

PÈLERIN, Jean, *called Viator*

Vihiers (Anjou) *circa* 1433–1440 — Toul 1524

De artificiali p[er]spectiva.

Toul, Pierre Jacobi, 9 July (*i.e.* 23 June) 1505

To anyone who is familiar with fifteenth-century and early sixteenth-century pictures, and especially with the book illustration of that time, the first sight of a copy of the *De artificiali perspectiva* ... comes with a sort of a shock.

The many pictures of known buildings with which Viator exemplified his perspective method are so clear, so reasonable, so just, that they are wholly out of tune with anything that had been done before them or that was done for a long time afterwards. Such a sudden step across the centuries into a completely modern system of pictorial organization and point of view can hardly have happened on any other occasion.

William M. Ivins, Jr.

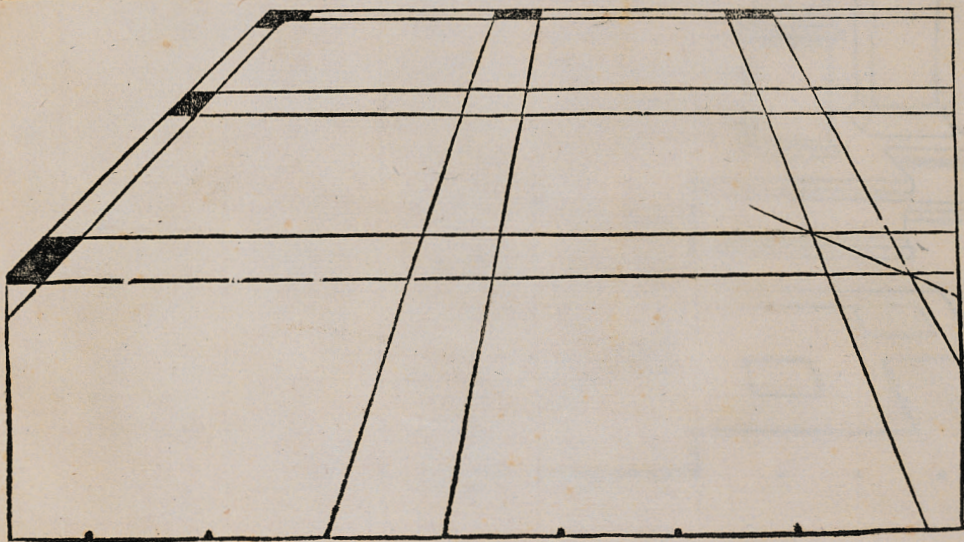
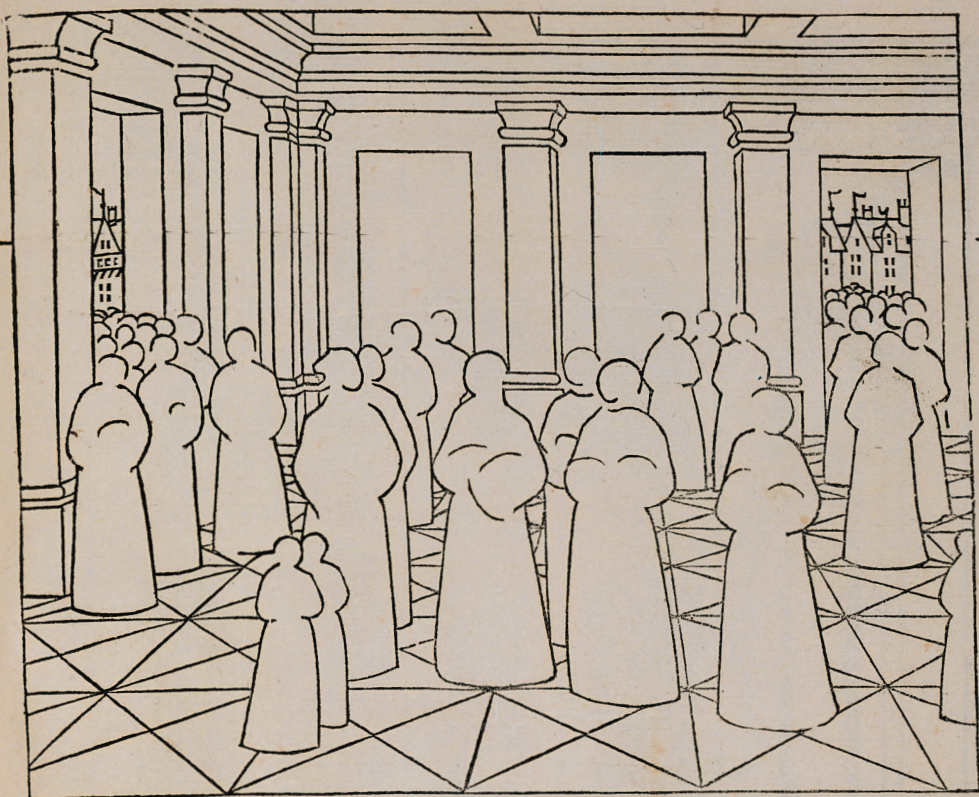
*On the rationalization of sight,
with an examination of three Renaissance
texts on perspective,
Metropolitan Museum of Art,
Papers, no. 8 (New York 1938), p.30*

Folio (290 × 210mm), 44 leaves (of 46), collating A⁸ B⁸ C⁸ D⁸ E¹⁰ [F]⁴ (bifolium A4 + A5 lacking, supplied in contemporary manuscript), not foliated or paginated. Printed in two sizes of Gothic text type, the Latin text 34 lines per page (20 lines of which measure 141mm) with capitals of two sizes and the French translation 37 lines (20 lines measure 125mm) also with capitals of two sizes (larger from the same alphabet used in the Latin). Uniform paper stock with watermark of a bull's head surmounted by a star (see discussion below).

CONTENTS A1 recto xylographic title with diagram (blank verso), A2–A3 Latin text headed *De perspectiua positua: Compendium* illustrated by three woodcut diagrams printed recto and verso, A4 manuscript copy of text written recto and verso, A5 manuscript copy of woodcut diagrams (blank verso), A6–E9 thirty-six full-page outline woodcut illustrations (blank versos), E10 recto postscript by Pèlerin commencing *Habes optime lector de perspectiua positua* and beneath the printer Pierre Jacobi's large (100 × 82mm) musical rebus and cross device (Silvestre 952), a woodcut initial, and colophon: *Impressum Tulli Anno catholice veritatis Quingentesimo quinto supra Milesimum: Ad nonum Calendas Julias. Solerti opera petri iacobi presbyteri Incole pagi Sancti Nicolai* (blank verso), F1–F4 French translation commencing *Leuure deuant mis parfait* ... (last line:) *Finis. Laus deo* (printed recto and verso, except last verso blank). A bifolium of letterpress (entire German text from the Nuremberg 1509 edition) was inserted after folio E8 at time of binding (see below).

CONDITION title-page and folios B1–B2 with spots and stains caused by readers, four leaves in gathering D lightly discoloured with brownish spots (aberrant paper quality), otherwise a fine, clean and crisp copy.

PROVENANCE successive owners have obliterated most marks of ownership from the volume: an ink inscription is virtually erased from upper edge of the front paste-down (probably a personal ownership entry), an exlibris is lifted



from centre of front paste-down (glue stain 94 × 68mm), a label most probably displaying a shelfmark is detached from the back (30 × 35mm, where it had obscured ink shelfmark *H. | 60.*), another label detached from upper left corner of the front cover (40 × 50mm), two ownership stamps (20 × 50mm) expertly deleted, one from blank area of Vitruvius folio AA1, the other from blank area of Pèlerin folio F4.

