NICHOLAS MARLOWE

No.4 RARE BOOKS AND MANUSCRIPTS

LIST 4:

25 RARE BOOKS AND MANUSCRIPTS 1472-1939



2016

NICHOLAS MARLOWE

LIST 4:

25 RARE BOOKS AND MANUSCRIPTS

1472-1939

145 WILMOT STREET, LONDON E2 OBU UK

17 BOULEVARD LOUIS BLANC, MONTPELLIER 34000 FRANCE

RAREBOOKS@NICHOLASMARLOWE.CO.UK

WWW.NICHOLASMARLOWE.CO.UK

2016

NOTE

This catalogue comprises 25 books and manuscripts in all fields dating from 1472 to 1939, selected for their particular rarity and significance, and listed in chronological order.

For a breakdown by subject, please consult the Subject Index at the end of the catalogue.

Our previous catalogues can be viewed and downloaded at our website, www. nicholasmarlowe.co.uk.

Nicholas Marlowe Rare Books has been selling rare books and manuscripts since 2006. Our interests include European and Asian manuscripts, incunables, early printed books, travel, science, and literature.

TERMS

All material is offered subject to prior sale. Notice of return must be given with seven days of receipt. We accept payment via US and UK domestic bank/ wire transfer, international bank transfer, USD and GBP cheque, credit card, and Paypal. All prices in USD (US dollars).

CONTENTS

CATALOGUE: P. I

SUBJECT INDEX: P. 144

A beautifully executed manuscript of the works of Lactantius

A remarkable witness to the transition from manuscripts to printed books - a contemporary copy of the first dated book printed in Italy

No.1

LACTANTIUS, LUCIUS CAELIUS FIRMIANUS.

(I) DIVINARUM INSTITUTIONUM LIBRI VII, (II) DE IRA DEI, (III) DE OPIFICIO DEI.

In Latin and Greek. Decorated manuscript on paper and vellum. Northern Italy (most probably Genoa): 1472.

 285×205 mm., 112 leaves on paper (with the first bifolium of the first quire on parchment, and blank parchment strips used in gutters of quires to strengthen binding, plus a single paper endleaf at front and back), early twentieth-century pencil foliation in upper outer corner, complete, collation: i-iii10, iv8, v12, vi-x10, xi12 (with the last leaf of the quire used as a blank endleaf), horizontal catchwords (some with ornamental penwork), double column, ruled for 47 lines in black ink in a fine humanistic hand with influence of secretarial script, within single boundary lines, rubrics in red, two-line initials in red, purple or blue with contrasting penwork, some larger simple initials in red and blue and very large (8- to 10-lines in height) initials in same with elaborate scrolling geometric penwork infill picking out floral shapes and patterns and terminating in extensions into the margin, spaces left for a number of Greek quotations. Eighteenth- or early nineteenth-century vellum over thin paper boards. Small series of original holes in lower margin of first leaf, some small spots, stains and a few minor single worm holes (not affecting text), else in excellent condition with wide and clean margins with only occasional 'nota' marks or early marginalia, small wormholes at base of spine. In an archival folding cloth box.

¶ A very rare and beautifully executed dated manuscript of the works of Lactantius, and a remarkable witness to the moment of transition from manuscripts to the printed book: a contemporary copy of the first dated book printed in Italy, the 1465 Lactantius. With several large initials with elaborate and very fine penwork decoration.

Achilles Arange prepotes: & Vle + files fulle no lou una collemne in · Exhit fime face libro dece cui : n m's bu hun verdar. Ea.n. phonus Ann fun sique utitur udenti dette : ve fo Simbrie Pri Ce. Ergo apud que ber the a bit i

ANOCP

Gol

e debe . At uo liqua Tèli : trie doum vecodanesi : Si belli torio i mueit : Si morboz poltifesi uis maduest

LAE eroze: cas as omes ex ubus decept homies se primi

To the S me fas no ch: Has an ande no facut ? ppe vie seus ex memora nces lamore die duine in

nes deore no

of everyit: Toptome in

a boi attribution pr eus uolune : utios no fi

ex muisvene ota c

erechos at fider tolle

LACTANTIUS.

Very unusually this manuscript includes all three of the best-known works of Lactantius: the *Divine Institutes, The Wrath of God,* and *The Works of God.* Idolised by the Renaissance humanists following his rediscovery in the 15th century, Lactantius was the one of the principal routes through which Renaissance readers came into contact with the Latin Classics.

The manuscript is almost certainly a contemporary copy of one of the most important printed books of the incunable period, the 1465 Subiaco Lactantius, the first dated book printed in Italy, only the second extant book printed outside of Germany, and the first printed work to use a full Greek type. As such it is an intriguing example of the interplay between the printed book and manuscripts at a critical moment when printing was at its inception in Italy.

LACTANTIUS: A HUMANIST ICON

Lactantius (or more properly Lucius Caecilius Firmianus Lactantius) was a rhetorician and early Christian apologist who lived in Roman North Africa. He was a pupil of the early Christian scholar Arnobius of Sicca (d. c. 330), travelled widely teaching in the cities of the Eastern Empire, and was appointed to a professorship in Nicomedia by the Emperor Diocletian, entering the imperial circle. There he presumably met the future Emperor Constantine, and himself became a convert to Christianity. He destroyed his earlier pagan writings, resigned his post and fled, fearing Diocletian's purge of Christians and the first imperial edict against the religion in 303. Jerome records that he then lived in poverty, until Constantine came to power and recalled him to the imperial court in 311/13, appointing him tutor to his son Crispus. He must have died in the 320s. His works were rediscovered during the Renaissance, and his elaborate rhetorical Latin style proved immensely popular, earning him the title the "Christian Cicero" from humanists such as Pico della Mirandola.

The first work in the present manuscript, the *Divinarum Institutionum Libri VII* ("*Divine Institutes*"), is his *magnum opus*, written during his period of court exile. It contains seven lengthy treatises which set out a comprehensive survey of Christian theology, and build an argument intended to show the reasonableness and truth of Christianity and the futility of pagan beliefs. More importantly for the Renaissance and us as modern readers, Lactantius frequently quotes Classical sources in this work, and in fact this was the principal vehicle through which Renaissance readers came into contact with the Latin Classics.

Lactantius includes substantial quotations from two lost works by Cicero, the *Hortensius* and *Consolatio*, and all of our modern reconstructions of those texts are based on his excerpts. In addition, he knew a complete copy of Cicero's *De Legibus*, a text which now survives only in a fragmentary state, and his quotations add substantially to our knowledge of it. His frequent

2

OPERA.

citation of sources also has importance for early Biblical scholarship, in that his fourth book includes some seventy-three quotations from the Old Latin Bible (*Vetus Latina*: the Latin version of the first few centuries of Christian history, which was replaced by Jerome's Vulgate in the late fourth century), which does not survive anywhere as a complete text. There are important variants here for Luke 3:22 where the text is conflated with Psalm 2:7 as in other *Vetus Latina* witnesses and the Codex Bezae; and John 1:1-3, where Lactantius uses "verbum" rather than "sermo" as a translation of $\lambda \dot{0}\gamma 0\varsigma$, agreeing with Western witnesses rather than Eastern or African¹.

The following shorter works, *De Ira Dei* ("*The Wrath of God*") and *De Opificio Dei* ("*The Works of God*") address the problems of how to understand the anger attributed to God in the text of the Old Testament and set out more briefly the Christian principles which would later grow into the Divinarum Institutionum.

A VERY EARLY WITNESS TO THE TRANSITION FROM MANUSCRIPTS TO PRINTED BOOKS

This manuscript provides a fascinating glimpse of the moment two technologies collided: the medieval scriptorium, and printing at its very inception. Curt F. Buhler described this period as: "The last flowerings of the mediaeval world and the beginnings of our own modern age" (Buhler p. 42). Remarkably, there is very strong evidence that it is a close copy of one of the most important incunables printed in Italy, the 1465 Sweynheym and Pannartz Lactantius.

Conrad Sweynheym and Arnold Pannartz were responsible for introducing the new technology of printing to Italy. They fled Mainz after the sack of the city in October 1462, and established themselves as printers in the monastery of Santa Scholastica in Subiaco, near Rome. At Subiaco they printed a Donatus and the editio princeps of Cicero's *De oratore* (undated, but 1465), the editio princeps of Lactantius (1465), and Augustine's *De civitate Dei* (1467), before moving to the Massimo estate in Rome where they printed further Latin classical texts, the occasional ecclesiastical title and a five-volume Bible with commentary.

A COPY OF ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT INCUNABLES PRINTED IN ITALY

The 1465 Lactantius printed at Subiaco is of key importance in the history of early printing both in Italy and more generally. It is the first dated book printed in Italy, only the second extant book printed outside of Germany, and the first printed work to use a full Greek font.

¹ See Ogilvie pp. 98-100.



OPERA.

The source text of the present manuscript is almost certainly the 1465 Lactantius. It follows the entire text and structure of the printed edition very closely: the wording of the rubrics, the wording of the colophon, even a majority of the abbreviations and the punctuation are very similar to the text of the 1465 edition. But it is the Greek portions of the text that most specifically reveal the connection between the manuscript and this particular printed edition. Sweynheym and Pannartz were still in the process of manufacturing their Greek type during the printing of the Lactantius. As a result, only some of the Greek passages were printed; the rest were left as gaps to be filled in later by hand.

The final printed book therefore has a unique pattern of gaps and Greek throughout. Compared to the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek copy of the 1465 Lactantius¹, the present manuscript reproduces the pattern of gaps exactly (every gap in the printed edition has an equivalent in the manuscript), and where Greek does appear in the manuscript, it is only the Greek that appears in the printed edition, and it follows the printed Greek very closely. This strongly suggests that the source for the manuscript must be the printed edition of 1465. In later printed editions a full Greek type was available and therefore no gaps were left.

It should be noted that not all the Greek passages of the 1465 printed edition appear in the manuscript, perhaps owing to the difficulty of copying the Greek. As all the Greek passages have Latin translations in the text, the scribes may have felt that the text was sufficiently complete without the Greek. Alternatively, it may have been intended that another scribe would execute the longer Greek passages at a later stage, perhaps someone who was more experienced in writing Greek.

Intriguingly, the visual appearance of the printed edition also seems to have been of interest to the creators of the manuscript, as there is a deliberate attempt, at least initially, to copy the style of the type. The 1465 Lactantius was the first to use a "half-roman" type, heralding the introduction of true Italian humanist roman types just a few years later. The first page of the present manuscript imitates this roman humanist type, before the scribe returns to using a more convenient hybrid script on subsequent pages, which still has features of a humanist script. In addition, there also seems to have been an attempt to imitate the style of the Greek type.

"THE LAST FLOWERINGS OF THE MEDIAEVAL World and the beginnings of Our own modern age"

The phenomenon of manuscript copies of incunabula was very poorly understood until 1960, when Curt Buhler published his work *The Fifteenth Century*

¹ Shelfmark Rar.294.

LACTANTIUS.

Book. Until then it was assumed that the two technologies had remained largely separate and that printing effectively immediately destroyed the production of manuscripts until the early 16th century, when manuscripts again became fashionable as luxury items. Buhler pointed out however that many scriptoria survived late into the 15th century, particularly monastic scriptoria, and that in the very early period of printing, incunabula were regarded as merely manuscripts not written by hand:

"The fifteenth century itself made little distinction between hand-written and press-printed books. Indeed in their own day, the early books were sometimes called by the curious term 'codices ... absque calmi ulla exaracione effigiati' and as volumes 'escriptz en lettre d'impression,' to distinguish them from those that were 'escriptz a la main' ... One cannot deal with the early years of printing without casting an occasional – or better, a continuing – glance at the traditions, habits, and methods of the scribes" (Buhler p. 18).

If this manuscript is indeed a direct copy of the 1465 Lactantius, and there is every indication that it is, then it allows us to follow, letter by letter, the work of a particular group of scribes in a firmly dateable period. Incunable exemplars shed a fascinating light onto the world of the scriptorium:

"A number of [incunables] are of high value for the study of scribal habits and practices. When the immediate prototype is a printed edition, then absolute control is available for judging the control of a scribe. It happens but rarely, in the case of manuscripts copied from manuscripts, that the precise "Vorlage" of a copy can be determined beyond question, so that it is impossible, as a result, to judge how faithful or how inaccurate a scribe may be – or even can be, when he so wishes – in regard to his source. But when one can lay an incunabulum side-by-side with its manuscript copy, then the scribe's capabilities or lack of them, his mannerisms and personality quickly become apparent" (Buhler p. 48).

PROVENANCE

Most probably written in Genoa in 1472. The colophon is adapted from that of the Sweynheym and Pannartz edition of 1465 to give the variant date "M.CCC LXXII", and the two watermarks, while not conclusively identified, point to Genoa (the first is a hand with a flower, close to Briquet no. 11159, produced in Genoa in 1483; the second is a pair of scissors beneath a crown, not recorded in Briquet, but with close variants recorded by the Gravell online database: Scissors 071.1 and 069.1, both scissors beneath single flowerheads, made in Genoa in 1475 and 1513; and Scissors 072.1, scissors beneath an arrow, made in Vicenza in 1516).
 Within a few decades it was in the library of a Dominican convent,

OPERA.

and has their near-contemporary ex-libris at the foot of fol. 1r: "hic liber est conventus rabiensis ordinis predicatorum", most probably to be identified with the town of Rabbi in neighbouring Trento.(3) A shelfmark "E" in brown ink in a 19th-century hand.(4) Private collection, United Kingdom.

RARITY

Despite the large number of surviving manuscripts of Lactantius, most extant copies are in institutional collections, and they seldom appear on the open market.

The Schoenberg Database lists only three manuscripts offered for sale since 1956 which contain the *Divinarum institutionum*, the *De ira dei* and the *De opificio dei*. Of manuscripts containing just the *Divinarum institutionum*, the Schoenberg Database lists only four examples in the same period.

\$53,000

Lactantius. *Opera omnia*, eds. Samuel Brandt and Georg Laubmann, Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum 19 and 27, 1-2. Vienna, 1890-1897. Ogilvie, R. *The Library of Lactantius*. Oxford, 1978. Buhler, C. *The Fifteenth Century Book*. Philadelphia, 1960.



The first English translations of the Bible to appear in print

William Caxton's Golden Legend, printed by Wynkn de Worde – one of three known copies with Caxton's Bible translations

No.2

[WILLIAM CAXTON] JACOBUS DE VORAGINE.

THE GOLDEN LEGEND.

London: Wynkyn de Worde [for Richard Pynson?], 1507.

Folio $(252 \times 184 \text{ mm.})$, ff. LV, [IV], CCCLXXXVIII. A-G8, *4, a-z8, A-Z8, A-D8, E6. With c. 100 column-width and half column-width woodcuts from 76 blocks, a full-page illustration composed from 9 blocks, and a white-on-black woodcut part-title. Black letter, in double column, woodcut initials. Blind-ruled calf in contemporary style, spine with five raised bands. 442 of 466 leaves present. Lacking A-B7, C4 of part one; *3-*4, F1, Z8, E2, E4-E6 of part two (24 leaves including the colophon). One column concerning Thomas Becket's relics crossed out in ink at an early date (but legible). A few contemporary and early annotations in ink. Occasional stains and damp marks. A few corners repaired and two margins renewed (loss of a few letters). Overall a very good, bright, crisp copy, on thick paper. In an archival folding cloth box.

¶ An extremely rare early English edition of the *Golden Legend*, translated by England's first printer, William Caxton, and including one of the earliest appearances of the first English translations of the Bible to appear in print. This edition, by Caxton's assistant Wynkyn de Worde, is also one of the most richly illustrated early books printed in England, with over 100 woodcuts. Remarkably complete, the present copy is one of only three known examples to survive with the Bible translations.

"It is in [Caxton's *Golden Legend*] ... that we have for the first time English passages from the Bible in a printed form" (Butterworth p. 55).

The *Golden Legend* is legendary in itself as the only book more widely read than the Bible in the Middle Ages. The present version, personally composed by Caxton, was the first English translation to appear in print. This 1507 edition also includes one of the first printings of Caxton's own additional collection of Bible translations, comprising several books of the Old Testament

WILLIAM CAXTON.

in partial or complete English translation. These predate the Tyndale Bible by 20 years, and the Coverdale Bible by 30 years.

This is the third most complete copy of this edition yet discovered, and one of only three known copies with the Bible translations. All early English editions of the *Golden Legend*, particularly of this date and earlier, are very rare, and are invariably incomplete. No copy of this edition in the British Library. No copies in America with Caxton's Bible translations.

While it was printed by de Worde, the present example of this edition may be in addition one of only three known copies issued with the imprint of de Worde's fellow London printer Richard Pynson.

WILLIAM CAXTON'S GOLDEN LEGEND

Caxton set up the first printing shop in England at Westminster in 1476. He began his translation of *The Golden Legend* not long after, but only completed it in late 1482, finally printing it in 1483-84. This was the first English translation of *The Golden Legend* to appear in print, and one of Caxton's greatest achievements: "William Caxton's edition of the great medieval compilation of saints' lives, the *Legenda Aurea* ... represents his most ambitious undertaking as translator, editor, and printer" (Jeremy p. 212).

In part, Caxton's *Golden Legend* is a translation of a compendium of saints' lives by the Italian Dominican monk, Jacobus de Voragine (c.1230–1298). The title by which it was commonly known in the Middle Ages, *The Golden Legend*, derives from its enormous success: "the popularity of the *Legend* was such that some one thousand manuscripts have survived, and, with the advent of printing in the 1450s, editions both in the original Latin and in every Western European language multiplied into the hundreds. It has been said that in the late Middle Ages the only book more widely read was the Bible" (Ryan p. xiii). In the thirty years between 1470 and 1500 there were at least 156 printed editions of *The Golden Legend*; by comparison, before 1501 there were 128 printed Bibles¹.

A massive work, it was Caxton's longest translation, at over 600,000 words. As he explains in his preface to the book, he almost abandoned the project owing to the "long tyme" it was taking to complete; he was only persuaded to continue by the intervention of the Earl of Arundel, who promised to buy a number of copies, and pay Caxton annually a buck in summer and a doe in winter. As was his habit, Caxton personalised his translation: the famous passage on David burying himself until his flesh was eaten by worms while composing the *Miserere*, for example, Caxton claims to have heard while

¹ Reames p. 4.

THE GOLDEN LEGEND.



WILLIAM CAXTON.

riding between Brussels and Ghent: "For ones on a tyme as I was beyonde the see and rydynge in the companye of a noble knyghte named syr Johan Capons ... It happened we comuned of ye hystorye of Dauyd and this sayd noble man tolde me that he had redde that Dauyd dyde this penaunce following ... Thus this noble man tolde me rydynge bytwene the towne of Gaunte in Flaunders and the towne of Bruxellys in Brabande"¹.

But beyond these more personal interventions, Caxton made two very substantial sets of additions to Voragine's original text. First, he added 59 saints' lives²: chiefly Irish and English, these were derived by him from manuscript sources. Second, and most importantly, he inserted into the text a number of his own direct English translations of portions of the Bible.

THE FIRST PASSAGES FROM THE BIBLE TO APPEAR IN PRINT IN ENGLISH

Caxton made a very remarkable set of additions to the text of *The Golden Legend*: a collection of 14 Old Testament lives. These include English translations of two complete books, and several partial books, of the Vulgate. These translations are the first English passages of the Bible to appear in print, and predate by some 40 years the first printed English New Testament, the Tyndale Bible of 1526, and by some 50 years the first English printing of the complete Old Testament, in the Coverdale Bible of 1535.

"One thing [Caxton] did which gives him a place in the history of the English versions [of the Bible]. In 1483 he issued a massive collection of the stories and legends dealing with the lives of the Saints. This work, called *The Golden Legende*, he compiled from several sources, as he himself explains... What Caxton does not tell us—doubtless to avoid suspicion—is that he himself added some dozen sections near the beginning of his book which were not included in any of his three sources... *The Golden Legende*, therefore, includes large portions of the book of Genesis and passages from other of the historical books of the Old Testament, which Caxton translated from the Latin Bible" (Butterworth p. 52).

Of Caxton's 14 Old Testament lives, 8 are based on the Vulgate: Joshua, Saul, David, Solomon, Roboas, Job, Tobit, and Judith. A number of these are substantially complete direct English translations—and two are absolutely complete translations: "Tobias and Judith are very careful and accurate translations of the Latin, with almost no errors or omissions" (Horrall p. 96).

THE GOLDEN LEGEND.

Following the 1483-84 first English edition of *The Golden Legend* there were five further early printings of Caxton's Bible translations (but not all editions of *The Golden Legend* were printed with the Bible translations), culminating in a final printing in 1527. They then lay almost entirely forgotten for three hundred years, until the mid 19th century, when their extraordinary significance began to be rediscovered. Recognising their importance, the cataloguers of the great Caxton exhibition held in London in 1877 (on the 400th anniversary of the first book printed in England) included the Caxton *Golden Legend* in their list of Bibles. The exhibition catalogue entry, by the bibliographer and bookseller Henry Stevens, describes it as follows:

"This book is, we think, fairly placed among Bibles ... It was no doubt read in churches, and though the text is mixed with much priestly gloss and dross, it nevertheless contains, in almost a literal translation, a great portion of the Bible; and it became thus one of the principal instruments in preparing the way for the Reformation ... The future historians of our dear old English Bible should not fail to sift the matter well" (Stevens p. 58).

Stevens also pointed out that Caxton's translation anticipates the famous "breeches" verse in Genesis (iii.7). Caxton has the verse as follows: "And thus they knew then that they were naked and they toke figge levis and sewed them togyder for to covere theyr membres in maner of brechis." Stevens notes: "This may take precedence of the Genevan Version in being called the "Breeches Bible," as that was not published till 1560, more than three quarters of a century later" (Stevens p. 58).

Caxton's motivation for including these Old Testament translations with *The Golden Legend* remains mysterious however. One explanation is that they were a covert way of printing English Bible translations. There were still at the time (and continued to be) very serious risks involved in translating the Bible: "It will be recalled that under the Church's edict of 1408 the Bible was not to be translated. In practice, no objection seems to have been raised to the incidental use of the Scriptures in connection with the preparation of such works as commentaries or prayer-books or sermons; but to print a passage in English from the Bible as such, would have been to incur a suspicion of heresy. Therefore Caxton printed no English Bible" (Butterworth p. 52).

The suggestion is, however, that Caxton's Old Testament translations were a route around these dangers: "This portion of Caxton's *Golden Legend* is little more than a disguised version of the Bible. He dared not publish the Bible as such, for that would smell of Wycliff and rank Lollardy, and Caxton had no ambition to stir up the powers that were in Church or State; but he evaded the vigilance of the laws by inserting Bible stories in his *Golden Legend*" (Butler p. 81).

¹ Leaf F2 verso, in the present 1507 edition. ² Jeremy p. 214.



THE GOLDEN LEGEND.

An alternative explanation is that Caxton's Old Testament translations are in fact the remains of a longer work that he never completed, a version of the complete Bible: "Because of ... discrepancies in form between *The Golden Legend* proper and the Old Testament stories, and because Caxton used almost entirely different sources for each of these two parts, I would suggest that the Old Testament stories were originally intended for the beginning of a different work, probably a biblical paraphrase" (Horrall p. 96). But this does not explain why Caxton chose to translate two books of the Bible in their entirety. He had only to repeat this procedure a sufficient number of times, and he would have faced the gravest charges. For a printed text of such significance, Caxton's Bible translations still seem remarkably little understood.

It is worth noting that the text of Caxton's Bible translations varies between their early editions¹. Also, they were not included in all editions of *The Golden Legend*: intriguingly, they are lacking from the first Wynkyn de Worde edition of 1493, and possibly some copies of the present 1507 edition (see the note on the Pynson variant below). Why de Worde should have chosen to omit them in one of more of his editions has yet to be explained.

WYNKYN DE WORDE AND THE 1507 GOLDEN LEGEND

Following Caxton's death in 1492, his assistant Wynkyn de Worde inherited his type, woodblocks, and printing equipment. His first venture was to reprint Caxton's *Golden Legend* in 1493: it clearly proved to be a success, and de Worde brought out a further incunable edition in 1498 before the present 1507 edition.

