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The Copy of Paolo Sarpi's 1619 *Historia del Concilio Tridentino* at the University of Valladolid: Bibliography and Provenance

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Abstract

Bibliography and book provenance research have been recognized academically in the English-speaking countries since the early twentieth century. In Spain, their application to the field of English Studies still seems to be scarce and partial. This dissertation offers a bibliographical description and a study of the provenance of the oldest English imprint kept at the Library of the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters at the University of Valladolid, a first edition of Paolo Sarpi's *Historia del Concilio Tridentino* (London, 1619) from the Viñas collection. Valued-added features have surfaced, like Louis-Jean Gaignat and the first Earl of Lisburne as early owners of the copy, that highlight the role of book sales in the Anglo-French book trade by 1800. Apart from increasing the interest in the special collections of this institution, I intend to contribute to the study of early English printed books in Spanish libraries, their materiality and historical significance.

Keywords: Paolo Sarpi (1552-1623), early English printed books, book sales, bibliography, provenance, Library of the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters at the University of Valladolid.

Resumen

Las investigaciones en bibliografía y la procedencia de libros muestran reconocimiento académico en los países de habla inglesa desde principios del siglo XX. En España, su aplicación en los Estudios Ingleses parece todavía escasa y parcial. Este trabajo ofrece una descripción bibliográfica y un estudio de la procedencia del libro inglés más antiguo conservado en la Biblioteca de Filosofía y Letras de la Universidad de Valladolid, una primera edición de la *Historia del Concilio Tridentino* de Paolo Sarpi (Londres, 1619) de la colección Viñas. Se han encontrado elementos de sumo valor, como Louis-Jean Gaignat y el primer conde de Lisburne como propietarios iniciales del ejemplar, que constatan el papel de la venta de libros en el comercio del libro anglo-francés hasta 1800. Además de incrementar el interés por las singulares colecciones de esta institución, pretendo contribuir al estudio del libro antiguo inglés en las bibliotecas españolas, su materialidad e importancia histórica.

Palabras clave: Paolo Sarpi (1552-1623), libro antiguo inglés, venta de libros, bibliografía, procedencia, Biblioteca de Filosofía y Letras de la Universidad de Valladolid.

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Introduction

Within the field of English Studies, the presence of early English printed books in Spanish libraries has not been a common object of study for researchers. However, it constitutes a fertile field for the knowledge of the true scope of the history of the English book, and more in particular, of its trade and dissemination. This perspective entails a different look at what it is normally understood by the analysis of books, not based on their content, but rather on the historical information they provide as physical objects.

In comparison to Spain, the English-speaking countries have a larger tradition on the analysis of early imprints, be it on the basis of the study of bibliography –their analysis and description as tangible objects– or the study of provenance –their previous ownership–, a tradition that largely developed during the twentieth century and that has become a high-growth research field in our days. Although some steps behind, Spain followed this tendency since the mid-twentieth century along with other European countries. Nevertheless, the studies of bibliographical description and provenance that were carried out in Spain are mainly focused on the collections of royal and noble libraries, and consequently, the analysis of books extant in other lesser libraries has been mostly ignored.

It is in this context that we can look at the Library of the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters of the University of Valladolid, Spain, since it holds a valuable collection of rare books that comprises copies printed in England before 1800 which are not known at all. Indeed, there is no publication related to it, except for some information included in an article published in 2016 by its current director, M^a de los Ángeles Díez Rabadán.

These aspects have led me to focus this BA Dissertation on the analysis of the oldest English imprint kept in this library. This is Paolo Sarpi's *Historia del Concilio Tridentino* (London, 1619), a first edition in Italian, published under the author's pseudonym Pietro Soave Polano by the King's printer John Bill:

Historia del Concilio Tridentino. Nella quale si scoprono tutti gl' artificii della Corte di Roma, per impedire che né la verità di dogmi si palesasse, né la riforma del Papato, & della Chiesa si trattasse. Di Pietro Soave Polano. In Londra: Appresso Giovan. Billio. Regio stampatore, M. DCXIX. [1619]

The History of the Council of Trent: in which all the artifices of the Court of Rome to prevent the spread of the truth of dogmas and the reform of the Papacy & the Church are discovered. By Pietro Soave Polano. In London: John Bill. The King's Printer, M. DCXIX. [1619]

This book was especially relevant in England within the religious controversy against the Counter-Reformation. Due to its anti-papal arguments, King James I himself promoted its publication, and subsequent translations into English and Latin. Moreover, the copy subject to this study, apart from being the oldest English imprint in the library, is the one which bears the richest and most valuable amount of marks of provenance, also in terms of historical relevance.

Carrying out a thorough bibliographical description and study of provenance, this BA Dissertation aims at disclosing the value-added features of this copy and providing and promoting knowledge about the dissemination of early English printed books in the European context. By doing so, it is also intended to raise consciousness about the existence of such special collections of high bibliographical value as that the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters at Valladolid and hopefully arouse scholarly interest on its rare book holdings.

To carry out this study, the following methodology was used:

- a) Identifying the main sources of reference on the subject: the history of this institutional library, the history of the printed book in England and its circulation on the continent, bibliographical description and provenance research.
- b) Tracing the library catalogue of the University of Valladolid (*Almena*) to identify the English printed books prior to 1800 that belong to the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters.

- c) Searching the titles in the English Short Title Catalogue (ESTC) to discern which ones were actually printed in England, discard those bearing false imprints and select the book that would become the object of the dissertation.
- d) Carrying out a bibliometric analysis of the book through the ESTC, with reference to the number of copies of the selected title that exist in the world.
- e) Analysing the selected copy, its format, collation, binding and marks of provenance, following Fredson Bowers' *Principles of Bibliographical Description* (1949), Philip Gaskell's *New Introduction to Bibliography* (1972) and David Pearson's *Provenance Research in Book History* (1994).
- f) Interpreting the results obtained in the critical framework of the history of the book and its dissemination.

Accordingly, this dissertation has been arranged in six chapters: one first chapter dedicated to the European trade of English books and the studies of bibliography and provenance; a second chapter focused on the history of the Library of the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters and its Special Collections, including the Viñas Collection to which the copy of Paolo Sarpi's 1619 edition of *Historia del Concilio Tridentino* belongs; a third chapter about the context in which the work was produced, its publishing history and first translations; a fourth chapter dedicated to the bibliographical description and provenance research of the particular copy at the Faculty; and a final critical overview of the results obtained and their interpretation in the light of the European book trade.

Bibliographical Description and Provenance Research: English Books in Spanish Libraries

The study of books may be approached from two different perspectives: one engaged in the analysis of their contents as textual artefacts and another concerned with the historical data they convey as tangible objects. This work applies the latter approach to the bibliographical description and provenance of one specific case, the 1619 English imprint of *Historia del Concilio Tridentino* kept at the University of Valladolid, hoping to contribute to the history of this English book and of its dissemination. To do that, however, I will first give a brief overview of the history of the European book trade to 1800, with special reference to the role of England.

1.1 The European book trade: the English performance

England is well-known for having been one of the strongest powers in all Europe, and one would expect its book market to be one of the most influential on the continent. While it did become so from the eighteenth century onwards, this was not always the case.

As explained by Gaskell, in the early 1500s, England was a minor strength, where printing was not technologically advanced (171). Although since then England gained importance in Europe through to the seventeenth century, its book market lagged behind the powerful book trades of France, the Low Countries and Germany, which controlled and supplied most of the international market, the British Isles included. The Dutch Republic was indeed the usual passageway for English books into Europe. However, the accession of James I to the English throne in 1603 and his encouragement to exploit the King's Printing House had a significant impact on the London book trade (Wakely and Rees 470). The strict political control he exerted prevented the English book trade from prospering in the European market, but the output of the King's Printers was enormous and gained influence abroad and much more within the national borders.

In the eighteenth century, everything changed. The Age of Enlightenment meant the loss of Latin as the international language of scholarship and its gradual substitution for the vernacular languages. In this trend, the standard of intellectual communication was set by French, but also by English. Thanks to this change and to the expansion of the national market, the moderation of the political control of printing, and the growth of local funding, England entered the international book trade to finally become as strong as its European neighbours during the first half of the century and even surpassing them during the second (Gaskell 171).

Throughout this hand-press period, the structure of the book trade was based on small booksellers and printers who also acted as publishers (Gaskell 297) for whom book fairs, such as those in Frankfurt, and Leipzig, contributed to the distribution of books across the continent. The fairs brought together booksellers, publishers and collectors from all over Europe and, even though not all collectors could travel in person to them, they usually purchased their books in them through their agents (Kebulusek 99).

In this context, it is of prime importance to highlight that the book market caused the emergence of book collectors who established large and precious libraries merely based on their bibliographical value. Those libraries could be sold during their owners' lifetimes due to reasons like "financial impecunity, shortage of space, or boredom" (Pearson 133), but most commonly a library dispersed after the death of its owner. It could follow either of two paths: being inherited by the owner's descendants or being auctioned off. This brought one of the key elements used for evidence in the studies of provenance and bibliography: the sale and auction catalogues.

According to Elliott, during the eighteenth century, two types of sale-by-auction forms coexisted: the earlier model, which dates back to the 1680s and which organized the dispersal of stock (drawn mostly from private libraries) by lots in highest-bidder format, and the model of fixed-price auctions, which were more like announcements of stock-for-purchase over a period of weeks or months, which became quite popular from 1750 onwards (360-61).

In any case, sale and auction catalogues demonstrate the numerous book transactions that took place both nationally and internationally, as is the case of our subject book, a London imprint now preserved in Valladolid.

1.2 The studies of bibliographical description and provenance research

Interest in books could be traced back to the time of their appearance, since collectors and cataloguers used to investigate their provenance and publish bibliographies with lists of titles organized by owner or by subject. However, academic research on bibliography and provenance was not carried out until the twentieth century, when these studies gained much ground in the United Kingdom and the United States. Together with other European countries, Spain followed this tendency, but its impact was not as solid as in the English-speaking countries.

The interest of bibliophiles in books associated with notable people led to the first investigations related to bibliography. However, this practice was not recognized as scientific until the beginning of the 1900s when scholars like W.W. Greg, A.W. Pollard or R.B. McKerrow started to study the works of Shakespeare and other Elizabethan playwrights to discover their possible textual alterations and retrieve the original texts. For this purpose, these scholars paid attention to the works' format, signatures and types of paper, among other aspects. Throughout the century, these studies were formalized in methodological guides on specific bibliographical elements. Between 1939-1959, Greg published *Bibliography of the English Printed Drama to the Restoration*, a four-volume work that included a detailed explanation of bibliographical procedures and that supplied Bowers with a background to write a complete guide first published in 1949, *Principles of Bibliographical Description*, a book that was reprinted in 1994 with an introduction by Tanselle in which he explains these facts (v).

Depending on the perspective used, bibliography shows distinct types: enumerative or systematic bibliography, concerned with reference lists of books that follow certain formal conventions, and analytical or critical bibliography, which deals with books solely as physical objects and has nothing to do with their historical or literary contents (Bowers

31). Here the focus will be on the last type, and more specifically, we will aim attention at a certain type of analytical bibliography, descriptive bibliography.

As Bowers states, analytical bibliography examines the following aspects of books: the materials of which they are made, their place and date of origin, the story they have had until arriving at their current location, the written or impressed signs and symbols they contain, and the relations they may have among them (31). Descriptive bibliography, in particular, concentrates on the production of the catalogue, and its main objective is to make available a listing of books, either in a specific collection or library or referring to any other aspect such as a particular period, literature, subject or author, with the final aim of recording the existence of those books and provide sufficient descriptive data about each copy so that any reader may recognize it accurately even without seeing it in person (Bowers 124).

In general, the basic details provided for the identification of a book are: author, title, date and place of publication, and, sometimes, format. To get a complete bibliographical description of a book, at least for one printed before 1800, Gaskell (321) recommends including: 1) transcripts of the title-page; 2) format and collational formula, detailing signing, number of leaves and pagination; 3) a technical note, including press figures, type, paper, plates or inserts; 4) a list of the contents; 5) other notes and annotations regarding the book that may throw light on its history; and 6) a list of the copies examined.

