

Hi, Nick!...

A showing of *Bibliografia delle edizioni di Niccolò Machiavelli*,
v. 1. & 2., Manziana, Vecchiarelli Editore, 2015, 2016.
And about the forthcoming v. 3. (2017, Fall).

by

PIERO INNOCENTI & MARIELISA ROSSI



**Carrying out (16th century) of a wooden capital letter:
“N” = Niccolò = Nick = Beelzebub.**

This is the catalogue description of the work we're speaking about (source: the Italian Servizio Bibliotecario Nazionale = Sbn):

Volume 1. Manziana, Vecchiarelli, 2015.
LXXVIII, 461 p. ill. 29 cm + 1 CD-ROM. With an errata corrige.
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[ISBN] 978-88-8247-393-8.

PIERO INNOCENTI - MARIELISA ROSSI

**BIBLIOGRAFIA DELLE EDIZIONI DI
NICCOLÒ MACHIAVELLI: 1506-1914**



I
1506-1604
Istorico, comico e tragico



PIERO INNOCENTI - MARIELISA ROSSI

**BIBLIOGRAFIA DELLE EDIZIONI DI
NICCOLÒ MACHIAVELLI: 1506-1914**



II
1605-1700
Istorico, comico e tragico



The Covers.

The Publisher and the Authors want to thank:

SOCIETÀ GEOGRAFICA ITALIANA, ROME, where the work was spoken about firstly by: Attilio M. Caproni, Gaetano Colli, Marina Formica, Roberto Mercuri, Alessandro Ricci, on 2015, May, 7th (v. 1.)

And a second time by Edoardo Barbieri, Giovanni Ruocco, Pasquale Stoppelli, on 2016, November, 25th (v. 2.)

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And a second time by Roberto Guarasci, Francesco Raniolo, Spartaco Pupo, Anna Jellamo, Anna D'Atri, Vittorio Beonio Brocchieri, on 2017, April, 5th (v. 2.)

CENTRO DIOCESANO DI DOCUMENTAZIONE "per la storia e la cultura religiosa" [= for religious history and culture] & CENTRO DI RICERCHE "per la storia dell'Alto Lazio" [= for the history of Northern Latium], VITERBO, where the work was spoken about by Luciano Osbat, on 2017, March, 28th (v. 1. & 2.)

The 1. Volume contents:

An Introduction by the Editors.

Essays by Paolo Procaccioli, Alessandra Petrina, Teresa M. Gialdroni, Agostino Ziino, Giancarlo Petrella, Lorenzo Baldacchini, Edoardo Barbieri, Mario Martino.

Bibliographical descriptions n° 1-642, relating to editions issued between **1506** and **1604**.

The 2. Volume contents:

An Introduction by the Editors.

Essays by Rosanna Schito, Carsten Nahrendorf, Alessio Panichi, Roberto De Pol, Manfred Pfister, Alessandro Arienzo, Maurizio Vivarelli.

Bibliographical descriptions n° 643-1297, relating to editions issued between **1605** and **1700**.

Coming soon, the 3d Volume:

2017, Fall-Winter: the 3d. volume will be published, containing:

An Introduction by the Editors.

Essays by Roberto De Pol, Spartaco Pupo, Rosanna Schito, Giuseppe Sciara, Marcello Simonetta.

About 600 bibliographical descriptions, relating to editions issued between 1701 and 1827.

REVIEWS

The work was already reviewed by:

GIANCARLO PETRELLA, *Machiavelli in tutte le edizioni*, «Il Sole24ore», 29 Marzo 2015.

IDEM, *Il Machiavelli nelle biblioteche dei bresciani*, «Giornale di Brescia», 5 Aprile 2015, p. 50.

ATTILIO M. CAPRONI, *Il percorso e la voce dell'intelligenza*, in «Culture del testo e del documento», 17., 2016, n°49, January – April, p. 5-14.

FRANCESCO BAUSI, *Una nuova bibliografia machiavelliana*, *ib.*, p. 15-28.

ALESSANDRO RICCI, *Machiavelli e la geografia dell'incertezza. Conoscenza del territorio e relazioni di potere nella modernità*, *ib.*, p. 29-48.

A. T. [= ALESSANDRO TEDESCO], in «Almanacco bibliografico», n° 35, 2015, September, p. 5-6, <http://centridiricerca.unicatt.it/creleb-AB.35.pdf> (contacted 2017, April, 3d).

[Unsigned review], in «Le carte e la Storia», n° 2, 2015, December, p. 169-172.

Within 2017: LUCA ADDANTE, in «Rivista storica italiana», 129., 2017, n° 2.

Libraries browsed & / or visited

Up-to-day...:

over 2.200 libraries were visited, or browsed *via* Opac, or interviewed *via* (e-)mail;

over 2.500 bibliographical references were checked and listed;

over 4.700 items were indexed and explained in the *Realien* Index, related by now to the v. 1. and 2.

The general index to the work will occupy a DVD attached to the 4th & last volume (1828-1914), to be published during 2018.

Iconography.

The v. 1. contains over **450** plates = about **1.400** single images.

The v. 2. contains over **750** plates = about **2.300** single images.

The v. 3. contains over **650** plates = about **2.000** single images.

The v. 4. will contain not less than **1.000** plates, with an increasing, too, number of single images.

Cui prodest?

We might ask ourselves: *Cui prodest?* (in a more vernacular form: *To whom may it be useful?*)

That is: To whom may a new bibliography of Machiavelli's editions may be useful? Is it really necessary? Well, allow us to expose at least two points:

- a. as a matter of fact, it involves a lot of people, in various rôles;
- b. the specifications of Bibliography are stiff: novel creation and upgrade: that is, never be pedestrian (or even plagiarise).

Two bibliographies were devoted to Machiavelli during the 20th century. The 1st one is ADOLPH GERBER, *Niccolo Machiavelli: die Handschriften, Ausgaben und Übersetzungen seiner Werke im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, Gotha, Perthes, 1912-1913. Its main features are:

Coverage: about 16. and 17. centuries.

Inclusion: mss, editions, translations.

Range of the inquiry: the few libraries which Gerber was able to reach, sometimes in a random way.

The 2d Machiavelli's bibliography published in the 20th century is: SERGIO BERTELLI, P. INNOCENTI, *Bibliografia machiavelliana*, Verona, Valdonega, 1979; in another issue: Machiavelli's *Opere*, v. 10., Milano, Salerno.

Coverage: 1506-1900.

Inclusion: editions, translations.

Range of the inquiry: over 700 libraries' catalogues, thoroughly browsed.

A peculiar feature of this work is, moreover, that the two Authors dedicated it to Raffaele Mattioli († 1973), as a grateful, private memory.

A peculiar coincidence. In the same year of the BERTELLI-INNOCENTI, 1979, June, 1st, a parallel edition U. K. - U.S.A was published of *Requiem for the Card Catalog: Management Issues in Automated Cataloging*. Edited by Daniel Gore, Joseph Kimbrough, Peter Spyers-Duran, London, Aldwych Press, 1979 / Westport (Conn.), Greenwood. The meaning of this so-to-say *coincidence* will shortly appear, in the following lines.

This book marked a revolution in making and browsing catalogues: after that date, library catalogues will never be created and used in the same way. Not everybody, in bibliographers' and librarians' world, perceived it immediately. After about forty years, we may find copies of the *Requiem*:

In U. S. A.: **lots**.

33 in Germany;

At least **11** in U. K.;

11 in Italy (source: SBN).

Less than **10**, in: Austria, France, Ireland;

6 in Belgium;

5 in Switzerland;

4 in Israel;

3 in Netherlands;

... & so on (source: KIT, except as to Italy).

Criteria's variance between GERBER, BERTELLI-INNOCENTI, and our edition (INNOCENTI-ROSSI)

From GERBER to → → → BERTELLI-INNOCENTI:

- a. No more attention is paid to mss.
- b. Coverage reaches the date 1900.
- c. An idea of "ideal copy" is developed, as a set of possible minor or major variants.
- d. Some attention is devoted to the census of *exemplaria*.

From BERTELLI-INNOCENTI to → → → INNOCENTI-ROSSI:

a. Since 2001 appeared the new *Edizione nazionale* (Roma, Salerno Editrice: to be published only the last volume). This is an endogenous factor in Machiavelli's tradition, which substantially exempts bibliographers to concern in mss.

b. Since 1979 (as we saw *supra*), it is possible to browse catalogues *via* (Ether-, Intra- o Inter-)Net: this is an endogenous factor in making Bibliography and single bibliographies (someone calls it *to Bibliography*, or *Bibliographieren*, or even *Bibliografare*): an irreversible switch.

c. Gerber worked, not at full ease, in an Europe divided by often unfriendly borders. The BERTELLI-INNOCENTI was processed in a world in which a most unfriendly border survived: «From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic an iron curtain has descended across the Continent. Behind that line lie all the capitals of the ancient states of Central and Eastern Europe. Warsaw, Berlin, Prague, Vienna, Budapest, Belgrade, Bucharest and Sofia, all these famous cities and the populations around them lie in what I must call the Soviet sphere, and all are subject in one form or another, not only to Soviet influence but to a very high and, in some cases, increasing measure of control» (Churchill's speech given in Fulton, 1946).

