

## Ordinary and extraordinary prices in the Giolito *Libri spirituali* sales List

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### ABSTRACT

This article illustrates an early modern sales list of books, the *Libri spirituali di stampa* of the Venetian Giolito publishing house. This printed list, kept in the Biblioteca Comunale Augusta in Perugia, includes the descriptions of 81 devotional and religious sixteenth century books with their prices expressed in Venetian lire (an account money). The aim of the research is to illustrate the price policy of the Giolito firm between 1587 and 1592, and the segment of the market they intended to serve. For this purpose, on the basis of the books priced, the list has been dated and placed in chronological relation with other already known Giolito sales catalogues. In the second part of the article, average prices per printing sheet are calculated and the relationships between prices and dates, languages and formats are taken into consideration. In the end, the reasons why some few editions were proposed on the market at a higher price are discussed. The list is published in the Appendix.

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### KEYWORDS

Book trade; book market; history of the book; 16th-century books; printed booksellers' catalogues; early modern book prices; Giolito printing house; devotional early modern books.

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Until very recently, only three catalogues displaying prices of the Giolito publishing house were known to exist. One was the *Indice copioso di tutti li libri stampati dalli Gioliti in Venetia fino all'anno M.D.XCII*, already described by Salvatore Bongi (Bongi 1895, II, 456–457), and the others were two undated lists both entitled *Libri di stampa de' Giolito*, kept in the Ambrosiana Library in Milan. All three were studied and edited by Christian Coppens (Coppens 2005, 453–566).<sup>1</sup>

However, in the past few years research on the Giolito family has made two big steps forward. The first is thanks to Maria Alessandra Fraton Panzanelli, who unearthed a fourth list, the *Libri spirituali di stampa de' Gioliti*, in the Biblioteca Comunale Augusta in Perugia (see her article in this volume); the second – a first fruit – is the discovery of two lists closely related to each other in the Biblioteca Universitaria in Cagliari by Giovanna Granata. Granata has just published a very detailed introduction to them and she will be providing (in the second part of her article not yet published) the edition of the complete text of these two lists: one without and one with prices (Granata 2017). A further list, bound together with a copy of the *Indice copioso* and containing a large amount of Giolito editions, is also known to exist, but it has no prices (Granata 2017, 274; Puntel 2013-2014; Coppens 2008, 119).

While the edition by Giovanna Granata has not yet been published, this paper focuses on the *Libri spirituali* list, which is published here in the Appendix. At present, this list has been transcribed and processed in the EMOBookTrade project database, together with the *Indice copioso* and the two Ambrosiana lists, 552 items overall. In this context, studying the *Libri spirituali* list allows for a broad reassessment of data in order to propose a general hypothesis regarding the way prices featured in the four known catalogues were specified and circulated.

Among the mentioned catalogues, only the *Indice copioso* carries the explicit date of 1592, which is the year immediately following the death of Giovanni II Giolito, who was the son of Gabriele, the most prominent member of the business. After Giovanni II's death in 1591, the business was passed on to his sons and his brother Giovanni Paolo and carried on operating under them until 1606, using the colophon “Appresso i Gioliti” or “Apud Iolitos”. During this time, the *Indice copioso* continued to be used, as is shown by the fact that in the three known copies, the date 1592 is updated: in the copy found in Bern and in that kept in Winterthur, the date is amended to 1596, while the copy found in Venice is post-dated to 1598. With the knowledge we currently have, there are no reasons to attribute these and other manuscript corrections and variants to the Giolitos. They could have been introduced by the publishers themselves (at least in the copy that has never left the Republic of Venice), of course, but also by other booksellers, for example one of the Giolitos' correspondents outside Venice (Nuovo 2013, 81–82). In light of this, the *Indice copioso* was most likely circulated when Giovanni Paolo and Giovanni II's sons took over the running of the publishing house, which also coincided with a period of productive decline for the Giolito press, and continued to be of importance during the last decade of the sixteenth century.

Neither the two lists kept at the Ambrosiana Library nor the *Libri spirituali* list are explicitly dated. As far as the two Ambrosiana lists are concerned, Christian Coppens was able to date them to the year 1587 based on the latest edition listed therein (Coppens 2005, 464, 543). Among the editions of the *Libri spirituali*, the latest edition identified with fair certainty – the *Vita di san Placido* by Felice Passero

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<sup>1</sup> From here on, I will refer to them as *Indice copioso*, first Ambrosiana list and second Ambrosiana list.

– was fortunately (for posterity) printed only once by the Giolito press and carries the date 1589 (Appendix No 79). As I am going to demonstrate, it is the date of this book which represents the *terminus post quem*, because it is described as “stampato di nuovo”, which means “newly printed” in the language of that period.

On the basis of these dated and datable sources, in tracing the history of the Giolito press, it is not possible to determine whether forms of marketing such as the publication and circulation of sales catalogues were in use before the years 1587-1589, for example during Gabriele’s period of tenure.

We can instead argue that the most important catalogue, the *Indice copioso*, was published when the firm was about to close and was liquidating its stock (Bongi 1895, II, 457; Coppens 2005, 465). In 1592, the Giolito press put in place a marketing operation aimed at increasing profits whilst avoiding any major investment, and this hypothesis finds some further ground in the existence of multiple *rinfrascature* of previous editions, as in the case of Cornelio Musso’s works and others that will be examined later. Aside from being a valuable clue to the history of the Giolito family, the *Indice copioso* is a fundamental resource for the history of book prices, especially because said prices were seriously taken into account well beyond the sixteenth century by another fellow bookseller, Bernardo Giunti, who included them in his personal stock book (Ammannati and Nuovo 2017). Giovanna Granata claims that at least one other catalogue with prices was published with the same aim (Granata 2017, 286–288).

On the other hand, the two Ambrosiana lists and the *Libri spirituali* are thematic advertising lists: they were published by Giovanni II and Giovanni Paolo Giolito when they were conducting their business in order to reach new buyers. Two of them are printed only on one side of the folio and all the three are less accurate in describing editions but extremely punchy in expressing titles, what suggests that they were probably displayed in shops and fairs. Moreover they are selective and seem to be devised to reach out to specific segments of the reading public (Coppens 2005, 465). The two Ambrosiana lists are directed more towards readers interested in ancient history and culture translated into the vernacular, whereas the *Libri spirituali* was aimed at an audience eager to reinforce their devotional readings, a large market in the second half of the sixteenth century (Quondam 1977; Fragnito 2005, 304; Coppens 2005).

Although we do not intend to deal with the analysis of who actually bought the books priced in the *Libri spirituali* (this analysis would constitute another research), some published inventories of early modern libraries show that Giolito devotional and religious books found a favorable market in religious institutions. Some of them, for example, features in a 1581 inventory of the Augustinian convent of Santa Marta in Milan (Zardin 1992); others in the 1600 inventory of the monastery of the Benedictine nuns of Santa Marta in Genoa (Masetti Zannini 1985, 464, 466, 468–469, 471–475), and many other similar cases could be studied.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> The online database RICCI at present (december 2017) includes a great amount of copies of the Giolito editions listed in the *Libri spirituali*; see also Zardin 1999, 356–363; Borraccini 2006, 420, 434, 438; Bruni 2006, 493–494; Compare 2006, 609, 611. On the other hand, only two religious (not devotional) Giolito editions described in the *Libri spirituali* feature in the *Index librorum Bibliothecae Pinellae* (Milan, Ambrosiana Library MS B 311 suss., dated 1609), the inventory of the humanist

For the purpose of the EMOBookTrade project, Giolito sales lists were approached using methodologies germane to the field of digital humanities. Firstly, lists were transcribed and entered into an *ad hoc* database. Secondly, empirical elements were processed and translated into univocal computable data that the database could read. In so doing, an electronic edition of the sources was created with the further intention of making it public to scholars. The database has been devised to serve multiple purposes. Firstly, to make comparative computations easier, all the prices expressed in Venetian lire, which was a money of account, are automatically translated by an algorithm into the submultiples denari. All the prices are also converted in grams of silver.<sup>3</sup> On another level, the database includes a brief bibliographic description of the editions listed derived primarily from the Italian national database EDIT16. This information is combined with information on the extent of each edition. A further automated function of the database breaks the number of leaves down into a precise calculation of printing sheets used for each edition entered. Furthermore, the database translates the total price of an edition into price per sheet, allowing for a narrower comparison between different titles and editions included in the lists (Barbero and Tessarolo 2018).

These features of automated data analysis have made it possible to point out some important facts about the existing relationship between prices and editions within the Giolito business.

Using data analysis to study the specific prices of the Giolito publishing house does not allow us to outline long term trends nor to process large statistics, but it helps to observe the results of strategies used by these Venetian publishers in selling their products. Patterns and exceptions both emerged, and these will be analysed in detail, since a lot can be learned from a combined observation of both.

First of all, a large proportion of the editions that appear in all four of Giolito catalogues (the two Ambrosiana lists, the *Libri spirituali* and the *Indice copioso*) display the same prices. This is especially the case if one only takes into account the three minor lists, i.e. the two Ambrosiana lists and the *Libri spirituali*. Secondly, the price per printing sheet of the mentioned recurring editions does not seem to be constantly linked to material and contents factors such as format, subject and language of the edition. Moreover, generally speaking, only a few prices are significantly below or above the average price.

If this was the norm, what are the exceptions and how can they be justified? What significance is there between some of the prices of the *Indice copioso* and the corresponding prices in the two Ambrosiana lists and in the *Libri spirituali*? Why were few editions sold at a considerably higher price than the average price per sheet? On what grounds and following what sort of combined necessities were those prices that are higher than the average set? To answer these questions, we must take a closer look at sales catalogues and their prices.

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Gian Vincenzo Pinelli's library, transcribed by Anna Raugei in the EMOBookTrade database (december 2017); the two editions are Girolamo Garimberti, *La prima parte, delle vite ovvero fatti memorabili d'alcuni papi et di tutti i cardinali passati*, In Vinegia, appresso Gabriel Giolito de Ferrari, 1567 (EDIT16 CNCE 20425) and Pedro de Ribadeneyra, *Vita del p. Ignatio Loiola fondatore della Religione della Compagnia di Giesù*, In Venetia, appresso i Gioliti, 1586 (EDIT16 CNCE 27632).

<sup>3</sup> For the conversion of the values of the series of prices from units of account to precious metal content (silver) see the article by Francesco Ammannati in this same issue.

## Delving into the sales catalogues chronology

The *Indice copioso* is a printed catalogue made up of a single quire of ten folios. It lists 220 editions divided into: “Libri Latini” (Latin works, 24 in total) and “Libri volgari in italiano” (works in vernacular Italian, 196 in total). For each edition, information on author, title, format, date of publication and price is accurately given and the price is displayed in lire and soldi.<sup>4</sup>

We already know about three copies of this catalogue: one, the most famous, already known to Salvatore Bongi, is kept in Venice at the Marciana National Library (Bongi 1895, II, 456–457).<sup>5</sup> This copy also carries the printed date modified by hand to 1598 and does not display any provenance note, but it is bound together with a sales catalogue published by Aldo Manuzio Jr. dated 1595. A second known copy is kept in Bern at the Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek and originally belonged to Jacques Bongars (1554-1612),<sup>6</sup> while the third known copy is kept in Winterthur at the local Stadtbibliothek.<sup>7</sup> In the two copies kept in Switzerland, the original date 1592 has been modified by hand to 1596.

Regarding the first list entitled *Libri di stampa de' Gioliti*, only one copy is kept in Milan at the Ambrosiana Library.<sup>8</sup> It is printed in two columns and occupies the *recto* and *verso* of the first part of a bifolio. One hundred and sixty-four editions are listed in alphabetical order by author or title placed under corresponding Roman capital letters, whereas items are in italics. The same bifolio that hosts this first list also contains a second one likewise entitled *Libri di stampa de' Gioliti*. In this second list, the typographic features are unchanged except for the fact that the items were printed exclusively on the *recto*. The fifty-eight editions listed are organized in alphabetical order.<sup>9</sup>

The bifolio that contains the two lists was originally bound together with four other catalogues dated between 1591 and 1627: Girolamo Scotto 1591, Michelangelo Samartelli 1592, Giovanni Battista Bozzola 1613 and Pietro Paolo Tozzi 1627 (Coppens 2005, 548–549). A closer look at the ancient binding shows that afterwards the small volume was enriched by the addition of three more eighteenth century catalogues, but there is proof that the Giolito lists reached the Ambrosiana during the second quarter of the seventeenth century. Giolito's bifolio is in fact cited in one of the library's oldest inventories, dated between 1647 and 1648.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> For analysis on the subject matters of the listed works, their chronological distribution, format, and printing sheets used, see Coppens 2005.

