

E-Catalogue 23



RELIGION, POPULAR & PRIVATE: Texts, Art, Objects

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Illustrated Lutheran Bible, printed by a woman, with contemporary hand-coloring and gold and silver illumination

1) BIBLE, German. *Biblia, Das ist Die Gantze Heilige Schrifft deutsch: Auffs new zugericht.* D. Mart. Luther. Nuremberg: (colophon) Katharina Gerlach and Heirs of Johann vom Berg, 1583.



Three parts in one volume, folio (364 x 240 mm). Collation: A⁴ B-C⁶ (title, foreword, Register or subject index); A-Z AA-VV⁶ XX⁴ (Old Testament); a-z aa-dd⁶ ee⁸ (Prophets); Aa-Vv⁶ Xx (-Xx8 blank) (New Testament). [16], 262 [with errors]; 170; 127 leaves: COMPLETE. Gothic types, double column, 60/61 lines, printed shoulder notes. Partly xylographic titles, printed in red and black, the three titles set within two different allegorical title borders (parts 2 and 3 the same), the OT title by the master MF after Jost Amman, incorporating six different small scenes from respectively the Old and the New Testament, the Prophets/NT title by I B (Johann Bocksberger) after Virgil Solis, with five small scenes and the arms of Nuremberg; ONE HUNDRED AND THIRTY-EIGHT LARGE WOODCUT ILLUSTRATIONS (84 x 124 mm.), printed from 131 blocks (8 blocks repeated at least once), of which 42 or 43 blocks signed HM (or HME: 4 blocks); each illustration set within one of eight different ornamental woodcut borders with volutes, grotesques, caryatids, emblematic objects, etc. (overall size 122 x 165 mm.); woodcut tailpiece vignettes, woodcut Fraktur initials in several sizes. TITLE BORDERS, WOODCUTS, TAILPIECES AND THE LARGER INITIALS ALL HAND-COLORED AND DELICATELY HEIGHTENED IN GOLD AND SILVER PAINT BY ONE OR TWO CONTEMPORARY COLORISTS. A few leaves preserving copper-coated paper or parchment index tabs (the extending edges gone).

Condition: scattered marginal soiling throughout, first few leaves fingersoiled and frayed, first 30 leaves with dampstaining in upper inner margins, minor marginal dampstaining elsewhere. Hole to fol. z5 (Prophets fol. 137) causing loss of several words, trace of bleach(?) around it on recto, fols. D1 and D2 with marginal repairs, D1 with closed tear in text, tear catching a woodcut on T2v (OT f. 108), marginal tear to m6 (Prophets, 72), occasional other short marginal tears, a couple of tiny wormholes in the last 2 quires, touching 14 woodcuts in the Apocalypse; occasional show-through of browns and dark greens. Bound

in modern calf over earlier (the original?) wooden boards, metalwork cornerpieces with colored glass bosses, two fore-edge straps, original gauffered edges (darkened); endpapers renewed.

\$28,000

VERY RARE ILLUSTRATED EDITION OF THE LUTHERAN BIBLE, PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT FEMALE PRINTERS OF THE EARLY HAND-PRESS PERIOD. This Bible, and her reprint of 1589, were the largest productions of Katharina Gerlach's long and productive career. IN THIS COPY THE LAVISH TITLE BORDERS AND NEARLY 140 WOODCUTS WERE HAND-COLORED THROUGHOUT BY ONE OR MORE CONTEMPORARY ILLUMINATORS, most likely from a Nuremberg shop of professional *Briefmaler* or *Illuministen*, who were instructed by their commissioner to be generous with the gold and silver highlights. This was a special copy, intended no doubt for presentation.

While the text is that of the standard Lutheran Bible, the woodcuts were cut for this edition. The illustrations and layout show both directly and indirectly the influence of Sigmund Feyerabend's illustrated Bibles and *Biblische Figuren* and of the inescapable Feyerabend "house artist" Virgil Solis, and secondarily Jost Amman. Amman, in fact, who resided in Nuremberg at the time, designed the Old Testament title border, while that of the Prophets and New Testament copies a border by Virgil Solis. The text illustrations are independent artistic productions, borrowing elements from Virgil Solis' as well as other earlier Bible illustration series, while following the Solis / Feyerabend models in their size and use of grotesque ornamental borders.

Illustrations: Gerlach seems to have commissioned the Old Testament title border (signed at foot "I A") from Jost Amman, whose initials appear at the foot, along with those of the Master MF, one of the more skilled block-cutters in the Amman entourage or workshop. Nagler identified MF, perhaps unreliably, as Lukas Mayer or Meier, reading the letters as "Meyer, Formschneider" (*Die Monogrammisten* IV: 1777, 2). Like all the woodcuts in this edition, the block (O'Dell title border a8) was reused by Gerlach for her second folio Bible, printed in 1589. According to Nagler, the same border was also used in Feyerabend's 1589 folio Bible, VD 16B 2808 (we were unable to verify this as the edition is not digitized). As was customary, the wood engraver or *Formschneider's* monogram ("MF," in the lower right corner) is accompanied by an engraving knife or chisel (*Schneidemesser*), just visible in outline below the monogram. The border used for the Prophets and New Testament title-pages bears the initials V S [Virgil Solis] and I B, probably for Johann Bocksberger. Nagler (IV:1 954) described the border in his entry on the master I B, noting it in this 1583 edition. The block very closely copies Hollstein 15.92, a border after Solis used in Feyerabend's 1560 Bible (VD16 B 2747); in the present block the Fama figure, Feyerabend's device, was replaced with the arms of the city of Nuremberg. (Exemplifying the extent of copying and cross-copying, the same border was copied in reverse by Amman, and was used in his 1577 and 1583 Bibles: see border O'Dell a2.)





The woodblocks used for the text illustrations, all set within ornamental *passepartout* borders, follow the iconographic models of the Solis / Feyerabend illustrated German Bibles, but they largely emulate rather than imitate. While, for example, the illustrations of the Book of Revelations are free adaptations, mostly in reverse, of the Virgil Solis series (1560 and later), other cuts diverge from the Solis woodcuts, and some, in the Old Testament particularly, illustrate different scenes altogether. Forty-two or forty-three of the cuts are signed with the monogram of the still unidentified Master “HM” (one monogram is indistinct). One cut, that of Joseph before the enthroned Pharaoh (OT, f. 23v), bears a very small monogram CG. Whether HM designed or cut the blocks, or both, is not clear, but it appears that more than one woodcutter, of different degrees of skill, produced the blocks. Whoever did design them borrowed from a variety of earlier woodcut Bible series. Schmidt, who knew of the series only from the Kaufmann edition of 1596 and later copies, commented on the eclecticism of the woodcuts’ sources. A few cuts, including (as noted by Schmidt) the Fall of Jerusalem cut on f. 167r, with the mysterious woman being rescued in the foreground, may have been borrowed from a non-Biblical series. Katharina Gerlach re-used the blocks in a later edition, in 1589 (VD16 B 2809), as did her grandson Paul Kauffmann in 1596 (VD16 B2827). The blocks or copies of them were used in the 17th century in Bibles printed in Lüneburg by the Stern brothers. (A full list of the woodcuts is available on request.)

The printer:

Née Bischoff (ca. 1520), Katharina Gerlach outlived three husbands: Nicolaus Schmid (died 1540), the printer Johann vom Berg (d. 1563), and the printer Dietrich Gerlach (d. 1575). After marrying Berg in 1543, she joined the business, in partnership with Ulrich Neuber, making available to the press a property that she had inherited from her first husband, “bei dem Kalckhütten,” an address that appeared in their imprints for years. Following her husband’s death in 1564 “Katharina, Johann von Berg’s widow” was listed as printer and owner of the firm in the official Nuremberg city trade registers (*Ämterbüchlein*), but her name did not appear in the colophons of the books she published in

1564 and 1565 with Neuber, in which only Neuber and the heirs of Johann vom Berg were named. A year later, when she married Dietrich, his name replaced hers in the *Ämterbüchlein*. The partnership with Neuber ended, and the firm continued under the name of Dieter Gerlach, while she presumably continued to manage it. Finally, after his death, in 1576 she reappeared in the official registers, under her last married name (Katharina Gerlachin) as both a printer, with two typesetters, and *Buchführer*, or publisher. While Katharina directed the printing house she often shared the imprints with her second husband’s children, although her name appears increasingly alone from around 1585. VD16 lists over 350 editions bearing her imprint, of which a majority were musical works. She was the most important publisher of music, notably

of foreign composers and of vernacular and secular music, in the German speaking lands, and “one of the most prolific music printers of the 16th century” (Jackson). She published a type specimen (*Schriftmusterblatt*), including Greek types, and a Greek Bible in 1584. After her death in 1591 the Officina Gerlachin was continued by her grandson Paul Kauffmann.

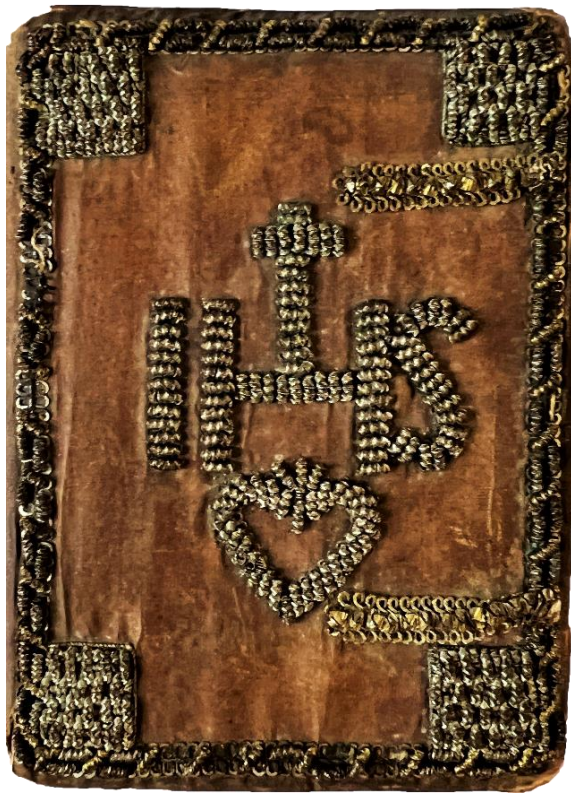
Coloring:

The palette of the wash and bodycolor (or gouache) coloring is largely though not entirely dominated by greens and dark ochres, with smoky blues, browns and yellows; this rather autumnal palette was not uncommon in German coloring of the late 16th century. Differing color styles and quality of the coloring point to the likelihood that it was the work of more than one professional *Briefmaler*, probably two artisans working in the same shop. The coloring of the cuts in the first part, for example, appears more careful than that in the early parts of the New Testament, and in the NT overall there is more use of silver. The final Book of Revelation goes out in a blaze, with 26 woodcuts (letter-keyed to the text) in 24 pages, dramatically colored in pinks and greens. Throughout the book details of clothing, outlines, and shading are supplied in gold and in silver (the latter used most effectively in scenes of water, such as that of Jonah emerging from the whale [Prophets, f. 96r]). Nuremberg was the home of the distinguished Mack family of colorists, and the city’s archival records show their domination of the local trade. These records have also permitted historians to reevaluate the role of professional colorists. “The print-coloring professions were practiced throughout Germany ... the business of coloring prints flourished from the late fifteenth through the seventeenth century” (Dackermann, pp. 19-20). While the Macks signed their splendid work with monograms, the colorists of this Bible remain anonymous.



