

J.F. Meirinhos

**Publishers, Books and Readers in Portugal in the 16th
Century. A Collection of Portuguese Prints from the
BPMP**

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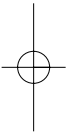
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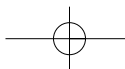
Portuguese Printing in the 16th century
The Porto Municipal Public Library collection



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PUBLISHERS, BOOKS AND READERS IN PORTUGAL IN THE 16TH CENTURY

A COLLECTION OF PORTUGUESE PRINTS FROM THE BPMP

The 16th century in print. Printed books in the 16th century exuberantly reveal increasing independence from the graphic models of medieval books. The books from the first few decades of the printing press are a continuation of the Gothic manuscript book: both display the same taste for occupying the page within strictly delimited areas, preferably in two columns, set out within unequal yet symmetrical margins when the book is open, with tightly-packed text full of abbreviations, sharing the same lack of title page or use of initials and titles or sub-headings to arrange the text, without inserting spaces between chapters and sections of text. Almost all of these characteristics were to be abandoned, with a shift away from this trend already present in the work of the more creative 15th-century printers, or those most influenced by new aesthetic tastes and an increasing concern with the attractiveness and legibility of their volumes.

The printing press using moveable type in metal alloy, whose most notable exordium was Johannes Guttenberg's 42-line *Bible* around 1445, was introduced in Portugal in 1487, when *Pentateuco* was printed in Faro by Samuel Gacon, in Hebrew. There is debate on which was the first printed book in Portuguese, and the honour seems to go to the *Tratado de Confisson*, printed in Chaves (in northern Portugal) by an anonymous printer in 1489, and not the *Sacramental* by Clemente Sanchez de Vercial, printed, according to some, c. 1488 in an unknown place and by an unknown printer. Either way, the printers who introduced the printing press in Portugal were certainly foreigners, generally from Germany or Central Europe, and who remained active for long enough to impart or pass on their art to followers. There are 30 known titles printed in Portugal before 1500: 13 in Hebrew, 8 in Portuguese (one of which in 4 volumes), and 9 in Latin (cf. Anselmo, "Censos de incunábulo"). In the next century, the development in the number of editions was continuous, but still slow in the first few decades, with the disappearance of books published in Hebrew while books in Spanish flourished, alongside that of books in Latin and Portuguese.

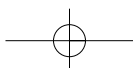


The most subtle of crafts. There are few 16th-century Portuguese texts that describe the facilities of a printing works, its equipment, how work was distributed, or the bustle of the craftsmen. From the presses at Santa Cruz de Coimbra in 1541 came the Portuguese translation of a description of the monastery, sent to Cardinal Antonio Pucci by the prior of S. Vicente de Fora in Lisbon, D. Francisco de Mendanha, in which he gives some details about the printing works and how the monks painstakingly went about the arts of printing, observantly keeping silence at all times:

“On the other side of this Manga Cloister, facing south, are the printing rooms, where the monks for their recreation and exercise print a number of good and holy books. For this purpose, the said King John, our liege, bestowed upon them Greek and Latin characters and matrices, of six or seven kinds, including aldine, italic and others of the most excellent type that currently exist in the world, all perfectly made with their initials, capitals and abbreviations, moulds and everything else necessary for the perfection of this most subtle craft. In these houses, without any secular person assisting the monks, one can see how some carry out the role of compositors and imposers, others that of correctors, others paper beaters, others pressmen and all in the most observantly kept silence” (Francisco de Mendanha, *Descripçam e debuxo do Moesteyro de Santa Cruz de Coimbra*, transl. by fr. Verissimo, Cenóbio de Santa Cruz, Coimbra 1541, fac-simile ed. in I.S. RÉVAH, «*La Descripçam e debuxo do Moesteyro de Santa Cruz de Coimbra*, imprimée en 1541», *Boletim da Biblioteca da Universidade de Coimbra*, 23, 1957, p. Dii r-v).

Francisco de Mendanha, visitor to the Santa Cruz monastery who spared no praise for its treasures, took pleasure in describing the excellence of the King's gift to the monastery, which contributes to the “perfection of this most subtle craft”, the art of printing. Listing characters/typefaces, he mentions the aldine and italic, as well as the “initials, capitals and abbreviations, moulds.” With everyone working, time would surely go by in an industrious bustle, but the writer pays particular attention to the observance of silence by all those working there: compositors/typesetters, imposers, readers/proofreaders, paper beaters, pressmen, numbered according to the very order in which they intervened in the making of the book, but forgetting to mention at least the binders, although it is in fact an art accomplished outside of the printing works.

