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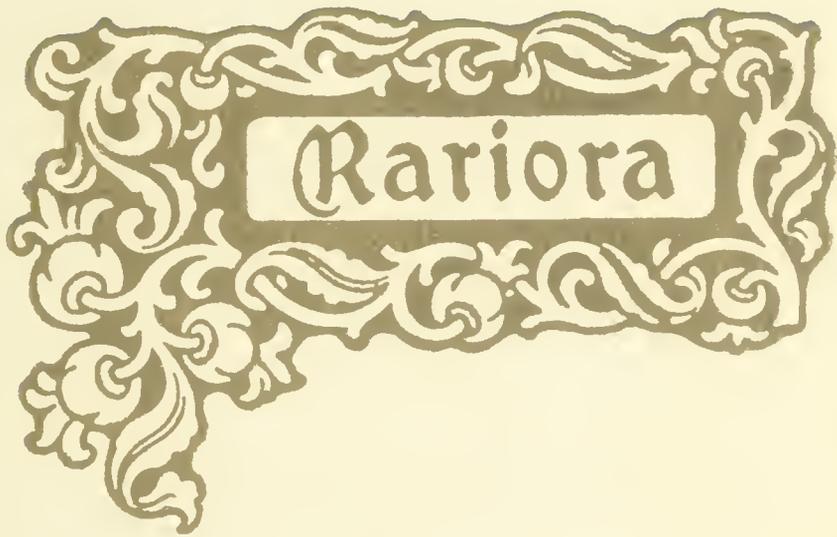
Dear Sir

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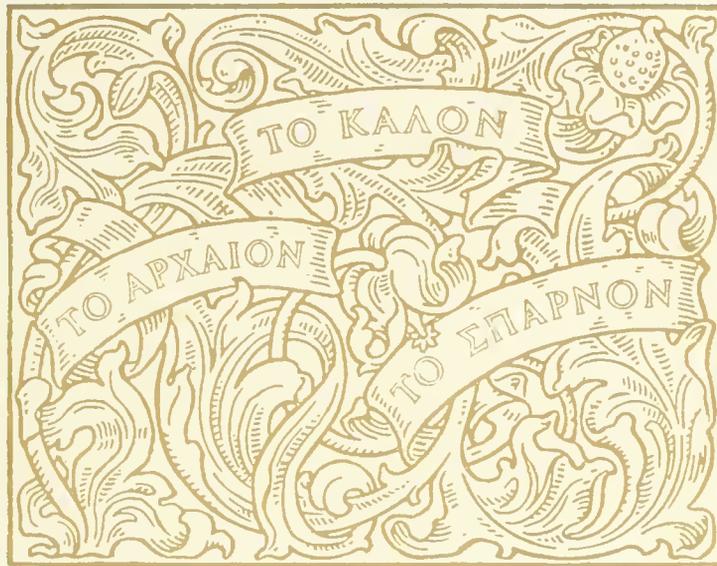
Yours sincerely

Joseph A. Hobson

Uhl raris amico.







ΟΥΚ ΕΝ ΤΩΙ ΠΕΡΙΣΣΕΥΕΙΝ
ΤΙΝΙ Η ΖΩΗ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΕΣΤΙΝ
ΕΚ ΤΩΝ ΥΠΑΡΧΟΝΤΩΝ ΑΥΤΟΥ

Sibi et
Amicis

❧ RARIORA

BEING NOTES OF SOME OF THE
PRINTED BOOKS, MANUSCRIPTS,
HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS, MEDALS,
ENGRAVINGS, POTTERY. ETC., ETC.,

COLLECTED (1858-1900) BY

JOHN ELIOT HODGKIN, F.S.A.

VOL. II.

LONDON:

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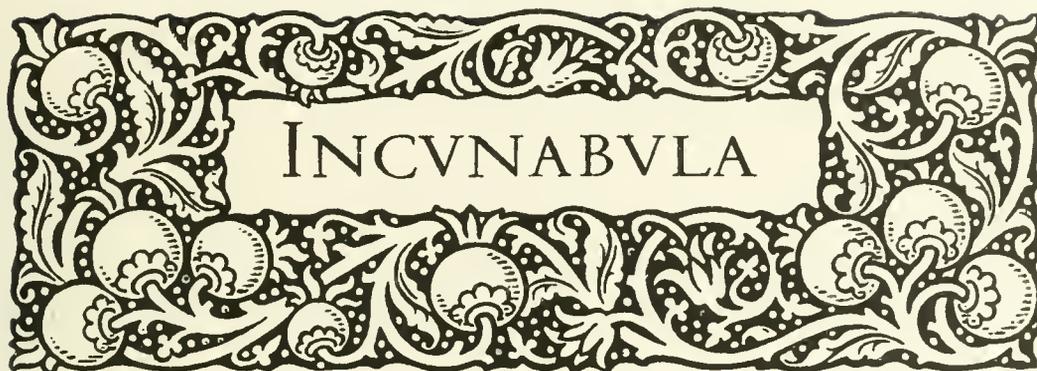
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Corrigenda.

- Page iii, line 14, for *Erbrardus* read *Erhardus*.
.. 84, line 31, after *such proof* omit *and*.
.. 125, line 36, for *positions* read *position*.
.. 248, line 24, after the words *referred to*
insert the words *are examples*.
.. 287, fourth line from bottom, for *notorial*
read *notarial*.



It is to the *Incunabula*, the *Cradle Books*,⁽¹⁾ first productions of the babyhood and early childhood of the press, that "semi-omnipotent engine" which in its middle age now dominates the world, that I owe, as I have said, my introduction to the flower-strewn paths of the collector's country: to them, therefore, I give the first place in the notice of my accumulations, and though my feet have in later years wandered far in other still more beguiling regions of that fair land, the excitement engendered more than forty years ago by the quest of these rare volumes has been in measure revived by the enforced renewal of acquaintance with the half-forgotten friends of my youth. Mr. E. Gordon Duff in his delightful compendium⁽²⁾ gives to the young collector the excellent advice "not to be too catholic in his

tastes but to confine his attention to one subject," and points out that "a collection of fifty miscellaneous fifteenth century books has not, as a rule, more interest than may be associated with the individual books, whilst in a collection of fifty books printed in one town or by one printer, each book is a part of a series, and obtains a value on that account over and above its own individual rarity or interest." No kind mentor was at hand to give me this sound counsel at the outset of my career, and I have grievously sinned against the salutary maxim. I have taken the *Incunabula* as they offered themselves for the love I had to the individual examples, and have thereby lost opportunities for any such independent study as might conceivably have resulted in some trivial addition to bibliographical knowledge. And yet as I indite this my rough list of these isolated volumes, solely for a general public whom I would interest, and not for experts, I am without regrets on this score. Many a reader may, I think, find a passing pleasure in the description of books of the most varied characteristics issuing from fifty or sixty different presses, who would hardly turn over the pages of a scientific investigation, however crudite, into the peculiarities of some fifty or more books whose claim to notice is that they were all printed, let us say, at *Memmingen* or elsewhere. As they pass under review my few *Incunabula* seem to form after all a more representative collection than the manner of their

(1) Lat. *Cuna*, a cradle.

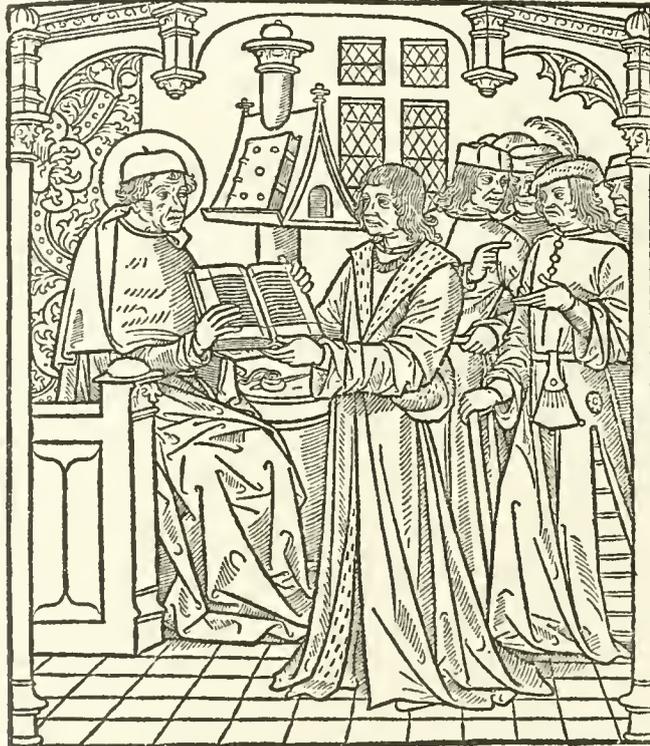
(2) "Early Printed Books," E. Gordon Duff (London, 1893).

acquisition gave reason to expect, and afford a not altogether inadequate notion of many of the leading characteristics and peculiarities of early typography. Under a hundred, all told, they will yet be found to illustrate a fair proportion of the more celebrated German and Italian presses. In putting together my notes on the little group I have been guided, wisely or unwisely, by the desire to give, in so far as may in small compass be accomplished, a modicum of the same pleasure which the volumes themselves give to me. It was unavoidable to cast the descriptions in some sort of bibliographical form in order to avoid slovenliness and ensure a certain measure of uniformity, but in most cases I have kept them as concise as possible, giving somewhat more of detail where the book was exceptionally rare or interesting. From these notes experts will, of course, learn absolutely nothing, and I shall be only too happy to find that I have made no very grievous errors. It is with the same desire to please, earnest if ineffectual, that I have subjoined various short notes on the different presses, gathered from sources accessible to all students but put into a concise form, containing just the sort of information you would like to give to the friend who was looking over your shoulder at a book which was new to him, and who wanted to know something about the printer, and perhaps about the contents of the volume. In the second place I have not hesitated to insert a considerable number of reproductions illustrative of the typographical peculiarities of many of the presses mentioned, as well as some of the illustrations contained in the rarer or more interesting volumes.

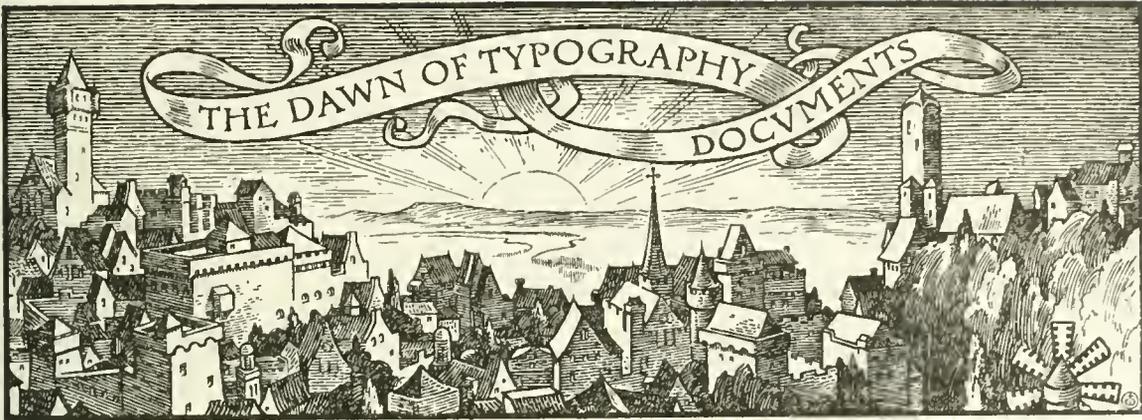
In the term *Incunabula* are by common consent included all those books or sheets printed with movable types which appeared in or before the year 1500. No accurate estimate can as yet be made of the numbers of the different issues embraced by this definition. *Hain*, who died before the completion of his *Repertorium Bibliographicum*, has catalogued 16,299 *Incunabula*, but the recorded number has been greatly augmented since his time, and a conjecture would probably be accepted as reasonable by most bibliographers which assumed that not less than 25,000 distinct editions were printed before the end of the fifteenth century—a record of less than fifty years of work which can but suggest the urgent need in which the world stood of the first inventor. The reader's attention may here be called to a few of the obvious characteristics which distinguish the earliest *Incunabula* from later books. One of the first things which strikes the eye in these earliest volumes is the frequent use of *contractions*, familiar and intelligible enough to those acquainted with MSS. of the same or earlier date, but puzzling to those accustomed only to modern type. It would be beside the mark to give in so elementary a notice any interpretation of these abbreviations, which are printed here just as they occur in the original volumes. A glance at the first few quotations as expanded will however show that no formidable difficulties exist in reading the books themselves. Thus in the first volume in the collection (the *Secunda Secundæ* of S. Thomas Aquinas); the first words would read in modern print—*Questio prima de virtutibus ac viciis in spirituali . . . Explicit ordo et signatio questionum secundi libri secundæ partis beati Thomæ de Aquino benedictus deus*, etc. A second peculiarity of the earlier *Incunabula* when compared with modern books is the absence of the *semicolon*, and a much rarer employment than at present of the *comma* and *colon*,—a third, the peculiarities of spacing and *uneven termination of lines*,—a fourth, the absence of *title-pages*, of *pagination*, of *signatures*, and, as compared with the later *Incunabula*, of *catchwords* and of *registers*, in fact of all those devices which facilitated the binding of the volume and ready reference to its pages. These omissions are the more striking because all these contrivances are to be found in many MSS. of earlier date than the *Incunabula*. The presence in many volumes of *spaces for large initial letters* left to be fitted in by the rubricator or illuminator, and the not infrequent use of "*initial directors*" to guide him in his task, is another feature which cannot fail to attract notice. *Registers* are the earliest and most primitive method of indicating to the binder the way in which the sheets of the book were to

be bound. The register is a little table at the end of a large number of early printed books, in which are enumerated in order the first words of the leaves composing the first half of each gathering or "quire." The earliest known use of these is in the *Cæsar* and *Lucan* of Sweynheym and Pannartz (Rome, 1469). A catchword (*réclame*) is the first word of a page printed at the bottom of the preceding page to indicate in another way to the binder the sequence of the leaves. These were first used in the *Tacitus* of Vindelin de Spira about 1469. The first book with a *title-page* is the *Sermo ad populum predicabilis* by Arnold ter Hoernen of Cologne, in 1470. Title-pages descriptive of the contents of a book were not in general use till near the close of the fifteenth century, the necessity for their introduction being obviated by the extended use of the *colophon* (from the Greek word *κολοφών*, a *summit*, hence, *the finishing stroke—the completion*). In these colophons, as will be seen, is often to be found important information as to date, place of printing, printer and other matters. The earliest example of an ornamental title-page is to be found in *Ioannes Regiomontanus, Kalendarium*, printed at Venice by Bernardus Pictor, Petrus Loslein and Erbrardus Raddolt in 1476. Editions in Italian and German were issued simultaneously with this, with similar title-pages. No earlier example is known of an ornamental title-page, or of one which gives not only the name of the book and date of publication, but also the place of imprint and name of printer. The *paging of leaves* was introduced by the same printer in 1471, in his *Adrianus Carthusiensis de remediis utriusque fortunæ*, and was effected in this instance by numerals placed in the centre of the right hand margin of every alternate page. *Signatures* are letters in alphabetical order printed on the pages composing the first half of the gathering, usually but not always at the bottom. The first use of these printed with the text seems to be found in *Nider Expositio Decalogi* printed by Johann Koelhoff, of Lubeck, at Cologne, in 1472. *Spaces left for initials and initial directors*.—At a time when the products of the new art had to bear competition with manuscripts, the coloured initial letters which formed by their contrast with the brilliant black of the text a feature so agreeable to the eye, were in the Incunabula, with a very few notable exceptions, not produced by press work but filled in, in a space left for the purpose on the printed sheets, by a rubricator whose handiwork was of a more or less elaborate character, according to the requirements of the public for whom the book was intended, and who not only inserted the initial letters but also in many cases made it his business to touch up with red the capital letters throughout the volume, and to underline passages at his pleasure. Some of the most delicate will bear comparison with high-class work in MS. volumes. For the guidance of the artist, who could not in all cases be trusted to insert the right character, a very small letter, an "*initial director*," was often, but not always, printed in the space left for the rubricated or illuminated letter. An excellent example of the need for some such guidance will be found in the facsimile following page 2 of Mr. Horatio F. Brown's admirable volume, *The Venetian Printing Press*, illustrating the two editions of the *Decor Puellarum*, which he calls *Decor A* and *Decor B*. In the copy of the *Decor B* the rubricator, having no printed indication of the letter he was to introduce, has inserted a D instead of a C, making the first word of the second chapters read DRIEDO instead of CRIEDO. A large number of the earlier Incunabula please the artistic eye by the beauty of the paper or vellum on which they are printed, and by the brilliancy of the ink; in the case of those in which *gothic* types are used, by the quaintness of their general appearance, and by the *bizarre* design and execution of the woodcuts with which they are illustrated, whilst from many of those of Italian origin a different kind of gratification is derivable from the charming proportions of the roman characters employed, and the refinement of the engravings which they frequently contain. Some idea of all these characteristics may be obtained by an inspection of the facsimiles of text and illustrations accompanying the description of my own volumes.

The foregoing slight and superficial notice of some of the characteristics of the works of the earliest printers will perhaps suffice as an introduction to the description of Incunabula in the Collection, but it is my desire more fully to interest my readers' sympathies with the pioneers of the typographic art by a short excursus devoted to that inexhaustible topic, the mystery of the origin of the invention, and of the name and country of the inventor. This digression is comprised in four chapters, entitled respectively, *The Dawn of Typography (Documents)*—*The Invention*—*Wooden Types*—*The Evolution of the Type-Mould*. Although in the short space devoted to these important subjects extreme compression has been in some cases inevitable, it will be found that in others new ground has been broken, and investigations initiated on points which seem to deserve fuller scrutiny than they have hitherto received.



FACSIMILE (REDUCED) OF A WOODCUT IN THE "ART DE BIEN MOURIR." (PARIS, ANT. VÉRARD, 1492.)



F some of those technical arts which have lessened the labours and sweetened the life of man, (the "*artes illiberales*" of an unenlightened age,) we are fortunately able to trace with reasonable certainty the beginnings and to honour the progenitors. Not so with the earliest inception of an industry which has conferred perhaps the greatest of all benefits upon humanity. Encompassing the birthplace of the Art of Printing, and hiding the personality of the first printer, is a hitherto impenetrable fog of mystery, an atmosphere of doubt and darkness which investigators have for ages endeavoured to pierce, expending or wasting in the process lives, fortunes, reputations, mountains of paper, seas of ink, yet leaving unsolved, as all but the enthusiasts on either side will admit, the one crucial query, and allowing the inquisitive world still to yearn for a positive answer to the question—*When, where, by whom and, above all, by what steps was mankind first blessed with this heaven-born art?* In the honour of their own particular heroes rival cities erect statues, strike medals, celebrate anniversaries, empty wine-bottles, fill the air with patriotic applause and most confident orations, and yet to this day no one can say that he knows of a surety to what individual or even to what country these encomiums are really due.

The reader who is asked to examine the peculiarities of a number of books whose chief claim on his attention is based on their early date is entitled to some information, however slight, on the *still earlier* productions of the press, and on the nature of the controversies relating to the genesis of the art to which they owe their existence. The extremely elementary character of such a sketch as can be given in a page or two will be evidenced by a moment's consideration. Among the cities thought at one time or other worthy to have begotten the Art of Printing may be enumerated *Augsburg, Basle, Bologna, Dordrecht, Feltri, Florence, Haarlem, Lubeck, Mentz, Nuremberg, Rome, Strasburg, Venice*; and in the list of suggested inventors occur the names of *Castaldi, Coster, Faust, Gutenberg, Han, Jenson, Mentelin, Schæffer* and others, to say nothing of such incongruous personages as *Saturn, Job, Cicero* and *Charlemagne*.

A record of the names of those writers who up to the year 1740 had taken part in the discussion, with extracts from their treatises, occupies in the *Typographica* of J. C. Wolff some 2,300 pages, no less than one hundred and twenty-five authors being cited in behalf of *Gutenberg* alone; and since that date not only has the list of champions of one or other cause been very largely added to but the arguments have become more critical, more exhaustive and far more voluminous, the last contribution, for example, of Dr. Van der Linde in support of *Gutenberg* containing no less than 1,100 pages.

Even among the supporters of the claims of one city alone, that of *Mentz*, the important questions still remaining unsettled are very numerous, though many have been disposed of since the beginning of the present century, when *Daunou* could present thus tersely, and somewhat satirically sum up, the difficulties which presented themselves to the enquirers of that day: "That *Mentz* was the birthplace of printing is the most generally received opinion, but those who uphold it are not in accord, either in regard of the year or the inventor. What year, say between 1440 to 1457, was the real date? Was the creator of the art *Gutenberg*, *Faust* or *Schæffer*? or did each contribute his share to the invention? and of what nature was that share? Do the names of *Gutenberg* and *Genssfleisch* belong to two individuals or to one? and was he born at *Mentz* or at *Strasbourg*? was he gentleman or valet, artist or money-lender? Was *John* or *Peter Faust* or *Fusth* goldsmith or bookseller? was he also called *Gutmann*, or is it he whom we must call *Genssfleisch*? Are we to recognise him in the fabulous personage so celebrated as the magician *Faust*? Was *Schæffer* shepherd or cleric? was he the son-in-law of *Gutenberg* or of *Fusth*? Was there in this first printing-office one only *Schæffer*, or perhaps two, the layman and the cleric? What were the first processes of the inventor or inventors? did they in the first instance make use of fixed slabs or of movable letters of wood? Did they in the next place employ cut metal types or stems on which the letters were engraved? or was the transition immediate from movable wooden types to metal types made as we make them now? Was this kind of type invented or only perfected by *Schæffer*? What were the first productions of the *Mentz* press, and by whom and when printed? These questions are not all equally problematical nor of equal importance, but there is not one of them which has not been resolved in differing ways in the various treatises published from 1600 to 1802, even by those which agree in assigning to *Mentz* the place of honour." (*Analyse des opinions sur l'origine*, &c., p. 78, Paris, An. xi.)

The causes of our ignorance on a matter of such moment are lucidly propounded by *Schæpflin*, (*Vind. Typogr.*: page 3). He remarks that when the literary world came to realize the importance of typography questions began to be asked about the inventor and the place of invention. But in every discussion the writers paid too little attention to the evolution of the art, and not unfrequently confounded the anticipation, the first essays and the perfecting of the invention. The first inventors, of course, who could have furnished information respecting the true origin, were simply bent on making money and quite indifferent to glory. They had for many years preserved the secret of their art and thus gave to its perfectors the opportunity of appropriating all the credit of the invention.

A process of elimination has resulted in a great reduction of the number of aspirants, and there remain roughly only two groups of advocates, those of *Coster* and a *Dutch* invention, those of *Gutenberg* and a *German* invention, and the *agnostics* who hold non-proven the conclusions of either of the former and wait for more light.

The student who may happen to desire any real knowledge of the controversy is referred to the list of Bibliographical Books in the present volume, most of which can be procured without difficulty, in which he may dig for himself to his heart's content and thence form his own conclusions.

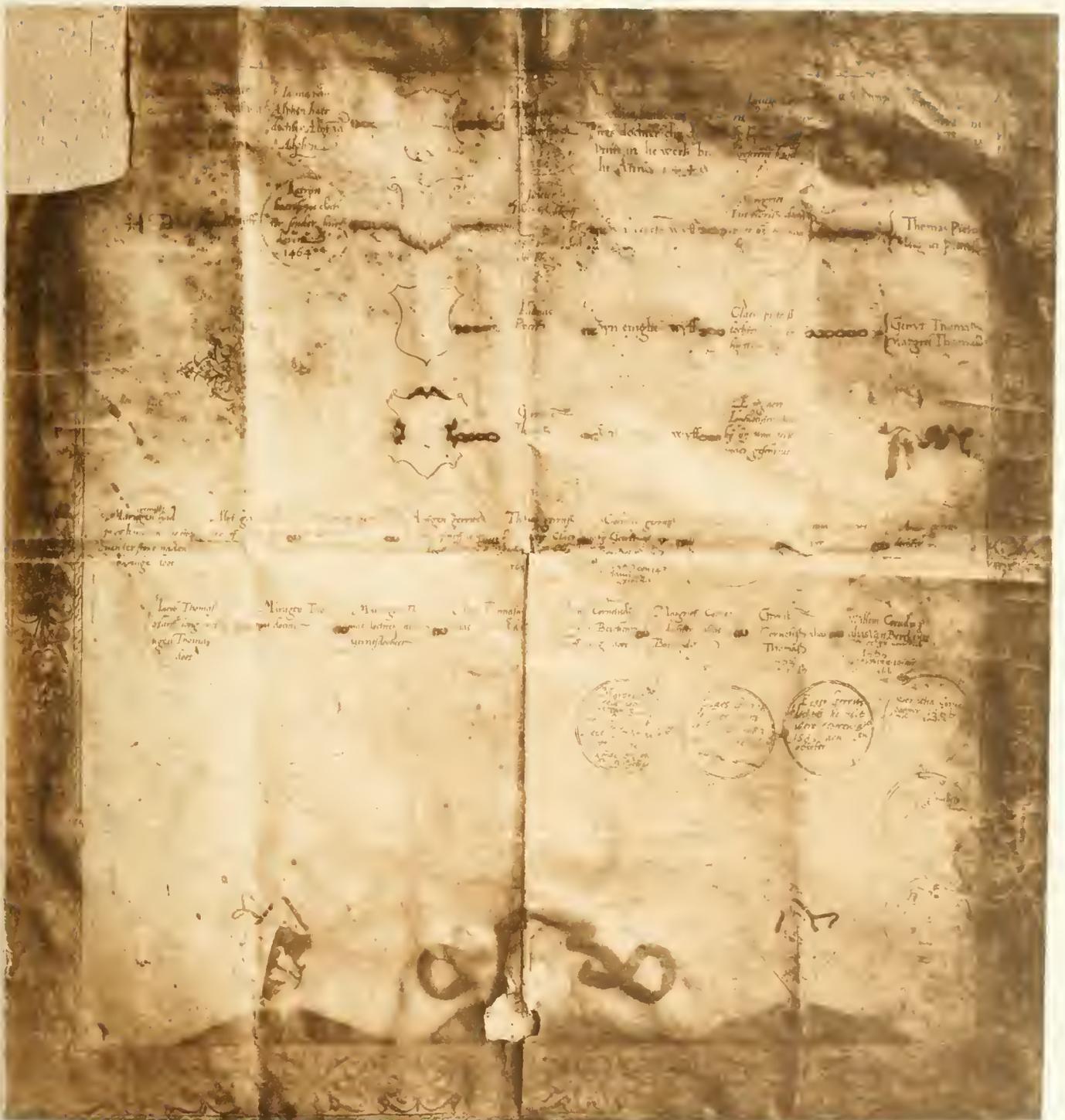
For his help in such a quest I have thought it not inopportune to subjoin in the first place a very brief epitome of the respective claims of the supporters of *Gutenberg* and *Coster*, and following these a certain number of accurate facsimiles (made expressly for this purpose and taken where possible from the originals in this country or on the Continent) not only of some of those *pièces justificatives* which are appealed to or relied upon by either party, but also of the very earliest pieces of printing known to be in existence.

These facsimiles will be, I think, in the main entirely new to the English reader, and of all of them it may be said that they are, by reason of the greater accuracy of modern systems of reproduction, more trustworthy than many of those to be met with elsewhere. The photo-lithographic examples in some comparatively recent books, English and foreign, are so roughly executed as to be very disappointing and even misleading when compared with the originals. I hope that these object-lessons may in measure atone for the enforced brevity of the following sketches of the claims of the two parties to the controversy, which I offer with diffidence, claiming indulgence for any shortcomings or unintentional misstatements.

A BRIEF SKETCH OF THE CONTENTIONS OF THE ADVOCATES OF GUTENBERG.

JOHANN GUTENBERG or *Gudenburch*, the son of the patrician *Fielo Gensfleisch* and *Eise Gutenberg*, was born at *Mentz* about the year 1399. There were two children of the marriage, *Johann* and *Fielo*. *Johann* took his mother's name at a time when it was feared that her family might become extinct. He was sometimes described as *Johann Gensfleisch alias Gutenberg*. The whole family exiled themselves, probably to *Strasburg*, in consequence of civil disturbances, and it is in that city that we find the earliest notice of *Johann*. In no less than six more or less authentic documents before the year 1439 mention is made of him or his family. In that year he appeared as defendant in a law-suit at *Strasburg*, the plaintiff in which was *Jerge* (*Georg*) *Dritzehen*, who sued *Johann Gensfleisch* of *Mentz*, called *Gutenberg*, in reference to transactions which had taken place between the defendant and *Andres Dritzehen*, the recently deceased brother of *Georg*. In the course of this suit (a short notice of which will be found on page 8) it appeared that *Gutenberg* had been engaged in some secret processes which are by many writers supposed to have been connected with printing, a presumption to which some of the phraseology lends itself. But the latest exponent of the case for *Gutenberg*, Dr. Van der Linde, seems disinclined to see in the document, which, however, he treats at great length, any evidence that the art had been invented as early as the date of the suit, viz., in 1439. In 1441 and 1442 *Gutenberg* was in pecuniary difficulties, documentary evidence of which, now probably destroyed, existed in the Church of St. Thomas at *Strasburg*. With this exception we have little or no information of his doings during the years between 1439 and 1448. In 1448 he had returned to *Mentz*, still in poverty, and was when we find him there borrowing through his relation, *Arnold Gelthus*, one hundred and fifty guilders at an interest of eight and a half guilders. By the year 1450 he must, it is suggested, have accomplished in the way of printing something sufficiently tangible and attractive to convince *Johann Fust*, a rich citizen of *Mentz*, that it was safe to lend him in that year a sum of money wherewith to establish a printing press and to join him in a partnership for carrying on a business, the enterprise contemplated being no less, say the *Gutenbergians*, than the printing of the *forty-two-line Bible*, now known as the *Mazarine*, and attributed by the latest exponents of the opposite school to the press of *Peter Schaffer*. It is curious that, whilst Van der Linde ascribes to *Pfister* the printing of the *thirty-six-line Bible*, Mr. Hessels is almost willing to allow the Bible, and other works including the *Catholicon*, as well as the *Indulgence of thirty-one lines*, to the press of *Gutenberg*, whilst claiming in the most positive manner for *Schaffer* the *forty-two-line Bible* and the *Indulgence of thirty lines*, four editions of the *Donatus*, and a *Cantica ad Matutinas*. Five years after this partnership had been entered into *Fust* brought an action against *Gutenberg* for the recovery of 1,550 guilders which he alleged that the latter owed him, and the case was heard at *Mentz* and

concluded on the sixth of November, 1455, when, *Gutenberg* not having appeared, a decision was given against him which led, it is supposed, to his being compelled to give up press, materials and business into the hands of his unscrupulous partner *Fust*, who at once associated with himself *Peter Schœffer* of *Gernssheim*, with well-known typographical results. The Notarial Instrument recording the oath taken by *Fust* as a result of this decision is usually called the *Helmasperger Document*, because in it is the name and notarial comment of *Ulricus Helmasperger*, who testifies that he had drawn it up on *Fust's* behalf. A facsimile of it will be found opposite page 18. *Gutenberg*, though thrown penniless on the world by the adverse decision of the court, did not lose heart, and, assisted with funds by the Doctor *Conrad Homery* or *Humery*, must have established a new press in *Mentz*, whereat he printed in 1460, as some bibliographers believe, the *Catholicon* of *Joannes Balbus de Janua* which others ascribe to *Bechtermunze*. In 1462 the house of *Fust* was burned and his press destroyed in the sack of *Mentz* by the Archbishop *Adolf*, but nothing is known of what became of *Gutenberg's* office. In 1466 the printing office which contained his types was in active operation at *Eltvile* in the hands of *Henry* and *Nicholas Bechtermunze*. *Gutenberg* died in 1468 and was buried, as some say, in the Dominican Church at *Mentz*. His matrices, types, instruments and other utensils passed into the hands of *Dr. Homery*, to whom they belonged by right; but by a document, of which a copy is preserved, *Homery* gave an undertaking to the Archbishop *Adolf* that he would use them in no other town than *Mentz*, nor sell them to any but a citizen of *Mentz*, even if a stranger should offer him a higher price for them. These types were afterwards used by *Henry* and *Nicholas Bechtermunze* but the details of the transfer are still obscure and puzzling. Among the other testimonies in behalf of *Gutenberg* relied on by the *Mentz* school are the following:—In a letter of *Gul. Fichet* to *Robert Gaguin* discovered at *Basle* in a copy of *Gasparini Orthographia*, printed at *Paris* circa 1472, it says: "It is rumoured (*ferunt*) that not far from the city of *Mentz* a certain *Johann Gutenberg* (*Johannes, cui cognomen Bonemontano*) first of all invented the art of printing, by means of which books are made with letters of metal, not with the pen." In 1483 died *Mattia Palmieri*, (born in 1423). In the same year *Ratdolt* published *St. Jerome's* translation of *Eusebii Chronicon*, in which there were continuations down to 1449 by *Matteo Palmieri* and from 1449 to 1481 by his kinsman *Mattia*. Under the year 1457 there is a paragraph stating that no words can express the debt of literature to *Germany*, where by *Johannes Guttenberg zum Jungen* the method of printing was with most subtle genius invented in 1440 at *Mentz* on the *Rhine*. In the same year *Iac. Phil. Foresti* of *Bergamo* published his *Supplementum Chronicorum*, in which it is stated under the year 1458 that the art of printing books was discovered in *Germany*, according to some by *Guthimberg* of *Strasburg*, according to others by *Faust*, and to others some by *Nicolas Jenson*. The statement contained in the *Chronik van Köln*, 1493, is, curiously enough, relied on by the controversialists on either side as a pillar of strength in support of their respective arguments. For this reason I have in my notice of the copy in my collection given a facsimile of the text and a short *résumé* of the way in which each party has handled it. In 1499, and again in 1501, *Jacobus Wimpheling* attributes the invention to *Gutenberg*. The *Chronicon of Spanheim* was written about the year 1506 by *Johannes Trithemius*, though the work was not published till 1601. In it *Trithemius* states that the art of printing books (*imprimendi ac characterizandi libros*) was discovered anew at *Mentz* by *Joannis Guttenberg*, who, having spent all his substance in accomplishing with difficulty the new invention, perfected it by the counsel and help of those good men *Joannes Fust* and others, and in the *Annales Hirsaugienses*, forming part of the *Compendium* printed by *Johann Schœffer* in 1515, under the year 1450 *Trithemius* says that he was told by *Peter Schœffer* that *Gutenberg* and *Fust* first printed the *Catholicon* from *xylographic* blocks, but could of course print no other books from these, and that they afterwards found out a more subtle way of founding the forms of all the letters of the Latin language which they called *matrices*; that while they were printing the *Biblia* they spent more than 4,000 florins before they had printed the *third quaternion*, and that then *Peter Schœffer*, an ingenious and prudent man, thought out (*excogitavit*) a readier method of founding types, and brought it to its perfect state (*et artem ut nunc est complevit*). The later testimonies in favour of *Gutenberg* are of less importance than those just referred to.



FACSIMILE [ON A GREATLY REDUCED SCALE], OF THE *COSTER PEDIGREE*, NOW FOR THE FIRST TIME PUBLISHED. FROM A PHOTOGRAPH FROM THE ORIGINAL OBTAINED BY THE KINDNESS OF MESS ENSCHEDÉ OF HAARLEM.

REFUTATIONS BY THE COSTERIANS OF THE CLAIMS OF GUTENBERG.

THESE, as distinguished from the positive arguments in favour of *Holland* and of *Coster* sketched below, are concerned in the first place with the absence, at the time when it would naturally have been made, of any claim on the part of Gutenberg during the *Helmasperger* Process to an *invention* of the art. In the next place the art of *Fust* and *Schaeffer* is spoken of by them in the colophon of the 1457 Psalter as an *adinventio*, but nothing is said of the place of invention nor of the name of the inventor, though these facts would have been matters of common knowledge at the time if the contentions of the Gutenbergians are well founded. In the colophon of the *Catholicon* of 1460 again, where the art is extolled, no mention of an invention is to be found. Further, the testimony of *Fichtel* in 1470 or 1472 is to be taken as a rumour derived at second or third hand from the three first Paris printers (Crantz, Gering and Friburger), two of whom are known to have lived at Basle, and communicated in all probability to them by *Berthold von Hanau*, presumed to be the *Bertolff von Hanauwe*, Gutenberg's servant mentioned in the *Helmasperger* document, and other testimonies can be in like manner traced to interested persons who however were careful to make in public no assertions of the kind at a time when such assertions could have been contradicted or affirmed. The very first distinct claim for *Mentz* is really made in the third edition of Justinianus (*Institutiones*), issued by Schaeffer in 1476, wherein he says that that city is the "*impressoria artis inventrix eliminatrixque prima*," utter silence on so important a point having been till that time maintained—a circumstance which, until some lucid explanation is forthcoming, it is difficult to reconcile with the pretensions of Mentz to priority in the art. And finally the indebtedness of Gutenberg to the *Donatuses* printed in Holland before his own beginnings, as is described by *Ulrich Zel*, stands on an unshakable foundation and cannot be ignored or got rid of. Some rebutting evidence is to be found in the older books written in the Gutenbergian interest, but the ablest and most modern summary, including much new and carefully marshalled evidence, is to be found in the article "Typography" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, and at much greater length in the following works of Mr. J. H. Hessels, M.A. *Gutenberg: was he the Inventor of Printing?* (London, Quaritch, 1882, 8vo, pp. 201); *Haarlem the birthplace of Printing, not Mentz* (London, Elliot Stock, 8vo, pp. 85). A perusal of these treatises will go far to supply what is wanted on the negative side of the question.

A BRIEF SKETCH OF THE CONTENTIONS OF THE ADVOCATES OF COSTER.

THE earliest and one of the most important arguments in favour of an invention prior to that of *Gutenberg* is to be found in the note in the diary of the *Abbat of Cambrai* under the year 1445, of which a notice and facsimile will be found on page 12. This document affords, it is contended, positive evidence that in the year 1446, years before it can be shown that Gutenberg had printed anything, printed books (*Doctrinales*) were purchasable in Flanders. It will be seen by the remarks which accompany the facsimile that the German school is quite indisposed to accept the validity of this argument.

In the town of *Haarlem* is preserved at the present day an old pedigree of an inhabitant of the town named *Laurens Janszoon Coster* and his progeny, made for one *Gerrit Thomaszoon*, who died in 1563 or 1564, having been sheriff in 1541, and who claimed to be a descendant of *Coster*, in which occurs the inscription, "Zyn tweede wijff was *Louris Janssoens Costers* dochter die deerste print in die werlt brocht Anno 1446" (date since altered to 1440), i.e., "*His* (Thomas Pieterssoen's) *second wife was the daughter of Louris Janssoens Coster, who brought the first print into the world Anno 1446.*" A pedigree based on this document was published at *Haarlem* by *W. Van Kessel*, a Latin version will be found in the *Origines Typographicae* of *Gerard Meerman*, and a facsimile of the original on a greatly reduced scale is annexed.

Scrivenerius (*Laurea Laurentii Costeri, Harlemi*, 1628, 8vo, page 28) speaks of a work in Latin written in the form of a dialogue on the Invention of Printing by *John van Zuren*, a printer of *Haarlem*, all of which but the title and prefatory leaves were lost as was supposed during the siege of that place in 1573. In the portion preserved the author denies in polite terms to *Mentz* the right to the honour of the invention, which he ascribes to his native city, *in hac urbe nostra Harlemensi prima esse jacta officii hujus fraclari fundamenta, rudia fortasse, sed tamen prima*, but makes no mention of the name of the inventor, to whose

house, however, he refers as still standing in a decayed condition. In the dedication of an edition of the *Officia Ciceronis*, published in the same year by *Van Zuren* and *Coornhert*, the latter states that he has been informed in good faith that the art was invented in *Haarlem*, but transferred to *Mentz* by a perfidious servant of *Coster*, who perfected it in that city. He has been told this by persons of great age and consideration, who informed him of the name and family of the inventor, described to him the first rough method of printing and pointed with the finger to the house of the first printer. In 1567 *Luigi Guicciardini*, in a description of the Netherlands printed at Antwerp, refers to the claim to the discovery of printing at *Haarlem* as being supported not only by its inhabitants and other Hollanders but by the evidence of authors and other "monuments," and mentions the belief that the author of the art died before he had perfected it, that his servant went to *Mentz* and having published some small specimen of his art was well received, and at last the report was spread that the invention had its origin in that city. In 1588 *Hadrianus Junius* (best known, I think, to collectors as the author of a rather rare book of Emblems, 1569 and 1575) published at Leyden in 4to his *Batavia*, on page 17 *et seqq.* of which book is the statement which has been discussed with more bitterness than any other except, perhaps, that of *Koelhoff* in the Chronicle of Cologne. It has been reprinted and translated perhaps a score of times. The historical portion is ushered in by a good deal of flowery language quite in consonance with the practice of many writers of that period, but not so conducive to an implicit faith in the narrative as a simpler relation might have been. Although the story is so well worn a brief condensation of *Junius's* account of the discovery seems necessary. He gives it as the result of communications to himself from aged and notable persons and from citizens holding high offices in the state, who assert that they have received the relation of the facts from their ancestors and confirm it by most important testimony. It is on this wise.

There lived 128 years ago (*i.e.*, before the writing of the *Batavia*, circa 1568) in a rather important house (*ædibus satis splendidis*) one *Laurence*, son of *John* (*Lourens Janssoens*) called *Coster* (the Dutch term for Sacristan, an honourable and hereditary office having given name to the family). As he was one day walking after dinner (*sumpto cibo*), as was the manner of well-to-do citizens in those days, in a spacious wood he began to cut letters from the bark of a beech-tree, with which reversed he impressed on paper first one verse and then another as copies for his grandchildren. And as this turned out well he began, being a man of great and ready wit, to contemplate greater things, and assisted by his son-in-law *Thomas* (son of *Peter*) invented a more glutinous and substantial kind of ink than that already in use, because the common ink was found to spread or blot, and therewith printed whole pages (*pinaces*) with pictures and text combined, of which productions *Junius* had seen rude specimens, these first essays being printed on one side only of the paper. This book was written in Dutch and entitled *Speculum Nostræ Salutis*, and it was arranged that the blank sides of the paper could be pasted together so as to avoid their unsightliness. After that *Coster* substituted characters of lead, and subsequently of tin, for those made of beech, the metal being more substantial, less flexible and more durable than the wood. Very ancient wine-pots cast from what remained of those types were still to be seen in *Junius's* time in the house of *Lourens*, afterwards inhabited by his great-grandson *Gerard* (*Gerrit*), son of *Thomas*, a distinguished citizen, who had died a short time before the writing of the *Batavia*. As the new art was favourably received, and the new merchandise, unseen before, attracted buyers from every quarter, handsome profits and an increasing love of the art went hand in hand, and more workmen were engaged. And here the trouble began, for among them was a certain *John*, bearing as is suspected the ominous name of *Faust*, but whether this be so or not *Junius* will not take much trouble to enquire, not wishing to disturb the shades of the departed by stimulating those pangs of conscience with which they must have been afflicted as long as life lasted. This *John* was bound to secrecy by oath and first employed in the manipulation of the press. Now when he thought that he was thoroughly versed in the composition and in the casting of the types he seized the most fitting opportunity possible, namely on Christmas night when all were wont to be engaged in Divine service, and fell upon the whole store of the types, packed up the stock of tools so ingeniously prepared by his master (*choragium omne typorum involat, instrumentorum herilium ei artificio comparatorum suppellectilem convasat*) and fled with his booty. Going first to *Amsterdam*, then to *Cologne*, he at last reached *Mentz*, where, being out of the reach of pursuit (*quasi extra telorum jactum*), he reaped the fruits of the robbery by opening a workshop of his own, and in the space of one year, about 1442, it is certain that there issued from that office the *Doctrinale* of *Alexander Gallus*, a grammar then in extensive use, and the tracts of *Petrus Hispanus*, both printed with the types which *Lourens* had used at *Haarlem*. All these relations,

says *Junius*, he himself heard in days gone by from the mouths of old and trustworthy men, who had received their information from their predecessors, handed down from one to another as a burning torch is passed from hand to hand. He remembers, too, that *Nicholas Gale*, his tutor, a man venerable and of most retentive memory, assured him (*Junius*) that as a boy he had often heard a certain bookbinder named *Cornelius* (a man of more than eighty years of age who had been an under-workman in *Coster's* office), relating with the greatest emotion and fervour the history as he had heard it from his master, of the development and increase of the (at first) crude art. The tears would flow from his eyes when mention was made of the crime, and the idea of the glory stolen from his master would so overpower him that he would burst into the most violent reproaches and threats against the thief, and curse those nights which he had for some months passed with him in one bed. The Burgomaster, *Quirinus Talesius*, admitted that he had almost the same words from the mouth of the same bookbinder."

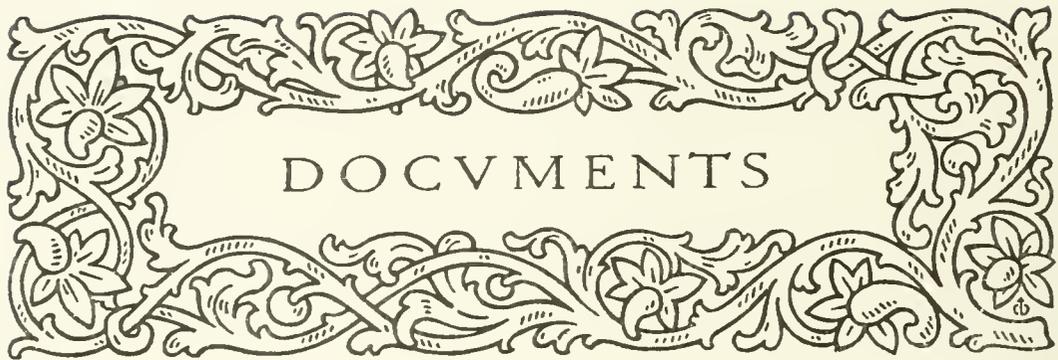
Later writers, *Boxhorn*, in his work *De Typographica Artis Inventione et Inventoribus*, Leyden, 1640: *Schöpflin*, in his *Vindictæ Typographica*, Strasburg, 1760: *Meerman*, in his *Origines Typographica*, the Hague, 1765: furnish arguments in favour of a *Haarlem* invention, and suggestions affecting its date, but must not be relied upon for much additional information. The very strongest arguments in favour of a Dutch origin for the invention are to be found in the existence of the large number of fragments from an unknown press, (of which two specimens recently discovered are now in my own collection and are described hereinafter,) printed, as is almost universally believed, in Holland, with the types of the *Speculum nostræ Salutis*, or types analogous thereto, and in the fact that a large number of these remarkable and almost mysterious fragments have been discovered in *Haarlem* or its vicinity. One of these, a portion of a *Donatus*, "was found in the original binding of an account book of 1474 of the Cathedral at *Haarlem*, in which an entry occurs showing that the account book had been bound by *Cornelis* the bookbinder, the very man who is alleged by *Junius* to have been the servant of the printer of the *Speculum*, etc. and who therefore plays an important part."

And, finally, it is claimed that these fragments afford precisely the evidence wanted for the confirmation of the testimony (of *Zel*) in the *Chronicle of Cologne* that the refiguration of the *Mentz* press was to be found in the *Donatuses* printed in Holland.

REFUTATIONS BY THE GUTENBERGIANS OF THE CLAIMS OF COSTER.

THE arguments by which the school of *Mentz* endeavours to refute the claims of *Holland*, and especially of *Haarlem*, to an invention of printing prior to that of *Mentz* are voluminous indeed and can be glanced at here only in the briefest possible way. An attempt to discredit the interpretation of the memoranda of the *Abbat of Cambrai* relating to *Doctrinales* printed with movable types before 1445 forms naturally the forefront of the attack on the priority of a Dutch invention, and the few notes on this document which will be found on page 12 will serve to define the position of each party on this momentous point. On the account given by *Junius*, and on the ascription by the pedigree of the invention to *Coster*, scathing ridicule has been poured out. It is queried why the thief who robbed *Coster* of his types and of his glory was not pursued, exposed and punished and his pretensions annihilated, and why the descendants of *Lourenz*, who continued to print till 1472, never claimed the honour of the invention for their ancestor. How was it that the family did not religiously preserve some specimens at least of the works of which they must have been so proud?—that no Dutch writer or printer from 1441 to 1588 claimed the honour of the invention for his countryman *Coster*?—that the earliest recognized printer in *Haarlem*, *Jacob Bellaert*, printing in 1483, never alluded to the earlier practice of the art in his town? How was it that, whilst *Coster's* descendants were living in *Haarlem* at the time when *Van Zuren*, *Coornhert* and *Junius* were writing their books, these writers neglected the opportunity of making the fullest enquiries from the family and of giving publicity to the replies?

On the pedigree and on the individuality of *Coster*, *Chandler* or *Sheriff* as he is variously termed by German writers, unfavourable criticism of the most minute and exhaustive nature has been written, and the reader who desires to become acquainted with these attacks, and with the anti-Costerian views of the Gutenbergiens at large, cannot do better than look through the pamphlet by *Dr. Van der Linde*, entitled *The Haarlem Legend* (see my list of Bibliographical Books), in the 170 pages of which he will find an abundance of exciting reading, often, however, more aggressive and flippant than argumentative.



(I.) *THE LAW-SUIT BETWEEN JERGE (GEORG) DRIT-
ZEHEN AND JOHAN VON MENTZE GENANT
GUTENBERG, ANNO 1439.*

ALL that is known of this interesting suit is (or rather was) contained in three volumes said by *J. D. Schoppflin* to have been discovered by him in 1745 in an old tower at *Strasburg*, called the *Pfenningthurm*, among the protocols of the Senate. The extracts relating to *Gutenberg* were published by him fifteen years later in his *Vindicie Typographica*.

We are under deep obligations to *M. Léon de Laborde*, a scholar greatly interested in the question of Early Typography, for the trouble that he fortunately took in examining and copying the depositions which occur in the two earlier of the volumes referred to, and for the publication of his researches in his work, *Débuts de l'Imprimerie à Strasburg*, Paris, Techener, 1840, 4to. We are thus enabled to make use of an absolutely accurate text, which, owing to the destruction of the originals during the bombardment of *Strasburg* by the Germans in 1870, would now have been unattainable. The facsimiles of some of the more important passages which will be found below are taken from the examples given in the "*Débuts*."

The first volume, he tells us, was composed of two quires each of 42 sheets, or 84 leaves (168 leaves in all), on the soiled and yellow parchment cover of which was written:—

Dictarū Testum magni consilij
Anno dñi m̄.cccc̄. Tricesimo nono.

Dicta () Testium magni consilii Anno dñi m̄.cccc̄. Tricesimo nono.

The first deposition of *Dritzehen* against *Gutenberg* is found on the recto of the 107th leaf and is continued on the leaves 107, 108, 109, 110. This portion of the suit finishes with the deposition of *Fridel von Seckingen*. On the recto of the 117th leaf is the deposition of *Gutenberg* against *Georg Dritzehen*, ending on the 118th leaf with the deposition of *Stocker*. The second volume, also bound in parchment, consisted of 24 sheets or 48 leaves of paper, of which five were blank, sewn together in a single quire. The plaint of *Lorenz Beildeck* is on the recto of the 21st leaf. The first list of witnesses occupied the lower half of the verso of the 38th leaf; the second list the whole of the recto of the 44th leaf. Everything in these volumes which relates to the law-suit was transcribed by the same scribe, who at every resumption of his work wrote with rather a firmer hand, a peculiarity which might give the impression of its having been written by several scribes. Not only, however, was this not the case, but it is certain that it was the *original* redaction, one might say the original minute, of the transaction, for all the erasures and marginal additions were written in the same hand, in a way which could not occur in a *copy*, however clumsily made. *De Laborde* gives no description of the third volume, in which was the *Sentence of the Council*, and it would appear that he never saw this original.

From the details of this suit, which are sufficiently voluminous, it would appear that *Gutenberg* was desirous of obtaining funds for a new project, viz., the manufacture of *looking-glasses*(¹) for sale at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, whither a pilgrimage took place every seven years, when the great fair held on this occasion would have ensured a ready sale for his wares, of whatever sort they may have been, and associated with himself *Hans Riffe*, mayor of *Richtenau*, a little town near Strasburg but on the other side of the Rhine, on the condition that one-third of the profits should belong to the capitalist and two-thirds to the inventor. *Andres Dritzehen*, who had previously been associated with *Gutenberg* "in order to learn and comprehend some arts from him," and had been instructed by him in the art of polishing stones, by which he had then made good profit, desired to be allowed to join the new partnership, and *Anthonie Heilmann*, a friend of *Gutenberg*, begged that his brother, *Andres Heilmann*, might also be admitted into the association. A new contract was entered into in the beginning of 1438, by which one-half of the profits was allotted to *Gutenberg*, one-fourth to *Riffe* and one-eighth each to the two *Andreses*. But when all was in order it happened that the fair which should have been held in 1439 was put off till the next year; and the two *Andreses* having looked in upon *Gutenberg* at the Convent of Saint Arbogast, where he was working, found that "he had concealed several arts from them which he was not obliged to show them," at which they were displeased and broke up the partnership, and formed a new one to last for five years. In consideration of the undertaking of *Gutenberg* that he would conceal from them none of the arts he knew, they agreed to bring in an additional sum of money. If one of the partners died, the others should, at the end of the five years, pay one hundred guilders to the heirs of the deceased, for all things made or unmade, for the money advanced, and for the forms and all the tools, nothing excepted:

vnd formen vnd allen gezügk nützit vfgenoīnen

(vnd formen vnd allen gezügk nützit vfgenoīnen).

The rest of the money and all the assets should remain in the partnership. *Andres Dritzehen* seems to have worked hard in the interests of the association, but he died about the end of 1438 and his brother *Georg* brought against *Gutenberg* the action of which we are speaking to compel him either to return certain moneys to the representatives of *Andres* or to admit another brother, *Claus Dritzehen*, to take his place in the association. This claim was disallowed by the Council before whom the case was argued; it was ordered that the partnership convention should be maintained and that only fifteen guilders should be paid to *Georg* and *Claus Dritzehen*.

(1) *M. Paul Lacroix* (better known under his pseudonym *Le Bibliophile Jacob*) made the highly ingenious suggestion that the term *Spiegel* (looking-glass = *Speculum*) of the law-suit was intended to veil the word *Speculum*, and that the project of the printing of the *Speculum Humane Salvationis* was thus obscurely described.

It is in the *technical* testimony of a few of the witnesses, and not in the commercial details of the transaction, that the greatest interest for us is to be found.

The first entry in the volume heads the case for the plaintiff:—

“*This is the truth which Jerge Dritzehen has deposed against Johan von Mentze named Gutenberg.*”

Dis ist die warheit die Jerge Dritzehen
geleit hat wider Johan von Mentze
genant Gutenberg

Dis ist die warheit die Jerge
Dritzehen geleit hat wider
Johan von Mentze genant
Gutenberg.

It was shown by the evidence of *Barbel von Zabern*, “the tradeswoman,” that *Andres Dritzehen* had told her that his expenditure in the new venture was not much less than five hundred guilders, to obtain which he had mortgaged house and land, and that, on her asking him what they would do if they failed, he replied: “*We cannot fail; before a year is passed we will have our capital back, and all be happy, unless God wishes to afflict us.*” This evidenced the entire faith of *Dritzehen* in *Gutenberg* and in the new undertaking, of whatever character it may have been. The next testimony gives some technical details as to the secret involved in the undertaking. *Dame Ennel* said that *Lorenz Beildeck* (*Gutenberg’s* servant) once came into the house (after the death of *Andres*) and said: “*Dear Claus Dritzehen, the blessed (late) Andres has four pieces (stücke) lying in a press (Inn einer pressen ligen); now Gutenberg has requested that you will take them out of the press and separate them, so that no one may know what it is, because he would not like that anyone saw it.*” Similar evidence having been given by another witness, *Conrad Sahspach* said that *Andres Heilman* came to him at one time and said: “*Dear Conrad, as Andres Dritzehen has died, and thou hast made the press and knowest of the affair, so go thither and take the pieces out of the press, and take them the one from the other, then nobody knows what it is;*”

Da hastu die pfffen gemacht und weist
vmb die sache da gang dahin vnd er nym die stücke
vns der pfffen und zerlege si von einander so weis nieman
was es ist

(da hastu die pfffen gemacht und weist vmb die sache do gang dahin vnd er nym die stücke vns der pfffen vnd zerlege fü von einander so weis nieman was es ist)

but that when he wished to do so, on *St. Stephen’s* day last, the thing was gone. *Lorenz Beildeck* testified that *Gutenberg* had sent him to tell *Claus* after *Andres’s* death that he should not show to anyone the press which he had under his care, and that *Gutenberg* said moreover that he should take great care and go to the press and open it by means of the two little buttons? (*würbelin*), whereby the pieces would fall asunder. He should thereupon put those pieces in or upon the press, after which no one could see or comprehend anything. *Mydehart Stocker* told him that *Andres Dritzehen* in his last illness gave him particulars of

the partnership with *Gutenberg* which he said he wished he had never joined, also that when they were in this partnership *Andres Heilman* and himself went to *Gutenberg* at St. Arbogast,

"where he had concealed from them several arts which he was not obliged to show them."

(do hette er nũ ettliche Kunst vor jnen verborgen die er jnen nit verbunden was zũ zeũgen.)

A testimony, possibly of the greatest moment, but the relevance of which to the great question is still in dispute, was given by *Hans Dünne*, the goldsmith, who said that *three years ago or thereabout he had earned from Gutenberg nearly 100 guilders, merely for that which belonged to printing* (alleine das zu dem trucken gehöret).

The value and importance of this record are by no means universally recognized by writers on the invention, its authenticity having been disputed by the advocates of Coster, and its relevance by some of the admirers of Gutenberg. *Wetter* (*Krit. Geschichte*, 238-57) had gathered in 1836 a number of suspicious facts in connection with the documents, to which, however, he did not attach extreme importance, and subsequently modified his opinions. *Mr. Hessels* (*Gutenberg*, 23-57) has given to the whole question considerable attention, and has earned the gratitude of the English reader by furnishing in parallel columns the complete text from De Laborde, with the *variae lectiones* of Schœpflin, accompanied by a literal English translation. But he finds circumstances calculated to shake his faith in the source through which the discovery of the volumes was first announced, and absolutely doubts the authenticity of the sentence of the Senate contained in a volume never seen by De Laborde. His criticisms are traversed by *M. Schorbach* (*Festschrift*, 1900, pages 165-6), who has, with most Gutenbergians, an absolutely unshaken faith, on external and internal grounds, in the genuineness of the records, including that containing the sentence of the Senate. He claims that the character of the writing, as traced by De Laborde, is in exact accordance with that of many still preserved Strasburg Acts, and that the language, orthography, and style of the documents agree in every detail with those Acts.

Objections of still another kind have been raised, based on the contents of the documents, on the misstatements and contradictions of some of the witnesses, and on the date of the pilgrimage during which the "looking-glasses" were to be sold, which took place in 1439, and not in 1440. These seem to me to have been pretty fairly met by *M. Schorbach*. But in my view, the chief objection to the theory of forgery, a difficult task in any case, is the want of any clear definition in the documents that this suit had a positive relation to the invention of the art of printing, a circumstance fully admitted by some Gutenbergians, and which will be alluded to immediately. He would have been a very clumsy forger who, concocting these documents in the interest of Gutenberg's cause, did not make it clear that they contained internal evidence that the venture of Gutenberg at Strasburg was of a typographical character.

I have said that the relevance of the law-suit to the art of printing as we understand it is not admitted by all of the admirers of Gutenberg. Notably is this the case with *Dr. Van der Linde*, who very candidly tells his readers (*The Haarlem Legend*, page 20) not only that in these documents we find no connection with xylography, but that the four pieces (*of the press* as he understands the phrase) do not refer to typography, whilst in referring to the evidence that *Hans Dünne* "earned nearly 100 guilders merely for that which belonged to printing, we have no right to infer more from it than that the work of Gutenberg stood also in connection with the working of metal." I should like to consider the four pieces to be component parts of a type-mould.

And there the matter stands. I have endeavoured to give, with extreme brevity, it is true, some little idea of the amount of acceptance which has been accorded to the documents; but now that they no longer exist, each reader must judge for himself, by following in detail the arguments of either side, whether he will accept their genuineness, and by a perusal of the full text whether he considers it probable that Gutenberg was endeavouring to print at Strasburg in or about the year 1440.

(II.) EXTRACTS FROM THE DIARY OF JEAN LE
ROBERT ABBAT OF CAMBRAI, UNDER THE DATE
OF 1445 (WITH FACSIMILE).

THE very earliest hint which up to the present time we possess of the existence of a book printed in Europe with movable types is to be found in a MS. preserved in France in the archives of the *Département du Nord* at Lille. The volume contains a diary of occurrences relating to the Monastery of *Saint-Aubert* in *Cambrai* in the handwriting of its Abbat, *Jean le Robert*. The important passages, of which a facsimile is appended, were first noticed by Ghesquière in 1772, and *M. Bernard* has given in his highly interesting work, *De l'origine et des debuts de l'imprimerie*, 1853, a facsimile and very complete notice of the entries. The texts run as follows:—

Item pour .i. doctrinal gette en molle anvoiet querre a Brug. par Marq. i. etcripvain de Vallen . ou mois de jenvier xlv pour Jaq. xx s.t. || Sen heult Sandrins .i. pareil q. leglife paia

Item envoiet Arras .i. doctrinal pour apprendre ledit d. Girard qui fu accatez a Vallen. et estoit jettez en molle et coufta xxiiii. gr. || Se me renvoia led. doctrinal le jour de Touff lan. li. difans quil ne falloit rien et estoit tout faulx. Sen avoit accate. l.x. patt.en papier.

That is to say:—

Item for a Doctrinale gette en molle (printed) which I sent for to Bruges by Marquet (or Marquart) who is a scribe of Valenciennes; in the month of January 1445. for Jacquet—20 sous tournois. Little Alexander had a similar one for which the church paid.

Item sent to Arras a Doctrinale for the instruction of the said Dom Gerard, which had been bought at Valenciennes and was "jettez en molle" (printed) and cost twenty-four gros. He returned to me the said Doctrinale on All Saints' Day, 1451, saying that it was worthless, and was altogether faulty. He had bought another copy for 10 patards (= sous) on paper.

These passages convey to the minds of many, but not of all, bibliographers the explicit information that books printed with movable types were in existence in 1445. The inference is based on the rendering by the term *printed* of the expressions *gette en molle* (*jettez en molle*), literally *cast in a mould*, and in support of this rendering M. Bernard, who was, I think, the first writer to appreciate the full value of the passage, adduces some eight examples of the use of the phrase in the sense of *printed*. The term *écriture en molle* is thus used in the letters of naturalization granted in Feb., 1474-5, by Louis XI. to the first printers in Paris, "Michel Friburgier Udalric Quering et Martini Crantz (qui) sont venuz demourer en nostre royaume puis aucun temps en çà, pour l'exercice de leurs ars et mestiers de faire livres de plusieurs manières descriptures, *en mosle et autrement*, et de les vendre en ceste nostre ville de Paris." In 1496 the Duke of Orleans bought two books of hours on parchment, and the accountant calls them both *escripts en moule*. Commynes in his memoirs mentions the sermons of Savonarola, "qu'il a fait mettre *en molle*"; the inventory of the furniture, jewels and books of Anne of Bretagne contains the mention of many books "tant en parchemin que en papier, *à la main et en molle*." Guy Marchand says of his *Livret de Consolations*, "qu'il l'a fait mettre en mole pour le salut des âmes." The catalogue of the library of the Dukes of Bourbon distinguishes the printed books from the MSS. by the respective terms "*en molle*" and "*à la main*." M. Bernard goes on to say that the terms *jete en moule*, *lettres moulées*, are still employed by country folks, and that he has often heard them used in this sense by the peasants when they brought some affiche to be struck off by his father, a printer at *Montbrison*.

Item pour .j. denier gette en mille annes par a l'usage
par le culte par d'ours .j. par le d'usage par la

par le culte par d'ours .j. par le d'usage par la
Se me l'usage par d'ours par le d'usage par la

FACSIMILE OF PASSAGES IN THE DIARY

It is not surprising that on the one hand these passages should be welcomed in the above sense by the believers in a Dutch origin of printing dating from 1440 or thereabouts, nor on the other that the accuracy of M. Bernard's translation of the words should be impugned by their opponents. Great issues necessarily depend on a decision still entirely in dispute.

Dr. Van der Linde makes what has struck more than one subsequent writer as being an extremely arbitrary and unsupported assumption, viz., that "these *Doctrinales* were printed from a (wooden) forme, *jeté en moule*." His rendering seems to me to be, in default of any serious attempt on his part to controvert Bernard's authorities, both irrational and unscientific. *Skeen*, also an opponent of the view that books printed with movable type were referred to by the Abbat, argues that "the phrase *jetter en molle* might most naturally be used to express on the part of anyone ignorant of the process of printing the appearance of a book which he knew was not written, but which bore upon its face the evidence of having in some way or other been cast or moulded. As this evidence would appear the same, or nearly so, whether produced from engraved blocks or from separate letters, the phrase would be just as applicable in one case or other." Dr. A. Wyss of Darmstadt, in his article *Gutenberg oder Coster* (*Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, Leipsig, 1888) takes exception to M. Bernard's rendering. He says: "*Molle*, mole (according to the French of to-day *Moule*), comes from the Latin *modulus*, and means *form*. *Jeter en molle* means "*mettre en forme*," to *place in a form, to shape*. Nothing prevents us from taking it to refer to printing from a block. Littré has amongst others the following meanings for *moule*: '*Planche de bois ou sont gravés les modèles des cartes à jouer*,' and for *mouler*,—'*chez les cartiers, appliquer le feuille sur la moule*' . . . If in 1446, when the Abbat made his first purchase, typographically printed books had already existed the expression "gette en molle" might just as well be applied to such as to block-books. But to determine the existence of Typography from the application of this expression will not do."

The reader must draw his own conclusions in respect to this extremely important but contested point. For my part, I think that M. Bernard and his friends have probably the best of the argument.

(III.) *FACSIMILE (FROM THE COPY IN THE BIBLIOTHEQUE NATIONALE AT PARIS) OF THE 31-LINE LETTER OF INDULGENCE, WITH PRINTED DATE 1454.*

(*ASCRIBED BY THE MAJORITY OF WRITERS TO JOHANN GUTENBERG,
BY OTHERS TO PETER SCHÆFFER.*)

1454 Dec. 31. PAULINUS CHAPPE. LITERÆ INDULGENTIARUM
NICOLAI V.

Vniuersis cristifidelibꝫ pñtes litteras inspecturis paulinus Chappe Confiliariꝫ ambasiator
ꝫ pcurator generalis Sere= || niffimi Regis Cypri ī hac pte Salutē in dnō Cū Sāctissimꝫ ī xp̄o
p̄r ꝫ dn̄s n̄r. dn̄s Nicolaꝫ diuīa puidētia. papa vꝫ, etc.; *line 17 begins*: prefumant Alioquī dicta
concessio quo ad plenariā remissionē in mortis articulo et remissio quo ad p̄ca ex cōfidentia vt
p̄mittit || cōmissa nulliꝫ sint roboris uel momēti Et quia deuoti— || Juxta dictū indultum de
facultatibus suis pie eroga—. merito huiusmodi indulgentiis gaudere debet In veritatis testimo ||
nium Sigillum ad hoc ordinatum presentibꝫ litteris testimonialibꝫ est appensum Datum—
Anno dn̄i Mccccliiii || die uero—Mensis— ||; *line 22*, Forma plenissime absolutionis et
remissionis in vita ||; *line 23*, Misereatur tui ꝫ Dn̄s n̄r ihesus xp̄s p̄ suā sc̄tissimā et piissimāz m̄ia ;
te absoluat etc.; *line 28*, Forma plenarie remissionis in mortis articulo ||; *line 29*, Misereatur
tui ꝫ. Dn̄s noster ut supra Ego te absoluo ab om̄ibꝫ p̄c̄is tuis ꝫtritis ꝫseffis ꝫ oblitis restituendo

te vnita= || ti fideliū ⁊ sacramentis ecclie, etc.; *line 31 ends*, In noīe p̄ris et filii et spūs fancti Amen. ||

Oblong folio, *printed on vellum in two types; the words (V)niuerfis and paulinus in the first line, the whole of line 22, the words (M)ifereatur tui ⁊c in the 23rd line, the whole of line 28, and the words (M)ifereatur tui ⁊c in the 31st line being, with the exception of the woodcut initials V and M, in type like that with which the 36-line Bible is printed, and the rest in much smaller gothic type. These large initials were unquestionably printed from wooden blocks. Text measures 162 × 222 mm., exclusive of large initial letters; spaces left for names, termination of word eroga(uit), dates and place of issue;—resembles Hain, 11754, Proctor, 59. The name filled in in MS. of the recipient of the Indulgence is Iodocus Ott von Azespach (Anspach), the place of issue is Moguntinæ (Mentz), the date the last day of December.⁽¹⁾ At the end is the note in MS. of the issuer of the Indulgence, Io. abb9. monasterij fcī burchardi ad premissa deputus. A MS. note at left just under line 31 reads: f' j lib et iij solid. (the price of the Indulgence).*

For the allocation of the issue of the 31-line Indulgence, of which a facsimile is annexed, to its proper position, it is necessary to make use of the elaborate analysis by Mr. Hessels (*Gutenberg* pp. 150-151, 164-167) of the differences existing in known copies.

There are four issues of this Indulgence, which are really *one composition* affected by successive modifications in some of the words which make them appear different editions. These are as follows: (*a*) The Indulgence with printed date Mccccliij, 31 lines; types, (1) large church type regarded⁽²⁾ as identical with that of the 36-line Bible described on page 25, and (2) a smaller text or brief-type. Besides these a large initial V, and two large initials M, which differ from each other. (*b*) Indulgence with printed date Mcccliiij, 32 lines, including a blank line 19, types as in issue *a*. (*c*) Indulgence with printed date Mccccliij, 31 lines. (*d*) Indulgence with printed date Mcccclv, 31 lines, types as in previously mentioned issues. The copy under notice belongs to (*c*) in the above analysis of issues. The differences between these issues are extremely slight, the only divergence between (*c*) and (*d*) being that the date Mccccliij has been altered to Mcccclv, and the last four lines from foot seem to have been a little shifted.

☞ This Indulgence, in any of the first three forms especially, is of the very highest importance for the history of typography generally and for that of Mentz in particular. *It contains the earliest printed date, and it is impossible to overrate in that aspect its value, or that of the 30-line Indulgence, the first edition of which (existing so far as is known only in a single copy) has an identical claim to consideration. The personality of the printer is still undetermined, but the weight of evidence is even more strongly perhaps in favour of its attribution to Gutenberg than in the case of the 30-line Indulgence. In any case a common ground is to be discovered between Mr. Hessels and M. Dziatzko, the former remarking (*Gutenberg*, page 182) that the types which he calls in this instance 1 and 2 (page 150, *op. cit.*) with that of the *Catholicon* of 1460 are the only ones which can be claimed for Gutenberg, whilst the latter (*Sammlung*, pages 56-86) advances the theory to which I shall shortly refer, that the types of the 30-line Indulgence may have been cast by Gutenberg after those of the 31-line had been made use of. He has treated with great minuteness the various problems raised by the correspondence of the larger of the 42 and 36-line Bibles respectively with the larger types in the 30 and 31-line Indulgences. The almost simultaneous appearance of documents printed with these respective types presenting, as we shall see, material differences, has very naturally led almost all bibliographers to the conclusion (practically accepted at this day) that there were two presses at work at *Mentz* in the year 1454. And it is not only in the larger types that these cardinal differences are conspicuous. The smaller types, although presenting points of unmistakable relationship in some of the capital letters, (compare the A, M and especially the peculiar S in the two facsimiles) differ greatly. Of this divergence the sloping *ff* in the 30, as contrasted with the*

⁽¹⁾ The earliest date in MS. on a copy of this Indulgence is November 15 (*Meerman-Westreenen Museum at the Hague*). ⁽²⁾ Doubts have been raised by Sotheby, *Princ. Typog.*, II. 191, *et seqq.*, and Mr. Hessels, *Gutenberg*, 164, upon the identity of these types.

Venerabilis
nissimi Regis Cypri
gnii Cypri misericordi
stituit ipsos p. ali
p. defensione catholi
stituit pie erogari
Aplice reservatis ex
in iugere Neeno si i
sticis a Jure vel al
de Jure fuerint in iu
tionis ostendendo p
sel in mortis articu
tū. q. post indultū
observantia. p. nā u
primū poterunt ien
in alia mutare p
presumant Alioqu
missa nullū sint
Juxta dictū indult
nium Sigillum a
die vero ultima.

Misereatur
Aptoz ei' ac Auct
b' excessib; crimib;
Aliisq; suis cēsuris
gentiā ⁊ remission

Misereatur
ti fidelū ⁊ sacram
oim peccatū tuozū
f. 1. 15. 1. 1. 1. 1.

Venerabilis Celsitudinibus, pates litteras inspecturis **paulinus** Chape Consilianus Ambasiator et perceptor generalis Serenissimi Regis Cypri Thae pie Salutem in dno Cui Sacratissim' i xpo p' et dno nr. dno Nicola' divina providencia papa v. Afflictis Regni Cypri miseranditer apatis contra p'dissios crucis xpi hostes. Theucos et Saracenos gratis concessit omnib; xpifidelib; obiliberat' situris ipos p' asphionem saguis dmi nri ihu xpi pie exhortado qui infra triceniu a prima die Maii anni dmi Mcccclii incipendum p' defensione catholice fidei et Regni p'dicti de facultatibus suis magis vel min' prout ipoz videbit' scientiis. p'ocinib; vel nunciis Substitutis pie erogaverunt et Confessores p'dicti seculares vel Regulares per ipos eligendi confessionib; eoz audias. p' amissis etiã Sedi Aplice referuatis excessib; criminib; atq; delictis quatinuq; grauib; p'dona dice tãtu debita absolutione impedere et penitentia salutarem inuigere floens si id huiliter penent ipos a quibuscunq; excommunicationu suspensionu et Interdicti aliisq; sententiis cessans et penis ecclesiasticis a Jure vel ab hõie pmulgatis quib; forsan immodati existunt absolue. e. Inuicta p' modo culpe penitentia salutari vel aliis que de Jure fuerint inuigenda de eis vere penitentib; et confessis. vel si forsan propter amissionem loquere et iteri non poterint signa contritionis ostendendo plenissima omni peccoz suoz de quib; ore confessi et corde contriti fuerint Indulgentia ac plenaria remissione se mel in vita et sel in mortis articulo ipis aucte Aplice decere valeant. Satisfactos p' eos facta si supuerint aut p' eoz heredes si tunc traserint Dic etiã q' post indultu concessum p' dnu annu singulis sexis semis vel quadã alia die ieiunet. legitimo impedimento ecclesie f'repto Regulari obsequia. p'nta inuicta voto uel alias non obstat. Et ipis impeditis in dicto ano uel eius parte Anno sequenti uel alias quam p'imum poterint ieiunabunt. Et si aliquo annoz vel eoz parte dietu ieiuniu comode adimplere nequiverint Confessor ad id electus in alia mutare poterit caritatis opera que ipi facere etiã teneant Dñmodo tñ ex confidentia remissionis hñdi quod abhi peccare non presumant Alioqui dicta concessio quo ad plenariam remissionem in mortis articulo et remissio quo ad p'ca ex confidentia ut f'mint amissa nulli sint roboris uel momenti Et quia deuotio h' p'cedens ut von ayssach merito huiusmodi indulgentiis gaudere debet In ueritatis testimonium Sigillum ad hoc ordinatum presentibus litteris testimonialibus est appensum Datum Anno dmi Mcccclii die uero Mensis Decembris R

Forma plenissime absolutionis et remissionis in vita

Misereatur tui etc. Dñs nr ihesus xps p' sua scitissima et piissima mra; te absoluat Et aucte ipi' beatorum petri et pauli Apoz et ac aucte Aplice michi amissa et tibi concessa Ego te absoluo ab omnib; peccis tuis et iuris confessis et obliis Etia ab omnib; casib; excessib; criminib; atq; delictis quatinuq; grauib; Sedi Aplice referuatis floens a quibuscunq; excommunicationu suspensionu et interdicti aliisq; sententiis cessans et penis ecclesiasticis a Jure vel ab hõie pmulgatis si quas incurrisi dando tibi plenissima omni peccoz tuoz indulgentia et remissione Inquatu claus sancte matris eccleie in hac parte se extendunt. In nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti Amen.

Forma plenarie remissionis in mortis articulo

Misereatur tui etc. Dñs noster ut supra Ego te absoluo ab omnib; peccis tuis et iuris confessis et obliis restituendo te omnia et fidelia et sacramenta eccleie Remittendo tibi penas purgatorum quas propter culpas et offensas incurrisi dando tibi plenariam omni peccoz tuoz remissionem. Inquatu claus sancte matris eccleie in hac parte se extendunt. In noie patris et filii et spūs sancti Amen.

Jo. abb. monasterij scti benedicti ad promissa deputatus

vertical ff in the 31, afford notable examples. Again, a far larger number of capital letters is employed in the 31 than in the 30-line letter. Although to most observers it would appear that the *technique* of type of the 31-line Indulgence exhibited a great advance upon that of the 30-line, and that for that reason we should give the priority to the former, M. Dziatzko sees some reason to believe that the printer of the 30-line has made improvements upon the arrangement of the type of the 31-line, a single example of which may suffice, viz., the substitution of a capital for a lower-case "P" in the first line. For myself I might be willing perhaps to give the compositor of the 30-line letter credit for some of these niceties, but I am sure that the typesetter and punch-cutter of the 31-line was the more able artist of the two. The causes which led to two issues from two separate founts of type are next fully discussed. A comparison of the MS. indications of the places from which the two types of document were issued shows that by far the larger number of the 31-line Indulgences emanated from *Mentz*, whereas almost all the 30-line letters belong to the Diocese of *Cologne*. There are exceptions, it is true, but the broad fact that each of these two classes of Indulgences seems roughly to have had its own field suggests the explanation that there is no absolute need to suppose that there were two printing offices at this time at *Mentz*. The conclusions arrived at by M. Dziatzko, on grounds far too numerous to be even alluded to here, are that after the first batch of Indulgences had been printed, whether we consider that they were produced for *Mentz* or for *Cologne*, the types were handed over to the officials for safe custody, to prevent any fraudulent use of them, and that when the next set was called for a *second set of types was prepared and supplied*. (This suggestion refers of course only to the smaller types, and not to the Church text, the few words in which resemble the founts of the 36 and 42-line Bibles respectively.) This theory is, I think, supported by the fact that none of the smaller types of either Indulgence make a later appearance in any book whatsoever. It would seem that they were segregated for this ecclesiastical purpose only. Those bibliographers who attribute the 42 and 36-line alike to *Gutenberg* naturally assign the 30 and 31-line Indulgences to the same printer. But Mr. Hessels, as we shall see, as well as the late Mr. Henry Bradshaw, gives the 30-line Indulgence with great confidence to *Peter Schœffer*, whilst almost conceding the 31-line to *Gutenberg*. M. Dziatzko, be it observed, would recognize Schœffer as the artist responsible for the execution of the punches and dies of the 31-line but not of the 30-line Indulgence.

The circumstances under which these Indulgences were issued were very briefly as follows: About the year 1451, John III., King of Cyprus, menaced by the growing power of the Turks, sent to various Christian states, to ask their assistance, one of his subjects named *Paulinus Chappe* (*Zappe*). His appeal to Pope Nicholas V. resulted in a promise of plenary Indulgences to those who, from the 1st of May, 1452, to the 1st of May, 1453, should give material assistance to the cause.

It was, as is well known, the practice to give in exchange for the sum contributed to the Papal or other treasury an acknowledgment in the form of a *Letter of Indulgence* indicating the object to which the payment was to be applied, the details of the spiritual benefits offered in exchange for the contribution, the name of the contributor and that of the agent for the sale. These documents were of course issued in large numbers, and up to this time had been prepared by scribes, the correcting of whose textual errors was a work of considerable labour. It is particularly instructive to note how eagerly and promptly the Papal authorities appreciated the assurance offered by the new art of an identical conformity of all the copies with the original MS., and that the very earliest printed documents which bore a date had their origin in this practical desire for textual accuracy.

The subject has been treated by many bibliographers, the most important notices having been given (1) by *De Laborde*, who furnishes several facsimiles, also descriptions of the eighteen copies known to him of the 1454 and 1455 issues, and refers to thirty-seven bibliographical works in which these earliest printed Indulgences had been already mentioned; (2) by *M. Bernard* ("*De l'origine*," &c., I., pages 166-176); (3) by *Mr. Hessels* (*op. cit.*), and lastly and most fully by *M. Dziatzko* (*Sammlung Bibliothekswissenschaftlicher Arbeiten*).

The Indulgence is one of those known as *Confessionalia*. An English rendering of part of a similar document printed in 1488 by Peter Schœffer will be found on a later page.

(IV.) *FACSIMILE (FROM THE COPY IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM) OF THE 30-LINE INDULGENCE, WITH PRINTED DATE 1455.*

(*ASCRIBED BY SOME WRITERS TO JOHANN GUTENBERG, BY OTHERS TO PETER SCHAEFFER.*)

1455 (*before April 11, dated in MS. April 29*). PAULINUS CHAPPE.
LITERÆ INDULGENTIARUM NICOLAI V.

Uniuersis Cristifidelib9 pñtes Irās inspecturis Paulinus Chappe Cōsiliari9 Ambasiator ꝛ pcurator generalis Serenissimi || Regis Cypri in hac parte Sal'm ī dño Cū Sactissim9 ī x̄po p̄r ꝛ dñs n̄r dñs Nicolaus diuīa puidētia pp quit9 Afflictioi Regni Cypri || etc. ; *line 16, last five words*, Alioquī dicta ꝓcessio quo ad || plenariā remissionē in mortis articulo et remissio quo ad ꝓc̄ta ex ꝓfidentia ut ꝓmittitur ꝓmissa nullius sint roboris uel momenti || Et quia deuoti— Juxta dictum indultū || de facultatibus suis ꝓie eroga—merito huiusmodi indulgentiis gaudere debet (*altered in MS. to debēt*). In veritatis testimoniū sigillū ad hoc ordinatū || ꝓntib9 Irls testimonialib9 est appensum Datū—Anno dñi M.cccclquīto die vero—mensis— || *line 21*, Forma plenissime absolutionis et remissionis in vita || ; *line 22*, Misereatur tui ꝛc. Dñs noster ihesus x̄ps, etc. ; *line 27*, Forma plenarie remissionis in mortis articulo || ; *line 28*, Misereatur tui ꝛc. Dñs noster ut supra Ego te absoluo ab oīnib9 ꝓc̄tis tuis cōtritis ꝓfessi et oblitis restituendo te vnitati || fidelīū ꝛ sacramentis ecclesie, etc. : *line 30 ends*, In noīe patris ꝛ filii ꝛ spiritus sancti Amen. ||

Oblong folio, *printed on vellum in two types, the words (U)niuersis and Paulinus in the first line, the whole of line 21, the words (M)isereatur tui ꝛc in the 22nd line, the whole of line 27, and the words (M)isereatur tui ꝛc in the 30th line being, with the exception of the woodcut initials, printed in type like that with which the 42-line Bible is printed, and the rest in much smaller gothic type of a less formal character than that of the 31-line letter of Indulgence. The large initials are from wooden blocks, as is demonstrated by De Laborde by a comparison of their condition in various issues. Text measures, exclusive of large initial letters, 151 × 231 mm. ; spaces left for names, termination of word eroga (uit), dates and place of issue. The name of the recipients of the Indulgence are filled in in MS. as follows: dñs Hinric9 mais pastor in Roselden, Greta ꝛ et pirenkrantz e9 foror Stina Kufē cū fib9 sviz Helena ꝛ Congūde Guda Krusen et bela Kluten eius filia. The place of issue, also in MS., is in opido Nuffien (Neuss, near Cologne), the date the 29th of April. Not in Hain, Proctor, 55.*

Of this Indulgence Mr. Hessels (*Gutenberg*, pages 164-167) describes two editions, of which the second has two issues. First edition (*a*) Indulgence of 30 lines with printed date Mecceliiij, printed with (1) large church type usually considered to be identical with that of the 42-line Bible (described on page 21), and (2) a smaller text, or brief-type. Besides these a large initial U, which helps to distinguish this from the 31-line Indulgence, which has an initial V. Only one copy of this edition is known, which is now in the Spencer collection at Manchester. Second edition (*b*) with printed date Meccel quito. Some minor differences between this and the next issue are noted by Mr. Hessels. Only two copies of this first issue of the second edition are known to be in existence. One is in the Royal Library at Berlin, and the other, now in the *British Museum*, from which the present facsimile is taken, has been in succession the property of *Niegebauer*, of *Dr. Kloss* and *Mr. B. Heywood Bright*. De Laborde's facsimile (made of course from a tracing) is very unsatisfactory. The photo-lithographic reproduction by Mr. Noel Humphreys, praised by Mr. Hessels, is far superior to it, but the supremacy of the autotype process for such purposes is evidenced by a comparison of the latter with that here presented. The second issue (*c*) of the second edition, exhibiting but slight differences from (*b*), appears to exist in three copies.

Universis

Regis Cypri
misericordie
ipos p aspi
lice fidei z re
rint ut asess
criminibz ac
hūiliter peti
hoie pmulga
ac eis vere p
suoz de quib
aplica ccede
p vnu annū
voto uel alio
in aliquo an
opa q̄ ipi fac
plenaria rer
Et quia deuo
de facultatib
pntibz lris te

Misere
aplor eis ac
excessibz cri
Alijsqz sente
indulgentia

Misere
fidelium z sacre
pccoz tuoz

Universis Christi fidelibus presentes litteras inspecturis **Paulinus** Chappe Consiliarius Ambrosianus et procurator generalis Sedis apostolice
 Regis Cypri in hac parte Saluti domino Cuius Sacramentum in christo per et dominus noster dominus Nicolaus divina providentia preposito et Afflicto Regis Cypri
 misericorditer compatens contra perfidissimos crucis christi hostes Theucros et Saracenos gratis concessit omnibus christi fidelibus
 ipsos per aspersionem sanguinis domini nostri ihesu christi pie exhortando qui infra triennium a primadie Maii anni domini MCCCXLIII incipendo per defensionem catho-
 lice fidei et regni predicti de facultatibus suis magno vel minus put ipsos videbitur asserens paucioribus vel nullis substitutis pie erogave-
 rint ut confessores perone seculares vel regulares per ipsos eligendi confessionibus eorum auditis per remissionem etiam sedis apostolice reservationis excessibus
 criminibus atque delictis quatuordecim gradibus per vna vice tantum debitam absolutionem impedere et penitentiam salutarem iniungere Recens si id
 humiliter petierit ipsos a quibuscumque excommunicationum suspensionum et interdicti aliosque sententiarum censuris et penis ecclesiasticis a iure vel ab
 homine promulgatis quibus forsitan inmoderati existunt absoluerent In iudicio per modo culpe penitentiam salutari vel alioquin de iure fuerit iniungenda
 ac eis vere penitentibus et confessis vel si forsitan propter amissionem locum confiteri non poterit signa contritionis ostendendo plenissima omnium peccatorum
 suorum de quibus ore confessi et corde contriti fuerint Indulgentiam ac plenariam remissionem semel in vita et semel in mortis articulo ipsi aude
 apostolica concedere valeant Satisfactione per eos facta si supervixerint aut per eorum heredes si tunc transierint Sic tamen quod post indultum confessum
 per unum annum singulis sextis feriis vel quadam alia die ieiunent legitimum impedimento ecclesie precepto regulari observantia penitentia iniuncta
 voto vel alioquin non obstantibus Et ipsi impeditis in dicto anno vel eius parte anno sequenti vel alias quam primum poterint ieiunabunt Et si
 in aliquo anno vel eorum parte dictum ieiunium commode adimplere nequiverint Confessio ad id electus in alia commutare poterit caritatis
 opera que ipsi facere etiam teneantur Dummodo tamen ex confidentia remissionis huiusmodi quod absit peccatorum non presumat alioquin dicta confessio que ad
 plenariam remissionem in mortis articulo et remissionem quo ad peccata ex confidentia ut permittitur remissa nullius sint roboris vel momenti
 Et quia devoti dominus huiusmodi merito huiusmodi indulgentiarum gaudere debet In veritate testimonium sigillum ad hoc ordinatum
 de facultatibus suis pie erogaverunt merito huiusmodi indulgentiarum gaudere debet In veritate testimonium sigillum ad hoc ordinatum
 presentibus litteris testimonialibus est appensum Datum in apud Nussien Anno domini MCCCXLIII die vero penultima mensis Aprilis

forma plenissime absolutionis et remissionis in vita

Misereatur tui etc. Dominus noster ihesus christus per suam sanctissimam et piissimam matrem te absolvat Et aude ipsi beatorumque petri et pauli
 apostolorum eius ac aude apostolica michi remissa et tibi concessa Ego te absolvo ab omnibus peccatis tuis contritiis confessis et oblitis etiam ab omnibus casibus
 excessibus criminibus atque delictis quatuordecim gradibus sedis apostolice reservationis Recens a quibuscumque excommunicationum suspensionum et interdicti
 aliosque sententiarum censuris et penis ecclesiasticis a iure vel ab homine promulgatis si quas incurristi dando tibi plenissimam omnium peccatorum tuorum
 indulgentiam et remissionem In quantum clauso sancte matris ecclesie in hac parte se extendit In nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti Amen

forma plenarie remissionis in mortis articulo

Misereatur tui etc. Dominus noster ut supra Ego te absolvo ab omnibus peccatis tuis contritiis confessis et oblitis restituendo te unitati
 fidelium et sacramentis ecclesie Remittendo tibi penas purgatorii quas propter culpas et offensas incurristi dando tibi plenariam omnium
 peccatorum tuorum remissionem In quantum clauso sancte matris ecclesie in hac parte se extendit In nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti Amen

Doubts have been thrown by M. Dziatzko on the authenticity of some of the copies recently discovered, but though no need for the discussion of this question here seems to arise, this scepticism is not shared by all German bibliographers. A more interesting question for us is that of the identity of the church-type with that of the 42-line Bible. Bernard, whilst admitting the striking similarity of the two founts, is not convinced of their identity, and this may be a point still requiring fuller investigation. The reader can form a rough conclusion from the specimens here put before him. In one detail there seems to be an accordance; after the **C** in the church-text lines in the Indulgence follow the *secondary* forms of the **r**, the **m** and the **n** devised by the founder of the type for the purpose of preserving uniformity in the distance of the stems of the letters, as will be described (page 21) in the notice of the 42-line Bible. The capital P found in the *Indulgence* does not seem to occur anywhere in the *Bible*.

Mr. Hessels made in 1881 an interesting and enviable discovery—that in an Indulgence of 33 lines issued in 1489 by *Raymundus Peraudi*, and unquestionably printed by Peter Schœffer, the initial M of the *second* absolution is identical with that of the *first* absolution in the Indulgence of 30 lines, and hence he unhesitatingly contends that Schœffer was the printer of the document under notice as well as of the 36-line Bible and the *Cantica ad Matutinas*. He is therefore in this, as in so many other questions of which the solution is still to be found, *aux prises* with German bibliographers.

A curious misapprehension as to the mode of production of these Indulgences existed in the minds of at least three comparatively modern bibliographers. Lambinet, writing in 1810, Wetter in 1836 and Sotzmann in the same year, all maintain that these are not *typographical* but *xylographic* productions, having been printed from wooden blocks, a conclusion to which they were led, on the one hand by the variations in the forms of the letters, and on the other by the fact that the f and f overhang the adjacent letters. The first argument is easily disposed of by the absolute identity of many of the types, and by the consideration, far too often overlooked, that it was the object of the printer to attain in his productions a rough approximation to if not an absolute imitation of the manuscripts he was endeavouring to supersede; the second by the fact that letters combined in the manner alluded to were habitually used by the early printers with movable types, the result being produced by devices now well understood. De Laborde (*Débuts*, 11-17) has paid great attention to these questions, which he has illustrated by facsimiles, and Dr. Schwenke (*Festschrift*, 1900) has greatly elaborated the matter. Some remarks on the nature of the types from which these documents were probably printed will be found in a subsequent chapter.

(V.) FACSIMILE OF THE HELMASPERGER DOCUMENT (THE NOTARIAL INSTRUMENT OF THE LAW-SUIT OF JOHANN FUST AGAINST JOHANN GUTENBERG, DATED THE 6TH OF NOVEMBER, 1455).

The genuineness of this document, one of the most important in connection with the relation of Gutenberg to the art of Printing, has, it is true, been impugned, but may now be considered to be established. The whereabouts of the original was unknown, and apparently considered of no importance even by Gutenbergians as lately as 1882, when a most conscientious and untiring search for it in *Hamburg*, *Frankfort-on-the-Main*, *Hoehst-on-the-Nidder* and *Darmstadt* was made by Mr. J. H. Hessels, whose exhaustive and interesting narrative⁽¹⁾ of all that was known at that date has earned the warm commendation of his literary adversaries. Within four years after the publication of Mr. Hessels' researches the original document, or perhaps one should say one of the three originals, was found by the librarian, M. Karl Dziatzko, in the autumn of 1886, in the Library of the University of Göttingen, where it must have lain since the year 1741, when it was presented by *Joh. David Kohler*, then Professor of History in that University. It is preserved in a tin box specially made for it, in which is set the medal in memory of Gutenberg struck by Kohler for the jubilee in 1740. A very full and critical account of the document and its discovery, accompanied by a facsimile, was published at Berlin in 1889 by M. Dziatzko,⁽²⁾ and it is from that work

(1) J. H. Hessels, *Gutenberg*, pages 63-102. (2) *Sammlung Bibliothekswissenschaftlicher Arbeiten herausgegeben von Karl Dziatzko*, II. Heft. Berlin, Asher & Co., 1889. See also the article of M. Karl Schorbach in the *Festschrift* (Haitwig, Mentz, 1900).

that the present reproduction is with acknowledgments derived. The dimensions of the document, which is on parchment, are 420 mm. × 255 mm.; the text in one column is 217 mm. wide. A portion of the blank margin is not included in the reproduction. M. Dziatzko remarks: "Our document contains a notarial redaction of the protocol relating to an enquiry upon oath at Mentz, on the 6th of November, 1455, by the Notary Ulrich Helmasperger, in the presence of witnesses, into the legal question between *Johann Fust* and *Johann Gutenberg*, at the request of the former, whereby the extent of his demands on Gutenberg were to be settled, but to be made valid from the later legal evidence. It was principally a question of paying back a certain capital and the additional payment of a considerable amount of interest, which *Johann Fust* considered he had a right to on the grounds of the former agreement to claim from *Johann Gutenberg* on the conclusion of their business connections. In order to determine the exact purport of the oath taken it was necessary to take up the verdict itself, as well as part of the allegations made, so as to make it intelligible, and also the answer of the defendant, and to insert them in the protocol concerning the date. It is just this manifold elucidation of the relations between *Fust* and *Gutenberg* which makes the document so valuable, and it must be regretted that it only refers to the first article of *Fust's* complaint, and that the other differences between the two men are not even hinted at."

It is not fully acknowledged by all controversialists that the document has reference to *printing* at all, but the mention of servants' wages, rent, paper and ink as necessities which *Fust* had undertaken to provide for the mutual undertaking with *Gutenberg* distinctly point to this conclusion. *Gutenberg* draws a distinction between the works or tools made with *Fust's* money, which he recognizes as being pledged, and the "*work of the books*," which he hopes he was not bound to pledge for the eight hundred gulden referred to. Even if the connection between *Fust* and *Gutenberg* had nothing to do with the printing of books this passage would prove with greater certainty that *Gutenberg* alone possessed a "*Werk der Bucher*" which he thought very highly of, and which was already his when he formed the connection with *Fust*. It is subject for discussion whether this phrase refers to finished printed work or to the invention itself. The conclusions arrived at by M. Dziatzko after a very full discussion of the text are as follows: (1) The business connection between *Gutenberg* and *Fust*, which was dissolved in 1455, was formed for the purpose of producing printed books; (2) *Gutenberg* alone took the leading and directing part in the business; (3) His business connection with *Fust* for the production of printed books dates from the beginning of the year 1450; (4) Already at the beginning of the connection the aim of typography, as well as the arrangements for carrying it on, was quite clear to the mind of *Gutenberg*. If this had not been the case, and if *Gutenberg* had not given him specimens of the new art, and been able practically and clearly to demonstrate to him the prospective profits of such an arrangement, *Fust* would hardly have agreed to be responsible to so large an extent as he promised in writing.

The first three lines of the document run as follows, and can be pretty readily deciphered in the facsimile: I(n) gottes namen amen Kunt sy allen den die diez offen Instrument fehent oder horent lesen Das des Jars als man zalt || nach xpi unfers hern geburt duzent vierhundert vnd sunffvndffunffsigk Iar In der dritten indictien uff dornstag der do was || der feste dag des mondes zu latin genant november Cronung des aller heiligsten in gott vater vnd hern vnfers hern Calisti von gottlicher || . . . The last three lines of the text read: sind alle obgeschriebenen sachen gefcheen In den Iare Indictien dag stund babstumme Cronung monet vnd stade obgenant || in bywesen der Erfamen menner Peter granfz Johann Kift Johann Kunoff Johann Yfeneck Jacop fust burger zu menez || Peter Girnfzheim⁽¹⁾ vnd Johannes Bonne clericken menez der Stadt vnd Bistums ezu gezogen sunderlichen gebeden vnd geheischen. || To the left of the attestation clause, which concludes the document, will be seen a curious notarial mark drawn by *Helmasperger*, viz., a scroll beneath a stiff square sleeve, from which projects a hand holding a flower. The signature upon the scroll and the eight lines of the attestation are in the same handwriting.

The first allusion to this document is to be found in the *Encomion Chalcographie*, Mogunt. 1541, 4to, of Johannes Arnoldus Bergellanus, in which he briefly relates in elegiac Latin verse the partnership between *Fust* and *Gutenberg*, and assails the equity of the judgment. The document itself was printed for the first

(1) Peter Schoeffer of Gernsheim, shortly to become the associate of Johann Fust.

time in 1734 by Senchenberg in his *Selector. Jur. et Hist. Anecdot.*, and afterwards in 1740 by John Christian Wolf in his *Monumenta Typographiæ* and in 1741 by David Köhler in his *Ehren-Rettung Johann Guttenbergs*. The only English rendering with which I am acquainted is that of *Dr. Van der Linde*, which is very free and very considerably abridged. I have therefore made a fresh literal translation to the best of my ability, craving indulgence for any inaccuracies which may result from my incompetency successfully to grapple with the archaic wording of the original.

Instrument of a certain day whereon Fust made his reckoning and conformed it with an Oath.

In the name of God Amen! Be it known to all those who see this public document or hear it read, That in the year as men reckon after the birth of Christ our Lord one thousand four hundred and fifty-five, in the third Indiction, on Thursday which was the sixth day of the month called in Latin November, in the first year of the Coronation of the most holy Father in God and Lord Calixtus III. by divine providence Pope, between eleven and twelve in the middle of the day, at Mentz, in the great Refectory of the Barefooted (friars) in presence of me, public writer and of the witnesses hereinafter mentioned personally appeared the honourable and trust-worthy man Jacob Fust burgher of Mentz, and on behalf of his brother Johann Fust also there present has propounded said and declared that between the said Johann Fust his brother of the one part and Johann Gutenberg of the other part a certain day at this hour was named marked and fixed in the convent Hall of the same place to see and to hear the Oath of the said Johann Fust according to the purport and tenour of the judgment between the two parties. And in order that the Brothers of the above named Convent, still assembled in the Convent Hall should not be molested or disturbed, the said Jacob Fust stated by a messenger in the above named Hall that if Johann Gutenberg or any one on his part was in the cloister for the above mentioned affair he ought to attend to the business. After such a message and enquiry, there came into the said refectory the honourable Herr Heinrich Guntheri sometime parson of St. Christopher at Mentz, Heinrich Keffer and Bechtolff of Hanauwe servant and page of the aforesaid Johann Guttenberg, and after they had been asked and required by the said Johann Fust what they were doing there and why they were there—whether they had power in the affair on the part of Johann Guttenberg, they answered collectively and individually that they were commissioned by their Juncker Johann Guttenberg, to hear and to see what would come to pass in the affair. Thereupon Johann Fust protested and testified that he had kept the appointment as agreed and fixed and had waited for his opponent Johann Guttenberg till twelve o'clock and was still waiting for him who had not put in an appearance in the business. He proved himself ready and willing to satisfy the judgment given on the first article of his claim according to its contents. Thereupon he had read word by word together the plaint and reply, and it runs thus. And as Johan fust has promised to the aforesaid Johan Gutenberg at first as is written in the memorandum of their agreement that he would without fail lend to Johan Gutenberg eight hundred guilders in gold with which he should finish the work, and whether it cost more or less did not concern him, and that Johann Guttenberg on the same eight hundred guilders should give him six guilders on each hundred as interest. Now he has raised these eight hundred guilders on interest and has given them to him—therewith he was not satisfied but complained that he has not yet had enough of these eight hundred guilders, so as he wished to give him a sufficiency (or satisfaction) (*ein genugen*) he furnished him with eight hundred guilders more besides the eight hundred guilders already (lent) so that he had advanced him eight hundred guilders more than he was obliged to do according to the terms of the above mentioned agreement and that he himself had to pay consequently one hundred and forty

guilders of interest on the eight hundred guilders which he had furnished to him already. And although the aforesaid Johann Guttenberg has written in the aforesaid memorandum that he would give him on the first eight hundred guilders six guilders as interest on each hundred, Yet had he not in any year handed him any such interest but he had had to pay it himself which amounted according to proper reckonings to two hundred and fifty guilders. And as Johann guttenberg had never paid him such interest namely the six guilders of money of the first eight hundred nor moreover the interest of the last eight hundred guilders, and he had been obliged to borrow the same interest among Christians and Jews and provide besides thirty-six guilders, well reckoned, for the search (*zu Gefuch*) which together with the principal amount truly amounts to 2,020 guilders—he now requires him to return and repay all this without loss. Whereto Johan guttenberg made answer that Johann fust had furnished him with eight hundred guilders, with which money he was to prepare and make his tools (*gecsuge*) and with such money to content himself and to employ it for his requirements and such tools should be a pledge of the aforesaid Johann, and that Johannes should give him yearly three hundred guilders for expenses and also servants wages, rent, parchment, paper, ink, etc. Should they not thereafter (*alsdan*) agree he was to give him back eight hundred guilders and the tools should be redeemed. Moreover it was well understood that he should furnish such work with his money which he had lent him on his pledge, and he hopes that he is not obliged to bestow (*zulegen*) such eight hundred guilders on the work of the books (*werck der bucher*). And although also in this memorandum it be written that he should give him on every hundred guilders six guilders as interest Johannes fust has told him orally that he did not require from him such payment. Besides such eight hundred guilders were not paid all and all at once according to the terms of the memorandum, as he in the first article of his claim has (*gemedet*) and alleged, and in regard of the further eight hundred guilders he desires to render him an account. He accords him moreover no further (*keins foltes noch*) usury and hopes that according to law he is not liable on that account, etc. When therefore he had given such reply, answer, opposing, and concluding statements in these and many other words—We give this legal decision (*so sprechen wir zum rechten*)—When Johann guttenberg has made out his reckoning of all receipts and of the expenditure which he has made for their common benefit, what money he has received and taken over and above in money shall be reckoned in the eight hundred guilders, but if it should be that it was found in the account that he has given him more than eight hundred guilders which has not been employed for their common benefit he shall return that, and should Johannes fust (prove) by oath or trustworthy testimony (*redlicher kuntfchafft*) that he has raised the aforesaid money on securities and that he has not lent it out of his own money. Then shall Johann Gutenberg also deliver and pay such money according to the tenour of the memorandum. As the said judgment as just reported was read in the presence of the aforesaid gentlemen Heinrichs etc., Heinrichs and Bectolff servants of the said Johann Guttenbergk the aforesaid Johann Fust with uplifted fingers placed on the Holy (Gospels) in the hand of me, public writer (notary), swore stated and vowed that everything comprehended in a note of the judgment which he then handed to me was entirely true and just so help him God and the holy (Saints) and the tenour of the said note is, word for word, I, Johannes Fust have borrowed 1,550 gulden which were paid to Johann Guttenberg and expended in our common work for which I have had every year to pay interest and usury and I still owe a part of it, thus I reckon to him for each hundred guilders which I have borrowed as aforesaid for every year six guilders of the said money which has been paid to him which has been employed in our common work and which is found in the reckoning whereof I demand from him the interest according to the tenour of the judgment (decision) and that is true I will maintain as is just according to the tenour of the judgment as the first article of my claim, which I have made on the above named Johan Guttenberg concerning the above mentioned matters.

The aforesaid Johan Guttenberg has demanded of me, (*Helmasperger*) as public scribe, one or more public Instruments as many and as often as he may have need of them. And all the above mentioned things took place, In the year, in the Indiction, at the day, hour, in the year of the coronation of the pope, in the month and in the place above named, in the presence of the honourable men Peter Gransz, Johann Kist, Johann Kunoff, Johann Ysenech, Jacob Fust burgher at Mentz, Peter Girnszheim and Johannes Bonne clerics of the town and see of Mentz, specially asked and required as witnesses. And I *Ulrich Helmasperger* clerk of the Bishoprick of Bamberg by imperial authority public writer and of the Holy See at Mentz sworn notary, seeing that I have been present at all the above named proceedings and articles with the above named witnesses and with them have heard them; Therefore have I had this public Instrument written and made ready by another hand, and have subscribed it with my own hand and have marked it with my own mark having been commanded and requested (to do so) as a true record (*uhrkunde*) of all the aforesaid things.

The reader who wishes to pursue an investigation into the documents having relation to *Gutenberg* may find materials in the 123 closely-printed pages of M. Karl Schorbach entitled, *Die urkundlichen Nachrichten über Johann Gutenberg*, which form a portion of the volume entitled *Festschrift zum funfhundertjährigen geburtstage von Johann Gutenberg*, Mentz, 1900. Herein with pains-worthy diligence the titles and text of no less than twenty-six documents are printed, and are accompanied by twenty plates of facsimiles. It is an unfortunate circumstance that a very large proportion of these documents exist only in copies; the author of the article has, however, given his reasons for his faith in the genuineness of all those papers which he has admitted into his list, and has discussed very fully the attacks of those writers who have impugned it. The *Helmasperger* document comes in of course for a very extended and interesting notice.

(VI.) FACSIMILE OF A PAGE OF THE 42-LINE BIBLE (FROM THE GRENVILLE COPY IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM).

BIBLIA LATINA. THE 42-LINE BIBLE, USUALLY CALLED THE MAZARINE BIBLE, THE FIRST BOOK PRODUCED BY TYPOGRAPHY.

(ASCRIBED BY SOME WRITERS TO JOHANN GUTENBERG, BY OTHERS TO PETER SCHÆFFER.)

Fol. 1a: (F)Rater ambrosius || tua michi munufcu || la pferens. detulit || etc. *Fol. 5a, col. 1*: In principio creavit deus celū || et terram. *Fol. 641b, col. 2*: Gratia dñi nři ihesu cristi cū omnibꝯ vobis amē.

