

'CLANDESTINI VENEZIANI'
IN THE ROYAL LIBRARY

AF

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Under the shelfmark 87-241 the Royal Library preserves four sixteenth-century tracts of a strongly Protestant bias, written in a carefully standardised Italian without local peculiarities and enclosed in loose vellum which is secured to the spine by five thongs of the same material. This light, cheap binding is very common among Venetian books intended for the more popular end of the market: indeed the binding of the Library's copy of Cicero, *Opera Philosophica*, Manutius 1541 could well have come from the same workshop (171-397). But the bibliography of the four tracts presents a far more difficult task than that of most Italian texts of the time. All are anonymous, or written under pious and purposely deceptive pseudonyms. All are in unobtrusive octavo format. The types – roman or italic, of variable quality but of forms very common both north and south of the Alps – would have been as difficult to trace in the 1540s as they are today, and were probably used for that very reason. Only the third of the four indicates a place of publication in its colophon, and claims to come from Milan. As it also claims to have been printed in 1545, when Milan was firmly under Spanish rule, this is almost certainly a case of the false attributions used by Protestant editors to cover their tracks, and bitterly resented by Catholic theologians. Not surprisingly, none of the tracts is recorded in any standard bibliography.¹

¹ I am grateful to Susanne Budde for bringing the volume to my attention in September, 1991, when my observations of the texts were made. I was able to track the general connection to Antonio Brucioli through the works of Spini and Grendler cited in n.3, but not until Dennis Rhodes drew my attention in a letter of 4 May, 1992, to the article of S. Cavazza, 'Libri in volgare e propaganda eterodossa: Venezia 1543-1547', in *Libri, idee e sentimenti religiosi nel cinquecento italiano*, Ferrara/Modena 1987, pp. 9-28, did the more detailed bibliography become clear. My thanks are due also to Dr. Rhodes.

The first of the four, introduced on its titlepage as *Opera Utilissima, intitolata Dottrina Vecchia et Nuova*, is also the longest, containing 3 folios of introductory material and 56 of text, including corrections and a table of contents. The type is roman, with an upper case S that leans slightly forward: presswork and paper are of good quality. Though no author's name, date, or place of publication is given, its title identifies the piece with *Doctrina Vetus et Nova* of Urbanus Rhegius, first produced in Latin at Augsburg in 1526 and translated into Italian in time to be placed on the Lucchese index of prohibited books in 1545. The thrust of the argument is made clear on the first two pages, and still owes much to the Biblical humanism of Erasmus in spite of its author's shift toward the Lutheran position. The 'New Doctrine' is that of the contemporary Catholic Church, and the phrase is drawn from the reaction of the inhabitant of Capernaum to Christ's first miracle in Mark I, 21–28. The Church is accused of phariseism, and of basing its ideas on sophistic authorities 'no more than four hundred years old': the 'Old Doctrine' is the simple faith of Christ and the apostles. The theme is thoroughly explored, in relation not only to doctrinal questions like that of free will but to the sacraments, ceremonies, and hierarchy of the Church. The 'servo di Iddio' who composed the introduction may well have been the translator, and it is evident that his work was widely known and much feared by the authorities. One of the first publications of Paulus Manutius in 1562 after his move to Rome as official printer to the papacy was a riposte to *Doctrina Vetus et Nova* entitled *De Sacramento Confessionis*. The author, Marinus Victorius, sought to prove that confession could in reality be traced back to St. Matthew's Gospel, and tried to refute charges that most of the seven sacraments were 'no more than three or four hundred years old'. The reference to Urbanus's work is obvious. The rarity of the Italian text may reflect the fears of the Inquisition, but *Doctrina Vetus et Nova* is still more common than the next tract.²

² Cavazza 1987, p. 21, mentions other copies in the Biblioteca Angelica of Rome (B 2.8/29), Wolfenbüttel (Theol. 1112/2). There is another in Oxford (Bodleian/Tanner 517). For biography and bibliography on Rhegius see R. Vinke's entry in *Contemporaries of Erasmus: a Biographical Register* 3 vols., University of Toronto Press 1985–7 (hereafter *CEBR*), vol. 3, pp. 151–3. On Victorius' work, A–A. Renouard, *Annales de l'Imprimerie des Aldes*, 3rd edn. Paris, 1834, 1562, No. 8: the attack on Rhegius is on p. 6 of the introduction to *De Sacramento Confessionis*.