ROSSI & INNOCENTI, *Hi, Nick!...*: A showing of: *Bibliografia delle edizioni di Niccolò Machiavelli*

Our edition (INNOCENTI-ROSSI) had no enforced political borders to respect: the Iron Curtain being only a memory, it was possible to spread and strengthen at own ease an analytical description grid, which now forecasts:

TITLEPAGE: the date, if lacking, is introduced (format: *year*), being a shibboleth both for sorting and searching.

COLLATION: paging, size, foliation, formula of signatures, decorative material.

CONTENTS: analytical.

LOOKED AT: list of the *exemplaria* actually seen, including size, binding, mss notes, provenance.

NAMES: list of proper / common names to be indexed in the *Realien* Index.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: who and were mentioned the edition.

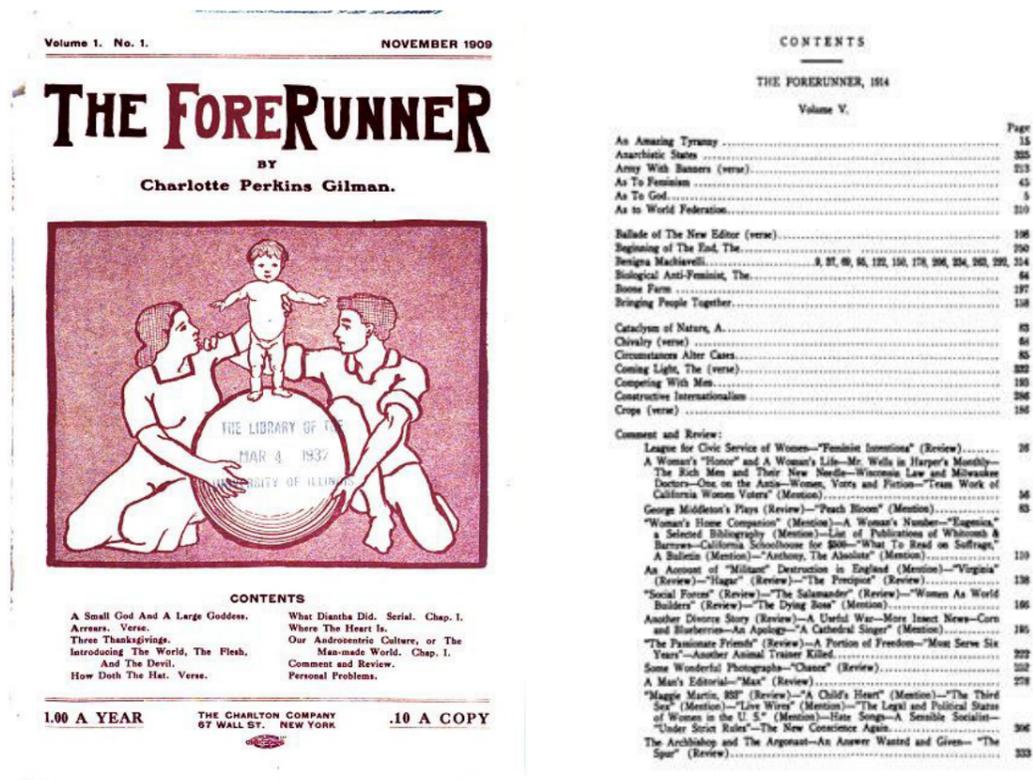
CENSUS: libraries whose catalogues mention at least 1 copy (format: *Place, Name*). On 2017, April, 5th, the libraries were 2.235; general list in the DVD.

d. The *terminus non post quem*. Last variant element of our canon, compared to the previous bibliographies, deals with the chronological coverage. Our *terminus non post quem* is 1914, and not 1900. Why? As a matter of fact, from many standpoints the year 1900 is not a significant breakpoint.

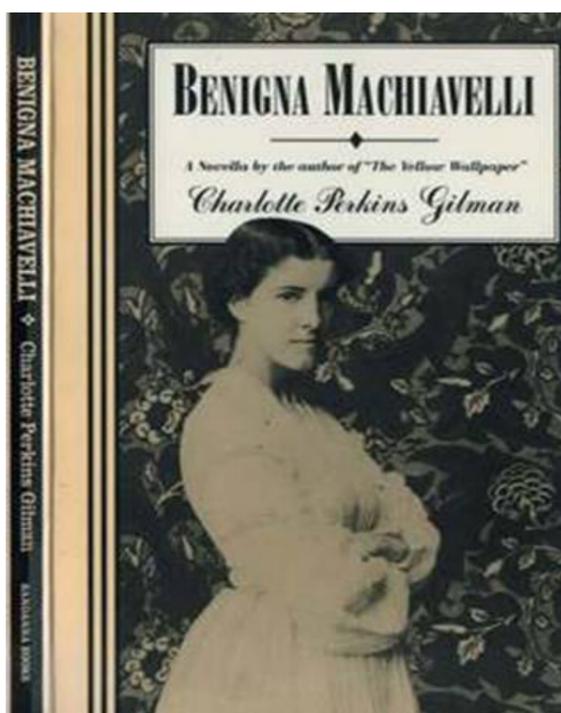
According to Tebbel, the year 1915 was, in U. S. A., too, a breakpoint between past and future of the publishing work (JOHN TEBBEL, *A History of Book Publishing in the United States: The Expansion of an Industry, 1865-1919*, 2 v., New York, Bowker, 1975). And U. S. A. were not directly involved in the War at least until 1917. In Europe, also in the publishing work, in the year 1914 raw materials (lead, copper, paper) and manpower begin to be esteemed as strategical means, aimed to the war effort. Not to consider censorship. After 1919, things happen, things change: see the meeting about the Great War, held in Urbino on 2016, May. The proceedings will be found in *Libri e memorie della Grande Guerra*, issue 11. of «Bibliologia», Pisa, Fabrizio Serra Editore, 2016.

Moreover, in 1914, in U.S.A. and in Europe, two titles were published, which underline two features of a new climate.

The first one is CHARLOTTE PERKINS GILMAN, *Benigna Machiavelli*, a palaeo-feminist *Bildungsroman*, New York.



Here are the titlepage (left), and (right) the *Index*, in which everybody may see the pages containing the instalments of the novel. Down: The cover of the 1st edition in volume, 2013, *Incipit*: «When I was a very young girl I heard a New Year's Prayer given by our minister, the Rev. William V. Cutter, a liberal and a learned man, with a great command of language.»





The second one (above) is a new release of Frederick 2d's *Antimachiavell*, edited in Berlin and printed in Leipzig. A tribute to Kaiser Wilhelm 2d, and a cloak to Imperialism?

The copy here reproduced formerly belonged to the Kg. Neues Gymnasium, Regensburg (founded in 1880), whose stamp is clearly readable in the image, on the titlepage. The stamp was deleted, but not in such a way to become unreadable, when the library decided to alienate it, we don't know neither when nor why. The book, now in Italy (private collection), was sold by «Redivivus. Buchhandlung & Antiquariat Reinhard Hanausch, Sternbergstr. 18c Regensburg», on 2017, March, 3d: price 19,75 €.

Roots and Organization of INNOCENTI-ROSSI's edition.

Our edition's first root is a project (2011, approved 2012) endorsed by HAB Wolfenbüttel and, afterwards, by Fritz Thyssen Stiftung, Köln. Such endorsement allowed us to explore, during the last five years, many European libraries inapproachable before the collapse of the Wall in Berlin. This grain of mustard (just to be a little Evangelical) never would fructify, without the liberal enterprise of our old friend Varo Augusto Vecchiarelli, leader of the Company Vecchiarelli Editore, with whom both we were colleagues in the Università della Tuscia, when he was the Publisher of the Dipartimento di storia e culture del testo e del documento (a generous Publisher, indeed...)

As to the enlargement of the bibliographic horizon, in comparison with previous bibliographies, perhaps we may say that we tried to focus a more effective methodology to identify indirect evidence. Searching *via* alphabetic catalogue often (and mostly) certifies a simple exhibition of something whose boundaries we already know; *vice versa* a classified research allows the following benefits:

- a. To analyze a documentary or bibliographical asset from the point of view of the subject matters;
- b. To follow indirect links, too;
- c. To detect possible upward, sideward, or downward connections of 2d degree.

In the Volumes 1. and 2. the data are organized in two parts:

- I. Malclavellana *stricto sensu*, that is chronological series of Machiavelli's editions.
- II. Epimalclavellana, Perimalclavellana, Antimalclavellana (Metamalclavellana quaedam quoque), that is bibliographical descriptions ordered by the chronological series of single authors referred to.

Someone might ask: *Was it worth the effort of a new Machiavelli's bibliography?* Not ours is the answer, of course; but we think to be able to underline some sure outcomes of this work. For instance, the luck of Machiavelli as a song-lyricist is amazing in the 16. century. The inventory by Gialdroni and Ziino locates a huge amount of musical editions whose lyrics are by Machiavelli, whose peculiar Muse was Barbara Raffacani, a well-known in Florence charming courtesan, madrigalist, singer, portrayed by Domenico Puligo (1492-1527), as you may see at the beginning of the next page.

