

Great Bindings  
from the  
Spanish Royal Collections

15th – 21st centuries





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DIRECTED BY

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PATRIMONIO NACIONAL

EDICIONES EL VISO

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## Bodonian Bindings

Pedro M. Catedra

"Puo esser certo che qui Lei e stimatissimo sopra tutti li typographi del mondo dal 1450 in qua, e che tutti sono una mandra di cogl... riguardo al gran Bodoni."<sup>1</sup> Such exaggerated and colloquial terms are used by Benito Agüera to express to Giambattista Bodoni [fig. 130] the opinion held of him in 1787 by the Madrid court, where there were even expectations that at some point the Parma-based Piedmontese printer would finish putting his printing house in order, appraise it and offer it to the Crown, and that he would hopefully move to the Spanish capital.

The plan failed to materialise, but the printer sought after, secured and proudly displayed the title of Printer to His Catholic Majesty from January 1782 onwards. It is therefore not surprising that the collection of Bodonian editions in the Real Biblioteca is now among the greatest in Spain—if not in number at least in quality and representativeness, as most of the copies are special and chosen for their intended recipients. Indeed, many were selected in Parma to be sent to members of Spanish royalty via the protocol of the duchy or by Bodoni himself, either alone or in conjunction with the authors or promoters of the books. They are therefore usually examples of the most limited editions printed on the finest paper and sometimes personalised with a brief dedicatory note to the intended recipient, and—most relevant to this article—often clothed in fine quality bindings. But the holdings of the Real Biblioteca also include special copies



Fig. 130

Francesco Rosaspina after Andrea Appiani, "Retrato de Giambattista Bodoni", copperplate engraving, in *Manuale tipografico del cavaliere Giambattista Bodoni*. Parma: presso la Vedova, 1818. RB, IV/5477

arising from other circumstances such as the bibliophilism of the people who assembled these collections, among them the Infante Don Antonio Pascual of Bourbon, some of whose Bodonian books are part of the Real Biblioteca.<sup>2</sup> Apart from the acquisitions made by Don Antonio, there are records of purchases or plans for large purchases of Bodoni editions, such as the attempt made in 1787 on the initiative of Father Fernando Scío, then tutor of the future Charles IV's children and also *direttore* of Charles's library when Prince of Asturias, on whose orders he assembled a collection of more than fifteen thousand volumes that was to feature all the

finest examples of classical, Spanish, French, English, German and Italian literature.<sup>3</sup> Agüera acts as an intermediary between Bodoni and the tutor, to whom he had spoken of the printer and his books and whom he had invited to examine some in the Count of Floridablanca's library, especially the rarest and most coveted such as the first *Anacreon* of 1784 and the very delicate Longo translated by Anibal Caro and published in 1786. Scío must have had a high opinion of them and Agüera procured on his behalf all the books Bodoni brought out, with the sole condition—which is particularly relevant to the context dealt with here—that they be sent "senza legare a motivo del suo genio [of the prince] di legarli qua".<sup>4</sup> It is true that there was a ban on importing bound books in order to foster and protect Spanish craft production, but in this case the acquisition of books in gatherings or bound in paper covers can be explained by the future Charles IV's preference for the Madrid workshops such as that of Sancha, among others, which offered bindings like some of those on the Bodoni editions shown in the exhibition. Nor do we know what came of other plans for large-scale acquisitions which I deal with in the extended version of this essay.

Agüera was among the group of Spaniards who had served Charles III in diplomatic posts in Italy, including the legation in Parma, where several of them proved very sensitive to the duchy's new cultural scene that had taken shape during the mandate of ministers such as Guillaume du Tillot and José Agustín del Llano, the former a Frenchman with close ties to the court of Spain, where he lived, and the latter a Spaniard. The most outstanding Spanish diplomats who served a stint in Parma did



not take long to strike up a relationship with Bodoni, and some developed genuine friendships. It is therefore hardly surprising that one of the first recorded examples of the presentation to Spaniards of books printed by him should be the sending of four copies of the *Epithalamia exoticis linguis reddita* at the end of 1775 to prominent politicians and diplomats connected in some way or another with Italy or, more specifically, with the Roman legation. The list of the recipients of these four books sent to Spain is headed by the Infante Don Gabriel of Bourbon, a bibliophile but somewhat less than in his youth. It also includes the aforementioned Marquis of Llano; the Marquis of Grimaldi, then first Secretary of State of the Spanish Crown; Manuel de Roda, ambassador to the city from 1758 to 1765; and his pupil José Nicolás de Azara, who soon became Bodoni's patron and closest Spanish friend. Bodoni's initial circle of Spanish friends and mentors gradually extended to other high-ranking officials based in Madrid, such as the two Moñino brothers and Eugenio de Llaguno, whose relationship I discuss at length in another essay. Some of them, especially Azara, wished to involve Bodoni in the cultural projects of the reign of Charles III, and strove to bring him or his typefaces to the printing house of the Real Biblioteca, which was founded when Santander was librarian.

Even though these plans came to nothing, Bodoni's fame progressively grew in Spain as a result of their announcement, and his books arrived more or less regularly at the palace. Most of these presentation volumes were bound in Parma on the printer's instructions. They provide an insight into one of the

least known aspects of the history of books in Parma in Bodoni's day—bookbinding, and specifically the craftsmen who worked for him, especially the one who was perhaps his closest collaborator and who is mentioned here for the first time thanks to the only signed binding by him we have located to date.

In the monograph mentioned in note 1, from which this essay draws, I established the specifications and type of binding executed in Parma for the books printed by Bodoni on the basis of the examples in the Real Biblioteca, and also attempted to determine the relationship or direct involvement of the printer in what, after all, may have been the extension of his material and artistic plans for books. I also established in this connection some types of series bindings, which are not the usual pale orange or brick-red printer's boards but are executed in leather and denote a homogeneous aesthetic project in some cases and even the existence of a workshop or group of binders who may perhaps be the successors of Laferté or other French or Parmesan binders. However, I only have enough room here to refer to the books on display, which represent some of the usual types produced by the binderies that worked for Bodoni, which I will discuss in chronological order rather than by type.

### Bindings from the Times of Laferté and Other Workshops (1765–90)

The art of bookbinding flourished in Parma along with other government-promoted cultural projects, namely the establishment of the Biblioteca Palatina, the University and the

Stamperia Reale. Although, of course, book-binding in Parma and in connection with its library is documented before the aforementioned cultural reforms, it could be said that it is also a lesser but necessary sister art to these major Enlightenment developments. In 1765 the great librarian Paciudi arranged the hiring of a French binder with a well-known surname, Antoine Louis Laferté,<sup>5</sup> who was given official commissions very early on; his initiative and the bindery he established probably breathed new life into book-binding in Parma, although the existing records are gradually revealing the existence of accomplished craftsmen who cannot be proven to have served apprenticeships under Laferté.

The first of the Bodonian books selected for this exhibition is one of the rarest he printed and furthermore documents the first appearance of his newly acquired title linking him to the Spanish Crown. The title page of the *Essai de caracteres russes gravés et fondus par Jean Baptiste Bodoni Typographe de S. M. le Roi d'Espagne Directeur de l'Imprimerie Royale & Membre de l'Academie des Beaux Arts à Parme*, in folio size and printed in 1782 (RB IV/169), consciously publishes novelty and is striking for its bold composition all in roman and capital forms of chancery characters [fig. 131]. Bodoni seems to want to raise his status above that of craftsman and official by showing off his posts and honours, beginning with the one linking him to the Spanish Crown: "Typographe de S. M. le Roi d'Espagne | Directeur de l'Imprimerie Royale | & Membre de l'Academie des Beaux Arts | à Parme."

This fourth "typography manual" was published on the occasion of the visit paid to Parma

by the Grand Duke Paul, eldest son of Empress Catherine of Russia and future Paul I, and his wife Maria of Württemberg. It contains eight variants of roman Cyrillic typefaces, followed by ten capital alphabets, all presented in descending order of size, plus a *Gratulatio* in Russian and Latin written by Father Paciaudi. Bodoni must have presented his work to the illustrious spouses in the presence of the entire court of Parma during the visit they presumably paid to the Stamperia on 13 April 1782.<sup>6</sup>

But Bodoni not only aimed to please the prince and princess just as he did with King Gustav III of Denmark in 1784 when he presented him with the small *Ψπομένα Parmense in adventu Gustavi III Sueciae Regis*, also in the Real Biblioteca (RB, IX/9687) and bound in the same manner as the *Essai*. He furthermore wished to sound out the possibility of selling typefaces in Russia, which was then undergoing a cultural expansion thanks to the westernising projects promoted by the Tsarina Catherine. We know this from the references to this enterprise in letters exchanged by Azara and the printer, which are one of the main sources of information on Bodoni. Indeed, after describing the work as "sorprendente e che gli fa infinito onore",<sup>7</sup> Azara expresses his doubts about the success of the project and the interest of the aforesaid persons, and therefore later on recommends Bodoni be prudent, refrain from sending matrixes or typefaces to Russia unless directly commissioned by the tsarina, and wait for groundwork to be laid by the recently appointed Spanish ambassador Felipe Fonsdeviela y Ondeano, Marquis of La Torre, also from Aragón and shortly to travel to Russia.<sup>8</sup> Bodoni must have planned to act as he had done



Fig. 131

Giambattista Bodoni, *Essai de caracteres russes gravés et fondus par Jean Baptiste Bodoni ...* [Parma: n. n.], 1782. Title page. RB, IV/160

or would do with other sovereign dynasties of Europe, namely those of Savoy, Portugal and Spain, to which he sent his matrixes, placing his trust in the discretion of their rulers. In the case of Spain—at least as regards the last flow of shipments to the minister Urquijo in 1800—despite the Crown treasury shortfalls, these efforts paid off thanks to the part played, among others, by one of his most effective contacts, José Esteban de Mendizábal, who had served in the secretary's office under Azara in Rome.

But this volume is mentioned here not only for all these reasons and because it is one of Bodoni's rarest typography manuals but also because it is the earliest book by

Bodoni in the Real Biblioteca that features a type of binding to which, with variants, Bodoni remained faithful throughout his lifetime.

The binding is of the kind known in France as *demi-reliure*, or as *all'impostura* in the Italian terminology of Bodoni's day.<sup>9</sup> Leather, in this case red morocco, is used only for the spine, and the boards are covered with leather-look paper in a similar colour, seeking a homogeneous effect which is accentuated, on the one hand, by reducing the area of the part in leather, which barely covers the back and does not extend to the boards—unlike in half-binding—and also by concealing the join with a roll or line, in this case a triple fillet which, on both covers, forms the inner side of a rectangle whose corners are stamped with the usual rosette.

The copy in the Real Biblioteca belonged to the Infante Don Antonio, whose stamp is displayed on the title page, although it also bears the bookplates of Charles IV and Ferdinand VII. However, it is possible that Bodoni may have presented it to Charles III in gratitude for his recent appointment, as he did with other prominent people such as Floridablanca, sending copies with perhaps a similar but less magnificent binding.<sup>10</sup> The tooling used in the ornamentation of the spine panels, of which the central one continued to feature in later bindings, and the similarities with other copies of the same work such as the one with accession no. Coll. Bod. 165 in the Biblioteca Palatina, denote an economical, more or less mass-produced type of binding used by the printer for works which, as in this case, may be regarded as stemming from his own initiative and intended for a very limited number of people. Indeed, in the three aforementioned bindings,

the two on the *Essai* and the one on *Ψυχομέτρα*, we find Bodoni's name on the spine label in what was a manner of making his presence known and the first step towards what became his institutionalised signature on a second label in the series bindings produced by the private printing house from the end of the eighties, which I have discussed elsewhere.

