

Bibliographical notes on the English translation of Polydore Vergil's work, 'De inventoribus rerum' / communicated to the Society of Antiquaries by John Ferguson.

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BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

ON

THE ENGLISH TRANSLATION

OF

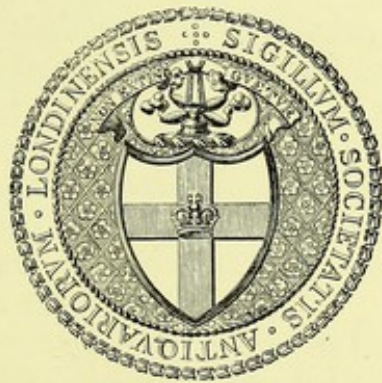
POLYDORE VERGIL'S WORK,

"DE INVENTORIBUS RERUM."

COMMUNICATED TO THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES

BY

PROFESSOR JOHN FERGUSON, M.A., LL.D.



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BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

ON THE

ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF POLYDORE VERGIL'S WORK, "DE INVENTORIBUS RERUM."

1. CONSIDERING how characteristic of this century are the development of invention and the application of discoveries in pure science to every-day uses, the history of invention, and the comparison of recent advances with those in the past, ought to be interesting and instructive. For the materials for such a narrative and such a comparison the historian has to depend on what remains of the practical works of former times, on allusions to their uses by contemporary writers, on early descriptions of the arts, on collections of technical receipts, and especially on the labours of previous historians, who—perhaps under great disadvantages—have already laboriously brought together some of the needed material and have begun the record. Among the most distinguished pioneers of such historical inquiry stands Polydore Vergil.

2. Although no longer authoritative, Vergil's work, *De Inventoribus Rerum*, is still full of interest. It appeals to the historian of inventions and of customs by being the first on the subject; to the archaeologist, by its contents and their free treatment; to the bibliographer, by its own history, by the number of its editions, and by the variations some of them display; and to the book-lover, by the rarity and value of copies, especially of the English and early Latin editions, though, indeed, it would be more correct to say of all the editions and translations. They are all scarce, some of them extremely so.

3. To this work my attention was attracted some time ago, partly for the reasons just stated, but partly also by my having seen a number of the editions, which led me to examine the bibliography of it more carefully than I might otherwise have done, and partly by the inadequate descriptions of the English editions given by Ames and others, which, at the time, I attempted to amend. Since then

I have had the opportunity of examining all the English editions (as I believe), and the present paper aims at giving a detailed account of them, so as to complete what I have already said on the subject.^a

4. It may be premised that Polidoro Vergilio, or Polydore Vergil, was an Italian, born at Urbino about 1470, and was educated at Bologna. He seems to have had a strong bent towards literary and historical research, and he studied subjects which at his time were comparatively neglected. His first literary performance was a commendatory epistle prefixed to an edition of the *Cornucopie* of Nicolaus Perottus, which appeared in folio in 1496, as well as to that which followed in 1498.^b

5. His first separate work was a collection of proverbs, the first of its kind. It was printed at Venice in 1498 by Christopher de Pensis, in a small quarto volume of seventy leaves. A second edition by De Pensis appeared in 1500, and several others followed.^c

In 1499 De Pensis at Venice printed his second work, *De Inventoribus Rerum*, of which some account is given below.

^a See "Bibliographical Notes on Histories of Inventions and Books of Secrets," Parts II. and III. in *Transactions of the Archaeological Society of Glasgow*, vol. ii. 1883, pp. 232-242; and, New Series, vol. i. 1886, pp. 195-199. The present paper has grown out of these and is supplemental to them.

^b The *Cornucopie*, a commentary on the *De Spectaculis* and first book of the Epigrams of Martial, was published in 1489 by the nephew of Perottus, though Vergil gets the credit of having collated it with a MS. and corrected it (Ellis's Preface, p. xix.) Of this work there were several editions. That of 1496 was printed at Venice by Joannes de Tridino, who afterwards printed editions both of the *Proverbs* and of the *History of Inventions* of Vergil himself. In the British Museum are copies of the 1496 and 1498 editions. That of 1496 is the finer book. The other omits certain addresses and verses, and is a quite inferior reprint by Ulrich Scinzenzeler at Milan.

Perottus fills a place in the history of classical and Italian learning; for details reference may be made to Niceron, *Mémoires*, Paris, 1729, ix. p. 374; Heeren, *Geschichte des Studiums der classischen Litteratur*, Göttingen, 1801, ii. pp. 272-74; Tiraboschi, *Storia della Letteratura Italiana*, Firenze, 1809, vi. p. 1099; Graesse, *Literär-geschichte*, Dresden, 1843, II. iii. pp. 695-97; Voigt, *Die Wiederbelebung des classischen Alterthums*, Berlin, 1881, ii. 134. Portraits of Perottus are given by Paulus Jovius, *Elogia Virorum literis illustrium*, Basil., 1577, p. 22; and by Freher, *Theatrum Virorum Eruditione Clarorum*, Norib., 1688, plate 2, and p. 21.

^c A copy of the first edition is in my own possession, and I have seen besides the editions of Venice, 1500; Argent. 1511; Basil. 1521, 1525, 1550. In the British Museum Catalogue there are twelve editions; in the collection at Keir there are five, *Catalogue*, 1860, p. 100. The 1511 copy is in Sir William Hamilton's collection in the University Library, Glasgow. It is not in the British Museum or at Keir, and I do not remember noticing it in other lists.

6. In 1501 Vergil came to England as sub-collector of Peter's Pence. Having ingratiated himself with those in authority, he was advanced to various offices in the Church, was eventually naturalized, and so identified himself with the country of his adoption that he speaks of it as "*nostra Anglia.*" He spent most of his life in England.

7. About 1505^a he was requested by king Henry VII. to write a history of England. He entered upon this undertaking with the intention of making it thorough. He took abundance of time, consulted every available source of information, and worked up his materials deliberately. He was engaged for eight-and-twenty years upon it; the dedication to king Henry VIII. is dated London, August 1533, and the book was printed at Basel, by Bebelius, and published in 1534. It forms a handsome folio.

It was re-published frequently in the sixteenth century. There is an old translation into English, of which portions were edited by Sir Henry Ellis for the Camden Society, and published in 1844, 1846, with biographical prefaces. As there seems to be no copy of the first edition in the British Museum, the following description from the copy in the library of the University of Glasgow may be of use:—

Title: Polydori Vergilii Vrbinatis Anglicae Historiae Libri xxvi. Symon Grynaevs Lectori. [*8 Latin hexameters.*] [*Printer's device of a palm-tree, with the words: Palma Beb.*] *Indices rerum singularum copiosos & usui egregio futuros, adiecimus.* Cum gratia & privilegio Cæsareo. Basileae, apvd Io. Bebelivm Anno M.D.XXXIII.

Folio, in sixes. Title, 1 leaf. a 2, dedication to Henry VIII. The text begins on a 3, not paged, and ends E e 6, p. 610. Index, F f to I i 6 recto, 24 leaves in all. On the reverse of the last leaf the palm-tree is repeated. The first page of the dedication, and the first page of the text, are enclosed in curious grotesque woodcut borders.

8. During this long period, however, he was not occupied with the history alone. His life was busy both with ecclesiastical and political affairs, and he was not left in ignorance of the changes of fortune which most men—not least those in prominent places—experience. It says much for his energy and perseverance that throughout all vicissitudes he still retained enthusiasm for historical investigation. While working at his history of England he wrote some smaller tracts,

^a Writing in December 1517, he refers to twelve years having elapsed since he had begun the history.

and in particular compiled five additional books on inventions nominally, but mainly on church history and antiquities, which, with the original three, were printed in 1521, by Froben.^a He possibly revised the whole again for Bebelius, whose edition came out in 1532, two years prior to the history of England (§ 25). Vergil, I take it, had a strong partiality for his history of inventions.

9. In 1524, during his autumn vacation in the country,^b he composed a short commentary on the Lord's Prayer, with the intention of bringing its meaning and value home to those who ran over it as a form, or as quickly as possible got through it as a hackneyed string of words. The remarks with which he prefaces this small work entitle him to be ranked as a reverent, sensible, and liberal-minded man. The epistle to bishop Fisher of Rochester, prefixed to the commentary, is dated: Nonis Nouembris, Londini, M.D.XXIII.; and the commentary, so far as I know, appeared for the first time in the edition of the *Proverbs* and *Inventions*, printed by Froben, in 1525, pp. 248-255. It was often printed afterwards with the *Inventions*; it is contained, for example, in the editions of Basel, 1532, 1544, 1546, 1563, and 1570 in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries; in Stoer's edition, 1604; in Zetzner's, Argent. 1606; in Italian, 1543, 1550. Ellis (p. ii. note *) quotes a statement that it was published separately about 1554, but I know of nothing which confirms this.