Folio, printed in gothic type; text measures 290 × 197 mm., but the dimensions vary; 641 leaves, printed in double columns, 42 lines to the column, except *Fol. 310*, which has 41; without numerals, catchwords, or signatures; spaces left for initial letters. Divided into ten sections, which must have been printed independently of each other, commencing *Fol. 1, 102, 129, 247, 261, 325, 486, 598, 609, 634*; *Folios 246b, 260b, 513b, 597b, 632b* blank. Some copies have *Folios 1-5* printed quite differently, *Folios 1-5a* with 40 lines to the full page, and *Fol. 5b* with 41, and these have a title at the beginning printed in red in three lines: Incipit epistola sancti Iheronimi ad || Paulinum presbiterum de omnibus diuine historie libris. capitulū ĩmū; and *Fol. 4a, col. 2*: Incipit plogus in penthāteucū moisi; and *Fol. 5a, col. 2*: Incipit plogus bresith quē nos genesim || dicimus. These leaves with 40 and 41 lines must have been printed first, and

the printer must have decided after completing the fifth leaf to have 42 lines in the page, which was effected without any break in the text, the last word on Fol. 5b being *Comedit*, and the first on Fol. 6a *deditq*, (Gen. iii. 6). Then when the original leaves 1-5 were exhausted, they were reprinted with 42 lines to accord with the number of lines in the rest of the book; but the printer could not avoid a break at the end, where we find *Comedit deditq*, although *deditq*, is the first word on the next leaf. Similarly in this copy leaves 129a-132a have 40 lines to the column with titles printed in red. The book of Acts is placed after the Epistle to the Hebrews in this and several other early editions. Certain leaves were set up in type and printed twice, so as to form practically two editions (see next copy), and one leaf (Fol. 134) is extant in at least three different forms.

Another copy on vellum, leaves 21-32a and 325-340a are differently printed from the preceding copy. Leaves 129-132 have each 42 lines, yet each page contains exactly the same matter as in the preceding copy. The titles on Fol. 129-132 are not printed. The errata are corrected by hand. The watermarks in the copy on paper are (1) and (2) a bull, *passant*; (3) and (4) a bunch of grapes; (5) a bull's head, stylus, and star. Hain, *3031, Proctor, 56.

The above description is taken from the Catalogue of the Library of the British Museum, in which the *Grenville* copy whence our facsimile is derived is the first copy noticed.

The existence of this magnificent book, in many ways the most remarkable and precious production of the press, was not known to modern bibliographers until about the middle of the last century, when a copy was discovered in the *Mazarine Library* at Paris. Since that time an indefatigable search has brought to light a number of copies amounting, according to the latest very careful computation—that of *Dr. Paul Schwenke* of the Royal Library at Berlin⁽¹⁾—to perhaps forty in all, perfect and imperfect, of which twelve are on vellum and the rest on paper. The commercial value of this most covetable of books, which had been steadily rising for a century, has of late advanced by leaps and bounds. The Bodleian copy was purchased in 1793 for £100; that of the Duke of Sussex in 1844 for £190. About the year 1875 Messrs. Asher, of Berlin, offered a copy with seventeen leaves in facsimile for 4,000 thalers, whilst the last which appeared at a public sale (the *Makellar* copy) was purchased for £2,950 by the late Mr. Quaritch, who had previously paid £4,000 for the *Ashburnham* copy on vellum.

Much discussion has taken place, especially of late years, as to the identity of the printer, and also as to the precedence of this 42-line Bible or that of the 36-line, often called *Schelhorn's* or the *Bamberg* Bible, which resembles it in many particulars. *M. Dziatzko*, principal Librarian in the University of Göttingen, has, after an exhaustive investigation, arrived at the conclusion, hitherto unrefuted, and accepted by *Dr. Schwenke*, that the 36-line Bible was set up at any rate in part from the 42-line, and must be considered to be posterior to it in order of date. It may be here remarked that the Mazarine Bible must have been completed at any rate in 1456, as is proved by the often quoted notes in the copy of the *Bibl. Nationale* at Paris of the illuminator *Henricus Albech*, alias *Cremer*, dated the 15th and 24th of August of that year respectively.

The book itself is a marvellous achievement, and an almost unique example of the attainment *per saltum* of approximate perfection in an art only just emerging from an embryonic stage, of which, indeed, according to a widely-spread belief, it was the embryo itself. It must have cost its printer years of experiments, even after his first experience with movable types, to ensure the even printing, the glossy blackness of the ink on the stout paper, the sharp appearance of the type and the excellent register and alignment. The great merit claimed by *Dr. Schwenke* for this Bible, a claim which may be most thoroughly endorsed and easily justified, is the extreme regularity of the distances between the stems of the various letters, giving, as may be seen in the facsimile, a remarkably uniform and pleasing appearance. The ingenious and painstaking way in which this agreeable result was produced, in spite of many difficulties, has been exhaustively investigated and described by this writer. The peculiarity is very rarely

(1) *Festschrift zur Gutenbergfeier* Herausgegeben von der Koeniglichen Bibliothek zu Berlin,—*Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Ersten Buchdrucks* von *Dr. Paul Schwenke*, 1900.

Streuertere faciet fili ollā profundum
maris: ponet quasi cū vnguenta bulli-
unt. Post eum larebit semina: estimā-
bit abissum quasi senescerem. Non
est super terram potestas que compa-
reatur ei: qui factus est ut nullum ti-
meret. *Q*uē sublimē videt: ipse est rex
sup̄ universos filios sup̄bie. *ca. xlv.*

Respondens aurem iob dño dixit.
Scio q̄a om̄ia potes: et nulla te
latet cogitatio. Quis est iste qui relatu
rōsilii absq̄ scientia: Neq̄ insipienter
locut⁹ sum: et que ultra modū excede-
rent scientiā meā. Audi et ego loquar:
interrogabo te et respōde michi. Au-
dici auris audivi te: nūc aut̄ oculus
meus videt te. Adcirco ipse me reprehē-
do: et ago penitentiā in favilla et cinē-
re. Postq̄ aut̄ locut⁹ est de⁹ verba hec
ad iob: dixit ad eliphaz themanitan.

dñs sup̄ eum: et dederūt ei unūquodq̄
quem vnam ⁊ in aurem auream unā.
Dñs autē benedixit novissimis iob
magis quā principio ei⁹. Et facta sūt
ei quadragesim milia ovium et sex mil-
lia camelorum: et mille iuga bouū ⁊ mil-
le asine: et fuerūt ei septē filij ⁊ tres filie.
*E*st vocavit nomē unū dñe: et nomen
secūde cassiam: ⁊ nomē tercię cornubi-
bi. Nō sunt aut̄ inuente mulieres spe-
ciosę sicut filie iob: in uniuersa terra. De-
ditq̄ eis pater suus hereditatē inter fra-
tres eay. Dixit aut̄ iob post hec centū
quadragesimā annos: ⁊ vidit filios suos ⁊ fi-
lios filiorū suoy usq̄ ad quartā gene-
rationē: ⁊ mortu⁹ ē septe et pler⁹ dñcū.

*Explicit lib iob. Incipit prologus
beati ieronimi p̄bri in psalterij.*

Balnearij romę dudū post-
ius emēdātā: ⁊ iuxta sepul-
crum in domo. *Incipit*

amicos tuos: quonia nō estis locuti
corā me redū sicut seru⁹ me⁹ iob. **Su-**
mme ergo vobis septem thuros ⁊ se-
ptem arcetes: et ire ad seruū meū iob:
⁊ offerre olocaustum pro vobis. **Iob**
ait seru⁹ me⁹ orabat pro vobis. **faci-**
ent e⁹ suscipiā: ut nō vobis impuret
stulticia. **Plac⁹** em̄ locuti estis ad me
reda: sicut seru⁹ me⁹ iob. **Abierūt** ergo ^{male}
eliphaz themanites et baldath suites
et sophar naamathites et fecerūt sicut
locutus fuerat dñs ad eos: et suscepit
deus faciem iob. **Dñs** q̄; conuersus
est ad penitentia iob: cū oraret pro a-
micis suis. **Et** addidit domin⁹ omnia
quęcūq; fuerāt iob duplicia. **Venerūt**
autē ad eū omnes fratres sui ⁊ omnes
sorores sue et cūcti qui nouerāt eū pri-
us ⁊ comederūt cū eo panē in domo
sua. **Conuenerūt** sup eū caput ⁊ cōso-
laci sūt eū sup omni malo qđ intulerat

im. **maxima** **caue** **re** **hanc**
correrā. **Quod** quia rursus videns
o paula et rubochū scriptorū viciō de-
prauatū. plures antiquum rorem q̄;
nouā emēdacionē valere me cogitis
ut veluti quodam nouali. scilicet iam
arūi recerant. et obliquis. iulias reas
sentes spinas radidem. equū esse dice-
res. ut qđ crebro. pullulat crebrius sic
ridatur. **Vnde** conueta p̄facione cō-
moneo. tam vos quib⁹ forte latere iste
desudat. quā eos qui reemplaria iste
ulimodi habere voluerit. ut n̄ diligen-
ter emendavi: cū cura et diligētia tras
scribanur. **Notet** sibi uniusquib⁹ vel
iacētē lineā. vel radiātia signa. id
est obvelos. vel asteriscos: et ubi cūq;
viderit virgulā p̄cedentem. ab ea usq;
ad duo pūda que impressum. sicut in
septuaginta translatoribus plus ha-
berit: ubi autē p̄fegerit stelle scindine.

to be found in other early books, with the exception of the "Psalterium" of 1457. Briefly speaking, the method by which this curious result was arrived at was the casting, in addition to the ordinary types, of certain special *secondary* and quasi-mutilated types of certain letters, the normal projections of which would have kept the neighbouring letters at too great a distance. A very interesting point (misunderstood by Sotheby) in connection with the printing of this Bible is the change in the size of the type after the first pages of the divisions A and B had been worked off. This was necessitated by the change from the 40-line scheme to the 42-line, and whilst some types were re-cast, others were actually cut down in height to such an extent that a portion of the curved dots of the i's was sliced off in the operation. The only explanation which can be given of some of the other alterations made in the type as the work proceeded is that the matrices had probably worn out and that new ones had to be made. Everything in Dr. Schwenke's opinion points to the conclusion that the printer had neither steel punches nor copper matrices,⁽¹⁾ and that the latter were of *lead*, made either by stamping into that metal punches made of metal or of wood or by hammering wooden punches into the semi-molten lead. When the matrices or even the punches were worn,⁽²⁾ new ones would easily be made; these would, however, not correspond exactly with the old ones, and thus that multiplicity of forms may be accounted for, which could hardly be explained on the supposition that the unalterable steel punches and copper matrices had been employed. So much for the types. The irregularities in the composition are next exhaustively dealt with in Dr. Schwenke's treatise. It is clear that the printer had no proper "chases" or "furniture," and that only at the top and bottom was the mass of type secured, so that lateral deviations from the vertical line are often to be observed. Critical observation of the method of printing and of the watermarks lead to the conclusion that no less than six presses were employed, that the Bible was begun by Gutenberg in association with Fust in 1454, or at the very earliest at the end of 1453, and completed in July or August, 1455, and that the whole time from the beginning of the association till the end of the year 1453 must have been occupied by Gutenberg in experiments. The result of a perusal of Dr. Schwenke's extremely interesting article is to enable us in a measure to realize that enormous pains were bestowed by the printer, at an extremely early period of the art, upon the typographical niceties of this wonderful production. The question of the fragments of *Donatuses*, etc., in the smaller type of the 42-line Bible is then fully discussed, and it is contended that only those can be ascribed to Gutenberg's own press which afford evidences of the rules of printing observed by Gutenberg himself. And here we arrive at a most momentous point of disagreement between Mr. Hessels (who has bestowed so much research upon the subject of Gutenberg's work) and Prof. Schwenke. The well-known *Donatus* of 35 lines, a fragment of which is preserved in the Bibl. Nationale at Paris, and contains the colophon, *Per petrum de gernssheym in urbe Moguntina cum suis Capitalibus*, affords, it is true, says the German professor, *who gives the 42-line Bible without the slightest reservation to Gutenberg*, an absolute proof that the type of this Bible had come into Schœffer's possession at a date not ascertained. The omission of Schœffer's name might lead to an early date being assigned to the *Donatus*, but the exclusion of that of *Fust* induces him to assign to it the year 1467 or 1468. "But," says Mr. Hessels, "*not only was this type in Schœffer's hands when this Donatus was printed, but with that type Schœffer himself had printed the 42-line Bible and the 30-line Indulgence, in neither of which had Gutenberg part or lot.*" The reader will find another lucid investigation of the points at issue in the work of M. Bernard, I., 311-315; this writer assigns a late date to the *Donatus*, and refuses to credit Schœffer with either the 42-line Bible or either of the Indulgences. So wide a divergence between the opinions of some of the most accurate and indefatigable of recent bibliographers on the question of the personality of the printer of the most important volume in the world will vindicate my statements as to the uncertainty even now existing on the questions connected with the earliest productions of the press.

(1) The reader is referred to the chapter on the *Evolution of the Type Mould* for an investigation into the processes by which the types of the 42-line Bible and the 1454 and 1455 Indulgences were in all probability produced.

(2) From my own experiments, I conclude that whilst one to two hundred types could probably be cast from a leaden matrix, if great care were exercised, it would be very liable to injury at a much earlier stage, and that the wooden punch would very often not serve for the manufacture of more than one matrix, but that the early typefounder probably found a way out of the difficulty which experiment has shown me to be easy and practicable.

FACSIMILE SHOWING A COMPARISON OF THE SAME PASSAGE (PROVERBS IV. 13-21) AS PRINTED IN THE FORTY-TWO-LINE AND THIRTY-SIX-LINE BIBLES RESPECTIVELY, FROM COPIES IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

malorū via. **F**uge ab ea nec transeas
 per illā : declina et desere eā. **N**on enī
 dormiūt nisi cū male fecerint : et non
 rapiūt somnū? ab eis nisi supplantauerit.
Comediūt panem impietatis: et uinū
 iniquitatis bibūt. **I**ustorū aurē serui-
 ra quasi lux splendēs: p̄cedit: et reser-
 uat: ad p̄cedā dñe. **V**ia impiorū tene-
 brosa: nesciūt ubi corruāt. **F**ili mi au-
 sculta sermones meos: et ad eloquia
 mea inclina aurē tuā. **N**e recedant ab
 oculis tuis: custodi ea i medio cordis
 tui. **V**ita enī sunt iuramentibus ea: et

FORTY-TWO-LINE BIBLE, VOL. II., FOL. 24, COL. 2,
 LAST 13 LINES.

uia. **F**uge ab ea nec transeas
 per illam: declina ⁊ desere eam.
Non enī dormiūt nisi cum ma-
 le fecerint: et non rapit somnū?
 ab eis nisi supplantauerit. **C**ō-
 mediūt panem impietatis: ⁊ ui-
 nū iniquitatis bibūt. **I**ustorū
 autē seruita quasi lux splendēs
 p̄cedit: et reserit usq; ad p̄fec-
 tam diē. **V**ia impiorū tenebro-
 sa: nesciūt ubi corruāt. **F**ili mi
 ausculta sermones meos: ⁊ ad
 eloquia mea inclina aurē tuā.

THIRTY-SIX-LINE BIBLE, VOL. II., FOL. 34, COL. 1,
 LINES 7-19.

(VII.) FACSIMILE OF A PORTION OF THE 36-LINE BIBLE FROM THE COPY IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM, IN CONTRAST WITH THE SAME TEXT IN THE 42-LINE BIBLE.

BIBLIA LATINA. THE 36-LINE BIBLE, OFTEN CALLED THE BAMBERG BIBLE.

Fol. 1a: (F)Rater am- || brofius mi || chi tua munufcula pferens de || tulit simul. et fuauiffimas litte- || ras : etc. *Fol. 82b, col. 2:* Gracia domini no- || ftri ihesu crifti cum omnib; uo- || bis amen.

Folio, printed in gothic type in double columns, 36 lines to a column; text measures $297 \times 90 + 19 + 90 = 199$ mm.; without numerals, catchwords or signatures; space left for initial letters. The book consists of four sections, commencing respectively on leaves 1, 267, 447, 669. The verso of *Fol. 207* at the end of the Old Testament is blank. Differences probably exist in many leaves between this copy and others. Hain, 3032, Proctor, 60.

The origin of this Bible is still most uncertain. It is printed with the same types as the *Manung wider die Durcke*, used also by Albrecht Pfister at Bamberg in Boner's *Edelstein*, 1461, *Vier Geschichten*, 1462, and in the undated *Belial*, and apparently as those used by an anonymous printer in the *Indulgences* of Nicholas V., 1454 and 1455 (see pages 13 and 16). The types may have belonged to Gutenberg, who may have sold them to Pfister. As will be seen on page 27, a Donatus of 27 lines, of which a fragment only exists, may also have been printed from these types.

This extremely rare book is known as the *Bamberg Bible* because nearly all the existing copies were found in the vicinity of the town of *Bamberg*: as *Pfister's Bible* because some bibliographers, among whom is *Bernard* (II. 59), have attributed it to *Albert Pfister* of that town, and was at one time called the *Schelhorn Bible*, because it was fully described in 1760 by that bibliographer, who considered it to be the oldest edition of the Latin Bible printed by Gutenberg. It was for the first time mentioned by *Schwartz*, who in the year 1728 unearthed a copy in the library of a monastery near *Mentz*. The only direct indications of the date of printing are to be found in a copy preserved in the *Bibl. Nationale* in Paris bearing a MS. inscription of the date of 1461, and in a register of expenditure of the abbey of *St. Michael* at *Bamberg* begun on the 21st of March, 1460, in the cover of which is a waste leaf of the Bible. Internal evidence, however, of an earlier date is perhaps afforded by the 31-line *Indulgence* of 1454, in which similar types are used, but it should be noted that in the *Indulgence* the types appear sharper and newer than those of the Bible. The typographical disposition of the text of the 36-line Bible is by no means so pleasing or so well cared for as that of the 42-line, as will be seen by a comparison of the facsimiles (compare the spacing of the words *diefere*, B. 42, line 2, *defere*, B. 36: *nifi*, B. 42, line 4, and *nifi*, B. 36, line 3), and the printing is in all respects more negligent. The scrupulous care taken in B. 42 that all the outside sheets of a section were of similar paper is entirely wanting in B. 36, where each fresh stock of a particular kind of paper was formed into a section and used up without any precaution. *M. Dziatzko* has shown that, in spite of the comparative crudity, clumsiness and want of taste shown in the 36-line Bible as a whole, it cannot be considered as anterior in date to the 42-line. Whilst holding the same view, and arguing that Gutenberg, having printed a *soignée* edition, could never at a later date have brought himself to issue a less carefully executed successor, *Dr. Schwenke* thinks it possible that some unscrupulous and nameless assistant of Gutenberg's may have learnt enough of his master's ways to accomplish this somewhat clumsy imitation, and finding perhaps that the work hung on hand, may have sold his apparatus and perhaps also the whole edition of the 36-line Bible to *Albrecht Pfister*, who in his turn used the types, without being able to renew them as he would have certainly done had he been their creator.

(VIII.) FACSIMILE OF A PAGE OF A *DONATUS* OF 31 LINES PRESERVED IN THE ROYAL LIBRARY AT THE HAGUE.

(FROM A PHOTOGRAPH SPECIALLY TAKEN FOR THIS WORK.)

The fragment of which the annexed plate presents a facsimile (permission to photograph the original having been very courteously granted me by M. Byvanck, the chief librarian at the Hague,) is one of two which were found in 1844 by Mr. Campbell, sub-librarian at the Royal Library, in the old binding of a Dutch Book of Hours printed at Delft in 1484, having up to that date escaped observation by reason of their being *anopisthographic*, i.e., printed on one side only of the vellum, and of the printed sides having been glued to the cover of the book so that only the blank sides in each case were visible, even these being partly covered by little engravings pasted on them by some previous owner of the volume. Mr. Campbell having detected slight indications of printed matter showing through the vellum, detached with scrupulous precautions the leaves from the cover, in the presence of Mr. Holtrop, and great was the joy of the two bibliographers when these precious fragments were revealed.

The leaves are printed, as has been said, on one side only of the vellum, with movable types, thirty-one lines to the page. The ink is pale, and is effaced by the contact of water, some lines of the leaf which is not here reproduced having been obliterated by that means. The types are the same as those of the well-known *abecedarium* discovered in 1751 by M. Enschedé, now in the Town Hall Library at Haarlem. They are of Dutch origin, and moreover possess characteristics similar to those of the *Speculum Humane Salvationis* and the rest of the books and fragments hereinafter alluded to as *Prototypographia Hollandica*, notably that of the **t** with a final bar. It is the first specimen of Dutch typography described by M. Holtrop (*Mon. Typog. des Pays-Bas*, page 15), and facsimiled by him, Plate II. (3). The composition and press-work are in many respects of the crudest possible description; there is no punctuation, there are no hyphens, the letters vary extremely in size, the alignment is most irregular, but on the other hand the lines are of fairly equal length. The general appearance is considerably rougher and more primitive-looking than that of the Dutch editions of the *Speculum*, to which, however, these fragments, as has been said, present a striking analogy.

Facsimiles of portions of the editions of the *Speculum Humane Salvationis* have been so freely given

in books on early typography that I have not thought it needful to include in the present series an auto-type of a page of that extremely important book, but I append a reproduction of a part of the text, from which it will be seen that its appearance, primitive though it be, appears at any rate to indicate a more advanced stage of the typographical art than the *Donatus* under consideration.

If we are to believe the pronouncements of the Gutenbergians, the *Speculum* and this *Donatus* are quite late productions, certainly not earlier than 1472.⁽¹⁾ In that case, instead of being, as at first sight

**Nūq̄ eā amor maloz q̄ it̄ mariā ⁊ ei? nati
Nullū dolorē iuenim? dolorē marie eq̄gati
Dolor ade ⁊ eue legit̄ multū diu durasse
Qui legit̄ur centū āms in luctu p̄seuerasse
Et si x̄ps p̄ centū millia ānoz ī morte p̄seuerat;
mala nūq̄ medio tpe nūq̄ a luctu ⁊ merore cel
si iḡit̄ ioseph corp? x̄pi de cruce deponēt fact;
Affuit maria ut̄ ip̄m it̄ brachia sua attollēt
Tūc fasciul? nucez mē vbeā ei? ḡmorabat
Sicut̄ ī cātinis cātinoz de ip̄a cantatur
D̄ q̄ amar? niere fasciulis suis ī corde marie
tolleādo penaz q̄s sustinuit x̄ps tō nocte ⁊ die
Affuit̄ vniū dulc? ⁊ nobili? et̄ cōpbat**

FACSIMILE OF A PORTION OF THE *SPECULUM HUMANE SALVATIONIS* (MIXED LATIN EDITION) FROM THE GRENVILLE COPY IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

(1) *Conf. Dr. A. Wyss, Centralblatt für* June, 1888, pages 255, 272: M. Karl Dziatzko, *Sammlung Bibl. Arbeiten* IV. Heft, pages 129-132.

would seem probable, one of the earliest efforts of an inventor who had only the most primitive devices for making his types, who did not understand how to manufacture a glutinous adhesive ink, or perhaps how to print on both sides of the vellum, we should have to look upon this page as the work of a man who was too much isolated or too poor to avail himself of appliances which had already for twenty years been available for the production of some of the most excellent examples of the typographic art.

(IX.) FACSIMILE OF A PAGE OF A *DONATUS* OF 27 LINES PRESERVED IN THE BIBLIOTHEQUE NATIONALE, PARIS.

(FROM A PHOTOGRAPH SPECIALLY TAKEN FOR THIS WORK.)

The last page of a fragment of a *Donatus*, of which only two leaves, the fifth and the tenth, have been preserved; on the verso of the fifth leaf is written at the right hand corner the word *Heyderssheym*, and a date of which the upper portion has been shorn away, but which shows the cyphers 14 distinctly, followed by what may be the figures 51. Were these figures to be assumed as giving the note of a year after which the *Donatus* was not printed, we should of course have to do with an earlier date for the Mentz productions than we otherwise possess. This fragment is described and figured by Gotthelf Fischer, "*Essai sur les monumens typographiques de Jean Gutenberg*" (Mayence, 1802). He obtained his information from his colleague, *M. Bodmann*, who had discovered the leaves in the archives of Mentz, where they served as cover for a register of accounts 1451-1492, and has reproduced the first four lines of this particular page. In his opinion the *Donatus* inscriptions require very careful verification, and his faith in *M. Bodmann* does not appear to be very firm. He attributes the fragment to the press of *Gutenberg*, and considers that the book was printed with movable types made of wood. The very numerous variations in the shapes of the letters preclude, in his mind, the idea that the types can have been cast in a mould. *Mr. Hessels*, who has examined the leaves, gives in his "*Gutenberg*" an interesting exposition of the arguments for and against the authenticity of the date, and of its relevance, if genuine. He doubts the identity of the type of this *Donatus* with that of the 36-line Bible, with which it has, as we shall see, much analogy.⁽¹⁾ The greatest interest, under these circumstances of doubt, which the fragment has for me is the practical way in which it has been handled by *Duverger* in his anonymous work, "*Histoire de l'Invention de l'Imprimerie par les Monuments*" (Paris, 1840). His method of arriving at a determination of the press from which it proceeded, and of a solution of the difficulties presented by its physical peculiarities, is that commendable one of *experiment*, which has found so little favour with other writers on the earliest productions of the press. He assumes it to be printed by *Gutenberg*, causes type to be made approximating as nearly as possible to those of the 36-line Bible which he ascribes to that press, casts some of them in soft lead, batters them about to his heart's content by frequent impressions and friction, prints from them nine lines of the *Donatus* and gives us the result. I have placed a facsimile of this impression opposite to the facsimile of the original page in order that the reader may judge for himself whether he has justified his claim to the explanation that the *Donatus* owes the crudity of its appearance not to initial defects in the type but to the hard usage which the types of soft lead had undergone after the printing of the 36-line Bible. I can hardly understand how *Duverger* produced his effect by mere repeated impression; the types seem to have been rather unfairly and unjustly treated and the alignment has been marvellously tampered with. I confess that I am not quite convinced by his experiment, believing that the differences between these founts and of the justifications of the types are far greater than can be accounted for by mere wear and tear, though there are the closest resemblances between them.

I append a facsimile of *Duverger's* page illustrative of his theory. The reader will kindly note that the first nine lines are printed from modern type cast in lead for *Duverger* from matrices made in imitation of those of the 42-line Bible, *purposely battered*; the next nine from type less ill-used; the next six lines from unused lead type from the same matrices and the last three from types cast in a harder metal. These last lines may set us on thinking whether differences between volumes from the same press may not be sometimes traceable to a difference in the composition of the type-metal as well as to differences of other kinds.

⁽¹⁾ But hereon see *M. Dziatzko* (*Sammlung*, page 12), who has minutely compared resemblances and divergences of the compositor's work in the 36-line Bible and the *Donatus* fragment.

cū docerem docerem doceret **P**reterito p̄fco cū docet? sum l fueri
 sis l fuis sit l fuit **A**plē cū docti sum? l fuim? sisis l fueris
 sis sic l fuerit **P**reterito p̄fco p̄fco cū docet? esse l fuisse eēs ul
 fuisset cēt l fuisset **A**plē cū docti eēm? l fuisset? eēs l fuisset
 fueris eēt l fuisset **F**uturo cū docet? ero l fueris eīs l fuis erit l fu
 rit **A**plē cū docti eim? l fuim? eēs l fueritis erit ul fuerit
Infinitō mō s̄n nūis 7 p̄fcois tpe p̄nti 7 p̄nto ip̄fco docet
 p̄nto p̄fco 7 p̄fco p̄fco doctū ēē l fuisse fuō doctū iri **P**ro
 uticipia t̄hūr a ūbo passio p̄nti ut docet? futurus ut doced?
Ego legis legit **A**plē legim? legitis legit **P**reterito ip̄
 fco legebā legebas legebat **A**plē legebam? legeba
 tis legebāt **P**reterito p̄fco legi legisti legit **A**plē legim? legit
 ris legerūt ul legece **P**reterito p̄fco p̄fco legecā legecas lege
 rat **A**plē legeam? legeatis legerāt **F**uturo legam leges le
 get **A**plē legemus legis legunt **I**mpatiuo modo tēpōe
 p̄nti ad secundā 7 terciā **P**resenti lege legat **A**plē lega
 mus legite legant **F**uturo legito tu legito ille **A**plē lega
 mus legitote legunto ul leguntote **P**optatiuo modo tē
 pore p̄nti 7 p̄nto ip̄fco uī legecem legeres legeret etplē
 uī legecemus legecētis legecēt **P**reterito p̄fco 7 p̄fco p̄fco
 uī legissem legisisset **A**plē uī legissemus legisissetis
 legisissent **F**uturo uī legā legas legat **A**plē uī legamur le
 gatis legant **C**oniūctiuo nō tēpōe p̄nti cū legam legas
 legat **A**plē cū legam? legatis legant **P**reterito ip̄fco cū le
 gerē legeres legeret **A**plē cū legecemus legeretis legerent
Preterito p̄fco cū legecem? legecētis legecēt **A**plē cū legecem?
Preterito ip̄fco cū legecem? legecētis legecēt **A**plē cū legecem?

cū docerem docerem doceret P̄tito p̄fco cū doct⁹ sum l fueri
 sis l fuisset l fuit aplē cū docti sum⁹ l fueim⁹ fuis l fueris
 as sic l fuerit P̄tito p̄lq̄ p̄fco nū doct⁹ esse l fuisset eēs ul
 fuisses eēt l fuisset aplē cū docti eēm⁹ l fuisset eēt l fuisset
 1 letis eēt l fuisset Futo nū doct⁹ ero l fueo eis l fuisset l fu
 it aplē cū docti eim⁹ l fueim⁹ eis l fueritis erit ul fuerit
 Infinitō mō s̄n nūis a plois rpe p̄nti a p̄nto ip̄fco docet
 p̄nto p̄fco a p̄lq̄ p̄fco doctū eēt fuisset fuisset doctū in Duo
 p̄ntia thū a ūbo passio p̄ntū ut doct⁹ fuerit ut doced⁹

Ego legis legit aplē legim⁹ legitis legūt P̄tito ip̄
 fco legebā legebas legebat aplē legebam⁹ legeba
 tis legebāt P̄tito p̄fco legi legisti legit aplē legim⁹ legi
 tis legerūt ul legere P̄tito p̄lq̄ p̄fco legerā legeras lege
 2 rat aplē legēam⁹ legēatis legerāt Futuro legam leges le
 get aplē legemus legentis legent Impatiuo modo tēpōe
 p̄nti ad secundā a terciā p̄sonam lege legat aplē lega
 mus legite legant Futuro legito tu legito ille aplē lega
 mus legitote legunto ul leguntote Optatiuo modo tē
 pore p̄nti a p̄nto ip̄fco ut legerem legeres legeret etplē
 ul legeremus legerentis legerent P̄nto p̄fco a p̄lq̄ p̄fco
 ul legissem legisset legisset aplē ul legissemus legissetis
 3 legisset legissent Futuro ul legā legas legat aplē ul legamus le
 gatis legant Coniunctiuo mō tēpe p̄nti cū legam legas
 legat aplē cū legam⁹ legatis legant P̄nto ip̄fco nū le
 gere legeres legeret aplē cū legeremus legerentis legerent
 4 P̄nto p̄fco cū legerim legeris legerit aplē cū legerim⁹
 legeritis legerint P̄nto plus quā p̄fecto cum legissem

(X.) and (XI.) FACSIMILE OF TWO PAGES OF THE *PSALTERIUM* OF 1457 FROM THE COPY PRESERVED IN THE IMPERIAL LIBRARY IN VIENNA.

[FROM PHOTOGRAPHS SPECIALLY TAKEN FOR THIS WORK.]

1457. *PSALTERIUM, THE FIRST BOOK WITH A PRINTED DATE.*

[MENTZ, JOHANN FUST AND PETER SCHÆFFER.]

Fol. 1a : (in red) Dñicis dieb9 post festum trinitatis Inuitatorium ; (in black) Regē magnū dñm venite adoremus, ps Venite. || (In red) dñicis dieb5 post festū epñie Inuitatoriū. || (In black) Adorem9 dñm qui fecit nos, ps Venite aii Seruite. || *Line 5* : (in black) (B)eatu vir qui || nōn abiit in || consilio impiorum et in || etc. On *Fol. 175b* is the colophon: Pñs spalmoꝝ (sic) codex. venustate capitaliū decoāt9 || Rubricationibusq, sufficienter distinctus, || Adinuētionē artificōsa imp̄mendi ac caracterizandi. || absq, calami vlla exaracōne sic effigiatus, Et ad euse- || biam dei industrie est q̄summatu, Per Joñem fust || Ciuē magūtinū. Et Petrū, Schoffer de Gernszheim, || Anno dñi Millefiō. cccc.lvij. In viglia Affūpcōis, ||

Folio, printed on vellum on 175 leaves (some copies having only 143 leaves), in Missal letters of two sizes, the text of the Psalms, Canticles, Creed, etc., being in the larger type, with 22 lines to a page, and the directions, prayers, and liturgical matter in smaller type with 24; the initials of each verse, as well as whole sentences of liturgical matter, in red; large initial letters in red and blue, surrounded by blue and red tracery respectively; text measures 300 × 205 mm.; without numerals, signatures, or catchwords; in tens, except the 11th gathering, which has eight, the 12th, which has six, the 15th, which has nine, the 16th, which has eleven, the 17th, which has ten, and the 18th, eleven leaves; in the edition of 143 leaves, the colophon is on *Fol. 143b*, which page is blank in the 175-leaved copies. Hain, 13479, Proctor, 64.

The text is arranged according to liturgical requirements. The Psalms, all of which are contained in the first 136 leaves, not being placed in the order which they occupy in the Bible, but in that in which they were used for chanting on the various days and hours; they are interspersed with Canticles from all parts of the Bible, hymns, prayers, etc.; spaces are left blank for the insertion of matter in MS. Staves for music are printed in, on which in some copies the notes for chanting are written in MS. The omission of 32 leaves from the end of a certain number of copies is explicable by the fact that the liturgical matter contained in them is arranged according to the Use at *Mentz*, and their absence rendered the Psalter available for places where that Use did not prevail.

Of this magnificent volume, in many respects the most valuable printed book in existence, only nine copies are known to be extant, viz. :—

I.—*Of the Edition of 175 leaves.*—(1) In the Imperial Library at Vienna (from which our reproductions are derived), a beautifully clean and unused copy, measuring 410 mm. in height, on very white vellum—the only perfect one of this edition. It was formerly in the Library of the Archduke Ferdinand at Schloss Ambras in the Tyrol. (2) In the University Library at Berlin—this copy wants leaf 34. (3) In the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris—this copy wants leaves 167-172. (4) In the Royal Library at Dresden—extremely imperfect. II.—*Of the Edition of 143 leaves.*—(5) The copy formerly in the Library of Earl Spencer, since acquired for Manchester by Mrs. Rylands. This is the only perfect copy of this edition. (6) In the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris—wanting only the

Terit insipiens in corde suo: nō
est deus. **C**orrupti sunt & ab-
ominabiles facti sūt i iniqui-
tatis: non est qui facit bonū.

Deus de celo respicit sup filios hoīm: ut
videat si est intelligens aut requirens deū.
Omnes declinaverūt simul invidioses facti
sūt: non est qui faciat bonū: nō est ulos ad-
vōnū. **T**ōmne scēnt omēs qui opant iniqui-
tatem: quī devorant plebem meā sicut ovū

Qui non immeruerit me respici-
uerit timore: ubi non fuit timor, **Q**uoniam deus
dissipauit ossa eorum qui hominibus placent:
confusi sunt quoniam deus spreuit eos **Q**uiis dabit
re syon salutare israel nisi dixerit deus captiuitatem
re plebis sue: reuertabitur iacob et letabitur israel,
Et audiui deus orationem meam: et me **Q**ui
despereris deprecationem meam: intende
michi et respicidi me, **Q**uoniam iustus sum in re-
potatione mea: et conturbatus sum a voce

FACSIMILE OF A PAGE OF THE PSALTERIUM (THE FIRST BOOK WITH A PRINTED DATE) PRINTED AT MENTZ IN 1457

BY JOHANN FUST AND PETER SCHNEFFER.

(FROM A PHOTOGRAPH SPECIALLY TAKEN FOR THIS WORK FROM THE COPY IN THE IMPERIAL LIBRARY AT VIENNA.)

last leaf. (7) *In His Majesties' Library at Windsor Castle*—a very clean copy, wanting leaves 137-141, formerly belonging to the Ursuline Convent at Hildesheim. (8) *In the Library at Darmstadt*—wanting leaves 28 and 137-143. (9) The copy in the *Grenville Library at the British Museum*—which wants leaves 28, 137-143; a poor copy which has been cleaned and washed, and many of the initial letters painted over.

There are other differences between almost all the existing copies the details of which have been very fully investigated by Mr. Russell Martineau, to whose most interesting article in the first volume of *Bibliographica* (London, 1895) I am indebted for the particulars up to the point where the subject of the initial letters is touched upon, and to this article I would refer the reader for fuller details. The result of his exhaustive examination shows that there is no evidence that the book was set up *as a whole* more than once, yet it is clear that there were two distinct editions, and that with certain exceptions all the known copies belong to the first of these except (5) and (8) belong to what Mr. Martineau considers the first edition, and further that the typographical arrangement of the first page varies in each line in each of the three copies preserved in this country,—a result apparently of the successive efforts of the printers to produce the most pleasing possible result.

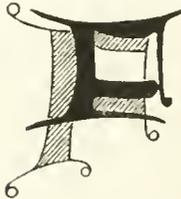
The commercial value of any perfect copy which might now be discovered is incalculable. The most recent purchase, however, mentioned by *Brunet* (that of the copy ceded by the Royal Library at Stuttgart to the Imperial Library at Berlin) involved the payment of the very modest sum of 7,000 florins only. The late Mr. Quaritch purchased at the Syston Park sale in 1884 for £4,950 a copy of the *second* edition (dated 1459) of this book by the same printers. This very copy had previously been sold at Sir M. M. Sykes's sale in 1824 for £136 10s., and still earlier at the MacCarthy sale in 1815 for 3,350 francs. It now belongs to Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan, who is said to have paid Mr. Quaritch the price, £5,250, at which it appears in his *Monuments of the Early Printers*, 1888.

The most striking feature in this wonderful book is the use of large decorative initial letters, filling in depth from two to six lines of text, printed from blocks in two colours; the initial being in red if the ornament surrounding it be blue, and *vice versa*. The printers prided themselves with good reason on this new feature. They characterize their volume, as we see in the colophon, as being *adorned by the elegance of its capitals* ("venustate capitalium decoratus").⁽¹⁾ An entirely new departure in the very new art of printing, this double-colour printing was of course thought out for the gratification of purchasers who had long been accustomed to the splendid embellishment in this manner of the hand-written service-books which were so much in demand, and with which such volumes as the *Psalterium* were designed to compete. This claim of the printers is very explicit, and its wording is thought by many to militate against the suggestion that Schœffer was the inventor of steel punches and copper matrices, which he would have definitely claimed in this colophon had that invention been his.

The beauty and the extreme accuracy of the register of these initials has led to considerable discussion as to the method of their production. *Bernard*, I., 227, was perhaps the first writer to suggest that the two colours of these initials were printed at one operation, the printer making use of two blocks, one for the letter, the other for the ornament, capable of being *separately* charged with their respective colours, then fitted together, and printed with the rest of the text. *Blades* disagrees with *Bernard's* conclusions. He considers that there was but one block for each decorated initial, that this was not inked but printed "blind," to use a technical term, for the guidance of the illuminator, who followed the indentations with a brush charged with the necessary colours. It is confidently asserted, however, by those who have examined untouched copies, that the colours are *printed* and not laid on by hand. But the process suggested by *Blades* (based on an examination of the two-coloured initials of a Bible printed by Sweynheim and Pannartz in 1467), though incorrect in its application to the *Psalterium*, receives an interesting exemplification in a copy of the 1462 Bible in the British Museum, in which, as was pointed out to me by my friend Mr. Proctor, it has been recently noticed that all the red initials are *printed*,

(1) Mr. De Vinne has made an odd slip in his translation of this colophon, which he renders "This book of Psalms decorated with *antique* initials," having evidently read *vetustate* for *venustate*. I note so trivial an error in an admirable book with great humility, feeling assured that far more important blunders will be found in my own volumes. Although I venture to differ from the author on one or two points, notably on his views about wooden types, and to dissent from his too faithful allegiance to Van der Linde, I can say without hesitation that if I were only allowed to possess one modern volume on the Invention of Printing it would be *De Vinne's*.

whilst the blue, though set up with the red, have been impressed without being previously coloured, leaving in the vellum "blind" impressions for the guidance of the rubricator, who has, however, in this copy at any rate, chosen to treat these impressions merely as "initial directors," and disregarding their form to follow his own devices in painting his blue letters, as will be seen in the annexed sketch.



De Vinne thinks it probable that separate blocks were not used, but that the colours were separately painted on the letter and the ornament respectively. *M. Wallau*, of Mentz, devotes a whole article to the subject of these initials (*Festschrift*, 1900, pages 261-304); he has evidently collated with great care the initials of the Mentz copy of the *Psalterium* with those which occur in later impressions in 1459, 1490, 1502, 1515, and 1516, and insists on the following conclusions: (1) that those initials were printed, as suggested by *Bernard*, with a double block of the construction patented by *Sir William Congreve* in 1819 (it had been previously patented in another form by *Solomon Henry* in 1786); (2) that the blocks were of metal, not of wood; and finally he shows, by very numerous observations of the wear of particular letters, that the metal in which the delicate tracery was cut was a hard one, which alone could resist the peculiar wear, and that frequent mendings and solderings of the blocks took place, the traces of which were very visible as time went on.

One of the most convincing proofs that the initials were produced by a contrivance which allowed both colours to be printed at one operation is the great superiority of register which the original page possesses over all modern reproductions, including the present. Reproduction at three operations by lithography or by relief-blocks, as in my reproduction, cannot be expected to give a register quite as accurate as that of the original. *M. Wallau* boldly asserts that among the hundreds of initials which he has examined in his collation of the editions already mentioned, printed from the same blocks, there is not one which can be shown to have a faulty register, though differences in the width of the white margin between the letter and the ornament, due to the method of inking the blocks, are very noticeable. It seems probable that the black and red printing of the rest of the text was effected not by two separate printings, but by very carefully charging the types, which were all composed together in one forme with their respective colours, a delicate process, as in some cases the red and black letters almost come in contact.¹

It will be seen that the black printing is of extraordinary excellence; almost as much care has been taken in the design of the types for this volume as in that of the 42-line Bible, to which attention has already been called. In order to preserve the approximate uniformity of space between the stems of the letters, certain letters have been deprived of the small projections which would have militated against this result. Note in the first line of the facsimile the mutilated upper portion of the left stem of the **n** which diminishes the space between it and the **e**—of the **f** in the word *filios* in the fifth line—of the **n** in the *ficut* of the tenth line, and so on. The similarity of the means used to produce a pleasing result in this and in the 42-line seems to furnish an argument for the belief that they were both due to the workings of the same master mind, and in *M. Wallau's* opinion the whole preparation for this process was made by *Gutenberg*, not by *Schæffer*, after long, careful and costly experiment, and he suggests that in conjunction with other typographical property these colour-blocks formed a part of the pledged articles which, on Nov. 6, 1455, fell to *Fust*, the acquisition of which was to compensate him for the large sum in dispute.

I was desirous of presenting to my readers an entirely new facsimile of a page of this beautiful book. The page usually selected for reproduction is naturally that in which the magnificent initial "B" of the *Beatus vir* occurs. That is too well known to warrant repetition here. The next page in order of artistic excellence is that containing Psalm liii. By the great kindness of the Director of the Imperial Library at Vienna, *Hofrath Dr. Joseph Karabacec*, Professor in the University of that city, I have been permitted to have photographic reproductions made by Messrs. *C. Angerer und Göschl*, of Vienna, of the above-mentioned page and of the colophon. These gentlemen have bestowed great pains on the production of the necessary blocks, and I hope that my readers will be satisfied with the result. The colours in some previous illustrations have been so brilliant as to convey a most inaccurate conception of the original, whilst with very inferior facilities to those which we possess at the present day, *Dr. Falkenstein* (*Geschichte der Buchdrucker Kunst*, 1840) succeeded in producing, in this and other respects, a very good imitation of the colophon. Of this I now annex a new facsimile (XI.) made for me from the same volume as the preceding, and by the same photographic artists.

Lūs spalmorū codicē. vultate capitaliū deoat.
Rubricationibus sufficienter distinctus,
Adinūtionē artificiosa impendi ac caracterizandi.
absq̄ calami vlla separatione sic effigiatu, Et ad esse-
biam dē indultrie est summatus, Per Johem fuit
Lūē magūtinū. Et Petū Schpfer de Bernszhym,
Anno dñi Millesio. m. lviij. In vigilia Assūptōis,



FACSIMILE OF THE COLOPHON OF THE PSALTERIUM, PRINTED AT MENTZ IN 1457,
BY JOHANN FUST AND PETER SCHIFFER.

(FROM A PHOTOGRAPH SPECIALLY TAKEN FOR THIS WORK FROM THE COPY IN
THE IMPERIAL LIBRARY AT VIENNA.)

THE INVENTION?



ALTHOUGH the Art which enables us rapidly to multiply in a material form the expression of our ideas is an absolute necessity to modern life, and more imperatively indispensable than any of its fellows, yet is the interest taken in matters connected with its origin and inception in all probability less widespread than that excited by the records of discoveries of comparatively smaller importance. Not one man perhaps in a thousand pauses for a moment to conjure up a conception of the kind of world in which we should now be moving were our means of intercommunication still restricted to the methods in use before the introduction of printing by movable types, or of the state of chaos which

would by this time have existed had the dissemination of facts and thoughts by means of the press been much longer delayed than the middle of the fifteenth century, and probably not one in fifty of educated men burdens his memory with the first recorded date of a document printed in Europe with movable types, whilst those of the first railway enterprise, of the first ocean steamer, of the first telegraph wire, are familiar to many.

But even in these days of bustle and scramble there are some who can spare time for retrospects, and they who care to skim the contents of these volumes may not be unwilling to bestow a few moments on a brief investigation of the earliest technical methods by which printed matter was produced in Europe, giving a passing glance at what had been effected at an earlier date in the land of the rising sun.

It has been remarked that had Europe had relations with China in the sixth century it might have absorbed ideas which would have led to a multiplication of books by type some eight hundred or nine hundred years before what we call the discovery of the art in the fifteenth century. But there is small basis for this rather academical suggestion. Had any conceivable chance brought the eastern and western nations into contact at that period the invention would have found in Europe a soil absolutely barren and non-receptive. It is therefore only as a matter of historical interest that reference is here made to the *Chinese, Japanese and Corean* inventions. Of the first of these a most interesting notice is given by M. Julien in a little brochure entitled "*L'Imprimerie en Chine au Sixième Siècle de notre ère*" (Paris, 1850? 8vo), a short summary of which is as follows.

In the Encyclopædia called *Khe-tchi-King-youen*, Book XXIX., Fol. 2, it is stated that in the thirteenth year of the reign of *Went-ti*, founder of the dynasty of Souï (A.D. 593), it was decreed that all incited texts should be collected and *engraved on wood* for publication, an announcement which proves that those productions which we call *block-books* (books printed from slabs of wood on which the text has been cut in inverse order and in relief) were well known long before the time of *Fong-ing-wang* or *Fong-Too* (circa A.D. 932), to whom the invention of this process has by some writers been attributed. And indeed from the wording of the Edict it may be inferred that the art was already well established before the promulgation of the decree in the sixth century. Even in the second century the ancient Chinese texts were engraved on stone for their preservation, and placed in public places (just as, long before the Christian era, texts were incised on stone for the same purpose in Assyria, Egypt, Greece, and Rome). A modification of this procedure came into use towards the end of the *Thang* dynasty (A.D. 907), when the authorities began to have the texts engraved on stone *in inverse order*, in order that a number of impressions might be taken from each slab. In the thirteenth year of the period *Chunhoa* (A.D. 992) the Emperor *Thai-song* made a decree that all MSS. of a certain class should be *engraved on and printed from stone*. These "were printed by hand without its being soiled by the ink"—that is to say, perhaps, that they inked the surface only of the stone, covered it with paper and then rubbed the back of the paper, which, when removed, showed the inscription in white on a black ground. I can find no trace of such productions in the B.M., though from M. Julien's remarks it is to be inferred that such are still extant in China. The very first mention of movable types in that country appear to occur in the memoirs of *Tchin-Kouo*, who was received as Doctor A.D. 1056, and is therefore a contemporary of the inventor whose work he describes. He says that in the period *King-li* (1041-1049) a blacksmith named *Pi-ching* invented a method of printing with movable plates called *ho-pan*. (This term still survives, and is used to designate the plates of the Imperial printing-office at Peking.) And this was his invention. Of a paste made of fine and plastic clay he formed regular plates of the thickness of a piece of money called *Trien*, and on these he engraved characters, thus forming types which he burnt in the fire to harden them. He then placed on a table an iron plate, and covered it with a very fusible cement composed of resin, wax and lime. When he desired to print he took an iron frame divided into vertical compartments (Chinese writing running in that and not in a horizontal direction), and placing it on the plate arranged his type upon it, pressing them closely against each other. Each frame filled with types thus formed a plate, which he brought near to the fire so as to soften the cement, and then pressed upon the composition a flat board of wood. By this means the types were embedded in the cement, and became level and compact, and ready to be printed from. Wooden types were not used on account of their porosity, and because they would not leave the cement in the same clean manner in which the clay letters did; when the frame had been printed from, it was again warmed, and a sweep of the hand sufficed to release the types in a perfectly clean condition, ready for use. *Pi-ching's* relations took possession of his types at his death, and his process does not appear to have survived him.

M. Julien informs us that the Chinese of the present day use *wooden punches*, costing only about $\frac{1}{2}$ d. or 1d. each, and from them form matrices in a *porcelain paste*, which is afterwards baked in an oven, the types being cast in these matrices in a mixture of *lead* and *zinc*, and sometimes in *silver*. He is unable even to guess how the *justification* of matrices of so hard a nature is effected. But in spite of that seemingly insurmountable difficulty the typographical results are eminently satisfactory. It is not in China and Japan alone that anticipations of modern typographical processes are to be found; particulars of another early departure are to be found in a communication from Sir Ernest Satow to the Royal Asiatic Society (Transaction X. 252). In *Corea*, in the year 1409, the seventh year of Yung-lo, was printed with

movable types the Sun-tzū Shi-i Chia chu. In the post-face of this work occur the following remarks by the monarch: "Block-cut books are apt to be imperfect, and it is moreover impossible to print all the books that exist. I desire to have *types moulded in copper* with which to print all the books that I may get hold of, in order to make their contents widely known." His Highness having defrayed out of his own purse a large part of the expense, the officers began to cast the type on the nineteenth day of the moon, and in a few months they had cast several hundred thousand types.

But a still earlier date of printing is claimed for *Corea* by Sir E. Satow, who believes that the annotated edition of the K'ung-tzū Chia-yii, reprinted in *Corea* from a Chinese version, really dates from 1317-1314, and assigns the date of 1337 to the Chinese Encyclopædia entitled "Wān heen t'ung K'aou," printed in *Corea* with movable types, from a volume of which, exhibited in the King's Library of the B.M., the accompanying illustration is taken. From the foregoing greatly condensed notices it will be seen that the general principles of typography had been developed in the far east long before they had penetrated the western intelligence. It must, however, be always borne in mind that it is one thing to print with movable types the large and clumsy Chinese and Japanese characters, and another to prepare and print from the comparatively minute and delicate characters of even the earliest European *Incunabula*.

卷今惟錄本傳中三策
賦詣公孫弘記室書二
語亦載古文苑仲舒車
竹林之類其泯沒不存

COREAN PRINTING WITH MOVABLE
TYPES, A.D. 1337.



IF we endeavour to realize with any precision what took place at the Dawn of Typography two pregnant queries will probably occur to our minds: "*What did the Inventor of Printing invent?*" and "*Why was not so simple an art practised ages ago, say in Greece or Rome, where intellectual culture and technical skill walked hand in hand?*" It will be convenient to give precedence for a brief space to the latter consideration. Let us reflect for a moment on the mechanical possibilities of the Roman era. In the best days of the Imperial City the art of casting in many metals was extensively practised, whilst their incision for the die-sinkers' purpose was more skilfully executed than in many of the works of succeeding ages, and some of the more delicate *repoussé* work of the classical period might well excite the envy of the artist of any time or country.

The elements of the technical skill needful for the production of *types* of a high order of excellence lay very near the hand of the artificer of Rome. Already there were in

existence in his day, in large numbers, brass or bronze stamps presenting an exact analogy to those xylographic blocks which gave the suggestion to the unknown type-inventor of later days—stamps or brands on which the deeply-cut letters were cast in relief and in reverse order, so that with suitable ink an inscription could have been impressed on vellum or other available material. These stamps, the exact purpose of which does not seem to have been yet ascertained, must have been in common use, for in the British Museum alone there are some one hundred and forty of them of various shapes and sizes. The name on most of these stamps is in the genitive case, showing that the object to be marked was the property of the owner of the stamp or brand, and the design and workmanship are often commendable, though much of their original sharpness has of course been lost by exposure to various corroding influences. The maker of the Roman stamp possessed sufficient technical skill to enable him to model and cast any letter separately, and finish it so that it would have served either as a *type* or as a *punch* wherewith to make the *matrix* of a type, had this been required of him. But that was all. The supply of handicraft skill available for the production of manuscripts was plentiful at Rome, but the demand for the product was not overwhelming. In the first place there was an abundant provision of literary slaves (*librarii* and *amanuenses*) constantly engaged in the business of copying books and more than able to supply the requirements of scholars.

The fact that a daily newspaper (the *Acta Diurna*) containing the "Daily Acts of the Senate and the People" was established by Julius Cæsar, and published in one form or another for two or three centuries, evidences the facility with which large numbers of copies of manuscripts could be disseminated. Apart from the fact that there was no such absolute necessity for the wide distribution of knowledge as might have stimulated the inventive mind to devise a readier way of producing reproductions of literary matter two physical deficiencies barred the way to progress. The first and most fatal of these was the absolute want of *paper*. The thoughts of the Romans had to be recorded on one of four principal materials, *wax*, *parchment*, *vellum* and *papyrus*; the first was of course employed only for temporary records, the second and third must always have been somewhat dear and unsuited for any but expensive volumes, the last, so extensively used by Egyptians, Greeks and Romans, was alike by its colour, brittleness and harshness quite unfit for a printer's use. The second deficiency is one not so likely to occur to the mind, namely, the want of a *viscous ink*. A method of preparing this would doubtless have been found had the need for it become obvious. But to its non-existence and that of paper in those days is due, we must conjecture, the delay in the inception not only of typography, but also of a kindred art, that of the production of *impressions from engraved plates*. All was at hand for the genesis of this latter process had these two materials been available, as may readily be seen by an inspection of the admirable designs incised on the backs of the Roman bronze mirrors preserved in the National Collection, from any of which a line engraving could have been produced by filling up the incised pattern with a glutinous ink, cleaning the surface and then applying pressure or friction on the back of a piece of superimposed paper. Bearing these facts in mind, and remembering that the experimenter of the fifteenth century possessed the enormous advantage over the ancients of being able to procure an unlimited quantity of paper of a far better quality than that now in general use, we may revert to the query, *What was there for him to invent?* He had under his eyes, in the Block-books, *productions which doubtless furnished the first*



BRONZE STAMP OR BRAND. "ASPER."

BRONZE STAMP OR BRAND.
"RAPSAB."

suggestion of what we call *Typography*. The annexed illustration is a facsimile of a page of a *Donatus* as printed in the last century from one of the two original wooden blocks cut by hand in the fifteenth century, which were formerly in the collection of the *Duc de La Vallière*, and are now in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* at Paris.⁽¹⁾ This particular block is not one of the very earliest productions, but similar blocks were in existence many years before the invention of movable types. That the happy thought of the possible *mobility of characters*—of cutting such a slab into separate letters and arranging them as required was the germ of all subsequent discoveries is more than probable, but such a process would not suffice for the printing of even the roughest book as we now understand the term. For even after the technical details, presently to be adverted to, involved in the production of serviceable wooden types had been successfully mastered, and they had been placed in proper order and com-

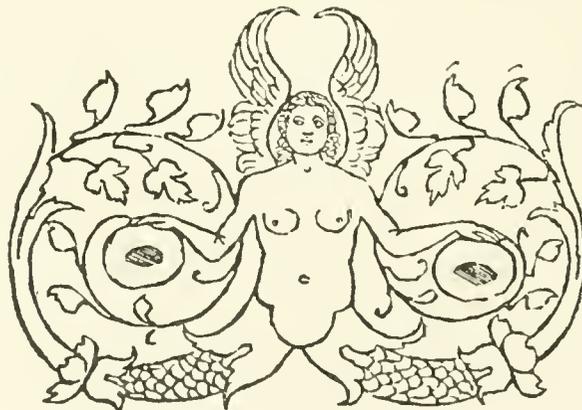
Et pluraliter docemur docemini do-
ceantur. In futuro doctus tu doctus il-
le. Et pluraliter docemur docemur
docentur. Optativo modo tempore
presenti et preterito imperfecto utina-
z docerer docereris vel docerere docere-
tur Et pluraliter utinam doceremur
doceremini docerentur. Preterito perfe-
cto et plusquamperfecto utinam doctus es-
sem vel fuisset esse vel fuisset esset vel
fuisset. Et pluraliter utinam docti esse-
mus vel fuissimus essetis vel fuissetis
essent vel fuissent. In futuro utinam doc-
ear doctaris vel docere doceat. Et plr
utinam docemur docemini doceantur
Coniunctivo modo tempore presenti

FACSIMILE OF PART OF A *DONATUS* PRINTED IN 1733 FROM A *XYLOGRAPHIC*
BLOCK OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY NOW IN THE *BIBL. NATIONALE*
AT PARIS.

packed, they would still have had to be treated just as the *xylographic* blocks themselves were treated, smeared over, that is to say, with a watery pigment, and then covered with paper the back of which must be rubbed by hand till an impression was produced, differing only from the *xylographic* print already in pretty general circulation, in the fact that the matter had been varied at the pleasure of the printer by the rearrangement of the type. The second and third inventions were probably simultaneous, though differing in character, to wit, the

⁽¹⁾ This block affords an extremely instructive object-lesson. A careful scrutiny will disclose some points of similarity, almost of identity, between letters and combinations of letters more striking than those to be found in many early documents unquestionably printed from type, and evidencing the extraordinary perfection to which the cutter of Block-books had brought his art, and the facility with which, when called upon, he would be able to carve the characters for movable types. I advise the reader to compare the *d's*, *e's*, *m's*, and *o's*.

composition of a *sticky* ink, and an adaptation of the *press* by which the assembled type could be accurately and speedily printed on both sides of a sheet of paper. Though a large number of representations of the Printing-press of the sixteenth century are in existence, we possess little or no information on its very earliest construction. It is true that an alleged discovery of a portion of the press of *Gutenberg* took place at Mentz in 1886, which, had the relic been genuine, would have evidenced the fact that a *screw* was used for giving the needed pressure, but the "find" is entirely discredited, even by the *Mentz* votaries. There can be little doubt, however, that the principle of the screw-press was perfectly familiar to and would naturally be utilized by the inventor for obtaining the heavy pressure so essential in an operation where adjustments of surfaces were so crude, very considerable modifications of such ordinary forms, as for example that of the wine or oil press, being, however, necessary in even the earliest stages of typography. These last-mentioned improvements have assumed in the minds of some investigators so much importance that they have considered *the invention* to have been that of the *Printing-press* rather than that of the *movable types*, of the *ink* or of the *type-mould*, and it is urged by *Skeen* ("Early Typography," Colombo, 1872, 8vo) that the "*wurbelin*" mentioned in the *Dritzchen-Gutenberg* process as objects which were to be hidden if the secret was to be kept were the long *screws* or *struts* which, reaching from the head of the press to the ceiling of the press-room, served to resist the upward thrust occasioned by the turning of the main screw of the press! When a press which could be operated with a fair amount of accuracy and a tenacious ink had been thought out and adopted, the possessor of well-made *wooden types* was, as I shall show, in a position to produce on a small scale by means of the three inventions, viz., the *wooden type*, the *glutinous ink* and the *press* good printing on both sides of a sheet of vellum or of paper. But no improvements in such types, press or ink could have enabled the crude art to germinate and expand as it so rapidly did, or render it universally serviceable to man. *A means of rapidly multiplying types, and of giving them permanent sharpness*, was imperatively needed, and the whole scope of the new art was radically and immeasurably extended by the invention at an early stage of the *type-mould*, by which any number at pleasure of metallic types of fairly uniform shapes could be produced by simple labour. But, strange to say, the enormous importance of this last step has not been fully appreciated by historians, though a careful study of the subject would, I think, lead most of us to agree with *De Vinne* that *the inventor of the type-mould is the inventor of typography*. An attempt will be made in the following pages to investigate the successive steps by which the task was probably accomplished.



FROM "HYPNEROTOMACHIA," (ALDUS, 1495).

Wooden Types⁽¹⁾



FOR centuries it has been a matter of popular belief that the types used in the earliest days of printing were made of *wood*. This opinion is without doubt attributable in the first place to the details given by *Junius* of the narrative of the Costerian invention, and in the second to the very numerous variations in the shape of many letters which occur in the earliest productions of the press. These freaks have, however, been in recent times shown to be quite consistent with the use of soft metal types when produced by the somewhat crude methods which preceded the introduction of *steel* punches and *copper* matrices, coupled with the disinclination of the early printer (who still clung to the vagaries of the scribe whom he was displacing) to be tied down to monotonous uniformity. It has, however, been of late the fashion to deride not only as unnecessary, but also as absurd, the assumption that it is physically possible to print a book with these types. I venture to say that the investigations of the possibilities of wooden types, whether undertaken by the believers or by the disbelievers in their use, have hitherto been unsatisfactory and untrustworthy because they have been carried on by scholars, printers or typefounders rather than by mechanics. The question is one in which argument should be based on earnest experiment and not on theory—*Solvitur ambulando*.

The contentions and experiments of some of the believers in the use of these characters have done as much to discredit their acceptance as the attacks of those who conceive their employment on the large scale to be utterly impracticable. *Theod. Bibliander*⁽²⁾ was one of the first writers to make mention of wooden types. He says: "At first they cut the letters on wooden blocks the full size of the page. But because that was a costly and troublesome business they thought out the use of separate wooden types threaded on a string which held them together; with a series of which the page was filled." *Meerman*⁽³⁾ takes the same view, and in its support prints the passage of which a facsimile is annexed, introducing a specimen of letters cut in box-wood but not threaded, forming the words "Spiegel der Behoudenis." The result is, as will be seen, not only unconvincing, but most damaging to his hypothesis. One of

Hac certe methodo literas aliquot e ligno buxino
mea gratia sculpsit quidam Roterodami artifex, quae prelo subjectae (absque fili junctura) tria haec Belgico sermone formavere vocabula: **Spiegel der Behoudenis.**

MEERMAN'S DEMONSTRATION (?) OF THE PRACTICABILITY OF PRINTING FROM WOODEN TYPES.

the next experimenters (about the year 1770) was the celebrated typefounder *Johannes Enschedé*. He says: "I have exercised printing for about fifty years, and engraving on wood for nearly forty-five years; I have cut letters and figures for my father's and my own printing-office in

(1) The words in this title were printed from wooden types made by Messrs. Day & Collins, Ltd. (2) *Commentatio de ratione communi omnium linguarum et literarum*. Tigur, 1548, 4to, pp. 80-84. (3) *Origines Typographicæ*, I. 25.

wood of box, pear and medlar ; I have now been a typesetter for upwards of fifty years, but to do such things as those learned gentlemen (*Junius* and *Meerman*) pretend that *Laurens Coster* and his heirs have done would be impossible either to me or to *Papillon* (the most clever wood-engraver of France, perhaps still living). Nor could the artists *Albrecht Durer*, *De Bray* or *Iz. Van der Vinne* have accomplished them. To print a book with capitals of the size of a thumb, as on placards, '*House and Ground*,' which are cut in wood, and which I have cut myself by hundreds, would be ridiculous ; to do it with wooden letters of the size of a pin's head is impossible. I have made experiments with a few of a somewhat larger size. I made a slip of wood on which I drew letters in '*gros romain*,' which I afterwards engraved, leaving between them the space necessary for a saw-cut. I had no want of fine and good tools ; the only question now was to saw the letters mathematically square off the slip. I used a very fine little saw, made of a very thin spring of English steel, so cleverly made that I doubt whether the good *Laurens Janszoon* had a saw half as good ; I did all I could to saw the letters straight and parallel, but it was impossible to succeed in doing so—there was not a single letter which could stand the test of being mathematically square. What now to be done ? It was impossible to polish or file them. I tried it, but it could not be done even on our typesetters' grindstones. I only succeeded in spoiling my letters. In short, the thing was not practicable, and I am convinced that no wood-engraver is able to cut movable letters in such a manner that they remain mathematically square, for in the exact quadrature of the letters is to be found the secret of typographic alignment. If, however, I wished to give my trouble and time to it, I should be able to execute the three words '*Spiegel onzer Behoudenis*' better than the Rotterdam artist has done in the Latin works of *M. Meerman* ; but it is impossible, ridiculous and merely chimerical to print books in this manner."

On this experience of *M. Enschedé*, *Van der Linde* remarks : "We cannot wish for a more decisive and competent criticism of the story of *Junius* than this, given by a Haarlemer and a Costerian, for *Junius* represents *Coster* as having printed the *Speculum* in Dutch with wooden types ; he makes him, in other words, do something impossible, ridiculous and chimerical. It is true that the wooden types have been patronized until our times, that *Camus* has given a specimen of printing with wooden types of two lines, *Wetter* of one column, *Schinkel* of half a page, but none of their specimens have proved what they should have proved, the practicability of printing a book with movable letters, *i.e.*, to distribute the forms, to clean the ink from the letters, to submit them to frequent strong pressing, and to retain the usefulness of the letters employed, and without the aid of modern apparatus (?) *It is high time for criticism to make a fire of these imaginary wooden letters . . . these fatal unhistorical wooden types ! Wetter* spent nearly the amount of ten shillings on having a number of letters made of the wood of a pear tree. His letters, although tied with string, did not remain in the line but made naughty caprioles. The supposition that by these few dancing lines the possibility is demonstrated of printing with 40,000 wooden letters, necessary to the printing of a quaternion, is dreadfully silly." The experiment of *Wetter* alluded to by *Van der Linde* is described by *Wetter* in his *Kritische Geschichte der erfindung der Buchdrucker Kunst*. (Mentz, 1838, 8vo and ob. folio, page 302), and its disastrous result is shown in Plate II. of his *Tafeln* of same date, here reproduced. The following are the author's remarks on his attempt : "The unceasing labour of carving letters which was connected with block printing (for nothing else could be printed with the letters cut on tables of wood) induced *Gutenberg*, according to *Faust's* words, to cut these blocks to pieces, to take out all the letters in order to begin the composition, and to replace the worn (or damaged) letters with new. I have proved from many concordant testimonies that printing has really been accomplished by means of movable letters of pear and boxwood. *Camus* has shown the possibility of printing with such type by having a small number of wooden letters made and having two lines printed with them. I furnish

a still more complete proof, for I had letters made of pearwood in type the size of the forty-two-line Bible, and these in a sufficient number to enable me to print a whole column, which has been demonstrated on the appended Plate II. These letters have all been carved out of a block of wood of the same thickness throughout, side by side in lines of equal width, the block was then divided into separate parts, and these again were cut up into separate letters. All these letters, therefore, were made of the same height and width, without any particular spacing. Then each one was pierced with a hole, and in the composition they were threaded on to a strong thread. All the lines were immediately enclosed together in the simplest manner in a frame, and printed, all of them, without any difficulty.⁽¹⁾ It is hardly necessary to state that one could carve not only more durable but also still smaller letters, with finer strokes and sharper angles, out of boxwood." Wetter quotes *Daunou*, who says: "The opinion that the Bible was printed with cast type is in every respect the most reasonable, but this is principally proved by the testimony and consideration of the difficulties presented by any other method." "I have exposed," continues Wetter, "the nullity of objections of this sort in the notes to *Heinecker* and *Daunou*. But they are immediately refuted by the test which I present on Plate II. One can print an extensive work like the Bible without insuperable difficulties by means of carved letters made of sufficiently strong wood. With the 40,000 letters required for printing a quire of four sheets one could print all the rest. The process of carving such a number of letters accurately,

**Dixitque deus: Fiat lux.
Et facta est lux. Et uidit
deus lucem quod esset bona,
et divisit lucem a tenebris,
appellavitque lucem diem
et tenebras noctem.
Factumque est vesper et mane
dies unus. Dixitque deus:
Fiat firmamentum in medio
aquarum, et divisit aquas ab
aquis. Et fecit deus firmam**

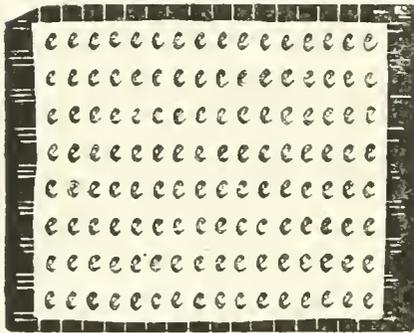
WETTER'S UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPT TO IMITATE A PORTION OF THE
FORTY-TWO-LINE BIBLE WITH WOODEN TYPES.

(1) The history of these experimental letters is comical yet instructive. Wetter tells us in a note that he deposited them with the "frame" in the town library of Mentz, where they might be seen by anyone. Hence after a time they seem to have been returned to his printer. M. Bernard when at Mentz asked M. Wetter to let him look at them, but the printer assured the visitors that they had been stolen, "and one fine day," says M. Bernard, "some unsophisticated German will find them among the robber's spoils, and ask us to believe that they are the types of Gutenberg. In this wise traditions too often have their origin." This is just the way in which, strange to say, the jocular prophecy was fulfilled almost to the letter. They were purchased some years after M. Bernard's visit in the shop of a dealer in curiosities as *authentic specimens of the earliest types* and offered to the authorities at the British Museum, but, declined by them were subsequently presented by Mr. Daniel Parsons, M.A., Oriol Coll., to the Bodleian Library, where they remain to this day. Many speculations took place as to their origin, which was ultimately discovered in 1886 by Mr. E. Gordon Duff, M.A., Wadham Coll. By the courtesy of my friend Mr. F. Madan, of the Bodleian, I have seen a photographic facsimile of an impression taken from these types, which are still retained in the chase. The string which Wetter passed through the holes he had bored in them is knotted at each end, but seems, as might have been expected, to have exercised little control over their vagaries. There are nineteen lines in the Bodleian facsimile.

and of setting them up, would probably extend over a period of one and a half years, but would by no means entail any enormous expense, although it would cost much more than the casting of an equal number in metal."

Far from being out of conceit with the discreditable outcome of his experiment Wetter has the temerity to say: "The almost perfect uniformity of the same letters in the printed example on Plate II. was obtained in a *similar manner*. For each letter of the alphabet a stamp made of wood was carved, and this, by means of printing ink, was printed off on to the wooden block as many times as was necessary." Wetter (*Kritische Geschichte*, p. 302).

M. Léon de Laborde⁽¹⁾ occupied himself in a more practical manner than *Meerman*, and more successfully than *Wetter*, in an attempt to demonstrate that Gutenberg's earliest work was done with wooden letters. He does not say whether he drew his letters on the end grain or on the long grain of the wood; it was "*sur un des blocs de bois employés pour les gravures de nos éditions illustrées*," and on this he drew 128 letters (e). His first illustration shows nothing but that it is possible to draw on a block of wood letters which have some resemblance to each other; but too little care has been taken with the alignment. He apologises in the most candid manner for these defects by the remark that it was only a rough experiment of his own made for amusement and without any previous practice. The faint white lines in the margin indicate the saw-cuts he afterwards made between the letters.



DE LABORDE'S FIRST BLOCK.

The next illustration shows the same preparation with other letters for the subsequent very rough process, viz., that of dividing the letters by a *saw*. No other tool seems to have occurred to him as needful, and *De Laborde* appears to have ignored the simple means of giving by a *plane* or even by a *chisel* quadrature to his little types.



DE LABORDE'S SECOND BLOCK.

The attempt to print with these unskilfully formed letters was, notwithstanding that a "lead" was interposed between each line of type, comically unsatisfactory, but is exactly what might have been predicted, and the result is very nearly as damaging to the claim on behalf of wooden letters as was that of *Meerman*.

Revee a meedee Teeee Needeee veeeee meeee
 Reemee aeemee Cemeev Reeev Reee meee
 Revdee Reeeva Cevmem Ceee Revve vee
 Ceme Ceme Cevm Cevv Ceee Cevve mevee

DE LABORDE'S ILLUSTRATION OF THE FEASIBILITY OF PRINTING WITH WOODEN TYPES.

It is somewhat strange that on the same page *M. de Laborde* indicates in the most convincing manner in the fourth illustration the way in which he conceives the wooden type for the thirty-one-line *Indulgence* to have been arranged. It is surprising that he did not make a more serious attempt to give that regularity to his

(1) "Débuts de l'imprimerie a Strasbourg," Paris, 1840, 8vo, pp. 70-75.

own types which the illustration proves him to have considered needful, and which as I shall show is perfectly practicable.

In refutation of the alleged enormous expenditure of time and money necessitated by the use of wooden types, *De Laborde* hazards the calculation that an engraver could complete twenty-five letters per diem. That this might be possible I am not in a position to deny, but the estimate appears to me to be rather too sanguine. *Camus* in 1810 told *Lambinet* that each letter cost him *ten sous* to make. We should best arrive at a credible estimate were we to ask ourselves how many words it would seem probable that a *xylographer* would draw on a block of wood and cut in a day, and what would be the time consumed in parting and squaring the letters when so engraved.



DE LABORDE'S DEMONSTRATION OF THE SHAPES OF TYPES USED IN THE THIRTY-ONE-LINE INDULGENCE.

A radical fallacy lay at the root of the experiments of most writers on this subject which has entirely prevented their grasping the possibilities of wooden types. They have assumed, probably with reason, that the first thing done by the man to whom occurred the happy thought of the utility of movable letters was to cut up a xylographic slab on which letters in relief had been engraved, such as that now preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris,⁽¹⁾ an impression from which is reproduced on page 37 *supra*, and saw it into little blocks, on the top of each of which was a letter. He *may* indeed have made this very crude experiment, have tried to assemble these uncouth bits and have taken a rough impression from them. If this experiment were encouraging he would most certainly never repeat it, for the simple reason that he would find with *Enschedé*, *De Laborde*(?), and *Wetter* that he could not operate with any success upon the sawn surfaces.

The explanation of these little failures is after all really a most simple one—these blocks were all cut the wrong way of the grain. *The blocks of the Block-books were slabs of wood (planches de bois) the grain of which ran lengthways*, hence the sawn surfaces of the little blocks were *endways of the grain*, and to reduce them to their proper form by *Meerman's* or *Enschedé's* hones or grindstones was a hopeless task. But no mechanic who had made the crucial essay of cutting up the engraved board would again face the "honing" process. He would take a *section* of uniform thickness *cut across the grain* of a piece of pear-tree, maple or boxwood, and draw on it in reverse order within parallel lines an alphabet resembling the letters of the block-books, making the letters as nearly as possible of the same height. He would next engrave them in relief, part each letter off with a saw and then, instead of having to *grind* or *file* the edges to give them their proper size, he would be able to shape them, *along* instead of *across* the grain, with a tool which we cannot conceive not to have been then in use—viz., an ordinary *plane*⁽²⁾ (used preferably, but by no means necessarily, with a "shooting board" which consists merely of two planed boards joined at right angles, in which the plane travels, the type being kept in a position to be planed square by a small *stop* of wood). And a *chisel* carefully used would have the same result as the plane. By this means all his letters must needs have the *quadrature* of which *Enschedé* speaks and could be given the exact width shown to be required. He would not go far in this process before he would find out that the little blocks must all have the same "body" as we call it, so that when he laid down a number of them side by side on a flat surface no type would project above another. To ensure this in practice

⁽¹⁾ M. Bernard, however, gives (I., 106) his reasons for believing that the xylographic *Donatuses* are later than the printed editions which served the xylographer as models! ⁽²⁾ Although the *adze* was largely used by early workmen, where in later times the plane was more advantageously employed, we cannot doubt that the latter tool was well known long before the fifteenth century. It had attained a perfect development early in the sixteenth century.

he would make his slips (as indeed *Enschedé* seems to have done) all of the same width, the difference being that the grain of the wood of the inventor's slips would run *up and down* the length of the wooden type, whereas the grain in *Enschedé's* and perhaps in *De Laborde's* experiments ran *across* it. But little mechanical knowledge is needed for the appreciation of the impossibility of obtaining a serviceable result by the latter process, or of the ease of ensuring with ordinary skill by the former, blocks of wood of proper quadrature and of the needful width. I am a firm believer in the wisdom of testing theory by practice. My own experience as a worker in wood for two or more years during my education as a mechanical engineer led me to think that the capabilities of this material for use in typography had been underrated and its defects exaggerated by the writers whose adverse opinions I have quoted, and with a view of demonstrating the practicability of making with ordinary tools, and with only an ordinary amount of skill, durable wooden types of even small "bodies," I commissioned Messrs. Day and Collins, Ltd. (of Fann Street, Aldersgate Street), whose business is that of making larger wooden types, principally by machinery, and who had never hitherto undertaken to make any smaller types than three-line pica ($\frac{1}{8}$ in.), to make for me *by hand* the letters needful for composing part of the concluding lines in *Mentelin's* edition of the *Secunda Secundæ*

**ih̄s xp̄us dñs noster qui
est super om̄ia deus benedictus**

FACSIMILE OF PASSAGE FROM AQUINAS, SECUNDA SECUNDÆ
(MENTELIN, 1466).

**ih̄s xp̄us dñs noster qui
est super om̄ia deus benedictus**

THE SAME PASSAGE PRINTED FROM MODERN WOODEN TYPES.

the Secunda Secundæ was printed with other than metal types. The text was only selected as being printed in a small character, and as being the earliest in date of my reproductions. By exactly the same method I had made for me the wooden types, of which a specimen is annexed, of part of three lines of a *Doctrinale*, a facsimile of which will be found on a later page. The way in which Messrs. Day and Collins set about this second set is shown by the annexed illustration; the letters were photographed on to the blocks of box cut across the grain and then engraved, broken up by the saw and marked by lines the width of the body. The



SECOND EXPERIMENT IN MAKING WOODEN TYPES. PROOF IMPRESSION FROM BLOCK BEFORE CUTTING UP INTO SEPARATE TYPES.

of S. Thomas Aquinas, of which a facsimile is annexed. The result of a comparison of the annexed facsimiles (1) of the original text, and (2) of the same passage printed from these modern *wooden* types, will, I think, be admitted to be highly creditable to a workman to whom this handiwork was entirely new. *It may be said in passing that no suggestion is made that*

**Sed ũ pductā politura
hec aquēdo sonat brevis
Œ nō penit? has normas**

PORTION OF EARLY DUTCH *DOCTRINALE*
IMITATED IN AN IMPRESSION FROM
MODERN WOODEN TYPES.

little pieces were then reduced to their proper dimensions by the plane and shooting board. The engraver has carefully followed some of the irregularities of the original, so that *the alignment, about which no care was taken, leaves much to be desired.* I had paid little attention to this feature in those two sets of letters, the experiments having principally in view two objects, the first to demonstrate the *durability* of wooden types, in as nearly as possible the conditions under which the early printer would have used them, the second to use them as *punches* in a way shortly to be described. It has been stated, even by writers as careful and unbiassed as *Bernard*, that after the first use of such types, or rather after the washing of the *formes*, they would have become useless on

account of their deterioration (by moisture), and *Mr. De Vinne*, a practical printer, makes the remark: "Even if it were possible to cut them, it would be impossible to use them. No care could keep them from warping. Types must be wet with ink, and *they must be cleaned with lye or water*; they must be exposed to changes from heat to cold, from dampness to dryness. Under these influences the little skewers of wood, for so they must be regarded, would soon be twisted out of shape and unfitted for future service. It is in this liability to warp that types of wood fail most signally. It is not enough that they can be made to serve for one experiment; *the only demonstration of practicability that a printer can accept is that of repeated distribution and recomposition, a feat which has never been done.*" So also the late *Mr. Talbot Reed*, in his splendid work, "*A History of the Old English Letter Foundries*" (London, 1887, 4to), remarks: "Admitting for a moment that some printer may have succeeded in putting together a page of these wooden types, without the aid of leads, into a chase: how can it be supposed that after their exposure to the warping influences of the sloppy ink and tight pressure during the impression, they could ever have survived to be distributed and recomposed into another forme." It is with the very greatest deference to the technical knowledge, large experience, and high intelligence of these agreeable authors that I venture to put forward a very opposite conclusion to theirs.

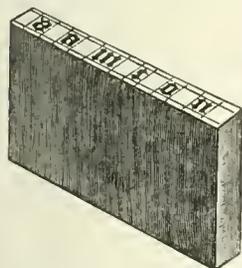
The wooden type, of the impressions from which photographic reproductions are here shown, were composed, printed from and distributed, and *three hundred impressions* taken (corresponding to the probable number printed of most of the early books), cleaned (not with *lye*,⁽¹⁾ as was rather oddly suggested by *Mr. De Vinne*) but with *oil*, then recomposed in entirely different sequence, *another three hundred copies* printed from them, and so on for *seven* times, and always in different juxtaposition. I then had *another 1,400 impressions pulled, distributing the matter after each two hundred impressions.* The reader will be able to judge, by a comparison with the illustration on the previous page, whether any serious deterioration has resulted from *thirteen* repetitions of the process of distribution, cleaning and composition, and *3,500 impressions from the types.* The little "*skewers*" have not warped in the very smallest degree, and if they could speak they would I think

**Sed si pdiuntā positum
Hec auēdo sonat breuius
At nō penit? has normas**

THREE THOUSAND FIVE HUNDREDTH
IMPRESSION FROM WOODEN TYPES, OF
WHICH THE FIRST PROOF IS SHOWN
ON THE PRECEDING PAGE, AFTER
BEING THIRTEEN TIMES DISTRIBUTED
AND AGAIN COMPOSED IN DIFFERENT
ORDER.

express their willingness to serve again for another 5,000 or 10,000 impressions, as my printer tells me they could (see *Evolution*, plate 11., figs. 4 and 5). *Mr. De Vinne*, *Dr. Van der Linde* and others have given to a confiding public the result of *theory* instead of taking the trouble to make conclusive experiments. One cannot help being reminded of the apocryphal but instructive story of the Merry Monarch, the Royal Society, the bowl of water and the gold-fish.

The next experiment was designed to illustrate the most obvious, simple and ready way of making these types *with some regard to alignment.* At my suggestion slips of boxwood were planed the exact thickness of the *body*, lines were scribed on them on the end grain showing the exact height of the letters, and the letters were drawn between these lines by hand; they were next engraved, sawn apart



BLOCK OF BOXWOOD
PREPARED FOR CUTTING
LETTERS.

(1) It is strange to note how hurriedly some writers on this subject have jumped to conclusions. Modern printers clean their *metal* types, which cannot be damaged by moisture, with an alkaline wash. *Therefore* the printers with wooden types, if such there were, would have ruined their types by the thoughtless adoption of a process not then known, instead of washing off the superfluous ink with a harmless medium like oil.

and planed at the sides to the required width. By this very simple process the compact fitting, without any "leads," of the types in the forme is virtually as well assured as in the case of metal types, and any very serious error of alignment

**Sed si pducta positura
Hec acieo sonat breuis
Nō nō penit? has normas**

IMPRESSION FROM THE THIRD SET OF
WOODEN TYPES CUT WITH MORE REGARD
TO ALIGNMENT THAN THE SECOND.

can only be due to the carelessness of the draughtsman in drawing, or of the engraver in engraving the types within the lines, the regularity attainable being unquestionably greater than that found in many early productions of the press. The practical difference in the accuracy of alignment obtainable by wooden letters thus made, as compared with that from metal types, is due to the greater delicacy of adjustment obtained by finishing with the slight touch of a file the end of a copper matrix than can possibly be ensured by drawing and engraving the letter on wood at exactly the proper distance from the top and bottom of the "body." The method by which this last set of letters has been prepared is that which would suggest itself to any mechanic to whom the *desiderata* had been explained.

Types so made can be "pied" and recomposed without loss of alignment, as will be seen by the illustration. A few months' practice would enable the modern letter-cutter to acquire far greater skill, and the shape of the letters and especially the *alignment* would gain greatly thereby.

**i haue rare documēts
and Nature pictures
Sāc potis and so on**

SENTENCE PRINTED FROM WOODEN
TYPES DISTRIBUTED AND
RECOMPOSED.

to the portion under notice.

Some of my ingenious friends have amused themselves with arranging all or some of the distributed types into anagrams more or less pertinent, specimens of which are subjoined. In the first the types are exactly as in the original. For the second the double types have been dissociated. The first of the sentences may be taken to relate to my collection generally. The second is certainly pertinent

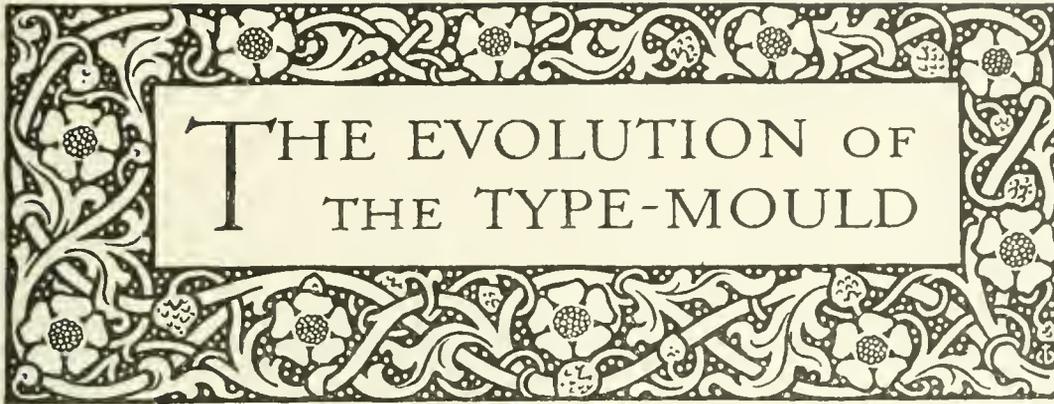
The types being fairly accurate in body, it is as easy to print a page as three lines, and I would undertake, if it were not for the expense of cutting the types which is entailed in our days by the price of skilled labour, to print with such *wooden* types, on a very primitive press, a *Donatus* or a *Doctrinale* which would compare most favourably with the early editions of these works of which facsimiles will be found in this volume, though of course not even approaching in excellence many fine specimens of the earliest printing from metal types—and thus for ever dispose, if I have not already done so, of the flippant assertion of Dr. Van der Linde that any serious printing with wooden types is "*impossible, ridiculous, and chimerical.*"

**Sptliratiacnrai
Nifondoautuden
Hete?omhorupa
ssonietbsdatēpa**

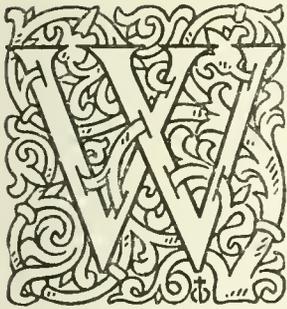
IMPRESSION FROM THE
THIRD SET OF WOODEN
TYPES DISTRIBUTED AND
AGAIN COMPOSED.

**No pure art
Has done so much to
Spread an active
discussion as print**

SENTENCE PRINTED FROM WOODEN
TYPES DISTRIBUTED AND
RECOMPOSED.



THE EVOLUTION OF THE TYPE-MOULD



WE have seen that the speculative theories on the construction and possible employment of *wooden* types have not been fully borne out by practical investigation, and the same condition of things appears to exist to a very considerable extent in respect of their successors, the *metallic* types upon which typographical processes now⁽¹⁾ almost entirely depend. A circumstance which cannot but give the investigator some surprise on the very threshold of his search is the very free and constant reference in authentic notices of *incunabula*, and especially in the colophons of the books themselves, to materials harder than lead as being used in typography, *inferentially* for the substance of the types. Jenson, in 1471, calls himself *librorum sculptor*. In 1473, Bartolommeo, of Cremona, in

the colophon of the *Summula Confessionis* of Antoninus, says, "*quem legis impressus dum stabit in ære character. Dum non longa dies vel fera fata prement . . . Cedite chalcographi millesima vestra figura est.*" In 1476, Husner says that the *Præceptorium* of Nider was produced by him "*Non pennis ut pristi (sic) quidem sed litteris sculptis artificiali certe conatu ex ere.*" In 1489, in the colophon of the *Explanatio Psalmorum* printed at Basle by Johann of Amorbach, we find "*hi judicent qui illud aliis similibus sibi, sive manuscriptis sive ere impressis litteris contulerint.*" In 1495, in the colophon of an edition of *Hermolaus Barbarus*, we

Were the earliest types made of brass?

have a double mention of the hard metal, "*per chalcographum Carolum a Darleriis civem Cremonensem Characteribus æneis impressa.*" Many more instances may be cited of the implied use of letters "out of" (*ex*) *brass*, and of the mention of the printer as a *writer in or with brass* (*chalcographus*). A barbarous word which I do not remember to have seen elsewhere occurs in the colophon of Thomas Murner, *De reformatione poetarum* (Argent, 1509)—"*offendes piissime lector passim aeregraphantis negligentia incastigatores mendas.*"

A notice of modern conjectures on this most interesting problem of early hard metal types would intrude unduly on our space, but the following are too well-known to be entirely

⁽¹⁾ Extensive factories equipped with elaborate machinery exist, however, here and in the United States for the production of *wooden* types for use in advertisements, posters etc.

omitted :—Meerman, *Origines Typographicæ*, Hag. Com. 1765, folio i., 26 (who by the way considers that the books or fragments which I have called *Palaotypographia Hollandica* were printed from wooden types), “imagines” the use of types, called by him *sculpto-fusi*, which he conceives to have been simply little blocks of metal of the shape of the wooden types but cast

in hard metal, on one end of which the character in reverse was engraved by hand. This author had the types composing the words “Speculum Salvationis” made in this way and exhibits the fairly creditable result on page 26 of the first part of his book.

Schœpflin (*Vindiciæ Typographicæ*, Argent, 1760, 4to, pp. 49-50) holds the same view as Meerman, citing John Knoblouch, the printer of the *Belial* of *Theramo* (Argent, 1478), who says that he completed it (perfectit) *ereis figuris*. There are abundant instances of expressions *ære notas, æneis formulis, notas de duro orichalco*, which would lead one at first sight to believe that in the early stages of the art types of hard metal were constantly used, but I can find no satisfactory historical evidence for the conclusion that these metals were used in casting types to be afterwards engraved—*sculpto-fusi*. It is far more probable that these numerous allusions to a hard metal have reference in the earlier stages of the art to the *punches*, employed, as we shall hereafter see, in striking the *leaden* matrices in which the *leaden* types were cast.⁽¹⁾ In this case the emphasis on the word *æs* may, I think, have been intended to indicate a degree of perfection obtained by the punch of *hard metal* greater than that which could be realized in types made in matrices formed by its *wooden* predecessor. Moreover, it is more than likely that *æs* does not in all cases mean what we call *brass* or *bronze*, but some other and perhaps softer mixture.

Even if these speculations as to the use of *sculpto-fusi* types could be shown to have had a substantial basis it is evident that but a very small advance would have been made by their use towards speedy and economical book production. Some improvements on wooden types would in that case have been made, but *the invention* was yet to come. A means of rapidly multiplying types, and of giving them permanent sharpness, was imperatively called for, and the whole scope of the new art was to be radically and immeasurably extended by the introduction at an early stage of the *Type-Mould*, by which any number at pleasure of fairly uniform types could be produced by simple labour. I have not found records of any patient investigation into the technical details of the evolution of this all-important invention or of the steps by which success was ultimately achieved, but it is impossible to doubt that such may have been from time to time undertaken, the results of which have escaped my notice. In default of definite historical information, which the reticence of the early typefounders has rendered it impossible to obtain, it almost seems as if it had been considered either needless or impracticable to obtain by induction or experiment any close insight into their methods. It occurred to me some time ago that the chances of making plausible guesses on the subject would be greatly increased by approaching it from a purely technical standpoint, thus obtaining by careful experiments a basis for the formation of a theory rather than for the support of preconceived notions, and I have therefore endeavoured to put myself as nearly as possible in the position of a workman of the first half of the fifteenth century who desired to produce by the best means then at his command types more readily and more cheaply manufactured, more handy and more durable than the wooden types of which we have, I hope, established the practicability.

In such an investigation we have of course the incalculable advantage over this hypothetical mechanic of knowing *beforehand* the outcome of his labours, the point at which all

(1) It will be seen hereafter that a Dutch punch-cutter named Cornelis Hendriksz called himself *chalcotyper*.

speculation ceases and certainty begins. My original conjectures on the history of the evolution of the type-mould have undergone from time to time considerable modifications, influenced as they have been by the often unexpected results of successive experiments. In these researches I have been in a most able and intelligent way assisted by Mr. G. E. Kenney, one of my workmen, who had never even seen a type-mould when these investigations were commenced, and who has patiently endeavoured under my instructions to exhaust the possibilities of early methods. Everything which I am about to describe is the outcome of actual practice extending over more than twelve months and involving the expenditure of a great deal of time, and, it may perhaps be allowable to say, of a modicum of ingenuity and patience. In the course of my enquiry I have had made full-sized type-moulds in accordance with what would seem to have been the successive stages of progress up to the early equivalent of the modern type-mould, and of these moulds illustrations from photographs will be found in their

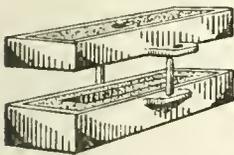
Method pursued in the present investigation.

proper place. In them types have been made under varying conditions of heat, mixtures of metal and other circumstances, and no suggestion is, I think, here ventured which has not been fully justified by a practical test: I have had, however, to rely for my conclusions not only on these experiments but also on a certain measure of imagination as to the sequence of the ideas which seem to me likely to have influenced the inventor's proceedings. For the definite technical results I claim acceptance as matters of fact, demonstrated, as regards some of the details, perhaps for the first time since discussion on early methods took place, and as a sure basis for future debate, but each reader must form his own judgment as to the order in which the various steps of the invention actually succeeded each other.—I make at

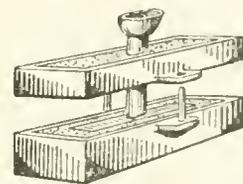
The first inventor of metal types may have used wooden letters as "patterns."

the outset an assumption which will be by some readers disallowed, and may indeed be entirely discarded without affecting my results, but can hardly be refuted, that the workman to whom the idea of founding metal types first presented itself would endeavour to use as "patterns" (models) the wooden types which they were to replace, carving the letters, however, with a larger amount of taper than was needful when they were not to be so utilized. It will be needful to give to the non-technical reader a brief explanation (quite superfluous in the case of one who is acquainted with foundry practice) of the various initial processes, one or other of which was necessary in that day as at the present for casting in the most elementary way without special appliances from a wooden model ("*pattern*" in foundry parlance) so simple a bit of metal as an ordinary type.

A parallel stick of wood or metal resembling in shape a common *match*, but very slightly tapered in transverse section so as to allow it to be withdrawn from the sand in which it is to be moulded, may be very readily "*cast from*" (i.e., used as a model or "*pattern*" as the founders call it) by ramming some moistened sand round it in a box, which is divided into two parts horizontally so as to allow of the withdrawal of the pattern in a direction at right angles to its length, as shown in the annexed illustration, the mould closed up again and the hollow left when the pattern is withdrawn filled up with melted metal poured through a channel in the upper box which we call the "*runner*," as here shown.



SAND MOULD FROM WHICH THE "PATTERN" OF A LITTLE STICK HAS BEEN WITHDRAWN.



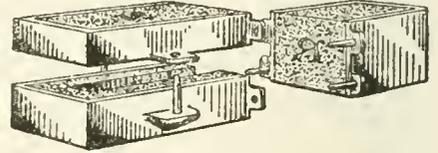
SAND MOULD IN WHICH THE LITTLE STICK HAS BEEN "CAST" OR "FOUNDED." (WITH THE "RUNNER" STILL ATTACHED.)

But if we carve on the end of the stick (pattern) a letter or any similar figure and

then mould it as before, we shall, of course, find that in attempting to lift the pattern out in a direction at right angles to its length we shall destroy the impression of that letter or device, because we shall draw along with the pattern the sand which had entered the hollowed part of the design. No one would attempt to cast a type in that fashion. There

Casting types in sand not a perfectly simple operation.

are two ways out of the difficulty, both based on the principle that the impression in the sand from the *end* of the stick must be withdrawn in a direction *at right angles to that in which the body of the pattern is lifted out of the sand*. The first of these methods consists in fitting to the end of the horizontally divided box above described a third "part," a little box in fact, capable of being removed in the direction of the axis of the stick, containing moist sand in which has been impressed the form of the letter, so arranged as just to meet the end of the stem of the little stick. When the pattern of the *shank* or *body* of the type has also been removed, and the metal is poured into the cavity left, there will be found in the mould a casting perfect except for the slight taper in the section of shank already described, and the small end box can



THREE-PART MOULD (APART) SHOWING IMPRESSION IN THE SAND OF THE SHANK AND FACE OF A TYPE READY FOR CASTING.

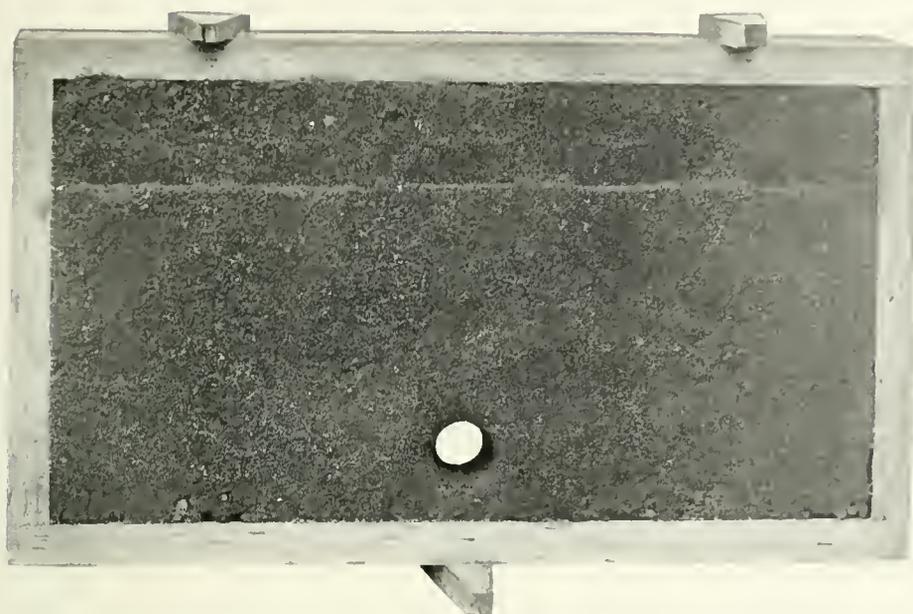
Types cast in three-part

Antitype of simplest form of metal type-mould.

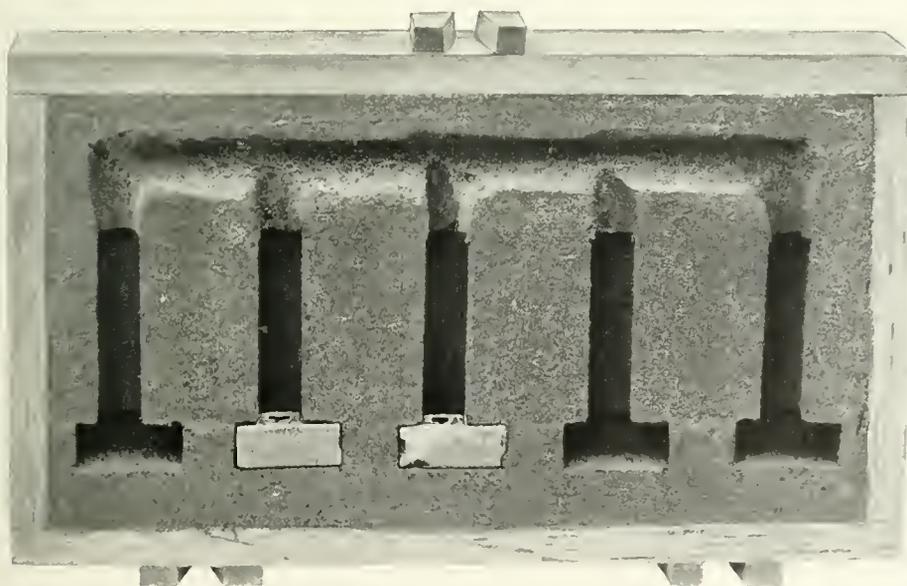
be removed in the direction of the axis of the type, leaving the type with its properly formed end free when the box is opened. This method is, it may be parenthetically remarked, the exact antitype of the unadjustable metal type-mould. An equivalent process can be used which avoids the necessity for any such little third box. At the end of the wooden pattern of the shank and attached to it is

formed a projection which we call a "*print*." When the sand has been rammed round the pattern and print, they are next lifted out of the mould, and a cavity corresponding to their form will be left in the sand. Into this cavity we place before the mould is closed what we call a "*core*," a body of exactly the same size as the *print* and bearing on the side next to the shank of the type an impress of the desired character, made by pressing into the core a letter cut in relief in wood for that purpose. This little core would be of dried, or even of green (undried) sand if the type were to be a very large one, but for ordinary type such as the earliest printers required it has been suggested that it might conceivably have been of thoroughly dried clay or some form of plaster. I shall speak of these materials later. It is evident that a fairly perfect, if extremely rough, type could be cast in this way, the moist sand behind the core being removed after casting so that the core could be drawn back and the face left free.

The illustration on plate I. from a photograph of a mould made to illustrate this operation will I hope give the reader a pretty clear idea of this simple process. The upper figure shows the top of the box filled with moistened sand, a hole in which is left through which the metal has to flow. The lower figure represents the impressions of models of five types, in the second and third of which are placed the cores containing on their faces impressions of the types which it is desired to cast. When all the cores have been placed in position the upper box is placed on the lower, is secured there and metal poured in through the hole in the upper section of the box. By either of these methods rough types, nearly parallel in the body, could be made (extremely slowly indeed it is true), if the *core* (which is to all intents and purposes equivalent to the matrix of the modern type-founder) contained a sharp impression of the wooden letter and was of a material which would resist the molten metal, and if clay or plaster could have been utilized, a certain number of such rough types might have been cast, their sharpness,



UPPER PART OF EXPERIMENTAL TYPE MOULD (NO. 1), CONTAINING DRY-SAND CORES, IN WHICH IT IS POSSIBLE TO CAST TYPES OF BRASS OR OF LEAD.



LOWER PART OF EXPERIMENTAL TYPE-MOULD (NO. 1), CONTAINING DRY-SAND CORES, IN WHICH IT IS POSSIBLE TO CAST TYPES OF BRASS OR OF LEAD

of course, decreasing as the core began to wear, whilst a core of damp sand would only serve for one operation.

The alternative processes just described are based upon the postulate that the types must be truly parallel from end to end, so that they may lie close to each other in the forme when they are to be printed from. Were this not absolutely necessary a simpler method could be employed, viz., that of making the pattern of the shank slightly taper *from end to end* (so that it could be drawn out *in the direction of its length*) in one box, and moulding the letter at

Types cast in two-part box without cores.

the end in another box accurately fitted to the first. This operation can be performed in a very rough way even with parallel patterns by shaking them before drawing them out of the sand, as has been done in the case of the types cast in an ordinary two-part box as shown in the illustration on plate II., fig. 1. But although this third process has the advantage of simplicity, and the faces of the type can be cast with considerable accuracy in *properly "faced" sand*, the shanks of the types would always give trouble by their irregularity. That the method was one by which, at a very slow rate it is true, serviceable metal types could be produced is unequivocally demonstrated by the annexed reproduction of an impression from leaden types cast in sand in the way last described, and untouched *on the face* by hand. Bernard⁽¹⁾ gives specimens of impressions of types excellently well cast for him in sand moulds, but gives no indication of the *modus operandi*, nor do we know whether the shanks and faces were in his experiment cast in one operation or not. I must remark before passing on to the next step that my experiments on the value of *clay* or *plaster* cores or matrices⁽²⁾ as contrasted with impressions in properly prepared sand are very unfavourable to the harder materials. I have tried dried common clay, modelling clay and pipe clay, also the same materials faced with plumbago, and, as an alternative, mixed with charcoal dust. The moulds were heated to various temperatures, and the melted lead was sometimes poured very hot, and at others only at melting point, but I could in no case succeed in getting sharp castings, though great pains were taken in the process. The results of patient experiments with plaster-of-Paris matrices have been, if possible, even more unsatisfactory, and I have come to the conclusion that we may dismiss from our minds all the conjectures put forward by Otley and others based on the employment in the early stages of the invention of either of the unsuitable materials just mentioned.

foſeiſeppſo

IMPRESSIONS OF LEADEN TYPES
MOULDED FROM WOODEN "PAT-
TERNS" AND CAST IN SAND IN
A TWO-PART BOX.

Reverting now to the types cast by the last-named method,—that which was perhaps the most likely to be adopted by the earliest typefounder, a cardinal and almost fatal defect was inherent in the method of their formation. The face of the type might be sharp and clear as we have demonstrated, but the shank would be to a certainty rough and of irregular form, and as surely would in a majority of cases be *out of square with the letter*. Each type then would have to go through the hands of a workman, who would have to file the shank to a parallel thickness in three directions, and to keep it as far as possible square with the face. It need not be said that this must have been a work involving an absurd amount of skilled labour for a very small daily result. It is, however, evident that punches

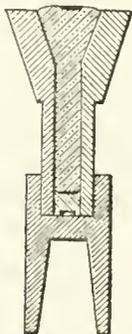
Types cast at two operations, first in sand then in a metal mould.

of brass or other hard metal could be formed in this way, which though vastly inferior to an engraved punch could be made to serve for making a matrix in softer metal. Many observations lead me to the conclusion that the very next step of the inventor was to simplify matters by *founding the type in two operations*, in order to ensure the squareness and parallelism of the shank. He moulded, I believe, in a flat box, with great ease, in fine sand, short ends of type, in fact, mere letters in

(1) "De l'Origine de l'Imprimerie," i. 43.

(2) As suggested by several writers.

reverse, perhaps only $\frac{3}{16}$ of an inch in thickness, of which a hundred or more could be readily cast at one pouring, and which by reason of their shallowness would leave the sand without the slightest difficulty. On to the upper surface of each of these little type-ends he would then propose to cast a shank of lead of the proper length and of the size of the wooden type which he wished to imitate, the hot lead poured in from above uniting with the plain surface and forming when cold a solid leaden type of the desired shape. In order to carry out this idea he had to make a mould preferably of metal, into the lower end of which the little type-end should be placed, the upper portion receiving the melted metal. This mould would be made in halves so that the type could be readily taken out, and it would be conveniently made of this section  so that there would be less chance of the adhesion of the type to the mould than if it were made thus  A similar process to this is still occasionally used for  the production of very large types.



SECTION OF MOULD
FOR CASTING TYPE
IN TWO OPERATIONS.

