

Indexing the Early Modern Printed Image

A Digital Catalogue on the Illustrated
Book in Lyon (1480-1600)

Barbara Tramelli



Edizioni
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Indexing the Early Modern Printed Image

Disclosing Collections

Studies, Catalogues and Data
in the Arts and the Humanities

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Studies, Catalogues and Data in the Arts and the Humanities

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Ca' Foscari University of Venice

Department of Humanities

Dorsoduro 3484/D, Calle Contarini, 30123 Venezia

dc_editor@unive.it

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Barbara Tramelli

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Acknowledgments

This book is the result of my work as *Ingénieur de recherche* in the 3-year project *Le livre illustré à Lyon au XVI^e siècle*, funded by Equipex Biblissima, and as research grant holder at the Venice Centre for Digital Humanities at Ca' Foscari University of Venice until 2022. I wish to thank especially Prof. Richard Cooper and Prof. Raphaële Mouren, principal investigators of the original project, to whom I am very grateful for having me involved and for all the help and suggestions. My thanks go to the members of the project: the University of Oxford, the Centre Gabriel Naudé, the Bibliothèque Municipale in Lyon, the Bodleian Libraries, the École Nationale Supérieure des Sciences de l'Information et des Bibliothèques, the Warburg Institute (that agreed to host our research in its Iconographic Database) but also the CIHAM and CESR for their administrative support. *Merci surtout* to all the staff of the Département des Fonds Anciens of the Bibliothèque Municipale in Lyon, who welcomed me in 2016 in their department in such a warm way and whose kind assistance was crucial in gathering all the illustrations I presented in this book. I especially wish to thank Mr Pierre Guinard, Dr Benjamin Ravier-Mazzocco, Mme Monique Hulvey and Dr Jérôme Sirdey from the Bibliothèque Municipale in Lyon for their help and suggestions. At the IHRIM, Prof. Michèle Clément helped me find additional fundings for this publication: *grazie*. At the Musée de l'Imprimerie et de la Communication Graphique, my deepest *remerciements* to Mme Hélène-Sybille Beltran for hosting the *journées d'études* during the Biblissima summer school and for her availability in showing me the wonderful collection of early modern matrices hosted by the museum. I am most grateful to Dr Paul Taylor, Dr Rembrandt Duits and Ian Jones from the Photographic Collection of the Warburg Institute in London for their collaboration. In Oxford, I wish to thank Dr Abhishek Dutta, Dr Giles Bergel and Prof. Andrew Zisserman from the Visual Geometry Group (Department of Engineering Science) for supporting the project and helping me in the realisation of the Lyon16ci database. I also wish to thank Prof. Cristina Dondi and Dr Matilde Malaspina for our collaboration in the 1516 database, as well as Prof. Emanuela Tandello for her precious friendship. I express here my deepest gratitude to the St. Benet's Hall community for having welcomed me so warmly as Visiting Fellow in Oxford in 2019 and back for a short period in 2022. Special thanks to Prof Brian Klug, Father Oswald, Nathalie Garbett, and all the students there, for your unfailing encouragement.

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Barbara Tramelli

à ma mère

**Indexing the Early
Modern Printed Image**
A Digital Catalogue
on the Illustrated Book
in Lyon (1480-1600)

Preface

Richard Cooper
University of Oxford, UK

This is an important book which explores the relationship of text and image with special reference to printing in Renaissance Lyon, approaching it in the context of the latest research in Digital Humanities. With the second largest output of printed books in France in the Renaissance, a wide distribution throughout Europe and a pioneering role in illustration, Lyon offers a remarkable range of editions by which to measure the evolution of publishing strategies across the early modern period. The remarkable success of Lyonnais printing might seem surprising in a city without a university or a *parlement*, but can be explained by the city's strategic position on the frontiers of Italy, Germany and Switzerland, a focus of European fairs, and a crossroads of international trade routes, where wealthy cosmopolitan merchants diversified their business by investing in publishing.

The study of book illustration owes much to pioneering catalogues like those of the Prince d'Essling,¹ who traced how incunables and early sixteenth-century books were illustrated in Venice, the major centre of book production in Europe at the time. But before him a magistrate and bibliophile in Lyon, Henri Louis Baudrier (1815-1884) had compiled a detailed catalogue of Lyonnais imprints, many from his own collection, which was published posthumously from 1895, including close attention to illustration and numerous images of woodcuts and engravings. This rich catalogue has been supplemented by that of Sibylle von Gültlingen, *Bibliographie des livres imprimés à Lyon au seizième siècle* (1992-), and since then by the ongoing database of William Kemp, which lists over 22,000 imprints, indicating which ones

¹ *Les livres à figures vénitiens de la fin du XV^e Siècle et du Commencement du XVI^e* (1907-14). Florence: Olschki; Paris: Librairie Henri Leclerc.

are illustrated. These databases have provided a platform for Dr Tramelli's project, generously funded by *Biblis-sima*, which focuses closely on the inclusion of images in editions published by Lyonnais printers and *libraires*.

The question posed was how to manage and to interrogate such a large corpus? Only a modest proportion of the Lyon imprints had been digitised and not always in a sufficiently high resolution. Dr Tramelli worked with major holdings in the Bibliothèque Municipale in Lyon, in the Bodleian Library in Oxford and the Bibliothèque de Sainte-Geneviève in Paris, who helped her to make high resolution photographs, some of which are included in her catalogue of examples of Lyon imprints. A key player in the project was the Warburg Institute in London, with its rich photographic collection, and more importantly its Iconographic Database, which provided sophisticated tools to analyse images in detail and to categorise them. A technological breakthrough was provided by the Visual Geometry Group in the Department of Engineering Science in Oxford, whose image retrieval software allows the automatic tracing of the reuse of images. By collating editions, this tool traces how images travelled, were reused or lent or adapted or repaired or reversed by printers, often in different contexts. This helps to explore the relationship between image and context, where a woodcut engraved for, say, a work of devotion, or a romance of chivalry, might migrate to reappear in a totally different context elsewhere. Competition between printers was intense, not least between Lyon and Paris: a case in point in the 1530s is the Lyon publisher, Denys de Harsy, some of whose abundant woodcuts were copied in Paris by the best-selling printer Denis Janot.²

The wealthy Lyonnais merchants who invested in printing and publishing also employed major local artists to illustrate their books, one of the earliest of whom was the illuminator Guillaume II Leroy (ob. 1528). Dr Tramelli's

project makes instructive use of case studies of two major printer/publishers of the period 1540-60, De Tournes and Roville, who vied with each other in illustrating their books with images by Bernard Salomon, Pierre Eskrich, Georges Reverdy and others, with their contrasting styles. These case studies cast light on the strategies of these publishers, exploring how in their prefaces they viewed the place of illustration, whether in mass market editions or when aiming at the luxury market with folio bibles or richly illustrated emblem books, a speciality of Lyon.

Lyon is fortunate to have preserved an essential element of image production, the matrices (woodblocks or copperplates) from which prints were made. The remarkable Musée de l'Imprimerie in Lyon, whose collaboration in the *Biblis-sima* project was highly advantageous, contains an important collection of woodblocks, some with the original underdrawing, others engraved, which shed light on the process of illustration.

Dr Tramelli is an acknowledged art historian, a specialist on the Milanese painter and theorist Gian Paolo Lomazzo. She has in this project applied her professional skills to the art contained in book illustration, which ranges from the simplest mythological scenes to highly technical astronomical figuration, because Lyonnais book production covers a vast range of subjects, from Antiquities to Social Life, from Gods to Gestures. She has made available new digital resources in Lyon16ci and 1516, and has mapped new ways forward for planning and working with iconographic databases. This is all the more remarkable for having been achieved partly during the COVID pandemic. Her conclusions foresee the project continuing following the developments of on-going digitisation work, as well as developing a model which will integrate traditional and digital research in the iconography of book illustration, to which we can look forward with keen interest.

² See Rawles, R. (2017). *Denis Janot (Fl. 1529-1544), Parisian Printer and Bookseller: A Bibliography*. Leiden: Brill, which provides a parallel case study from Paris.

Part One

Le Livre Illustré à Lyon:
Disclosing a Digital Collection

Editorial Principles

Quotations from prefaces and treatises on art, if not otherwise indicated, are taken from the first editions. Obvious misprints from French and Italian have been silently corrected. Unless otherwise indicated, all translations (and eventual mistakes) are my own. I have provided the original language in the footnotes. Full details of all works cited are given in the bibliography.

Introduction

Aims, Sources and Methodologies: An Interdisciplinary International Project on Collecting, Indexing and Sharing the Early Modern Illustrated Book Printed in Lyon

The book offers an insight on the collection of Renaissance printed illustrations gathered and analysed during the project *Le livre illustré à Lyon (1480-1600)*. The project was funded by the Equipex Biblissima (CNRS), which had the Bibliothèque Municipale de Lyon, the Centre Gabriel Naudé and Centre d'Études Supérieures de la Renaissance in Tours as *établissements porteurs* at different stages of the project, and it cooperated with the CIHAM, the IHRIM, the ENSSIB, the Warburg Institute and the Bodleian Libraries during the years of research.

Between 2016 and 2019, the project collected a substantial number of illustrated editions printed in Lyon in the sixteenth century with the aim of identifying and indexing iconographically these illustrations. From 2019 until 2022, the project was hosted at the Venice Centre for Digital and Public Humanities of Ca' Foscari University in Venice and collaborated with the Visual Geometry Group of the Department of Engineering Science in Oxford with the aim of expanding and developing the digital resources connected to this collection. These collaborations resulted in the updated and current version of the Lyon16ci and the 1516 databases.

The volume is divided into two parts: the first part offers an insight on the corpus of images collected and analysed, and on the new methodologies of digital art history and digital iconography to index, search and share the digital collections of early modern printed images. The second part, the iconographic apparatus, presents a selection of sixty-three illustrations from books printed in Lyon in the sixteenth century following the thematic organisation of the Warburg Institute Iconographic Database. In doing this, the aim was to give a sense of which kind of books were illustrated and how images circulated in the city throughout the sixteenth century.