10. In 1525 he edited the work of Gildas for the first time, from a manuscript in his own possession, collated with one belonging to bishop Cuthbert Tunstall. The copy of this book which I have is a tiny square octavo, of 44 leaves in all. It is printed in italics, and is said to have issued from Pynson's press, but the volume itself has no printer's name, date, or place of printing. The epistle to Tunstall concludes: ad VIII. Iduum April. M.D.XXV. Londini. There are copies of this rare little volume in the British Museum and Bodleian.

11. In order of time, his next work was the dialogue *De Prodigis*, in which he discusses all kinds of wonderful events, portents, monsters, and what not. The preface was addressed to Franciscus Maria, duke of Urbino, and is dated: Londini, XIII. Calendarum Augusti, M.D.XXVI. The earliest copy which I have seen is in the British Museum. It is dated 1531, and is well printed by Bebelius, at Basel. This was probably the first edition of the work. Another followed in 1533.

^a Bale, in his list of Vergil's writings (*Illustrium Maioris Britanniae Scriptorum . . . Summarium*, Gippeswici, 1548, f. 223), enters this as a separate treatise with the title: *De ritibus christianorum*, li. v.

^b This date and item of biography have been overlooked by Sir Henry Ellis.

Afterwards it was reprinted along with the *De Inventoribus Rerum*, as in the editions of Basel, 1544; Leyden, 1644; Amsterdam, 1671. It was translated into Italian by Baldelli, and printed along with Vergil's other dialogues at Venice, in 1550 (§ 13). It was printed along with the works of Julius Obsequens and of Camerarius, in Latin, by Oporinus, Basel, 1552, with curious coarse woodcuts to Obsequens' tract. The same collection came out in 16mo, elegantly printed in italics by De Tournes, at Lyons, in 1553. In 1554 an illustrated Italian translation of the collection by Damiano Maraffi was printed by De Tournes, of which there seem to have been two issues—one on common, the other on fine paper. In respect of the impressions of the woodcuts, the printing, and general finish, the fine paper issue is a masterpiece. This translation forms a small 8vo volume of 340 numbered pages, 18 pages of indices, not numbered, and a blank leaf. A French translation by George de la Bouthiere was printed uniformly by De Tournes in the following year, 1555. The ornamental border round the title-page and the woodcuts are the same as in the parallel Italian edition, but the French is printed in roman characters, whereas the Italian is printed in italics. The French edition is a small 8vo, containing 16 pages not numbered, 292 pages numbered, 11 pages of indices, not numbered, and a page with a device. In 1589, at Lyons, the same printer brought out another edition in Latin, in square 16mo. It contains the illustrations to Obsequens' tract which had already appeared in the Italian and French versions, and in addition some half-dozen to Vergil's dialogue, but the blocks are worn and the impressions poor, the printing is blurred, and the book, as a whole, is inferior to the earlier editions. De Tournes seems to have done his best to make these tracts as accessible to learned and unlearned alike as it was in his power to do. Every one of the editions, however, has now become extremely scarce.

There is a curious discrepancy in some of these editions which may be noted in passing. In the different Latin editions which I have examined, Basel, 1531, 1533; 1544; Leyden, 1644; Amsterdam, 1671; the date of Vergil's epistle is as given above. In the French it stands: De Londres, ce treizieme d'Aoust, M.D.XXVI.; in Baldelli's translation: Di Londra A xx. d'Agosto, M.D.XXVI; and in Maraffi's translation: Di Londino, à di xviii. d'Agosto, M.D.XXVI. There is no apparent reason for these variations.

12. Two years later Vergil edited a fragment of Chrysostom in Greek, with a Latin version. The prefatory epistle is dated: Londini, iij. Non. Aug. Anno M.D.XXVIII. and is addressed to Erasmus. In it Vergil says that he had at last managed to finish this translation which Erasmus had desired him to make, and

that he had returned to the study of Greek, interrupted by his history of England. This tract was published at Basel in 1533, in a small 8vo of sixteen leaves, not numbered. It was afterwards reprinted along with Vergil's *Proverbs*, by Isingrinus, at Basel, in 1550, in 8vo, uniformly with the Basel editions of the *Inventions*. There are copies of both these editions in the British Museum, but Ellis (p. xiv.) mentions only that of 1550, and expresses himself as in doubt about an earlier edition.

In 1534, as has been already stated, the history of England was published.

13. Vergil wrote three dialogues—on patience, on the perfect life, and on truth and falsehood. The epistle of Vergil to Guido Baldo, duke of Urbino, which is prefixed to the first dialogue, is dated London, 1543. Bayle^a says he had the edition of Basel, by Mich. Isingrinus, 1545, 8vo, and that the three dialogues were followed by that on prodigies. This, which is probably the first edition, I have not seen. The Italian translation of these dialogues, along with that on prodigies, was made by Francesco Baldelli, and was printed at Venice by Gabriel Giolito in 1550.^b It has been mentioned above (§ 11).

14. This seems to have been the last of Vergil's works, for, although he left one or two in manuscript, and his notes on Horace were included in Nicholas Höninger's^c edition of that poet printed at Basel by Sebastian Henricpetri in 1580, nothing more was printed by himself.

Ames^d mentions "The commendation of matrimony. Imprinted at the instance of M. Polidore Virgil, archdeacon of Wells, by William Harrington. *With a preface in Latin by Polidore Virgil. Quarto.*" It was printed by John Rastell, without any date. This book does not appear to be in the British Museum. William Harrington's name occurs in Vergil's prefatory epistle to the second part of the *Proverbs*, in the edition of 1521. It may be observed here that Vergil, besides revising and enlarging his works when a fresh edition was called for, on several

^a *Dictionnaire*, 1720, iv. p. 2832, note D.

^b In 8vo. ff. 171. There is a copy in the British Museum.

^c This book merits a word in passing. Vergil is only one of twenty-five commentators on Horace's works, besides those who have commented separate portions, included by Höninger in his edition—of which he says on the title, with a feeling of relief and an air of triumph: *iam pridem, in studiosæ inventis gratiam et utilitatem post Herculeos labores edita*. The work compiled so benevolently forms a large folio, closely printed, of some 1140 pages, besides a mass of prolegomena and indices. One can only think of the change that has come over studious youth in 300 years, when one compares Höninger's cyclopaedia with a modern school or college selection.

^d *Typographical Antiquities*, London, 1749, p. 148. Herbert (*Typographical Antiquities*, London, 1785, i. p. 342) gives the title at greater length.

occasions wrote new prefatory epistles to them as well, so that his writings are not fully represented unless one has the successive early editions. The epistles allude to events in his own career and they have not yet been fully utilised by his biographers.^a

15. It is said that between the years 1536 and 1547 he spent some time in Italy, but his writing from London in 1543 limits the date of this visit. There is evidence that he was in England in 1551, but soon after, on account of failing health, perhaps, too, because of the change in the times,^b he took advantage of the royal permission to leave, returned to Italy once more, resided at Urbino, and died probably in 1555.

16. One cannot affirm that his works brought or have brought him much enviable renown. His *Proverbs* produced a transient difference with Erasmus.^c His *History of Inventions* proved unpopular with the Church; in it he attacked abuses, spoke contemptuously of monastic orders, which, he said, "rise sodainly like toadstoles in a rain," and criticised and rationalized to an extent that must have been quite alarming. The book was accordingly censured and forbidden, but a version trimmed to suit Church views was printed at Rome in 1576, and all others were condemned.

For his edition of Gildas he was taken to task by Josseline, in his edition of that author published at London in 1568. He says that Vergil either had imperfect manuscripts, or did not reproduce them *cum bona religione et fide*. Stevenson, however, makes no charge against the first edition, and says that, after all his talk, Josseline had not made such notable additions to Vergil's text as his preface would lead us to suppose.^d Vergil, in his preface, says that, when collecting material for his history of England, he saw mention of a certain Gildas, and after

^a Bale, in his list of Vergil's works above-mentioned (§ 8, note ^a), quotes *Epistolas eruditas*, li. i. I know of no separate work of Vergil's with that title. Does Bale refer to his prefatory epistles?

^b "Turbata Anglia in patriam rediit, vbi & senex obiit CIO. DLII. teste Andr. Theueto, in *Virorum Illustrium Historia*," says the notice of Vergil prefixed to Stoer's edition of the *Inventions*, 1604. Ellis (p. xx.) does not allude to Thevet's statement at all, and says that some authorities place Vergil's death in 1562, but he shows that 1555 is more probably correct.

^c Vergil discusses the question of precedence with some degree of warmth in the first epistle to Richard Pace, prefixed to the 1521 edition of the *Proverbs*. Ellis has omitted this; apparently he did not know the 1521 edition.

^d *Gildas de Excidio Britanniae. Ad Fidem Codicum Manuscriptorum recensuit Josephus Stevenson*. London, for the English Historical Society, 1838, 8vo. pp. xx. xxi. Gildas has been often printed. There is an old English version by Habington, London, 1638, and a modern one by Dr. J. A. Giles, London, 1841, 8vo.

much trouble got a MS. of his epistle, but found far less in it than he had anticipated. Subsequent critics have more than confirmed the first editor's views about Gildas and his epistle. In his minute examination of the whole subject, Wright^a comes to the decisive result, "that there is no independent authority now existing which will enable us to test the historical truth of this tract, and that we have no information relating to its writer, which merits the slightest degree of credit." It may be remarked also that Wright takes no notice of Josseline's complaint against Vergil's edition.