If there is one thing that bibliographical description and provenance research have in common is that both are born from the understanding of books as material artefacts. Considering the definition of bibliography given by Bowers as “the study of books as tangible objects” (31), provenance research could be acknowledged as a specific branch of the study of bibliography.

Provenance research deals with the ownership of books and aims to identify the way a book passed from one owner to another and when that happened. For this purpose, it relies on the analysis of signs and symbols such as inscriptions, mottoes, bookplates, labels, stamps or armorials that might appear on books or printed catalogues. As Pearson explains,

sale catalogues, either from collectors or auctioneers, also offer valuable provenance material: books in the libraries of named collectors, inscriptions of previous ownership in the books' descriptions, and names of book purchasers that appeared in copies of sale catalogues compiled by auctioneers (132). But what is the point of knowing about the previous ownership of a book? Why do scholars, librarians and booksellers become interested in this?

Since the early nineteenth century, book provenance began to be addressed, as Pearson explains, “with a view to asking serious questions about what it can teach us” (2). Provenance research is an excellent source of historical knowledge: from the size and contents of specific libraries to information about the history of the book trade, or the owner of a particular library, or even the date and localization of undated texts or book bindings. It is now frequent to find studies on particular collectors and their libraries, and booksellers and librarians are prone to provide provenance details in the catalogues they produce about their sale books or collections. No doubt, tastes on provenance research have changed over time. If in the past added value was given to a book by its association with a distinguished person, now this door is open for all kinds of books of less notable owners (Pearson 138).

In the light of all this, it seems clear that the uses of bibliographical description and provenance research have proved to be fundamental for the history of the English book and the dissemination of texts. Accordingly, the studies on the English book trade and its circulation, nationally and across Europe, are many and very complete. Nevertheless, the studies on the presence of English books in Spain are scarce and partial. With a few honourable exceptions, there are no investigations of a more comprehensive nature about this topic, and the particularities of most of the Spanish libraries and the copies they contain are barely known.

The Library of the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters at the University of Valladolid and the Viñas Collection

The history of a library is reconstructed from archives and marks in books. However, the Historical Archives of the University of Valladolid have not been fully researched to reconstruct the history of the University library, much less in the case of the Library of the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters (*Biblioteca de la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras*), about whose history and collections there is still a large gap of information. This chapter is intended to collect the data already known about the Faculty library and provide new information about one of its richest funds, the Viñas Collection (*Fondo Viñas*), where the 1619 copy of Paolo Sarpi's *Historia del Concilio Tridentino* may be found.

2.1 The Library of the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters

Since its establishment in 1917, the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters shared its headquarters with the Faculty of Law in the historical building of the University in Plaza de la Universidad until in 1999 the Faculty moved, along with its library, to the building it currently occupies in Plaza del Campus (Díez Rabadán 2). The data collected about its library are practically non-existent; only one article by its current director M^a de los Ángeles Díez Rabadán has been published.

Before talking about the library of the Faculty and its holdings, it is necessary to set a contrast with the historical library of the University, housed at the Palace of Santa Cruz, because this is contrarily fairly well known and researched. Today it comprises the old library of the College of Santa Cruz and the old University library. Matos Eguiluz explains how the old library of the College of Santa Cruz was founded in Valladolid at the end of the fifteenth century by Cardinal Mendoza to house his collection of books (723). Since then, new purchases and bequests have entered its shelves. In 1798, after a fail attempt to reform the *colegios mayores*, it became part of the *Real Chancillería* (Royal Chancellery) but not

for long, since it was ceded to the University in 1807. After some years, the library returned to the College of Santa Cruz, but Mendizábal's Disentailment (1836-37) transferred the institution into the hands of the Provincial Council until, in 1850, the collections became the property of the University (Matos Eguiluz 725).

As for the old University library, its collections grew mostly from libraries that were donated or granted: the collections from the Jesuit Society upon its expulsion in 1767, mainly from San Ambrosio and San Ignacio, and in the nineteenth century, those acquired after the disentailment of religious houses and those of the library of the College of Santa Cruz (Matos Eguiluz 779). By the mid-nineteenth century, the University library embraced three main collections: those from Santa Cruz, those from the library of the University properly, and those of the religious orders that were disentailed. These were housed jointly at the Palace of Santa Cruz in what today is the Historical Library of the University of Valladolid.

Whereas the Historical Library of the University has been quite well investigated, the library of the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters has not been researched at all, even though it holds early manuscripts and early printed books of great bibliographical value. While the Faculty was located at the historical building of the University, most of its holdings were related to the subject matters imparted in its degrees. There was a central repository, but not all books were kept there. According to De la Plaza Santiago and Ortega Coca (743), in 1968 there was a reform of the building to accommodate the departments of the different disciplines in separate rooms, where each section started to build up their own independent collections. This is confirmed by Díez Rabadán when she states that the funds of the current library are formed by the collections of the Central Library, today shelf-marked *Bc* (*Biblioteca Central*), the collections of the departments of each discipline, and private or personal collections that have been donated to the University (3). All of them are specialized in the humanities, and more specifically, in the disciplines that were and still are taught and researched nowadays: History, Literature, Philosophy, among others.

The early manuscripts and early printed books of the library of the Faculty are now held at its Old Repository (*Fondo Antiguo*), a valuable fund which is part of the *Patrimonio Bibliográfico Español* (Spanish Bibliographical Heritage), as pointed out by Díez Rabadán (4). Once again, some of its books came from the departments of the Faculty and some others arrived through the above-mentioned private collections, which also contributed significantly to their enrichment. Although these private collections included books with varied themes, they are shelved as differentiated units after the name of the person who donated or sold them to the University. One of the most plentiful and valuable is the Viñas Collection, the one that holds the first edition of Sarpi's *Historia del Concilio Tridentino* which will concern us hereafter.

2.2 Viñas and his personal collection

The Viñas Collection, whose vast majority of books is part of the *Patrimonio Bibliográfico Español*, was bequeathed to the University of Valladolid in 1958, after the death of Art History Professor Aurelio Viñas Navarro (Díez Rabadán 4). Despite its incredible value, nearly 6000 exemplars with varied themes belonging to the humanities (especially Art, History and Literature), some of them printed in the sixteenth century, it has not been fully catalogued, let alone researched. Professor Viñas himself remains a rather obscure figure. With the aid of Solanas, in the *Diccionario en Red de Catedráticos de Historia de España, 1833-1986*, the few biographical notes and obituaries that appeared in newspapers upon Viñas' death, and his academic record in the Archivo de la Universidad de Valladolid (ES. 47186. AUVa A1-0000298/004), we have gathered the following information.

Born in 1892 in San Román de Hornija, Valladolid, Aurelio Viñas Navarro was awarded the degree of Doctor in Philosophy and Letters by the Central University of Madrid (the current *Universidad Complutense*), with a specialization in History and distinction in Felipe II studies. According to the *Gaceta de Madrid* (no. 118), in 1914, after graduating, he obtained a scholarship of the *Junta para Ampliación de Estudios e Investigaciones Científicas* (Board for Extension of Studies and Scientific Research) to

extend his studies in Portugal. Some years later, in 1920, he started his career as Professor of Spanish History at the University of Oviedo, which he continued at the University of Seville since 1921.

In 1923, Viñas moved to Paris by leave of absence to work as a lecturer at the Sorbonne. There he taught Spanish History, a job that he combined with Spanish grants to do research in the Paris Archives and that allowed him to work with the French writer Ernest Martinenche. Since 1929, Viñas held the post of Deputy Director of the Institute of Hispanic Studies at the Sorbonne, but he remained connected to the most important Spanish intellectual circles. Before the Spanish Civil War, he collaborated with figures such as the historian and politician Claudio Sánchez Albornoz. When the war broke out, Viñas claimed that he was living in Paris working on dissemination and exaltation of the Spanish culture, and thanks to a Certificate from the Spanish Embassy in Paris that endorsed this defence, he was allowed to be purged without penalty in 1941. He then became Cultural Attaché of the Spanish Embassy in Paris and advisor to the General Library of the *Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas* (Spanish National Research Council) and became one of the founders of the magazine *Cuadernos de la Cátedra Miguel de Unamuno* in 1948 (Solanas par. 5).

Due to his delicate state of health, in 1948, Viñas requested to be reinserted in the Spanish educational system to occupy the chair of Prehistory and History of Spain in Ancient and Middle Ages and General History of Spain in the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters at the University of Valladolid, a position provisionally assigned on 5 May 1948 and definitively on 21 March 1949 (ES. 47186. AUVa A1-0000298/004). In 1958, at the age of 66, Viñas deceased in Madrid. At this moment, the process to be named Ordinary Professor of the Sorbonne was about to be complete, according to the obituary of the *ABC* newspaper ('Don Aurelio Viñas Navarro', 1958, p. 33). His recognition as a person of intellectual and professional worth was evident in his posthumous tributes held at the Spanish Library and the Institute of Hispanic Studies in Paris.

What concerns us here is Viñas' interest in books. It had to be immense, because he compiled a huge collection of nearly 6000 volumes. Due to his connection to the University of Valladolid, his library was donated to the institution after his death, and today, the Viñas Collection is one of the richest funds that form part of the library of the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters. Most of its books can be recognized because Viñas used to take pencil notes of the place and date of acquisition of each exemplar (Díez Rabadán 6). His autograph also appears in the copy we will be analyzing, Sarpi's *Historia*, and will help to reconstruct the provenance story of this book.

The Birth and Publication of Paolo Sarpi's *Historia del Concilio Tridentino*

Historia del Concilio Tridentino is the most famous work of Paolo Sarpi Veneto (1552-1623), a Venetian ecclesiastic and diplomat who was one of the most influential erudites of his time. This work, divided in eight books, is a valuable historical record primarily focused on revealing the motives behind some of the decisions of the Council of Trent (1545-1563), the most important response of the Roman Catholic Church in opposition to the Protestant Reformation. According to Wootton, being a purely worldly portrait of the Council, this work was taken as a model of the Enlightened vision of history in secular terms, becoming a central work of Modern historiography (1).

But beyond being a historical record, this work was written under Sarpi's view against the absolute power of the Pope over the Church. While Sarpi was canon-theologian of the Republic of Venice, the city was put under a Papal Interdict due to its confrontation with the Pope, but despite his condition as a Catholic ecclesiastic, Sarpi always defended the legitimate autonomous sovereignty of Venice. This cost him the excommunication, and almost his death, since he suffered various assassination attempts (Wootton 10). Within this context, it is not rare that his *Historia del Concilio Tridentino* included anti-papal arguments, and that is why it was warmly welcomed across Europe, and especially among Protestants. Even before publication, the interest on Sarpi's *Historia* was so significant among the Protestant nations that it was first published in England in its original written language, Italian, in the year 1619 by the King's Printer John Bill. The imprint, sponsored by King James I himself, was soon translated and published in English, Latin and German in 1620, and in French and Dutch in 1621 (Burke 138).

3.1 Paolo Sarpi and his writing of the *Historia*

Paolo Sarpi was an important ecclesiastic and diplomat. Born in Venice in 1552, he demonstrated his exceptional scholarship from a very young age. Although his original name was Pietro, he changed it to Paolo at the age of thirteen, when he joined the Augustinian Order of Servite friars (Riverso 297). According to Wootton, in 1579, he became Provincial of his Order in Venice and was chosen to revise its regulations, a task for which he spent some time in Rome, where he studied the decrees of Trent (8, 9). During his stay in Rome, he witnessed the corruption of the ecclesiastical authorities and that influenced his decision to break with Rome and return to Venice in 1588.

Once in Venice, Sarpi participated in philosophical and theological debates and carried out various scientific and medical studies. As explained by Wootton, during the 1606-1607 Venetian Interdict dictated by Pope Paul V to face the confrontation between the Papacy and the Republic of Venice, Sarpi was appointed state-theologian of the city and defended its sovereignty over the Pope, making Venice gain support from France and England (10). For this reason, he was excommunicated and persecuted by the Inquisition. He survived to various attempts of assassination at the same time that he rose to fame and his numerous writings against the Pope were widely read and admired abroad.

