

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES ON THE WORKS OF ANTONIO PEREZ

Por Gustav Ungerer

THE enigmatical Antonio Pérez has been saved from oblivion by many penetrating studies which modern scholars have devoted to his rise and fall at the Court of Philip II. A full study of his life in exile, however, is still a desideratum. An unexpected contribution towards filling the gap in his adventurous life outside Spain comes from the pen of the Spanish bibliophile Don Antonio Pérez Gómez : *Antonio Pérez escritor y hombre de estado. Ensayo de bibliografía razonada* (Cieza, 1959). He has made his own a subject whose magnitude has defied the biographers of Pérez. His researches were made difficult by the fact that this one-time favourite of Philip II took up writing only in his banishment. The investigator has to take into account that for political reasons Pérez's works were published in countries that were hostile to Spain. He must also bear in mind that, for religious reasons, only undaunted printers were prepared to bring out books that could not fail to be blacklisted in the *Index librorum prohibitorum*. Thus, many of the early printed works bear faked imprints (nos. 2, 10, 11, 66, 70); the printers often remain anonymous (nos. 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 20, 21, 49, 70, 71, 73, 74, 75, 77); some books have no place-name (nos. 1, 49, 71, 77); some are undated (nos. 2, 20, 21).

The purpose of the present article is not to question the results yielded by señor Pérez Gómez's excellent research work, which will remain the standard bibliographical authority on Antonio Pérez; our intention is to supplement the bibliography, limiting our data to (I) the *Pedagogos de historia*, (II) the *Treatise paraenetical*, (III) the Collected Works printed in Geneva, and to some other odd items (IV & V).

I

The most notorious book Pérez published in his exile was the so-called *Relaciones*. The first edition, sponsored by Catherine of Navarre, appeared anonymously in Béarn in 1591 (no. 1). It seems to have been issued by Louis Rabier, the university printer¹. The second augmented edition was printed in London under the title *Pedaços de historia* (no. 2) and with the forged imprint "Impresso en Leon". It was first recognized as English printing by the eminent Hispanist George Ticknor. See J. L. Whitney's *Catalogue of the Spanish Library and of the Portuguese Books Bequeathed by George Ticknor to the Boston Public Library* (Boston, 1879, p. 264). B. Quaritch took his information from Ticknor for his entry in the *General Catalogue of Books Offered to the Public* (IV, 1887, p. 2698, no. 27491). The printer was identified by James P. R. Lyell in a paper called "The *Relaciones* of Antonio Pérez" (*The Times Literary Supplement*, 9.8.1928, p. 581). Lyell's evidence rests on the alphabet of decorative woodcut initials. His finding was duly recorded in C. L. Penney's *List of Books Printed before 1600 in the Hispanic Society of America* (New York, 1929).

The date of printing still needs to be established, and there are some records which enable us to do so. (1) Pérez stayed in England from April 1593 till 30 July 1595. (2) By September 1593, he had moved from the French Embassy to Essex House. (3) Towards the end of 1593, it was divulged that he had written a book against Philip II and that he intended to publish it. This is evident from some dispatches sent by a spy to Madrid on 19 November 1593. "Antonio Perez ha hecho un libro contra el Rey Catolico, en saliendo a luz yo os embiare uno" (P.R.O., S.P. 12, vol. 250, fol. 75, no. 35). (4) An Italian informant reported to Florence on 26 October 1594 that Pérez had written a book in his defence. See L. P. Smith's *Sir Henry Wotton, Life and Letters* (Oxford, 1907), II, p. 458, note 1. (5) On 9 November 1594, the same intelligence informed the Florentine Court that Pérez "ha fatto stampar un libro" (*ibid.*), implying that the book had already been printed or that Pérez was occupied with its printing. (6) On 2 December 1594, an agent, probably William Nicols, then stationed in Antwerp, urged the Customs House Officer and cryptographer Thomas Phelippes (alias Peter

¹ The only active printer at that time was Louis Rabier (1583-1608). He was the first printer to the University set up at Orthez, but he may well have printed no. 1 at Lescar, to which town Catherine of Navarre, the patroness of Antonio Pérez, had the College moved in April 1591. See Louis Lacaze's study on *Les imprimeurs et libraires en Béarn, 1552-1883* (Pau, 1884).

