A variant copy of Konrad Gessner's "Bibliotheca Universalis" ¹

Koichi Yukishima

Konrad Gessner (1516–1565) was among the most eminent humanists and naturalists in Switzerland in the 16th century. When he was 29 years old, he began to publish a series of bibliographies including the *Bibliotheca Universalis*, *Pandectarum*, *Partitiones theologicae*, and *Appendix* printed by Christoph Froschauer in Zurich. The series' first volume, *Bibliotheca Universalis* (Zurich: Christoph Froschauer, 1545), is especially considered as among his masterpieces and the great classics in the fields of bibliography and of library and information science. For his work on the *Bibliotheca Universalis*, Gessner is regarded by many as "the Father of Bibliography"².

Although many scholars have researched and referred to the *Bibliotheca Universalis* since the first half of the 20th century, attention has not been given to its variant state or cancellation. In this regard, the author found two variant copies among the 10 copies available to the author, which include five copies in Japan, a copy annotated by Gessner himself, three copies in the Zurich Central Library, and another copy in Basel University Library. This paper presents a report on the copy of the *Bibliotheca Universalis* that has not been identified as a variant, with a focus on this copy's

¹ This work was supported by ISPS KAKENHI Grant Number 25330401.

² J. Christian *Bay*, Conrad Gesner (1516–1565), the Father of Bibliography: An Appreciation, in: The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America 10 (1916), 53–86.

variant typesetting. In the field of bibliography, this study offers the significant contribution of clarifying what happened in the time of printing the *Bibliotheca Universalis*.

In the course of examing all of the available copies of the *Bibliotheca Universalis* to identify the variant copies, the five copies housed at the following libraries in Japan (call No. & provenance) were accessed first:

- Hiroshima University of Economics Library, Hiroshima (026, Georg Sabinus's copy)
- 2 Keio University Library, Tokyo (141X@40@1)
- 3 National Diet Library, Tokyo (WA 42-27)
- 4 Meiji University Library, Tokyo (091.3/970//H, a copy of the Society of Writers to the Signet, Edinburgh)
- 5 Waseda University Library, Tokyo (Fo26–36, a copy of Tegernsee Abbey, Bavaria, and then Jenő Pásztélyi's copy)

The Waseda copy of the Bibliotheca Universalis

Bibliographical description of the Waseda copy (see Figure 1):

Gessner, Konrad. *Bibliotheca Universalis*. Tiguri: Apud Christophorum Froschouerum, 1545. folio.

Title, 1r (*1): BIBLIOTHECA | Vniuersalis, siue Catalogus omni=|um scriptorium locupletissimus, in tribus linguis, Latina, Graeca, & He=|braica: extantiam & non extantium, ueterum & recentiorum in hunc usq-ue-| diem, doctorum & indoctorum, publicatorum & in Bibliothecis laten=|tium. Opus nouum, & no-n-> Bibliothecis tantum publicis priuatisue in=|stituendis necessarium, sed studiosis omnibus cuiuscunq-ue-> artis aut | scientiae ad studia melius formanda utilissimum: authore | CONRADO GESNERO Tigurino doctore medico. | [device: Vischer, Bibliographie, p. 544, 3 Offizin Froschauer 6] | TIGVRI APVD CHRISTOPHORVM | Froschouerum Mense Septembri, Anno | M. D. XLV.

Explicit: NN7v, line 8: FINIS.

Folio, *8, A⁶ B⁴, a-z⁶, ²A-²B⁶ C-Z Aa-Zz 2a-2z AA-MM⁶ NN⁸ [signed \$4 (*5, B3, NN5)]. 650 leaves, ff. [8], [10], 1-631, [1].

³ Manfred *Vischer*, Bibliographie der Zürcher Druckschriften des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts, Baden-Baden 1991.



Fig. 1: Title page of the Waseda copy of Bibliotheca Universalis. Waseda University Library (Fo26-36).

Contents: *II, title; *IV, AD LECTORES.; *2I, ILLVSTRI ET GENEROSO | VIRO D. LEONARDO BECKH A BECKENSTAIN, | S. Caesareae maiestatis consiliario clarissimo, CONRA=|DVS GESNERVS medicus S.D.P.; *6V, line 10, Vale, meq·ue> clientem tuum ita ut caepisti fo=|uere perge. Tiguri, quae primaria Heluetiorum urbs est, anno Chri=|stiano, 1545. Mense Iulio.; *7I, line 20, Haecante | operis ingressum habui, de quibus | Lectores admonerem. | *7V, PRAEMIA VIRTVTIS FELICIA CONSPICIS ARMA. | [woodcut of coat of arms, 192×139 mm]; *8, blank; AII, AD LECTOREM DE VSV | HVIVS INDICIS | (10 lines) | id quaque ex hoc Indice deprehandetur, Vale. | index in 3 cols.; B4I, line 12, FINIS.; B4V, blank; aIII, text; NN7V, line 8, FINIS. | EMENDANDVM. | (3 lines); NN8, blank.

a4r, text in 51 lines and headline, direction line and marginalia, 241 (251)×137 (157)mm, 93R, 93Gr; *3r, preliminary in 42 lines and headline and direction line, 240 (248)×140mm, 112R, 93Gr; A1r, index in 3 cols., each col. in 55 lines, 86R.