The history of England raised a storm of indignation. His historical criticism and scepticism proved too strong, especially for the Celtic portion of his readers; his views were discredited as those of a foreigner, and virulent and persistent accusations^b were made against him of having falsified facts, and of having carried off or destroyed quantities of historical documents, after the completion of his work.

Against these attacks Sir Henry Ellis has taken great pains to defend him; and he has shown that Vergil, while by no means perfect, did his best to be accurate and impartial, and was far in advance of his time in the treatment of historical data. To Ellis's prefaces reference must be made for the known events of Vergil's life and the adverse opinions that have been passed upon him.^c The preceding will suffice as a chronology of his writings.

17. Before going into the details of the English version of the *De Inventoribus Rerum*, the chief points in the general history and bibliography of that interesting treatise may be recapitulated.^d According to Beckmann's list, supplemented by certain editions not known to him,^e there are about eighty different editions. Of

^a *Biographia Britannica Literaria*, London, 1842, i. p. 128.

^b They have been reiterated even by Graesse, *Trésor de Livres Rares*, Dresden, 1867, vi. ii. p. 284. This is how he puts it: "Cette histoire a été écrite à la faveur de la reine Marie et du parti catholique: on dit que l'auteur a été un grand faussaire qui, pour cacher ses nombreuses altérations des faits, a détruit un grand nombre de mss. historiques." It is sufficient to repeat as a reply to this, that the history was begun in 1505, and that Mary was not born till 1516; that the work was finished in 1533, and that "la reine Marie" began her reign in 1553, by which time Vergil was probably in Italy. The rest of Graesse's statement is presumably equally correct. Finally Graesse's article on Vergil's works is an instance of the higgledy-piggledy in arrangement.

^c For one or two additional particulars, see Dennistoun's *Memoirs of the Dukes of Urbino*, London, 1851, ii. p. 110.

^d For another account, see the papers mentioned above, § 3, note ^a.

^e *Beyträge zur Geschichte der Erfindungen*, Leipzig, 1792, iii. pp. 571-8. *Trans. Archaeol. Soc. Glasgow*, ii. p. 233. From this latter list there has been omitted an edition, Basil., 1521, 8vo. mentioned by Beckmann, but I know nothing about it.

these, some thirty consist of translations into Italian, Spanish, French, German, and English. The remainder are in Latin, and it is remarkable that, although the author was in everything, except birth and parentage, an Englishman, and although the book must have been in circulation here, not one of the Latin editions, so far as I know, was printed in England. It is also remarkable that the English abridgment was not printed till 1546; that is, till within four or five years of Vergil's final departure for Italy.

18. According to the author's own account, he compiled the first three books in about nine months. It is impossible, however, that he can have done all the reading for them in that time. It is more likely that, while perusing ancient and medieval writers, he noted down particulars about arts, and inventions, and antiquities, under different heads, so that when the time came to use them he had them only to arrange. The first version, however, did not satisfy him, for alterations were introduced in later editions. Thus, comparing the editions of Venice 1499, Paris 1528—29, Basel 1544, Elzevir's 1671, which I have had before me, I find that the 1528 copy contains additions to the first; that that of 1544 contains, besides, passages not in that of 1528; while the 1671 copy does not differ from that of 1544. If it were required to determine precisely when the alterations were made, it could be best done by a comparison of the above editions with those of 1521, 1525, and 1532; but, so far as I know, the text underwent no modification after 1544, at latest. By this time, perhaps earlier (in 1532? §§ 8, 25), Vergil was content to let the book be; and hence, subsequent editions, except the expurgated one of 1576 and its fraudulent re-issue in 1585,^a its reprints, and some of the translations, are repetitions of this last form of the work.

19. The first edition, containing the first three books only, was printed in 1499, at Venice, by Christopher de Pensis, in a small quarto volume of eighty-eight leaves. It is by no means a common book. The copy I have was formerly in the Sunderland library. One or two authorities have given 1498 as the date of the first edition. As I have elsewhere given my reasons for considering that this is an error, it is unnecessary to enter again upon the subject.^b The extremely rare edition, printed by Senant at Paris, without date, contains three books. So also do the second Venice edition of 1503, the first German edition of 1509,^c and that now to be described.

^a *Trans. Archaeol. Soc. Glasgow* (N. S.), i. p. 195.

^b *Ibid.* i. p. 196.

^c *Ibid.* 1883, ii. p. 237, and (N. S.), i. p. 198. Of Senant's edition the only copy I know of and have seen is in the Bodleian.

20. These early editions are rare, but are well known. The following, however, is not merely rare, but is quite unknown; and I avail myself of this opportunity of giving what, I believe, is the first description of it.

Polydori vergilii vrbinatis de

inuentoribus rerum Libri tres operosissima nuper cura
emendati & feueriore Lima q̄ accuratissime expoliti cū
castigatione multarū imperfectionū tam græce q̄ latine.

This is followed by the publisher's device: a rose-bush, on which hangs a shield, supported by two griffins, with a dog at the foot of the bush. Round three sides of the device, in black letter capitals, are the words: Alaventvre . tovt . vient . apoint . qvi . pevt . atendre. ; and at the foot: Denis . Roce.

Below the device is the following:

Venales habentur sub insigni diui Martini viae Ia-
cobæ in ædibus Dionysii Roce.

On the reverse of the title is Vergil's letter to Odaxius, which ends on a ii. verso. The text begins on a iii. and ends on h ii. recto. The table of contents begins on h. ii. v. and ends on h iiiii. r. followed by some verses. On h iiiii. v. is the colophon:

¶ Impressum Parrhisiis per vigilantissimum calcographum Guil-
lelmum le Rouge adiuncta recognitione fideli mutilarum sen-
tentiarum quæ per incuriam in aliis codicibus obreperant. Im-
pensis vero honesti Bibliopolæ Dionysii Roce. Anno salutis . M.
D. xiiii. Octauo Calen. Decembres.

Alpha. A. a. & Omega. ω. principium & finis.

This is followed by Roce's device, but on a smaller scale than that on the title-page.

The volume is a small quarto, printed in Roman character, except the first line of the title, which is in Gothic. It contains xlvi. numbered leaves, and two leaves of table not numbered; and the signatures run from a to h, alternately in eights and fours.

This description is taken from a copy in my own possession. Roce's edition is not mentioned by Panzer, Beckmann, Brunet, Graesse, or other authority, and there is no copy in the catalogues of the British Museum and Bodleian, or in that of any other library which I have been able to consult. In the meantime this is the only surviving copy of the edition.

21. The date of the first publication of the last five books I have not been able to fix with absolute precision. Beckmann^a says that they were printed along with the other three for the first time in 1517, but he does not mention the place, or the printer, or the size. Watt^b says the book was printed at London, in 1517, but this is very unlikely. After he settled in London, Vergil had all his books first printed at Basel. If the enlarged edition of the history of inventions were printed in London, it would be the only exception to this rule—for the place where *Gildas* was printed is not stated; and, further, it would be the only Latin edition that was printed in London.^c I know of no library where a copy of this edition is to be found, and I have seen no description of the book. I am doubtful if an edition of 1517 exists, and suspect that the authorities above quoted have based their statements on the prefatory epistle from Vergil to his brother, dated London, December 5, 1517.

22. The earliest edition I know of containing the whole eight books was printed at Basel, by Froben, in 1521,^d of which there is a copy in the British Museum. The title runs thus :

Polydo | ri Vergilii Vrbina- | tis Adagiorvm | Liber. |
Eiusdem de inuentoribus rerum li- | bri octo, ex
accurata autoris castiga- | tione, locupletationeq, non
uulgari, | adeo ut maxima ferè pars primæ |
ante hanc utriusq, uolumi | nis æditioni accefferit. |

This is a small folio. The first part, containing the *Proverbs*, has six leaves not numbered; the following sheet is *paged* 1-12, but thereafter the leaves are numbered 13-114, which seems to be a misprint for 106. The title-page and page 1 are surrounded by woodcut borders. The second part, containing the *De Inventoribus Rerum*, has no title-page; it is printed more closely, and has a separate series of signatures and leaf numbers. Signature A to A 2 r. contains Vergil's first epistle to his brother, dated: Londini, nonis decembris, An. M.D.XVII.;

^a *Beyträge*, iii. p. 573.

^b *Bibliotheca Britannica*, ii. 932, o.

^c Gerardus Joannes Vossius (*De Historicis Latinis*, Lugd. Bat. 1651, p. 678) says that the eight books were printed in 1499. Maittaire (*Annales Typographici*, Amstel. 1733, p. 692) corrects this error partially, by saying that the last five books did not appear before 1517, but Panzer (*Annales Typographici*, Norimb., 1795, iii. p. 456) states the fact rather differently when he says that the work which contained only three books in the original edition was enlarged with other five in 1517 by Polydorus.