While he was condemned by the Roman Church, Sarpi won the sympathy of the great European defenders of the Reformation, particularly of England. King James I himself offered him protection in England and, although he rejected it, his relations with the English ambassadors strengthened. In fact, it was Sir Durley Carleton, English Ambassador to Venice from 1610 to 1616, who encouraged Sarpi to write his *Historia*, persuading him to write plainly about the Council of Trent and therefore being indirectly critical with the Pope and favourable to the Protestant Reformation and James I's interests (Riverso 302).

3.2 The smuggling around the *Historia* and its publication

The publication of Sarpi's *Historia* was by no means performed under simple circumstances and here we will explain how it occurred.

Since the Venetian Interdict, Sarpi established strong relationships with Protestant figures such as Marco Antonio De Dominis (1560-1624), a Roman Catholic Archbishop from Dalmatia who sided with Sarpi's Venice during the Papal Interdict, and who was known for his anti-papal opinions and his retreat to England in 1616, where he was converted to Anglicanism. De Dominis, who had been warmly received by King James I in England, was aware that Sarpi's *Historia* was particularly favourable to the Stuart King's politics and thus, in his desire to compensate the King for having welcomed him so well, he requested Nathaniel Brent (who would later translate the *Historia* into English) to smuggle Sarpi's work to England with the assistance of some Dutch merchants (Constantinidou 54).

In this way, the text arrived in England under De Dominis' demand and was soon published in London in 1619 by the King's Printer John Bill. The imprint included an anti-Roman subtitle and a dedication by De Dominis to James I. As stated by Burke, these new additions of the text made it openly anti-papal and closer to be considered a Protestant work (136). Being such a controversial text, it was included in the *Index of Prohibited Books* by the Roman Church immediately, on 18 November 1619, according to Martínez de Bujanda (807).

The book became highly popular in England, where scholars used Sarpi's references against the Pope as a testimony to justify the separation of the English Church from Rome. It is believed that distinguished figures like John Milton showed interest in the work and consulted it (Jones 50). Despite the book's acclaim, Riverso affirms that Sarpi was not happy at finding that De Dominis had published his title without his consent and for his own benefit, mainly to receive the attention of King James (310). Sarpi feared that it was not difficult to discover his identity under the name of Pietro Soave Polano (the anagram of Paolo Sarpi Veneto). But the reality was that the book achieved large fame even during Sarpi's life and that it was soon published into English, Latin, French, German and Dutch, most probably thanks to the book fairs, which encouraged the rapid distribution of books throughout the continent.

The first English translation of the *Historia* came to light in 1620, and, as mentioned above, the person responsible for the translation was Nathaniel Brent, a college head at the University of Oxford and De Dominis' major assistant in his plan to move the text to England. In that same year, the work was published anonymously in Latin, actually translated by the dean of Durham Adam Newton. Also in 1620, a German translation was published anonymously, and just one year later, in 1621, the first French translation was published by Giovanni Diodati and the Dutch by a certain Marcus de Rogeau (Burke 138).

The Copy of Paolo Sarpi's 1619 *Historia del Concilio Tridentino*: From London to Valladolid

As already mentioned, the library of the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters of the University of Valladolid holds a first edition of Paolo Sarpi's *Historia del Concilio Tridentino*, a rare book which is part of the Special Collections of the library. More specifically, it belongs to the Viñas Collection, donated to the University after the death of Professor Viñas.

Within the English Short Title Catalogue (ESTC), just forty-six printed copies of the first edition of this work published in London in 1619 are registered in the world: thirty-six in the British Isles, seven in North America, one in Germany, and two in Australia. But how about Spain? According to the *Catálogo Colectivo del Patrimonio Bibliográfico Español* (Collective Catalogue of Spanish Bibliographic Heritage), three more printed books from those registered in the ESTC are held in Spain: one in the Biblioteca de Navarra, Pamplona; another one in the Fundación Universitaria Española, Madrid; and the one that will be studied here which is at the library of the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters at Valladolid.

Considering this context, in this chapter, we will study the copy of the Faculty in terms of bibliographical description and provenance research to be able to compare it with the rest of the copies of the edition and signal its significance. To do that, bibliographical description of the imprint following the classics Fredson Bowers' *Principles of Bibliographical Description* (1949) and Philip Gaskell's *New Introduction of Bibliography* (1972) will be presented. Also, we will provide the provenance story of the copy, a journey among the recognizable owners of the imprint from its publication in London to its arrival at the University of Valladolid following David Pearson's *Provenance Research in Book History* (1994).

4.1 Bibliographical description of the copy of Sarpi's *Historia*

Our copy of Sarpi's *Historia* was printed in folio format in sixty-eight gatherings of six leaves each, except for the penultimate gathering which includes eight leaves and the last one which has four. Except for the coat of arms in the title-page and the initials opening the different sections, the text-block is otherwise devoid of ornamentation. Type is roman, with ligatures, and with use of italics on the dedication by De Dominis to King James I. There are no running titles, but regular use is made of catchwords. Pagination presents errors, here in this copy corrected by an anonymous reader. Furthermore, several marks of provenance, including an eighteenth-century rococo binding, help trace the history of the book from the eighteenth century onwards, moving from the private hands of collectors to the library of Philosophy and Letters of the University of Valladolid, where it is preserved today, registered under the shelf-mark *F/Bc Viñas 3982*.

Here follows the bibliographical description of the Valladolid copy. The intention with this is to provide information that could serve as a means to identify other copies of the same edition, but also to evaluate the status of this one, signal its significance, and, hopefully, get information about the manufacture and distribution of the text. Following Gaskell's conventions (321-335), the elements included are: the semi-diplomatic transcription of the title, a formula indicating format, collation, as well as statement of signing, total numbers of leaves and pagination statement, followed by contents, typeface, type of paper, binding, notes with additional data, and marks of provenance.

Title-page transcription:

HISTORIA | DEL | CONCILIO | TRIDENTINO. | *NELLA QVALE SI SCOPRONO*
| *tutti gl' artifici della Corte di Roma, per impedire | che né la verità di dogmi fi*
palesaffe, né la | riforma del Papato, & della Chiesa | fi trattaffe. | DI | PIETRO
SOAVE | *POLANO.* / [rule] | [royal coat of arms, 66×62 mm.] | [double rules] | IN
LONDRA, | Appresso *GIOVAN. BILLIO.* | Regio Stampatore. | M. DCXIX.

Device: the new royal coat of arms created by James I, with 'I R' for *Jacobus Rex* at either side of the crown and the motto '*Dieu et mon droit.*' across the bottom.

R. 20-128

HISTORIA
DEL
CONCILIO
TRIDENTINO.

NELLA QUALE SI SCOPRONO
tutti gl' artifici della Corte di Roma, per impedire
che né la verità di dogmi si palesasse, né la
riforma del Papato, & della Chiesa,
si trattasse.

DI
PIETRO SOAVE
POLANO.



IN LONDRA,
Appresso GIOVAN. BILLIO.
Regio Stampatore.
M. DC XIX.

RV. 2808

Fig. 1. Title-page of the first edition of Sarpi's *Historia del Concilio Tridentino* (fol. a1), UVA Library F/Bc Viñas 3982.

Formula: 2°: a⁴ A-3V⁶ 3X⁸ 3Y⁴ [\$3(—aX3Y3,+3X4) signed; misprinting 2X as Xz]; 412 leaves, pp. [8] 1-806 [10]

Contents: title [a1], verso blank; dedication to King James I [a2-a4], a4 verso blank; text [A1-3X7]; *tavola* [3X8-3Y4], 3Y4 verso blank

CW] on every page

Type: Roman, italics on the dedication to King James I; 48 lines, 40-42 lines in every page in which each Book begins.

Paper: Laid; watermarked, pot with two handles with grapes on top, bunch of grapes; vertical chainlines, chain 20 mm.

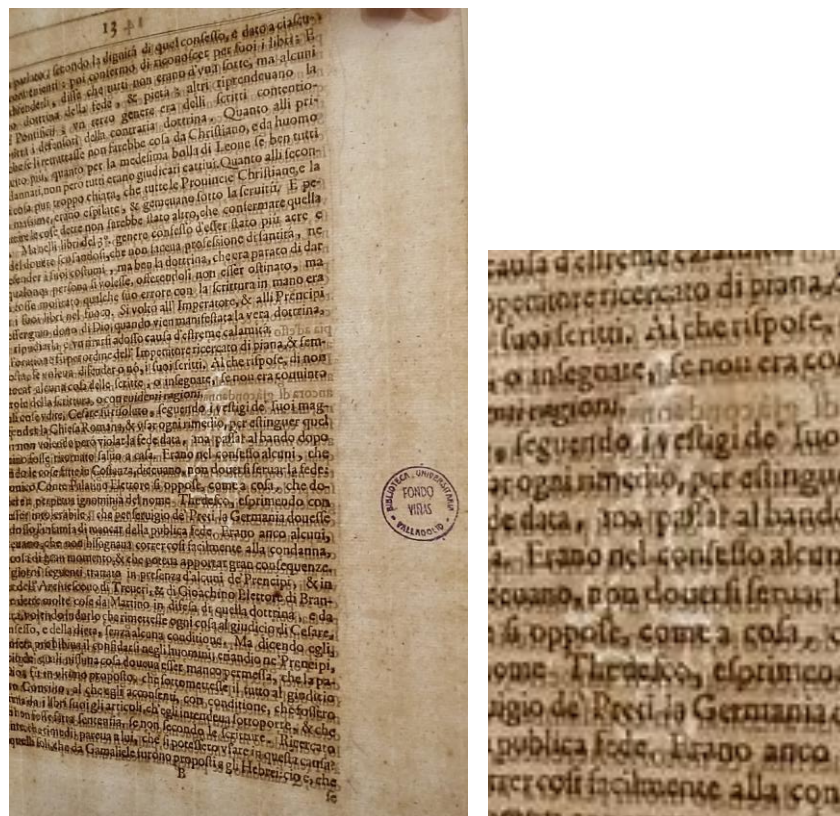


Fig. 2. Watermark roughly in the centre of the leaf; pot with two handles with grapes on top. Sarpi, *Historia* (fol. B1), UVa Library F/Bc Viñas 3982.

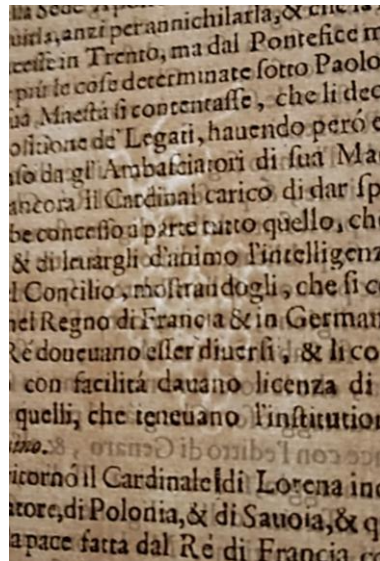
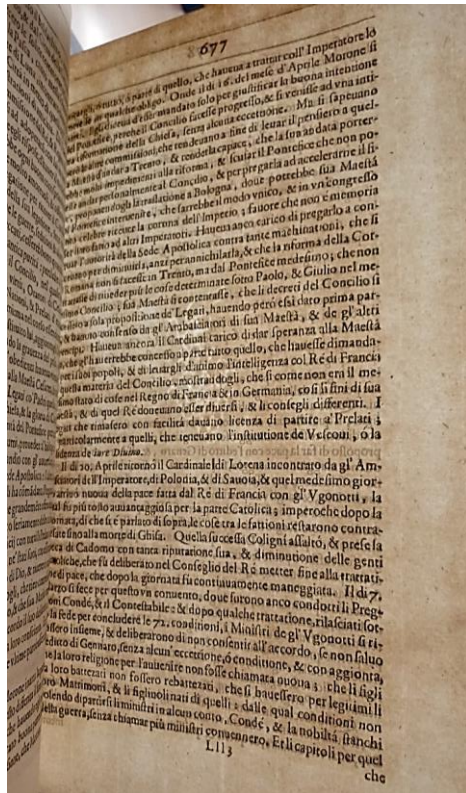


Fig. 3. Watermark in the centre of the leaf; bunch of grapes. Sarpi, *Historia* (fol. 3L3), UVa Library F/Bc Viñas 3982.