Reference: VD 164, G 1698; Vischer, Bibliographie, C 350.

Copy: Waseda University Library, Fo₂6-₃6. 322×200mm, bound in wooden boards covered with contemporary blind stamped pig skin in the South German style. MS ownership and pressmark on *1r: 'Pertinet ad inclytum Monasterium Tegernsee | ord. S. Bened. in Bavaria superiorj' | 'ad Tegernsee' | 'ng. | Z₃7.' (Figure 1). Manuscript notes on the flyleaf verso (see Figure 2):

Iste author est accatholicus, | hinc tam diligenter scribit de Philipo | Melanctone, et Martino Luthero &c. | licèt etiam alios Scriptores Catholicos | suâ laude non destituat, eorúmq‹ue› | opera ac Elucubrationes adducat. | In hoc tamen singularem laudem meretur, | quòd. Bibliothecam universalem Librorum | editiorum congerere sit conatas; quantumvis | mùltas, qui in nostra Bibliotheca sunt, | non habeat. Et, quod miror, de Erasmo | Roterodamo [sinistra: 'vidi Desider.'], vix non coaetaneo, altum | silentium tenet, cùm tamen tum tem | -poris iam plures libros ediderit, et adhuc | in plurib‹us› laboraverit edendis c‹etera›.

Provenance: (MS on *1r) Order of Saint Benedict, Tegernsee, Bavaria; (stamp on a slip of paper pasted on NN7v) Dr. Pásztélyi Jenő, könyvtárából, Szám: 1502. Waseda University Library bought the copy from Peter Tumarkin Fine Books, New York in July 1992.

The Waseda copy had been housed at Tegernsee Abbey in Bavaria, from the 16th to the 18th centuries. The manuscript notes on the flyleaf indicated that the library had kept its copy even after the Tridentine index of the Roman Catholic Church in 1564. The ab-

⁴ Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des 16. Jahrhunderts: VD 16, 22 vols, Stuttgart 1983–1995.

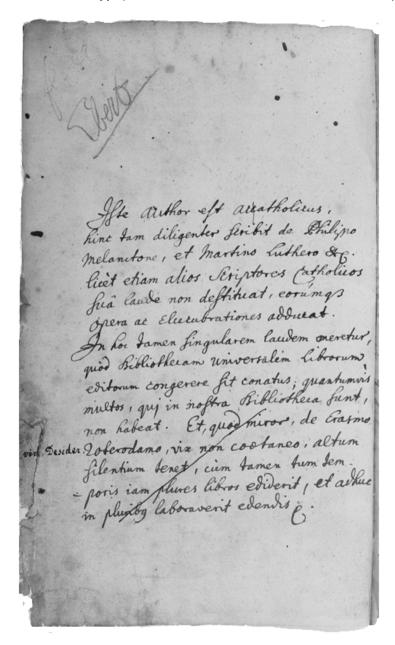


Fig. 2: Manuscript notes on the flyleaf of the Waseda copy of Bibliotheca Universalis. Waseda University Library (F026-36).

bey regarded the *Bibliotheca Universalis* highly as it contained many records of Catholic authors together with Protestant ones.

At one point, the notes indicated that the scribe criticized Gessner for being deeply silent on Erasmus of Rotterdam as he could not find any item of the Dutch humanist in the book. Another reader of the *Bibliotheca Universalis* later noted "vidi Desider." on the manuscript notes' left margin and drew a slanted line over lines II-I5 of the notes. The latter reader pointed out that this note was necessary to aid the search for the item "Desiderius Erasmus". The notes show how the *Bibliotheca Universalis* remained in use at the monastery in Southern Germany in the Counter Reformation⁵ period despite being banned by the Roman Catholic Church.

At the time of the secularization in 1803,6 most books and manuscripts housed at the abbey were sent to the Royal Library in Munich. However, this copy was not added to the collection of the Royal Library but was later owned by a Hungarian collector, Dr. Jenő Pásztélyi (1850–1918).

The typesetting of the other four copies of the *Bibliotheca Universalis* in Japan are the same as that in the Waseda's. Any variant copy is unknown in Japan.

Subsequently, the author examined five other copies in the following libraries in Switzerland from 2013 to 2015:

- 1 Zurich Central Library (Dr M 3, Konrad Gessner's own copy, onwards Copy A)
- 2 Zurich Central Library (IV O 2, Konrad Pellikan's copy, onwards Copy B)
- 3 Zurich Central Library (IV O 4 & IV O 5, bound in 2, a copy of 'Iacobus Silvius Ambianus In Medicina' [= Jacques Dubois], onwards Copy C)
- 4 Zurich Central Library (5.12, Konrad Klauser's copy, onwards Copy D)
- 5 Basel University Library (BL I 1, Basilius Amerbach II, onwards the Basel copy)

⁵ Alberto *Moreni*, La Bibliotheca Universalis di Konrad Gesner e gli Indici dei libri proibiti, in: La Bibliofilia 88 (1986), 131–150.