Rarity: VD 16 lists a single copy of this edition, in the Württembergischen Landesbibliothek in Stuttgart; it is uncolored. Two other copies, of which one colored and in poor condition, have appeared at auction in the past half century. Darlow & Moule list none of the three Officina Gerlach editions. Both the Gerlach 1589 and Kaufmann 1596 editions are nearly as rare as the present edition, VD16 listing two copies of each. THERE APPEAR TO BE NO COPIES OF ANY OF THESE EDITIONS IN AMERICAN LIBRARIES. *References:* VD16 ZV 1512; Nagler, *Monogrammist* III:1954 (p. 815-816) and III:1251 (p. 494-497); P. Schmidt, *Die Illustration der Lutherbibel 1522-1700*, pp. 301-3 (1596 edition); Ilse O’Dell, *Jost Ammans Buchschmuck-Holzschnitte für Sigmund Feyerabend* (Wiesbaden 1993). On Gerlach, see Reske 761-2 & 738; Benzing 361 (under Dietrich Gerlach...); Grieb, *Nürnberger Künstlerlexikon* (2007) I:464; Jackson, art. Gerlach, *Oxford Music Online*; E. Hanisch & F. Willasch, “Frauen in einer Männerdomäne – Druckerinnen im 16. Jahrhundert?,” (Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin. [online](#) blog).

2) **BOOK-SHAPED PORTABLE SHRINE.** A devotional object in two compartments, disguised as a book. [Bohemia or Austria, 18th century, after 1729].



A box in the form of a binding (122 x 87 x 26 mm.), the covers opening to two compartments, on both front and back, each containing a pink silk-lined recessed case filled with coils of twisted gilt and silver wire, including stylized flowers and six small blue and white woven pouches containing folded papers, attached to the surface with spiraling silver wire, the same blue and white fabric used to line the interior edges of the cases; at center of each an oval watercolor image of a saint mounted on a raised silk platform framed in pink and gold pleated ribbons: St. Peter in the front box and St. Francis in the lower box, the latter with an additional gold "lace" frame with small attached pearls; the facing inner covers with a HAND-COLORED ENGRAVING of St. John Nepomuk



(labeled in the plate "H. Johann v. Nepo") inside the front cover, and inside the back cover a painted miniature on parchment of the Virgin within a floral and fruit border, at the foot a green wreath enclosing a manuscript caption IN GOLD INK: *Wer wird also tilgen rein Wie die Mütter Gottes seyn*, the miniature framed in a border of couched gold loops. The covers of brown glazed linen over laminated parchment boards are decorated in bas-relief with densely applied couched *frisure* (metal spiraled wire), both covers with a double border, square corner-pieces, and a pair of false "attaches" for clasps consisting of appliqués of couched hammered and shaped metal strips over flattened gold loops (lacking one attach on lower cover); at center of upper cover the IHS monogram topped with a cross, with flaming sacred heart below, and at center of lower cover the Marian monogram with heart below; plain spine, "textblock edges" of striped blue and white silk edged in rows of gold loops; edges worn with abrasions at corners (revealing the laminated parchment), fore-edge rubbed, upper edge darkened.

\$9800

This complex and colorful devotional artifact, which incorporates a variety of artistic media, including embroidery with metallic threads, painting and printmaking, was almost certainly produced in Austria or Central Europe, where the Bohemian John Nepomuk, canonized in 1729, was a favorite saint. His engraved image is placed prominently inside the front cover, before the paintings of Saints Peter and Francis, and in an equal position to the painting of the Virgin, inside the lower cover, whose caption can be translated as "He who wishes to redeem himself to become pure must be [or stay] with the Mother of God."

Within the 12 folded strips of cloth in each compartment can be glimpsed tiny folded papers: unlike *Breverl*, South German portable amulets which can often be easily opened (although doing so was considered sacrilegious, and destructive of the Breverl's protective powers), the present shrine or talisman would be badly damaged were one to attempt to remove the pouches to examine these folded papers or documents. One must therefore speculate as to their contents: miniature printed prayers or Saints' names? woodcut images? seeds or crushed herbs? All are possible, given the evidence of Breverl and similar mixed-media popular religious objects of the early modern period.

This little book-box-shrine testifies to the powerful image of the book as a talisman against evil. One of its more



unusual aspects is its disguise as an embroidered binding. While such bibliopagic cases for amulets are not unknown (see our Spring 2013 catalogue, item 2), in this example the decoration enhances the illusion. The silver-gilt decoration was no doubt much brighter when first produced; in contrast, the silver coils of the internal compartments are untarnished, having been protected from the light as well as the effects of handling. While the lavish use of silver and gilt metal coils implies that this object could have been produced in the workshop of a specialized embroiderer, dedicated fabricants of devotional objects are known to have been attached to monastic houses, especially convents, and it is possible that this object was produced by nuns.

3) CARTAGLORIA. A letterpress and engraved portable folding altar card or *Cartagloria*. [France, ca. 1630].



A folding triptych consisting of three large engraved broadsides with letterpress text, containing 30 scenes and portraits, engraved by Isaac Briot and published by Nicolas de Mathonière, the engravings finely colored by a contemporary hand and illuminated in gold, surrounding letterpress text printed in red and black with 11 illuminated initials; the central panel measuring 538 x 295 mm. (sheet size), the side panels a bit narrower (538 x 273 mm). Illuminated coat of arms of the family Richard de la Barollière added within bottom scene of central panel. The broadsides mounted on three hinged boards, covered in olive goatskin, each broadside

framed in a gold-tooled roll, covers paneled with triple gilt fillets, fleurons at corners and central La Barollière arms, the middle cover lettered in gold capitals "Canon pour la Chappelle du Chasteau de la Barrolliere. Dediée à la Sacrée Vierge du Saint Rozaire MDCXXXIII." A few tiny chips to broadsides, the paper slightly darkened, a few small splashes of silvery white ink in upper central panel, binding with some minor scrapes and gouges, two covers with dampstain in a lower corner, rubbing to backstrips and extremities. *Provenance*: Nicolas Richard de la Barollière (d. 1634 or 1635), painted arms & supra-libros. \$16,500

This luxurious portable altar piece was produced for use in the private chapel of a prominent Lyonese family. Lavishly illustrated, splendidly hand-colored, and bound in morocco, this is an aristocratic version of an often plainer type of document. Known as *canons d'autel* in French, as *tabella secretarum* in Latin, as canon tables or altar cards in English, and as *cartaglorias* in Italian, the original function of these usually tripartite documents was to provide a memory aid to the officiating priest, by displaying the essential texts used in the Eucharistic ceremony: the Gloria, the Apostles' Creed, the words of Consecration (*Hoc est corpus meum*, "This is my body"), and Offertory prayers.

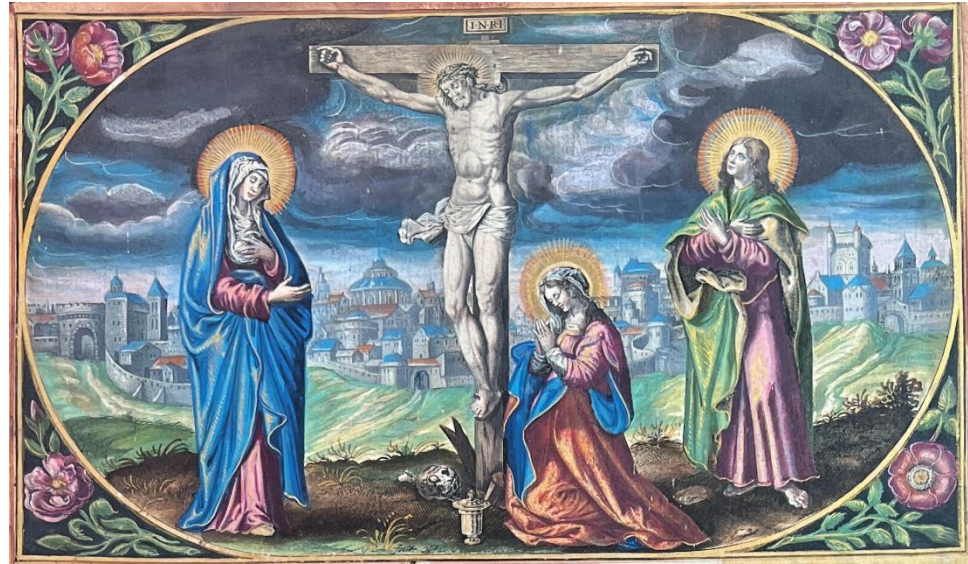
"Only in the late sixteenth century did it become general practice for a priest to place such an object in full view on the altar.... Printed versions were preceded by painted canon tables with manuscript texts, but almost none of these still exists" (Peter Schmidt, *Origins of European Printmaking*, p. 164). While two printed 15th-century examples are known (both reproduced in that catalogue, nos. 39 and 41), most surviving cartaglorias date from the 17th century or later. They vary greatly in appearance and in their combinations of printed or manuscript text and woodcut or engraved illustration, usually colored (see, for example, the six examples in the collections of Bridwell Library, dating from 1604 to 1815, all catalogued under the heading "Cartagloria"). The often predominantly visual aspects of these documents testify to their usage not only as liturgical aids, but also, though no doubt secondarily, as vehicles for personal devotion. "In view of the devotion to the Eucharist in the late Middle Ages [and in post-Tridentine Catholicism], the original liturgical function does not necessarily exclude a secondary, private use. Yet in no way does this sheet support the thesis that woodcuts [i.e., the illustrations of canon tables] served as surrogates to replace forms of 'higher art,' in this case a winged altarpiece. The function of a canon table is essentially different." (Schmidt, *op. cit.*, p. 169, describing the second 15th-century example).