Hollins) to have the book by Pérez sent over immediately after publication (*Hatfield Papers*, V, 1894, pp. 26-27). (7) A newsletter written in Flanders at the beginning of 1595 stated that the *Relaciones* had been printed at the expense of the Queen of England and that a great number of copies had been conveyed into Aragon to incite that kingdom into rebellion ("Avisos de Inglaterra", *Archivo de Simancas, Estado, Flandes*, legado 609; quoted from M. Mignet, *Antonio Pérez et Philippe II.* (París, 1854)). (8) On 7 February 1595 (28 January 1594, O. S.), William Nicols required Thomas Phelippes to "use all diligent means to get so many as ye can of those Spanish books that Anthony Perez hath made. They shall be well paid for and distributed here in good sort to the disgrace of whom it toucheth. If you can send them by hundreds they shall be well spread abroad" (*Hatfield Papers*, V (1895), p. 97). (9) On 27 March 1595, Arthur Atey submitted his English translation to Anthony Bacon with the request that he should go through it carefully and make emendations where necessary (A. Bacon Papers, Lambeth Palace Library, MS. 653, no. 32). Hence it has become irrefutable that Field's edition of the *Pedaços de historia* was being printed in the autumn of 1594.

Another debatable point is how Pérez succeeded in having his book printed in London. He managed it, it seems to the present writer, only thanks to the unofficial backing of the English government and the generous assistance of an influential patron. The government dissociated itself from Pérez in public, but secretly approved of his actions. The Queen used to relegate the task of looking after state visitors to her peers. In our case, she must have been relieved when, for purely selfish reasons, Essex took upon himself the task of patronizing a dangerous traitor. It is therefore not surprising that the London edition was dedicated to the Earl of Essex, and it was certainly in keeping with the laws of hospitality that Essex should have defrayed the cost of printing. This is what Pérez would have expected any patron to do for him. The fact that Essex had the honour of accommodating a statesman who had been a close collaborator and intimate friend of the mightiest monarch in Christendom called, in the eyes of Pérez, for such an open-handed action. Had the situation been reversed, Pérez would not have hesitated to do the same. Whatever the facts, the cost of entertaining the dubious visitor for the year 1595 exceeded the staggering sum of £850. See E. M. Tenison, *Elizabethan England* (Leamington Spa, IX, 1950, pp. 360-361).

There are more links between Essex and the *Pedaços de historia*. His secretary, Henry Wotton, wrote a review of the book. Wotton appended it to his treatise on contemporary politics, called *The State of*

Christendom. He had undertaken it "in disgrace of Spain" at the instigation of an English gentleman he had met while touring the Continent. L. Pearsall Smith, in his biography of Wotton, made the tentative suggestion that Wotton may have been invited to write a justification of the apologetical *Pedacos*. Later on, when he had made his name as an able ambassador and a prominent letter-writer, Wotton sponsored the Italian translation, made in 1607 by the Protestant exile and editor, Giacomo Castelvetro, from the London edition. The manuscript translation is now in Trinity College Library, Cambridge.

Essex had strong political motives, and also qualified persons at his disposal, to make the most of the publication for his Spanish friend and for himself. While Wotton was engaged in reviewing the book, another of his secretaries was commissioned to translate the book into English. Arthur Atey's translation, entitled *Pieces of the stoyre or Relaciones (so called) by the Peregrini their Authors* is in the Bodleian Library (MS. Eng. hist. c. 239).

The possibility of unofficial government subsidy must not be lost sight of. Atey's spirited and libellous preface is reminiscent of the persuasive style found in the anti-Spanish pamphlets issued by the staff of Sir William Cecil.² It should be noted that Sir William Cecil had already called on Field to print such propaganda material in French and English (Ungerer, op. cit., p. 48, note 18), and it should not be overlooked that Field dedicated Puttenham's *Art of English Poesie* (1589) to Cecil. On this evidence, it seems admissible to argue that the government had a say in the matter and that Cecil may have agreed to entrust Field with the printing. This does not, of course, rule out the assumption that Essex had to foot the bill.