<sup>5</sup> Venice, Marciana National Library, shelf mark 193.D.443 (D.193.D.443 in the Marciana online catalogue).

<sup>6</sup> Bern, Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek, shelf mark Bong. V.1015(6).

<sup>7</sup> Winterthur, Stadtbibliothek, shelf mark Sch. 354 Nr. 20.

<sup>8</sup> Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, shelf mark S.M.I.VII.3/5.

<sup>9</sup> Also for analysis on the subject matters of the works listed in the two Ambrosiana lists, their chronological distribution, format, and printing sheets used, see Coppens 2005.

<sup>10</sup> *Inventario topografico della parte inferiore della Sala Federiciana*, Milan, Ambrosiana Library, MS Z 41 inf., p. 63 “[D] 439 Libri di stampa de Giolitti”. On the contrary, no mention of the bifolio is made in the *Catalogo alfabetico delle opere a stampa scritte in lingua latina (A-Z)*, Milan, Ambrosiana Library, MS Z 25–31 inf., dated to the first quarter of the seventeenth century.

One single surviving copy of the list entitled *Libri spirituali* is known today, and it is kept at the Biblioteca Comunale Augusta in Perugia as part of a miscellaneous volume of catalogues that belonged to the humanist and book collector Prospero Podiani.<sup>11</sup> This 81-item list printed on the *recto* of a sheet has typographic and qualitative similarities to the two Ambrosiana lists, including its alphabetical arrangement.

The most recent edition included in the second Ambrosiana list can be confidently identified: it is *Institutioni grammaticali volgari, et latine* by Orazio Toscanella, published by Giovanni Giolito II and by his son Giovanni Paolo in 1587 (EDIT16, CNCE 76879). This edition is described in the catalogue fairly accurately, unusually (in the Ambrosiana lists) including the year of publication: “Grammatica Toscanella. 8°, ristampata del ‘87. L. 1 ss. 10” (Coppens 2005, 543). This entry allows for an approximate dating of both the lists printed on the same bifolio.

As far as the *Libri spirituali* are concerned, the most recent identifiable item is the *Vita di san Placido* by Felice Passero, published by Giovanni II Giolito and his brother in 1589 (CNCE 27810). It is described in the list as “Vita di san Placido dell’Ordine di san Benedetto, in 4°, in ottava rima, stampata di nuovo L. - ss. 16” (Appendix No 79).

Regarding these data, Giovanna Granata in her recent article identifies further evidence that points to a much later chronology of the Ambrosiana lists. The evidence consists in the following item, present in the second Ambrosiana list and – this can be added to Granata’s analysis – in the *Libri spirituali* with the same wording: “Prediche del Cornelio. 8°, compite con la vita. L. 9 ss. 10”. In his critique of the 1592 *Indice copioso*, Christian Coppens hinted at a possible proximity of the citation to an edition of Cornelio Musso’s *Preaches* of 1589; yet he refrained from making a firmer identification of this item until new evidence arises (Coppens 2005, 546). Giovanna Granata observed that only by matching the citation with the collected preaches published in 1599 would one be able to reasonably justify the fairly high price of 9 lire and 10 soldi indicated by the item (Granata 2017, 274). But what this item may refer to is open to interpretation.

A closer look at the actual extent of Cornelio Musso’s *Preaches* 1599 edition may help (CNCE 47047). The first volume of the edition displays a title page engraved in copper (Bongi 1895, II, 464), which is a remarkable exception in the Giolito printing production. The first volume, right after the front page, displays a dedicatory letter signed by Giovanni Paolo Giolito to Francesco Maria di Montefeltro (i.e. Francesco Maria II della Rovere) dated 20 December 1596. The fourth volume instead contains an address by Giovanni Paolo to readers, in which Cornelio Musso’s biography by Giovanni Battista Leoni is introduced, although this work is not printed in the fourth volume, but in the fifth one. Furthermore, each volume has a summary of its own along with an index of relevant subjects ( *cose notabili*). There are ten preaches per volume in the first four volumes, and four in the fifth one (together with Leoni’s *Vita*). All volumes have the same set of illustrations, yet these are placed within different frames.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale Augusta, shelf mark ALD 558/14.

<sup>12</sup> The fingerprints and the extent of the five volumes are as follows:

- volume 1: ale, o,a- ioce &lro (3) 1599 (R); [40] 516 [4] p. ; a-b c A-2I 2K

These five volumes bear the date 1599 on the title pages. However, contrary to what Salvatore Bonghi wrote (Bonghi 1895, II, 464–465), they were actually not all printed in 1599. Comparing samples from the first four volumes dated 1599 with the Giolito four-volume edition dated 1580, which includes the same forty preaches (CNCE 27414), we can see that the two series of volumes share several quires that have the same typographic composition.<sup>13</sup> Likewise, by comparing the fifth volume dated 1599 with the Giolito edition dated 1589 which includes Leoni's *Vita* and four preaches (CNCE 54999), the two volumes also share several identically composed quires.<sup>14</sup> Moreover, another comparison of samples between two copies of the 1599 edition revealed several variants.<sup>15</sup>

This comparison shows that at least two pre-existing editions were reused in the edition dated 1599 in ways that differ on a copy-by-copy basis, and it cannot even be excluded that some of the quires put on the market by Giolito with the date 1599 come from other editions yet to be scrutinized. Of course, a detailed analysis of the assembling of the several octavo editions of Cornelio Musso's preaches would require a page-by-page comparison, which goes beyond the scope of this study. The aim of this sampled analysis is to pinpoint the diverse assemblage and the reuse of the quires Giolito had in stock within the only apparently newly published editions.

This analysis highlights the fact that between 1580 and 1599 the Giolito warehouse held a number of quires of the 1580 and 1589 editions and, most likely, of others not yet analysed. In order to sell the remaining copies, the largely refreshed edition of 1599 was created and this was made by assembling copies that differ from one another in accordance with the availability of old quires.

What is interesting to point out now is that the existence of the very complex 1599 *rinfrascatura* does not rule out the possibility that, before 1599, the quires belonging to different editions – e.g. to the 1580 and 1589 editions – had not been already sold as a *compita* (composite) edition.

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- volume 2: 03a- i-36 o-ra &eli (3) 1599 (R); [40], 789, [3] p.; a-b, c, A-3C 3D
  - volume 3: 79o. an95 a,oi adho (3) 1599 (R); [32], 567, [1]; a-b, A-2M, 2N
  - volume 4: tot- ua84 m-ir trap (3) 1599 (R); [28], 551, [1]; a b A-2L 2M
  - volume 5: cete e-li alo- cipu (3) 1599 (R); [29], 6-160; a b A-K.

My description is based on the copy kept in the Biblioteca Marucelliana in Florence with the shelf mark 6 B IX 29; Girardi 2012 considers only editions in quarto of Cornelio Musso's *Preaches*.

<sup>13</sup> The fingerprints and the extent of the four 1580 volumes are as follows:

- volume 1: o-in ceo- ioce &lro (3) 1580 (R); [40] 516 [4] p.; a-b c A-2I 2K
- volume 2: raa- I.IX o-ra &eli; [48], 789, [3] p.; a-c, A-3C 3D
- volume 3: a,lo esel a,oi adho (3) 1580 (R); [40], 567, [1]; a-b, c, A-2M, 2N
- volume 4: laet teo- m-ir trap (3) 1580 (R); [32], 551, [1]; a-b A-2L 2M

My description is based on the copy kept in the Biblioteca del Carrobiolo in Monza with the shelf mark FM II 340; just to give some examples, the 1580 edition and the 1599 one in the first volume share b and c; in the second volume 3D.

<sup>14</sup> The fingerprint and the extent of the 1589 edition are: s-do sif- alo- cipu (3) 1589 (R); [37], 6-160 p.; a-b A-K. My description is based on the copy kept in the Biblioteca Marucelliana in Florence with the shelf mark 6 E XII 24; the 1589 edition and the 1599 one share b and A-K.

<sup>15</sup> I compared the Marucelliana copy (shelf mark 6 B IX 29) with the copy kept at the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze (shelf mark Guicc. 10.3.14): they differ, for example, in volume 1 pp. 401, 513; in volume 2 p. 399; in volume 3 p. 1. On Giolito reprints and/or *rinfrascatura* see Quondam 1977 and Coppens 2005; see also Harris 2015.

Indeed, what does ‘compita’ mean? It can be shown that a *compita* edition, which is (or claims to be) what we call *opera omnia*, can either be an edition made up of one or more volumes, or a grouping of different editions, put together to attract purchasers. The term *compito* features in different parts of Giolito sales catalogues with these two meanings, such as in the case of the items “detto [i.e. Lettere del Parabosco] in 12°, compite” and “Monte Calvario compito in 4°” found in the first Ambrosiana list. The first item refers to a four-volume edition of Parabosco’s *Letters* printed in 1566 (CNCE 71934); the second item corresponds to two different editions, both dated 1559, containing different parts of Antonio de Guevara’s *Monte Calvario*, each one having been translated from Spanish into Italian vernacular by different translators (CNCE 75613 and CNCE 22218).

In the second Ambrosiana list the term *compito* is used in two subsequent items: “Granata, opere compite. In 4°. L. 14 ss. -” and “Idem. In 12°. L. 10 ss. -”. These two items feature also in the *Libri spirituali* (Appendix Nos 19-20). Such high prices would be unprecedented if they were for a single piece of work by Luis de Granada. Therefore, for these last two cases, we must assume that the term ‘opere compite’ was used to refer to a grouping of different editions offered on the market as a single batch. In fact, Granada’s *opera omnia* – even if they were part of a series entitled *Ghirlanda spirituale* – were never published by the Giolito press as a whole in a single edition.

Similarly, the term ‘edizione compita’ also features in the catalogue of Gian Vincenzo Pinelli’s library (Naples, 1609), in the item “Quattro Poetiche del Patritio compite in 4°” which Anna Raugeri has matched with the following two editions: *Della poetica di Francesco Patrici la deca istoriale* (CNCE 30130) and *Della poetica di Francesco Patrici, la deca disputata* (CNCE 30129), both published in Venice by Vittorio Baldini in 1586.<sup>16</sup>

For these reasons, the term *compite* can be considered as a sort of marketing tag used to advertise consistent and bibliographically complete editions, in some cases organized in a series, which on the market had the advantage of representing an author’s entire works.

To summarise, in the case of Cornelio Musso’s preaches, the price of 9 lire and 10 soldi may have been assigned to his *opera omnia* even before the refreshed edition of 1599 was published, and for this reason the chronology of the two Ambrosiana lists proposed by Giovanna Granata (that should also be applied to the *Libri spirituali*) is not fully acceptable in itself.

Moreover, what is most helpful in determining the chronology of the *Libri spirituali* is the adverbial term ‘di nuovo’ used in the item describing the already mentioned *Vita di san Placido*. What does “Vita di san Placido dell’Ordine di san Benedetto, in 4°, in ottava rima, stampata di nuovo” mean (Appendix No 79)?

At that time the expression ‘di nuovo’ - introduced by the compiler of the *Libri spirituali*, not printed on the title page of the edition – could have two meanings suitable for that context: ‘again’ or ‘newly’ (*Vocabolario della Crusca* 1612; Battaglia 1981, 682). Indeed, only one edition of Felice Passero’s poem is known to exist and it was published in 1589 following the discovery of Saint Placido’s bones in Messina in 1588 (Bongi 1895, II, 437). Moreover, as further proof, on 28 January 1589 Giolito

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<sup>16</sup> In the stock book of Bernardo di Bernardo Giunti (Venice, 1600-) the item “Menoco compiti con 5° centuria, carte 240.” either refers to a single edition or to multiple ones, yet the data available do not allow for a conclusive matching.



obtained a ten year privilege from the Venetian Senate to print this work (Coppens 2005, 445–446). For these reasons, here *di nuovo* must be interpreted as ‘recent’ or ‘newly’, and not as ‘again’, because *Vita di san Placido* is neither a reprint nor a second edition. This means that the *Libri spirituali* was composed *paulo post* 1589.

Consequently, if it is possible to date the *Libri spirituali* to this year or a bit after, a similar chronology can also be attributed to the two Ambrosiana lists, because these three lists share the same typographic characteristics: the same layout, the same size, the same alphabetical order of titles and the same printing types. In short, they are tools of two marketing operations that are close in time, as the analysis of prices also demonstrates (as will be shown).