BINDING a *Sammelband* containing three books (in order Vitruvius, Dürer, Pèlerin) with a vellum tab (40 × 13mm) affixed to title-pages of Dürer and Pèlerin, bound in Germany *circa* 1600, the material plain calf vellum drawn over thin paper boards, sewn on tawed supports which are laced through the cover, round undecorated back lettered in ink *Vitruvius | cum figuris | item | Perspectiva* and above shelfmark *H. | 60.*, green stuck-on endbands sewn over flat parchment cores, plain edges (see discussion below). Protected in a slipcase.



2. Title-page with woodcut diagram of twelve concentric circles, the traditional image of the Aristotelian cosmos (folio A1 recto).

Reproduced on previous page 1. Perspectival rendering of an entryway with figures (folio B6 recto).

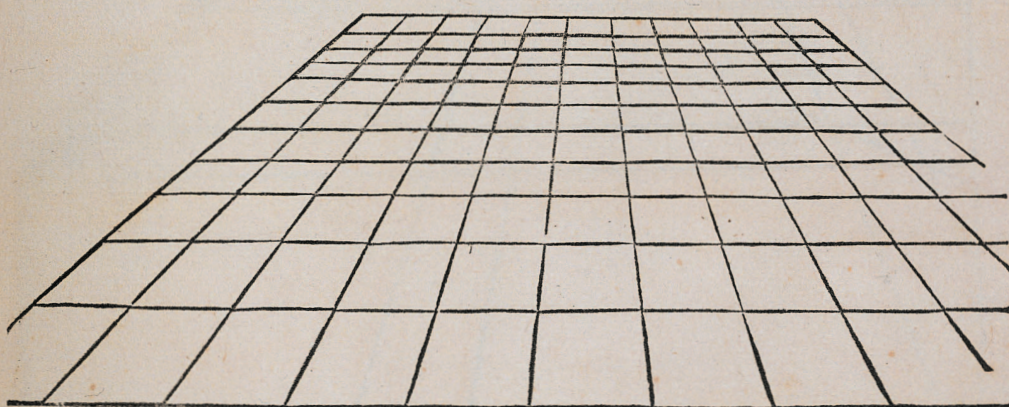
Reproduced opposite 3. A domestic interior, reputedly the author's bedroom (folio B5 recto).

First edition of the first printed treatise on artists' perspective, a practical book of instruction with a text in Latin and French illustrated by an astonishing series of full-page woodcuts demonstrating the perspectival representation of landscapes and of architectural exteriors and interiors, both with and without human figures, in a way which seems to belong to two centuries later, if not to our own time. It is the first book printed at Toul (Meurthe-et-Moselle), one of twenty-two known copies, the first copy to be publicly offered for sale since 1935, and apparently one of only two copies remaining in private hands.

The work codifies the old atelier methods of perspective in use north of the Alps in the 15th and 14th centuries, while at the same time presenting a foretaste of the science of the Italian perspectivists.¹ An introductory text, printed in Latin and in Old French, explains the essence of this 'theory', beginning with principles of both optics (the two modes of visual perception described by Alhazen) and geometrical construction (points and lines as forming the foundation of pictorial representation), after which commences a discussion of techniques for constructing spatial illusion applying the 'tiers points' system.

The success and wide influence of the book owe less to the author's text than to the woodcut illustrations which demonstrate his method at work. Carefully chosen and presented in a logical manner, these large woodcuts provide perspectival renderings of real and known monuments observed by the author, including the interior of Notre Dame in Paris (folio D8), the reputed sanctuary of the Mary Magdalen at Saint-Maximin-la-Sainte-Baume in Provence (folio E3), and a chapel at Maillezais in Vendée (folio E9), as well as anonymous and imaginary scenes: a domestic interior (folio B5, see our fig. 3 opposite), a mulberry tree

1 According to some critics, Pèlerin is an original theorist, and introduces here revolutionary methods of perspective approximating and anticipating the speculations of Leonardo da Vinci and Leon Battista Alberti; see particularly, Liliame Brion-Guerry, *Jean Pèlerin Viator. Sa place dans l'histoire de la perspective* (Paris 1962). Contrary opinions are expressed by Claude Schaefer, in *The Art Bulletin* 49 (1967), pp.180–183; and Thomas Frangenberg, 'The image and the moving eye: Jean Pèlerin (Viator) to Guidobaldo del Monte', in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 49 (1986), pp.150–171. Brion-Guerry clarifies her argument in 'Le *De artificiali perspectiva* de Jean Pèlerin (Viator) et le problème de ses origines: un essai de mise au point', in *Filippo Brunelleschi: la sua opera e il suo tempo* (Florence 1980), I, pp.307–323. See also Martin Kemp, *The Science of art. Optical themes in western art from Brunelleschi to Seurat* (New Haven & London 1990), pp.64–66.





4. Façade of Saint-Maurice d'Angers (folio E1 recto).

Reproduced opposite 5. First page of Latin text
(folio A2 recto).

in a glazed conservatory (folio E4), and crowds gathered in a peristyle (folio A8) and in an entryway (folio B6, see our fig. 1).² Frontal arrangements and oblique settings both feature and most of the examples are accompanied by a diagram showing how the perspective of the picture has been constructed.

The woodcuts are executed in simple outline in an uncommon manner, with parts of the design being effectively left to the imagination. In their style and quality, they are unlike any prints of their time, and several critics have remarked of their unheralded and startling modernity. Pèlerin acknowledges his invention of the designs in the

² See Brion-Guerry (*Op. cit.*, note 1) for identifications of the monuments. On the woodcut of the interior of a court room (folio D4), correcting a miniature by Jean Fouquet (in Laurent Gyrard's manuscript Boccaccio, BSB Munich, Cod. Gall. 6), see Claude Schaefer, *Jean Fouquet. An der Schwelle zur Renaissance* (Dresden & Basel 1994), pp.189, 192, 264. A bronze relief of circa 1480 in the National Gallery of Art in Washington, DC, is associated with the sculptural Madonna and Child represented in the woodcut folio B7 (correspondence file in Pierpont Morgan Library).

text, explaining that he had drawn only the principal lines, omitting details, because a small space can not hold as much as a large space, and inviting those who use the book to supply the omissions for themselves. His block cutter incorporated in the illustration of a church at Angers a Lorraine cross (positioned in the sky, see our fig. 4) and the woodcuts have been ascribed to either or both Jacquemin Woeiriot and Gabriel Salmon, prominent Lorraine artists who employed that mark, in the absence of other plausible candidates.³

THE AUTHOR

Jean Pèlerin was born between 1433 and 1440 at Vihiers, near Saumur in Anjou, entered holy orders, studied at Poitiers or Angers, and completed the degree of *licencié en droit*. At an early date, he became associated with the artistic entourage of René I of Anjou. By 1467, he had become attached to the court of Louis XI, as *secretarius regius*, and was undertaking diplomatic missions (his sobriquet, Viator, the Latin translation of his surname, registers a habit of travel). About 1473, he became chaplain to Philippe de Commines, and met the painter-illuminators Jean Fouquet, Jean Colombe, and Jean Poyet. In 1476, Pèlerin entered the service of René II duc de Lorraine et de Bar. He was appointed canon of St.-Dié, Vosges, in 1483, and soon became a participant in the intellectual milieu centred around the Gymnasium Vosagense.

In 1498, Pèlerin was appointed canon of the chapter of Toul and *maître de fabrique*, in charge of the repair and redecoration of the cathedral and chapter buildings, overseeing building works and controlling finances. In addition, he designed and constructed funerary monuments in an Italianate style, for the cathedral of Toul, for the 13th century church at Liverdun, and for St. Médard at Blénod-lès-Toul. At uncertain dates, Pèlerin translated the Book of Job from Hebrew (posthumously published at Alençon or Paris by Simon Du Bois circa 1534), and translated or wrote

³ Compare Albert Ohl des Marais, 'Jacquemin Woeiriot, graveur sur bois du XVIe siècle', in *Byblis* 10 (Spring 1931), p.15 and 'Gabriel Salmon, graveur sur bois lorrain', in *Byblis* 10 (Summer 1931), pp.139-144; Ruth Mortimer, *Harvard College Library, Department of Printing and Graphic Arts, Catalogue of books and manuscripts. Part I: French 16th century books* (Cambridge, MA 1964), pp.523-524; Robert Brun, *Le livre français illustré de la renaissance* (Paris 1969), p.269; *The French Renaissance in prints from the Bibliothèque Nationale de France*, exhibition catalogue University of Southern California (Los Angeles 1995), p.199; *Trésors des bibliothèques de Lorraine*, edited by Philippe Hoch (Paris 1998), p.78.