Some smaller cartaglorias were printed on single sheets, then cut apart for mounting, but this large example appears to have been printed on three separate sheets (the plate marks of the engraved areas are not visible). The typographic text is placed within a dense iconographical complex, engraved by Isaac Briot (1585-ca. 1670) for the Paris print publisher Nicolas de Mathonière (1573-1640). These engravings by the prolific Isaac Briot are unrecorded in the standard literature. The two central scenes of the Eucharist are the Crucifixion and the Last Supper; appropriately the largest scenes in this cartagloria, they appear respectively at the top and bottom of the wider central panel, in which the imagery dominates the text, which occupies a smaller space than in the flanking panels. Both scenes are signed by engraver and publisher, and the artistic source for the Last Supper is identified in the signature, "Ioan. Strada. inven., I. Briot fecit, Nicolas de Mathoniere [the latter name partly deleted] excudit". It is indeed a reverse copy of the Last Supper engraving in the Passion series by Jan van der Straet and Philips Galle (*Passio, mors et resurrectio dn. Nostri Jesu Christi*, [Antwerp, between 1571 and 1587]). The Crucifixion and oval portraits were probably also adapted from Flemish models.

The engraved area of each of the side panels contains 12 oval compartments showing saints and scenes from the Passion. The horizontal rows at top and bottom show the 12 Apostles and four Latin Church Fathers: moving left to right, from the top left panel to the bottom right panel,

are Gregory, Peter, Andrew, James, Augustine, Thomas, Matthew, James the Less, John, Philip, Bartholomew, Jerome, Judas, Simon, Matthew, and Ambrose. The vertical rows of all three panels contain scenes from the Passion. On the left, from the top down, are Christ washing the feet of the disciples, the garden of Gethsemane, the Kiss of Judas and arrest of Christ, and Christ before Pilate; in the central panel, beneath the gold monograms of Christ and the Virgin, are the Flagellation, Crowning with Thorns, Mocking of Christ, and Carrying the Cross; and in the right panel, the Lamentation, Entombment, Resurrection, Harrowing of Hell, and Resurrection. These 30 engraved portraits and Passion scenes are beautifully colored with extensive gold highlighting. The floral backgrounds of the ovals are delicately colored on a black ground, and the outer border is colored in reddish-brown wash.

These engraved and letterpress sheets were presumably printed in quantity by de Mathonière (1573-1640), who may also have commissioned the coloring. The palette of the family coat of arms, in blue, black and gold, painted over the Last Supper scene at the foot of the central panel, differs from that of the engravings; the arms may have been added at the time that the sheets were carefully pasted down to the morocco-covered boards, which were bound and gold-tooled with the arms and an ownership statement ("Canon d'autel for the Chapel of the Château de la Barroliere. Dedicated to the Holy Virgin of the Saint Rosary, 1633"). Nicolas Richard de la Barrolière was a prominent Lyonese *gentilhomme*, as is clear from his positions as counselor, notary and secretary to the King and the royal finances, and as rector-treasurer of the Lyon Aumône générale (the Hôpital de la Charité) from 1609 and the Hôtel-Dieu from 1615. This family of prosperous Lyonese merchants had converted from Protestantism, apparently during the lifetime of Nicolas's father Vincent. Nicolas, who died in 1634 or 1635, was a bibliophile like his father (d. after 1615); he probably commissioned one of his usual bookbinders to execute the covers. The family château, in the village of Limonest, near Lyon, had been acquired by Vincent in 1588 (the chapel was demolished in 1853).



Cf. Parshall, Schoch, eds. *Origins of European Printmaking: Fifteenth-Century Woodcuts and their Public* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press for the National Gallery of Art and the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, 2005). Our thanks to Daniel Slive for pointing out this source, and for his descriptions of the Bridwell examples. On Briot, cf. Thieme Becker 5:27; Robert-Dumesnil, *Le Peintre-Graveur français X*: 201-244 & XI: 25-26 (these engravings not listed); *Inventaire du Fonds français, graveurs du XVIIe siècle II*: 144-162 (not listed). On Mathonière, cf. Severine Lepape, "Les éditeurs de la rue Montorgueil et les gravures flamandes: la production des Mathonière," *In Monte Artium*, 3 (2010): 17-33.

Prophylactic prints

4) **DEVOTIONAL PRINTS.** A collection of Italian devotional prints. [Italy, mainly Piedmont, 1626 - ca. 1825].

Binding size 163 x 98 mm. 56 leaves of prints, consisting of 55 engravings and one typographic and woodcut broadside, various sizes, tipped in on stubs, numbered in manuscript on rectos or versos; including 18 hand-colored engravings and one printed in green, one engraving printed on silk, 16 larger folding prints, and 13 small prints of which 3 mounted; a four-page manuscript index at end. Most in very good condition, occasional creasing at gutter folds, a few engravings stained. Bound in early 19th-century Italian half mottled sheep, marbled paper boards, spine gold tooled with title *Sacre Immagini*. *Provenance*: probably compiled by Francesco di Salomoni, whose name appears on print no. 45, a broadside prayer to St. Brice. \$7000



A bound collection of rare devotional images from the 17th to early 19th century, the majority printed in Turin, Milan or nearby, many featuring local saints associated with Piedmont towns, including Alessandria, Alba, Pavia, and Longhera. A manuscript index at the end is in the same hand as the signatory of a typographic broadside prayer formulary to St. Brice of Pavia (no. 45), one Francesco de Salomoni, who may have been the compiler. The index refers to this as the second volume, but the volume is complete within itself. Being mainly cheaply printed ephemeral images, all the prints are rare, and I have located another impression of only one (no. 56, a large hand-colored engraving of the giant statue of San Carlo Borromeo in Arona). All but one (no. 14, of King David, which has letterpress text on the verso and was evidently clipped from a book) appear to have been independently produced devotional images. They would have been sold by stationers or print dealers, in towns, at pilgrimage sites, or near local shrines, either individually or, in the case of some of the cheaply printed 19th century examples, in sets or

series. As is evident from their texts, these prints were largely intended to serve a protective, talismanic function, and would have been either hung on walls of a house or folded and carried on one's person, not only to remind their owners to maintain pious thoughts and follow Christian practice, but to ward off evil and keep the owners or inhabitants safe.

The diligent collector who assembled these sheets organized them by category rather than size or source: the first four are devoted to Christ — including images of Veronica’s Veil, of the Holy Shroud, and of Christ’s full-size footprints; the next nine pay homage to the Trinity, the Holy Family, and the Virgin; and the rest are images of saints, ranging from fathers of the church to local patron saints, with a cluster of female saints at the end. Included are the following:

No. 3) Holy Shroud: *Il vero ritratto del santissimo Sudario dy Torino.* “Si vende in Torino Nella Bottega delli Fratelli Reycends e Campagni” [sic], [1750].

Platemark 232 x 323 mm. LARGE FOLDING ENGRAVING OF THE TURIN SHROUD held aloft under a richly ornamented baldachin by five Bishops, several clerics and secular male and female dignitaries. At front are Vittorio Amedeo III, Duke of Savoy, King of Sardegna, etc., and his new bride Maria Antonia Ferdinanda of Spain; his arms flank the dais. The double imprint of Christ in the shroud is vividly depicted. This was printed for the Exposition of the Shroud (*Ostensione*) on the occasion of their wedding in 1750. The iconography of notables displaying the shroud under a baldachin was often used for prints celebrating the *Ostensioni* (cf. *La Sindone e sue immagine*, pp. 20, 28, 35).

No. 4) FEET OF CHRIST: large oblong engraved broadside depicting the VERY LARGE FOOTPRINTS OF CHRIST, between them an oval at top center containing the scene of Peter’s vision of Christ, the Quo Vadis citations engraved in frame, and below it an oval image of St. Sebastian, flanked by engraved text in a double scrolled compartment, more text relating to the footprints in another compartment below. No place, no name, dated 1626 at end of text. Platemark 300 x 339 mm. Small stain at top, some spotting, 2 tiny holes.

A striking engraving, and the earliest one in the volume. As explained in the crudely engraved text, depicted are the miraculous footprints left by Christ after St. Peter encountered him while fleeing Rome (from the apocryphal Acts of Peter). Their exchange (*Domine, quo vadis? — Eo Romam iterum crucifigi*) is lettered around the scene of this encounter at the top of the print. By the 9th century a pilgrimage sanctuary had arisen at the site, and at some point two footprints on a marble slab — probably a Roman ex-voto — joined the premises. The present-day church of Santa Maria delle Piante was only built in 1637; it contains a copy of the footprints, the original slab being preserved in the nearby Basilica San Sebastiano fuori le mura. Hence the complicated iconography of this



engraving, which reproduces the marble impression of the footprints, a scene of Peter's vision, and the martyrdom of St. Sebastian. The crudely engraved text provides a brief biography of the latter, a list of other relics preserved in the church, and a description of the footprints, their origin and the history of their veneration.

In his article on "devotional measurements," Xavier Barbier de Montault described a similar print, also dated 1626, from his own collection, with the same content but differently laid out, commenting that it is "quite rare" and that he had never seen another copy (pp. 370-372). Another full-size representation of the footprint of Christ is preserved in the Hildburgh collection of amulets in the Wellcome Collection (no. 77 in Ettliger's typescript catalogue of the collection, digitized on the Wellcome website). The genre of "sacred measurements as prophylactics" (Ettliger article, p. 109) also included strips showing the length of the body of Christ or of the Holy Sepulchre. (See also items 5 and 8 in this catalogue.)