⁶ Josef *Hemmerle*, Die Benediktinerklöster in Bayern, Augsberg 1970 (Germania Benedictina 2), 300.

Gessner's own copy of the *Bibliotheca Universalis* in Zurich Central Library (Copy A)

Copy A is the most important and interesting copy bibliographically among these five copies as Gessner himself wrote many of the manuscript notes regards corrections, revisions, and deletions in the text as well as rearrangements and additions of items throughout the book; this copy also probably retains the original paper size (350×215 mm). Gessner added other pieces of publication information in Copy A until the early 1550s. Extremely remarkable deletions are shown in the latter part of the item by Gessner himself in fol. 180v where he drew inclined lattice lines over the text and vertical lines for erasing several manuscripts notes on the left outer margin (see Figure 3). However, any variant typesetting of fol. 180v has been unknown.

Moreover, Gessner crossed out lines 4–30 of fol. 454v in the latter half of the item of "IOANNES filius Serapionis" in the following manner:⁸

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Hi libri practicae seu breuiarij serapionis Basileae etiam nuper impressi sunt, apud Henricum Petrum, 1543, in fol. duplo ferè chartarum numero, quàm prius in Italia exiuerat: quamuis ultimus liber de antidotis non sit adiectus. Nam egregius ille paraphrastes Albanus Torinus nouo titulo plausibilem Basilileñ, aeditionē fecit, Iani Damasceni Decapolitani nomine inducto pro Ioan. Serapione, & ab initio aphorismos etiam antehac Ioanni Damasceno inscriptos adiecit, ut minus dolum olfacerer Lector, & ultimu librum de antidotis omisit : caeteros in medio miris modis interpolauit : nam & transponit ordinem : & in illis libris, ubi Gerardi Cremonensis translationem se relinquere fatetur, plurima mutat, & sues centones annectit, ac pro barbaris saepe Gerardi uocabulis ipse affecta & obsoleta infarcit: in illis uero, quos de integro bellula paraphrasi sua uerit aut potius peruertit, uocabu lis immoratur, prolixus esy de industri, & tanquam scholia pro tyronibus inserat, gratiam breuitatis quam aucupatus erat Serapion amittit. Sed nihil grauius dicam, quamis uehementer mihi displiecet sucum emptoribus fieri, & absq(ue) fructu naenias huismodi & brassicam biscoctam miseris Lectoribus obtrudi, Siquidem & ipse diuersorum authorum opera esse hucusq(ue) ratus (nam ne supra quidē cum de Iano & Ioanne Damasceno scriberem, aliter existimabam) utrug(ue) mihi comparare, 6 utriusq(ue) lectioni temporis nonnihil dare iam decreuera, quod posthac minime saciam: malo enim Gerardi translationem integram, hominis utcunq(ue) Arabicae linguae peritu, & simplicem Serapioni sententiam, quàm Albani, qui ne Iota quide eius linguae callet, paragraphses inani ostentatione plenas, & undequaq(ue) con

⁷ Gessner added a manuscript note, 'et Basileae | apud Hen. Petri | 1551. ex eme<n>dati= | one ...' at the item Hali filius Abenragel Arabs, on fol. 298v of Copy A. ⁸ Line numbers by K. Yukishima.

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sarcinatas. In epistola nuncpatoria scribit se nuper hoc opus in bilbiotheca qua dam inuenisse: nimirum ut quis rem deprehenderet, ignorantia potius publicatae prius aeditionis, quam astutia illiciendi emptores, fecisse quod fecit excusari posset. Opinor autem etiam in Garoponto & Alexandro Iatro, & & alijs quibusdam, non dissimilia machinatum esse: quare lectore medicunae studiosum admoneo, si quid proficere uelit, libros Albani nomine insignitos ne magni faciat.

A slip sheet with II lines of printed text is pasted on the lower margin of fol. 454v and another one with I8 lines pasted on the lower margin of fol. 455r (see Figures 4 and 5). The II lines of the first slip correspond with lines 4–I4 of fol. 454v in Copy B, whereas the I8 lines of the second are identified with lines I5–32 of fol. 454v in the same copy. Figure 6 shows lines 4–32 of fol. 454v in Copy B with the following sentences:

Hi libri practicae seu breuiarij serapionis Basileae etiam nuper impressi sunt, apud Henricum Petrum, 1543. in fol. duplo ferè chartarum numero, quàm prius in Italia exiuerat: quamuis ultimus liber de antidotis non sit adiectus. Nam para= phrastes (ut se inscribere uoluit) Albanus Torinus nouo titulo plausibilem Basilien sem aeditionē fecit Iani Damasceni Decapolitani nomine inducro pro Ioanne se= rapione, & ab initio aphorismos etiam antehac Ioanni Damasceno inscriptos (ne= scio quàm recte, in libello seorsim aedito) adiecit, ceteros in medio interpolauit: nam & ordinem transponit, & in illis libris, ubi Gerardi Cremonensis translationē se re= linquere fatetur, plurima mutat. In epistola nuncupatoria scribit se nuper hoc opus in bilbiotheca quadam inuenisse, tanquam nesciuerit idem prius publicatū fuisse, ac medicis omnibus notissimum.

