

PART I

A HISTORY OF THE FIRM

I. The Origins of the Giungi¹ Family and Presses

Our story begins in Florence in the year 1427. In a modest home in the parish of Santa Lucia d’Ognisanti close outside the city walls of Florence, three young brothers, Lapo (28 years old and reported to be ill), Giunta (aged 16) and Iacopo (14), live with their mother Nanna (aged 60). They report to the tax officials that they are the sons of Biagio, a weaver of woolen cloth, (‘tessitore di panni lana’) who is now dead. The brothers have deep roots in the wool trade, extending back at least to the fourteenth century. They own some real estate, including a small vineyard and modest rental properties,² and appear to be neither rich nor poor.³ Not much else is known of their circumstances. Thirty years later, in the tax declaration of 1460, we find that Giunta (1411?-1471) and his brother Iacopo are living in the same house they grew up in, together now with their wives and daughters and one young son.⁴ Their elder brother Lapo is not mentioned and has probably died. Giunta, like his father before him, is described as a weaver of woolen cloth and his brother Iacopo is described simply as a worker, probably of the land. The sons of Giunta, Mariotto and Biagio, no longer live with their parents but instead have moved to a house *inside* the city walls of Florence.⁵

We learn from the tax census records for the city of Florence twenty years later in 1480 that Mariotto and Biagio, the two oldest sons of Giunta, each now has a wife and children. Two of their four younger brothers, Filippo and Giovanni, reside with them and are still single. Giovanni⁶ works as a tailor, but Filippo (1456-1517), perhaps showing some artistic promise, had worked in the shop of the renowned Florentine goldsmith and artist Antonio di Iacopo Pollaiuolo.⁷ Mariotto says that Filippo “now does nothing” (“oggi non fa nulla”). We do not know exactly what his duties were, or how long

¹ At the outset it is useful to say something about Florentine surnames in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In the tax records and notarial documents of this period, surnames are not widely used except for prominent families until well into the sixteenth century. Filippo, Lucantonio and the other family members are referred to simply as the sons of a certain man named Giunta who is the son of Biagio, etc. They do not have a surname. In the colophons to his editions, Filippo calls himself Filippo di Giunta or, in Latin, as *Philippus de Junta* (or *Giuntae* or *Iuntae*). In the same way, his son Bernardo styled himself “Bernardo di Filippo di Giunta” or rarely “Bernardo di Giunta.” After the mid-1540s however he began to use the plural form *Giungi* as a surname, indicating pretensions to higher status, and this was continued by his sons as “heirs of Bernardo Giungi” (*heredi di Bernardo Giungi*) although occasionally the singular form was also used. Eventually the singular form almost disappears and the preferred form of signature in their Italian editions becomes “Giunti” as in “appresso i Giungi,” “appresso gli heredi di Bernardo Giungi,” “per Cosimo Giungi,” et al. See also D. HERLIHY and C. KЛАPISCH-ZUBER, *Tuscans and their families* (New Haven, 1985), pp. 347-352 and R. WEISSMAN, *Ritual brotherhood in Renaissance Florence* (New York, 1982), p. 68.

² ASF, Catasto, 752 (Santa Maria Novella, Campione del contado, 1427), cc. 36v-37r. For the catasto declarations of the family see Documents 1 to 4 in the Appendix. The *Catasto* of Florence, a census primarily of income-producing real estate holdings and marketable assets for each household in the city and county, was done at irregular intervals for purposes of taxation. Each family was required to list all of its members and their ages (although these are often inaccurate), and an exact location of their property holdings. The *Catasti* from 1427 to 1480 can now also be searched online at <http://www.stg.brown.edu/projects/catasto>. For the city’s economic conditions during the Renaissance and information on the Catasto and other tax systems, see R. GOLDTHWAITE, *The economy of Renaissance Florence* (Baltimore, 2009), esp. pp. 504-11; also A. MOLHO, *Marriage Alliance in Late Medieval Florence* (Cambridge, Mass., 1994), p. 361.