The printing industry in Lyon during the Renaissance is characterised by the importance given to illustrations. The early printers who worked in the city, such as Barthélemy Buyer, Guillaume Le Roy, Mathieu Husz and Jean Syber, first used German woodblocks, but soon started to commission new illustrations for different types of books (among which books of emblems, bibles, *herbaria*, descriptions of exotic countries, anatomical illustrations, astronomical schemata, and so forth). Many humanist authors, such as Rabelais, Clément Marot, Erasmus and Etienne Dolet, came to Lyon to have their works printed by professionals such as Sebastian Gryphe, Etienne Dolet, Jean de Tournes, Guillaume Roville, and others. Lyon is an exemplary case study of how printing material, woodblocks, and tools were shared and copied within and outside the city, and how the printing industry helped shape a community of men of letters, artists and printers. Which types of books were first illustrated and how? Which kinds of iconographic subjects became popular during the century? How did printers and artists exchange printing material, and how did their printing techniques change and improve during the early modern period? The ‘visual culture of books’ not only established a community of men of letters, but a precise market of books, whose illustrations should be regarded not only as vehicles of knowledge, but as an integral part of that ‘culture of beauty’ which included book illustrations.

The book analyses the digital collection created during the project, offering an overview on the production of illustrated editions in Lyon during the sixteenth century with an inherently interdisciplinary approach that combines art history, the history of the book and the new methodologies of digital iconography. It considers the il-

lustrated book not only as an object of art, but as a complex object of knowledge in which the image and the text interact in a unique and in many cases symbiotic way.

The research focused on four fundamental areas of study:

- the image (art history);
- the book (history of the book);
- the woodblock (technical art history);
- the movements and readership (history of knowledge).

In order to manage the corpus, we decided to start with a case study through bibliographic research. Thanks to the enormous bibliographic works by Henry Baudrier and Sybille von Gültlingen, we were able to retrieve and include in the Warburg Iconographic Database most of the illustrated production by the two famous printers Jean de Tournes and Guillaume Roville. Subsequently, we added some of the highlights of the illustrated production in Lyon, such as the images of the *Mirouer de la rédemption de l'humaine lignage* (Huss 1478) and a selection of emblem books, which Lyon became famous for.¹ Each file presents an iconographic indexation with a set of useful metadata, as we shall see in the second chapter of the book and in the iconographic apparatus. The choice was made to consider illustrations rather than printed pages, however, when the digital image of the whole illustrated page is not present in the file, there are always links to the entire digitized copy of the book whence the illustration is taken.

As we were dealing with material for the most part already digitized, we did not have control over the quality of the digitization. However, when sufficient digital quality was not provided, the photographer of the Warburg Institute, Dr. Ian Jones, to whom I am much indebted-

¹ The project focused on the so-called ‘golden age’ of the printing industry in the city, roughly from the 1530s until the 1560s. However, for what concerns the earlier illustrated production, and especially for the production of illustrated incunabula, new additions will soon appear in the Lyon16ci database. On the latest research of the illustrated production of incunabula, see the recent *journée d'études* at the ENSSIB, *Barthélemy Buyer et Guillaume Leroy: Autour des Premiers Imprimés Lyonnais* (<https://www.enssib.fr/colloque-barthelemy-buyer-et-guillaume-le-roy>).

ed, kindly took some of the pictures at the Bibliothèque Municipale in Lyon. It was a lengthy and exciting process while discovering and disclosing the treasures of the Fonds Anciens and comparing them with some of the holdings of other libraries (among which the Bodleian Library, the Bibliothèque Nationale de France and the Bibliothèque de Sainte-Généviève in Paris) and choosing which exemplars were best suited to be included in the database. The Warburg staff has been incredibly helpful in this respect. Dealing with digital images, we often have to choose what could and what should not be made public, and the decision of what not to include proved to be as important as what to include.

Towards the second round of funding, a collaboration with the Visual Geometry Group of the Department of Engineering Science at the University of Oxford was established, for reasons which will be explained in the second chapter. We did not aim for an exhaustive col-

lection of illustrated printed editions, which could have proved too ambitious. We collected and indexed some of the highlights of the Lyon production starting from the two case studies of Jean de Tournes and Guillaume Roville. In addition, we envisioned a possible wider scope of the project utilising the Digital Humanities methodologies. In this respect, the collaboration with the VGG proved extremely fruitful, as it allowed the creation of two databases, the Lyon16ci and the 1516. While the future and the possible developments of these collections are being discussed, this way of analysing and making a collection of digital images FAIR (findable, accessible, interoperable, and reusable) respects the principles and the open access perspective which is a fundamental part of the Digital Humanities followed by the *Biblis-sima* (now *Biblissima+*). We hope that this work will be useful for scholars working on book illustrations as well as for a wider audience.

1 Indexing and Sharing the Early Modern Printed Page

1.1 Digital Collections and the Role of Iconographic Databases: An Overview

In the past twenty years major digitization works of early modern printed books took place in various libraries across Europe and continue at a growing rate today. From the Bibliothèque Nationale de France to the Gotha Library in Erfurt, European libraries prioritise digitizing and opening their collections often in connection with research projects and institutes to connect in a lasting way. Collections are constantly being digitized and available online. Websites such as Europeana and the Bibliothèque Virtuelle Humaniste are incrementing their online resources and are making access to digital copies of books easier.¹ Moreover, increasing attention from the Digital Humanities has been devoted to the role of images in books during the early modern period (roughly between 1480 to 1680), with particular interest in the use of images in scientific publications.² Different studies inquired into the contribution of illustrations to the creation and share of different types of knowledge through the printed page, and images are increasingly studied as vehicles of knowledge to disseminate ideas and practical notions. As Valleriani and others have recently pointed out (Valleriani 2021), the insertion of an image in a book is never an accident but always brings

¹ See <https://www.europeana.eu/it/TEL>.

² See for instance the project *Making Visible: The Visual and Graphic Practices of the Early Royal Society* funded by CRASSH (2015-19), or the in-depth study of the *Sphaera* by Giovanni di Sacrobosco completed by Dr Matteo Valleriani at the Max Planck Institute for the History of Science in Berlin, who has implemented methods of social network analysis in history writing (<https://sphaera.mpiwg-berlin.mpg.de/>).

meaning to it.³ Despite many interesting case studies, however, fundamental questions such as why a book was published with or without illustrations and what role illustrations played in this complex object remain for the most part unanswered. It is safe to assume that this digital catalogue could not have seen the light without the major digitization works carried out by institutions such as the Bibliothèque Municipale de Lyon, the Bodleian Libraries in Oxford, the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, and other institutions involved in the project *Biblissima*. The work which is carried out by these institutions represents the bases for the digital fruition and analysis of collections. In the past few years, an increasing effort has also been put into developing new systems for describing images with the help of digital technologies.

Several projects have been taking advantage of the new developments for creating databases and digital tools to gather and make searchable medieval and early modern images of different kinds (illuminations, paintings, printed illustrations, stamps, etc.). Currently, we do not share a unique standard of iconographic indexation and we do not have a unique standard of inserting metadata in a database. Hence the need to discuss various methodologies in order to create connections among digital projects and iconographic databases utilising different systems of categorisation.

With the aim of discussing these methodologies, we organised the workshop *Digitising, Cataloguing, Search-*

ing and Sharing the Medieval and Early-Modern Image: On-Going Projects & Different Methodologies at the Venice Center for Digital and Public Humanities in Venice. This workshop brought together professionals and scholars involved in such projects in order to discuss the objectives and the technical features of the different platforms, data gathering strategies, methodologies adopted for the iconographic and figurative description and future developments of such databases.⁴ The main objective was to facilitate the exchange of knowledge and the creation of new operating connections within this community while offering an overview of the state of the art, as far as the treatment of digital images as objects of research is concerned. Along with more theoretical discussions on digital methods in art history (the use of distant reading, the annotation system in the ICONCLASS browser, for example), different case studies were reunited, including the *Essling LOD* project, the IUS ILLUMINATUM and IVS Communis online, the improvements in EDIT16, the collection of 14,000 woodblocks of the Officina Plantiniana recently digitized at the Plantin Moretus Museum, the BASIRA project about books as symbols in Renaissance art, the developments of the authoritative Index of Medieval Art in between the physical archive and the digital platform, the *Ornamento Europe* project, the *Biblissima* project, and the Warburg Institute Iconographic database.⁵

The *Biblissima* project, a digital library on the web, provides access to documentation on ancient manu-

³ See Kräutli, Lockhorst, Valleriani 2021: “By identifying and analysing recurring images, we can evaluate the ‘success’ of certain imagery. If we find similar images being used by different printers for the same subject, for example, this can be telling of one printer being influenced by another, or even indicate a physical exchange of woodblocks when the images are identical. In addition, we can identify when images are being replaced with new ones for the same subject. Producing woodblocks was a costly endeavour. The introduction of a new image therefore constitutes a significant and potentially informative change. The insertion of a new image represented an effective way to introduce novel scientific aspects. Tracing the use of scientific illustrations, moreover, does not show only the introduction of novel representations; it also allows to recognize which visual representation and visual language became obsolete over time, as specific kinds of illustrations were sometimes dismissed and replaced” (165-6).

⁴ I am very grateful to all the VeDPH staff for helping me organising this event, and to my colleagues Matilde Malaspina and Abhishek Dutta for conceiving and co-organising it.

⁵ For a full list of the projects discussed, see https://apps.unive.it/server/eventi/52382/01-10-2021_speakers_abstracts.pdf.

scripts and printed material, enquiring on the nature of these texts, their circulation and their readers between approximately the eighth and the eighteenth century: the corpus includes digitized ancient documents, documentary databases, editions of texts, tools for understanding these documents and producing new data. Its creation is divided into two parts: the observatory (the tools) and the corpora of scientific data (content). The Equipex *Biblissima* (*Bibliotheca bibliothecarum novissima*: Observatory of the Written Heritage of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, 2012-21) recently evolved in *Biblissima+* (Observatory of Written Cultures, from Clay to Print), and it is one of the structuring facilities for research selected in 2020 within the framework of the *investissements d'avenir* program.⁶

As we are aware, the workshop organised was only one drop in the ocean, as many institutions now offer possibilities of reflecting on what has been called “the digital turn in the humanities and science”.⁷ However, these are important and much-needed opportunities

to discuss the theoretical aspects of digital ‘r-evolution’ which brings along with the dissemination and development of the digital media, new questions about the methodology and the theoretical framework behind it. As the MPI research group Visualizing Science in Media Revolution puts it, the use of new digital tools (such as online catalogues and databases, AI prompts, or 3D modelling software) led to new ways of finding answers, and in some cases of posing questions. Especially when dealing with database collections, one needs to be aware of the reality that database designing is critical to the successful implementation of a database management system that meets the data requirements. In addition to this, when gathering a corpus of digital images, we have to acknowledge the specifics that this corpus requires in order to be represented and presented in a digital collection. As for the *Biblissima* project on Lyon illustrations, we did not build our own database. Therefore, the choice was made to utilise an existing database designed to host the collection of the project.