Fig. 4. Device, imprimatur and vertical chainlines. Sarpi, *Historia* (fol. a1), UVa Library F/Bc Viñas 3982.

Binding: mid-eighteenth-century, French; natural calf; gilt-tooled; marbled end-papers and edges; blank binder's leaves; light blue silk ribbon; 290×190×50 mm.

Notes: (1) horizontal chainlines in binder's leaves; (2) several page numbers misprinted, with an unknown reader's corrections in ink; (3) decorated initials opening each Book.

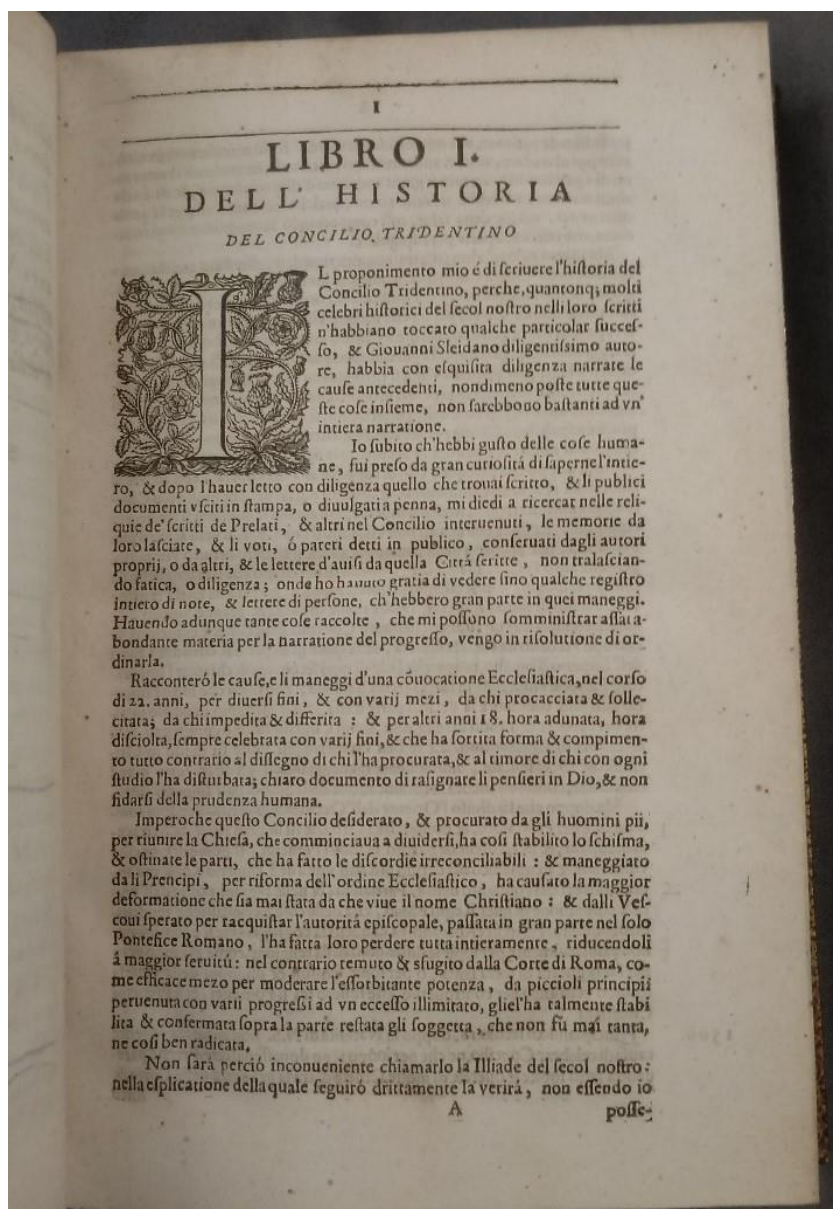


Fig. 5. Opening page of Book 1, showing initial decorated with Scottish thistle and English Tudor rose. Sarpi, *Historia* (fol. A1), UVa Library F/Bc Viñas 3982.

Marks of provenance

Binding: mid-eighteenth century, French; natural calf; triple fillet border on covers and double fillet on edges; inner dentelles with gilt lacy pattern; gilt spine with six raised bands and eight compartments; blue and white marbled pastedowns, flyleaves and edges, in French curl pattern; blank binder's leaves; 290×190×50 mm.

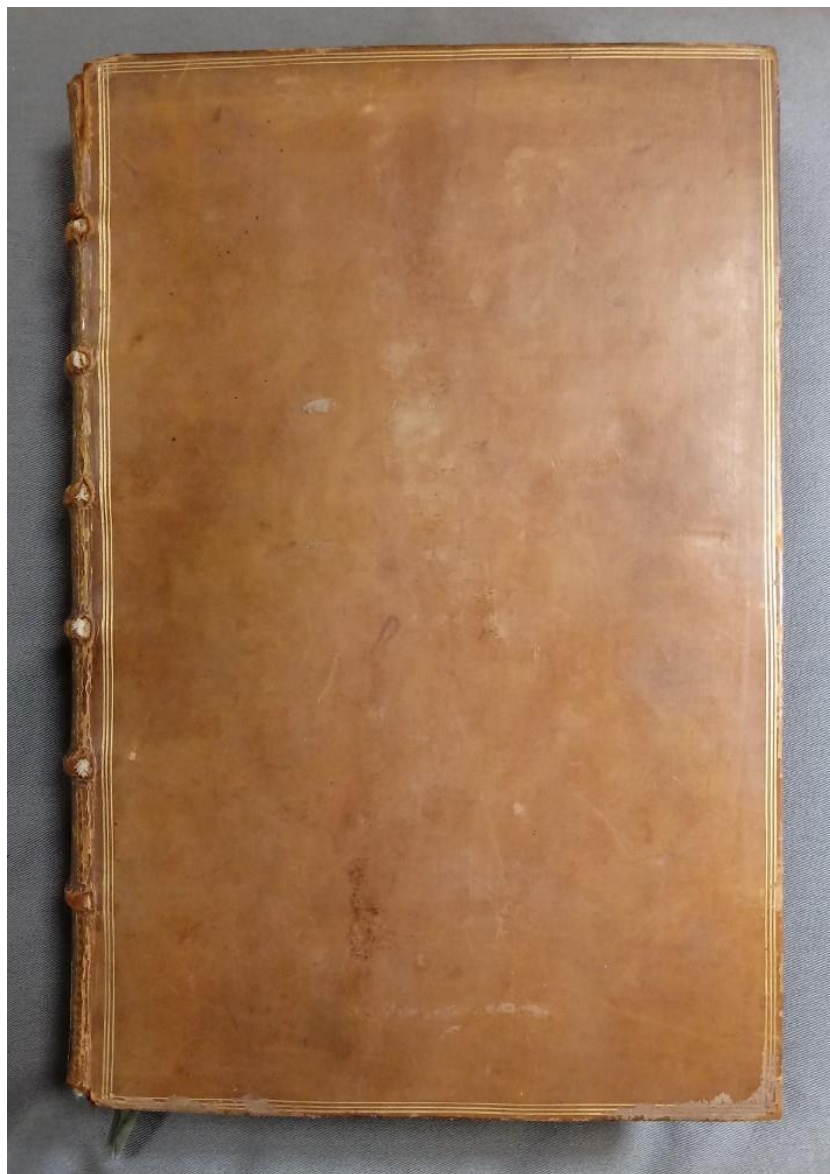


Fig. 6. Light brown, natural calf front cover with three-fillet borders; shows some ware. Sarpi, *Historia*, UVa Library F/Bc Viñas 3982.

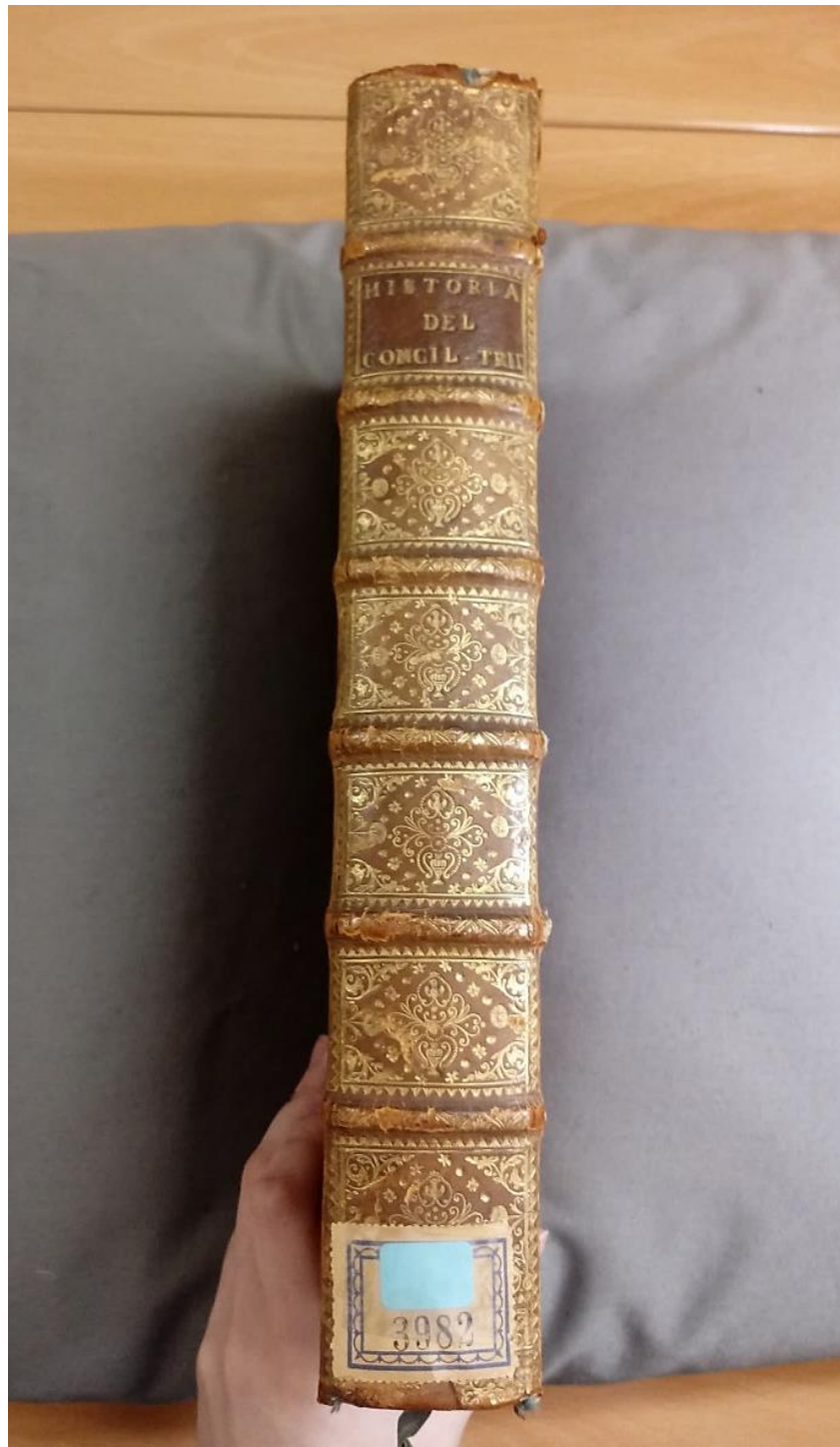


Fig. 7. Gilt-tooled spine with raised bands and eight compartments, showing brown leather label with title 'HISTORIA | DEL CONCIL. TRID.' lettered in gilt in the second one and rococo decoration of leaves, flower-vase and bird in the rest. The paper label shows current shelf-mark. Sarpi, *Historia*, UVa Library F/Bc Viñas 3982.