At this exact point, according to my theory, a very important invention, which should rather be called a discovery, was probably made. The process just described would only succeed if the right temperature were hit, when the body of molten metal would be sufficient to counteract the chilling effect of its contact with the cold "type-end" and the sides of the mould, and to ensure a sound casting. But in type, say of the size of that of the 42-line Bible, it would often happen, as we have found in our experiments, that the thin stream of metal cooled too quickly, and that *adhesion between the shank and the type-end was not complete*. In an attempt to obviate this defect we may imagine the inventor to have made the experiment of roughening the upper surface of one of the "type-ends" by cutting or casting a nick upon it, in which case the first casting made with metal at too low a temperature *would leave a raised impression upon the end of the upper portion instead of uniting with the lower as was intended* (plate II., figs. 2 & 3). Whether in this way, or by the accidental placing of the type-end with the character *upwards* instead of *downwards*, or merely by the observation that some other inequality in the upper part of the type-end was faithfully reproduced in the lower part of the shank, he would be struck with the idea, which is rather startling at first sight, that *lead poured at a certain temperature upon a piece of cold lead in which a device has been sunk, faithfully reproduces the device in relief*, and he would find by experiment that this operation could, contrary to what might have been expected, be repeated a great number of times without destroying the matrix, which could thus be utilized for a succession of operations without being in any way damaged. *This is the discovery or invention of the leaden matrix*, which played, we must believe, so important a part in very early typography. The immediate result was doubtless the discarding of the *two-fold* process, the necessity for separate type-ends no longer existing; and the inventor's success was partly assured if he could perfect the leaden matrix. The prevailing theory is that these *leaden* matrices (the early use of which is almost universally admitted) were produced by impressing wooden types or punches into melted lead *at a temperature just about that of solidification*; and it is perfectly true that this process *can be employed* (as I have proved by experiment) *without injury by heat to the wooden punch*. But I am convinced that this was not a practice in favour with the early printers, as the result is far less sharp and satisfactory than that obtainable by another which lay close at hand. In this case, as in that of wooden types, *theory* has been allowed to guide opinion when *practice* ought to have been called in to settle an unsolved question. The late Mr. T. B. Reed, in his very delightful *History of the Old English Letter Foundries*, says (page 16): "*It has been suggested by some that wood could be struck into lead or pewter, but the possibility of producing a*

Fig. 1.



FIG. 1. SPRAY OF LEADEN TYPES CAST IN SAND IN A TWO-PART BOX.

See Evolution of Type-Mould, page 51.

Fig. 2.



FIG. 2. UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPT TO CAST A TYPE AT TWO OPERATIONS.

Fig. 3.



FIG. 3. SAME TYPE BROKEN SHOWING IMPRESSION OF NICK.

See Evolution of Type-Mould, page 52.

Fig. 4.

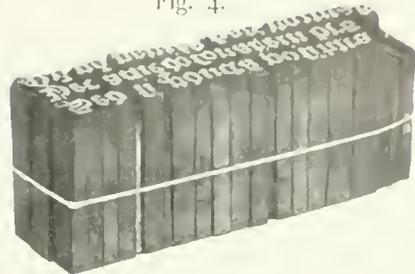


FIG. 4. WOODEN TYPES FROM WHICH 3,500 IMPRESSIONS HAVE BEEN TAKEN (UPPER SURFACE).

Fig. 5.



FIG. 5. LOWER SURFACE OF THE SAME TYPES.

See Wooden Types, page 45.

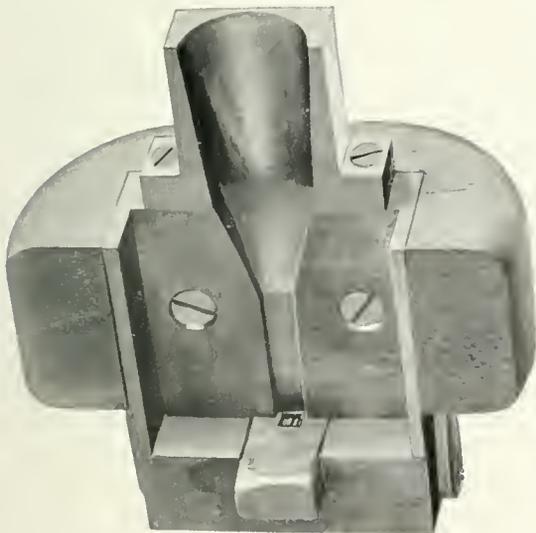
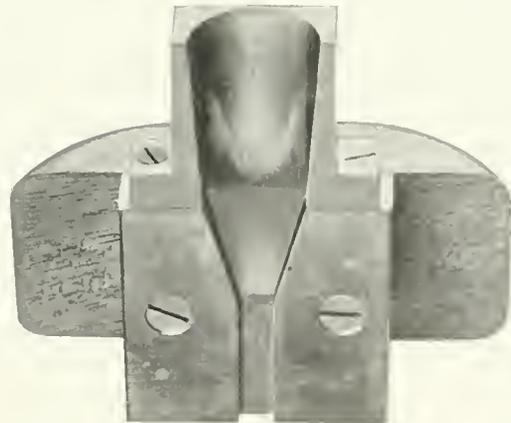


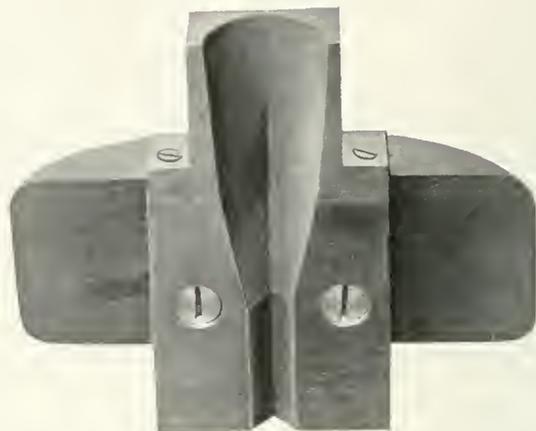
Fig. 6.



EXPERIMENTAL METAL HAND-TYPE-MOULD (NO. 2), NOT CAPABLE OF ADJUSTMENT FOR VARIOUS WIDTHS OF TYPE. THIS WAS PROBABLY ONE OF THE VERY EARLIEST FORMS OF METAL TYPE-MOULD; MATRIX SECURED BY CLIP.



Fig. 1.



EXPERIMENTAL METAL HAND-TYPE-MOULD (NO. 3), NOT CAPABLE OF ADJUSTMENT FOR VARIOUS WIDTHS OF TYPE, BUT ALLOWING EASY DETACHMENT OF TYPES, WHICH MAY HAVE BEEN THE SECOND FORM OF METAL TYPE-MOULD; MATRIX SECURED BY CLIP.

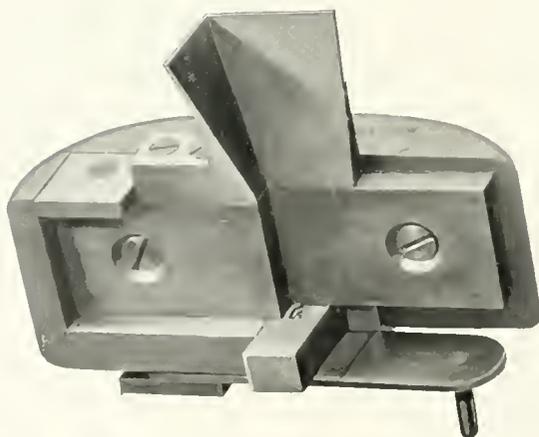
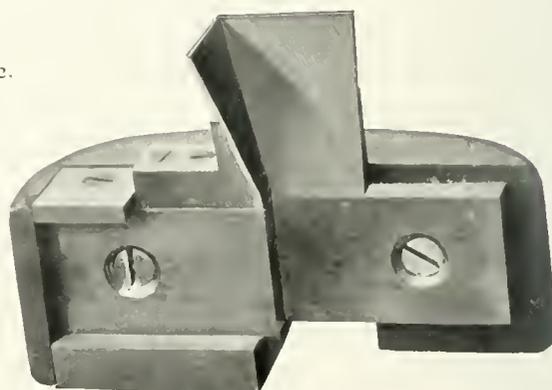


Fig. 2.



EXPERIMENTAL METAL HAND-TYPE-MOULD (NO. 4), ADJUSTABLE FOR VARIOUS WIDTHS OF TYPE, BUT WITHOUT "BREAK"; MATRIX SECURED BY SPRING-LEVER.

successful matrix in this manner is we consider out of the question"! My practice entirely disproves this assumption, and having made a large number of these "impossible" matrices, I have found that a far better result—one which, in fact, leaves nothing to be desired—can be

obtained by gently tapping with a number of light blows a wooden punch into a *cold* leaden blank (or, better still, as my recent experiments have shown, by tapping the leaden blank on to the end of the wooden punch), than by pushing it into the *melted metal* just before solidification takes place. One inherent difficulty which practical experiment alone brings out, and which I venture to think must have been overlooked by the writers who put faith in the theory of the production of matrices in *semi-molten* lead, is that of ensuring by that process an impression of a *uniform depth in, and exactly square with, the surface of the matrix*—a difficulty which can be entirely overcome if the *cold* process be employed. I sometimes doubt if the inventor even attempted the semi-fluid process, and believe that he first tried to *stamp* his wooden letter into a flat piece of soft lead as we did, and smashed it as we did, and then tried the gentler method of tapping and succeeded as we did in making a thoroughly practicable matrix.

In any case we find him now provided with the rudiments of a type-mould, to wit, a mould opening in halves for the shank of the type,

and a bit of lead with a good sharp impression of a letter on its upper surface, forming a serviceable matrix, the uniformity of the depth of the impression in which he had, however, at present no means of regulating. He would by a stop so arrange the mould and matrix that the latter should always occupy in plan the same relative position to the shank of the mould, and the general appearance of the little apparatus would be something like the annexed figures; the halving of the mould is shown in perspective and in section. When he had found it more convenient to take the mould in the hand he had to fit it with wooden cheeks to protect his fingers from the heat of the metal, and it assumed the form shown in plate II., fig. 6.

Though types thus made could only be produced at a very low rate of speed and could not be relied on for any great accuracy of impression, they were nevertheless *genuine* ancestors of the types of *to-day*. The mould, however, was manifestly unsuitable for practical work in more ways than one. In the first place its construction involved the alternative of the production of a form of type which would stick in the mould if its sides were parallel in cross section, or would not pack in the forme when cast if the sides were more tapered. A very ready way of getting rid of that annoyance would readily suggest itself, viz., *to make the mould open across the angle* (see plate III., fig. 1), so that the type would *drop* out when the mould was opened. There is absolutely no evidence that I am cognizant of that this modification was ever adopted, and I only describe it as having occurred to me as a possible step in the evolution, but it was just such an improvement as

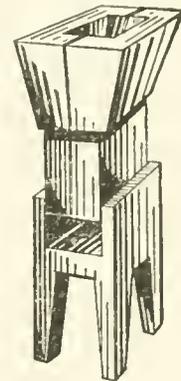
PLAN



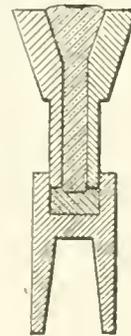
THE TYPE STICKS IN A MOULD OF PARALLEL SECTION.



THE TYPE MUST BE FILED AT SIDES OR IT WILL NOT PACK.

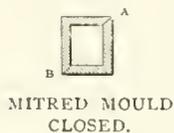


SUGGESTED FIRST FORM OF TYPE-MOULD FOR CASTING TYPE IN ONE OPERATION.



SECTION OF SUGGESTED FIRST FORM OF TYPE-MOULD (the two-halves are held together merely by being pushed into the little stool).

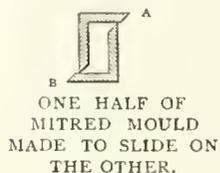
might suggest itself to an intelligent man, and I think that I am entitled to claim it as possibly the third development, and in it, as will be seen, was the germ of a perfected invention. In such a mould types could be made at a fair rate of speed, and though the alignment would only be adjustable with great difficulty,



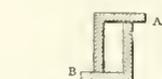
MITRED MOULD
CLOSED.



MITRED MOULD
OPEN. TYPE DROPS
OUT.

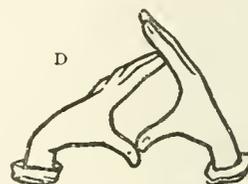
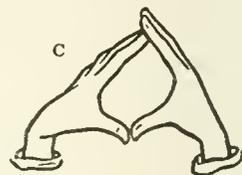


ONE HALF OF
MITRED MOULD
MADE TO SLIDE ON
THE OTHER.



THE NEXT DEVELOP-
MENT. SECTION OF
TYPE-MOULD ADJUST-
ABLE TO VARIOUS
WIDTHS OF TYPE.

be just as good, neither better nor worse than that of the original wooden punches, the counterparts of wooden letters made with due regard to alignment. But the edges of the mould would wear in time, and a thin "fin" of metal result from the slightest imperfection at the junction of the halves of the mould. Both this construction and the former one had this enormous disadvantage, that *only one width of letter could be produced in them, and that you required as many moulds as widths.* With this disadvantage constantly in his thought, it must at the psychological moment have flashed into the mind of the inventor that if he protracted the sides of the single mould, shown in *plan* at A and B, the two halves would slide upon each other, and that thus every width of letter could be moulded in one and the same mould, the width being defined by the respective widths of the various matrices on which they closed. If the reader will place his hands in the position marked C, he will illustrate a section of the *mitred* type-mould, *suitable only for one width of type*, whilst by sliding one hand backwards and forwards upon the other in the second position D he



The essential feature of the adjustable type-mould invented.

will obtain a notion of the principle of the adjustable mould. And the instant the schemer had adopted this modification, and had mounted his mould in wooden

cheeks to protect his hand from the heat of the metal, he had (with the exception of the "break") invented the mould of yesterday (plate III., fig. 2).

I must not be understood to assert that any great amount of practical typesetting was performed in any of the earlier stages of the evolution—the whole experiments may only have occupied a few weeks or months, mine have occupied more than a year—all that I desire to demonstrate is the process, mental or technical, by which the final result was arrived at. The adoption of a metal in place of a sand mould, and the substitution of soft metal matrices made from wooden punches for the experimental ones of clay or plaster, were schemes which must have been adopted at an extremely early stage;—but the absolutely

The inventor of the sliding (adjustable) type-mould practically the inventor of typography.

essential stride from an experimental to a practical state of things was undoubtedly that from the *fixed* to the *adjustable* metal mould. To the solver of that problem the world may perhaps owe more than to all the other pioneers in the art of typography put together. An important technical difficulty mentioned above, however, had still to be overcome. Without some special provision the impression in the lead matrix might have two fatal defects: (1) it might not be of equal depth in each matrix, (2) it might be deeper on one side of the letter than on the other; might not, in fact, be square with the shank or body of the type. I suggest that these difficulties were met in a very simple way which I have found *essential* to the production of good types from leaden matrices. The original punches I believe to have been the facsimiles of the original wooden

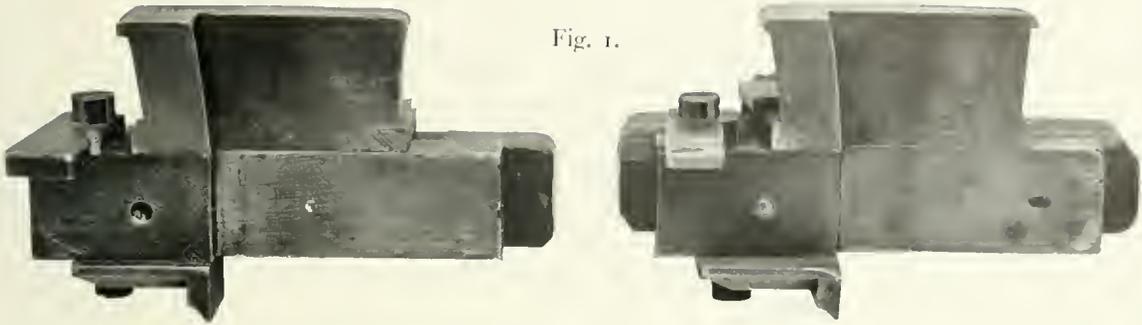


Fig. 1.

PORTION OF VERY ANCIENT TYPE-MOULD (POURING-MOULD), ADJUSTABLE FOR VARIOUS WIDTHS OF TYPE, BUT WITHOUT "BREAK."

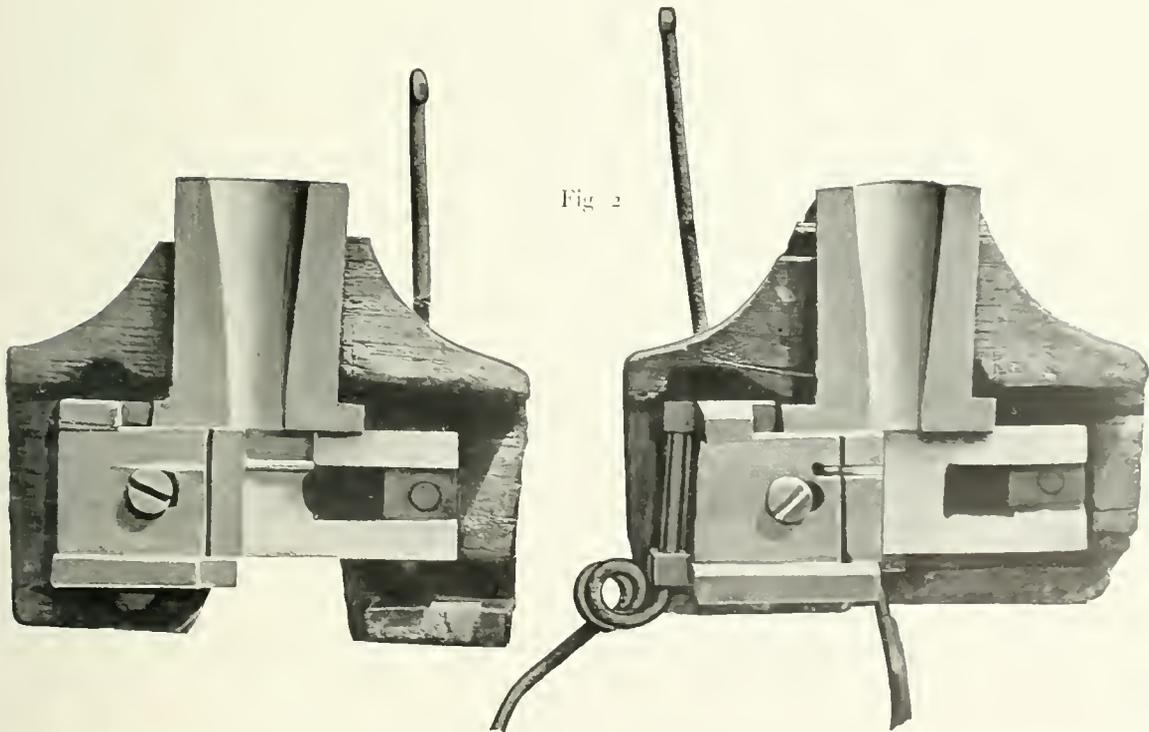


Fig. 2

ANCIENT METAL HAND-TYPE-MOULD, ADJUSTABLE FOR VARIOUS WIDTHS OF TYPE, AND WITH SECONDARY ADJUSTMENT FOR THE PRODUCTION OF OVERHANGING LETTERS, WITH "BREAK"; MATRIX SECURED BY SPRING AS IN MUCH LATER FORMS.

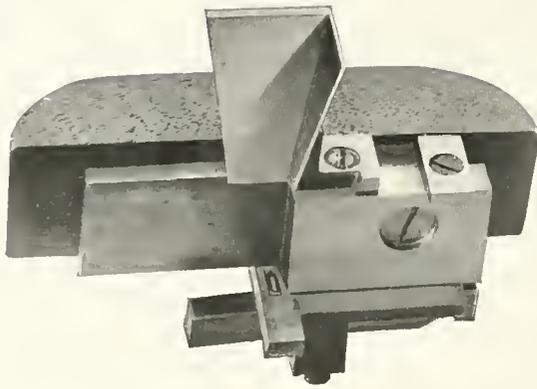
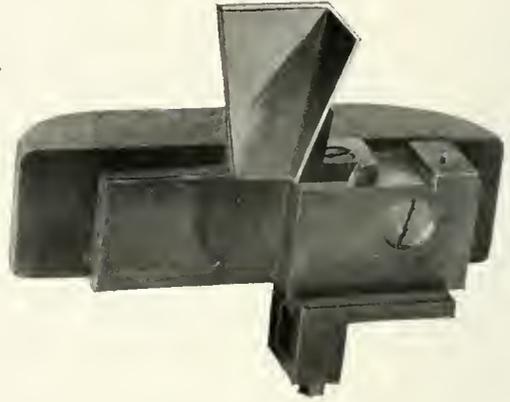


Fig. 1.



EXPERIMENTAL METAL HAND-TYPE-MOULD (NO. 5), ADJUSTABLE FOR VARIOUS WIDTHS OF TYPE, WITH "BREAK"; MATRIX KEPT IN POSITION BY WEDGE.

In this mould have been cast the letters used in making the Facsimiles of 42-line Bible, and in a similar one of smaller "body" those for 31-line Indulgence.

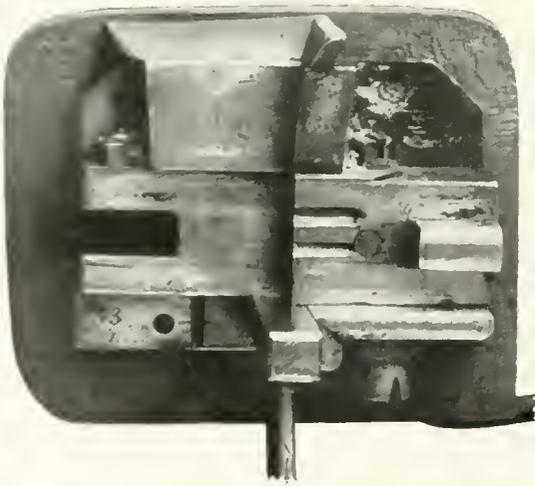
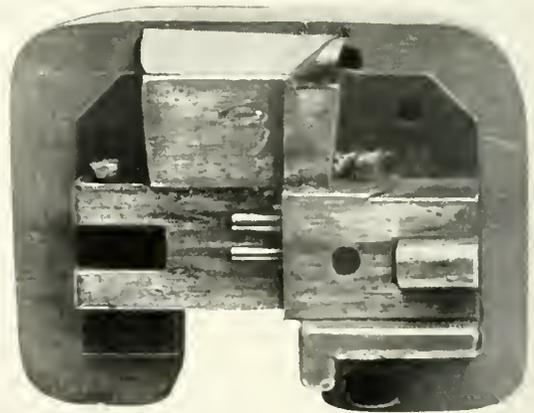


Fig. 2.



THE HAND-TYPE-MOULD OF YESTERDAY, MATRIX KEPT IN POSITION BY WIRE SPRING.

letters (but having the characters cut with sufficient taper, or "leave" as founders call it, to leave freely the metal in which they were to be cast or punched), and as such they were already fairly *justified* for alignment, so that matter printed from them would be just as true (neither more nor less) as other printing from wooden letters. *The mould was, I suggest, made exactly to fit the punch in body*, therefore when the inventor, having fitted in its proper place at the bottom of the mould the bit of lead made of the right width of the letter to be formed, which was to form the matrix, had closed his now adjustable mould to the width of matrix, had pushed the punch through the body of the mould, and had tapped it by a series of gentle blows into the lead, the impression would be right in two respects—in the first place it would be square with the body of the mould and thus with the type when cast; in the second (if the stop against which the piece of lead was pressed was correctly placed) each letter in a mould of whatever width would have the *alignment* of the original wooden types without needing any justification. At a very early period no doubt the small errors in alignment inherent in the wooden punches were rectified by filing a morsel off the end of the matrix just as is now done with the copper matrix, or by squeezing the lead so as to lengthen if the correction was wanted in the other direction, *i.e.*, if the letter was too high—these are our successful methods. It remained to find a ready method of giving with certainty the same *depth* of impression in each matrix. For this purpose I would suggest that the inventor made use of a little apparatus which we have found to be invaluable—it was practically his improved movable type mould *with the upper or taper portion removed*, as shown in the figure

Device for obtaining accuracy in the matrix. —the height corresponding with the length of his punch.

The founder's task would thus be greatly simplified. All his wooden punches being exactly of the same height, he would fit the little piece of lead (M) which was to be the matrix so as exactly to equal in width the width of the punch, would close upon it the sides of the adjustable mould, and then tap the punch (P) down *till its top was exactly on a level with the top of the apparatus*; his matrix (M) would then, without any further precaution on his part, be accurate in all the necessary particulars mentioned above. And by this simple method the way was made plain for a process the existence of which has, I believe, never been hitherto hinted at, namely, the manufacture direct from the wooden punch and the *first* leaden matrix, of *metal punches* cast in a mixture⁽¹⁾ of lead and tin or other suitable metal, even, perhaps, antimony, of such a degree of hardness as would produce, perhaps after some slight trimming, many a secondary matrix, sharp and serviceable, thus putting the founder at his ease, and rendering him independent of the original parent wooden punch.

An acquiescence in the view that such a process was used will go far to solve many of the difficulties which have arisen in connection with the somewhat nebulous notions which have prevailed as to the practicability of leaden matrices. The importance of this secondary operation, which I have found of incalculable assistance, can hardly be overrated; it renders possible the production of types of a far higher degree of excellence than can be attained from the first matrices made

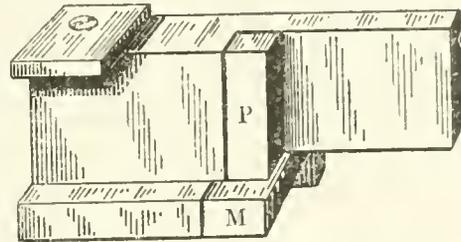
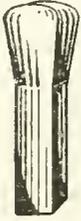


FIGURE SHOWING ONE HALF OF THE APPARATUS BY WHICH ACCURACY IN ALL POINTS OF THE MATRIX IS OBTAINED.

(1) On the subject of hardening with an alloy, see Paulus Pater, Lipsiæ, 1710 (Wolff 2, 705), who speaks of *Cassiterographia* (Cassiterographia), *i.e.*, types of tin, and considers that a great variety of metals entered into the composition of type in his day. Note also the Cost Book of the Directors of the Ripoli Press at Florence, 1474-1483, mentioned by several modern writers, in which, besides Steel, Brass, Copper, Tin, Lead and Iron Wire, "Metal" is mentioned as a necessary material in the Type-Foundry there.

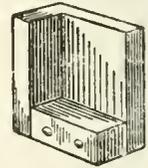
direct from the wooden punches, giving, in fact, to the secondary leaden matrices struck from the harder metal punches a sharpness analogous to that produced by the striking of the hard metal, steel, into the softer metal, copper. And as its feasibility occurred to us in our primitive experiments, it is hard to believe that it was not also employed by the earliest typesetters. By the aid of these secondary hardened lead punches all our latest specimens have been produced.

Types thus produced had, however, one cardinal defect. At the upper end was, of course, the "runner" or "jet," consisting of a useless lump of metal, which had to be removed before the types could be assembled for the press. And one of the most puzzling things connected with the evolution of the type-mould is that, as we know, many years must have elapsed before the very simple device for dispensing with the process of *cutting* off this ugly bit of metal was devised. The reproduction on plate IV., fig. 1, from an ancient type-mould recently unearthed in a search made, at a suggestion of mine, in their astonishing store-house of type-foundry antiquities, by Messrs. J. Enschedé en Zonen, of Haarlem, is taken from the object itself, most kindly lent me by that firm, and affords a delightful confirmation of the fact that types were actually made at an early date in this rough manner. It is possibly the only old "breakless" mould in existence. From the mould of *Claude*



TYPE AS FIRST
MADE, WITHOUT
"BREAK."

Garamond, in use about the year 1540, were produced types of the crude form here shown, and M. Duverger gives an illustration of the way in which the excrescence was, in his opinion, removed by a saw. After this separation of the useless upper portion, it is quite possible that the types were placed together a few at a time, face downward, in a little box made for the purpose, and the rough ends filed off to a definite length. Without some such operation it is difficult to see how the faces of the assembled type could be made perfectly level and fit to be printed from except by inverting upon the "stone" the page when composed, and allowing all the letters to take their level thereon before locking up the forme, a backing of some such substance as plaster being doubtless applied to the rough upper ends of the types to ensure the permanence of their relative positions and an even pressure on the paper. The "break" (*saillie du jet*) in the mould was the contrivance which obviated all this trouble and gave to the types uniformity of "height to paper"; it consists in such a narrowing of the "jet" by a modification of the mould as will ensure this result, the upper portion being readily broken off at the shoulder, leaving, after a slight trimming of the broken surface, the types of uniform height.



BLOCK IN WHICH BREAK-
LESS TYPES ARE FILED
TO EVEN HEIGHT.

Any founder would invariably, when practicable, so alter the shape of his "runner" as to diminish the labour of detaching it from the main body of any casting, and my own explanation of the belated adoption of the "break" is that the type-founder had feared that the sharpness of his type would be diminished by narrowing the inlet of the quickly cooling metal to the cavity in which it had to be cast, not having yet discovered that the "shake" or jerk which the later founder gave to his mould would drive the metal by *momentum* even through a narrowed orifice into the most delicate parts of the matrix. The subsequent additions to the mechanism of the type-mould consist mainly only in the means of producing "nicks" or notches formed in one side, in England on the front and in France at the back, of the type, which are to be found in Moxon's and subsequent types, and in the *spring* which holds the matrix to the mould. It will be seen that it is my impression that the discovery of the capabilities of *lead* as a trustworthy



TYPE WITH
"BREAK."

material for matrices was probably made at a very early stage of the invention, and if that be a correct view not much is to be gained by an investigation into the possibilities of the other materials which may have been experimented on in the very early essays, and then abandoned in favour of lead. Though, as I have before remarked, my experiments with clay and plaster as materials for matrices have been very unsatisfactory, I have found it quite practicable to cast in dried sand by the first process shown (see plate I.), a type hard enough to serve, when an engraver has worked upon it, as a punch to be used in making matrices in a moderately soft metal.

An important point—one which deserves, perhaps, even more attention than I have given to it—is the method employed at the outset for the production of (1) *the double letters*, (2) *the letters over which are contraction symbols*, and (3) *the overhanging letters*. The most obvious suggestion is that separate wooden punches were made for each combination, and much patient investigation would be needed to prove that this was not frequently done; but there are

**Double Letters,
Contractions,
Overhanging Letters.**

two other processes which there can be little doubt were used as alternatives. With the adjustable mould, used as before described as an appliance for making matrices, and with two punches, preferably of hardened metal, placed side by side and tapped into the leaden blank, it is quite possible to make a leaden matrix of any desired combination, as may be seen in my reproduction of a portion of the 42-line Bible, in the last nine lines of which this method has been employed with success. The process is as follows:—Taking as an illustration the combination **ff**, we make from the matrix for **f** a casting in harder metal, file the side away immediately under the overhanging part, and file down a punch for the **i** made in the same way till it fits into its place. Then in the little apparatus we tap the two punches into the leaden blank, accuracy in depth and squareness being infallibly attained, and use a casting in hard metal made from

**Methods of Casting
Double Types.**

this double-letter matrix as a punch from which to form other matrices. We employ the same process for making the punches for letters over which are contraction marks, and for the double letters the first punches being filed down to fit each other closely before being tapped into the leaden blank to form the matrix. Exception was made for special reasons in the case of the **ct**, **ct** and **da**, double punches for which were cut in wood.

The second process was no doubt posterior to that just described. In the early type-mould shown in plate IV., fig. 2, which, though ancient, is shown by the *break* and the spring for holding the matrix in position not to belong to the earliest days of typography, it may be seen that by shifting a portion of the mould in a slot and securing it by a screw the shank of a type can be cast thinner than the width of the matrix, and an *overhang* thus obtained without any difficulty.

Were I to put forward these conclusions as to the probable *modus operandi* of the unknown earliest printer without further comment, I should be open to the charge of asking the reader to take my statements for granted without giving him, as I have done in the case of the *wooden types*, an opportunity of verifying for himself the results which I have asserted to be attainable by my processes. I have therefore (at an expense of time and trouble which will, I am sure, not be fully realized

**Experimental
Reproduction of Passage
from 42-line Bible.**

by those who have not had an opportunity of witnessing our successive and often dispiriting failures), made from wooden models (*wooden types they may fairly be called*), the needful hard leaden types cast in leaden matrices for printing that portion of the 42-line Bible of which I have elsewhere given a facsimile. A comparison of the modern text with the ancient will enable the reader to judge of the success of my experiment. There are thirteen lines in the specimen. In the first four the double letters were made from wooden punches, in which, by-the-bye, all the double or overhanging letters were *combined*. The punches in these lines

malorū uia. Fuge ab ea nec transeas
 per illā: declina et desere eā. Non enī
 dormiūt nisi cū male fecerint: et non
 rapiūt somnū ab eis nisi suplātauerit.
 Comediūt panem impietatis: et uinū
 iniquitatis bibūt. Iustorū autē semi-
 ta quasi lux splendēs p̄dit: et crescit
 usq; ad p̄fēdā diē. Nisi impiorū tene-
 brosa: nesciūt ubi corruāt. Fīli mi au-
 sculta sermones meos: et ad eloquia
 mea inclina aurē tuā. Ne recedant ab
 oculis tuis: custodi ea i medio cordis
 tui. Vita enī sunt inuentibus ea: et

PHOTOGRAPHIC FACSIMILE OF A PORTION OF THE FORTY-TWO
 LINE BIBLE, VOL. II., FOL. 2a, COL. 2, LAST 13 LINES.

malorū uia. Fuge ab ea nec transeas
 per illā: declina et desere eā. Non enī
 dormiūt nisi cū male fecerint: et non
 rapiūt somnū ab eis nisi suplātauerit.
 Comediūt panem impietatis: et uinū
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 brosa: nesciūt ubi corruāt. Fīli mi au-
 sculta sermones meos: et ad eloquia
 mea inclina aurē tuā. Ne recedant ab
 oculis tuis: custodi ea i medio cordis
 tui. Vita enī sunt inuentibus ea: et

IMITATION OF THE SAME PASSAGE OF THE FORTY-TWO LINE
 BIBLE, PRINTED FROM TYPES CAST ON LEADEN MATRICES
 PRODUCED BY PUNCHES OF HARDENED LEAD OBTAINED BY
 THE USE OF WOODEN PUNCHES.

being cut shallow the metal would not flow freely into the corners, and as a result the letters had to be to some extent trimmed by hand, and not giving in all cases clear impressions, the faces were filed so as to give a flat surface. This imperfection of the types led to a study of the way in which the process could be improved. In the next eight lines new wooden punches, cut considerably deeper, were employed, and hardened lead punches having been made from these improved matrices in the manner already described, and again punched deeper into a leaden

Various Methods.

blank to form the final matrix, the types were so good as to require no trimming, but the faces were not *absolutely* square with the body. Some of the double and overhanging letters were in this case not formed in the wooden punches, but cast by the first method described on page 57. The matrices for the last line were made by a reversal of the original process. Instead of hammering the punch into the leaden blank, the blank was tapped on to the punch, the difference between the results of these two operations being as follows:—In punching *from the top* on to the leaden blank, the bottom of the blank has a tendency to curl up, a defect not easily rectified, the attempt to flatten it often spoiling the form of the letter, whereas *when the blank is hammered on to the top of the punch*, a piece of hard

Final Method of making Matrices.

metal intervening, the bottom of the matrix is kept flat in the operation, and requires no rectification. The types made by this improved process are clean, so that they were printed from just as they left the mould, and the face is perfectly square with the body, and this is the method which, as giving the very best results, we may well conceive to have been that finally adopted by the printer of the 42-line Bible.

In all my experiments I have found it convenient to make use either of type metal, or a mixture of lead and type metal, as these harder types are more easy to handle and give sharper results, but it need not be assumed, I think, that letters cast in ordinary lead would be liable to rapid deterioration from wear. In order to test this allegation, I cast a line of the 42-line Bible

malox uia. sfuge ab ea nec transeas

THE ONE-THOUSANDTH IMPRESSION OF TYPES CAST IN UNHARDENED LEAD.

in ordinary lead, and had 1,000 impressions taken from it, of which a photographic facsimile is annexed. It need not be said, however, that in the crude presses of the early printers conditions existed far less favourable to durability.

The determination of the method of preparing the types used in producing *the 31 and 30-line Indulgences* seems to have presented more difficulties than that of those used for the 42 and 36-line Bibles. It is now a matter of orthodox belief that the latter may have been cast in leaden matrices, but it has been pretty generally assumed, even by the most recent investigators, that the obstacles presented by the use of leaden matrices of so small a size as the types of the *Indulgences* were practically insurmountable. The question is one of

Were copper Matrices used in the 31 and 30-line Indulgences?

very great importance.—If we are compelled to deny to the printer of these *Indulgences* the use of leaden matrices, and to assume that he used copper ones, we at once establish the fact that the art of punch-cutting in *steel* was existent before 1454, and the field of enquiry into his individuality is then greatly narrowed; whereas if we admit that these documents may have been printed from types made in *leaden* matrices, no definite date need hamper us in an attempt to discover the inventor of the steel punch and copper matrix. For these reasons I have thought it best fully to investigate the possibilities of printing a document with types cast in leaden matrices of the same, or nearly the same body as those used in the *Indulgences*.

I found, in the first instance, a difficulty in persuading any letter cutter to make me wooden punches of so small a size as the character therein employed, and I therefore had them all made

in brass, and the portion of the first eight lines of the document here reproduced is printed from types cast in leaden matrices struck from these brass punches. The *modus operandi* in making these small types was as follows:—It must be premised that the brass punches were not made as were my wooden ones, of the proper width of each letter and fairly correct for body and alignment. They were *all of one section*; in fact, ordinary taper punches such as would be used for striking a letter on a piece of soft metal. The punch was therefore (a) struck into a piece of lead, which was filed so as to fit fairly well into the bottom of the mould, in which it was then placed, and (b) a punch of hardened lead cast in it, the sides of which were then filed till the proper thickness of letter was obtained. This was then (c) struck into a new leaden blank which had been fitted to the mould, and any swelling-of the upper surface of the matrix filed away, the resulting casting being a perfect type identical with the punch. The words () **niuerſis** and **paulinus** are printed from leaden matrices struck with wooden punches, just in the way in which the lines five to twelve of the passage from the 42-line Bible were printed. Had our punch cutter had a little more practice, an absolute facsimile could have been produced, the main difference perceivable between my copy and the original arising from the modification which he has unintentionally and unconsciously introduced into the form, the style and even into the *body* of the character. It is merely his *mimetic* faculty and not our process which is at fault. The V is printed from a wooden type as it was in the original.

Vniuerſis Crisifidelib; p̄ntes litteras inspecturis **paulinus** Chape Conſilianiſſimi Regis Cypri ī hac pte Salutē in dno Cū Sāctiſſim⁹ ī xp̄o p̄r ⁊ dñs n̄r. dñs Nicola⁹ gni Cypri miſericorditer ⁊ paties. contra p̄ſidiſſios crucis xp̄i hoſtes. Theucros ⁊ Saracenos ⁊ ſtitutis ip̄os p̄ aſſionem ſāguis d̄m n̄ri ih̄u xp̄i pie exhortādo qui infra triēniū a prima p̄ deſenſiōe catholice fidei ⁊ Regni p̄dicti de facultatib; ſuis magis vel min⁹ p̄out ip̄os ⁊ ſtitutis pie erogauerint ut Confessores ydonei ſeculares vel Regulares per ip̄os eligendi ap̄lice reſeruatib; exceſſib; crimib; atq; delictis quātūcūq; grauib; p̄ vna vice tātū debitā iniūgere Necnō ſi id huiliter petierit ip̄os a quibuſcūq; excoicationū ſuſpenſionū ⁊ Interdicti.

ROUGH IMITATION OF PART OF EIGHT LINES OF THE 31-LINE INDULGENCE PRINTED FROM TYPES CAST IN LEADEN MATRICES PRODUCED BY HARDENED LEAD PUNCHES OBTAINED BY THE USE OF BRASS PUNCHES.

I was still, even after the production of this imitation, unconvinced that the same result might not have been attained by the use of wooden punches, and therefore had wooden punches cut for the printing of the words *die Maii anni dñi Mcccclii*. In this second attempt the result, as regards *shape* of letters, is very satisfactory, but difficulties arose in consequence of the way in which the punches were cut, the delicacy of the small letters, added to a certain want of taper in their

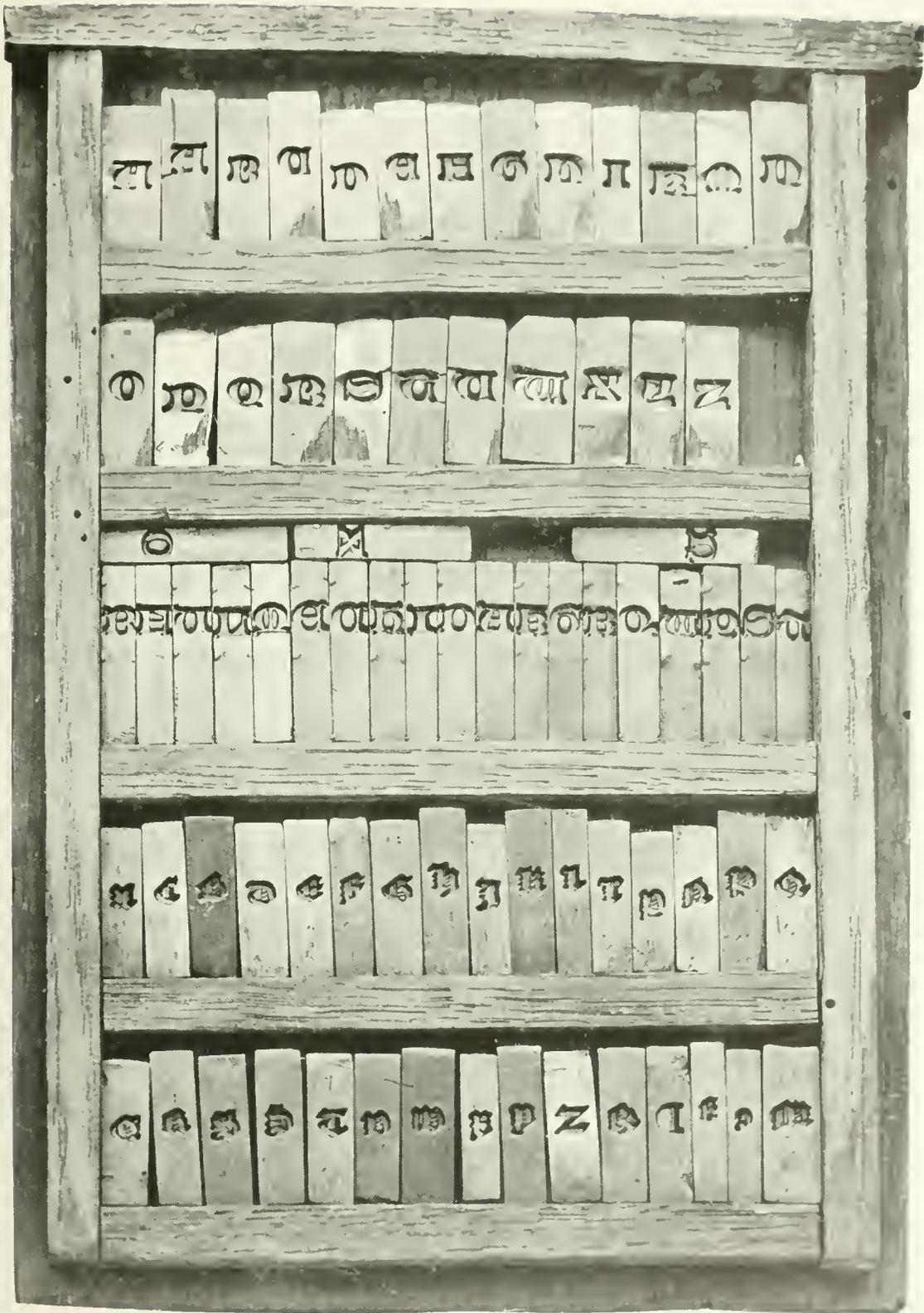
Wooden or brass punches used for Indulgences?

formation, preventing us from forming good castings of the hardened lead punches; when these, however, were trimmed by hand and tapped into leaden matrices types were cast therein which,

die Maii anni dñi Mcccclii

DATE FROM 31-LINE INDULGENCE REPRODUCED BY THE USE OF LEADEN MATRICES STRUCK INDIRECTLY FROM WOODEN PUNCHES.

without any adjustment, give, as will be seen, an excellent impression. I am of the opinion that the types of the Indulgences were, or at any rate could have been, produced from *leaden* matrices, and that these might have been struck by wooden punches, for we could do it ourselves if it were desired; but it seems probable that for letters so small and so simple as those of the Indulgences metal punches may have been employed, these little rounded letters involving far less skill on the part of the maker of brass punches than would have



FACSIMILE OF CASE OF ANCIENT COPPER MATRICES [IN THE POSSESSION OF MESSRS. ENSCHÉDE EN ZONEN OF HAARLEM] THE PUNCHES FOR WHICH WERE CUT BY HENRIC ABOUT THE YEAR 1490.



been involved in the production of the larger metal punches required for the making of types for the 42 or 36-line Bible. Having shown, as I hope, that there is absolutely no need to postulate copper matrices and steel punches for the printing of these Indulgences, I leave it to wiser heads than mine to decide on other grounds which process was actually employed.

By the courtesy of Messrs. Enschedé en Zonen, I am enabled to give a representation, of the size of the original, from a photograph kindly made for me by that firm, of an extremely interesting relic of the fifteenth century—a series of ancient copper matrices, the punches for which were cut about the year 1490, and were formerly in the possession of *Henric* (“lettersnider”) at Delft, one of the first typographers who cast types, not only for himself but also for sale to other printers. These matrices are still preserved in the same rough case in which they have lain for centuries. Proofs from types cast in these matrices were published in 1768, in a catalogue in my possession, of types cast by Mr. J. Enschedé. Herein also were impressions from large types cast in very ancient *leaden* matrices, the stamps for which were cut by *Cornelis Hendricss*, at Delft, about the year 1510, who calls himself a *chalcotyper*. These leaden matrices and the copper stamps by which they were produced are still preserved in the museum of Messrs. Enschedé, who have added to the many favours conferred by having a photograph made also of these, doubtless the oldest leaden matrices in existence. The earliest book known to have been printed from *Henric*’s type is *Epistelen Ende Evangelien, mitten Sermonen van den gehelen iaer 1493*, printed by Jacob Van Breda. Messrs. Enschedé have traced the use of this particular fount of type of *Henric* in no less than ten printing offices in the fifteenth century.

Attention must at this point be called to the views promulgated in the important and most interesting work of Mr. Charles Enschedé,⁽¹⁾ to whose suggestions, as coming from an antiquary and a skilled type-founder, much deference must be paid. It is with the very greatest diffidence that I put forward my own views as to the methods probably or possibly used in making the types for the 42-line Bible—ideas formed before the publication of Mr. Enschedé’s work, and not materially modified by it. Briefly, the contention of this most careful and competent observer is that the type of the 36-line Bible is older than that of the 42-line. It is incredible to him that this large type could have been cast in one operation, and as the same processes were doubtless used in both Bibles, the 42-line type was cast in the *only* way in which the 36-line, in his judgment, could have been cast. The process was, in his opinion, as follows:—Thin letters or models were carved out of brass by Gutenberg (who was a goldsmith, and would have been perfectly competent to make them). These were then beaten, or perhaps poured, into lead to form the matrix, which again was beaten into a composition of lead and tin in a semi-fluid state to form thin ends of type on to which shanks were then cast by a process similar to that which I have already assumed (page 52) to have suggested the earliest form of the metal mould. In his careful examination of the letters in the Leipsic copy of the 42-line Bible, Mr. Enschedé has discovered that the impressions of the types, especially when little worn, are sharper on the edges than in the centre. In this fact he sees a corroboration of his theory that these types were cast by the double operation described above. When the hot metal is poured on the colder type-end, the sides of the type harden sooner than the centre, and the centre sinks a very little below the sides, leaving the letter hollow on the face. But, in reply, I may be allowed to say that I would undertake to cast the letters of the 36-line Bible in one operation just as successfully as I have cast those of the 42-line, and, moreover, that the hollowing of the face of the letters might equally well occur in casting the type in one operation as in two. The discussion as to the actual process made use of must be mainly influenced by the following

(1) “Technisch onderzoek naar de uitvinding van de boekdrukkunst,” door Mr. Ch. Enschedé, Haarlem, 1901.

considerations:—Had the printer of the 42-line Bible succeeded in making as much progress in the art of type-making by wooden punches and leaden matrices as we have made in our crude experiments? If he had attained that modicum of success he would probably make his types by that ready method. If he had not, the more troublesome double process suggested by Mr. Enschedé was, one may conjecture, in all probability the only one at his command. And in that case it would be his successors whom I should credit with the production of type from leaden matrices and wooden punches. Further investigations will some day decide the question in one way or the other.

If, as I am sanguine enough to believe, I have proved to the reader's satisfaction not only the possibility but the probability of the use by the earliest printers of leaden matrices and wooden punches, the next question which naturally arises is—at what period the succeeding improvement took place, and by whom were first devised and made the *steel punches* and *copper matrices* by which alone types of high class could be produced. The technical reader who is acquainted with the difficulties of cutting by hand and hardening such punches as must have been made for the types with which the early Italian press produced its beautiful specimens of printing, may be inclined to think that as much credit is due to the *first* successful maker of a steel letter-punch as to the inventor of the adjustable type-mould, and it would be in any case a matter of the highest interest to know whom we are to honour in this respect. The latest investigation into this matter is to be found in the valuable work of Mr. Ch. Enschedé before referred to. His reasons for assigning the credit to *Peter Schaffer* are so cogent that they will, I think, carry weight with many readers, but we must balance against them the opposing views of some of the most recent German bibliographers.

For our help in an appreciation of the technical difficulties which would have to be overcome by the first successful cutter of a *steel* punch we may glance at the condition of development at which the art of making similar objects had arrived, towards the middle of the fifteenth century. A much closer acquaintance than I possess with the artistic productions in iron and steel of that period would be needful for an accurate appreciation of the obstacles which might lie in the way of the first production of a piece of hardened steel as delicate as a punch for the typefounder's use. The only illustrations which I am able to suggest are drawn from the art of the die-sinker, whose business it was to assist in the production of coins then current. If we find that his work affords evidence of want of skill, and of inability to bring into existence punches of a quality at all comparable to those by which the earliest copper matrices were struck, we have, I think, good reason to assign a high place, almost that of the *inventor*, to the artist who made the first copper matrices. The illustration on another page will enable the reader to see at a glance what was being done in Germany in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in punch-cutting for coins. The reproductions therein presented are the result of enlargements for the sake of better definition to twice the

The first maker of a steel punch may possibly rank with the inventor of the type-mould.

Crudity of form of the punches used in making the dies of coins of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

linear dimensions of gold coins in the British Museum, selected for this purpose with the kind assistance of Mr. H. A. Grueber. No. 1 is that of a ducat of Gerlach of Mentz, 1346-71, struck at *Bingen*; No. 2, of a ducat of Rupert Count Palatine, 1358-90; No. 3, of a ducat of John of Mentz, 1397-1419, struck at *Bingen*; and No. 4, of a ducat of Theodoric II., of Köln, 1414-63. The letters on the dies of the coins are unquestionably struck by punches (two of which had in some cases to be used to produce one letter), and the crudity of these is made apparent by the result, leading to the belief that technical difficulties in the way of producing delicate and refined work were perhaps as yet unsurmounted.



2



3



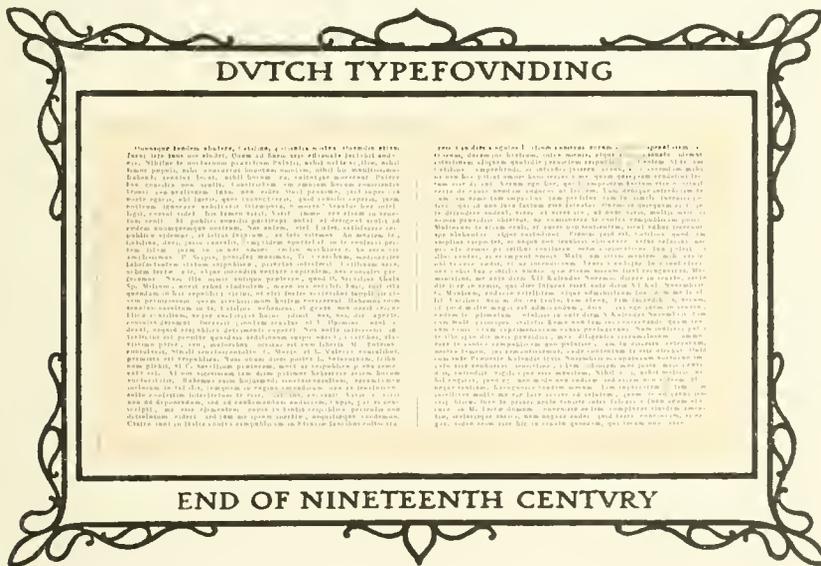
4

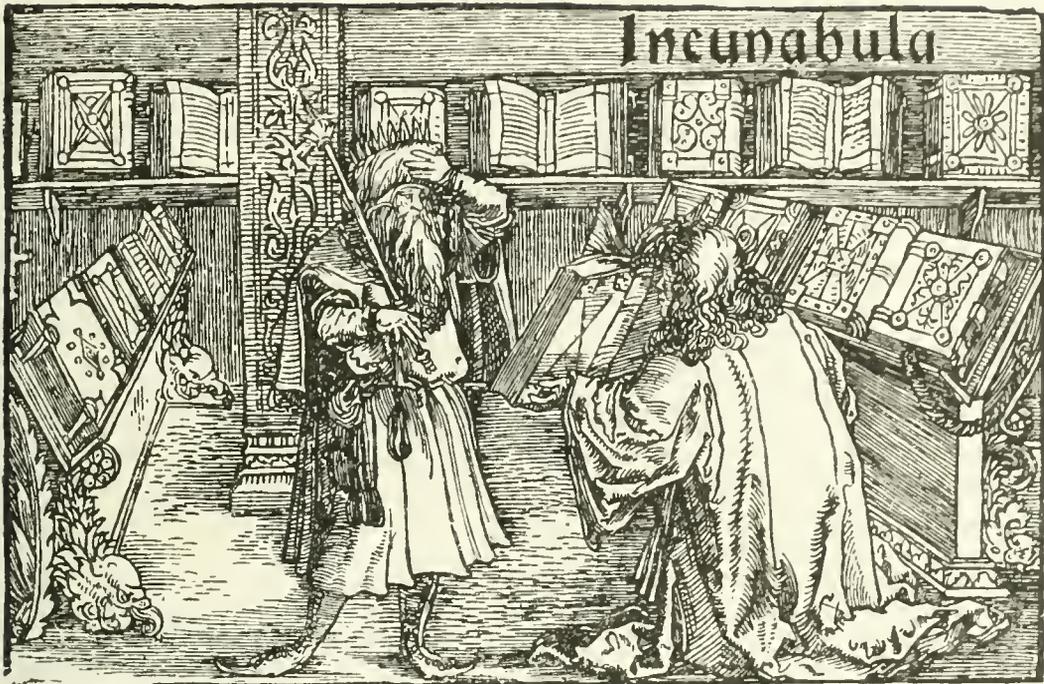
GOLD COINS OF THE XIVTH & XVTH CENTURIES, IN THE DIES OF WHICH PUNCHES WERE EMPLOYED



Was Schæffer the artist who, stimulated by the urgent need of matrices more sharp and durable than those of lead, overcame these difficulties almost at a bound, and did he cut steel punches from which copper matrices were struck for the types of the Fust and Schæffer Bible of 1462? And was Mentelin then and at a later date still making his type in leaden matrices? A minute and patient investigation would seem to be required for the solution of such questions as these, and for the determination of the exact time and manner in which the softer was superseded by the harder material.

So much for the crude methods of the pioneers of an art in the subsequent perfecting of which a succession of gifted and laborious experts—printers, typefounders, punch-cutters had their part. To Ratdolt, Jenson, the Aldi, to Granjon, Geoffroi Tory, Claude Garamond and the Elzevirs, to Breitkopf, Caslon, Baskerville, to Figgins, Didot, and Miller and a hundred others we are more or less indebted for the beauty of the type procurable, I will not say usually employed in the present day. It may not be out of place to mark time after four centuries and a half of felicitous progress, and to put on record a single example of the outcome of the dexterity of the punch-cutter and typefounder of the present day. This I am fortunately enabled to do by the crowning kindness of my Haarlem friends. The subjoined specimen of what is, I believe, the most minute typography yet achieved has been specially printed for this work by Messrs. Enschedé en Zonen. The type is appropriately called by them *Non Plus Ultra*, and is what is technically known as 2½ point (*Didot*), the lineal dimensions being only about one-fourth of those of our small-pica.





[1466.] S. THOMAS AQUINAS. SECUNDA SECUNDÆ.

[STRASBURG, JOHANN MENTELIN.]

Fol. 1a: ()uestio p̄ma de v̄tutibus et vicijs ī sp̄ali. || *This begins the Table of Questiones 139 in number, which ends on the second column of Fol. 6a, line 51:* Explicit ordo et signacio questionū sc̄di libri sc̄de || ptis beati thome de aquino b̄ndictus de9. Amen. || *Fol. 6b blank, leaves 7 and 8 blank. Fol. 246b, first column, line 58:* dñs noster qui || est super om̄ia deus benedictus in secula. Amen. || *Fol. 247 blank.*

*Folio, printed in gothic type, 247 leaves, in double columns, 59 lines to the column, text measures 272 × 188 (= 83 + 22 + 83) mm.; without numerals, catchwords or signatures; spaces left for the initial letters, no initial directors. The watermark is the bull's head with stylus and star. Hain, *1454. Proctor, 199.*

A beautifully clean and perfect copy, measuring 373 × 272 mm., rubricated throughout; initial letters filled in in red and blue alternately. The rubricator has added in the space at the end of the second column of *Fol. 6a* his initials and the date of rubrication 1466.

On the fly-leaf preceding the Table is the note of ownership of *Thomas Chren*, a facsimile of which, on a reduced scale, is given on another page. This may be translated "*The present book of S. Thomas, the Secunda Secunda, was purchased by Thomas Chren, at that time Plebanus [Parish Priest] in Munskirch, Anno Domini, 1466.*" (The obliterated word was *dominium*).

This is an extremely interesting copy of a volume which possesses much bibliographical importance. The edition of the *Secunda Secundæ* printed by Peter Schœffer at Mentz in 1467 (on March 6th) is the first with a date, and took precedence for a time of the present undated one. Braun, however, pointed out that a copy was in existence of this "oldest, rarest edition," in which the rubricator had written the words "*Actum LXVI.*," disposing, in his view, of the precedence of the *Mentelin* to the *Schœffer* edition, and was of opinion that the work was produced with other important works at the time when, as he assumes, Mentelin received the grant of arms from Frederic IV. Braun was not cognizant of the existence of the present copy, in which the date is much more clearly indicated. Hain, however, records the existence of two copies, one bearing the written date of 1466, the other of 1468, and agrees with Braun that these inscriptions decide the question of date.

The former of these copies was, subsequently to Hain's inspection, sold by the Royal Library at Munich as a duplicate, and is that now under consideration. It contains the *ex libris* Ex Bibliotheca ecclesiæ Collegiatae Lateranensis ad S. Nicolaum prope Passavium. I can conceive of no reason for parting with the volume containing the earlier date unless it be that the other was a larger—it could not have been a finer—copy.

In the copy in the British Museum, which is larger than mine, the Table is at the end of the volume, there is no MS. date and the three blank leaves are wanting.

John Mentelin, whose name is also spelled *Mentel*, *Mentele* and *Mentlin*, the printer of this volume and the prototypographer of Strasburg, had four predecessors in the art: (1) the printer of the forty-two line *Biblia*,—(2) the printer of the thirty-six line *Biblia*,—(3) Peter Schœffer, first with and afterwards without John Fust, and lastly (4) the printer of the *Catholicon*. He was born at Schelestadt in Alsace. His name occurs in the registers of the city of Strasburg in 1447, and in 1449 in the register of the tax on wines as a *goldtschreiber*, illuminator. Irrational attempts have been made to connect him with the first essays in the art, and even to ascribe its invention to him, but there seems no reason to believe that there was even any sort of association between him and *Gutenberg*. It is far more probable, in Mr. Bernard's opinion that, excited by the suggestions of the new art which leaked out in the course of the lawsuit between *Gutenberg* and his associate *Dritzehen*, he set himself to work to discover the secret, and with such success that very shortly after the appearance of the *Psalter* of 1457 he was able to establish his own press at Strasburg. In the chronicle printed by *Philip de Lignamine* at Rome in 1474 he is credited with having in 1458 a printing office in that city, where he was printing his three hundred sheets a day: the date given is very likely somewhat too early, but there are indications that he was very busy at least as early as 1459-60. In a copy of his first Latin Bible (Hain, *3033, Proctor, 196) mentioned by Schœpflin is the rubricator's colophon, *Explicit liber iste anno Domini Millefimo quadringentesimo sexagesimo sexto formatus arte impressoria per venerabilem virum Johannem Mentell in Argentina*. Similar evidence of date exists in a copy of his first German Bible (Hain, *3130, Proctor, 198). The book under consideration belongs, as we have seen, to the same category of *inferred* dates, and is interesting in this connection. The complete list of inscriptions recorded in copies of the *Secunda Secundæ* giving indications of date is as follows:—(1) in a copy in the Library at Strasburg, "*Anno 1466*"; (2) in the present copy; (3) in one cited by Panzer (I. 77), "*Anno Domini M.CCCC.LXVII. a festo Transfigurationis*"; (4) in another, "*Ad Fauces Alpium Pertinet iste liber 1468*"; (5) in that cited by Van Præt, "*Johannes Bamler de Augusta, rubricator, 68.*"

Very few of the large number of works known to have been printed by Mentelin are dated, the earliest being *Vincentius Bellovacensis, Speculum Morale*, dated Dec. 4, 1473.

Mentelin carried on his business with true commercial spirit, and was probably the earliest printer of a bookseller's or publisher's prospectus. Two of these documents are in existence. One runs thus:—*Volentes emere epistolas, &c.* (the list follows), *veniant ad hospicium Zu dem* (the name of the inn left to be filled in in MS.). The second is fuller—*Cupiens igitur prefatum volumen emere una cum cæteris subscriptis bene emendatis veniat ad hospicium infra notatum et habebit largum (a generous) venditorem.*

By his enterprise and energy he made a rapid fortune. Dying on December 12, 1478, he was buried in the great church of Strasburg, and the great bell was tolled in his honour, as may be seen, says Schœpflin, in the register of bell-ringing there. *Obiit dominus Johannes Mentelin impressor post conceptionem Virginis Mariæ MCCCCLXXVIII. et factus est ei pulsus cum campana magna dominica sequenti de sero.* Of the funeral of our own greatest printer we have a similar record in the parish accounts of St. Margaret's, Westminster (1491): *Itm. atte bureying of William Caxton, for iiij torches vs̄ viij^d. Itm. for the bell atte same bureying, vs̄^d.*



uestio p̄ma de v̄tutibus et vicijis i sp̄ali.
et p̄mo de v̄tutibus theologis. ⁊ p̄mo
de fide quantum ad eius obiectum

- Verum obiectū fidei sit veritas prima
- Verum obiectū fidei sit aliquid complexum vel
incomplexum. i. res enunciabile
- Verum fidei possit subesse flm
- Verum obiectum fidei possit esse aliquid visū
- Verum possit esse aliquid scitum
- Verū credibilia debeant distingui p̄ctos articulos
- Verū p̄dem articuli subsint fidei fm̄ omne tēpus

BEGINNING OF TABLE. S. THOMAS AQUINAS SECUNDA
SECUNDÆ. (MENTELIN, s.a. sed 1466.)

1466.
ch 25

Compatuſ est p̄ns liber S. Thome
in 2. 2. p̄p̄ta Choma, Chren
plbauz p̄tuc in Münskirchen
- Anno dol. 1466. -

SIGNATURE OF THE
RUBRICATOR OF
SECUNDA SECUNDÆ.

MS. INSCRIPTION BY THE FIRST POSSESSOR OF THE VOLUME.

exemplū autē
illud q̄ dicitur de dauid non facit adpropositū.
quia saulis. sicut glosa dicit. sunt legis sacramē;
ta tamquam onerancia ⁊ religio autem est suauē
iugum xp̄i. quia ut gregorius dicit in. n̄j. mo.
quid graue mētis nostre ceruicibus imponit qui
vitare om̄e desiderium q̄ pertinebat precipit qui
dedinari laboriosa mundi huus itinera monet.
quod quidem suauē iugum super se tollentibus
refecōnem diuine fruicionis repromittit et sem;
piternam r̄quiem animarum. ad quam nos per;
ducat ipse qui promisit ihs xp̄us dñs noster qui
est super om̄ia deus benedictus in secula Amen

CONCLUSION OF TEXT. S. THOMAS AQUINAS, SECUNDA SECUNDÆ. (MENTELIN, s.a. sed 1466.)

¶ Iosephi historiographi viri clarissimi libri
antiquitatum numero viginti per Johannem
Schüssler, Cuiem, Augustensem finiunt feliciter
non scriptorum quidem arte • sed qua nostra
tandem etas dotata est impressoria sc̄ exarati.
Anno a natiuitate corrente dominica, Millesimo
quadringentesimo septuagesimo kalendas
vero iulias quarto.

COLOPHON OF FIRST PORTION OF THE EDITIO PRINCEPS
OF JOSEPHUS (LATINE). (JOHANN SCHUSSLER, 1470.)

Anser Tarpeu custos Iouis : unde : q̄ alis
Constrepes : Gallus decidit : Victor adest .
Vdalricus Gallus : ne quem poscatur in usū
Edocuit pennis nil opus esse tuis .
Imprimis ille die : quantū non scribitur anno
Ingenio : haud noceas : omnia uincit homo .

COLOPHON OF JUSTINUS. (ULRICH HAN, circa 1470.)

¶ Prologus sup̄ Tractatu de instructio
ne seu directioe simpliciu cōfessorū Editū
a dno Anthonino archiep̄o florētino.

Defecerūt scrutantes scrūtine apt̄ psal
mista . Scrutantes aliorum peccā sunt
cōfessores . Scrūtium autē est inqui
sitio facta in cōfessione . In quo quā
multū confessores deficiunt non bene et sufficien
ter se habentes in audientia confessionis : conse
quenter deficiūt etiā in se a gratia dei multum
offendētes

BEGINNING OF PROLOGUE OF ANTONINUS, TRACTATUS
DE INSTRUCTIONE. (ULRICH ZEL, circa 1470.)

1470 June 28 and Aug. 23. FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS. ANTIQUITATUM LIBRI VIGINTI—DE BELLO JUDAICO LIBRI SEPTEM.

[AUGSBURG, JOHANN SCHÜSSLER.]

Fol. 1a: Iosephi historiographi viri clarissimi prologus || in libros antiquitatum viginti incipit feliciter, || () Istoriã p̄scribē || disponentibꝰ || etc. *The prologue ends on Fol. 1b, line 5: and the table begins* Capitula in librum primum incipiunt. || *Fol. 2a: the second column begins* Iosephi antiquitatis iudaice || liber primus incipit feliciter. || () N PRINCIPIO. CREAVIT. || DEVS. CELVM. ET. TER- || RAM, SED. DVM. TERRA. || ad aspectum non veniret, etc.

Fol. 201b, col. 2, line 5: Iosephi historiographi viri clarissimi. libri || antiquitatum numero viginti per Iohannem || schüssler. Ciuem, Augustensem finiunt feliciter || non scriptorum quidem arte. sed qua nostra || tandem etas dotata est. imprefforia sc̄5 exarati. || Anno a natiuitate currente dominica, Mille- || simoquadringentesimoseptuagesimo. kalēdas || vero iulias quarto. || *Fol. 202a:* Iosephi de bello iudaico prologus || in libros septem incipit feliciter. || *Fol. 203a, col. 1:* Iosephi historiographi viri clarissimi de || bello iudaico liber primus incipit feliciter. ||

Fol. 287b, col. 1, line 34: Verfus in iosephum belli iudaici, || Iudaicam guerram. gentes vrbē. sacra. terram. || Fine simul tristi pro sanguine perdita cristi. || Iosephus iste meus p̄or edidit autor hebreus. || *Colophon:* Iosephi historiographi viri clarissimi. libri || de bello iudaico septem. finiunt feliciter. per. Io- || hānem schüßler ciuem Augustensem impreffi. || kalendas septembris decimo. Anno vero a p̄tu || virginis salutifero. Millesimoquadringentesimo || septuagesimo. || Laus optimo maximo. ||

Folio, printed in gothic type, 287 leaves, 2 columns, 50 lines, text measures 290 × 192 mm. (= 85 + 22 + 85); without numeration, catchwords, or signatures; spaces left for large initial letters, no initial directors. The watermarks are:—(1) bull's head; (2) three elevations, the central being the highest (*dreißberg*); (3) Roman D, with a rod, which forms part of the letter, surmounted by a double cross; (4) pair of scales. Hain, *9451, Proctor, 1589.

The first edition of the Latin version of *Josephus*. The original Greek text was not printed till 1544, when Froben published at Basle an edition in folio. This is the first production of *Schüssler*, the second printer at Augsburg. He printed no other book in 1470; three books in 1471, one of which, the *Orosius*, will be found in this collection; four in 1472, of which the *Belial* is also herein represented; and one in 1473. These nine works seem to comprise his whole production, with the exception of a broadside calendar. It will be noticed that, although the art of printing had been already exercised for some fifteen years, Schüssler took the opportunity, in sending forth into the world this first fruit of his press, to explain to his readers in the colophon that *it was produced by no art of the scribe, but by that art of impression with which at length their age had been endowed.*

An absolutely clean and perfect copy, measuring 368 × 280 mm., rubricated throughout, and the initials to all the chapters illuminated, the first with gold, the rest with bold flowing ornament in various tints, in the German style of the period, extending the full height of page. The earlier bibliographers all remark on the rarity of the edition, which is undoubtedly a grand specimen of printing as regards type, presswork and paper.

Circa 1470. JUSTINUS. IN TROGI POMPEI HISTORIAS EPITOME.

[ROME, ULRICH HAN OR HAHN.]

Fol. 1a: Justini historici politissimi Epitoma in || Trogi Pōpei historias pemiū incipit. ||
On Fol. 138a, line 13, begins the colophon, of which a facsimile will be found elsewhere.

4to, printed in roman type, 138 leaves, 32 lines to the page, text measures 182 × 102 mm. without numerals, catchwords or signatures; spaces left for the larger initial letters, no initial directors. The watermark, which occurs only once or twice in the volume, is a circle surmounted by a stylus and cross, within it a star. Hain, 9646, Proctor, 3343.

A sound and perfect copy, but short, measuring only 220 × 135 mm.

Ulrich Han, born at Ingolstadt, citizen of Vienna, was the second Roman printer, and established his press in the same year (1467) as Sweynheym and Pannartz, whose desertion of Soubiaco may be explained by the arrival, actual or expected, of a competitor at Rome. He was associated with Simon Nicolai Chardella, of Lucca, from the end of 1471 to the end of 1474, and worked alone from that date to 1478. The punning colophon was composed by Campanus, Bishop of Crotona, who acted from 1470 to 1472 as editor and adviser to Han, whose name he latinized into that of *Udalricus Gallus*. In the *Paraleipomena Rerum Memorabilium*, Argent 1538, we find the following short and inexact notice of Ulrich Han: "Sub idem ferme tempus (1471), Ulrichus Cognomento Han, formas literarias, rem inauditam nec unquam Romanis visam Romam attulit. Fuit is natione Germanus, cui cognomentum (ut dixi) erat Han, id latine *gallum gallinaceum* significat: hinc falsus Campanus et aliquot docti existimaverunt hunc Ulrichum natione Gallum fuisse." The chronicler then quotes the *Anser Tarpeii* verses, and also a scrap from Beroaldus, praising Germany as the mother of printing. *O Germania, muneris repertrix || Quo nil utilius dedit vetustas, || Libros scribere quæ doces premendo.* || This edition afforded plenty of amusement to the older bibliographers, and of discussion as of the claims of this or the edition of 1470 printed by Jenson to be the first edition of Justinus. It had in the last century a reputation for rarity.

Circa 1470. ANTONINUS ARCHIEPISCOPUS FLORENTINUS.
 TRACTATUS DE INSTRUCTIONE SEU DIRECTIONE
 SIMPLICIUM CONFESSORUM.

[COLOGNE, ULRICH ZEL.]

Fol. 1a: () Ncipiūt Rubrice super Tractatū de instructione || seu directione simpliciu
 confessorum. Et primo || de ptāte cōfessoris in audiendo confessiones || & absolvendo. . . 1
Table, 3 leaves. Fol. 4a: Prologus sup Tractatu de instructio || ne, etc. (see facsimile).

Fol. 139a: Explicit Summa cōfessionū. seu Interrogato || rium pro simplicibus Cōfessorib9
 Editū Ab || Arc̄iepō florētino. videlic̄. frē Anthonino || ordinis predicatorum. *Fol. 139b*: Incipit
 Sermo beati Ioh̄is Crisostimi || (sic) de penitentia. *Fol. 143b*: Explicit fermo De penitentia. ||
Fol. 144 blank.

4to, printed in gothic type, 144 leaves, 27 lines to a page; text measures 147 × 89 mm.; without numerals, catchwords or signatures; spaces are left for large and small initial letters; no initial directors; the chapters numbered in Arabic figures. The watermark is the bull's head, short stylus and star. Hain, *1162, Proctor, 819.

A fine, clean and perfect copy, measuring 209 × 150 mm. (some rough edges), rubricated throughout. MS. signatures, A—S, in eights, occur close to the lower right-hand corner of the text; the last leaf would be S8. In the original well-preserved monastic binding of the fifteenth century, boards covered with

brown leather, stamped with diamond-shaped (Adam, Eve, and serpent, lion and unicorn), and round (rose) stamps in compartments formed by diagonal crossing lines; in the margin a floral border runs between the lines surrounding the compartments; rebounded in dark calf, impressed with round (rose) stamp, metal work for clasps. MS. title on a strip of vellum on front cover. On *Fol. 1a* is the MS. inscription, Convent9 Ratifbon. ord. Predm̃i.

Ulrich Zel, a native of Hanau near Frankfort-on-the-Maine, has more claims than one to a high place among early German printers, as his productions have a certain affinity with those of *Peter Schæffer*, in whose office it is suggested by M. Bernard that he may have learnt his art. His first dated book is the *Johannes Chrysostomus super Psalmum L.*, 1466, and he was still printing in 1499.⁽¹⁾ The *Chrysostomus*, like all his earlier publications, was a 4to, and in this form his books appeared till 1473, when a sudden change occurred in both type and size, the characters of his books printed in this second period being modelled upon those of Peter Schœffer, as seen in the *Valerius Maximus* of June 14, 1471, and their form being principally folio instead of 4to. A very large number of books, mainly undated, issued from the press of *Zel*, the B.M. possessing more than one hundred and twenty volumes attributed to him. *Zel*, like Mentelin, was no wild enthusiast devoting his life to the production of the very best possible work, but a substantial, industrious printer and publisher, whose plodding methods enabled him to acquire a handsome fortune. Up till 1473 he styled himself in his colophons *Clericus diocesis Moguntinensis*; after that date, on his marriage, suggests M. Bernard simply *Artis impressorie magister*. Before the end of the century this *protocharismaticus*, as he calls himself, had seen the establishment of more than thirty rival presses in Cologne. *Zel's* name is intimately associated in another connection with the history of typography, as will be seen later on in the notes on the *Cologne Chronicle*, 1499. Round his testimony, as recorded in that volume—to the invention of printing by Gutenberg, say the Mentz partizans—to its perfecting only, say the Haarlem votaries—a battle has been waged as fierce and as bitter as many of those fomented by civil or religious discord. *Et adhuc sub judice lis est.*

There is plenty of internal interest in this book of instruction, apart from its physical characteristics. Men and women in every station of life, and of the most varied occupations, have all to pass through the meshes of the confessional, but there is a noble and dignified reticence in the enquiries suggested by the Archbishop, brilliantly contrasting with the foul and demoralizing cross-examinations of some later catechists. He gives this notable piece of advice hereon to Confessors: *Sed tamen hujusmodi cum magna cautela et a longe interrogentur ab ipsis, ne discant quæ ignorabant. Et multo magis servandum est hoc circa puellas.*

Many of the queries put to the merchant of those days might be pertinently addressed to some modern "man of business." Does he trade only in order to support his family, help the poor and support the state? If he carries on his business with the intention of heaping up riches, this is a mortal sin, especially if he determines to make his pile *per fas et nefas*. Does he conspire with other traders to keep up the prices of their wares? Does he supply arms or merchandise to the Saracen or to other enemies of the Christian religion? Does he try to evade unjustly *pedagia* or *gabellæ* (octroi or salt-tax)? The next enquiry savours of the casuist. He is asked whether, having associated himself with other merchants, he acts disloyally and keeps back for himself some secret profit: if so, he is bound to make this good, *unless he is certain that his associates have furtively abstracted just as much!*; and so on. The frauds and other wrong-doings of *Mechanici in generale*, and *Mechanici in specie*, are then enumerated, and we learn that, generally speaking, a workman must not make anything for a sinful purpose, *e.g.*, dice for gambling, arms for an unjust war, *rouge* for the complexion; nor must he work on feast days nor abstain from moderate fasting. The *Woollen worker* must not pay his weavers in kind, but in money. The *Inn-keeper* must not water his wine, allow loose folk in his house, nor serve his customers when they have already had too much, for these be mortal sins. The *Baker* must not give short weight or put too much bran into his loaves. The *Tailor* must not keep back any of the customer's cloth or silk left over after the garment is finished, for that is mortal sin, *especially if there was a good bit of it (maxime si sit quid notabile)*. The *Goldsmith* must not sell *Alchemical Gold* for *pure!* nor purchase second-hand sacred plate unless he well knows that the vendor has come honestly by it. The *Musician* must not play *Ballets (Ballata)* or *Choruses* in Church.

(1) See a note to this effect by the author of the *Cologne Chronicle*, 1499, hereinafter described.

Circa 1470. JACOBUS MAGNI [JACQUES LE GRAND].
SOPHOLOGIUM.

[STRASBURG, THE **R** PRINTER.]

Fol. 1a: Capitula tractat⁹ p̄mi libri p̄mi. Incipiunt || De inducētibus ad amorem sapiēcie. i. || *The table ends at the bottom of Fol. 3a:* De virginibus...xv. De viduis...xvi. || *Fol. 3b:* () Llufriffimi principis regis francorum || deuotiffimo confeffori domino Michae || li, etc. *Fol. 97a blank (the rubricator has written on the opposite page, Hic nichil deficit).*

Fol. 217b, line 34: Zophologium editum a fratre Iacobo magni de Pari || fuis; ordinis heremitaꝝ sancti Augu. finit fœliciter. ||

Folio, printed in roman letter with the nodding **R**, 217 leaves, 35 lines to a page; text measures 180 × 151 mm.; without numerals, catchwords, or signatures; spaces left for the large initial letters, no initial directors. The watermarks are (1) cleft gothic **p** surmounted by Greek cross; (2) gothic **p** with cleft tail and quatrefoil; (3) gothic **p** with straight cleft, and stylus capped with quatrefoil; (4) bull's head, wide horns, short stylus and star; (5) bull's head with long horns, short stylus and star. Hain, *10472, Proctor, 241.

This is probably the first edition of the *Sophologium*. To the press from which it issued, none of which are dated, and none of which have colophons, some twenty or more books are attributed.

There is much of mystery about the printer of this work, whose identity has never been authoritatively determined, but who is now called by common consent, and for want of a better designation, "the **R** printer." To this press M. Madden assigns only eleven works, whilst in the B.M. or Bodleian some twenty-seven, between 1464 and 1478, are included in the classification. Till a comparatively recent date his work was attributed to Mentelin, and Panzer (l. 76-80) gives a list of twenty-one books in which the **R** appears, and considers them all to be printed with Mentelin's characters. And it was not till 1835, when Dr. Kloss's library was sold, that it was noted that "there exist two distinct and entire editions of the *Speculum Historiale* of Vincent de Beauvais, and that they were coetaneous, being printed on the same paper with the same watermarks . . . the one edition with Mentelin's name to each volume, and the other, without a printer's name, in which the singular letter **R** appears." A facsimile of a portion of a page of each edition was given in the catalogue, and the writer pointed out that the type of the **R** printer is "smaller and more gothic than that of Mentelin, gaining one line in thirty or two lines in sixty of his acknowledged type," a page of Mentelin's edition containing sixty-five, and the **R** edition sixty-seven lines. This writer conjectured that Maso Finiguerra, who used an identical **R**, had become a printer, and that these books were to be attributed to him, an ascription which is now entirely discredited.

Since Dr. Kloss's sale, the mystery of the unknown printer who produced at so early a date so considerable a number of books, and yet left no clue to his own identity, has excited the imagination and the industry of more than one bibliographer. M. Madden, of Paris, took up the matter with an astonishing enthusiasm, and has devoted to the subject more pages than most would care to peruse. Let the reader whom I begin to weary by my gleanings from his lucubrations take them as read: in the author's own pages they form an object-lesson in minute bibliography. He chides in the first place most bibliographers for their inaccurate reproduction of the form of the **R**, and more severely the still earlier writers who failed to take the smallest notice of this most obvious peculiarity in their otherwise minute description of the books in which it occurred. It was not till 1783 that Van Praet recorded it; in the catalogue of the *La Vallière* collection, and even after that date, Strauss (*Monumenta Typographica*, 1787-90) and Seemiller (1787) ignore the nodding **R**. The views of later bibliographers as to the place of printing are then given, and though the balance of their opinion leaned towards *Strasbourg* and *Mentelin*, M. Madden will have none of these conclusions. For reasons of his own he decides that *Cologne* must have been the place of printing, a determination which of course greatly narrows the field and simplifies the investigation. All *Cologne* printers have given their names, frequently their addresses, whilst on those points the **R** printer remains utterly silent. This excess of modesty would be inconceivable in a *private* printer, but not in an establishment where a numerous *clientèle* of customers purchasing books multiplied by scribes already

Vnde Gotti Romanos capere poterant. sed ob reuerenciam nominis Cristi in ecclesia manentes liberos dimittebant. Quamobrem Augustin9 primo de ciui. dei: Romanorum ingratitude increpat: eo q̄ dicebant nomen Cristi eis obfuisse. et tamen eoz̄ ydola succurrere non valebant. Ideo ipsi in nomine Cristi liberi facti fuerunt. Ex qua historia inferunt aliqui q̄ ab illo tempore citra principes temporales libertatem in ecclesia malefactoribus concesserunt. Quoniã laus eius in ecclesia sanctorum inquit propheta

SPECIMEN OF THE TEXT OF SOPHOLOGIUM.

(**R** *PRINTER, circa 1470*).

Refert ysidorus quo ad ista narrator maxim9: q̄ nymp̄ha carmentis litteras latinas primo tradidit ytalicis: que carmentis alio nomine nicostrates vocata e. Verum quidã q̄ xvii. litteras exhibuit: postmodum vero alie littere addite sunt. Vnde prime xvii. littere crant iste. A. b. c. d. e. f. g. i. l. m. n. o. p. . r. s. t. v. postmodum h. littera pro nota aspiracionis addita est. Vnde proprie non littera sed aspiracionis nota vocatur: litteram eciam. g. latini in processu temporis inuenerũt: loco cui9 veteres scribebant. c. Hanc autem litteram. q. hebrei non habent nec greci: sed solum latini. Rursus Salustius ludi magister prius litteram. l. adinuenit: loco cuius veteres scribebant. c. & q. Et super vacua a quibusdam nominatur. Insup̄ ex tempore augusti. x. litera adinuenta e. Et prostromo tempore Augusti eiusdem latini a grecis duas litteras mutuauerunt scilicet y. grecum & z propter nomina greca meli9 scribenda: prius autẽ loco z. scribebant duo ss

PORTION OF PAGE REFERRED TO BY M. MADDEN.

SOPHOLOGIUM (**R** *PRINTER, circa 1470*).

existed, and where no such advertisement was needed. Grievous typographical errors, such as are found in the books of the **R** printer, are more likely to proceed from an establishment in which young printers were learning their trade than from a well organized press. And these latter conditions, M. Madden contends, were to be found in the *Convent of Weidenbach at Cologne*, where he finally locates the mysterious **R** press. The *Sophologium* of the **R** printer possesses a special fascination for this subtle and plausible bibliographer, and to it he devotes some scores of pages. Of this work there are two issues (Hain, *10471, Proctor, 240) and (Hain, *10472, Proctor, 241), the present volume. So much alike are they that they can hardly be called two editions. Notable differences occur in (1) the colophons, the name of the treatise being spelled *Zophihlogium* and the word *feliciter* used in the first, and *Zophilogium* and *feliciter* in the second; and (2) in the circumstance that in the first, Latin words ending in *tia*, *tio*, are correctly spelled, whilst in the second they almost uniformly take the forms *cia*, *cio*. Wherefore M. Madden christens them the (T) edition and the (C) edition, mounts his two steeds, *sœurs jumelles* he calls them, and with joy, after the manner of the *desultor* of the Roman circus, rides them almost to death. Far be it from me to follow here at any length his investigations, interesting enough though they be if you have even one of the sisters to look upon. He lucidly explains why *our* blank page (97a) is not blank in the (T) edition, and how this eyesore was therein avoided without preventing the correspondence of the two editions page for page, yet proves that (T) was not copied from (C). He closely examines page 26b in our edition (of part of which I have given a reproduction), and points out an extremely minute but unmistakable incident in its composition. *Jacques le Grand*, in speaking of the evolution of the Alphabet, says (eighth line from bottom of page) that it was Sallust, the schoolmaster, who introduced into it the consonant k. The compositor of the **R** printer had, however, no k in his case, and therefore *manufactured* one by removing the dot from an i, cutting the face in two, and placing it after an l, as will be seen in the reproduction. In the (T) edition this makeshift does not exist, and the k is so sharply printed that it would appear as if the new punch itself had been employed, it being not worth while to make a mould for casting a single letter. And so on, and so on. Not laborious trifling if a solution were aided by the investigation, or any sound theory thereby arrived at.

A good and perfect copy, measuring 260 × 196 mm., initials filled in, and some parts rubricated by a scribe who has indulged in an elaborate cypher at the end of his work. Many marginal notes and contemporary interlineations. On *Fol. 1a* an inscription, De Conventu fratrum minõm Leod.

Jacques le Grand, born at Toulouse about 1350, was a man of some note in his time. Professor of philosophy and theology, and an eloquent preacher, he acquired at Paris in the latter capacity a great reputation, but becoming entangled in the internecine strife which then raged in the capital, connected himself in turn with each of the rival factions by which France was distracted at the end of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth century. At first a partizan of the *Burgundians*, he went over after the assassination of the Duke of Orleans to the *Armagnacs*, and in their interest undertook a mission to England to beg aid for his party from Henry V., a step in the wake of which followed the invasion of France by English forces, the battle of Agincourt, and the ultimate loss of all our possessions in that country. The *Sophologium*, his most important work, is a patchwork or mosaic, a classified commonplace book, the materials of which have been got together in scraps from poets, orators, philosophers and theologians, roughly sorted and arranged into twelve treatises divided into four books.

1470-1. QUINTUS CURTIUS. DE REBUS GESTIS ALEXANDRI MAGNI.

[VENICE, WENDELIN OF SPIRE.]

Fol. 1a: ()NTER hec Alexander ad cōducēdū || ex peloponeso militem Cleādro cum pe || cunia misso, etc.

Fol. 153b: Quinti Curcij ruffi historiarum Alexandri magni || Regis Macedonum liber nonus explicit. || Loquitur lector ad Vindelinum Spirensē || Artificem qui.

Quinti Curcij ruffi hiftoriarum Alexandri magni
Regis Macedonum liber nonus explicit

Loquitur lector ad Vindelinum Spirenfem
Artificem qui. Q. C. reddit in lucem

Vindeline meo prius hic redditurus in auras
Spiritus & corpus linquet inane meum.
Q^u tua nobilitas uirtus: atq; inclita fama:
Pectore labatur candide amice meo

CONCLUSION OF QUINTUS CURTIUS.
(WENDELIN OF SPIRE, 1470-1.)

FRAH. RHOL. TARVISANVS.
GERAR. DE LISA SCRIPTORI :
MEI COPIAM FECIT.
VT IPSE CAETERIS
MAIOREM COPIAM
FACERET.
.TARVISII.
.M. CCC. LXXI. NOVEMB.

INSCRIPTION RESEMBLING A COLOPHON ON FIRST PAGE
OF PIMANDER. (GERARDUS LISA, 1471.)

Q.C. reddit in lucem. || Vindeline meo prius hic redditurus in auras || Spiritus & corpus
linquet inane meum. || Q, tua nobilitas uirtus: atq, inclita fama: || Pectore labatur candide
amice meo ||

4to, printed in roman type, 153 leaves, 32 lines to a page; text measures 175 × 98 mm.;
without numerals, catchwords, or signatures; space left for first initial, no initial directors. The
watermarks are (1) pair of scales in circle, (2) anchor within circle, (3) crown (on pillar?).
Hain, *5878, Proctor, 4054.

A fine, clean and perfect copy, measuring 257 × 188 mm.

There is an abundance of discussion in the pages of the earlier bibliographers on the question of the
precedence of this edition or of that of *Georg Lauer*, who printed an edition at Rome, without date, but
in 1471.

Wendelin of Spire or *Spier*, a German city on the left bank of the Rhine, was the associate and
afterwards the successor of his brother *John*, the prototypographer of Venice. The elder brother exercised
his art for only about a twelvemonth and printed in that short time two editions of *Cicero's Epistole ad
Familiares*, and a magnificent *Pliny*, and began the printing of *Augustinus de Civitate Dei*, dying whilst it
was in the press and leaving it to be completed by Wendelin. The colophon of that volume presents the
story in a nutshell. Qui docuit Venetos exscribi posse Ioannes || Mense fere trino Centena
volumina Plini || Et totidem Magni Ciceronis Spira libellos: || Ceperat Aureli: fubita fed morte
perentus || Non potuit ceptum Venetis finire laborem || Vindelinius adest eiusdem frater: & arte ||
Non minor: hadriacaq, morabitur urbe. || M.CCCC.LXX. "John, who had shown to the Venetians
that there could be produced (exscribi), in a bare three months, 100 volumes each of Pliny and Cicero,
set to work upon Aurelius (Augustinus), but being cut short by a sudden death could not finish the volume
he had commenced. His brother Wendelin, however, no less expert than he, is in Venice, and there he
intends to stay." The skill and enterprise of John had gained for him an exclusive privilege of exercising
the printer's art in Venice and its district for five years from the 18th Sept., 1469, but his brother failed to
procure its transfer to himself: on the margin of the original document still preserved in the archives of
St. Mark is written *Nullius est vigoris, quia obiit magister et auctor*. Wendelin was a prolific as well as a
most artistic printer during the very short period in which his press was at work. It appears to have
broken down in 1473,⁽¹⁾ and in 1476 he made a fresh but apparently very unsuccessful attempt to revive
the business, only four or five books having been issued after its resuscitation. *Spire* was a city which
possessed five or six presses, whence issued a considerable number of books, 1471-1500, and from its
borders migrated to other cities other printers besides John and Wendelin, viz., *Iodocus Hohenstein*
(Naples, 1475) and *Joh. Emeric* (Venice, 1487-99).

1471 June 14. VALERIUS MAXIMUS. FACTORUM ET MEMORABILIMUM
LIBER.

[MENTZ, PETER SCHÆFFER.]

Fol. 1a (in red): Valerii Maximi Romane urbis iurispiritissimi. in librū || factoꝝ et
dictorum memorabiliū ad Tiberiū cesarem || Prefatio incipit. || (in black): ()Rbis Rome exte- ||
rarumq, gentiū facta simul ac dicta || memoratu digna. || . . . On line 28 (in red),
Definit prefatio. Tituli primi libri. || *Fol. 1b* (in red): Valerii maximi. factoꝝ ꝛ dictoꝝ
memorabiliū ad Ti || beriū cesarem lib' primus incipit. Ca. i. de religione. || () Aiores stas
folēnes. . . .

Fol. 198a (in red): Prefens Valerii Maximi opus ꝑclarissimū. in nobili || urbe Mogūtina
Rheni terminatū: anno M.CCCC.LXXI. || .xviij. Kalēdis iuliis: per egregium Petriū schoyffer
de || HERNHEM artis impꝑfforie mꝑrm feliciter ē ꝑsumatū. || Underneath is the device of
Schæffer, also printed in red. (See facsimile.)

(¹) See mention (p. 97) of the Varro (1474) printed with Wendelin's types by Johann of Cologne and Johann Manthen.

Valerij Maximi Romane urbis iurisperitissimi in librū
factorum et dictorum memorabilium ad Tiberium cesarem

Quibus Rome exte: Prefatio incipit.
rarumq; gentium facta simul ac dicta
memoratu digna/que apud alios la-
tius diffusa sunt/ut quam breuiter co-
gnoscere possint! ab illustribus electa
auctoribus/diligere constitui. ut docu-
menta sume uolentibus! longe in quicquam labor ab sit.
Nec mihi cuncta complectendi cupido incessit.

BEGINNING OF VALERIUS MAXIMUS.

(SCHAEFFER, 1471.)

Presens Valerij Maximi opus p̄clarissimum in nobili
urbe Moguntina Rheni/terminatum! anno M. cccc. lxxi.
.xviij. kalendis iulij! per egregium Petrum Schopffer de
Bernshem artis impressione magistram! feliciter consummatum



COLOPHON OF VALERIUS MAXIMUS

(SCHAEFFER, 1471.)

Folio, 198 leaves, 30 lines to a page, text measures 178 × 112 mm.; printed in gothic type, without numerals, catchwords or signatures, spaces left for the initial letters, no initial directors. The watermarks are (1) the small bull's head with stylus and star; (2) a bunch of grapes. Hain, *15774, Proctor, 95.

The Editio Princeps (Hain, *15773, Proctor, 204) was printed by Johann Mentelin at Strasburg, without a date, but probably in June, 1470.

A splendid, spotless and perfect copy, measuring 280 × 202 mm., rubricated throughout. From the library of Sir M. M. Sykes, in red morocco binding, with his arms and monogram impressed in gold on the sides.

In this little collection of Incunabula, the most obvious link, in some respects, with the earliest typographical productions of Europe is the volume under notice, which though of not very early date was printed by a partner in the first recognized firm of printers, whose name appears in the colophon of the very first dated book and is indissolubly connected in the popular mind with the art of printing. Peter Schœffer, the printer of the *Valerius Maximus* of 1471, is the same Schœffer who, in conjunction with Johann Fust, printed the *Psalter* of 1457, and, if we accept the independent conclusions of the late Mr. Henry Bradshaw and Mr. Hessels, was the printer of an *Indulgence* at least as early as 1455.

The annals of the life of Peter Schœffer, born about the year 1430 at Gernszheim, near Mentz, begin with the colophon dated 1449, in his handwriting, of a MS. preserved in the library at Strasburg, a facsimile of which is given by Schoepflin. How he became acquainted with Fust, or in what capacity he was engaged does not appear, but it has been both assumed and denied that to his technical skill much of the credit of the extraordinary typographical and artistic excellence of the magnificent *Psalter* of 1457 is due. The press of Fust and Schœffer existed, with an interval of more than two years (the result of the capture and sack of Mentz), till the death of Fust in 1466, when Schœffer became the head of the house and continued to print till the end of the century, having as a sleeping partner Conrad Fust or Hanequis. His books did not at first succeed each other with great rapidity, and the *Valerius* is perhaps among the first fifteen of this second press. His most rapid production was between 1470 and 1479. Peter Schœffer was, like Mentelin and Koberger, a printer with strong commercial instincts, and spared neither industry nor enterprise in the conduct of his large business. He had agents in Paris, Lubeck, Frankfort and elsewhere, selling the books of other printers as well as his own productions. In 1469 he printed a broadside catalogue of books for sale by himself or his agents, containing particulars of twenty-one books, fifteen of which are from his own press. This earliest known publisher's list has been reproduced in facsimile by Mr. E. Gordon Duff in his delightful volume, *Early Printed Books*. The marriage of Peter Schœffer to a *Christine*, the daughter of Johann Fust, is mentioned by the earlier bibliographers as a matter of certainty, and is an article of popular belief, but M. Bernard has shown that Fust had no daughter. His son Conrad was, as is stated above, a sleeping partner of Schœffer's after Fust's death, and it was to Conrad's daughter Christine that Peter was married.

1471 Dec. 18. MERCURIUS TRISMEGISTUS PIMANDER. LIBER DE
POTESTATE ET SAPIENTIA DEI. E GRÆCO IN LATINUM
TRADUCTUS A MARSILIO FICINO.

[TREVISO, GERARDUS LISA.]

Fol. 1a, blank. Fol. 1b: Tu quicumq; es : qui hæc legis : siue grāma- || ticus : siue orator :
feu philosophus : aut theo- || logus : scito. Mercurius Trismegistus sū : quē || singulari mea
doctrīa & theologica : ægyptii || prius & barbari : mox Christiani, etc. Fol. 2a : ARGUMENTVM
MARSILII FI- || CINI FLORENTINI IN LIBRŪ || MERCVRII TRISMEGISTI

AD || COSMVM MEDICEM PATRIAE || PATREM. : : || () O rēpore : quo Moyfes natus ||
cft., etc. *Fol. 56b, the colophon* : .FINITVM. || .M.CCCC.LXXI. DIE. XVIII. || .DECEMB. ||

8vo, 56 leaves, 24 lines to the page, printed in roman letter, 127 × 78 mm.; without numerals, catchwords or signatures; spaces left for the larger initial letters, no initial directors. The watermark is a crown with a circle at lower edge. Hain, 5456, Proctor, 6458.

The first edition of this work, and the fourth book printed by *Gerard de Lisa* (Van der Lye, of Harlebeke, near Courtrai), also called *Girardus de Flandria*, the first printer at *Treviso*, the ninth town in Italy in which the printing press was set up. From the appearance of the *Hermes* there is a gap till Dec., 1474. After the resumption of his labours in that year but few works issued from his press at *Treviso*, which came to an end in the next. In 1477 Gerard printed one book at *Venice*; in 1480, having removed to *Cividale*, he issued two more; in 1484, with type from his last press, he printed at *Udine* another two, and finally, at *Treviso* in 1492, this rolling stone found a resting-place in the city where he had commenced his labours, ending them about the year 1495, after the production of the *Hædus de Amoris Generibus* (to be hereinafter noticed) and four other volumes. This printer has always impressed me as being a true artist. His capitals, although less normal than Jenson's, are quaint and pleasing, and his lower-case so picturesque and enticing that when, very many years ago, I was foolish enough to contemplate a private press, it was in partial imitation of them that I proposed to have the punches cut.

The words FRAH. RHOL. in the inscription, of which a facsimile is given, and which occurs at the end of the address to the reader on *Fol. 1b*, refer to *Franciscus Rholundellus*, who was employed in the revision and correction of Lisa's press. A free English rendering of the self-complacent address beginning "Tu quicumque es," &c., may perhaps be excused: "Know thou, whosoever thou art, grammarian, orator, philosopher, or theologian, that I am Mercurius Trismegistus. Me, for my singular theological doctrines, first the Egyptians and barbarians, then the ancient Christians, stricken with profound astonishment, did admire. And so it will be to thy advantage to buy me and read me, seeing that I cost but little, and yet shall give thee both pleasure and profit, for my teaching will gratify as well the moderately educated as the most learned of men. Forgive me, I pray thee, for speaking the truth without shame or reluctance. Do but read me—thou wilt then confess that I have not lied to thee, and having read me once wilt read me through again, and tell thy friends to buy and read me too. Fare thee well."

A very clean and perfect copy of this very rare and attractive little book, measuring 190 × 131 mm.

1471. PAULUS OROSIUS. HISTORIÆ ADVERSUS PAGANOS.

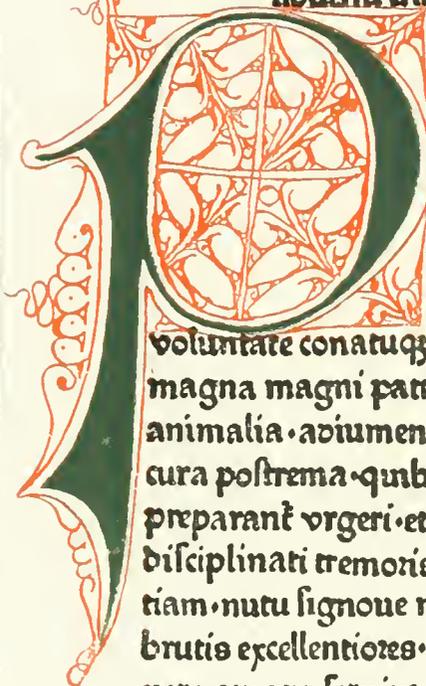
[AUGSBURG, JOHANN SCHÜSSLER.]

Fol. 1a: Regstrum (*sic*) pro capitulis tocius libri inquirendis. || De miseria hominum ab initio per peccatum. Ca. p̄mum. ||... *The table finishes on Fol. 7a; Fol. 7b blank. Fol. 8a*: Pauli horofii, etc., as in facsimile, page 80. *Fol. 8b (in fine)*: Finit prologus. || *Fol. 9a*: Pauli horofii . . . libri numero septē incipiūt. || *Fol. 130b (in fine)*: Beati Pauli horofii presbiteri in xp̄iani noīs querulos libri nūo septem finiunt feliciter, Per Iohannē Schūfzler florentissime vrbis Auguste conciuē impressi, Anno a p̄tu virginis Marie salutifero. M° q̄dringētesimo et septuagesimo p̄mo. Circiī iunij nonas septiās.

Folio, 130 leaves, 35 lines to a page, in gothic type, 205 × 122 mm.; without numerals, catchwords or signatures; spaces left for the initial letters, no initial directors. The watermarks are (1) the bull's head, long double stylus between the horns, surmounted by a trefoil above two leaves; (2) a castle. Hain, *12101, Proctor, 1591.

A magnificent copy, measuring 305 × 210 mm., rubricated throughout, and with the initials and letters well and boldly floriated. It is sumptuously bound in red morocco, with broad floral decoration in gold, and the arms of Bavaria in gold on the sides. In immaculate condition inside and out. I bought

Pauli herosij presbiteri historiographi discipuli sancti
augustini epi. viri hispani generis eloquentissimi.
aduersus christianam nois quodlibet prologus in libros septem



Receptis tuis parui beatissimi pater augustine atque utinam tam efficaciter quam libenter. quam ego in utramvis partem parum de explicito mouear. recte ne an secus egerim. Tu enim iam isto iudicio laborasti. utrum ne hoc quod preceperis possim. ego autem solius obediencie. si tamen eam voluntate conatus decorari testimonio contentus sum. Nam et in magna magni patris familias domo cum sint multa diuersi generis animalia. adiumento familiaris rei comoda. non est tamen canum cura postrema. quibus solis natura insitum est. voluntarie ad id quod preparant urgeri. et per ingenitam quandam obediencie formulam sola disciplinati tremoris expectatione suspendi. donec ad pagendi licentiam. nutu signoue mittant. habent enim proprios appetitus. quantum brutis excellentiores. tantum rationabilibus appropinquantes. hoc est. discernere. amare. seruire.

BEGINNING OF OROSIUS. (SCHÜSSLER, 1471.)

Raphael Zouenzonius Ister. Vindelino spiræsi ob
eius incredibilem imprimendi solertiam. D.D.

Consumatissimus ille martialis
Impressus digitis uidelianis.
Hic est: hic lepidus facetiarum
Princeps: & falsi atticis: latinique.
Hunc hunc lector emas: tibi futurum
Preclarum comitem domi forisque
Istri consilio tui poetæ.

COLOPHON OF MARTIAL. (WENDELIN OF SPIRE, 1471.)

it at the Quatremère sale. It had been sold as a duplicate from the Royal Library at Munich where it received its binding.

Orosius, a presbyter of the Spanish Church, who was born towards the close of the fourth century, appears to have undertaken this work at the suggestion of St. Augustine as a refutation of the slanders of Symmachus and others, who laboured to prove that the Christian religion was responsible for the decline of the Roman Empire. These accusations he refuted in his *Historia* by the citation from well-known records of accidents and misfortunes which had befallen the Roman nation in the days of their apparent prosperity.

[1471.] VALERIUS MARTIALIS. EPIGRAMMATA.

[VENICE, WENDELIN OF SPIRE.]

Fol. 1a, blank. Fol. 1b: Plinii. Secundi Epistoia ad Corneliū priscū. || *Fol. 2a:* (b)ARBARA Pyramidū || fileat miracula. memphis. || etc. *Fol. 91a:* M. Val. Mar. liber Septimus explicitus est. || (*sic.*) Octauus Sequitur. || *Fol. 91b, blank. Fol. 92a:* (i)Mperatori Domiciano || Cefari Augusto Germa- || nico Dacio Valerius Marti || alis salutē. . . . *Fol. 179b:* *The text ends with the lines* Cristateq, fonant undique lucis aues. *Fol. 180a:* Georgius Alexādrinus Angelo Adriano Oratori || Regio Salutem. || *Fol. 181b, lines 1 and 2:* Raphael Zouenzonius Ister Vindelino spyrēsi ob || eius incredibilem imprimendi folertiam. D.D. || *On the third line:* Confumatiffimus ille martialis || Impreffus digitis uidelianis. || Hic est : hic lepidus facetiarum || Princeps : & falis attici : latinique. || Hunc hunc lector emas : tibi futurum || Preclarum comitem domi forisque || Istri consilio tui poetac. ||

4to, 181 leaves, 32 lines to a page, text measures 175 × 92 mm.; printed in roman type, without numerals, catchwords, or signatures, spaces and initial directors at beginning of chapters only. The watermarks are (1) shears; (2) scales; (3) an anchor. Hain, *10809, Proctor, 4055.

There seems to be nothing to show that any edition of Martial had priority over this, though Hain 10810, printed at Ferrara by *Andreas Bellfortis*, July 2, 1471, undoubtedly runs it close. The reader will not fail to note following the colophon, the printer's entreaty to the public to buy the book.

A very fine and perfectly clean copy, measuring 268 × 191 mm. It has the following imperfections: Leaf 1, 102, and 111 wanting, supplied in old and careful facsimile. Leaves 102 and 111 were originally printed in duplicate, and bound in the volume when I purchased it; as a consequence, leaves 114 and 119 were missing. Their loss was supplied by others in admirable facsimile, executed for me in 1860 by Harris, one of the ablest of artists of that period. No one who has not attempted such work can form an idea of its difficulties, yet the perfection to which it was carried by hand, before photography came to its aid, was such as to render detection by an untrained eye very difficult.

14(7)1. [B. GIOV. DI DIO CERTOSINO.] DECOR PUELLARUM.

[VENICE, NICOLAS JENSON, OF SOMMEVOIRE.]

Fol. 1a: QVESTA SIE VNA OPERA LA || QVALE SI CHIAMA DECOR || PVELLARVM : ZOE HONORE || DE LE DONZELLE : LA QVALE || DA REGOLA FORMAE MODO || AL STATO DE LE HONESTE || DONZELLE.