There is also contemporary evidence attesting to the success of the book outside the Essex circle. Presentation copies were sent not only to the dedicatee, the Earl of Essex, but also to the Earl of Southampton, Lord Henry Howard, Lord Mountjoy, Sir Robert Sidney, Anthony and Francis Bacon, (Sir) Henry Wotton and Sir William Cecil Lord Burghley. Lord Herbert of Cherbury acquired a copy (now in the possession of Dr Bernardo Mendel). Thomas Knyvett of Ashwellthorpe had one in his well-known library (now in Cambridge University Library, press-mark T. 10.49). Two more presentation copies, with some notes in a contemporary hand, are in the Bodleian Library (press-mark Art. 4.^o B. 11) and in the British Museum Library (press-mark C. 38. f. 37). The Bodleian copy was recorded by Thomas James, Bodley's first Librarian, in the first Library Catalogue of 1605 (p. 372), and in

² Gustav Ungerer, *Anglo-Spanish Relations in Tudor Literature* (Berne, Francke, 1956). The preface is printed on pp. 189-194.

the *Index generalis librorum prohibitorum à pontificiis... in usum Bibliothecae Bodleianaæ* (Oxford, 1627). The copy in Lambeth Palace Library bears the autograph inscription of one "ffrancis Freeborne" and is part of Archbishop Bancroft's bequest. The book is also mentioned in Archbishop Whitgift's library list (Trinity College Library, Dublin, MS. E. 4. 13, fol. 9).

A sort of Perezian revival had been brought about by the scheming Essex and his learned collaborators. The picture of the wronged subject and the persecuted victim was given nation-wide publicity. There was much response in the Netherlands, the market from which the *Pedacos* must have been smuggled into Spain. A Dutch translation made from the London impression was twice issued in 1596 (nos. 3 and 4).

With regard to the subsequent history of the *Relaciones* in England, an anonymous translation based on a continental edition was published in London in 1715 under the title *The Fatal Effects of Arbitrary Power* (no. 12). The revival seems to have been due to England's aggressive policy against Spain in the 18th century. The anonymous character of the translation suggests that the government had a hand in commissioning the English version of this philippic apology. The new people behind these later attempts to circulate Pérez's works laid stress on "The wicked Intrigues of the Court of Philip II. King of Spain. That Prince's Cruelty and Falsehood. The execrable Practices of envious Statesmen, and other ambitious Persons, sticking at no Wickedness to please that Prince" (subtitle).

It is likely that one of the following three Hispanists, Michael Geddes (1650-1713), John Savage (1673-1747), and John Stevens (d. 1726) was asked to render the acrimonious tract into English. It is not possible to determine, from the material at our disposal, which of them it was. Their claims for a possible authorship are as follows :

Geddes, LL. D., spent some years as chaplain to the English factory in Lisbon, until his activities were resented by the Inquisition. His literary work was inspired by his religious views, being written with the purpose of laying bare the policy of the Catholic Church and the human tragedies resulting from its intransigence. Thus he took up the cases of two Spanish favourites, Don Alvaro de Luna and Antonio Pérez. In one of his *Miscellaneous Tracts* (vol. II, 1705), he sums up the *History of the Sad Catastrophe of Antonio Perez*. The copious quotations made from the *Relaciones* differ from the anonymous translation.

Savage, D. D., was a sound Hispanist with a considerable number of translation to his credit. His probable link with the anonymous rendering is his translation *The Art of Prudence : or A Companion for a*

Man of Sense (1714), made from the Spanish of Baltasar Gracián, was advertised in the preliminary matter to *The Fatal Effects*. Both books were published by Jonas Brown "at the Black Swan without Temple Bar".

Stevens was a Hispanophile of great prominence. He had set about to enlighten his countrymen on the history of the Peninsula, "there being very many utterly unacquainted with the history of that Nation". An omnivorous reader and prolific translator, he had included a concise account of Pérez's rise and fall in the *Brief History of Spain* (1701) and excerpted the *Relaciones* for the compilation of his thick primer (1706). Moreover there is evidence that he translated at least three *Cartas* by Pérez. See Robert H. Williams, "A Manuscript Document on the Translations from the Spanish by Captain John Stevens" in *Revue de littérature comparée*, 16 (1936), p. 145, note 2.

