.)

With a preface by David McKitterick

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The Cartolari family from Perugia: From paper sellers to publishing house

This paper aims to show how a family of stationers, who had long supplied parchment, paper and possibly manuscript books to the academic and professional market in Perugia, reinvented itself by starting a business to address all areas of the new print world. In particular I will focus on the role played by Francesco Cartolari and the strategies he adopted in leading a transformation which ended up with the reintroduction of printing activity in Perugia and the foundation of a publishing house.

In 1471, when the earliest printing company was founded in Perugia, its associates decided to establish the workshop in a place owned by one of them, Matteo Baldeschi, as it was in a very central location: the main square, the ‘piazza maggiore’, close to the workshop of the ‘cartolarius’ Baldassarre di Francesco.¹ Baldassarre was born in Papiano, a village in the southern *contado* – the rural administrative division of the medieval commune – from which he moved to Perugia around 1442. He, in fact, applied for the citizenship in 1467 when he could declare having lived and worked in town for the twenty-five years required by the statutes. As for his activities, he said he had always practised, and was still practising, the ‘arte de fare carte et coiamè’: the art of making parchment and leather; he was a *cartolarius*. His acquisition of citizenship was an important step, as it enabled him to apply to join the guild, which apparently cost him four additional years of work. In the register of the ‘Arte dei Cartolari’ his name is found under the year 1471.²

¹ ‘posta nela piazza maiure a lato Baldassarre de Francesco’; Perugia, Archivio di Stato, Notarile, *Protocolli*, 203, fol. 154r. The earliest printing company in Perugia was formed of: the leading figure in the local government (the ‘magnifico’ Braccio Baglioni), a member of the celebrated family of jurists degli Ubaldi (or Baldeschi, Matteo), a member of the powerful guild of the merchants (Bacciolo Fumagioli) and a merchant (Costantino di Andrea), on one side and of two German masters on the other side (Petrus Petri of Cologne and Nicolaus von Bamberg). The documents pertaining the art of printing in Perugia are found mainly in the section of notarial acts preserved in Perugia, State Archive (Archivio di Stato di Perugia = ASPG); other documents are in the historical archive of the Comune (Archivio storico del Comune di Perugia = ASCPg). The earliest studies were published by Giovanni Battista Vermiglio-

li, *Principi della stampa in Perugia e suoi progressi per tutto il secolo XV*, Perugia, presso Carlo Baduel, 1820; after that, an in-depth research of those documents was done by Adamo Rossi, who provided summaries and some full transcriptions of a long series of texts in: Adamo Rossi, *L’arte tipografica in Perugia durante il secolo XV e la prima metà del secolo XVI. Nuove ricerche*, Perugia: G. Boncompagni e C., 1868 (where the above mentioned document is no. 1, pp. 3–5 of the appendix). After that, a several studies have been published, some of which are also based on new archival research. The most relevant in relation with the subject of this paper appeared in the *Bollettino della Deputazione di storia patria per l’Umbria* and are: Giocondo Ricciarelli, ‘I prototipografi in Perugia. Fonti documentarie’, 72:2 (1970), 77–161 and Rita Liurni, ‘Nuovi documenti su Francesco Cartolari e sulla stampa a Perugia nei primi anni

del Cinquecento. Con notizie su Bernardino Stagnino, Lucontonio Giunta e altri tipografi veneziani’, 102:2 (2005), 305–324. A complete edition (in full or *regesta*) of all known documents is still to be done. In the course of a PhD in History (2008/12) I came back to the archive in order to read the originals and to explore other sections of the archive. It served as a necessary complement to the analysis of the printed books and a full reading of the paratextual materials. The general purpose of that research was the acquisition of a better understanding of the social cultural and economical context where the earliest printers and publishers were living and working. Christian Coppens has read the results of this research and generously gave his advice on how to arrange the work in order to prepare it for publication; I’ll be happy to follow all his suggestions. In the meantime, I chose to come back to this material

and focus on the beginnings of a family of printers/publishers, and particularly the figure of Francesco (fl. 1480–1516), in whose history one can find the chance to explore many different aspects involved in the history of the book. All relevant biographical dictionaries devote an entry to him: Paolo Veneziani, ‘Cartolari, Francesco’, in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, 20 (1977), 804–806; Fabio Massimo Bertolo, ‘Cartolari, Francesco’ in Marco Menato, Ennio Sandal & Giuseppina Zappella (dir.), *Dizionario dei tipografi e degli editori italiani. Il Cinquecento. I: A–F*, Milano 1998, 269–270; Rosa Marisa Borraccini & Alessia Perotto, ‘Cartolari’, in Marco Santoro (dir.) & Rosa Marisa Borraccini (ed.), *Dizionario degli editori, tipografi librai itineranti in Italia tra Quattrocento e Seicento*, Pisa 2014, 237–242. Reference to secondary sources that have not been directly explored for the purpose of this article can be found there; while individual articles dedicated to the subject have been mentioned case by case. In quoting the incunabula a reference is made to the *Incunabula Short Title Catalogue* (= ISTC; https://data.cerl.org/istc/_search) and the *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, Leipzig 1925–1938, Stuttgart 1968– (= GW; <http://www.gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de/>). Transcriptions of texts from primary sources (both archival documents and printed editions) are all interpretative.

² Olga Maracci–Marinelli et al. (cur.), *Statuti dell’Arte dei Cartolari*, Perugia 1987, 65.

His was a long career of hard work, but Baldassare did well and prepared the ground for the generations to come. As a start, he rented a shop in the properties managed by the Apostolic Camera, the papal treasury.³ When exactly Baldassare started his relationship with the papal office is not known, but he certainly occupied the shop by 1480, when it was recorded that the ‘Camera sita sub scalis palatii domini gubernatoris’ had been given to him and his associate ‘Nicolaus Antonii alias ciucho’ (Niccolò son of Antonio also known as ‘donkey’) for the following four years, starting with the first of January.⁴ Renting a shop from the Camera Apostolica was a very good thing for at least two reasons: the location was wonderful, set beneath the stairs that led to the Governor’s offices, and the conditions of the agreement seemed to offer several advantages.

First of all, the price of the rent, which was established at four florins a year, while the yearly price offered to the earliest printing company for renting a shop was of 24 florins, six times as much! Moreover, the Camera Apostolica seemed to apply a different exchange rate. There was, in fact, a system of double currency and the florin always needed to be translated into the currency in use, which at the time was the bolognino.⁵ The usual exchange rate was of 40 bolognini for each florin, but the Apostolic Camera applied a rate of 36 bolognini per florin.⁶ From time to time, the tenant was given the opportunity to compensate the landlord in various ways: the debt could be cancelled in relation to expenses made for the maintenance of the place, such as in 1487, when Baldassare was said to have spent 25 florins and 68 solidi on maintenance, at the rate of 40 bolognini, and therefore 28 florins and 48 solidi were recorded as paid by him (considering the rate of 36 bolognini per florin).⁷ Most important of all, the tenant was given the chance to avoid using cash. He was actually allowed to pay the rent by bartering his own merchandise: registers of various kind that the officials of the Camera would use in their daily work, including, therefore, also the registers where also those very recordings were written. This happened a few times during the years 1489–1494:

Camera cum duobus hostiis sub scalis domini gubernatoris

Baldasar Francisci cartolarius de Perusio, Porte Solis, cui dicta camera locata fuit per dominum Franciscum Casalium Perusini et Thesaurarium pro quinquennio incipiendo die prima mensii ianuarii anni MCCCCLXXXVIII [...]

constat solvisse soldos [sic] duodecim pro certa carta data pecudina domino Diotaiute de Ausimo barigello pro certis sententiis et condemnationibus latis fl. – sol. XII [...]