Fig. 8. Marbled edges of text block showing French curl pattern. Sarpi, *Historia*, UVa Library F/Bc Viñas 3982.

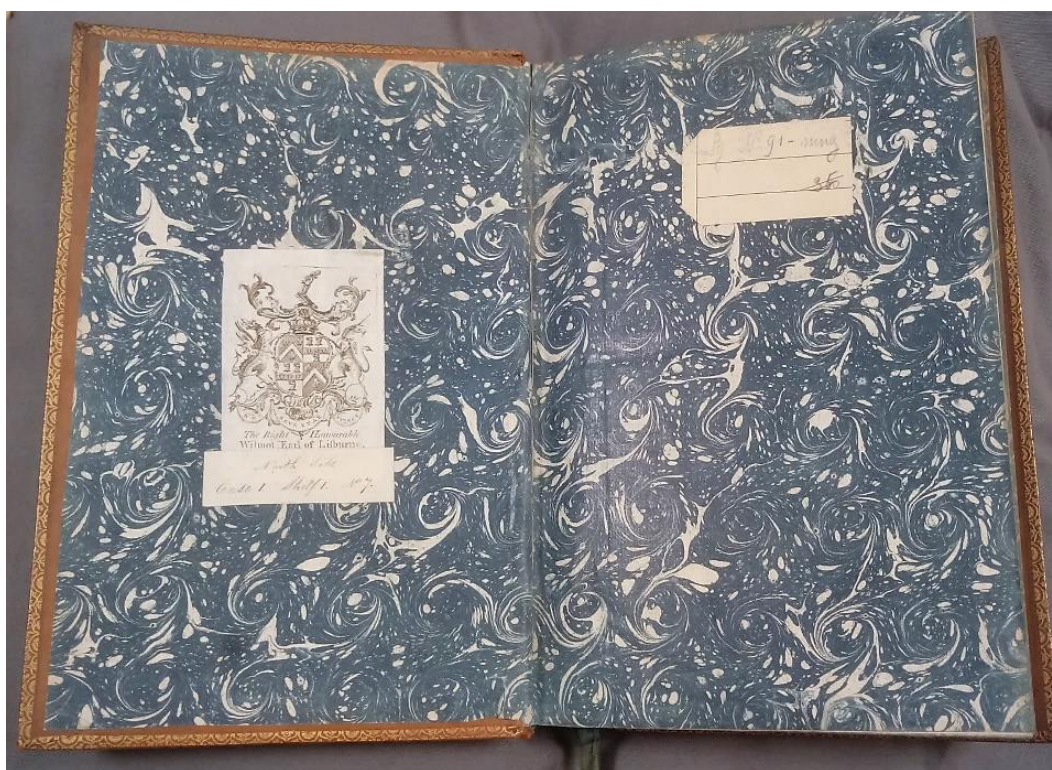


Fig. 9. French curl pattern in marbled front pastedown and flyleaf, with 18th-century ex-libris bookplate and 20th-century institutional label; the inner border of front cover shows French-style gilt dentelle. Sarpi, *Historia*, UVa Library F/Bc Viñas 3982.

Bookplates



Fig. 10. Wilmot Vaughan's bookplate, with armorial in Chippendale style, motto and handwritten nobility title; label with hand-written shelf-mark of his library pasted on, covering part of the latter. Sarpi, *Historia*, UVa Library F/Bc Viñas 3982.

Book labels

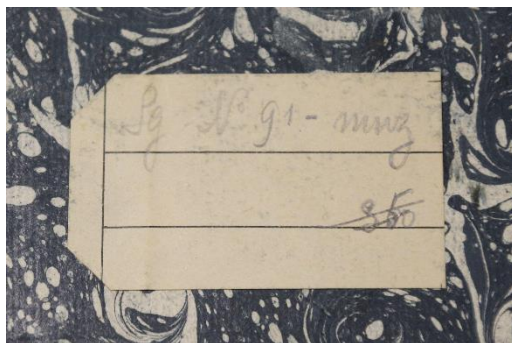


Fig. 11. Twentieth-century label with library inscriptions; pasted on recto of front flyleaf. Sarpi, *Historia*, UVa Library F/Bc Viñas 3982.

Inscriptions

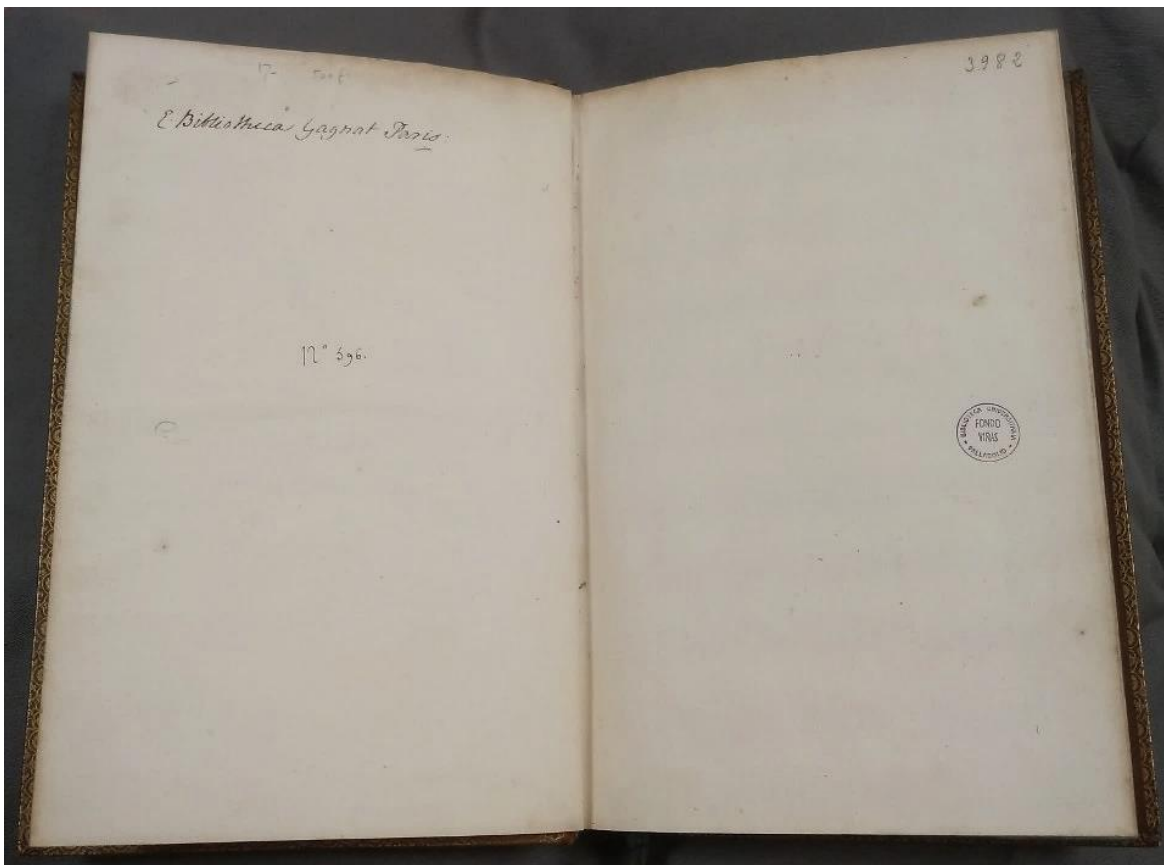


Fig. 12. Front flyleaf, verso, and front binder's leaf, recto.
Sarpi, *Historia*, UVa Library F/Bc Viñas 3982.

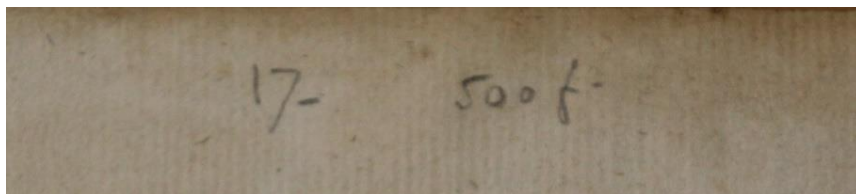


Fig. 13. A 20th-century bookseller's code and price in pencil: "17-" and "500 f."; front flyleaf, verso. Sarpi, *Historia*, UVa Library F/Bc Viñas 3982.

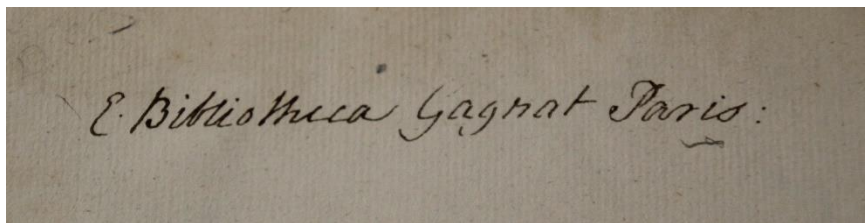


Fig. 14. Ex libris “E[x] Bibliotheca Ga[i]gnat Paris:” on front flyleaf, verso.
Sarpi, *Historia*, UVa Library F/Bc Viñas 3982.

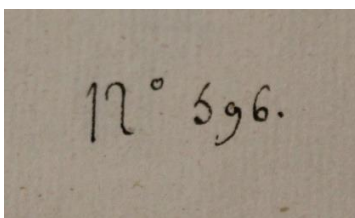


Fig. 15. Eighteenth-century inscription in ink: “N° 596.”; front flyleaf, verso.
Sarpi, *Historia*, UVa Library F/Bc Viñas 3982.

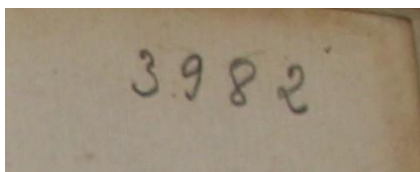


Fig. 16. Shelf-mark from the Central Library of the University of Valladolid: “3982”,
20th century; front binder’s leaf, recto. Sarpi, *Historia* UVa Library F/Bc Viñas 3982.

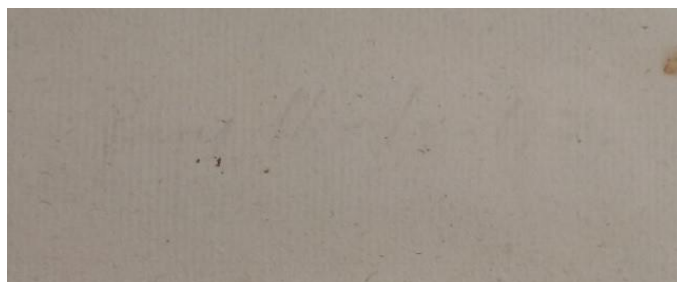


Fig. 17. Erased pencil autograph with place and date of acquisition: “Paris 11-1-19?2”,
20th century; front binder’s leaf, recto. Sarpi, *Historia*, UVa Library F/Bc Viñas 3982.