1.1.1 Collecting, Indexing and Sharing: The Warburg Institute Iconographic Database

The iconographic database of the Warburg Institute in London [fig. 1] follows the categorisation used in the photographic collection of the Institute. The Collection contains around 400,000 photographs of different types of artworks and it includes paintings, drawings, prints, tapestries, and others. Notably, it was begun by the art historian Aby Warburg in the late 1880s, and it is ordered by subject according to the iconographic classification system first designed by Rudolph Wittkower and Edgar Wind during the 1930s. The database follows this classi-

fication by subject, which proved to be particularly suited to the Lyon project since it focuses on the description of the images themselves, providing the possibility of ensuring a deep level of granularity in the iconographic description of each scene. The Warburg database is organised thematically: all the images are indexed according to the iconographic subject and not by year or artist, though this information is also present. This indexing method makes it possible to directly identify the subjects of different works of art, to find images for which the artist is

⁶ See <https://projet.biblissima.fr/en/project/presentation>. The program is supported by the French government and managed by the National Research Agency (ANR). It will end on 31 October 2029.

⁷ I am referring here as an example to the workshop of 2021 at the Biblioteca Hertziana in Rome (<https://www.biblhertz.it/3069990/seminar-series-reflections-on-the-digital-turn-in-the-humanities-and-the-sciences2>).



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The Warburg Institute Iconographic Database


[Show advanced search options](#)

105,100 images in 52,549 subject categories


Browse by selecting a subject category below, or search by keyword above.




ANTIQUITIES



ARCHITECTURE



ASIAN ICONOGRAPHY



ERANOS ARCHIVE

Figure 1 The Warburg Institute iconographic database homepage (<https://iconographic.warburg.sas.ac.uk/home>)

unknown, to trace the iconographic developments of the period studied, and to analyse the relationships between the images and their textual sources.

Each record in the Warburg database describes the illustrations in detail: techniques used, iconographic indexing, references, links to bibliographies, catalogues and other Digital Humanities projects that can all be included in the same digital document. The database itself is currently being developed, and the *Biblissima* project

has contributed to introducing iconographic categories by creating several subcategories in the database.

Thanks to iconographic categorisation, users have the possibility of indexing all the typologies of images (religious, mythological, scientific, etc.). The indexation work can provide detailed indexing of the different scenes depicted in each illustration. The base allows several independent yet correlated indexations, meaning contributors can index complex images according to themes or

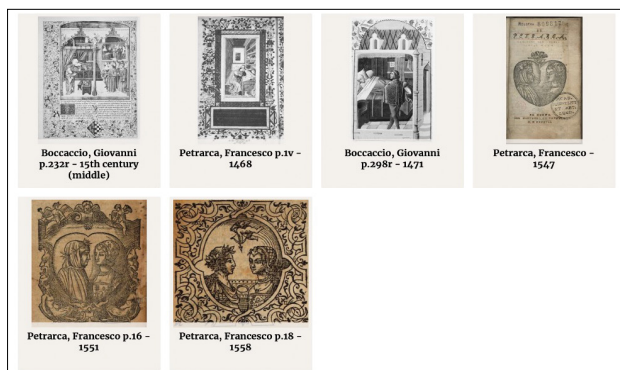


Figure 2 Database entry portraits *Francesco Petrarca* (Lyon, images 4, 5, 6) in comparison with other portraits of him (images 1, 2, 3)

categories. The base also gives the possibility of comparing the different images used by the same printer, or by different printers, to directly see the iconographic developments of the same subject represented by different artists, and to trace a path between the illustration as a whole and the parts of the image. Because of its organisation, all types of images – religious, mythological, portraits, emblems, coins, antiquities (of which the Lyon collection hosts a good number, due to the interest of this subject in the city during the century), scientific illustrations such as astrological, anatomical, and botanical – can be included in the database.

At present, above 800 editions have been listed and 2,889 images taken from these illustrated editions were indexed in the database, starting from (but not limiting the corpus to) the case study of the two printers Jean de Tournes and Guillaume Roville mentioned above. The corpus of illustrated editions that they published is searchable online under the special collection name *Le livre illustré à Lyon (1480-1600)*. The database's structure provides a straightforward comparison of the developments of sim-

Iconography

RELIGIOUS ICONOGRAPHY

Biblical cycles / Printed Cycles / Il nuovo ed eterno testamento di Giesu Christo. Lyon (de Tournes et Gazeau). 1556 (color images)

Saints / Evangelists / Matthew / Single figure

Further details

selection: color illustration. Image also used in: 'Biblia Sacra', 1554, 1556, 1558, 1569. Also used in 'La Sainte bible', 1551, 1554, 1557, 1559; 'La bible', 1561; 'Le nouveau testament', 1560; 'Figure del nuovo testamento' 1554, 1559, 1577; 'Figures du nouveau testament', 1556, 1558, 1559

Artist or creator

Salomon, Bernard (born 1508 or 1510, died 1561)

Date

1556



Figure 3 Categorisation of St. Matthew's image, with reuse of this image inserted in "Further details"

ilar iconographies in different editions such as the development of the portraits of Petrarch and Laura in various editions of Petrarch's *Triumphs* printed by Jean de Tournes and Guillaume Roville [fig. 2]. Also, the versatility of its organisation allows comparisons between the material gathered in the project with other images provided by other research scholars working on it, proving quite effective to retrieve and discover material useful for one's own research [fig. 2a-b-c].

The aim of the project *Le livre illustré à Lyon* was not only to identify the iconographic subjects of these illustrations (therefore investigating the trends and popularity of certain types of images over others), but also to pin down the reuse of the same images respectively in different editions of the same book as well as in different books. This approach ideally promotes an understanding of how images travelled and how printers cooperated with – and copied from – one another. To draw this information, we inserted the details in the general category "Further details", although it soon became obvious that such a category was not sufficient in order to systematically retrieve

the reuse of images in different books, especially for religious images widely used at the period [fig. 3].

Therefore, to obtain a systematic survey of the reuse of printed images, the project started to look for collab-

orations and found a solution in the VISE software of automatic image retrieval developed by the Visual Geometry Group (Faculty of Engineering Science, University of Oxford).⁸

1.2 The Corpus Biblissima: Categories and Iconographic Developments

The corpus *Le livre illustré à Lyon* in the Warburg database presents a selection of illustrated titles which we list partially here: *Bible en François* (Arnoullet, 1531); *Le miroir de la rédemption de l'humain lignage* (Huss, 1483); *Biblia Sacra* (de Tournes, 1556); *Il Nuovo Testamento di Giesu Cristo* (Roville, 1549); *Cosmographie de Levant* (de Tournes, 1556); *De prodigii* (de Tournes, 1554); *Hymne du temps et de ses parties* (de Tournes, 1560); *Il Petrarca* (de Tournes, 1547); *L'Apocalypse figurée* (de Tournes, 1561); *Chiromance & physionomie par le regard des membres de l'homme, faites par Iean de Indagine* (de Tournes, 1571); *Marguerites de la Marguerite de princesses* (de Tournes, 1547); *Sausalye* (de Tournes, 1547); *Il Petrarca* (Roville, 1551); *Il Petrarca* (Roville, 1558); *Eneide* (de Tournes, 1560); *Astronomique discours* (de Tournes, 1557); *Paraphrase de l'Astrolabe* (de Tournes, 1546); *Fables d'Esopé* (de Tournes, 1551, 1570, 1571); *Clement Marot* (de Tournes, 1553); *La métamorphose d'Ovide figurée* in various editions (de Tournes); *Pourtraits Divers* (de Tournes, 1557); *The emblems of Alciat in different editions* of Alciati in different editions; *Devises héroïques* (de Tournes, 1551); *Dialogue des devises d'armes* (Roville, 1561); *Quadrins historiques de la Bible* (de Tournes, 1583); *Le théâtre des bons engins* (de Tournes, 1545); *La fontaine des amoureux des sciences* (de Tournes, 1547); *Thesaurus amicorum* (de Tournes, 1596); *De turcarum moribus epitome* (de Tournes, 1555); *Illustrazione de gli*

epitaffi e medaglie antiche (de Tournes, 1558); *Commentaires de M. Pierre André Matthiole* (Roville, 1572); *Funérailles et diverses manieres d'ensevelir des Romains, Grecs, et autres nations* (de Tournes, 1581); *Délie* (Sabon, 1544); *La magnificence de la superbe et triumpante entrée de la noble & antique cité de Lyon* (Roville, 1549).

As one can see, a considerable portion of the illustrated production by Jean de Tournes has been indexed along with other editions by Guillaume Roville and some of the highlights of the sixteenth century illustrated books printed in the city. Each file follows in some respects the FAIR principles of Digital Humanities, that is to be findable, accessible, interoperable and reusable.⁹

As not to burden the database with images that repeat, so as we usually inserted the reuse of the image in "Further details" when an iconography was identical, while we reinserted it in case the iconography changed (for instance in the case of the *Pourtraits Divers* and in the *Chiromance*). Whenever possible, the image was entered into the database in high quality. To ensure this, the photographer of the Institute, Dr Ian Jones, came to take pictures of some of the books for which we did not have images of sufficient quality for the databases' standards. When the time came to choose the existing online editions already available, we chose the one with the best images. For example, we chose the Italian edition of the *Illustrazione de gli epitaffi e medaglie antiche* not only because

⁸ The outcomes of this collaboration will be analysed in detail in the next chapter.

⁹ See <https://www.go-fair.org/fair-principles/>.

that specific edition of the book presents more images in comparison with the French edition, but also because better digital images were available. All the images are under Creative Commons License.

The indexation has been done within the iconographic categories developed by the Institute and follows the subdivision of the macro-categories:

1. Antiquities;
2. Architecture;
3. Asian Iconography;
4. Eranos Archive;
5. Gestures and Expression;
6. Gods and Myths;
7. History;
8. Literature;
9. Magic and Science;
10. Image of the Black;
11. Non-Eurasian Iconography;
12. Ornament;
13. Portraits;
14. Pre-Classical Iconography;
15. Religious Iconography;
16. Ritual;
17. Secular Iconography;
18. Social Life;
19. Unidentified.

These macro-categories are then declined in granular sub-categories for a total of 52,549 subject categories and more than 105,000 images overall. The indexation

work during the project also developed new features in the database working page or encouraged it. For example, for what concerns the database records of book illustrations, there is now the possibility to add more than one book title if the same illustration was used in more than one edition of the same text or in different publications.

