Geofroy Tory

Painter And Engraver; First Royal Printer; Reformer Of Orthography And Typography Under François I.

Auguste Bernard,
(Translator: George B. Ives)

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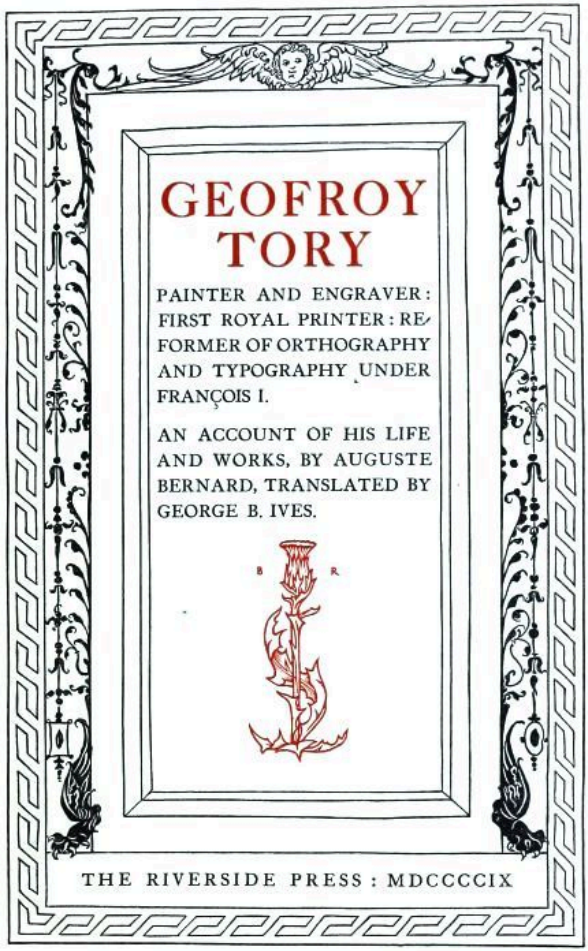
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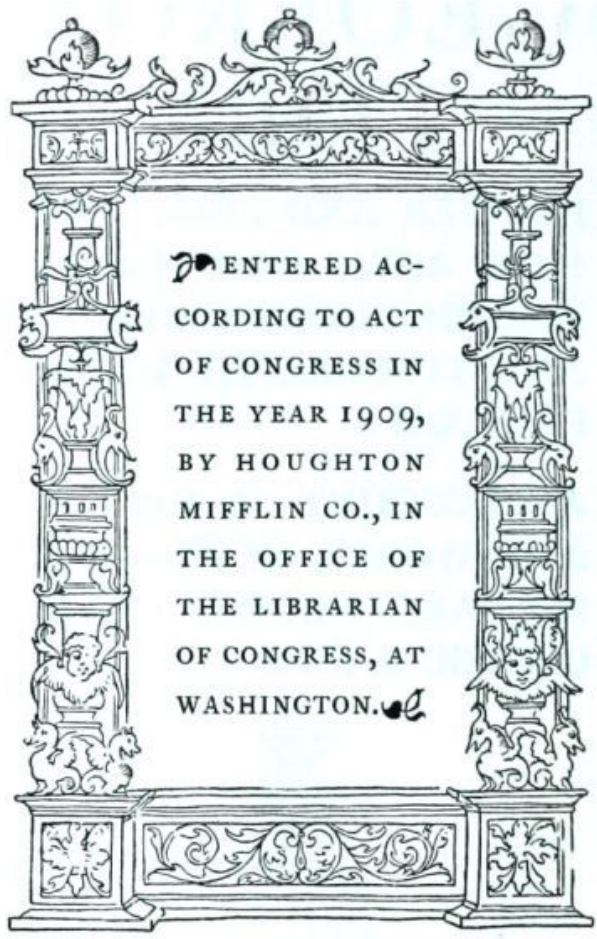
GEOFROY TORY

PAINTER AND ENGRAVER: FIRST ROYAL PRINTER: REFORMER OF ORTHOGRAPHY AND TYPOGRAPHY UNDER FRANÇOIS I.

AN ACCOUNT OF HIS LIFE AND WORKS, BY

AUGUSTE BERNARD, TRANSLATED BY GEORGE B. IVES.

THE RIVERSIDE PRESS: MDCCCCIX



PRINTERS' PREFACE.



ERNARD'S *monograph on Tory was first published in* 1857, *when M. Bernard was already a recognized authority on the history of typography. In* 1865, *after an interval devoted largely to a search for further information concerning Tory, and for probable examples of his work as an artist, a second edition of the book appeared, enlarged by more than one-half, arranged more systematically, and embellished with several additional engravings of designs which are, in the author's opinion, attributable to Tory. The Iconography, which forms the third part of this revised edition, did not appear as such in the first edition, although a small part of the material it contains may be found scattered through that edition. It now occupies more space than the Biography and Bibliography*

combined. The new arrangement necessitated more or less repetition where, as in many instances, the same book is referred to by M. Bernard in more than one section of his work; and this repetition sometimes reveals discrepancies between the different descriptions. Where such discrepancies have been discovered by him the translator has endeavoured to correct them, generally, in the absence of an opportunity to inspect the volume in question, assuming that the description in the bibliographical section is more likely to be trustworthy; in a number of cases, however, inspection of title-pages themselves, or of reproductions thereof, has enabled him to correct numerous minor errors in transcription.

The kindness of the late Mr. Amor L. Hollingsworth, in lending his fine copy of the first edition of 'Champ fleury,' made it possible to collate therewith M. Bernard's numerous extracts from that rare and interesting book, and to ensure entire accuracy with respect to them.

As M. Bernard writes certain printers' names in different ways, the translator has assumed that the names are printed differently in different books, and has not attempted to make them uniform. Such names are Dubois (*Du Bois*), *Lecoq* (*Le Coq*), *Galliot* (*Galiot*). *The few notes supplied by the translator are inserted in square brackets.*

The translations of Tory's various Latin effusions, including the complete text of the little brochure called forth by the death of his daughter Agnes, were made by Mr. J. W. H. Walden of Cambridge. The Latin originals will be found at the end of the book, in Appendix X.

Since such authorities as M. Bernard and M. Renouvier differ as to the ascription to Tory of many of the designs mentioned in this work, it seemed the wiser course to choose for illustration only such subjects as are described by the author, without questioning the soundness of his

reasoning or the infallibility of his deductions. The only exception is the beautiful design reproduced on the first page of the Index. This is taken from Robert Estienne's folio New Testament (in Greek) of 1550, *where, with two other similar decorations, it occurs in conjunction with the friezes and floriated Greek letters reproduced elsewhere in this volume. They are unsigned, but all are indubitably from the same hand. Although they are not mentioned by M. Bernard, it seems incredible that he should never have seen them.*

The printer of this volume has had more than ordinary good fortune in literally stumbling upon most of the designs here reproduced. The pressure of other work has prohibited systematic research, and the originals of these illustrations were nearly all discovered while he was engaged upon other matters. Many were found in the Harvard Library, some in the reference library of the Riverside Press, some in auction rooms, and some in booksellers' catalogues. The only exception is the series of borders from the Hours of 1524-25, *which were expressly photographed from the copy in the library of the British Museum.*

That so much has come to hand in so haphazard a way is but an additional proof of Tory's industry and versatility. There seems to be almost no limit to the work which may fairly be credited to him, and M. Bernard hardly exaggerated when he said that there was scarcely an illustrated volume of any importance issued in Paris during the first half of the XVI *th century in which the artist of the Lorraine cross did not have a hand. Hours and Classics, Bibles and Testaments, Mathematical and Medical works—all bear evidence to his prolific pen and graver, and were time disregarded, the preparation of this volume might be almost indefinitely prolonged. Incomplete as it is, however, it is hoped that it will*

measurably fulfill the desire expressed by Mr. A. W. Pollard nearly fifteen years ago, in the first issue of 'Bibliographica.' Speaking of Bernard's monograph, he said, 'It would be pleasant if some French publisher would bring out a new edition worthily illustrated, for in 1865 *the modern processes of reproduction were not yet invented, and the few and poor woodcuts in M. Bernard's book give no just idea of the artistic powers of Tory, whose illustrated editions are so difficult to meet with that M. Bernard's admirable commentary loses half its value for lack of a proper accompaniment of text.'*

A word regarding the method of reproduction of these illustrations may not be out of place here. More was aimed at than mere photographic copies, which are in many ways inadequate. It was thought desirable to make the decorations an integral part of the typographic treatment of the volume and to preserve when practicable their original relations to the type. To attain this end, more perfect printing plates were necessary than could be obtained directly from the old editions. The designs, therefore, were all redrawn with the greatest care over photographs of the originals, and from these drawings photo-engravings made, which were afterward perfected by hand when the forms were on the press.

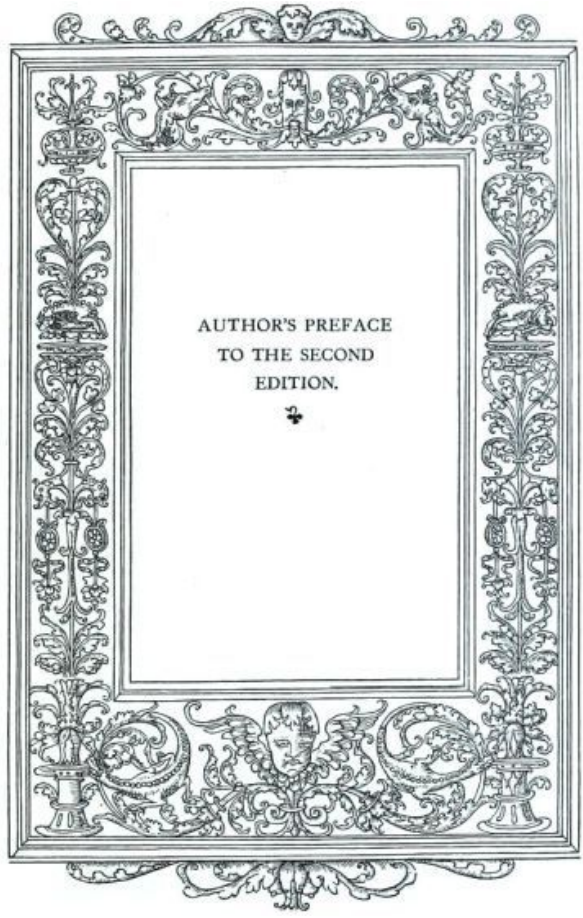
Notwithstanding some inevitable slight divergences of line, this method preserves with far greater faithfulness the spirit and effect of the original prints, and the result is more truly a facsimile than a direct photographic copy would have been. Both drawing and engraving of Tory's designs were exquisite, and as a rule they were beautifully printed, especially by Colines and Robert Estienne. Some of them, however, suffered at the hands of inferior printers. Imperfections and irregularities due to the carelessness or unskilfullness of the printer are readily discernible, and in the reproductions in this

volume have been eliminated. The preservation, by this treatment, of more of the beauty and interest of the originals is sufficient justification for departing to this extent from the usual methods of facsimile reproduction.

Following the French fashion, the Table of Contents and List of Illustrations are printed at the end of the volume.

G. B. I.
B. R.

January, 1909.



AUTHOR'S PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

 HE first half of the sixteenth century was with respect to printing (as with respect to the other arts) a period of renovation, not in the matter of processes of execution, which remained about the same as in the fifteenth century, but in the matter of the make-up of books, which was entirely revolutionized. Typographical arrangement, appearance of the letters and ornaments, everything, even to the cover, was changed almost at the same time, or, at all events, within a very few years. At that time printing gave over the servile copying of manuscripts, which had at first served it as models, and adopted special rules, better adapted to its method of execution. For instance, it relegated notes to the foot of the pages, calling attention to them by marks of reference, instead of placing them at the side of the text, as had previously been the custom, at the cost of an enormous amount of labour, without benefit to the reader. It also abandoned the use of red capitals,[1] which, by increasing the labour twofold, made books expensive, and replaced them by floriated letters, which were quite as distinctive, but were set up and printed with the text. This style of ornament, so favourable to artistic results, developed rapidly, and soon extended from the letters to the illustrations, which began to be introduced in books in constantly increasing numbers. Under the general impulsion of the Renaissance, engraving was transformed: instead of

the coarse woodcuts, of the so-called criblé style, in which the background was black sprinkled with white dots,[2] and the design stamped in white, as with a punch, engraving in relief came into vogue, just as we have it to-day, identical in form, although the processes have been perfected. A similar revolution took place in the matter of letters: the gothic or semi-gothic characters, which had hitherto been used, were replaced by roman characters of a novel shape, borrowed from the monuments of antiquity (then studied with great ardour), which continued in use until the Revolution. Lastly, the covers of books also underwent a transformation brought about by the force of events: the parchment rolls used by the ancients had been succeeded, during the Middle Ages, by bound volumes, of a shape more convenient for reading; these volumes, of which those who were fortunate enough to own any never owned more than a very small number, being intended to be arranged on the library shelves in such wise as to present one side to the visitor's eye, were adorned with numerous ornaments of various sorts on that side, so that they could easily be distinguished. Later, these ornaments were omitted and the title of the book substituted, in huge black or gauffered letters. But the invention of printing soon caused that device to be abandoned. As the increasing numbers of books made it impossible to give up so much space to them, they were arranged side by side on the shelves, care being taken to print the title in gold letters (so that it might be more legible) on the back of the book, which was the only part of it in sight. This innovation compelled the doing away with raised decorations, especially those in precious stones or in metal, which would have torn the books that stood next them. Thereafter

leather binding came into general use; the gauffering on the sides was continued for some time; but in the sixteenth century this in turn was replaced by gold tooling 'à filet,' and the transformation was complete.

THE man who contributed most largely to the threefold evolution I have described was Geofroy Tory, a man who is hardly known to-day,[3] despite all his talents, although he received in 1530, as reward of his labours, the title of king's printer, which François I had never before bestowed upon any one. I say that Tory is hardly known to-day; in truth, it is, in his case, equivalent to being unknown, to be known, as he is, only as a publisher. Some few scholars, to be sure, are aware that he was a printer; but the fact is so little known that his biographer has denied it.[4] As for his noblest title to fame, that of engraver, nobody is aware of it; and yet we owe to Tory the resuscitation of engraving in France. As the historian of typography,[5] I have thought that it was for me to describe with special care one of the fairest jewels in his crown. Such is the purpose of the work here presented, wherein will also be found, in connection with the honour paid to Tory by François I, some information concerning the first royal printers, and a list of those officers from the beginning down to the extinction of the office in 1830, three centuries, year for year, after its creation. François I is, in truth, entitled to be considered the creator of the office of king's printer, for prior to his reign we find but one typographer who bore that title, while, from François I down, the series of king's printers was not again interrupted. The appointment of Pierre le Rouge, on whom the

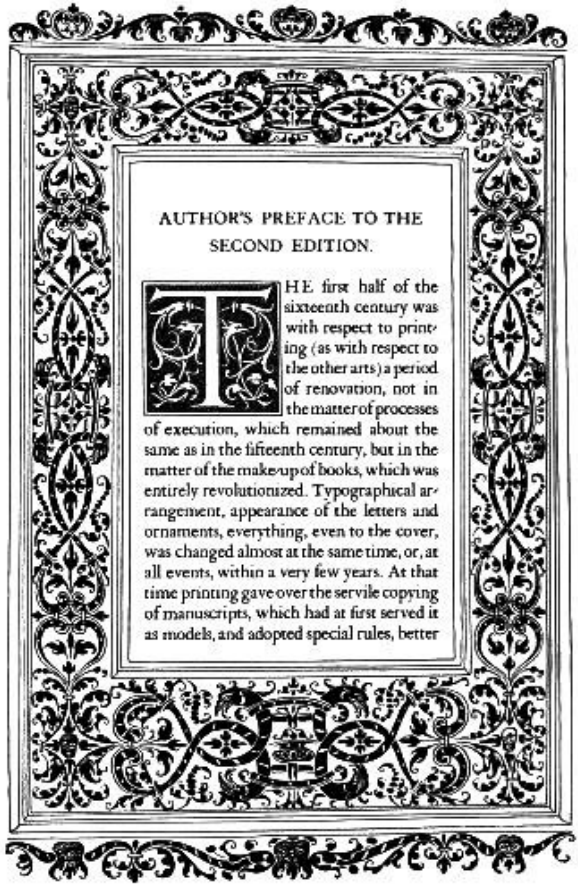
title was bestowed in 1488,[6] may be creditable to Charles VIII, but it was without result. The honour of having made of the eminently literary post of king's printer a permanent office reverts of right and naturally to the prince who has been called the Father of Letters. In truth that prince, as we shall see hereafter, was not content with a single printer; he had several at once, with distinct functions, and appointed successors without loss of time to such as retired or died during his lifetime.

But, I repeat, the principal purpose of my work is to make Tory known as one of the most skilful engravers we have ever had. Of course I cannot forget that he was the learned editor of the 'Cosmographie du Pape Pie II,' the 'Itinéraire Antonin,' etc.; the publisher, of rare taste, who put forth the Hours of 1525, 1527, etc.; the accomplished printer of the 'Sacre de la Reine Eléonore,' and the distinguished philologist of 'Champ fleury,' to whom, as we shall see, we owe the invention of the orthographic forms peculiar to the French language.[7] But what has especially attracted me in Tory is his work as an engraver. In that rôle he was without predecessor or rival, for those persons who may be represented as such may have been his pupils, nothing more. Jean Duvet alone might quarrel with this limitation; but, although he was Tory's contemporary, he was not his teacher; for Tory had gone for his schooling in the art to the very fountain-head, to Italy, before Duvet produced anything. As for Jean Cousin, de Laulne, du Cerceau, Léonard Gauthier, and the rest, they did not come until after Tory. The honour of revivifying the art of engraving in France belongs to Tory alone, bestriding two centuries, the fifteenth and sixteenth; indeed, some of his productions are pure gothic. This I propose to

demonstrate in the third part of my book, after I have, in the first part, narrated the general facts of our artist's life, in which we may observe also the development of a revolution in the matter of philology; for Tory was a devoted partisan of the classic tongues before he became one of the sturdiest champions of the French language.

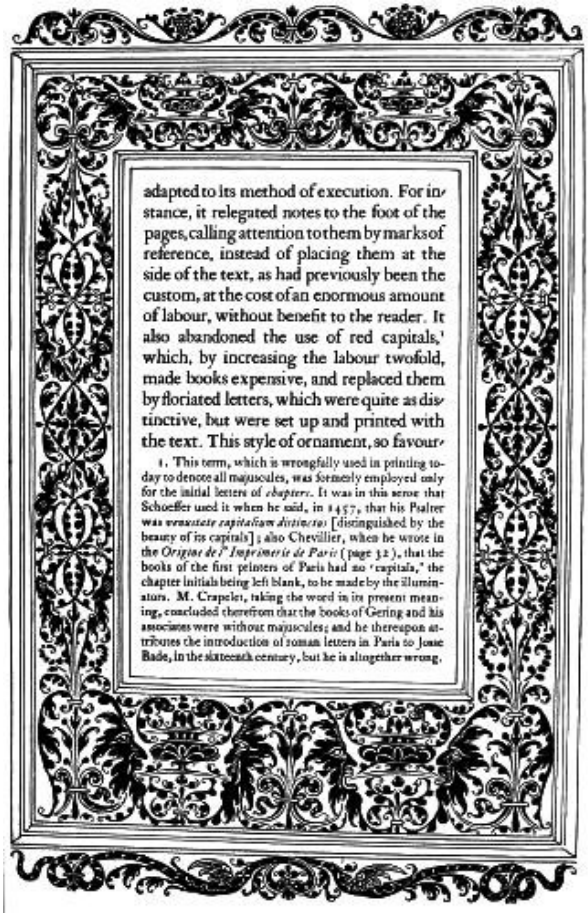
In order to emphasize the importance of the orthographic reform achieved by Tory, I have usually followed the orthography of the time in my quotations from ancient works. It is an anachronism, to be sure, but it is of no consequence when the reader is forewarned. I have also felt at liberty to correct now and then, without calling attention to them, the typographical errors found in the texts quoted.

I will not conclude without thanking publicly those persons who have kindly assisted me in my researches concerning Tory. I have had occasion to mention their names in the course of my work, but that is not enough: I beg them to accept in this place the assurance of my gratitude. There are two to whom I am especially grateful, for they have considerably augmented my store of documents: they are MM. Achille Devéria[8] and Olivier Barbier, of the Bibliothèque Impériale: it is owing to their kind communications to me that the list of Tory's artistic works will be found not far from complete.



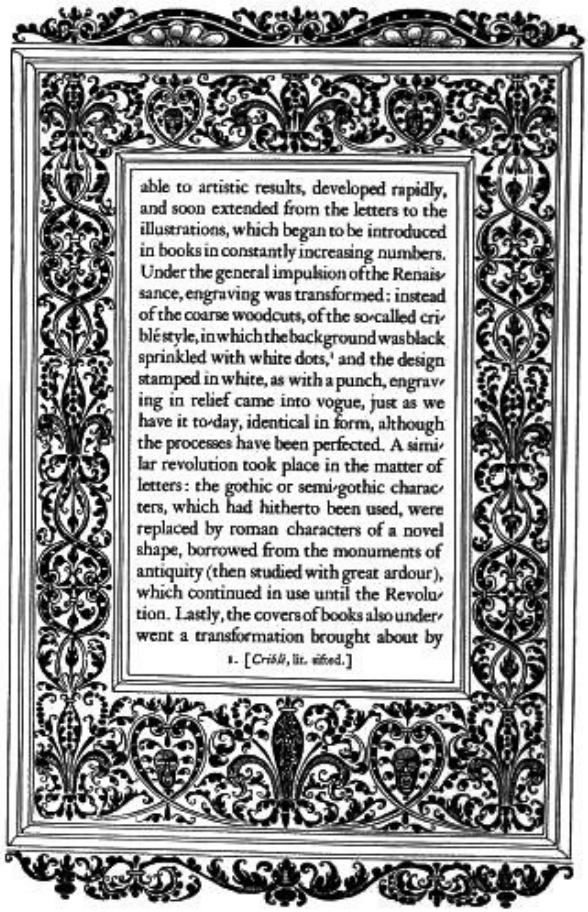
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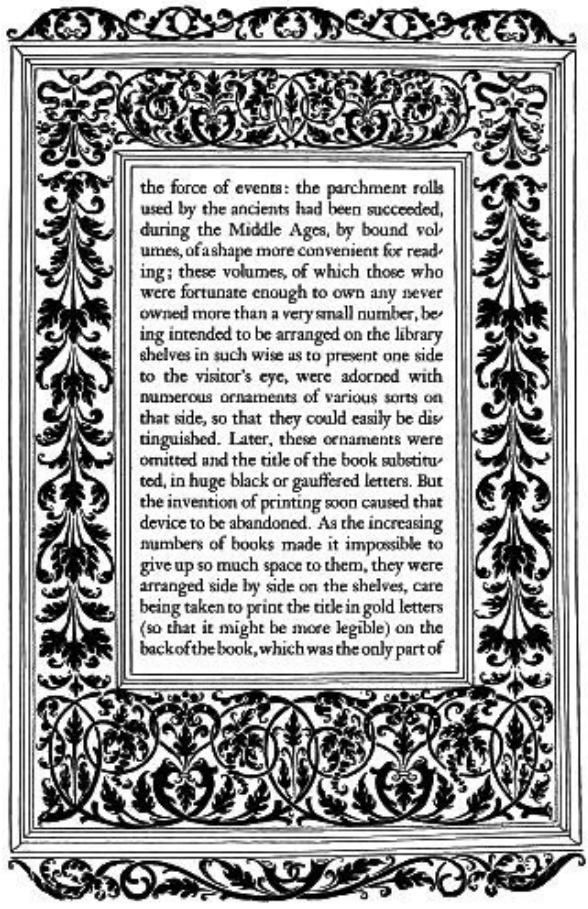
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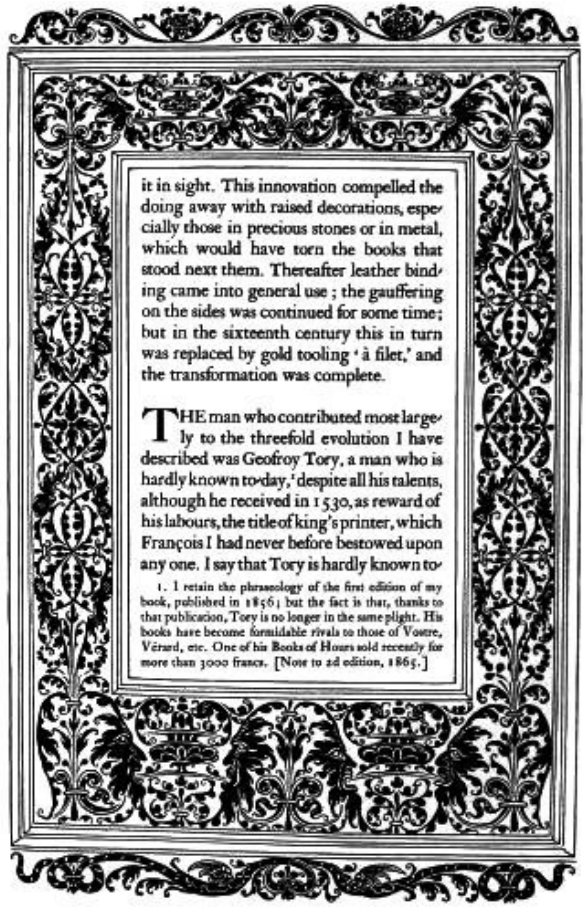
1. This term, which is wrongfully used in printing today to denote all majuscules, was formerly employed only for the initial letters of *chapters*. It was in this sense that Schoeffer used it when he said, in 1457, that his Psalter was *venustate capitalium distinctus* [distinguished by the beauty of its capitals]; also Chevillier, when he wrote in the *Origine de l'Imprimerie de Paris* (page 32), that the books of the first printers of Paris had no 'capitals,' the chapter initials being left blank, to be made by the illuminators. M. Crapelet, taking the word in its present meaning, concluded therefrom that the books of Gering and his associates were without majuscules; and he thereupon attributes the introduction of roman letters in Paris to Josse Bade, in the sixteenth century, but he is altogether wrong.



able to artistic results, developed rapidly, and soon extended from the letters to the illustrations, which began to be introduced in books in constantly increasing numbers. Under the general impulsion of the Renaissance, engraving was transformed: instead of the coarse woodcuts, of the so-called criblé style, in which the background was black sprinkled with white dots,[1] and the design stamped in white, as with a punch, engraving in relief came into vogue, just as we have it to-day, identical in form, although the processes have been perfected. A similar revolution took place in the matter of letters: the gothic or semi-gothic characters, which had hitherto been used, were replaced by roman characters of a novel shape, borrowed from the monuments of antiquity (then studied with great ardour), which continued in use until the Revolution. Lastly, the covers of books also underwent a transformation brought about by

1. [*Criblé*, lit. sifted.]

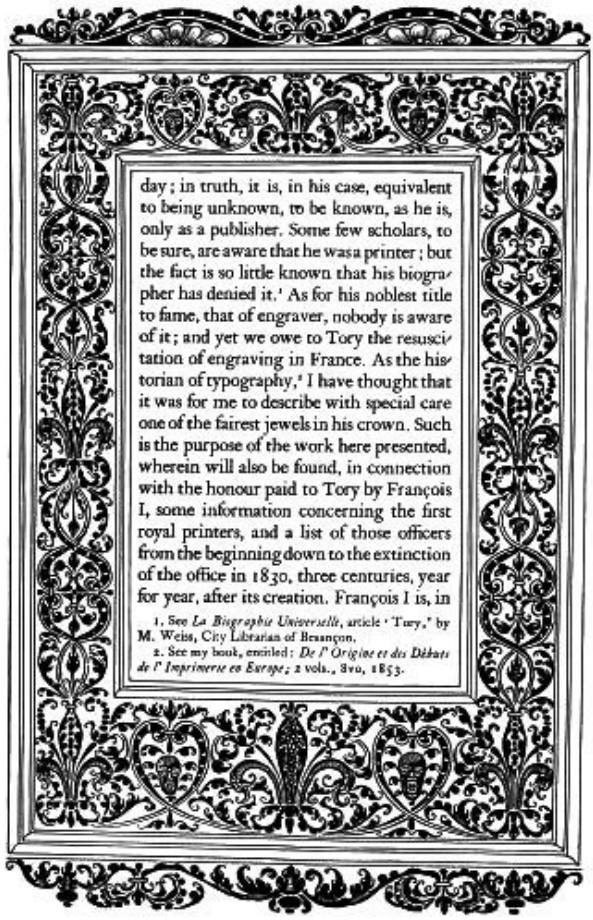

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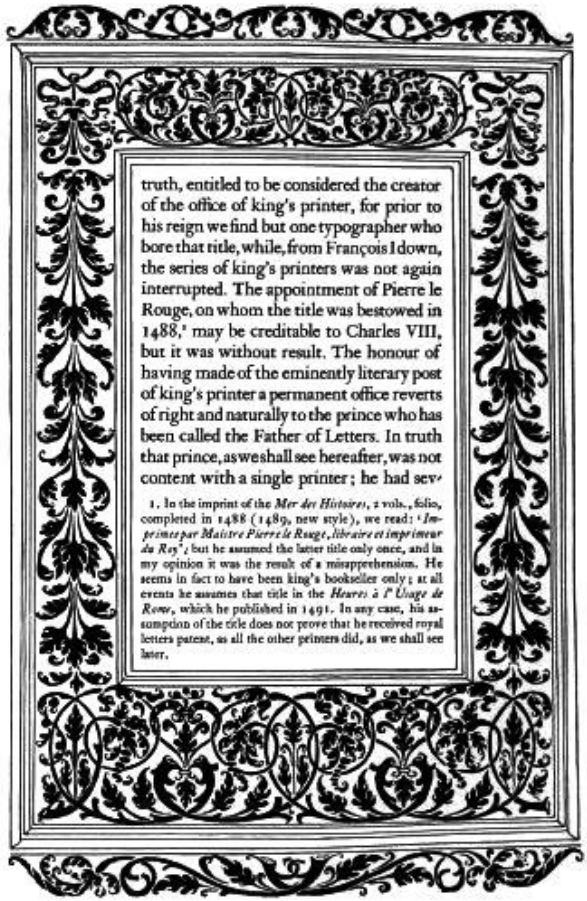
1. I retain the phraseology of the first edition of my book, published in 1856; but the fact is that, thanks to that publication, Tory is no longer in the same plight. His books have become formidable rivals to those of Vostre, Vérard, etc. One of his Books of Hours sold recently for more than 3000 francs. [Note to 2d edition, 1865.]



day; in truth, it is, in his case, equivalent to being unknown, to be known, as he is, only as a publisher. Some few scholars, to be sure, are aware that he was a printer; but the fact is so little known that his biographer has denied it.[1] As for his noblest title to fame, that of engraver, nobody is aware of it; and yet we owe to Tory the resuscitation of engraving in France. As the historian of typography,[2] I have thought that it was for me to describe with special care one of the fairest jewels in his crown. Such is the purpose of the work here presented, wherein will also be found, in connection with the honour paid to Tory by François I, some information concerning the first royal printers, and a list of those officers from the beginning down to the extinction of the office in 1830, three centuries, year for year, after its creation. François I is, in

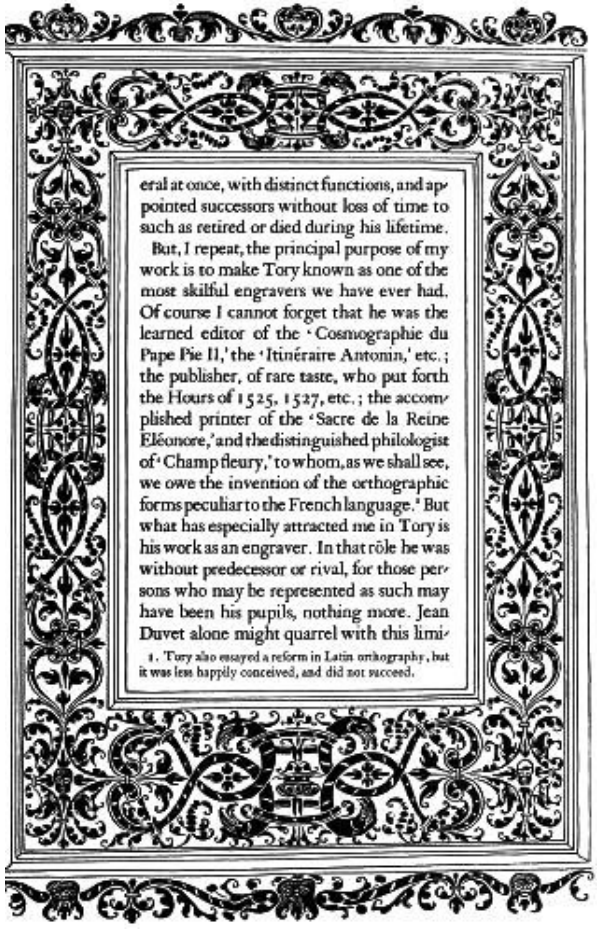
1. See *La Biographie Universelle*, article 'Tory,' by M. Weiss, City Librarian of Besançon.

2. See my book, entitled: *De l'Origine et des Débuts de l'Imprimerie en Europe*; 2 vols., 8vo, 1853.



truth, entitled to be considered the creator of the office of king's printer, for prior to his reign we find but one typographer who bore that title, while, from François I down, the series of king's printers was not again interrupted. The appointment of Pierre le Rouge, on whom the title was bestowed in 1488,[1] may be creditable to Charles VIII, but it was without result. The honour of having made of the eminently literary post of king's printer a permanent office reverts of right and naturally to the prince who has been called the Father of Letters. In truth that prince, as we shall see hereafter, was not content with a single printer; he had sev-

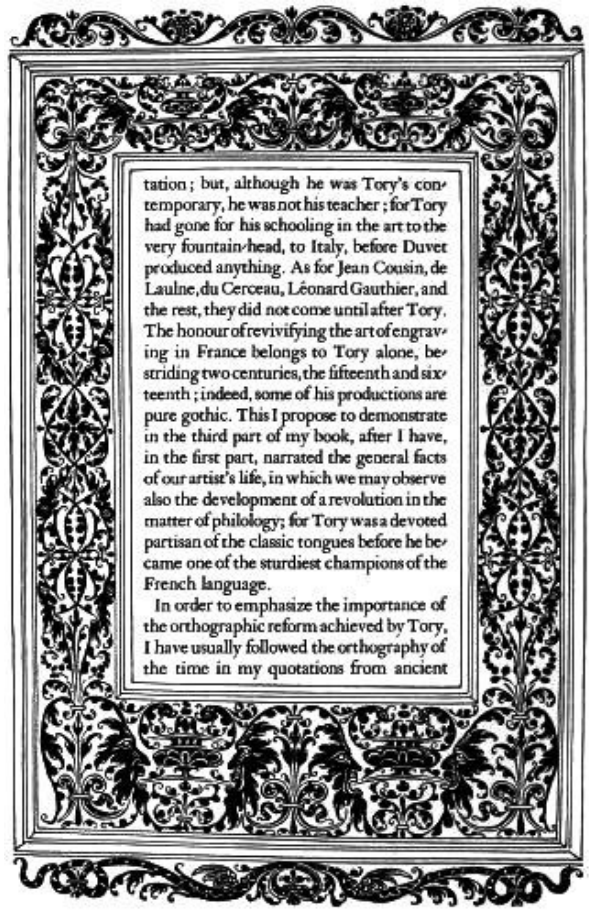
1. In the imprint of the *Mer des Histoires*, 2 vols., folio, completed in 1488 (1489, new style), we read: '*Imprimez par Maistre Pierre le Rouge, libraire et imprimeur du Roy*'; but he assumed the latter title only once, and in my opinion it was the result of a misapprehension. He seems in fact to have been king's bookseller only; at all events he assumes that title in the *Heures à l'Usage de Rome*, which he published in 1491. In any case, his assumption of the title does not prove that he received royal letters patent, as all the other printers did, as we shall see later.



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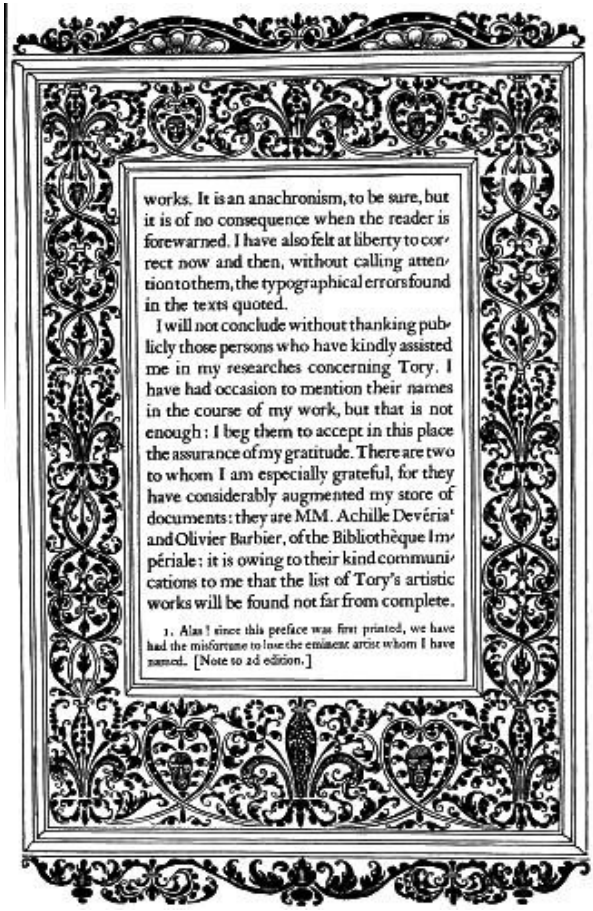
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1. Tory also essayed a reform in Latin orthography, but it was less happily conceived, and did not succeed.



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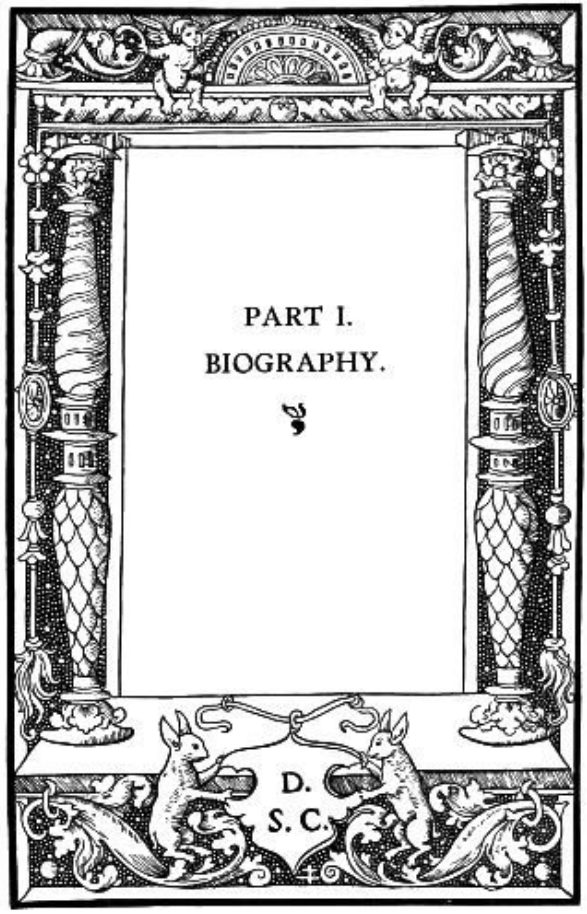
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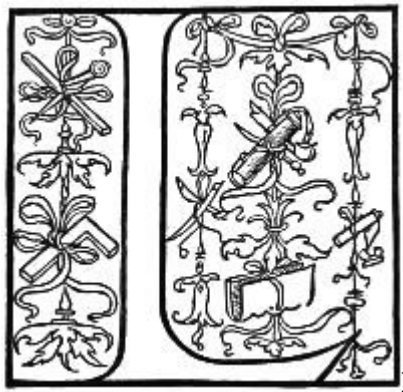
1. Alas! since this preface was first printed, we have had the misfortune to lose the eminent artist whom I have named. [Note to 2d edition.]



GEOFROY TORY

PAINTER AND ENGRAVER: FIRST ROYAL PRINTER: REFORMER OF ORTHOGRAPHY AND TYPOGRAPHY UNDER FRANÇOIS I.

PART I. BIOGRAPHY.



LESS than twenty years after the introduction of printing at Paris, there was born at Bourges a child of the people, destined to impart to French typography a vigorous artistic impulsion, or, to speak more accurately, to work therein a genuine revolution. Geofroy Tory[9] was born in the capital of Berry, about 1480, of obscure, middle-class parents, as he himself tells us.[10] Everything seems to indicate that he first saw the light of day in the faubourg of Saint-Privé, to this day the abode of humble vine-dressers. How, in that most lowly condition of life, he succeeded in acquiring the degree of education which he afterward exhibited, it is hard to say. However, it is proper to remember that Bourges was at that time a metropolitan and university city, where there were several schools, both ecclesiastic and lay. We may well believe that, having, at an early age, aroused the interest of some patron by virtue of his fortunate natural endowments and his intelligence, he was

admitted to the schools attached to the chapter, where he learned the first elements of grammar. We shall soon find him dedicating the first fruits of his labours to a canon of the metropolitan church of Bourges, who seems to have been, at that time, his Mæcenas.

Once master of the first rudiments of grammar, Tory perfected himself by following the curriculum of the university, where, as we learn from himself, he had for his teacher a Fleming named Guillaume de Ricke, otherwise called 'le Riche' in French and 'Dives' in Latin; and for a fellow disciple under this Ghent-born master, a certain Herverus de Berna, from Saint-Amand, who afterward wrote a panegyric of the Comtes de Nevers.[11]

Tory then went, to finish his literary education, to Italy, whither he betook himself early in the sixteenth century. He sojourned principally in Rome, where he attended most frequently the famous college called La Sapienza,[12] and in Bologna, where he attended the lectures of the celebrated Filippo Beroaldo, who died in 1505.[13] Tory returned to France a little before that event, and established his domicile in Paris, which he always loved henceforward as one loves one's native city,[14] and where he began his literary career.

The first work of his of which we have any knowledge is an edition of Pomponius Mela, which he prepared for the bookseller Jean Petit; it was printed by Gilles de Gourmont because it required the use of some Greek type.[15] This book was dedicated by Tory to his compatriot Philibert Babou, at that time valet de chambre to the king. The dedicatory epistle is dated Paris, the VI[16] of the Nones of December, 1507; but the printing of the

book was not completed until January 10, 1508 (new style).[17] Several articles in this volume, which were written by Tory, are signed by the word CIVIS, which he had adopted for his device. That patriotic designation was well suited to a descendant of those Bituriges who strove vainly at Avaricum[18] to defend the autonomy of Gaul against Cæsar. In any event it is interesting to find, three hundred years before Jean-Jacques Rousseau, a man, justly proud of his learning, which he owed entirely to himself, clothing himself in that title of citizen, which was formerly held in such honour in the provincial cities, and especially in Bourges, whose name Tory never fails to append to his own: 'Geofroy Tory de Bourges.'

This erudite production and the patronage of Philibert Babou were perhaps responsible for Tory's appointment to the office of regent, otherwise called professor, of the College of Plessis, where we find him installed in 1509. It was there that he edited for the first Henri Estienne the 'Cosmographie du pape Pie II.'[19]

The dedication of this book, addressed by Tory to Germain de Gannay, canon of the metropolitan church of Bourges, and recently appointed Bishop of Cahors by King Louis XII,[20] was dated at the College of Plessis, on the VI of the Nones of October, [21] 1509. Tory's edition (the third according to him) contains forty-one quarto sheets of text, and is accompanied by a map of the old world. The 'avis au lecteur,' also written by Tory, is signed, according to his custom, with the word CIVIS. In the following year, in collaboration with a compatriot and fellow pupil, Herverus de Berna, Tory published a short Latin poem on the Passion, written by his former teacher, Guillaume de Ricke. In this wise he

acquitted his debt of gratitude.[22] Shortly after, Tory published for the Marnef brothers an edition of Berosus, who was then much in vogue, thanks to the fabrications of Annius of Viterbo. This book, the preface of which is dated May 9, 1510, went to no less than three editions, to say nothing of those issued by other publishers.[23]

In the same year Tory published for the same booksellers a small volume of miscellanies, under this title: 'Valerii Probi grammatici de interpretandis Romanorum literis opusculum, cum aliis quibusdam scitu dignissimis.' It was probably printed by Gilles de Gourmont, for we find in it his unaccented Greek type.[24] This volume, which contains twelve octavo sheets, has two engravings on wood—the mark of the booksellers on the title-page, and a Roman portico a little farther on. There are also a few small cuts engraved on metal in one of the articles. The dedicatory epistle, dated at the College of Plessis the VI of the Ides of May (May 10), 1510, and addressed by Tory to two compatriots, who had probably been his fellow pupils, is signed by his device, the word CIVIS. The dedication begins thus: 'Godofredus Torinus Biturícus ornatissimos Philibertum Baboum et Ioannem Alemanum Iuniorem, cives Bituricos, pari inter se amicitia conjunctissimos, salutat.' Babou and Lallemant were at this time two important personages in Bourges: the former was secretary and silversmith to the king, the other, mayor of the city. We see that Tory had acquired valuable connections in his native place, despite his modest origin. Among the extracts from ancient authors in this book he interspersed several pieces of verse of his own composition.[25]

Finally, in the same year, Tory issued an edition of

Quintilian's 'Institutiones,' carefully collated by him with several manuscripts. This work was undertaken at the request of Jean Rousselet, Seigneur de La Part-Dieu, near Lyon, and an ancestor of Château-Regnaud, Maréchal de France. This Rousselet, who died in 1520, belonged to one of the wealthy Lombard families which had settled at Lyon long before; they made, as we see, a noble use of their wealth. His real name was Ruccelli. He had married a young gentlewoman of Bourges, Jeanne Lallemant, daughter of Jean Lallemant, Seigneur de Marmagne, a school friend of Tory, whom I have already had occasion to mention. Doubtless it was this connection which brought Tory into relations with Rousselet. The text is preceded by the following dedicatory letter:

Geofroy Tory of Bourges to Jean Rousselet, devoted lover of letters, long life and happiness.

Never, I think, most illustrious Jean, will you omit or cease to have the aspiration of nobly justifying, both by your character and by your good deeds, the great hopes which your relatives and your country have of you. That you might benefit the State by your counsel also, you made it your interest that I should emend Quintilian and have him printed as handsomely as might be. After carefully collating a large number of manuscripts, I industriously set to work and, by eliminating almost countless errors, I made a single manuscript of considerable accuracy.

> This, in accordance with your orders, I sent from Paris to Lyon. I only hope that the printers will not introduce other, new, errors. Farewell, and love me.
>
> Paris, at the College of Plessis, the third of the Calends of March.[26]

This book, which forms a large octavo volume, unpaged, printed in italic type, and in which we find some most attractive Greek type, with accents, was finished on the VII of the Calends of July (that is to say, June 25), 1510. The printer's name does not anywhere appear, and the place of printing (Lyon) is mentioned only in Tory's letter.[27]

I know of nothing of Tory's dated in 1511[28]; but that does not prove that he produced nothing in that year, for it is certain that about that time he published several works which have not come down to us. In fact, he tells us in his 'Champ fleury'[29] that he has 'caused to be printed and put before the eyes of worthy scholars divers little works in Latin, both in verse and in prose.' Now we know of nothing of his in verse prior to 1524, except what we find at the end of the 'Valerius Probus' of 1510, and of Guillaume de Ricke's 'Passion.' Moreover, the absence of any publication by Tory in 1511 may be explained by the confusion incident to his retirement from the College of Plessis and his installation at the College Coqueret, which seems to have taken place in that year, but concerning which I have no other information than the imprint on two books published by him in the following year.

The first work edited by Tory in 1512 was an architectural treatise entitled: 'Leonis Baptistæ

Alberti Florentini.—Libri de re ædificatoria decem,' etc.; a quarto volume of 14 preliminary leaves and 174 leaves of text. This book was printed by Berthold Rembolt (whose mark it bears on the first page), at the joint expense of that printer and the bookseller Louis Hornken, whose mark is at the end of the book. The dedication, which is addressed to Philibert Babou, and dated at the College Coqueret on the XV of the Calends of September (August 18), 1512, informs us that Tory received the manuscript of the book from his friend Robert Dure,[30] principal of the College of Plessis, who gave it to him four years earlier, when Tory himself was professor at the same college. As always, this dedication is signed CIVIS. A note on the last page but one informs us that the printing was finished on August 23, 1512.[31]

The second work put forth by Tory in 1512 was the 'Itinerarium Antonini.' It was the second book that he prepared for Henri Estienne, in whose establishment it has been said[32] (erroneously, I think) that he filled the post of corrector of the press. However that may be, the dedication, addressed by Tory to Philibert Babou, is dated at the College Coqueret the XIV of the Calends of September (August 19), 1512. Tory says to Babou that he had dispatched a copy of the manuscript of this book to him at Tours four years before (that is to say, in 1508), but that the person to whom it was entrusted for delivery to him had given it, in his own name, to somebody else. This time, in order not to be defrauded of the fruits of his labours, he had caused the work to be printed from his own copy, having carefully collated it with a manuscript lent him by Christophe de Longueil.[33] The volume is a sexto-decimo, remarkable for the beauty of its execution. The copy in vellum which I have seen at the Bibliothèque Nationale is still

redolent of the fifteenth century. We find in it certain verses of the Burgundian Gérard de Vercel in honour of Tory, which prove that the latter was even then in some repute as a scholar, and as a printer, too; for the author contrasts him with the wretched printers of the day. The preliminary matter, by Geofroy Tory, is signed by the word CIVIS, printed in red. At the end of the volume the same word reappears in a very curious monogram composed of the letters CIVS so arranged that we can read the word CIVIS in all directions. Therein we may detect thus early Tory's taste for ciphers and devices, a taste to which he afterward gave free rein, in his 'Champ fleury.'



At this epoch occurs a momentous event in Geofroy Tory's life. On August 26, 1512, he became the father of a daughter, who was christened Agnes. I do not know the date of his marriage, but it was at least as early as 1511. A document of much later date, to which we shall have occasion to refer hereafter, informs us that his child's mother was named Perrette le Hullin. There is reason to believe that she, like her husband, was of Bourges, as the name of

Hullin was common there at that time. Soon after the birth of Agnes, perhaps just at the opening of the term of 1512, Tory entered the College of Bourgogne as regent, or professor of philosophy. His lectures, which were continued for several years, were attended by a large number of hearers, if we may believe a poetical epitaph composed in laudation of him and published by La Caille.[34] Tory himself seems to refer to this professorship in his 'Champ fleury,'[35] but I have been unable to find any record of it, because, presumably, the new direction in which he was then turning his faculties required a certain time of preparation.

This is what happened: Tory, whose activity was very great, did not confine himself to his professorship,[36] but set about learning drawing (probably under the instruction of Jean Perreal, of whom I shall have occasion to speak again), and also engraving, for which he had a special bent. This apprenticeship, with the duties of his professor's chair,—for Tory drove art and philosophy side by side, as the epitaph just quoted has it ('philosophiam simulque artem exercuit typographicam'),[37]—engrossed him completely for three or four years; but at the end of that time, being far from content with his attempts at printing and engraving, or too enthusiastic to be satisfied with a partial result, he determined to study classic forms and outlines in Italy itself, of which country he had retained such agreeable memories that he speaks of it constantly. Consequently he abandoned his professorship and started south again. It was on this journey that he visited the Coliseum 'more than a thousand times,'[38] that he saw the theatre of Orange,[39] and the ancient monuments of Languedoc[40] and of other places in France and Italy,[41] which he cites as

his authorities on every page of his 'Champ fleury.'

Tory does not give the precise date of this artistic journey; but it is established by a passage in his book, where he informs us that he saw the 'Epitaphs of Ancient Rome' printed in that city.[42] Now this book of Epitaphs can be no other than the collection published by the celebrated printer Mazochi, under the title: 'Epigrammata sive inscriptiones antiquæ urbis,' folio, dated 1516, but preceded by a license from the Pope, of 1517.[43] This hint of Tory's is doubly valuable to us, for it not only tells us the date of our artist's second journey to Italy, but reveals his predilection for typography. As we see, he was already studying the printing art with interest.

On his return to Paris, about 1518, Tory, who was not a wealthy man, was obliged to think about turning his talents to account, in order to earn his living. His principal resource seems to have been the painting of manuscripts, otherwise called miniature; but, whether because he did not find sufficient work of that sort, or because he considered another branch of art more useful, he soon gave his entire attention to engraving on wood, in which he speedily acquired considerable celebrity. About the same time, Tory also joined the fraternity of booksellers, following a custom then quite general among engravers,—a custom which their predecessors, the miniaturists, had handed down to them, and which was continued down to the eighteenth century.[44] In truth, it was not unnatural that those who decorated books should sell them, or, if you prefer, that those who sold them should decorate them. It was one way of earning more money. Desiring to signalize his début in the career of a bibliopole in a noteworthy way, Tory undertook to engrave for himself a series of borders

'à l'antique,' which he intended for a book of Hours, —a sort of book that was very profitable at that time, because of the great amount of work which it required; but the task was a long one, and he was obliged to work for different printers in the mean time. One of the first who employed him was Simon de Colines. Colines, who became a printer in 1520, as a result of his marriage to Henri Estienne's widow, commissioned Tory to design marks, floriated letters, and borders for the books that he published in his own name; he also entrusted him, I think, with the engraving of his italic type, which he soon began to use in conjunction with the roman type that he had from his predecessor.

But Tory's active mind could not be content with a single occupation. He was a patriot first of all, as his device proves. And so, far from allowing himself to be engrossed by his memories of the literary and artistic treasures of Italy, he began to study with ardour the monuments of his mother tongue, not only in those books printed in French—very few as yet—which he had at hand in his shop, but also, and especially, in divers fine manuscripts on parchment confided to him by 'his good friend and brother, René Massé, of Vendôme, chronicler to the king,' whose merits, entirely forgotten in our day,[45] he warmly extols.[46]

Now, while studying that same French tongue, so decried by the scholars of his time, Tory discovered therein beauties which required only a little cultivation to make of it the finest language in the world. From that moment our Berrichon, hitherto a partisan of the classics, shook off entirely the yoke of Greek and Latin, and thought only of the means of making French take precedence everywhere.

'I see,' he says, 'some who choose to write in Greek and in Latin, and yet cannot speak French well.... To me it seems, with submission, that it would better beseem a Frenchman to write in French than in another tongue, as well for the profit of his said French tongue, as to adorn his nation and enrich his native language, which is as fair and fine [belle et bonne] as another when it is well set down in writing.... When I see a Frenchman write in Greek or in Latin, I seem to see a mason clad in philosopher's or king's garb, who would fain recite a mask on the stage of La Baroche[47] or in the confraternity of La Trinité, and cannot pronounce well enough, as having too thick a tongue; cannot bear himself well, nor walk fittingly, insomuch as his legs and feet are unwonted to the gait of philosopher or king. Who should see a Frenchman clad in the native dress of a Lombard, which is most often long and scant, of blue linen or of buckram, methinks that Frenchman would scarce jest at his ease without soon slashing it and taking from it its true form as a Lombard dress, which is but very rarely slashed, for Lombards do not often work havoc with their belongings. However, I leave all this to the wise guidance of learned men, and will not burden myself with Greek or Latin save to cite them in due time and place, or to talk with such as cannot speak French.'[48]

Tory had found his vocation at last. He resolved to establish the superiority of his mother tongue in a special book, illustrated by engravings by his own hand, and intended particularly for printers and booksellers, who were in a position to distribute it so rapidly with the aid of their connections.

But while he was engaged in his studies, a terrible catastrophe fell upon him without warning, and

caused him to forget his new projects for some time. His daughter Agnes, of whom he had conceived the most brilliant hopes, was taken from him on August 25, 1522, at the age of nine years eleven months and thirty days, that is to say, ten years less one day. Entirely absorbed by his grief, Tory wrote a short Latin poem upon the sad event. This poem, dedicated, like most of his other books, to Philibert Babou, was not published until February 15, 1523 (1524, new style). In this little work, consisting of two quarto sheets, are contained some most interesting details of Tory's life. We learn here, for example, that he had grounded his daughter Agnes, young as she was, in Latin and the fine arts.

'Desiring to instruct me in the Ausonian tongue, and also to render me accomplished in the polite arts, he, like a most affectionate father, teaching me night and day, himself laid the foundations, sweet and ample, for my life.'[49]

Farther on, he makes his daughter speak thus, from the depths of the urn in which she is supposed to repose:—

MONITOR

Who made for you this urn set with brilliant gems?

AGNES

Who? My father, famed in this art.

MONITOR

Your father is certainly an excellent potter.

AGNES

He practises industriously every day

the liberal arts.

MONITOR

Does he also write melodies and poems?

AGNES

He does. He also blesses with sweet words this lot of mine.

MONITOR

Yes, the skill of the man is wonderful.

AGNES

Hardly has any land produced so famous a man.[50]

We learn from this that Tory was not only a scholar, which we already knew, but an artist of great merit. Who knows? it may be that we had in him the making of a Benvenuto Cellini. What more was necessary that he should reveal himself as such? Very little—perhaps the falling in with a wealthy Mæcenas. In fact, we find these lines in another piece of verse in the same collection:—

WAYFARER

He is certainly well deserving of some Mæcenas.

GENIUS

Few are the Mæcenases who live in the French world. No one to-day either encourages the liberal arts by appropriate gifts or undertakes to encourage them in any way.

Uprightness and fair virtue are in no esteem. So powerful is the sway of unhappy Avarice. Treachery, deceit, and vice are in the ascendant. Virtues are put in the background, and every form of wretched evil creeps abroad.

WAYFARER

What, therefore, does he who is trained by the charming Muses?

GENIUS

He takes pleasure in being able to live in his own house.

WAYFARER

He ought to go with hurried step to the courts of kings.

GENIUS

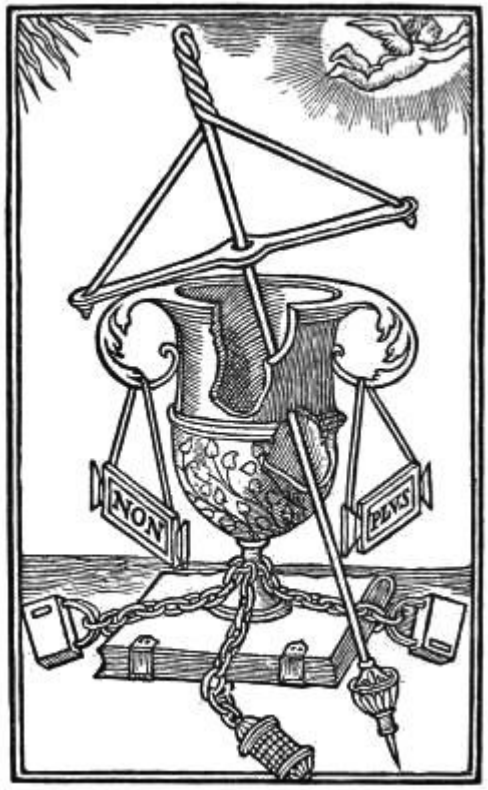
He does not care to, because he has a free heart. Your potentates sometimes take pleasure in looking at songs, but what then? They requite them with nods. Golden songs, drawn from the high heavens, they should reward with jewels and with pure gold. But, frivolous as they are, they instead foolishly give their grand gifts to fools, spendthrifts, and rogues.[51]

Alas! this depiction of the vices of society is not peculiar to the sixteenth century. The world is very old, and it changes little. If Tory were living in our

day, it may be that he would use even darker colours; for, after all, he was appreciated in his own time, and perhaps he would die of hunger to-day. As we see, he was not fond of cooling his heels in the antechambers of the great, and lived peacefully in his own house; but honour came there to seek him. Unluckily it was a little late, as will appear hereafter.

At the end of the poem is the design reproduced on the next page, wherein we see for the first time the famous 'Pot Cassé' [broken jar] which Tory adopted thenceforth as the mark of his bookshop; together with the device 'non plus,' which he used thereafter instead of the word 'civis.'

Tory subsequently offered, in his 'Champ fleury,' a very confused explanation of his Pot Cassé, doing his utmost to connect it with the ordinary events of life; but everything tends to prove that it owes its origin to the death of Agnes. This shattered antique vessel represents Tory's daughter, whose career was shattered by destiny at the age of ten. The book secured by padlocks suggests Agnes's literary studies; the little winged figure among the clouds is her soul flying up to heaven. The device 'non plus' suggests the desperate grief of Tory, who seems to say: 'I no longer [non plus] care for anything'; or, more laconically: 'There is nothing more for me'; after the example of Valentine of Milan when he found himself in a similar situation.[52]



Luckily, time, which deadens all sorrows, even those which seem likely to endure for ever, assuaged Tory's grief. Before his funeral poem saw the light, he had returned to his beloved studies, and they had restored tranquillity to his mind. This is proved by the following passage from his 'Champ fleury,' in which he tells us how, on January 6, 1523 (or 1524, according to our method of computing time), that is to say, eighteen months after he lost his daughter, the idea of that curious book came to his mind. We are glad to recognize once more therein the patriotic Berrichon who had taken for his device the word 'civis.'

'In the morning of the day of the feast of Kings,'[53] he says, '... which was reckoned M. D. XXIII, the fancy came to me to muse in my bed, and to move the wheel of my memory, thinking on a thousand petty conceits, both serious and merry, whereamong I bethought me of a letter of ancient form, which I not long since made for the house of my lord the treasurer of the wars, Maistre Jehan Groslier, counsellor and secretary to the king our sire, lover of goodly letters and of all learned persons, of whom also he is greatly beloved and esteemed, as well on this side as the other of the mountains. And while thinking of that said antique letter there came of a sudden to my memory a pithy sentence of the first book and eighth chapter of Cicero's "Offices," where it is written: "Non nobis solum nati sumus, ortusque nostri partem patria vendicat, partem amici."[54] Which is to say, in substance, that we are not born into this world for ourselves alone, but to do service and pleasure to our friends and our country.'[55]

Such was the origin of 'Champ fleury.' Here follows the composition of that work, as the author himself gives it to us, in the form of a table of contents, at the beginning:[56]—

'This whole work is divided into three books.

'In the first book is contained the exhortation to establish and ordain the French language by fixed rule, and to speak elegantly, in good and soundest French.

'In the second is treated the invention of antique letters, and the proportionate coincidence thereof with the natural body and face of the perfect man. With several happy inventions and reflections upon the said antique letters.

'In the third and last book all the said antique letters, in their alphabetical order, are drawn and proportioned in height and width according to their proper formation and required articulation, both Latin and French, as well in the ancient as in the modern fashion.

'In two sheets at the end are added thirteen different sorts of letters, to-wit: Hebrew, Greek, Latin, French, —and these latter in four sorts, which are: "cadeaulx," "forme," "bastarde," and "torneure." Then follow the Persian, Arabic, African, Turkish, and Tartar letters, which have, all five, one and the same type of alphabet. After these are the Chaldaic, the "goffes," which are otherwise called "impériales et bullatiques," the "phantastiques" letters, the utopian letters, which one may call "voluntaires," and, lastly, the floriated letters.[57] With instructions for making ciphers of letters for golden rings, for tapestries, stained-glass windows, paintings, and other things, as may seem best.'

I will say nothing here of the first book, the excellence of which has recently been pointed out by M. Génin,[58] who is much better versed in the subject than I, and who has at the same stroke exculpated the French from the charge that has been brought against them of having allowed themselves to be anticipated by foreigners in the careful study of their language. I will simply call attention to the fact that Tory wrote shortly before Rabelais, who did not hesitate to borrow from him his criticism of the 'skimmers of Latin,'[59] who were then changing the French language on the pretext of perfecting it. The harangue of the Limousin orator, which is found in the sixth chapter of the second book of 'Pantagruel,' is copied verbatim from Tory's epistle to the reader.

[60] Rabelais has simply added to it some obscene reflections which did not enter our author's mind. Tory ends with a pathetic appeal to those who are interested in the mother tongue, whose excellence he is never tired of extolling. 'O ye devoted lovers of goodly letters!' he cries, 'God grant that some noble heart may give itself to the task of establishing and ordering our French tongue according to rule! By that means would many thousands of men set themselves to using often goodly words. If it is not established and ordered, we shall find that the French tongue will be in great part changed and ruined every fifty years.'[61] This patriotic prayer was soon granted. As we know, the sixteenth century did not lack great geniuses, who set the French language in order and brought it to a great degree of perfection. Indeed, some most expressive words, the disuse of which Tory deplored,[63] reappeared. For instance, 'affaissé' and 'tourbillonner,' which in his time had been replaced by periphrases, returned into use; many others deserve the same honour and perhaps will receive it some day.

The second book of 'Champ fleury' is, I apprehend, only a paradox; but that paradox is maintained by arguments so ingenious, that one lacks courage to condemn it. Tory holds that the shapes of all the roman capital letters are derived from the different parts of the human body, which he looks upon as the type of the beautiful; and he makes a most admirable use of wood engraving to explain his idea. Moreover, if Tory was mistaken, we must acknowledge that he did not fall into the error inconsiderately. Indeed, I believe that he had for confederate his friend Perreal, to whom we may attribute the greater number of the designs on wood in the second book, judging from those in the third, which are directly attributed to

him by Tory, as we shall see hereafter. However that may be, Tory seems to have studied his subject for a long time, not only on ancient monuments, but on modern ones as well, and in the works of contemporary authors who had turned their attention to the shapes of letters. His judgement of these latter is as follows:—

'Frère Lucas Paciol, of Bourg Saint Sepulchre, of the order of Frères Mineurs, and a theologian, who has written in popular Italian a book called "Divina proportione,"[64] and who has essayed to represent the said antique letters, does not give a true account of them nor explain them; and I am not surprised thereat, for I have heard from certain Italians that he stole his said letters and took them from the late Messere Leonard Vince [Leonardo da Vinci], who has of late died at Amboise, and was a most excellent philosopher and admirable painter, and as it were another Archimedes. This said Frère Lucas has caused his antique letters to be printed as his own. In sooth they may well be his, for he has not drawn them in their due proportions, as I shall show when I speak of said letters. Nor does Sigismunde Fante, a noble of Ferrara, who teaches how to write many kinds of letters, speak truly thereof.[65] Nor does Messere Ludovico Vincentino.[66] I know not whether Albert Dürer writes justly thereof,[67] but none the less he goes astray in the due proportion of the figures of many letters, in his book on "Perspective."[68]... I see no man who makes them or understands them better than Maistre Simon Hayeneufve, otherwise called Maistre Simon du Mans. He makes them so well and in proper proportions, that he satisfies the eye as well and better than any Italian master on this side or the other of the mountains. He is most excellent in the

restoration of ancient architecture, as one may see in a thousand excellent designs and portraits that he has made in the noble city of Mans and in many a foreign city. He is worthy to be held in honoured memory, as well for his upright life as for his noble learning. And to this end, let us not fail to consecrate and dedicate his name to immortality, naming him a second Vitruvius, a holy man and good Christian. I write this with good will because of the virtues and great praise "which I have heard said of him" by many great and humble good men and true lovers of all goodly and honest things.'[69]

The eulogistic tone in which Tory speaks here and elsewhere[70] of Simon Haieneuve leads M. Renouvier to think[71] that our artist may have learned the art of drawing letters from the Mans architect; but it is a mistaken supposition; the phrase in quotation marks proves that they had never met. Moreover Tory, a little further on, claims most reasonably the honour of having been his own master in this matter: 'I know no Greek, Latin nor French author who gives the explanation of such letters as I have described, wherefore I may hold it for my own, saying that I have excogitated and found it rather by divine inspiration than by anything written or heard. If there be any one who has seen it written, let him say so, and he will give me pleasure.'[72]

We see that Tory does not beat about the bush concerning his theory, which, although it was different from those of his predecessors, was not on that account better than theirs.[73] However, let his opinion concerning the original design of the roman letters be what it may, it is, in my judgement, simply a sort of preface which we may pass over without

inconvenience. The real substance of his work is in the third book. But he does not leave the second without returning once more to the charge in favour of his mother tongue.

'I know,' he says, 'that there are many goodly minds who would willingly write many excellent things if they thought they could write them well in Greek or Latin; and yet they abstain for fear of making solecisms or some other fault that they dread; or they choose not to write in French, thinking the French tongue not good nor elegant enough. With all respect to them, it is one of the most beauteous and graceful of all human tongues, as I have shown in the first book by the authority of noble and ancient authors, poets and orators, as well Latin as Greek.'[74]

To be accurate, I will say that this idea of the 'preëxcellence of the French tongue,' which, a little later, was the subject of another special work on the part of another famous printer, the second Henri Estienne, was neither new nor original with Tory. No less than three hundred years before, it had been set forth in honest French by an author who cannot be taxed with patriotic illusions, for he was an Italian. This is what Brunetto Latini wrote at the beginning of a sort of encyclopædia which he prepared in the thirteenth century, under the name of 'Trésor':—

'Et se aucuns demandoit por quoi cist livres est escriz en romans selonc le langage des François, puisque nos somes Ytaliens, je diroie que ce est por deux raisons: lune, car nos somes en France, et lautre, porce que la parleure est plus delitable et plus commune a toutes gens.'[75]

As I have said, the third book is the important part of Tory's work. Laying theory aside, he there gives us the exact design of the letters of the alphabet and the

method of executing them. He does not overlook, moreover, this essential fact—that the designer of letters and the printer ought before all else to be grammarians in the ancient meaning of the word[76]; and at the same time that he gives us the shape of a letter, he instructs us as to its value and pronunciation. It is at this point that Tory's book becomes especially interesting to us: he passes in review the pronunciation in vogue in each of the French provinces, or nations, as they were called then. One after another they appear before us, with their special idioms, which have become mere myths to-day,—Flemings, Burgundians, Lyonnaises, Forésiens, Manseaux, Berrichons, Normans, Bretons, Lorrainers, Gascons, Picards, and even Italians, Germans, English, Scotch, etc. His observations do not stop at the somewhat mixed idioms of the men, [77] but extend to the more individual language of the women. For instance, he informs us that 'the ladies of Lyon often gracefully pronounce A for E, as when they say, "Choma vous choma chat effeta,"[78] and a thousand other like expressions'; whereas, on the contrary, 'the ladies of Paris very often pronounce E instead of A, as when they say: "Mon mery est a la porte de Peris, ou il se faict peier"; instead of saying, "Mon mary est a la porte de Paris, ou il se faict paier."'[79]

It will be noticed that in this particular the 'ladies of Paris' succeeded in perpetuating their pronunciation in part, for we do not now say 'paier.' They had equal success in many other cases. For example, it seems to be due to them that the final S of the plural is not pronounced except under exceptional circumstances[80]: as, for instance, when it is followed by a word beginning with a vowel; for, speaking of the cases in which that letter is elided in

Latin, Tory expresses himself thus: 'The ladies of Paris for the most part observe this poetic figure of speech, dropping the final S in many words, as when, instead of saying: "Nous avons disne en ung iardin, & y avons menge des prunes blanches et noires, des amendes doulces & ameres, des figues molles, des pomes, des poires & des gruselles," they say and pronounce: "Nous avon disne en ung iardin, & y avon menge des prune blanche & noire, des amende doulce & amere, des figue molle, des pome, des poyre & des gruselle."' The thing that seems especially offensive to Tory is that they make the men join them in this faulty pronunciation. 'This fault,' he says, 'would be pardonable in them, were it not that it passes from woman to man, and that there is entire absence of perfect pronunciation in speaking.'[81]

Moreover, if we are to credit Tory, the provincials have also, in certain cases, succeeded in establishing their pronunciation, as we may conclude from the following passage, relative to the letter T: 'The Italians pronounce it so full and resonant that it seems that they add an E thereto, as when, for and instead of saying: "Caput vertigine laborat," they pronounce: "Capute vertigine laborate." I have seen and heard it pronounced so in Rome at the schools called La Sapienza, and in many another noble place in Italy. Which pronunciation is no wise held or used by the Lionnois, who drop the said T, and do not pronounce it any wise at the end of the third person plural of verbs active and neuter, saying "Amaverun" and "Araverun," for "Amaverunt" and "Araverunt." In like manner some Picards drop this T at the end of some words in French, as when they would say: "Comant cela, comant? monsieur, c'est une jument," they pronounce: "Coman chela, coman? monsieur,

chest une jumen.'"[82] We see that the Picard pronunciation has prevailed in this instance, for we no longer pronounce the final T at the end of the words 'comment,' 'jument,' and the like.

Tory did not content himself with setting forth the state of things existent in his day: he suggested improvements, almost all of which have been sanctioned by usage. For instance, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, the pronunciation was very difficult to grasp for lack of accents; he proposed to supply them. 'In our French language,' he says, 'we have no symbol of accent in writing, and it is on account of this lack that our language is not yet established nor submitted to fixed rules, like the Hebrew, Greek and Latin. I would like that it should be, as might well be done.... In French,' he says farther on, 'as I have said, we do not write the accent over O vocative, but pronounce it full, as when we say:

'O pain du ciel angelique,
Tu es nostre salut antique.

'In this lack of accent we have an imperfection, which we ought to remedy by purifying and subjecting to fixed rule and art our language, which is the most graceful language known.'[83] Elsewhere he suggests replacing elided letters by an apostrophe, which had not then been done in French. 'I say and allege these things in this place to the end that if it should happen that one had to write in antique letters verses where the S must disappear, one may write them honestly and purposely without using the said letter, ... and place a hooked point over the place where it should be.'[84] In another place he emphasizes the necessity of the cedilla, which we

find in French manuscripts from the thirteenth century, but which typography had not as yet adopted. 'C before O,' he says, 'in French pronunciation and language, is sometimes hard, as in saying "coquin," "coq," "coquillard"; sometimes it is soft, as in saying "garcon," "macon," "françois," and other like words.'[85]

Tory could hardly overlook the matter of punctuation, that most essential, and even in our day so sadly neglected, branch of orthography; but as he had only 'antique' letters to deal with, he presented only three sorts of punctuation marks, without going into details as to their use, which, in truth, if we may judge by his own book, was not as yet fully settled. The comma, for instance, which has so much to do with the clearness of the sentence, is frequently there inserted in a far from rational way.



I have said above that Tory had adopted about 1523, for the mark of his bookshop, the Pot Cassé represented in the engraving placed at the end of his poem on his daughter's death. To make it more appropriate for that purpose, he subjected it to various modifications. At first we find it alone, as in

the accompanying cut, on the cover,[86] or on the back,[87] of a number of octavo books bound at his establishment. Other bindings, in quarto, exhibit the broken jar with the drill (*toret*).[88]

Afterward, Tory placed the jar on a closed book, and still later he modified the design by the introduction of other additions.[89]

Finally, we have Geofroy Tory's device, or mark, definitively constituted in his 'Champ fleury,' thus: [90]—

'Behold,' he says, 'my declared device and mark, drawn as I have cogitated and conceived it, imparting moral meaning thereto, to give friendly admonition to the printers and booksellers beyond the mountains[91] to practise and employ themselves in goodly inventions and delectable execution, to show that their wits have not been always useless, but eager to serve the public weal by labouring to that end and living uprightly.'

Then follows his explanation of this mark,[92]—an explanation which does not invalidate that suggested above.[93] In truth, all that Tory says here in general terms may be applied to his daughter Agnes.

MENTI BONAE
DEVS OCCVRRIT.



SIC, VT. VEL, VT.
NON PLVS.

'In the first place, there is herein an ancient jar, which is broken, through which is passed a toret. This said broken jar signifies our body, which is an earthen jar. The toret signifies Fate, which pierces and passes through weak and strong. Beneath this broken jar there is a book secured by three chains and padlocks, which signifies that after our body is broken by death, its life is closed by the three fatal goddesses.[94] This book is so firmly closed that there is no man who may come to see anything therein, except he know the secret of the padlocks, and above all of the round padlock, which is locked and signed

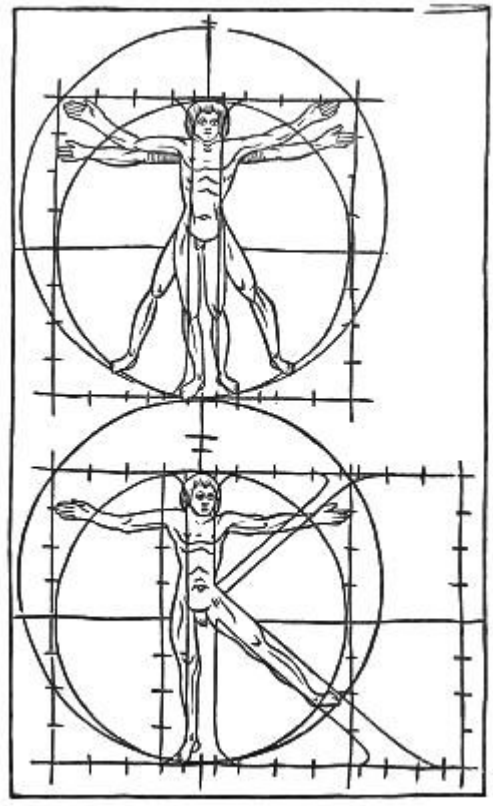
by letters. Even so, after the book of our life is closed, there is no man who may in any wise open it, except it be he who knows the secrets, and he is God, who alone knows, before and after our death, what has been, what is, and what will be our fate. The foliage and flowers in the said jar signify the virtues which our body may have in itself during its life. The sun-rays which are above and beside the toret and the jar signify the inspiration that God gives us by impelling us to virtue and worthy acts. Near the said broken jar it is written: "Non plvs," which are two monosyllabic words, as well in French as in Latin, signifying that which Pittacus said long since in Greek: ΜΗΔΕΝΑΓΑΝ,[95] "nihil nimis." Let us not say, let us not do aught beyond measure or beyond reason, except it be in the last necessity: "aduersus quā nec Dij quidē pugnant."[96] But let us say and let us do "Sic. vt. vel. vt." That is to say, as we ought, or as little wrongly as we may. If we seek to do well, God will aid us, and therefore have I written above: "Menti bonæ Deus occurrit," that is to say, God goes out to meet the desire to do good, and gives it aid.'

I believe that we should see in the toret an 'enseigne parlante,' alluding at once to Tory's name and to his various professions. The way in which the name of the instrument was pronounced, its shape, resembling that of a T, and, lastly, its use by the engravers, were doubtless the considerations that led Tory to adopt it. But let us not subtilize too far.

Tory was not content with giving us his symbol in 'Champ fleury': he engraved on the first page of that book, that is to say, in the place of honour, what would be called to-day the blazonry of his artistic acquirements,—in other words, a collection of all the tools that he used. Unfortunately, he did not feel

called upon, as in the case of his mark, to supply an explanation, deeming the matter clear enough; whereas, in our day it has become rather difficult, because of the changes that have taken place in the customs of artists, to state the exact use of some of the tools. The order in which they are arranged, however, may assist us, to a certain extent, in identifying them. An exact reproduction of this engraving, the initial letter of the first page of the text of 'Champ fleury,' is given at the beginning of this section.[97]

The first series of tools, suspended in the first arabesque, embraces a pair of compasses, a rule, and a square: these are the fundamental instruments of art and of geometry. In the second arabesque, if I am not mistaken, we find an 'échoppe' and a burin, engravers' tools; in the third, a writing-case (or 'galimart'), a pencil, and a knife, above a book; these are the tools of the writer and the draughtsman. In the fourth, we find an object which I take to be a small box of colours, hanging from a case of brushes; these appertain to the painter. Tory was, in fact, draughtsman, painter and engraver.



I have already said that Tory was probably instructed in the art of drawing by the famous Jean Perreal. He was on terms of the closest friendship with that artist, who drew several of the vignettes in 'Champ fleury,' if we may judge by the one positively attributed to him, which is printed on the verso of folio 46. Geofroy informs us that this plate, insignificant in itself (it represents two circles in which are the letters I and K, modelled on the human body), was engraved from the design of a friend of his, 'from that which a noble lord and good friend of mine, Jehan Perreal, who is otherwise called Jehan

de Paris, valet de chambre and excellent painter to King Charles VIII, Louis XII, and François, first of the name, made known and gave to me, most excellently drawn by his hand.' Now this engraving is in all respects similar to those to be found in the second book of 'Champ fleury.' Both in form and subject, it is altogether different from those in the third book, in which Tory printed it. Probably Perreal died while the work was on the press, and Tory, who had not thought of naming him while he was alive, in connection with his first drawings, did so after his death, by publishing the last souvenir of this sort which he possessed from the hand of his friend, although it did not fit perfectly with the subject; he laid, as it were, a flower on the dead man's grave.[98]

We give this drawing also, as the only work which can be with certainty attributed to Jean Perreal, and as a specimen of the engravings which serve as a foundation for the reformation of the roman letters proposed by Tory in the second book of his 'Champ fleury.'

From what I have said it will be seen that Tory's book required several years of labour. Nor is one surprised thereat when one considers the great number of engravings which it contains. But even without the engravings, it will readily be understood that a work which necessitated so much observation required a vast expenditure of time. Begun, as we have seen, in 1523 (1524, new style), it was not finally completed until 1529, that is to say, after six years of toil. However, Tory did not propose that those years should be lost for art. Desirous to preach by example rather than by precept, he determined to publish, in the interim, other books wherein he might give utterance to his artistic taste. And he did

in fact print books of Hours, admirably executed, which, although in different form, may fitly be compared to the Hours of Simon Vostre, who had acquired so great a reputation in that typographical specialty. Tory received from François I a 'privilége' (license) for this work, to run six years, dated at Avignon, September 23, 1524.[99] This license to print[100] informs us that Tory had 'made and caused to be made[101] certain illustrations [*histoires*] and vignettes "a lantique" and likewise some "a la moderne," in order to have the same printed, and to serve *a plusieurs usages dheures*,' and that to that end he had 'expended an exceeding long time and incurred divers great expenses and outlays.'

The first book of this sort which he published, so far as I have learned, is an edition in quarto of the Hours of the Virgin, according to the Roman use, in Latin. It is a superb volume, printed by Simon de Colines, with borders and illustrations 'à l'antique,' perfect in taste and execution.

The book was undoubtedly printed by Colines as a joint venture with Tory, for there are copies in existence in the name of each. Those in the name of Colines bear on the title-page the date 1524, and, at the end, that of the 17th of the Calends of February (January 16), 1525; those in the name of Tory (there are two varieties of these) bear but one date, 1525, and that at the end. I shall speak of this book later, in detail.[102]

Two years later Tory published a new edition of the same Hours, in a small octavo volume, also printed by Simon de Colines, in roman type, with borders and illustrations of the same kind but much smaller. [103] The printing was finished October 21, 1527. It is preceded by a new license from François I,

extending Tory's rights for ten years, not for this book alone, but for the earlier one as well, 'for certain illustrations and vignettes "a lantique" by him heretofore printed,' and in consideration of the great outlay which his engravings had caused him to make. This license is dated at Chenonceaux, September 5, 1526, and includes 'Champ fleury,' the printing of which had begun, but which had not yet received its poetic title, for it was still referred to as 'Lart et science de la deue et vraye proportion des lettres.' In the same year Tory published an edition in quarto of these same Hours, according to the use of Paris, printed by Simon Dubois (Silvius). This book, in which we find again the license of 1526, is printed in gothic type, with borders and illustrations of a special style, called 'à la moderne.' The borders are arabesques formed of plants, insects, birds, animals, etc. At the foot we see the F, crowned, of François I, and the salamander; the L, crowned, of Louise of Savoy, the king's mother; and the impaled shield of France and Savoy, etc. Of this book also I shall speak in detail hereafter.[104] Finally, a little later, at a time which I am unable to fix precisely, but prior to 1531, Tory caused to be printed another book of Hours of the same description, that is to say, with borders of plants, insects, birds, etc., but in a smaller format—small octavo. I shall describe it in its place. [105]

These publications did not prevent our artist from giving his attention to literature. While he was overlooking the impression of his Hours and his 'Champ fleury,' he was preparing various works to which we shall have occasion to refer hereafter. Generally speaking, they are translations intended to enrich the French tongue; for Tory did not lose sight of his patriotic purpose. All of these works were

printed subsequently, save one, perhaps—a translation of the hieroglyphs of Orus Apollo, which he gave to a 'noble lord and good friend of his.'[106] It is not known whether this translation was ever printed. There are many editions of Orus in existence, but no one of them bears the name of Tory.

'Champ fleury' appeared at last in 1529. We have seen that this book was conceived on 'the day of the feast of Kings, which was reckoned M. D. XXIII,' that is to say, January 6, 1524, new style. The printing was not completed until 'the XXVIII day of the month of April one thousand five hundred XXIX,'[107] as we learn from the subscription at the end; that is to say, it cost nearly six years of toil. The following is an exact copy of the title-page as it appears in the first edition:—

> CHAMP FLEVRY. Au quel est contenu Lart & Science de la deue & vraye Proportiõ des Lettres Attiques, quõ dit autremẽt Lettres Antiques, & vulgairement Lettres Romaines, proportionnees selon le Corps & Visage humain.—Ce Liure est Priuilegie pour Dix Ans Par Le Roy nostre Sire, & est a vendre a Paris sus Petit Pont a Lenseigne du Pot Casse par Maistre Geofroy Tory de Bourges/Libraire, & Autheur du dict Liure. Et par Giles Gourmont aussi Libraire demourant en la Rue sainct Iaques a Lenseigne des Trois Coronnes.

It is gratifying to see here the name of the first

printer in Greek type in Paris. It was Gourmont himself who printed this learned book, wherein we find some very interesting details concerning the Hebrew, Greek and Latin letters, of which he exhibits models which have not changed since that time.[108] The workshop of Gilles de Gourmont was on rue Saint-Jean-de-Latran; but we see that in 1529 he had a bookshop on rue Saint-Jacques, at the sign of the Trois Couronnes,—an allusion doubtless to the three roses which adorned the chief, or top, of his shield. This shop adjoined the church of Saint-Benoît on the north.[109] As for Tory, he seems to have lived at this time on the Petit-Pont, 'next to Hostel-Dieu.' It was there that he wrote his book, for he dates his epistle to the reader thus: 'En Paris ce. XXVIII. Jour Dapvril sus Petit Pont, a Lenseigne du Pot Casse.' He had, however, another abode on rue Saint-Jacques, opposite the 'Écu de Bâle,' the sign of Chrétien Wechel.

At the beginning of 'Champ fleury' is printed the license of September 5, 1526, already published in the two editions of the Hours of 1527, which granted to Tory a ten years' right, not only for the Hours, but also for 'Champ fleury,' which was then being printed, but, as I have already said, had not then received that graceful title. This license makes it clear that as early as 1526 Tory was thinking of joining the brotherhood of printers. He became a printer in fact soon after the publication of his book, and proceeded to print several works of his own composition. I give here a list of these various publications, in the order of their dates.

> I. La Table de lancien philosophe Cebes ... Avec trente Dialogues moraulx de Lucian ... translate de

latin en vulgaire françois par maistre
Geofroy Tory de Bourges...[110]

The license is of September 18, 1529, for ten years. The printing was finished October 5, 1529. It is a small octavo volume, in two parts, with roughly executed borders on each page. There are twelve preliminary leaves, containing a long list of errata, and two series of signatures, the first running from A to T, the second from *a* to *v*. The book was for sale at the translator's shop, 'rue Sainct Iaques, devant lescu de Basle,[111] a lenseigne du Pot Casse,' and at Jean Petit's on 'rue Sainct Iaques, a lenseigne de la Fleur de lys.' There is nothing to indicate where the book was printed; but as it is set in the type used for the 'Epitaphs' of Louise of Savoy, I am inclined to think that it came from Tory's workshop. In that case it was the first book that he printed.[112] The long list of errata would seem, in truth, to suggest a novice, and would explain why no printer's name is given.

In the letter 'to the readers' at the beginning of this book, Tory returns to the charge against the villains [*rufients*] who were changing the French language on the pretext of perfecting it. There are some tirades quite worthy of a place in 'Champ fleury.' He ends his preamble with a curious passage which gives us an idea of his tastes. 'I believe that if the ancient and noble painter Zeuxis of Heraclea, if Raphael of Urbino, Michel Angelo, Leonardo da Vinci or Albrecht Dürer[113] should try to paint philosophers and their various aspects, they could not paint them so well nor so to the life as our Lucian paints them herein.' Lastly, he informs the reader that he will soon make him 'another new gift';[114] and he kept his promise by publishing the following work.

> II. Summaire de chroniques contenans les vies, gestes et cas fortuitz de tous les empereurs Deurope, depuis Iules Cesar iusques a Maximilien dernier decede ... par ... Iehan Baptiste Egnace, Venicien. Et translate de ladicte langue latine en langaige francoys par maistre Geofroy Tory de Bourges.

An octavo volume, containing 16 leaves of preface, 99 of text, and an index containing 13 leaves—128 in all. At the end, we read: 'The printing of this book was finished at Paris the XIII day of April, M. D. XXIX, for maistre Geofroy Tory de Bourges, who sells it at said Paris, at the sign of the Pot Casse.' In Tory's preface, addressed 'to all studious and true lovers of honest letters,' he says: 'I promised you of late in the preface to the "Table of Cebes" that in a short space I would make for you another new book.' It was in fulfilment of that promise that he published the 'Summaire de Chroniques' of Egnasio.

The date of printing given above corresponds to April 13, 1530, new style; for Easter fell in that year on April 15. Some bibliographers mention an edition of this book of 1520; but it is an error, for the license is dated 1529. La Caille[115] says that the edition of 1529 was printed by Tory; this is possible, but not certain. It may even be that it was printed by Gourmont, for it is set in the same type used in 'Champ fleury.'[116] There are three later editions of this book, printed by Charles l'Angelier in 1541, 1543, 1544 (octavo); we shall speak of them hereafter. As for the edition of 1529, I found it only in the library of M. Ambroise Firmin Didot, who kindly allowed me to describe it. This copy is still in

the original binding, with the Pot Cassé.

But all these works did not cause Tory to lose sight of his great patriotic idea. He did not confine himself to simple wishes for the welfare of the French language. In default of the other 'noble hearts' whom he invited 'to establish and order our language by rule,'[117] he himself undertook that work. Rich in materials as he was, and with the ardor with which he entered into everything, he soon completed his task. The license to print the 'Summaire de Chroniques' includes a book by Tory entitled: 'Les Reigles generales de lorthographe du langaige françois,' which he proposed soon to put on the press. Was this book ever printed? was it ever finished? These are questions which I am unable to answer, for I have discovered no trace of it elsewhere; but so many other books have disappeared that I should not be surprised to learn that this one had undergone the same fate.

III. Hours (in Latin) according to the Roman use; sixteenmo, with illustrations and borders; printed in roman type; finished February 8, 1529, which date corresponds to February 8, 1530, new style, and proves that Tory had become a printer in 1529. Here is the exact title of this book, which I shall describe in detail later:[118] 'Horæ in laudem beatissimæ Virginis Mariæ secundum usum romanum.' On the last leaf are these words: 'Parrhisiis, apud Gotofredum Torinum Biturigum. VIII. die febr. anno sal. M. D. XXIX. Ad insigne Vasis effracti.'

> IV. Ædiloquium ceu (*sic*) disticha partibus ædium urbanarum et rusticarum suis quæque locis adscribenda. Item, epitaphia septem de amorum aliquot passionibus, etc. Authore Gotofredo Torino Biturigico.