Constat dictum Baldassarrem solvisse die xxiii maii 1492 in scomputum duorum librorum

datorum ser Tancio Nicolai notarii Camere anno 1490 et 91, soldos 84 fl. – sol. LXXXIII

Constat dictum Baldassarrem Francisci solvisse prefate Camere de mense settembris [sic] et

3 A definition of the Camera Apostolica, although focused on the medieval period, is found here: Stefan Weiß, *A companion to the Medieval Papacy*, Leiden 2016, 220–238. In the course of the fifteenth century the Camera Apostolica entered in the management of the university of Perugia: Daniele Sini & Stefania Zucchini, ‘Il finanziamento pubblico dello Studio perugino nella documentazione della Camera Apostolica (secoli XV–XVI)’ in *Annali di storia delle università italiane*, 18 (2014), 115–137.

4 ASPg, ASCPg, *Reverenda Camera Apostolica*, reg. 16, fol. 84r.

5 On the system in general and the situation in Perugia: Giuseppe Mira, ‘Alcune «resistenze» nell’economia perugina: misure e monete all’inizio dell’età moderna’ in *Storia e cultura in Umbria nell’età moderna (secoli XV–XVIII)*, Atti del VII Convegno di studi umbri (Gubbio, 18–22 maggio 1969), Perugia 1972, 117–145. In recent years the subject has been discussed and explained in: Stefania Zucchini, *Università e dottori nell’economia del comune di Perugia. I registri dei Conservatori della Moneta (secoli XIV–XV)*, Perugia 2008, where a chapter is devoted to this subject: *Fiorini e denari: una città due monete. Equivalenze ed oscillazioni tra moneta grossa e moneta piccola* (13–21). On the system of double currency in the booktrade see: Francesco Ammannati, ‘Book prices and monetary issues in Renaissance Europe’ in Giovanna Granata & Angela Nuovo (eds.), *Selling & collecting: printed book sale catalogues and private libraries in early modern Europe*, Macerata 2018, 161–176.

6 On the value of the currency and the exchange rate, information can be also found in Giovan Battista Vermiglioli, *Della zecca e delle monete perugine. Memorie e documenti inediti raccolti e pubblicati*, Perugia 1816.

7 ‘Constat dictum Baldassarrem convertisse et expendidisse in aconime et reparatione dicte camere de anno 1487 florenos vigintiquinque et soldos sexagintaotto ad rationem XL

bolonenorum pro quolibet floreno qui sunt ad rationem XXXVI bolonenorum pro quolibet floreno, floreni XXVIII et sol. xviii ideo mandato domini thesaurarii die III iulii 1488 ex

computum in dicta pensione dictam summam. --- floreni XXVIII et sol. XLVIII’ (ASPg, ASCPg, *Reverenda Camera Apostolica*, reg. 16, fol. 99r).

novembris anni 1492 florenos duos et solidos XXXVI ad rationem XXXVI bolonenorum pro quolibet floreno pro uno libro folii 200 cartarum pro computis prefate Camere destinato ad Cameram apostolicam item pro uno libro parvo pro extrahendo certos condempnatos mandato domini. Item pro uno libro magno pro bollettenis registrandis fl. II sol. 36.⁸

Baldassarre had three sons: Pietro Paolo, Francesco and Gaspare. Very little is known about Pietro Paolo, but Gaspare entered the order of the Dominicans while Francesco joined their father in the management of the shop. In 1487, his name appeared in the registers of the Apostolic Camera. By 1491 he was alone in running the business (Baldassarre died around 1490) but he maintained a strong relationship with his brother Gaspare who always participated in the family enterprise, from the special position that he had by reason of his status within the Order.

Francesco, for his part, followed the career path traced by his father. But he had the chance to take over the management of the shop at the time when the most important change in book production occurred (the ‘printing-revolution’) and revolutionised the book market. Francesco was there when the earliest printingshop was established in Perugia, in a room very close to their shop, where the *cartolari* were selling parchment leaves, registers and, likely, also paper. We do not know (not yet) whether they were immediately involved in that change as the suppliers of the paper used to print the earliest Perugia editions.⁹ Certainly, they were in a position to closely observe the increase in the need for paper; they may also have made a business out of it. Most importantly, they witnessed the development of a new market created by the appearance of the printed book, which involved arranging for the distribution of the many copies resulting from every print run, and so avoiding stockpiling the goods. This could well be a job for them as *cartolarii*, Francesco might have thought, who wished to expand the family business, and finally did so; he did it by moving from selling paper to selling books to direct involvement in book-production. He did it step by step, making the most of the know-how he acquired from his father and the knowledge he developed through observing what happened during the first decades of printing in Perugia and elsewhere.

The local context and Francesco’s initiative

With the arrival of the early printers in Perugia, the son of the *cartolarius* witnessed the production of printed editions of the works of a number of professors who had taught at the local university, such as the celebrated Bartolo da Sassoferrato and his

⁸ ‘Room with two hosts [i.e. lunettes, perhaps the device for the shop] beneath the stairs of the Governor. Baldassarre, son of Francesco, of Perugia, living in Porta Sole [one of

the five administrative divisions of the city], to whom the above mentioned room has been rented by the treasurer dominus Francesco Casali of Perugia, for a period of five

years to commence on January 1st, 1489 [...] agreed that he has paid 12 solidi, with the delivery of a certain amount of parchment that he gave to the *barigello* [i.e. the Captain]

Diotaiuti from Osimo to write certain sentences: fl. – sol. XII. || On 23 May 1492, the above mentioned Baldassarre, has compensated his debt for a sum of 84 solidi by delivering two registers to the notary of the Camera ser Tancio Nicolai: fl. – sol. LXXXIII || It results that the above mentioned Baldassarre has paid the Camera in the months of September and November 1492 the sum of two florins and 36 solidi, at the exchange rate of 36 bolognini per florin, by delivering a book [i.e. a register] of 200 leaves for recording accounts for the Apostolic Camera, a smaller book to write abstracts of sentences on request of the dominus [i.e. governor?], and, finally, a big book to record invoices: fl. II and sol. 36’. (ASPG, ASCPg, *Reverenda Camera Apostolica*, reg. 16, fol. 112r).

⁹ A systematic research on the stock of paper that they used to sell has not been done yet and we have not found any clear evidence that the early printers were using sheets of paper purchased from them, although this might well have been the case.

pupil Baldo.¹⁰ A few literary works were also published, such as a treatise on prosody by the humanist Francesco Maturanzio, the long didactic poem *Quadriregio* by the Dominican Federico Frezzi, and the wonderful *Libro delle sorti* by Lorenzo Spirito Gualtieri.¹¹ However, the most distinctive element of local production was comprised of the works taught in the Law School, which had caused the fame of the University of Perugia to spread all over Europe. Among other things, the *editio princeps* of a section of the *Digest* (the Justinian collection of Roman law) was printed in Perugia on the initiative of three students and the beadle of the University.¹² However, this first blossoming of local production did not last more than ten or twelve years. In 1482 five final editions were published – three legal texts, a grammar, and the above mentioned *Libro delle sorti* – then almost nothing, for more than fifteen years.

Why? Most likely, because printing locally was not convenient any more. The local demand for books, in fact, started to be satisfied by the huge production of better established companies, such as the large enterprises existing in Venice. The most important evidence of this is provided by a series of documents testifying to the opening of a bookshop to be run by Laurent Berot, acting as a local agent of the celebrated company of Johannes de Colonia¹³ and Nicolas Jenson.¹⁴

While working with his father, the *cartolarius* Francesco could observe what books were demanded by local customers and how the market changed in the course of time. He must have noticed the impressive growth of Venetian production and distribution and might have seen this as an opportunity for his family's company to expand their activity, instead of only seeing it as a threat. In 1494, for the first time, Francesco was alone in renewing the rent of the shop, for the following five years. This he repeated, over and over again, until the end of his life.¹⁵ In the meantime, he worked in order to reinforce his professional and social position by actively attending the meetings of the guild of the *cartolari* in Perugia¹⁶ and by building commercial relationships in Venice.