Two variants of the 1507 Golden Legend have been identified on the basis of the two surviving copies with colophon leaves: (1) with the device of Wynkyn de Worde², (2) with the device of another London printer, Richard Pynson³. It appears that de Worde shared the edition with Pynson, but carried out the printing himself. "Two books make 1507 notable. In that year De Worde and Pynson turned from rivalry to co-operation and brought out jointly new editions of the Legenda aurea on 4 Sept. and, sometime after 13 Sept., the Boke named the Royall. Though Pynson's name and device are in the only perfect copy of the former, the one at Lambeth, and in some copies of the latter, the type in both instances is De Worde's" (Hodnett p. 21).

Hodnett estimates that of a total of 76 woodblocks in the 1507 Golden Legend, 31 came from de Worde's stock, and 45 from Pynson's stock⁴. A

¹ Butterworth p. 55.
 ² STC 24878.3, ESTC S2949.
 ³ STC 24878.5, ESTC S95710.
 ⁴ Hodnett p. ix.

WILLIAM CAXTON.

number of the woodblocks from de Worde's stock are Caxton's originals, as used in the first edition of 1483. These include, for example, an Invention of the Cross, inherited by de Worde from Caxton, and used in the 1493, 1498, and 1507 *Golden Legends*. Following a structure established by de Worde in his 1498 *Golden Legend*, the book is divided into two parts with separate foliation. The first part comprises Caxton's Bible translations (the foliation running from 1–55). The second part is Caxton's version of *The Golden Legend*, with his 59 additional saints' lives (the foliation starting again at 1 and running to 388).

Of the eight copies of both variants of the 1507 edition known to survive, the present copy is one of only three to include both parts—Caxton's Bible translations, and *The Golden Legend* proper.

Remarkably, after a final edition by de Worde in 1527 there were then no further editions of Caxton's *Golden Legend* until the Kelmscott Press edition of 1892. It is possibly no coincidence that the date of the final early edition coincides (to within a year) with the next earliest printing of any part of the Bible in English, Tyndale's New Testament.

THE PYNSON VARIANT

There is a possibility that the collations of the de Worde and Pynson variants of the 1507 *Golden Legend* differed, and that the present copy is in fact one of only three known examples of the Pynson variant.

STC states that the de Worde 1493 edition of *The Golden Legend* "is the only edition to omit the stories from the Bible," suggesting that the 1507 edition included Caxton's Bible translations. ESTC, however, gives a collation for the 1507 de Worde variant that omits the Bible translations; in contrast the ESTC collation for the Pynson variant includes both parts. The ESTC collations therefore suggest that only the Pynson variant includes the Bible translations. Certainly all but three surviving copies, including the only known copy with the de Worde device, lack the Bible translations.

If it is indeed the case that the Pynson variant is the only one to include both parts of Caxton's text, the present copy would be only the third known example of the 1507 Pynson variant edition of *The Golden Legend*.

RARITY

ESTC locates only 6 copies of both variants of the present 1507 edition, 3 in the UK and 3 in America. We can locate one additional copy, at the Guildhall Library in London. Only two known copies have colophon

THE GOLDEN LEGEND.

leaves, and only one is possibly complete, the Lambeth Palace copy. The present copy is the third most complete of all known copies. Other than the present copy, of the seven known copies surviving worldwide only two are complete with the section of Caxton's Bible translations. No copies in America with the Bible translations.

(1) Lambeth Palace. Possibly complete, but may lack A¹, the title. 466 leaves. With the Bible translations. Colophon leaf with the Pynson device.(2) Guildhall Library, London. 446 leaves. With the Bible translations. No colophon leaf.

(3) Folger. 404 leaves. Lacks all the Bible translations. Colophon leaf with the Wynkyn de Worde device.

(4) Princeton. 375 leaves. Lacks all the Bible translations. No colophon leaf.(5) National Library of Scotland. 278 leaves. Lacks all the Bible translations. No colophon leaf.

(6) Harvard. 272 leaves. Lacks all the Bible translations. No colophon leaf.

(7) Cambridge Trinity College. 86 leaves. Lacks all the Bible translations. No colophon leaf.

No copy at the British Library. A copy recorded by ESTC at Yale appears to be an erroneous reference to a digital copy.

All the early English editions of *The Golden Legend* (particularly of this date and earlier) are very rare on the market, and are invariably incomplete. A complete copy of the 1483 first edition is now unobtainable – we can trace only two copies at auction in the last 40 years, both incomplete (the Doheny copy, lacking 84 leaves, Christie's 1987, \$200,000; the Beriah Botfield copy, lacking 3 leaves and with 6 sheets possibly supplied, Christie's 2002, £470,000).

\$55,000

ESTC \$95710. STC 24878.5. Maitland 187. Stevens 683 (for the first edition).

Blake, N. William Caxton and English literary culture. London, 1991.
Butler, P. Legenda Aurea. Baltimore, 1899.
Butterworth, C. The Literary Lineage of the King James Bible. Philadelphia, 1941.
Hodnett, E. English Woodcuts 1480-1535. Oxford, 1973.
Horrall, S. William Caxton's Biblical Translations. Medium Aevum, 53, 1984.
Jeremy, M. Caxton's Golden Legend and Varagine's Legenda Aurea. Speculum, 21, no. 2, 1946.
Maitland, S. A list of some of the early printed books in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth. London, 1843.
Reames, S. The Legenda Aurea. London, 1985.
Ryan, W. The Golden Legend. Princeton, 1993.
Stevens, H. The Bibles in the Caxton Exhibition. London, 1878.



The only obtainable contemporary image of the man America was named after – Amerigo Vespucci

First obtainable edition of the *Four Voyages*, the book that inspired the naming of America

No.3

AMERIGO VESPUCCI.

DISS BÜCHLIN SAGET, WIE DIE ZWEN DURCHLÜCHTIGSTEN HERREN HER FERNANDUS K. ZU CASTILIEN UND HERR EMANUEL K. ZU PORTUGAL HABEN DAS WEYTE MÖR ERSUCHET UND FUNDEN VIL INSULEN UNND EIN NÜWE WELT VON WILDER NACTENDEN LEUTEN VORMALS UNBEKANNT.

("This little book relates how the two most illustrious lords, Ferdinand, King of Castile, and Emanuel, King of Portugal, have searched through the vast seas, and discovered many islands, and a new world of naked savages, hitherto unknown").

Strasbourg: Johann Grüninger, 1509.

Octavo $(134 \times 182 \text{ mm.})$, ff. [32]. A4, B-C6, D4, E-F6. With 2 (of 5) three-quarter page woodcuts (97 × 120mm.) depicting Vespucci presenting a copy of his book on his return from the New World, with a coast and two ships in the foreground, the city of Lisbon in the background. Woodcut initials, gothic type. Modern black morocco, lettered in gilt. Lacking 8 leaves (of 32), B-B6, D4, E4; title slightly soiled and with a small annotation in red chalk, a little dusty in places and a few slight stains, two long paper flaws in the text with old repairs and partial loss of a couple of letters, slight worming in final leaf with loss of a couple of letters, upper margin cut a little close touching a few running-titles. Overall a good, crisp, unpressed copy. In an archival folding cloth box.

¶ First obtainable edition, and second edition overall, exceptionally rare, of Vespucci's *Four Voyages* – with the earliest obtainable image of Vespucci, and the only obtainable image depicting Vespucci of any kind from his lifetime. The *Four Voyages* is the only contemporary printed account of Amerigo Vespucci's four voyages to the Americas, and was the text used by the geographer Martin Waldseemüller to justify his decision to name the New World "America" after Vespucci. Almost all other contemporary editions of Vespucci print only the account of his Third Voyage (the *Mundus Novus*).

AMERIGO VESPUCCI.

It is the *Four Voyages* that Waldseemüller referred to in his epochal *Cosmographiae introductio*, the book that named America, and it has long been argued that it is only the *Four Voyages* that finally suggests the Americas are a new continent separate from Asia: "a stunning breakthrough in the state of knowledge, one Columbus never achieved" (Wills p. xii). The present 1509 German edition is particularly remarkable for its inclusion of a woodcut depicting Vespucci returning to Lisbon from his Fourth Voyage, one of a unique series of woodcuts only printed in this edition, "the first to illustrate precise incidents described by Vespucci" (Honour p. 26). This is one of only two printed images specifically depicting Vespucci from his lifetime that we have been able to trace. Both are of great rarity, and the present example is certainly the only one now obtainable.

VESPUCCI'S FOUR VOYAGES

The voyages of Amerigo Vespucci (1454–1512) have been—and continue to be—the subject of intense controversy. Contemporary printed sources however suggest he undertook four expeditions to the Americas. Following the chronology suggested by Formisano¹, these are as follows:

(1) First voyage, 1497–1498. From Spain, to Venezuela and Haiti.(2) Second voyage, 1499–1500. From Spain, to Cape Verde, Venezuela and Haiti.

(3) Third voyage 1501–1502. From Portugal, to Brazil and Patagonia, returning by way of Sierra Leone.

(4) Fourth voyage 1503–1504. From Portugal, to Brazil.

Only two contemporary printed accounts of Vespucci's voyages are known. First, a letter written to Lorenzo di Pierfrancesco de Medici recounting Vespucci's Third Voyage only (the *Mundus novus*). Second, a letter written to Piero de Tommaso Soderini, Gonfalonier of Florence, recounting all four voyages (the *Four Voyages*). Almost all the early editions of Vespucci (and also early collections of voyages such as Montalboddo) print just the text of the *Mundus Novus*. Remarkably, while individual copies are rare, some 30 editions of the *Mundus Novus* date from Vespucci's lifetime. In contrast, there were only two editions of the *Four Voyages* before Vespucci's death in 1512:

(1) The first edition, which appeared in Florence under the title *Lettera di Amerigo Vespucci dell isole nuovamente trovate in quattro suoi viaggi*, without a date, but probably printed in 1505. Borba de Moraes describes it as a book of "extraordinary rarity … not more than five copies of the *Lettera* are known" (Borba de Moraes pp. 908-911). Paul Needham,

¹ Formisano p. xli.



AMERIGO VESPUCCI.

writing in 1976, identified only two copies in America: one in the Scheide Library, the other in the Princeton University Library. "The book is of great rarity, and it is an odd chance that the only other American copy is a few steps away from Mr. Scheide's, in the Princeton University Library" (Needham p. 102).

(2) The second edition, the present 1509 Strasbourg edition printed by Johann Grüninger. Two issues are known, differing only in a couple of words in the colophon: one contains the word "mitfast", and the other "letare" (the present copy is the "mitfast" issue). Given the rarity of the 1505 first edition, this edition is now the earliest obtainable of the *Four Voyages*. It is however a very rare book in itself (see below).

The only other early appearance in print of the text of the *Four Voyages* is as an integral part¹ of Martin Waldseemüller's geographical compendium, the *Cosmographiae introductio*. This appeared in three editions in Vespucci's lifetime: two editions in 1507², and a 1509 edition by Johann Grüninger. Again, these are very rare books, particularly in earlier editions: "Any edition [of the *Cosmographiae introductio*] dated 1507 is very rare and has been sought after for more than a century. Of the real first edition not more than about two copies are known" (Borba de Moraes p. 932).

THE NAMING OF AMERICA

Martin Waldseemüller refers directly to the *Four Voyages* in his *Cosmographiae introductio*, the book that named America, and reprints it as an appendix to the *Cosmographiae*. The critical passage regarding the *Four Voyages* and the naming of America occurs in chapter 9 of the *Cosmographiae*:

"Today these parts of the earth [Europe, Asia, Africa] have been more extensively explored than a fourth part of the world, as will be explained in what follows, and that has been discovered by Amerigo Vespucci. Because it is well known that Europe and Asia were named after women, I can see no reason why anyone would have good reason to object to calling this fourth part Amerige, the land of Amerigo, or America, after the man of great ability who discovered it. The location of this part and the customs of its people can be clearly understood from the four voyages of Amerigo Vespucci that we have placed after this introduction."³

It has long been argued that the great importance of the *Four Voyages* (as opposed to the *Mundus novus*, and, ultimately, the Columbus letter) is that it finally suggests that the Americas are a new continent separate from Asia.

THE FOUR VOYAGES.

As Garry Wills puts it in his foreword to the most recent critical edition of Vespucci's letters:

"The language of Vespucci's first public letter [i.e. the *Mundus novus*] is compatible with the idea of a "new world" under and subordinate to the known configuration of lands. But in his second published letter [i.e. the *Four Voyages*] Vespucci treats the southern and northern parts of the area he and Columbus explored as a single continent *that is not Asia*. This was a stunning breakthrough in the state of knowledge, one Columbus never achieved" (Wills p. xii).

THE ONLY OBTAINABLE CONTEMPORARY IMAGE OF VESPUCCI

The present 1509 edition of the *Four Voyages* is accompanied by an absolutely remarkable and unique cycle of woodcut images illustrating specific events that took place during Vespucci's voyages, as described in the text: they were specifically commissioned for this edition, and occur in no other printings (as was often the case for Gruninger¹).

"The woodcuts ... appear only in this edition and are the first to illustrate precise incidents described by Vespucci" (Honour p. 87).

There are five woodcuts from four blocks in total: four woodcuts in the text, with the fourth repeated on the title-page. Three of these (excised in the present copy, presumably censored owing to their explicit content) illustrate events in the New World. "The anonymous artist seems to have read Vespucci's text carefully, though he naturally pictured the Brazilians with European physiognomy" (Honour p. 87). "[The woodcuts] were certainly designed to closely follow Vespucci's descriptions in the text" (Colin p. 16).

The first woodcut illustrates a group of Indians encountered in the Americas during the First Voyage: Formisano suggests the description in the text most closely fits a cannibal group in Guiana². As described in the text (ff. $B^2 - B^6$), the woodcut depicts a group of Indians who are entirely naked, "with no more covering for their private parts than when they were born"³, with "very long hair", armed with bows and arrows, living in "bell-shaped" huts. In the fore-ground one of them urinates in public: "in making water they are filthy and shameless, the men as well as the women, for while standing and talking with us, without turning away or showing shame they would release that foulness." In the background is a scene of cannibalism, again as described in the text.

¹ European Americana p. 11.

² Hessler p. 39.

³ Translation from Hessler p. 101.

 ¹ Colin p. 16.
 ² Formisano p. 188 n. 12.
 ³ Translations from Formisano.



THE FOUR VOYAGES.

The second woodcut illustrates a group of Indians encountered in the Second Voyage. As detailed in the text (ff. $D^4 - E^2$), the men are shown with sticks used to eat coca, in order to ward off thirst. "Each one of them had suspended from his neck two small dried gourds, one of which contained a supply of that herb which they were chewing, while the other contained a kind of white flour resembling plaster or white lime. Every now and then they would thrust into the gourd filled with flour a small stick whose end they had moistened in their mouths. By so doing they managed to gather some of the flour and put it into their mouths." The women, in contrast, are depicted without the coca sticks, and single gourds around their necks. "The women of the tribe, however, do not chew the herb as the men do; in its place, each one of them carries a single gourd filled with water." In the foreground two members of the expedition observe what must be a coca plant, and another plant described in the text "with leaves having the shape of donkey's ears," that the Indians use to collect water.

The third woodcut depicts an incident described in the Third Voyage (ff. $E^4 - E^5$) in which a sailor from the expedition is murdered and eaten. The sailor was sent ashore alone, and is shown in the woodcut surround by naked Indian women: "the young man advanced and mingled among the women; they all stood around him, and touched and stroked him." Behind the sailor however another woman is depicted with a raised club: "at this point a woman came down from the hill carrying a big club. When she reach the place where the young man was standing, she struck him such a heavy blow from behind that he immediately fell down dead."

It is the fourth woodcut (still present in this copy), illustrating the end of the Fourth Voyage, which is of particular interest with regard to depictions of Vespucci. The account of the Fourth Voyage ends on F^5 recto, with the return of Vespucci to Lisbon: "At last, praise be to God, after many hardships and many dangers we entered this harbour of Lisbon in less than seventy-seven days, on the 28th of June, 1504. Here we were received with great honour." Below this are the words "Americus Vesputius zu Lisbon" ("Amerigo Vespucci at Lisbon"), followed by the fourth text woodcut, on the verso of F⁵. Continuing the narrative logic of the illustrations, it depicts "the return of the voyaging fleet to Lisbon" (Honour p. 87)¹. The setting is a coastline with a ship at anchor lower right, and a city in the background upper left, with the legend "Lisibona," or Lisbon. At the centre of the scene Vespucci himself is depicted disembarking from the ship on his return from the Americas, holding out his "büchlin" or "little book" of voyages (the two clasps of which are clearly visible) to a king (identifiable from his crown and robes) - the same text that the reader has before him.

¹ See also Alegria p. 61.

AMERIGO VESPUCCI.

The woodcut is repeated on the title-page, a more traditional position for such a presentation scene. A parallel scene in a travel account printed in Germany in the same period can be found in the first German edition of Ludovico di Varthema's *Travels* (Augsburg, 1515). Here a woodcut on the title-page depicts Varthema presenting his book of travels to the Countess of Albi¹.

This extraordinary image of Amerigo Vespucci is one of only a very small handful of contemporary images of any kind, both painted and printed, depicting Vespucci – and it is certainly the earliest and only one now obtainable.

CONTEMPORARY VISUAL DEPICTIONS OF VESPUCCI

There are very few images of Vespucci from his lifetime, printed or otherwise. These include two paintings, much disputed: a fresco portrait by Domenico Ghirlandaio in the Ognissanti in Florence, and a panel painting possibly from the circle of Botticelli². Contemporary printed images of Vespucci are almost as rare. We have been able to trace only two printed images in total, including the present image, that were specifically created to represent Vespucci and that were produced in his lifetime:

(1) A portrait in the upper margin of Martin Waldseemüller's famous 1507 woodcut world map that accompanied his *Cosmographiae intro-ductio*, the so-called "birth certificate of America." In this image Vespucci is identified by name. The map is now known only in one copy, at the Library of Congress³.

(2) The title-page and fourth text woodcuts depicting Vespucci's return to Lisbon in the present 1509 Grüninger edition of the *Four Voyages*. As Hugh Honour notes, the woodcuts in this edition are "the first to illustrate precise incidents described by Vespucci" (Honour p. 87).

We can locate three further contemporary printed images that it has been suggested represent Vespucci. In each of these cases, however, there is no direct evidence that the image was specifically created to depict Vespucci himself, in contrast with the two preceding images.

(1) A small woodcut in the place of a capital at the beginning of the text of the 1505 first edition of the *Four Voyages*. This is of a man sitting at a desk, and it has been suggested that it may represent Vespucci⁴. This is followed in the text by a number of woodcuts of ships. There is



¹ Leitch p. 104.

² Langton Douglas pp. 31-35.

³ Hessler p. 25, Langton Douglas p. 32.

⁴ Alegria p. 48.

AMERIGO VESPUCCI.

nothing to directly link this cycle of woodcuts to Vespucci's text however: the images appear to be purely generic, and do not illustrate any specific events or protagonists in the text. In fact, the title-page woodcut of this edition is a direct copy of the title-page woodcut of a 1493 edition of the Columbus letter¹.

(2) A woodcut on the verso of the title-page of a 1506 German edition of the *Mundus novus* (Strasbourg: Matthias Hupfuff²), depicting a man and a king on a shoreline, with a ship in the background. Harrisse suggests this may be intended to depict Vespucci's return to Lisbon³. We now know that it was definitely not commissioned for Vespucci's text however, as the block is reused from Hupfuff's 1499 edition of *Salman und Morolf*⁴, a 12th century German epic. Only one copy is known of this edition, at the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin.

(3) A woodcut on the title-page of the 1508 second edition of Fracanzano da Montalboddo's collection of voyages, the *Paesi novamente retrovati*. This depicts a man kneeling before a ruler, against a background of a city wall and a shoreline with ships. Harrisse suggests this may be intended to represent a king receiving Vespucci⁵. Given that the *Paesi* is a collection of voyages however, including those by Columbus and Vasco da Gama, there is no evidence that associates this image specifically with Vespucci: there is nothing to precisely identify the location or the people it depicts. In addition, the figures are shown in classical dress, further distancing the scene from contemporary reportage.

In summary, the remarkable and intriguing image of Amerigo Vespucci, America's namesake, in the present 1509 edition of the *Four Voyages* is one of only two printed images we have been able to trace that were specifically created to represent Vespucci dating from his lifetime. Of these two images, it is certainly the only one now obtainable – in fact, it is the earliest and only contemporary image of Vespucci of any kind now obtainable.

PROVENANCE

(1) Early ink annotation on title with the date "1504", probably a mis-reading of the colophon.

(2) Bibliothek des Redemptoristen-Klosters Geistingen (19th century stamp on title); the library of the Redemptorist monastery of Geistingen, Germany, dispersed in 2005.

THE FOUR VOYAGES.

RARITY

Exceptionally rare. WorldCat locates 4 copies in America: Newberry Library (19 leaves in facsimile), New York Public Library, Huntington (Church copy, Huth copy). Outside America WorldCat locates 3 copies: British Library (two copies, including the Grenville copy), Bibliothèque Nationale Strasbourg. Not in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Library of Congress.

ABPC (1975-2015) lists no copies at auction.

Of the 1505 first edition of the *Four Voyages*, WorldCat locates only one copy: the British Library. The three editions of Waldseemüller's *Cosmographiae introductio* printed in Vespucci's lifetime, while better represented in institutional collections than the *Four Voyages*, are very rare on the market. ABPC (1975–2015) lists only one copy at auction.

£ Price on request

Church 33. Harisse BV Additions 31. Alden-Landis 509/11. Borba de Moraes II p. 911. Medina p. 62. Fumagalli 1346. Vignaud 122. Kristeller *Strassburger Bucher-Illustration* 123.

Alegria, R. Las primeras representaciones gráficas del indio americano. San Juan, 1978.

Colin, S. "The Wild Man and the Indian early 16th century book illustration", *Indians and Europe*. Lincoln, 1999.
Duntze, O. *Ein Verleger sucht sein Publikum: die Strassburger Offizin des Matthias Hupfuff*. Munich, 2007.
Formisano, L. *Letters from a New World*. New York, 1992.
Harrisse, H. *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*. New York, 1866.
Honour, H. *The European Vision of America*. Cleveland, 1975.
Leitch, S. *Mapping Ethnography in Early Modern Germany*. New York, 2010.
Needham, P. "Incunabula, Bibles and Early Americana in the Scheide Library." *The Princeton University Library Chronicle* vol. 37, 1976, no. 2.
Wills, G. "Foreword", *Letters from a New World*. New York, 1992.

¹ Honour p. 85, Algeria p. 51.

² VD16 V 931.

³ Harisse p. 84.

⁴ Duntze p. 405.

⁵ Harrisse p. 104.

An Elizabethan spy's Decameron

William Herle's annotated copy of the 1516 illustrated Giunta Decameron, from the library of the Earl of Ashburnham

No.4

GIOVANNI BOCCACCIO.

IL DECAMERONE. Florence: Giunta, 1516.

Octavo (156 × 95 mm.), ff. [viii], 329, [1]. 2A8, a-z8, &8, [con]8, [rubrica]8, A-O8, P10. 101 woodcuts, 8 large (74 × 92 mm.), and 93 smaller (42×70 mm.). Italic type. Early 19th century straight-grained black morocco, covers bordered with single gilt fillet and dentelle roll, fleurons in blind at corners, spine with five raised bands, gilt fleurons in the compartments, lettered direct in gilt, all edges gilt. Lacking P8; P10 in facsimile (blank but for printer's device). Title browned, occasional marginal foxing and minor stains, closed tears in a few leaves, a couple of blank corners torn, y2 recto and y3 verso dusty, a few early paper restorations probably dating from the last binding (last leaf of the table AA8 with lower blank margin replaced; P1 expertly remargined). Slightly rubbed, joints expertly restored. In an archival folding cloth box.

¶ The 1516 Giunta illustrated Decamerone, very rare. One of the earliest illustrated editions of the Decameron, with 101 woodcuts copied from the first illustrated incunable edition of 1492. The Elizabethan spy William Herle's copy, with his annotations; later in the celebrated library of the Earl of Ashburnham. Early editions of the Decameron, particularly illustrated editions, are now extremely difficult to acquire (see rarity note below) - and hardly less so historically.