The second piece bears the title *Pie et Christiane Epistole Composte da un servo di Iddio alla consolatione de fedeli frategli in Christo Giesu Signore e Salvatore Nostro*, and in bibliographical terms is perhaps the most interesting of the four. The text, contained in 36 folios, concentrates in five open letters on the theme of faith, its efficacy, works, merit, and charity. The general conclusion is conveyed in a quotation from the eleventh chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews, that 'it is impossible to please God without faith'. The type is again roman, somewhat inferior in quality to that of *Dottrina Vecchia*, but in this case identifiable. In 1548 a commission of Venetian printers consisting of Michele Tramezzino, Tommaso Giunti, and Gianfrancesco Torresani was summoned by the Inquisition, and the three rather treacherously named their colleague Antonio Brucioli as the printer of a work intitled *Pie et Christiane epistole*. Who, then was the author? The 'servo di Iddio' mentioned on the titlepage of this work and in the introduction to *Dottrina Vecchia* offers no clues: but in the Index of 1549 Giovanni Della Casa appears to have recognised two versions of a work intitled *Pie et Christiane epistole*, and ascribed one of them to 'Gratiadio di Monte Santo'. In his satirical commentary on that Index Pierpaolo Vergerio identified 'Gratiadio' as a pseudonym of the renegade Augustinian Fra Giulio Della Rovere. A respected preacher and a Master of Theology from Padua, Fra Giulio was feared as an organiser as well as a controversialist. Brought before the authorities in Bologna and Venice for his daring sermons he was released on both occasions, but left the Catholic Church in 1543 and remained a Calvinist pastor in the Swiss cantons until his death in 1581. From 1549 all his works were banned: in fact until twenty years ago *Pie et Christiane epistole* seemed to have disappeared entirely. Then a copy of the version ascribed to 'Gratiadio', was found in the Biblioteca Nazionale of Florence. It proved to be a far more substantial work than the pamphlet in Copenhagen, examining ninety-seven propositions in its 126 folios and confirming Della Casa's suspicion that two versions were in circulation. The shorter version, ascribed to the 'servo di Iddio', seems to have been known only from the description of a nineteenth-century bibliographer in Strassburg until the reappearance of the copy in the Royal Library. This discovery fills a small but important gap in the bibliography of the period, and in our knowledge of the ideas disseminated by a little known but dangerous Italian Protestant. The connection to both Fra Giulio and Antonio Brucioli also provides an important point of departure for investigating the collective history of

the volume in the Royal Library, and we shall return to it in due course.³

The third tract, entitled *Libretto Consolatorio a li perseguitati per la confessione della verità evangelica*, has acquired a hybridised quality from the efforts of an unknown translator to adapt its originally quite specific frame of reference to another language and a wider setting. As already mentioned, it is this pamphlet which claims to have been printed in Milan during 1545: but the frequent allusions to Augsburg make it possible to trace the origins of the text to 1531, and to name its author as the same Urbanus Rhegius who wrote *Doctrina vetus*. Disappointed by the refusal of the city authorities to sign the Confession presented at the Diet of Augsburg, Rhegius had withdrawn from the post at the church of St. Anna which he had occupied since 1524 and wrote in sympathy with those who stayed to face persecution. Though the translator re-touched the opening pages to give them a wider appeal, many allusions to the special circumstances of Augsburg in the early 1530s remain. The printer left signs of working fast, perhaps in secret. The 30 folios are set in a nondescript italic, with frequent smudges, and the presswork as a whole is the poorest in the volume. The Italian version may well have been printed in 1545: but the claim that it was printed in Milan was almost certainly a false trail, laid to throw inquisitors off the scent. This tract too, is rare: other copies can be found in the Biblioteca Nazionale, Florence, and the Staatsbibliothek, Munich.⁴

The last of the quartet, entitled *Il Desordine della Chiesa, dove si vedino le perverse tradizioni dei suoi ministri esser contra le sante leggi di Christo e degli antichi padri, con manifesto danno de l'anima e del corpo de Christiani*, is also the shortest, containing only a titlepage with a brief introduction on its verso side and 14 folios of text. The argument is of the simplest kind – a frontal attack on abuses such as simony, the purchase of dispensations or pardons, the worship of saints or relics, and the misuse of excommunication. Silvano Cavazza detects some resemblance to the

³ On *Pie et Christiane epistole* and its authorship see U. Rozzo, 'Sugli scritti di Giulio da Milano', *Bollettino della società di studi Valdesi*, No. 134 1973 pp.69–85. On the arrest of Centani see G. Spini, *Tra rinascimento e riforma – Antonio Brucioli*, Florence, 1940, p.98; P. Grendler, *The Roman Inquisition and the Venetian Press, 1540–1605*, Princeton 1977, p.82; most recently E. Barbieri, *Le Bibbie italiane del Quattrocento e Cinquecento*, 2 vols., Milan, 1992. Vol. 1, pp. 117–21.