It was in Venice, in 1499, that Francesco started a new activity, book production, in partnership with Bernardino Benali. The whole project seems to have been well-thought-out and rooted in a good knowledge of both the cultural environment and the market. Francesco, now called *bibliopola*, chose to finance the publication of a work of the jurist Filippo Franchi (d. 1471), who had spent many years teaching canon law in Pavia and Ferrara, before coming back to Perugia where he was born. Parts of his commentaries on the *Decretals* had already been published in Siena, Pavia, and Milan in addition to the earliest edition, which was printed in Perugia in 1471–1472 when Franchi appeared together with the giants of law, Bartolo and Baldo. However, Franchi's commentary on the *Decretals* had never been published in full and a manuscript, apparently the best version, was still waiting to be sent to press.

10 Bartolo da Sassoferrato, *Super prima parte Digesti Veteris* (cf. *ISTC* ib00223600) and Baldo degli Ubaldi, *Super VI Codicis* (*ISTC* iu00017400); for both editions imprint data is inferred from archival documents: Perugia, Petrus Petri de Colonia and Johannes Nicolai de Bamberg, post 26 Apr. 1471, ante 20 Oct. 1472.

11 Francesco Maturanzio, *De componendis versibus hexametro et pentametro*, Perugia: Stephanus Arndes, 16 June 1481 (*ISTC* im00348000); Federico Frezzi, *Quadriregio del decorso della vita humana*, Perugia, Stephanus Arndes: 1481 (*ISTC* if00311000); Lorenzo Spirito Gualtieri, *Libro delle sorti*, Perugia: Stephanus Arndes, Gerardus Thomae and Paulus Mechter, 1482 (*ISTC* is00685500).

12 *Corpus iuris civilis. Digestum vetus* (with the *Glossa ordinaria* of Accursius, and a poem by Johannes Sulpitius Verulanus), Perugia: Heinrich Klein (Clayn), for Johannes Vydenast and Jakob Langenbeke, 29 Apr. 1476 (*ISTC* ij00546500). In the prelatory letter Langenbeke and Vydenast (respectively student of law and beadle of the university) wished to provide a vivid description of their position and of the initiative: 'Cui sum Italie omnes urbes operam impendunt. Tum vel maximam Augusta Perusia praeter ceteras ut armis sic legibus gloriam assecuta est, maioremque in dies unius almae domus Sapientiae Veteris perusinae scolastici Iacobi Langenbeke Saxonicus et Ioannis Widenast Sicambri singulari beneficio. Et coelandi sculpendique Henrici Clayn Svevi arte consequetur illorum enim impensis et huius ingenio firm [i.e. *Digestum*] vetus quo nullum nostra secula quoad antiquas illas Pisanorum pandectas propius accederet habuere diligenter Perusii impressum est.' (a1v).

13 On Johannes de Colonia see now: Cristian Coppens, 'Giovanni da Colonia, aka Johann Ewylre/Arwylre/Ahrweiler: the early printed book and its investors' in *La Bibliofilia*, 116 (2014), 1–3, 113–119.

14 On the Company of Venice, and its wide network: Angela Nuovo, *The book trade in the Italian Renaissance*, Leiden/Boston 2013, 21–45 (36–38 are devoted to the commercial relationship and the bookshop in Perugia); on the booktrade in Perugia: Giocondo Ricciarelli, 'Mercanti di incunaboli a Perugia' in *Bollettino della Deputazione di storia patria per l'Umbria*, 70:1 (1973), 1–20.

15 It has been written that in 1501 Francesco rented a new place in the opposite side of the main square ('in

pede platee') and therefore he left the shop under the residence of the Governor (Liurni, 'Nuovi documenti su Francesco Cartolari', 306–307). This information needs to be

rectified: he did not leave the original place of the family activity, he rather widened that activity by adding a second place which he likely used for both stocking and selling books.

16 Marcacci-Marinelli 'et al.' (cur.), *Statuti dell'Arte dei Cartolari*, Perugia 1987, 17.

This is what one can read in the prefatory letter addressed by Eugenio Crispolti to Baglione Vibi (or Montevibiani), a jurist, member of a noble family, and *advocatus consistorialis*:

Magnifico ac preclaro utriusque iuris doctori domino Ballione Vibiano patricio Perusino Sacri Apostolici Consistorii advocato dignissimo, Eugenius Crispoltus Perusinus optat felicitatem.

Daturus in lucem tantopere affectatos clarissimi utriusque iurisconsulti Philippi Franchi Perusini in Sextum Decretalium volumen commentarios, consultissime iuris magister, nulli hominum magis eos dicandos censui, quam tue excellentie ac nobilitati dignum profecto existimans, [...] Accipies igitur [...] acutissimi doctoris dogmata preclarissima, non ab audacibus ac falsis correctoribus emendata. Sed auctoris propria manu correctata, et severiori calamo castigata. [...] Hanc igitur editionem tue celsitudini dicamus.¹⁷

The concepts of original and autograph were also highlighted on the title page, which was entirely printed in bright red, while the verso of the title included a mention of the decennial privilege obtained from the Senato Veneto.¹⁸ The Eugenius Crispoltus who signed the dedicatory letter was likely a relative of the author, whose wife was named Antonia Crispolti. The heirs might well have found the manuscript in the family archive and asked the *bibliopola* Francesco for advice. The latter, in turn, apparently thought it could turn out to be a profitable project, as the author was a well-established figure in the panorama of modern jurists. The important investment required by such an enterprise could be worth undertaking, once he had the support of an important clergyman, like Baglione Montevibiani and two noble families (the Crispolti were also part of the local aristocracy), as well as a decennial privilege from the Republic of Venice.

The privilege was given by the Senato Veneto to Francesco di Baldassarre and to Bernardino Benali for printing three different works, none published before: (1) the above mentioned commentary by Franchi on the *Liber Sextus Decretalium*; (2) the treatise *De reguli juris in Sexto*, also by Franchi; and (3) unpublished works of Pier Filippo Corneo (also known as Della Cornia),¹⁹ especially his *Consilia*.²⁰ Only the first two works were published by the joint venture, and the second one was introduced by a letter signed by Benali and addressed to the senator Marco Sanudo, from which we might infer that the role played by Benali was not limited to the material production of the volume.²¹ In fact, very little is known about the agreement that underpinned the joint venture; all we know is taken from the paratexts, especially the colophons of the two works, where Francesco is said to be a bookseller – *bibliopola* – who fully financed the publication while Benali did the printing.²²

17 "To the magnificent and excellent professor of law Baglione Vibi, patrician of Perugia and Consistorial Advocate Eugenio Crispolti sends his greetings. I am about to deliver

an edition of the excellent and most valued commentaries to the Sixth Book of the Decretals written by the celebrated doctor of Law Filippo Franchi from Perugia. I have

thought that I cannot find a better person than yourself to whom to dedicate this work, considering your excellence and nobility. [...] Would you, please, accept therefore [...] the

manifestation of knowledge of this sharp-minded doctor. These writings [I'd like to point out] have not been roughly corrected by inadequate editors; in fact, they have been amended by the author himself, and corrected by the most severe pen. [...] This, then, is the edition that we wish to dedicate to you'. *ISTC if00280600*, fol. av; see also <http://textinc.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/catalog/tif00280600>.

18 'Prima lectura Iuris Utriusque monarce domini Philippi Franchi super sexto libro decretalium: manu propria ipsius doctoris scripta atque castigata: nouiter impressa cum priuilegio'.

19 Petrus Philippus Corneus is found in early editions and therefore in catalogues and bibliographies. Later on Della Cornia (or Della Corgna) became the most common form of the family name and is also preferred by historians and found in secondary sources, the national biographical dictionary: Irene Fosi Polverini, 'Della Cornia (Corneo, da Cornea, da Corgna, dei nobili della Corgna e infine Nobili, con evidente cognomizzazione dello 'status' familiare)', Pier Filippo in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, Rome 1988, 36, 772–777.