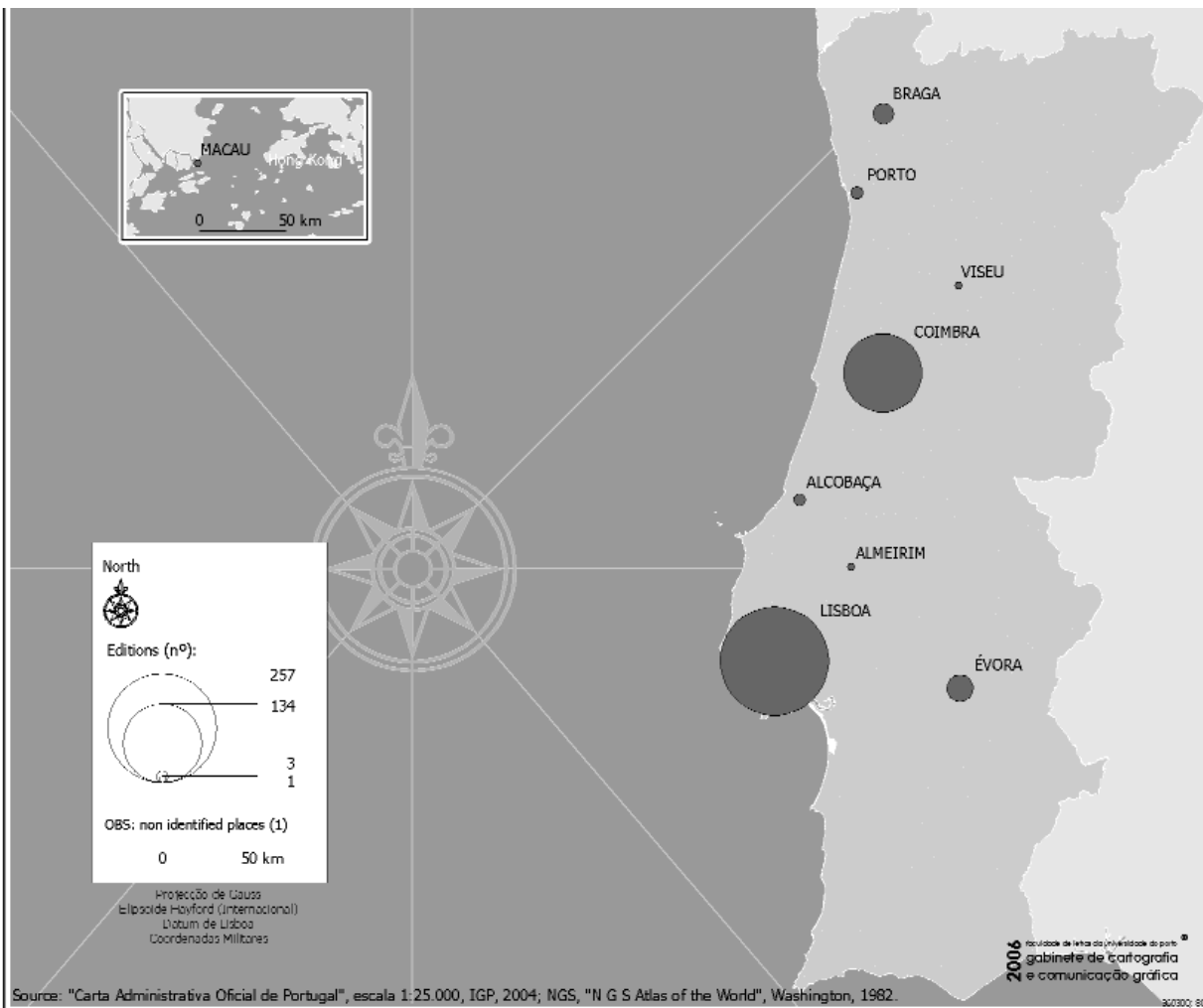
Book printing did not alter the obligations of the Santa Cruz monks, in whose culture and monastic and pastoral obligations the book had an important place, as highlighted in the four corners of the monumental frontispiece of the 1536 edition of the *Liuro das constituições e costumes ... de Sancta Cruz de Coimbra* (not available at the BPMP), or the representation of a chapter of the monastery monks, printed on the back of the 1553 edition of the same work (cf. No. 99). The monks printed books “for recreation and exercise,” at this point “without any assistance from secular persons,” contrarily to what had



happened when the printing works were set up in the monastery, as we have news of contributions from the printer Germão or Simão Galharde, between 1530 and 1531. In its first years the printing works produced books at a steady pace, up to the last one printed in 1563, for which reason King D. Sebastião ordered it be transferred to Lisbon in 1577, so that Crusade propaganda sheets could be printed (cf. Meirinhos, "A tipografia de Santa Cruz" (*The Santa Cruz Printing Works*)).

Aldine and italic were not the most used characters in the first books printed at Santa Cruz. As was the case in the entire first half of the 16th century, the Gothic characters with their angular contrast between the thin and thick parts of each letter maintained the preference of the printers, still with an abundance of abbreviations (which Mendanha clearly mentioned) in the manuscripts and incunabula, but which were progressively being abandoned. From this point on, the humanist taste for the clean page and for less hurried or verbose reading than that practiced in schools, opened up the page and did away with abbreviations. From this printing works you can compare the title pages and compact pages of *Regra de perfeiçam dos monges* by Lourenço Justiniano (of 1531, No. 218) or the open page setting of the small round module in *Antimoria* by Aires Barbosa (of 1536, No. 38).

Printers and editors. In the 16th century the activities of the foreign printers that had introduced the printing press in Portugal continued while others were arriving: Valentim Fernandes (Valentino) of Moravia, Hermão de Campos (Herman de Kempos), Germão Galharde (Germain Gaillard), Pedro de Craesbeeck (Peter van Craesbeeck), João Pedro (Giovan Pietro Bonomini) of Cremona, to mention but a few from the first part of the century, with numerous Castilians setting up printing works in the second half. Their activity was one of pioneers that took the risk and travelled the world, who did not hesitate to move to wherever they were needed. As can be seen on Map 1, which shows the places where printing took place and the editions made in 16th-century Portugal which are available at the Municipal Public Library (BPMP) (representing around 45% of the known Portuguese prints for that century), there is an uneven geographical concentration of book production. Lisbon, the kingdom's capital and the location of the most important religious institutions, was by far the biggest Portuguese printing centre in the 16th century with 257 titles. Even so, Coimbra, with 134, already had a significant level of production, mainly based around the university (whose statutes can be seen in No. 491) and the monastic power of Santa Cruz de Coimbra. The printing of books, other than in Évora (15) and Braga (9), was practically residual in other places, such as Alcobaça (3), Porto (3), Viseu (1), Almeirim (1), and Macau (1), as well as the printing origins of 1 title which we were unable to establish.