On the working form, in the section where information about a text or book can be added or adjusted, there is now an option called “Additional text or book”. This changes the metadata of an existing photo (not available to the public, only accessible to those working on the database itself). This option opens a separate form which allows for an unlimited number of extra titles to be tagged onto the record. The titles must be drawn from the same drop-down menu as the book titles in the regular form. There is a drop-down menu and a free field for additional information, e.g. page number. The working form has also the option to copy all the titles from the list of an existing record. The titles added via the new form will show up on the record of the image in the public interface in chronological order and underneath the main book title to which the image in the database is related. The additional titles are fully searchable through the basic and advanced search functions of the database.

Although it is not the scope of this book to go further into the technical explanation, it is worth mentioning all the improvements as the database itself is *de facto* a living creature that needs the help and support of its users in order to be sustained. Few practical examples of the sub-categories added can be found in the following scheme:

A. EMBLEMS – SYSTEMATIC CATALOGUE

Hand

.....Handling objects

.....Holding fire sword

10. Fire and Light

Candlelight

Fire burning branch

Tongues of Fire

→ Hand → Handling objects → Hands breaking coin

→ Minerals and Metals → Flintstone

→ Weapons and tools for warfare, torturing and executions → Helmet → With birds

→ Mammals → Sheep → Tied up

→ Plants and Trees → Branch (generic)

→ Domestic tools → Pail

→ Domestic tools → Smudge pot

→ Plants and Trees → Olive branch → interlaced with arrow

→ Weapons and tools for warfare, torturing and executions → Arrows → interlaced with branch

→ Domestic tools → Sack

→ Mythological figures, creatures and objects → Phoenix

→ Buildings → Portcullis

→ Insignia and Jewels → Crown (generic) → Crown on portcullis

→ Mythological figures, creatures and objects → Sphinx

→ Celestial bodies → Moon → Interlaced moons

→ Insignia and Jewels → Crown (generic) → Crown on moon

→ Insignia and Jewels → Necklace

B. RELIGIOUS ICONOGRAPHY

.....07. Old Testament

.....05. Genesis

.....25. The Fall and Expulsion

.....42. Adam and Eve clothing themselves (Gen. 3-7)

.....25. Abraham and the three angels

30. Prophecy of the destruction of Sodoma (Gen. 18:20-5)

.30b. Lot and the destruction of Sodom

55. Lot and his daughters hide in the cave (Gen. 19:30)

...50. Abraham and Isaac

.....55. Sarah's death

Burial

Genesis

.....70. Jacob

.....02. Birth of Esau and Jacob (Gen. 25)

.30c. Jacob after his return to Canaan (Gen. 32-5)

48. Jacob buries the idols under the turpentine tree (Gen. 35:4)

..60. The division of Israel, Roboam and Jeroboam, the Man of God (3 Kings 11-14)

.....04. Ahias and Jeroboam (3 Kings 11:26-35)

.....Ahias divides his garment into twelve parts

.....65. Ahias predicts the destruction of the family of Jeroboam (3 Kings 14)

....25. 3 Kings (A.V. I Kings)

.....68. Asa (4 Kings 15-16)

.....13. Asa destroys the idol

16. Zambri destroys all the house of Baasa (3 Kings 16:12)

3 Kings (A.V. I Kings)

.....83. Achab and Benadad (3 Kings 20)

.....Achab frees Benadad

4 Kings (A.V. II Kings)

.....08. The kings of Israel, Juda, and Edom, fight against the king of Moab (4 Kings 3)

15. Miracles of Eliseus (4 Kings 4-6:7)

.....05. Water without rain (4 Kings 3)

.....05. Punishment of Adonibezec (Jud. 1:6-7)

.....07. Exodus

.....45. The Tabernacle

.....97. Moving of the tabernacle

17. Judges

.....30. Deborah, Barak and Jael (Jud. 4)

.....55. The canticle of Deborah and Barak after their victory (Jud. 5)

35. The men of Dan rob Michas in his house (Jud. 8:14-25)

98. The cloud of the Lord by day and the fire by night (Exod. 40:36)

C. GODS & MYTHS

Adonis

→ Venus and Adonis

62. Adonis transformed into flower

Historia Troiana

.....25. Heroes and Heroines

.....Hecuba

.....60. Taken by the Greeks

Vulcan
Myths
25. Forging the arms of Achilles
.....Polydorus
Aeneas
45. The transformation of Aeneas' ships (Ov. Book XIV:527-65)
Diana
.....30. Myths.....Diana resuscitating Hyppolitus

Substantial work has been done on the two main categories of 'Emblems' and 'Religious Iconography'. Links to other useful projects related to emblem books have been added such as the French Emblems at the Glasgow project.¹⁰ This information is inserted via the 'Web resources' section which includes the links to the catalogue entry of the Bibliothèque Municipale de Lyon, the link to the digital copy of the work, and the links to useful parallel projects. Originally, a link to the USTC (Universal Short Title Catalogue) was also included, which is now in need of being updated as the old link no longer applies.¹¹

Priority was given to illustrations that were iconographically relevant in order to provide useful descriptions of the images. It is challenging to summarise the work done on digital resources, which is usually the issue when explaining in detail the work of digital humanists. However, in the iconographic apparatus of this monograph (see Part Two) I selected different examples following the main types of iconographies indexed in the database (religion, history and literature, emblems, science, pattern books and miscellanea). The work could be expanded in different directions: only a few examples

were given, for instance, for what concerns illustrations of antiquarian books, such as the *Illustratione de gli Epitaffi et Medaglie Antiche* or the *Thesaurus Amicorum*, which were also a noticeable genre of illustrations in Lyon during the sixteenth century, and the project did not focus on the vast production of illustrated incunabula.¹²

Nonetheless, the selection presented here aims at giving a meaningful overview of the type of iconographies circulating at the time, how we indexed these types, and how they were reused in the city during the sixteenth century. Most of all, it illustrates the digital methodologies utilised for this kind of research, from the iconographic database to the use of the VISE software for the reuse of images (see chapter 2). As for the indexation work, the Warburg system is a good example of how the material was analysed, as we followed this model for our analysis of the corpus, but we are aware that other effective and authoritative systems exist, as for instance the Iconclass software (recently published with a new interface) and the Index of Medieval Art.¹³ These different methodologies have many advantages and should be considered in more detail in order to understand the possible intersec-

¹⁰ See <https://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/french/>.

¹¹ See <https://www.ustc.ac.uk>.

¹² For the former see <https://iconographic.warburg.sas.ac.uk/category/vpc-taxonomy-014276>; for the latter (edition printed in Geneva) see https://iconographic.warburg.sas.ac.uk/results?mi_search_type=adv&mi_adv_search=yes&adv_reference_id=vpc-book-01389.

¹³ For Iconclass see <https://iconclass.org>; for IMA: <https://theindex.princeton.edu>. I wish to thank Etienne Posthumus for his participation in the workshop in 2021 and his invaluable work on developing and promoting the new Iconclass version.

tions and to envision a shared future for the indexation of the digital image.¹⁴

As David Landau recently stated (Landau 2024), the act of making a catalogue, analogical or digital, implies a selection and a series of compromises on what to exhibit and what not to. Especially for prints and printed illustrated books, this selection is necessarily a painful one,

as we have no choice but to take these illustrations out of their context. One of the benefits of the digital realm is that such lost context is partially retrievable thanks to the link to the whole digitized book. Additionally, when inscribed into the digital context, a corpus of images can be further enquired upon.

1.2.1 The Role of Matrices: The Collection at the Musée de l'Imprimerie in Lyon

Fairly in recent years, art historians increasingly shifted their research focus to the role of materials and tools as key narrators of the artistic process as well as bearers of artistic value in themselves.¹⁵ There is a growing number of scholars working on exciting material (Savage 2018).¹⁶ For a comprehensive study of printed images, surviving cut woodblocks convey essential information which the final product cannot offer; concerning (but not limited to) artists' techniques and ways of working, which are fundamental to addressing the complex issues of style and attribution.

One central focal point of the project is to understand how these objects were produced, used, and shared among printers and artists in the early modern period. However, the research on them faces three main challenges related to the following issues. Firstly, early modern surviving matrices are relatively rare compared to the final print. Secondly, museums and cultural institutions still need a universal system to categorise them and to display them (there are cases in which collections matrices

have been found in Museums' basements or attics). Finally, these collections are rarely available online.¹⁷ The project included the study of a selection from the collection of 400 sixteenth-century woodblocks photographed and catalogued in the Musée de l'Imprimerie et de la Communication Graphique in Lyon, which gives a substantial contribution in these three directions, by including these matrices in the Lyon16ci database and making them available online for analysis and automatic comparison.¹⁸

The digital methodologies for the study of this material are being developed at a very fast pace, and in this growing field often the theory usually follows the practice (Bergel 2019). We will focus on the technical aspects in the following chapter, and we wish to give an overview on the collection of the Lyonnais Printing Museum which is not yet available online. The Museum itself constitutes an interesting reality in the context of printing museums, as it explains and analyses all the phases of the printing process, from the discovery of typography to the creation of

¹⁴ On this matter I mention the work of Hans Brandhorst (2022), whom I thank for the discussion in the Venice workshop: https://iconclass.org/read/2022_meaningfulpatterns.pdf.

¹⁵ See for instance the ARTECHNE project on the concept of 'technique' funded by the ERC at the Universities of Amsterdam and Utrecht.

¹⁶ On the technical aspects of printmaking see the latest work of Savage 2021; Stijnman 2012; Bushart, Steinle 2015. For a collective study on collections of early modern woodblocks, see Aldovini, Landau, Urbini 2016. My project does not consider the German production on which extensive work has been done.

¹⁷ One notable example of digitization is the excellent work carried out at the Plantin Moretus Museum in Antwerp by the curator Joost Depuydt: they have digitized over 4,000 woodblocks of botanical illustrations belonging to the museum, and they are currently working on copperplates.

¹⁸ I am very grateful to Dr Hélène-Sybille Beltran for her invaluable help and collaboration during my research and teaching in the Museum.



Figure 4 Image for the burial of different biblical figures, in *Les Figures de la Bible*. Sixteenth century. Woodblock, 5 × 8 cm. Lyon, Musée de l'Imprimerie et de la Communication Graphique

the modern book. It also has a model of an original printing press, and it offers a printing workshop where students can practise the art of printing. It further showcases the first book printed in French, a French translation of the *Legenda Aurea* (1476), and the first French illustrated book, namely the *Mirouer de la rédemption de l'hu-*

man lignaige (Lyon, 1478). A useful introduction on the appearance of the image in the book is given to the visitor at the beginning of the permanent exhibition (room 2).