Paris, Simon de Colines, 1530;[119] italic type; 3 octavo sheets, with license for two years. This book has, in the second part, seven charming engravings on wood. I cannot understand why Tory did not print it, as he was then a printer. May it have been because it was customary at that time to print poetical works in italic type, and he had none in his printing office? Copies of the book are preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale, at the Arsenal [two] and at Sainte-Geneviève. The copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale is still in the original binding, with the Pot Cassé.[120]

Alluding to the first part of his book, Tory expresses himself thus in his 'avis au lecteur': 'There are certain eminent painters in this prolific age, most gentle reader, who, by their drawings, paintings, and varied colouring, depict the tribal gods and human beings, as also other things of different sorts, with such exactness that a voice and a soul seem the only things wanting to them; but here, most gentle reader, I offer you, nearly in the manner of these painters, a house, which not only is elegant and finished in its outlines and parts, but even speaks prettily and describes itself part by part in a eulogy.'[121] It will be seen that Tory's thoughts were still engrossed by art.

> V. Science pour senrichir honnestement et facilement,

> intitulée Leconomic Xenophon, nagueres translatee de grec et latin en langaige francoys, par maistre Geofroy Tory de Bourges.—On les vend a Paris, en la rue Sainct Iaques, devant lescu de Basle, et devant lesglise de la Magdalaine, a lenseigne du Pot Casse.

Octavo, of 9 sheets; printing finished July 5, 1531. [122] On the back of the title-page are these words: 'At the said sign of the Pot Casse are also for sale Thucydides and Diodorus, with some other excellent books translated from Greek and Latin into French. Likewise there are fine Hours and Offices of Our Lady, large, medium and small, with illustrations and vignettes "a l'antique."'

Were the Thucydides and Diodorus printed by Tory, as well as the large, medium and small Hours? Possibly, but I have found no indication of it. As for attributing the translations to him, that is out of the question, for he says nothing of it in the dedication, addressed to Antoine du Prat, Cardinal de Sens, etc., wherein he mentions the preceding works of the same sort:—

'After the book of the Explanation of the antique letters, called "Champ Fleury," which I put together in the French language, and the "Table de Cebes," with thirty moral dialogues; likewise the "Summaire de Chroniques," which I translated into our said language, to confer a benefit on the studious, ... it seemed to me to be a worthy way of passing my time to employ myself in translating the "Economic Xenophon" also.'

Tory does not mention here the 'Ædiloquium,'

probably because that book was in Latin, or, rather, because it was not printed at the time of the composition of this dedication, which was in all probability written in the first three months of 1531, then reckoned in the year 1530,[123] a circumstance which, in my opinion, explains the date of the 'Ædiloquium.' In fact, that book cannot have been printed before 1531, for the license of the 'Economic Xenophon,' which includes the 'Ædiloquium' (to which, by the way, it gives a sub-title, 'et Erotica,' which was rejected when it was printed, as likely to give a false idea of the book), is dated June 18, 1531, and extends Tory's rights to four years instead of the two mentioned on the title-page of the 'Ædiloquium.' From all of which I conclude that the last-named book was printed before the license was obtained, but only a short time before, and while the application was pending.

The license first mentioned[124] also concedes to Tory an extension of four years 'for certain other books, illustrations and vignettes, to cause to be printed the Hours and Offices of Our Lady, mentioned in two licenses heretofore granted to him,' dated September 23, 1524, and September 5, 1526. Tory requested this extension of time because he was preparing to reprint the Hours, as we see by the date of the following book.

> VI. Hours according to the Roman use, quarto; published October 20, 1531, in Latin. This was a new edition of the Hours printed in 1524-1525 by Simon de Colines. We find the same borders and illustrations as before; but several engravings which had already

> appeared in some of the earlier books just described are added. I shall describe this book later. It seems to be printed from the 'Champ fleury' type, and bears the following title: Horæ in laudem beatiss. Virginis Mariæ. Ad usum romanum. Parrhisiis apud Gotofredum Torinum Biturigicum, regium impressorem. [125]

> VII. Politiques de Plutarque, cest a dire: Civiles Institutions et enseignemens pour bien regir la chose pu[blique] ... translatees ... par maistre Geofroy Tory de Bourges. Dediees ... a tresilustre ... François de Vallois, Daulphin de France.

Octavo, with 8 preliminary leaves, and 67 numbered leaves of text.

On the verso of leaf 67 we read: 'The printing of this book was finished Saturday the XV. day of June, M. D. XXXII. by maistre Geofroy Tory de Bourges, bookseller and king's printer, dwelling in Paris, opposite the church of La Magdaleine, at the sign of the Pot Casse.'

Another edition was published at Lyon in 1534. We shall refer to it, as well as to the earlier edition, hereafter.[126]

> VIII. La Mouche de Lucian et la Maniere de parler et se taire [de Volaterran].—Le tout [translaté] par maistre Geofroy Tory de Bourges,

> imprimeur du Roy et libraire juré en luniversité de Paris. On les vend a Paris, devant leglise de la Magdaleine, a lenseigne du Pot Casse.

Octavo, 8 leaves; without date of printing or license, but printed by Geofroy Tory himself, after February 22, 1533; for he assumes the title of 'libraire juré'[127] of the University, which did not belong to him until that day. Moreover he makes use in this book of the acute accent, the apostrophe and the cedilla, which he never used, as we shall soon see, until after the edition of Clement Marot, dated June 7, 1533. It was therefore subsequent to that date, but prior to October of the same year, that 'La Mouche' was published.[128]

In several of the works we have described, Tory assumes the title of printer; in the last three he describes himself as king's printer, and in one of them as a 'libraire juré' of the University. These last two dignities he owed to the initiative of François I. That king, who had never before conferred that honour upon any one, deemed it his duty to make the author of 'Champ fleury' king's printer. In truth it was natural enough to confer that title upon him who had displayed so perfect an understanding of the art of typography, combined with such a store of literary knowledge, and whose book caused a veritable revolution in printing, no less from the technical and practical than from the grammatical and philological standpoint; for there is one fact which I have not as yet mentioned and which I am glad to set down here: immediately after the publication of 'Champ fleury' French typography

began to include in its fonts of type accents, apostrophes and cedillas,[129] the absence of which Tory deplored, and which he himself used soon after, and before any other printer, as we shall see.

But the most noteworthy result produced by the publication of 'Champ fleury' was the reformation of the old types. That book not only contributed to the abandonment of gothic letters, but brought about the remodelling of the old roman letters. Robert Estienne, among others, re-cast at this time all those that had come down to him from his father, the first Henri (or, to speak more accurately, from his father-in-law Simon de Colines), and replaced them by types of a new shape, which were cut, I think, by Tory (for his pupil, Garamond, seems not to have been capable of doing it at this time), and which continued to be used, almost without change, down to the time of the Revolution. It is in this sense only that it can properly be said that Tory perfected the types of Josse Bade; for I think that he did not cut any type for that celebrated printer, who was established in Paris long before Tory turned his attention to engraving, and who died in 1535, a few years after the publication of 'Champ fleury,' without changing in any way his method of printing. It was Tory too, doubtless, who cut Robert Estienne's italic type; for it bears a strong resemblance to Simon de Colines's, which I have already attributed to him. [130]

The sensation caused by Tory's book, in foreign countries as well as in France, is evidenced also by the writings of his contemporaries. In Paris, Antoine du Saix, author of the 'Esperon de discipline,' expresses himself thus in an epistle in verse dedicated to his friends,[131] among whom we find mentioned René Massé, also a friend of Tory, and

several other littérateurs of the time:—

> Geoffroy Thory, qui divine as heu main
> Pour figurer dessus le corps humain
> La lettre anticque, ouyant que plume ay prise
> Pour te imiter, ce bourgeon ne meprise,
> Raisin sera, sil a temps de meurer [mûrir].

In London, Leonard Coxe, alluding to the grammar published shortly after by his compatriot Palsgrave, exclaims: 'Learned Geofroy, he has fulfilled the wish so often expressed in thy "Champ fleury," for here we have the French language taught thoroughly, by virtue of rules duly authorized.'[132]

Tory probably received the title of king's printer in 1530, but I do not find that he assumed it earlier than 1531, and, failing documentary evidence, I cannot accredit him with it at an earlier date. It was, I fancy, his appointment which led the authors of the 'Art de vérifier les dates' to say that 'François I established the Imprimerie Royale in Paris' on his return from the Abbaye de Veyen, where he had espoused, on July 4, 1530, Eleonora, sister of the Emperor Charles V.[133] It is the fact that at that time Tory was entrusted with several 'royal printings' concerning this marriage of the king. Thus he published, March 16, 1530 (1531, new style), a little work of Guillaume Bochetel, entitled: 'Le Sacre et coronnement de la Royne, imprimé par le commandement du Roy nostre sire.' It is a thin quarto of 12 leaves, printed with a certain sumptuousness, and the license, signed 'de la Barre,'[134] is thus conceived:—

'We have granted to maistre Geofroy Tory, "marchant libraire, imprimeur," license to print the

"Coronnement de la Royne," and all other printers are forbidden to print it for one year,[135] upon pain of a discretionary fine and of the confiscation of said book, etc. Done at Paris the tenth day of March.' The consecration of the queen had taken place at Saint-Denis five days earlier, March 5, 1530 (1531, new style).

A few days later Tory published another little book by the same author: 'Lentree de la Royne en sa ville et cite de Paris, imprimee par commandement du Roy nostre sire.' Quarto, 24 leaves; same arrangement as in 'le Sacre,' etc.[136] The license, dated at Anet, April 26, 1531 (Easter fell that year on April 9), gives Tory no other title than 'libraire,' but the omission is evidently accidental.[137] The volume contains three pieces in Latin verse by Geofroy Tory, two addressed to the queen ('ad reginam Leonorem'), the other to the French people ('ad gentem gallicam'). On the verso of the last leaf are these words: 'The printing of this book was finished Tuesday the ninth day of May M. D. XXXI.' This book exhibits specimens of three different types used by Geofroy Tory: a 'saint-augustin,' in which the text is printed, a 'philosophie,'[138] and a brevier. In all these publications we find Tory's borders and his broken jar, and these words at the foot of the title: On les vend a Paris, en la rue Sainct Jacques, devant lescu de Basle, et devant lesglise de la Magdaleine, a lenseigne du Pot Casse.'

It will be noticed that Tory had left his second domicile, on the Petit-Pont, which was too small, doubtless, for his printing establishment, and had settled in the heart of the Cité, almost opposite the church of La Madeleine, which then stood very near the corner of rue de la Juiverie and rue de

Marmouzets. His new abode was on the site of the old and famous Halle aux Blés de Beauce, in a house to which he transported his sign of the Pot Cassé (which it retained for several years), and which corresponds to the present number 16 rue de la Cité, according to the evidence courteously furnished me by M. Adolphe Berty, whose knowledge of old Paris is so thorough.[139] However that may be, the first work in which to my knowledge Geofroy Tory assumes the title of king's printer is a thin volume of two and a half quarto sheets, of the same typographical arrangement as those last described, but printed in different type, which seems to me to have been cut by Tory. It was published on the occasion of the death of Louise of Savoy, mother of François I, which occurred September 22, 1531. The contents consist of Latin and French epitaphs composed in honour of the deceased, and it bears on its first page the following title, bisected:—

'In Lodoicæ regis matris mortem epitaphia latina et gallica.—Epitaphes a la louenge de ma dame mere du Roy faictz par plusieurs recommendables autheurs.' Below this are these words: 'On les vend a Paris, devant Leglise de la Magdaleine, a Lenseigne du Pot Casse.'

The license, dated at Paris, October 15, 1531, and signed de la Barre, accords unequivocally to Tory the title of king's printer: 'We have granted to maistre Geofroy Tory, merchant, bookseller and *imprimeur du roy*, leave,' etc. On the last page, which, like the first, is enclosed in a border, are the words: 'Printed at Paris at the sign of the Pot Cassé, by maistre Geofroy Tory de Bourges, Marchant, Libraire et Imprimeur du Roy. The XVII day of October M. D. XXXI.'[140]

What salary did Tory receive as king's printer? It is

impossible for me to say positively; however, if we may judge from what happened in 1538, in the case of Conrad Néobar,[141] he probably received 100 'écus au soleil'[142] per year, which, at the current valuation of 45 sous each, would make 225 'livres tournois.' Indeed, that sum was paid in 1671, more than a century later, to Pierre Le Petit, king's printer.[143]

If François I manifested his good will to Geofroy Tory in appointing him king's printer, he manifested it even more signally by causing him to be admitted to the brotherhood of 'libraires jurés' of the University, with all the privileges appurtenant to that office.[144] For, in the first instance, he simply made use of his prerogative; in the second he imposed his will on the University: the number of 'libraires jurés,' which was fixed at twenty-four, being full, François I created a twenty-fifth membership in Tory's favour, and the University ratified that creation at its sitting of February 22, 1532 (1533, new style), minuting, however, that it was a gift of the King,[145] as if to imply that it was not to be taken as a precedent. In fact, they returned to the number twenty-four on the death of Tory, which unfortunately was not long delayed.

Farther on will be found a list of the works published by Tory as king's printer, both for the king and for private individuals.[146] I will mention here a single one, which is of some interest in connection with the biography of our artist: the 'Adolescence Clementine' (of Clement Marot), fourth edition, published by Tory June 7, 1533. On the title-page is a note in these words: 'With certain accents noted, namely, on É masculine different from the feminine, between words joined by synalephe, and under Ç when it is pronounced like S, the which heretofore, for lack of

suggestion, has not been done in the French language, although it was and is most essential.' This was the first work in which Tory applied the orthographic system he had suggested in 'Champ fleury.'[147] The fact is evident from the inexperience of the compositors, who made several blunders in this very note.

This book, one of the rare copies of which is in the Bibliothèque Nationale, presents still another interesting peculiarity. The title-page is arranged in a different way from that in vogue at the time. In the first three editions the first two words form four lines of capitals of the same size and length, by virtue of the spacing: LADOLE—SCENCE—CLEMEN—TINE. In the fourth edition they fill two lines only (LADOLESCENCE—CLEMENTINE), but still in type of the same size, contrary to the practice of other printers, who would have diminished by at least one degree the size and length of the lines, without regard to logic. They would probably have printed the title thus:

L A D O L E S
CENCE CLEMEN
tine

Tory's method of execution, which he borrowed from the arrangement of ancient inscriptions, was less agreeable to the eye perhaps, but it was more logical. It was a step toward the practice of the present day, in which the size of the letters on a title-page is varied, but is made consistent with the importance of the respective words. As will be seen, Tory was, in everything, an initiator.

This book was the last one printed by Tory, to my knowledge. He probably died shortly after, for we

find that his wife was a widow on October 14 [1533], when she executed a lease for nine years of that part of the Halle de Beauce occupied by her husband's establishment. This lease, covering the whole house, was made in consideration of 122 livres 10 sous tournois. The lessors were agents of the Chapitre Notre-Dame, and the lessees, 'Martin Féret, baker, and Perrette Le Hullin, widow of Geofroy Tory, in his lifetime bookseller and king's printer, living on rue de la Juifverie in one of the wings [corps d'hostel] of the building hereinafter mentioned' (the Halle de Beauce).[148]

Perrette Le Hullin continued for some time to carry on her husband's various enterprises. Thus, she published in 1535 a remarkable work, doubtless begun by him, by command of François I, to whom it is dedicated. It certainly should be placed to the credit of Tory, although it does not bear his name, but simply a mention of his sign: 'Au Pot Casse.' It is a translation of Diodorus Siculus, of which I shall speak later.[149]

But the burden of so considerable an undertaking—printing-office, bookshop, bindery,[150] engraving, etc.—soon compelled Perrette Le Hullin to abandon a part of it. At the end of the year 1535 she transferred the printing-office, the bookshop, and the bindery to Olivier Mallard, who established himself on the same premises occupied by Tory, and under the same sign of the Pot Cassé, as we see by a thin volume published by him on January 19, 1535 (1536, new style), entitled: 'Copie d'une lettre de Constantinople, de la victoire du grand Sophy contre le grand Turc.—Paris, Olivier Mallard, à l'enseigne du Pot Cassé, rue de la Juifverie.' Quarto, of 4 leaves; gothic type.[151]

Towards the end of 1536, Mallard published the

'Copie de l'arrest du grand conseil donné à l'encontre du miserable empoisonneur de monseigneur le dauphin,' etc. An octavo sheet printed in two signatures. On the verso of the title begins the text of the decree, promulgated at Lyon Saturday, October 7, 1536; then come several pieces by Jean Henon and 'a "dizain" by the printer hereof in sorrow for the death of the Dauphin': ten wretched lines, ending, by way of signature, with the words 'tout par moien,' of which I have been unable to discover the anagrammatic significance. On the verso of the last leaf we read: 'All booksellers and printers in the city and provostry of Paris are forbidden to print or put on sale this present "copie" within three months, on pain of confiscation thereof, and of a fine, save only M. O. Mallard. Given at Paris this XVIII October, 1536.—I. MORIN.'

Thus we see that, even if Mallard was not as yet king's printer, he was at least the official printer. I cannot give the exact date of his appointment as king's printer; but he certainly held that office in 1537, since in that year he published a little octavo volume in which he assumed the title.[152] The book is entitled: 'De judiciis urinarum tractatus exprobatis collectus authoribus, etc.—Excudebat O. Mallardus, bibliopola ac impressor regius.—Anno Domini 1537, 8 id. Martii' (March 8).[153] He also published in that year, in the same capacity, two works of Jean Gillot:[154] 'De juridictione et imperio libri duo,' and 'Isagoge in juris civilis sanctionem' (quarto), on the title-page of which, below the Pot Cassé, are the words: 'Vænit O. Mallardo, regio typographo ac librario, sub signo Vasis fracti.'[155]

It is probable that François I made no difficulty about accepting Tory's successor as his printer; but

he availed himself of Tory's death to remodel the institution of king's printers. He restricted Mallard's functions to the printing of French, and in the year 1538 appointed two other king's printers, one, Conrad Néobar, for Greek, the other, Robert Estienne, for Latin and Hebrew, as an essential complement to the 'Collége des trois langues,' now the Collége de France, which he had recently founded. We have not the document which conferred upon Robert Estienne the title of king's printer; but we have proof that he held that title in 1539. Maittaire declares, upon what evidence I know not, that Robert was appointed on June 24 of that year. I am of the opinion that his appointment was of earlier date, that is to say, that it goes back, like Néobar's, to 1538, or, to speak more accurately, to the beginning of 1539. In fact, we find him assuming the title of king's printer ('typographus regius') in several works printed by him during that year. Furthermore, I may mention the fact that, in a most interesting edict concerning the printers of France, dated August 31, 1539, the king already refers to the fact that he has 'of late created and ordained—in order to have a copious supply of useful and essential books—royal printers in the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew tongues.'[156]

We have not the letters patent of Robert Estienne, but we are more fortunate in respect to Néobar, for we have the document by which he was created king's printer for Greek.[157] This curious document, which does so much honour to François I, well deserves to win oblivion for his unlucky edict of proscription against printing, rendered January 13, 1535 (new style), which has been invoked against his memory several times in recent years, although it was never put in execution. On Néobar's death in

1540, Robert Estienne succeeded him as king's printer for Greek, retaining the title for Latin and Hebrew.

The king's fondness for the classics did not lead him to neglect the French language: in 1539 he promulgated a celebrated ordinance, to the effect that 'henceforth all decrees, etc., shall be pronounced, recorded, and delivered to the parties concerned, in the mother tongue.'

In 1541, Olivier Mallard, who had acquired all of Tory's typographic paraphernalia, published a book of Hours of the Virgin, in Latin, octavo, with the borders 'à la moderne' to which I referred on page 25. It is copied doubtless from the edition put forth by Tory about 1530, which I have never been fortunate enough to see. Of the edition of 1541, I have seen one copy on vellum, and another on paper. It consists of 23 octavo sheets (signatures A to Y), and has on the title-page: 'Horæ in laudem beatissim. Virginis Mariæ ad usum Romanum.' (Pot Cassé) 'Parisiis, apud Oliverium Mallardum, sub signo Vasis effracti.—1541.'

In the following year Mallard published another edition of the Hours of the Virgin, in quarto, like the one issued by Tory in 1531. I shall speak of it in detail in its place.[158] Here I will simply say that the book was finished in the month of August, 1542.

On the twenty-second of the same month, Mallard renewed the lease of his quarters in the Halle aux Blés de Beauce, which lease had been given nine years earlier to Tory's widow and Martin Féret, at a rental of 122 livres 10 sous, tournois. The rental was increased for Mallard, who had to pay 130 livres, plus 4 écus d'or au soleil 'for the time of the said leasing.'[159] Olivier Mallard did not long enjoy his

lease, for he died that same year. His last printing, according to La Caille, who writes the name Maillard,[160] was a translation of the Dialogues of Plato, by Simon de Valembert, published in 1542. I have been unable to find this book in Paris, but I have seen another, probably of later date, at the bookshop of M. Techener; it is entitled: 'Le livre de Ange Bologninus, de la curation des ulceres exterieurs, traduit de latin en francoys.—Paris, au Pot Cassé, en limprimerie de Olivier Mallard, libraire et imprimeur du roy. 1542.' It is an octavo of four signatures. As the license is dated December 1, this little book is probably the last one printed by Mallard, as he was succeeded in the following year, as king's printer for French works, by Denis Janot (one of the most skilful printers in Paris), as is set forth in the letters patent, which will be found in Appendix VII. Appendix VIII contains a complete list of the king's printers who lived in Paris.

Mallard's typographical apparatus seems to have been acquired by Jean Kerver, son of the first Thielman Kerver, living on rue Saint-Jacques,[161] at the sign of the Gril ('sub signo Cratis'), who printed several editions of the Hours in octavo, with the borders 'à la moderne' used by Mallard in 1541. The sign of the Pot Cassé, which Kerver did not need, was adopted by a bookseller of Chartres, named Richard Cotereau, who seems also to have bought some of Tory's woodcuts representing that mark. In fact I have seen one, which I have never seen on any of Tory's books, in a book printed in Paris for Cotereau by Nicolas Chrestien; it is: 'Le Coustumier de la baronnye, chastellenie, terre et seigneurie de Chasteauneuf en Tymerays'; octavo, 1557. The title-page is an engraving of the Pot Cassé, with the design reversed,[162] like that of the title of 'Champ

fleury,' but signed with the double cross; and beneath are the words: 'Pour Richard Cotereau, libraire, demeurant à Chartres, en la grande rue, à l'enseigne du Pot Cassé.'

Philippe Cottereau, evidently the son of Richard, and king's printer at Blois, used the same mark. I have seen it on a small book printed by him in 1603: 'Reglement pour l'instruction des proces qui se conduiront au bailliage et siege presidial de Bloys.' Two octavo sheets.

It would seem, however, that the sign of the Pot Cassé, which remained for some time longer on the Halle de Beauce, also remained on the house originally occupied by Tory, on rue Saint-Jacques, for we find a printer named Michel de la Guierche living at that sign. See, among other works, 'M. T. Ciceronis ad M. Brutum Orat.—Paris, apud Mich. de la Guierche, sub signo Vasis effracti, in vico Jacobeo.' Quarto, without date, but with documents of 1542 and 1543.[163] But the Pot Cassé itself does not figure in his books.

Tory's widow seems to have retained his engraving establishment for a considerable further time. Although engrossed by her numerous undertakings, she found time nevertheless to have some of her husband's books reprinted, and among others the 'Sommaire de Chroniques d'Egnasius,' in 1541, 1543, 1544, for the bookseller Charles L'Angelier, and 'Champ fleury,' in 1549, for the bookseller Gualtherot. I say that she had these books reprinted, but I ought rather to say, perhaps, that she allowed them to be reprinted, for there is nothing to suggest her coöperation in the work. Literary property did not then exist.

In the new edition of 'Champ fleury,' which by the

way no longer bears that graceful title, the Pot Cassé does not even appear, although the explanation of the mark is allowed to remain. It was doubtless a bookseller's speculation.[164] However that may be, this reprint forms an octavo volume of 160 leaves (the folio has 80), in addition to the preliminary matter, of which there are 16 leaves (8 in the folio); it is entitled: 'L'Art et Science de la vraye proportion des Lettres Attiques, ou Antiques, autrement dictes Romaines, selon le corps et visaige humain, avec l'instruction et maniere de faire chiffres et lettres pour bagues d'or, pour tapisserie, vitres et painctures. Item de treize diverses sortes et façons de lettres; d'avantage la maniere d'ordonner la langue françoise par certaine regle de parler elegamment en bon et plus sain langage françois que par cy-devant, avec figures à ce convenantes, et autres choses dignes de memoire, comme on pourra veoir par la table, le tout inventé par maistre Geoffroy Tory de Bourges.'

I have copied this long title at full length only to give myself an opportunity to call attention to the progress that had been made by French typography since the day when Geofroy Tory published his first edition, and, indeed, as a result of that same publication. We find here the accents, the apostrophe and the cedilla, upon the absence of which the author had commented in 1529. So that we may say that the whole grammatical portion of his book had become useless as a direct result of the first edition of that book. This is a fact to which the editors of the second edition paid no heed, as they allowed Tory's observations to stand as they were written, while introducing into their text the novel signs I have just mentioned. For instance, they repeat that *c* has two sounds, one hard, as in 'coquin,' etc., the other soft,

as in 'françois,' etc. But by adding the cedilla in the last word they destroy the sense of the criticism made by Tory in 1529.[165]

It does not appear by whom the book was printed; we learn only on the last leaf that it was finished August 26, 1549, 'pour Vivant Gualtherot, libraire juré en l'Université de Paris, en la rue Saint-Jacques, à l'enseigne de Saint Martin.'

In order to adjust Tory's woodcuts to the smaller format, they were somewhat mutilated; indeed some of them were omitted altogether, among the number those representing the Pot Cassé, which probably remained in the possession of Olivier Mallard or his successors, and which it was not deemed essential to have engraved anew for this reprint, for it was executed as cheaply as possible, and as if for the purpose of utilizing such woodcuts as remained at the disposal of Tory's widow.[166] The work was subjected to some further modifications in this edition. For instance, all dates were suppressed in the preliminary matter, which also was arranged in a different order. Even the license granted by François I was omitted as having become useless; but no change was made in the actual arrangement of the work, nor was there a single addition or emendation.

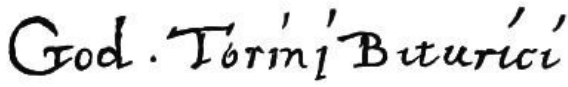
Thus Tory, at his death, was able to flatter himself that he had contributed materially to the improvement of his mother tongue, which he loved so well. He died, as I have said, in 1533, and not in 1550, as is erroneously stated in a poetical epitaph composed nearly a century after our printer's death, by his compatriot, Nicolas Catherinot, at the request and from the notes of Jean Toubeau, himself a printer of Bourges, and a descendant of Tory, through his mother.

Here is the epitaph, as given by La Caille:[167]—

To Geofroy Tory,
Born at Bourges,
Educated at Paris,
Accomplished Scholar in both Latin
and Greek,
Most devoted Lover of
Letters,
Very expert Printer
And
Learned Author,
Inasmuch as he wrote elegant Distichs on the
Parts of the House,
Composed some humorous Epitaphs in
Latin in very ancient Style,
Translated Treatises of Xenophon,
Lucian, and Plutarch
From Greek into
French,
Taught Philosophy at Paris in the
College of Burgundy,
Was the first Man to discuss seriously
the Art of Printing,
Described the Forms of the Letters, or
Characters, of the Alphabet,
Taught Garamond, Chief of
Engravers,
Always performed the Duties of a good
Man until he died
In the Year MDL:[168]
At the Instance
Of Jean Toubeau,
Likewise Printer and
Author,
Mayor,
Alderman of Bourges,

Ambassador on very delicate
State-matters
To the King and Council,
Great-great-grandson of the
same Tory,
Heir of a famous Printing
Establishment,
Nicolas Catherinot, noble Citizen of
Bourges,
Counsellor of the King, and Senator, in the
Metropolis of Bourges,
From his tender Years uninterruptedly to
the present Day
Most closely associated with the
Business of Printing,
Wrote this Epitaph, hastily and rapidly, at
the End of November,
MDCLXXXIV.[169]

The only relic that we have of Tory to-day, outside of his books and works of art, is a volume from his library, as his signature in the genitive case indicates. It is a manuscript on vellum, containing the orations of Cicero against Verres, in Latin. This volume was acquired, presumably after Tory's death, by his patron Jean Grolier, who wrote his motto at the end of the text: 'Joannis Grolierii Lugdunensis et amicorum.' From the library of this illustrious bibliophile, the manuscript passed to Colbert's library, then to the king's. It is preserved to-day [1857] in the Bibliothèque Nationale. We give below a facsimile of Tory's signature, which appears on the first flyleaf:—



God. Torini Biturici

Tory made use of ten marks, besides the Pot Cassé that appears on his bindings. We reproduce them all, although only two (nos. 5 and 10) are signed.[170] Some of them were used by other booksellers after him, as we have already seen.





No. 1

This mark is to be found in the borders of the Hours (quarto) of 1527. (See page 37, supra.)

No. 2

This form of the Pot Cassé appears in the borders of

the Hours (quarto) of 1524-1525, alike in the copies which bear the imprint of Tory and in those printed by Simon de Colines. (See page 37, supra; also Part 2, § 2, no. 1, infra.)

3



4



No. 3

This variation will be found on the first page of those

copies of the Hours (quarto) of 1524-1525 which bear the imprint of Tory. (See Part 2, § 2, no. 1 (2d and 3d), infra.)

No. 4

This appears on the title-page of 'Champ fleury.' (Silvestre, 'Marques Typographiques,' no. 931.)

5



6



No. 5

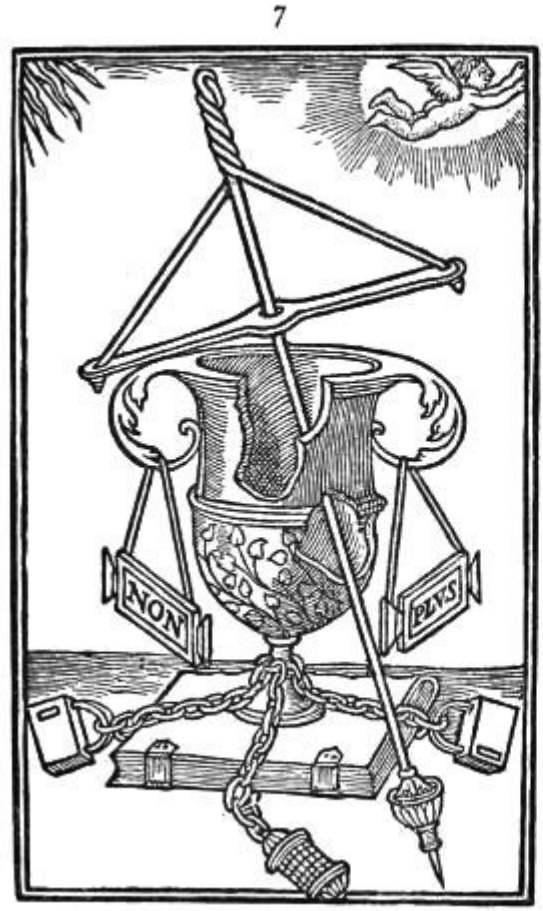
This appears on folio 43 verso, of 'Champ fleury.' (Silvestre, no. 803.)

No. 6

This mark, which differs from no. 5 only in the absence of the cross of Lorraine, appears on the last page of 'Champ fleury.' I am unable to suggest any reason for the removal of the cross. (Silvestre, no. 171.)

No. 7

This mark is found only at the end of the little poem written by Tory on the death of his daughter, which was published February 15, 1524, new style. We have already referred to this poem on page 15; but it is reproduced at length in Part 2, § I, no. 9.



No. 8

This mark, which differs from the preceding only in the omission of the little figure in the clouds, appears on the last page of the Hours of 1524-1525 (those copies with Tory's imprint) in Latin. (Silvestre, no. 356.)[171]



No. 9

This mark appears on the title-page of the Hours (quarto) of 1527. It was used by Jean Mallard, bookseller at Rouen, 1542.[172] (Silvestre, no. 604.)



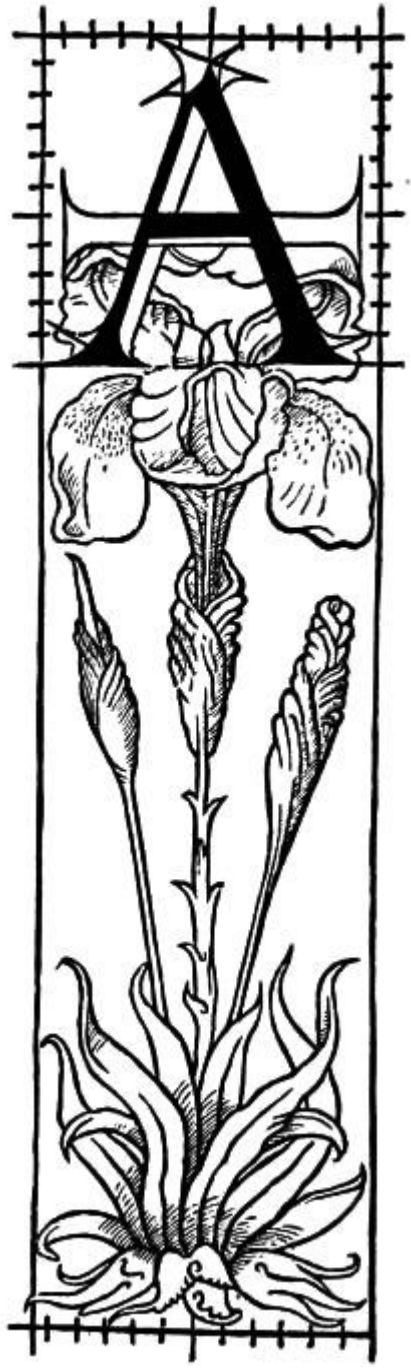
No. 10

I have never as yet seen this mark in any book of Tory's; but I have found it in books published by Richard Cotereau, bookseller at Chartres, in 1557, and by Philippe Cotereau, bookseller at Blois, in 1603. (See p. 41, supra.) The presence of the

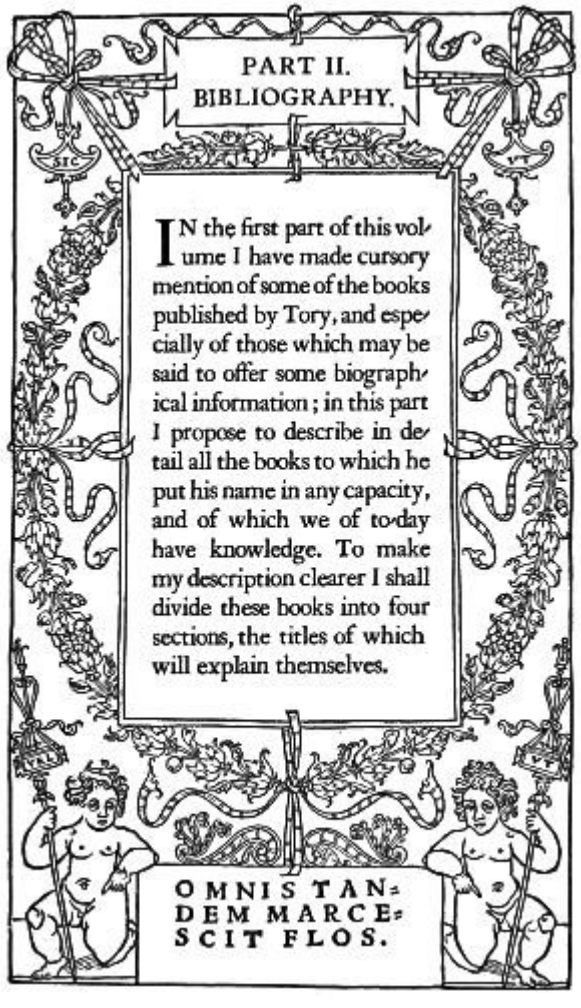
Lorraine cross is, it seems to me, a sufficient proof that it should be attributed to Tory. (Silvestre, no. 929.)

We have already observed that Tory was not only a bookseller and printer, but a binder as well. To complete the list of our artist's professional acquirements an example of the toolings that he used to decorate the covers of some of the volumes bound by him, is reproduced [on the cover of the present volume.[173] The reproduction is from the cover of a copy of the works of Petrarch, printed at Venice in 1525, and now preserved in the Library of the British Museum.] The Pot Cassé, in its simplest form, appears among the arabesques of this binding. Tory had also had engraved a larger plate of the same, for use on the binding of quartos, or, rather, of folios. The design is almost identical. Sometimes the Pot Cassé is accompanied by the drill. This design appears on a copy of Macault's translation of Diodorus Siculus, printed as late as 1536, 'au Pot Cassé.' This beautiful volume, in M. Didot's magnificent library, is sufficient proof that Tory's widow continued his various industries for a considerable time.

It is hardly necessary to say that the same tools could, with some slight additions, be used in binding volumes of all sizes, from the octavo up.






PART II.
BIBLIOGRAPHY.
IN the first part of this volume I have made cursory mention of some of the books published by Tory, and especially of those which may be said to offer some biographical information; in this part I propose to describe in detail all the books to which he put his name in any capacity, and of which we of to-day have knowledge. To make my description clearer I shall divide these books into four sections, the titles of which will explain themselves.
OMNIS TANDEM MARCESCIT FLOS.

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OMNIS TANDEM
MARCESCIT
FLOS.



SECTION I.

WORKS WRITTEN OR ANNOTATED BY TORY.

1

POMPONIUS MELA, DE TOTIUS ORBIS DESCRIPTIONE. AUTHOR LUCULENTISSIMUS, NUNQUAM ANTEA CITRA MONTES IMPRESSUS.[174] (Mark of Jehan Petit.) [175]

QUARTO, of 45 numbered leaves, plus 11 leaves of index; in all, 56 leaves, or 14 sheets, arranged in 9 signatures of two sheets and one, alternately. Signatures *a*, *c*, *e*, *g*, and *i* have two sheets [16 pages] each; signatures *b*, *d*, *f*, *h*, one sheet [8 pages] each.

The whole book is printed in roman type, except the first line of the title-page, which is gothic, and a few Greek words here and there.

As we have seen, this book was for sale by Jean Petit, but it was printed by Gilles de Gourmont, solely because of the Greek words just mentioned. So Tory himself tells us in a note at the end of the text, folio 45: 'Curavi siquidem accuratissimo impressori dare, qui etiam primus apud Parisios græcis caracteribus lotissimas addidit manus.'[176]

On the verso of the first leaf is a letter of the publisher, Geofroy Tory, to his friend Babou, thus conceived:—



Geofroy Tory of Bourges to Philibert Babou, citizen of Bourges, very deserving treasurer and valet-de-chambre of the most serene king of the French, humblest greeting.

On looking recently into Pomponius Mela, most illustrious Philibert, Mela who is the most trustworthy of the writers on geography, I found him so corrupt and so badly mutilated that

> —Lo, before my eyes, in saddest plight,
> The author seemed to stand and burst in tears.[177] Virg. *Æn.* ii.

Lo, I say,

> All black with dust and blood,—ah, sad, sad sight,—
> By two-horse chariot dragged, his swollen feet
> Torn through with thongs ...
> How from the bottom of his heart he groaned. *Id. Ibid.*

In such words as these did he seem to complain: Am I, then, who described so elegantly all those many lands, those many peoples, those islands, rivers, straits, seas, and whirlpools, I who ventured so confidently upon the description of the whole world, am I to remain thus maimed, thus mutilated, thus disfigured?

—Ah me, how hacked am I,
How like that Hector who erstwhile brought back
... his squalid ... locks
All stiff with blood, and many a wound he got
About his country's walls. *Id. Ibid.*

Unless some helping hand be stretched forth, I shall soon surely die.

In time Machaon healed the loathsome limbs of Philoctetes,
And Phillyreian Chiron gave to blinded Phœnix sight;
The god of Epidaurus, at a father's fond entreaties,
By Cretan herbs Androgeos brought again to realms of light.[1]

But verily I believe that

He who'll cure this pain of mine is certain of succeeding
In giving Tantalus the fruit that cheats his eager palm.
Yea, he the piercèd pails may fill, and heavy burden lighten,
The slender Danaïds endure, with ceaseless

toil opprest;
From the bleak cliff of Caucasus unchain the fettered Titan,
And scare away the bird of prey that tears his mangled breast.[178]

I naturally said to myself on the spot: If I were Machaon, or Chyron, or Æsculapius, I should be glad to remedy this matter. But what if I were to make such slight effort as I can? Might I not be able to be of service? Perhaps; at least, I should have tried, and I should have had this object in view: to make him somewhat more free from faults.

And if my powers of song should fail—to dare were surely fame:
Enough that I have had the will; no higher praise I claim.

Proper. ii, *ad Musam* (*ad Augustum?*).

> I have accordingly added a very few annotations; provided with which, under the protection of your name (for you are a devoted admirer of letters and lettered men), under, as the saying is, favourable auspices, let Pomponius Mela now go forth in greater security than before. Farewell.
>
> Paris, vj no. Decemb. MCCCCCVII.[179]

At the end of the text, on folio xlv, we find the following:[180]—

Here, then, you have, most illustrious Philibert, Pomponius Mela, purged of the many errors in which

he abounded. I took the trouble to put him in the hands of a very careful printer, one who was, besides, the first Parisian to give to the Greek characters a form of superior elegance. I have been pleased to revise the text with special care and to add a very few annotations, so that, when it should come into your hands, and later on into the hands of the public, it might come in a more polished and finished form. You, now, with Mela in hand, may, like Phiclus, who, as the story goes, ran over the tops of the grain-fields without breaking the ears, traverse and re-traverse, not only in security, but confidently and resolutely, the whole world. If you wish to lay hold of tigers, swiftest of animals, and to see from a safe vantage the catoblepas, if you wish to meet dragons and wild beasts, Satyrs, Pans, and Silvani, if you wish to see the Indians, 'the Britons, separated by a world between,' the Sauromatae, the Africans, and all the peoples that lie between these, and learn of their wonderful habits, then take but this world, I mean Pomponius, many times in hand, and without doubt you will there be able to see and to know them all as in no other way. Farewell and forget not yours ever faithfully.

Paris, 24 December.

CIVIS.

To Pomponius Mela.

Mela, the many errors in which you abounded have been cast forth; few are the faults that remain with you. Better far and more perfect in form do you stand forth now than formerly you did. This is the accomplishment of my small hand.

To Philibert Babou.

That my life for many years has been due to you, these two short verses, Philibert, now testify. Whatever 'alpha' belonged to me in my tender years, that your happy 'omega' wished to bear.

Ω

CIVIS.

At the end of the index, on the verso of the penultimate sheet, is a list of errata beginning thus: —

[181]'Since nothing is more difficult than to be wholly free from error, it seems quite proper that I should, with the kind consent of the reader, consider a very few of the very few mistakes of this book: thus, for example, where "potuit" is found in the epistle, "possit" should be written.'

This list also is signed 'civis.' Beneath it is a short poem entitled: 'Carolus Rousseus ad lectorem tetrastichon.' And on the recto of the last leaf: 'In the year of the incarnation and of our salvation, 1507, the tenth day of January,[182] this work was printed by Gilles de Gourmont, and was very carefully revised by Tory of Bourges, at Paris.' (Mark of Gilles de Gourmont.)

2

COSMOGRAPHIA PII PAPÆ IN ASIÆ ET EUROPÆ ELEGANTI DESCRIPTIONE, etc. Paris, Henri Estienne [1509].

Quarto, of 152 leaves of text, preceded by 12 unnumbered leaves and a folio cut representing the ancient world. On the second preliminary leaf is Tory's dedicatory epistle to Germain de Gannay, thus conceived:

> *To the reverend Father and Lord in Christ, Germain de Gannay, bishop-elect of Cahors, Geofroy Tory of Bourges proffers most humble greeting.* [183]
>
> I here present, most excellent prelate, in more accurate and emended form than that in which he has hitherto been read, Pope Pius, an author who, in his Description of Asia and Europe, is much to be admired both for the dignity and for the singular worth of his work. In looking for some one to whom he, in behalf of his book, freshly issuing from the printing-office, might straightway most devotedly offer his respects, some one select, devoted to letters, and possessed of the highest virtue, I could think of no one more to be desired, more worthy than you. That the Supreme Pontiff himself should go to visit you, a most venerable bishop, seemed to me a thing not without humour. That he, I say, who was a meritorious writer of geography, and, as you will be able to see, of history well deserving to be read, should come and embrace you, lover

and cultivator of every form of polite literature, I thought a thing very appropriate. It was like setting the gem to the gold, or the 'encaustum,' that is picture drawn with fire, to the silver, it was like conferring the palm upon the victor; and that most certainly is nothing other than to join the good to the good, the glorious to the glorious, the deserving to the deserving. But along with these reasons there is still another reason why to you of all persons this most illustrious work should very properly be dedicated: it was at your instance and suggestion that I divided the work into chapters and gave to its parts a more convenient arrangement. That you first, and then that all other students and readers, may, as was your wish, find and remember the parts of the earth, which are many in number, and the things in them that are interesting to know about, more easily and conveniently, I have divided the book thus: the names of rivers, towns, places, rulers, and other important matters I have put in separate chapters and marked with marginal captions; these names are also all to be found, provided with numbers, in the index. This little work of mine, therefore, I dedicate to you, my lord, in deepest reverence and with sincere feeling. It

> is certainly far from being what I should offer to so reverend a father, but you, whose goodness and integrity, which are perfectly evident to me, all praise in the highest terms, will, if it so please you, take the book into your most pure hands and bestow upon it the favour which you are accustomed to bestow upon works of this kind. Farewell.
>
> Paris, at the College of Plessis, 2 Oct., A.D. 1509.

Next comes a 'table,' which fills eleven leaves, on the verso of the last of which we find the following note to the reader:—

> *Geofroy Tory of Bourges to the Reader.* [184]
>
> You will find the words 'eruęre, contendęre, misęre,' and many others of the same sort, written with an ę in the penult: this was done in order that the perfect indicative, which regularly has a long penult, might show its quantity (which you are to utter in reading), as distinguished from that of the present and past imperfect infinitive, which in the third conjugation always shortens its penult. It is with pleasure that I have imitated and adopted the very elegant and finished form of writing which is used in the 'Psalterium Quincuplex,'[185] recently published.

You will also, though rarely, find this ę used, after the fashion of certain authors, for *æ* in some words, and similarly at times in the genitive and dative singular, and in the nominative and vocative plural, of the first declension. I have furthermore written designedly 'mistum' with an *s* instead of an *x*,—for 'misceo' makes its perfect 'miscui,' whence by analogy 'mistum,'—'intellego,' 'toties,' 'quoties,' 'litus,' 'opidum,' 'litera,' 'tralatum,' 'aliquando,' and other similar forms, which are to be written according to ὀρθογραφία, that is to say, correct spelling. The word 'Turca' also, which many make in the second declension, I have written in the first. I follow herein with approval Michael Tarchaniota Marulus of Constantinople in his lines addressed to Charles, King of France. These are his words: 'Invincible king, scion of the race of Charles the Great, whom the holy prophecies of so many men, of so many gods, demand as the vindicator of fallen justice and loyalty; whom here the sad Ausonian land, there Greece with streaming locks, calls, and whate'er of Asia and wealthy Syria the cruel Turk profanes,' etc.

In writing the accusatives 'plureis,' 'parteis,' 'omneis,' 'monteis,' in '*eis*,' I

> have believed that I was writing good grammar and good Latin, following therein Priscian, book 7, the chapter on the accusative plural of the third declension. This form is valuable for distinguishing the accusative from the nominative, and has been used by a thousand authors, of which great number it is sufficient at present to cite as witnesses Sallust, Virgil, and Plautus. Sallust, who used the first word also, says in the Catilinarian War: 'Omneis homines qui sese,' etc. Virgil in the first Æneid: 'Hic fessas non vincula naveis Ulla tenent....' Plautus in the Aulularia: 'Quid est? quid ridetis novi omneis, scio fures hic esse complureis.' I have been pleased to make this explanation, good reader, so that you not only might know what pure speech is, but also, both in reading and in speaking, might have pleasantly at hand, like finger-posts, and might use, pure words. Farewell.
>
> CIVIS.

On folio 152, after the errata, we read: 'Impressa est hæc Asiæ et Europæ quam elegantissima historia per Henricum Stephanum, impressorem diligentissimum, Parrhisiis, e regione scholæ decretorum, sumptibus eiusdem Henrici et Ioannis Hongonti,[186] VI idus Octobris anno Domini M. D. IX.[187]

> DE PASSIONE DOMINICA CARMEN ELEGIACUM GUILIELMI DIVITIS, CIVIS GANDAVENSIS, ARTIFICIOSÆ PIETATIS PLENISSIMUM.—*Item.* NENIA LACTANTII FIRMIANI VERBIS SALVATORIS NOSTRI E CRUCE.—Mark of Josse Bade ('Prelum ascensianum').[188]

One octavo sheet, printed by Josse Bade, dated the 5th of the Ides of March, 1509; that is to say, March 11, 1510, new style.[189]

On the verso of the title-page is this letter from Herverus de Berna (of Saint-Amand-Montrond) to the young people of Bourges:—

> *Herverus de Berna of Amand to the youth of Bourges, greeting.*[190]
>
> You are acquainted with Dives, our teacher, famed for his wisdom, a foster-child of the Muses, who well deserves your gratitude. He it is who introduced you to the Muses, Helicon, Phœbus' grove, and Mercury, and from his school, as from the Trojan horse, have issued men of education without number. His heart is in the Muses' glorious service, and his memory, it seems to me, should be forever honoured and kept green. He is reported, as the saying is, to have toiled not only by the lamp of Aristophanes, but by that of Cleanthes as well.[191] You do not doubt that he is deserving of praise for the elegance of his song; whence it happens that there is a

religious poem of his written on the Passion of Our Lord,—a poem of such brilliancy, such sweetness, such ornateness, that one could believe it to be the work of the divine, rather than of a human, mind. I do not doubt that, as a result of this fact, the same thing will fall to his lot that usually falls to the lot of literary men: as Claudian says, 'His presence will diminish his fame.'[192] Not, however, without Theseus,[193] that is Tory of Bourges, my fellow-student, a man of the old, and, as Plautus says, of the Massilian, school,[194] one who combines sound learning with virtue, have I wished Dives to issue forth into the world; again, I hope, with favourable auspices, as the saying is. Farewell, with best wishes.

From my house at Amand, 1 March.

Then follows the elegy by Wilhelm de Ricke, which has 140 verses and occupies 4 leaves; on the verso of the last of the four is this dialogue in verse by Tory:—

Dialogue by Geofroy Tory of Bourges in praise of his teacher, Wilhelm de Ricke of Ghent.[195]

Speakers: MONITOR *and* LIBER.

M. Sacred book, who in song mourn Christ's Passion, now speak: whose holy work can you be?

L. Whose work? Behold! Rich's work am I.

M. Well done! That Rich who to the people of Bourges has given so many rich examples?

L. You judge rightly.

M. Rich truly has a wise heart.

L. No fitter name than this can be given him.

M. He it is who taught the people of Bourges to speak with flowery tongue and to make facile verses with the mouth.

L. He not only taught them to speak and to weave song, but he also gave them the power to see Christ's wounded body.

M. If one wished to see the arms of God fixed to the cross, could even Rich grant him that to the life?

L. Should you desire to carry the cross of God, his cruel wounds, the crown, hold me in hand, you will carry all.

M. May Rich's every prayer be ever happily granted, such good he grants to pious hearts.

L. May he live and continue on earth through Nestorian years, and after death gain the rich kingdom of Heaven.

CIVIS.

The little book comes to an end with the poem by Lactantius mentioned on the title-page. It fills the third and second last leaves, and the recto of the last, at the foot of which we read: 'Finis. Ex ædibus Ascensianis ad v idus martias MDIX.' This date corresponds with March 11, 1510, new style.

M. Jules de Saint-Genois, librarian of the University of Ghent, writes me as follows concerning his fellow-townsman, the author of the verses on the Passion:—

'The name of the person in whom you are interested was not le Riche, but de Rycke, in Flemish, which in the Latin rendering becomes Dives. This is what Sanderus says of him in "Flandria Illustrata," 1, 386 (edition Hagæ-Comitis, 1735): "Gulielmus Dives, vulgo de Rycke, Gandavensis poeta: ejus exstat 'Carmen elegiacum de Passione Dominica,' artificiosæ pietatis plenissimum, quod inter illustrium poetarum opera impressit Judocus Badius Ascensius Parisiis."

'Valère André, too, devotes a few lines to him in his "Bibliotheca Belgica" (Lovanii, 1623, p. 344): "Elegiam de Passione Dominica edidit Antverpiæ cum Dominici Mancini, Phil. Beroaldi et aliorum similis argumenti libellis, 1527, Mich. Hellenii typis."

'P. Hofmann Peerlkamp says in his "Liber de vita, doctrina et facultate Nederlandorum qui carmina latina composuerunt" (2d edition, Harlem, 1838, p. 29): "Gulielmus Dives Gandensis floruit 1520. Scripsit 'Carmen elegiacum de Passione Dominica,' artificiosæ pietatis plenissimum.... Hæc sæpius prodiit, addita etiam *uatuor virtutibus* Dominici Mancini, Antverpiæ, a. 1562. Si vocabulum his illic excipias minus latinum, Carmen est melioris notæ quam multa ejusdem temporis de hoc argumento."

'As for the edition which you mention, said to have

been printed "in ædibus Ascensianis," in 1509, the library does not own it; but Gulielmus Dives' little poem is printed in "Dominici Mancini Poemata," Antverpiæ, 1559, 12mo.'

This is all that I have been able to learn concerning Guillaume le Riche or de Rycke; we do not know how this burgess of Ghent became a professor at Bourges. And yet the fact itself is not extraordinary, for, not long after, about 1530, another Belgian, named Hanneton, gave instruction in feudal law there.

Tory published also at the end of his edition of Valerius Probus [see number 5, infra], the following Latin distich,—an enigma,—written by his master:—

Dic age, quæ volucres gignunt animalia foetæe
Et præbent natis ubera plena suis?[196]

As for Herverus de Berna, Tory's fellow-pupil, I know even less of him. All that I have been able to learn is that he published in 1543 a short poem in praise of the dukes of Nevers, lords of Orval near Saint-Amand, where Herverus was born, and of which he was then curé, if I read aright his bombastic Latin. This is the title of the book, which was for sale at the shop of Vivant Gualtherot: 'Panegyricon illustrissimorum principum comitum Druydarum et Aurivallensium et Nivernensium, Hervero a Berna, curione Amandino Allifero, auctore. Parisiis, 1543.' (I fancy that the words 'curione Amandino Allifero' mean: curé of Saint-Amand-l'Allier, now Saint-Amand-Montrond.)

The work is dedicated to a friend of the author, and perhaps of Tory as well, named Nicolas Rocheus (La

Roche?), described as 'Apollineæ artis doctor eximius' in the dedicatory epistle, which is dated: 'Tumultuarie, ex ædibus nostris Amandinis, kalendis ianuarii, 1542.'

4

BEROSUS BABILONENSIS, DE HIS QUÆ PRÆCESSERUNT INUNDATIONEM TERRARUM; ITEM MYRSILUS, DE ORIGINE TURRENORUM, etc.

Quarto, Paris, 1510; with the small mark of the Marnefs (the Pelican),[197] with the letters E. I. G.

This work, which was printed by J. Marchand, at the expense of Geofroy de Marnef, bookseller and publisher, was prepared for the press by Geofroy Tory, who placed at the beginning the following letter:—

To the most distinguished Philibert Babou, Geofroy Tory of Bourges, heartiest greeting.[198]

Last year, when I was attending to the printing of Pope Pius's Cosmography, the idea occurred to me of thoroughly revising and handing to the printer at an early date the Babylonian Berosus's work on the 'Antiquities of the Kingdoms'; but, my mind at that time taking another turn, I determined to postpone this work, for the reason that I had a project of almost divine character on hand; and indeed I should have postponed it for a long

time,—as the saying is, to the Greek Calends,—had not Berosus himself, so to speak, and, what is and always will be of no little importance to me, a number of my friends, daily whispering in my ear, as it were, their prayers, demanded of me most earnestly that I should print, along with Berosus, Myrsilus 'De origine Turrenorum,' Cato's fragments, Archilochus, Metasthenes, Philo, Xenophon 'De æquivocis,' Sempronius, Fabius Pictor, and Antoninus Pius's fragments of the 'Itinerarium.' There is a very avaricious class of human beings, which, if it has a book—a book that is hard to find—consisting of three or four short lines, straightway,—like the ants of India, or the griffins, which are fabled to carry gold to a remote spot and there keep watch over it, threatening with dire destruction any one who attempts to touch it,—carries it off and guards it, and loading it with chains and fetters, keeps it imprisoned like a miserable captive. Such people ought to display their officious greed —the greed of possessing something unique all to one's self—in company with the ants and griffins, which other people avoid, rather than to continue their incivility, or perhaps I should rather say immunity, among human beings. We are born not

> alone for ourselves: we owe something also to our friends, something to our country. Therefore, that it may not seem to be my desire to extinguish the brilliant light of a burning lamp, I the more willingly, under your name, Philibert, most illustrious citizen of Bourges, send forth Berosus's 'Antiquities,' together with the other authors mentioned above, for the common study of all, and I believe that I shall therein be doing an act that will gain the gratitude, in some small measure, of my country. Farewell.
>
> Paris, at the College of Plessis, 2 May, 1510.
>
> CIVIS.

Tory's letter is dated May 2, 1510; but the printing of the book was not finished until the ninth of that month, as we see by the subscription of the first edition; for there were at least three distinct editions in Tory's name, to say nothing of a multitude of others issued by different publishers. Annius of Viterbo, otherwise known as Jean Nanni, had recently brought into fashion the fables of Berosus, which he attempted to palm off as an ancient work; and scholars were still at odds as to the authenticity of the book, the sale of which their discussions aided to maintain. Tory seems to have taken sides with Annius of Viterbo, as he himself prepared an edition of the supposititious Berosus, the preface of which we have just quoted. We have said that there were three editions in his name. They may be described thus:—

First Edition

Quarto; 28 leaves numbered in Arabic figures, and 4 preliminary leaves.

Folio 1 recto, title: 'Berosus Babilonicus, de his quæ præcesserunt inundationem terrarum; item Myrsilus, de origine Turrenorum; Cato, in fragmentis; Archilocus, in epitheto de temporibus; Metasthenes, de judicio temporum; Philo, in breviario temporum; Xenophon, de equivocis temporum; Sempronius, de divisione Italiæ; Q. Fab. Pictor, de aureo seculo et origine urbis Romæ; fragmentum itinerarii Antonini Pii; altercatio Adriani Augusti et Epictici.' Then comes the mark of the Marnefs, with the letters E. I. G., and the words 'Le Pelican' in a scroll at the left. (No. 15 of M. Silvestre's 'Marques Typographiques.')

On the verso of this leaf is Tory's letter, quoted above. Four unnumbered intercalated leaves follow, containing the table of contents and a list of errata.

Folio 2, recto: 'Berosus, de his quæ præsceserunt inundationem terrarum.'

The articles mentioned on the title-page follow, up to folio 28, where we find these words:—

'Impressum est hoc opus Parrhisiis, in Bellovisu, per Joannem Marchant, impensis Godofredi de Marnef, anno Domini 1510, septimo idus maias.[199]—CIVIS.'

Second Edition

Quarto; 4 unnumbered preliminary leaves, and 30 leaves of text numbered in roman figures; in all, 34 printed leaves.

On the first of the unnumbered leaves is the title, 'Berosus Babilonicus,' etc. (as in the first edition), but with the following additional words: 'Vertumniana

Propertii. Manethon.' Same mark as in the first edition, but smaller.[200]

On the second leaf, Tory's letter. On the verso of this leaf the index begins, and fills the two leaves following.

Folio i. 'Berosus,' etc. The text corresponds with that of the first edition[201] to folio xxvii, where the additions begin.

Fol. xxvii, recto. End of the 'Altercatio.'
verso. 'Vertumniana Propertii.'
xxviii, verso. 'Manethonis, prima pars.'

Fol. xxx (not numbered), several pieces of verse [not mentioned on the title-page], perhaps by Tory, but not signed:—

1. 'Ad reverendissimum ac religiosissimum Arturum Calphurnium, Sancti Georgii de Nemore antistitem.'

2. 'Ad eruditissimum Nicolaum Corbinum, Vindocinensis plage judicem.'

3. 'Ad bonarum literarum vere amatorem amicum sibi fidelem Philippum Morinensem.'

This edition, which seems never to have been described by any bibliophile, is in the Bibliothèque Mazarine, and at Sainte-Geneviève. It was undoubtedly published in 1511, but it bears no indication of its date.

Third Edition

Quarto; 6 preliminary leaves, unnumbered, and 51 leaves numbered in roman figures, divided into ten signatures (A to K), containing alternately one and a half and two leaves. In all, 57 printed leaves, and one blank.

On the first unnumbered leaf is the title: 'Berosus,' etc. (as in the first edition), but with the following addition: 'Cornelii Taciti de origine et situ Germanorum opusculum. C. C. de situ et moribus Germanorum.—Anno Domini 1511.' Then follows a shocking imitation of the mark of the Marnefs in the first edition. The gothic initials E and G are changed to C and O, and the I, which in the other editions stands between the E and the G, is omitted. The words 'Le Pelican,' in a scroll at the left, are reduced to the three letters L, P, and A, the foreign artist having been either unable or unwilling to read what was printed on the copy put before him, which, it is true, may have been imperfect. The first decorated letter, also, has been copied, in order to deceive the reader, who, if we may judge from appearances, was assumed to be seeking the edition prepared by Tory.

On the second leaf is the letter of the editor, from which the word 'civis,' Tory's device, has been omitted, the foreign printer apparently not knowing its meaning. The four leaves following are taken up with the table of contents.

Folio i of the text: 'Berosus,' etc. The text which follows corresponds with that of the first edition down to folio xxxii (erroneously numbered xxxiii), which ends with the word 'finis.'

On folio xxxiii recto, the work of Tacitus mentioned above ['Germania'] begins. Next, on folio xliii verso, a work in verse by Conrad Celtès, the title of which is given above, and on folio xlviii, another work, in prose, by the same author, with this title: 'Ex libro C. C. de situ et moribus Norimberge, de Herciniæ silvæ magnitudine, et de eius in Europa definitione et populis incolis.'

There is nothing to indicate where the book was printed; but everything leads me to believe that it is a German counterfeit. My opinion is based upon, first, the stupid imitation of the printer's mark of the first edition; second, the omission of Tory's device at the end of the letter; third, the additions, all of which relate to Germany; fourth, the fact that two of the three known copies of this edition were recently to be found in the same country. One belonged to Panzer, who has described it in his 'Annales Typographiques'[202]; I do not know what has become of it; a second copy was formerly in the library of M. Bunau,[203] whence it passed to the Dresden Library; the third is in Paris, in the Bibliothèque Nationale, which also possesses a copy of the first edition. It was by comparing the two editions that I discovered the fraud committed by the printer of the edition of 1511 with respect to the typographical mark. The description of this mark given by Panzer, with that courteously sent me from Dresden by the learned bibliographer Herr Graesse, before I was aware of the existence of the copy of the third edition in the Bibliothèque Nationale, had utterly baffled such bibliographical knowledge as I possess. I sought a meaning for the letters inscribed on the mark in the third edition; of course I could not find any. M. Brunet has since produced a facsimile of this mark, in the fifth edition of his 'Manuel.'[204]

5

VALERII PROBI GRAMMATICI DE INTERPRETANDIS ROMANORUM LITERIS OPUSCULUM, CUM ALIIS QUIBUSDAM SCITU DIGNISSIMIS, FŒLICITER INCIPIT.—Mark:

Marnef's E. I. G. (Silvestre, no. 974.)

Octavo; 6 printed sheets (signatures A to I). Paris, E. I. G. de Marnef [1510]. This book was probably printed by Gilles de Gourmont, for we find in it his unaccented Greek type. It contains two engravings on wood,—the mark on the title-page, and a Roman portico farther on. There are also some small cuts engraved on metal in one of the pieces; but none of them have any artistic merit, and they cannot be attributed to Tory.

On the verso of the title is the following letter, addressed by Tory to two of his old college friends, who were at this time personages of note: the first, Philibert Babou, was secretary and silversmith to the king; the second, Jean Lallemand, was Mayor of Bourges.

> *Geofroy Tory of Bourges to the most illustrious Philibert Babou and Jean Lallemand, the younger, citizens of Bourges, united in mutual friendship, greeting.*[205]
>
> I owe to you, most estimable of men, the fruit of whatever toil I may undertake—even purposely for your sakes—by night or day. Behold! Since you in no slight degree practise and admire the old school of morals, the school, that is, of respectability and true worth, I now, under the protection of your names, ever to be cherished by me, commit to print Probus Valerius, a most diligent collector and accurate

> interpreter of the old writings and abbreviations which appear, elegantly drawn, on the ancient coins, tombs, and tablets; glad am I to be of even such small service to my country, and hopeful that the slight revision to which I have subjected the work will prove to have been as happily, as it has been carefully, done. Permit, I beg, an author of exceeding merit to come first of all into your hands, which are most fitted for every excellence, and then to go forth brightly and cheerfully into the hands of all other students. Farewell.
>
> Paris, at the College of Plessis, 10 May, 1510.
>
> CIVIS.

And at the end of the book is this other letter, which gives us to know that the volume is a collection of fragments of ancient authors.

> *Geofroy Tory of Bourges to the Reader, greeting.*[206]
>
> When I began, I believe under favourable auspices, to print Valerius Probus, it occurred to me, not wishing a book of one or two codices to be unsuitable as a manual, to print, along with Probus, several articles well worth making the acquaintance of. I have added to Probus, Priscian's treatise 'De

> ponderibus et mensuris'; likewise Columella's 'Quemadmodum datæ formæ agrorum metiri debeant'; also Georgius Valla's 'Figuras quæ sub dimensionem cadant'; and, further, some dialogues, together with some enigmas, carefully collected, as occasion allowed, from various authors. The enigmas I have designedly left unexplained, so that, when you come to read them (as Gellius says in book xii, ch. 6), you may sharpen your wits by trying to puzzle them out.[207] Give your attention to them, I beg, good reader, so that I may not, as Plautus enigmatically observes in the 'Miles,' throw dust in your eyes. Farewell.

In addition to the pieces which Tory here mentions, there are many others in this volume of miscellanies.[208] It contains also several pieces of verse by Tory himself. Here is one which will give an idea of his literary tastes:—

> *Dialogue by Geofroy Tory, in which the City of Bourges is described in the rôle of a speaking character.*[209]
>
> *Speakers*: MONITOR *and* CITY.
>
> MON. City, what is your name?
>
> CITY. Bourges.
>
> MON. Now, tell me, what mean those proud buildings that I see?
>
> CITY. Temples, houses, towers, divine

palaces you see.

MON. Ah! they overtop the heavens with their piles. What temple is that, I pray?

CITY. The Cathedral of St. Etienne, first of martyrs; it overtops even the lofty marbles of the goddess Trivia.

MON. What is that single house which stands distinguished for its red hearts? Was it built by the hand of Memnon?

CITY. This was built in an earlier time by the mortal Jacques Cœur [Heart], [210] a man of wealth; him envy took from us.

MON. Say! what tower is that that is seen standing higher than the lighthouse of Pharos? I am filled with wonder when I see it fully.

CITY. When the mighty Ambigatus ruled the Celtic peoples, in an earlier time, this great tower was built.

MON. Say, oh, say, that golden palace, is it the Capitol? Answer; why do you not speak, Bourges? You who just now talked with easy speech say nothing. Do you wish to become to me what Harpocrates was of yore?

CITY. No, but, see you, this palace is to be approved for its great art, because the world has not yet produced another like it.

MON. What is this earth that yawns with such an opening?

CITY. It is the place where a tower was to be erected for me.

MON. Have you not another as great as that?

CITY. I have. From two towers I get my name Bourges [Biturix].

MON. By what name is it called in this time of ours?

CITY. The people name and call it 'the fosse of sands.'

MON. What river, what river have you to mention?

CITY. The Auron.

MON. Is it the one Cæsar mentions in describing the Gallic Wars?

CITY. It is.

MON. Are there others?

CITY. There are two: they are the Voiselle and the Yèvre herself, swarming with numberless fishes.

MON. What privileges have you?

CITY. The all-valuable privilege have I, and the hall, that coin money.

MON. Is there nothing else?

CITY. Aquitaine calls me capital and receives her laws from me.

MON. What divinities are with you?

CITY. There are Juno, Jupiter, and Pan, Vesta, Diana, Ceres, Liber, and the Father himself.

6

QUINTILIANUS.

Such is the complete title of an edition of Quintilian's 'Institutes,' produced by Tory, in 1510, at the request of Jean Rousselet, of Lyon.[211]

This is a large octavo volume, printed in italic (without pagination), composed of 46 quarto sheets (signatures A to ZZv): there are several passages in Greek type of excellent appearance, but without accents. Undertaken at the request of Jean Rousselet, and printed at his expense, this book probably was not put on the market. In fact it bears no bookseller's nor any printer's name. We should not even know where it was printed, were it not for the fact that the dedication, dated the third of the Calends of March, [212] states that the manuscript was sent by Tory from Paris to Lyon. At the end of the volume we find these words only: 'Impressum fuit hoc opus anno Domini M. CCCCCX, septimo calend. Julii.' This date corresponds to June 25, 1510.

7

LEONIS BAPTISTÆ ALBERTI FLORENTINI ... LIBRI DE RE ÆDIFICATORIA DECEM. (Mark of B. Rembolt.) Venundantur Parrhisiis, in Sole Aureo vici Sancti Jacobi, et in intersignio Trium Coronarum, e regione Divi Benedicti.

Quarto; 14 preliminary leaves and 174 of text (signatures A to Y). On the last page is the mark of Louis Hornken, 'aux Trois Couronnes.' On the second preliminary leaf is printed the following dedication: —

Geofroy Tory of Bourges to Philibert Babou and Jean Lallemand, the younger, most illustrious men, heartiest greeting.[213]

Everybody knows, most estimable of men, that our forefathers, contented with their own goodness, practised in the olden times a kind of architecture that had in it little art and little elegance. Satisfied with mediocrity, they built and inhabited houses and dwellings of no great cost or splendour. Matters have finally reached the point that now, men's intelligence having somewhat awakened, new buildings are everywhere being erected which have considerable celebrity. In fact, beginning with the time when the magnanimous King Charles VIII, who was the terror of all Italy, returned, victorious and crowned with glory, from Naples, architecture, certainly a beautiful art, began, not only in its Doric and Ionic forms, but also in its Italian form, to be practised with great elegance throughout this country of France. At Amiens, at Gaillon, at Tours, at Blois, at Paris, and in a

hundred other well-known places, one may now see striking buildings, public and private, in the ancient style of architecture. One may now, I say, see many buildings of such beauty and so nicely carved that the French actually seem, and are generally considered, to surpass, not only the Italians, but also the Dorians and the Ionians, who were the teachers of the Italians. Notwithstanding the brilliancy of these performances and these artists, I have thought it best to offer gratefully, and carefully to add, a contribution of some worth. Leo Baptista Albertus, a writer on architecture who is trustworthy and familiar with his subject, was lying stored away in my house as if in his last sleep. It seemed to me that he thoroughly deserved to be printed in France just at this time, for the delight and benefit of other famous artists who are better than he. It seemed to me, I say, that he thoroughly deserved to be printed, and for this reason especially, that the ten books, of which the whole work consists, have been divided into chapters. These chapters were accurately and carefully arranged by Robertus Duræus Fortunatus,[214] a man of education and culture, who was the Head of his College of Plessis at Paris four years ago when I

> taught there, and they were generously given to me by him to be copied. I copied them, and I furthermore polished up the whole work and cleared it of all the errors possible; I wrote the gist of the text on the margin, and gave the work to the printer to be printed. Permit, I pray, most distinguished citizens of Bourges, that this excellent work come auspiciously into the hands of all good artists and students, and that it be handled and read under the protection of your names ever to be cherished by me. Farewell, you who are the support and the most distinguished glory of your country. [215]
>
> Paris, near the College Coqueret, 18 August, 1512.
>
> CIVIS.

At the end of the volume (penultimate page) we read:—

'This most elegant and useful work on architecture of Leo Baptista Albertus of Florence, a man of great distinction, was printed with great accuracy at Paris at the Golden Sun in the street of St. Jacques, at the expense of Master Berthold Rembolt and Louis Hornken, who live in the same street, at the sign of the Three Crowns, near St. Benedict, A.D. 1512, 23rd day of August.'

8

> ITINERARIVM PROVINCIARUM OMNIUM ANTONINI AUGUSTI, CUM FRAGMENTO EIUSDEM, NECNON INDICE HAUD QUAQUAM ASPERNANDO.—CUM PRIVILEGIO, NE QUIS TEMERE HOC AB HINC DUOS ANNOS IMPRIMAT.—Venale habetur ubi impressum est, in domo Henrici Stephani, e regione Scholæ decretorum, Parrhisiis.

Sixteenmo (printed as 16s.); 120 leaves (signatures A to T), plus 8 preliminary leaves. [1512.] Printed in black and red.

The volume begins with this dedicatory epistle:—

> *Geofroy Tory of Bourges to Philibert Babou, most modest of men, heartiest greeting.* [216]
>
> The 'Itinerarium,' most illustrious of men, which for many years had lain in almost entire neglect, I first received four years ago from a friend whom I must ever cherish, Christophe de Longueil, who is beyond question a scholar of the highest standing in all branches of polite learning. He gave it to me that I might make a copy of it. It had occurred to me to send to you from Paris to Tours a copy which, though written in my own hand, was not wholly without elegance of form. I had given it to a man to bring to you whose name I purposely spare, but he, regardless alike of both of us and of his trust, quite shamelessly made

a present of it to some one else. Thus cheated of the fruit of my labour, I was preparing to make for you another copy, when Longueil himself, who had formerly brought the original from Picardy, and, as I have said, had given it to me, having recently come to Paris from Poictiers, urged me to have the work printed. This I have done, having arranged the names of the towns separately and in order, and also added in the proper places some matter taken from another manuscript. I have also made an index, to facilitate the finding of the name of any town or place in the whole work. Some perhaps will wonder at the style of the work, and also occasionally in places at the Latinity. The style, however, will receive sufficient approval from the student, while the Latinity, in consideration of the early time in which the work was written, will be condoned by the well-disposed reader. I should have been disposed to make a number of emendations, using for the purpose Ptolemy, Strabo, Dionysius, Mela, Pliny, Solinus, and some others who are not at all to be despised, but out of regard for the venerable author and in the desire to keep the manuscript, which is very old, unchanged, I determined to make no alterations. I

> am waiting for my friend Longueil to subject it some day to his scrutinizing study, or for some Hermolaus to apply his exacting file. One thing there is here which I shall not hesitate to touch: the author's name in the manuscript was, in my judgement, wrong, for it is written 'Antonius Augustus.' Hermolaus, a man of culture withal, calls it in a number of places in his Corrections to Pliny, 'Antoninus.' Those who read will see for themselves. In the text I have followed the manuscript itself; in the title of the book I have followed Hermolaus. The fruit of my labour, such as it is, I dedicate, as in duty bound, to you personally, in a spirit abounding in gratitude. Accept it, I pray, with the favour with which you are accustomed to accept all good things, and allow the studious to pass, under your guidance, with this Itinerary in hand, through a thousand famous cities. Farewell, most cultured patron of my studies.
>
> Paris, near the College Coqueret, August 19, 1512.
>
> CIVIS.

Then comes a letter from the publisher to the reader: —

Tory to the Reader, greeting.[217]

In order, gentle reader, that you may be able to use this 'Itinerarium' to better advantage, you must be advised that whatever you find marked with a red virgule was larger in number in the old manuscript than in the other which is more recent. Words which had a different reading in the recent manuscript have small red letters printed above in the proper places. Whenever the sign (^) occurs between words, a word or number should be marked above or at the side by the same sign. The sign 'mpm.,' so written, also frequently occurs in the text, and signifies 'milia plus minus.' It was written thus so that the reader might not be wearied by the frequent repetition of the long form. In the index you will sometimes find the letter *b* alone, either following or between the page-numbers: this signifies that the word in question is found at least twice on the same page. Pay attention, therefore, and kindly see to it that in case you notice any who are displeased with my work, you may say to yourself with reference to them that Persian saying: 'that they may see virtue, and pine away leaving it behind.' I write this because at the time of printing there were some who, understanding nothing of this sort, condemned the matter according to

their usual practice. Farewell and live long in happiness.

CIVIS.

Next to this comes a summary of the life of Antoninus, and, lastly, some verses by the Burgundian Gérard de Vercel, in laudation of Tory and against poor printers. Here are the verses:—

Hendecasyllabic Poem of the Burgundian Gérard de Vercel, on poor printers.[218]

Therefore hence, away therefore, profane hands of the inauspicious throng of printers; your impure works be off; that by your forbidden coming and impious front you may not stain and soil this heavenly thing. Let no man fail to know: this volume is sacred.

Ah! vile and wretched printers, unskilled to put in print even the trifles of the schools or old women's tales, why do you spoil arts that are holy, and pollute with impure hand the laborious works of the nine[219] sisters?

What do you not put forth from your office that is worthy to be cast forth and buried where the refuse of the stomach is placed?

Therefore hence, away therefore, oh ye profane, ye vile and wretched

> printers. Be this word enough: sacred is this volume, which our Geofroy, our famous Geofroy, he, I say, of Bourges, taking pity on Pius, unearthed from its Lethæan rust and sleep, employing the guidance and assistance of his friend Longueil.[220]

The book is brought to a close by an 'avis au lecteur' thus conceived:

> *Tory to the Reader, happiness.*[221]
>
> These few corrections, excellent reader, I beg you not to wonder at. I have collected them, such as differ from the readings of the old manuscript, so that you may be able readily to emend the book for yourself. I should lay the burden of the errors on the printers, but the art of printing has this natural peculiarity, that the smallest book cannot be printed from beginning to end without some mistakes. Farewell.
>
> *Epigram to the Student by Tory.*
>
> If, reader, you are preparing to journey in a fixed course to a hundred towns, to a hundred cities, if you desire to travel, better instructed and on the direct road, to a hundred seaports with their bays, then ever gratefully and carefully hold this little book in your right hand ready to consult.[222]

9

GOTOFREDI TORINI BITURICI IN FILIAM CHARISSIMAM, VIRGUNCULARUM ELEGANTISSIMAM, EPITAPHIA ET DIALOGI. —IN EANDEM ETIAM QUATOUR ET VIGINTI DISTICHA UNUM ET EUNDEM SENSUM COPIA VERBORUM ET INGENII FŒCUNDITATE PULCHRE REPETENTIA.

These verses of Tory on the death of his daughter Agnes form a small volume of two quarto sheets (or eight leaves). The book is dedicated to Philibert Babou; it was printed February 15, 1523, old style (1524), a few days after Tory had conceived the idea of his 'Champ fleury' (January 6, 1524). The printer, who is not named, was Simon de Colines, then living near the School of Law ('e regione scholæ decretorum').

On the last page appears a mark engraved specially for this little book, for it includes a tiny winged figure ascending heavenward, which doubtless represents the soul of Tory's daughter returning to God. This mark reappears at the end of the Hours of 1524-1525, but minus the small figure just mentioned.[223]

As we learn from the text, Agnes, who died August 25, 1522, at the age of nine years eleven months and thirty days, was born August 26, 1512. So that Tory was married at least as early as 1511. We know from another document that his wife's name was Perrette le Hullin.

The only known copy of this little volume, the text of which I reproduce in extenso, belonged [in 1865] to M. Joachim Gomez de la Cortina, Marquis de Morante, who was so exceedingly kind as to send it

from Madrid to Paris, that I might examine it at my leisure. M. de la Cortina has described it in the fifth volume of the catalogue of his library (Madrid, 1859; octavo). My only previous knowledge of it was derived from that catalogue, although it was bought of M. Techener not more than ten years ago, for 80 reals (20 francs).

Tory to his Book.[224]

Go, book, to the sacred sanctuaries of pious poets; you are light, polished, radiant, and neat. Splendidly arrayed you are, and have nard, and roses, and saffron; the Latin goddesses, gracious divinities, together with Phœbus. Be not afraid lest you do not carry with you the favour of the gods; they will lift you, laurel-scented, above the stars.

Agnes Tory, sweetest and most modest of maidens, addresses the wayfarer from her tomb.

Thou who passest with light foot, beloved wayfarer, stay thy step a little; lo, I wish to say a few words to thee. Live in remembrance of death, free from vices, and, if thou art wise, cast aside that hope of life which thou cherishest. Thou art radiant with beauty to-day, but, when the thread is cut, impious Fate hurries thee straight on to nought. I know this by experience, for, lately but a young girl of ten, I was suddenly

snatched away. Like a rose I bloomed, sharer in those virtues which are usually seen in tender maidenhood. But yet I died, overwhelmed by the cruel fates, and now I am food for the flesh-eating worms. Food for the flesh-eating worms I lie, but not so wholly lifeless that I cannot speak the truth to thee. I speak in the Latin tongue, and this is not strange, fair friend, for I am to be named the daughter of a pious poet. Desiring to instruct me in the Ausonian tongue, and also to render me accomplished in the polite arts, he, like a most affectionate father, teaching me night and day, himself laid the foundations, sweet and ample, for my life. I should be accomplished in the learning of the famous Muses, and I should sing beautiful songs in pleasing measure; and then my sire would have given me fond kisses, placing the laurel-wreath upon my head. O pitiful lot of human beings! O hopes doomed to perish! On earth there is nothing that can be lasting. Not only does death show herself face to face to wretched mortals, but with silent step she steals upon them secretly and unbeknown. Ah! beware, therefore, beware, thou who art doomed to die, the world will certainly in a moment's time fall and crash about thee. Thou, while thou

still livest, while thou seekest great honours, art with infirm and rapid step steadily approaching thy doom. If thou departest satisfied with this one certain warning, and if thou believest that I speak the truth, bestrew me with flowers, violets and lilies, and nard. Pray for me too, if it please thee, and weep. Me thou wilt cause by thy prayers to mount to the lofty vault of Heaven, where is perpetual light, peace, and grateful rest. This was the little that I wished thee to know. Live in remembrance of death, thou who art destined soon to die. Farewell.

She died where she was born, at Paris, 25 August, A.D. 1522.

She lived nine years, eleven months, about thirty days; the hours are known to none; God alone knows the minutes.

FATHER *and* DAUGHTER, *Speakers*.

F. Food for the worms you lie, dearest daughter. Me you leave in perpetual tears and weeping.

D. Dear father, spare your weeping and tears. It is all over with me. Death carries away both young and old.

F. Nor can I refrain from terrible wailing. Alas! I should have more rightly died before you.

D. Such was not the will of the heavenly fates. At your death, believe me, you shall most certainly come to me.

F. In the meantime, with bended head, I will bring with full hands violets and lilies to your tomb.

D. Add your prayers; through prayers I shall fly to the high vault of Heaven. Pious prayers enable us to ascend to the lofty stars.

F. It is as you say; and do you too, my daughter, pray for your father; pray that he may rise with you to the glad Heavens.

D. To the glad Heavens you shall rise, free from bitter cares, and with all the trouble of your mind removed.

F. You speak the truth, and so I will do. The good God calls you to himself in Heaven? Dear daughter, farewell.

F. Alas! my sweet soul, you are dead.

D. Courage, father, no one is immortal.

Twelve distichs to be inscribed on the twelve different sides of an urn.

On the first side.

You wish flowers! violets! you wish lilies! garlands! cyperus! These this earthen urn will give you, take them

and be glad.

On the second.

In this urn the deceased maiden Agnes lies; in its centre breathes a delightful odour.

On the third.

Here is Merriment, here Love too, Sport, and Virtue; and here the Graces' selves, beings divine, with the Muses, sit and dwell.

On the fourth.

In this urn are marjoram and sweet-smelling cyperus; here are violets, lilies, garlands, roses.

On the fifth.

Not alone does the maiden Agnes here abide, but, with Phœbus, the Clarian goddesses themselves sit and dwell.

On the sixth.

Gold-leaf joined with gems, and green jewels, are kept with everlasting flowers in this urn.

On the seventh.

Do you wish and long to become acquainted with Agnes' urn? See, where the laurel grows upward to the lofty sky.

On the eighth.

Here lies in death Agnes of memory

dear; she could already sing tripping measures with tender voice.

On the ninth.

Here lies the maiden poet ten years of age, an honour to freeborn song and maidenhood.

On the tenth.

If you wish to know where Agnes' ashes really lie, they are here; hesitate not in your belief, but be assured.

On the eleventh.

Do you wish to hear Phœbus and the Muses' selves singing in sweet strains? Approach this urn, and you will straightway hear.

On the twelfth.

A rising poet, deceased in tender years, lies here with laurel-crowned maidenhood.

MONITOR *and* AGNES, *Speakers*.

MON. Answer me a few questions, I pray, maiden poet.

A. I will, provided you ask but few.

MON. I will ask but few.

A. Ask.

MON. What is your mind in death?

A. Of gold.

MON. What is your body?

A. Of dust.

MON. What is your spirit?

A. Of air.

MON. Enough; calm repose and peace be for ever yours.

A. And yours in life a full measure of sweet health.

Distichs hanging on written tablets from a laurel-tree near the tomb and urn of Agnes.

On the first tablet.

Here lies a poet, image of distinguished virtue, noble and illustrious type of nature.

On the second.

Here, with drooping quiver, lie the broken arms which freeborn Love once used to carry.

On the third.

Pearl, crystal, magnet, and the green emerald gleam with the virgin poet that lieth here.

On the fourth.

Here will be perpetual spring with various flowers as long as flashing Phœbus drives his golden chariot.

On the fifth.

Here rest Comeliness and Sport, and Laughter, and Merriment; here is Love, unarmed, with the laurel-

crowned maid.

On the sixth.

Inside this urn is a treasure; touch it not, countless gems are within it.

On the seventh.

As long as Phœbus shall fill the regions of the heavens with his rays, here will be violets and flowers, here will be the anise.

On the eighth.

Here abide Love, and Sport, and Laughter, and Merriment, and Wit; here abide the Muses and the Graces; here abides Apollo.

On the ninth.

Here dwells, with the honey-dropping Muses, a maiden destined to receive glory and perpetual song.

On the tenth.

Here the earth is green, producing spontaneously marjoram-garlands, and here it is damp and fertile with vernal dews.

On the eleventh.

Here violets, here flowers, here lilies, garlands, crowns grow spontaneously, and spontaneously thrive.

On the twelfth.

Here Genius with cruel hand breaks

in twain his standards, seeing that the type of nature has perished.

MONITOR *and* MAIDENHOOD, *Speakers*.

MON. Ho there! maiden, beauteous with your rosy face, what do you here, weeping in deep distress?

MA. I am moaning.

MON. What is the reason for your moaning?

MA. The maiden Agnes, whose ashes this earthen urn beside me holds.

MON. Whence comes this sweet odour to my nostrils?

MA. From the urn, an odour placed there by the Graces, beings divine.

MON. What did they place there?

MA. Roses and cinnamon, balsam and nard, flowers and violets, lilies, garlands, and saffron.

MON. Is there marjoram also in the urn, the cyperus with oil of myrrh?

MA. There is in it every fragrant herb and pleasant odour.

MON. Does the urn, beautifully decked, wear a green crown?

MA. As is fitting and right, it wears a laurel-wreath.

MON. What is the reason?

MA. It contains the rejoicing Muses, who celebrate with song the rites of

the tender maiden.

MON. Do they sing alone?

MA. Alone? No. Phœbus Apollo in the centre tunes his lyre and performs the mystic rites.

MON. What, then, do you mean, sweetest maid, by this great moaning, and why do the divinities beside you sweetly sing?

MA. I will tell you the truth. I cannot but willingly weep; so nobly gifted was she in intellect. But ten years of age, having followed her father's precepts, she was even then a poet who could sing in tripping measure.

MON. A mighty miracle of nature you recount to me.

MA. Nothing on this earth can be truer.

MON. Who are these whom I see standing here?

MA. Sport, Merriment, then Gesture, Honour, Virtue, and festive Love.

MON. And these shattered arms that lie in great numbers around the urn?

MA. The gods themselves carried them when they were whole.

MON. What will they do now that all these arms have been thus broken?

MA. They will lament and weep and groan for all time.

MON. Shall you too weep?

MA. I shall weep in sorrow all my days.

MON. Have you a name?

MA. I have.

MON. What is it?

MA. Maidenhood.

MON. Dear one, farewell.

MA. Farewell, dearest Monitor, and forget not her who lieth here and was once a beautiful maiden.

MONITOR *and* AGNES, *Speakers*.

MON. Little poet, lying here, all-deserving of famous praise, may I speak a few words with you?

A. You may.

MON. Who made for you this urn set with brilliant gems?

A. Who? My father, famed in this art.

MON. Your father is certainly an excellent potter.

A. He practises industriously every day the liberal arts.

MON. Does he also write melodies and poems?

A. He does. He also blesses with sweet words this lot of mine.

MON. Yes, the skill of the man is wonderful.

A. Hardly has any land produced so famous a man.

MON. O maiden happy in such a father!

A. I certainly am so. He also exalts my name to the skies.

MON. I hear the symphony.

A. The Clarian Muses, together with Phœbus, sing their melodies here with me night and day.

MON. Near you I see the Graces.

A. They tender garlands to me.

MON. Whence do they pluck violets?

A. On the Elysian Hills.

MON. Are there others with you?

A. There are also three divinities.

MON. What are they?

A. Sport, and Love, fair Monitor, and Merriment.

MON. What do they?

A. They lay in place for me holy holocausts, and they fill the accustomed hearths with tinder and with fire.

MON. Have you long been a goddess of the upper regions?

A. I am becoming a goddess of the upper regions.

MON. If you are a goddess, why do

you not have your dear parents ascend to the heavenly realms?

A. They will both ascend.

MON. But when?

A. When their fates clearly see that it is necessary. Each man has his fixed day, appointed for him by the fates.

MON. Each man, therefore, has his fixed and immovable day?

A. To every man comes death on a certain day.

MON. Meanwhile what will your father and mother do here on earth?

A. What? They will perform their holy, sacred duties, and pray.

MON. Afterwards what will happen?

A. In blessedness they will ascend to the heavenly realms, when the Heavenly Father above so wills.

MON. I will now go back to my duties.

A. When you wish, of course; live in happiness, and a kind farewell.

MON. And may you live with the gods above, as a heavenly intelligence, as a famous constellation, as a benign goddess.

GENIUS *and* WAYFARER, *Speakers*.

G. Stay a little, I beg, and go no farther, wayfarer, before looking at

this urn and tomb.

W. Who are you?

G. I am Tutelary Genius.

W. What would you have?

G. I wish to converse a little with you here, friend.

W. I am willing.

G. See how a maiden poet, taken away by cruel fate, is contained in this earthen urn.

W. How old was she?

G. Twice five years.

W. And did she, well-skilled, sing poetic measures?

G. She did.

W. 'Tis a wonder that you tell me of.

G. She wrote festive songs in sweet verse, spontaneously playing, spontaneously singing.

W. O rare grace of nature! O manifest glory of the gods! That so tender a maiden should be a poet!

G. 'Twas a song, whatever she by chance wished to utter; whatever she desired to say, 'twas a song.

W. Whence came to her the source of such a power?

G. From the realms above, whence it is used to come.

W. As one divine, therefore, she wrote charming verses?

G. As one divine, following her own and her father's precepts.

W. Does her father too compose melodies?

G. He does, he is a poet fair and proper. He is proper and deft and neat, bright and decent. He is one whom the Muse blesses with divine song.

W. He is certainly well-deserving of some Mæcenas.

G. Few are the Mæcenases that live in the French world. No one to-day either encourages the liberal arts by appropriate gifts or undertakes to encourage them in any way. Uprightness and fair virtue are in no esteem. So powerful is the sway of unhappy Avarice. Treachery, deceit, and vice are in the ascendant. Virtues are put in the background, and every form of wretched evil creeps abroad.