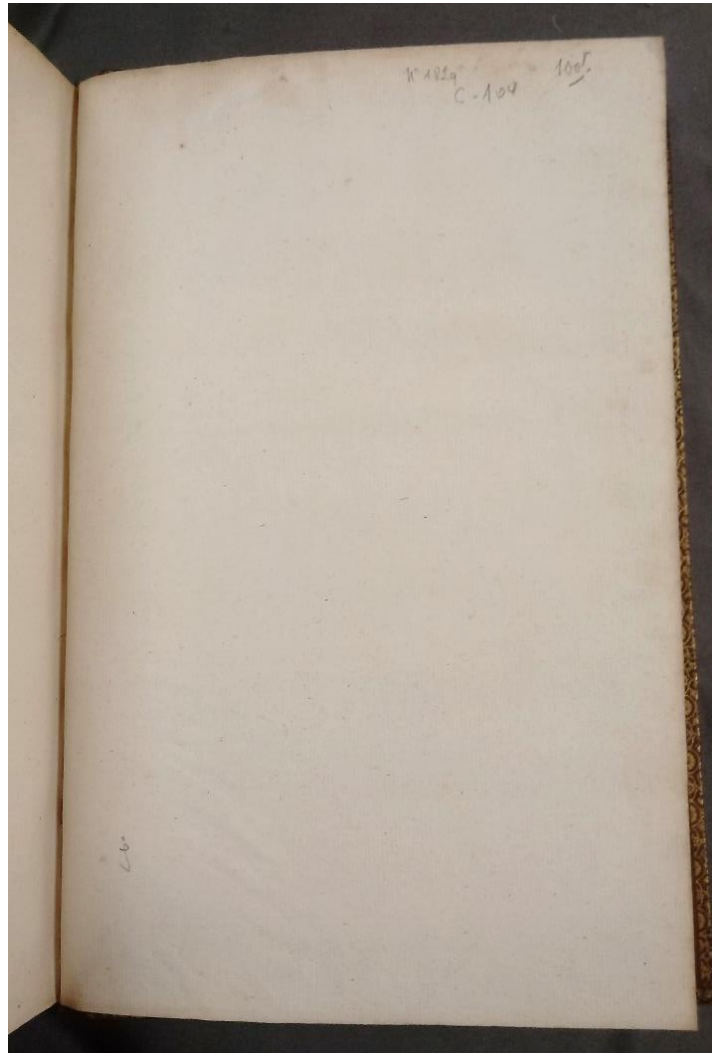


Fig. 18. Back binder's leaf, recto. Sarpi, *Historia*, UVa Library F/Bc Viñas 3982.

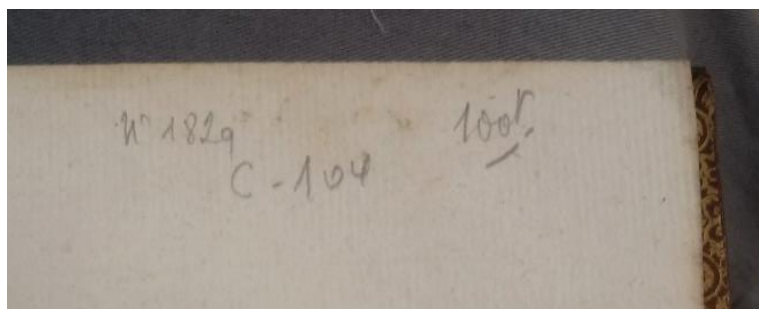


Fig. 19. Twentieth-century booksellers' codes; back flyleaf, recto, top right.
Sarpi, *Historia*, UVa Library F/Bc Viñas 3982.

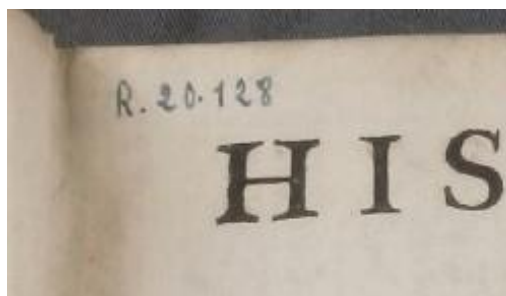


Fig. 20. Accession number, General Registration Book of the library of the UVa, 20th century; title-page, top left. Sarpi, *Historia*, UVa Library F/Bc Viñas 3982.

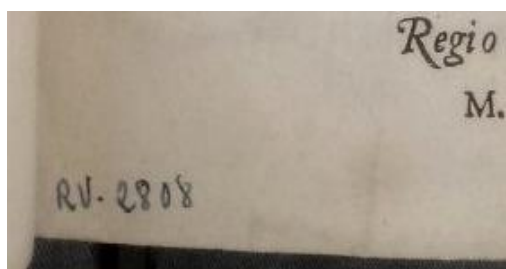


Fig. 21. Accession number from the Viñas Registration Book of the Library of the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters: "RV. 2808", 20th century; title-page, bottom left. Sarpi, *Historia*, UVa Library F/Bc Viñas 3982.

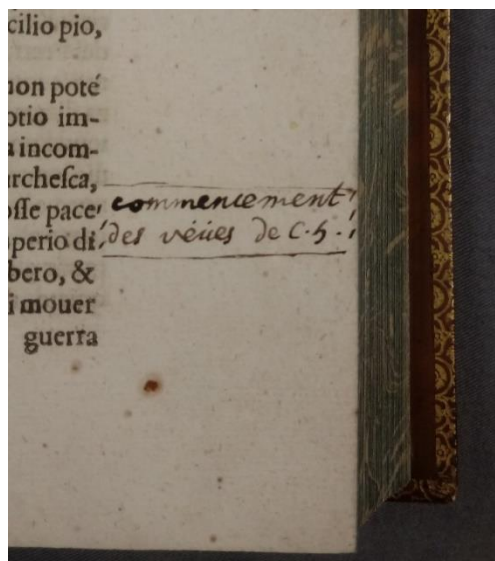


Fig. 22. A reader's annotation, early 18th-century (fol. E6). The closely-trimmed edge indicates the present binding is not the first one. Sarpi, *Historia*, UVa Library F/Bc Viñas 3982.

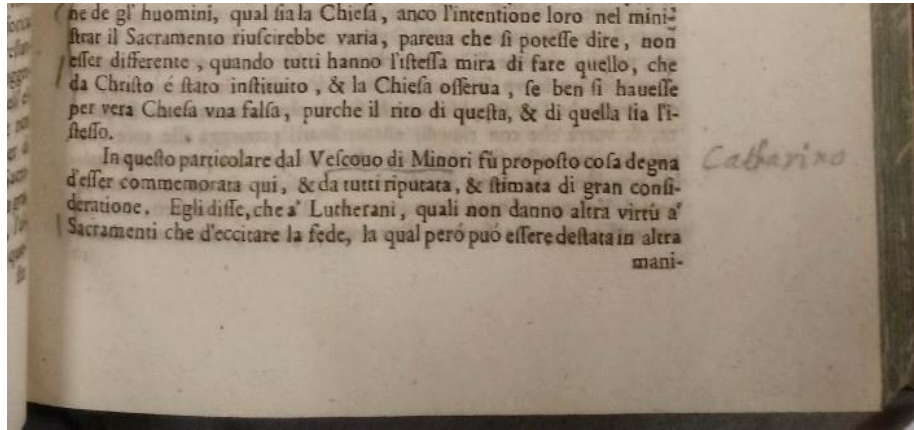


Fig. 23. An 18th-century reader's pencil underlining and note (fol. V4). Sarpi, *Historia*, UVa Library F/Bc Viñas 3982.

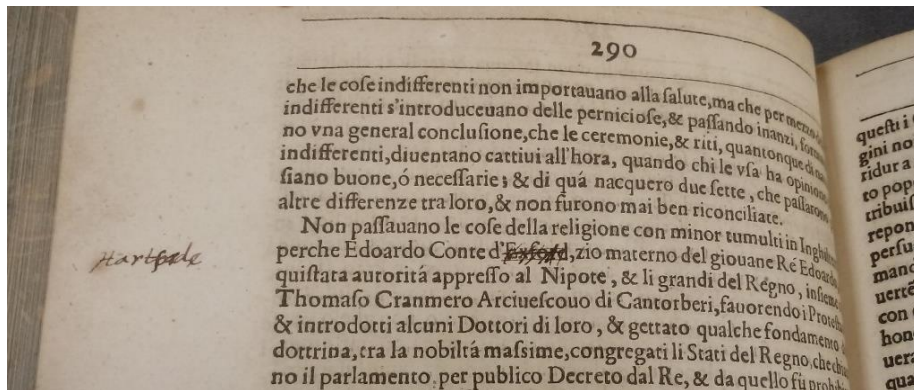


Fig. 24. A reader's correction in the margin, early 18th-century (fol. 2Bv). Sarpi, *Historia*, UVa Library F/Bc Viñas 3982.

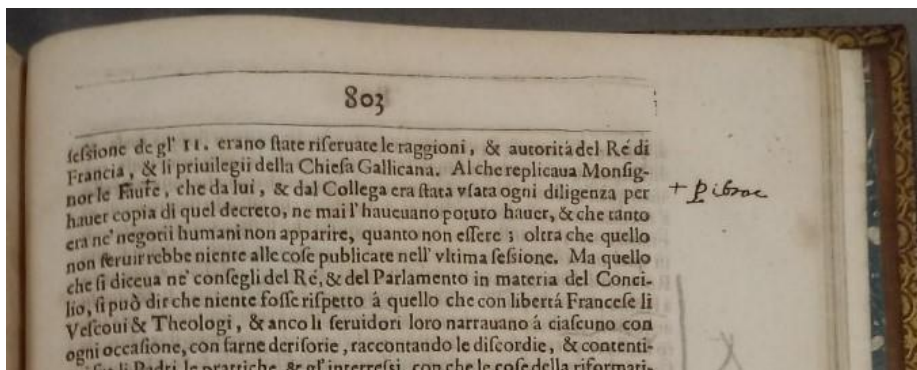


Fig. 25. Marginal annotation, early 18th century (fol. 3X6). Sarpi, *Historia*, UVa Library F/Bc Viñas 3982.

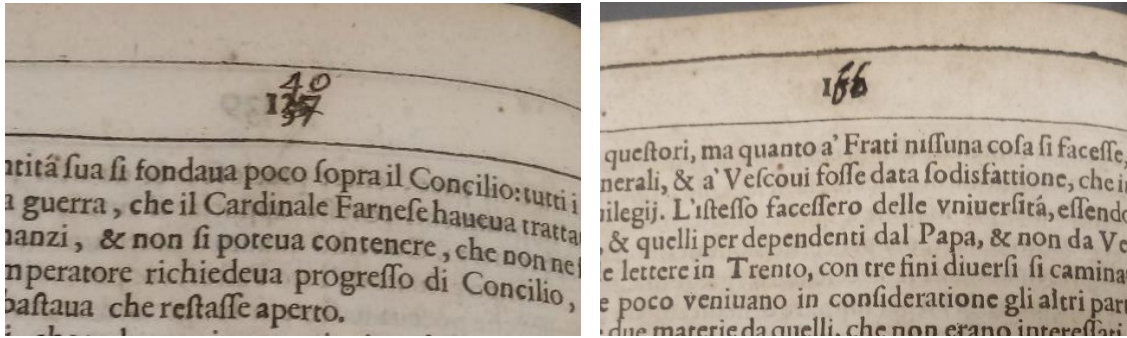


Fig. 26. Corrections by hand of mispaginations, early 18th century. Sarpi, *Historia* (fols. M4v, O5v), UVa Library F/Bc Viñas 3982.

Book stamps



Fig. 27. Institutional stamp of the University of Valladolid Library, Viñas Collection (“FONDO VIÑAS | Biblioteca Universitaria | Valladolid”); on title-page and several other pages. Sarpi, *Historia*, UVa Library F/Bc Viñas 3982.

All these marks have been analysed and used as main reference sources to find possible owners of our copy of Paolo Sarpi’s *Historia*. Until now, in the matter of provenance, it is just known that our title was printed and published by the King’s Printer John Bill, that it was donated by Professor Viñas to the University of Valladolid, and that now it is held in the Special Collections’ section of the library of Philosophy and Letters of the University. But how did the book get into Viñas’ hands? Who owned the book before him in the course of its four-hundred-year lifetime? Our aim in the next section will be to answer these questions by reconstructing the provenance story of the title since its publication until today.

4.2 Provenance research of the copy of Sarpi's *Historia*

After having analysed the marks of provenance described earlier through Pearson's conventions (12-130), we will describe the path followed by the copy of Sarpi's *Historia* now kept in Valladolid throughout its different owners with as much detail as possible.

