

*E-CATALOGUE 25*



No. 8

*Printed books, manuscripts, and in between, 1502-1797*

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*Handy Hellenism for humanists*

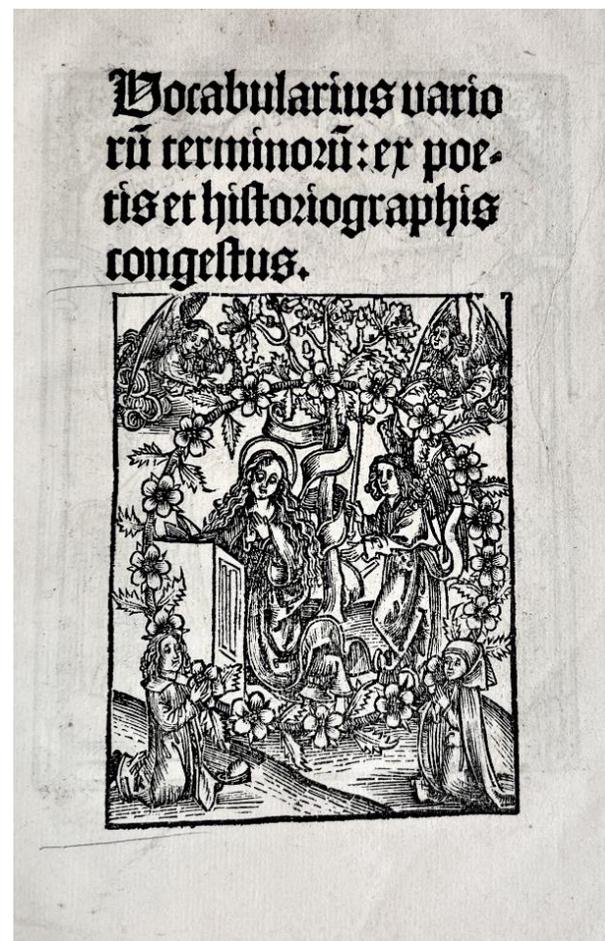
**1) CLASSICAL DICTIONARY** — *Vocabularius variorum terminorum: ex poetis et historiographis congestus*. Strassburg: Johann Prüss, 18 February [25 January] “MCCCCII” (i.e., 1502).

4to (200 x 142 mm). [34] leaves, the last blank. Title and headings in gothic type, text in roman. Annunciation woodcut on title: the Virgin and angel within a floral wreath, angels above and two worshippers below; on verso a full-page woodcut of the Virgin and Child in Majesty, with typographic inscription “*Virgo roga pr[o]le[m] q[uod] plebe[m] seruet et urbe[m]*” on an undulating banner. A nice copy (first and last leaves each with a short marginal tear to title-leaf, small stain to penultimate leaf, a couple of colored pencil underlines to colophon). Modern parchment over thin boards. \$6,000

FIRST EDITION, FIRST ISSUE, with the dating error in the colophon uncorrected, of a basic and still useful index of places and people in classical history, literature and mythology (mainly Greek). Written in simple Latin, this handy booklet provides concise identifications of “proper names of famous men [and women], cities, provinces, mountains, and rivers, most often found in poetry and histories.” The three-line introduction states that the glossary was condensed from Tortellius (from his massive *Orthographia*, first printed Rome 1471) and other unspecified works.

Indiscriminately intermingled by the alphabetical order are mythological and historical figures and places. Boiled down to basics, the usually one- or two-line definitions provided the busy student all he needed to know, with no sources or cumbersome notes (e.g., “Argonauts: the heroes who went to Colchis with Jason. Argo: the first great ship built in Thessaly for the expedition to Colchis...”). A few of the approximately 1200 entries require a bit more explanation: Socrates, for example, or the river Acheron, or Medea, or Ariadne (“Ariadne was the daughter of Minos king of Crete, who helped Theseus against the minotaur and who gave him her trust, which however did not protect her as he deserted her. Then Bacchus married her and Venus gave her a crown which is said to have been raised among the stars” [the *corona borealis*]).

The unrelated but attractive woodcuts are from Prüss’s stock. The fine woodcut of the Virgin and Child enthroned, with the motto “Virgin, call upon the child to serve the people and the city,” represents Strassburg; that image was used for the city’s seal. Prüss used the same cut a few weeks earlier (with a different setting of the type on the banner) for an edition of Filippo Beroaldo *De tribus fratribus*, Wimpfeling’s *Germania*, and other short works (VD 16 B 2078). The woodcut has been tentatively ascribed to the young Hans Wechtlin (cf. Ritter).



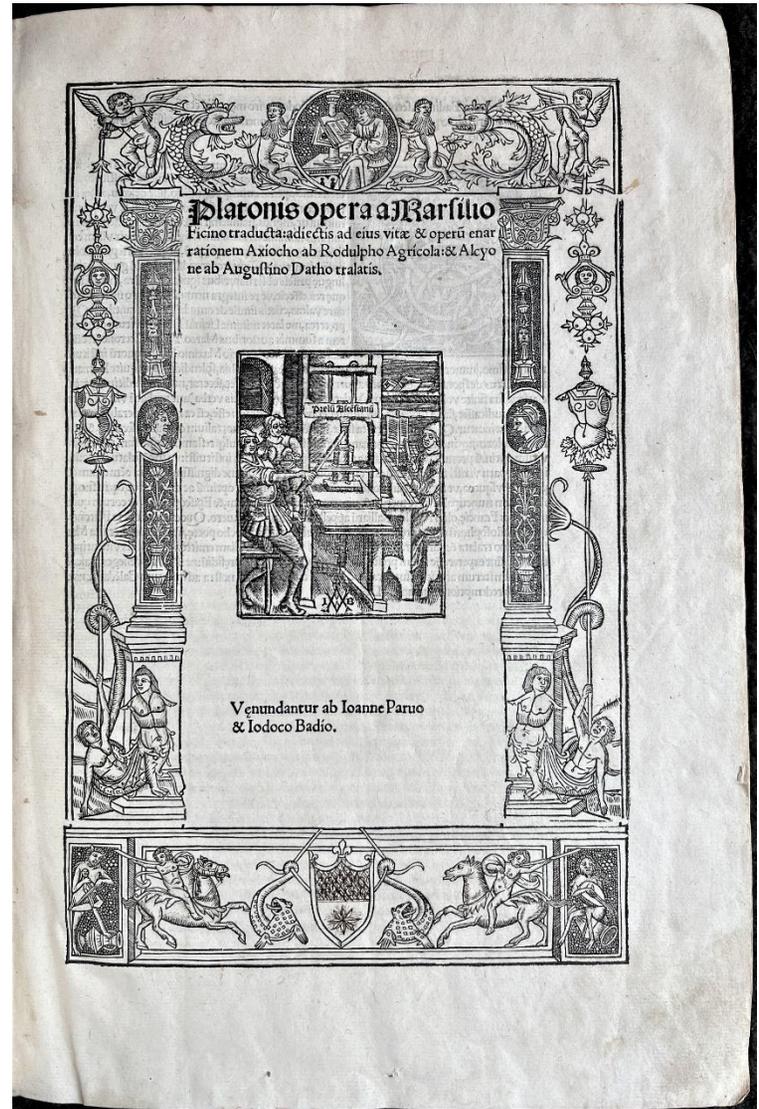
I locate one US copy of this first issue (Indiana State U.) and one of the second issue (U. Illinois).

VD16 V 2018; Schmidt, *Répertoire Bibliographique Strasbourgeois* III Prüss, p. 10, no. 33; Muller, *Bibliographie strasbourgeoise* II: 14, 9; Ritter, *Repertoire Bibliographique des Livres Imprimés en Alsace aux XVe et XVIe siècles* 2439; BM/STC German 900; Proctor, *Index to the Early Printed Books in the British Museum* II 1501-1520 (1903), 9962.



**2) PLATO.** *Opera a Marsilio Ficino traducta.* Paris: Josse Bade for himself and Jean Petit, *quinto kalendas Iunias* 1518.

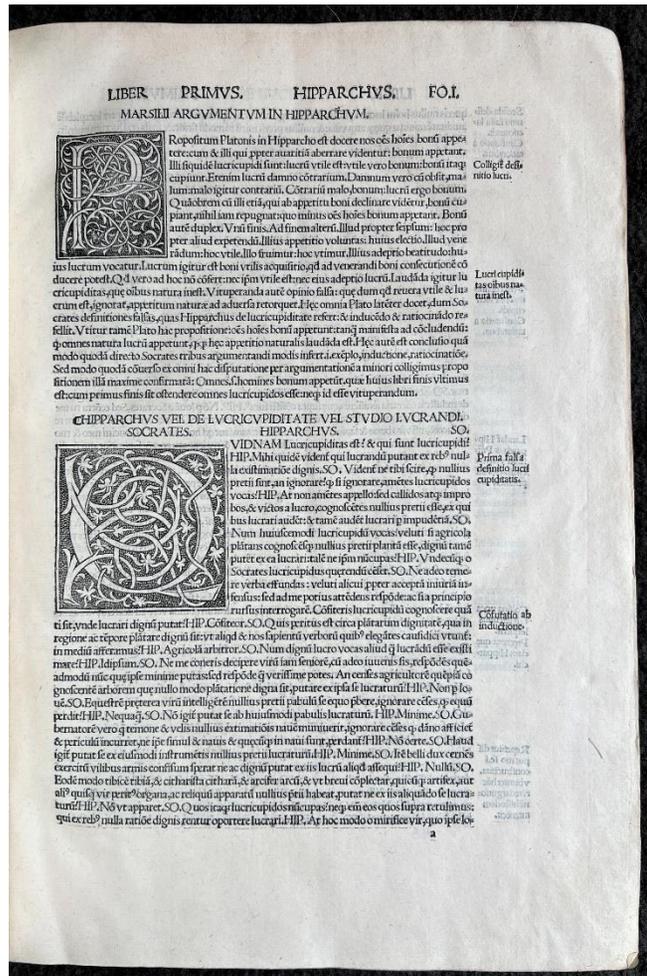
Folio (335 x 228 mm). [8], 389 leaves, plus final blank. Roman and Greek types (the latter in shoulder notes). Title within a four-part woodcut border (Renouard *Badius* border B), with Josse Bade's woodcut device (Renouard *Marques* 22 = Renouard *Badius* 1, state 2), a few text diagrams, metalcut white-on-black initials from four sets, small woodcut initials. Deckle edges in quires v, x, and y. *Condition:* Two small wormholes in title leaf, one catching a letter on verso, small marginal tear and creasing to last leaf of prelims (ã8), a few other marginal tears or creased corners, marginal dampstain in first quire, marginal dampstaining and wrinkling in second half, more noticeable in the last 3 quires. *Binding:* Contemporary blind-tooled alum-tawed skin over pasteboards, sides panelled with thick and thin rules and two ornamental rolls: a narrower feverfew and grapevine roll and a wider roll with classical vases, holes for two fore-edge ties (lacking), spine with early manuscript title and later ms. "Plato" and shelf number, edges stained red (worn and rubbed, top of spine torn, revealing stitching, corners abraded). *Provenance:* two contemporary price notes on front endpapers, a few neat contemporary marginal study notes, occasional underlining in *Meno*; ink infill to shield in title border, the top half with diaper design and ?fleurs de lis, the bottom with an 8-pointed star (or blossom); the (Episcopal) Bishop of Vermont: bookplate with accession no. 2909, the latter repeated in inkstamp at foot of first dedication page, and bookplate of the Library of the Vermont Episcopal Institute (Burlington, VT): cf. A. C. A. Hall, *Library of the Bishop of Vermont* (1898), p. 52; with William Salloch, *Catalogue* 328 (1975). \$8500



FIRST EDITION OF PLATO'S COLLECTED DIALOGUES PUBLISHED OUTSIDE ITALY. From the press of the preeminent humanist printer Jodius Badius Ascensius, who shared the edition with his frequent partner Jean Petit, this first Parisian edition of Plato's complete works was the fourth Latin and fifth edition overall. The dissemination of Plato's dialogues in print long relied almost entirely on the translation of Marsilio Ficino,

“the most central and most influential representative of Renaissance Platonism” (Kristeller, p. 58). Ficino’s mainly accurate translation of the complete known Platonic corpus presented the dialogues to Western European readers as a whole, in the unifying light of Ficino’s own quasi-mystical Platonism, in which the soul ascends toward God through contemplation of the world: Ficino’s Plato was reconcilable with the Christian religion. In his dedication to Lorenzo de’ Medici, Ficino wrote that the “divine spirit of Plato” had been sent into the world to spread the light of religion, and that Lorenzo’s grandfather Cosimo de’ Medici had commanded him to reveal the “sun” of Platonism to the Latin

nations. Ficino’s translation circulated in manuscript, and was first printed in 1484-85 for Lorenzo di Alopa, mostly by the nuns of St. Jacopo di Ripoli, in 1025 copies, a huge press-run at the time, which sold out quickly. The Venetian publisher Torresanus issued a new edition in 1491, and another Venetian edition, printed by Filippo Pincio, appeared in 1517, four years after Aldus’s Greek *editio princeps*.



This edition by Josse Bade met the needs of the circle of Parisian humanists and scholars whom he served throughout his long career. It sold quickly, and Bade had to reprint the text in 1522. Printed, as asserted in the colophon, “with even more care than usual,” the text includes Ficino’s argumenta, or short commentaries, his longer commentaries on the *Symposium* and *Timaeus*, and his *Vita Platonis*. New to this edition are the dialogues *Axiochus* and the pseudo-Platonic *Halcyon*, translated respectively by Rudolph Agricola and Agostino Dati. Bade dedicated the edition to Michel Boudet, Bishop of Langres, a proponent of Greek learning and patron of French humanists. Beautifully printed, with the elegant and oft-copied Badius title border, celebrated Ascensius Press device showing printers at work, and fine arabesque metalcut initials, this important edition appears infrequently in the book trade.

This wide-margined copy, preserved in its contemporary binding, has an American provenance. The library of the Vermont Episcopal Institute was founded in 1854, by the first Episcopal Bishop of Vermont, the rather colorful John Henry Hopkins (1792-1868). It is likely that this volume was part of his private library, which became the property of the Diocese in 1834 (cf. J. H. Hopkins II, *The Life of the Right Reverend John Henry Hopkins*, p. 203).

Adams P-1443; Hoffmann III:138; P. Renouard, *Bibliographie des impressions et des oeuvres de Josse Badius Ascensius* III: 168-169; P. Renouard, *Imprimeurs et*

*libraires parisiens du XVIe siècle* II: p. 168, no. 389; cf. N. G. Wilson, *From Byzantium to Italy: Greek studies in the Italian Renaissance* (1992), pp. 90-95; P. O. Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought and its Sources* (1979).

### *Dancing in place*

3) [TREU, Martin]. Twelve engravings of noble couples dancing. [Germany], 1541-1543.

12 small engravings (58/60 x 42/44 mm.) of well-dressed couples engaged in courtly dances, all signed with the MT monogram (one with monogram partly effaced), most numbered, fine, dark impressions, trimmed to borders, a few with hairline margins (nos. 1, 7, 9, 10, 12), tipped to three leaves in an album within neat pen-and ink borders, with tissue guards. No. [6] with possible small restoration in upper blank margin. Modern red morocco gilt, spine gold-tooled and lettered "Martin Treu / Danses de la Renaissance." *Provenance:* Friedrich August II, King of Saxony(?): the upper edge of what appears to be his smaller inkstamp visible at the foot of most of the engravings (cf. Lugt 170-171, noting that the second sale of duplicates from the collection, in 1900, included "les petits-maîtres allemands"); "MD," leather bookplate. \$12,500

A RARE SUITE OF RENAISSANCE DANCE ENGRAVINGS, the first depicting a pair of musicians playing a flute and drum, the rest showing prosperous couples engaged in courtly dances. Included are THREE ENGRAVINGS NOT RECORDED BY HOLLSTEIN but clearly part of the series.



The name Martin Treu was first associated with the monogrammist MT, active ca. 1540-1543, by J. F. Christ in his *Dictionnaire des Monogrammes* (1750). Although no evidence has emerged for this identification, the name has stuck. This artist belonged to the second generation of "Little Masters," a picturesque term for several engravers who produced minuscule prints, from the size of a postage card to that of a playing card. Our artist was of the generation succeeding the most famous representatives of this school, Sebald and Barthel Beham and Georg Pencz; his work has been compared to that of Heinrich Aldegrever, active in Westphalia.

This series of well-dressed couples dancing demurely (several appear to be standing still) contrasts markedly with a complementary set of engravings, ascribed to the same Master MT (though stylistically rather different), showing 12 peasant couples dancing rowdily (Hollstein, Treu 26-36).

Here we see women in high-waisted and low-bodiced gowns, with long waist-ribbons, translucent cambrics covering their bosoms, and double or triple-puffed long sleeves, wearing caps or coifs, one with a feathered hat, and necklaces. Some lift outer skirts bearing short trains, a few hold flowers, and one (no. 4), appears to be pregnant. Their partners are exuberantly dressed, showing no signs of the Protestant sobriety that was to influence men's fashion by the middle of the century. They wear doublets, pleated knee-length breeches, ornate sleeves, and delicate dancing-shoes; some wear cloaks or capes, and most sport caps, though several are bare-headed. All but one carry swords at their waists. Only one gentleman lifts a leg more than an inch off the ground. Most look intent on the dance (although one tries to snatch a kiss). These are serious people.