Before the contemporary part, the museum also offers a comparison between local styles, presenting two editions of the *Songe de Poliphile* and the two Terences: by



Figure 5 After Bernard Salomon, *The Drunken Noah with His Sons* (Gen. 9:22-3). Sixteenth century. Drawing on wood, 5 × 8 cm. Lyon, Musée de l'Imprimerie et de la Communication Graphique

Trechsel (Lyon, 1493) and by Grüninger (Basel, 1496). Many examples of the golden age of Lyon books, from Hans Holbein and Guillaume Le Roy, are displayed of de Tournes Bibles and Roville's production.

Among the most beautiful pieces on display are the *Herodiani historicae*, printed in 1493 in Bologna, and be-

longing to Guillaume Du Choul. The 400 sixteenth-century woodblocks are part of the exceptional collections of 600 printing matrices on wood (most measuring 5 × 8 cm), which illustrate various printed editions of the Bible. As Vanessa Selbach pointed out (2008, 77), the particularity of this set of woodcuts - in addition to their number,

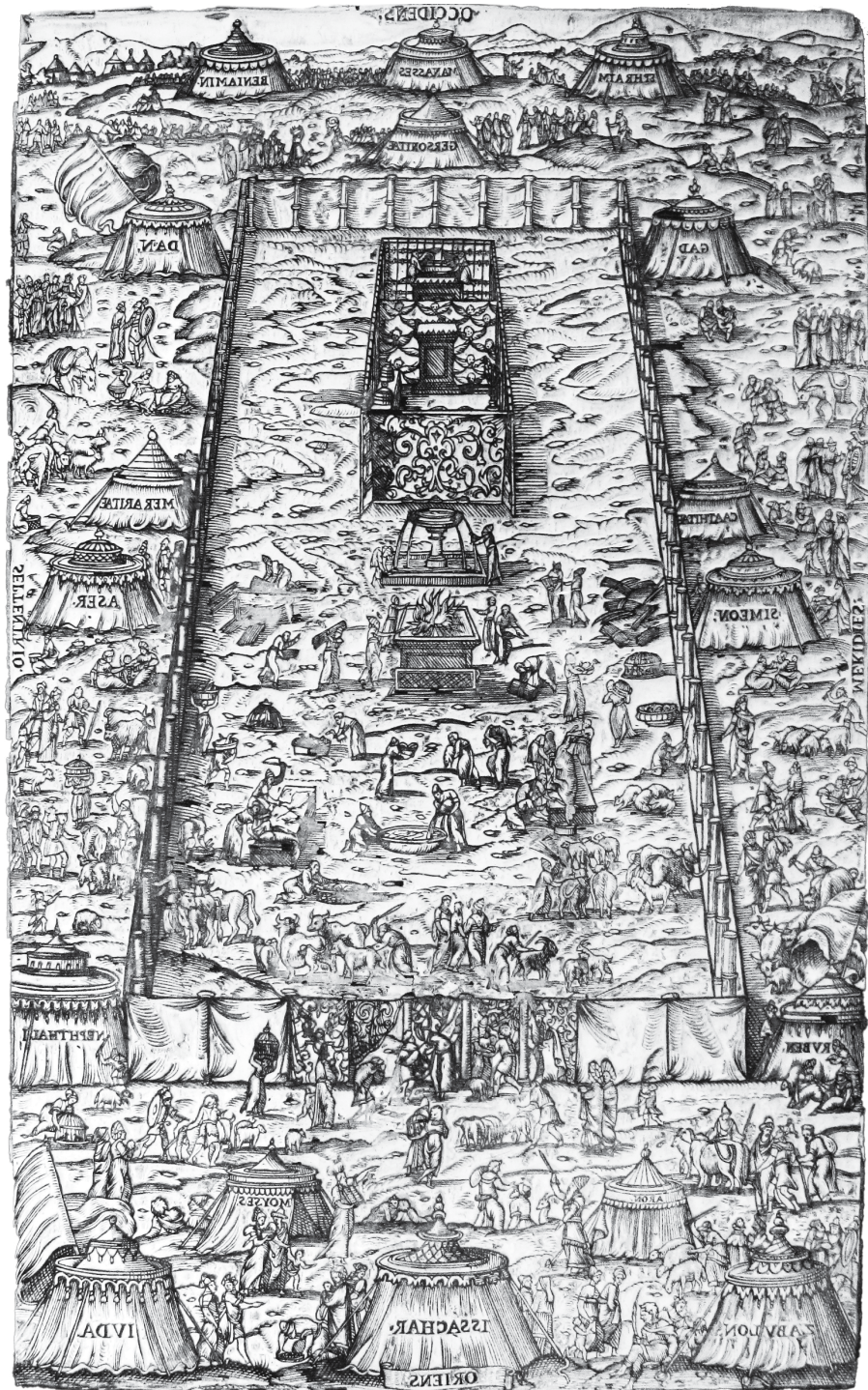


Figure 6
The Building of the Temple, in Les Figures de La Bible. Sixteenth century.
Woodblock, 5 × 8 cm. Lyon, Musée de l'Imprimerie
et de la Communication Graphique

which constitutes a rarity in the context of surviving matrices from the period - is their remarkable homogeneity since they are true series which continue: almost 400 woodcuts from the sixteenth century, supplemented for the sake of harmonisation by more than 200 woodcuts engraved at the turn of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. These served for many editions of *Les Figures de la Bible* in Lyon, Paris, and Brittany, from the sixteenth century up to the nineteenth century.¹⁹

The museum acquired this collection in 1963 (see Audin 1963), and to the extent of my knowledge, the corpus has not been digitized in its entirety yet. The collection of woodblocks after Salomon were ordered by Philippe Tinghi for his 1569 edition of the Bible. Tinghi wanted 131 woodblocks for the considerable sum of 947 *livres* (Selbach 2008, 82). These woodblocks copied the compositions of Bernard Salomon for the Old Testament [fig. 4] [cat. I.12-13, I.18], some in the same direction, others in the opposite direction to those of Salomon. Figure 4, for instance, shows a woodblock which was used in many editions for the burial of many protagonists of the Bible, and it could be inscribed in that genre of 'generic image' such as those angels without attributes which we find several times in one single book with different iconographic meanings.

The cutter is not known for certain although the name of Jean Rosset was one possibility (Audin 1963). Tinghi sold the woodblocks and two other series of matrices to the bookseller Barthélémy Honorat, who completed the series adding 190 woodblocks. He also orders 150 more woodblocks to be executed, whose engraver Selbach identifies with Pierre Eskrich (Selbach 2008), of

which some are signed "Petrus Eskricheus inventor". A part of this collection was reused again at the end of the seventeenth century in the three cities of Paris, Geneva, and Lyon.²⁰

Moreover, the collection also presents a 'second stage' of the making of a print and includes some sixteenth-century drawings on wood, which were not cut in the end for various possible reasons. For example, figure 5 describes the scene in which the sons of Noah cover him to hide his drunkenness, a scene which was represented visually in the majority of illustrated bibles of the period [fig. 5]. The same goes for the scene of the building of the temple [fig. 6]. In this case, we have for some of the scenes already cut scene, with different compositions. Therefore, it is safe to agree with Selbach that the drawn block was a backup woodblock which, in the end and most probably for reasons of economy, was not cut.

The collection in addition presents some botanical images from Mattioli [cat. V.60-1] and other types of later woodblocks. We did not digitize this corpus, but we were able to take pictures and receive some other pictures from the generosity of other scholars working on this material.²¹ The matrices were not included in the Warburg database, but the digital images of these materials were collected in the Lyon16ci database at a later stage of the project.

Certainly, this material is an excellent way of investigating the reuse of images and printing tools, and a comprehensive catalogue would be needed in order to open up the research on matrices. Compelling projects in this direction exist, such as the already mentioned collection of woodblocks of the Officina Plantiniana, which digitized

¹⁹ As Selbach notes, the interest for this particular set arose quite early already in the eighteenth century (see Papillon 1766, 1: 259).

²⁰ For a detail account of the fate of these blocks, see the informative article by Selbach 2008.

²¹ I wish to thank especially Prof. Richard Field from Yale University, who was kind enough to share some photos he took in Lyon and Geneva.

the entire massive collection of woodblocks linking them to basic descriptions in the online catalogue.²²

In Italy, we have the exceptional collection of 4,000 woodcuts by Ulisse Aldrovandi preserved at the Palazzo Poggi Museum and at the Biblioteca Universitaria in Bologna.²³ In Venice, the Museo Correr notably holds a substantial collection of 875 woodblocks used from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century in the printing of book illustrations, loose leaves, and fabric (see Andreoli 2015). To mention another example of good practices, the Fondazione Giorgio Cini published in 2019 the *Atlante delle xilografie italiane del Rinascimento*, which includes a substantial selection of woodblocks in its online collection,

providing detailed descriptions of each woodblock as well as complete bibliographical references.²⁴

However, despite these interesting cases, a comprehensive catalogue of French woodblocks, following the lines of Schreiber (1926) for German matrices, does not exist. Another level of complexity in dealing with this material is the lack of comprehensive and standardised metadata insertion in online and offline catalogues. This is therefore a field of study that opens up different research directions, and the tools for image recognition offer new methods of analysis and categorisation for the study of these materials.

²² On this, see the article by Van den Bossche (2023). For the collection of woodblocks online see: <https://museumplantinmoretus.be/nl/impressedbyplantin/>.

²³ See <https://sma.unibo.it/it/il-sistema-museale/museo-di-palazzo-poggi/catalogazione-della-collezione-di-tavolette-xilografiche-di-ulisse-aldrovandi>.

²⁴ See Aldovini, Landau, Urbini 2020 presenting the database "L'atlante delle xilografie italiane del Rinascimento: obiettivi, struttura, prospettive", in the workshop organised by the Giorgio Cini Foundation, *Discorso sul metodo. Stampe e illustrazioni nel Rinascimento* in 2020. I thank the organisers for the invitation. For the database see <https://archivi.cini.it/storiaarte/archive/IT-SDA-GUI001-000038/atlane-xilografie-italiane-del-rinascimento.html>.