About Barbara, and other prominent feminine characters in the early Renaissance Florence, you may see: GABRIELLE LANGDON, *Medici Women. Portraits of Power, Love and Betrayal from the Court of Duke Cosimo I*, Toronto - Buffalo - London, University of Toronto Press, 2006, p. 164 s. & *passim*.



Main outcomes from 17. century.

As to 17. century, Schito's and Nahrendorf's essays deal with relations between Machiavelli and theoretical and practical Politics, as developed in Europe in Universities and Chancelleries. The ambassadors engaged in the diplomatic negotiations of Münster and Osnabrück (1648) slept, so-to-say, with Machiavelli under their pillows.

Sometimes Art, in its freedom, explains a question faster than other languages. In 1615 von Bruck, an engraver from Alsace (or perhaps from Polen?) features the Dominus (on the background we see the Trojan Horse and the gap in the wall) driving a war-chariot, hauled by a *Gorpe* and a *Lione*. The blend of Omero and Machiavelli is only an emulsion, but it works! The image will inspire the *empresas* respectively n° 25 and n° 27 of the first and the second edition of DIEGO DE SAAVEDRA FAJARDO, *Idea de vn Principe politico christiano*, 1640 and 1642 [but: 1643], the only two published during the Author's lifetime, which represent his first and ultimate will.



25



27

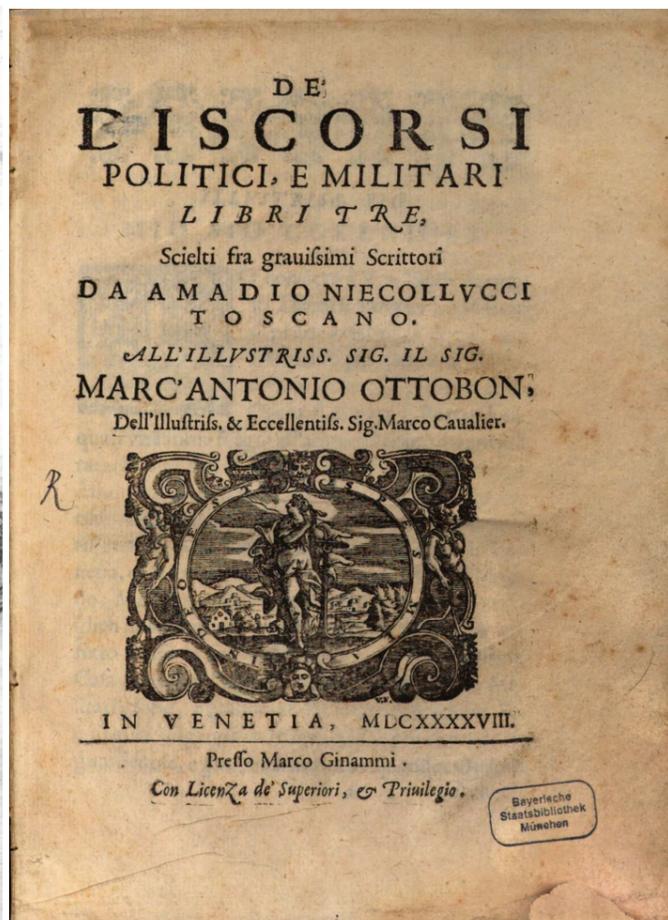
(Left → Middle → Right:)

JACOB VON BRUCK, *Emblemata*, 1615, tav. n° [16], detail, ex. *Wien*, ÖNB 48.W.66 (ed. INNOCENTI-ROSSI, n° 1013).

D. DE SAAVEDRA, *Idea...*, Monaco, Nicolao Enrico, 1640, p. 167, ex. *München*, BSB, 4 L.eleg.m.188 (ed. INNOCENTI-ROSSI, n° 1130).

Id., *Idea...*, Monaco & Milano, 1642 [1643], ex. *Murcia*, AM, 9.E.16, p. 180 (ed. INNOCENTI-ROSSI, n° 1132).

In 1630 and 1648 the only two editions of Machiavelli's works printed in Italy are published (under the childish *alias* Amadio Nicollucci) by Marco Ginammi, who in Venice reissues *Discorsi*, that is the Machiavellian Politics' core.



(Left → Right:)

The titlepages of the ed. INNOCENTI-ROSSI, n° 689, ex. Firenze, BNC, Magliab. 4.1.219, via Teca digitale, & of the ed. INNOCENTI-ROSSI, n° 723, ex. München, BSB, 4.Pol.g.168.m, via DDB (up).
The last page of the two editions: in both it is occupied by advertising (down).

Libri Stampati da Marco Ginammi.

D. Laurentij Iustiniani opera omnia f.
 Quaestiones & Expositio Scoti in Metaph. Arist. f.
 Discorside del Mattiolo Volg. con figure f.
 F. Petri Postmaniensis in primam libram sententiarum f.
 Idem Institutiones Sacrae, Literales, Morales, & Speculativa in Dominicis Anni f.
 F. Andreae Rochmanij in primam lib. sent. f.
 Faustinus in quatuor libros septentiarum f.
 Idem De Praedestinatione f.
 Idem De Penitentia f.
 Idem De Censuris f.
 Idem De Refutatione, & Extrema Vultione f.
 Idem adversus Atheos 4.
 Vita di Plutarco Volg. 4.
 Parere sopra li Characteri del Manico del Costello di S. Pietro. 4.
 Considerationi Politiche, e Morali del Zuccoli 4.
 Discorsi dell' Honor, del med. 4.
 Discorso delle Ragioni del numero del verso Italiano, del medesimo 4.
 Dialoghi del medesimo 4.
 Discorso della Nobilita commune, et Heroica del medesimo 4.
 Secolo dell'Oro del medesimo 4.
 Discorsi Politici del Nicollucci 4.
 Discorsi sopra Cornelio Tacito del Conte Virgilio Maluezzani 4.
 Da Coniectandis cuiusque moribus Scipionis Claramontis 4.
 De operibus Sex Dierum 4.
 Istoria della distruzione dell'Indio di M. Vesco. di Chiappa 4.
 Mastetra Iatropolitica, ouero Ceruello, e Cuore Principi Riuali 4.

Rerum Laudensium Istoria Ottobonis Mosene 4.
 Gli Amici Heroi: Favola Tragicomiche Boscareccia 4.
 Martyrologium Poeticum Brautij 4.
 Lettere del Colluraffi. 8.
 Tragedie di Seneca tradotte in Volg. dal Nini 8.
 Sommario delle Scienze del Sig. Domenico Dolfini. 8.
 Capricci del Bottano del Gioi 8.
 Il terribile inferno del Gliffemi 8.
 Il Parto della Vergine Representatione 8.
 La Madalena ravveduta Representatione 8.
 Tartarus Eiro Parafrafi sopra i sette Salmi 12.
 Idem Humanità del Figliuolo di Dio 12.
 Idem Specchio delle Opere di Dio 12.
 Idem Vita della B. Vergine in 12.
 Idem Vita di S. Tomaso d'Acquino 12.
 Idem Vita di Santa Caterina Vergine in 12.
 Concerto di Rime del Petrelli 12.
 Sentiero al Paradiso del Petrelli in rame, & in legno 12.
 Rime del Salomoni 12.
 Giuda Rappresent. del Sig. Con. Ant. Maria Anguissola 12.
 Favole del Gliffenti.
 Spensierato fatto pensieroso 12.
 Morie Innamorata 12.
 Diligente, o sollecito 12.
 Possanza della Carne 12.
 Mercato della vita humana 12.
 Regole di San Francesco 32. Lat. & Volg.
 Libri diversi in lingua Slava, & in carattere Slavo.