II

Among the books attributed to Pérez, the *Traicté paraenétique* (nos. 70-77) is the most disputed. No Spanish original version has come down to us; and it is probable that none ever existed. There is a greater chance of a Latin original being found one day. The treatise is available in the French translation, whose title claims that it was made by I. D. Dralymont, Seigneur de Yarlème, obviously an anagram of Jean de Montlyard, Seigneur de Melleray. It was published at Auch in 1597 (no. 70). A clandestine and anonymous reprint was made by Jérôme Haultin in La Rochelle in 1598.³ In the same year, William Ponsonby had an English translation (no. 72) printed by Richard Field⁴. The augmented French edition which came out at Agen in 1598 (no. 73) seems to be the work of Antoine Pomaret⁵. A Flemish translation was published in 1598 (no. 74), and an Italian version without imprint in 1626 (no. 75). A French reissue without the printer's name appeared in 1641

³ My thesis (cf. note 2) made Señor Antonio Pérez Gómez believe that the printer of no. 71 was Richard Field, whose press had already produced the *Pedaços de historia* in 1594 (no. 2). Meanwhile M. Louis Desgraves's investigations into *Les Haultin 1571-1623* (Genève, Librairie E. Droz, 1960) have provided concrete typographical evidence that the printer was Jérôme Haultin of La Rochelle. All the ornaments of no. 71 are reproduced by M. Desgraves. The title-page of the British Museum copy bears the autograph of «Robert Southey. London, 1820».

⁴ The book was entered to Ponsonby on 17 march 1598, and the title page claims that it was «Printed for William Ponsonby». The ornaments and initials are those of Richard Field who, in this case, seems to have worked for the publisher Ponsonby.

⁵ The printing has been ascribed to Antoine Pomaret, the only known Agenais printer of that time (1590-1617). See Louis Desgraves, «L'imprimerie à Agen au XVI^e siècle» in *Bulletin philologique et historique (jusqu'à 1610)* du Comité des Travaux historiques et scientifiques, 1959, pp. 345-360, Paris, 1960.

(no. 77). In 1625 there was an English reprint under the new title of *The Spanish Pilgrime* (no. 76), one issue with, and another without, a dedication to the Earl of Pembroke.

Some bibliographers have ascribed the treatise to Antonio Pérez, some have seen in it the hand of José Teixeira and the spirit of Dom Antonio, the pretender to the Portuguese throne. Henri Hauser in *Les sources de l'histoire de France, XVI^e siècle* (Paris, 1916, IV, p. 190) argues that neither of them has a genuine claim to authorship. He is rather inclined to look upon it as the possible work of the translator or of an unidentified "Pilgrim Spaniard". Señor Antonio Pérez Gómez now believes that this libel is the joint product of the Dominican Friar José Teixeira and Dom Antonio. I once tried to make out a case for Antonio Pérez as the author, but now, under the weight of fresh evidence, I have revised my former opinion. The tract must be regarded as Teixeira's work, but it is most likely that Pérez had a share in it.

Some crucial points in favour of the Spanish secretary being the author are the following : (1) There is a piece of contemporary evidence which points to his being the author viz, when Sir William Cecil died in the summer of 1598, his son, Sir Robert Cecil, had a list drawn up of the books his father had kept in his rooms at Court. The confidential clerk engaged in cataloguing entered in it the "Treatise paraeneticall of Perez" (E. M. Tenison, op. cit., X, pp. 366-370). Apparently the English government attributed the libel to Antonio Pérez. Sir William Cecil was unlikely to be wrong about the book by a man who had caused him so much personal anxiety in England. (2) Again, the Essex faction was called upon to propagate the treatise. It was translated into English by William Phiston, a follower of Essex, dedicated to Sir Fulke Greville, a cousin of Essex, and printed by Richard Field.