20 'zoè quelle che non sono mai impresse et massime li suo' consigli', as reported in: Rinaldo Fulin, 'Documenti per servire alla storia della tipografia veneziana' in *Archivio Veneto*, 23 (1882), 84–212, 390–405: 58 (doc. 95). The words used by the Venetian Senators in granting the privilege sound like they were taken from the request sent by Cartolari and Benali, where the concept of unpublished was repeatedly stressed.

21 *ISTC if00280650*.

22 'Explicit aureum et perutile opus super Sexto Iuris utriusque monarce domini Philippi Franche de Perusia: Impressum Venetiis, mira impensa Francisci Bibliopole de Perusia: necnon Bernardini Benalij: Cura tamen et eximia diligentia ipsius Bernardini benali. Cum privilegio ne quis audeat imprimere per decennium: sub pena in eo contenta. Anno Domini. M.ccccxcix.' The colophon printed at the end of the *De regulis iuris* reads exactly the same, with the only change in the title of the work.

Was Benali paid for his job, or was he given the rights to sell a certain amount of copies? We do not know; nor do we know why Francesco and Benali did not accomplish the programme they had presented to the Senato Veneto. A clue might be found in another edition of a work of Filippo Franchi that eventually appeared on the market, a treatise on last wills whose colophon did not provide any name or date, only the statement that it was printed from the autograph: ‘Explicit solemnis Tractatus Eximij I.V. Doctoris domini Philippi franchi de Perusia: super Rubrica de Testamentis in vi. nuper excerptus ex ipso originali manu ipsius doctoris scripto et emendato.’ As GW and ISTC point out, this was no more than an extract from the *Lectura in Sexto*, not even fully reprinted: they are quires signed G⁴ H–I⁸ K¹⁰, with only the first four leaves, quire G, being reset.²³

Nobody is mentioned in the colophon, but this edition is assigned with certainty to Bernardino Benali, who might have thought he could distribute part of the work he had already printed, despite the privilege granted to the complete edition. We do not actually know whether this infringed on the agreement between the Perugian bookseller and Benali, nor does it seem that Francesco took any action against him. What we do know, however, is that the third work they had planned to realise together was in fact only accomplished three years later and within a totally new joint venture.

‘Franciscus Baldasaris bibliopola’ and publisher in Perugia

During the last year of the century, Francesco di Baldassarre was able to achieve a number of goals. In Venice, he was involved in the publication of a *Breviarium* together with Antonio Zanchi as an associate.²⁴ Very little is known about that initiative, but it was an isolated case for the Perugian bookseller and possibly an occasion to validate his position in the book trade by cooperating with Zanchi, who had already published a number of liturgical works. This kind of text, however, was not a main interest of the *bibliopola* from Perugia. Indeed, he seems to have planned to specialise in legal works, especially those texts that were still unpublished and for which he could claim to possess the best manuscript, as pointed out in the request to the Venetian Senate for the privilege. Once the relationship with Benali failed, Francesco decided to carry on the plan by himself and launched a new publishing venture in his home town. He did not mean to revolutionise his professional career; rather, he planned to expand his business by adding the publication of a selection of texts that he knew would find a secure place in the market.

In Perugia, he had spent more than twenty years in selling parchment, paper, and books to customers who were – or, rather, who must have been – mainly professors, students, politicians (representatives of the papal administration), and professionals (notaries and employees in local offices). In a way, the shop run by the *cartolarii* was part of the cultural environment developed around the *Studium perusinum* and its

²³ See ISTC if00281600, GW 10253.

²⁴ A Franciscan breviary: ISTC ifb01124000; GW 5170.

celebrated Law School. The legacy of jurists such as Bartolo da Sassoferrato, his pupil Baldo degli Ubaldi, and his brothers Angelo and Pietro, is reflected in the number of editions of their works that were printed. One must bear in mind that Matteo degli Ubaldi, a descendant of Baldo, was in the company that introduced the art of printing to Perugia; he was, indeed, the one who provided the place for the printing shop next door to that of the stationers. The fame of the Law School was still alive in the fifteenth century, thanks to a number of Perugian jurists who became known for their teaching, both in Perugia and at other universities. Their renown is also shown by the number and distribution of the printed editions of their works:²⁵

Author	Date of death	Eds	Printing place <i>Earliest editions</i>	Printing place <i>Most editions</i>
Bartolo da Sassoferrato	1357/58	199	Venice, Naples, Trevi (all 1471)	Venice (106)
Baldo degli Ubaldi	1400	75	Perugia (1471/72)	Milan (20), Venice (20)
Lodovico Pontano	1439	30	Venice (1471)	Venice (10)
Angelo degli Ubaldi	1407	26	Cremona (1472)	Pavia (7)
Filippo Franchi	1471	13	Perugia (1471/72)	Pavia (5)
Pietro degli Ubaldi	1412?	12	Perugia (1473)	Venice (4)
Baldo Bartolini	1490	8	Perugia (1477)	Perugia (2), Pavia (2)
Niccolò degli Ubaldi	1484	7	Rome (1473)	Rome (3)
Pier Filippo Della Cornia	1493	6	Perugia (1474)	Perugia (2), Siena (2)
Angelo Perigli	1447	4	Siena (1493)	Siena (2)
Tindaro Alfani	1449	4	Perugia (ante 1480)	Perugia, Roma, Milan, Siena
Benedetto Barzi	1459	3	Venice (1474)	Venice, Pavia, Siena
Benedetto Capra	1470	2	Perugia (1476)	Perugia, Pavia

In about thirty years, a number of works were already circulating and people like the *cartolarius* and *bibliopola* Francesco knew what was available on the market, what was still wanted, which works could be worth the investment of a new edition, and which ones were not. Francesco could have observed (e.g. in the shop run by Berot) what kinds of works were imported from Venice, where the bulk of works by major authors was published. At the same, he would know the needs of local customers and, most important of all, he was in the best position to find out what works written by local authors were still unpublished. He knew those authors and/or their heirs, who might well have asked him for advice on how to make the most of the manuscripts that remained unpublished and in private hands.

As we have seen, this was likely the case for the commentary of Filippo Franchi printed in Venice. This was also the case of the commentary written by another Perugian Angelo Perigli (d. 1447) while he was teaching Civil Law in Padua. Perigli's

²⁵ Figures are taken from the ISTC and only include editions where those jurists appear as main authors.

Lectura super secunda parte Infortiati, together with two of his *repetitiones* was edited by Baldo and Periglio (Angelo's son and nephew) and published in Perugia for the first time on the 30th of September 1500, by Franciscus Balthazaris while the printing was done by Damiano da Gorgonzola.²⁶ The layout of the text was very close to the editions of the works of Franchi printed by Benali in Venice, which in turn were very similar to editions of legal texts printed in Venice by Andrea Torresano and Battista Torti. There was no need to be original; on the contrary, there was a need to realise a product close to the highest standard. This, I believe, is why Francesco di Baldassarre chose to work with experienced professionals, such as Benali and now Damiano da Gorgonzola.

Much care was taken in compiling a rich title page meant also to highlight the context in which the work was conceived, the text written, and then arranged for publication: they were the lectures given by Perigli at the University of Padua, at the time when Paolo di Castro was also teaching there (so they were *concurrentes*, competitors) [Fig. 1]. Yet it was at the University of Perugia that those texts were prepared for publication.²⁷ The *colophon* was also quite long and included the announcement of a plan to publish other commentaries written by the same author;²⁸ they would be chosen in order to meet the needs of the professors 'secundum occurrentiam ordinariorum'. Under the colophon, the device of the publisher made its appearance for the first time. It was a fairly simple woodcut, made of a capital F, the publisher's initial, enclosed by the two terminations of a sarcelly cross, decorated with four white dots around the cross-points, all in white on a black background [Fig. 2].²⁹

The whole editorial plan had likely been conceived together with the heirs of the author, Baldo and Periglio, who were mentioned in the prefatory letter and with whom Francesco had other important dealings.³⁰ However, the plan of publishing all the commentaries of Angelo Periglio was never accomplished. Instead, Francesco returned to the ambitious project he had announced in Venice, to publish the works of Pier Filippo Della Cornia, which he finally did between 1501 and 1502.