³ An archival document from early 1453 studied by A. MOLHO lists many of the city’s entrepreneurs in the guild of retail merchants. Among these are two brothers, Giunta and Bindo, sons of Guglielmo di Giunta. There is no indication that they are related to the family we are concerned with. A. Molho, “The Florentine ‘Tassa dei Traffichi’ of 1451,” *Studies in the Renaissance*, XVII (1970), p. 102.

⁴ ASF, Catasto (Santa Maria Novella, Portate del condato) 1460, c. 138r. See Document 4.

⁵ The house outside the walls may have become too small for the large family. See N. TAMASSIA, *La famiglia italiana nei secoli decimoquinto e decimosesto* (Milan, 1910), pp. 112-13 and HERLIHY and KЛАPISCH-ZUBER, op. cit., pp. 323-24. Settling the sons in a house inside the city walls may also have been done with an eye to making the sons eligible for membership in Florentine guilds.

⁶ Giovanni is not heard of again and may have died soon after.

⁷ Tax depositions of Antonio Pollaiuolo’s father for 1457, and of Antonio himself in 1480 (Catasto) and 1498 (Decima della Repubblica), are transcribed by M. CRUTTWELL, *Antonio Pollaiuolo* (London, 1907), p. 2 and Appendix VI, pp. 233-46. These show his residence to be the Quartiere Santo Spirito, the same as that for the Giungi sons living in the city, although he lived in the Gonfaloni Drago and they in Gonfaloni Nicchio. An excellent draughtsman as well as sculptor and goldsmith, Pollaiuolo was in a position to influence any artistic talents Filippo may have had. DIONISOTTI may be right when he says “it is clear that his wool weaving brothers did not have a high opinion of Filippo.” He goes on to paint an intriguing picture however, saying: “but we today can only imagine such an apprenticeship as Filippo had in the workshop of this great artist, a place frequented by men of letters, as we see from the splendid paean by Marsilio Ficino addressed to Pollaiuolo.” C. DIONISOTTI, *Machiavellerie* (Torino, 1980), p. 181.

his tenure, but the experience he gained in the goldsmith's shop could only have contributed to his future in the printing business, where knowledge about cutting punches, making matrices and casting type was essential. M. LOWRY is correct in noting that "goldsmiths figure largely in documents on early printing, whether they are producing books themselves or assisting those who do..."⁸ There is no known archival documentation recording the early purchase of punches, matrices or type by the Giunti in Florence when he began printing and we cannot exclude the possibility that Filippo designed his own font, cut the punches and cast his own types or was in some way involved in these processes.

M. CRUTTWELL (p. 9) notes that Pollaiuolo's "bottega... united the crafts of sculptor, painter, portraitist, goldsmith, jeweller, architect, decorative designer and bronze founder, and in each of these different branches of art we have a record of work executed by him." While employed by Pollaiuolo Filippo earned twenty florins a year,⁹ but by 1480 Mariotto, the head of the house,¹⁰ reports that his brother Filippo was at the time unemployed.¹¹ We cannot be sure however that Mariotto revealed Filippo's true income to the tax authorities, nor whether this was for full-time employment. We also learn that two of their brothers are now absent: Lucantonio¹² and his brother Bernardo are reported to have left Florence several years earlier for work in Venice. In Venice, Lucantonio and his brother are engaged as workers in a stationer's shop, although their brother Mariotto, the head of the household, states in his *catasto* declaration that he does not know which one.

It might have been expected that Giunta's sons would follow in their father's footsteps, but the family's success in the wool trade may not have been adequate to maintain an unusually large family with several adult sons. The rapid growth of Venice as a center of printing and publishing is a story well known. Printers from north of the Alps and Italians from other cities who had learned the new craft were drawn by a conjunction of factors: an active sea-trade which favored the transport of a heavy commodity such as paper and books, the blossom of interest in the recently discovered Greek texts, and the presence of newly arrived Greek scholars fleeing from Turkish depredations in the east to the safety of Italy and particularly Venice which for centuries had strong economic and political ties in the eastern Mediterranean. The Greeks brought with them their skills as copyists, as teachers of Greek to eager patrician audiences, and as editors of manuscripts. The vibrant economy of Venice, dealing in textiles, glass, spices and other commodities and with a pro-business government receptive to newcomers, was a welcoming sight.