Quod autē alius sit Ioannes siue Ianus, ut illis placet, Damascenus Theologus, & Ioan. filius Serapionis, quos multi confundunt & pro uno authore numerant, non difficile mihi probatu uidetur. Legimus enim Io. Damascenũ fuisse theologũ, & uixisse circiter annu à natiuitate Domini quadringentesimu: nec ullus ex ueteri bus & probatis authoribus inter medicos Io. Damascenũ recenset, Io. Serapionis autem medicus fuit, & ut apparet ex initijs librorū eius, regione, lingua, & tempo= re, non Christianus, sed Mahometricae superstitionis cultor, ut reliqui opinor fere omnes medici Arabes: quorũ hunc recentissimũ extitisse conijcio, cũ plerasque> in scriptis suis alleget, ac inter alios filium Mesuei, qui si est Ioannes Mesaei filius quem claruisse diximus circa annum Domini, 1158 necesse est aut aequalē ei fuisse aut posteriorem quoq<ue> Io. Serapionis filium. Sed potius uidico aequales quo= niam uterq ue alterius scriptis allegatis utitur. De Io. Damasceno theologo uide Li= lium Gyraldum in uitis poëtarum dialogo 5. ubi diuersas sententias refert quo tem pore uixerit: maxime tamē probat testimoniũ Io. Patriarchae Hierosolymitani, qui in uita eius Leonis imperatoris aetati eũ adnumerat, qui imperauit circiter annum, 742. Quod si etiam Io. Serapionis è Damasco natus fuerit, no seguitur statim eun= dem esse Ioannem Damascenum simpliciter, cum & Mesuaei filius eiusdem origi= nis idem praenomen habuerit.

⁹ Underlines and line numbers by K. Yukishima.

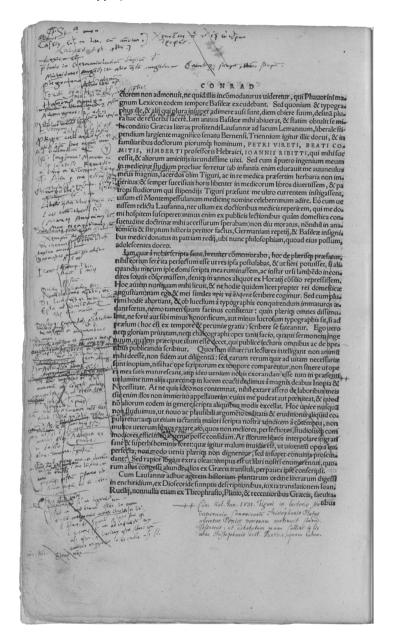


Fig. 3: Fol. 180v of Copy A of Bibliotheca Universalis. Zurich Central Library (DrM 3).

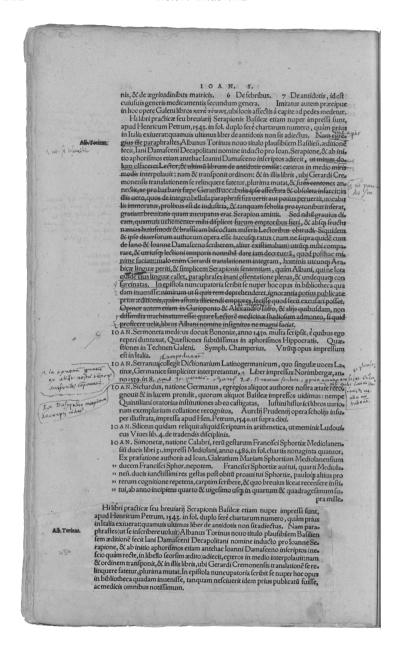


Fig. 4: Fol. 454v of Copy A of Bibliotheca Universalis. Zurich Central Library (DrM 3).

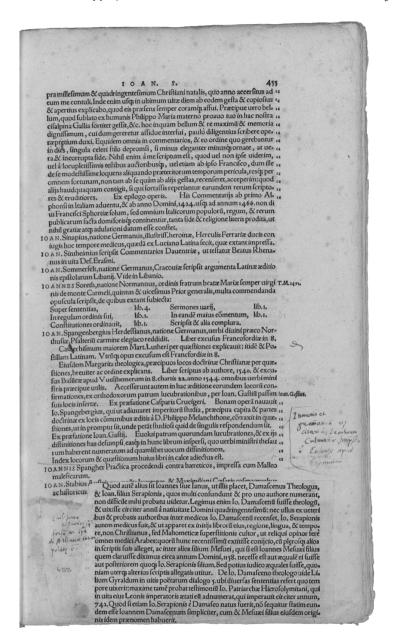


Fig. 5: Fol. 455r of Copy A of Bibliotheca Universalis. Zurich Central Library (DrM 3).