A VERY EARLY ILLUSTRATED DECAMERON

This edition of the Decameron was the fifth illustrated edition in the original Italian to appear. The four illustrated editions that precede it are of the greatest rarity: two Venice editions of 1504 and 1510, and two incunable editions of 1492 and 1498. The beautiful naive woodcuts in this 1516 edition are reverse free copies of the 1492 first illustrated edition¹. The "proemio"

¹ Mortimer p. 96.



er le fanti, & famigli fi faceainach inifcalco, & domandato qual gride

gione rifpofe, che il romore cratte

a reina comando, che incontant

Tindaro. Cli quali uenuti doma

elloro romore, allaqualendend

be attempatetta era, er anzige

che ardifie la doneio fia, à pailar

la reina riuoltata diffe.madona or

oglie di Sicofante, & ne più nemen fuffi mi unol dare ad nedere chil

cque con lei meffer maz a entraffin

argimeto di fangue, or io dia,

amente, or co gra piaære dique

ni, che egli fi crede troppo bene

e elle stieno à perder iltépoloro.

frategli, che delle feptenolte le

indugiaffino tanto, Alla fe dichih

io mi dico, quado io giuro, io

data à marito, & anche dellem

elle fanno à loro mariti, et quefos femine, come fe io fuffi natabie

in ledonne fi gran rifa, che tuttide

a ella non riftette mai infino àtato,

a nolle, ma poi che facto bebbea

tata à Dioneo diffe. Dioneo questa

i finite le nostre nouelle, chetufop

Dioneo pftamete rifpofe, madin iltro, & dico, che la Licifa bara

a dice, E Tindaro è una beflia. Luon

nio ad ridere, or à Tindaro rivoltado

. Et la reina lbaueua ben fei nolu

più che non debbono adm

aldata noltatafi nerfolnig

gione egli non fapeua, fi come chi i fargli ftare cheti, gdo per pane din

GIORNATA

Ben lo diæna io, natti co dio, credi tú faper pin dime tu, che no hai anchorarafciutti gli occhi, gran mercié, no ci fono uiuuta in uano ionó. Et fe no fuffi, che la reina co un mal uifo le impofe filentio, 🛩 omandogli, che più parole, ne romor facessi, se esser no uolessi scopa ta or lei, et Tindaro mado uia, niuna altra cofa harebbono haun ta à fare intutto ql giorno, che attendere à colei. Liquali dapoi, che partiti furono la reina impose à Philomena, che alle nonelle deffi principio, laquale liet amentecosi cominció

Vno canaliere diæ à madonna Horetta di portarla con una nos uella à cauallo, & non diændola bene la donna diæ che uuole an Nouella.LI. dare à pié.

Iouane

done co/

I me ne lu

adi fereni sonole

stelle ornamento

del aelo, fe nella

primauera i fiori

deuerdi prati, or

de colli i rinestiti

arbufægli, cosi arbufech

= de landenoli cor fumi, er de ragionameti begli fono i leggiadri motti, liquali pao, che brieui fono tanto stanno meglio alle done, che agli buomini, q topin alle done, che agli huomini il molto parlar fi difdiæ. E' il ne opin ale cone cole agrirocomin in maluagita del noftro ingegno.0 iminicia fingulare, che à noftri fecoli fia portata da cieli boggi, pochezo no numa dona rimafa cie, laquale ne fappia, ne tempi op/ portuni dire alemo, o fe decto è intenderlo, come fi conuiene, gene/ raluergognia di tutte noi, ma perció, che giá sopra questa materia affaida Pampinea fú dečto, piú oltre non intendo di dirne, ma per fini aduedere quanto habbiano in fe di belleza à tempi dečti, un cortefe impor di filentio facto dauna gentil donna ad un caualiere mi piace di raccontarui.

SI come molte di uoi possono per ueduta sapere, o posson baue/ reudito, egli no è achora molto, che nella nostra spita su una gentile, es costumata dona, es ben parlante, ilori ualore non merita, che il fuo nome fi taccia, fu aduque chiamata madona Ho/



THE DECAMERON.

GIOVANNI BOCCACCIO.

opens with a large woodcut (74 \times 93mm.) of a scene depicting Boccaccio's seven women and three men seated in a garden, with each participant named. Giunta repeats this block at the head of days 2, and 6-10. The woodcuts illustrating the stories measure 43 \times 70 mm., the first being an illustration of the author at work.

The great rarity of incunable and early 16th century *Decamerons*—and in particular illustrated *Decamerons*—is most likely explained by contemporary censorship: the *Decameron* was a prime candidate for Savonarola's bonfires. Owing, amongst other factors, to its frequently explicit sexual content, the *Decameron* was then placed on the Catholic Church's index of prohibited books in the mid-16th century. In the second half of the 16th century, beginning with the Valgrisi edition of 1552, the *Decameron* began to be printed in expurgated form—the Tenth story, Third Day, in which the monk Rustico teaches Alibech how to "put the devil back in hell" was an early casualty.

This 1516 Giunta edition also marks an important moment in the history of the text: "The main source of this edition, which naturally enough was the only previous Florentine edition of 1483, had in fact been corrected with manuscripts including that transcribed in 1384, in all probability from one of Boccaccio's autograph originals" (Richardson p. 83).

THE ELIZABETHAN SPY WILLIAM HERLE'S COPY

Approximately 50 pages of the book have contemporary or near-contemporary annotations (excluding manicules or underlined passages). These appear to be in more than one hand, and intriguingly, are in Italian, English, or both Italian and English. The bilingual hand is English (it is associated with an English name, William Herle, see below). Some of the annotations note particular words or phrases in the text; others appear to analyse the content of particular stories. A few however are translations from Italian into English—the phrase "sopra la stangha", for example (f. 168 verso), has been written out again, and below it the words "ys a perche for a ha[w]ke." Intriguingly, one passage has a note in English which possibly reads "to be tra[n]slatyd" (f. 267 verso). At the very least the annotations suggest a close reading by a near-contemporary English reader with a good knowledge of Italian.

One of the annotations in the English hand is signed. It begins with the Italian phrase "Io vorrei" ("I would like"—not referring to anything in the printed text it seems); below this is written the name "Giugl[ielm]o herl"¹. This appears to be an English reader giving an Italian rendering of his own name: "William

¹ F. 244.

32



GIOVANNI BOCCACCIO.

Herl[e]." The name William Herle appears repeatedly in the book. Most obviously, the title-page bears the following epigraph: "If honest & good thinges were as hard to be preised as don, I think it shold be as littill praised as now folowed. Q[uo]d W. Herle." Next to this, once again, appears the signature "Gu[i]lielm[us] herleus." "William Herle" is written out once more in full on the verso of the final leaf, and the initials "WH" and "H" appear on three further occasions. Comparison of the annotations with surviving letters written by the Elizabethan spy William Herle (d. 1588/9) strongly suggest that he is the annotator.

Herle operated chiefly in the Low Countries, relaying information back to London, primarily to Sir William Cecil and Sir Francis Walsingham. His shadowy career extended beyond spying however, and in 1570 he was sent to the Marshelsea prison for piracy, whilst there acting as a prison spy for Cecil. "His many requests for a permanent position were ignored by his powerful friends and this suggests that they considered him useful but not entirely trustworthy" (*ODNB*). Herle appears to have been an accomplished linguist: "He was well educated with a good knowledge of languages, including Latin, Flemish, and Italian, and probably also French and Spanish" (*ODNB*). He certainly owned books in Italian: at least one has already been identified, a 1564 copy of Ludovico Domenichi's *Detti e Fatti diversi signori et personae private*, now at the University of Illinois¹.

Herle's hand is notoriously illegible, and most of his annotations in this book remain to be deciphered. Fittingly for Boccaccio, a love story seems to unfold within the annotations: several make amorous references to an "Elizabeth", with the initials E.R.: who this was remains unknown, and there is no evidence that Herle married.

FROM THE LIBRARY OF THE EARL OF ASHBURNHAM

The book then reappears three centuries later in the celebrated library of the Earl of Ashburnham (1797–1878). "In his vast purchases of manuscripts Sir Thomas Phillipps seems to have had only one rival—the fourth Earl of Ashburnham, also one of the great collectors of the nineteenth century... His library of printed books was hardly of less importance. He had a wonderful collection of incunabula including some thirty Caxtons and two copies of the Mazarin [Gutenberg] Bible, one on vellum and one on paper..." (de Ricci p. 131). Asburnham appears to have had a particular interest in Boccaccio, and his exceptional collection of early *Decamerons* included two copies of the 1492 illustrated Venice edition, one copy of the 1510 Venice illustrated edition, two copies of the Venice 1516 edition, and two copies of the Florence 1516

¹ Shelfmark Baldwin 1024.

CVNDA e di Scotia fuggire, quanto lapan mia giouaneza, fe a lui maritati ne leggie, & contro à lbonom sí difposta nenedo, dio ilquales e fa mestieri à dascuno, credope i piacque, che mio marito fuffi min questo gionane, & mostro Alace e nedete, gli ani costumi, o ikan gran dona, quantunque forfeldning a, come è lareale. lui bo adunque m altro nharo, che fene debbanan be la principal cagione, per land ne di fornire ilmio camino fi per di di, de quali questa citta è piena, o la perche ilcotracto matrimonio tra i dio, io faceffi aperto nella nofratti li altri huomini.per che humilum o, et à me e placinto, fia à gradoide mi doniate. acció che con quella fim di colui, del gle noi fiete nicario nan dio or del nostro uinere, or ultim adro udendo lamoglie efferfiglini ir abile allegrez a occulta, fu nipimal due caualieri, & fifi turborono de lpapa ftati fuffino, harebbono al de uillania. Dallaltra parteil papula lla donna & della fua electione mi o fi potea tornare, gli nolfe del fuire te racofolati ecanalieri, conslimma ræ con la dona & con Alexandroini che à fare fulfi, & ilgiomopolo in tutti e cardinali, or ad molti altitude ti ad una gradiffima festadalnian enire la dona realmente uestita, la

e parena, che meritamete datution

nete Alexadro plendidamente usiti

o migha giouane. che adufurabat

or da due canalieri molto bonutas

GIORNATA 38 quillpapa da capo fece folenemente lo fponfalitio celebrare, es apf

folenoze, & belle, et magnifiche fatte con la fua beneditto e gli lice tio, Piacque ad Alexadro, E fimilmente alla donna di Roma par tirfi, & di uenire ad Firenze, doue gid la fama haueua la nouella recata or quiui da cittadini con fommo honore ricenuti fece la don na gli tre frategliliberare, banendo prima facto ogni huomo paga re, & loro, & le loro donne rimiffe nelle loro poffeffioni, per lagua le cofa con buona gratia di tutti Alexandro con lafua dona, mena/ done feco agolante, fi parti di Firenze, er à Parigi nenuti honores unimente dal re ricenuti furono, & di quindi andorono idue aua/ lieri in Ingbilterra, & tanto colre adoperorono, che gli rendé las gratia fua, fe con grandiffima festa lei el suo genero riœuette ilqua le egli poco apresso co grandissimo bonore fe caualieri, & donogli lacontrada di curnovaglia. Ilquale fi da tanto, & tanto séppe fa/ re,cheegli parificó ilfiglinolo col padre, diche feghui grábene alliv fola, e egli pargito lamore, e la gratia di tutti epacfani, er ago lante ricoueró tučto rio, che bauerni douena interamète, er ricoho oltre à modo fi tornó à Firê (e hauedolo prima ilcote Alexandro ca nalier facto. Il cote poi con la fua dona gloriofamete uiffe, & fecon do, che alcuni uogliono dire, tra col fuo fenno, er ualore, er laiuto del fuo fuoæro egli conquisto poi la Scotia, E funne incoronato. Landolfo Ruffolo impouerito es dagenouesi preso rompe in ma

re, & fopra una caffetta di gioie chariffime ifcampa & in cafarice unto da una femina tornó riccio à cafa fua. Nouella. XIII.



re cominció incotal guila. Gratiofiffime donne ninno acto della fortuna feondo il mio giudicio fi può uedere maggiore, che ue/ dere uno dinfina miferia à ftato reale elcuare, come lanouella di

GIOVANNI BOCCACCIO.

illustrated edition (including the present copy). His library of printed books was dispersed in four sales between 1897 and 1898, for a total of £62,712, the Gutenberg Bible on vellum selling for £4,000. The present copy of the 1516 Giunta *Decamerone* sold for £5 5s.

PROVENANCE

(1) William Herle (d. 1588), inscriptions on title and in text, annotations in text.

(2) Bertram, 4th Earl of Ashburnham (1797-1878), lot 694 in the Ashburnham sale, Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge, 25 June 1897, described in the catalogue as: "Il Decamerone nuovamente stampato, con tre novella aggiunte, *numerous fine woodcuts, last leaf of the table supplied from a smaller copy, and wants leaf at end with Giunta's device, modern blue morocco gilt, g.e. sm. 4to. Firenze, Philippo di Giunta, 1516.* A very rare edition, the first in which appeared the three additional Novels wrongly attributed to Boccaccio. The Sunderland copy sold for £38. It has an old English signature of Wm. Herle and the sentence "If honest and good things were as hard to be praised as don, I thynk it shold be as littil praised as now followed, qd. W. Herle"."

(3) Murray & Sons, booksellers, London, acquired at the Ashburnham sale in 1897.



THE DECAMERON.

RARITY

Very rare. "Edition rare" – Brunet. WorldCat locates 8 copies worldwide, one of these incomplete: Harvard, Union College, UCLA (the Vershbow copy, lacking a leaf), Göttingen, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, British Library, Manchester.

Very rare on the market: ABPC (1975–2015) lists only two copies at auction (one of which was incomplete).

All early editions of the *Decameron*, particularly illustrated, are now very rare indeed. WorldCat locates only one copy each of the 1504 and 1510 illustrated editions (British Library and Harvard respectively). ISTC locates a small handful of copies of the 1492 (11 copies) and 1498 (9 copies) illustrated incunable editions, and hardly any examples of these incunable editions can remain in private hands. Remarkably, ABPC locates only two copies at auction of any earlier edition of the *Decameron* than the present 1516 edition: a 1484 edition, and a 1492 edition. Only one of these was illustrated: the Schaefer-Arcana copy of the 1492 edition, bound with Masuccio Salernitano's *Novellino* (Christie's 2010, \$376,000).

We would like to thank Sarah Broadhurst for her assistance in identifying the annotations.

\$19,000

Essling pt. 1 vol. 2 645. Sander I 1065. Kristeller 63. Brunet I p. 998. Gamba *Testi di lingua* 169 ("raro"). Bacchi della Lega p. 34 ("rara edizione"). Mortimer 69.

Mortimer, R. Italian 16th century books. Cambridge, 1974. Richardson, B. Print Culture in Renaissance Italy. Cambridge, 1994. Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge. The Ashburnham Library. Catalogue of the magnificent collection of Printed Books the property of the Rt. Hon. The Earl of Ashburnham. London, 25 June 1897.

One of the earliest known engravings of Native Americans

Brazilian Tupinamba in the French Renaissance: a rare complete suite of Etienne Delaune's *Combats et Triomphes*

No.5

ETIENNE DELAUNE.

COMBATS ET TRIOMPHES. [France: c. 1550 – 60 and pre 1573].

[with] ANTONIO TEMPESTA. MATHIAS MERIAN.

BATTLE SCENES. [Frankfurt?: c. 1620-30].

Oblong 16mo. [118 \times 254 mm.]. Blank album of 17 leaves with two suites of engravings pasted in, twelve by Etienne Delaune [68 \times 222 mm.] and four by Antonio Tempesta [100 \times 220 mm.]. Bound in thin blue paper boards circa 1800. Occasional mark or spot in blank margins of album, small tear to lower outer corner of plate 2 with very small loss, plates cut to plate mark as usual, plate 7 slightly rubbed in lower section, block recently re-sewn. A very good set with excellent, rich impressions of the plates.

¶ An extremely beautiful, most interesting and very rare suite of engravings by Etienne Delaune: a series of exquisitely engraved 'combats', including a plate of Tupinamba Indians.

ETIENNE DELAUNE

Etienne Delaune, a Huguenot goldsmith, medalist, and engraver, worked with Benvenuto Cellini in Paris from 1540-1545 and later created the designs for Henry II's parade armour. His prints are exceptional for their technical precision and the finesse of their engraving, generally in a miniature format.

These twelve prints draw their inspiration ultimately from Roman relief carving, in the same manner as the engravings of Andrea Mantegna. Mantegna's prints were well distributed in France, and were especially influential at the School of Fontainebleau. Delaune's use of dark backgrounds and sculpted



COMBATS ET TRIOMPHES.

ETIENNE DELAUNE.

forms owes much to Mantegna, and his work was clearly inspired by such works as Mantegna's 'Triumph of Julius Caesar', engraved by Antonio da Brescia, and his 'Bacchanal' series of prints. The print of the 'Battle of the Nude Men' by Antonio Pollaiuolo (a follower of Mantegna) must have been an influence. German masters such as Georg Pencz and the Beham brothers were also of direct influence in the formats Delaune adopted and in the use of dark backgrounds, although ultimately his style is that of the school of Fontainbleau. Delaune's wonderful, decorative and very fine interpretation of these subjects, derived from Renaissance Italy and reworked in the context of the wars of religion in France and the revelations of the discoveries being made in the New World, makes for a complex and delightful interplay of themes. The plate of the Tupinamba Indians in particular adds a most intriguing and completely new dimension to the Renaissance thematic landscape.

THE SUITE OF ENGRAVINGS

Pollet states that this series was probably made in two stages; eight being made pre 1556 (plates 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 10, 12); an additional four plates were then added to the series sometime before 1573 (plates 5, 8, 9, 11). Pollet arrives at this conclusion as these four plates use a more definite line than the earlier plates, indicative of Delaune's slightly later style, and the lettering on the plates differs from the first eight (utilising capitals). It seems likely that the numbering of the 12 plates was made when the four plates were added to the series in order to create a definitive sequence for the prints. Dumesnil gives the four states as: "1) unnumbered with no address, 2) unnumbered but with the address 'F.L.D. Ciartres excud.' 3) numbered with Ciartres address, 4) numbered with the address P. Mariette le Fils." Pollet questions Dumesnil's description of the four states of these engravings, "ses descriptions paraissent assez embrouillées" (Pollet p. 218), pointing out that he has come across examples (i.e. no. 24 Cabinet des Estampes de Strasbourg) that are numbered but do not have either of the two addresses given by Dumesnil in his 2nd, 3rd and 4th states. The plates in this suite are numbered but have no address; they are signed 'Stephanus fecit" and "cum pri Regis S.," indicating an intermediary state between first state and second state, (except plate 1 which corresponds to Dumesnil's 3rd state, numbered and with the address 'F.L.D. Ciartres excud.'). Pollet describes a plate in the same state as ours, on page 229, No. 29 as "1er ou 2e état?"

The suite starts with a series of three 'Triumphs', the first with the female figure of wisdom, 'Minerva', and the third with the figure of 'Victory' – both sitting in triumph over bound, naked, male and female prisoners, perhaps symbolising the vices. The second depicts a procession in which a bound king is paraded in triumph. There then follows a series of 'Combats' with an evolving theme, from 'Grotesque to Noble', but interwoven with multiple visual cross-references. The addition of the four later plates reinforces the



ETIENNE DELAUNE.

existing order of the first eight. The first Combat plate, the 'Combat grotesque', amusingly pits gardeners and cooks against each other, some riding donkeys, attacking each other with ladles and scythes and other instruments of their trades, children at their feet, the whole reminiscent of an absurd, violent domestic argument. Pollet suggests that its use of derision and the burlesque shows the vanity and fratricidal aspects of all war. The second Combat moves on to a classical scene of a Bacchic procession, with a young Bacchus and wild naked men.

This is followed by the Combat of man against animals: in this scene, men of all regions of the world (one turbaned, one reminiscent of a Native American with an axe) fight one another, and mythological animals confront each other according to their mutual antipathies (lion and unicorn with griffin, elephant with dragon, dromedary with horse).

THE BATTLE OF THE TUPINAMBA INDIANS

The next plate in the series of Combats "depicts a combat of naked warriors, whose feathered clothing, distended lower lips, and clubs mark them unmistakably as Tupinamba. This is the only one of the twelve prints which is not taken from Greco-Roman mythology ... However, a certain degree of contamination has taken place between the scenes of the Old World and the New World, so that the Romans and Ottomans fight as the Brazilian Indians do. While the Old World reference remains dominant, it is not exclusive" (Maso p. 39).

This particular composition is interesting not just for its introduction of Native American warriors into a Renaissance narrative, but also in its references to the cannibalism implied by the warriors biting each other. As a Protestant, Delaune would have been keenly aware of the further layer of meaning implied, that cannibalism was often used as a metaphor for the horrendous violence let loose between his Catholic and Protestant countrymen during the wars of religion raging in France. This theme of the cannibalistic nature of war is subtly transferred from the Native American image to the other 'noble' combats.

"Now Delaune, playing a game of serial contamination, amused himself by transplanting into neighbouring plates iconographic elements drawn from the Brazilian image ...The tenth engraving of the series of Combats and Triumphs shows a mêlée of cavalry and infantry, whose oriental scimitars, round shields decorated with a flaming sun, tufted helmets or corsets and leggings are combined with an uprooted tree brandished in the manner of a ram, and with biting. In this compositional fantasy, where the gestures and attitudes of savage warfare are deliberately mixed up with the armaments of Romans and Ottomans, the remnants of Barbarous hand-to-hand combat result in a studied effect of disparity ... Delaune realised in images the effect Thevet had tried to achieve by recourse to a mythography of 'inventors': a composite alloy, in

COMBATS ET TRIOMPHES.



ETIENNE DELAUNE.

which the new gained a dignity equal to the ancient by being integrated into a formal, traditional framework" (Lestringant p. 56).

Etienne Delaune's use of visual imagery to compare the 'savage' behaviour of Native Americans with that of Europeans very much prefigures such ideas in Michel de Montaigne's celebrated essay *On Cannibals* published in 1580. Montaigne describes the ceremonies of the Tupinamba, and their cannibalism, and compares this behaviour to the "barbarism" of 16th-century Europe.

Delaune's treatment of the subject is entirely original, especially with regard to the narrative created by the twelve images. Although very detailed, his work is not descriptive, but symbolic and allusive and all the more powerful for it. It has rarely been discussed in the study of early images of the Americas in Europe, perhaps owing to the rarity of the set of engravings. It is however a most important reimagining of Native Americans in the light of Renaissance themes.

ONE OF THE EARLIEST ENGRAVINGS OF NATIVE AMERICANS

Delaune's source for his image of the Tupinamba is not known, but there are several possibilities. Thevet's famous illustrated work *Les Singlaritez de la France Antarctike* had appeared in 1557, probably just after Delaune made this series, and the woodcut, on F^3 verso of the first edition, bears a striking resemblance to Delaune's Tupinamba image. It is not known who copied who though. Delaune would most probably have seen clubs and paraphernalia from America in the cabinets of curiosities in Paris and it is possible that Thevet and Delaune shared the same source. As Thevet had no original images of his own he sourced the pictures in his work from multiple sources, and it seems probable that he copied Delaune's image. Hans Staden's account of his captivity amongst the Tupinamba was also published in the same year. In 1550 there was also organised the imitation of a Brazilian village for Henri II's entry into Rouen, which was made up of "50 Indians – Tupinambas and perhaps 'Tabagerres' – and 250 Frenchmen dressed (or rather, undressed) and acting like Indians" (Sturtevant p. 428).

The European iconography of Native Americans commences in either books, as woodcut illustrations, or in the decorative borders of maps, from the late 15th century. We have not, however, been able to trace any earlier engraving produced of Native Americans than Delaune's engraving of the Tupinamba. Pollet dates the creation of the first series of eight engravings, including plate 7, the Tupinamba, to 1550 - 1560, and suggests a more specific date of before 1556. The figures used in this series occur in studies for Henry II's armour made in the first years of the 1550s. It became fashionable to describe the four separate continents in the second half of the 15th century and there are several allegorical engravings made of the figure of 'America,' such as Phillipe

COMBATS ET TRIOMPHES.