This type of *all'impostura* binding was long-lasting and we find examples dating from the ninth decade of the eighteenth century, such as those in the Real Biblioteca, to after Bodoni's death; it was therefore used both for single volumes or series with the same title, which allows us to classify it as one of Bodoni's characteristic types of binding.

### Domenico Guarnaschelli, Bodoni's Binder

Apart from Guarnaschelli, a name which is emerging today in connection with eighteenth-century bookbinding in Parma, scholars have referred to several of Laferté's *giovani* [apprentices] who must have begun training under him no sooner than they arrived in Parma. One of the first to be documented is Antonio Sidoli, who unfortunately did not prosper in his vocation.<sup>11</sup> Giuseppe Signifredi did considerably better for himself. His connections with the Parma library are documented by specific payments, and it would now be feasible to identify other works as his in the same library on the basis of works that can be attributed to him with certainty.<sup>12</sup> There are other binders, however, whom Bodoni held in esteem and who, on the basis of early references to them, may

perhaps have made up a different group to that of Laferté, as a result of which we should perhaps play down the importance of the central role so far attributed to the Frenchman in the bookbinding scene of Parma. I discuss this question more extensively elsewhere.

The pupil of Laferté who most interests us here is the maker of the binding for the Horace published in 1791, the next book on show. It is of paramount importance because it marks the start of Bodoni's endeavour, under the aegis of the Spaniard Azara, to renew the aesthetic of neoclassical books. The binder is identified by the signature that occupies the whole fore-edge square of the back cover, separating each word with a small tooled flower: "DOMENICO GUARNASCHELLI LEGATORE DI LIBRI" [fig. 132]. Guarnaschelli was hitherto a completely unknown figure in the history of Italian bookbinding—a fact which is particularly surprising in view of some of the examples of his output such as the one discussed here, which evidences his skill, and also because his output, which we could now begin to catalogue, must have been abundant. It is true that this anonymity, widespread in the world of early bookbinding, may also be due in this case to his almost exclusive dedication to a small circle of Parmesan clients, beginning with the highest authority, Duke Ferdinand, in whose library at Colorno Guarnaschelli invested his time. This circle also included Giambattista Bodoni, who, as we shall see, considered him a subordinate of his own, and many of whose books—among them several of those on show here—were bound by Guarnaschelli in Parma before being presented as gifts or sold, and another client, the bookseller Blanchon.

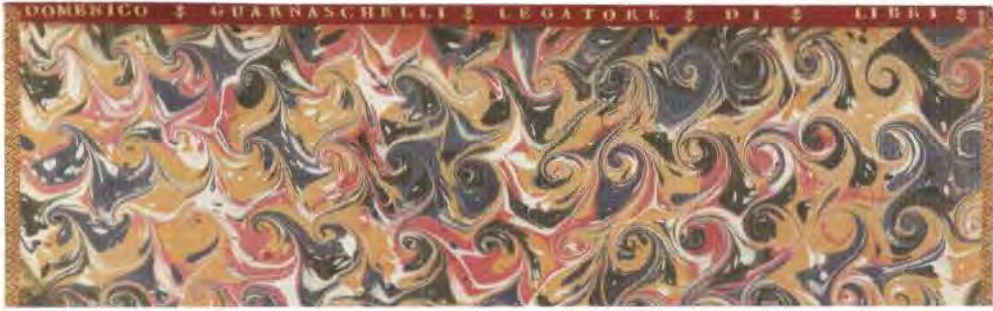


Fig. 132  
 Quintus Horatius Flaccus, *Q. Horatii Flacci Opera*.  
 Parma: in aedibus Palatinis, typis Bodonianis,  
 1791. Signature of Domenico Guarnaschelli on  
 fore-edge square of back cover. RB, IX/7185

Although thorough research, which I intend to conduct, into the administrative records of the duchy and Bodoni's own archives or a systematic search through the notarial documents of the period will undoubtedly provide a clearer picture of the so far vague figure of Guarnaschelli and his relationship with his colleagues, especially Signifredi, an initial sketch should begin with the 1791 copy of the Horace. I therefore refer readers to the monograph mentioned in note 1 for some biographical aspects of the man we can consider Bodoni's bookbinder in the 1790s.

The origins of the edition of Horace<sup>13</sup> are Azara's fondness for the poet. In July 1786 he confided to Bodoni that all devotees have their "saint", and that he entrusts himself to Saint Horace, "che è il mio protettore favorito". He goes on to criticise bitterly John Pine's edition (London, 1733), which is as particular in its text as it is in its makeup, for it is not printed with type: rather, the text and illustrations are combined on printed copper plates. He considers it so "scelerata" [despicable] for its excessive ornamentation that he wishes to make amends

for his hero with a new edition "così magnifica, che non si fosse mai veduta la simile".<sup>14</sup> Part of its greatness would lie in the fact that it would feature engravings of archaeological remains at the head of each page composition together with an embellishment—it should be remembered that discoveries were constantly being made at the time, some promoted by Azara himself—to both clarify and adorn the text.<sup>15</sup> Although the edition Azara has in mind is not entirely original—Pine endeavoured to give his own profuse ornamentation the same origin and use—this first proposal is interesting because it clearly combines the literary and antiquarian facets of the Spanish diplomat and also in part because it does not yet properly define the idea, which subsequently materialised, of a purely neoclassical book without concessions to late Baroque, based on the elimination of illustrations and concerned solely with the sobriety of the clean text harmonised with a page layout displaying a perfect balance between black and the corresponding blanks [fig. 134]. Azara matured this project and these aesthetic principles over the following years and, having

forgotten his initial idea, rejected Bodoni's proposal of incorporating ornamentation or engravings: "Per l'amor di Dio, non pensi Lei ad imbrattare il nostro Orazio con rami ne ornati d'incisione, giachè tutta la bellezza à de consistere nella tipografia e purità di testo."<sup>16</sup> Some of the works carefully produced by Bodoni at the Stamperia Reale still smacked of Rococo owing above all to the headpieces and embellishments; the aforementioned book by Pine even had a certain amount of influence on Bodoni's work. The products supervised by Azara from the early eighties onwards are practically the only examples of the more excluding neoclassical and Empire text-only forms that became established following the Horace of 1791. It should be stressed that Bodoni was just as much a great printer as he was a keen businessman who had no qualms about going along with or pandering to the various prevailing tastes of the age—or, indeed, about following the orders of those who commissioned an edition from him. Although we are discussing the Bodonian aesthetic, we should not forget that underlying this programme are, of course, the models established by great English printers such as Baskerville and Foulis and even Didot, although he replicated them to improve on them; and also the advice of Azara when it came to materialising "his" books of Greco-Latin classics—Anacreon, Horace, Virgil, Greek elegiac poets—or Italians such as Tasso, Dante and Petrarch, the publication of which also incidentally started out as an enterprise proposed by the Spanish ambassador, who intended to dedicate it to King Charles IV.

Magnificence came to be combined with exclusivity: in a letter to Bodoni of December 1788, Azara informs him that he wishes to

finance the printing of the Horace and, aside from the copies intended for the Duke of Parma and his library, wants to ensure that "non uscisse veruna copia assolutamente"<sup>17</sup> without his supervision. By March 1789 work has already begun with Azara's choice of the characters from among two samples sent by Bodoni; he simply makes the observation that "per un in folio il carattere dev'essere un po grosso; altrimenti, comparisce meschino e gracile e fatica la vista"<sup>18</sup> and leaves Bodoni to choose the paper and the *mise en page*. By May 1789 Bodoni has cast new typefaces for the Horace and Azara is pleased about this, but urges the printer: "Fissiamoci una volta."<sup>19</sup> At the end of July Azara finalises aspects of the print run and text with Bodoni: he definitely decides to finance the edition and dedicate it to his friend Moñino, the Count of Floridablanca; he establishes that the special edition on parchment will consist of four copies including one for the printer, whom he allows to decide on the number to be printed on paper—months later he states that he considers three hundred sufficient—in order to place on sale those which Azara does not need as gifts for his friends; and finally, he gives instructions on what text Bodoni can base himself in order to compose it,<sup>20</sup> from which we may deduce the method to be used, which involves working on the proofs Bodoni will send and making the corrections he and his collaborators deem appropriate on the basis of other opinions and *ope ingenii*. Owing to the doubts raised to Azara and his collaborators concerning the text by the abbés Visconti, Fea and Arteaga, on receiving the first proofs at the end of August 1789 the diplomat adds to

the printer's Horatian sources by sending him the only volume he has of Janus' edition printed in Leipzig, stating that he will endeavour to procure the rest in Germany through Bodoni and two agents; meanwhile, the printer replies that there is nobody in Parma he can use to adapt the text, and that the best solution would be for him to be sent a good printed original of Horace with the related corrections to the text and punctuation.<sup>21</sup> By the beginning of 1790 these books have still not arrived and Azara wonders when he will be able to set to work—"mettere mano"—on the production.<sup>22</sup> For his part, Bodoni chooses the middle path and decides to take as a model the Baskerville edition he has in the library, in order not to continue delaying a project in which he too has made investments, as the Horace was to be the first product of, and therefore a showcase for, his private printing house, in which he had already made a sizeable investment by purchasing the materials used for the large-scale enterprise of printing the Livorno *Encyclopédie*. However, when Janus' edition arrives, Azara gives his final instructions for it to be followed and, after the text had been composed and the first corrections made, for him to be sent the proofs so that "his abbés" can go over them, although he changes his mind in the same letter owing to an observation by Visconti and tells Bodoni to go ahead with the Baskerville edition corrected by Talbott.<sup>23</sup> Following this decision, the work progressed considerably.