Hollstein records 12 engravings, numbered 1 to 14, with no numbers 9 or 11 (a plate numbered 15, Hollstein 26, is actually part of the peasant dance series). Three of our engravings are not in Hollstein, and absent from this set are Hollstein nos. 20, 23 and 25. Three others represent unrecorded states.

Contents:

- 1, dated 1543: Hollstein 14 (only state)
- 2, 1543: Hollstein 15 (only state)
- 3, 1543: Hollstein 16 (only state)
- 4, 1541: Hollstein 17, state 2
- 5, 1543: Hollstein 18, state 1
- 6, no date: Hollstein 24, unrecorded state, with the date deleted, and the number 6 incompletely rubbed out.
- [7] unnumbered, 1542: not in Hollstein
- 8, 1543: Hollstein 21, state 2
- [9], 1542: Hollstein 19, unrecorded state without numbering
- [10], unnumbered, 1542: Not in Hollstein
- [11], 1542: Hollstein 22, unrecorded state without numbering
- 1[2], the 2 of the number added in early ink, 1542: Not in Hollstein

I locate no copies of the suite in American museums or libraries. Hollstein, *German Engravings, Etchings and Woodcuts 1400-1700*, vol. XCV (2019), Treu no. 14-25 (but see above); Bartsch, *Le Peintre Graveur IX*: 68-78; Nagler, *Künstler Lexikon* 19: 74-78.

**4) MISSAL, use of Augsburg.** *Missale secundum ritum Augustensis ecclesie.* Dillingen: Sebald Mayer, 1555.

Folio (355 x 249 mm). [28], 471 leaves (of 472, final blank removed). Printed in red and black in 4 different sizes of gothic type, in two columns (except the prologue, calendar, verse to priests and colophon), printed shoulder-notes, 34 pages of printed music on red staves within vertical double rules, metalcut calligraphic initials in red; the CANON QUIRE PRINTED ON VELLUM, WITH FULL-PAGE CRUCIFIXION WOODCUT, LARGE HISTORIATED INITIAL, AND PASCHAL LAMB ROUNDEL WITH FINE CONTEMPORARY ILLUMINATION. COPIOUSLY ILLUSTRATED WITH WOODCUTS BY MATTHIAS GERUNG: title border incorporating at top the arms of the Cardinal Prince-Bishop Otto Truchsess von Waldburg, at the left side the Bishop's vestments and at the right side the suffering Christ holding a chalice to receive his blood, at bottom five patron saints of Augsburg (Afra, Dionysius, Hilaria, Narcissus and Digna); title verso with full-page woodcut of the Virgin and Child with Saints Ulrich and Afra, dated 1555; full-page illustration opening the Missal, containing a central scene of the Adoration of the Sacrament of the Altar by the Apostles, Evangelists and Doctors, set within an architectural border with the Coronation of the Virgin and Saints at top, and in the bottom socle a small rectangular inset woodcut of the Last Supper, this page border used 10 more times, each with a different small Biblical cut at the foot; initials printed from several sets: two very ornate larger sets (93 x 75 mm. and 63 x 54 mm.), incorporating a small xylographic "guide" roman letter for ease of reading (one, an S, using instead a



patriarchal cross), all enclosing a variety of small woodcuts; smaller initials (most 33 x 31 mm.) from two main sets, of which one also includes a small roman capital; ornamental marginal extenders to some of the largest initials; approximately 61 small woodcut illustrations (27/28 x 23/24 mm.), including a very few repeats, set within 4 different sets of ornamental borders.

*Condition:* from one to two dozen small wormholes in the first and last 75 or so leaves, one or two wormholes elsewhere, small wormtrack in quires k-l; short marginal tears in fols. 33, 383, and 464; small repair to upper margin of last Canon leaf, a couple of small wax stains on Canon cut, small marginal stain to f. 396v; the last 3 leaves (ooo2-5) shorter and apparently supplied at the time of binding. Most of the large woodcut page borders very slightly shaved at fore-edge.

*Binding:* contemporary or slightly later sixteenth-century blind-tooled alum-tawed pigskin over wooden boards, sides panelled with two Biblical rolls, a heads-in-medallion roll, and palmette rolls, two metal fore-edge catches and clasps, edges stained blue-green, trace of an index tab on first Canon leaf (rubbed, worming to covers, corners abraded).

*Provenance:* 17th or 18th-century manuscript notes in margins of the music on fols. 151 and 152; on the lower pastedown a mounted tinted and colored lithographic facsimile of a page from an Apocalypse blockbook (or manuscript?), printed on laid paper, signed at lower left "Facsimile p Ad Pilinski," from an unidentified edition by the lithographer Adam Pilinski (not *Monuments de la Xylographie. Apocalypse, Bible des Pauvres*, Paris, 1882); MD, modern leather bookplate. \$25,000

A CELEBRATED MASTERPIECE OF LITURGICAL PRINTING, THIS BEAUTIFUL BOOK WAS THE GREATEST TECHNICAL AND ARTISTIC PRODUCTION OF SEBALD MAYER, DILLINGEN'S FIRST PRINTER, AND THE MOST SIGNIFICANT ACHIEVEMENT OF THE ARTIST MATTHIAS GERUNG IN THE MEDIUM OF WOODCUT.

Gerung (ca. 1500-ca. 1570), painter, miniaturist, designer of tapestries and of woodcuts, was a native of Nördlingen and probably studied there with Hans Schäufelein. For his first patron, Herzog Ottheinreich von Neuburg, Gerung illuminated a splendid manuscript New Testament in German (completed in 1532), widely held to be a pinnacle of that art. His earlier work was for Reformists, and included a series of satirical woodcuts of the Church of Rome, but clearly his artistic reputation overrode this taint, as the Cardinal and Prince-Bishop of Augsburg, Otto Truchsess von Waldburg, accepted Gerung as the master printer of this, his *Pracht-Missal*.

Anti-Catholicism in the Free Imperial city of Augsburg had spurred the transfer of the residence of the Prince-Bishops to the quiet town of Dillingen in 1486, and in 1537 the transfer of the Bishopric itself. In 1543 Otto von Waldburg, one of the most effective leaders of the Counter-Reformation, was named Prince-Bishop of Augsburg, and was appointed Cardinal a year later. Determined to revitalize Catholicism, he methodically set about ameliorating the plight and image of Catholics in the Augsburg Diocese. In 1549 he founded a Seminary in Dillingen; it became a university in 1554. But there was no printing press in the town, a situation remedied by the Cardinal-Prince-Bishop, who summoned from Ingolstadt the printer Sebald Mayer. The first works of the press date to 1550. The present magnificent altar book, for which the Prince-Bishop spared no cost, appeared a few months before the ratification of the Peace of Augsburg, in September 1555, which put an end, at least for the time being, to hostilities between the Catholic Holy Roman Empire and the Lutheran Schmalkadic League. Mayer, who was plagued by financial difficulties throughout his career, had to sell his press to the Cardinal in 1560, and was thereafter an employee of the university. In 1576 his son took over the press, which remained active until 1619, producing some 1200 books, as one of the leading Catholic presses in southern Germany.



“As printer, [Mayer] deserves the greatest praise, often using ten different types in a single work, harmoniously linking the title-page and the text ... his books are all clean and clear. His most outstanding technical achievement was the Missal of 1555 ... (Bucher, p. 111, transl.). Indeed, this edition, the first Augsburg Missal to appear since 1510, is a tour-de-force of printing. Into its typographic intricacies are integrated Gerung’s wonderful woodcuts, printed from over 500 individual blocks. Besides the full-page woodcuts and the 11 impressions of the elegant page border, each with a different Bible woodcut at the foot (most containing 2 or 3 scenes), Gerung produced four main sets of initials for this edition (a few small initials come from other series). The two larger sets (93 x 75 mm. and 63 x 54 mm.) are ornamented with swags and grotesques, and within each is inset a separate small woodcut illustration, usually correlated to the text. These initials are not factotum initials, as each represents a specific letter, but each impression encloses a different woodcut. Mindful of the challenges in deciphering the complex visual contents of these two-block initials, Gerung helpfully cut into the outer block a small roman letter to help the priests in reading, and he repeated the practice with one of the smaller initial sets. Added to the initials are many small illustrations, all within ornamental borders printed from separate blocks.

The pelican in her piety, symbol of Christ’s sacrifice, appears in the upper corners of the title border, with the motto *Sic his qui diligunt*, and in several other cuts (abbreviated to *Sic HQD*). Hans Schäufelein had used the same image and motto for the device of the printer Hans Beham. Gerung signed the full-page Virgin and Child cut and the repeated border cut with his monogram. Dodgson attributed all the woodcuts to him, but Hollstein excepts the Canon cuts.

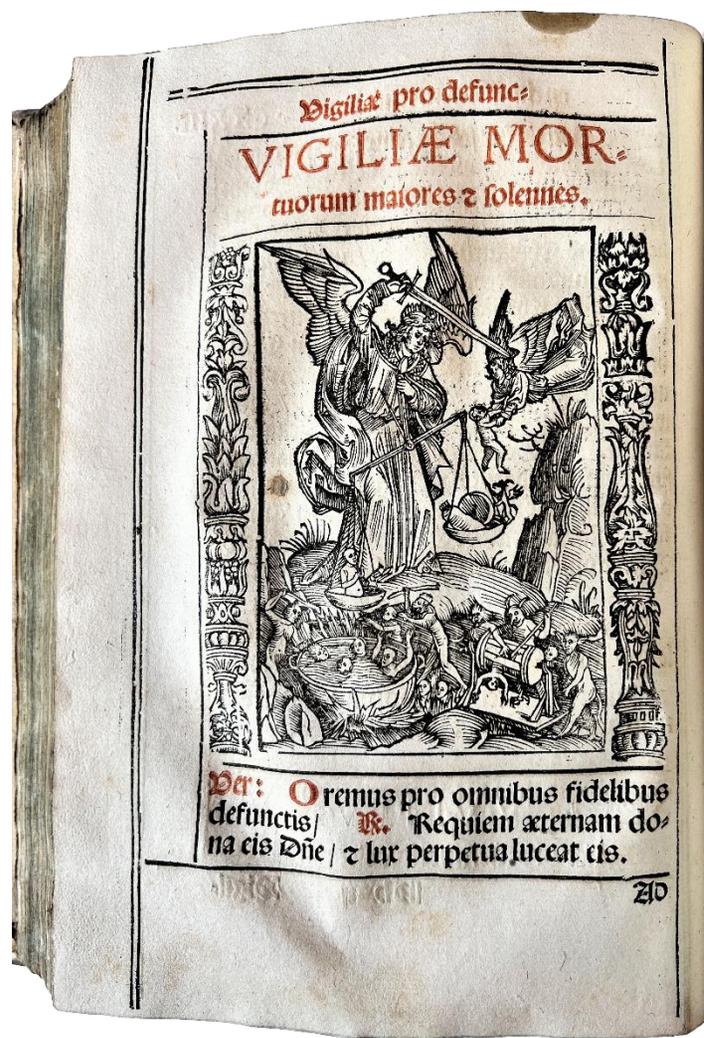
The binding of this copy has two distinct Biblical rolls, as follows: Salvator - Petrus - Paulus - Johannes, approx. 224 x 18/19 mm., and Crucifixion - Annunciation - Baptism - Resurrection, approx. 200 or 201 x 20 mm. (details of the inscriptions under each motif available

on request). These rolls do not seem to have been recorded by Haebler or the Einbanddatenbank.

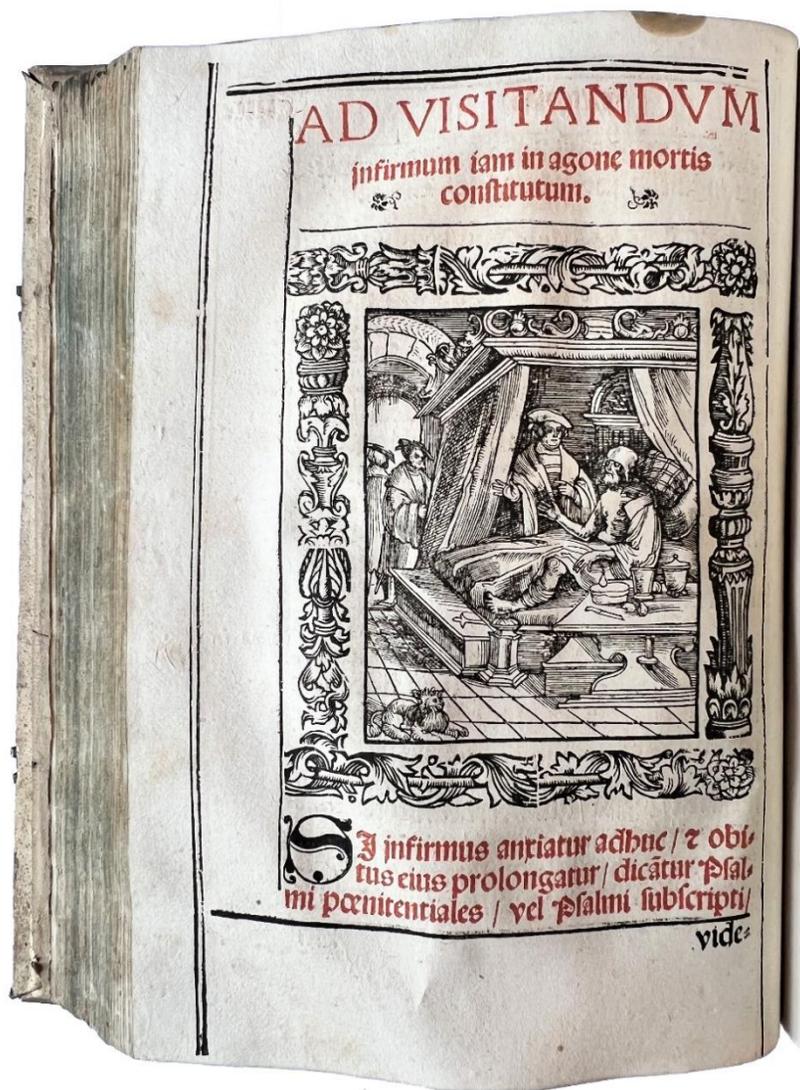
VD 16 M 5556; Hollstein X, 55, 73-77; Adams L-1178; BM/STC German 512; Weale-Bohatta 109; Dodgson, *Early German and Flemish Woodcuts II*, 213.12 & 218.14; RELICS 3293; cf. Thieme Becker 13: 487-490; Otto Bucher, *Bibliographie der deutschen Drucke des xvi. Jahrhunderts. I: Dillingen* 39; Bucher, "Sebald Mayer, der erste Dillinger Buchdrucker (1550-1576)," *Jahrbuch des Historischen Vereins Dillingen an der Donau*, vol. 54 (1952), 108-129.



5) RITUAL. *Agenda ecclesiastica, secundum usum ecclesiae Wyrzburgensis*. Würzburg: Hans Baumann, September 1564.