That José Teixeira is nevertheless the author, in spite of Cecil's record, rests upon new evidence found when looking through his works. (1) The clue to authorship is provided by the very last sentence of *Le Miroir de la Procedure de Philippe Roy de Castille en l'usurpation du Royaume de Portugal: & du droit, que les Portugais ont d'elire leurs Roys & Princes. Nouvellement traduit de Latin en François par I.D.M. Avec les annotations de I.I.F.A.V., I.C.C.* (Paris, 1595). In the violent peroration at the end of this tract, the author attacks his countryman, Duarte Nuñez de Leão, for having treacherously taken up the cause of Philip II against Dom Antonio. The last sentence contains a cryptic reference to the *Traicté paraenétique* : "Ce la mesme est bien au long expliqué par Theseus Ierpixes en son traicté Paraenétique". The Latin text in the 1595 edition reads : "Id itaque in Tractatu Paraenetico apud Theseum Ierpixium copiosissimè explicatur" (p. 123).

The passionate quarrel between Iosephus Teixeira and his countryman over the Portuguese issue goes back to the Dominican's *De Portugalliae ortu* (Paris, 1582). His thesis that Dom Antonio was the rightful king of Portugal was disproved by the *Duardi Nonii censura in libellum de regum portugalensium origine* (Olympione, 1585). Teixeira was stung into replying with *De electionis jure quod competit viris portugallensibus* (Lyons, 1589). *Le Miroir* was the second French translation made from a later edition entitled *Speculum Tyrannidis Philippi Regis In Castellae Vsurpanda Portugallia* (Paris, 1595). These tracts were published under the pseudonym of Pierre Olim, but Teixeira was revealed as the author in the license of printing for *De Portugalliae ortu*.

In 1595, then, José Teixeira claimed to have knowledge of another publication which shared his orthodox views on the succession to the Portuguese Crown. It stands to reason that this is a reference to the treatise we are here concerned with. It is very unlikely that there should have been two separate works, bearing the same title and treating the same subject, written by two authors within the space of two years. Hence we can deduce that, in *Le Miroir*, Teixeira had in mind the treatise we are dealing with and which he knew had been written by "Theseus Ierpixes". This seems to be an anagram of his own name. Moreover, the treatise bears the initials of his pseudonym, Pierre Olim, all of which justifies our ascription of the *Traicté paraenétique* to José Teixeira.

There is one objection to be raised against this conclusion. The reference occurs in a book that was written in 1595, whereas the first edition of the *Traicté* that has come down to us bears the date 1597. This makes it necessary to assume that the available French edition is not the original one, and it follows that it was probably in 1595 that Teixeira's original text was published in Latin. His polemical works, intended for Spaniards, Portuguese, Frenchmen and Englishmen alike, were all written in Latin. The Spanish papers referred to in the faked preface of the French translation is a much-practised ruse to conceal authorship. Furthermore the date seems to be warranted by the political message of the treatise, as we shall see later.

(2) The translator of *Le Miroir* (1595) and that of the *Traicté paraenétique* (1597) were the same person. Teixeira apparently asked Jean de Montlyard, Seigneur de Melleray, to promote a wider circulation of his books in France. The translator published the first tract under his initials I. D. M.; for the second he assumed the pseudonym "I. D. Dralymont, Seigneur de Yarlème". (3) The style of the *Traicté paraenétique* is in no way reminiscent of Antonio Pérez. The work is written in the persuasive language of a demagogue, as we should expect from a man

who was Public Orator to Dom Antonio. It takes up the subject-matter of *Le Miroir*, and elaborates it. Both books abound in quotations from, and references to, the above-mentioned work by Duarte Nuñez de Leão, and to Jeronimo de Franch Conestaggio's history *Dell unione del regno di Portogallo a la corona di Castilla Istoria* (Genova, 1585).