6 Defebribus. nis, & de agritudinibus matricis. 7 De antidotis, ideff Imitatur autem præcipue cuiufuis generis medicamentis fecundum genera, in hoc opere Galení libros κετά τόπους, ubi locis affectis à capite ad pedes medeur. Hi libri practice feu breuiarij Serapionis Bafileæ etiam nuper impresti funt, apud Henricum Petrum, 1543. in fol, duplo ferè chartarum numero, quam prius in Italia exiuerat: quamuis ultimus liber de antidotis non lit adiectus. Nam para, phraftes(ut fe inferibere uoluit) Albanus Torinus nouo titulo plaufibilem Bafilien fem æditionē fecit Iani Damasceni Decapolitani nomine inducto pro Ioanne Se. All. Torinus. rapione, & ab initio aphorismos etiam antehac Ioanni Damasceno inscriptos (ne. fcio quam recte, in libello feorfim ædito) adiecit, ceteros in medio interpolauit: nam & ordinem transponit, & in illis libris, ubi Gerardi Cremonensis translatione sere, linquere fatetur, plurima mutat. În epiftola nuncupatoria scribit se nuper hoc cous in bibliotheca quadam inuenisse, tanquam nesciuerit idem prius publicată fuisse, ac medicis omnibus notiffimum, Quod auté alius sit Ioannes siue Ianus, utillis placet, Damascenus Theologus, & Ioan filius Serapionis , quos multi confundunt & pro uno authore numeran; non difficile mihi probatu uidetur. Legimus enim Io. Damafcenti fuiffe theologii, brum fo & uixiffe circiter annu à natiuitate Domini quadringentelimu: nec ullus ex ueteri paix at bus & probatis authoribus inter medicos Io. Damafcenti recenfet, Io. Serapionis Mapiets, autem medicus fuit, & ut apparet ex initijs librorii eius, regione, lingua, & tempo, re, non Christianus, sed Mahometicæ superstitionis cultor, ut reliqui opinor sere for temp omnes medici Arabes; quoru hunc recentissimu extitisse conijcio, cu plerosqualios sita Del inferiptis fuis alleget, ac inter alios filium Mefuei, qui fi est loannes Mefuzi filius onnerf quem claruisse diximus circa annum Domini, 1158. necesse est autæquale ei suisse felaren aut polteriorem quoqs Io, Serapionis ilium. Sed potius iudico æquales fuille, quo niam uterqs alterius feriptis allegatis utitur. De Io, Damafeeno theologo uide Li El Soret monte C lium Gyraldum in uitis poëtarum dialogo 5. ubi diuerfas fententias refert quo tem pore uixerit: maxime tamé probat testimoniti Io. Patriarcha: Hierosolymitani, qui in uita eius Leonis imperatoris ætati eu adnumerat, qui imperauit circiter annum, 742. Quod si etiam Io. Serapionis è Damasco natus suerit, no sequitur statimeun. dem effe loannem Damascenum simpliciter, cum & Mesuzei filius eiusdem originis idem prænomen habuerit. 10 A N. Sermoneta medicus docuit Bononia, anno 1430. multa scripsit, equib.egore. peri dűtaxat, Quæftiones subtilissimas in aphorismos Hippocratis. Quæftiones in Technen Galeni. Symph, Champerius. Vtrucpopus impressum est in Italia. 10 AN. Serranus collegit Dictionariti Latinogermanicii, quo fingulæ uoces Latinæ, Germanice fimpliciter interpretant. Liber imprest. Norimbergg, anno 1539, in 8. 10 AN. Sichardus, natione Germanus, egregios aliquot authores nostra ætatereco. gnouit & in lucem protulit, quorum aliquot Balileae impressos uidimus: nempe Quintiliani oratorias inflitutiones ab eo caftigatas, Iuftini hiftorici librosuario-rum exemplarium collatione recognitos, Aurelij Prudentij opera scholijs insu-per illustrata, impressa apud Hen. Petrum, 1540. ut supra dixi. 10 AN. Siliceus quidam reliquit aliquid scriptum in arithmetica, ut meminit Ludouls cus Vines lib. 4. de tradendis disciplinis. 10 A.N. Simonetæ, natione Calabri, rerti geftarum Francisci Sphortiæ Mediolandisti ducis libri 31. impressi Mediolani, anno 1486. in sol. chartis nonaginta qualuor. Ex præfatione authoris ad Ioan. Galeatium Mariam Sphortiam Mediolanensium » ducem Francisci Sphor, nepotem. Francisci Sphortiæ aui tui, quarti Mediola » neñ, ducis iunctiffimi res geltas poltobitú proaut tui Sphortiæ, pauloca altius pro " rerum cognitione repetens, carptim scribere, & quo breuius liceat recensere in " tul, ab anno incipiens quarto & uigelimo ulen in quartum & quadragelimum lispra mille.