Small folio (255 x 182 mm). Collation: \*<sup>4</sup> A<sup>2</sup> [bound between \*<sup>2</sup> and \*<sup>3</sup>]; <sup>2</sup>A-Z Aa-Zz Aaa-Ppp<sup>4</sup> Qqq<sup>6</sup> Rrr<sup>2</sup>. [6], 248, [4] leaves including final blank. 2 parts, separately titled but continuously paginated (part 2 beginning on fol. 152). Two errata (quire A<sup>2</sup> and fol. Rrr1). Gothic types, roman type (used for shoulder notes, second title & preface, final errata, and the instructional text at end of part 2, *Pro Simplicioribus Sacerdotibus Instructio*), the other errata (quire A<sup>2</sup>) in italics. PRINTED IN RED AND BLACK THROUGHOUT, double page borders, 68 pages with 4-line staves for chant (the musical notes to be supplied in manuscript). Woodcut architectural title borders, that of the first title from 2 blocks, second title border from 6 blocks, TWENTY-NINE WOODCUT TEXT ILLUSTRATIONS printed from 25 blocks, about 8 half-page or larger, most of the cuts in part 1 framed in woodcut ornamental border blocks, also used as line fillers and tailpieces, along with other ornaments including white on black grotesque blocks; ornamental and historiated initials in various sizes, of which four over-printed with a red color block. Fraying to edges of first and last leaves, last leaf loosening, some small stains in upper margins, but overall a fresh copy. Bound in near-contemporary blind-tooled alum-tawed pigskin over wooden boards, BY JAKOB PREISGER, WÜRZBURG BOOKBINDER, his panel stamps of the Crucifixion and Ark of the Covenant on front cover, and of Faith and Hope on lower cover, both within parallel fillets and a heads-in-medallion roll framed by a repeated palmette roll, two metal clasps and catches, edges stained blue-green, parchment ms. spine liners (soiled, somewhat rubbed, small hole to leather of lower cover, the leather torn at lower board edges). Modern ink signature on front pastedown, Anton Heustein. \$7,000

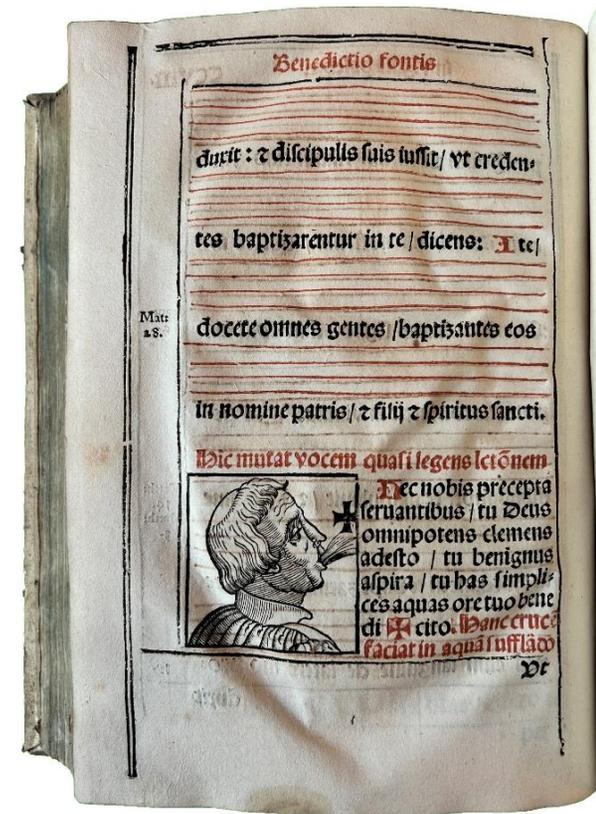


ONLY EDITION, FIRST ISSUE, of the second printed Ritual for the diocese of Würzburg, A RARE COMPLETE COPY WITH BOTH ERRATA. This edition superseded that of 1482. Before the Council of Trent every diocese had its own slightly different forms of ritual, necessitating the issuance of a plethora of guides for priests, known variously as *Manuale*, *Liber agendarum*, *Agenda*, *Sacramentale* or *Rituale*. Published mere months after the conclusion of the Council of Trent (in December 1563), but before Pius V's issuance of standardized forms of the Catechism, Breviary, and Mass, the present Agenda updates and clarifies the prevailing forms of local ritual. In a pastoral letter (dated 27 June 1564) printed following the title, the Prince-Bishop of Würzburg, Friedrich von Wirsberg (1507-1573), who commissioned the edition, explains that the sacraments having become corrupted through a combination of ignorance and indifference on the part of the clergy, he decided to publish this new guide, and he exhorts all priests to make use of it. All sacraments are covered, in a mixture of Latin and German: exorcism of salt and water, baptism (of babies, women, sick children, etc.), confirmation, marriage, Mass, confession, last rites, Mass for the Dead, etc., as are the duties of the priest under various circumstances and for various holidays. The printer Baumann had no music types, so the over 60 pages of chant for Easter benedictions have only the words and bare staves, the reader being expected to supply his own notes. At the end is a 20-page Latin summary, for "more simple priests."

The woodcuts, from Baumann's stock, are in various styles and, other than the fine Renaissance title border blocks, most are quite archaic. Illustrated are baptism, a marriage, the last rites, etc., and a few New Testament scenes, including a Last Supper cut, signed by the Master CW, and a striking large cut of the

avenging angel weighing souls, above the torments of the damned. In part two, woodcuts of hands and of a monk speaking provide visual gestural instruction and enliven the note-less music pages. Many of the smaller cuts are set within complex woodcut and typographical borders.

THE HISTORY OF THIS BOOK'S PUBLICATION, EVIDENCED IN ITS BIBLIOGRAPHICAL STRUCTURE AND VARIANTS, IS REVEALING OF 16TH-CENTURY PRINTING AND PUBLISHING PRACTICES, AND OF RELATIONS BETWEEN MEMBERS OF THE BOOK TRADE AND THEIR BIGGEST CUSTOMER, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH. Hans Baumann, born in 1510 of a poor family in Rothenburg ob der Tauber, was an intellectual who was forced to enter the printing trade, in his native city, when the University of Erfurt declined to renew his scholarship. Subsequently he worked as an itinerant printer, a soldier under the Duke of Alba in the Schmalkadic war, a journalist (reporting on the Battle of Mühlberg), and a chronicler, before setting up a press in Salzburg under the patronage of the local Duke, Ernst of Bavaria. In 1561 he moved to Würzburg, where he was granted tax-exempt status, and began printing in 1562, soon becoming official court printer. THIS *AGENDA* WAS THE MOST IMPORTANT OF BAUMANN'S COMMISSIONS AND THE GREATEST PRODUCTION OF HIS CAREER, and he clearly undertook it with enthusiasm, decorating it generously with woodcut illustrations and ornaments from blocks brought from Salzburg. But this book would prove his undoing. Thanks to a surviving petition to Prince-Bishop Friedrich from Baumann's five children in 1571, a year after his death, the sad history of its publication has been preserved: Baumann printed 1000 official copies for the Prince-Bishop (this issue), for which he was to receive 2 Hellers (half a pfennig) per copy. But the Prince-Bishop used the edition's "defects," — its many errors, necessitating the extensive errata — as an excuse to pay only half that sum. Meanwhile Baumann had printed an extra 500 copies for his own use, which he published with a different title (*Agenda ecclesiastica, sive Caeremoniarum...*, VD16 A 631), without the errata, and with a letter from the printer to the reader replacing the Prince-Bishop's pastoral. But from this "commercial" issue Baumann was only able to sell 100 copies. He died poor in 1570. The pleas of his disgruntled heirs to the Bishop, requesting payment of the outstanding 500 Heller, in which they describe in detail the labors of running the same sheets multiple times through the press for the red printing and the salaries paid their workers, apparently fell on deaf ears, and the press was closed in 1572. Most of the Baumann heirs' remaining copies were probably destroyed, although the next revision of the Würzburg Agenda was not to appear until 1671.



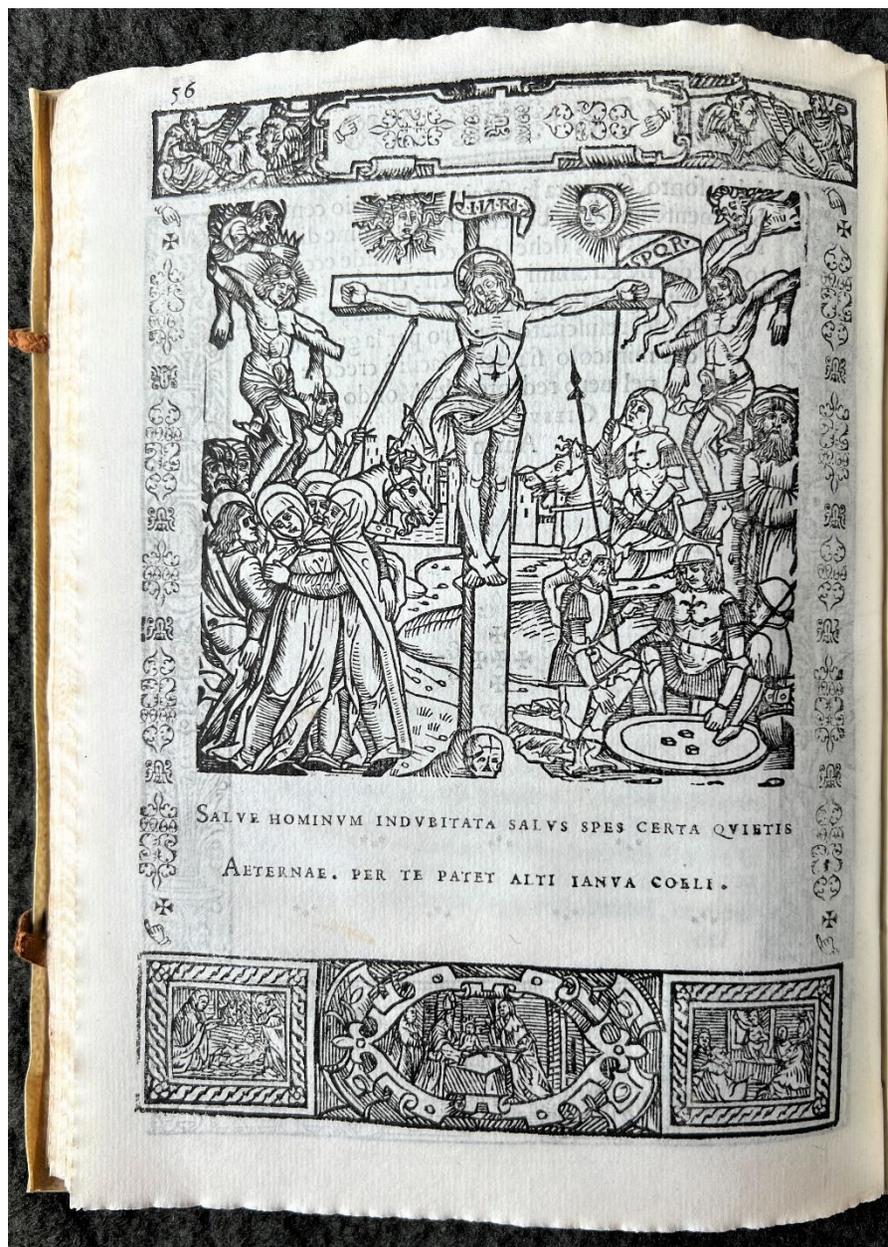
Meanwhile, the Diocese still had copies of the sheets stored away. The present binding, by a Würzburg binder who worked closely with the Prince-Bishopric (see below), dates to at least 12 years after the Agenda was published, showing that the Diocese, having stiffed the printer, was still distributing copies as needed for a number of years after its publication. This copy includes an extra four-page errata (*Emendatio quorundam errorum*), printed on bifolium A1-2, inserted in the first quire, which is not recorded in the copies listed by VD 16 or OCLC, or in any of the digitized copies linked to by VD 16 (although standardized cataloguing may hide the existence of one or more copies with the leaves). These leaves are required for a complete copy, according to the book's bibliographer Anton Ruland (p. 165), as they contain essential corrections, pertaining mainly to the rubrics. Printed in a different style, with a large Renaissance woodcut initial and decorative tailpiece that clash with the more archaic material of the edition, the absence of this addendum in so many copies can be explained by its having been printed after the edition was completed, perhaps months or even years later, in any case

after the first batch of copies had been distributed by the Diocese. In their petition Baumann's heirs complained that the Church officials were slow in sending their corrections, which apparently trickled in. One may speculate that by printing the *Emendatio* for the Diocese Baumann may have hoped to persuade the Diocesan treasurer to disburse the funds owed to him.



*The binding:* Three of the four panel stamps and roll-tools decorating the binding of this copy are associated with the Würzburg binder Jakob Preisger, active from 1576 to 1594. While the binding was presumably commissioned by the office of the Prince-Bishop, that office was by then occupied by Friedrich von Wirsberg's successor, Julius Echter von Mespelbrunn, considered Würzburg's greatest bishop, and one of the most capable rulers of his time. (Echter was also a dedicated bibliophile: his own books, many bound by Preisger, can be identified by his armorial panel stamp.) The upper cover panel stamp (EBDB Werkzeug p003638, attributed to Preisger), shows the Crucifixion in an oval central medallion with the Holy Spirit between angels at top and the Ark of the Covenant at the foot of the Cross, a banner across the center reading *Propiciatorium nostrum*, and at bottom the inscription *Christus per proprium sanguine semel ingressus in sancta*. The palmette roll, a "negative" roll (the pattern is intaglio rather than in relief), is also attributed to Preisger (EBDB r001035). The lower cover panel stamp, which shows the allegorical figures of Faith and Hope, with cross, chalice, book, and God the father, within an oval frame inscribed *Impetrat alma Fides Christo quam dante salutem expectare soror Spes animosa solet*, is not recorded by the EBDB, but was used in conjunction with other Preisger material on a copy of Henri Estienne, *Thesaurus graecae linguae* ([Geneva] 1572), from the library of Julius Echter von Mespelbrunn, with his arms (the copy was sold at auction in Paris in 2008 and is now in the book trade). The heads-in-medallion roll is not in the EBDB but it is stylistically close to the three listed by the EBDB among Preisger's tools. This binding could not have been produced before 1576, the year when Preisger, a native of Dresden, obtained his citizenship in Würzburg.

OCLC locates one copy of this issue in the US (Trinity College) and one of the second issue (Boston College). VD16 A 772 = P 4861; Adams L-1295; A. Ruland, "Zur Druckgeschichte der vom Fürstbischefe Friedrich zu Würzburg herausgegebenen Agenda Ecclesiastica...", *Serapeum* 25 (1864), pp. 161-170 ([digitized](#)); Reske, *Buchdrucker*, 1113-1114 & 884. On the binder, see Einbanddatenbank [Werkstatt w002509](#); and R. Halwas, "[Julius Echter von Mespelbrunn's Library](#)."



6) [SCALVO, Bartolomeo (d. 1583)]. *Le meditationi del Rosario della gloriosissima Maria Vergine*. Milan: Pacifico da Ponte, 1569.

4to (201 x 149 mm). [8], 172, [4] pages. Title within four-block woodcut border containing 9 compartments with Biblical scenes, three full-page illustrations, each comprising a large woodcut placed within woodcut and type-ornament borders, all text pages set within woodcut ornamental and figurative four-block borders (alternating four series for the top and side blocks and five for the lower blocks), nearly every page with a woodcut or typographic ornamental cartouche for chapter headings (six sets), extensive use of type ornaments, one woodcut initial. Light staining to first few leaves. Modern parchment over pasteboards, leather fore-edge ties (defective), scalloped edges. "Giuseppe Franceschino Milleri Perugino", 18<sup>th</sup>- or 19<sup>th</sup>-century inscription on title.

\$5,800

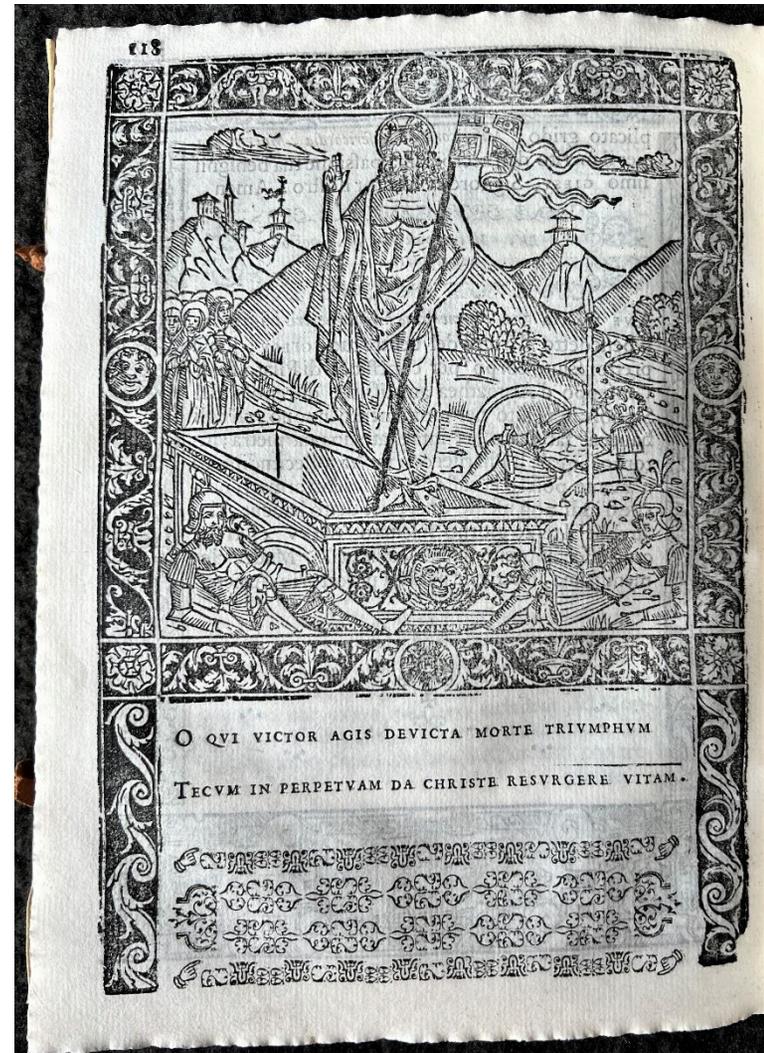
First Edition in Italian of a pre-Tridentine Milanese book of prayers for adherents of the Rosary. THE STRIKINGLY ILLUSTRATED EDITION, CONTAINING TWO FINE AND OTHERWISE UNRECORDED LATE 15TH- OR EARLY 16TH-CENTURY LOMBARD WOODCUTS, promoted the hugely popular but not yet orthodox religious phenomenon of the Rosary, serving a strategic purpose in Charles Borromeo's Counter-Reformation activism.