The circumstances of the publication deserve not merely an article but an entire book to be devoted to them. But let us focus on what is most relevant, which is the binding. When the printing is nearing completion in

May 1791, Azara states that he wishes to have ten copies "ben legati" [well bound] and is keeping the rest for himself bound "in buoni cartoni" [in good paper boards], although he does not specify the characteristics.<sup>24</sup> By July the book is entirely finished and printed. Azara instructs him to prepare a copy "ben legato" for the king—on another occasion he describes it as "più magnifico"—and a dozen ordinary ones for friends, to be sent to Spain via Barcelona. Bodoni announces to him shortly afterwards the shipment of forty-eight copies on handmade paper bound in paper boards; meanwhile he informs him that the copies on vellum paper, "carta d'Annonay", are being bound "all'inglese, e in marrochino verde, giachè de' rossi non se ne trovano". He adds that "io non so come riusciranno perchè il migliore Bibliopega che noi avevamo qui è partito improvvisamente e sento che egli trovasi nella stamperia del Seminario di Padova". He then asks for instructions concerning the other copies to be sent to Spain, "mentre io mi affretterò di farle preparare quella che è destinata pel Re, e mi lusingo che sarà in pronto allorchè avrò riscontro di questa mia".<sup>25</sup> Early in September Azara tells him that he is waiting for the forty-eight copies, plus the one for the king, which he will personally arrange to be sent from Rome.<sup>26</sup> The books arrive at the end of September, and apart from his displeasure at finding that some mistakes have not been corrected, Azara complains about his embarrassment on showing a copy to some friends and seeing that the binder, in an act of intolerable "trascuratezza" [negligence], has ruined several copies by forgetting to stitch or disarranging some bifolio; it is feared that if this

has also happened to the copies already distributed both from Parma and in Rome, it will be a disgrace for Bodoni and for himself.<sup>27</sup>

I deduce that the copies in which Azara found uncorrected mistakes and omissions are those bound in cardboard. Certainly, no such mistakes and omissions are found today in the one in the Real Biblioteca which we could identify in principle<sup>28</sup> as the one sent to Charles IV. Those intended for Spain, presumably including this one, arrived at Barcelona harbour in February 1792, as Azara comments to Bodoni, whom he informs in another letter that the "Horaces" arrived the day before Floridablanca was overthrown, and that he has asked the Count of Aranda to present to the king on his behalf the copy intended for him.<sup>29</sup> He had written to Floridablanca earlier, stating that he hoped that his Horace had arrived and asking for privileges for the printer:

Acabo de saber que el navio que llevaba mis Horacios había llegado a Barcelona, de cuyo cajón no tenía noticias hace dos meses .... El Horacio ha despertado un entusiasmo grande en toda Italia y aun más en Inglaterra, de donde recibo cartas sin número. Bodoni ha fijado con esta obra su reputación y hace época en los anales tipográficos. Ud., que le hizo dar el título de tipógrafo del Rey, perfeccione la obra proponiendo a Su Majestad que le dé una pensoncilla para que no viva con solo la miseria de Parma, que es vergonzosa; y con verdad puedo decir a Ud. que, sin las ayudas de este pobre diablo, este gran artista se hallaría todavía en la oscuridad. Por más apuros que tengamos, un pequeño auxilio no nos hará más pobres

ni más ricos; y en pocas cosas lo podrá emplear el Rey que le hagan tanto honor.<sup>30</sup>

However, the allowance was granted a couple of years later, on 22 July 1793, after the printer cultivated relations with new minister Godoy and his circle; it was the Prince of Peace himself, as Godoy was known, who informed him of the royal decision, "en atención al distinguido mérito de Vm., tan conocido en toda Europa por los que aman y saben estimar las artes y para dar a Vm. una prueba de lo mucho que ha apreciado el Rey las magníficas obras que ha enviado Vm. en diferentes ocasiones".<sup>31</sup>

The list of these publications should include the Horace, the execution of which will be dealt with in the following lines. The present copy is one of those printed on the excellent vellum paper of Annonay, in a somewhat larger format than those printed on the well-calendered laid paper used for the ordinary edition. As is known, Azara also ordered three or four copies printed on fine parchment, but he never thought to send any of these or any of the others that he had had printed on this support, because "non ne ano idea e le stimano meno che in buona carta; questo gusto non à penetrato ancora nella mia Arabia"<sup>32</sup>—perhaps an unfair judgement.<sup>33</sup>

Guarnaschelli's work is also governed by the principle of sobriety—I do not know whether this is because of financial constraints or because his artistic creativity failed to attain the heights then being achieved in other countries such as England and France, where the new neoclassical styles of the Empire period were taking off [fig. 133]. Perhaps the plainness of the covers is an indication of this



change, even though the two gold-tooled motifs at the corners and pointing to the centre are only too reminiscent of the style of Baroque dentelle border bindings that were common to the school of Laferté. Certainly, no modifications are made to the *longue durée* French Baroque design on the spine, which is characteristic of Laferté's bindery. Nevertheless, I believe there are evident signs of artistic intentions and rigour, such as, for example, the overall quality of the gilding, which denotes a bold choice of tools with fine lines and a considerable number of volutes that are nevertheless executed without unsightly build-ups of materials and fairly expertly, the end result not being marred by double impressions.

But perhaps the most evident act of artistic intention is the signing of the book. Although other Parmesan binders did so, beginning with Laferté and continuing with Signifredi, another of his boys, Guarnaschelli did so in one of the least frequent manners,<sup>34</sup> without the—whether or not feigned—concealment usually found in the act of signing a binding: as we have seen, he adds his full name in gold lettering whose spacing and size ensure that it occupies the full extension of the fore-edge square of the back cover of the book, the most striking place when viewed from the outside, as when one goes to open it to begin examining it the binder's identity becomes apparent at first sight. The resulting effect is a wish to be associated with what was universally considered the work of art of Bodoni's printing house. Guarnaschelli thus proclaims his own craftsmanship loud and clear and links himself to the name of the printer, which is displayed on the spine, and partly also to that of the donor of the copy, José

Nicolás de Azara. Of course both men must have agreed and thought fit that Guarnaschelli, following the disappearance of Laferté's bindery where he had worked anonymously, should be made known to the Spanish court—who knows, perhaps dreaming of some reward and recognition, or offering his services in this peculiar umbilical relationship and web of common political and economic aims that is still apparent between the subjects of the Duke of Parma and the Spanish monarchs, and which also partly explains Bodoni's importance in our country.

Although, as Bodoni tells Azara, red morocco is hard to come by, this luxurious leather is used to cover the book, which is generally well constructed. Guarnaschelli would have begun by decorating the spine, which was usually the first part of a book to be gilded, with the pattern of the seven bands establishing the six panels and the head and tail spaces. The bands are blind stamped and decorated with spiral volutes applied with a pallet or roll. Not counting the two panels that bear the labels, the remaining six rectangular spaces are delimited by single-line and cat's tooth rolls; their four corners are stamped with an acanthus branch tooled design, which is not one of the most characteristic owing to its function and geometrical form. I have rarely seen such tools used in the bindings produced by the workshop of Laferté and subsequently of his followers, whose output features few specialised tools but plenty of multiple-use volutes or vegetal motifs. The centre of the panels is occupied by what can be considered a typical centrepiece, with a plant and fleur-de-lis motif;<sup>35</sup> two aligned dots mark the top and bottom of the central motif and serve as a guide



Fig. 133  
Quintus Horatius Flaccus, *Q. Horatii Flacci Opera*.  
Parma: in aedibus Palatinis, typis Bodonianis, 1791.  
Bound in red morocco with gold tooling by Domenico  
Guarnaschelli. RB, IX/7185

QVINTI  
HORATII FLACCI  
CARMINVM  
LIBER PRIMVS.

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ODE I.

*AD MAECENATEM.*

**M**aecenas atavis edite regibus,  
O et praesidium et dulce decus meum,  
Sunt quos curriculo pulverem Olympicum  
Collegisse iuvat; metaque fervidis  
Euitata rotis, palmaque nobilis  
Terrarum dominos evehit ad Deos:  
Hunc, si mobilium turba Quiritium  
Certat tergemini tollere honoribus;  
Illum, si proprio condidit horreo  
Quidquid de Libycis verritur arcis.  
Gaudentem patrios fundere sarculo  
Agros, Attalicis conditionibus

Fig. 134

Quintus Horatius Flaccus, *Q. Horatii Flacci Opera*.  
Parma: in aedibus Palatinis, typis Bodonianis,  
1791. RB, IX/7185

for its correct positioning. The right and left sides are occupied by small spiked fleur-de-lis tooled designs flanked by a composition of two small tools, a star and a radiating circle. At the head of the spine is a pallet or roll with the “dog passant” and, at the tail end, two of the same kind separated by single-line and cat’s tooth rolls.

Two upper panels, the second and third, are occupied by a double label in green morocco decorated in gold, as was customary, with individual tools. It can be seen from the blurred D in the second line of the lower label that the binder has “gone over” the letter again. This title form became customary in what I consider to be series bindings, and the fact that Bodoni’s name features explicitly and always in the same manner on several copies of the same book indicates that this is the work of the printer, wishing to accentuate his prominence.

The covers are decorated with a simple design, framed with a border of three fillets with the usual rosette in the corners to conceal the uneven intersection of the fillets, as matching roll-decorated corner pieces are not used. In the inner corners of the border, pointing towards the centre of the cover, is a gold-tooled design consisting of two motifs, a fleur-de-lis with branches and a pomegranate. In the centre of the cover is the royal coat of arms used by Charles III during the reign of Charles IV, based on the so-called *escudo grande* [great shield], i.e. featuring the two new quarters incorporated by Charles III when he arrived in Spain from Naples in 1760, the bezants of Tuscany and the fleurs-de-lis of Parma.<sup>36</sup> Beneath this coat of arms is the supralibros of the Infante Don Antonio (“S.D.S.L.D.A.,” monogram of “SOY

DEL SERENISIMO INFANTE DON ANTONIO”). Both the stamp and the coat of arms have the appearance of additions as they are impressed differently to the rest of the ornamentation. At least I am sure this is true of the supralibros and more than likely of the coat of arms, although the difference in the gold tones of the coat of arms and the overall design could be explained by the impression technique. The endleaves are made of moiré paper with spiral motifs; the squares display gold roll decoration consisting of a zigzag motif alternating with vine leaves, except for the one with the binder’s signature. The edges of the boards are worked with a roll of alternating lozenges and bezants. The headbands are tooled with thick transverse lines.

The Real Biblioteca preserves many similar Bodonian books bound by Guarnaschelli and dating from those years. Their homogeneousness may have been due to the fact that they were mass produced or based on the same design; what is more, they bear the bookplate of the Infante Don Antonio.<sup>37</sup> Around 1793 the Crown granted the printer a new favour: on 2 July he was awarded a yearly allowance that strengthened his ties with Charles IV, the king’s family and the Spanish rulers. We have seen that Azara proposed this to Floridablanca on sending him a copy of the Horace, and that he was going to send his own copy to Charles IV. In the end it was Godoy who informed the printer of the award of the allowance on 2 July 1793.



I shall now go on to examine what I consider to be if not Bodoni’s most original production—similar products are documented both

in Italy and in other parts of Europe, both earlier and later than those examined here—perhaps his favourite output. This is the kind which, among others, is found in several of the copies of the other essential books printed by Bodoni and shown here, the two of Kempis' *De imitatione Christi* (1793) and the *Pitture di Antonio Allegri detto il Correggio* (1800), the binding of which is identified by Bodoni when referring to this particular example as being bound "all'inglese".

The oldest surviving Parmesan bindings of this kind are the two copies of Kempis' work which were intended, and personalised with a printed inscription, for King Charles IV and Queen Maria Luisa of Parma [figs 135 and 136]. Although the book came out with the date 1793 on the title page, Bodoni would have been working on the magnificent folio size *De imitatione Christi libri quatuor* at the ducal printing house, "typis bodonianis", for some time. In a Latin dedication to the heir of Parma, Don Ferdinand's son Don Luis of Bourbon, in handsome cursive characters, "I. B. Bodonius Hispaniarum Regis Typographus"—no doubt composed by an intermediary—he tells this prince, born in 1773, that from the time he started his printing endeavours he had always planned to honour the monumental works of sacred literature with his typefaces and now had the opportunity to do so with one of the most prestigious; this work was furthermore a favourite of Don Luis himself thanks to the education he had received from Adeodato Turchi, then Bishop of Parma, whom he praised in a generous note.