⁴ Cavazza 1987, p.22. On the situation at Augsburg and Rhegius's withdrawal see *CEBR*, vol. 3, pp. 151–3.

Frategli et Signori in **CHRISTO** diletti, mosso da christiana charita, & continuo studio uerso di uoi, ansiosamente de la salute uostra sollecito, queste cose ui scriuo, & pregou per Gesu xpo, che in bene ui seruiate di queste nostre lettere, riceuendole con quel animo che elle da noi ui sono scritte. perche auezna che non sia uescouo o parochian uostro: non posso nondimeno restare che non ui insegni, esorti & consoli, & per ufficio di debita & christiana beneuolenza mi pigli cura di uoi in **CHRISTO** frategli miei. Dio uolesse che uoi haueste Episcopi & Pastori che facessino l'ufficio loro, & contra gl'impeti de le tentationi & persecutioni come si dourebbe ui ammaestrassino & confirmassino. Ma poi che tali non gli hauete, pigliero io questo peso, ne mi curero per questo di uenir in disgratia di coloro che appresso di uoi sono chiamati spirituali.

Voi sapete in quanto folta & horrenda caligine di errori, ignorantie, & incredulita siamo stati per molti anni sepolti. Abbiamo fatto professione del nome Christiano, habbiamo uoluto essere chiamati christiani, & noi stessi anchora ci siamo estimati essere tali. Ma (o cosa miseranda & ueramente degna di pianto) quanti sono stati quegli che habbino saputo, perche erano chiamati christiani? Quanti pochi coloro che a bastanza sapessero rendere ragione di questo nome, & quale fusse la uera fede, & professione de christiani? Imperoche coloro a quali era comesso questo ufficio che ci insegnassero **CHRISTO**, & che insegnassero

A ii

First page of the tract *Libretto Consolatorio, a li perseguitati per la confessione della verità evangelica*.

communication. Silvano Cavazza detects some resemblance to the points raised to justify Charles V's treatment of the pope in 1527 by Alphonso de Valdés in his *Dialogo de Lactantio lo arcediano*, but the ideas were in such common currency that it is hard to be sure. The piece concludes with a translation of Psalm 37 into Italian, exhorting readers 'not to mingle with those who commit iniquities' such as those denoun-

than the date 1545, is as cryptic as its counterparts: but at least the date is convincing, for we know that the work was circulating in Trent by October, 1546, and it was on every Index of Prohibited books from 1549. The presswork is of a strikingly higher quality than that of the other tracts, setting a stylish, slightly flamboyant italic on a fine grade of paper.⁵

The interest of the volume lies not only in the rarity of its individual items but in their being found together, in a contemporary binding, so far from their country of origin. Questions about the social milieu in which the components were brought together, and the means of their reaching Denmark, spring automatically to mind. Conjecture must play a large part in suggesting answers: but at least the process of conjecture can start from some solid facts.

On 7 July, 1548, the Venetian inquisitors interrogated one Giovanni Centani about several cases of prohibited books which had been discovered at his house. *Dottrina Vecchia et Nuova, Pie et Christiane Epistole* and the sermons of Fra Giulio were among those listed, alongside Luther's *De Servo Arbitrio*, his commentary on St. Matthew's Gospel, and several other Protestant texts. Centani pleaded ingenuously that he had no notion of the books being heretical, for they had been brought to him by the respected publisher Antonio Brucioli, who had lived in Venice for eight years. It was at this point that Giunti, Tramezzino and Torresani were called in to identify the type of *Pie et Christiane Epistole* as Brucioli's. One of the four tracts in the Royal Library's volume was definitely published by Brucioli: he can be linked to the sale of another, and he had been active in the circulation of this kind of literature for much longer than the eight years mentioned by Centani.⁶

Brucioli had first come to Venice in 1522, having escaped from Florence after participating in an attempted coup against the increasingly unpopular Medici regime. He returned home when that regime was overthrown by the Last Republic in 1527, and his open sympathy

⁵ Cavazza 1987, pp. 16–17. Biographies of both Valdés brothers by J. Niero can be found in *CEBR*, vol. 3, pp. 366–70.