^d Compare Reusch, *Der Index der Verbotenen Bücher*, Bonn, 1883, i. p. 155. He does not allude to an edition of 1517.

A 2 *v.* to A 5 *v.*, Index Capitvm; A 6, Vergil to Odaxius; Text, ff. 92, a misprint apparently for 94. On the recto of the last leaf is the colophon:

Basileae Ex Aedibvs Ioan. Frobenii, | Mense
Ivlio, Anno M.D.XXI.

On the verso is Froben's device.

23. Four years later these works were reprinted in one volume by Froben. As before, the first part consists of the *Proverbs* and the second of the *Inventions*, but with a separate title-page, which is as follows:

Polydori | Vergilii Vrbinatis De Rervm |
inuentoribus libri octo, per autorem summa |
cura recogniti & locupletati. Dicas supre- |
mam manum impositam. |
Eme lector, non te poenitebit impensæ. |
Basileae Apvd Ioan. Frob. | Anno. M.D.XXV.

The size is again small folio. The title is surrounded by an elaborate woodcut border. A 2 *r.* to A 5 *r.*, Index Capitvm; A 5 *v.* to A 6 *v.*, Vergil to Odaxius, with another woodcut border round A 5 *v.*; text, pp. 1-247. This is followed, p. 248, by the prefatory epistle to the *Commentariolus in Dominicam precem*, dated: Nonis Nouembris, Londini, M.D.XXIII., and then the Commentary, pp. 249-255. On the page following is Froben's device. This is most probably the first publication of the Commentary (§ 9). In this edition of the *Inventions* the prefatory letter to Vergil's brother contained in that of 1521 is omitted, and another shorter letter of the same date is inserted before the fourth book. This second letter is not contained in the 1521 edition.

24. Stephanus, at Paris, brought out two editions,^a the first, dated 1528, contains three books only, but apparently he changed the design almost immediately, for he added the other five books, altered the title-page so as to include the new matter, left the original date on the title, but at the end printed: M.D.XXIX, VI Idvs Janvar. Both editions are extremely rare, and are wanting in the British Museum and Bodleian. The first I have not seen; the second I have described from the copy formerly in the Sunderland library.^b

^a Compare Renouard, *Annales . . . des Estienne*, Paris, 1843, p. 29, No. 21; and p. 32, No. 24.

^b *Trans. Archaeol. Soc. Glasgow*, 1883, ii. p. 238.

25. Of the copies subsequent to the preceding, so far as I have examined them, that of 1532 deserves mention.

Polydori | Vergilii Vrbinatis De Re- | rum
inuentoribus libri octo, per au | torem, tertio iam,
ac diligentius re- | cogniti, & locupletati. Qua re
ille | contentus tum demum su- | premam
manum | impofuit. |

Eiusdem in dominicam precem |
commentariolum. |

Basileae, Ex Officina Io. |

Bebelii, Mense Martio, |

Anno M.D.XXXII.

This is an 8vo, printed in italics. It has 20 pp., not numbered, containing title, contents, and epistle to Odaxius, and 528 pp. numbered, containing the text. The commentary, with its preface, occupies pp. 529-543, at the end of which is the colophon, and on the following page, Bebelius' palm-tree. This edition does not contain the 1521 prefatory letter, but only that to the fourth book, 1525.

The statement that this is the third revised edition requires explanation. If this be actually a fresh revision by Vergil, then it can be called the third relatively to the previous Basel editions of 1521 and 1525, both of which were revised by the author; for, of course, if the first edition were included this would necessarily be the fourth, and if all its predecessors, this would be the fifteenth or sixteenth. How far this one was altered could be ascertained only by a minuter comparison with the Basel editions than I have been able to make. If, however, there is no difference between this and the edition of 1525, as I judge from what I have seen to be the case, as well as from the similarity of the title-pages, this can claim to be the third edition only in the sense of its being a reprint of the edition of 1525, which may be called the author's third.

The 1532 edition is further of interest as being the pattern of subsequent Basel 8vo editions, two or three of which have been described by me in the papers already referred to.

The expurgated edition of Rome 1576, the sham new edition of 1585, and the Cologne reprint of 1626, are all remarkable for their ugliness as mere books, whereas the editions of Leyden 1644, Nimwegen 1671, and Amsterdam 1671, are distinguished by their typographical neatness.

The error of the Museum Catalogue, in giving an Amsterdam edition of 1651,

and of Sir Henry Ellis (preface, p. iii. note *) in giving Amsterdam editions of 1651 and 1662, I have already discussed and accounted for.^a

26. There is, however, one most important difference between the 1521 and 1528—29 editions, and those of later years, which has been just alluded to. Prefixed to these two is Vergil's letter to his brother, from London, in 1517, which has told us so much about himself and his coming to England. In every later edition which has come before me this letter is wanting, and I have failed to confirm Beckmann's statement that in some of them this letter is inserted before the fourth book.^b There is a letter, certainly, from Vergil to his brother of the same date, but it is quite different from the other. But Beckmann, who obviously had not seen either of those editions, is not to blame, for he has been misled by Bayle. In note *I* to his article on Vergil,^c after quoting from Vergil's letter the passage about his work on *Proverbs*, his coming to England, and his asking by Henry VII. to write a history of England, Bayle says: "Ce Passage se trouve à la tête de son Ouvrage de *Inventoribus Rerum* imprimé à Bâle l'an 1521 in folio, et c'est ainsi que l'Auteur parle à son frere. Sa Lettre est datée de Londres le 5 de Décembre 1517. Elle est au commencement du IV Livre du même Ouvrage dans plusieurs autres Editions; mais le Passage que j'ai cité ne s'y trouve point. C'est l'une des raisons qui me devoient engager à le mettre ici." How Bayle could have written this passage—if he had the two letters before him—is quite incomprehensible. When he compared the two letters, as his words imply that he did, did he not see that they have not a line, hardly an idea, in common? Did he not see that while the letter from which he quotes occupies two and a-half pages in the 1521 folio edition, the other letter, which he says is the same, occupies little more than a page in the octavo editions? If, however, he made the statement from recollection, then Bayle must have had a bad memory and should never have trusted it; so that, as it is now impossible to tell what Bayle wrote from this bad memory of his, and what not, it follows that little or no reliance can be placed on Bayle's accuracy—and on Bayle's narratives. It remains, however, as a curious and unexplained fact, not noticed by any one who has dealt with Vergil's life and works, and palpably ignored by Bayle, that he should have written two different letters to his brother from London, under the same date, for the same purpose, namely, as an introduction to his books about the origin of religious ceremonies.

^a *Trans. Archaeol. Soc. Glasgow*, 1883, ii. p. 235.

^b *Beyträge*, iii. p. 573.

^c *Dictionnaire*, 1720, iv. p. 2834.

It is also curious that the longer and more interesting letter should have appeared, so far as I know, only in the 1521 and 1528—29 editions, but the other letter over and over again.*

27. The first of the translations was into French, and the translator was "Guillaume michel Dict de tours." It was printed for Pierre le Brodeur, March 23, 1521, and it forms a small folio of lxiii. [2] leaves, printed in long lines with a peculiar Gothic letter and a few woodcuts. There is a fine copy of this very rare edition in the British Museum. It contains only the first three books. In 1544 it was reprinted at Paris for Jehan Longis and Vincent Sertenas, without the additional five books. It forms a small octavo of [4] cxxxiii. leaves, in Roman character. There is a copy in the Museum. Several other editions appeared, but I have not met with them.

The German translation was executed by Marcus Tattius Alpinus and was first printed in 1537 by Heinrich Steyner, or Stayner, at Augsburg, in folio, with 131 (?) woodcuts. The copy in the Museum is of the second edition, and was printed by Stayner in 1544. It is a translation of the eight books. It is in folio and contains [10] clxxi. leaves and 125 (?) woodcuts in the text, which are very interesting and valuable as pictures of the time. These are the only illustrated editions of Vergil's work with which I am acquainted.

Besides this there was also published a translation of the parts relating to the Mass: *Zwey Capitel Polydori Virgilij vom Namē vnd Stifftern der Mess, ausgegangen zu einē anfang widder des Sydonij predigten . . .* by Matthias Flacius Illyricus. The two chapters are the eleventh and tenth of Vergil's fifth book. The tract contains other things by Luther, Erasmus, &c., and forms a small 4to of twenty-two leaves, printed at Magdeburg by Christian Rödinger in 1550.

28. There are two Italian translations. The earliest which I have seen was printed at Venice by Gabriel Gioli (*sic*) in 1543; it was executed by Pietro Lauro, and the book is an unattractive octavo. This, according to Ellis, was reprinted by Giolito in 1545, of which date there is a copy in the Bodleian. It was printed again by Giolito in 1550, but without Lauro's name.