Scalvo dedicated the edition to Borromeo, who had been ordained as Archbishop of Milan in 1564. Pacifico Da Ponte, official printer to the Archbishopric, had issued a Latin edition (with a different dedication) a month earlier, using the same stock of woodcuts. In its two editions, this Marian text served

the activist Counter-Reformation program promoted by the future Cardinal and saint in his Milan diocese. The largest archdiocese in Italy, Milan's was also the most corrupt, abuse having run rampant following 80 years of absentee Archbishops, a situation that Borromeo sought to remedy.

While it had ancient origins, the "modern" form of reciting the Rosary originated in monastic devotions in the early 15th century. It spread quickly, largely through the medium of print. "The Virgin's psalter could be recited by laypeople, the destitute, or the illiterate; it did not require a special place of worship or clergy" (Ardissino, 344). Long resisted by the Church for these reasons, recitation of the Rosary prayers was finally ratified as admissible Church practice by Pope Pius V, in the bull *Consueverunt Romani Pontifices*, in September 1569, a few months after publication of these editions. As a manifestation of the cult of the Virgin — attacked by Luther and the Reformers, in whose view Marian devotion threatened to eclipse worship of Christ — the Rosary was embraced by the Counter-Reformation as part of its general co-opting of Marian devotion as a means to strengthen adhesion to the Church.

The edition is characterized by a lavish and imaginative use not only of woodcut borders, which incorporate scenes from the life of the Virgin, figures of saints, putti, caryatids, masks, flower vases, and arabesques, but also of typographic ornaments, including manicules and Greek crosses. The three large woodcuts, introducing each of the three parts, show the Virgin and Child enthroned (facing p. 1), the Crucifixion (p. 56), and the Resurrection (p. 118). The two last beautiful, archaic woodcuts inspired a long entry in Rava's supplement to Sander, for these "remarkable woodcuts," UNKNOWN OUTSIDE SCALVO'S ROSARY BOOK, were almost certainly printed from blocks dating to the beginning of the 16th century. Rava remarks that "above all the woodcut of the Resurrection belongs to the best period of Lombard woodcuts," comparing it to several earlier woodcuts, including a large cut used by the Milanese printer Leonardus Pachel in Melchior da Parma, *Dialogi de anima*, 1499 (GW M 473), which uses the same style of parallel hatching all in the same direction, and very similar background landscape and clouds, and to woodcuts used in Ferraro, *Tesoro spirituale*, Milan 1499 (GW M45657), and Nani Mirabelli, *Polyanthea*, Savona 1503, both illustrated by Paul Kristeller in *Die Lombardische Graphik* (pp. 49 and 52), and attributed by him to an artist or wood engraver whom he dubbed the "Master of Melchior da Parma."



This vernacular edition is rarer, outside of Italy, than the Latin edition, with OCLC locating one copy of this edition in an American library (Newberry), and five of the Latin edition.

EDIT-16 CNCE 53865; Rava, *Supplément à Max Sander, Le livre à figures italien* (1969) 4342 (wrongly collated), illus. pl. 50 & 51. Cf. P. Kristeller, *Die lombardische Graphik der Renaissance* (1913), pp. 48-57. Cf. E. Ardissino, "Literary and Visual Forms of a Domestic Devotion: The Rosary in Renaissance Italy," *Domestic Devotions in Early Modern Italy* (Brill, 2018), pp. 342-371.

*(Almost) wood-engraved?*



7) **SICHEM, Christoffel II van** (1581-1658), artist. *'t Schat der zielen, Dat is: het geheele leben ons Heeren Iesu Christi: Naer de vyer Evangelisten*. Amsterdam: P[ieter] I[acobsz] P[aets], 1648.

4to (175 x 114 mm). "800" [recte 764], [4] pages. 3 parts, separately titled, continuously paginated and signed, with numerous pagination errors. Titles within woodcut borders, 686 woodcut illustrations, most signed with Sichem's monogram, numbered at the foot of the pages (with errors), most three-quarter page, most flanked by type ornament borders, rule borders throughout. Figures 51 (D4r) and 478 (K6v) are cancels pasted down (as usual) over the original illustrations. A leaf from a different illustrated work, on thicker paper, is bound between fols. P8 and Q1 (pp. 242 and 243 [mispaginated 743]). Extreme upper margin of title restored, dampstain in quires L-M, dust-soiling. Bound in 18th-century calf, spine gold-tooled with morocco lettering piece, edges red-stained (edge wear, head of spine broken, joints starting). *Provenance*: Armorial bookplate signed "N: Heylbrouck fecit"; a 20th-century owner corrected the numerous errors to the picture numbering in pencil and red chalk, with a few notes in French. \$3,800

ONLY EDITION THUS OF A TOUR DE FORCE OF WOODCUT PRODUCTION by the great Dutch wood cutter Christoffel van Sichem II (1581-1658). With nearly 700 woodcuts, the edition in places evokes a graphic novel. Sichem copied an encyclopedic array of Netherlandish and German sources, including Abraham Bloemart, the brothers Wierix, Aldegrevier, Goltzius, Boëce van Bolswert, Lucas

van Leyden, Joannes Stradanus and Dürer. His accurate white-on-black reproductions of engravings, such as of Bolswert and Bloemart's engravings in part 3, *'t Bosch der eremyten ende eremytinnen*, FORESHADOW 19<sup>TH</sup>-CENTURY REPRODUCTIVE WOOD-ENGRAVING.

The edition is densely printed, on inexpensive paper. The printer/publisher Paet's goals in issuing this and other devotional works illustrated by Sichem were the same as those of publishers of books with wood engravings two centuries later: to make illustrations available cheaply, in this case to the devout middle-class readers who could not afford books with engravings, but who would be eager to buy an all-in-one vernacular devotional companion to bring the stories of the Bible to life and assist in daily prayers and meditations.

A compendium both of texts and of Sichem's woodcut oeuvre, the book is in three parts, the first and longest, the "Treasure of Souls, or Life of Christ," itself containing seven parts. This is the only edition, although some of the woodcuts probably appeared previously. A sort of New Testament picture Bible, it complements the Old Testament focus of Sichem's *Bibels tresoor, ofte Der zielen luthof*, published by Paets in 1646. Each page contains a large woodcut, sometimes letter-keyed to the text, paraphrased from the Bible. Some passages, such as the Passion of St. John and the Apostles' Creed, are illustrated with two small woodcuts per page. Part 2 is *'t Bosch der eremyten ende eremitinnen*, whose text by the Jesuit hagiographer Heribert Rosweyde was first published in Latin and Dutch in 1619 with engraved illustrations by Boëce van Bolswert after Bloemaert. Earlier editions with Sichem's woodcuts appeared in 1644 and 1645. The third part, *Goddelycke Wenschen*, is the Dutch version of Herman Hugo's emblem book, *Pia desideria* (first published 1624), which owed its huge popularity to Bolswert's 45 fetching engraved emblems, here masterfully copied in wood by Sichem. Sichem's woodcuts had first appeared in the second Latin edition, in 1628, and he, or Paets, used them in other works as well, such as the *Bibels Tresoor*.

The son of an engraver and wood cutter, Christoffel II Sichem worked exclusively in wood, leaving no known copper engravings. His mastery of a range of styles is impressive. He could as readily cut Renaissance-style white-on-black *bandeaux* (used, for example on the title-page of *Goddelycke Wenschen*) as night-time scenes of Hugo's child-soul seeking grace, or a beautiful copy of Dürer's Madonna. The practice of engraving with the burin or graver on the end grain of wood (rather than cutting the wood with a knife on the plank side) was known already by Dutch printmakers in the first half of the 18th century/ Arthur Hind maintained that while Sichem's white-line xylographic prints "appear at first sight to be graver work ... a careful examination of their white lines renders it more probable that [he] still used the knife" (*History of Woodcut* vol. I, p. 10). OCLC cites 5 US locations. STCN 842875999; Hollstein XXVII, p. 51 (no. 52); cf. Thieme-Becker 30:586.





8) MEYER, Conrad (1618-1689), artist. *Nützliche Zeitbetrachtung*. [Zürich, 1651]. [Bound with:] *Spiegel der Christen das ist Bedenkliche Figuren und Erinerungen über die Berufspflichten aller Stände*. [Zürich, 1652].

2 vols. in one, folio (312 x 207 mm). [11] leaves; 17 leaves, foliated [2], I-XIII, [XIV], XV. ENTIRELY ENGRAVED. 1) *Zeitbetrachtung*: allegorical title and 10 leaves, each with a half-page etched and engraved illustration of a stage of life, with heading and two-line caption above and verses below. 2) *Spiegel*: title within 7-compartment border with biblical scenes, 10 lines of verses below, printed from a separate copperplate, dedication leaf to Matthäus Merian [the younger], dated Zürich, 31 May 1652; 15 leaves with 15 engraved illustrations of which two on pl. 13, fol. 14 unillustrated, all but leaves 7 and 11 with the caption, illustration, and engraved text at bottom printed from 3 separate copperplates (plates 7 and 11 printed from a single plate), plate 10 with upper caption printed upside down. A FULL-SIZED COPY WITH FINE, FIRST STATE IMPRESSIONS OF THE PLATES, but well used, with soiling and staining, first few leaves of both works with a few tears in gutters, just touching text of second leaf of the *Zeitbetrachtung*; stains affecting title and touching images of pls. 7-9 of the *Spiegel*; sewing of first gatherings loose. Old parchment with partially removed pastepaper covering, remnants of two green silk fore-edge ties, outer half of front free endpaper cut away, pastedowns with repaired tears. *Provenance*: small sketches on *Spiegel* dedication leaf and on front pastedown; first title with owner's stamp in red (illegible); Julius Stadler (1828-1904), Zürich architect and watercolorist, influential architecture professor at the Polytechnikum Zürich, inkstamp. \$7,000

FIRST EDITIONS of two enchanting and VERY RARE engraved books — print suites with text — by the Zürich artist Conrad Meyer. Both contain engravings depicting both emblematically and realistically the stages and states of human life.

1) *Nützliche Zeitbetrachtung*: This poignant and funny Baroque survey of the stages of life (a “useful observation of time”) shows the progression of man (and woman) from childhood to senectitude. At center of the engraved title is a bourgeois family (complete with crying baby and a child having a tantrum) considering their fate on Judgment Day, with a crowd of sinners behind them; Death, a skeleton with writhing worms and snakes, reclines in one foreground corner and a saintly beggar prays in the other; in the background hellfire rains down on distant hordes and a few lucky souls ascend to heaven. The 10 engravings are snapshots at ten-year intervals, from 10 to 100, with other ages snuck in (e.g., the ten-year old in a nursery has a little brother and baby sister). All scenes show both men and women. Two are ostensibly self-portraits. The image of the twenty-year old may allude to Meyer’s own *Wanderjahre*: a man clad in boots and sword points with one hand to a book and with the other to a print, held up by a donkey, showing a peacock-feather-crowned mermaid with a sheepskin around her waist (a similar creature, representing lust or the Devil?, appears on the title and in the *Spiegel der Christen*), while opposite a pair of cherubs hold up a religious print and a woman sews nearby; all around are scattered emblems of learning (a globe, an anchor, a sextant, a glass beaker, more books...). The thirty-year-old depicts the artist at his easel, his wife nursing a baby with another child behind him; on the easel in turn is a painting of a man about the artist’s age, digging in his garden, with a woman and child at her breast. Behind the painting are Christian emblems (the cross entwined with the snake, a book, and the Tablets of the Law), and a lute occupies a front corner (Meyer was also a musician and composer). The prime of life, one’s 40s and 50s, are shown outdoors, working hard but enjoying the fullness of *la belle saison*. The 60-year-old counts his money, and it’s downhill from there, until finally death arrives, gently for the lady, and with a spear and hideous visage for her frightened husband, still resisting.



THIS IS ONE OF MEYER’S SCARCEST AND MOST VISUALLY SATISFYING ENGRAVED BOOKS. Meyer’s engravings contain complex mises-en-scène, depicting two or three foreground figures, often acting independently of each other, while in the background tapestries, murals, pastoral scenes, or pictures within the picture add further symbolic elements to the meticulously planned images. With every element perfectly balanced, the engravings are unconfusing, uncluttered, and clear. The author of the verses is unknown. Meyer was a talented writer and they may have been his own.

2) The *Spiegel der Christen* describes and illustrates emblematically the duties of various types of devout Christian: the pastor and members of his flock, the powerful (*Obrigkeiten*) and their subjects (*Untertanen*), married couples, parents and teachers, children, young men & women and the widowed (lumped together), servants, and those who care for the poor. The dedication to Matthäus Merian (the younger, since Merian senior had died in June 1650), is printed on the second leaf along with a note to the reader, dated 31 May 1652, in which Meyer, embracing his Swissness, describes Christian life as a well-functioning clockwork.

Using the burin only lightly, Meyer illustrates the verse text by the pastor Georg Müller (1610-1672), which weaves together Old and New Testament passages (identified in shoulder notes). Biblical and emblematic episodes or objects complement the main scene. Some are unusually framed. For example, the Duties of Children shows two Old Testament episodes, referred to in the text (one of bears attacking children, from 2 Kings 2:24), on large canvases or prints held aloft by angels flying high above the city of Zürich. For Judgment Day (*Rechnungstag*), the theme of plate 12, Meyer chose an emblematic scene of a monarch directing his underlings to add up (*rechnen*) numerous



bags of money, a busy port visible through an open portal, while a tapestry on the wall behind shows the separation of souls. In plate 13, whose text compares the present day to the times of Noah and Lot, the two etchings show in the foreground different versions of the Devil cavorting with Bacchus, while in the background are the etched Biblical scenes. The final, powerful engraving is of Saint Christopher carrying the Christ child through waters peopled by hideous monsters (and the mermaid with peacock feather crown), the Savior beckoning from the opposite shore.

Conrad Meyer apprenticed with his father, the engraver Dietrich Meyer, and his older brother Rudolf, who died at 35. During five years traveling as a journeyman through Switzerland, France and Germany, Meyer spent many months with the large Merian family in Frankfurt, who introduced him to Netherlandish art, a lasting influence especially on his engraved oeuvre. He became the “dominant artistic personality” of 17th-century Zürich (*Lexikon zur Kunst in der Schweiz*), painting portraits, historical scenes and mountain landscapes, and his engraved output was prodigious. His work was “of the greatest importance in 17th-century Zurich book-illustration. He placed his stamp on local book illustration during the Baroque period ... As a Little Master [Meyer] found his own artistic style, which expressed the simple, nature-loving Swiss nature along with a streak of idyllic pastoralism. His strength lay in his pathos-free depiction of everyday life....” (Leeman-van Elck, p. 117, my translation).

The *Zeitbetrachtung* was reprinted in 1675 and the *Spiegel* in 1657, in letterpress, with the title *Christen-Spiegel*, and a different title engraving. Of this first edition of the *Zeitbetrachtung* OCLC and VD16 locate just two copies, at Yale and the Bavarian State Library. Outside Switzerland and Germany OCLC records only the NYPL and British Library copies of the *Spiegel der Christen*. 1) VD17 12:653572N; Lonchamp, *Bibliographie générale des ouvrages publiés ou illustrés en Suisse* 2038b; Landwehr, *German Emblem Books* 435. 2) Lonchamp 2038c; Praz, *Studies in Seventeenth -Century Imagery* p. 425 (1657 ed.) and Supplement, p. 77, mentioning this edition. Not in VD17. Cf. Thieme Becker 24:467; Leemann-van Elck, *Die zürcherische Buchillustration von den Anfängen bis um 1850* (1952), pp. 117-121 (referring only to the second edition of the *Zeitbetrachtung*, incorrectly dated). (See also cover illustration.)

**9) INSTRUMENTS OF THE PASSION – AUGUSTINUS, Aurelius.** Manuscript: *Exhortatio S. Augustini Psal. 36. Conc. 2. post init. Ad Patientia[m] Exemplo Passionis Christi.* [Austria or Bohemia?, ca. 1650-1720].

MINIATURE ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPT ON VELLUM (82 x 55 mm). 70 leaves & 19 blanks, irregularly foliated, in two parts: [1 blank], [2] [1] 2-16 16 17-26 27 (blank except for red ruling) 28; 1-40; [18] blank leaves, ruled in red. COMPLETE. Text in brown ink in a neat rotunda, title, important words, and initial letters HIGHLIGHTED IN GOLD INK, opening small initial capital in gold on a foliate ground. The first part illustrated with TWENTY-SIX FULL-PAGE MINIATURES OF THE INSTRUMENTS AND SCENES OF THE PASSION, all but three on versos with the relevant text on facing rectos. Late 17th or early 18th-century embossed gold-tooled calf or sheep, covers framed in a floral roll and blind-stamped with an allover wavy design, spine in four compartments each with a small flame tool within foliate border, marbled pastedown endpapers, gilt edges (joints and extremities rubbed); housed in a modern fitted cloth case. *Provenance:* Cornelius Hauck, bookplate (sale, Christie's New York, 27 June 2006, lot 442). \$11,000



relevant brief excerpt from Saint Augustine's sermons. The second part, unillustrated, contains the Seven Penitential Psalms, followed by the Act of Contrition and other prayers, and further excerpts from Augustine. The manuscript bears no date or other identifying mark, but the style of the illumination, the coloring, and the binding suggest that it was produced in South Germany in the second half of the seventeenth century or early eighteenth century.