No. 9) A confraternity print: *Vera Imm[agi]ne della B[eata]. Verg[i]ne sotto il titolo Virgo Potens*. "M. De Magistris incise." [Alessandria?, 18th century]. 141 x 84 mm. The subtitle clarifies that this image is venerated in the parish church of Saints Alessandro and Carlo in Alessandria (in Piemonte), and that it was engraved by order of the brothers and sisters (*Confratelli e Consorelle*) of the Compagnia [confraternity] of that church, who celebrate the festival day of the Powerful Virgin with a novena on the first Sunday of September.

No. 10) PRINTED ON WHITE SILK: *Nostra Signora Ausiliatrice*. "Joseph Barilesti sculps." [N.p., 19th century]. 137 x 89 mm. The Madonna and child in clouds surrounded by cherubim.

No. 12) Camillian Order: *La Madonna della Sanità delli R[everend]i Padri Ch[ieri]ci Reg[ula]ri Ministri degli Infermi della Croce Tanè*. "Gio. Paolo Bianchi F. In Milano." [Milan, ca. 1640]. Platemark 170 x 114 mm., folding. Banner at top *Salus infirmorum*, title at foot flanked by the arms of the order, a (red) cross. On heavy paper, fine. Cf. Treccani and Thieme-Becker 3:583 on the engraver (Giovanni Paoli Bianchi), active ca. 1621-1646. The Camillian Order is dedicated to the care of the sick. Contrary to expectation, their red cross does not appear to be the origin of the Red Cross's symbol (which was taken from the Swiss flag). "Members of the Order also devoted themselves to victims of Bubonic plague. It was due to the efforts of the brothers and supernatural healings by Camillus de Lellis [their founder] that the people of Rome credited de Lellis with ridding the city of a great plague and the subsequent famine" (Wikipedia).

No. 13) AN AMULET-FORMULARY. [Caption at top:] *Divozione Efficacissime p[er] acquistare il S. D. Amore e l'Odio al Peccato: Per Stabilire ne[li] Regni, e Famiglie la S. Pace, e D[ivi]na Provvidenza, e liberarci da Pesce, Tremoti, Tuoni, e Morti Improvise*. Unsigned, undated. [Turin, 18th century]. Fold-out, platemark 193 x 102 mm.

This prayer sheet would protect its owner from "sin, earthquakes, thunder, and sudden death." The image shows at center three large flaming hearts labeled Maria, Jesus and Joseph, at top the crowned symbol of the Trinity (triangle) flanked by cherubs' heads and a banner with biblical citations, at foot the arms of Carlo Emmanuele III of Savoy, with a banner naming him, a Biblical quotation on either side, further text below including spaces for writing one's name and town, instructions for fasting and confession, and the prayer to be recited.



19) St Sebastian within rococo frame, caption at foot *Ven. Confraternitas S. Sebastiani Maoris*. Papie [Pavia] 1760. Unsigned. Platemark 225 x 156 mm., folding. Shows the Saint with a cherub removing his arrows; undoubtedly copied from a painting.

24) Thomas Aquinas: *S. Tomaso d'Aquino*. Shown writing in his library, gazing at a crucifix on his desk. Unidentified bishop's coat of arms at top (four roundels on a bend sinister). Platemark 125 x 65. This small print introduces the next one:



No. 25) The "Angelic Cross of Thomas Aquinas": *Orazione devotissima contro terremoti tuoni e saette* (title at top) ... *Crux Angelica D. Thome de Aquino* (on banner above the cross). The image shows a large cross filled with palindromic lettering containing four phrases: *Crux mihi certa salus*, *Crux est quam sempre adoro*, *Crux mihi refugium*, and *Crux Domini*; the cross flanked by oval portraits of St. Dominic and Thomas Aquinas, short prayers below each portrait, another prayer to protect against earthquakes, thunder and lightning at bottom (*A fulgure, et tempestate, ac Terremoti Libera nos Domine*). Unsigned. 18th or early 19th century. Platemark 158 x 209 mm, fold-out. Short tear in lower margin.

The print reproduces a cross allegedly painted by Thomas Aquinas on the walls of the Dominican Convent of S. Giacomo of Anagni (Lazio).

No. 26) Saint Theobald (Teobaldo Roggeri): *Sanctis Theobaldus infirmorum medela*, title on

banner below the saint, shown in heaven on a cloud bank below which float two shoes and a cobbler's awl, at bottom of frame a small cartouche with the name and date "Baldasoro Porta 1757." Etching with engraving, platemark 225 x 184.

Teobaldo Roggeri (1100-1150), whose remains are preserved in the cathedral of Alba, was a Ligurian noble who abandoned his privileged status to become a cobbler. Venerated for his devotion to the poor, he became the object of a popular cult, but was not beatified until 1841.

No. 36) Camillian Order: *Sanctus Camillus de Lellis Clericorum Regularium Infirmis Ministrantium Fundator*. Signed by Francesco Zucchi of Venice, [ca. 1746]. Platemark 234 x 153 mm., folding. The entry in the index notes that the same print was included in the first volume.

Camillus de Lellis (1550-1614), from the Abruzzo, founder of the Camillians (having been rejected by the Capuchins because of a supposedly incurable leg wound incurred in fighting with the Venetians against the Turks), is the patron saint of the sick, hospitals, nurses and physicians. He was beatified in 1741 and canonized 5 years later; this print was published around that time.

No. 42) St. Joseph of Cupertino: *Effigiem S. Josephi a Cupertino...* [long caption, on either side of the arms of Savoy at foot]. Signed at bottom left "I. B. Costantinus sculp. Taurinensis" (engraved over an earlier signature)] and at bottom right "Thomas Conca inv. et del." [Turin, ca. 1800]. Platemark 414 x 283 mm., folding. Some staining and small tears in caption area at foot.

Cupertino (1603-1663), a levitating Franciscan, is shown here in action, in the presence of a nun and her entourage; she is identified in the text as Maria [Apollonia], daughter of Charles Emmanuel I, Duke of Savoy and Catherine of Austria. Maria Apollonia of Savoy (1594-1656) became a nun in 1634. Tomasso Conca (d. 1815) was a painter in Rome.

No. 43) St. Bobo: *Imaginem di S. Bovo Confess[ore] e Protettore del insigne luogo di Voghera, e difensore delli Armenti....* Signed *Can^s. Graminea Sculp. 1717.* [Voghera?], 1717. Platemark 253 x 148 mm., folding.

Bobo (d. 986), a Provençal warrior turned pilgrim, is the patron saint of cattle. The saint is shown with his abandoned sword at his feet, carrying a banner depicting a cow, with in the background a town (Voghera), cowherd with cows, and monastery. The caption describes his relics, preserved in the church of the Capuchins at Voghera (near Pavia), and invokes his protection, of animals, flocks and "all evil."

No. 44) Saint Brice of Tours: *Effigie di S. Britio Vescovo di Turone in Francia ... nell 1703 li 13. Maggio rinchioso in un Arca ... fu con tutta solennità portato per la Città...* Signed *Franc[es]co Agnelli fecit.* [Milan, after June 1703]. PRINTED IN GREEN. Platemark 358 x 245 mm., folding.

The caption describes the transfer of the Saint's relics to Pavia in 1407 and their procession and ceremonial placement in the church of San Maria Capella in 1703, followed by his election as protector of the city on June 6 of that year. The Milanese printer and engraver Francscio Agnelli succeeded his father Federico after the latter's death in 1702.

No. 45) Saint Brice: Typographic broadside prayer, with woodcut illustration, text: *Breve orazione Da recitarsi ogni giorno dalli Divoti di S. Brizio Protettore della Regia Città di Pavia ...* Pavia: per Gio. Antonio Ghidini, [ca. 1720-1747].

Leaf 204 x 127 mm, folding. Text within type ornament border, small woodcut of the Saint as Bishop at top.



This letterpress prayer sheet would have been easily folded and carried on one's person as protection. A space for the faithful's name is filled out in brown ink: "Francesco de Salomoni vostro servo." It appears to be in the same hand as the index. The Ghidini press of Pavia was active for over a century; Giovanni Antonio Ghidini led the firm from ca. 1717 to 1747, after which his heirs took over.



No. 47) Saint Victoria: *S. Victoria V. & Mart.* Signed S.S.B. Platemark 283 x approx. 185 mm., folding. HAND-COLORED. [No place, 18th century].
The saint is shown within a frame, holding a sword and palm leaf, in front of her is a reliquary containing a skull and bone. The number 527 is stamped at bottom left.

No. 56) *Veritable portrait de la Statue Colossale de Saint Charles Borromeo sur Arone.* [Milan?, ca. 1790]. Signed "Raimondus Leo del. Jos. Rados sculp." Platemark 434 x 279 mm., folding. HAND-COLORED.

This large engraving (the largest in the album, appropriately) depicts the colossal copper statue of Saint Carlo Borromeo (1538-1584) on Mont Arona, in Piedmont, overlooking Lago Maggiore. Designed by Giovanni Battista Crespi, the statue (affectionately known as the *Sancarlone*) was erected, at huge expense, between 1624 and 1698, using an innovative technique of hammered copper sheets mounted on a rigid structure (later used by Bartholdi for the Statue of Liberty). The French text summarizes the statue's history and describes how one can enter it and climb to the head, and provides its dimensions.

Of the other, mostly small prints, some are without imprints, but also included are 13 engravings, most printed in sepia and hand-colored, from the Vallardi firm of print-publishers in Milan, datable to between 1812 and 1818 for those signed by Pietro and Giuseppe Vallardi, and a bit later for two with the imprint of Pietro's widow, Giuseppina Redaelli; and four prints by various engravers after Luigi Agricola, from the Rome print publisher Agapito Franzetti, active from 1790 to 1810. The only non-Italian print is a small emblematic engraving of the Capuchin St. Fidelis of Sigmaringen, signed by the Augsburg engraver Simon Thaddaeus Sondermayr (no. 18, ca. 1740).

A full list is available on request. *References:* Ettliger, "The Hildburgh Collection of Austrian and Bavarian Amulets in the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum," *Folklore* vol. 76, no. 2 (Summer 1965): 104-117; Xavier Barbier de Montault, "Les Mesures de Dévotion," *Revue de l'Art Chrétien* 15 (1881): 360-416; *La Sindone e sue immagine*, catalogue of an exhibition held at the Palazzo Madama, Turin, 2018-2019 (PDF available online).