2 The Travel of the Image and the Role of the Digital Humanities

2.1 Digital Methodologies for the Study of Similar Images

Last October (2023), during the workshop *Ähnlichkeit und Methode: Digitale Perspektiven für die Arbeit mit historischem Bildmaterial* organised at the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel, I had the opportunity to discuss with different scholars working on projects involving the recognition of similar patterns in digital visual material.¹ This interesting event organised by Dr Hartmut Beyer invited representatives of art history departments and visual studies as well as experts in AI and image-related Digital Humanities (digital and visual studies) to present their research and the new developments in this field. Thanks to a fruitful discussion, we reflected on the concept of similarity using AI recognition software, exploring the possible change in its meaning(s) from both a theoretical and practical perspective.

As the program stated, the search for similarities can be considered a fundamental method of Digital Humanities in the field of image analysis. Automatic image processing refers to the concept of similarity in many ways, and the development of AI-supported image recognition, along with the continuous expansion of digital image collections in the art historical field, stimulates the development of approaches using criteria of 'visual similarity'. In addition to image similarity searches for extremely heterogeneous databases, tools tailored to specific collections are emerging: they serve more specific research interests, such as the Lyon16ci database.

¹ See <https://www.hab.de/event/portapp/>.

It is clear how the category of similarity is gaining new relevance due to current technical developments, insofar as machine analysis reveals a large number of similarities, the classification of which is only possible through comprehensive consideration of the possible relationships between images, their meaning and their interpretation.

Some of the following questions were addressed in the workshop, which is useful to report here: can traditional similarities between images be traced using information technology methods? How can machine-determined similarities be explained using image technology? Which visualisation methods support image scientific evaluation? How can transfers between visual media and artistic techniques be handled? How can similar images be recognised despite additions, revisions, and variations?

These and other interesting issues arise when we are working with the integration of AI-supported approaches to art historical research, such as automatic object recognition or digital form/style analysis, whose digital possibilities are growing at a fast pace. As for the workshop organised in Venice (see previous chapter), the need was clear to build a platform of scholars and experts working with similar methodologies although with different materials – from sixteenth-century illustrations to ancient Greek imagery, from auction houses catalogues to the classifications of plants and flowers in seventeenth-century books.

The discussion focused on the new possibilities opened in the realm of digital art history, outlining the limits and

benefits for scholars to use these digital technologies in terms of access and discovery of the collections, collaboration, and shared research.

One of the fundamental questions is how to interrogate this data and to structure the methodology of research both in quantitative and qualitative terms, because we – as scholars – think about our material in much more critical ways when we use the digital version of our corpus of images, as these become part of a system of their own, in terms of digital collection and in terms of the world they are embedded into, that is the semantic web, a system of relations to different entities.²

Given that the digital opens up new ways of ‘seeing the unseen’, and granted that the digitized object will never be a substitute of the material object itself (e.g. the illustrated book), these new methodologies enrich the research and generate new data to be critically analysed. The *Biblissima* project offered an interesting case study in this direction, not only for the use of the Warburg database as a digital collection of images, but also for what concerns the collaboration with the Visual Geometry Group at the Department of Engineering Science at the University of Oxford. We know that research questions in the Digital Humanities often develop iteratively. In the case of the Lyon project, the collaboration started to investigate the reuse of similar/same images in different editions/books. The outcomes of this collaboration were in fact a point of departure for exploring these questions.

2.1.1 Finding, Seeing and Comparing: The Collaboration with the Visual Geometry Group

One of the central questions at the beginning of the Lyon project was in which contexts book illustrations were reused, in which publications, and for which purposes. The Warburg database was not specifically built to an-

swer these questions. Therefore, we looked for new possibilities in the emerging field of the Digital Humanities.

Thanks to Prof. Richard Cooper, we managed to start a collaboration with the Visual Geometry Group in Oxford di-

² On this topic, see the works of Jaskot 2019; 2020; Zweig 2015; Grau 2016.

rected by Prof. Andrew Zisserman.³ The group utilises for several research projects the VISE software, an automatic image retrieval software that allows users to automatically trace the reuse of images.⁴ With the help of the senior research software engineer Dr Abhishek Dutta, in 2019 we created a first demo called Lyon16ci [fig. 7], which is publicly accessible and accepts contributions of new illustrations and metadata from experts and research scholars interested in early modern printed illustrations.⁵ It contains a selection from the collection of around 10,000 images.

The VISE software has already been utilised for different projects on book illustrations, among which the project directed by Cristina Dondi on fifteenth-century illustrations and the chapbooks project by Dr Giles Bergel.⁶ It proved especially useful in order to retrieve images used in different editions of the same books as well as in different publications.

In the Lyon16ci, we included all the illustrated pages we possessed without worrying about the repetition of images, as we could not do in the Warburg database, in which the reuse of an image had to be inserted in “Further details”, and creating new files including images with identical iconographies that repeated themselves was justifiably discouraged. An already structured database, not specifically built for one type of images (namely book illustrations), necessarily presents structural boundaries which we do not encounter when we decided to use our own demo. In this respect, the corpus could be (and was encouraged to be) enlarged, as the point of the visual search is exactly to look for similar/identical images in a large corpus of digital files.

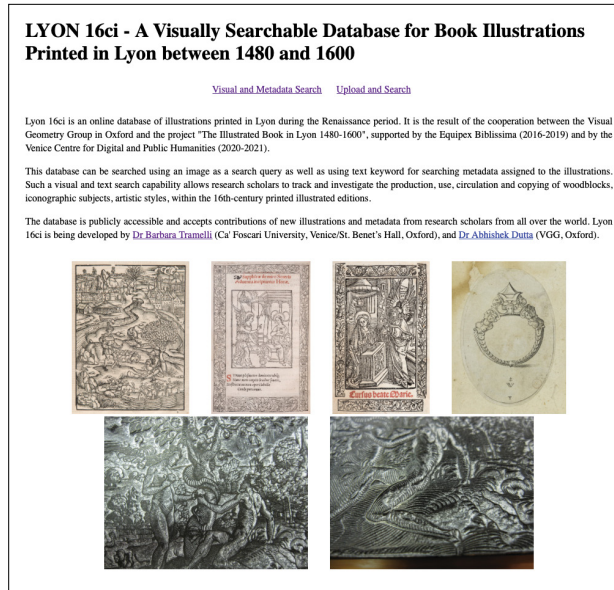


Figure 7 The Lyon16ci database homepage (<https://www.robots.ox.ac.uk/~vgg/research/16ci/lyon/>)

The visual search in these databases is intuitive and can be easily done: images matching the initial query are found by searching for images that share a large number of similar features with the query one. Features are represented and stored in a way that allows fast lookup and comparison. Visual content in each detected region is denoted by a feature vector (i.e. sequence of numbers like 67, 82, 9, 15, ..., 33, 59); these feature vectors can summarise visual content of the region in such a way that

³ See the Visual Geometry Group homepage: <https://www.robots.ox.ac.uk/~vgg/>.

⁴ See <https://www.robots.ox.ac.uk/~vgg/software/vise/>. The list of research projects and the build demos which utilise the Imagematching software can be found at the following address: <https://www.robots.ox.ac.uk/~vgg/demo/>.

⁵ See the Lyon16ci database website: <https://www.robots.ox.ac.uk/~vgg/research/16ci/lyon/>.

⁶ For Prof. Dondi's project see <http://zeus.robots.ox.ac.uk/15cillustration/home>; for Dr Bergel's project see <http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk>. On the project see Bergel, Dutta, Zimmermann 2021; Dondi et al. 2020.

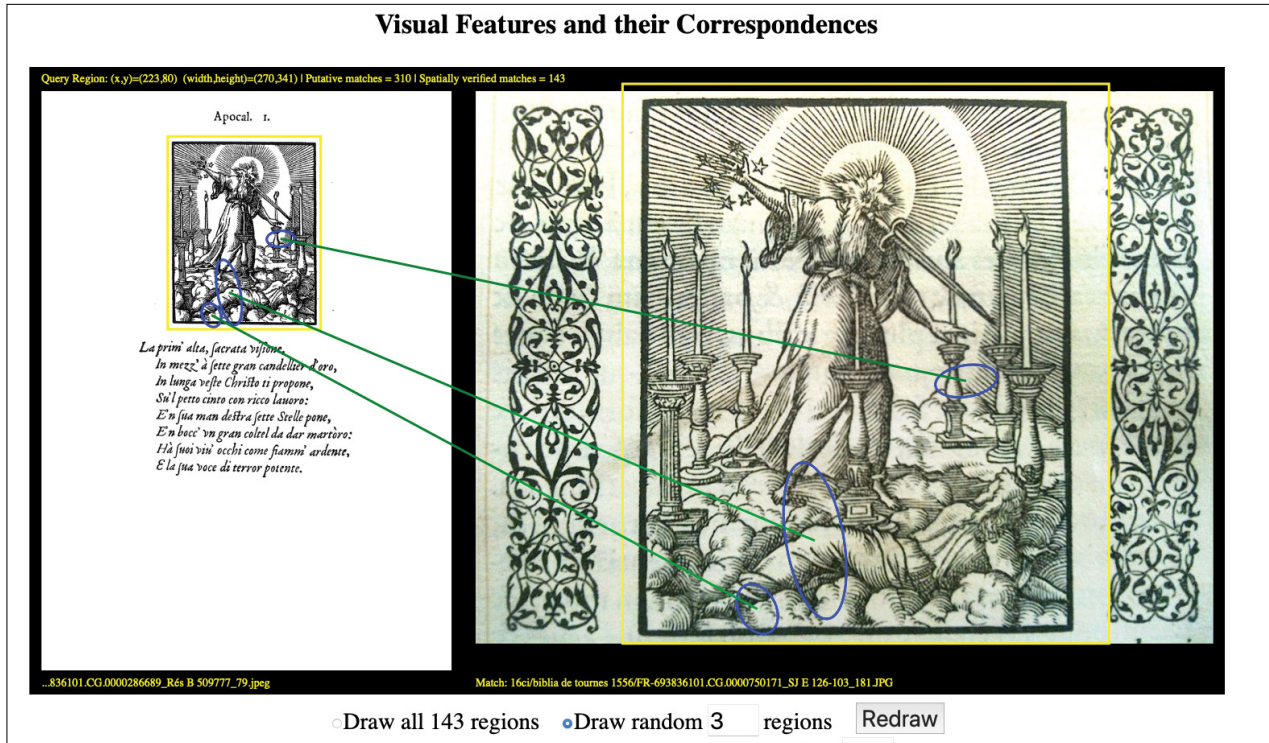


Figure 8 Feature vectors in the Lyon16ci

two regions having similar visual content produce similar feature vectors [fig. 8]. These regions can be consistently detected even when the image content is scaled, rotated or translated, or there is an illumination change or slight change of viewpoint, making the search very flexible for the user [fig. 12].⁷

After the Lyon16ci, we established a collaboration with Dr Matilde Malaspina (University of Copenhagen), whose

work included a substantial corpus of fifteenth-century images, among which many illustrated editions of Aesop, which resulted in the second demo, called the 1516 database.⁸ We wanted to see whether the combination of the two corpora was possible, and which results we could obtain. The combination of these two projects required some work in terms of harmonisation of metadata, for example, and part of the filenames of the Lyon corpus had to be

⁷ Dondi et al. 2020, 841-69.