However, it does not appear that Bodoni's main reason for choosing this book was

its undisputable spiritual significance or the fact that the Kempis may perhaps have been more to the liking of Don Luis's father, the duke. The choice of this particular title and his intention to produce a splendid book "non sine aliquo peculiari nitore atque elegantia",<sup>38</sup> as he writes in the dedication, should be regarded more as a chapter in his own particular "typographic" history in which his established rivalry with Pierre Didot plays a fundamental role. In the second volume of his work, the printer's friend and biographer, Giuseppe De Lama, published a letter from the printer to the Minister of State, Count Cesare Ventura, requesting permission to dedicate his book to Don Luis. In it he refers to the "gara" [competition] Bodoni had been involved in with the French for some time; he specifically mentions Didot's edition of "quel celebratissimo *De imitatione Christi*" and states that Bodoni has been working on an edition of the same work belonging to his series of Latin classics, in respect of which "forse l'Italia sarà imparziale nel portar giudizio fra lo stampatore parigino ed il parmense".<sup>39</sup>

Didot's edition of the Kempis came out in 1788, preceded by a "typographi monitum" citing his own printing and publishing history in order to justify the publication of this work, which is aimed at presenting the first characters cast by his son Henri, in *petit-parangon* size. In a note at the end of the *monitum* he boasts about the support, which Bodoni very soon began to use too: "Opum exaratum chartis quas vocant *vélin*, eductis ex officina *Montgolfier* patris et filii, ex oppido dicto Annonay, cum primis litterarum typis romanis, cudente Henrico Didot, secundo ex natis P. Fr. Didot."<sup>40</sup>

Bodoni must have considered this prologue pretentious to say the least, and I do not know whether he also interpreted it as a new challenge posed by the Frenchman, who around that time had issued the subscription leaflet for his edition of Demosthenes (1790) providing examples of his new Greek characters and boasting about its quality and beauty—no doubt sensitive to the recent showing off of his Parmesan rival, who had just published several of his Greek classics with different characters and, more importantly, a specific manual or repertoire of Greek typefaces.

Bodoni's response to Didot's presumptuousness about the new Greek typeface was highly explicit and clear in the prologue to the Callimachus of 1791,<sup>41</sup> and his reaction to the Kempis is no less evident, albeit implicit. There are a number of contrasting parallels in the prologues of Didot and Bodoni, which would not have gone unnoticed to readers. In the *monitum* Didot traces his own history and accomplishments in the art of printing, in an exercise of self-praise. For example, he builds on the presumptuous and clichéd quote from Terence—"Quadragesima fere abhinc annos rei librariae deditus, nihil quod ad illam pertineret alienum a me putans, omnes omnino illius partes complexus sum"<sup>42</sup>—and goes on to boast of the acquisition of an encyclopaedic knowledge of antique and modern books on a broad variety of disciplines. Bodoni—naturally without the slightest mention of Didot's publications or his *gara* with them—counterattacks the Frenchman's conceitedness by professing his humility and, in the opening lines, establishes the aim of his equally lengthy track record in printing: to make available to

his peers the "Sacrarum Litterarum monumenta ... meis formis magnifice splendideque descripta",<sup>43</sup> as if providing a divine service. Didot goes on to speak of his experience in casting typefaces from 1783, of how his own son, unbeknown to him, had taken up the same profession, cutting and casting some *petit-parangon* characters which, being the young apprentice's first accomplishments, the father wished to protect and almost honour by publishing the Kempis in them. Bodoni's ironic response to this description of father-son apprenticeship, which is more boastful and ridiculous than endearing and undermines such a prestigious book, is summed up by the following inversion: after devoting himself to perfecting it "omni studio ac labore" and, thanks to God, finding himself mature and very capable in his art, he considered himself in a position to bring out an illustrious and exquisite edition "divinorum librorum", as a public testimony to his gratitude to God, for which he was choosing *De imitatione Christi*, praising it and stressing its importance in half a page.

His technical response, although implicit, is no less evident. He casts and composes the text with a new *parangon* character which, rivalling that of Didot junior, is much fuller and more angular and even. Particularly striking, for example, is the perfect balance between Bodoni's small capitals and roman type and the contrast between Didot's typefaces. He also teaches the Frenchmen a significant lesson in *mise en page* and composition, for which, as I have found in other cases, he proceeds to replicate Didot's, thereby drawing attention to the flaws or choices of composition and printing which can end up disfiguring

the Frenchman's page layout, especially compared to that of Bodoni. Among other things, in Didot's work there is a noticeable lack of proportion between the font size and the size of the printed area and the paper; Bodoni chooses full folio size—460 mm high—compared to Didot's imperial 4to resulting from the folds of Annonay paper (350 mm, uncut, in the copy on view). Also evident is the evenness and perfect alignment of Bodoni's typefaces, none of which, incidentally, I have found to be damaged; the regularity of the word spacing and alternating blanks is obvious, as is the proportion of the interlinear spacing. All this further heightens the cramped, unbalanced impression one has of Didot's composition and the contrast intentionally sought by Bodoni, not to mention other, even graphic details, such as the use of V in place of U in titles in capitals, which infuses with classical elegance the rendering of a Latin text that Bodoni—perhaps in an ironic jab at the Frenchman's choice—claims in his prologue to be part of his series of classic authors.

The binding of the two examples housed in the Real Biblioteca and now on show [figs. 135 and 136] may be attributed in principle to Domenico Guarnaschelli. The leather used in both is dyed calfskin. The spine, with seven raised bands outlined in blind tooling and decorated in gold using the same pallet or roll with a spiral volute motif found on the Horace, has six rectangular panels delimited by two-line pallets or rolls forming a rectangular composition; at the four corners, tool number 6; in the centre of the panels a small gold-tooled flower or rosette within a garland. The only difference found between the two

copies of the Kempis as regards spine decoration is that the one intended for the queen [fig. 135] features a dot inside each of the four sides at the centre, whereas this space is left blank in the one for the king [fig. 136]. The dog passant pallet or roll is used at the head of the spine of copy IV/7196, as in the Horace, and at the tail is the same double pallet or roll separated by a two-line pallet or roll. The same pallet is used at the head and tail of copy IX/8413, double at the tail and separated by a two-line pallet or roll. The spine label is double with gold lettering executed with individual tools for each of the letters and with similar double impression flaws mentioned previously in the title of the Horace. In both copies the upper label in red morocco leather contains the title of the work and the lower label, in blue morocco, the name of the printer and the year. Needless to say this is a Bourbon colour combination.

Above all it is the decoration of the covers that identifies and gives character to the style of the binding. It is distinguished by the differently dyed leather and the gold tooling, which draws attention to these differences. As we can see, both books were bound with a certain amount of coordination, which is clear in the dyeing of the leather: the king's copy [fig. 136] was first hand dyed and subsequently stained with hyssop to give a granite-like finish; the spine and a rectangular band extending over front and back cover were marbled with a paintbrush in shades of green and ochre. The colours are inverted on the queen's copy [fig. 135]. The gold of the covers basically highlights the coloured bands, which in the king's copy are delimited by three-line rolls joined at the inner

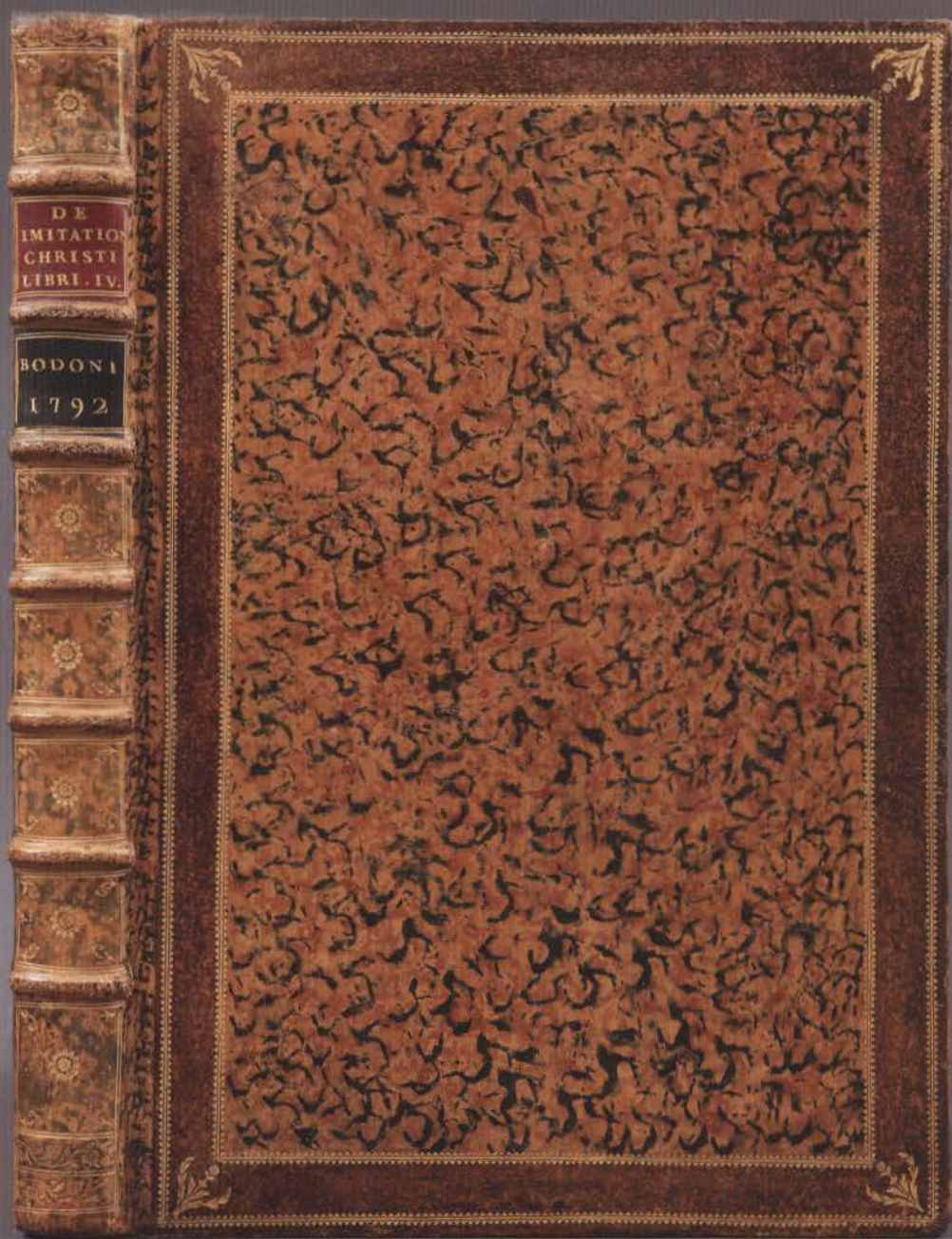


Fig. 135  
Attributed to Thomas a Kempis, *De imitatione Christi  
libri quatuor*. Parmae: in aedibus Palatinis, typis  
Bodonianis, 1793. Bound in leather with green and  
ochre mottling and gold tooling. RB, IX/8413