The second translation was executed by Francesco Baldelli. In his prefatory letter Baldelli tells how the Florentine printers, the Giunti, always energetic in

* The second shorter letter appeared for the first time to my knowledge in the edition of 1525, prefixed to the fourth book (§ 23). Thereafter it occurs in the Basel editions: 1532, 1544, 1546, 1563; Rome, 1576, 1585; Stoer's edition, 1604; Zetzner's, Argent., 1606; Cologne, 1626; Leyden, 1644; Amsterdam, 1671; in the German translation, Augsburg, 1544; in the Italian translations, 1543, 1550, 1587, 1680. In the editions of 1606, 1644, 1671, the date at the end of the letter is erroneously printed 1518 for 1517.

their wish to disseminate good books, contrived to persuade him to undertake a translation of Vergil's work. The translation has this title:—

Di | Polidoro | Virgilio Da Urbino | De Gli Inventori |
 Delle Cose. | Libri Otto. | Tradotti Per M. Francesco |
 Baldelli, | Con due Tauole, vna de' Capitoli, e l'altra |
 delle cose piu notabili. | Nuouamente stampati
 con licenza de' Superiori. | In Fiorenza, | Per
 Filippo, e Iacopo Giunti, e Fratelli. | M.D.LXXXVII. |
 Con priuilegio di Sua Altezza Serenissima & altri Principi. |

It is a quarto, and contains pages [24] 426 [2 *Registro*] 46 [2 *Registro* repeated].

This, I suppose, is the first edition. Baldelli's letter to Sig. Ottavio Imperiali is dated, *Adi x. di Gennaio*, M.D. LXXXVII. *Di Cortona*, and there is no mention of any earlier edition. It is singular that Baldelli, seven-and-thirty years after translating Vergil's dialogues (§ 13), should have undertaken a version of a book which had been in circulation throughout Europe for upwards of eighty years, knowing besides, as he must have done, that Lauro's Italian version had appeared forty years earlier. The explanation, if any be required, may possibly be found in the fact that in 1585 the unsold copies of the expurgated edition of 1576 were foisted as a new edition upon the public, who had their attention thus once more directed to the work. It then became convenient to forget or ignore Lauro's unregenerate version, and Baldelli, repeating the insinuation that Vergil's orthodoxy had been vitiated by heretic interpolations, made a new translation from the expurgated original, and had it sanctioned by the authorities as appears on the title-page.

This edition was republished in 1592, but I have not seen it. So late as 1680 it came out again in a handsome quarto at Brescia. In this edition, however, Baldelli's letter has been omitted, so that the book is shorn of an important part of its own history. There are thus three editions each of the two Italian versions, and so far as I know there were none after 1680. It should be mentioned that both the Italian translations embrace the whole eight books. I have not seen the Spanish translation.

29. Lastly, the English editions, of which there are nine.

1. 1546.

An Abridgement of the
notable woorke of POLIDORE
VERGILE conteignyng the deuifers
and firste finders out afwell of Artes,
Ministeries, Feactes ⁊ ciuill ordinaun-
ces, as of Rites, and Ceremonies,
commōly vfed in the churche :
and the originall begin-
nyng of thesame. Cō-
pendiouflly ga-
thered by
Thomas Langley.

¶ IMPRINTED AT LON-
don vvithin the precinete of the late difsol-
ued houfe of the Grey Friers, by Ri-
chard Grafton Printer to the
Princes grace, the . xvi.
daie of Aprill,
the yere of
our
lorde
M.D.xlvi.
Cum priuilegio ad impri-
mendum folum.

$5\frac{2}{8} \times 3\frac{1}{8}$. 8vo, by signatures.

Collation. Fol. 1 : Title, verso blank. F. 2 a (with signature **A. ii.**) :

To The Right | vvorfhipfull sir Antony Denny |
knight his daily oratour Thomas | Langley vvifheth
profpe- | ritee and long continu- | ance of vvor- | fhippe. |

This preface ends **A. diij. a :**

in our lorde | to whom be onely
ho- | nour for euer. |

On the reverse is a woodcut: Prince of Wales' feathers springing out of a coronet; below is the motto "Ich Dien," on a scroll in front of the quills, and the initials "E P" on either side; the whole surrounded by a glory, or projected

on the sun's disc. The text begins on **a. i.** numbered fol. i., and ends on fol. C.lvi. recto, misnumbered C.liii., with the words :

¶ The ende of the abridge- | ment of the eight and
last booke | of Polidore Vergile. |

The verso is blank.

The Table begins on **b. b.** recto and ends on **x. vii.** recto. On the verso is the colophon :

I M P R I N T E D

at London vvithin the precinete
of the late difsolued houfe of the
grey Friers, by Richard
Grafton Printer to
the princes grace,
the . xvi. daie
of A-
prill.
the yere
of our Lorde
1546.

Cum priuilegio ad impi-
mendum folum.

x. viii. recto contains Grafton's device or rebus, a grafted tree growing up through a barrel or tun, surrounded by a scroll, with the motto: **SVSCIPITE INCITVM VERBVM IACO. I.** The reverse is blank.

This book is printed in black letter, with ornamental roman capitals and marginal headings. The index is in double columns, and occupys 10½ leaves. The contents to the chapters, the index, and the marginal headings are in a rather smaller type than the text. The signatures are in black letter. The headlines, the numbering of the leaves, proper names, Latin words, and verses are in roman type. The last half of the title, the dedication of the preface, and the colophon are in italics. The numbering of the leaves is irregular and inaccurate : Fol. x. for fol. xi., after which the numbering is correct to fol. lxxx. inclusive. Sheet **I**, which follows, runs thus : Fol. lxxv. lxxvi. lxxvii. lxxviii. lxxix. lxxx. lxxxi. lxxxii. Sheet **ii** then resumes the correct number, fol. lxxxix. fol. lxxxx. Then comes a string of misprints : Fo. lxxxi. fo. lxxxi. fol. xcii. fol. lxxxi. ; fol. c.xxiii. for c.xxxiii., fol. c.xxiiii. for c.xxxiiii., c.xxxvii. for cxxxviii., c.xxxix. for c.xl., c.xli. for c.xlii.,

c.xliii. for c.xliiii., c.xliv. for c.xlvi., c.xlx. for c.l., c.lv. for c.liiii., and on the last numbered leaf c.liii. for c.lvi.

The copy now described is in the Grenville Collection, in the British Museum (G. 3259). It belonged formerly to Zacharias Babingtonus of Lichfield, about whom there is a MS. note, and to Ratcliff. It is in good condition, and is bound in red morocco extra. This edition is extremely rare. I have met with no copy but this, though there must be others.

This book was unknown to Ames, but Herbert (*Typographical Antiquities*, London, 1785, i. p. 520) describing it from his own copy, says correctly that it contains 156 leaves, but does not enumerate the leaves in the dedication and table, and also alludes to the faulty numbering after folio lxxx. Dibdin (*Typographical Antiquities*, London, 1816, iii. p. 451, No. *1462) reprints Herbert's notice as it stands, and adds that "Mr. Douce and Mr. Heber each possess a copy of it."

2. 1546.

☞ An Abridgemēt of the
notable worke of POLIDORE
VIRGILE conteignyng the deu-
fers and fyrft fynders out afwell of
Artes, Minifteries, Feactes and
ciuil ordinaunces, as of Ri-
tes, and Ceremonies,
commonly vfed
in the chur-
che: and
the
originall beginnyng of
the fame . Compen-
dioufly gathe-
red by
Thomas Langley.

☞ IMPRINTED AT LONDON

vwithin the precinete of the late diffol-
ued houfe of the grey Friers, by Ri-
charde Grafton Printer to the
Princis grace, the . xxv. daie
of Ianuarie, the yere of

OVR LORDE

M . D . XLVI.

Cum priuilegio ad impri-
mendum folum.

c 2

$5\frac{7}{8} \times 3\frac{1}{8}$. 8vo, by signatures.

Collation. Fol. 1: Title, verso blank. Fol. 2 *a* (with signature **A ii.**):

To the right vvorfhipful and fyn- | gular patrene of all good lernyng |
 sir Antony Denny knight, his day- | ly oratour Thomas Langley |
 vvifheth profperitee and | long continuauance of | vvorfhippe. |

This preface ends **A. biii. a**:

in our lorde | to whom be onely ho- | nour
 for euer. |

On the reverse is the woodcut of the Prince of Wales' feathers, as in No. 1.

The text begins on **a. i.** numbered fol. i. and ends on fol. c.lvi. recto, mis-numbered c.liii.

¶ The ende of the abridge- | ment of the eight and
 last booke | of Polidore Vergile. |

The verso is blank.

The table begins on **b. b.** recto and ends on **x. bii.** recto. On the verso is the colophon:

I M P R I N T E D
 at London vvithin the precinete
 of the late difsolued houfe of the
 grey Friers, by Richard
 Grafton Printer to
 the princes grace,
 the . xvi . daie
 of A-
 prill,
 the yere
 of our Lorde.
 1546.