Fol. 118a: ANNO A CHRISTI INCARNA- || TIONE. MCCCCLXI. PER
MAGI- || STRVM NICOLAVM IENSON || HOC OPVS QVOD PVELLA- || RVM
DECOR DICITVR FELICI- || TER IMPRESSVM EST. || LAVS DEO. ||

4to, 118 leaves, 22 and 23 lines to the page, printed in roman letter, without numerals, catchwords or signatures; the text measures 126 × 75 mm.; spaces left for larger initials, no initial directors. The watermark is a pair of scales. Hain, 6069, Proctor, 4078.

The only edition in the fifteenth century of a little book known to many and seen by very few, "vix a millesimo eruditorum oculis visus" (*Vogt*), and described by De Bure as "*Opus insignis raritatis*." It has long been one of the *desiderata* of bibliophiles. Round the question of its date raged for half a century eager contentions on the part of bibliographers, champions respectively of the French and Italian press.⁽¹⁾ Had the date 1461, which is found in the colophon, been really that of the printing of the volume, and not a mere typographical mistake for 1471, to a Frenchman would have belonged the glory of introducing the art of printing into Italy four years before its acknowledged inception at the monastery of Subiaco in 1465, and of being the first and not the second printer at Venice, whose prototypographer is otherwise *John of Spire*, and the first book printed there his *Epistolæ ad Familiares* of 1469.

Maittaire's special pleading in favour of Jenson is not supported by any very cogent arguments. He combats the objection that there must have been, if Jenson really printed the *Decor* in 1461, a gap of nine years in which he printed nothing, by the suggestion that the books which he may have produced in

Sapiate carissime che
fi di tal meditatiōe defiderate hauere
abundante & satisfaceuole copia: uui
porete esser satisfacte p̄ una operetta
chiamata luctus christianorū zoe pian-
to de christiani: ne laquale se contiene
la concordantia de li quatro passii se-
cūdo il testo de tutti li.iiii.euāgelista
cum quelle azonte parole persuasorie
a peruenire & condurre lanima a sūma
compassione de lo afflicto misser Iesu
cū molte lachryme per la dura passioē
che lui sostēne per nō amore ī forma
de meditatiōe induceuele al feruore de
la sua ardēte dilectione:

PASSAGE WHICH BEARS ON THE DATE OF THE DECOR
PUELLARUM. (JENSON, 1461 or 1471.)

that interval are lost to view by their seclusion in some great library or have been destroyed by the ravages of time! and points the admirable moral that publicity should be afforded to the contents of libraries of every kind, and that no loss of value to the rarer books would be caused by such promulgation. The clinching argument of Brunet in favour of the date of 1471 is based on internal evidence. On *Fol.* 48*b* and 49*a* of the volume is found a passage (a facsimile of which is annexed) in which the author recommends, for the enlightenment and satisfaction of his gishish readers, "*una operetta chiamata luctus Christianorum zoe pianto de Christiani*." As on the 4th April, 1471, Jenson printed a volume identical with the *Decor Puellarum* in the matters of type, quality of paper, abbreviations, punctuation and other peculiarities, with the following title, QVESTA E VNA OPERA LA QVALE SE CHIAMA LVCTVS CHRISTIANORVM, etc., it is but reasonable to conclude that in alluding in the *Decor Puellarum* to a treatise with the same title he was referring to the work in question, which was then already in print. The whole controversy is summed up in the most interesting way in a long article by Mr. Horatio Brown (*The Venetian Printing Press*). He adduces far stronger arguments than Maittaire in support of

(1) The protagonists of the early discussions were *Maittaire* (*Annales Typographici*, ed. 1719, pp. 36-59), who warmly espoused the cause of the precedence of Jenson, and *Brunet* (*Bibliographie Instructive*, 1764, pp. 203-210). M. le Boze (*Memoires de l'Academie des Belles Lettres*, Tour XIV., p. 232).

the earlier date, and comes to the following conclusion: "*The question will always be open to discussion, but the consensus of modern criticism at present tends, wrongly we think, to consider the dispute as settled in favour of John of Speyer and his edition of the Epistolæ ad Familiares of 1469.*" It is exhilarating to reflect that in Mr. Brown's opinion this vexed question is not closed for ever. The earlier writers are unanimous in emphasizing the great rarity of the *Decor Puellarum*. Maittaire had seen only a very imperfect copy in Lord Pembroke's library, whilst De Bure "considers it his duty to announce to the public that of the three only copies which exist in Paris, only a single perfect one is to be found, viz., that of M. Gaignat. This copy, a very beautiful one, is regarded as unique, the other two being mutilated, having a considerable number of reprinted leaves at the beginning, an irreparable and very visible defect in a book of such rarity; yet, notwithstanding these defects, they must always be considered as precious volumes, and of considerable value." Mr. Brown, on the other hand, says that it is not very rare, though it used to command high prices before its date was impeached. There are copies in the B.M. and Bodleian;⁽¹⁾ and Libri's, a very fine one, only brought £22 in 1859. I possess a second copy, wanting many leaves.

A copy possessing desirable and undesirable points. In its favour are its size, 207 × 137 mm.,! against 178 × 125 mm., the dimensions of the copy in the B.M., and also the fact that it has the ninth leaf, often missing. In its disfavour, the first and last leaves are wanting, supplied in ancient facsimile, and its condition at the beginning and end of the volume is wormy—especially as regards the margins.

Whether Jenson were or were not the prototypographer of Venice, his fame as a printer exceeded that of all his Venetian contemporaries. He is first heard of in a passage in a manuscript preserved in the Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal at Paris, which recounts that "the King (Charles VII.) having heard that Messire Gurthemberg, chevalier, residing at Mayence in Germany, a man '*adextre en tailles et de caracteres de poinçons,*' had brought to light the invention of printing by punches and types, was curious about such a treasure (*tel tresor*), and ordered the masters of his mint to give him the names of some persons well skilled in that sort of engraving (*taille*), who should be sent secretly to the said place to obtain information of the said 'forme' and invention, and become acquainted with, conceive, and learn their art. The King was satisfied herein, and by Nicolas Jenson were undertaken both the journey and the mission of arriving at the comprehension of the said art and its execution, of which he was the first to make a duty (*devoir*) of the said art of printing in the said Kingdom of France." This mission was undertaken by Jenson in 1458. Jenson went to Mentz and did most thoroughly learn the art, as his subsequent career shows, but returning about the year 1461, found that Louis XI., the son of his late patron, was disinclined to avail himself of the acquired knowledge, and he resolved to utilize at Venice the information which he had acquired. He had been an engraver in the Paris mint, and, being a man of great taste, based the design of his new fount upon the finest Italian manuscripts.⁽²⁾ His work is of the highest order of excellence, and in my unskilled opinion derives much of its charm, as compared with that of many contemporary printers, from the extremely equable design and even spacing of the letters, which prevent the eye from resting on one particular portion of the text in preference to another. His first dated book (if the *Decor* be excepted) is the *Cicero, Epistolæ ad Atticum*, etc., 1470. In 1480 or 1481 he associated with himself *John of Colonia*. With him he printed two books in 1481. The partnership existed till the death of Jenson towards the end of 1482. Till 1474 Jenson employed roman type exclusively; in that year he began to employ the gothic characters which we shall meet with in his *Nicolaus de Tudeschis*, bearing date Nov. 22, 1477.

1472 July 2. JACOBUS [PALLADINUS] DE THERAMO. BELIAL SEU
CONSOLATIO PECCATORUM.

[AUGSBURG, JOHANN SCHÜSSLER.]

Fol. 1a: Reuerendi patris domini Iacobi de Theramo Compendiū pbreue || Confolatio peccatorum nuncupatum: Et apud nounullos Belial || vocitatum. ad papā Vrbanū sextum conscriptum: Incipit feliter. || (*sic*). () Niuerfis criftifidelibus atq; ortodoxe. fancte matris || ecclesie. ... *Fol. 114a*: the text ends on the 34th line with the word AMEN. *Fol. 114b*:

⁽¹⁾ There are variations in the copies, which are classified by Mr. Brown as *Decor A* and *Decor B*. Mine is of the *B* type, as are those in the B.M. and Bodleian. ⁽²⁾ Bernard II., 184, 273.

on the 18th line begins the colophon: Explicit lib' belial nūcupat⁹ al's pčioꝛ ꝑofolatio Per Ioh⁹ Schūfziē || ciuē Aug⁹. imꝑffus. Añō dñi Mōccclxxij. Iulij vero Nonas vj. Fol. 115, blank.

Folio, 115 leaves, 35 lines to the page, text measures 204 × 123 mm.; printed in gothic letter, without numerals, catchwords or signatures; spaces left for the larger initial letters, initial directors for the rubricator's guidance. The watermarks are (1) a crown surmounting a long rectangular figure with rounded corners; (2) a bull's head surmounted by a stylus and flower, the stylus passing down below the head, and ending in a cross; (3) cross-keys joined at the top by a loop, above that a stylus with cross at the top; and others (4), (5), and (6). Not in Hain, Proctor, 1597.

The second edition; the first, printed also at Augsburg, by Günther Zainer, having appeared just eleven days before Schüssler's.

A beautifully clean and perfect copy, slightly wormed, measuring 299 × 200 mm.

The argument of this extraordinary and at one time popular book is somewhat as follows: Christ, having been condemned to death by Pilate and crucified "on the 25th of March,"⁽¹⁾ leaves His mortal body to be buried, descends into the infernal regions, holding in His hands the flag of triumphal victory over temporal death, and announces to the Powers of Darkness His coming in the words "Lift up your heads, O ye gates, and be lift up, ye everlasting doors, and the King of Glory shall come in," to which summons the trembling demons reply, "Who is this King of Glory?" and Christ answers, "The Lord, strong and mighty, even the Lord mighty in battle"; whereupon the terrified inmates of the doomed principality only close their doors the more firmly against Him. But Christ, seeing that He is thus set at nought by the Princes of Darkness, breaks open their brazen gates and shatters their iron bars, and, with a white banner on which glows a rosy cross, enters the Infernal Kingdom as a victor who has seized his prey. And those whom He knows to be captives He leads forth openly and places in honour in the Paradise of God. And Satan, bound with iron fetters, He plunges under waters of the deadly lake, and goes forth followed by our first parents, by Patriarchs, Kings and Prophets and by others who had walked in the way of the Lord. After their departure the infernal host, finding itself deprived of its prey, and seeing its King bound and cast into abysmal depths, is seized with utter despair and gives way to leonine roaring and the bitterest weeping. To whom *Ascaroth*,⁽²⁾ in a pithy speech, recommends fortitude and immediate business-like action. "We well know," he urges, "that God is just, and with Him there is no acceptance of persons; we can prove our original peaceable possession of this habitation, and the violence used towards us; upon such proof and judicial reparation will immediately follow. We have with us men learned in the law . . . you must appoint one or more procurators, provident and sagacious syndics, who, in the name of your University, may and can act for and defend you." Here he cites the laws which govern the case of a University bringing an action. The assembly of fiends having, with common consent, agreed to be guided by *Ascaroth's* advice, and *Belial* having accepted the procuratorship, he presents himself at the Divine Consistory, where sit four-and-twenty Elders and Patriarchs and ten thousand times a hundred thousand. *Belial*, in a mellifluous speech, sets forth his complaint against "Jesus, the son of Joseph and Mary," and requests that, as Christ had often asserted Himself to be the Son of God, "uni viro neutri parti suspecto, qui juris habeat peritiam, predictam causam decidendam committi seu si placet delegari." A controversy then arises as to the Diocese of the accused; *Belial* argues that it is that of Nazareth, but after a discussion, which it is needless to quote, Jerusalem is agreed upon, and *Solomon* is appointed judge, *Daniel* notary, *Moses* appearing for Christ, the witnesses for the defence being *Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, David, John the Baptist, Aristotle, Virgil* and *Hippocrates*. The incidents of the process are presented with a certain amount of ingenuity, and great attention is paid to the legal formalities in use at the time of the composition of this singular production. *Belial* attacks *Moses* on the ground that he killed the Egyptian and hid his body in the sand. To whom *Moses* rather evasively replies, "*Quotidiana fornax lingua tua.*"

⁽¹⁾ Many readers will be perfectly familiar with the discussions and disputes about the date on which Good Friday should be observed, and with the rather elaborate calculations by which the proper date is now decided. In A. D. 387 the Gauls observed it on March 18, the churches of Italy on April 15 and those of Egypt on April 23. I do not know whence Theramo obtained his March 25, probably from a mystic association with Lady-Day.

⁽²⁾ *Ascaroth* was or is (says Migne, *Dict. des Sciences Occultes*) a demon little known to fame, who protects spies and informers. He seems to be a sort of underling of *Nergal*, a demon of the second order, head of the infernal police, chief spy of *Beelzebub*, under the surveillance of the "grand justicier" *Lucifer*. I cite this information, however, under all reserve.

Having given some slight indication of the scheme of this extraordinary book, I shall be excused, probably thanked by my readers for not pursuing the subject further. The award is given at far too great length for quotation, and I may very properly omit the subsequent contentions between the discomfited demons, in which *Beelzebub*, *Ascaroth*, *Belphegor*, *Böalin*, *Baal*, *Esmadeus* and *Miloth* take part. The intention of the author, reverent throughout in spite of the familiarity with which he approaches sacred subjects, appears to have been to popularize the gospel narrative and to stimulate the interest of his hearers in the scheme of redemption. The work was proscribed by the Council of Trent, doubtless on account of some outspoken passages against the vices of the clergy, "*Nonne vos pastores post predicatum evangelium assurgebatis ad peccata manifesta operanda in omni genere peccatorum,*" etc., etc.

James of Theramo was born at Aversa, of which place he became Archdeacon. In a paragraph immediately preceding the colophon occur in Latin these words: "*Finished at Aversa, near Naples, on the last day of the month of October in the year 1382 (this date is incorrectly quoted by Braun, who had probably not seen the book), in the fifth year of the Pontificate of Urban VI., and the thirty-third of my own age, an age always considered to be a sinful one in man's life, although God more willingly pardons the penitent sinner at that period of his existence . . . The sins of old age are more heinous: and the demons take delight in them. . . . But youths and old men alike shall find healing in this opusculum (of 230 pages!) by a full comprehension of the mercy of God to sinners. Wherefore the work shall be known to them as 'The Consolation of Sinners, the which, when thou hast read, thou shalt cry to God, 'Thou hast magnified Thy glory,' and thou shalt turn with consolation to that eternal life which may He grant thee for ever and ever. Amen.'*"

1472 July 16. TITUS LIVIUS PATAVINUS. HISTORIÆ ROMANÆ
DECADES.

[ROME, CONR. SWEYNHEYM AND ARNOLD PANNARTZ]

Fol. 1a: Epitoma decadū quatuordecim. T. Liuii Patauini || Historici in centū & q̄draginta libros distinctum. || The Epitome occupies 20 leaves. *Fol. 21a*: T. Liuii Patauini || Historici ab Vrbe || condita decadif prime. Liber Primus. || (F)Acturus ne sim opereptum: si a p̄mordio urbis res populi Romāi || percriperim: ... *Fol. 162b*: the first decade ends on line 31. *Fol. 163a*: T. Liuii Patauini Historici de secundo bello Punico Decadif tertie. (*sic.*) LIBER PRIMVS. *Fol. 301a*: T. Liuii Patauini historici de bello Macedonico et || Asiatico decadif quarte. LIBER PRIMVS. *Fol. 408a*: On line 34 begins the verses and colophon reproduced in facsimile.

Folio, printed in roman type, rendered peculiar by the invariable use of the long *f* and the absence of dots on the *i*'s; 408 leaves of 46 lines to the page, text measuring 262 × 169 mm.; without numerals, catchwords or signatures, spaces left for the larger initial letters, no initial directors. The watermarks are (1) shears; (2) anchor in circle; (3) another type of anchor? Hain, *10131, Proctor, 3326.

The fourth edition of Livy. The first (1469) is by *Sweynheym and Pannartz*; the second (1470) by *Ulrich Han*; the third (1470) by *Wendelin of Spire*. In the first edition, the last two lines of the colophon explain more clearly than do the corresponding ones of the 1472 edition how it came about that these works were printed in the house of Pietro (and Francisco) de Massimi. *Petrus cum fratre Francisco Maximus ambo* || *Huius operi optatam contribuere domum.* || The first edition of 1469 is undoubtedly rare, and is praised to the skies by Dibdin in his usual pompous manner. "*Without entering into minute details, it may be pronounced the finest old classical volume in the world,*" etc. Of the 1472 edition, "*a reprint of the parent text of 1469, with the omission of the prefatory epistle,*" he remarks "*I am not aware of any inducement for the possession of this edition.*" Brunet, however, says that this, the third Roman edition, is certainly rarer than the first two. It is in any case (*pace* T. F. D.) a very noble book.

In 1462, on Oct. 7, the town of Mentz was sacked by Adolph von Nassau, and it has been assumed that to that event is to be traced the spread of the knowledge of the art of printing in other

countries by workmen thus thrown out of employment, and a gap of some three years does occur in the productions of this press between 1462 and 1465. To this cause can hardly, however, be assigned the migration of *Conrad Sweynheym* and *Arnold Pannartz*, as it was not till 1465 that they made their way into Italy and set up a press in the Monastery of St. Scholastica at Subiaco, directly invited, it has been suggested, by the monks at that place, under the protection of Cardinal Turrecremata, where they printed as their first essay a *Donatus pro puerulis*; of this work, however, of which three hundred were published, no copy seems to have survived, and it is to the *Cicero de Oratore*, printed before Sept. 30, 1465, that (failing the claims of the *Decor Puellarum*) the honour of precedence in date over all other books printed in Italy is usually assigned. Roman type, based upon the form of letter called in Palæography the Caroline minuscule, was first used by the **X** printer at Strasbourg about 1464, and employed a few years later by these printers in a modified and perhaps more refined form, as may be seen by comparing their colophon reproduced on page 87 with the facsimile given of a passage from the *Sophologium* of 1470. It obtained a still more perfect development at the hands of Wendelin of Spire and of Jenson. After the production of four books at Subiaco the partners quitted the monastery and set up a new press at Rome in the house of the brothers *Peter and Francis de Maximis* (Massimi). This establishment was in full work till the end of 1473, and was largely employed in the production of classical works, "issued at a low price for the convenience of poor scholars," but so far in advance of the taste of the public as to bring the enlightened and industrious printers to poverty. An urgent and touching appeal to the newly-elected Pope Sixtus IV. was addressed in the name of the printers by the Bishop of Aleria, the text of which is printed in the fifth volume of the *Nicolaus de Lyra: Postilla super Bibliam*, issued by them on March 13, 1472. The petitioners recall to the recollection of the Pontiff the fact that they were the first to bring from Germany, "*multo sudore et impensa*," the art of printing into Italy. They proceed to give an intensely interesting catalogue of their principal productions, and of the numbers of each work issued from their press, which ranged from 275 to 1,100 copies. The sum of these amounts they say to 12,475 volumes: but buyers do not present themselves, and their large establishment is crammed with stock, "*plena est quinternium*," whilst the printers themselves are starving, nothing more being left for their sustenance; if they could but obtain purchasers for their productions they would not ask aught from his piety, but would, on the other hand, offer of their own to his Holiness, knowing that in these times he is himself by no means prosperous, "*te plurimum egere non nescimus*." And so they entreat him to help them in their poverty. This petition does not appear to have been fruitful in results; the press struggled on till the end of the next year, when Sweynheym, who had from the beginning contributed skilled labour to the undertaking as an engraver of dies, left his partner and devoted himself to engraving with great ability a series of maps for *Ptolomey's Geography*, dying in harness (in 1476?) before the work was complete. Pannartz continued to print, but only issued some ten books, the last of which is dated Jan. 20, 1476, and he is believed to have died shortly after. The story of these unlucky prototypographers of Italy affords an example of badly requited intelligence, skill and perseverance, and an instructive parallel may be drawn between their failure and the success of *Mentelin*.

Covering almost exactly the same space of time—the *Strasbourg* press approximately 1461-1477, that of *Subiaco* and *Rome* 1465-1476, the former is credited with between thirty and forty publications, the latter with from sixty to seventy, yet *Mentelin* made a fortune by his work and the printers of the *Livy* died in poverty. *Mentelin's* success was due to the fact that he was a thoroughly business-like man, not attempting to educate his public, but catering for their antiquated likings, whilst Sweynheym and Pannartz strove, too early for success, to imbue with classical and artistic tastes an unappreciative world.

A beautifully clean and sound copy, measuring 350 × 238 mm., of which the last leaf is unnecessarily mounted. A few early marginal notes. It does not, however, contain either at the beginning or end of the volume the *Epitome* which ought to accompany the history. A beautiful floral border, painted in sepia, runs down the side of the first page from the initial *F*, and two vignettes, of ecclesiastical character, between which are the arms of a former possessor, fill the space at the bottom of the page. I fear that a binder of the beginning of the nineteenth century is responsible for the cropping of the volume.

Aspiciſ illuſtris lectoꝝ quicuq; libelloſ
 Si cupiſ artificum nomina noſſe: lege:
 Aſpera ridebiſ cognomina teutona: forſan
 Mitiget aꝛt muſiſ inſcia uerba uirum.
 Cōraduſ Suuenheym: Arnolduſ Pānartzq; magiſtri
 Rome impreſſerunt talia multa ſimul.

In domo Petri de Maximis
 .M. CCCC. LXXII. die.
 .XVI. Iulii.

COLOPHON OF LIVY. (SWEYNHEYM AND PANNARTZ, 1472.)

ναι μὰ τόδε σκῆπτρον. τὸ μὲν ὄντωτε φύλλα καὶ ὄζους
 φύσσει: ἐπειδὴ πρῶτα τομὴν ἐν ὄρεσι λελοιπεν
 ὀνδάναθηλήσει: περὶ γὰρ ῥᾶ ἔχαλκός ἔλεψε
 φύλλατε καὶ φλοιὸν. νυν αὖτε μὴν ὑἱεσ ἀχαιῶν
 ἐν παλάμῃσ φορέουσι δεκασπόλοι οἵτε θέμισασ
 πρὸσ Δίῳσ εἰρνάται. ὀδέ τοι μέγασ ἔσεται ὄρκοσ:
 Ut ſcriptum hoc (dextra ſcriptum nam forte gerebat)
 Nunq̄ fronde leui fundet uirgulta neq; umbram:
 Cum ſemel in ſiluiſ imo de ſtirpe reciſum
 Matre caret: poſuitq; comas & bracchia ferro:
 Olim arboſ nunc artificis manuſ aꝛte decoro
 Incluſit: patribuſq; dedit geſtare latinis.

PASSAGE FROM MACROBIUS. (JENSON, 1472.)

1472 Aug. 25. CAIUS JULIUS CÆSAR. OPERA.

[ROME, SWEYNHEYM AND PANNARTZ.]

Fol. 1a: C. Iulii Cæsarif. belli gallici. || Commentariuf Primuf. || ()Allia est omnif diuifa in partef trif: (*sic*). ... *Fol. 65a ends*: Hif rebuf litterif Cæsarif cogñitif || rome dierum uiginti fupplicatio redditur. || *Fol. 65b*: A Hirtü in nouiffimum cōmen- || tarrium (*sic*) belli gallici prefatio. || *Fol. 75a, line 20*: C Iulii Cæsarif belli ciuilif || Pōpeiani cōmētariuf p̄muf. || *Fol. 166b*: Anno Chrifii. M.CCCC.LXII. die uero. xxv. menfif augufii. || Rome in domo Petri de Maximif. || *Fol. 167a* (*the epistle of John Andrea, Bishop of Aleria*) begins: ()Ictatorif Cæsarif cōmentariof: iam pridem multa diligentia || me recognouiffe memineram. ... ; *ending*, et pro uirili imitandum. *Fol. 167b*: a *Table of Contents*.

Folio, 167⁶ leaves, 38 lines to the page, the text measures 219 × 131 mm., lines somewhat irregular in length; printed in roman type, without numerals, catchwords or signatures; spaces left for initial letters, but no initial directors. The watermark is a cross-bow in circle.

Hain, 4214, Proctor, 3328.

A fine, large and clean copy (measuring 326 × 229 mm.), from which, however, the very numerous corrections of some ancient corrector of the text have been removed in the cleaning with occasional damage to the text; one worm-hole.

The third edition of Cæsar's Commentaries, the first edition having been issued from the same press on May 12, 1469, the second from Nicholas Jenson's in 1471. It is a reproduction, with some modifications, of the first edition, and said to be as rare. Its comparative monetary value, however, is indicated by the fact that whilst the 1469 edition brought at the Sunderland sale £195 a copy of that of 1472 was sold at the same time for only £70.

1472. AURELIUS THEODOSIUS MACROBIUS. EXPOSITIO IN SOMNIUM SCIPIONIS ET SATURNALIORUM LIBRI SEPTEM.

[VENICE, NICOLAS JENSON.]

Fol. 1a: SOMNIVM SCIPIONIS EX CICERONIS || LIBRO DE REPUBLICA EXCERPTVM. || ()VM IN AFRICAM VENISSEM A MAN- || lio confule ad quartam legionem. ... *Fol. 3b*: MACROBII AVRELII THEODOSII VIRI CONSVLARIS || ET ILLVSTRIS IN SOMNIVM SCIPIONIS EXPOSITI- || ONIS QVAM ELEGANTISSIMAE LIBER PRIMVS. || *Fol. 47a*: MACROBII AURELII THEODOSII VIRI CONSV- || LARIS ET ILLVSTRIS IN SOMNIVM SCIPIONIS || EXPOSITIONIS QVAMELEGANTISSIMAE LIBRI || SECVNDI ET VLTIMI FINIS. *Fol. 47b, blank*. *Fol. 48a*: MACROBII AVRELII THEODOSII VIRI CONSV- || LARIS ET ILLVSTRIS CONVIVIORVM PRIMI DI- || EI SATVRNALIORVM LIBER PRIMVS. || ()VLTA VARIASQVE RES (*see facsimile*). *Fol. 163b*: MACROBII AVRELII THEODOSII VIRI CONSV- || LARIS ET ILLVSTRIS SATVRNALIORVM LIBRI IM- || PRESSI VENETIIS OPERA ET IMPENSA NICOLAI || IENSON GALLICI. M.CCCC.LXXII. ||



ULTAS VARIASQUE RES IN HAC
 uita nobis Eustathi filii natura conciliauit : sed
 nulla nos magis q̄ eorum : qui é nobis essent p̄
 creati : caritate deuinxit. Eamq; nostram in his
 educandis atq; erudiendis curam esse uoluit :
 ut parentes neq; si id quod cuperent ex fétéria
 cederet : tantum ulla alia ex re uoluptatis : neq;
 si contra eueniret : tātum mœroris capere pos-
 sint. Hinc est q̄ mihi quoq; institutione tua nihil antiquus æstimatur.
 Ad cuius perfectionē compendia longis anfractibus anteponeunda du-
 cēs : moræq; omnis impatiens nō opperit : ut per hæc sola promoueas :
 quibus ediscendis grauiter ipse inuigilat : sed ago ut ego quoq; tibi lege-
 rim : & quicquid mihi uel te iam in lucem edito : uel ante q̄ nascereris in
 diuersis seu græcæ seu romanæ linguæ uoluminibus elaboratum est :

BEGINNING OF TEXT, MACROBIUS, FIRST BOOK OF SATURNALIA.
 (JENSON, 1472.)

IVLII SOLINI DE SITV ORBIS ET ME-
 MORABILIBVS QVAE MVNDI AMBITV
 CONTINENTVR LIBER IMPRESSVS
 VENETIIS PER NICOLAVM IENSON
 GALLICVM .M.CCCC.LXXIII.

COLOPHON OF SOLINUS. (JENSON, 1473.)

Finis eius quod inuenit̄ Marci Varronis. Parce q̄
 legeris : si aliqua min⁹ polita iueneri. Nā ita ex omni
 pte : siue seculū fecerit siue librarij Volumen quod uis
 corruptū erat ut necesse fuerit aucupari hinc inde sen-
 tentias : iō sine robore ueniam dabis & errori manum
 imponas. Vale.

COLOPHON OF VARRO. (JOHANN OF COLOGNE AND JOHANN MANTHEN, 1474?)

Folio, 163 leaves, 40 lines to the page, printed in roman type, with many passages in Greek; text measures 227 × 135 mm.; without numerals, catchwords or signatures; spaces left for the smaller initial letters, and initial directors for the rubricator, spaces only for the larger initials. Many blanks are left for diagrams and for Greek quotations. The watermarks are (1) anchor in circle (two types); (2) scales in circle (two types); (3) bugle. Hain, 10426, Proctor, 4085.

This edition of *Macrobius* precedes all others by eleven years. *Boninus de Boninis* was the printer of one edition in 1483 and another in 1485. It claims especial attention, in the first place by reason of the great beauty of type, impression and paper, and in the second as containing the first printed texts of Homer and Lucretius.

In the *Saturnalia*, feasts of reason and not of sensuous indulgence, literary topics are critically handled somewhat as they were by the deipnosophists of Athenæus. The facsimile will serve to show not only the collocation of parallel passages from Homer and Virgil, but also the beauty and nobility of these early Greek printed characters undisfigured by the bewildering contractions of later days.

A fine copy, measuring 313 × 212 mm., rubricated throughout, and with quaint and bold initials at the beginnings of the chapters. Some few contemporary marginal annotations.

The following MS. note, written immediately after the colophon, makes no contribution to our present information nor to the beauty of the page:—*Hic liber Macrobiï impressus est 6 tantum annis post inventionem artis impressoriæ vel saltem post divulgationem primi libri impressi: atque eisdem vel omnino similibus characteribus quod affirmo quoniam unam ex primis impressis (viz., M. Tullii Ciceronis de officiis) habui ante annos 28, in cuius fronte vel fine hæc verba s(unt) impressa. Præfens M. Tullii clarissimum opus Foannes Fust Moguntinus civis non atramento plumali canna neque acrea sed arte quadam perpulchra manu Petri de Gernsheim pueri mei feliciter effeci. Finitum anno MCCCCLXVI. quarta die mensis Februarii. Ita testor Milo Symnor Maij 12, 1664.*

The Cicero of 1466 was evidently the earliest book of which Symnor had knowledge.

[1472?] [ALBERTUS MAGNUS?] COMPENDIUM THEOLOGICÆ
VERITATIS.

[NUREMBERG, JOHANN SENSENSCHMID.]

Fol. 1a: Incipit liber de natâ diuitatis. || ()Vod deus est. Capi- || tulū primū, || *Fol. 3a, line 24*: Expliciūt tituli. Incipit plogus in cōpendiū theologice veritatis. || *Fol. 84 blank, partly cut out. Fol. 88 blank, partly cut out. Fol. 115 blank. Fol. 150b, line 32*: rita recipiet sine fine amen. || Laus deo altissimo. || *Fol. 151 blank. The table begins on Fol. 152a*: ()Vanq, ordo et compendiositas libri huius qui compendi- || um dicitur theologice veritatis: etc. *On Fol. 162a begins a treatise by Brother Bernold reducing the whole work to themes for sermons on Sundays and feast-days. This ends on Fol. 194b*: Laus Deo. || *On Fol. 7a the bottom line has been entirely omitted in the press and has been supplied by the rubricator.*

Folio, printed in gothic type (a peculiarity of which is that in the capital N the diagonal stroke slopes down from right to left), 194 leaves, 37 lines, text measures 210 × 141 mm.; without numerals, catchwords or signatures; spaces left for initial letters, no initial directors. The watermark is a flower of seven petals. Hain, *432, Proctor, 1951.

The earliest edition of this work. The earliest dated edition is that of April 5, 1476, from the press of *Christoph Arnold* of Venice.

A very fine and perfect copy, measuring 315 × 218 mm., rubricated throughout.

The present volume is printed with the same types as those used in the first dated book printed at Nuremberg (*Franciscus de Retza Comestorium Utiorum*, 1470), which is usually attributed to *Johann Sensenschmid* alone, and he is thus considered as the prototypographer of that city. But it is contended by

Napit prologus sup legenda
sanctorum quā ipilauit Re Jacob
natoe Iannan ordis sem pdicatoꝝ

Quiersū tempus pre-
sentis vite i quatidz
distinguit. scilicet in
tempus deuacōis/re-
nouacōis siue reuo-
cacōis/reconaliacō-
nis et pegrinacōnis. Tempus deuacō-
nis fuit ab adam postq̄ scilicet a deo de-
uauit -

BEGINNING OF LEGENDA AUREA. (EGGESTEIN, 1472-3.)

Expliciūt tituli. Incipit plogus in cōpendiū theologicę veritatis.

Veritatis theologicę sublimitas cū sit supni splen-
doris radius illuminans intellectum: et regaliū deli-
ciarū diuiniū reficiens affectum: de magnorū the-
ologorū scriptis breue compendiū colligere dignū
dixi: quo et euātetur mater fastidiū plixitas: et tñ
ad inuestigandū plura via detur ꝛ occasio sapiēti.
Theologia certe ē princeps scientiarū omniū et
regina: cui artes ceterę tanq̄ pedisequę famulantur. Nam de natu-
ris rex illa solum ad vsum suū accipit: de quibz sibi speculum fabricare
valeat in quo conspiciat aditorem.

BEGINNING OF TEXT OF COMPENDIUM VERITATIS. (SENSENSCHMID, 1472?)

M. Bernard that the establishment of the press was really due to the initiative of *Heinrich Keffer*, once servant of *John Gutenberg* and a witness in the celebrated lawsuit between the latter and *John Fust*; and that *Sensenschmid* in the first instance merely played the part of money-lender to Keffer, just as Fust had done to Gutenberg in and before the year 1455; and further, that the capitalist robbed his working partner of the credit due to him by suppressing his name from the colophons of all the books but one which were printed in their joint establishment. We should, in fact, have known nothing of the association of the partners had it not been that in the most important of the volumes which proceeded from their press, *Rainerus de Pisis, Pantheologia*, April 8, 1473 (Hain, *13015, Proctor, 1959) their names are thus jointly mentioned in the colophon: *Per industriosos impressorie artis Magistros Johannem Sensenschmid de Egra, et Henricum Kefer de Maguntia Nuremberge urbis cives.* From this press issued nineteen books, of which the ascertained dates range from 1470 to 1473. In 1474 we find *Sensenschmid* still at Nuremberg, allied with *Andreas Frisner*, 1474-8; then by himself at *Bamberg*, 1478-1481; next at the same place with *Heinrich Petzensteiner*, 1482-4; afterwards with *Johann Beckenhub* at *Ratisbon*, 1485; and finally, back at *Bamberg* conducting his fifth and last press, in conjunction with *Petzensteiner*, from 1487 to 1491. More than one instance of similarly migratory presses will be met with as we proceed. The material difficulties of such removals must have been at that time most inconsiderable.

1472 or 1473. JACOBUS DE VORAGINE. LEGENDA AUREA.

[STRASBURG, HEINRICH EGGESTEIN.]

Fol. 1a: () *Niuerfū tempus pre- || sentis vite ī quatuor || distinguit ... The prologue ends on line 38, col. 2, vsq, ad aduentum. || Fol. 1b:* () *Duentus dñi p quatuor septima- || nas agitur. ... Fol. 14 blank, partly cut out in this copy. Fol. 85 blank, partly cut out in this copy. Fol. 92a, MS. numeral omitted; there is only one column of text. Fol. 92b blank, printed on a narrow sheet which projects 148 mm. into the book, and has not been cut. Fol. 157 blank, and has been partly cut out. Fol. 162a (MS. numeral 158), one column only on a narrow sheet, projecting 140 mm. into book, and which has not been cut. Fol. 162b blank, with a MS. catchword. Fol. 291a (MS. numeral 285), column 1, line 28: *Explicit Lombardica || hystoria fanctorū. || Fol. 291b blank.**

Folio, 291 leaves, printed in gothic letter in double columns, 42 lines to the column, 207 × 144 (= 64 × 16 × 64) mm.; without printed numerals, catchwords or signatures; spaces left for initials, no initial directors. The watermark is the small bull's head with short stylus and Tau. Not in Hain, Proctor, 278.

Of about seventy editions of the very popular *Golden Legend* of *Voragine* printed before 1500 this is placed the second in Mr. Proctor's index, the precedence being given to an edition also without date printed at Basle by *Berthold Ruppel*, the prototypographer of that city, the third place being assigned to that of *Michael Wensler*, Basle's second printer, as not appearing later than 1474. The first edition with a date is from the press of *Ulrich Gering* of Paris, Sept. 1, 1475. A mention of the author will be found under the year 1475 in a note on a copy of the illustrated edition printed by *Gunther Zainer* in or about that year.

The earliest knowledge which we possess of *Heinrich Eggstein*, the third Strasburg printer, is derived from the researches of *Schafflin*, which show him to have had the degree of Master of Arts and of Philosophy, and that he married in 1451 and was living at Strasburg. It has been suggested that he was in the first instance in partnership with *Mentelin*. His earliest productions, dating from 1466 at the latest, are the *Biblia Latina* (Hain, *3035-6-7). A few dated books, 1471-1478, follow, and a considerable number of undated works, including the first German Bible. His name occurs only in the colophons of books printed in the years 1471 and 1472. He is one of the most notable among early printers; he seems to have died not earlier than 1482.

A large and perfect copy, with a few water-stains, full of rough edges, practically uncut, measuring 318 × 225 mm. Rubricated throughout; the rubricator has filled up leaf 1a, 1st col., 1-4, with a heading in three lines, and lines 38-42, 2nd col., with a heading of three lines. Numerals in MS. throughout (with the errors mentioned above), MS. signatures, a few of which are cut off.

1473. JULIUS SOLINUS. POLYHISTOR SIVE DE SITU ET MEMORABILIBUS ORBIS.

[VENICE, NICOLAS JENSON.]

Fol. 1a: IVLII SOLINI DE SITV ET ME- || MORABILIBVS ORBIS CAPITVLA. || PRAEFATIO. CAP. I. *Two leaves of Table.* *Fol. 3a:* IVLII SOLINI DE SITV ORBIS TERRA- || RVM ET MEMORABILIBVS QVAE MVN- || DI AMBITV CONTINENTVR LIBER. || ... PRAEFATIO. CA. I. ()VM ET AVRIVM CLAEMEN- || tia, etc. *Fol. 65b, line 19:* the colophon, of which a reproduction is given.

4to, 65 leaves of 33 lines, text measuring 190 × 111 mm., printed in roman type; without numerals, catchwords or signatures; spaces left and printed initial directors. The watermark is a cross-bow in circle. Hain, 14877, Proctor, 4089.

This is the earliest edition of *Solinus* with a date, and is apparently the first printed text.

A fair copy, somewhat damp-stained, and from which marginal notes have been partially removed by cleaning. It measures 246 × 180 mm.

The description of *Britain* given by Solinus, who flourished about A.D. 230, is amusing. The world, he says, would come to an end at the northern shores of Gaul were it not for Britain, an island having more than 800 miles of coast-line up to the Chalydonian corner into which Ulysses was driven, as is demonstrated by certain old Greek writings. Surrounded by many not inconsiderable islands, Britain is approximated in size by *Hybernia*, a country so fertile in food for cattle that these seldom suffer from want of fodder except in the driest seasons. In *Hybernia* there are no snakes; the race of men is warlike and inhospitable, drinking the blood of the vanquished and smearing their own faces with the gore. The first food offered to a male infant is tenderly carried to its mouth by its mother on the point of a sword, with prayers to the Gentile gods that only on the field of battle he may meet his death. For the greatest glory of this people is in arms and strife. The sea between the two countries is so stormy and restless that men can traverse it on a few days only during each year; for the islanders cross in boats of osier covered with the skins of cattle, abstaining from food during the whole voyage. Of the resources of *Britain* a more favourable account is given, and Solinus has a good word to say for its hot springs, its rich mines, and, to crown all, for its *Lapis Gagates*. This is our *jet*, a mineral which stood, as we know, high in the estimation of the ancients, not only as a decorative material, but also as an ingredient in magical and medical preparations. The words which Solinus here uses in its praise are almost paraphrased by *Marbodius* in his *Lapidarium*, written circa A.D. 1080 (translated by the Rev. C. W. King, *Antique Gems*, 1860):—

“*Lycia* her Jet in medicine commends;
But chiefest, that which distant *Britain* sends:
Black, light, and polished, to itself it draws,
If warmed by friction, near adjacent straws.
Though quenched by oil its smouldering embers raise,
Sprinkled with water, a still fiercer blaze.”

[1473.] S. THOMAS AQUINAS. TRACTATUS DE PERICULIS CONTINGENTIBUS CIRCA SACRAMENTUM EUCHARISTIÆ.

[ULM, JOHANN ZAINER OF REUTLINGEN, First Press.]

Fol. 1 blank. *Fol. 2a:* Tractatus de periculis 9tingentibus circa fačmētum || Eukariftie et de remedys eorundē. ex dictis fancti Tho || me de aquino Feliciter incipit. || ()Rimum periculum est. ... *Fol. 5a, line 25:* Tractatus de piculis circa sacramentum || eukariftie contingentibus Feliciter finit. || Epl'a fancti Thome de iudeis ad petiti || onem comitiffe flandrie Feliciter incipit. || ()Lluftri dñe æč. ... *Fol. 8a, line 33:* Epl'a fancti Thome de iudeis ad || comitiffam Flandrie Feliciter finit. || *Fol. 8b blank.*

Folio, printed in gothic letter on 7 or 8 leaves of 31, 32, 33, or 34 lines, text measuring 180 to 193 × 111 mm.; without numerals, catchwords, or signatures; spaces left for initials, no initial directors. No watermark. Hain, *1375, Proctor, 2495.

The earliest edition of this work. Hain describes two other editions from the same press differing only in slight details from this, and seven later ones in the fifteenth century.

The first dated book from *Johann Zainer's* first press was printed in 1473, the last in 1487, but there are a large number of undated volumes. The earliest date in a book from his second press (also at *Ulm*) is 1497, and he printed till 1517 or 1518.

A tall, clean, perfect copy, measuring 269 × 198 mm., rubricated throughout by a somewhat fanciful scribe, whose sketches now and then illustrate the subject matter.

The rarity of these *Cautele* or cautions to the officiating priest as to the course which he should pursue in the event of certain accidents to the elements of the Eucharist, is well known. They are occasionally incorporated with the service of the mass, besides being separately printed as here. Their contents cannot but arrest the attention of the curious in virtue of their singularity, and of the evidence which they contain of the superstitious importance attached by their compilers to the most trivial mischance. It would not be possible to quote some of them without the risk on the one hand of offending the feelings of the devout Catholic, or on the other of arousing the zeal of some fervid Protestant. A reference to another work on the same subject will be found under the year 1493.

We find the germs of the *cautelæ* in the ecclesiastical laws of the Anglo-Saxon Church at a very early period, A.D. 957, when transubstantiation was not yet an article of belief. In the instructions to be addressed to the clergy when they came to fetch the chrism,⁽¹⁾ they were told: "Some priests reserve the *housel* (chrism) that was hallowed on Easter-Day all the year for sick men, but *they* do very greatly amiss who cause the holy housel to putrefy, and are unwilling to understand how great a satisfaction the Penitential directeth in relation to them, if the housel be putrefied, or musty, or lost; or if a mouse eateth it through carelessness. For that housel which was hallowed to-day is altogether as holy as that which was hallowed on Easter-Day, *that housel is Christ's body, not corporally, but spiritually.*" The later injunctions, such as those of the *Hereford* Cautels cited by Chambers,⁽²⁾ are of course dictated by a different, and in our apprehension more superstitious construction of the ordinance, and are very precise and detailed, though yielding in minuteness to those of the book under consideration, in which, among the least objectionable of the fourteen *Pericula* are the following: Si Sacerdos vel minister non posuit aquam in vino. Si propter frigus quod sacerdos sentitur in manibus, hostia vel pars hostiæ cadat in calicem. Si musca vel aranea cadat aut reperiat in calice. Si negligentia sacerdotis Mus comedat hostiam. Si hostia inventa fuit sub pala vel corporali et dubitetur si est consecrata aut non.

(1) Johnson's "Collection of Ecclesiastical Laws," Vol. I., ad ann. 957.

(2) "Divine Worship in England."

Tractatus de periculis contingentibus circa sacm̄ etum
Eucharistie & de remedijs eorundē. ex dictis sancti Tho
me de aquino Feliciter incipit.

Primum periculum est. **Q**uod si sacerdos morte vel
gravi infirmitate preoccupet anteq̄ missā finiat
Tunc dicendum q̄ aut stringit ante consecra
tionem corporis et sanguinis: aut post consecracōz utriusq̄
vel vniꝝ illoz. **S**i ante consecracōz: nō oportet q̄ missa
p̄ alium suppleat: q̄a ad huc de essentialibz nihil actum
est. **S**i aut̄ post consecracōz utriusq̄ vel alterius accide
rit: tunc debet alius sacerdos supplē & incipe vbi alter
dimisit. **U**ta habet̄ in decretis. vij. q. i. pag. Pontifices
Nec dēt fieri vnq̄ nisi extr̄. patenti necessitate vel ḡue
dine p̄mi sacerdotis.

Secundum piculū est. **S**i sacerdos reco
lit se alqd̄ circa mediā noctem comedisse: vel ex
communicatum fuisse. **A**d qd̄ dicendū q̄ si sacerdos non
p̄cessit ad consecracōz tutius et melius est missā dimitte

BEGINNING OF AQUINAS, TRACTATUS DE PERICULIS.
(JOH. ZAINER OF REUTLINGEN, 1473?)

Tractatus de piculis circa sacramentum
eucharistie contingentibus Feliciter finit
Epla sancti Thome de iudeis ad petri
onem comitisse flandrie Feliciter incipit

END OF TEXT OF AQUINAS DE PERICULIS.
(JOH. ZAINER OF REUTLINGEN, 1473?)

1473? GULIELMUS DE OCKHAM. DISPUTATIO INTER CLERICUM ET MILITEM.

[COLOGNE, PRINTER OF AUGUSTINUS DE FIDE.]

Fol. 1a: Disputatio inter clericum et militē sup potesta || te prelati ecclesie atq; principib; terraꝝ com ; missa sub forma dyalogi incipit feliciter. || () clericus sermonis sui exordium sub || hac forma posuit dicēs. Miror op- || time miles paucis dieb; tēpora mu || tata sepultam iusticiam. cuerfas le- || ges. iura calcata, etc. *Fol. 13b, line 10*: Et sic est finis laus cristo nefcia finis. || *Fol. 14a*: Compendiū de vita anticristi incipit feliciter || etc. *Fol. 16b*: Explicit de vita anticristi. ||

4to, printed in gothic type, 16 leaves, 26 lines to a page, text measures 137 × 84 mm.; without numerals, catchwords or signatures; spaces left for larger initials, but no initial directors. The watermark is a small bull's head, short stylus and star. Hain, *6111, Proctor, 1096.

This is probably the earliest edition of this celebrated tract, of which two other editions will be found noticed in subsequent pages. Nine books only are ascribed by Mr. Proctor to its nameless printer, whose type so nearly resembles that of *Goiswin Gops* that the latter press is usually identified with the present. One notable difference pointed out by Mr. Proctor is that the section mark (§) is by the printer of this edition always used correctly, whilst *Gops* occasionally uses it for S.

The tract is a rare one; it is in the B.M., but not in the Bodleian. A good, perfect copy, measuring 199 × 140 mm.

The treatise was prohibited by the *Tridentine Index*, and by many, probably all subsequent Indices; it is included even in the Index of 1843, and all the editions are extremely rare. It is of some importance (as will be seen later on under the year 1491) to ascertain with certainty the name of the author. *Goldastus*, *Balæus* (our English biographer, *Bale*), and *Flaccius Illyricus* all attribute the composition of the tract to *William Occam* or *Ockham* the Franciscan (the "Invincible," the "Venerable," the "Singular" Doctor), and there are many internal evidences in support of the ascription. Having left England in his youth, Occam—banished from Merton College, Oxford, said his enemies—was at the height of his fame as a lecturer at Paris during the period (1296-1303) of the memorable contest between Pope Boniface VIII., the pontiff who added the second crown to the tiara, and Philippe Le Bel, the persecutor of the Templars—a combat to the death between the Pontifical and temporal powers. In this encounter the struggle for the upper hand is marked by so much vigour on either side, and the *riposte* comes so quickly, time after time, in answer to the thrust, that even at this distance of time the chronicle of the fight⁽¹⁾ makes excellent reading for the man of leisure. The weapons are at first fairly equal—on the part of Boniface Bull after Bull, which do not cost much in the making, asserting the subservience in all matters of the temporal Power to that of the Papacy—on that of the King the prohibition of the exportation of money or jewels from France without his permission, an enactment which of course entailed a terrible diminution of the Papal revenue. At one pause in the strife the Pope for good reasons retracts his first Bull of 1296, "*Clericis Laicos*," only to retract in 1300 this retraction and add venom to his previous attacks by the audacious Bull "*Ausculta fili*" (promptly burnt on Feb. 11, 1302, by Philip), in which the Pontiff makes the startling claim that God has established him over all kings and kingdoms, "*ad evellendum, destruendum, dissipandum, edificandum*"—and then, in response to a threat on the King's part to convoke a Council for his deposition, finally launches at the end of the same year his celebrated "*Unam Sanctam*," whose concluding words form a climax to all his previous fulminations: "*Moreover We declare, say, define and pronounce that it is absolutely necessary to salvation that every human being be subject (subesse) to the Roman Pontiff.*" This monstrous declaration was one of the last missiles of Boniface. His spiritual weapons proved in the end less effective than the very carnal ones of his enraged adversary. Insulted, terrified, and for a time imprisoned by the emissaries of Philip, the Pontiff regained for a short time his liberty only to die on Sept. 8, 1303, of fever brought on by his sudden reverse of

(1) "Histoire du Differend d'entre Le Pope Boniface VIII. et Philippes le Bel, Roi de France," Paris, 1655, folio.

fortune. During this eventful strife, *Occam*, whose sympathies were entirely with the King—whose mission in life seemed to be to inveigh against the vices of the Popes—who was excommunicated in 1330 for his writings—and who in later life took up the cudgels against Pope John XX. on behalf of the Emperor Louis of Bavaria—was, we are told, engaged in the defence of Philip against Boniface; and, in view of his predilections, and of his voluminous works of the same tendency, it seems reasonable to suppose that the attribution to him by *Bale* of the authorship of the *Dialogus*, so entirely devoted as that tract is to the interests of the Temporal as opposed to the Spiritual power, may be a correct one. This digression is, I am aware, excusable only in view of the somewhat personal interest which I feel in connection with the disputed authorship of the *Songe du Vergier*, alluded to hereinafter under the year 1491.

[1474.] MARCUS TERENTIUS VARRO. DE LINGUA LATINA.

[VENICE, JOHANN OF COLOGNE AND JOHANN MANTHEN OF GHERRETZEN.]

Fol. 1a (sig. a): Pomponius Platine salutem. (p). M. Terētius Varro togatoꝝ litteratiffimꝝ || inter innumerabilia volumīa ingenij fui vir || romanꝝ & qui solus Afīnii polliōis iudicio || viuēs statuā in bibliotheca palatina meruit || xij. libros de lingua latina scripsit, etc. quoꝝ || omnīū etate nra fex corrupti in manibꝝ || habent. Eos monitu Lelii vallēsis magne et figularis (sic) || doctrine: legi fūma cura ac diligentia. Vbi librarii lras || mutauerūt correxī: in his que infcitia penitus corrupit || non ausus sum manū īponē: ne forte magis deprauarē || addidi tñ indicē p ordine lraꝝ: ut qui non nimis curiosi || sint facilius īueniant, etc. *The Index of which he speaks ends on Fol. 10b.* *Fol. 11a (sig. a):* M. T. VARRONIS DE LINGVA LATīa || (q)Vemadmodū uocabula effent īposi || ta rebus ī līgua latina sex libris expo || nere institui, etc. *Fol. 54 blank.* *Fol. 55a:* .M. T. VARRONIS ANALOGIAE LI || BER PRIMVS. || (q)Vomodo oratio natura tripartita effet || ut superioribus libris ostendi, etc. *Fol. 85b:* Finis eius quod inueniūt Marci Varronis. Parce q || legeris: si aliqua minꝝ polita īuener. Nā ita ex omni || pte: siue seculū fecerit siue librarii Volumen quod uis || corruptū erat ut neceffe fuerit aucupari hinc inde fen || tentias: iō siue robore ueniam dabis & errorī manum || imponas. Vale. || *Fol. 86 blank.*

4to, printed in roman type, 86 leaves, 29 lines, text measures 158 × 99 mm.; without numerals or catchwords; signatures, a ten leaves, then a-b-d each ten leaves, e eight, f six, h, i, and k each eight leaves; spaces left for large initials, small initial directors. The watermarks are (1) crowned eagle displayed; (2) pair of shears, or scissors. Hain, 15858(1), Proctor, 4295A.

This book is interesting from a bibliographical point of view as affording a very early instance of the use of *Signatures*, which had, however, been employed two years earlier in *Nider, Expositio*, printed by *Koelhoff, Cologne, 1472* (Hain, 11786, Proctor, 1017). The date of this last book has, however, been questioned. *Lambinet* asserts vaguely that *Ulrich Gering* had used signatures in 1470!

This edition is placed seventh in Hain's list. It is undoubtedly preceded by that of *Georg Lauer*, possibly printed in 1471 (Hain, *15852, Proctor, 3409), probably by others. Hain, 15858, couples our *Varro* with another book printed by *Johann* of *Colonia* and *Manthen* of *Gherretzen*, of which Panzer (III., 101-109) says, "ad quam omnino pertinere videtur." The name of *John* of *Cologne* is first found in the *Cicero de Finibus* printed at Venice by *Wendelin* of *Spira* in 1471 (Hain, 5328, Proctor, 4036) at *John's* expense (*Ioanne ex Colonia Agrippinensi sumptum ministrante*). In 1472 *Plautus* was printed, *opera et impendio Ioannis de Colonia agrippinensi atque Vindelini de Spira*; in 1473 two editions of *Petrus de Ferrariis* appeared at Venice, the first (Hain, *6986) *opera et impendio Ioannis de Colonia nec non Vindelini de Spira*, the second (Hain, 6988) *impedio providerum virorum Iohannis de Colonia Iohannisque Manthen de Gherretzem sociorum*. The "provident" *Johannes* de *Colonia*, who had been providing funds for *Wendelin*, had now started on his own account with the other *John* as his partner. *Wendelin* printed no books after that year till 1476, and his types passed to the new firm.

An interesting fact is recorded by Mr. Brown ("The Venetian Printing Press," p. 15), viz., that *Johann of Cologne* became in the year 1479 a partner with *Nicolas Jenson*, an association which was very soon ended by the death of the latter in 1480, though his name was retained by the publishing firm. The *vir providus* was probably the monied partner in this connection, as in that with *Wendelin*, as in each case his name takes the first place.

Varro's treatise on the Latin language must be considered as curious rather than trustworthy, especially in the matter of etymologies, his patriotic spirit having induced him to eschew whenever possible the natural derivation of Latin words from Greek progenitors. A very hasty glance through the pages will demonstrate this. I take the first that come to hand, *Calix a caldo* (= *calido*) quod in eo calda puls apponebatur et calidum eo bibebant, *Celum* (Cœlum) quod est celatum, etc., (quite ignoring *κάλυξ*, and *κοῖλον*).

A tall, clean copy, measuring 229 × 161 mm., MS. numerals.

[1474-5?] GIOV. BOCCACCIO. GENEALOGIÆ DEORUM GENTILIUM.

[COLOGNE, NICOLAUS GOTZ OF SLETZSTADT.]

Fol. 1a in red: Genealogie deorum gentilium iohannis bocatii cerdaldenfz ad || hugonem hierusalē et cipri regem Liber primus incipit feliciter. || Qui primus apud gentiles deus habitus fit: () Are magnum et diffuetum, etc. ... *Fol. 11b, line 20*: Genealogie deōrum gentilium liber secūsus. || De ethere herebi et noctis xxi. filio. || *Fol. 28b*: *Text ends on eighth line*, octauo reliquifq. || *Fol. 29a*: Genealogie deorum gentilium liber quarius (*sic*) || De titano celi filio. || () E celo etheris ⁊ diei filio, etc. ... *Fol. 42b*: Explicit quartus. || Sequit (*sic*) quītus. || *Fol. 43a, 24 lines blank, line 25*: () upra libro tertio de celo dictū est, etc. *Fol. 53a, line 13*: et sic finit qntus. || *Fol. 53b*: Incipit sextus genealogie deorū gentiliū. || De dardano xvi. fedi iouis filio. || *Fol. 59b, line 22*: Et sic finit sextus || *Fol. 60a*: Incipit septimus, etc. ... *Fol. 66a, line 36*: Et sic finit septim⁹ || *Fol. 66b blank. Fol. 67a*: Incipit octauus, etc. ... *Fol. 71b, line 36*: Et sic finit octauus. || *Fol. 72a blank. Fol. 72b*: Incipit nonus, etc. *Fol. 89b, line 34*: Et sic finit decimus. || *Fol. 90a blank. Fol. 90b*: Incipit undecimus, etc. ... *Fol. 99b, line 15*: Et sic finit xi. genealogie deorū gentiliū. || *Fol. 100a*: De tantalo xxx. iouis filio. || *Fol. 110a, line 26*: Explicit xii. genealogie deorū gentiliū. *Fol. 110b blank. Fol. 111a*: De hercule xxxvij iouis filio. || *Fol. 119b*: *Three lines of text end with the words*, Deo gratias. || *On line 4*: Explicit xiii. boccacij de genealogia deorū genti- || liū subtiliter ac ꝑpendiose abbreviati. his que || ad cognicōem poematū min⁹ neccessaria sunt re- || iectis, et ṛliquis duobus libris qr de genealo- || gia deorū non sunt omiffis. || Versus dīnici filuestri sup quindecim li || bris genealogie deorū gentiliū boccacij: || *Then follow the 17 lines of verse by Dominic Sylvester (of Florence).* *Fol. 120a, the index in two columns*: () E antheo li° ꝑo folio vij. || *Fol. 125a*: *The index ends line 26*, de zezio li°ix. ... lxxix. *Fol. 125b blank. Fol. 126 blank.*

Folio, printed in gothic letter, 126 leaves, 36 long lines to a page, the text measuring 176 to 179 × 115 mm.; without numerals, catchwords or signatures; spaces left for large and small initial letters, printed initial directors on first two leaves only. The watermarks are (1) the floriated gothic p with cleft tail; (2) an anchor; (3) a lamb with nimbus, bearing a flag; (4) a bull's head, short stylus and star; (5) a shield surmounted by a fleur-de-lys, a monogram in the shield. Not in Hain or Proctor.

The first edition of this work was printed at Venice by *Wendelin de Spire* in 1472. The present very rare edition has escaped the inspection of most bibliographers, Panzer describing it only at second-hand, and Hain not at all. Santander, however (II., 478), gives an accurate if hasty account of it, except that he attributes it to the press of *Goiswinus Gops of Euskyrthen*. There is no copy in the British Museum or Bodleian.

Genealogie deorum gentilium iohannis boetii cardinalis ad
 hugonem hierusalē et apri regem liber primus incipit felicitate
 Quia primus apud gentiles deus habitus fit :



Atque magnum et dissiuetum nauigijs ita curis
 nouumq; sumpturus iter ratus sum p̄spectādū
 ore solerter q̄ ex litore cimbe proa soluēda sit
 ut rectius secūdo spirāte vento eo deuehar quo
 cupit animus quodquidē tunc comperisse reor
 du eū compero quē sibi p̄mū deum h̄nere pri

BEGINNING OF BOCCACCIO, GENEALOGIÆ. (NICOLAUS GOTZ, 1474-5?)

Genealogie deorum gentilium liber secundus *

De ethere herēbi et noctis p̄ri filio *

Ether sc̄dm tull. inde naturis deorū filius fū
 it noctis et herēbi quī quidē et si q̄nq; p̄ ce
 lo sumat. p̄rie tamē ignis elimen tū videt̄
 existimari vnde ouā. hec sup̄ imposuit liquū
 dum et grauitate carentē ethera nec quicq̄
 terrene fecis habentē rē quē licet multū steri
 lem faciāt tamē eum scribit fecundū et iouē
 primū genuisse ⁊ celum e quibus emanauit omnis numerosa
 deorum prosapia *

De ioue primo et herēis filio *

BEGINNING OF SECOND BOOK OF BOCCACCIO, GENEALOGIÆ. (NICOLAUS GOTZ, 1474-5?)

The earliest dated book from the press of *Nicolaus Gutz of Sletztadt*, who comes ninth in chronological order among the printers of Cologne, is, according to Mr. Bradshaw, *Vita Christi* of Ludolphus, April 30, 1474, and his last the *Biblia Latina* of May 9, 1480; and many undated books also bear evidence of having been issued from his press. Mr. Bradshaw gives (*Collected Papers*, p. 240) a facsimile of a device used by him in some of his books (alas! not in the present one), which is not a woodcut, though apparently set up with the text, but engraved on copper in the *manière criblée*; it contains the printer's arms, crest and motto.

This is a large, sound and perfect copy, measuring 280 × 195 mm., with some trifling water stains. Rubricated throughout in red and blue alternately. Facsimiles of the illumination of two principal initials will be found on page 99. Initial directors in MS. after the first two leaves. The numbers of the leaves are inserted in MS. in Arabic numerals. MS. catchwords in faded black ink, the latter mostly cut off. A few marginal notes in a neat fifteenth century writing. Original binding of the fifteenth century, of bevelled boards covered with dark calf, on each side of which a panel divided by double lines into diamond-shaped spaces has been traced, stamped on each compartment with a square (dragon?) stamp. Rebacked in dark leather, the original clasps remain, as also some of the original fly-leaves.

The volume belonged in 1476 to John Wymarke, who has not failed to record that fact on the fly-leaves. *Iste libellus Iohi Wymarke constat. Iste liber constat iohi Wymarke.* His name is also partly legible in the decoration of the initial of the second book. In his hand, too, appears to be the sentence, *Omne tempus perire puta quod studio non impertias.* It subsequently passed into the hands of Roger Mayer (or Mayne), who has subjoined to his signature the words *Mors Christi vita mea est.* The next note of ownership is that of *Tho. Brett, Lib. Coll. Regin. Cant.* 1687. *Dabit Deus His quoque finem, Virg.*

1475 circa Feb. 1. S. AURELIUS AUGUSTINUS. QUINQUAGINTA.

[AUGSBURG, ANTON SORG.]

Fol. 1a: Incipiūt capitula libri fancti Auguſtini q̄ vocat̄ quinq̄ginta. || De eo quod ſcriptum eſt. Quis ē homo qui vult vitam. ⁊ cu- || pit dies videre bonos. ... *Fol. 1b, line 35*: Explicit Regiſtrum. || *Fol. 2a*: Incipit liber beati Auguſtini epiſcopi qui vocatur quinq̄- || ginta. De eo quod ſcriptum eſt. Quis eſt homo qui vult vitā || ⁊ cupit videre dies bonos. ... Omelia prima. || *Fol. 21b, line 12*: Explicit omelia. xij. Sequitur. xiii. || Nil deficit. *The reſt of the page is blank.* *Fol. 22a*: Incipit xij. De non tardando conuerti ad dominum neq̄, diffe- || rendo de die in diem. ... *Fol. 92b, line 36*: Anno dñi M.cccc.lxxv. circiſ kal Februarii Impreſſus eſt || liber iſte ad honorem dei. P Anthoniũ Sorg In Auguſta. ||

Folio, printed in gothic letter, 92 leaves, 38 lines to the page, text measures 185 × 120 mm.; without numerals, catchwords or signatures; spaces left for initials, and printed initial directors. The watermarks are (1) bull's head, long-horned, and floriated stylus; (2) bull's head, short-horned, with similar stylus; (3) scales in circle, from which rise a stylus and star. Hain, *1987, Proctor, 1641.

The only edition of this work (called *Quinquaginta* because it has fifty chapters) printed in the fifteenth century. It is the first book with a date printed by *Anton Sorg*. His was the fifth Augsburg press, and he printed between 1475 and 1493 a very large number of books classical, religious and historical.

An extremely fine, clean and large copy, full of rough leaves, and measuring 288 × 203 mm. Slightly rubricated, and the large initial at the beginning of the text illuminated in red and blue. Numerals in MS. (incorrectly given). MS. signatures partly cut off. A few contemporary marginal notes.

Incipit liber beati Augustini episcopi / qui vocatur quinquaginta. De eo quod scriptum est. Quis est homo qui vult vitam et cupit videre dies bonos. **O**mnia prima.

DOCANA GENOS huminū spira
 et dei / iubendo quid facere et pmetēdo qd
 sperare debemus. prius mentem nostram
 inflamat ad premium. ut quod precepit
 magis bonum amando q̄ malum timēdo
 faciamus. Quis est inquit homo qui vult
 vitam? et diligit videre bonos dies? Sic in
 terrogans quis iste sit. quasi possit muemta
 qui non sit. Quis enim non vult vitam? Quis non diligit videre
 bonos dies?

BEGINNING OF AUGUSTINUS, QUINQUAGINTA. (ANTON SORG, 1475.)

TORNELII CELSI DE MEDICI
 NA LIBERFINIT FLOREN
 TIAE A NICOLAO IM
 PRESSVS ANNO
 SALVTIS M
 CCCC L
 XXV
 III

Sigatus nec non rubricatus per me Henricum de Breida.
Barbanomunz

COLOPHON OF CELSUS AND MS. NOTE BY RUBRICATOR AND BINDER. (VIC. LAURENTII, 1478.)

1475 June 13. BARTHOLOMÆUS PLATINA. DE HONESTA VOLUPTATE.

[VENICE, LORENZO (OF AQUILA) AND SIBYLLINUS (AN UMBRIAN.)]

Fol. 1a blank. *Fol. 1b:* PLATYNÆ DE HO- || NESTA VOLVPTATE || ET VALITVDINE LI- || BRI PRIMI CAPITA. || ... *Fol. 4b:* VIRI DOCTISSIMI. Pla || tynæ opufculum de obfo- || niis ac honesta uoluptate: || impreffum venetiis labo- || re & diligentia Laurentii || presbyteri d Aquila: nec nō Sybyllini Vmbri Duce in- || clyto Petro Mocenico. I || dibus Iuniis Mcccclxxv. *Fol. 5a:* PLATYNÆ DE HONESTA VOLVPTATE: || ET VALITVDINE AD AMPLISSIMVM AC || DOCTISSIMVM D. B. ROVERELLAM. S. CLE || MENTIS PRAESBITERVM CARDINALEM || LIBER PRIMVS. ()RRABVNT Et quidem uehemēter. ... *Fol. 93b, line 4:* PLATYNÆ DE OBSONIIS LIB. FIN. f

Folio, *printed in roman type, 93 leaves, 32 lines to a page, text measures 188 × 104 mm.; without numerals, catchwords or signatures; spaces left for initials, no initial directors.* The watermarks are (1) pair of scales in circle; (2) bull's head, stylus capped by a star. Hain, *13051, Proctor, 4355.

The earliest edition with a date, and probably the first appearance of the printed text. It is the only recorded production of the printers, whose press presents some peculiarities in addition to the defects to be presently mentioned. (1) For QV in the headings to chapters Qu is always used, as in QuO; (2) the v is usually rendered by a u, but often at the beginning of words by a v of which the second stroke slopes more than the first; (3) very long hyphens are used. These eccentricities will be noticed in the facsimile of a few lines of the text, which also illustrates the want of care, unusual in a Venetian printing office, exercised in locking-up the forme. This copy unfortunately wants the four leaves of table which furnish the date and name of the printers. This is not an unusual circumstance, and the La Vallière copy (No. 1703) sold in 1773 was in the same condition. It is large, measuring 265 × 183 mm., and has contemporary MS. signatures which begin with a1, so that the table was in all probability wanting when it left the printer's hands. In some copies the colophon on *Fol. 93b* is wanting.

PATINA DE LINGVIS AVT LVCANICIS.

Quantur in aqua linguæ salitæ:coctas tessellati
concidet:ac in patinam indes:addeſq; de petroſeli,
no:mentha:ſaluia:& aromatibus quantum ſat erit:vl
timo infundatur acetum.Idem fiet de lucanicis ma/
ioribus:hyeme tamen magis q̄ æſtate:plus enim con
coctionis:quæ melior hyeme q̄ æſtate fit huiuſcemo /
di cibus requirit. DE CARNIVM DIFFEREN
TIA & QUO TEMPORE Quæq; coquēda edēdaue.

RECIPE FROM PLATINA. (LORENZO AND SIBYLLINUS, 1475.)

Barthelemi de Sacchi was born about 1421 at *Piadena*, a village in the vicinity of *Cremona*. In accordance with the fashion of that day he latinized the name of his birthplace, and is known in literature as *Platina* or *Platina*. Sometimes in favour and oftener in disgrace at the Papal Court, he ultimately obtained in 1475 the post of keeper of the Library of the Vatican, an occupation in which he was engaged simultaneously with that of corrector of the press to *Georg Lauer*, who printed in Rome from 1470 to 1481. His most celebrated work is the *Vita Summorum Pontificum ad Sixtum IV.*, a

book which will shortly come under our notice. The "honourable pleasures" which he introduces in the present volume are those of the table, and most entertaining are his disquisitions on what to eat and how to cook and eat it. The paragraph reproduced on page 102 contains, as will be seen, instructions for very simple fare—*A PLATE OF TONGUES OR SAUSAGES.* *Boil salted tongue, cut into dice, put these into a dish, add parsley, mint, sage and aromatic herbs to taste, then cover with vinegar. The same method will serve for larger sausages, but these are better suited for winter than for summer, as this sort of food requires more digestion (than the freshly-prepared dish), and digestion is easier in winter than in summer.*

1475 Sept. 20. THOMAS AQUINAS. DE VERITATE CATHOLICÆ FIDEI
CONTRA ERRORES GENTILIIUM.

[ROME, ARNOLD PANNARTZ.]

Fol. 1a blank. Fol. 1b: Ioannes Frānciscus uenet⁹ & theolog⁹ || ordīs p̃dicatoꝝ ad reuerendissimū. D. || Marcū Barbū Cardīalē facti Marci. || () Vltos hac tēpestate uiros. ... The letter ends on line 21, col. 2. On line 22, col. 2: () Ncipiunt capitula primi libri. || The Table ends on Fol. 6b, line 43, col. 2: FINIS. Fol. 7a: Incipit liber de ueritate catholice || fidei cōtra errores gētiliū. Editus || a fratre Thoma de Aquino: ordīs || p̃dicatoꝝ. Capl'm primū p̃hemīū. || Quod sit officium sapiētis. || ... () Eritatem meditabit. || ... Fol. 296a, line 25, col. 2: FINIS. Then follows the colophon, of which a reproduction is here given.

IMPRESSIT CLARVS AC DILIGENTISS.
ARTIFEX ARNOLDVS PANNARTZ.
NATIONE GERMANVS
IN DOMO VIRI NOBILIS
PETRI DE MAX. CIVIS ROMANI. ANNO
INCARNATI VERBI .M. CCCCLXXV.
DIE VERO .XX. SEPTEN.
SEDEN. SIXTO. IIII.
PONT. MAX. ANNO.
EIVS.
.V.

COLOPHON OF AQUINAS, DE VERITATE. (PANNARTZ, 1475.)

Fol. 296b: Regiftrum huius libri. || The register occupies the whole of the page.

*Folio, printed in roman type, 296 leaves, 2 columns, 42 lines to the column, text measures 222 × 144 (= 68 + 8 + 68) mm.; without numerals, catchwords or signatures; spaces left for the initials, no initial directors. The watermarks are (1) a crossbow in circle; (2) gothic **M** and cross. Hain, 1387, but very imperfectly described by him, Proctor, 3529.*

In the Bodleian but not in the British Museum.

The first edition with a date, one of the very few books printed by *Pannartz* after his partner's retirement, and a very rare volume. The editions of Strasburg (Proctor, 322), and of Venice, *Franz Renner* during his partnership with *Nicolaus of Frankfort* (Proctor, 4159), are probably earlier than this.

An extremely fine copy, almost every page as clean as when issued from the press, measuring 308 × 218 mm. A contemporary MS. table indicating the leaves on which the various books begin occurs on *Fol. 1a*. *Fol. 7a* is surrounded on three sides by a floral border in gold and colours, with the arms of a former owner.

1475 Nov. 15.

BIBLIA SACRA, LATINE.

[VUREMBERG, ANTON KOBERGER.]

Fol. 1a: Incip̄. epl'a feti hieronimi ad paulinū p̄sbi || teꝝ: de oĩbꝰ diuine historie libris. Ca
p̄m̄. || () Rater ambrosio tua || mihi munuscula p̄se || rens. detulit siml' & || suauissimas l̄ras: etc.
Fol. 4a, seventh line: Expl'. plogus. Incipit liber bh̄resit quē || nos genesim dicimus. Capi. I. ||
() N principio creauit deus || celū & terrā. Terra at̄ erat || inanis et vacua: & tenebre || erāt sup
faciē abissi: & sp̄s || dñi ferebat̄ sup aq̄s. Dix || itq̄, deꝰ. Fiat lux. Et facta || est lux.
Fol. 242b, second column, ends line 48 with the words: Explicit pfalterium. *Fol. 243a*: Epl'a
fanti hieronimi p̄sbiteri ad chro- || maciū & eliodoꝝ eꝰos d̄ libris salomōis. || *Fol. 243a,*
col. 1, line 48: Explicit epistola. || *Fol. 243a, col. 2, line 1*: Incipit liber prouerbiorum. ||
Fol. 384b, col. 2, line 16: Explicit liber secundus Machabeoꝝ. || *Fol. 385a, col. 1, line 1*: Incipit
epistola beati ieronimi ad dama || sum papam in quatuor euāgelistas. || *Fol. 385b, col. 1, line 14*:
Explicit epistola. Incipit argumentum || in euangelium secundum matheum. || *Same leaf,*
col. 2, line 2: Explicit argumentum. Incipit euange- || lium secundum matheum. || *Line 4*:
() Iber generatōnis ih̄u xpi filii. || ... *Fol. 481a, col. 2, line 21*: Explicit liber apocalipsis
beati iohan- || nis apostoli. || *Line 23*: Opus veteris nouiq̄ testamēti. Impreffum || ad laudeꝝ
& gloriam fancte ac indiuidue tri- || nitatis. Intemerateq̄, virginis marie felicit̄ || finit.
Absolutū confūmatumq̄, est. In regia || ciuitate Nurmbergen̄ per Anthoniū Cober- || ger incolā
ciuitatis eiusdeꝝ. Anno incarna || tōis dñice. M.CCCC.LXXV. Ip̄so die || Sācti Otmari
cōsefforis. XVI. Nouēbris. ||

Folio, printed in gothic type, 481 leaves, 2 columns, 48 lines in a column, text measures 278 × 194 (= 86 + 22 + 86) mm.; without numerals, catchwords or signatures; spaces left for initials, no initial directors. The watermarks are numerous. (1) Large flower of eight petals; (2) smaller ditto; (3) ditto with short stalk; (4) small flower of seven petals with stalk; (5) bunch of grapes; (6) shears, between the blades a short stylus and star; (7) anchor in circle; (8) curry-comb? Hain, *3056, Proctor, 1980.

This is approximately the twenty-fifth edition of the Latin Bible, and the first from Koberger's press, issued in its fourth year (though Maittaire, 1305, gives him credit for an edition in 1471). It is a beautifully-printed, very rare and much-esteemed volume. *Masch* ("Bibliotheca Sacra," vol. II., p. 110-1) enumerates several singular readings in the text, among these 1 Sam. xxv. 6, the words "et multis annis saluos faciens tuos et omnia tua" are entirely wanting, as are also in Jerem. xviii. 6, "Ecce sicut lutum in manibus figuli sic et domus israhel manu mea."

Anton Koberger is one of the most interesting figures among the early German typographers. His was the second Nuremberg press, which existed there from 1471 to 1500, and no less than 158 works issued by him in that period are to be found in the Library of the B.M. He was printing at Basle in 1502-4, and at Lyons from 1509-1521. That he was a man of high consideration among his contemporaries may be gathered from the testimony borne by Badius Ascenscius, quoted by Santander. In his letter heading the *Epistolæ illustrium vivorum*, 1499, he thus addresses Koberger: "*Siquidem cum sis librarium facile princeps et inter fideles atque honestos mercatores non inferiori loco positus Litteratos omnes et colis et fovēs; pervigilemque curam ad bonos codices, verè, tersè, ac sine mendis imprimendos adhibes,*" etc. So that we find him not printer only, and *facile princeps* among publishers, but also an honourable merchant and patron of literary men. He is said to have employed twenty-four presses at Nuremberg, besides having books printed for him in other towns.

A very fine, beautifully clean, and perfect copy, measuring 394 × 283 mm., rubricated throughout, large initials quaintly printed in. On *Fol. 1a*, in MS., "*Iste liber est Sancti Michaelis Archangeli patroni in*" (name indistinct). A few marginal notes, well written in pale ink. Save for its comparatively modern binding in Russia leather, just in its pristine condition.

1475 Dec. 1. MAURUS SERVIUS. EXPOSITIO IN TRIA VIRGILII OPERA.

[MILAN, "PRINTER OF SERVIUS."]

Fol. 1a: P. VIRGILII MARONIS VITA. || ()IRGILIVS. MARO. PARENTIBVS. MODI || cis fuit: & præcipue patre Marone: quem quidem || opificem figulum multi: plures autem cuiusdam (*sic*) magi ui||atoris: initio mercenarium: mox ob industriam geneꝝ || tradiderunt: etc. *Fol. 7a* (*with signature A*): MAVRI SERVII HONORATI GRAMMATICI IN TRIA || VIRGILII OPERA EXPOSITIO: ET PRIMO IN BVCOLICA. || ()VCOLICA: ut ferūt: ide dicta sunt a custodia boū. i. || αὐτο των βουκόλων apo ton bucolon, etc. *Fol. 30 blank, cut away.* *Fol. 178b blank, preceding on Fol. 179a*: Seruii honorati Expositio in quintum librum aeneidos. || *Fol. 186b blank, in the midst of matter.* *Fol. 194b blank, preceding on Fol. 195a*: MAVRI SERVII HONORATI GRAMMATICI EXPOSITIO || IN SEXTVM AENEIDOS. || *Fol. (319)b*: Anno a Natali christiano millesimo quadrigentesimo septuagesimo quin || to Kalendis decēbri9 Diuo Galeacio maria ffortia uicecomite Mediolani || Duce quinto florente hoc opus non indiligenter est impreffum. ||

Folio, printed in roman type, 319 leaves, 41 lines to a page, text measures 221 × 140 mm.; without numerals, with catchwords in very unusual positions; leaves 1-6 without signatures, then signatures A-Y, T-T8, then probably A-R in eights, S seven leaves. The signatures are placed so low in the page that in the B.M. copy they have been cut off, and many are wanting here; spaces for large initials, no initial directors; spaces are left for the longer Greek quotations, which were to be filled in in MS. The watermark is a rose of eight petals. Hain, 14708, Proctor, 5886.

The fifth edition of this commentary, of which the first was issued by the R printer. The type is different from that of any other Milan press, and only three books by this printer, whose name has not been ascertained, are mentioned by Mr. Proctor, of which this is the only one with a date. The book is undoubtedly rare, and is a great bibliographical curiosity by reason of the extraordinary way in which the catchwords are arranged, to which many of the earlier bibliographers have failed to call attention. These helps to the binder indicating the sequence of the quires had not been long in use, the earliest being in the *Tacitus* begun in 1473 by Johann of Spire, and finished, after his brother's death, by Wendelin. And "printer of Servius" seems to have only been feeling his way in their adoption. He has not used them throughout the volume. The first occurs on *Fol. 22b*, and in this and many other cases the catchword is not printed as

Opus veteris nominisq; testamēti. Impressum
ad laudes & gloriā sancte ac indiuidue tri-
nitatis. Intemerateq; virginis marie felicit̄
finit. Absolutū consumatumq; est. In regia
ciuitate Nurmbergen per Anthoniū Cober-
ger incolā ciuitatis eiusdem. Anno incarna-
tōis dñice. M. CCCC. LXXV. Ipso die
Sācti Otmarī cōfessoris. XVI. Nouēbris.

COLOPHON OF BIBLIA SACRA. (KOBBERGER, 1475.)

Neque parnasi
uobis ruga nam neque pindi . montes thessalie sunt : Parnasus et pindus :
montes sūt thessaliæ : apollini et musis consecrati . Aonie aganippe . nomina
cui sunt singulares . aganippe autem fons est boetiæ : quæ et aonia dicitur .
Aonie autem breuis tit ni quia sequitur uocalis uocalem . Sola sub rupe .

PORTION OF TEXT OF SERVIUS, EXPOSITIO (showing vertical catchword).
(PRINTER OF SERVIUS, 1475.)

deferra

Nā hæc arbor . i . citrus omni pœne t̄pre plena est pomis : quæ in ea partim
matura : partim acerba : partim adhuc in flore sunt posita aut certe felicit̄
salubris . Nulla enim efficacior res est ad uenena pellēda præsentius . fa-
cilis . Sæuæ nouercæ aut illæ quæ sæuæ sunt . aut epitheton est omniu

nouercæ

PORTION OF TEXT OF SERVIUS, EXPOSITIO (showing horizontal catchword).
(PRINTER OF SERVIUS, 1475.)

usual in a short *horizontal* line just under the right-hand corner of the text, but is put *vertically*, as will be seen in the facsimile of *Fol. 29b*; the next in the same odd position on *Fol. 38b*, the next on *Fol. 46b*, whilst on *Fol. 54b* and many subsequent quires the catchword is placed horizontally under the centre of the text. See facsimile. On *Fol. 124b* an incorrect word is used, "Cōtionē" instead of "Cōticuere." There is a gap between *Fol. 156b* and *Fol. 200b*, in which there are no catchwords. On *Fol. 258b* the catchword is "Sacrata," although this is the first word of the *second* line of the next page. There are none between *Fol. 266b* and *290b*, nor between that page and *306b*. So that on the whole their disposition is distinctly erratic.

There can, I think, be little doubt that these catchwords were an afterthought of the person who was responsible for the publication of the volume, suggested in all probability by mistakes made by the binder in the assembling of the quires, in spite of the fact that provision for his guidance had been already made by the employment of signatures, printed so near the bottom of the page that they were in most instances cut off after the book was "forwarded," by his "plough." The catchwords are very roughly composed, and their type has been less uniformly inked than the text, giving just the appearance of having been stamped separately on each leaf *by hand*, though a collation with the copy in the B.M. leads to the conclusion that this was not really the case.

Greek type without accents is used for the shorter quotations, but the space left for them in the roman text is usually greatly in excess of what was really required, showing, I think, that two compositors were employed, the first, who could not compose Greek leaving abundant margin for the scholar who was to complete the composition.

We derive our knowledge of *Horatius Maurus Servius*, a grammarian of the fifth century, chiefly from *Macrobius*, who very early in the work introduces him to the literary *coterie* which holds sway in his *Saturnalia* (already noticed herein under the year 1472), as a very young professor, of bashful mien and exceeding modesty; he allots to him a whole chapter, *Figure Virgilianæ*, in the sixth book, calls him *doctorum maximus*, and allows him to take an important part in the discussion on the poet whose works he had so laboriously annotated.

[Circa 1475.] BONAVENTURA. AUCTORITATES UTRIUSQUE
TESTAMENTI.

[STRASBURG, HEINRICH EGGESTEIN.]

*Fol. 1a, lines 1-4 blank. Line 5, col. 1: ()*Recepit dominus || ade dicens ex omni || ligno paradisi co- || medes. Genesis ij. || In quo etiā abfti- || nēcia cōmendať cū || dñs noluit hominē vti omni cibo || etiam in paradiso. ... *Fol. 48a, col. 2, line 23: dicebant hiis que a paulo diceban || tur Actuum xiii. ꝛc. Fol. 48a, col. 2, line 25: Expliciunt auctoritates || vtriusq, testamenti. ||*

Folio, *printed in gothic type, 48 leaves, double columns, 42 lines to a column, text measures 193 × 138 (= 60 + 18 + 60) mm.; without numerals, catchwords or signatures; spaces for initials, no initial directors.* The watermark is a tall cross on a rounded elevation, a lower one on each side, (*dreiberg*). Hain, *3534, Proctor, 283.

Eggestein's second edition. The type is different from that used by him in the "*Legenda Aurea*," already described. The work does not seem to have been subsequently printed during the fifteenth century.

The first subject-matter index of the Bible, perhaps of any book. The references are conveniently arranged, *e.g.* in the paragraph on the *Adornment of women* reference is made to the meretricious disguise of Thamar, the *maquillage* of Jezebel, the wiles of Judith and the modest attire of Esther. Under a different title the same work appears as *Exempla Scripturæ*, a copy of which will be noticed under the year 1478.

A fair copy, measuring 266 × 202 mm., slightly water-stained. Partially rubricated; the rubricator has filled up *Fol. 1a, lines 1-4*, with the title, Utriusq, Testamenti au- || toritates incipiūt feliciter. ||

[1475?] ÆNEAS SYLVIUS. HISTORIA DE DUOBUS AMANTIBUS.

[COLOGNE, NICOLAUS GOTZ OF SLETZSTADT.]

Fol. 1a: Enee Siluij poete Senēsis || de duob9 amantib9. Eurialo et || Lucretia opofculū ad Maria- || num. Sofinū feliciter || Incipit. Prefacō. || ()Agnifico ꝛ generoso mi- || liti dño Gaspari slick || dño noui castru cefareo || Cācellario, etc. *Fol. 1b, col. 1, line 37, the letter to Slick finishes with the word Vale; line 38:* ()Neas filluius (*sic*) poeta Imp- || ialifq, secretarius S. p. dicit || Mariano zofino vtriuq, iu- || ris interpreti, etc. *The text begins on Fol. 2a, col. 2, line 26:* ()Rbem fenas vñ tibi et m̄ origo est. || *Fol. 19b, col. 1, line 34:* Explicuit opusculū Enee || Siluij de duob9 amātib9. || *Fol. 19b, col. 2:* Epistola Enee filuij poe- || te laureati Siue Pii Pa || pe feundi (*sic*) de amoris reme || dio incipit: ... ()Neas Siluius tibi. || Ipolito mediolanensi. || Salutē plurimaz dicit. || ... *Fol. 22a, col. 2, line 13:* Amoris remedium finit. ||

Folio, *printed in gothic letter, 22 pages, 2 columns, 38 lines to a column, text measures 187 × 126 (= 57 + 12 + 57) mm.; without numerals, catchwords or signatures; spaces left for initials, but no initial directors.* The watermark is a bull's head, long horns, stylus capped with star. Hain, *217, not in Proctor.

A very rare edition, of which there is no copy in the British Museum or Bodleian.

There are several other early editions of this celebrated book, none of which appears to have any definite claim to priority.

A large and perfect copy, slightly stained and wormed in places; it measures 273 × 193 mm. The "register" of the type, in this copy at any rate, is very irregular indeed, often as much as 6 mm. askew.

Duo amantes

The popularity of this well-known romance, written by Æneas Sylvius (Piccolomini), afterwards Pope Pius II., may be estimated from the fact that some forty editions were issued before the year 1500. The author, who appears to have composed the story of *Eurialus* and *Lucretia* in 1444, is said to have repented in his later days(*) of his successes as a writer of amatory romance, but he did not attempt to disguise the warmth of his own passions at the time of its composition. In his preface addressed to Marianus Sossinus he begs him to read the story, and, as being a man, not to blush at the remembrance that something of the same nature has at one time or other happened to him. "For he who has never felt the flames of love is either a stone or a beast; such (fervour) as we well know is not wanting in the marrow of the gods themselves." Yet he proceeds to ask what tale of love it can beseem him, Æneas, a man of nearly forty, to write, or his correspondent, who is fifty, to listen to.

The tale is in the vein of those of the *Decameron* of Boccaccio, written a century earlier. *Lucretia*, of the family of the Camilli, a girl of twenty, wife of the rich and undesirable *Menelaus*, a citizen of Sienna, is of perfect beauty in face, form and mind, and her charms are set forth in artistic and glowing colours. Of tall and entirely graceful stature, a goddess rather than a woman, she was entirely thrown away upon a man like



PORTRAITS OF EURIALUS AND
LUCRETIA.

(SCHEDEL, LIBER CHRONICARUM, 1493.)

(*) In the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum usque ad annum, 1681, Romæ, 1704, 8vo*, we find prohibited those portions of Æneas Sylvius' work which he himself condemned in his Bull of Retraction, doubtless a politic measure on his part on assuming the tiara.

Menelaus, unworthy to possess in his house so fair a jewel, but quite worthy, says our author (pope in embryo) to be betrayed by her! Her beauty was of the true Italian type, her hair resembled flakes of gold, and under the thin dark eyebrows flashed intoxicating eyes with which the owner could slay men to the left and to the right, and bring them back to life at will; a kiss-provoking dimple graced the coral mouth when a smile disclosed her crystal teeth. Her voice music, her speech like that of the mother of the Gracchi; in spite of her simple and modest mien a brave heart beat in her lovely bosom. It would be quite beside the intention of this catalogue of ancient tomes to pursue in detail the course of love between this fair and eventually frail creature and her somewhat unworthy lover *Eurialus*, a love which of course sprang into being at their first encounter, or the story told in touching language of the strife between her passion and her scruples.⁽¹⁾ The correspondence of the infatuated pair, their forgetfulness of their obligations, the masquerading of *Eurialus*, their secret meetings, risks, and hardly-escaped catastrophe are related, though in simple language, with no small art and feeling. The finale strikes one, however, as somewhat bald and disappointing. *Eurialus* has perforce to follow his imperial master in his journeyings over Europe; passionate letters and heart-breaking leave-takings ensue, and finally, though the reader finds no sort of necessity for an ultimate and lasting separation, poor *Lucretia* takes her lover's departure fatally to heart, divests herself of all her glorious attire, is never heard to sing or seen to smile and dies of a broken heart in the arms of her distracted mother. The craven *Eurialus*, who alone had shown abject fear when a common danger threatened the guilty pair, and whose passion was as selfish as hers self-sacrificing, was "very sorry" when he heard of her death, arrayed himself in mourning, and refused all comfort till the Emperor joined him in marriage to a very beautiful and chaste virgin of ducal blood! And for such a man *Lucretia* had died.

The remedy for love which in eleven columns of text follows the romance, though written in the previous year, is a jejune and most unconvincing production, attributing inconstancy as a matter of course to every woman who has once forgotten her vows, and warning the author's friend, *Hippolitus*, against her sex rather than against his own wayward inclinations.

As it may interest the reader to look upon the original of the last chapter of a fifteenth century novel, I append a facsimile of the concluding portion, the death of *Lucretia* being recorded in the first four lines.

(1) Burton, "Anatomy of Melancholy," Part III., Sec. 3. "The same complaint *Eurialus* makes to his *Lucretia*:—'Day and night I think of thee, I wish for thee, I talke of thee, call on thee, looke for thee, hope for thee, delight myselfe in thee, day and night I love thee.'

Int multum ploratis brachia
 mēis ac collacinantis e frustra
 solatoris vobis vātis indig-
 nante aīam palavit. Cuius
 lus postq̄ ex ocul' nūq̄ se aplis
 us visus abht nulli mt cūde;
 locus solā m m ente lucretiaz
 gerebat. et an vnḡ reucti pos-
 set meditata. Venitq; tandem
 ad cesarē percussū manentē quez
 deinde feraciam • manūā todē
 tūm • stanciam • et bafleā ser-
 atus est ad demū m hungariā
 atq; bohemiā Sed vt ip̄e cesa-
 rem • sic eū lucretia sequebatur
 m sompnis vullāq; nocte; sibi
 q̄cā pmittebat Quā vt obht
 se vctus amator agnouit • mag-
 no dolore p̄notus lugebrē vlti-
 tem recepit nec solatōncin ad-
 misit nisi postq̄ cesar ex ducali
 sangrūne v̄ginē sibi tū formos-
 sam tū castissimam atq; prudē-
 tem m̄mucio iūxit • Habet
 amoris ep̄tū Marcane mi amā-
 tissime nō facti neq; felici • quē
 qui legeāt p̄cūlū ex alijs faci-
 aut qd sibi ex vsu sciet Nec a-
 matorū bibe paulū studeāt
 qd longe plus aloes habet q̄
 mellis Vale. Ex Vienna qn
 w nouas Julias Millesimoq̄
 būgentēmoq̄biagehimoq̄to •

Explicit opusculū Enee
 Silvij de duob; amātib;

1475. GULIELMUS DE OCKHAM. DISPUTATIO INTER CLERICUM ET MILITEM.

[COLOGNE, GOISWIN GOPS OF EUSKYRCHEN.]

Fol. 1a: Disputatio iter clericum et militē sup potesta || tē prelatiſ eccleſie atq, principibꝫ terraꝝ com || miſſa ſub forma dyalogi incipit feliciter ||; *line 4*, ()lericus ſermonis ſui exordium ſub || hac forma poſuit dicēs, etc. *Fol. 13b, line 10*: Et ſic eſt finis. *Fol. 14a*: Compendiū de vita anticriſti incipit feliciter. *Fol. 16b*: Explicit compendiū de vita anticriſti ſub anno dni. M.CCCC.LXXV.

4to, printed in gothic type, 16 leaves, 26 lines to a page, text measures 130 × 84 mm.; without numerals, catchwords or signatures; space left for large initial, no initial directors; § used occasionally for S. The watermark is a bull's head, short stylus and star. Hain, 6117, Proctor, 1135.

The first dated edition of this tract, the earliest edition of which, by the printer of the *Augustinus de Fide*, has been already described. Books printed by *Goiswin Gops* are extremely rare; Mr. Proctor mentions only two, the *Sermo de feſto præſentationis beatæ virginis* and the *Ockham*, which last was not known to Santander. No book from Gops's press is in the Bodleian.

This is a tall, clean copy, measuring 263 × 142 mm., a duplicate from the Grossherzoglich Hessische Hof-Bibliothek. But it wants folios 14 to 16, containing the life of Antichrist, the *Disputatio* being perfect.

There is a very marked similarity between this edition and that by the printer of *Augustinus de Fide* previously described. Although, as will be seen, there is a slight difference in the size of the text, the pages correspond line for line and word for word until *Fol. 11b* is reached, each text being probably printed from an identical MS., but at the bottom of this page the compositor of the earlier edition has made up his mind so to squeeze the matter as to get seven lines into six. A facsimile of a portion of these lines is given to show what power of compression was put into the hands of a compositor of that day by the right of using contractions *ad libitum*, and the subsequent reproductions will show how, on the next leaf, he got out of the difficulty of being a line behindhand by filling up the line in the middle of a sentence with unmeaning marks, thus making the next page begin with the proper word. These vagaries probably arose in the first place from miscalculations of the length to be occupied by the "takes" of the different compositors, which also account for the peculiarities in the composition of the *Legenda Sanctorum* of Eggstein (1472-3). The section mark (§) occasionally used by *Gops* for S will be observed in the third facsimile.

[1475-6.] JACOBUS DE VORAGINE. LEGENDA SANCTORUM = LEGENDA AUREA = HISTORIA LOMBARICA.

[AUGSBURG, GUNTHER ZAINER.]

Fol. 1a: Incipit plogus sup legenda ſc̄toꝝ quã opila- || uit fr̄ iacobꝫ natōe Ianuēſ. ordiſ fr̄m p̄dicatoꝝ. || *Fol. 1b, line 12*: ... ab octaua penthecoſten vſq, ad aduentum. || *End of prologue, the text begins, line 13, with the heading, De aduentu domini.* *Fol. 398a, line 42*: || fuit q̄ſi otilia duobꝫ modis martir ſuit & cāniſ maceratione. || Hyſtoria lombardica ſanctoꝝ finit feliciter. || *Fol. 398b blank.*

Folio, printed in a roman type with gothic affinities. The capital letters are roman, the I, H, L, M, N, and T of which are distinguished by the peculiarity of a small ring projecting from

Et si deus ut dicitur
propter ingratitude[m] reuocat peccatorum
remissionem videatis ne propter vestra[m] rebelli
onem non metamini. Non minus sed etiam
plus onerari et tandem facultate simul et pote
state denudari. Clericus. Numquid per re
ges tollende sunt gracie nobis per leges concess
se et per beatorum principum privilegia sancte

PORTION OF TEXT OF FOL. 118 OF DISPUTATIO. (GOPS, 1475.)

Et si deus ut dicitur
propter ingratitude[m] reuocat peccatorum
remissionem videatis ne propter vestra[m] rebelli
onem non metamini. Non minus sed etiam
plus onerari et tandem facultate simul et potestate
denudari. Clericus. Numquid per reges tollende sunt
gracie nobis per leges concessa et per beatorum principum privile
gia sancte ecclesie concessa. Miles. fateor et rex e

CORRESPONDING PORTION OF TEXT OF DISPUTATIO. (PRINTER OF AUGUSTINUS DE FIDE, 1472.)

Et ab oli
tis nouas si placuerit promulgare. Alioquin si
aliquid noui ut sepe accidit visum fuerit sta
tuendum. Si rex non possit hoc qui est summus tunc
nullus poterit. quia ultra eum non est superior ullus

PORTION OF TEXT OF FOL. 123 OF DISPUTATIO. (GOPS, 1475.)

Et ab
olitis nouas si placuerit promulgare. Alioquin
si aliquid noui ut sepe accidit visum fuerit sta
tuendum. Si rex non possit hoc. Qui est sum
mus. Tunc nullus poterit. quia ultra eum non
est superior ullus. * * * * *

CORRESPONDING PORTION OF TEXT OF DISPUTATIO. (PRINTER OF AUGUSTINUS DE FIDE, 1473.)

the down stroke, as will be seen in the facsimile; 398 leaves, 39, 40, 41, 43 or 44 lines to a page, text (without numerals) of 43, the most usual number of lines, measures 206 × 115 mm.; lower-case roman numerals, no catchwords nor signatures, the "register" extremely uneven. Most of the initials are printed from wooden blocks, the larger of conventional floral design, the smaller ones in outline. For some few of the smaller initials spaces are left, no initial directors. 164 woodcuts, some repetitions. The watermarks are (1) bull's head, long horns, short stylus capped with flower; (2) bull's head, long horns, crown impaled on long stylus capped with flower; (3) bull's head, long horns, stylus and flower; (4) bull's head, long curled horns, double stylus and star; (5) bull's head, long horns, short stylus impaling crescent, flower at the top; (6) large bull's head, long horns, double stylus and trefoil; (7) bull's head, curled horns, short double stylus and trefoil; (8) small bull's head, short stylus capped by tulip; (9) small bull's head, long stylus and trefoil; (10) small bull's head, very short stylus and flower; (11) small bull's head capped with short stylus, on which is a gothic p; (12) keys in saltire; (13) crown, with very tall arch surmounted by ball and cross. Not in Hain or Proctor.

An extremely rare book, almost unknown to bibliographers, and not in the British Museum or Bodleian.

This is perhaps the third edition of the *Legenda Sanctorum*. It is certainly preceded by that of *Michael Wenssler* [Proctor, 7460], and probably by that of *Ulrich Gering*, Sept., 1475 [Proctor, 7843].

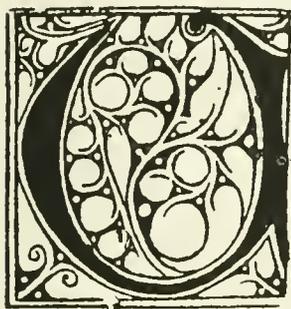
A large copy, with many rough edges, measuring 284 × 200 mm., very clean, some slight water stains; first leaf repaired and last mounted; rubricated up to and including *Fol. lvij*a; cuts uncoloured, except that the rubricator has, as often happens, contributed of his *minium* to an initial or the nimbus of a Saint; a few MS. notes. (The Quatremère copy.)

The first dated volume which proceeded from the press of *Gunther Zainer of Reutlingen*, the proto-typographer of Augsburg, was the *Bonaventura Meditationes de vita Christi*, dated March 12, 1468, printed in type identical with that of *Schüssler*, who employed this type and no other in his books, and with which that of *Johann Zainer of Ulm* has great affinity. It is conjectured that Gunther may have printed some undated books before the *Meditationes*. It is to him that we owe the introduction of the beautiful Roman letter first used in 1472 in the *Etymologie S. Tridori* [Hain, *9273, Proctor, 1532]. In 1475 or 1476 he first used the peculiar capital letters alluded to above as occurring in this edition of the *Voragine*. At least seventy books issued from his press during the ten years in which it was at work. He died on April 13, 1478. He was another of the early printers who endeavoured to build up a large business by making the public well acquainted with his productions; his catalogues resemble in essentials those of Mentelin but are more extensive and more elaborate.

The *Legenda Sanctorum, Historia Lombardica, or Legenda Aurea* (the Golden Legend), as it is variously called, was the compilation of *Jacobus de Voragine* or *Varagine*, a Dominican, born about the year 1230 near Genoa. He was Archbishop of Genoa in 1292, and died in 1298. An odd but improbable story is told of him by Philip de Bergamo to the effect that when he presented himself on the first day of Lent before Boniface VIII., in order to participate in the distribution of ashes, the Pope, who suspected him of favouring the imperial faction, cast the ashes into his eyes, saying *Memento quia gibellinus es et cum gibellinis tuis in pulverem reverteris*. His work attained the highest pinnacle of popularity in spite of the adverse criticisms of some men of sense. Ludovicus Vives says of it:—"Golden Legends forsooth, written by a man of iron mouth and leaden heart. What can be more foul than this book, in which the acts of our noblest saints are so untruthfully and inaccurately related?" It was translated into almost all European languages but shared after a time the fate of all similar demands on the credulity of the masses. Yet never can it lose for us the charm of *naïveté* and laughter-moving absurdity.

The great rarity of this volume, and the singularity of the woodcuts which it contains, seem to warrant the reproduction of a certain number of these. And here, as in one or two other cases, I have not scrupled to substitute for a modern translation of the legends which they illustrate the quaint and vigorous language of the earliest English version. *Caxton's* text of 1483 will be found to form a strictly appropriate framing for the practically contemporaneous illustrations of *Zainer's* edition.

Incipit plogus sup legenda sc̄toꝝ quā epila/
uit fē iacob natōe Januēh ordis fēm p̄dicatoꝝ



In vrum f̄m i. Altra superioris 1612
Diuersum tempus p̄sentis vite in q̄tuor
 distinguitur .sc̄z in tempus deuiationis .
 renouationis siue reuocationis .reconci/
 liationis & pegrinationis .Tempus dei/
 atiois fuit ab adam post q̄m sci'icz a deo
 deuiauit .Et durauit vsq; ad moysen &
 istud tempus rep̄ntat ecclesia a septua/
 gesima vsq; ad pasca .Vnde & tunc legit
 renouationis .genesis lib. .sc̄z in quo ponitur deuatio p̄mœū
 parentum.

BEGINNING OF PROLOGUE OF LEGENDA SANCTORUM.
 (GUNTHER ZAINER, 1475-6.)



De nomine
Symphorianus a simphonia fuit .enim
 tanq̄ vas musicum emittens armoniaz
 virtutum in quo tanq̄ in vase musico
 tria fuerunt Nam vt dicit auerrois So/
 natium debet esse durum ad resistent/
 dum leue ad continuandum latum ad
 implendum Sic et simphorianus tanq̄
 vas musicum fuit Durus sibi per auste/
 ritatem leuis alijs per mansuetudinem latus omnibus per ca/
 ritatis a mplitudinem

SPECIMEN OF TYPE OF LEGENDA SANCTORUM, NOT RUBRICATED, SHOWING THE
 PECULIAR FORMS OF THE "N" AND "Y." (GUNTHER ZAINER, 1475-6.)

Of Seynt Stephen the Pope.

WHan feynt stephen the pope had conuerted many of the paynems vnto the cristen fayth both by word and by example / and had also Buryed many bodyes of the marters in the yere of our lord two hundred & lx he was fought by grete studie of valeryen and of galyen thenne emperours. For by cause that he and his clerkes shold doo sacrefyfe vnto theyr ydolles or ellis to be slayne by dyuers tormentis / and the sayd emperours made ordynauce / that who fomeuer broughte them / he shold haue all theyr substaūce and for that cause and of his clerkes were taken / and brought forth / and anon wythout audyence were byheded. And the day folowyng feynt Stephen the pope was taken and brought to the temple of mars theyr god / to thende that he shold adoure and doo honour to thydolle / or ellys he shold have fentence to be byheded. / But whan he was entred in to the temple he prayed to our lord Ihū cryft that he wold destroy the temple / and anon a grete party of the temple fylle. And alle they that were there / fledde for drede that they had / and thenne he went to the Tyme toyre of feynt luke / and whan valerien herd that / he sent to hym no Knyghtes than he dyd tofore /



MARTYRDOM OF ST. STEPHEN THE POPE.

and whan they cam they fond hym fyngyng masse. / And anon he fynyshed deuoutly that which he had begoune. / And that doon they byheded hym in his feete. /



ST. MARY MAGDALENE.

Of Seynt Magdalene.

In this mene whyle the blessed marie magdalene defyrous of fouerayn contemplacion / fought a ryght sharp deferte / and toke a place whiche was ordeyned by thangele of god / and abode there by the fpace of xxx yere without knowleche of ony body. / In whiche place she had no comfort of rennyng water / no folace of trees ne of herbes. / And that was bycause our redemer dyd do shewe it openly. / That he had ordeyned for her refection celestial / and no bodily metes / And every day at every hour canonical she was lift vp in thayer of thangellis / And herd the gloryous songe of the heuenly companyes with her bodily eeres / Of whiche she was fedde and fylled with right swete metes / and thenue was brought agayn by thangellis vnto her propre place / in suche wyfe as she had no nede of corporal noriffhyng.

The decollacion of Seynt Johan Baptist.

And Herode and Herodyan couetyng occasyon
 ageynste faynt Johan / how they myght
 make hym to dye / ordeyned bytwene them secretly /
 That whenne Herode sholde make the Feste of
 his Natuyte / the daughter of Herodyane shold
 demaunde a yeste of Herode for daunfying and
 spryngyng at the feste to fore the pryncypal prynces
 of his royamme / And he shold fwere to her
 by his othe that he shalle graunte hit her / And
 she shold axe the hede of faynt Johan / and he wold
 yeue it to her for kepyng of his othe / but he
 shold fayne as he were angry by cause of makynge
 of the othe. /

Of Seynt Forsayn.

Forsayn was a Biffhop. And Bede wrytheth
 thistorye of hym / And lyke as he shone in
 al boñte / & vertue / so at his last ende he yelded vp
 his spyryte / and whaune he passyd / he sawe two
 angels comyng to hym / whiche bare his fowle vp to
 heuen / and the thyrð angel cam with a whyte sheld
 shynyng / and he wente before and after that he sawe
 deuyls cryenge and herd how they sayd / late vs go



DECOLLATION OF JOHN THE BAPTIST.