Galle's depiction of the subject and Delaune's own version of the same, but these were not published until 1579 and 1575 respectively. De Bry did not begin his engravings of America until the following decade. Delaune's image or vision or the Tupinamba is also particularly interesting given his close relationship as teacher and mentor to Theodore De Bry, most famous for his series of engravings of America.

TEMPESTA

The twelve engravings by Delaune are followed by four battle scenes by Antonio Tempesta, engraved by Merian, in Tempesta's post-Mannerist style. They share the same format but are completely different in style to Delaune's work and present dramatic battles between two unknown factions that focus on dynamic centralised compositions incorporating the bodies of horses and men. They make an interesting counterpoint to Delaune's work.

RARITY

Individually plates from this series occur occasionally on the market. However complete suites of all twelve engravings, revealing the full narrative intended by Delaune, and that include the Tupinamba plate, are very rare indeed.

\$10,000

Robert-Dumesnil 281-292. Pollet, C. Les Gravures d'Etienne Delaune (1518-1583) vol. I, p. 219 – 523

Lestringant, F. Mapping the Renaissance World: The Geographical Imagination in the Age of Discovery. Cambridge (1994). Maso. P. Infelicities: Representations of the Exotic. Baltimore (1998)



Shakespeare's source for The Merchant of Venice

"Some of the strongest evidence available that Shakespeare had a reading knowledge of Italian" – William Carew Hazlitt's copy

No.6

GIOVANNI FIORENTINO.

IL PECORONE ("THE DUNCE"). Milan: Giovann' Antonio de gli Antonii, 1558.

Octavo (142 × 95 mm.), ff. 227, [1]. A-Z8, AA-EE8, FF4. Woodcut initials and printer's ornaments, large printer's woodcut device of griffin on title-page repeated on verso of final leaf. Straight-grained red morocco, covers with single fillet frames in gilt, flat spine ruled in gilt, lettered direct in gilt, gilt inner dentelles, marbled endpapers, all edges gilt (binding c. 1800). Title-page with old ink hatching on woodcut device, slightly soiled, and with minor repairs (loss of three letters), otherwise a crisp and clean copy. In an archival folding cloth box.

¶ First edition, first state, extremely rare, of Giovanni Fiorentino's collection of early Italian novellas, *Il Pecorone*: Shakespeare's principal source for *The Merchant of Venice*—"Some of the strongest evidence available that Shakespeare had a reading knowledge of Italian" (Gillespie p. 168). This copy is in the first of the two states of the first edition (see below). We can locate only one copy in American libraries.

With a distinguished provenance: William Carew Hazlitt (1834–1913), bibliographer and Shakespeare scholar; and Giuseppe Martini (1870–1944), the Italian bibliographer, collector, and dealer.

SHAKESPEARE AND IL PECORONE

Very little is known about Giovanni Fiorentino, but he probably completed *Il Pecorone* in about 1378¹. Modelled on Boccaccio, it is a collection of 50 novellas with a frame story involving an encounter between a monk and nun at a monastery in Forli.

"Shakespeare clearly used Fiorentino's story of Giannetto of Venice and the Lady of Belmont, the first story of the fourth day, for *The Merchant of Venice*, and

¹ Gillespie p. 167.

46



IL PECORONE.

gives every appearance of knowing it directly, in the Italian ... The plots resemble each other closely, despite no known English translation having been available, and there are, moreover, verbal parallels with the original. Though it is not possible to rule out the existence in the 1590s of a translation (printed or manuscript) which has not survived, these facts constitute some of the strongest evidence available that Shakespeare had a reading knowledge of Italian" (Gillespie p. 168).

"One of the stories in Ser Giovanni Fiorentino's *Il Pecorone* supplied *The Merchant of Venice* with the essentials of the plot: the wooing of a lady in Belmont by means of a test, the friendship between adventurer and benefactor, the loan from a Jewish moneylender, the pound of flesh penalty, the imposture of the lady as a learned doctor, the trial and climactic discomfiture of the Jew, the ring switch and comic conclusion. Shakespeare probably read the Italian original (no translation is recorded)" (Miola p. 81).

The first edition occurs in two states, one with the title-page dated 1558 (as here), and one with the title-page dated 1559. In the 1559 state the first quire is partially re-set with textual changes¹. A counterfeit edition bearing the date 1554 was printed in Lucca in c. 1740².

WILLIAM CAREW HAZLITT'S SHAKESPEARE SOURCE COLLECTION

The present copy was part of the bibliographer and Shakespeare scholar William Carew Hazlitt's pioneering Shakespeare source collection. Grandson of the essayist William Hazlitt, William Carew Hazlitt published extensively on early English literature, and was responsible for the English portion of the Huth catalogue³. He also formed an impressive library of Shakespeare source texts, the basis for his *Shakespeare's Library*, published in 6 volumes in 1887, an early and comprehensive edition of Shakespeare sources. The collection was sold at Anderson Galleries, New York, in 1918.

Hazlitt's collection is particularly interesting as an early example of a Shakespeare collection focusing purely on Shakespeare sources. The Anderson Galleries catalogue preamble describes it as follows: "This monumental Shakespearean Library is of unexampled literary importance. It was formed in England many years ago purely from a Student's point of view, and is the patient work of a lifetime. In so far as we know, it is the sole Library in existence which has been brought together entirely on these lines ... no expense was spared to obtain the original editions of Elizabethan and Jacobean literature (both English and Foreign), many of them being of extreme rarity, which would assist the Student and add to his knowledge and appreciation of the Poet" (Anderson Galleries *Catalogue* p. 3).

¹ Gamba p. 34.

² Gamba p. 36.

³ Suarez p. 785.



IL PECORONE.

The present copy was then acquired at the Anderson Galleries sale by the distinguished Italian bibliographer, collector, and dealer, Giuseppe Martini, who assembled one of the finest libraries of Italian literature of his day (unfortunately only the first portion of the catalogue of his library, including over 400 incunables, was ever published).

PROVENANCE

(1) William Carew Hazlitt (1834–1913). His collection was dispersed at Anderson Galleries, New York, 13–14 February 1918: *Catalogue of the Shakespeare library formed by an English collector*, lot 396 (purchase note in pencil by Giuseppe Martini).

(2) Giuseppe Martini (1870–1944), (pencil annotations and collation note signed by Martini on endpapers).

RARITY

Extremely rare. "Edition très rare et non corrigée" – Brunet. WorldCat locates only 3 copies worldwide of this 1558 first state of the first edition: one copy in America (University of Illinois), and two in Europe (British Library, incomplete, lacking two leaves; Bayerische Staatsbibliothek). We can locate no additional copies to this in American libraries, and only one in the UK (Manchester John Rylands). Not in Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Folger (not in the online catalogue), Oxford, Cambridge.

The 1559 second state is hardly less rare: WorldCat locates 3 copies worldwide (Harvard, the Morgan Library, State Library of New South Wales). Not in Yale, Princeton, Folger (not in the online catalogue), British Library, Cambridge.

ABPC (1975–2015) records only one copy at auction of either state (Christie's, 2001, repaired wormholes).

\$14,500

EDIT 16 21103. USTC 833009. Gamba Delle novelle Italiane 5. Brunet II p. 148.

Anderson Galleries. Catalogue of the Shakespeare library formed by an English collector. New York. (1918).
Gamba, B. Delle novelle Italiane in prosa. Florence (1835).
Gillespie, S. Shakespeare's Books. London (2001).
Martini, G. Catologo della libreria di Giuseppe Martini. Milan (1934).
Miola, R. Shakespeare's reading. Oxford (2000).

A lost version of Marco Polo's Travels

The fullest account of Marco's travels, with extensive material found nowhere else

No.7

[MARCO POLO] GIOVANNI BATTISTA RAMUSIO.

SECONDO VOLUME DELLE NAVIGATIONI ET VIAGGI. Venice: Giunti, 1559.

Folio (320 x 220 mm.), ff. [2], 18, 155, [1]. [Cross]², 1⁸, 2⁶, 3⁴, 4⁶, 5⁴, A-S⁸, T-V⁶. Giunta device on title, woodcut historiated and white-on-black initials, two woodcuts in the text (a Rhubarb plant, and a bridge over the "Pulisangan" river in China). Half vellum over sprinkled paper boards in contemporary style. Occasional minor stains, small expert paper repairs to blank outer corners of title-page. A very good copy.

¶ First edition of the "B" text of Marco Polo's Travels, included in the first edition of the second volume of Giovanni Battista Ramusio's collection of voyages and travels. "Of great importance, containing much material which is not to be found in the A texts" (Larner p. 185).

This text is one of the two original versions of Marco Polo's account. Based on a Venetian manuscript found by Ramusio, now lost since the 16th century, it contains extensive passages of the Travels found nowhere else. John Larner speculates that this version may have been produced by Marco for private circulation in Venice¹.

THE "B" TEXT OF MARCO POLO'S TRAVELS

The version of Marco Polo's Travels printed by Ramusio was until relatively recently an enigma. It includes a great deal of unique material-but Ramusio's source has never been found, and remains mysterious. He himself is not particularly helpful: in his "Prefacione" to the volume, he reveals that he used a manuscript that he describes as being "marvellously ancient" ("maravigliosa antichita"), that he has seen many times, a text belonging to a fellow Venetian, and a great friend of his, a nobleman by the name of Ghisi².

¹ Larner p. 58. ² Ramusio 1559, leaf 7 recto.

DE I VIAGGI DI MESSER MARCO POLO GENTIL'HVOMO VENETIANO.

pretio:partendoli di Conftantinopoli, nauigorono per il detto Mar Maggiore, ad vn Porto detto Soldadia. dal quale poi prefero il cammino per rerra, alla corte di vn gran Signor de Tartari occidentali, detto Barcha, che dimoraua in la città di ala corte di von gran Signor de Tartari occidentali, detto Barcha, che dimorata in la città di Bolgara, & Alfara, & era reputato vn de più liberali, & corteli Signori, che mai folfe flato fan Tartari. Cofitui della ventuta di quelli fratelli, table grandi simo piacere, & feceli gran de honore, quali hauendo moliratel e gioie portare (eco, vedido, che le gli piaceuano, glie le donarono liberamente, la cortelia così grande víata con tanto animo di queli du lete frate li fece molto maratigliare detto Signore. Qual non volendo effere da loro vinto di libera-lità, gli fece donari doppio della valuta di quelle, & apprello gràdifismi, & cricchi simi do-ni. Er effendo fiati vi nano nel paé del detto Signore, volendo ritormare à Venetia, fubi-tamente nacque guera tra il preditto Barcha, & vi altro nominato Alaù, Signore di Tar-tari orientali, gli effercitti di quali, hauendo combattuto infinem, A Atà hebbe la vi titoria, & Clefsercito di Barcha, a hebbe grandisima fconfitta, per la qual cagione, non effendo ficure le vie, no poteron ritornare à Conflantinopoli, furono confligitati dianateranto al ficure le vie, no poteron ritornare à cafa, per la ftrada, ch'erano venuti. À hauendo diman-dato, come elsi poteisino ritornare à Conflantinopoli, furono configilati di andar tanto al-la volta di Leutăte, che citedadismi o II Reame di Barcha per vie incognite, & Cosi vennero ad vna città detta Ouchacha, qual è nel fin del Regno di Gito Signor de Tartari di Ponere. À partendoli da Giluogo, & andădo piu oltre, palfarono il fiume Tigris, ch'e vno de quat-tro fiumi del Paradito: & poi vin deletto di 17. giornate, non trouando città, caftello, o vero altra fortezza, fe non Tartari, che viuono alla campagna in alcune tende, co gli fuoi bellia-mi. Pafato il diterto, giunefora du na buona città detta Bocara, & Ia prouincia fimilmente Bocara, nella regione di Perlia, la qual fignoreggiaua vn Re chiamato Barach, nel qualluo go esi dimororono tre anni, che no poteron nitornari in drieto, ne andar auanti, per la guer-ra grande, ch'era fragli Tartari. In quello tempo vnhuomo dotato di molta faniferia. fu c mi. Fallatoliaimo, guinteo y aluno contra de tra de carbo car

SOPRA IL LIBRO

i mei Signori : io tradurrò in lingua Lauio, & honorato M. Marco Polo gen-

, & vfanze delle Regioni , & paefi del i Signori, piu di leggerlo in lingua l

Pipino Bolognese dell'ordine de i

Je in lingua latina, O CCXX



MARCO POLO.

Ramusio's Marco Polo material is not found in any of the preceding printed editions of the *Travels*. And of the substantial numbers of early manuscripts, none were initially found that contained Ramusio's version. The mystery was partially solved only in the 20th century: "In 1924 a related manuscript containing much of Ramusio's detail was discovered by Professor L F Benedetto in the Ambrosian Library in Milan. This was an 18th century copy of an early manuscript which had belonged to Cardinal Zelada, and hence has been labeled the Z text. The original Z, of the early 15th century, was found by Sir Percival David in 1932 in the Cathedral Library of Toledo in Spain" (Parks p. 19). This confirmed that there was an early manuscript tradition for Ramusio's version, and suggested that it was indeed genuine.

John Larner sums up our current understanding of Marco Polo texts as follows: "Among the 150 surviving medieval manuscripts [of Marco Polo's *Travels*], there are two distinct traditions ... The first (A) derives from a very early Franco-Italian version, probably a copy of the original text written in French or Franco-Italian while Marco was in prison. The second (B), which, despite the sparseness of its manuscript tradition is unquestionably authentic, is found, apart from two fragments, only in the Latin version written around 1470, now in the chapter library of Toledo, in an 18th century copy of that work, and in the Italian translation from another manuscript by the Venetian humanist Giambattista Ramusio, published in 1559. The modern Moule-Pelliot edition assumes that both the A and B traditions derive from a lost copy of the one original autograph. This is conceivable, but it seems more probable to me that there were two original versions. The first (A), Rustichello's version begun in the prison in Genoa, was designed for general consumption. The second (B) ... represents a more personal authorial statement, and for that very reason enjoyed a much more limited circulation" (Larner p. 58).

As the overwhelmingly more common version, the "A" text served as the basis for the earliest printed edition of the *Travels* (1477). The "A" version, however, does not represent Marco Polo's full text, and lacks a great deal of material which is present in the "B" version: Larner characterises the "B" version as being "of great importance, containing much material which is not to be found in the A texts" (Larner p. 185). In addition to the text itself, this first edition of the "B" version edited by Ramusio is important in that the "Prefacione" is our only source for a number of significant biographical details for Marco Polo, perhaps based upon Venetian oral history. It is from this preface that has come down to us the famous story of the Polos returning home in their Mongol dress, "Li vestimenti loro erano tristi, & fatti di panni grossi, al modo di Tartari", almost unable to speak their Venetian tongue, whose relatives cannot recognise them until they reveal the jewels they carry.

Ramusio goes on in his Preface to contrast the achievements of the Venetian Marco Polo against those of the Genoese Christopher Columbus: "Many times I have considered the question of which was the most marvellous voyage, that made by land by these our Venetian gentlemen, or that made by sea by Lord Don Cristoforo. And if I am not blinded by affection for my country, it seems to me that that made by land should be placed above that made by sea, it being necessary to take note of the enormous greatness of soul with which so difficult an enterprise was carried out and brought to a conclusion, along a route of such extraordinary length and harshness..." (Ramusio 1559, folio 3 recto, our translation).

RAMUSIO'S NAVIGATIONI & VIAGGI

Ramusio edited three volumes of travel accounts in total, widely regarded as the greatest collection of early travels. The first volume (1550) covers travels to Africa and southern Asia. The second volume (1559) covers Central Asia, Russia, and the Northern Seas. The third volume (1556) covers the Americas. The Marco Polo text occupies folios 2 to 60 of the present volume. Other accounts in the volume include Hayton of Armenia's journey to the Mongol capital of Karakorum in 1254–1256, Giosafat Barbaro's travels in Asia Minor and Persia (1413–1494), and Ambrogio Contarini's journey via Poland and Tartary to Persia (1474–77).

"As early as 1523 [Ramusio] conceived the ambitious scheme of bringing together accounts of all the more important voyages and travels. To this end he labored for more than thirty years; he spared no pains in ransacking Italy, Spain, and Portugal for contributions ... he handled his material with great skill and produced a collection of unique value" (Penrose p. 306).

"This is one of the earliest and most important collections of voyages and travels, and may be said to have opened a new era in the literary history of voyages and navigation, later serving as a model to Hakluyt ... Among these voyages are some of which no other editions have ever been found, so that Ramusio remains an authority of the first importance" (Hill p. 503).

\$11,500

Sabin 6773. EDIT 16 CNCE 27248.

Hill, K. The Hill Collection of Pacific Voyages. New Haven, 2004.
Larner, J. Marco Polo and the Discovery of the World. Yale, 2001.
Parks, G. Contents and Sources of Ramusio's Navigationi. In: Ramusio, G., ed.
Navigationi et Viaggi, Amsterdam, 1967.
Penrose, B. Travel and Discovery in the Renaissance. Harvard, 1967.



The earliest surviving printed work of pornographic literature

The notorious Puttana Errante

No.8

PIETRO ARETINO.

CAPRICCIOSI & PIACEUOLI RAGIONAMENTI DI M. PIETRO ARETINO, IL VERITIERE E'L DIUINO, COGNOMINATO IL FLAGELLO DE' PRINCIPI ... LA PUTTANA ERRANTE OVERO DIALOGO DI MADALENA E GIULIA. [Leiden: Jean Elzevier] Stampati in Cosmopoli, 1660.

Octavo (153 × 95mm.), three parts in one, pp. 541, [3]; 54, [2]. A-2L8, Aa-Cc8, Dd4 (2L8 and Dd4 blank). Roman and italic type. Titles of first two parts, the Ragionamenti, with typographical ornaments; La Puttana Errante with half-title and title with no bibliographical information, small floriated woodcut initials, grotesque tail pieces, typographical ornaments. In fine contemporary vellum over thin paper boards, yapp edges. Very rare marginal spotting in places. Small cracks to upper joint. A fine copy, crisp and clean.

¶ First edition, very rare and a fine copy, of the earliest surviving printed work of pornographic literature.

"The first imaginative prose work that deals directly and exclusively with physical sexual satisfaction" (Foxon p. 27).

THE TRUE FIRST EDITION

Two separate editions of Aretino's *Ragionamenti* were published by the Elzevier press, both with a new text appended, the *Puttana Errante*. Willems convincingly argues in his lengthy descriptions of this work, that of the two separate editions, the first was printed at Leiden by Jean Elzevier, and the second was printed eight years later by Daniel Elzevier at Amsterdam. The first edition of *La Puttana Errante*, in 54 pages, was added at the end of some, but by no means all, copies of the first printing of the *Ragionamenti*. It was however clearly intended to be an integral part of the first edition as it is printed on identical paper, using the same type, with the same number of lines (31). The second edition of the *Ragionamenti* was set up nearly identically to the first, but the second edition of the *Puttana Errante* was reset in 38 pages. Willems resolved the priority

LA PUTTANA ERRANTE.

PIETRO ARETINO.

between the two editions by comparing the type and ornaments, and concluded that the second edition must have been printed in 1668, as it appears in Daniel Elzevier's catalogue of 1674 with that date, which he believes was most probably the correct date of printing. The printing of the first edition is finer than the second ("La plus belle" – Willems), and is easily identified by the finer type, which uses an elongated form of the letter x.

"La Puttana Errante, overo dialogo di Madalena è Giulia claims to be by Aretino and follows the same dialogue form as the Ragionamenti in which the elder woman takes the greater share: but it is almost entirely devoted to Madalena's sexual autobiography as a thread on which to hang most of the possible positions for sexual intercourse. It is the first imaginative prose work which deals directly and exclusively with physical sexual satisfaction, though this is garnished rather sparsely with some moments of emotion and glimpses of ordinary life. It ends with a named catalogue of thirty-five postures, which explains why sets of plates became associated with it; it might originally have been written as an explanatory text to pictures, but its origins are obscure. Modern authorities all agree that it is not by Aretino, and the first edition under this title seems to be an undated Elzevir edition, printed to accompany a new edition of the *Ragionamenti* in 1660. The appearance in London of John Garfield's periodical The Wandering Whore at the end of 1660 tends to confirm that date, for evidence over the next hundred years shows a very brief time lag between a Continental publication and its English repercussion. Garfield's work had no connection with the text of La Puttana Errante: he was clearly cashing-in on a new and notorious title" (Foxon pp. 27-28).

The influence of *La Puttana Errante* was enormous and the book seems to have been very widely read, including in England, although no 17th century English translation is known to have survived. "The earliest specific reference I know to a pornographic book [in England] is in Pepy's diary. On 13th January 1668 he 'stopped at Martin's, my bookseller, where I saw the French book which I did think to have had for my wife to translate, called "*L'escholle des Filles*," but when I came to look in it, it is the most bawdy, lewd book that ever I saw, rather worse than "*Putana errante*," so that I was ashamed of reading in it..."" (Foxon p. 5). It is clear that Peyps had already read *La Puttana Errante* by 1668, and so could compare it to the newly-arrived *L'Ecole Des Filles*.

"THE FIRST IMAGINATIVE PROSE WORK WHICH DEALS DIRECTLY AND EXCLUSIVELY WITH PHYSICAL SEXUAL SATISFACTION."

Foxon argues that there were potentially earlier printed editions of *La Puttana Errante*, but that none have survived. He surmises that they were probably made to accompany a suite of erotic prints, though none of these survive either from the period of the first printings. "By the late 17th and early 18th century

58



PIETRO ARETINO.

sets of twenty-four and thirty-six erotic plates are regularly referred to and associated with Aretino's name, but they have no relation to the original series. What seems to have happened is that *La Puttana Errante* was published over Aretino's name about 1650; it describes and then tabulates thirty-five postures. With a frontispiece this would have called for thirty-six plates, and I suspect that whatever its origins the text in this form may have been produced to accompany illustrations: Romeyn de Hooghe was charged with having engraved plates for a new edition in 1677" (Foxon p. 23). There was also an edition of *L'Ecole Des Filles*, another pornographic text with the same dialogue form as *La Puttana Errante*, published in 1655, though no copies of this have survived either. Thus this 1660 edition of *La Puttana Errante* remains the earliest surviving edition, and the first surviving printed work of pornographic literature.

The *Ragionamenti* by Aretino provide a realistic and satirical view of the lives of women in different occupations. Their literary importance and influence is undeniable; the dialogues, particularly by the older woman, are used to point out and satirise the corruption and hypocrisy of the establishment: priests, monks etc. The form they take, that of a dialogue between an older, experienced, woman and a younger woman is also important as it was the form used in the *Puttana Errante*. In the *Puttana Errante* the work in effect becomes an explicit sex manual, in which the older Madalena discusses the history of her sex life in detail with Giulia. Her sexual 'autobiography' is used to describe all possible forms of sexual contact. It includes multitudinous sexual positions, and explicit accounts of heterosexual, lesbian and gay sex.

The title of this work, the *Puttana Errante*, originally belonged to an earlier prose satire written by Lorenzo Veniero, a disciple of Aretino's. The confusion surrounding the authorship of the *Puttana Errante* therefore seems to have been deliberate, as it was published at the end of Aretino's major work, and appropriates the title of Veniero's work. It was in reality an entirely new work, neither by Aretino or Veniero.

A rare and most important work, profoundly influential on later European pornographic literature.

PROVENANCE

Tony Fekete: 20th century bookplate on pastedown.

RARITY

Extremely rare. WorldCat records only three copies worldwide of this

60

LA PUTTANA ERRANTE.

first edition with 54 pages: The British Library, Harvard Houghton Library, Harvard Biblioteca Berenson.

The first edition of *La Puttana Errante* is considerably rarer than the second. Copies of the first printing of the *Ragionamenti* are frequently found bound with the second edition of the *Puttana Errante*. Willems concludes that this must be simply because the first edition of the *Ragionamenti* was not always issued with the *Puttana Errante*, and that copies were completed at a later date with the addition of the second edition. The far greater rarity of the first edition is confirmed by the relative numbers of copies held in libraries.

\$11,000

Willems, Les Elzevier, n. 858.