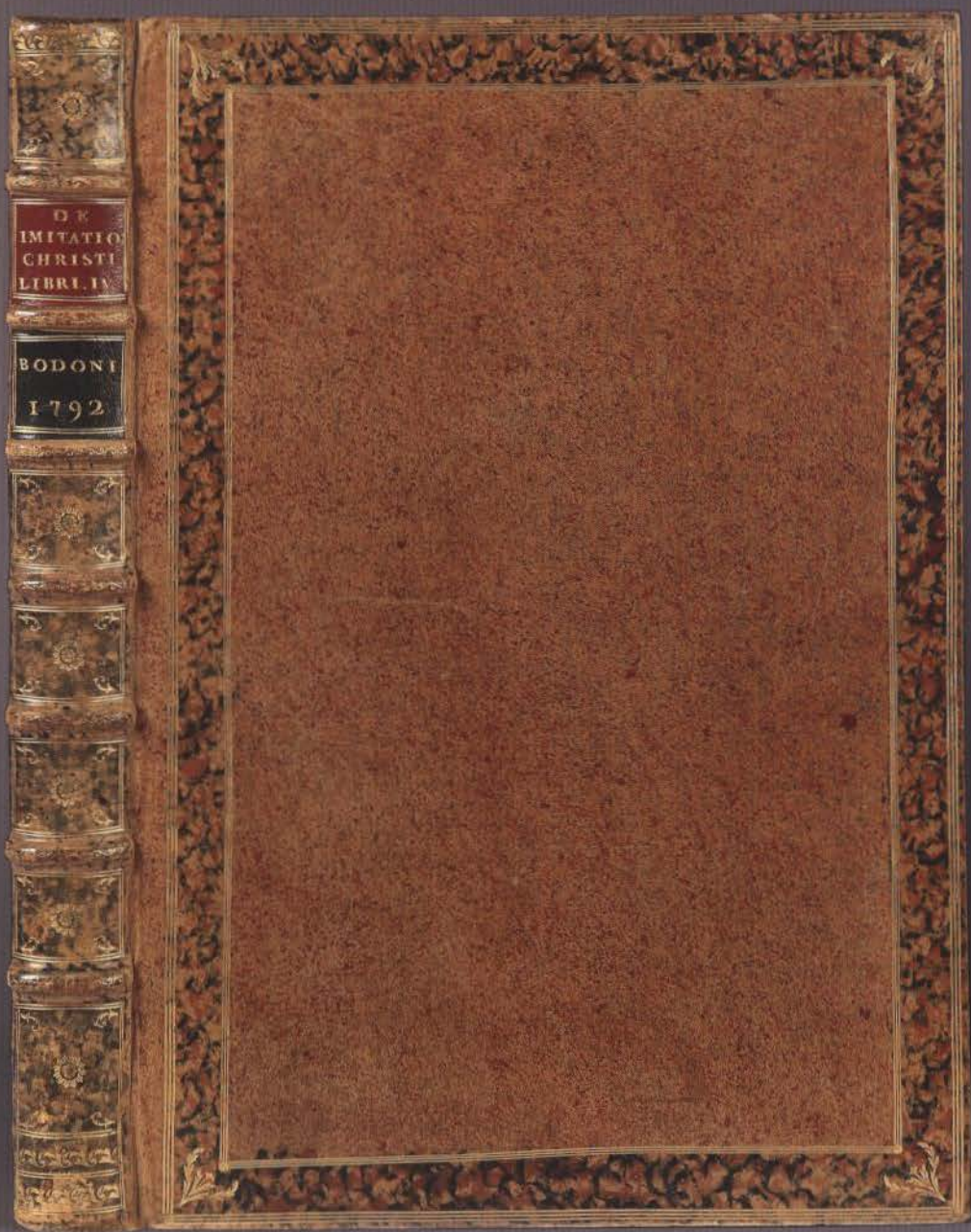


Fig. 136

Attributed to Thomas a Kempis, *De imitatione Christi libri quatuor*. Parmae: in aedibus Palatinis, typis Bodonianis, 1793. Bound in granite like leather with green and ochre mottling and gold tooling. RB, IX/7196

and outer corners by the same rosette used for the Horace, as we have seen previously and in several other bindings, whereas the queen's copy displays roll decoration consisting of a central line flanked by two lines of cat's tooth. In the first copy, for example, the four inner corners of each cover are decorated with a tool commonly used by Guarnaschelli and also featured on that of the queen, although here it is extended with another. The edges of the paper are gilded and the interior is covered with moiré endpapers with a natural marbled design in several colours; a roll bearing a design also characteristic of the bindery is used on the squares. The board edges are marked with a two-line roll; and the headbands with tools with thick diagonal lines.

Certainly, an examination of the bindings on the two copies in the Real Biblioteca, which display ornamental elements previously found on the Horace, might allow us to attribute them to Bodoni's binder, Guarnaschelli, who was perhaps also responsible for the copy whose binding is praised by Azaro. The personalised printed dedication found at the beginning of each one shows that they are the copies sent to the king and queen, which were furthermore accompanied from Parma by letters from the Duke Don Ferdinand to the Spanish monarchs. Nevertheless, it was Bodoni himself who ensured that the books arrived in Madrid, enlisting the aid of Llaguno, whom he asked to arrange for Godoy to present them to the king and queen on his behalf. The letters exchanged also enable us to identify this type of binding as what Bodoni defines as *all'inglese*, which is described in greater detail in the essay on which the

present article is based and in which I also analyse other examples in the Real Biblioteca.<sup>44</sup>



Of them we have also chosen for the exhibition the Real Biblioteca's example of Bodoni's new tour de force and one of the most important of his output: the folio-size book of the *Pitture di Antonio Allegri detto il Correggio esistenti nel Monistero di San Paolo*, which came out in 1800 after a long process [fig. 137]. It is one of Bodoni's few books in which the illustrations are the essential part, as its purpose was to make known the outstanding frescoes painted by the young Correggio in the apartments decorated on the instructions of the abbess, Giovanna di Piacenza, for her use in the aforementioned convent in Parma. The book we can admire today, in two issues in folio and quarto sizes, is the end result of a long process that documents the genesis of the printer's idea—which, as nearly always, depended on other initiatives—and the various changes the project underwent over the course of more than five years. The copy housed in the Real Biblioteca and on show here is the folio issue and is extraordinary in every way—for its support (it is one of the few to be printed on vellum paper with engravings on thick paper) and for its intended recipient, King Charles IV. It features a neoclassical typographic title page typical of Bodoni, the dedication—actually written by Tomasso Valperga di Calusso—the description of the Camera di San Paolo printed in different characters for each of the three languages in which it is published, Italian, French and

Spanish (making it one of the rare Spanish texts printed by Bodoni) and the thirty-four plates reproducing details of Correggio's frescoes, preceded by an allegorical frontispiece. The drawings from which the engravings were made were executed by the Portuguese Francisco Vieira and were engraved by Rosaspina using a technique that has sometimes confused the inexperienced. The present copy contains the engravings in sanguine, which have more nuances—the *sfumature* to which Bodoni refers when discussing them—and are more attractive compared to another issue in black.

Once again, the mentions found in the correspondence of Azara and Bodoni are among the earliest references to a publication disseminating the rediscovered frescoes of Correggio. The Spanish diplomat, to whom, as Corrado Mingardi suggests, Mengs might have mentioned the work and suggested the authorship, according to Ireneo Affò, after viewing the paintings on passing through Parma,<sup>45</sup> was the first person who seems to have taken the initiative to reproduce or encourage the reproduction of the whole iconographic scheme. Indeed, by 1790 he had arranged for the issuing of permits—the convent was still owned by the Benedictine nuns—from the Parmesan authorities, the Infante Don Ferdinand and the Prime Minister Count Cesare Ventura, all of whom must have approved the project “di fare incidere in rame i quadri di Correggio, che sono in codesto convento di monache. Li faranno copiare e poi mi manderano le copie, e saranno incisise da Volpato e Morghen a conto loro.”<sup>46</sup> It is evident from these words from Azara to Bodoni that the former intends sim-

ply to publish a series of prints by famous engravers and that the printer was therefore not part of the initial project. But things did not go as Azara had hoped, as in February 1791 he asks Bodoni if the reproduction work is under way: “Malgrado le promesse fattemi di farli incidere, temo che non se ne faccia niente, giachè vedo che in Parma non c'è altro che Bodoni, che faccia.”<sup>47</sup> Apart from this considerable apathy, no less of an impediment to the project was the reluctance of Bishop Turchi, who “imbrogliava l'affare” on several pretexts.<sup>48</sup> Indeed, Azara, with his reputation for a religious sceptic and priest-hater, did not get on well with the bishop and conveys this enmity in the many ironic comments to this effect in his letters, some of which we have examined earlier. In the same letter he regrets that, having gone to this trouble “per puro amore dell'Arte”, it should not be possible to take the project forward.<sup>49</sup>

When the Spaniard writes that Bodoni is the only one in Parma who is doing anything he is in fact prophesying; for as on other occasions, the printer's keen eye for certain business opportunities or for self-promotion eventually led him to consider bringing out the edition of engraved reproductions himself accompanied by explanatory texts on what was by then the painter's legendary early work. Bodoni's own project for the publication began to fall into place in 1794; a few scholars of Parma had visited the Camera in July, in addition to Vieira and Rosaspina, who eventually executed the drawings and engravings published by Bodoni. But the current characteristics of what had initially been intended (and failed) as a book to be presented during the wedding of Maria

Antonietta of Bourbon Parma—third child of the Duke Don Ferdinand and, incidentally, a lover of painting—and later became a book to commemorate the birth in Madrid of Don Ferdinand's grandson and heir of the Duchy, progressively took shape in Bodoni's mind from the second half of 1795 onwards, not without doubts and changes, as we know from a letter from Vieira to Rosaspina of 11 September that year. Vieira discloses that the printer is thinking of publishing engravings of the entire surviving oeuvre of Correggio in Parma, including the frescoes of the Camera di San Paolo, the drawings of which the Portuguese had been keeping since visiting it, with a few comments in verse by Giovanni Gerardo De Rossi, director of the Portuguese school in Rome and author of the poems of the *Scherzi*. He had in mind a book of pictures and poems similar in format and design to this work,<sup>50</sup> a copy of which is included in the exhibition. Vieira began working on the main paintings of Parma but Bodoni also ruled out this idea at an early stage, although he used these drawings by Vieira in another important work of his, *Le più insigni pitture parmensi* (1809, although not distributed until after his death in 1813), and together with his collaborators, the Portuguese and Rosaspina, concentrated on preparing the *Pittura* of the Camera di San Pablo.

The work of the two artists, directed by Bodoni, became hectic. As the frescoes of the Camera had aroused much expectation in the art world and interest had not waned in bringing out more or less full sets of prints illustrating the main motifs, Bodoni repeatedly urged his collaborators to act with utmost discretion. Meanwhile plans changed for the

destination of the book—an aspect of crucial relevance to its dissemination, above all because Bodoni was orchestrating his role of ducal printer to the benefit of his own fame by devising publications of special importance for special occasions related to the ducal family, as we have seen earlier in other cases. And so, while on 18 September 1795 Bodoni discloses to Vieira that he is thinking of dedicating the work to the duke's daughter to mark her wedding, a few days later, on receiving news of the heir Don Luis's wedding to Maria Luisa of Bourbon on 28 August at the royal site of San Ildefonso, he discards the initial plan and decides "pubblicare questa camera del Correggio con una descrizione italiana, spagnola, francese, ed inglese",<sup>51</sup> and to present the book to the spouses when they returned to the states of Parma.<sup>52</sup> Their return was delayed and Bodoni accordingly slowed down the publication, although the engravings were ready by August 1796. All that remained was to complete the iconographical series with Vieira's allegorical frontispiece, which Rosaspina later engraved in 1798,<sup>53</sup> and to start composing and printing the descriptive introduction to the Camera, which had been entrusted to De Rossi and which Bodoni was waiting for in Parma in September 1796.<sup>54</sup> As we have seen, the Italian original was also to be published in French, Spanish and English, although the latter version must have finally been ruled out; nevertheless, when commissioning the Spanish version in December 1797, Bodoni tells Azara he is waiting for the English version to arrive from London.<sup>55</sup>

Apart from the requisite of the arrival in Parma of the infante and his wife, nor did



Fig. 137  
Giovanni Gherardo De Rossi, *Pitture di Antonio  
Allegri detto il Correggio esistenti in Parma nel  
Monistero di San Paolo*, Parma; nel Regal Palazzo  
co' tipi Bordiniani, 1800. Bound in mottled leather  
with gold tooling. BR, VIII/219

the new political circumstances of 1796, what with the French invasion and the resulting disruption to movement and trade in Italy, overly encourage Bodoni to bring out a book to which subscribers did not appear to be reacting very enthusiastically, despite the interest it had aroused; by the beginning of 1796 barely thirty had committed themselves to purchasing the book following the first subscription campaign. Despite the progress made and the fact that the description—the last requisite for publishing the book—was already in press, the printer hesitated whether to go ahead with it.