Splendid prayers for a musician's widow

5) MANUSCRIPT PRAYER BOOK ON VELLUM — **EBNER, Franz Ferdinand**, artist. *Tägliche Andacht. Frawen Susanna Renata Ebnerin Wittibin gebohrnen Krausin Ferner Viellgeliebsten Frawen Mutter in gehorsamen Ehren beschrieben im Jahr MDCLXV, durch [blank]. [Vienna], 1665.*

MANUSCRIPT ON VELLUM (191 × 125 mm). 302 leaves, foliated [1], 300, [1], last 3 pages blank except for borders. Calligraphic title within ornamental cartouche border in brown and gold ink (faded), text in dark brown ink in a very fine calligraphic gothic hand, 20-21 lines, faint lead ruling, interlace page borders punctuated with gold dots throughout; three-line and smaller ornamental initials in gold with intricate filigree flourishes, over 40 historiated initials in pen-and-ink and gold, a few with additional silver; headings in larger script with gold highlighting and filigree ornamentation, gold capital strokes throughout. Illustrated with FORTY-EIGHT PEN-AND-INK DRAWINGS, MOST WITH GOLD HIGHLIGHTING, a few with additional blue ink, of which 17 full-page or nearly so and 31 half-page or smaller; plus six abstract ornamental tail-pieces, and an unidentified coat-of-arms at end in gold, yellow and silver. Two drawings signed *Fecit Franc. Ferd. Ebner* and *F. F. Ebner*.

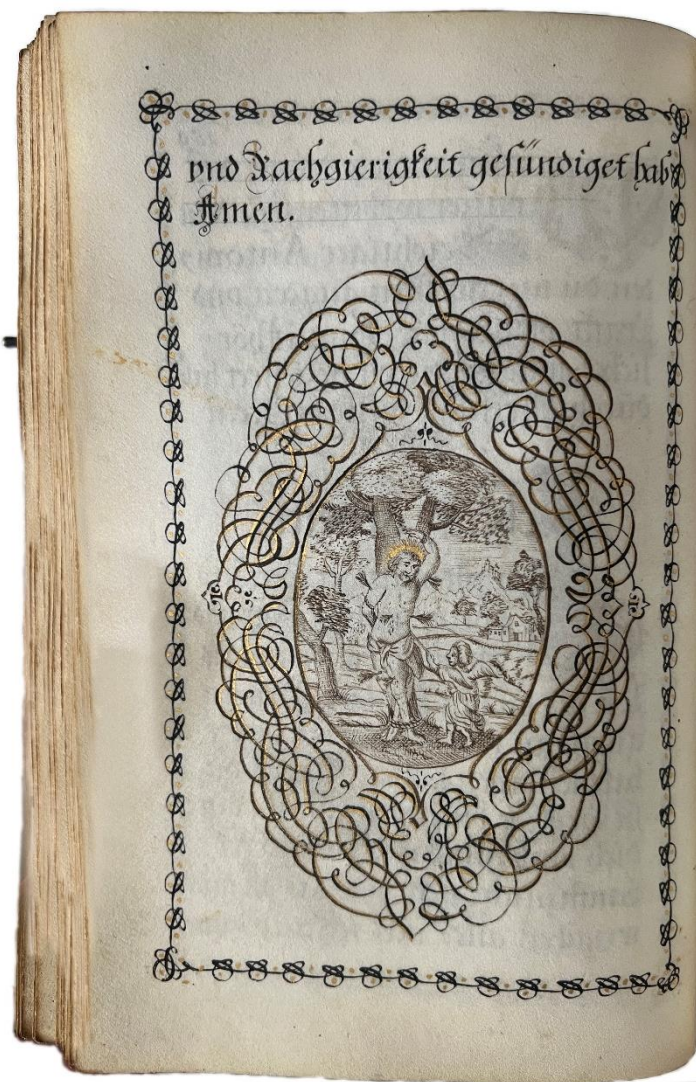
Condition: Title faded and soiled, fols. 263-264 and last few leaves with very small creases with smudges at top, fol. 257 with a slightly oily stain apparently from an erasure, 292r a bit darkened, 296r with small surface blemish or repair at top, last text leaf a bit soiled.

Binding: contemporary plain black shagreen, pair of long narrow metal clasps and catchplates, gilt edges, marbled endleaves; joints restored but lower joint split, vertical crack in spine, inner hinges strengthened with cloth tape, no free endleaves (thus the tape extending into inner margins of the title-leaf and last leaf).

Provenance: written for Susanne Renata Ebner (d. 1696?), female courtier at the Habsburg court, and widow of Wolfgang Ebner (1611-1665), organist and composer; 19th-century ms. shelfmark label at end, no. 2828. \$26,000

A luxurious devotional manuscript in German, written and illustrated, almost certainly by one of her children, for Susanna Renata Ebner, née Kraus, soon after the death of her husband Wolfgang Ebner, court organist and composer to Emperor Ferdinand III.





Stephansdom, the cathedral of St. Stephen in Vienna, he enjoyed the favor of the music-loving Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand III, who bestowed upon him not only a monthly retainer but frequent gifts, and who had entrusted him with teaching harpsichord to his son Leopold I. (Reigning Emperor at the time this manuscript was written, Leopold became, like his father, a respectable composer and passionate patron of music.) In 1663 Ebner was made music director (*Domkapellmeister*) of the cathedral. As a court favorite, therefore, who had accumulated more high honors than any musician yet seen in Vienna, Ebner must have provided well for his family. His wife Susanna, whom he had

This long and costly manuscript was written on high quality vellum in a flawless calligraphic hand, with generous use of gold (and occasionally silver) ornamentation and copious illustrations. Included are prayers to Jesus, to various saints, and to the Virgin. The 48 highly varied drawings include portraits of Christ, the Virgin, and Saints, scenes from the Passion, and emblematic depictions of the Eucharist, of Christ's wounds, the Trinity, the Passion, and the Eucharist. Among the final, possibly topical illustrations are a tiny violinist playing before a Crucifixion hanging on a wall (f. 288r) — a reference to the late Wolfgang Ebner? — and a drawing of the Mariensäule of Vienna, set, unusually, within the text (f. 292r).

The drawings appear to be the work of a single amateur; there is thus no reason to doubt that they were all the work of Franz Ferdinand Ebner, whose signature appears on the drawing of a monstrance on f. 192, and on the full-page Crucifixion on f. 218r. As the illustrations are perfectly integrated into the text and appear to use the same inks and gold illumination, it is likely that Ebner produced the entire manuscript, which is preserved in its original somber funerary binding. A filial connection is clearly stated in the title ("Daily prayers [For] Frau Susanna Renata Ebner Widow née Kraus, and deeply beloved Mother, written in obedient honor, in the year 1665, by --), and one may thus reasonably deduce that Franz Ferdinand was one of Susanna (or Susanne) Renata's ten children, five of whom were allegedly still alive when she died thirty years later. Susanna's husband Wolfgang Ebner had died in February 1665, and the manuscript was a labor of love, written for her as a tribute and consolation. The only mystery remains the omission or erasure of the writer's name from the title.

Wolfgang Ebner (1611-1665), originally from Augsburg, was a highly successful musician and composer. The highest paid organist of the

married in 1636, served from about 1653 as the nurse or governess (*Amme* or *Aya*) to an Archduchess and Lady of the Bedchamber at court. This kind of function was not filled by aristocrats in the Habsburg court; while clearly well off, the Ebner family seem to have remained bourgeois. Manuscripts of this quality and expense were not often produced for members of the bourgeoisie,

The text (which contains virtually no corrections) opens with prayers for morning and closes with evening prayers. In between are prayers and litanies to Jesus and the Virgin, meditations on the Passion and the Trinity, instructions for Mass and Confession, the Gospel of St. John, prayers for Sundays and Feast Days, the 15 prayers of St. Bridget, and prayers to the Saints listed below. These are illustrated with pen-and-ink drawings, in light brown, dark brown, and occasionally blue ink, and gold paint, usually rays or solid halos. Many are set within partial or full ornamental filigree borders, often highlighted in gold. The portraits especially may have been copied from prints. Besides Christ and the Virgin, Joseph and Anne, Old Testament figures and Saints portrayed are: King David, St. Peter, St. Joachim, St. Anthony of Padua, St. Sebastian, St. Roch, St. Rosalia, St. Benno (Bishop of Meissen), St. Carlo Borromeo, St. Bernard, St. Barbara, St. Apollonia, St. Agnes, St. John the Evangelist, St. Otilia, St. Wolfgang of Regensburg, St. Francis, St. Blaise, and St. Bridget.

Throughout the artist displays a familiarity with the visual devotional language of south German Catholicism; this extends to the ornaments, including the many historiated initials showing symbols of the Passion, saints' instruments of martyrdom and other religious symbols. Besides the two mentioned above, the more unusual drawings include:

- an emblematic scene representing the Passion, showing an angel sleeping on the Cross in a room or workshop, with the Arma Christi, Veronica's veil, the holy dove at top (f. 26v), and banners SPQR and INRI
- a repentant sinner in Hell (107r)
- Ecce Homo within a zoomorphic foliate border (226v)
- a full-size representation of the wound in Christ's side (227v)
- an emblematic diagram of the five wounds of Christ: with sideways captions reading "Die weitte und Läng der allerheiligsten wunden Christi ermessen von seinem Speer welches Baiasetes Turkischer Kaiyser[?] Bapst Innocentio dem 8 überschicket hat" [Sultan Bayezid II for diplomatic reasons allegedly gave back the Holy Lance to Innocent VIII], and "Das Kreuzlein in der Wunden Christi zu viertzig mahlen gemessen macht die Läng Christi in seiner H[eiligen] Menschheit" (231v). On holy measurements, see Jacoby and Barbier de Montault articles cited below in items 4 and 8. (Illus. following item 8 below.)
- St. Bridget and her Revelations: she is shown as a Bridgettine nun writing, beneath her visions: the Madonna and child, snakes, angels' heads; beneath her are a tapestry with a coat of arms and, strewn on the floor, a hat, a crown, a staff, and other objects, presumably emblems of the



secular life she abandoned. A banner at center contains a sentence from her Revelations: "*veritas est quod ego concepta fui sine peccata originali*" (244v). A full list of the drawings is available on request.