FORSEUS (OR FORSAYN) IS GRIEVOUSLY SMITTEN
 WHILST IN A TRANCE BY A DEVIL.

to fore and make a bataylle to fore hym / and whan
 they were gone to fore hym thei retorned ageynst hym /
 and threwe to hym brennyng dartes / But the angel
 that wente before receyued them with his shelde /
 and thenne the deuyl fette them ageynst the angels /
 and sayd / that he hadde alweye sayd ydle wordes / And
 therefore he ought not withoute payne vse the bleffyd
 lyf / and the Aungel seyde to them / yf ye purpose
 not ageynst hym the pryncipal vyces / he shal not
 perffhye for the smale / And thenne the deuylle
 sayd / yf god be rightwys / this man shalle not be
 faued / For it is wretton yf ye be not conuerted /
 and made lyke as one of my lytel children / ye shal
 not entre into kyngdom of heuen / To whome thangel
 excusyng hym / sayd / he had indulgence in his
 herte / but he obteyned the custom & vfage / & the
 deuil said lyke as he hath taken euylle customme /
 soo late hym receyue vengeance by the fouerayne
 Juge / and the holy Angel sayd / we shalle be juged
 to fore god / Thenne the deuylle was styll / yet he
 aroos ageyne / and sayd / vnto now we trowed / that
 god had be trewe / for al tho synnes that ben not
 purged in erthe / be promysed that they shold
 euerlastyngly be punysshed / This men receyued a
 vesture of an vsurer / and was not therof punysshed /

where is thenne the rightwyfnes of god / To whome theaᅅgel fayd / holde youre peas. For ye knowe not the fecrete Jugementis of god / as longe as a man hopeth to doo his penaunce / foo longe the mercy of god is redy to the man / The deuyl anwerd / here is no place of penaunce / To whome thaungel fayd / ye knowe not the profoundnesse of the Jugementes of god / Thenne the deuylle smote hym foo greuoufly / that after when he was reftablyffhed to lyf the token and trace of the stroke abode euer after. / Thenne the deuyls tooke one / that was tormented in the fyre / & threwe hym on forsyn / fo that he brent his sholdre / and thenne Forsyn faw wel / that it was the vferer of whome he hadde receyued the vestyment / and thaungel fayd to hym / by caufe thow receyuedest it / he hath brent the / yf thou haddest not receyued the yeste of hym that is deed in fynnes / this payn sholde not haue brente the / and thou haft this payne of brennyng by caufe thou receyuedest the vestyment of hym. . . . And at the laft the fowle was brogght ageyne to his propre body / And his neyghbours wepte / whyche had fupposed that he hadde ben dede / And after this he lyued a certeyne tyme / and fynyffhed his lyf laudably in good werkes.

EARLIEST FORM OF GUILLOTINE.



MARTYRDOM OF ST. QUINTINUS.

Of Seynt Quyntyn.



ST. MARTIN AND THE BEGGAR.

Q uyntyn was of noble lynage of the Cyte of Rome / and cam in to the Cyte of Amyens / shewing many myracles / And was taken there of the prouost of the Cyte by commaundement of Maxymyen / & was beten vntyl they that bete hym were wery / and after was put in pryfon / but he was vnbound of an Aungell / and he wente in to the cyte and there prechyd to the peple / Thenne he was taken ageyne / and was strayned on the Geulee an Instrumete to tormente fayntes on / vnto the brekyng of his vaynes / and beten wyth rawe fynewes ryght longe / And afterward he was boyled in brennyng oylle / and pytche / And yet for alle that he mocqued the Juge / Thenne the Juge dyde doo put in to his mouth quyck lyme / vyneagre / and mustard / and yet alleway he abode confaunt and vnmenable / and thenne he was brought into Vermandoys / and fixed in hym ij nayles fro his hede vnto his knees / and ten nayles bytwene his nayles / and the fleshe of his nayllys and the fleshe on his handes / and at the laste the prouost made hym to be byheded / and threwe the body in to the water. /

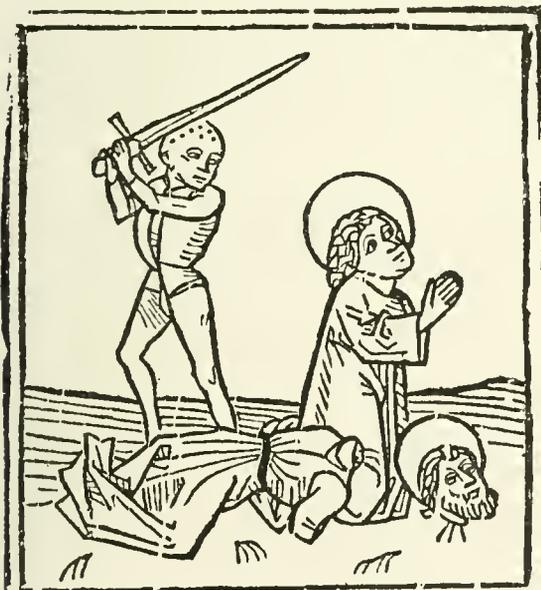
Of Seynt Martyn.

M Artyn was borne in the castelle of Sabarye in the towne of pauonye / but he was nourysshed in Italy at pauye wyth his fader / whyche was mayster and trybune of the knyghtes vnder constancien and Julyaue Cezar / And Martyn rode with hym / but not with his wylle / For fro hys yong Infancye he was enpyred deuynely of god / And whanne he was twelue yere old he fled to the Chirche ayenfte the wylle of alle his kynne / And requyred to be made neuw in the faythe / And fro thens he wold haue entryd in to deserte / yf Infyrmyte of maladye had not lette hym / And as temperours hadde ordeyned that the fones of Auncyent Knyghtes shold ryde in stede of their faders / And Martyn whiche was syften yere old was commanded to doo the fame / and was maad Knyght / and was contente with one seruaunt / And yet oftymes Martyn wold ferue hym / and drawe of his botes / In a wynter tyme as Martyn passed by the yate of Amyens he met a poure man al naked / to whome no man gaf ony almesse / Thenne Martin drewe oute his fwerd / And carf hys mantell therwith in two pyeces in the myddel / And gaf that one half to the poure man / For he hadde nothyng els to gyue to hym / And he clad hym self with that other half / The next nyght folowyng / he sawe oure lord Ihesu crist in heuen clothed with that parte / that he hadde gyuen to the poure man And sayde to the Aungels that were aboute hym martyn yet newe in the fayth hath couerd me with this vesture / Of whiche thyng this holy man was not enhaunced in vayne glorie / But he knewe there by the bounte of god / and whaune he was eyghten yere of age / he dyde do baptyse hym self. /

Of Johan and Paule.

Thenne shewed Julyan the emperour the couetyse of hys herte, And he confermed by wytyues of the gospel seyng / our Lord Ihesus sayde who that renounceth not alle that he hath / may not be my dyscyple / And therfor when he herd that the bleffyd fayntes / John and poul had the riches that eustance theyr lady had leste to them / and they susteyned the pore cristen peple of our lord Jesu crist / he demaunded them that lyke as they had ben wyth constantyn so wold be that they shold be with

hym thenne they sayd to hym whan the glorious Constantyn / and constant his sone gloryfyed them to be crysten / we wold wel ferue them / but syth that thou hast forsaken thy relygyon ful of vertues / we ben departed fro the / ne we wyl nomore obeye to the / Julyen thenne sayd to them / I had the estate of a clerke in the chirche / and yf I wold haue abyden / I had had the mooste worshipful / But bycause it is vanyte and solye to ferue parissis / & to be / ydle I haue fette my herte in cheualrye / And therfor I haue made sacrefise to the goddes / And they haue gyuen to me the empyre / And thus ye that haue be brought forth and norissed in paleys ought to be by my syde / & yf ye haue me in despyte / I shal do so moche that I shal not be despyfed / thene answerd they / we loue better god than the / & we doubte nothyng thy menaces by cause that we wyl not angre our god thenne sayd Julyan / yf ye do not my wylle within ten dayes with your agreement / ye shal do it after agenst youre wylle / The fayntes said to hym / thynke ye as though now the ten dayes were goon / And do thys day that whiche thou purpofest to doo thenne / to whome Julyan wene ye that crysten men shal make you marters / but yf ye



DECOLLATION OF SS. JOHN AND PAUL.

confent to me I shalle punyffhe you / not as martirs / but as comen enemyes / thene John and poule duryng thyfe 10 dayes entended to prayer and to almesse / And after on the tenth day terencyen was fent to them whiche fayd to them Our lord Julyan hath fent me to you That ye sholde honour the ymage of Jouys whiche we bryng to you / or ellys ye must deye / Thenne they fayd to hym / yf Julyan be thy lord Haue thou peas wyth hym / we haue none other lord but Jhefu cryft / whan Julyen herde thyfe wordes / he made theyr hedes to be fnyten offe secretylye and to be buryed in theyr hows / and after made to be faid that thei were fent in to exyle. /

1476 Feb. 16. QUINTUS HORATIUS FLACCUS. OPERA.

[MILAN, PHILIPPUS OF LAVAGNA.]

Fol. 1a: QVINTI HORATII FLACCI || VENVSINI CARMINVM LIBER || PRIMVS AD MECOENATEM. ()Eccenas Atauis edite regibus. ... Fol. 50b, line 17: QVINTI HORATII FLACCI || EPODOS. || Ad Mecoenatem. (i)BIS Liburnis. ... Fol. 61b, line 30: FINIS. Fol. 62a: QuINTI HORATII FLACCI DE AR || TE POETICA AD PISONES LIBER. || (h)Vmano capiti. ... Fol. 69a, line 7: QVINTI HORATII FLACCI || SERMONVM LIBER PRIMVS || AD MECOENATEM. Satyra prima. || (q)Vi fit Mecœnas. ... Fol. 101a: QVINTI HORATII FLACCI EPI || STOLARVM LIBER PRIMVS. || Quintus. Horatius Flaccus Mecoenati. s. || (p)Rima dicte. ... Fol. 124a, line 20: FINIS. || Hoc opus Horatii emendatissimum impreffum est || opa & impensis Philippi de Lauagnia Ciuis medio || lanensis. Anno a Natali Christiano. Mccccxxvi. || die. xvi. Februarii. Amen. || Fol. 124b blank.

4to, printed in roman type, 124 leaves, 34 lines to a page, text measures 181 × 91 mm.; without numerals, catchwords or signatures; spaces left in almost all cases for initials, in some of which there are initial directors, in others not. In one case at least a large initial letter is printed. The capital letters at the beginning of each line stand away from the lower-case letters at varying distances, as will be seen in the facsimiles. The watermark is a flower of eight petals. Hain, 8870, Proctor, 5847.

The fifth edition of Horace, the earliest dated edition being that of Zarotus, March 16, 1474. There was no earlier edition either in the special collections of editions of Horace of Dr. Douglas, or in that of the Marquis de Moranti, dispersed at Paris in 1872, in which were fifty-five editions of the poet.

The first printer at Milan was *Antonius Zarotus* (1471). The name of *Philippus of Lavagna*, printer and publisher or publisher only, is found in books dating from 1472 to 1489, the *Æsopi Fabule* of 1480 bearing the colophon *Ad impensas Philippi Lauagnie ciuis Mediolanensis MCCCCLXXX. die IV. Mensis Septembris*. There is evidence to show that he had books printed for him by at least two or three Milanese printers, and Valdarfer's types are employed in several of the books issued by Philippus. An agreement dated October 8, 1473, of great interest to the modern printer and publisher, the text of which is given by M. Bernard, II. 228, was entered into between *Philippus Lavagna* and *Cola Montanus* of the one part and *Christopher Valdofer* (Valdarfer) *Theutonicus Ratisponensis* of the other part by which the latter agreed to print with two presses (*imprimere et stampare cum duobus torcularibus*) the works which the said Philip and Cola should desire, and not otherwise. The financial arrangements are then set forth in great detail. The association (*societas*) was to last for six months, during which time Christopher was not to print *de literis antiquis* in conjunction with any other citizen of Milan. It is not known, says M. Bernard, what books were the fruit of this association. This 1476 edition of Horace (Proctor, I. 389) is printed with Valdarfer type (20 lines = 104.5 mm.)

Q VINTI HORATII FLACCI
 VENVSINI CARMINVM LIBER
 PRIMVS AD MECOENATEM.

Ecœnas Atauis edite regibus :
 O & præsidium & dulce decus meum .
 Sūt quæ curriculo puluerē olympicum
 Collegisse iuuat : mœtaq; feruidis

E uitata rotis palmaque nobilis
 T errarum dominos euehit ad deos .
 H unc si nobilium turba Quiritium
 C ertet ter geminis tollere honoribus :

BEGINNING OF HORACE. (LAVAGNA, 1476.)

N atales grate numeras. ignofcis amicis .
 L enior & melior fis accedente fenecta.
 Q uid te exempta iuuat fpinis de pluribus uua:
 V iuere fi recte nescis : decede peritis .
 L ulifti fatis . edifti fatis . atq; bibifti.
 T empus abire tibi eft : ne potum largius aequo
 R ideat : & pulfet lafcia decentius aetas.

F I N I S

Hoc opus Horatii emendatiffimum imprefsum eft
 opa & impenfis Philippi de Lauagnia Ciuis medio
 lanenfis. Anno a Natali Chriftiano . M cccc lxxvi .
 die . xvi . Februarii . Amen.

END OF TEXT AND COLOPHON, HORACE. (LAVAGNA, 1476.)

A large copy, measuring 259 × 164 mm.; some leaves have been mended, and some notes washed out. The 118th leaf is in facsimile executed for me some forty years ago by *Harris*; this is so admirably done that it is most difficult to detect any variation from the original text, and is a striking specimen of his wonderful pre-photographic art. On the verso of the last leaf is written in old and faded ink, *Zanner Amerigoti*.

The concluding words of the Epistle to Florus which end the volume, and are here reproduced in facsimile, furnish a very apposite reminder to those whose sands, like my own, are rapidly filling the lower half of life's irreversible hour-glass, though the philosophy which inspires them be not of the Christian but of the "Ethnic" school. A note of interrogation at the end of each of the first three lines is of course found in modern editions.

1476. ARISTOTELES. DE ANIMALIBUS [INTERPRETE THEODORO
GAZA.]

[VENICE, JOHANN OF COLOGNE AND JOHANN MANTHEN OF
GHERRETZEN.]

Fol. 1a blank. Fol. 2a, with sig. a2: THEODORI: GRAECI: THESSALONICEN ||
SIS: PRAEFATIO: IN LIBRIS: DE ANIMA || LIBVS: ARISTOTELIS:
PHILOSOPHI: AD || XYSTVM: QVARTVM: MAXIMVM. || (l)Ycurgum lace-
demonium, etc. Fol. 7b: ARISTOTELIS: DE HISTORIA: ANIMALIVM: ||
LIBER PRIMVS INTERPRETE THEODORO || (a)NIMALIVM PARTES: AVT IN ||
cōposite, etc. Fol. 250b, line 14: Finiunt libri de animalibus Aristotelis interprete Theodoro ||
Gaze. V. clarissimo: quos Ludouicus podocatharus Cypri- || us ex Archetypo ipsius Theodori
fideliter & diligēter aufcul || tavit: & formulis imprimi curauit Venetiis per Iohannem || de
Colonia fociūq; eius Iohannē māthen de Gherretzē. Anno || domini M.CCCC.LXXVI. ||
Fol. 251a: Tabula cartarum, etc. Fol. 251b blank.

Folio, printed in roman type, 251 leaves, 35 lines to a page; without numerals or catch-words; printed signatures a-x, and aa-bb 5; spaces left for initial letters, initial directors. The watermarks are (1) pair of scales in circle; (2) floriated double stylus rising from *dreiberg*; (3) bull's head, stylus and star. Hain, *1699, Proctor, 4312.

This is the first edition of *Aristoteles de Animalibus*, and a beautifully-printed book; type, paper and composition being alike satisfactory. The press of the two *Johanns* is practically a continuation of the first of *Wendelin of Spire*, which ceased in 1473, and the new printers were evidently imbued with the artistic spirit of the founder of the business. The type of *Wendelin* was used for some of the earlier books of this press, but not for this edition of Aristotle. The press was active from 1474 till 1480.

A very fine copy, large, with some rough leaves, measuring 295 × 157 mm., and perfectly clean, but the last two leaves wormed.

**Finiunt libri de animalibus Aristotelis interprete Theodoro
Gaze. V. clarissimo: quos Ludouicus podocatharus Cypri-
us ex Archetypo ipsius Theodori fideliter & diligēter aufcul
tavit: & formulis imprimi curauit Venetiis per Iohannem
de Colonia lociūq; eius Iohannē māthen de Gherretzē. Anno
domini. M. CCCC. LXXVI.**

ARISTOTELES DE ANIMALIBUS. (JOHANN OF COLOGNE AND JOHANN MANTHEN, 1476.)

NICOLAUS [DE TUDESCHIS].
PANORMITANUS ABBAS SICULUS.
1477 Nov. 22 and Dec. 10. ARCHIEPISCOPUS PARS PRIMA
ET SECUNDA SUPER PRIMO
DECRETALIUM.

[VENICE, NICOLAS JENSON.]

Fol. 1a: (g)Regorius. || e[pi]s. Quoniam o[mn]i[s] || r[ati]o superne creatur[um], etc.
Fol. 153a, col. 1, line 21, text ends, & hec sufficient. || *Col. 1, line 22:* D[omi]ni
abbatis siculi ps prima sup[er] p[ri]mo decreta || lium diligētissime emēdata feliciter
explicit: per || Nicolaū Jenfon gallicum Venetiis impressa || M^o.cccc.lxxvij.
die. xxij. nouembris. || *On the second column is the register of quires.*
Fol. 153b blank. *Fol. 154a, with signature A:* De officio & ptate iudicis
delegati. Rica. || Supra uisū ē. i. p[re]cedētib[us] Ricis, etc. *Fol. 284a, col. 2,*
line 50 (Hain says 286a), the text ends, cum tribus se || quentibus. || Line 52:
Domini abbatis siculi secunda pars super pri || mo decretalium diligentissime
emendata felici || ter explicit: per Nicolaum Jenfon gallicu[m] || .M.cccclxxvij.
die. x. decembris. || *Fol. 284b, the register of quires. Fol. 285 blank.*

Folio, printed in gothic type,
284 leaves, double columns, 60 lines to
a column, text measures 280 × 166
(= 70 + 26 + 70) mm.; without
numerals or catchwords, signatures
a-t and A-Q; spaces left for
initials, some with and some without
initial directors. The watermarks
are (1) gothic R in circle; (2) ditto
with short stylus and cross; (3) gothic
F; (4) imperial crown in circle;
(5) shears; (6) two darts in sal-
tire; (7) crossbow in circle; (8)
pair of scales in circle; (9) ditto,
another variety; (10) a crowned
turban, stylus and latin cross;
Hain, *12310(1A), Proctor, 4108, and
Hain, 12310(1B), Proctor, 4109.

Regorius.
e[pi]s. Quoniam o[mn]i[s]
r[ati]o superne creatur[um] v[er]o
terrene scientie i deo
e[st]: qui est eaz caput et
auctor et qcqd alibi q[ui]
rit hic p[er]fecte inuenit:
q[ui] be[ne] e[st] p[er]fecta virtus et sapiētia. xxvij. di. s. hinc
e[st]. iō t[em]p[or]is postulato p[ro]sidio qui dixit ad moy
sen Exodi. q[ui]nto. Api os tuū ⁊ docebo te quid
loquaris.

A magnificent copy, practically in the same spotless condition as when issued from the press, measuring 434 × 283 mm. It has rough leaves at the lower edge, but the original width must have been at least 287 mm. The appearance of a page of this book cannot fail to impress even those accustomed to the ways of the best early printers. Three inches of margin at the side and 4½ inches below the text are sufficiently unusual dimensions, and the beauty of paper, type, composition, and above all the perfection of the "register," give an indescribable charm to the volume. But the thousand columns, each the apparent counterpart of the other, satiate the eye with their physical similarity, and when looked into yield nothing but dry disquisitions on ecclesiastical law—a fair woman without understanding. The rubrication is the most refined and elegant that I have seen. An initial illuminated in red and blue, as seen in facsimile, adorns the first page of this grandly monotonous volume.

1477. AULUS GELLIUS. NOCTES ATTICÆ.

[VENICE, ANDREAS JACOBI DE PALTASICHIS.]

Fol. 1a blank. *Fol. 2a:* AVLI GELII NOCTIVMATTICARVM COMMENTARII || LIBER PRIMVS. () Lutarchus in libro quem ὀπῶση ψυχῶν και σω || μάτων, etc. *Fol. 181a:* AVLI GELII NOCTIVM ATTICARVM COMMENTARII || FINIS: IMPRESSI VENETIISPER ANDREAM IACOBICA || THARENSEM. M.CCCC.LXXVII. ANDREA VENDRA || MENO DVCE VENETIARVM INCLYTO. *Fol. 181b blank.* *Fol. 182a blank.* *Fol. 182b:* AVLI GELIINOCTIVM ATTICARVM COMMENTARII || CAPITVLA PRIMI LIBRI. || *Table, 14 leaves.* *Fol. 195a, which completes the Table, concludes with the word FINIS.*

Folio, roman type, 197 leaves of 36 lines, text measures 200 × 125 mm.; without numerals or catchwords; sig. a-y in eights, z six leaves, A-B in eights; blanks left for initial letters, no initial directors. The watermark is a bull's head, between the horns a stylus, serpent entwined, and surmounted by a trefoil. Hain, *7520, Proctor, 4423.

The first press of *Andreas Jacobi* or *Andreas de Paltasichis* or *Paltaschichis*, the son of *Jacobus* of *Cattaro*, at which this volume was printed, existed from 1476 to 1478, and yielded but little fruit. No books attributable to him are found between the years 1478-9 and 1482, after which date he printed for ten years with more or less regularity. Little is known of *Aulus Gellius*, whom Vossius prefers to call *Agellius*, except that he flourished in a quiet way in the second century, dying about A.D. 180, that he studied grammar and rhetoric at Rome and philosophy at Athens, returning thence to his native city. His *Noctes Atticæ*, the fruit, as their author implies, of his nocturnal studies, or perhaps symposia, at Athens, is a literary *olla podrida*, merely, it would appear, a transcript of his commonplace book, compiled with but small regard to classification of the almost innumerable subjects on which facts are given or opinions cited. The chapter L. 1. xvij, *Quantâ cum animi æquitate toleraverit Socrates uxoris ingenium intractabile*, &c., is immediately followed by that headed *Quod M. Varro in libro primo de ratione vocabulorum. primo L. Lælium magistrum suum περί ετυμολογίας nonnullorum verborum falsa dixisse reprehendit*, &c. L. 3, cap. xvi., *Temporis varietas in puerperiiis mulierum quænam sit a medicis et philosophis tradita*, a long, erudite, and interesting chapter, is immediately preceded by one on *death from sudden joy*.

A large, perfect, and clean copy, measuring 290 × 192 mm., of this beautifully-printed edition, the blank leaf before text missing, as it must have been in the copy seen by *Hain*. The smaller initials are filled in by the rubricator in blue and red alternately. The large initials at beginnings of chapters are illuminated in gold and colours. The initial on *Fol. 1* is gilt and beautifully decorated in pure Italian taste, with tracery on a dotted ground carried down the side of the page. The arms of a former possessor occupy the space below the text; these are omitted in the facsimile for want of room on the page.

AVLI GELII NOCTIVM ATTICARVM COMMENTARII
LIBER PRIMVS.

PLutarchus in libro quem ὁ πῶς ἡ ψυχῶν καὶ σωμάτων ἀνθρώποις περὶ εὐφροσύνην καὶ ἀρετὴν διαφορά: id est quantum inter homines animi corporisq; ingenio atq; uirtutibus intersit: cōscripsit: scite subtiliterq; ratiocinatum Pythagoram philosophum dicit: in reperienda: modulandaq; status longitudinis eius præstantia. Nam quum fere constaret curriculum stadii: quod est pisis apud Iouem olympiū: Herculem pedibus suis metatum: idq; fecisse longum pedes ducentos: cætera quoq; stadia ī terris græciæ ab aliis postea īstituta: pedum quidem esse numero ducentorum: sed tamen esse aliquantulū breuiora: facile intellexit modum: spatiumq; plantæ Herculis ratione proportionis habita: tanto fuisse: q̄ aliorū procerius: quanto olympicum stadium longius esset: q̄ cætera. Comprehensa autem mensura herculani pedis secundum naturalem membrorum omnium inter se competentia modificatus est. Atq; ita id collegit: quod erat consequens: tanto fuisse Herculem corpore excelsiorem: q̄ alios: quāto olympicum stadium cæteris pari numero factis anteiret.

Ab Herode attico cōsulari uiro tempestiue deprompta in quēdā iactatū & gloriosum adolescētem: specie tantum philosophiæ sectatorē uerba Epicteti stoici: quibus festiuite a uero stoico seiunxit uulgus loquaciū nebulonū: qui se stoicos nūcuparent. Caput. ii.

Erodes atticus uir & græca facundia: & consulari honore præditus: accerserat sæpe nos: quum apud magistros athenis essemus: in uillas eius urbi proximas: me & clarissimum uirū Seruilianū complurisque alios nostrates: qui Roma in græciam: ad capiendū ingenii cultum concesserant. Atq; ibi tunc quū essemus apud eum in uilla: cui nomen est cephytia: & æstu anni: & sidere autumnii flagrantissimo propulsabamus caloris incōmoda lucorum umbra ingentiū longis ambulacris: & mollibus ædium posticum refrigerantibus lauacris nitidis: & abundis: & collucentibus: totiusq; uillæ uenustate aquis undiq; canoris: atq; aibus personate. Erat ibidem nobiscū simul adolescens: philosophiæ sectator: disciplinæ: ut ipse dicebat





AVLIGELII NOCTIVM ATTICARVM COMMENTARII
FINIS: IMPRESSI VENETIIS PER ANDREAM IACOBICA
THARENSEM. M. CCCC. LXXVII. ANDREA VENDRA-
MENO DVCE VENETIARVM INCLYTO.

COLOPHON OF AULUS GELLIUS. (ANDREAS DE PALTASICHIS, 1477.)

P. Candidi de ciuilibus Romanorum bellis ex Appiano Ale-
xandrino in latinū traductis liber primus incipit. lege feliciter.



Enatus populusq; romanus mutuis
sepenumero contentionibus de legū
latione: uel si quando debitorum ab-
rogationes: agrorum ue partitiones
fierent: uel in comicijs una adessent
dissidebant. nō tamen armate manus
opus erat ciuile bellum: ueq; discidia
ac turbationes duntaxat ex lege mo-
derate quieteq; inter eos agitabant.

BEGINNING OF TEXT OF APPIANUS, DE CIVILIBUS BELLIS. (ERHARD RATDOLT, 1477.)

1477. APPIANUS ALEXANDRINUS. DE CIVILIBUS
ROMANORUM BELLIS.

[VENICE, ERHARD RATDOLT, MALER AND LÖSLEIN.]

Fol. 1 blank. Fol. 2a: (with sig. a2) within woodcut border, of which this is a reduced facsimile, Ad diuum Alfonso Aragonum & utriusq, Sicilie || regem in libros ciuiliũ bellorũ ex Appiano Alexan- || drino in latinũ traductos Prefatio incipit felicissime. || Fol. 2b: Explicit prefatio. P. Candidi. || Fol. 3a: In fequentes libros Capitula ex ordine scribuntur. || Capitula libri primi. || Fol. 3b: Capitulum finis. || Fol. 4a: P. Candidi de ciuilibus Romanorum bellis ex Appiano Ale- || xandrino in latinũ traductis liber primus incipit. lege feliciter. || Fol. 212a, line 28: Appiani Alexandrini fophiste Romanorũ liber finit || qui Celticus inferibitur. Tractatio. P. Candidi. || Impreffum est hoc opus Venetiis per Bernardũ picto- || rem & Erhardum ratdolt de Augusta una cum Petro || loslein de Langencen correctore ac socio. Laus Deo. || .M.CCCC.LXXVII. Fol. 212b blank.

*4to, printed in roman type, 212 leaves, 31, 32, 33, or 34 lines to a page; a 33-line page measures 181 x 110 mm., and across the marginal notes 181 x 154 mm.; without numerals or catchwords; signatures a-x in tens; no spaces left for initials, a few woodcut initials, large and small, of great beauty. The watermarks are (1) an anchor in circle, and (2) a castle. Hain, *1307(1), Proctor, 4368.*

The second edition of this work, the first having been issued by Wendelin of Spire in 1472. The present book is the fourth or fifth production of the first press of the celebrated printer *Erhard Ratdolt*, who had associated with himself *Bernard Pictor* and *Peter Löslein of Langenzen*, their partnership lasting till 1478. It is difficult to place too high a value on the beauty of the type used and of the engraved decorations introduced by this trio of printers. Though not absolutely the pioneers in the practice of substituting floriated woodcut borders and initials in the printed text for those hitherto supplied by the hand of the illuminator or rubricator, they were among the very earliest to realize the attractive appearance which could be thereby attained, and no educated eye can fail to be charmed by the physical characteristics of such a book as that under notice. *Ratdolt* printed one book in partnership with *Maler* after the withdrawal of

Bernard Pictor, and continued to print alone till 1485, discarding for the most part his beautiful roman for a gothic character. *Peter Löslein* printed in 1483 a couple of volumes on his own account. *Bernhard Pictor* was probably the artist to whom the high character of the earliest work is attributable, whilst we know that *Löslein* was the corrector of the press.

A beautiful, perfectly clean and large copy, measuring 288 × 208 mm., with some rough edges, in its original fifteenth century binding (which has not been rebacked nor repaired) of thick boards covered with brown leather stamped with diamond-shaped (acorn, double-headed eagle) round (rose) and scroll-shaped ornaments in compartments formed by square and diagonally-crossing lines. Five flat brass bosses on each cover, the clasp attachments and remaining clasp stamped with the word *maria*.

[Circa 1477.] CORDIALE. SIVE QUATUOR NOVISSIMORUM LIBER.

[PARIS, PETER WAGENER (CALLED CÆSARIS) AND JOHANN STOL.]

Fol. 1a blank. *Fol. 1b*: Quatuor nouiffimorũ liber/ de morte vi- || delictet penis inferni/ iudicio et celesti glo- || ria. quẽ pleriq, cordiale compellant, etc. *Fol. 71b, line 14*: Explicit liber quatuor nouiffimorum. || *Fol. 72a*: Incipiunt tytuli quatuor nouiffimorũ. Et primo || ponit porhemũ (*sic*). *Line 20*: Finis tytulorum.

4to, printed in roman type, with symptoms of gothic affinities, 72 leaves, 23 or 24 lines to the page; text measures 132 × 85 mm., but line endings very irregular; no numerals, catchwords, or signatures; spaces left for initial letters, no initial directors. The watermark is a shell. Hain, 5694, Proctor, 7896.

Among the pupils and employés of *Ulrich Gering* and his associates in the printing office at the Sorbonne ("In Parisiorum Sorbona")—the first press established in France—were *Peter Wagener* (called *Cæsar*) of Schwiebus in Silesia and *Johann Stol*, also a German, who had both been students at the University of Paris. After some experience there these two friends resolved to be their own masters and set up in 1473 a press in the Rue Saint-Jacques at the sign of *Le Chevalier-au-Cygne*. At about the same time *Gering* and his associates *Crantz* and *Friburger* left, as we shall see (*sub anno* 1478) their first lodgment at the Sorbonne, and set up their press at the *Soleil d'Or*, opposite the Rue Fromental and only next door but one to *Cæsar* and *Stol*, and from that time forward a keen rivalry existed between the two presses, each in turn printing the books which the other had edited. It is rather uncertain at what date the partnership of *Cæsar* and *Stol* terminated, but *Cæsar* was still printing in 1478. Several misapprehensions which have always existed in regard to this press and its founders have been recently corrected by the indefatigable bibliophile, M. A. Claudin. He has shown (*Le bibliographe moderne*, 1900) (1) that the name of the partner of *Johann Stol* was not *Pieter de Keysere* and that he was not a Fleming, but a German named *Wagener* with the sobriquet of *Cæsar* as above mentioned, and (2) that the press of *Cæsar* and *Stol* as had always been supposed was not at the *Viridis follis* (*Green Bellows* or *Green Ball* or *Green Rod* as various writers have translated the word) but at the *Chevalier-au-Cygne*, six doors off. The relative positions of these three presses all on the same side of the Rue Saint-Jacques is clearly indicated in Renouard's *Imprimeurs Parisiens* (Paris, Claudin, 1898). The printers at the *Viridis follis* (1475-1484) were *L. Symonel*, *R. Blandel* and *J. Simon*, whose types, though considered by Van Praet to be identical with those of *Cæsar* and *Stol*, only present a striking resemblance to the latter, of which they are perhaps an imitation. The characters of all three presses are far less pleasing than those of the Sorbonne, as may be seen by a comparison of the facsimile of the beautiful first page of the first Paris book (Gordon Duff, p. 83) with those on pp. 127 and 128 of the present volume.

A large copy, 209 × 139 mm., rubricated throughout; some water stains, MS. signatures, many of which are cut off. On *Fol. 1a* a title in contemporary MS.:—Liber quatuor nouiffimoꝝ. || In quo tractatur || de || morte prima || Iudicio || Inferno || paradifi gloria. ||

The name of the author of this well-meant production is not known. The book was already a great favourite at the time of its first appearance in a printed form. It passed through more than twenty editions

before 1500 and is the original of *The boke named Cordyale* by Caxton (Westminster, 1480). The "four last things" *quatuor novissima*, Death, Hell, the Judgment and the Celestial Glory, then formed a frequent theme for meditation, and as is usual in such treatises, a child-like credence is expected for awful examples of retribution for sin. As a warning against gluttony we are told of a certain monastery called Congalensis, "in the parts of Yconia," wherein dwelt a monk, in the sight of men a saint, but not so found in the sight of God, seeing that when his brethren believed him to be fasting he was in truth feasting in secret. Feeling the pangs of death overtaking him he caused the whole fraternity to be called into his presence and thus addressed them:—"Behold I am given up to a dragon to be devoured of him; he has with his tail firmly bound my knees and feet, and placing his head in my mouth hath drunk in my spirit,"—and thereupon the terror-stricken monk gave up the ghost. Into a discussion on the vanity of all things is introduced the following laconic passage from Johannes de Garlandia:—*Quod fuit est et erit perit articulo brevis hora, Ergo quid prodest esse, fuisse, fore? Esse fuisse fore tria florida sunt sine flore, Nam simul omne perit quod fuit est et erit.*

1477-9. S. AURELIUS AUGUSTINUS. DE VANITATIBUS SEculi, ETC.

[ESSLINGEN, CONRAD FYNER.]

Fol. 1a: ☉ Incipit liber Augustini de vanitatibus seculi. || IN hac vita positi frēs itaq; || agite. vt cum hinc migraue || ritis. ... *Fol. 5b, line 18*: qui volt pacē serui eius Amen. || Explicit liber sancti augustini || de vanitatibus seculi feliciter. || *Fol. 6a*: Prologus libri beati Augustini || de vita xpiana incipit feliciter. || EGO primus peccator & vlti || mus inspienciorq; ceteris || et iperior vniuersis, etc. *Fol. 7a, line 5*: Explicit prologus. || Incipit liber beati Augustini de vita xpiana. || Cristum vnctū iterptari. sapiētum & fi- || deliū nullq; ignorat, etc. *Fol. 23b, line 8*: Explicit liber sancti || Augustini de vita || cristiana feliciter. ||

4to, printed in gothic type, 23 leaves, 25 lines to a page, text measures 150 × 103 mm.; without numerals, catchwords or signatures; no spaces left, but two woodcut initials in outline. The watermark is keys in saltire. Hain, *2106, Proctor, 2478.

The only separate edition of this work printed in the fifteenth century.

Conrad Fyner of Gerhuszen established himself in 1472 or earlier at Esslingen in Wirtemberg. He printed there without competition till 1478 or later, removing in 1481 to Urach, a small town in the same Duchy, whence he returned in 1483 to Esslingen. From this last press but few volumes issued, the date assigned to the last being 1488. His publications are, with a few exceptions, of a theological character.

1478 Jan. 23. EXEMPLA SACRÆ SCRIPTURÆ.

[PARIS, ULRICH GERING.]

Fol. 1a blank. *Fol. 2a* (with signature a.ii.): Incipiunt exempla sacre scripture ex vtroq; testamēto se || cundū ordinē litterar(um) collecta. et primo de Abstinētia. || ()Recepit dñs ade dicens: ex omni ligno para- || difi comedes. Genesis. ii. *Fol. 80b*: Exempla sacre scripture ex veteri et nouo testamento || collecta: secundum ordinem litterarū: finiunt feliciter || Impreffaq; parifius ī fole aureo. Anno a natiuitate do- || mini nostri iesu christi. M.cccc.lxxviii. xxiii. Ianuarii || Per magistrū vlricum Cognitione Gering. || *Fol. 81a*: Rubrice huius libelli/ videlicet explorū Bible/ et quo || to vnaqueq; continetur folio: hic annotant. || Abstinētia. folio. .ii. etc. *The table is in two columns.* *Fol. 82a, col. 2, line 16*: Finit breuis tabula fe- || cundum ordinē alpha- || beti feliciter. ||

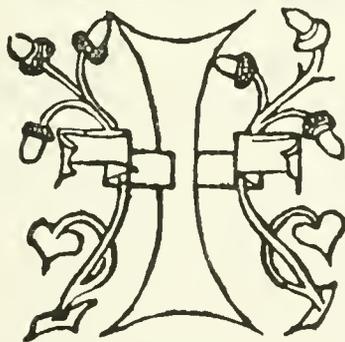
Quatuor nouissimorū liber/de morte videlicet penis inferni/iudicio et celesti gloria-que pleriq; cordiale compellant cuiq; p̄dicanti perutilis atq; summopere necessarius! autoritatibus sacrarū litterarū/exemplis et poetarū carmibus passim refulgens feliciter incipit.



Memorare nouissima tua/et in eternum non peccabis ecclesiastici. vii. sicut dicit bt̄s augustinus in libro suarum meditationum. plus vitanda est sola pcti feditas: q̄ quelib; immanitas tormentorū. Cū igit nouissimorum noticia et illorū frequens memoria a pctis nos reuocet/virtutibus copulet et in omni bono opere nos retineat et cōfirmet.

BEGINNING OF CORDIALE. (CÆSARIS AND STOL, circa 1477.)

Incipit liber Augustini de vanitatibus seculi.



N hac vita positi fr̄es itaq; agite. vt cum hinc migraueritis. ⁊ cum caro a vermibus cepit deuorari in sepulchris anima ornata bonis operibus cum sanctis omnibus letetur in celis. retrahat vos a malis opibus vlt peccatis iteritus eorum quos p̄misistis

BEGINNING OF AUGUSTINUS DE VANITATIBUS. (CONRAD FYVER, 1477-9.)

4to, printed in roman type, 82 leaves (Hain incorrectly gives 72 leaves), 35 or 36 lines to a page, text measures 138 (for 35) × 87 mm.; without numerals or catchwords; signatures a ii. to k 10, in eights except last quire, which has ten leaves; a space left for first initial, but no initial directors. The watermarks are (1) gothic p floriated and cleft; (2) double-fluked anchor, ball and cross; (3) pot with handle; (4) shield impaling fleur-de-lys and dolphin. (All these types are to be found in *Midoux et Matton, Etude sur les Filigranes des Papiers employés en France, Paris 1868.*) Hain, *6765, Proctor, 7860.

The fourth French edition of this work, which in all respects but its title appears to correspond with the *Auctoritates Utriusque Testamenti*, an edition of which has already been noticed under the year 1470.

A rare book, not in the Bodleian.

Ulrich Gering of Constance was one of three who responded to the requisition for German printers made in 1469 by the University of Paris at the urgent request of two of its members, *Guillaume Fichet* and

**EMULATOR ERAT PAULUS PATERNARUM TRADITIONUM: FRAHENSU-
ROS ET MULIERES CHRISTIANOS VINCTOS IN IERUSALEM. ACTUUM
VIII. ET IX.**

**VIDENTES IUDEI QUAE PENE VNIUERSA IERUSALEM COENIRET AD
AUDIENDUM VERBUM DEI QUOD PAULUS ET BARNABAS PREDICABANT
REPLETI SUNT ZELO: ET CONTRADICEBANT HIS QUAE A PAULO DICEBANTUR
ACTUUM XIII.**

**EXEMPLA SACRAE SCRIPTURAE EX VETERI ET NOVO TESTAMENTO
COLLECTA: SECUNDUM ORDINEM LITTERARUM: FINIUNT FELICITER
IMPRESSAE PARISIIS IN SOLE AUREO. ANNO A NATIVITATE DO-
MINI NOSTRI IESU CHRISTI. M. CCC. LXXVIII. XXIII. IANUARI
PER MAGISTRUM ULRICUM COGIOMENTO GERING.**

COLOPHON OF EXEMPLA SACRAE SCRIPTURAE.
(ULRICH GERING, 1478.)

printed a few books alone, among which is our *Exempla Sacrae Scripturae*, at *The Golden Sun* (see the colophon). In 1480 Gering was allied for a short time with *Georgius Maynyal*, and in 1483 he was again printing alone.

A clean, large copy, measuring 209 × 141 mm., rubricated throughout in alternate red and blue. Folios numbered in MS. beginning on *Fol. 2*. On *Fol. 2*, above the text, is this manuscript record by a former owner of the volume:—*Le penultieme Jour du mois Apurill | 1562 | fuft prinze la cite de Lyon par les huguenautz heretiques, et firent mille maux aux Eglizes et Pais dycelle chose merueilluise a raconter.*

1478. CORNELIUS CELSUS. DE MEDICINA.

[FLORENCE, NICOLAUS LAURENTII.]

Fol. 1a: PRIMO LIBRO CORNELII CELSI || DE MEDICINA HAEC CONTINENTVR: || (m)Edicinæ inuentio & diuisio: uariaeq, de ea illustrium medicorum opiniones. .CHARTA. .I. || *Fol. 7b, line 37*: .FINIT TABVLA, *Fol. 8 blank. Fol. 9a blank. Fol. 9b*: BARTHOLOMEVS FONTIVS SAXETTO SVO. S. || *The*

letter occupies 26 lines, ending with Vale. Fol. 10a: CORNELII CELSI DE MEDICINA LIBER INCIPIT. || Fol. 196b: CORNELII CELSI DE MEDICI || NA LIBER FINIT FLOREN || TIAEA NICOLAO IM || PRESSVS ANNO || SALVTIS M || CCCC L || XXV || III ||

Folio,⁽¹⁾ printed in roman letter in two sizes of type; 196 leaves, text 34 lines to a page, preliminary pages in the smaller type, only 40 lines, the type being "leaded"; text measures 180 × 111 mm.; no numerals or catchwords; signatures, A, 8 leaves, 6 leaves without signatures, .a. 4 leaves: .b.-.i.: .l.-z.: .&: .aa.-.gg. all in sixes, .hh-.hh 4; spaces left for large and small initial letters, initial directors for the rubricator's guidance. The printing of the headlines is very erratic; e.g., on consecutive pages, LIBER | SEPTIMVS | SEPTIMVS | SEPTIMVS | SEPTIMVS | LIBER | SEPTIMVS | LIBER | LIBER | LIBER | LIBER | LIBER | SEPTIMVS. The watermarks are very numerous, but faint. Among them are (1) shears; (2) star of four points on stem in circle; (3) *dreiberger*; (4) cardinal's hat, two varieties; (5) gothic R; (6) flower of five petals; (7) a bull; (8) a floriated cross in circle. Very incorrectly described by Hain, *4835, who puts the colophon on the tenth leaf, Proctor, 6116.

This is the first edition of *Celsus*. It was followed by those of Leonard Pachel and Ulrich Scinzenzeler (Milan, 1481), of Johannes Rubeus (Venice, 1493), and of Philippus Pincius (Venice, 1497). Though it be called by some of the old bibliographers *rare*, *infinitely rare*, there is a copy in the Bodleian, and there are three in the B.M. It is one of those books which have been tampered with in order to substantiate an incorrect date, the isolation of the three figures in the last line of the colophon facilitating a fraudulent erasure. The *Celsus* was among the earliest productions of its printer, whose press was the fourth established at Florence, and who began to print in 1477.

The work of Celsus will be more particularly noticed hereafter, should my little collection of early treatises on Medicine be touched on in a future volume. Although this writer—who has been termed the Cicero of physicians and the Latin Hippocrates—was probably neither physician nor surgeon, his treatise will always be regarded with interest if only for the short sketch of medical history to be found in the epilogue, in which are mentioned some seventy Greek physicians of whose names no other record exists, and for the information contained in the last two books, which afford some idea of the progress of surgery between the time of Hippocrates, who flourished in the golden age of Greece, and his own time, the Augustan age of Rome. I must quote the opening sentence of the work. "*The healthy man who feels well and can do as he pleases ought not to bind himself by strict rules, nor should he need the ministrations of a doctor or of a masseur (alipta). He should vary the conditions of his life, staying sometimes in the country and sometimes in town, and oftener still on the land, he should yacht (navigare), hunt, and take a rest now and then, but give the preference to exercise, inasmuch as indolence renders languid whilst labour strengthens the body, the former inducing an early senility, the latter imparting a long-continued adolescence.*"

A good and perfect copy, measuring 276 × 199 mm., rubricated throughout in red and blue and ruled with faint red lines; numerals in MS., gothic letters; many neatly-written marginal notes of several dates; some water-stains. Heinrich of Breda, a citizen of Brabant, has signed his name at the end of the colophon (as will be seen by the facsimile on page 101), not only as the *rubricator* but also as the *binder* of the volume, but alas! the covering which he furnished was replaced early in the eighteenth century by one of red morocco. We are told by Brunet that the seven leaves of table and one of the dedicatory letter (he does not mention the blank leaf in his enumeration) are sometimes placed at the end of the volume, and that the dedication itself is sometimes wanting.

(¹) This book is called a *quarto* by Maittaire and by Hain, a *folio* by Brunet, and it is classed as a *folio* in the B.M. catalogue; the wire lines of the paper (*pentuseaux*) running sometimes horizontally and sometimes vertically.

[1478-9.] S. HIERONYMUS. VITAS PATRUM. GERMANICE.

[PLACE (STRASBURG?) AND PRINTER UNKNOWN.]

Fol. 1a: Hie vahet an das hochwüerdig lebē der vfferweltē freünd gottes || der heiligen altuetter / Dorumb thū ein yegklicher beide orn vff || die jnnern vnd die vffern . vñ merck iren grossen stryt vñ fyg / vnd || die ewigen freüd die fy domit gewunnē hant . vñ volgēt in nohe || SAnctus Gregorius der spricht, etc. *Fol. 1b, line 32*: Hye schrybt vns der hochwüerdig lerer Sant Ieronimus dz || leben von dem heiligen altuater Sant Paul dem ersten einfidel || *Fol. 2a*: Sanctus iheronimus schrybt vns von dē || heiligen vater paulo / etc. *Fol. 228a, line 24*: Hic endet sich das büch der heiligen || altuetter mit fynen byspilen . Das zū || latyn genant ist vitafpatrum. ||

Folio, printed in gothic type, 228 leaves, 34 lines to a page; text measures 196 × 135 mm.; without numerals (Hain records their existence in the copy he inspected), catchwords, or signatures; woodcut initials; 148 half-page woodcut illustrations. The watermarks are (1) two-handed pot standing on three feet, short double stylus, and fleur-de-lys; (2) large gothic **p**, stylus, and quatrefoil; (3) rose with six petals; (4) bull's head, short stylus, and tau; (5) a hand. Hain, *8603? Proctor, 3251.

I have not enumerated four pages of table which Hain says are wanting in his copy. There seems reason to believe that he is mistaken in believing in their existence.

The first edition of this extraordinary book mentioned by Hain (8590) is that printed by the *Brothers of the Common Life* at *Brussels*, which he incorrectly assigns to the year 1471 or thereabouts. Other editions of the Latin text are an undated one by *Johann Zainer*, one by Anton Koberger in 1478, and others from 1483 to 1500. The present edition, a very rare one, of which there is only an imperfect copy in B.M., was probably printed not long after 1470, but little can be at present ascertained about the press. The work was translated into many languages, German, French, English, and Italian, and more than fifty editions are mentioned by Hain. *Wynkyn de Wordé's* edition is dated 1495.

The holy fathers, of whom are told the astounding legends which fill this book, are the *Monks of the Thebaid*, the founder of whose community, if such it may be called, was *Saint Anthony*, who at a very early age had isolated himself in the desert near the Egyptian Thebes, and devoted himself to a life of extreme austerity. His reputation for sanctity attracted to him at first a few, and eventually a great number of followers, whom he housed in the monastery of *Phanium*; as their numbers increased, the desert of the *Thebaid* was dotted over with the habitations of these ascetics. Some of the converts resided in monasteries built for their reception, but large numbers mortified the flesh in the caverns which had been formed by the quarrying of stone for the pyramids. At the time of St. Anthony's death, no less than fifteen thousand persons were living in the *Thebaid* this life of penance and isolation from the world. It is of the adventures, and especially of the temptations experienced by some of these enthusiasts, that the *Vitas Patrum* treats; in it the "wiles of the devil," always, of course, unsuccessfully exerted, are set forth with an exuberance of invention.

The fantastic imagination of its author, himself for long years a dweller in the wilderness, has found full play in this work, and its absurd narrations seem to have found no less favour with the credulous readers of the fifteenth century than with the early converts for whom it was written. The English version of 1495 was translated from a Latin text differing from the original of this German version, and I have consequently been obliged to give instead of the nervous English of *Cavton* a short *resumé* of my own of the legend by which each woodcut is accompanied in the German text. Those stories have been selected which have some of the quaintest illustrations, where all are alike *bizarre* in the extreme.

OF SAINT ANTHONY AND THE BEAUTIFUL QUEEN.

AS the holy Anthony was wandering on a day by the side of a stream of running water, he was aware on a sudden of a very beautiful woman, whom he deemed to be of great worth and dignity, though forsooth she was entirely unclothed, as if she had just come out of the water. Then the holy man turned away his face and fled. But she called out loudly after him, saying, "Oh! hermit, who for the glory of God dwellest in this wild place, fly not from me. Long have I sought thee that thou mayest teach me, as is His will, the way of everlasting salvation." When Saint Anthony heard these words he turned back to listen to her supplications. "Many things," said she, "have I heard concerning thee, and how thou hast vanquished the ever ready Devil; I earnestly entreat thee, therefore, to rescue my soul before it falleth into destruction." Whilst she was speaking, all her hand-maidens



SAINT ANTHONY AND THE BEAUTIFUL QUEEN.

stood naked in the water listening to her words. But she told them they should be shamed to abide thus; then the crafty ladies began to cover themselves with rich raiment, and the holy father said, "Why dost thou not likewise clothe thyself?" "Forgive me," she said, "for I did not know that thou wouldst mark that I was naked; yet for the sake of thy sanctity I will do as thou sayest." So costly garments were brought by the maidens, and anon the lady was delicately apparelled. . . . The legend is too long to be given in full.



THE TEMPTATION OF MUCIUS,

THE TEMPTATION OF MUCIUS.

WHEN this saint first turned to a holy life, he gave himself so much to fasting that he was like to faint. Then came to him the devil in the form of an angel, bearing in his hands bread of the whitest and fish and meat of the costliest, ordered, he said, by the command of God. But Mucius was of the mind that the Creator does not feed those whom He loves with such earthly nourishment, and would have none of the Devil's providing. And thereupon all that magical food vanished away.

OF THE DEVIL WHO CAME IN THE GUISE OF A MONK AND KNOCKED AT THE DOOR OF MACHARIUS HIS CELL.

THE holy man was at rest or at prayer in his cell when the devil apparelled as a monk knocked at the door and said, "Macharius, let us go to the brotherhood, for even now they are assembling." But the saint had knowledge of the voice that it was a devil's, and thus answered: "Oh, thou liar and enemy

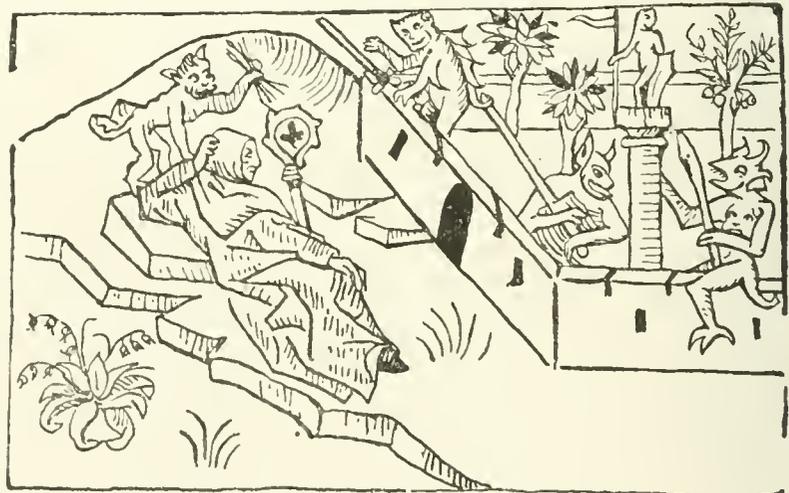


THE DEVIL AND SAINT MACHARIUS.

of all truth, what doest thou with the assembly of the brotherhood?" And the devil answered and said, "Dost thou not then know that there is no secret meeting where we also are not in the midst? Go thither and I will show thee my work." So Macharius prayed to God to let him see whether the devil had indeed told him the truth in this matter. And with staff in hand he went to the church where the brothers of the desert were wont to meet. Now the brothers were reading the psalms, and he saw many little black devils fly from one brother to another. On the lids of some they placed their fingers, and these brothers began straightway to nod. Before the eyes of others they appeared as beautiful

girls, and at the feet of divers laid costly golden robes, or tempted them with toothsome courses of meat and drink, laughing, scoffing and grimacing the while, that they might ruin the soul of each. But some of the brethren were staunch against any such evil imaginings, and near them the imps could not come.

Whereat Macharius wept, and said in his heart to God: "Oh, Lord, arise for our help"; and thereat the devils straightway vanished. And when he had finished his orison, he called one after another of the brethren and asked them if such temptations had not happened to them when they were at prayer; and they said it was even so; and they feared greatly when they perceived the power which God had given Macharius to look into the secrets of their hearts, and marvelled at the holiness of the man to whom God had shown such grace as to discern these things.



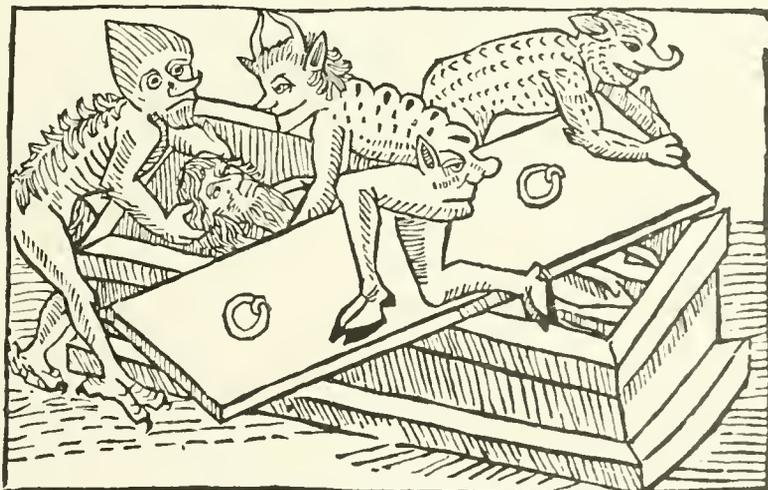
SAINT MACHARIUS AND THE MAGICIANS' PARADISE.

OF SAINT MACHARIUS IN THE MAGICIANS' PARADISE.

ON a time this holy man would go spy out the orchard which Jannes and Mambres, the magicians of Pharaoh, had planted for their own delight. It was indeed a paradise: therein was a moated castle full of gold and silver treasure, and round a beautiful fountain were trees bearing all manner of delectable fruit. The devil delighted in this pleasure where he so often sojourned that for many years no man durst adventure himself therein. But Macharius must needs have a sight of this fair place, and, as it was a nine days' travel thither, and the way was only a tangled track of wild beasts, he carried with him a bundle of straws, and dropped one of them from time to time so that he might the better retrace his steps. When he was now but a mile from the orchard he was weary and fell asleep on the ground, and anon the devil, who had been watching him, picked up all the straws and laid them by his head, so that waking he saw them close beside him. "This is devil's work," he said, and went forward yet more warily. Now as he came near the orchard, the devils came out to meet him with noises and strange cries, threatening him with drawn swords, and ordering him to return. But the holy man said: "You indeed attack me with the sword, but I will resist you in the name of the Lord"; and thereupon they could no longer stay him. And so coming into the garden he beheld the goodly fountain and the trees laden with figs, pomegranates, and all manner of sweet fruit. There, too, were great golden idols and treasures piled up in heaps. But when Macharius had seen all these delights he went his way again, and left the silver and gold behind. And when he had departed the devils derided him sore.

OF THE INFAMOUS MAN WHO REPENTED AND MORTIFIED HIS BODY.

THERE was a certain man who had lived so lewdly that his very name was a byword to his neighbours, and there was in the town no sinner so great as he. But as old age came on apace, the grace of God touched his heart and he began to repent, and left behind him his house and all his possessions, and fled from the presence of men and shut himself up in a stone sepulchre, where he lay both day and night weeping bitterly and repenting full sore, and forgetting to take meat or drink. Neither did he dare to lift his eyes to God nor to pronounce His name. So lay he for seven days. Then devils came to him and made sport of him, and said to him: "Of a truth thou hast not left thy evil ways, but hast seemed to become a Christian because thou canst no longer in thy old age enjoy thy sinful pleasures. Thou art but one of us after all. Do not spend in this misery the rest of thy short life. Come with us; thou shalt have greater joys than in the old days, and a body renewed in all its youthful lustiness." But none of their enticements moved him: he lay in his bed of stone and despised the tempters. Whereupon they plucked him out and beat him sore, so that he lay as one dead. Then his friends sought for him and entreated him to return to his home, but he would not. So giving him some food they departed and he lay down again, and once more, and still once again, did the accursed demons drag him from his sepulchral bed and cudgel him as aforetime. And as at the last he felt that he was about to give up the ghost, he said in his heart, "It is better so to die than to obey the devils." Then God raised him up, and gave him not only life and bodily strength, but also a great measure of Divine power and grace, so that all men who saw him said: "This is the working of the right hand of God." And so in holiness and peace were passed the last days of this notable penitent.



THE PENITENT WHO LIVED IN A TOMB.

OF THE HOLY FATHER ABRAHAM.

ON a night as this holy father was praying in his cell, the accursed devils came thereby and essayed to break it down with strong axes, and with each stroke cried with a loud voice, "Give us thy soul"! Then the holy man said: "The ungodly surrounded me on every side, but in the name of the Lord will I destroy them." And the devils escaped out of his sight. Again, in the evening time, Abraham stood on his



THE ATTACK OF THE DEVILS ON ABRAHAM'S CELL.

little mat and prayed, and the devil set the mat on fire. But the holy man trod out the flame without fear, and said: "Thou shalt tread upon the lion and the adder, the young lion and the dragon thou shalt trample under foot." And the devil departed, saying "I will yet slay thee who hast put me to shame." . . . And after all these assaults the devil was at last wholly overcome, and Abraham lived long in the wilderness. He prayed God day and night, but from that day when he turned to God he never washed body, face, or feet, and never for fifty years did his hair shirt leave his holy body, yet was his face well-favoured as that of some ripe fruit, and the purity of his life and heart was made manifest in his outward form.

OF THE HOLY PRIEST APPELLES AND THE TONGS.

SAINT APPELLES was a smith in the wilderness, and they who passed by his forge perceived that it was not his manner to use tongs like other smiths, but that he grasped the hot iron in his naked hands, and, laying it on the anvil, forged it so; and when they wondered at this marvel he told them how he had received grace from God to do it. On a morning he rose early and began to forge, and having a glowing piece of iron in the hearth the devil came to him in the form of a beautiful woman, and brought him in both hands something which she would have him forge, and asked him to turn his hand to it. But he seeing through her false guise, and being very wroth, forgot in his anger to use the tongs, and clutching the glowing bar in his naked hand thrust it in the demon's face. Then the devil cried out again, so that all the brethren in the desert near and far heard him and were dismayed, and so God gave Appelles the gift to grasp thereafter the hottest brand without being hurt or harmed.



SAINT APPELLES, THE DEVIL, AND THE TONGS.

1479 Mar. 25. S. AURELIUS AUGUSTINUS. DE CIVITATE DEI.

[BASLE, MICHAEL WENSSLER.]

Fol. 1a, col. 1: (in red) Sentētia beati auguſtini epiſcopi ex libro || retractatōnum iſtius de libris d̄ ciuitate dei. || () Nterea cum roma, etc. At the end of the Sententia, col. 1, line 53, in red: Incipiunt capitula libri p̄mi de ciuitate dei || beati auguſtini epiſcopi. || The capitula finish in the first column of Fol. 1b. Fol. 2a (in red): Aurelii auguſtini ipponenſis epi doctoris exi || mii de ciuitate dei. gtra paganos liber p̄mus || incipit Ca. p̄mum. || Fol. 189a (in red): Textus fancti Auguſtini de ciuitate dei. Ba || filee impreſſus Explicit feliciter. Anno .lxxix Printer's mark (two shields) in red. Fol. 189b blank. Fol. 190a: Sacre pagine p̄ſeffoꝝ ordinis p̄dicatorum || Thome valois et nicolai triueth ī libros be- || ati auguſtini de ciuitate dei Comentaria fe- || liciter inchoant. || ... Fol. 244a, col. 1, line 45: () incipit tabula composita per fratrem nicolauꝝ || etc. Fol. 247b (in red): Igit aurelii auguſtini, etc. A facsimile of the colophon will be found on another page.

*Folio, printed in a large gothic type, in which roman capitals are occasionally used, 247 leaves, text 56 lines in column, commentary 73 lines; Fol. 190 to end of table in smaller gothic type, all in double columns; text measures 339 × 212 (= 95 + 22 + 95) mm., the commentary 334 × 207 (= 93 + 21 + 93) mm.; without numerals, catchwords, or signatures; spaces left for initials, no initial directors. The watermarks are (1) large flower of nine petals; (2) smaller one of eight petals; (3) large bull's head, long stylus, crown-capped; (4) inverted crescent, short stylus and star; (5) scales in circle, and one or two others. Hain, *2058, Proctor, 7489.*

The fourteenth edition of this work, so popular in the fifteenth century, the first being that printed on Sept. 30, 1465, at *Subiaco* by *Sweynheym* and *Pannartz*.

Michael Wenzler's was the second press of Basle (the first being that of *Berthold Ruppel*). His first dated book is *Calderinus Repertorium juris*, Dec. 12, 1474, and the present may be about his thirtieth volume in order of date. He printed many other books up till 1489, when he was sold up; he was afterwards in 1491 called to *Cluny* by the Abbot of the Monastery, *Jacques d'Amboise*, and printed there a Missal (Hain, 11281) with the following colophon:—*Quod tandem industrius ingeniosusque vir Michael Wenzler civis Basilien. plus affectu devotionis quam lucrandi causa impreſſit in Cluniaco, anno domini millesimo quadringentesimo (nonagesimo) tertio, die nona mensis Iunii.* His next press was at *Macon*, where he printed a book on March 10, 1493-4, his fourth at *Lyons*, whence he issued books with the dates of 1495 and 1496.

A very fine copy, with rough leaves, measuring 471 × 323 mm., perfectly clean, rubricated throughout.

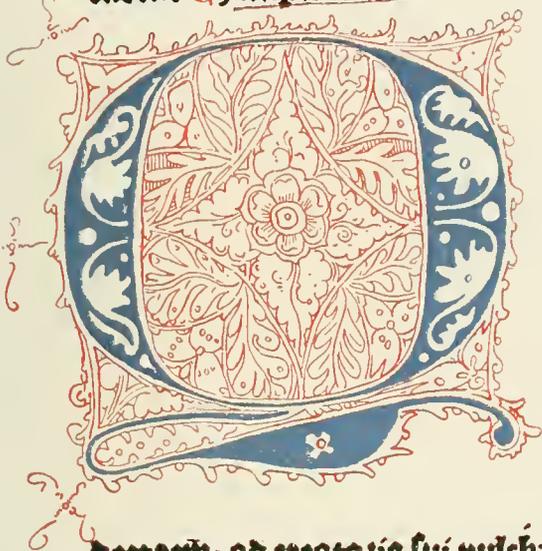
*On the first fly-leaf: Empt9 ē liber ille p̄ fr̄z̄ Ioh̄ez̄ fafnacht tpe sui p̄orat9 1.4.8.2. On Fol. 1a: Fr̄m̄. Erem. S. Auḡni memingæ. In the original fifteenth century binding of thick oaken boards covered with brown leather, with panel stamp, floral rolls and impressed devices, square (rose), round (stag) and scroll, † maria. hilt †, rebounded with calf. The clasps are wanting. Inside the front cover are pasted one over another portions of a book (bookbinder's waste) illustrated with woodcuts apparently from the press of *Gunther Zainer*.*

Igit̃ aurelij augustiñi ciuitatis orthodoxe
 fideris p̃fulgidi de ciuitate dei opus precla
 rissimum. binis sacre pagine p̃fessoribus exi
 mijs id cōmentantibus. rubricis tabulaq; dis
 cretum p̃cella in vrbe Basiliē. partium ale
 manie. quam nō solum aeris clementia et fer
 tilitas agri veruz etiā imp̃mentū subtilitas
 reddit famatissimā. ad laudē trinitatis in di
 uidue ciuitatis dei p̃fidis. ingenio ⁊ idustria
 Mihabelis wenszler. Anno salutis nostre
 post. M. et. cccc. lxxix. viij. kl. aprilis operos
 se est consummatum.



COLOPHON OF AUGUSTINUS, DE CIVITATE DEI.
 (WENSZLER, 1479.)

Prefacio i libzū qui dicit^r dyalog⁹ creaturarū moralizat⁹
 omni materie morali iocūdo et edificatiuo modo appli-
 cabilis. **I**ncipit feliciter. *1480 2^e y. d. a. d. 1. c. 1.*



uoniā sicut testa^r p^ridorus
 in li^o de sūmo bo^o li^o p^oca^o
 quarto dicens q^d ex pulchri-
 tudine circūscripte nature
 ostendit nobis de⁹ pulchri-
 tudinis sue p^{te} aliquā. qui
 circūscribi nequit et intelli-
 gi. ut ip^s eisdem vestigijs
 homo reuertatur ad deū qⁱ
 bus auersus est a deo. Et qⁱ
 p^r amore pulchritudinis cre-
 ature. a creatoris forma se
 abstulit. rursus p^r creature

decorē. ad creatoris sui pulchritudinē reuertatur. Que qui-
 dem creature. et si nobis sicut liber iste fingit. dyalēticē | voce
 formata nō loquūtur. Inclinatione tamē et naturalis institutio-
 nis pprietate. nos docere nostrosq^{ue} mores corrigere si bene pē-
 samus. nō desinūt. Quod illud gloriolū lumen doctorū. Sanc-
 tus augustinus optime intelligebat cū dicebat. O domine de⁹
 ōnes creature tue q^{as} fecisti. ad me clamāt. et clamare nō desi-
 nūt. ut te solū deū creatorem meū sup^{er} omnia diligā. Et ideo
 auctor libri istius hec rite considerans quosdā dyalogos crea-
 turarum ad sanā et moralem doctrinā applicauit | confinxit
 et composuit. ut p^r creaturarū quasi nobis loquētū pprieta-
 tes. simul in moribus erudiamur et tedium audientū euite-
 mus. et ip^sorū audientū memoriā adiūuem⁹ quod maxime
 per rerū similitudines procuratur. Saluator enim noster omniū
 predicatorū perfecta forma | fabulis. palestinozū moze. plus
 est. ut rerū similitudine ad viam veritatis homines p^rduceret.
 Auctor ergo libri presentis iocūdo modo morales doctrinas i
 extermīniū viciozū et virtutū promocionē introducit. quod

1480 June 3. DIALOGUS CREATURARUM MORALIZATUS.

[GOUDA, GERARD LEEU, FIRST PRESS.]

Fol. 1a blank. *Fol. 2a:* ()refacio ī librū qui dicit̄ dyalog⁹ creaturarū moralizat⁹ || omni materie morali iocūdo et edificatiuo modo appli- || cabilis Incipit feliciter. || *Fol. 2b, end of page:* Prima tabula insinuans naturas et efficacias singula || rum creaturarū scdm modū persuasiuū Incipit feliciter (*sic*). || *Fol. 3a:* ()E fole et luna, etc. *Fol. 10b, line 15:* Explicit secunda tabula que valde moralis est et bona. || *Fol. 11 blank.* *Fol. 12a (in woodcut border):* Dyalogus creaturarū optime moralizatus . omni materie morali io || cūdo mō applicabit̄ : ad laudē dei ꝛ edificacionē hoīū Incipit feliciter || (*A large woodcut of sun and moon.*) De fole ꝛ luna Dyalogus primus. || SOL est secundum philosophum ocul⁹ || mundi, etc. *Fol. 104a, line 3:* Quod || nobis prestare dignetur ille qui sine fine uiuit et regnat p om- || nia fecula feculorum. A M E N. *Then the printer's mark, a large woodcut, under which the colophon.* *Fol. 104b blank.*

Folio, printed in gothic type, 104 leaves, 34 lines to a page, text measures 184 × 115 mm. ; without numeration or catchwords ; no signatures to first ten leaves, then follow signatures a-1 in eights, m six leaves ; spaces left for initials, mostly with initial directors ; 124 outline woodcuts. The watermarks are (1) gothic p with forked tail ; (2) smaller variety of the p ; (3) dog with star on his back ; (4) crown and shield. Hain, *6124, Proctor, 8920, Holtrop, I. 413 (*the copy described by him wanted Fol. 11*). A large and perfect copy.

There are two copies in the B.M. The Bodleian copy is imperfect.

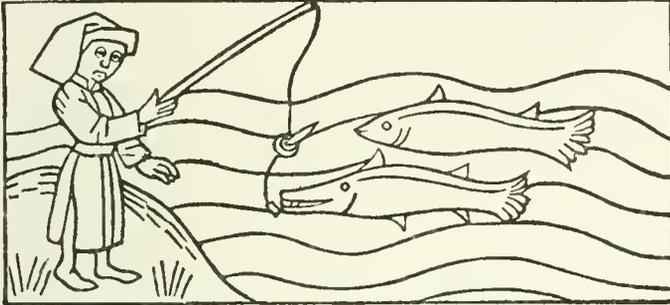
The first edition with a date, and from the first press, 1477-1482, of the first printer at Gouda. Leeu printed a second in 1481, Conrad de Homborch another in the same year, Leeu a fourth in 1482, and there were some thirteen or fourteen editions in various languages in the fifteenth century—only one of these being in English. The first illustrated book printed at the first press of Gerard Leeu, the first printer at Gouda, and the most important of all the Low Country printers of the fifteenth century. The first town in Holland in which we know the printing press to have been established was Utrecht, and the first printer the unknown producer of the *Speculum Humane Salvationis* (not later than 1471-4) ; the second town was Delft, whose prototypographers were Jacob Jacobszoen van der Meer and Mauricius Yemantszoen of Midtelburg, whose first book, the Bible in Dutch of Jan. 10, 1477, preceded by only a few months Gerard Leeu's *Epistelen ende Evangelien* of May 24 of the same year. Gerard Leeu, a man thought by Erasmus to be worthy of his friendship, was possessed of astonishing industry, and printed during the seventeen years in which he exercised his art no less than two hundred books. Within three months after leaving Gouda, in June, 1484, he was at work again at Antwerp, and in ten days after the issue of his first book from the new press he had completed another. During the first six months of 1485 he published a volume every month. In 1493 he was printing the *Chronicle of England* for Caxton, when he was killed by misadventure by one of his workmen. He had already issued seven English books between 1486 and 1493. An edition of the English version of this work printed at Antwerp about 1540 is entitled :— The dialoges of Creatures Moralysed applyably and edificatyfly to euery mery and iocounde mater, of late trāflated out of latyn into our englysshe tonge, right profitable to the gouernaunce of men. And they be to fell vpō Powlys churche arde. This edition was reprinted in 1816 by Joseph Haslewood, who reproduced for its embellishment the whole of the woodcuts of the Gouda edition of 1480 which I am describing. Only one hundred copies of the reprint were issued, almost privately, and of that number all but forty-two were destroyed, so that it is now a very scarce book. I am fortunate enough to possess Joseph Haslewood's own copy with his *ex libris*. It passed at his death into the hands of the late Dr. Diamond, who presented it on March 26, 1846, to the late John Gough Nichols.

The work is in itself a collection of fables. The dialogues supposed to take place between inanimate objects, between well-known animals, and lastly between monsters not recognized by zoologists, are in each case accompanied by a short proverb made to order, by an admirable moralization, and by a woodcut, of

the quaintness of which the reader may judge by the following reproductions (of about three-quarters of the size of the originals). These would be of little interest without an accompanying text, and I have followed Haslewood's lead in using the only English version instead of translating from the Latin.

This is a large and perfect copy, measuring 280 × 210 mm., and contains the blank leaves which were wanting in the Sunderland copy. The woodcuts have been anciently and uniformly coloured, and the first initial letter is beautifully illuminated, as will be seen in the reproduction. The rubricator or printer considered the blank leaf, *Fol.* 11, to be part of the work, as his MS. sign on the title, *Fol.* 12, is A2. Most of the other MS. signatures have been cut off in the binding. On *Fol.* 12a is the MS. inscription *Societis Jesu Antwerp. D.P.*

De lucio et trincha dyalogus quadragesimus quartus.



OF A LUCE AND A TENCHE.⁽¹⁾

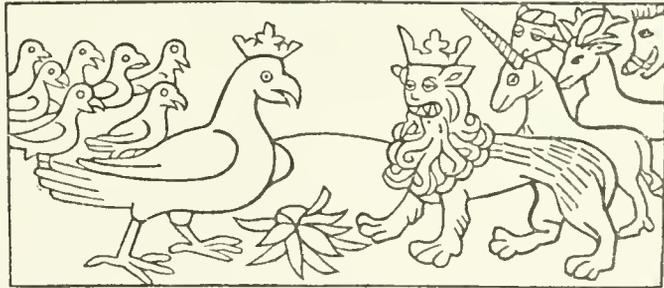
U Ppon a tyme ther was a Fiffher that fiffhed and hydde his hookis fotellye / and shewid vnto the fiffh the delycyows bayte. / A Luce and a Tenche beholdyng the plefaunte bayte / desyrid it greatlye. But the Luce was wytty and fayd to the Tenche. This mete femyth very good and delicate / but neuerthelesse I trowe that it be putte here to discyue Fiffhes. Thersfor let vs forfake it / that we be not lofte by the fowle apetyte of glotonye. Trincha than spake and fayde. It is but folye to forfake soo goode a morfell and so delycyous / for a lytle

vaayne dred. For rather I my self shal attaste of it first / & dyne with it with great plefure and swetteneffe. And Tarye thou and beholde my chaunce. And whyle that she swalowyd in the mete / she felte the hokys that were hydde. And she wolde fayne haue retournyd bakwarde. But the Fiffher pluckyd her up to him, and the Luce fledde fwyflye, and fayde thus.

¶ Of othir mennys forowe corected mote we be.
Euyr that fro parell we mowe escape free.

De aquila et aibus et leone et alijs bestiis dyalogus quadragesimus nonus.

U Ppon a tyme the Egle was accompanied and strengthid withe al maner of byrdes, and toke ther encrefid the nombre of both partyes / and went fierflye to batell / euery kynde agayne othir. / And whyle these batellys thus had continuyd the Foxe callyd the Swalowe vnto him and fayde / nowe is the tyme present / that we maye redeme owre self owte of captiuite and daunger / For we maye see vengeance of owre princes that haue dominacyon and rule ouir vs / let vs doo wyfely / and we may be polycye ordayne that they togider shall fighte themself / and euery of them shall sle othir. And thus to doo the Swalowe



OF THE EAGLE AND THE LION.⁽²⁾

⁽¹⁾ This is the first printed representation of fishing with a float. here and on next page.

⁽²⁾ Notice the collocation of the Lion and Unicorn

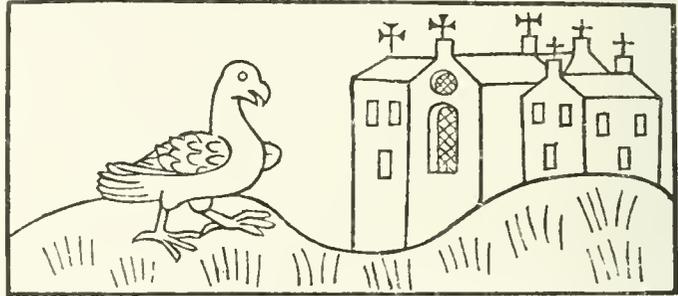
confentyd and flewe frayght to the Egle / and magnified her greatlye and fayde / Thou arte queene of all byrdes and emperesse and if thou wylt take hede to my counfell thowe shalt be princeffe / and lady of all beaftis / the Egle confentyd, and promyfyd to kepe secrete this matere / The Swalowe retournyd agayne to the Foxe and made fuch ordinaunce with her & withe othir / that the Egle shulde fighte withe the Lyon / and no mo / but only they twayne. And which of them that myght optayne / and be victoriows / shuld be prince and ruler both of byrdes and beaftis / And whan they were stryunge in ther batell / the Egle spake and fayde / O nobleste Leonyne, yf thou take hede / we be disceyuyd be false confellowrs. For they hope to be delyueryd of our dominacyon and lordshippe and for that cawse they meue and stere vs to batell / But certeynly hit is bettyr that eche of vs haue dominacyon and rule ouyr his own kynde / then that we shulde shamefully fle euerych othir be ther frawdres and fotylteys / The Lyon beleuyd the faynges of the Egle for he understoode veryly that it was trew / and so were they acordyd togider as frendis for euyre / and fayde /

¶ Wycked feductours in dede they be /
That false counfell geue iuyll mote they the /

De carflancho qui uoluit se regulari. Dyalogus quinquagesimus octauus.

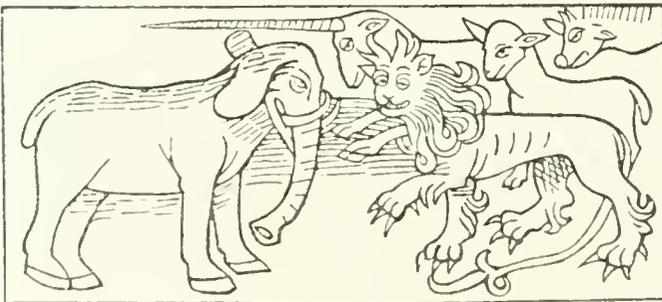
Carflanchus is a byrde lyke to a fawleon stronge and myghtye. This byrde in his yowth was dispofoyd to go to Relygyon and to lyue in perfeccyon. But for drede of sharnesse of the Rule / he differde it and fayde. I trowe verylye and I beleue / that I may not faste. Nor ryse to Mateynes. Nor kepe chastyte. Nor forsake myn owne wyll. And for this cawse that he wolde begyn no goode dede for drede of penaunce / he came neuir to the myddes / but rather endid his lyfe full lewdely faynge in this wyfe.

¶ He that for drede no vertewe wyll use
Shall peryshe dowghtlesse / &
grace him refuse.



OF A BYRD CALLYD CARFLANCHUS THAT WOULD GO TO RELYGION.

De Elephante qui genua non flectit. Dyalogus octuagesimus nonus.



OF THE OLEFAWNT THAT BOWYTH NOT THE KNEYS.

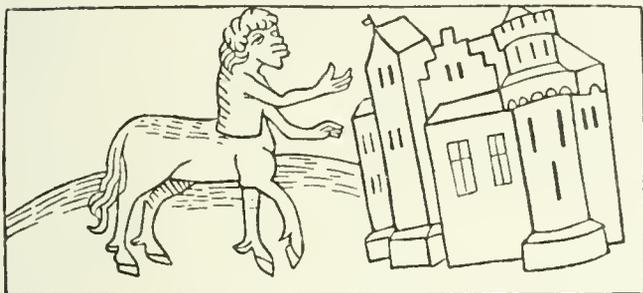
Elephas as Brito faith comith of Elephiogrece / which is an hyll in Lateyne / and he is so callyd for the gretnesse of his bodye. And these beaftis be very apte to batell. . . . This beaste is very famous and greatlye renomyd / amonge all other beaftis / and notwithstandinge he may not knele / for he hath no kneys. Upon a tyme the Lyon walkyd by the wode amonge all other beaftis and lokyd on them / and all made greate curtesye / and knelyd down vnto him as to ther fouerayne lorde and kyng. But the Elefawnt knelyd not / for he might not.

Wherfor the other wilde beaftis were inuidious & went togider to ye Lyon / & diffamyd ye Elefant. ye Lyon cam to him & fayd: Why art thou so proud & so hard hartyd ye thou bowyst not thi kneys befor me as other beaftis do. He anwerde: My lorde, I referre to you honour & worship as my dutie is.

I may not knele for I haue no kneys. Ye Lyon sayd: If thou refufe not to worship me in thy harte / thy falutacyon is acceptable, for he worshippeth his lorde sufficiently yt labourith therto with al his possibilitie. Wherefor ye Lyon condemnyd the aducrſaries yt accusyd ye Elephant, & promotyd him to greate worshippe and sayd :

¶ No man wrongfully owith puniffment to haue,
But his fawt be proud / for the iuge may him faue.

De onocentauro qui fecit palacium. Dyalogus nonagesimus tercius.



OF A BEASTE CALLYD ONOCENTAURUS THAT BYLDED A PALACE.

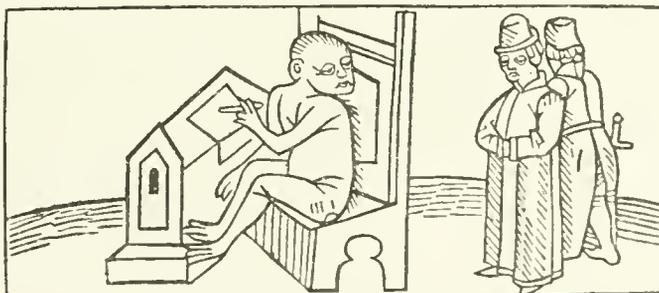
stooode by his conyng. This prowde beaste toke no respecte to him but sayde. I am ingeniows and witty I nowgh / it becomith not yowe to teche me. But I wyll haue all thinge perfourmyd aftyr myn owne mynde. And whan the palace was fynyshed and complete / for lacke of gode fundacyon and wyfdome / it was ruynows and fell shortely to the grownde. And therefore Onocentaurus was vtterly confufyd and spoylyd of all his goodes / & fayde with great heuyneffe.

¶ That man him self fone destroyeth
Which to no doctrine his mynde applyeth.

De symia qui scribebat libros. Dyalogus nonagesimus septimus.

AN Ape ther was dwellinge in a good cite that wrote veray Fayre / & made dyuerſe bokes. But he gaue neuir his mynd / to fuche thinges / as he wrote / but talkyd with other folkes or harkenyd what was fayde of them. For the whiche cawſe he falsified his bookys oftyntymes. Wrytinge in them the wordes that he spake him self. Or that he harde spokyn of other men. And so he continuyd and wold neuir amende nor correct his fawt. wherfor noman wold fet him to worke / & so he had no getyng & cam to grete pouerte, & fayd.

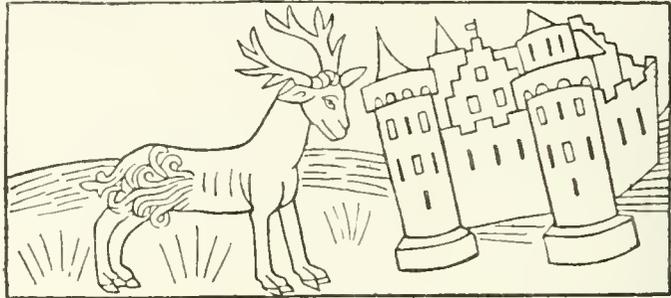
¶ The wryter that wryteth all the longe daye
Deferuith no rewarde / yf his mynde be awaye.



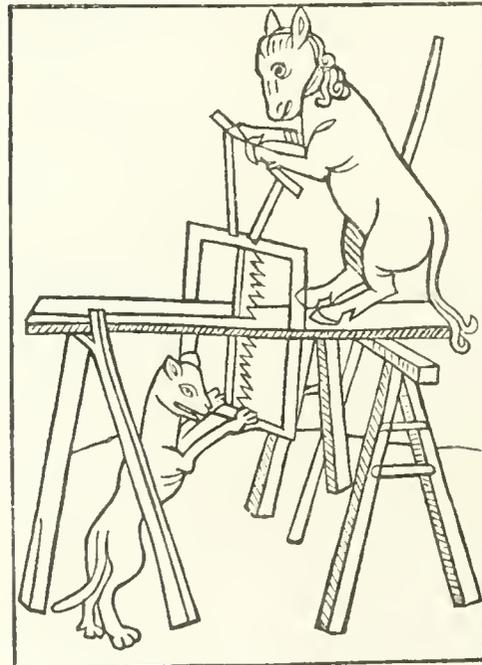
OF THE APE THAT WROTE BOOKES.

De tragelapho architectore fallace dyalogus centesimus primus.

TRagelaphus that is a beaste of a gote and a harte as faith brito / and it is a nown compoude of tragos that is a goote / and laphos, that is an harte / which beaste thoughe he be of the similitude of an harte in som parte. Neuerthelesse he hath rowgh herys lyke a goote behynde / and a barbydde chynne / and hornis he hath also lyke an harte and full of braunchis. This beaste was a principall workman, and a greate deuifar in byldinges. But he was a falsse disceyuar / and begilyd many folkes. For whan he shudde gyue counsell for dyuers edificacions to be made. He wolde ordeyne fuche fundacyon that ye byldinge shulde sone fall / and to himself he wolde fayre: Hit forfith not to me though it fall. For I shall haue the more auantage in Reedificacion of fuche workys and thus his badde counsell was robbery to euery man that medlyd with him amonge all other in that countrey ther was a myghty tyraunte wyllynge to bylde a meruelous paleys / for himself. And for to haue it perfourmyd / he sent for this hedemastir / and delyueryd to hym money innumerable / for the construccyon of the Palace. This cheef workmastir layde a badde fundacion lyke as he had vfid before tyme / in somoche that whan the worke was finished / the wallys departyd / and Clauie sponder in the myddes / and all the hoole worke began to sinke. The Tiraunt that feynge was fore agreuyd and cited the archemastir and fayde vnto hym. Why haste thou deceuyd me thow cursyd wretche.



OF A BEASTE CALLYD TRAGELAPHUS THAT WAS A FALSE BYLDAR.



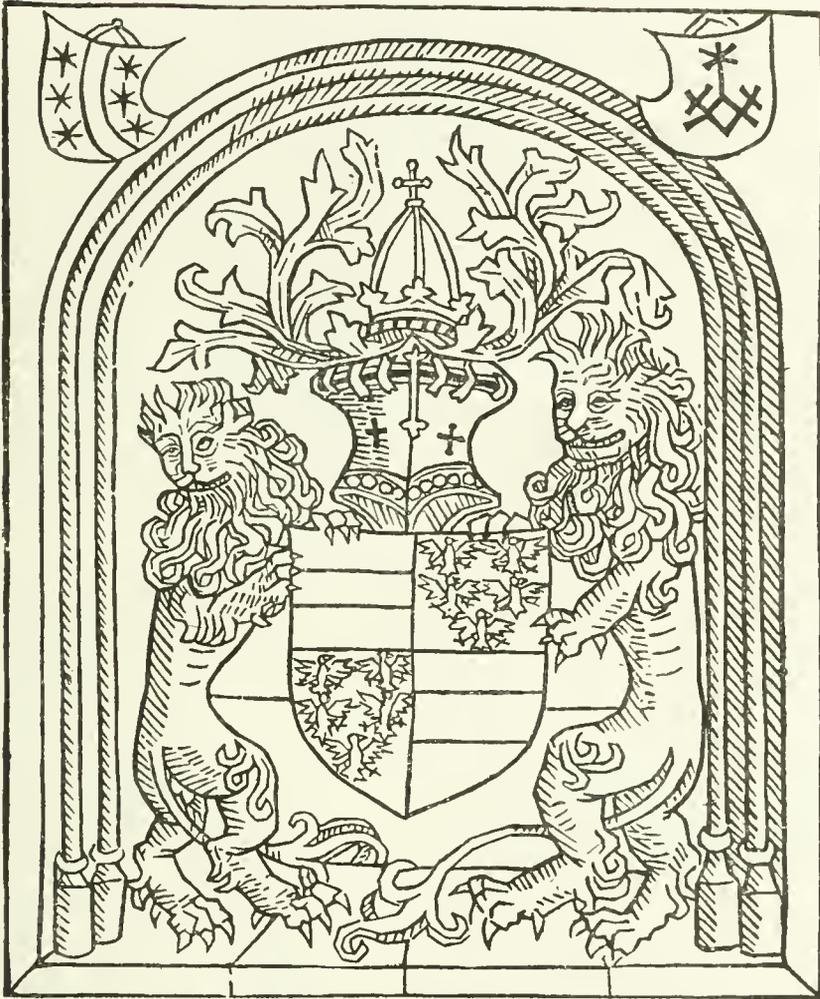
OF THE WOLF AND THE ASSE.

To whom he answerde and fayde: I was diffeyuid whan I layde the fundacion but nowe it behouith to bete downe this worke and make a bettyr fundacion. This tyraunte was wode that soo greate a coste was vterlye losse / and caughte him and threwe hym downe from the toppe of the palace / and destroyde him.

De lupo et azino dyalogus centesimusseptimus.

THe wolf on a tyme sawyd with the asse / but the asse labowrid full truly aboue. the wolf was malycious and drewe the sawe vnderne the, sekyng an Occasyon to deuowre the asse. wherfore he made quarell agayne him and fayde: Why doyste thou throwe the duste in to myn Ien. the asse answerde / and fayde: I doo not so to the / but I gouern the sawe perfightly aftyr my wytte and connyng. If thou wilt sawe aboue I am pleasyd / and I shal labowre beneth trulye. To whom the wolf fayde I cannot. But and yf thou throwe any more duste in to myn Ien / I shal put owte both thyn Ien. and they thus sawyng the wolf blew with all his power wyllyng yt the duste shulde flye in to the Ien of his felowe / but ye tymber stoppid it / and cawfid the dust to fall in to the Ien of the wolf / and he was greuouly paynid and sware that he wolde ouirthrowe the portars and berars. But the tymber fell sodcynly by the rightfull iugement of God, and oppressed the wolf and kyllid hym. The lupo leapt and sawyd him self and fayde:

¶ Many one that thinketh his Neyboure to kyll
Is slayne with that same swerde fore agayn his wyl.



Preſens liber **D**ialogus creaturarum appellatus iocundis
fabulis plenus **P**er gerardum leeu in opido goudensi inceptus
munere dei finitus est **A**nno domini millesimo quadringentesimo
octuageſimo menſis iunij die tertia
G **1**660

LAST PRINTED PAGE OF DIALOGUS CREATURARUM. (G. LEEU, 1480.)

1482 Oct. 14. JULIUS HYGINUS. POETICON ASTRONOMICON LIBER.

[VENICE, ERHARD RATDOLT.]

Fol. 1 blank. Fol. 2a, with sig. a2 (in red): Clarissimi Viri Iginij Poeticon Astronomicon || opus vtiliffimū foeliciter Incipit. || De Mundi ꝛ sphaerae ac vtriusq; partiū declaratiōe || Liber. Primus. || Prohoemium || *Line 6 (in black):* Iginius. M. Fabio Plurimam Salutem || Etsi Te Studio grammaticae artis || inductū. ... *The letter to Fabius ends on Fol. 3a, line 14. Line 15:* De Mundo ꝛ Sphaera. || Mundus appellatur: is qui constat ex Sole ꝛ Lu- || na: ꝛ terra ꝛ omnibus stellis. || ... *Fol. 58a, line 18:* Hoc Augustensis ratdolt germanus Erhardus. || Dispositis signis vndiq; pressit opus. || In quo si quid erit: quod non tibi parte placebit. || Ex omni: vitio non mihi queso dabis: || Ni prius Iginij cernes monumenta virorum. || Scripta manu: vel que preffa fuere prius: || Que li forte voles trutina pensare modesta || Te reus in nulla iudice parte ferar: || Immo mihi ꝛ fido grates perpefe Iacobo || Tu referens dices viuat vterq; diu. || Anno salutis. 1482. Pridie Idus. Octobris. Venetijs. ||

4to, printed in gothic type, text measures 141 × 95 mm., 58 leaves, 31 lines to a page; without numerals or catchwords; signatures a-f in eights, g in tens; 39 large woodcuts in outline, large and small floriated woodcut initials. The watermarks are (1) scales in circle, above a short stylus, ball, and star; (2) bull's head, long stylus capped by trefoil, round which is coiled a serpent. Hain, *9062, Proctor, 4387.

This edition was long supposed to be the first. It is preceded, however, by that of *Augustinus Carnerius* of *Ferrara*, 1475, a rare edition less desirable than this, as in lieu of woodcut illustrations it has merely spaces in which the diagrams had to be filled in by hand. Hain must have seen a copy of this edition, varying from mine as regards the title in red on *Fol. 2a*, as he describes an error which does not exist in the present copy (vtiliffimmu) for (vtiliffimū), and prints (Foeliciter) where we have (foeliciter).

A fine and perfect copy, possessing the blank leaf *Fol. 1*, and measuring 210 × 148 mm.

Hyginus, born either at Alexandria or in Spain, was a slave of Julius Cæsar, who brought him when still a child to Rome, giving the boy so liberal an education that Augustus, after giving him his freedom, appointed him custodian of the Palatine library. His great work, the *Astronomicon*, is absolutely indispensable in a study of ancient mythology.

As the illustrations give to this edition its principal charm I have selected three for reproduction here. *Gemini* and *Aquarius* speak for themselves, but *Plyllirides* calls for a few explanatory remarks from Hyginus. The constellation depicted is that of the *Centaur*. The author would have his readers to know that this is no ordinary centaur, but Chiron himself son of Saturn and Phylire, whence his distinguishing name. That Chiron died by a wound from an arrow we all know, but two differing narratives of the casualty are here given. In any case Jupiter was wroth with him, and put him away among the stars, where he is still to be seen carrying an immolated victim in his right hand; from his wrist depends a pilgrim-bottle (for a libation?), his left supporting a spear on which hangs a rabbit, for which, however, no warrant is to be found in the firmament, to supplement the kid if that should prove unacceptable to Jove.

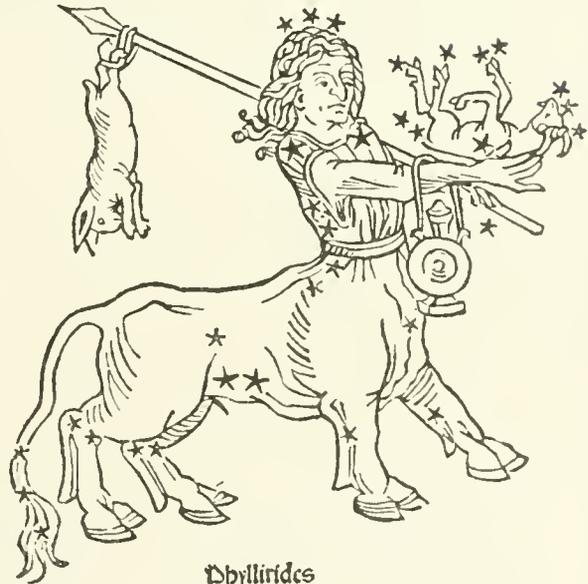
Diblin makes this far too appreciative note on this edition:—"However inferior to the previous impression in rarity, this book is greatly preferable to it for the beauty of its type and the splendour of its execution. Indeed, I am not at present aware of any similar volume from the press of Ratdolt or of any other printer which is superior to it."



Gemini



Aquarius



Pylarides

ILLUSTRATIONS FROM HYGINUS. (RATDOLT, 1482.)

1484 May 28. WERNER ROLEWINCK [DE LAER]. FASCICULUS
TEMPORUM.

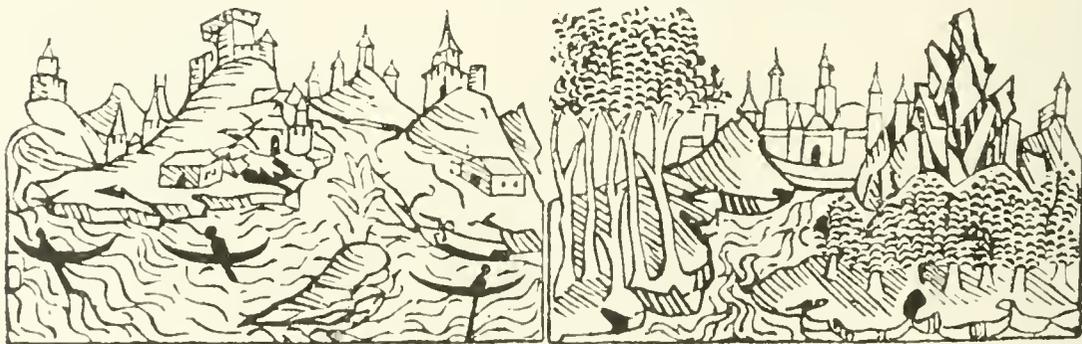
[VENICE, ERHARD RATDOLT.]

Fol. 1a blank. Fol. 1b: Nicolao Mocenico Magnifici. D. francisci || patricio veneto Erardhus ratdolt. Salutē. || Cogitavi sepius Nicolae magnifice: ... *Fol. 2a:* ☉ Tabula cōmodiffima super libro || sequēti qui fasciculus dicitur temporū || In q̄ qdē vbiq̄ pūctō ante numeꝛ || apparet: gesta ī priori folioꝛ latere: || vbi vō post ī posteriori ut reperient || denotat.(1) || Abacuc pp̄tia minor .15 || Abacuc martyr 32. || *Fol. 9a:* Generatio ⁊ generatio || laudabit opera tua: ⁊ || etc. *Fol. 73a:* Erhardus Ratdolt Augustensis impressiōni parauit. || Anno salutis M.cccc.lxxxiiij. v. calen. Iunii. Venetiis || Inelyto principe Iohanne Mocenico. *On Folios 73b and 74a arc genealogies of Our Lord and of John the Baptist. Fol. 74b blank.*

Folio, printed in gothic type, 74 leaves, two columns on a page, number of lines in a page greatly varies; text of 57 lines measures 218 × 147 (= 70 + 19 + 70) mm.; numerals 1-66, first eight leaves not numbered; neither catchwords nor signatures; many woodcuts in outline, some of which are childishly absurd, crude and vague, one or two of Ratdolt's good initial letters. The watermarks are (1-3) pair of scales, three varieties; (4) bull's head, long horns, long stylus and flower; (5) cardinal's hat. Hain, *6935, Proctor, 4404.

The fourth edition printed by Ratdolt of this extremely popular chronicle, of which some thirty-four editions were produced in the fifteenth century. The method of guiding the reader of the index to the right page as well as the right leaf of the book mentioned on *Fol. 2* would serve well enough till books were *paged* instead of being *leaved*. It is rather strange that Ratdolt, who knew so well how to produce an attractive volume, should have allowed such miserable woodcuts to appear in this.

Britānia que postea dicta est anglia.



(1) That is to say, "This is a very handy table (index) to the following book called the Little Bundle of Occurrences. Wherein when you see a point before the number, you will find the occurrences on the recto, but when the point follows the number they will be found on the verso."

Space can be afforded for only a very short extract from the text. I must just let the author say what he thinks about *England*, and allow the artist to give his idea of the appearance of our country (*Fol. 45b, sub anno 454*). "England was once a flourishing state; that was in the time of Arthur who had sway for a brief period over ten kingdoms. But here take note of one remarkable result of military supremacy. When through it an eager taste for war is acquired, and occasions for embarking in it are sought for, a miserable end is usually approaching, according to the words of the prophet, 'Scatter thou the people that delight in war.' Oh! if in those days the Britons since called Englishmen had ruled with true prudence they would by this time have been lords of the whole of Europe. But as feeling strong in themselves they must needs desire to make war on nations who were also strong, their forces were weakened in the same proportions as those of the powers they attacked and so they gained only that miserable kind of victory which leaves the victor with few or no troops at his disposal. Audacity when not controlled by prudence is baneful rather than beneficial. And this was Arthur's fate."

A fine, clean, and perfect copy, measuring 298 × 205 mm.

1484. JOHANNES VON MONTEVILLA RITTER. [GERMAN VERSION.]

[STRASBURG, JOHANN PRÜSS.]

Fol. 1a: Title (xylographic) Johannes Von Mon- || teuilla. Ritter. || Fol. 1b blank. Fol. 2a, with signature aij: Das erste büch ||; underneath a wood engraving of the knight setting forth on his travels, of which a reduced reproduction will be found elsewhere; the original measures 136 mm. across page. The text begins: Do ich Iohan von Monteuilla Ritter Geborn vñ En || geland/ von einer stat genant Sant alban von erften || vñzfüre/, etc. On Fol. 82b the text ends thus: Vnd dafelbft bit auch ich Johannes von mō || teuilla/ doctor in der artzny vnd Ritter obgenanter/ Geboren vffz Engel || land/ von einer stat die heiffet Santalban/ der des erften difes büch dem || almechtigen got zū lob vnd zū eren gemacht habe. Das wir mit Ihefu cri || fto ewiglichen rychnen Amen || On Fol. 83a is a note by the translator⁽¹⁾: Ich Otto von demeringen Thümherre zū Metz in Lothringen, || etc. On Fol. 87a, line 23: Hie endet das Register. || Fol. 87b: Getruckt zū Strafzburg || Johannes Prüffz. Anno || Domini M.cccc.lxxxiiiij.

Folio, printed in gothic type, 87 leaves, 41 lines, text measures 203 × 135 mm.; without numerals or catchwords; signatures a-b in eights, d six leaves, e-g in eights, h six leaves, i, k, l in eights, m seven leaves; many woodcut initials, 159 woodcut illustrations. The watermarks are (1-2) large gothic p, split tail, two types; (3) smaller p, short stylus and quatrefoil; (4) gothic y and stylus; (5) crown in circle; (6) small bull's head short stylus and star; (7) bull's head, long horns and stylus. Hain, 10649 (very vaguely described), Proctor, 512.

The fourth German edition. There were also Latin, French, and Italian editions in the fifteenth century.

⁽¹⁾ To this effect:—"I Otto of Demering, prebendary at Metz in Lothringen, have translated his book from the Latin and Italian languages into the German tongue. That Germans also may therein read of the many wonderful things that are therein written; of foreign lands and their faiths, of their manners, of their raiment and many other wonders, as are hereinafter set forth in the Chapters. And this book is divided into five parts. The first treats of the journey from the Dutch Netherlands to Jerusalem, to Mount Sinai and St. Catherine's grave, and of the lands and wonders to be found in the way," etc., etc.

The press of *Johann Prüss* ranks fourteenth in the list of Strasburg printers, and this *Mandeville* is perhaps the first book he printed. Mr. Proctor notes twelve dated books in the B.M., from 1484 to 1487, as being certainly his, but also gives two short appendices of works probably but not certainly to be assigned to him. We shall find one of the twelve, *Rolewinck, Fasciculus Temporum*, in this collection, under the date 1487.

A fine and perfect copy measuring (271 × 197 mm.) of this extremely rare edition, of which there is no copy in the Bodleian. The woodcuts have been so brilliantly and uniformly coloured at the time of issue as to bring them almost into the category of illuminations, and make the copy much more desirable than an absolutely uncoloured one. There are wormholes in the last few leaves. An early possessor was *Brother Iohan Petyl*, who has recorded its purchase and appended his monogram.

The texts of this book present variations so important that it has not been very easy in all cases to find fitting ancient English wording for the enlightenment of the reader on the meaning of the few illustrations which I have selected for reproduction. The text has for the most part been derived from *MS. Egerton*, 1982, *The Buke of John Maundeuill Knight*, edited by *G. F. Warner, Esq., M.A.* Some of the descriptions, however, emanate from *MS. Cotton, Titus C. XVI.*, in the National collection, reprinted in 1725, and edited by Halliwell in 1866, also from my copy of the printed text of 1684. My selection of illustrations is not perhaps the best that could have been made. I have been obliged to omit the charming and well-known stories of the *Watching of the Falcon* and *The Lady of the Land*, both of which are to be found in *Mandeville*, because the woodcuts which illustrate them in the present edition are not sufficiently attractive. It were well if the text of either of the MSS. above referred to were reprinted, with facsimiles of the beautiful drawings which they contain.

John Bale gives a short biography of John Mandevil, knight, born at St. Albans, and describes him as despising his rank in life unless it were made more honourable by study, and as possessing an insatiable desire for travel; he represents him as leaving England in 1322, and as travelling during thirty-four years in *Scythia, Armenia, Egypt, Libya, Arabia, Syria, Media, Mesopotamia, Persia, Chaldea, Greece, Illyrium*, and other countries, and as writing the whole of his adventures in English, French, and Latin, dying in 1371. Yet it is now no longer believed that this most entertaining compilation was written by a John Mandevil, nor that it contains a faithful record of the journeyings of any individual. It has been shown that the writer, whoever he may have been, has borrowed largely from the narrative of *Friar Odoric* written in 1330, but has not scrupled to add zest to these extracts by romantic extravagances. And it is just because the marvels related are so absurdly incredible, yet withal so gravely and simply recounted, that the work, especially in the English versions, must ever enlist the sympathy and affection of the reader. It has been found convenient to make reductions varying in proportions of those illustrations which are here presented.

Das erste buch



MANDEVILLE SETTETH FORTH. MONTEVILLA (JOH. PRÜSS, 1484).

Sampson and the Gates of Gaza.

Alfo fra Acon before faid gafe three day journey to the citee of Palefytne, that now es called Gaza, and it es a full faire citee and full of ricches and of folk. Fra this citee til a hill withoute bare Sampfon the forte the gates of the citee the whilk ware made of braffe. And in that citee he sloghe the Kyng in his palays and many other alfo aboute iij^m and himfelte with tham. For thai had taken him and putte oute bathe his eghen, and culled off his hare, and putte him in prifoun. And at thaire feftes thai brought him furth before tham and made dance before tham and make iapes. So on a hie fefte day, when he was very for [that he] danced before them, he bad him that ledd him that he fuld lede him to the poft that bare vp all the hous: and he tuke the poft in his armes and schoke doune all the hous apon tham, and fo he sloghe himfelf and all that ware therein, as it telles in the bible in xxi. chapetre of *Judicum*. Fra this citee men may go to the citee of Gerare, and fo to the castell of Pilgrimes and fo to Afcalon and than to Jaff, and fo to Jerufalem. (*MS. Egerton, 1982.*)



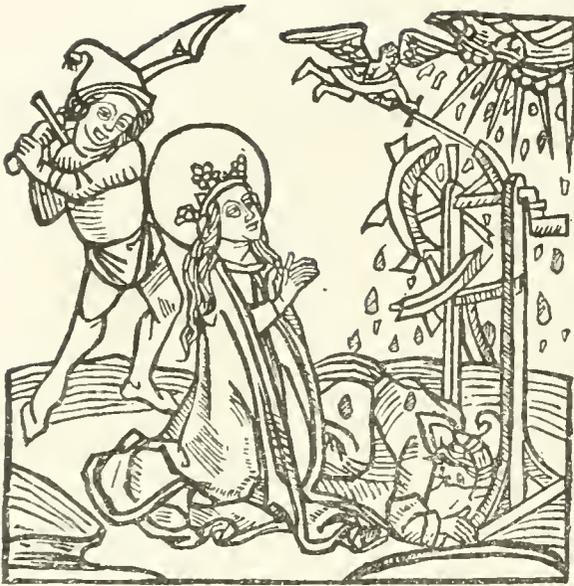
SAMPSON TUKE THE POST IN HIS ARMES
AND SCHOKE DOWNE ALL THE HOUS.
MONTEVILLA (*JOH. PRÜSS, 1484.*)

The Hermit and the Horned Monster.