Fig. 6: Fol. 454v of Copy B of Bibliotheca Universalis. Zurich Central Library (IV O 2).

The comparison of above sentences between Copies A and B shows that Gessner reduced lines 4–30 of Copy A to lines 4–14 of Copy B with three additional sentences (lines 7, 9–10 and 13–14 underlined in Copy B's citation). He also added new sentences located in lines 15–32 including an explanation on Ioannes filius Serapionis (Ibn Sarābī) being different from Ioannes Serapion (Yaḥyā b. Sarāfyūn). When creating new sentences, Gessner referred to Giglio Giraldi's Dialogus V (i.e., *Historiae poetarum tam Graecorum quam Latiorum dialogi decem*) as mentioned to Iohannes Damascenus (see lines 26–27 of Copy B). He used the Basel edition of Giraldi's Dialogus published in 1545, which is listed in the preface of the *Bibliotheca Universalis* (*6v) as among his important resources for Greek poets.

As such, the comparison between the two copies clearly shows that fol. 454v was reprinted. Gessner immediately corrected lines 4–30 upon seeing the printed fol. 454v of Copy A and created new sentences for lines 4–32; printer, Christoph Froschauer, printed another copy. Moreover, fol. 454v was spliced into two sheets of slips, and Gessner pasted them each on the lower margins of fol. 454v and fol. 455r of Copy A.

The increase by two lines (the 31st and 32nd lines) of fol. 454v in Copy B compelled the printer to omit two lines from the next two items, "IOAN. Sermoneta medicus" and "IOAN. Serranus". The printer reduced four lines (the 34th from the 31st line) from the first item "IOAN. Sermoneta medicus" of Copy A to three lines (the 35th from the 33th line) of Copy B without changing sentences (see Figure 6). Three lines (the 37th from the 35th line) of the latter item "IOAN. Serranus" of Copy A were decreased to two lines (the 37th from the 36th line) of Copy B in the same way. In short, Froschauer adjusted the sentences with seven lines in Copy A to the sentences with five lines in Copy B in the following composition skill:

Lines 31-37 of Copy A:10

31

32

IOAN. Sermoneta medicus docuit bononiae, anno 1430. mula scripsit; è quibus ego reperi duntaxat, Wuaestiones subtilissimas in aphorismos Hippocratis. Quae=

¹⁰ Line numbers by K. Yukishima.

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stiones in Technen Galeni. Sumph. Champerius. Vtru·m·q·ue· opus impressum
est in Italia.
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IOAN. Serranus collegit Dictionarium Latinogermanicum, quo singulae uoces La=
tinae. Germanice simpliciter interpretantur. Liber impressus Norimbergae, an=
no 1539. in 8.

Lines 33-37 of Copy B:11

IOAN. Sermoneta medicus docuit Bononiae, anno 1430. multa scripsit è quibus ego reperi duamataxat, Quaestiones subtilissimas in aphorismos Hippocratis. Quaestiones in Technen Galeni. Symph. Champerius. Vtruamaque opus impressum est in Italia.
IOAN. Serranus collegit dictionariū Latinogermanicū, quo singulae uoces Latinae,
Germanice simmpliciter interpretant. Liber impress. Norimberge anno 1539. in 8.

When comparing all sentences of fol. 453r-454v of Copies A and B (bifolium of signatures 2g3-2g4), several other differences between the two copies become evident, e.g.:

	Copy A		Copy B	
453r, line 44:	Gerson in cer=	(Figure 7)	Gerson in cer	(Figure 8)
453v, line 46:	sed alter qui=	(Figure 9)	sed alter qui	(Figure 10)
454r, line 5:	etiam in Chro	(Figure 11)	etiam in Chro=	(Figure 12)
454r, line 41:	Scotus impres	(Figure 11)	Scotus impres=	(Figure 12)
454r, line 47:	Oculorum, au	(Figure 11)	Oculorum, au=	(Figure 12)

Dimension of printed areas (headline + 52 lines + direction line, with marginalia):

	Copy A	Copy B
453r (2g3r):	237 (247)×137 (157)	240 (249)×138 (158)
453v (2g3v):	237 (246)×137 (157)	238 (247)×137 (157)
454r (2g4r):	237 (247)×137 (157)	240 (248)×138 (158)
454v (2g4v):	238 (246)×137 (158)	240 (248)×138 (158)

Although any variant of typesetting or cancellation in the *Bibliotheca Universalis* have never been reported, the aforesaid differences between Copies A and B indicate that the outer (2g3r/2g4v) and inner (2g3v/2g4r) formes of fol. 453–454 of Copy A were completely changed to the formes of Copy B. This means that Copy B is bibliographically an ideal copy, whereas, Copy A is a variant one. A bibliographer, Fredson Bowers, defines 'ideal copy' as "a book which is complete in all its leaves as it ultimately

¹¹ Line numbers by K. Yukishima.