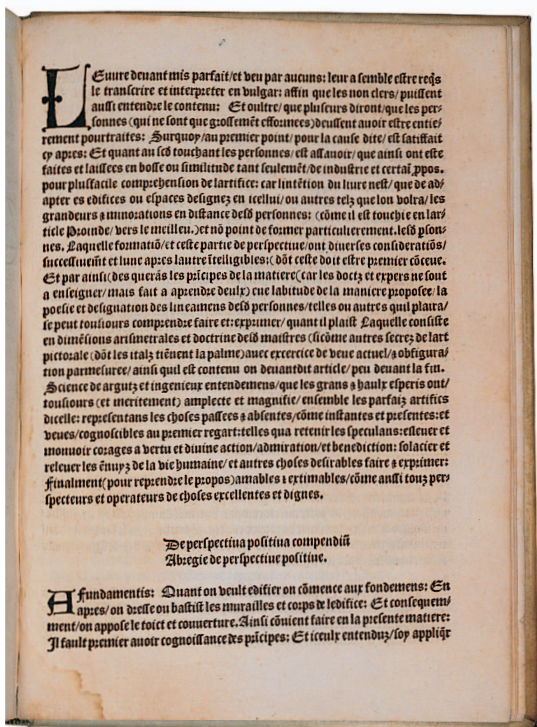
De perspectiua positiua: Cōpendiū.

Fundamentis edificatum iri. Mox sensim extruendum cor-
pus. & tectum imponendū. Etenim (quod philosophicis spe-
culationibus perspectum est) omnes res videntur tanq̃ per
lineas ab oculo egredientes: scilicet p̃ triangulū. Qui⁹ basis est res vi-
sa: eiusq̃ diameter/ super partes ipsius rei vise discurret. Sed lux ab
oculo non egreditur: verum ex lucis exterioris splendoze in oculum ca-
dēte/ fit reflexio/ quasi a speculo ignito: per quam forme rerum conci-
piūtur. Quarūquidem formarum designatiua expressio/ deriuatur a
puncto. Qui licet indiuiduus sit: euoluitur tamen/ & in lineam ac line-
as explicatur. Ex quibus figure componuntur: per quas/ cum punc-
tis et lineis huiusmodi/ via ad propositum aperitur.

Punctus principalis in perspectiua/ debet ad normam oculi cōsti-
tui: qui pūctus dicitur fixus vel subiectus. Deinde linea produci
ad vtramq̃ partem: et in ea duo alia puncta/ equedistancia a subiecto
signari: propiora in presenti/ et remotiora in distantī visu: que dicunt̃
tercia puncta. Possunt etiam fieri in ipsa linea alia puncta: vbi appa-
ratus edificiū plurium āgulozum/ vel aliud quid situ diuersum/ occur-
rerit. Dicitur autem piramidalis: quia anguli seu acies piramidū (de
quibus postea dicitur) ex punctis in ea signatis deducuntur. Vocatur
etiam horizontalis: quia solem orientē ostendit/ et occidētē abscondit.
Et semper equat oculum hominis vbiq̃q̃ fuerit: etiam si turrim ex-
cellam ascenderit/ vel superciliū montis. Ad quam quoq̃ altitudinē/
extremitas/ seu terre/ siue maris/ debet semper terminari. Nisi altio-
res intermedii montes fuerint obiecti.

Deinde alia inferior linea statuēda est/ que terrea dicitur: & in ea
(si edificiū supererigi/ vel dimensionis ratio concipi pretendat̃)

A ii.



6. First page of French text (folio [F]1 recto).

a commentary on the *Cosmography* of Ptolemy very probably for the publication programme of the Gymnasium Vosagense (a work since lost). His most important treatise, *De artificiali perspectiva*, is sometimes also considered as part of the publication programme of that literary and scientific association. Three editions of it were printed before Pèlerin's death which occurred on 1 February 1524.

THE PRINTER

All three editions were printed by Pierre Jacobi, proto-typographer of nearby St.-Nicolas-du-Port (situated on the Meurthe, between Nancy and Lunéville). Jacobi had entered the service of René II, duc de Lorraine et de Bar, as calligrapher and bookbinder, in about 1492, and thereafter learned to print, probably at Strasbourg. He commenced printing at St.-Nicolas-du-Port in 1501 and in 1503 printed there *Hore Virginis Mariae ad usum Tullensis* with illustrations executed perhaps by Jacquemin Woeiriot. Jacobi worked fitfully, issuing public ordinances and broadsides, until in 1518 he printed his most substantial book, Pierre de Blarru's *Nanceidos*, a poem celebrating the battle of Nancy (1477), with text woodcuts probably executed by Gabriel

Salmon. Apart from the three editions of *De artificiali perspectiva* which Jacobi issued for Pèlerin at Toul, his publications all name St.-Nicolas-du-Port as place of printing.⁴

Jacobi reportedly transported his press to Toul and printed the first edition of *De artificiali perspectiva* in Pèlerin's own house, under its author's supervision.⁵ In all copies of the 1505 edition we have examined, the initial quire A contains sheets marred by offsetting, invariably heaviest on A2 + A7, in several copies all four sheets of the gathering are thus spoiled.⁶

Set-off occurs when ink from the side of the sheet printed first accidentally transfers to the tympan cloth during the printing of the other side and then back again on to subsequent sheets of the reiteration. In ordinary circumstances, a pressman remedies offsetting during the reiteration by cleaning the tympan cloth with lye, alternatively by placing waste paper on the tympan behind the sheet being printed and changing it regularly, sometimes at each impression. Any spoiled sheets are customarily discarded and there is no easy explanation of their use in many – perhaps all – copies of this edition.

After printing, Jacobi folded the sheets prematurely, gathering, collating, and beating them flat with a hammer, in preparation for binding. The soft ink offset once again, this time throughout the book, from rectos on to opposite versos (and *vice versa*), and from the first page of one quire on to the verso of the last page of the quire preceding.⁷

At least five of the twenty-two known copies of the 1505 edition lack the final four-leaf gathering of French text, too many to be accounted for simply by the ravages of time. Since this gathering alone in the book is unsigned, it could be the translation was an afterthought, and separate issues (one with, the other without French text) co-exist within the

4 Jean Nicolas Beauupré, *Nouvelles recherches de bibliographie lorraine 1500–1700* (Nancy & Paris 1856), pp.12–13; Albert Ronsin and Albert Kolb, in *Répertoire bibliographique des livres imprimés en France au seizième siècle* (Baden-Baden 1999), VI, pp.37–38 (St.-Nicolas-du-Port) and p.113 (Toul).

5 Albert Kolb, 'Bibliographia Tullensis: Die Toulser Drucke 1505–1700', in *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 1962, p.199; Brion-Guerry (*Op. cit.*, note 1), p.153; Albert Ronsin, 'Les deux premiers siècles de l'imprimerie & de la librairie en Lorraine', in *Trésors des bibliothèques de Lorraine* (*Op. cit.*, note 3), p.56.

6 In the present copy, a light impression of A8 recto is visible on A1 verso, A7 recto on A2 recto and verso, A7 recto also appears on A2 verso, A3 recto on A6 recto, A2 recto and verso on blank A7 verso (multiple impressions), and A1 recto on blank A8 verso.