W. What, therefore, does he who is trained by the charming Muses?

G. He takes pleasure in being able to live in his own house.

W. He ought to go with hurried step to the courts of kings.

G. He does not care to, because he

has a free heart. Your potentates sometimes take pleasure in looking at songs, but what then? They requite them with nods. Golden songs, drawn from the high heavens, they should reward with jewels and with pure gold. But, frivolous as they are, they foolishly give their grand gifts to fools, spendthrifts, and rogues.

W. Did he educate his own daughter in studies befitting her birth?

G. He did, and in the fine arts besides.

W. And was she earnest to retain her father's precepts?

G. She had no greater wish than to follow her father's words.

W. Oh, what a great honour she would have been to her country and her father, had she lived to undertake the duties of life.

G. Yes, her glory would have excelled that of all other girls in French lands. She was distinguished in appearance, her face was beautiful in its modesty, and she was all compact of golden words and ways. She drew to herself the hearts of men, young and old, and made them follow her wishes with constant loyalty.

W. This is a miracle you tell me of.

G. I tell you the truth, wayfarer. She was a mirror of true-born nobility.

W. Oh, overwhelming grief! Oh, bitter grief and pain! That such a one could die so suddenly! What will her father do in the meantime?

G. Bowed down with grief, he will suffer pain of heart and shed unceasing tears.

W. He would do better to pour forth a flood of prayers to the heavenly gods and to join to his prayers the last rites to the dead.

G. He joins the last rites to his prayers and never ceases. He fills the customary hearths with tinder and fire.

W. O maiden worthy of so deserving a father! O father, too, blessed in such a daughter!

G. She now shines benign in the glad clouds, like a radiance newly-risen, like a golden constellation.

W. May she triumph, shining in the ethereal realms, and may the daughter graciously take her father with her.

G. Go about your affairs, if you will depart, wayfarer. This is what I wished to say. Friend, farewell.

W. Live in happiness, guardian of the tomb and revealer of the urn. I go

about my affairs diligently and in haste.

Printed at Paris, near the Law School, A.D. 1523, 15th day of Feb'y.

10

CHAMP FLEVRY AU QUEL EST CONTENU LART & SCIENCE DE LA DEUE & VRAYE PROPORTIÕ DES LETTRES ATTIQUES, QUŌ DIT AUTREMĒT LETTRES ANTIQUES, & VULGAIREMENT LETTRES ROMAINES PROPORTIONNEES SELON LE CORPS & VISAGE HUMAIN.—Ce Liure est Priuilegie pour Dix Ans Par Le Roy nostre Sire, & est a vendre a Paris sus Petit Pont a Lenseigne du Pot Casse, par maistre Geofroy Tory de Bourges Libraire, & Autheur du dict Liure. Et par Giles Gourmont aussi libraire demourant en la Rue sainct Iaques a Lenseigne des Trois Coronnes.

[Here the Pot Cassé, no. 4 (see p. 45 supra).]

Privilegie povr dix ans.

A small folio of 8 preliminary leaves (signature A), comprising the title, the *privilège*, etc., and LXXX numbered leaves (signatures B to O); in all, 14 signatures. The first and last have 8 leaves each, the others 6.

I have already spoken of this book at considerable length in the first part, and shall refer to it again in

the third; but in this place I must at least describe it from a bibliographical standpoint.

On the verso of the title-page which I have just quoted, we read what follows:[225]—

Ce toutal Oeuure est diuise en Trois Liures.

Au Premier Liure est contenue Lexhortation a mettre & ordonner la Lāgue Françoise par certaine Reigle de parler elagāment en bon & plussain Langage François.

Au Segond est traicte de Linuention des Lettres Attiques, & de la conference proportionnalle dicelles au Corps & Visage naturel de Lhomme parfaict. Auec plusieurs belles inuentions & moralitez sus lesdittes Lettres Attiques.

Au Tiers & dernier Liure sont deseignees & proportionnees toutes lesdittes Lettres Attiques selon leur Ordre Abecedaire en leur haulteur & largeur chascune a part soy, en y enseignant leur deue facon & requise pronunciation Latine et Françoise, tant a Lantique maniere que a la Moderne.

En deux Caietz a la fin sont adiouxtees Treze diuerses facōs de Lettres. Cest a scauoir. Lettres Hebraiques. Greques. Latines. Lettres Françoises. & icelles en Quatre facons, qui sont. Cadeaulx. Forme. Bastarde, & Torneure. Puis ensuyuant sont les Lettres Persiennes. Arabiques. Africaines. Turques. & Tartariennes. qui sont toutes cinq en vne mesme Figure Dalphabet. En apres sont les Caldaiques. Les Goffes, quō dit autrement Imperiales & Bullatiques. Les Lettres Phantastiques. Les Vtopiques, quon peut dire Voluntaires. Et finablement Les Lettres Floryes. Auec Linstruction & Maniere de faire Chifres de Lettres pour Bagues dor, pour Tapisseries, Vistres, Paintures & autres chouses que bel & bon semblera.

On the following leaf is the license, an extract from which will be found on a subsequent page (Part 2, § II, no. 2); then a letter from Tory 'à tous vrayz et deuotz Amateurs de bonnes lettres,' beginning thus: —

'Poets, orators, and others learned in letters and sciences, when they have made and composed some work of their studious diligence and their hand, are wont to make gift thereof to some great lord of court or church, commending him by letters and by words of praise to the knowledge of other men; and this in order to please him and to the end that they may be able always to be so welcome in his sight that he shall seem to be obliged and bound to give to them some great gift, some cure or some office, in recompense of the toil and night-watches they have employed in the making and composing of their said works and gifts. I could readily do the same with this little book; but, considering that, if I should give it to one rather than to another, there might arise envy and detraction, I have thought that it would be well and wisely done of me to make of it a gift to ye all, O ye devout lovers of goodly letters! nor to prefer the great to the humble, save in so far as he loves letters the more and is the more at home in virtue.'

Then comes a table, filling eight pages, and another letter of Tory, from which we make a few extracts.

To the readers of this book, humble greeting.

It is commonly said, and truly said, that there is great natural virtue in plants, in stones, and in words. To offer examples would be superfluous, so certainly is it true.

But I would that God might be pleased to give me grace so to prevail by my words and entreaties that I may persuade some persons that, if they will not do homage to our French tongue, they will at the least cease to corrupt it. I find that there be three sorts of men who strive and exert themselves to corrupt and debase it: they are the 'skimmers of Latin,' the 'jesters,' and the 'jargoners.' When the skimmers of Latin say: 'Despumon la verbocination latiale, & transfreton la Sequane au dilucule & crepuscule, puis deãbulon par les Quadrivies & Platees de Lutece, & comme verisimiles amorabundes captiuon la beniuolence de lomnigene & omniforme sexe feminin,'[226] it seems to me that they make sport not of their fellows alone, but of themselves. When the jesters, whom I may fairly call 'slashers [dechiqueteurs] of language,' say: 'Monsieur du Page, si vous ne me baillez vne lesche du iour, ie me rue a Dieu, & vous dis du cas, vo[9] aures nasarde sanguine,' they seem to me to do as great harm to our language as they do to their coats, by slashing and destroying with contumely that which is of more worth whole than when maliciously torn and defaced. And in like manner when jargoners[227] make their remarks in

> their malicious and wicked jargon, it seems to me not only that they prove themselves dedicate to the gibbet, but that it would be well if they had never been born. Although Master François Villon was in his day mightily ingenious therein, yet would he have done better to have essayed to do some other more goodly thing.... I consider moreover that there is another sort of men who corrupt our language even more: they are the innovators and forgers of new words. If such forgers are not villains, I deem them little better. Think you that they show great refinement when they say after drinking that they have 'le Cerueau tout encornimatibule & emburelicoque dũg tas de mirilifiques & triquedondaines, dung tas de gringuenauldes & guylleroches qui les fatrouillēt incessammēt?' I would not quote such foolish words, were it not that my scorn in thinking of them forces me to do it. 'Si natura negat, facit indignatio versum....'
>
> Yours in everything,
>
> Geofroy Tory de Bourges.

After this letter comes the text of the book, which occupies, as I have said, eighty numbered leaves.[228]

At the end we read: 'Here endeth this present book ... the printing of which was finished Wednesday the twenty-eighth day of the month of April, in the year

1529, for Maistre Geofroy Tory of Bourges, author of the said book, and bookseller, living in Paris, who has it for sale on the Petit Pont, at the sign of the Pot Casse, and for Giles Gourmont, also a bookseller, living in said Paris, who likewise has it for sale on Rue Sainct Jaques, at the sign of the Trois Couronnes.'[229]

This work was reprinted in 1549, in octavo,[230] with the same woodcuts, but with some variations in other respects.

11

LA TABLE DE LANCIEN PHILOSOPHE CEBES, NATIF DE THEBES, ET AUDITEUR DARISTOTE. EN LAQUELLE EST DESCRIPTE ET PAINCTE LA VOYE DE LHOMME HUMAIN TENDANT A VERTUS ET PARFAICTE SCIENCE. AVEC TRENTE DIALOGUES MORAULX DE LUCIAN, AUTHEUR JADIS GREC. Le tout pieca translate de grec en langue latine par plusieurs scavans et recommandables autheurs. Et nagueres translate de latin en vulgaire françois par maistre Geofroy Tory de Bourges, libraire, demourant a Paris, rue Sainct Iaques, devant lescu de Basle, a lenseigne du Pot Casse. Sont en ung volume ou en deux qui veult, a vendre audict lieu par ledict translateur, et par Iean Petit, libraire jure en luniversite de Paris, demourant aussi en la rue Sainct

> Iaques, a lenseigne de la Fleur de Lys.

Twelvemo; divided into signatures of 8 leaves. In the first volume, 10 preliminary leaves and signatures A to T; in the second volume, signatures *a* to *vij*. All the pages are embellished with narrow filleted borders, on some of which the Lorraine cross appears.

On the first page is Tory's Pot Cassé (no. 6), or Jean Petit's mark, according as the copies were issued by one or the other of those publishers, who divided the edition.

On the second leaf is an extract from the license (dated September 18, 1529[231]), in so far as it concerns this book, 'the printing of which was finished the fifth day of October, in the year above named.'

On the third leaf is the dedicatory epistle, the essential part of which is as follows:—

> *Geofroy Tory of Bourges doth say and give humble greetings to all studious and true lovers of excellent pastime in reading.*
>
> Horace, a poet of old surnamed Flaccus, hath told us in writing in his 'Ars Poetica' that philosophers and poets are wont, under the outer bark of deceitful words, to convey a moral meaning which may profit us in the knowledge of virtue or give us pleasure in the charm of their style and their pleasing invention. Wherefore, seeing this to be true, and reading all day the Table of the

ancient philosopher Cebes, likewise the Dialogues of the very learned and graceful Greek author Lucian, methought that it would be well done of me to translate them into our French tongue also, and cause them to be printed, to the end that each one of you, upon reading the said Table, may readily recognize what pure virtue is, and may find honest pleasure in the ingenious and moral Dialogues of the said Lucian. I offer them with a most humble and devout heart to you, O scholars and lovers of pure worth! giving you to know that, in so far as it hath been possible for me so to do, I have followed the true text, adding nothing of my own thereto, neither using nor misusing any modification or stuffing whatsoever. I have most gladly written them down for you in flowing language, in your domestic mother tongue, without attempting to mix therein refinements of phrase, strange words, or such language as Carmentes, mother of Evander, might be unable to understand or decipher. I see some who, if they should write but six words, four will be either out of use, or manufactured, or stretched out longer than a spear. Like him who said in the laments and epitaphs of a king of the Basoche:—

'Au point prefix que spondile et
muscule,
Sens vernacule, cartilaige
auricule,
DIsis acule, Diana crepuscule,
Et lheure acculle pour son
lustre assoupir.'

And a thousand other like sayings which I leave to him. I know not to whom such language gives pleasure; but to me it seems scarce fair or fine. It would seem, and yet I misdoubt, as if such a battery of behorned and overrefined words had come or been hurled down from the Latin language to ours; for there have been, and there are to this day many who think that they have done a wondrous thing if they have written in Latin a strange and unduly long word, like him who said, and ingeniously none the less: 'Conturbabuntur Constantinopolitani innumerabilibus sollicitudinibus.' And that other, Hermes by name, who took such delight in writing long and refined words that he was hoist with his own petard when another ingenious man composed against him, in manufactured words, with an armful of syllables, the distich which follows:—

'Gaudet
honorificabilitudinitatibus
Hermes,

Consuetudinibus,
sollicitudinibus.'

I say this in passing, that you may not expect to find unwonted words in this your little book. I know that there was once a wise man and philosopher who said one day to his friend: 'Loquere verbis presentibus et utere moribus antiquis,' which is to say, 'Speak in ordinary language and live according to the manners of the good old days.' In this your said little book you will, I think, find charm, for it is full of many goodly and ingenious conceits both of Cebes and of Lucian. I have placed first herein, as I have said, the Table of this man Cebes, to the end that you may see at the outset that 'poesis est pictura loquens': a poetical work is a speaking picture. Touching the Dialogues of the learned Lucian, I have not included them all, nor translated all; but I have chosen thirty only of those which in my opinion are the finest and most moral, which you may readily discover to be not only pleasant to read, but most profitable in goodly moral teaching. You will accept them then, if it please you, with kindly face and heart, remembering that with God's help I will shortly make you some other new gift, to the best of my ability. And

> meanwhile I will pray to our Lord Jesus to have you in his keeping according to your wishes.
>
> From Paris; in all things your devoted servant,
>
> Geofroy Tory.

Follows a long list of errata, and a table of the Dialogues, followed by another letter, 'aux lecteurs des Dialogues de Lucian contenuz en ce present livre.' This letter contains nothing personal to Tory, and I will quote only the closing passage, where, speaking of the Dialogues, he says:—

> I believe that, if the ancient and noble painter Zeuxis of Heracleia, if Raphael of Urbino, Michel Angelo, Leonardo da Vinci, or Albrecht Dürer should try to paint philosophers and their various aspects, they could not paint them so well nor so to the life as our Lucian paints them herein. It will seem to you that you do verily see them and hear them speak, and that Menippus, before your wondering eyes, doth fly up to heaven to learn the truth concerning all the falsehoods of the said philosophers. May God have you in his keeping according to your noble and goodly desire.
>
> From the University of Paris; in all things your devoted servant,
>
> Geofroy Tory.

At the end of the book, after the Dialogues, Tory introduced a number of moral apothegms and plays upon words, probably of his own invention.

This volume is printed with the type and decorative letters of 'Champ fleury.'

12

SUMMAIRE DE CHRONIQUES, CONTENANS LES VIES, GESTES ET CAS FORTUITZ DE TOUS LES EMPEREURS DEUROPE, DEPUIS IULES CESAR IUSQUES A MAXIMILIEN, DERNIER DECEDE.—Avec maintes belles histoires et mensions de plusieurs roys, ducs, contes, princes, capitaines et aultres, tant chrestiens que non, tant de hault que de has estat et condition.—Faict premierement en langue latine par venerable et discrete personne Iehan Baptiste Egnace, Venicien.—Et translate de ladicte langue latine en langaige francoys par maistre Geofroy Tory de Bourges.—On les vend a Paris, a lenseigne du Pot Casse.—Avec privilege du Roy nostre sire pour X ans.'

Octavo; 16 preliminary leaves (signatures *a* and *b*), 99 leaves of text, numbered, and 13 leaves of index and errata, not numbered (signatures A to O); in all, 128 leaves, or 16 octavo sheets. All the pages are enclosed in threefold fillets, with compartments running into one another, such as were still used in printing-offices until quite recently. I will remark in passing that the sheets of this book bear only two

signature letters each, one on the first page (for the first form), the other on the third page (for the second form), as is the general practice to-day, instead of the four which were commonly inserted, to no useful end.

On the verso of the first leaf, the recto of which is occupied by the title, is printed the king's license, in these terms:—

> Francoys, by the grace of God King of France, to the Provost of Paris, Bailly of Rouen, Seneschal of Lion, and to all other our justiciars and officials, or to their lieutenants, greeting. Our dear and well-beloved maistre Geofroy Tory of Bourges, bookseller, dwelling in our city of Paris, hath caused it to be said and shown to us that he hath of late translated from the Latin into vernacular French two books, one having been formerly translated from the Greek into the Latin by several learned and commendable authors, entitled: 'La Table du philosophe ancien Cebes, natif de Thebes, et auditeur Daristote,' together with certain moral Dialogues of Lucian; the other originally composed in the Latin tongue by Jehan Baptiste Egnace, entitled: 'Summaire de Chroniques, contenant les gestes et faictz de tous les empereurs Deurope, depuis Iules Cesar jusques a Maximilian'; likewise another book, entitled: 'Les Reigles

> generales de Lorthographe du langaige francoys'; the which books he is desirous to print, were it our pleasure to permit him so to do, and at the same time to forbid all booksellers, printers, and all other persons whatsoever to print, cause to be printed, or expose for sale the said books—Wherefore is it that we, having regard to the trouble and labour which the said Tory hath had herein, have given unto him license and permission to print, cause to be printed, and expose for sale at a fair and reasonable price, by himself, his servants, agents and factors, the said books above described, during ten years following and subsequent to the printing thereof. Such is our will, etc. Given at Paris the xxviii day of September, in the year of grace M. D. XXIX, and of our reign the XV.
>
> Heruoet.

Next comes the following letter of Tory, by way of preface:—

> *Geofroy Tory of Bourges, to all studious and true lovers of goodly reading and profitable pastime, doth humbly bid and offer greeting.*
>
> I promised you not long since, in the preface to the Table of Cebes and the thirty new Dialogues of Lucian, that I would ere long, by my humble efforts, make for you another new

book, which, to my thinking, might afford you pleasing and useful pastime, by enticing you to read and see therein things wherewith your mind might well in due time and place be entertained and deliciously soothed. At this present time (my most honourable lords), as your humble servant, who is entirely devoted to you, I present to you a 'Summaire de Chroniques,' the which I have translated for you, as I translated the said Cebes and Dialogues, from the Latin into French, to the best of my poor ability, forewarning you that, after the manner of Jehan Baptiste Egnatius, the present author, I have neither modified nor changed the meaning of the story in favour of any man whatsoever. Nor is my translation made word for word, because that would have been a too barren style and devoid of charm. I know that, according to Horace ('nec verbo verbum curabit reddere fidus interpres'), a translator should not vex his wits about rendering each word that he translates into a word of his language; but should retain the meaning and set it forth in the best style that shall be possible for him. So I have done the best that I could, as well for the love and respect that I owe you, as not to depart from the pure truth of

history, which is of such nature that it will not brook to be in any way turned aside from its purity. Marcus Tullius Cicero doth well enjoin it upon us, when he writes in the second book of his 'Orator': 'Nam quis nescit primam esse historiæ legem, ne quid falsi dicere audeat, deinde ne quid veri non audeat, ne qua suspitio gratiæ sit in scribendo, ne qua simulatis?' 'But who is there [he says] who does not know that the first law of history is to dare to tell nothing that is untrue, and to tell the truth without feigning, to the end that there may be no suspicion of partiality or of envy in that which one writes?' Of a surety history should be entirely true, not only for the reasons already given, but because, as Cicero says a little before the place already quoted: 'Historia est testis temporum, lux veritatis, vita memoriæ, magistra vitas, et nuncia vetustatis.' 'History [he says] is the testimony of the times, the torch of truth, the nurse and life of the memory, teacher and schoolmistress of our life, and messenger of antiquity.' I have chosen to make you a present of a history, and a history abridged to the limits of a summary, rather than of something else, for the reason that while engaging yourselves, you may see therein, as in a mirror, a

thousand excellent things, wherefrom you shall be able to hear and recognize innumerable useful suggestions which shall do you good service on occasion in due time and place. Titus Livius says, in the preface to the first book of his first Decade: 'Hoc illud est precipue in cognitione rerum salubre ac frugiferum, omnis te exempli documenta in illustri posita monumento intueri, unde tibi tuasque Reipublicæ quod imitare cupias, unde fœdum inceptum, fœdum exitu quod vites.' 'It is [he says] peculiarly good and useful in the knowledge of things, to see and learn in noble history the teachings of worthy example, by the imitation and likeness whereof you may choose for yourselves and for your country that which you ought to imitate and follow, and that which you ought to avoid as an abomination, at the beginning as well as at the end.' Take therefore in good part, an it please you, this little work, and accept it with a gracious face and expression, as of your kindliness you are wont to do; even so you will invite me, of your courteous and singular grace, henceforward to do better, with the aid of Our Lord Iesus, to whom I pray that he will give to you all his love and blessed grace, at your noble

and worthy desire.

At Paris, this X day of April, M. D. XXIX.

On the last leaf of the book we find the Pot Cassé, with these words beneath: 'The printing of this present book was finished at Paris, the XIII day of April, M. D. XXIX,[232] for maistre Geofroy Tory de Bourges, who sells it in said Paris, at the sign of the Pot Casse.'

The only copy that I have seen of this edition was then owned by

M. Ambroise Didot, who courteously permitted me to examine it at my leisure. It was in its original binding with the Pot Cassé. The book is printed in the 'Champ fleury' type.

There are several other editions. I am familiar with two of them, published by Charles L'Angelier, both in octavo, in 1543 and 1544. M. Hippolyte Boyer mentions one of 1541, in his 'Histoire des Imprimeurs et Libraries de Bourges' (octavo, Bourges, 1854), page 27; but I have not seen it: whereas I have had the privilege of examining the other two. Each of them contains 112 leaves (signatures A to O), plus 4 unnumbered ones. The book is illustrated with engravings of two kinds, in addition to the bookseller's mark on the title-page: the first, reproduced several times, represents an emperor, mounted, holding a battle-axe; it is not signed, but is engraved with much delicacy, and embellished with the little cartouches so much affected by Tory. The others represent busts of emperors roughly engraved, which cannot be the work of that artist.

13

LA PROCESSION DE SOISSONS DEVOTE ET MEMORABLE FAICTE A LA LOUANGE DE DIEU, POUR LA DELIVRANCE DE NOSSEIGNEURS LES ENFANS DE FRANCE.— On les vend a Paris, a lenseigne du Pot Casse, rue Sainct Iaques, devant lescu[233] de Basle, et en la halle de Beausse, a la mesme enseigne du Pot Casse, devant leglise de la glorieuse Madalaine, avec privilege pour deux ans.

At the end of the book: 'The printing of this present book was finished the XXIX day of August M. D. XXX, and it is for sale at Paris by maistre Geofroy Tory de Bourges.'

Small quarto of 20 leaves with borders, signatures Aij to Cij.

This exceedingly rare little volume has a title-page with a border of arabesques engraved on wood, with the Lorraine cross. Beneath Tory's mark are four Latin verses, probably of his composition, as are the six which bring the narrative to a close and which are entitled: 'Torinus Biturigicus ad Galliam.' On the verso of the title is the preface, dated August 25, 1530, and beginning thus: 'Geofroy Tory of Bourges to the devoted lovers of good reading doth bid and offer humble greeting.'

At the top of leaf Aij we read: 'The order of the grand procession ordained at Soissons by the reverend father in God Monseigneur Iehan Olivier, Abbé de Saint Mard at said Soissons, Councillor to the King our Sire, and Chronicler of France, on Sunday the

last day of July in the year of grace one thousand five hundred and thirty, to give thanks to our Lord for the deliverance of our lords the Children of France.'

These particulars are taken from the fifth edition of Brunet's 'Manual de Libraire.' I have not been able to find the volume, despite my thorough search in the various libraries of Paris.

14

ÆDILOQUIUM CEU DISTICHA PARTIBUS ÆDIUM URBANARUM ET RUSTICARUM SUIS QUÆQUE LOCIS ADSCRIBENDa. ITEM, EPITAPHIA SEPTEM DE AMORUM ALIQUOT PASSIONIBUS ANTIQUO MORE ET SERMONE VETERI, VIETOQUE CONFICTA. AUTHORE GOTOFREDO TORINO, BITURIGICO.— Parisiis, apud Simonem Colinæum. 1530. Cum privilegio ad biennium. [234]

Octavo; 3 sheets, printed in italic. The title is set in an exceedingly graceful border, borrowed from the Hours in octavo of 1527. The verso of the title is blank, and on the second leaf is the following preface:—

Geofroy Tory of Bourges to the fair reader, greeting. [235]

There are certain eminent painters in this prolific age, most gentle reader, who, by their drawings, paintings, and varied colouring, depict the tribal gods and human beings, as also other things of different sorts, with such exactness that a voice and a soul seem the only things wanting to them; but here,

most gentle reader, I offer you, nearly in the manner of these painters, a house, which not only is elegant and finished in its outlines and parts, but speaks prettily and describes itself part by part in a eulogy. I also offer you seven epitaphs, composed and written in the ancient style and in very ancient language. These epitaphs show, in a way that we may call comprehensible, the various affections to which unhappy mortals who are in love are subject. I am, I say, pleased to offer you these, not that you may speak or write in obsolete words such as you here find, but that you may have before your eyes, so bright and full of charm, a sample of antiquity, and may know that you have been thoroughly warned by me to be on your guard against falling into the snares and perplexities of an insane love. Farewell.

In addition to the border of the title-page, the book contains seven exquisite little engravings, corresponding to Tory's seven 'love epitaphs,'—engravings which are certainly his, in design at least, although unsigned. Here is a list of them:—

1. Two hearts pierced by an arrow.

2. Two hearts in a circle.

3. Two hearts bound together by cords.

4. Two hearts in a boat.

5. A pig sniffing at two hearts.

6. Two hearts, a distaff, etc.

7. Two hearts being kicked by a horse.

As for the text of the book, it has been variously judged. Catherinot was delighted with it; but the author of the 'Menagiana' reproves Tory for

manufacturing Latin words after the style of the author of the 'Songe du Poliphile' (see supra, page 55, note 2). We have seen that Tory himself did not recommend such words to the reader.

The Bibliothèque Nationale has a copy of this little book, still in its original binding, with the Pot Cassé.

15

SCIENCE POUR SENRICHIR HONNESTEMENT ET FACILEMENT, INTITULEE: LECONOMIC XENOPHON, NAGUERES TRANSLATEE DE GREC ET LATIN EN LANGAIGE FRANCOYS PAR MAISTRE GEOFROY TORY DE BOURGES. [Here the Pot Cassé, no. 4] On les vend a Paris, en la rue Sainct Iaques, devant lescu de Basle, et devant lesglise de la Magdalaine, a lenseigne du Pot Casse.—Avec privilege.

Octavo of 9 sheets (signatures *a* to *i*). As in the 'Sommaire de Chroniques' of Egnasius, there are only two signature marks to the sheet (one for the first form and one for the second), and each page is enclosed in a three-line fillet. The title-page alone is set in a border of arabesques of pleasing design.

On the verso of the title: 'At the aforesaid sign of the Pot Casse there be also for sale Thucydides and Diodorus, with several other excellent books translated from Greek and Latin into French. Likewise there be beautiful Hours and Offices of Our Lady, large, medium, and small, illustrated and vignetted in ancient and modern fashion.'

On the second leaf is an explanation of the words

'Economic' and 'Xenophon'; and on the third a dedication, extracts from which follow.

> *Geofroy Tory of Bourges to his most reverend father in God, Antoine du Prat, Cardinal de Sens, legate in ordinary and Chancellor of France, doth say and proffer most humble greeting.*
>
> After the book treating of the meaning of the ancient letters, called 'Champ fleury,' the which I composed in the French tongue, and the 'Table of Cebes,' with thirty moral dialogues, likewise the 'Sommaire de Chroniques,' the which I translated into our said tongue, [236] to confer a benefit on the studiously inclined, most reverend father in God, it hath seemed to me a worthy occupation, if I should employ myself in translating also the 'Economic Xenophon'; and beneath the shadow of your most honourable wing, first presenting the same with humble devotion unto you, I have published the same and placed it in the hands of all virtuous and worthy persons, to pass the time studiously therewith and therein to find good counsel for directing their families worthily and increasing their wealth by honest means.
>
> Wherefore, most reverend father in God, under your venerable favour

> and blessing, the studious and veritable lovers of goodly reading and fruitful occupation will kindly take this little book in their condescending hands, and all will bear you good will, not for the book alone, but for that you are he to whom all owe honour and service, as to whom all the public welfare and all Christendom are deeply indebted.
>
> I shall continue to be, if it so please you, in your good favour, and I will pray to Our Lord that he will give you his love according to your noble and estimable desire.
>
> From Paris this Wednesday, the fifth day of July, M. D. XXXI.

Following this document, which fills three leaves, comes an epistle from Geofroy Tory of Bourges to 'studious and worthy readers,' by way of preface. It fills two leaves. The eighth leaf is entirely blank. On the ninth, the 'Economic Xenophon' begins, and extends from *b* to *i* 4; the fifth and sixth leaves of *i* contain an 'Epistle from Seigneur Elisee Calense, native of Amphrates, which he sent to Rufinius, guardian of the Emperor Arcadius, replying to him touching the matter of managing his family and of keeping in order his domestic goods and chattels, translated from Latin into French by maistre Geofroy Tory de Bourges.'

On the last leaf but one appears a 'duplicate of the license granted to maistre Geofroy Tory de Bourges, by the King our Sire, for this present book and others

named in this said license,' in these words:—

> Francoys, by the grace of God King of France, to the Provost of Paris, Bailly of Rouen, Seneschal of Lyon, and to all other our justiciars and officials or their deputies, greeting. Our dear well-beloved maistre Geofroy Tory of Bourges, bookseller, dwelling in our city of Paris, hath caused it to be made known to us that he hath of late made and composed in the Latin tongue a certain book entitled; '*Æ*diloquium et Erotica'[237]; likewise, that he hath translated from Greek and Latin into French the 'Economic Xenophon'; which books he would fain print, or cause to be printed, if it should be our pleasure to permit him so to do, at the same time causing all tradesmen, booksellers, printers, and other persons whomsoever, to be forbidden to print or to expose for sale in any manner the said books; and that, if any should be brought hither by foreigners, other than those of the said Tory's printing, they may not be sold within our realm during the period of the four years reckoned from the date of the printing of said books, with an extension for a like period for certain other books, illustrations, and vignettes to be printed in the 'Heures et Office de

> Nostre Dame' mentioned in two licenses heretofore granted to him by our favour.[238] Wherefore, having regard and consideration for the time and toil which it hath cost the said Tory to compile and translate the said books, and for such expense as it shall be his pleasure to incur in printing the same,—for these reasons we have given and granted to him permission to print or cause to be printed and to offer for sale the said books above mentioned for four years following and succeeding the printing thereof. And so we command you, that by virtue of this our present favour, warrant and permission, you do allow the said petitioner to use and enjoy the same, and do forbid in our name all tradesmen, printers, booksellers, to print or cause to be printed, or to expose for sale in any manner the said books during four years, on pain of twenty-five silver marcs to be paid to us, and confiscation of the books as to which they shall have been guilty; for such is our pleasure. Given at Vannes, the XVIII day of June in the year of grace one thousand five hundred thirty-one, and of our reign the seventeenth.—Signed, Heruoet.

On the last page: 'The printing of this present book was finished by maistre Geofroy Tory of Bourges

Wednesday the fifth day of July in the year M. D. XXXI. And it is for sale at Paris, opposite the "Escu de Basle," Rue Sainct Iaques, and opposite the Church of La Magdeleine, at the sign of the ("a leeseigne [*sic*] du") Pot Casse.'

The description we have given is that of the very complete copy owned by M. Ambroise Didot. M. Chedeau, an attorney at Saumur, owned a copy the title-page of which is different. It reads thus:—

> ECONOMIC DE: XENOPHON, CEST A DIRE: DOMESTIQUES INSTITUTIONS ET ENSEIGNEMENS POUR BIEN REGIR SA FAMILLE ET AUGMENTER SON BIEN PARTICULIER. IADIS COMPOSE EN GREC PAR LANCIEN AUTHEUR XENOPHON, ET TRANSLATE DE GREC ET LATIN EN LANGAIGE FRANÇOIS PAR MAISTRE TORY DE BOURGES. [Here the Pot Cassé.] Imprimees a Paris, a lenseigne du Pot Casse, par ledict maistre Geofroy Tory, marchant libraire et imprimeur du roy.—Avec privilege.

This title-page has the same border and the same form of the Pot Cassé as the other copy; but it has not on the verso the little list of other publications which we find on the latter, and which we have reproduced above. As the first signature (A) of M. Chedeau's copy lacks four leaves, we cannot say whether there are other differences in that signature; but as to the other signatures, B to I, they are identical in the two copies. Thus we find in both the error to which we called attention above in the word 'enseigne' [printed 'eeseigne'], in the final note; better still, this error has been corrected by hand, in the

same way, in both copies, probably by Tory himself. Which of the two is the earlier? I should not venture to say; however, it seems to me that the additional matter on the verso of the title-page of M. Didot's copy tends to prove that it is the later of the two. In any event, the interval between the two impressions cannot have been a long one. If I interpret rightly certain circumstances, the first signature, which had been kept in type (as is proved by a number of typographical defects which appear in both copies), was reprinted at the same time with the last signature. Tory's dedicatory epistle, in M. Didot's copy, is dated July 5, the day when the printing of the book was finished according to the final note. Now, to make it possible for him to affix this date to his preliminary epistle, we must concede that it had been kept in type until the book was finished. But may it not be that no date was affixed on the first signature of the first impression? That is a question that I am unable to answer, in view of the imperfect state of M. Chedeau's copy. It may be, too, that the first signature was reprinted in order to announce Tory's new address, he having very recently installed his printing establishment in the famous old Halle au Blé de Beauce, on Rue de la Juiverie, opposite the Church of La Madeleine. For it will be observed that this address does not appear on the title-page of M. Chedeau's copy, although we do find it in the note on the last page.

This volume is printed in the 'Champ fleury' type.

16

POLITIQUES DE PLUTARCHE, CEST A DIRE: CIVILES INSTITUTIONS ET ENSEIGNEMENS POUR BIEN REGIR LA CHOSE PU[BLIQUE],

> IADIS COMPOSEES EN GREC PAR PLUTARCHE, ET DEPUIS TRANSLATEES DE GREC EN LATIN PAR LE SEIGNEUR NICOLE SAGUNDIN, ET A PRESENT DE LANGUE GRECQUE ET LATINE EN LANGAIGE FRANÇOIS PAR MAISTRE GEOFROY TORY DE BOURGES.—Dediees par le dit autheur a lempereur Trajan, et par le translateur en langaige françois a tresilustre et plain de bon espoir en toute heureuse vertu, son seigneur, François de Vallois, Daulphin de France. [Here the Pot Cassé, no. 4.] Imprimees en Paris, a lenseigne de Pot Casse, par maistre Geofroy Tory de Bourges, marchant libraire et imprimeur du Roy.—Avec privilege tresample.[239]

Octavo, of 8 preliminary unnumbered leaves, and 67 numbered leaves of text (signatures A to Iij). The pages have no borders. There are marginal remarks. The type and the ornamental letters are the same as in 'Champ fleury.'

On the second leaf is the following dedicatory epistle:—

> *Geofroy Tory de Bourges to his most debonair lord, François de Vallois, Daulphin de France, doth say and proffer most humble greeting.*
>
> My lord, while translating this little book, I have oftentimes reflected to whom of all my good friends I should the sooner dedicate it, or whether I should dedicate it (as I

have heretofore done with certain other books which I have composed and translated into the French tongue) to all studious and genuine lovers of excellent reading and worthy pastime. But in fine, knowing thy virtuous nature, likewise the mirror of all goodness and perfect nobility wherein thou dost abundantly excel, and art ever disposed for every blessed and goodly enterprise, I have considered that before all other living men, of what state soever they may be, it is to thy glorious lordship that I ought and am in duty bounden to consecrate it, since it is thou under whom the public, not of France alone, but of all Christendom, has its hope of living hereafter in all felicity. I dedicate it to thee, not forgetting that thou hast thy noble father the King, who, as Philip of Macedon did of yore to his son Alexander, doth set before thee noble and goodly instruction and examples of upright living; but also to the end that thou mayst by times amuse thyself and read the excellent tales and teachings which are marshalled herein as in a well-chosen library; and also that, following thy noble and generous example, the studiously inclined may, by reading the same, worthily profit thereby. Thou mayst find

> herein many excellent passages, which will sometimes help to comfort thee, and will be in some degree the means whereby thou and thy Realm, with the grace of God, wilt ever prosper more and more.
>
> Paris, this XIIII day of June, M. D. XXXII.

On the verso of the last leaf: 'The printing of this present book was finished Saturday the XV day of June, M. D. XXXII, by maistre Geofroy Tory of Bourges, bookseller and king's printer, living in Paris, opposite the church of La Magdeleine, at the sign of the Pot Casse.' [Here the Pot Cassé, no. 9.]

I have seen two copies of this book, one in M. Didot's library, the other in M. Alkan's.

Another edition was published at Lyon, in 1534, in 16mo, by Guillaume Boulle (or Boullé, for the name, in accordance with the custom of the time, has no accent on the *e*). This is undoubtedly the one mentioned by Duverdier[240] as having been printed at Paris, in octavo, in 1530, by Guillaume Boullé. In this statement there are as many errors as there are words. Guillaume Boullé's edition was not printed in Paris, it was not an octavo, and it cannot be dated 1530, as the first edition did not appear until 1532. Unfortunately La Caille did not take the trouble to verify Duverdier's statement, and he makes Guillaume Boullé a bookseller-printer of Paris.[241] Lottin, in his 'Catalogue des Libraries et Imprimeurs de Paris,'[242] has not failed to copy La Caille, and to mention, under the year 1530, a Guillaume Boullé, bookseller and printer in Paris, side by side with Jean Boullé, bookseller. Was this Jean, whom La Caille calls simply Boulle, and whom he places in

1543, a kinsman of Guillaume? I cannot answer. However that may be, here is a full description of the edition of the 'Politiques' published by the latter. It is a 16mo volume containing 8 leaves of front matter and 104 of text. On the title-page, which is embellished by a roughly executed border, are these words:—

'Politiques ou Civiles Institutions pour bien regir la Chose publ., iadis composees en grec par Plutarche, et despuys translatees en francoys par maistre Geofroy Tory, et dediees par ledict translateur a tres illustre prince et plein de bon espoir en toute heureuse vertu, Francoys de Valloys, Daulphin de France.

'Disputation de Phavorin, philosophe, nouvellement y a este adioustee. Item chapitre demonstrant combien sont destatz de la Chose publ.

'On les vend a Lyon, en la rue Merciere, a la boutique de Guillaume Boulle, libraire, a la fleur de lys d'or.— Avec privilege. 1534.'

On the verso of the title-page is an engraving representing Justice, with this inscription: 'Justitia in sese virtutes continet omnes.'

On the following leaf is the dedication to the Dauphin.

At the end of the volume is the mark of Guillaume Boullé, or Boulle.

There is a copy of this little book at the Arsenal, and also one in the Bibliothèque Nationale. The latter lacks the final leaf bearing the bookseller's mark, which some collector (!) has cut out, to enrich his collection.

17

LA MOUCHE DE LUCIAN, ET LA MANIERE DE PARLER ET SE TAIRE [de Volaterran]. [Pot Cassé, no. 6.] LA MOUSCHE EST TRANSLATEE DE GREC ET DE LATIN EN LANGAIGE FRANÇOIS. LA MANIERE DE PARLER ET SE TAIRE EST TRANSLATEE SEULLEMENT DE LATIN EN FRANÇOIS. Le tout par maistre Geofroy Tory de Bourges, imprimeur du Roy et libraire juré en l'université de Paris. —On les vend a Paris devant l'eglise de la Magdeleine, a l'enseigne du Pot Cassé.

Eight octavo leaves, without date of printing or license. This pamphlet was undoubtedly printed by Tory himself, subsequent to February 22, 1533; for he assumes the title of bookseller to the University, which he did not obtain until that date. Moreover, the acute accent, the apostrophe and the cedilla are used therein, and he did not make use of those marks until 1533. Lucian's 'La Mouche' [The Fly] fills 11 pages; the 'Maniere de Parler' (an extract from the eighteenth book of Volaterran's 'Philosophy') 3 pages. The first leaf has the title, and, on the verso, a note 'aux lecteurs.' The type used is the same as in 'Champ fleury.'

18

LES REIGLES GENERALES DE LORTHOGRAPHE DU LANGAIGE FRANCOYS.

Such is the title of a book written by Tory, of which

no trace remains. We do not know even whether it was printed, although it is included in the license of the first edition of the 'Sommaire de Chroniques' of Egnasius, dated September 28, 1529. (See page 88.) Doubtless it was the complement of 'Champ fleury,' from a grammatical standpoint.

19

TRANSLATION OF THE HIEROGLYPHS OF ORUS APOLLO; a manuscript given by Tory to 'a noble and excellent friend' of his.[243]

It is not known whether this translation was printed. There are in existence several old translations of Orus Apollo, but they do not bear Tory's name.



SECTION II. BOOKS OF HOURS PUBLISHED BY TORY FOR HIMSELF.

I

HOURS OF THE VIRGIN.

Quarto, in Latin.

THIS is a superb volume, printed by Simon de Colines, with borders and illustrations 'à l'antique,' perfect in taste and in the execution of the engravings. The book was, in all probability, printed by Tory and Colines on joint account, as copies are extant in the name of each.

Following are descriptions of three sorts of copies which I have seen, and which have been mistakenly assumed by bibliographers to be distinct editions.

SECTION II. BOOKS OF HOURS PUBLISHED BY TORY FOR HIMSELF.

1

HOURS OF THE VIRGIN.

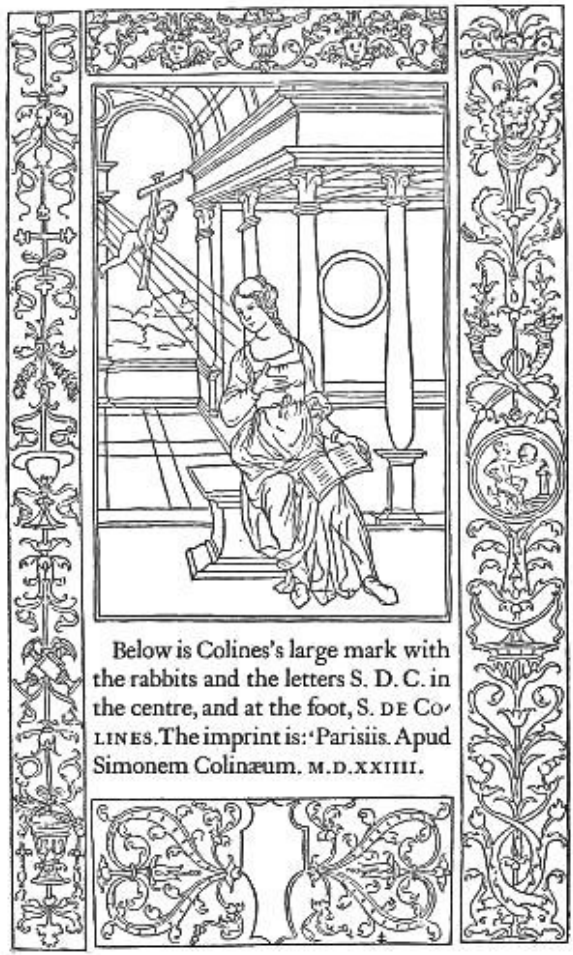
Quarto, in Latin.

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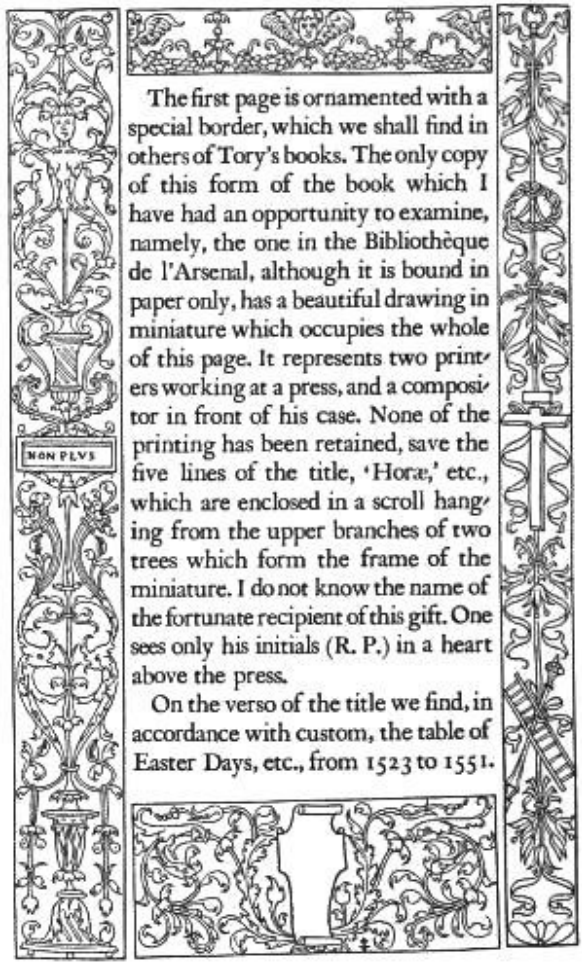
Following are descriptions of three sorts of copies which I have seen, and which have been mistakenly assumed by bibliographers to be distinct editions.



I. HORÆ, IN LAUDEM BEATISS. SEMPER VIRGINIS MARIÆ SECUNDUM CONSUETUDINEM CURIÆ ROMANÆ. VBI ORTHOGRÁPHIA, PUNCTA & ACCENTUS SUIS LOCIS HABENTUR.

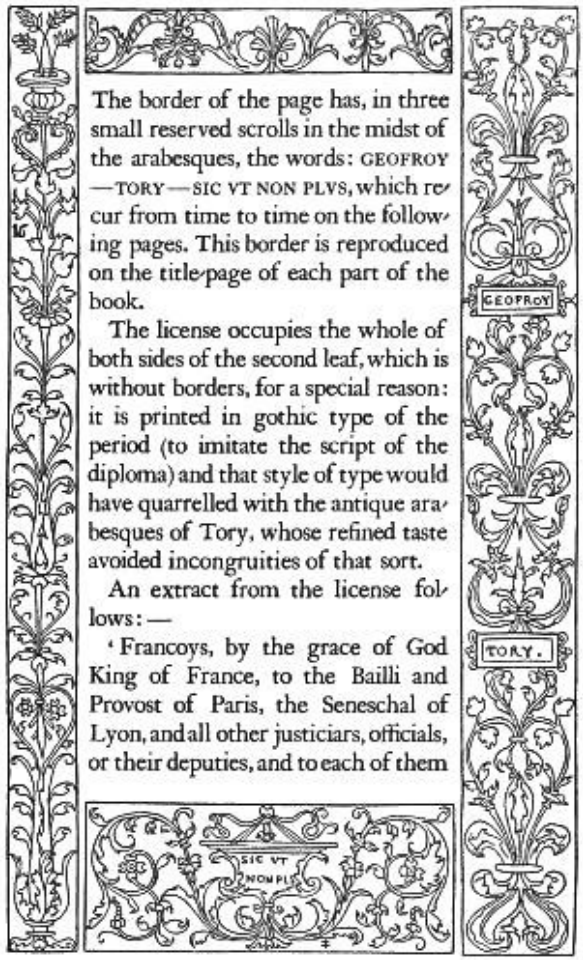


Below is Colines's large mark with the rabbits and the letters S. D. C. in the centre, and at the foot, S. DE COLINES. The imprint is: 'Parisiis. Apud Simonem Colinæum. M.D.XXIIII.



The first page is ornamented with a special border, which we shall find in others of Tory's books. The only copy of this form of the book which I have had an opportunity to examine, namely, the one in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, although it is bound in paper only, has a beautiful drawing in miniature which occupies the whole of this page. It represents two printers working at a press, and a compositor in

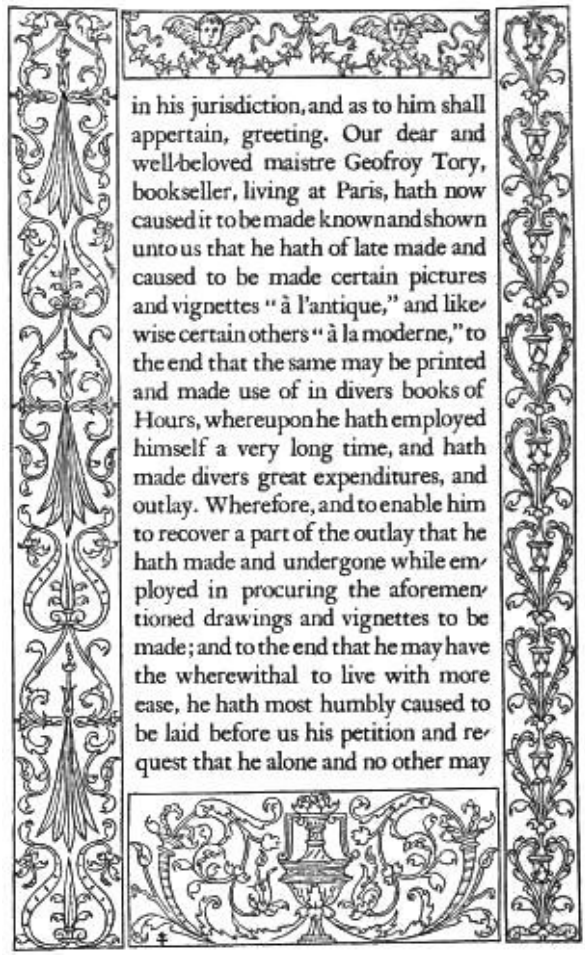
front of his case. None of the printing has been retained, save the five lines of the title, 'Horæ,' etc., which are enclosed in a scroll hanging from the upper branches of two trees which form the frame of the miniature. I do not know the name of the fortunate recipient of this gift. One sees only his initials (R. P.) in a heart above the press.



On the verso of the title we find, in accordance with

custom, the table of Easter Days, etc., from 1523 to 1551. The border of the page has, in three small reserved scrolls in the midst of the arabesques, the words: GEOFROY—TORY—SIC VT NON PLVS, which recur from time to time on the following pages. This border is reproduced on the title-page of each part of the book.

The license occupies the whole of both sides of the second leaf, which is without borders, for a special reason: it is printed in gothic type of the period (to imitate the script of the diploma) and that style of type would have quarrelled with the antique arabesques of Tory, whose refined taste avoided incongruities of that sort.

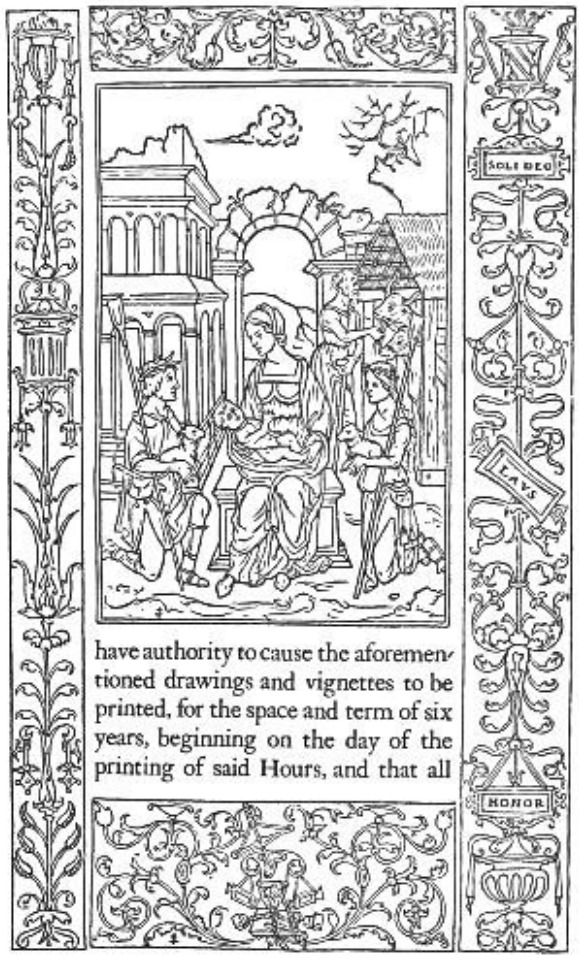

in his jurisdiction, and as to him shall appertain, greeting. Our dear and well-beloved maistre Geofroy Tory, bookseller, living at Paris, hath now caused it to be made known and shown unto us that he hath of late made and caused to be made certain pictures and vignettes "à l'antique," and likewise certain others "à la moderne," to the end that the same may be printed and made use of in divers books of Hours, whereupon he hath employed himself a very long time, and hath made divers great expenditures, and outlay. Wherefore, and to enable him to recover a part of the outlay that he hath made and undergone while employed in procuring the aforementioned drawings and vignettes to be made; and to the end that he may have the wherewithal to live with more ease, he hath most humbly caused to be laid before us his petition and request that he alone and no other may

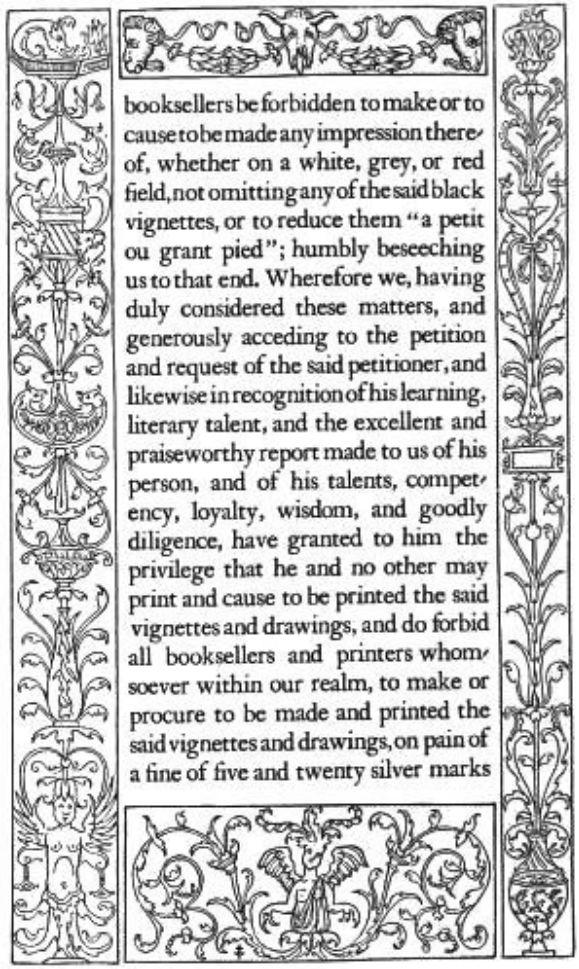
An extract from the license follows:—

'Francoys, by the grace of God King of France, to the Bailli and Provost of Paris, the Seneschal of Lyon, and all other justiciars, officials, or their deputies, and to each of them in his jurisdiction, and as to him shall appertain, greeting. Our dear and well-beloved maistre Geofroy Tory, bookseller, living at Paris, hath now caused it to be made known and shown

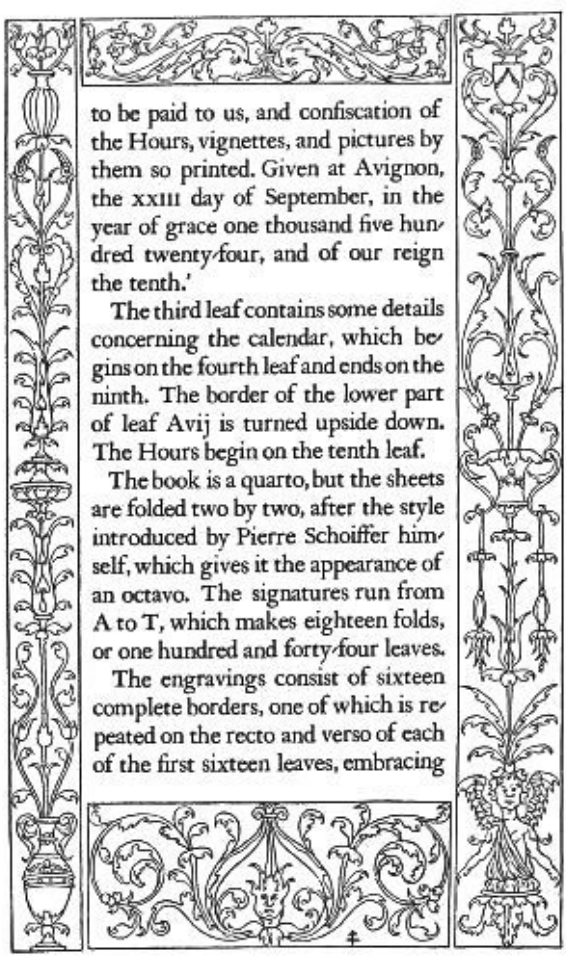
unto us that he hath of late made and caused to be made certain pictures and vignettes "à l'antique," and likewise certain others "à la moderne," to the end that the same may be printed and made use of in divers books of Hours, whereupon he hath employed himself a very long time, and hath made divers great expenditures, and outlay. Wherefore, and to enable him to recover a part of the outlay that he hath made and undergone while employed in procuring the aforementioned drawings and vignettes to be made; and to the end that he may have the wherewithal to live with more ease, he hath most humbly caused to be laid before us his petition and request that he alone and no other may have authority to cause the aforementioned drawings and vignettes to be printed, for the space and term of six years, beginning on the day of the printing of said Hours, and that all booksellers be forbidden to make or to cause to be made any impression thereof, whether on a white, grey, or red field, not omitting any of the said black vignettes, or to reduce them "a petit ou grant pied"; humbly beseeching us to that end. Wherefore we, having duly considered these matters, and generously acceding to the petition and request of the said petitioner, and likewise in recognition of his learning, literary talent, and the excellent and praiseworthy report made to us of his person, and of his talents, competency, loyalty, wisdom, and goodly diligence, have granted to him the privilege that he and no other may print and cause to be printed the said vignettes and drawings, and do forbid all booksellers and printers whomsoever within our realm, to make or procure to be made and printed the said vignettes and drawings, on pain of a fine of five and twenty silver marks to be paid to us, and confiscation of the Hours, vignettes, and pictures by

them so printed. Given at Avignon, the XXIII day of September, in the year of grace one thousand five hundred twenty-four, and of our reign the tenth.'





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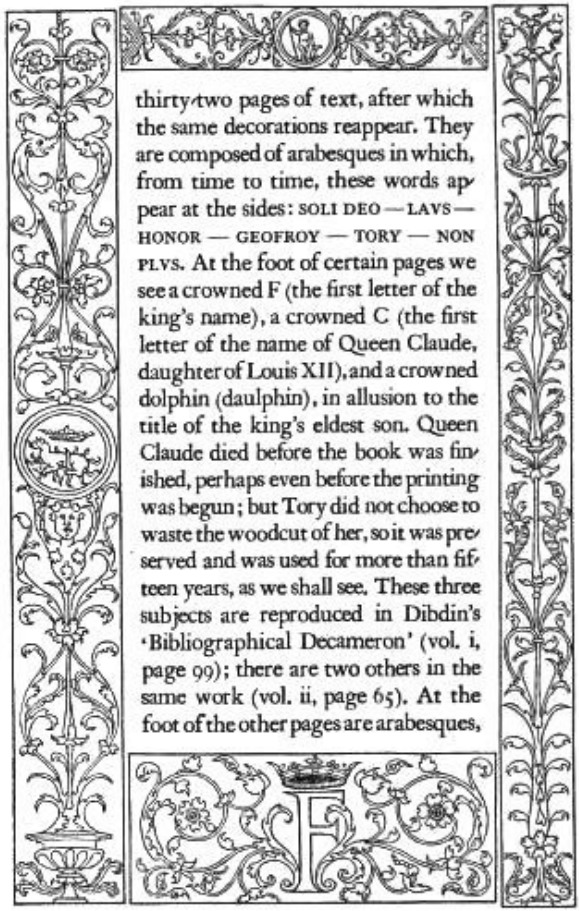
The book is a quarto, but the sheets are folded two by two, after the style introduced by Pierre Schoiffer himself, which gives it the appearance of an octavo. The signatures run from A to T, which makes eighteen folds, or one hundred and forty-four leaves.

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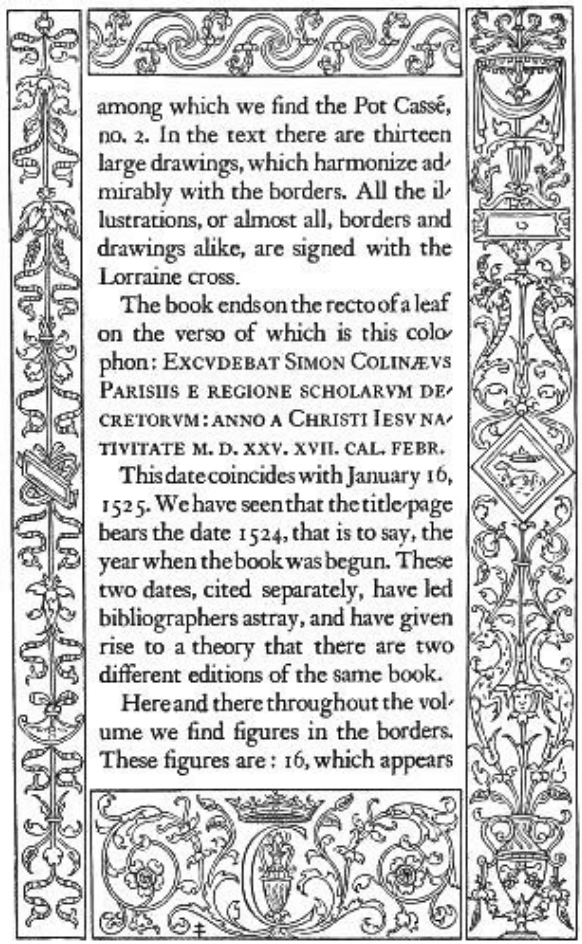
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thirty-two pages of text, after which the same decorations reappear. They are composed of arabesques in which, from time to time, these words appear at the sides: SOLI DEO — LAVS — HONOR — GEOFROY — TORY — NON PLVS. At the foot of certain pages we see a crowned F (the first letter of the king's name), a crowned C (the first letter of the name of Queen Claude, daughter of Louis XII), and a crowned dolphin (daulphin), in allusion to the title of the king's eldest son. Queen Claude died before the book was finished, perhaps even before the printing was begun; but Tory did not choose to waste the woodcut of her, so it was preserved and was used for more than fifteen years, as we shall see. These three subjects are reproduced in Dibdin's 'Bibliographical Decameron' (vol. i, page 99); there are two others in the same work (vol. ii, page 65). At the foot of the other pages are arabesques,

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The book ends on the recto of a leaf on the verso of which is this colophon: EXCVDEBAT SIMON COLINÆVS PARISIIS E REGIONE SCHOLARVM DECRETORVM: ANNO A CHRISTI IESV NATIVITATE M. D. XXV. XVII. CAL. FEBR.

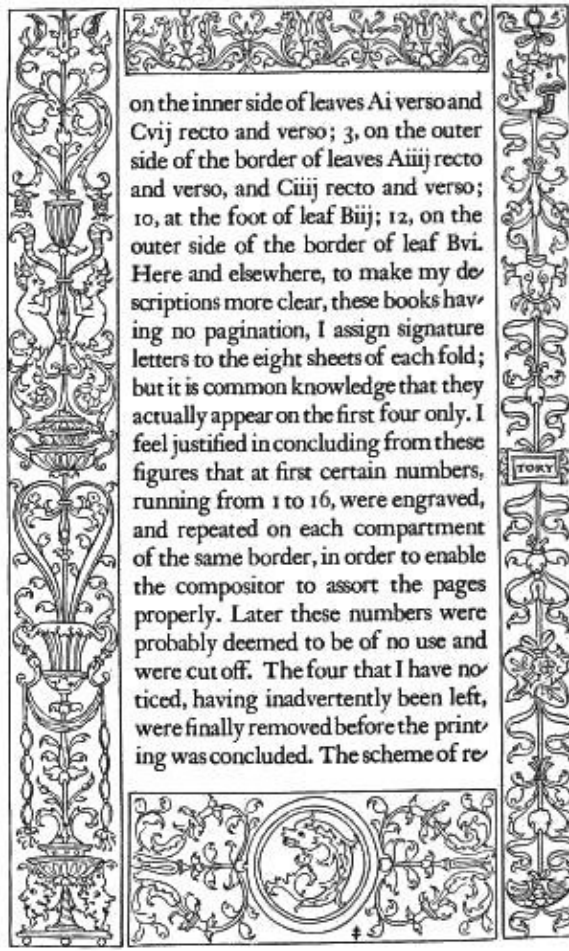
This date coincides with January 16, 1525. We have seen that the title-page bears the date 1524, that is to say, the year when the book was begun. These two dates, cited separately, have led bibliographers astray, and have given rise to a theory that there are two different editions of the same book.

Here and there throughout the volume we find figures in the borders. These figures are: 16, which appears

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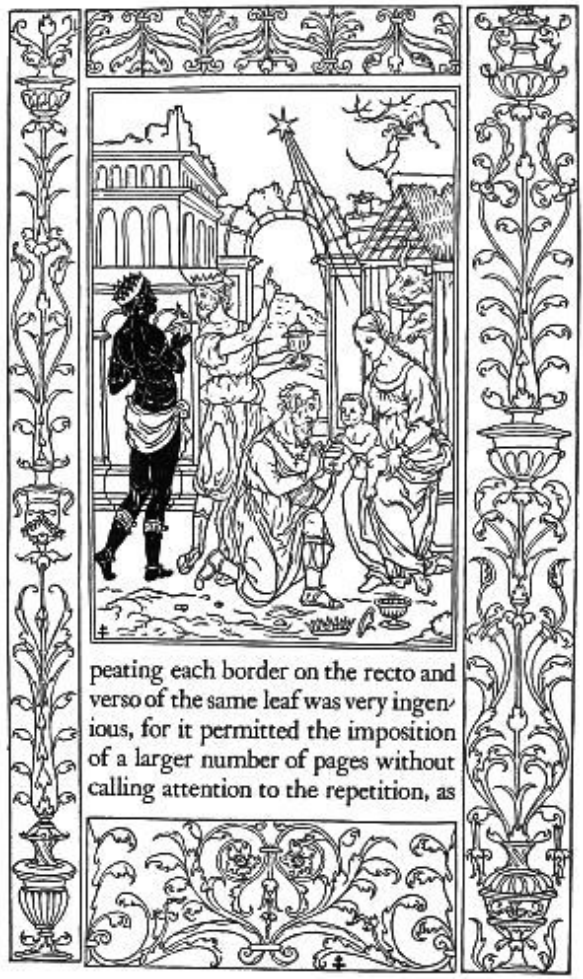
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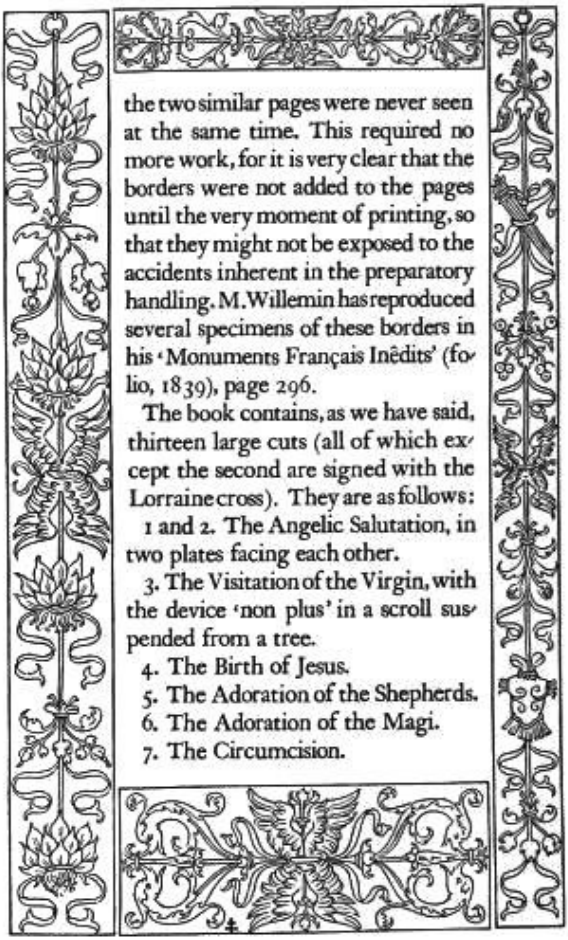

on the inner side of leaves Ai verso and Cvij recto and verso; 3, on the outer side of the border of leaves Aiiij recto and verso, and Ciiij recto and verso; 10, at the foot of leaf Biij; 12, on the outer side of the border of leaf Bvi. Here and elsewhere, to make my descriptions more clear, these books having no pagination, I assign signature letters to the eight sheets of each fold; but it is common knowledge that they actually appear on the first four only. I feel justified in concluding from these figures that at first certain numbers, running from 1 to 16, were engraved, and repeated on each compartment of the same border, in order to enable the compositor to assort the pages properly. Later these numbers were probably deemed to be of no use and were cut off. The four that I have noticed, having inadvertently been left, were finally removed before the printing was concluded. The scheme of re-
TORY

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The book contains, as we have said, thirteen large cuts (all of which except the second are signed with the Lorraine cross). They are as follows:

1 and 2. The Angelic Salutation, in two plates facing each other.

3. The Visitation of the Virgin, with the device 'non plus' in a scroll suspended from a tree.

4. The Birth of Jesus.

5. The Adoration of the Shepherds.

6. The Adoration of the Magi.

7. The Circumcision.

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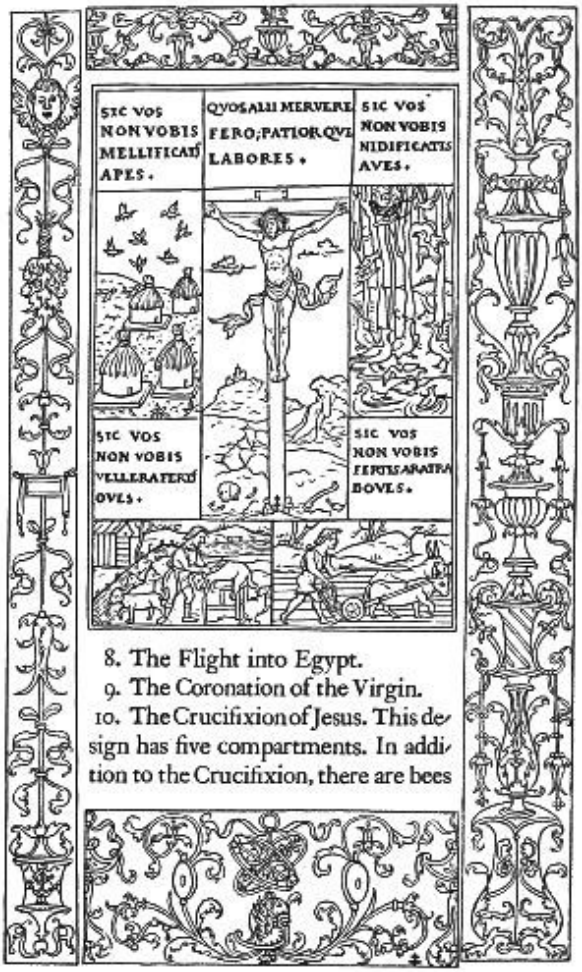
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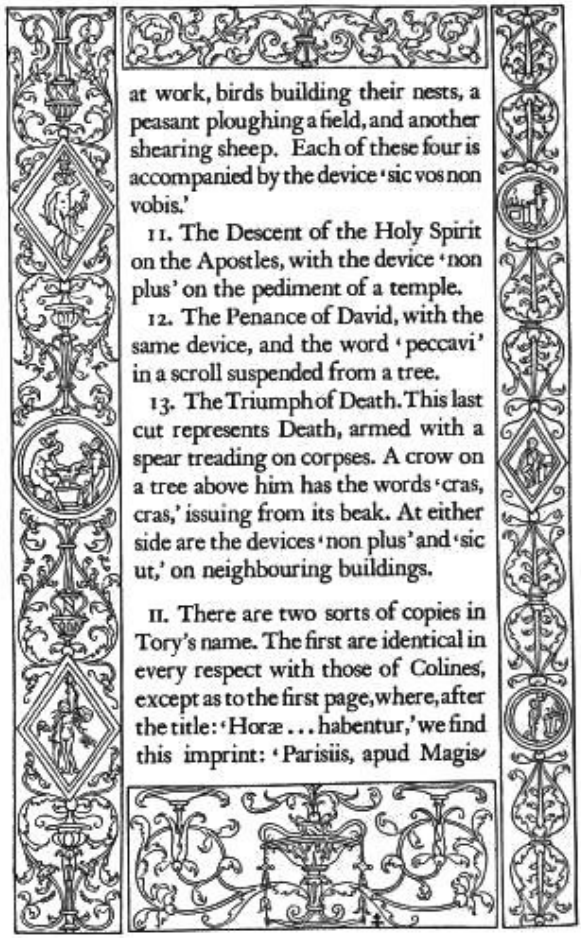
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8. The Flight into Egypt.

9. The Coronation of the Virgin.

10. The Crucifixion of Jesus. This design has five compartments. In addition to the Crucifixion, there are bees at work, birds building their nests, a peasant ploughing a field, and another shearing sheep. Each of these four is accompanied by the device 'sic vos non vobis.'



at work, birds building their nests, a peasant ploughing a field, and another shearing sheep. Each of these four is accompanied by the device 'sic vos non vobis.'

11. The Descent of the Holy Spirit on the Apostles, with the device 'non plus' on the pediment of a temple.

12. The Penance of David, with the same device, and the word 'peccavi' in a scroll suspended from a tree.

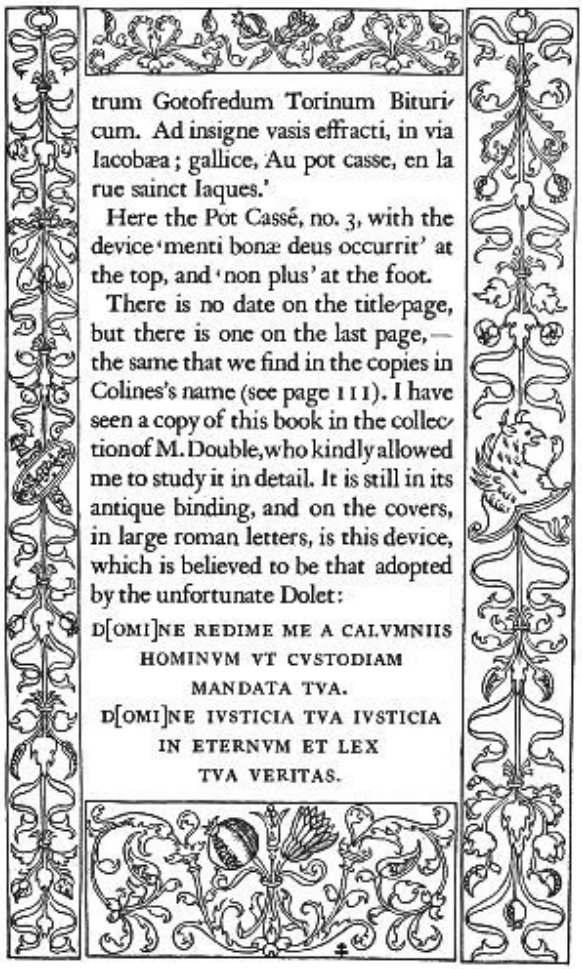
13. The Triumph of Death. This last cut represents Death, armed with a spear treading on corpses. A crow on a tree above him has the words 'cras, cras,' issuing from its beak. At either side are the devices 'non plus' and 'sic ut,' on neighbouring buildings.

II. There are two sorts of copies in Tory's name. The first are identical in every respect with those of Colines, except as to the first page, where, after the title: 'Horæ ... habentur,' we find this imprint: 'Parisiis, apud Magis-

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trum Gotofredum Torinum Bituricum. Ad insigne vasis effracti, in via Iacobæa; gallice, Au pot casse, en la rue sainct Iaques.'

Here the Pot Cassé, no. 3, with the device 'menti bonæ deus occurrit' at the top, and 'non plus' at the foot.

There is no date on the title-page, but there is one on the last page,—the same that we find in the copies in Colines's name (see page 111). I have seen a copy of this book in the collection of M. Double, who kindly allowed me to study it in detail. It is still in its antique binding, and on the covers, in large roman letters, is this device, which is believed to be that adopted by the unfortunate Dolet:

D[OMI]NE REDIME ME A CALVMNIIS HOMINVM VT CVSTODIAM MANDATA TVA.
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III. Other copies in Tory's name have a title-page in French, with no border. This title-page reads as follows:—

'HEURES, A LA LOUANGE DE LA VIERGE MARIE, SELON LUSAGE DE ROME. ESQUELLES SONT CONTENUES LES QUATRE PASSIONS, LE SERUICE COMMUN POUR LE TEMPS DAPRES PASQUES, ET POUR LE CARESME, LE SERUICE DE LADUENT, ET DUDIT ADUENT JUSQUES A LA PURIFICATION NOSTRE DAME. PAREILLEMENT, LES HEURES DE LA CROIX, ET DU SAINCT ESPERIT, LES SEPT PSEAUMES, VESPRES, VIGILES, ET COMMENDACES DES TRESPASSEZ, AVEC RAISONNABLE NOMBRE DORAISONS, ET SUFFRAGES DES SAINCTZ ET SAINCTES.

A la fin sont les heures de la Conception nostre Dame, et le symbole de Athanase. Le tout au long, sans y rien requerir, est tres correcte, en bonne orthographie de poinctz, daccens, et diphthongues situez aux lieux a ce requis. Et sont a vendre par Maistre Geofroy Tory de Bourges, libraire demourant a Paris sus Petit pont, ioignant lhostel Dieu, a lenseigne du Pot Casse.' Then follows the device 'menti bonæ devs occvrrit,' and the Pot Cassé in the same form as that on the title-page of the preceding number.

The order of the contents of the first signature is here a little different from that followed in numbers one

and two. On the verso of the title the license begins, set in roman letters, which Tory preferred to the gothic; it occupies two pages, as in the other copies, but those pages are supplied with the antique borders. On the verso of the second leaf is the table of Easter-Days, from 1525 to 1552. It is more conveniently placed here than on the verso of the title, where it is separated from the calendar by the license. Advantage was taken of the reprinting of the first signature to remove the figure 16 from the border of the page containing the table of Easter-Days, and to set right the lower section of the border of page A vij recto, which is upside down in the other copies. The figure 3 was not removed from page A iiij, probably because the second side of that signature was not reprinted; but the 10 has disappeared from page B iij, which would seem to show that the second side of signature B was reprinted. The first side of signature T was reprinted also, in order to change the colophon on the last page, for which this is substituted: 'Ces presentes heures a lusage de ROME furent acheuees de imprimer le MARDY dixseptiesme iour de IANVIER Mil cinq cens vingtcinq: pour maistre GEOFROY TORY de BOURGES, libraire demorant a PARIS sus PETIT PONT, ioignant lhostel DIEU, a lenseigne du POT CASSE.' (The words printed in small capitals are printed in red in the book.) This is followed by the mark no. 5, with the two mottoes ('menti,' etc., and 'sic,' etc.), which accompany that mark on page 43 of 'Champ fleury.' (See supra, p. 21.)

Tory had several copies printed on vellum; I myself have seen one of them, belonging to the collection of M. Sauvageot.[244]

It will be seen from the date affixed to these copies

that they were not printed until the day following the printing of those which bear the name of Colines; for it is worth noting that the Tuesday, January 17, is of 1525, and not of 1526 new style, as would have been the case had the 'use of Paris' been followed. But Tory thought, doubtless, that he should follow the Roman usage in a book of Hours to the use of Rome.

I imagine that this reprinting of three signatures of the Hours of 1524-1525 was done mainly to direct the attention of the public to Tory's new establishment 'sus Petit Pont.' And this circumstance leads me to believe that it was done subsequent to January 17, 1525, for it is not conceivable that Tory would have left his former address, rue Saint-Jacques, on the copies printed as late as January 16, if he was to be settled 'sus Petit Pont' on the 17th. He retained that date on the reissue, although it really took place later, in order to conform to the terms of the license, which imposed upon the beneficiary the duty of specifying on the books the date when they were first published, so that the date of its expiration might be fixed, unless the term should be extended, as was done in the case of this very book of Hours; witness the license of 'Champ fleury,' dated September 5, 1526. Indeed, my own opinion is that Tory did not remove to the Petit-Pont until about the date last mentioned. We shall see that he remained there until 1530, when the installation of his printing-office required him to take more roomy quarters. However, when he opened his shop on the Petit-Pont he did not abandon his place on rue Saint-Jacques, which he still occupied at least as late as 1531.

M. Niel owns a copy of this book, in which the cuts

are coloured in water-colour, lined with gold. M. Niel thinks that the arabesques are adapted from those of Raphael in the Vatican, which had lately been reproduced; the lamented Renouvier, who agreed with M. Niel in attributing the colouring to Tory, considered it an admirable piece of work.

It will not fail to be noticed, moreover, that Tory calls attention on the title-page of his copies to the excellent orthography of his book: an additional proof that this reimpression was subsequent to 1525.

Tory lent his borders and his engravings to several printers, who frequently removed his mark therefrom. I will mention particularly five publications of Simon de Colines on the title-pages of which we find Tory's borders.

I. 'Divi Joannis Chrisostomi liber contra Gentiles,' etc.; quarto, 1528. The title-page is surrounded by one of Tory's borders, with the crowned F at the foot, and the broad upright section with the two scrolls containing the words 'Geofroy Tory,' which have been removed.—There is a copy of this volume, in vellum, in the library of M. Solomon de Rothschild, who has kindly sent me this information.

II. 'Rodolphi Agricolæ Phrisii de inventione dialectica libri tres, cum scholiis Joannis Matthæi Phrissemii'; quarto, 1529 and 1538. Border composed of two broad upright sections, one of which was used in the preceding. A crowned F at the top, and another broad section at the foot.

III. 'Laurentii Vallæ de linguæ latinæ elegantia libri III'; quarto, 1535 and 1538. Same border as in the preceding.[245]

IN 1527 Tory published a new edition of his Hours, in one volume, octavo, printed as before by Simon de Colines, in roman type, with vignettes of the same sort, but much smaller. There is a copy on vellum at the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal; unluckily it lacks the first and last leaves. According to M. Brunet,[246] to whom M. Tosi, of Milan, sent the description of a perfect copy, also on vellum, the first page reads: 'Horæ in laudem Beatiss. Virg. Mariæ ad usum Romanum venales extant Parrhisiis ad insigne vasis effracti.' And the last: 'Hujusmodi Horæ nuper absoluebantur a prælo Colineo, die vicesima prima Octobris anno Domini 1527, pro magistro Gotofredo Torino Biturigico Bibliopola ad insigne vasis effracti Parrhisiis commorante, ubi venales beneuolis omnibus amicabiliter extant.'

We give herewith an extract from the license of this new publication, which license included also 'Champ fleury' and the Hours of 1524-1525:

François, by the grace of God King of France, to the Provost of Paris, the Bailli of Rouen and the Seneschal of Lyon, and to all our other justiciars and officials and their deputies, and to each of them as to him shall appertain, greeting. Our dear and well-beloved maistre Geofroy Tory de Bourges, bookseller, living at Paris, hath now caused it to be made known and shown unto us that, in order to proclaim, exalt and embellish the Latin and French tongues, he hath not long since made and composed a book in prose and in the French language entitled: 'Lart et science de la deue et vraye proportion des lettres attiques, autrement dictes antiques et vulgairement lettres romaines, proportionnees selon le corps et visaige humain'; the which book he hath caused to be placed before us, soliciting and requesting us to grant unto

him leave, permission and license to print, or cause to be printed the said book, together with certain drawings and vignettes 'à l'antique and à la moderne'; likewise friezes, borders, crowns and scrolls; also to cause to be printed books of Hours, in such form and of such size as to him shall seem good, during the time and term of ten years, beginning on the day of the printing of said Book and said Hours; together with an extension for the same term for certain drawings and vignettes by him heretofore printed.—We hereby give you to know, that we, in consideration of the foregoing, generously acceding to the petition and request of the said maistre Geofroy Tory, and having regard to the toil, labour, outlays and expense which it hath behooved him to undergo and sustain, as well in the composition of the said books, as for the engraving of the said drawings, vignettes, friezes, borders, crowns and scrolls to accompany the said Hours, as hereinbefore mentioned, in divers forms and sizes,—have granted to him the privilege of printing the said books, enjoining you not to allow any other printers or booksellers within our realm, domains and seignories to print the said books and Hours, on pain of one hundred silver marcs to be paid to us, and of confiscation of said books. Given at Chenonceau the fifth day of September, in the year of grace one thousand five hundred twenty-six, and of our reign the twelfth.

In this new book of Hours there are thirty-two different borders, which reappear on every second leaf—one hundred and twenty-eight in all. The text is embellished by sixteen large subjects, naturally smaller, however, than those in the quarto. In the

copy at the Arsenal, the only one that I have seen, these subjects are coloured. I did not discover Tory's mark anywhere; but his mottoes do appear,—'menti bonæ devs occvrrit'; 'sic vt, vel vt'; 'non plvs';—which proves that these plates were engraved for him, if not by him.

A list of the drawings follows:—

1 and 2. The Angelic Salutation; two plates on adjoining pages, as in the quarto of 1524-1525.

3. The Visitation of the Virgin.

4. The Birth of Jesus.

5. The Annunciation to the Shepherds.

6. The Adoration of the Magi.

7. The Circumcision.

8. The Flight into Egypt.

9. The Coronation of the Virgin.

10. St. Joachim and St. Anne Embracing (this is not included in the edition of 1524-1525).

11. The Crucifixion.

12. The Descent of the Holy Spirit on the Apostles.

13. The Penance of David.

14. The Triumph of Death.

15. The Holy Trinity.

16. The Virgin and the Child Jesus.

(The last two are not included in the

edition of 1524-1525.)

The signatures run from A to Z; that is to say, there are twenty-three octavo sheets.

The copy of the octavo Hours of 1527 at the Arsenal is a lovely volume printed on vellum, with a number of manuscript prayers in French added at the end. The calligraphic execution of these prayers, which are surrounded by borders in imitation of those in the book, is wonderfully fine. The colouring of the plates and the illuminating of the initial letters and of those at the ends of paragraphs make the volume of great value. It is still in its original binding (once very sumptuous, but now sadly out of repair), on the covers of which one can distinguish interlaced C's, barred S's, and star-shaped figures formed of two triangles turned end for end. Can it have belonged to Catherine de Médicis, who became the consort of Henri II in 1533? Unluckily it lacks two essential leaves, the first and the last.

3

In the same year, Tory had printed by Simon Dubois ('Silvius') a quarto edition of this same book of Hours, 'suivant l'usage de Paris.'

It is dated October 22, 1527. It contains the new license, and comprises thirty-six quarto sheets, folded two by two according to custom, and forming eighteen octavo signatures, A to S. The book is printed throughout in the gothic type of that time, with the borders 'à la moderne' mentioned in the license of 1524, consisting of arabesques of flowers, insects, animals, etc. There are twenty-six complete borders, which recur in regular order. We find again here, as in the first quarto, thirteen large subjects

interspersed through the text. But a noteworthy fact is, that although these subjects, with two exceptions, [247] are the same as those in the first quarto, they are of entirely different designs, appropriate to the 'modern' borders and type. It would be difficult to carry further the love of artistic harmony. Neither the borders nor the illustrations bear Tory's mark, and I doubt whether they are his. Perhaps the design was Perreal's and the engraving by one of the artists employed by Tory, who must then have had an organized workshop, if we may judge from the number of works which he produced about that time.

Dibdin speaks enthusiastically of this edition of the Hours, in his 'Bibliographical Decameron'; he even reproduces four of the large cuts by which it is illustrated.[248] He says that it is the 'most beautiful work' of that sort that he has ever seen, and expresses great surprise that the arabesques have been cast aside. I confess that I do not share his feeling. The book seems to me badly done, both from the artistic and from the typographical standpoint: the borders do not harmonize, they are out of proportion, and the engraving does not impress me as beyond reproach. But Dibdin's opinion is, as everybody knows, very unreliable; his carelessness is proverbial. Indeed, he gives us a striking instance of it in this very passage: for he tells us that this book was published by Tory of 'Bruges,' and that it has on the title, the Pot Cassé of Simon du Bois[249]; two errors in one line!

Among the small cuts at the foot of the pages, we observe the shield of France; the crowned F; the crowned salamander; the crest of the king's mother, 'party' of France and of Savoy, with her widow's girdle; her initial (L), crowned; the shield 'party' of

Navarre and of France, with the letters H and M intertwined (the initials of Henri d'Albert, King of Navarre, and Marguerite, sister of François I, whose marriage had been celebrated January 24, 1526[250]); the Pot Cassé, no. 1, that is to say, in its simplest form, etc.

The exact title of this book is as follows: 'Hore in laudem beatissime Virginis MARIE: secundum consuetudinem ECCLESIE PARISIENSIS.' (Here the Pot Cassé, no. 9.) 'Venales habentur PARRHISIIS, APUD MAGISTRUM GOTOFREDUM Torinum Biturigicum: SUB INSIGNE VASIS EFFRACTI: GALLICO SERMONE AU POT CASSE.'—All the words here printed in small capitals are printed in red. On the verso of the title-page is the license, dated September 5, 1526. At the end of the book is the following: 'Ces presentes Heures a lusage de Paris, privilegiees pour dix ans commenceans a la presente date de leur impression, furent achevees dimprimer le vingt deuxiesme iour Doctobre, Mil cinq cens vingt sept, par maistre Simon du bois, imprimeur, pour maistre Geofroy Tory de Bourges, qui les vend a Paris a lenseigne du Pot Casse.' (Here the same mark as on the first page.)

It will be noticed that, although Tory felt bound to give the title of the book in Latin, he could not forbear to print his address in French.

This is the order of the plates, all of which measure nine centimetres by six:—

1 and 2. The Angelic Salutation, in two plates on successive pages (fol. f 3 verso, and f 4 recto).

3. The Sibyl of Tibur (see the description on page 123, note 1), fol. g 8 recto.

4. Jesus on the Cross, fol. h 6 recto.

5. The Descent of the Holy Spirit on the Apostles, fol. h 7 recto.

6. The Birth of Jesus, fol. i 1 recto.

7. The Annunciation to the Shepherds, fol. i 6 recto.

8. The Adoration of the Magi, fol. k 2 recto.

9. The Presentation in the Temple, fol. k 6 recto.

10. The Flight into Egypt, fol. l 2 recto.

11. The Coronation of the Virgin, fol. l 7 recto.

12. David Playing the Harp, fol. m 5 recto.

13. The Triumph of Death, fol. n 7 recto.

M. Brunet[251] mentions a copy of this book on vellum. The Bibliothèque Nationale owns one on paper, bound by Capé, with tooling copied from Tory's.

4

HOURS OF THE VIRGIN, in roman type, with borders and arabesques 'à l'antique' on each page. A small 16mo volume, printed by Tory, February 8, 1529 (old style).

Here is a description of this little gem, taken from the only copy that I have seen, M. Niel's, which is on

vellum.

The title reads thus:—

'HORÆ IN LAUDEM BEATISSIMÆ VIRGINIS MARIÆ, SECUNDUM USUM ROMANUM.' Then the Pot Cassé, and at the foot of the page: 'Menti bonæ Deus occurrit.'

On the verso of the title-page:—

'Rex christianiss. statuit ne quis alius a Gotofredo Torino Biturigico, Bibliopola Parrhisiis habitante, imprimat aut imprimi faciat infra decennium in toto regno hujusmodi coronamenta et figuras, sub pœna gravissima, ut in diplomate ad hoc obtento latissime patet.'

Then comes an abstract of the pontifical license, undated; and on the following leaf the table of Easter-Days from 1530 to 1552.

On the last page: 'Parrhisiis, apud Gotofredum Torinum Biturigicum, viii. die febr. anno sal. M. D. XXIX,[252] ad insigne Vasis effracti.'