We start from the basis that our title was published with the rest of copies of the edition in London in 1619 by John Bill, the King's Printer at that time. According to Keblusek, John Bill had much contact with the continent and travelled to Frankfurt, among other cities, to buy and sell books (99). He advertised and sold his own imprints in the Frankfurt fair, a must-visit for all European booksellers and a perfect candidate place for spreading his prints of Sarpi, especially among Protestants. It should be reminded here that the major industry in book production and distribution in the seventeenth century was the Dutch Republic, with Amsterdam and The Hague as its main focal points. That was the usual passageway that connected the British Isles with the rest of the European market. Only at the end of the century did the Dutch Republic book trade cede in favour to London, Paris and some German states (Hoftijzer par. 31).

The printed text of our Sarpi's *Historia* could thus have entered the European book trade early. Considering that John Bill travelled to the continental book fairs to sell his books and that the route of trade that connected the British Isles with the continent was through the Netherlands, either one of these two options might have been the entry way for our copy in the continent. Another possibility might be that a traveller or emigrant coming from London or the Netherlands could have done it. What is for sure is that the first registered owner of the book lived in Paris: the famous French bibliophile and collector Louis-Jean Gaignat.

- *Louis-Jean Gaignat (1697-1768)*

Louis-Jean Gaignat was a distinguished French collector and bibliophile. According to De Ricci, he held an important position as general receiver of petitions at the Palais de Justice in Paris and secretary of King Louis XV. However, after the untimely loss of his

wife and his daughter, what most recomforted him was not his profession but his interest in collecting paintings and books (par. 1). His library was known as one of the richest ones on the continent, given the great amount of manuscripts, incunabula, rare books and illustrated works it comprised.

The ex-libris on the verso of the flyleaf of our copy, “E. Bibliotheca Gagnat Paris” (fig. 14), led us to think that the book could have belonged to this erudite. But the name being misspelled, evidence was needed to affirm it with certainty. The main source of reference for Gaignat’s library is *Supplément à la Bibliographie instructive, ou Catalogue des livres du Cabinet de feu M. Louis Jean Gaignat* (1769), a sale catalogue published by Guillaume François De Bure after Gaignat’s death, to auction off his books (see fig. 28).

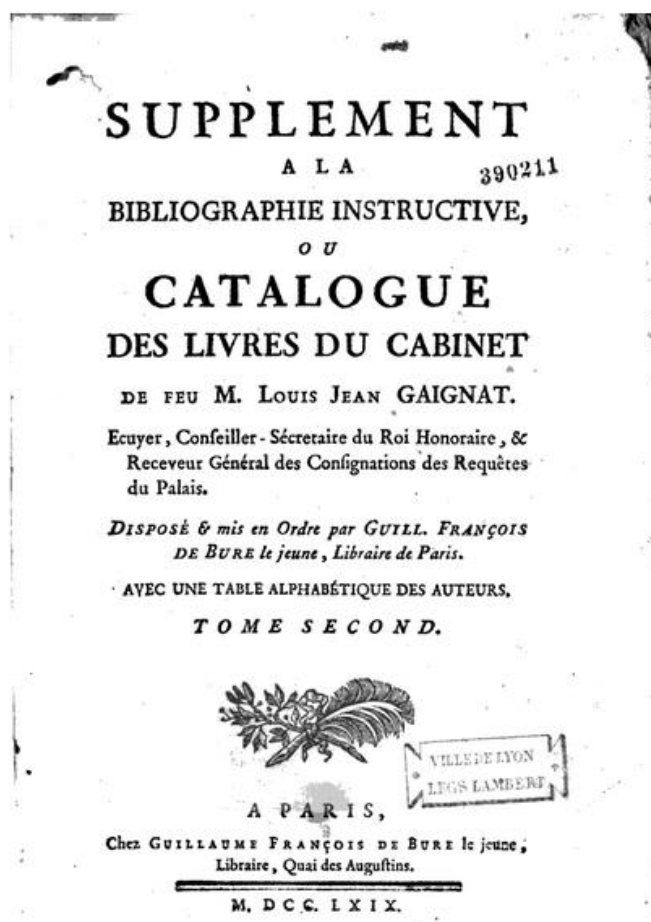


Fig. 28. Title-page of De Bure’s *Supplément à la Bibliographie instructive, ou Catalogue des livres du Cabinet de feu M. Louis Jean Gaignat* (Paris, 1769). Bibliothèque municipale de Lyon.

Gaignat himself had charged De Bure with compiling and publishing the catalogue of his collection, but he did not publish it as an independent work. Conscious of the high value of the library, and that its interest was principally bibliographical, and therefore more directed to the market of rare books as objects for the curious than for scholars (Jensen 111), De Bure published the catalogue as a supplement to his work *Bibliographie instructive*, which, by contrast, is a list of articles selected for its scholarly interest.

In effect, a copy of the same first edition of Sarpi's *Historia* can be found that was sold in the Gaignat's sale with the lot number 2721 (fig. 29), according to Gaigant's Catalogue (De Bure *Supplément à la Bibliographie instructive* 51).

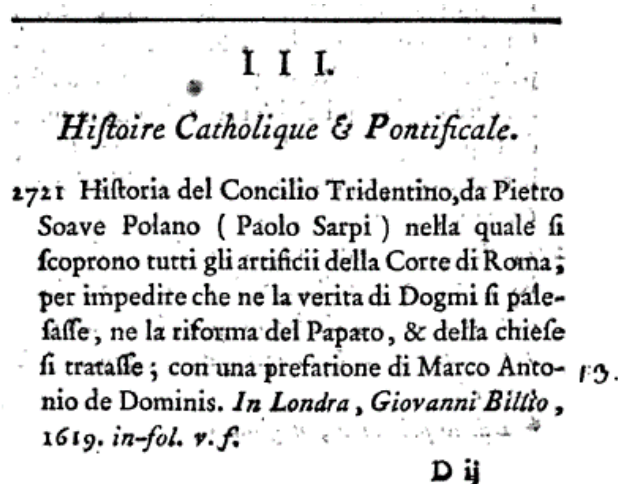


Fig. 29. Entry 2721 (fol. Dij). De Bure, *Supplément à la Bibliographie instructive, ou Catalogue des livres du Cabinet de feu M. Louis Jean Gaignat* (1769), Bibliothèque municipale de Lyon.

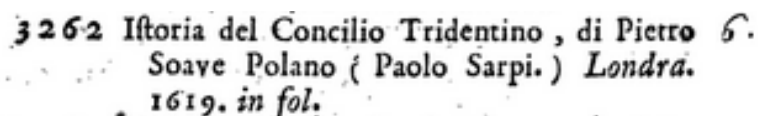
Fortunately, it includes a description of the binding it had when it was sold: “v.f.” i.e., “*veau fauve*,” which is translated as “natural calf.” We gather that this binding in Gaignat’s sale catalogue is the same binding that has survived in Valladolid, which also presents a natural calf binding, finished with gold tooling, which clearly displays eighteenth-century French features, particularly the rococo gold decoration and the marbled end-papers in French curl style. That this binding was not the first one our book ever had is confirmed by an inscription on the right margin of page 59 of our copy that is cut off (see fig. 22), which would indicate that the text block was trimmed when the present binding

was added. Just by the way, this could indicate that the inscriptions from pages 290 and 803 (figs. 24 & 25), as well as the corrections of the page misprints (fig. 26) were also made by this earlier owner, because all of them appear to be in the same hand. But coming back to our binding, since Gaignat is known to have liked to commission new bindings for his library, it is probable that he commissioned this one as well before selling it.

The decidedly French traits of our binding and the description of Sarpi's 1619 *Historia* in Gaignat's catalogue enable us to say that the ex-libris on the verso of the front flyleaf (fig. 14) refers in effect to Gaignat's library. That inscription, then, points to the French bibliophile as its first identifiable owner. But who could have owned it before Gaignat?

It could have been the French magistrate and art collector Joseph-Antoine Crozat, marquis de Tugny (1696-1750), a nobleman who came from a wealthy family very much interested in the arts. His father, Antoine Crozat, was a devotee art collector; and his uncle, Pierre Crozat, had one of the richest collections of paintings and engravings of his times (Hattori 38). J-A. Crozat de Tugny was interested in paintings, like his relatives, but he also possessed a significant collection of books which are listed in *Catalogue des livres de monsieur le president Crozat de Tugny* (1751), printed and published by Claude-Charles Thiboust (1701-1757) for the sale at auction of his books.

Although we have not identified any mark of provenance that might clearly prove that our volume belonged to Crozat, a copy of the 1619 edition of Sarpi's *Historia* appears at the catalogue of his collection (Thiboust 281) with the number 3262 (fig. 30).



3262 Istoria del Concilio Tridentino, di Pietro S.
Soave Polano (Paolo Sarpi.) Londra.
1619. in fol.

Fig. 30. Entry 3262. Thiboust, *Catalogue des livres de monsieur le president Crozat de Tugny* (1751), The New York Public Library.

Still, it cannot be assured with total certainty that this is our book. The catalogue does not describe its binding. There are some encouraging indications, however. We know that the book was popular in the libraries of the French bibliophiles. Those from whom it is known that Gaignat acquired books (Dibdin 81) held copies of the *Historia* that do not appear to be ours. Jean Baptiste Colbert's catalogue proved that his copy of Sarpi's 1619 *Historia* was bound in morocco (Martin and Montalant 56), and it is not probable that Gaignat could have changed its binding, because Colbert's was more valuable. The same happened with Girardot de Préfond. He had a copy bound in morocco (De Bure *Catalogue des livres du cabinet de Mr. G... D... P...* 156), so it would be strange that Gaignat would have changed it, because these books were precisely valued for their bindings. In the case of Claude Gros de Boze, there is no copy of a first edition *Historia* in either his catalogue of 1745 (Boudot et al., *Catalogue des livres du cabinet de M. de Boze*) nor his catalogue of 1754 (Martin, *Catalogue des livres provenance de la bibliothèque de feu M. de Boze*). Therefore, considering that, as proved in Michon (44), Gaignat purchased some of Crozat's books, of all the French bibliophiles, Crozat, who had it in his library without particular valuable binding, is our surest bid.

If it was so, our copy was sold at auction twice in less than twenty years, in Crozat's sale in 1751 and in Gaignat's sale in 1769. Gaignat could have purchased our title for a minimum of 6 *livres tournois*, since that seems to be the opening price established for the book according to the exemplar of Crozat's catalogue from the New York Public Library (fig. 30), and the next owner of the *Historia* could have bought it for a minimum of 13 *livres tournois*, as indicated in the marginal note of Gaignat's catalogue from the Bibliothèque municipale de Lyon (fig. 29).

Now we move to the next recognizable owner of our title, the British bibliophile Wilmot Vaughan, First Earl of Lisburne, thanks to whom the book returned to its homeland, England.

- *Wilmot Vaughan, First Earl of Lisburne (c. 1730-1800)*

The next owner of our Sarpi's *Historia* is Wilmot Vaughan, a Welsh peer and politician who was created First Earl of Lisburne in 1776. Wilmot Vaughan's bookplate on the book's paste down (fig. 10) is definite proof of ownership.

Even though no evidence has been found that he may have bought our title in Gaignat's auction, it is argued here that Vaughan could have done it through a Paris agent. First, the years following Gaignat's death correspond to Vaughan's mature life, and very importantly, to the time while he was building his private library. Then, eighteenth-century British bibliophiles commonly bought books at auction this way, and in France, and many went to the Gaignat sale, as can be seen from numerous copies in the online catalogues that belonged to British collectors and describe Gaignat as their former owner. To give one example, according to Penketh (par. 2), the anatomist and physician William Hunter purchased several manuscripts and incunabula at the Gaignat sale through his agent Jean-Baptiste Dessain.

The bookplate in our Sarpi copy includes Wilmot Vaughan's armorial, Chippendale-style, with the motto "*Non revertar inultus*" ("I will not return unrevenged") and his nobility title "*The Right Honourable Wilmot, Earl of Lisburne,*" written by hand. The last part of the title, "in the Kingdom of Ireland," is covered by the pasted-in shelf-mark label. We have found the same in many other of his books which are available online. A reason for this may be that, although Vaughan occupied relevant positions as Lord of Trade and Lord of the Admiralty, and took a seat of Member of Parliament for Cardiganshire, the title of Fourth Viscount of Lisburne he inherited from his father in 1766, and that of First Earl of Lisburne, were Irish and his goal to hold an English one was repeatedly rejected ("Wilmot Vaughan, 1st Earl of Lisburne" par. 2).