7 For the procedure, see Bernard C. Middleton, *A History of English craft bookbinding technique* (London 1978), pp.7–8.

edition. Alternatively, it could be that Jacobi miscalculated, printed an inadequate quantity of French text sheets (or an unexpectedly large number was spoiled by offsetting), and the supply ran out quickly as the book was assembled.

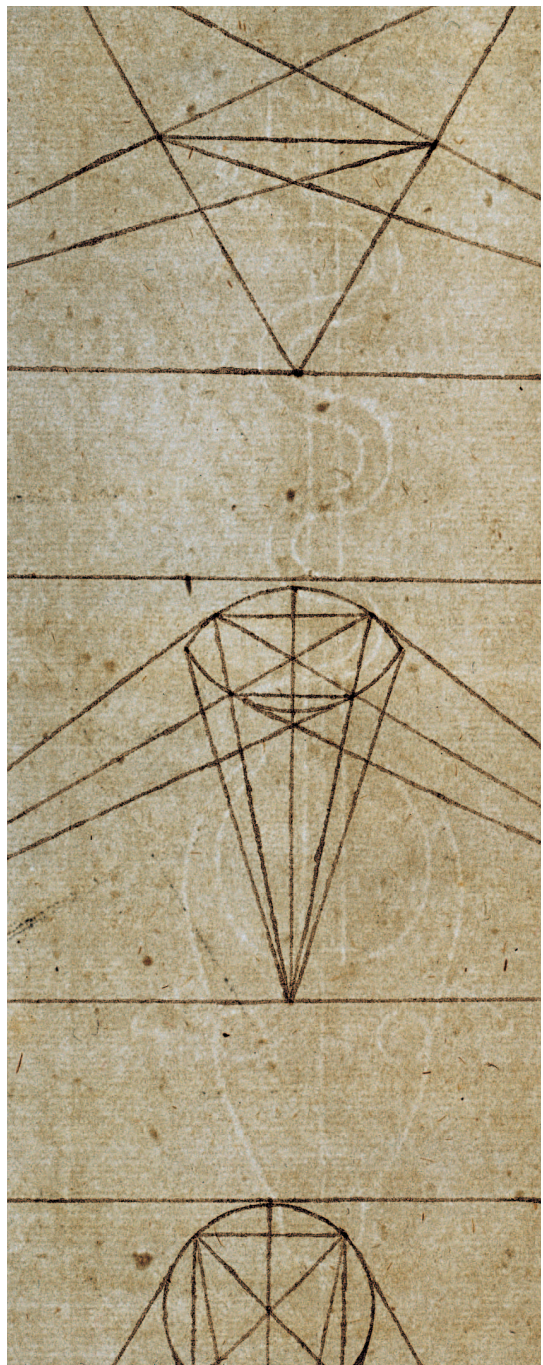
The defect of the present copy – the absence of folios A4 + A5, the innermost bifolium of quire A, and interpolation of an aesthetically pleasing manuscript transcription – is most probably the consequence of the printer's inability to control offsetting occurring during the reiteration and during beating and pressing of the newly printed book. While the cause is indeterminable, there is no doubt the copy was 'completed' before it left the press – in all probability by the author himself – within a day or two after printing. On the blank last page of the interpolated bifolium appears an offset impression of the woodcut printed on the following page (folio A6 recto). This offset must have occurred before the ink set immutably, almost certainly at the moment the folded book was beaten flat.⁸

All copies we have examined are printed on a single batch of paper bearing a watermark of the type known as 'Tête de boeuf surmontée d'une étoile'.⁹ The mark is recorded, but the mill has yet to be identified. The watermark in the interpolated sheet of manuscript is of a related type designated 'Tête de boeuf au serpent s'enroulant autour d'une croix' (see our fig. 7). Local mills produced paper watermarked with this image, but no exactly comparable mark can be identified in available repertories.¹⁰

8 Numerous copies were evidently gathered, folded, and beaten while the ink was still wet. Similar offsetting, but to greater extent, occurs in both British Library copies: in one (our census no. 9) A4 recto carries a weak impression of A3 verso, A5 recto of A4 verso, A5 verso of A6 recto; in the other copy (our census no. 10) the offsetting is almost constant: A1 verso has a weak impression of A2 recto, A2 verso of A3 recto, A5 recto of A4 verso, A5 verso of A6 recto, A6 verso of A7 recto, and some woodcuts have also offset in quires B, C, E.

9 The watermark is reproduced by Gerhard Piccard, *Die Ochsenkopfwasserzeichen. Findbuch der Wasserzeichenkartei Piccard im Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart* (Stuttgart 1966), II/2, 2. Teil, p.452, Abteilung VII, Typ. 951. Two paper moulds can be identified: the watermark in one is exactly as reproduced by Piccard; the watermark in the other mould is worn, the wire forming one nostril having detached from its original position and shifted upwards.

10 Paper with the mark 'Tête de boeuf surmontée d'une croix auteur de laquelle s'enroule un serpent' of 1506 (in registers of the Châtellenie de Rambervillers, Archives des Vosges) is described by Jean-Marie Janot, *Les Moulins à papier de la région vosgienne* (Nancy 1952), pp.46, 461, 515. A similar mark is Piccard (*Op. cit.*, note 9), p.761, Abteilung XV, Typ. 171 (recording use 1522–1524).



7. Watermark in interpolated X2 (leaf turned upside down). Reproduced with enhanced contrast. Height of mark 161mm.

Reproduced overleaf

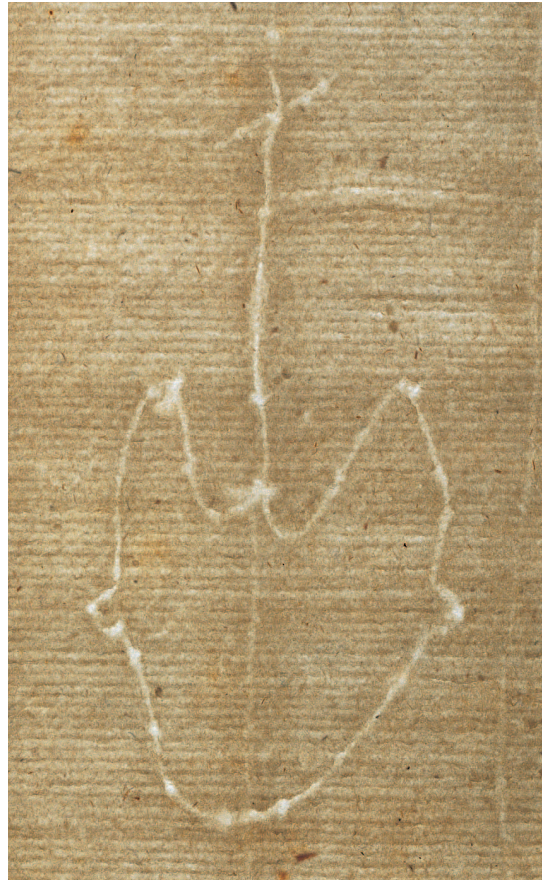
8. Folios A3 verso and interpolated X1 recto with text handwritten by the author or printer.

etiam minus secundum sedem fingentis: et presentem aut distantem
visū. Circulus vero qui circa tetragonū erectū extat speric⁹ circa stra-
tum fit oualis/ aut lenticularis/ secundū differentias sedium/ et visū
premissorum. Que propositiones/ super secundā figuram possunt cō-
prehendi. Tercia deinde figura/ tetragonum ipsum p̄tinet/ absq; spe-
rali circumferentia: remanētibus piramidibus premissis. Que tamē
deinceps in aliis sequentibus figuris/ non ponentur in integrum: sed
id solum ex eis quod erit necessarium. Licet suffingantur semper/ vel
subintelligantur: vt constabit intuentibus.