The signatures run from A to Y; that is to say, the book consists of 22 octavo forms, or 176 leaves. The pages, which contain 21 lines of brevier, measure thus:—

Height, text alone	77 millimetres.
Height, with border	96 millimetres.
Width, text alone	29 millimetres.
Width, with border	48 millimetres.

The volume contains twenty-one small cuts, unsigned, but all engraved in Tory's manner. Here is a list of them:—

1. Jesus on the Cross; a very small

cut with five sections, like the Crucifixion of the quarto of 1524-1525; that is to say, there are bees at work, birds building their nests, a peasant ploughing, and another shearing sheep.

2 and 3. The Angelic Salutation; two cuts facing each other, as in the Hours of 1524-1525.

4 and 5. The Visitation (idem).

6 and 7. The Birth of Jesus (idem).

8 and 9. The Annunciation to the Shepherds (idem).

10 and 11. The Adoration of the Magi (idem).

12 and 13. The Circumcision (idem).

14. The Massacre of the Innocents.

15. The Coronation of the Virgin.

16. The Crucifixion.

17. The Descent of the Holy Spirit.

18. Bathsheba at the Bath.

19. The Triumph of Death.

20. The Trinity (small cut).

21. The Virgin in a halo, with an angel on each side.[253]

5

BOOK OF HOURS, quarto; same typographical arrangement as in the quarto of 1524-1525. On the

title-page, which has the border of those copies of the earlier edition which bear the imprint of Simon de Colines, we read:—

'HORÆ IN LAUDEM BEATISS. VIRGINIS MARIÆ. AD USUM ROMANUM.—PARRHISIIS, APUD GOTOFREDUM TORINUM BITURIGICUM, REGIUM IMPRESSOREM. (Then comes the motto: MENTI BONÆ DEVS OCCVRRIT, and beneath it the Pot Cassé.) Cum privilegio summi Pont. et Regis christianiss. ad decennium et ultra, ut in calce hujus operis patet.'[254]

On the verso of the title the list of Easter-Days, from 1531 to 1560; then the Calendar, the type in which this is set being so large that it was necessary to omit the arabesques with figures at the foot of the border and substitute simple arabesques like those at the top.

On the recto of the last leaf is the abstract of the licenses, papal and royal, and on the verso this colophon, set in the border of the last page of 'Champ fleury': 'Parrhisiis, ex officina Gotofredi Torini Biturigici, regii impressoris, ad insigne Vasis effracti, anno salu[tis] M. D. XXXI, die XX mensis octo[bris].' Then the Pot Cassé and at the foot of the page:—

'Effracti, lector, subeas insignia vasis,
Egregios flores ut tibi habere queis.'

The volume consists of twenty signatures (A to V) of two sheets each, set in the roman type used in 'Champ fleury'; borders of the Hours of 1524-1525; also the thirteen drawings of that edition, but with special borders in the form of porticoes, which appear in other minor works of Tory published in 1531, of which we shall speak in the following

section. It is a fact worthy of remark that we no longer find the name Geofroy Tory on his borders, and that even his mark has disappeared from several of the cuts, particularly the first cut of the Angelic Salutation,[255] the Adoration of the Shepherds, the Adoration of the Magi, the Flight into Egypt, the Coronation of the Virgin, the Penance of David, and the Triumph of Death. This circumstance leads me to believe that Tory had lent these plates to other publishers, as he had lent his borders to Simon de Colines, and that they removed the marks in order to appropriate more completely the publications in which the plates were used. This was what Simon de Colines did, as we have already seen (page 120).

A no less interesting fact is that, in the borders, the crowned C's are retained, which refer to Claude de France, the first wife of François I, who died in 1524 and was succeeded in 1530 by Eleonora of Austria.

We find also in this edition four unsigned cuts which do not appear in the quarto of 1524-1525:—

Fol. H 8. The Angelic Salutation; a special design, quarto size.

Fol. L 6. The Angelic Salutation; quite small, occupying only the upper part of a page.

Fol. R 7. The Trinity; small, with a special border.

Fol. V 3. The Virgin; small, with a special border.

The last two are taken from the 16mo Hours of 1529. The floriated letters are the same as in 'Champ fleury.'

Papillon, who speaks of this book,[256] without giving the title, and attributes it to Woeiriot, who was not born in 1531, expresses himself thus concerning it: 'I have seen an old book in which

there are some of his engravings; it is an octavo, each page of which is surrounded by a decorative border, in compartments, of a beautiful gothic type. They are engraved very correctly, even though it is line engraving, which is so fine, so even and so accurate, that I am at a loss to understand how it could have been done. There are in this book fifteen or sixteen large cuts, also engraved in line; the drawing of the figures is passable. The little Lorraine cross, which Woeiriot used as a mark, may be seen in several places in the borders of this book.'

M. de Rothschild's copy of this edition has one interesting peculiarity: it is enriched by a large plate, unsigned, printed on an oblong half-sheet, representing the Triumph of the Virgin Mary, which seems to be an imitation of the Triumph of Apollo in 'Champ fleury.' The Virgin appears in a chariot drawn by unicorns; behind the chariot are the Captive Women; around the chariot, Prudence, Temperance, Justice and Strength; in front of the unicorns, Hope, Faith, Charity; and farther in front the Nine Muses, the Seven Liberal Arts, the handmaidens of the Virgin. In the background, we see the Virginal Palace, the Palace of Jesse, and the Temple of Honour. Beneath the picture is an explanation in French verse, which begins thus:—

'Les antiques Cesars triompherent par gloire,
Mais par humilite (ainsi le faut il croire)
La noble Vierge va triomphante en bon heur
Du palais virginal jusquau temple dhonneur.'

I have seen this engraving nowhere else except in a copy of the edition of the Hours published in 1542 by Olivier Mallard, of which I shall speak in the third part; but I have no doubt that it was included

originally in all copies of the edition of 1531, perhaps also in that of 1524-1525. Its chances of preservation were injured by its being bound in the form of a map. At all events this unsigned plate is in Tory's manner, and it can hardly be denied that it belongs to him.

6

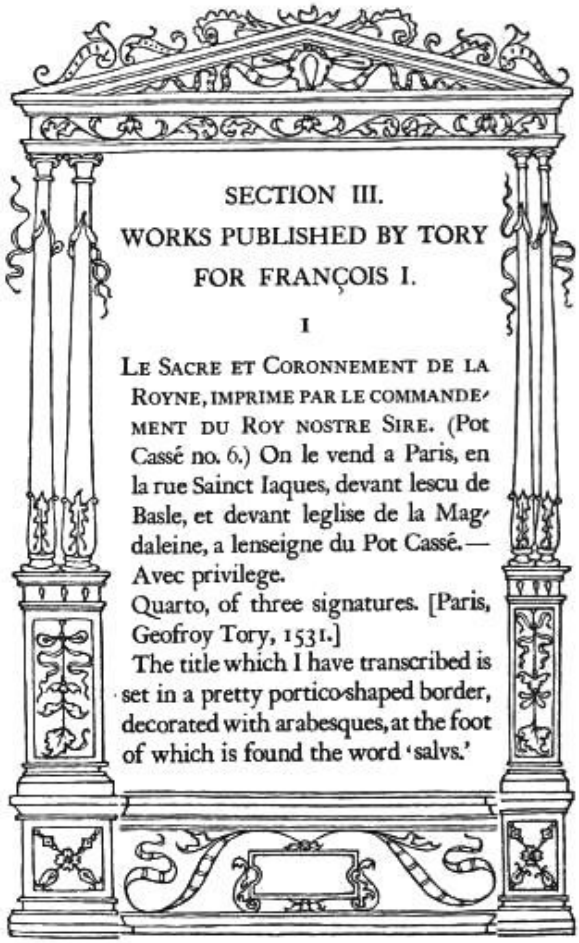
At a time which I am unable to fix with precision, but not earlier than the month of September, 1531, Tory printed another book, in octavo, with borders made up of plants, animals, insects, birds, etc., like those in the quarto Hours of 1527, but, naturally, on a smaller scale. I have never seen this book, but its existence is established to my satisfaction by the publication of a book of Hours, at a later date, by Olivier Mallard, with the same borders and vignettes. I can give with certainty neither the title nor the date of printing of Tory's book; but the date of the engravings is readily determined approximately, thanks to certain ornaments of Mallard's book. For instance, we find in it, as in the Hours of 1527, the crowned F and the salamander of François I, the crowned L and the biparted shield (France and Savoy) of his mother, who died in 1531, and a blank shield which suggests the widowhood of François, and consequently proves that these cuts were designed before July, 1530. As for my ascription of these cuts to Tory, it is due to the style of the borders, which are copied from the Hours of 1527. Moreover, he has added a special symbol, namely, the coat-of-arms of Bourges (three sheep, placed two and one, and wearing collars), which appears now and again at the foot of the page, beside the symbols of François I and his mother. As I have said, I do not know the title of the book in which Tory first used

these cuts; it seems to me, however, that we may fairly conclude from the use Olivier Mallard made of them that it was a book of Hours; Tory probably decided to publish an octavo edition of his Hours 'à la moderne' of 1527, as he had published in 1527 an octavo edition of his Hours 'à l'antique' of 1524-1525. Indeed, it may be that the book in question is the one thus described by M. Brunet: 'Horæ in laudem beatissimæ Virginis Mariæ ad usum Rothomagensem.—Parisiis, ad insigne Vasis effracti. 1536.' Small octavo, roman type, line engravings.

It will be seen that the book is said to be printed at the sign of the Pot Cassé, without mention of the printer's name. This may mean that it was printed by Tory's widow, who published Macault's work in the same way in 1535.

We shall speak elsewhere of Mallard's book, but this is the place to mention the engravings it contains, which doubtless appeared also in Tory's book. In Mallard's publication of 1541 there are sixteen different borders, the same one being always placed on the recto and verso of each leaf, and nineteen of the plates of the 16mo edition of 1529. The two lacking are number 1 and number 21. [The engravings of The Visitation are reproduced below.]





SECTION III.

WORKS PUBLISHED BY TORY FOR FRANÇOIS I.

I

LE SACRE ET CORONNEMENT DE LA ROYNE, IMPRIME PAR LE COMMANDEMENT DU ROY NOSTRE SIRE. (Pot Cassé no. 6.) On le vend a Paris, en la rue Sainct Iaques, devant lescu de Basle, et devant leglise de la Magdaleine, a lenseigne du Pot Cassé.— Avec privilege.

Quarto, of three signatures. [Paris, Geofroy Tory, 1531.]

The title which I have transcribed is set in a pretty portico-shaped border, decorated with arabesques, at the foot of which is found the word 'salvs.'

SECTION III.

WORKS PUBLISHED BY TORY FOR FRANÇOIS I.

1

LE SACRE ET CORONNEMENT DE LA ROYNE, IMPRIME PAR LE COMMANDEMENT DU ROY NOSTRE SIRE. (Pot Cassé no. 6.) On le vend a Paris, en la rue Sainct Iaques, devant lescu de Basle, et devant leglise de la Magdaleine, a lenseigne du Pot Cassé.—Avec privilege.

Quarto, of three signatures. [Paris, Geofroy Tory, 1531.]

The title which I have transcribed is set in a pretty portico-shaped border, decorated with arabesques, at the foot of which is found the word 'salvs.'

On the verso: 'Il est permis a maistre Geoffroy Tory de Bourges, marchant libraire, demourant a Paris, imprimer et mettre en vente ce present livre,' etc. On the recto of the second leaf: 'Cest Lordre et forme qui a este faicte et tenue par le commandement du Roy nostre Sire au Sacre et Coronnement de la Royne ma dame Leonore Daustriche, seur aisnee de Lempereur, le cinquiesme iour de mars M. D. XXX. Lequel ... a este mis et redige par escript au vray par moy Guillaume Bochetel, son notaire et secretaire, signant en ses finances....'

The text begins immediately under this, with the beautiful decorated letter (L) which is reproduced on page 1 of this book.

The license, printed on the last leaf but one, informs us that Tory had then become a printer, whence we may conclude that it was he who printed the volume, although there is no definite statement to that effect.

'We have given to maistre Geoffroy Tory, bookseller, and printer, leave to print the Queen's Coronation, and do forbid all other printers to print the same for the term of one year,[257] on pain of summary fine

on conviction thereof. Done at Paris the tenth day of March one thousand five hundred and thirty. DE LA BARRE.'

On the last page, which is set in a border of the same type as that of the title-page, we read, above the Pot Cassé: 'The printing of this present book was finished the XVI day of March M. D. XXX,[258] and it is for sale,'[259] etc.

2

> LENTREE DE LA ROYNE EN SA VILLE & CITE DE PARIS, IMPRIMEE PAR LE COMMANDEMENT DU ROY NOSTRE SIRE. (Pot Cassé, no. 6.) On la vend a Paris, en la Rue Sainct Iaques devant Lescu De Basle, & devant leglise de la Magdaleine, A Lenseigne du Pot Casse.—Avec Privilege. Quarto, of six signatures. [Paris, Geofroy Tory, 1531.]

This title is set within the charming title-page border of the Colines copies of the Hours of 1524-1525. On the verso of the title-page: 'Il est permis,' etc., as in the preceding volume. On the second leaf the text begins with a beautiful decorated letter (A) after the style of the L of the volume last described. This page also is set in a portico-shaped border, with arabesques; but the latter are different from those in the 'Sacre.'

We find, too, three other and different borders in the balance of the work, which gives us in all six pages with borders in addition to that of the title-page and that of the last page, which is identical with that of

the last page of 'Champ fleury'; some floriated letters also have been borrowed from this last-named work. Though none of these are signed, they are surely Tory's, so far as the designs are concerned, at least.

The text of this book, as of the preceding, is by Guillaume Bochetel, who signed it. Following his text, Tory inserted a charming cut, representing the gift presented by the city of Paris to the Queen—a magnificent candelabrum. At the top are the words: 'Deseing du present faict a la Royne en deux chandeliers.'[260] The license granted to Tory for printing this book is identical with that of the preceding, except that it is dated at Anet, April 26, 1531. We learn from the last page that the printing was finished on Tuesday, May 9, 1531.

Geofroy Tory was not simply the printer of this little volume; he was also the publisher, and he added to the text three poems in Latin, of his own composition. Here they are:—

Geofroy Tory of Bourges to Queen Leonora.[261]

We are about to celebrate this triumph of yours, Leonora, which your Parisians have conferred upon you. You are a queen so loving-kind to us that we all can say that you are a real goddess. We can certainly say that you are a benign goddess, since you at last bless us with grateful peace. With peace you bless all who inhabit the French kingdom, so kind have been the fates in establishing you in power. As one upright, aye, holy, gentle, and a true bestower of blessings, you have brought our lilies back to their country. By your leave, I will speak in few words, and I will proclaim the truth: in you resides full national salvation for us all.

The same to the same.

May the gods long continue your happy lot, Leonora. You are our Joy, our Peace, and our grateful Repose.

The same Tory to the French People.

Exult and be glad, people of France; you see what happiness Leonora now brings to you. She, sent, be sure, by the manifest will of God, enables you at last to enjoy the blessings of peace. Strew roses, laurel, violets, nard, and saffron, and merrily revel to your hearts' content. But be careful too that you, best of people, be not backward in rendering pious prayers to God. If you never cease to sing God's praises and to frequent his temples, believe me, you will long enjoy the blessings of peace. You will behold the golden ages beneath the smiling heaven, and on earth you will reap in prosperity golden harvests. Add to this that you will in similar manner become a race all golden too. Continue, therefore, your holy services to the most high God.

3

IN LODOICÆ REGIS MATRIS MORTEM EPITAPHIA LATINA ET GALLICA.—EPITAPHES A LA LOUENGE DE MA DAME MERE DU ROY FAICTZ PAR PLUSIEURS RECOMMENDABLES AUTHEURS. (Pot Cassé no. 6.) On les vend a Paris devant Leglise de la Magdeleine, a Lenseigne du Pot Casse.—Avec privilege.

Quarto, of two and a half signatures. [Paris, G. Tory, 1531.]

The license, dated Paris, October 13, 1531, and signed DE LA BARRE, like the two preceding, gives Tory at last the title of king's printer: 'We have granted to

maistre Geofroy Tory, marchant libraire et *imprimeur du Roy*, leave,' etc. On the last page, which, as well as the first, is set in a border,[262] are the words: 'Printed at Paris, at the sign of the Pot Cassé, by maistre Geofroy Tory de Bourges, bookseller and king's printer. The XVII day of October, M. D. XXXI.'

As the title-page indicates, this volume contains verses in Latin and in French by divers contemporary authors. Among the former is one by Geofroy Tory himself, which I will give as a specimen.

Louise, royal mother, addresses and consoles her France: written by Geofroy Tory of Bourges.[263]

France, why do you in deepest sorrow mourn for me? Do you not know that the whole human race is destined to die? Revive, and consider how I by my foresight preserved you from the bitter and ruthless enemy. I leave to you a son, king by divine will, who under my guidance cherishes you in glorious peace. Joyfully he beholds in your arms his pledges, who will bring the whole world under your sway. You have a queen who is the foster-daughter of virtue and peace, and who blesses your lot with good fortune. You have also another queen, who is the sister and good counselor of your consecrated king. With such guides as these, dear France, you should not complain. You are fortunate in having such leaders. Moreover, when I die, I will not desert you, for you have my immortal name. Devotedly I will ever pray for you before the mighty Thunderer, asking that you may reign victoriously and nobly. Strew laurel for me, violets, nard, and saffron; strew also flowers, lilies, garlands, and roses. Add to these, moreover, hymns with most exalted praises, rites, melodies, incense, myrrh, and prayers. Hesitate not to erect altars to me. For, as a benign goddess, I now

proceed to fly to Heaven. Farewell.

The first two of these three opuscula exhibit three different kinds of type: that of 'Champ fleury' and two others. In the third we find a fourth size. It will be seen that Tory's printing-office was increasing in importance.[264]

4

ORDONNANCES DU ROY (François I), etc.

Quarto, of four signatures (A to D). Paris, 1532.

I have seen only the last signature of this collection. It has a special title-page, embellished by the border of the Colines copies of the Hours of 1524-1525; but the signature letter (D) and the first word of the title demonstrate the existence of at least three others. It seems that Geofroy Tory treated the legislative documents of François I in the sixteenth century as the Imperial printing-office treats the 'Bulletin des Lois' to-day: that is to say, each fold has a title, although it forms a part of the same publication with that which precedes and that which follows.

I transcribe the title of the signature that I have seen,[265] made up of six leaves, that is a sheet and a half quarto[266] (*encartées*):—

AUTRES ORDONNANCES NOUVELLES DU ROY NOSTRE SIRE SUR LESTAT DES TRESORIERS ET MANYMENT DES FINANCES, PUBLIEES EN LA CHAMBRE DES COMPTES ET AU CONSEIL DE LA TOUR CARREE. (Pot Cassé.) Imprimees a Paris par maistre Geofroy Tory de Bourges, libraire et imprimeur du Roy. Devant Leglise de la Madeleine, a lenseigne du Pot Casse.—Avec privilege comme il appert cy apres en la fin.

Then follow four ordinances of the king, of the year 1532, 'sur lestat des tresoriers,' etc. They are dated, the first at Hamby, April 19, the second at Châteaubriant, June 14, the third and fourth also at Châteaubriant, May 16. On the recto of the last leaf is the duplicate of the license, in these words:—

'The judges appointed by the king in the Chambre de la Tour Carree to administer the finances, having considered the petition presented by Geofroy Tory, bookseller and king's printer, praying that he may have permission to print the ordinances of late issued by the king touching the administration of his finances and the officers engaged therein, which have been published in said chamber, and that all other booksellers and printers may be forbidden to print or to cause to be printed the said ordinances until the expiration of three years next ensuing, on pain of summary fine, the said judges have permitted and do permit the said Geofroy Tory to print the said ordinances, and forbid all other booksellers and printers to print or cause to be printed the said ordinances for one year,[267] on pain of summary fine. Done at Paris the eighteenth day of July, in the year one thousand five hundred thirty-two. Signed: Bordel.'

On the last page is the beautiful final border of 'Champ fleury,' in which is the Pot Cassé; and beneath it are the words: 'The printing of these present ordinances was finished the twentieth day of July M. D. XXXII, by maistre Geofroy Tory de Bourges, bookseller and king's printer.'

5

LHISTOIRE ECCLESIASTIQUE [of Eusebius]

TRANSLATEE DE LATIN EN FRANÇois PAR MESSIRE CLAUDE DE SEYSSEL, EVESQUE LORS DE MARSEILLE, DEPUIS ARCHEVESQUE DE THURIN.—Imprimee par le commandement du Roy (Pot Cassé). —On les vend a Paris, devant leglise de la Magdelaine, a lenseigne du Pot Casse. Par maistre Geofroy Tory de Bourges, marchant libraire et imprimeur du Roy.—Avec privilege pour six ans.

Paris, G. Tory, 1532. Folio; 6 preliminary leaves, 151 leaves of text, numbered, and a final unnumbered leaf, on the verso of which are the words: 'The printing of this present book was finished the XXI day of October, M. D. XXXII, by maistre Geofroy Tory,' etc. Then follows the Pot Cassé, surmounted by the arms of France, borrowed from the verso of the title-page of 'Champ fleury.'

6

LES TROYS PREMIERS LIVRES DE LHISTOIRE DE DIODORE SICILIEN, HISTORIOGRAPHE GREC. TRANSLATEZ DE LATIN EN FRANCOYS PAR MAISTRE ANTHOINE MACAULT NOTAIRE SECRETAIRE ET VALLET DE CHAMBRE ORDINAIRE DU ROY, FRANCOYS PREMIER.—Imprimez de l'ordonnance et commandement dudit seigneur.—Avecques privilege a six ans.—On les vent a Paris en la rue de la Iuifverie, devant la Magdalaine, a l'enseigne[268] du pot cassé.

At the end: 'Imprimé a Paris, en avril M. D. XXXV.'[269]

—Quarto.

The title-page of this book is embellished by a portico-shaped border, which is found in the first three opuscula described in this section. On the verso of the title, in the vellum copy at the Bibliothèque Nationale, is the final border of 'Champ fleury,' in which are depicted the arms of England, with the device, DIEV EST [*sic*] MON DROICT.

The author's exordium begins with a large letter S, decorated with an escutcheon bearing two fasces accompanied by nine besants, three by three, with this device in Greek: MHKETI ('not at all'); these are Macault's arms, doubtless. This letter appears again on folio 148. Facing the first page of text is a magnificent engraving representing François I surrounded by his court, listening to Macault as he reads his book to the king. The author is represented in a clerical costume, with a calotte on his head. Beside him are the three sons of François I: François, who died a few years later, Henri, who became Henri II, and Charles, Duc d'Orléans. This engraving is a faithful copy of the painting on Macault's original manuscript, which was still in France in 1811, but has since crossed over to England. It is described in Part 3, section 1 (pages 166-168).

The printed book forms a quarto volume of 8 unnumbered preliminary leaves, 152 numbered leaves (signatures A to Q), and 8 leaves of index: 168 leaves in all. On the last page is the final border of 'Champ fleury,' which appears also on the verso of the title.[270]



PIERRE ROFFET

SECTION IV. WORKS PRINTED BY TORY FOR PRIVATE INDIVIDUALS.

1

ANTISTITIS INCOMPARABILIS MICHÆLIS

BODETI, DUM VIVERET EPISCOPI DUCIS LINGONENSIS ET PARIS FRANCIÆ EPICEDIUM.

Below this title, the arms of Michel de Boudet, engraved on wood. At the end is the Pot Cassé, with this colophon: 'Parisiis anno salutis humanæ 1530.' (Michel de Boudet had died in 1529, with the title of duke and peer, which the Bishops of Langres had borne since the twelfth century.) Six quarto leaves [Paris, G. Tory, 1530]. Library of the Faculty of Medicine of Montpellier, no. 292.

Having had occasion to visit the neighbourhood of Montpellier for reasons connected with my health, I seized the opportunity to examine this volume and complete my information concerning it. On the first page, surrounded by the border of the Colines copies of the Hours of 1524-1525, are these words: 'Antistitis Incomparabilis Michælis Bodeti dum viveret Episcopi Ducis Lingonensis et Franciæ Paris Epicedium.' Then the arms of Michel de Boudet. On the verso: 'Cautum est privilegio, ne quis hoc Epicedium imprimat aut imprimi curet infra biennium subpöena in diplomate ad hoc obtento contenta.' The four following leaves contain a poem in honour of Michel de Boudet; on the sixth is the Pot Cassé, no. 6, and beneath it: 'Parrhisiis, Anno salutis humanæ, M. D. XXX.' There is nothing to indicate the author of this little work, which is printed in the same type as the Epitaphs in honour of the mother of François I.[271]

2

APOLOGIE POUR LA FOI CHRESTIENNE CONTRE LES ERREURS CONTENUES EN UN

PETIT LIVRE DE MESSIRE GEORGES HALEVIN.

Paris, G. Tory, 1531. Octavo.

I borrow this description from the 'Catalogue de la Bibliothèque de feu M. de La Vallière' (vol. i, p. 275), for I have not been able to inspect this work, which, however, should be in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal with M. de La Vallière's other books, and in the library at Sainte-Geneviève, whither it must have gone with the collection of Le Tellier in whose catalogue it also appears.

3

HISTOIRE DES EMPEREURS DE TURQUIE, translated from Latin into French by Barthélemy Dupré. 1532.

I borrow this abridged description from a biography of Tory published by M. Chevalier de Saint-Amand, honorary librarian of Bourges, in the 'Annonces Berruyères,' no. 38 (September, 21, 1837).[272]

4

LADOLESCENCE CLEMENTINE. AUTREMENT, LES OEUVRES DE CLEMENT MAROT DE CAHORS EN QUERCY, VALET DE CHAMBRE DU ROY, COMPOSEES EN LEAGE DE SON ADOLESCENCE.—AVEC LA COMPLAINCTE SUR LE TRESPAS DE FEU MESSIRE FLORIMOND ROBERTET.ET PLUSIEURS AUTRES OEUVRES FAICTES PAR LEDICT MAROT DEPUIS LEAGE DE SA DICTE ADOLESCENCE. Le tout reveu, corrige & mis en bon ordre.—On les vend a

> Paris, devant Lesglise Saincte Geneviefve des Ardens, Rue Neufve nostre Dame. A Lenseigne du Faulcheur.—Avec privilege pour Trois Ans.

At the end: 'The printing of this present book was finished on Monday the XII day of August. Year M. D. XXXII. For Pierre Roffet, called le Faulcheur. By maistre Geofroy Tory de Bourges, king's printer.

Octavo, 1st edition. Only a single copy is known, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale. The volume consists, first, of four preliminary leaves (half a fold), comprising: (1) the title which I have just transcribed; (2) on the verso, some laudatory verses, among which figures this distich of Tory, who was not only Marot's printer, but his friend:—

> 'Vis lauros cypriasque comas, charitesque, iocosque,
> Inde sales etiam nosse? Marotus habet';

(3) Clément's letter 'to a large number of brethren,' dated August 12, 1532, that is to say, on the same day that Tory finished printing the book, and not August 12, 1530, as was erroneously printed in some subsequent editions, which has given rise to a theory of an earlier issue[273]; (4) the table of contents; (5) a leaf entirely blank. Then comes the text of the 'Adolescence Clementine,' extending from folio 1 to folio 104, on which is the word 'finis'; and after that the 'Chant royal,' etc., from 105 to 115. The book ends with a list of errata on an unnumbered folio (116). The table of contents, on one of the preliminary leaves, informs us that one ode had previously been published separately, but no copy of

it is known.

5

The Same.

A second edition of this book was published by the same bookseller, and the printing finished by Tory on November 13, 1532. It differs from the first in this respect, that the text and preliminary leaves are joined, or, to speak more accurately, the first two of those leaves; for the table of contents is relegated to the end of the volume, in place of the errata, which no longer appear. The volume consists of a hundred and nineteen leaves, the last unnumbered. The word 'finis' still appears on folio 104, after the 'Adolescence Clementine'; then comes the 'Chant royal,' etc.; and lastly two leaves entitled: 'Autres Œuvres faictes en sa dicte maladie,' indicated by this phrase on the title-page: 'Plus amples que les premiers imprimez de ceste, ny autre impression.' (Bibliothèque Mazarine.)

6

The Same.

A third edition was printed by Tory on February 12, 1532 (1533, new style), like the preceding in every respect, but having only 118 leaves.

7

The Same.

A fourth edition appeared June 7, 1533, identical with the preceding, except that the words on the title-page, 'plus amples,' etc. are replaced by these: 'Avec certains accens notez, cest assavoir sur le é

masculin different du feminim [*sic*], sur les dictions ioinctes ensembles par sinalephes, et soubz le ç quant il tient de la prononciation de le s, ce qui par cy devant par faulte daduis n'a este faict au langaige françoys, combien q'uil [*sic*] y fust et soit tres necessaire.'

This fourth edition of the 'Adolescence Clementine' was the last work printed by Tory to my knowledge. In the intervals between these four editions, however, he had published the works of Clément Marot's father, edited by Clément himself, under the following title:—

8

IAN MAROT DE CAEN, SUR LES DEUX HEUREUX VOYAGES DE GENES & VENISE, VICTORIEUSEMENT MYS A FIN, PAR LE TRESCHRESTIEN ROY LOYS DOUZIESME DE CE NOM, PERE DU PEUPLE. ET VERITABLEMENT ESCRIPTZ PAR ICELUY IAN MAROT, ALORS POETE ESCRIUAIN DE LA TRESMAGNANIME ROYNE ANNE, DUCHESSE DE BRETAIGNE, & DEPUYS VALET DE CHAMBRE DU TRESCHRESTIĒ ROY FRANCOYS PREMIER DU NOM. On les vent a Paris, deuant Lesglise Saincte Geneuiefue des Ardens, Rue Neufue Nostre Dame, A Lenseigne du Faulcheur.— Auec priuilege pour Trois Ans.[274]

At the end: 'The printing of this present book was finished the XXII day of January, M. D. XXXII [1533, new style], for Pierre Roufet, called Le Faulcheur, by maistre Geufroy Tory de Bourges, king's printer.'

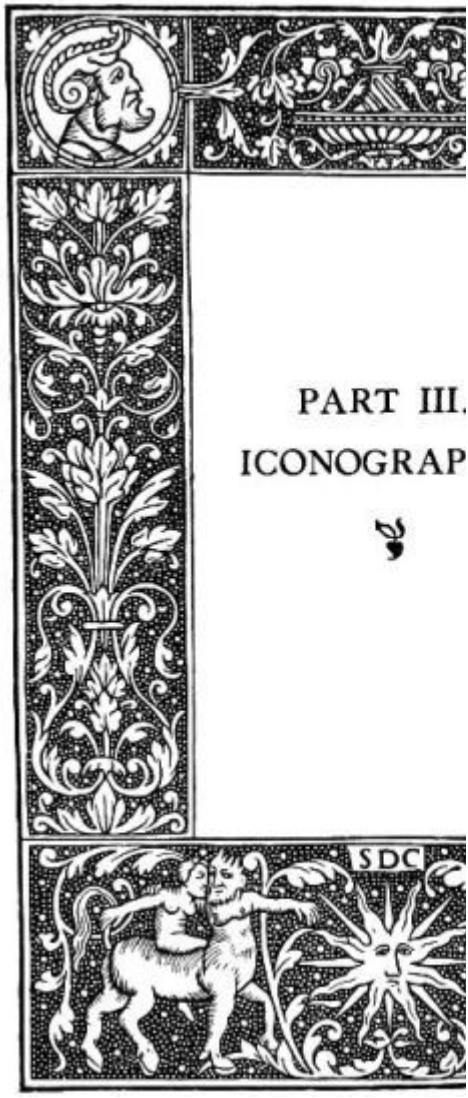
Octavo of 101 leaves. (Bibliothèque Nationale.)

In this edition there is a letter of Clément Marot mentioning the death of his father, 'author of this book.'

9

The Same.

M. Brunet cites a second edition of this book, executed by Tory for the same bookseller in 1533.


PART III.
ICONOGRAP
SDC



PART III. ICONOGRAPHY.

As I have hitherto called attention to the books that we owe to Tory whether as publisher, as author, or as printer and bookseller, so it will be well to notice those which he enriched with his paintings and engravings during twenty years of his life. This is a new aspect of his whole career which it is our present purpose to bring into view; for, while Tory was for some time teacher, bookseller, printer, he was always a draughtsman and engraver, from the day that he was a man grown.

But, first of all, there is a preliminary question to be decided: Was Tory really a painter and engraver? In the first part of this book I said that he was, but I did not furnish proofs of the fact, and none of the historians of painting or of engraving have mentioned him in that connection. It is advisable therefore, first of all, to demonstrate the accuracy of my assertion. In order to solve this complicated question more easily, let us divide it.

Was Tory a painter?

That Tory was a painter-draughtsman, there can be

no doubt, for he himself makes the assertion in express terms on each page of 'Champ fleury.' For instance, we read on folio 3 verso of that work, apropos of the Gallic Hercules:—

'I saw this same fable in rich painting within the city of Rome near the Sanguine tower, not far from the Church of Saint Louis, ... and the better to keep the thing in my eye, I made this drawing....'

In the collection of verses written by him on the occasion of the death of his daughter Agnes, Tory makes her speak thus from the urn wherein she is supposed to repose:—

MONITOR.

Who made for you this urn, set with brilliant gems?

AGNES.

Who? My father; famed in this art.

MONITOR.

Certes, your father is an excellent potter.

AGNES.

He practises industriously every day the liberal arts.

Thus Geofroy Tory himself informs us in 1523 that he industriously practised the arts. Now, if this were true, he could not have been ignorant of drawing, which is the first of all the arts. Moreover, it is plain that in those days an engraver (and we shall prove in a moment that Tory was one) could not fail to be a draughtsman. The artist was at that time an all-round

workman, embracing all the special branches of his profession: painting, drawing, engraving, he took a hand at them all. Not until it became vulgarized, until it became a trade, was art subdivided—and greatly to its prejudice. In truth, one cannot but realize all that there is to be desired in the work of those mercenaries of the engraver's art, who, having no knowledge of the first elements of drawing, are bidden to reproduce, with the aid of the graving tool, lines which they do not understand.

We can therefore assert that, as a general rule, the engravings found in Tory's books were drawn by him.

But this is not all: I believe that we should also attribute to him the admirable miniatures[275] that have come down to us of the painter known by the name of 'Godefroy.' If, indeed, we compare the engravings in Tory's books with the designs of that painter, we readily recognize a similarity of execution which seems to establish the identity of the two men. This Godefroy, who signs his works sometimes with the full name, sometimes with a simple G, but always in roman letters,—a noteworthy thing at a time when the gothic was in its most flourishing state,—was no other than Tory, whose baptismal name, as we have seen, was in Latin Godofredus. We know how little was thought of family names in the old days. As late as the sixteenth century it was no uncommon thing to see persons designated by their baptismal names alone, or, at most, with the name of their native place added. We have seen[276] that the famous painter Jean Perreal, Tory's master and friend, was little known except by the name of Jean de Paris. Tory himself is called Godefroy the Berrichon (Godofredus Biturix) in some

verses which his friend Gérard de Vercel composed in his praise in 1512.[277] Even at the close of the sixteenth century our two leading bibliographers, Antoine du Verdier and La Croix du Maine, who also bore geographical names, deemed it proper to adopt no other order than that of baptismal names in arranging alphabetically the authors who are mentioned in their books entitled 'Bibliothèque Françoise.' There is nothing extraordinary therefore in Tory's signing his first works with a baptismal name alone. It is true that that name is slightly different, orthographically speaking, from the one that he used later; but it is well to remember the change that took place about that time in our author's customs. Doubtless he signed 'Godefroy' before he had entirely shaken off the yoke of the classical languages,[278] and had adopted the more French form 'Geofroy,' which was about the year 1523.

The dates inscribed upon some of Godefroy's paintings, 1519 and 1520, coincide perfectly with the known facts of Tory's life: that was the period when, after his second return from Italy, he was fain to utilize his talents for his livelihood. I may add that we have several engravings of that same period signed with a G alone, or with a G within which appears a small F; others signed with a G surmounted by the double cross, with a small S within; and others signed G. T., which serve to mark the transition between Tory's use of the simple G and the inscription in full of his two names, Geofroy Tory. These two names appear together in one of the borders of his Hours of 1524-1525 [the border which is to be found on p. 105].

Whatever the fact may be, we propose to give here,

by way of memorandum, at least a brief list of the works of the painter Godefroy, referring the reader for fuller information to the interesting article which M. Léon de Laborde has published upon this subject in the 'Renaissance des Arts,' vol. i. pp. 891-913, and, later, in the 'Revue Universelle des Arts,' no. 1 (1855), which article we reproduce below with the author's consent.

The only manuscripts known to contain drawings of this artist are 'Les Commentaires de César,' in three small quarto volumes; and 'Les Triomphes de Petrarque,' in one small octavo volume—all written in French and bound in vellum.

The first-named work is not, as one might suppose from its title, a translation of the famous work of the conqueror of Gaul, but a commentary thereon in the form of a dialogue between Cæsar and François I, to whom the book is dedicated. The first volume is now in the British Museum at London, the second in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, and the third in the collection of M. le Duc d'Aumale. All the miniatures in the first volume, and there is a great number of them, are signed with a G; some bear the date 1519. The same is true of the second volume. One of the miniatures in the third volume is signed in full, 'Godefroy' (folio 52); several others, signed G only, are dated 1520.

As for the 'Triumphs' of Petrarch, which is in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, the miniatures bear no dates, but they are all signed with a G, and one has in addition the full name, 'Godefroy.' In the two works the drawings have the same general appearance; they are distinguished from those of the professional miniaturists by a very marked sobriety of colouring. They are noticeable, moreover, by

reason of a delicacy of execution and, at the same time, a sharpness of outline which can have come from no other hand than that of an engraver; now the engraver can have been no other than Tory, whose shields and even his antique arabesques we find in these designs.

In addition to these two works, of which the name and the *style* of the artist seem to me to permit their being attributed to Tory, I will mention here several others, of a somewhat later date, which likewise various circumstances make it possible to attribute to him.

The first is a translation of the first three books of Diodorus Siculus, by Antoine Macault. This superb manuscript, which was in the library of M. Firmin Didot *père* in 1810, is to-day buried in one of the private libraries of England. A description will be found on pp. 166-168. It is true that there is nothing about it to suggest Tory, but the style of the painting and of the engraving (the book was printed by Tory's widow in 1535) leaves no doubt as to his authorship. The second is a collection of portraits of the kings of France, by Jean du Tillet, the manuscript of which, presented by the author to Charles IX, is still preserved in the Bibliothèque du Roi. See the description of this priceless manuscript, and of several others preserved in the same collection.[279]

We come now to the second question:—Was Tory an engraver?

Neither Zani nor Papillon mentions him as such; nevertheless, there is one presumption in his favour. La Croix du Maine, who was almost his contemporary, tells us[280], without going into details, it is true, that Tory was known by the name

'maître au Pot Cassé'; others have said that he perfected Josse Bade's letters.[281] M. Renouvier has recently written[282] that Tory possessed the rare faculty of using the 'eschoppe' [graver] as well as the pen. 'Le Champ fleury,' he says, 'is a treatise on æsthetics such as none but an engraver of types could conceive.' What M. Renouvier conjectured, I assert, with no fear of being contradicted by the facts. To be sure, Tory did not anywhere state categorically that he was an engraver; but he gave it to be understood indirectly. For example, he tells us that, among the fancies that came to his mind on the 6th of January, 1523, and resulted in the composition of 'Champ fleury,' he remembered 'a letter of ancient form,' which he had 'not long since made for the house of my lord the treasurer of the wars, maistre Jehan Groslier, counsellor and secretary to the king our sire.'[283] What was this ancient letter made for the famous bibliophile Grolier, if not the basis of the beautiful roman characters which were used in that scholar's establishment to decorate his books, and to stamp upon them, in gold, this excellent device, among others, 'Ioannis Grolierii et Amicorum?'[284]

Again, all the authorities agree that Claude Garamond was a pupil of Tory. Now, what could he have learned from his master, if not the art of engraving types,—he who did nothing else in his whole life?

Furthermore, it is impossible to doubt that Tory engraved types when one runs through his 'Champ fleury.' Note especially what he says on folio 34 recto, where, having given a drawing of a capital A reversed, he explains it in the technical terms of the engraver.

'This,' he says, 'is done to help and give hints to goldsmiths and engravers, who, with their burin, graver, or other tool, engrave and cut an ancient letter reversed [à l'envers], or, as we say, to the left, so that it may appear to the right when it is printed and placed in its proper aspect. I have purposely made it white, and its background black, the opposite of the one that is drawn to the right, so that no one may be misled. For, as I have said, I have seen and do see many persons who are misled. Before the letter to be printed is finished, it is made twice reversed and twice to the right. In the first of the reversed there are the punches[285] of steel, in which the letter is wholly left-handed. The matrices have the letter to the right. The letter then cast is, as I have said of the punches, left-handed. Then finally on the printed paper the whole appears to the right, and in its proper aspect to be read currently. I had forgotten to say that the broad leg of the A is one tenth of its square in width, and the other leg one third as wide. The transverse limb should be three fourths as wide as the broad leg, as you may see by the drawings herewith made and duly proportioned.'

After this, and knowing as we do the relations between Geofroy Tory and the Estienne family, it will not be deemed extraordinary that I attribute to our artist the italic letters of Simon de Colines, engraved about 1525, and the roman and italic letters of Robert Estienne, engraved a little later.

But Tory not only engraved letters, that is to say, punches on steel, as some authors have stated: he signalized himself above all by his engravings on wood, and he illustrated almost all the books of his time, which fact is almost wholly unknown. I shall be asked, doubtless, upon what evidence my opinion is

based. It is this: In the license to print the book of Hours, granted to Tory by François I on September 23, 1524, we read:[286] 'Our dear and well-beloved maistre Geofroy Tory ... hath now caused it to be made known and shown unto us that *he hath of late made* and caused to be made certain pictures and vignettes "à l'antique," and likewise certain others, "à la moderne," to the end that the same may be printed and made use of in divers books of Hours, whereupon he hath employed himself a very long time, and hath made divers great expenditures and outlays.' Evidently the words 'he hath made' do not here apply to the drawing, but to the engraving of these pictures and vignettes, which he had previously drawn. Moreover, Tory himself betrayed his profession of engraver on wood in a charming vignette which he used as an initial in 'Champ fleury,' and which is reproduced on page 1. For we see therein, besides a compass, a square, etc., a pen and several varieties of knives used in wood-engraving; all of which justifies the remark of M. Renouvier: 'Tory possessed the rare faculty of using the graver as well as the pen.'

But, I shall be told, it avails nothing to prove vaguely that Tory dabbled in wood-engraving, if we can point to no works of his in that branch of the art,—for no one has done so hitherto. I propose to try to gratify the reader's desire, by proving that there is a way to recognize the engravings executed by Tory.

Many persons have already observed that the principal engravings in Tory's books, those which are most individual, as, for example, the Gallic Hercules (reproduced on page 141), and that of the Pot Cassé which accompanies the description of that emblem in 'Champ fleury' (reproduced on page 21) bear a mark;

but this mark they dare not attribute to him, because it is constantly found upon engravings, alone or accompanied by initials, for more than a century. M. Robert-Dumesnil, in his interesting work entitled 'Le Peintre-Graveur français,' published in the course of his article on Woeiriot,[287] who himself used this same mark, a catalogue of engravings signed with the double cross,—which he calls the cross of Lorraine or of Jerusalem,—extending from 1522 to 1632. He concludes that this mark was 'frequently employed in France, as a fictitious signature, on engravings on wood, by artists whose names will probably remain forever buried in oblivion.'

To banish this phantom, which caused M. Renouvier himself to pause on the pathway of truth,[288] it is sufficient to come to close quarters with it. This is what I propose to do; but first I must thank M. Robert-Dumesnil for having satisfactorily cleared up one important point. Until his book appeared, almost all the engravings marked with the double cross had been attributed to Woeiriot; or, rather, the engravings of the latter had added to the perplexity of classifiers. By identifying Woeiriot's work, M. Robert-Dumesnil has simplified the problem considerably. Only a small number of pieces remain to be ascribed to their authors, and as to these M. Robert-Dumesnil expresses himself thus: 'None of the works executed prior to Woeiriot's birth and the beginning of his career as an artist can be by him; of the others we hasten to say that not one seems to us to have been designed or executed by him.'

Nothing could be clearer. Let us add, to close the discussion, that Woeiriot did not begin to engrave until long after Tory had ceased, as he was barely two years old when Tory died; and, furthermore, that

his cross is almost always accompanied by his initials; sometimes, however, he uses the cross alone, but in that case the date prevents confusion. Take, for example, the 'Emblesmes et devises chrestiennes composées par damoiselle Georgette de Montenay,' the first edition of which was in 1571. It is impossible to attribute these engravings to Tory, who died nearly forty years earlier.

The other artists who used the cross may be divided into three classes, according to M. Robert-Dumesnil's book. First, we find the cross alone, from 1522 to 1561; secondly, after a long interval, in 1599, the cross appears accompanied by the initials I, L, B; and, lastly, a little later, two engravers on copper, named Jean Barra and Claude Rivard, signed their works with the cross. I do not include here the double cross discovered by M. Robert-Dumesnil on the printer's mark of a book dated 1632, because it is the mark of Gilles Corrozet, engraved a century earlier, as we shall see further on.

To sum up, then, there are no anonymous works bearing the cross except those produced between 1522 and 1561. The only question is whether the engravings executed between those dates, which bear the cross without initials, belong to one or to several artists.

I will, first of all, call attention to the fact that this interval embraces only forty years, and that there is no reason to attribute to several contemporaneous and anonymous artists a very peculiar mark which a single artist might have used during an even longer time. But this is not all: this interval can be reduced by several years; for the examples alleged to be subsequent to 1557, mentioned by M. Robert-Dumesnil, bear no date; they appear, it is true, in

books printed after that year, but they were engraved earlier, as I shall prove in due time. Blocks are not ephemeral objects; like type, they can be used indefinitely, and their use at a certain date does not prove that they had been made within a short time. We have just cited one—Gilles Corrozet's mark—which, simply by lack of use, it was possible to reproduce in books for more than a century.

What surprises me is not that M. Robert-Dumesnil has seen engravings with the cross printed in 1561, but that he has found none of a later date, which would have allowed him to fill up the gap that he has left between the anonymous artist of the cross alone and him who accompanied it with the letters I, L, B; he might have discovered the beautiful illustration of the Missal of 1539, which is described hereafter, in books of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Indeed, we find wood engravings of the sixteenth century, bearing the double cross, in a book published at Troyes in 1850!

On the other hand, I am surprised that M. Robert-Dumesnil found no engravings with the cross, accompanied by initials, of a date much earlier than 1599, for I myself have seen some that were contemporaneous with Tory. In fact, the Bibliothèque Nationale possesses a book of Hours according to the use of Paris, printed in that city in 1548, by Jean de Brye's widow, in which all the engravings are marked with the cross and the initials L, R. It is an octavo volume, printed in gothic type, and in red and black. An interesting fact to be noted here is that these engravings are improved copies of other unsigned engravings belonging to the printer Thielman Kerver,[289] and printed in a large number of books issued by him or his widow, Iolande

Bonhomme, at least as early as 1522,[290] and still to be seen in the Paris Missal, published by his son Jacques in 1559. I have seen also engravings of the artist with the initials I, L, B (cited by M. Robert-Dumesnil under the date of 1599), in a book of 1547.

These facts do not tend to contradict my proposition; they prove that Tory founded a school, and that his pupils adopted his mark (which is nothing more than his initial, or, rather, his toret, transferred from the Pot Cassé, of which it was the essential feature, to his engravings), adding thereto their initials, to distinguish themselves from the master whose ensign they hoisted, and to preserve their own individuality. I shall recur to this subject later.

The principal reason which prevented M. Renouvier from attributing to Tory, as he was naturally inclined to do, the engravings marked with the double cross alone, was the impossibility, in his judgement, of attributing them all to the same artist. 'M. Robert-Dumesnil,' he says, 'has noted a large number of books of 1522 to 1599, on the title-pages and plates of which the cross of Lorraine is found. This list might be increased, and the items should be carefully compared by whoever would try to find on them the mark of a wood-engraving establishment, or of several engravers on wood who worked for the booksellers Pierre Gaudoul, Simon de Colines, Robert Estienne, Grouleau, Gilles Corrozet, Vincent Sertenas, [291] etc.'

I have already answered the objection based upon M. Robert-Dumesnil's book, which he himself has abandoned with great pleasure, taking a deep interest in my discovery.[292] As for what M. Renouvier adds, it does not run counter to my suggestion, for I have already mentioned that, after

Tory's death, his widow carried on his engraving establishment for several years, retaining the same mark. This, doubtless, is the explanation of the differences to be noticed in the works signed with the Lorraine cross; for Perrette le Hullin, not being an engraver herself, must have employed different workmen.

This leads me to answer an objection that has been made to my theory. My attention has been called to the fact that the Lorraine cross appears on works anterior to Tory,—such, for example, as the mark of Gauthier Lud, the first printer of Saint-Dié in Lorraine. I have no purpose to claim the Lorraine cross for Tory alone. He was not its inventor, nor did it die with him; but there is a distinction to be made between an emblem employed in a general way, and one employed as the special mark of an artist. Not only do I not claim for Tory the Lorraine cross surmounting a circle, which appears on the mark of the Lorraine printer, Gauthier Lud,[293] in 1507, but I exclude the Lorraine cross surmounting a large gothic G, found on the title-page of a folio Missal according to the use of the church of Toul, printed at Paris by Wolfgang Hopyl, in 1508.[294] To my mind nothing could be more natural than that the Lorraine cross should be used in Lorraine; but that does not prove that an artist at Bourges may not have adopted it as the mark of his establishment.

I mention hereafter as one of Tory's first engravings on wood the title-page of a book printed at Meaux in 1522, and I then say that the preface of that book was dated 'Meldis, anno M. D. XXI.'[295] M. Brunet makes me say,[296] I cannot imagine why, 'Metis' instead of 'Meldis'; and M. Didot, misled by that statement, says that the book in question was

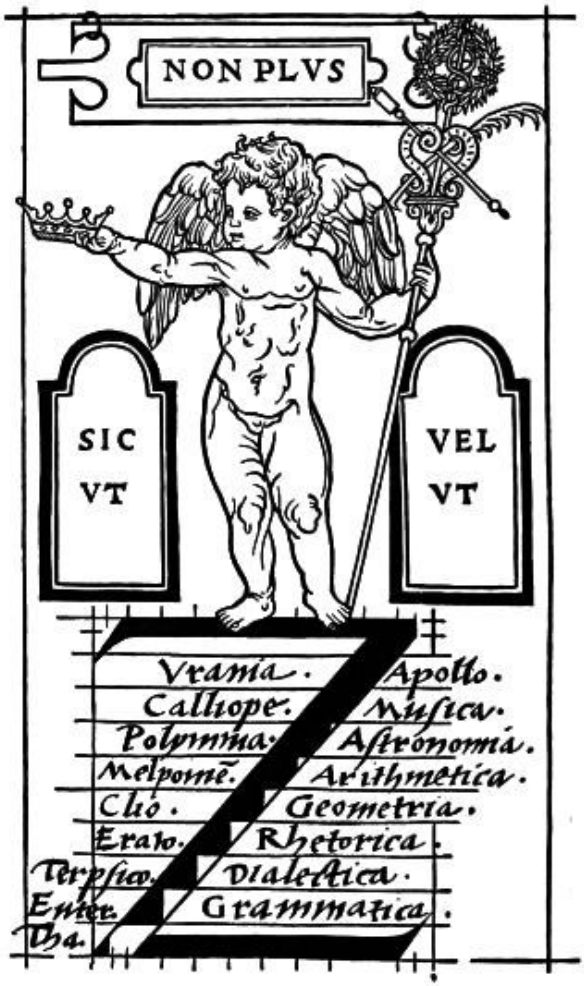
published at Metz,[297] which fact seems to him to explain the presence of the Lorraine cross on the title. This shows how an error may be appealed to in support of a theory.

Not only have I not exaggerated the part played by my hero, as authors are somewhat in the habit of doing,—on the contrary, I have restricted it as much as possible. Since the publication of my first edition, an attempt has been made to prove Tory to be the maker, or, at least, the decorator, of the beautiful Henri II porcelains, so-called, the subject of a recent publication of MM. Delange, father and son. M. Didot himself adopted this opinion,[298] which is based upon a vague similarity, but is completely refuted by the date of Tory's death. So far as I am concerned, appearances are of no consequence, unless they are accompanied by some substantial evidence; and that is why I have excluded from the list of Tory's works some engravings that Messrs. Renouvier and Didot do not hesitate to attribute to him because of certain similarities, but which do not bear his mark. It is that mark which has served me as a guide in identifying Tory's work. The objection is made, to be sure, that this plan requires the attribution to Tory of engravings of very dissimilar styles. Every plan has its disadvantages; but, all things considered, I prefer one that has something to stand upon to one that has nothing. Moreover, it is easy to explain the different styles of the artist of the Lorraine cross by referring to what has often taken place in the careers of other artists. In truth, how many painters have we seen change their style of painting at a certain period of their lives! But there is an even simpler way of explaining these dissimilarities in different engravings, namely, by admitting with me that the Lorraine cross was the mark of Tory's workshop, but

that in that workshop there were other artists of very diverse abilities. In the same way, we see to-day a multitude of engravings signed 'Andrew,' 'Best,' 'Leloir,' to which those artists certainly never put their hands.

But let us have done with argument and come to the facts: they will prove more conclusively than any number of dissertations the truth of our statement concerning Tory; they will prove, in fact, that all the works signed by the cross alone were engraved during that artist's lifetime, or in the establishment which he founded and which his widow retained until about 1556.

To make the demonstration clearer, I will divide what I still have to say into three sections. In the first I will include all the manuscripts the decoration of which can be attributed to Tory; in the second I will describe all the engravings marked with the Lorraine cross that are known to me, arranging them in chronological order; and in the third I will mention such marks of printer-booksellers bearing the aforesaid cross, as I have been able to discover. As it is impossible for me to follow the chronological order in this last category, I have adopted the alphabetical order, which will enable one to find at once such of these marks as are mentioned in the second section.


NON PLVS
SIC VT
VEL VT
Vrania. Apollo.
Calliope. Musica.
Polymnia. Astronomia.
Melpomẽ. Arithmetica.
Clio. Geometria.
Erato. Rhetorica.
Terpsic. Dialectica.
Enter. Grammatica.
Tha.

SECTION I. MANUSCRIPTS DECORATED WITH MINIATURES BY TORY.

1. Commentaires de César.

2. Triomphes de Pétrarque.

For a description of these two manuscripts[299] I cannot do better than transcribe in this place the interesting work of Comte Léon de Laborde. I print this work just as it was published several years ago, having no authority to modify it. But I think that I may venture to say that if it had been prepared since the publication of my book on Tory, it would contain a judgement in his favour. That seems to me to be the result of my conversations with M. de Laborde. My friend M. Jules Renouvier, whose death is so deeply to be deplored, and in whose company I examined the volume of the 'Commentaires' in the Bibliothèque Nationale, was entirely of my opinion. He spoke of the manuscript in question in these terms in a critical review of the first edition of my book on Tory, printed in the 'Revue Universelle des Arts' for September, 1857 (vol. v, no. 6, p. 511):—

'The point that we knew least about was Tory's début in the career of an artist. It was most brilliant if we agree with M. Bernard that he was the author of the miniatures found in two well-known manuscripts, the "Commentaires de César" in three volumes and the "Triomphes de Pétrarque," in which we find the signatures "G," and "Godefroy," and the dates 1519 and 1520. M. de Laborde has recently described them with all the care that they deserve, without discovering who this Godefroy was. He was no other

than Geofroy Tory, says M. Bernard, and this opinion is plausible; for, if the subsequent work of the engraver on wood does not fulfil the promise of the miniaturist, the drawing is governed by identical characteristics, and the similarity of style is striking, especially when we consider the engravings that are nearest in point of time, as those of "Champ fleury," dated 1526. Considered from this point of view, Geofroy Tory is the most precocious of the artists of the Renaissance: before the masters of Fontainebleau, he introduced the stately, graceful and individualized figures, which aroused enthusiasm in the time of François I, to which Italy lent much of her style, and Germany a little of her force, but which were more thoroughly French than is generally admitted. It is well known, moreover, that these miniatures were originally, even in the "camaieu" process, heightened in effect by chatoyant tones, with subtleties of drawing which denote a hand more apt to handle the pencil than the brush, and altogether adapted to the tools of the engraver. The draughtsman loses a part of his distinction in passing from a privileged to a commonplace form of art; but so the progress of art willed.'

The work of M. Léon de Laborde follows:—

GODEFROY, PAINTER TO FRANÇOIS I.

Godefroy has left us, in four small volumes,—the first three entitled 'Commentaires de César,' the fourth 'Triomphes de Pétrarque'—the proof of a fruitful imagination, of a talent in portrait-painting no less flexible than varied, and of a superiority original with himself, and thoroughly French,—a very unusual combination of the qualities peculiar to our school prior to the formation of the school of

Fontainebleau, and of the qualities—or, to speak more accurately, the defects—which that colony of foreign artists was soon to introduce in our midst.

These four volumes, after divers vicissitudes, repose at last, at the end of their journeyings and safe from the risk of destruction, the first in the British Museum at London, the second in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, the third in the collection of H. R. H. the Duc d'Aumale, and the fourth in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal. I will describe first the 'Commentaires de César,' a beautiful manuscript, the three volumes of which I have had before me one by one. There are in this work three things worthy of remark, to which I shall direct the reader's attention for a brief space. First, the composition of the work; second, the painting of the decorations; and lastly, the portraits.

The author, a native of Flanders or Artois, transplanted to the Court of France, displays no overplus of wit or imagination. He supposes that King François I, in one of his excursions, or while hunting, meets Julius Cæsar, and that they converse. The subject of their dialogue is the Gallic war; it is a sort of commentary on Cæsar's Commentaries, with transparent allusions to the events of the reign of François I. It is in these allusions that we detect the author's predilection for the Belgæ,[300] with whose country he is familiar, and particularly for the city of Tournay,[301] which may well have been his native place. I do not propose to draw any inference from his hatred of the English[302]; although more violent in our northern provinces than elsewhere, that sentiment was then universal in France. It would seem, at least so far as the implements of war are concerned, that the painter who was employed to

embellish the manuscript worked under the author's direction. We find in several places remarks like this: 'The tower is sufficiently described by the engines that I have caused to be drawn herein.'

For the rest, we feel that we have to do with a conscientious author; and simply by the extracts which follow, we may recognize the man who is uncertain and hesitates, the student who leaves every one in possession of his rights and who confides his doubts to the reader. On the eighth leaf of volume two he has instructed Godefroy, the painter, to reproduce an antique medallion; he writes in the margin: 'I fear that it is not that Cassius who was a conspirator in the death of Cæsar, for his name was Caius Cassius, and I find on the medallion Quintus Cassius.' As to one of the pictures of machines of war he makes this comment: 'Certain pictures of implements of war, as they are portrayed by Frère Jocunde in book x of Vitruvius.' Beside another, he says: 'I am not the inventor of the machines which follow, for I found them in a book that I secured long ago at Chastellerault, at the Lyon d'or.'

To this curious piece of information let us add another,[303] which tells us that the author of the book was in relations with an artist of Blois, a clock-maker and inventive genius: 'The two pictures that follow [two warlike machines] were taken from a book that Julian, clock-maker at Bloys, gave me.—Julian is a man of great wit and knows many things.'

A passage on folio xxii verso of the second volume seems to prove that the manuscript was written during the years 1519 and 1520: 'By the map [a map of Gaul] placed at the beginning of the translation of the first book made at Saint Germain en Laye in the month of April in the year one thousand five

hundred nineteen, you will see clearly who the Belgæ are.'

After the author, it is proper to speak of the calligrapher who wrote the manuscript; but there is nothing to be said save that it is in a fair hand. The painter Godefroy deserves more consideration and careful attention. Let us not forgot that we are dealing with a perfectly well-fixed time, limited to the years 1519 and 1520; let us, at the same time, recall the great national movement in art in France from 1450 to 1500, the Italian campaigns, the arrival of artists and objects of art from Italy during the reigns of Charles VIII and Louis XII, and lastly, and above all, the sojourn in France of the two great Italian masters, Leonardo da Vinci and Andrea del Sarto, from 1515 to 1518. Born and trained amid such influences, a French painter undertakes to decorate a manuscript for King François I. What does he do to satisfy the prevailing taste, the fashion, without denying his past? He divides his talent into two parts,[304] and devotes one, the French part, to the portraits, the other, the Italian imitation, to the decorations; in both he gives proof of abundant talent. In the one case, an exact, shrewd observer, he paints faces by faithfully reproducing their individual traits; in the other, fertile, never the same, abounding in resources in the ensemble and the details of his compositions, he is the pupil of Leonardo da Vinci, with suggestions of Mantegna and the artists of the first Italian Renaissance in the proportion of the figures, in the ungracefulness of the attitudes, and in the types of the heads.

From this period, from these influences, and not from Primaticcio, who was himself subjected to them, dates the Fontainebleau school. It was adapted to the

figure and the type of beauty of Diana de Poitiers; she encouraged it; but, I say again, it was formed, it was current, before the reign of the mistress of Henri II and before the painter who is its most characteristic expression. If we seek to discover what method of execution was adopted by Godefroy, we see that his portraits are charming miniatures, comparable with the finest examples that we have of French miniature-painting; as for the drawings,[305] there are some that are almost grisailles, almost coloured—a mongrel and conventional scheme, of very doubtful taste. The painter drew his whole subject with the pen, with a sureness of touch which, it must be said, has no parallel in such microscopical dimensions, especially with respect to the faces and the landscapes; then he laid in the general outline, with the brush and with sepia, in flat tones, rather lacking in life. Thus far he did not depart from the canons of art; but he added coloured costumes, suits of armour, gilded trappings, and a multitude of details which flutter about in his grisaille and depart from nature in a most extraordinary way. I have said that his figures are reminiscences of Italian works. We find among them Donatellesque forms, profiles perdus, and bold gestures that recall Mantegna, Perugino-like graceful attitudes and ways of carrying the head, and, in spite of everything, a French background, and points of resemblance to Holbein, which might be taken to signify that Godefroy had never seen Italy. Our national Renaissance had made such progress in nearly a century that our artists needed only a few drawings, a few engravings, with the impulsion given by Leonardo da Vinci and Andrea del Sarto, to enter that Italian current. It may be that our compatriot, like Holbein, was subjected to this influence from afar, at second hand, without

having crossed the mountains.

First volume.[306]—The book opens with a map of Gaul, and we read on the verso of the first leaf the following passage, written within a cartouche: 'Françoys, by the grace of God, King of France, a second Cæsar, vanquisher and subduer of the Souycez [Swiss], on the last day of April, one month after the birth of his second son, in his park of Sainct-Germain-en-Laye, fell in with Julius Cæsar and questioned him shrewdly concerning the contents of the first book of the Commentaries.' In another cartouche is a passage of which we need transcribe no more than the first words: 'Cæsar, first subjugator of the Helvecez [Helvetii, Swiss], graciously made reply to him,' etc.

On the third leaf Godefroy has painted the portrait of François I, head and shoulders alone, in a medallion. He wears his usual costume and the cap, without a feather, adorned with a banner. His features and his whole countenance are idealized—they are a little stiff and sharp; the artist has sought to produce an ideal antique head. The first miniature, on the verso of the fifth leaf, bears the date 1519, with no monogram; the others—folios 9, 13, 17, 21, 23, 31, 33, 36, 43, 53, 60, and so on to the end—are signed with a G, and dated the same year. On the miniature painted on the recto of folio 53, the initial of the artist's name is traced on the trunk of a tree from which hangs a small cartouche with the words, 'Besanson, 1519.' To be sure, the corresponding passage in the text requires that the miniature in question should represent that venerable city, but a certain precision in the details, and a sort of predilection manifested in the care bestowed upon the execution, lead me to believe that the view was

painted after nature, and that Godefroy was attached to that city by some bond.

I have already spoken of the special characteristics of these miniatures, and I will mention here only the one on folio 23, which represents the building of a bridge over the Saône. In the foreground we see figures reminiscent of the painter Mantegna in their activity, their vigour, and a certain almost antique grace. The artist has retained the long pointed shoes to mark the Frenchman; this is an ill-timed display of archæological learning.

The volume, a large octavo, shaped like a notebook, contains 76 leaves, including the map. It is in its original binding of red morocco, with ornaments of wreaths of fleurs-de-lis, stamped with small tools. One can see the marks of the ribbons which were used to close it and to keep the vellum from puckering. On the recto of the first leaf, below the map of Gaul, are the words: 'Bibliothecæ Christophori Justelli.' This note, while it establishes the antiquity of the manuscript, also explains its emigration to England. Christophe Justel, Councillor and Secretary to the King, died at Paris in 1649, at the age of seventy, leaving to his son, together with the taste for study, a valuable collection of books and manuscripts. Among the latter was this first volume of the 'Commentaires de César.' Henri Justel succeeded his father in the office of Secretary to the King; also in his literary studies and in the liberality with which his library and house were thrown open to scholars. The letters of all the learned men of the time bear witness to his hospitality offered to learning.

He published at Paris, in 1661, the 'Bibliotheca juris canonici veteris ex antiquis codd. mss. bibliothecæ

Christophori Justelli,' in two folio volumes, and he seemed destined to pursue in peace his erudite career. But the tempest called the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes was preceded, for far-seeing Protestants, by premonitory signs which were enough for Henri Justel. He packed up his books and crossed to England, where he was appointed Librarian to the King—an office which he held until his death in 1698. The manuscript of the 'Commentaires' was probably purchased at the sale of his library by Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford. The Lord Treasurer of England (1661-1724) found consolation for the ingratitude of men in forming that magnificent collection, which retains the name of the Harleian Collection in the British Museum.

Our manuscript, however, reached that haven only with the second part of Robert Harley's books and manuscripts, in 1754.

Second Volume.[307]—The first miniature represents François I on horseback, in hunting costume, wearing the chapeau with plumes. The King is urging his horse to the right. Above his head a crowned F in gold stands out against the blue background of a shield. This was a device for disclosing his identity to those who were not struck by the likeness. In the middle distance is a huntsman, galloping in the same direction as the King and blowing his horn. Over his head floats a banderole, bearing the name 'PEROT.'[308] On a stone between the legs of the King's horse is the initial letter of the artist's name; and beneath, in a frame (separated, however, by a running dog), the date 1519. The border is of the utmost grace of design, and leaves room for a few words of the text, which begins thus:—

'Françoys, by the grace of God King of France,

desiring to exercise his lusty youth by violent labour, early in the month of August in the year one thousand five hundred nineteen, went forth to course the stag in the forest of Byevre, and gave order that on that day those dogs should course which he had chosen to lead the pack, because they are surer than the others. Gaillart was of the number, as was Gallehault, and pretty Rameau. Arbault, Gerfault, and Billehault went in their company.

'The King was following the stag very close and was riding at full speed when he fell in with the chaste Diana. The King was overcome with joy, and having forgotten his quarry, he was all amazed that the vision vanished and he remained all alone in deepest thought. But soon after he saw beside him an ancient man of venerable aspect. He knew upon hearing him speak that it was his friend Julius Cæsar, whom he had met in like manner, only three months before, in his park at Sainte-Germain-en-Laye.'

Thereupon they enter into conversation upon Cæsar's campaigns.

Godefroy's plates, almost all of which are signed with a G and dated 1519, are on these leaves: 2 verso, 3 verso, 4 verso, 5 verso, 7 verso, 9 verso, 20 recto, 22 verso, 28 recto, 33 verso, 34 verso, 36 verso, 37 verso, 43 recto, 46 verso, 48 verso, 59 verso, 62 verso, 78 verso, 90 recto.

The medallions, which are copied from the antique, are admirably executed in gold on a blue ground, the models being delicately outlined in sepia. They are on leaves 6 verso, 8 recto, 9 verso, 10 verso, 11 recto and verso, 12 recto and verso, 13 recto and verso.

Warlike machines, copied from other drawings, and consequently lacking the life imparted by the

representation of real objects, fill leaves 39 recto and verso, 40 recto and verso, 41 recto, 91 recto and verso, 92 recto and verso, 93 recto and verso, 94 recto.

Lastly, the portraits may be found on the leaves which I am now about to enumerate. I will add nothing to what I have said of their perfection, generally speaking, reserving my comments for the points of interest suggested by the manuscript itself. These portraits, as one might have anticipated, and as is proved by leaf 52 most directly, are copies of originals which antedate the manuscript. They are painted in miniature, surrounded by three circles of black and gold; the whole medallion is fifty-two millimeters in diameter, the miniature forty.

Leaf 25 verso: Quintus Pedius. Such is the title given by the scribe; but a different hand has written in the margin, in cursive characters: 'Le grand maistre de Boissy, aged 41 years.' I am inclined to see in these marginal annotations the hand of the author rather than that of the artist. This portrait is three-quarters full, turned to the left, with a cap on its head, the hair in a net, a collar of some order around the neck, face tranquil, expression shrewd.

Leaf 35 recto: Le Fiable Divitiacus Dautun. ('Admiral de Boissy, seigneur de Bonivet, aged 34 years.') Three-quarters full, turned to the right.

Leaf 36: Quintus Titurius Sabinus. ('Odet de Foues, Sieur de Lautrec, aged 41 years.') Three-quarters full, turned to the left.

Leaf 42: Iccius. ('Le mareschal de Chabanes, seigneur de la Palice, aged 57 years.') Three-quarters full, turned to the left, expression slightly haughty.

Leaf 52: Lucius Aruculeius Cotta. ('Anne de

Montmorency, aged 22 years, afterwards connestable de France.')

Leaf 73: Publius Sextius Baculus. ('Le mareschal de Fleuranges, son of Robert de la Marche, first seigneur de Sedan, aged 24 years.') Three-quarters full, turned to the left.

Leaf 76 verso: Publius Crassus. ('Le sieur de Tournon who was killed at the battle of Pavia, aged 36 years.') Three-quarters full, turned to the left.

On the verso of leaf 89 we find these words: 'Thus Cæsar made an end of speaking and forthwith disappeared. The radiant Diana, who knew the paths of the forest of Bièvre, and of all time was privy to and understood the laws of the chase, remounted, and by so straight a course led the King, who had lost the dogs, that within a few hours, near the forest of Fontainebleau, he saw them hunting better than before. And he was the first of all at the death of the stag, but he had with him only pretty Arbault and the beautiful Greffière, for Diana and Aurora had left him and had gone their ways.'

The two dogs are represented in the miniature; they are attacking the stag, while the King makes ready to stab him.

This volume, containing 98 leaves, is bound in black morocco, which has grown rusty; it bears these words stamped in the leather: 'Tomus Secundus.' It is catalogued in the Supplément Français, as no. 1328. Its history, as told among the habitués of the Bibliothèque Nationale, is as follows: M. Van-Praët appeared at the Conservatoire one day with an exultant air; he had this fascinating manuscript in his hand, and announced that he had purchased it for the Bibliothèque for 1200 francs. He expected to

gladden the hearts of his comrades, to call forth expressions of gratitude; far from it; on the contrary, they found fault both with that method of purchasing, without authority, and with the price that he had paid. M. Van-Praët made haste to banish the scruples of his inflexible directors, and to put an end to the unpleasant discussion that was beginning, by declaring that the purchase had been made for himself and not for the Bibliothèque; then, when the meeting was adjourned, he hastened to his friends the brothers Debure, and, with a bursting heart, told them of his misadventure. They appreciated Van-Praët's regrets too thoroughly to try to calm them; but they knew also that he was not rich enough to keep the manuscript, and they bought for their own little collection, at the price that he had paid, that charming product of French art, still bleeding from the reception that it had met with at the hands of the great so-called 'national' collection. Years and years had passed since this strange performance, when, in 1852, a small package was brought to M. Naudet, with the information that M. Debure, by his last will, had ordered that this manuscript, embellished with paintings by Godefroy, which had been purchased for the Bibliothèque and spurned by it, should be restored to it as its property.

One does not know which to admire more in this testamentary disposition of the famous bookseller—the keenness of his irony or the nobility of his act. Without exerting itself overmuch to decide that point the Conservatoire of the Bibliothèque Impériale welcomed the prodigal child and deposited it in the Supplément Français. But, with a lingering remnant of spite, its light was hidden under the bushel of 'la réserve'; which is one way of preventing people from having access to it with the facility which assists

investigations, under the protection of that liberality which is one of our claims to honour among foreign nations, and which the government of the Bibliothèque should have preserved, even at the price of the inconvenience that it might have caused.

Third Volume.[309]—Original binding, with the title: 'Cæsaris liber tertius.' The text begins thus:—

'On the twenty-seventh day of February, one thousand five hundred xx, the King being in his park of Congnac, seeing that the splendour of his entry was like to be marred by the inclemency of the weather, took shelter in the house of the labyrinth, having with him monsieur l'Admiral and the young and discreet Sieur de la Rochepot. At the entrance to the lower room he feels and hears so violent a wind that it seems to him "quam spiritu vehementi" the lofty trees fall to the earth as on Friday the ninth day of March one thousand V^{cc}xx in divers places about Paris.'

The result of all this uproar is the appearance of Julius Cæsar. François I questions him as to what he did after pacifying Gaul. Whereupon Cæsar replies:—

'I tell you that, after divers victories won by me, so high an opinion of me and so great renown were spread among the barbarian peoples, that ambassadors were sent to me by the nations beyond the Rhine, who in the name of their cities promised to give hostages to me and to obey my commands. But, for that I was in haste to go thence, I bade them return to me in the summer season. Thereafter I led my legions to winter quarters in the land of Touraine and in the duchy of Madame your mother. And that done, I went hence to Italy.'

This volume is supplied with two maps: one, of

Aquitaine, is at the beginning, the other, of Bretagne, at the end of the volume, which contains also no less than twelve large miniatures. The King, in hunting costume, figures again and again in them. The execution is as careful, and the paintings of the same type, as in the two earlier volumes. All the miniatures and the maps are signed with a G, and some of them are dated 1520. On folio 52, the painter's name is written in full: 'Godefroy.'

The former owner of this fine manuscript writes to me: 'I cannot furnish you with any interesting information concerning the manuscript of the "Commentaires de César." It was given to me, only the slightest importance being attached to the gift, by a resident of Tours, who owned no books, and who had kept it for forty years in his closet. To tell you how it came into my hands would be the more difficult because that person has long been dead. The volume was delivered to me in very bad condition. I employed Duru to repair the back and to rebind it, leaving intact the covers, which were of the original sixteenth-century binding. A small engraving, which resembled niello-work, but was recognized as the work of Étienne de Laulne, an engraver of Orléans, was at the beginning of the book.'

Obliged, in 1850, by circumstances which it is needless to detail, although they were to his honour, to part with this precious volume, its owner sent it to Paris, to M. Techener, for sale on commission. He wanted 2000 francs for it, and first of all the bookseller offered it to the Bibliothèque Nationale. The Conservatoire of that great collection could not find that amount in its annual credit of 80,000 francs, and it renewed the old joke which had temporarily banished the second volume.

Unfortunately one does not meet every day, to repair its errors, generous booksellers like M. Debure, or those who have it in their power to be as generous as he; and M. Techener, who was richer than our rich collection of books for the purpose of purchasing this manuscript, was not rich enough to present it to that collection. He advertised it in the 'Bulletin du Bibliophile' for 1850 (no. 1222), for 3000 francs. During a whole year, artists and curious folk (I was among the latter) were at liberty to examine it at leisure and to lament the advent of English dealers who threatened every moment to take it from us. At last, Monseigneur le Duc d'Aumale added it to his treasures of printed books and manuscripts, and, although in England, one may say now that it belongs to France. Indeed, it may be that M. Debure's example will be followed some day, and that this third volume will come to join the second on the shelves of our magnificent department of manuscripts, awaiting the time when the fortunate result of negotiations with the British Museum shall permit the consummation of the work by means of exchanges.[310]

Godefroy's facile talent could not fail to be fruitful of results, and some of his works may be found in several collections. The Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal owns one of them, the 'Triomphes de Pétrarque,' which seems, in view of the exuberance of the subjects, the exaggeration of the artist's defects, and the laxness of execution, to be of later date than the 'Commentaires de César'; and, whether because the artist had visited Italy, or because, the better to interpret the poet's ideas, he sought inspiration in Italian works, it is certain that he is less French in

the illustrations of this manuscript than in the others. He is more perfect, too, in the art of composition, his distances are more accurately measured, his groups are more in harmony with one another; in a word, he displays an inspiration, or resources, altogether new: such, for example, as the device of cutting off the figures in the foreground at the waist, by means of rising ground, whereby he is able to give them strongly proportioned frames without filling up his whole picture.

I will describe this manuscript briefly. It is a small octavo volume of ten leaves (not including the covers), written on fine parchment. It is about 10 centimetres in height by 8 in width. It was rebound in the eighteenth century, in lemon-colored morocco.

'Here followeth the first of the six triumphs of the most illustrious and venerable poet Messire Francisque Petrarque: the which is the triumph of Love and containeth four chapters.'

Chapter I. A miniature painted on pages 2 and 3, which face each other. It represents the triumph of Love, with a deal of disorder and somewhat licentious details. The G can be seen in the foreground, in the centre of the picture, on the ground.

Chapter II. The miniature has been removed.

Chapter III. The miniature occupies the verso of the title of the chapter. In the foreground are amorous couples discoursing together, some seated, some walking about. The men wear caps with long feathers, as in the bas-reliefs of the hôtel de Bourgtheroude. The architectural arrangement in the background is charming. Beside a triumphal arch rises the tower of love. Flames are darting from all

its windows, and meanwhile a long procession of women rushes through the door, followed by a Cupid with bandaged eyes. The artist has painted his initial on the tower.

Chapter IV. In this miniature, Petrarch's face, twice repeated, seems to be a reproduction of an original portrait. The G can just be distinguished on a rock in the foreground; it has been effaced.

'Here followeth the second triumph of Messire Francisque Petrarque, the which is the triumph of Chastity.'

The miniature occupies two facing pages, but it forms two distinct pictures. The buildings in the background are arranged in a quasi-Italian style, but are not a reproduction of any known structure. Godefroy has placed his G on a tree, at the left, accompanied by three lizards—a detail which should not be passed over, for it is repeated several times, as if the name of those creatures bore some relation to that of the artist.

'Triumph of Death, the which is the third triumph of Petrarque.'

[Chapter I.] This miniature is one of the most interesting and best preserved. Death, grasping his scythe, stands over the body of a young woman lying dead on the triumphal chariot. It is, in fact, the Italian triumph, as we have it represented in so many works. In this case the miniature is in duplicate, as well as the painting. The G is at the bottom.

Chapter II. Miniature on a single page: the death of Laura. The young woman is lying on the bed of death. She is surrounded by her friends, with palms in their hands. Above, in the sky, is seen the form of the Virgin. It is a very pleasing composition, nearly

filling the frame, and the effect is charming.

Chapter III. Petrarch and Laura are seated in the shade of tall trees, on the bank of a pond in which two swans are floating. The same two persons are seen farther back, twice repeated, and diminishing in size according to the distance. An architectural structure, decidedly Italian in type, closes the view at the back. The G is painted on a stone at the feet of Petrarch and Laura. Evidently Godefroy had studied several portraits of the two, and he copies them with some success in their various attitudes. The trees are done so skilfully that one might well believe that he could recognize the touch of a landscape artist, and a generally happy effect gives to this miniature all the value of a painting.

'Here followeth the fifth triumph of Messire Francisque Petrarque, the which is the triumph of Time.'

The miniature occupies two pages and includes two subjects. In one, Time, represented by the signs of the zodiac, and by the allegorical figures of antiquity, marks his progress in the sky; mortals undergo his influence on the earth. The artist has signed his work at the right, at the foot of the picture, this time with his full name: 'Godefroy.' In the other miniature the triumph of Time is represented. He is passing in his chariot, drawn by four horses at a gallop, between the four Seasons. On the left, at the foot, we see a G and two lizards.

'Here followeth the sixth and last triumph of Messire Francisque Petrarque, the which is the triumph of the Deity.'

This title is followed by a double miniature. In one, we see God the Father and Jesus Christ, with the

Holy Spirit soaring above their heads, seated on the globe and presiding at the last day. Flames fall from the skies upon mankind, who are divided into the good and the bad; angels tranquilly lead the former, while devils brutally pursue the others. At the foot, on the right, is the G. On the other page, God the Father and God the Son (the Holy Spirit hovering over them as before) are seated in a triumphal chariot drawn by the ox, the lion, the eagle, and the angel, which are the symbols of the evangelists. They come forward, surrounded by all the dignitaries of the Church. Pagan Love, with bandaged eyes, lies dead on the ground near the chariot wheels; a long procession of saints, male and female, concealed below the waist by an elevation, are following the course of the chariot in the foreground. This arrangement made it possible for the artist to make his figures larger and to delineate their features with care. The G is at the foot of the miniature, on the ground.

All these miniatures, painted in grisaille, with blue skies and water, and with some few details in colour, are 86 millimetres high and 68 wide.

Comte Léon de Laborde.

3

In the catalogue of the library of M. Firmin Didot père, sold in 1811, is the following description of a magnificent manuscript:[311]—

'The first three books of Diodorus Siculus, translated from Latin into French by Antoine Macault. Small folio, in blue morocco, with dentelles, *lavé*, *réglé*, bound with the arms of François I, whose cipher it bears on the back and on the cover.

'A superb manuscript on vellum, presented to François I, containing 173 leaves, 30 lines to the page. It is illustrated with miniatures and with a large number of initial letters painted with the utmost care. The first miniature represents François I surrounded by the nobles and scholars of his court; it is 10 inches high and 6½ wide. This painting, of the most finished workmanship, has the additional merit of presenting the features of several great men of that time. All the pages on which chapters begin are set in fillets of gold and ultramarine. The initials are 19 lines high and 12 wide. More than fifty of these initials represent the principal subjects of their respective chapters. The third book is especially noteworthy, for, beginning with page 130, there is a series of small miniatures, admirable in execution and of the greatest exactness in respect of forms.

'This manuscript has the advantage of being in a most excellent state of preservation.'

It was sold to M. Brunet, author of the 'Manuel du Libraire,' for 1476 francs (not including the usual expenses); he bought for William Beckford, Esq., of Fonthill Abbey in the County of Wilts, of which Salisbury is the shire town. The author of the 'Repertorium Bibliographicum,' printed at London in 1819, informs us that Macault's manuscript was at that time in the library of that distinguished collector, which is described on pages 203 to 230 of the 'Repertorium.'[312]

The description of the manuscript is as follows:—

> DIODORE.—LES TROIS PREMIERS LIVRES DE DIODORE SICILIEN, HISTORIOGRAPHE GREC DES ANTIQUITEZ DEGIPTE, ETHIOPIE ET AUTRES PAYS DASIE ET DAFFRIQUE.

> TRANSLATEZ DE LATIN EN FRANCOYS PAR MAISTRE ANTHOINE MACAULT, NOTAIRE, SECRETAIRE ET VALET DE CHAMBRE ORDINAIRE DU ROY.

'Folio, ms. on vellum, in the original binding; the sides strewn with fleurs-de-lis and the initial letter F. On one side, in a square compartment, in gold letters: DIODORE SICILIEN. On the opposite side: AV ROY FRANCOYS PREMIER.

'This fine manuscript, formerly in the possession of Francis the First, appears to have been executed by his express command. Prefixed to the history is a painting of the King seated under a canopy powdered with fleurs-de-lis, surrounded by his courtiers: his three sons, the Dauphin Francis, Henry, afterwards Henry II, and Charles, Duke of Orleans, dressed in rich habits, appear in the foreground. The King seems to direct his attention to a person reading, dressed as an ecclesiastic, probably the translator of the History. A beautiful greyhound on the floor, and a marmoset, sitting on the table, near the King's left hand, are prominent figures in the groupe [*sic*]. In addition to this exquisite illumination, the volume is enriched with numerous large initial letters, painted with peculiar delicacy, representing occurrences described in the book, manners of various nations, and portraits of their early emperors and kings.'[313]

This description is accompanied by an engraving on copper of the figure of François I, after the Macault MS. The King is depicted full face, seated before a table on which, near his left hand, is a monkey. The background is a tapestry covered with fleurs-de-lis. This engraving is dated July 1, 1817, and is the work of M. Behnes. It differs from the engraving on wood found in Macault's printed volume, not only in that it

does not include the various persons of the original drawing, but also in the details of the King's costume. I have every reason to believe that the wood engraving is a faithful reproduction of the original, just as the book itself is a reproduction of the manuscript, except for the other drawings, which were omitted, from economical motives, no doubt.

Macault's volume is a quarto, consisting of 8 leaves of preface, 154 of text (signatures A to Q), and 8 of index. The author's preface begins with an S from which depends a shield (probably Macault's), bearing two fasces accompanied by nine bezants arranged in threes, and having for a motto the Greek word MHKETI (not at all). The letter is repeated on folio 148. The first page has a border in the shape of a portico, like those in the opuscula published by Tory in 1531 and described on pp. 202-203. At the foot is the date 1535. On the verso we find the final border of 'Champ fleury,' within which are drawn, in the vellum copy preserved at the Bibliothèque Nationale, the royal arms of England, with the motto DIEV EST [*sic*] MON DROICT, below.[314]

4

PAULI JOVII NOVOCOMENSIS VITÆ DUODECIM VICECOMITUM MEDIOLANI PRINCIPUM.

Folio manuscript of 137 leaves. Bibliothèque Nationale.

This manuscript is enriched with ten portraits of dukes of Milan, painted from originals, of each of which Paulus Jovius gives the abiding-place.

1. Otho archiepiscopus.
2. Matthæus magnus.
3. Galeacius [Galeazzo] primus.
4. Actius.
5. Luchinus.
6. Joannes archiepiscopus.
7. Galeacius secundus.
8. Barnabas.
9. Jo. Galeacius [Gian Galeazzo] primus.
10. Philippus.

The dedicatory epistle of this book, which was at first intended to be addressed to François's third son, Charles de Valois, as the author informs us, was addressed to the Dauphin, Henri, afterwards Henri II, who succeeded to the rights of his elder brother, deceased in 1536, and of his younger brother, who died in 1545. It is dated at Rome, the 4th of the Kalends of April (March 29), 1547.

It is not certain that Tory did any work on this manuscript, but I mention it because of the engravings of the portraits, which appeared in the edition published in 1549.[315]

5

RECUEIL DES ROIS DE FRANCE, LEURS COURONNE ET MAISON, etc., by Jean du Tillet, register in chief of the Parliament of Paris.

Large folio manuscript on vellum; Bibliothèque Nationale. It is the original manuscript given to Charles IX, to whom it is dedicated. It is bound in red morocco, with that prince's arms.[316]

This manuscript is embellished with a large number of miniatures and with thirty full-length portraits of kings of France, very carefully executed, which remind one of the portraits accompanying the manuscript of the 'Commentaires de César.' We also find there the escutcheons of the principal officers of the crown.

Here is the list of the kings represented: each portrait occupies a full page.

1. Clovis.
2. Clotaire I.
3. Sigebert.
4. Chilpéric and Frédégonde.
5. Clotaire III.
6. Charlemagne.
7. Louis le Débonnaire.
8. Charles le Chauve.
9. Charles le Simple.
10. Raoul.
11. Louis d'Outre Mer.
12. Lothaire.
13. Philippe I.
14. Louis le Gros.
15. Louis le Jeune.
16. Philippe-Auguste.
17. Louis, père de Saint-Louis.
18. Saint-Louis.
19. Philippe le Bel.
20. Louis le Hutin.
21. Philippe le Long.
22. Charles le Bel.
23. Philippe de Valois.
24. Jean.
25. Charles V.
26. Charles VI.

27. Louis XI.
28. Charles VIII.
29. Louis XII.
30. François I.

As we see, the book was originally intended to stop with François I; but as circumstances prevented the author from printing it thus, du Tillet included the reigns of Henri II, François II, and Charles IX, who succeeded one another at brief intervals. The work was still unpublished when the author died, in 1570; it would seem, however, that he had long been preparing to print, since we find in the edition of 1580 engravings signed with the Lorraine cross.[317]

6

In 'Les Récréations historiques,' by Dreux Duradier, on page 102 of volume one, we read:

'In the manuscript of the late M. Lancelot, written, it is said, by the hand of G. Tory, with the date of 1546, is found this ballad in honour of the Virgin:—

"'Balade de Lyon Jamet sur la Vierge:
Qui me crea je l'ai conçu," etc.'

I have vainly sought this manuscript among all those of Lancelot owned by the Bibliothèque, of which there is a special catalogue; but I have been unable to find it.

7

In order to omit nothing, I will also mention here another valuable manuscript of the Bibliothèque Nationale, on one of the miniatures of which is a G, followed by a small T or F, which may fairly be attributed to Geofroy Tory. It is a translation of Livy, in two large folio volumes, on vellum, acquired from the Bibliothèque de la Sorbonne, and enriched with magnificent engravings, attributed to Jean Fouquet, which, however, cannot be his, for the book has, on the first page, the arms of François de Rochechouart and Blanche d'Aumont, who were married about 1480 and died, both, in 1530. Evidently it was not in the early years of their marriage that the book was written; and, as it must have occupied several years, and, in fact, was never finished, there is nothing extraordinary in the idea that Tory may have executed some of the miniatures about 1520. Furthermore, in order to place the reader in a position to judge for himself, I will add that the cipher mentioned above is painted on the leg of the figures in the miniature on page 123 of volume one. [318]



SECTION II. PRINTED BOOKS ILLUSTRATED WITH ENGRAVINGS BY TORY OR HIS PUPILS.

1515

There appeared for the first time, in the books of Hours published by Simon Vostre about 1515, three engravings which are clearly distinguishable in method of execution from those previously used by the same bookseller, to which the three new ones were thereafter added.

Thenceforth Vostre's Hours contained three varieties of engraving: (1) The old gothic woodcuts (among which must be reckoned the Dance of Death with dotted background), which figure in the editions issued by that bookseller even in the fifteenth century; (2) Two large drawings in the Renaissance style, which appear in his editions of 1507 and which may be attributed to Jean Perreal, Tory's teacher; (3) The three in question, which do not appear earlier than 1514 or 1515. These engravings are: (I) The Adoration of the Shepherds, signed with the letter G in a gothic shield; (II) The Adoration of the Magi; (III) The Circumcision; the last two signed with this monogram:  . The G is still inclined to

the gothic, but the second letter is altogether roman. In my judgement, this monogram should be translated by the words, 'Godofredus faciebat,' or 'fecit.' It is true that the ascription of these engravings to Tory has been contested; but Jules Renouvier, whose taste was so unerring, and who cannot be accused of infatuation for Tory, did not hesitate to adopt my hypothesis. 'In the last of Vostre's Hours,' he says, in the pamphlet that he published concerning that bookseller, 'we see, besides the plates executed in the old French manner, which have not disappeared as yet, other plates in the Italian and German manners, subjects treated in an altogether novel style: the Adoration of the Shepherds, the Adoration of the Kings, and the Circumcision, are composed of small figures in a large ground; the design has recovered all its delicacy, in its clearly drawn forms, and the cutting is done with no less diversity than care. Here, luckily,' continues Renouvier, 'a monogram enables us to attribute the engravings to their author. It is a G alone, or enclosing an F, subscribed on a shield or in a cartouche hanging from a branch. They have been claimed for Geofroy Tory, and with good reason, for the manner in which these plates are executed accords with what we know of that excellent artist.'

It is, perhaps, to these engravings, so successfully executed, that we should ascribe the partiality that Tory afterwards displayed for books of Hours, of which, as we have seen, he put forth several editions, in diverse formats, and with a large number of engravings on wood done by himself.

1516-1518

Here is to be placed Tory's second journey to Rome, [319] from which he returned more Italian than ever, in respect to art.