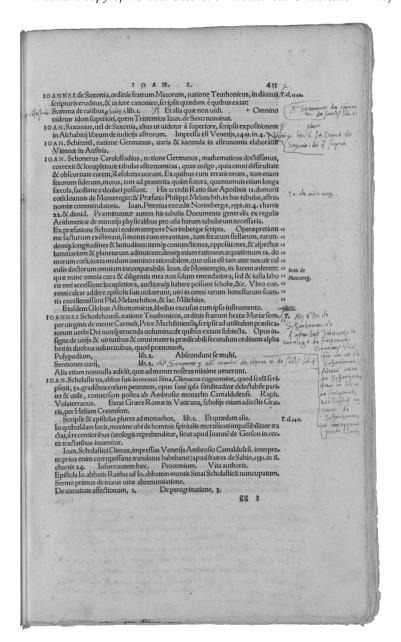


Fig. 7: Fol. 453r of Copy A of Bibliotheca Universalis. Zurich Central Library (DrM 3).

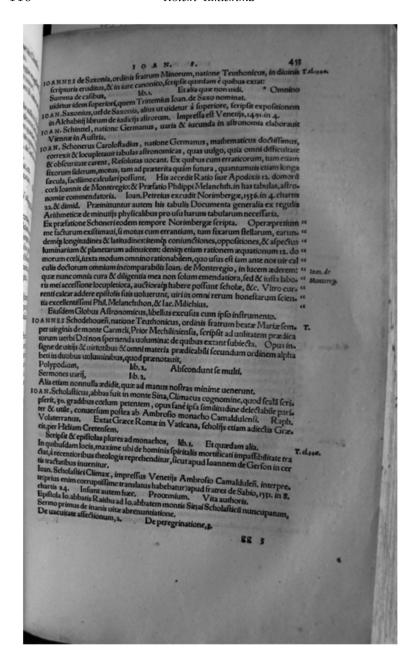


Fig. 8: Fol. 453r of Copy B of Bibliotheca Universalis. Zurich Central Library (IV O 2).

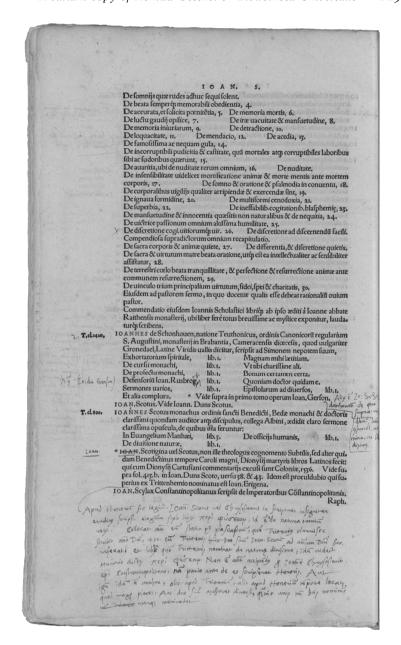


Fig. 9: Fol. 453v of Copy A of Bibliotheca Universalis. Zurich Central Library (DrM 3).

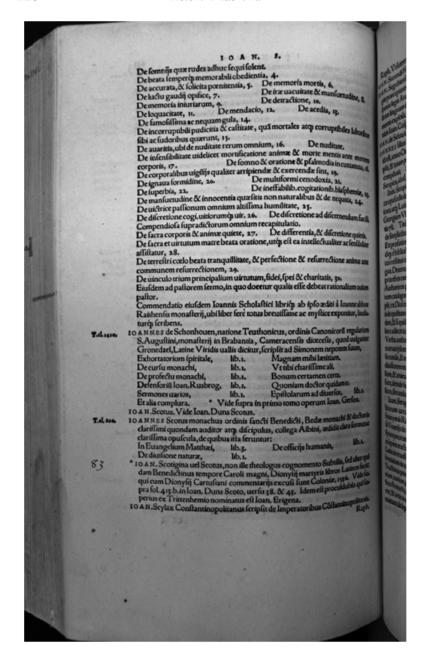


Fig. 10: Fol. 453v of Copy B of Bibliotheca Universalis. Zurich Central Library (IV O 2).

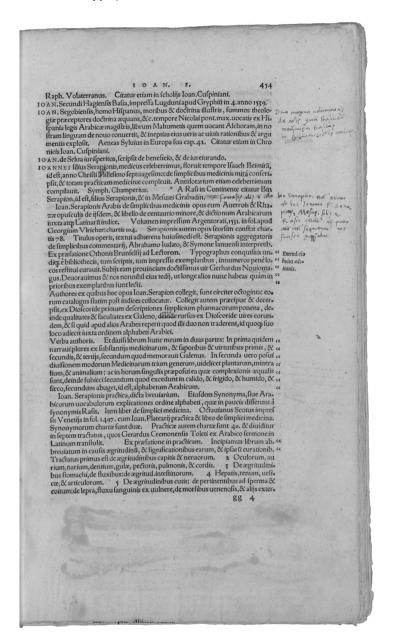


Fig. 11: Fol. 454r of Copy A of Bibliotheca Universalis. Zurich Central Library (DrM 3).