On Wolfgang Ebner, see *Neue Deutsche Biographie* (online); *Oxford Music Online*; *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* III: 1065-66 (and MGG online, restricted access).



English psalms in a child's? embroidered binding

6) MINIATURE EMBROIDERED BINDING. *The Whole Booke of Psalmes: collected into English Meter by Tho. Sternhold, Jo. Hopkins, W. Whittingham, and others, conferred with the Hebrew.* London: I[ohn]. L[egat]. for the Company of Stationers, 1643.



24mo (binding size 107 x 53 mm). 282, [5] pp. Title within ornamental border. Printed in very small types. A few signature lines cropped, some last lines shaved. Contemporary English embroidered binding of off-white silk over binder's boards, the covers with

two different embroidered flower and insect decors in colored silk outlined in twisted silver thread, spine in four embroidered compartments; bound in upside down, one (of two) metal hinged fore-edge clasps (attaching on back cover), blue silk headbands, marbled pastedown endpapers, gilt edges (soiled and somewhat faded, a few tiny holes, a very few rubbed areas, some tears to metallic thread borders, catchplate piercing fabric on front cover). *Provenance:* inscription dated March 1861 on front flyleaf: "Received among a collection of ancient deeds and family papers from St. Martin's Canterbury on the death of Mrs. B-- [illegible] in this month" [signature illegible].

\$7200



AN UNRESTORED ENGLISH EMBROIDERED BINDING FROM THE MID-SEVENTEENTH CENTURY, on a rare edition of this popular psalter.

Both covers are framed in rows or ribbons of metallic gimp. The front cover has blue and white cornerpieces and a central five-petaled flower (a cornflower?) in shades of blue with yellow center, the latter with the IHS monogram lightly overwritten in lead, the plant with green leaves and branches of metallic thread, and a large bee with red-tipped wings at top. The back cover has cornerpieces in pale orange and a central pansy with five large outer petals and five smaller inner petals, in pale rose with the outer edges in red, surmounted by a caterpillar. Both



covers have a small cross or star at top. The well-preserved spine has four panels divided by green thread, alternating yellow red-spotted tulips and blue flowers.

The concentration required for needlework and similar handicraft was long considered conducive to a devout state of mind, and in pre-industrial Europe the mastery or at least practiced familiarity with the arts of needlework was expected of girls and women from all social classes. During the seventeenth century the association of needlework with piety was concretely expressed in Britain in the vogue for embroidered covers on personal books of devotion. While most English embroidered bindings from this period were produced by professionals, members of the Broderer's Guild, some were produced domestically. The present humble but charming binding on a pocket-sized psalter may have been the work of a young girl. Whether it was she or a professional binder or forwarder who absentmindedly placed the book into the binding upside down will probably never be known.

This example is well-preserved, and is especially noteworthy for its intact spine, the backstrips of embroidered bindings being their "weakest parts" and thus often damaged (Davenport, p. 15).

This edition not in ESTC. OCLC records a copy at Texas A & M University, also in an embroidered binding (dos-à-dos). See Cyril Davenport, *English embroidered bookbindings* (London, 1899).

A nun's miracle book

7) PILGRIM LITERATURE. *Breve Compendio Dell' Origine, Continuazione, e luminosi Miracoli del Santuario detto della Fontana di Nostra Signora di Caravaggio.* Milan: Giovanni Battista Bianchi, 1773.

12mo (151 x 88 mm). [1-8] 9-121, [1 blank] pp. Final blank leaf removed. Woodcut frontispiece (printed on recto) of the Madonna of Caravaggio. Errata list at end. Contemporary pastepaper wrappers. Dampstaining in first half, upper edges of first few leaves and upper portions of covers softened and frayed, backstrip defective. *Provenance:* contemporary signature on verso of front flyleaf, *Suor Maria Colomba Forza.* \$1750

FIRST EDITION of an entertaining pocket guide to the miracles and sanctuary of the Madonna of Caravaggio (also known as Santa Maria del Fonte), this copy owned by a nun.

The story of Our Lady of Caravaggio may have ancient roots, as it bears certain traits of classical mythology. The first chapter of this anonymous miracle book celebrates the architectural glories of the village of Caravaggio (east of Milan, in the province of Bergamo), its relics and notable personalities (the absence of its now most famous son might surprise the modern reader). Chapters 2-4 relate the origins of the shrine. A peasant's daughter, Giovanetta, had been forced into marriage by her father's poverty with a brute named Francesco Varoli, who

abused and beat her mercilessly, crimes which she met with uncomplaining humility, finding comfort in her quiet piety. One day in 1432, at her lowest point, covered with bruises inflicted not only by her husband but by his buddies as well, having spent the day cutting grasses for their flocks in the large pastures of Mazzolengo outside the town, feeling weary of life she despairingly appealed to the Virgin — and the latter



appeared. Urging Giovanetta, who in fear of her spouse's wrath, wished to run home(!), to kneel and listen, the Madonna declared that the people of Caravaggio owed her thanks, for she (Mary) had interceded with her Son, who wished to destroy the town because of its inhabitants' iniquity. After arguing him for 7 years, she finally obtained his agreement to spare the town. This, said the Virgin, you must go tell your townspeople, and they must build me a shrine... But who will listen to me, who has always been arm in arm with poverty? cried Giovanetta. No worries, the Virgin assured her, I will make them listen, and will supply signs; and so she did: Giovanetta's fervor and eloquence encountered no doubters, the Virgin's footprints appeared in a stone, along with a miraculous spring, in the very spot of Giovanetta's vision.

Chapters 5 and 6 describe the most important miracles of the shrine, chapter 7 its slightly rocky history (the many gifts left by pilgrims were somehow not making it into the coffers of the Church) and subsequent regulation by conjoined ecclesiastical and secular powers. Chapter 8 describes the most recent regulations, up to September 1772, of the Sanctuary and its adjacent hospital and Monte de Pietà; the 9th chapter is a guide to the Sanctuary and the interior of the church; and the 10th and final chapter relates the most recent miracles, from 1765 and 1772. The often expanded sanctuary is now quite large and the cult of Our Lady of Caravaggio has devotees around the world.

The frontispiece shows the Virgin and kneeling Giovanetta with a plant and in the background the shrine; a scene often reproduced in popular prints (see for example, print 11 in the print volume, no. 4 above).

While our anonymous writer owes much to the two-part *Storia dell'origine, progresso e prodigi del santuario di N. Signora di Caravaggio*, first published in 1739, the work is original, as he hastens to assure his "devout readers" in the preface. One other edition is recorded, printed in Milan by Pasquale Agnelli. Some library cataloguers have erroneously dated that edition

to 1772, but Agnelli's earliest editions date to 1802.

The owner who inscribed her name in this copy was probably a then quite young Sister Maria Colomba Forza of the convent of Saint Monaca in Ferrara, who died at the age of 80 in 1837 (*Il Rosario: Memorie Domenicane, anno 8* (Rome 1891), 498. ICCU and OCLC cite 3 locations (two in Italy and the University of Illinois). Lozzi, *Biblioteca istorica della antica e nuova Italia: saggio di bibliografia* (1886-87), 1070 note; ICCU IT\ICCU\MILE\049047.

Talismanic typography

8) PRINTED PRAYER ROLL AMULET. [*La cairrtainne* (i.e., certaine) *et véritable*] *Longueur* [*de Notre Seigneur*] *Jésus-Christ*. [*Comme il étoit sur la terre et la S]ainte Croix*. [*Cette longueur a été trouvez à Jér]usalem en l'an 1655 & a été [confirmé par Clement VIII Pape de ce nom*. [Bracketed sections in manuscript.] (colophon:) Cologne: Martin Fritz, 1741.

Five printed letterpress strips, each approximately 350 x 48 mm., pasted together and mounted on early 19th-century strips of thicker paper (including printed waste), forming a long roll measuring approximately 48 x 1820 mm. (approx. 2 inches by 6 feet 2 inches). Each text strip containing 2 columns enclosed by a rule border and separated by a vertical rule, each with 8 long lines of text; the third strip with a central panel containing a typographic cross composed of sacred abbreviations and Latin crosses. Loss to outer portion of title, supplied in contemporary manuscript; some fraying and a few vertical tears through text, repaired tear in the third strip, hiding a few letters, last strip with marginal blue paper reinforcements; browning and soiling. With: a contemporary beige patterned silk bag, used to hold the amulet (the pattern of tears match the form of the rolled amulet, which fits snugly). \$12,500

A LETTERPRESS ROLL-AMULET MEASURING THE LENGTH OF CHRIST'S BODY. This rare survival testifies to the once widespread use of apotropaic texts in popular piety and its propagation or exploitation by enterprising printers. Known in German as *Heilige Längen* (Holy Lengths), such cheaply produced amulet-rolls, containing formulaic prayers and invocations and intended to be worn or carried, are the descendants of a medieval manuscript tradition. "Lengths of Christ" were held to protect from a variety of ills, and were NOTABLY INTENDED TO BE WORN BY PREGNANT WOMEN DURING PREGNANCY AND CHILDBIRTH. Printed mainly in the German-speaking regions, only a handful survive. This example is unusual for being printed in French, for the French market, and, remarkably, is preserved with its original stitched silk pouch.

This six-foot long prayer strip contains its own instructions for use. In a symbiosis of content and support that is characteristic of the outer frontiers of private religious practice, the text both embodies and explains the magic powers of the support containing it: "He who carries on his person the Length of our dear Lord, or he who has it in his House, will be protected from all his Enemies, both visible and invisible, from all brigands and thieves, and similarly from all magic, and no spiteful gossip or slander will harm him. A pregnant woman who carries it on herself, or who wraps it around her breast, will give birth without great pain and will have no ill fortune to fear during birthing. In the House where the Length of Our Lord [hangs] nothing evil can stay, neither thunder nor storm will be able to harm it, and it will be preserved from both fire and floods..."