Cum priuilegio ad impri-
 mendum folum.

x. biii. a contains Grafton's rebus of the tun and tree, with the scroll and motto as in No. 1. The verso is blank.

This book is printed in black letter. All the details of the use of roman and italic type are the same as in No. 1, except that the last part of the title is in

roman type and not in italics, and so are the errors and misprints in the numbering of the leaves. The only exception is the first misprint, fol. x. for fol. xi. The Bodleian copy has the number correct, but the British Museum has the erratum.

I have seen two copies of this edition. That in the Bodleian has furnished the above description; it is a fine clean copy, and has Grafton's device at the end. The other copy is in the British Museum (720 a. 36); it is a shade larger, $5\frac{8}{16} \times 3\frac{1}{8}$; but it wants the last leaf with the device.

3. 1546.

¶ An Abridgemēt of the
notable worke of POLIDORE
VERGILE conteygnyng the deuif-
fers and firft finders out afwell of
Artes, Minifteries, Feactes ⁊
ciuill ordinaunces, as of
Rites, ⁊ Ceremonies,
commonly vfed
in the chur-
che: and
the
originall beginnyng of
thefame. Compē-
dioufely ga-
thered by
Thomas Langley.

¶ IMPRINTED AT LONDON
vvithin the precincte of the late diffol-
ued houfe of the grey Friers, by Ri-
charde Grafton Printer to the
Princis grace, the . xxv. daie
of Ianuarie, the yere of
OVR LORDE,
M.D.XLVI.
Cum priuilegio ad impri-
mendum folum.

$5\frac{1}{8} \times 3\frac{1}{8}$, 8vo, by signatures.

Collation: Fol. 1: Title, verso blank. F. 2 a (with signature **A. ii.**):

To the right vvorfhipfull and fyn- | gular patrone of all good learyng |
fir Antony Denny knight, his dai- | ly oratour Thomas Langley |
vvifsheth (*sic*) prosperitee and | long continuance of | vvorfhippe. |

The preface ends on **A. biii. a** :

in | our lorde to whom | be only honour | for euer. |

On the verso is the woodcut of the Prince of Wales' feathers, as in Nos. 1 and 2.
The text begins on **a. i.** numbered fol. 1, and ends on fol. c.lvi *a*, which is numbered correctly :

Here endeth the abridgement of | the eight and lafte booke of | Polidore Vergile. |

On the verso is Grafton's device of the tree and tun, with the motto.
The table begins on **b. b.** recto and ends on **x. vi.** verso.
The colophon is on **x. bii.** recto.

IMPRINTED

at London vvithin the precinete of
the late difsolued houfe of the
grey Friers, by Richard
Grafton Printer
to the Princes
grace,
the
xxv. daie of Ianuarie,
the yere of our
Lorde.
1546.

Cum priuilegio ad impri-
mendum folum.

The verso is blank. Leaf **x. biii.** is wanting. Is it blank, or does it contain Grafton's device repeated?

This book is printed in black letter, with ornamental and pictorial roman capitals and marginal headings. The index, in double columns, occupies 10 leaves. In the use of different kinds of type, black letter, roman and italic, this edition corresponds with the two preceding editions; excepting only the last half of the title, which is printed in roman type and not in italics, as in No. 1.

The errors and misprints in the numbering of the leaves are quite different. The numbers are correct to fol. **xlvi.** Sheet **g** is then numbered thus: **xlix. l.xi. li. lxiii. liii. xl.v. lv. lxvii.**; the numbers then run correctly from **lvii.** to **lxxx.** Sheet **l** is misnumbered as in Nos. 1 and 2. The correct numbering—beginning with **lxxxix.**—is resumed on **m** and continued to the end, fol. c.lvi., which is

correct. There are, however, the following misprints: c.vi. for c.xvi.: c.xxiii. for c.xxxiii., and c.xxiii. for c.xxxiii.

The above description is from a very fair copy in the Euing collection, in the University library, Glasgow. The copy in the British Museum (9005. aa.) is imperfect, wanting **A. viii.** (the last leaf of the preface) and **x. b.** to end (the end of the index and the colophon).

Though Herbert (*Ibid.* 521) had an imperfect copy of an edition by Grafton, of January 25, 1546, and Dibdin states that Heber had a copy, no one seems to have observed that there were two separate issues of the book bearing that date. Comparison, however, of the preceding editions brings out distinctly that while all three are different, Nos. 1 and 2 are closely related, but No. 3 is quite independent.

In Nos. 1 and 2 the title, preface, and certain details of spelling and typographical arrangement are not the same, but these differences are confined solely to the first two sheets. All the sheets after those—even to the errata—are identical in the two editions.

No. 3 is quite distinct all through in details of spelling and arrangement. Some of the errata in the previous editions are amended; for example, the last leaf is numbered correctly, and an ornamental capital N at the beginning of chapter 6, Book VII. f. cxliii. recto, which is inverted in Nos. 1 and 2, is properly placed in No. 3. But there are new errata also.

This edition, therefore, I infer, was set up *de novo*; even the first two sheets, although the date on the title-pages is the same, are different from those of No. 2.

We arrive consequently at this curious result: the first edition was printed in April 1546; on the 25th of January following the first two sheets of the book were for some reason reprinted, and bound along with the remaining copies of the preceding April, and hence this issue has January 25, 1546, on the title page, but April, 1546, in the colophon. On the same day, January 25, 1546, an edition entirely new from beginning to end was printed, differing not only from the previous April edition, but even from the first two sheets of the April—January edition. One should have expected that when Grafton was bringing out a new edition, and at the very same time required two sheets to complete the surplus copies of the previous April edition, he would have printed enough of them to have served both purposes, instead of being at the expense and trouble of setting up the first two sheets twice over, apparently at the same time. Perhaps, how-

ever, the coincidence is after all merely in the printed date but not in the date of actual execution. In the meantime no explanation is forthcoming.

4. 1551.

An abridge-
ment of the notable worke
of POLIDORE VERGI-
LE conteinyng the deuifers and
firft finders out afwell of Artes,
Minifteries, Feactes and ciuil
ordinaunces, as of Rites,
and Ceremonies, com-
mōly vfed in the chur-
che: and the original
beginnyng of the-
fame. Compen-
dioufly ga-
thered
by
Thomas Langley.
1551.
Menfe Iulij.

$5\frac{1}{8} \times 3\frac{1}{8}$. 8vo, by signatures.

Collation: Fol. 1: Title. F. 2a (with signature **A. ij.**):

To The Richt (*sic*) | vvorſhipfull fir Antony Denny |
knight, his daily oratour Thomas | Langley
vvifheth proſpe- | ritie and long continu- | ance
of vvor- | ſhippe. |

This preface ends on **A. viij. a**:

in | oure lorde | to whom be onely ho- | nour for euer. |

On the reverse is Grafton's device of the seven liberal arts.

The text begins on **a. j.** numbered fol. 1, and ends on fol. cli. verso (mis-numbered c.xxxv.) with the words:

¶ Thende of the abridgement of the | viij. and laſt
boke of *Polidore Vergile*.

The table begins on the next leaf, **t. bitj.** recto and ends on **b. b.** verso. On **b. vi.** recto, is the colophon :

Imprinted
at London, by Ri-
chard Grafton, Prin-
ter to the Kynges
Maiestie.
Anno . 1551.
Cum priuilegio ad im-
primendum solum.

On the reverse is Grafton's device repeated.

The book is printed in black letter, with ornamental roman capitals, and marginal headings. The index is in double columns and occupies six leaves. The titles to the chapters, the index, and the marginal headings are in much smaller type than the text. The signatures are in black letter. The headlines, the numbering of the leaves, Latin words, and verses are in roman type. The dedication of the preface is in italics, and so are some words in the colophon.

The numbering of the leaves is very irregular :—

xi for xiiij, xiii for xv, xxv for xxxiiij, xxvij for xxxv, xxix for xxxvij, xxxi for xxxix, lxxxiiij for lxxxviiij, c.iiiij for c.xij, cxxxv for cli.

The preceding account is from a copy in my own possession. In the British Museum there are three copies, of which two are imperfect.

Herbert (*Typ. Ant.* i. p. 533) describes this edition briefly. He says, however, that it contains 155 leaves, which is an error superimposed on another. The last leaf is misnumbered cxxxv. for cli. Herbert seeing from the number cl. on the preceding leaf that cxxxv. was certainly not right, concluded that it was a simple misprint for clv. Had he counted the leaves he would have detected the less patent error. Dibdin (iii. p. 474) just copies this, errors and all, and he adds: "A copy in Herbert's collection; who observes, in ms., that the translator was Tho. Langley." If Herbert did so, it was quite needless, for the book has Langley's name on the title-page.

1562. Beckmann (*Beyträge zur Geschichte der Erfindungen*, Leipzig, 1792, iii. p. 576; see also *Trans. Archaeol. Soc. Glasgow*, 1883, ii. p. 234) quotes, on Ames's authority, an edition of this date. The error into which Beckmann has fallen in so doing is explained under the next copy, No. 5.