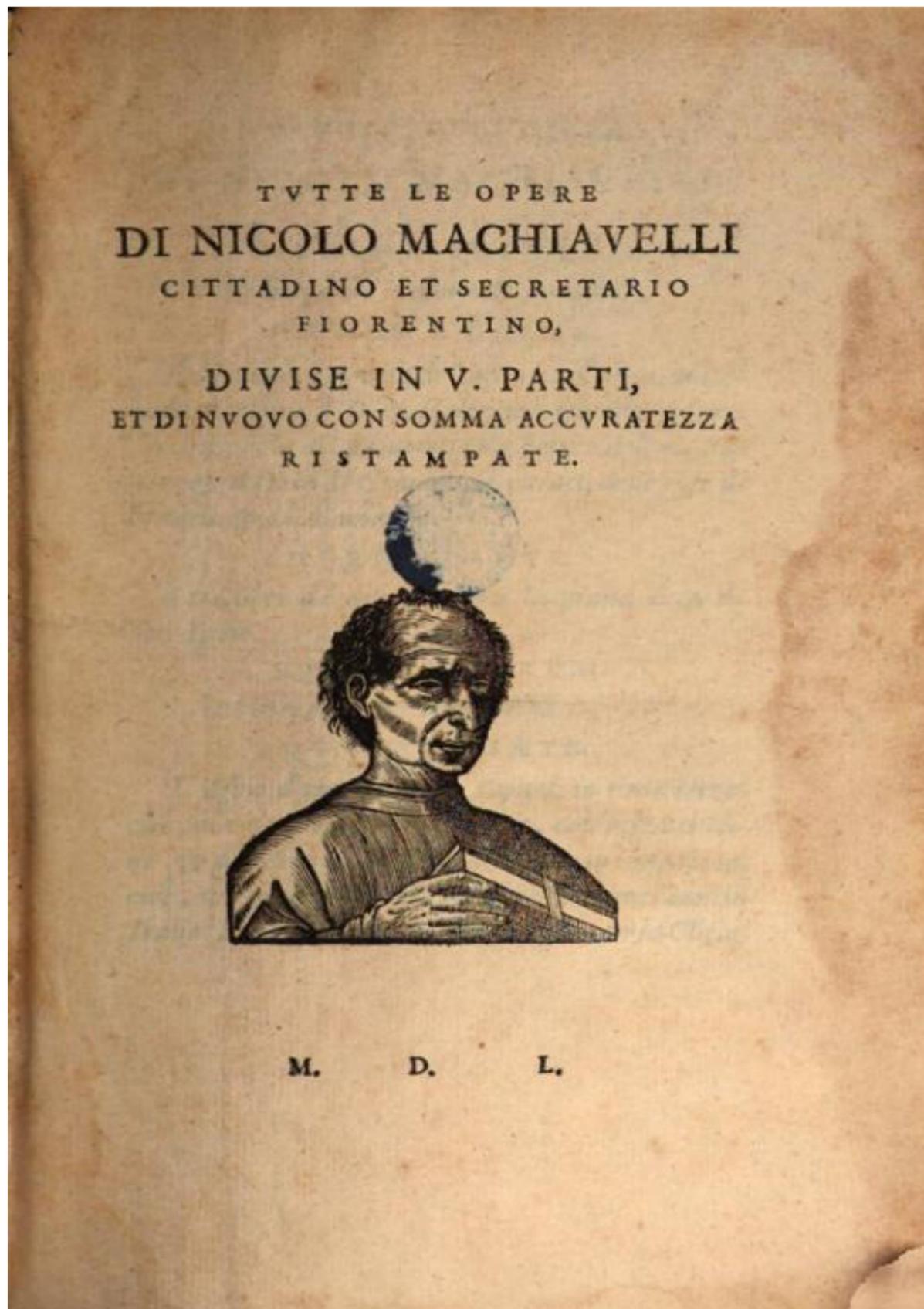
LIBRI STAMPATI DA MARCO GINAMMI.

D. Laurentij Iustin. opera omnia. fol.
 Quaestiones, & Expositio Scoti in Metaphysicam Arist. fol.
 Conf. M. Ant. Peregrini f. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6.
 Discorside del Mattiolo Volg. con figure. fol.
 F. Petri Postmaniensis in 1. lib. Sentent. f.
 Idem inst. Sacrae, Literales, Morales, & Specul. in Dominicis Anni. fol.
 F. Andreae Rochmanij in 1. lib. Sentent. f.
 Faustinus in quatuor libros Sentent. f.
 Idem De Praedestinatione. fol.
 Idem De Penitentia. f.
 Idem De Restitut. & Extrema Vult. f.
 Idem De Censuris. fol.
 Idem Expositio, & Quest. in Metaph. fol.
 Idem Adversus Atheos. 4.
 Disp. P. P. Meldulensis, & Catanensis in Logica Scoti. 4.
 Eorumdem in Physica 4.
 Eorumdem de Caelo, & Meteoris. 4.
 Eorumdem de Generatione. 4.
 Eorumdem de Anima.
 Eiusdem Meldulensis in Metaphysicam. tom. 2.
 De Actibus humanis iuxta mentem. Scoti R. P. Io. Hirtzbarne 4.
 Scotus de Anima. 4. Cum scolij P. Cautelli.
 Idem de Caelo, & Meteoris. 4.
 Idem Grammatica Speculativa. 4.
 De coniectandis cuiusque moribus Scipionis Claram. 4.
 De Operibus sex dierum. 4.
 Rerum Laudensium Istoria Ottobonis Mosene, cum notis Osi. 4.
 Analytice Conc. B. Mariae P. Orceani Ord. Min. 4.
 Martyrologium Poeticum Brautij. 4.
 Vita di Plutarco. Volg. 4.
 Considerationi Politiche, e Morali del Zuccoli. 4.
 Discorsi dell' honor, del medesimo. 4.
 Discorside delle ragioni, del numero del

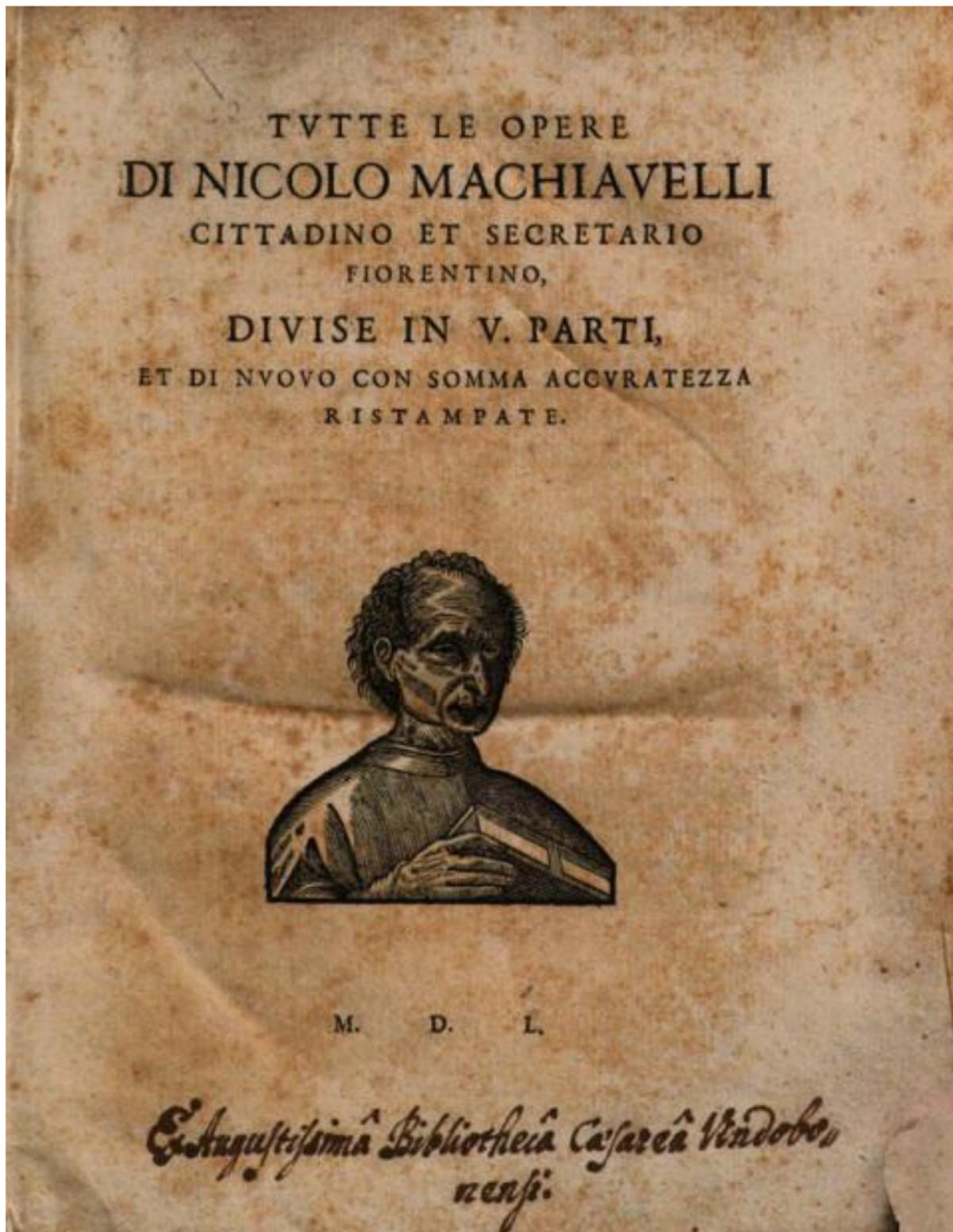
verso Italiano del medesimo 4.
 Dialoghi del medesimo 4.
 Discorsi Politici del Nicollucci. 4.
 Il Ministro di Stato del Sign. di Silhon prima, & seconda parte. 4.
 Discorsi sopra Cornelio Tacito del Marchese Virgilio Maluezzani. 4.
 Considerationi sopra Tacito di D. Pio Mattio. tom. 2. in 4.
 Vita del Principe, del Zambelli. 1. 2. in 4.
 Pratica Vniuersale in Cirugia di Gio. di Vico Genouese. 4.
 Istoria della distruzione delle Indie di Mons. Vesco di Chiappa. 4.
 Il Supplio Schiavo del medesimo. 4.
 Libertà preteza dal Schiavo Indiano del medesimo. 4.
 Conquista delle Indie del medesimo. 4.
 Mastetra Iatropolitica, ouero Ceruello, e Cuore. Principi Riuali. 4.
 Vittoria Nauale della Serenissima Repubblica di Venetia di Costante Tol dini. 4.
 Opere spirituali del P. Bartholomeo da Salmo. 4.
 Gioue appresso gl'Ethiopi di David Spinelli. 4.
 Horologi Solari di Mutio Oddi. 4.
 La Corte Santa del P. Cautino. 4.
 La Pietà Fortunata, del medesimo. 4.
 L'infelice Politico, del medesimo. 4.
 Consolato del Mare, e Portolano. 4.
 Saggi di Michiel Sign. di Montagna. 4.
 Apologia di Raimondo di Sebonda del medesimo. 4.
 Relationi della Fiandra del Cardinal Bentiuoglio. 4.
 Lettere del medesimo. 4.
 Lettere del Cardinal Lanfranco. 4.
 Praxis Episcop. Pauli Piafecij. 4.
 Lettere del Colluraffi. 8.
 Tragedie di Seneca tradotte in Italiano dal Nini. 8.
 Sommario delle Scienze del Sig. Domenico.