Last but not least, in dating the *Libri spirituali* and consequently also the two Ambrosiana lists to before the *Indice copioso* and not to 1599, the lack of any editions dated between 1589 and 1598 appears very significant.

## Price changes between 1587-1589 and 1592

Based on these remarks, the two Ambrosiana lists and the *Libri spirituali* list can be considered datable to the years 1587-1589, before the publication of the 1592 *Indice copioso*. This chronology confirms the previous one put forward by Christian Coppens. Accepting this hypothesis, the three oldest lists would definitely be attributed to Giovanni II and Giovanni Paolo Giolito, while the *Indice copioso* was most certainly printed by Giovanni II’s heirs, his sons and – again - his brother Giovanni Paolo. This distinguished attribution would explain the different pricing policy that can be observed through comparing the prices established in the three lists (Ambrosiana lists and *Libri spirituali*), on the one hand, and the prices set in the *Indice copioso* and in the new list discovered in Cagliari, on the other hand. Indeed, Giovanna Granata says that the Cagliari list always reproduces the prices of the *Indice copioso*, the exception being only one price (Granata 2017, 283).<sup>17</sup>

On the contrary, comparing the Ambrosiana lists and the *Libri spirituali* with the *Indice copioso* shows some differences and brings us to the conclusion that 1) the same editions are identically priced in the Ambrosiana lists and in the *Libri spirituali*; but 2) 106 prices that are displayed in at least one of the three oldest lists and in the *Indice copioso* have the same price in the *Indice copioso*; while 3) 71 prices that are displayed in at least one of the three oldest lists and in the *Indice copioso* have a higher price in the *Indice copioso*; and 4) in only four cases the price indicated in the *Indice copioso* is lower than the correspondent one found in the first Ambrosiana list.

In more detail:

	Shared by the <i>Indice copioso</i>	= <i>Indice copioso</i>	< <i>Indice copioso</i>	> <i>Indice copioso</i>
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<sup>17</sup> The *Oratione di Galeno, nella quale si essortano i giovani alla cognitione delle buone arti* (CNCE 20185) is priced at 10 soldi (51.5021 denari per printing sheet!) in the *Indice copioso* and 4 soldi in the Cagliari list (20.6009 denari per printing sheet): in both cases the price is above the known average.

1st Ambrosiana list	116	59	53	4
2nd Ambrosiana list	21	15	6	0
<i>Libri spirituali</i>	44	32	12	0

On the other hand, the average price per printing sheet of the editions listed in the *Indice copioso* is also higher (13.81582 denari) than the average price per printing sheet of the editions found in the first Ambrosiana list (11.48519 denari), in the second one (11.86377 denari) and in the *Libri spirituali* (12.01154 denari).

The four entries in which prices are higher in the first Ambrosiana list than in the *Indice copioso* are the following (i.e. whose prices decreased over time):

- 1) [CNCE 1287] Donato Antonio Altomare, *Trium quaesitorum nondum in Galeni doctrina dilucidatorum compendium*, Venetiis, apud Gabrielem Iolito de Ferrariis, 1550.
- 2) [CNCE 19087] Andrea Domenico Fiocco, *Il Fenestella d'i sacerdotii, e d'i magistrati romani*, In Vinetia, appresso Gabriel Giolito di Ferrarii, 1544.
- 3) [CNCE 26080] Onosander, *Dell'ottimo capitano generale et del suo ufficio*, In Vinegia, appresso Gabriel Giolito de Ferrari, 1548.
- 4) [CNCE 14270] Tullio Crispolti, *La quinta parte de' discorsi spirituali ne quali si tratta di tutti i misterij della passione di Giesu Christo*, In Vinegia, appresso Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, 1568.

The first one is a Latin edition of a minor work by the Neapolitan physician Donato Antonio Altomare, printed by Gabriele Giolito 'cum privilegio' in 1550: it is the only Altomare's treatise published by the Giolitos. In the first Ambrosiana list it was offered at the price of 15 denari per printing sheet while in the *Indice copioso* it was put on sale for 12 denari with a 20% discount. One of the reason why this price decreased could be that between 1586-1589 and 1592 this work was reprinted together with other works by the same author (Bongi 1890, I, 280; Coppens 2005, 162). In Naples in 1558 it was printed by Raimondo Amato together with the treatise *De sedimento in urinis* (CNCE 1290) and – more decisive for the market competition – in Venice in 1561 it was published by Marco De Maria among the *Nonnulla opuscula nunc primum in unum collecta* (CNCE 1293).

The second edition which fell in price is a vernacular translation of *Il Fenestella*, a fifteenth century Latin erudite work: this translation received a ten-year privilege in 1544 (Bongi 1890, I, 75–76; Coppens 2005, 396), but the Latin original text continued to be published (CNCE 19091, 19092, 19093). The price decreased from 17.45 denari per printing sheet to 13.09 denari with a 25% discount.

The third depreciated edition is a vernacular translation of Onosander's military work (Bongi 1890, I, 118, 206; Coppens 2005, 397) which has never been published in Italy during the 16th century except by the Giolitos. The price was reduced by the 20%, from the quite high price of 18.46 denari per printing sheet to 14.77 denari (0.2641).

The last edition is one of the Crispolti's devotional works printed by Gabriele Giolito between 1566 and 1572 (Coppens 2005, 425; Fragnito 2005, 267), which was priced 15.36 denari per printing sheet

in the first Ambrosiana list, while in the *Indice copioso* it was put on sale for 11.52 denari with a 25% discount.

Considering these data, on the basis of the designed chronology, it can be argued that the prices of the editions published by the Giolito firm increased when the company passed from Giovanni II to his heirs, who however decided to devalue a minimal portion of the stock. In other words, Giovanni II and Giovanni Paolo published a series of thematic catalogues, including the *Libri spirituali*, to sell part of the books they had in stock together with some newly printed editions, and later on, after his death, Giovanni II's heirs chose a different marketing policy: they raised most of the previous prices by 17% (by 15% if we consider only the *Libri spirituali*) and devalued by 20 or 25% only 4 of the the editions considered in the first Ambrosiana list.

Considering the price increase, it must be underlined that the prices expressed in Venetian lire and the correspondent value in grams of silver changed to the same extent between 1587/1589 and 1592, which shows that in those years the Venetian lira remained substantially stable. Furthermore, the increase in production costs cannot have significantly affected prices, because in the *Indice copioso* Giovanni II's heirs put on sale books mostly produced before 1587/89 (Coppens 2005, 473–474). As a consequence, it is likely that the increase in prices is evidence of the trust of Giovanni II's heirs, who must have perceived a strong and positive market demand for their books, still in the last decade of the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

### Average prices, lower prices, higher prices

Now that we have looked at the *Libri spirituali* alongside other Giolito sources, it is possible to analyze the prices established in comparison with those found in the two Ambrosiana lists.

Although the average prices per printing sheet suggest that the two Ambrosiana lists and the *Libri spirituali* are part of two very similar business operations, if not the same, the minimum and maximum prices in these three lists are fairly different.

	Minimum	Maximum	Average
1st Ambrosiana list	3.87	37.11	11.48
2nd Ambrosiana list	6.85	21.81	11.86
Libri spirituali	7.85	19.2 or 28.8	12.91

In the first Ambrosiana list, in 8 cases out of 164 it is not possible to calculate the price per printing sheet. But taking account of that limitation, in this list the average price of a book is 11.48 denari per printing sheet. The lowest price per printing sheet on this list is a two-volume edition in octavo of Dario Attendolo's *Il duello ... con la giunta d'un discorso da ridurre ogni querela alla pace*, printed by Gabriele Giolito in 1563 (CNCE 3346): 3.87 denari; while the highest price per printing sheet, if the

previous identification is correct,<sup>18</sup> is assigned to the edition of the epitome by Iohannes Xiphilinus of the *Storia romana* by Dio Cassius translated into the vernacular by Francesco Baldelli and printed by Giovanni II and Giovanni Paolo Giolito in 1584 (CNCE 27612): 37.11 denari. The immediately preceding prices per printing sheet refers to Bernardino Rocca's *Imprese, stratagemmi, et errori militari*, printed by Gabriele Giolito in 1566 (CNCE 26486): 23.11 denari; and Leonardo Bruni's *Guerra dei Goti* translated into the vernacular, in octavo, dated 1552 (CNCE 61116): 21.82 denari.

In the second Ambrosiana list the lowest price per printing sheet is the *Dialogo dell'infinità dell'amore* by Tullia d'Aragona, in duodecimo, dated 1552 (CNCE 2289): 6.86 denari. The highest price per printing sheet might be Ludovico Dolce's *Petrarch* in duodecimo, dated 1560: 21.82 denari. The immediately preceding prices per printing sheet refer to a devotional and literary work, Bonaventura Gonzaga's *Ragionamenti sopra i sette peccati mortali et sopra i sette salmi penitentiali del re David ridotti in sette canzoni*, printed by Gabriele Giolito in 1566 (CNCE 21433); 17.56 denari; and to Remigio Nannini's *Epistole et Euangelii che si leggono tutto l'anno alla messa* printed in 1582 (CNCE 27569): 17.33 denari.

The three most expensive editions listed in the first Ambrosiana list are about ancient history and military strategy; the three most expensive editions listed in the second Ambrosiana list are literary and devotional works, which were not necessary but could be recommended for moral and religious education; while the two cheapest ones (*Il duello* by Dario Attendolo and the *Dialogue* by Tullia d'Aragona) are both secular books.

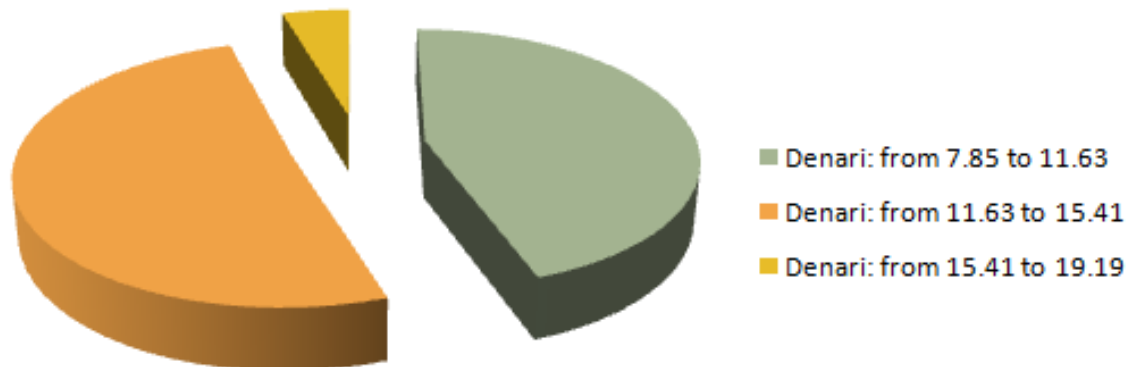
In the list of the *Libri spirituali*, for 11 items out of 81 it was not possible to calculate the price per printing sheet (6 of these 11 items do not show the total price in the source). The lowest price per printing sheet indicated in this list refers to the *Vita della beata Gertrude* in two quarto volumes, published in 1588 (Appendix No 74): 7.85 denari. A high price per printing sheet (28.8 denari) could refer to the *Nuove lettere delle cose del Giappone, paese del mondo nouo, dell'anno 1579 insino al 1581* but identification is not certain. Instead, the preceding prices per printing sheet refer to Luis de León's commentary on the Cantico dei Cantici published in Salamanca in 1580 by Lucas de Junta (Appendix No 43): 19.2 denari, and to Remigio Nannini's *Epistole et Euangelii* (Appendix No 15): 17.33 denari, which features also among the highest prices in the second Ambrosiana list.

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<sup>18</sup> The calculation of this price per printing sheet changes (10.94 instead of 37.11 denari), if the total price (Lire 7 soldi 10) does not refer only to the *Epitome* by Iohannes Xiphilinus (Coppens 2005, 532, 503) but also to the Latin edition of Dio Cassius' *Historia Romana* published by the Giolitos in the same years (CNCE 17212, 17213, 17214).