⁶ Archivio di Stato, Venezia (ASV), Sant' Ufficio, Processi, Busta 13, insert 7: general comment in the passages of Spini, Grendler and Barbieri cited in n. 3: details and appendix of documents in A. del Col, 'Il controllo della stampa a Venezia e i processi di Antonio Brucioli (1548–1559)', *Critica storica*, Anno XVII fasc. 3 1980, pp. 457–510.

with new religious ideas seems to date from this phase of his life: hostile to the Dominican order and reported to the authorities for reading Lutheran texts to a group of young men, he was also found to have a copy of the state's cipher in his house when arrested in June, 1529. How he escaped is not clear: but he was back in Venice by 23 July, and from this moment devoted his literary and linguistic skills increasingly to the translation of the Bible, aided by a knowledge of Hebrew which gave his versions added authority. An Italian New Testament appeared in 1530: the Psalms followed a year later, the full Bible in 1532. Commentaries on the Proverbs, Ecclesiastics, Job, Isaiah and the Song of Songs occupied him during the middle of the decade, preparing the way for his massive commentary on the books of the Old Testament 'tradotti della Ebraica verità in lingua italiana' in three folio volumes, which was published in 1540. The full measure of his industry can only be appreciated when one realises that during the same few years he was popularising Florentine literature in new editions of Boccaccio and Giovanni Villani, besides summarising contemporary debates in a series of dialogues. His main publisher was the Brescian Bartolomeo Zanetti.⁷

It is important to stress that, at least until 1540, Brucioli's associations were as respectable as Centani believed them to be. The Florentine exiles to whom he was most closely linked met in the palace of the Venetian noble Carlo Capello: having dedicated his Italian Bible to Francis I in 1532 Brucioli had moved easily into the literary circle of the French ambassador Georges de Selve by 1535; and he kept his options open by dedicating successive volumes of his Old Testament to the French princess Renée, duchess of Ferrara, and the Spanish ambassador in Venice, Diego Hurtado da Mendoza. The decision to set up a publishing house of his own along with his brothers Francesco and Alessandro followed closely on the publication of the Old Testament in October 1540, and may well have been inspired by confidence both in the future of the vernacular scholarship which he championed and in

⁷ Barbieri 1992, Vol. 1, pp. 107–111, gives the best account of Brucioli's political activity in Florence. Spini, 'Bibliografia delle opere di Antonio Brucioli', *La Bibliofilia*, XLII, 1940, pp. 129–180, provides the background to his literary work in Venice. On Zanetti, an important publisher responsible for several Greek first editions as well the Florentine material associated with Brucioli, the fullest information is offered by R. Cessi, 'Bartolomeo e Camillo Zanetti, tipografi e calligrafi del '500', *Archivio Veneto – Tridentino*, No. 15–16 1925, pp. 174–82.

the future of the vernacular scholarship which he championed and in the stability of the patronage which he had established.⁸

In fact, Brucioli's days of respectability were almost over. In the early 1540s a series of disasters drove him and those who thought like him from the fashionable salons where prestigious folio volumes were exchanged and discussed into the underworld of clandestine publication represented by the little octavo in Copenhagen. Attempts to reconcile the Catholic and Lutheran doctrines at the Diet of Ratisbon had failed by mid-summer of 1541: the Roman Inquisition was established almost exactly a year later, on 4 July, 1542, and the principal agent of the attempted reconciliation with the Protestants, Cardinal Gasparo Contarini, died within a matter of weeks on 24 August; two of his most influential supporters in the Italian reform movement, Bernardino Ochino and Peter Martyr Vermigli, defected to the Protestant side a few days later. Fra Giulio da Milano, as we have seen, was not long in following. The new climate of suspicion spread quickly to the secular world: in September several members of the French embassy in Venice, where much of Brucioli's activity had centred during the previous decade, were involved in a spying scandal that ended with the expulsion of the ambassador Guillaume Pelissier.⁹

Early in the following year papal nuncios began to press the civil authorities in a number of Italian cities for action to control the spread

⁸ On the role of the Capello family see *Rime de M. Bernardo Capello, corrette, illustrate e accresciute colla vita dell' autore scritta dall' Ab. P. Serassi*, Bergamo, 1753, p. vii; Spini 1940, pp. 25, 90. The development of Brucioli's patronage can be reconstructed from Spini, 'Bibliografia', e.g. Nos. 42, 42, 18, though the material is arranged by subject, not by date. Comment by C. Dionisotti, 'Machiavellerie (V): la testimonianza del Brucioli', *Rivista Storica Italiana*, 91, 1979 pp. 26-51. On the 'officina Brucioliana' see Barbieri 1992, Vol. 1, pp. 117-9.