MAP 1: LOCATIONS OF PORTUGUESE PRINTING WORKS AND EDITIONS FROM THE 16TH CENTURY HELD AT THE BPMP

Several printers carried out their work in more than one city. António Álvares and Alexandre de Sequeira printed in Alcobaca and in Lisbon; António de Mariz printed in Braga and in Lisbon; João Álvares, João de Barreira, Francisco Correia, Germão Galharde, printed in Coimbra and in Lisbon. But it is as yet unknown whether in all cases the printing work was accomplished elsewhere or if the places were mentioned merely to coincide with the city associated to the person who ordered the print. For example, Jacobo Cromberger was a printer set up in Seville, where he printed works between 1506 and 1528, but who in 1521 published a book in Évora, *Livro da Ordenações*, 5 volumes in 1 tome (No. 323). Later on, he published in Seville, in 1528, the *Baptisterium seu manuale Elborense noviter emendatus* and the *Breviarium secundum consuetudinem Sancte Elborensis ecclesie* (cf. Lavoura, *Tipografia Espanhola*, Nos. 877 and 878). It is not unlikely to conjecture that the 1521 edition was in fact printed in Seville which for some reason of opportunity was attributed to Évora. We know that there were a great number of editions, not

only in Latin but also in Portuguese, written by Portuguese authors but printed in European presses.

The number of titles published throughout the 16th century (just under 1,000, including works in several volumes as well as laws with just one folio) seems to indicate that none of the printers had more than one press, whereas in cities which played a key role in the printing revolution, such as Leon, Paris, Venice or even Seville, dozens of printers were working at the same time, some of which with over 100 employees and four or five presses constantly running. In Portugal the rate of publication was also very irregular, as we can see in Figure 1, which presents the chronological development of Portuguese publications in the 16th century, currently held at the BPMP. The wave of progression is perhaps not far from representing the national total, although here the sample number considered is slightly below half of the total of Portuguese publications. Either way, 1536 was, in absolute terms, the first year in which more than 3 titles were definitely published, with 1564, 1565, 1588 and 1591 the most productive years of the entire century (cf. Chronological Index, below and Simões, *Impressos* and Macedo, "Livros Impressos", pp. 36-62).

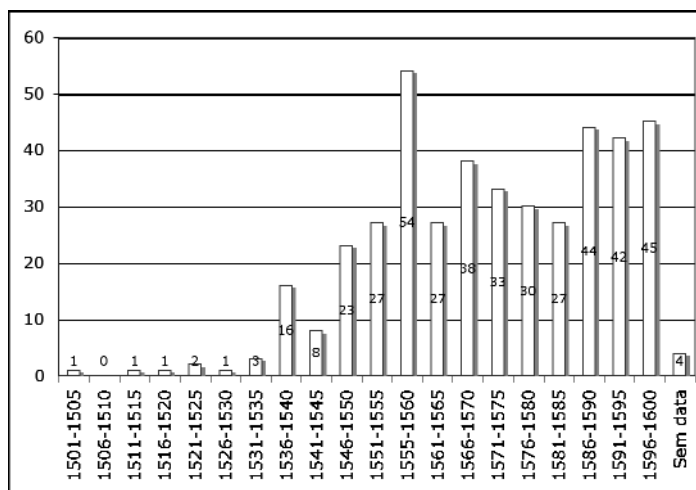


FIGURE 1 -
CHRONOLOGICAL
DEVELOPMENT OF
PORTUGUESE PUBLI-
CATIONS IN THE
BPMP COLLECTION

Paper was the only material used in printed Portuguese books of the 16th century. Parchment, due to its rarity, cost and difficult handling, was no longer used in printed books. Some of the paper used may have been locally made, but much of it was certainly imported, which increased the final cost of publications. National paper production was likely insufficient for the country's needs, since paper was still widely used in manual writing.

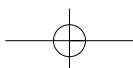
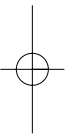
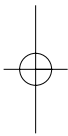
Return or even profit was always uncertain, depending on the number of copies printed and later sold. When acting on their own initiative, printers often needed to find



financing or sponsorship to go ahead with some publications. Otherwise they only published works that were ordered from them. And these cases were clearly pointed out on the title page or the colophon with precise expressions such as *ad instantia*, *impensis* or *sumptibus*, to indicate that the work had been printed *with the financing of*.

In the difficult economic conditions in which the printing business was developing, due to the reduced number of orders, readers and the consequent small size of publications, the early printers were true promoters of knowledge, who ordered works, imported and looked for titles to publish and requested translations. But they also worked on order. The printer was, in general, the owner of the press, but even so worked for third parties, either for booksellers, or institutions, or sponsors. Although these roles often overlapped, the distinction between printers and publishers is clear, as the books of the 16th century themselves bear witness. The book sellers themselves, the ones who publicly sold the books, could finance publications, commissioning a printing craftsman for that purpose.