Foxon, D. Libertine Literature in England 1660-1745. New Hyde Park, 1965.



Alain-René Lesage's pioneering early novel and best-seller, *Le Diable Boiteux*

A noted rarity of 18th century French literature

No.9

ALAIN-RENÉ LESAGE.

LE DIABLE BOITEUX. ("THE LAME DEVIL"). Paris: chez la Veuve Barbin, 1707.

 $12mo. (150 \times 85 mm.), pp. [x], 1-314$ (i.e. 318), [viii] (pages 219, 222 incorrectly numbered 119, 212; page numbers 141–144 repeated in the pagination). 4 leaves unsigned, A-Z, Aa-Dd in alternate 8s and 4s. Engraved frontispiece by Magdeleine Horthemels showing the scholar in his garrett confronted by the lame devil, surrounded by the scholar's books, bell jars, globes, and scientific instruments. Woodcut printer's device on title-page, typographical and woodcut headpieces and tailpieces, woodcut initials. 19th century red morocco janséniste by the Parisian binders Lortic fils, spine with five raised bands lettered direct in gilt, gilt inner dentelles, marbled endpapers, all edges gilt and marbled, silk ribbon (signed Lortic fils). A fine copy.

¶ First edition, a very attractive copy, of a noted rarity of 18th century French literature: Alain-René Lesage's enormously popular *Le Diable Boiteux* ("*The Lame Devil*"), a pioneering example of a modern European novel, and a great influence on both English and French 18th century literature. In an elegant red morocco janséniste binding.

"Among the creators of the modern novel" (Brereton p. 111).

"Tant par sa manière que par son message, c'est le premier chef-d'oeuvre du style rococo et de l'âge des Lumières. Il mérite de reprendre sa place à côté des Lettres Persanes, des contes de Voltaire et des romans de Diderot" (Laufer 1971 p. 180).

A NOTED RARITY

Jean-Marc Chatelain, writing in the catalogue of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France's 1998 exhibition of rare printed books (in which *Le Diable Boiteux* appeared) notes that only a dozen copies can now be located— paradoxically, while *Le Diable Boiteux* was one of the outstanding publishing successes of


LE DIABLE BOITEUX.

the 18th century, it is now also one of the rarest 18th century French first editions:

"Le Diable Boiteux fut sans conteste l'un de plus considèrables succès de librairie de tout le XVIIIe siècle. Aussi s'expliquerait-on mal que l'édition original soit également l'une de plus rares des ce même XVIIIe siècle (à grand peine parvient-on aujourd'hui a en recenser une dizaine d'exemplaires)" (Chatelain p. 226).

A PIONEERING MODERN NOVEL

Inspired by a Spanish tale, Luis Vélez de Guevara's *El Diablo Cojuelo* (1641), Lesage's satirical, picaresque narrative tells the tale of a lame, goat-footed devil freed from a glass jar by a young scholar. Through a series of nocturnal adventures, the little demon reveals the love affairs under the rooftops of Madrid while ridiculing the moral and sexual contradictions of 18th century Parisians. As they search for the scholar's sweetheart Lesage has the Pan-like, crippled Cupid and his young benefactor wittily play out and play with the metaphor "Love is the devil!"

Le Diable Boiteux was an enormous success—it was famously reported in the contemporary periodical *Le Journal de Verdun* that a duel took place between two gentlemen of the court in Barbin's shop over the last copy of the second edition: "Deux seigneurs de la Cour mirent l'épée à la main dans la boutique de Barbin pour avoir le dernier exemplaire de la seconde édition"¹. No less than 13 editions appeared between 1707 and 1711 alone.

A very early example of what might be defined as a modern novel, *Le Diable* Boiteux had a significant impact not only in France but also in England, where it was immediately translated in 1708 as The Devil upon two Sticks. Lesage had a great effect on 18th century English comic fiction, particularly on the work of Fielding, Defoe, and Smollett (who translated the novel as The Devil upon Crutches in 1750). The more gothic elements of his work ensured his influence continued well into the 19th century: Mary Shelley records reading Le Diable Boiteux in 1815, shortly before creating her own monster, Frankenstein². Walter Scott declared that Le Diable Boiteux had been penned by a "Superior Intelligence", and that "there is no book in existence, in which so much of the human character, under all its various shades and phases, is described in so few words, as in the Diable Boiteux" (Scott vol. 1 p. 403). And perhaps predictably, Dickens was rather taken with Lesage's naughty imp, and in *Dombey and Sons* has his narrator wish "for a good spirit who would take the house-tops off, with a more potent and benignant hand than the lame demon in the tale" (Dickens p. 492).

¹ Laufer 1971 p. 189. ² Feldman vol. 1 p. 72.



LE DIABLE BOITEUX.

Leaf B1 exists in two states¹. This copy has B1 in Laufer's second state, with 'oui' on page 17 line 18, 'Laboratoire' on page 18 line 3, and 'contador' on page 18 line 23.

PROVENANCE

Gaston Delouche (1913-2006), surgeon and bibliophile: ex-libris.

RARITY

Very rare. "Extrêmement rare" – Tchemerzine. WorldCat locates only 6 copies worldwide: Oxford, Harvard, Williams College, University of Toronto Thomas Fisher, UCLA, Museum Plantin-Moretus Antwerp. The Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen-Nürnberg copy recorded by WorldCat is in fact the second edition.

Very rare on the market. ABPC (1975–2015) records only one copy at auction.

\$5,800

Tchemerzine p.172. Cordier 58. Coron 178.

Brereton, G. A Short History of French literature. Harmondsworth, 1976.
Chatelain, J-M. Le Diable Boiteux. In: Coron, A., ed. Des livres rares depuis l'invention de l'imprimerie. Paris, 1998.
Cordier, H. Essai bibliographique sur les œuvres d'Alain-René Lesage. Paris, 1910.
Dickens, C. Dombey and Sons, London, 1848.
Feldman, P. ed. The Journals of Mary Shelley 1814-1844. Oxford, 1987.
Laufer, R., ed. Le Diable Boiteux. Paris, 1970.
Laufer, R. Lesage ou le métier de romancier. Paris, 1971.
Scott, W. Biographical Memoirs of Eminent Novelists, and other Distinguished Persons. Edinburgh, 1834.
Tchemerzine, A. Bibliographie d'éditions originales et rares d'auteurs français des XVe, XVIe, XVIIe, et XVIIIe siècles. Paris, 1977.

¹ Laufer 1970 p. 23.

67

Murder stories by Henry Fielding

Published shortly after Fielding founded London's first police force – Barton Currie's copy

No.10

HENRY FIELDING.

EXAMPLES OF THE INTERPOSITION OF PROVIDENCE IN THE DETECTION AND PUNISHMENT OF MURDER. CONTAINING, ABOVE THIRTY CASES, IN WHICH THIS DREADFUL CRIME HAS BEEN BROUGHT TO LIGHT, IN THE MOST EXTRAORDINARY AND MIRACULOUS MANNER, COLLECTED FROM VARIOUS AUTHORS, ANTIENT AND MODERN. London: A. Millar, 1752.

12mo. (75 \times 125 mm.), pp. [ii], iii, [i], 94. Typographical head piece and woodcut initial. Contemporary sheep, covers bordered with scalloped roll, spine with four raised bands ruled in blind, edges sprinkled red. Slightly dusty and age-toned in places, a couple of short marginal tears, neatly rebacked. A very good copy. In a folding cloth box.

¶ First edition, very rare, of Henry Fielding's little-known collection of 33 murder stories, including accounts of contemporary murders in Fielding's London, and eyewitness reports personally collected by Fielding. Published shortly after Fielding founded London's first police force. The American bibliophile Barton Currie's copy.

FIELDING AND LONDON'S FIRST POLICE FORCE

Fielding was perfectly placed to observe at first hand the London underworld. Called to the bar in 1740, he was appointed Bow Street Justice in 1748: in this capacity he was responsible for investigating many of London's more serious crimes. In parallel to his writing, Fielding seems to have been enthusiastic about his career in law and order, and in 1749 founded the Bow Street Runners, sometimes referred to as London's first police force. His *Examples of the Interposition of Providence in the Detection and Punishment of Murder* appears to have emerged from his policing interests: it comprises a collection of 33 murders, in each of which the perpetrator is eventually exposed.

INTRODUCTION and CONCLUSION, Both written By HENRY FIELDING, Efq;

WITH AN

EXAMPLES

OFTHE

PROVIDENCE

DETECTION and PUNISHMENT

CONTAINING,

Above thirty Cafes, in which this dreadful Crime has been brought to Light, in the most extraordinary and miraculous Man-

ner ; collected from various authors, anti-

INTERPOSITION John OF Senwich Carelo

The IN THE Ferwick

OF Carsdon

*

MI

ent and modern.

LONDON: Printed for A. MILLAR, in the Strand. MDCCLII.

[Price bound One Shilling, or Ten Shillings a Dozen to those who give them away.] HENRY FIELDING.

The title-page indicates some of Fielding's sources: "various authors, antient and modern." These sources are clearly marked in the text, most frequently John Reynolds' *Triumphs of God's revenge, against the crying, and execrable sinne of murther* (London, 1657), for stories III, IX, X, XIII, XIV, XV, XVI, and XVII. In each case, however, Fielding takes only the names of the characters and the plot-lines—otherwise the stories are entirely re-written. Some of the stories Fielding indicates he collected himself from eyewitnesses: in the case of the murderer Catherine Hayes (story XXXI), burned at the stake in 1726 (possibly the last woman in England to be burned alive), Fielding tells us the case "was told me by a person of high rank and character, who was present at her tryal" (p. 84). Other verbal sources include "a Lancashire clergyman" of his acquaintance, and the descendant of "an Irish Judge."

In a few cases Fielding derives his stories from absolutely contemporary events in England. Story XXXIII is the case of Mary Blandy, who poisoned her father with arsenic in 1751, and was hung at Oxford on 6 April, 1752, just two days before the date of the dedication in the book (April 8th 1752). Story XXXII is the case of Elizabeth Jefferies, who shot her uncle with a pistol in 1751, and was hung at Epping Forest on 28th March 1752, again just a few days before Fielding dated the dedication to his book.

"Examples of Providence may ... be placed in an ancient literary tradition stretching back to medieval exempla and beyond. Fielding's Example XXIV is a variant of the digression in the Nun's Priest's Tale demonstrating that 'mordre wol out', and finds analogues in Cicero and Valerius Maximus. The collection generally attests to the continuing vitality of that lore which lies behind Hamlet's 'For murder, though it have no tongue, will speak, With most miraculous organ' and Macbeth's 'they say, blood will have blood: Stones have been known to move and trees to speak" (Zirker p. lxxxix).

"The examples ... read like excerpts from tabloid articles on wild children, freak births, or shocking scandals. The Bible, Greek history, and current news all translate into comparable lurid and unlikely tales of blood and vengeance. The limbs of the long dead bleed when the murderer returns to the room where they have been hung, and God (literally) writes the story of murders in ink visible only to a clergyman... The rollicking audacity and largesse of the text make it, like Tom Jones, great fun to read" (Saxton p. 122).

BARTON CURRIE'S COPY

This copy is from the library of the American bibliophile and book collector Barton Currie (1877–1962), journalist and author of *Fishers of Books* (1931), a history of American book-collecting. A close friend of Edward Newton, Currie started collecting in the 1920s, and his library was dispersed after his death in 1962.

70

THE DETECTION AND PUNISHMENT OF MURDER.

PROVENANCE

(1) John Fenwick: contemporary inscription on title.

(2) Thomas Fenwick: contemporary inscription on title.

(3) Margaret Fenwick: later inscription on front free endpaper.

(4) Barton Currie (1877–1962): ex-libris.

RARITY

Very rare. ESTC records only four copies in libraries in the UK (British Library, Cambridge, Durham, Oxford).

ABPC (1975–2015) records only two copies at auction (one of these this copy, Christie's 12/12/1986).

\$9,000

ESTC T89873. Cross III 324.

Cross, W. The History of Henry Fielding. New York, 1963. Saxton, K. Narratives of Women and Murder in England, 1680-1760. Farnham, 2009.

Zirker, M. An Enquiry into the Causes of the Late Increase of Robbers and Related Writings. Middletown, 1988.

Rousseau's masterpiece

A fine copy

No.11

JEAN-JACQUES ROUSSEAU.

EMILE OU DE L'EDUCATION. A la Haye: Chez Jean Néaulme [Paris: Duchesne], 1762.

Octavo, four volumes (190 × 122 mm.). Vol. I: pp. [2] ii-viii [ix-x] [1] 2-140 [141] 142-466 [vi]. Vol II: pp. [4] [1] 2-407 [408]. Vol. III: pp. [4] [1] 2-357 [558-361] 362-384. Vol. IV: pp [4] [1] 2-455 [456]. Roman letter, some italic. Five engraved plates designed by Charles Eisen, bound as frontispieces, engraved by Longueil, Le-Grand, and Pasquier, plate one in variant state (without caption), titles in red and black, woodcut head and tail pieces, woodcut initials. Contemporary polished French calf, covers bordered with a triple gilt rule, spine with gilt ruled raised bands, double gilt ruled in compartments with gilt fleurons and semé of small tools gilt, red and black morocco title and volume labels, gilt lettered, edges with gilt rule, combed marbled endpapers, all edges stained red. Small, faint ink splash to frontispiece of vol. II, verso of last leaf in vol. II fractionally dusty, tiny tear to outer blank margin of frontispiece in vol. I, outside plate mark. Small chip to head band of vol. II, a few minor abrasions to covers. An internally fine copy, exceptionally crisp and clean, as if just off the press, in a very good contemporary binding.

¶ First edition, a lovely, exceptionally fresh copy, of Rousseau's masterpiece, in an excellent contemporary binding, with all the attributes of McEachern 1A¹.

Emile was intended by Rousseau to be the modern equivalent to Plato's *Republic*. It is a sustained, comprehensive, and unified reflection on the human condition, in which all questions of importance on the matter are treated with assiduous care and attention to detail. The work was condemned both in Paris and Geneva on grounds of religious heterodoxy, particularly for its atheistic 'Profession de foi'. "Within a week and a half of its sale and distribution on the 27th May 1762 the Parlement de Paris seized and confiscated *Emile* (3 June), condemned it (9 June), and burned it (11 June). Rousseau was threatened with a 'prise de corps' and was forced to leave France ... In Geneva both *Emile* and *Le Contrat*

¹ Cancels: vol. I, Av*; vol. I, * [=B4]; vol. II, * [=H3]; vol. II 16* [=N6]. Misprints: Vol. I, 88 as 58, 443 as 433, 465 as 46. Vol. II, 356 as 256, 357 as 257; Vol III, lacking blank Z4 (as in some copies), 383 as 363; Vol IV. 336 without first 3 broken (as in some copies).





EMILE OU DE L'EDUCATION.

Social were confiscated (9 June), condemned, and burned (19 June). In Holland permission to publish *Emile* was revoked" (Scott p. 222).

"Emile is one of those rare total or synoptic books, a book with which one can live and becomes deeper as one becomes deeper, a book comparable to Plato's Republic, which it is meant to rival or supersede. But it is not recognised as such in spite of Rousseau's own judgement that it was his best book, and Kant's view that its publication was an event comparable to the French Revolution ... Emile is a truly great book, one that lays out for the first time and with the greatest clarity and vitality the modern way of posing the problems of psychology. By this I mean that Rousseau is at the source of the tradition which replaces virtue and vice as the causes of man's being good or bad, happy or miserable, with such pairs of opposites as sincere/insincere, authentic/inauthentic, inner directed/ other directed, real self/alienated self ... Emile might seem to some ridiculous because it proposes a system of education which is manifestly impossible for most men and virtually impossible for any man. But this is to misunderstand the book. It is not an educational manual, any more than Plato's Republic is advice to rulers. Each adopts a convention - the founding of a city or the rearing of a boy - in order to survey the entire human condition. They are books for philosophers and are meant to influence practice only in the sense that those who read them well cannot help but change their general perspectives" (Bloom, pp. 135-53).

Two editions of the work were printed simultaneously; one in octavo, the other 12mo. McEachern has definitively shown that the octavo was published first. See McEachern for a lengthy discussion of the first printing.

RARITY

Since McEachern's exceptional bibliography has uncovered the hugely complex clandestine printing of *Emile*, and definitively established her IA as the first edition, more copies of the first edition have been identified, and it can no longer be said to be a very rare book, despite its censure. The octavo edition was printed in a smaller run and was the first edition distributed, and was thus the first to suffer censure; copies of this octavo edition are therefore rarer than copies of the 12mo edition which were distributed later. Copies in fine clean condition in contemporary bindings are rarer still.

\$4,900

McEachern IA.

McEachern, J. Bibliography of the writings of Jean Jacques Rousseau to 1800. Oxford, 1989.

Bloom, A. The Education of Democratic Man: Emile. Daedalus 107 (3), 1978. Scott, J. Jean-Jacques Rousseau: Human nature and history. London, 2006.



Joseph Priestley, discoverer of oxygen and a leading scientific supporter of the American Revolution, on language and revolt

Possibly annotated by a student of Priestley's

N0.12

JOSEPH PRIESTLEY.

A COURSE OF LECTURES ON THE THEORY OF LANGUAGE AND UNIVERSAL GRAMMAR. Warrington: W. Eyres, 1762.

Octavo ($170 \times 95 \text{ mm.}$), pp. 312, [2] (errata). A-Z6, Aa-Cc6. Contemporary half calf over marbled paper boards, spine with five raised bands. Title with small section of upper blank margin excised (not affecting text), free endpapers removed, numerous contemporary manuscript annotations in ink. Upper joint slightly cracked but secure, a little rubbed. A very good copy. In an archival folding cloth box.

¶ First and only edition, very rare on the market. Theories of language and culture by Joseph Priestley (1733–1804), discoverer of oxygen and one of the leading scientific supporters of the American Revolution. A friend of Benjamin Franklin and a radical who fled to the United States, Priestley developed a set of linguistic theories strongly related to his support for the French and American Revolutions.

"In a figure such as Joseph Priestley, chemical science achieves a peculiar fusion with politics and a theory of language" (Reid p. 209).

With an interesting provenance: owned and possibly annotated by John Brewin, a student at the dissenting Academy at Hackney in London, where Priestley delivered a series of lectures in 1792, which it seems possible Brewin attended.

PRIESTLEY ON LANGUAGE

Priestley was a brilliant practical scientist, and is best known for the series of experiments that led to his discovery of oxygen: "Priestley's most famous discovery was that of oxygen. In 1772 he had shown that a gas necessary to animal life is liberated by plants. Two years later he prepared the same gas by heating red calyx of mercury (HgO) ... A mouse trapped in a container

JOSEPH PRIESTLEY.

of it stayed conscious twice as long as ordinary air, and breathing it had no adverse effects (apart from leaving a peculiar light feeling in the chest)" (*DSB*).

Priestley's interests extended well beyond chemistry however. He was also a religious radical and philosopher, and sympathised with the French Revolutionaries. One of the leading polymaths of the 18th century, he published on subjects ranging from politics to religion, science, philosophy, and history—but his earliest field of study was linguistics. He was a voracious student of languages, and learned Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Aramaic, Arabic, French, Italian, and German. His *Lectures on the Theory of Language* was completed while he was employed to teach modern languages at the Warrington Academy, a leading dissenting academy in the north of England. They were printed in the same town, but never published, as they were intended for the use of his students¹.

"Priestley's Course of Lectures should be read as an attempt to inaugurate the science of language, the aim of which goes beyond the descriptive and normative status of grammar: whereas the latter is an *art*, allowing a person to acquire a language, the *science* of language is a theoretical enquiry into the the structure of languages, and into the principles governing their use and function" (Swiggers p. 35).

The collection of 19 lectures begins with topics including the origin of letters, hieroglyphics and pictorial languages, the classification of parts of speech, irregularities and dialects, and moves on to detailed studies of Hebrew, Latin, Greek, and the corruption of language over time. It is in the 19th and final lecture however, "On the Origin, Use, and Cessation of Diversity of Languages," that Priestly offers some of his most fascinating meditations on language. He argues that "primitive language"—the universal, God-given Edenic language spoken by the "first family of the human race" in the Garden of Eden—"must have been very scanty and insufficient for the purposes of their descendants, in their growing acquaintance with the world."² This is a striking departure from the long tradition of scholars whose interest in linguistics was driven by the hope of *recovering* the perfection of the Pre-Lapsarian tongue.

Priestley goes further however, and rejects even the motivation to develop a universal language, a tradition dating back at least to the 12th century artificial language ("Lingua Ignota") fashioned by the mystic Hildegard von Bingen. He writes that a diversity of languages provides a much-needed barrier to "any one species of idolatry in the world" gaining supremacy, and most interestingly for an Englishman writing in the 1760s, he maintains that diver-

¹ Rivers p. 31. ² P. 288.

78

THE THEORY OF LANGUAGE.



JOSEPH PRIESTLEY.

sity also prevents the rule of "any one empire, or much larger empires, and of longer duration than any that have actually subsisted."¹

PRIESTLEY ON REVOLUTION

The connections between Priestley's linguistic theories and his politics are very clear throughout the book, and in particular in lecture 12:

"In the twelfth of the *Lectures on the Theory of Language* (1762) Priestley argues that authority in language cannot simply be invested in an idea of traditional practice: "In modern and living languages, it is absurd to pretend to set up the compositions of any person ... as the standard of writing ... With respect to customs, laws and everything that is changeable, the body of a people ... will certainly assert their liberty in making what innovations they judge to be expedient and useful." Though written almost thirty years before the Revolution, it is easy enough to see how such a linguistic theory might relate to the political struggle; for Priestley poses the problem of the development of a language in precisely political terms, in term of "liberty" and "innovation"" (Reid p. 211).

Historically, Priestley's argument in favour of breaking the connection between empire and monolingualism directly contradicts the use of European languages as a tool of suppression and Empire-building dating back to the Conquistadors. In fact, his praise of diversity as a barrier to the cultural erasure empire causes, and his delight in "the happy influence on the human mind" that studying different languages affords, has more in common with post-colonial theorists of today.

Priestley's political views eventually forced him to flee England; following his outspoken support of the French and American Revolutions, his house was burned by a mob in Birmingham in 1791, together with his laboratory, and in other demonstrations Priestley was burned in effigy with Thomas Paine. He left for America in 1793, living in rural Pennsylvania until his death in 1804.

Sabin notes that Priestley includes some observations on American dialects² in his *Lectures on the Theory of Language*.

POSSIBLY ANNOTATED BY A STUDENT OF PRIESTLEY

This copy has an interesting provenance, possibly associated with Priestley: the Protestant Dissenter John Brewin, who has inscribed the title-page "John Brewin New College 1792." Brewin was a lay student at the "New College

¹ P. 292. ² Sabin 65503.

80

THE THEORY OF LANGUAGE.

at Hackney," a dissenting college at Hackney, London. In existence between 1786 and 1796, its best-known alumnus was William Hazlitt, who enrolled as a student in 1793. Priestley gave a series of lectures at the New College in 1792¹, and it seems a good possibility that Brewin attended these: he enrolled at the New College in 1790², and the date of his ownership inscription, 1792, coincides with the year Priestley taught there. A number of the lectures have been annotated in a contemporary hand, possibly that of Brewin.

PROVENANCE

(1) John Brewin: ms. ex-libris "John Brewin New College 1792" on title.(2) W. Layton: ms. ex-libris "W. Layton" on front pastedown.

RARITY

Rare. "A rare work, as it was never published" - Sabin.

Very rare on the market. ABPC (1975–2015) records only one copy at auction.

\$6,500

ESTC T34280. Sabin 65503.

Burley, S. New College, Hackney (1786-96): A Selection of Printed and Archival Sources. Dr Williams's Centre for Dissenting Studies: http://www.english.qmul. ac.uk/drwilliams/pubs/nc%20hackney.html. (2011).

Reid, C. "Language and Practice in Burke's Political Writing." *Literature and History*, no. 6, 1977.

Rivers, I. Joseph Priestley, Scientist, Philosopher, and Theologian. Oxford, 2008. Schofield, R. The Enlightened Joseph Priestley: A study of his life and work from 1773 to 1804. University Park, 2004.