However, an event that took place in the ducal family at last encouraged him to give definitive impetus to the publication: the birth of Carlos Luis Fernando of Bourbon, son of the heir to the duchy, Don Luis, and María Luisa of Bourbon, daughter of Charles IV and María Luisa of Parma, at the Royal Palace of Madrid on 22 December 1799. As Bodoni writes to Rosaspina, although he was waiting for the parents to return, as there was no scheduled date he therefore decided to take the opportunity “per render pubblica un’opera che da varii anni si aspetta con impazienza”<sup>56</sup> and dedicate the book to the new mother. In the end both parents were the intended recipients—no doubt he was forced to change his mind owing to the conditions of the authorisation he had previously requested from the duke regarding the dedication—and he thus used the same the formula of *service* employed earlier to commemorate the baptism of the newborn’s father, the publication of one of his first typography manuals, the *Iscrizioni esotiche* (1774); and which he would later

repeat for the birth of Napoleon’s son the King of Rome, the very rare *Cimelio tipografico-pittorico* of 1811, in which the texts and plates of Rossi’s *Scherzi* were used to make up a new typography manual, the last one to be published in the printer’s lifetime.

Bodoni needed to speed up the final stages of production. He obtained from Rosaspina the engravings required to complete a portion of copies and finished printing the descriptions in all three languages—in press by November 1799—by the end of 1799 or beginning of 1800. A few days after learning of the good news, he commissioned the dedication, to which he nevertheless put his own name, from the famous Tommaso Valperga di Calusso, his advisor over the course of many years on editorial enterprises involving Greek and Latin classics, among others. Indeed, this dedicatory letter features at the beginning of each of the three versions of the description. The French version of the description and dedication is by Giuseppe De Lama, as Bodoni comments to Calusso in a letter of 25 March and the translator himself states in his Bodonian catalogue.<sup>57</sup> In the same letter to the Piedmontese he also states that he hopes to have printed by Easter the Spanish version, “che è riuscita assai gradevole all’Infante Nostro, che ne volle far lettura di tutte tre”.<sup>58</sup> De Lama himself provides us with the name of the Spanish translator, Esteban de Arteaga. Indeed, in December 1797 the printer had enlisted the help of Azara, for whom Arteaga worked, to request the translation, entrusting him with not disclosing it to anyone; the translation was ready at the end of the following January.<sup>59</sup> It is De Lama who tells us

that the Spanish version of the dedication is by Francesco Baroni; although a younger man, he was a friend of the printer and the members of his closest circle, such as De Lama himself, and also a collector of Bodoni editions placed on sale in 1817 after his death.<sup>60</sup>

In order to complete the copies of the book, Bodoni had to commission sets of engravings and the frontispiece illustration progressively from Rosaspina, who was working in Bologna. By August 1800 he had put together the presentation copies and sent to Madrid seven books “elegantemente legate all’inglese” [elegantly bound in English style] for the Crown prince and his wife, to whom they were dedicated; for King Charles IV; for Queen Maria Luisa of Parma; for the Infante Don Antonio; for the Prime Minister Mariano Luis de Urquijo; and for Esteban Mendizábal, then third secretary of the office of the Secretary of State, who after working with Azara in Rome had developed a closer relationship with Bodoni.<sup>61</sup> Many documentary records survive of the vicissitudes suffered by these copies in such troubled times as the year 1800.<sup>62</sup> After the first shipment went missing, he sent further copies of the book to the court, this time using a more secure means—in the luggage of Manuel Salabert, who wrote from Bologna offering to take the books and entrust them to his father, the Marquis of Torrecillas, to present them to the king and queen and other authorities. Bodoni accepted his offer and specifies the contents of the two boxes of books on 22 September: “Nella 1<sup>a</sup> si contengono due copie legate all’inglese della *Descrizione* della famosa camera dipinta dal celebre Correggio in Parma. Ed avanti al frontispizio d’ognuna

si trova una intitolazione stampata. La prima è per sua maestà il Re, la seconda è destinata per sua maestà la Regina.”<sup>63</sup> This time the books did reach their intended recipients, who had them by the end of November. It goes without saying that Bodoni, as was his custom, had also taken advantage of the need to resend them to position himself and adapt once again to the authorities and latest developments in those unsettled times—the political downfalls and rises that occurred during the transition from 1800 to 1801, from Godoy to Urquijo, and from the latter to Cevallos, and with Godoy again outshining them all.

Of the two copies intended for the king and queen, the Real Biblioteca preserves the one now on display [fig. 137], which is one of the few copies whose text is printed on the new vellum-like paper from the manufactories of Pietro Miliani in Fabriano, and the engravings on paper of the same type that is much stronger and whiter than that of the ordinary edition in folio size. It is a truly royal copy, which furthermore preserves the dedication to Queen Maria Luisa of Parma and, of course, the “English style” binding mentioned by Bodoni.

The binding has the same air of the characteristic, accomplished style of the Parma bindery. For example, compared to the two copies of the Kempis, the spine is more sober with only six raised bands instead of seven; the seven panels, each delimited only by a three-line pallet in the upper and lower part, are decorated with the same tool and without further gold ornamentation except for that of the single label in red morocco with the title in gold lettering impressed with individual tools. In view of a number of details

referred to in the monograph from which this article is taken, this English-style binding could have been produced jointly at the workshop possibly run by Laferté's two pupils, Guarnaschelli and Signifredi.<sup>64</sup> The base leather of the spine and boards is also stained with hyssop; the marbling, however, is more elaborate than in the copies of the Kempis, because it displays two concentric borders, a narrow, finely speckled outer border delimited on the outside by a single-line roll and on the inside by roll-impressed cat's tooth and a single line, and an inner border in green—creating the impression of mosaic—delimited on the outer side by a roll tool of two wavy lines and on the inner side by one of three straight lines. At the corners of the green-dyed border and pointing to the centre is the same composition found on the queen's copy of the Kempis and on one of the bindings attributed to Signifredi. The edges are gilded; on the inner covers, endpapers very proficiently marbled in a herringbone pattern with predominant shades of blue, unlike any examined so far; on the squares, a roll pattern documented earlier in Parma; and on the edges of the boards, two-line rolls.

### Other Bodonian Bindings and for the "Bodonis" in the Real Biblioteca

Azara died in 1804; the already scant international influence of the Spanish Crown had also been rapidly waning, and it was forced to give up Parma and hand over other territories to France. Bodoni, sharply adapting to the circumstances, ceased to look to Spain;

as was only natural, he had decided to accept the protection of Napoleon's rulers, who gave fresh impetus to his ambitions. He soon replaced the official protection of the King of Spain with that of the Viceroy of Italy, the aforementioned Beauharnais, Napoleon's adoptive son. He justifies these changes in a letter dating from earlier than 1808—perhaps 1806—referring to the mismanagement of the Spanish diplomats, especially that Blasco de Orozco, ambassador to Turin, and leaves no doubts as to where his loyalties now lie:

Altrettanto incresevole mi è riuscita l'inesattezza delle espressioni colle quali il prelodato Ministro ispano accenna di averlo addimandato a Madrid. Poiché in quel dì benavventurato che l'augusto principe Eugenio, mio nuovo padrone e signore, ebbe la degnazione di accogliermi sotto l'alto suo padrocinio e noverarmi fra suoi certissimi servidori, io le dissi candidamente che già da gran tempo era decorato del titolo di tipografo di camera del monarca ibero, e che percepiva già da varii anni non tenue pensione. Degnossi allora l'ottimo umanissimo Viceré di accertarmi coll'innata sua clemenza ch'egli stesso avrebbe fatto ricercare l'opportuno permesso onde poter passare al suo servizio colla continuazione della medesima tanto lena e vigoria donde tramandare alla più tarda posterità l'augusto suo imperial nome con qualche opera degna di cedro, e che il tempo edace non disruggera sì presto.<sup>65</sup>

We do not know whether Napoleon's adoptive son, Eugene, took this action or whether it was aimed at Charles IV or Joseph I. Indeed,



the former royal printer to His Catholic Majesty, with the temporary change of dynasty in Spain and despite the earlier promises of exclusive loyalty, offered his services to Joseph Bonaparte—whom he would have met in Parma in 1797 during the latter's ambassadorship—soon afterwards, in 1811, in an attempt to recover his position and wages, presenting his case as a continuation of the earlier Bourbon privileges; it was the same year that Bodoni spares no praise for the French elites in Italy in the aforementioned magnificent and extremely rare *Cimelio tipografico-pittorico* commemorating the birth of the emperor's son and in the first volume belonging to the series of his French classics, La Rochefoucauld's *Maximes*, dedicated to Fernando Marscalchi, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Italy, and in the French version of the *Songe de Poliphile*, dedicated to the Queen of Naples, General Murat's wife.

As a result of the foregoing, books ceased to arrive at the palace from Parma during the final years of Charles IV's reign; and those that arrived during the reign of Joseph I—to whom it is only logical that Bodoni or his mentors would have sent the most significant—were removed from the country or lost along with his possessions when he abandoned Spain.

Bodoni died on 30 November 1813. The fall of Napoleon and the ensuing political changes, which brought the restoration of the Duchy of Parma under Marie Louise of Austria, who made her entry in 1816, and the return to the Spanish throne of the Bourbons at the end of 1813, also changed the strategies of the printer's successors. Apart from De Lama's monograph and bibliography published in 1816

and the collection of the works of Mazza, few important books other than those begun by Bodoni were published during the time the printing house was run by his widow, Paola Margherita dell'Aglio. After working on it for years, Bodoni left unpublished one of his valuable works, the *Manuale tipografico del cavaliere Giambattista Bodoni*, which was published by his widow—"presso la Vedova"—as we read on the title page, in two excellent volumes in quarto format. To comment on what Bodoni wrote in his prologue or go into detail about its contents and characteristics would offend the knowledge of the reader, who is well aware of the importance of this publication in the history of books. A month after the work was presented to the duchess, who had deigned to accept the widow's dedication, the copy sent to King Ferdinand VII arrived in Madrid. Personalised with a printed dedicatory note and a letter from its sender, it had left Parma on the 13<sup>th</sup> of the month. The person entrusted with "inoltrarlo" [dispatching it] was Eusebio Bardaxi y Azara, nephew of Nicolás and then ambassador in Turin, from where he had the copy sent on to Madrid. This copy is now housed in the Real Biblioteca and on display in the exhibition [fig. 138]. If we examine the list of copies sold and given away by Bodoni's widow until 1820, we find that Bardaxi, a diplomat and nephew of Azara, was the recipient of another copy. A few days later, perhaps in accordance with the political significance of the act of presentation, the book was sent to Charles IV in exile in Rome, where he died the following year.<sup>166</sup> It is clear that Bodoni's firm is grateful and, above all, is endeavouring to re-establish the earlier relations that are again predominant in Europe.