How can we reconcile these two incompatible records : the entry in an English book list and the cryptic avowal of authorship in *Le Miroir*? The seemingly contradictory evidence can be reconciled by meeting the opinion of Señor Pérez Gómez half way. Dom Antonio designed the plan of the *Traicté paraenetique*, José Teixeira wrote it and the opportunist Antonio Pérez approved of it. Its presentation is a faithful reflection of the *Pedaços de historia* and its conception dates from the hectic days when the three exiles were living in England. The subject-matter embodies Dom Antonio's aggressive policy against Spain. It advances his thesis that an invasion of Spain, with armed forces levied in France, England and the Low Countries, would settle the succession of Portugal in his favour and would strengthen France in her struggle against Philip II. In 1592 Dom Antonio had approached the Sieur du Plessis, who was then in England on a special mission, with this argument ; he pursued it in 1595, when he had moved to Paris with a view to winning Henry IV for his Peninsular project (E. M. Tenison, op. cit., IX, 1950, pp. 166, 450). When Pérez took refuge in England in 1593, he found in Dom Antonio a most propitious ally. Each had already launched a military attack against Portugal and Aragon respectively. Under the auspices of the Earl of Essex, they redoubled their efforts to raise an army of invasion. In 1594 it was rumoured in Madrid that the Venetian Ambassador Vendramini had reported to the Doge and Senate that the two exiles had crossed over to France to negotiate for a supply of French ships. With French vessels and English seamen they planned to harass the Spanish coast (*Calendar of State Papers, Venetian, 1592-1603*, London, 1897, no. 257). Their selfish paraenesis, or exhortation, to form an alliance to counterbalance Spain's hegemony went unheeded. To what extent their policy affected the English expeditions of 1596 and 1597 is open to discussion.

III

The investigation conducted by Señor Antonio Pérez Gómez into the publication of the Collected Works of Antonio Pérez has yielded a rich crop of new bibliographical data. Thus he has contributed a welcome chapter to the still unexplored history of Genevan printing in the 17th

century. The local bibliographer to be engaged in that period is M. Georges Bonnant, the author of "La librairie genevoise au Portugal du XVI^e au XVIII^e siècle" (*Genava*, 3 (1955), pp. 183-200) and of "L'imprimerie à Genève du XV^e au XVIII^e siècle et le commerce des libraires genevois avec le Portugal" (*Arquivo de Bibliografia Portuguesa*, 5 (1955), pp. 5-20).

The Collected Works began to leave, in large quantities, Genevan presses in the early twenties of the 17th century, approximately twelve years after the death of their author in Paris. What were the circumstances that brought about this posthumous revival in Geneva? Only so much seems to be clear: their publication in France would have been harmful to the match between Louis XIII and the Spanish Princess, Anne of Austria. Whatever the reasons may be, it is a fact that a group of Huguenot printers who had settled down in Geneva in about 1585 produced five or six editions between 1623 and 1676. They provide us with a striking example of the deterioration of Genevan printing during the 17th century.

According to Señor Pérez Gómez, it was in 1624 that Pierre de la Rovière's widow and heirs published the first edition of the Collected Works (nos. 49 and 50). However, there is bibliographical evidence that the first edition must date back to 1623. The Frankfort Catalogue for the autumn book fair of 1623 contains the following entry:

Las obras d'Antonio Peres Secretario del Stado de la S. C. R. M. Philippo secondo Rey d'Espagnia : en casa del Cadet Roketos, & se neodem [uenden] por los herederos de Petro de la Rovierre. (sig. D₃ v.)

The different wording of the title and imprint bears out the fact that it must have been another edition or earlier impression. All the books which the widow of Pierre de la Rovière offered for sale —there were fifteen— appeared at the end of the Catalogue. Their tardy addition probably means that her books came in while the Catalogue was being printed; it does not follow that their inclusion was an advertisement for the 1624 fairs. Had this been the case, her books would have been entered under the heading "Libri futuris nundinis prodituri".

The edition is dated by its inclusion in the book list for the year 1623. There is further indirect evidence that, chronologically, it preceded no. 49. When Georg Draud published his *Bibliotheca exotica siue Catalogus officinalis librorum peregrinis linguis usualibus scriptorum... 1500-1624* (Frankfort, 1625), he faithfully copied the title of the 1623 edition. The 1626 office catalogue compiled by la Rovière's heirs does not help to solve the problem definitively. The "Obras d'Antonio Perez, 4. b. r." figures among twelve Spanish books.

Bibliographical notes on the Works of Antonio Pérez

The heirs of Pierre de la Rovière introduced themselves as publishers and seem to have confided the task of printing the book to the enigmatical Cadet Roketos. He may be pure fiction, or he may be a French printer who took the precaution of disguising his identity. The following quotation taken from the same Franfort sale catalogue of 1623 offers a striking parallel. *Le Nouveau Testament, imprimé avec les psaumes de la Pettre Sedanoise, en nouvelle petite forme. A Sedan chez Jean Jannon, & se vendent en la boutique des heretiers & vefue de Pierre de la Rovierre.* In point of fact, the place of printing was Geneva, and the printer was identical with the publishers. No copies of the 1623 edition or impression have come down to us.