1519-1520

Under this date, which was when Tory was working at the manuscripts I have described above, I shall place, albeit somewhat conjecturally, two small engravings on wood, signed with the letters G T, which appear in a publication of M. Varlot entitled: 'Illustration de l'ancienne imprimerie troyenne' (4to, 1850). They are numbers 84 and 131, the first in the criblé style, the second in the style of the Renaissance. My ascription of them to Tory is based upon the facts that they are of his time, as we may infer from the one in the criblé style, and that the initials G T are entirely consistent with that period of the life of our artist, who sometimes signed his name in full, Geofroy Tory, as witness his Hours of 1524.

The first of these engravings, number 84, represents a Descent from the Cross. The letters G T are at the foot of the plate, and are some distance apart.[320] In the same collection there is another engraving of the same series, but not signed—number 78. It represents a bishop blessing a sick man who lies entirely nude before him. These two are 48 millimetres wide by 62 high.

Number 131 represents a scene from Terence. The letters G T are side by side at the foot of the plate, which is 33 millimetres high by 55 wide. In the same collection, numbers 132 and 133, are two other woodcuts of the same series, but not signed. Lastly, in an edition of Æsop, published recently at Troyes, by the printer Baudot, we find a woodcut which probably had the same origin, and found its way into

this volume by chance. These four engravings are evidently from an edition of Terence in a small format; I have been unable to find it.

1520-1521

I shall place under this date a title-page, in octavo, forming a border, engraved for Simon de Colines, and bearing his mark and his initials. This printer, who succeeded in 1520 Henri Estienne, the first of the name, whose widow he married, wished to mark his printings in some special way, and to that end applied to Tory, who was a friend of the family. Tory engraved the title-page in question, in the criblé style, then much in vogue; and on it are seen rabbits, or *conils*, which is believed to be an allusion to the name of Colines.[321] Tory's mark appears in white, at the foot of the engraving, to the right. I have seen this engraving in an Epitome of the 'Adages' of Erasmus, in Latin, printed by Simon de Colines, in 1523, in octavo, under this title: 'Johannis Brucherii Trecensis Adagiorum ad studiosæ juventutis utilitatem ex Erasmicis chiliadibus excerptorum epitome.' It was probably Tory, too, who engraved Colines's large mark with the rabbits (Silvestre, no. 79), which is in the same style, and which appears in the Hours of 1524; but it does not bear the double cross. Tory also engraved for Colines two other marks in a very different style (Silvestre, nos. 80 and 329), and a multitude of borders and illustrations for his books.

Colines certainly employed Tory more than any other printer did, as we shall see in the sequel. This fact leads me to believe that Lottin is mistaken in bestowing upon Colines the title of engraver of letters, attributing to him doubtless the engraving of

the graceful italics that he used in works written in verse; I am convinced that those letters are the work of Tory. I will call attention, however, to the fact that the capitals that go with these italics are roman, and may belong to the roman letters which Simon de Colines had from Henri Estienne. But the font is enriched with some white two-line letters, of a charming design, which are certainly Tory's, as are the floriated letters used by Colines and his stepson Robert Estienne.

1521-1522

I. Tory engraved also for Simon de Colines a magnificent title-page intended for a very rare work, which, for that reason, I think that I ought to describe in detail (after one of the copies in the Bibliothèque Nationale), for its existence has been doubted.[322]

The book is entitled: 'Commentarii initiatorii in quatuor Evangelia,' etc., with no author's name on the title-page; but it was written by Jacques Lefèvre d'Etaples, as we shall see in a moment. It is a folio, of 6 unnumbered preliminary leaves, and of 377 numbered leaves, making 192 sheets, divided into 50 folds of 4 sheets each, except the first, which has only 3. The signatures go from *a* to *ddd* consecutively. The text of the Gospels is set in large type (great primer), the notes in smaller type (pica), in which there are some very handsome Greek characters, with accents, which were still a novelty at that time.

The title is in a wide border, engraved on wood, decorated with the symbols of the four evangelists, beneath which are printed passages from their works. This border, which is signed with the Lorraine

cross at the foot, on the right side, is .225 metre high by .166 wide.

On the second preliminary leaf the author's preface begins, under this heading: 'Jacobi Fabri Stapulensis ad Christianos lectores in sequens opus Præfatio.' It ends on the fourth preliminary leaf, with the date, 'Meldis, anno M. D. XXI.' Then follows a concordance of the four Gospels, in the form of tablets closed at top and bottom by unsigned engravings.

The Gospel according to St. Matthew, which opens the book, begins with a superb ornamented L, on a criblé background, .058 metre in height by .055 in width. The Gospel according to St. Mark, which opens on leaf 115 (erroneously printed 215), begins with an I of the same style and dimensions. The Gospel according to St. Luke begins on folio 175 verso, with an F like the two preceding letters. The Gospel according to St. John begins on folio 259, with the I that has already done duty in the Gospel of St. Mark. These letters, which are altogether in the style of those afterwards engraved by Tory for Robert Estienne, seem to me to be fairly attributable to him, although unsigned.

In the balance of the book we find a large number of other letters ornamented in the criblé style, but of smaller size, which cannot be Tory's.

On folios 101 verso and 102 recto are certain astronomical figures, unsigned, which I dare not attribute to Tory; but I do not hesitate to attribute to him a large engraving on folio 182 verso. It represents Jesus in an aureole of flame. Below him is the sea; above him the Father Everlasting, blessing with the right hand, and holding in his left hand the globe surmounted by a cross. He is uttering these words which we read in a scroll: 'Hic est filius meus

dilectus in quo mihi bene complacui.' This engraving, including its border, is .210 metre in height by .137 wide.

On the last page is a subscription in these words: MELDIS, IMPENSIS SIMONIS COLINAEI ANNO SALVTIS HVMANAE M. D. XXII. MENSE IVNIO.

Who printed this book? Not Simon de Colines, as La Caille said, and as Maittaire and Panzer have repeated after him, for the subscription means simply that the printing was done at his expense. One can understand, in truth, that Simon de Colines, who had at the time an extensive typographical establishment at Paris in full blast, could not leave that city to print a book at Meaux. Nor was it a local printer, for no other contemporary printing at Meaux is known; moreover, the mechanical execution of this volume, and the engravings with which it is embellished, prove that it did not come from a wretched provincial workshop.

In my opinion there is but one way of explaining this typographical enigma. It is this: Guillaume Briçonnet (second of the name), having been appointed Bishop of Meaux in 1518, took with him to that town his friend Lefèvre d'Etaples, to whom he entrusted the administration of his diocese. Etaples employed his leisure in writing various religious works, among others the Commentaries on the Gospels, which were finished in 1521. Wishing to have this bulky volume, which was of capital importance to him, printed under his own eyes, and being unable to leave Meaux, where he was detained by his duties, Lefèvre simply imported from Paris a portion of Simon de Colines's printing-office, with a small staff.[323] In this way he could not only superintend the printing of his book, but also lend a hand at need, after the

example of many another scholar of that time who did not scorn to practise the printing art.

What I have said is a mere hypothesis, it is true; but this hypothesis is surrounded by circumstances which give it a powerful appearance of truth. In addition to what I have said above, I will say that the types of Lefèvre d'Etaples' book are the same as those used in an octavo printed at Paris by Simon de Colines in 1523,—a book which I have already cited and which I now have before me. It is entitled: 'Joannis Brucherii Trecensis Adagiorum ... ex Erasmicis chiliadibus excerptorum Epitome.' The title-page has a border signed with the Lorraine cross. More than that, the first ornamental letter in Etaples' book, which is an A on a criblé background, is also the first letter of the book of Johannes Brucherius; whence we see that the typographical material sent to Meaux returned to Paris immediately after Etaples' book was printed.

Doubtless that is why we have only one book dated at Meaux at that period; it might be, however, that advantage was taken of the momentary existence of this printing-office at Meaux to set up some trifling work, in 1521 or 1522; but that would not in any wise modify my conclusion.

II. Tory engraved also, at about the same time, for a printer at Troyes named Jean Lecoq, the title-page, in the shape of a border, of a 'Gradual'[324] of the Cistercian Order—a very large and handsome folio, printed at Troyes in 1521. This engraving is in the criblé style, with the double cross in white at the foot, on the right. At about the same time he engraved in the same style Jean Lecoq's mark, which appears at the end of the volume, and of which a reproduction may be seen in M. Silvestre's book, no.

875.

As this Gradual is very rare (only one copy of it is known to exist, which I have seen in M. Tross's collection) and very beautiful, I think it well to describe it. It is almost needless to say that it is printed in gothic type.

First of all, above the title there is a line printed in black:—

Jesus ✣ Maria Bernard

(It is well known that St. Bernard was the founder of the Cistercian Order.) Then, in red (I complete the abbreviated words):—

'Graduale ad usum Cisterciensis ordinis: secundum capituli generalis venerabilium patrum ejusdem ordinis diffinitionem in sequenti paginas declarata: noviter per quendam Clarevallensem monachum ad debitam formam utiliter redactum. Et Johannis Lecoq impressoris Trecis commorantis solertia diligenter impressum. Anno Domini Millesimo quingentesimo vicesimo primo.' (Here Lecoq's large mark: Silvestre, no. 877.) 'Cum privilegio.'

The volume is made up of 2 preliminary leaves, for the title, etc., and 252 pages of text, divided as follows: First part, without pagination, of 18 signatures (*a* to *s*) of 4 sheets each, except the last, which has only 2,—in all, 140 leaves. Second part, folios 1 to 112, having 14 signatures (A to O) of 4 sheets—in all, 112 leaves.

The paper is very strong and fine. It is one of the earliest books printed with music in France, and it reflects great credit on the presses of Troyes, and especially upon Jean Lecoq, first of the name. Names of places and persons are consistently printed with

capitals. The work is illustrated with a few engravings; but its most remarkable feature is the ornamental initials and uncial letters with which it is embellished.

At the end, by way of colophon, are these words:—

'Explicit Graduale secundum usum ordinis Cisterciensis, Trecis impressum

Per Johannem Lecoq, Anno Domini Millesimo quingentesimo vigesimo primo Die sexta mensis Martii. Laus Deo.'

Here Lecoq's mark with the Lorraine cross in white.

This volume came from the ancient monastery of Oliva, near Dantzig.

1522

I. We may place under this date two other frontispieces signed with the Lorraine cross. The first is a large engraving divided into four compartments, and representing armies in battle array, with cannon. The two upper compartments are connected by the shield of France, surmounted by a crown and encircled by the order of Saint-Michel, from which branches of rose-bushes depend on either side. In each compartment there is a cartouche. Tory's mark is at the foot of the lower left-hand compartment, in which the banner of France is seen waving. This engraving appears in the 'Rozier historial de France,' a folio printed in gothic type, at Paris, for François Regnault, February 10, 1522, before Easter; that is to say, 1523 new style. In the cartouches the following words are printed in red, in gothic type: 'Bataille ronde,' 'Bataille de pointe,' 'Bataille de feu,' 'Bataille de fourche.'[325] It appears in another edition of the

same book, printed in 1528 for the same bookseller; also, in a translation of Cæsar's 'Commentaries,' printed by Pierre Vidoue, in 1531, for the booksellers Poncet Le Preux and Galiot du Pré. This translation is a folio volume divided into two parts, the first translated by Étienne Delaigue, called Beauvoys, the second by Robert Gaguin. The plate in question is at the end of the first part, folio 95 verso. The whole book is printed in black, both text and engraving. I am indebted for my knowledge of the engraving to M. Robert-Dumesnil *fils*.

II. The second engraving, in the form of a border (folio size), representing a number of grotesque and licentious subjects, appears in an edition of the 'Histoire du saint Graal,' published by Philippe le Noir, sworn bookseller and binder to the University of Paris, on October 24, 1523. The bookseller's initials are in the compartment at the top of the border.[326]

In this book, as well as in those last described, there are other engravings; but they are not the work of Tory, to whom only the important pieces were assigned. These other engravings had, doubtless, appeared elsewhere.

As for the engraving executed by Tory (which reappears in many other works printed by Philippe le Noir), it is a copy of a plate engraved by Urs Graf, dated 1519, and used by Pierre Vidoue, printer at Paris,[327] particularly in a Virgil of 1529, folio, which is now in the Bibliothèque Mazarine. The four principal subjects of this engraving, placed at the four corners of the border, represent: (1) Men lighting torches at a woman's posterior; (2) A woman carrying off a man in a basket[328]; (3) The death of Pyramus and Thisbe; (4) The judgement of Paris.

1523

While working for others, Tory busied himself with a long series of engravings intended for books of Hours to be published by himself.[329]

'It is upon turning over these plates,' says M. Renouvier,[330] 'that one appreciates to the full his style—rich, diversified and immeasurably clever in ornamentation, distorted out of proportion, diabolic in the drawing of faces, descending too often to downright awkwardness in the carriage of the head and to a habit of bellying out draperies; and, finally, overweighted by a sort of heaviness in the forms. The artist's greatest facility is shown in the arrangement of his figures, and in the decoration of his porticoes. Whatever he may say, it would seem that what he studied at Rome with the best results were the baths of Titus and the arabesques of Giovanni da Udino.'

1524-1525

We have seen that Tory had been in the habit for some time of signing his engravings with a double cross; but this had not yet become an invariable signature. For instance, about 1524 he often used a monogram in which his name and surname—or, to use the terms of the present day his Christian name [*prénom*] and his family name [*nom de famille*]—both appear. It consists of a capital G, enclosing a smaller



S, with the double cross above. This means, in my opinion, that Tory was the *engraver* only ('Godofredus Torinus sculpsit'), in distinction from the cross alone, which means that Tory both

drew and engraved the pieces on which it appears. In fact, we find in most of those signed with the monogram a roughness of aspect which is not characteristic of Tory's usual style.

However that may be, here is a list of the pieces known to me on which this monogram appears.

I. LE BLAZON DES HERETIQUES.

Quarto of 14 leaves, in gothic type, printed by Philippe Le Noir, 'sworn binder to the University of Paris,' with a privilege from the court of the Parliament of Paris, dated December 21, 1524. This is a satirical production, in verse, attributed to Pierre Gringoire, otherwise called Vaudemont, at the head of which appears the figure, or effigy, of the 'heretic,' signed with the monogram in question. The description of the effigy is as follows:

> En gibeciere on luy voit ratz avoir,
> Qui sont rongeans et serpens detestables
> En son giron faisant mords diffamables.
> De son sian sort ung aspre feu vollant,
> Qui cueur et corps et livres est bruslant.[331]

This very rare work was reprinted at Chartres, in 1832, under the auspices of M. Hérisson, the librarian of that city. The reprint contains a facsimile of the engraving.

II. HEURES DE NOSTRE DAME, TRANSLATEES EN FRANCOYS ET MISES EN RITHME PAR PIERRE GRINGOIRE, DIT VAUDEMONT, PAR LE COMMANDEMENT DE ... MADAME REGNEE DE BOURBON,

DUCHESSE DE LORRAINE, etc.

A quarto, in gothic type, undated, but containing a table of Easter-Days beginning with 1524, and a privilege dated October 10, 1525.

This book, which was published by the bookseller Jean Petit, contains 13 large engravings, a list of which follows:—

1. The Annunciation.
2. Adam and Eve.
3. The Cross.
4. The Holy Ghost.
5. The Descent of the Holy Ghost upon the Apostles.
6. David praying for Zion, threatened with the divine thunderbolts.
7. The Virgin and the Child Jesus.
8. A Family at Table (Pentecost?).
9. Eight Naked Children Praying; the Holy Trinity in the Heavens.
10. The Manna.
11. David's Penance.
12. The Triumph of Death.
13. Jesus receiving the Crown of Thorns and the Reed.

Only the last of these bears the monogram that I have described[332]; but the other engravings, being in the same style, should all be attributed to Tory. We might perhaps also attribute to him the six analogous engravings which appear in the same author's 'Chants royaux' (printed at the same time and usually bound with the Hours), but not one of which is signed. They represent:—

1. The Synagogue: Jesus in the background, entering a pillar.
2. The Prodigal Son: Jesus in the background, curing a woman.
3. Hunters: Jesus in the background, curing one possessed of devils.
4. The Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes.
5. Entrance of Jesus into Jerusalem.
6. The Crowning with Thorns.

These two books have been reprinted several times. I know of four quarto editions of the Hours.[333] The first is the one I have just described. It contains some other engravings, in an entirely different style from Tory's, which appear also in other books of Hours of older date. The second has a table of Easter-Days beginning with 1528, and a privilege dated November 15, 1527. In other respects it is similar to the earlier one. The third has a table of Easter-Days beginning with 1534. It is like the last except in one point: in place of the final engraving there is a different one, signed in the same way, representing Job at prayer before his burning house, and his neighbours reviling him. This engraving proves that Tory must have engraved a longer series from which the printer took this one at random, being unable at the moment to find the one that he required. The fourth has a calendar beginning with 1540. It is like the second, except for the privilege, which is dated November, 1525, doubtless by mistake. These four editions are all in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal.

III. HISTOIRE ... DE LA ... GLORIEUSE VICTOIRE OBTENUE CONTRE LES SEDUITZ ET ABUSEZ LUTHERIENS MESCREANZ DU PAYS DAULSAYS ... PAR ... ANTHOINE ... DUC DE

CALABRE ..., PAR NICOLE VOLCYR (otherwise called Volkire) DE SEROUVILLE, etc.

Small folio, in gothic type, without date of printing, but with a privilege dated January 12, 1526 (1527 new style), issued by Jean de la Barre, 'garde de la prévôté' of Paris. The battle took place in 1525.

Volcyr's work contains seven engravings, but only the last two, at the beginning of the last two books, are signed. We may, however, I think, attribute to Tory the one at the head of the first book also. A description of these engravings follows:—

1. Frontispiece representing Faith: a helmeted woman trampling upon the dragon.

2. The author, seated, writing his book.

3. A large plate representing a warrior (the Duke of Calabria?) amidst his men, waving his sword.

4. A bishop praying.

5. The author offering his book to the prince. A fine plate on which are several scattered letters, the meaning of which I am unable to conceive.

6. A large plate representing the attack on the town of Saverne. At the top is the word 'Saberna.'

7. A large plate representing the vision of the Passion. Jesus at prayer, a halo about his head; facing him, angels presenting the Cross; behind him, other angels bearing the post to which he was bound; all about him, the instruments of his torture. This plate is altogether in the manner of those in the following work.

IV. THE LABOURS OF HERCULES.

Twelve large plates, folio, owned by the Bibliothèque Nationale. Each of them was formerly accompanied by a number and by a quatrain in French explaining the subject; unfortunately these have been removed from most of the plates,[334] and it is impossible for me to-day to place them with full assurance in the order in which they belong. However, that given below seems to me most natural. The three which retain their numbers are marked by an asterisk.

1. The Nemean Lion.
2. The Lernean Hydra.
*3. Cerberus.
4. Antæus.
5. Archelaus.
6. Hippodamia.
7. Geryon.
8. The Pillars of Hercules.
*9.The Cretan Bull.
*10. The Erymanthian Boar.
11. Cacus.
12. Hercules at the Stake.

All of these engravings are signed: 

We give here, as specimens, three of the quatrains accompanying the engravings; they are the only ones preserved at the Bibliothèque Nationale. They may very well be the work of Gringoire, like the verses of the 'Blazon des Hérétiques,' of the same date.

Number 3

Il braue les enffers (chose à luy
tresaisee),
Et le chien Cerberus, aux trois chefz
surmontant;
Il va les Infernaux main à main
combattant,
Pour mettre en liberté son bon amy
Thesee.

Number 9

Les furieux Thaureaux (choses
esmerveillables)
De ses deux bras nerveux Il maitrise
aisement,
Et leur faict faire Ioug desoubs luy
forcement
Encor qu'on estimat qu'ils fussent
indomptables.

Number 10

Ung sanglier escumeux à la grand' dent
pointue,
Qui hommes, vignes et bleds degatoient
enragé,
Et par qui l'vniuers estoit endommagé,
Seul, par sa hardiesse, Il acreuante et
tue.[335]

The orthography of these verses proves that they were printed in the seventeenth century[336]; but the very appearance of the verses, and the condition of the plates, which are already worm-eaten, are sufficient to justify one in assigning to the latter a very much earlier date than to the former. So that I can do no better than to refer them to the year 1525,

when we find Tory using the same monogram.

Tory seems to have attempted in these plates to imitate Mantegna, whose work he may have studied in Italy; but he had the good sense to abandon this manner, which was not his own; or perhaps we should say that he did no more than follow designs which were supplied to him.

This is what M. Renouvier has to say on this subject: —

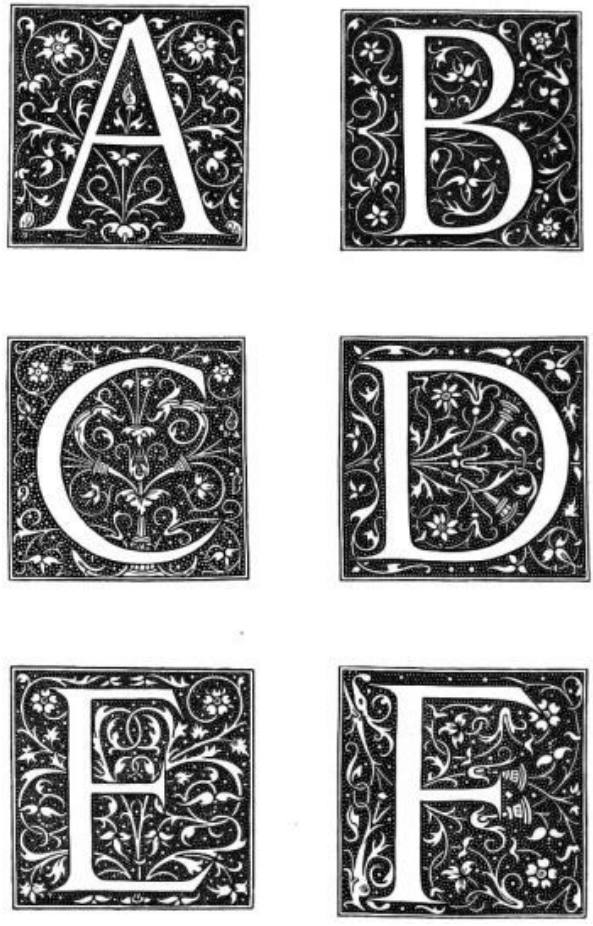
'The plates signed with a G surmounted by the Lorraine cross are of more importance. The Labours of Hercules, in twelve plates, are the work of no commonplace artist. The drawing assumes a masterly, even a rough, character, seeking effects in the play of muscles and of facial expression in imitation of Mantegna and Albrecht Dürer; the cutting follows up the effect of the burin. Bartsch mentioned them among the old German masters, and the monogrammatists wavered between Jean Schoorel, Georges Scharfenberg, Giuseppe Scolari, etc.; their French origin was not suspected until some proofs were found on which the engravings were accompanied by French quatrains. Then, when the same mark was found on a plate used as a frontispiece to Pierre Gringoire's "Blazon des Hérétiques" (1524), and on several vignettes in the Hours *rendered into verse*, by the same poet, it was attempted to make a wood-engraver of Gringoire, who was a Lorrainer, herald-at-arms to Duc René II, and likely enough to display the cross of Lorraine over his initial. This much is certain: that the mark consisting of a G with the cross of Lorraine is found also on the plates of a Lorraine book—"Duc Anthoine's Victory over the Lutherans"—published by his secretary Volcyr, who paid the expenses of the

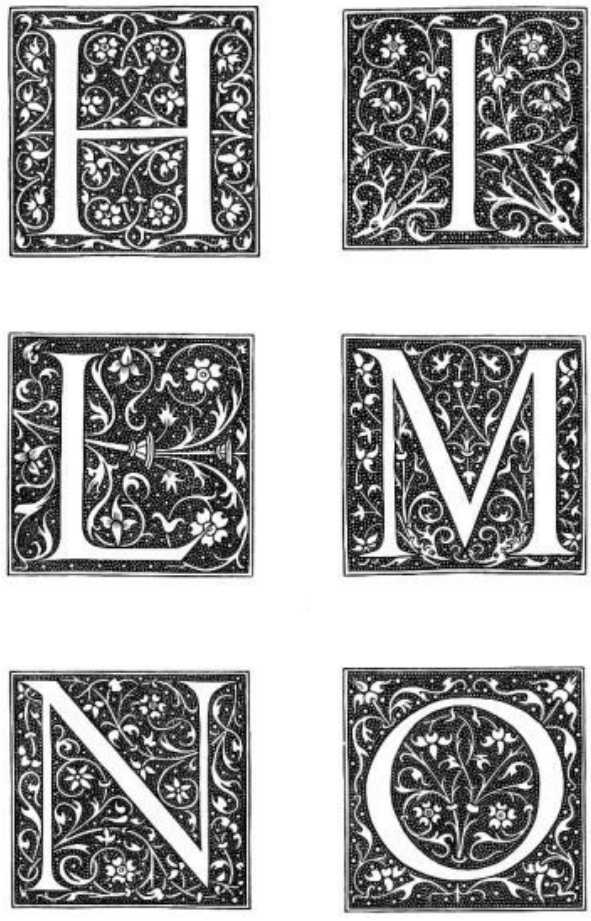
publication, "being unable to find any bookseller who was willing to undertake it, as well because of the portraits and cuts of the illustrations as of the printing hereof," and caused it to be issued, not in Lorraine, but in Paris, by Galliot Dupré, in 1526. It is to be noticed that this bookseller's mark, which represents a galliot, also has a Lorraine cross surmounting his cipher. Now, the attribution of these plates to Geofroy Tory is based upon some very ingenious comparisons of marks; the style of the engravings places no insurmountable obstacle in the way of such attribution, but it must be admitted that the engraver was led very far astray from his earlier works by his imitation of the German manner. It is possible, because French engraving, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, was pulled in four directions at once, so to speak, by national habit, by Flemish taste, by German mania, and by Italian charm. M. Bernard would give the fullest sanction to this second attribution if he could find any evidence of a journey of Tory's to Alsace or Lorraine of a later date than his journey to Italy; the importation of woodcuts from those provinces, then a common occurrence, would indeed suffice, so far as the common herd of our engravers is concerned, to explain this alteration in their manner. I will mention in a moment an example, also out of Lorraine, which must certainly have been known to Tory. Whatever the fact may be, the Labours of Hercules deserve an honourable place among the first attempts on a large scale of French engraving, beside the plates of Jean Duvet. The British Museum, like our Cabinet des Estampes, has acquired a set of them. Two of the plates in the latter set have the quatrains which are lacking in the corresponding ones in the Paris set; these are, the fifth: "The sly Archelaus 'gainst

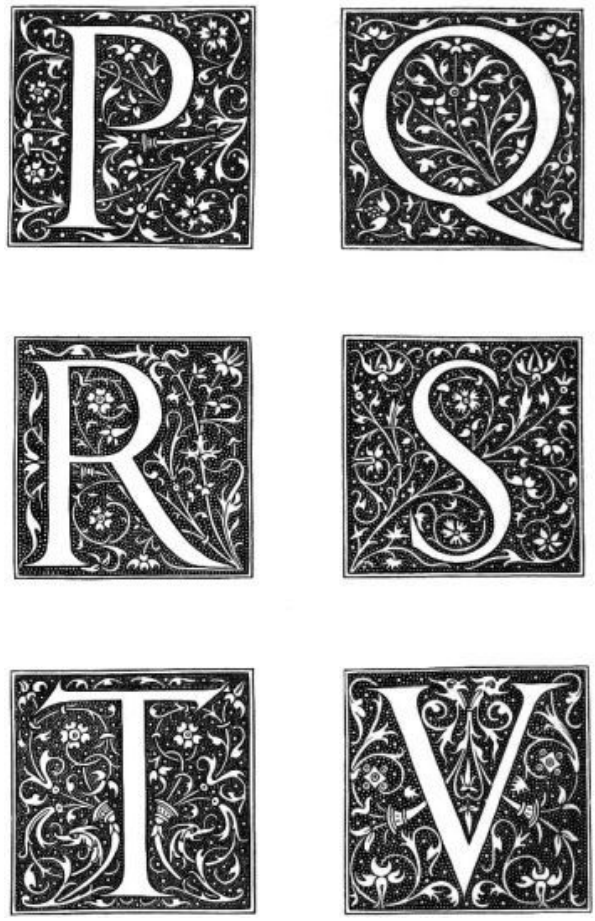
Hercules doth contend"; and the seventh: "The mighty Geryon, despicable tyrant," etc.'

1526

I. I have said that the floriated letters of Simon de Colines and Robert Estienne were engraved by Geofroy Tory. I cannot furnish material proof of the fact with regard to those of Colines; but I am about to produce incontestable evidence with regard to Estienne's. A letter in one of his alphabets is signed with the Lorraine cross, and that letter is the G, the initial of Tory's own name, or, as we say to-day, his first name (*prénom*). It is as if he had written 'Geofroy Tory' in full. But in this case, in opposition to what we find in the preceding engravings, the cross, instead of being above the G, is below it, and hidden as much as possible in order not to injure the design of the 'antique letter.' This circumstance proves not only that Tory was the engraver of Robert Estienne's floriated letters, but also that the double cross was that artist's mark.







Is it not, in truth, a striking fact that Tory chose the letter G to place his mark upon? He was not withheld by the consideration that that letter, not being in very common use, especially at the beginning of words, appeared rather infrequently in books.[337] As always, logic prevailed with him over every other consideration. Let us see how far it carried him.

Later, he engraved a Greek alphabet, in the same style, for Robert Estienne; as he could not put his

mark on the *gamma*, which bears no resemblance to the G, he put it on no letter, but on one of the friezes executed to accompany those beautiful floriated letters.[338] See the frieze in question at the beginning of the second volume of the Works of Eusebius, three volumes, folio, 1544.[339]

II. Besides these two alphabets of capital letters, Tory engraved for Robert Estienne about the same time, six different marks for his typographical sign, the 'Olive-Tree,' of which a description will be found later on, in section 3.

III. Tory also engraved, about the same time, for Simon de Colines, a border in the criblé style, at the foot of which is a sun which certain centaurs, incited thereto by women, are trying to seize. (Silvestre, no. 523). This border is probably of 1526, when Colines turned over to Robert Estienne his father's establishment and set up for himself at the 'Soleil d'Or,' opposite the Collège de Beauvais. It appears, to my knowledge, in two octavo volumes of 1529: 'Compendium Grammaticæ græcæ Jacobi Ceporini,' and 'Liber de opificio Dei.'

1526-1528

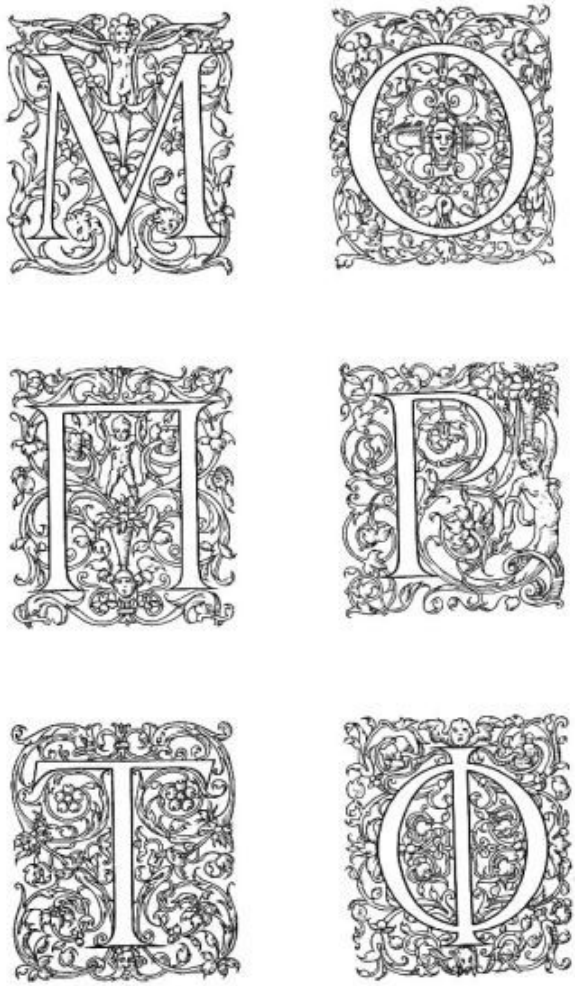
This whole period was, in all probability, absorbed by the labour of engraving and editing 'Champ fleury.' For one of the first engravings in that book is dated 1526, and it was finished early in 1529. Although the majority of these engravings are not signed, they must all belong to Tory, at all events so far as the designs are concerned.[340] I cannot attempt to enumerate them all here, for there are more than five hundred, counting as one each of the letters in the various alphabets; but I propose to mention the more important ones. For historical

information concerning the book, I refer the reader back to what I have said thereon in the first and second parts of this volume.







The title-page is enclosed in a very pleasing border, [341] and it has moreover an engraving of the Pot Cassé reversed.[342] On the verso are the arms of France.[343]

Folio 1 of text: the letter L, which I have already reproduced.[344]

Folio 3 verso: the Gallic Hercules. This engraving, dated 1526, and signed with the Lorraine cross, represents Hercules holding his club in one hand and a bow in the other. He is followed by divers persons of all conditions, fastened by the ear to a chain that issues from the hero's mouth. This is an allusion to the power of eloquence over the French. The strength of the Gallic Hercules lies not in his arms but in his mouth.[345]

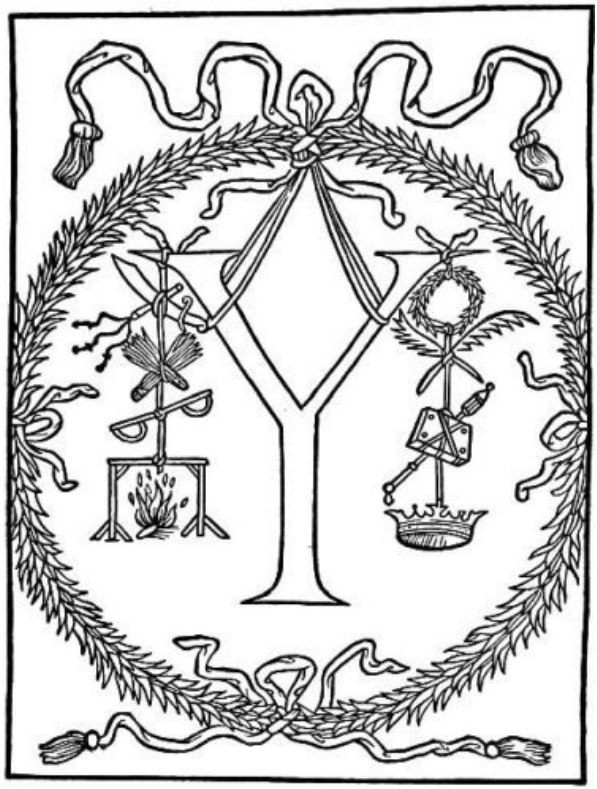
Folio 9 verso: cut of the *lisflambe*, a species of lily; it is the swamp iris, called to-day the *iris flambe*.

Here the first book ends.

The second contains thirty-seven geometrical figures, which it would be no less difficult than unprofitable to describe. They are, for the most part, representations of different letters. At the end of this book is the 'Triumph of Apollo and the Muses,' 'to show that they who have knowledge of goodly letters have the advantage over the ignorant.' This engraving, which is in two parts,[346] both signed with the Lorraine cross (folios 29 verso and 30 recto), represents Apollo in a chariot, escorted by the Muses, Liberal Arts, etc., and followed by Bacchus, Ceres and Venus as prisoners.[347]

On the very last page (folio 30 recto) is an engraving of the *lisflambe* surmounted by an A made up of three I's.[348]

The third book has, in the first place, twenty-eight engravings of Roman letters. The twenty-ninth represents a gothic S (folio 42 verso). The thirtieth is a representation of the Pot Cassé, signed with the Lorraine cross (folio 43 verso).[349]



Next come thirty-eight other cuts of letters, and two curious drawings of the letter Y (folio 63 recto and verso).[350] Then two ordinary copies of the letter Z, and an allegory based on the shape of that letter (folio 65).[351]

On folio 65 verso is a representation of various punctuation marks.

Folios 68 verso and 69 recto: a Hebrew alphabet of forty letters or symbols.

Folio 71 recto: the Greek alphabet of twenty-four letters and three accents.[352]

Folio 72 recto: the Latin alphabet[353] of twenty-

three letters, with three punctuation marks, and the Greek abbreviation of the name of Jesus.

Folio 74 recto: the alphabet of *cadeaulx* letters, consisting of twenty-three letters and one mark.

Folio 74 verso: the alphabet of letters *de forme*, consisting of twenty-nine letters or symbols, with two lines of text added.

Folio 75 recto: the alphabet of *bastardes* letters, consisting of twenty-eight letters or symbols, followed by two lines of text.

Folio 75 verso: the alphabet of *tourneures* letters, consisting of twenty-three letters.


ΑΒΓΔΕΖ
ΗΘΙΚΛ
ΜΝΞΟΠ
ΡΣΤΥΦ
ΧΥΩ ;



Folio 76 recto: the alphabet of Persian, Arabic, African, Turkish and Tartar letters, thirty in all.

Folio 76 verso: the alphabet of Chaldæan letters, consisting of twenty-three.

Folio 77 recto: the alphabet of *goffes* letters, otherwise called *imperiales* and *bullatiques*, twenty-three in number.

Folio 77 verso: the alphabet of *fantastic* letters, to the number of twenty-three.

Folio 78 recto: the alphabet of *utopiques* and *voluntaires* letters, to the number of twenty-three.

Folio 78 verso: an alphabet of floriated letters used in the course of the book, twenty-three in number. [354]

Folio 79 recto: a series of ciphers or intertwined letters, to the number of ten.

Folio 80 recto, and last: a border of graceful design, [355] in which occur Tory's mottoes: 'Menti bonæ Deus occurrit'; 'Sic ut, vel ut'; 'Omnis tandem marcescit flos.' And in the centre is the Pot Cassé, unsigned, although it seems to be the same cut that appears on folio 43 verso, with the cross removed.

1527

I. NOTABLES ENSEIGNEMENS, ADAGES ET PROVERBES, FAICTZ ET COMPOSÉS PAR PIERRE GRINGOIRE, DIT VAULDEMONT.

Octavo, in gothic type, of 68 leaves; for sale by Galliot du Pré; printed by Simon du Boys, February 1, 1527 (1528 new style).

On the verso of the second leaf is a wood-engraving with the Lorraine cross at the right. It represents Gringoire offering his book to the king, who is seated. In the background, a garden with a bee-hive and bees flying about it. (Bibliothèque Nationale.)

II. LES HYMNES COMMUNES DE L'ANNEE: TRANSLATEZ DE LATIN EN FRANÇOIS EN RITHME, PAR NICOLAS MAUROY LE JEUNE, DE TROYES, avec privilege du roy pour

> trois ans. (Mark of Jean Lecoq.) On les vend à Troyes es hostels de Nicolas Mauroy, etc.

The privilege is of 1527. Small folio, in gothic type, printed in red and black; signatures A to T.

This volume, which I saw in 1858, at M. Techener's, contains a large number of engravings in the criblé style, and others in the modern style; but only three of them are signed; these are:—

1. A Last Supper, criblé.
2. A Last Supper, 'à la moderne.'
3. The Virgin, seated, holding the Child Jesus (folio 89 verso).

This book may give us the date of the other signed engravings found at Troyes, which were published by M. Varlot in his 'Illustration de l'imprimerie troyenne' (Troyes, 1850, folio).

III. HOURS OF THE VIRGIN, in Latin, published by Tory, but printed by Simon de Colines; octavo.[356]

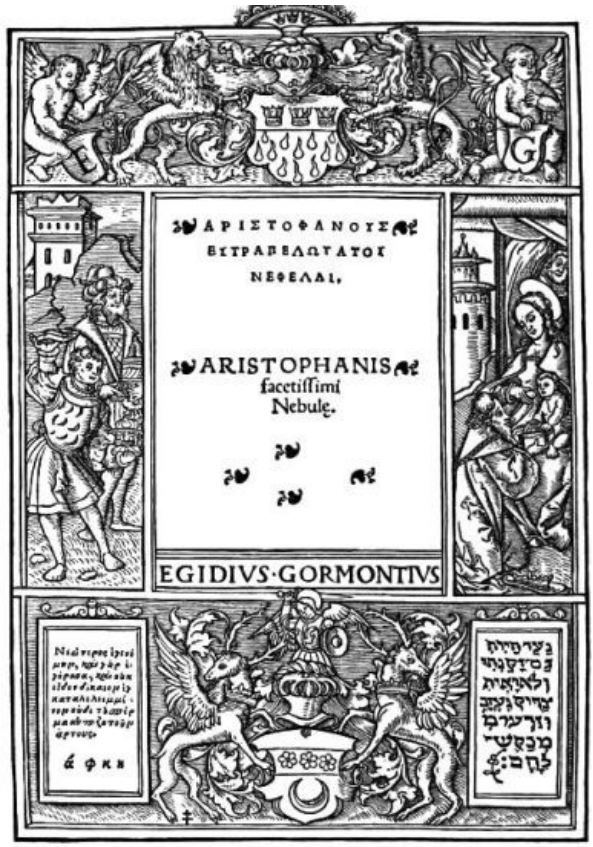
IV. HOURS OF THE VIRGIN, in Latin, published by Tory, but printed by Simon Dubois; quarto.[357]

1528

I. ARISTOPHANES.

In 1528 Pierre Vidoue printed, at the expense of Gilles de Gourmont, nine comedies of Aristophanes, in Greek, which were published separately, in quarto

form, under the editorship of Jean Cheradam.[358] All of these have a frontispiece engraved by Tory, of which a description follows. At the foot, under the words 'Egidivs Gormontivs' in large letters, is a shield with the Gourmont arms (three roses in chief and a crescent in point), supported by two winged stags with ducal coronets about their necks, the crest being a helmet above which is a St. Michael holding a naked sword.[359] At the left, a Greek inscription; at the right, an inscription in Hebrew. The two uprights represent the wise men offering their gifts to the Child Jesus lying on his mother's knees. At the top is a shield with three crowns in chief (this was the sign of Gilles de Gourmont, as may be seen on the title-page of 'Champ fleury'), and tears in the field. This shield has for supporters, on the right a lion, on the left a griffin, and for crest a helmet surmounted by a fan-shaped ornament. On either side is an angel with wings holding a shield; that on the left enclosing an E, that on the right a G, the initials of Gilles de Gourmont's name in Latin (Egidius Gourmontius). The Lorraine cross is at the foot of the border, on the left.[360]



II. ENCHIRIDION PRECLARE ECCLESIE SARUM, DEVOTISSIMIS PRECATIONIBUS AC VENUSTISSIMIS IMAGINIBUS, ET IIS QUIDEM NON PAUCIS REFERTUM. (Here the mark of Thielman Kerver—two unicorns holding a shield *au Gril*, with the T. K., and, beneath, the full name, Thielman Kerver.) Parisiis ex officina librarie vidue spectabilis viri Thielmanni.

Small octavo, Paris, 1528, with engravings signed with the Lorraine cross.[361] Printed in red and black, in gothic type. There are 31 signatures of 8 leaves,—*a* to *z*, and A to G (signatures *x* and *y* have only four leaves each). In all there are 232 numbered leaves, plus 4 leaves of index not numbered.

The volume begins with the title-page, followed by a calendar, the whole occupying 13 leaves, after which comes the text. It contains 54 engraved plates, 12 of which are in the calendar, and a large number of initial letters representing sacred subjects. Beneath each plate is a quatrain in English.

The 12 plates in the calendar represent allegorical subjects. They are enclosed in oval borders, and are 71 millimetres by 55. Consequently they are all out of proportion to the size of the book, which is 84 millimetres by 48. It is evident therefore that they were not made for it. At the foot of each, in the border, is the name of the month. The engraving for the month of February represents a school; that for March, a hunt; that for April, a gentleman and lady, walking in the country, arm in arm; that for July, a domestic interior. The last is the only one of these engravings that I have seen, and that only in a copy. The Lorraine cross may be seen at the foot.

Here follows a list of the other engravings of this priceless volume, of which only a single copy is known to exist. It is to be observed that the pages on which they appear are not numbered, as the cuts occupy the whole space.

1. The Trinity.
2. The Annunciation.
3. The Visitation.
4. Jesus arrested by the Jews.

5. Nativity of Jesus.
6. Jesus before Pilate.
7. The Annunciation to the Shepherds.
8. The Crowning with Thorns.
9. The Adoration of the Magi.
10. The Bearing of the Cross.
11. The Circumcision.
12. Jesus on the Cross.
13. The Flight into Egypt.
14. The Descent from the Cross.
15. The Coronation of the Virgin.
16. The Placing in the Tomb.
17. David and Bathsheba.
18. David and Joab.
19 to 23. The Story of David.
24. Dance of the Dead.
25. Three Men on Horseback in a Forest.
26. Adam and Eve expelled from Paradise.
27. Adam and Eve condemned to labour.
28. The Creation of Man.
29. Six Men praying before a Bier.
30. Birth and Death.
31. Purgatory.
32. Extreme Unction.
33. Job.
34. A Woman, seated, surrounded by
the Virgin, the Evil One, and a
Man bearing the World.
35. The Trinity (same as no. 1).
36. Jesus in Limbo.
37. The Resurrection.
38. Jesus appearing to His Mother.
39. Jesus appearing to Mary Magdalen.
40. Jesus at Emmaus.
41. The Incredulity of St. Thomas.
42. The Ascent of the Virgin.[362]

1529

I. ENCOMIUM TRIUM MARIARUM, etc., JOANNIS BERTAUDI.

Quarto, Paris, Josse Bade, 1529.

The Bibliothèque Mazarine has two copies of this priceless volume, one on paper, the other on vellum, which differ slightly in respect to the title-page. The one on vellum reads: 'Encomium Joannis Bertaudi Petragorici Turrisalbæ in ducatu Engolismensi alumni, de cultu trium Mariarum adversus Lutheranos, cum missa solemniore et officio canonico earundem, auspiciis augustissimæ principis Joannæ, Aurelianensis, Gyveriensium dominæ ac comitis de Barcq.' This is followed by a large plate signed with the Lorraine cross, and representing the three Maries, etc. There is no publisher's name; nothing but Josse Bade's mark at the end of the book.

The title-page of the copy on paper reads: 'Encomium trium Mariarum cum earumdem cultus defensione adversus Lutheranos, solemnique missa et officio canonico, in quibus omnibus desideres nihil, emissum opera et industria Joannis Bertaudi Petragorici, utriusque juris licentiati, Turrisque Albæ in ducatu Engolismensi alumni, auspiciis augustissimæ principis Joannæ Aurelianensis, Gyveriensium dominæ ac comitis de Barcq.' Then follows Josse Bade's mark: 'Prelum Ascensianum,' taking the place of the engraving of the three Maries. And below, 'Venundatur Jodoco Badio et Galeoto a Pratis.'

This difference is explained by the fact that the copies on vellum were not intended for sale, so that

no bookseller's name was placed on them, and, furthermore, they were embellished with the cut of the three Maries.

This volume contains three short productions by Jean Bertaud, all directed to the same end—the defence of the worship of the three Maries.

They are entitled:

(1) Encomium trium Mariarum. (2) Officium trium filiarum beatæ Annæ. (3) De cognatione sacerrimi Joannis Baptistæ.

There are some twenty engravings, but none of them are signed except that of the three Maries. And, as Josse Bade was an old printer, who had no known relations with Tory, we may assume that these engravings are not by our artist. At most, we may attribute to him the shield of Orléans, at page 4 of the first work.

II. HOURS OF THE VIRGIN (sixteenmo), in Latin, published by Tory, for himself.[363]

III. LA TABLE DE L'ANCIEN PHILOSOPHE CEBES.

Two small volumes, octavo, with a border for each page. The double cross appears on some, not all, of these borders.[364]

IV. ÆDILOQUIUM ... Item: EPITAPHIA SEPTEM DE AMORUM ALIQUOT PASSIONIBUS, etc.

Octavo, Simon de Colines, 1530.

This little book is enriched by eight engravings: a frontispiece borrowed from the octavo Hours of 1527, and seven small subjects corresponding to the seven epitaphs. The latter are certainly Tory's, although not signed. They are:—

1. Two hearts pierced by an arrow.
2. Two hearts in a circle.
3. Two hearts bound together by cords.
4. Two hearts in a boat.
5. A pig sniffing at two hearts.
6. Two hearts, a distaff, etc.
7. Two hearts being kicked by a horse.

See, for other details, what I have said of this book on pages 92 and 93.

1530-1531

Queen Eléonore's CORONATION and ENTRÉE, and the EPITAPHS of the Queen-Mother, Louise de Savoie:—three quarto brochures, of which I have spoken on pages 130 to 134; a description of the engravings follows.

I. THE CONSECRATION AND CORONATION OF THE QUEEN; three sheets, quarto.

On the first page, a border, with the word 'Salus' at the foot; the privilege is on the verso. The text begins on the second leaf, with the letter L reproduced on page 1. On the last page is another border, with the word 'Salus,' and the date of printing, March 16, 1530, old style.

II. ENTRÉE OF THE QUEEN; six sheets, quarto.

On the first page the same border as on the first page of the Hours of 1524-25; the privilege is on the verso. On page A ij recto, another border and an ornamental letter R, after the style of the L in the work last described. A iiij recto, another border. B iij recto, a border, with the motto 'non plus' at the top. B viij verso, another border, with the word 'Salus' at the foot; this is identical with that of the last page of the 'Coronation.' E viij recto, another border. F i verso, a lovely drawing of a 'present made to the queen, of two candlesticks.' On the last page the border of the last page of 'Champ fleury,' and the date of the printing, Tuesday, May 9, 1531.

III. EPITAPHS OF LOUISE DE SAVOIE; two sheets and a half.

First page, the border of the frontispiece of the Hours of 1524-25, with the Pot Cassé of the first page of 'Champ fleury.' Last page, the border of the last page of 'Champ fleury' and the Pot Cassé of the first page; also the date of printing, October 17, 1531. In all three we find the decorated letters of 'Champ fleury.'

These three brochures, bound together in a small volume, are in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal. The borders used in them reappear later as frames for the engravings of a book of Hours, quarto, printed in roman type, in red and black, of which I know neither date nor place of printing nor name of printer, as I have seen nothing except a few leaves of the book, preserved at the Bibliothèque Nationale, with the works of Tory.

1531

I. BOOK OF HOURS, quarto, printed by Tory for himself.[365]

II. BOOK OF HOURS, octavo, with arabesques of flowers, insects, animals, etc., as in the quarto Hours of 1527.[366]

III. TERENTIANUS MAURUS, DE LITERIS, etc. NICOLAO BRISSÆO ... COMMENTATORE.

Quarto, Simon de Colines, 1531.

This book is dedicated to Guillaume Petit, Bishop of Senlis, whose arms, with the Lorraine cross, appear on the verso of leaf 8 of the front matter. The motto is: 'Utinam novissima providerent.'

IV. CLAUDII GALENI PERGAMENI DE ANATOMICIS ADMINISTRATIONIBUS LIBRI NOVEM, JOANNE GUNTERIO ANDERNACO, MEDICO, INTERPRETE.—Parisiis, apud Simonem Colinæum, 1531.

Large folio, with an engraved frontispiece having the Lorraine cross at the foot, on the left.

The frontispiece represents several different subjects. At the top is Jesus healing the leper; at the foot, doctors dissecting a dead body and lecturing to a numerous audience; at the sides, full-length portraits of the most celebrated physicians of antiquity; in the centre of the plate is a scroll bearing the Latin title

transcribed above. This frontispiece was, doubtless, used with others of the works of Galen.

Simon de Colines also published, in 1536, an edition of the works of Galen, under the supervision of the same editor (folio of 172 pages), and embellished with five beautiful floriated letters engraved by Tory. In it we find also, at the head of the epistle to the reader, an ornamental S surmounted by a coat of arms,—a charming design, but not signed.

1532

LATIN BIBLE of 1532; folio; Robert Estienne.

The title-page is decorated with a frieze signed with the Lorraine cross, bearing the word 'Biblia' in large letters. It is a scroll surrounded by vines, with the brazen serpent at the left, and Jesus on the Cross at the right.

1533

The BON MESNAGER of Pierre des Crescens, printed by Nicolas Cousteau for Galliot Dupré. Folio, 1533. The frontispiece, representing Dupré presenting the book to François I, is signed with the Lorraine cross.

Inasmuch as Tory died in 1533, it will, perhaps, seem that I ought to stop here in this enumeration. But as many engravings executed by his own hand were not printed until later, and, moreover, as those signed with the Lorraine cross alone came from his establishment, which was managed by his wife after his death, I have thought best to pursue my investigations concerning the engravings with the Lorraine cross to the end.

1534

I. SERMONES IUDOCI CLICHTOVEI NEOPORTUEN. DOCTORIS THEOLOGI ET CARNOTEN. CANONICI.

Folio, Paris, Thielman Kerver's widow, 1534. The privilege is dated 1534. (Bibliothèque S.-Geneviève, and Bibliothèque Mazarine.)

The Latin title which I have transcribed is engraved in great gothic letters, arranged in the shape of a cul-de-lampe, and terminated by a small black heart-shaped ornament (not unlike those used by Simon de Colines), in which is the Lorraine cross. This circumstance leads me to believe that Tory engraved this title-page in gothic letters; a most interesting fact if true, for they are probably the only letters in that style that he ever engraved, after those on folios 42 verso, 74, etc. of 'Champ fleury'; and it is all the more strange because the rest of the book is printed in roman type. It may be that there was another edition in gothic type.

However, this volume contains many other engravings signed with the Lorraine cross, and others which, although unsigned, seem to be Tory's.

Folio 1, following the title, a large T, adorned with fleurs-de-lis, on a background strewn with the same flowers.

Folio 5 verso, a large ornamental P, representing the Eternal Father.

Folio 19, the Virgin in a halo of fire, with the Child Jesus (signed).

Folio 21, Jesus among the Apostles, holding a saw

(signed).

Folio 43, Moses receiving the Tables (signed).

Folio 63 verso, the Ark in the form of a church (signed).

Folio 77, the Annunciation, in an oval border (octavo).

Folio 88, Birth of Jesus (small octavo).

Folio 135, the Resurrection (signed).

Folio 148, the Ascension (signed).

Folio 154 verso, the Virgin among the Apostles (small octavo).

Folio 157 verso, the Trinity (signed).

Folio 161, Easter (signed).

Folio 221, Birth of the Virgin. She is in her mother's womb, holding the Child Jesus (octavo).

Folio 325, Jesus tempted by the Devil (octavo).

The octavo engravings appear in several other books printed by the Kervers.

II. PAULI BELMISSERI PONTREMULANI, ARTIUM ET MEDICINÆ DOCTORIS, EQUITIS, ET POETÆ LAUREATI, OPERA POETICA.

Quarto, of 108 numbered, plus 4 preliminary unnumbered leaves.

Printed in 1534, but with no name of printer or bookseller. On the first page is a quarto plate, representing the author crowned with laurel, standing between François I and Clement VII. Beneath these three personages are their respective

arms, and above their heads their names: Franciscus, Paulus, Clemens. The Lorraine cross is at the foot, on the left. The same plate appears on the last page.

1535

> LES TROYS PREMIERS LIVRES DE L'HISTOIRE DE DIODORE SICILIEN, TRANSLATEZ DE LATIN EN FRANÇOYS, PAR ANT. MACAULT.... On les vent a Paris, en la rue de la Juifverie, devant la Magdaleine, à l'enseigne du Pot Cassé....[367]

Quarto, 1535. This book is embellished with a magnificent frontispiece representing Macault presenting his book to François I. Although unsigned, it is certainly Tory's.



'His chef-d'œuvre,' says M. Renouvier,[368] 'is, perhaps, the frontispiece of Macault's "Diodorus," in which we see François I seated in a chair with a back carved with fleurs-de-lis, at table with his children, his monkey, his greyhound, and his courtiers, while Macault reads his book to him. This engraving, the authorship of which is unquestionable, does not bear the Lorraine cross; the master published without that mark many another work which M. Bernard, in his

scrupulous exactitude, has chosen not to mention. As some compensation for the works which I have denied to Tory, I may be allowed the pleasure of mentioning here one which M. Bernard has not attributed to him: "Les Fables d'Esopes mises en rithme françois," by Gilles Corrozet (Paris, Denys Janot, 1542). As the copy that I saw is not complete, it may be that the Lorraine cross might have been found somewhere in the book; but, in any event, that would not change the conviction based upon examination of the plates. The small engravings, with the first four lines of the fables, are set in borders decorated with pilasters and pediments in the master's style, and illustrated at the base with tiny drawings of amorous subjects, treated with his somewhat heavy-handed delicacy.

'There came from Tory's establishment, in the later years, many engravings of blended types which can be attributed to none but pupils, or even apprentices; analysis will always be impossible; when we have cast a light upon the head of a school, we must leave the tail to languish in the shadow. I will mention here, however, one pupil of Geofroy Tory, whom M. Bernard does not mention, namely, François Gryphe, brother of Sébastien Gryphe of Lyon. He engraved and printed, in 1539, a New Testament which, as very rarely happens, mentions the engraver of the plates on the title-page as well as in the privileges from the King and the Parliament which stand at the beginning and end of the book respectively. "Novum testamentum illustratum insignium rerum simulacris, cum ad veritatem historiæ, tum ad venustatem, singulari artificio expressis." (Here the mark of the griffin.) "Excudebat Fran. Gryphius, AN. MDXXXIX." And in the privilege: "Francoys Gryphius, bookseller, printer and tradesman, commorant in Paris ... prayed

that he be permitted to cause to be printed and sold the New Testament, illustrated by him."

'The volume is a small octavo; the Lorraine cross does not appear, but there is a letter L engraved by Tory, and a series of small plates executed with a delicacy instinct with firmness, in accordance with types, attitudes and rules which can belong to no other school than his.'[369]

1536

I. HORÆ IN LAUDEM BEATISSIME VIRGINIS MARIÆ AD USUM ROTHOMAGENSEM. PARISIIS, AD INSIGNE VASIS EFFRACTI, 1536.

Small octavo, roman type, line engravings.[370]

II. LAZARII BAYFII ANNOTATIONES, etc.

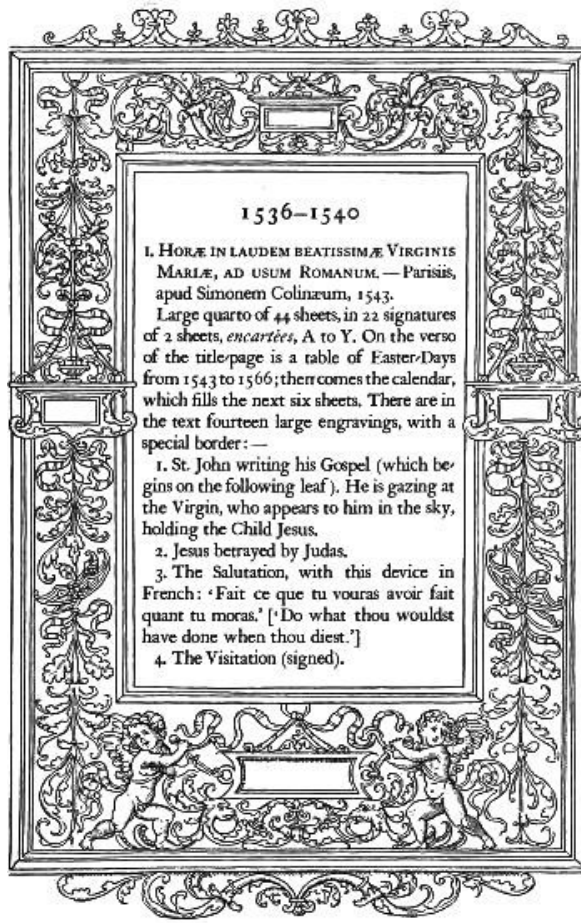
Quarto, Robert Estienne, 1536.

Charles Estienne, brother of the printer, who seems to have been the editor of this book, informs us, in a brief preface, that the drawings scattered through it were taken by him from ancient monuments, and especially from marbles still extant at Rome. Several of the plates bear the Lorraine cross, Robert Estienne's mark, on the title-page; also the engraving on page 19 of 'De re navali' (repeated on page 168), and those on pages 4, 44 and 64 of 'De re vestiaria'. All the other engravings, although not signed, probably came from Tory's workshop. This book was reprinted by Robert Estienne, in 1549, in the same form. Here is a summarized list of the engravings

contained in it: In the first part, 'De re navali,' are some twenty representations of antique vessels, biremes, triremes, etc., of which one is signed; in the second part, 'De re vestiaria,' three are signed: (1) a woman; (2) a man; (3) a soldier; in the third part, 'De vasculis,' are eight or ten representations of vases, etc., not signed.

All these engravings were reproduced on copper in a reprint of Baïf's work, published in Grævius's great collection called the 'Treasure of Antiquities,'[371] and, strangely enough, the artist has left the Lorraine cross on the first.[372] This mark appears again in column 1100 of the same volume, in an analogous work by another author. The same engraving was reëngraved on copper, with the cross, for the edition of Grævius's 'Thesaurus,' published at Venice in 1732, after the edition of Utrecht. This later edition was like the earlier one, and the engraving in question appears in the same volume and same column. So that we have an engraving on copper, with the Lorraine cross, executed in the eighteenth century!

1536-1540



1536–1540

1. HORÆ IN LAUDEM BEATISSIMÆ VIRGINIS MARIÆ, AD USUM ROMANUM. — Parisiis, apud Simonem Colinæum, 1543.

Large quarto of 44 sheets, in 22 signatures of 2 sheets, *encartées*, A to Y. On the verso of the title-page is a table of Easter-Days from 1543 to 1566; then comes the calendar, which fills the next six sheets. There are in the text fourteen large engravings, with a special border: —

1. St. John writing his Gospel (which begins on the following leaf). He is gazing at the Virgin, who appears to him in the sky, holding the Child Jesus.

2. Jesus betrayed by Judas.

3. The Salutation, with this device in French: 'Fait ce que tu vouras avoir fait quant tu moras.' ['Do what thou wouldst have done when thou diest.']

4. The Visitation (signed).

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4. The Visitation (signed).

5. The Birth of Jesus.

6. The Annunciation to the Shepherds (with the date 1537).

7. The Adoration of the Magi (signed).

8. The Circumcision (signed).

9. The Flight into Egypt.

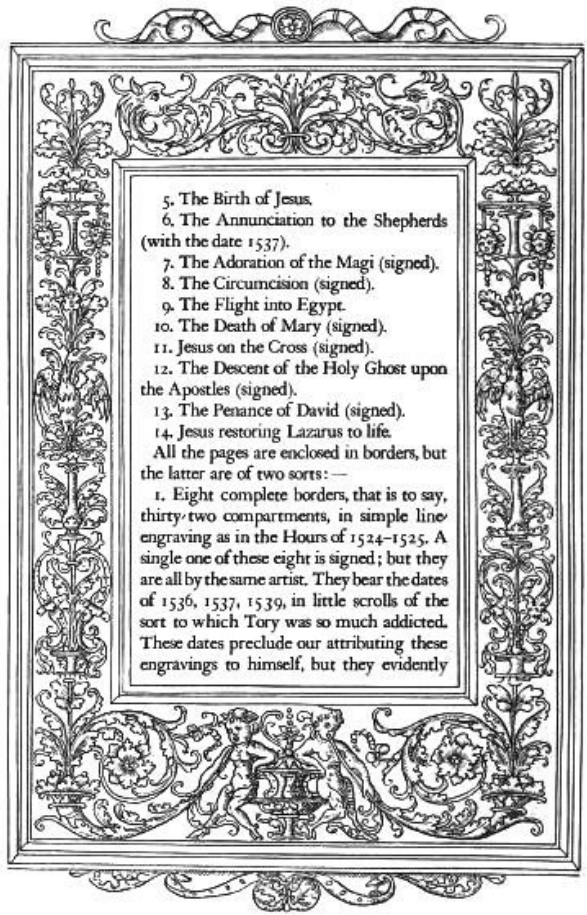
10. The Death of Mary (signed).

11. Jesus on the Cross (signed).

12. The Descent of the Holy Ghost upon the Apostles (signed).

13. The Penance of David (signed).

14. Jesus restoring Lazarus to life.



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7. The Adoration of the Magi (signed).
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11. Jesus on the Cross (signed).
12. The Descent of the Holy Ghost upon the Apostles (signed).
13. The Penance of David (signed).
14. Jesus restoring Lazarus to life.

All the pages are enclosed in borders, but the latter are of two sorts:—

1. Eight complete borders, that is to say, thirty-two compartments, in simple line-engraving as in the Hours of 1524–1525. A single one of these eight is signed; but they are all by the same artist. They bear the dates of 1536, 1537, 1539, in little scrolls of the sort to which Tory was so much addicted. These dates preclude our attributing these engravings to himself, but they evidently

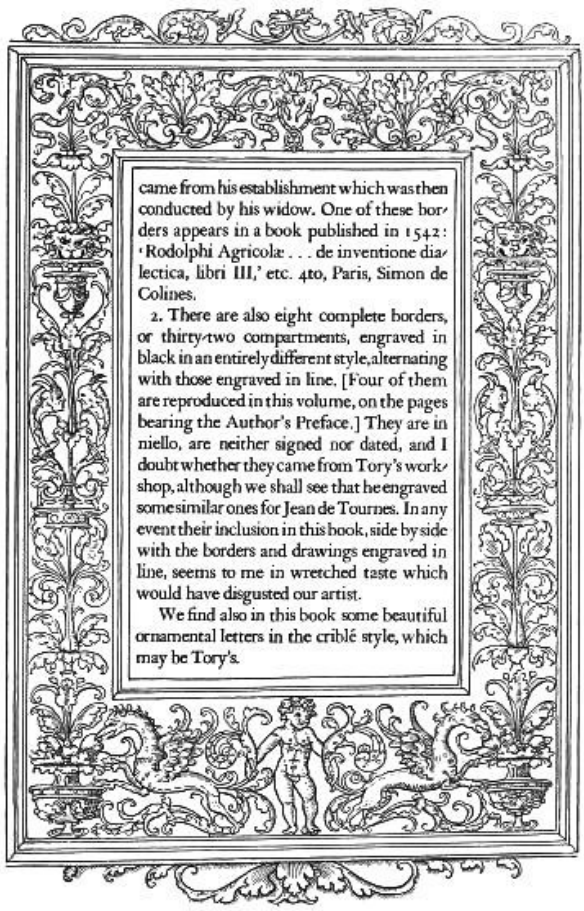
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himself, but they evidently came from his establishment which was then conducted by his widow. One of these borders appears in a book published in 1542: 'Rodolphi Agricolæ ... de inventione dialectica, libri III,' etc. 4to, Paris, Simon de Colines.

2. There are also eight complete borders, or thirty-two compartments, engraved in black in an entirely different style, alternating with those engraved in line. [Four of them are reproduced in this volume, on the pages bearing the Author's Preface.] They are in niello, are neither signed nor dated, and I doubt whether they came from Tory's workshop, although we shall see that he engraved some similar ones for Jean de Tournes. In any event their inclusion in this book, side by side with the borders and drawings engraved in line, seems to me in wretched taste which would have disgusted our artist.

We find also in this book some beautiful ornamental letters in the criblé style, which may be Tory's.


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We find also in this book some beautiful ornamental letters in the criblé style, which may be Tory's.

The book was reprinted in 1549, in the same form, by Renaud and Claude Chaudière, successors to Simon de Colines.

II. In the same year 1543, Simon de Colines published another book of Hours, octavo, which seems to be a smaller edition of the one I have just described. Like that one, it is

composed of 22 signatures, A to Y.

The title-page reads: HORÆ IN LAUDEM DEI AC BEATISSIMÆ VIRGINIS MARIÆ AD USUM ROMANUM, UNA CUM CALENDARIO RECENS [*sic*] EMENDATO. This within a portico-shaped border, at the top of which is the name Simon de Colines. At the foot of the page: 'Parisiis, apud Simonem Colinæum.—1543.'

As in the quarto Hours of the same date the borders of the text pages are arabesques of two styles, some in line and the others in black; and the drawings, to the number of 13, are set in a special border. Some of these borders bear the date 1537, and one of them has the name Simon de Colines in full, which proves that the engravings were executed for him. A list of the drawings follows; only one of them is signed, but all seem to be the work of Tory.

1. St. John writing his Gospel (signed).
2. Calvary.
3. The Salutation.
4. The Visitation.
5. The Nativity.
6. The Annunciation to the Shepherds.
7. The Adoration of the Magi.
8. The Presentation.
9. The Flight into Egypt.
10. The Coronation of the Virgin.
11. Pentecost.
12. Bathsheba at the Bath.
13. Job on the Dunghill.

The only copy of this book that I know of formerly belonged to the late M. Renouvier, of Montpellier, who showed it to me in 1858. It lacks ten leaves immediately following the title-page, which leaves

undoubtedly contained the calendar.

1537

I. LES ANGOISSES ET REMEDES DAMOUR DU TRAVERSEUR EN SON ADOLESCENCE (Jean Bouchet).

Quarto, gothic type, printed at Poitiers, January 8, 1536 (1537, new style), by Jean and Engilbert de Marnef. The privilege is dated November 15, 1536.

There are two woodcuts signed with the Lorraine cross: the printers' mark, on the first page; and, at the end of the preliminary pages, an engraving representing a man in a long robe engaged in writing; facing him and below him are four persons, also in robes, from whom he is apparently deriving his inspiration. Near these latter, at the left, is a woman holding a light.[373]

II. LE JUGEMENT POETIC DE L'HONNEUR FEMININ ... PAR LE TRAVERSEUR (Jean Bouchet).

At the end are these words: 'Imprimé à Poictiers le premier d'avril M. D. XXXVIII, par Jean et Engilbert de Marnef, freres.' This volume, which is arranged like that last described, contains eleven engravings, five of which are signed with the double cross.

Folio A 5 verso. A large plate representing the author presenting his book to François I. The King is seated on his throne and surrounded by his court. (Signed at the left.)

Folio B 1 recto. A meeting of the Parliament of Paris.

(Signed at the right.)

Folio B 4 recto. Fame announcing the demise of Louise de Savoie, mother of François I. (Signed at the left.)

Folio B 7 recto. Mercury on his way to the field of Truth; below, Charon in his boat. (Not signed.)

Folio C 1 verso. The field of Truth. Four persons, of whom three are seated in a sort of thicket; and above them, a château. (Signed in the centre.)

Folio C 7 verso. The deceased (Louise de Savoie), her head encircled by a wreath and holding in her right hand a bunch of flowers. (Signed at the right.)

Folio D 3 recto. Fortune holding a wheel in one hand, and a standard in the other. (Not signed.)

Folio D 6 verso. Repetition of C 7.

Folio E 5 verso. Mercury, with the caduceus in his hand, speaking to a man in a robe, and pointing out a palace to him. (Not signed.)

Folio E 7 recto. A large hall adorned with statues. (Not signed.)

Folio L 8 verso. A winged personage, wrapped in a cloak, and having eyes in his hands and feet. (Not signed.)

At the end of the volume the mark of the Marnefs. (Signed.)

1538

MISSAL OF PARIS, 1539; folio. The Lorraine cross on two large folio plates, one of which, dated 1538, represents God the Father seated on his throne, his head surrounded by a halo; he is dressed like the

Pope; over his head, a triangular pediment. The other, not dated, represents Christ on the Cross; the Blessed Virgin and St. John are standing at his sides, and this inscription is printed in a semicircle over the cross: 'Absit michi gloriari nisi in crvce D[omi]ni n[ost]ri Jesvs Christi.'

These two subjects, which are often found in collections, sometimes on paper and sometimes on vellum, sometimes black and sometimes coloured (the mark and the date very often disappear under the colours[374]), were first printed, so far as my knowledge goes, in the Missal of Paris, published in 1539 by Thielman Kerver's widow. There follows a description of this priceless volume, of which I know but one copy in Paris.[375] It is entitled: 'Missale ad usum Ecclesiæ Parisiensis, noviter impressum, et emendatum per deputatos a reverendissimo domino Johanne de Bellayo, Parisiensi episcopo,' etc. Then comes Thielman Kerver's usual mark, and below: 'Prostat Parisiis in vico divi Jacobi, apud Iolandam Bonhomme, vidue spectati viri Thielmanni Kerver, ad signum Unicornis, ubi et excusum fuit, anno Domini M. D. XXXIX.'

This work makes a large folio volume, printed in red and black, in gothic type, with a large number of unsigned engravings in the text. These engravings are of three sorts,—(1) floriated letters on a black ground; (2) small drawings of the same size, but of a very graceful renaissance type; (3) drawings of octavo size, which were commonly used by Thielman Kerver's widow in the books of Hours published by her, and of which I have already had occasion to speak.[376]

The two large drawings signed with the Lorraine cross face each other in signature V, in the second

part of the book, where the pagination is discontinued. They have been reprinted several times in other editions of the same book. I will mention particularly the edition, undated, published in the name of Guillaume Merlin, bookseller, a copy of which is in the Bibliothèque Mazarine[377]; that of 1543, at the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève; that of 1559 (all published by Iolande Bonhomme or her son Jacques Kerver); and lastly a Missal of Cluny, of which I shall speak later.

Although these books are printed on paper, the plates in question are always printed on vellum in editions of the sixteenth century; but this precaution was neglected in later centuries.

1538-1540

Latin Bible in two folio volumes, bearing the dates 1538, 1539, 1540. Paris, Robert Estienne. The word 'Biblia' appears on the title-page in a scroll signed with the Lorraine cross, of which I have already had occasion to speak, under the date of 1532, and which appears in others of Robert Estienne's books.[378] The second title follows: 'Hebræa, chaldæa, græca et latina nomina ... restituta cum latina interpretatione.' This has led some bibliographers to assume, erroneously, that the book was a polyglot affair. It is printed throughout in Latin; there are simply a few Hebrew words in the dissertation to which the second title in question applies, and which is printed in the second volume, with a title-page of its own, dated 1538. The New Testament, also in the second volume, is dated 1539, not 1540, as M. Renouard mistakenly says.[379] The Bible alone, that is to say, the first volume and the beginning of the second, bears the date 1540. In each part we find Robert

Estienne's large mark, signed with the Lorraine cross. The first volume contains also eighteen magnificent engravings representing the Tabernacle of Moses, Solomon's Temple, etc., executed under the direction of François Vatable, Royal Professor of Hebrew Literature. The Lorraine cross appears on the large plate of the camp of the Israelites, on folio 35; but I dare not upon this evidence alone attribute all the other engravings to Tory.[380] In any event the floriated letters used in the book are certainly Tory's, for we find the designs mentioned by him in his 'Champ fleury.' It is a fact worth noting that these letters seem to have been cast, or, at least, reproduced by stereotyping, for they are often repeated on the same page, without the slightest change in the design.

The Bibliothèque Nationale has a superb copy of this book on vellum, with the arms of François I. It was reprinted in the same shape by Robert Estienne in 1546, and by his son Henri in 1565. In this last edition, printed at Geneva, we no longer find the two small drawings which appear, with the frieze, on the title-page of the edition of 1532. (See p. 204, supra.) The frieze in this later form appears in other books of the Estiennes. I have seen it in a folio Xenophon printed for Fugger.

1540-1548

AMADIS DE GAULE, French translation by Nic. de Herberay, Seigneur des Essarts, for the first eight books; first edition printed between 1540 and 1548, by Denis Janot, for the booksellers, Vincent Sertenas, Estienne Groullau, and Jean Longis. Folio, with engravings.

I have seen only two of these engravings signed with

the Lorraine cross, but several others seem to have come from the same workshop. The great majority of them, however, are of another *make*. The two that are signed are: (1) Book II, chap. 2, a large plate representing a sort of temple. A man armed cap-à-pie under a portico. At the right are shields hanging upon posts; at the left, a man kneeling on the ground, holding a naked sword in the air with his right hand, and another hand grasping it. This represents a scene from the 'Île Ferme.' (2) Book VI, chap. 56, a small plate representing four persons on horseback near a château in front of which stands an armed man. This cut does not seem to have any connection with the subject, and may well have been taken from another older work.

There is a copy of this book on vellum in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

1541

I. PRAXIS CRIMINIS PERSEQUENDI, ELEGANTIBUS ALIQUOT FIGURIS ILLUSTRATA, JOANNE MILLÆO ... AUCTORE.

Folio; Paris, Simon de Colines, 1541. Some copies have on the title-page only the names of the brothers Arnould and Charles les Angeliers. (Bibliothèque Nationale.)

There are in this book thirteen large folio cuts, besides the frontispiece. A single one, the seventh, is signed, but all are by the same hand. Following is a description of them, or, rather, a brief list; for a description would lead us into too minute details: [381]

1. Several men slain in divers ways, on a public square where there is a large crucifix.
2. Examination of the bodies of the wounded lying in a room.
3. Examination of the witnesses.
4. The accused summoned by public outcry.
5. Arrest of the accused.
6. Examination of the accused.
7. Confrontation of the witnesses with the accused (signed).
8. Ratification of decree of pardon.
9. Torture by water.
10. Torture by the boots.
11. Torture by compressing the wrists.
12. Condemnation of the guilty.
13. Execution of the guilty.

There is at the Bibliothèque Nationale a magnificent copy of this book on vellum, with the arms of France in miniature on the verso of the title-page.

II. THE FIRST VOLUME OF THE CATHOLIQUES ŒUVRES ET ACTES DES APOSTRES, by Simon de Greban; followed by the MYSTERE DE L'APOCALYPSE, by Louis Choquet. Printed for Arnould and Charles les Angeliers, May 27, 1541. 'On les vend en la grand salle du Palais, par Arnould et Charles les Angeliers freres.' Folio; Paris, 1541.

This work is embellished with engravings, of which only one is signed with the Lorraine cross. This one, which is on folio I recto of the Acts of the Apostles, represents the descent of the Holy Ghost upon the Apostles. It is enclosed in a border, of octavo size, and belongs to a series of engravings for a book of Hours published by Guillaume Merlin in 1548.[382]

The engraver's mark is in a small circle at the left of the foot of the border. Beside it is an angel holding two shields in which are the letters G. M. (Guillaume Merlin). The frontispiece of the Acts of the Apostles has a border in which is the date 1537. The same border surrounds the frontispiece of the Mystery of the Apocalypse, but there it is without the date. This last-named portion of the volume contains 13 engravings and a border, in Tory's style, but without the Lorraine cross. One of them bears the letters P. R. There is a copy at the Bibliothèque Nationale.

III. HOURS OF THE VIRGIN, octavo, in roman type, but with the borders 'à la moderne' described on page 128, supra.

This book, printed by Olivier Mallard in 1541, was copied doubtless from the edition made by Tory about 1531, which I have been unable to examine. Mallard's edition, of which I have seen a copy on vellum, belonging to M. Émilien Cabuchet, the painter, and another on paper, consists of twenty-three octavo signatures, A to Y. The title-page reads; HORÆ IN LAUDEM BEATISSIM. VIRGINIS MARIÆ, AD USUM ROMANUM. (Here the Pot Cassé.) Parisiis, apud Oliverium Mallardum, sub signo Vasis Effracti, 1541. The last page, on which is printed a curious 'prescription against the plague,' ends thus: 'Excudebat Parisiis Oliverius Mallard, bibliopola regius, sub signo Vasis Effracti.'...

In this edition there are 16 different borders; each leaf has the same border on both recto and verso. There are also 16 of the engravings of the sixteenmo Hours of 1529, those not reproduced being nos. 1, 19

and 21 of that edition.

The word 'Rom.' printed on the first page of each signature leads me to believe that Mallard published at the same time, in the same format, an edition of Hours 'ad usum Parisianum,' but I have found no trace of such an edition.

After Olivier Mallard's death, which occurred, as I have said heretofore, in 1542, his typographical outfit seems to have been acquired by Thielman Kerver II (son of the first Thielman and Iolande Bonhomme, who lived, as did his father before him, on Rue Saint-Jacques); for he published in 1550 a book of Hours similar to that printed in 1541 by Mallard. It contains the same borders and the same drawings, but in a different arrangement. The borders have been lengthened by means of a most ungraceful addition to the side-pieces; as for the drawings in two parts, no pains has been taken to place the parts facing each other, so that their meaning would be uncertain if we had no other editions of the engravings. In fine, this book is very imperfect. It consists of twenty-two and a half signatures, A to Y. The title-page reads thus:—

HORÆ IN LAUDEM BEATISSIMÆ VIRGINIS MARIÆ AD USUM ROMANUM. (Here the mark of Thielman Kerver, with the Lorraine cross.) 'Parisiis, apud Thielmannum Kerver, vico sancti Jacobi, sub signo Cratis. M.D.L.' The book closes with the curious 'prescription' found in Olivier Mallard's edition of 1541, which is in these words: 'Approbatissima medicina contra pestem.—Recipe quantum potes de amaritudine mentis contra peccata commissa, cum vera cordis contritione, potius libram quam unciam. Hæc misceantur cum aqua lacrymarum, et facies vomitum per puram confessionem. Deinde sumas illud sacratiss.

electuarium corporis Christi, et tutus eris a peste.'

The book is printed in red and black. I have seen a copy on paper at M. Potier's bookshop. There is an imperfect copy at the Bibliothèque Mazarine, and a perfect one at Sainte-Geneviève.

About the same time there was published a small duodecimo volume of four signatures, in French, with the same borders. It begins thus: 'Here follows the method of receiving the blessed sacrament devoutly.' It is like the book last-described except that it is printed in only one colour, and that it is a little longer and wider.[383] To lengthen the borders, sections have been added to them. It is most peculiar that a duodecimo volume should be larger than an octavo, but the fact is unquestionable: formats were already beginning to increase in size. Near the end of the book is a little treatise with this heading: 'Here follows a devout meditation as to the manner in which thou shouldst ordain and arrange the whole day,' etc. And after that: 'The life of Madame Sainte-Marguerite, with prayer to be said for women pregnant and in travail.'

This book is in the Bibliothèque Mazarine, in the same collection as the last. It contains four small engravings, of which only one seems to me to belong to Tory: it is the Christ on the Cross, which appears in the quarto Hours of 1542, now to be described.

1542

I. Hours, according to the Roman use, quarto, in Latin, published by Olivier Mallard in 1542. This rare volume, of which I know only one copy, belonging to M. Aerts, of Metz,[384] who himself kindly brought it to me at Paris, is a reproduction of

the Hours printed by Tory in 1531; the type, however, is smaller. It consists of nineteen signatures of two quarto sheets *encartées*, signatures A to T. The title-page reads: HORAE IN LAUDEM BEATISS. VIRGINIS MARIÆ AD USUM ROMANUM. OFFICIUM TRIPLEX.—Parrhisiis, apud Oliverium Mallard, impressorem Regium. The rest is as in the edition of 1531. On the last page: 'Parrhisiis, ex officina Oliverii Mallard, Regii impressoris, Ad insigna Vasis Effracti. Anno salu. M. D. XLII. Mense Augusti.' Then come the two lines:—

'Effracti, lector, subeas insignia vasis,
gregios flores ut tibi habere queis.'

The table of Easter-Days, on the verso of the title-page, goes from 1542 to 1571; then comes the calendar, in which the order of the edition of 1531 has been followed in the arrangement of the borders, although the type, being smaller, would have permitted the more regular arrangement of the edition of 1524-25.

The book is printed in two colours, except signatures B, C, and D, which are in black only—a most unusual state of things. The engravings are the same as those of the edition of 1531, but the floriated letters are different. The Passion, which begins on folio B 3 verso, is enriched by the small Christ on the Cross which we find in the Hours of 1529, but without the four additional subjects (bees, etc.), which there accompany it.[385] It is probable that some accident happened to the plate, and that only the Christ was saved. We find also in this volume, at the foot of the border, the crowned C of Queen Claude of France, who had then been dead about fifteen years.

The Lorraine cross, which had disappeared from

several of the larger engravings as early as the edition of 1531, appears on almost none of them in that of 1542. For example, it has been expunged from the Birth of Jesus and the Circumcision. The only ones which retain it are the Visitation, the Crucifixion, and the Descent of the Holy Ghost. It remains on the borders also.

Signature E begins with a leaf the recto of which is blank, while on the verso is the angel of the Annunciation, as in the edition of 1531. The large plate, the Triumph of the Virgin Mary, is also included in this edition.

II. HORE BEATE MARIE VIRGINIS AD USUM FRATRUM PREDICATORUM ORDINIS SANCTI DOMINICI: FIGURIS UTRIUSQUE TESTAMENTI AC PERVENUSTIS IMAGINIBUS ET IIS QUIDEM NON PAUCIS, PASSIM DECORATE, ATQUE OFFICIO CONCEPTIONS IMMACULE VIRGINIS ET OFFICIO SANCTI DOMINICI IN ALIIS ORARIIS ACTENUS IMPRESSUS NEQUAQUE INSERTIS AD AUCTE. (Here the figure of St. Dominic holding an open book in his left hand, and in the right a staff with the cross at the end. At his feet lies a dog. The Lorraine cross is at the left.) Venundantur Parisiis, in edibus vidue spectabilis viri Thielmanni Kerver, in vico divi Jacobi, sub signo Unicornis, ubi et impresse.—M.D. XLII.[1]

Octavo; signatures A to X, and *a* to *c*: in all, 26 forms. The title-page engraving reappears on leaf R 4 verso. The others are not signed.

III. HEURES À L'USAGE DE TOUL: AU LONG SANS REQUERIR.

Octavo of 156 unpaged leaves. Calendar from 1541 to 1564. At the bottom of the last page are the words: 'Imprimé à Troyes chez Jean Lecoq.' Gothic type, printed in red and black.

The only copy of this book that I have seen is in the Bibliothèque Publique of Besançon. It has 30 engravings, including the printer's mark, which is on the title-page. The mark and three other engravings of the first series are signed with the Lorraine cross. A list of all the engravings follows:—

First series, .06 mm. by .043 mm.
1. Printer's mark (signed).
2. Jesus in the Garden of Olives (signed).
3. Annunciation of the Virgin.
4. The Visitation.
5. The Nativity.
6. Adoration of the Shepherds.
7. Adoration of the Magi.
8. The Presentation in the Temple.
9. Massacre of the Innocents.
10. Death of the Virgin (signed).
11. The Crucifix.
12. Pentecost.
13. Bathsheba at the Bath (signed).
14. Resurrection of Lazarus.
15. Vision of St. Gregory.

Second series, .034 mm. by .022 mm.
1. The Trinity.
2. Death piercing with a Spear the Great Men of Earth.
3. St. Anne.

4. All Saints.
5. Ecce Homo.
6. The Virgin.
7. The Beheading of St. John Baptist.
8. St. Sebastian.
9. St. Nicholas.
10. St. Martin.
11. St. Catherine.
12. St. Barbara.
13. Our Lady of Pity.
14. Virgo Gloriosa.
15. Our Lady of the Seven Sorrows.

IV. DYALOGUE INSTRUCTOIRE DES CHRESTIENS EN LA FOY, ESPERANCE ET AMOUR DE DIEU COMPOSÉ PAR FRERE PIERRE DORÉ, DOCTEUR EN THEOLOGIE.... Imprimé nouvellement par Denys Janot, demourant en la rue Neufve Nostre Dame, à l'enseigne Sainct Jehan Baptiste, pres Saincte Geneviefve des Ardens.

Sixteenmo, 1542. On the verso of the title-page is an engraving signed with the Lorraine cross. It represents the Virgin standing on a crescent, holding the child Jesus in her arms, and surrounded by a halo. (Bibliothèque Nationale.)

1543-1544

SOMMAIRE DE CHRONIQUES, CONTENANS LES VIES, GESTES ET CAS FORTUITZ DE TOUS LES EMPEREURS D'EUROPE, etc. By J. B. Egnatius, translated by G. Tory.[386]

There were several other editions of these chronicles.

M. Hippolyte Boyer mentions one of 1541, in his 'Histoire des Imprimeurs et Libraires de Bourges' (8vo, Bourges, 1854), p. 27; Antoine du Verdier, another, of 1543, in his Bibliothèque françoise. This much is certain—that M. Renouvier owned a copy, with illustrations, dated 1544. It is an octavo, 'for sale by Charles l'Angelier, in the "grand'salle du Palais."' It contains 112 leaves (signatures A to O), plus 4 unnumbered leaves. The engravings are of two sorts: the first represents an emperor on horseback, carrying a battle-axe; there is no mark, but it is engraved with much delicacy and distinguished by the little cartouches of which Tory was so fond; this figure is reproduced several times. The others are busts of emperors, roughly engraved, which cannot be Tory's. It may be noted that the edition published by Tory in 1530 contains no engravings.

1545

DE DISSECTIONE PARTIUM CORPORIS HUMANI, etc. By Charles Estienne. Folio, Simon de Colines, 1545.

There are in this book about sixty large anatomical plates. Five are signed with the Lorraine cross—folios 149, 150, 151, 154, 155. The last four bear also the name of Jollat, with the dates 1530, 1531, 1532. Here is what M. Renouvier has to say on the subject: 'Simon de Colines ... employed another wood-engraver of some note, Mercure Jollat, to whom Papillon attributed almost all of our gothic books of Hours. He should be reckoned only among the engravers of an altogether modernized manner. His name is written Iollat, the first letter in the zodiacal sign of Mercury, followed by the dates 1530, 1531,

and 1532, and accompanied by the Lorraine cross, on four plates of Charles Estienne's book on the dissection of the human body, representing the cadaver in its skin and the cadaver with the skin removed. The drawing of the figures has been attributed, even by Brulliot, to Woeiriot; but it is really the work of the surgeon Estienne Rivière, who is named on the title-page and in the preface as the painter of the bones, ligaments, and all the anatomical details. His initials, S. R., appear on a tablet hanging from the branches of a tree in the first plate. The engraving, which varies considerably, would seem to be the work of different hands, or, at least, to have come from an establishment which practised diverse styles and which sometimes put forth work done by apprentices. The workmanship of the plates with Jollat's mark seemed to me more monotonous—not unskilful although less picturesque. I am not now passing upon their scientific merit, but upon their picturesque interest simply.'[387]

The inscription of Jollat's name on plates marked with the Lorraine cross seems, at first glance, quite hard to explain, especially with the general opinion concerning the former of these artists, based on Papillon's statements. But as the story of Jollat's work as an engraver still remains to be told, I think I may safely say that he simply designed the plates that bear his name in Charles Estienne's book, and that they were engraved by Tory, or, at least, in his workshop. We have seen, in fact, that Tory was Simon de Colines' favourite engraver. To be sure, M. Renouvier seems to be of opinion that all the plates were designed by Estienne Rivière, whence he concludes that the engraving is by Jollat; but this is a mistaken opinion, based on a sentence in the preface.

Rivière, who was a friend of Charles Estienne, may have designed the majority of the plates in Charles Estienne's book, and yet not have designed all of them. Those signed Jollat evidently belong to that artist, who seems to have designed a number of them before the work was placed in Rivière's hands.

I am confirmed in my belief that Jollat was the designer of the plates in question by the fact that his name is always accompanied by the dates, and that those dates are not those of the engraving, which I propose to prove. There are only five plates signed with Jollat's name and with the Lorraine cross in the Latin edition of Charles Estienne's book, published by Simon de Colines in 1545. In the following year the same printer issued a French edition of this work, under the title, 'La Dissection des parties du corps humain' (folio, 1546), in which we find two additional plates so marked and dated 1532. Why did not these plates appear in the first edition, if they were engraved by Jollat?

But here is another fact even more conclusive. In 1575 the bookseller Jacques Kerver published a volume of engravings without text, entitled 'Les Figures et portraicts des parties du corps humain' (folio), in which we find not only the seven engravings with the cross, of the edition of 1546, but three others, also bearing Jollat's mark and the Lorraine cross, and dated 1533. Evidently these plates appeared in some earlier edition, unknown to me,[388] for it was not Kerver who had them engraved; he simply made use of the woodcuts of which he had become the owner. But why did they not appear in the edition of 1546? That is a matter easily explained.