THE "TESTINA": A LONG-APPRECIATED BIBLIOGRAPHICAL GHOST. The so-called "Testina" is another question we dealt with in the 2d volume. Its date, pseudo-1550, is a long-lasting fake in Machiavelli's editions' history. What Gerber had genially foreseen through a few samples, today is finally upheld by the evidence from more and more samples: as you may see in the DVD included in the volume, and summarized in the following table (see p. xxiv):

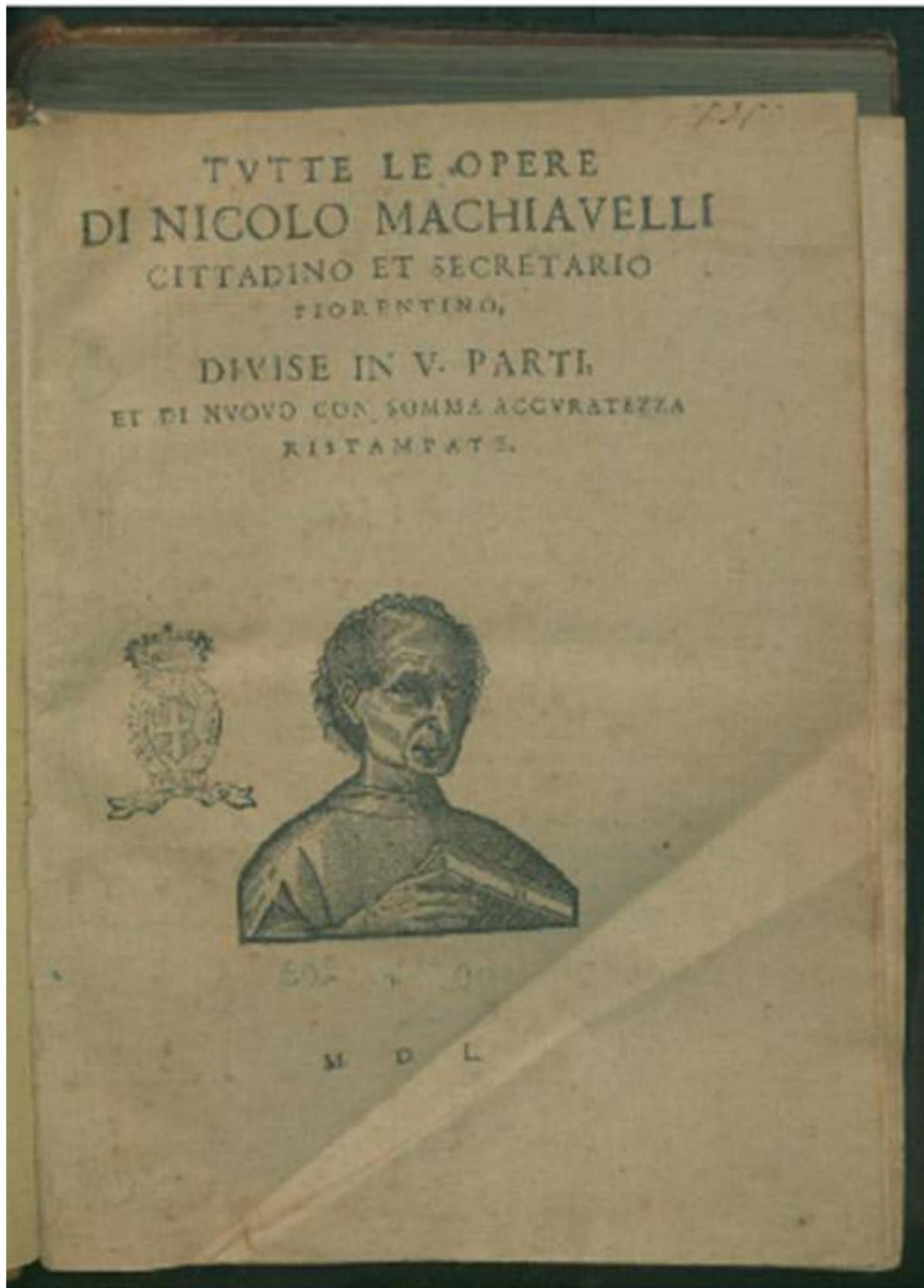
Testine	GERBER 1912-1913	BEKTELLI-INNOCENTI 1979	GLN 15-16 2014	INNOCENTI-ROSSI 2015-2016
A	13	=	40	7 visti + 50
B	8	=	29	15 visti + 35
C	10	=	69	11 visti + 83
D	4	=	24	19 visti + 21
E	6	=	36	19 visti + 52
Indistinti	=	181	=	60
Totale	53	181	198	372



Testina A (ed. INNOCENTI-ROSSI, n° 821), ex. Wien, ÖNB, 74.R.22, via Teca digitale. Titlepage.



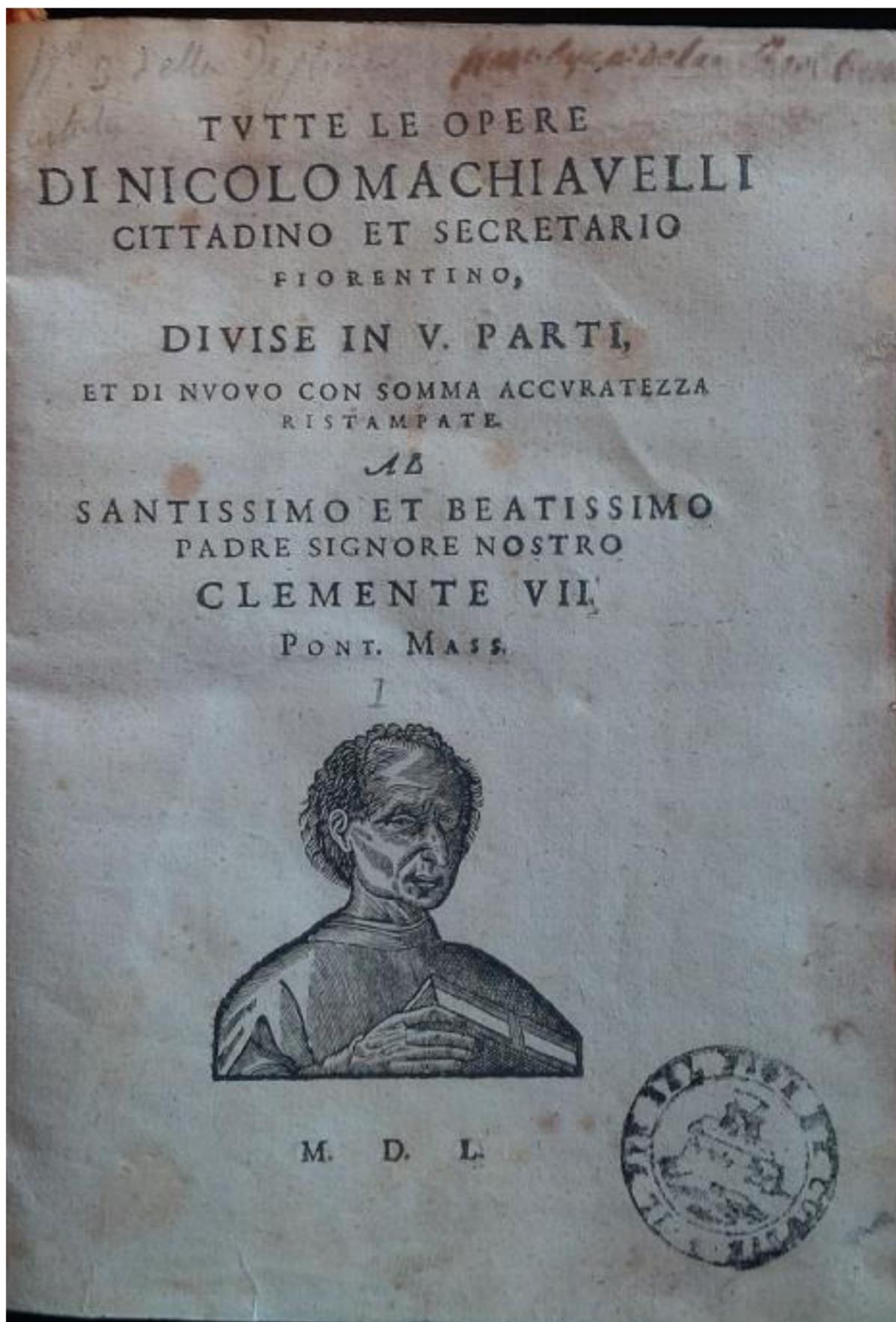
Testina B (ed. INNOCENTI-ROSSI, n° 822), ex. Wien, ÖNB, *44.V.37, via Teca digitale. Titlepage.