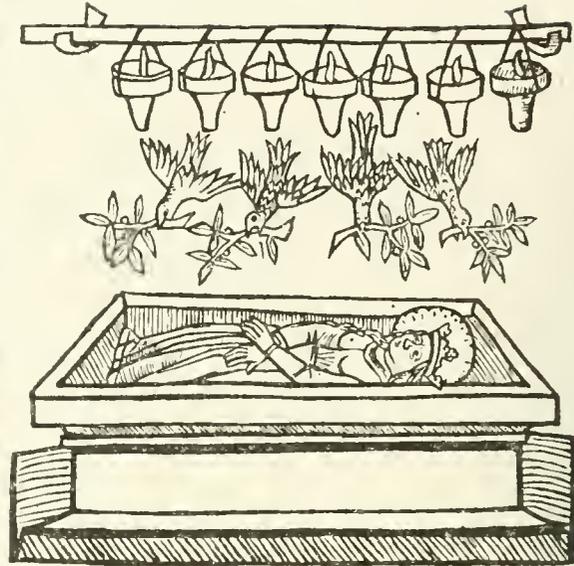
In Egypt there ben 5 Provynces; that on highte Sahythe, that other Demefeer, another Refythe, that is an Ile in Nyle, another Alifandre, and another the Lond of Damiete. That Cytee was wont to be righte frong: but it was twyes wonnen of the Cristene Men: and therefore after that the Sarazines beten down the Walles. And with the Walles and the Tour thereof, the Sarazines maden another Cytee more fer from the See, and clepeden it the new Damyette. So that now no Man duellethe at the rathere Toun of Damyete and that Cytee of Damyete is on the Havenes of Egypt and at Alifandre is that other that is a fulle frong Cytee. At the defertes of Egypte was a worthi man that was an holy Heremyte; and there mette with hym a Monstre (that is to feyne, a Monstre is a thyng difformed azen kynde both of Man or of Best or of ony thing elles: and that is cleped a Monstre). And this Monstre, that mette with this holy Heremyte, was as it hadde ben a Man, that hadde 2 Hornes trenchant on his Forehede; and he hadde a Body lyk a Man, unto the Navele; and benethe he hadde the Body lyche a Goot. And the Heremyte asked him, what he was. And the Monstre answerde him, and feyde, he was a dedly creature, fuche as God hadde formed and duelled in the Defertes in purchasyng his Sustynance; and befoughte the Heremyte that he wold preye God for him, the whiche that cam from Hevene for to faven alle Mankynde, and was born of a Mayden, and suffred passiou and Dethe (as we well knowen) be whom we liven and ben. And zit is the Hede with the 2 Hornes of that Monstre at Alifandre for a Marveyle. (*MS. Titus C. XVI., printed London, 1725.*)



THE HOLY HEREMYTE AND THE MONSTRE.
MONTEVILLA (*JOH. PRÜSS, 1484.*)



MARTYRDOM OF ST. CATHERINE. ANGEL BREAKS
THE WHEEL OF TORTURE.
MONTEVILLA (JOH. PRÜSS, 1484).



THE FOULES OF THE CONTREE BRING PLENTIE
OF OLYVES.
MONTEVILLA (JOH. PRÜSS, 1484).

The Church of St. Catherine and her Yearly Festival.

There (in the Mount of Synay) is the Chirche of Seynte Kateryne, in the whiche ben manye Lampes brennyng. For thei han of Oyle of Olyves y now, bothe for to brenne in here Lampes and to ete also: and that plentee have thei be the Myracle of God. For the Ravenes and the Crows and the Choughes, and other Foules of the Contree assemblen heur then every Zeer ones, and fleen thider as in pilgrimage: and everyche of hem bringethe a Braunche of the Bayes or of Olyve, in here Bekes, in stede of Offring, and leven hem there, of the whiche the Monkes maken gret Plentee of Oyle; and this is a great Marvaylle. And filke that Foules, that have no kyndely Wyt, ne Refoun, gon thidre to feche that glorioufe Virgyne; wel more oughten Men than to feche hire and to worcipen hire. (*MS. Cotton, Titus C. XVI.*)

The Well of Gabriel.

And thare es the well of Gabriell, whare oure Lord was wont to bathe him, when he was zung; and at that well was he wount to fecche his moder water; and there was fche wount to wafch his clathez. (*MS. Egerton, 1982.*)



OURE LORD AND HIS MODER.
MONTEVILLA (JOH. PRÜSS, 1484).

The Graves of the Patriarchs.

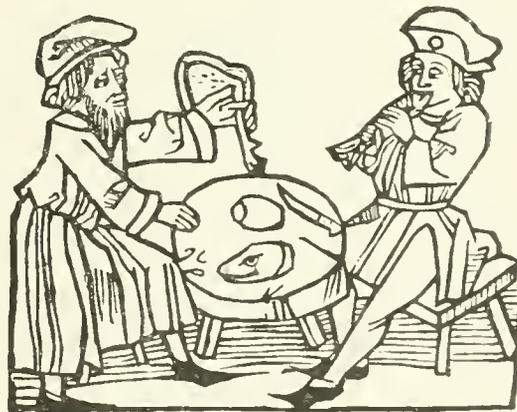
IN the citee of Ebron er the grauez of the patriarches Adam, Abraham, Ysaach and Jacob, and of thaire wyfes Eue, Sara and Rebecca, and thai er in the hingand of the hill. And ower thaim es a rizt faire Kirke wele bretist aboute, as it ware a castell, the whilk Sarzenes kepez rizt wele. And thai hafe that place in grete wirfchippe for the holy patriarkes that lies thare. And thai suffer na Cristen men ne Jews com in thare, bot if thai hafe special lese of the Sowdan; for thai hald Cristen men and Jews bot as hundes, that schuld comme in na haly place. That place es called Spelunca Duplex, or double caue, or double graue, for aue lyes on another. And ye Sarzenes callez it in thaire langage Cariatharbe, that es to fay the place of patriarches. And the Jews calles it Arboth. In that fame place was Abraham hous that tyme that he fawe, sitaen in his dore, the three men and wirfcheped ane, as haly writte witneffez, fayand 'Tres vidit et vnum adorauit, that is to fay "He fawe three, and he wirfcheped ane." And thare tuke Abraham aungelles in to his hous infeede of gestez. And thare a lytill beside es a caue in a roche, whare Adam and Eue ware dwelland when thai ware dryfen oute of Paradys; and thare gat thai thaire childer. And, as sum faife, in that fame place was Adam made; for men called that place sum tyme the felde of Damafe, for it was in the lordschippe of Damafe. And fra theine he was tranlated in to Paradys, as thai fai; and afterward he was dryfen oute of Paradys and putt thare agayne. For the fame day that he was putte in to Paradys the fame day he was dryfen oute for als foue as he had fynned, he was putte oute of that joyfull place. (*MS. Egerton, 1982.*)



ADAM AND EUE IN THE LORDSCHIPPE OF DAMASC.
MONTEVILLA *JOH. PRÜSS*, 1484).

The Land of Prester John.

In the land of Prestre John er many meruailles. Bot amanges other thare es a grete see all of grauell and sande, and na drope of water therin. And it ebbez and flowes as the grete see dufe in other cuntreez with grete warves and neuermare standez still withouten mouyng. That see may na man passe, nowther by schippe ne other wyfe; and therefore it es vnknawen till any man whatkyn land or cuntree es on the tother fyde of that see. And thof ther be na water in that see, neuertheles thare es grete plentee of gude fischez taken by the see bankes; and thai er rizt sauoury in the mouth, bot thai er of other schappe than fischez er of other waters. I John Maundeuill (†) ete of tham, and tharfore trowez it, for fikerly it es foth. (*MS. Egerton, 1982.*)



JOHN MAUNDEUILL EATETH RIZT SAUORY FISHES.
MONTEVILLA (*JOH. PRÜSS*, 1484).

(†) John Maundeuill is identified in the cut by his pilgrim's hat and cockle-shell.



A CASTELLE BRACED ON AN OLYFAUNTE, OR WARKE.
MONTEVILLA (JOH. PRÜSS, 1484).

Elephants for Warlike Uses.

FRa this ile men wendez till another ile by see, the whilk men callez Calanok; and it es a grete land and plentynoufe of gudes. The kyng of that land hafe als many wyfes as he will. For he gers feke all the faire wymmen of the land and bring tham before him. And therefore hafe he a grete nowmer of fonnes and doghters; for fum kynges hafe a c. childer, fum cc., fum ma. The kyng also has xiiii^m of tame olyfauntes, whilk he gers kepe at ilk a toune in his rewme. And, when he hafe were with any lord aboute him, he gers make castelles and brace tham on the olyfauntes; in the whilk castelles he puttes men of armes for to feight agaynes thaire enmys. And on the same wyfe dufe thaire enmys; for that es the maner of feighting amanges lordes in Batailes in thafe landes. And thafe olyfauntes thai call Warkes in thair langage. (*MS. Egerton, 1982.*)

The Dutiful Cannibals.

FROM that Yle, in goynge be See toward the Southe, is another gret Yle, that is clept Dondun. In that Yle ben folk of dyverse kyndes; so that the Fadre etethe the Sone, the Sone the Fadre, the Hufbonde the Wif, and the Wif the Hufbonde. And zif it so befalle, that the Fadre or Modre or ony of here Frenedes ben feke, anon the Son gothe to the Prest of here Law, and preyethe him to aske the Ydole, zif his Fadre or Modre or Frend schalle dye on that evylle or non. And than the Prest and the Sone gone to gydere before the Ydole, and knelen fulle devoutly, and asken of the Ydole here demande. And zif the Devylle, that is with inne, answeere, that he schalle lyve, thei kepen him wel, and zif he feye that he schalle dye, than the Prest gothe with the Sone, with the Wif of him that is seeke, and thei putten here hondes upon his mouthe, and stoppen his Brethe, and so thei fleen him. And afre that, thei choppen alle the Body in smale peces, and preyen alle his Frenedes to comen and eten of him, that is ded: and thei fenden for alle the Mynstralle of the Contree, and maken a solemne Feste. And whan thei han eten the Flefsche, thei taken the Bones, and buryen hem, and syngen and maken gret melodye. And alle tho that ben of his kyn or pretenden hem to ben his Frenedes, and thei come not to that Feste, thei ben reprevd for evere and schamed, and maken gret doel; for nevere



A SOLEMNE FESTE OF THE FADRE'S BODY FOR TO
DELYVEREN HIM OUT OF PEYNE.
MONTEVILLA (JOH. PRÜSS, 1484).

afte sehulle thei ben holden as Frenedes. And thei feyn also, that men eten here Flefche for to delyveren hem out of peyne. For zif the Wormes of the Erthe eten hem, the Soule fcholde suffre gret peyne, as thei feyn, and namely, whan the Flefche is tendre and megre, thanne feyn here Frenedes, that thei don gret Synne, to leten hem have fo long langure, to fuffre fo moebe peyne, with oute refoun. And whan thei fynde the Fleafche fatte, than thei feyn, that it is wel don, to fenden him fone to Paradys, and that thei have not fuffred him to longe to endure in peyne. (*MS. Cotton, Titus C. XVI.*)

In the English edition of 1684, London, 4to, which is to all intents and purposes a Chap-Book, the story of the filial cannibals is immediately followed by the following text, which will suitably illustrate the next woodcut.

The Headless Folk.

AND the King of this Isle is a great Lord and mighty, and he hath in many Isles other kings under him, and in one of these Isles are men that have but one eye, and that is in the midst of their front, and they eat their Flesh Fish all raw. And in another Isle are men that have no heads, and their eyes are in their shoulders, and their mouth is in their breast. In another Isle are men that han no head nor eyes, and their mouth is in their shoulders. (*Edition of 1684, London, 4to.*)



MEN THAT HAVE NO HEADS, THEIR EYES IN THEIR SHOULDERS, THEIR MOUTH IN THEIR BREAST.
MONTEVILLA (*JOH. PRÜSS, 1434*).



THE FIRST MANIFESTATION OF ANTICHRIST. THE QUEEN OF THE AMAZONS LISTENS TO HIS PREACHING AND BELIEVES IN HIM.^(*)
MONTEVILLA (*JOH. PRÜSS, 1434*).

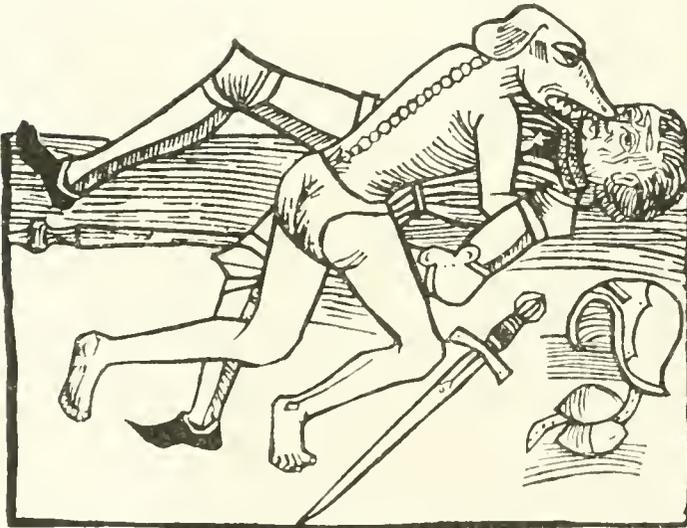
(*) I have not succeeded in finding an English text to illustrate this inimitable portrait of a plausible Antichrist and of the coy Queen who has been perverted by his oratory. The title which I have given to it is translated from the 1484 edition, in which the cut occurs.

Idolatrous Dog-headed Cannibals.

FRa that ile men gafe by fee to another ile, whilk men callez Natumeran, and it es a grete ile and a faire; and the vngang theroff es nere a thousand myle. Men and wymmen of that ile hafe heuedes lyke hundes; and thai are called Cynocephales. This folk thof all thai be of fwilk schappe, zit thai er full reasonable and futill of witte. And thai wirschepe ane ox for thaire godd, and ilkaue of tham beres ane ox made of gold or of filuer in his front, in taken that thai lufe thaire godd wele. Thai er large of stature and gude werrayours; and thai bere a grete target, with whilk thai couer all thaire body, and a lang spere in thaire hand, and on this maner arayd thai go baldely agayne thaire enmys. And if thai take any man in bataile, thai ete him. The King of that land es a grete lord and a myghty and a riche and full deuote after his lawe; and he hafe aboute his nekke a corde of filke, on whilke er ccc. precious ftanes, grete and orient, in maner of bedes of laumbre. And rigt as we fay oure Pater Noster, and oure Auez apon oure bedes, rigt fo the Kyng fayfe ilk day apon his bedes ccc. praieres to his godd before he ete. And



A CYNOCOPHALES SUTILL OF WIT GAES BALDELY WITH A LANG SPERE AGAYNE HIS ENMY. MONTEVILLA (JOH. PRÜSS, 1484).



A FULL REASONABLE CYNOCOPHALES EATETH AN ENMY TAKEN IN BATAILE. MONTEVILLA (JOH. PRÜSS, 1484)

he beres also aboute his nekk a ruby, fyne and gude and orient, the whilke es nere a fote lang and v. fyngers on brede. This ruby giffe thai him, when thai make him Kyng, to bere it in his hand, and fo he rydes aboute the citee and thai er all obeyand vntil him. And fra theine forward he beres it aboute his nekk all way, for if he bare it nogt, he schuld na langer be halden Kyng. The grete Caan of Cathay hafe mykill coueitid that ruby, bot he myzt neuer get it by were, ne by bying, ne by nanother maner. This King es full rigtwys man and a trewe in his lawe, for he punyfschez all thafe that dufe any wrang till any man within his rewme, and therefore men may ga fauely and fikerly thurgh his land and na man be fo hardy to disturbe tham, ne robbe tham, ne take fra tham any maner of gude. (MS. Egerton, 1982.)

Four-footed Men and Women.



FOLK WHILKE GASE ON THAIRE HEND AND FETE.
MONTEVILLA (JOH. PRÜSS, 1434).

bestes and sla tham to thaire mete thurgh swyftnes of fote. (*MS. Egerton, 1982.*)

And in thase iles er many maner of folk of diuerse condicions. In one of tham es a maner of folk of grete fature, as thai ware geauntz, horribill and foule to the sight, and thai hafe bot ane egh, and that es in myddes the forheued. They ete rawe flech and rawe fisch. In another ile er foule men of figure withouten heudes, and thai hafe eghen in ayther schulder aue; and thaire mouthes er round schapen, lyke a hors scho, ymiddes thaire brestez. In another ile es a maner of folk that hafe a platte face, withouten nefe or eghen, bot thai hafe twa finale holes in steed of eghen, and thai hafe a platte mouth, lipplefs. In another ile er foule mene that hafe the ouer lippe so grete that when thai slepe in the sonne, thai couer all the vifage with that lippe. In another ile er folk whilke gafe on thaire hend and on thaire fete, as thai ware foure foted bestez; and thai er rough and will clymbe in to treeffe als lightly as thai ware apes. In another ile er folk that hafe fete lyke hors, and on thaun thai will rynne so swyfte that they will owtake wyld

El Banquet of Snakes.

The first citee of this land, and the next the see, es called Latoryn; and it es mare than Pairsch.⁽¹⁾ And thurgh this citee rynnez a grete water, hable for to bere schippes; and it rynnez into the see a lytill fra the citee, that es to fay a day journee. There es na citee in the world better ordayned, ne ma schippes langand to, ne better ne larger and franger hauen hafe than this citee. All the folk of that citee and of the cuntree aboute wirschepez mawmetes. Thare er all maner of fewles gretter by the half than thai er in this cuntree. Thare er geeffe all whyte, als grete as swannez in this cuntree; and thai hafe on thaire heuedes a reed fpotte euen round. Thare es grete plentee and grete cheep of all maner of vitaille, and also grete plentee of *nedders*,⁽²⁾ of whilke thai make grete festes and delicious metes. For if a man make a grete feste and had giffen all the best metes that myght be geten owerwhare and he gyffe tham na nedders, he has na thank of all his feste. (*MS. Egerton, 1982.*)



A GRETE FESTE OF NEDDERS.
MONTEVILLA (JOH. PRÜSS, 1424).

(1) Bigger than Paris.

(2) Adders.

Succour given to Transmigrated Souls.

From that Cyttee, men gon be Watre, solacynge and disportyng hem, till thei come to an Abbey of Monkes, that is faste bye, that ben gode religious men, after here Feythe and Lawe. In that Abbeye is a gret Gardyn and a fair, where ben many Trees of dyverse manere of Frutes: and in this Gardyn is a lyttille Hille, fulle of delectable Trees. In that Hille and in that Gardyn, ben many dyverse Bestes, as of Apes, Marmozettes, Babewynes, and many other dyverse Bestes.⁽¹⁾ And every day, whan the Covent of this Abbeye hath eten, the Awmener let here the releef to the Gardyn, and he smytethe on the Gardyn Zate with a Clyket of Sylver, that he holdethe in his hond, and anon alle the Bestes of the Hille and of dyverse places of the Gardyn, comen out, a 3000 or a 4000: and thei comen in gyse of poor men and men zeven hem the releef, in faire Veffelles of Sylver, clene over gylt. And whan thei han eten, the Monk smytethe eft fones on the Gardyn Zate with the Clyket; and than anon alle the Bestes retornen azen to here places, that thei come fro. And thei feyn, that theife Bestes ben foules of



DYVERSE BESTES [THE SOULES OF WORTHY MEN] COME TO BE FED AT THE SMYTINGE OF A CLYKET OF SYLVER. MONTEVILLA (JOH. PRÜSS, 1484).



MONTEVILLA (JOH. PRÜSS, 1484).

worthi men, that resemblen in lykeneffe of the Bestes, that ben faire: and therefore thei zeve hem mete, for the love of God. And the other Bestes that ben foule, they feyn, ben foules of pore men, and of rude Comouns. And thus thei beleeven, and no man may putte hem out of this opynyoun. Theife Bestes aboveseyd, thei let taken, whan thei ben zonge, and noriffchen hem so with Almeffe, als manye as thei may synde. And I asked hem, zif it had not ben better to haue zoven that releef to pore men, rathere than to the Bestes. And thei answerde me and feyde that thei hadde no pore men amonges hem, in that Contree: and thoughte it had ben so, that pore men had ben among hem, zit were it gretter Almeffe, to zeven it to tho foules, that don there here Penance. (MS. Cotton, Titus C. XVI.)

There appears to be no text descriptive of these gentlemen. I would suggest that they may be *Magistrates* in conference.

⁽¹⁾ In the German text the *Unicorn*, not noticed in the English version, is expressly mentioned.



AN ORAFLE OR GERFAUNT (GIRAFFE) AND A COCODRILLE.
MONTEVILLA (JOH. PRÜSS, 1484).

Crocodiles and Griffins.

IN that Contre and be alle Ynde, ben gret plentee of Cokodrilles, that is a maner of a long Serpent, as I have feyd before. And in the nyght, thei dwellen in the Watir, and on the day, upon the Lond, in Roches and Caves. And thei ete no mete in alle the Wynter: but thei lyzn as in a Drem, as don the Serpentes. Theise Serpentes slen men, and thei eten hem wepyng: and whan thei eten, thei meven the over Jowe, and noughte the nether Jowe; and thei have no Tonge.

There also ben many Bestes, that ben clept Oraffes. In Arabye, thei ben clept Gerfauntz; that is a Best pomelee or spotted; that is but a litylle more highe, than is a Stede: but he hathe the Necke a 20 Cubytes long: and his Croup and his Tayl is as of an Hert: and he may loken over a gret highe Hous. (*MS. Cotton, Tit. C. XVI.*)

Mahomet and the Falling Sickness.

AND ye shal vnderftond that Machomete was borne in Araby and he was first a pore knave and kept horfe and went after marchaundyse. And so he cam ones into Egypt with marchaundyse and Egypt was that tyme crysten, and there was a Chapelle beyde Araby and there was an Eremyte, and whan he come into the chapell that was but a lytell house, and a lowe affone the entre began to be as greate as it were of a paleys gate and that was the fyrste myracle that the sarrasyns fay that he dyd in his youthe. After began Machomete to be wyfe and ryche, and he was a great Astronomer and fythen was he keeper of the londe of the prynce Corodan & gouerned it full well in the whych maner that whan the prynce was dede he weddyd the lady that men called Duadryge. And Machomete fell oft in the fallynge euyll wherfore the lady was wrothe that she had taken hym to hir husbonde and he made hir to vnderftonde that euery tyme that he fell so he fayde that Gabryell the Aungell spake to hym, and for the great Brightnes of the aungell he fell downe. This Machomete regned in Araby the yere of our lorde fix hundred xx and he was of the kynde of Dyfmael that was abrahams son that he gate of Agar and other ar properly called Sarrasyns of Sarra, but some are called Moabites and fom amorites after two fonnes of Loth. (*MS. Egerton, 1982.*)



MACHOMETE, THE FALLYNGE EUYLL, AND
DUADRYGE. MONTEVILLA (JOH. PRÜSS, 1484).

Interspersed among narratives whose charm is largely due to their absurdity and inexactitude are to be found some grains of reason and good sense, with a specimen of which this note on the ever delectable *Voiage and Travaile of Mandeville* may well conclude. He has been speaking of the *Yle of Lamary*, and remarks: "In that Lond, ne in many othere bezonde that, no man may see the Sterre Tranfmontane, that is clept the Sterre of the See, that is unmevable, and that is toward the Northe, that we clepen the Lode Sterre. But men seen another Sterre, the contrarie to him, that is toward the Southe, that is clept Antartyk. And right as the Schip men take her Avys here, and governe hem be the Lode Sterre, right fo don Schip men bezonde the parties, be the Sterre of the Southe, the whiche Sterre apperethe not to us. And this Sterre that is toward the Northe that we clepen the Lode Sterre, ne apperethe not to hem. For whiche cause men may wel perceyve, that the Lond and the See ben of rownde schapp and forme. For the partie of the Firmament schewethe in o Contree that schewethe not in another Contree. And men may well preven be experience and fotyle compassement of Wytt that zif a man fond passages be Schippes, that wolde go to ferchen the World, men myght go be Schippe alle aboute the World and aboven and benethen." And so on for four or five pages.

1484-5. JOHANNES DE CAPUA. DIRECTORIUM HUMANÆ VITÆ
ALIAS PARABOLÆ ANTIQUORVM SAPIENTUM. [BIDPAY, KALILA ET
DIMNA.]

[JOHANN PRÜSS, STRASBURG.]

Fol. 1a.

Directorium huma ne vite alias parabo le antiquorū sapientū.

TITLE-PAGE OF DIRECTORIUM. (Original measures 105 mm. across page.)

Fol. 1b, full-page woodcut of the presentation of the volume by the translator, John of Capua, to his patron. Fol. 2a: Prologus || (v)Erbum Johannis de capua post tenebrarum olim palpati- || onem ritus iudaici: diuina sola inspiratione ad firmū & verum || statum orthodoxe fidei reuocati. || etc. Fol. 4b, line 29: Explicit prologus. Incipit liber. || ()Icitur q, in temporibus regum Edom. habuit rex anastres || tafri virū nomine beroziam, etc. Fol. 82a, last line: Explicit liber parabolarū antiquoꝝ sapientum. ||

Folio, printed in gothic type, 82 leaves, 50 lines to a page, text measures 200 × 127 mm.; no numerals or catchwords; Fol. 1 without signature, then a, 5 leaves, making a quire of 6, b—n 6 in sixes, the last quire is of 4 leaves without signatures; 119 woodcuts, nearly half the size of the page; spaces left for large initials, some initial directors. The watermarks are (1) small gothic p, short stylus and Latin cross; (2) small gothic p with short split tail, and Greek cross; (3) gothic p surmounted by trefoil, tail split, and its ends rounded; (4) small gothic p, tail irregularly split, and Greek cross; (5) crescent forming part of circle, long stylus and Latin cross. *Hain, 4411, Proctor, 558.

This may be called the only edition of the fifteenth century. There are, however, two impressions by the same printer, with minute variations which are here described. In the copy inspected by Hain, *4411, the colophon runs, Explicit liber parabolaꝝ antiquoꝝ sapientum (parabolaꝝ when we have parabolarū), as minute a difference as can be conceived, but enough to mark a separate

issue. But in addition to this divergence it must be noted that in the copy noted by Hain the headlines are printed *Capitulum II., III., etc.*, whilst in ours they are *Capitulum secundum, Capitulum tertium,* etc. Brunet, who mentions these differences, received from M. Yemeniz particulars of still another variety in which the colophon runs *Explicit liber parabolaꝝ sapientum*, but of this I have no other knowledge. Brunet incorrectly described our copy (that formerly in the La Vallière Library) as belonging to the former, the parabolaꝝ class.

A beautifully clean, large, and perfect copy, measuring 264 × 186 mm., in the La Vallière binding of calf. Carefully rubricated in red and yellow, cuts uncoloured; on two fly-leaves is the MS. inscription, *Bib: de la Valliere.*

This extraordinary and celebrated work is primarily of Indian origin. A *Pehlevi* version existed in the sixth century; from this a Syriac and an Arabic version was derived; from the Syriac it was translated into Hebrew, and from the Hebrew *John of Capua* made in the thirteenth century the Latin translation here for the first time printed.

The fables are extremely entertaining and have been translated into most of the Western languages. Many of them contain the germs of stories very familiar to English readers, as will at once be seen in two of those which I have paraphrased. The woodcuts, cleverly designed and boldly executed, possess perhaps a still greater charm, and I have not scrupled, in view of the rarity and inaccessibility of the originals, to reproduce four of the most presentable. Many of the fables and some of the woodcuts hardly come into this category, and the quaintest are not usually those most tolerable by modern ideas of decorum. The tale of the Lady, the Lover, the Husband and the Parrot (here the Magpie) is one of the best known.



The Lady, the Lover, the Husband and the Magpie.

A Persian merchant has a magpie which he has trained to talk, to the intent that he may know what goes on in his absence. The bird tells him on his return from business stories all too true concerning

his wife's lover. He gives the flighty lady a good drubbing (*verberabat illam fortiter*). She in turn falls foul of the servants, who convince her that the bird, and not any of them was the talebearer. She dare not kill the poor creature, as that would argue guilt. So on the next occasion of the husband's absence, whilst she is entertaining her adorer, she stations the handmaids round the magpie's cage, when by her orders he is treated during the whole night to artificial lightning, thunder and rain by means of a drum, a mirror, a water-sprinkler and a pea in a pan. On his return the husband again consults the *pica*, and is answered by the honest bird, "How can I give you any news? I spent last night in the greatest torments by reason of the deluge of rain, the thunder, the lightning and the earthquake. I verily thought that the world was coming to an end." Inasmuch as the night has been fine and serene, the foolish man jumps to the conclusion that the bird has been hoaxing him all along, wrings his neck and hangs him up on a beam to dry.

A very similar reproof of precipitate action is afforded by the fable of



The Hermit, his Wife, their Infant, the Watch-Dog and the Serpent.

A hermit receives from a king a daily provision of certain victuals and a pot of honey. He eats the food, but he puts the honey by, storing it in a jar which hangs over his head in bed. Now honey was very dear in those days, and on a day as the hermit lies on his bed and looks up at the jar he makes up his mind to sell it. "It will bring me a talent of gold at the least," he says. "With that I will buy ten sheep, which in four years will have so multiplied as to number four hundred; with four of them I will purchase a bull and a cow. These again will so rapidly increase their kind that at the end of five years I shall be a wealthy man of much consideration, and all men will bow down before me. And I will build great and splendid structures excelling those of all my friends and relations, so that all shall speak of my riches. Then I will take to me a wife of high degree who will bear me a son, who, with good luck and God's blessing, will grow in knowledge and virtue, so that by his means I shall leave behind me after my

death a worthy memory. And he shall be in all respects obedient to me, and if he rebel I will smite him with this staff." And suiting the action to the word he brandishes his stick, strikes the pot, the source of all his potential wealth, and down comes all the precious honey on his pate. Here of course we have the germ, one of the earliest, of the story of the girl who carried the basket of eggs on her head. The hermit does really marry, however, and the long wished for son arrives. The mother goes to the bath, confiding the cherished babe to the father's care; he is, however, presently called by a messenger to the King's presence and leaves the infant in the charge of his dog. The faithful animal, watching by the cradle, espies a snake gliding out from his hole towards the sleeping child, makes short work of the reptile and as soon as the door is opened bounds joyfully out to meet his master. But the sight of his blood-stained muzzle infuriates the hermit; he reasons not, but strikes the dog even to the death. Entering the house he finds the dead serpent and unharmed babe, and is stricken with deep repentance and bitter grief, saying, "Would the child had never been born, then had I not so cruelly requited so much good with evil." The last pathetic episode is of course an early form of the tale of *Gelert the Hound*.



The Old Merchant, his Bride and the Housebreaker.

An old merchant takes to himself a young and lovely wife, who alas! does not return his affection, but keeps her distance at bed and board. On a night comes a thief into their dwelling and is heard by the light-sleeping bride. Moved by overwhelming terror she clings closely to her lord for protection, who in astonishment asks her, "What means this new-born affection of thine?" No answer comes, but his listening ear catches at last the noise which the marauder is making, and rising he goes boldly to him, and thus addresses him: "Thou hast done me a service so great that I am for life thy debtor, seeing that my wife by thy means doth embrace me at the last. Take, I pray thee, as thy reward whatsoever my house may afford—(*omnia tibi de domo mea licita sunt*)."



The Hunter, the Stag, the Boar, the Wolf and the Bowstring.

ONCE upon a time there was a hunter who went out on a day into the woods with his bow and arrows in search of game. He had not left home long when a stag ran by, which he promptly shot, and was on his way home with it when he was attacked by "a certain" wild boar (*aper quidam*). The hunter drops the deer from his shoulder and shoots the boar through the heart: notwithstanding his wound, the beast enraged by the pain rushes on his foe and tears him open with his tusks, mortally lacerating him. And so boar and hunter die side by side, and near them lies the stricken deer. A wolf chancing to pass that way, and seeing the three corpses, rejoices greatly and says to himself, "I must keep this booty for another time when I am hungry, for I cannot make much of a meal to-day; a taste of the bowstring will be enough for the present." So he begins to gnaw the cord, which breaks and smites him so that he too dies with the rest. This parable is intended to teach us that it is unwise to heap up riches and not make use of them. The illustration affords an amusing problem in perspective, made more puzzling still in the original by the circumstance that it is therein printed upside down! It is here printed for the first time in the position the artist evidently intended it to occupy.

1485 Feb. 10. BARTHOLOMÆUS PLATINA. VITÆ PONTIFICUM.

[TREVISO, JOHANNES RUBEUS, FIRST PRESS.]

Fol. 1a blank. Fol. 1b: PROEMIVM PLATYNÆ IN VITAS PONTIFICVM
AD SIXTVM. IIII. PON- || TIFICEM MAXIMVM. || ()VLTA QVIDEM IN
VITA VTILIA ESSE, etc. Fol. 2a: PLATINÆ HISTORICI LIBER DE VITA

CHRISTI: AC PONTIFICVM || OMNIVM: QVI HACTENVS DVCENTI ET VIGINTI DVO FVERE. ()OBILITATIS MAXIMAM PARTEM, etc. *Fol. 135b, the text ends FINIS.* || Excellētissimi historici Platinae ī uitas sūmoꝝ pōtificū ad Sixtū iii. pōtificē maximū || praeclaꝝ opus fœliciter explici: accurate castigatū ac īpenſa magiſtri Ioānis uercelen- || ſis. .M.cccc.lxxxv. die. x. february.

Folio, *printed in roman type, 135 leaves, 52 lines to a page, text measures 212 × 133 mm.; no numerals or catchwords; signatures.* Hain, *13048, Proctor, *6498. The watermark is a crescent.

The first edition of Platina's work is that printed at Venice in 1479 by *Johann of Cologne* and *Johann Manthen*. Ours is the third or fourth.

Very fine copy, full of rough leaves and almost uncut, measuring 309 × 204 mm. Many coeval and later marginal notes. Initials filled in by hand in red. An index in MS., in a hand of the seventeenth or early eighteenth century, has been annexed to the volume.

We have already had before us a work by *Platina* (Barthelemi de Sacchi), printed in 1475, to which the reader is referred for some particulars of his life. This history of the Lives of the Popes is the most celebrated of his productions. It is said of the author that, although he has spoken more freely of the popes than have other catholic historians, he has evidently kept back truths which he had not the courage to announce. The last Life is that of Pope Paul II., and I have included in the reproduction the few lines with which it concludes in order to give, in so far as so minute an instalment can do, an idea of Platina's style and of the minuteness with which he described the habits and characters of the various Pontiffs.

Varia ciboꝝ genera ſibi ꝑponi
uolebat:& peiora quæq; ſcꝑ deguſtabat. Clamabat iterdū niſi quæ expetebat ex ſentē-
na ei appoſita fuiſſet. Bibaciliſſimus quidē erat: ſed uina admodū pua & diluta bibebat.
Peponū eſu cācroꝝ paſtilloꝝ: piſciū: ſuccidiæ admodū delectabat: qbus ex rebus ortā
crediderim apoplexiā illā qua e uita ſublatus ē. Natura duos pepones & qdē prægrādes
comederat eo die: quo ſequēti nocte mortuus ē. luſtus ramē eſt habitus & clemēs: Plæ-
roſq; aut latrones pœna carcens ad ſanitatē redigere conatus ē tures: parricidas: pſidos:
periueros. Hūanitatē aut ſtudia ira oderat & cōtēnebat: ut eius ſtudioſos uno noīe hæ-
reticos appellaret. Hāc ob rē rōanos adhortabat: ne filios diutius ī ſtudiis litteræꝝ uer-
ſari paterēt. Satis eſſe ſi legere & ſcribere didiciſſet. Durus iterdū & iexorabilis tiqd ab
eo peteres habebat: neq; hoc cōtētus cōuicia & pbra ī re cōiiciebat: plura ramē præſta-
bat: q̄ uultu factuꝝ præ ſe ferret. Vno tamē poſtremo laudari pōt: q̄ domi mōſtra non
aluert: qꝝq; domeſticos ſuos & familiares ī officio cōtinuerit: ne ob faſtū & inſolētiā po-
pulo romano & aulicis ſtomachū facerēt.

FINIS

Excellētissimi historici Platinae ī uitas sūmoꝝ pōtificū ad Sixtū.iiii. pōtificē maximū
praeclaꝝ opus fœliciter explici: accurate castigatū ac īpenſa magiſtri Ioānis uercelen-
ſis .M.cccc.lxxxv. die. x. february.

Brunet incorrectly states that the edition of 1504 (*Venice, Ph. Pincius*) is the first in which the title of *John VIII.* is given to *Pope Joan*. But in the present edition, on *Fol. 53a* we have the whole unabridged and unexpurgated story of the female pope, her succession to Leo III., her misfortune, death, and unhonoured burial under the heading IOANNES VIII., with the following rather casuistic disclaimer on the part of the author: *Hæc que dixi vulgo feruntur: in certis tamen et obscuris auctoribus: quæ ideo ponere breuiter et nude institui: ne obstinate nimium et pertinaciter omisisse uidear quod fere omnes affirmant: errorem etiam nos hac in re cum vulgo quanquam apparcat ea que dixi ex his esse que fieri posse credunt.*

1485 Dec. 24. BARTHOLOMÆUS [ANGLICUS]. DE PROPRIETATIBUS
RERUM.

[HAARLEM, JACOP BELLAERT.]

Fol. 1a blank. Fol. 2a (with signature aai): Hier beghinnen de titelen d;̄ sijn de || namen der boeken daer men af spreke || fal eñ oec die capittelen der cerwaer di- || ghen mans bartolome9 engelsman eñ || een gheoerdent broeder van sinte fran- || cifcus oerde. *Fol. 10b blank. Fol. 11a blank. Fol. 11b, full-page woodcut. Fol. 12a: ()* Ant dye eyghent || scappen der din- || ghen volge mœ || ten, etc. *Fol. 17b, second column blank. Fol. 18a blank. Fol. 18b, full-page woodcut. Fol. 30a blank. Fol. 30b, full-page woodcut of the Creation. Fol. 105a blank. Fol. 105b, full-page woodcut of the Seven Ages of Man. Fol. 161a, second column blank. Fol. 161b, full-page woodcut of the Spheres. Fol. 188a blank. Fol. 188b, a woodcut of the Seven Ages of Man. Fol. 217a blank. Fol. 217b, full-page woodcut of strange wild fowls. Fol. 246a blank. Fol. 246b, full-page woodcut of the cities of the earth. Fol. 367a, ten lines of first column, rest of page blank. Fol. 367b, full-page woodcut of the beasts in general (beesten int ghemeyn), all animals in harmony except the Lion and Unicorn, whose battle is just beginning. Fol. 463b, line 7: Explicit Amen. || After this the colophon here reproduced. On Fol. 464a is the full-page printer's mark⁽¹⁾ of Bellaert (containing the arms, says Van der Linde, of Van Ruyven and Jakob van Cats). Fol. 464b blank.*

**Hier ēndet dat boeck welck ghe-
hieten is bartholomeus vanden pro-
prieteyten der dinghen inden iaer ons
heren M.CCCC.eñ lxxv. optē hepli-
ghen kerlauent. Ende is gheprint en
de oeck mede volepndt te haerlem in
hollant ter eren godes ende omi lerin-
ghe der menschen van mi Meester Jⁿ
COPBELLAERT gheboze van ze-
erzee.**

FACSIMILE OF FOL. 463b, LINES 8-17.

The second Dutch version of *Bartholomeus*, printed in the fifteenth century. It is undoubtedly a rare book. Not much is known of *Jacob Bellaert*. He was (*pace* the Costerians) the prototypographer of Haarlem, and five books from his press are to be found in the B.M., printed in 1484 and 1485, of which this volume is the latest. His types and woodcuts had been procured from *Gerard Leeu* of Gouda, the printer of the *Dialogus Creaturarum* and of the *Aesop* of 1486 described in the present volume. This is the only one of his books in which he has allowed his name as printer to appear.

This is said to be one of the many fifteenth century books which have been sophisticated in order to bolster up the precedence of one press over another. A story is told in an early history of printing, of no particular merit,⁽³⁾ about a copy of this first Dutch edition said to be preserved in the Town House at Haarlem, to the effect that its custodians were in the habit of displaying the volume to visitors, in confirmation of the claim of that city to be the cradle of the art of printing, appealing to the *colophon*, which exhibited the date M.CCCC.XXXV., the intervening L occurring after the word eñ having been ingeniously erased; but that Mr. Bagford discovered the cheat.

⁽¹⁾ The border of this device was afterwards made use of by *Leeu* in a mutilated condition in *The Chronicles of the Land of England*, 1493. ⁽²⁾ *Holtrop*, I. 18, mentions a blank leaf after *Fol. 245*, of which there is no trace in my copy. His last folio is therefore 465. ⁽³⁾ Luckonibe's "History of Printing," 1771.

This is a most interesting copy, clean and perfect, with the blank leaf *Fol. 1*, and measuring 263 × 193 mm.; rubricated throughout, the large initials beautifully illuminated, the woodcuts anciently coloured. It has been enriched with marginal annotations and some delicate writing in gold letters and drawings by that very eccentric scholar, *Pauwels Kempeneere* of Leyden, Secretary Extraordinary to the Council of Brabant, who has written on *Fol. 2*, *behoïre Toe P. Kempeneere en syn Vrienden*, 1600.

opopanax
 6 8 34 -
 p. ma. samu.
 fle. 8
 mima 2
 vita
 Tabula
 r. sallo
 inuago
 in. flum.
 huc.
 reau
 f. runc
 cocavata
 14 9. 3 679
 ab abe
 get. Vini. Virtus
 Ben
 id.
 Vita
 m.
 canha 7. 5



Zperbozeþ montes dat sijn ber-
 gen vā spchpa dair om datter
 die noerdē wint ouer blaest eñ waecht
 als pñdor? seit die landē van spchien
 sijn veel rjcleñ nochtās so sijn dair meer
 diemē nz en bewoēt Itz die geberch-
 ten hebbē veel gesteints eñ gouds in
 hēñ daer in dien geberchte sijn veel
 griffoens eñ seldē comē die mensche
 daer onder griffoenen wil daer vint
 men marauden die best diemē vint eñ
 cristal dat puerste datmē weet eñ die
 bollchen sijn daer zeer zerp eñ scerp
 doer te comē vandē quade wilde beest-
 en als vandē pantherēllupaerdē eñ
 vandē dieren diemē spgris noemleñ
 men vinter honde die also groot eñ al-
 so dacc sijn dat si dieren eñ lewē bwin-
 nen eñ sonderlinghen in albania eñ in
 hircania die alle onder spchpen hoze.
 die welke berchachtich sijn eñ venijn
 Itz xrij. ca. vandē berch vā carmelē
Carmel? is eēberch in iudeen
 lāt in die welt is eē stat diemē

I have hastily described in the Report of the Hist. MSS. Commission on my collection, page 6, a marvellous MS. volume — the Common-place book of P. Kempeneere, called by the late Mr. C. W. King, Fellow Trin. Coll., Camb., “the greatest curiosity in the way of a MS. in existence.” The identity of the author was not disclosed by any signature in that volume, and many scholars had puzzled over it since it came into my hands, when one day my friend, the late Mr. J. H. Bohn, who had seen it, noticed whilst inspecting books at Sotheby’s the present copy of *Bartholomæus*, which contains sketches and notes of a similar character to those in the MS.; and then, as *Kempeneere’s* name is writ large herein, the mystery was solved and the investigation of many questions simplified. A portion of a page of the *De Proprietatibus* is reproduced here, exhibiting both the text and a characteristic note by P. K. It will serve to give a slight idea of the line of thought of that mystic, some of whose beautiful microscopic writing and drawing I hope to reproduce in a future volume of these Notes. The original *Latin* text of Cap. xxij. of the *De Proprietatibus* speaks of the Hyperborean mountains as contain-

PORTION OF TEXT OF BARTHOLOMÆUS. (BELLAERT, 1485.)

ing the finest *Smaragdi* and the finest *Crystal*. The *Smaragdus* is a dark-coloured stone (probably the Green Ruby, the *Smaragdus Scythicus* of Pliny). This accidental collocation of the dark and bright, the *Smaragdus* and *Crystal*, suddenly suggests to the spiritual sense of Kempeneere the contrasts of human life, and he makes in the volume the marginal note *Vita Tabula cristallo et smaragdo miriffima siue preciosissime co(n)cavata*, and presents us with a little angel-framed picture, half in the bright sunshine of Christ’s presence, half in the shade of the crosses of Time. The figure of the Carmelite friar was of course suggested by the description of Mount Carmel (een berch in iudeen); and by some nexus of ideas came the reference to Canticles ii. 5, “Stay me with flagons,” and the words *Vini Virtus*. The note is dated 14.9.1589.



PRINTER'S MARK ON LAST PRINTED PAGE OF BARTHOLOMÆUS. (BELLAERT, 1485.)

1485. JOHANNES DE SACRO BOSCO. SPHÆRA MUNDI.
 GEORGIUS PURBACH. DE MOTU PLANETARUM.

[VENICE, ERHARD RATDOLT.]

Fol. 1a blank. Fol. 1b, full-page woodcut of astrolabe, held by hand, proceeding from clouds. Fol. 2a: NOVICIIS ADOLFSCENTIBVS (sic): AD ASTRONOMI || cam rempu. capeffendā || aditū ĩpetrātib9: etc. Fol. 58b: Impreffum est hoc opufculum mira arte & diligentia Erhardi || Ratdolt Auguftenfis. Anno falutifere incarnationis. 1485.

4to, printed in roman type, 58 leaves, 32 lines to a page, text measures 146 × 12 mm.; without numerals or catchwords; signatures (1-3 on third leaf) 1-6 in eights, sig. 7 has ten leaves; no spaces left for initials, some large and small floriated woodcut initials; many woodcuts of astronomical diagrams. The watermarks are (1) bull's head, long stylus and cinquefoil between horns, and a star on short stylus issuing from his mouth; (2) scales in circle. Hain, *14111, Proctor, 4402.

The fourth edition of this work, to which nine or ten others succeeded in the fifteenth century.

The woodcuts which are here reproduced have a certain interest for the general reader as showing how fully the fact of the earth's rotundity was grasped in the fifteenth century, recognized also, it is true, by very early astronomers, though stumbled at by monomaniacs in the last and even in the present century. The author says:—"That the earth is round appears from the following considerations. The constellations and stars do not rise and set uniformly for all men, wherever they may live, but rise and set earlier for those who are in the more eastern parts. Their earlier or later rising and setting is due to the swelling (rotundity) of the earth, as is made very manifest by what happens in the firmament. For the very same eclipse of the moon which is visible to us in the first hour of the night appears to the eastern nations about the third hour, whence it is evident that their night began before ours, the cause of this being the great protuberance of the earth. That the *water* also has a round surface may be demonstrated in the

following manner. Let a mark (signum) be placed on the sea-shore; then let a vessel sail out of harbour to such a distance that the mark is no longer visible to the eye of a man standing near the foot of the mast. Yet the ship remaining in exactly the same position, the same eye when looking from the top of the mast will have a clear view of the mark on shore. But the eye of the man at the foot of the mast *ought* to have a better view of the mark than the man at the mast-head, as is shown by the lines drawn from each eye

QVOD TERRA SIT ROTVNDATA.

Qđ etiā terra sit rotūda sic patet. Signa & stelle nō equaliter oriunt̄ & occidunt omnibus hominib⁹ ubiq; existentibus: sed prius oriunt̄ & occidunt illis q; sūt uel uersus orientē: & q; citius & tardius oriunt̄ & occidunt q; busdam: causa ē tumor terre: qđ bñ patet p ea q; fiūt in sublimi. Vn aeni & cadē eclipsis lunę numero q; apparet nobis i prima hora noctis: apparet orientalib⁹ circa horā noctis tertiā. Vnde constat q; prius fuit illis nox. & sol prius eis occidit q; nobis. Cuius rei causa ē tantū tumor terre.

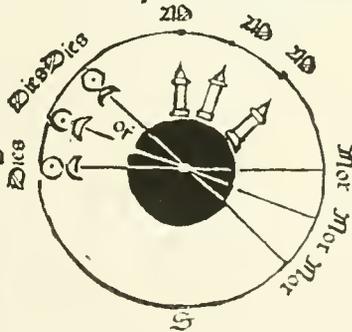


ILLUSTRATION OF THE ROTUNDITY OF THE EARTH.
 (SACRO BOSCO, RATDOLT, 1485.)

to the mark. The cause of all this is nothing but the rotundity of the water. And as water is a homogeneous body, its parts, such as drops or the dew on the grass, naturally assume a spherical form."

George Purbach, born at Buerbach, in Austria, in 1423, obtained great celebrity as a professor of astronomy, and made some contributions to the science.

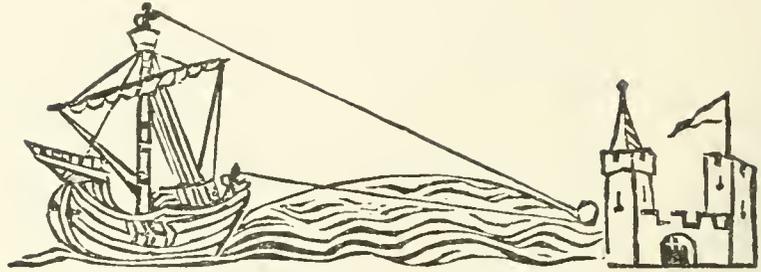


ILLUSTRATION OF THE ROTUNDITY OF THE SEA.
(SACRO BOSCO, RATDOLT, 1485.)

(Circa 1485.) MICHAEL SCOTUS. PHYSIOGNOMIA.

[VENICE, JOHANNES RUBEUS.]

Fol. 1a blank. Fol. 2a: ()RIMA Pars libri huius Ca .I. || The table of contents ends on Fol. 3b. Fol. 4a: ()NCIPIT Liber Phisionomiæ: quem compi- || lauit magister Michael Scotus ad preces. D. || Federici romanorum imperatoris. Scientia || cuius est multum tenenda in secreto: eoq, e || magnæ efficaciz: Continens secreta artis na- || turæ: quæ sufficiūt omni astrologo, etc. Fol. 47b, line 12: Et hæc de Phisionomia quæ nunc prædiximus dicta || fufficiant. || Michaelis Scoti de procreatione & hominis Phi || fionomia opus feliciter finit. ||

4to, printed in roman type, 47 leaves (not 45 as Hain), 32 lines on a page, text measures 132 × 93 mm.; without numerals or catchwords; signatures aii-avii, b-e in eights, f seven leaves. There is no appearance in my copy of a missing leaf before a-ii, but the B.M. copy possesses it. The watermark is a castle. Hain, *14546, Proctor, 5128.

A treatise in which matters physiological are discussed with greater freedom than was usual even at the day in which it appeared, fully justifying the dictum of the author that the information it contains should be for the most part kept secret.

1485 or after. CORNELIUS TACITUS. OPERA.

[MILAN, ANTONIUS ZAROTUS.]

Fol. 1a: Franciscus Puteolanus Iacobo Antiquario ducali Secretario. Sal. || ()Aximis plurimisq, rebus i utraq, mea fortia a te adiutus sub || leuatus ac ornatus uir pfectissime, etc. The epistle of Puteolanus finishes on the 37th line of Fol. 1b, Vale Decus & præfidiū meum. || Fol. 2a (sig. ai): CORNELII TACITI HISTORIAE AVGVSTAE. LIXI. || ACTIONVM DIVRNALIVM. || ()Am Valerium Asiaticum bis consulem fuisse || quōdam adulteꝝ eius credidit: etc. Then follow books XI. to XXI. Fol. 149a (sig. y): CORNELII TACITI ILLUSTRISSIMI HISTORICI DE || SITV MORIBVS ET POPVLIS

GERMANIAE LIBEL || LVS AVREVS. || ()Ermania oīs a Gallis rhætiifq, & pānoniis :
rhe || no & Danubio fluminibus : a farmatis dacifq, || mutuo metu aut montibus separatur, etc.
Fol. 157b, line 17 : FINIS. *Fol. 158 blank.* *Fol. 159a (sig. z)* : CORNELII TACITI
AEQVITIS ROMANI DIALOGVS || AN SVI SAECVLI ORATORES ANTI-
QVIORIBVS || ET QVARE CONCEDANT. || ()Aepe ex me requiris Iuste fabi cur cum
priora || fæcula, etc. *Fol. 173a, line 16* : FINIS. *Fol. 173b blank.* *Fol. 174 blank.*
Fol. 175a : IVLII AGRICOLAE VITA PER CORNELIVM TACITŪ || EIVS GENERVM
CASTISSIME COMPOSITA. || ()Larorum uirorum facta morefq, pofteris tra || dere
antiquitis ufitatum ; etc. *Fol. 185a, line 36* : FINIS.

CORNELII TACITI HISTORIAE AVGVSTAE. LI. XI. ACTIONVM DIVRNALIVM.

**Am Valerium Asiaticum bis consulem fuisse
quōdam aduſteꝝ eius credidit: pariterq; hortis
inhians quos ille a Lucullo cæptos inſigni ma
gnificētia excolebat. Suilliū accusandis utriſq;
immittit. Adiungitur Soſibius Britannici edu
cator : qui per ſpeciem beniuolentiæ moneret
Claudium: caueri uim atq; opes principibus inſenſas. Præcipuū
auctorem Asiaticum interficiendi Cæſaris non extimuiſſe in cō
cione populi romani fateri: gloriāq; facinoris ultro petere: cla
rum ex eo in urbe dedita per prouincias fama parare iter ad ger
manicos exercitus: quando genitus uiennæ multiſq; & ualidis
propinquitatibus ſubnixus: turbare gentiles nationes promptū
haberet.**

BEGINNING OF TEXT OF TACITUS (ZAROTUS, Circa 1485.)

Folio, printed in roman type, 185 leaves, 36 or 37 lines to a page, full text measures 207 × 123 mm. ; without numerals or catchwords ; signatures a-d in eights, e-i in sixes, K-n in eights, o six leaves, p-s in eights, t-x in sixes, y-& in eights, A six leaves, B five leaves. The watermark, so faint as almost to elude detection, is a small bull's head, short horns, no stylus. Hain, 15219, Proctor, 5838.

This rare edition of the works was preceded only by the undated one of Wendelin of Spire (1473?). A notice of it by *Dibdin* (Bib. Spenc.) is full of amusing guesses at the place, printer and date of printing, which last he conjectures to have been 1475.

1486 *June 25.* JACOBUS DE VORAGINE. LEGENDA SANCTORUM.

[BASLE, NICOLAUS KESLER.]

Fol. 1a: Legenda sanctorum als || Lombardica historia. || *Fol. 1b* blank. *Fol. 2a*: Prologus || Incipit tabula sup legendas sanctoruꝝ, || etc. *Fol. 11a*, first column, line 44: Finit tabula feliciter. || *Col. 2*: Incipit prologus || super legendas sanctoruꝝ quas collegit in || vnum frater iacobus natione ianuenf. or- || dinis fratrum predicatorum. || *Fol. 11b*, col. 1: Explicit prologus. Line 38, col. 2: Incipiūt capitula || De festiuitatibus || que occurrūt infra t̄ps renouatiōis. *The table ends on Fol. 12b*, col. 2, line 39. *Fol. 13a*, col. 1: Incipit legenda sanctoꝝ que lombardi || ca noīatur hīctoria. etc. *Fol. 222b*, line 27: Explicit legēda lombardica Iacobi de || voragine ordinis p̄dicatoꝝ eꝑi ianuēfis. || alias legenda sanctorum. || *Fol. 223a*:

Sequunt̄ quedā || legende a quibusdā aliis superaddite. Et || primo de decem milibus (*sic*) martyru. *Fol. 255b*, end of col. 2, the following colophon:—

Folio, printed in gothic type, 255 leaves, in double columns, 53 lines to the column, text measures 220 × 140 (= 67 + 6 + 67) mm.; no numerals nor catchwords; 112 leaves without signatures, to c-z in alternate eights and sixes, except that both g and h are in eights, then A-N in alternate sixes and eights, O five leaves; numbers of chapters printed as headlines in roman numerals, breaks in chapters marked by letters of alphabet in margins; spaces left for initials, no initial directors. The watermarks are

(1) gothic p, split tail with stroke across, and quatrefoil; (2) large and clumsy gothic p, very long tail, short stylus and trefoil; (3) large thin gothic p, split tail, short stylus and trefoil; (4) very small gothic p, split tail; (5) large bull's head, long horns, long stylus and latin cross; (6) small bull's head, short stylus and star; (7) flagon, the lid surmounted by a cross. Not in Hain, Proctor, 7655.

“There are said to be three books with *Kesler's* name and the name of *Antwerp* given as the town; and though his press at Basle was at work without a break from 1486 onward, still in 1488 his name appears amongst the list of members of the St. Lucas-gilde at Antwerp. It is very probable, as Campbell suggests, that Kesler was entered as a member to enable him to sell his books in Antwerp.” (E. Gordon Duff, *Early Printed Books*, 1893.)

Nicolaus Kesler's was the eighth press established in Basle, and gave birth to more than fifty books before the end of the century.

A good copy, measuring 290 × 205 mm., with slight water-stains. Some marginal notes, made apparently in 1549 by a critical and somewhat sceptical possessor. For example, on *Fol. 5a*, which forms part of the table or index, occur in the text the words *Indulgentie valent defunctis*. The commentator has written in the margin *Afinis, tibi et tui similib.(us)*. Lower down is the line *Infernus octo pedes hꝝ (habet) .ix. E. Pꝝ (post) mediū*. [In the last portion of the line, ix. indicates the number of the legend, E the section of the chapter. Pꝝ mediū after the middle! of the section.] *Octo pedes* is a printer's error for *octo penas* (= *pœnas*). These eight torments of the infernal regions are thus summarized. *Vermes ꝛ tenebre flagellum frigus ꝛ ignis. Demonis aspectus feclerū confusio luctus.* The sceptic has underscored the word *Octo*, and written in the margin *quod si 100 vel 1000?*

Legenda sanctoruꝝ als Lombardica hystoria nūcupata Impressa Basilee ꝛ feliciter ꝑsummata ꝑ Nicolaū Kesler. Sub anno dñi Millefimo quadringētesimo octo gesimo sexto. die vero .xxv. mens Junij.



COLOPHON. (LEGENDA SANCTORUM, KESLER, 1486.)

1486 Sept. 26.

ÆSOPUS. FABULÆ ET VITA.

[ANTWERP, GERARDUS LEEU.]

Fol. 1a: Fabule z vita efopi: cum fabulis Auiani: Alfonsij: Pogij florentini: z alio || rum: cum optimo cōmento: bene diligenterq, correcte z emendate. || *The rest of the page is occupied by a woodcut portrait of Æsop, headed ESOPVS, of which a facsimile will be found. Fol. 1b blank. Fol. 2a*: Vita Efopi fabulatoris clarissimi e greco latina: per Rimiciū facta: ad reue || Eediffimū patrē dñm Anthoniū tituli sancti Chryfogni p̄sbiterū cardinalē. *Fol. 18a*: Explicit vita efopi. || Sequitur registru, etc. *Fol. 18b, after a woodcut*: Prologus metricus in elopum. *Fol. 19a*: Liber Primus. || Incipit fabularū liber primus. || *Fol. 104a*: Expliciant fabule z vita Efopi: cum fabulis Auiani. Alfonsij. Pogij || florentini: et alioꝝ cum optimo cōmento: bene diligenterq, correcte z || emendate: Impresse Antwerpie per me Gerardum lecu Anno doñi || Millefimo quadringentesimo octuagefimo sexto Mense Septembri || die vero vicefima sexta || *Fol. 104b blank.*

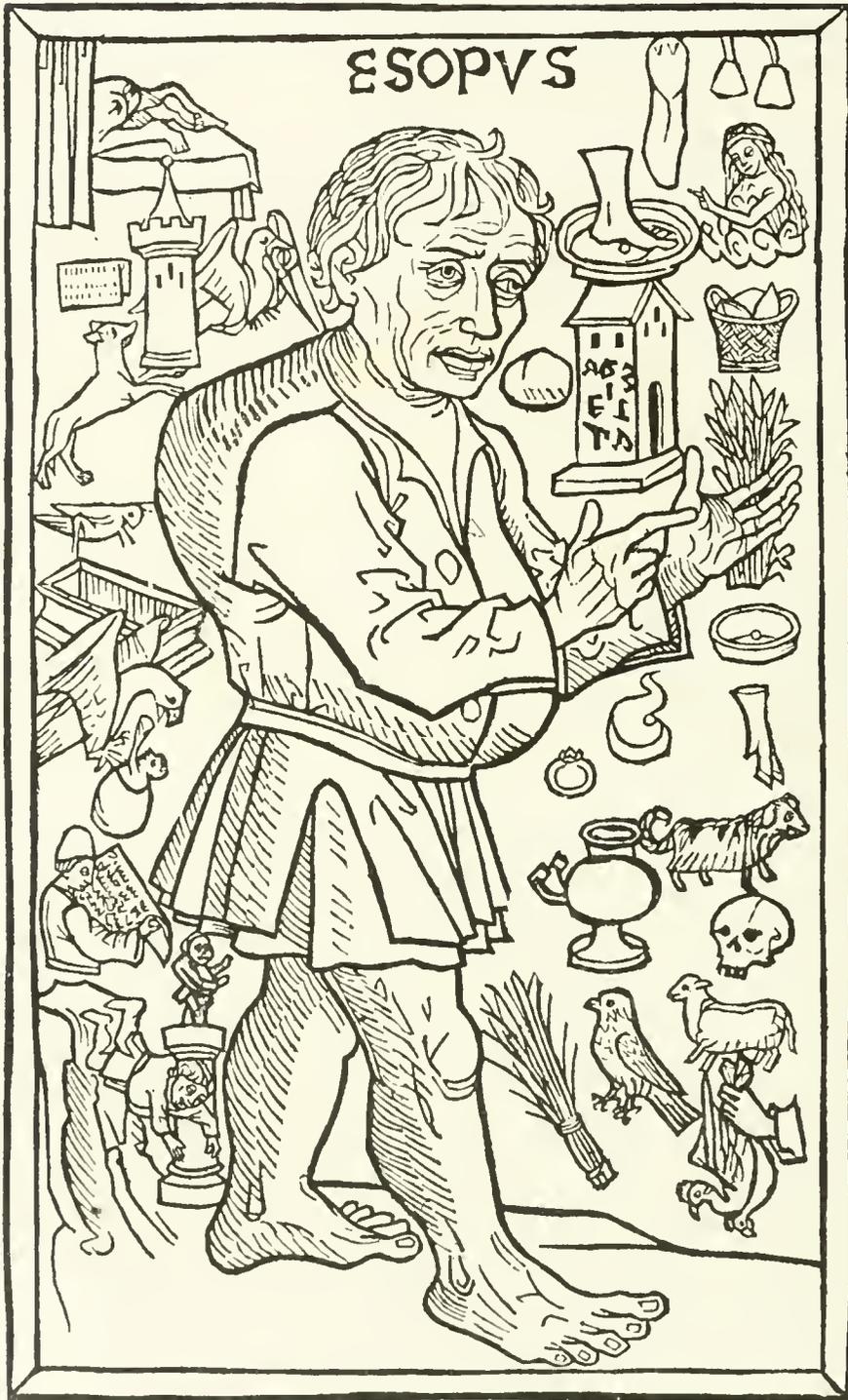
Folio, printed in two sizes of gothic type, 104 leaves, 46 or 47 lines of the smaller type to a page, page of 46 lines measures 188 × 132 mm.; without numerals or catchwords; signatures a-h and A-H in sixes; spaces left for initials, usually with initial directors; 191 woodcuts. The watermarks are (1), (2), (3) gothic p; (4) small flagon; (5) small bull's head, very large horns, short stylus and star; (6) crowned coat-of-arms; (7) hand and gauntlet; (8) a shield, arms of the Bastard of Bourbon. Hain, 329, Proctor, 9361, Holtrop, I. 174.

Of *Æsop's Fables* in one form or another, and in one language or another, *Hain* describes no less than ninety-nine editions before 1500, the earliest of which bearing a date is that of the Latin version from the press of *Antonius Zarotus* of Milan in 1474. The present is an extremely rare edition, of which there is no copy in the Bodleian.

A clean copy, with the woodcuts entirely uncoloured, and having the title, *Fol. 1a*, but wanting six leaves.

The frontispiece, reproduced of full size, precedes the *Life of Æsop* contained in the first seventeen leaves, and is of considerable interest as containing in small compass a number of illustrations to which the key is found in the succeeding chapters (reminding one of those in the memorable engraved title of *Coryat's Crudities*, 1611, and their quaint explanation in the *Certain Opening and Drawing Distiches* which follow it). Most of the apocryphal adventures of this prototype of *Tyl Owlglass*, some twenty-four in number, are herein commemorated in brief. It will be seen that one of these little illustrations, to the right of *Æsop's* face, is that of a small building or sepulchre, on which are to be found the letters A.G.Q.F.I.T.A., These letters are in the history itself only indicated by *points*. This cryptic inscription was pointed out to the fabulist, then the slave of *Xanthus*, and an explanation requested by his master. The result proved that *Æsop* had the *flair* which gives the flavour to some of the stories of *Edgar Poe* or *Dr. Conan Doyle*. "What wilt thou give me," said *Æsop*, "if I tell thee, and a treasure be there found?" "Thy liberty and half the treasure," was the reply of *Xanthus*. *Æsop* goes up four steps, and digging unearths a mass of gold, and when asked to indicate the clue which had proved so fortunate, thus translates the inscription:—A(scende) G(radus) Q(uatuor) F(odias) I(nvenies) T(hesaurum) A(uri).

The woodcuts in this edition are of extreme quaintness. They are in outline with very little shading, but graphic, vigorous and eminently illustrative of the text, and cannot fail to give amusement to the reader of whatever age. It is a matter of great difficulty to make a selection from them, the temptation to increase therewith by many pages the bulk of my volume being almost irresistible. The descriptive text here annexed to the illustrations is excerpted from the "Book of the subtyl histories and Fables of *Esope* whiche were translated out of *Frenffhe* in to *Englyfhe* by *William Caxton* at *Westmynstre* In the yere of oure *Lorde M.CCCC.LXXXIIJ.*" (*B.M. copy.*)



WOODCUT ON TITLE-PAGE OF ÆSOPUS. (G. LEEU, 1486.)

¶ This Historye maketh mencyon how Esope ended and deyde.



AND as Esope was thus fyghtynge ageynst them (*the Delphyns*)⁽¹⁾ / he scaped out of theyr handes and fledde in to the Temple of Appollo / but al that prouffited hym nothyng For by force and strengthe they had drewe hym oute of the Temple / And thenne they ledde hym where as they wold haue hym for to be put to dethe / And Esope feynge hym so vytupered sayd to them in this manere
 ¶ My lords drede you not your god Appollo shalle auenge me vpon you / but not withftondynge all that he coude faye he was broughte to the place where he shold deye / And feynge that he coude not scape fro them / he beganne to reherce to them this fable . . . *Aesop rehearsed this, and yet another fable, which ends with the words:* Semblably is of me / For I had leuer and rather I shold fuffre alle the perylle of the world of noble men / than to be put of you chorles so vylaynfly to dethe But I rendre and yelde thankynge and mercy to the goddes prayeng to them that they punyssh the yow of the euyll whiche ye haue and wylle doo to me / And thenne they casted and threwe hym doune fro the top of the hylle vnto the foot of hit / And thus deyde Esope myferably.

(1) The Inhabitants of Delphi.

¶ The fable of the balled man and of the flye.



OF a lytel euylle may wel come a gretter / whereof Esope recyteth fuche a fable /
 Of a flye / whiche pryked a man vpon his bald hede / And whaune he wold
 haue smyte her / she flewgh away / and thus he smote hym self / wherof the flye
 beganne to lawhe / And the bald man sayd to her / Ha a euylle beeft thou
 demaundest wel thy dethe / yf I smote my self wherof thou lawhest and mocquest
 me / but yf I had hytte the / thou haddest be therof slayne / And therefore men
 fayen comynly that of the euylle of other / men ought not to lawhe ne scorne / But
 the Iniurious mocquen and scornen the world / and geteth many enemyes / For the
 whiche cause oftyme it happeth that of a fewe wordes euylf fette / cometh a grete
 noyfe and daunger.

¶ The fable of the husband and of his two wyues.



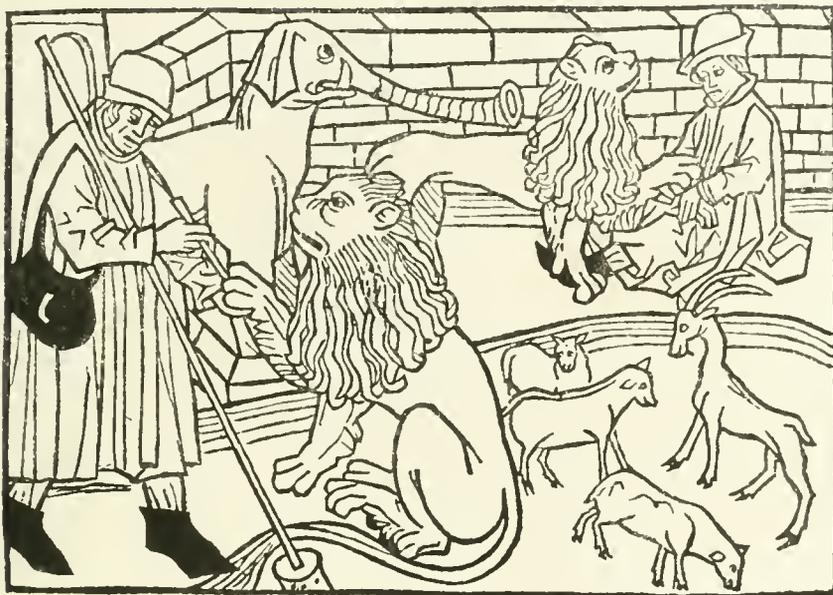
NOO thyng is werse to the man than the woman / As it appereth by this fable / of a man of a meane age / whiche tooke two wyues / that is to wete an old / & one yong / whiche were both dwellyng in his hows / & by cause that the old defyred to haue his loue / she plucked the blak herys fro his hede and his berde / by cause he shold the more be lyke to her / And the yonge woman at the other fyde plucked end drewe oute alle the whyte herys / to the end / that he shold seme the yonger / more gay and fayrer in her fyghte / And thus the good man abode withoute ony here on his hede And therefore hit is grete folye to the auncyent to wedde them self ageyne / For to them is better to be vnwedded / than to be euer in trouble with an euyl wyf / for the tyme in whiche they shold reffe them / they put it to payne and to grete labour.

¶ The fable of the viator or palmer and of Satyre.



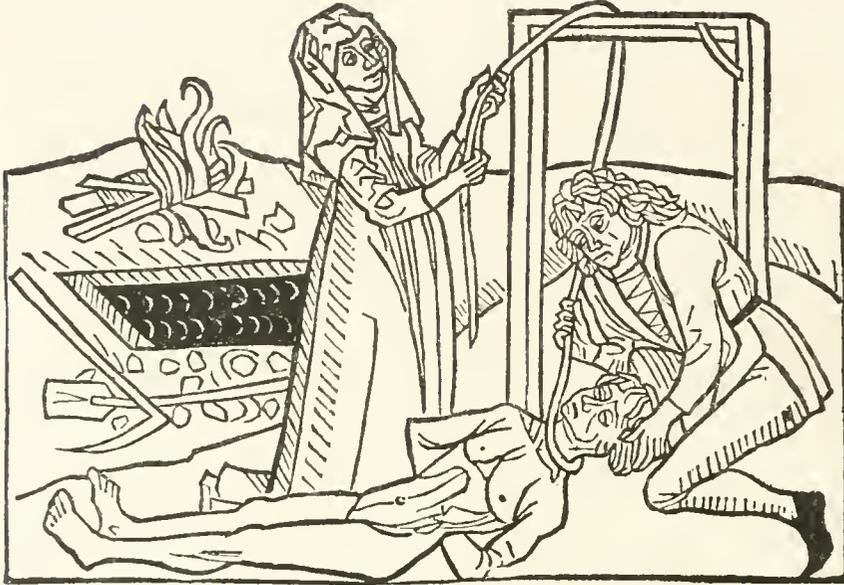
MEN ought to beware & kepe hym self from hym whiche bereth both fyre & water / as reherceth to vs this Fable of a pylgrym / which somtyme walked in the wynter / and wente thurgh a grete forest ¶ And by cause that the snowe had couerd al the wayes / he wist ne knewe not whyther he wente / ageynste the whiche came a wodewofe named Satyre by cause he sawe hym a cold / whiche approched to the pylgrym and brought hym in to his pytte / And whan the pylgrym sawe hym / he hadde grete drede by cause that a wodewofe is a monstre lyke to the man / as hit appiereth by his fygure / ¶ And as the wodewofe or Satyre ledde the pylgrym in to his pytte / the pylgrym dyd blowe within his handes for to chauffe them / For he was fore acold / And thenne the wodewofe gaf to hym hote water to drynke / ¶ And whan the pylgrym wold haue dronken hit / he beganne to blowe in hit / And the wodewofe demaunded of hym / why he dyd blowe hit / And the pylgrym sayd to hym / I blowe in hit / for to haue it somwhat more cold than hit is / The wodewofe thenne sayd to hym / Thy selauship is not good to me / by cause that thou bereft bothe the fyre and the water in thy mouthe / therfore go hens fro my pyt and neuer retourne ageyne / For the selauship of the man whiche hath two tongues is nought / And the man whiche is wyfe ought to flee the selauship of flaterers / For by flaterieng & adulacion many haue ben begyled and deceyued.

¶ The fable of the Lyon & of the pastour or herdman.



THE myghty and puyssaunt oughte not to be slowfull of the benefetes done to them by the lytyl and smalle And oughte not also to forgete them / but that they may be rewarded of them ¶ And this fable approueth esope & sheweth vnto vs / of a lyon whiche ranne after a beest / and as he ranne / a thorne entred in to his foote / which hurted and greued hym gretely / wherfore he myght no ferther goo / but as wel as he cowde he came to a shepherd whiche kepte his sheep and beganne to flater with his taylle shewynge to hym hys foote / whiche was fore hurted and wounded / The shepherd was in grete drede and casted before the lyon one of his sheep But the lyon demaunded no mete of hym / For more he defyred to be medycyned and made hole of his foote / ¶ And after whanne the shepherd sawe the wounde / he with a nydle fubtylly drewe oute of his foote the thorne / and had oute of the wound alle the roten fleshe / and enoynted hit with fwete oynements / ¶ And anone the lyon was hole / And for to haue rendryd graces and thankys to the shepherd or pastour the lyon kyssed his handes / And after he returned ageyn in to the hiest of the woode / And within a lytel whyle after it happed that this lyon was taken and conueyed to the Cyte of Rome and was put amonge the other beestes for to deuour the mysdoers / Now it befelle that the sayd shepherd commyted a crymynous dede / wherfore he was condemned to be deuoured by these beestes / And ryght soo as he was cast among them the lyon knewe hym / and beganne to behold on hym / and made to hym chere and lykked hym with his tongue / And preferued and kepte hym from alle the other beestes / ¶ Thenne knewe the shepherd that it was the lyon which he maade hole / And that he wold thenne haue recompensed hym of the good whiche he had done to hym / wherof alle the Romayns were all wonderley abasshed / and wold knowe the cause of hit And the shepherd sayd to them as aboue is sayd / ¶ And whanne they knewe the cause / they gaf leue to the shepherd / to goo home / and sente ageyne the lyon in to the forest / And therefore this is notary and trewe that al maner of folke ought to rendre and gyue thankynge grace and mercye to theyre good doers / For slowfulness is a synne / whiche is most displayfaunt to god /

¶ The fable of the knyght and of the wydome.



THE woman whiche lyueth in this world without reproche or blame is worthely to be gretely preyed /
 Wherof Esope reherceth fuche a fable of a man and of a woman / whiche loued moche eche other /
 It happed thenne by the effors of Atropos or dethe / the whiche we al muft fuffre / that the fayd man
 deyde / And as men wold haue borne hym in to his graue / whiche was withoute the toun there to be
 buryed / his wyf made grette forowe and wepte pyteously / And whanne he was buryed / she wold abyde
 ftylle vpon the graue / and lete do make a lytyll lodge or hows therupon / and oute of this lodge she wold
 neuer departe for no prayer ne fayr word / neyther for any yestes ne for menaces of her parentes Now it
 befell in the toun that a mysdoer was condampned to be hanged / ¶ And to thende that he shold not be
 taken fro the galhows / hit was thenne commaunded that a knyght shold kepe hym / And as the knyght
 kepte hym / grette thurst took hym / And as he perceyued the lodge of the fayd woman he wente to her /
 and prayd her to gyue hym fomme drynke and she with good herte gaf hym to drynke / And the knyght
 dranke with grette appetyte / as he that had grette thurst / & whan he had dronke / he torned ageyne to the
 galhows ward / This knyght came another tyme to the woman for to comforte her / And thre tymes he dyd
 foo / And as he was thus goyng and comyng / doubtyng hym of no body / his hanged man was taken and
 had fro the galhows / And whan ne the knyght was come ageyne to the galhows & fawe that he had lofte
 his dede man / he was gretely abasshed & not withoute cause For hit was charged to him vpon peyne to
 be hanged / yf he were take away / This knyght thenne feynge his Iugement / tourned and wente ageyne
 to the fayd woman / & cast hym at her feete / and laye before her as he had be dede / And she demaüded
 of hym / My frend / what wylt thou that I doo for the / Allas fayd he / I pray the that thou focoure and
 counceyلة me now at my grette nede / For by cause I haue not kept wel my theef / which men haue
 rauysshed fro me / the kynge shalle make me to be put to dethe / And the woman fayd / Haue no drede
 my frend / For well I shalle fynde the manere wherby thou shalt be delyuerd / For we shall take my
 hufbond / and shalle hange hym in stede of thy theef / ¶ Thenne beganne she to delue / and tooke
 out of the erthe her hufbond / and at nyzt she hanged hym at the galhows in stede of the other / & fayd to
 the knyght / my ryght dere frend I pray the that this be kept wel secrete / For we doo hit theesly / And
 thus the dede men haue fomme / whiche make forowe for them / but that forowe is fone gone and passyd
 / And they whiche ben on lyue haue some whiche drede them / but theyr drede wantith and faylleth whan
 they ben dede.

The Historpe of Exantus excused from his promesse.

One of the scoylers / of Exantus fayd / feyng that Exantus had dronke ynough / and was charged of ouer moche wyn / fayd to hym / My mayfter I aske of the / yf a man might drynke alle the fee / Wherefore not fayd Exantus / I myself shalle drynke it wel / Thenne fayd ageyne the scolyer / and yf thou drynke it not / what wylt thou lese / and Exantus fayd my hows / I am content fayd the scoler and ageynst hit I shalle leye / an honderd crownes / and the pactions and bargayne thus bytwene them made gaf for gaige or pledge eche of them two theyr signets of gold / and thenne wente home / *When Exantus had slept off the wine which had prompted so foolish a boast, and called to mind by the absence of his ring the absurd wager he had made on the previous evening, he begged Æsop to help him out of his strait, who said to him,* Thou shalt not vaynquyssh / but parauenture I shalle make / that thou shalt wel breke the paction, and indicated to him the artifice by which he might escape the loss of his house. Exantus thenne knowynge / that the Counceylle of Esope was wel good / he was full gladde / **C** His Aduersary thenne came before the Cytezeyns of the Cyte te telle and signefye the paction and prayed the Juge that Exantus shold do that / which he hadde promysed to do / **C** And Exantus commaunded to alle his seruantes that they shold bere his bedde / his table / and alle other thynges that were necessary to hym vpon the Ryuage of the fee / And thenne before alle the company he made a pyece to be wasshen and fylled it full of the water of the fee / the whiche he tooke in his hand / and fayd to his aduersary / Expofe we now / and telle our paction and bargayn / **C** Exantus thenne torned hym towards the felaufhip / and fayd / My lordes of Samye / ye wote wel how many floodes and ryuers entre and come in to the fee / And yf myn Aduersary wylle kepe and hold them styлле / soo that they entre no more in to the fee / I shal drynke al the water of the fee / And alle they that were there beganne thenne to faye / Exantus fayth wel / And thenne the Scoler to Exantus fayd / My mayfter thou hast vaynquysshed me / wherfore I pray the that oure bargayne maye be broken / And Exantus fayd I am content. /

The reader will be reminded of the Scandinavian myth of *Thor's* journey from *Asgard* to *Jötunheim*, of his boastfulness in the matter of potations, and of the *Utgard* king's challenge to drain the "cup of penance" at a draught. The horn-cup seemed indeed to Thor to be rather long, but he made no doubt of emptying it. A first attempt and a second, however, left the

liquor but slightly diminished in volume, and after a third, which made little more impression, he gave up the attempt altogether. When he has subsequently failed to lift from the ground the *Cat* (the *Midgard* *Serpent* which encircles the world), and to wrestle with the crone *Elli* (*Old Age*), the king explains to Thor that when he was taking these three mighty draughts from the cup he was in reality *draining the ocean* into which the far-away extremity of the horn reached, and that in ages to come the retreating tide would be called "*the draught of Thor.*"



EXANTUS EVADES HIS WAGER THAT HE WOULD DRINK UP THE OCEAN.

Circa 1488? ULRICUS MOLITOR. DE LAMIIS ET PHITONICIS
MULIERIBUS.

[STRASBURG, JOHANN PRÜSS.]

Fol. 1a: Title, De laniis (sic) ⁊ phito || nicis mulieribus. || Fol. 1b, a full-page woodcut.
*Fol. 2a: Tractat9 ad illustrissimū prī || cipem dñm Sigismundum archiducem auftrie. Stirte
ca || rinthe ⁊c. de laniis (sic) ⁊ phitonicis mulieribus per Ulicum || molitoris de constantia.
studii papiensis. decretorum doc- || torem ⁊ curie constantieñ. causarum patronum. ad honorē ||
eiufdē pncipis ac sub sue celsitudinis emēdatōe scriptis. || Epistola || Fol. 27b, line 27:
Uale igitur felix eternū patrie decus. deoq; || ac omni populo amabilis colendissime princeps.
Excon || stañ. anno dñi. m.cccc.lxxxix. die decima ianuarij. || Tue celsitudinis humilis
cōfiliarius ⁊ feruulus || vlricus molitoris de constātia decretoꝝ doctor. ||*

4to, printed in gothic type, 27 leaves, 32 to 34 lines to a page, 34 lines of text measure
136 × 90 mm.; without numerals or catchwords; signatures a—b in eights, c six leaves, d five
leaves; space for one initial, without initial directors; seven full-page woodcuts. The watermarks
are (1) small gothic p and quatrefoil; small flower of six petals. Hain, *11535, Proctor,
562.

There is apparently nothing to show whether this edition, the first in *Hain's* list, precedes or is later
than his 11536 = Proctor, 720, printed by *Martin Flach* not earlier than Jan., 1489. Two other editions
in Latin and two in German are cited by Hain.

A perfectly clean and beautiful copy, measuring 180 × 136 mm., of a very rare book, which is
not to be found in the British Museum.

The author of this treatise has contrived to condense a large mass of curious information on the
subject of witchcraft and sorcery into a *dialogus seu trilogus* between the *Archduke Sigismund* to whom the
tract is dedicated, one *Conrad Schatz* (vir providus et præstans) and himself, and very searching are
the questions on witchcraft propounded and replied to. In view of the great rarity and interesting
character of the book it has been thought advisable to mention some of its leading features. In the
second chapter, De nocumentis ⁊ morbis hoībus et infantib9 illatis. (*of the injuries and diseases
brought* (by the Witches or Pythonic women) *upon men and infants*), after describing on absurdly
insufficient authority the ills which the innocent infant is made to suffer at the hands of witches, *Sigismund*
asks, "What of the injuries to the old and middle-aged?" to which *Conrad* replies, "*We have seen many
old men bent and limping who asserted that these infirmities had happened to them by the sorceries of these
cursed women.*" The artist has come well equipped with intelligence and imagination to the aid of the
feeble text. It will be seen that the *Lamia* or hag is shooting at the peasant with an arrow whose point is
in her hand, an inverse position which has had dire consequences. The attitude of the sufferer seems to
indicate that the agony in the knee and foot are so excruciating that hose and shoe alike are torn or cast off
in despair. *Utrum possit facies hominum in alias formas imutare.* *Sigismund* is asked if he
believes that by witchcraft *the face of man can be transformed into that of some other animal* and replies
in the negative, evincing his faith in ecclesiastical authority by a *decretal* in which the man who asserts the
possibility of such a change is declared to be an infidel and worse than a heretic. *Conrad* of course is on
the side of the (bad) angels, and quotes Virgil, Boetius, St. Clement, the history of Simon Magus,
Vincentius, and William of Malmesbury with so much ingenuity that *Sigismund* sums up the discussion by
the remark that *Conrad* has by his authorities and histories compelled him to confess that on this subject
he hardly knows what to believe, and suggests that the two should next proceed to discuss the problem
of riding the broomstick (baculum). The artist has evidently undertaken to combine in the woodcut



DISEASE PROCURED BY WITCHCRAFT.
(MOLITOR DE LAMIIS, PRÜSS, circa 1488.)



OFF TO THE "SABBATH" ON A BROOMSTICK.
(MOLITOR DE LAMIIS, PRÜSS, circa 1488.)

an illustration of the debate on change of faces with a representation of the aërial flight, an attempt in which the reader will, I think, admit he has admirably succeeded. We have here graphically depicted the *baculum*, forked at the lower end,—with an evident reference to the *divining rod*, on which sits the leading witch, ass-headed and in petticoats, perhaps not astride after all, and steers the infernal conveyance. Her cavalier, clasping her waist, as of old the dame on the pillion was wont to clasp her squire, emits from his macaw's beak a torrent of abuse directed at the poor little belated witchling with the sad dog's face who is clutching his jerkin, and forbids her to mount; he seems to imply that though there is plenty of room there is not enough of psychical force, or that two is company and three none. A query follows which the superstitious world has long answered in the affirmative, *Utrū proficiscantur ad conuiuia super baculū vel lupū equitādo*—whether witches can ride to their revels on a broomstick or on a wolf's back? *Conrad*, ever ready with an analogy, opines that if *Abacuck*, as he calls the prophet, could be transported through space by his hair, and *Philip* be snatched away to *Azotus*, the like effects could be produced by spiritual agency in his day. The draughtsman seems in this instance to have lost some of the *verve* which inspired him in the preceding illustration. A tamer witch-carrying wolf, or a less maleficent-looking witch, one could hardly devise. The discussion and woodcut which come next in order, though quite the quaintest in the volume, are hardly eligible for these pages. No early treatise on witchcraft



ON THE WOLF'S BACK.

(MOLITOR DE LAMIIS, PRÜSS, circa 1488.)



PRODUCTION BY WITCHES OF THUNDER AND HAIL.

(MOLITOR DE LAMIIS PRÜSS, circa 1488.)

could in our days be reproduced in its entirety for the general public. I must conclude with the problem, *Au possint prouocare demones grandines & tonitrua*. That *demons may have the power of inducing storms of thunder and hail* is considered probable by *Ulric*, who takes the affirmative position in this particular dialogue. It is not, he holds, in the power of the devil to originate the tempests, but when by his art magic he knows that they are approaching he stirs up the evil minds of witches to various absurd performances, inducing them at the same time to believe that they are themselves the real producers of the destructive phenomena which ensue. Some of them he instructs to take up flints and cast them over their heads westward, or to fling sand into the air; others again to boil hog's hair in a cauldron, or lay beams of wood cross-wise on the banks of rivers, or to go through other absurd ceremonies, fixing just such a time for the performance as will allow of the breaking of the storm shortly after their completion! The silly women are thus led to believe themselves guilty of creating these phenomena, albeit not a single drop of rain could be really produced by their spells. Here, again, the artist has displayed his independence of the author's text, and has given us the traditional cauldron, with the ingredients, cocks and vipers, of the infernal broth. It will be seen that the tempest has begun in good earnest. *Incubi* and *Succubi* are treated of in the concluding chapters of this queer little book, of which I regret to have been compelled to give so very short a sketch.

Circa 1489. FRANCISCUS DE RETZA. DEFENSORIUM INVIOLATÆ
PERPETUÆQUE VIRGINITATIS MARIÆ.

[BASLE, LEONARD EISENIUT.]

Fol. 1a: Defensoriū inuolate perpe- || tueq, virginitatis. castissime || dei genitricis Marie. || Inquo adducuntur .xlvi. naturalia et mirabilia exempla: || claroru scriptorū auctoritate roborata: || et experiētia rerum || comprobata. Quibus apertissime demonstratur: ipsam facra || tissimam virginē concipere et parere potuisse vnigenitū dei || filiū Jesu Cristū Saluatorē nostrū absque lesione integer || rime sue virginitatis. ¶ Per que nimirū etiam exempla, etc. Per que preterea destruūtur et confutantur omnes incredū || lorū. paganorū. Judeorū peruerfissimorūq, hereticorū. per || fidissimi damnatissimiq, errores, etc. *Fol. 1b blank.* *Fol. 2a:* Hanc plena gracia Salutare mente Serena. || *Woodcut, on the right of which:* Gaude ma || ria virgo. cūc || tas hereses fo || la interemisti. || que gabrielis || archāgeli dic || tis credidisti, etc. *Fol. 29b, line 12, ends:* Nā si ml'r fuerit a vi- || ro suo digressa. in viri grām faciliter p adamāt(is) vir || tutem revocatur. valet hic lapis 9tra incubos et || fantasmata. 9tra vana fomni. atra hostes et jurgia. || *Fol. 30a, woodcut of Virgin and Infant Saviour.* *Fol. 30b blank.*

4to, printed in gothic type, 30 leaves, 32 lines to a page, text measures 144 × 88 mm.; without numerals, catchwords, or signatures; 53 woodcuts. The watermarks are (1) heart (?) from which rise a double stylus and trefoil; (2) small bull's head, short stylus, and Tau; (3) small bull's head, between the horns a short stylus on which a gothic p. Hain, *6086, Proctor, 7717. The B.M. copy is imperfect.

There are at least two earlier type-printed editions of this most curious work (Hain, *6084 and *6085), both printed according to that bibliographer at *Eichstätt* by *Michael Reyser*, but assigned by Mr. Proctor to *Johann* and *Conrad Hist of Spire*. But still more interesting predecessors are to be found among the *Block-Books* (Proctor 2 and 4), both of which have been exhibited in the show-cases in the King's Library at the British Museum.

A fine copy, rubricated throughout, measuring 197 × 143 mm., engravings uncoloured, the first and last leaves in admirable facsimile.

Of the books with woodcuts on religious or theological matters printed in the fifteenth century, this is, I should think, one of the most *bizarre*. It yields the palm, of course, to the celebrated *Novum beate virginis Pfalterium* of *Nitchewitz*, printed in the monastery of *Tzenna*, 4to, 1492 (of which I have alas! but a fragment), which contains probably the quaintest "religious" woodcuts of the fifteenth century. Yet it is equally typical of the strange taste which inspired many well-intentioned but undisciplined writers of that day, and is moreover an evidence of the open-mouthed credulity with which the most astounding fables were then swallowed. The author's design is to prove the possibility and show the reasonableness of the doctrines of the Incarnation and of the perpetual virginity of the Mother of our Lord. This he endeavours to compass by the production of the records of a large number of occurrences of a nature, in his view, just as mysterious and apparently impossible. And though to us the "facts" which he cites are in most cases utterly apocryphal and his deductions woefully distorted, credit must be given to him for an honest attempt to make smoother to the unlearned man the path of belief in this section of Catholic dogma. For this line of argument he has high patristic authority in *St. Augustine*, who has set him the example, and has even suggested some of the very marvels which *de Retza* has enumerated, with the like intention of furnishing to those who doubt the miracles alleged by the theologian analogies drawn from the marvels of the visible world. "I will" (*De Civitate Dei*, lxxi., Cap. 4, et seqq.) "refer only to such wonders as are now in existence, and can be seen by anyone who will take the trouble to go to see them." Among these are the following: "*Agrigentum* furnishes a salt which liquefies by fire; a fountain, *apud Garamantas*, is so cold in the day that it cannot be drunk, so hot at night that it cannot be touched; *Pirrites* is a Persian stone which burns the hand if tightly grasped. In the same country is produced the stone *Selenites*, the internal light of which waxes and wanes with that of the Moon." This is one of the

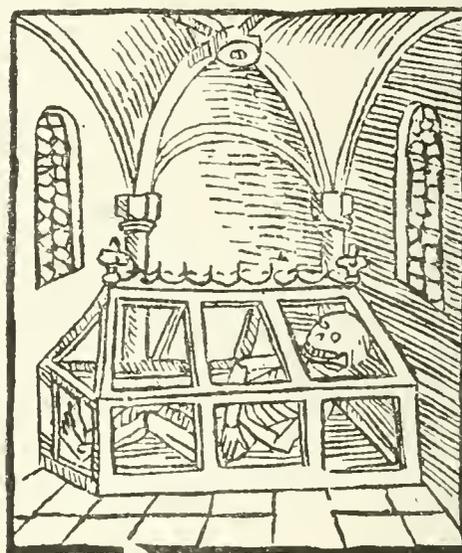
prodigies which the author of the *Defensorium* has selected for illustration. Not a trace of irreverence, one feels convinced, was in *de Retza's* mind when he made this compilation, his sole object to compel belief, yet he has so worded the titles of the illustrations that I have thought fit to omit them from the reproductions. Taken separately from these short headings, which are in leonine Latin distichs and German prose, the little work may be taken simply as an illustrated digest of the most fantastic wonders and paradoxes to be found in authors sacred or profane, and as such it is amusing reading. Many authors are laid under contribution in this little compilation, among others the writers of the book of *Genesis*, *Job*, *Pliny*, *Solinus*, *Ovid*, *Valerius Maximus*, *St. Augustine* and *St. Ambrose*, but *Isidorus* and *Albertus Magnus* have the chief place.

I make no apology for reproducing a selection from the illustrations contained in an extremely rare little book of which most of my readers will never see a copy. The very first cut is not, as might be supposed, a representation of a mediæval *Boulter's Lock*.

THE MIRACULOUS POWERS OF THE MAGNET.

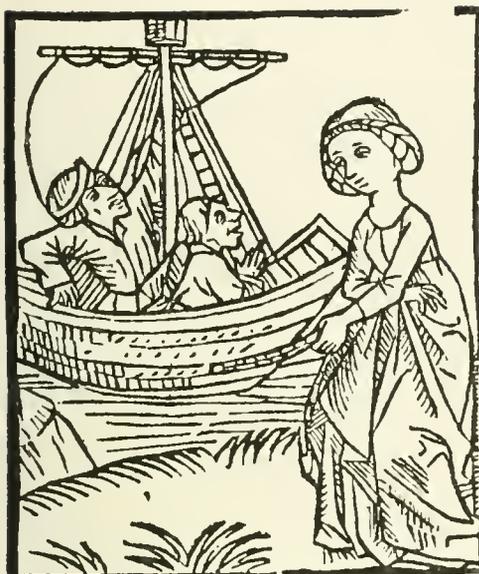


MAGNETIC ROCKS WHICH ATTRACT THE
FLESH OF MEN.
(DEFENSORIUM, EISENHUT, circa 1489.)



AN IRON STRUCTURE HANGING BETWEEN
ROOF AND FLOOR.
(DEFENSORIUM, EISENHUT, circa 1489.)

THE Magnet found in India among the Trogloditæ is called by the common folk *ferrum vivum*. But that which has its origin in Ethiopia has a totally different quality from the former and repels iron but attracts human flesh. (It will be seen from the illustration that the unlucky navigators have steered their little bark between two of these unnatural magnetic promontories.) For the next marvel the author draws at second-hand upon Pliny, who tells us (*Book xxxiv. c. 14, Holland's version*): "An here I cannot chufe but acquaint you with the fingular inuention of that great architect and master deuifer, of Alexandria in Ægypt *Dinocrates*, who began to make the arched rooffe of the temple of Arfinæ all of Magnet or this load-stone, to the end, that within that temple the statue of the said princeffe made of yron, might seeme to hang in the aire by nothing. But preuented he was by death before he could finish his worke."



THE ATTRACTIVENESS OF MAIDENHOOD.
(DEFENSORIUM, EISENHUT, circa 1489.)

THE VIRGIN CLAUDIA DRAWS A FLEET TO
SHORE BY THE VIRTUE OF HER ZONE.

A SHORT disquisition on the Goddess *Vesta*, from *St. Augustine, Civ. Dei* l. iv., cap. 10, which is absolutely foreign to the miracle to be related, and only introduced, it would seem, in order to fill the page, is followed by a story which appears to be taken from *Valerius Maximus*, but which I cannot find in that discursive author. A virgin called *Claudia*, strong in the might of her chastity, has only to touch with her girdle, *apponere cingulum*, the prow of an overloaded vessel stranded by reason of overloading on the shore of the Tiber, to enable it to float off and continue its course, *navigio mox non differt ambulare*. It will be observed that the text does not harmonize with the title.

THE FEATHERS OF THE BIRD ISPIDA
GROW AFTER HER DEATH.

MANY authorities are cited in support of this marvel, amongst others *Isidorus, Pliny, Solinus* and other writers who describe the secrets of birds. She is but a little creature, with a short and straight beak and for feet only curved nails. Her plumage is of brilliant beauty, and the common opinion is that if her skin and feathers are removed, *si pellem cum plumis detraxeris* (I am not clear whether any cruelty is suggested), and hung upon a wall, fresh feathers will grow every year as if the bird were alive. I confess that I have failed to discover any notice of this interesting creature in the authors referred to.



THE BIRD DIES BUT NOT HER PLUMAGE.
(DEFENSORIUM, EISENHUT, circa 1489.)

A CALF IS CAUGHT UP IN A CLOUD BY
THE POWER OF THE HEAVENS.



A CALF LIFTED INTO THE AIR.
(DEFENSORIUM, EISENHUT, circa 1489.)

ALBERTUS MAGNUS says that so powerful is the influence of the sun's rays in attracting vapours that it has actually lifted a calf into the air along with them. But when these are condensed, and their condition is thus changed, down falls the calf again to the earth.

I would call attention to the curious conventional representation of clouds in this cut and also in that of the Moon-stone which follows. It is almost always employed in early representations of the firmament, often assuming a decorative appearance resembling a ribbon, with sides of different colours, of which each side is alternately turned to the front. Another example will be found in the *Defensorium* on page 188, and a third in the cut of the *Witches' Cauldron* in *Molitor de Lamiis* (circa 1488), whilst its use in the year 1454 as an extremely decorative border is exemplified in Plates V. and VI.* of *Ottley's Enquiry*, edited by *Berjeau*, 1863.

THE LIGHT IN THE STONE SILENITES
INCREASES AND DECREASES WITH
THAT OF THE MOON.

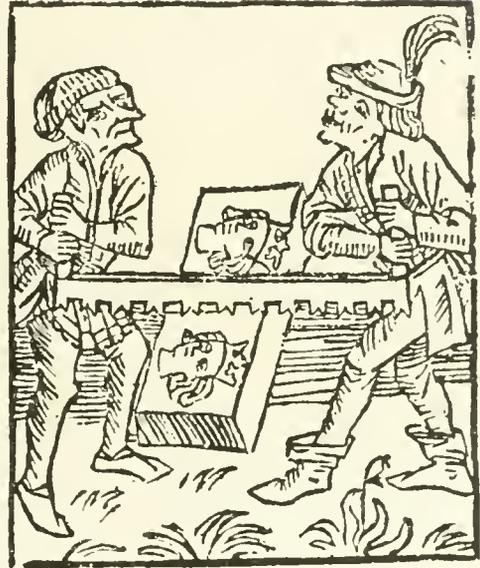
SILENITES is a stone green as the green grass, says the *Liber Rerum*, and similar in colour to the Jasper! It contains the image of the Moon and is potent in renewing love. St. Augustine says that its interior light waxes and wanes with that of the Moon. It is also called *Sileniton*. This is *de Retza's* account. That, however, which is to be found in one of his authorities on other matters, *Bartholomæus*, lib. xvi., cap. xcij., gives a description which indicates perhaps that the stone really resembles in appearance our own *Moon-stone*. He calls it translucent, with a certain white spot which contains, as it were, in its brightness the image of the Moon and increases and decreases with her changes. It is believed, he notes, to afford relief to persons suffering from phthisis.



THE MOON'S CHANGES MANIFESTLY
REFLECTED IN THE MOON-STONE.
(DEFENSORIUM, EISENHUT, circa 1489.)

A HUMAN FACE IS PAINTED IN A STONE BY THE OPERATION OF
NATURE ALONE.

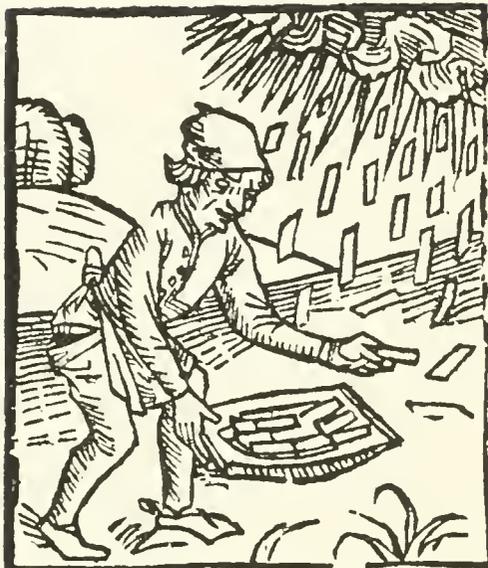
A GREAT philosopher of the Indians, *Tethel* by name," is made responsible by our author for the avouchment in his treatise on sculptured stones of the following marvels, viz., that a certain *Jasper* is found in which is to be seen the likeness of a man having a shield on his neck or in his hand and under his feet a serpent. (†) In a *chrysolite* is found a woman having a bird in one hand and a fish in the other. In another stone is found a dove with an olive branch, in another a combat between an archer and a serpent; in another, again, a figure, half man and half fish, or a Basilisk and a Siren, or Bulls, Lions, or Eagles, or the figure of a foaming steed, "In all which things that cleverest of artificers Nature endeavours to imitate in the most faithful way in her power the works of the chief Master Workman, the Creator." The motif of this cut requires a little elucidation. Taken in connection with the text it is clear that the intention of the artist (most inartistically realized) was to represent a stone which after being cut asunder by a saw presented on each face an identical image. This exact result is, I need hardly say, beyond belief, but it contains a rough intimation of a well-known though extremely rare phenomenon, viz., that out of many millions of stones, the section or the fracture of one may, and now and then does, present an extremely close resemblance to some natural object. A notable example of this prodigy may be seen in the likeness of the head of *Chaucer* on a broken Egyptian pebble in the Natural History Museum at South Kensington. The marvel was noticed and commented upon by *Claudian* and by later writers.



NATURE-PAINTED PORTRAITS REVEALED BY
THE CUTTING OF A STONE.
(DEFENSORIUM, EISENHUT, circa 1439.)

This is in all probability the earliest engraved representation of one of these mineralogical *Lusus Naturæ*. It may have been noticed that in the Classification of the Collection, page xix., mention is made of a group of these very remarkable objects, of which at the end of the second volume will be found a short illustrated notice. I consider the woodcut on the present page to present a more interesting record of the existence of these *lusus* in mediæval times than any other which I have discovered. It is convincing by reason of its naïveté.

(†) This is evidently not a freak of Nature at all but merely an *Abraxas* engraved on a jasper, a stone very commonly used for the presentation of Gnostic devices. *Abraxas* had serpents for legs and feet.



A SHOWER OF STEEL INGOTS.
(DEFENSORIUM, EISENHUT, circa 1489.)

A MASS OF STEEL IS ENGENDERED BY A CLOUD.

STEEL (*chalybs*), our author remarks, is so called from the river *Calibes*, in the water of which the metal can be most successfully tempered. The authorities cited for the remarkable phenomena here illustrated are *Albertus Magnus* and *Isidorus*. The sort of iron or steel which thus presents itself gratuitously to men is the result of the influence of *Mars*, the lord of Iron. "For when the gross terrestrial vapour rises to a great height, it is solidified and indurated by the aspect of Mars, and falling upon the earth, has the appearance of iron or steel, but is of little service, not being malleable nor readily worked, for it is turned by the action of the fire into *scoria* or *dross*." The interest for us in this particular marvel is to be found in the proof which it seems to afford of the acquaintance of its narrators with the presence of iron in *aerolites*, doubtless in a condition too refractory for use.

TWIN BABES OPEN BOLTS AND BARS BY MERE TOUCH.

THESE twins were conceived and born under the influence of *Mars* and endued with a certain celestial virtue which enabled them to loosen by fire all and several the iron fastenings upon which they laid their little fingers, nay, even to melt iron itself. *Mars* is favourable to operations connected with fire, and under that planet are born smiths, furnace-men and the like. *Hij nēpe gemini & vterini id qđ ignis erat naturalis actionis. celesti influencia equanimiter potuerunt exercere.*

There is not a cut or comment among the scores in this extraordinary little book which is not well worth reproduction and translation.



TWINS BORN UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF MARS WHO HAD THE POWER OF MELTING BOLTS AND BARS. (DEFENSORIUM, EISENHUT, circa 1489)

[Circa 1490?] MARCUS MANILIUS. ASTRONOMICON LIBER.

[VENICE, PRINTER UNKNOWN.]

Fol. 1a: Marci Manilii astronomicon liber primus incipit. || () Armine diuinas artis & conscia fati || Sydera diuerfos hominum uariantia casus: || etc. *Fol. 78a, line 26*: Totus & accenso mundus flagraret olympto. || Marci Manilii astronomicon liber quintus & ultimus finit. ||

Printed in roman letter, 78 leaves, 28 lines to a page, text measures 157 × 102 mm.; without numerals or catchwords; signatures a–i in eights, k six leaves; spaces left for initial letters, no initial directors. The watermark is a small bird. Hain, 10702, Proctor, 5692.

This is probably one of the latest of the six editions of *Manilius* printed in the fifteenth century, the earliest with a date being that printed on March 20, 1474, by *Vgo Rugerius*.

A good copy, measuring 202 × 154 mm., slightly wormed.

Manilius flourished in the Augustan age. The translator of this author into English verse (London, 1697) devotes nearly sixty pages of his introductory matter to a discussion of his personality. These voluminous researches are finally summed up in these words: "This Manilius, of a Noble Family, born in Rome and living in the age of Augustus, had a liberal Education suitable to his Quality and the time in which he lived." His views on Astronomy were of a liberal and speculative order. "He asserts that the fixed Stars are not all in the same concave superficies of the Heavens and equally distant from the Centre of the world; he maintains that they are all of the same Nature and Substance with the Sun, and that each of them hath a particular Vortex of his own, and lastly he affirms that the *Milkie Way* is only the undistinguished Lustre of a great many small Stars, which the Moderns now see to be such thro' the glass of *Galileo*. In short we do not give him too great a Character, when we say he is one of the most discerning Philosophers that Antiquity can shew."

A facsimile follows of that part of the text in which *Manilius* refers to the Antipodes. The English paraphrase of this passage accompanies it.

Altera pars orbis sub aquis iacet inuia nobis
 Ignotæq; hominum gentes nec transita regna
 Commune ex uno lumen ducentia sole
 Diuersasq; umbras leuaq; cadentia signa
 Et destros ortus cælo spectantia uerlo
 Nec minor est illis mundus: nec lumine peior
 Nec numerosa minus nascuntur sydera in orbe
 Cætera non cedunt uno uincuntur in astro
 Augusto sydus nostro quod contigit orbi
 Cæsar nunc terris post cælo maximus auctor.