## Price ranges in the *Libri spirituali*

Focusing now on the *Libri spirituali* and considering three price ranges of equal extent, one easily observes that 'high' prices on the *Libri spirituali* are very few:



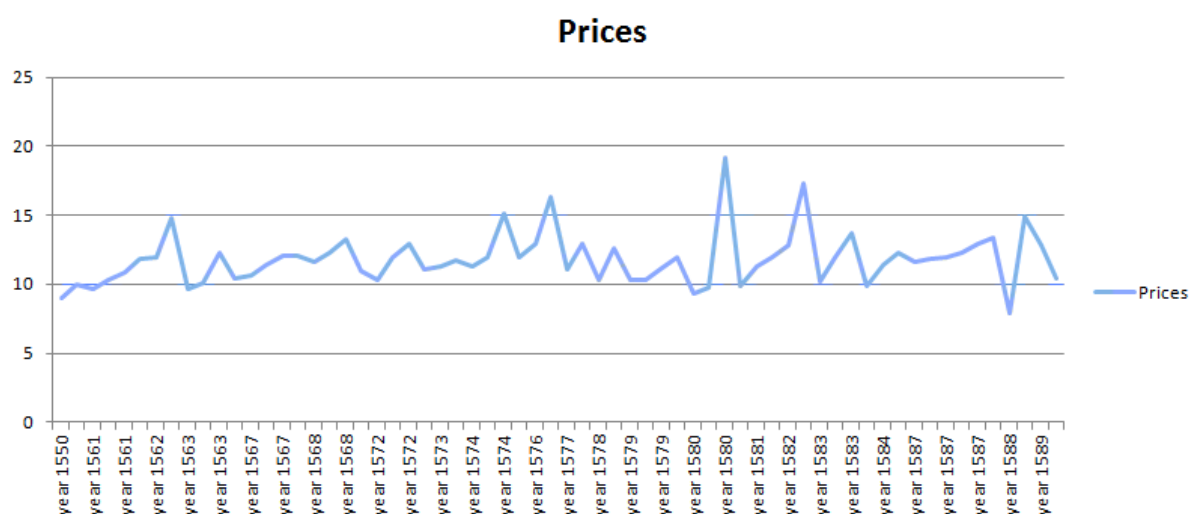
The extension of each price range is calculated by dividing the difference between the maximum price and the minimum price ( $19.19 - 7.85 = 11.34$ ) in three parts ( $11.34 / 3 = 3.78$ ). As a consequence, the first price range goes from 7.85 to 11.63 ( $= 7.85 + 3.78$ ) denari per printing sheet; the second price range goes from 11.63 to 15.41 ( $= 11.63 + 3.78$ ) denari and the third price range goes from 15.41 to 19.19 ( $= 15.41 + 3.78$ ) denari.

Thirty one editions belong to the series of prices from 7.85 to 11.63 denari; thirty five editions belong to the series of prices from 11.63 to 15.41 denari and only four editions belong to the series of extraordinary prices from 15.41 to 19.19 denari per printing sheet.

High prices are advertised only for three editions (four if we consider *Nuove lettere delle cose del Giappone* the right identification) out of seventy.

## Relationship between price and date in the *Libri spirituali*

The prices given in the list of the *Libri spirituali* do not depend on the publication date of the editions. Which is to say, in the last years of Giovanni II's activity, the prices of the books were not determined by taking account of how obsolete the editions were. For example, the highest price is that of the 1580 edition of Luis de León's work already cited (19.2 denari; Appendix No 43), whereas other editions dating to the same year are priced at less than half (9.36 and 9.79 denari; Appendix No 29 and No 37).



### Relationship between price and language in the *Libri spirituali*

	Min. Price	Max. Price	Average Price
Vernacular editions	7.85	17.33	11.64
Latin Editions	9	19.2	12.89

The price per printing sheet of vernacular editions runs from a minimum of 7.85 denari (Appendix No 74: *Vita della beata vergine Gertruda*) to a maximum of 17.33 denari (Appendix No 15: *Epistole et Euangelii*, already considered). The price per printing sheet of Latin editions runs from a minimum of 9 (Appendix No 39: Gaudenzio Merula's *Memorabilium liber*) to a maximum of 19.2 denari (Appendix No 43: Luis de León). The average price per printing sheet of Italian editions is 11.64, always slightly less than the average price for Latin editions which is 12.89.

But if we eliminate solely the highest price among the Italian editions and the highest price among Latin editions, the average price per printing sheet of the former becomes 11.54, which is very close to the average price of the Latin editions, that is 11.84.

	Min. Price	Max. Price (-1)	Average Price
Vernacular editions	7.85	16.36	11.54
Latin	9	15.07	11.84

Which means that the difference between the average price per printing sheet of the Italian vernacular editions and the average price per printing sheet of the Latin editions – already in itself not high –

depends upon the two highest prices: by removing these two cases outside the norm, there is almost no difference between the average price of vernacular editions and the average price of Latin editions.

### Relationship between price and format in the *Libri spirituali*

	Min. price	Max. Price	Average price
Duodecimo	9.36	14.9	11.57
Octavo	9	14.76	11.48
Quarto	7.85	19.2	12.28
Folio (only 1)		9.89	
<i>Quarto (excluding the three most expensive editions)</i>	7.85	15.07	11.48

The price per printing sheet of the 32 duodecimo volumes (listed among the *Libri spirituali*) goes from a minimum of 9.36 (Appendix No 29; Luis de Granada's *Specchio della vita humana*) to a maximum of 14.9 denari (Appendix No 63; Louis de Blois' *Breve regola d'un novitio spirituale*). The price per printing sheet of the 13 octavo volumes goes from a minimum of 9 (Appendix No 39; Merula's *Memorabilium liber*) to a maximum of 14.76 denari (Appendix No 57; Cornelio Musso's *Prediche fatte in Vienna*). The price per printing sheet of quarto volumes goes from a minimum of 7.85 (Appendix No 74; *Vita della beata vergine Gertruda*) to a maximum of 19.2 denari (Appendix No 43; Luis de León). The only folio volume is placed slightly below the average with a price per printing sheet of 9.89 denari (Appendix No 40; Hector Pinctus).

The average price per printing sheet of quarto formats (12.28 denari) is slightly higher than the average price per printing sheet of duodecimo (11.57 denari) and octavo formats (11.48 denari). Also in this case however, by removing the three highest prices of the quarto volumes, the average price per printing sheet of volumes in quarto format turns out to be practically equal to the average price per printing sheet of duodecimo and octavo volumes, i.e. 11.48 denari.

### The highest prices in the *Libri spirituali*

Here are the highest prices per printing sheet, those which lie in the third range identified above, from 15.41 to 19.19 denari, also including the immediately successive one. They are all quarto volumes:

Items in the <i>Libri spirituali</i> list	Language	Format	Price per sheet
Ludovici Legionensis super canticam, 4°, Salamanca. L. 4 ss. -	Latin	quarto	19.2
Epistole, Evangelii, 4°, Remigio. L. 6 ss. 10	Italian	quarto	17.33
Idem [Granata, Guida]. 4°. L. 1 ss. 10	Italian	quarto	16.36
Callixtus in Evangelia. 4°. L. 6 ss. -	Latin	quarto	15.08

“Ludovici Legionensis super canticam, 4°, Salamanca. L. 4 ss. -” (Appendix No 43) refers to an *editio princeps* produced by Lucas de Junta in Salamanca in 1580, while the author was still alive. It is not illustrated but has an index of the subjects dealt with. Luis de León (1527-1591) was a poet and an important theologian at the University of Salamanca. He was condemned by the Inquisition also because of his translation into Spanish and commentary of the *Cantico dei cantici*; he was imprisoned in Spain in 1572 and in 1576 he was acquitted of all charges. In the *Libri spirituali* there is another edition from Salamanca, *In Ezechielem prophetam commentaria*, by Hector Pinto, published by Ildefonso de Terranova y Neyla ‘expensis Lucas de Junta’ in 1581 (Appendix No 40). It is a quarto volume, also in this case a biblical commentary, like the previous one without illustrations and with indexes. Yet here the price is below average (9.89 denari). The only difference seems to be that this one is not a *princeps* and not a work at the center of theological disquisitions, like Luis de León’s one.

«Epistole, Evangelii, 4°, Remigio. L. 6 ss. 10» (Appendix No 15) is the price immediately lower than that of the volume published in Salamanca and it refers to a vernacular edition, *Epistole et Euangelii che si leggono tutto l'anno alla messa*, translated by Remigio Nannini. In 1567 Giolito’s first edition of this liturgical collection had obtained a twenty-year privilege (Bongi 1895, II, 253–254; Nuovo and Coppens 2005, 427–428). In EDIT16 no less than eight Giolito editions are described – dated from 1567 to 1598 – which might be identified with this item, and all these editions share a very similar number of pages, a long liturgical calendar in which every date is linked to corresponding evangelical passages read in the mass, a long series of illustrations, see for example the 1584 edition: 12 small illustrations spread throughout the calendar and 203 illustrations over 683 pages, which is to say an illustration about every 3½ pages. Many of these illustrations are repeated.

To make only a few comparisons, the *Enarrationes in Evangelia* by Callisto da Piacenza, quarto in Latin published in 1574 includes 45 illustrations, meaning one about every 15 pages. In the *Indice copioso*, in the Ambrosiana catalogue and in the list of *Libri spirituali* the price is 15.08 denari per printing sheet (this edition stands at fourth place among the most expensive books in the *Libri spirituali* list). The *Vita della gloriosa vergine Maria madre di Dio* by Bartolomeo Medina, quarto, published in 1574, contains 52 illustrations – about one every 3 pages – and in the *Indice copioso* and in the *Libri spirituali* costs 12 denari per printing sheet. The inclusion of illustrations is certainly one of the factors that determined a higher price. But this notwithstanding, the price variation does not seem proportional to the number of illustrations included and therefore their cost but rather – I surmise – to purchasers’ willingness to be charged more for illustrated books.

In fact in the case of the *Epistole et Euangelii* translated by Remigio Nannini the high number of editions and issues from Giolito, together with the high number of non-Giolito editions produced in



Venice after 1599, bear witness that this work met with a very favourable reception from the public, such as to ensure the maintenance of a high price even through the last decades of the Cinquecento. The publication of this liturgical collection was a great success, even though it was often at the center of discussions on the orthodoxy of the vernacular translations of the Bible (Zardin 1999, 361–354; Fragnito 2005, 91–92 and *ad indicem*). Anyway, to those who did not know Latin, this text supplied the possibility of understanding the evangelical passages of the mass.

The identification of the edition cited in the item “Idem [Granata, Guida]. 4°. L. 1 ss. 10” (Appendix No 23) is uncertain and also the price per sheet of 16.36 denari cannot be assessed.

Finally, “Callixtus in Evangelia. 4°. L. 6 ss. –” (Appendix No 12) refers to Callisto da Piacenza’s *Ennarationes Evangeliorum*, printed in 1574 by Gabriele Giolito, a work which was published several times in Italy and in France; in Lyon also in 1573 and 1574 by Pierre Landry (Bongi 1895, II, 338–340).

In conclusion, we may note that Giovanni II and Giovanni Paolo Giolito at the end of their activity as publishers essentially observed two rules in pricing their *Libri spirituali*. First and foremost (1) they very regularly applied prices close to the average of 12.91 denari per printing sheet; and then (2) they raised to the highest acceptable limits the prices of those editions which encountered either no competition (the case of *principes* editions) or specific cultural interest of a devotional nature (the case of the *Epistole et evangeli* translated into the vernacular by Remigio Nannini).

It is therefore legitimate to observe that ordinary prices in the *Libri spirituali* list depend on stable criteria, first of all on production costs, while extraordinary prices derive from a strategic analysis of the market, which could lead to a different choice for each edition.

Giovanni II and Giovanni Paolo’s publishing activity was so successful that in 1592 the Giolito publishing house could still increase prices for a market where the demand for its books continued to grow mostly due to ecclesiastical institutions.

Anyway, what sustained the fortunes of the Giolito family right to the end was certainly a deep knowledge of the market demand over and above all cultural or aesthetic criteria.