Dimiuntia quoq; pauimenta/ accipitur super huiusmodi tetra-
gonum/ p̄ctis partitum/ et lineis radialibus distinctum/ a sec-
tiōibus diametrozū piramidarū inclinatarum/ sicut premissum est:
vt quarta/ quinta/ et sexta figuris/ cum quatuor sequētibus pluribus
modis ostenditur. Et possunt fieri alia diuersa pauimēta/ et multipli-
cari/ ac dilatari/ ad placitum. **Q**ui planicie/ campestris spacia
diminuere voluerit: protractis lineis rectis pauimēti sufficti/ intentū
habebit. Nisi alia geometrali industria id facere pernouerit. Quā-
titas vero seu minozatio personarū: duobus modis accipitur. aut enī
ex cōmuni: aut ex eleuata sede conspiciuntur. Si ex sede cōmuni: a situ
pedum earum capiuntur: et linea pyramidalī. Quam eciam lineam/
persone huiusmodi/ possunt a luminibus sursum excedere: vel āplius
in proceriore/ aut gigātea magnitudine. Si ex eleuata sede: vtendū
est inclinata piramide/ a puncto subiecto vel altero ex tertiis exeunte:
cuius latitudo basis/ aperiatur/ ad altitudinem proxime seu maioris
persone/ in spacio statuende: secundum cuius pyramidis inarctationē
persone huiusmodi/ a plantis ad summa capitum/ accipiet minozati-
onem: Quarū triū propositionū/ ponūtur exempla/ per tres figuras
sequentes pauimenta. Ex quibus figuris nouissima ordinat secundū
sedem paulum eleuatam tantum/ que tamē altius potest eleuari: eciam
supereleuari: et linea orizontalis/ ac acies pyramidis inclinate/ simul
in altari/ prolongari ue/ aut dilatari/ vt prenotatū est/ in articulo de fi-
guris elementaribus: prout et plane comprehendetur ab intentis spe-
culatoribus. Obicunq; autem pueri vel adolefcētes erunt fingendi:

pro etatibus singulorū veniet in q̄ntitate altitudinis
metiendi: Quib⁹ pueris / ceterisq; ubilibet assignatis
p̄sonis / proportionēs legitime dabunt pro magnitu-
dinibus suis. Et quod de personis per omnia dicatur:
de ceteris animantib⁹ similiter intelligit. Porro:
diminutio latitudinis colūnarū / et similium rerum /
accipit ex diminutionib⁹ tetragonū / sup̄eleuatis /
tanq̄m a basi / colūnis et reb⁹ huiusmodi. Altitudines
vero / constant per pyramides oportunas: iacentes
scilicet / aut pendentes: secundū earundē sublimitatē /
et videntis sedem. Sed hoc aduertendū est / q̄ in
visu multū distantī seu longinquo: expedit sepe nu-
mero uti industria et ingenio. Similit⁹ et in mul-
tis aliis / speculationi arguti⁹ relictis.

PRoinde (supradictis ad effectū pretentū plane
susceptis) figure exēplares ad inductiuā descri-
pte videant. Quarū nōnullē / ex memoria structū-
rarū / et picturarū quādoq; visarū. Alię / ex ipsa
speculatione sūt erecte. Que cōcipient per elemēta
premissa / tanq̄m per litteras verba: Quinpotius /
sup̄ huiusmodi figuris / intelligent eorundē elemen-
torū officia: quomā videlicet / planis formis statuendis
(a quib⁹ edificia huiusmodi exurgūt) et reb⁹ effingēdis /
ac cōmissuris / seu adunationib⁹ earū / manu ductiuam
habent aptitudinē. In figuris quidē edificiorū a fron-
te cōspectorū / pyramis recta pavimentū cōstituit:
et due vel plures hincinde iacentes / latera seu parie-
tes: Eversa vero / testudinē aut textū desuper. In
edificiis quoq; ab angulo cōspectis / diffusa et bicornis
operant: duplex / in utrisq;: pendens / plurib⁹ reb⁹:
dereā / nōnullis gradib⁹ ponendis deseruit. Cetera
videbunt experimēto ipsarū figurarū: In quib⁹ ta-
men / proportionēs particulares p̄sonarū / nō obser-
uant precise: sed q̄ntitates magnitudinū maxime:
que / ad propositū faciūt. Nec edificia protrahunt /
aut variant ad omnē plenitudinē: propter spaciōrū
angustias / et faciliore conceptū artis / et operis:



Sixteenth-century paper utilised as binder's endleaves. Reproduced with enhanced contrast.
9. Watermark in front endpaper. Height 67mm. 10. Back endpaper. Height 102mm

THE BINDING

It is likely that Pèlerin distributed the edition himself, presenting copies to his patrons and friends. Judging by his printer's premature beating of the roughly folded sheets, a number of copies may have been immediately sewn into interim bindings, perhaps bindings fashioned by Jacobi himself (he had been working as a bookbinder ten years previously). If any copies were specially bound for presentation, none has survived. About 1600, our copy was extracted from its interim binding and installed together with two books on similar subjects (removed from other bindings, as evidenced by varying positions of vacant sewing-holes) in a new vellum *Sammelband*.

The assembly of the *Sammelband* *circa* 1600 is conjectured from the binder's use of tawed supports which are laced through the cover. By about 1620, German binders had progressed to sewing on flat parchment supports.¹¹

At the front of the volume, between the first and second books (Dürer | Vitruvius), and at the back, the binder supplied blank paper in the usual way, as pastedowns to reinforce the joints of the covers, and to give additional protection to the first and last pages. Astonishingly, this paper seems to have been lying around unused for a very long time (it was not taken from previous bindings on these books). Although not evidence for dating, the endleaves do confirm compilation of the *Sammelband* in southern Germany.¹²

¹¹ Our dating of the binding is based on information kindly offered upon examination by Dr. Nicholas Pickwood (River Farm, Great Witchingham, Norwich NR9 5NA).

¹² The front endleaves (originally three: a single bifolium with another leaf following, the leaf conjugate with the pastedown later extracted) and the intermediate blank leaves (two: a bifolium) were made in different moulds at the same mill. The watermark is reproduced by Piccard (*Op. cit.*, note 9), p.294,

LATER EDITIONS

In April 1508, an unacknowledged abridgment of *De artificiali perspectiva* illustrated by nine woodcuts adapted from the Toul blocks was incorporated (as 'Introductio architecturae et perspectivae') in a reprint of Gregor Reisch's popular *Margarita philosophica* published by Johann Grüninger at Strasbourg.¹³ One year later, a Nuremberg *Formschneider*, Jörg Glockendon, cut close copies of all thirty-seven of the Toul blocks, and published *Von der Kunst Perspectiva*, presenting Pèlerin's Latin text together with a new German translation. Bound in our *Sammelband* is the complete German text of Glockendon's edition (two leaves, inserted by the binder after folio E8, see our fig. 11).¹⁴

These circumstances apparently encouraged Pèlerin to prepare a new edition of his treatise. Entitled *De artificiali*

perspectiva ... Secundo, it was printed by Jacobi at Toul on 12 March 1509 (1510).¹⁵ The blocks cut for the 1505 edition were not available and a new set was produced. Ten subjects were not recut, but replaced by new illustrations.¹⁶ One of these new blocks (folio C1 verso) is Pèlerin's 'corrected' version of the perspective of a woodcut executed by Dürer *circa* 1505, 'Presentation of Christ in the Temple'. Dürer in turn studied Pèlerin's illustrations and his engraving of *circa* 1514, 'St. Jerome in his study', is a variation on Pèlerin's perspectival rendering of a domestic interior (our fig. 3). The organisation of the illustrations was changed and the woodcuts no longer presented as plates, but printed on both rectos and versos. Pèlerin wrote additional preliminary text and also distichs explicating each illustration.