The enterprising young Lucantonio was exposed to an exciting new world of bustling commerce in the maritime republic. He learned the varied business of the *cartolaio*, or stationer, which typically included selling paper and parchment to notaries, government officials, and scribes, becoming familiar with the producers and prices of these materials, observing, and possibly even arranging for the production of manuscript books ordered by clients, as well as the binding and illumination of both manuscript and printed books. He observed the rapidly growing craft of printing, learned the names of the increasing number of artisans in this flourishing new craft, and was quick to see that there was great potential for profit to a shrewd entrepreneur. Breaking from the tradition of waiting to begin copying a manuscript book until a specific request had been received, stationers had begun to develop inventories of printed books for which they had no specific buyer.¹³ And as prices of printed books declined in relation to manuscript copies, the demand for them increased.

⁸ M. LOWRY, *The world of Aldus Manutius; business and scholarship in Renaissance Venice* (Ithaca, 1979), p. 10. It is well known that Bernardo Cennini, printer of the first book in Florence was also a goldsmith.

⁹ Twenty florins was a modest but respectable income. A household servant might earn seven or eight florins and a school master fifty to one hundred.

¹⁰ The sons of Giunta were: Mariotto (1445-1499), Biagio (1446-1509), Bernardo (1451-?), Filippo (1456-1517), Lucantonio (1457-1538), Francesco (1458/59-?).

¹¹ ASF, Catasto, 995 (1480, Santo Spirito, Nicchio), c. 101r. Published in P. CAMERINI, *Annali*, pp. 32-33. There is a reference in Manoscritti Inventario of the ASF to a fourteenth century goldsmith named Tommaso Giunti. Although we do not have any evidence that he is in the direct ancestral line of Filippo di Giunta, it seems possible, since the baptismal name was used by Lucantonio for his oldest son.

¹² We know nothing more about his brother Bernardo (not to be confused with Bernardo the son of Filippo di Giunta) and he is not heard from again. For the names and dates of the other brothers and the locations of their establishments see the Genealogical Tables.

¹³ A. C. DE LA MARE, "Vespasiano da Bisticci," Unpub. thesis. Warburg Institute 1965, p. 44. She noted that the number of stationers active in Florence had increased greatly from the middle of the fifteenth century to the last decade. None came as close as Vespasiano to being a true bookseller, however. He was unusual in ordering the copying of books for which he did not have a specific commission from a buyer. In this way he developed something of a book inventory, and could supply many requests from his own stock.

PART II

A DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF THE EDITIONS
OF THE GIUNTI FIRMS IN FLORENCE
1497-1625

1. ZENOBIUS, THE SOPHIST, fl. 2nd Cent. *Zenobiou Epitom' t̄ Ğn Tarrhaiou kai Didumou ParoimiĞn*. Impensis Phylippi de zunta, 1497.

[caption title, on ¶2^r] ZHNOBI' OY ΖΕΠΙΤΟΜΗ ΤΩΝ * TAPPAIOY KAI ΔΙΔΥMOY * ΠΑΡΟΙΜΙΩΝ CYNTE * ΘΕΙΣΩΝ KATA * ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΩΝ. * [The text begins immediately below...]

First Colophon: Τέλος. {v τ- Φλορεντία.

Second Colophon: Impressum Florenti“ Imp' sis ac cura Phy * lippi de zunta Florentini. Anno domini .m.cccc. * lxxxvii.