5. [1570.]

An abridge-
mente of the Notable
worke of Polidore
Virgile.

Conteining the deuifers and fyrfte
fyneders oute afwell of Antyqui-
ties, Artes, Miniſteries, Feactes
and ciuill ordinaunces, as of the
Rites, and Ceremonies, com-
monlye vſed in the chur-
che: and the original
beginning of the
fame.

Compendiouflye gathered
and newlye peruſed
by Thomas Langley.

$5\frac{3}{8} \times 3\frac{2}{8}$. 8vo.

Collation. Fol. 1: Title, which is enclosed in a border of four pieces; verso blank. F. 2 *a* (with signature **A. ii.**):

To the ryght | worfhypfull fir Antonye |
Denny knight, his daily oratour | Thomas Langley,
wiſheth proſperi- | ty and long continuance | of worſhip. |

This preface ends on **A. viii. a**:

our Lord. | To whome be only ho- | nour for euer. | Amen. | (.:) |

Followed by the bottom piece of the title-page border. The verso is blank. The text begins on **a. i.** numbered **fo. i.** and ends fol. **c. lii.**, with the words:

☉ Thende of the abridgement of the | viii. and
laſt boke of *Polidore Vergile.* |

The verso is blank. The table begins on **b. i. recto**, and ends **x. li. recto**. On the verso is the colophon:

Imprynted at
London by Jhon Tifdale
dwellyng in Knight
riders ſtreate, neare to
the Quenes
Wardrop.

followed by the bottom piece of the title-page.

On *x. bii.* is Tisdale's device: Abraham in the act of slaying Isaac, with the altar, the ram, and an angel in the air catching the sacrificial knife. The verso is blank. *x. biii.*, probably blank, is wanting.

The book is printed in black letter. The table or index is in double columns and occupies $13\frac{1}{2}$ leaves, and is printed with the same type as the text. The headlines and marginal headings are printed with type of the same size as the text, but from a different and more angular fount. The headings to the chapters, verses, and Latin words are in italics. The numbering of the leaves and the signatures are in black letter.

There are a few misprints in the numbering of the leaves: *lxv.* for *lxiii.*, *lxxxiii.* for *lxxxviii.*, *c.xxix.* for *c.xxxviii.*, *c.xxxv.* for *c.li.*

There is no date, but from the imprint and device it is supposed to have been printed during or about the year 1570.

The bottom piece of the title-page represents a hound with a collar looking backwards to the left.

The preceding description is taken from a copy in my own possession.

There is a copy of this edition in the British Museum, measuring $5\frac{1}{8} \times 3\frac{7}{8}$. There is also one in the Bodleian, $5\frac{1}{8} \times 3\frac{1}{8}$, a beautiful large clean copy, the best of the three. Both of these want *x. biii.*

There are variations between this and the earlier editions. Some of the marginal headings are omitted and others are transposed; there are, of course, variations in spelling, and there is the curious misprint (fol. *viii a*) *Stoickes* for *Scots*. In Tisdale's edition, at the close of chap. iv. book ii. there is a clause which does not occur in the 1546 or 1551 edition.

This edition is mentioned by Ames (*Typ. Ant.* p. 275), described by Herbert (*Typ. Ant.* ii. p. 769) from his own copy, and Herbert is copied by Dibdin (*Typ. Ant.* iv. p. 350).

Beckmann quotes Ames, but makes two mistakes. First, he gives the date as 1562. Beckmann did not observe that Ames always puts the date of each book in the margin, and places books without date at the end, by themselves. This edition happens immediately to follow a book dated 1562, and Beckmann thought this must be the date of Vergil as well. There is no dated edition of 1562. Secondly, he calls Ames' book: *Old English Printers*. This is a misquotation of the engraved frontispiece, which is entitled, *A Collection of Old English Printers Marks; Rebusses; Devices; &c. by Ioseph Ames.*

6. 1659.

An
Abridgement
Of The
Works
Of the moſt Learned
Polidore Virgil.
Being An
History
Of
The Inventors, and Ori-
ginal beginning of all Antiquities, Arts,
Mysteries, Sciences, Ordinances, Orders, Rites and
Ceremonies, both Civil and Religious. Also, of all
Sects and Schifms.
A work very useful for Divines, Historians, and all
manner of Artificers.
Compendiouſly gathered, by
T. LANGLEY.

LONDON, Printed by *John Streater.* 1659.

$5\frac{2}{16} \times 3\frac{1}{16}$. 8vo.

Collation. Fol. 1 : Title. Fol. 2 a (with signature A 2) :

To The | Courteous Reader. | *Lactantius writeth that certain*
Phi- | which ends A 4 verso: | *heart toward all favourers of good*
learning. | *FINIS.* |

This is the preface to Sir Antony Denny, curtailed by the omission of the passage beginning "Although this booke be bot simple" down to "in so much as it conteigneth;" and of all after "good learning." Text: pp. 311 (ending on leaf X 4 recto). X 4 verso :

A *Table*, containing moſt of | the ſpeciall Matters or | Sentences in this | Book. |

ends Y 8 verso, thus occupying pp. 25.

The book is printed in roman character. The index or table is in double columns, in italics and roman. The preface, contents of the chapters, the marginal headings, proper names, Latin words and verses, are all in italics. The head-line is in italics, and consists of the words, *Polidore Virgil*, with *Lib. 1 9* in the inner top corner of each page.

From the preceding, this edition differs only in the curtailed preface, in the spelling being modernised, and in a few verbal alterations. But to it is added a ninth book, which is not by Polydore Vergil. In it also is repeated an erratum which occurs in the 1551 edition, namely, in book 2, where chapter xiii. is misprinted xii. This same erratum occurs, of course, in the 1663 edition, but is corrected in that of the Agathynian Club.

7. 1663.

The
Works
Of The
Famous Antiquary,
Polidore Virgil.
Compendiously
Englilh't by *John Langley*, late Master of *Paul's*
School, *London*.
Containing
The *Original* of all *Arts*,
Sciences, *Mysteries*, *Orders*, *Rites*,
and *Ceremonies*, both *Ecclesiastical*
and *civil*.
A Work Useful
For all *Divines*, *Histori-*
ans, *Lawyers*, and all *Artificers*.
LONDON,
Printed for *Simon Miller*, at the *Star* in *St. Paul's*
Church-Yard, 1663.

5 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 3 $\frac{1}{8}$. 8vo.

Collation. Fol. 1: Title, verso blank. Fol. 2, without signature, recto blank; verso contains the following note about the author:

"*Polidore Virgil*, by Birth an *Italian*, the greatest Antiquary in his Time: He was Arch-Deacon of *Wells*, in the Reign of King *Henry* the Eighth."

The text begins on B 1, p. 1, and ends p. 311. The table occupies pp. 25, from X 4 verso to Y 8 verso, and is followed by six leaves of book advertisements.

This is not a new edition or a reprint, but is merely the remainder of the 1659 edition, with a new title-page, and the note about Vergil, minus the address to the reader.

The noticeable thing in this edition is the ascription of the translation to

John Langley, master of Paul's school, which statement is repeated by Anthony à Wood (*Athenae Oxonienses*, ed. Bliss, London, 1817, iii. col. 435). John Langley, according to Wood, became a commoner or batler of Magdalen hall about 1612; was master of the College School in Gloucester for twenty years; thereafter master in Paul's school, London, and died in 1657. He was a man of great learning, and was a distinguished antiquary. Wood adds: "He also translated from Lat. into English the book of Polid. Virgil, entit. *De Rerum Inventoribus*; which book had been translated by Joh. Bale in the time of K. Ed. 6. but in old and rude English." This, as coming from Wood, merits a brief examination, to display the errors which it contains.

a. John Bale, in the catalogue which he gives of his own writings (*Illustrium Maioris Britanniae Scriptorum . . . Summarium*, Gippeswici, 1548, f. 243), mentions: *In Polydorū de inuento. rerū. indi. iij.* There is no reference to any translation by him in the list of his English works. Has Wood fallen into some confusion?

b. If the translation into old and rude English was that printed by Grafton, the translator's name, as we have seen, was Thomas Langley, not John Bale. Was Thomas Langley a name assumed by Bale? I have not seen that assertion made. It is singular that Wood should have described the English of John Bale's time as old and rude. At this present time might one venture to call the English of Pope, Swift, Thomson, Gray, Collins, and a few more, about one hundred and fifty years ago, old and rude?

c. Grafton's editions are dated respectively, April 1546, and January 25, 1546 (-47). King Edward VI. came to the throne January 28, 1546-7; so that Wood's statement is not strictly accurate, even in this.

d. Wood implies that this translation of John Langley's was new. The only edition which has John Langley's name is this one of 1663; and it cannot claim to be a new translation, because, in the first place, it is not even a new edition, but simply the remainder of the 1659 edition with a new title-page; and, in the second place, the 1659 edition is a reprint of that of 1546.

e. This edition of 1659 was published two years *after* the date of John Langley's death, as given by Wood; and the translator is called T. Langley, as in all the earlier editions. There was no thought then of ascribing it to the master of Paul's school.