Charles Estienne informs us in the preface to his

book that the printing was well advanced in 1539, but that it was interrupted by a lawsuit. We give his own words in the French edition of 1546: 'All of which things were well-nigh finished in the year 1539, and almost so far as the middle of the third book printed, when, by reason of a suit that was begun, we were forced (to your great discontent, methinks) to lay aside this work and to desist from the completion thereof; for so long that in the mean time it has been possible for many others to invent new ideas touching this matter, and to make use at their will of many sheets filled with our writings; for it was not possible for the printer so closely to safeguard his book, so long suppressed, that some persons curious to learn of novel things might not take away some sheets, still uncorrected, and send them into Germany.'

Now let us see what was the cause of this suit. Charles Estienne does not inform us, but it has been disclosed by M. Ambroise Didot, in his 'Essai sur la Gravure.' The famous Vésale had published at Venice, in 1538, through the printer B. Vitalis, a treatise on anatomy, embellished with numerous plates, which was copied in several places, and notably in Paris, despite the privilege granted by the Republic. Later, wishing to issue a new and improved edition of his book, Vésale applied to Oporin, professor of Greek, and printer at Basle, to whom he sent his plates, which had been engraved at Venice by Calcar, a pupil of Titian. In 1543 Oporin finished printing this new edition, for which the author had, no doubt, obtained privileges from various sovereigns, especially from the King of France. This seems to be proved by the suit instituted against Charles Estienne. That is why the latter could not publish, in his edition of 1545, all the plates which

he had had made, and which appeared only at intervals as the date of Vésale's privilege was left behind. As we have seen, he gives it to be understood in his preface that it was he who was robbed in Germany.

As this is a favourable opportunity, I will say a few words concerning Jacques Kerver's publication, of which I have never seen any mention,[389] but which is of great interest to us. It is a folio volume, containing 61 large plates besides a considerable number of small ones. There is no other text than the explanations printed on the plates,[390] and a brief note to the reader, which begins thus: 'Friend reader, seeing that medicine is not at all essential to preserve the health and to banish all diseases, which often, on slight occasion, assail us, and that anatomy, or the description of the parts of the human body, mainly serves us therein, I have determined not to fail to exhibit them to you here.' We give a description of those plates in the book which are of interest to us.

Plates which appear only in Kerver's volume.

1. The human body in its relation to the signs of the zodiac (folio A 2 verso). This bears Jollat's name, the date 1533, and the Lorraine cross.

2 and 3. The human body in its relation to the seven planets (folio A 3 recto and verso). These two bear the same marks as the preceding.

Plates which appear in the edition of 1546.

4. Skeleton seen from the left side (folio 11 of the edition of 1546, and A 3 verso of that of 1575). Jollat's name, the Lorraine cross, no date.

5. Skeleton seen from the right side (folio 11, 1546, folio A 5 verso, 1575). Jollat's name, the date 1532,

and the Lorraine cross.

Plates which appear in all three editions.

6. Man flayed, front view (folio 149, 1545; folio 151, 1546; folio B 2 recto, 1575). The cross alone.

7. Man flayed, right side (folio 150, 1545; folio 152, 1546; folio B 2 verso, 1575). Jollat's name, the date 1532, and the Lorraine cross.

8. Man flayed, rear view (folio 151, 1545; folio 153, 1546; folio B 3 recto, 1575). The same marks as in the last case.

9. Man in his skin, front view (folio 154, 1545; folio 160, 1546; folio B 3 verso, 1575). The same marks as in the last case.

10. Man in his skin, rear view (folio 155, 1545; folio 161, 1546; folio B 5 recto, 1575). The same marks, with the date 1531.

Many others of the plates may belong to Tory, but as they are not marked, I shall not speak of them here.

Something analogous to what I have just described took place with reference to the engravings of Tory's Hours. Having become the property of the Kervers, as we have seen,[391] they were used by them for a long while. We shall mention later the octavo Hours published by Thielman II in 1550, 1552, and 1556, in which he utilized the woodcuts of the edition published by Olivier Mallard in 1541. His son Jacques did better than that: in 1574 he published a large octavo edition of the Hours of the Virgin, in which he used the woodcuts of the quarto editions issued by Tory himself in 1524 and 1527. As the crosses were removed in almost every instance, one might have some right to deny their source, were not

the books published by Tory a half century before, at our hand to demonstrate it. Jacques Kerver's book being rare, and of a date subsequent to the period covered by my work, it seems to me that it may be well to give a bibliographical description of it, from the copy owned by M. Chedeau, which M. Potier, bookseller, has kindly furnished me.

'Officium beatæ Mariæ Virginis nuper reformatum et Pii V, pont. max., jussu editum.—Apud Jacobum Kerver, via Jacobea, sub insigni Unicornis.—1574.' Large octavo, with illustrations from the quarto edition published by Tory in 1524-1525, surrounded by borders taken from Tory's quarto edition of 1527, but reduced in size, mutilated, transposed, etc.

Here is a list of the plates:—

1. The Annunciation (two plates).
2. The Salutation.
3. The Nativity.
4. The Adoration of the Shepherds.
5. The Adoration of the Magi.
6. The Circumcision.
7. The Flight into Egypt.
8. The Coronation of the Virgin.

These eight plates are repeated three times.

Then come:—

9. The Triumph of Death.
10. David's Penance.
11. Jesus on the Cross.
12. Pentecost.

Number 8 is taken from the quarto Hours of 1527; but all the others are in the Hours of 1524-1525. Numbers 2 and 12 still bear the Lorraine cross.

There is no doubt in my mind that the Kervers

printed also the quarto Hours (1531) which I mentioned on page 201, and in which we find the borders of the Hours of 1524-1525, and the porticoes of the opuscula of 1530-1531. The plates are not signed and cannot be Tory's, but as a list of them may assist in the discovery of this edition, I will mention here those which are at the Bibliothèque Nationale:—

1. The Annunciation.
2. The Conception.
3. The Visitation.
4. The Nativity.
5. The Circumcision.
6. The Resurrection.
7. The Descent of the Holy Ghost.
8. All Saints.
9. The Trinity.

1547

We place under this date three books of Hours which introduce us to certain engravings signed with the Lorraine cross accompanied by initials. 1547 is not the exact date of the engravings to which we refer, for we shall see that they are of earlier execution; but their first appearance is so uncertain that we are forced to fall back upon the definite date supplied by the books in question.

I. HOURS ACCORDING TO THE USE OF TOUL.

Octavo. On the first page: 'The present hours according to the use of Tou [*sic*], in full, *sans requerir*, newly printed at Paris.' (Here the mark of François Regnault.) 'For sale in Paris, Rue Saint

Jacques, at the sign of the Elephant, opposite the Mathurins, by Françoys Regnault's widow.'

On the verso is a table of Easter-Days for thirteen years, beginning in 1547. Next comes a calendar, with engravings and verses (some in Latin, some in French), the 'Jours moralisez,' divers moral and religious axioms, in verse and in prose, and, lastly, the four Gospels of the Passion, in Latin. All these form the first part, with a special series of signatures, *aa* to *ee*. It is more than likely that this first part, which has no application to any particular diocese, is printed, in the same form, in the Hours which Veuve Regnault probably printed for other churches about the same time. In signatures *cc* and *ee* there is an engraving representing Jesus on the Cross, signed with the letters I, L, B and the Lorraine cross, which appears in several other publications of the same period.

The second part of the book comprises the Hours properly so-called, according to the ritual of the church of Toul. This part is made up of eight signatures, *a* to *h*, the word *Tou* being printed on the first page of each sheet.

The volume contains a hundred leaves in all. In addition to the bookseller's mark and the engraving signed with the Lorraine cross, there are 55 large woodcuts, most of which are signed with the initials I, M (without the cross), a few small engravings, and a large number of letters in grisaille, but no borders.

With a copy of these Hours, which I have seen, was bound the following work:—

'The fifteen effusions of the blood of our Saviour and Redeemer Jesus Christ, by Barbe Regnault, Rue Saint Jacques, at the sign of the Elephant, opposite the

Mathurins.' Eight leaves in two octavo folds, enriched with fifteen pretty woodcuts, interspersed through the text, and marked, like the one mentioned above, which is one of them, with the letters I, L, B and the Lorraine cross.

This little volume is undated, but it is known that Barbe Regnault succeeded her mother, Madeleine Boursette, widow of François Regnault, who was carrying on the business as late as 1555. So that the engravings with the initials I, L, B might be of later date than that; but we have seen that one of them had already appeared in the first part of the book; therefore they are of earlier date than 1547.

Here is a list of these engravings, which are the same ones mentioned by M. Robert-Dumesnil under date of 1599:—

1. The Circumcision.
2. Jesus in the Garden of Olives.
3. The Apprehension of Jesus.
4. Jesus Beaten with Rods.
5. Jesus before Pontius Pilate.
6. Jesus King of the Jews.
7. Jesus Bearing his Cross.
8. Jesus Stripped of his Clothing.
9. Jesus on the Cross.
10. Same subject (without initials).
11. Same subject (again without initials).
12. Same subject (with initials and without the cross).
13. Erection of the Cross.
14. Jesus between the two Thieves.
15. Same subject (without cross or initials).

All of these are 4½ centimetres high and 5 wide.

The 'Fifteen Effusions' was reprinted frequently during the sixteenth century, in different formats and in different type, but with the same engravings, and almost always without date, because it was added to other books. I have, however, seen one copy in large type, dated 1584 (Bibliothèque Nationale). These same engravings appear, with many others, in a work entitled 'Abrégé des Méditations de la vie de Jésus-Christ'; octavo, Paris, Guillaume Chaudière, 1599.

II. HORE BEATE MARIE VIRGINIS AD USUM PARISIENSEM, TOTALITER AD LONGUM, CUM MULTIS ORATIONIBUS ET HISTORIIS, NOVITER IMPRESSE ET EMENDATE. (Here the Triumph of the Virgin, an old engraving with criblé background, with legends in gothic type, which figures in all the Hours of this period.) 'On les vend a Paris, en la rue Sainct Jacques, par la veufve Jehan de Brie, a l'enseigne de la Lymace, pres Sainct Yves.'

On the verso of the title, 'a calendar for XI years,' beginning with 1548. Each month has its engraving, and the usual illustration is placed within a circle; they are not signed.

Printed in red and black, in large gothic type, the work consists of 8 preliminary leaves and 16 folios of text, signatures A to Q, with the letters *Pa* (Paris). The folios do not begin until signature B, and run without a break to the end of signature Q. On the last page of this signature are these words: 'These present hours according to the use of Paris, with

several noble eulogies of Our Lady, have been printed by Veufve Jehan de Brye [*sic*], living on rue sainct Jacques, at the sign of the Snail, near Sainct Yves.—M. D. XLVIII.'

Then follow 12 leaves of appendix, ending with a figure of the Virgin, over which are the words 'Nostre Dame de Lorette,' in roman capitals. At the foot of the page: 'Ave Sanctissima Maria,' etc. (5 lines in gothic type).

This curious volume is preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

Besides the 12 small engravings of the calendar, there are several other small subjects, also unsigned, and 13 large ones with the letters L, R, and the double cross. These latter, which measure 10 centimetres in height and 7 in width, are as follows: —

1. St. John writing his Gospel.

2. The Annunciation.

3. The Visitation.

4. The Crucifixion.

5. The Descent of the Holy Ghost upon the Apostles (with the initials, but without the cross).

6. The Birth of Jesus.

7. The Annunciation to the Shepherds.

8. The Adoration of the Magi.

9. The Circumcision.

10. The Coronation of the Virgin.

11. The Penance of David. He is saying to the Father Eternal these words, which are written in a scroll: 'I

who have sinned.'[392]

12. The Last Judgement.[393]

13. Notre-Dame de Lorette.

As I have said heretofore (supra, p. 149), the first twelve of these are improved copies of other, unsigned engravings, belonging to Thielman Kerver I, which appear in many books published by him or by his widow, Iolande Bonhomme, at least as early as 1522,[394] and which we find again in the Paris missal published by their son Jacques in 1559.

M. Brunet[395] suggests a very plausible theory, to the effect that the engravings signed L. R. were executed by Louis Royer, who was in fact the first to use them, in a book of Hours entitled: 'Horæ beatæ Mariæ ad usum Rom.'; duodecimo, gothic type, with the mark of Jean de Brie, and the following words at the foot: 'Parisiis, impressum in vico Jacobi per Claudium Chevallon, impensis Ludovici Royer, librarii Parisiensis, in eodem vico commorante, ad insigne vulgariter dictum la Lymace.'

The book is not dated; but we see, on the one hand, that it was printed by Claude Chevallon, who died in 1542, and, on the other hand, that Louis Royer, at whose expense it was printed, had succeeded Jean de Brie at the sign of the Snail. Now, the latter died about 1522; so that it was between 1522 and 1542 that this book saw the light, and that the engravings with the letters L. R. first appeared.

We know nothing of this Louis Royer, whom Lottin does not mention. Nor do we know any more of Jean de Brie's widow, who seems to have succeeded Louis Royer. And, as if everything in this matter were fated to remain obscure, we find other octavo Hours

according to the use of Rome, in French gothic type, undated, but with a calendar from 1568 to 1578, printed with the same woodcuts, and for sale 'at Paris, on Rue Saint Jacques, at the sign of the Snail'; with no other details. In the book we have described we find also:—

1. The Virgin and the Child Jesus (signed with the letters L. R. and the cross).

2. Jesus betrayed by Judas (same marks).

3. Jesus bearing his Cross (same marks).

4. Jesus on the Cross (same marks).

5. Jesus in the Tomb (same marks).

6. The Resurrection (same marks).

7. The Flight into Egypt (same marks).

8. Job (unsigned).

9. Jesus at Emmaüs (unsigned).

III. HEURES EN FRANÇOYS A L'USAIGE DE ROME, NOUVELLEMENT IMPRIMÉES À PARIS POUR GUILLAUME MERLIN. M. D. XLVIII.

Octavo, gothic type; printed in red and black. This book, which I saw at the sale of M. Chedeau's library, is illustrated with engravings, most of them signed with the Lorraine cross, to which the initials G. M. are sometimes added. They are 8 centimetres high by 55 millimetres wide. The list follows:—

1. Saint John writing his Gospel (unsigned).

2. The Annunciation (unsigned).

3. The Visitation (signed with the Lorraine cross and

the initials G. M.).

4. The Nativity (signed with the Lorraine cross only).

5. The Annunciation to the Shepherds (the cross only).

6. The Adoration of the Magi (the cross only).

7. The Circumcision (the cross only).

8. The Flight into Egypt (unsigned).

9. The Coronation of the Virgin (the cross only).

10. The Descent of the Holy Ghost upon the Apostles (signed with the letters G. M. and the Lorraine cross in a small circle).

11. Jesus on the Cross (the cross only).

12. Bathsheba (the cross only).

13. Job (the cross only).

We think that we can safely attribute the designing of these engravings to Guillaume Merlin, the publisher of this book of Hours. They must, at all events, be much earlier than 1548, for we have already seen one of them (no. 10) in a book of 1541 (supra, p. 217).

Guillaume Merlin also published about 1559 a book of Hours embellished with engravings signed with the Lorraine cross. It is entitled: 'Heures à l'usage de Romme' [*sic*], and is undated, but has a calendar from 1559 to 1570. It is a small octavo, printed in gothic characters, in red and black. At the end are the words: 'Printed by Jean Bridier.'

We find in this volume, which was in M. Chedeau's library, 12 engravings representing the twelve months of the year. Three of them are signed with the Lorraine cross, namely, January, May and

December. The others have no mark. They are 10 centimetres high by 7 wide. On folio 62 verso is the Virgin holding the Child Jesus. She is within an aureole of flames, with her feet on a crescent.

1548

THEODORI BEZÆ VEZELII POEMATA. Paris, Conrad Bade, 1548.

Octavo of 100 pages printed in italic type. This is the first edition of this book and contains a portrait of Théodore de Bèze signed with the Lorraine cross. It is the oldest portrait that we know. Below it are the following verses, alluding to a laurel wreath which Théodore has in his hand:—

Vos docti docta præcingite tempora lauro:
Mi satis est illam uel tetigisse manu.



The inscription 'An. 29,' at the top of the portrait, indicates that it was engraved in the same year that the book was printed; for Théodore de Bèze, born at Vezelay June 24, 1519, completed his twenty-ninth year in 1548, the date of the dedicatory epistle of this book, which the author addressed to his teacher, Melchior Volmar. 'Vale. Lutetiæ, VII. cal. Iul. qui dies est mihi natalis.' The mark of Conrad Bade, also signed with the Lorraine cross, is on the first page of

this book, which was finished on July 15, 1548. 'Lutetiæ, Roberto Stephano, regio typographo, et sibi, Conradus Badius excudebat, idibus Julii M. D. XLVIII.' It was shortly after, in this same year, that Théodore de Bèze, on recovering from a severe illness, withdrew to Geneva, and abjured 'the papacy, as he had sworn to God to do at the age of sixteen.' The portrait has been reproduced on copper; there is a copy of the reproduction in the collection of Tory's work at the Bibliothèque Nationale.



1549

I. PAULI IOVII NOVOCOMENSIS VITÆ DUODECIM VICECOMITUM

MEDIOLANIPRINCIPUM.—EX BIBLIOTHECA REGIA.—LUTETIÆ. EX OFFICINA ROB. STEPHANI, TYPOGRAPHI REGII. M. D. XLIX.

Quarto of 199 pages. Paris, 1549. This book is a faithful copy of the manuscript of the same work, preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale.[396] It is embellished with beautiful letters in grisaille with criblé background, and with portraits of the ten dukes of Milan who figure in the manuscript. These portraits, all marked with the Lorraine cross, are faithful reproductions of those in the manuscript, but on a smaller scale. Following is a list of the portraits, taken by Paulus Jovius from originals which existed in his day and of which he gives, in each case, the place where it may be found:—

1. Otho archiepiscopus.
2. Matthæus magnus.
3. Galeacius primus.
4. Actius.
5. Luchinus.
6. Joannes archiepiscopus.
7. Galeacius secundus.
8. Barnabas.
9. Joannes Galeacius primus.
10. Philippus.

There is a French translation of this book, printed in 1552 by Charles Estienne (Robert was then in exile at Geneva), with the same plates. As for the Latin version, it was reprinted several times, in different places, with engravings on copper copied from those of Robert Estienne's edition.

II. ENTRÉE DE HENRI II À PARIS.

Quarto; Paris, Jacques Roffet, called 'Le Faulcheur,' 1549.

This book, of 38 leaves, consists of two parts: the 'Entrée du roi,' of 28 leaves, and the 'Entrée de la reine,' in which the pagination is repeated, but with different signatures. The privilege, dated Chantilly the last day of March, 1548 (1549 new style), grants to Roffet the sole right to have printed and to offer for sale during one year 'the treatise *which is to be written* concerning the recent, joyful entrée,' etc.



There were two editions of this book, or, at all events, there are some copies with additions to the second part—after folio 34. There are also copies with the imprint of Jean Dallier. A list of the engravings follows:

1. A portico, above which we see Hercules holding, bound together by the ears (by means of a chain issuing from his mouth and representing eloquence), a wood-chopper, a soldier, a priest, and a noble (folio 4). I can find no mark on this piece, but it is a reproduction of the Gallic Hercules of 'Champ fleury.'

2. A fountain (folio 5 verso).

3. A triumphal arch surmounted by the arms of France (folio 9).

4. An obelisk on a rhinoceros (folio 11). The cross is under the left foot of the rhinoceros.

5. A peristyle with pillars (folio 13).

6. A triumphal arch surmounted by three nude men, one of whom holds a standard (folio 15).

7. A large vaulted hall, on the ceiling of which are H's and D's (folio 16). The cross is in a portico at the left.

8. A mounted man, armed (folio 19). The cross is in the horse's harness, on the breastplate, a little below his mouth.

9. A triumphal arch, with two pillars (one on each side) surmounted by a man on horseback (folio 38). The cross is on the left-hand pillar.

10. A portico with two openings, separated by a pillar against which rests the statue of a woman standing on books (folio 39 verso).

11. A large plate, representing the façade of a palace

with three porticos (folio 40).

Of these eleven plates only four are signed; but all of them must have come from Tory's workshop, for the style is the same. The absence of the signature may be explained by the haste with which the engravings were executed in order that they might appear at the opportune moment.

I cannot refrain from quoting M. Renouvier's remarks on the engravings in this book, which, for lack of information, he attributed to Jean Cousin.

'I will, however, mention in this place the "Entrée de Henri II à Paris" in 1549, because it is the chef-d'œuvre of French wood-engraving, and because I know of no one to whom it can with more reason be attributed than to the Sénonais master.[397] If he did not work for the court, he may very well have been employed upon works for the city. Those which were executed to commemorate the coronation of Queen Catherine de Medici are of a manner of composition and a style that belong only to him. The Gallic Hercules, made in the likeness of the late King François I, with the four estates of the realm chained to his mouth; the fountain surmounted by statues of the Seine, the Marne, and Good Fortune; the triumphal arch bearing a Typhis, whose face strongly resembles that of the "rex triumphans"; and, lastly, the figure of Lutetia nova Pandora "clad as a nymph, with her hair falling over her shoulders and drawn about her face, kneeling on one knee with wondrous grace"; and all the other details which the artist painted, as happening in the streets through which the procession passed, and which he included by way of narrative, are in the refined manner of the French school. The drawing is pure and full of delicacy, and the engraving so skilfully handled that one cannot

believe it to be by a different hand. It would seem that none but a sculptor could, within such narrow limits, have set in relief those interesting faces, designed those graceful figures, and arranged those draperies; and that sculptor—who could it have been if not the author of the mausoleum of Admiral Chabot, the French artist who best represented the two sides of art,—detail and strength, compression and grandeur, gothicism and the Renaissance?'[398]

While agreeing with M. Renouvier that these plates were drawn by Jean Cousin, we may well, it seems to me, attribute the engraving of them to Tory's workshop.

III. HORÆ IN LAUDEM BEATISSIMÆ VIRGINIS MARIÆ, AD USUM ROMANUM. (Here a small mark of the printer Chaudière, representing Time, with this device, printed from type, occupying three sides of the engraving: 'Hanc aciem | sola | retvndit virtvs.') 'Parisiis, ex officina Reginaldi Calderii et Claudii ejus filii.' 1549.

Large quarto, divided into signatures of two sheets, *a* to *y* (the *k*, probably because that letter was lacking in the font used, is represented by an *l* and a *z* joined together), or 22 signatures of 8 leaves, making 176 leaves; printed in red and black.

This volume corresponds in all respects with the one issued by Simon de Colines in 1543[399]; but the Chaudières (Simon de Colines's successors) have removed a French inscription which appeared below the third plate (the Angelic Salutation) in the edition

of 1543; and they have removed all the dates inscribed in the borders of that edition. These dates are: 1536, which appeared in large figures in a cartouche at the foot of the border of folio *b* 4 of the edition of 1543; 1537, in a cartouche at the foot of the sixth plate (the Annunciation to the Shepherds); and 1539, in two small cartouches at the top of the border of folio *a* 2; so that all the cartouches are empty in this edition of 1549.

I know of only two copies of this edition, one belonging to M. Kühnholtz, the learned librarian of the Faculty of Medicine of Montpellier, the other offered for sale at Claudin's bookshop in 1860. This last copy, in a state of perfect preservation, is still in its original binding, with S's *barré*, and small tortoises (*tortues*) in wreaths of olive. These are the allusive[400] arms of the Tourteron family near Attigny. There is also, on one of the fly-leaves at the front of the book, a large tortoise coloured from life, on a red ground, in a green olive wreath; and at the four corners a monogram of an I and two G's, the initials of the original owner's baptismal names. The volume afterwards belonged to J.-F. Corel du Clos, priest and canon, who wrote his name on the title-page and pasted his arms, engraved on copper, in an empty space at the foot of folio *h* 3 verso. Du Clos seems to have parted with it to the Cordeliers of Rheims, in whose library it remained doubtless until the Revolution.

IV. PREMIER VOLUME DES ANTIQUITÉS DE LA GAULE BELGIQUE, ROYAUME DE FRANCE, AUSTRASIE ET LORRAINE ... PAR M. RICHARD DE WASSEBOURG, ARCHIDIACRE DE L'ÉGLISE DE VERDUN ... ACHEVÉ

D'IMPRIMER LE 13 NOVEMBRE 1549.

A large folio of more than 600 leaves, printed at Paris by François Girault. The privilege, in the name of Sertenas, bookseller, is dated October 1, 1549. It was issued evidently while the printing was in progress, for it is impossible that the volume was made in a month and a half.

On the first page is the fine frontispiece of the Dream of Poliphilus, above which is the mark of Jacques Kerver. There is but one way to explain this fact, and that is to assume that Kerver was the printer of the book. It may be that there are copies in his name. In that case he may have furnished the border, which was left in all the copies.

On the second leaf is the representation of the 'Ymage de nostre Dame de Verdun,' with the Lorraine cross. The Virgin, seated, has in her right hand a flower, and in the left the Child Jesus, holding in his left hand the globe surmounted by a cross. The Virgin's feet rest on a winged dragon. Below her is a man kneeling, with his coat-of-arms before him. Presumably it is the author of the book.

After folio cccli, which concludes the first volume, comes the second volume, the pagination of which follows on. The title-page of this volume, while it is set in the border of the Poliphilus, differs slightly from that of the first. It reads thus: 'Second volume des antiquités de la Gaule Belgique et de plusieurs principautez contenues en icelle, extraites soubs les vies des evesques de Verdun, par M. Richard de Wassebourg.... On les vend à Paris, en la gallerie du Palais, par Vincent Sertenas, libraire audit lieu. Et aussi, se vend en la cité de Verdun.' On the verso is the engraving described above. The Lorraine cross is

under the dragon's tail.



V. GERARD D'EUPHRATE.

Folio, roman type, Paris, Estienne Groulleau, 1549. There are copies also with the imprint of Longis, and others with that of Sertenas.

This volume contains numerous engravings, large and small; but only 31 of them are different, many being repeated once, twice, or thrice. Three are signed with the Lorraine cross, as follows:—

Folios 5 verso, 64 verso, 89 verso, and 183. Vessels manned by soldiers. A woman stands near the shield of him who seems to be in command.[401]

Folio 46. A knight armed cap-à-pie standing in the recess of a portico. His right foot is hidden by a sort of altar whereon are the names of Madanil, Bruneo, Agradiis, and Amadis.[402]

Folio 48. Bird's-eye view of a château which has been besieged, at whose gate stands a warrior accompanied by a horse and a dog; he is parleying with the keeper of the gate, who stands at the top of the entrance tower. This last plate is a superb folio.

1550

I. HORÆ IN LAUDEM, etc.

Hours of the Virgin according to the use of Rome, in Greek and Latin.

Small sixteenmo, Paris, Jean de Roigny, 1550. Printed in red and black. One of the engravings, on leaf 113, representing the Sacrifice of David, is signed with the Lorraine cross. The others are not signed, but are absolutely in the same style; they are: the Annunciation, folio 38 (repeated on 105), and the Resurrection of Lazarus, folio 133.[3]

II. BREVIARIUM AD RITUM DIOCESIS EDUENSIS.—Parisiis, apud Iolandam Bonhomme, viduam Thielmani Kerver, in via Jacobea, sub Unicorni.

Small octavo, 1550. On the first page are the arms of Cardinal Hippolyte d'Este, Bishop of Autun, signed with the Lorraine cross.[403]

III. L'HISTOIRE DE PRIMALEON DE GRECE,

etc.

Translated by Vernassal. Folio, Paris, 1550.

This fine volume, printed by Pasquier Letellier for the bookseller Vincent Sertenas, for whom Tory had engraved a mark, contains fifty engravings in the text. A single one is signed with the Lorraine cross: it is found on folio 137 verso, and represents a lion fawning upon a woman who sits beside a fountain.

There are copies of this book in the names of other booksellers—Étienne Groulleau, Jean Longis, etc.; but the privilege is in the name of Sertenas.[404] At the end of the volume is a note to the reader by Letellier. 'Dear reader,' he says, 'if you have noticed, on reading this book, the common orthography changed in some words, even as to the double letter, which is not pronounced according to the true French method, think not that that is of my doing, but that it accords with the earnest recommendation of the author.'

IV. MISSALE SECUNDUM USUM CELEBRIS MONASTERII CLUNIACENSIS, etc. Here the vignette described below, followed by this imprint: 'Prostat Parisiis, apud Iolandam Bonhomme, in via Jacobea, sub Unicorni, ubi et impressum est.—Anno D. M. CCCCC. L.'

This missal is embellished, on the title-page, with a cut signed with the Lorraine cross, and representing Saint Peter and Saint Paul, patron saints of the Abbey of Cluny. This cut appears in other parts of the book, where we find also the two large cuts hitherto described (page 214) as included in the

Missal of Paris, of 1539, published by order of Jean de Bellay. We find also a Saint John Baptist, with the Paschal Lamb under his left arm, and pointing to it with his right hand. This cut, which is signed in two different places, is on folio 49 of the second part. It is of quarto size.

The book is in two parts, paged separately. The two large engravings are on folios 116 and 117 of the first part. At the end of the Missal proper, which is followed by a few other leaves, are these words: 'Ex officina chalcographica matrone clarissime Iolande Bonhomme, vidue industrii viri Thielmanni Kerver, Parisiis, in via Jacobea, sub Unicorni, anno D. millesimo quingentesimo quinquagesimo, idib. septembris.'

There are several copies of this book in the Bibliothèque Nationale. In two of them the miniaturists have substituted for the date 1538, printed on one of the large cuts, the dates on which they coloured it—1559 and 1567, respectively. It is well to call attention to such details as these, which may give rise to mistakes.

We also find in the Cluny Missal the unsigned drawings to which I have previously referred[405] and which are in the Paris Missals of 1539 and 1559.

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v. HEURES DE NOSTRE DAME À L'USAIGE DE ROMME [*sic*], EN LATIN ET EN FRANÇOYS, NOUVELLEMENT IMPRIMÉES À PARIS. (Here a vignette representing the Virgin under a portico; at the foot the letters F. R., initials of François Regnault, deceased husband of Madeleine Boursette.) 'A Paris, par

> Magdaleine Boursette, à l'enseigne de l'Elephant, à la rue Sainct Jacques.'

On the verso of the title-page a table of Easter-Days from 1550 to 1566.

Sixteenmo, in signatures of 8 leaves. The work is in two parts; the first has 168 numbered leaves, signatures A to X; the second part has only 32 leaves, signatures A to D. Roman type, double columns, printed in red and black. On the recto of folio 168 of the first part, at the foot, are these words: 'Parisiis excudebat Stephanus Mesviere in ædibus Vindocimis, ex adverso collegii Becodiani.—1550.' And on the last leaf of the second part: 'Cy finent ces presentes Heures a l'usaige de Romme, en latin et en françoys, nouvellement imprimées à Paris, par Estienne Mesviere, demourant a l'hostel de Vendosmes, devant le college de Boncourd.—M. D. L.'

This precious book, of which I know of but one copy, owned by M. Silvestre, author of 'Les Marques Typographiques,' contains many engravings. The principal ones are:

Folio 5 recto, Saint John writing his Gospel (signed).

12 recto, Jesus at prayer in the Garden of Olives.

33 recto, The Angelic Salutation (signed).

47 verso, The Visitation (signed).

56 verso, The Nativity of Jesus (signed).

60 recto, The Annunciation to the Shepherds (signed).

63 verso, The Adoration of the Magi (signed).

67 recto, The Presentation in the Temple (signed).

70 verso, The Flight into Egypt (signed).

77 recto, The Coronation of the Virgin.

89 recto, Jesus on the Cross.

93 verso, The Descent of the Holy Ghost (signed).

97 verso, The Penance of David (signed).

109 verso, Job on the Dunghill.

168 verso, Death (signed).

VI. HORÆ IN LAUDEM BEATISSIME VIRGINIS MARIE AD USUM ROMANUM.—Parisiis, apud Thielmannum Kerver. M. D. L.

On the verso of the last leaf: 'Excudebat Parisiis, Thielmannus Kerver, in vico sancti Iacobi, sub signo Cratis.—M. D. L.'

Small octavo of 172 unnumbered leaves; signatures A to X of 8 leaves and Y of 4. Roman type, printed in red and black, with the small borders with birds, etc., used by Mallard in his Hours of 1541.[406]

1551

I. DE SACRIS ECCLESIÆ MINISTERIIS AC BEN[E]FICIIS LIBRI VIII ... AUTHORE FRANCISCO DUARENO JURECONSULTO ET ORDINARIO JURIS CIVILIS DOCTORE IN CIVITATE BITURIG[I].—Lutetiæ, ex typographia Matthæi Davidis, via Amygdalina, ad Veritatis insigne.—1551.

Quarto of 338 leaves, plus one unnumbered leaf, on which are the words: 'Parisiis, excudebat Matthæus David, prid. calend. nov. [October 31] 1551.

On the title-page is David's mark, with the Lorraine cross. On the verso, a portrait of Le Duaren, in the shape of a medallion, also signed with the Lorraine cross. Encircling it, the legend: 'francisc. dvarenvs. jvrisc.[407]

The work opens with an epistle to Marguerite, Duchesse de Berry, and sister of François I. This letter, dated Paris, the Ides of June, 1550, is more properly a dedication, for in it Le Duaren mentions the death of Marguerite, which took place in 1549. He tells us, further, in the title of this epistle, that it was written before his return to Bourges, which he had been obliged to leave in 1547, as the result of a love-affair ('antequam Lutetia Parisiorum Avaricum Biturigum migrasset').[408]

II. CICERO'S WORKS (in Latin), published by Charles Estienne, from 1551 to 1555, in four folio volumes, usually bound in two.

This important work is embellished with a frieze engraved for Robert Estienne, and signed with the Lorraine cross,—a frieze which appears in the second volume of the works of Eusebius of 1544.[409] We also find therein several floriated letters signed with the Lorraine cross.[410] These are the E, the O, and the S of the medium alphabet,—for there are three alphabets of different sizes, all three formed by Renaissance arabesques. The largest is the one used in the folio Eusebius of 1544, which, consequently, was engraved for Robert Estienne; but it has no

signature. The medium alphabet was, doubtless, engraved for Charles Estienne in this same year 1551, in which he began to conduct a printing-office. I cannot say whether any other letters of this medium alphabet bore the Lorraine cross, for they do not all appear in the book, but I am sure that the G has none. Of course, after Tory died, the artists employed in the establishment carried on by his widow had no reason to select the G rather than another letter.

I give some details concerning this valuable edition, of which M. Didot owned a copy annotated by Henri Estienne. The text of the first volume, printed in 1551, as stated in an imprint at the end (dated the 3d of the Nones of September), exhibits one of the letters mentioned above—the S (on folios 56 and 298). This volume received later a large title-page dated 1555, and a dedication, to the Cardinal de Lorraine, also dated 1555 (the 6th of the Kalends of March), on which we find the frieze of the Eusebius of 1544, signed, and bearing on a medallion Fame distributing wreaths.[411] The text of the second volume, also of 1551, as I discovered from an incomplete copy in the library at Montbrison (it has no final imprint, but on the title-page some one has added III by hand to the original numerals M. D. LI, so that it might correspond with the other copies), contains the three floriated letters signed with the Lorraine cross (folios 47, 122, 230, 313, 388, 398); we find also, on the title-page, dated 1554, Charles Estienne's small mark described later.[412] The text of the third volume was probably printed in 1552, but it has no final imprint. The title-page is dated 1555; it has the small mark with the Lorraine cross. The fourth bears on the title-page the date 1554, but it was not finished until 1555, as is shown by the final

imprint (3d of the Kalends of March, 1555); the vignette of the title-page is unlike that in the second and third volumes, although of the same size, and has not the cross. The work did not appear until 1555, as is shown by the date on the title-page of the first volume, on which there is another larger mark, also without the cross.[413]

1552

I. HEURES PARIS [*sic*], CONTENANT PLUSIEURS ORAISONS DEVOTES, EN FRANÇOIS ET EN LATIN ET CONFESSION GENERALE. (Here the mark of Thielman Kerver, with the Lorraine cross.) Imprimé à Paris par Thielman Kerver, demourant rue Sainct Jaques, à l'enseigne du Gril.—1552.

Duodecimo, red and black; signatures A to O. Tory's small border with decorations of birds. Plates of the Hours of 1541.[414]

II. TESTAMENTUM NOVUM.—ADDITIS PICTURIS IN EVANGELIA ET APOCALYPSIM, QUIBUS MIRACULA ET VISIONES ELEGANTISSIME EXPRIMUNTUR. (Mark of Madeleine Boursette, widow of François Regnault; Silvestre, no. 396.) 'Parisiis. Apud viduam Francisci Regnault, via Jacobæa.—1552.'

At the end of the volume: 'Parisiis. Excudebat Stephanus Mesviere, in ædibus Vindocimis, ex adverso collegii Becodiani.'—1552.

Thirty-twomo; 45 signatures (*a* to *z*, A to Y) of eight leaves each, or 360 leaves in all. Only the first 350 are numbered; the last 10, containing the index, are without folios. Printed in very small roman type.

This book contains 120 engravings inserted in the text, and serving thus 'to illustrate,' as we should say to-day, or 'to express,' as the publisher says on the title-page, the Gospels and the Apocalypse. Those relating to the Apocalypse, 22 in number, are of earlier date than the others, and by another hand. Of those which illustrate the Gospels, many are signed with the double cross. Although several of them relate to subjects previously treated in the octavo Hours of 1527 and the sixteenmo Hours of 1529, the engravings, while they are of nearly the same size, are different none the less. A list of their titles follows:—

Folio 2 recto, St. Matthew writing his Gospel.
3 verso, Adoration of the Magi.
4 verso, The Flight into Egypt (signed).
5 recto, Massacre of the Innocents (signed).
5 verso, Baptism of Jesus.
6 verso, Jesus carried up into a Mountain (signed).
8 recto, Jesus bids Simon and Andrew to follow Him (signed).
12 recto, Jesus curing the Paralytic.
13 verso, Jesus expelling the Money-changers from the Temple (signed).
16 verso, St. John in Prison (signed).
18 recto, The Apostles pardoned by Jesus.
20 recto, Parable of the Sower.
26 verso, Jesus teaching.

27 verso, Jesus driving out the Devils (signed).

30 recto, The Mother and Brothers of Jesus (signed).

31 recto, Jesus and the Ass.

31 verso, Jesus entering Jerusalem.

32 recto, Jesus cursing the Fig-tree.

33 recto, Parable of the Reapers (signed).

33 verso, The Vine-Dresser slaying the only Son.

36 recto, Jesus likens Himself to the Hen.

37 recto, Jesus arguing with the Doctors (signed).

39 recto, Parable of the Virgins (signed).

41 verso, The Lord's Supper.

47 verso, St. Mark writing his Gospel.

50 recto, The Apostles pardoned by Jesus (as on p. 18).

52 verso, One does not hide the Light under a Bushel (signed).

53 recto, Jesus expelling the Devils, which enter into the Swine (signed).

56 recto, St. John's head borne by Herodias.

57 verso, Jesus walking on the Water (signed).

59 recto, The deaf and dumb Man (signed).

59 verso, The Miracle of the Loaves.

60 verso, Jesus curing a blind Man (signed).

63 verso, Jesus blessing the little Children.

69 verso, The Magdalen pouring Spices.

75 verso, St. Luke writing his Gospel.

77 recto, The Annunciation (signed).

77 verso, The Visitation (signed).

79 recto, The Nativity (signed).

79 verso, The Annunciation to the Shepherds (signed).

80 verso, The Circumcision (signed).

81 verso, Jesus among the Doctors (signed).

82 recto, St. John Baptist preaching (signed).

83 recto, The Tree not bringing forth Fruits.

84 verso, Jesus explaining the Writings in the Temple (signed).

85 verso, Cure of Simon's Mother-in-law (signed).

87 recto, Cure of the Paralytic (signed).

88 verso, Jesus effecting Cures.

90 recto, Jesus curing the Widow's Son (signed).

97 recto, Jesus sends his Apostles forth to preach the Gospel.

98 recto, Jesus discoursing to his Disciples.

98 verso, Parable of the Good Samaritan (signed).

100 verso, Jesus instructing a Woman (signed).

101 recto, Jesus dining with a Pharisee (signed).

107 verso, Return of the Prodigal Son.

108 verso, The Rich Man in Flames and Lazarus in Abraham's Bosom.

110 recto, Cure of the ten Lepers (signed).

111 verso, The Shepherd and the Pharisee.

112 recto, The Parable of the Camel.

112 verso, Nicodemus on the Tree.

118 recto, The Lord's Supper (as on p. 41).

118 verso, Jesus in the Garden of Olives.

122 verso, The Disciples at Emmaus.

124 recto, The Ascension.

125 verso, St. John writing his Gospel.

126 verso, The Trinity.

128 recto, The Marriage at Cana.

128 verso, Jesus expelling the Money-Changers.

131 recto, The Woman of Samaria.

132 verso, Jesus curing the Son of a Wood-sawyer (signed).

133 verso, The Pool (signed).

134 recto, Jesus answering the Doctors (signed).

135 verso, same as on p. 59.[415]

137 recto, The Withered Hand.

140 recto, The Woman taken in Adultery (signed).

142 recto, Jesus leaving the Temple.

142 verso, Jesus curing the blind Man.

145 recto, Jesus in flight.

146 verso, Resurrection of Lazarus (signed).

147 verso, The Priests deliberating as to putting Jesus to Death (signed).

150 verso, The Lord's Supper (as on pp. 41 and 118).

155 verso, St. Peter cutting off Malthus's Ear.

156 recto, Jesus before Caiaphas.

157 verso, Jesus before Pontius Pilate.

158 recto, The Scourging.

158 verso, The Crown of Thorns.

159 recto, Jesus beneath the Cross.

159 verso, Jesus Crucified.

160 verso, Jesus Entombed.

161 verso, The Women going to the Tomb.

162 recto, The Women announcing the Resurrection to the Disciples (signed).

162 verso, The Magdalen takes Jesus for the Gardener.

163 recto, The Ascension (signed).

312 verso, St. John writing.

321 verso, St. John receiving the Revelation.

323 recto, Alpha and Omega.

326 verso, A Throne erected in Heaven.

Then follow the engravings of the Apocalypse, impossible to describe, and in an entirely different manner. At the end of the book is an engraving of the Christ on the Cross, surrounded by rays of light.

III. LE PREMIER LIVRE DE LA CHRONIQUE DU TRES VAILLANT ET REDOUTÉ DOM FLORES DE GRECE. Folio, Jean Longis, 1552.

There are many engravings in this book, but only one of them is signed with the Lorraine cross. That one is on folio 90 verso, and represents soldiers before a tower. It is reproduced in 'L'Histoire paladine,' folio, Étienne Groulleau, 1555, on folio 56 verso.

1553

Ronsard's 'LES AMOURS' annotated by Marc-Antoine Muret.

Octavo, printed by Maurice de la Porte's widow,

1553.[416] This edition of 'Les Amours' is embellished with a portrait of Muret, signed with the Lorraine cross, and bearing the inscription 'An. XXV,' which proves that it was engraved that same year, for Muret was born in 1526.[417] This portrait reappears, but without the inscription, in several other editions of Ronsard. I will mention particularly the quarto edition of his works, issued in 1567 by Gabriel Buon, successor to Maurice de la Porte's widow, and the folio issued in 1623 by Nicolas Buon, Gabriel's son.

1554

LES OBSERVATIONS DE PLUSIEURS SINGULARITEZ ET CHOSES MEMORABLES TROUVÉES EN GRECE. By Pierre Belon. Quarto, Paris, 1554.

There were two editions of this book, printed by Benoît Prevost, for Gilles Corrozet and Guillaume Cavellat, respectively, in 1553 and 1554. The copies in Corrozet's name bear his mark, signed with the Lorraine cross. There is a portrait of Belon signed with the cross at the end of the front matter in the edition of 1554. I have not seen it in any copy of the edition of 1553, which leads me to think that it had not then been engraved. And, in effect, the fact that the portrait attributes to Belon the age of thirty-six years seems to show that it was not drawn until 1554, as Belon is supposed to have been born in 1518. However that may be, the portrait appeared afterward in several other books by the same author, and particularly in his 'Histoire de la nature des oiseaux,' folio, 1555.

1555

HISTOIRE DE LA NATURE DES OISEAUX. By Pierre Belon. Folio, Paris, G. Corrozet, 1555.

In this book we find, in addition to the portrait of Belon, seven cuts of birds, signed with the Lorraine cross. They are: the osprey, folio 96; the sea-gull, 169; the bustard, 238; the pullet, 252; the loriot, 295; the woodpecker, 304; the sparrow-hawk, 376. Some of the other engravings in the volume are signed with a white cross on a black ground.

1556

I. LES SINGULARITEZ DE LA FRANCE ANTARCTIQUE, AUTREMENT NOMMÉE AMERIQUE, ET DE PLUSIEURS TERRES ET ISLES DECOUVERTES DE NOSTRE TEMPS. Par F. André Thevet, natif d'Angoulesme. —A Paris, chez les héritiers de Maurice de la Porte, au clos Bruneau, à l'enseigne S. Claude.— 1558.

This rare and curious volume is a quarto of 8 preliminary leaves, 166 leaves of text, and 2 of index unnumbered,—in all, 46 signatures. The privilege, which is printed on the verso of the title-page, is dated Saint-Germain-en-Laye, December 18, 1556. In the dedication, addressed to the Cardinal of Sens, Jean Bertrand, first Keeper of the Seals of France, Thevet says that the country described by him maybe called the fourth part of the world, 'for that no one has as yet made explorations there, all geographers thinking that the world is limited to that which the ancients have described to us.'

There are 41 engravings in the text, not including borders, floriated letters, and Jean Bertrand's arms on the title-page. Of the 41, only seven are signed with the double cross; four of these represent scenes in the life of the American savage,—they are on folios 6 verso, 31 recto, 47 verso, and 151 recto; a fifth represents an extraordinary bird called *pa* (45 recto); and the other two, plants,—the pineapple (89 verso), and the cassava (113 verso). The last three appear in André Thevet's 'Cosmographie Universelle,' published in 1575, in two volumes, folio.[418] The others also appear in that work, but reëngraved on a larger scale, and without signature.

The seven engravings signed with the double cross cannot have been executed prior to 1556. For Thevet set out for the New World on November 4, 1555, [419] and remained there four months. So that it was not until the early months of 1556, at the earliest, that the engravings could have been executed. But, as the book did not appear until the beginning of 1558,[420] it may be that they were still in process of execution in 1557.

In the same year with the publication of Thevet's 'Singularités,' an octavo edition appeared at Antwerp, with the imprint of Christophe Plantin, and a privilege from the King of Spain, dated Brussels, April 20, 1558. The haste with which this reprint was prepared shows the interest with which the book was regarded. The woodcuts of the Antwerp edition are nothing more than wretched copies of those in the Paris edition. We find among them, however, in chapters 56, 58, 67, and 74, cuts of animals bearing the cipher of Jost Amman.

II. HORÆ IN LAUDEM BEATISSIMÆ VIRGINIS

MARIÆ AD USUM ROMANUM. (Here the mark of T. Kerver, without the cross.) Parisiis, apud Thielman Kerver, in via sancti Jacobi, sub signo Cratis.

Duodecimo, 1556. Signatures A to M, and A to C vi. Border decorated with birds, with the small engravings of 1529. M. Niel owns a copy of this book bound with Tory's toolings. It has the Pot Cassé on the edges. Another copy, belonging to M. Portalis, is bound with the prayers (in French) described on page 219.

1557

I. LES FIGURES ET PORTRAICTS DES PARTIES DU CORPS HUMAIN.—A Paris, par Jaques Kerver, rue S. Jaques, aux deux cochetz.—1557.

Folio, containing 61 large anatomical plates, several of which are signed with the Lorraine cross, and dated 1531, 1532, or 1533. This collection was reprinted in the same form, by the same publisher, in 1575.[421]

II. LES QUATRE LIVRES D'ALBERT DURER, PEINTRE ET GEOMETRIEN EXCELLENT, DE LA PROPORTION DES PARTIES ET POURTRAITZ DES CORPS HUMAINS, TRADUITS PAR LOYS MEIGRET, LIONNOIS, DE LANGUE LATINE EN FRANÇOISE.

Folio; Paris, chez Charles Perier, at the sign of the Bellerophon,[422] 1557.

In the same year Perier published an edition of

Durer's work in Latin, similar in every respect to the French edition. It is entitled 'De Symetria partium humanorum corporum.' I am unable to say which was printed first.

1559

PSALTERIUM DAVIDICUM GRÆCOLATINUM.... Parisiis, apud Ægidium Gorbinum, sub insigne Spei, prope collegium Cameracense. —1559.

On the last leaf: 'Parisiis, excudebat Benedictus Prævotius, ad Stellam Auream, via Frumentello.'

Twenty-fourmo of 278 numbered leaves of text, and 20 unnumbered preliminary leaves; printed in red and black.

This little volume, printed in Greek and Latin, two columns on a page, was called to my attention by M. Lornier, barrister, of Rouen. Opposite the first page of text is a small engraving, signed with the Lorraine cross, representing the penance of David. David is on his knees, with a book before him and his harp at his right hand; he is gazing at God the Father, who is seen in the sky blessing him. Doubtless this engraving appears in other books of earlier date. It is 73 millimetres high by 55 wide.

ENGRAVINGS OF UNCERTAIN DATE.

I. FIGURE DE L'ANCIENNE ET DE LA NOUVELLE ALLIANCE.

A large plate, 35 centimetres in width by 27 in

height, divided into two parts by a tree at the foot of which is Man, thus placed on the boundary of the two worlds. The tree bears only withered branches on the left side (the old alliance), whereas, on the right (the new alliance), it is green and flourishing.

In the compartment at the left we see Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden. Eve is offering Adam the apple. Beneath them is the word 'peche.'[423] Lower still is a skeleton on a bier, with the words 'la mort' beneath. Above the Garden is Mount Sinai, whereon Moses is receiving the tables of the law; beneath, on the right, the 'terrestrial Jerusalem,' wherein are devout persons being devoured by serpents, with the serpent of brass in the midst, and above it the words, 'Similitvde de la ivstification.' Moses appears on the right; at the left, and a little lower, Hagar and Ishmael; lower still, the prophet pointing out to Man Jesus on the Cross at the right.

In the compartment at the right we see God standing on the terrestrial globe, with the words, 'Iervsalem celeste'; above, 'Mont Sion,' on which stands a woman's figure, with the words 'La Grace' over her head. An angel bearing a cross descends from Heaven (where are the words, 'Emmanvel Diev avec novs') amid rays of light which fall upon the woman. Lower, at the left, is another angel announcing the birth of Christ to the shepherds. Near by, at the right, the Christ on the Cross, with the words, 'nostre ivstice,' and the Paschal Lamb, with the words, 'nostre innocence'; below, Jesus coming forth from the tomb, with the words, 'nostre victoire'; still lower, at the left, St. John Baptist pointing out to Man the Christ on the Cross; the Forerunner is indicated by the words, 'Lenseignevr de Christ,' in a cartouche; above St. John are Sarah and Isaac.

In each of the compartments is a number of figures which apparently correspond to some vanished text. [424] There are eight in the one at the right and nine in the other. 'Man' is marked with a zero. I am unable to give the origin of this plate, which is in the Cabinet des Estampes in the Bibliothèque Nationale, and was for a long time attributed to Jean Cousin. It was M. Devéria who removed it from that artist's work and placed it with Tory's, whose double cross it bears, at the left, below the cartouche containing the words 'Lenseignevr de Christ.' I believe that it belongs in some large folio Bible; for I have seen the subject treated in a more or less summary fashion[425] on the title-pages of several Bibles, in French and other languages. I will mention particularly the following, all of which are in the Bibliothèque Nationale. (1) A French Bible, printed at Antwerp in 1530, by Martin l'Empereur; (2) A Bible in old Saxon, printed at Lubeck in 1533 by Ludowich Dietz (the same woodcuts reappear in an edition in Danish, issued by the same printer, at Copenhagen, in 1550); (3) A Bible in Latin, from the text of Erasmus, published in 1543 or 1544, with two engravings by Cranach; (4) A Bible in Flemish, printed at Antwerp in 1556. I will mention also Luther's Latin Commentaries ('enarrationes') on the Bible, printed at Nuremberg in 1555, with an engraving on the title-page dated 1552.

Whatever its source, this drawing was reproduced in 1562, on a large enamelled plate in tinted grisaille, attributed to Pierre Rexmond, enameller, at Limoges. The sketch for this plate was published in 1843, after a copy in the collection of M. Baron, in the volume entitled 'Meubles et Armes du moyen âge,' a large quarto, published by Hauser, dealer in prints on Boulevard des Italiens.[426] It is no. 127 in the

collection. In this drawing the groups are arranged in chronological order, the circular form of the plate making it impossible to retain the arrangement of the engraving. But the various subjects and their respective inscriptions are identical, save for the errors in orthography with which the Limousin artist has besprinkled the latter. The two Jerusalems are separated by two trees, which, starting at the outer border of the plate, formed of Renaissance arabesques, join their heads at the centre, where there is a medallion containing the face of Marguerite de Valois, sister of François I.[427]

This subject has been treated also in a cameo now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, but in a very summary fashion because of the small size of the piece, which is only 57 millimetres in width by 72 in height. All the essential details of the engraving are reproduced. A description of this interesting cameo will be found under no. 317, in the 'Notice du Cabinet des médailles,' published by M. Chabouillet, one of the conservators of that priceless collection. It has been reproduced, too, in the collection of 'Mémoires de la Société des antiquaires de Morinie,' and the curious feature of the business is that the engraver has taken for his mark the arms of the city of Saint-Omer, which are the Lorraine cross.

> II. RECUEIL DES ROIS DE FRANCE, LEURS COURONNE ET MAISON, ENSEMBLE LES RENGS DES GRANDS DE FRANCE, par Jean du Tillet, sieur de la Bussiere, protonotaire et secretaire du roy, greffier de son parlement.—Plus, une chronique abrégée contenant tout ce qui est advenu ... entre les roys et princes ... estrangers, par M. Jean du

Tillet, évêque de Maux.[428]

Folio; one volume in two parts, Paris, J. du Puys, 1580.

This volume is an exact reproduction of the manuscript preserved at the Bibliothèque Nationale, which I have already described.[429] Although dedicated to Charles IX, the book was prepared for publication at a much earlier date. In fact, the author tells us, in the dedicatory epistle, that he had presented a copy to Henri II; indeed, it seems that he had it prepared for printing at the insistence of the King and Queen, who had promised 'to take care of the expenses.' This fact explains why almost all the portraits of the kings of France, from Clovis to François I, are signed with the Lorraine cross. These portraits are copied from the miniatures of the manuscript, but are on a smaller scale; furthermore they are in oval instead of square borders.

Du Tillet died in 1570, before he was able to carry out his project of printing this work. On August 10, 1578,[430] his heirs obtained a license to publish their 'late father's' work, which finally appeared in 1580; in fact, one part is dated 1579. They made use of the woodcuts bearing the Lorraine cross. Jean du Puys, the publisher,[431] added to the book some portraits which are not in the manuscript (among others those of Henri II and Charles IX), and which consequently do not bear Tory's mark.

Following is a complete list of the portraits contained in this volume, with indication of those not in the manuscript and of those signed with the Lorraine cross.

Folio 16, Clovis (signed).

18, Childebert; added.
19, Clotaire I (signed).
23, Sigebert (signed).
24, Chilperic and Fredegonde (signed).
28, Dagobert; added.
30, Clovis, son of Dagobert; added.
31, Clotaire III.
32, Childeric II; added.
35, Dagobert II; added.
41, Carloman I; added.
42, Charlemagne.
44, Louis le Debonnaire; modified.
48, Charles le Chauve (signed).
53, Charles le Simple.
54, Raoul (signed).
56, Louis d'Outre Mer.
58, Lothaire (signed).
75, Philippe I.
76, Louis le Gros.
92, Louis le Jeune.
94, Philippe-Auguste (signed).
101, Louis, père de Saint Louis (signed).
109, Charles II; added.
112, Saint Louis.
121, Philippe III; added.
133, Philippe le Bel (signed).
134, Louis le Hutin.
136, Philippe le Long.
137, Charles le Bel (signed).
138, Philippe de Valois.
140, Jean.

157, Charles V.
160, Charles VI.
164, Louis XI.
165, Charles VIII (signed).
166, Louis XII (signed); modified.
167, François I (signed); modified.
168, Henri II and Catherine de Médicis; added.
169, François II; added.
169, Charles IX; added.

It will be seen that there are, in all, 10[432] portraits added to those found in the manuscript. For the other princes mentioned in the work, whose features it was impossible to present, empty frames are printed. Naturally, none of the portraits added to du Tillet's book by the editor are marked with the Lorraine cross, and of the other 31, there are only 15[433] on which it is found.

These cuts were reproduced in a great many later editions of du Tillet's work, both folio and quarto. I will mention particularly those of 1586, 1587, 1602, 1607, and 1608.

The volume contains also many engravings of shields and seals.

III. LA CONFÉRENCE ACCORDÉE ENTRE LES PREDICATEURS CATHOLIQUES DE L'ORDRE DES CAPUCINS ET LES MINISTRES DE GENEVE.

Octavo; Paris, Denis Binet, near Porte S. Michel, 1598.

IV. LES THESES QUI ONT ESTÉ AFFIGÉES DANS LA VILLE DE GENEVE.

Octavo; Paris, Denis Binet, near Porte S. Michel, 1598.

On the title-pages of these two volumes, both of which are in the Bibliothèque Nationale, there is a woodcut signed with the Lorraine cross, representing a cross with the crown of thorns, set in a border of the size of a five-franc piece. It was undoubtedly engraved long before 1598.

V. ILLUSTRATION DE L'ANCIENNE IMPRIMERIE TROYENNE.

Quarto, Troyes, 1850 and 1859. The first fascicle of this book, which consists of a collection of old woodcuts gathered by M. Varlot in the printing-offices of Troyes, contains two signed with the Lorraine cross. They are nos. 50 and 188. The first represents the Coronation of the Virgin; we may join with it a piece in the same manner representing the Visitation, no. 51 in the same collection; and no. 5 (the Virgin holding the Child Jesus) of the fascicle published in 1859. These cuts, which are in format a small folio, doubtless formed part of a series of engravings relating to the Virgin and intended for a book of Hours.

MM. Alexis Socard and Alexandre Assier, in their work entitled 'Livres liturgiques du diocèse de Troyes' (8vo, 1863), also give, on page 79, an old Troyes woodcut, small folio, signed with the double cross, representing the Descent of the Holy Ghost on the Virgin and the Apostles. It is 135 millimetres high by 60 in width.

No. 188 of M. Varlot's fascicle, which is only one inch high by two wide, represents a harvest. It was undoubtedly one of a series of engravings illustrative of the twelve months. MM. Socard and Assier saw it in a book of Hours printed at Troyes in 1583, by Jean du Ruan, who seems to have inherited a portion of the woodcuts of Jean Le Coq, printer, of the same city. We find also in M. Varlot's collection two woodcuts marked with the letters G. T., which may have been Geofroy Tory's earlier mark, before he had adopted a special symbol. These two are no. 84, in the criblé style, and no. 131, in the Renaissance style.[434]

On account of the worn state of these cuts it is impossible to say whether they are originals or copies. It is not impossible, however, that they were executed by Tory for the printer Nicole Paris, or rather for Jean Le Coq, whose mark he engraved also.[435]

VI. Not only at Paris and Troyes do we find woodcuts with the Lorraine cross; we find them also at Orléans, at Chartres, at Poitiers, and even at Lyon, although the last-named city had a most flourishing school of engraving of its own; witness the illustrations of the Bible after Holbein,[436] published by Jean Frellon, in 1547, and those of Salomon Bernard, published by the de Tournes after 1553. But the works executed by Tory for Simon de Colines, Robert Estienne, and the rest, had so spread his name abroad, that there was not a printer of taste in France who did not seek the honour of obtaining some work of our artist. In this way Jean de Tournes, first of the name, who was unquestionably one of the most famous printers of Lyon, had engraved by Tory,

or by his widow, borders and pictures in considerable numbers; unfortunately we find very few of them signed, whether because Tory's mark was afterward removed from the others, or because he omitted to place it upon them, in accordance with the wish of Jean de Tournes; for in those days printers were very desirous to appropriate the engravings that they ordered, especially at Lyon, where, nominally at least, no other engraver was known than Salomon Bernard; moreover, it is well to note that that artist, none of whose work is signed, is known only because his name was afterward published by the printers, in the very interest of their publications.

However, I propose to give a list of the pieces signed with the Lorraine cross which I have seen in books published by the de Tournes, that is, by Jean I and Jean II, his son; for it is impossible, in default of any sort of a catalogue, for me to decide what ones are attributable to each of them. As a matter of fact, I should be justified in confining myself to the second, if he had not himself said that he used woodcuts belonging to his father. And, in truth, although we know of no books published by the latter with engravings, except his edition of Petrarch of 1545 (reprinted in 1547), and his book of Chiromancy and Physiognomy, also of 1545, octavo, everything seems to indicate that those marked with the Lorraine cross were made for Jean I, who died about 1550.

The first book that I shall mention is an octavo volume, without title, described thus by M. Didot in his 'Essai sur la Gravure,' col. 235; 'Pamphlet without title, printed on one side only, with this imprint on page 1: "A Lion, Ian de Tournes, 1551." The border, composed of arabesques in white on a black ground,

has at the foot the Lorraine cross. Twenty-two of these engravings represent scenes from the theatre of the ancients; the ninth bears the Lorraine cross.' This pamphlet was reprinted in 1556, as we shall see in a moment.

The second book that I shall mention is an octavo volume, without date, entitled: 'Thesaurus amicorum,' which is in the Bibliothèque Nationale. It contains three series of borders: (1) Borders with arabesques in black on a white ground (one of them is signed with a very small Lorraine cross); (2) Borders with arabesques in white on a black ground (one of these also is signed with a small white cross); (3) Borders with grotesque subjects, licentious and otherwise. These last, none of which are signed, represent figures analogous to those that are found in the 'Songes drolatiques' attributed to Rabelais, and seem to be modelled upon them.

In the first part of the book, the borders, 32 in number, are empty[437]; in the second part, they enclose medallions of famous characters of ancient times, with mottoes in all sorts of languages. There are 96 of these portraits. They were reproduced, with many others, in a book printed in 1559, under the title, 'Insignium aliquot virorum icones' (octavo).[438] In the dedication, to G. Tuffano, 'gymnasiarchæ Nemausensi,' Jean de Tournes, second of the name, the printer of the book, informs us that he undertook it in order to utilize the woodcuts left by his father. 'Cum pater jamdudum haberet hasce icones inutiles ne omnino perirent, hæc pauca, quæ huic opusculo insunt, ex variis auctoribus accumulavi....' In this book the medallions number one hundred and forty-three; none are signed, but they are altogether in Tory's manner.

These same medallions, as well as the borders of the 'Thesaurus amicorum,' have been used in a multitude of other publications, which are known to us only through detached fragments. I will mention particularly eight leaves preserved in the Cabinet des Estampes, printed on one side only, having a border with a portrait on each page.[439] Also, four leaves without borders, on each of which two portraits are printed, side by side.[440]

As for the borders, they appear again,—first, in the edition of Marot's Psalms, published by Jean de Tournes in 1557, in octavo; and second, with less impropriety, in the various editions, both in French and in Italian, of Ovid's 'Metamorphoses,' issued by the same printer.

Jean de Tournes published also, in 1556, a small octavo volume of specimens of his woodcuts, printed on one side only. This volume, which is well known to collectors, and which may be found in the Cabinet des Estampes, has on the first page these words alone: 'A Lion, Ian de Tournes, M.D.LVI.'[441] This page has a border of white arabesques on a black ground, in which the Lorraine cross is perfectly visible, at the foot. There are 22 engravings representing scenes from the theatre of the ancients.

The ninth bears the Lorraine cross. In the midst of this series, on leaf 21, is a piece which does not belong to the series; it represents a dog lying on a cushion.[442] After this series come various engravings which we find in Maurice de Seve's 'Saulsaye' (octavo, Lyon, 1547), in Ovid's 'Metamorphoses,' and the 'Hymnes du Temps' of Guillaume Gueroult, which were printed subsequently; then 11 plates bearing two figures facing each other, taken from a work on Chiromancy

and Physiognomy, by Indagine (octavo, Lyon, 1549); 5 engravings from the edition of Petrarch issued by the first Jean in 1545; and 9 small miscellaneous subjects.[443] The Cabinet des Estampes also contains one leaf of a folio specimen of the woodcuts of the de Tournes, in which we find again the plates of the Petrarch. It lacks, however, the Lac d'Amour, which is on folio 5 of the collection we are describing, and is altogether in the manner of the seven epitaphs published by Tory in 1530.[444]

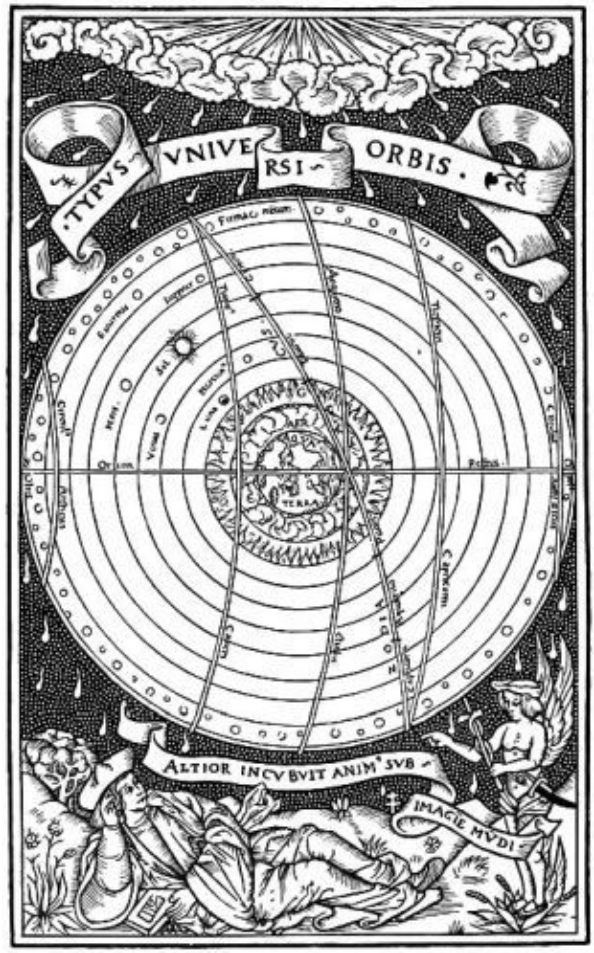
I will not enumerate here the other books with engravings, of later date, published by the second Jean de Tournes, because there is nothing to justify me in attributing them to Tory's workshop; but one may conclude from what I have said heretofore, that many engravings of the printers of Lyon, hitherto attributed to Salomon Bernard, called Le Petit Bernard, came from Tory's establishment. Indeed, we may well wish that Le Petit Bernard might be relieved of the enormous mass of engravings which have been attributed to him for lack of information concerning them, but which render uncertain the attribution of those which most certainly belong to him.[445]

Our list includes only engravings on wood; but I have no doubt that Tory engraved also on metal, and not alone letters, which we should naturally expect from Garamond's master, but plates as well. Now that the eyes of collectors are about to be opened, I should not be surprised if some one should discover one marked with his cross.[446] To forward such discovery I will insert the estimate of Tory's draughtsmanship formed by M. Renouvier, who is so competent a judge of such matters.

'The plates of "Champ fleury," the first of which is

dated 1526, have an Italian after-taste, which manifests itself by the correctness of the figures, and by their costumes; but the delicacy of expression, the fineness of line, distinguish them clearly from the Venetian vignettes. The vignettes of the Hours published between 1524 and 1543, varying in execution, always delicate and with little shading, exhibit a degree of taste which the Parmesan School sometimes achieves; but by the delicacy of their execution they deserve the praise bestowed upon them by Dibdin. Even if the figures are slightly confused in their attitudes and in their draperies, or defective at some of the extremities, still, the spirited drawing of the heads, and the arrangement of the scenes, amid charming architectural designs, or in very restricted fields, show that our engravers of vignettes lost nothing of their talent in passing from gothic to italic letters, and, despite the name of the latter, it is certain that Italy never produced any like them. Simplicity took the place of Gothic *goguenarderie*; their expression is in the most refined French sentiment of the period.[447]

'I seem to recognize Geofroy Tory's style in the "Tableau de Cèbes," published by Denis Janot and Gilles Corrozet in 1543, the vignettes of which are often attributed to Jean Cousin. As for Tory's drawing, I should recognize it through several layers of wood, by the delicately drawn heads, the slender figures, the split extremities, to say nothing of the floriated letters and the borders, in which the Italian grotesques are mingled with natural vegetations, and in which he has often engraved his name, his Pot Cassé and his mottoes. In Tory's vignettes there are doubtless qualities that are more subtle than great, but they are our qualities.'


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SECTION III. MARKS OF BOOKSELLERS AND PRINTERS SIGNED WITH THE LORRAINE

CROSS.



The inventor of the Pot Cassé was chosen by his confrères, in preference to all other engravers, to engrave their private marks. They had realized the force of his 'kindly exhortation to practice and employ themselves in goodly inventions,'[448] and had been impressed by the perfection with which he executed that species of engraving, which he had completely transformed. For, in lieu of the coarse vignettes with a black background, on which the design stood out in white, as if cut with a die, Tory had gradually introduced into these woodcuts all the delicacy of the Italian engravings. The earliest ones of his of which we have any knowledge are in the criblé style, which the Middle Ages had handed down to him; but he soon rejected that style and not only adopted a new manner of engraving, but altered the arrangement of the designs that were entrusted to him. This fact is especially manifest if we compare the original mark of the de Marnefs (Silvestre, 'Marques Typographiques' no. 151) with the one that bears the motto, 'Principivm ex fide, finis in charitate'

(Silvestre, no. 1043). Instead of the roughly drawn Pelican nourishing from its vitals its still more roughly drawn young, in a nest perched on a tree of which the leaves are larger than the trunk, we have, in the second engraving [given above], an entirely new composition, of which both design and execution are irreproachable. In the face of such results, we should not be surprised by the predilection of the printer-booksellers for Tory; they deemed it a duty to employ a confrère who poetized their profession: to them it was a question of esprit de corps and of patriotism alike.

That is why we have so many typographical marks signed with the Lorraine cross. We propose to enumerate all of those which we have actually had before us. As it was impossible to arrange them chronologically, we have adopted the alphabetical order.

ALARD (GUILLAUME), bookseller at Paris in 1550. See FEZANDAT.



BADE (CONRAD), printer and bookseller at Paris from 1546 to 1560, when he withdrew to Geneva for religious reasons.—One mark, which appears on the first edition of Théodore de Bèze's 'Poemata' (1548); the volume contains also a portrait of the author signed with the double cross. Conrad's mark, like that of his father, Josse Bade, represents a printing-press. It contains also the words 'Prelum ascensianum'; but, instead of being inscribed in a cartouche on the press, they are in two cartouches, one at the top, the other at the bottom, of the border (Silvestre, no. 867). When Conrad betook himself to Geneva, Eloi Gibier,[449] a printer of Orléans, bought

the mark. It afterwards passed to Fabian Hotot, a printer in the same city, who was using it in 1609; but before using it he had the word 'Ascensianum' removed.

BESSAULT (THIBAUT, and JEAN, his son), booksellers at Paris. See REGNAULT (BARBE).

BONFONS (JEAN), bookseller at Paris from 1548 to 1572.—One mark (Silvestre, no. 125), representing a dove on a tree, within a circle formed by a serpent, and on the outside of the circle this sentence from the Bible: 'Estote prudentes sicut serpentes, et simplices sicut columbæ.' I have seen it in a quarto edition of 'Le Petit Jehan de Saintré,' published by Bonfons in 1553, in gothic type.

BUON (GABRIEL). See PORTE (MAURICE DE LA).

CALVARIN (SIMON), printer-bookseller at Paris, from 1553 to 1593. Two marks, representing a woman, seated, surrounded by the paraphernalia of the arts and sciences, and holding in one hand a palm-tree decorated with three wreaths. I have seen one of these marks, the larger, in an edition of Rodolphe Agricola's book entitled: 'De Inventione dialectica libri tres' (quarto, 1558), on the title-page of which is this imprint: 'Parisiis, ex officina Simonis Calvarini, in vico Belovaco, ad Virtutis insigne.'[450] The smaller one appears at the end of a book entitled: 'Conservation de santé et prolongation de vie, etc., composé premierement par noble homme H. [Hieronime] Monteux, conseiller et medecin

ordinaire du roi François II, et nouvellement traduit en nostre langue fraçoise par maistre Claude de Valgelas, docteur medecin, etc. Paris, chez Simon Calvarin, rue Saint-Jacques, à la Rose blanche couronnée, 1572.' This is a 16mo, of which there is a copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale. This Simon was, I have no doubt, a son of Prigent Calvarin, printer at Paris from 1524 to 1582, whose mark is very different (Silvestre, no. 137).[451] It represents two persons holding a shield which hangs from a vine, with these sentences surrounding them: 'Deum time,' 'Pauperes sustine,' 'Finem respice,' 'Prigent Calvarin.' Simon, having set up for himself during his father's lifetime, had to adopt a different mark.

CHAUDIÈRE (REGNAULT), bookseller at Paris from 1516 to 1546, in the latter year succeeded to the printing business of Simon de Colines, whose marks 'au Temps' he used thereafter. He had a new one engraved in Tory's establishment, with the same figure, but with a slightly different motto: it reads: 'Virtus sola aciem retundit istam.' This mark appears in the edition of the comedies of Terence printed in 1546. See COLINES (SIMON DE).



COLINES (SIMON DE), printer-bookseller at Paris from 1520 to 1546. Four marks at least. See the two already described in the preceding section, under 1520-1521, as forming a part of title-pages, and numbers 80 and 329 of M. Silvestre's 'Marques typographiques.' The last two passed in 1546 into the hands of Regnault Chaudière, a bookseller since 1516. Chaudière had married Colines's daughter by the widow of Henri Estienne, and by virtue of the connection inherited his father-in-law's printing-office and bookshop. He himself printed, in 1546-1547, under the Latin name Calderius, an

edition of the comedies of Terence[452]; at the end is M. Silvestre's no. 329, which (like no. 80) represents Time armed with a scythe, and this devise in a scroll: 'Hanc aciem sola retundit virtus.' Chaudière, who had previously used another mark (Silvestre, no. 96), employed thenceforth this one with the figure of Time, and handed it down to his successors.[453] In 1548 he published an octavo catalogue of his own books and those of Simon de Colines—'tum ab Simone Colinæi, tum ab Calderio excusi.'[454] The following is, in my opinion, the order in which Simon de Colines's various marks were engraved by Tory: In the first place, in 1520, the one with the rabbits, or *conils*, which it has been said that Colines adopted as a play upon his own name; but this conjecture seems to me the more improbable because these same rabbits had been used on the sign of Henri Estienne's shop as early as 1502.[455] However that may be, Colines seems to have retained this mark during all the time that he occupied Henri Estienne's house. When he turned over that abode, in 1525, to Robert Estienne, who established himself in business on the paternal premises, Colines went a little farther down rue de Beauvais, and took for his sign the 'Soleil d'or,' which appears on the second mark; finally, in 1528, he adopted the one with the figure of Time, which was afterwards adopted by his son-in-law, Regnault Chaudière.


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CORROZET (GILLES), bookseller at Paris from 1538 to 1568.—One mark, representing, by way of allusion to the name of its owner, a rose upon a heart ('cor'), and with 'Gilles Corrozet' at the foot (Silvestre, no. 145). This mark, which I have seen on a book of 1539,[456] was undoubtedly the first that Corrozet used. It descended to his heirs, and his grandson Jean was still using it a century later, on the 'Trésor des histoires de France,' the work of another Gilles Corrozet, which Jean reprinted several times between 1622 and 1644. Jean simply removed from the mark his grandfather's Christian name, regardless

of the lack of symmetry in the engraving caused by this subtraction. So that here was an engraving that was in use more than a hundred years; it is an interesting example of the durability of these woodcuts.

COTEREAU or COTTEREAU (RICHARD), bookseller at Chartres;—(PHILIPPE), bookseller at Blois.



DAVID (MATHIEU), printer-bookseller at Paris from 1554 to 1566. Three marks (Silvestre, nos. 227, 394, and 759). They represent a warrior bearing on his shoulders a woman plunging a sword in his throat.

One of the marks has the word 'odiosa' in the border on one side, and 'veritas' on the other. Another is printed in an octavo volume of 1539 (Bibliothèque Nationale), Ravisius Textor's 'Epistolæ a mendis repurgata.'

DUPUY (J.), printer at Paris in 1549. See FEZANDAT.



ESTIENNE (ROBERT), printer-bookseller at Paris, from 1526 to 1550. Six marks at least, representing the olive-tree in different forms. Three of them are

reproduced in M. Silvestre's work: nos. 162, 318,[457] and 319[458]; add to these the large folio mark that appears on the Bible of 1528[459] and that of 1540, previously described; a small mark which appears in the 16mo Virgil of 1549; and, lastly, a mark similar to Silvestre's no. 163 (except that the figure is bald), which appears in 'Caroli Stephani de Nutrimentis,' etc.[460] Probably most of these marks were engraved for Robert Estienne at the outset of his typographical career, that is to say, about 1526; he carried them with him to Geneva in 1550; and his son, the second Henri, used them in his turn, after his father's death, which occurred in 1559. It was undoubtedly the widow of Tory who engraved the mark (in different sizes) which appears, after 1544, on the Greek books printed with the royal types, and which represents a basilisk entwined about a lance.



ESTIENNE (CHARLES), printer and bookseller at Paris from 1551 to 1561. Three marks at least. Upon entering the typographical profession Charles adopted his brother's olive-tree; that is to say, he simply had copies made of Robert's marks, as he succeeded to his business. I have seen the first of these marks, similar to Silvestre's no. 163, in an

octavo edition of P. Bunel's 'Epîtres familières,' printed by Charles in 1551; the second appears in a folio edition of Cicero, in four volumes, published by the same printer from 1551 to 1555[461]; and the third, like Silvestre's no. 162, in the 'Petit Dictionnaire français-latin' (quarto), published by Charles in 1559. It is probable that the second Robert used these same marks after his uncle's retirement in 1561.

FEZANDAT (MICHEL), printer-bookseller at Paris from 1541 to 1553. One mark (Silvestre, no. 423). This mark which, by way of allusion to the name of its owner, represents a pheasant (*faisan*) on a dolphin, with the letters M and F at the left and right, respectively, of the pheasant, was used without the initials in 1549, as may be seen on the title of 'Le Temple du chasteté,' printed in that year by Fezandat, in octavo.[462]

In 1550, one Guillaume Alard (Fezandat's son-in-law, it may be), who lived 'e regione collegii de la Mercy,' also used the mark in that form.[463] The appearance of this mark on Alard's book may be due solely to the fact that the book in question was printed by Fezandat. I have been unable to ascertain the facts because the fragment of the title-page on which I saw the mark and Alard's name does not contain the title of the book. The only possible clue is the three Greek verses on the other side of the page, which lead one to think that it may have been a work of Jean Blaccus Danois, of whom we have a translation of Isocrates into Latin verses, printed by Regnault Chaudière, also in 1550 (quarto).[464] This G. Alard is not named by Lottin in his 'Catalogue des imprimeurs-libraires de Paris.' I find the same mark

in a small volume entitled 'Le Bouquet des fleurs de Sénèque'; octavo; Caen, 'de l'imprimerie de Jacques le Bas, imprimeur du roy,' 1590.[465] I find Fezandat's mark also in a book published by the bookseller J. Dupuy in 1549: 'Novum Testamentum,' in Greek and Latin; 16mo. Why? I have no idea.



GIBIER (ELOI), printer at Orléans. One mark, representing a printing-press. This printer, whose oldest known imprint is dated 1559, had evidently practised his trade several years earlier. This is what we find concerning him in the 'Bibliothèque

historique des auteurs orléanais,' by Dom Gerou, which is preserved in manuscript in the Public Library of Orléans: 'We may say that Eloy Gibier was in a certain sense the first printer of Orléans; Mathieu Vivian and Pierre Asselin had preceded him, but we know of only a single work printed by each of them, whereas there are a great number by Eloy Gibier. We do not know when he began, but the earliest book printed by him of which we have any knowledge is of 1559. At first he put no symbol on the title-pages of his works; the place where the symbol should be was entirely unoccupied; later, he sometimes inserted one, but not always. This symbol was a printing-press, about which were the words: "In sudore vultus tui vesceris pane tuo."' I have seen this mark on the 'Coutumes générales d'Orléans,' printed by Gibier in 1570, octavo.[466] But he afterward adopted the mark of Conrad Bade. See that name.



GOURMONT (GILLES DE), printer-bookseller at Paris, from 1506 to 1530.—Three marks. The first, in the form of a border, is found on the title-page of a volume containing nine comedies of Aristophanes, printed by Pierre Vidoue, at Gilles de Gourmont's expense, in 1528 (quarto)[467]: a description of it will be found above.[468] The second represents Fame: it is a nude woman, winged, all over whose body are eyes, tongues, and ears. At the foot, in a scroll, are the words: 'Ecqvis incvmbere famae' ('poterit' understood, no doubt). The Lorraine cross

appears at the left on the lower edge of the engraving. I have seen this mark on a small book entitled: 'Alphabetum hebraicum,' consisting of 8 leaves, printed by Pierre Vidoue (Silvestre, no. 98). Although the name of Gourmont nowhere appears in this case, I have no doubt that the mark belongs to Gilles de Gourmont, for it is accompanied by his initials, E and G (Egidius Gourmontius), at the left and right respectively; and we shall see that this same mark was afterward used by Jérôme de Gourmont, Gilles's son or nephew. It maybe that it was because of the loan of Gourmont's Hebrew type that his mark appears on this precious pamphlet, a description of which follows. First leaf, beginning at the end (according to the Hebrew and Arabic custom), Gourmont's mark in a border of detached compartments. On the verso Pierre Vidoue's epistle to the reader, dated from his workshop August 1, 1531. Then comes the text, followed by this subscript: 'Petrus Vidovæus Vernoliensis excudebat Lutetiæ' And, lastly, Vidoue's mark—Fortune, with the words: 'Audentes juvo' (Silvestre, no. 65). The third of Gilles de Gourmont's marks signed with the Lorraine cross is given by M. Silvestre (no. 826). [This mark forms the lower part of the border first described, and has evidently been cut from the border for use separately.] It represents the Gourmont arms[469]: a shield coupé, three roses in chief and a crescent in base; for crest a St. Michael, holding a bare sword, supports two winged stags with ducal coronets about their necks. This subject, much more fully developed, appears on the first page of the 'Tableaux des Arts Libéraux de Savigny,' in-plano,[470] published in 1587, by Jean and François, sons of Gilles de Gourmont, who succeeded to his establishment on rue Saint-Jean-de-Latran.

GOURMONT (JÉRÔME DE), printer-bookseller at Paris from 1524 to 1533.—One mark representing Fame, copied from the second mark of Gilles de Gourmont just described, but reversed. Beneath the inscription 'Ecqvis incvmbere famae,' in a small cartouche, are the initials H. D. G. (Hierome de Gourmont), with the Lorraine cross just above. I have seen this mark in an octavo volume published at Paris in 1534 by Jérôme de Gourmont, under this title: 'Pauli Paradisi ... de modo legendi hebraice dialogus,'[471] and in another octavo, also published at Paris ('Dionysiæ') in 1535, under a Greek title of which the Latin translation is: 'Apollonius Alexandrinus, de Constructione.'[472] Jérôme de Gourmont published at least one other book at 'Dionysiæ' in 1535; but I do not know the title, as I have not seen the title-page. All that I can say is that Ausonius is quoted in the Latin preface printed on the verso of the first leaf, of which I have seen only a fragment, belonging to M. Silvestre.

I believe that Jérôme de Gourmont did some printing, although he is named only as a bookseller in the bibliographies. The books that I have mentioned show that he was a scholar who followed in the tracks of Gilles de Gourmont. Indeed, the one first described, which is in Latin, contains some Hebrew words; the second is entirely in Greek.

I have seen a little book, printed at Paris in 1539, with Jérôme de Gourmont's mark: it is 'Pugna porcorum per J. Porcium,' octavo. The subscript below the mark reads: 'Parisiis, apud Anthonium Bonnemere.' Was Anthoine Bonnemere publisher for Jérôme de Gourmont, at the same sign? That is something that I do not know.

GOURMONT (BENOÎT DE), bookseller at Paris.—One mark, representing a man standing above two precipices; above him is a scroll with the words: 'Vndiqve praecipitivm'; and at his feet the initials B. D. G. (Silvestre, no. 838).

GRANDIN (LOUIS), printer-bookseller at Paris, from 1542 to 1553.—Two marks (Silvestre, nos. 277 and 416). They represent two men, one of whom is receiving a sphere from the hand of God; the other holds one which is crumbling in his fingers. On the second of the two marks are the words: 'Confidere in Domino bonum esse quam confidere in homine. Ps. 117.'



GUEULLARD (JEAN), printer-bookseller at Paris, from 1552 to 1553.—Two marks representing the Phœnix rising from the flames,[473] in an oval border. The smaller one has, within the border, the words, 'Amor vitæ acer nimis,' with Gueullard's initials, I. G., below (Silvestre, no. 790). This mark is .055 of a millimetre high by .044 wide. I have seen it in a book entitled: 'Petri Ruffi Druydæ dialectica, nuper ab eodem autore emendatur,' quarto, 1553 (3d edition).[474] The larger one has this motto within the border: 'Mori vivere mihi est'; it is .087 of a millimetre high by .063 wide (Silvestre, no. 882). I have seen it in a book entitled, 'Hexastichorum moralium libri duo, per Nic. Querculum Tortronensem Rhemum; quarto, Paris, 1552.'[475] See HARSY (OLIVIER DE).

GUILLARD (CHARLOTTE), printer-bookseller from 1518 to 1556.—One mark representing her sign, a golden sun in a starry sky. Below, two lions erect, holding a shield on which are the initials C. G. This lady carried on the printing trade for more than fifty years. She married first, in 1502, Berthold Rembold, a partner of the first printer in Paris, Ulric Gering. Berthold, who had established his domicile on rue Saint-Jacques, 'au Soleil d'Or,' having left Charlotte a widow in 1518, she carried on the business alone until 1520, when she married Claude Chevallon, who took up his abode on the same premises. Chevallon having departed this life, in his turn, in 1542, Charlotte continued in the business until 1556. It was during her second widowhood that the mark in question, which we reproduce herewith, was engraved. I have seen it on a quarto volume entitled, 'Institutionum civilium libri quatuor, 1550. Parisiis, apud Carolam Guillard, viduam Claudi Chevallonii,

sub Soli aureo, et Guilelmum Desbois, sub Cruce Alba, in via divi Jacobi.' Claude Chevallon had upon his mark, by way of allusion to his name, two horses standing (cheval-long). But M. Silvestre publishes as his (no. 395) a mark which has the lions.



HARSY (OLIVIER DE), bookseller at Paris, from 1556 to 1584, used Gueullard's mark on several works written by Nicolas Ellain; among others, 'Elegia libri duo ad Joach. Bellaium, quo adhuc vivo eos scripsit. —Parisiis, e typogr. Olivarii de Harsy, ad Cornu cervi, in clauso Brunello'; quarto, 1560.[476] I have no idea why de Harsy adopted Gueullard's mark.

HOTOT (FABIAN), printer at Orléans. See BADE (CONRAD).

HOUIC (ANTOINE), bookseller at Paris. See REGNAULT (BARBE).

KERVER (THIELMAN II), printer and bookseller at Paris, from 1530 to 1550.—One mark, representing the arms of the Kervers; a 'gril' (*cratis*) held by two unicorns, with the letters T. K. Below is the printer's name in full: 'Thieman [*sic*] Kerver.' This mark appears on a book of Hours of 1550.

LE BLAS. See FEZANDAT.

LE COQ (JEAN) printer at Troyes, from 1506 to 1525. —One mark, representing Le Coq's arms (a cock), hanging from a tree; below is the name, 'Jean Le Coq' (Silvestre, no. 875). This mark appears in a 'Graduel' of 1521, previously described.[477] We find it again in a book of Hours according to the use of Toul, published in 1541, which contains many other engravings signed with the double cross.[478] Also in a small book published in our own day by Aubry the bookseller[479]; that is to say, this particular woodcut is still in existence and belongs to M. Aubry.

LE NOIR (PHILIPPE), printer-bookseller at Paris, from 1520 to 1539. Three marks,[480] representing two negroes (noirs) holding a shield with Philippe le Noir's initials.

MALLARD (OLIVIER), printer-bookseller at Paris, from 1536 to 1542.

MALLARD (JEAN), bookseller at Rouen.

MARNEF, DE: Enguilbert, Jean and Geoffroy, brothers, were printers and booksellers at Paris and Poitiers, together or separately, from 1510 to 1550. Their mark was a pelican, piercing his side in order to nourish his young. Tory engraved for them at least two marks: one which appears on a book printed by Enguilbert and Jean, in Poitiers, in 1536,[481] entitled 'Les angoisses et remedes d'amour du Traverseur en son adolescence' (by Jean Bouchet), with this device: 'Eximii amoris typus'; it is reproduced by Dibdin,[482] and by Silvestre (no. 152).[483] The other may be seen in the Print Section of the Bibliothèque Nationale, among Tory's work; the pelican and its young are in an oval border, around which is this device: 'Principium ex fide, finis in charitate' (Silvestre, no. 1044). [See also the reproduction at the beginning of this section, page 265.]

MENIER (MAURICE), printer at Paris, from 1545 to 1566.—One mark (Silvestre, no. 789), representing a man closing a woman's mouth, with this device, 'Coercenda volvptas.'

MERLIN (GUILLAUME), bookseller at Paris, from 1538 to 1570.—One mark, representing a swan whose neck is twined about a cross, surrounded by the device, 'In hoc signo vinces.' The Lorraine cross is barely visible

in the lowest ornament of the engraving. I have seen this mark on the first page of a 'Missale ecclesie Parisiensis,' in folio, without date, printed by Iolande Bonhomme, widow of the first Thielman Kerver, as is shown by the presence of that printer's mark on the first page of the text; it may be that there are copies in her name. This book is without date, but should be placed between the years 1532 and 1552, which embrace the incumbency of Jean du Bellay as Archbishop of Paris. Merlin's mark is .095 of a millimetre high by .067 wide.[484]

MOREL (GUILLAUME), printer-bookseller at Paris, from 1548 to 1564.—One mark, reproduced by M. Silvestre (no. 164), who informs me that his engraver accidentally omitted the Lorraine cross. 'This mark,' he adds, 'was used later by Estienne Prevosteau, Morel's son-in-law, who subsequently reëngraved it, or had it reëngraved, with his initials, E. P. in place of Tory's mark.'[485] It represents a capital theta (Θ), about which are twined two winged serpents, and in the centre an angel, seated on the cross-piece of the Θ, with a lighted torch in her hand.

NIVELLE (SEBASTIEN), printer and bookseller, at Paris, from 1550 to 1601. One mark, representing two storks in the air, one being carried and fed by the other; with this verse from Exodus (XX, 12), to explain the drawing: 'Honora patrem tuum et matrem tuam, et sis longævus super terram.' I have seen this mark on an octavo edition of St. John Chrysostom ('Homeliæ duæ'), printed by Sebastien Nivelle in 1554. It is reproduced by M. Silvestre (no. 201), but the Lorraine cross is barely visible on this impression. I have seen also another mark of

Nivelle's representing the same subject, with analogous designs suggesting filial love in the four corners; but it is not signed with the cross although it is absolutely in Tory's manner.