The lack of resources for publishing are clear and many books appear to have been printed at the expense of someone other than the printer. This is the case with sponsorship which made it possible to translate and publish the four volumes of *Vita Christi* by Ludolph of Saxony, printed by the Germans Nicholas of Saxony and Valentino of Moravia in Lisbon in 1495, with the sponsorship of the Infanta Isabel, King João II and Queen Leonor. The examples are many. The *Meditação da inocentissima morte e payxã de Nosso Senhor, em estilo metrificado* by Friar António de Portalegre was printed in Coimbra in 1547 by João Barreira and João Alvarez "at the expense of... dom Bras Bispo de Leyria" (No. 16); the *Reportorio dos tempos* by André de Avelar and reprinted in Lisbon in 1590 by Manuel de Lyra "at the expense of Simão Lopez" (No. 25), the same man who paid for the publication of the *Dictionarium latino lusitanicum et vice versa lusitanico latinum* by Jerónimo Cardoso, printed in Lisbon by Alexandre de Sequeira in 1592 (No. 67); in 1598 Peter van Craesbeeck printed *Poemas lusitanos* by António Ferreira, "at the expense of Estêvão Lopez" (No. 137), the same printer at the expense of Cristóvão de Ortega printed *Index librorum prohibitorum*, ordered by the Portuguese Inquisitor-General and Bishop of Elvas (Lisbon 1597; No. 189). João de Espanha paid for the publication of works by Luís de Granada, who had them printed on the presses of João Barreira (Nos. 227, 228, 233, 239) and António Ribeiro (Nos. 229, 230, 234), having actually printed two editions, in 1588 and 1589, of a sermon by the same author: "they are sold in the house of Iuan Despaña" (Nos. 234 and 235). *Guzman de Alfarache* by Mateo Aleman was printed in Lisbon in 1600 by Jorge Rodrigues "at the expense of Luys Perez, bookseller" (No. 3). The commissioning party could be a religious order as was the case with the printing of *Regra do glorioso patriarcha Sam Bento tirada de latim em lingoa jem portuguesa*, in Lisbon in 1586 by António Ribeiro "at the expense of Sam



Bento.” (No. 48). There were also authors who paid for their own publications, as did Francisco Fernandes Fialho, who in 1587 requested that Martinho of Bruges in Évora print his *Titulorum omnium iuris ciuilis declaratio ac maxime societas simillimorum titulorum ex diuerso corpore iuris ad singulos & similes digestorum titulos reductorum* (No. 138). António Mariz printed and paid for the publication of the Coimbra commentaries on the Physics of Aristotle, in Coimbra in 1592 (No. 105) and on *De Anima* in 1598 (No. 106). The *Segunda parte del libro llamado guia de peccadores* by Luís de Granada, printed in Lisbon in 1557 (?) by João Blávio (Johannes Blauio) of Cologne “sold in the house of Ioan de Borgoña bookseller to the King” (No. 241). This bookseller also ordered other publications to be printed, such as the 1557-1562 edition of the first and second parts of the *Chronicas da Ordem dos Frades Menores* by Friar Marcos de Lisboa, which was printed “in the house of Ioannes Blauio, sold in the house of Ioam de Borgonha: at the expense of Ioam de Borgonha” (No. 242); and the 1587 edition, printed in Lisbon by António Ribeiro was “at the expense of Ioam de Espanha & Miguel de Arenas” (No. 243), exactly the three people involved in the publication of the famous *Concordia liberi arbitrii cum gratiae donis diuina praesentia* by Luís de Molina, printed in Lisbon in 1588 (No. 259). There is a similar edition of this work from the same year, with changes on the title page, headed by the monogram of the Company of Jesus and mentioning it was “at the expense of Domingos Martinez” (No. 258). The demand or competitiveness of booksellers could be the reason behind the existence of two editions of the same work in the same year. And the examples of financing for publications could be multiplied, having in common the fact that they were mainly editions from the end of the century, although it has yet to be discovered whether it was a new practice to mention the orders, or if it was a new procedure in book economics to produce them for third parties, whether they be authors or booksellers.

Also within the scope of the sensitive economics of book production, it should be noted that some not only mention where they are sold, but also the price: “Sold in the palaces of the King in the house of the same printers as one hundred maravedis or one teston,” can be read in *Comento o repeticion del capitulo Quando de consecratione distinctio I* by Martín de Azpilcueta, published in Coimbra in 1550 (No. 27; other indications of price in Nos. 32, 42, 242, 312, 318, 321, 373, 390). It was more common to mention the royal taxation of the book, whether by indicating the value or omitting it, as in another edition of the same work by Azpilcueta, printed in Coimbra in 1551, “Taxed at 1 maravedis for the paper being big and the letters small” (No. 26). Even more common was the practice of indicating the privilege or publication or sale, a kind of concession of a right to monopoly over the production and sale of a particular title, which could be contracted for a limited period, for protection of the investment made by the printer or the bookseller, as in the publication of the works of Sá de Miranda, accomplished “With Royal privilege for ten years” (No. 256). As a majority of

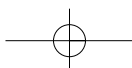


the books reveal, royal privilege was different from licensing by the Inquisition, for which reason the books were subjected to two sets of constraints, a financial one and an ideological one.

The itinerancy and search for means to pay for publication could explain phenomena that appear to be anomalous, of which there are many examples: The *Primera parte de las Sentencias que, hasta nuestros tiempos, para edificacion de buenos costumbres, estan por diuersos autores escritas*, attributed to André Rodrigues of Évora, was published twice in the same year: in Lisbon by Germão Galharde (No. 392) and in Coimbra by João Alvarez (No. 393). The *Summa caietana sacada en lenguaje castellano* was published in Lisbon in 1560 dedicated to the Cardinal-Prince D. Henrique (No. 424) and the *Summa caietana trasladada em português* was published in Braga in 1565, 1566 and 1573, dedicated to the Friar D. Bartolomeu dos Mártires, archbishop of Braga (No. 425-427).