The abbreviated version of the treatise published in Reisch's *Margarita philosophica* remained in print (new editions appeared at Strasbourg in 1512 and 1515 and a revised edition, edited and augmented by Oronce Finé, at Basel in 1535 and 1583). Meanwhile, Pèlerin prepared a third edition, *De artificiali perspectiva ... Terzo*, printed by Jacobi on 7 September 1521, essentially an unchanged reprint of the 1509 edition, only an enumeration of artists and friends of the author added on the title-page.¹⁷

Adaptations of Pèlerin's illustrations began to illustrate other texts, for example, a treatise entitled 'Optice' in Joachim Sterck van Ringelbergh's *Opera* (first printed at Lyon in 1531). A second edition of *Von der Kunst Perspectiva* (the blocks only, without any text) was published by Albrecht Glockendon at Nuremberg in 1540.¹⁸

Abteilung III, Typ. 5, recording use in southern Germany between 1523 and 1532. The back endleaves (three: a single bifolium with another leaf following) show a similar watermark, reproduced by Piccard (*Op. cit.*, note 9), p.332, Abteilung V, Typ. 255, also recording use in southern Germany, but 1511–1514.

13 Editions of Reisch's *Margarita philosophica* containing Pèlerin's treatise are described by Hermann Schilling, *Theorien der malerischen Linear-Perspektive vor 1601* (Gießen 1973), pp.28–30, nos. 31–37.

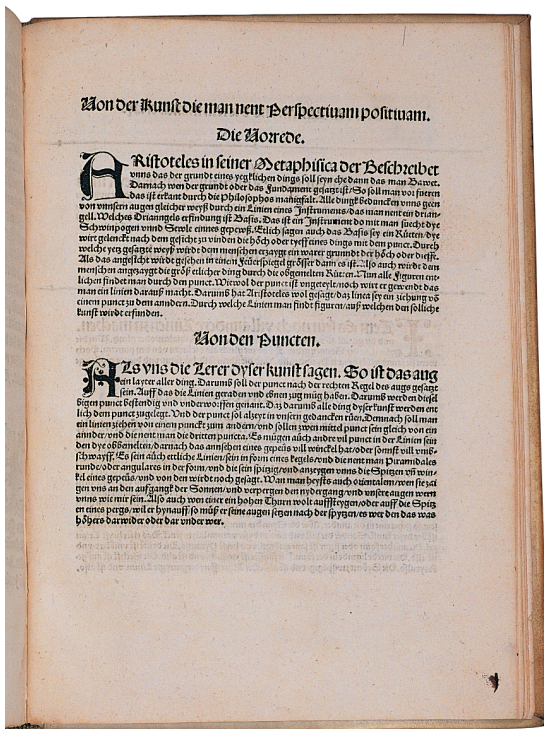
14 Glockendon set the text with greater economy than Jacobi and in his edition the Latin text fits easily on two (instead of four) leaves and the German translation occupies another two leaves, then follow the thirty-seven woodcuts, printed again as plates with the versos left blank (total including title of 42 leaves). Moriz Sondheim, 'Jörg Glockendons Kunst Perspectiva' in *Berichte des Freien Deutschen Hochstiftes zu Frankfurt am Main*, Neue Folge 8 (1892), pp.195–211; Schilling (*Op. cit.*, note 13), pp.30–31, no. 38 (five copies located). Another copy in Sammlung Otto Schäfer, Schweinfurt (formerly Börner – [booksellers Rudolph Weigel, *Kunstskatalog*, Leipzig 1853, IV, no. 19422] – Feldzeugmeister Hauslab – Prince Liechtenstein – [booksellers H.P. Kraus, *Catalog 90*, item 131], lacks the two leaves of Latin text. An incomplete copy was offered *circa* 1985 by the booksellers Patrick & Elisabeth Sourget (*Deux cents livres précieux de 1467 à 1959*, item 6). Sondheim cites a copy in the stock of the Frankfurt am Main booksellers Joseph Baer & Co.

15 Brion-Guerry (*Op. cit.*, note 1), p.157; Schilling (*Op. cit.*, note 13), pp.27–28, no. 29. Copies in the British Library (shelfmark C 24 c 7), Bodleian Library, Oxford (H 8.9 4 Art, lacking title-page); Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Rés. V 167), Bibliothèque Mazarine, Paris; Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna (shelfmark 11 D 2, exhibited in *Albrecht Dürer 1471–1971*, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg 1971, no. 634); and Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel (A 16.1 Geom. 2°, evidently a fragment of 29 leaves only). A copy was offered *circa* 1979 by Librairie Robert Valette, *Livres et autographes du XVe au XXe siècle* [catalogue, n.s., no. 5], item 8.

16 The ten woodcuts not recut for the second and third editions are printed on folios A8, B3, B7, C3, D1, D2, D3, D6, E7, E8.

17 Brion-Guerry (*Op. cit.*, note 1), p.158; Schilling (*Op. cit.*, note 13), p.28, no. 30. Copies in the British Library (shelfmark 794 i 22), Cambridge University Library (Adams P–579), Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Rés. V 169), Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris (two copies), Bodleian Library, Oxford (Douce P subt 35), Bibliothèque Sainte Geneviève, Paris (*Catalogue des ouvrages imprimés au XVIe siècle*, Paris 1980, no. 1547), and Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Rome (Cicognara 869). The Nostitz – Guyot de Villeneuve (sale March 1900, lot 301) – Rothschild copy is described by Auguste Émile Picot, *Catalogue des livres composant la bibliothèque de feu M. le Baron James de Rothschild* (Paris 1884), IV, pp.37–39, no. 2763. A copy is offered in *Bulletin de la librairie Damascène Morgand* (Paris 1887–1889), IV, p.471, no. 13830.

18 Anatole de Montaiglon, *Notice historique et bibliographique sur Jean Pèlerin* (Paris 1861), pp.27–28; Hugh William Davies, *Catalogue of a collection of early German books in the library of C. Fairfax Murray* (reprint London 1962), no. 325; Schilling (*Op. cit.*, note 13), p.31, no. 39.



11. German text from the Nuremberg piracy of 1509
(inserted by the binder after folio E8).

Finally, an adaptation of *De artificiali perspectiva* entitled *La perspective positive* was published at La Flèche by Georges Griveau, in 1635. Edited and illustrated by Mathurin Jousse, this work featured freely engraved, reduced and reversed, copies of the woodcuts as they appear in the 1521 Toul edition.

REFERENCES Hugh W. Davies, *Catalogue of a collection of early French books in the library of C. Fairfax Murray* (London 1910), no. 566; Ruth Mortimer, *Harvard College Library, Department of Printing and Graphic Arts, Catalogue of books and manuscripts. Part I: French 16th century books* (Cambridge, MA 1964), no. 420; Robert Brun, *Le livre français illustré de la renaissance* (Paris 1969), p.269; Luigi Vagnetti, *De naturali et artificiali perspectiva: bibliografia ragionata delle fonti teoriche e delle ricerche di storia della prospettiva*, Studi e documenti di architettura (Florence 1979), pp.311–314, no. Ellb2; *Architectural theory and practice from Alberti to Ledoux*, edited by Dora Wiebenson (second edition Chicago & London 1983), no. III–B–1

PROVISIONAL CENSUS *De artificiali perspectiva* 1505

ABBREVIATIONS Liliane BRION-GUERRY, *Jean Pélerin Viator. Sa place dans l'histoire de la perspective* (Paris 1962); Arthur RAU, 'Les exemplaires connus de la *Perspective* de J. Pélerin', in *Humanisme et Renaissance* 2 (1935); Hermann SCHÜLING, *Theorien der malerischen Linear-Perspektive vor 1601* (Gießen 1973); RÉPERTOIRE *Répertoire bibliographique des livres imprimés en France au seizième siècle*, volume VI (Baden-Baden 1999)