In the meantime, he had a few more works printed, very short texts (*repetitiones*) by best-selling authors (again all from Perugia) that were good for reinforcing his reputation. These were works such as (1) the *Repetitio l. Qui se patris* by Angelo degli Ubaldi (1500, Nov. 20; ISTC iu00011600), previously published in Pavia and possibly out of print by 1500; (2) the *Repetitio l. Authenticae ex causa 'De liberis preteritis'* by Baglione Montevibiani, the powerful *advocatus consistorialis* already the dedicatee of Franchi's lectures published in Venice (1500, Nov. 26; ISTC im00855600); and (3) three *repetitiones* by the great Baldo degli Ubaldi, taken – as the title page claims – from a very old autograph: 'ex libro autographo venerande vetustatis extracte' (1501, July 4; IT\ICCU\RML\E\016434).³¹ This small edition of only 14 leaves is quite important, as it seems to be the *princeps* of those *repetitiones*, and it comes with a vivid description of how the manuscript was recovered within the family archives and offered for publication: 'Repetitio Iuris U. luminis Baldi de Perusia celebrate

26 ISTC ip00284800; I have examined the copy in the British Library (IC.32745) and in Perugia, Biblioteca comunale Augusta (INC 1275). For the concept of *consilium*, commentary and *repetitio* within the juridical context see: Harry Dondorp & Eltjo J.H. Schrage, 'The Sources of Medieval Learned Law' in John W. Cairns & Paul J. du Plessis (eds.), *The creation of the *ius commune*: from casus to regula*, Edinburgh 2010 (online 2012; DOI: 10.3366/edinburgh9780748638970.003.0011). Manlio Bellomo, *The common legal past of Europe, 1000–1800*, Washington 1995 (translated from the 2nd ed. by Lydia G. Cochrane).

27 Aurea lectura acutissimi ac celeberrimi I.U. monarce domini Angeli Periglis Perusini sup. II. Infortiati. Collecta in almo Gimnasio Patavino. In eisdem iurium lectionibus cum domino Paulo de Castro concurrentis nuperrime edita. ac pro communi omnium utilitate in alma Perusina academia condita. De legatis. I. secundo et tertio Cum duabus eiusdem repetitionibus. videlicet Repetitio lege Cum filio Repetitio lege Nemo potest De legatis primo' (fol. a1r).

28 'Explicit lectura excellentissimi U.I. monarce domini Angeli de Periglis de Perusio, super Secunda Infortiati Impressa Perusii per Damianum Mediolanensem de Gorgonzola. Industria tamen sumptibus et expensis Francisci Baldasaris bibliopole de Perusio, qui cum presenti anno. Comuniter per studia Ytalie legatur ordinarie in Secunda parte Infortiati. Ideo curavit ut presens opus primo imprimeretur et Deo favente intendit annis sequentibus curam et diligentiam adhibere, ut scripta eiusdem excellentissimi doctoris super prima et ii. Digesti Novi ac etiam super Prima Infortiati secundum occurrentiam ordinariorum imprimantur ut hoc novum ac per utile opus iuris professoribus pandatur. M.cccc. die ultima septembris' (fol. m8r).

29 Max Joseph Husung, *Die Drucker- und Verlegerzeichen Italiens im XV. Jahrhundert*, München 1929, 68, no. 93. In EDIT16 (the census of sixteenth-century Italian editions: <http://edit16.iccu.sbn.it>) the device is identified as Z400. The measurements taken from the British Library copy of this edition are 88 × 60 mm.

30 Namely the management of a bookshop, as shown by a number of documents: ASPg, Notarile, *Protocolli*, 397, c. 334v–335v, 454rv (1502); 401, c. 229v (1506); 401, c. 229v (1511); 405, 1510–1511, c. 184v.

31 Unknown to EDIT16, one only copy is recorded in SBN, but at least another copy is preserved in Perugia, Biblioteca Augusta, bound after the copy of the edition of Perigli (INC 1275(2)).

Aurca lectura acutissimi ac Celeberrimi. J. U. monarce
dñi Angeli perigli perusini sup. ii. infortiati. Colle
cta in alino Gymnasio patanino. In eisdem iurū
lectiōibus cū dño Paulo de castro pcurrē
tis nuprime edita. ac pro cōi oīūz utili
tate in alma pusina academia p̄di
ta. De legatis. i. sc̄do ⁊ tertio
Cum duabus eiusdē re
petitionibus. v̄z.

Repetitio Lege Cum sitō
R̄p. Lege Memo p̄t
De legatis p̄mo

Fig. 1 Title page of Angelo Perigli, *Lectura super secunda Infortiati*, Perugia, 1500 (Perugia, Biblioteca Augusta, INC 1275, fol. a1r; 415 × 285; courtesy of the Biblioteca comunale Augusta of Perugia)

Ubalduorum familie lucis super famosissima l. In suis Digesti de liberis et posthumis noviter reperta prout originaliter fuit manu sua commentata.³² All three editions were signed ‘Franciscus Baldassaris bibliopola de Perusio’ with no mention of Damiano Gorgonzola (although they were clearly printed with his types). However, Franciscus’s device was not included. Several inferences could be made from this but, I’d rather leave them to future investigations. Instead, I would like to devote the next few pages to the most important initiatives undertaken by the Perugian *bibliopola* during the following years.

The printing of the *Consilia* of Pier Filippo Della Cornia

In 1501, Francesco was finally able to return to his original plan to publish the collection of unpublished *consilia* by Pier Filippo Della Cornia. Several pieces of information are available on this enterprise that eventually turned out to be a source of trouble for the Perugian *bibliopola*. At the very beginning, however, the initiative looked like a very good business proposition.³³

The work consisted of a large collection of *consilia* (1,250 texts) that the jurist had produced as part of his intense professional activity.³⁴ During his lifetime, the author had already published some of his lectures, and it is possible he superseded the edition of his commentary on a book of the Codex, printed in 1477 by the University Officer (ISTC ic00921000) with a prefatory letter that aimed to stress the fame and prestige of the author. The search for prestige was likely also the logic of publishing his collection of *consilia*, taken on by the three sons of the jurist soon after his death. The publication would include a biography of the author, written by Francesco Maturanzio, a leading humanist and professor at the University, who had been their preceptor.³⁵ Along with Maturanzio, who might have given his contribution for free, as a homage to his colleague, at least two other people were involved, the jurists who did the editing of the autographs and compiled the indexes (*tabulae*) that appear at the opening of all four volumes that form the work, altogether about 1,380 leaves per copy. Apparently, Della Cornia had never asked a scribe to make a fair copy of his *consilia*; Maturanzio claimed that he did this deliberately, possibly for sake of precision and discretion.³⁶

The four volumes were printed between 1501 and 1502, each one with its date of completion (10 March 1501, 7 September 1501, 14 April 1502, 17 October 1502) and a full colophon. There were slight variants, but all specify ‘Franciscus Baldasaris bibliopola’ as the person responsible for the production of the books, while the sons of the author covered the (great) expenses: ‘miris sumptibus et expensis magnificentium virorum Petripauli et Juliicesaris eiusdem filiorum: ac etiam sumptu cura et diligentia Francisci Baldasaris bibliopole’ (‘realised with the financial support of the sons of the author, the magnificent Pietro Paolo and Giulio Cesare, and by means of the work and care of Francesco son of Baldassarre, bookseller’). The full copy was

32 The lecture, as the explicit pointed out, was given in Florence, therefore between 1358 and 1364. See: Ennio Cortese, ‘Baldo degli Ubaldi’ in *Dizionario biografico dei giuristi italiani*, Bologna 2013, 149–152: 149.

33 A series of agreements were made in the course of time, to arrange the selling of the copies; the publisher eventually (1514) tried to have annulled one last contract he had made, causing a very strong reaction also from the side of the authorities.