Through his secretary, Ferdinand VII sends his thanks from Sacedón on 18 July in a rather curt letter<sup>67</sup> which does not precisely shine amid the corpus of enthusiastic acknowledgements, some of them generous—the duchess gives him a timepiece, the tsar a ring, the King of Sardinia another ring, the Grand Duke of Tuscany a chain, the pope two gold medals and others wish to give in cash the one hundred *livres* that is the selling price of the book—which Ciavarella received for his prologue of the first facsimile edition of the *Manuale* brought out by Franco Maria Ricci. I believe I am not imagining it when I read between the lines his Catholic Majesty's lack of interest in these objects that were so admired by his grandfather, his uncles, their advisers and somewhat more than him his father. We should therefore perhaps not be surprised that only three names linked to the Catholic Monarchy—Ferdinand VII, Ambassador Bardaxi and Charles IV—should feature on the list of recipients of gift copies and that there is not a single Spaniard among those who spent the handsome sum the two volumes fetched by the time they came out, compared to the presence of Italian and French bibliophiles and booksellers such as Renouard, who purchased eleven copies, as well as their English counterparts.

The *Manuale* in the Real Biblioteca is preserved in the same state in which it was sent from Parma, still displaying the printed *ad personam*, and bound in boards covered in paper with the appearance of morocco leather; the spine is divided into five sections by double rows of horizontal lines worked with a roll, with no further ornament than the small circle indicating the volume number;

in the second panel the title and author's name are impressed in gold with individual tools in capitals, and the one at the base displays the printer's name and the year. The boards are framed with two-line rolls; the endpapers are made of strong, deep blue paper [fig. 138]. It is thus the only original paper-covered Bodoni binding housed in the Real Biblioteca. Most of the copies issued in Parma were like this one; compared to the present copy, the only difference I find is that not all display the gold frame on the covers.

Appreciation for paper-covered Bodoni editions is not only a modern-day phenomenon; indeed, in the printer's own day many collectors preserved the books in *cartoncino arancione*, with *moiré* paper or, like the present copy, red morocco-like paper. As the copies bound in printer's boards were generally uncut, the volume had the same appearance as when it was released from the printing house, without any loss of margins. This pristine condition gradually became a requirement of collectors, which the printer himself encouraged and managed to establish, perhaps because the simplicity of the binding better showed off the quality or importance of his work, which could also be extended to the *all'impostura* bindings of the grander copies that Bodoni himself prepared for important libraries or occasions.

The Real Biblioteca's Bodoni editions examined so far and on display in the exhibition include neither all the main examples of his feverish output nor all those Bodoni sent to Madrid. For example, Tasso's *La Gerusalemme liberata*, dated 1794 on the title page—even though in October that year he was still waiting to be able to add the dedication to King

Charles IV, whose authorisation had been sought by Count Ventura—is one of the essential works from the most productive years of his private printing house. Five editions, as Bodoni calls them, were published simultaneously, all of them dedicated to the King of Spain as one of the tributes with which he wished to express his gratitude for the allowance granted to him in 1793. He states this in the subscription “manifesto” for the series of classics he planned bring out, of which Dante’s *Commedia* and the songs of Petrarch were actually published, in addition to *La Gerusalemme*. The rarest—and, certainly, most magnificent—of these editions, consisting of less than one hundred copies on vellum-like paper in three volumes in folio size, with two verses of the poem per page in italics, is not preserved in the Real Biblioteca. However, there is a copy of the first and most representative edition, in two volumes in large folio size printed on laid paper with three verses in roman per page; the print run totalled one hundred and fifty copies, one hundred of which were allotted to subscribers. *Ad calcem*, Bodoni thought of sending two copies, the first of this edition, to Madrid, one for the king and the other for Godoy, together with the compilation of the works of the Latin elegiac poets that Azara had arranged to be bound in Parma for the king and instructed Bodoni to send through the Spanish consul in Livorno.<sup>68</sup> He had to abandon this idea owing to the insecurity of all transport in Italy and the Mediterranean at the time. Taking up the offers of a certain chaplain, Luigi del Fiume, who was returning to Spain after a stay in Parma as part of the retinue of the minister, Count Ven-



Fig. 138  
Giambattista Bodoni, *Manuale tipografico del cavaliere Giambattista Bodoni*. Parma: presso la Vedova, 1818. Bound in red printer's boards with gold tooling. Vol. I. RB, IV/5477

tura, he had eight copies bound “magnificamente all’inglese” for the king and queen and other prominent members of the court and entrusted them to the “prete” [priest] in June 1795. Fiume tricked him and, as Bodoni himself tells his friend Mendizábal years later, “non lo presentò in mio nome, anzi furono smarrite le lettere che accompagnavano la mia non indifferente offerta. Il prete ottenè non so qual pensione ecclesiastica, ed io non ho mai avuto il menomo riscontro su i libri predetti.”<sup>69</sup> Sometime afterwards Azara did not waste the opportunity to remind him implicitly of the consequences of taking the initiative of sending books to Madrid at his own risk and expense,<sup>70</sup> something which, in the hasty and self-seeking race to offer his *services* with a view to securing



Fig. 139

Torquato Tasso, *La Gerusalemme liberata*. Parma: nel Regal Palazzo co'tipi Bodoniani, 1794. Bound in morocco with gold tooling. Vol. I. RB, VIII/6120

honours and privileges, could prove as hazardous as it might be beneficial.

Indeed, the copy in the Real Biblioteca of *La Gerusalemme liberata* di Torquato Tasso [fig. 139], on show in this exhibition, is not one of those bound in what Bodoni refers to as the English style; rather, it displays the same characteristics as the books in the library of the Infante Don Antonio which, initially acquired in paper covers, were then bound in Madrid, like two other works also on show, the *Scherzi poetici e pittorici* of 1795, with a text by Giovanni Gherardo De Rossi and illustrations by Teixeira engraved by Rosaspina [fig. 140], and the *Τρυφιοδορου Αιγυπτου του γραμματικου Γλιου αλωσις* published the following year in two editions in quarto and small folio size [figs. 141 and 142]. We have

seen earlier how Bodoni is asked to send even some of the books he presents as gifts unbound; in one case the explanation given is that they will take up less space during transportation, but in others the recipients are stated to prefer Madrid bindings. Following the completion of the 1793 edition of the Virgil, the second of the Latin classics sponsored by Azara, the latter describes the impression it caused on arriving in Madrid bound in paper boards, as requested, and Godoy's haste in presenting it to the king, once "Sancia famoso legatore lo ricoprissi".<sup>21</sup> This is the copy housed in the Real Biblioteca and currently on show, which evidences the craftsmanship and the ornamentation used by Gabriel Sancha (XI/3445 and 3446).

It seems evident that in Madrid clients preferred local bookbinding which, judging from these copies, was gradually shifting away from the more Baroque features still found in the Parma-bound copies and towards the purely neoclassical styles that were then becoming fashionable in other parts of Europe. Roll-worked designs on the covers and ornamentation on spines without raised bands were inspired by the same classical elements—amphorae, lamps, Greek and Roman borders—that were the basis of the ornamentation which would soon find its way to other greater and lesser arts. We may therefore speak of a certain readjustment of the bindings for Bodonian books in Europe. In the case of Spain, one swallow does not make a summer, and the example of Don Antonio, himself a lover of binding, cannot be extended to other Spaniards who completed their collections of Bodoni editions in Spanish binderies.

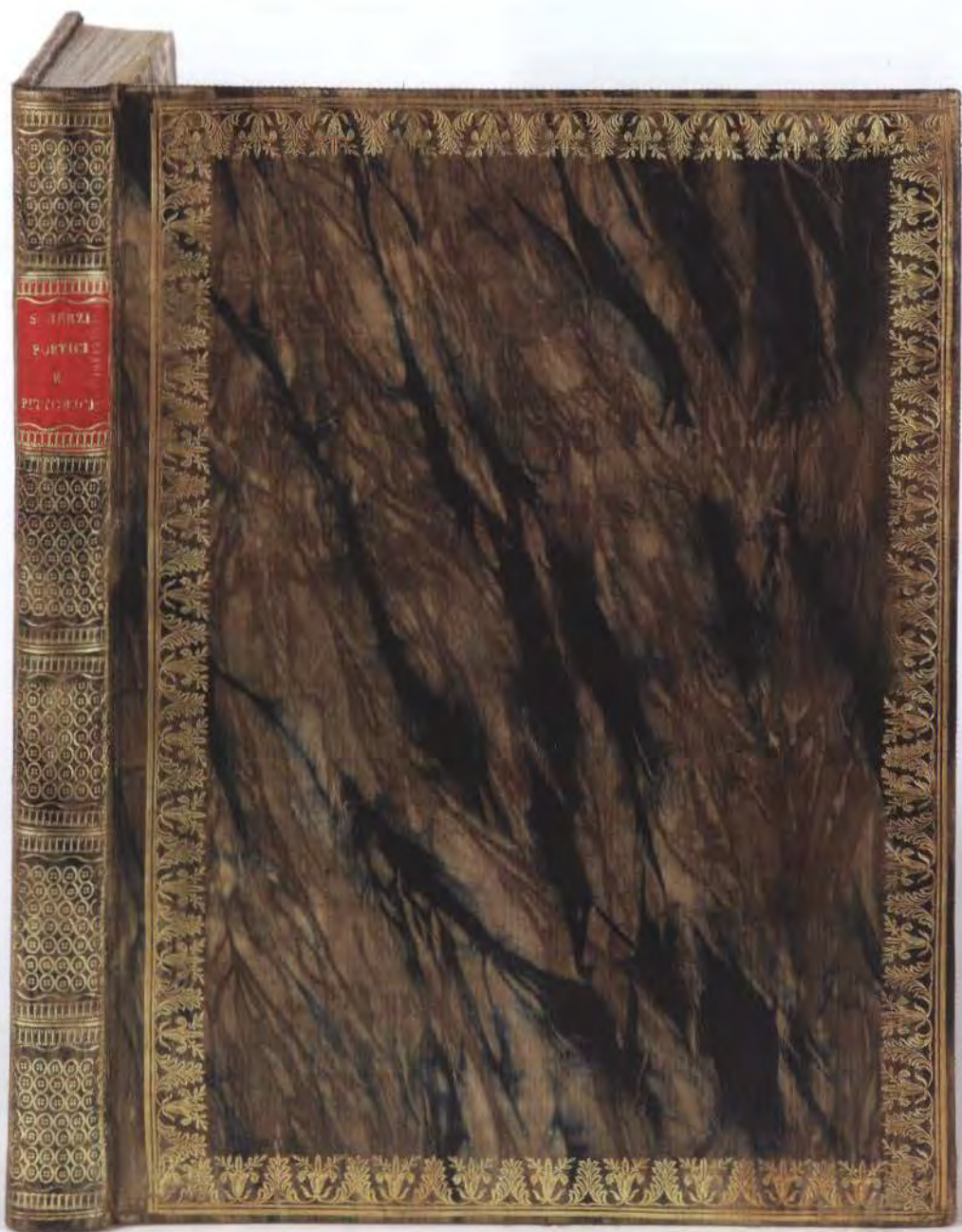


Fig. 140  
Giovanni Gherardo De Rossi, *Scherzi poetici  
e pittorici*. Parma: co'tipi Bodoniani, 1795.  
Bound in *pasta valenciana* with gold tooling  
by Santiago Martín. RB, VIII/2322



However, certain trends may be noted in the cases of France and England. It is common to find in libraries and even on the antique market a fairly sober type of neoclassical binding for Bodoni books, especially for his issues of classical authors, executed by Kalthoerber or Pyne to mention two of the great English binders. They display striking similarities to the much more abundant examples by Jean-Claude Bozérien, whose bindings for Bodoni books were also mass produced—"par masses", as Beraldi put it. It is likely that Bodoni, who was familiar with the Bozériens' work, liked this very sober, very neoclassical type of binding that was so appropriate to his books, although we know that he turned down Renouard's offer to have a series of his books in octavo bound in Paris, claiming that he did not wish to offend the binders of Parma. This renunciation of innovation out of loyalty to people like Domenico Guarnaschelli and the other craftsmen of Parma, whose style might prove somewhat archaic over time, honoured him, although it could also be judged as a hindrance to the prestige of Bodoni's editions in Europe and, of course, to the development of the art of binding in Parma.