ALD 558 (14)

## LIBRI SPIRITUALI DI STAMPA DE' GIOLITI.

<b>B</b> iblia latina con figure in quarto Giolito. L. fs	<b>M</b> onarchia di CRISTO in ottavo L. 1 fs 10
<b>C</b> roniche di San Francesco 2. par. 4. L. 4 fs	Modo d'orar di Fra Siluestro in 12. L. fs 15
Confession del Granata in 12. L. fs 6	Di contemplar il sangue in 12. L. fs 4
Combattimento Spirituale in 12. stampato di nuouo. L. fs 4	Di ben confessarsi. L. fs 1
Crispoldo della Communion in 12. L. fs 8	<b>M</b> editationi sopra la passione di N. Sig. con le figure del Testamento vecchio del P. Bruno Giesuita in 12. L. fs
Idem sopra la Passion in 12. L. fs 16	Idem sopra la vita di N. Sig. con le figure del Testamento vecchio del P. Bruno sopradetto in 12. L. fs
Confession Panormitano in 12. L. fs 4	Methodo di Confessione in 12. L. 1 fs
Fra Michele in 8. L. fs 8	Modo d'ascoltar la Messa in 8. del Ghirardacci. L. fs 6
Per le donne. L. fs 2	<b>M</b> editationi di diuersi Santi Dottori in 12. L. 2 fs 10
Conversion del peccatore in 12. L. fs 6	
Salixtus in Euangelia in 4. L. 6 fs	<b>N</b>
<b>D</b> ispregio del mondo in 12. L. fs 15	<b>N</b> arratione sopra il Quibabitat in ottavo. L. 1 fs
Sopra la Passio dell' Aurifco in 12. L. fs 4	Nouo nascimento del Christiano in 8. L. fs 6
<b>E</b> ssercitij del Taulerio sopra la Passione in 12. L. 1 fs	<b>P</b>
Essercitij del buon Christiano in 4. L. 1 fs 4	<b>P</b> rediche del Cornelio in 8. compite con la vita. L. 9 fs 10
<b>F</b> lor di Consolatione in 8. L. fs 12	Idem in 4. con la vita. L. 12 fs
<b>G</b> ranata opere compite in 4. L. 14 fs	Fatte a Vienna. L. fs 4
Idem in 12. L. 10 fs	Idem 4. ultime con la vita in 8. L. fs 12
Guida in 12. ristampata del 87. L. fs 16	Poeti antichi emendati Roma in 16. L. 2 fs 8
Idem in 24. L. fs 4	Pianto della Pescara in 12. spirituale. L. fs 3
Idem in 4. L. 1 fs 10	Persecutioni della Chiesa in 4. L. 3 fs
Memorial parte prima in 12. L. 1 fs 4	<b>R</b>
Idem in 4. L. 1 fs 10	<b>R</b> etorica Cipriani in 12. L. fs 10
Idem seconda parte in 12. L. 1 fs 10	Regola spiritual del Blosto in 12. L. fs 6
Trattato dell'Oratione in 12. L. 1 fs	<b>S</b>
Idem in 4. L. 2 fs	<b>S</b> ermoni di Santo Agostino in 4. L. 3 fs
Specchio della vita humana in 12. L. fs 16	Selua d'Orationi in 12. con aggiunta ristampata del 87. L. 1 fs 10
Idem in 4. L. 1 fs 10	Scudo di Fede in 4. L. 2 fs
Pie, e deuote Orationi in 12. L. fs 2	Scudo e spada in 8. L. fs 12
Trattato di Confess. & commu. in 12. L. fs 6	Spada di Fede in 4. L. 1 fs 10
Meditationi sopra la vita in 12. ristampate. L. 1 fs 4	Specchio di Croce in 12. L. fs 12
Aggiuntioni al Memorial in 12. L. 1 fs 4	Stadio del Curfor Christiano in 12. L. fs 6
Sceita di pretiosi fiori in 12. L. 1 fs	<b>T</b>
Scorta in 4. con aggiunta. L. 2 fs 10	<b>T</b> rattato dell'obedienza in 8. L. fs 16
Gioseffo volg. in 4. dell' antichità, e Guerra Giudaica. L. 8 fs	Theodoreto della prouidenza in 8. L. fs 12
Di Gierusalem in 8. L. fs 12	<b>V</b>
Audentij Merula memorabilium. 8. L. fs 6	<b>V</b> ita della Madonna in 4. L. 1 fs
<b>H</b>	Vita della Beata Gertruda con aggiunta de gli Essercitij in 4. L. 3 fs 10
<b>H</b> istoria del Mondo nouo, cioè Perù in 4. L. 2 fs	Della B. Merilde, & Elisabetta in 4. L. fs
<b>L</b>	Vita del P. Ignatio volgare in 4. L. fs
<b>L</b> ettere del Giappone, e della Cina in 8. L. 1 fs 10	Idem in 8. volg. L. 2 fs 8
Ludouici Legionensis super Canticam 4. Salamanca. L. 4 fs	P. Ignatij latina in 8. L. 1 fs
	Vita di San Placido dell'Ordine di S. Benedetto in 4. in ottava rima stampata di nuouo. L. fs 16
	Di Gioseffo in 4. in rima. L. fs 10
	De' Pontefici, e Cardinali in 4. L. 3 fs 10

Libri spirituali di stampa de' Gioliti, Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale Augusta, ALD 558/14.

## Appendix 1

### Libri spirituali di stampa de' Gioliti

In the transcription of the *Libri spirituali* sales list and in bibliographic descriptions, the original spelling has been retained, but the consonant *u* has been changed into a *v* and the ligature & has been transcribed as *et*. Abbreviations have been expanded and original capital letters and punctuation have been changed into their modern equivalents.

Each item is listed in bold and when an identification is reliable followed by a brief bibliographic description of the edition together with its price; otherwise, a discussion follows. Each bibliographic description is introduced by the CNCE identifier used in the Italian national catalogue EDIT16 and is followed by the number of printing sheets of the edition, the total price, and the price per sheet in Venetian denari (one Venetian lira worth 10 soldi and one soldo worth 12 denari).

With few exceptions, when several Giolito editions of the same work are known to exist, according to the criteria established by the EMOBookTrade project the most recent one has been chosen. Moreover, where there are several issues of the same edition in existence, the first one has been given preference because realistically the price should have been established concurrently at the start of every single publishing initiative.

#### **1. Biblia latina con figure in quarto Giolito. L. - ss. -**

[CNCE 5803] *Sacra Biblia, acri studio, ac diligentia emendata, rerum, atque verborum permultis et perquamdignis indicibus aucta*, Venetiis, apud Iolitos, 1588, 2 volumes: 696 p., 199, 201 p., 4°

Printing sheets: 137

Total price: not available

Price per sheet: not available

#### **2. Catena sopra Job. In 4°. L. 4 ss. -**

[CNCE 10257] Paolo Comitoli, *Catena in beatissimum Job absolutissima, e quattuor et viginti Graeciae doctorum explanationibus contexta*, Venetiis, apud Iolitos, 1587: [24], 544, [24], 296 p., 4°

Printing sheets: 74

Total price: 960 denari

Price per sheet: 12.973 denari

### 3. Croniche di san Francesco, 2<sup>a</sup> parte. 4°. L. - ss. -

[CNCE 27808] Marcos de Lisboa, *Delle croniche de' frati minori parte seconda, diuisa in dieci libri; nella quale si contiene quello, che occorse nella religione del padre s. Francesco*, In Venetia, appresso i Gioliti, 1589: [60], 628 p., 4°

Printing sheets: 86

Total price: not available

Price per sheet: not available

### 4. Confession del Granata. In 12°. L. - ss. 6

[CNCE 73402] Luis de Granada - Juan de Miranda, *Trattato della confessione et comunione dove breuissimamente s'insegna come s'ha da confessare e comunicare ogni fedel cristiano*, In Vinegia, appresso Giovanni e Giovanni Paolo Gioliti de' Ferrari, 1579: [24], 144 p., 12°

Printing sheets: 7

Total price: 72 denari

Price per sheet: 10.857 denari

### 5. Combattimento spirituale, in 12°, stampato di nuovo. L. - ss. 4

*Unidentified edition*

Several editions of Lorenzo Scupoli's *Combattimento spirituale* have been published by the Giolitos from 1589 to 1599. As two of them are dated 1589 and have different fingerprint and extent, it is not possible to identify the one described in this item: CNCE 12857: 128, [4] p., A-E<sup>12</sup> F<sup>6</sup>; CNCE 12858: 93, [3] p., A-D<sup>12</sup>.

### 6. Crispoldo, Della communion. In 12°. L. - ss. 8

[CNCE 14271] Tullio Crispolti, *La terza parte dell'opere, che tratta della santissima comunione, & della frequentia d'essa, con le risposte a tutte l'obiettoni contrarie*, In Vinegia, appresso Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, 1572: [24], 165, [3] p., 12°

Printing sheets: 8

Total price: 96 denari

Price per sheet: 12 denari

**7. Idem, Sopra la passion. In 12°. L. - ss. 16**

[CNCE 13792] Tullio Crispolti, *Avvertimenti spirituali di m. Tullio Crispoldo da Rieti sopra la passione del nostro signore Gesù Christo*, In Vinegia, appresso Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, 1570: [24], 393, [3] p., 12°

Printing sheets: 17.5

Total price: 192 denari

Price per sheet: 10.9714 denari

**8. Confession Panormitano. In 12°. L. - ss. 4**

[CNCE 65833] Girolamo da Palermo, *Confessionario raccolto da i dottori catolici*, In Vinegia, appresso i Gioliti, 1583: 81, [3] p., 12°

Printing sheets: 3.5

Total price: 48 denari

Price per sheet: 13.7143 denari

**9. Fra Michele. In 8°. L. - ss. 8**

[CNCE 9450] Michele Carcano, *Due confessionali, l'uno per i confessori et l'altro per i penitenti*, In Vinegia, appresso i Gioliti, 1582: 179, [1] p., 12°

At present, no Giolito editions of Carcano's works in octavo are known. The *Indice copioso* describes "due Confessionarii, l'uno per i confessori, l'altro per li penitenti. 12°. 1583" at the same price of 8 soldi, meaning that we may suppose that the format in this item (or in the modern catalogue?) is not correct. This identification is not certain.

Printing sheets: 7.5

Total price: 96 denari

Price per sheet: 12.8 denari

**10. Per le donne. L. - ss. 2**

[CNCE 9449] Michele Carcano, *Confessionale molto vtile et breve, per le donne, così secolari, come religiose*, In Vinegia, appresso Giovanni e Giovanni Paolo Gioliti de' Ferrari, 1579: 48 p., 12°

Printing sheets: 2

Total price: 24 denari

Price per sheet: 12 denari

**11. Conversion del peccatore. In 12° L. - ss. 6**

[CNCE 54979] Evangelista Marcellino, *Della conversione del peccatore libri due*, In Vinegia, appresso Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, 1577: [36], 118, [2] p., 12°

Printing sheets: 6.5

Total price: 72 denari

Price per sheet: 11.0769 denari

**12. Callixtus in Evangelia. In 4° L. 6 ss. -**

[CNCE 8509] Callisto da Piacenza, *Piisimae simul ac eruditissimae in Euangelia a septuagesima usque ad octavam Paschae enarrationes*, Venetiis, apud Gabrielem Iolium de Ferrariis, 1574: [120], 643, [1] p., 4°

Printing sheets: 95.5

Total price: 1,440 denari

Price per sheet: 15.0785 denari

**13. Dispregio del mondo. In 12° L. - ss. 15**

[CNCE 26901] Tommaso Porcacchi - Luis de Granada - Thomas a Kempis, *Il dispregio delle vanità del mondo, et l'essercitio di divotione*, In Vinegia, appresso Gabriel Giolito De' Ferrari, 1573: [36], 354, [2] p., 12°

Printing sheets: 16,33

Total price: 180 denari

Price per sheet: 11.0227 denari

**14. Sopra la passione dell'Aurifico. In 12° L. - ss. 4**

[CNCE 6961] Niccolò Bonfigli, *Discorso ... nel quale si mostra con ragioni et autorità, sì delle scritte sacre, sì anco di molti dottori santi greci et latini, quanto sia conveniente anzi necessario piangere, meditando l'acerbissima passione del salvator nostro Giesu Christo*, In Vinegia, appresso Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, 1567: 107, [1] p., 12°

Printing sheets: 4.5

Total price: 48 denari

Price per sheet: 10.6667 denari

**15. Epistole, Evangelii, in 4°, Remigio. L. 6 ss. 10**

[CNCE 27569] Remigio Nannini, *Epistole et Evangelii che si leggono tutto l'anno alla messa, ... tradotti in lingua toscana dal r.p. Remigio fiorentino*, In Vinegia, appresso i Gioliti, 1582: [36], 683, [1] p., 4°

Printing sheets: 90

Total price: 1,560 denari

Price per sheet: 17.3333 denari

**16. Essercitii del Taulerio sopra la Passione. In 12°. L. 1 ss. –**

[CNCE 74526] Johannes Tauler, *Essercitii divotissimi sopra la passione di n.s. Giesu Christo*, In Vinegia, appresso Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, 1573: [32], 476, [4] p., 12°