Swiggers, P. "Joseph Priestley's Approach of Grammatical Categorisation and Linguistic Diversity," *Perspectives on English*, ed. Carlton, K. Louvain, 1994)

¹ Schofield p. 304.
² Burley p. 29.

The first published atheist denunciation of the Church: a foundation work in the atheist canon

"Le livre le plus hardi et le plus terrible qui ait jamais paru dans aucun lieu du monde" – Grimm¹

No.13

[PAUL HENRI DIETRICH, BARON D'HOLBACH] NICOLAS BOULANGER.

LE CHRISTIANISME DÉVOILÉ, OU EXAMEN DES PRINCIPES ET DES EFFETS DE LA RELIGION CHRETIENNE. London: 1756 [Nancy: Leclerc, 1766].

Octavo (190 x 120mm.) pp. [2], ii, xxviii, 295, [1]. a*2, a-b8, A-S8, T2. Woodcut ornament on title, typographical ornaments. In contemporary cats-paw calf, spine richly gilt in gilt ruled compartments, large sunflower tools gilt at centres, green morocco label gilt, edges with gilt dentelle roll, blue marbled endpapers, all edges marbled blue. A fine copy, fresh, crisp and clean.

¶ First edition, very rare and a fine copy, of Holbach's first work, the first published atheist denunciation of Christianity, printed in a very small print run, with a false date and imprint, in the guise of a work by Holbach's friend Boulanger, who had died a few years previously.

"Paul Henri Thiery, Baron d'Holbach (1723-1789), was the centre of the radical wing of the Philosophes. He was friend, host, and patron to a wide circle that included Diderot, D'Alembert, Helvetius, and Hume. Holbach wrote, translated, edited, and issued a stream of books and pamphlets, often under other names, that has made him the despair of bibliographers but has connected his name, by innuendo, gossip, and association, with most of what was written in defence of atheistic materialism in late eighteenth-century France" (Richardson, p. i).

Holbach realised that the publication of his incendiary text would need to be treated with the utmost caution. He had carried out the posthumous publishing of two works by his good friend Boulanger, *L'Origine du Despotisme Oriental* in 1761 and *L'Antiquité Devoilé* in 1765. He then took advantage of the cover given by these works to publish his own, much more explosive work,

¹ Tourneux p. 367.

PAUL HENRI DIETRICH, BARON D'HOLBACH.

concealed behind the name of Boulanger, using a false date, and with a title that imitated one of Boulanger's.

"M. Barbier has published detailed information given him by Naigeon to the effect that Holbach entrusted the manuscript to M. De Saint-Lambert, who had it printed by Leclerc at Nancy ... Most copies that got to Paris at that time were bought by several officers of the King's regiment then in garrison at Nancy, among them M. De Villevielle, a friend of Voltaire and Condorcet. Damilaville (one of Holbach's chief collaborators) did not sell a single copy and even had a great deal of trouble to get one for Holbach who waited for it a long time" (Cushing p. 46). The most detailed bibliography to date, by J. Vercruysse, entirely concurs with Barbier's account of the printing of the few copies of the first edition at Nancy, but corrects the date of printing to probably 1766, as correspondence about the work, particularly from Voltaire, Diderot and Grimm commenced from that year. The watermarks also date the paper to 1762-3. We now know, through the testimony of Naigeon, Holbach's chief collaborator, that Holbach then used this clandestine form of printing to publish, with the same collaborators, a whole series of atheist texts, an extremely dangerous occupation. "Indeed, Diderot feared for his friends who produced such atheistic works, writing in 1768, 'It's raining bombs on the house of the Lord. I go in fear and trembling lest one of these terrible bombers gets into difficulties.' He certainly had in mind his friend d'Holbach" (Holohan. pp. xl).

The initial diffusion of the work was slow as it was produced in a very small print run, and was actively sought after by the police. Both Voltaire and Diderot wrote to friends advising extreme caution because of the danger of owning the work. Voltaire noted that it had created "une sensation prodigieuse et meritée," describing it as a bomb thrown against the ancient edifice of the church. Diderot wrote that the work was being sold for as much as four gold 'Louis' and that anyone caught selling a copy was severely punished. He gave an account of an apprentice who had sold a copy to his master, who then proceeded to denounce him to the police. The apprentice, and the bookseller who sold it to him, were both pilloried, whipped, branded, and then sentenced to nine years and five years of hard labour respectively; in addition the bookseller's wife was committed to 'l'hopital' for five years. "The 'London' edition of Christianity Unveiled, actually printed in Nancy and falsely dated 1756, was condemned publicly to be torn up and burned along with other books of a similar nature by an act of Parlement on the 18th of August 1770, and the sentence was carried out the following day" (Holohan. pp. lxi).

AN INFLUENCE ON SADE

The work was extremely influential, not least for being the first of its kind, a precursor that opened the door to a new era of publication, albeit clandestine,

84

LE CHRISTIANISME DÉVOILÉ.

of openly atheistic texts. The Catholic Church immediately recognised its importance, and the danger it posed, and commissioned a major refutation from one of its most significant intellectuals, Nicolas Bergier. It is noteworthy that the marquis de Sade added a considerable amount of philosophical discussion to later versions of his most extreme novel, *La Nouvelle Justine*, taken verbatim from this text. Thomas Jefferson was also an early admirer of Holbach, collecting nine of his works, and publishing an essay on his writings.

The first modern atheist work was probably written by the French Catholic priest Jean Meslier; it circulated in manuscript amongst a small group of intellectuals after Meslier's death in 1729. However Meslier's text was not published in anything like its original form until well after the appearance of the present work by Holbach. Holbach's was therefore the first printed work to openly denounce the Church from an atheistic perspective, and its publication opened the floodgates to a host of similar works that helped prepare the way for the French Revolution. Holbach's, and eighteenth-century atheism in general, is of especial interest, standing as it does at the end of a long period of theological and ecclesiastical disintegration, and prophesying a reconstruction of society on a purely rational and naturalistic basis.

RARITY

Very rare. ESTC lists only four copies in American libraries: Harvard, New York University, University of Michigan, University of Pennsylvania.

ABPC (1975-2015) records no copies at auction.

\$5,000

ESTC T143710. Barbier I, 594. Quérard IV, p. 118. Tchemerzine VI, p. 226 – Cioranescu II, 34014. J. Vercruysse, '*Bibliographie déscriptive des écrits du Baron Holbach*' (Paris Minard, 1971)'. Pages not numbered; see under section 1756 AI 'Le Christianisme dévoilé.'

Richardson, R. 'Introduction, The system of Nature .' Vol.1. NuVision Publications, 2007 Cushing, M. Baron D'Holbach: A Study of Eighteenth Century Radicalism in France. New York, 1914.

Holohan, D. Christianity Unveiled. Introduction. Hodgson Press, 2008. Tourneux, M. Correspondance littéraire, philosophique et critique par Grimm, Diderot, Raynal, Meister etc., t. 5, Paris, 1877–1882.

The marquis de Sade's *Justine* – one of the most notorious printed books of all time

Very rare: four copies in libraries worldwide

No.14

DONATIEN ALPHONSE FRANÇOIS, MARQUIS DE SADE.

JUSTINE, OU LES MALHEURS DE LA VERTU. En Holland: Chez Les Libraires Associés [Paris: Girouard], 1791.

Octavo, 2 vols. bound in one $(110 \times 185 \text{ mm.})$, pp. 283; [iv], 191. With the half-title to the second volume, and a frontispiece by Chéry engraved by Carrée, woodcut ornament "Éternité" on both titles, woodcut head-pieces. Late 19th century French half red morocco, covers with gilt rules, spine with five raised bands tooled in gilt, gilt fleurons in each compartment, top edge gilt, silk ribbon. Scattered age toning and spotting, heavier in some quires; occasional light stains; a couple of leaves creased in outer margins; lower outer corners of three leaves with small old paper repairs (not affecting text); engraver's signature in the lower margin of the frontispiece very slightly trimmed (not affecting the engraving); upper joint slightly cracked. A good, tall, unsophisticated copy. In an archival folding cloth box.

¶ First edition, very rare, of the marquis de Sade's first printed book: amongst the most notorious printed books of all time, admired and abhorred with equal passion. A good, tall, unsophisticated copy, complete with the half-title to the second volume. We can locate only four copies in libraries worldwide, and no copies in American libraries (see rarity note below).

"We read Dante, Camoens, Homer, Cervantes, so how was it that I knew nothing about this systematic and magisterial exploration of society? ... I found that next to Sade, all other masterpieces paled" – Luis Bunuel (Bunuel p.60).

"Justine is the most abominable book ever engendered by the most depraved imagination" – Napoleon Bonaparte.

SADE AND JUSTINE

The original version of *Justine* was composed by Sade in the Bastille in 15 days in 1787: a novella some one hundred pages long, it recounts the horri-fying fate of the beautiful, devout, and naive young orphan Justine. This was the third time Sade had been imprisoned. He was first arrested in 1763, when



86

MARQUIS DE SADE.

he spent three weeks in Vincennes for debauchery; then in 1768 he was held again for debauchery, this time for several months at Pierre-Encize, a royal prison near Lyon. Finally in 1777 he was arrested for a third time, having spent several years on the run with his valet, Latour, following an affair with his wife's sister, and further accusations of debauchery. He was to spend the next thirteen years in detention (barring six weeks when he managed to escape while being transported), first in Vincennes, and finally, from 1784, in the Bastille.

Sade wrote unceasingly in his cell, and it was in this period that the first version of *Justine* was composed, *Les Infortunes de la vertu*. It contained nothing obscene, but by 1791, a year after he was released from the Bastille, Sade had completed a second version, *Justine, ou les Malheures de la vertu*, twice as long, which contained passages of violence and sexually explicit description entirely absent from the first version. The titular character was possibly inspired by Catherine Treillet, the daughter of a local weaver he had become involved with in 1777 at La Coste, his chateau in the South of France, and whom he had nicknamed 'Justine'. It was this second version of *Justine* that was printed, anonymously: this was Sade's first printed book, and it was an instant success, going through a further five editions in the next ten years. In 1797, Sade brought out a final version of the *Justine* story, *La Nouvelle Justine*, greatly extended to over a thousand pages, and yet more violent and explicit.

The publication in 1801 of *Juliette*, recounting the adventures of Justine's sister, prompted his final downfall. Following a tip-off from within the Parisian book-trade, Sade was arrested at the premises of his printer, on 6 March 1801, for the authorship of *Justine*. He was imprisoned for a fourth time—the first time he was imprisoned for his writings—until his death in 1814 in the asylum at Charenton. *Justine*, together with most of Sade's works, was banned in France in 1815.

THE REDISCOVERY OF SADE

Sade's rediscovery as a writer began in earnest in 1909, when Guillaume Apollinaire, following research in the *Enfer* of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, published a collection of Sade's writings. Sade was swiftly adopted by the Surrealists, and a mania took hold for copies of his books. Luis Bunuel describes in his autobiography trying to hunt down *Justine* in Paris in the 1920s: "I found [that Sade's books] had all been rigorously censored and were available only in very rare 18th century editions. Breton and Eluard, both of whom owned copies, took me to a bookstore on the rue Bonaparte where I put my name on a waiting list for *Justine* (which never arrived). And speaking of *Justine*, when René Crevel committed suicide, Dali was the first to arrive at his apartment. In the chaos that followed, a woman friend of Crevel's from London noticed that his copy of *Justine* had vanished. Someone had obviously

JUSTINE, OU LES MALHEURS DE LA VERTU.



MARQUIS DE SADE.

swiped it. Dali? Impossible. Breton? Absurd; he already had one. Yet it must have been one of Crevel's close friends..." (Bunuel p. 61).

"The Marquis de Sade's work is vast in scope and has many extraordinary qualities. But he will always be best remembered for his achievements as a pioneering explorer of human sexuality which follow directly from his materialist thinking. Perhaps, though, Sade's most important bequest of all is less specific and more pervasive than any of these: the gift of a healthy scepticism at a time of multiplying fanaticisms, whether of a religious or a political kind. For Michel Foucault, Sade straddles the classical and modern epochs. His work represents in its entirety a thoroughgoing critique of the old monarchical and aristocratic world and of the religious belief that supported it, but also of the dangers of post-revolutionary despotism of any complexion, and this is a critique that went much further than that of any of his contemporaries. In this sense, Sade is one of the first powerful voices of a secular and ultimately more democratic modern world" (Phillips p. xxxiii).

This copy conforms to the collations given by Gay-Lemmonyer, Pia, Cohen de Ricci, and as usual is without the inserted unpaginated avis de l'éditeur leaf after the title (in common with both copies at the Bibliothèque Nationale, and the British Library copy).

The existence of a copy with this leaf was first noted in the 1970s by the American collector J B Rund – "the only known copy of the 1791 edition with the unnumbered preliminary leaf" (Kearney 1620). This copy, in Rund's collection, was subsequently acquired by the erotica collector Gerard Nordmann. The first quire of the present copy, and the British Library and Bibliothèque Nationale copies, is complete in four leaves, so the extra leaf in the Rund-Nordmann copy must be inserted.

PROVENANCE

19th century annotation in Italian in pencil "E La Prima edizione di quest' orrendo libro" on front free endpaper.

RARITY

Very rare: we can locate only four copies in libraries worldwide, and no copies in American libraries.

WorldCat lists only one copy worldwide: British Library. The copy listed by WorldCat at the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin retains a shelfmark but was lost in the Second World War. Of the three remaining copies of

JUSTINE, OU LES MALHEURS DE LA VERTU.

Justine dated 1791 listed in WorldCat, all are the second edition (Harvard, Wellcome, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek). We can locate three additional copies of the first edition in libraries worldwide: two at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, and one copy at the University of Leipzig.

\$55,000

Gay-Lemonnyer II 752. Pia 724. Dutel A-593. Kearney 1618.

Bunuel, L. My Last Breath. London, 1994.
Phillips, J. Justine, or the Misfortunes of Virtue. Oxford, 2012
Seybert, G. "The Concept of Virtue in Literature and Politics During the French Revolution of 1789: Sade and Robespierre". The French Revolution of 1789 and Its Impact, ed. Gail M. Schwab and John R. Jeanneney. New York, 1995.



The original version of the *Three Musketeers* trilogy

Predating all the Paris editions, and the only version preserving Dumas' original text, including the complete chapter *Le Bonhomme Broussel*

No.15

ALEXANDRE DUMAS.

LES TROIS MOUSQUETAIRES. Brussels: Meline, Cans, et Compagnie, 1844.

5 vols. octavo (150 \times 95 mm.), pp. [iv], 276; [iv], 303; [iv], 268; [iv] 262; [iv] 293. With all the half-titles. Each title with a woodcut vignette of a musketeer. Publisher's green pebble-grained cloth, spines lettered direct in gilt. A fine copy.

[WITH]

VINGT ANS APRÈS (SUITE DES TROIS MOUSQUETAIRES). Brussels: Meline, Cans et Compagnie, 1845.

6 vols. octavo bound in 3, $(150 \times 100 \text{ mm.})$, pp. [ii], 283; [ii], 295; [ii], 295; [ii], 257; [ii], 312; [ii], 379. Each title with a woodcut vignette of a musketeer. Publisher's dark blue cloth blind-stamped with a floral pattern, red morocco labels. Extremities slightly rubbed, closed tears to cloth at spine heads of all three volumes. A couple of outer joints with short cracks but secure. A very good copy.

[WITH]

LE VICOMTE DE BRAGELONNE (SUITE DE VINGT ANS APRÈS).

Brussels: Meline, Cans et Compagnie, 1848-1850.

13 vols. octavo bound in 6 (145 \times 100 mm.), pp. [iv], 285; [iv], 285; [iv], 263; [iv], 276; [iv], 283; [iv], 277; [iv], 284; [iv], 279; [iv], 278; [iv], 257; [iv], 251; [iv], 281; [iv], 329. With all the half-titles. Contemporary half calf over marbled paper boards, flat spines gilt, lettered direct in gilt, all edges sprinkled blue. A fine copy.

ALEXANDRE DUMAS.

¶ The original version of the *Three Musketeers*: the complete trilogy in very rare early Brussels editions, the original printings of the novels. Predating the first Paris editions, and preserving Dumas' original text—extensively revised in all the Paris and subsequent editions. With the complete chapter *Le Bonhomme Broussel*, lacking in the Paris and subsequent editions.

The first Paris editions of the *Three Musketeers* trilogy are legendarily rare: there are probably only two libraries worldwide with complete sets (Yale and the Bibiliothèque Nationale de France). The Brussels editions that preceded the first Paris editions appear to be equally rare in libraries: we have been able to locate only two complete sets (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, University of Göttingen). They are certainly equally rare on the market (see below).

The present set includes the following editions, as set out in Munro's Alexandre Dumas Père, A Bibliography of Works published in French 1825–1900: fifth Brussels edition of Les Trois Mousquetaires, preceding the first Paris edition¹; third Brussels edition of Vingt Ans Après, preceding the first Paris edition²; sixth Brussels edition of Le Vicomte de Bragelonne, preceding the first Paris edition³.

THE BRUSSELS EDITIONS OF THE THREE MUSKETEERS

The Brussels editions of the *Three Musketeers* remain mysterious and little-understood. It was long assumed that the novels first appeared in book form in Paris, following their serial publication in the Parisian newspaper *Le Siècle*. In 1924, however, Laurent Carteret, in his *Trésor du bibliophile Romantique et Moderne*, drew attention (without giving any details) to the existence of a group of Brussels printings of the novels—the first acknowledgement of the Brussels editions in any major bibliography⁴.

In 1935, the next significant bibliography of French literature, Hector Talvart and Joseph Place's *Bibliographie des auteurs modernes de langue francaise*, assembled details on about 22 Brussels editions of Dumas. For *Vingt Ans Après*, for example, we find: "N.B. En 1845, une edition de Vingt Ans Après a paru à Bruxelles chez Meline, Can et Cie en 6 vol…" And for *Le Vicomte de Bragelonne:* "N.B. Cet ouvrage, auquel Aug. Macquet a collaboré, a paru également en 1848-50 à Bruxelles, chez Meline, Cans et Cie, en 13 vol…"

LES TROIS MOUSQUETAIRES.



¹ Munro p. 143.

² Munro p. 165.

³ Munro p. 195. ⁴ Carteret p. 235.

⁹⁴

BIBLIOGRAPHIES OF THE BRUSSELS EDITIONS

It was however left to Anglophone, rather than French bibliographers, to uncover the true status of the Brussels editions of Dumas' novels. Two years before Talvart and Place, in 1933, the great Dumas collector Frank Wild Reed brought out the first substantial Dumas bibliography: *A Bibliography of Alexandre Dumas, Père* (London, 1933). Reed's bibliography contains a few references to Belgian editions (for example, under the entry for *Albine*, Reed identifies the "original edition" as "Bruxelles, C Muquardt, 1843"), but it is clear—and this is a strong indication of their rarity—that Reed, at the time of publication of his bibliography, had located only a few copies of Brussels editions.

However, tipped in to one of the copies of Reed's 1933 bibliography in the British Library is a typescript note, signed by Reed, and dated 1946: "In the thirteen years since this bibliography was printed it will be realised that continual research has revealed many additional details and not a few matters needing correction. This is particularly so regarding dates of publication, especially concerning the now scarce early Belgian pirated editions, of which a remarkably fine collection came to me from the library of the late Mr Robert Singleton Garnett. Thus I have pen corrected the present volume, and hope that this will have enhanced its value...".¹ Reed's pen-corrections include, for example, under the entry for *Le Chevalier de Maison Rouge*: "Actual first edition: Bruxelles, Société Belge de Librairie, 3 vols, 1845." Under *Vingt Ans Après*, he has noted: "Early Belgian issues, also those of Fellens and Dufour, and of Marescq contain a chapter "Le Bonhomme Broussel" not found in Baudry or the current editions."

Reed makes no mention of Brussels editions of *Les Trois Mousquetaires*, or *Le Vicomte de Bragelonne*, presumably because he was yet to locate any at the time of his corrections. In later years he went on to make a detailed comparison of the text of early Brussels editions of *Les Trois Mousquetaires* and the first French editions, and concluded that the Brussels editions faithfully preserved the text of the novels as they had first appeared in serial form, and that the French editions were used for the first English translations of the *Musketeers* novels.

Reed's work was taken up by Douglas Munro, another major Dumas collector. Munro was able to locate Brussels editions for the majority of Dumas' works. In his Dumas bibliography, *Alexandre Dumas Père, A Bibliography of Works published in French*, the closest we currently have to a definitive bibliography of Dumas, Munro lists all three parts of *The Three Musketeers* trilogy as first

¹ British Library shelfmark 11925.bb.22.



ALEXANDRE DUMAS.

appearing in Brussels—before they came out in Paris. Munro confirms Reed's conclusion that Dumas heavily edited the text of *Les Trois Mousquetaires* for the first Paris edition: "not only are small corrections found, but also well over two hundred major alterations, many of which extended into paragraphs" (Munro p. 143). He also confirms that the early Brussels editions preserve the first printed text as it appeared in *Le Siècle*. "Dumas never modified his main plot but, strangely, in spite of certain improvements, the original text on the whole reads rather better" (Munro p. 143).

Like Reed, Munro points out that the early Belgian editions of *Vingt Ans Après* include an entire chapter, *Le Bonhomme Broussel*, which "is not to be found in either the Baudry first edition to be published in France or in the subsequent Michel Lévy Frères and Calmann-Lévy editions..." (Munro p. 165).

In total, Munro identifies 7 Brussels editions of *Les Trois Mousquetaires* predating the first Paris edition, 6 Brussels editions of *Vingt Ans Après*, and 9 Brussels editions of *Le Vicomte de Bragelonne*. Given the number of editions of these early Brussels printings, their current rarity may be explained by small print runs: they were speculative publications rushed out to beat the Paris editions. The Brussels publishers had a relatively small window in which to sell their stock before the Paris editions arrived on the market, and presumably were unable to predict when the Paris editions would be ready.

THE BRUSSELS PUBLISHERS

In 1844, the same year that *Les Trois Mousquetaires* appeared, Charles Muquardt, one of the Brussels publishers responsible for the Belgian Dumas editions, brought out an essay that explains the methods he and his colleagues employed, revealing how they were able to beat the Paris publishers to the market: "[Belgian publishers] were momentarily thwarted, it should be said, by the fashion of French writers to publish their work serially in newspapers; but they quickly devised a method to convert this material into volumes that would be sellable. As soon as a sufficient number of newspaper issues had appeared to produce a volume of two or three hundred pages, the Belgian book trade reprinted them in book form, and a few days later, these newspaper issues would be transformed into a smart little volume—at the end of which they appended "end of the first volume"—which was then rushed to the frontier" (Muquardt p. 33, our translation).

It should be noted, however, that at least some of the Brussels Dumas editions were produced with Dumas' approval and involvement: there is evidence that he was in direct contact with publishers in Belgium. Talvart and Place draw attention to a letter written by Dumas to the Brussels publisher Jean-Paul Meline regarding Dumas' *Mes Memoirs* (1852–54), that Meline printed in his first Brussels edition of *Mes Memoirs*. The letter contains the following passage,

LES TROIS MOUSQUETAIRES.

revealing publication in Brussels to be a means by which Dumas escaped editorial interference in Paris: ""Le journal La Presse publie en ce moment Mes Memoires, mais vous devez comprendre combien ces memoires d'un auteur républicain, fils d'un general républicain, subissent de coupures en ce moment. Par bonheur, mon excellente memoire me permet de rétablir ici ce qu'on coupe à Paris. Je vous offre donc, mon cher Meline, de revoir moi-meme les épreuves de votre réimpression et de faire de votre édition de Bruxelles la seule édition complète qui paraitra à l'étranger..."" (Talvart & Place p. 65).

PROVENANCE

Le Vicomte de Bragelonne: Bavarian princely house of von der Leyen: private library stamps ("Fürstlichen von der Leyen Bibliothek") on the half-titles.

RARITY

Complete sets of the *Three Musketeers* trilogy in any of the early Brussels editions that predate the first Paris editions are extremely rare. We have been able to locate only two examples worldwide (University of Göttingen, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek). There is no complete set at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. These Brussels editions are very possibly as rare as the first Paris editions, of which we can locate only two complete sets (Yale, BnF Paris).