- 1
Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek
(shelfmark 2° Math 109)¹
Page 304 × 207mm. 42 leaves, lacking French text
Extracted from a Sammelband
Bound in 19th-century blue paper boards
- 2
Basel, Universitätsbibliothek
(shelfmark K I I 4 Nr 3)²
Page 298 × 195mm. 46 leaves, complete
Provenance: probably Bonifacius (1495–1562) or Basilius (1533–1591) Amerbach (bound third in a Sammelband of eight books, printed 1502–1577, of which no. 2 inscribed *Amerbach, ex dono Henric Petri 1551*)
In a 16th-century vellum Sammelband
- 3
Boston, Museum of Fine Arts
(acquisition number 35.54)³
Page dimensions not known. 46 leaves, complete
Provenance: Leon de Laborde (according to a note in Jacques Charles Brunet's handwriting reported in the

- 1 Copy cited Schüling p.27. In this copy, folios A2 and A3 were carelessly folded, and the deckle fore-edges accidentally preserved untrimmed by the binder (page width unfolded 219/228mm).
- 2 Copy cited Brion-Guerry p.155; *Répertoire* p.113; Schüling p.27; Sabine Stampfli, *Katalog älterer Kunstbücher aus der Universitätsbibliothek Basel, 1495–1847. Ein Auswahlverzeichnis* (Basel 1978), p.112, no. 503. Exhibited: *Dix siècles de livres français*, Musée Beaux-Arts de Lucerne, 9 July–2 October 1949 (Lucerne 1949), p.32, no. 84.
- 3 Copy cited Rau p.478, no. 2; Henry Preston Rossiter, 'The perspective of Jean, called Pélerin, Canon of Toul', in *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts* [Boston] 33 (1935), pp.31–33; Brion-Guerry pp.154–155; *Répertoire* p.113; Schüling p.27.

copy); Ambroise Firmin-Didot (sale Paris 29 May 1879, lot 284, to Quaritch); Bernard Quaritch (offered in their *General Catalogue*, London 1887, nos. 4377 and 37543, price £100; and *Monuments of typography*, London 1897, no. 471, price £105); Comtesse de La Baume-Pluvinel (sale Paris 24 April 1934, lot 119); E.P. Goldschmidt & Co., by whom sold to BMFA in 1935
In a 19th-century green morocco binding (by Hagué)

4
Cambridge, University Library
(shelfmark Syn 4.50.5)⁴
Page 294 × 212mm. 42 leaves, lacking French text
Provenance: Georg II Fugger (1517–1559)
In a 19th-century brown morocco binding

5
Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University
(shelfmark Typ 515 05.679 F)⁵
Page 298 × 202mm. 42 leaves, lacking French text
Provenance: title-page inscribed *Venerabilis Dominus Magister Petrus Fridman dono dedit Vuolphg. Schmido Amicitie Ao. 1552*; Dietrichstein-Nikolsberg library (sale Lucerne 21–22 November 1933, lot 268, bought by Arthur Rau, for 1500 Swiss francs); Philip Hofer, New York, by 1935; his gift to Harvard College Library
Extracted from a *Sammelband* and rebound *circa* 1934 in black morocco (by Sangorski & Sutcliffe)

6
Frankfurt am Main, Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek
(shelfmark Einbandsammlung 34, Nr 6)⁶
Page 315 × 210mm. 46 leaves, complete
Provenance: Ottheinrich, Kurfürst von der Pfalz (1502–1559); Johann Hartmann Beyer (1563–1625)
In a calf *Sammelband* (eight books, printed 1505–1550) with gilt supralibros (portrait and insignia) of Pfalzgraf Ottheinrich and date 1550

4 Copy cited H.M. Adams, *Catalogue of books printed on the Continent of Europe, 1501–1600, in Cambridge libraries* (Cambridge 1967), P–578; *Répertoire* p.113; Schilling p.27.

5 Copy cited Rau p.478, no. 5; Brion-Guerry p.155; Ruth Mortimer, *Harvard College Library, Department of Printing and Graphic Arts, Catalogue of Books and Manuscripts. Part I: French 16th Century Books* (Cambridge, MA 1964), no. 420; *Répertoire* p.113; Schilling p.27.

6 Copy cited Schilling p.27. The lower deckle edges are preserved by the binder.

7
Göttingen, Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek
(shelfmark 2 Bibl UFF 241)⁷
Page dimensions not known. 46 leaves, complete
Binding not known

8
Leipzig, Universität, Universitätsbibliothek ‘Bibliotheca Albertina’
(shelfmark Math 63–t)⁸
Page 298 × 210mm. 46 leaves, complete
Probably extracted from a *Sammelband*
Bound in 19th-century paper boards

9
London, British Library
(shelfmark C 24 c 21)⁹
Page 301 × 210mm. 46 leaves, complete
In a 19th-century green morocco binding

10
London, British Library
(shelfmark 536 l 21/1)¹⁰
Page 283 × 197mm. 43 leaves, lacking E5 and F1 + F4 of French text
Provenance: probably Sir Hans Sloane; octagonal black ink stamp ‘Museum Britannicum’ (type used *circa* 1760; see David Pearson, *Provenance research in book history. A handbook*, London 1994, pp.92, 95, and fig. 3.5)
In a modern half-cloth library *Sammelband*

11
Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek
(shelfmark 2 Math p 9)¹¹
Page 295 × 210mm. 42 leaves, lacking French text
In an 18th-century vellum binding

7 Located in library OPAC, otherwise undocumented.

8 Located in library OPAC, otherwise undocumented.

9 Copy cited *Short-title catalogue of books printed in France and of French books printed in other countries from 1470 to 1600 now in the British Museum* (London 1924), p.343; Rau p.478, no. 7; Brion-Guerry p.155; *Répertoire* p.113; Schilling p.27.

10 Copy cited *Short-title catalogue* (*Op. cit.*, note 9), p.343; Rau p.478, no. 8; Brion-Guerry p.155.

11 Copy cited Schilling p.27; Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, *Alphabetischer Katalog 1501–1840* (Munich 1987), volume 7, p.390.

12

Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek
(shelfmark 2 Math p 9 a)¹²
Page 302 × 213mm. 46 leaves, complete
Rubricated in blue and red ink
Extracted from a Sammelband (old foliation 197–242)
Bound in 19th-century paper boards

13

Nancy, Bibliothèque municipale
(shelfmark Res. 4230)¹³
Page 277 × 205mm. 46 leaves, complete
Provenance: Léon Cailhava (sale Paris October 1845, lot 1169, sold for 315 French francs)
Gathering [F]⁴ inserted from another copy
In a 19th-century red morocco binding (by Koebler)

14

New York, Pierpont Morgan Library
(shelfmark 25572 E 12 c)¹⁴
Page 272 × 208mm. 46 leaves, complete
Provenance: acquired from the Munich booksellers Jacques Rosenthal in 1928
Bound in vellum-backed mottled paper boards

12 Copy cited *Alphabetischer Katalog* (*Op. cit.*, note 11), volume 7, p.390.

13 Copy cited Jean Nicolas Beaupré, *Nouvelles recherches de bibliographie lorraine 1500–1700* (Nancy & Paris 1856), pp.20–21; Anatole de Montaiglon, *Notice historique et bibliographique sur Jean Pèlerin dit le Viateur* (Paris 1861), p.21; Jacques Charles Brunet, *Manuel du libraire et de l'amateur de livres* (Paris 1860–1865), V, col. 1169; Johann G.T. Graesse, *Trésor de livres rares et précieux* (Dresden 1867), VI, p.296; Justin Favier, *Trésor du bibliophile lorrain* (Nancy 1889), pp.23–24 & pl. 32 (title page); Justin Favier, *Catalogue des livres et documents imprimés du fonds lorrain de la Bibliothèque Municipale de Nancy* (Nancy 1898), p.672, no. 11208; Rau pp.477–478, no. 1; Brion-Guerry p.155; *Répertoire* p.113; Schüling p.27; *Trésors des bibliothèques de Lorraine* (*Op. cit.*, note 3), p.78 (folio A8 reproduced).