Wood, therefore, has credited John Langley with a piece of work that was published some fifty years before he was born; certainly one hundred and seventeen years before the edition appeared in which his name is given as the trans-

lator. If Wood had compared the editions he must have seen the contradiction involved in his narrative; but perhaps he was unable to see the earlier editions.

How could the mis-statement have got into the title-page? Did Simon Miller alter the name of T. Langley into John Langley, in the belief that it was a misprint? or did he know John Langley's reputation as an antiquary, and think that this remainder lot would sell all the better that a well-known name was on the title-page? Was it done in ignorance; or was it a bookseller's dodge? Anyhow, it misled Anthony à Wood, and caused him to commit himself to the absurdities above mentioned; and it has been repeated in the American edition, No. 9 below, by Hammond, who has not been able to detect it. How far the error has been propagated I cannot tell; but it appears with fresh accretions in the irritatingly inaccurate lists given by Allibone (*Dictionary*, Philadelphia, 1877, iii. p. 2518); and I have no doubt that it will appear in other books, biographical dictionaries, and histories of literature yet to come.

8, 1686.

A
Pleasant and Compendious
HISTORY
OF
The first INVENTERS and
INSTITUTERS of the most
Famous Arts, Mysterries, Laws, Cu-
stoms and Manners in the whole
WORLD.
TOGETHER,
With many other Rarities and Re-
markable things Rarely known, and
never before made Publick.
To which is Added,
Several Curious Inventions, peculiarly
Attributed to *England & English-men.*

The whole Work Alphabetically Digested, and
very helpful to the Readers of History.

Licensed October 29th 1685. R.L.S.

LONDON, Printed for John Harris, at the
Harrow against the Church in the Poul-
trey, 1686.
Price Bound One Shilling.

$5\frac{2}{16} \times 3\frac{4}{16}$. 12mo.

Collation. Fol. 1: Title. F. 2 recto (with signature A 2): The preface to the Reader, by John Harris, the publisher, to A 3 recto. A 3 verso: an alphabetical table, to A 6 verso. B 1 recto: the introduction, to B 2 recto; verso blank. The text: pp. 159. Four pages of book advertisements follow, and the last page is blank. There is nothing noticeable about the book.

This is Langley's translation arranged alphabetically, with some alterations, omissions, and additions. One of the most striking alterations occurs under the head of *Banquets*, where allusion is made to the Greek and Latin laws against excess. In the 1546 edition, f. 68, 1551 edition, f. 66, 1570 edition, f. 66, the passage concludes thus: "For the abolishing of such excessiue feastyng, I woulde some good man wold prescribe nowe a dayes a lawe to be precisely obserued of all men, for I thynke there neuer was such ryot in feasting as ther is in this time." In the 1686 edition, p. 12, it runs thus: "But I could wish there were some good Law prescribed for good Hospitality: For I believe there was never so little as in these times."

Of this book I do not know if there was any reprint.

9. 1868.

The latest edition of the history of inventions forms No. II. of the publications of the Agathynian Club, New York. The title-page is as follows:

Polydori Virgilio.
De
Rerum Inventoribus;
Translated Into English
By
John Langley;
With an account of the Author and his Works;
By
William A. Hammond, M.D.
*
New York:
Agathynian Club.
1868.

Size, $9\frac{7}{16} \times 6$, uncut. 8vo. in fours. Pp. xvi. 242, xvii. The title is printed in red and black. Between the editor's name and the place is a monogram, with the motto: *Fabricando Fabri Fimus*, and date 1867.

The preliminary xvi. pages are occupied with the short title, the title as above, and Hammond's introduction. He gives a short description of Vergil and his

writings taken from Ellis. There are some inaccuracies in it, unavoidable from his not having access to the requisite sources of information ; for example, he quotes an Elzevir edition of the *De inventoribus rerum* of 1651, which does not, indeed could not, exist ; but most of the inaccuracies occur already in Ellis's prefaces.

The reprint of the work begins on p. 1, with the following title-page :

The
Works
Of The
Famous Antiquary,
Polydore Virgil.
Compendiously
Engliff't by *John Langley*, late Master of *Paul's* School,
London.
Containing
The *Original* of all Arts,
Sciences, Myſteries, Orders, Rites, and Ceremonies, both
Eccleſiaſtical and Civil.
A Work Useful
For all *Divines, Historians,*
Lawyers, and all *Artificers*.
LONDON,
Printed for *Simon Miller*, at the *Star* in *St. Paul's Church-*
Yard, 1663.

In this title, which is a copy of that of 1663, the lines are not arranged exactly in the same way ; see No. 7. In the reprint there are besides some typographical changes : the marginal contents are omitted ; the contents of each chapter are printed in roman capitals, but proper names, Latin words and verses, are still in italics. Though a correct reprint, therefore, this is not a fac-simile.

This edition of course contains the ninth book, which, as Hammond did not know, is spurious. Though he quotes (p. xiv.), not quite correctly, the title of the April 1546 edition with Thomas Langley's name, and mentions besides the edition of January 1546, of 1551, and Tisdale's, he says, "I have not had the opportunity of comparing it (*i.e.* the 1663 edition) with any other English edition, and am not aware, therefore, in what respect it differs from them. It appears to be well translated, but is evidently abridged in some parts." But he should not have forgotten or ignored the difference in the translator's name as given in the 1546 and 1663 editions.

The concluding xvii. pages contain the table, printed in ordinary type, and the last page of all is blank.

This is a handsomely got up volume on thick paper bound in half morocco, uncut, gilt top; 120 copies only were printed, and Hammond says it is the first portion of Vergil's writing ever printed in the United States. In several respects, therefore, it is an interesting book.

30. There is but little to add to the foregoing. Of Thomas Langley I only know that he is styled canon of Winchester. The English version differs from all the others in being very much curtailed. It was made from one of the late Latin editions, as it contains passages which do not occur in the editions of 1499 and 1528—29, but which exist in that of 1546. Langley has reduced it to about a third of its original size, and in so doing has converted it into little more than a list of names and facts, and has left out the criticism which might have proved attractive to subsequent readers. This may have been done to avoid controversy, for in 1546 people were less patient of contradiction, especially in ecclesiastical matters, than they are at present. It may have been intended too as a way of making Vergil's extensive work and scholarship accessible to a public with no special antiquarian tastes, possibly with no marked tastes of any kind.

The abridgment was made without any recognition on the part of the author, without any sign either of his approval or disapproval.

With the exception of the French version, it is noteworthy that the translations all appeared at a comparatively late period in the history of the book, and all about the same time. Vergil's work had gone through numerous editions in Latin during upwards of forty years before any one thought of turning it into English.

The translation passed slowly into circulation. In five and twenty years there were four, or shall we say five, editions, those of 1546, 1551 [1570]. Then it was forgotten for ninety years—till it was resuscitated in 1659. But it had lost its interest, and proved heavy stock. The remainders had to be furnished with a new title-page, and sent out as a new edition in 1663. The same thing had happened with the expurgated edition of 1576, and perhaps for the same reason—the book had been eviscerated—all the controversial matter, what most interested all parties, had been got rid of.

After this there was no more of Polydore Vergil and his book. The later adaptation does not bear his name and contains no allusion to him, and the American reprint is not an edition for general circulation, but is a special literary curiosity.

The rarity of the English editions is very marked. This may be due to one of two influences: either the book was so popular that the editions were worn out, or else the book was so little wanted that the editions were destroyed in the lump. If the former had been the case, I think the book would have been printed much oftener than it was, and the 1659 edition would not have required a new title four years later to make it go off. Copies of the earlier editions may also have been destroyed by opponents of Vergil's views.

The day for reviving the book for general use is long gone past. If, however, there were a society or printing club for the preservation of the early records of science and discovery and invention—which there is not—a reprint of Langley's translation might very fairly be included in their publications, and would not be an anachronism.

University of Glasgow,
May 18, 1887.

Note.—In illustration of the preceding paper, the following works and editions were exhibited :

- Proverbiorum Libellus.*—Venice, 1498. 4to.
De Inventoribus Rerum.—Venice, 1499. 4to. Strassburg, 1509. 4to. Paris, 1513. 4to.
 Paris, 1528-9. 4to. Basel, 1546. 8vo. Basel, 1563. 8vo.
 Rome, 1585. 8vo. Strassburg, 1606. 8vo. Amsterdam,
 1671. 12mo.
 „ „ (Italian).—Venice, 1550. 8vo. Brescia, 1680. 4to.
 „ „ (English).—London, 1551. 8vo. London, [1570]. 8vo. London, 1686. 12mo.
Gildas.—[London], [1525]. 8vo.
De Prodigis.—Lyons, 1553. 16mo. Lyons, 1589. 16mo.
 „ „ (Italian).—Lyons, 1554. 8vo.
Historia (English).—London, 1844. 4to. London, 1846. 4to.