Frontispiece, title page, cover. These days the title pages of books are bare, almost monosyllabic, with the covers studied by designers in order to attract attention and boost sales strategies, through a well-studied graphic layout of the few elements that make it up. The catalogue proposed here, for which it was expressly decided that for aesthetic and documentary reasons, the description of each book should be accompanied by its respective title page (or even more images in the electronic version), provides us with a view of a time of diversity, in which the text on a title page was profuse, contained praise for the author or for whom it was dedicated, even situating the work in comparison to others on similar subject-matters, mentioning the price or place where it could be bought, its authorizations and privileges. In this abundant description included on title pages, what is actually most difficult to locate in some publications is the title itself. In comparison with the medieval handwritten book, the printing works, which, as we have already seen, initially merely reproduced the model and graphic practices of the manuscripts, brought about a significant change in the presentation of books.

In the medieval book there was no "title page", the texts circulated without titles, almost always without the indication of their authors, only identifiable by the *incipit*, the initial words of the text. Although some manuscripts certainly open with attractive decorated pages, they are in fact a rarity, and moreover, do not usually serve the purpose of introducing the text, but rather celebrate the volume into which they are inserted, as a symbol of power and authority, or to honour the commissioner-proprietor, or those to which the book is being offered. The printing works did away with the principle of one single copy since they allowed for multiple copies that were absolutely the same (which is impossible with manuscripts as each copy is in fact a different edition). The clearest difference though arose, although not immediately, quite early in the first few decades of the printing press, with the creation of monumental title pages, which included etchings and text, sometimes



colour (generally just red, such as on the cover of *Regra de perfeiçam dos monges* by Lourenço Justiniano, in 1531, No. 218). These pages come to definitively identify the book and they are the means by which a dialogue is set up with the reader, imposing themselves through a direct appellative relationship, qualifying the content, at times highly adjectival, whether through illustrations and emblems included on the title page, or through a summary of the volume's contents.

The terms used to name the first page of a book describe the types of composition: frontispiece (an architectural frontage), title page (Pt. *portada* - an entrance or gateway), cover (Pt. *rosto* - the face which shows us the inside or the rest of the body). This first page does not distinguish copies from one another, but does set editions, of a particular work apart from other similar works, individualising authors or even the way of dealing with the theme. Later, only much later and when it also began to be printed did this information move to the front cover itself. For now they remained on the first page, as if it were a poster. The title page captures the straight side of the first sheet, becoming a place to promote the book, is separate from the start of the book, which only begins one or two pages later, sometimes more, if etchings, epigrams, letters to the reader, affidavits and privileges are included.

The Portuguese printers seemed to mimic the practices of the houses from which the types they used, or the models of the books they published, had come. They do not seem to have developed local models or dynamics in book production, nor does there seem to have been particular development in the graphic, informative or ideological construction of the title page. The methodical observation of D. Francisco de Mendanha highlighted, apart from the silent industriousness of the Santa Cruz printing workers, the existence of "*liminaturas*" "capitals" and "moulds" used in the *most subtle of crafts*, expressly saying that these were part of the equipment donated by King D. João, which means that at least part of the decorative elements were imported. As in any printing works of the time, the decorative elements were reused in successive works, appearing rearranged on the title pages, at the opening of chapters, on the colophon, as was the case for example in the successive works published by a single or even several printers.

The title page was also a place for celebrating power, be it by praising the king, or some protector, or even the religious or ecclesiastical order from which the author seeks protection, and, following its appearance, it is especially reverential towards the Inquisition. Authority was invoked in a visual, symbolic and emblematic manner, thus drawing its patronage to the book and asserting its right to dissemination. The books of religious orders are identified by their own symbols and patrons. Other and more varied books bear the monogram of the Company of Jesus. One of the most recurring images on the title page of Portuguese books were the celestial spheres and the five-castle coat of arms, to invoke and

celebrate royal power, in some cases also including a winged dragon above the royal coat of arms, from which hang phytomorphic motifs that surround the ensemble and almost cover the page or part of it, when in large format (cf. No. 12, 41, 43, 55, 74, 112, 138, 255, 312, 313, 323, 328, 367, 412, etc.; other dragons in Nos. 288, 359).

Colophon: confirming identity. Another practice that came from medieval manuscripts, where some chronological information and the identification of the work and the author were transcribed after the end of the text, was passed on to the printing press era. But this information became independent in printed books with the creation of a final record page, with the same indication of the sequence of sheets, a useful piece of information to the binder, the bookseller and the reader, as generally, at least in the beginning, the placing of covers came afterwards and the book could be distributed (as did in fact occur in the manuscript era) in quires that had not been bound. The colophon included recognition of identity and legitimacy against counterfeits, the last farewell from the reader, technical indications for the binder and even for the sale of the book, and in some cases was an opportunity to include some decorative vignettes. It was this technical aspect of the colophon, complementing the title page, which the catalogue that follows also aspired to capture.

Surveillance: authorising and prohibiting. The printing press quickened the transmission of knowledge. Due to the possibility of multiple copies it became more public than straightforward manuscript publishing. But the conditions that were rapidly imposed on printing greatly restricted the emergence of heterodox positions and, as a means to overcome those constraints, encouraged the proliferation of anonymous literature. Especially after the Inquisition was instituted, whose regular activity began in 1536, the press was placed under close surveillance and each book had to contain a publication authorisation. It was therefore submitted for prior authorisation. To ensure maximum control, works were printed containing in fact indexes of banned books, composed under the supervision of the Holy Office and the censorial authority of the Inquisitor-General (cf. nos. 77, 187, 188, 189, 380). The Church and the kingdom exercised strict vigilance over what was published, and could act to persecute authors, censor doctrines and pages, and withdraw books from sale, no matter where they had been printed. The dedication of the work, the naming of a patron or the exhibition of a privilege acted as a safeguard, but also represented a powerful element of intellectual restriction. The privileges and authorisations obtained were therefore printed in the books themselves, generally on the title page in order to guarantee protection for what they say and to prevent illicit sales. It was the kind of protection authors, publishers and printers could not forgo for their own political, ecclesiastical or

commercial protection. It was not only the printer who needed to find sponsorship for his company, which required a substantial investment, without a guaranteed return. The author also had to ask for the readers' benevolence, but before reaching them, he would submit his work, and not only rhetorically, to the king's sponsorship, or that of a cardinal, bishop, or even a noble, as can be seen in most of the works catalogued here.