Description: 4°; [68] leaves; 21 cm; types: greek, gothic; language: Greek; signatures: ¶⁴ α-θ⁸; fingerprint: τ-τα .*ο* τα:ἈAvθυ (C) 1497 (R)

Notes: The first leaf is blank (¶1^{r-v}); preface by the editor, Benedetto Riccardini, dedicated to Georgius Dathus (Giorgio Dati), “ἈAd Reuer' dā § christo dominā Georgiā Dathā canonica florentinā ac Vicariā ep[iscop]i arretini dignissimā: Benedicti ricardini florentini epistola... ex florentia nono cal. octobre anno ab carnatione. M.cccc lxxxvii.” (¶2^r-¶3^r); errata (in Greek) (¶3^r-¶4^r); leaf ¶4^v blank; text, with caption title (α1^r-θ7^r); first colophon (θ7^r); second colophon (θ7^v); last leaf blank (θ8^{r-v}). There is no title page; the preface begins on the first printed page; text pages have 26 lines (162 x 100 mm); no catchwords, running header or woodcut initials.

PROCTOR assigns the printing to Bartolomeo de' Libri, types 3 and 4 which have been identified as designed by Demetrios Damilas and used for the three incunables of the Giunti press in Florence. Riccardini probably edited and proof-read the work. In his preface he refers to this as the first work we have printed (“primum enim hoc opus imprimimus”) excusing himself to the reader for errors overlooked in the work due to his inexperience with this new skill (“novitas rei, imperitia artis”). LAYTON points out that the greek font (greek 121) used in this and the following two works was designed by Demetrios Damilas and first used in the *Ζεπιτομή* of Konstantinos Laskaris which was published in Milan by Dionisio da Parravicino in 1476, the first work entirely in Greek character printed in Italy. Since the Giunti of Florence acquired a press in 1497 it is possible that the printing of this work (as well as the following work of Chrysoloras) was done on that press. This is a first edition. Preface reprinted in BANDINI, FUMAGALLI (p. 142) reproduces the first page of the text and the colophon.

Subject matter: 1. Proverbs

References: BANDINI II, pp. 1-2; MAITTAIRE, I, p. 348, IV, pt. 2, p. 637; EBERT 24245; PANZER I, p. 427, no.214; RENOUARD, p. XXXIII, no.1; STCI, p. 743; HAIN, *16283; BM *Grenvilliana*, p. 822; GRAESSE, VII, p. 512; SCHWEIGER I, p. 348; VOULLIÉME Berlin, 2914; BRUNET, V, 1533; CGBN 230.522; PROCTOR, 6221; STILLWELL, Z-24; THURSTON-BÜHLER, p. 103, no.1171; FAVA, 1376; MADSEN, 4252; PELLECHET-POLAIN, 11880; BMC XVth, VI, p. 690 (IB 28061a); GOFF, Z-24, p. 638; IGI, 10440; SHEPPARD 5261-5264; GARCÍA ROJO 1995; NUC 683:38:3; IPB, 5734; DECIA-DELFOL 1; DILLON BUSSI, p. 102, no.12; CCBE XVI, Z 116; CIBN, Z-11; CGIBE, 6197; RHODES *Annali*, 777; MANOUSAKAS-STAIKOS *Incunaboli*, pp. 52-53; LAYTON, p. 297; COATES VI, p. 2713; SHEEHAN, Z-13; BSB-Ink.Z-40; COPAC 26000772197, 73004017263, 73002278195; ISTC: iz00024000. Not in LEGRAND, PAPADOPoulos, MARSHALL.

Copies: Firenze: BMF R.i.190; BMLF D'Elci 1004; Messina: BU; Milano: TBTM Inc.C.138; Modena: BEUM a.B.2.14; Napoli: BNN; Roma: BAV Inc.IV.405; Venezia: BNM; Berlin: SB Inc.2914 (destroyed in war); Bremen: SUB; Göttingen: NSU 4 Auct Gr V, 3718 Inc; Hamburg: SUB Cod. philol. 77; München: BSBM 4 Inc.c.a. 1458; Aberdeen: UL Inc 137; Cambridge: SJCC II.1.53; Chatsworth: The House; London: BL IB 28061; C.19.c.33; C.2.a.13; G.8405; Manchester: JRUL 3546; Oxford: BLO Auct. K 4.12a, Auct. K 4.12b, Byw.I.1.22, Univ.Coll. e.13(8); Warminster: Longleat House; Chantilly: Bib. du château XI-H-096; Paris: BNFT Rés.Z.929; Bern: UB; Copenhagen: KB Inc.Haun. 4252 kvart. 77:2, 71; Leuven: KUL Centrale Bib. Inc.Unit. 45 GK 083; Kraków: BJK; Madrid: BNE R/5545; RAH Inc.104; San Lorenzo de El Escorial: BMonasterio; Sevilla: BCC 118-5-58 (deteriorated; ms. note of Hernando Columbus on the verso of the final leaf: “este libro costó en roma assi encuadrado 70 quatrines ... setiembre de 1530”); New Haven (CT): YU-Beinecke Zi 6221; New York: PML ChL 1171 PML1673.