NYVERD (GUILLAUME), printer and bookseller at Paris, from 1516.—One mark, or, to speak more precisely, a small border in the style of one of the marks of Simon de Colines. At the foot, in a scroll, are the words, 'Nasci, laborare, mori.' This border appears in a small pamphlet, undated, in pure gothic type, entitled, 'La Reformation des tavernes et destruction de gourmandise, en forme de dialogue'; a small octavo of 4 leaves, of which M. Cigogne possesses the only known copy (1856). At the end are the words,

'Paris, by Guillaume Nyverd, printer.' So that Lottin is mistaken in saying that he was a bookseller only. He gives only one date for his career in the trade—1516—but our engraving is certainly later than 1520. M. Silvestre extends Nyverd's business career to 1559, on what grounds I do not know; but he also calls him a bookseller only. The text of the 'Reformation des tavernes,' etc., was reprinted on page 223 of the second volume of the 'Recueil des poésies françoises des XV et XVI siècles,' collected and annotated by M. Anatole de Montaiglon.[486]

NYVERD (GUILLAUME DE), probably the son of the preceding, printer-bookseller at Paris, from 1550 to 1580.—One mark, representing the arms of France borne by two winged genii. Above them a head with wings; from its mouth come two garlands in the style of those on the last plate of 'Champ fleury.' At the left, at the foot of the cut, the letters G. N., and at the right the Lorraine cross. This engraving, which is 8 centimetres wide by 11 high, was undoubtedly executed when Guillaume de Nyverd was appointed king's printer, which title he held in 1561, according to Lottin. In all probability he held it earlier than that. However that may be, I have seen this mark, already much worn, in an impression of 1572: 'Prognostication touchant le mariage du tres honoré et tres aimé Henry, par la grace de Dieu roy de Navarre, et de tres illustre princesse Marguerite de France, calculée par maistre Bernard Abbatia, docteur medecin et astrologue du tres chrestien roy de France' [Charles IX]. There are in the Bibliothèque Nationale at least three editions of the little pamphlet, made by the same printer at about the same time, that is to say immediately after the

marriage of the King of Navarre with Marguerite de Valois. All three have this engraving on the last page, but in every case it is accompanied by an addition of much later date, namely, the device of Charles IX (two pillars joined by a scroll containing the words, 'Pietate et Jvsticia'), above the arms of France. The volume contains also numerous other engravings and letters bearing Guillaume de Nyverd's initials. It is worth while to call attention to the fact that de Nyverd does not assume the title of king's printer in this book, although, as we have seen above, his appointment was of much earlier date.

PALLIER (JEAN), called 'Marchand,' printer and bookseller at Metz, from 1539 to 1548.—One mark (Silvestre, no. 156), representing a fleur-de-lis held in the air by two naked children, with the letters I. P. in the field.[487] Jean Pallier, or, better, Palyer (in Latin, Palierus), did business also in Paris, for I have seen several books of his dated from that city in 1541 or 1542, with the mark described above. I will mention, among others: (1) 'Epitomæ singularum distinctionum libri primi sententiarum, cum versibus memorialibus Arnoldi Vesaliensis,' etc., 16mo, Paris, 1541; and (2) 'Topica Marci Tullii Ciceronis,' etc., 'ex officina Joannis Palierii, e regione Navarræ, sub signo Leonis Coronati,' 4to, 1542.

PARIS (NICOLE), printer at Troyes, from 1542 to 1547. —One mark (Silvestre, no. 175), representing a child clinging to the branches of a palm-tree (?), beneath the device, 'Et Colligam.'



PERIER (CHARLES), bookseller at Paris, from 1550 to 1557.—One mark, found on the title of the folio entitled, 'Les quatre livres d'Albert Durer ... de la proportion des parties et pourtraicts des corps humains, traduits par Louys Meigret,' etc., 'chez Charles Perier ... à l'enseigne du Bellerophon, 1557.'[488] This bookseller issued two editions of Dürer's book in the same year, one in Latin and the other in French, both illustrated with the same cuts. I am unable to say which appeared first. He had already published, in 1555, for Louis Meigret, a translation of 'Les XII livres de Robert Valturin, touchans la discipline militaire,' in folio, with

engravings, in which his mark appears, signed with the double cross. The sign of Bellerophon was retained by Charles Perier's son Thomas.

PETIT (OUDIN), bookseller at Paris from 1541.—One mark (Silvestre, no. 103), representing a shield bearing a fleur-de-lis, and held by two lions; in the field the letters O. P.

PORTE (MAURICE DE LA), bookseller at Paris from 1524 to 1548.—One mark used by his widow in the volume entitled, 'M. A. Mureti Juvenilia'; octavo, 1553.[489] Maurice de la Porte's widow sold his plant to Gabriel Buon, who used the marks of the deceased from 1558 to 1587. They represent a man carrying a valise at the door (*à la porte*) of a house; one of them has the device, 'Omnia mea mecum *porto*.' The man is Bias,[490] according to La Caille. About the same time there was a printer at Lyon named Hugues de la Porte, whose mark represented Samson carrying away the gates (*portes*) of Gaza in his arms, with the device, 'Libertatem meam mecum *porto*.' (He also published a folio Latin Bible in 1542.)[491]

PREVOSTEAU (ESTIENNE). See MOREL (GUILLAUME).

REGNAULT (BARBE), bookseller at Paris from 1556 to about 1560.—One mark, representing an elephant carrying a tower on his back, with the device, 'Sicut elephas sto'; height 7½ centimetres, width 5½ centimetres. Barbe was undoubtedly the daughter of François Regnault, who died in 1552, and who had a similar mark.[492] François Regnault's mark was

retained by his widow, Madeleine Boursette, who added to it her initials, M. B., and did business in her own name until 1555. Barbe Regnault's mark first appears, so far as my knowledge goes, in a small octavo, printed about 1556, entitled, 'Description de la prinse de Calais et de Guynes, composée par forme de style de proces par M. G. de M.' (Here the mark.) 'A Paris, chez Barbe Regnault, rue Sainct-Jacques, à l'enseigne de l'Elephant.'[493] La Caille informs us of other works published about the same time by Barbe Regnault: 'Monstre d'abus contre Michel Nostradamus,' 1558; J. Seve, 'Supplication aux rois,' ... 'de faire la paix entre eux,' 1559. In 1560 she published a book by Estienne Brulefer, in octavo, entitled, 'Identitatum et distinctionum ... traditarum compendiosa contractio'; then comes the mark, and below it an imprint in which Barbe styles herself the widow of André Barthelin.[494] I am unable to say whether this is the same man whom La Caille and Lottin call André Berthelin, and who published in 1544 a work entitled, 'Francisci Georgii Venali ... de Harmonia mundi totius cantica tria'; folio, Paris, 'apud Andream Berthelin, via ad divum Jacobum, in domo Guilelmi Rolandi, sub insigne Aureæ Coronæ, et in vico Longobardorum in domo ejusdem Rolandi.'[495] If he is the same man, we must assume that he was not yet married to Barbe Regnault, for we see that, while he lived, as she did, on rue Saint-Jacques, he had a different sign. Indeed, I am inclined to think that Barbe did not adopt the 'Elephant' until after the death of Madeleine Boursette, François Regnault's widow, about 1556. However that may be, La Caille says that Barbe Regnault's mark passed into the hands of Thibault Bessault, then to his son Jean, and finally to Antoine Houic. I have seen a book published by the last-

named in 1582, embellished with Barbe Regnault's 'Elephant.'

ROBINOT (GILLES I), bookseller at Paris, from 1554 to 1575.—One mark (Silvestre, no. 686), representing Icarus hurled into the sea for not following the advice of Dædalus, his father, not to approach too near the sun lest that luminary should melt the wax with which the wings of our presumptuous youth were fastened to his body. In a scroll are these words, 'Ne quid nimis.' This mark was used as late as 1619 by Gilles Robinot the second, son of the first Gilles[496]; it is .05 of a millimetre high by .047 wide. See SERTENAS.



ROFFET (PIERRE), called 'Le Faulchoir,' bookseller at Paris, from 1525 to 1537.—One mark (Silvestre, no. 150) representing a mower (*faucheur*) appears in a book printed in 1536.[497]

ROIGNY (JEAN DE), bookseller at Paris, from 1529 to 1562.—I know two marks of de Roigny, signed with the Lorraine cross. The older is the one that appears in a superb edition of Pliny's 'Letters,' printed by Josse Bade in 1533, in folio (Silvestre, no. 674).[498] It represents a man and a woman, each holding a scroll containing a Latin motto; the man's reads thus: 'Nec me labor iste gravabit'; and the woman's, 'Spes premii solatium est laboris.' In the sky is Fortune with her wheel and the horn of plenty, and this device in a scroll beneath: 'Quod differtur non

aufertur.' The second mark, which was adopted by Jean de Roigny after the death of his father-in-law, Josse Bade, in 1535, is the 'Prelum ascensianum,' but reëngraved (Silvestre, no. 787); for Bade's typographical plant passed into the hands of another son-in-law of his, Michel de Vascosan, who continued to use his father-in-law's old woodcuts, especially his mark, badly worn as it was. As for Robert Estienne, Bade's third son-in-law, his father-in-law's death caused no change in his typographical arrangements; he still retained the 'Olive-tree' which he has made so celebrated.



SERTENAS (VINCENT), bookseller at Paris, from 1534 to 1561.—One mark, which was used on two opuscula, in octavo, of 1561; they are usually bound in the same volume, and are entitled: (1) 'Régime de vivre et conservation des corps humains,' etc.; (2) 'Recueil de plusieurs secrets très-utiles pour la santé,' etc. This mark represents the initials V. S. interlaced, in a medallion above which is the sun, with a genie on each side; and below, the device, 'Vincenti non victo.' We also find Robinot's mark, described above, in certain books published by Sertenas. I will mention among others the 'Recueil des rimes et proses, by E. P.; octavo, 1555.[499] Presumably, it was because Robinot was the printer that he placed his mark on the books.

VIVIAN (THIELMAN), bookseller at Paris in 1539.—One mark (Silvestre, no. 725), which appears in the second part of the 'Grand Marial de la mère de vie,'[500] translated by Adam de Saint-Victor. This second part is entitled, 'A la très-pure et immaculée Conception de la Vierge'; quarto, 1539. Vivian lived in Clos Bruneau; his mark bore this device, 'Post tenebras spero lucem' in a scroll, above a fountain guarded by two unicorns; below are the letters T. V., and still lower, 'Thielman Vivian.'


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APPENDICES.

I

NOTE CONCERNING GEOFROY TORY'S FAMILY.

1. *Of his Forbears and Collateral Relations.*

 ENEALOGICAL investigation, supplemented with information furnished by two learned Berrichons, enabled me to enumerate, in my first work on Tory, a considerable number of members of his family, all, or almost all, of whom lived in Faubourg Saint-Privé [Bourges]. The recent researches of my friend M. Hippolyte Boyer, Deputy Archivist of the Department of the Cher, make it possible for me to make known his grandfather, his father, and all his brothers and sisters.

'By deed of December 29, 1486, Robert Thory, husbandman, living in the parish of Saint-Germain-du-Puy, conveys to Jean Thory, his brother, for 20 livres tournois, his share in the heritage of the late Jean and Jeanne, their father and mother.'

'By contracts of September 5 and 8, 1507, Jean Thory, of Saint-Privé,[501] and Philippe *Thoreye*, his wife, give their two daughters, Jehanne Thorye and Perron Thorye, in marriage to Thevenin and François Leconte, sons of Jean Leconte.' Among the provisions of Perron's contract is one to the effect that Jean Thory and his wife settle a dowry of 40 livres tournois on their daughter: 'and this in satisfaction of all claim upon father and mother, be it in respect of

furniture or of inheritance, which said claim the said future bride, with the authority of her said future husband, hath renounced and doth by these presents renounce, in favour of her father and mother, of *maistre Geoffroye*, André, Antoine and Michell Thoris, children of said Jean and Philippe, save for the power to,' etc.[502]

Thus it appears that Geofroy was the oldest of the brothers and sisters, as he is named first in the document. Now, as two of his sisters were of marriageable age in 1507, and as he is called *maistre*, it is probable that he himself was more than twenty-five. That is why I have placed his birth about 1480.

2. *Of his Descendants.*

Jean Toubeau, printer and bookseller at Bourges, who died at Paris in 1685, while on a mission for his native place,[503] wrote the following in the preface to his 'Institutes consulaires,' printed by himself in 1682, three years before his death: 'I have not been impelled to undertake and write this work by the examples of the illustrious members of my profession. Nor is it the example of those of my own family who have given their works to the public: Geofroy Tory, professor in the University of Paris, and a printer and bookseller in the same city, who was so prolific that, proposing to put forth a book which should teach the scope and proportions of those beautiful roman letters which we use to-day in printing, he could not forbear to produce a book overflowing with learning, which was followed by numerous others of instruction, which are so well known that it is needless to give a list of them here, especially as M. de la Thaumassière gives them a whole chapter in our history.'

It is evident from this passage that Toubeau was

related to Tory, but it is not clear how the relationship came about; and La Thaumassière does not mention Tory in his 'Histoire du Berry,' printed a few years later by François Toubeau, Jean's son, despite the promises which he seems to have made to Jean, who had transferred to him the duty of making known to posterity that illustrious son of his province.

The only author able to assist us at all in our investigations is Moréri, who, in the article on Jean Toubeau in his great historical dictionary, says that he was the great-great-grandson of Tory, on his mother's side. This statement should be exact, and the article appears to be written from information furnished by the Toubeau family; but all that we can determine from it is that Toubeau was a descendant of Tory in the fourth degree. Whether he descended from a son or daughter of Geofroy, I have been unable to discover. To elucidate this fact, I wrote to M. Auguste Toubeau, judge of the civil court at Bourges, and this was his reply, dated March 5, 1856: 'I should have been glad to give you the information you desire about Tory. But I have no documents or family papers which establish his relationship to Jean and Hilaire Toubeau. I do not know what connection there was between them and Tory, and I learned that there was such a connection only from what Moréri says of it.'

Failing family papers, I made fruitless efforts to fix the relationship between the Toubeaus and Tory. Finding it impossible to reach any certain result, I have abandoned this search, which has no bearing upon the history of our illustrious typographer. The Toubeaus alone are interested in the solution of the question; I leave to them the task of proving their

kinship.

POSTSCRIPT.—It may be surmised that Bonaventure *Torinus*, bookseller of Bourges, who caused to be printed at that city, in 1595, by the widow of Nicolas Levez, the 'Epitome juris civilis,' by an unknown author, and 'Julii Pauli receptarum sententiarum libri V,'[504] was Tory's son, for he wrote his name in Latin in the same way that Tory wrote it; but was it from a daughter of Tory or from a daughter of this Bonaventure that Toubeau descended? It is impossible for me to say. The lateness of the period at which Bonaventure makes his appearance leads me to believe that he did not see the light until Tory had reached an advanced age. Indeed, if we compare the dates, we shall find that this son of Tory cannot have come into the world before 1530, for, starting from that year, he would have been sixty-five years old in 1595, when his 'Epitome juris' was printed, and there is no reason to believe that he died very soon thereafter. For my own part, I believe that he was not born until after the publication of 'Champ fleury,' and that his Christian name was an allusion to his late birth.[505] In that case, we can understand why he did not succeed to the paternal establishment: he was only two or three years old at Geofroy's death—too young to think of taking his place; so that that duty fell to Geofroy's pupils, whoever they may have been. As for Bonaventure, the family traditions naturally led him back to Bourges, and the trade that he adopted brought him still nearer to his father.

II

VERSES IN HONOUR OF GEOFROY TORY, PRINTED AT THE HEAD OF PALSGRAVE'S GRAMMAR.[506]

'Ejusdem [Leonardi] Coxi ad eruditum virum Gefridum TROY[507] de Burges[508] Gallum, Campi floridi authorem, quem ille sua lingua Champ fleury vocat, nomine omnium Anglorum, phaleutium.

'Campo quod toties, Gefride docte,
'In florente tuo cupisti habemus.
'Nam sub legibus hic bene approbatis
'Sermo gallicus ecce perdocetur.
'Non rem grammaticam Palæmon ante
'Tractarat melius suis latinis,
'Quotquot floruerant ve posterorum,
'Nec Græcis melius putato Gazam
'Instruxisse suos libris politis,
'Seu quotquot prætio prius fuere,
'Quam nunc gallica iste noster tradit.
'Est doctus, facilis, brevisque quantum
'Res permittit, et inde nos ovamus,
'Campo quod toties, Gefride docte,
'In florente tuo cupisti, habentes.'

Remarks on the foregoing lines.

The numerous errors of all sorts which disfigure Palsgrave's book (a very interesting book, none the less)—errors of which the foregoing lines afford several specimens—should have humbled to some extent the national vanity of the author, who cries out incessantly, throughout his bulky volume, against the ignorance of French printers. He should, in any event, have remembered that English typography was the very humble daughter of French typography, which latter not only trained the first English artist (Caxton), but also gave him his two most illustrious successors,—Wynkyn de Worde and Pinson,—the last named of whom did in fact print a part of Palsgrave's book.

A modern Englishman, David Baker, has gone even farther than Palsgrave; he says, speaking of Palsgrave's work: 'the French nation, so proud to-day of the universality of its language, seems to owe it to England.' To which M. Génin retorts: 'Baker reasons backward. The French language did not come into universal use because it pleased Palsgrave to write a grammar; on the contrary, Palsgrave composed his grammar because the French language was already universal. This universality was a fact, admitted before Palsgrave's birth,[509] and others before him had tried to draw up rules to facilitate the study of French by foreigners. Palsgrave names three to whom he acknowledges that his work is greatly indebted.

'Leonard Coxe exults more modestly and with more propriety than David Baker, for he seems to attribute to Geofroy Tory the honour of having called forth Palsgrave's grammar. To be sure, a comparison of dates seems to leave little likelihood to that conjecture, for the Frenchman's work and the Englishman's are only about a year apart; but I must notice here one curious fact which has not been noticed by the bibliographers. On the title-page of the English book we find the date 1530, and on the last leaf, "Printing completed July 18, 1530." But the king's licence to print, at the beginning of the volume, is dated, "At our Castle of Ampthill, the second of September, in the year of our reign the XXII." Now, as Henry VIII succeeded to the throne in 1509, after Easter, the twenty-second year of his reign was the year 1531,[510] and "Champ fleury" appeared early in 1529. So that this gives us an interval of three years.[511] In this view Leonard Coxe's words have genuine force, and the point of concurrence which Palsgrave congratulates himself

upon finding in "Champ fleury" and "Lesclaircissement" may not be so fortuitous as he chooses to state.'

However, as M. Génin goes on to say, 'this honour, claimed by the English, of having been the first to write upon the French language, is, all things considered, simply an act of homage to France; for if our neighbours had awaited from a foreign nation the first book on the English language, perhaps they would be awaiting it still.'

III

TORY ADMITTED AS THE TWENTY-FIFTH BOOKSELLER TO THE UNIVERSITY.

In the 'Acta Facultatis medicinæ Parisiensis,'[512] at the end, we read as follows:—

'Die Martis 18 febr. 1532 [1533, n. s.]....

'Die sabbati sequenti, vocata est Universitas in ecclesia Mathurinorum, super tribus articulis: clausione rotuli, resignatione cure Sanctorum Cosme et Damiani, et receptione vigesimi quinti librarii Universitatis. Clausus est rotulus solito more; admissa est resignatio permutationis causa et sine prejudicio turni, et admissus est vigesimus quintus librarius Gauffridus Torier [*sic*], dono regio. Ubi supplicavit magister Jacobus Japhet pro pastillaria.'

(*Translation.*)

> 'On the following Saturday [February 22, 1533], the University was called together at the Church of the Mathurins. There were three articles in the order of the day:

> Closing of the register [of benefices]; resignation of the curé of Saint-Come and Saint-Damien; reception of a twenty-fifth bookseller to the University. The register was closed according to the usual form. The resignation was accepted, by way of exchange, without prejudice to the next in turn. Geofroy Tory was admitted as twenty-fifth bookseller, by presentation of the king. At this same session Maître Jacques Japhet prayed for leave to present his "pastillary" thesis.'

The only item that interests us in this extract from the proceedings of the Faculty of Medicine is the passage relating to Tory. We see that in 1533 he was made the twenty-fifth bookseller to the University, by command of King François I. Up to that time there had been only twenty-four (see M. Didot's 'Essai,' col. 744), and they undoubtedly went back to that consecrated number after the death of Tory, in whose behalf an exception had been made.

IV

NOTE CONCERNING TORY'S VARIOUS DOMICILES IN PARIS.

The dedicatory epistle of Tory's edition of Pomponius Mela is dated Paris, December, 1507; but it mentions no place of abode.

The edition of the 'Cosmography' of Pope Pius II is dated at the Collège du Plessis, October 2, 1509. Tory was at the Collège du Plessis as late as May 10, 1510.[513]

On August 18, 1512, we find him installed at the Collège Coqueret; and a little later at the Collège de Bourgogne.[514]

About 1518, having joined the fraternity of booksellers, he went to live on rue Saint-Jacques, opposite the Écu de Bâle, which was then used as a sign by the famous printer Chrétien Wechel. The latter's establishment was on the right going up rue Saint-Jacques, near the church of Saint-Benoît.

About 1526 Tory established himself on the Petit-Pont, near Hôtel-Dieu, but did not give up his shop on rue Saint-Jacques, at the sign of the Pot Cassé.

Early in 1531, he changed his abode to rue de la Juiverie, the Halle aux Blés de Beauce, where he set up his printing-press and his bookstall. He retained his shop on rue Saint-Jacques for some time.[515] It was in his house on rue de la Juiverie that he died, in 1533.

V

OF THE FIRST USE BY PRINTERS, AND IN THE FRENCH LANGUAGE, OF THE APOSTROPHE, THE ACCENT, AND THE CEDILLA.

M. Francis Wey, in a report made by him to the Philological section of the Committee on the Language, History, and Arts of France, on June 9, 1856, and published in the 9th fascicle of volume three of that Committee's 'Bulletin' (page 437), seems to attribute to Jean Salomon, otherwise called Montflory, or Florimond, the first philological dissertation in which there is any mention of the accent, the apostrophe and the cedilla,—signs peculiar to the French language, which, as every one knows, was for many years content with the alphabet

of the Latin tongue, from which it descended; more than that, he attributes to that author the first use of these signs in a printed book. In both respects the honour is due to Geofroy Tory. In truth, in his 'Champ fleury,'—which was not published until 1529, it is true, although begun in 1523, the license to print being dated September 5, 1526,—Tory proposed to introduce the accent, the apostrophe, and the cedilla into the French language; he did more than that; for, having become a printer, he was the first to introduce those signs into typography. They appeared for the first time in the last of the four editions of the 'Adolescence Clementine' (by Clement Marot), all four of which he published. This fourth edition appeared June 7, 1533, accompanied by an 'avis' in these words: 'With certain accents noted, to wit, on the *é* masculine, different from the feminine,[516] on letters joined by synalephe, and under the *c* when it is pronounced like *s*, the which for lack of counsel has never been done in the French language, albeit it was and is most essential.' This was the first work in which Tory applied his orthographic system, as may be seen by the inexperience of the compositors in his employ, who made several errors of omission and transposition in this very notice.

This so necessary reform spread very rapidly, thanks to the fact that the necessity had already made itself felt, as is proved by the work of Jean Salomon, published in that same year 1533. But it is Tory's especial glory that only those changes which were proposed by him were retained, save a few orthographic signs which have no other purpose than to distinguish words spelled alike but of different meanings—and these signs were introduced later: a, à; ou, où; du, dû, etc.

With however good a will one might seek to deny Tory's precedence in the use of orthographic signs in the French tongue, and to award it to Jean Salomon, who used them in the same year, there are two facts that decide the question in favour of the former: these are, the publication in April, 1529, of his 'Champ fleury' (the first book of which is entitled, 'An exhortation to fix and ordain the French language by certain rules for speaking with elegance in good sound French words'), and the formulation of the 'General rules of orthography of the French language,' no copy of which is known to exist, it is true, but for which Tory obtained a license to print on September 28, 1529, four years before Salomon's work appeared.

Nor must we lose sight of the fact that Tory was from Bourges, that is to say, from the same province as Jacques Thiboust, Seigneur de Quantilly, 'friend of books, and distinguished penman,' who was Jean Salomon's Mæcenas. There is nothing improbable in the supposition that Thiboust had had his interest aroused by Tory, who is likely to have been a crony of Thiboust in Paris by a two-fold claim,—as a Berrichon and as a 'friend of books.' It seems to me that the alias 'Montflory' assumed by Salomon is an allusion to 'Champ fleury.' That, in my opinion, is why he wrote it 'Montflory' or 'Florimond,' indifferently, the word being an anagram rather than a real surname.

As the opportunity offers itself, I will add to M. Francis Wey's notes a few remarks which may some day assist in writing the biography of Jean Salomon, of whom nothing is known except the fact, told us by himself, that he was an Angevin.

We know now of three different editions of his work.

The first, dated 1533, with no indication of the month, was printed in that year in three pages and a half, octavo, under this title: 'Briefve doctrine pour deuement escripre selon la propriete du langaige francoys.' We do not know where or by whom it was published, but it certainly was printed at Paris, where Salomon undoubtedly lived, and probably by Antoine Augereau, as was the one next described, which seems to have been modelled upon it. Indeed, like it, it is generally found between the same covers with an edition of the 'Miroir de l'âme pécheresse' (of Marguerite of Navarre),—an edition without date, name of place or of printer, which, therefore, should also be attributed to Antoine Augereau and to the year 1533. This edition, which M. Brunet does not mention,[517] has on the first page: 'Le Miroir de lame pecheresse, auquel elle recongnoit ses fautes et pechez, aussi les graces et benefices a elle faictz par Jesuchrist son espoux.' It consists of nine half sheets in octavo, printed as four (signatures *a* to *i*). On the last leaf is a note to the reader wherein forgiveness is asked for the first corrector (he who is called to-day 'the corrector of first proofs'), who has inadvertently omitted three verses. 'Divers other trivial errors may peradventure be found before or after, but they must needs be charged rather to the variety of the copies than to the negligence of the correctors or to the haste of the printers.'—As I have said, it is at the end of this pamphlet that we find printed, with separate signatures of its own, from *a* to *d*, the little book described by M. Wey after the copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale which contains the 'Briefve doctrine.' But one essential point, which M. Wey has forgotten to mention, is that in the first edition not a word is said of the accent or the cedilla; there is no mention of anything except the apostrophe.

The second edition, printed at Paris by Antoine Augereau, in December, 1533, at the back of another edition of the 'Miroir de l'âme pécheresse' (called 'Miroir de tres chrestienne princesse Marguerite, reine de Navare'), is two-thirds larger. It was probably published (like the preceding one) by the Queen of Navarre's secretary, Jean Thiboust, after a manuscript which the author had dedicated to him as his Mæcenas. Indeed, we find at the head of this reprint the words 'ex manuscriptis authoris,' which seems to indicate further that the author was dead. A point worth noting is that the 'Briefve doctrine' again forms a part of an appendix distinguished by separate signature letters (and folios) from Marguerite's poem, and bearing the same title as in the earlier print, despite the additions that had been made to it (presumably based upon Tory's publications), especially with respect to the cedilla and the accent, which, moreover, are used throughout the volume.

The third is the one which is still in manuscript at Bourges. It contains several passages more than the preceding; but these passages, which are of very debateable merit (as M. Wey, who reproduces them in his report, declares), were probably added by one Jean Milon, of Arlenc in Auvergne, calling himself a retainer ('serviteur') of Thiboust, who revised the 'Briefve doctrine' about 1542; so much at least we may infer from the date of some other pieces in the collection containing it, which was presented, in 1555, by Jacques Thiboust to the Collège de Bourges, whence it found its way to the public library of the same city. It is exceedingly interesting to find this document in Geofroy Tory's native place. It is as if chance had chosen thereby to remind us of the source of the orthographic reform proposed by Jean

Salomon.

To be entirely fair, we ought to say that certain other writers had even anticipated Salomon. Thus Jacobus Silvius, otherwise called Jacques Dubois, had published through Robert Estienne, on the 7th of the Ides of January, 1531 (January 7, 1532, n. s.), a French grammar in Latin, wherein he suggested a complete system of orthographic reform, including the acute accent, the apostrophe, the cedilla, etc.; but his plan was so complicated that it could not be followed in its entirety. Moreover, the signs proposed by him were, for the most part, impossible of adoption throughout a book. For instance, the cedilla consisted of an *s* placed about the *c*. The merit of Tory's system, over and above its priority, was its simplicity. So we may say that it was generally adopted after 1533.

VI

TRANSLATION OF THE LETTERS PATENT OF FRANÇOIS I, APPOINTING CONRAD NÉOBAR KING'S PRINTER FOR GREEK. [518]

January 17, 1539 [new style].

François, by the grace of God King of the French, to the French nation, greeting.[519]

We desire that it be known to one and all that our dearest wish is, and has ever been, to accord to letters our support and especial favour, and to do our utmost endeavours to supply the young with useful studies. We are persuaded that such useful studies will produce in our realm theologians who will teach the blessed doctrines of religion; magistrates who will execute the laws, not with passion, but in a spirit of public equity; and skilful administrators, the glory

of the State, who will not hesitate to sacrifice their private interests to love of the public weal.

Such are in effect the advantages which we are justified in anticipating from worthy studies almost alone. And that is why we did, not long since, make liberal allotments of stipends to distinguished scholars that they might teach the young the languages and sciences, and train them in the no less valuable practice of good morals. But we have considered that there was still lacking, in order to hasten the onward march of literature, something no less essential than public instruction, namely, that a capable person should be specially entrusted with the matter of printing in Greek, under our auspices and with due encouragement from us, in order to the correct printing of Greek authors for the use of the young people of our realm.

In truth men distinguished in letters have represented to us that the arts, history, morality, philosophy, and almost all other branches of knowledge, flow from the Greek authors as streams flow from their sources. We know likewise that, Greek being more difficult to print than French and Latin, it is indispensable for the successful administration of a printing establishment of this sort, that the director thereof should be well versed in the Greek tongue, extremely painstaking, and blessed with abundant means; that it may be that there is not a single person among the printers of our realm who combines all these qualifications (that is to say, knowledge of the Greek language, painstaking energy and large wealth), but that in one the fortune is lacking, in another the necessary knowledge, and in others still different conditions. For those men who possess at once wealth and learning prefer to

pursue any other occupation rather than turn their hands to typography, which demands a most toilsome life.

Accordingly we instructed several scholars whom we admit to our table or to our intimacy, to point out to us a man overflowing with zeal for the art of typography, and of proved learning and diligence, who, supported by our generosity, should be employed to print Greek books.

And we have a two-fold motive in thus serving the cause of study. Firstly, as we hold this realm from the All-powerful God, which realm is abundantly supplied with wealth and with all the conveniences of life, we choose that it shall yield to no other in respect to the profundity of its studies, the favour accorded to men of letters, and the variety and extent of the instruction provided; secondly, in order that the studious youth, knowing our good-will toward them, and the honour which it is our delight to bestow upon learning, may give themselves with the greater ardour to the study of letters and of the sciences, and that men of worth, incited by our example, may redouble their zeal and efforts to train our youth to goodly and useful studies.

And even as we sought the person to whom we could with all confidence entrust this function, Conrad Néobar presented himself most opportunely, being most desirous to obtain some public employment which should place him under our protection, and confer upon him personal benefits proportioned to the importance of his service; and, acting upon the testimony that has been laid before us of his learning and his skill, by men of letters well known to us, it has pleased us to entrust to him the matter of Greek typography, to the end that he may print correctly in

our kingdom, supported by our munificence, those Greek manuscripts which are the source of all learning.

But, desiring to provide at the same time for the public service, and in order to forestall any possible fraud to the prejudice of Néobar our printer, we establish him in his said office upon the following rules and conditions:—

Firstly, we understand that all works not yet printed shall not be put to press, still less published, before they have been submitted to the judgement of our professors of the Académie of Paris who are charged with the instruction of the young; so that the examination of works in profane literature shall be entrusted to the professors of belles-lettres, and of those on religious subjects to the professors of theology. By this means the purity of our most sacred religion will be preserved from superstition and heresy, and integrity of morals be removed beyond the reach of the debasement and contagion of vice.

Secondly, Conrad Néobar will deposit in our library a copy of all editions of Greek texts which he shall first put forth, to the end that, in the event of some occurrence calamitous to letters, posterity will have this source to draw upon to repair the loss of books.

Thirdly, all such books as Néobar may print shall contain an express statement that he is our *printer for the Greek*, and that he is specially entrusted with Greek printing under our auspices; to the end that not the present age alone, but all posterity, may learn of the zeal and good-will for letters whereby we are moved, and that, inspired by our example, it may, like ourselves, prove itself disposed to strengthen the cause of study and contribute to its progress.

Furthermore, inasmuch as this office is of more benefit to the State than any other, and as it demands from the man who desires to perform its duties zealously such assiduous care and attention that he can not have a single moment to devote to labours which might lead him to honours or to wealth, we have chosen to provide in three ways for the interest and support of our printer Néobar.

Firstly, we award him an annual stipend of one hundred gold crowns, called 'écus au soleil,' by way of encouragement and to indemnify him in part for his expenses. It is our will, further, that he be exempt from all imposts and that he enjoy the other privileges which we and our predecessors have accorded the clergy and the Académie of Paris, so that he may enjoy the greater advantage from the disposal of his books and that he may the more easily acquire all that is essential for a printing establishment. Finally, we forbid everybody, printers and booksellers alike, to print or to sell, in our realm, for the term of five years, such books in foreign tongues, whether Latin or Greek, as Conrad Néobar shall have published first, and for the term of two years such books as he shall have reprinted more correctly, from ancient manuscripts, whether by his own labours or by availing himself of the work of other scholars.

Whoever violates the terms hereof shall be punishable with a fine for the use of the treasury, and shall reimburse our printer all the cost of his editions. Furthermore, we command the provost of our city of Paris, or his lieutenant, as well as all other magistrates now in office, or who hold public employments from us, to see to it that Conrad Néobar, our printer, enjoys to the full all the

privileges and immunities hereby conferred upon him, and to inflict severe punishment upon whoever shall cause him annoyance or hindrance in the performance of his duties: for it is our will that he be protected from the evil-disposed and from the malice of the envious, to the end that the tranquillity and security of an unharrassed life may enable him to devote himself with the greater zeal to his important duties.

And that full and entire credence may be forever given to what is hereinbefore commanded, we have confirmed it with our signature and have caused our seal to be affixed. Adieu.

Given at Paris, the seventeenth day of January, in the year of grace 1538, and of our reign the twenty-fifth.

VII

EXTRACT FROM THE LETTERS PATENT OF FRANÇOIS I, APPOINTING DENIS JANOT KING'S PRINTER.[520]

François, by the grace of God King of France, to all those who shall see these letters, greeting. Be it known that we, having been well and duly advised of the great skill and experience which our dear and well-beloved Denis Janot has acquired in the art of printing and in the matters which depend thereon, whereof he has ordinarily made great profession, and even in the French language; and considering that we have already engaged and constituted two printers of our own, one for the Latin, the other for the Greek language; desiring to do no less honour to our own than to the said two other languages, and to commit the printing thereof to some person who is able to acquit himself thereof, as we hope that the

said Janot will prove himself well able to do, for these causes and others moving us thereto, we have engaged and do by these presents engage him to be our printer in the said French language, henceforward to print well and duly, in good type and as correctly as may be, such books as are and shall be written in said language, and such as he may be able to recover; and to enjoy in that office the honours, authority, privileges, precedencies, powers, liberties, and rights which may appertain thereto, so long as it shall be our good pleasure. And in order to arouse in him the greater ardour and to afford him better means and opportunity to maintain and support the cost and outlays, the toil and labour which it will be incumbent on him to make and undergo, as well in the printing and correcting as in other matters depending thereon, we have decreed and ordered, do decree and order, and it is our pleasure that the said Janot be given permission, by these presents, to print all books composed in the said French language which he may be able to recover, but only after they shall have been well, duly, and sufficiently inspected and examined, and found to be excellent and not scandalous.... Given at Paris the twelfth day of April in the year of grace one thousand five hundred forty-three, and of our reign the twenty-ninth.

On the outside are the words: 'By the King—Present, the Bishop of Thulles. Signed BAYARD; and sealed *sur double cueue*[521] with that lord's great seal.'

VIII

LIST OF KING'S PRINTERS WHO PERFORMED THEIR FUNCTIONS AT PARIS, FROM THE ORIGINAL INSTITUTION OF THAT OFFICE.

GEOFROY TORY, 1530-1533.[522]

OLIVIER MALLARD, 1536-1542.

DENIS JANOT, 1543-1550.[523]

CHARLES ESTIENNE, 1551-1561.

ROBERT ESTIENNE II (nephew of CHARLES), 1561-1570.

JEAN METTAYER, 1575-1586.

JAMET METTAYER (brother of JEAN), 1586-1602.

PIERRE METTAYER (brother of JEAN and JAMET), 1602-1639.

MAMERT PATISSON, 1578-1601. His widow succeeded him and held the office from 1602 to 1606.

MICHEL DE VASCOSAN, 1560-1571.

PIERRE LE VOIRRIER, 1583.[524]

FEDERIC MOREL (VASCOSAN'S son-in-law), 1560-1581.

FEDERIC MOREL II (son of FEDERIC), 1582-1630.[525]

CLAUDE MOREL, 1617 (?).

CHARLES MOREL (son of CLAUDE), 1635-1639.

GILLES MOREL (son of CHARLES), 1639-1647.

PIERRE LE PETIT. Succeeded MOREL, June, 1647 'with the privileges and salary of 225 livres charged upon

the State.'[526] He died in 1686.

GUILLAUME NYVERD II, 1561.

NICOLAS NIVELLE, GUILLAUME CHAUDIÈRE, ROLIN THIERRY, } Printers of the Sacred Union, 1589-1594.

CLAUDE PREVOST, 1614-1629.

NICOLAS CALLEMONT, 1622-1631. His widow held the office in 1631.

PIERRE L'HUILLIER, 1610.

ANTOINE ESTIENNE, 1614-1664. In 1649 he called himself '*first* king's printer.'[527]

HENRI ESTIENNE, his son, obtained the reversion of his father's office in 1652, but he died before him, in 1661, probably without acting.[528]

PIERRE MOREAU, 1640-1647. (For his bastard italic.)

ANTOINE VITRÉ, 1622-1674. 'Linguarum orientalium typographus regius.'

SÉBASTIEN CHAPELET, 1639.

JACQUES DE GAST, 1640.

SÉBASTIEN CRAMOISY, December 24, 1633. In 1640 he was appointed manager of the royal printing-office

of the Louvre; in 1651 he resigned the office of king's printer in favour of his grandson, Sébastien Mâbre-Cramoisy, and died in 1669.

SÉBASTIEN MÂBRE-CRAMOISY (grandson of the preceding, through his mother), 1661-1687. He also held the office of manager of the royal printing-office.

SÉBASTIEN HURÉ, August, 1650.

SÉBASTIEN HURÉ II (son of the preceding), appointed in 1662, in place of HENRI ESTIENNE, Antoine's son; died in 1678.

PIERRE ROCOLET, April 14, 1635; died in 1662.

DAMIEN FOUCAULD (son-in-law of ROCOLET), succeeded him; 1662-1687(?).

FRANÇOIS MUGUET, appointed as locum tenens in November, 1661, was definitively appointed in 1671; resigned his letters in 1686, to replace PIERRE LE PETIT, at the salary of 225 livres. Muguet died in 1702.

FRANÇOIS-HUBERT MUGUET (son of the preceding) succeeded him; 1702-1742.

FRÉDÉRIC LÉONARD. Succeeded FRANÇOIS HURÉ; 1678-1712.

FRÉDÉRIC LÉONARD II (son of the preceding) succeeded him;

1713-1714.

JEAN DE LA CAILLE, 1644-1673.

JEAN-BAPTISTE COGNARD. Succeeded FOUCAULD; 1687-1737.

COGNARD'S widow, 1737-1760.

JEAN-BAPTISTE COGNARD II (son of Jean-Baptiste), 1717-1752, when he resigned.

JACQUES LANGLOIS, 1660-1678.

JACQUES LANGLOIS II (son of the preceding), 1678-1697.

JEAN-BAPTISTE-ALEXANDRE DELESPINE, 1702-1746(?).

GUILLAUME DESPREZ, 1686-1708.

GUILLAUME DESPREZ II (son of the preceding), 1740-1743, when he resigned.

GUILLAUME-NICOLAS DESPREZ (son of the preceding), 1743-1788. He was at the end the dean of the king's printers.

PIERRE-ALEXANDRE LE PRIEUR, 1747-1785.

CLAUDE-CHARLES THIBOUST, appointed king's printer in 1756, died in 1757.

N. DE MAISONROUGE (widow of the preceding), succeeded him, and held the title of king's printer till 1788.

LAURENT-FRANÇOIS PRAULT, 1780(?).

LOUIS-FRANÇOIS PRAULT (son of

Laurent) succeeded him; 1780-1788.

Antoine Boudet, 1768-1779.

François le Breton; died October 4, 1779.

Philippe-Denis Pierres; succeeded Le Breton by virtue of letters dated October 7, 1779.[529] He was appointed first king's printer in August, 1785.

Jacques-Gabriel Clousier, 1788.

Auguste-Martin Lottin, 1775-1789.

(Demoiselle) Hérissant, 1788.

King's Printers for Greek.[530]

Conrad Néobar, 1538-1540.

Robert Estienne, 1540-1550.

Adrien Turnèbe, 1552-1555.

Guillaume Morel, 1555-1564.

Michel de Vascosan, 1560-1576.

Robert Estienne II, 1561-1570.

Federic Morel, 1571-1581.

Étienne Prevosteau, 1581-1600(?).

Pierre Pautonnier, 1600-1605(?).

Printers of the King's Closet.

Jacques Collombat, in 1743.

N. Dehansy (widow of the preceding), 1744.

JACQUES-FRANÇOIS COLLOMBAT (son of JACQUES), 1744-1751.

JACQUELINE TARLÉ (wife of JACQUES-FRANÇOIS), 1751-1752.

JEAN-JACQUES ESTIENNE COLLOMBAT (their son, 1752-1763).

Printers of His Majesty's Closet, Household and Buildings.

JEAN-THOMAS HÉRISSANT, 1764-1772..

MARIE-NICOLE HÉRISSANT (his daughter), 1772-1788.

King's Printers for Mathematics.

JEAN LEROYER, February 3, 1553 (1554, n. s.)-1565.

PIERRE LEVOYRIER, 1575-1584.

King's Printer for Coins.

JEAN DALLIER, August 23, 1559.

King's Printers for Engravings.

PIERRE LENGEVIN, buried February 5, 1609.[531]

MELCHIOR TAVERNIER, 'living on the Île du Palais.'

King's Printers for Music.

ROBERT BALLARD, 1551-1606. Letters patent of May 5, 1516,[532] inform

us that he received 250 livres tournois in this capacity.

LUCRÈCE LE BÉ (BALLARD'S widow), 1606.

PIERRE BALLARD (son of ROBERT I), 1608-1640.

ROBERT II (son of PIERRE), 1640-1679.

——widow of ROBERT II, 1679-1693.

J.-B.-CH. BALLARD (grandson of ROBERT II), 1694-1750.

——(widow of the preceding), 1750-1758.

——CHR.-J.-F. BALLARD (son of J.-B.-CH.), 1758-1765.

——(widow of the preceding), 1765-1792.

PIERRE-ROBERT-CHRISTOPHE BALLARD (son of CHR.-J.-F.), 1779-1792.

After the Restoration Louis XVIII named as king's printers members of certain families in the printing trade which had formerly borne that title, and some others who had won great renown in their trade; such are the first six in the following list, which includes all the king's printers of the Restoration.

LOTTIN DE SAINT-GERMAIN,[533] 1815-1828.

BALLARD,[534] 1815-1828.

BALLARD'S widow, 1828-1830.

VALADE,[535] 1815-1822.

PIERRE DIDOT, the elder, 1815-1822.

JULES DIDOT, his son, succeeded him; 1822-1830.

FIRMIN DIDOT (PIERRE'S younger brother), 1815-1827.

MADAME HÉRISSANT-LEDOUX, 1816-1822.

LEBEL, successor to VALADE, 1822-1825.

LEBEL'S widow, 1826.

LENORMANT, 1824-1830.

AMBROISE DIDOT (son of FIRMIN) was appointed king's printer by patent of December 7, 1829. The office became extinct in his hands in July, 1830. M. Ambroise Firmin Didot, who thus closes the list of king's printers, opened by Tory, has another bond of union with the latter: like him he was an engraver. See what M. Firmin Didot père wrote on this subject at the beginning of his tragedy, 'Annibal,' which was printed by him in 1817, preceded by a letter from his son, who was then travelling in Greece; the letter being printed in an 'English' type which he tells us was engraved by his son Ambroise.[536]

IX

NOTE CONCERNING THE KING'S BINDERS AND LIBRARIANS.

There had long been functionaries known as 'libraires du roi' (king's librarians), when François I instituted the office of king's printer. Indeed, we find that Guillaume Eustace bore the title as early as 1574, that is, under Louis XII. He is so styled in the

subscript of an edition of 'Les Chroniques de France,' in three volumes, folio. At the end of the last volume, we read: 'Here endeth the third and last volume of the great chronicles of France, printed at Paris in the year a thousand five hundred and fourteen, the first day of October, for Guillaume Eustace, *libraire du Roy*, and sworn binder to the University of Paris.'

In our first edition we expressed the opinion that Eustace may have been replaced in 1522 by Jean de Sansay, who is described as king's librarian, in 1530, in the accounts published by M. de Laborde.[537] This is an error. Eustace was still king's librarian in 1533. Jean de Sansay was not, as Eustace was, *purveyor* to the king's library, but *keeper* thereof, a title assumed in more exact terms by one of his successors, Jean Gosselin, in a book which he caused to be printed in 1583.[538]

Jean de Sansay's immediate successor, under François I, seems to have been Claude Chappuis, who was king's librarian before March 28, 1543, as may be seen from the following document, dated January 6, 1544, new style, the original of which is in the Joursauvault collection at the Bibliothèque du Louvre:—

'In the presence of me, notary and secretary of the state to the King our sire, Jehan Estienne,[539] dealer in silversmithery to the queen, having power of attorney from maistre Claude Chappuys, librarian to our said lord, thereby sufficiently authorized, did by deed of the twenty-eighth day of March a thousand five hundred forty-three, after Easter last past, executed before Jehan Langlois, royal notary in the bailiwick or chatelany of Moret, aver that he had had and received from maistre Jacques Bouchetel, treasurer and paymaster of the household of our said

lord, the sum of two hundred forty livres tournois on account of his office of librarian during the year beginning the first day of January a thousand five hundred forty-two [1543, n. s.], and ending the last day of December a thousand five hundred forty-three. For which sum of IIc XL livres tournois the said Jehan Estienne, as attorney as aforesaid, hath held and doth hold himself accountable and duly paid, and hath acquitted and doth acquit the said maistre Jacques Bouchetel, treasurer as aforesaid, and all other persons. Witness my sign manual hereto affixed at his request. The VI day of January in the year a thousand five hundred forty-three. 'BURGENSIS.'[540]

In 'La Renaissance des Arts,' M. de Laborde has published several extracts from the royal accounts relative to this Claude Chappuis.

'To maistre Claude Chappuis, librarian to our said lord, the sum of thirty-three livres five sols tournois, to him ordered to be paid by our said lord, to reimburse him for several small sums by him furnished and paid for the embellishment of books which our said lord hath caused to be brought from Thurin, for the carriage thereof from Fontainebleau to Paris and to Sainct-Germain-en-Laye, and from said Sainct-Germain to Paris and Fontainebleau, and for expense incurred by said Chappuis, say XXXIII L. V. S.'[541]

'To maistre Claude Chappuys, librarian to our said lord, the sum of six times twenty and ten livres, and ten sols tournois to reimburse him for the like sum which he hath paid of his own moneys to a bookseller of Paris named Le Faucheux, for having, by command of our said lord, re-bound and gilded divers books from his library, in the manner and guise of a gospel heretofore bound and gilded by said

Le Faucheux, written in letters of gold and ink.'[542]

Doubtless this Claude Chappuis is the same man who belonged to the household of Jean du Bellay, Ambassador to Rome in 1536. Having become librarian to the King, he probably used in gilding the books mentioned in the last quotation, the irons which François I had bought in Venice, as we learn from another account, undated, but a little earlier, preserved, like the others, in the national archives.

'To Loys Alleman, Fleurantin, for sending to Venice for irons to print[543] certain Italian books, and for the cost of such printing, the sum of V livres.'

As for Le Faucheux, mentioned here as a binder, he is evidently Étinnee Roffet, called Le Faucheux, described as binder and librarian to the King on the title-page of the 'Œuvres de Hugues Salel,' which he published, and which was printed at Paris, in octavo, in 1540.[544] He was the son of Pierre Roffet (publisher to the two Marots, father and son), who had for his sign a 'faucheur,' mower.[545]

X

PASSAGES WRITTEN IN LATIN, IN MOST CASES BY TORY, TRANSLATIONS OF WHICH ARE INSERTED IN THE BODY OF THE BOOK.

A

Godofredus Torinus Bituricus Joanni Rosselletto, literarum amantissimo, S. D. P.[546]

Egregiam de te spem, Joannes ornatissime, tuis et cognatis et patriæ, non solum moribus, imo et benefactis, te velle nobiliter ostendere, nunquam

(opinor) tu prætermittes neque desistes. Quo tu Reipubl. vel consilio prodesses, curasti ut per me Quintilianus emendatior caracteribus et impressioni daretur bellissime. Multis exemplariis diligenter collatis, unum (mendis pene innumerabilibus deletis) castigatissimum non pigra manu feci; ipsum, ut jussisti, a Parrhisiis Lugdunum misi. Utinam et qui impriment novos non superinducant errores. Vale, et me ama.

Parrhisiis, apud collegium Plesseiacum, tertio calendas Martias.

B

Imbutam ausonia cupiens me reddere lingua
Artibus et pariter me decorare bonis,
Nocte dieque docens pater ut charissimus, ipse
Fundamenta mihi dulcia et ampla dabat.

C

MONITOR. Hanc tibi quis struxit gemmis insignibus urnam?

AGNES. Quis? Meus in tali nobilis arte pater.

MON. Excellens certe est figulus genitor tuus.

AGNES. Artes
Quottidie tractat sedulus ingenuas.

MON. An ne etiam scribit modulos et carmina?

AGNES. Scribit.
Dulcibus et verbis hæc mea fata beat.

MON. Ipsius est nimirum hominis solertia
mira?

AGNES. Tam celebrem regio vix tulit ulla
virum.

D

VIATOR. Mecenate aliquo certe dignissimus ille
est.

GENIUS. Mecenas franco rarus in orbe viget.
Nemo hodie ingenuas donis conformibus
artes
Aut fovet, aut ulla sorte fovere parat.
Non est in pretio probitas, nec candida
virtus.
Infelix adeo regnat Avaricia.
Fraus, dolus et vitium præstant; virtutibus
omne
Postpositis miserum serpit ubique nephas.

VIA. Quid facit ille igitur Musis excultus
amœnis?

GEN. In propria gaudet vivere posse domo.

VIA. Ad reges alacri deberet tendere passu.

GEN. Non curat, quoniam libera corda gerit.
Isti nonnunquam gaudent spectare potentes
Carmina, sed quid tum? nictibus illa beant.
Deberent gemmis auroque rependere puro
Aurea de superis carmina ducta polis.
Sed potius fatuis, nebulonibus atque
prophanis
Contribuunt stulti grandia dona leves.

E

Egregii quidam sunt felici hoc seculo pictores, lector humanissime, qui suis lineamentis, picturis et variis coloribus deos gentilitios et homines, itemque alias res quascunque adeo exacte depingunt, ut illis vox et anima deesse tantummodo videatur; sed ecce, lector humanissime, ego jam tibi, illorum propemodum more, domum offero, non solum suis lineamentis et partibus elegantem et absolutam, sed etiam pulchre loquentem et encomio sese particulatim describentem.

F

Godofredo Torino, quem Ulvaricum[547] Biturigum peperit, quem Lutetia Parisiorum fovit, viro linguæ: turn latinæ turn græcæ peritissimo, litterarum denique amantissimo, typographo solertissimo et bibliographo doctissimo, quod de partibus ædium elegantissima distica scripserit, tumulos aliquot ludicros veterrimo stylo latine condiderit, Xenophontis, Luciani, Plutarchi tractatus e græco in gallicum converterit, Parisiis in Burgundiæ gymnasio philosophiam edocuerit, primus omnium de re typographica sedulo disseruerit, litterarum sive caracterum dimensiones ediderit, et Garamundum calco-graphum principem edocuerit, viri boni officio, quoad devixit, anno M.D.L. semper defunctus, a monente Joanne Toubeau, etiam typographo et auctore, mercatorum prætore, ædili Bituri-censi, ob negotia civitatis difficillima ad regem et concilium legato, ejusdem Torini abnepote, et typographicorum insignium hærede, Nicolaus Catharinus, nobilis Bituricus, regis advocatus et senator in Biturigum metropoli, a teneris annis huc usque et deinceps rei typographicæ addictissimus, cursim raptimque

scripsit, exeunte novembri M.DC.LXXIV.

G

Godofredus Torinus Biturícus Philiberto Baboo, civi Biturico, serenissimi Gallorum regis dispensatori ac camerario meritissimo, salutem dicit humilimam.

Pomponium Melam, ornatissime Philiberte, geographorum authorem luculentissimum, quum nuper inspicerem, eum tot mendis depravatum ac lacerum esse cognovi, ut

... Ecce ante oculos mœstissimus author
Visus adesse mihi, largosque effundere fletus;
Vergilius, Eneid. ij.

Ecce inquam:

Raptatus bigis (heu miserum) aterque cruento
Pulvere, perque pedes traiectus lora tumentes,
Quam graviter gemitus imo de pectore ducens.
Id., ibid.

Talibus verbis conqueri videbatur: Siccine ego qui tot terras, tot gentes, insulas, amnes, freta, vada, carybdes, tam eleganter descripsi, quique totius orbis descriptionem tam confidenter aggressus sum, sic mancus, sic mutilus, sic truncus habebor?

Hei mihi! quam cæsus sum, quamque

similimus illi
Hectori qui quondam concretos sanguine
crines
Vulneraque illa tulit quæ circum plurima
muros
Accepit patrios....

Id., *ibid.*

Nisi medicabiles aliquæ in me manus se extendant, sine dubio, iam emoriar.

Tarda Philoctetæ sanavit crura Machaon,
Phœnicis Chyron lumina Philyrides;
Et Deus extinctum Cressis Epidaurius herbis
Restituit patriis Androgeona focis.

Proper., *lib. ij*, *ad Mœcenatem*.

Sed sane credo quod

Hoc si quis vitium possit[548] iam demere,
solus
Tantalea poterit tradere poma manu.
Dolia virgineis idem ille repleverit urnis,
Ne tenera assidua colla graventur aqua;
Idem Caucasea solvet de rupe Promethei
Brachia, et a medio pectore pellet avem.

Idem, *ibid.*

Certe statim apud me dixi: Si Machaon, si Chyron aut Æsculapius essem, libens huic rei subvenirem. Sed quid autem si manuum mearum opellam impenderem? Nonne remedio esse possem? Forte, at equidem expertus, et id quo saltem emendatior habeatur.

Quod si deficiant vires, audacia certe
Laus erit: in magnis et voluisse sat est.

Idem, lib. ij, ad Musam [*Ad Augustum?*].

Pauculas ergo annotationes adiecimus[549] quibuscum sub tuo nomine (quandoquidem[550] et literarum et literatorum amantissimus es) bonis ut aiunt avibus Pomponius ipse Mela iam tutius exeat. Vale.

Parrhisiis, vj no. decemb. MCCCCC vij.

H

Habes, ornatissime Philiberte, Pomponium ipsum Melam pluribus quibus scatebat mendis iam emendatum. Curavi siquidem accuratissimo (qui etiam primus apud Parisios græcis caracteribus lotissimas addidit manus) impressori dare. Eum diligentius, et quo politior ac absolutior in tuas primum, deinde cæterorum manus perveniat, recognoscere pauculaque in eum subannotare non ingratus volui. Tu nunc cum ipso per totum orbem, quemadmodum et Phiclus, qui super aristas eas non frangendo cucurrisse fertur, non tantum secure, sed confidenter ac præsentissime ire ac redire vales. Si tigres animalium pernicissimos comprehendere, catoblepam sine tui malo cernere; si dracones, feras, satyros, panes, silvanos; si Indos,

Et penitus toto divisos orbi Britannos;

si Sauromatas, Afros, eorum denique si medios omnes populos videre, pariterque ipsorum mores mirabiles cognoscere desideras, hoc in orbe, id est, [551] Pomponio, manibus tuis amplissime comprehenso, sine dubio, iam optime dispicere potes. Vale et me tibi devotum semper ama.

Parisiis, nono calen. januarias.

Ω

CIVIS.

In Pomponium Melam.

Mela, quibus plænus fueras erroribus, es iam
Excussus, tecum paucula menda manet. [552]
Tu melior multo longeque probatior extas
Quam prius; hoc fecit tantula nostra manus.

Ad Philibertum Baboum.

Quod mea vita tibi multos se debeat[553] annos,
Hoc duo versiculi iam, Philiberte, probant.
Αλφα mihi teneris habui quodcumque sub annis,
Id voluit fœlix ωμεγα ferre tuum.

Ω

CIVIS.

I

Quia nihil est diffilius (*sic*) quam in nullo errare, non absurdum esse videtur si cum lectoris bona pace paucorum admodum erratorum paucula retractentur, ut illo verbo cum dicit in epistola *potuit*, scribendum est *possit*....

J

Reverendo in Christo patri et domino D. Germano Gannaio, Cathurcensium episcopo designato, Godofredus Torinus Bituricus salutem dicit humilimam.

Pium papam, antistes excellentissime, au thorem et dignitate et singularitate sine dubio venerandum, in Asiæ et Europæ descriptione, iam tersiorem et emendatiorem quam antea legebatur in luce exire curavimus. Quem autem ei recenter ex chalcotypea officina sese expedienti, virum delectum, literarum amantissimum, et singulari virtute plenissimum, statim devotissime salutatum iret, potiorem sane te, dignioremve, cognoscere potui nullum. Summum ipsum pontificem te maxime venerabilem antistitem invisere rem esse putavi non iniucundam. Ipsum, inquam, geographiæ et lectu dignissimæ (uti videre poteris) historiæ non pœnitendum authorem, te, bonarum omnium literarum amatorem et cultorem, accedere et amplecti, factum opido quam decentissime existimavi, gemmam auro, encaustum, id est opus igni pictum, argento, et palmam vincenti conferre, procul dubio nihil aliud est quam bona bonis, splendida splendidis et merita meritis addere. Tibi profecto et cum his alia ratione pulcherrimum hoc opus meritissime dedicari debet, siquidem per capita distinctum, et in commodiorem ordinem, te promotore et iubente, redactum est. Quo facilius (ut voluisti) et melius, tibi in primis, consequenter aliis omnibus studiosis et legentibus, regiones terræ, quæ numero sunt multæ, et in eis res scitu periucundæ capiantur et memoriæ commendentur, capitatim nominibus fluviorum, opidorum, locorum, ducum et aliarum rerum insignium in margine coannotatis, quæ etiam omnia in indice numeratim inveniuntur, divisimus, ipsam hanc nostram lucubratiunculam tibi antistiti, reverentia percelebri, sincæro dedicamus animo. Impar sine controversia est, quam tuæ reverendæ paternitati deberem offerre, tu tamen, cuius benignitatem et integritatem omnes prædicant (et me minime latet) excellentissimam, ea fronte qua

huiusmodi alias solitus es ipsam purissimas in manus tuas, si placet, accipies. Vale.

Parrhisiis, apud collegium Plesseiacum, 6 nonas octobris anno Domini 1509.

K

Godofredus Torinus Bituricus ad lectorem.

Quod eruęre, contendęre, misęre et huiusmodi multa, per tale e in penultima scripta leges, factum est ut ipsa indicativi præterita, quæ regulariter penultimam habent longam, a presenti et præterito imperfecto modi infinitivi, quæ in tertia coniugatione semper corripiunt penultimam, suam quantitatem, et quam inter legendum proferre debes, tibi ostendant. Illam Psalterii Quincuplicis nuper in lucem dati perelegantem et absolutam scripturam libenter sum imitatus et insecutus. Invenies etiam ipsum e in aliquibus dictionibus, similiter in genitivis et dativis singularibus, nominativis et vocativis pluralibus primæ declinationis nonnunquam, more quorumdam, pro ædiphtongo poni, sed rarius. Insuper hæc consulto scripsi mistum per s, et non per x, nam misceo facit miscui in præterito, unde et mistum analogice, intellego, toties, quoties, litus, opidum, litera, tralatum, aliquando, et id genus alia, secundum ορθογραφιαμ, id est rectam scripturam, observanda. TVRCAM etiam in prima declinatione, quod multi in secunda proferunt, scripsi. Michael Tarchaniota Marulus Constantinopolitanus ad Carolum regem Franciæ plausibiliter author est mihi. Eius sunt hæc verba:—

Invicte magni rex Caroli genus,

Quem tot virorum, tot superum piæ
Sortes iacentis vindicemque
Iusticiæ fideique poscunt;
Quem mesta tellus Ausonis hinc vocat,
Illinc solutis Grecia crinibus,
Et quicquid immanis profanat
TVRCA Asiæ, Syriæque pinguis, *et cætera*.

Quod etiam plureis parteis, omneis monteis, accusativos in eis protuli, grammatice quidem et latine, authore Prisciano, lib. 7, cap. de accusativis pluribus tertiæ declinationis, facere visus sum. Ea est pulchra ad accusativum a nominativo discriminandum diferentiam, et qua mille sunt usi authores, de quibus multis Salustium, Vergilium et Plautum hic testes habere sat erit. Salustius, quiquidem primo etiam verbo est usus, sic ait in Catilinario bello: 'Omneis homines qui sese, etc.' Vergilius in primo Eneidos: 'Hic fessas non vincula naveis Ulla tenent....' Plaut. in Aulularia: 'Quid est? quid ridetis novi omneis, scio fures hic esse complureis.' Hoc lubens annotare volui, ut (bone lector) non tantum dicendi puritatem intellegas, sed et tanquam digitos inter et legendum et dicendum pura verba festiviter in promptu habeas et dicas. Vale.

CIVIS.

L

Herverus de Berna Amandinus Iuventuti Bituricæ S. D.

Divitem, didascalum nostrum, sapientia clarum et musarum alumnum, de vobis bene meritum, non ignoratis; docuit enim vos Musas, Heliconem, Phœbi nemus, Mercuriumque; et enim innumeri (tanquam ex e quo Troiano) ex officina eius prodiere litterati.

Curæ sunt ei gloriosissim Musarum labores, cuius nomen in honoribus et laurea immortale servandum censeo maxime. Ipse non solum quod dicitur ad Aristophanis, sed etiam ad Cleantis, lucernam lucubrasse fertur. Elegantia carminis laudatum haud dubitatis, ex quo fit ut poema religiosum quod conscripsit de Passione Dominica extet, tantoque splendore refulgeat, tanta suavitate redoleat, tamque florido ornatu spectabile sit, ut cœlestis ingenii artificio potius quam humani fabrefactum credatur. Nec dubito quin ex eo contingat quod plurimum litteratis viris contingere consuevit: ut ait Claudianus, minuet praesentia[554] famam. Non tamen sine Theseo, hoc est Torino Biturico, commilitone nostro, antiquis moribus, et, ut Plautus ait, Massiliensibus[555], et cum virtute doctissimo, voluimus ut Dives in publicum volaret: speroque iterum secundis (ut aiunt) avibus. Valete fœlicissime. Ex ædibus nostris Amandinis, calendis martii.

M

Godofredi Torini Biturici in preceptoris sui Guilielmi Divitis Gandavensis commendationem dialogus.

Interlocutores: MONITOR *et* LIBER.

M. Sancte liber, passum qui defles carmine Christum,
Fare age: cuius opus tam potes esse pium?

L. Cuius opus? videas. Sum Divitis.

M. Illius euge
Ditia qui Bituris tot documenta dedit?

L. Vera putas.

M. Vere est sapienti pectore Dives.

L. Aptius hoc nullum nomen habere potest.

M. Ipse est qui Bituris florenti dicere lingua
Edocuit, faciles pangere et ore modos.

L. Dicere non tantum docuit, nec texere carmen,
Corpora sed Christi cæsa videre dedit.

M. Brachia fixa Dei si quisquam cernere vellet,
An satis ad vivum Dives et ipse darer?[556]

L. Ferre crucem Domini, si vulnera sæva, coronam,
Discupis, in manibus me gere, cuncta feres.

M. Omnia vota ferat semper fœlicia Dives,
Tale piis qui dat cordibus esse bonum!

L. Nestoreos terris perstet victurus in annos,
Postque obitum cœli ditia regna petat.

CIVIS.

N

Philibertum Baboum, virum honestissimum, Godofredus Torinus Bituricus salutem plurima iubet impartitum.

Anno præterito, quo tempore Pii Pontificis Maximi Cosmographiam imprimendam curavi, Berosum

Babilonicum in antiquitatibus regnorum bellissime recognoscere et impressoribus non immutare dare venerat in mentem; at, nescio quo animo meo se tunc agente, in aliud tempus, opera dedita, rem propemodum divinam facturus, differre decrevi, distulissem quidem et in longissimum, atque, ut proverbio memoratur, ad calendas græcas, nisi, ut ita dicam, Berosus ipse, et quod non parvi apud me est, eritque semper, amicorum plusculi, quotidie ad aurem meam cum precibus quodam modo simul innuentes, Myrsilum, de origine Turrenorum, Catonem, in fragmentis, Archilocum, Methastenem, Philonem, Xenophontem, de æquivocis, Sempronium, Fabium Pictorem, et Antoninum Pium, in fragmento itinerarii, coimprimendos efflagitanter desiderassent. Avarissimum est genus hominum, quod si librum (librum dico inventu rarum) trium aut quatuor versiculorum habeat (more formicarum Indiæ, necnon griforum, qui aurum penitus egestum cum summa pernicie attingentium custodire feruntur), continuo abstractum servat, cathenis et compedibus captivum et misellum prorsus incarcerat. Tale genus potius cum huiusmodi et formicis et grifis, quod et alii grifibus declinant, curiosam et avaram illam singularis alicuius sibi habendi cupiditatem exercere, quam cum hominibus inhumanitatem, quod et melius forte dixerim immunitatem, habere deberet. Non solum nobis nati sumus, debemur et amicis, debemur et patriæ. Igitur ne ardentis lucernæ clarissimum lumen opprimere velle videar, sub nomine tuo, Philiberte, civium Bituricorum ornatissime, gratiusculum reipublicæ factum opinor daturus Berosianam antiquitatem cum aliis authoribus nominatim præscriptis in apertum, et studium omnibus commune iam libentius emitto. Vale.

Parrhisiis, apud collegium Plesseiacum, 6 nonas maias 1510.

CIVIS.

O

Godofredus Torinus Bituricus ornatissimos Philibertum Baboum et Ioannem Alemanum Iuniorem, cives Bituricos, pari inter se amicitia conjunctissimos, salutat.

Debentur vobis, viri singulari virtute plenissimi, omnes quos et noctu et interdiu assumere possum (etiam de industria) labores. Ecce. Quia moribus antiquis, id est honestis et vere bonis, haud mediocriter utimini et gaudetis, Probum Valerium scripturarum antiquarum et abbreviationum quæ in numismatis, sepulchris et tabellis antiquitus perbelle consignabantur, diligentissimum coacervatorem certissimumque explanatorem, sub vestro mihi semper amando nomine, lubens ut vel tantillum reipublicæ valeam prodesse, caracteribus et impressioni, cum nostra utinam tam felici quam diligenti recognitiuncula, trado. Sinite, quæso, authorem perquam singularem primum in vestras omnem ad virtutem aptissimas, deinde studiosorum omnium aliorum manus, commode iam et festiviter exire. Valete.

Parrhisiis, apud collegium Plesseiacum, 6 idus maias 1510.

CIVIS.

P

Godofredus Torinus Bituricus lectori salutem.

A quo tempore Probum Valerium imprimere bonis, ut reor, avibus incœpi, ne liber unius aut duorum codicum enchiridio minus aptus exiret, pluscula scitu non indigna coimprimere venit in mentem. Tractatum de ponderibus et mensuris, ex Prisciano; item, quemadmodum datæ formæ agrorum metiri debeant, ex Columella; similiter figuras quæ sub dimensionem cadant, ex Georgio Valla; dialogos etiam aliquot cum ænigmatis, ex diversis authoribus diligenter pro tempore collectis, superaddimus. Ænigmata consulto reliquimus inenarrata, ut tibi legenti (quod ait Gel. in 12 libro, cap. 6) coniecturas in requirendo acueres. Da, precor (bone lector), operam, ne tibi, quod etiam ænigmatice Plautus in Milite ait: Glaucoma ob oculos obiecerim. Vale.

Q

Dialogus per Godofredum Torinum, in quo urbs Biturica, sub loquente persona, describitur.

Interlocutores: MONITOR *et* URBS.

MON. Urbs, tibi quod nomen?

BIT. Biturix.

MON. Tu dic age quodnam
Hæc sibi quæ video tecta superba
volunt?

BIT. Templa, domos, turres, divina palatia
spectas.

MON. Hercle! suis cœlos molibus exuperant.
Hæc quæ templa, precor?

BIT. Stephani protomartiris, ipsa
Quæ Triviæ excedunt marmora celsa
deæ.

MON. Quæ domus illa rubris excellens
cordibus una,
Memnonis anne ipsa est ædificata manu?

BIT. Hanc Iacobus homo Cordatus condidit
olim,
Dives opum; nobis quem abstulit invidia.

MON. Arcibus hæc Phariis quæ maior cernitur,
heus tu!
Quæ turris? miror cum satis aspicio.

BIT. Celtarum populos regeret cum maximus
ille
Ambigatus, quondam condita tanta fuit.

MON. Dic, ea, dic, palatia sunt Capitolia
nunquid
Aurea? Responde, quid retices,
Biturix?
Non loqueris facili quæ[557] iam
sermone loquuta es,
Hic mihi vis fieri quod fuit
Harpocrates?

BIT. Non, ea sed tanta (videas) sunt arte
probanda,
Talia quod totus non tulit orbis adhuc.

MON. Terra quid hæc tanto quæ se distendit
hiatu?

BIT. Est ubi turris erat constituenda mihi.

MON. Altera nonne tibi quanta est hæc?

BIT. Altera tanta.
Turribus a binis inde vocor Biturix.

MON. Nomine quo fertur nostro hoc sub
tempore?

BIT. Fossam
Vulgus arenarum dictitat et vocitat.

MON. Quis tibi, quis fluvius memorandus?

BIT. Avaricum.

MON. An ille est
Quem memorat Cæsar Gallica bella
notans?

BIT. Ille est.

MON. Sunt alii?

BIT. Duo sunt: sunt Ultrio et ipsa
Innumeris pregnans Hebrya pisciculis.

MON. Quæ tibi sunt dotes?

BIT. Omnis veneranda facultas
Est mihi quæ nummos cudit et aula
novos.

MON. Nil aliud quicquam est?

BIT. Aquitania primam
Me vocat, et leges accipit ipsa meas.

MON. Numina quæ tecum?

BIT. Sunt Juno, Jupiter et Pan,
Vesta, Diana, Ceres, Liber et ipse
pater.

R

Godofredus Torinus Bituricus Philiberto Baboo et Ioanni Alemano Iuniori, viris ornatissimis, S. P. D.

Maiores nostros sua probitate contentos modum suum ædificandi parva cum arte et elegantia quondam exercuisse (viri singulari virtute cumulatissimi) nemo est qui nesciat. Contenit siquidem ipsa mediocritate, domos et habitacula magno sine luxu et splendore construebant et inhabitabant. Eo tandem est perventum, ut ingeniis plusculum iam expergefactis fiant et adstruantur ædificia passim non incelebria. Nempe ab illo tempore quo magnanimus ille Rex, totius Italiæ terror, Carolus Octavus, non sine magna gloria victor Neapoli rediit, ars ipsa ædificandi sane quamvenusta, Dorica et Ionica, item Italica, totam hic apud Galliam exerceri cœpit bellissime. Ambasiæ, Gallioni, Turoniæ, Blesis, Parrhisiis et aliis centum nobilibus locis, publice et private conspicua iam ædificia cernere licet antiqualia. Licet, inquam, adeo nitida et ad unguem exculpta dispicere multa, ut non modo Italos, imo Dores et Iones, Italorum magistros, ipsi Galli vincere videantur et iudicentur manifestissime. Rebus huiusmodi et ingeniis tam excellenter florentibus optimum esse duxi rem admodum utilem non ingratus obferre, diligensque superaddere, Leo Baptista Albertus, author in architectura et familiaris et luculentus, apud me quasi sopitus delitescebat.

Visus est dignissimus qui tempestive iam pro claris et melioribus ingeniis oblectandis et adiuvandis in Gallia daretur impressioni. Dignissimus, inquam, visus est mihi, et eo maxime, quod et libri ipsi decem, quibus totum opus constat, per capita sunt distincti. Ipsa capita vir bonis literis eruditus Robertus Duræus Fortunatus, meus apud suum collegium Plesseiacum Parrhisiis quatuor annos quibus docebam olim primarius, accurate et diligenter digessit, mihi exscribenda non gravate dono dedit. Exscripsi opusque totum, insuper elimavi, mendis quamplurimis defecavi, succum textus in margine transcripsi, chalcographo imprimendum dedi. Sinite, oro, viri Biturigum celeberrimi, opus egregium in bonorum omnium ingeniorum et studiosorum manus sub nomine vestro mihi semper excolendo fœliciter exire haberi, legi.

Valete patriæ columina et ornamenta speciosissima.

Parrhisiis, e regione collegii Coqueretici, XV kal. septembris M. D. xij.

CIVIS.

Leonis Baptistæ Alberti Florentini, viri clarissimi, de re ædificatoria opus elegantissimum et quammaxime utile, accuratissime Parisius in Sole Aureo vici Divi Jacobi impræssum, opera magistri Bertholdi Rembolt et Ludovici Hornken, in eodem vico ad intersignium Trium Coronarum, e regione Divi Benedicti commoran. Anno Domini M. D. XII, die vero xxiii Augusti.

S

Godofredus Torinus Bituricus Philiberto Baboo, viro modestissimo, S. P. D.

Itinerarium multis iam annis, vir ornatissime, situ propemodum obsitum, quum ab amico michi semper excolendo Christophoro Longuolio, viro sine controversia studiorum omnium bonorum excellentissimo, iam ab hinc quatuor annos commodo primum exscribendum accepissem, unum tibi manu mea scriptum, forma quidem non usque quaque ineptum, ad te ex Parrhisiis in Turoniam mittere venerat in mentem. Viro cuius etiam nomini lubens parco ad te dederam portandum; verum ipse alii nescio cui, te, me, et sua fide posthabitis, satis impudenter dono dedit. Labore meo sic ego frustratus, alterum tibi conscribere maturabam, nisi ipse Longuolius, qui exemplar iam olim ex Morinis adportaverat, et michi, ut dixi, commodo dederat, nuper ex Pictavis Parrhisios adveniens, monuisset imprimendum curarem. Curavi equidem, nominibus opidorum seiunctim et seriatim coordinatis, additis etiam suo loco plusculis aliter in altero exemplari scriptis. Feci et indicem, quo facillime quodcumque opidi et loci nomen in toto opere disquiri possit. Mirabitur fortassis aliquis ipsius operis stilum, interdum etiam nonnullis in locis latinitatem. Stilum ipsum satis laudabit studiosus; latinitatem vero antiquæ illi ætati lector non malivolus condonabit. Multa subemendassem Ptholomeo, Strabone, Dionysio, Mela, Plinio, Solino et authoribus aliis aliquot non omnino aspernandis usus, sed et authori augusto reverentiam, et exemplari admodum vetusto synceritatem observans, nichil immutare volui, Longuolii mei in aliud tempus studia vigilantissima, vel alicujus Hermolai limam exactissimam expectans. Unum est quod hic tangere non verebor, authoris nomen in exemplari fuisse meo judicio imperfectum (nam et Antoninus Augustus inscribitur). Ab Hermolao, viro alioqui nitido, Antoninus multis in

locis apud suas in Plinium castigationes allegatur. Viderint qui legent. In textu exemplar ipsum secutus sum. In inscriptione libri Hermolaum sum imitatus. Laborem meum quantulumcumque tibi (ut debeo), animo nequaquam ingrato, nuncupatim dico. Suscipe, oro, qua fronte et optima quæque soles, et permitte studiosissimorum quemque per insignes mille urbes, te duce, cum hoc itinerario venire. Vale, studiorum meorum succollator humanissime.

Parrhisiis, e regione collegii Coqueretici, 14 calendas septembris 1512.

CIVIS.

T

Torinus lectori salutem.

Quo melius hoc Itinerario, iucunde lector, possis uti, admonendus es quæcumque virgula miniacea notata deprehendes ea plura fuisse apud vetus exemplar quam in altero recenti; quæ autem in ipso recenti diversa legebantur minutula litera et ipsa quidem rubra suis locis sunt super impressa. Quandocumque hujus modi signum ʌ interlegendum occurret, dictio vel numerus eodem signo supra vel juxta notatus esse debet. Ilud etiam in textu multis in locis hoc modo scriptum mpm. significat milia plus minus. Scriptum est autem sic ne tam frequens et longula repetitio lectorem tedio afficeret. In indice nonnumquam b. literam solam, post vel inter chartarum numeros, invenies: ea significat dictionem ipsam bis ad minimum eadem in charta posse inveniri. Vide ergo, et gratus attende, quod si quos hanc nostram diligentiam non amare videas, Persianum illis hoc apud te dicas: 'Virtutem ut videant, intabescantque relicta.' Hoc ideo scribo quoniam inter imprimendum

quidam nichil tale intelligentes de more damnabant.

Vale et vive diu fœlix.

CIVIS.

U

Gerardi Versellani Burgundi carmen hendecasyllabon in malos impressores.

Ergo hinc ergo procul manus profanæ
Vulgi chalcographon inauspicati,
Impuræque operæ procul facessant,
Ne interdicto aditu improbaque fronte
Res spurcetur et inquinetur alma.
Ne quis nesciat: hoc sacrum est volumen.

Heu chalcographi mali et miselli,
Nullas ne scholicas quidem aut aniles
Nugellas dare formulis periti,
Quid sanctas male taminatis artes,
Incestaque manu novem Sororum
Funestatis opes laboriosas?

Quid non promitis ita ab officina
Illuc projicier fodique dignum
Quo ventris retrimenta deferuntur?

Ergo hinc ergo procul profani abite,
Vos, o chalcographi mali et miselli!
Sit dictum satis: hoc sacrum est volumen
Quod noster Godofredus, ille noster,
Ille, inquam, Biturix, Pii misertus,
Lethæa carie eruit sepultum,
Ductu Longuolii sui atque ope usus.

V

Torinus lectori felicitatem.

Hasce plusculas recognitiones, lector optime, oro non admirare. Sic eas ab exemplari vetere diversas collegi, ut tibi non pigra manu librum emendare possis. Errores chalcographis imponerem; sed ars ipsa prelaria suopte more hoc in se habet, ut ne libellus quidem sine aliqua menda prorsus imprimi possit. Vale.

Ad studiosum Epigramma per Torinum.

Oppida si centum, centum si sedulus urbes
Certo cum spacio, lector, adire paras,
Centena portus si cum statione marinos
Excupis, et recta doctior ire via,
Hunc tibi comprimis habilem studiose libellum
In dextra gratus semper habeto manu.

W

Torinus ad Librum.

I, Liber, ad vatum penetralia sacra piorum;
Es facilis, tersus, candidus, atque probus.
Exornatus habes nardosque, rosasque, crocosque,
Cum Phœbo et latias numina grata Deas.
Ne vereare Deos tecum vectare faventes,
Spirantem lauros te super astra ferent.

Agnes Torina, virguncularum modestissima suavissimaque, de tumulo viatorem alloquitur.

Qui levibus transis pedibus, dilecte viator,
Siste parum; ecce, tibi dicere pauca libet.

Vive memor leti, viciis abstersus, et illam
Spem tibi vivendi, si sapis, abjicito.
Ore nites hodie pulchro, sed stamine secto
Protinus in nihilum te impia Parca rapit.
Hoc experta scio, quoniam virguncula nuper
Annos nata decem rapta repente fui.
Ut rosa florebam sociis virtutibus illis
Quæ cerni in tenera virginitate solent.
Sed tamen interii crudelibus obruta fatis,
Iam data carnivoris vermibus esca meis.
Vermibus esca meis iaceo data, non tamen usque
Usque adeo exanguis quin tibi vera loquar.
Ore loquor latio, nec mirum, candide amice,
Filia nam vatis sum memoranda pii.
Imbutam ausonia cupiens me reddere lingua
Artibus et pariter me decorare bonis,
Nocte dieque docens, pater ut charissimus, ipse
Fundamenta mihi dulcia et ampla dabat.
Docta forem celebres nimirum amplexa camænas,
Et canerem blandis carmina pulchra modis.
Oscula chara mihi genitor meus inde dedisset,
Imponens capiti laurea serta meo.
O miseras hominum sortes! O vota caduca!
In terris nihil est quod solidum esse queat.
Non solum miseris mortalibus obvia mors est,
Sed tacito insidians clam subit ilia pede.
Ah! caveas igitur, caveas moriture, profecto
Omnia sub modico tempore lapsa ruunt.
Tu dum vivis adhuc, magnos dum quæris honores,

Instabili[558] et rapide pergis obire gradu.
Si contentus abis hoc uno denique certo
Consilio, et tu me dicere vera putas,
Sparge mihi flores, violas et lilia, nardos;
Funde preces etiam, si placet, et lachrymas.
Me facies superum precibus conscendere ad axem,
Lux ubi perpetua est, pax et amœna quies.
Hoc erat exiguum quod ego te scire volebam,
Vive memor leti, mox periture. Vale.

Obiit ubi erat nata, Parisiis, xxv augusti,
anno Do[mini] M.D.XXII.

Vixit annos novem, menses undecim, dies fere triginta. Horas scit nemo. Momenta solus novit Deus.

PATER *et* FILIA *collocutores*.

P. Vermibus esca iaces, charissima filia! tu me
Linquis in assiduis fletibus et lachrymis.

F. Chare pater! lachrymis parcas et fletibus, actum
Est de me. Iuvenes mors rapit atque senes.

P. Parcere non possum diris nec planctibus. Eia!
Debueram in mortem iustius ire prior.

F. Sic fore non placuit fatis cœlestibus. Ad me,
Crede mihi, certo funere tu venies.

P. Interea manibus violas et lilia plenis
Ad tua demissa fronte sepulchra feram.

F. Adde preces, precibus supera ad convexa volabo:
Astra piæ faciunt scandere celsa preces.

P. Est ut ais, tu gnata etiam pro patre precare,
Scilicet ut tecum sidera læta petat.

F. Sidera læta petes curis exemptus amaris,
Omnibus et mentis sordibus expositis.

P. Vera mones, et sic faciam. Deus optimus ad se
Te vocet in cœlum. Filia chara, vale.

P. Eia, mea dulcis anima, defuncta es.

F. Euge, pater. Nemo immortalis.

Disticha duodecim urnæ faciebus separatim inscribenda.

In prima facie.

Vis flores! violas! Vis lilia! serta! cyperos!
Hæc tibi, sume libens, fictilis urna dabit.

In secunda.

Hac Agnes defuncta iacet virguncula in urna,
In cuius medio spirat amœnus odos.

In III.

Hic locus, hic et Amor, Ludus, Virtus quoque,

et ipsæ
Cum Musis Charites suntque sedentque
Deæ.

In IIII.

Hac amaracus inest urna, redolensque
cyperus,
Insunt et violæ, lilia, serta, rosæ.

In V.

Non iacet hic Agnes virguncula sola, sed ipsæ
Cum Phœbo Clariæ suntque sedentque
Deæ.

In VI.

Bracteolas gemmis iunctas viridesque lapillos
Hæc cum perpetuis floribus urna fovet.

In VII.

Vis et amas urnam Agnetis cognoscere?
Cerne,
Laurus ubi excellens alta sub astra viret.

In VIII.

Hic defuncta iacet virgo memorabilis Agnes,
Quæ faciles tenero iam dabat ore modos.

In IX.

Annos nata decem iacet hic virguncula vates,
Carminis ingenui et virginitatis honor.

In X.

Si petis Agnetis cineres cognoscere certos,
Hic sunt, ne dubita credere, certus habes.

In XI.

Vis Phœbum et Musas modulis cum dulcibus ipsas?
Hanc subeas urnam, protinus invenies.

In XII.

Succrescens vates, teneris defuncta sub annis,
Hic cum laurigera virginitate iacet.

MONITOR *et* AGNES *collocutores*.

M. Dic mihi pauca, precor, vates virguncula?

A. Dicam.
Dummodo pauca roges.

M. Pauca rogabo.

A. Roga.

M. Quæ tibi defunctæ mens?

A. Aurea.

M. Quid tibi corpus?

A. Pulvereum.

M. Quisnam spiritus?

A. Æthereus.

M. Sufficit, alma quies tibi sit cum pace

perennis.

A. Et tibi viventi dulcis et ampla salus.

Disticha de lauro prope tumulum et urnam Agnetis in tabellis scriptis pendentia.

In prima tabella.

Hic iacet eximiæ vates virtutis imago,
Naturæ specimen nobile et egregium.

In secunda.

Hic confracta iacent pharetris languentibus arma,
Quæ quondam ingenuus ferre solebat Amor.

In III.

Unio, chrystallus, magnes, viridisque smaragdus,
Hic cum virginea vate iacente nitent.

In IIII.

Hic ver perpetuum vario cum flore virescet,
Dum carpenta micans aurea Phœbus aget.

In V.

Hic Decor et Ludus, Risusque, Iocusque, quiescunt,
Hic cum laurigera est virgine inermis Amor.

In VI.

Hac conclusus inest media thesaurus in urna;
Ne tangas, gemmæ sunt simul innumeræ.

In VII.

Dum radiis Phœbus cœlestia templa replebit,
Hic violæ et flores, his et anetus erunt.

In VIII.

Hic Amor, et Ludus, Risusque, Iocusque,
Leposque,
Hic Musæ et Charites, hic et Apollo sedent.

In IX.

Hic cum mellifluis habitat virguncula Musis,
Acceptura decus perpetuumque melos.

In X.

Sponte sua tellus amaracina secta refundens
Hic viret, et verno rore benigna madet.

In XI.

Hic violæ, hic flores, hic lilia, serta, coronæ,
Sponte sua increscunt, sponte suaque
virent.

In XII.

Hic sua signa manu Genius difringit acerba,
Naturæ specimen dum periisse videt.

MONITOR *et* VIRGINITAS *collocutores*.

M. Heus tu quæ roseo es virgo spectabilis ore,
Quid facis hic lachrymans anxia tota?

V. Gemo.

M. Quæ causa est gemitus?

V. Agnes virguncula, cuius
Hæc prope me cineres fictilis urna tenet.

M. Unde meis tam suavis odos est naribus?

V. Urna
De media, Charites quem posuere Deæ.

M. Quid posuere?

V. Rosas et cinnama, balsama, nardos,
Flores et violas, lilia, serta, crocos.

M. An amaracus inest etiam cum stacte
cyperus?

V. Omnis inest redolens herba et amænus
odor.

M. Urna gerit viridem pulchre insignita
coronam?

V. Ut decet et par est, laurea serta gerit.

M. Quæ ratio?

V. Musas in se comprendit ovantes,
Quæ teneræ cantant virginis exequias.

M. An solæ recinunt?

V. Solæ non. Phœbus Apollo

In medio modulans mystica sacra fovet.

M. Quid tibi vis igitur, virgo suavissima, tanto
Cum gemitu, et superi te prope dulce
canunt?

V. Vera tibi dicam, nequeo non flere libenter,
Tam fuit egregio nobilis ingenio.
Annos nata decem, patris præcepta secuta,
Iam facilis vates carmen ab ore dabat.

M. Tu mihi naturæ miracula grandia narras!

V. Hisce nihil terris verius esse potest.

M. Qui sunt quos video stantes?

V. Ludus, locus, inde
Gestus, Honor, Virtus et genialis Amor.

M. Arma iacent urnam circum quamplurima
fracta?

V. Ipsi gestabant integriora Dei.

M. Quid facient fractis olim sic omnibus illis?

V. Cum planctu et lachrymis assiduos
gemitus.

M. Tune etiam flebis?

V. Flebo mœstissima semper.

M. Nomen habes?

V. Habeo.

M. Quid tibi?

V. Virginitas.

M. Chara, vale.

V. Valeas, Monitor charissime, et huius
Egregiæ quondam virginis esto memor.

MONITOR *et* AGNES *collocutores*.

M. Parva iacens vates celebri dignissima
laude,
Sum potis his tecum dicere pauca?

A. Potis.

M. Hanc tibi quis struxit gemmis insignibus
urnam?

A. Quis? Meus in tali nobilis arte pater.

M. Excellens certe est figulus genitor tuus.

A. Artes
Quottidie tractat sedulus ingenuas.

M. Anne etiam scribit modulos et carmina?

A. Scribit.
Dulcibus et verbis hæc mea fata beat.

M. Ipsius est nimirum hominis solertia mira?

A. Tam celebrem regio vix tulit ulla virum.

M. O tali virgo felix genitore!

A. Profecto.
Ipse etiam nomen tollit inastra meum.

M. Audio concentus.

A. Clariæ modulamina Musæ
Cum Phœbo hic mecum nocte dieque
canunt.

M. Te prope conspicio Charites?

A. Mihi serta ministrant.

M. Unde legunt violas?

A. Collibus Elysiis.

M. Sunt alii tecum?

A. Sunt et tria numina.

M. Quænam?

A. Ludus, Amor, Monitor candide, et inde
Iocus.

M. Quid faciunt?

A. Holocausta mihi divina reponunt,
Et solitos implent fomite et igne focos.

M. Es Dea de superis iamdudum sedibus una?

A. De superis fio sedibus una Dea.

M. Si Dea, cur charos in cœlica regna
parentes
Scandere non curas?

A. Scandet uterque parens.

M. Sed quando?

A. Quando certe sua fata videbunt
Esse opus. Ex fatis stat sua cuique dies.

M. Stat sua cuique dies ergo certissima?

A. Cuique
Eveniunt certo fata suprema die.

M. Interea genitor tuus et tua mater in hisce
Quid facient terris?

A. Quid? Pia, sacra, preces.

M. Postea quid fiet?

A. Cœlestia templa beati,
Æthereo et supero patre favente, petent.

M. In mea iam redeo tractanda negocia.

A. Quando
Nempe voles; felix vive, et amice vale.

M. Tu quoque cum superis habita cœlestibus
ut mens
Ætherea, ut sidus nobile, ut alma Dea.

GENIUS *et* VIATOR *collocutores*.

G. Siste parum, ulterius, quæso, nec tende
viator,
Hanc urnam et tumulum quin prius
aspicias.

V. Quis tu?

G. Sum Genius.

V. Quid vis tibi?

G. Pauca vicissim
Hic cupio tecum dicere, amice.

V. Placet.

G. Virgineam vatem fatis crudelibus haustam

Aspice ut hæc in se fictilis urna tenet!

V. Annos quot vixit?

G. Bis quinque.

V. Canebat et ilia
Docta modos?

G. Sic est.

V. Tu mihi mira canis.

G. Scribebat dulci genialia carmina versu,
Sponte sua modulans, sponte suapte
canens.

V. Naturae o rarum decus! o manifesta
Deorum
Gloria, quod vates ilia tenella foret?

G. Carmen erat quicquid casu proferre
volebat,
Quicquid et optabat dicere carmen erat.

V. Unde illi tantæ frugis veniebat origo?

G. Sedibus a superis, unde venire solet.

V. Ut divina igitur versus faciebat amœnos?

G. Ut divina, sui et iussa secuta patris.

V. Illius an etiam genitor modulamina
tractat?

G. Tractat, et est vates candidus atque
probus.
Est probus et facilis, tersus, florensque,

decensque.
Est quem divino carmine Musa beat.