The small size of this luxuriously produced devotional manuscript implies that it was intended to be carried on one's person, perhaps tucked into the pockets of a woman's dress. That it may have had a talismanic function is not to be excluded, but by this period the power and function of the *arma* had largely shifted, from the talismanic or apotropaic to the emblematic. Worship of the instruments of Christ's Passion

had held an important place in medieval popular religion: in the late medieval period, “as instruments of Christ’s suffering, the arma Christi embody the fine line between mnemonic device and relic, encouraging veneration, affective meditation, and penitential response. As instruments of Christ’s victory, they may function as ‘shields’ against sin and material means of redemption, offering protection not only from the pains of hell but also from earthly suffering” (Gayk, p. 273). Because of this association with amulets and relic worship, one might have expected both the Reformation and the Catholic reform movement to have done away with this aspect of Catholic worship; instead, the *arma Christi* enjoyed a “Renaissance” in Reformation Europe. “It is precisely in the arma’s capacity to move between settings and adapt to different media (manuscript, print, and inscription) ... that we can understand the persistent vitality of the instruments of the Passion in post-medieval pieties. The arma ... continue to circulate ... adapting to new contexts and accumulating new meanings, shedding accompanying texts and acquiring new ones.... They persist because they are just as easily read as emblems as they are as talismans or relics” (ibid., 274-275).

Contents of the miniatures:

Fol. [1]v: Crucifixion, showing Christ alone on the Cross with the pelican in her piety at its foot, the motto *Sic his qui diligunt* lettered in an arc descending from Christ’s dripping blood

2v The lighted Lantern

3v The Ropes

4v The Kiss of Judas

5v The mailed Fist

6v The crowing Cock

7v Christ’s Robe

8v The Column

9v The Flail

10v The Scourge

11v The Crown of Thorns and the Rods

12v The Cross

13v Christ’s right Hand, pierced by the Nail

14v Christ’s left Hand, pierced by the Nail

f15v Christ’s Feet pierced by the Nail

16v Christ’s Heart (the Sacred Heart)

17v The Hammer

18v The Sponge of Vinegar

19v The Lance

20v The Dice

21v Pilate

22r The thirty Pieces of Silver

23v The Ladder



24v The Nail, Augur and Pliers

25r The Centurion, holding the Lance, and the Workman, holding a hammer and rope

26r The good Thief and the bad Thief

An unusual and lovely “macrominiature” manuscript, (measuring just under 3 and 1/2 inches).

See S. Gayk, “Early Modern Afterlives of the Arma Christi,” in *The Arma Christi in Medieval and Early Modern Culture: Objects, Representation, and Devotional Practice* (Burlington, 2014), 273-307.



**10) JESUIT COLLEGE OF MUNICH.** *Fama prognostica ad cunas principis Maximiliani Emmanuelis Ludovici Ferdinandi Josephi Caietani ... Principis Domini Ferdinandi Mariae ... et ... Principis ac D. Dominae Henrietar Adelaidis ... dulcissimi filii ... In communi Patriae plausu celebrata & demississimè dicata à Collegio Monacensi Societatis Iesu.* [Munich:] Lukas Straub, 1662.

Folio (292 x 191 mm). [4] 48 pp. Engraved allegorical frontispiece and 7 emblematic engraved illustrations by Bartholomäus Kilian after Caspar Amort, floriated woodcut initials. A BEAUTIFUL COPY in contemporary silver-gilt-tooled vellum over pasteboards, covers with roll-tooled foliate and arabesque border, cornerpieces and central ornament, traces of two pairs of blue silk fore-edge ties, mottled edges. \$4,500

FIRST EDITION of a handsome Baroque emblem book, produced by the Jesuit College of Munich to celebrate the birth, on 11 July 1662, of Prince Maximilian II Emmanuel (d. 1726), first son and heir to the Elector of Bavaria, Ferdinand Maria (1636–1679) and his wife Henriette Adelaide of Savoy (1636-1676).

Engraved by Bartholomäus II Kilian after a design supplied by the court painter Kaspar Amort, the frontispiece shows ten industrious cherubs in an outdoor worksite, building pieces of a triumphal arch whose image is held aloft on one side by two more putti and on the other by winged Fame, blowing a horn over which is draped a banner displaying the title. Wielding hammers and chisels, the putti in the foreground carve one of the ornate columns, while others measure angles and diameters. The planar surfaces are carved with blessings and predictions for the newborn.

The text relates the machinations, observations, and prognostications of allegorical figures and deities (e.g., the Genius of Bavaria, Fama, Mavors [Mars]) at the time of the prince's birth. THEIR PROPHECIES AND



EXHORTATIONS ARE EMBODIED IN THE SEVEN EMBLEMS, WHICH ILLUSTRATE QUALITIES OF A WISE RULER. The first, for example, "*Pietas cum politia*," shows the "ship of state" in rough seas. A putto in the stern, flanked by the motto "Hic regit" (here he reigns), points to a clear spot in the heavens, labeled "Hinc regitur" (there he is governed). This injunction is elaborated upon in the accompanying text.



The remaining emblems show the Arts of peace and war (again showing laboring putti); Majesty and humanity (the sun and its reflection in a body of water); Magnificence and economy [i.e., prudence] (a fountain); Divine and human wisdom (Mercury flying between the electors' palace and a church, symbolizing secular and religious powers), Justice and Mercy (one cherub holds a ruler refracted in a pool, labeled "*flectitur ad lacrimas*" [he is persuaded by tears], while another holds a ruler on the ground, with the inscription "*tenax recti*" [he is held steadfast]). The last emblem, "the Virtues of the most serene parents must be joined to the son," shows two flying putti carrying portraits of mum and dad, hovering over a standing putto with a shaded portrait of a classical bust: the future prince Max II? Clear and simple, these emblems are easy to understand, even for a newcomer to this essential genre of 16th and 17th-century European literature.

A second edition appeared the same year, which corrected an error in one of baby prince's many names, misidentified on the title as "*Maximiliani Emmanuelis Ludovici Ferdinandi Josephi*" instead of "*... Mariae Josephi*"; in that edition the text was condensed to 21 instead of 26 leaves.

OCLC locates 2 US copies of this edition (NGA, Penn) and one of the second edition (U. Illinois Urbana). VD 17 12:127621Z; Landwehr, *German emblem books 1531-1888*, 205; Hollstein, *German etchings, engravings & woodcuts 1400-1700*, XVI, p. 202, nos. 683-690 (misdating to 1681); Sommervogel-de Backer 5:1414, no. 171; McGeary & Nash, *Emblem books at the University of Illinois*, C31.

11) **MAXIMS** — *Maximes du Sage*. [France, ca. 1670-1700].

LARGE TYPOGRAPHIC AND PAINTED BROADSIDE ON VELLUM (530 x 415 mm.) Text in 30 lines in a *Petit Canon* Roman type, title in two lines in large capitals, 2-line initial capital; title, initial capital, first word of first verse and first letters of the other verses printed in dark green; text within a narrow green frame, set within a large and fine original gouache floral border: flowering stems tied with blue ribbon at sides, two garlands at top, and a flower-filled china bowl at bottom. Pinholes at top corners. A few small wormholes, some wrinkling to vellum, occasional rubbing to small areas of border, some marginal dust-soiling, soiling to blank verso. \$12,500

AN UNRECORDED BROADSIDE OF MORAL MAXIMS FOR THE YOUNG, PRINTED ON VELLUM AND ILLUMINATED, MOST LIKELY FOR A PRINCELY OR ARISTOCRATIC HOUSEHOLD OR EDUCATIONAL ESTABLISHMENT. Printed in a large, clear Roman typeface (see below) on a very large sheet of vellum, surrounded by a lavish border of realistic painted flowers and garlands, this list of wise counsels, addressing as yet unformed youth, was meant to be hung on the wall for contemplation. In the late 17th century some print publishers issued engraved broadsides with religious-moral exhortations, intended to be hung in the corridors and refectories of religious schools; this may be a particularly luxurious incarnation of that genre.

The precepts counsel self-knowledge, self-control, honesty, vigilance combined with discretion ("Ecoute



beaucoup, parle peu, regle tes pensées & pese tes paroles”), moderation, tolerance toward others and high standards for oneself, respect for one’s elders and established authority, love of the *Patrie*, the avoidance of bad means to arrive at a good end, distrust of flatterers, and acceptance of one’s fate. The use of the familiar *tu* form shows that a child or youth was addressed. In its overall tone, and in lines such as “*procure le bien public*” (procure the public good), this list of maxims appears to fit the paradigm of traditional advice to princes.

The text begins:

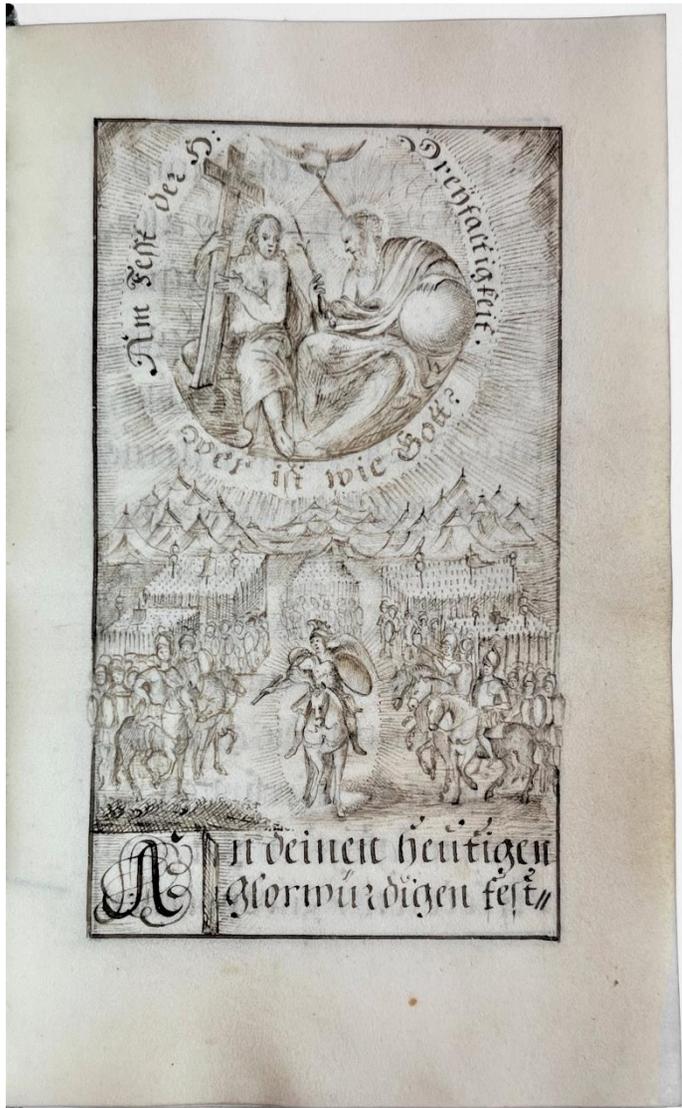
*“Adore le Createur de l’Vnivers, & l’aïme de toute ton Ame: /  
Honore ceux qui t’ont mis au monde; obeïs aux loix; reuere les Puissances: /  
Faits à autruy comme tu voudrois qu’on te fit à toy-mesme. /  
Sois humain, ciuil & bien faisant à tous les hommes, /  
Aime tes proches, aime tes amis; mais plus que tout aime ta Patrie, & pro-  
cure le bien public.” ...*

The text typeface, rather worn, is Granjon’s Two-line English Roman (R 190) or Petit Canon (Vervliet *Conspectus* 140). The title capitals measure 22 mm. (line 1) and 17 mm. (line 2). Robert Granjon, one of the most productive and talented of 16th-century French type designers and typefounders, produced dozens of types between 1540 and 1590, which remained in circulation for over 200 years. “Printing types from his matrices were available in France, Italy, Spain, the Netherlands, and the German-speaking and Scandinavian countries through the normal trade until the end of the eighteenth century” (Vervliet, p. 44). It is thus not surprising to find one of Granjon’s handsome Roman typefaces on a broadside from the seventeenth century. The printer is unknown, and it is likely that the broadside was privately printed. Printing on parchment was not easy, but it is thanks to its support that this copy was preserved. There may have been other copies, but I locate none in OCLC, the BnF, or the Catalogue collectif de France (with the caveat that broadsides were often traditionally omitted from library catalogues).

The fine gouache border of this exceptional ephemeral survival includes several types of flowers, including lilies, carnations, an iris, tulips, and pansies. The swags at top contain stylized acorns and berries. The style and conception of the painting show the influence of the illuminated manuscripts produced by the calligrapher Nicolas Jarry (1620-1670), and by the “Atelier des Vélins du roi,” a workshop of artist-veterans residing in the Invalides, who produced natural history watercolors on vellum, liturgical and other devotional books, and even fan leaves, for Louis XIV as well as other prominent patrons.

A similar set of maxims, without the title, appeared in a manuscript on vellum, possibly commissioned by Louis XIV for his son Louis, the Grand Dauphin (1661-1711), sold at Christie’s New York, 23 October 1998, lot 18 and again at Sotheby’s Paris, 6 July 2017, lot 28. The wording of the maxims is not identical throughout, but is very similar, and follows the same order. The illumination of that manuscript, comprising a picture of Louis XIV and the Dauphin, and the royal monogram, was tentatively attributed to the Atelier des Vélins du roi.

Cf. H. Vervliet, *French Renaissance Printing Types: a Conspectus* (2010).



**12) WOMAN'S MANUSCRIPT PRAYER BOOK — KREUTTNER, Maria Anna Clara, owner.** *Gebett Buech. Auf alle Hohe feste des ganzen Jahrs.* [Austria or South Germany, 18th century, after 1708].

ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPT ON VELLUM (155 x 98 mm). [86] leaves, unfoliated (collation: 1-43<sup>2</sup>). COMPLETE. Text and illustrations in brown ink throughout, text in a fine calligraphic gothic (*Kanzleischrift*), 16 lines, rule borders throughout, justification 120/21 x 65 mm. A few headings in ornamental or stippled calligraphy. Contents: fol. 1r: illustrated title, verso blank; f. 2r: illustrated dedication leaf, verso blank; ff. 3r-86v: text. Chapter openings and endings with 21 PEN-AND-INK ILLUSTRATIONS of which 7 full-page or nearly so, several ornamental tail-piece vignettes and numerous historiated or flourished initials. IN FINE CONDITION. Bound in 18th-century gold-tooled red goatskin, sides with floral roll-tooled border, spine gold-tooled, green silk liners, gilt edges (head of spine defective); two-part pull-off calf case, spine similarly gold-tooled, pastepaper interior with green silk lining covering outer portion (some rubbing and scratches to binding and case, stain from a removed bookplate inside front cover). *Provenance:* the manuscript was produced for Maria Anna Clara Kreüttner, whose name appears on the second leaf. \$6,250

A FINE BAROQUE CATHOLIC PRAYERBOOK, probably produced in Vienna. The recipient or commissioner of this impeccably executed manuscript on high-quality vellum, Maria Anna Clara Kreüttner, was clearly a woman of means, apparently the wife of a knight. The German text contains prayers for every major Feast Day; those related to Christ are listed before the Feasts of his Mother. Opening the prayers are 21 carefully executed original drawings, in a variety of layouts, often incorporating calligraphic text, showing scenes from the Passion, the life of the Virgin, and a few typological Old Testament motifs. Some of the historiated initials also include tiny identifiable scenes (like the expulsion from Eden) or objects (including several trees, possibly symbolic).

The drawing facing the opening page of prayers for the Feast of the Annunciation is peculiar. It appears to depict a female saint, instead of Moses (although this may be due to our amateur artist's rather obvious limitations), apparently writing the opening lines of Genesis, while a vision of the Virgin appears in the heavens. The jumble of imagery in this drawing is the most extreme example of the somewhat indiscriminate sources used in the manuscript. Moses was considered a typological precursor of Christ, and his finding in the bullrushes was thought to prefigure the Annunciation, but shown here is (Moses as?) the author of Genesis. The bird beneath the throne is possibly a phoenix, symbol of Christ's Resurrection, and the Virgin's Crescent moon rests on the back of a seven-headed hydra, seemingly conflating two figures in St. John's Revelation, the woman clothed with the sun and the seven-headed dragon.

Contents, with subjects of the drawings:

Fol. 1r: title, lettered over a fountain within a grotto-like portal decorated with shells, snails, short branches, etc.

2r: dedication leaf with the name *Maria Anna Clara Kreüttnerin* and her arms, a lion passant holding three plumes, surmounted by a knight's helmet also with 3 feathers, on a pedestal within curtained portico, an eagle holding a crown at top.