34 The *consilium* was a written expertise given by a professional on request of a private or a judge. The request in itself testified the reputation of the jurist, and it was usually released against relevant sums of money.

35 A short description is provided in EDIT16 (CNCE 13343); an in-depth analysis of this edition with a complete transcription of all *tituli* and colophons is provided in: Maria Alessandra Panzanelli Fratoni, ‘La prima cinquecentina perugina: i quattro tomi di *Consilia* di Pier Filippo Della Cornia (Francesco Cartolari, 1501–1502)’ in *Cinque donne per cinque cinquecentine*, Torrita di Siena 2013, 77–98.

36 ‘Nunquam incommodus, aut importunus quiquam, nullo utebatur amanuense, que responsa consultoribus dabat, ipse scribebat. Eaque dumtaxat causa scribentes alios non admittebat (vol. 1, fol. a1v).

dale fit in. d. s. ex imperfecto vel ter. illum impoſitare vt non poſſit ſit ius accreſcendi ſed filio obueniat per vias alterius augmēti ne parer dicatur de cetero pro parte ce ſtans e pro parte ſteſtatus. Sextus eſt in an. hoc ampu ſus. C. de ſidei. q. poſſio alteri iam queſita deſertens ac creſcit eſt ratio q. deſertat ex diſpoſitione legali. Septimus quando ius accreſcendi eſt unitum cum ſubſtitutione pa pillari q. licet pupillario expiret tamen ius accreſcendi pp dicam vniorem aſſumpſit eius naturam et accreſcit ly alte ri fuerit acquirit eſt ter. ſingularis ſm omi. l. qui patri de acqui. hered. An aſſ. portio deſertio virtute pte ſcriptionis accreſcit vide Bal. in. l. unica quando non pe ten. par. vbi etiam ponit an inter ſuos loco ſit ius accre ſcendi. ¶ Quartum queſtionem principalem Bar. hic qualiter locum habet ius accreſcendi e an accreſcat univ to vide per te. cui ſibi ad dicere intendi. ¶ Quinte que ſtioni principali de conſuetudine iunctione legali adde qd dicit Bal. in. d. l. unica. C. quando non peten. par. C. An vs in terminis autēne pterea. C. vide vir e vxor. locus ſit ius accreſcendi. ¶ Et qd in terminis. l. l. C. de ſecūdiis nup. eundem vide in. d. l. i. quando non peten. par. in. an. queſtione. ¶ Et ibidem in. vi. queſtione eundem vide qd in legitima in terminis autē. nouiſſima. C. de moſticio. re. Et ſtambus quinq. filiis quoru legitima per dicit an. e. dimidia e. q. q. libi habiturus eſt ad inſteſtato ſi vnus re pudiat aliorum ſimiliter ſit dimidia e. in. d. l. i. in. i. q. eum ed vide. An inſteſtato tū in legitima aliquid poſſit accre ſcere ſuuto e ſcit quod idem dicit in. d. an. nouiſſima. ¶ Sextam e vltimam queſtionem principale an. vs ino trandus locus ſit ius accreſcendi per te vide vna cu ſuis que dicit Bar. in. l. ſi mibi e ratio de ver. ob. ¶ Et ſi ſus om nibus adde q. ius accreſcendi in legato prohiberi potest l. nominis. §. i. de viſura. In hered. tamen neque pro parte ſteſtatus e pro parte ſteſtatus de cetero qd ſus noſtri non patitur. l. ius noſtrum. j. de regu. iur. ¶ Et circa hoc vide Bal. in. d. l. unica in nona. q. vbi etiam ſubdit. An in ſi accreſcendi poſſit renunciari vel an ſit de iure prioro vel citius. ¶ Et ſi ſas q. ius accreſcendi principaliter procedit

ex diſpoſitione. l. Secundario ex voluntate deſtanti vt eſt glo. in. l. ſi ratio e meuo. §. ſiluanus. §. de le. §. Et ideo cū ſubſtitutio procedat ex expreſſa mente teſt. l. i. §. ſi duo de ſm. taba. non eſt mirum ſi etiam ſubſtitutio in iuris tol lit ius accreſcendi. l. penult. §. de inſt. te. et per Bar. §. in ſca queſtione principali. ¶ An vero ad heredes ſit rati ſuſſibile vide et am Bal. in. d. l. unica quando non pe tentius partes. et habetur in. l. ſi et pluribus de ſuis et legi. et in. l. ſi plures. §. de vulg. et pupil. ¶ Et etiam ſcas q. ius accreſcendi habet etiam locum ſi coniuſtio ſit facta cum eo qui tempore legati vel inſtitutionis non fuiſſet in reru natura licet actualiter coniuſtio eſſe non poſſet et ideo in ſpicitur verbalis aut realis q. in pro non ſcripto locum hys ius accreſcendi. l. unica. §. i. de cadu. rollen. l. quo loco. §. i. §. de hered. inſtitu. vbi ponit Bal. An emphiteoſa re cepta pro ſe et alio qui non ſit in rerum natura tota remaneat apud illum qui ſtipulatur. Sed in hoc eſt alia dubita tio an incōtrahendus ſit locus iuri accreſcendi de qua per Bar. in. l. ſi mibi e ratio de ver. obli. An autem ius accre ſcendi locum habeat inter electos ab executoro teſtamen ti vide in. l. etiam ex familia. §. ſed ſi fundum. §. de leg. ſi. Et vltimo ſcas q. ius accreſcendi aliquid poſſit in pro poſe pro ipſa acquisitione vel obtentione et in. l. maritus vltim. C. de lib. ptere. et her. dicta ſufficiant pro expreſſio ne batus. l. et per conſequens batus ſm. de leg. ij.

¶ Explicite lectura excellentiſſimi. Et. J. monarce vſu An geli de periglio de peruſio ſuper ſca infortiati Impreſſa Peruſij p. Damiani B. edicola. de goſgonſola. Indu ſtria inſumpribus e expreſſa Francoſi baldarato biblio pole de peruſio. qui eſt pſenti anno. ¶ Ceter per ſtudia tra lie legatur vſuſtante in ſca parte infortiati. Ideo curante vt preſens opus pmo impſimeretur et deo fauente inter dū anno ſequētib. cur ſi diligenti adhibere vt ſcripta euf dem excellentiſſimo doctoris. ſup. p. a. ſ. ff. noui. ac. et ſi p pta infortiati ſm occurrenti ordinario impantur vt hoc noui. ac. per vile opus ius profeſſoribus panda tur. ff. ccccc. die vltima Septembis.

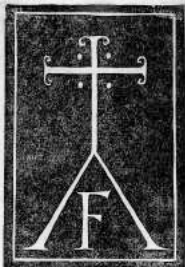
Registrum

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I. aus



Ido

Fig. 2 The device of Francesco Cartolari in: Angelo Perigli, Lectura super secunda Infortiati, Perugia, 1500 (Perugia, Biblioteca Augusta, INC 1275, vol. 1, fol. m8r; 406 x 278; courtesy of the Biblioteca comunale Augusta of Perugia)

published under the protection of a decennial privilege granted by Pope Alexander VI (printed on the title page of the first volume).