⁸ See the 1516 project website: <https://www.robots.ox.ac.uk/~vgg/research/1516/>.

changed from the USTC to the HPB number for reasons of coherence with the MEI number of the fifteenth-century corpus.

This collaboration was compelling in many respects. The database is currently publicly accessible. The 1516 project took the established database of the existing 15cil-

lustration database as a starting point, which is based solely on illustrations printed in the fifteenth century. The possibility of searching together images printed in the fifteenth and in the sixteenth centuries represents a natural and novel step forward, as woodblocks and iconographic themes travelled well beyond chronological boundaries.

2.2 Visualisation Methods and Image Search

Both the Lyon16ci and 1516 projects use VGG Image Search Engine (VISE), which is a purely academic, free and open-source software for visual search of a large number of images using an image as a search query.⁹ The databases can combine different types of searches: instant search (using visual regions), metadata search (using textual metadata, bibliographic and descriptive), and comparative search (uploading the user's own image to search correspondences in the database).

Some examples of search queries are the following:

Metadata Search

- Show all the images that have 'Aesop' keyword in their bibliographic and descriptive metadata.
- Show all the images that have keywords beginning with 'Aesop*' (e.g. Aesop, Aesopus...).
- Search for images with 'Aesop AND Dog' keywords in their bibliographic and descriptive metadata.
- Search for images with 'Aesop AND Dog OR Bird' keywords in their bibliographic and descriptive metadata.
- Group all images by their ISTC identifier or by year.

Visual Search examples

- Search using a full image (matches border frames).
- Search using an image region.

For the metadata search, the database includes the Heritage of Printed Books number (HPB), an internal file ID, the filename constituted by the formula: '16ci/short title, printer, date/HPB_inventory number_page, complete title, format, place and year', as the example shows:

File Id 2

Filename
16ci/Biblia sacra de tournes1554/FR-693836101.CG.0000262161_Rés
808229_1024.jpeg
HPB Id. FR-693836101.CG.0000262161
Title
Biblia Sacra ad optima quaeque veteris, vt vocant, tralationis exemp-
laria summa
diligentia, pari[ue] fide castigata
Format 8°
Place Lugduni (apud Ioan. Tornaesium)
Year 1554¹⁰

⁹ See the VISE software homepage: <https://www.robots.ox.ac.uk/~vgg/software/vise/>.

¹⁰ The source is the 1516 database website.

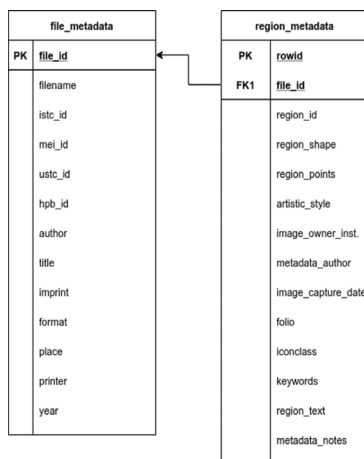


Figure 9 SQLite database schema for 1516 project

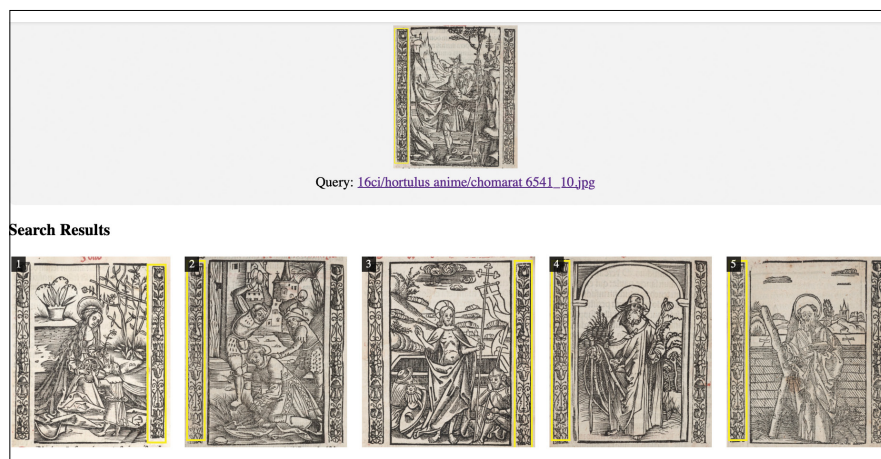


Figure 10 Example of a search query in the Lyon16ci selecting decorative frames

The visual search can be easily experimented with, as it is the most intuitive and immediate search on the corpus of images. The user can select with the part of the digitized image which is of interest (for example a decorative frame [fig. 10]) and the software can retrieve all images that are identical and/or to a chosen degree similar to the search query. Though the degrees of similarity can vary, the software is very effective in retrieving identical images. Users can therefore explore the corpus independently, and they can also search by metadata, which is still to be implemented. Finally, they can take an active role in updating their own images in the database in order to look for similar images in the corpus. The versatility and intuitiveness of the Lyon16ci in the search and visualisation of items allow the visual research to be free

and, in a way, ‘customizable’, as it is up to the researchers to build up the corpus of images which they are interested in and to create their collections.

For this purpose (visual annotation) different tools exist, including free ones, some of which are very well made and quite advanced on the AI side, and it would be interesting to understand which are the most accurate; it is not certain that the answer is univocal, in the sense that depending on the type of images or on the type of annotation one could perform better than the other. In any case, it is interesting to note how a system can identify similar visual aspects, if and how profitably it can be used to automate part of the annotation process on a large scale.¹¹

Visual image search involves using an image as a search query – instead of keywords common in text search –, and

¹¹ I thank Dr Daniele Fusi for suggesting tools other than the VGG image annotator (<https://www.robots.ox.ac.uk/~vgg/software/via/>) which I list here: <https://mosaicdatascience.com/2021/02/17/open-source-annotation-tools-for-computer-vision-review/>; Visual Object Tagging Tool (VoTT), <https://github.com/microsoft/VoTT>; Computer Vision Annotation Tool (CVAT), <https://github.com/opencv/cvat>.



Figure 11 After Bernard Salomon, *Adam and Eve*. Detail. Sixteenth century. Woodblock, 5 × 8 cm. Lyon, Musée de l'Imprimerie et de la Communication Graphique

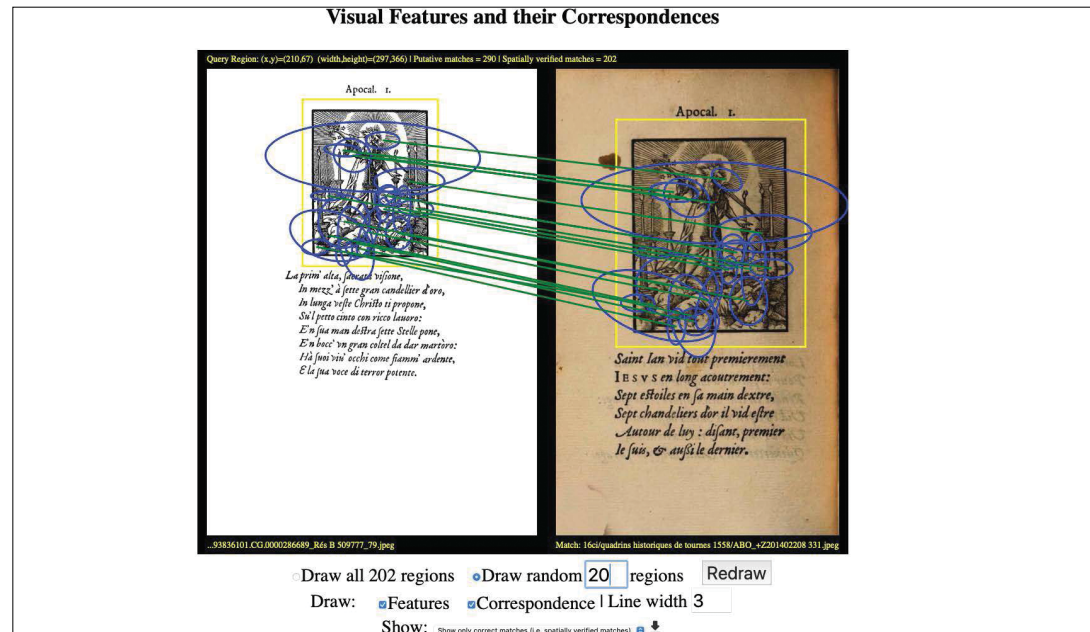
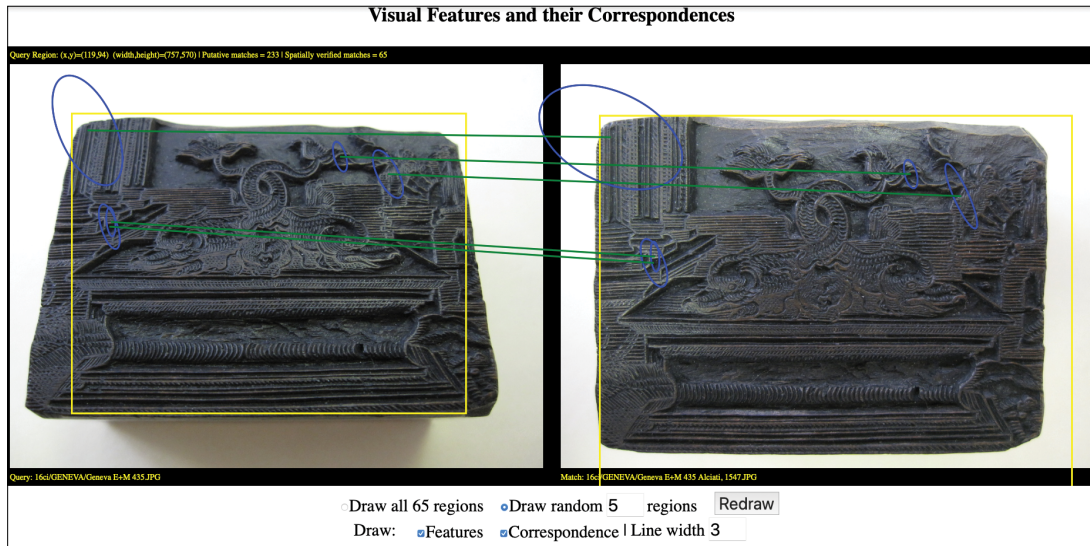


Figure 12 Example of automatic image retrieval in the Lyon16ci using a matrix

Figure 13 Example of similar regions selected by the Imagematching software in different books

the search operation results in a set of images that have visual content similar to the search query. The VGG Image Search Engine software provides such a visual search capability to instantaneously search through a database of thousands of illustrations included in this Lyon16ci project. The VISE software performs visual search by finding and matching image regions that can be consistently detected even when the image content is scaled, rotated or translated, or when there is a change due to hand-illumination or a slight change in viewpoint. These are the variations that we observe when photographing an object or an illustration from different viewpoints or under different illumination conditions [fig. 12]. Thanks to this software, we are able to automatically retrieve images with different degrees of similarity, from identical to lower rates. It will create new metadata on the corpus of digital images inserted, which will range from the late fifteenth to the mid-seventeenth centuries.