The 1624 edition or impression is typographically more satisfactory than the rest. Some of its title-pages are adorned with the printer's devices, the text with head-plates and decorative initials.

The second edition of the Collected Works (1631) was produced by the printer Jean de la Planche⁶. Its format (octavo) and poor workmanship set the model for all subsequent editions. Three different title-pages have come down to us ; see nos. 51 and 52, and the copy in the British Museum Library (press-mark 12230. a. 23) entitled :

LAS/OBRAS/DE/ANT. PEREZ/SECRETARIO DE/ESTADO, QVE
FVE/del Rey de España Don/PHELIFFE II. deste nombre./ILLVS-
TRAT, DVM VEXAT./ [ornament]/Por Iuan de la Planche./M.DC.
XXXI./8°.

The third edition of 1644 did little credit to Jean de Tournes III. He did not keep up the scholarship of his grandfather, Jean de Tournes I, the famous humanist printer of Lyons, and also failed to maintain the craftsmanship of his father, Jean de Tournes II. The modest shop of the de Tournes had expanded into a booming wholesale business. Señor Pérez Gómez has traced three variant imprints, and a fourth he acquired too late for inclusion. The imprints are given below.

no. 53		Por IVAN DI TORNES. M.DC XLIV
no. 54	IN GENEVA	Por IVAN DI TORNES. M.DC XLIV
no. 55	IN GENEVRA.	Por IVAN DI TORNES. M.DC XLIV
no. 55*	GENEVAE.	Por IVAN DI TORNES. M.DC XLIV
no. 55**	GENAVA.	Por IVAN DI TORNES. M.DC XLIV
no. 109	Lyon, 1644	

⁶ About 1560, John de Planche, a bookbinder and house holder, took refuge in England. He was admitted a member of the Stationers' Company in October 1567. See Ernest James Worme, *Alien Members of the Book-Trade during the Tudor Period* (London, for the Bibliographical Society, 1906, p. 51). The bookbinder and the printer may have been relatives.

In nos. 54 to 55**, the place of printing is a later addition inserted between the printer's device and name. It allows of the conclusion that Jean de Tournes thought in terms of mass production and export. Under these circumstances, it is a matter of sheer impossibility to be comprehensive: no. 55* is available in the British Museum (press-mark 630. b. 6.); no 55** is extant in the Bibliothèque Cantonale de Lausanne, Switzerland; no. 109 has been listed in a book catalogue of 1857. It is obvious that the imprint is a falsification of Jean de Tournes made with a view to securing a market for the book in France. Whatever measures Jean thought fit to take in the interest of his business, his son Samuel did not scruple to imitate. It is not the only instance of a faked Lyons imprint in a book published by the de Tournes family (cf. no. 66 below).

The fourth edition of the Collected Works (1654) bears witness to the fact that Genevan printing continued to deteriorate. Quantity made up for the loss of quality. The Chouets increased the output by collaborating with the sons of Jean de Tournes. To Jean-Antoine and Samuel de Tournes are due nos. 62 and 60. Samuel Chouet and Pierre Chouet II, who were cousins, took it in turns to print nos. 59, 56, 57, 58, 61. They are all identical, only the place of printing being different. It is either omitted, or added in Spanish or Latin. In the Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire de Gèneve there is a copy of no. 56, in which the place of printing has been obliterated by being printed over.

The de Tournes brothers included the "Obras d'Antonio Perez 8" in their *Catalogus librorum Geneuae impressorum* of 1653. As this sale catalogue also comprised the books "a Ioanne de Tournes ipsorum patre", it is unlikely that they published an unknown edition between 1644 and 1654. This also holds good for the sale advertisement which Jacques Chouet II and Pierre Chouet II, father and son, made in their *Catalogus librorum Genevae impressorum* of 1647. This is likely to be a reference to the de Tournes edition of 1644. Another entry is to be found in Samuel Chouet's Catalogue of 1667, which means that the edition of 1654 was on sale as late as 1667. It was not out of print in 1670 either, when it was listed in the de Tournes catalogue for that year.