Printing sheets: 21.33

Total price: 240 denari

Price per sheet: 11.2518 denari

**17. Essercitii del buon christiano. In 4°. L. 1 ss. 4**

[CNCE 26652] Alfonso Ruspaggiari, *Essercitio et ammaestramento del buon christiano: dove si tratta de gli articoli della fede, de dieci precetti della legge, dell'oratione, della confessione, et della communion*, In Vinetia, appresso Gabriel Giolito di Ferrarii, 1568: [20], 165, [3] p., 4°

Printing sheets: 23.5

Total price: 288 denari

Price per sheet: 12.2553 denari

**18. Fior di consolatione. In 8°. L. - ss. 12**

[CNCE 19174] Tomas de Valencia, *Fiori di consolatione ad ogni fedel christiano necessarii ... Con i rimedi ad ogni infirmità spirituale composti delle sententie della Sacra Scrittura*, In Vinegia, appresso Gabriel Giolito de Ferrari, 1561: [24], 215, [1] p., 8°

Printing sheets: 15

Total price: 144 denari

Price per sheet: 9.6 denari

**19. Granata, opere compite. In 4°. L. 14 ss. -**

[CNCE 27412] Luis de Granada, *Tutte l'opere ... il primo fiore della nostra Ghirlanda spirituale*, In Vinegia, appresso Giouanni, e Giovanni Paolo Gioliti de' Ferrari, 1580: [16] 173 [3] p., 4°

[CNCE 63213] Luis de Granada, *Prima [-seconda] parte del Memoriale della vita christiana ... il secondo [- terzo] fiore della nostra Ghirlanda spirituale*, In Vinegia, appresso Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, 1578: [16], 388 p., 4°

[CNCE 27353] Luis de Granada, *Devotissime meditationi per i giorni della settimana tanto per la mattina come per la sera ... il quarto fiore della nostra Ghirlanda spirituale*, In Vinegia, appresso Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, 1579: [20], 214, [2] p., 4°

[CNCE 27355] Luis de Granada, *Trattato dell'oratione et devotione ... il quinto fiore della nostra Ghirlanda spirituale*, In Vinegia, appresso Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, 1579: [12], 282, [2] p., 4°

[CNCE 27354] Luis de Granada, *Specchio della vita humana, nel quale si contengono il libro della contemplatione et il manuale di diverse orationi ... il sesto fiore della nostra Ghirlanda spirituale*, In Vinegia, appresso Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, 1579: [16], 210, [2] p., 4°

[CNCE 27356] Luis de Granada, *Trattato della confessione et comunione, dove breuissimamente si insegna come s'ha da confessare et comunicare ogni fedel christiano ... il settimo fiore della nostra Ghirlanda spirituale*, In Vinegia, appresso Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, 1579: [12], 67, [1] p., 4°

[CNCE 27593] Luis de Granada, *Scorta del peccatore, ove si tratta copiosamente della beltà et de' beni inestimabili della virtù et com'ella s'ottenghi ... l'ottavo fiore della nostra Ghirlanda spirituale del Granata*, In Venetia, appresso i Gioliti, 1584: [28], 455, [1] p., 4°

[CNCE 26939] Luis de Granada, *Meditationi molto devote sopra alcuni passi et misteri della vita del nostro Salvatore et particolarmente della sua santa natività, per fino alla sua gloriosa ascensione ... il nono fiore della nostra Ghirlanda spirituale, del Granata*, In Vinegia, appresso Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, 1578: [20] (*sic*) 267 [1] p., 4°

[CNCE 27399] Luis de Granada, *Aggiuntioni al Memoriale della vita christiana ... il decimo fiore, della nostra Ghirlanda spirituale*, In Vinegia, appresso Giouanni, e Gio. Paolo Gioliti de' Ferrari, 1579, [32], 258 [i.e. 256] p., 4°

The identification proposed here is of course only a hypothesis developed to explain historical evidence. A Giolito edition including all Granada's works is not known. The editions in quarto printed by Giolito with the title "Tutte l'opere del r. p. fra Luigi di Granata" do not include all of Luis de Granada's works, only one and it is the first work of a series (e.g. EDIT16 CNCE 27402 and CNCE 27412). In fact, as highlighted by Bongi and others, and carefully studied by Coppens (Bongi 1890-1895; Llaenza 1926-1928; Zardin 1992, 160-162; Coppens 2005, 488-489), Giolito created more than one series called *Ghirlanda spirituale* comprising Granada's works: a single author series. If we count the printing sheets of the editions belonging to that series, can they fully justify the price of 14 lire?

The problem lies in deciding *which* series to consider, since this series is complicated by differently dated issues of the same edition and by several editions with the same series number. Fortunately, if we look at the books that have survived, we can observe that some copies of Giolito 1579 and 1580 *Tutte l'opere del r. p. fra Luigi di Granata* are bound together with eight other Giolito editions. For example, three volumes preserved in the Ambrosiana Library in Milan have the same ancient parchment binding (16<sup>th</sup> cent. *ex.*, *post* – 17<sup>th</sup> cent. *in.*), which present the three titles "Granata Opere



Fiori 1-2-3”, “Granata Opere Fiori 4-5-6-7” and “Granata Opere Fiori 8-9-10” on the back, and, on the title page, the provenance note “Congregationis Oblatorum Sancti Sepulchri”, handwritten at the end of the sixteenth century – beginning of the seventeenth century. These three volumes include the nine editions described above, whose number of pages can justify the price of 14 lire.<sup>19</sup> These nine works by Granada bound in three volumes in the same sequence were also found in the Marciana National Library in Venice; while the *Ghirlanda* held in the National Central Library in Florence is composed only by two volumes.<sup>20</sup>

Printing sheets: 349.25

Total price: 3,360 denari

Price per sheet: 9.6206 denari

## 20. *Idem*. In 12°. L. 10 ss. -

[CNCE 63235] Luis de Granada, *Tutte l'opere ... il primo fiore della nostra ghirlanda spirituale*, In Vinegia, appresso Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, 1578: [36], 359, [1] p., 12°

[CNCE 76530] Luis de Granada, *Prima parte del memoriale della vita christiana ... il secondo fiore della nostra ghirlanda spirituale*, In Vinegia, appresso Giovanni e Giovanni Paolo Gioliti de' Ferrari, 1578: [24], 628, [20] p., 12°

[CNCE 49335] Luis de Granada, *Seconda parte del Memoriale della vita christiana, nella quale si contengono tre trattati cioe, dell'oratione vocale, dell'oratione mentale et dell'amor d'Iddio ... il terzo fiore della nostra Ghirlanda spirituale*, In Vinegia, appresso i Gioliti, 1581: [36], 729, [3] p., 12°

[CNCE 54992] Luis de Granada, *Devotissime meditationi per i giorni della settimana, tanto per la mattina quanto per la sera ... il quarto fiore della nostra Ghirlanda spirituale*, In Vinegia, appresso i Gioliti, 1583: 491, [1] p., 12°

[CNCE 27595] Luis de Granada, *Trattato dell'oratione et della meditatione, nel quale si tratta de principali misteri della fede nostra, con altre cose di molto profitto al christiano ... il quinto fiore della nostra Ghirlanda Spirituale di nuovo ricorretto et ristampato*, In Venetia, appresso i Gioliti, 1584: [32], 465, [3] p., 12°

[CNCE 26905] Luis de Granada, *Specchio della vita humana, nel quale si contengono il libro della contemplatione et il manuale di diverse orationi ... il sesto fiore della nostra Ghirlanda spirituale*, In Vinegia, appresso Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, 1574: [24], 440, [4] p., 12°

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<sup>19</sup> Milan, Ambrosiana Library, shelf marks S. N. VI. 1-3; the first volume (S. N. VI. 1) contains CNCE 27412 and CNCE 63213; the second volume (S. N. VI. 2) contains CNCE 27353, CNCE 27355, CNCE 27354 and CNCE 27356; and the third volume (S. N. VI. 3) contains CNCE 27593, CNCE 26939 and CNCE 27399. The following volumes with shelf marks S. N. VI. 4-9 have the same ancient binding and include other Granada's works: CNCE 29009, CNCE 49647 and CNCE 40050.

<sup>20</sup> Venice, Marciana National Library, shelf marks 16 C 115.1-3, 16 C 116.1-4 and 16 C 117.1-3; Florence, National Central Library, shelf marks MAGL.15.5.12/1 a-e and MAGL.15.5.12/2 a-e.

[CNCE 73402] Luis de Granada, *Trattato della confessione et comunione, dove breuissimamente s'insegna come s'ha da confessare, e comunicare ogni fedel christiano ... il settimo fiore della nostra Ghirlanda spirituale*, In Vinegia, appresso Giovanni e Giovanni Paolo Gioliti de' Ferrari, 1579: [24], 144 p., 12°

[CNCE 54996] Luis de Granada, *Meditationi molto divote sopra alcuni passi et misteri della vita del nostro Salvatore, della sua santa natività, per fino alla sua gloriosa ascensione ... il nono fiore della nostra Ghirlanda spirituale*, In Venetia, appresso i Gioliti, 1587: [48], 522, [6] p., 12°

[CNCE 54984] Luis de Granada, *Aggiuntioni al Memoriale della vita christiana ... il decimo fiore della nostra Ghirlanda spirituale*, In Vinegia, appresso Giovanni e Giovanni Paolo Gioliti de Ferrari, 1579: [72], 540 p., 12°

As for the previous item, also the identification proposed here is a hypothesis, and not only one but a series of editions in duodecimo must be identified. I propose here that the editions advertised for 10 lire can be identified with the latest duodecimo editions printed before 1589, which include the formula "[number] fiore della nostra Ghirlanda spirituale" in the title.

Printing sheets: 194.17

Total price: 2,400 denari

Price per sheet: 12.3603 denari

## 21. Guida, in 12°, ristampata del '87. L. - ss. 16

Luis de Granada, *Guida de' peccatori*, [Venice 1587]: [36], 359, [1] p., 12°

No editions of the *Guida de' peccatori del r.p.f. Luigi di Granata* in 12° dated 1587 are known, but possibly this item refers to an issue or a reprint of the 1586 edition in 12° of this work (CNCE 76511).

Printing sheets: 16.5

Total price: 192 denari

Price per sheet: 11.6364 denari

## 22. Idem. In 24°. L. - ss. 4

*Unidentified edition*

EDIT16 does not consider any edition printed in 24° by the Giolitos.

Printing sheets: not available

Total price: 48 denari

Price per sheet: not available

### **23. Idem. In 4°. L. 1 ss. 10**

[CNCE 76513] Luis de Granada, *Guida de' peccatori del r. p. f. Luigi di Granata nella quale s'insegna tutto quello che debbe fare il christiano dal principio della sua conversione fin'al fine della sua perfettione*, In Vinegia, appresso Gabriel Giolito de'Ferrari, 1576: 173, [3] p., 4°

The identification proposed here is an uncertain hypothesis, because there are several editions of the *Guida*, not only under the title *Guida de' peccatori*, but also under the title *Tutte l'opere del R.P.F. Luigi di Granata dell'Ordine di S. Domenico...* as the first flower of the *Ghirlanda spirituale* (Coppens 2005, 488-489).