On the market, the early Brussels editions also appear to be as rare, if not rarer, than the first Paris editions. ABPC (1975–2015) records the following copies of the Brussels editions at auction: Les Trois Mousquetaires, 2 copies; Vingt Ans Apres, no copies; Le Vicomte de Bragelonne, no copies. In the same period, ABPC records for the Paris first editions: Les Trois Mousquetaires, 8 copies; Vingt Ans Après, no copies; Le Vicomte de Bragelonne, no copies; Le Vicomte de Bragelonne, no copies; Le Vicomte de Bragelonne, no copies; Vingt Ans Après, no copies; Le Vicomte de Bragelonne, no copies; Le Vicomte de Bragelonne, no copies.

\$13,500

Munro, pp. 143, 165, 195.

Carteret, L. Le trésor du bibliophile Romantique et Moderne 1801–1875. Paris, 1924. Munro, D. Alexandre Dumas Père, A Bibliography of Works published in French 1825–1900. New York, 1981.

Talvart, H & Place, J. Bibliographie des auteurs modernes de langue française. Paris, 1935.

Muquardt, C. De la contrefaçon et de son influence pernicieuse sur la littérature, la librairie et les branches d'industrie qui s'y rattachent. Bruxelles, 1844. Reed, F. W. A Bibliography of Alexandre Dumas, Père. London, 1933.



True first appearance in English of *The Count of Monte Christo*

The only English translation based on the original text of the novel

No.16

ALEXANDRE DUMAS.

THE CHATEAU D'IF: A ROMANCE. Belfast: Simms and M'Intyre; London: W. S. Orr and Co., 1846.

Octavo ($160 \times 100 \text{ mm.}$), pp. [8], 400, [2]. With the engraved part-title, half-title, and leaf of publisher's advertisements. Original publisher's plum cloth, decorated in blind, spine lettered in gilt, yellow coated endpapers. Very occasional slight spots, spine rubbed and darkened, slight restorations to extremities.

¶ True first appearance in English, very rare, of any part of *Le Comte de Monte Christo*, and the first and only English translation based on the original text of the novel. With the original date of 24 February in the first line of the text, and the original spelling of "Monte Christo" throughout. Predating the Chapman and Hall edition of the same year. In the original publisher's cloth.

Le Comte de Monte Christo first appeared as a serial in the Parisian newspaper Le Journal des Debats from 28 August 1844 to 15 January 1846. This was followed by a Brussels edition in book form (1845–1846), set up from the Journal des Débats and issued in parts, followed by a Paris edition in book form (1845–1846, now a very rare and sought-after book: the last copy to appear at auction sold for €253,000 (Christie's Paris 21/4/2010)).

English publishers were quick to respond to the remarkable popularity of the novel in France. First to start bringing out *Monte Christo* in English were Simms, M'Intyre and Orr, at the beginning of March 1846, just six weeks after the final instalment of the novel in *Le Journal des Débats*. Like the Brussels publishers, Simms and M'Intyre issued the novel in parts: the first third of the text (the action in Marseilles and the Chateau D'If) appeared under the title of *The Chateau D'If*, as volume 3 of *The Parlour Novelist*, a popular series published by Simms and M'Intyre between 1846 and 1863¹.

¹ Sadleir vol. 2 p. 146.

ALEXANDRE DUMAS.

Following the success of *The Chateau D'If*, Simms and M'Intyre brought out the remaining portion of the text (the action in Rome and Paris) a little later as volumes 8 and 9 of *The Parlour Novelist*, under the title of *The Count of Monte Christo*. The title-pages of all three volumes give the translator as Emma Hardy. Simms and M'Intyre state their priority in the preface at the beginning of *The Chateau D'If*: "In presenting the following translation to the English Public, the publishers feel considerable gratification in being the first to make known to them this charming romance, the chef d'oeuvre of the most distinguished of French Novelists, ALEXANDRE DUMAS... Belfast, March 1, 1846" (p. [5]).

The Simms and M'Intyre translation was based on the original text of the novel as it first appeared in *Le Journal des Débats*. This is confirmed by the date of 24 February in the first line of the text (later revised to 28 February), and the spelling of *Christo* with an "h" throughout (this spelling was retained in the early Paris and Brussels editions, and was only changed to *Cristo* in the later first illustrated edition (Paris, Au Bureau de L'Écho Des Feuilletons, 1846)).

A second English translation (the first illustrated English translation) of *Monte Christo* (*The Count of Monte-Cristo* [sic], London, Chapman & Hall, translator unknown) also appeared in 1846. This was based on a revised text of the novel, (most obviously identified by the date of 28 February in the first line, and the spelling of *Cristo* without an "h" throughout). The source text for the Chapman & Hall edition was possibly the first illustrated edition published in Paris.

According to Munro and Sadleir, the Chapman & Hall edition appeared after the first part of the Simms and M'Intyre edition, *Parlour Novelist* vol. 3, and probably just before *Parlour Novelist* vols. 8 and 9. "Although *Parlour Novelist* Nos. 8 and 9 in all likelihood post-dated the Chapman and Hall edition, No. 3 *pre*-dated it by two or three months. We know that *Parlour Novelist* No. 3 appeared at the end of March (for April 1). The English Catalogue dates the Chapman & Hall edition in May" (Sadleir vol. 2 p. 149). Munro accordingly lists the Simms and M'Intyre edition as preceding that of Chapman and Hall.

"It is not Dumas's moral lessons or social and psychological realism nor the solitary Romantic anguish of the hero which explain the novel's lasting popularity. For most readers, *Monte Cristo* is not about Justice at all, but about Injustice. It is a tale of Revenge and Retribution which does not lead back to the Paris of the 1840s but opens into a world of magic, of fabulous treasure buried on desert islands, of bandits and dark intrigue, of wizardry and splendours borrowed from the *Arabian Nights*. The fearless Monte Cristo is a super-hero who overcomes all the odds... With *Monte Cristo*, Dumas, King of Romance and Prince of Story-tellers, achieved what he also managed in *The Three Musketeers*: he manufactured a folk legend" (Coward p. xxi).

102

THE COUNT OF MONTE CHRISTO.

PROVENANCE

Contemporary bookseller's ticket, "Sold by Alex. Hill 67 Princes Street Edinburgh," front pastedown.

RARITY

Rare. WorldCat records 8 copies in libraries worldwide.

We can locate no copies at auction in the last 40 years (either singly, or as part of a set of the *Parlour Novelist*).

\$4,000

Munro p. 93. Reed p. 80. Sadleir vol. 2 p. 148 & p. 149.

Coward, D. The Count of Monte Cristo. Oxford, 1990.
Munro, D. Alexandre Dumas Père A Bibliography of Works Translated into English to 1910. New York, 1978.
Reed, F W. Notes on English Translations of Alexandre Dumas Père. Typescript, British Library, 1939.
Sadleir, M. XIX Century Fiction A Bibliographical Record. London, 1951.

The first part of the theory of evolution

The first publication on evolution by either Alfred Russel Wallace or Charles Darwin, the co-discoverers of evolution by natural selection

No.17

ALFRED RUSSEL WALLACE.

ON THE LAW WHICH HAS REGULATED THE INTRODUCTION OF NEW SPECIES. [in] The Annals and Magazine of Natural History, Second Series, Volume 16. London: Taylor and Francis, 1855.

Octavo (215 \times 135 mm.), pp. vii, 472. With 11 plates and numerous engravings in the text. Contemporary half calf over marbled paper boards, spine ruled in gilt and lettered direct in gilt, all edges sprinkled red. Title and plates slightly spotted.

¶ First edition, very rare, of the first part of the theory of evolution: the first publication on evolution by either Alfred Russel Wallace or Charles Darwin, the co-discoverers of evolution by natural selection. Wallace formulated the theory of evolution in two stages: (i) in the present 1855 paper written in Sarawak, Borneo and (ii) in his 1858 paper written in the Moluccas, jointly published with Charles Darwin.

"A stunning scientific debut" (Nature vol. 496 p. 162)

"This paper, formulating what came to be known as the "Sarawak Law," is remarkable ... [Wallace] advances what is, in effect, half of the theory of evolution" (Berry p. xxvii).

"[Wallace] published no fewer than sixty papers and letter extracts during his eight years in the east, including the two now seen as landmark works in the history of evolutionary thought: his 1855 Sarawak Law paper... and the 1858 Ternate essay announcing his discovery of the process of species change, natural selection" (Costa p. 5).

The complete volume 16 of the journal *The Annals and Magazine of Natural History*, including Wallace's paper on pp. 184–196.

184 Mr. A. R. Wallace on the Law which has regulated

XVIII.—On the Law which has regulated the Introduction of New Species. By ALFRED R. WALLACE, F.R.G.S.

EVERY naturalist who has directed his attention to the subject of the geographical distribution of animals and plants, must have been interested in the singular facts which it presents, Many of these facts are quite different from what would have been anticipated, and have hitherto been considered as highly curious, but quite inexplicable. None of the explanations at. tempted from the time of Linnæus are now considered at all satisfactory; none of them have given a cause sufficient to account for the facts known at the time, or comprehensive enough to include all the new facts which have since been, and are daily being added. Of late years, however, a great light has been thrown upon the subject by geological investigations, which have shown that the present state of the earth, and the organisms now inhabiting it, are but the last stage of a long and uninterrupted series of changes which it has undergone, and consequently, that to endeavour to explain and account for its present condition without any reference to those changes (as has frequently been done) must lead to very imperfect and erroneous

The facts proved by geology are briefly these :- That during an immense, but unknown period, the surface of the earth has undergone successive changes; land has sunk beneath the ocean. while fresh land has risen up from it; mountain chains have been elevated; islands have been formed into continents, and continents submerged till they have become islands; and these changes have taken place, not once merely, but perhaps hundreds, perhaps thousands of times :-- That all these operations have been more or less continuous, but unequal in their progress. and during the whole series the organic life of the earth has undergone a corresponding alteration. This alteration also has been gradual, but complete ; after a certain interval not a single species existing which had lived at the commencement of the eriod. This complete renewal of the forms of life also appears to have occurred several times :- That from the last of the Geological epochs to the present or Historical epoch, the change of organic life has been gradual: the first appearance of animals now existing can in many cases be traced, their numbers gradually increasing in the more recent formations, while other species continually die out and disappear, so that the present condition of the organic world is clearly derived by a natural process of gradual extinction and creation of species from that of the latest ological periods. We may therefore safely infer a like gradation and natural sequence from one geological epoch to another.

the Introduction of New Sp

Nor, taking this as a fair statement of ning, we see that the present geo wh of the surface of the earth is ny causes no doubt have opera uin in ignorance, and we may the very difficult of explanation, must allow ourselves to call into hich it is highly probable may direct evidence of their individ r great increase of our knowledge wh of the present and past history nulated a body of facts which sh tion for a comprehensive law embra all, and giving a direction to new res vars since the idea of such a law su, is paper, and he has since taken ing it by all the newly ascertained facts ainted, or has been able to obse served to convince him of the corr Fully to enter into such a subject s, and it is only in consequence of som unlgated, he believes in a wrong entures to present his ideas to the p a illustrations of the arguments and in a place far removed from all mean

The following propositions in Organic Ger ethe main facts on which the hypothesis

Geography.

age groups, such as classes and orders, nor the whole earth, while smaller ones, s para, are frequently confined to one por mided district

1 huddy distributed families the genera mg; in widdy distributed genera, we was an peculiar to each geographical The a group is confined to one distric ex, it is almost invariably the case the dial speiss are found in the same loce juing localities, and that therefore the its poins by affinity is also geographic theorems of a similar climate, but seg abily montains, the families, genera an it Mg, N. Hist. Ser. 2. Vol. xvi.

THE SEARCH FOR THE ORIGIN OF SPECIES

Wallace first left England for the tropics in 1848, in the company of his friend the entomologist Henry Walter Bates. As Bates later recalled, Wallace had the quite specific intention of solving the problem of the origin of species: "In the autumn of 1847 Mr A R Wallace, who has since acquired wide fame in connection with the Darwinian theory of Natural Selection, proposed to me a joint expedition to the river Amazons, for the purpose of exploring the Natural History of its banks; the plan being to make for ourselves a collection of objects, dispose of the duplicates in London to pay expenses, and gather facts, as Mr Wallace expressed it in one of his letters, "towards solving the problem of the origin of species," a subject on which we had conversed and corresponded much together" (Bates, vol. 1 p. iii).

Returning from South America in 1852, Wallace continued his explorations in Southeast Asia, travelling out in 1854. In all, he spent ten years in the forests of Amazonia and the Malay Archipelago, very often alone, supporting himself by the sale of natural history specimens which he shipped back to London.

THE THEORY OF EVOLUTION—PART ONE

At some point during his travels, Wallace noticed a remarkable coincidence in the distribution of species in space and time. In 1855, while sitting out the rainy season in Sarawak, Borneo, he composed a paper on his discovery. This paper, included in the present volume of the London scientific journal *The Annals and Magazine of Natural History*, was his first publication on evolution, and predates any publication by Darwin on evolution.

"In 1855 [Wallace] published the famous essay "On the Law which has Regulated the Introduction of New Species," his first explicit *public* statement of the doctrine of evolution. Wallace constructed a powerful argument in support of the thesis that new species evolve... from closely related, pre-existing species" (Lightman vol 4. p. 2085).

"Like many brilliant works, [Wallace's] "On the Law which has Regulated the Introduction of New Species" (September 1855) was based on well-known, acceptable scientific information combined with many personal observations, although he had transformed the mass of facts into an unusually persuasive argument. The evidence was drawn from geology and geography—the distribution of species in time and space—and following nine acceptable generalisations (axioms), Wallace concluded: "Every species has come into existence coincident both in space and time with a pre-existing closely allied species" (DSB).



ALFRED RUSSEL WALLACE.

"This paper, formulating what came to be known as the "Sarawak Law," is remarkable ... [Wallace] advances what is, in effect, half of the theory of evolution, namely what Darwin would call "descent with modification": the idea that the generation of a biological novelty is a genealogical process. This works both in space and in time. We find multiple species of kangaroo in Australia because, in the past, an ancestral kangaroo arose in Australia, and contemporary species are modified descendants of that ancestor. Similarly, we find similar dinosaur species in contiguous strata in the fossil record—that is, close in time to each other—because new dinosaur species were derived genealogically from temporally proximate ancestors. Wallace had recognised that change occurs in nature from generation to generation; what he still lacked was a mechanism that would entrain that change to produce adaptation" (Berry p. xxvii).

THE THEORY OF EVOLUTION-PART TWO

The second half of the theory of evolution, the mechanism by which evolution takes place, came to Wallace three years later. In October 1858, at Dodinga on the island of Gilolo in what is now eastern Indonesia, Wallace fell ill with malaria. During a bout of fever he hit upon natural selection, wrote out a paper on his ideas, and in a decision that was to prompt one of the most notorious episodes in the history of science, sent it to Charles Darwin: "I waited anxiously for the termination of my fit so that I might at once make notes for a paper on the subject. The same evening I did this pretty fully, and on the two succeeding evenings wrote it out carefully to send it to Darwin by the next post" (Wallace My Life I p. 363). Despairing that Wallace would achieve priority in the discovery of the theory of evolution, Darwin contacted his two closest scientific colleagues, Charles Lyell and Joseph Hooker.

"Determined that their friend Darwin should receive recognition of priority, Lyell and Hooker decided that Wallace's paper should be presented to the Linnean Society of London along with an excerpt from an essay by Darwin on natural selection and a letter from Darwin to Asa Gray discussing divergence (1 July 1858). Prefatory remarks by Hooker and Lyell emphasised Darwin's priority of discovery, and Wallace's paper was presented last. Wallace was never consulted on these matters and did not learn about the presentation until after the papers were published (20 August 1858)" (*DSB*).

"It must be pointed out that as the initiating work Wallace's paper rightfully should have been read first, but instead was presented third; and that his permission to have it read and then published was not obtained prior to the act" (*ODNB*).

THE INTRODUCTION OF NEW SPECIES.

RARITY

Extremely rare on the market. ABPC (1975–2015) records no copies at auction.

\$36,000

Smith & Beccaloni S20.

Berry, A., ed. The Malay Archipelago. London, 2014.
Costa, J. Wallace, Darwin, and the Origin of Species. Cambridge, 2014.
Lightman, B., ed. The Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century British Scientists.
Chicago, 2004.
Marchant, J. Alfred Russel Wallace Letters and Reminiscences. London, 1916.
Smith, C., & Beccaloni, G. Natural Selection and Beyond The Intellectual Legacy of Alfred Russel Wallace. Oxford, 2008.
Wallace, A. R. My Life. London, 1905.

LES MISÉRABLES VICTOR HUGO PREMIÈRE PARTIE - FANTINE Tome Premier BRUXELLES ven et C", r. Royale, 3, imp. du Paro A. LACROIX, VERBOECKHOVEN & Ce, ÉDITEURS RUE ROYALE, 3, IMPASSE DU PARC M DCCC LXII its de traduction et de reproducti

Victor Hugo's Les Misérables

In the very rare original wrappers

No.18

VICTOR HUGO.

LES MISÉRABLES. Brussels: A. Lacroix, Verboeckhoven & Co., 1862.

10 vols. octavo $(235 \times 150 \text{ mm.})$, pp. [11], 405, [1]; [7], 443, [1]; [9], 402; [7], 366; [9], 357, [3]; [7], 346; [9], 490; [7], 466, [2]; [9], 447, [1]; [7], 355, [1]. With an illustration in the text in vol. 4 and 2 pp. of publisher's advertisements at the end of vol. 5. In the original blue-grey printed wrappers. A few minor spots, stains and marginal tears. Wrappers slightly worn, chipped at edges, and stained; minor abrasions on the upper covers and spines of vols 5-7 with volume numbers in contemporary manuscript in ink; spines slightly darkened; a few minor old paper repairs; volume numbers in contemporary manuscript in blue chalk at the foot of each spine. A very good set. In two folding cloth archival boxes.

¶ First edition of Victor Hugo's *Les Misérables*, one of the great works of European literature, in the very rare original wrappers. With the original publisher's advertisement leaf announcing this as the first edition at the end of vol. 5. A remarkable survival, tall and uncut, with the wrappers very well preserved.

THE TRUE FIRST EDITION

The first edition, published in Brussels, appeared for sale on 31 March 1826; this was followed by an edition published by Pagnerre in Paris a few days later. The relative priority of these two editions was the subject of some debate, until, in 1930, Flavien Michaux definitively proved that the Brussels edition was first¹. Hugo, working in exile in Guernsey, corrected the proofs of the Brussels edition, and the Brussels edition then served as the text on which the Paris edition was based. The publisher's advertisement leaf for *Les Misérables* at the end of vol. 5 (present in this copy) announces this as the first edition: "Seule édition originale et de propriété, imprimée avec grand soin sur beau papier cavalier in-8vo."

¹ See Michaux pp. 61-68, and Talvart & Place vol. 9 pp. 39-40.



LES MISÉRABLES.

The novel appeared in parts over successive months: 10 volumes in all, divided into five parts, each of two volumes, issued in blue-grey printed wrappers. In the present set volumes 1–6 and 10 have the title, part-title, volume numbers, and publisher's details printed on the wrappers. Volumes 7–9 have the title and publishers's details only printed on the wrappers, with the volume numbers partially written out in ink in a contemporary hand. It is not clear why the wrappers of these two volumes vary from those of the other volumes: they must either have been issued like this, or they are a variant form. Certainly all the volumes are bound as issued. So far there has been no analysis of the first edition bindings of *Les Misérables*, but this is perhaps understandable given that so few examples in wrappers appear to have survived.

A Haycraft-Queen cornerstone.

PROVENANCE

(1) Small early private library stamp in the upper margin of the upper wrapper, vol. 1.

(2) Two contemporary annotations in ink noting errors in the text regarding military equipment.

RARITY

Copies in the original wrappers are very rare on the market. ABPC (1975–2015) records only two examples at auction. The last copy in wrappers at auction that we can trace sold for \in 36,000 (Godts, 11/12/2012, wrappers chipped in places).

\$13,000

Michaux pp. 61-68. Talvart & Place IX 59.

Michaux, F. Essais Bibliographiques. Paris, 1930. Talvart, H. & Place, J. Bibliographie des auteurs modernes de langue française. Paris, 1935.

G K Chesterton's masterpiece

An extremely rare presentation copy

No.19

G. K. CHESTERTON.

THE MAN WHO WAS THURSDAY. Bristol: J. W. Arrowsmith; and London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Company [1908].

Octavo (182 × 120 mm.), pp. viii, 9-329, [3] (with two pages of publisher's advertisements). Title-page reproducing the title-page of the original manuscript by Chesterton. Original publisher's blue cloth; upper cover printed in black, reproducing the title-page; spine lettered in black. A few slight spots, but overall a crisp, clean copy. Binding rubbed and a little worn at head and tail, two large white stains on the upper cover, slight staining on the spine. In an archival folding cloth box.

¶ First edition, an extremely rare presentation copy, of what is arguably Chesterton's masterpiece. Inscribed by Chesterton to the novelist and theologian M. H. Dziewicki.

"The most thrilling book I have ever read. In one way, in more than one way, it could hardly go wrong. The plot concerns spying, terrorism, an anarchist plot and a secret New Detective Corps organised to overthrow it: so much is clear almost from the beginning. But even earlier, on the first couple of pages in fact, the reader starts to suspect that whatever mysteries may lie ahead they are going to reach further and deeper than the twists and turns of an adventure story. When I first read of the phantasmagoric suburb of Saffron Park; the strange, lurid sunset that fell upon a garden there on an evening when "the big Chinese lanterns glowed in the dwarfish trees like some fierce and monstrous fruit"; and the two poets who argued about revolution and murder ... I was not merely hooked, I was bowled over"—Kingsley Amis (Amis p. 174).

This copy in Sullivan's binding variant C (no priority established between the bindings), with the foot of the spine reading "ARROWSMITH / BRISTOL."

Inscribed by Chesterton to the novelist and theologian Michael Henry Dziewicki. Dziewicki was author of the supernatural novel *Entombed in Flesh*

All rights reserved

The Man Who Was Thursday A Nightmare. Ey Sk. Cestulon.

BRISTOL

J. W. ARROWSMITH, II QUAY STREET LONDON

SIMPKIN, MARSHALL, HAMILTON, KENT & COMPANY LIMITED



THE MAN WHO WAS THURSDAY.

(1897) (Bleiler 595); he also edited a number of works by John Wycliffe, including his *Tractatus de logica* (1893), and *De ente* (1909).

A Haycraft-Queen cornerstone.

PROVENANCE

Michael Henry Dziewicki (c. 1860–1920). Presentation inscription in ink from Chesterton on front free endpaper: "Michael Henry Dziewicki— From G. K. Chesterton."

RARITY

Presentation copies are extremely rare. We can locate no presentation copies at auction in the last 40 years.

\$5,800

Sullivan 11C.

Amis, K. "The Man Who Was Thursday," The Man Who Was Thursday. London, 2012.

FRAN ΚΔΓΚΔ VG

The last book Kafka saw to press

In the very rare dust-jacket

No.20

FRANZ KAFKA.

EIN HUNGERKÜNSTLER ("A HUNGER ARTIST"). Berlin: Verlag Die Schmiede, 1924.

Octavo. (193 × 130 mm.), pp. [8], 9–85, [86]. Green striated paper boards, upper board with a blue paper title label with red woodcut lettering and borders; spine with a matching red and blue label; top edge stained blue. Dust-jacket with the title printed in red on the front panel over a field of blue banners. Entirely unopened, retaining deckle edges, extremities very slightly rubbed, exceptionally bright and clean. Dust-jacket inevitably fragile, with some wear and splits to joints, a few small chips to extremities, spine with some fractional and near-invisible restoration. A fine, unopened copy in a very good dust-jacket. In an archival folding cloth box.

¶ First edition of *Ein Hungerkünstler*, the last book Kafka saw to press, a beautiful unopened copy in the very rare and striking Expressionist dust-jacket designed by Georg Salter.