Instructions for prayer follow, and ALLOWANCES ARE MADE FOR THE ILLITERATE:

"Bless yourselves Christian men [Latin cross, indicating that one should make the sign of the cross] every morning with the Length of Our Lord Jesus Christ, and say every Sunday 5 Paternosters, 5 Aves and one Credo, in honor of the 5 Holy Wounds of Jesus Christ. He who wishes to have the Length of the Lord is obliged to read it three times a year, and if he can't read, to have someone read it to him, and if in the entire year he can't find anyone to read it [for him], he should say the Rosary 4 times, the first time on Holy Friday, the second on the Friday before Pentecost and the third on the Friday before Christmas and the Christian man [Latin cross] will be blessed by the length of Our Lord during the whole year, on land and at sea, by day and by night, in his body and soul, forever. So be it" (my translation).



The second section, called a “prayer of St. Francis,” contains more invocations for protection, against misfortune, sadness, dangerous wounds, slanders, etc., repeating the evils previously listed and adding for good measure protection against poison, witches, hail, and lightning, and of one’s “fields, grains, gardens, crops, animals, and all that I own,” and reiterates the prayer to grant to all pregnant women an easy birth. The supplicant begs Christ to hide him or her “between your shoulders and your holy Crown, and in your sacred wounds, and to wash me with your length and your precious blood.” The roll concludes with repeated invocations of God, of the father, son and holy ghost, etc., punctuated with Latin crosses.

Further Latin crosses are used within the typographic calligram of a cross, in the approximate center of the roll; the crosses alternate with letters representing the names of the four evangelists and the three kings (see Jacoby, p. 9), with at top the *Titulis Crucis* (INRI: Iesus Nazarenus Rex Iudaeorum), and flanking the cross the names of the holy family (Jesus, Mary Joseph, Joachim and Anne). Sometimes known as *characteres* (“non-standard or magical script”) or *Buchstabenreihe* in German, such variable sequences of crosses and majuscule letters were often used on German amulets (Skemer, art. cit. p. 127 & 143, and *Binding Words*, pp. 17-18).

The belief, in popular Christian practice, that a measurement representing a holy personage or object could embody the divinity of its original model dates back to the Middle Ages (cf. Ettlinger, p. 109, and Jacoby, *passim*). Other talismanic measurements were the wounds of Christ, Christ’s or the Virgin’s feet, the height of the Cross, of Mary, Mary’s tomb, or the length of the nails used in the Crucifixion. The origin of these magic measurements lay in pilgrimages to Jerusalem, where pilgrims would measure, for example, the Holy Sepulchre, and the “measuring tape” itself became a treasured talisman; such tapes or strings were soon enough sold to pilgrims to bring home as souvenirs (cf. Jacoby, pp. 190 and 193; and cf. p. 34, no. 76, in Ettlinger’s typescript catalogue of the Hildburgh collection of amulets). Similarly, other holy measurements drew their initial power from the physical touching of the piece of textile or document to the relic, but fairly quickly the measurement itself, produced in manuscript or reproduced through print, took on its own life and became a tangible and potent symbol of Divine power. For the Length of Christ, an accretion of prayers and formulae (whose sources are analysed by Jacoby) gradually became associated with the measuring strip, evolving, in the German-speaking lands, into a standard text, here translated into French. (In Italy, pictorial strips, illustrated with woodcuts, were also produced; there are three framed examples in the Museo della Sindone in Turin.) The reference to Clement VIII in the title is fictive (he reigned from 1592 to 1605), but it appears true that earlier “Holy Lengths” of Christ were longer (approximately 208 cm.), apparently having been based on the Sepulchre instead of the height of Christ; one scholar suggested that this changed after a discovery in 1684 of a stone found in the tomb of the crusader Godefroy de Bouillon, taken to be the stone upon which Christ’s body was lain. The present example is slightly longer than usual because of the blank spaces preserved between the printed panels.

“Unlike handwritten amulets, which had been custom-produced like manuscript books, paper amulets could be printed on speculation, at a low unit cost. Paper amulets were printed in press runs from a few hundred to a few thousand in expectation of meeting a robust market demand, though they were inherently ephemeral and thus survive in meager numbers, if at all” (Skemer, *Magic Writ*, p. 145). Indeed, in spite of the prevalence of these rolls, or because of it, and thanks to their ephemeral and fragile nature, very few examples survive. The only extant leaf from a 15th century Length of Christ is held by the Morgan Library (*Orazione della misura di Cristo*: ISTC io000title). The Hildburgh collection of amulets at the Wellcome Library preserves an example in German (catalogue no. 74, pp. 33-34), without place or printer, dated by Ettlinger ca. 1700; and a roll dated 1755, also in German, and printed, like ours, in Cologne (with no printer’s name) surfaced recently in the trade.

This roll, which evidently did make its way to France, was worn and damaged by the early 19th century, when an heir or later user copied the damaged portion of the title and laid the text panels down on sturdier paper, cut from one or two official documents, mentioning Napoleon, the *Consistoire*, and Austria in the context of war, thus datable to ca. 1809. The silk pouch accompanying the roll seems indeed to have been used to carry it: "One could transport such amulets, depending on their size and number, by placing them in containers, such as gold or silver suspension capsules, jewelled cases, cloth sacks, and leather pouches. Such containers ranged from purely utilitarian to highly decorated" (Skemer, 127-8). I locate no other copies of this roll, or descriptions of any such amulet rolls in French.

References: Ellen Ettliger, "The Hildburgh Collection of Austrian and Bavarian Amulets in the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum," *Folklore* vol. 76, no. 2 (Summer 1965):104-117; Ettliger, typescript catalogue of the Hildburgh collection of amulets, [digitized](#) on the Wellcome Collection's website. The catalogue occupies pp. 37-177 of the 417-page archive. Adolf Jacoby, "Heilige Längenmaße. Eine Untersuchung zur Geschichte der Amulette," *Schweizerisches Archiv für Volkskunde* 29 (1929): 181-216 (online). Xavier Barbier de Montault, "Les Mesures de Dévotion," *Revue de l'Art Chrétien* 15 (1881): 360-419 (online on archive.org); Don Skemer, "Magic Writ: Textual Amulets Worn on the Body for Protection," *Schriftträger - Textträger: Zur materialen Präsenz des Geschriebenen in frühen Gesellschaften*, volume 6 in the series *Materialie Textkulturen* (De Gruyter, 2015), 127-149 (open access). See also Skemer, *Binding Words: Textual Amulets in the Middle Ages* (Penn State Univ., 2006).



More measurements (no. 5)



9) **SHROUD OF TURIN.** A painting of the Shroud of Turin on silk. [Piedmont, 17th or early 18th century].

A painting on silk in gouache and ink, including gold ink, measuring 447 x 188 mm., at center the long rectangular image of the Turin shroud with the faint impression of the body seen from front and back in reddish-brown ink, flanked by two rows of lines linking triangles and circles (representing the burned areas along the folds and triangular patches sewn onto the shroud by Poor Clares nuns after it was damaged by fire in 1532), within an ornate volute "frame" in black and gold ink, set within a wide border of multi-colored flowers and flowering plants, framed in a double black ink rule. Condition: approximately one-inch square stain within shroud area, traces of dampstaining, a couple of small holes to floral border, darkening and fraying along edges of the silk (hidden by frame),

dark spotting to corners. Professionally mounted on linen stretched over a wooden backing, and preserved in its original giltwood molded frame (partly damaged with losses to outer edge) and contemporary hand-blown glass (the painting was removed from the frame for examination and photography). \$9850

An anonymous popular painting of the Shroud of Turin, venerated by Catholics as the shroud which wrapped and received an imprint of Christ's crucified body. Among Catholic relics the Turin Shroud holds pride of place as one of the most fertile inspirations for popular artistic creation. From its first mention in the 14th century, votive objects, paintings, prints and embroideries of the shroud proliferated, catering to the need of the faithful to hold a "piece" of this their most treasured relic in their homes. Most of these homespun works have perished.

The yellowed linen sheet known in Italy as the *Sindone*, measuring 4.42 meters long and 1.13 meters in width, bears the faint image of a man, seen from front and back, bearing marks of torture compatible with the description of Christ's crucifixion. The earliest description of the shroud dates to the 14th century, when it was apparently discovered in Lirey, Champagne. In the 15th century it was sold to the Duke of Savoy, who moved it to Chambéry, and, after various peregrinations, largely due to wars, the shroud found a permanent home in 1706 in the Cathedral of Turin. The closely guarded shroud is periodically exhibited in ceremonial *ostensioni*, most of which are now televised. As both an important Catholic relic and the mascot of the proud city of Turin, capital of Savoy, the Sindone has been the object of outsized attention. Modern scientific analyses including Carbon 14 tests have dated the textile to ca. 1260-1390, although the exact source of the eerie markings has not been elucidated. This has not discouraged the practitioners of the pseudoscience known as "Sindonologia" from pursuing their "investigations," generation after generation.

Some of the art surrounding the Sindone was produced officially, on the periodic occasions of the *Ostensioni*, but much of the popular art representing the shroud was a natural outgrowth of private local veneration of the beloved object. The present painting imitates the vogue in seventeenth-century Piedmont for embroidered examples using similar iconography, in which the outer embroidered floral border enclosed a painted or engraved shroud (several are reproduced in *La Sindone e sue immagine*, pp. 51-57). "Of Flemish origin, the idea of inserting a sacred image into a wreath of flowers appears in Piedmont by the first decades of the seventeenth century" (op. cit., p. 167). "During the 17th and 18th centuries in particular, small pictures were produced in which the Holy Linen was represented on silk, painted or printed, surrounded by floral borders, containing garlands of flowers, such as tulips, peonies, roses, dahlias, carnations and hyacinths ... [which were] completely embroidered in polychrome silk and gold and silver thread ... These objects were intended for private devotion and were often the work of female embroiderers, whether laywomen or nuns. At the time the manual labor and concentration required to produce such works was considered favorable for cultivating the proper state of mind for meditation and prayer on the theme of Christ's Passion..." (ibid., p. 49, my transl.).

While paintings and engravings of the shroud were indeed often produced on silk, materially reflecting the venerated object, I have located no other examples, either in the literature or among the artifacts exhibited in Turin's Museo della Sindone, in which both the central shroud and the floral border were painted. Here the gilt and painted border surrounding the shroud no doubt deliberately mirrors the contemporary giltwood frame.