3r: Advent: "Im Advent"; headpiece with Annunciation and Holy Spirit, initial showing Adam and Eve's expulsion from the Garden.

10r: Christmas: "Am H[eiligen] Christ-Tag"; headpiece with Adoration of the Shepherds, initial with a tree.

16r: New Year: "An der h. Neuen Jahr": headpiece: IHS in heavens radiating light, flanked by angels' heads; initial: Noah's Ark.

20v: Epiphany: "An dem h. 3 könig Tag": half-page drawing with tiny roundel of the three Magi in the center of a star at top, their gifts on either side and below.

25r: Lent: "In der h. Fasten"; vignette showing Golgotha with the empty crosses leaning toward the left, a wooded copse on the right with large trees leaning to the right, the border and lettering of the heading incorporating several instruments of the Passion: the dice, the lance, the scourge, the sponge, and a chain. Initial with Christ in the Garden.

31r: tailpiece: the Crucifixion, Christ flanked by the thieves, the centurion (Longinus) on horseback with the lance pointed at His heart.

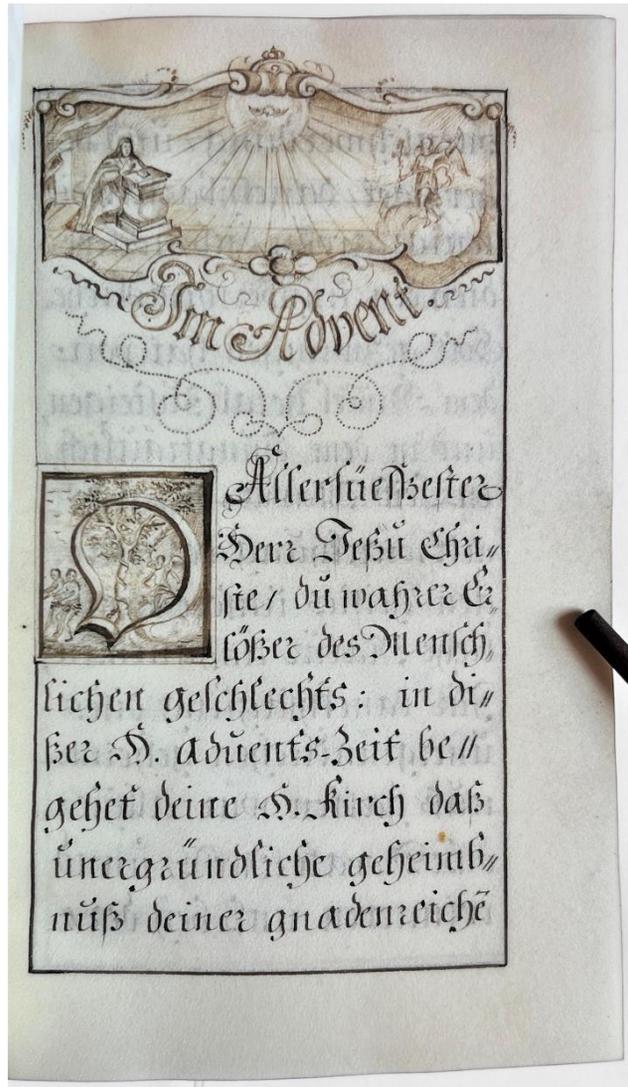
31v: Maundy Thursday: "An den heile. grünen Donnerstag"; headpiece, Christ (entering Jerusalem?) walking hand in hand with a female saint (Mary of Bethany?) carrying a jar and with a sword in her breast; initial with palm fronds.

36r: Easter: "Am h. Ostertag"; full-page drawing of the Resurrection, initial with the Lamb of God.



43v: Pentecost; "Am heiligen Pfingst Tag"; nearly full-page drawing of a kneeling angel presenting a basket of flaming hearts to the Holy Spirit, with a cherub holding a jar of balm(?), initial showing a desert-like scene with compound or wall and leaning palm tree.

51r: Trinity: "Am Fest der H. Dreyfaltigkeit / Wer ist wie Gott?"; full-page drawing, the caption lettered around a roundel at top containing the "New Testament" Trinity (Christ holding the Cross, God as an old man holding a sceptre, and the Holy Spirit), at bottom Moses with the rod on horseback riding between Pharaoh's armies, battalions and tents in the background.



54r: Corpus Christi: "Am h. Fronleichnambs Fest"; nearly full-page drawing, the Last Supper.

58r: Candlemas: "Am h. Liechtnesstag"; nearly full-page drawing, a bust portrait of the Virgin, the holy dove at top, initial with intertwined banner "lilium inter spinas."

62v: tailpiece: a female saint (or a feminine-looking Moses) holding a pen with a scroll containing the opening of Genesis, seated on a throne beneath which appears the head of a long-necked bird carrying a jar in its beak, a vision of the Virgin on the Crescent Moon, apparently perched on a hydra, in the heavens.

63r: Annunciation: "Am höchsten Fest Maria / Verkündigung"; 3/4-page drawing of Mary praying in a crowned oval lettered with that caption and carried aloft by cherubs.

67v: tailpiece ornament with at center the Ave Maria monogram.

68r: Visitation: "Am Fest Mariae Heimsuechung"; full-page drawing of the Visitation.

71v: Ascension Day: "Am fest Mariae Him[m]elfarth"; vignette, the Ascension of the Virgin.

76v: Nativity of Mary: Vignette with the crescent moon (with face) on its back below the Maria monogram, in roundel captioned "Am höchsten Fest Maria / Geburt," initial with trees and buildings.

79r: Presentation of Mary: "Am Fest Opferung Mariae"; Mary mounting the steps of the Temple; initial with a tree in a pot.

84r: tailpiece, the Virgin reunited with Christ in heaven, banner with text.

84v: tailpiece, a flower, at top of the page the eye of Providence.

85r: Feast of the Immaculate Conception; large calligraphic title, "Am Fest der unbefleckhten Empfängniss Mariae," incorporating medallion of the Virgin. (The feast of the Immaculate Conception (Dec. 8) was officially promulgated by Pope Clement XI in 1708.)

I have not been able to identify the dedicatee Maria Anna Clara Kreüttner. An Anna Maria Kreüttner, who died ca. 1749, is listed in the Viennese Catholic Church records (according to Ancestry.com).

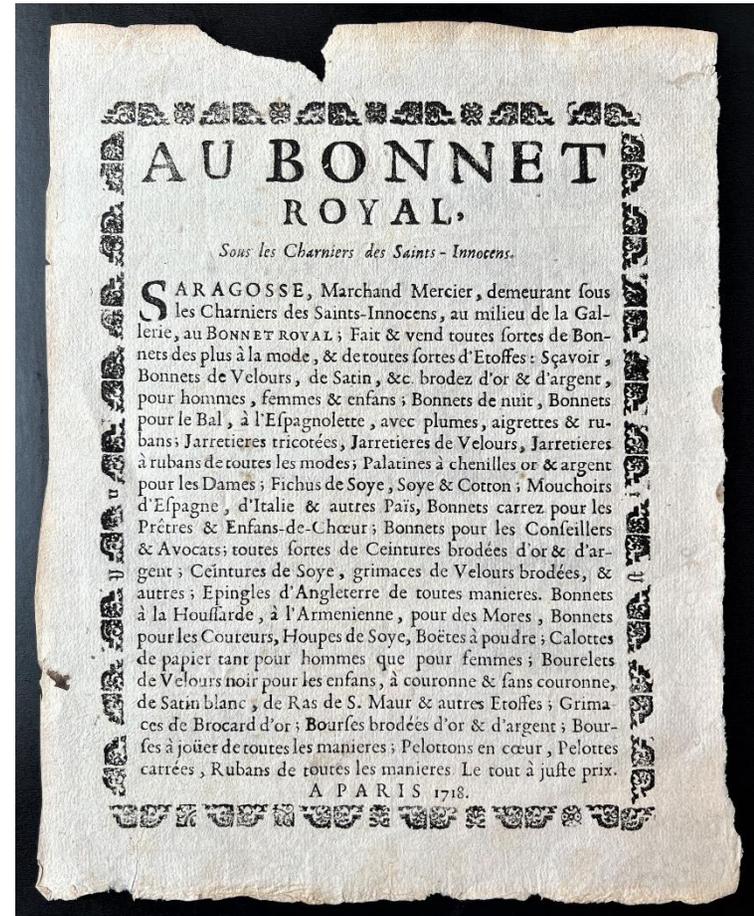
**13) HAT-MAKER'S BROADSIDE** — *Au Bonnet Royal, Sous les Charniers des Saints-Innocens.* Paris: 1718.

4to broadside (235 x 183 mm). Text within border of type ornaments and a few sorts (fl, n, i). Deckle edges. Slightly browned at upper margin, chip in upper margin not affecting text. \$1,150

An unrecorded publicity broadside for a *menu marchand mercier*, a sort of haberdasher, offering hats, skullcaps, bonnets, ribbons, garters, purses, ribbons, belts, cases for face-powder, tufts and tassels, and other accessories whose purpose remains shrouded in the fog of fashion history.

One of the six codified corporations of merchants of Paris, it was said of the *marchands merciers* that they were “*vendeurs de tout, faiseurs de rien*” (Verlet, p. 11, citing the *Encyclopédie*), since, unlike the other corporations, they were forbidden from manufacturing and were purely vendors. Originally applied to merchants of textiles, carpets and related objects in the medieval period, the pleonastic term came to encompass an economically broad range of tradespeople, ranging from art dealers to vendors of ribbons and knick-knacks. The objects offered here belong to the latter category.

Like many of his fellow salesmen and -women of simple clothing and accessories, our advertiser, who identifies himself as “Saragosse,” marketed his colorful wares in a most unlikely spot: in the middle of the dank field between the charnel houses of the Cemetery of the Innocents (near les Halles), former site of the famous 15th-century mural of the *Danse macabre* (destroyed in 1669). Far from the opulent boutiques of the art-dealing *marchands* on the rue Saint-Honoré, this insalubrious and vile-smelling locale, notoriously dangerous after dark, had become the regular marketplace for the *menus merciers*, the lowliest representatives of the trade, as well as of public scribes; one row of charnel houses came to be known as the *Charnier des lingères*, and the other the *Charnier des écrivains*.



At Saragosse’s stand or shop could be found “the most fashionable bonnets, in all sorts of materials, that is, velvet, satin, embroidered with gold and silver, for men, women and children, night caps, hats for the ball, à l’*Espagnolette* [an elaborate head-dressing], with feathers & ribbons; garters: knitted, velvet, with ribbons; *palatines* [a neck ornament] and *chenilles* [caterpillar-like trimmings] in gold and silver for ladies;

silk or cotton scarves; handkerchiefs from Spain, Italy, and other countries; square hats for priests and altar boys; hats for councilors and attorneys; gold- and silver-embroidered or silk belts and sashes, box pleats (*grimaces*) of embroidered velvet; English pins of all sort. Bonnets à la Houssarde [and four more kinds of hats, with their names]; paper skullcaps for men and women; *bourrelets* [rolled pads of fabric] of black velvet for [i.e., to protect] babies, *bourrelets* with or without crowns, in white satin ... & other materials [as hair ornaments for women] ... gold- and silver-embroidered purses," etc., "all at fair prices."

I locate no other copies of this informative broadside. Cf. P. Verlet, "Le commerce des objets d'art et les marchands merciers à Paris au XVIIIe siècle," *Annales. Economies, sociétés, civilisations* 13, 1 (1958), pp. 10-29; on the Cimetière des Innocents, see the eponymous page on the website [Lost Paris](#).

### *What calligraphers did (2)*

**14) GARDENER'S APPRENTICESHIP CERTIFICATE** — Official document stating that Lorentz Tihlman Ölck of Ostfriesland has completed a two-year apprenticeship as gardener in the pleasure garden of Wilhelm IV, Prince of Orange, signed by the head gardener Daniel von Berken. Oranienwald [Oranjewoud, Netherlands], 17 January 1741.

Large vellum sheet (380 x 508 mm.), the blank bottom (58 mm.) folded up and sewn with decorative ribbon, the calligraphic drawing on left continued over the fold. Calligraphic document with drawings in pen and ink: first lines in large calligraphic lettering enclosing the arms of William IV, Prince of Orange flanked by crowned lions rampant, at top two festoons of fruit and flowers, two very large ornate initials on left (D and I) intertwined with and enclosing respectively an elaborate cartouche within which is a drawing of a gardener about to plant a tree in a pot, and a large orange tree in a pot; similar images in right margin of text: in the upper cartouche a gardener digs with a spade, at lower right a lemon tree is flanked by two cacti. Signed by Berken in brown ink under the fold. A small stain affecting a drawing, tiny holes at fold junctures, the ribbons frayed and partially faded. \$1,900

An ornate calligraphic apprenticeship certificate on vellum for a gardener in a princely estate. Well into the 19th century, in German-speaking regions, documents certifying the completion of training, apprenticeships or the achievement of master craftsman status in various professions continued to be produced as manuscripts, often calligraphic. The use of vellum and the lavish decoration used here testifies to the prestige enjoyed by gardeners, especially those employed in royal or aristocratic gardens.

The text states that "I Daniel von Berken, the present Pleasure- and Orange-Gardener of His most Serene Highness Prince Wilhelm Carl Heinrich Friso, Prince of Orange-Nassau, Count of Katzenelnbogen, Vianden, Dietz [etc.] state herewith that the bearer of the present document, the honorable and art-loving Lorentz Tihlmann, Ölck, a native of Ostfriesland, served as an apprentice gardener with me, from 27 January 1739 to the present date in 1741, during which time he worked diligently, earning the satisfaction and contentment" of his employer, etc.

In 1676 Princess Albertine Agnes of Nassau purchased as a country estate a house in a wooded area in the province of Friesland. She renamed it Oranjewoud, after the royal dynasty, and had a park, alleys and canals constructed in the French style. The property was used until 1747 as a summer residence by successive Princes of Orange. As Wilhelm IV, Wilhelm Carl Heinrich Friso (1711-1751), who married the English princess Anne (called Anna van Hanover in the Netherlands), became the first hereditary stadtholder of all seven provinces of the Northern Netherlands.



**15) PARTERRE DESIGNS** — Album of original designs largely for garden parterres. [Germany?, ca. 1750-1800].

Manuscript, oblong 8vo (98 x 161 mm). [60] leaves of pen-and-ink and watercolor drawings, on thick laid paper, all but two on rectos. Contents: 23 leaves with an alphabet of capital letters ornamented with leafy sprays (the letters J and U not included, the letter I removed); 6 designs of gates; 6 mazes; and 25 intricate mostly monochrome geometrical designs, most square, two in a rhomboid shape, two in the form of a two-armed cross, and two circular. Alphabet leaves traced with one horizontal and one vertical blind rule. First and last pages slightly dust-soiled, a few small inkstains. 18th-century German half embossed parchment and Dutch-gilt paper-covered boards (rubbed), one (of two) thong ties, red and blue striped edges (upper hinge broken). *Provenance:* the date(?) 18/7/1822 in faint pencil on front pastedown. \$5,500