Testina C (ed. INNOCENTI-ROSSI, n° 826), ex. *Firenze*, BNC, Magliab. 60.4.203, via Teca digitale.
Titlepage.



Testina D (ed. INNOCENTI-ROSSI, n° 829), ex. *Lausanne*, BCU, Réserve A.LL.1111, via Google Books
(bad quality in the medium).
Titlepage.



Testina E (ed. INNOCENTI-ROSSI, n° 837), ex. © Firenze, Crusca, CIT.E.7.18.
Titlepage.
Many thanks to the Accademia.

And here is the Synopsis of the five titlepages, as represented in our DVD:

Edizioni dette "della Testina", pubblicate fra il 1415 e il 1660 circa. Schemi dei frontespiti.
 Esempjari: A n° 821: Wien, ÖNB, 74 B.22. B n° 822: Wien, ÖNB, 74 B.27. C n° 826: Firenze, SNC, 60.4.201. D n° 829: Lausanne, BCU, Réserve ALL.1111. E n° 817: Firenze, Croma, CIT.E.7.18.



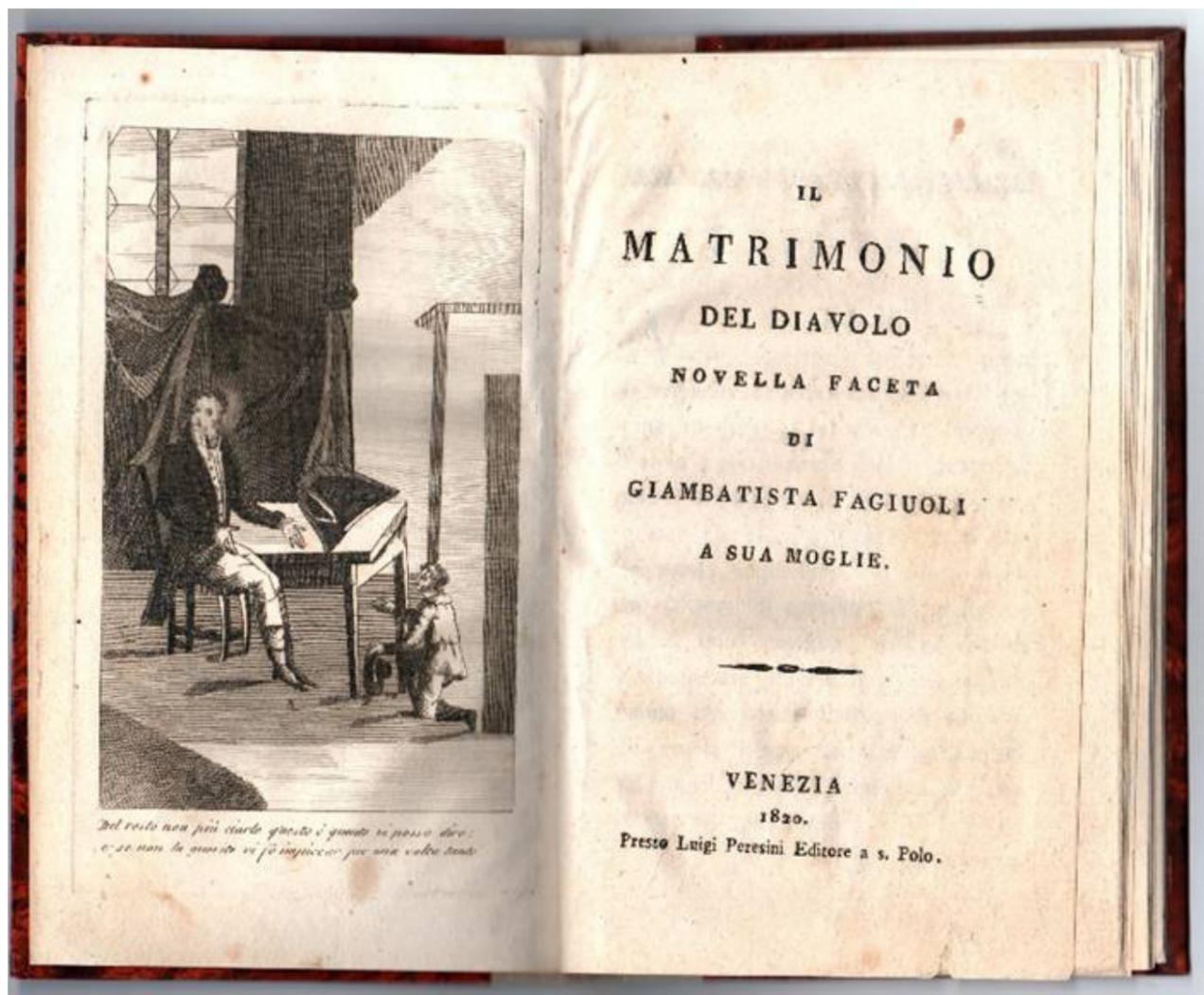
THE 18TH CENTURY & THE EARLY 19TH: HOW ASTONISHING! Machiavellian Settecento is tagged by a peculiar feature: at least 28 anthological or complete works were issued between 1726-1826, spaced out with the frenzy of a Bacchanal. Places of publication (real or fake): Amsterdam, Florence, Leghorn, London, 's Gravenhage (den Haag), Lucca, Genoa, Paris, Milan, Riga, Stralsund, Venice. They survive all over the world, in a lot of *exemplaria*.



(Left → Right:)
 Frontispiece & titlepage of the first (Nell'Haya, 1726) and the last (Italia, 1826) edition of *Opere* we met with during the editing of the 3. volume (respectively: *Napoli*, BN, XLIII.C.33 and *Gent*, UB, Jus 140 FE 3/2).

MACHIAVELLIANA AND METAMACHIAVELLIANA. SOME SAMPLES. This is a synopsis of Belfagor's appearances, under various guises, during the 16th, 17th, 18th centuries, and 1801-1827:

16th Century	17th Century	18th & early 19th Century
1545. G. Brevio 1549. N. Machiavelli 1551. A. F. Doni 1550. F. Straparola 1561. F. Sansovino	1671, 1673. C. Casalicchio 1661. T. Le Fèvre 1691. J. Wilson 1694. C. C. Patin	1702. J. F. Mayer, <i>Drey Curiöse Tractätlein</i> . 1705. Catherine-Charlotte Patin, <i>Le Démon et la démons mariez</i> (afterwards, again, until the end of the century: 1708, 1745, 1748, 1749, 1780?, 1798-1799). Moreover: Casalicchio, Wilson, Straparola, together with other English and Italian re-makes. Like the very curious marital gift presented by G. B. Faggiuoli to his wife: 1729: Rime piacevoli, v. 1., Chap. 37., p. 355-385. <i>incipit</i> : «Dalle cave di Fiesole fu ella trovata nell'Archivio delle fate, e le Nozze del diavolo s'appella». Again in 1820, as a single edition: <i>Il matrimonio del diavolo</i> , Venezia, Presso Luigi Peresini Editore (see <i>infra</i>).



The ex. is in a private Collection, Italy, purchased by an antiquarian bookseller in Florence, 2013, June (Studio Bibliografico Vecchi libri, n° 829, price: € 32,00).

LA FONTAINE AND MACHIAVELLI. In the 18° century we have to register also the terrific development of Machiavelli *en travesti* by La Fontaine, who in 1682 had abridged *Belphégor* and *La Mandragore* as singsongly tales.

In the BERTELLI-INNOCENTI edition about 75 items were listed; in the INNOCENTI-ROSSI edition, v. 3. (forthcoming) at least 169.



184 BELPHEGOR.
BELPHEGOR.
 Nouvelle tirée de Machiavel.
 A MADEMOISELLE
 DE CHAMMELAY.



Evidence about La Fontaine:

Contes et nouvelles, Amsterdam, Lucas 1732, v. 1, p. 184-195, ex. Praha, NK, 9 J 000395/T.1-2. (left).
Fables choisies. Amsterdam, Châtelain, 1727-1728, livre 7., p. 78-87, ex. Den Haag, KB, KW.489.F.29 (right).



BELPHEGOR,
 NOUVELLE TIRÉE DE MACHIAVEL.

A M^{lle}. DE CHAMMELAY.