The cost of the whole operation is revealed by a notarial act written in 1503, to regulate the relationship between the publisher (and his associates) and the Della Cornia, after the work was completed. Altogether, 1,247 florins and 20 solidi had been necessary to print 650 reams of paper, distributed as follows: fl. 1 s. 62 was the cost of printing each ream, and fl. 1 s. 40 was the price of each of 152 ½ reams that Francesco had sold to the brothers. The latter had paid in various ways but still owed 312 florins and agreed to pay by transferring possession of a piece of land. Among other goods mentioned in the document and included in the calculation there were two copies of the *Consilia*, which, at the time, were valued at fl. 16 s. 32 as a pair.³⁷ Two years later, Francesco would sell a copy for 5 gold ducats, one additional ducat compared to the average price that he charged for other multi-volume treatises.³⁸ A few years later (before 3 December 1511) the price was established in 4.5 ducats, for a stock of 100 volumes that the publisher promised to sell in Venice, by sending the books to the company of Torti and Benali.³⁹ A lower price of 4 ducats was established on 3 December 1511, for a second set of 100 copies that the publisher agreed to sell.⁴⁰

Francesco's commercial relationships with the Torti are testified by a number of documents. In 1502, he had purchased a stock of books from Battista and Silvestro Torti to sell in Perugia in the shop located in the houses owned by Baldo Perigli. Once arrived in Perugia, however, Francesco realised that they were crumpled (maybe damaged?) and could not be sold; he therefore asked for a revision of the contract, in order to receive a new stock of the same value (99 golden ducats).⁴¹ In Venice, an important role was played by Francesco's brother Gaspare, the Dominican friar who helped him in various ways, including lending money (1501),⁴² locating books, and being available to act as Francesco's attorney, together with the printer Giorgio Arrivabene (1505).⁴³

Why Francesco needed to rely on his attorney on that occasion is still to be discovered. Indeed, almost nothing about him is known from Venetian documents,

37 '[Perugia, 2 Oct. 1503] nobiles viri Petrus Paulus et Iulius Cesar domini Perfillippi de nobilibus de Cornio, [...] contraxerunt [...] societatem cum Francisco Baldassarris cartulario [...] sotti dicti Francisci, impressoribus librorum in stampa ad imprimendum et stampandum consilia prefati domini Perfillippi et dicti Petrus Paulus et frater remanserunt debitores dicti Francisci ex causa dicte societatis in summa et quantitate florenorum trecentorum duodecim ad rationem XL bolonenorum pro floreno quolibet monete perusine pro residuo floren. MCCXLVII et sol. XX, ad dictam ratam, videlicet pro stampatura in impressura ditorum consiliorum in sexcentis trigintaquinque rismis carte realis ad ratam ad ratam [sic] unius florenis et solidorum sexagintaduorum denarium ad dictam ratam pro qualibet risma dicte carthe et pro centoquinquagintaduobus cum dimidia rismis carte predicte ad ratam unius florenorum et solidorum XL denariorum ad dictam ratam pro qualibet risma dicte carte per dictum Franciscum venditis [...] floren. sexdecim et sol. trigintaduobus ad dictam ratam proventus ad manum dicti Francisci pro duobus corporibus Consiliorum prefati domini Perfillippi [...]'; ASPg, Notarile, *Protocolli*, 398, fol. 359r; Rossi, *L'Arte tipografica*, doc. 47.

38 '[Perugia, 9 Jan. 1505] Vincentius Mariotti [...] promisit et convenit Francesco Baldassarris cartulario de Perusio [...] dare et solvere [...] ducatus quinque auri de camera [...] pro pretio et solutione unius corporis Consiliorum domini Pierphilippi de nobilibus de Cornio [...]'; ASPg, Notarile, *Protocolli*, 400, fol. 10r; Rossi, *L'Arte tipografica*, doc. 49. Many documents testify the sale of individual copies for a price that was almost standardised in 4 ducats, especially for books published by him but sometimes extended to copies printed elsewhere. The name of Giasone [del Maino], Alessandro [Tartagni], and Paolo di Castro is found along with the *Consilia* by della Cornia. The books were also used to compensate the work of young scholars hired to do the editing and proofreading in forthcoming editions. ASPg, Notarile, *Protocolli*, 400, fol. 75v–76r, 308v, 365v (Rossi, *L'Arte tipografica*, doc. 51–53).

39 '[Perugia, 3 Dec. 1511] Petrus Paulus et Iulius Cesar [...] consignaverunt circumspecto viro Francisco Baldassarris Francisci cartulario et librario [...] centum corpora consiliorum famosissimi utriusque iuris doctoris domini Pierfillippi de nobilibus de Cornio de Perusio [...] ut dictus Franciscus dicta centum corpora

mittere ad civitatem Venetiarum ad societatem de Tortis et Berardini Benalis ut dicta centum corpora venderent [...]'. The date of this agreement is unknown as the information was given in 1511 when the brothers Della Cornia asked for rearranging their deal because they had not received the sum of 450 ducats they had expected. Cartolari accepted to pay partly by cash and partly by transferring to them some properties (ASPg, Notarile, *Protocolli*, 405, fol. 167v–168r; Liurni, 'Nuovi documenti su Francesco Cartolari', doc. 31).

40 The second agreement was made immediately after (ASPg, Notarile, *Protocolli*, 405, fol. 169r; Rossi, *L'Arte*

tipografica, doc. 113; Liurni, 'Nuovi documenti su Francesco Cartolari', doc. 32). It was likely this second contract that Francesco in 1514 tried to break.

41 'ex quo dicta vendita fuit facta in dicta civitate Venetiarum et post dictam factam venditionem dictus Franciscus redeundo Perusium videndum [...] dictos libros [...] essent stazonati et non venales [...]'; ASPg, Notarile, *Protocolli*, 397, fol. 334v–335r (Rossi, *L'Arte tipografica*, doc. 46; Alberto Maria Sartore, 'Il commercio del libro a Perugia nei primi anni del Cinquecento: la società dei Giunta' in Vittoria Garibaldi & Francesco Federico Mancini (eds.), *Perugino il divin pittore*, Milano 2004, 583–585, doc. 12).

42 In 1501 the Dominican friar Gaspare made an acquittance in favour of his brother Francesco, once the latter had given back to him the sum of 18 gold ducats previously borrowed for paying salaries. Most part of the debt, however, was not repaid in cash, but with books ('in quantitate librorum habitorum a dicto Francisco in civitate Venetiarum'); ASPg, Notarile, *Protocolli*, 396, fol. 301v–302r; Rossi, *L'Arte tipografica*, doc. 44 (reading 'impressorum' instead of 'habitorum').

43 ASPg, Notarile, *Protocolli*, 400, fol. 15v–16r (summaries in: Rossi, *L'Arte tipografica*, doc. 50; Liurni, 'Nuovi documenti su Francesco Cartolari', doc. 18).