Printing sheets: 22

Total price: 360 denari

Price per sheet: 16.3636 denari

### **24. Memorial parte prima. In 12°. L. 1 ss. 4**

[CNCE 76530] Luis de Granada, *Prima parte del memoriale della vita christiana*, In Vinegia, appresso Gio. e Gio. Paolo Gioliti de' Ferrari, 1578: [24], 628, [20] p., 12°

Printing sheets: 28

Total price: 288 denari

Price per sheet: 10.2857 denari

### **25. Idem. In 4°. L. 1 ss. 10**

[CNCE 63213] Luis de Granada, *Prima parte del Memoriale della vita cristiana*, In Vinegia, appresso Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, 1578: [20], 279, [1] p., 4°

Printing sheets: 37.5

Total price: 360 denari

Price per sheet: 9.6 denari

### **26. Idem, seconda parte. In 12°. L. 1 ss. 10**

[CNCE 49335] Luis de Granada, *Seconda parte del Memoriale della vita christiana, nella quale si contengono tre trattati cioè dell'oratione vocale, dell'oratione mentale et dell'amor d'Iddio*, In Vinegia, appresso i Gioliti, 1581: [36], 729, [3] p., 12°

Printing sheets: 32

Total price: 360 denari

Price per sheet: 11.25 denari

**27. Trattato dell'oratione. In 12°. L. 1 ss. –**

[CNCE 27595] Luis de Granada, *Trattato dell' oratione et della meditatione: nel quale si tratta de principali misteri della fede nostra*, In Venetia, appresso i Gioliti, 1584: [36], 465, [3] p., 12°

Printing sheets: 21

Total price: 240 denari

Price per sheet: 11.4286 denari

**28. Idem. In 4°. L. 2 ss. -**

[CNCE 26934] Luis de Granada, *Trattato dell'oratione, et devotione*, In Vinegia, appresso Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, 1577: [12], 282, [2] c., 4°

Printing sheets: 37

Total price: 480 denari

Price per sheet: 12.973 denari

**29. Specchio della vita umana. In 12°. L. - ss. 16**

[CNCE 54985] Luis de Granada, *Specchio della vita humana*, In Vinegia, appresso Giovanni & Gio. Paolo Gioliti di Ferrari, 1580: 24, 467, [1] p., 12°

Printing sheets: 20.5

Total price: 192 denari

Price per sheet: 9.3659 denari

**30. Idem. In 4°. L. 1 ss. 10**

[CNCE 26942] Luis de Granada, *Specchio della vita humana, nel quale si contengono il libro della contemplatione, et il manuale di diverse orationi*, In Vinegia, appresso Gabriel Giolito De' Ferrari, 1578: [16], 210, [2] p., 4°

Printing sheets: 28.5

Total price: 360 denari

Price per sheet: 12.6316 denari

**31. Pie e devote orationi. In 12°. L. - ss. 2**

*Unidentified edition*

The unidentified edition probably consisted of 60 pages, like all the editions in 12° of these speeches.

Printing sheets: 2.5

Total price: 24 denari

Price per sheet: 9.6 denari

**32. Trattato di confessione et comunione. In 12°. L. - ss. 6**

[CNCE 73402] Luis de Granada, *Trattato della confessione et comunione, dove brevissimamente s'insegna come s'ha da confessare, e comunicare ogni fedel christiano*, In Vinegia, appresso Gio. e Gio. Paolo Gioliti de' Ferrari, 1579: [24], 144 p., 12°

Printing sheets: 7

Total price: 72 denari

Price per sheet: 10.2857 denari

**33. Meditationi sopra la vita, in 12°, ristampate. L. 1 ss. 4**

[CNCE 54996] Luis de Granada, *Meditationi molto divote, sopra alcuni passi, et misteri della vita del nostro Salvatore, della sua s. natività, per fino alla sua gloriosa ascensione*, In Venetia, appresso i Gioliti, 1587: [48], 522, [6] p., 12°

Printing sheets: 24

Total price: 288 denari

Price per sheet: 12 denari

**34. Aggiuntioni al Memorial. In 12°. L. 1 ss. 4**

[CNCE 54984] Luis de Granada, *Aggiuntioni al Memoriale della vita christiana*, In Vinegia, appresso Giovanni e Giovanni Paolo Gioliti de Ferrari, 1579: [72], 540 p., 12°

Printing sheets: 25.67

Total price: 288 denari

Price per sheet: 11.2193 denari

**35. Scelta di pretiosi fiori. In 12°. L. 1 ss. -**

[CNCE 54978] Luis de Granada, *Scelta de' preciosi fiori d'orationi raccolte da diversi santi dottori*, In Vinegia, appresso Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, 1576: [24], 417, [3] p., 12°

Printing sheets: 18.5

Total price: 240 denari

Price per sheet: 12.973 denari

**36. Scorta, in 4°, con aggiunta. L. 2 ss. 10**

[CNCE 27593] Luis de Granada, *Scorta del peccatore, ove si tratta copiosamente della beltà et de' beni inestimabili della virtù et com' ella s'ottenghi ... Aggiuntavi una lettera di Eucherio, vescovo di Leone di Francia, tradotta da Gio. Giolito*, In Venetia, appresso i Gioliti, 1584: [28], 455, [1] p., 4°

Printing sheets: 60.5

Total price: 600 denari

Price per sheet: 9.9174 denari

**37. Gioseffo, volgare in 4°, Dell'antichità e Guerra giudaica. L. 8 ss. -\$**

[CNCE 27409] Flavius Iosephus, *Dell'antichità de' Giudei libri XX*, In Vinegia, appresso Giovanni et Giovanni Paolo Gioliti de' Ferrari, 1580: [36], 987, [1] p., 4°

[CNCE 27548] Flavius Iosephus, *Della guerra de' Giudei libri VII*, In Vinegia, appresso Giovanni et Giovanni Paolo Gioliti de' Ferrari, 1581: [16], 525, [3] p., 4°

Total printing sheets: 196

Total price: 1,920 denari

Price per sheet: 9.7959 denari

**38. Di Gierusalem. In 8°. L - ss. 12**

*Unidentified edition*

Total printing sheets: not available

Total price: 144 denari

Price per sheet: not available

**39. Gaudentii Merulae Memorabilium. 8°. L. - ss. 6**

[CNCE 26992] Gaudenzio Merula, *Memorabilium liber perquam utilis et eruditus*, Venetiis, apud Gabrielem Iolium et fratres de Ferrariis, 1550: 64 c., 8°

Printing sheets: 8

Total price: 72 denari

Price per sheet: 9 denari

**40. Hector Pinctus in Ezechielem, fol., Salamanca. L. 8 ss. -**

Hector Pinto, *In Ezechielem prophetam commentaria*, Salamanca, Ildefonso de Terranova y Neyla expensis Lucas de Junta, 1581: [16], 654, [76] [2], 26, [2], fol.

Printing sheets: 194

Total price: 1,920 denari

Price per sheet: 9.8969 denari

**41. Historia del mondo novo cioè Perù. In 4°. L. 2 ss. -**

[CNCE 26448] Agustín de Zárate, *Le historie dello scoprimento et conquista del Perù, nelle quali si ha piena et particolar relatione delle cose successe in quelle bande, dal principio fino alla pacificatione delle provincie, si in quel che tocca allo scoprimento, come al successo delle guerre civili occorse fra gli spagnuoli et capitani, che lo conquistarono*, In Vinegia, appresso Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, 1563: [16], 294, [2] p., 4°

Printing sheets: 39

Total price: 480 denari

Price per sheet: 12.3077 denari

**42. Lettere del Giappone e della Cina. In 8°. L. 1 ss. 10**

[CNCE 20784] *Nuove lettere delle cose del Giappone, paese del mondo novo, dell'anno 1579 insino al 1581. Con la morte d'alcuni padri della Compagnia di Giesù*, In Venetia, appresso i Gioliti, 1585, 188, [12] p., 8°

This is the only Giolito edition on Japan that features the word *lettere* at the beginning of the title. However, the title does not mention China. Other editions are collections of *avvisi* that arrived in Europe along with Jesuits' letters: CNCE 3641 *Avvisi della Cina et Giappone del fine dell'anno 1587, con l'arrivo de' signori giapponesi nell'India cavati dalle lettere della Compagnia di Giesù, ricevute il mese d'ottobre 1588*, In Venetia, appresso i Gioliti, 1588, 64 p., 8°; and CNCE 27630 Luis Froes, *Nuovi avvisi del Giappone con alcuni altri della Cina del LXXXIII, et LXXXIV, cavati dalle lettere della Compagnia di Giesù ricevute il mese di dicembre prossimo passato MDLXXXV*, In Venetia, appresso i Gioliti, 1586.

We can just propose that the edition described in this item can be identified with the *Nuove lettere delle cose del Giappone*, even if the price per printing sheet is very high, but this identification is uncertain.

Printing sheets: 12.5

Total price: 360 denari

Price per sheet: 28.8 denari (?)

**43. Ludovici Legionensis super canticam, 4°, Salamanca. L. 4 ss. –**

Luis de León, *In cantica canticorum Solomonis explanatio*, Salamanca, Lucas de Junta, 1580: [16], 370, [14] p., 4°

Printing sheets: 50

Total price: 960 denari

Price per sheet: 19.2 denari

**44. Monarchia di Christo. In ottavo. L. 1 ss. 10**

[CNCE 54922] Giovanni Antonio Pantera, *Monarchia del nostro signor Gesu Christo*, In Vinegia, appresso Gabriel Giolito Ferrari, 1563: [24], 543, [1] p., 8°

Printing sheets: 35.5

Total price: 360 denari

Price per sheet: 10.1408 denari

**45. Modo d'orar di fra Silvestro. In 12°. L. - ss. 15**

[CNCE 47823] Silvestro da Rossano, *Modo come la persona spirituale che ora si habbia a disporre nella oratione verso Iddio per li suoi Santi*, In Vinegia, appresso Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, 1574: [12], 369, [3] p., 12°.

Printing sheets: 16

Total price: 180 denari

Price per sheet: 11.25 denari

**46. [Modo] Di contemplar il sangue. In 12°. L. - ss. 4**

[CNCE 67082] Silvestro da Rossano, *Modo di contemplare et dire la devotione del preciosissimo sangue del nostro signor Giesu Christo, sparso pietosamente per noi*, In Venegia, appresso Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, 1575, 95, [1] p., 12°

Printing sheets: 4

Total price: 48 denari

Price per sheet: 12 denari

**47. [Modo] Di ben confessarsi. L. - ss. 1**

*Unidentified edition*



A similar item was found in the *Indice copioso* and it was not identified (Coppens 2005, 517).

**48. Meditationi sopra la passione di nostro Signore con le figure del Testamento vecchio del padre Bruno Giesuita. In 12°. L. - ss. –**

*Unidentified edition, without price*

Several Giolito editions in duodecimo of Vincenzo Bruni's *Meditationi sopra la passione di nostro Signore* exist: CNCE 7719 and CNCE 7720, both dated 1586; CNCE 7724, dated 1588; CNCE 7728, dated 1590; CNCE 7729, dated 1591, all in one volume; CNCE 7733, dated 1595, in two parts; and CNCE 7736, dated 1598, in four parts. There are no reasons to identify the edition described in this item with one of the known ones.

**49. Idem sopra la vita di nostro Signore con le figure del Testamento vecchio del padre Bruno sopradetto. In 12°. L. - ss. -**

*Unidentified edition, without price*

Several Giolito editions in 12° of Vincenzo Bruni's *Meditationi sopra la vita di nostro Signore* exist: CNCE 7722 and CNCE 7725, dated 1588 and 1589, in one volume; CNCE 7733, dated 1595 in two volumes; and CNCE 7736, dated 1598 in four volumes. There are no reasons to identify the edition described in this item with one of the known ones.

**50. Methodo di confessione. In 12°. L. 1 ss. -**

[CNCE 26785] Claude de Viexmont, *Metodo di confessione, cioè arte over ragione et una certa brieve via di confessarsi, nella quale pienamente si contengono i peccati et i loro rimedi. Con una pia et dotta dichiarazione de' dodici articoli della fede et al fine un picciolo et bel trattato dell'arte del ben morire*, In Vinegia, appresso Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, 1572: [48], 394, [2] p., 12°.

Printing sheets: 18.5

Total price: 240 denari

Price per sheet: 12.973 denari

**51. Modo d'ascoltar la messa, in 8°, del Ghirardacci. L. - ss. 6**

[CNCE 27572] Cherubino Ghirardacci, *Institutione christiana et catolica, del modo d'ascoltar la messa, generale sacrificio della christianita, per via d'interrogationi*, In Vinegia, appresso i Gioliti, 1583: 95, [1] p., 8°.

Printing sheets: 6

Total price: 72 denari

Price per sheet: 12 denari

**52. Meditationi di diversi santi dottori. In 12°. L. 2 ss. 10**

[CNCE 27579] Nicolò Bonfigli, *Meditationi di diversi dottori di santa Chiesa ... il primo [-terzo] grado della scala spirituale*, In Venetia, appresso i Gioliti, 1583, 3 volumes: [72], 368, [4] p.; [24], 417, [3] p.; [24], 503, [1] p., 12°.

Printing sheets: 59

Total price: 600 denari

Price per sheet: 10.1695 denari

**53. Narratione sopra il Qui habitat. In ottavo. L. 1 ss. -**

[CNCE 26324] Giacomo Nacchiante, *Narratione pia, dotta, et catolica del salmo Qui habitat*, In Vinegia, appresso Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, 1561: [16], 308 p., 8°.