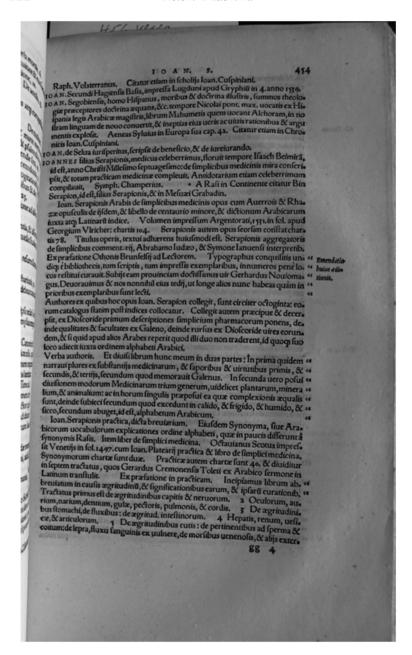


Fig. 12: Fol. 454r of Copy B of Bibliotheca Universalis. Zurich Central Library (IV O 2).

left the printer's shop on perfect condition and in the complete state that he considered to represent the final and most perfect state of the book"¹². He also defines the term 'variant state' as "alterations of all varieties made during the printing and before copies are placed on public sale"¹³, and then presents the following five major classes of variant *state*¹⁴:

- Alterations which do not affect the makeup and which were made in the type-pages of a forme, whether intentionally or unintentionally, while it was printing.
- The addition, substitution, or deletion of any matter which affects the makeup but which was done in the course of 'continuous printing' and before public sale.
- 3. Alterations to the text or to any other part of the book which are made for the purpose of correcting or perfecting the edition but which are not accompanied by substitution of a different title-page and thus cannot be regarded as actually constituting a re-issue of the original sheets of the book, even though public sale had begun.
- 4. Errors and 'corrections' made in imposing, machining, or binding the sheets.
- 5. Large-paper or fine-paper copies machined without removing the forms from the press after ordinary printing except for washing, normal press-correction, or adjustment of margins.

Copy B is an ideal copy for Gessner and Froschauer and Copy A corresponds to the third class of variant state. The fol. 453–454 of the other two copies of the Zurich Central Library (Copies C and D) show that Copy C is a variant similar with Copy A. Meanwhile, Copy D, the Basel copy and the five copies in Japan are ideal ones similar with Copy B.

The variant copy occurred as a result of the printer changing the formes of fol. 453–454 based on Gessner's corrections. From the viewpoint of bibliographical cancellation, a bifolium (a sheet of paper folded in two to make two leaves) of fol. 453–454 of Copy A is *cancellanda* (the plural of cancellandum), and that of fol. 453–454 of Copy B is *cancellantia* (the plural of cancellans). The-

¹² Fredson Bowers, Principles of Bibliographical Description, Winchester 1994, 113.

¹³ Bowers, Principles, 42.

¹⁴ Bowers, Principles, 46.

¹⁵ Bowers defines the term 'cancellans' as "cancellans replacing a cancellandum" Bowers, Principles, 243.

refore, it is necessary to describe the ideal collation of the *Bibliotheca Universalis* as follows:

Folio, *8, A⁶ B⁴, $a-z^6$ ²A-²B⁶ C-Z Aa-Zz 2a-2f⁶ 2g⁶ ($\pm 2g_3.4$) 2h-2z⁶ AA-MM⁶ NN⁸

Although Gessner, indeed, wrote many simple corrections and additions throughout Copy A, Froschauer never revised the text. After completing the quire 2g, however, Froschauer accepted Gessner's own revision in fol. 454v (2g4), printed the aforesaid cancellantia, and then replaced them in the quire 2g. These facts have clarified a part of the printing process of the *Bibliotheca Universalis*. The reasons why Froschauer did not proofread simple errors but accepted only the complicated cancellation as well as why Gessner revised the latter part of the item of "IOANNES filius Serapionis" in fol. 454v are questions that must be addressed in future studies.

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Abstract: Until recently, no variant copy or cancellation of Konrad Gessner's "Bibliotheca Universalis" was known. The author examined five copies in Japan and four copies at the Zurich Central Library (Copies A, B, C and D), as well as one at Basel University Library, and discovered that variant copies do exist. Copy A was Gessner's own copy, to which he added numerous notes, especially on fol. 454v. As a result of comparison with Copy B (Konrad Pellikan's copy), it appears that Gessner corrected the text of lines 4–30 on this folio, shortened it to 11 lines, and added 18 new lines. The printer, Froschauer, recomposed four formes from fol. 453r to 454v, reprinted them and cancelled the former printed sheet of fol. 453r–454v. Copies B and D (Konrad Klauser's copy), the Basel copy, and the five copies in Japan are considered to be the ideal copies and Copies A and C (Jacques Dubois's copy) are regarded as variant copies. One part of the printing process of the "Bibliotheca Universalis" became clear with this discovery.

Keywords: Konrad Gessner; Bibliotheca Universalis; bibliography; history of the book; Zurich Central Library, Waseda University Library