2. CHRYSOLORAS, MANUEL, d.1415. *Erotemata*. [Bartolomeo de' Libri for Filippo Giunti? 1496-1500?]

ΕΡΩΤΗΜΑ * TA TOY * XPYCO * ΛΩΡΑ.

Colophon: ΤΕΛΟC ΤHC·ΓPAMMATI· * KHC·TOY XPYCO * ΛΩΡΑ.

Description: 8°; [88] leaves; 16.5 cm; types: greek; language: Greek; signatures: α-χ⁴ fingerprint: ειη. αιαἈιζγ. σε•ν (C) 1500 (Q)

Notes: The text begins below the title on the recto of the first leaf (α1^r-χ4^r): [E]ις πόσα διαιρούνται τ• εἈοσ_τέσσαρα γράμματα. Ḫ καἈστοιχεία λέγονται, εἈ δύο. εἈ φωνήεντα καἈεἈ σύμφωνα ...; colophon and register

(χ^{4r}); leaf χ4^v blank. Text pages have 19 lines: 115 x 71 mm up to the end of the gathering & but the printed width of pages is 75 mm afterwards; there is no preface, catchwords, ornamentation, running header, or pagination; there is a capital space at the beginning of the text for the initial E but without a guide letter. Although the printer is not identified, L. S. CAMERINI has identified the watermark as identical with that of the paper used in the 1497 Zenobius.¹ LEGRAND dates this to c. 1484 which seems much too early. PROCTOR assigns the printing to Bartolomeo de' Libri, Type 4 and the greek letter as the same. The typeface is that designed by Demetrios Damilas. If this was done for the Giunti firm, the work was probably edited and proof-read by Benedetto Riccardini. MANOUSAKAS-STAIKOS notes that the *Erotemata* was printed more times before 1501 than any other Greek book. The work was written by Chrysoloras during his stay in Florence about 1399. CICCOLELLA correctly characterizes this popular work as a grammatical catechism used for instructing western students in Greek, much as the Latin grammars of the day did.

Subject matter: 1. Greek language-Grammar.

References: HAIN, 5015; EBERT 4174; GRAESSE, II, p. 150; BRUNET, I, 1892; GW 6695; PROCTOR, 6194A; BMC XVth, VI, p. 690; LEGRAND, I, p. 5, no.2; FAVA, 471; GOFF, C-491; STCI, p. 172; IGI, 2779; *Bibliophilon* 14; DECIA-DELFIOL p. 245; VAN THIENEN, 1233; PAPADOPoulos II, 1674; RHODES *Oxford*, no.543; RHODES *Annali*, 197; RHODES *Greece*, C7; MANOUSAKAS-STAIKOS, pp. 14-15; MANOUSAKAS-STAIKOS *Incunaboli*, pp. 12-13; LAYTON, p. 297; DiMINNO 224; OCLC 50087748 (dated c.1498-1500), 66382022 (dated to 1484); ISTC: ic00491000. Not in BANDINI, MARSHALL, NUC, CGBN, *Index Aurel.*, CGIBE.

Copies: *Fiesole:* BBF ban.5.8.5; *Milano:* BTM Triv.L.1153 (lacks title page); *Modena:* BEUM a.X.7.10 (impf); *Napoli:* BNN (impf.); *Roma:* BLCR 54.A.50; *London:* BL C.16.c.12 and G.7459; *Manchester:* JRUL 8951; *Oxford:* QCO Sel.a.20; *Linköping:* SB; *Basel:* UB DD VII 17; *Leiden:* UB 1369 E 19; *Wien:* ÖNB (gathering ρ and leaf 85 wanting); *Athens:* TGLA B/ L 55; NLGA E.Φ. 4090; *New York:* PML ChL1172 D PML75886.