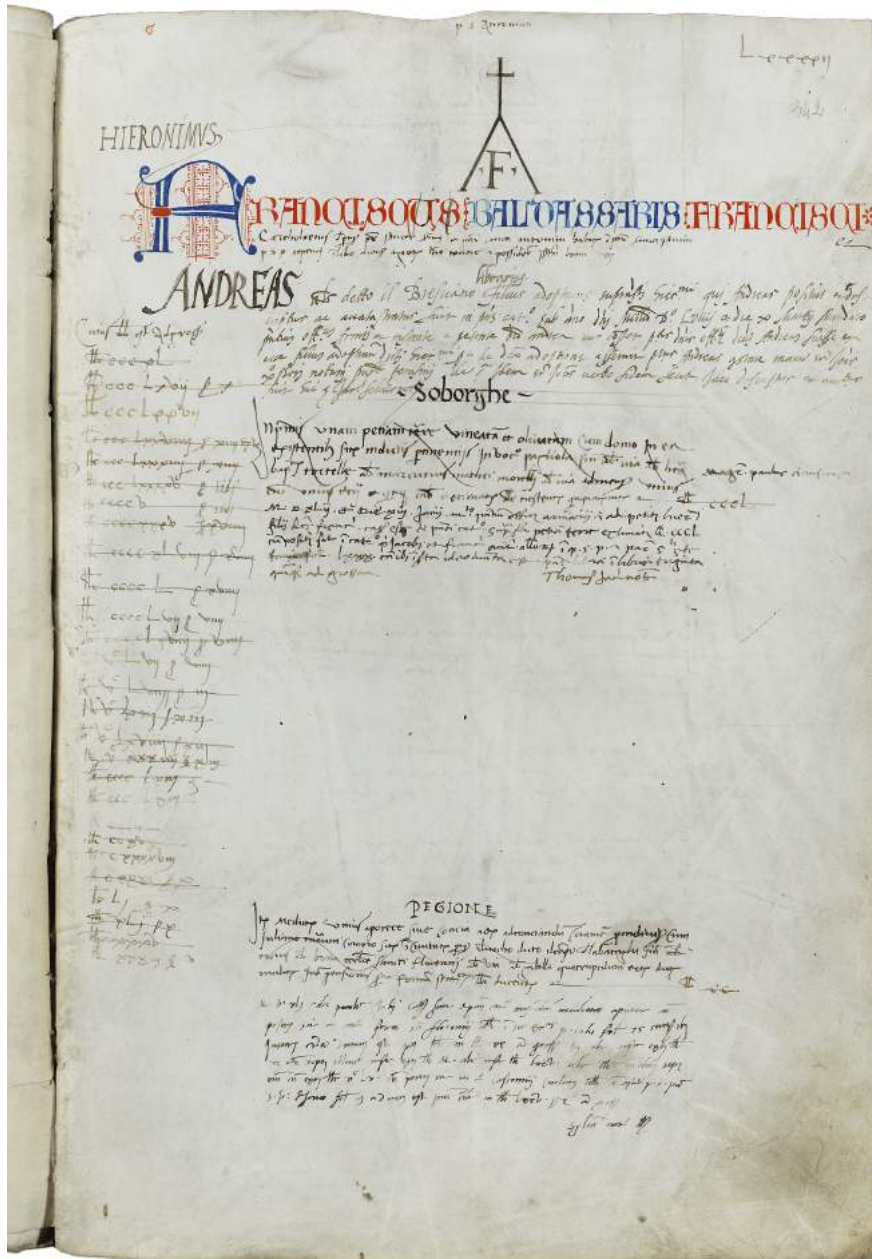


Fig. 3 The page of the catasto with the inscription of Francesco Cartolari and his device as a publisher (ASPG, ASCPG, Catasti, Il Gruppo, 18, fol. 342r; 480 × 320; courtesy of the Archivio di Stato di Perugia)

although a major part of his business was done or based in Venice. This, I believe, would add much to the knowledge we have of him, based on the abundant documentation found in Perugia archives, which is very important but not always clear. On the other hand, much information can be derived from analysing the catalogue or reading the paratexts of his editions. Before presenting the conclusion, I would like to remark the two major initiatives realised in the years after the Perigli and Della Cornia editions, namely a series of texts by a local celebrity and a corpus of works by a non-Perugian authority.

The editions of works of Vincenzo Ercolani and Niccolò Tedeschi

Vincenzo Ercolani (1447–1539), *advocatus concistorialis*, was born in Perugia where he was appointed professor of Civil Law in the years 1506–1510. In that period of time had his texts (comments to sections of the Digest, a collection of *quaestiones*, and a collection of *responsa*) published by Francesco di Baldassarre, who took that occasion to introduce some interesting novelties. The title page was decorated with a woodcut representing the rampant griffin, the emblem of the city of Perugia. It served as a homage to the town and possibly to the local university that was mentioned in the title. More important, perhaps, was the innovation introduced in the colophon of the edition of the commentary printed in 1507, when he finally signed as: ‘Franciscus Baldesaris de cartolarijs’ (EDIT16 CNCE 18261). The profession was now transformed into a family name.⁴⁴ He would sign all later editions with that name, starting with an important collection of works by the celebrated Niccolò Tedeschi (Panormitanus, 1386–1445), the only jurist in his catalogue who was not from Perugia⁴⁵ and whose works had already been published many times (65 editions in the fifteenth century alone).

It seems that Cartolari was surely trying to broaden his publishing activities, by enlarging his catalogue to include non-Perugian authors and works of international importance. These would not be mere reprints of existing editions: the four volumes of the works of Panormitanus were published with comments and additions by a number of other jurists, one of whom at least was Professor of Law at the time in Perugia (Paolo Saccucci, mentioned in the *titulus* of the fourth volume). Once he completed printing the main text, Cartolari made an agreement for the compilation of indexes (*tabulae*) with a young Doctor of Law, Giangiacomo Gregoriani, later to become his son-in-law.⁴⁶ This plan does not seem to have been completed; nor was the project of publishing the whole commentary on the *corpus iuris civilis* of another celebrated, non-Perugian author, Alessandro Tartagni (1424–1477), for which he made agreements with four students of law for the editing and the compilation of indexes and other paratexts.⁴⁷

44 On the role played by the *cartolarii* as professional of the book and mediators between customers and professionals see also: Mary A. Rouse & Richard H. Rouse, *Cartolai illuminators and printers in fifteenth-century Italy: the evidence of the Ripoli Press*, Los Angeles 1988.

45 Unless the copies of Alessandro Tartagni that he sold will eventually revealed as actually printed by him.

46 1509, 9 May; ASPg, Notarile, *Protocolli*, 404, fol. 101; Rossi, *L'arte tipografica*, doc. 103.

47 1510, 1 Oct; ASPg, Notarile, *Protocolli*, 656, fol. 357v–358r; Rossi, *L'arte tipografica*, doc. 58. The project was believed to have been abandoned because there are no extant copies of the work. However, documents that mention the actual sale of copies of Tartagni still need to be perfectly understood.

Epilogue and conclusion

Between 1511 and 1515, a series of episodes occurred that distracted Cartolari from his publishing plan. On one hand, he had to face serious troubles with the brothers Della Cornia and with his son-in-law.⁴⁸ On the other hand, he expanded his commercial activity by making deals with major firms, such as the Giunti.⁴⁹

When he died – in 1518, according to most secondary sources; to be corrected to 1516 according to other interpretations of the documents⁵⁰ – Francesco Cartolari left to his sons valuable assets consisting of a number of pieces of land in the countryside nearby the village where the family had its roots. I believe, however, that the most important part of his legacy was not limited to material goods and included the social position he had built for himself and his sons by expanding the family business. Cartolari showed a firm understanding of the rules of the market and an ability to adapt to major trends. Courage and intelligence led him to eventually take the risk of starting a publishing venture, that, it seems to me, he managed brilliantly in the end. The best evidence of his success is provided by the self-awareness and pride he displayed as a booktrade professional. It is reflected in the name he eventually chose for his family, Cartolari, and in the bold use of his mark on the inscription in the *catasto* [Fig. 3]. There, the device he had created for his books was drawn out in pen and ink at the top of the page, in the position where noblemen would have put their coats of arms.⁵¹

48 In 1514 he tried to have the agreement made with the Della Cornia annulled and appealed directly the papal offices; for that he was therefore accused of being disrespectful of the city statutes and was imprisoned for two days, then prevented from entering his shop until he accepted a new deal. This occurred between

September 1514 and May 1515 (ASPG, ASCPg, *Consigli e Rifformanze*, 128, fol. 110v, 123v, 136r; Rossi, *Larte tipografica*, doc. 69–71). During the same period of time, also Gian Giacomo Gregorini took him to court for matters related to the respect of the dowry of Francesco's daughter Maddalena and his own

conditions within the shop and the family. All this seems to have been the focus of the analysis provided by Adamo Rossi (who has had some influence on later studies), putting a shadow over aspects of Cartolari's professional life that, I believe, reveal in fact a more refined figure of entrepreneur.

49 Sartore, 'Il commercio del libro a Perugia', 583–585; Liurni, 'Nuovi documenti su Francesco Cartolari', 311–313, 317, 320–321; Nuovo, *The book trade in the Italian Renaissance*, 53, 89, 267.

50 ASPG, Ospedale della Misericordia, *Miscellanea*, 5, fol. 4v (27 June 1516); ASCPg, *Offici*, 14, c. 87v (Rossi, *Larte tipografica*, doc. 78); Sartore, 'Il commercio del libro a Perugia'.

51 ASPG, ASCPg, *Catasti*, II Gruppo, 18, fol. 342r [Fig. 3].

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