What can be read in the books. The philosopher and theologian Nicholas of Cusa (1401-1464), omnivorous reader and bibliophile, raised reading to a metaphor of distinction between Man and God, between eternity and time:

"When I open a book, for reading, I see the whole page confusedly. And if I want to discern the individual letters, syllables, and words, I have to turn to each individually and successively. And only successively can I read one letter after another, one word after another, [one] passage after another. But You, O Lord, behold at once the entire page, and You read it without taking any time. Now, if two of us men read the same thing, one more quickly and the other more slowly, You read with both of us; and You seem to read in time (...). Simultaneously -from eternity and beyond all passing of time- You have viewed all books that have been written and that can be written, and You have read them at once; but You also now read them successively, in accompaniment of all who are reading them." (Nicholas of Cusa, *On the Vision of God*, ch. VIII, transl. J. Hopkins, The Arthur J. Banning Press, Minneapolis, Minnesota, 1985, p. 694)

This temporal human condition was for the Cusan an intrinsic limitation: Man can only read by joining letter with letter, word with word, one page after another, one book after another, and can never aspire to read all books. The abyss of the disproportion between the limited time of human life and the libraries of available books make this condition even more distressing. And the increase in the number of publications contributed to this feeling of torment. Nicholas of Cusa lived in a time of change in which the printing works made its triumphant entrance. And with it, books proliferated, in the most diverse areas, heightening the specialisations that had been emerging at least since the advent of the university and its division into faculties in the 13th century.

Books also formed successions and series, even if only to place them in time, and were also categorised so that they could be arranged and better understood. The distinction between religious books and lay books, crucial at the time, is conceptually problematic as each of those books could include content from the opposite camp or be used in it. It is particularly difficult to characterise the non-religious book. For example, all the books on philosophy described here were in fact written or organised by members of the Church and the same applies to many of the works that are considered non-religious, but the distinction seems useful when considering the symbolic and historical dynamics of each "side".

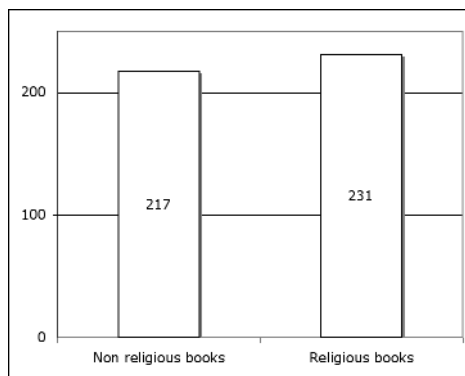


FIGURE 2 - NON-RELIGIOUS BOOKS, RELIGIOUS BOOKS
(N.B.: THE SUM TOTAL IS HIGHER THAN 427 BECAUSE IN SOME PUBLICATIONS THERE WAS MORE THAN ONE WORK)

The distinction between the non-religious or lay book and the religious book mainly reflects the social status of their authors or readers. We should remember that the laicus, for example, in 13th-century Latin was the man without letters, the non-cleric. It is not possible to establish numbers, but taking into account the known figures for the country in the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century, it is not likely to be an exaggeration to extrapolate that in the 16th century over 95% of the population was illiterate (3 century later, in 1878, it will be 82,4%, cfr. *Dicionário da História de Portugal*, dir. J. Serrão, Vol. II, p. 395). Books were almost exclusively used by groups of high social and economic standing, but which accounted for a very small part of the population. Books were almost exclusively intended for professional purposes, or at least occupational purposes, but the presence of books written for popular tastes was already apparent, such as hagiographic and chivalric literature (at the two extremes of Figure 3, for national numbers and tendencies, cfr. Macedo, "Livros Impressos", pp. 48-62).

In the first century of the printing press, the publication of works suffered due to the duplication of resources, as the circulation of handwritten texts was still widespread. Printed books existed alongside manuscripts with some difficulty and, especially in monastic and university spheres, the number of manuscripts that never had the honour of being printed is undoubtedly large (there are no quantitative studies, but the number of handwritten Portuguese titles surely far outnumbered those that were ever printed). The collection catalogued here reflects the thematic and disciplinary diversity of the publishing world in 16th-century Portugal. As it was difficult to categorise the books, affinities of content can be identified that make it possible to understand their distribution and, from there, the tastes and receptiveness of their public. Just as there are constants that can be seen in the graphic models, also editorial genres, in their repetition, reveal the relative stability and inertia of book culture, despite developments in thought, the clearest indication of which are the publishing successes and changes in the table of authors in the second half of the century. Amongst these are some of the most important theologians working in