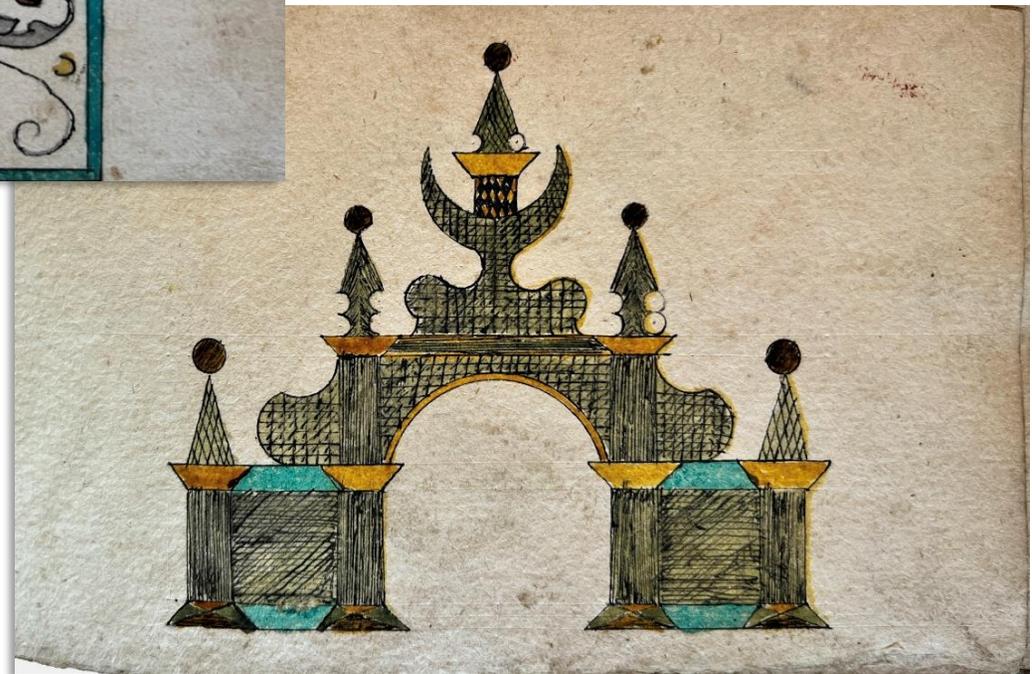
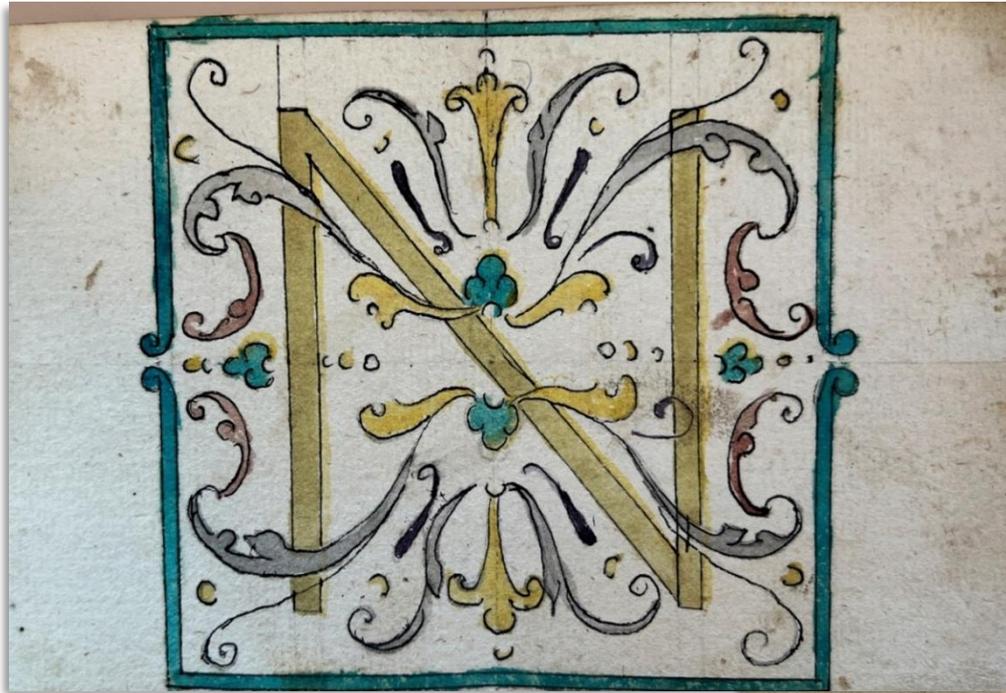
A small album of original drawings, most recording ideas for garden parterres. The 25 meticulous drawings in brown ink and gray wash contain geometrical patterns evoking the classical French garden tradition. Sixteen of these abstract designs are arranged on axes emanating from a central point; spaces indicate flowerbeds or other plantings. Nine drawings at the end contain intricate interlacing strapwork, whose translation into a physical garden layout would require simplification. A few have touches of green, perhaps to indicate trees. The six rather primitive architectural designs show colorful orientaling gates or porticos. One of the mazes shows a small building or “folly” at its center. The role of the alphabet is less evident. While the letters and their flowing ornamentation may conceivably represent walkways or waterways in a garden plot, or perhaps trellises for flowering plants, they could have served as designs for tiles or any number of ornaments, garden-related or not.

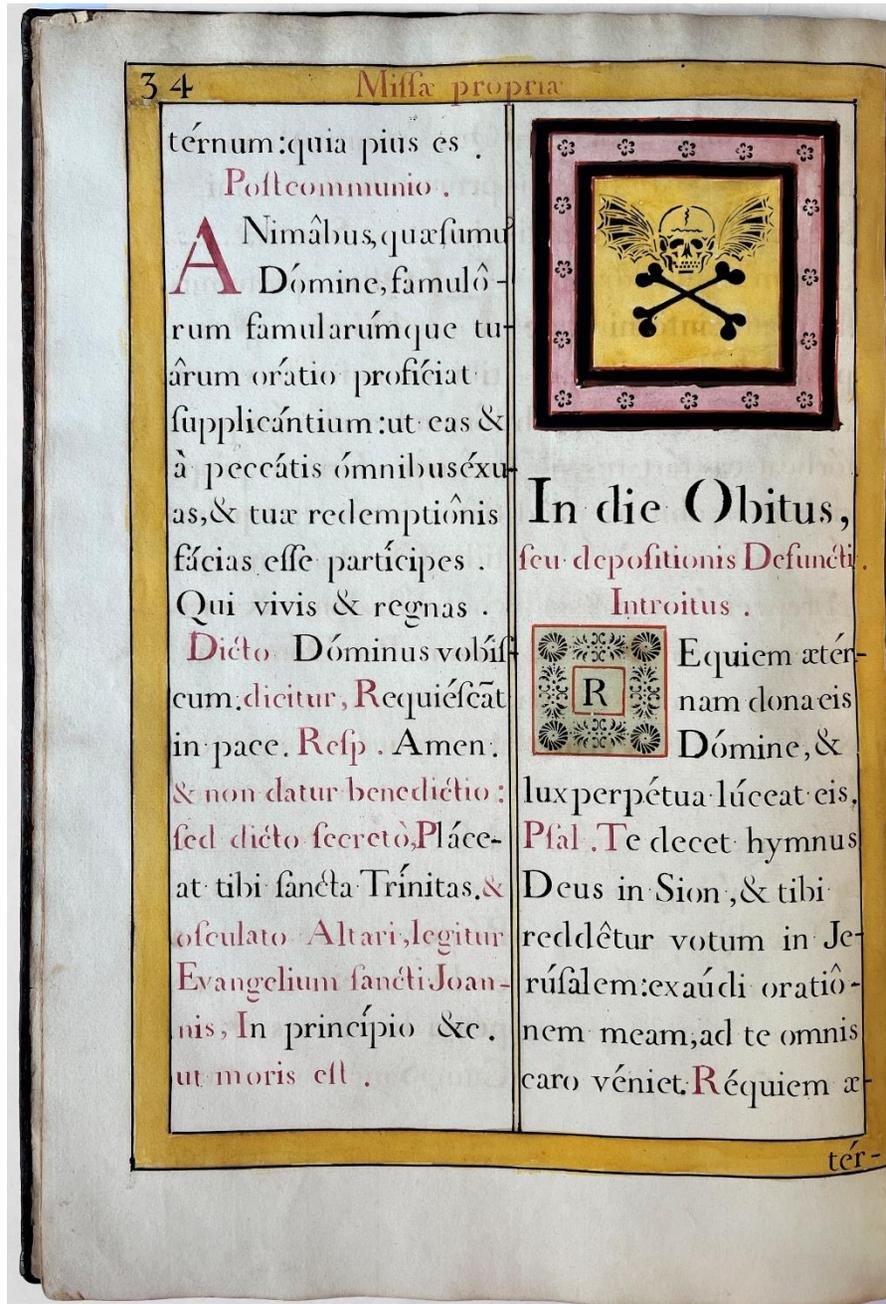


“In the mid-18th century, while in England the landscape style was already beginning to develop, German garden design underwent a further development from the baroque to the rococo. The gardens attached to princely residences no longer had a purely representative function but served to promote social intimacy: they were divided into numerous small garden rooms, usually enclosed by hedges, gazebos, or trellises.

There is something deliberately confusing, sometimes even labyrinthine, in the layout of these gardens.... Also characteristic of this period are the Chinese buildings in the form of pavilions, tea-houses, or pagodas" (*The Oxford Companion to Gardens* [1991], p. 221).

A charming personal sketchbook, possibly by a master gardener.





16) STENCIL-PRINTED MASS OF THE DEAD — *Missae defunctorum. Juxta usum Ecclesiae Romanae cum ordine & canone extensae.* Mons: Typis Palumbinis (colophon: Ex Officina Palumbina), 1772.

Large folio (524 x 369 mm). Collation:  $\pi^1$  A-E<sup>6</sup> F<sup>4</sup> (F4 blank). [1] leaf, 65 pages. STENCIL-PRINTED THROUGHOUT, on thick laid paper; crowned fleur-de-lis watermark. Text of the Mass (pp. 1-49) in two columns, the second part, *Orationes diversae*, in one column, letters in red and black, two-line capitals in red, running titles in red, pagination in black, yellow page borders and column dividers throughout. Occasional intralinear or marginal insertions. Collational signatures on rectos of first half of each quire, catchwords on rectos and versos of most leaves. Five pages with STENCILLED MUSIC (plainchant) on four-line red staves. *Decoration*: title within liquid gold border edged in pale green bands with allover design of repeated five-petalled flowers, printed in red on the green bands and in black within a grid on the gold frame, title vignette of a bat-winged skull and crossbones on a yellow ground; two full-page decorations: title verso within stencilled ornamental frame in pink wash edged in yellow bands, central panel in pale green wash with the text of Psalms 118:103 (*Quam Dulcia Faucibus [meis]*) lettered in black and red capitals, those in red larger, forming a chronogram of the date 1772, above a stylized flowering plant vignette within a blue frame with repeated spiraling circles; abstract full-page design (p. 12, facing the first Canon page) of yellow vertical bands separating panels of delicate flowers and leafy sprays in light brown on a gray-green ground; 8 large ornamental "passepartout" initials and 9 ornamental

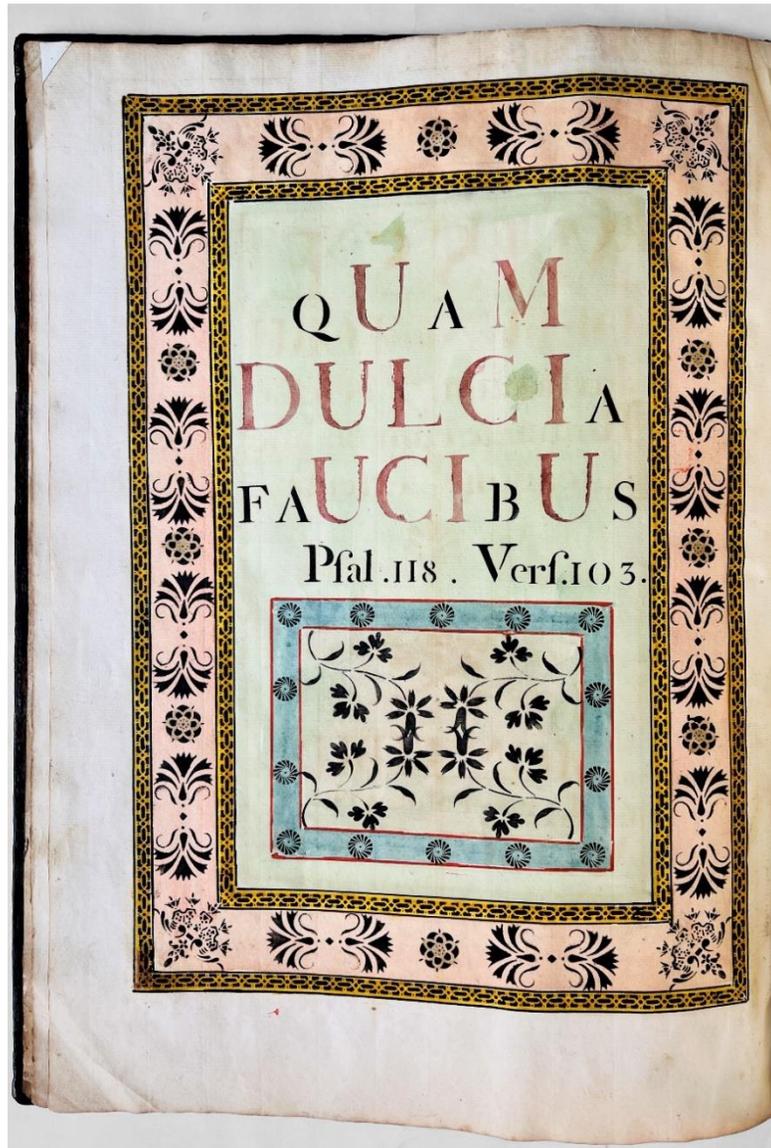
vignettes or bandeaux, the stencilled ornaments printed in black or brown, most on variously colored wash grounds (pale green, pink, blue, yellow, and occasionally brown), including a repeat (p. 34) of the skull and crossbones stencil used on the title. A few small ornaments used as line-fillers in text. *Condition*: Some dust-soiling, occasional offsetting, full-page decoration on p. 12 with rubbed areas, last two pages browned, first text leaf a bit creased, small repairs to upper corners of first two leaves. *Binding*: contemporary mottled calf over wooden boards, sides blind-panelled with intersecting diagonal fillets, circular ornament at center of both covers, original pink silk ribbon marker (rebacked, some other small restorations). *Provenance*: produced in Mons, Belgium, in an unidentified monastic house; Paul-Antoine-Hermand Wins (1760-1834), curé of the parish of Saint Elizabeth and canon of the cathedral of Tournay, sale, Mons, 16 February 1835 (Blogie I, p. 32, [online](#)), lot 1388 (described as a manuscript). \$11,500

This fine large Requiem Mass book, preserved in its original binding, was stencil-printed in Mons, Belgium, in an *atelier* called the “*Officina Palumbina*,” probably based within a monastery. The text of the Mass is interspersed with instructions for the officiating cleric printed in red, followed by various related prayers, including for deceased fellow clergy, arranged by hierarchical order of the defunct, from the Pope down to the priest’s parents. The discreet decorative elements, which include gold highlighting for the title, two full-page decorations, and borders and vignettes with meticulous arrangements of small floral, arabesque, abstract and foliate stencils, heighten the visual appeal of this easy to read large format liturgical book, intended no doubt for novices and other relative newcomers to the frequently performed Mass for the Dead.

Stencilled liturgical books were produced in European monastic institutions from the late 17th through the 19th century, but they have received little formal study. Produced using small tin sheets with cut-out letterforms and ornamental forms, such stencilled books were easier and quicker to produce than manuscripts. The process was often used for choir books, but also, as here, to acquaint novices with liturgy and “with the requirements of the *Opus Dei*” (Schrott). Stencilling for liturgical books may have originated in the mid-17th century (at least that was the theory of Giles Fitteau des Billettes, who wrote the “*pochoir*” article on the process in the *Description des Arts et Métiers*, ca. 1700). Des Billettes noted that stencil-printing was used to produce the books needed for particular churches and convents, as opposed to religious books of more general application. It appears that the regular use of stencilling in monastic settings originated in France, and spread throughout Catholic Europe.

Stencilled liturgical books were often not kept in the libraries of the monasteries, but instead tended to be housed with the cantor (Schrott, p. 1). This meant that many did not enter the book trade during the secularizations of the late 18th century. Many were discarded, and those that did survive were often poorly catalogued, being usually incorrectly identified as manuscripts.

In this imposing example the fine decoration, generally excellent alignment and well-planned layout of the text, and the very existence of the imprint point to its production in a dedicated stencilling workshop used to produce choir books and other large liturgical books, presumably within a monastery, which I have unfortunately been unable to identify. The colophon displays in large capitals the words *Labore et Constantia* (a motto also used by Plantin). The stencil-printer borrowed all the conventions of a printed book, from the imprint and colophon to the signatures, catchwords, and ornamental initials. More unusual is the purely decorative page facing the opening of the Canon, which evokes wallpaper or a Japanese screen.



Although the Officina Palumbina's production was presumably copious, internet searching locates only one other stencilled book with the "Typis Palumbinis" imprint (a choir book dated 1774, with plainchant compositions by several composers, including the monk-composer Paul Damance, preserved in the library of the Archbishopric of Tournai). This large Mass of the Dead is thus a rare survivor of what must have been a thriving center of book production, deserving of further study.

This book's former owner, Paul-Antoine-Hermand Wins, had been charged, as a young man, with finding books for the library of his superior Cornelius Nelis, Bishop of Antwerp and librarian of Louvain University. Wins used his buying trips to build up his own book collection at the same time, with apparent success, as it took up nearly 2100 lots in the sale catalogue published after his death.

G. Schrott, "Schablonierte Choralbücher. Buchgeschichtliche Entdeckungen auf den zweiten Blick," in *Ordensgeschichte. Ein interdisziplinäres Gemeinschaftsblog zur Geschichte von Klöstern und Orden*, 2019 ([online](#)). See generally Eric Kindel, *Stencil: a descriptive bibliography*, Reading. 2019 ([online](#)).

*A program of "enlightened" study*

**17) EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM** — *Exercices publics d'humanité de MM. Les écoliers du collège des prêtres de l'oratoire d'Arras*. Arras: Michel Nicolas, 1781.