Fig. 141

Tryphiodorus, *Tryphiodorou Aigyptiou tou grammatikou Iliou alosis*. Parmae: in Aedibus Palatinis, Typis Bodonianis, 1796. Leather binding with gold tooling by Santiago Martin. RB, XIX/8290

Fig. 142

Tryphiodorus, *Tryphiodorou Aigyptiou tou grammatikou Iliou alosis*. Parmae: in Aedibus Palatinis, Typis Bodonianis, 1797. Leather binding with gold tooling by Francisco Cifuentes. RB, VIII/6130

- 1 [It is quite true that here you are the most highly appreciated of all printers of the world from 1450 to today, and that they are all a bunch of ... compared to the great Bodoni.] This article is a much abbreviated version of the essay originally written for this volume, which is too extensive and is due to be published elsewhere (see, in the bibliography, *CATEDRA* in press [a]). The letters and documents used as sources, when no specific bibliographic details are provided, will be progressively published in the several volumes of my *G. B. Bodoni y los españoles*, the first of which has already come out (*CATEDRA* 2010). The research was conducted as part of the project *Público, libro, innovación tipográfica y bibliofilia internacional en el Siglo de las Luces: Bodoni y España*, carried out at the University of Salamanca with the support of the Ministerio de Ciencia e Innovación (FFI2011-23223). Part of the necessary time spent in national and foreign libraries was financed by grant PR2010-0558 from the "Subprograma de estancias de movilidad de profesores e investigadores españoles en centros extranjeros de enseñanza superior e investigación", Ministerio de Educación.
- 2 The Bodonian library of the Infante Don Antonio and the involvement of Bodoni and the Spanish booksellers in its formation are dealt with in greater detail in a monograph (*CATEDRA* in press [b]).
- 3 The plan would have been to overhaul the existing library of which the surviving catalogue of 1782 has been published and studied by LÓPEZ VIDRIERO 2002.
- 4 [Unbound in order to please [the Prince's] fondness for having them bound here.]
- 5 See BERTINI 1983, 42-46; and also GORRERI 1994, 49-51—this monograph is the most complete on Laferte in Parma—and, more recently, CAROSELLI 2010, 55-56. I am grateful to Dr Giuseppe Bertini and Dr Silvana Gorrieri for their attention and advice, and also to Federicho Macchi for providing the essential information that I include in the extended version of this essay.
- 6 On this, the visit and the production of the book see MINGARDI 1990.
- 7 [Surprising, and which honours him infinitely.]
- 8 CIAVARELLA 1979, I, 55-57. Despite the value of Ciavarella's meritorious edition, we are working on a new edition of this essential correspondence.
- 9 For further details, see *CATEDRA* in press [a].
- 10 See *CATEDRA* in press [b].
- 11 GORRERI 1994, 55-59.
- 12 The most extensive and recent contribution on this binder is CAROSELLI 2010, 55 and ff. For other bindings, see *CATEDRA* in press [a].
- 13 Apart from the aforementioned, see the references provided by GOTOR 1992.
- 14 [So superb that nothing further be known of the aforesaid.]
- 15 CIAVARELLA 1979, I, 115.
- 16 *Ibid.*, II, 35. [For love of God, let it not occur to you to sully our Horace with frills or engraved adornments, as all its beauty must lie in the print and cleanness of the text.]
- 17 *Ibid.*, I, 140. [Not a single copy should be released.]
- 18 *Ibid.*, II, 10. [For folio size the character should be fairly thick, otherwise it is weak and without force and tiresome to read.]
- 19 *Ibid.*, II, 14. [Let us decide for once and for all.]
- 20 *Ibid.*, II, 21.
- 21 *Ibid.*, II, 23.
- 22 *Ibid.*, II, 30.
- 23 *Ibid.*, II, 33.
- 24 *Ibid.*, II, 48.
- 25 *Ibid.*, II, 51. [In English style, in green morocco because there is no red ... I do not know how it will come out because the best binder we had left without notice and I gather that he is at the printing house of Padua Seminary ... meanwhile I shall make haste to have the king's copy ready, and I am pleased to say that it will be ready as soon as I have checked mine.]
- 26 *Ibid.*, II, 56.
- 27 *Ibid.*, II, 58.
- 28 See, however, *CATEDRA* in press [a].
- 29 CIAVARELLA 1979, II, 64.
- 30 JIMENO PUYOL 2010, 1792. [I have just found out that the ship carrying my Horaces, the shipment of which I have not had news of for two months, had arrived in Barcelona .... The Horace has aroused great enthusiasm all over Italy and even more in England, from which I receive countless letters. Bodoni has established his reputation with this work and is marking a new era in the annals of printing. You, who had him awarded the title of printer to the king, pray perfect the deed by proposing that His Majesty grant him a small allowance so that he does not live solely with the pittance from Parma, which is a disgrace; and truly, I can say that, without the help of this poor soul, this great artist would still remain in obscurity. Whatever hardship we are experiencing, a little help will not make us any poorer or any richer; and there are few things in which the king could use it so honourably.]
- 31 [in view of the distinguished merit of your honour, who is so well known throughout Europe by those who love the arts and hold them in high esteem, and as a token of how much the king has appreciated the magnificent works you have sent him on different occasions.]
- 32 *CATEDRA* 2010, 42-43. [They have no idea and appreciate them less than on good paper; this taste has not yet caught on in my Arabia.]
- 33 See *CATEDRA* in press [a] and [b].
- 34 There are few similar cases. I am grateful to Dr Federico Macchi for making known to me the signature of the binder Antonio Cantoni, active in Bergamo from 1666 to c.1700, who placed his name on the inner edge of the front cover and the city where

- he exercised his profession in the place where Guarnaschelli's name is.
- 35 I discuss these tools individually in CATEDRA in press [a].
- 36 I am grateful to Valentin Moreno of the Real Biblioteca for his expert definition of this coat of arms. See MORENO 2008, 42–45, 139, ill. 48.
- 37 See, however, CATEDRA in press [a].
- 38 [Not without a certain peculiar splendour and elegance.]
- 39 DE LAMA 1816, II, 80. [Perhaps Italy may be impartial when judging the Parisian printer and the one of Parma.]
- 40 [Work written on paper called vellum, from the workshop of Montgolfier (father and son), in the town which bears the name of Annonay, with the first roman characters cast by Henri Didot, the second son of Pierre-François Didot.]
- 41 For this matter and Bodoni's reaction, see CATEDRA in press [c].
- 42 [Forty years practically dedicated to books, judging that nothing concerning them is alien to me, encompassing each and every one of their aspects.]
- 43 [The monuments of the sacred writings superbly and magnificently composed with my characters.]
- 44 CATEDRA in press [a].
- 45 MINGARDI 1994, 208. We refer to this work for various aspects of the production of the original drawings and of the vicissitudes of Bodoni's edition, and also to the more recent RAGGI 2005. On the subject of the apartments, an essential reference work continues to be the compilation by BAROCELLI 1988, which reproduces various documents including some of those published by Bodoni and his circle, to which I refer here.
- 46 CIAVARELLA 1979, II, 42. [To have engraved the paintings of Correggio which are in this convent of nuns. They will copy them and then send me the copies and Volpato and Moghen will make the engravings themselves.]
- 47 *Ibid.*, II, 44. [Despite promising me they would be engraved, I fear that nothing has been done; as far as I can see, the only one who is doing anything in Parma is Bodoni.]
- 48 *Ibid.*, II, 45. [Is complicating matters.]
- 49 RAGGI 2005, 48.
- 50 *Ibid.*, 54, who transcribes in a note the letter from Vieira housed in the Biblioteca Comunale de Forlì, Fondo Piancastelli, Carte Romagne 397.519.
- 51 [To publish this Camera of Correggio with a description in Italian, Spanish, French and English.]
- 52 As he writes to Rosaspina (SERVOLINI 1958, 115).
- 53 The production process is reconstructed in detail by RAGGI 2005, 52–62 from the letters exchanged by the three parties.
- 54 SERVOLINI 1958, 183.
- 55 CIAVARELLA 1979, II, 133.
- 56 SERVOLINI 1958, 250. [In order to make known a work which has been impatiently awaited for several years.]
- 57 DE LAMA 1816, II, 139.
- 58 CIRAVEGNA 1942, 237). [Which has so greatly pleased our Infante who wishes to read all three ... bound in English style with great elegance.]
- 59 CIAVARELLA 1979, II, 134.
- 60 For further information on his role in this publication and his relationship with the Spanish diplomats, see CATEDRA in press [a].
- 61 CIAVARELLA 1979, II, 158.
- 62 CATEDRA in press [a].
- 63 [The first includes two copies bound in English style of the *Descrizione* of the famous Camera painted by the celebrated Correggio in Parma. At the front of each one is a printed dedication. The first is for his majesty the king, the second is addressed to her majesty the queen.]
- 64 CATEDRA in press [a].
- 65 [Equally unbearable do I find the vagueness of the expressions with which the celebrated Spanish minister indicates that he has sent it to Madrid. After that blessed day in which the august Prince Eugene, my new patron and lord, deigned to accord me his high protection and count me among his most certain servants, I ingeniously mentioned to him that long ago I had been distinguished with the title of royal printer to the King of Spain, and that I had enjoyed a by no means insignificant allowance for some years. The great and very human viceroys deigned to assure me with his innate clemency that he himself would have given orders for the appropriate permit to be sought in order that I may pass into his service preserving the same enthusiasm and vigour needed to have his august imperial name transcend to posterity with some work worthy of being remembered and which cruel time should not destroy within a short period.]
- 66 CIAVARELLA 1965, 38.
- 67 See CATEDRA in press [a].
- 68 CIAVARELLA 1979, II, 99.
- 69 [He did not present it on my behalf to say the least, and the letters which accompanied the by no means lukewarm offering were mislaid. The priest earned for himself some ecclesiastical allowance and I have received absolutely nothing for the said books.]
- 70 CIAVARELLA 1979, II, 120.
- 71 *Ibid.*, II, 90. [Sancha, a famous binder, has re-bound it.]