We can figure out the exact location of our Valladolid copy in Vaughan's library. It was in his residence at Mamhead, in the Haldon Hills, Devon, which he had acquired through marriage to Elizabeth Nightingale. It is known that the Scottish architect Robert Adam designed a library for it between 1766-1769, and even though no evidence has been

found that this was the design finally given to his library, it gives us a fair idea of what it could look like: a four-wall library room with bookcases separated by Ionic pilasters, with statuettes above and with panels of classical reliefs set between; a diaper motif is repeated in the frieze of the ceiling cornice and a framed panel of three figures sacrificing at a house is above a chimneypiece (fig. 31).

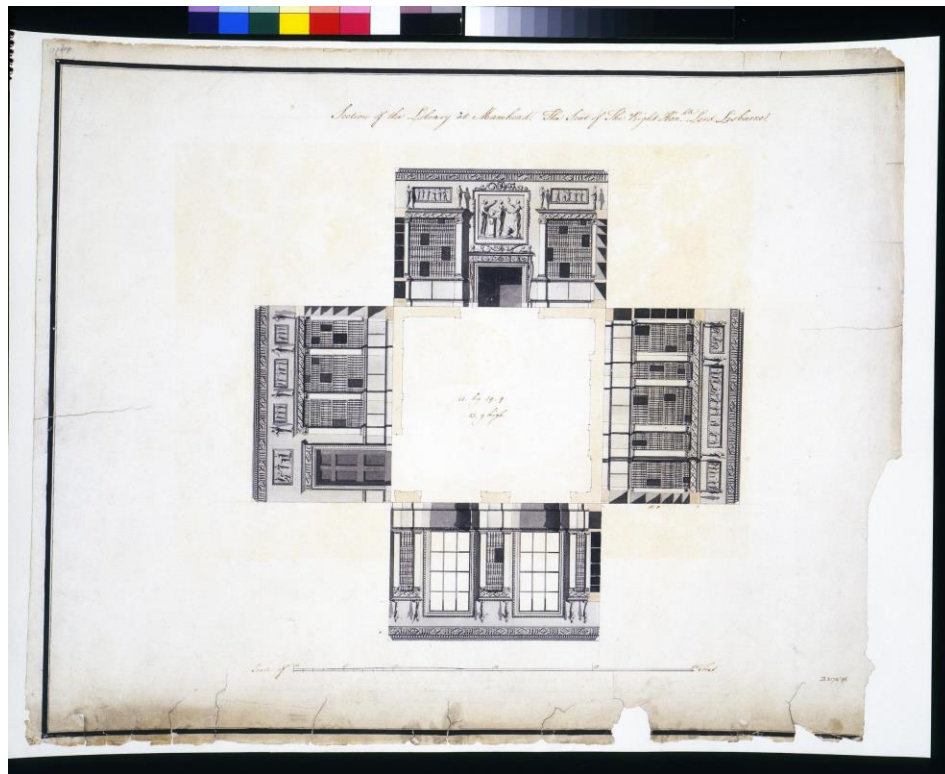


Fig. 31. Design for a library at Mamhead, by Robert Adam. V&A publications, 1988, cat. 136 and illustrated in pl. 63.

If this was the design finally given to Vaughan’s library, we can picture our book there: “*North Side. Case 1. Shelf 1. N^o 7.*” (fig. 10). This was a usual way of registering a copy’s location in private libraries of the time: orientation within the room, case number, and shelf number. In their catalogues, books were grouped according to their subject matter, in which the sections of Ecclesiastical History and Councils normally occupied the first sections, which should explain why our title was placed in the first case and first self. One can almost imagine the spine of our book (fig. 7) standing upright in the bookcase to the left of the chimneypiece.

Vaughan died in 1800 and his eldest son Wilmot, Second Earl of Lisburne, inherited all his possessions. But he died unmarried in 1820 and it was finally his half-brother John Third Earl of Lisburne who inherited his father's estate. The family's long-standing debts obliged John to sell many of his properties, including Mamhead. Thus, in 1823, it was sold to Robert William Newman, a merchant from Devon who could have become the next owner of our *Historia*, because the mansion was sold "with all his possessions" (Britton 65). Although no mark of provenance from him has been found to fully confirm this, the fact that John Vaughan is known to have sold Mamhead House, where his father's library was held, with all his possessions, makes it almost a foregone conclusion.

According to W. Criddle (par. 4), in 1828, Newman demolished old Mamhead to build a new mansion. No information has been found about what happened to the library. Did Newman sell the books? Did he move them to the library of the new house? All we know is that the Newmans retained ownership of the house until in 1958 all its contents, were auctioned and in 1960 the entire building was sold (Criddle, par 5). Therefore, our title had to be sold some time earlier by one of the members of the family, because by then, we know that the book had been acquired in Paris by Aurelio Viñas Navarro.

- *Aurelio Viñas Navarro (1892-1958)*

Aurelio Viñas Navarro, a Spanish Professor of History who spent most of his professional career at the Sorbonne, acquired in Paris the Sarpi copy that is held in our Faculty Library today, as his autograph in pencil on the front flyleaf of the book indicates: "Paris 11-1-19?2" (fig. 17). Although the exact reason why Viñas became interested in book collection is unknown, it is most likely that his condition as a historian and his research in the Paris Archives fueled his motivation to collect rare books.

Where exactly he purchased our particular copy cannot be known until a thorough archival research is carried out, but from the inscriptions on the book and other book agents' labels that appear in other volumes in his collection, it can be deduced that he could acquire it in a Parisian rare bookshop or auction. That it was acquired in Paris is known

because Professor Viñas used to take pencil notes of the place and date of acquisition of each of his books (Díez Rabadán 6) and ours was not an exception. Sadly, the notes written in our volume are quite obliterated and one of the numbers of the year is not easily identifiable: “Paris 11-1-19?2” (fig. 17). Considering Viñas’ lifetime, there are four possible dates for the acquisition of the exemplar: 1922, 1932, 1942 or 1952. The fact that it was at a bookshop or French auction sale is suggested because of some inscriptions in pencil on the front binder’s leaf of the copy, which seem to refer to the price established for it when Viñas bought it, 500 francs (fig. 13).

What it can be stated is that Viñas died in Madrid on 9 February 1958 and his valuable collection of books, with near 6000 volumes belonging to the area of humanities, were donated to the central library of the University of Valladolid, among them this previous London edition of Sarpi’s *Historia del Concilio Tridentino* formerly owned by two of the most illustrious book collectors in eighteenth-century France and Britain.

- *The Library of the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters at the University of Valladolid*

When Paolo Sarpi’s *Historia* came under the custody of the University, the central library of the University of Valladolid was located at the historical building in Plaza de la Universidad, where the faculty of Philosophy and Letters and the faculty of Law were stood. This is when the library of the university marked the title-page with its stamp (fig. 27) and registered the book in the General Registry with the number 20128 (fig. 20). The book was also listed in the Viñas Book Registry, within which our title is registered under the figure 2808 (fig. 21), along with its author, title, publishing place and date, its signature 3982 (fig. 16), and number in the General Registry.

In 1999, when the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters moved to the new building at Plaza del Campus, the Viñas Collection was transferred there together with the rest of books of the Old Repository of the Faculty. Nowadays, the volume maintains the signature

3982, which in its modern form is F/Bc Viñas 3982, and being protected as *Patrimonio Bibliográfico Español*, special authorization is needed to consult it.

Interestingly enough, after having reconstructed the provenance story of the copy of Sarpi's *Historia* at Valladolid, the profile of its owners, mostly rare book collector, demonstrates that the purchase and sale of the title was normally dictated by its consideration as a precious object, rather than a historiographical source, which was the original *raison d'être* for its publication.

Conclusion

Bibliography and provenance research are of prime importance to learn about the history of the book and its dissemination, especially during the hand press-period, until 1800. With the aid of these studies, we can get information about the way in which books were manufactured, and an endless number of singularities about their ownership and circulation, both nationally and internationally, through libraries, book sales, and booksellers. Although their methods have been widely applied by researchers in the English-speaking countries since the beginning of the twentieth century, this has not been the case in Spain, where the presence of early English printed books in Spanish libraries has not caught the attention of Anglicists. Hence the contribution of this dissertation: a study of a first edition of Paolo Sarpi's *Historia del Concilio Tridentino*, printed in London in 1619, held at the library of the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters of the University of Valladolid.

The copy has been analysed and described bibliographically –including format, numbers of leaves and pages, typeface, type of paper, binding, marks of provenance, among other aspects– and has been researched to reconstruct its provenance story, since its publication until today. The aim has been to signal its added-value features and to contribute to the study of the English book in Spanish libraries. The results are as follows.

From a bibliographical point of view, the importance of the copy lies on the fact that it is a first edition and that is one of the only three copies extant in Spanish libraries. Published in Italian in London in 1619 by the King's Printer John Bill, it was printed in folio format, with an anti-papal subtitle and a dedication to King James I. The imprint, made by sixty-eight gatherings and several page misprints, is devoid of ornamentation except for the coat of arms included in the title-page and the initials opening the different sections of the text. But the most outstanding feature of this volume is its several marks of provenance. It is bound in a mid-eighteenth-century French binding of natural calf, finished with gilt-tooled spine, cover borders, edges, and dentelle, and French curl pastedowns, flyleaves and edges; an armorial bookplate, pasted-in institutional labels, and several

inscriptions indicating ex-libris, prices and library codes mark the life of this book through its four hundred years of history.

Our title of Sarpi's *Historia* must have entered early the European book trade, arriving in France most probably through the Dutch market, the usual passageway that connected the British Isles with the continent. This is a very curious fact considering that the text passed through the same place to be published in London, since some Dutch merchants helped to smuggle the text from Venice to England. In addition, taking into account that the text was translated into English, Latin, French, German and Dutch in just two years after its first publication in London, it is most likely that the famous book fairs that took place in different cities of Europe like Frankfurt or Leipzig could contribute to the rapid distribution of the text, and in particular, of our copy.

In this context we have discovered that our title was acquired by the Parisian collector Louis-Jean Gaignat, who probably purchased it at the auction of Crozat de Tugny's collection in 1751. Then, the book was bought by the English collector Wilmot Vaughan First Earl of Lisburne, presumably at Gaignat's auction in 1769, returning this way to its homeland, England. After Vaughan, the book was most likely inherited by his sons, Wilmot and John Vaughan, until the latter sold his house with his father's library to the merchant Robert William Newman. It could have passed this way to the Newman family, but there is no a clear trace of it until Professor Viñas acquired it at some point between 1922 and 1952 in an auction or rare bookshop in Paris. Finally, after Viñas' death in 1958, our copy was donated to the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters of the University of Valladolid, where we have been able to analyse it.

From these travels and transactions among collectors, we have concluded that, although the work was originally written to uncover the decisions taken during the Council of Trent and published with the purpose of criticizing the Papacy and favouring Protestantism, this copy has hardly been used and transmitted for being a historiographical source or for being a controversial work against Catholicism. Instead, as proved by the profile of the owners who acquired it like Gaignat, Vaughan or Viñas, who were mainly

book collectors for the art's sake, this copy was transmitted for its value as a rare book and directed to a market where books were seen as precious objects for the curious. In short, its value as a rare book was always considered superior to its textual content.

To finish with, it should not be forgotten that this book has been at the library of the Faculty for over half a century, first at the historical building and then among the Special Collections in Plaza del Campus, and even though it has such a rich history behind and it is quite unique, not until today has it received the attention and recognition that it deserves. Thus, I hope that this dissertation has brought some light to the history of this copy and arouse interest in the collections of the Old Repository of the library of the Faculty in which it is held, because they are little known and yet represent a most fruitful research field.

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