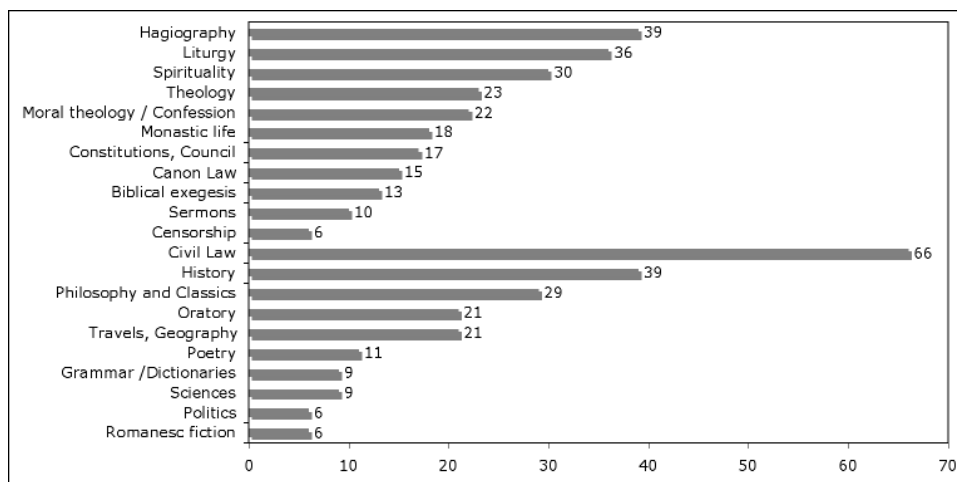
Portugal: Luís de Granada (Nos. 224-241), Martin de Azpilcueta (Nos. 26-36), Bartolomeu dos Mártires (Nos. 247-252), Jerónimo Osório (Nos. 283-287). But also moralists such as Friar Heitor Pinto (No. 301-307) or Manuel Rodrigues (Nos. 375-379), biblists such as João Soares (Nos. 399-404), philosophers such as Pedro da Fonseca (Nos. 145-147), or hagiographers such as Diogo do Rosário (Nos. 381-384). Due to the success of some works their re-edition was inevitable. In these cases the author himself could feel the need to include corrections or additions to improve or make the book more saleable, even to those who had already acquired the previous edition. There are many examples, such as the *Compendium manualis* by Martin de Azpilcueta in 1592 (“Nunc recognitum & infinitis penè mendis... repurgatum”, No. 31), or the *Constitutiones Ordinis Fratrum Eremitarum Sancti Augustini* (“Nuper recognitae & in ampliorem formam ac ordinem redactae”, No. 279), or the reedition of the *Summa de casos de consciencia* by Manuel Rodrigues, printed in Lisbon in 1597, expressly mentioning: “Now adding many new things and corrected by the same author” (No. 378). These corrections and additions were announced with pomp on the title pages, but did not always correspond to actual changes in content. Corrections were actually introduced into successive editions of past authors, as can be seen in the works of authors such as Aristotle (No. 19, 20, 299), which surely reproduced foreign editions.

It also reveals a degree of sensibility to the evolution of certain genres. The university book tended to repeat medieval models of the commentary, whether of works by Aristotle, or of the *Sentences* by Peter Lombard, intended respectively for the study of philosophy and theology. In a genre derived from the *lectio*, the *repetitio*, we find several examples in philosophy, theology and law (Nos. 26, 27, 30: “in the Latin and scholastic repetitive manner of jurists,” 37: *idem*, 139, 288, 296).

History books, whether about Portugal or the world, religious or royal, despite the astuteness of notable falsifiers, forged their way into other new ways to justify a narrative, whether they were chronicles, chronologies, commendations, or more or less fantastical reports. The same interest in the world and others was also very much alive due to interest in travel and chorographic literature.

Some of the catalogued prints are not in fact books, as is the case with the series of laws of the kingdom, which, in some cases, were little more than single sheets (they were in fact bound into volume XI-2-21; cf. Nos. 330-355) and result in a disproportionate number of civil law prints. Other recurring and short texts, such as reports of triumphs, are not part of the collection.

The spiritual fervour of the times is spread over a wide array of genres, with many confessors' manuals, treatises on spirituality or accounts of mystical experience and elevation. In the century of the Council of Trent, concluded in 1563, religious reform (monastic and Episcopal) was at the centre of the main concerns, with a heightening of the judicial-FIGURE



3 - MAIN THEMATIC AREAS OF CATALOGUED BOOKS

(N.B.: THE SUM TOTAL IS HIGHER THAN 427 BECAUSE IN SOME PUBLICATIONS THERE WAS MORE THAN ONE WORK)

canonical regulation of private and public religious life and new forms of pastoral, to which new biblical commentaries and several collections of sermons bear witness, as do also works like the treatise of ecclesiastical rhetoric for preparing sermons by Luís de Granada, *Ecclesiasticae rhetoricae siue de ratione concionandi libri sex*, printed in 1565 (cf. No. 230).

A particularity of the 16th-century book, due to the proliferation of interventions above and beyond the author's text, with successive compilations, correction and changes made by many editors-proofreaders, put the actual concept of author under strain and showed how diffuse the ownership of his own work was. The tension between the individuality of the author and the institutionalisation of knowledge which he expressed was quite intense. It was between one and the other that the various interventions by editors, censors and proofreaders fall. For that reason some books may even have omitted the name of the author: the *Tractado llamado El desseoso y por otro nombre Espejo de religiosos* comes with a mention that it is, "Now newly corrected and with the sixth part added which until now had not been printed in Lisbon (...) 1588" (No. 123), or otherwise make profound changes to the original, as in the *Hystoria dela Yglesia que llamã ecclesiastica y tripartita* by Eusébio de Cesareia, "abbreviated and translated from the Latin to Castilian by a religious man from the Order of Sancto Domingo and now newly revised and corrected by that same interpreter," printed in Coimbra in 1554 (No. 130).