Cf. *La Sindone e sue immagine*, catalogue of an exhibition held at the Palazzo Madama, September 2018 - Jan. 2019 (PDF available online).

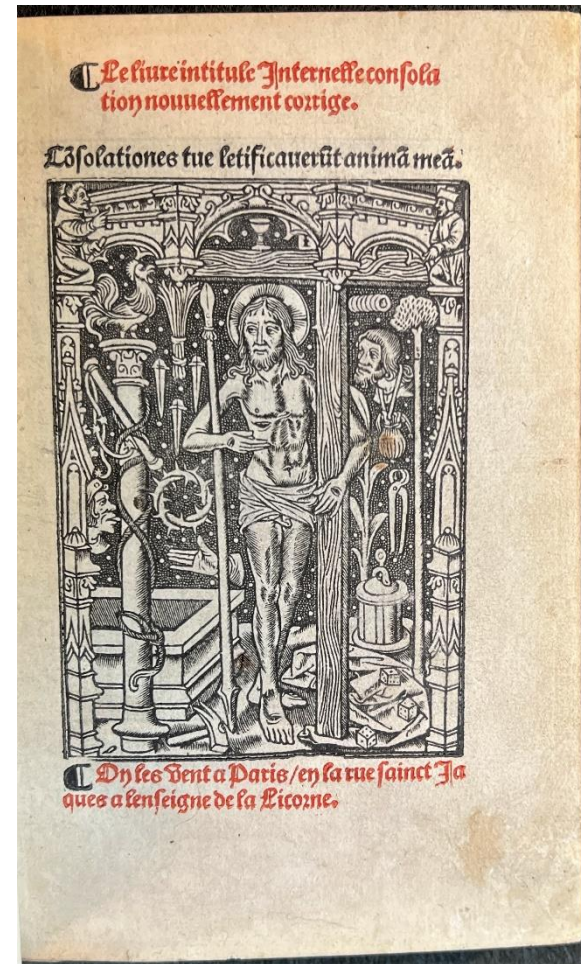
A woman's Imitatio

10) [THOMAS A KEMPIS]. [*Imitatio Christi*, French:] *Le livre intitule Internelle consolation nouvellement corrige*. Paris: en la rue Saint Jaques a lenseigne de la Licorne (colophon: Yolande Bonhomme, 3 May 1530).

8vo (171 x 107 mm). Collation: [cross pattée]⁸ A-S⁸. [8], 144 leaves. Bastarda types, red and black printing throughout. illustrated with four full-page metalcuts: Jesus and the Arma Christi on title, Crucifixion (title verso), Christ carrying the Cross (f. [8] recto, following the Table), and an "armorial" cut with helmet and shield bearing symbols of the Passion and device *Redemptoris mundi arma* (f. [8] verso). Metalcut 3 and 4-line initials. Fol. P5v with (printer's?) red fingerprints in lower margin. Small marginal repairs to first and last leaves, discreetly repaired tear in third preliminary leaf. Late 19th-century red morocco, covers gold-paneled, spine in six gold-tooled and -lettered compartments, gilt edges, turn-ins gilt, by Trautz-Bauzonnet (a few small scrapes to front cover, joints and corners a bit rubbed). *Provenance*: with Auguste Fontaine, bookseller in Paris, his catalogue 314 (1872), item 4033; Constantin N. Radoulesco (d. ca. 1957), bookplate and CR inkstamp. \$8750

ONE OF TWO RECORDED COPIES of the first Yolande Bonhomme edition of this free French translation of the *Imitatio Christi*, the most widely disseminated book of Christian devotion after the Bible, now accepted as the work of Thomas Hemerken, called a Kempis. This guide to a private, interior spirituality, in which Jesus speaks directly to the reader, contained in one work all that was necessary for a pious life. The text of the *Internelle consolation* contains a reworking of books I-III, printed in the order II, III, I (this last with 26 chapters instead of 25), omitting the fourth part, the only one to relate to liturgy rather than private devotion. "While definitely a translation, it is at the same time an original work, differing at times in the examples presented, which are sometimes more general and sometimes more specific, or more interconnected, or more developed...." (de Backer. p. 100, my translation).

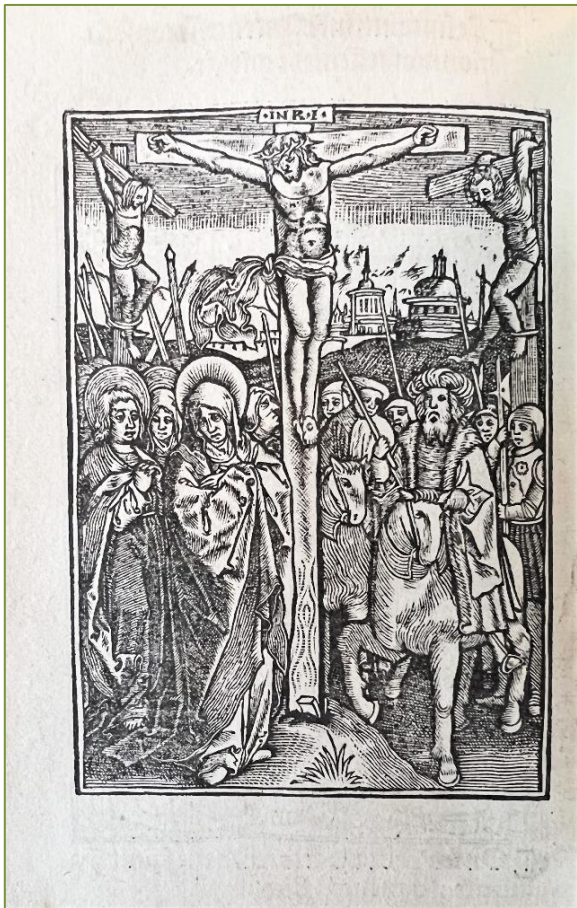
The earliest known edition of the *Internelle consolation* appeared ca. 1489-90 ([Lyon: Jean Dupré], Goff I-37), and over two-thirds of the *Imitatio* editions in French during the next 80 years were published under that title. When they began to be collected, already in the 18th century, these precious books were misconstrued as either the "original" of the *Imitatio*, or (also incorrectly) as the earliest version in French (cf. Sordet, p. 102). By then most copies had disappeared: of the many editions printed before the vogue petered out in the 1560s (De Backer listed 28, not including this one), very few copies survive.



This was the first of three editions published by Yolande Bonhomme, who reprinted the text in 1539 and 1554. The metalcut illustrations were previously used by her husband Thielman Kerver for several books of hours (cf. the Tenschert Bibernmühle *Horae* catalogue, vol. 9, no 31, fig. 5 and no. 35, figs. 25 & 26). Bonhomme later adapted the unusual “armorial” cut as her printer’s device. This version shows a shield whose charges are the Arma Christi, surmounted by a helmet topped by a rooster and to which a pair of birch whips are tied, with at foot the words “Redemptoris mundi arma”; in the subsequent version, used, for example, in her 1554 edition, the foliate ornaments flanking the shield were replaced by a pair of unicorns, symbol of the Kerver press (located in the rue St Jacques at the sign of the unicorn).

Daughter of the printer-bookseller Pasquier Bonhomme and wife of the printer Thielman I Kerver, Bonhomme took over the business after her husband’s death in 1522, remaining active until she died in 1557. In spite of her prolific activity during the three and half decades that she

managed the printshop and publishing house, making her the longest active of any sixteenth-century French woman *imprimeur-libraire*, she was virtually ignored for centuries. (Philippe Renouard, for example, in his repertory of Parisian printers’ devices, gave her no separate entry, and described the mark of her husband which is printed at the end of this edition as having “passed to Thielman II Kerver,” without mentioning its use by his mother.) Specializing in religious books, she was the first woman to print an edition of the Bible in 1526.



The only other recorded copy of this edition is held by the Newberry Library; that copy is bound with a separately signed and foliated section, titled “l’Armure de patience” (*Ung petit traicte appelle l’armeure de patience*), which contains three short treatises, the last of which, a guide to self-purification before Mass, is in fact part IV of the *Imitatio Christi*. The Newberry catalogue misdescribes that separate section as part of this 1530 edition of the *Internelle consolation*, but the *Armure de patience* was printed and published separately, though presumably often bound with the *Consolation*. (This kind of “assembling” of different short devotional works by their printer-publishers became one of the defining features of French devotional publishing, especially of books of hours, in the second half of the sixteenth century.) We have had a separate copy of the 1539 Yolande Bonhomme edition of the *Armure*; one may assume that it was often sold along with her 1539 edition of the *Internelle Consolation*, which is almost as rare as this one. Bonhomme’s third and last edition, published in 1554 (Delaveau & Sordet 111) seems to have been the first of the *Internelle Consolation* editions to genuinely incorporate the fourth part of the *Imitatio*.

Besides the Newberry copy of this edition, I locate five other copies of the *Internelle consolation* in American libraries: the Paris: L’Angelier, 1542 edition at Folger; the 1554 edition at Bridwell Library (sold by us), and, at Houghton Library, the 1491 Du Pré incunable edition, the Paris: Girault, 1537 edition, and the Lyon: Harsy, 1542 edition (the latter sold by us).

Brunet Supplément I: 682: this copy (“en mar. de Trautz, 400 fr. catal. à prix marqués d’Aug. Fontaine”); Moreau 2154: citing only the 1872 catalogue (no. 314/ 4033) of the Librairie A. Fontaine (this copy); Bechtel, *Catalogue des gothiques français*, 2nd ed. (2010) C-562 (citing only Moreau and Brunet, i.e., this copy).; Higman, *Piety and the People*, I 13. Not in De Backer, *Essai bibliographique sur le livre De Imitatione Christi* 1864). Cf. Yann Sordet, “Usages, appropriations, transmission de l’Imitatio Christi,” Delaveau & Sordet, *Edition et diffusion de l’Imitation de Jésus Christ (1470-1800)* (2011), pp. 93-123. B.H. Beech, “Yolande Bonhomme: a Renaissance printer,” *Medieval Prosopography*, Vol. 6, No. 2 (1985), pp. 79-100.

END



No. 5