The other Part lies hid, the vast abode
 Of Unknown Nations, by our Feet
 untrod.
 From the *same Sun* they take their
 common Light
 But different shades: in an inverted
 Site
 Their Signs o' th' *left-hand* set and rise
 o' th' *right*.
 Their Skies as large, their Stars as
 splendid run,
 Equal i' th' rest but are excelled by
one,
 By Cæsar's Star which doth o'er us
 preside,
 Earth's present joy and Heaven's future
 pride.

PASSAGE FROM MANILIUS.

(UNKNOWN PRINTER, circa 1490?)

[Circa 1490.] WERNER ROLEWINCK [DE LAER]. FASCICULUS
TEMPORUM.

[STRASBURG, JOHANN PRÜSS.]

Fol. 1a, Title in very large type: Fasciculus tēporū omnes anti || quorum cronicas complectēs. || *Fol. 1b*, a full-page woodcut of the author presenting his book. *Fol. 2a*: Tabula breuis ⁊ utilis sup li- || bro illo q̄ dicit Fasciculi tpm. || etc. ∴ incipit feliciter. || *Fol. 7a*, numbered Folium I., and with signature A, (g)ENERatio ⁊ generatio laudabit opera tua || etc. *Fol. 96b*, the text ends under the date Mccccxc (sic) ⁊ nō fine thurcorum etiam ali- || quali frage multoꝝ. ||

Folio, printed in gothic type, 96 leaves, 50 lines to a full page, text measures 200 × 140 mm.; first six leaves without numerals or signatures, then numbered I—XC, and signatures A eight leaves, B—O in sixes, P four leaves; spaces for initials and initial directors. The watermarks are (1) short stylus and cross, small bull's head; (2) small bull's head, wide straight horns and arrow; (3), (4), (5) gothic p capped with trefoil, three varieties; (6) crescent in circle, long stylus and Latin cross; (7) flower of six petals; (8) an eagle displayed. Hain, *6916, Proctor, 563.

The press of Johann Prüss or Prys of Strasburg was the fourteenth in order of date in that city. Between 1484 and 1500 he printed more than forty dated and many undated books. The illustrations in this edition of the *Fasciculus* are fewer than in *Raidolt's* of 1484, and of about the same degree of merit.

On *Fol. 95b*, below the date 1457, is an important paragraph which appeared in the *Fasciculus* for the first time in 1478. It relates to the invention of Printing, and is one of the testimonies cited in all modern dissertations on the respective claims of Mentz and Haarlem. It begins: Libroꝝ imp̄ssiōis sc̄ia (= scientia) subtilissima oībꝝ secul' inaudita circa hec tpa (= tempora) repitur in maguntina.

This is a fine, clean and perfect copy, measuring 279 × 195 mm., in its original fifteenth century binding of stout boards covered with brown leather, which has not been repaired; a long panel filled with interlacing ornament occupies the centre of each cover, and is surrounded on the front cover by a border of birds and flowers of excellent design, on the back cover by a pretty border representing the chase of the deer. All the work is produced by "rolls" except that on the back of the volume, which is impressed. On the front cover is pasted a thin strip of vellum on which the title written in text hand. On *Fol. 1a* is written Wolfgangus () me comparauit Anno 1556. monachii. On the inside of the front cover is pasted a label, *Admodum R^{do} in Christo Patri ac D. Dño Paulo celeberrimi Monasterii Tegernseuensis Abbati dignissimo. Dño et amico suo colendissimo.*

A few marginal notes in a hand of the fifteenth century. In the text on *Fol. xc.* is a relation of the appearance in 1464 of the *stigmata* on the hands, feet and side of a girl living at Hamo in Westphalia (a fifteenth century *Louise Lateau*). After these had remained for fifteen weeks, about the Feast of the Venerable Sacrament she exhibited them to twelve witnesses and predicted that after two hours they would disappear. And so indeed it fell out, for the wounds were healed. The sceptical annotator has written in the margin *Nolite credere quia cito disparuerunt.*

1491-2 March 20.

LE SONGE DU VERGIER.

[LYONS, JACQUES MAILLET, FIRST PRESS.]

Fol. 1a, a woodcut as on Fol. 82b? perhaps a title? (I have not been able to find a perfect copy for collation.) Fol. 2a, col. 1: C Cy commence le p̃mier liure intitule le songe || du vergier: du clere ⁊ du cheualier. || (a) Udite fonnium quod vidi. || Ces parolles font escriptes || Genefis. xxxvii. capitulo. Ia || çoit ce quil foit dit en la fain || cte escripture que nul ne doit || croire es songes, etc. Fol. 82a blank. Fol. 82b, large woodcut, a reduced facsimile of which is given (original measures 169 × 169 mm.) showing the author asleep in his orchard (vergier) in presence of the King, who is seated on his throne, having on his right hand a kneeling female figure, crowned, but in a religious dress, with a label, Cest la puiffance. espirituelle, on the left a crowned female figure in Court dress, with the label, Cest la puiffance seculiere. Fol. 127a, second column, last lines: C Cy finift le fōge du vergier qui parle de la dispu || taciō du clerc ⁊ du cheualier. Imprime par Jacques || maillet/ lan mil cecc quatre vintꝝ et vnꝝe le || vintiesme iour de Mars. ||

Folio, printed in gothic type, 127 leaves, two columns, 51 lines to a column, text measures 280 × 169 (= 81 + 7 + 81) mm.; without numerals or catchwords; signatures a—v7, a, o, and n in eights, the rest in sixes; spaces left for initial letters, initial directors. No watermarks. Hain, 16006 (very imperfectly described), Proctor, 8622.

An imperfect copy of this rare book is in the Bodleian, but there is none in the British Museum.

This very rare edition of the *Songe du Vergier* was the earliest, perhaps the only, one printed in the fifteenth century. The next, which issued from the press of *Le Petit Laurens* at Paris, and was printed pour Venerable homme Jehan Petit libraire demourant en la rue St. Jacques au Lyon d'Argent, may not have appeared before 1500. At his press at Lyons, Maillet printed a very few books dating from May 30, 1489, to Nov. 14, 1494. It is doubtful whether he subsequently printed at Venice.

A fine and beautifully clean copy, measuring 280 × 205 mm. It wants the first leaf, and has two small corners of leaves in facsimile.

Great interest attaches to this celebrated book, the object of which is the defence of the royal against the inroads of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction. The arguments on each side are put forward in a very able manner in the form of a dialogue between the *clerc* and the *chevalier*. From the moment of its appearance the work received an appreciative attention which has not even yet wholly evaporated.

The subject-matter was of an importance so great, and the fear on the part of the crown and the laity of the ever-increasing encroachments of the ecclesiastical power so genuine, that it could not well be otherwise. Everything, however, connected with its *authorship* is, says the latest writer on the subject, enveloped in obscurity, and the composition of the work has been attributed by various modern littérateurs to no less than ten separate French writers. The last of these claims took a very substantial form in the shape of an 8vo volume of 100 pages, privately printed in 1863 by M. Leopold Marcel of Louviers. His hero is Charles de Louviers, and the earliest document on which he relies for proof is dated 1516. M. Marcel pleads the cause of his fellow-townsmen with much erudition, but has to combat very serious opposition to his theory from M. Paulin Paris, who supports the claims of Philippe de Maisieres.

A good many years ago, when I was looking with some little attention into Antipapal literature, I stumbled on what seemed to be the indubitable fact that the *Songe du Vergier* was not in its entirety the original work of any French writer, but that its first thirty-six chapters, which furnish the scheme of the

whole work, are simply expansions of the *Dialogus inter Clericum et Militem*, of which six editions were printed before A.D. 1500, and whose author was in all probability the Englishman *William Ockham* or *Occam*. Having communicated to *Notes and Queries* in August, 1863, and later on in January, 1869, to the *Intermédiaire des Chercheurs et Curieux*, what appeared to be an interesting discovery, a friendly controversy sprang up in the columns of the latter journal between M. Leopold Marcel and myself. I fear that I did not entirely convince my courteous adversary, who dropped the public discussion, but carried on for some little time a pleasant private correspondence with me. My contention, however, was in the end left quite unrefuted, the facts I alleged are undisputed, and my conclusions are, I still venture



WOODCUT ON FOL. 82^b OF THE SONGE DU VERGIER. (MAILLET, 1491-2.)

to think, irrefragable. M. Marcel's last word to me was this: "*M. Brunet, l'auteur du Manuel du Libraire, m'a dit qu'on ne pénétrerait jamais le mystère avec quelque certitude, parce qu'un nom cherché pendant des centaines d'années était introuvable.*" And this may be perfectly true as regards the identity of the French adapter and amplifier of Occam's treatise, but the credit of the conception of the work and of the text of its earlier portion must remain with the author of the *Dialogus*. His connection with one of the most memorable phases of the contest between the temporal and spiritual powers has been already alluded to in the note on the *Disputatio* of (1473?)

1492 Oct. 13. PETRUS HÆDUS. DE AMORIS GENERIBUS.

[TREVISO, GERARDUS LISA, FIFTH PRESS.]

Fol. 1a: DE || AMORIS || GENERIBVS. || (n)On inēōmodū fuerit si uel cōpendio dicemus || quæ res quæstiōes ue unoquoq, Anteroticoꝝ || libro cōtineant. *The table ends on Fol. 5b.* *Fol. 6a*: QVINTII AEMYLIANI CIMBRI || ACI POETAE EPOS HEN || DECASYLLABICON IN || PETRI HAEDI AN || TEROTICA AD || CVPIDINEM. || *Lasciuæ Veneris puer cupīdo*: || Seu te cypris erota nominauit: || etc. *Fol. 6b, the Epos ends on tenth line.* *On eleventh line*: :: FINIS :: *Fol. 7a (with numeral ·I·)*: PETRI HAEDI SACERDOTIS POR- || TVSNAENSIS: AD ALEXANDRVM || EX FRATRE NEPOTEM: IN || ANTEROTICORVM LI || BRVM PRIMVM PROEMIVM:: || (p)Hilosophiam iusq, uel ciuile: uel pō || tificium mi Alexander, etc. *Fol. 103a, line 4*: ut nullū aliud amoris genus excellentissimæ huic uirtu || ti anteponendum esse iudicetis. || SOLI DEO HONOR ET GLORIA. || *Then follows another short poem by Æmilianus, this ends on Fol. 103b with the lines here reproduced, and is succeeded by the colophon*:

Quid iuuat affectu lasciuo ducere uitam?
 Et tantū ingratis uiuere diuitiis?
 Quam melius seruire deo: spes una salutis.
 Hæc homini: multum cætera fraudis habent
 Sol redit & semper reparat dispendia phæbe
 Annus adest iterum: nos semel occidimus.
 Vis iterum quondam uitales surgere in auras
 Morte obita: & longum uiuere: uiue modo.

ACCVRATISSIME IMPRESSVM
 TARVISII PER GERARDVM
 DE FLANDRIA. ANNO SALV-
 TIS. M. CCCC. XCII. DIE. XIII. OC-
 TOBR. IS. SVB MAGNIFICO
 PRAETORE AVGVSTINO
 FOSCARINI.

:: FINIS ::

4to, printed in roman type, 103 leaves, 25 lines to a page, text measures 128 × 88 mm.; the last ninety-seven leaves numbered at top of page, in centre, in roman numerals; no catchwords nor signatures; spaces left for Greek quotations to be filled in in MS.; spaces left for initial letters, no initial directors. The watermarks are (1) scales in circle; (2) a bird. Hain, *8343, Proctor, 6507.

This is the first edition of this curious work, the only other in the fifteenth century being that of the same printer in 1498. It is one of about six books printed by Lisa at this, his fifth and last, press.

A beautifully clean copy of this pretty little book, measuring 177 × 126 mm.

This treatise of *Peter Hædus* is just mentioned by Burton (*Anat. Mel., second edition, 1624, p. 333*), as one of those volumes which many grave and worthy men have composed on the subject of Love Melancholy, but I do not think that he cites him elsewhere in that most delightful *Third Partition*.

Hædus, says Menage, was born at *Padenone* (in Latin *Portus Naonis*), whence the *Portusnaensis* of the Proemium. The first title, *De Amoris Generibus*, was, I presume, a pious little trap to catch the worldly-minded reader, the real title being found a page farther on in the *Antericorum Libri Tres*, the whole intention of the author being to lure the worldly lover away from his temporary affections to the love of God and his neighbour. *Cornelius Agrippa*, not knowing the book, jumped to the conclusion that it was an exhaustive treatise on the Art of Love, and in his "*De Vanitate Scientiarum et Artium*," very unjustly associated the pious *Hædus* with *Boccaccio* and others, as one of the tribe of *lenones*!

1493 March 4. NICOLAUS SALICETUS. LIBER MEDITATIONIS.

[STRASBURG, JOHANN REINHARD OF GRÜNINGEN.]

Fol. 1a, xylographic title in large white letters on red and black ground: Liber medita-
tionuꝝ ac ora || tionū deuota || rum Qui An || thidotarius || añe diciť Cū || tabſa inptus ||



Fol. 1b blank. Fol. 2a, col. 1, in red: Nicolai faliceti ar || tiū et medecine doctoris: ab- || batis monasterii btē marie d̄ || pomerio (aſs Bomgart) or || dinis Ciftercieñ . Argent- || neū . dyoceſis . in anthidotari || um anime prefaciuncula. || Fol. 144a, col. 2 in red finishes: Actūqꝝ dili- genti || adhibita examinatiōe ĩpenſis || puidi vivi magiſtri Johānis || Reynardi (aſs grūnynger) in inſigni ciuitate Argētin. || vbi cōpletꝝ extitit Anno dñi || ce incarnatiōis. Mccccxcij || quarto vero nonaꝝ. Marcij. Fol. 144b blank.

Svo, printed in gothic type in black and red; 144 leaves, incorrectly paged 146, the numeration jumping from LXXX. to LXXXIII.; in double columns, 34 lines to the column; text measures 111 × 73 mm.; numerals in roman figures in red; signatures A-S; spaces left for the initial letters. Watermark, bull's head, stylus, and Tau. Hain, *14161. Proctor, †463. Not in B.M. In the original half-binding of stamped pig-skin.

On the back of the title is the quaint MS. note of ownership of an early possessor:—*Egidius Alliott Badensis.—Egidius sum vocatus, Alliott vero cognominatus, a matre lactatus, a parentibus educatus, a preceptoribus bonis et malis verberibus verberatus.*

Of this once very popular little book, the compilation of a pious physieian, eighteen editions are described by Hain, of which this seems to be the only one with the remarkable bicoloured title-page.

It differs hardly at all in other respects from his *14160. The author quaintly observes that as there are for the help of the body medicines *digestive*, such as syrups,—*laxative*, such as pills, potions, and electuaries,—*opiates* and *alteratives*; so in this *Anthidotarius animæ* there are prayers and meditation *digestive*, prompting sorrow and contrition for sin,—prayers *purgative*, viz., confessions made either to the priest or to God,—prayers *sedative* to our Lord after the reception of the Eucharist, and so on. *Indulgences* are scattered broadcast throughout the volume. To him who devoutly recites a certain prayer (*Salve sancta facies, &c.*) Pope John XXII. grants 3,000 days of indulgences of criminal sins and 20,000 days of venial sins. To him who reads or hears read, or carries about with him a certain prayer of St. Augustine (*Deus propicius esto, etc.*) shall not perish on that day, either by fire or water, or by capital punishment or sudden death, nor shall be harmed by any deadly thing, and whatever lawful thing he shall ask of God he shall receive, and when his soul leaves the body it shall not depart into Hell. An extraordinary passage occurs in a prayer to the Deity, in which he is conjured "*Per hoc nomen sanctissimum, magnum atque fortissimum gloriosum atque inclitum, per quod Adam in tartaro, cum esset in supplicio, in inferni patibulo te reclinauit dominum auctorem suum pium, et habuit propiciam per hoc nomen sanctissimum quod est LAUELEIRE RUREIRIRZ. Explicare nequeunt omnes lingue vitium, nec mens nec sensus hominum nomen quod est Anelzeneton, etc.*"

1493 July 12. HARTMAN SCHEDEL. LIBER CHRONICARUM.

[NUREMBERG CHRONICLE.]

[NUREMBERG, ANTON KOBERGER.]

Fol. 1a contains only the title as here reproduced, about one-third of full size of original, which measures 246 × 178 mm. *Fol. 1b* blank. *Fol. 2a, col. 1*: Tabula operis huius de tem || poribus mundi. vt historia rerūq, etc. *Fol. 20b*: Finit registrum. *Fol. 21a*: Epitoma operū sex dierū de mūdi fabrica Prologus Foliū I || ()Um apud doctissimos, etc. *Fol. 278b, line 39* (numbered ccLviii): Cartas aliquas sine scriptura pro sexta etate deinceps relinquere conuenit. iudicio posteriorū. q̄ emē || dare addere. atq, gesta principum et priuatorum succedentium perscribere possunt. Non em̄ omnia || possumus omnes, etc. *Fol. 279a* is entirely blank but for the headline, Sexta etas mundi, and the number of leaf, ccLviii. Except in these particulars, *Folios 279, 280, and 281* are absolutely blank paper, having been so left, as the author has just informed us, for historical notes and corrections to be made by the owner of the volume. *Fol. 282a* (numbered ccLxii.): Septima etas mundi. *Fol. 282b*: a woodcut nearly the size of the page (338 × 225 mm.) of the collapse of Antichrist. *Fol. 285a* (ccLxv.): Ultima etas mundi. *Fol. 285b*: a woodcut of the same size as the last described, of the Day of Judgment. *Fol. 286a* (ccLxvi.), line 23: Completo in famosissima Nurembergensi vrbe Operi || de hyftorijs etatum mundi. ac descriptione vrbium. se- || lix imponitur finis. Collectum breui tempore Auxilio docto || ris Hartmāni Schedel .qua fieri potuit diligentia. Anno x̄pi || Millefimo quadringentesimo nonagesimotercio. die quarto || mensis Junij. || Deo igitur optimo. sint laudes infinite. || *Fol. 286b* blank. *Fol. 287a* (ccLxvii.): Sexta etas mundi. (*This is the incorrect heading of some few of the pages which follow, as they are really geographical treatises containing*



large and spirited engravings of various European cities and provinces.) Fol. 319 (ccxcix.)b, and Fol. 320a, a woodcut map of Europe, measuring 390 × 574 mm. Fol. 320b: Adest nunc studiose lector finis libri Cronicarum per || viam epithomatis ... Castigatūq, a viris || doctissimis vt magis elaboratum in lucem prodiret. Ad in || tuitū autem ꝛ preces prouidorū cuiū. Sebaldi Schreyer || ꝛ Sebastiani kamermaister hunc librum dominus Antho || nius koberger Nuremberge impressit. Adhibitis tamē vi || ris mathematicis pingendiq, arte peritissimis. Michaele || wolgemut et wilhelmo Pleydenwurff. quarū (sic) folerti acu- || ratissimaq, animaduersione tum ciuitatum tum illustrium || virorum figure inferte sunt. Consummatū autem duodeci- || ma mensis Julii. Anno salutis nre. 1493. || Fol. 321, without numeral, blank. Fol. 322, also without numeral, blank. Fol. 323a: De Sarmacia regione Europe. Fol. 327b: Ad deum optimū maximū de his que mirabilia gessit pro iustissi || mo ꝛ excelfo Maximiliano rege romanorum. || Then follow sixty-eight lines of Sapphic verse. : Laus deo. || Fol. 328 blank. These last six leaves of text are likewise unnumbered.

Folio, printed in gothic type, 328 leaves; the number of lines to a page varies, text of 62 lines measures 342 × 223 mm.; first twenty leaves unnumbered, after that numbered in roman caps, as hereinbefore described; no catchwords or signatures; about 2,000 woodcuts. The watermarks are (1) two-ended Latin cross; (2) gothic p; (3) gothic f; (4) crown; (5) turret? (two types). Hain, *14508, Proctor, 2084.

The first edition; an edition in German closely resembling the present in many points, also printed by Koberger at Nuremberg, was issued on Dec. 23, 1493; a second, also with Latin text, was printed at Augsburg in 1497 by *Johann Shensperger*, and the German text appeared in the same year, and in 1500.

A fine copy, measuring 442 × 300 mm., and unusually perfect; slight water stains. In Mr. Quaritch's *Typographical Monuments*, 1897, the most perfect copy has five blank leaves, *Folios* 279, 280, 281, one after *Fol.* 286 and *Fol.* 292. Our copy has *Folios* 279, 280, 281, 321, 322, and 328 all blank. The arrangement of the quires in binding is different in different copies, but it seems to me that the proper sequence has been observed in ours. The book has evidently been read with much diligence and yet with great care; the woodcuts are all uncoloured. On *Fol.* 278b, after the printer's note concerning the blank leaves, occurs this MS. inscription (the contractions being omitted):—*Ex nuremberga dignissima germanie metropoli per constitutum nuncium petrus polonus michi Gaspari Elephantutio hunc librum tradidit (sic) cui tam proffecto me devinctum fateor quod In dies parte operis prospecto magis oblector. Datum Bonon : (?) .xxij septembris M.D. xij.*

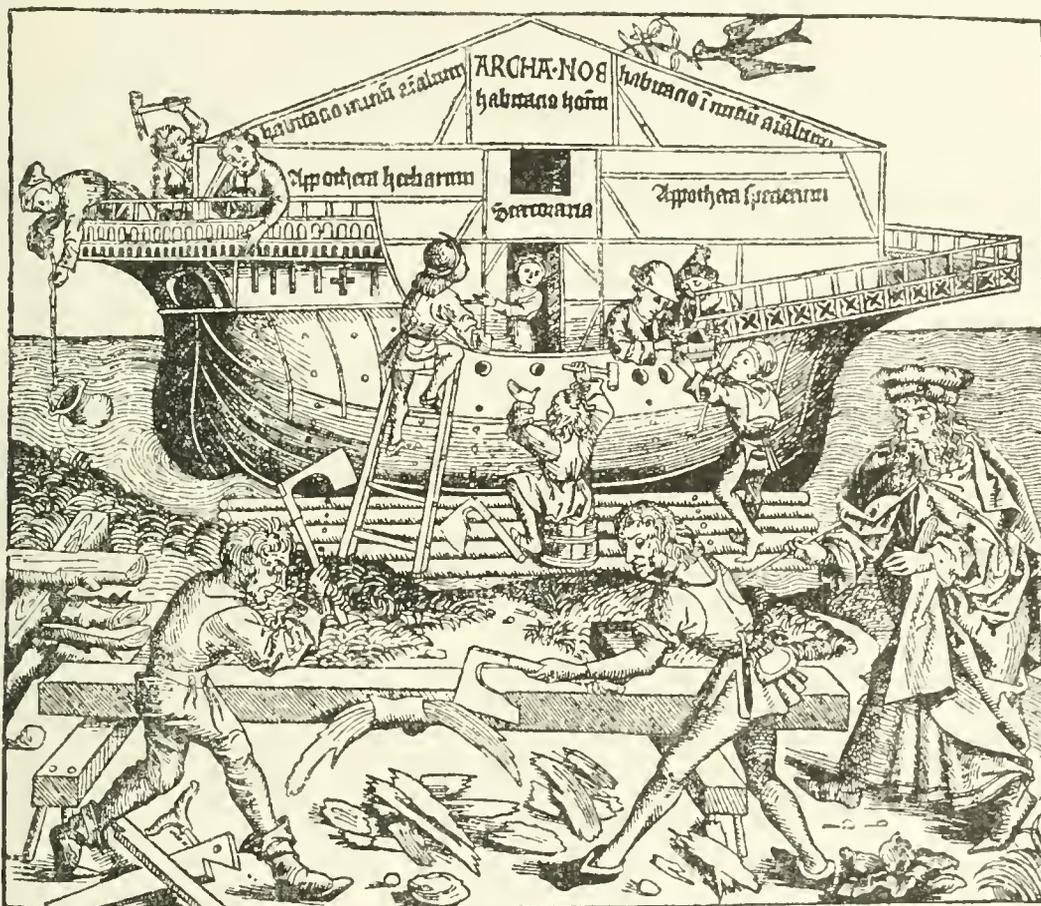
Ego Gaspar Funtutius manu propria. Petrus Przemskij Polonus.

This is the most important picture-book of the fifteenth century, a book which has furnished, and still continues to furnish where it is known, a store of amusement to old and young. A large edition must have been printed, for in spite of the destruction of copies which its great popularity must have entailed, it is still by no means rare. It is the fashion to decry it, and to declare it to be vastly overrated, and it is true that but little refined art is to be found in the illustrations which form its chief charm, but it is a monument of enterprise and of judicious catering for popular appreciation. *Wohlgemuth*, mentioned in the colophon, was, as is well known, the artist under whom *Albert Durer* studied. Of his colleague, *Pleydenwurff*, little seems to be known. Although this delightful book is only too familiar to collectors, it can hardly be so to all of my readers, and I have therefore with much hesitation made for their amusement a selection of a very few of the illustrations for reproduction on a somewhat reduced scale. Before remarking on these, however, I ought to mention that the *Liber Chronicarum* is one of the books in which, at an early date, the invention of the Art of Printing is located in *Mentz*. The passage occurs on *Fol.* 272b, commencing with the words:—

 Ars imprimendi libros hijs temporibus primū in germania enata ē Quātum igiſ litteraꝝ studioſi germanis debeant nullo fatis dicendi genere exprimi poteſt. hauc apud maguntia rheni urbem folerti ingenio libroꝝ imprimendorū ratio 1440 inuenta fuiſſe aiunt, etc.

This testimony will be referred to again when we arrive at the *Cologne Chronicle* in the year 1499.

There is not, on the whole, to be found in the woodcuts of the *Chronicle* the sly or unintentional quaintness which characterizes the earlier days of wood-engraving. They are more ambitious than those, more laboured, but not so convincing, and yet a spirit of unconscious humour peeps out in many of them. Nothing can be more serious than the intention of the artist in his drawing, partly in section, of the *Ark* of *Noah*. In the foreground the squaring by the adze of one of the principal timbers, under the direct instructions of the Patriarch, gives us an exact notion of the costume and action of the carpenter of 1493. It will be observed from the sectional elevation that only a very rough scheme of location is attempted in the internal arrangements of the great vessel. The central position just under the roof-tree is allotted to



THE BUILDING OF THE ARK SUPERINTENDED BY NOAH. (SCHEDEL, *LIBER CHRONICARUM*, 1493.)

human habitations, and the *eight persons* seem to have much the best of it as regards proportionate space. In a long garret on the left side are stowed the tame animals (*Habitatio mitium animalium*), the wild beasts in a corresponding shelter on the left. The *Apotheca herbarum* is no doubt the store-house of grain and fodder; the *Apotheca specierum* is just "*The Store house*," *species* having in Low Latin, in addition to its semi-classical meaning of "spices," that of merchandise generally. Sanitary(?) arrangements (just under Noah's apartments) were not forgotten in this wholesale scheme of distribution. The Dove, it will be remarked, has put in an unnecessarily early appearance.



THE DESTRUCTION OF SODOM AND FATE OF LOT'S WIFE.
(SCHEDEL, LIBER CHRONICARUM, 1493.)

Little comment is needed upon the woodcuts on a subsequent page, but attention may be drawn to the extreme modernity of treatment shown in that of the three choristers, *Mizahel*, *Ananias*, and *Azarias*, and to the want of imagination displayed in the attitudes of the Evangelist and his executioner.

The story of *Pope Joan*, her learning, the concealment of her sex, her elevation by common consent to the Papal Chair on the death of Leo IV., the humiliating discovery of her secret, her sudden death after a pontificate of two years, five months, and four days, and her dishonoured burial, with other strange particulars, are related here without the reserve considered needful by some contemporary chroniclers. "*As Martin says*" is the only expression which is used to relieve the writer from responsibility for the accuracy of the narrative. These are the words with which the history of the episode opens (the "*ut ferunt*" relating only to her German origin, and not to the rest of the story):—*Joannes Anglicus (et ut ferunt) Mogunciaco ortus, malis artibus pontificatum adeptus. Mentitus enim sexum, cum femina esset, adolescens admodum Athenas cum viro docto amatore proficixitur. Ibiq; preceptores bonarum artium audiendo, tantum profecit ut Romam veniens paucos admodum etiam in sacris literis pares haberet, ne dum superiores. Legendo autem et disputando doctæ et acute tantum*



THE SACRIFICE OF ISAAC—IN TWO SCENES.
(SCHEDEL, LIBER CHRONICARUM, 1493.)

The sad procession from the cities of the plain is treated with a certain amount of gravity and decorum. The artist has realized that it is a tragedy which is to be depicted. In our next illustration, however, the happy ending of the story of the Sacrifice of Isaac has left him free to handle the incident in a lighter manner, of which the hilarious trot of Abraham and the gaiety of the he-goat are illustrative.

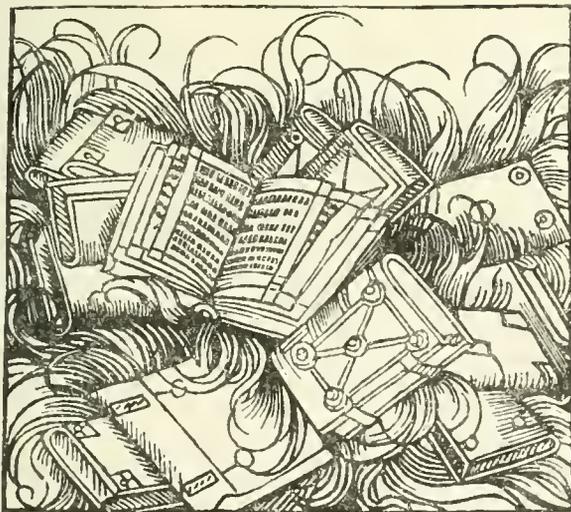


SATAN VEXING JOB.
(SCHEDEL, LIBER CHRONICARUM, 1493.)

Mizahel-ancina-azaiel



THE SONG OF THE THREE "CHILDREN."
(SCHEDEL, LIBER CHRONICARUM, 1493.)



THE DESTRUCTION OF THE ALEXANDRIAN LIBRARY.
(SCHEDEL, LIBER CHRONICARUM, 1493.)



MARTYRDOM OF ST. JOHN.
(SCHEDEL, LIBER CHRONICARUM, 1493.)

Joannes septimus



JOANNES ANGLICUS—POPE JOAN.
(SCHEDEL, *LIBER CHRONICARUM*, 1493.)

would allow them to do as they liked, by reason that his daughter was, as we shall hereafter discover, one of the mad party, does not appear; but at any rate they declined to conform with his mild request to keep quiet or else go away, and continued their pranks and made game of his reproof. Then the old gentleman (*amaricatus*) losing his temper, prayed, I regret to say, with imprecations, that they might keep up the sport they so much relished for a whole year without intermission. And so they did, and incredible as it may appear to some, neither dew nor rain fell on them the while, neither their legs nor lungs grew weary, nor did any pangs of hunger afflict them, their shoes and their gay attire alike remained intact, and still they danced, and drummed, and fided, and sang at the top of their voices till the twelve-

benevolentie et auctoritatis sibi comparavit, ut mortuo Leone, in ejus locum (ut Martinus ait)() omnium consensu pontifex crearetur, etc., etc.*

This story is told in almost the same words at much later, as well as at much earlier dates, in books, some of which are in my collection. I have already alluded to it in the notice of Platyna.

In an edition of 1513 of the *Supplementum Chronicarum* (first printed in 1483), the history, very fully given, is prefaced merely by the words "*ut tradunt*"; and as late as 1548, in an edition of the *Mirabilia Urbis Romæ*, in a mention of the church of St. Clement, the incident is related for the edification of visitors to the Holy City, with the reservation "*ut asseritur*." I find no notices of the prohibition of these works in any of the editions of the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* which I possess.

The goodly company whom you see depicted here made their contribution to history and this *Chronicle* about the year 1020. They were a merry party of eighteen cavaliers and fifteen dames, all living in the same town in the diocese of *Magdeburg*. On this particular occasion they made as unfortunate a selection in the matter of *locale*, as of occasion, when they decided to "*coreizare*" (play, sing, and dance) in the cemetery of their parish on Christmas Eve. Whether or not they imagined that the priest



COREIZANTES PER ANNUM. (SCHEDEL, *LIBER CHRONICARUM*, 1493.)

(*) (In a *Chronicle* called *Flores Temporum*.) It must not be imagined that I consider this recital to add the smallest weight to the legend; I call attention to it to show that it passed current at this date. In order to discredit *Schedel*—the author of the *Chronicle*, it has been attempted to be shown that he was a Hussite, but this contention is disproved by internal evidence. The reader who is curious on the subject may find it very fully treated from a Protestant standpoint, with citations from one hundred and fifty authorities of greater or less importance, in *Spanheim's Hist. de la Papesse Jeanne* (a la Haye, 1720, 8vo).

month had rolled by. And not till then did *Horebert*, the archbishop of the diocese, come to the spot and release them all from the knot which the priest had tied, absolve and reconcile them before the altar of that very church—too late, alas! for some, for the priest's daughter and two others at once passed away, others slept right off for three nights, and shortly after departed this life. The rest, among whom was *Ubertus*, the narrator of this strange story, were quits for a lifelong twitching of the limbs (chorea).

Let the reader who has the opportunity buy or borrow a copy of the Nuremberg Chronicle.

1493. JOHANNES DE LAPIDE. RESOLUTORIUM DUBIORUM CIRCA
CELEBRATIONEM MISSARUM OCCURRENTIUM.

[COLOGNE, HEINRICH QUENTELL.]

Fol. 1a: Resolutoriū dubioꝝ circa || celebrationē missaꝝ occur || rentium. p venerabilem patrem dominum Johannem de || lapide doctorem Theologum parisiensem ordinis Cartusi || ensis. ex sacrorum canonum probatorumq; doctorum fen || tentijs diligenter collectum. || *Woodcut of Master and two pupils* ("accipies"). *Fol. 1b* blank. *Fol. 2a*: Summarium Operis || C Subsequentis operis, etc. *Fol. 5b*: Incipit tractatus dubioꝝ ac difficultatuꝝ circa officium misse, etc. *Fol. 24a, line 44*: Explicit resolutoriū dubioꝝ circa celebratōem missaꝝ occurrentiū || Impressum Coloniae p Henricū Quētell. Anno dñi. M.cccc.xciii. ||

4to, printed in gothic type, 24 leaves, 45 lines to a page, text, including marginal notes, measures 142 × 109 mm.; no numerals or catchwords; signatures a—d in sixes; headlines in large type, *Folios* 1-4, *Summariū operis*, afterwards *Capitulum Secundum—decimum*, on *Fol. 5b*, *Summarium* (printer's error for *Capitulum*); spaces left for initials, no initial directors. The watermarks are (1) gothic p, short stylus, and quatrefoil; (2) crown and fleur-de-lys? Hain, *9906, Proctor, 1320.

Many editions of this tract were printed in the fifteenth century. This is probably the second with a date, Froben having printed one in 1492.

A large copy, measuring 208 × 141 mm., rubricated throughout; somewhat stained; some coeval MS. notes.

Under the date 1473 (*S. Thomas Aquinas, Tractatus de Periculis*) I have had occasion to refer to the subject of the *Cautela* for the guidance of the officiating priest during the celebration of the Eucharist. That tract bears about the same proportion to the present as a primer to a scientific grammar, or a vocabulary to a dictionary. The work of *John de Lapide* contains instructions as to the course to be followed under every possible contingency, so minute and so admirably tabulated that by a reference in the first place to the *Summarium*, which forms an exhaustive index, and in the second to the body of the treatise, the celebrant could discover in a few seconds how each and every unfortunate oversight or error could be most speedily corrected. In the article (Cap. VII., Art. 3) on doubts about the wine of the Eucharist, it is set forth that

The Wine must be the wine of the <i>Vine</i> , and therefore must not be composed of	}	<i>Aqua vinata</i> , i.e., water which has been poured on heaps of grape skins after the expression of the juice, <i>Agrestum</i> , that is the expressed juice of unripe grapes (verjuice), <i>Vinegar</i> ,	}	Because it is not wine.
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Nor of Wine	}	of Pomegranates, Mulberries, Cherries. The unexpressed content of the grape,	}	Because it is not wine.
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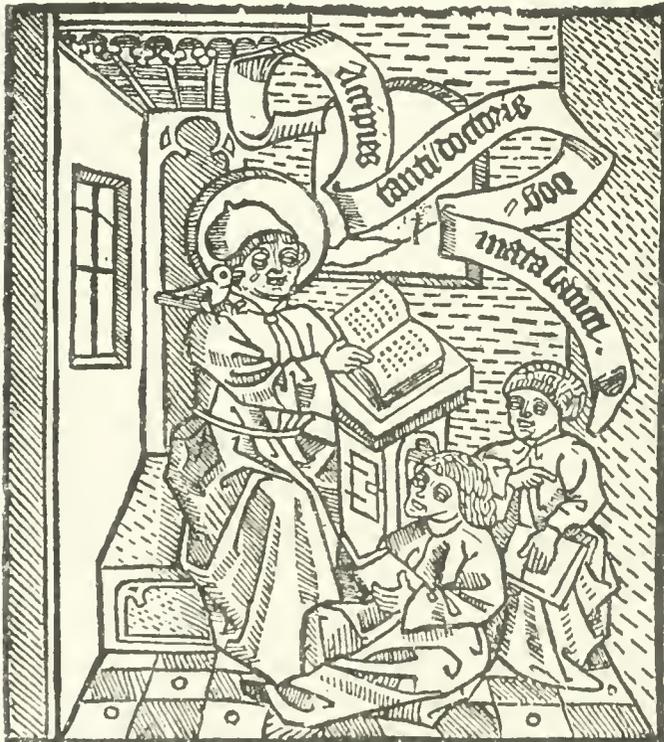
But in case of necessity "*must*" may be lawfully made use of; and it is permissible, though not proper (*potest sed non debet*) in case of necessity to employ wine unmixed with water.

Heinrich Quentell's was one of the most productive presses of the fifteenth century. The first issues

Resolutoriiū dubioꝝ circa celebrationē missarū occur-

**rentium. p̄ venerabilē patrem dominum Johannem de
lapide doctorem Theologum parisiensem. ordinis Cartusi-
ensis. et sacrorum canonum probatorumq; doctorum sen-
tentia diligenter collectum.**

are of the year 1479, and the last of 1498 or 1500. Of editions proceeding from it during that period there are no less than 189 in the B.M. or Bodleian. He died in the summer of 1501, and the colophons of books printed in his office in the sixteenth century contain such records as the following:—1502, *In officina salubris memorie Henrici Quentell*; 1503, *In officina Henrici Quentell*; 1504, *In domo Quentell*; 1505, *In penetibus bene recordationis Henrici Quentell*; 1506, *in impressoria officina Quentell—Apud liberos quondam Henrici Quentell, In domo honestorum liberorum quondam Henrici Quentell*. The press of the sons seems to have continued to exist till 1524, in which year *Peter Quentell* is printing on his own account.



TITLE-PAGE OF RESOLUTORIUM. (QUENTELL, 1491.)

The woodcut which forms the Title of this book makes its appearance very repeatedly, not only in works from the press of *Quentell* in which it first occurs, but also with a variation in some of those printed by *Schönsperger* at *Augsburg*, 1497, and blocks of different designs, but on the same main lines, occur in those of *Arnold* of *Cologne* at *Leipsig* (circa 1500), *Johann von Amerbach* at *Basle* (?), and *Melchior Lotter* at *Leipsig*. There are at least six different versions of this *Accipies* woodcut, and an interesting and exhaustive illustrated monograph on the subject by Mr. Proctor appeared in *Bibliographica*, Vol. I., 1895, to which alone I am indebted for the present information. The words *Accipies tanti doctoris dogmata sancti* are common to all these illustrations. All the varieties which succeed the original of *Quentell* are of a cruder type. The first book in which the *Accipies* cut appears to be the *Alexandri Doctrinale*, printed by *Quentell* in 1491. Hain, *705.

[Circa 1493.] (JACOBUS WIMPHELING.) ORATIO QUERULOSA.

[SPIRE OR SPIER, CONRAD HIRT.]

Fol. 1a: Oratio querulosa contra || Inuafores Sacerdotum. || Fol. 1b blank. Fol. 2a: Flaminū: vatam: Sacerdotū Gymnosophistarum || philosophoꝝ druidū. In Testipremos Conquestio. || ()I unquā beatissime || Maximeq; Pontifex Alexander opus fuit || auxilio ⁊ defensione Romane sedis, etc. Fol. 7b, line 30: quos neq; maximi q̄dē Impatores aufi fuerunt vnquam || dijudicare. .Dixi. || Then follow on this page four lines, and on Fol. 8a nine lines of hexameters, ending: Heu tua mens stygia refat crucianda palude. ||

4to, printed in gothic type, 8 leaves, 35 lines to a page, text measures 138 × 87 mm.; without numerals or catchwords; signature, a—a8; space left for initial on Fol. 2, no initial directors. The watermark is a gothic p. Hain, 12026, also under 16193, Proctor, 2445.

Perhaps the first edition of this curious tract, of which at least five editions were printed in the fifteenth century.⁹ It is one of the broadly-satirical productions of *Wimpeling of Schlestadt* (1450-1528), scholar and reformer, friend of *Geyler von Kaiserberg*, *Erasmus* and other men of advanced ideas. Its design is to ridicule the assumption by clerics of extravagant worldly fashions in dress. It possesses besides a special bibliographical interest as containing (on Fol. 3b) a mention of *Mentz* as giving birth to the printing press. *Duarum nobilissimarum arcium inuencione, pre ceteris nacionibus iam pridem meruerat eximiam Germania laudem quarum altera rei bellice, altera philosophice famularetur. Constat enim olim bombardas, et nostris iam temporibus Calchographiam hoc est impressoriam artem in nobilissima germanie Urbe Maguncia fuisse repertam. Nunc vero novum tormenti genus inventum est, etc.*

A good, clean copy, measuring 185 × 135 mm.

1494 Aug. 11. ANTHOLOGIA EPIGRAMMATUM GRÆCORUM.

[FLORENCE, LORENZO DI FRANCESCO DI ALOPA.]

Fol. 1a blank. Fol. 1b, table. Fol. 2a: ΑΡΧΙΟΥ. ΕΙΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΤΕΣΣΑΡΑΣ || ΑΓΩΝΑΣ. || ()ΕΣΣΑΡΕΣ ΕΙΣΙΝ ΑΓΩΝΕΣ, etc. The text ends on Fol. 272b, line 23: ΤΗΣ ΑΘΥΡΟΣΤΟΜΗΣ, ΟΙ ΜΙΔΕΟΙ ΚΑΛΑΜΟΙ. || Fol. 273a, an Epigram by *Lascares* subscribed ΛΑΣΚΑΡΕΩΣ. Fol. 273b, a letter from *Lascares* to *Peter de Medici*, ending on Fol. 279b with the colophon: IMPRESSVM FLORENTIAE PER LAVRENTIVM FRANCISCI || DE ALOPA VENETVM.III. IDVS AVGVSTI. M, CCCC || LXXXIIII.

4to, printed in uncial Greek type, 279 leaves, 28 lines to a page, text measures 160 × 98 mm.; no numerals or catchwords; signatures in Greek caps on bottom line of text, Α—Ω and ΑΑ—ΚΚ in eights, the last six leaves having no signatures; spaces left for large initials, no initial directors. The watermarks are (1) a ladder in circle, surmounted by star of six points; (2) an eagle displayed; (3) a short column with base and cap, the latter crowned; (4) a cardinal's hat, inverted. Hain, *1145, Proctor, 6406.

The only edition in the fifteenth century. This is the third book from the press of *Lorenzo di Francesco di Alopa*, beginning in 1492 or 1493, and terminating, in so far as is known from dated editions, in 1496. The book is well-known and sought after. It is the earliest of five volumes, *editions de luxe*, all printed in capital letters, issuing from the same press. In many copies, as in the present, the last seven

leaves, containing the Epistle of Lascaris and the colophon, are wanting. This deficiency gave rise at one time to a belief in the existence of an undated edition. All the copies printed on vellum seen by De Bure wanted these leaves, but in the B.M. two such copies exist, each of which has the last quire. *Maittaire* (*Annales Typographici*, 1719) accounts for this deficiency of the Epistle of Lascaris in many copies by a theory of their abstraction from the volumes by collectors of literary curiosities, and on these pours out his scorn, but in order that the public may not be losers by the mean theft, reprints for their benefit in capital letters the whole epistle. It was reserved for *Roscoe*, in the Catalogue of his own library (*Liverpool*, 1816) to furnish a more plausible suggestion of a reason for the mutilation. The *Anthologia* was published at Florence in August, 1494. In September following the French under Charles VIII. entered Italy, and Peter de Medicis, to whom this letter of Lascaris was addressed, was speedily driven out of Florence. The publisher doubtless hastened to remove from his book the dedication to a proscribed noble, and the issuing of the mutilated copies may in all probability be assigned to a date just subsequent to these events.

A good, clean copy, measuring 221 × 153 mm., in which *Fol. 2a* has been delicately illuminated in gold and colours. Fine Old English morocco binding (*à petits fers*), rose, thistle, shamrock, and acorn. At the foot of the page are the arms of a former possessor, surrounded by a wreath of fleur-de-lys; azure, a fesse, or, between four fleurs-de-lys, three and one of the same. As before stated, it wants the Epistle of Lascaris.

[1494-8.] GULIELMUS DE OCKHAM. DIALOGUS INTER CLERICUM ET MILITEM.

[COLOGNE, HEINRICH QUENTELL.]

Fol. 1a: Dyalogus inter || clericum ⁊ militem super digni || tate papali et regia. || De natiuitate et moribus || Antichristi. || *Fol. 1b* blank. *Fol. 2a*: Disputatio inter clericum et || militem sup potestate prelatis ecclesie atq principib⁹ terraꝝ || commissa sub forma dyalogi incipit feliciter. || ()Lericus fermonis sui exordiū sub hac forma po- || fuit dicens, etc. *Fol. 8b*: Compendium de vita An- || tichristi. || ()Irca statū, etc. *Fol. 9b*, line 35: ☉ Explicit cōpendiū de natiuitate vita ⁊ morte. Antix̃pi || Impressum Colonie Per Henricum Quentell. *Fol. 10* blank.

4to, printed in gothic letter, 9 printed leaves, 37 lines to a page, text measures 147 × 86 mm.; no numerals nor catchwords; signatures **Aa** six leaves, **Bb** four leaves; running title in large type; spaces for large initials, no initial directors. The watermarks are (1) gothic **p** and Latin cross; (2) hand from cuff, short stylus, and Latin cross; (3) jug. Hain, *6114, Proctor, 1446.

Large, clean copy, measuring 204 × 140 mm.

This edition of a treatise prohibited by the Tridentine and later Indices is like all others rare. There is no copy in the Bodleian. This work formed the basis of the *Songe du Vergier*, see page 191, *supra*.

ΕΙΣ ΕΙΚΟΝΑΣ ΑΝΔΡΩΝ ΑΓΑΘΩΝ.

ΕΙΣ ΕΙΚΟΝΑ ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛΟΥ ΥΠΑΡΧΟΥ. ΛΕΟΝΤΙΟΥ.

ΑΙ ΦΑΕΩΝ ΓΡΑΪΔΕΣΣΙΝ ΕΧΕΙ

ΤΥΠΟΝ. ΑΛΛΑ ΧΑΡΑΣΣΕΙ

ΗΕΛΙΟΝ ΤΕΧΝΗ, ΚΡΥΠΤΟ-

ΜΕΝΩΝ ΦΑΕΩΝ.

ΚΑΙ ΣΕ ΣΟΦΕ ΓΤΟΛΙΑΡΧΕ ΓΡΑΪΕΙ ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛΙΕ ΤΕΧΝΗ,

ΕΚΤΟΣ ΖΩΝ ΑΡΕΤΩΝ. ΕΚΤΟΣ ΟΛΩΝ ΚΑΜΑΤΩΝ.

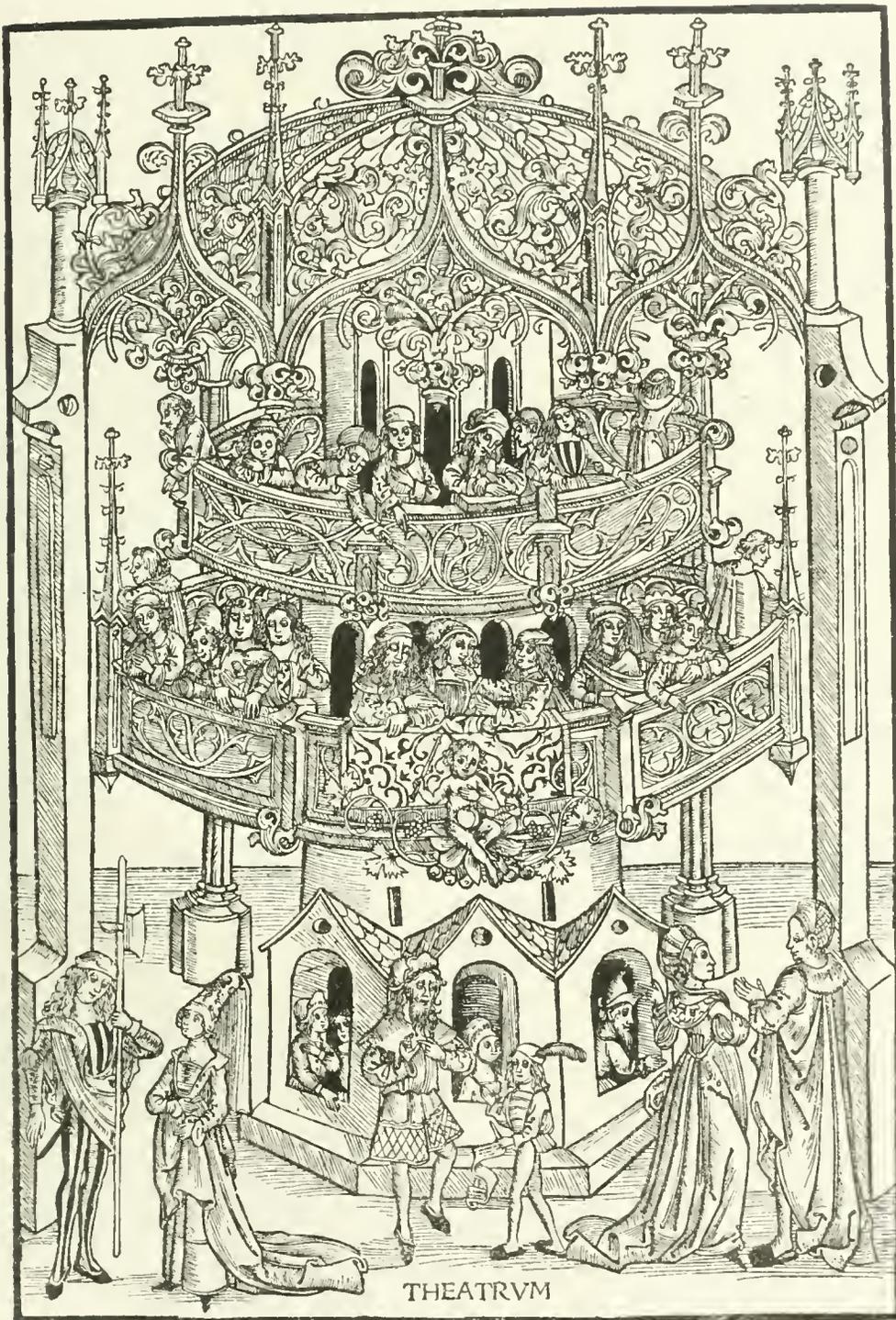
ΘΕΛΙΤΗΤΟΥ.

ΤΟΥΤΟΝ ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΟΝ ΝΟΜΙΚΗΣ ΦΑΟΣ, ΕΪΠΟΝ ΙΔΟΥΣΑΙ

ΡΩΜΗ ΚΑΙ ΒΕΡΟΗ. ΠΑΝΤΑ ΞΥΣΙΣ ΔΥΝΑΤΑΙ.

PORTION OF TEXT OF ANTHOLOGIA EPIGRAMMATUM.

(FRANCESCO DI ALOPA, 1494.)



FROM THE TITLE-PAGE OF TERENTIUS. (REINHARD, 1495.)

1496 Nov. 1. PUBLIUS TERENCEIUS AFER. COMEDIÆ CUM DIRECTORIO GLOSSA ET COMMENTARIIS.

[STRASBURG, JOHANN REINHARD OF GRÜNINGEN.]

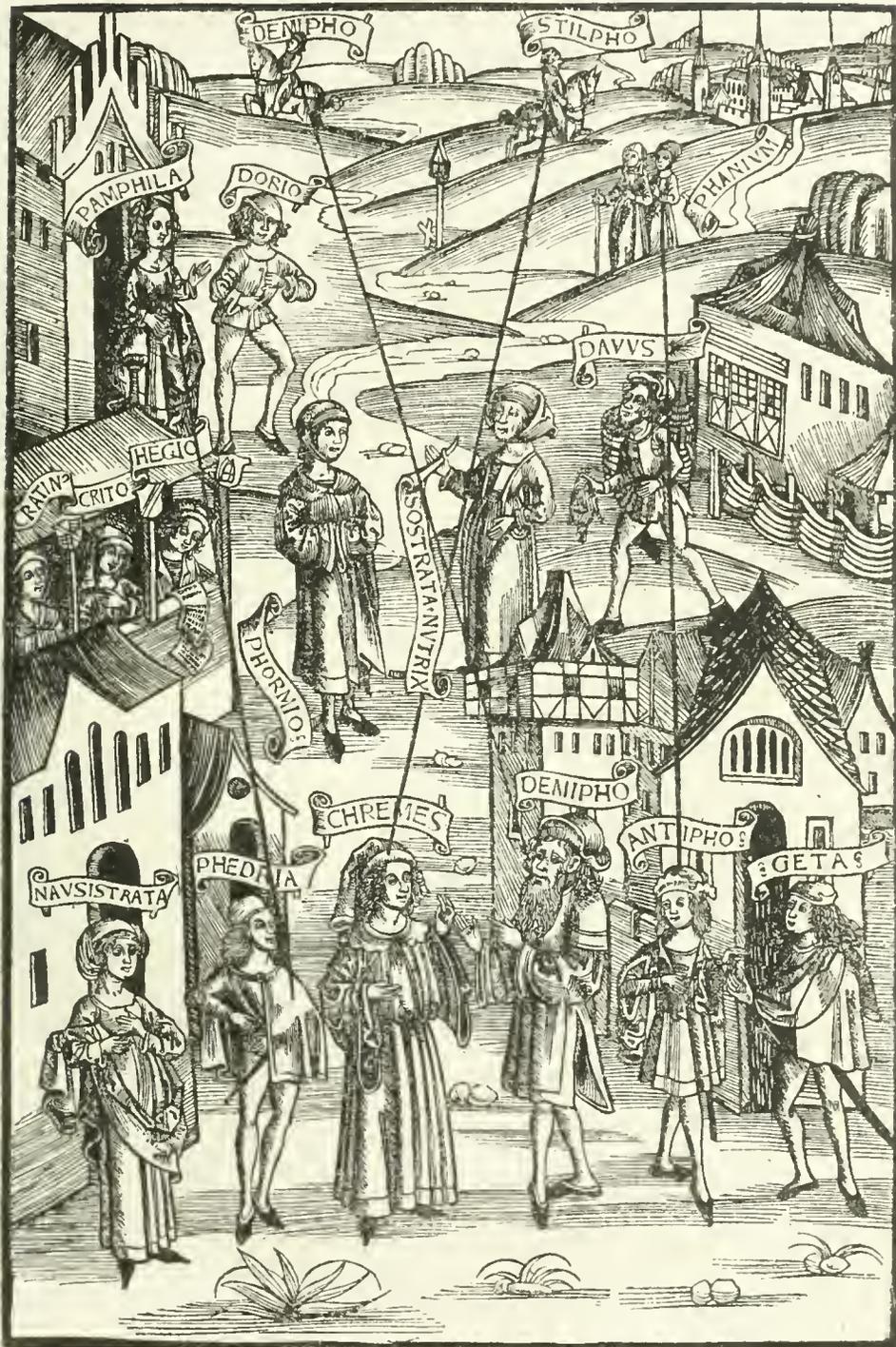
Fol. 1a: Above a large woodcut of a theatre, at the foot of which is engraved the word THEATRUM, is the title of the work, of which the first two words are xylographic and the rest in gothic type. Terenti9 cū Directoriō Glofa īterlineali comētariis, etc. *Fol. 1b* blank. *Fol. 2a*: Terentiū directoriū vocabulorum || vocabularij vicem supplēs incipit. || *Fol. 4a*: EINIS (*sic pro FINIS*). *Fol. 4b-5b*: Directoriū Adagionū (*sic*). *Fol. 6a*: THERENTII VITA EXCERPTA || DE DICTIS .D.F. PETRARĀHA. || *Fol. 6b*: A repetition of the full-page woodcut of a theatre as on *Fol. 1a*, but without the title. *Fol. 7a*: Andria Terentiū Folium I. || *Fol. 7b*, full-page woodcut representing the personages in the Andria. On *Fol. 34b*, the cast of the Eunuchi; on *Fol. 66b*, that of the Heautontimorumenos; on *Fol. 92a*, that of the Adelphi; on *Fol. 122b*, that of the Phormio; and lastly, on *Fol. 153a*, that of the Heeyra are in like manner portrayed in woodcuts occupying the entire page. *Fol. 179b*: Immpressum (*sic*) in Imperiali ac vrbe libera Argentina Per ma- || giftrum Ioannē Grüninger accuratissime nitidissimeq, elabo || ratū & denuo reuisum atq, collectum ex diuersis commētariis || Anno incarnatiōis dominica Millefimoquaterq, centesimo || nagesimofexto. Kalendarū vero Nouembrium. Finit scēliciter. ||

Folio, printed in roman and gothic type, 179 leaves, 70 lines of the Commentary to a page, text measures 228 × 156 mm.; six leaves without numerals, then numbered in roman numerals from I. to CLXXVI.; no catchwords; signatures, a six leaves, b-c in eights, d-z in sixes, A-E in sixes, F seven leaves; 166 woodcuts. The watermarks are (1) small bull's head, no stylus; (2) very small bull's head, short stylus, and Latin cross; (3) longer ditto and star; (4) a Tau; (5) bull's head, long horns, stylus surmounted by Tau; (6) the same design, but smaller; (7) thick double-ended Latin cross; (8) fleur-de-lys; (9) small Latin cross with rounded ends on square base. Hain, *15431, Proctor, 473.

This is the first of the very remarkable series of four illustrated volumes printed by Reinhard (often called Grüninger), the second being the Horatius of 1498, shortly to come under notice, the third the Badius of 1501, also in this collection, the fourth the Virgilius of 1502. A second edition of the Terentius was issued from the same press on Feb. 11, 1499.

A notable feature of these popular editions of the classics, and especially of the present volume, was the abundance of illustrative woodcuts and the ingenious way in which the enterprising printer made the best of his stock of blocks, an example of which is to be found in the reproductions on another page. The representations of the different personages were so designed as to be readily placed side by side in the same border in any consecutive order required by the text, and the landscapes in the same way lent themselves to subdivision, so as to form bits of scenery suitable to the scene. The personages were to be recognised by scrolls placed over their heads, and in those cases where, for example, there were only two actors in a scene, and yet the printer wished to fill it up, he made no scruple of erasing the name of another actor from his scroll, so as to leave a dummy to complete the picture. The Terentius, the only dramatic work in the series, was the best fitted for this ingenious procedure, which was not so successful in the later volumes.

Perhaps the earliest woodcut representation of a theatre is to be found in this very curious volume. The reproduction is considerably reduced from the original engraving, which measures 245 × 167 mm. It will be observed that the two tiers of boxes, under a roof in the flamboyant Gothic style, are raised high above the stage. The actors are in the foreground, and behind them is the pit, or perhaps the stage boxes. Some amusement may be derived from a study of the attitudes of the occupants of the upper boxes. Then, as now, all eyes were not necessarily fixed upon the actors, and there is some rather



WOODCUT TITLE OF PHORMIO. (TERENTIUS, REINHARD, 1436.)



ANTIPHO ON THE STAGE ALONE. TERENTIUS PHORMIO, ACT V., SC. 4 (REINHARD, 1496).



ANTIPHO AND PHORMIO. TERENTIUS PHORMIO, ACT V., SC. 5 (REINHARD, 1496).

demonstrative love-making in the principal box, which does not appear as yet to have attracted the notice of the sleepy father or husband, and the indifference of many of the spectators to the progress of the play is very obvious. As I have already remarked, the text of each of the six comedies is preceded by a full-page woodcut of its cast. That which I have selected for reproduction is the *Phormio* (measuring in the original 248 × 166 mm.). In this, as in all the other plays, the reader's comprehension of the plot is assisted by lines drawn from one personage to another. In this manner *Chremes*, the married Athenian who knew no better than to have another Mrs. Chremes at Lemnos, is connected with *Stilpho*, his *alias* when away from his home at Athens. The line from *Demipho* in the foreground to *Demipho* in the distance merely indicates that he had been absent abroad. *Phedria*, *Chremes'* son, is linked to his innamorata *Pamphila* the dancing-girl, and *Antipho* the son of *Demipho*, in like manner to *Phanium*, his beloved, daughter of the Lemnian wife of his uncle *Chremes*. Other characters, *Phormio* the parasite, *Davus* the servant, *Geta* the tutor, *Dorio* the procurer, *Nausistrata* the Athenian wife, and *Sosistrata* the nurse are all sufficiently indicated by their labels. The judges, *Cratinus*, *Crito*, and *Ilegio*, are comfortably ensconced in little boxes to the left. In Scene XX., or as we call it, Act V., Scene 4, *Antipho* is uttering a soliloquy, and to give importance to the fact the stage is kept entirely clear of scenery or dummies. The next scene, XXI. (Act V., Scene 5) is presented by *Phormio* and *Antipho*. The personage to the right, now merely a *super*, was the *Clinia* of the *Heautontimorumenos* but having served his turn in that earlier play had his name removed from the scroll above his head to fit him for his present inglorious part.

Johann Reinhard began to print in 1483, and his press was active till 1531. The investigation of his productions, and of his relations with other printers is a matter of great complexity and difficulty, as may be seen in Mr. Proctor's analysis of the types used by him, of which there are no fewer than twenty-five varieties.

A good, sound copy, measuring 285 × 201 mm., formerly in the possession of the celebrated classical critic, *Joh. Aug. Ernesti* (1707-1781).

[Circa 1496.] GEORGIO DI LORENZO CHIARINI. EL LIBRO CHE
TRACTA DI MERCATANTIE.

[FLORENCE, BARTOLOMMEO DI LIBRI]

Fol. 1a: **C** Questo e/ ellibro che tracta di Mercatantie & usanze depaesi. | *The rest of the page is occupied by a woodcut of a money-changer's shop. Fol. 1b blank. Fol. 2a: the index begins, Alleghe filauora in piu terre: Capi. C.xciiii. || C || Come il peso di Firenze fa in piu terre. Ca. Primo || etc. The index ends on Fol. 6a: Vinegia con Ancona Capi. c. I. || Fol. 6b blank. Fol. 7a: **C** INCOMINCIA IL LIBRO DI TVCTI || ECHOTVMI. CAMBI. MONETE. || pesi. mifure. & usanze di lectere di cā- || bi. & termini di deete lectere che || nepaesi sichoftuma & in/ || diuerse terre. || LIBRE CENTO DI FIRENZE fan || no in Siena libre cēto tre imperugia lib- || bre. c. ii. in. c. iiii. ĩ Lucca libbre cento. ii. || in Pifa libbre cēto ciuque & horae/ tucto uno con || quel di Firēze, etc. Fol. 81b, the colophon ^zhere reproduced, full size.*

C Impresso in Firenze appetitione di Ser Piero da Pescia.



COLOPHON OF LIBRO DI MERCANTIE.

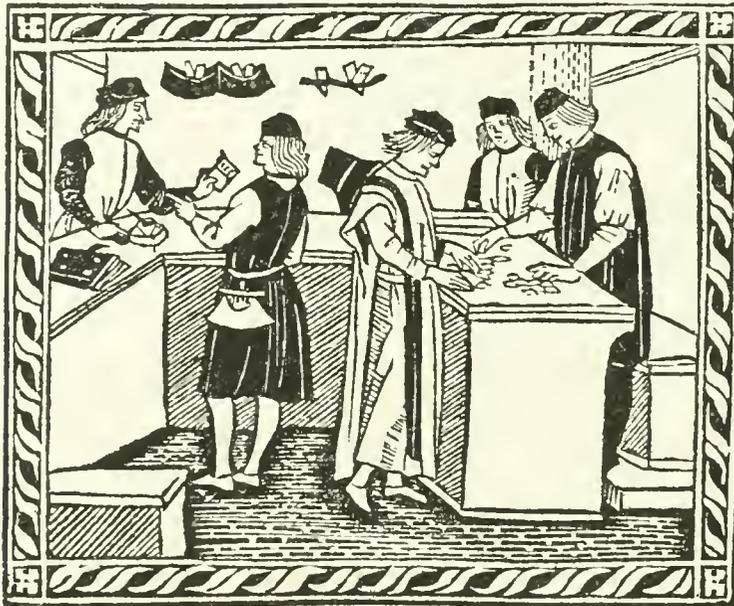
(BART. DI LIBRI, circa 1496.)

8vo, printed in roman type, 81 leaves, 24 lines, text measures 117 × 80 mm.; without numerals or catchwords; signatures, a six leaves, a-t in fours. No watermark. Hain, 4955, Proctor, 6255.

Only two editions of this remarkable little book were printed in the fifteenth century, the other being from the very limited press of *Francesco de Dino* of Florence, dated July 10, 1481. No less than one hundred and twenty books from the press of *Bartolommeo di Libri* are recorded by Mr. Proctor.

A very clean and perfect copy, measuring 144 × 106 mm. This extremely rare and pretty little volume is of much importance for the history of commerce in Europe in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In its pages are to be found the exchange of monies between various countries and towns, correlations of weights and measures, weights and values of coins, terms of payment of letters of exchange, all in the greatest detail, giving a lively insight into the extraordinary complication at this period environing all merchants' and bankers' computations. A chapter (clxxii.) is devoted to the usages (*Costumi*) of *London*. The quarter of grain of *London* is eight bushels, the equivalent of eight "*staia*" of Florence.

¶ Questo e libbro che tracta di Mercantie & usanze depaesi



TITLE OF LIBRO DI MERCANTIE. (BART. DI LIBRI, circa 1496.)
(THE EARLIEST WOODCUT OF A BANKER'S COUNTER.)

Two yards and a quarter of *London* cloth measure one *chana* of *Genoa*. A hundred yards of *London* cloth make in *Sybilis* a hundred and six *vare*, but the buyer gets a rebate of 4 per cent. for damage by the folding of the cloth. A hundred yards of English fine cloth (*tela*) are equal to one hundred and forty Flemish *vare*, and this measure is greater than that of woollen cloth shrunk two inches. *Wool* is sold by the sack of one hundred and fifty-two *chiovì*, and each *chiovì* weighs seven *London* pounds of sixteen ounces. All merchandise which is sold by the quintal (*chantare*) are disposed of at 128 lbs. per quintal, and all those sold in *London* by the hundredweight at 112 lbs. per cwt. *Wine and oil* are sold by the tun

or pipe, two pipes equalling one tun. The whole island of England has one weight and one measure, and the measure of oil is just as large as that of wine. *Gold and silver thread* are weighed just as at Genoa, with the same weights.

The enormous preponderance at this epoch of the trade of Venice and Florence over that of all other Italian cities is indicated by the fact that out of the one hundred and ninety-four chapters in this volume, eighty-one are devoted to the former and sixty-two to the latter city. The course of Letters of Exchange (*lectere di cambi*) between various places receives full attention in this treatise. Between Florence and Pisa, for example, these letters or bills were drawn at three days from sight, between Florence and Venice at five days, between Florence and London three months, from Milan to Paris or Bruges two months. Under the heading **C** Costumi di piu merchatantie. Cap. C.lxxxii., full particulars are given to the buyer of drugs, spices, &c., for his guidance in the selection by physical characteristics of the best descriptions of these articles. *Assafetida* must possess a mingled rosy and white colour; *Sal Ammoniac* must be white, granular, and clean; *Cinnamon* (chanella) should have a rosy appearance, be hollow, and have a sweetly-mordant flavour, and so it shall be good; *Gum Arabic* (Ghommerabica) must be white, large, and clean, *Laudanum* dark and odoriferous; *Musk* should be rosy-coloured, and have the fragrance of Cloves, with a slightly bitter and strong odour: if it be placed in the mouth the odour penetrates swiftly to the brain.

1497 Mar. 14. S. BERNARDUS. PSALTERIUM BEATÆ MARIE VIRGINIS.

[VENICE, JOHANN HAMMAN OR HERTZOG.]

Fol. 1a (in red): Pfalteriū beate Marie || virginis. Compositū || per deuotissimum || doctorem San || ctum Ber || narduꝝ. || (*in black*): Et. (*in red*): Pfalterium beati || Hieronymi || presby- || teri. || *Fol. 1b blank.* *Fol. 2a (in red)*: **C** Prologus in pfalteriuz compo- || fitum per deuotissimum doctorem || sanctum Bernarduz abbatem: ad || laudē gloriosissime virginis dei ge || nitricis Marie. || *Line 6 (in black)*: ARripē illā ⁊ ex! || altabit te: glori- || ficaberis ab ea || cū eā fueris am || plexatus: dabit || capiti tuo au || gmēta gratiaꝝ: || etc. *Fol. 5b, full-page woodcut of S. Bernard praying to the Virgin Mary (see facsimile).* *Fol. 6a (in red)*: **C** Incipit pfalterium beate marie || virginis editū a sancto Bernardo. ()Eatus vir || qui diligit || nomen tu || um virgo || maria: gra || tia tua eiꝝ || animam || ꝑfortabit. || Tanquā || lignuz aq̄- || rum fontibus irrigatuz: vberrimos || fructus iusticie propagabit, etc. *Fol. 42a*: (D)Ixit domi/ || nus domi/ || ne nostre, || etc. (*see facsimile*). *Fol. 57b, line 11, the psalter ends, Ave Maria. (in red)* **C** Cāticū, || then follow eight Canticles. *Fol. 62b, line 3 (in red)*: Symbolū marie. || Quicūq; vult saluus esse ante || oīa opus est: vt teneat de ma || ria firmā fidem. Quā nisi quisq; ī || tegrā inuiolatāq; seruauerit: absq; || dubio in eternū peribit. Quoniā || ipsa sola virgo manēs peperit: sola || cūctas hereses interemit. Confun || datur ⁊ erubescat hebreus: qui dicit || xpm̄ ex ioseph semīe esse natū. Cō || fundat manicheus: q xpm̄ fictū di || cit habere corpus, etc. *Fol. 63b (in red)*: **C** Cāticū ad laudē virginis marie. || (*In black*): Te mrem dei laudamꝝ: te || mariā virginē cōfitemur. || Te eterni patris spōsaꝝ: || omnis terra venerat. Ti || bi oēs angeli ⁊ archangeli: tibi oēs || principatus fauauer feruiunt, etc. *Fol. 65a, line 13 (in red)*: **C** Letania beate marie valde deuo || ta. de qua dicitur q quicūq; eā qua || libet die dixerit in honore ipsiꝝ: eam || āte mortē videbit qualiscūq; pecca || tor vel peccatrix sit. vel nūq; morte || subitaneā morietur: nec ab inimico || superabitur. || Kyrieē. Xpeleison Kyrielei || son, etc. *Fol. 80b, line 20 (in red)*: **C** Laus deo. || *Fol. 81 wanting in this copy, probably a title printed in red.* *Fol. 82a (in red)*: **C** Prologus in pfalterium (sic) beati || hieronymi presbyteri ⁊ doctoris || (*in black*): BEatus hiero! || nymus, etc. *Fol. 95b, line 10 (in red)*: **C** Pfalterium beatissime dei geni || tricis virginis Marie: vna cū Pfal || terio diui Hieronymi presbyteri: certifiquoꝝ orationibus deuotissi- || mis ⁊ efficacissimis

eiusdem glorio || sissime virginis Marie: diligēti ftu || dio ꝛ deuotione: per domnum (sic) De || fiderium noui castr: ordinis sancti || Benedicti: precatu ꝛ instantia Hē- || Fol. 96a: rici de alba ciuitatis Metēsis: emē || datū ac reuifum: de spāli grā Illu- || striffimi Venetiarū dñij: Sub se || reniffimo p̄cipe Augufino Bar || badico Imp̄ffum: feliciter explicit: || Anno virginalis partus post Mil- || leffimū quaterq, cētēffimū nonage || fimofeftimo: Decimo vero octa- || uo kalēdis Aprilis. ||

16mo, printed in gothic type in red and black, 96 leaves, 20 lines in a page, text measures 67 × 46 mm.; without numerals or catchwords; signatures a—m in eights; space left for large initial on Fol. 6a, all other initials printed either in ornamental woodcut or in red. The watermark is scales in circle, surmounted by stylus and flower. Not in Hain, not in Proctor.

No copy in British Museum or Bodleian.

I can find no bibliographical note whatever of this curious and charming book. There were two editions at least in the fifteenth century of the *Psalterium Beatæ Virginis Mariæ* of *S. Bonaventure*, but that by *S. Bernard* is apparently unknown. But *Holtrop* (Cat. Lib. in Bib. Reg. Hagana), Part I., No. 199, gives the collation of a little book of 72 leaves, and like ours of twenty lines, printed at Antwerp by Gerard Leeu in 1491, entitled:—*S. Bernardus Souter tot onser liever vrouwen Maria*. Each leaf is surrounded with a woodcut border, and there are woodcut letters in the book. It seems reasonable to suppose that that may be the Dutch version of the same work. Of *Johann Hamman* or *Hertzog*, at whose press it was produced, there are in the B.M. some twenty volumes, from Oct. 19, 1490, to May 27, 1500. He printed with *Hermann Lichtenstein* in 1482, by himself till the end of the century, and was associated with *Peter Lichtenstein* in 1501.

A fine copy of an excessively rare and very pretty little volume, measuring 96 × 68 mm.; *Folios* 71, 72, and 81 appear to be wanting.

**Psalteriū beate Marie
virginis. Compositū
per deuotiffimum
doctorem San-
ctum Ber-
narduz.
Et
Psalterium beati
Hieronymi
presby-
teri.**



Ite domi-
nus domi-
ne noſtre
virginis glo-
riofe: ſede
mater mea
a dextris ſa-
ctis meſis.
Bonitas ꝛ
ſactitas pla-
cuerunt tibi
ob: ideo regnabis mecum in eternū.
Coronam immortalitatis habeo
in capite ſancto tuo: cuius fulgor ꝛ
claritas nō extinguetur. **Q**uerere
noſtri mater luminis ꝛ ſpecto: ſil-
lumina uos dñi a ueritate ꝛ ueritatis.
O theſauria tua infunde nobis
ſapientiā dei: intellectū prudētie ac
formas diſcipline. **A** ue maria. **B**
f u

TITLE OF THE PSALTERIUM VIRGINIS.
(*JOHANN HAMMAN*, 1477.)

TRAVESTY OF CXTH. PSALM, PSALTERIUM
VIRGINIS. (*JOHANN HAMMAN*, 1497.)



MONSTRA TE ESSE MATREM.
(PSALTERIUM VIRGINIS, 1497.)

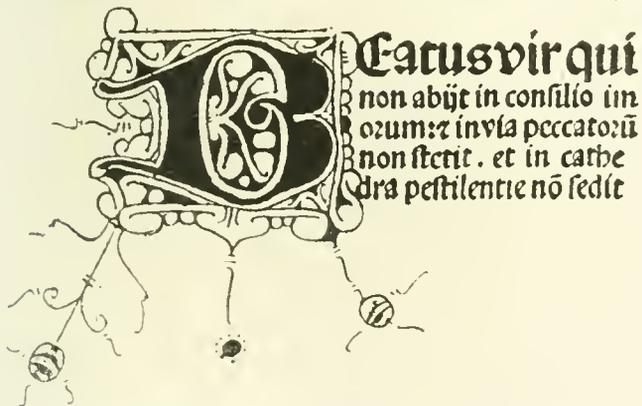
The *Psalterium Beate Marie Virginis* is a literary or theological as well as a typographical curiosity. Every psalm is travestied, the first words of the Vulgate being, as far as is practicable, used for the beginning of the address to the Virgin Mary, and the remainder of the psalm, greatly abbreviated, so worded as to resemble the original in sound. Take for instance Psalm XXVI. *Vulgate*—Dominus illuminatio mea et salus mea quem timebo? *Psalt. B.V.*—Domina illuminatio mea fit splendor faciei tue. *Vulgate*—In petra exaltavit me: et nunc exaltavit caput meum super inimicos meos. *Psalt. B.V.*—Exalta caput meum super inimicos meos: et ego psalmum nomini tuo cantabo. *Vulgate*—Ne avertas faciem tuam a me et ne declines in ira a sermo tuo. *Psalt. B.V.*—Ne avertas faciem tuam a me: et speciem ac decorem tuum ardenti desiderio concupiscam, etc., etc. The *Symbolum Marie* again (*Fol. 62b*) is an audacious adaptation of the Athanasian Creed, as will be seen by a reference to the portion cited above, whilst the *Canticum ad laudem virginis Marie* (*Fol. 63b*) travesties the *Te Deum* in a shameless fashion. The advantages to be derived from a daily recital of the *Letania* (*Fol. 65a*) are, it will be seen, of a startling character.

1497 April 26. BIBLIA LATINA CUM CONCORDANTIIS.

[STRASBURG, JOHANN REINHARD OF GRÜNINGEN.]

Fol. 1a: Title-page, Biblia cū Concordantiis || Veteris et Noui testamēti || Sanctus Hieronimus interpres biblie. || Large woodcut of St. Jerome, who is shown in the left-hand compartment kneeling at a crucifix, in the right translating the Bible into Latin; underneath eight lines of Latin verse. *Fol. 1b* blank. *Fol. 2a*: Tabula alphabeti || ca. Then follow the Alphabetical Table, the Order of the Books, a Summary of the Bible, the Epistle of St. Jerome to Paulinus, the prologue to the Pentateuch. *Fol. 11 verso, col. 2*: Incipit liber Genesis || qui dicitur hebraice bresith. *Fol. 471b, col. 2, line 31*: Finit Biblia cū cōcordātijs ve || teris &

noui testamēti: Argenti || ne ip̄sū Anno dñi M: cccc. xviij. || Sexto vero kalendas Maij. || *Fol. 472* blank. *Fol. 473a*: Incipiunt in || terpretationes hebraycorum no || minum, etc. *Fol. 492a*: Expliciant interpretationes || hebraycorum nominum.



END OF PROLOGUE OF ST. JEROME, AND BEGINNING OF FIRST PSALM, BIBLIA. (JOHANN REINHARD, 1497.)

Folio, printed in gothic type, 492 leaves, double columns, 54 lines to a column, marginal references; text measures 222 × 143 (= 68 + 7 + 68) mm.; without numerals or catchwords; signatures, first eight leaves 2 etc., then a—z, aa—zz, A—Z₅, on which ends the text, all in eights; spaces for

initials and initial directors. The watermarks are (1) dreiberg; (2), (3), (4), cross on a base, varieties; (5) two-ended thick Latin cross; (6) bull's head, short stylus, and Tau; (7) bull's head with very long curled horns, short stylus, and Tau; and others. Hain, *3122, Proctor, 479.

Reinhard, whom I have already noticed under the year 1496, had previously printed other Latin bibles in 1483 and 1492. His press, established in 1483, went on till 1531. Some typographical errors in this edition are mentioned by *Le Long* and *Masch*, but that shown in the facsimile, viz., the strange elision of the second syllable of the word *impiorum* in the first verse of the first Psalm, seems to have escaped their notice.

Good copy, measuring 282 × 223 mm., rubricated throughout, and with a large number of illuminated initials, freely and artistically designed. The *Interpretationes* are not found in this copy.

1497. IOA. MEDER. QUADRAGESIMALE DE FILIO PRODIGO.

[BASLE, MICHAEL FURTER.]

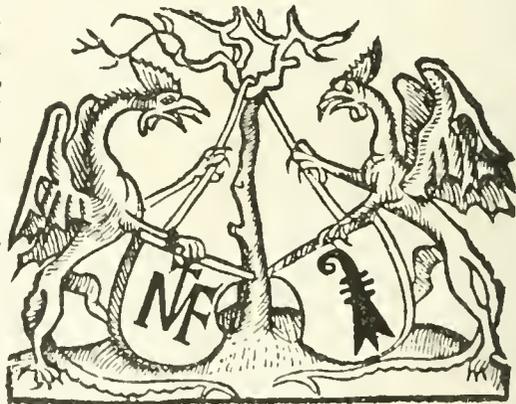
Fol. 1a: Quadragesimale || nouum editum ac predicatum a quodā || fratre minore de obseruantia in inclita ci || uitate Basiliē. de filio prodigo et de an || gelo ipsius ammonitione salubri per ser || mones diuifum. || *Fol. 1b*: In fermones de filio prodigo Car- || mina Sebaftiani Brant Doctoris || vtriusq; iuris. *Fol. 2a*: Incipit quadra || gesimale nouum edi- || tum et predicatum a || quodaꝝ fratre minore || de obseruantia de filio || prodigo in inclita ciui || tate Basiliē. Anno dñi .M.cccc.xciiiij. || *Fol. 223b*, the text finishes: cui est gloria et honor patri ꝛ || filio et spirituifancto omnipo || tenti deo in excelsis in secula || seculoꝝ. AMEN. *Fol. 224a* is occupied by the colophon and printer's mark here reproduced. *Fol. 224b* blank. *Fol. 225a*: Incipit Tabula Ser- || monū precedentium. || The table finishes on *Fol. 231a*. *Fol. 231b* blank.

**Explicit quadragesimale de pfecta
cōuersione peccatoris ad deum per
veram penitentiam sub parabola fi
lij pdigi exaratū. Impressum Bass
lee per Michaelē furter Liuē Ba
siliē. Anno incarnationis dñi. MD.
CCCC.XCVII.**

8vo, printed in gothic type, 231 leaves, two columns, 34 lines to a column, text measures 109 × 71 (= 34 + 3 + 34) mm.; without numerals or catch-words; signatures, a—z and A—E in eights; eighteen woodcuts. The watermark is a small bull's head, short stylus between horns, surmounted by Greek cross and star of five points. Hain, *13629, Proctor, 7736.

Only two editions of this curious work were printed in the fifteenth century, of which this is the second. It is practically identical with the first, which issued from the same press in 1495.

A remarkably fine and perfect copy (with rough leaves), in the original binding of boards covered with panelled calf, of this quaint little volume, interesting alike in respect of the very telling engravings and of the way in which the parable of the Prodigal Son is presented to the reader. In the fifty sermons of which the work consists,



COLOPHON AND PRINTER'S MARK,
QUADRAGESIMALE. (MICHAEL FURTER, 1497.)



HIS PORTION OF THE GOODS.



DEVOURING HIS LIVING.



ANGELIC REMONSTRANCE.



HE COMES TO HIMSELF.



ANGELIC COUNSEL.



THE FATTED CALF.



THE WELCOME HOME.



PREFIGURATIVE.

a series of conversations occur between the prodigal and the *Angel* or *good genius* by whom (unseen by the world) he is everywhere accompanied. This heaven-sent companion does not only at each step in the career of the prodigal so reason with the wayward and worldly-minded youth as almost to convince him of the folly of his course, but moreover fortifies his arguments by what are here called *Parabolæ*, in reality visions by heavenly means conjured up before the sinner's eyes, fulfilling precisely the purpose of the never to be forgotten scenes in the *House of the Interpreter*, explained by him to *Christian*. It pains me to refrain from giving a large proportion of the little pictures, and to omit a reference to the accompanying text, but I must content myself with the reproduction of eight, upon which no comment will be needful. The reader will readily assign them to (1) *The distribution of the inheritance*; (2) *The departure of the Prodigal on his way to see the world, armed with a portentous two-edged sword*; (3) *The devouring of his living, "inter lascivos"*; (4) *His experience as a swineherd*; (5) *His repentance*; (6) *His return to his father's house*; (7) *The fattened calf*. The eighth scene must be interpreted by the text, the inscription beneath it telling us that "*This figure shows how the prodigal son supps with his father and his friends, which story is in a mystical sense representative of the Supper of Our Lord.*"

Circa 1497. PETER DE CRESCENTIIS. OPUS RURALIUM COMMODORUM
[COLOGNE, HEINRICH QUENTELL.]

Fol. 1a : Petri de crescentiis Cuius Bo- || nonieñ. in commodū ruralium || cum figuris libri
duodecim. || Fol. 1b blank. Fol. 2a (paged Folium ij.): ()Um ex virtute prudētie/ que



HAWKING.

(P. DE CRESCENTIIS, circa 1497.)



SHOOTING WITH CROSS-BOW.

(P. DE CRESCENTIIS, circa 1497.)

inter || bonum et malū caute discernit/ hu || manus informetur animus etc. *Fol. 153b, col. 2, line 47*: Iteꝛ aues auibꝰ rapacibꝰ dome || sticatis ꝛ rhetibꝰ diuersis ac visco, || etc. Gloria deo. || *Fol. 154 blank.* *Fol. 155a (not numbered)*: Incipit Registrū duo- || decim libroꝝ Petri de Crescentiis, etc. *Fol. 158a*: Finit Registrum. || *Fol. 158b blank.*

Folio, printed in gothic type, 158 leaves, two columns, 53 lines to a column, text measures 212 × 142 (= 67 + 8 + 67) mm.; without catchwords, roman numerals; signatures, A—Z, A and R in eights, the rest in sixes, a—b5 in sixes; spaces for initial letters, no initial directors; 348 woodcuts. The watermarks are (1) flagon with cover surmounted by gothic ε; (2) fleur-de-lys surmounted by crown (three varieties); (3) hand and cuff and fleur-de-lys; (4) much thinner hand and cuff, short stylus, and trefoil; (5) bull's head, wide horns, short stylus and star. Hain, 5826, Proctor, 1590.

The earliest edition with a date is that of *Schüssler*, 1471. Several other editions dated and undated of this popular book were printed in the fifteenth century.

Good copy, measuring 287 × 191 mm. Most, but not all, of the cuts are uncoloured.



CATCHING FISH WITH A GOGOLACIA⁽¹⁾ (LOBSTER POT).
(P. DE CRESCENTIIS, circa 1497.)



HOW DEER ARE TAKEN IN NETS.
(P. DE CRESCENTIIS, circa 1497.)

(¹) The only instance of the use of this Low-Latin word given in Migne's Glossary is from this passage.



CLARIFYING WINE.
(P. DE CRESCENTIIS, circa 1497.)

This is one of the distinctly attractive productions of the fifteenth century press, though it be quaint rather than beautiful, admirable for its lively presentments of rustic costume and for the insight it affords into every kind of agricultural operation, forming, as it does a sort of "Gentleman's Recreation." In the twelve books of which it consists every conceivable information is afforded to the Squire; he is instructed how to select the whereabouts of his estate, being guided by aspect, the direction of prevailing winds, water supply, and so on. Then the fullest advice is afforded in the preparation of building materials and the construction of his house, farm buildings, water-courses, and the like. In the later books agriculture, horticulture, viticulture, and the nature and properties of all manner of useful herbs are treated of and profusely illustrated; the breeding and diseases of horses and cattle are exhaustively described, and finally field sports have their very full share of attention. There is a delightful vigour in the woodcuts in outline with which it is lavishly embellished, and it would be impossible to present with fewer lines the various occupations depicted in its pages. The reader will form some idea of the character of the illustrations from those of the four leading field sports of which I have given reproductions.

1498 Jan. 5.

METHODIUS. REVELATIONES.

[BASLE, MICHAEL FURTER.]

Fol. 1a: Methodius primū olym- || piade: et postea Tyri ciuitatum episcopus. sub diocleci || ano Imperatore In Calcide ciuitate (que nigropontuz || appellatur vt diuus scribit hieronimus martyrio) corona || tur: etc. *Line 8:* De reuelatione facta Ab angelo || beato methodio in carcere detēto. || *A woodcut representing Methodius in prison visited by an angel completes the page.* *Fol. 2b:* De preuaricatione angelice na- || ture: ꝛ illius e celo deiectione. || *A woodcut of the Fall of the Lost Angels into the Mouth of Hell completes the page.* *Fol. 3a:* Incipit ꝑfatio in opusculum diuinarū reuelationū || fancti Methodii martyris ꝛ episcopi, etc. *Fol. 29a, under a woodcut representing Jerusalem:* Incipit tractatus super Methodium qui in se con || tinebit quinqꝫ capitula quorum primuz est de pof || fessione terre fancte. || *Fol. 68a, line 20:* Finit Basilee per Michahalem Furter || opera et vigilantia Sebaftiani. Brant || Anno. 1.498. (*sic*) Nonis Ianuarijs.

4to, printed in gothic type, 68 leaves, 37 lines, text measures 152 × 96 mm.; without numerals or catchwords; signatures, a—h in eights, i six leaves; 61 woodcuts. The watermarks are (1) Tau; (2) and (3) small bull's head. Hain, *11121, Proctor, 7738.

This is the third edition of a very remarkable book. The first is assigned to the press of *Albrecht Kunne* of *Memmingen*, but it bears no date. A copy of the second edition printed by *Johann Froschauer* at *Augsburg*, Sept. 1, 1496, is in the present collection, but it did not seem needful to describe it. I have noticed this third edition as being the first to contain woodcuts, one of which I reproduce as an indication of their character. It is from a series illustrating in most realistic fashion the calamities which were in the writer's opinion about to fall upon the Church mainly as a result of the unfaithfulness of its ministers. The chapter in which it occurs is entitled:—

Quomodo ecclesia dei scindetur per
quoddam scisma inauditum.

But as in the case of some other Incunabula which come into the category of *Early Anti-papal Books*, any analysis of its most interesting contents must be deferred till that portion of the collection comes under review. This is a fair copy of a book which was too popular at the time of issue to be easily attainable in good condition at the present day.



A SCHISM IN THE CHURCH. (METHODIUS, 1498.)

1498 Mar. 12. QUINTUS HORATIUS FLACCUS.

OPERA CUM ANNOTATIONIBUS IAC. LOCHER.

[STRASBURG, JOHANN REINHARD OF GRÜNINGEN.]

Fol. 1a: Horatii flacci Uenufini. || Poete lirici opera cū qui- || busdam Annotatōib9. Imaginibusq, pulcher || rimis. aptisq, ad Odarū concētus & sentētias. || *A woodcut of the poet, laurel-crowned, sitting at a desk under a gorgeous canopy, fills the rest of the page. Fol. 1b blank.*
Fol. 2a: Ad Lectores || Iacobi Locher philomusi poete laureati Epigrāma. || *A woodcut of a chorus of the Muses occurs in the middle of this page. An Epistle of Locher, a life of Horace, tables of the Metres occupy Fol. 2b to Fol. 6b, which ends Finiunt Genera Metrorum. || Fol. 7a, with signature A and numeral I.: Liber Primus || Argumentum Prime odes. || (p)Rima ode ad Mecænatem loquitur, etc. A large woodcut on this page represents Horace, on the right, addressing a figure, Mecænas, with crown and sceptre, on the left; the poet holds in his hand a scroll, on which appear the words, Mecænas. atauis. edite. regibus. Underneath, Prima ode ad Mece. || Fol. 126a (numbered CXX.), line 16: Q.V. Horatij Flacci artis poetice finis. || Fol. 126b blank.*
Fol. 213b (the numeral on Fol. 213a is CCVII.), the text ends at the foot of the page; the printer's mark and colophon are reproduced on page 221. Then follow six leaves of Index in four columns, headed Directorium index Uocum et rerum, and of Directorium sententiarum et ad virtutes Index in two columns. At the foot of Fol. 219a is the word Finis. Fol. 219b blank.

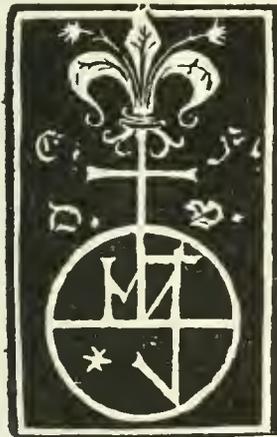
**Elaboratum impressumq; est. Hoc elegans. Orna-
tum: splēdidum: compwmaq; Horatij flacci Venusini. lyrici Poete opus. cum vtilissimis ar-
gumētis: ac imaginibus pulcherrimis: in celebri: libera: imperialiq; vrbē Argentina .opera
& ipensis sedulis q; laborib; Prouidi viri Iohānis Reinhardi cognomēto Gūrninger ci-
uis eiufdē vrbis argētinenſis: q̄no idus Marcij. abſolutū vero Anno domini M. cccc. xviiij.**

COLOPHON OF HORATIUS. (JOHANN REINHARD, 1493.)

Folio, printed in roman and gothic type of five sizes, the text in large roman type in the middle of the page, on each side of it commentaries in smaller roman type, an interlineary glossary in very small and the headings in a large gothic type; 219 leaves, the number of lines varies, usually 24 lines of text, the printed matter on a full page measures approximately 240 × 160 mm.; roman numerals on Folios 7 to 213; no catchwords; signatures, A—Z in sixes, AA—II in sixes, KK eight leaves, LL seven leaves, six leaves, 1, 2, 3, etc.; 166 woodcuts. The watermarks are (1) bull's head with floriated stylus; (2) smaller bull's head, short stylus, and Tau; (3) (4) varieties of dreiberg; (5) fleur-de-lys; (6) Tau. Hain, *8898, Proctor, 485.

This edition of *Horace*, referred to under *Terentius*, 1496, has always been highly esteemed, and is extravagantly lauded by *Dibdin*, who reminds us that it was considered "one of the greatest curiosities in the whole *Harleian collection*." His description is taken from *Douce's* copy, as that in the *Spencer* collection wanted seven leaves at the beginning and the whole of the Indexes. A dispassionate examination of its merits will show, however, that it is neither exceedingly rare nor worthy of extraordinary commendation, in

spite of its peculiarities and of the fulsome commendation bestowed upon it by its printer in the colophon. The first venture of *Reinhard* in this particular field of illustrated literature, the *Terence* already described, is in all respects a highly-creditable performance; the repetition of the figures, all expressly cut for the book, has an absolute *raison d'être*, and the eye is not offended by the economic shifts of the printer which are so flagrant in the *Horace*. In this latter there are, it is true, a considerable number of well-cut original blocks, and the general scheme of their collocation can be justified, but it is sad to see the *BACHIS* of the *Heautontimorumenos*, after the excision of certain letters, rechristened *B C S* for the *Horace*, and used to represent *Glycera* in *Od. I. 19*. The *PITIAS* of the *Eunuchi* is in like manner labelled *P I S*, and does duty for *Chloe* in *Od. I. 23*, and so on right through the volume. Nay, more, as the printer warms to this kind of work he waxes very bold, and unblushingly gives us *GETA* and *SYRUS* with unmodified labels, when (in *Od. I. 25*) we should have had the presentments of *Horace* and the reprobated *Lydia*. Notwithstanding these lamentable declensions from the earlier conscientious performance of the printer, the *Horace* will be always considered a covetable and curious volume. Among the woodcuts above alluded to as specially cut for this work are a half-page illustration of extreme



PRINTER'S MARK.
(HORATIUS, 1493.)

absurdity of the death of *Cæsar*, a representation, introduced to call attention to the third ode of the first book, of *Virgil* laurel-crowned in a boat in which there is only standing-room for himself, two friends, and the mariner who steers with an oar through the stern, and a pretty cut of *Mæcenæ* ill in a truckle bed, with a crown for a nightcap. Some blocks have been very inappropriately borrowed by the printer from his edition of *Brant's Stultifera Navis* of 1497. *Reinhard* has the reputation of being one of the most careless and inaccurate printers of the fifteenth century.

A perfect and beautifully clean copy, measuring 298 × 204 mm.

1498 May 25. THE BOOK OF THE COMPASSION OF MARY.

[LÜBECK, STEPHAN ARNDES.]

Fol. 1a: Dat bok der mede- || lydinghe Marien. || *Fol. 1b blank.* *Fol. 2a:* Hyr beghinnet dat || boek vā der bedrof || niffe vnde hertelede der hochghela- || uaden koni || ghinnē der || alder hylli- || gheftē mo- || der Christi || marien || etc., *woodcut on left of text.* *Fol. 2b:* O Maria ghink to bethleem. de || garte yunefrouwe reyne. Se || dorch ene eddele bōrden. vor alle de || werld gemeyn. Se thelde een fuuer || lik kyndelyn. anc alle smerte allein. || In eynē wōften hufelyn. dat was || van meſ; fere vnreyne, || etc. *Fol. 240a is occupied by the colophon, of which a reproduction and translation will be found on page 224.* *On Fol. 240b begins the register which ends on Fol. 244a.* *Fol. 244b blank.*

8vo, printed in gothic type, 244 leaves, 21 lines, text measures 95 × 60 mm.; no numerals or catchwords; signatures, a (not printed) — z in eights; A—G in eights, H four leaves; twenty-six small woodcuts. The watermarks are (1) a shield charged with three fleurs-de-lys, surmounted by a crown on which short stylus and (cinquefoil?), from the crown depends a gothic lower-case t; (2) a crowned fleur-de-lys; (3) gothic p, short stylus and quatrefoil. Not in Hain, not in Proctor. No copy in British Museum or Bodleian.

This excessively rare and covetable little book appears to be entirely unknown to all bibliographers except to Deecke (*Einige Nachrichten von den im XV. Jahrh. in Lübeck gedr. Büchern*), wherein is given a sufficiently exact description, Deecke, however, not having himself seen a copy.

A German edition had however previously appeared (Proctor, 2755) *Dat bock van der bedroffenisse unde herteleyde der hogheloueden Konningynnen der alderleuesten moder cristi marien*, printed in 1486 by Johann Grashove, the third printer at Magdeburg.

The volume contains, in a series of dialogues between Christ and his Mother, a succinct history of His life and passion from the point of view of Mary's sufferings—a sort of *Via Dolorosa*, illustrated by quaint little woodcuts designed for and appropriate to the context. The chapters are headed thus:—C Maria de moder sprikt. C Dat kynd sprikt or C Dat kynt sprikt. C De moder antwordet or antwardet. (There are abundant evidences that language and spelling were at this period in a transitional stage.)

A beautiful copy, full of rough edges, measuring 136 × 101 mm., in its original and almost unworn condition, bound in wooden boards covered with brown calf, panelled and impressed.

The first page of text may be rendered as follows:—

Here begins the book of the sadness and heart-suffering of Mary the highly-praised Queen, the most holy Mother of Christ. The first chapter speaks, How that Mary went to Bethlehem, and how she there her dear child bore, and of her great poverty.

**Hyr beghinnet dat
boek vā der bedrof
nisse vnde hertelede der hochghela-**



uaden koni
ghinnē der
alder hyllis
gheftē mo-
der Christi
marien.

C Dath ce
ste Capittel
sprikt. Wo
dat maria
tho bethleē
ghinck. vñ
wo se dace
ere leue kīd

chelede. vñ vā erem grotē armote.

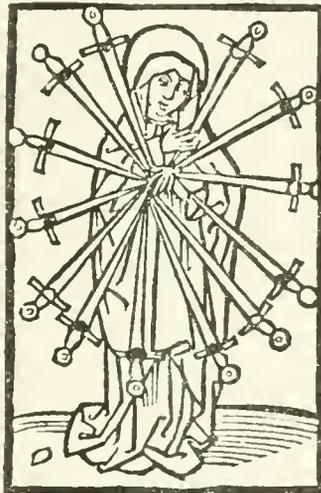
FOL. 2a OF DAT BOK DER MEDELYDINGHE
MARIEN. (ARNDES, 1498.)



THE FLIGHT INTO EGYPT.



IN GREAT POVERTY IN EGYPT FOR SEVEN YEARS.



THE THIRTEEN SWORDS
(SORROWS).



THE WARNING.



CHRIST AND THE DOCTORS.

The colophon on *Fol.* 240a may be rendered as follows:—

To the suffering of our Redeemer Jesus Christ, and to the praise, honour, and glory of the compassionate Mother of Christ, here ends this book of the tribulations of Mary. Whosoever reads this book oft and exercises himself therein, and instructs others who cannot read, can to God and His dear Mother no more pleasing service perform. This book also speaks of many pure teachings and sincere prayers, as the register hereafter following clearly indicates, and is finished and printed in the imperial town of Lubeck, by the art and ingenuity of Steffan Arndes, on the day of St. Urban, the holy Pope After the birth of our Lord. M.cccc.xcvij.

Deme lidēde vnles

salicmafers ihū xpi. vñ d' medelidē
ghe Marien der vnbeuleckede mo
der cristi to laue crē vñ werdyckic
endiget sīt hir dit boē d' bedrofnisse
mar. ē Welc minscē sīt hir ane ouer
vñ lesē dyt boē vake. vñ vnd' wysse
de anderē de nyctē lesen loenen. kā
gade vñ siner leucē moder nenē ans
uameren denst doen. Dē sechtē dyt
boē van vele suerlyken leren vñ
ynnigē betē als dat register hir na
volgēde wol vhwiser. In ys vule
det vnde ghedruket in der keyserli
stad Lubeck. dorch de kunst vnde
synryckheit Steffani Arndes. vp
sunte vbanus dach xas byllyghen
Pawels Na der boue vnsera herē
dome schreff. M.cccc.xcvij.

COLOPHON OF DAT BOK DER MEDELYDINGHE
MARIEN. (ARNDDES, 1498.)

1498 June 28. SEBASTIAN BRANT. STULTIFERA NAVIS.

[LYONS, JACQUES SACON.]

Fol. 1a: SALVTIFERA (*sic*) NAVIS; underneath this a woodcut of the Ship of Fools, under the cut the Title: NARRAGONICE PROFECTIONIS NVN || quā fatis laudata Nauis p Sebastianum Grant. (*sic*) uer || naculo uulgariq, fermone & rhythmo pro cuncto || rum mortalium fatuitatis femitas effugere cupien || tium directione/ speculo/ cōmodoq, & falute: prō || q, inertis ignaueq, stulticiā perpetua infamia/ exe || cratione & confutatione/ nuper fabricata: Atq, iam || pridem Per Iacobum Locher cognomento Philo- || musum: Sueuum: in latinum traducta eloquium: & || per Sebastianū Brant: denuo seduloq, reuifa: fœlici exorditur principio. || The text begins on *Fol.* 11a, at the side of the well-known woodcut of the ignorant amasser of books, stabellum in hand, is the explanation INUTILITAS LIBRORUM, etc. *Fol.* 152b: FINIT STVLTIFERE (*sic*) NAVIS. Finis Narragonicæ nauis per Sebastianum Brant, etc. . . . Et noua || quadam exactaq, emēdatione climatæ. Alq, supadditis qui || bufdam nouis admirandisq, fatuorum generibus suppletæ || impressum per iacobum zachoni de romano Anno domi || ni M.CCCC.LXXXViii (*sic*) .die. xxviii. mensis Iunii. || *Fol.* 153a: Index libri || REGISTRUM STVLTIFERE NAVIS. || At the end of Index at the bottom of *Fol.* 155a, FINIS. *Fol.* 155b: Fatuus mundanus. || Underneath this title woodcut of fool falling from a tree, and eight explanatory verses beneath, concluding the volume.

4to, printed in roman type, 155 leaves, 34 lines to a page, text, including the notes in margin, measures 137 × 91 mm.; roman numerals; without catchwords; signatures, a to t in eights, U three leaves; 119 woodcuts. The watermark is a serpent. Hain, 3752, Proctor, 8671.

Twenty-two editions before 1500 of Brant's extremely popular satire, *The Ship of Fools*, are described by Hain. The first edition of the German text was printed at Basle by *Johann Bergmann* in 1494, and the first of the Latin version by *Locher* by the same printer in 1497. Editions of the English version in prose were printed by *Wynkyn de Worde*, 1509 and 1517, and of *Alexander Barclay's* version in verse by *Richard Pynson*, 1509, and by *John Cawood* in 1570.

So familiar is this entertaining work to many, that in spite of the charm of text and engravings, I have contented myself with a single reproduction from its pages. The explanatory verses are taken from Barclay's version (Pynson, 1509).

A beautiful copy, measuring 205 × 133 mm., and almost uncut at the bottom edge, ruled with red lines throughout.



THE UNFAITHFULNESS OF COOKS AND CELLARERS.
STULTIFERA NAVIS (J. SACON, 1498).

This sort of feruauntes whome thou doft
here espy
Gyuen to theyr wombe by lust obhomy-
nable
Of meat and drynke and superflwe
glotony
Ar to theyr maysters but lytell profy-
table
Oft Cokes and butlers ar so disceyu-
able
Of nature / to theyr mayster and folowe
this offence
That nought they set by his loffe by
theyr expence.

Whan mayster and maystres in bed ar
at rest
The bordes ar spred / the dores open
echone
Than farys the Coke and Butteler of the
best
Other both together / or eche of them
alone
With wyne and ale tyll all the best be
gone
By galons and potels they spende with-
out care
That whiche they lorde for his owne
mouth dyd spare.

1499 *March* 15. LUDOLPHUS DE SAXONIA.—VITA CHRISTI.
DAT BOOC VANDEN LEVEN ONS LIEFS HEREN.

[ZIWOLLE, PIETER VAN OS.]

Fol. 1a: Dat booc vanden leuen ons liefs herē ihu crifti derdeweruen gheprint ghecor || rigeert, etc. *Six lines.* Below this a very large woodcut of good design, 183 × 126 mm., of Our Lord, with cruciform nimbus in standing attitude under a canopy. On a scroll the legend Speciosus forma pre Filys Hoīn. On *Fol. 1b*: Dit is die tafel van alden capittelē des || gehelen boecs vanden leuen ons heren || ihesu crifti. || The table ends on *Fol. 10a, col. 1, line 32*: Hier eyndet die tafel om te vinden || die euangelien vanden miffen doer alle || dat iaer Eñ hier na volghet die tytel eñ || prologus van defen boecke. || On second col. two small woodcuts. *Fol. 10b*, a full-page woodcut. On *Fol. 11a*: Prologus || Dit is die tytel ende dat prologus vā defen boecke dat gheheiten is dat boeck || van ihesus leuen. || A large woodcut initial **H**, 102 mm. square, precedes the text, () Ier beghint ten loue gods || almachtich eñ ter eren der || reynder, etc. On *Fol. 355a, col. 2* (with numeral cccxlvii.) is the colophon: **C** Tot loue goods ende tot heil eñ falich || heit alre kersten menschen fo if hier vol || eynt dat eerwaerdighe boec vanden le || uen woerden paffye verrifeniffe en glo || riofe opuaert ons herē iefu mit addiciē || van schonen moralen eñ gheestelijke le || ringhen eñ deuoten. meditacien eñ ghe || beden int eynde der capittelen **C** Toe || zwoll gheprint by mij Peter os vā Bre || da Gheeynt Intiaer ons heeren. **M** || cccc cxix (for cccc xcix) dē vijftiendē dach in maert || Deo gracias. || A woodcut beneath. *Fol. 355b blank.* *Fol. 356 blank.*

Folio, printed in gothic type, 356 leaves, two columns, 42 lines to a column, text measures 207 × 155 (= 74 + 7 + 74) mm.; roman numerals in gothic type beginning with **I** on *Fol. 11a*, sig. **a1**, the previous ten leaves having no numerals; without catchwords; has signatures **Aa**, **Bb**, **a—z**, some odd intercalary signatures, **A—X**, **A—N**, all in fours or sixes; the numeration is faulty; 158 woodcuts.