3. ARGONAUTICA (ORPHIC EPIC). *Orpheūs Argonautika*. Impensa Philippi Iuntae, 1500.

ΟΡΦΕΩΣ. ΑΡΓΟΝΑΥ- * TIKA.

Colophon: ΆAnno ab incarnatione. M.ccccc. Die .XIX. Septem * bris. Impressum Florenti“ impensa Philippi Iā * t“ bibriopol“. [sic] Si quos errores in hoc opere * lector ſtuenies. qui proper-tes oculos * nostros subterfugerit eos pro * iudicio tuo em‘ dabis. * uix fieri p.Ct ut n.Ç * tales ſtuerueni~t.

Description: 4^o; [52] leaves; 22 cm; types: greek; language: Greek; signatures: α-ζ⁸ η⁴; fingerprint: νσε ενν. ιςδα • λ•ρ (C) 1500 (R)

Notes: The text of the *Argonautica* begins below the title (α1^r-Δ1^v); and is followed by Τοθαῦτοθπρίς Μουσαῶν (Δ2^r-Δ3^r); Τοθαῦτοθἀμνοι (Δ3^r-ζ8^v); Πρόκλου Λυκίου τοθφιλοσόφου ἀμνοι. (η1^r-η3^r); colophon (η3^r); leaf η3^v blank; leaf η4^{r-v} blank or missing. Text pages have 28 lines (170 x 100 mm); above the title is a head-piece with a vine motif (24 x 104 mm) and the text begins with an initial Ω (35 mm) in the same style; the head-piece is repeated on leaf Δ2^r, and the title of the second work and the initial M (35 mm) are in red; the titles of the third and fourth works are in black and there is no head-piece; there is a capital space, but no guide letter, at the beginning of the fourth work; there is no printer's device, preface, running header or catchwords. This is the first edition and includes the Orphic hymns and the Hymns of Proclus Diadochus; like the two editions above, the actual printing may have been done for Filippo Giunti by Bartolomeo de' Libri, but certainly not by Benedetto Riccardini who, in addition to his activities as a teacher, was an editor-corrector in the Giunti shop until 1507. Riccardini is named in the firm's 1497 edition of Zenobius, which is printed in the same greek type (GOFF, Z-24). PROCTOR assigns the printing of this work to Bartolomeo de' Libri, Types 1^{AB} and 4. Bibliographers sometimes enter the work under the name of Apollonius Rhodius.

Other authors: Proclus. Hymns.

Subject matter: 1. Argonauts (Greek mythology)-Poetry. 2. Orpheus (Greek mythology)-Poetry. 3. Jason (Greek mythology)-Poetry. 4. Medea (Greek mythology)-Poetry. 5. Hymns, Greek (Classical).

References: HARWOOD, p. 108; BANDINI II, pp. 2-3; CREVENNA 3501; FABRICIUS *Graeca*, I, p. 149; SCHWEIGER I, p. 218; MAITTAIRE, I, p. 366; RENOUARD, p. XXXIII, no.2; EBERT 15261; GRAESSE, V, p. 53; PANZER I, p. 429, no.244; BRUNET, IV, 238; OLSCHKI *Monumenta*, no.168 (with reprod. of the title page); *Cat. Lindesiana*, col. 6701; VOULLIÈME *Berlin*, 2917; FAVA, 967; BMC XVth, VI, 690 (IB 28063); TOOVEY, p. 47; PROCTOR, 6236; LEGRAND, I, p. 73; SANDER, II, 5229; GW M28424; PELLECHET-POLAIN, 8793; MADSEN, 2969;

¹L. S. CAMERINI, "Carte e filigrane delle edizioni giuntine del primo trentennio," in *I Giunti tipografi editori di Firenze 1497-1570* (Firenze, 1979), p. 276, footnote 1.