*De tout ceci que prétends-je inférer?
 Premièrement, je ne sais pire chose
 Que de changer son logis en prison.
 En second lieu, si par quelque raison
 Votre ascendant à l'hymen vous expose,
 N'épousez point d'Honestia, s'il se peut:
 N'a pas pourtant une Honestia qui veut.*



Evidence about La Fontaine:

Fables, Figures par M. Thompson, Mme Bougon. Paris, Moronval, 1821, p. 419, 428,
 ex. Harvard UL, KD 31948.

AN ANTIMONARCHIST AND ANTIPAPIST PASQUINADE. In *Berlin*, StaBi, we had the opportunity (2017) to collate a controversial work printed in Utrecht (?), 1741: *Machiavel républicain*. Machiavelli is even acted as its printer, and the Pope himself is represented giving him instructions, as it follows. Firstly, the hail: «Benedictus Pont. Max. Dilecto filio Nicolao Machiavello Sacrae Congregationis de propagando [sic] Fide Typographo, salutem & Apostolicam Benedictionem.» And these are Pope's ludicrous instructions about printing (an obvious mockery): «Nos tibi concedimus, atque expresse mandamus, ut quam primum eum imprimi facias, ut pote quem maxime utilem judicamus ad omnes Fideles erudiendos ac aedificandos, ad Romanae Ecclesiae splendorem augendum, & praeterea ad virtutes egregias Ecclesiasticorum toti Mundo patefaciendas.»: for the full text, see *Berlin*, StaBi, Fa.4653.

We found a copy of this edition also in *Den Haag*, KB, KW.942.B.16, which was reproduced via Google Books, too. Here you may see its frontispiece, its titlepage, and the *incipit* and *explicit* of Pope's hail *Dilecto filio Nicolao Machiavello*: of course, officially signed *apud Vaticanum, sub annulo Piscatoris!* (Under, left → right, up & down).



KW 942 B16

MACHIAVEL
REPUBLICAIN,
 Tegens den
ANTI-MACHIAVEL
 Verdedigt.
 Waer achter bygevoegt is
MACHIAVEL BOEKDRUKKER.



In **UTRECHT,**
 By **JOANNES EVELT**, Boekverkoper, 1741.

*Nonnulli
 Publicheek
 v. v. v.*

XXX
BENEDICTUS BENEDICTUS
 Pont. Max. Paus.

Dilecto filio Nicolao Machiavello sacrae Congregationis de propagando Fide Typographo, salutem & Apostolicam Benedictionem. Exponi nobis nuper fecisti, quod licentiam imprimendi librum, cui titulus est, **MACHIAVELLUS REPUBLICAINUS, &c.** a nobis obtinere desideres; ipsumque autographum sancti Officii Supremo Inquisitori, ut is eum diligenter examinaret, communicasti; cumque ille de omnibus, quae in dicto libro continentur, nos plene informaverit: Nos tibi concedimus, atque expresse mandamus, ut quam primum eum imprimi facias, ut pote quem maxime utilem judicamus ad omnes Fideles erudiendos ac aedificandos, ad Romanae Ecclesiae splendorem

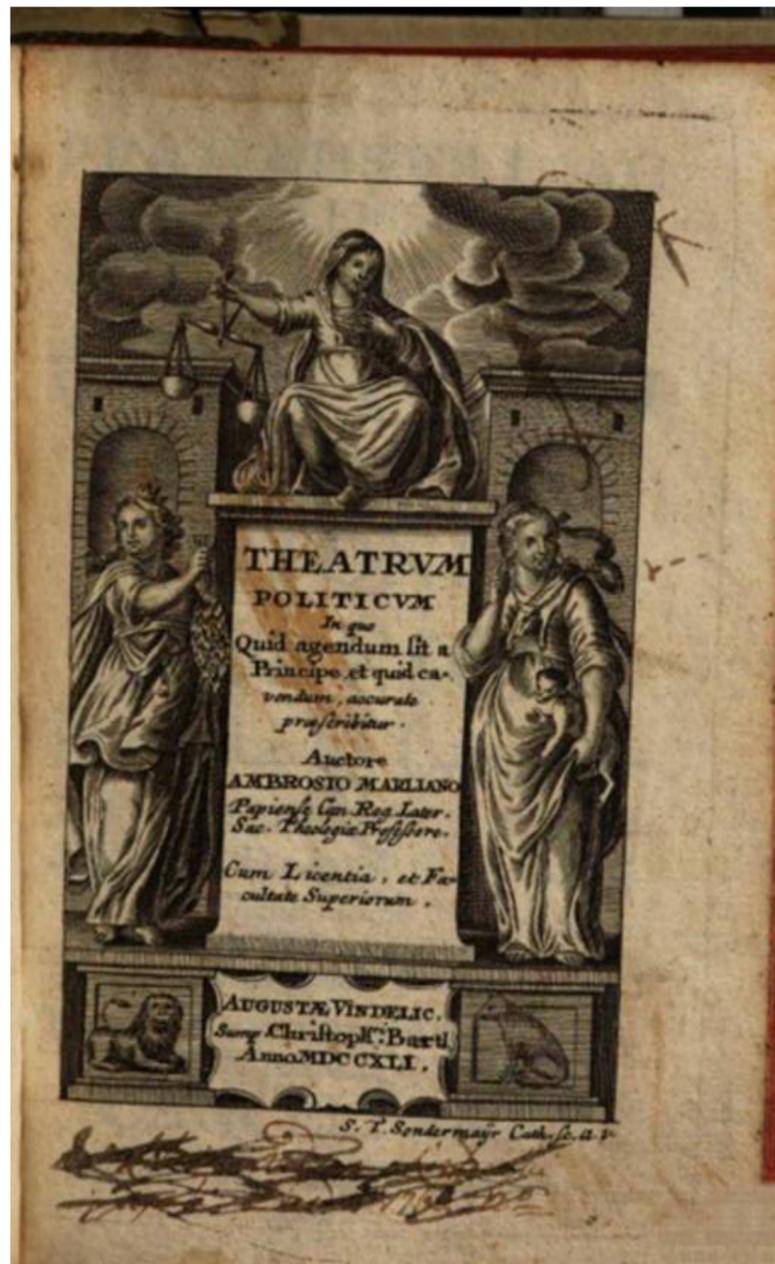
Onsen geltefden soon Niklaes Machiavel, Bockdrukker van de heilige Vergadering, ter voortplantinge des geloofs, heil en den Apostolischen zegen. Na dat onlangs voor ons gekomen is uw verzoek, om van ons te hebben vryheit tot het drukken van zeker boek, vocrende den tytcl: *Machiavel Republicain* enz. Waer van het hantschrift aen den Oppersten Inquisiteur, ten onderzoek was overgegeven; en deze ons van den gantschen inhoud van 't gemeldt boek volkomen onderricht heeft. Zo staen wy niet alleen zulks toe, maer bevelen u wel uitdrukkelyk, het zelve ten eersten te doen drukken, overmits wy zo tot onderwys en slichting aller gelovigen, als tot vermeerdering van den luister der H. Kerk, en voornamelyk tot openbaermaking van de uitmuntende

rem b 3 deug

qui dictum Opus ter complete legerint: Atque insuper plenariam in articulo mortis concedimus maritalis omnibus, qui dictum Opus super lecto solaverint. Ac declaramus excommunicatos amnes qui eum legere vel legi audire recuserint, a qua excommunicatione absolvi non poterunt, nisi prius huic nostro Decreto obediant. Quod praesertim ac absolute volumus. Non obstantibus constitutionibus & ordinationibus Apostolicis ceterisque contrariis. In cuius finem praesens Privilegium orantibus concessimus: Et quo magis quanti dictum Opus faciamus sciat, nomen nostrum praesens secreto affiximus. Datum Roma apud Vaticanum, sub annulo Piscatoris, &c.

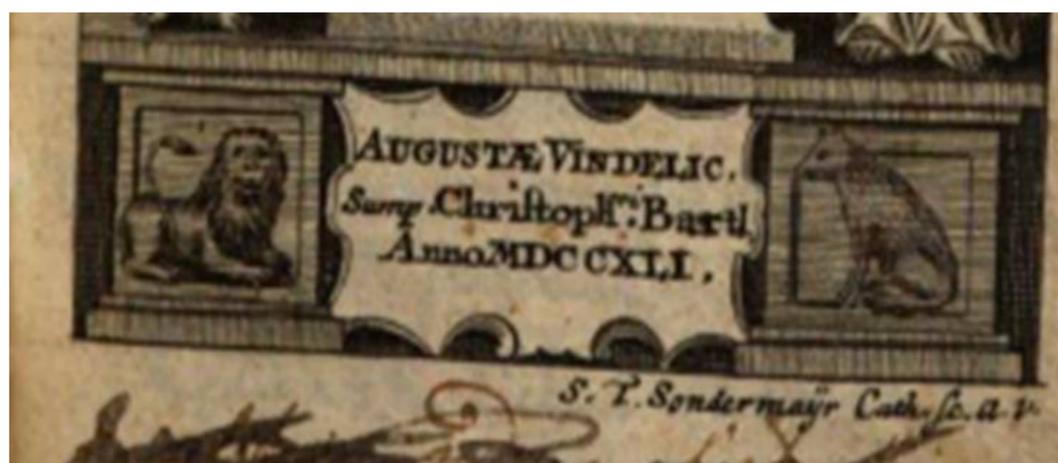
ge verleenen wy tien duizent jaren Afaets aen alle de genen die 't gemelde Bock driemaal zullen doorlezen hebben. Dac en boven volkomen aflact in de ure des doots allen sterwenden die dit boek by zich op het bedde zullen hebben. Ook verklaren wy in den Ban en buiten de gemeenschap der Kerke; en allen alle de genen die weigeren zullen 't zelve te lezen of te hooren lezen. Van welken Ban zy niet zullen kunnen geabolveert worden, 'ten zy ze alvorens dit ons Decreet zullen hebben gehoort. Want dit is onze ernstige en volstr. kte wille. Onaengezien andere Apostolische Instellingen en Ordinantien welke hier mede mogten srydig zyn. Ten welken einde wy het tegenwoordig Privilegie mondelijk verleenet, en op dat het gemelde werk dies te meer bekend werde, onzen naem by het tegenwoordig Decreet gevoegt hebben. Gegeven te Roma in 't Vatikan, onder des Vischers ring, &c.