The watermarks are (1) gothic **p**, split tail, short stylus and trefoil; (2) gothic **p**, similar, but with thinner stem; (3) gothic **p**, no stylus or trefoil; (4) gothic **q**; (5) large gothic **p** with quatrefoil and stroke across tail; (6) on a shield a chief bezantee, under this a fleur-de-lys; (7) a flagon, short stylus and trefoil; (8) a flagon without trefoil; (9) hand with cuff. Holtrop, I. 506, not in Hain or Proctor.

This book is a late production of the second press of Pieter van Os of Breda. He printed at Zwolle from 1479 to 1481. His second press at



HOW ST. PETER CAUGHT A FISH WHICH HAD A PENNY IN ITS MOUTH, WHICH PAID "WEECIGELT" FOR CHRIST AND FOR PETER.



THE DEVILS DEPARTING INTO THE SWINE.

the same place existed from 1484 to 1510, and was occupied almost exclusively with religious works.

The first edition with a date of this popular work is that printed in 1474 (Hain, *10290, Proctor, 297), assigned by Hain to *H. Eggestein*, but probably printed with his types by a successor. Of the *Low German* version an edition was issued on Nov. 20, 1495, by the printer of the present volume (Proctor, 9146).

A fair copy in the original fifteenth century binding of bevelled boards covered with brown leather panelled, the ornament impressed by *rolls*, not by separate stamps; eight leaves wanting.

The woodcuts are almost as quaint as any of the illustrations of sacred history of this period, and though my reproductions of a few of them lose something by the reduction of one-fifth of their lineal dimensions, and still more by the absence of their remarkable colouring, I hope that they may furnish some amusement. Those of us who were born in or about the "thirties" can remember the crude woodcuts with which some few of their Bible Histories were filled, and the education of English children in such matters during the greater part of the last century was assisted by still more inartistic and wooden performances, whilst the rising generation of the present day is glutted with gorgeous pictures, so spruce, well-ordered, and accurate as to be absolutely without interest or charm. The little contemporaries of Luther had put before them, on the other hand, life-like, graphic, convincing pictures, not comic of set purpose, but possessing a character and raciness which must have made them quite unforgettable. What child would not remember through life the prone trunk of John the Baptist in the prison so "convenient" to the banquet-hall, or fail to carry in his young memory the knowing look of Peter as he touches the nose of the complacent fish, not quite assured the while of the safety of the hand which is subtracting the coin, or the fervour and malice of the Enemy of Mankind as he pounds together the two weighty stones



MAN SHALL NOT LIVE BY BREAD ALONE.

with which he enforces his argument? And have any of us, when we call to mind the history of the Gadarene swine, so vivid an appreciation of the *dénouement* as is obtained from the annexed illustration.

The stately march of the unclean spirits from their human dwelling is admirably contrasted with the mutual attraction evinced by themselves and their new hosts. The swine, on the one hand, are ready to plunge into the deep in eager search of their new quarters, whilst on the other an intensely quaint demon on the left is tearing open the jaws of a less receptive animal in his haste to enter him. The demon figured in my tail-piece is apparently repentant, but no explanatory text accompanies him.

The date should of course read M.CCCC.XCIX. Similar mistakes in a part of the book which one would have thought certain to receive the corrections of the "reader" are by no means uncommon in the *colophons* of this period.



JOHN BAPTIST'S HEAD IN A CHARGER.



DEVIL REPENTANT.

1499 Aug. 23.

CRONICA VAN COELLEN.

[COLOGNE, JOHANN KOELHOFF THE YOUNGER.]

Fol. 1a: Die Cronica van der || hilliger Stat vā Coellē. Under this a large woodcut, followed by the lines: Sancta Colonia diceris hinc . quia sanguine tincta || Sanctorum meritis. quoꝝ ftas undiqꝫ cincta || *Fol. 1b blank.* *Fol. 2a*: Dat Register || etc. The register ends on 12b, *Fol. 13a*, the title: Die Cronica van der || hilliger Stat Coellen. || under which the same title and lines as on *Fol. 1a.* *Fol. 13b blank.* *Fol. 14a*, with numeral ij and signature Aij Cronica off dat tzytboich van den gefschichten (*sic*) || der vergangen Jairen in duytschē landen und || funderlinge der heiliger Stat Coellen und yrer || buffchoue. || *Fol. 366a*, with numeral ccc.l.: Zo der Eren gotz/-synre lieuer moder l und der hylliger drij || konyngē . jtem tzo nutz ind vnderrichtūge in vill fachē der gemeynre Burgerschaff der hil || liger Stat Coellen. is dit boich van den gefchichten der Ertzbuschoue ind der hilliger || Stat van Coellen. myt etzlichen anderen historien van begynne der werlt . ind des int- || ghainwordigen jairs vursz vergadert mit groiffer arbeit ind vlyff vyff vill boicheren || van den bewertsten ind sicherstē historiē schrijueren dae vā berorende. Ind hait gedruckt || mit groiffem ernst ind vlijff Johan Koelhoff Burger in Coellen. ind vollender up sent || Bartholomeus auent des hilligen Apostels Anno vursz. || Got haeue lof tzo aller tziyt.vnd || ewichlich. || *Fol. 366b blank.*

Folio, printed in gothic type (three sizes), 12 unnumbered and 354 numbered leaves, Hain says 301 numbered leaves (a mere slip, having mistaken the ccl. of the last leaf for ccc.). 49 lines to a page, text measures 236 × 152 mm.; the leaves, except those of register, are numbered in gothic figures (Roman notation), but the numeration is most irregular and incorrect, e.g., Sig. 111 numbered xliij., Sig. H2, xxxviiij., Sig. H3, xlv., and sometimes altogether wanting; no catch-words; signatures, A—B and A—I in sixes, K ten leaves, L—Z in sixes, a—d in sixes, e four leaves, f—z in sixes, aa—mm in sixes, nn four leaves; a profusion of woodcuts, many occupying nearly the whole page, many repetitions, especially of the small cuts. The watermarks are (1) flower of seven petals, stylus and Latin cross; (2) small bull's head, no stylus; (3) larger bull's head, long horns, no stylus; (4) gothic p, split tail, short stylus and quatrefoil. Hain, *4989, Proctor, 1464.

The only edition printed in the fifteenth century. The press of the first *Johann Koelhoff* dates from 1472, and was in existence in 1493. Only three books are recorded by Mr. Proctor as belonging to the press of *Johann Koelhoff the younger*, who printed with the same types as his father, his press beginning in the year 1494. Dr. Dibdin, in his description of the *Spencer* copy (an extremely poor one) says: "There are few books which have been so frequently quoted, yet so rarely seen, as the Cologne Chronicles."

A very fine and perfect copy, formerly in the library of the Baron de la Seillière.

This book possesses an abundance of intrinsic interest, many fine woodcuts, some ornament, and much more or less authentic historical legendary and heraldic information, but it is to the long and detailed statement on the subject of *the invention of the art of printing* to be found in its pages that it owes its well-known consideration and importance in the bibliographical world. As it has been alluded to but briefly in a previous page, I must here give some rather fuller notice of the text of the famous passage, and of the conclusions which have been drawn therefrom by the men of *Haarlem* and the men of *Mentz* respectively. That the reader may have the fullest possible opportunity of seeing for himself what is said by the author, I subjoin a full-sized facsimile of all that portion of the paragraph which can be considered vital to the discussion. This is, as far as I am aware, the first time that such an opportunity has been afforded to the student. The English translation which follows differs in many points from that in Dr. Van der Linde's *Haarlem Legend*. That is a retranslation into English of Van der Linde's Dutch rendering of the original. Mine is intended to be strictly literal, but as the old German text is before his eyes the reader can make any corrections in my English version which may appear to him desirable.

Van der boychdrucker kunst.

Wanne. Wae ind durch wen is vondē dye vnyssprechlich
nutze kunst boicher tzo drucke

Hye is tzo myrecken vlyssich dat in den leste tijden as die lieffe ind die vnyricheit
der mynschen sere verlosschen is off bevolcker nu mit ijdel glorie/ nu mit gijricheit
nu mit traicheit zc. die sonderlichen groissich zo straffen is in den Geistlichen.

ind dat sich niemantz entschuldigen
moichte/ hait d ewige got vyss synre vnyssgruelicher wijsheit vperweckt die louesam
kunst/ dat men nu boicher druckt/ ind die vermanichfeldiget so sere/ dat eyn yeder mynsch
mach den wech d selicheit selfs lesen off hoerē lesen.

Itē dese boichwyrdige künst
vurf is vonden aller eyrst in Duytschlant tzo Wenz am Rijne. Ind dat is d duytsch
scher nacion eyn groisse eirlicheit dat sulche synrijche mynschen syn dae tzo vyndē. Ind
dat is geschiet by den iairen vns heren/ anno dñi. MCCCXL. ind vā der zijt an bis
men schreue. l. wart vndersoicht die kunst ind wat dair zo gehout. Ind in den iaire vns
heren do men schreyff. MCCC. l. do was eyn gulden iair/ do began men tzo drucken
ind was dat eyrste boich dat men drucke die Bybel zo latijn/ ind wart gedrukt mit eyn
re grouet schrift. as is die schrift dae men nu Wyssboicher mit druckt. Item wiewail
die kunst is vonden tzo Wenz/ als vurf vp die wijse/ als dan nu gemeynlich gebruchte
wilt/ so is doch die eyrste vurbildung vonden in Hollant vyss den Sonaten/ die dae
selfst vut der zijt gedrukt syn. Ind vā ind vyss den is genōmen dat begynne der vurf
kunst. ind is vill meysterlicher ind subtilicher vonden dan die selue manier was/ vnd ye
lenger ye mere kunstlicher wurden. Item eyntre genant Omnebonū der schrift in eyntre
vutrede vp dat boich Quintilianus genoempr. vnd ouch in anderen meir boicher/ dat ey
Wale vyss Drancrijch/ genant Nicolaus genson haue alre eyrst dese meysterliche künst
vonden/ mer dat is openbaerlich gelogen. want Sij syn noch jm leuen die dat getuigē
dat men boicher druckte tzo Venedige/ ee der vurf Nicolaus genson dar quame/ dair he
began schrift zo snijden vnd bereyden. Mer der eyrste vynder der druckerye is geweest eyn
Burger tzo Wenz. ind was geboren vā Straisburch. ind hiesch joncker Johan Guden
burch Itē vā Wenz is die vurf künst komen alre eyrst tzo Coellē. Dairnae tzo Strais
burch/ ind dairnae tzo Venedige. Dat begynne ind voortganck der vurf kunst hait myz
mütlich vertzelt d Eirsame man Meyster Ulrich Zell vā Hanauwe. boichdrucker zo
Coellē noch zertijt. anno. MCCCXciij. durch den die kunst vurf is zo Coellē komē.
Item idt syn ouch eyndell vutwiziger man. vnd die sagen. men haue ouch vutmaille
boicher gedrukt/ mer dat is niet wart. want men vynt in geynen landen der boicher die
tzo den seluen tijden gedrukt syn. Duch syn vill boicher vertzucht vnd verloren/ die men
nyrgens vynden kan/ vomb dat der so wenich geschreue was/ as dat groiste deyll die Ti
tus Liui⁹ gemacht hait. Item die boicher vā dem gemeynē goide die Tullij⁹ gemacht
hait. Item die boicher van den strijden der Duytschen mit den Romenen zc. die Plij⁹
nius gemacht hait van den men wenich off gātz niet vint

Of the Art of Book-printing.

When, where, and by whom was found the unspeakably useful art of printing books.

HERE it is to be especially noted that in these last times when the love and ardour of mankind has been very much diminished or corrupted, now by vain glory now by avarice now by indolence etc. which are especially culpable in ecclesiastics, *etc.* . . .

And that no man might find an excuse, the eternal God has out of His unfathomable wisdom brought into existence the laudable art, by which men now print books, and multiply them so greatly that every man may for himself read or hear read the way of salvation, *etc.*

Item this most valuable art **vursz** is (was) found first of all in Germany at Mentz on the Rhine. And it is a great honour for the German nation that such ingenious men are there to be found. And this came to pass about the year of Our Lord, Anno Domini 1440 and from thenceforward until (14)50 was written the art was investigated and what belongs to it. And in the year of Our Lord which is written 1450 there was a Golden year, and men began to print and the first book that they printed was the Bible in Latin, and it was printed in a large character, such as the character with which Missal Books are now printed. *Item* although the art is (was) found at Mentz as **vursz** in the manner as is now generally used, yet the first prefiguration is found in Holland out of the *Donatuses*, which were in that very (country) printed before that time. And from and out of them (the *Donatuses*) was taken the beginning of the **vursz** art. And it is (was) found much more masterly (*adv.*) and subtilly than that same manner was, and the longer (it was practised? or investigated?) the more skilful it became. *Item* one named Omnibonus who writes in a preface to a book called Quintilianus and also in other books, that a Walloon from France named Nicolaus genson had first of all found this masterly art—but that is manifestly false, for there are still alive who testify that books were printed at Venice, before the aforesaid Nicolaus genson came there—where he began to cut and prepare letters. But the first finder of printing was a burgher at Mentz, and he born at Strasburg, and named joncker Johan Gudenburch. *Item* from Mentz the **vursz** art came first of all to Cologne. Then to Strasburg, and thereafter to Venice. The beginning and development of the **vursz** art was told me by word of mouth by the honourable man Master Ulrich tzell of Hanauwe, still, anno 1499 a printer at Cologne by whom the **vursz** art came to Cologne. *Item* there are some over-clever persons, and they say, that books had already in former times been printed, but this is not true, for we find in no country (any) of the books which in those same times had been printed. Moreover are many books kept back and lost, which one can nowhere find, because so little was written, (so few written copies were made) as the greater part of what *Titus Livius* produced. *Item* the books of the Commonwealth⁽¹⁾ (*de Republicâ*) which Tully produced. *Item* the books of the wars of the Germans with the Romans which Plinius made, which one finds rarely or not at all.

In order to avoid any possibility of giving a bias in either direction to the interpretation of the word *vonden*, which occurs five or six times, I have in all cases rendered it “*found*.” The reader can thus at will substitute the expression “*invented*” or “*discovered*” as may best suit his own view of the idea which it may appear to him that the author of the *Chronicle* intended to convey.

☛ The word **vursz**, the exact value of which is in dispute, here remains untranslated, but will be fully considered on page 233. On its rendering the meaning of the chapter largely depends.

(1) Dr. Van der Linde wrongly translated “*die boicher van dem gemeynen goide*” as “*the books of the gods*”!

The student of this celebrated chapter should bring to its consideration not only an unbiassed judgment, but also a certain measure of patience. A first perusal will probably irritate him, as it appears on the surface to contain an irreconcilable mass of almost impertinent contradictions, and might at first sight seem to have been artfully compiled with express intent to bewilder, mislead, and set at variance generations of truth-seekers in centuries to come. Some of these difficulties at least will however be lessened by a patient analysis. One of the results of the paradoxical form in which it has been cast has been that it is appealed to alike by *Costerians* and *Gutenbergians* in support of their antagonistic views. A short dissection of its contents may perhaps be found helpful. We are introduced to the subject by the statement "In order (1) that no man might find an excuse the *Eternal God* has out of his unfathomable wisdom (brought into existence) the laudable art by which men now print books and multiply them so greatly that every man may for himself read, or hear read the way of salvation," and are in the next place informed (2) that the art of printing *vurfz* was "found" first of all at *Mentz* about the year 1440, (3) that from that date up to 1450 investigation was made into the art and what belonged to it; we are (4) in the next place given particulars of the first steps taken in 1450 towards the printing of the Bible in Latin⁽¹⁾ in a large character, such as that with which Missal Books were printed in Koelhoff's time. In clause (5) appears the remarkable qualification (or amplification as the *Costerians* would say) that although the art is (was) "found" at *Mentz*, *afs vurfz*, in the manner now generally used, the first prefiguration is "found" in *Holland* in the *Donatuses*,⁽²⁾ which were in that very country printed (gedruckt) before that time, and that from and out of them was taken the beginning of the aforesaid art.

The *vurfz* art we are next informed (6) is (was) "found" in a much more subtle and skilful manner in the *Mentz* production than in the former (the Dutch *Donatuses*), and the longer it was practised the greater the skill that was displayed.

The claims of *Jenson* to the invention of the art (7) are then very readily and promptly disposed of. At this stage we are again brought back (apparently in refutation of *Jenson's* claim) to the statements (2) (3) (4) by an assertion (8) (unaccompanied by any of the qualification supplied by the word *vurfz* contained in those sections) that the first "finder" of printing was a *burgher* at *Mentz*, born at *Strasburg*, and named *Johan Gudenburch*, and (9) that from *Mentz* the art spread to *Cologne*, and thereafter to *Venice*. Then follows (10) the remark by the author of the *Chronicle* that the beginning and development of the aforesaid art was orally communicated to him by *Ulrich Zell*, still, in 1499 exercising the printed art in *Cologne* (in which he was the first to establish a press). A contradiction (11) rather vaguely expressed of attributions of the invention to earlier times is next given, and the historical portion of the statement is concluded by a somewhat irrelevant notice (12) of classical authors whose works have been lost to us. The rest of the chapter is didactic, and is not concerned with the matter under discussion.

Attention must at this point be called to the view put forth by a recent Dutch writer⁽³⁾ and accepted by many of his countrymen, that the intention of the writer or compiler when making use in clauses (2) and (5) of the now obsolete word *vurfz* ("aforesaid") was to earmark that stage of growth of the invention which had been indicated in the passage beginning *hait d'ewige got voff senre*, etc., that is to say, a condition of development greatly in advance of that assigned by the writer to the Dutch *Donatuses*. They would contend that the writer or compiler thus used the word *vurfz* expressly to warn the reader against the idea that in describing the *Mentz* practice he had in his mind the first germs of the art, or was attributing to *Mentz* rather than to *Holland* the actual first invention. Not thus do the *Gutenbergians* read the passage. Dr. Van der Linde assumes the original passage⁽⁴⁾ (clause 6) which really runs *afs vurfz op die wijse* to run thus, *afs vurfz is, op die wijse*, etc., inserting the word *is* and putting a comma after it. The effect of this alteration is to give an entirely different meaning to the sentence.

The original text as translated by a *Costerian* would in brief mean that the art had been "found" at *Mentz* in the improved stage already described in clause (1)—whilst Dr. Van der Linde's translation, with the comma misplaced, and the word "is" interpolated would lead to the inference that the art had been

(1) This Bible was completed before Aug. 15, 1456, as appears from the rubrication penned by the binder of the copy in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* at Paris.

(2) The full title of the *Donatus* is *Donatus de Octo partibus orationis* or *Donatus pro juvenis*. The *Donatus* was the extremely popular abridgment of the Latin Grammar of *Ælius Donatus*, a Roman grammarian of the fourth century, and more than fifty printed editions were issued in the fifteenth century.

(3) Bakker. *Een woord in het Geding Haarlem-Maintz*, (Haarlem 1889).

(4) *Gutenberg* (p. 264, etc.).

"found" at Mentz, "as has already been said," with no qualification as to the state of progress then arrived at. His version is here as elsewhere somewhat careless and unreliable, a result due I feel sure to the Doctor's original, and not to his scrupulously accurate translator, Mr. Hessels. He renders clause (2) simply thus, "This highly valuable art was discovered first of all in Germany at Mentz on the Rhine, thus omitting all translation of the word **vurfz**, and translates clause (5) "Although the art (as has been said) was discovered at Mentz in the manner as it is now generally used."

In order to put before the reader the views of *Costerians* and *Gutenbergians* respectively on the exact meaning of the text, I have with diffidence ventured to subjoin at this point with a view of simplifying the points at issue, my own ideas as to what is probably the view of each party. It is not an easy matter, and my attempt may be thought to be an instance of *obscurum per obscurius*, but I have done my best, and as I cannot claim a warrant for my gloss, the blame of any unintentional misrepresentation must fall on my shoulders alone.

DUTCH VIEW OF THE REAL MEANING OF THE
PASSAGE BEGINNING

Item dese hoichwyrdige kunst vurfz
(J. E. H.'s translation).

[The words in square brackets indicate the supposed views
of the respective schools.]

Item this most valuable art as above referred to (**vurfz**) [i.e., in the sentence which describes a state of perfection which allowed of a great multiplication and general use of books] was found first of all in Germany at Mentz on the Rhine And it is a great honour for the German nation that such ingenious men are there to be found And this came to pass about the year of Our Lord Anno Domini 1440 and from thenceforward until (14)50 was written the art was investigated and what belongs to it. And in the year of Our Lord which is written 1450 there was a Golden year and men began to print and the first book that they printed was the Bible in Latin and it was printed in large character such as the character with which Missal Books are now printed. Item although the art is (was) found at Mentz, as has been said before (**als vurfz**) [that is to say] in the manner as is now generally used, yet the first prefiguration is found in Holland out of the *Donatuses* [books printed with movable types] which were in that very (country) printed before that time And from and out of them was taken the beginning of the art previously referred to (**der vurfz kunst**) [i.e. the developed art "found" at Mentz] And it was found much more masterly (adv.) and subtly than that same manner was and the longer (it was practised or investigated) the more skilful (*technically perfect*) it became . . . The beginning and development of the aforesaid art (**der vurfz kunst**) [the art as practised at Mentz] was told me by word of mouth by the honourable man Master Ulrich tzell of Hanauwe etc.

GERMAN VIEW OF THE REAL MEANING OF THE
SAME PASSAGE

(Dr. Van der Linde's translation, *The Haarlem Legend*, pages 7 and 8).

This highly valuable art⁽¹⁾ was discovered first of all in Germany at Mentz on the Rhine [This is intended to indicate that the first invention and practice of typography was at Mentz] And it is a great honour to the German nation that such ingenious men are found among them And it took place about the year of our Lord 1440, and from this time until the year 1450, the art, and what is connected with it was being investigated And in the year of our Lord 1450 it was Golden year (jubilee) and they began to print and the first book they printed was the Bible, in Latin; it was printed in a large letter resembling the letter with which at present missals are printed. Although the art (as has been said) (**als vurfz**) was discovered at Mentz in the manner as it is now generally used, yet the first prefiguration (die erste vurbyldung) was found in Holland [the Netherlands] in the *Donatuses* which were printed there before that time And from these (*Donatuses*) [printed from wooden blocks and not from movable types] the beginning of the said (**vurfz**) art was taken, and it was invented in a manner much more masterly and subtle than this and became more and more ingenious . . . The origin and progress of the⁽²⁾ art was told me verbally by the honourable master Ulrich Zell of Hanau etc., etc.

(1) (2) The word **vurfz** is entirely omitted from both these passages in Dr. Van der Linde's translation.

A careful consideration of this very inartistically written chapter will repay the reader and enable him to eliminate some of its apparent inconsistencies and contradictions. It will at once occur to him that the narrative is not indited by an author familiar with his subject and writing *currente calamo*, but that it is a kind of mosaic formed of scraps of information clumsily though candidly put together by the compiler, who would seem to have pigeon-holed for use as he proceeded with his work statements from various sources, which he afterwards roughly assembled without any attempt to reduce them to a consecutive and coherent history. An evidence of this process, which I have not seen so fully noticed elsewhere, is to be found in clause (2) (following pretty closely on the introductory sentence doubtless to be ascribed to Koelhoff, "The Eternal God," etc.), and clause (12). The source of both of these clauses is the passage from Schedel's *Liber Chronicarum*, Nuremberg, 1493, already alluded to under that year. A translation of the paragraph from the *Latin* edition of July 12, 1493, and of the *German* from the edition of Dec. 23 of the same year, given below, will enable the reader to trace their origin.

Koelhoff has availed himself without acknowledgment of this statement of *Schedel's*, but has thought fit to divide the passage, placing one portion at the beginning (2) and a fragment of the other at the end (11) of his descriptive matter, sandwiching between them other more explicit and original information. The third clause (3) relating to the development of the art appears to be and is generally acknowledged as being a connecting link with clause (4) furnished by *Koelhoff*, which is categorical, and describes the beginning of the art as practised at *Mentz*. It is admitted by all that the statements in this fourth clause are to be taken as supplied by *Zel* to the compiler. A careful and unbiassed reader is perhaps almost as capable as the experts of deciding whether the important information given in clauses (5) and (6) in reference to the *prefigurations* "found" in *Holland* is to be taken as a part of the communication of *Zel* (the recognized authority for (4) and *Koelhoff's* acknowledged informant as to the *beginning and development of the art*), or as an *obiter dictum* of the compiler of the chapter. The champions of *Mentz* as the cradle-town of printing, or some of them at any rate, adopt the latter view, those of *Holland* and of *Haarlem* the former. In either case the manipulation of his material by *Koelhoff* is so clumsy as to prepare the way for endless controversies. The determination of the authorship of the refutation in clause (7) of *Jenson's* claims is of no moment whatever. It was doubtless matter of common knowledge that the French printer learnt his art in *Mentz*. The assertion in clause (8)—prefaced by a protest—that the first finder of the art was a burgher at *Mentz* is awkwardly severed from its natural position in clause (2), and this, together with clause (9), is generally attributed to *Koelhoff*, the avowed author of (10), to whom we may also assign clause (11). The final clause (12) is, as has been already seen, a piece snipped off from its context in *Schedel's Chronicle*, and pinned on to the end of the descriptive matter, in the place where it seemed to *Koelhoff* that it would smoothly round off a period.

Schedel, *Liber Chronicarum*, Latin version, Nuremberg, 1493, Fol. ccliib, literal translation.

The art of printing books had its birth (*primum enata est*) in Germany in these times. How much therefore students of literature owe to the Germans can by no manner of speech be adequately expressed. It is said that this method, *ratio*, (should be *rationem*) of printing books was found at *Mentz*, a city of the Rhine, by some inventive genius (*solerti ingenio*). At the present day it has spread into almost all parts of the world, and by it all antiquity is bought by posterity for a little money in an infinite number of volumes. Its praises have already been spoken in the *prohemium* of this work. Than which art none could be more worthy, none more laudable, none more useful. Had it flourished in days gone by, the greater part of the works of *Titus Livius*, and of *Tullius de Republica*, and of *Pliny* concerning the German wars,⁽¹⁾ and other most celebrated works had not been lost by the malignant ravages of time.

Schedel, *Das buch der Cronicken*, German version, Nuremberg, 1493, Fol. ccliib, literal translation.

The art of printing first came to pass (*hat sich erstlich creigt*) in Germany, in the town of *Mentz* lying on the Rhine, in the year of Christ, 1440, and thence quickly sprouted forth into all parts of the world, whereby the costly treasures of the scriptorial art and knowledge which in the old books long unknown to the world lay hidden in the grave of oblivion (*der unwissenheit*) were thenceforward brought to light. So that many excellent books necessary and useful for the service of man which were produced at one time with no small cost, can at the present time be acquired for little money; and if this art had been found and been known and in use, then undoubtedly many works of *Titus Livius*, *Tullius*, and *Plinius*, and other most learned persons, would not have perished by the malignity of time, and so now the finders of the manual art of these times are worthy of no little praise, who can express in what praise, honour, and renown those Germans must be who, out of their enlightened, intelligent ability have produced and invented⁽²⁾ this art of printing, by which the long-closed spring of inexpressible wisdom of human and also divine art has found an outlet.

⁽¹⁾ The expeditions of Varus and Germanicus.
sentences is evidently a printer's error.

⁽²⁾ The breaking of this passage in the original German into two

So much for the paternity of the various component parts of the chapter. We may now consider at our leisure its bearing on the claims of *Holland* and *Germany* respectively.

The position taken up by the advocates of a priority of invention in *Holland* is, I take it, briefly this: that if *Zel* was, by reason of his (supposed) connection with Gutenberg, and of his early acquaintance with the art as practised in *Mentz*, qualified to give authoritative information to *Koelhoff* on the very earliest germs of the art; that if, in the second place, he made statements which *Koelhoff* has reproduced in clauses (4) and (5), intending them to be consistent, and to qualify clause (4) by explanatory remarks in (5), then—no matter whether he were or were not cognizant of the inartistic and puzzling way in which they were incorporated in the chapter—no matter what any earlier or later chronicles or writers may have averred—to *Holland* and not to *Germany* is to be attributed the production of the first page printed with movable types. Whether that page was printed by *Coster* or by another printer has to be shown by evidence from other quarters. But this position will not be accepted by the Gutenbergians. They contend that even on the assumption that all the pre-suppositions which I have suggested were answered in the affirmative (an assumption which they are strongly inclined to deprecate, not allowing the ascription of clause (5) to *Zel*, but giving it to *Koelhoff*), the cause of the champions of *Holland* would not be sustained by the chapter—that the *Donatuses*, the *prefigurations* alluded to in clause (5) had nothing in the world to do with movable types, but were mere *xylographic* productions, *rubbings* in fact, generally in a thin watery ink, from wooden blocks on which the lettering had been cut, a page at a time, and that there were no books in existence other than these which could suggest to Gutenberg any ideas likely to result in his invention of movable types, and moreover that *Zel*, if he could be made responsible for clause (5), was mistaken when he stated that the *Donatuses* he referred to were printed in *Holland* before that time. Dr. Van der Linde, one of the latest and the most voluminous of the pro-Gutenbergian writers, brushes away with a stroke of the pen the inconvenient reference to *Dutch Donatuses*, and says: "For *Holland* read the *Netherlands*, a substitution which may easily be explained in a *Cologne* author of the fifteenth century." As *xylographic* printing was being practised in the *Netherlands* and not in *Holland* at the period referred to, a reference to *xylographic Dutch Donatuses* could not have been intended by *Zel*.

Very briefly to sum up the conclusions arrived at in their interminable controversies by the champions of *Haarlem* and *Mentz* respectively as to the meaning to be extracted from this much-belaboured chapter—the former contend that *Ulrich Zel*, a perfectly competent authority, intended to describe the art of printing with movable types as invented in *Holland* and perfected in *Germany*—that the *Donatuses* to which he referred as the "prefigurations" were printed in *Holland* with movable characters before a single page was printed at *Mentz*, that one perfect copy and many fragments of such a *Donatus* are in existence, and that the printer of them, of the *Speculum Humane Salvationis*, the *Doctrinale*, and of many other books printed with similar types, which books, or fragments of them, have come down to us, was one *Laurens Janszoon Coster* of *Haarlem*, the first and true inventor of the art, somewhere about the year 1445, and the precursor of *Gutenberg*, *Fust*, and *Schaeffer*. The champions of *Mentz*, on the other hand, have the unshakable conviction that *Zel* intended to ascribe in the most unequivocal manner to *Gutenberg* alone the art of printing with movable types, *i.e.*, in the manner as is now generally used, and that the allusion to the prefiguration by *Donatuses* printed long before that time in *Holland*, if indeed the statement have any value and authority, was intended to refer to certain early *xylographic* Flemish *Donatuses*, and not to type-printed *Dutch Donatuses*. Finally, that there never was a *Haarlem* printer called *Coster*, that the whole story of the invention of printing in *Holland* is a myth or legend, and that none of the so-called type-printed *Costeriana*, admitted by most bibliographers to be exclusively of Dutch origin, were printed before 1471-4.

If I have unwittingly misstated the substance of the contention of either party my error arises from inability adequately to summarize in a few sentences that small portion of the extremely voluminous literature devoted to its details to which I have hitherto had access. References will be found under the heading *Bibliographical Books* to an abundance of fairly accessible volumes wherein the views of each party may be ascertained by any reader in whom an interest in the discussion happens to be inspired.

This is the most convenient place for a mention of two manifest inaccuracies which occur in the chapter. They may seem in the minds of some to impair the authority of the whole recital, but as they are to be ascribed only to the compiler of the Chronicle, they in no wise prejudice the statements of *Zel.* In the first place *Gutenberg* was not a native of *Strasburg* as the Chronicle asserts, but of *Mentz*, as Schœpflin was the first to show. In the second there is an error in the enumeration of the sequence of towns into which Printing was successively introduced. Mr. Hessels has shown in his Introduction to Dr. Van der Linde's *Haarlem Legend* (p. xxij.) that the real sequence was as follows:—(1) *Mentz*; (2) *Strasburg*; (3) *Bamberg*; (4) *Subiaco*; (5) *Cologne*; (6) *Rome*; (7) *Augsburg*; (9) *Venice*.

1499 December. FRANCISCUS COLONNA. POLIPHILI HYPNEROTOMACHIA.

[VENICE, ALDUS MANUTIUS.]

Fol. 1a: HYPNEROTOMACHIA POLIPHILI, VBI HV || MANA OMNIA NON NISI SOMNIVM || ESSE DOCET. ATQVE OBITER || PLVRIMA SCITV SANE || QVAM DIGNA COM || MEMORAT. || *** || ** || * || CAVTVM EST, NE QVIS IN DOMINIO || ILL. S. V. IMPVNE HVNC LI || BRVM QVEAT || IMPPRIME || RE. ||
Fol. 1b: Leonardus Crassus Veronensis Guido Illustriss. Duci Urbini. S.P.D. *Fol. 3a, line 40 ends Vale.* *Fol. 3b*: LEONARDO CRAFFO mio doctor uerendo || prelato etc. *Fol. 4a, line 41 ends Finis.* *Fol. 4b*: Andreas Maro Brixianus. || *Twelve lines of Latin verse follow.* *Fol. 5a*: POLIPHILI HYPNEROTOMACHIA, VBI || HVMANA OMNIA NON NISI SO- || MNIVM ESSE OSTENDIT, AT || QVE OBITER PLVRIMA || SCITV SANE QVAM || DIGNA COM- || MEMO- || RAT. || *** || * || *Fol. 5b*: POLIPHILVS POLIAE. S.P.D. || MOLTE FIATE POLIA COGITANDO. CHE || gli antichi etc. *Fol. 6a, with signature aii*: POLIPHILLO INCOMINCIA LA SVA HYPNEROTO || MACHIA, etc. *The text begins (line 10) PHOEBO IN QVEL HORA MANAN || do etc.* *Fol. 190a, line 4*: FINIS DEL PRIMO LIBRO DILLA || HYPNEROTOMACHIA || DI POLIPHI || LO. || * || * || *Fol. 190b blank.* *Fol. 191a, with signature A*: POLIPHILLO INCOMINCIA IL SECONDO LIBRO DI || LA SVA HYPNEROTOMACHIA etc. *See facsimile of part of page.* *Fol. 232b, line 32 ends Vale.* *Fol. 233a*: POLIPHILLO QVIVI FINISSE LA SVA HYPNERO || TOMACHIA etc. *Line 33*: Vale ergo Polia. || Taruisii cum decoriffimis Poliae amore lorulis, distineretur mifellus || Poliphilus. || .M. CCCC. LXVII. Kalendis Maii. || (1) *Fol. 233b, headed EPITAPHIVM POLIAE, line 21, FLOS SIC EXSICCATVS, || NVNQVAM REVIVISCIT. || VALE. ||* *Fol. 234a*: Li errori del libro. facti stampando, liquali corrige cofi. || *The table of Corrigenda ends on line 60. Line 61*: Venetiis Menfc decembri .M.ID. in ædibus Aldi Manutij, accuratiffime. || *Fol. 234b blank.*

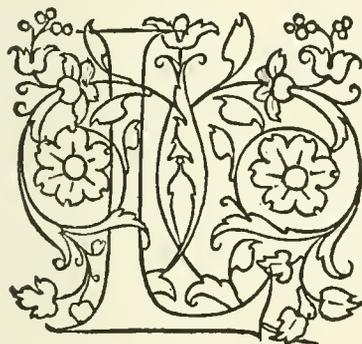
HYPNEROTOMACHIA POLIPHILI, VBI HV
 MANA OMNIA NON NISISOMNIVM
 ESSEDOCET. ATQVE OBITER
 PLVRIMA SCITV SANE
 QVAM DIGNA COM
 MEMORAT.
 * * *
 * *
 *
 CAVTVMEST, NE QVIS IN DOMINIO
 ILL. S. V. IMPVNE HVNC LI
 BRVM QVEAT
 IMPPRIME
 RE.

REDUCED FACSIMILE OF *FOL. 1a.*
 †† OF ACTUAL SIZE.

(1) The last leaf, 234, is wanting in many copies, from which it was doubtless torn out in order to push back the date to 1467 by suppressing the real date, which occurs only at the foot of the Table of Corrigenda.

POLIPHILLO INCOMINCIA IL SECONDO LIBRO DI
LA SVA HYPNEROTOMACHIA. NEL QVALE PO-
LIA ET LVI DISERTABONDI, IN QVALE MODO ET
VARIO CASO NARRANO INTERCALARIAMEN-
TE IL SVO INAMORAMENTO.

NARRA QVIVI LA DIVA POLIA LA NOBILE ET
ANTIOVA ORIGINE SVA. ET COMO PER LI PREDE-
CESSORI SVI TRIVISIO FVE EDIFICATO. ET DI QVEL
LA GENTE LELIA ORIVNDA. ET PER QVALE MO-
DO DISAVEDVTA ET INSCIA DISCONCIAMENTE
SE INAMOROE DI LEI IL SVO DILECTO POLIPHILLO.



EMIEDEBILE VOCE TALE OGRA-
tiose & diue Nymphæ absone peruenerão &
inconcine alla uostra benigna audiétia, quale
laterifica raucitate del urinante Esacho al sua-
ue canto dela piangeuole Philomela. Nondi-
meno uolendo io cum tuti gli mei exili cona-
ti del intellecto, & cum la mia paucula sufficié-
tia di satiffare alle uostre piaceuole petitione,
non ristarò al potere. Lequale semota qualúque hesitatione epse piu che
si congruerebbe altronde, dignamente meritano piu uberrimo fluuio di
eloquentia, cum troppo piu rotunda elegantia & cum piu exornata poli-
tura di pronútiato, che in me per alcuno pacto non si troua, di cósequire
il suo gratioso affecto. Ma a uui Celibe Nymphæ & adme alquáto, quan-
túche & confusa & incomptaméte fringultiéte haro in qualche portiu-
cula gratificato assai. Quando uoluntarosa & diuota a gli desii uostri &
postulato me prestaro piu presto cum lanimo nõ mediocre prompto hu-
mile parendo, che cum enucleata tersa, & uenusta eloquentia placédo.

Folio, printed in roman type, 234 leaves, 39 lines to a page, text measures 222 × 132 mm; without numerals or catchwords; signature 2 on second leaf of first gathering of four leaves, on Fol. 6 aij, then in eights to y8, z has 10 leaves, then A-F4 in eights. The watermarks are (1) bull's head, long stylus capped by trefoil, round which is coiled a serpent; (2) scales in circle, above which a short stylus, ball and cross. Hain, *5501, Proctor, 5574.

A clean but rather short copy, containing the Table of Corrigenda.

A facsimile is appended of a portion of the first page of the Second Book.

The first edition of one of the most beautiful typographical productions of the fifteenth century, printed at the expense of *Leonardo Crasso*, as is fully set forth in his dedicatory epistle, *Fol. 1b*. The work was reprinted by the Aldi in 1545, and editions with French text appeared in 1546, 1554 and 1561, and others in 1600 and 1657. An English version (of the first book only) entitled *Hypnerotomachia, The Strife of Loue in a Dreame*, was printed for Simon Waterson in St. Paule's Churchyard in 1592. Another edition of the same text was issued in the same year by William Holme, near the Great North Doore of Paule's. A new edition of this version, with an introduction by Mr. Andrew Lang, appeared in 1890.

Few books have advanced more rapidly in public estimation and in monetary value than this. Hibbert's copy sold for £17 13s. od. The late Mr. Quaritch priced copies at £16 16s. od. in 1862, £45 in 1870, £56 in 1877, £90 in 1882. Gaisford's brought £73 in 1890, the Beckford copy £130, the Turner £137. Some of these were exceptionally fine copies, and owed some part of their value to their bindings. My own, a very desirable copy, but rather short, cost me £7 in 1858.

The last word has perhaps been said on the personality of the author of this remarkable book, on the nature of his *bizarre* romance, and on the designer of the numerous and artistic productions which this first edition contains—by M. Claudius Popelin in his literal translation into French of the difficult Italian dialect employed by the author.⁽¹⁾ To this work the reader is referred for the fullest available details, and at shorter range to Mr. Andrew Lang's delightful preface to the English version above alluded to.

Little is known about Crasso, the spirited promulgator of a work which, but for his aid, might never have seen the light. He was of Verona, belonged to a good Milanese family, and is called by his contemporaries *doctor*, *prelate* and *protonotary*. His undertaking was not at first crowned with success. Between the years 1507-1511 he asks that his "privilege," having only a couple of years to run, may be prolonged for another ten years in consideration of the expenses of an edition which had cost him "*assai centenara de ducati*," and the greater part of which was still unsold.

It is rather remarkable that no certain indication of the name of the artist who designed the beautiful woodcuts which lend the principal charm to this celebrated volume should, in spite of endless discussion, have hitherto been discovered. They have been attributed in turn to Raffaele, Giov. Bellini, Carpaccio, Mantegna, Benedetto Montagna (the designer? of the Aldine dolphin), Peregrini and others, but the problem is still far from a solution. The well-known device of the anchor round which a dolphin is entwined, first used by Aldus in the year 1501, was, it would seem, unquestionably suggested by an almost identical representation on *Fol. 35a* of the *Hypnerotomachia*.

Considerable research has from time to time been made into the particulars of the life of the author of *Hypnerotomachia*, whose name is not openly disclosed in any portion of his work

(1) "Le Songe de Poliphile, ou Hypnerotomachie de Frère Francesco Colonna . . par Claudius Popelin." Paris, 1880. 8vo, 2 vols.

and whose identity was not generally known till the seventeenth century. A MS. note in Latin, in a copy of *Hypnerotomachia*, was, according to Temanza, seen by Apostolo Zeno, which revealed, perhaps not for the first time, the name of the author. It runs as follows: "MDXII. XX of June MDXVI. The true name of the author is Francis Columna (Colonna), a Venetian of the order of preachers, who, being detained at Treviso by his passion for a maiden called Hippolita, dedicated this book to her, altering her name to Polia as is evidenced by the first letters of the chapters of the book taken in succession." This cryptogram lightly veils, as an inspection shows, the inscription: POLIAM FRATER FRANCISCVS COLVMNA PERAMAVIT. The artifice was not then a new one and has been often made use of since. What seems to be known with some certainty of *Colonna* is that he was a monk, born about the year 1433, and that he possessed a considerable knowledge of and love for architecture and classical learning. Of the personality of *Polia* a romantic and unsupported legend says that Ippolita, the niece of a Monsignor Lelio at Treviso, was passionately beloved by Colonna, who had visited her native place in his travels, that she was smitten by the plague which then devastated the district, and in her peril vowed to take the veil if she were permitted to recover, and her prayer having been answered she entered a convent and Colonna in despair became a monk. The story is proved by M. Popelin to be apocryphal and impossible. He treats *Hypnerotomachia* as an archæological romance, and finds in the name *Poliphilo*, the lover not of a tender maiden but of *πολιά*, which connotes not only "the whiteness of age" but also figuratively "hoar antiquity," an interpretation which I agree with him in thinking will appear plausible to a careful reader of the "*Strife of Love in a Dream*."

It seems to be considered proper in disquisitions on this extraordinary volume greatly to depreciate the text whilst extolling the indubitably artistic and imaginative illustrations. It cannot be denied that in the mouth of the lover of modern romance the fragments of story contained in the *Strife of Love* may be but dust and ashes, and that the patience of most readers would be in brief space exhausted by the endless prolusions architectural, mythological and botanical which in their exuberance almost shroud the somewhat obscure love passages of the hero and his *Polia*. But animadversions of this nature may be in a lesser degree directed against the romances of chivalry in general, and it is only those who are tolerant of these long-winded narrations who can be beguiled even for a while by a composition so devoid of motive, so utterly artificial in form. A measure of gratification may, as I have discovered, be afforded to such readers by an occasional ramble through one of the chapters in M. Popelin's translation.

The artistic sense of Colonna, permeated by a rapturous love of the beautiful in that classical art which was in his day making mighty changes in a civilisation long heedless of its charm, was, moreover, fervently alive to the attractions of beautiful scenery, to the symmetry of the female form and to the allurements of dainty raiment, and he gave without scruple expression to his appreciation of all these. It is sometimes difficult to discover whether the *καλόν* or the *αρχαίον* held over him the stronger sway.

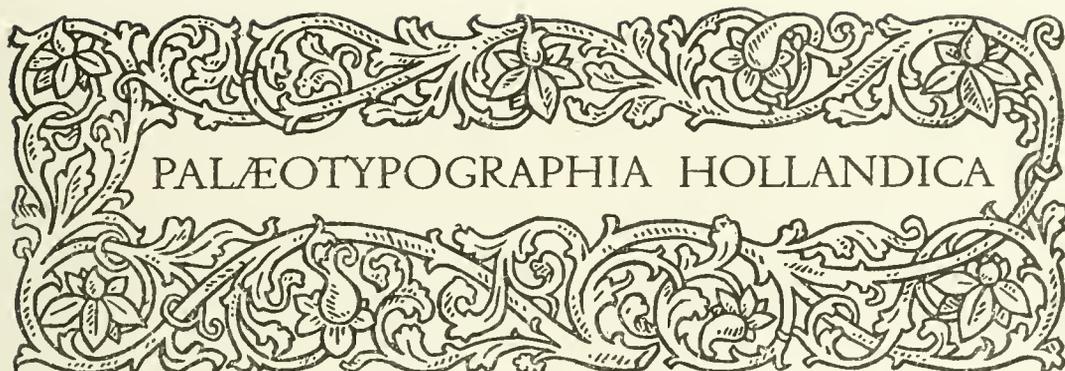
In regarding a venerable monument he is seized "with an unknown delight and unreportable pleasure to behold the same, gaping with open mouth, forgetting himself like a young childe, never satisfying his greedie eyes and unsaciabie desire to looke and overlooke the exquisite proportion of the auncient worke."⁽¹⁾ Nor is any enervation of his ardour to be looked for in his delineation of the other kinds of beauty by which he was held in thrall, as even a very cursory perusal of a chapter or two will show.

The woodcut here reproduced as a tail piece is to be found in the second book (*Fol. 200b*), and illustrates the following incident in the story, as related by *Polia* herself:—Stricken by the pestilence which was devastating the land of her birth, abandoned by all but a faithful nurse and maddened by the torments of the disease, she vows to devote herself if she recovers to the service of Diana. But at the moment of the ceremony of consecration *Poliphilo* enters the temple and endeavours with burning words to dissuade her from her purpose: she remains unmoved by his prayers, and refuses to bestow a single glance of pity on the despondent youth, who straightway falls lifeless at her feet. Moved by a sudden

(1) "*Strife of Loue in a Dreame*." Ed. 1890, p. 58.

and inexplicable hatred she drags him to a corner of the temple, and leaving him there takes to flight. A sudden gust of wind raises and carries her through the air, dropping her unharmed in the midst of a dense and terrible forest, where her ears are presently assailed by heartrending cries of distress. Two unhappy maidens pass by harnessed to a fiery car, and driven by Cupid through the thorny underwood, where after dire torments they are ruthlessly done to death for their disobedience to the little god of Love and resistance to the appeals of natural affection. Terrified and subdued by the gruesome admonitory vision, and saddened by the remembrance of her own cruelty, Polia returns to the temple and succeeds in recalling by her caresses her loyal lover to life, atoning for her former hardheartedness by a thousand evidences of affection. The transports of the reunited pair are, however, evanescent indeed. Poliphilo relates that whilst gazing at the entirely beautiful being, the column of his life to whom he is bound by indissoluble diamond chains (he cannot even at this supreme moment forget his architecture), he perceives a gracious colour to suffuse her cheeks, and her eyes to fill with tears—a sigh escapes her breast and she is resolved into space in a vapour of celestial perfume, crying to him as she vanishes from his gaze, "Poliphilo, my dear love, adieu!" And he awoke, and behold it was a dream.





PALÆOTYPOGRAPHIA HOLLANDICA



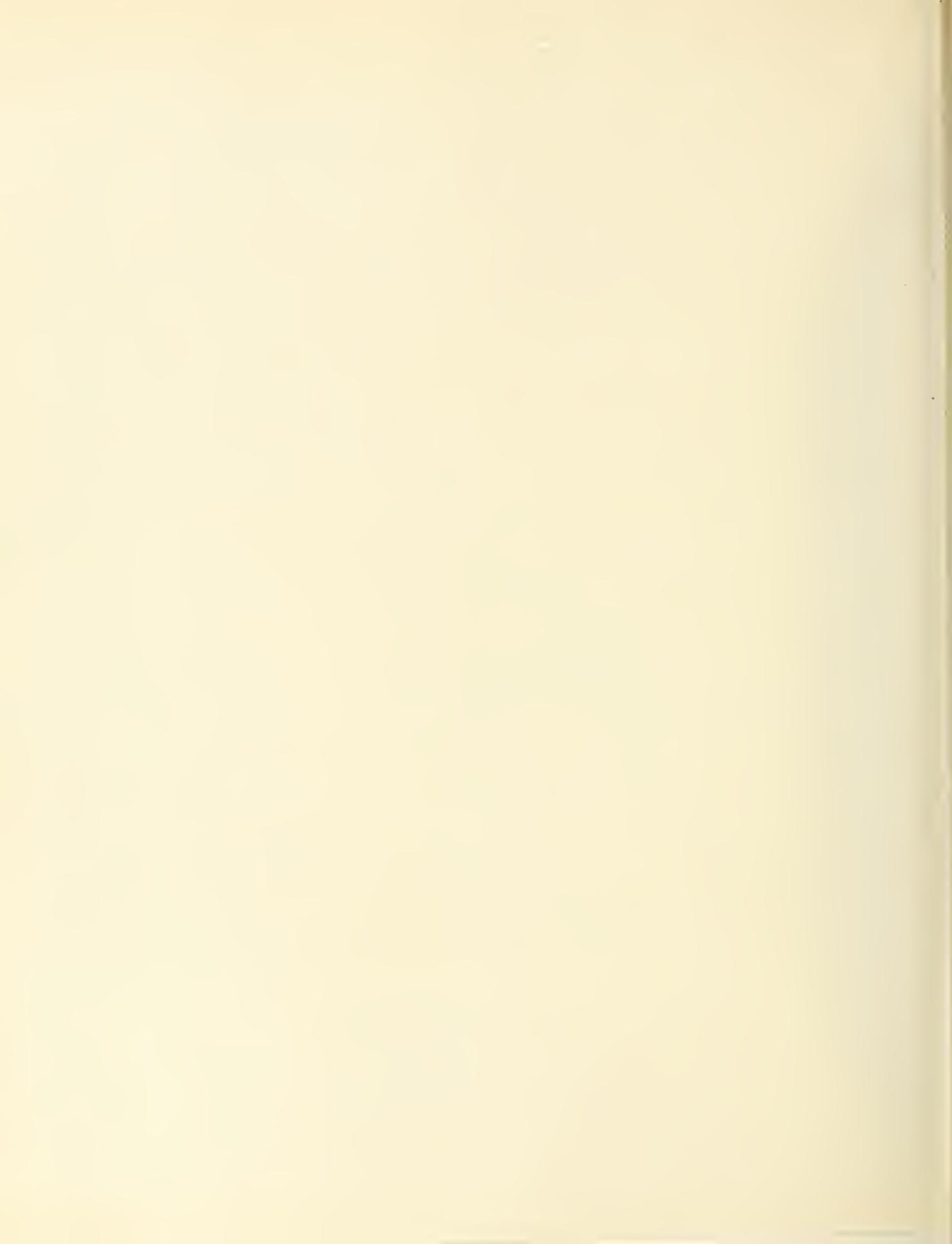
THE two fragments of which photographic facsimiles are appended (from the originals in the present Collection) are very recent additions to the list of those extremely rare books, or fragments of books, which are described by Mr. Hessels and other advocates of the historical precedence of the Dutch in the Art of Typography as *Costeriana*. It is to Mr. Hessels, in his Introduction to Dr. Van der Linde's work, "*The Haarlem Legend*" (London, 1871, 8vo), that we are indebted for anything like a complete list of these very remarkable productions. This classified catalogue of books and fragments comprises a notice of forty-three issues. In the revised list of

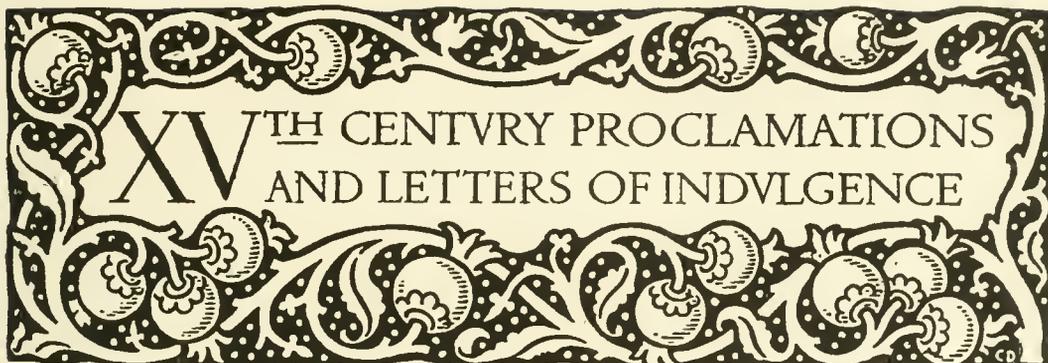
Costeriana contained in the work "*Haarlem, not Mentz, the Birth-place of Printing*," 1887, by the same writer, four additional examples are mentioned, to which my own two acquisitions about to be illustrated must now be added. The books and fragments of which mention is made in this list are by the believers in a *Dutch* origin of the art of printing considered to represent the first productions of the printing-press, and are supposed by many to have been printed by *Lourenz Janszoon Coster* before a single type was set (in Strasburg or) in Mentz. Be that as it may, they represent, with perhaps some exceptions, a class of printed matter *sui generis*, and as such compel the close investigation of typographical antiquaries. Mr. Hessels now arranges these *Costeriana* in eight classes, in accordance with the various types used in their composition. The first type he calls the *Speculum* type because it is that with which the *Speculum Humanæ Salvationis* (small folio) is printed. Of it, as is well known, there are four distinct editions. With the same types were printed seven different issues of *Ælius Donatus, de octo partibus orationis* (8vo), a *Dutch version of the Seven Penitential Psalms*, a *Liturgical Book* (16mo), four different issues of *Alexandri Galli* (or *De Villa Dei*) *Doctrinale* (4to), and *Catonis Disticha* (8vo). The fragment of a *Doctrinale* of which a facsimile follows greatly resembles that described by Mr. Hessels, Type I., No. 15, and figured in Holtrop (*Monuments Typographiques des Pays-Bas au Quinzième Siècle*, La Haye, 1868, fo.) on Plate 15a, and described on page 19 of the same work, but it will be noticed that there are on one side of my fragment 33 lines instead of 32. The Type II. of the list comprises only one fragment, that of a *Speculum Humanæ Salvationis* (small folio). In Type III., called the *Valla* type, is only

Laur. Vallæ Facetiæ morales, &c. (8vo). In Type IV., called the *Pontanus* type, are comprised copies of *Ludovici (Pontani) de Roma Singularia Juris, &c.*, and a fragment of a different edition of the same work, also four differing issues of the *Donatus*. Type V. is called the *Saliceto* type, and in it are found perfect copies or fragments of two issues of *Guil. de Saliceto de Salute Corporis*, of the *Donatus* (six issues), of the *Doctrinale* (four issues), *Catonis Disticha*, *Pii Secundi Tractatus et Epitaphia*, and *Iliados Homericæ Epitome abbreviatum* (two issues). The fragment of a *Donatus* of 27 lines of which I give a facsimile appears to correspond with Mr. Hessels' No. 33, and with the facsimile in *Holtrop, M. T., Plate 29b*, and description on page 35. Types VI. and VII. are each represented by a single *Donatus*. Type VIII., also called the *Abececlarium* type, comprises two important items: (1) the *Abececlarium* so often described, and figured in *Holtrop, Plate 12*, consisting of four leaves 16mo, printed on vellum, found in 1751 by M. Enschedé, the celebrated printer of Haarlem, in a MS. *Breviarium* of the fifteenth century originating from the family of *Berestyn*, related to *Jan van Zuren*, printer in Haarlem in 1561. This little work, which has been regarded by some as the first essay of *Laurens Coster*, has been often reproduced; it therefore seemed to me desirable, instead of inserting a facsimile of it in my chapter on the *Dawn of Typography*, to substitute for it a reproduction of the only other example of Mr. Hessels' Type VIII., viz., the fragment of a *Donatus* of 31 lines, also printed with the *Abececlarium* type, on one side only of two leaves of vellum. Of a page of this *Donatus* a notice and facsimile will be found on page 26—a negative specially made at my request having been most courteously supplied through the intermediation of M. Byvanck, the chief librarian at the Royal Library of the Hague.

The books and fragments of books under consideration form a very peculiar group, independently of the importance accorded to them by Costerians or Gutenbergians respectively. Two distinguishing peculiarities are to be found in them, "they all having that peculiar vertical stroke to the cross-bar of the *t* (which is conspicuous in the facsimiles of the *Doctrinale* and *Donatus*) and the down-stroke or *curl* attached to the *r* (occurring more rarely), which is found in no other types in the Netherlands." Some of these fragments are *anopisthographic*, i.e., no impression of the type has been taken on the *back* of the vellum, a circumstance which to some minds carries the conviction that they belong to a period when impression on both sides of the leaf was not yet practicable. A large number, perhaps a majority of the fragments have been discovered in the *bindings of books*, one (a *Donatus* fragment) "having been found in the *original binding* of an account-book of 1474 of the Cathedral at *Haarlem*, wherein an entry occurs showing that the volume had been bound by *Cornelis* the bookbinder, the very man who is alleged by *Junius* to have been the servant of *Coster*." But unfortunately and provokingly, none, as far as I am aware, have ever been discovered in such circumstances as to give *independent* evidence of an origin earlier than 1472? That the *Costeriana* are of Dutch origin is perhaps indisputable; that they all belong to the same press is possible, but there is, so far as I know, not the smallest indication of the name of their printer, nor any reasonable certainty within twenty years, of the date of their production. Some day we may know more about them: at present they are the *chevaux de bataille* of the Costerians, Mr. Hessels advocating for some of them a printing date of 1446, whilst their importance is minimized by the Gutenbergians, who attribute them to a period not antecedent to 1472.

The subject, as I have said, has been very fully treated by Mr. Hessels (*Haarlem, not Mentz*, pages 24-36), and I would refer the reader whom the discussion may attract to that interesting work, with the reservation that in my humble opinion the last word has not yet been said therein, or in the works of his antagonists, on the date of the *Costeriana*. In order to obtain the views of the Gutenbergians on the same subject it will be advisable to consult the article of D. A. Wyss in the *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* for June, 1888, and that of M. Carl Dziatzko in the *Sammlung Bibliothekswissenschaftlicher Arbeiten*, Berlin, 1890, on the 42 and 36-line Bible, in both of which the subject of the *Costeriana* is fully handled.





XVTH CENTVRY PROCLAMATIONS
AND LETTERS OF INDVLGENCE

(I.) *Circa* 1480. A BROADSIDE PROCLAMATION WARNING THE PUBLIC
AGAINST BASE GULDERS,

[ANTON SORG, AUGSBURG.]

Hic feind zemerchen die zeichen der falschen gul || din jin nyderlan gemacht vnd feind etlicher || mün zer zü Gottingen in Sachfen vnd in an || dern statten verprannt vnd auf vier thunnen || von in gemünt (zet), etc. *Line 32*: **¶** Vnd das Kupffer ist so hörtt gemüntzet vnd gefotten || das es wol clingt darumb mag fy niemād erkennen an || dem clangng oder an dem strich. ||

Folio, *printed in gothic type, 34 lines; text measures 202 × 128 mm.; woodcuts.* The watermark is the bull's head (?), stylus, and Tau. On the back is written *in red*: **Ad me Joannem Augustini Rospicbler.** *In black*: (Library Stamp) *Bibliotheca Neocellensis.*

An extremely rare broadside proclamation, printed on one side of a sheet measuring 280 × 189 mm., *undescribed by bibliographers, and probably unique.* It is from the very fertile press of *Anton Sorg*, the fifth printer of Augsburg, 1475-1493. There are some eighty productions of his in the British Museum, among which are three broadsides. On the right hand side of the page are woodcut representations of the obverse and reverse of *six spurious güldens*, to which it was desired to call attention as forgeries, the description of peculiarities of each being placed opposite to the illustration. The laudable intention of the Broadside is to call attention to the forgery of *gülden* which is going on in the *Netherlands* and in *Saxony*, and to give to the public indications sufficing for their detection, as may be seen by the following translation:—

Here are figured the indications of the false gülden made in the *Netherlands* and some of the coins are struck in *Gottingen* in *Saxony* and other towns and are minted to the extent of 4 tuns thereof.

Item the gülden of the four hearts, struck with a two-fold W which stands on the upper part of the coin are false. The two-fold gülden struck with an apple (orb) on one side and on the other St. John with a shield on which is a lion are some of them false.

The Gülden with an apple (orb) on one side; and on the other St. Peter with a star on his breast are false, they are struck in Hamburg.

The *Gulden* with a *Bishop* and a large shield, and above on his head a B with a "dittel" are struck at *Cologne*.

The *Gulden* with an apple (orb) on one side and a creüz (which here means a figure of our Saviour) with a star between His feet are struck at Frankfort and are false.

Item the above mentioned *Gulden* are not worth more than *five weysspfennings* and the rim round them is half the thickness of a blade, and the body is of copper gilded, and the copper is so hard-minted and refined that it rings clearly so that no one could detect it by striking or ringing.

The legends of the *false* coins read as follows:—

- | | | |
|------|-----------|-----------------------------|
| (1.) | <i>O.</i> | MONE. NOVA. AVREA. |
| | <i>R.</i> | ADOLF'. ARPIE. RONE. |
| (2.) | <i>O.</i> | MONET. NO. LVNBOET. |
| | <i>R.</i> | FRIDERICIVS. RONOR. |
| (3.) | <i>O.</i> | MONET. NO. HAMBVRG. |
| | <i>R.</i> | SIGISMV'D. NE. NOIV. NIHAD. |
| (4.) | <i>O.</i> | THEGCI. AREI. I. COLN. |
| | <i>R.</i> | MONETA. NOVA. AVREA. BV. |
| (5.) | <i>O.</i> | MONETA. NO. FRANCFORT. |
| | <i>R.</i> | FRIDERICVS. RONORV'. REX. |

By the kindness of my friend, Mr. H. A. Grueber, of the B.M., I have been enabled to trace in that collection the originals of four of the coins, of which the forgeries are here specified. It will be seen that the false coins were very carelessly represented in the broadside by the old wood-engraver, especially as regards the legends.

*FACSIMILES OF THE GENUINE COINS THE FORGERIES
OF WHICH ARE FIGURED IN THE BROADSIDE
FROM THE PRESS OF ANTON SORG.*

- (1.) *Gold Ducat of Adolf II., Abp. of Mainz 1461-1475.*

O. ADOLF. ARCHIEP. D.M.A.

Christ enthroned nimbate, crowned, giving the benediction, at His feet a shield, arms of a Bishop of Nassau and See impaled.

R. MONE. NOV. AVREA. MAGVN.

The four shields of Cologne, the Palatinate (Bavaria), Mentz, and Treves, in the arms of a cross fleury, with quatrefoil in centre.



Hie seind zumerthen die zeichen der falschen gul-
 din in mycelan gemacht vnd seind etlicher
 münzer zu G. in Sachsen vnd in an-
 dern l. ten verprant vnd auf vier thumen
 vñ in gemünt.

Die die guldin auff 8 vier her-
 schlag mit einem zwifalügen w.
 das stet oben an dem mo-
 ist falsch.



Die die guldin mit einem apfel auf
 einer seite vñ sant johannes auff
 der andern seite ein schilt mit ey-
 nem leo. etlich seind falsch.



Die guldin mit einem apfel auf
 einer seite vnd die an der seite
 sant Peter mit einem stern an der
 andern seite. solt steen sant johannes auf
 den Hamburger schlag.



Die guldin mit dem bischof mit
 einem grossen schilt. vñ obē an de-
 m hant. mit einem dittel auff
 dem kölmischen schlag.



Die guldin mit einem apffel auff
 einer seite vñ ein creüz mit einer
 steren die an der seite zwischen den
 füßen auff frankfurter schlag seind
 etlich falsch.



Item die vorgenannten guldin ist einer mit besser dann
 fünff weyßpfenning. vñ ist der raiff vmbher guldin eins
 halben halms dick. vñ das corpus ist gantz küpfferin vñ
 übergült.

Vnd das kupffer ist so hört gemüntzet vund gesotten
 das es wol clingt. darumb mag sy niemad erkennen an
 dem olamig oder an dem strich.

AD ME JOHANNEM AYGVSINI VICEPACHEN.

Bibliotheca Neccellensis.



- (2.) *Gold Florin of Lüneburg, Emperor Frederick III., 1439-1493.*



O. MONETA. NOVA. LVNENB.

St. John and Lamb ; below, shield of Lüneburg.

R. FRIDERICVS. ROMANORV. REX.

The imperial orb with the trefoil of Nassau.

- (3.) *Gold Ducat, struck at Hamburg, of Emperor Frederick III., 1439-1493 (resembling one struck by Sigismund, 1410-1437, of which the forgery is shown).*



O. MONETA. RO. HAMBURGEI.

St. Peter with keys, nimbate ; below, shield of Hamburg.

R. FREDERICVS. RO'NOR. REX.

The imperial orb within trefoil.

[The fourth coin is a *Ducat of Theoderic, Archbishop of Cologne*, struck at Bonn, described in more than one book, but of which no illustration can be met with.]

- (5.) *Gold Florin, struck at Frankfort, of Frederick III., 1439-1493.*



O. MONET. NO. FRANCF'D.

St. John, nimbate, with Lamb, between his feet shield of Frankfort.

R. FRIDRICV. ROMAN. IMP.

The imperial orb within trefoil.

(II.) 1482 *Nov.* DECLARATION OF INDULGENCE BY POPE SIXTUS IV.

[AUGSBURG, HERMANV KÄSTLIN.]

Line 1: NORDLINGEN. *Line 2:* (S)ixtus Episcopus seruus seruorum dei ad futuram rei memoriam. De ecclesiaꝝ quarumlibet statu ꝛ decore ac votua || perfectione^l nec non cristi fidelium animaꝝ salute continue foliciti, etc. *Line 48:* Nul || li ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginaꝝ nostre translationis infringere. Vel ei vsu temerario contraire. Siqs || autem hoc attemptare presumpserit indignationem omnipotentis dei. Ac beatoꝝ Petri ꝛ Pauli

apofolorum eius se || nouerit incurfurum. Datum Rome apud sanctum Petrum Anno incarnationis dominice Millesimo quadringente- || fimo Octuagefimo secundo septimo ydus Nouembris Pontificatus nostri Anno duodecimo. || *Line 53*: Collationata est hec presens copia per me. *In MS.*: *Jodocu(m) Pflantzmann Notarium.* || *Line 54*: Et concordat cum tranffumpto super bulla originali facto. ||

Folio, *printed in gothic type, 54 lines; text measures 303 × 231 mm.* The watermark is the bull's head, long stylus and trefoil.

An extremely rare broadside proclamation, printed on one side of a sheet measuring 430 × 286 mm. [*This copy was found in the binding of a copy of the second edition of Galenus, Opera, printed at Venice in 1490 by Philippus Pintius de Caneto. Hain, *7427.*]

In this Notification Pope *Sixtus IV.* calls attention to the lack of funds available for the completion of the new church at *Nordlingen* dedicated to *St. George*, the *Blessed Virgin Mary*, and the *Blessed Mary Magdalene*. He desires that the edifice should be finished as speedily as possible according to the original design, which cannot be accomplished unless the faithful in Christ give their pious assistance, and in order that they may the more readily stretch forth their helping hands, he grants (*line 22*), among other things, plenary remission of all their sins to all faithful persons who having duly repented and confessed, devoutly visit the said "church in progress" (*inceptam ecclesiam*) between the Eve of the Festival of the Body of Our Lord Jesus Christ and the second vespers of the Octave of that Festival inclusive at least once, *and put something according to his conscience, either in money counted out or its equivalent, or such a sum as he is accustomed to spend in a week, into the chest, ark, or coffer placed in that church or other convenient place*, towards the completion of the church as aforesaid, and to those who shall hereafter visit the said church annually and contribute as aforesaid he relaxes mercifully in the Lord thirty years and as many periods of forty days of penances which have been enjoined upon them. Full provision is then made for a supply of Confessors to take the confessions of those who are about to contribute, and many other regulations for certain eventualities follow, especially providing for the possibility of contributions not flowing in so quickly as is desirable. A minatory clause (of which the text is given above) concludes the text.

It is notified in the last two lines of the document in the handwriting of *Jodocus Pflantzmann*, notary, that the present copy of the Indulgence has been collated by him, and that it agrees with a transcript made from the original Bull.

Pflantzmann had been a printer at Augsburg (see Proctor, 1736-1737), but had ceased to print before this date, and had it appears become a notary. His signature must be looked upon as of great interest, as autographs of early printers are excessively rare. *Bernard* reproduces several of *Schaeffer's*.

It will be noted that in this Indulgence *contrition* as well as confession is treated as essential to the remission of sins.

(III.) 1482. LITERÆ INDULGENTIARUM. PAPÆ SIXTI QUARTI.

A XYLOGRAPHIC BROADSIDE.

[MUNICH?]

AN INDULGENCE GRANTED UNDER A BULL OF CRUSADING INDULGENCE OF SIXTUS IV.

Line 1: Forma Confessionalis. || Pateat vniuersis presentes litteras inspecturis. Qualiter deuot() in xp̄o (). || diocef ad op̄o sancte cruciate p̄ Sāctissimū in xp̄o p̄rez et dñm n̄m dñm Sixtū diuina puidētia papā quartū || ordinatum debitam fecerit gōtributionē, etc. *Line 12*: In cui⁹ rei fidem et testimoniu Ego frater petr⁹ Gardian⁹ ⁊ p̄dicator quēt⁹ monaccē. ordinis mino- || rum subcommiffarius eiufdem sanctissimi dñi nostri Sixti pape quarti super prefato negocio deputatus presētes || litteras fieri feci. Et figilli cruciate impressione

Mordlingen.

Truus Episcopus seruis seruorum dei ad futuram rei memoriam De ecclesiaz quarumlibet statu ⁊ decore ac potius

Pateat vniuersis presentes littere
 diocef ad op² sancte cruciate
 ordinatum debitam fecerit p²tri
 sibi confessorem prespiterum y
 possit auctoritate p²dicta ab on
 Etia si talia forent ppter que
 A iure vel p statuta quecuq; p
 totiens quotiens id petierit. Ad
 et remissionem impendere. No
 factis prout in bulla data. O
 continetur. In cui² rei fidem et
 ann subcommissarius eiusden
 litteras fieri feci. Et sigilli cru

Discreatur tui omnipotens de
 uat. Et auctoritate ei² et beato
 te absoluo a vincillo excommu
 Et eade auctoritate te absoluo
 enormibus. Etiam si talia fore
 nariam indulgentiam et remissi
 Nota q; in mortis articulo
 onem et indulgentiam tibi eade

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Forma confessionalis.

Pateat vniuersis presentes litteras inspecturis. Qualiter deuot in xpo
dioeces ad op^l sancte cruciate p^o S^{ac}ralissimi in xpo p^{re}s et dⁿⁱm n^{ost}r^{um} dⁿⁱm Sixti diuina p^{ro}uid^{en}tia pap^a quart^o
ordinatum debitam fecerit distributione. Quapropter auctoritate prelati Domini nostri ipe p^{re}sate h^{ab}et eligendi
sibi confessorum presbiterum idoneum religiosum vel seculari. qui audita diligenter eius confessione absoluerit eum
possit auctoritate predicta ab omnib^{us} commissis per eum excessibus et peccatis quibuslibet quantumcuq^{ue} enormibus.
Et si talia forent propter que sedes apostolica esset consulenda. Et a censuris et penis ac excommunicationibus omnibus.
A iure vel p^{ro} statuta quecuq^{ue} promulgatis et sedi aplice reseruat^{is} semel d^{ic}untur. A non reseruat^{is} vero eadem sedi
totiens quotiens id petierit. Ac semel in vita et in mortis articulo plenaria omnium peccatorum suorum indulgentia
et remissionem impendere. Non obstantibus quibuscuq^{ue} reseruationibus a p^{re}fato pontifice. vel eius predecessoribus
factis prout in bulla data. M. CCCC. LXXX. pridie nonas octobris pontificatus eiusdem anno decimo plenius
contineatur. In cuius rei fidem et testimonium Ego frater Petrus Gardianus p^{re}uator d^{ic}et^{is} ysonacens^{is} ordinis mⁱⁿo
r^{um} subcommissarius eiusdem sanctissimi dⁿⁱ nostri Sixti pap^e quart^o super p^{re}fato negotio deputatus presertim
litteras fieri feci. Et sigilli cruciate impressione muniri. Anno domini. M. CCCC. LXXX. Die

forma absolutionis.

Misereatur tui omnipotens deus etc. Dominus noster ihesus christus per suam p^{re}ssimam misericordiam te absol
uat. Et auctoritate eius et beatorum Petri et pauli ap^{osto}lor^{um} ac S^{ac}ralissimi dⁿⁱ n^{ost}r^{um} pap^e mⁱⁿdi commiss^a et tibi concessa. ego
te absoluo a vinculo excommunicationis si incidisti et restituo te sac^{ra}mentis eccl^{esi}e ac vniuersi et participati^oni fidelium.
Et eadem auctoritate te absoluo ab omnibus et singulis criminibus delictis et peccatis tuis quatuorcuq^{ue} grauib^{us} et
enormibus. Etiam si talia forent propter que sedes apostolica consulenda esset ac de ipsis eadem auctoritate tibi ple
nariam indulgentiam et remissionem confero. In nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti Amen.
¶ Nota q^{uod} in mortis articulo adiungenda est haec clausula. Si ab ista egritudine non excesseris plenariam remissi
onem et indulgentiam tibi eadem auctoritate in mortis articulo conferendam reseruo.

This broadside deserves particular attention on more grounds than one. In the first place it was, until the *Libri* sale in 1859, apparently unknown to bibliographers. But other copies have since turned up; there are, besides the present, one in the Bodleian and one in the White Historical Library at Cornell University, and I have recently heard of a fifth. If printed at Munich, as seems most likely, it is probably the earliest monument of printing at that place, *Johann Schauer*, the earliest printer there, having issued his first book on June 26, 1482. It is, moreover, I believe *the only indulgence printed from a block (xylographic)*, all others, even the earliest, which have come down to us having been printed from *movable types*. These are its material peculiarities. Its literary ortheological interest arises from its belonging to that class of *confessionalia* which confer privileges in the most comprehensive and positive form without any of the final reservations which are to be found in another type of indulgences.

A reason may be hazarded for the unique circumstance of the printing of an Indulgence from a wooden block instead of from movable types, already long in use. It was, doubtless, desired at this moment to call in with the utmost speed monies ostensibly required for the prosecution of the war against the Turks. *Sixtus* had already exhausted his treasury, and was at the end of 1481 imposing new tithes upon the clergy, and offering for sale, without regard to the qualifications of the purchasers, newly created offices in the Roman Court.

It was by this time quite usual to print Letters of Indulgence instead of having them written by the scribe, and as there was no press in Munich till the middle of the year, and no time, or perhaps no desire, to send the document out of the country to be printed, the services of a *xylographer* were obtained, who doubtless used for his model a book printed by *Creussner*, which was the first to come to hand.

The contents of the document are somewhat startling. The *confessional letters*, of which this and the Indulgence of Innocent VIII. (1488), which will presently be referred to, exhibit more daring and dangerous characteristics than can be found in any other form of Indulgence. For, as will be seen, they entitled the purchaser to choose his own confessor, secular or regular, to whom was given the power after hearing his confession to absolve him from all sins, however enormous, and grant him full remission and indulgence once during life and again at death. Moreover, not a word is said in the present document as to *contrition*, nor as to the Indulgence being for the particular sins confessed. The form of absolution which follows immediately after the Confessional form was manifestly intended to be pronounced by the pardoner or one of his assistants, so that the purchaser of the Indulgence could be absolved from the most heinous crimes within a few minutes after the price had been paid.

(IV.) (*Before April 5, 1488.*) RAYMUNDUS PERAUDI. LITERÆ INDULGENTIARUM. INNOCENTII VIII.

(MENTZ, PETER SCHÆFFER.)

Uniuerſis. Pñtes lras inſpecturis. Raymūdus peraudi ſacre pagine pſeffor Archidiaconus Almiſieñ. in || ecclēſia Xanctoneñ. ſedis apoſtolice pthonotarius. ad Almaniā, etc., 19 lines, ending, Die ()Menſis ()Anno dñi M.cccc.lxxxviij. Line 20: Forma abſolucōnis in vita totiens quotiens. || Miſereatur tui ꝛc. Dñs nñ ihēſus xp̄s p̄ meritū ſue paſſiōis te abſoluat aũcte cui⁹ et apoſtolica michi in || hac pte cōmiſſa et tibi ꝛceſſa ego te abſoluo ab oĩmib⁹ peccatis tuis. In noie patris ꝛ filii et ſpūs ſancti. Amen || Line 23: Forma abſolucōis et plenarie remiſſionis i vero mortis articulo uel veriſimili. || Miſereatur tui. ꝛc. Dñs. noſter ihēſus xp̄s, etc. Ends on fifth line of ſection (27th line of page): In noie patris et filii et ſpūs ſancti amen. ||

Oblong, printed in gothic type on one ſide of a ſheet of vellum, 27 lines; text meaſures 203 (over initials 213) × 128 mm.; the titles and firſt word or two of each ſection in large text type; ſpaces left for names and dates. Hain, 9204? Proctor, 125.

Universis. Patres lras inspecturis. Rarmudus petaudi sacre pagine pfflor Archidiaconus Almsien in
ecclesia Xanctonen sedis apostolice pphonorarius ad Almamā y mucrasq; 7 singula puicias ciuitates ter
ras et loca germane sacro romano impio pū apibz electoribz ac subditis vbilibet subiecti orator nūcius
et commissarius apostolicus Saluta. Nōū sū am? q̄ten? sanctissim? dñs nŕ Innoctius p̄ a octau? et modernus
cūctis veritasq; xp̄i fidelibz p̄ tunc oit p̄ose fidei p̄tra thurcos iuxta ordina cōne nra; man? aduēctus p̄ or
nigenabz p̄ter ubileu et alii. a indulgētiā gr̄as facultates q̄s sup̄ dicti xp̄i fideles obtinē dūt axat p̄ nŕe visitā
eccias p̄ nos aut p̄ commissarios nros deputā d. n. ac si visitassent eccias vrbis tpe Jubilei. put in bullis ap̄licis
desup̄ cōfectis plenus otinet. possint edige cōfessōe iōneū secularē uel regularē q̄ eos vita comite ab omibz ex
cessibz et delictis p̄ter q̄ sedi ap̄lice reseruat̄s tot es quoties opus fuerit absolue possit. Et insup̄ toties quoties
ad talē statū teuenerit ut verifit de eoz morte dubitetur etiā h̄ic eos ab hac luce decedē nō dūngat; in ve
ro mortis articulo plenariā oim suoz p̄ctoz remissōe eis valeat imp̄tri de sue plemtudie potestatis facultas
com ocessit. Soluitq; idē sanctissimus dñs nŕ motu proprio oēs et singulos h̄moi benefactores at; eoz parēres de
functos et eoz bñfactores q̄ cū caritate recesserūt in q̄m̄bz p̄cibz suffragiis missis elemofinis ieiuniis orombz
disciplinis et ceteris oibz spualibz bonis q̄ fiūt fieri poterūt in tota vniuersali sacrosā xp̄i ecclia m̄litate et oibz
mēbris eiusdē in p̄tenti p̄cipis fieri. Cūtaq; de uoti. in xpo ^{de p̄ctis et elemofinis et elemofinis} ^{et elemofinis} ^{et elemofinis} ^{et elemofinis}
ad ip̄ius fidei piā subuēctōe 7 defensionē iuxta suūm p̄ntificis intentionē et nostrā ordinationē put p̄ntes lras
sibi h̄moi testimōiū a nobis traditā approbamus de suis bonis cōtulerit cūsdē aūctē pontificis sibi ut in
ulgentia p̄ p̄dicta tuncōne fieri cōcessa q̄o ad in superioribz cōtenta vti et gaudere valeat merito cōstat esse co
et am. Datū sub sigille nŕo ad hoc ordināto. Die ^{ap̄lic} Mensis ^{ap̄lic} Anno dñi M. cccc. lxxxviii.

Miseretur tui 37. Forma absolūtionis in vita totiens quotiens.

Dñs nŕ ih̄sus xps p̄ meritū sue passiōis te absoluat aūctē cui? et apostolica michi in
hac p̄ce cōmissa et tibi ocessa ego te absoluo ab omibz peccatis tuis Innoie patris 7 filij et spūs sancti. Amen

Miseretur tui 38. Forma absolūtionis i vero mortis articulo uel verisimili

Dñs noster ih̄sus xps p̄ meritū sue passiōis te absoluat 7 ego aūctē ip̄i? et ap̄lica michi
in hac p̄ce cōmissa et tibi ocessa te absolue. Primo ab omi sentētia excoicacionis maioris uel minoris quā incur
risi Deinde ab omibz peccatis tuis cōtenti 7 fessis et oblitis. cōferēo tibi plenariā oim p̄ctoz tuoz u remissione
remittendo tibi penas purgatorij In uoie patris et filij et spūs sancti amen.

This document, belonging to the class of Indulgences called *Confessionalia*, as entitling the recipient to choose a complacent confessor, was issued by *Raymundus Peraudi*,⁽¹⁾ protonotary to Innocent VIII. It contains in the first place a recital of that Pontiff's offer to all those faithful in Christ of either sex who shall, in conformity with his ordinance, stretch forth helping hands in aid of the orthodox faith against the Turk, or visit certain churches appointed by him or his commissioners, etc., etc. To these he gives the right to choose a fitting confessor, secular or regular, who shall have the power to absolve them during life from all excesses and sins except those reserved for (the judgment of) the Apostolic see, just as often as occasion may arise. And further, whensoever it may appear probable that death is approaching, even if it should not happen then to take place, he (Innocent VIII.) of the plenitude of his power has granted the confessor the ability to grant (*impertiri*) at the very point of death plenary remission of all their sins. And the Holy Father, of his own free will (*proprio motu*) wishes that all and singular such benefactors and their deceased relatives, and benefactors who died in charity (with all men?) should be made everlasting partakers in all prayers, petitions, masses, alms, fastings, disciplines, and other spiritual benefits which are made or can be made in the universal Holy Church of Christ and its members. And since the devout in Christ (*Johannes de Scharsteyn and Elizabeth his wife*) have contributed to such pious assistance and help of the Church, it follows that such Indulgence should deservedly be granted them. Given under the seal ordered for this purpose the (14th) day of the month of (*April*), Anno domini M.cccc.lxxxviii. (*The names, the day, and the month are in MS.*)

Form of Absolution, as often as may be during life.

Misereatur tui, etc. Almighty God have mercy upon thee, etc. Our Lord Jesus Christ by the merit of His Passion absolve thee, by whose authority and the Authority Apostolic to me in this behalf committed and to thee conceded, I absolve thee from all thy sins, etc.

Form of Absolution and plenary Remission in the article of death or its probability.

Misereatur tui, etc. Our Lord Jesus Christ by the merit of His Passion absolve thee, and I by His Authority and by the Authority Apostolic to me in this behalf committed and so to thee conceded absolve thee—first from every sentence of the greater or lesser excommunication which thou hast incurred—next from all thy sins sorrowed for confessed and forgotten, by conferring upon thee full remission of all thy sins and remitting thee the pains of purgatory, etc.

(V.) 1496 Aug. 14. PROCLAMATION BY MAXIMILIAN CONCERNING HIS WARS WITH THE SWISS.

[FREIBURG IN BREISGAU, FRIEDRICH RIEDRER.]

Wir Maximilian von gots gnaden Römischer König züallentzeiten merer des Reichs zu Hunngern Dallma || cien Croacien &c. . . . 7th line begins: Nu haben wir vmb folhen vertrag kain wiffen, etc. 11th line: Datum || Freyburg in Breysgaw am Vierzehenden tag des Monnats Augufti. Nach Cristi gepürde Vierzehend- || hundert vnnnd im Newnundnewntzigften. Vnferer Reiche des Römischen im Vierzehenden vnnnd des || Hunngerischen im zehenden Iahren. . . . In MS.: Ad mandatum domini Regis proprium.

Long folio, printed in gothic type, 14 lines, text measures 66 × 196 mm., exclusive of initial letter. The watermark is a curricomb, or comb for wool.

(1) Raymundus Peraudi (Perault) officiated through the reigns of three Pontiffs, Paul II., Sixtus IV., and Innocent VIII., as Apostolic Nuncio to collect monies, ostensibly for the war (Crusade) against the Turks; he was Archdeacon and Bishop of Saintes, and made Cardinal of Gurck by Alexander VI. By his industry enormous sums were collected through the traffic in Indulgences. On the scope of the *Confessionalia* see ante page 246, under No. III.

An extremely rare broadside proclamation, printed on one side of a sheet measuring 210 × 305 mm. It is apparently unknown to bibliographers. Its tenour is as follows:—

We *Maximilian* by God's grace King of the *Romans Semper Augustus* of *Hungary Dalmatia Croatia* etc. King. Royal Archduke of *Austria*, Duke of *Burgundy, Gueldres, &c.* Count of *Hapsburg Flanders Tyrol &c.* do extend to all the subjects and faithful lieges of the Empire in whatever state or condition they may be, Our grace and all favour.

We have been informed that everywhere a report has been spread that the war between Us and the *Swiss* has been brought to an end and that Peace has been concluded. Also that to our side in that war great damage has been done by murder rapine and fire. Now we have no knowledge of any such Peace, for the matters between us and the said *Swiss* daily point more to war than to peace or anything like it. But on both sides, the damage by murder rapine and fire is manifest and great. Still, our enemies have hitherto at every encounter received in those three particulars quite as much damage from Us as We from them. That we do not conceal from you, that you may give no credence to the said invented rumours.

Given at *Freyburg im Breysgaw* on the fourteenth day of August, after the birth of Christ Fourteen hundred and ninety-nine of our Roman Empire the fourteenth and of the Hungarian the tenth.

From the press of *Friedrich Riedrer*, the second printer in Freiburg, 1493—very few books were issued in the fifteenth century. There are seven in the B.M., the earliest of which is dated December 11, 1493, and the latest 1499, and only one in the Bodleian. *This broadside is apparently quite unknown to bibliographers.*

The facsimile resembles the original so closely that the reader may perceive (on the blank part of the paper, about two inches below the type, extending across the sheet, but visible especially at the left side under the word *Hungerischen*), the marks of embossed letters; these were uninked types, used much more frequently by the earliest printers than at the end of the century for the purpose of relieving the uneven pressure on the lower lines of the type. These would not have been necessary had the matter occupied the whole page.

The Emperor *Maximilian* had not been able to renew with the *Swiss* the friendship and alliance which they had formerly maintained with his predecessor *Sigismund* of Austria, and whilst deeply involved in the war with Charles Duke of Guelderland was compelled to turn his arms against the *Swiss*, who at this time (1499) had just renewed with Louis XII. of France the ancient alliance which they had entered into with his predecessors. *Maximilian* in this emergency endeavoured to sow dissensions among the *Swiss*, but his manœuvres only resulted in uniting more closely the bond between their cantons. He succeeded, however, in drawing supplies of men from the cities of *Franconia* and *Suabia*, and sent against the Swiss an army of 16,000 men. This force was totally routed in an obstinately fought engagement near *Oberdorff*, and Maximilian was compelled to grant the Swiss a peace, and to sign in 1500 the ratification of Swiss independence. The vapourings, therefore, of the Emperor which form the subject of this interesting broadside were somewhat premature.



ir Maximilian von gots gnad
cien Croacien 2c künig Erzh
zü Flanndern zü Tirol 2c Em
getrewen | in was wieden stat
allenthalben ain Rede erscholl
Auch auff vnserm tayl in sol
Tu haben wir vmb solchen ver
sweytzen täglichs mer zü Erie
ist auf bayden seytten derselb sch
ains yeden gelegenheit von vn
das wolten wir eüch nit verha
Frezburg im Breysgaw am D
hundert vnnnd im Trewnund
Sunngerischen im zehenden J



ir Maximilian von gots gnaden Römischer König zu allentzeiten kaiser des Reichs zu Bunnhern Dallma-
cien Croacien 2c König Herzog zu Österreich Herzog zu Burgundi | zu Geldern 2c Graue zu Habsburg
zu Flanndern zu Tirol 2c Empieren aller vnd jeglichen vnnsern vnd des heiligen Reichs vnderthanen vnd
gerewen | in was wir den states oder wesen die sein . Vnser gnad vnd alles gür Uns lanngt an | Die
alkenthalben ain Rede erschollen | das der krieg zwüschen vnns vnd den Swytzern gericht vnd vertragen
Auch auff vnserm tayl in solchem krieg | an todschlag Raub vnd prannt der grösser schaden beschehen sey .
Nu haben wir vmb solken vertrag kein wissen | dann sich schicken die sachen | zwüschen vnns vnd den selben
swytzern täglich mer zu krieg | dann zu frid oder ainigkeit . Aber des todschlag Raub vnd prantts halben
ist auf beyden seynen derselb schaden etwas mercklich vnd gros . Doch haben vnser veynde | noch bis her nach
ains yeden gelegenheit von vns an denselben dreyen stucken wol soult schadens als wir von inen empfangen
das wolten wir euch nit verkalren | damit Ir denselben errichten Reden kainen glaroben gebet . Datum
freyburg im Breysgaw am vierzehenden tag des Monnats Augusti . Nach Cristi gepürde vierzehens
hundert vnd im Newundneuntzigsten . Vnserer Reiche des Römischen im Dreyzehenden vnd des
Bunngerischen im zehenden Jaren

Wolfgang von
Roggenstein



THE paper upon which all the *Incunabula* are printed is of course what is known as *hand-made* paper, no paper-making machinery having been used till the year 1798. In the primitive operation—still, as is well known, much used for papers of a high class—the “mould” is a shallow box of wood on which is stretched *fine wire* cloth made of parallel wire, and called “*the sieve*” in English, and “*les vergeures*” in French, its weight being supported by strong wires running at right angles to the former; these are called in English “*the wires*,” and in French “*les pontuseaux*.” The “*watermark*,” called in French “*le filigrane*,” is formed by wires bent into the shape of the required device and sewed to

the surface of the wire-cloth, or in some of the older papers bound clumsily to it by wire. The “*deckle*” is a thin frame of wood of which the inner part corresponds with the size of the sheet to be made; when this is placed upon the mould it makes a shallow sieve, which the “*dipper*” dips into the vat of paper pulp, and leaving in it just so much as he thinks needful for a sheet of paper of the desired thickness, shakes it gently till it is distributed evenly over the surface of the mould; as the water drains from it the pulp becomes more solid, and the “*deckle*” having been removed, the sheet, when of sufficient tenacity, is placed on a piece of felt, and thus a sheet and a felt are laid alternately till a large pile is produced, which is subjected to heavy pressure, the sheets being subsequently pressed without the felts and subjected to drying, sizing, and other operations before they are ready for use.

For purposes of his own the paper-maker has from the earliest times earmarked his product, and had it not been for his custom of selling it in large quantities to dealers, who thus had in their stocks the papers not only of various makers but also of various countries, the indications afforded by these paper marks might have had a high value in deciding questions of date in early printed volumes. Although it is only in somewhat rare cases that the practice of recording the watermarks in a printed volume has any such practical value, it is manifestly one of the duties of the careful bibliographer to take note of this, as of other minor characteristics of a volume which passes through his hands; the information may or may not prove serviceable at some later period, and in any case a description which omitted it would be incomplete. Some of my readers will and many will not thank me for reproducing a selection of the marks occurring in my *Incunabula*. I am very fond of these devices, and have made a great many tracings of such as occur in manuscripts as well as in printed books. One circumstance is certain to

attract attention, viz., the large number of different watermarks often found in a single volume. No satisfactory explanation has yet, as far as I know, been given of the fact that a printer had the opportunity of making use of or was obliged to use some dozen different kinds of paper, *all of the same size* and nearly of the same quality and thickness, in one and the same volume. It has been suggested that the printer of small means had to buy from hand to mouth as it were, and thus had to take the product of any paper-maker which he might from time to time find at the warehouse; but that theory will not meet the case of the well-to-do *Jenson* with his dozen watermarks in one volume (*Nicolaus*, 1477), or of the wealthy *Koberger* with eight in his *Biblia*, 1475. To what an extent this curious characteristic of the early press sometimes prevailed may be gathered from the observation of *Sotheby* (*Princ. Typog.*, III. 32) that in *Jan Veldener's* edition of *Rolewinck, Fasciculus Temporum, Utrecht, 1480* (Proctor, 8858) there are no less than fifty-six different watermarks.

The *earliest* watermarks of which I have seen any notice are those described and figured in the interesting work of *Jansen, Essai sur l'origine de la Gravure*, etc., Paris, 1808, two vols., 4to, in which is incorporated a *resumé* of the work of *Gotthelf Fischer* on the antiquity of these marks derived from his inspection of early books of account in the department of Mont-Tonnerre. In the most ancient of these, dating from 1301, is found an elementary form of a mark of very common occurrence one hundred and fifty years later, viz., *a circle from which issues a stylus and star*. As early as the year 1310 we have the extremely familiar *bull's head and stylus*; in 1318, *a Cock*; in 1324, *a bow and arrow*. In 1358, the *Jug*, destined to a long existence on the Continent and in this country, makes its appearance. *Cross-keys*, attached at their upper parts, are also found as a watermark in a volume of the same year. In 1370 the types increase in number, an evidence of the spread of paper-making. Through the preceding years the different types of the *bull's head* vary with the varying qualities of the paper, being used perhaps as indications of the different kinds manufactured at the same mill. In 1389 we get the *post-horn suspended by a cord*, which centuries later gave the name to our "*post*" letter-paper.

Other very early marks, several of which are of a religious character, are described and figured in an attractive little book, "*Étude sur les Filigranes des papiers employées en France aux XIV.^e et XV.^e Siècles par Étienne Midoux et Auguste Matton*" (Paris, 1868, 8vo, 600 facsimiles), and a mass of information will also be found in *Sotheby's Principia Typographica*, London, 1868, 3 vols., 4to.

Among the watermarks of which I have seen either originals or reproductions, by far the most frequent is the *Bull's head* (emblem of Death) in a huge variety of forms. The *Gothic p* fills perhaps the next place, and here again the multiplicity of modifications is most remarkable. The *hand*, the *anchor*, the *cross-bow*, the *flower* (of a very conventional type), the *pair of scales*, the *keys in saltire*, the *pair of shears*, the *dreiberg*, a very simple reminder of *Calvary*, meet us at every turn. Such marks as the *Paschal Lamb*, the *unicorn*, the *fleur-de-lys*, the *dolphin*, the *bunch of grapes*, the *two-headed eagle*, the *crossed darts*, the *dog*, the *jug*, are of somewhat less usual occurrence.

Many conjectures and assertions, some of them now discredited, have been made as to the origin of the countless watermarks with which we meet; the identification by *Koning* of the gothic *p*, so often mentioned in these pages, as the initial of *Philip of Burgundy*, and of the *p* as that of *Ysabel* his wife, once accepted, is now out of favour.

The whole subject, if not one of supreme importance, will repay the attention of the reader whom it may happen to attract.



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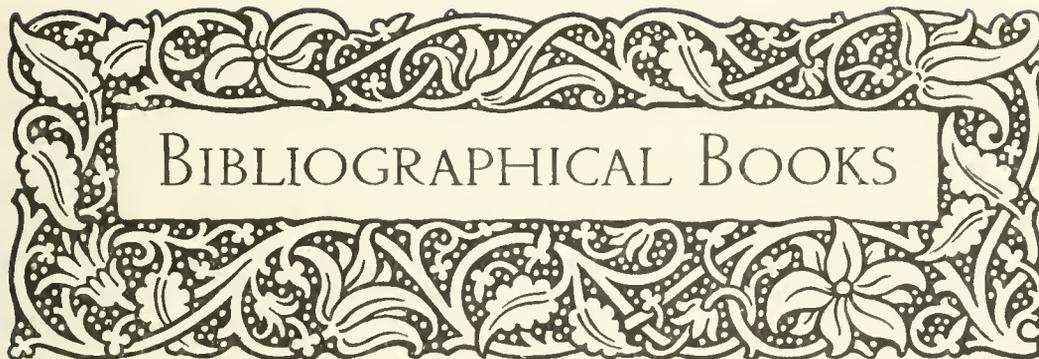
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7	Quintus Curtius, <i>De Rebus Gestis</i>	Woolfele of Spire	1175
8	Valerius Maximus, <i>Factorum et Memorabilium</i>	E. Schöner	1175
9	Mercurius Trismegistus, <i>Pimander</i> ...	Georgius Jäger	1180
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134	S. Braut, <i>Stuyfje van Navi</i>	Jacques Sacon	1498.
135, 136, 137, 138, 139	Joh. Koelhoff, <i>Chronica Van Cullen</i>	Joh. Koelhoff	1490.



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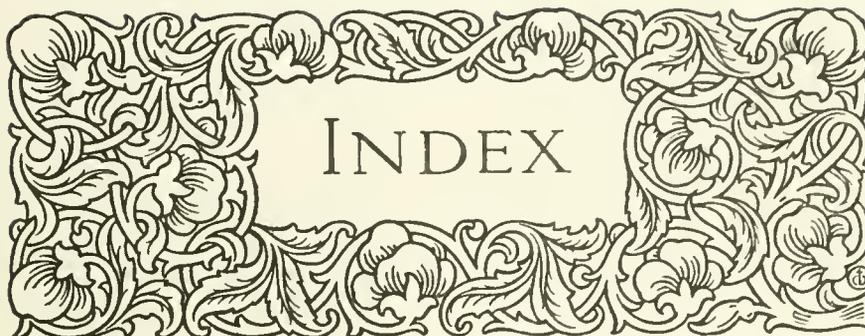
1658. **WILLIAM LONDON.** (A bookseller of Newcastle-on-Tyne.) A Catalogue of the most vendible Books in *England* Orderly and Alphabetically Digefted; under the Heads of Divinity, Hiftory, etc., etc., with Hebrew, Greek, and Latin Books, for Schools and Scholars. The like Work never yet performed by any. *Varietas Delectat.* London, Printed in the Year 1658. Sm. 4to. (*This rare volume contains the first essay printed in England on the use of books.*)
1671. **FRANCIS KIRKMAN.** A True, perfect, and exact Catalogue of all the Comedies, Tragedies, Tragi-Comedies, Paftorals, Mafques and Interludes, that were ever yet Printed and Publifhed, till this prefent year 1671. All which you may either buy or fell, at the Shop of *Francis Kirkman*, in *Thames-ftreet*, over againft the Cuftom Houfe, London, fm. 4to, 1 vol.
- A *very rare* volume, of great interest to the bibliographers and lovers of the English drama. There may poffibly be in exiftence a copy of the catalogue of ftage-plays which *Kirkman* fays he publifhed in 1661. I take it that in any cafe *Kirkman* was the firft bookseller to iffue an announcement of what he had in ftock, and that *this and his above-mentioned list form the earlieft catalogues of English plays in exiftence.* *Kirkman* fays that now (1671) the English ftage-plays amount to 806. "They are all in print and he has feen them all but ten, and now has them all by him within thirty." He affigns 49 plays to *Shakespear*.
- 1719-41. **MICH. A. M. MAITTAIRE.** *Annales Typographici ab artis inventæ origine ad annum MD. Hæge comitum,* Apud *Isaacum Vaillant* 1719-41, 4to, 6 vols. Vol. I.: Ab Artis Origine ad Annum 1500, Hag. Com. 1719. Vol. II.: 1500-36, Hag. Com. 1722. In two parts. Vol. III.: 1536-57, Hag. Com. 1725. In two parts. Some copies bear date Amft. 1726. Vol. IV.: *Not fo marked on title-page, but called Tomus primus, editio nova.* Amft. 1733, 4to. In two parts. A reprint of the firft volume, with numerous additions and fome omissions. This completes Maittaire's own publication, but the following volumes form a defirable fupplement. Vol. V., in two parts, feparate vols., called on title-page *Tomus Quintus et ultimus; indicem In Tomos Quatuor præeuntes complectens.*
1725. **JOHN BRIDGES.** *Bibliotheca Bridgefiana Catalogus:* or, a Catalogue of the Entire Library of John Bridges, Late of *Lincoln-Inn*, Efq.; Confifting of Above 4000 Books and Manufcripts in all Languages and Faculties; particularly in Claffics and Hiftory; and efppecially the Hiftory and Antiquities of *Great Britain and Ireland:* which will begin to be fold by Auction on *Monday* the feventh day of *February* 1728, at his Chambers in *Lincoln-Inn*, No. 6. London, Printed by *J. Tonfon* and *J. Watts*, and to be Sold at moft Bookfellers in Town and Country. MDCCLXXV. 8vo (priced catalogue).
1740. **JO. CHRISTIANUS WOLFIUS.** *Monumenta Typographica, quæ artis huius præftantiffimæ originem, laudem et abufum pofteris produnt.* *Hamburgi, Christiani Heroldi.* MDCCLX. Sm. 8vo, 2 vols.
1747. **JOHANNES VOGT.** *Catalogus hiftorico-criticus librorum rariorum, jam curis tertiis recognitus et copiofa accelfione ex fymbolis et collatione bibliophilorum per germaniam doctiffimorum adauctus.* *Hamburgi, ſemtitibus Christiani Heroldi.* MDCCLXVII. Sm. 8vo, 1 vol.
1760. **JO. DANIELIS SCHOEPLIN.** *Vindiciæ Typographicæ, Argentorati Apud Joh. Gøthofredum Bauer, Bibliopol.* MDCCLX. 4to, 1 vol.

. It has only been thought needful to notice about one-half of the books which compofe this ſub-ſection.

- 1763-68. GUILLAUME-FRANCOIS DE BURE. Bibliographie instructive ou traité de la connoissance des Livres rare et singuliers. *A Paris chez Guillaume-François de Bure.* 1763-68. 8vo, 7 vols.
1765. GERARD MEERMAN. Origines Typographice *Hagæ Comitum, Parisiis, Londoni.* MDCCLXV. 4to, two vols. in one.
1765. J. M. PAPILLON. Traité historique et pratique de la gravure en bois, ouvrage enrichi des plus jolis morceaux de fa composition & de fa gravure. *A Paris chez Pierre Guillaume Simon.* M.DCC.LXVI. 2 vols., 8vo.
1766. ROBT. SAYER. A catalogue of *New and Useful Maps Curious & Entertaining Prints Books of Architecture Great Variety of Drawing Books on the best Principles from the greatest Masters Copy Books in all the Branches of Penmanship.* And the best of each kind. Printed for Robt. Sayer at the Golden Buck near *Serjeants Inn, Fleet-street, London.* Where Merchants, Gentlemen and Shopkeepers, etc. *May be supplied on the best terms.* (1766.) 8vo, 1 vol., engraved title-page, R. Morris Invt., Mercier Pin!; (now very rare).
1768. JOHN BOWLES. A catalogue of *Maps, Prints, Copy-Books,* etc. From off Copper-plates. Printed for John Bowles at Number 13 in Cornhill, London. *Where Merchants, Gentlemen, City and Country Shop-Keepers, and Chapmen, may be furnished with the newest and best Variety at the lowest Prices.* 1768. 8vo, 1 vol., engraved title-page, Baston delin., J. Clark sculp. This book has become so rare that Messrs. Laurie & Whittle, Bowles's successors, had when I knew them only an imperfect copy of a later edition.
1768. J. ENSCHEDÉ. Proef Van Letteren welke gegooten worden in de nieuwe Haerlemfche lettergietry. 1768. 8vo, 1 vol.
1769. GUILLAUME FRANCOIS DE BURE. Supplement a la bibliographie instructive, ou Catalogue des livres du Cabinet de feu M. Louis Jean Gagnat, Ecuyer, Conseiller-Secrétaire du Roi Honoraire, etc. Avec une table alphabétique des auteurs. *Paris, M.DCC.LXIX.* 8vo, 2 vols.
- 1778-83. JACOBUS LE LONG. Bibliotheca Sacra post CL. CL. VV. Jacobi Le Long et C. F. Boernerii iteratas curas ordine disposita, emendata, suppleta continuata ab Andrea Gottlieb Masch. *Halae, 1778-83.* 4to, 2 vols.
1783. GUILLAUME DE BURE. Catalogue des livres de la bibliothèque de feu M. le Duc de la Valliere. Contenant les Manuscrits, les premières Éditions, les Livres imprimés sur vélin & sur grand papier, les Livres rares, & précieux par leur belle conservation, les Livres d'Estampes, etc. Dont la Vente se fera dans les premiers jours du mois de Décembre, 1783. *Paris, Guillaume de Bure, M.DCC.LXXXIII.* 8vo, 3 vols., portrait.
1788. PLACIDUS BRAUN. Notitia historico-litteraria de libris ab artis typographicæ inventione vsque ad annum MCCCCLXXVIII. impressis: in bibliotheca liberi, ac imperialis Monasterii ad SS. vdalricum et afram avgvstæ extantibus.—accedvnt VIII. Tabvlæ ærææ sexaginta primorum typographorum alphabeta continentes. *Augvsta Vindelicorum, MDCCLXXXVIII.* 4to, 1 vol.
1791. P. FR.-XAV. LAIRE. Index Librorum ab inventa typographia ad annum 1500; *Chronologicè dispositus cum notis historiam typographico litterariam illustrantibus.* *Senonis, M.DCC.XCI.* 8vo, 2 vols.
- 1793-1803. GEORG WOLFGANG PANZER. Annales Typographici ab artis inventæ origine ad annum MD. post Maïtairii Denissi Aliorumque Doctissimorum virorum curas in ordinem redacti emendati et aucti. *Norimbergæ, 1793-1803.* 4to, 11 vols.
1798. P. LAMBINET. Recherches historiques, littéraires et critiques, sur l'origine de l'imprimerie; particulièrement sur les première établissemens, au xv^{me} siècle, dans la Belgique, maintenant réunie à la République Française; *Ornées des portraits et des écursons des premiers imprimeurs belges; Bruxelles, vendémiaire, AN VII. de l'ère française.* 8vo, 1 vol.
1800. GOTTHELF FISCHER. Beschreibung einiger typographischen Seltenheiten nebst Beyträgen zur ersindungsgeschichte der Buchdruckerkunst. *Mainz, 1800.* 8vo, 1 vol.
1802. GOTTHELF FISCHER. Essai sur les Monuments Typographiques de Jean Gutenberg Mayençais inventeur de l'imprimerie. *Mayence, 1802.* 4to, 1 vol.
1802. DAUNOU. Analyse des opinions diverses sur l'origine de l'imprimerie, *Paris, frimaire an XI.* 8vo, 1 vol.
1803. ANT. AUG. RENOUARD. Annales de L'imprimerie des Alde, ou Histoire des trois Manuce et le leurs Éditions *A Paris, 1803.* 8vo, 2 vols., with portraits.
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