⁹ No attempt will be made here to provide a full bibliography of these events: the classic interpretation of D. Cantimori, *Eretici Italiani del Cinqueto*, Rome 1939, was attacked from one side by P. McNair, *Peter Martyr in Italy: an Anatomy of Apostasy*, Oxford 1967, esp. pp. 239f; McNair contended that evangelism was already doomed. From the other side J. Martin, 'Salvation and Society in Sixteenth-Century Venice: Popular Evangelism in a Renaissance City', *Journal of Modern History*, 60, 1988, pp. 205-233, argued that evangelism survived for some decades. The unusual climate of suspicion in Venice after the espionage scandal of September, 1542, is noted in an anonymous contemporary account printed in E. Charrière, *Négociations de la France Dans le Levant, ou Correspondances, Mémoires et Actes Diplomatiques des Ambassadeurs de France à Constantinople*, 4 vols., Paris, Imprimerie Nationale 1848-50, Vol. 1, pp. 548-51.

but cautiously: books printed in Venice were subjected to the approval of the Council of Ten, and penalties were raised considerably. Printing unlicensed books incurred a fine of 50 ducats, selling them a penalty of 25 ducats, while hawking them through the streets could leave the pedlar struggling from San Marco to the Rialto under the lash and passing the next six months in prison. But the interpretation and application of the law remained with civil magistrates, the *essecutori contra la bestemmia*, whose theological knowledge was rarely up to date even if their religious convictions were orthodox and their sympathies with the local inquisitor. That could not be taken for granted, for there were only three prosecutions for press offences during the whole decade. Further, though the law alluded to false imprints, it made no mention of imported books: standardised types in international use like the smaller romans and cursives were difficult enough to detect, and the sheer volume of printing in Venice made detection proportionally more difficult.

The 1540s were a period of grey uncertainty when the feeling that censorship was necessary proved far stronger than the capacity to enforce it. A great deal slipped through the net. At first the inquisitor himself was delighted with the notorious *Beneficio di Christo Crocefisso*, which drew entire passages from Calvin's *Institutes*, but was reprinted three times. The Bodleian Library's Tanner 517, similar in date and composition to the Royal Library's 87-241, contains a short commentary on Paul's Epistle to the Romans with a dated dedication to the Florentine noble Antonio Landi. A few simple precautions, such as a false place of imprint, the suppression of one name, or the substitution of another, were all that was usually necessary to avoid investigation. These are precisely the features found in the components of Tanner 517 or the Royal Library's 87-241. Two of the tracts in that volume can definitely be traced to the circle of Antonio Brucioli, and his prosecution in 1548 was one of the cases which ended the period of *laissez-faire*. It is in Venice, more specifically in Brucioli's circle during the uncertain 1540s, that the origins of the volume in Copenhagen must be traced.¹⁰

But for whom were the four – only one of which was definitely printed by Brucioli himself – bound together, and how did they find their way to Denmark? Here we leave the realms of documented research and enter

¹⁰ Grendler 1977, pp.84-5; Cavazza 1987, p.9; del Col 1980, pp.457-60.

Denmark? Here we leave the realms of documented research and enter those of informed conjecture. 'Books have their own fates', but these are best revealed by the notes of their readers, and readers preferred not to attach their names to forbidden books. Brucioli's respectable associations defended him personally: in 1548 he was condemned in absence to two years exile but returned to Venice after only a few months. Questioned again in 1551, he was released on grounds of age and poverty. Even after all his published texts had been placed on the Index of Prohibited Books in 1559, he lived on in untroubled obscurity until 1566. But by this time his name alone was dangerous. The British Library possesses a copy of Giovanni Villani's Chronicle, a quite uncontroversial work which Brucioli edited for Zanetti in 1537. Brucioli's name has been carefully inked over by a sixteenth-century reader, Agnolo Guicciardini. As early as 1545 it was omitted from new editions of his version of the Bible.¹¹ It is not surprising that the original owner of the little volume in Copenhagen did not link his name with *Pie et Christiane epistole*. Lacking that owner's name, as well as any proof that the book came north with him, we must resort to circumstantial evidence or assumption, and be content with looking for the kind of reader who might have put such a volume together, and carried it into exile.