V. Mecenate aliquo certe dignissimus ille est.

G. Mecenas Franco rarus in orbe viget.
Nemo hodie ingenuas donis conformibus artes
Aut fovet, aut ulla sorte fovere parat.
Non est in pretio probitas, nec candida virtus.
Infelix adeo regnat Avaricia.
Fraus, dolus et vitium prestant; virtutibus omne
Postpositis miserum serpit ubique nephas.

V. Quid facit ille igitur Musis excultus amœnis?

G. In propria gaudet vivere posse domo.

V. Ad reges alacri deberet tendere passu.

G. Non curat, quoniam libera corda gerit.
Isti nonnunquam gaudent spectare potentes
Carmina, sed quid tum: nictibus illa beant.
Deberent gemmis auroque rependere puro
Aurea de superis carmina ducta polis.
Sed potius fatuis, nebulonibus atque prophanis
Contribuunt stulti grandia dona leves.

V. Ille suam natam studiis ornabat honestis?

G. Ornabat studiis, artibus atque bonis,

V. An quoque et illa libens patris præcepta
tenebat?

G. Nil magis optabat quam patris ora sequi.

V. O quam grandis honor patriæque patrique
fuisset
Integra si vitæ munia adepta foret!

G. Nimirum Francis in sedibus illa puellas
Ante omneis alias gloria prima foret.
Insignis facie, vultu formosa modesto,
Moribus et dictis aurea tota bonis.
Ad se corda hominum, iuvenumque,
senumque trahebat
In sua constanti vota sequenda fide.

V. Mira mihi dicis?

G. Dico tibi vera, viator.
Ingenuæ speculum nobilitatis erat.

V. O nimis immensus dolor! o dolor asper et
angor!
Tam rapido talem posse perire gradu!
Quid pater interea faciet?

G. Mœstissimus ipse
Cordolium et lachrymas perferet
assiduas.

V. Ille preces melius superis cœlestibus
amplas
Funderet et precibus iungeret exequias.

G. Exequias precibus iungitque fovetque
perennes,
Implet et assuetos fomite et ignefocos.

V. O tam plausibili virguncula digna parente!
O etiam tali stirpe beate pater!

G. Illa modo lætis in nubibus alma refulget,
Ut jubar exortum, sidus ut aureolum.

V. Æthereis fulgens in sedibus illa triumphet,
Et patrem secum filia grata trahat.

G. In rem vade tuam, si vis modo abire, viator:
Hæc sunt quæ volui dicere. Amice, vale.

V. Sis felix tumuli custos, urnæque retector;
In rem vado meam sedulus et properus.

Impressum Parrhisiis, e regione scholæ Decretorum, anno Do[mini] M.D.XXIII, die xv mensis febr.

X

Godofredus Torinus Biturigicus lectori candido s(alutem).

Egregii quidam sunt felici hoc seculo pictores, lector humanissime, qui suis lineamentis, picturis et variis coloribus deos gentilitios et homines, itemque alias res quascunque adeo exacte depingunt, ut illis vox et anima deesse tantummodo videatur; sed ecce, lector humanissime, ego iam tibi illorum propemodum more, domum offero, non solum suis lineamentis et partibus elegantem et absolutam, sed etiam pulchre loquentem et encomio sese particulatim describentem. Offero etiam tibi septem Epitaphia antiquo more et sermone veterrimo conficta et conscripta, varios miserorum hominum amantum affectus pervio quodam modo ostendentia. Ipsa tibi

(inquam) lubens offero, non ut ita verbis obsitis loquaris aut scribas, sed ut antiquitatem ipsam tibi ante oculos tuos faciles et iucundissimos habeas, et te a me benemonitum intelligas, ut in amoris insani laqueos et angustias devenire caveas. Vale.

Y

Gotofredus Torinus Biturigicus ad reginam Leonoram.

Pergimus hunc, Leonora, tuum celebrare triumphum,
Quem tibi Parrhisii contribuere tui.
Tam pia tu nobis extas regina quod omnes
Dicere te veram possumus esse DEAM.
Esse DEAM sane te dicere possumus almam,
Quum nos optata denique pace beas.
Pace beas omneis qui Gallica regna frequentant,
Fata adeo nutu te statuere bono.
Ut proba, sancta etiam, clemens, et vera beatrix,
Adduxti patriæ Lilla nostra suæ.
Vis dicam paucis, et verum proloquar, in te
Omnibus est nobis publica et ampla salus.

Idem ad eandem.

Di, Leonora, tibi felicia Fata perennent;
Lætitia es nobis, Pax, et amœna Quies.

Idem Torinus ad Gentem Gallicam.

Exulta et lætare simul, gens Gallica, cernis
Quas tibi delicias iam Leonora facit.
Ipsa, Dei (credas) manifesto numine missa,
Te facit egregia denique pace frui.

Sparge rosas, lauros, violas, nardumque,
crocumque,
Et genio indulge tota iocosa tuo.
Sed videas etiam ne tu gens optima cesses
Ante Deum laudes accumulare pias;
Si canis usque Deo laudes, et phana
frequentas,
(Crede mihi), pacis commoda longa feres;
Aurea sub facili spectabis secula cœlo,
De terra et felix aurea farra metes.
Adde quod et pariter fies gens aurea tota.
Perge igitur summo sacra iterare Deo.

Z

Ludovica, regia mater, suam Galliam alloquitur et consolatur, Go. Torino Bit. scribente.

Gallia, quid de me luges mæstissima? nescis
Quod genus omne hominum morte perire
solet?
Respira, et tecum expende ut te provida ab
atris
Hostibus et diris casibus eripui.
Linquo tibi gnatum cœlesti numine regem,
In pulchra qui te, me duce, pace fovet.
Te penes in gremio lætus sua pignora cernit,
Orbem quæ totum sub tua sceptra dabunt.
Reginam virtutis habes et pacis alumnam,
Sidere felici quæ tua fata beat.
Altera et una tibi est etiam regina sacrati
Quæ soror est regis et benesuada tui.
Principibus tantis non est tibi, chara,
gemendum,
Gallia! tu felix talibus es ducibus.
Ipsa ego te prorsus moriens non desero,
nanque

Immortale meum tu modo nomen habes.
Semper apud superum pro te devota
Tonantem
Orabo, ut victrix et generosa regas.
Sparge mihi lauros, violas, nardosque
crocosque;
Stracte (*sic*) etiam flores, lilia, serta, rosas;
His super adiungas summiscum laudibus
hymnos,
Exequias, modulos, thura sabea, preces.
Aras ne dubita mihi tendere. Nam, Dea ut
alma
In cœlos pergo ianque volare. Vale.



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NO. 288

FOOTNOTES:

[1] This term, which is wrongfully used in printing today to denote all majuscules, was formerly employed only for the initial letters of *chapters*. It was in this sense that Schoeffer used it when he said, in 1457, that his Psalter was *venustate capitalium distinctus* [distinguished by the beauty of its capitals]; also Chevillier, when he wrote in the *Origine de l'Imprimerie de Paris* (page 32), that the books of the first printers of Paris had no 'capitals,'

the chapter initials being left blank, to be made by the illuminators. M. Crapelet, taking the word in its present meaning, concluded therefrom that the books of Gering and his associates were without majuscules; and he thereupon attributes the introduction of roman letters in Paris to Josse Bade, in the sixteenth century, but he is altogether wrong.

[2] [*Criblé*, lit. sifted.]

[3] I retain the phraseology of the first edition of my book, published in 1856; but the fact is that, thanks to that publication, Tory is no longer in the same plight. His books have become formidable rivals to those of Vostre, Vérard, etc. One of his Books of Hours sold recently for more than 3000 francs. [Note to 2d edition, 1865.]

[4] See *La Biographie Universelle*, article 'Tory,' by M. Weiss, City Librarian of Besançon.

[5] See my book, entitled: *De l'Origine et des Débuts de l'Imprimerie en Europe*; 2 vols., 8vo, 1853.

[6] In the imprint of the *Mer des Histoires*, 2 vols., folio, completed in 1488 (1489, new style), we read: '*Imprimee par Maistre Pierre le Rouge, libraire et imprimeur du Roy*'; but he assumed the latter title only once, and in my opinion it was the result of a misapprehension. He seems in fact to have been king's bookseller only; at all events he assumes that title in the *Heures à l'Usage de Rome*, which he published in 1491. In any case, his assumption of the title does not prove that he received royal letters patent, as all the other printers did, as we shall see later.

[7] Tory also essayed a reform in Latin orthography, but it was less happily conceived, and did not succeed.

[8] Alas! since this preface was first printed, we have had the misfortune to lose the eminent artist whom I have named. [Note to 2d edition.]

[9] I write these two names as our artist himself wrote them; but it is a well-known fact that the orthography of proper names in the sixteenth century was very uncertain. As to the family name especially, Geofroy's ancestors and descendants wrote it indifferently *Toury*, *Tory*, and *Thory*; but Geofroy never varied: he always wrote *Tory* in French, *Torinus* in Latin (which should, strictly speaking, be translated *Torin*). See further, on this subject, Appendix A.

[10] *Champ fleury*, fol. 1 verso: 'Combiem [*sic*] que ie soye de petitz & humbles parēs, & aussi que ie soye pouure de biens caduques.'

[11] See Part 2, infra, Bibliography, § I, no. 3.

[12] He mentions it on every page of his *Champ fleury*.

[13] We read in *Champ fleury*, fol. 49 verso: 'Come lexposent tresingenieusemē & elegātemēt Philipes Beroal & Jehan baptiste le piteable, q̄ iay veuz & ouyz lire publiquemt, il ya. xx. ans, en Bonoigne la grace.' *Champ fleury* was conceived in 1524, but was not finished until 1526, the date of the license to print.

[14] See *Champ fleury*, fol. 6 recto.

[15] As to Gourmont's Greek type, see my *Les Estienne*, pp. 62 ff.

[16] Doubtless we should read IV (December 2), for there is no VI of the Nones of December.

[17] See the description of the book in Part 2, § I, no. 1.

[18] [The modern Bourges.]

[19] Enea Silvio Piccolomini, commonly called Æneas Sylvius. See Part 2, § I, no. 2.

[20] Germain de Gannay, Ganaye, or Gannaye, son of Nicolas and brother of Jean, Chancellor of France, had become a counsellor in the Parliament of Paris, on the resignation of Jean Jouvenel des Ursins, by letters patent of 1485; appointed Bishop of Cahors, by royal letters issued at Vienne in Dauphiné, August 14, 1509, in opposition to Guy de Châteauneuf, who was chosen by election but yielded his claim to him, he was consecrated May 4, 1511. In 1512 he inherited the property of his brother the Chancellor, and did homage for the seigniory of Persan on June 18. He was translated to the bishopric of Orléans in 1514, and died in 1520.

[21] October 2.

[22] See Part 2, § I, no. 3.

[23] Ibid. no. 4.

[24] See my *Les Estienne*, pp. 62 ff.

[25] See Part 2, § I, no. 5.

[26] For Latin text, see Appendix X, *a*.

[27] See Part 2, § I, no. 6.

[28] One of the three editions of Berosus bears that date, but our artist probably had nothing to do with that edition. [Note added by the author after the book had gone through the press.]

[29] Fol. 1 recto.

[30] This principal of the College of Plessis is here called Robertus Duræus Fortunatus. Du Boulay calls him simply Robertus Fortunatus, in his *Histoire de l'Université de Paris*, vol. vi. p.

159. Elsewhere he is called Dure (Duré?). In the index of the same volume, Du Boulay, under the name of Robertus Fortunatus, refers to a list of the principals of the College of Plessis, which he omitted to publish.

[31] See Part 2, § I, no. 7.

[32] *Biographie Universelle*, art. 'Tory.'

[33] See Part 2, § I, no. 8 (p. 70).

[34] *Histoire de l'Imprimerie*, p. 100: *Siste, viator,—et jacentes etiam artes colito.—Hic—Godofredus Torinus Bituricus,—ubique litteris librisque clarissimus,—qui—Parisiis multos per annos philosophiam—docuit maximo concursu,—in regio Burgundiæ collegio,—simulque artem exercuit typographicam,—novam tunc ac recentem brevi perpolitam—tamen reddidit.—Quisquis ad stadium animum applicas—et inde quæris immortalitatem,—præcipuo cultori prius apprecare.—Amen.*

[35] Fol. 49 recto.

[36] According to the *Biographie Universelle*, Tory joined the fraternity of booksellers in 1512; but I have found no evidence of this, and it seems to me most improbable.

[37] It was this sentence, no doubt, which gave birth to the idea that Tory was a bookseller at the same time that he was a professor; but it is evident that it refers to Tory's labours as an engraver, and not to bookselling or printing properly so called, as Tory did not become, successively, bookseller and printer, until later.

[38] *Champ fleury*, fol. 20 verso.

[39] Ibid. [Tory spells it 'Aurenges.']

[40] Ibid. fol. 19 verso.

[41] Ibid. and elsewhere.

[42] 'One may see many another example in the book of *Epitaphs of Ancient Rome*, which I saw printed at the time I sojourned in said Rome.' *Champ fleury*, fol. 41 recto. He refers to the same book again on folios 48 recto and 60 verso: 'In the book of *Epitaphs of Ancient Rome*, lately printed in said Rome, where I was then living.'

[43] This book is the oldest printed collection of inscriptions. Unfortunately, instead of being copied from the original monuments, which still existed at Rome in such great numbers, these inscriptions were simply reproduced from one of the manuscript collections which were to be found in the libraries and some of which were themselves very old. Mazochi's book had no sooner been published than the errors which had found their way into it began to be pointed out to the printer. He tried to correct them in a supplement which appeared in 1523, but his corrections did not extend to all the inscriptions, which might still have been restored by reference to the ancient monuments. A contemporary scholar, whose name is not known, undertook to continue these corrections on his printed copy, and his emendations were transferred to three other copies. These annotations impart great value to these four volumes in the eyes of epigraphists.

[44] During the first centuries of printing in France, all engravers were also booksellers.

[45] He has an article in the *Biographie Universelle*, however.

[46] *Champ fleury*, fol. 4 recto.

[47] We say *Basoche* to-day.

[48] *Champ fleury*, fol. 12 recto and verso.

[49] For the Latin text, see Appendix X, *b*.

[50] Ibid., *c*.

[51] See Appendix X, *d*.

[52] See Part 2, § I, no. 9.

[53] [Twelfth-day, or Epiphany.]

[54] Cicero says that he borrowed this maxim from Plato: *Ut præclare scriptum est Platone.*

[55] *Champ fleury*, fol. 1 recto.

[56] Ibid., verso of title-page.

[57] [As *Champ fleury* is not among the works cited by French lexicographers to illustrate the historical development of the language, we search in vain for adequate explanation of some of the terms used by Tory therein. Littré defines as follows such of these varieties of letters as he includes in his dictionary: CADEAUX: *Grandes lettres placées en têtes des actes ou des chapitres dans les manuscrits en écriture cursive.*—FORME: *Lettre de la belle écriture, des belles éditions, par opposition à la lettre cursive.*—BÂTARDE: *Écriture ordinairement penchée, à jambages pleins, à liaisons arrondies par le haut, et à tetes sans boucles.*—GOFFES: *Nom donné à une sorte de majuscules gothiques dans le commencement du XVI siècle.* See, also, for some of these alphabets, *Pantographia; Containing Accurate Copies of all the known Alphabets in the world*. By Edmund Fry. London, 1799.]

[58] See his introduction to Palsgrave's *Lesclaircissement de la langue françoise*. See also Appendix II.

[59] [*Escumeurs de latin.* Rabelais's word is *escorcher*, to flay.]

[60] One of the annotators of Rabelais (I do not now remember which one, but his name is of little consequence[62]) maintains that Tory

intended to criticize in that epistle the author of *Pantagruel*, who had introduced him in his romance under the name of Raminagrobis. There is but one little flaw in this story, namely, that the dates are against it: *Champ fleury* antedates *Pantagruel*, by several years. This fact, to be sure, does not prove that Rabelais did not make Tory a character in his work; but what foundation is there, I ask, for attributing the character of Raminagrobis to Tory? Simply the assertion of one of those seventeenth-century scribblers of marginal notes who lived on the great authors of the sixteenth as rats live on the most valuable manuscripts—by nibbling at them. What possible connection is there between Raminagrobis, canon and poet, whom Rabelais represents as dying about 1546, and Tory, layman and prose writer, who died twelve years earlier? Does it not remind one of the famous key to *Astrée*, of which I had occasion to prove, in my monograph upon the d'Urfés, that not a word was true? Almost the same course has been pursued with reference to the *Satire Menippée*, which has in our own day been ascribed to persons who would be greatly surprised, and far from proud of their alleged work. See what I had to say on this subject in the *Revue de la Province et de Paris* of September 30, 1842.

[61] *Champ fleury*, 'Aux Lecteurs.'

[62] It was Pasquier, I think, who first gave currency to this fable; and his opinion is the less admissible because he did not even know Tory's name, but calls him 'Georges Toré.' See Baillet, *Jugements des Savants*, vol. i, and Génin's introduction to Palsgrave, p. 10, note 4.

[63] *Champ fleury*, 'Aux Lecteurs.'

[64] Folio, Venice, 1509; with 62 plates engraved on wood.

[65] In his book entitled *Thesauro de' scrittori* (*Champ fleury*, fol. 35 recto). I have not seen this book, but I have seen his *Theorica et pratica ... de modo scribendi fabricandique omnes litterarum species* (Venice, Dec. 1, 1524; quarto). This work is divided into four books and contains engravings not unlike those in *Champ fleury*. M. Brunet mentions Fante's *Liber elementorum litterarum* (Venice, 1514; quarto), which probably was the foundation of the *Thesauro de' scrittori*, published by Ugo da Carpi.

[66] I do not know the title of his work, but I think that the reference is to the book thus described in the Libri catalogue of 1859: *La Operina da imparare discrivere littera cancellarescha. Roma, per invenzione di Lodovico Vicentino*, in quarto (1523). As for the variant spelling of the author's name, which Tory calls Vincentino, it is explainable; for we find in the Libri catalogue of 1857: *Ragola da imparare scrivere varii caratteri di lettere, di L. Vincentino*. (Venetia, Zoppino, 1533, in quarto.) I have also seen mentioned a work of the same sort entitled: *Regula occulte scribendi seu componendi cipharam itaquenemo litteras interpretari possit communes omnibus, inventa et composita a domino Jacobo Silvestro sive Florentino*. (Rome, 1526, quarto.)

[67] The doubt expressed by Tory is due to the fact that he was unable to read the text of Dürer's work, which was published in German in 1525. The Latin translation was not published until 1532, and the French still later.

[68] *Champ fleury*, fol. 13 recto.

[69] Ibid. fol. 14 recto.

[70] Ibid. fol. 41 verso.

[71] *Des Types*, etc., 2d part, 16th century, p. 166.

[72] *Champ fleury*, fol. 14 recto.

[73] It was the fashion, in that epoch of renascence, to treat everything allegorically. Tory was not the only one who propounded a theory to explain the shapes of letters.

[74] *Champ fleury*, fol. 24 recto.

[75] [And if any wonder why this book is written in Romance, according to the language of the French, when we are Italians, I will say that it is for two reasons: one, for that we are in France, and the other, for that the speaking of it is more delectable and more common to all people.] Prologue to the *Trésor*, published by M. Pierre Chabaille (quarto; Imprimerie Impérial, 1863; p. 3). The second reason probably explains why Marco Polo printed the narrative of his voyage in French.

[76] [That is to say, philologists.]

[77] [That is to say, the lines between the different dialects are less clearly marked in the case of the men.]

[78] Although myself a native of Lyon, I confess that I do not understand the meaning of these words, of which Tory, by a regrettable exception, gives no translation. A friend of mine in that city, M. Ant. Péricaud, thinks that the meaning is: 'Chômez-vous? Chômez cette fête.'

[79] *Champ fleury*, fol. 33 verso.

[80] There are some provinces where the final S is still pronounced. The English also have retained the custom, which is a necessity with

them because the article is invariable, so that the plural cannot otherwise be distinguished from the singular.

[81] *Champ fleury*, fol. 57 recto.

[82] Ibid., fol. 58 verso. Again, as in note 5 on page 18, I will call attention to the fact that the English, who are much more French in this respect than is generally supposed, have retained the old pronunciation. They sound the final T in words borrowed from us.

[83] *Champ fleury*, fol. 52 recto.

[84] Ibid. fol. 56 verso.

[85] Ibid. fol. 37 verso.

[86] I have seen this binding on an octavo copy of the *Ædiloquium* of 1530, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale and on the *Sommaire de Chroniques de J. B. Egnasio*, of 1529, owned by M. Didot. [The famous collection of M. Didot has since been dispersed.]

[87] Book of Hours of 1556, owned by M. Niel. This volume was printed by the Kervers, who had bought Tory's old plant.

[88] I have seen it on the Hours of 1531, and the *Diodorus* of 1535, which two volumes also are [1865] owned by M. Didot.

[89] [See nos. 1 and 2, on p. 45, infra.]

[90] Fol. 43 verso. Inadvertently, no doubt, this mark is reversed on the first page of *Champ fleury*. Tory attached little importance to the error, for the same engraving often appeared afterward. It is not signed [with the double cross], like the one here reproduced.

[91] Here, and in numberless other passages in his books, Tory alludes to Italy, of which he always retained a grateful memory.

[92] *Champ fleury*, fol. 43 recto.

[93] [See page 12, supra.]

[94] The Renaissance, at this time, was at its height.

[95] Read Μηδὲν ἄγαν.

[96] [Against which not even the gods contend.]

[97] [See page 1, supra.]

[98] This eminent artist, who has no article in the *Biographie Universelle*, and who is not even mentioned in the *desiderata* of the *Notice des tableaux du Louvre de l'école française*, published by M. Villot, did not die until about 1528, if my reckoning is accurate. We can establish the fact of his existence so late as 1522 by the documents published by M. de Laborde in his book on the Renaissance. I once owned an original letter of Perreal, which shows him in full vigour in 1511. That letter, which I presented to M. Alexandre Sirand, magistrate at Bourg, has been published by him in his *Courses Archéologiques*, vol. iii, p. 5, in connection with the church at Brou, in which Perreal was deeply interested. The letter I refer to is dated November 15 (1511) and addressed to Margaret of Austria (widow of the Duke of Savoy), to whom Perreal offers his services as superintendent of the work of building the church. That princess accepted his offer, as we see by her reply of February, 1511 (1512 new style): 'Since Jehan Le Maire hath left us, we choose to have no other overseer in our edifices at Brou than yourself.' (See the work last cited.)

[99] La Caille, in his *Histoire de l'Imprimerie*, p. 98, gives the date erroneously as September 28, 1584.

[100] See an extract from it in Part 2, § 2, no. 1.

[101] [*fait et fait faire.*]

[102] See Part 2, § 2, no. 1.

[103] Ibid. no. 2.

[104] Ibid. no. 3.

[105] Ibid. no. 6.

[106] *Champ fleury*, fol. 73 recto.

[107] Several bibliographers, misled doubtless by the date of the license, mention an edition of *Champ fleury* of 1526; but there is none. Not until 1549 was there an octavo edition, printed for the bookseller Vivant Gautherot. I shall speak of it hereafter.

[108] See the description of *Champ fleury*, Part 2, § I, no. 10.

[109] For Gourmont, see the *Notice historique* which follows my work entitled: *Les Estienne et les types grecs de François Ier*.

[110] Gilles de Gourmont had just published Lucian's *Dialogues* in Greek (quarto, 1528); but Tory's translation was made from a Latin version. Although he knew Greek, he did not use it when he could avoid it. As a general rule he translated from Latin versions such Greek authors as he dealt with.

[111] This was, as we have seen, the sign of the famous printer Chrétien Wechel; it was on the right as one ascends rue Saint-Jacques, near the church of Saint-Benoît. The Pot Cassé was opposite.

[112] See a description of it in Part 2, § I, no. 11.

[113] [*Raphael durbin*, *Michel lange*, *Leonard vince*, *Albert durer*, are Tory's versions of these

names.]

[114] The description of the volume in Part 2 (p. 87 infra), places this promise in the dedicatory letter.

[115] *Histoire de l'Imprimerie*, p. 98.

[116] See Part 2, § I, no. 13.

[117] *Champ fleury*, 'avis au lecteur.'—See also fol. 1 verso: 'And so I will write in French according to my own humble style and mother tongue, nor fail, albeit I am of lowly and humble parents, and poor in paltry goods, to give pleasure to the devoted lovers of goodly letters. Herein it may be I shall seem a new man, for that no one has heretofore been known to teach the fashioning and quality of letters by writing in the French language; but, desirous to cast some light on our language, I am content to be the first little pointer to arouse some noble mind which shall put forth greater efforts, as did the Greeks and Romans of old, to establish and ordain the French language by fixed rules for pronouncing and speaking well. God grant that some noble lord may be pleased to offer pledges and worthy gifts to those who shall be able to do this well.'—François I himself was the noble lord referred to.

[118] See Part 2, § II, no. 4.

[119] As to this date, see no. v below, p. 31, and note 1.

[120] See Part 2, § I, no. 14.

[121] See Appendix X, *e*.

[122] This volume contains also: *Epistre du seigneur Elisee Calense, natif Damphrate, quil envoya a Rufin ... translatee .... par maistre Geofroy Tory de Bourges.*

[123] The year 1531 did not begin until Easter Sunday, April 9.

[124] See, for other details concerning Tory's *Xenophon*, Part 2, § I, no. 15.

[125] Ibid. § II, no. 5.

[126] See Part 2, § I, no. 16.

[127] [*A libraire juré* was a bookseller who had taken the oath to follow the rules prescribed by the University.]

[128] See Part 2, § I, no. 17.

[129] The reform went even further than Tory suggested, for orthographic accents were invented, which have no other purpose than to distinguish words of the same sound but of different meaning; and therein it disregarded logic, for it not only did not distinguish in this way all words of the same sound (*son*, for example, which has three totally different meanings, received no accent), but it placed accents on words which had but one meaning, —*déjà*, for example; of what use is the grave accent on the *a?* Moreover, it placed accents in certain cases on words which in other cases have none. Thus it wrote '*votre* ami et le *nôtre*,' and '*notre* ami et le *vôtre*.'

[130] See supra, p. 8.

[131] It is printed at the end of his book, which has some similarity to Tory's. The full title is: *Lesperon de discipline pour inciter les humains aux bonnes lettres*, etc. On the title-page are the arms of Savoy, to indicate the nativity of the author, who was born in La Bresse, which then belonged to the House of Savoy.

[132] See in Appendix II, the Latin verses printed on the verso of the title of

Lesclaircissement de la langue françoise, an English work reprinted in 1852 at M. Génin's instance.

[133] This error has been made by many writers. The creation of king's printer was so far from being identical with the foundation of the Imprimerie Royale, that there continued to be functionaries bearing that title even after the foundation of the Imprimerie du Louvre, in 1640, as we shall see later (Appendix IX).

[134] Jean de la Barre, chevalier, Comte d'Étampes, counsellor and chamberlain in ordinary to the king, first gentleman of his chamber, and keeper of the provostry of Paris, granted the licenses to print at this time.

[135] The license had no sooner expired than the work was reprinted, as may be seen by a copy of an edition of 8 leaves, octavo, in gothic type, dated 1531, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

[136] See the description of these two opuscula in Part 2, § III, nos. 1 and 2.

[137] A much stranger omission is that of de la Barre's signature, which had to be added by hand to every copy, at the foot of the license.

[138] [The *saint-augustin* was a 13-point type, so called because it was used in 1467 to print St. Augustine's *De Civitate Dei*. The *philosophie* was 10-point.]

[139] See his little book entitled *Les Trois Ilots de la Cité*; octavo, 1860 (an extract from the *Revue Archéologique*).

[140] See Part 2, § III, no. 3.

[141] See Appendix VI.

[142] [The *écu au soleil* was a coin issued under Louis XI and Charles VIII, with a sun

above the crown. The *livre tournois* was worth 20 sous.]

[143] See Appendix VIII.

[144] Concerning the *libraires jurés* and *non jurés*, see Chevillier, *Origine de l'imprimerie de Paris*, part 4.

[145] [*Don du roi.*] See Appendix III.

[146] See Part 2, §§ III and IV.

[147] This most necessary reform spread very rapidly. The year had not ended when another Paris printer, Antoine Augereau, published a small treatise on the subject, entitled: *Briefve doctrine pour deuement escripre selon la proprieté du langaige françoys*. ['Brief instructions for writing the French language properly.'] This curious work, which is printed with the *Miroir de très chrestienne princesse Marguerite de France*, in an octavo volume, 1533, informs us among other things that the final E which requires the acute accent was at that time called *masculine*, and that the word *feminine* was applied to it when it did not take the accent. These are, as we see, the terms used by Tory. Hence doubtless the term *féminine*, which is still applied to-day, in French poetry, to silent rhymes. (See Appendix V.)

[148] *Archives de l'Empire*, carton S, no. 18.—See also *Les Trois Ilots de la Cité*, by M. Adolphe Berty, p. 15.

[149] See Part 2, § III, no. 6.

[150] The existence of Tory's bindery is proved by the numerous bindings with the Pot Cassé, not only of books from that artist's presses, to which I have already referred, but of books printed by others. I will mention particularly a lovely book of Hours, octavo, on vellum, printed by Herman Hardoin about

1527, and preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

[151] Olivier Mallard the printer was probably a relative of Jean Mallart the writer, whose name appears about the same time in the accounts of François I: 'To Jehan Mallart, writer, for writing *unes heures* [a book of Hours] on parchment, presented to the king to be illuminated, XLV livres as a gift, charged upon the *deniers de l'espargne à l'entour du roy*.' (From a roll not dated, but *circa* 1538, published by M. de Laborde, *Renaissance des Arts*, vol. i, p. 924.) These Mallards were probably of Norman origin, for there were about the same time several booksellers of that name at Rouen. One of them, indeed, Jean Mallard, had the Pot Cassé for his sign in 1542. He was probably a brother of Olivier, who had authorized him to adopt that symbol. (See *Heures a l'usage de Rouen*, octavo, gothic type, 1542.) I am indebted for this information to the learned author of the *Manuel du Bibliophile normand*, M. Ed. Frère.

[152] It was this publication, no doubt, that led Papillon to say that Tory died in 1536. (*Traité de la gravure sur bois*, vol. i, p. 509.)

[153] Bibliothèque Nationale.

[154] 'Caussarum in suprema Parisiorum curia patronus.' This mouth-filling phrase presumably means *avocat* in the Parliament of Paris.

[155] Bibliothèque Nationale.

[156] Crapelet, *Études pratiques*, etc., p. 48.

[157] In Appendix VI will be found [an English version of] M. Crapelet's [French] translation. I have given the original text in my work on the Estiennes, pp. 11 ff.

[158] See Part 3 (*Iconography*), under 1541 and 1542.

[159] The rent of these premises, which was only 16 livres in 1420, and 22 in 1498, was raised to 160 livres in 1551, to 200 in 1567, and to 400 in 1605. (*Les Trois Ilots de la Cité*, by Adolphe Berty, p. 15). It seems that the raising of rents in Paris is not a modern invention.

[160] *Histoire de l'Imprimerie*, p. 110.

[161] His mother, Iolande Bonhomme, widow of Thielman Kerver, first of the name, also lived on rue Saint-Jacques, at the sign of the *Licorne* (*Unicornis*).

[162] See p. 47 infra, no. 10.

[163] Bibliothèque Nationale.

[164] In the preceding year, an analogous book was published at Rome, under this title: *Libro di M. Giovanbattista Palatino, cittadino Romano, nel quel s'insegna a scrivere ogni sorte lettera, antica et moderna, di qualunque natione, con le sue regole et misure, et essempi: et con un breve et util discorso de le cifre*, etc. Quarto, Rome, 1548; with 15 plates.

[165] It might perhaps be interesting to publish this book to-day (it is now very rare), scrupulously following the first edition, as has been done in the case of Palsgrave's *Lesclaircissement de la langue françoise*.

[166] The floriated letters engraved by Tory which appear in the course of the book, and of which the entire alphabet is given on the verso of folio 78 of the first edition, are replaced in the second by letters of an entirely different make.

[167] *Histoire de l'Imprimerie*, p. 99.

[168] It will be seen that I apparently had most excellent grounds for saying in my first edition that Tory lived until after 1550. Could one imagine that a historian of Berry, a townsman of Tory and friend of Jean Toubeau, could blunder so stupidly concerning the date of our artist's death? La Caille even makes him live until the close of the sixteenth century.

[169] [For the Latin original, see Appendix X, *f*.]

[170] [Tory's signature referred to consists in the double, or Lorraine, cross found on nos. 5 and 10.]

[171] See Part 2, § II, no. 2 (2).

[172] See p. 38, note 4, supra.

[173] One of our most skilful binders, M. Capé, used this design in his bindings. An example may be seen on a copy of the Hours (quarto) of 1527 in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

[174] It goes without saying that in the numerous quotations which I shall make from these books I shall do away with abbreviations and supply punctuation. To do otherwise would be to give the reader of to-day, who is unfamiliar with the tachygraphy of the Middle Ages, simply a succession of undecipherable puzzles. It is a difficult task to restore the Latin texts according to the first impressions. I have taken it upon myself, so that the reader may have the pleasure of reading without difficulty. What I have said must be my apology for such errors as I may have made in my work of restoration.

[175] Bibliothèque Mazarine.

[176] Gilles de Gourmont was in fact the first printer in Paris who had Greek type. See my

Les Estienne, pp. 62, 67.

[177] I have arranged these verses in lines, although in the book the lines are indicated simply by capital letters; and I warn the reader that several words were changed by Tory in order to adapt the verses to his subject. [The changes are in fact considerable, especially in the third passage, which is made up of parts of five lines, with several changes, one of which results in an entire reversal of the meaning. The English versions of these passages are adapted from Long's translation of the *Æneid*. For the Latin original, see Appendix X, *g*.]

[178] Proper. ii, *ad Mœcenatem*. [The translations from Propertius are those of Cranstoun.]

[179] Doubtless we should read 'iv no.' for there was no sixth of the nones of December. The fourth of the nones fell on Dec. 2. But perhaps we should read 'vj id.'; the sixth of the ides of December fell on Dec. 8.

[180] [For the Latin original, see Appendix X, *b*.]

[181] [For the Latin original, see Appendix X, *i*.]

[182] Jan. 10, 1508, new style.

[183] [For the Latin original, see Appendix X, *j*.]

[184] [For the Latin original, see Appendix X, *k*.]

[185] Following the course pursued in the *Psalterium Quincuplex*, published shortly before by Henri Estienne, Tory proposed to write with a cedilla the last *e* but one of the third person plural of the perfect tense of verbs of the third conjugation (*emere*, *contendere*, etc.), to

distinguish it from the infinitive. In our day the circumflex accent has been adopted for this purpose; but accented letters did not exist in Tory's time, and he sought to utilise, in the interest of the metre, the only distinctive sign at the disposal of typography, the *e* with the cedilla, which was then generally used for *æ*, in imitation of the manuscripts of the Middle Ages. Tory also proposed to spell with *s*, instead of *x*, certain words like *mixtum*; 'for,' he said, '*misceo* has *miscui* in the perfect; and so, by analogy, we must say *mistum*.'

I will not comment here on some other observations of the same sort made by Tory in this same note to the reader; I will say simply that they all tend to prove his erudition and peremptorily contradict the extraordinary assertion of a certain Abbé Joly, who, in a huge folio, entitled *Remarques critiques sur le Dictionnaire de Bayle*, and published in 1740, observes that Tory was 'very ignorant,' without adducing a single fact in support of his opinion. In the *Menagiana* (vol. iv, p. 84 of the 12mo edition of 1729) Tory is rebuked, to be sure, for forging Latin words, after the example of the author of the *Songe du Poliphile*; but this is a less serious charge, and is not a proof of ignorance; on the contrary it proves misuse of knowledge. Geofroy Tory, says the author, attracted by the style of the *Poliphile*, composed seven epitaphs filled with words most worthy of a place in that work, 'such as *murmurillare*, *insatianter*, *hilaranter*, *pederaptim*, *velocipediter*, *ægrimoniosius*, *avicipes*, *conspergitare*, *venustulentissus*, *vinulentibibulus*, *apneumaticus*, and *collifrangibulum*, which he represented as ancient words, and which the excellent Catherinot, in his epitaph of this same Tory, did not fail to guarantee to be such.'—See what Catherinot has to say of

Tory's *Epitaphs* in his epitaph of Tory, p. 44 supra. [*Tumulos aliquot ludicros veterrimo stylo latine condiderit.*]

[186] This is the correct reading, not *Hongoti*, which M. Renouard mistakenly adopts (*Ann. des Estienne*, 3d ed., p. 6, 2d col., no. 3; and p. 276), having failed to notice the line over the *o* in the second syllable of the word. However, this is the only place in which this Jean Hongont is mentioned, and nothing is known of him save that he was associated with the first Henri Estienne in the publication of this edition of the *Cosmography* of Pope Pius II, otherwise called Æneas Sylvius, edited by Tory. This book is in the Bibliothèque Mazarine.

[187] October 10, 1509.

[188] See infra, Part 3, § III, *sub nomine* Bade.

[189] Bibliothèque Mazarine.

[190] [For Latin original, see Appendix X, *l.*]

[191] As to this adage, see the *Collection* of Erasmus (folio, Basle, 1574), p. 302: *Aristophanis et Cleantis lucerna.*

[192] *Claudian*, xv, 385: *Minuit præsentia famam.*

[193] As to this adage, see the *Collection* of Erasmus, ubi sup., p. 134 a: *Non absque Theseo.*

[194] Plautus, *Casinus*, Act V, 4, 1: *Ubi tu es, qui colere mores Massilienseis postulas.*

[195] [For the Latin original, see Appendix X, *m.*]

[196] The answer seems to be *bat.*

[197] [See p. 265 infra.]

[198] [For the Latin original, see Appendix X, *n.*]

[199] May 9, 1510.

[200] Silvestre, no. 974.

[201] On folio 26 of the first edition there is a small plan of Rome, doubtless a reminiscent work of Tory's, which is lacking in the second and third editions.

[202] Vol. vii, p. 548, no. 411.

[203] *Catal. bibl. Bunav.* vol. i, p. 417 a.

[204] Vol. i, col. 810, under 'Berosus.'

[205] [For the Latin original, see Appendix X, *o*.]

[206] [For the Latin original, see Appendix X, *p*.]

[207] For example, here are two riddles by Tory, the labour of solving which, I leave, as he did, to the reader:—

Godofredus To. Bi.

Tu caput Adrasti capias morientis, et adde
(Si modo grande bonum vis mihi) te socium.

Idem.

Quæ fuit ilia Cato Romæ legatio quondam
Cor, caput, atque pedem cui nec habere fuit?

[208] This book may be found in the Bibliothèque Mazarine, and at the Arsenal.

[209] [For the Latin original, see Appendix X, *q*.]

[210] In original, *Cordatus*. His house [in Bourges] is now used as the hôtel de ville.

[211] As to this gentleman, see page 4, supra.

[212] February 27, 1510, or rather, 1509, for it is hardly probable that the bulky volume was printed in four months. See the dedication in question, on page 4, supra. The book may be found in the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève.

[213] [For the original Latin, see Appendix X, *r*.]

[214] As to this person, see note 3 on page 5, supra.

[215] We have mentioned heretofore (page 4, supra) the eminent posts occupied at this time by Philibert Babou and Jean Lallemand.

[216] [For the original Latin, see Appendix X, *s*.]

[217] [For the Latin original, see Appendix X, *t*.]

[218] [For the Latin original, see Appendix X, *u*.]

[219] The text has *nomen* instead of *novem*, but the correction is made in the errata.

[220] Christophe de Longueil, to whom the manuscript published by Tory belonged.

[221] [For the Latin original, see Appendix X, *v*.]

[222] For the monogram appended to this final *avis*, see p. 6, supra.

[223] See these two marks, p. 46, supra [nos. 7 and 8].

[224] [For the Latin original, see Appendix X, *w*.]

[225] [This same passage is quoted at length by M. Bernard in Part 1 (see pp. 13-14, supra), where the translator has attempted to render it

intelligibly in English. As the present section of the book is intended to assist the bibliographer, it seems proper to reproduce it here exactly in its original form.]

[226] See, as to this passage, the remarks on p. 14, supra.

[227] Those who use thieves' slang.

[228] [There is no leaf numbered lix; the leaf between lviii and lx is numbered lxx.]

[229] Cy finist ce present Liure, ... Qui fut acheue dimprimer Le mercredy .xxviij. Iour du Mois Dapuril, Lan Mil Cincq Cens. XXIX. Pour Maistre Geofroy Tory de Bourges, Autheur dudict Liure, & Libraire, demorãt a Paris, qui le vent sus Petit Pont a Lenseigne du Pot Casse. Et pour Giles Gourmont aussi Libraire demorant au dict Paris, qui le vent pareillement en La Rue Sainct Iaques a Lenseigne des Trois Coronnes.

[230] See what I have said of this second edition on p. 42, supra.

[231] See the exact text of this license, which includes three works of Tory, under no. 12, infra.

[232] 1530, new style.

[233] Not *à l'escu de Basle*, as in the note printed by M. Brunet.

[234] The license, which embraces the *Economic Xenophon*, and is printed at the end of the last-named book, extends the author's rights for four years, not for two. The discrepancy may be explained by the fact that the *Æditoquium* was printed while Tory's application for the license was pending,—that is to say, in the first three months of 1531, which were then reckoned in the year 1530,

according to the old computation. In fact, the license is dated June 18, 1531, which seems to conflict with the date of printing of the *Ædiloquium*. This circumstance also explains why the second title of the book is different in the printed volume from that given in the license (*Erotica*). See p. 31, supra.

[235] [For the Latin original, see Appendix X, *x*.]

[236] He does not mention the *Ædiloquium*, because it was in Latin.

[237] In the printed volume of the *Ædiloquium*, Tory modified this sub-title; for it might well have marred his epitaphs with a suspicion of obscenity which was very far from his thought.

[238] On September 23, 1524, and September 5, 1526. Tory requested an extension of the licenses for his Hours because he was about to reprint them. The second edition of the quarto Hours appeared on October 20, 1531.

[239] We have not this 'privilege tresample,' which probably was printed in some other of Tory's books, now lost. In truth, that accomplished man was accustomed to have several books included in each of his licenses.

[240] *Bibliothèque Françoise*, article 'Geofroy Tory.'

[241] *Histoire de l'Imprimerie*, p. 102.

[242] Vol. i, p. 24. Lottin also writes *Beulle*.

[243] *Champ fleury*, fol. 43 recto.

[244] It was bought for 3025 francs, exclusive of commissions, for the Bibliothèque Impériale (in December, 1860). It is a superb copy, still in its original binding. M. Brunet mentions two other copies: (1) That of Baron de Heiss, the

cuts in which were coloured, and which brought only 60 francs in 1785. It was the same copy, apparently, which was sold for 13 pounds at the sale of Richard Heber. (2) The McCarthy copy, extra illustrated with 19 lovely miniatures from an old manuscript, has brought 450 francs.

[245] [The translator has before him a copy of an earlier edition (1529) of this work, the title-page of which reads as follows: 'Lavrentii Vallae de Lingvae Latinae Elegantia libri sex, iam tertiu de integro bona fide emaculati. Eiusdem de Reciprocatione Sui & Suus libellus apprime vtilis. Cum indice amplissimo. Parisiis Apud Simonem Colinæum.' 1529. The border differs slightly from that described above. In this case Tory's mark was not removed by Colines, but appears twice.]

[246] *Manuel de Libraire*, 5th ed., vol. v, col. 1658.

[247] The Adoration of the Shepherds is replaced, as in the octavo edition, by the Annunciation to the Shepherds, and the Visitation by an entirely different subject, taken from a Christian legend: the Emperor Augustus, kneeling on the ground, holds one hand of the Sibyl of Tibur, who with the other hand points to the Virgin and the Child Jesus in Heaven.

[248] Vol. i, pp. 94-98.

[249] *Bibliographical Decameron*, vol. i, p. 98.

[250] This princess, born in 1492, was the grandmother of Henri IV; she married, first, Charles, duc d'Alençon. She was famous for her intellectual qualities, and we owe to her several noteworthy works.

[251] *Manuel de Libraire*, vol. iv, 4th edit., p.

802, col. 1.

[252] 1530 new style.

[253] In my first edition I described only 19 cuts, after the imperfect copy of M. de Rothschild.

[254] Tory had already received licenses for twenty years for his Hours (see supra, pp. 105-9, 121), so that he did not need this further grant, which, indeed, he did not print at the end of his book.

[255] This cut, on the verso of a leaf of which the recto is blank, is missing in many copies.

[256] *Traité de la Gravure sur Bois*, vol. i, p. 193.

[257] The license had no sooner expired than the book was reprinted, as may be seen by a copy of an edition in gothic type, of eight octavo signatures, dated 1531, in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

[258] 1531 new style.

[259] A new edition of this book has recently been published at Brussels, being a photo-lithographic reproduction of the copy in the Bibliothèque du Roi.

[260] See what M. A. de Montaiglon says of this engraving in the *Archives de l'Art français*, vol. ix, p. 266.

[261] [For original Latin, see Appendix X, *y*.]

[262] The borders are the same as those at the beginning and end of the *Entree de la Royne*.

[263] [For original Latin, see Appendix X, *z*.]

[264] These three opuscula are bound together in one volume at the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal. The Bibliothèque Nationale also owns them all, bound separately and more or less

imperfect. The omission of the last of the three from the new catalogue is an error, for it is in the library.

[265] At the shop of M. Potier, bookseller, Paris. M. Alkan, senior, also owns the last leaf of this signature.

[266] If the other three signatures are complete, they should contain six sheets, folded two and two, according to custom.

[267] It will be observed that the judges granted the license for but one year, instead of the three that Tory had asked. I have seen another similar collection of ordinances in the name of Galiot Dupré, dated 1528, for which the judges extended the license to two years.

[268] Here and elsewhere we find the apostrophe, but its use is not yet constant. The compositors were not used to the sign, which was employed to designate the suppression of a letter for euphony's sake.

[269] It may be that we should read 1536 new style, as Easter fell in that year on April 16. We add this book to Tory's list, although he was dead at that time, because it was evidently begun by him and finished by his widow.

[270] M. Ambroise Firmin Didot owned a copy of this book, on paper, in its ancient binding, with the Pot Cassé. He owned also another copy, on vellum.

[271] [This paragraph was added by the author after his second edition had gone through the press.]

[272] In his *Peintre-graveur français*, M. Robert-Dumesnil mentions an edition of this book with the date 1538, Paris, G. Tory; which is impossible, as Tory died in 1533.

[273] See M. Brunet's *Manuel de Libraire*, 5th edit. vol. iii, col. 144.

[274] There is a copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale, to which is added: *La suite de l'Adolescence clémentine*, with 3 preliminary leaves and 126 of text, on the last of which is the mark of Pierre Roffet, signed with the Lorraine cross [see page 137, supra]; but not printed by Tory, for the book was printed for the widow of Roffet, and the latter did not die, it is supposed, until 1537, after Tory's death.

[275] [It should be borne in mind that the word *miniature* as used in this book has not its ordinary present-day signification; it means here any ornamented or coloured design of small dimensions.]

[276] [See supra, p. 23, and note 1.]

[277] [See supra, p. 71.]

[278] [See supra, p. 9.]

[279] Infra, pp. 169-171.

[280] *Bibliothèque françoise*, article 'Geufroy Tory.' The author of *Recueil T* (vol. xix, p. 20) of the *Mélanges tirés d'une grande bibliothèque*, published by M. de Paulmy, also says that Tory was an excellent engraver, the *maître au Pot Cassé*.

[281] Lottin, *Catalogue des libraires*, vol. ii, p. 234.

[282] *Des Types et des manières des maîtres graveurs*, etc., xve siècle, p. 165.

[283] *Champ fleury*, fol. 1. See also supra, p. 12.

[284] ['Jean Grolier's and his friends'.'] The ordinary motto of Grolier's books is: *Portio mea, Domine, sit in terra viventium.* [May my lot be cast, O Lord, in the land of the living.]

[285] [*Poinçons*: that is to say, the engraved model of a type, on the end of a steel bar.]

[286] [See p. 106, supra.]

[287] Vol. vii, pp. 48 ff.

[288] [On this subject M. Renouvier says (*Des Types et des Manières des Maîtres Graveurs*, xvie *siècle*, 1854, p. 167): 'We cannot attribute it [the double cross] to Geoffroy Tory exclusively, for we find it on many woodcuts which cannot be his.']

[289] This should cause no surprise: the idea of *property*, in respect to artistic productions, is altogether modern. The first engravers signed almost nothing; it was not until the sixteenth century that they marked their works with special emblems, and even then it was not so much with the object of assuring themselves a monopoly in them, as with that of making themselves known to persons who might require their services for other works. Little by little this species of advertisement became an effective muniment of title,—in the natural order of things. It was the same with works of the mind. Not until quite a late period were scholars and other men of letters able to derive any profit from their works. In the early days of printing, even, a printer who proposed to reprint a book did not consider himself bound to obtain the author's consent. From the moment that he made his book public, it was regarded as a treasure belonging to society at large.

[290] Hours in quarto in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Brunet, *Manuel de Libraire*, 5th ed. vol. v, col. 1623, no. 197). There is also an edition of 1525 (ibid., no. 198), and one much later, but lacking the first and last leaves. M. Silvestre owns an octavo edition of 1530.

[291] *Des Types*, etc., xvie siecle, p. 167, note.

[292] MM. A. Devéria, Robert-Dumesnil, and J. Renouvier have all died since the first edition of this book.

[293] See Brunet, *Manuel de Libraire*, 5th edition, article *Cosmographia*.

[294] Beaupré, *Notice bibliographique sur les livres liturgiques des diocèses de Toul et de Verdun*, 8vo, 1843, p. 16.

[295] Infra, § 2; 1521-1522 (p. 175).

[296] *Manuel*, etc., 5th edition, vol. ii, col. 1186.

[297] *Essai sur la gravure sur bois*, col. 147 and 150.

[298] *Essai sur la gravure sur bois*, col. 138.

[299] According to M. Dussieux, *Les Artistes français à l'étranger*, p. 67, the first is unquestionably the chef-d'œuvre of miniature-painting in the Italian style.

[300] See folio 86 of the second volume: 'The Aduatuci, that is to say those of Bois le Duc, are in Brabant, within xii leagues of Envers, neighbours of Monsieur de Gueldres.'

[301] Folios 59, 64, 69, 72, and 77 of the second volume.

[302] Folios 30 recto and 31 verso of the second volume.

[303] Vol. ii, folio 93.

[304] I hesitated a long time before adhering definitely to this opinion; at the outset I thought that I detected two painters, one for the portraits, one for the decorations; but soon, after studying more closely, after comparing the miniatures, the small figures in the columns, the amazing imitations of ancient

medallions, and lastly the portraits, I became absolutely certain that a single hand, guided by a flexible and varied talent, combined these different types and produced the whole.

[305] Their dimensions vary from 90 to 100 millimeters in height, and from 60 to 70 in width.

[306] British Museum (Harleian), no. 6205.

[307] *Bibliothèque Nationale.*

[308] This Perot was a favourite huntsman of whom François I speaks in one of his letters to the Connétable de Montmorency: 'I am obliged to confess that we lost the stag, and Perot has buried himself; he dares not show himself in my presence.' M. Génin, who published this letter among the *pièces justificatives* of his edition of the *Lettres de la Reine de Navarre* (8vo, Paris, 1841; p. 468), says in a note to the name Perot that he was a dog. I should probably have made the same mistake, had I not, even before I saw this miniature, made the acquaintance of the huntsman in question upon reading the accounts of the expenditure of François I, the lists of his household, and the rolls of receipts given to his treasurer. I find, for example, under date of July 12, 1531: 'Due to Perot de Ruthie, in payment of such emoluments and privileges as he has by virtue of his office of keeper of the park and castle of Saincte Jame, and of the forests and four ponds of Raiz.' Five years later, I find this entry: 'To Perot de Ruthie, to be used for the necessary expenses of sending for and causing to be brought to him a part of the dogs, with their whippers-in, from his kennels in the forest of Chenonces.' (Roll of Receipts for 1536). Still later, he became lieutenant of venery and gentleman of the chamber. He was one of those favoured retainers who know how

to make their way.

[309] Library of S. A. R. le Duc d'Aumale, at Twickenham, near London.

[310] [The Duc d'Aumale (fourth son of Louis Philippe), who lived in exile in England during the Second Empire, returned to France soon after the fall of Louis Napoleon, and held a notable position in society, politics, and literature, until his death in 1897. By his will he left his Château of Chantilly, with his very valuable collections, to the Institut de France, in trust for the French nation. The translator regrets his inability to state definitely the present whereabouts of volume 1.]

[311] Octavo, 1810; p. 124, no. 880.

[312] According to information supplied to me from England, it would seem that this fine manuscript is to-day [1865] in the library of the Duke of Hamilton (Hamilton House, 22 Arlington St., Piccadilly, London).

[313] [This description is copied verbatim from the *Repertorium*, by M. Bernard; the English is evidently a translation of some French original.]

[314] See the following section, under the date of 1535 (infra, p. 205).

[315] See the following section, under the date of 1549 (infra, p. 234).

[316] See what is said of this MS. in Le Prince's *Essai historique sur la Bibliothèque du Roi*, edit. 1856, pp. 28 and 47.

[317] See what I have to say later on this subject under the heading 'Engravings of Uncertain Date' (infra, p. 255).—According to M. Brunet (*Manuel de Libraire*, 5th edit., vol. ii, col. 929), the first edition of this book was

published at Rouen in 1577, under this title: *Mémoires et recherches touchant plusieurs choses mémorables pour l'intelligence de l'estat et des affaires de France*. But I find it difficult to credit the accuracy of this statement, as the edition of 1580 prints a license dated no earlier than August 10, 1578.

[318] I am indebted for this information to M. Vallet de Viriville, who is devoting himself to looking up the works of Jean Fouquet, as I myself am looking up Tory's.

[319] See Part 1, Biography, supra, p. 7.

[320] This plate was reproduced by MM. Alexis Socard and Alexandre Assier in their work entitled: *Livres liturgiques du diocèse de Troyes*, 8vo, 1863.

[321] See what I have to say on this subject in § III, under the word 'Colines' (infra, p. 268).

[322] See what I have to say of this book in the *Bulletin du Bouquiniste*, 1860, p. 101.

[323] If necessary, four workmen would have sufficed,—two compositors and two pressmen —Lefèvre d'Etaples being abundantly able to perform the duties of corrector.

[324] [An office-book formerly in use, containing the antiphones called 'graduals,' as well as introits and other antiphones, etc., of the mass. Also called the 'Cantatory' or 'Cantatorium.'—CENTURY DICT.]

[325] Bibliothèque Nationale.

[326] Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal.

[327] An additional proof in confirmation of what I have already said as to the unscrupulous way in which artists copied one another. (See page 149 note 1.)

[328] This design is based upon a legend

concerning Virgil, which had some vogue in the Middle Ages

[329] See pp. 101-129, supra.

[330] *Revue universelle des Arts*, September, 1857 (vol. v, no. 6, p. 513).

[331]

In his game-bag we see that he hath
rats,
Which are detestable, and gnawing
vermin
Making shocking wounds in his vitals.
From his breast cometh a keen, darting
flame,
Which burneth heart and lips and body.

[332] In an imperfect copy of this book, on parchment, which I have seen at the shop of M. Potier, and which is illuminated, the artist has erased Tory's mark, for what purpose I have no idea.

[333] It seems that the Parliament proposed at first to prohibit the publication of this book; but evidently it did not persist in its opposition, for, besides the four quarto editions, I have seen four others in octavo, which, however, are without interest for us. See Brunet's *Manuel du Libraire*, under 'Gringoire.'

[334] This deplorable practice of removing the text from engravings, which was once rigourously followed in the Cabinet des Estampes at the Bibliothèque Nationale, injured the collection materially. There are many pieces of which neither the origin nor the meaning is known, because of the removal of the legends which formerly accompanied them.

[335] *Number* 3.

Hell he defies (to him no arduous task),
And the dog Cerberus, him with the three heads;
He seeks the infernal regions, fighting hand to hand,
To set at liberty Theseus his good friend.

Number 9.

The raging bulls (most marvellous to see)
With his two sinewy hands he masters easily,
Compels them by main force to bend the knee,
Albeit they were deemed unconquerable.

Number 10.

A boar with frothing lips and long sharp tusks,
Who, in his rage, despoiled men, fields and vineyards,
And by whom the whole world was ravaged,
He, by his courage, all alone, did slay.

[336] On March 4, 1858, at the Lassus sale, I saw a complete set of the Labours of Hercules, without the verses.

[337] The earliest book in which I have seen it, excluding the *Thesaurus latinæ linguæ* of 1536, and the *Dictionarium Latino-Gallicum* of 1538, which was a sequel to the first, and in which it was necessarily used (I saw these two books at M. Didot's), is a quarto pamphlet, published in 1537, on the occasion of the

discussions between François I and Charles V, entitled: *Exemplaria litterarum*, etc.

[338] Later, Estienne had other floriated letters engraved at Tory's establishment, carried on by his widow. But the G was not then chosen to receive the artist's mark. See infra, under 1551.

[339] [These letters and friezes appear in the Works of Justin Martyr printed by Estienne in 1541, from which they are reproduced for this volume—some of the letters on pp. 190 and 191, and the friezes at the beginning of the Printers' Preface, and of the three sections of the Iconography.]

[340] Papillon, who saw Woeiriot everywhere, says on page 509 of the additions to his first volume: '*Champ fleury* is filled with woodcuts by Woeiriot,—among others several capital letters with nude human figures for their limbs, and several vignettes about three inches by two and a half, simply in outline, with the cross of Lorraine in every corner.' As a matter of fact there are very few Lorraine crosses on the engravings of *Champ fleury*.

[341] [Reproduced on the title-page of the present volume.]

[342] [See supra, p. 45, no. 4.]

[343] [See supra, p. 100.]

[344] See supra, p. 1. Neither this engraving nor those last mentioned are found in the octavo edition of *Champ fleury*.

[345] See the reproduction of this cut on p. 141, supra.

[346] In the octavo edition it was found to be impossible to have the two parts face each other, so that Apollo's chariot is cut in two.

[347] [Reproduced on pp. 50 and 51 supra.]

[348] [Reproduced on p. 48, supra.]

[349] This cut does not appear in the octavo edition. It is reproduced on p. 21, supra [where it is said to be on 43 recto].

[350] [One of these is reproduced on this page.]

[351] [Reproduced on p. 152, supra.]

[352] [Reproduced on the following page.]

[353] These letters do not appear in the octavo edition. [Reproduced on p. 195, infra.]

[354] This alphabet, which Tory used in several of the books printed by him, as I have already stated, was replaced by a different one in the octavo edition of *Champ fleury*.

[355] Not in the octavo edition. [Reproduced on p. 49, supra.]

[356] [See supra, pp. 120-122].

[357] [See supra, pp. 122-124].

[358] *Lutetiæ, sumptibus Ægidii Gormontii, studio Joannis Cheradami, labore et industria Petri Vidovœi.*

[359] This engraving was used later as a model for a magnificent plate placed at the beginning of the *Tableaux des arts libéraux de Christophe de Savigny*, published in 1587, in folio, by Jean and François de Gourmont, sons of Gilles. See my *Les Estienne*, p. 63, note.

[360] For the family of Gourmont, see my *Les Estienne*, pp. 62 and 63, notes.

[361] Not all of the engravings are signed; but, as I have not been able to inspect the volume, which was a part of the Boorluut library of Noortdonck, sold at Ghent in April, 1858, I am

obliged to resort to the words of the compiler of the catalogue of that sale, my confrère M. Vander-Meersch, who has kindly furnished me since with some more detailed information (albeit less complete than I could have wished), after the volume was sent to England. M. Boorluut had paid 1 franc 50 centimes for the volume, which was sold to a London bookseller, Mr. Toovey, on April 19, 1858, for 270 francs. I wrote to him asking for details concerning it; but, in accordance with the not over-courteous English custom, he did not choose to tell me for whom he had purchased the book, so that I have been unable to obtain more ample information.

[362] I am not informed whether these cuts appear in *Hore Marie Virginis ad usum Sarum*, 1532, or in *The Prymer of Salisbury*, 1534, both of which were printed at the same establishment.

[363] [See p. 125, supra].

[364] See what I have heretofore said of this book, pp. 85-87 supra.

[365] [See pp. 126-128, supra].

[366] See what I have had to say of this book, pp. 128-129, supra; also, p. 218, infra, under the Hours of 1541, where we find these same borders, called 'à la moderne,' together with the plates of the Hours of 1529, described on p. 125, supra; which leads me to think that these same plates appeared in the octavo edition now under consideration. See also no. 1 of the year 1536 (p. 208, infra), which is a sort of link between the editions of 1531 and 1541.

[367] [See p. 136, supra.]

[368] *Revue Universelle des Arts*, Sept. 1857 (vol. v, no. 3, p. 517).

[369] I saw this volume at M. Potier's book-shop in 1865; it is a 16mo, illustrated with a large number of fascinating engravings which would assuredly do much honour to Tory. I freely admit that François Gryphe was a pupil of our artist, but that is all. I do not understand why M. Renouvier attributes to Tory a small plate of no interest, when the privileges expressly attribute all the engravings to Gryphe.

[370] Brunet, *Manuel du Libraire*, 5th edition, vol. v, col. 1660, no. 328. The line engravings are doubtless those of the 16mo Hours of 1529 (see p. 125 supra). As for the borders, which M. Brunet does not mention, I imagine that they are the same that I spoke of on p. 128. But see no. III, under the year 1541 (infra, p. 218).

[371] *Thesaurus antiquitatum romanarum*, etc., a J. C. Grævio; folio, Utrecht, 1697. M. Olivier Barbier, sub-manager of the Bibliothèque Nationale, owns the copy of the original edition which was used for this reprint. It contains not only the additions that were made, but also directions, in Dutch, concerning the size of the copper-plates, etc.

[372] See vol. vi, col. 562.

[373] Another edition of this book was published by the same printers and with the same woodcuts, in 1545.

[374] Sometimes, too, the colourist has substituted for the printed date that at which he did his work. I have seen several cases of such substitution.

[375] Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal.

[376] See pp. 149 and 205, supra.

[377] The title-page of this rare volume reads:

Missale ecclesie Parisiensis denuo ab aliquot ejusdem ecclesie canonicis ac doctoribus theologis ad id a reverendiss. do. Joan. de Bellayo ... delegatis.... Then follows Merlin's mark, signed with the Lorraine cross. In addition to 8 preliminary leaves this volume contains: *Calendarium temporale*, signatures *a* to *v*; *Sanctorale*, A to M; *Commun.*, A to E, gothic; etc. The first page of the text is in a border which has the Eternal Father at the top, four popes at the sides, and at the foot the mark of the widow Iolande Bonhomme, with the unicorns. The volume was probably published about 1540.

[378] See p. 204, supra. A copy of this frieze—a slavish imitation—in which even the Lorraine cross is reproduced, appears in a Flemish Bible, folio, printed at Antwerp in 1556 (Bibliothèque Nationale).

[379] *Annales des Estienne*, 3d edition, p. 49.

[380] The cross is not very distinct on the copies of 1540, but, strangely enough, it is perfectly clear on those of 1546.—These engravings, like the frieze on the title-page, have been copied by other printers. Such copies may be found in a Bible published at Lyon in 1550, by Sébastien Honorat, and in another published in 1554 by Jean de Tournes. We find them also in a Bible published at Paris in 1586 by Sébastien Nivelle and Gabriel Buon, etc., etc.

[381] See concerning this book, the *Revue des Sociétés Savantes*, vol. v, pp. 624 ff. The author's name was Milles. Some information concerning him is given in the *Revue*.

[382] [See p. 229, infra].

[383] I have seen it bound with a book of Hours published by Kerver in 1556: M.

Portalis's copy.

[384] It has since been sold at auction.

[385] [See p. 115 supra.]

[386] See what I have had to say concerning this book, pp. 88-91, supra.

[387] Renouvier, *Des Types*, etc., 16th century, p. 168.

[388] The *Bibliophile Français* (April 15, 1865) mentions an edition of this book, with the date of 1557. I regret that I was not aware of it before the above paragraph was *printed*, as I should have cited that edition in preference to that of 1575. However, it is unimportant, as the two editions are identical except in the order of the plates, which differs slightly.

[389] Neither the edition of 1557 nor that of 1575 was known to M. Choulant, who published a curious monograph concerning works with anatomical figures. (*Geschichte ... der anatomischen abbildung*; quarto, Leipzig, 1852.)

[390] These explanations are printed, in movable type, in cartouches inserted for that purpose. The type is different in all four of the editions known to me.

[391] See p. 41, supra.

[392] I have seen this engraving in a fragment of a book of Hours, printed in Roman type at a date which I cannot fix although it was contemporaneous. This fragment consists of signatures *Aa* and *Bb* (a half-signature), that is, 12 leaves, numbered 185 to 196. Signature *Aa* begins (folio 185) with a title-page printed in red, in these words: 'Die dominica ad vesperas. Psalmus.' The engraving in question is below them. The last page of *Bb* ends with the word

'finis,' which proves that the book had but 25 signatures.

[393] Or, better, Purgatory. In an octavo collection at the Bibliothèque Mazarine, there is a little book entitled: 'Le Purgatoire prouvé par la parole de Dieu' (octavo; Paris, Denis Basset, 1600), in which this engraving, signed with the Lorraine cross, appears twice; it represents a nude man standing in the flames, with this legend in a scroll: 'Constitvas mihi tenrvs' (tempvs?) 'in qvo recorderis mei.'

[394] Such is my opinion; but I am bound to say that M. Achille Devéria, formerly Conservator of the Department of Engravings, was of the opposite opinion. According to him the unsigned engravings were copies of the others. It seems to me that the dates of printing confirm my theory. For we find the unsigned engravings in an edition of 1522; so that we must refer those with the cross to an earlier date; but this seems hardly probable, since Louis Royer (to whom they are attributed, as we shall see, because he was the first to use them) succeeded Jean de Brie, who did not die until about 1522.

[395] *Manuel du Libraire*, 5th edition, vol. v, col. 1672, no. 366 *bis*.

[396] See supra, p. 168.

[397] [Jean Cousin was born in 1501, and died at Sens about 1590.]

[398] Renouvier, *Des Types*, etc., *Seizième siècle*, p. 162.

[399] [See supra, p. 211.]

[400] That is, having immediate reference to the bearer's name.

[401] [Reproduced on the opposite page.]

[402] This engraving had previously appeared in 'Amadis de Gaule': see supra, p. 216.

[403] Bibliothèque Nationale.

[404] The copies in Sertenas's name bear a very curious mark, which is reproduced in M. Silvestre's book, nos. 221 and 714.

[405] [Supra, p. 149.]

[406] See under that date for details (supra, p. 218).

[407] This portrait was engraved on copper, in 1556, by Woeiriot, printed separately, and pasted on the recto of the second leaf of Le Duaren's works, printed at Lyon in 1558 by Guillaume Rouille, in folio; on some copies Woeiriot's engraving of Le Duaren's portrait is replaced by the one engraved by Georges Ghisy, called the Mantuan. See *Robert-Dumesnil, Peintre-graveur français*, vol. vii, p. 109, no. 282.

[408] See, too, the article on Le Duaren in the *Biographie Universelle*.

[409] Supra, p. 189, note 3.

[410] These letters had already appeared in a book published by Robert Estienne in 1549.

[411] This frieze in 1561 came into the possession of the second Robert Estienne, who used it in a book entitled: *Ordonnances de M. le duc de Bouillon pour le règlement de la justice de ses terres*. Small folio, 1568.

[412] Page 271.

[413] Bibliothèque Nationale.

[414] [Supra, p. 218.]

[415] [The author forgets that he has listed two engravings on folio 59, one on each side of the leaf.]

[416] Bibliothèque Nationale.

[417] [The inscription would seem to prove, on the contrary, that the engraving was made] two years earlier, or in 1551.

[418] Vol. ii, folios 936 recto, 948 verso, and 994 recto. This work of Thevet's must not be confounded with that geographer's *Cosmographie du Levant*, the fruit of an earlier journey, two editions of which had been published at Lyon, in 1554 and 1556, by Jean de Tournes, in quarto, with engravings in the text.

[419] See the details of this voyage of Thevet given by M. Ferdinand Denis in a letter printed at the beginning of a work by M. Demersay, entitled: *Études économiques sur l'Amérique*; 8vo, 1851.

[420] We shall see in the next paragraph that a reprint of it was issued in April, 1558.

[421] See what has been said concerning this volume, on pages 223 and following, supra.

[422] This sign was retained by Thomas Perier, Charles's son. See Silvestre, *Marques Typographiques*, no. 386.

[423] *Péché* [sin].

[424] I have previously had occasion to comment upon the extraordinary custom that formerly prevailed in the Cabinet des Estampes of removing from engravings, etc., every sort of extraneous matter. It is impossible to measure the extent to which this custom has impaired the value of the collection. Unfortunately it is followed by most collectors of prints, who sometimes destroy a very valuable and unique volume for no other purpose than to preserve an engraving unaccompanied by text.

[425] We find some features of it in the frieze engraved by Tory for the Bible published by Robert Estienne in 1532. See p. 202, supra.

[426] This collection was sold in January, 1846, and the plate in question was purchased, for about 2000 francs, for M. Cambacérès, Grand Master of Ceremonies in the Imperial household, who now owns it [1857]. This is what M. Baron says of it in his sale catalogue, no. 445: 'This important piece, in the most perfect preservation, merits the attention of collectors by virtue of its value and its rarity.' There is a copy also in the Cabinet of Geneva.

[427] According to the catalogue quoted in the last note, the reverse of the plate also is embellished with arabesques.

[428] Brother of the first-named Jean.

[429] [See p. 169, supra.]

[430] And not August 20, as it has sometimes been printed.

[431] The 'Avis au lecteur' is by him.

[432] [According to the list there are 11.]

[433] [According to the list only 14.]

[434] See what I have said on this subject on p. 173, supra.

[435] See infra, § III, 'Le Coq.'

[436] These engravings are, as is well known to-day, by Luczelburger, of Basle, Holbein's regular engraver.

[437] These pages were intended to be used as an album. I have seen a very valuable copy at M. Potier's bookshop; he bought it of M. Gaullieur, who has described it in his *études sur l'imprimerie de Genève*, p. 207. This copy, which was arranged by Durand the bookseller,

who emigrated to Geneva for religious reasons, has no title-page and contains only the empty pages, that is to say those with borders alone, within which Durand's friends, the most illustrious leaders of the Reformation—de Bèze, Goulard, etc.—have inscribed each some sentence. In some verses which come first, and which are admirably engrossed on parchment, Durand tells us that he wrote them in 1583, without spectacles, notwithstanding his great age and 'the gout in his fingers.'

[438] Bibliothèque Nationale.

[439] It may be that this fragment belongs to a collection cited by M. Brunet (*Manuel du Libraire*, vol. iv, col. 850), under the title, *Pourtraictz divers*, small octavo, Lyon, Jean de Tournes, 1557, as containing 63 plates, including the title-page. M. Brunet then gives a description of this collection, which cannot possibly fit it. 'These plates represent factories, animals, scenes of divers sorts, mythological subjects, and architectural designs.' This description evidently belongs to the volume of 1556 mentioned on the next page.

[440] These portraits and many other woodcuts of the de Tournes, which are still preserved in the Fick Press, at Geneva, have lately been reproduced in a sumptuous publication entitled: *Anciens bois de l'imprimerie Fick*, folio, Geneva, 1864. It contains many engravings of Petit Bernard.

[441] I have already cited (page 259), on the authority of M. Didot, an edition of this book under the date of 1551, but I doubt its existence.

[442] The first 24 pages of this collection are bound with an edition of Claude Paradin's *Quadrins historiques*, published by Jean de

Tournes, in 1558.

[443] This book was reprinted in 1557, with the title *Pourtraictz Divers*; see p. 260, note 1.

[444] [See pp. 201-202, supra.]

[445] For instance, the anonymous author of a book entitled *Notice sur les Graveurs*, printed at Besançon in 1807 (2 vols., octavo), attributes to Salomon Bernard, whose period of activity he places between 1550 and 1580 (vol. i, p. 63), the engravings of Petrarch's *Triumphs*, which appear in an edition of 1545, and a *Resurrection of the Dead*, dated 1547 (vol. i, p. 64), which dates are inconsistent with those mentioned above; he also attributes to him (vol. i, p. 65) the theatrical scenes which we have with good reason ascribed to Tory, whose cross appears on one of them; and, lastly, he attributes to him the story of Psyche, in 32 duodecimo cuts, and the medallions of Jacques Strada's *Epitome des Antiquités* (Lyon, 1553), his authorship of which is very doubtful. But there is no question at all concerning the following pieces, which certainly belong to Salomon Bernard:—

I. The figures of the Bible, to the number of 251, reprinted very frequently after 1553. In an edition of 1680, printed by Samuel de Tournes, at Geneva, whither the second Jean withdrew about 1580, because of his religion, is the following note: 'The figures that we offer you here are from the hand of an excellent craftsman, known in his day under the name of Salomon Bernard, called Le Petit Bernard, and have always been held in esteem by those who are learned in works of this sort.'

II. Claude Paradin's *Devises héroiques*, containing 184 engravings, besides a border on the title-page. Large octavo, Jean de Tournes,

1557 (Bibliothèque Nationale). The license at the end of the volume discloses the titles of several other volumes which Jean de Tournes was then intending to publish, particularly the two following, which appeared the same year.

III. The Metamorphoses of Ovid; octavo, 1557; 178 engravings.

IV. *L'Astronomique Discours*, by Jacques Bassentin; folio, 1557; with a large number of astronomical plates.

V. *Hymnes du temps*, by Guillaume Gueroult; quarto, 1560; 88 pages, with borders and drawings. In the *avis au lecteur* we read: 'I hope that you will find some pleasure herein, for that the whole is the work of a goodly hand; for the invention [of the engravings] is of M. Bernard Salomon, an excellent painter as there has ever been in our hemisphere.'

VI. Virgil's Æneid, French translation; quarto, 1560; with 12 vignettes.

VII. A book of *Thermes*, in eighteen orders; printed at Lyon in 1572, by Jean Marcorelle.—At the tenth *therme* is a genie carving on a shield the letter S, the initial of Bernard's baptismal name.

A large number of vignettes, and of letters in grisaille, used by the printers of Lyon, are also attributed to this artist.

[446] See what I have had to say on this subject apropos of Baïf's *Annotations*, supra, p. 208.

[447] *Des Types et des Manières des maîtres graveurs*, etc., 16th century, pp. 167, 168.

[448] *Champ fleury*, folio 43 verso.

[449] Eloi Gibier used previously a similar mark, which bore the following device: 'In

sudore vultus tui vesceris pane tuo.' (See Silvestre, no. 544.) He used it particularly at the end of the *Coutumes générales d'Orléans*, 1570.

[450] Bibliothèque Nationale.

[451] Brunet, *Manuel de Libraire*, vol. ii, col. 1629.

[452] This very rare and valuable edition contains a dissertation on Latin accents. Bibliothèque Nationale.

[453] See Silvestre, nos. 286 and 287.

[454] See Mattaire, *Annales typographiques*, vol. iii, part 1 A, p. 147.

[455] See the subscription of the first book published by him in conjunction with Wolfgang Hopyl, under the title, *Artificialis introductio Jacobi Fabri Stapulensis*, etc.; folio, 1502. This book is in the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève.

[456] According to Lottin, it was first used in 1555. See his *Catalogue*, vol. ii, p. 30.

[457] I have reproduced this mark on the title-page of my *Les Estienne et les types grecs de François I*; octavo, 1856.

[458] [Silvestre also gives three other variants, nos. 508, 542, and 958, signed with the cross. No. 508 is reproduced above.]

[459] [1538? M. Bernard mentions no Bible of 1528.]

[460] Octavo; Paris, Robert Estienne, 1550. Bibliothèque Nationale.

[461] This book is described on p. 244, supra.

[462] Bibliothèque Nationale.

[463] See the collection of Tory's work in the

Print Section of the Bibliothèque Nationale.

[464] *Sermonum liber unus ex Isocratis notione de regno, carmine heroico.* Bibliothèque Mazarine.

[465] Bibliothèque Nationale.

[466] Bibliothèque de l'Institut.

[467] Bibliothèque Nationale.

[468] On p. 197. [Reproduced on p. 198.]

[469] The placing of these arms on the typographical mark of Gilles de Gourmont proves, in contradiction of the common opinion, that the printer's trade was not degrading. (But see what I have said on this subject in my book on the *Origin of Printing*, vol. i, p. 210, and vol. ii, p. 89.) The Gourmonts of Paris were in fact descended from a noble family of the Cotentin, which may still be in existence, and which bore the same arms in the seventeenth century. Gilles de Gourmont had taken up his abode in Paris in the last years of the fifteenth century, as had several of his brothers, who practised the same trade. The oldest, Robert, appears in that city as early as 1498; Jean, who was younger than Gilles, not until 1507. We hear also of a Jérôme and a Benoît as booksellers in Paris in the middle of the sixteenth century. I do not know what their relationship to the earlier men was. Perhaps they were sons of Robert. (Benoît, who married Catherine Goulard, had a son baptized by the name of Gilles at the church of Sainte-Croix-en-la-Cité, on October 9, 1546.) We also find a Jean Théobald de Gourmont at Antwerp in 1527. As for Gilles, he was engaged in bookselling and printing from 1506 to about 1533, and left two sons, Jean and François, who retained his establishment on rue Saint-Jean-de-Latran, and

printed there, in 1587, the *Tableaux des Arts Libéraux de Christophe de Savigny*. This is an in-plano, at the beginning of which is a superb engraving representing the arms of the family [as described in the text]. This remarkable work, which bears the monogram of the two brothers, was probably executed by Jean, the elder, who was a painter and engraver. The Musée du Louvre has a picture supposed to be by him (*Notice des tableaux du Louvre*, part 3, p. 156); he is the author of a fine portrait of the Cardinal de Bourbon, mentioned by Mariette and now in the Cabinet des Estampes; he is mentioned also by Abbé de Marolles and by Papillon for certain pictures of equestrian groups and bits of decoration. His mark (formed of the letters I D G entwined) and the name accompanying it are found on several pieces cited by Brulliot, on the plates of a Bible of 1560, and on certain pieces of Tortorel and Perissim (Renouvier, *Maîtres Graveurs du Seizième Siècle*, p. 195). It will be seen that Gilles had worthy successors; unfortunately the race of the Gourmonts of Paris died out with them.

[470] [That is, consisting of unfolded sheets, so that each sheet forms only one leaf, or two pages.]

[471] Bibliothèque Nationale.

[472] Bibliothèque Mazarine.

[473] Gueullard lived at the sign of the Phœnix, *e regione collegii Remensis*.

[474] Bibliothèque Mazarine.

[475] Bibliothèque Nationale.

[476] Bibliothèque Nationale.

[477] [See p. 177, supra.]

[478] [See p. 221, supra.]

[479] *Bibliothèque de l'Amateur champenois*, 2d part: 'Construction d'une Notre-Dame.'

[480] See Dibdin, *The Bibliographical Decameron*, vol. ii, p. 43; Silvestre, no. 61. The one in Silvestre is a reduced copy of that at the end of *Des Coustumes et statuz particuliers de la pluspart des baillages*, etc. (4to, 1527), which is of much larger format, and is also signed with the Lorraine cross. [This magnificent mark is reproduced in its full size on p. 264, supra.]

[481] Quarto; finished Jan. 8, 1536 (1537 n. s.).

[482] *Bibliographical Decameron*, vol. ii, p. 32.

[483] Nos. 153 and 174 seem to be by the same artist, but they are not signed.

[484] Silvestre, no. 801. See a further description of this book, supra, p. 215, note.

[485] Indeed I have seen this mark, with the Lorraine cross, on a Greek alphabet of 1560, printed by G. Morel (Bibl. Nat.), and on several other works printed by Prevosteau, his son-in-law; I will mention particularly *Adriani Behotii diluvium*, octavo, 1591 (Bibl. Nat.), where the mark is cracked, which explains why it was reëngraved with the letters E. P.

[486] Sixteenmo; Paris, Janet, 1855.

[487] See *Le Second Enfer d'Estienne Dolet*; quarto, 1544; Bibliothèque Nationale.

[488] Bibliothèque du Jardin des Plantes et Sainte-Geneviève.

[489] Bibliothèque Mazarine.

[490] One of the 'Seven Sages' of Greece.

[491] Bibliothèque Nationale.

[492] See Silvestre, nos. 42 and 43.

[493] Bibliothèque Nationale.

[494] Bibliothèque Nationale.

[495] Bibliothèque Nationale.

[496] See *Epistres morales d'Honoré d' Urfé*; 8vo, 1619.

[497] [Reproduced on p. 137.]

[498] [Reproduced on p. 286.]

[499] Copies of both books are in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

[500] This book is in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal. The first part is in gothic type, without typographical signs; the second, in roman.

[501] Another document which M. Boyer has kindly made known to me, dated in 1489, informs us that this Jean Thory lived on rue aux Vaches, in Faubourg Saint-Privé; so that it was on that street that Geofroy was born. 'Now,' M. Boyer writes me, 'as that street contains only two houses, I am inclined to select as the house in question the one designated by the name of *maison du perron*, because of a stoop (*perron*) with a wooden roof which is still preserved, and which is accounted for by the proximity of the river.' I saw the house in 1856; it still belongs to the Toubeau family, which tends to confirm M. Boyer's opinion.

[502] Archives of the Department of the Cher, Series C, Notarial Records; minutes of Jean Dujat, notary, 1507.

[503] [See supra, p. 44.]

[504] On the first page of both books are the words: 'Biturigis, apud Bonaventuram

Thorinum, sub signo Anchoræ, vico Maiore, 1595'; and at the end: 'Excusus fuit hic liber typis viduæ Nicolai Levez, Avarici Biturigum, juxta scholas utriusque juris.' (Bibliothèque Nationale.) The first alone contains a license to print (dated August 29, 1595). Therein the publisher is called, in French, 'Thorin,' the natural rendering of the Latin name that we find in the 'note to the reader,' where the form 'Torinus' occurs four times, and 'Thorinus' once only; which confirms my hypothesis relative to the descent of this bookseller of Bourges. For we have seen that Tory wrote his name Torinus in Latin. I must not omit to mention one objection suggested by a friend of mine at Bourges,—that our man is called Bonaventure *Thorin*, in a book of imposts for the year 1588. But every one knows how irregular the spelling of names was in the old days.

[505] May not Tory's son have had for his godfather Bonaventure des Périers, who committed suicide in 1544, in order to avoid a prosecution on account of his religion?

[506] This book, which bears a French title, *Lesclaircissement de la langue françoise*, although written in English and for the English, was printed at London shortly after the publication of Tory's *Champ fleury*. M. Génin issued a second edition in 1852, quarto, Paris, Imprimerie Nationale.

[507] Read 'Tory'; letters transposed.

[508] Read 'Bourges.' The error is due to the fact that the London printers were much more familiar with Bruges, where Caxton, their first master, lived a long while before he introduced printing in England, than with Bourges in Berry. (See my book on the *Origin of Printing*, vol. ii, pp. 347 ff.)

[509] See what I have myself said on this subject, supra, p. 17.

[510] In order to be fair to everybody I am bound to say that M. Génin's reckoning is at fault. Henry VIII having succeeded to the throne on April 22, 1509, the twenty-second year of his reign extends from April 22, 1530, to April 21, 1531, and consequently the license cited here must have been dated September 2, 1530, that is to say, a month and a half after the printing of Palsgrave's book was finished.

[511] Say a year and a half, in consequence of the correction suggested in the preceding note. However, Tory had announced a year earlier the *Reigles de lorthographe du langaige françois*. See supra, p. 100.

[512] Vol. iv, fol. 320 recto. MSS. folio preserved at the Library of the École de Médecine in Paris.

[513] [See supra, pp. 55 and 65.]

[514] [See supra, pp. 69 and 44.]

[515] [See supra, p. 96.]

[516] The necessity of distinguishing between the final *e* which requires the acute accent (*aveuglé*) and that which does not take it (*aveugle*) led to calling the former *masculine* and the other *feminine*. Hence the term 'feminine' still given in French poetry to mute rhymes.

[517] In the fourth edition of the *Manuel de Libraire*; he does mention it in the fifth edition, however, citing me. It is not mentioned either in the *Essai sur la Vie et les Ouvrages de Marguerite d'Angoulême*, by M. de Lincy, prefixed to his edition of the *Heptameron*, which was published by the Société des Bibliophiles Français in 1853-54. I describe it

from a copy owned by M. Ferdinand Denis.

[518] The original text of these letters may be found in my book, *Les Estienne et les types grecs de François Ier*; I give here only a translation borrowed from M. Crapelet, *Études pratiques*, p. 89.

[519] By an inexplicable blunder M. Crapelet has thought fit to render the two words 'Gallicæ reipublicæ,' *republic (of letters)*, failing to understand that the word 'respublica' stands for the State. It is needless to say that he has been followed by many others, particularly M. Duprat in his 'Histoire de l'Imprimerie impériale,' 1861.

[520] I borrow this fragment from M. Crapelet (*Études pratiques*, p. 116), for I have been unable to inspect the volume from which he took it, although he gives an interesting description of it.

[521] [*Lettre à* or *sur double queue*, letters on which the seal is suspended from a strip of parchment passed through the document.]

[522] See what I have to say in the Preface on the subject of Pierre le Rouge, who is given the title of king's printer once, in 1488.

[523] The dates that I give are those of the holding of the office of *king's printer*, and not of the carrying on the trade of printer, which, as a general rule, do not coincide, at least so far as the earlier dates are concerned.

[524] Brunet, *Manuel de Libraire*, 5th edit., vol. ii, col. 1672.—See infra, p. 307 *King's Printers for the Mathematics*.

[525] He calls himself 'architypographus regius' in a work printed by him in 1608.

[526] See the *Recette générale des finances* of

Paris for 1671, in the national archives, KK. 356, fol. 53.

[527] See my *Les Estienne*, p. 35.

[528] Renouard, *Annales des Estienne*, 3d edit., p. 228, col. 1. See also my *Les Estienne*, p. 36.

[529] This appointment involved him in some difficulty with his colleagues, as may be seen from the following letter, of which I found a copy in the Bibliothèque du Louvre, in the Nyon collection.

'When I asked and obtained the office of king's printer, of which M. Le Breton had been deprived by death, I had no idea that it could cause any heart-burning on the part of my confrères, with whom I have always earnestly desired to be on the best of terms. If I had been able to foresee such a thing, I am too much a friend of peace to have voluntarily exposed myself to it by assuming a title which was subject to dispute. But, monsieur, when I submitted the question to you, I thought that I could see that it did not seem to you free from doubt. For this reason I cannot hesitate to abandon claims which seem to me well-founded.

'I beg you therefore, monsieur, to regard as not having been made the claims that I put forward on this subject, and as my confrères do not pretend that any one of them has the right to style himself first king's printer, in like manner I agree to assume simply the title of ordinary printer to his Majesty, and that we shall be placed in the *Almanack Royal* in the order of our reception.

'Paris, 20 November, 1779.

PIERRES.'

For this famous printer, see Lottin, *Catalogue*

des Imprimeurs de Paris, vol. ii, p. 139.

[530] For this paragraph, see my *Les Estienne*.

[531] He is mentioned as 'imprimeur du roi,' without other description, in the registers of the cemetery of Les Réformés de la Trinité, rue Saint-Denis; but I think that he was simply an engraver on copper, like Tavernier.

[532] [Clearly a misprint; perhaps 1561.]

[533] He had been in business since 1784.

[534] He had been in business since 1813.

[535] He had been in business since 1785.

[536] There were royal printers in various cities of France after the latter part of the sixteenth century; but the office was neither regularly instituted nor general in its scope. These printers seem to have had it specially in charge to print official documents in the provinces, which function conferred on them certain privileges, and sometimes caused difficulties with the local authorities, who also had their special printers. The first editions of the edicts, ordinances, etc., emanating from the central authority were afterwards placed in the hands of the royal printing-office in Paris. See what I have to say on this subject in my work on *Les Estienne*, p. 56.

In 1844 M. Le Roux de Lincy published in the *Journal de l'Amateur de livres*, and also had printed separately in an octavo pamphlet of 16 leaves, a compilation entitled: *Catalogue chronologique des imprimeurs et libraires du roi, par le père Adry*; but those shapeless memoranda were not originally intended for printing, and I have been unable to obtain the slightest particle of useful information from them.

[537] Archives, reg. KK, 99, fol. 116 verso. '*Librairie.*—To maistre Jean de Sansay, *libraire ordinaire* to the King our Sire, the sum of two hundred forty livres tournoys, ordered [to be paid] to him by our said lord and his warrant, for his wages as *libraire ordinaire* to our said lord, [said office being held] by him during this present year beginning the first day of January a thousand five hundred twenty-eight [1529 n. s.], and ending the last day of December following, a thousand five hundred twenty-nine, of which sum this present clerk has made payment to the said Sansay by virtue of said warrant, as appears by his receipt signed at his request by Me Huault, notary and secretary to the King, the twenty-third day of January in the year a thousand five hundred twenty-nine now current. For the said sum of IIe XL l. t.'

[538] Brunet, *Manuel de Libraire*, 5th edit., vol. ii, col. 1672.

[539] Was this Jehan Estienne of the family of the great printers? I am unable to say. He is not mentioned in any of their genealogies, nor is the Gommer Estienne, whom I have referred to in my *Les Estienne*.

[540] The name is left blank at the beginning of the original document, and the signature is very doubtful. But the name *Burgensis* or *Bourgeois*, is very common at that period. François I had a physician called Louis Burgensis.

[541] *La Renaissance des Arts*, vol. i, p. 973.

[542] Ibid., p. 925.

[543] That is to say, to *goffer*.

[544] This volume is without date, but the license to print is dated February 23, 1539

(1540, n. s.).

[545] [See supra, p. 138.]

[546] *Salutem dicit perpetuam.*

[547] Read *Avaricum*.

[548] The book has *potuit*, but the errata informs us that we should read *possit.*

[549] The book has *adiiecimus*.

[550] The book has *quandoquidam*, but the errata corrects the error.

[551] The book has *i.*, which, the Middle Ages, stood for *id est.*

[552] Should we not read *manent?*

[553] In the errata it is said that we should read *debebat*, but that word does not fit the metre.

[554] *Claud.*, XV, 385: 'Minuit præsentia famam.'

[555] Plautus, *Casine*, act. V, sc. IV, v. 1: Ubi tu es, qui colere mores Massilienseis postulas.

[556] Should we not say *daret*, or, rather, *dares?*

[557] Read *quo*. At the best this verse is halting.

[558] The book has *Istabili*. It was impossible to place the sign of abbreviation over the capital I.

Transcriber notes:

P. 298. 'M. Wey has forgotton', changed 'forgotton' to 'forgotten'.

Index: 'Barthelin' changed to 'Berthelin' and moved to alphabetic position.

Index: 'Bassentin, Jacques, 'L'astronomique discours,' 261', page number should be 262, changed.

Index: 'Champ Fleury, p. 29: added 'note 1'.

Index: 'Laborde, Comte Léon de', p. 24 note 1; added note '1'.

Index: 'Sirand, Alexandre', p. 24 note is a part of p. 23 note 1; added note '1'.

Changed all instances of 'francois' to 'françois' when in Latin or French.

Fixed various punctuation and latin accents.

*** END OF THE PROJECT GUTENBERG EBOOK GEOFROY TORY ***

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