A WELL-KNOWN, DOUBLE ALLEGORY COMES BACK. In the same year 1741, in Augsburg, a celebrated handbook of political theory is published again, after its first appearance in the previous century:



AMBROGIO MARLIANI, *Theatrum politicum*, Augsburg 1741.

In detail. In the lower part of the titlepage, representing the basement, you may see the *Lione* (left) and the *Gorpe* (right). Clearer than a textual footnote, we think!



Beyond the Text: Dedications. In 17th century we may still find dating back textual materials; e. g., G. d'Auvergne's dedication (n°643, 655: the first French translator of Machiavelli's Prince, 1553), to J. Hamilton. The text is re-used as a sidelong argument in the controversies about sovereignty.

Former samples:

1588, *Disputationes de Republica*: the Preface is signed T. T. and I. N. S. (hypothetically identified as Tzetzner the former, certainly identified as Stoppani the latter), and in 1591 it is readapted to Ian Osmolski (1510-1593/94, statesman, patron, and a Calvinist), simply changing first and last words. Reprinted: 1608, 1619, 1620, 1643, in a quite different historical framework.

Hieronymus Turler's (a jurisconsult) dedication, 1564, in *De migrationibus* (= *Istorie fiorentine*, lb. 1.): «Illustrissimo Principi [...] Duci Saxoniae, Lantgrauio Turingiae, Marchioni Misniae, & Burggrauio Magdeburgensi», Marburg, January, 31st, 1564, is repeated, substantially unchanged, in 1601 and 1610, without anymore relevancy with the original context.

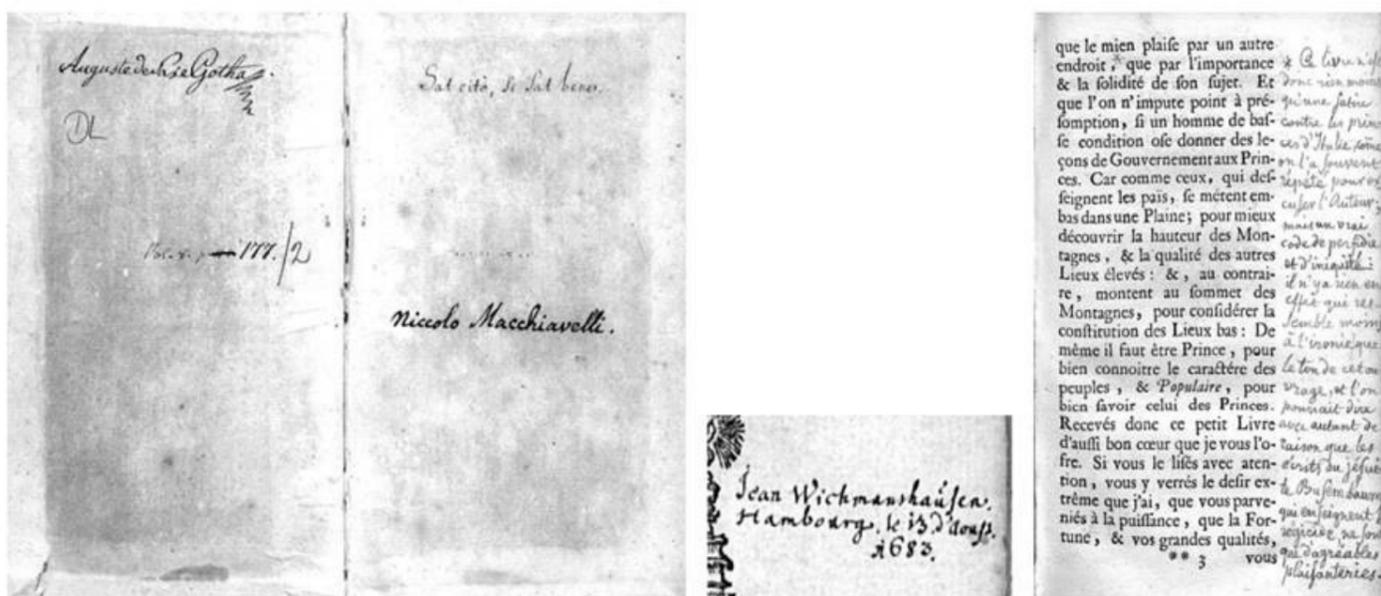
Self-representing readers & traces of their book-handling: *i. e.* Reception. Two, as we said supra speaking about the grid, were our standpoints in collating exemplaria:

1. to record and gather information about their bibliographic appearance;
2. to draw a history of their reception; always in a sketch, often as a mere assumption.

Here are two samples: In the first one, the written information about the treatment of the evidence. In the second one, the synopsis of the evidence as found upon the book.

Le Prince, Amsterdam, 1683: in Hamburg and Gotha, at least two readers in 1683 and 1793-1806. Ex. *Gotha*, FB. Pol. 8°00177/02. In the interior of the front-cover we find the signature (?) of *August de Saxen Gotha*. On the *recto* of the first guard sheet, a ms quotation from Marco P. Catone: *Sat cito, si sat bene*. Provenance: *Jean Wichmanshausen, Hambourg, le 13. d'Aoust. 1683* (a ms note upon the titlepage); on the *verso* of the titlepage, a black elliptical stamp (mm 23 x 35 ca.): *BIBLIOTHECA DVICALIS GOTHANA*. In the late 18. century it was frequently written down in pencil, upon and along the edges.

Edizione n° 780, *1683*.
Prince, trad. francese, A Amsterdam, Chez Henry Wetstein. 1683.
 Es. *Gotha*, FB, Pol. 8° 00177/02.
 Autografo (?) di «August de Saxen Gotha» (Gotha, 1747-1806) all'interno del piatto ant. Sul *recto* della prima c. di guardia ant. citazione da Marco Porcio Catone: «Sat cito, si sat bene». Sul *recto* del front. nota di possesso «Jean Wichmanshausen, Hambourg, le 13. d'Aoust. 1683». A c. **3r marginale del sovrano.



The same edition: another copy, another reader. About one hundred years before, in 1684, when the book was still *vient de paraître*, Christina, formerly Queen of Sweden, had written down a lot of her notes upon another copy of the same edition, now in BAV; Pasquale Villari discovered and published them in his work on Machiavelli (1877-1892).

Our chapter *Lecture sovrane* ("Sovereign readings"), in the DVD attached to vol. 2., contains the synopsis of the two *corpora* of annotations. Of course, not only Christina didn't obviously know anything about August, but neither August knew anything about Christina's readings, ms and in Rome. Nobody, before today, had read their notes about the Prince in a synopsis. How to say: Crossroads? Indeed we are not so far from Charles Renouvier's *Uchronie*...

ON THE THRESHOLD OF THE 4TH VOLUME. A last question: why the last date of the 3d volume is 1827? Well: in 1827, Giacomo Leopardi inserts two short passages by Machiavelli in his *Crestomazia*. Surprisingly, they are not peculiarly significant, and look like a merely rhetoric choice.

On the contrary, next year, in 1828, Antonio Panizzi culls so many Machiavelli's various and vivid passages to be published in his anthology for foreigner learners of Italian language.

As a matter of fact, the first description in the v. 4. (whose title might probably be *Stato, Nazione, Imperi*) deals with *Extracts from Italian Prose Writers for the Use of Students in the London University*, editor Antonio Panizzi, not yet a Sir, and still a political refugee. The 2d one is the German translation by Heinrich Leo, *Historische Fragmente*. Does Italian *Risorgimento* begin reading Machiavelli? The question is too crucial to us, and perhaps improper; but, as a matter of fact, we decided to consider 1827 as the breakpoint we were searching for. Perhaps, we mean, we might choose 1827/1828 as a passage which brings to look at the late, cursed Old Nick as an Italian author par excellence, whose name, as everybody may read up to-day, exceeds whichever praise: *Niccolò Machiavelli. Tanto nomini nullum par elogium.*

And, for the moment, *ça suffit!*



NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI



Machiavelli's portrait (left) and grave (right), from the edition of his *Opere*, 1796-1797 (ex. *New York, NYPL, via Google Books*).