Printing sheets: 20.25

Total price: 240 denari

Price per sheet: 11.8519 denari

**54. Novo nascimento del christiano. In 8°. L. - ss. 6**

[CNCE 20845] Cherubino Ghirardacci, *Nuovo e spirituale nascimento dell'huomo christiano, nel quale il padrino, over compare, ragiona del battesimo et de' suoi divini et altri misteri: et ammaestra l'infante in tutto quello, che per lui al sacro fonte haveva promesso*, In Vinegia, appresso Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, 1572: [16], 93, [3] p., 8°.

Printing sheets: 7

Total price: 72 denari

Price per sheet: 10.2857 denari

**55. Prediche del Cornelio, in 8°, compite con la vita. L. 9 ss. 10**

[CNCE 27414] Cornelio Musso, *Il primo [-quarto] libro delle prediche*, In Vinegia, appresso i Gioliti, 1580, 4 volumes: [40], 516, [4] p., [48], 789, [3] p., [40], 567, [1] p., [32], 551, [1] p., 8°

[CNCE 54999] Cornelio Musso, *Prediche con la vita di esso descritta da Gio. Battista Leoni*, In Venetia, appresso i Gioliti, 1589: [32], 160 p., 8°

Printing sheets: 174

Total price: 2,280 denari

Price per sheet: 13.1034 denari

**56. Idem, in 4°, con la vita. L. 12 ss. -**

[CNCE 27566] Cornelio Musso, *Prediche fatte in diversi tempi et in diversi luoghi, nuovamente ristampate et poste per ordine*, In Vinegia, appresso i Gioliti, 1582, 2 volumes: [48], 854, [2] p., [40], 974 p. (?), 4°

Printing sheets: 240

Total price: 2,880 denari

Price per sheet: 12 denari

**57. Fatte a Vienna. L. - ss. 4**

[CNCE 26414] Cornelio Musso, *Prediche fatte in Vienna alla sacra maestà cesarea et al serenissimo re et reina di Bohemia il giorno di san Giacomo apostolo et il giorno della Madonna della neve, l'anno MDLX*, In Vinegia, appresso Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, 1562, 26 c., 8°.

Printing sheets: 3.25

Total price: 48 denari

Price per sheet: 14.7692 denari

**58. Idem, 4 ultime con la vita. In 8°. L. - ss. 12**

*Unidentified edition*

The “ultime quattro prediche” had numerous editions and there are no reasons to identify the one described in this item with one of them. Nevertheless, as they all have the same number of pages - [32], 160 p. - the price per printing sheet can be calculated.

Printing sheets: 12

Total price: 144 denari

Price per sheet: 12 denari

**59. Poeti antichi emendati, Roma. In 16°. L. 2 ss. 8**

*Unidentified edition*

The same item also features in another printed catalogue, kept in Winterthur, bound together with the *Indice copioso*, and there this edition of ancient poets is described as consisting of two volumes (Puntel 2013-2014, 60).

Printing sheets: not available

Total price: 576 denari

Price per sheet: not available

**60. Pianto della Pescara, in 12° spirituale. L. - ss. 3**

[CNCE 14918] Vittoria Colonna, *Pianto sopra la passione di Christo, con una oratione della medesima, sopra l'Ave Maria, oratione fatta il venerdì santo, sopra la passione di Christo*, In Vinegia, appresso Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, 1562: 70, [2] p., 12°.

Printing sheets: 3

Total price: 36 denari

Price per sheet: 12

**61. Persecuzioni della Chiesa. In 4° L. 3 ss. -**

[CNCE 20983] Giovanni Andrea Gilio, *Le persecuzioni della Chiesa descritte in cinque libri*, In Vinegia, appresso Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, 1573: [32], 457, [3] p., 4°

Printing sheets: 61.5

Total price: 720 denari

Price per sheet: 11.7073 denari

**62. Retorica Cipriani. In 12° L. - ss. 10**

[CNCE 27795]: Cipriano Suárez, *De arte rhetorica libri tres, ex Aristotele, Cicerone et Quintiliano praecipue deprompti*, Venetiis, apud Iolitos, 1587: [16], 200, [28] p., 12°

Printing sheets: 10.17

Total price: 120 denari

Price per sheet: 11.7994 denari

**63. Regola spiritual del Blossio. In 12° L. - ss. 6**

[CNCE 41382] Louis de Blois, *Breve regola d'un novitio spirituale et un conforto dei pusillanimiti*, In Venetia, appresso i Gioliti, 1588: 116 p., 12°

Printing sheets: 4.83

Total price: 72 denari

Price per sheet: 14.9068 denari

**64. Sermoni di santo Agostino. In 4°. L. 3 ss. -**

[CNCE 3429] Aurelius Augustinus, *Varii sermoni di santo Agostino et d'altri catholici et antichi dottori utili alla salute dell'anime*, In Vinegia, appresso Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, 1567: [28], 448 p., 4°

Printing sheets: 59.5

Total price: 720 denari

Price per sheet: 12.1008 denari

**65. Selva d'orationi, in 12°, con aggiunta ristampata del '87. L. 1 ss. 10**

[CNCE 6967] Niccolò Bonfigli, *Selva d'orationi di diversi signori dottori e di molti scrittori antichi et moderni*, In Venetia, appresso i Gioliti, 1587: [96], 552 p., 12°

Printing sheets: 27

Total price: 360 denari

Price per sheet: 13.3333 denari

**66. Scudo di fede. In 4°. L. 2 ss. -**

[CNCE 21761] Nicole Grenier, *Scudo della fede per ribatter i colpi di tutti i nimici della Chiesa catholica, con l'autorità delle sacre Scritture, de' santi Concilii et de' più antichi santi padri et dottori della Chiesa*, In Vinegia, appresso Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, 1567: [24], 309, [3] p., 4°

Printing sheets: 42

Total price: 480 denari

Price per sheet: 11.4286 denari

**67. Scudo e spada. In 8°. L. - ss. 12**

[CNCE 50024] Nicole Grenier, *Dialogo di due pellegrini, intitolato scudo e spada della fede*, In Venetia, appresso i Gioliti, 1585: [24], 198 p., 8°

Printing sheets: 13.88

Total price: 144 denari

Price per sheet: 10.3746 denari

**68. Spada di fede. In 4°. L. 1 ss. 10**

[CNCE 21758] Nicole Grenier, *Spada della fede per difesa della Chiesa christiana contra i nimici della verità cavata dalle Sante Scritture, da' santi concilii et da' piu antichi santi Padri et Dottori di essa Chiesa*, In Vinegia, appresso Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, 1563: [20], 279, [1] p., 4°

Printing sheets: 37.5

Total price: 360 denari

Price per sheet: 9.6 denari

**69. Specchio di croce. In 12°. L. - ss. 12**

[CNCE 10414] Domenico Cavalca, *Trattato pio et christiano detto Specchio di croce*, In Vinegia, appresso Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, 1567: [28], 302, [2] p., 12°

Printing sheets: 13.83

Total price: 144 denari

Price per sheet: 10.4121 denari

**70. Stadio del cursor christiano. In 12°. L. - ss. 6**

[CNCE 54948] Antonio Ulstio, *Stadio del cursore christiano, il quale sotto al lieve peso di Christo s'indirizza alla meta; cioè al segno e termino della vita eterna*, In Vinegia, appresso Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, 1568: [24], 105 p., 12°

Printing sheets: 5.42

Total price: 72 denari

Price per sheet: 13.2841 denari

**71. Trattato dell'obediencia. In 8°. L. - ss. 16**

[CNCE 26649] Giovanni Pontano, *Trattato dell'obediencia nel qual si contengono tutti i precetti et regole appartenenti, a chi deve comandare et a chi deve obedire, secondo la diuersità di tutti gli stati de gli huomini, cosi publici come privati*, In Vinegia, appresso Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, 1568: [20], 242, [2] p., 8°

Printing sheets: 16.5

Total price: 192 denari

Price per sheet: 11.6364 denari

**72. Theodoretto della provvidenza. In 8° L. - ss. 12**

[CNCE 27024] Theodoretus Cyrensis, *Sermoni dieci della provvidenza di Dio*, In Vinegia, appresso Gabriel Giolito de Ferrari e fratelli, 1551: 12 p., 13-179, [1] c., 12°

Printing sheets: 145

Total price: 144 denari

Price per sheet: 9.931 denari

**73. Vita della madonna. In 4° L. 1 ss. -**

[CNCE 27413] Bartolomeo Meduna, *Vita della gloriosa vergine Maria madre di Dio regina dei cieli, con l'humanita del redentor del mondo Giesu Christo, nostro Signore*, In Vinegia, appresso Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, 1580: [8], 150, [2] p., 4°

Printing sheets: 20

Total price: 240 denari

Price per sheet: 12 denari

**74. Vita della beata Gertruda con aggiunta de gli essercitii. In 4° L. 3 ss. 10**

[CNCE 27797] Johann Landsberg, *Vita della beata vergine Gertruda, ridotta in cinque libri ... ne' quali si contengono le rivelationi della divina pietà e perfettioni del christiano con molti santi et pietosi ammaestramenti necessari alla salute nostra, et con molte istruzioni, appartenenti alla futura vita et all'apparecchio del punto della morte. ... Et in quest'ultima editione aggiuntivi gli essercitii di detta santa et le rivelationi e visioni della beata Mettilde e della beata Elisabetta*, In Venetia, appresso i Gioliti, 1588, 2 volumi: [20], 572 p.; [16], 246, [2] p., 4°

Printing sheets: 107

Total price: 840 denari

Price per sheet: 7.8505 denari

**75. [Vita] della beata Metilde et Elisabetta. In 4° L. - ss. -**

[CNCE 27797] Johann Landsberg, *Vita della beata vergine Gertruda, ridotta in cinque libri ... ne' quali si contengono le rivelationi della divina pietà e perfettioni del christiano con molti santi et pietosi ammaestramenti necessari alla salute nostra, et con molte istruzioni, appartenenti alla futura vita et all'apparecchio del punto della morte. ... Et in quest'ultima editione aggiuntivi gli essercitii di detta santa et le rivelationi e visioni della beata Mettilde e della beata Elisabetta*, In Venetia, appresso i Gioliti, 1588, 2° volume: [16], 246, [2] p., 4°

Printing sheets: 33

Total price: not available

Price per sheet: not available

**76. Vita del padre Ignatio volgare. In 4°. L. - ss. -**

[CNCE 27632] Pedro de Ribadeneyra, *Vita del p. Ignatio Loiola fondatore della Religione della Compagnia di Giesù*, In Venetia, appresso i Gioliti, 1586: [44], 589, [3] p., 4°

Printing sheets: 79.5

Total price: not available

Price per sheet: not available

**77. Idem, in 8°, volgare. L. 2 ss. 8**

[CNCE 27792] Pedro de Ribadeneyra, *Vita del p. Ignatio Loiola fondatore della religione della Compagnia di Giesù*, In Venetia, appresso i Gioliti, 1587: [64], 684, [4] p., 8°

Printing sheets: 47

Total price: 576 denari

Price per sheet: 12.2553 denari

**78. [Vita] patris Ignatii latina. In 8°. L. 1 ss. -**

[CNCE 27619] Giovanni Pietro Maffei, *De vita et moribus Ignatii Loiolae, qui Societatem Iesu fundavit, libri III*, Venetiis, apud Iolitos, 1585: [24], 286, [2] p., 8°

Printing sheets: 19.5

Total price: 240 denari

Price per sheet: 12.3077 denari

**79. Vita di san Placido dell'Ordine di san Benedetto, in 4°, in ottava rima, stampata di nuovo L. - ss. 16**

[CNCE 27810] Felice Passero, *La vita di san Placido e suo martirio, descritta in ottava rima*, In Venetia, appresso i Gioliti, 1589: [20], 99, [1] p., 4°

Printing sheets: 15

Total price: 192 denari

Price per sheet: 12.8 denari



**80. [Vita] di Gioseffo, in 4°, in rima. L. - ss. 10**

[CNCE 17375] Lodovico Dolce, *La vita di Giuseppe descritta in ottava rima*, In Vinegia, appresso Gabriel Giolito De' Ferrari, 1561: 43, [1] c., 4°

Printing sheets: 11

Total price: 120 denari

Price per sheet: 10.9091 denari

**81. [Vita] de' pontefici e cardinali. In 4°. L. 3 ss. 10**

[CNCE 20425] Girolamo Garimberti, *La prima parte delle vite, ovvero fatti memorabili d'alcuni papi et di tutti i cardinali passati*, In Vinegia, appresso Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, 1567: [40], 515, [1] p., 4°

Printing sheets: 69.5

Total price: 840 denari

Price per sheet: 12.0863 denari

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