In June, 1533, Paulus Manutius dedicated a new edition of Petrarch to his near contemporary, the young Neapolitan noble Giovanni Bonifacio, marchese d'Oria. Petrarch was the second great figure in the Florentine tradition which Brucioli was popularising through his translations and editions: Manutius claimed to have heard of the young marchese's interests through a letter to a mutual friend.¹² In his early life Bonifacio was a fairly typical, if restless, upper class intellectual, touring the seats of learning in France and Flanders as well as Italy, and beginning to assemble a personal library at his home in Otranto. But after inheriting his title in 1536 he came increasingly under the influence of Valdesian ideas and was eventually denounced by a Jesuit for reading a disguised Ovid during mass. By the later 1550s he had taken again, but for different reasons, to the wandering life of his youth,

¹¹ See same authorities: Brucioli's name has been erased from B.L. 177 G. 16 *Croniche di messer Giovan Villani Cittadino Fiorentino*. Stampato in Vinctia per Bartolomeo Zanetti Casterzagense. Nel Anno della incarnatione del Signore MDXXXVII del mese d'Agosto, fo. *iir.

¹² E. Pastorello, *L'Epistolario Manuziano - inventario cronologico-analitico 1483-1597*, Florence 1957, No. 269, June, 1533 = Renouard, *Annales*, 1533 No. 5.

shifting from Venice to Zurich, to Basel, or to Wittenberg, and in 1558 back to Venice. There he was denounced for his reading habits by two members of the Giunti workshop. In a Catholic city Bonifacio was too conspicuous to ignore, and too important to arrest. The representatives of his fellow Neapolitan Pope Paul IV demanded action, and on 5 July the Venetian Council of Ten tactfully sent a message 'intimating to the said marchese d'Oria that he should leave this city and its dominions immediately, by whatever route he chooses'. Like most Italian apostates, he spent the rest of his life in ceaseless movement between different Protestant centres: Poland, France, Denmark, and England all harboured him for a while, until he came to rest in Danzig during the 1590s and bequeathed his library to the city on his death in 1597.¹³ There are no means of associating the volume in Copenhagen with the marchese's 1161 volumes, or his 72 'libri italici'.¹⁴ But its disguised binding, its deceptive colophons and its pursuit by the Inquisition reflect the experiences of Marchese Giovanni Bonifacio, reveal something of the world in which the religious refugees of the sixteenth century had to survive, and encourage more detailed research into the provenance of the printed books that entered the Royal Library in its early years.

¹³ Biography of Bonifacio by D. Caccamo in *Dizionario Biografico degli italiani* 38 vols., Rome 1960, vol. 12, pp. 199–201. Records of proceedings against him in ASV, Sant' Ufficio, Processi, Busta 13, insert 2: Cons. di X, Secreta Rg. 6 191 r, 28. July 1558.

¹⁴ F. Schwarz, 'Die Anfänge der Danziger Stadtbibliothek', *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* 52, 1935, pp. 189–201, esp. 191–3.

RESUME

MARTIN LOWRY: „*Camouflerede Veneziani*“ i *Det kgl. Bibliotek*

Artiklen behandler fire italiensksprogede, religiøse traktater i Det kgl. Biblioteks besiddelse under signaturen 87-241. De klart protestantiske tekster stammer fra det 16. århundrede og er anonyme eller skrevet under falske fromme pseudonymer for at vildlede Inkquisitionen.

Det drejer sig om *Opera Utilissima, intitolata Dottrina Vecchia et Nuova; Pie et Christiane Epistole Composte da un servo di Iddio alla consolatione de fedeli frategli in Christo Giesu Signore e Salvatore Nostro; Libretto Consolatorio a li perseguitati per la confessione della verità evangelica; og Il Desordine della Chiesa, dove si vedino le perserse traditioni dei suoi ministri esser contra le sante leggi di Christo e degli antichi padri, con manifesto danno de l'anima e del corpo de Christiani*. I artiklen beskrives først de fire traktater, hvorefter deres mulige vej til Det kgl. Bibliotek gøres til genstand for overvejelser på grundlag af Inkquisitionens forhørsprotokoller og andre retsdokumenter fra Venedig, hvorfra traktaterne kan formodes at stamme. Det påvises, at Antonio Brucioli har trykt mindst den ene af traktaterne, og der gives en kort fremstilling af Bruciolis omskiftelige liv og virke.

Afslutningsvis argumenteres der for, at de fire traktater er bragt til Danmark af napolitaneren Giovanni Bonifacio, marchese d'Oria, der efter sin eksilering fra Venedig i 1558 rejste rundt til datidens protestantiske centre i Frankrig, England, Danmark og Polen, hvor han døde i 1597.