For those reasons, but also due to the novel character of some works, these truly deserve an interdisciplinary review. A wider-ranging study of the culture of writing and thought in Portugal in the 16th century, based on the texts described below, will be published in the volume *Livros impressos e leituras em Portugal no séc. XVI*, (Printed books and reading in Portugal in the 16th century) which will gather the contributions presented at the colloqui-

um organised for the publication of this catalogue.

Local market, global market. Literate society has always been international and cosmopolitan, but, looking at Portuguese printed material in the 16th century, it is evident that these books were for the local market. Transport and taxes must have made it more profitable to print them locally. It is also this localism that explains the simultaneous publication in the three main languages spoken in the country: Latin, Castilian and Portuguese.

But as time went by, it seemed it was the press that contributed to the development of the country's linguistic unity. Despite this, the sale and import of books was important for meeting national demand. Three examples suffice: 1) in the National Library there are today more 16th-century titles printed in Spain (1971 titles, cf. Lavoura, *Tipografia Espanhola*), than in Portugal (928 titles; cf. Simões, *Catálogo dos impressos*); 2) in the

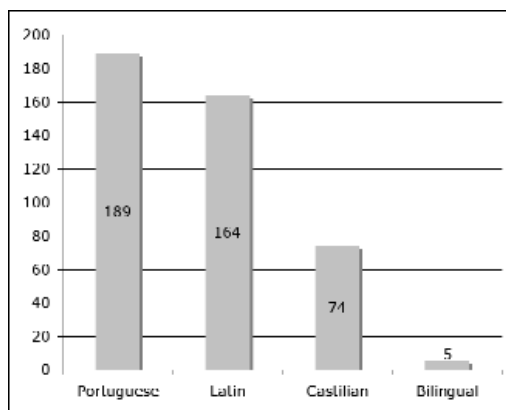


FIGURE 4 - LANGUAGES OF THE PORTUGUESE 16TH-CENTURY EDITIONS HELD AT THE BPMP
(CF. J. COSTA, «PRESENTATION», SUPRA)

recent catalogue on *O livro científico dos séculos XV e XVI: ciências físico-matemáticas na Biblioteca Nacional / The Scientific Book in the 15th and 16th Century: Physical-Mathematical sciences at the National Library* (org. LEITÃO and MARTINS), of the 867 specimens described only 31 are from Portuguese printing works; 3) throughout the 16th century no editions of the Bible were printed in Portugal, nor were any of the great compilations on civil or canonical law, which, given the demand for either of these works, made it obligatory to import large quantities of volumes. The reduced size of the local market and the abundance of titles and copies in the large European workshops seriously placed a constraint on the development of the Portuguese printing industry. This fact also made the printing of Portuguese authors' works abroad important, even when written in Portuguese, which must therefore have been printed for the national market and public, for economic reasons or to escape the control of the royal house or the Inquisition.

A certain number of works also circulated in the opposite direction, but on a much smaller scale, with distribution and readers of Portuguese 16th-century authors outside the



national borders. Instead of the heavy and costly transport of finished volumes, the works were printed in the market that had requested them, as occurred with the works of Pedro Nunes printed in Antwerp and Basel, with the *Chronicas da Ordem dos frades menores* by Marcos de Lisboa, and especially with the commentaries on Aristotle from the Coimbra college (widely disseminated in the 17th century), or the several treatises by Jerónimo Osório which achieved great success in Europe, without mentioning translated editions, such as the three of the *Lusíadas* by Camões printed in Spain in the 16th century (cf. Lavoura, *Tipografia Espanhola*, Nos. 290-292).

Book ownership, books missing. Another of the merits of this catalogue is that the ownership marks that still survive in the books have been recorded in meticulous detail, whether they be written notes or bookplates. We can therefore document, at least partially, their journey in time and know that some of them passed through several hands. As is the case with other funds of the Municipal Public Library, the biggest corpus (and even so it does not pass thirty) came from the monasteries/houses of the Canons Regular of Saint Augustine. The bibliographic incorporation in the 19th century resulting from the closure of religious orders, are the main origin of this bibliographic fund, which explains why so many books are recorded as having belonged to monks or clerics. Throughout the centuries of its history the Library managed to expand the fund with various donations and acquisitions, thus comprising a valuable corpus representing the printing movement in the 16th century, but which is nonetheless missing some important titles. Amongst these titles, which in total represent slightly over half of the known Portuguese production in the 16th century, there are no editions of Camões, or Gil Vicente, nor is there the *Cancioneiro Geral* of 1516. Despite the fact that it was still rare at the time, the lack of female authors is notable. It would be lengthy and unhelpful to enumerate the importance of some missing titles, but particularly notable is the lack of *Espelho de perfeicam* by Henricus de Herpf, and the *De divisionibus* by Boethius, published at Santa Cruz de Coimbra, respectively in 1533 and 1534, which, before all else, attests to the shortcomings of this collection. Although it is nevertheless sizeable and rich, it would in this respect be improved by being completed.

And now the books are here. Four or five centuries after their publication, these prints still have ownership marks on them, signs of use, various mutilations, scars that show the signs of bookworm, bad weather, lack of care and heavy use. Few of them have travelled through time immaculately. They pass on to us the hopes and thought of a century that made printing a definitive instrument of power and diffusion of knowledge, widening authorship and especially readership. They are now resting in the Municipal Public Library of Porto and here they have stayed, in good hands. They have now been improved in the care of the managers and technicians at the Library who have treated them and described

them in the following pages, so that readers may rediscover them. The heritage in the keeping of the Library is enriched by the work of this team, to whom we are all grateful. And the books are there, to continue to be read ¹⁾.

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