A collection of short stories, the book includes four of Kafka's best-loved works—amongst the very few he personally agreed to have printed: *Erstes Leid* (*"First Sorrow"*), *Eine kleine Frau* (*"A Little Woman"*), *Ein Hüngerkunstler* (*"A Hunger Artist"*), and *Josefine, die Sängerin, oder das Volk der Mäuse* (*"Josefine, the Singer, or The Mouse People"*).

According to Robert Klopstock, Kafka's deathbed companion at the sanatorium in Kierling, Kafka corrected the proofs of *Ein Hungerkünstler* the day before and on the very morning of his death: "When he finished the proofs working on them must have been a tremendous psychological effort and a shattering intellectual reencounter with himself—tears rolled down his cheeks for a long time. This was the first time I ever saw any expression of emotion of this kind in Kafka. He had always shown a superhuman self-control" (Brod p. 494).

Ein Hungerkünstler shares a similar Expressionist binding and dust-jacket design with *Der Prozess* (1925), the next book of Kafka's to appear in print (in the following year). Both books were designed by the Berlin graphic artist



A HUNGER ARTIST.

Georg Salter, one of the leading book designers of the period, later to flee Germany for America, where he enjoyed great success:

"His stature in the history of book design is undisputed ... his work must be considered alongside contemporary German book artists from his Berlin period—E.R. Weiss, Olaf Gulbransson, Paul Scheurich, and George Grosz, to name but a few ... Salter's cover design for one of the most important novels of the twentieth century, *Der Prozess*, which Kafka did not live to see, was not Salter's only encounter with this text. Later in his career, he designed an American edition of the *The Trial*, which by then had become a classic" (Hansen p. 17).

Kafka's books were amongst the first to be banned by the Nazis, and were included in the first book-burnings that took place across Germany on 10 May 1933. But even of those copies that survived the Nazi bonfires, only a very small fraction retain their dust-jackets: exceptionally fragile, these were produced on an ephemeral paper stock typical of German publications of the period.

The print-runs of *Ein Hungerkünstler* and *Der Prozess* are unknown (the records of Die Schmiede, the publisher of *Ein Hungerkünstler* and *Der Prozess*, were systematically destroyed by the Nazis), but copies of *Ein Hungerkünstler* complete with dust-jacket appear to be now as scarce as *Der Prozess*, itself a famous rarity.

RARITY

Copies in dust-jackets are very rare on the market. ABPC (1975–2015) records no copies at auction.

\$9,500

Dietz 44. Raabe 7. Wilpert/Gühring 7. Hemmerle p. 27. Unseld 46.

Brod, M. Franz Kafka Letters to Friends, Family, and Editors. New York, 1977. Hansen, T. Classic book jackets the design legacy of George Salter. New York, 2005.

Kafka's Castle

In the very rare dust-jacket

N0.21

FRANZ KAFKA.

DAS SCHLOSS ("THE CASTLE"). Munich: Kurt Wolff, [1926].

Octavo. (191 × 129 mm.), pp. [vi], 1-503, [1]. Publisher's blue cloth, upper board with a pale blue paper title label with dark red woodcut lettering and borders; spine with a matching label; top edge stained blue. Original printed dust-jacket with double rules; upper panel with the Kurt Wolff device. A couple of very minor stains but otherwise very clean and crisp. Dust-jacket with slight restoration to spine; upper and lower panels with a couple of score-marks; head and tail of spine chipped. Overall a very good copy, with the dust-jacket in nice condition. In an archival folding box.

¶ First edition of *Das Schloss*: one of the greatest novels of the 20th century, and in Kafka's opinion, his most important work. A very good copy, complete in the very rare and notoriously fragile dust-jacket.

With *Der Prozess* ("*The Trial*") (1925) and *Amerika* (1927), *Das Schloss* completes the trilogy of Kafka's only novels; despite the sequence of publication, it was in fact the last to be composed, between February and August 1922. Like his other novels, it remained unfinished, a source of immense disappointment for Kafka, but from the perspective of readers today, a surely inescapable and essential consequence of his writing.

"The Castle certainly is Kafka's most impressive shadow of a novel, yet also the most enigmatic ... Kafka jested that there was plenty of hope for God, but not for us. There are no traces of God in *The Castle*, but then there is, there can be, no coherence of a plot either. K can never learn whether his summoning by the Castle was a delusion or not, and the book is a labyrinth without an exit. And yet it is Kafka's labyrinth: fascinating, inescapable, the monument to a purposiveness without purpose"—Harold Bloom (Bloom p. 2).

Kafka's books were amongst the first to be banned by the Nazis, and were included in the first book-burnings that took place across Germany on 10 May 1933. But even of those copies that survived the Nazi bonfires, only a very small fraction retain their dust-jackets: exceptionally fragile, these were



"FRANZ KAFKAS FAUSTDICHTUNG" nennt MAX BROD diesen Roman aus des Dichters Nachlaß, der, wie Hermann Hesse schreibt: "Ein heimlicher Meister und König der dereschen Sprache ist"

KURT WOLFF VERLAG · MÜNCHEN



THE CASTLE.

produced on an ephemeral paper stock typical of German publications of the period. Two forms of the dust-jacket have been recorded so far for *Das Schloss*: either with double rules, as in this copy, or with ornamental borders (no priority established).

A very rare and evocative survival, complete with its dust-jacket.

PROVENANCE

Private blind-stamp in a geometric design on the title-page.

RARITY

Rare in the dust-jacket. ABPC (1975–2015) records only one copy in a dust-jacket at auction.

\$11,000

Göbel 663. Hemmerle 30.

Bloom, H. "Introduction", Franz Kafka. Langhorne, 2004.



The invention of the robot

In the original wrappers designed by Josef Čapek

No.22

KAREL ČAPEK.

R.U.R. ROSSUM'S UNIVERSAL ROBOTS. KOLEKTIVNÍ DRAMA O VSTPNÍ KOMEDII A TŘECH AKTECH. Prague: Aventinum, 1920.

Octavo, $(225 \times 155 \text{ mm.})$, pp. 96, [4]. With a linocut publisher's device on the half-title, and linocut ornament on the title, both by Josef Čapek. In the original purple linocut wrappers by Josef Čapek, upper cover lettered alternately violet-on-purple and purple-on-violet, lower cover with printed publisher's advertisements. Wrappers with some minor edge-wear and chipping to extremities; tear in upper wrap expertly repaired.

¶ First edition of the play which introduced the word "robot" to the world, the Czech modernist Karel Čapek's hugely influential early science fiction work, *R.U.R. Rossum's Universal Robots*. In the rare original wrappers with striking linocut designs by Karel's brother, the writer and painter Josef Čapek.

Published in 1920 to immediate acclaim, *R.U.R.* premiered in 1921, and by 1923 had been translated into thirty languages and performed around the world. Already a prominent figure in Prague's modernist circles, it brought Čapek international attention. Following the play's premiere in London in 1923 a debate was held featuring George Bernard Shaw and G. K. Chesterton; writing in response Čapek elucidated some of his aims: "I wished to write a comedy, partly of science, partly of truth … We are in the grip of industrialism; this terrible machinery must not stop, for if it does it would destroy the lives of thousands. It must, on the contrary, go on faster and faster, even though in the process it destroys thousands of other lives … A product of the human brain has at last escaped from the control of human hands" (Harkins p. 91).

R.U.R. AND THE ROBOT

R.U.R. remains most famous for having invented the word "robot". This not only bequeathed the 20th century with a mechanical protagonist, but ensured Čapek's place in science fiction's annals. The word "robot" comes from the Czech "*robota*" meaning "forced labour". The robots of the title are the



R.U.R.

perfect labourers; efficient and soulless, with perfect memories, they are manufactured on an industrial scale to look identical to people. They have almost obliterated the need for humans to work. When some tinkering with the formula however leads to rogue machines going on the rampage in a quest for freedom and power, the inexorable march of these automatons inevitably comes at the cost of mankind. The play pre-shadows much of the 20th century's obsession with the furthest limits of technology and production, yet despite its dark and foreboding message, with overtones of modern warfare, *R.U.R.* indefatigably champions love and nature. In the early 1920s, according to Ivan Klíma, "what intrigued viewers the most was the play's utopian element." Its striking staging and action ensured its lasting influence on drama, while the impact of its technological prescience on science fiction is indisputable.

"Čapek is full of self-contradicting ideas coexisting at the same time, ideas that make us grin and laugh as we wish to clap our ears shut and flee ... It is time to read Čapek again for his insouciant laughter, and the anguish that lies beneath it"—Arthur Miller (Miller p. viii).

"He is, very purely, a writer whose work always embodies, directly or at an angle, a deep proleptic terror at the tragic progress toward the self-destruction of Europe Between the Wars"—John Clute (*Encyclopedia of Science Fiction*).

DESIGNED BY JOSEF ČAPEK

The cover design and title-page linocut, both by Josef Čapek, are a fine example of the brothers' fruitful collaboration. Josef studied decorative painting in Prague for six years before moving to Paris with Karel in 1910, where he was strongly influenced by Cubism. As well as collaborating with Karel on several plays and stories, Josef found success as a painter, and also designed several hundred linocut book covers for Czech publications of authors including Apollinaire, Pirandello and Flaubert.

\$2,000

Medilek 3202. Thiele p. 188.

Clute, J. Encyclopedia of Science Fiction http://www.sf-encyclopedia.com/entry/ capek_karel Harkins, W. Karel Čapek New York, 1962. Klíma, I. Karel Čapek. North Haven, 2001. Miller, A. "Introduction", Rossum's Universal Robots London, 2011. Tobrmanová-Kühnová, S. Believe in People: The Essential Karel Čapek, London, 2010.

An iconic literary rarity

Bruno Schulz's *Cinnamon Shops*, in the original wrappers

No.23

BRUNO SCHULZ.

SKLEPY CYNAMONOWE ("CINNAMON SHOPS") Warsaw: Towarzystwo Wydawnicze "Roj", 1934.

Octavo (190 \times 130 mm.), pp. [6], 7-220, [221-224]. With the half-title and terminal blank. Uncut, in the original plain card wrappers. Internally clean and bright, wrappers a little rubbed and creased with a couple of short marginal tears and minor stains. A very good copy. In an archival folding cloth box.

¶ First edition, very rare, of the first book by one of the 20th century's great literary solitaries, Bruno Schulz. An iconic literary rarity, unrestored in the original wrappers.

Isolated in a small provincial town in what is now western Ukraine, Schulz perpetrated what was surely one of the more arcane assaults on western literary modernism. Much of this was plotted with his colleague and rival Witold Gombrowiz – the other leading figure of pre-war Polish avant-garde literature – but Schulz's writing occupies a category all of its own, with a reputation for having appeared spontaneously as if out of nowhere, entirely self-generated, and in this sense he has been compared to Rimbaud or Trakl. Still largely unknown to the wider reading public, amongst writers Schulz's hermetic texts have proved irresistible since their rediscovery in the 1960s. Perhaps because of their very elusiveness they have become something of a literary totem, inhabiting in a ghostly afterlife an increasing list of other people's books, from veiled paraphrase in Philip Roth, to overt appearance, a book-within-a-book, in Roberto Bolano.

Schulz was born and lived almost exclusively in the Galician town of Drohobycz, the handful of spells he spent away including two years studying architecture at the neighbouring city of Lvov, and an incomplete year studying at the Vienna Academy of Fine Arts. He supported himself until shortly before his death working as a teacher in the same high school he attended as a boy. Unable to write outside Drohobycz, all his fiction is staged in a parallel of the town of his birth and its environs. In this confined space



130

BRUNO SCHULZ.

Schulz evolved a highly esoteric style, marked by themes of fetishism, metempsychosis, and time-dilation. But this studied obscurity masked an intense engagement with the wider literary world, his acknowledged influences including Rilke, Proust, Thomas Mann (with whom he corresponded), and Kafka; more recently it has been suggested that he owes a considerable debt to Louis Aragon.

Schulz's life as a writer was brief, out of all proportion to his reputation. Beginning at the age of 41, he published over a period of only nine years, often in small local literary magazines. His entire printed oeuvre consists of just 32 short stories, 28 of which were collected in two novels, *Sklepy Cynamonowe* ("*Cinammon Shops*"), 1934, and *Sanatorium Pod Clepsydra* ("*Sanatorium under the Sign of the Hourglass*"), 1937. From evidence pieced together from his correspondence, a number of other works existed in manuscript in varying states of completion. These include a short story, *Der Heimkehr* ("*The Homecoming*"), written by Schulz in German and sent to Thomas Mann, and a full scale novel, *Mesjasz* ("*The Messiah*").

In 1942, at the age of 50, Schulz was murdered in Drohobycz by a Gestapo officer. All his unpublished manuscripts subsequently vanished. It is known that a proportion of them at least were entrusted to a number of residents of the town, but none have been traced, although there have been persistent rumours of the survival of *Mesjasz*, possibly in a KGB archive.

Persona non grata in the early years of the Soviet occupation of Poland, Schulz's writing lay entirely forgotten until 1957, when his two books appeared for the second time in print, published together with Witold Gombrowicz's *Ferdydurke* by the Polish critic Artur Sandauer. This led to his discovery by Maurice Nadeau, publisher of *Les Lettres Nouvelles*. Nadeau printed a French translation of Schulz's *Dead Season* in *Les Lettres Nouvelles* in 1959, and then a selection of stories under the title *Traité des Mannequins* in 1961. In his preface for *Traité des Mannequins* Nadeau claims for Schulz "a place amongst the great writers of his period, for a great writer and brilliant innovator he incontestably was. I have rarely been this sure about unveiling a writer to the French public." But it was only considerably later that Schulz came to truly international prominence, with the publication in 1979 of an English translation of *Sanatorium under the Sign of the Hourglass* edited by Philip Roth. John Updike provided the introduction, and the rediscovery of Schulz began in earnest:

"Bruno Schulz was one of the great writers, one of the great transmogrifiers of the world into words" – John Updike (Updike p. vi).

"Rich in fantasy, sensuous in the apprehension of the living world, elegant in style, witty, underpinned by a mystical but coherent idealistic aesthetic,

CINNAMON SHOPS.

Cinnamon Shops and *Sanatorium under the Sign of the Hourglass* were unique and startling productions that seemed to come out of nowhere ... Schulz was incomparably gifted as an explorer of his own inner life, which is at the same time the recollected inner life of his childhood and his own creative workings. From the first comes the charm and freshness of his stories, from the second their intellectual power" – J.M. Coetzee (Coetzee p. 77).

RARITY

Very rare. Worldcat lists only 5 copies worldwide outside Poland: British Library, University College London, National Library of Israel, New York Public Library, University of Illinois. NUKAT locates 4 further copies in Polish libraries: University of Łódź, Jagiellonian Library Krakow, University of Gdańsk, University of Warmia and Mazury.

ABPC (1975-2015) records no copies at auction.

\$5,800

Ficowski 2003 p. 231.

Coetzee, J.M. Inner Workings. London, 2008. Fikowski, J. Regions of the Great Heresy, 2003, pp. 62-64. Fikowsi, J. The Collected Works of Bruno Schulz, 1998, p. 537. Updike, J. "Introduction," Sanatorium under the Sign of the Hourglass. New York, 1979.

Bruno Schulz's final book

Illustrated by Schulz, in the original wrappers

No.24

BRUNO SCHULZ.

SANATORIUM POD CLEPSYDRA ("SANATORIUM UNDER THE SIGN OF THE HOURGLASS") Warsaw: Towarzystwo Wydawnicze "Roj", 1937.

Octavo (205 \times 140 mm.), pp. [4], 5-262, [2]. With 33 text illustrations by Bruno Schulz. Uncut, in the original printed wrappers. A fine copy. In an archival folding cloth box.

¶ First edition, very rare, of Bruno Schulz's second and final book, *Sanatorium Under the Sign of the Hourglass*. With 33 illustrations in the text by Schulz. A fine copy, unrestored in the original wrappers. For a copy of Schulz's *Cinnamon Shops*, and a more general discussion of Schulz, see item 23 above.

ILLUSTRATED BY SCHULZ

The 33 illustrations in the text are clearly united by a similar setting – a mythical version of Schulz's home town of Drohobycz – and almost all share the same intense twilight atmosphere, with darkening or black skies. While some illustrate specific events in the stories, others are much more tangential, suggesting scenes conceived by Schulz but not committed to writing. The originals of these drawings are now all lost, as is possibly the bulk of his written and artistic work – so these illustrations are a unique record: "Schulz's engravings, paintings and drawings decorated many private homes in Drohobycz, Lwow, and Warsaw. In Warsaw they were burned in 1943 and 1944 during the period of the ghetto and the Warsaw uprising. In other cities they disappeared without a trace – lost or stolen. With few exceptions, the lost works were not even preserved in photographs. Some of them survived as reproductions in the first edition of *Sanatorium Under the Sign of the Hourglass...*" (Ficowski 1998 p. 521).

A pencil study for one illustration in the book does however survive, intriguingly dated 1926 (Ficowski 1998 p. 515), suggesting that Schulz was already working on the illustrations long before he embarked on his literary career. It seems probable that they were far more than just accompaniments to the final text for Schulz, but were in fact an essential part of his writing process,

BRUNOSCHULZ

SANATORIUM POD KLEPSYDRĄ

WARSZAWA — 1937

TOWARZYSTWO WYDAWNICZE »RÓJ«



SANATORIUM UNDER THE SIGN OF THE HOURGLASS.

a means by which he pre-imagined and evolved his stories. In many cases they even appear to depict narratives not present in the text.

An illustration in the book (p. 169) depicts Schulz himself. In a scene from the title story, *Sanatorium Under the Sign of the Hourglass*, he appears with a hat, cane, and suitcase, a train in the background, on his way to the Sanatorium: "We stopped. Everything was empty and still, with no station buildings in sight. The conductor showed me the direction of the Sanatorium. Carrying my suitcase, I started walking along a narrow white road..." (Schulz 2008 p. 240).

RARITY

Very rare. Worldcat lists only 4 copies worldwide outside Poland: Ohio State University, University of British Columbia, Cleveland Public Library, New York Public Library. NUKAT locates 4 further copies in Polish libraries: University of Gdansk, University of Torun, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Kazimierz Wielki University Library.

ABPC (1975-2015) records no copies at auction.

\$5,800

Ficowski 1998 p. 288, Ficowski 2003 p. 107.

Ficowski, J. Regions of the Great Heresy. New York, 2003. Ficowski, J. The Collected Works of Bruno Schulz. London, 1998.



Marcel Duchamp's only literary book

In the very rare original dust-jacket

No.25

MARCEL DUCHAMP.

RROSE SELAVY. Paris: GLM, 1939.

Octavo (160 × 115 mm.), ff. [8]. No. 439 of 500 on velin blanc.

FRANZ KAFKA.

LE CHASSEUR GRACCHUS. Paris: GLM, 1939.

Octavo (162 × 115 mm.), ff. [12]. No. 171 of 500 on velin blanc.

LEWIS CARROLL.

LA CANNE DU DESTIN. Paris: GLM, 1939.

Octavo (165 × 115 mm.), ff. [18]. No. 393 of 500 on velin blanc.

GISÈLE PRASSINOS.

SONDUE. Paris: GLM, 1939.

Octavo (160 × 115 mm.), ff. [20]. No. 208 of 500 on velin blanc.

Four separate volumes within a collective dust-jacket (as issued) with a red paper label on the upper cover titled in gilt. Each volume bound in beige wrappers printed in black. Very slight marginal tear to lower wrapper of the Duchamp. Head and tail of dust-jacket with fractional wear. A very good copy.

¶ First edition of Marcel Duchamp's only literary book, a text composed entirely of extended puns, wordplays, and spoonerisms. Originally issued as one of a set of four separately bound volumes; the other volumes comprise



RROSE SELAVY.

texts by Lewis Carroll, Franz Kafka, and Gisèle Prassinos. All four volumes were enclosed in a single dust-jacket, now very rare but present here.

Rrose Selavy was published under Duchamp's own name, but for the title he used the name of his female alter ego. "Rrose Selavy sprang full-grown from the mind of Marcel Duchamp during the late summer or early fall of 1920. Insouciant, mocking, a bit of a slut perhaps, with her talent for elaborately salacious puns, she would lend her name to all sorts of verbal and visual Duchampian artefacts until 1941, when she quietly retired from the scene" (Tomkins p. 231). The text consists of 42 paragraphs, some several sentences long, some of just a few words—the final one, perhaps significantly, composed simply of the words "lit et rature", Duchamp's pun on the French for "bed and deletion." Arturo Schwarz notes that Duchamp himself accorded the same status to his puns as his artworks:

"Two anthologies of his puns offer proof that Duchamp attributed to his wordplays the same importance he gave to his more conventional works. *Rrose Selavy*, a collection of puns dating from 1914 to 1939, was published in the latter year by Guy Levis-Mano, who was both a fine poet and the Surrealists' favourite publisher. Still more significant is the fact that when in 1941 Duchamp assembled the Box in a Valise (which contained miniature replicas and reproductions of those of his works he deemed most meaningful), he included in this "portable museum" a four-page selection of twenty-five puns he liked best, to which he later gave the title *Written wrotten* (*Morceaux moisis*, which sounds like *morceaux choisis*, or "selected works")" (Schwarz p. 88).

WITH THREE OTHER SURREALIST TEXTS

The entire collection, under the general title *Biens Nouveau*, was overseen by the translator and publisher Henri Parisot, then close to Surrealist circles. All four were texts of particular interest to the Surrealists at the time, and were regarded as displaying varying degrees of automatism. The Duchamp volume is announced as the fourth in the set on the colophon page. The other three, in order (perhaps reflecting their dates of composition) include:

(1) The first edition in French of Lewis Carroll's Walking-Stick of Destiny, composed in 1849 or 1850 (when Carroll was 17 or 18), first appearing in his manuscript magazine *The Rectory Umbrella*. The translation is by the writer André Bay, again a member of surrealist circles, and a friend of Max Ernst.

(2) First edition in French of Franz Kafka's short story *Der Jäger Gracchus* ("*The Hunter Gracchus*"), first published in the posthumous collection of stories *Beim Bau der Chinesischen Mauer* (1939).



RROSE SELAVY.

(3) First edition of *Sondue*, a short story by the child author Gisèle Prassinos, discovered by André Breton at the age of 14, whose texts were hailed by the Surrealists as masterpieces of unselfconscious automatism. Her first book, *La Sauterelle arthritique* (*"The Arthritic Grasshopper"*) was published in 1935 with a preface by Paul Éluard and a photograph by Man Ray.

RARITY

Very rare as a complete set in the collective dust-jacket. ABPC (1975–2015) records no sets in a dust-jacket at auction.

\$4,000

Coron 196, 204, 205, 206.

Coron, A. Les Éditions G.L.M. Paris, 1981. Motherwell, R. ed. The Dada Painters and Poets: An Anthology. Cambridge, 1981. Schwarz, A. The Complete Works of Marcel Duchamp. London, 2007.

SUBJECT INDEX

Art: 5, 25.
Americana: 3, 5, 12.
Annotated books: 4, 12.
Asia: 7, 17.
Bibles: 1, 2.
Biology: 17.
Brasiliana: 3, 5.
Central and Eastern European literature: 22, 23, 24.
China: 7.
Classics: 1.
Early printed books: 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7.
English literature: 2, 10, 15, 16, 19.
Erotica: 8, 14.
Evolution: 17.
French literature: 9, 11, 14, 15, 16, 18, 25.
German literature: 20, 21.
Haycraft-Queen Cornerstones: 18, 19.
Illustrated books: 2, 3, 4, 5, 11, 24.
Incunabula: 1.
Inscribed books: 19.
Italian literature: 4, 6, 8.
144

Linguistics: 12.
Literature: 2, 4, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25.
Manuscripts: 1.
Modern first editions: 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25.
Natural History: 17
Philosophy: 11, 12, 13, 14.
Science: 12, 17.
Science Fiction: 22.
Shakespeare: 4, 6.
Voyages and Travels: 3, 7.
Theology: 1, 2, 13.

NICHOLAS MARLOWE RARE BOOKS

145 WILMOT STREET, LONDON E2 OBU, UK

17 BOULEVARD LOUIS BLANC, MONTPELLIER 34000, FRANCE

RAREBOOKS@NICHOLASMARLOWE.CO.UK WWW.NICHOLASMARLOWE.CO.UK