The fifth and last edition of the Collected Works was issued by Samuel de Tournes in 1675 and 1676. It exhibits once again the hallmark of Genevan printing: mass production designed for export, indifference to typographical craftsmanship, deliberate faking of imprints (nos. 63, 65, 64, 66, 110). It is clear that the place of printing of nos. 66 and 110 was not Cologne. It is a clever play on words to deceive the authorities into believing that it was printed in *Coloniae*

Agrippinae (Cologne) and not in *Coloniae Allobrogum* (Geneva). A business letter of the de Tournes dated 1757 makes it clear that this was a ruse to which they had resorted for commercial reasons⁷.

IV

Given the commercial bias of Genevan printers in the 17th century, more variants are bound to come to light. A Genevan printer or publisher seems to have been responsible for the enigmatical edition of the *Relaciones* known under the high-flown title *Retrato al Viuo del Natural de la Fortuna* (nos. 10-11). The baffling imprint has defied identification. It runs : "EN RHODANVSIA. A Costa de Ambrosio Traversario. M. DC. XXV". The date would seem to point to Geneva, where the first edition of the Collected Works was published in 1623/4, yet it seems to have nothing to do with the heirs of Pierre de la Rovière, who did not mention the book in their sale catalogue of 1626. "Rhodanusia" may stand for Geneva, if only because the river Rhône flows through the lake and the town of Geneva, and would therefore be quite a natural fictitious name to occur to the printer. What makes this conjecture all the more probable is an entry in the autumn catalogue of the Frankfort book fair of 1626. According to the entry, the book was either printed or sold "A Geneve". At least we cannot go wrong in stating that the book was distributed by a Genevan publisher. The type and ornaments are, unfortunately, too common to help identify the printer.

The name of the publisher, Ambrosio Traversario, though also a fake, is not pure invention. Ambrose Traversari was a General of the Camaldoles Order, a celebrated writer and humanist, who had died in 1439. What induced the publisher or sponsor of the book to assume the pseudonym of a monk remains a riddle. It cannot mean that the book was issued at the request of a Camaldoles hermit. Geneva was the stronghold of Calvinism. Was the printer or publisher so cunning as to pretend that the *Relaciones*, which had been blacklisted, had been approved by the Catholic censorship under a new title? Did he mean to delude the customs officers in Spain, or did he think in terms of classical scholarship? To Basle printers, Traversario was known as a translator and editor of classical works.

⁷ It was in fact a current practice adopted by the body of Genevan printers. This forged imprint was used by Pierre de la Rovière in 1616, by Jacques Crespin in 1627, and by Jean-Antoine & Samuel de Tournes in 1671. See G. Suárez Gómez, «Bibliographie avec quels livres les espagnols apprenaient le français (1520-1850). Suite II. Vocabulaires et Dictionnaires» in *Revue de littérature comparée*, 35 (1961), pp. 330-346.

V

The posthumous editions of Pérez's works appeared in Geneva, France and England. Another country likely to have encouraged their publication is Italy. In fact, the "Relaciones de Perez 4" is listed for sale in John Legatt's *Catalogus librorum in diuersis Italiae locis emporum, Anno 1636* (London, 1637). No such edition is extant. What Legatt offered for sale to his English customers may have been the quarto edition of Pierre de la Rovière's heirs.

In 1683 Germany brought out an edition of the Latin epistles which Pérez had once addressed to his patron, the Earl of Essex (no. 28). Information concerning the Nuremberg publisher, Johannes Zieger, and his printer, Michael Spörlin, is very sparse. Zieger was Town Councillor between 1696 and 1711, the year of his death. His portrait is to be found in F. Roth-Scholtz's *Icones bibliopolarum et typographorum Norimbergae et Altorfii* (1726). Spörlin took over Chritoph Gerhard's printing office in 1683, printing until his death in 1705, when he was succeeded by his widow. See Johann Heinrich Ernesti's *Die wol-eingerichtete Buchdruckerey... in Nürnberg* (Nürnberg, 1721, sig. g. 4).