4to (238 x 187 mm). 2 parts, separately titled and paginated: [21], 1 pages; 16 pages. Shoulder notes. Woodcut arms of Arras on title, woodcut headpieces and small tailpiece vignettes. Central section of the first title, containing the woodcut, removed, the two remaining portions of the leaf neatly mounted; first leaf with creased corner. 18th-century morocco, sides with wide gold-tooled border, a scalloped central medallion with small flower and star tools enclosing a later onlay with the arms of Arras within a roughly gold-tooled border, flat spine with horizontally gold-tooled title within a double gilt fillet border, blue silk liners, edges gilt (the binding was evidently created for another book and was adapted for this one at an early date). *Provenance*: MD, modern leather gilt bookplate. \$3,500

AN UNRECORDED PROGRAM OF STUDY for the students of the Collège des Oratoriens of Arras. A Jesuit college until the suppression of that order in 1762, the Arras *collège* had been founded in 1561, and still exists, now called the Lycée Robespierre, after its best-known alumnus. The Oratorian order, whose *raison d'être* was the education of future priests (and local social elites), had been the Jesuits' main competitor, and its priests were hotly pursued to run schools once the Jesuits had left. The Arras *collège* was one of the lucky schools to succeed in bringing them in. There, starting in the 1770s, the Oratorians overhauled the curriculum and generally raised the level of the school, bringing into their instruction the "new ideas" and the sciences, in a program directly influenced by the *Encyclopédie*.

These pamphlets describe one aspect of the Oratorians' innovative pedagogy: they decreed that all students be required to present their work in public, once per semester, along with a group of 8 professors (*Académiciens*). The reasoning behind this proposal — emulation is a stimulus, preparing for an event inspires students to work, and public speaking builds confidence — are explained in a 3-page introduction, which concludes with a list of all the subjects assigned to each grade in preparation for the presentations, for each of the two semesters. While Latin literature was a constant, the first semester was dedicated to History and Geography, and the second to Natural History. In order not to overtire or confuse the students, each presentation was to contain only two subjects, one being Latin. In the second semester, for example, the

students of the Fifth class must be prepared to speak on pastoral poetry and the natural history of fish, those of the Fourth class on didactic poetry and the natural history of insects, and so on.



The two parts that follow this introduction contain the detailed curricula which each class had to study in preparation for these public events. Local citizens are exhorted to attend, and the pamphlets appear to have been printed as much for the use of the public as for the school (the dates and times of the presentations, extending over seven days in May and August, are provided at the end of each part). For the Second class, for example (the junior year), the students were to prepare a selection from the first book and all of the second book of Horace's *Odes*, as well as the natural history of quadrupeds; a list of the animals and the relevant topics takes up two long paragraphs. The oldest students, in their last year, known as *Rhétorique*, were assigned, besides Cicero's *Pro Milone* and the entire *Ars poetica* of Horace, the natural history of man. The paragraph describing this loaded subject is a sort of resume of 18th-century prejudice, with topics including the characteristics of various peoples and races, customs of native Americans, political institutions of the early (Precolumbian) Mexicans, and many questions about the propensities and habits of "les Sauvages."

These rare programs, of which I locate no other copies, were lovingly bound together a few years later, probably by a former student, or perhaps by a professor or a parent, who adapted a luxurious binding from another, slightly thicker volume, adding the arms of Arras and the rather clumsy spine lettering.

On the history of the Arras college, see the [website](#) of the Lycée Robespierre.

*Performed by kids for kids, brainwashed by adults*

**18) TRANSFORMATION ALMANAC** — *Le Sérail a L'encan, Petite Piece Turque en I. Acte Représentée au Théâtre de l'Ambigu Comique.*  
[Paris]: s.n., 1783.

Small 12mo-sized pamphlet (wrapper size 114 x 93 mm). Engraved title plus two sheets, folded accordion style; the first sheet folded to form 4 "pages" of which the top and bottom thirds are cut to form moveable flaps that cover the central portions, which are illustrated with engraved images, each flap with two halves of an engraved image on the versos, thus visible when the flaps are closed, and engraved text on the rectos, visible with the flaps open; the second sheet trimmed and folded to form an engraved calendar for 1783, four portraits at outer edges, each showing a pair of royal figures; entirely hand-colored under the direction of the publisher. A couple of tiny repairs at flap creases, else in fine condition. Original bright green publisher's wrappers and original dark green pasteboard slipcase, the sides with blind roll-tooled border, front cover with onlaid pastepaper label, stamped in blind "Ambigu Comique" (small crease to a wrapper corner). *Provenance*: Robert de Beauvillain, etched bookplate by Charles Jouas. \$9,750



FIRST EDITION OF A MOVEABLE THEATER "ALMANAC" FOR CHILDREN. Often called "Harlequinades" in English, such small transformation booklets in *leprello* format were much rarer in France than in England. This one contains scenes and lyrics from two popular comic operas performed by children. Somewhere between a program and a toy, the booklet could no doubt be purchased at the theater by members of the juvenile audience.



In 1762 the actor, impresario, singer and puppeteer Nicolas-Médard Audinot began enchanting audiences with his wooden marionettes at the annual Saint-Germain fair. His success led him to open a real theater, called the "Ambigu Comique," in 1769. Soon after opening, according to

Soleinne, the players were changed from puppets to real children (!). In honor of these young actors an inscription was added above the entrance door, "*Sicut infantes audi nos*" (which contemporaries mockingly translated as "Cigit les enfants d'Audinot": here lie the children of Audinot). A variant of this motto appears on the title-page of this booklet as "*Sicut pueri audi nos.*"

The title mentions only one of the plays, *Le Sérail à l'encan*, first performed in 1781, and first published in 1783, attributed variously to Jean François Sedaine de Sarcy (b. 1762) or to Audinot himself and/or his collaborator Jean François Arnould, called Mussot (cf. Barbier, IV, 474). The other play, *Le Prince noir et blanc, féerie*, by Arnould, was first performed in 1780 and published in 1782.

Two scenes each are shown from each of these singing entertainments. The first (closed) has a a brief caption and the title of the play, while the versos of the flaps display some lyrics and the song titles whose melodies they borrow. In one image from the *Sérail*, a young woman declaims from a pedestal at the foot of which sit three men in Turkish dress. Opening the flap reveals five more women, in multi-colored gowns, singing in chorus. The first scene from the *Prince* shows a woman discovering a rock slab in a forest, inscribed with a love message. The flap opens to show the same lady in a dream, atop the rock, with flowers in her hair and three female musicians, while her "Prince" plays a flute below.

There is a sadly racist component to the second *Prince* scene, obviously reflecting the plot of the "Black and White Prince." In the flap-closed picture a Black man kneels in courtship to a lady, who rejects him with her arms outstretched. The opened flaps show him transformed into a bewigged white man, with the lady's attitude correspondingly changed. This ephemeral flap book for children is thus revealed as a potent witness to the overt racism with which the young were indoctrinated during the very Enlightenment that promoted ideals of equality and fraternity.

Originally based on popular pantomimes, harlequinades maintained an association with the theater. "Harlequinades were produced by a few printmakers at a time of creative experimentation in the late 18th century. Robert Sayer, who produced the first flap book in 1766, experimented with different types of visual images alone and in combinations with words, such as perspective prints, transformation prints, and dissected maps. .... [Some] harlequinades were sold in toy shops. They are one of the earliest texts commercially produced for children that were for amusement. As a type of moveable book the harlequinade is categorized as a hybrid form between book and toy and predates the toy theatre also based on the popular drama" (Reid-Walsh, p. 6).

I locate two other copies of this edition, one at UCLA, with the same engraved calendar, and one in a private collection, with a letterpress calendar for 1783 (with its own imprint, of the printer Cailleau). The booklet was reissued in 1785, with a letterpress calendar for 1786 bearing the imprint of the publisher Valleyre: of that issue OCLC locates copies at the BnF, Houghton Library, and New York Public Library. At least 3 of these copies (Harvard, UCLA and private collection) are also in green wrappers, and the Harvard copy has an identical slipcase.

Gumuchian 2956 ("curieuse et jolie plaquette, rare"). Not in Grand-Carteret. On the plays, cf. Soleinne, *Bibliothèque dramatique*, III: 225. Cf. Jacqueline Reid-Walsh, "The late 18th century Harlequinade: a migration from stage to book," a paper given at the fourth Media in Transition conference (Cambridge, MA, 2005, pdf [online](#)).



**19) LIBRARY ART** — [MAYER, Václav (1734-1800)]. *Historische Beschreibung der vom Anton Maulbertsch ... am Bibliothekgewölbe der königlichen Prämonstratenserordens-Kanonie, am Berge Sion zu Prag, im Jahre 1794, in einem zusammenhangenden Platfond in Fresko dargestellten Kalkmahlerey.* Prague: widow [Barbara] Elsenwanger for Anton Petzold, 1797.

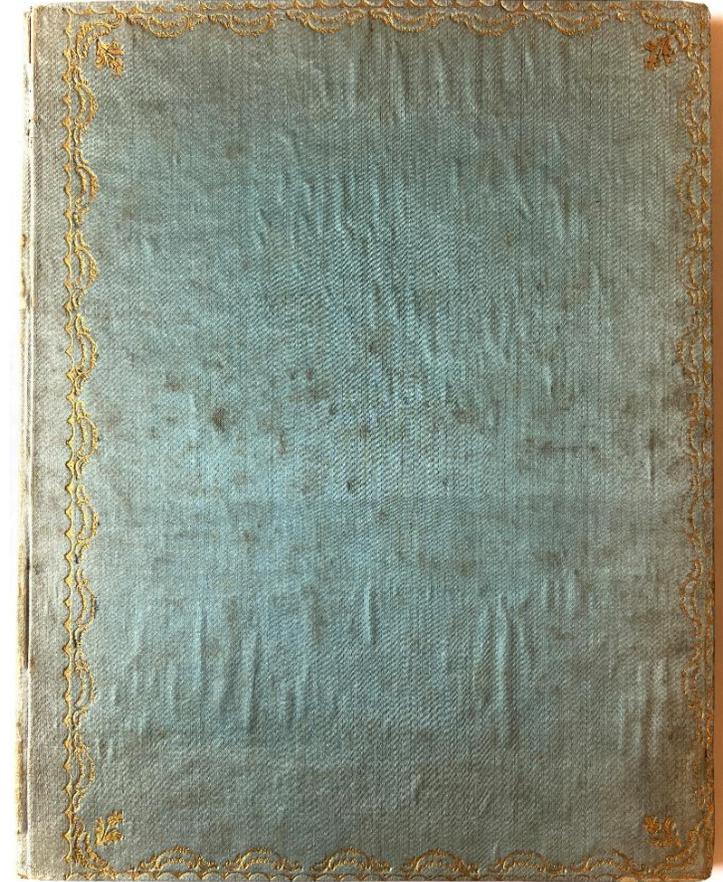
4to (262 x 204 mm). [14], 26 pages, printed on thick paper. Two engraved plates and an engraved text illustration, all by Johann Berka, woodcut head- and tailpiece vignettes and page ornaments. Contemporary blue satin over pasteboard, covers with gold-tooled scalloped and drawer-handle border, flower tools at inner corners, spine decorated with wavy line in black, gilt edges, block-printed sepia endpapers; covers lightly soiled, some fraying at spine and board edges; overall fine. **\$3,500**

A FINE COPY of an important description of the painted ceiling of the new library hall of the Strahov Monastery in Prague, the Premonstratensian Abbey on the Petřín hill, which still thrones among the picturesque edifices of the west bank of the river Vltava. This is the first edition in German; Petzold published a Latin version in the same year.

Called the *Filosofický sál* or Philosophy Hall, the vast new library building was commissioned by the abbot of Strahov, Wenzel Joseph [Václav] Mayer; designed by the architect Jan Ignác Palliardi, it was completed in 1790. It adjoins the original library, dubbed the Theological Hall (although both libraries ended up housing works on

many different subjects), built in the 1670s under the direction of the philosopher-abbot Jeroným Hirnheim. During the succeeding century, a number of rebuilding projects had been undertaken, some necessitated by damage to the buildings incurred by war. Mayer's library was the last such major construction project. The immediate purpose of the new library was to house the collections of the Premonstratensian Monastery of Klosterbruck bei Znaim (Louka u Znojmo, in southern Moravia, referred to in this text as Bruck), which had been secularized by Joseph II in 1784, and whose library ceiling had also been painted by Maulbertsch. Along with the books came the magnificent walnut bookcases, as related in the foreword (see below) and shown in Johann Berka's fine engraving. They are still *in situ* today, as is the imposing stove, and the principal subject of this short treatise, the allegorical ceiling painting by the celebrated Baroque painter Franz Anton Maulbertsch, whose many frescoes and a few altarpieces decorate churches and castles in Vienna and Lower Austria, Bohemia, Moravia, Hungary and Slovakia (many of these works are listed in the foreword). Maulbertsch embodied the last great flowering of Central European mural painting; after his death, the fashion for classicizing architecture and "a somewhat more restrained style of painting and a more subdued palette came into vogue" (Kaufmann, p. 431). His frescoes were characterized by brilliant coloration, thanks to the technique, then prevalent in central Europe, of *Kalkmalerei*, in which pigments were mixed with lime and water applied to dry plaster; he furthermore appears to have used impasto and a well-loaded brush. "Details of his frescoes seem from close up to call to mind features found in oil painting" (*ibid.*, p. 430). Maulbertsch's allegorical painting in Philosophy Hall depicts "the revelation of Divine Wisdom" (*ibid.*, p. 453), or the "Intellectual progress of Mankind" (Strahov Abbey website). Painted in 1794 in only six months, with the help of a single assistant (Martin Michl) the magnificent fresco was Maulbertsch's last important project; he died in Vienna in 1796.

The text of the Historical Description is believed to have been written by the abbot Václav Mayer himself (cf. Šeferisová Loudová, p. 90), although he is referred to in the third person throughout, and the work, dated October 4, 1797, is signed at the end by the canons regular of the Abbey. In the foreword the author eulogizes libraries generally in flowery terms, especially those publicly available to scholars, which he contrasts with private libraries, built for show. Moving to the particular, he describes the construction of the new Strahov Monastery library. Praising the abbot Wenzel Joseph Mayer (i.e., praising himself), the author describes his (own) dogged pursuit of acquisitions for the library, needed in part to replace the many books damaged and lost through war (particularly under the Swedes, i.e., during the sack of Prague in 1648). So many were his acquisitions that Mayer ordered a new library hall to be built, with a separate entrance for the scholarly public. Above all he had the courage and determination (says the author) to make this library an exceptional space, the first step



being his purchase, at great expense, of the splendid bookcases of the library of the dissolved monastery of Bruck. Since they were too tall for the ceiling as designed, the ceiling was simply raised. As the new library's crowning glory, Mayer hired the renowned painter Maulbertsch to paint the ceiling. The introduction concludes with an encomium of the young Emperor Francis II, to whom a marble monument was erected in the library, illustrated in Berka's second engraved plate.

The text provides a detailed interpretation of the many figures and scenes in Maulbertsch's huge and ambitious allegorical painting. Biblical and Patristic figures, ancient philosophers (Aristotle, Diogenes, Heraclitus, Galen, Hippocrates, Socrates...), all gather in celebration of the progress of human knowledge, subsumed however under divine wisdom, the program "stressing the guiding light of religion over the recognition of the power of natural reason. The choice of this subject after the death of [Holy Roman Emperor Joseph [II]] may be taken as a reaction to the Josephine Enlightenment" (Kaufman, p. 453).

Scholars have noted that the textual descriptions diverge in many places from the actual painting. The Abbey's librarian Gottfried Johann Dlabacz left, in an unpublished manuscript, a more accurate description of the painting, which he appears to have written alongside Maulbertsch as he worked. In fact, the present work, printed three years later, was conceived rather as a compelling literary relation of the intellectual-spiritual development of mankind, than as a guide to Maulbertsch's painting itself. The edition was printed in 200 copies, all on fine paper, and copies were distributed to "professional artists and to members of sister monasteries" (Šeferisová Loudová, p. 90-91).

This pretty copy was bound in silk, clearly for presentation. The binding of the Anna Amalia copy, in dyed parchment, is similarly decorated. OCLC and KVK together list 8 libraries holding copies of this edition in Germany, Austria, Poland and Sweden; there appear to be none in US libraries (but 6 copies of the Latin edition).

See M. Šeferisová Loudová, "Historische Beschreibungen' von Maulbertschs Fresken in Dyje, Louka und Strahov: einige Bemerkungen zur Beziehung zwischen Text und Bild," in *Ars* 47, 2014, 1, pp. 84-92, [online](#); Thomas Da Costa Kaufmann, *Court, Cloister & City: the art and culture of Central Europe 1450-1800* (1995), pp. 426-430, 449-454.

#### KEYWORD INDEX

Baroque	8, 10, 11, 12,19	Emblems & allegory	8, 9, 10, 18, 19	Manuscripts	9, 11, 12, 14, 15
Bindings, contemporary		Ephemera	11, 13, 14, 17, 18	Mirrors for princes	10, 11
	2, 4, 5, 9, 10, 12, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19	Fashion	13	Moveable	18
Calligraphy	12, 14	Gardens	14, 15	Philosophy	2, 19
Children	10, 11, 17, 18	Colored or illuminated		Religion	4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 16
Classics	1, 2		4, 9, 11, 15, 16, 18	Stencil	16
Color printing	3, 4	Intaglio	3, 8, 10, 18, 19	Vellum	4, 9, 11, 12, 14
Dance, theater	3, 18	Libraries	19	Xylography	4, 5, 6, 7
Dictionaries	1	Liturgy	4, 5, 16	Women	12