14 Copy cited *The Pierpont Morgan Library, a review* [1924–1929] (New York 1930), p.105 (acquired as 'one of four known copies'); Rau p.478, no. 4; Brion-Guerry pp.154–155; *Répertoire* p.113; Schüling p.27. Exhibited: *The first quarter-century of the Pierpont Morgan Library. A retrospective exhibition* (New York 1949), no. 204. Facsimile: William M. Ivins, Jr., *On the rationalization of sight, with an examination of three Renaissance texts on perspective*, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Papers, no. 8 (New York 1938), Appendix, pp.47–53 (facsimile reprint of French text; a facsimile reprint of the entire copy is appended to the reprint New York 1973).

15

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Département des Estampes
(shelfmark I ag 14 Rés.)¹⁵
Page dimensions not known. 46 leaves, complete
Provenance: acquired from Rapilly *circa* 1871
Bound in red morocco

16

Paris, Bibliothèque de la Sorbonne
(shelfmark Réserve XVI 134)¹⁶
Page dimensions not known. 46 leaves, complete
Provenance: Collège Louis-le-Grand
Binding not known

17

Paris, private collection (seen by Rau *circa* 1935)¹⁷
Page (or binding?) 304 × 205mm. 46 leaves, complete
Provenance: [apparently *Catalogue des livres de la Bibliothèque de M. Pierre-Antoine Bolongaro-Crevenna*, Amsterdam 1789, II, p.241, no. 2790]; Benjamin Heywood Bright (sale Sotheby's March 1845, lot 4354); Bertram, 4th Earl of Ashburnham (sale Sotheby's 9 May 1898, lot 3848); Charles Fairfax Murray (sold *circa* 1918, possibly to Rahir)

In an 18th-century citron morocco binding (with [Hieronymus Rodler], *Ein schön nützlich büchlin und underweisung der kunst des Messens*, Simmern 1531)

15 Copy cited *Catalogue Général des livres imprimés de la Bibliothèque nationale. Auteurs* (Paris 1935), volume 132, col. 361 & volume 208 (1970), col. 70; Bibliothèque nationale, *Inventaire du fonds français. Graveurs du seizième siècle* (Paris 1938), II, pp.30–32 (inexact collation); Brion-Guerry p.155 (this the copy utilised for her study); Robert Brun, *Le livre français illustré de la renaissance* (Paris 1969), p.269; *Répertoire* p.113; Schüling p.27. 'La date et le lieu d'impression, qui ne figurent pas sur cet ex., sont restitués d'après la notice d'Anatole de Montaiglon' (*Catalogue Général*).

16 Copy cited Charles Beaulieux, *Catalogue de la Réserve XVIe siècle de la Bibliothèque de l'Université de Paris* (Paris 1910), I, p.293; Brion-Guerry p.155; *Répertoire* p.113; Schüling p.27; Pierrette Limacher, *Inventaire des livres du XVIe siècle de la Bibliothèque de la Sorbonne. Tome I* (Paris 1984), col. 211, no. 512.

17 Copy cited by Hugh W. Davies, *Catalogue of a collection of early French books in the library of C. Fairfax Murray* (London 1910), no. 566 (inexact collation); Rau p.478, no. 3; Brion-Guerry p.155.

Pommersfelden, Graf von Schönborn'sche
Schlossbibliothek
(shelfmark LV 84)¹⁸
Page dimensions not known. Apparently complete
Provenance: inscribed *Sebastian Holtzfeld*; Charterhouse
of Erfurt (according to Brion-Guerry)
Bound in contemporary reversed leather (with Vitruvius,
[De Architectura libri X], Venice 1511)

Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
(old shelfmark, G. IV E5 31)¹⁹
Page dimensions not known. 40 leaves, lacking A1, A3,
A6, E1, E10, F4
Provenance: conte Leopoldo Cicognara (1767–1834)
'Rilegatura antica in cuoio' (according to Da Villa)

Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek
(shelfmark 72 E. 55*)²⁰
Page 296 × 206mm. 46 leaves, complete
In a 19th-century half-calf library binding

Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek
(shelfmark A 27.1 Geom 2^o)²¹
Page 306 × 215mm. 46 leaves, complete
Provenance: August der Jüngere, Herzog von
Braunschweig-Lüneburg-Wolfenbüttel (1579–1666)
Bound in 16th-century leather-backed wooden boards

18 Copy cited Brion-Guerry p.155; Schilling p.27.

19 Copy cited Leopoldo Cicognara, *Catalogo ragionato dei libri d'arte e d'antichità posseduti dal Conte Cicognara* (Pisa 1821), no. 868; Maria Da Villa, 'Per la storia della prospettiva. Il *De artificiali perspectiva* e Jean Pèlerin (Viator)', in *Rendiconti dell'Accademia delle scienze fisiche e matematiche* [Naples], series 4, volume 7 (1937), pp.157–164, 200–205; Brion-Guerry p.155; *Répertoire* p.113; Schilling p.27.

20 Copy cited Montaignon (*Op. cit.*, note 13), p.21; Brion-Guerry p.155; Schilling p.27.

21 Copy cited Friedrich A. Ebert, *Allgemeines bibliographisches Lexikon* (Leipzig 1830), II, p.1026, no. 23548; Herzog August Bibliothek, *Verzeichnis medizinischer und naturwissenschaftlicher Drucke 1472–1830. Reihe A*, edited by Ursula Zachert (Millwood, NY & Nendeln 1982), volume 3, p.1258.

22 Copy cited *Catalogi Bibliothecae Christiae a cl. viro Joh. Frid. Christio P.P.O. in Acad. Lips. olim in priuatos usus collectae nunc vero auctione publica* [8 August 1757] *vendendae* (Leipzig [1757]), I, p.375, no. 3574.

- a Christ, Johann Friedrich (1701–1756)²²
- b D'Estrées, Victor-Marie, duc (1660–1737)²³
- c Jamnitzer, Wenzel I (1508–1585) — Panzer, Georg Wolfgang (1729–1805)²⁴
- d Paris, unspecified public collection²⁵
- e Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève²⁶
- f Peutinger, Konrad (1465–1547)²⁷

23 Copy cited *Catalogue des livres de la bibliothèque de feu Monseigneur le maréchal duc d'Estrées* (Paris 1740), no. 8505; Anatole de Montaiglon, *Notice historique et bibliographique sur Jean Pèlerin dit le Viateur* (Paris 1861), p.21.

24 Copy cited Georg W. Panzer, *Annales typographici ab anno MDI ad annum MDXXXVI continvati* (Nuremberg 1800), volume VIII, p.332 & (Nuremberg 1803), XI, p.509: 'Opus rarissimum. Collectionis nostrae exemplum, optime servatum, extabat olim in bibliotheca Wenzel Jamiczer'; *Bibliothecae a D. Georgio Wolfgang Panzero... nunc D. 5. Januar. Anno 1807. Publicae auctionis lege dividendae. Pars I* (Nuremberg 1806), p.44, no. 331 (in a 'Lederband').

25 Copy 'sans les quatre feuillets du texte français, qui doit se trouver dans un dépôt public français' cited by Rau p.478, no. 6; and by Brion-Guerry p.155.

26 Cited by Mercier de Saint-Léger, *Notice raisonnée des ouvrages de Gaspard Schott* (Paris 1785), pp.8–9, 86–88; lost by 1861 according to Montaignon (*Op. cit.*, note 13), p.21. Only a copy of the 1521 third edition remains in the library (*Catalogue des ouvrages imprimés au XVIe siècle*, Paris 1980, p.298).

27 Entered the Augsburg Stadtbibliothek in 1810 (bound in vellum together with Pèlerin, *De artificiali perspectiva*, Nuremberg 1509, wearing Peutinger shelfmark BB29), since lost. The volume is no. 584.1–2 in the virtual reconstruction of Peutinger's library (Dr. Hans-Jörg Künast, Institut Europäische Kulturgeschichte, Augsburg).

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