Working with a digital model for printed illustrations is challenging and at the same time it opens up new opportunities: the digital image is embedded in a world of its own, the so-called 'semantic web', a system of relations to different entities in which the image never stands alone. In this case, the system allows the user to see what could not be seen before, changing the ways in which we think about images *per se*, as we become more aware of the path of the image through different publications. The

Lyon16ci is a format that makes the most of the digital medium, including rethinking the relationship between text and image and between images.

During the digital part of the project we were also able to experiment with including the digital images of matrices we collected [figs 11-12]: this inclusion constitutes a turning point in the study of printed illustrations because, as we mentioned earlier, for a comprehensive study of printed images, surviving cut woodblocks convey essential information which the final product cannot offer, concerning (but not limited to) artists' techniques and ways of working the material. These matrices are now available in the database for analysis and automatic comparison between them, and the next step will be to compare a matrix with the final illustration.¹²

Once more, the main aim of using the VISE software was to be able to trace more efficiently the reuse of identical images between roughly 1470 and 1650 in different editions as well as in different books [fig. 13], retrieving all the similarities between the images compared. As researchers such as Kräutli, Lockhorst and Valleriani (2012) showed in their research, by identifying and analysing images that recur in different publications, the success of certain imageries over others can be understood, with different implications. Moreover, tracing the reuse of images helps to understand the trends and shifts in popularity of certain types of images over others (Kräutli, Lockhorst, Valleriani 2012, 165).

2.2.1 The Collections in the Lyon16ci and 1516 Databases: Future Perspectives

The methodology of digital art history was defined for the first time twenty years ago as a discipline in its own right (Schreiban, Siemes, Unswort 2004). As scholars working with digital models in our area of expertise, we are aware of the liabilities and uncertainties of the upcoming developments: models are created at a fast pace – through dig-

itization projects, archival production prototypes, virtual rendering, image study, metadata production and classification schemes, to name only the most visible elements of the digital landscape. As recent scholarship puts it, there are many ways in which we can utilise different digital visual analysis techniques not only to reveal the unseen in

¹² I thank Dr Giles Bergel for the many interesting discussion and for the collaboration with the VeDPH during the past years.

art historical objects, but also to reconsider the use, display and future preservation of the objects themselves.¹³

Digital tools for the cataloguing and visualisation of the cultural heritage in all its forms are constantly evolving, and they benefit from not only technological but methodological advances in Digital Humanities. Concretely, the different methodologies adopted by humanists in recent years have provided various opportunities to rethink the creation and management of new databases and repositories such as the Lyon16ci and the 1516 databases, which from 2019 also benefited from the expertise of the members of the Venice Centre for Digital and Public Humanities at Ca' Foscari University in Venice.¹⁴

The new digital contexts are opening new possibilities in order to make research results public and to follow new lines of investigation, using the growing number of online repositories not only to consult, but to retrieve, visualise and analyse digital images in new ways. For the illustrated book in Lyon project, we found relatively new digital ways to address different research questions. Firstly, we gathered a corpus of images to be described in detail in the already well-established Warburg iconographic database. Secondly, for what concerns the reuse of images, we collaborated with the VGG to create a new online database which allows direct search and comparison of similar images from the collected corpus. Thirdly, we started a collaboration merging similar but different corpora of fifteenth and sixteenth-century book illustrations to create the 1516 database, as a coherent evolutionary step of the Lyon16ci.

These databases are still a work in progress and, as living creatures, they are meant to be actively used by scholars who want to search through these digital collections, not only passively analysing the search results, but becoming active contributors to these resources. As

is often the case with conceptual and methodological theorisations about new digital tools, we started with a case study in order to unveil the theory under it. It is therefore essential to gain feedback from the users of these digital resources, as well as to find spaces for discussion on the various digital database projects, to confront the methodological frames and to envision the possible evolutions, disseminations, future uses and long-term maintenance of these digital resources. These are issues that all research projects with a digital aspect face.

As for what concerns the technical advancements of the databases Lyon16ci and 1516, one key point would be to build an online interface to allow research scholars to add, edit and delete descriptive metadata without mediation from the managers of the database. Also, the search query should be developed for more advanced search and add the possibility to combine text and metadata search with visual search. Lastly, we need to keep the collection growing, adding new images to the collection which are relevant to the scope of the database. These are the main challenges concerning the structure of the resource itself, while other challenges concern the theoretical framework of the digital resources.

Now the metadata exist in different forms (doc, CSV, XML, SQL), according to their sources. In the future, they should ideally be harmonised in form, as well as the descriptive metadata. At present, metadata source for sixteenth century printed books are not harmonised, that is we do not have a standard such as the MEI database possesses for the fifteenth century, in which all the incunabula correspond to the Incunabula Short Title Catalogue (ISTC) number.¹⁵ From the Universal Short Title Catalogue (USTC) numerization we switched to the HPB (Heritage of Printed Books) in 2020, but this database is al-

¹³ I quote here only some of the most recent works in these directions: Drucker 2013; Grau 2016; Pfisterer 2018; Impett 2023.

¹⁴ See the VeDPH homepage: <https://www.unive.it/pag/39287>.

¹⁵ For the MEI database see <https://www.cerl.org/resources/mei/main>.

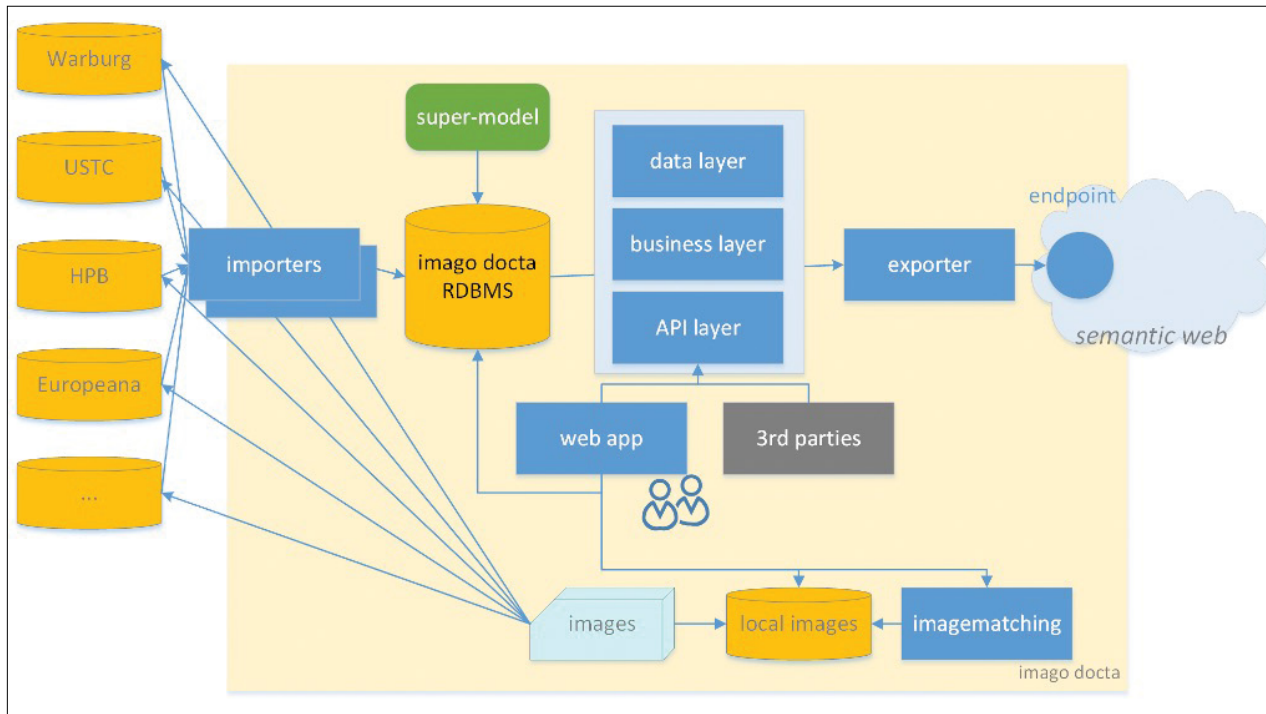


Figure 14 Scheme of the structure of the envisioned model

so in progress.¹⁶ Metadata should always be harmonised but when there are no unique standard this is always a question of envisioning the future of this harmonisation.

The same goes for iconographic metadata, which we discussed in the previous chapter. Finding standards such as Iconclass for the iconographic indexation of images requires choosing a system which we hope will provide enough stability to the metadata inserted. Some steps towards this direction have already been taken together with Dr Daniele Fusi from the VeDPH, in which we envisioned a possible development of the Lyon16ci and 1516 databases, summarised in the scheme below [fig. 14]. In this model, several differently modelled sources are collected by a set of software importers, each adapting the subset of the input models to the target super-model, embracing all the features designed to be compatible with all the relevant data found in its sources. All these data will converge into the project's new database, implemented after the super-model.

In this process, input data can variously be discarded, remodelled, and be given more granularity as required. Then, a set of software layers would handle these data and the corresponding functionalities to a publicly available API. This will be consumed by the project's web application, which not only publishes the work, but also al-

lows contributors to step in and provide their own data and images, thus enriching the repository in a community-driven, yet controlled effort. Other third-party projects could leverage the same API for their own purposes too. Also, a relevant subset of the project's data is automatically remodelled into a triple store and made available in the semantic web using an exporter component, reflecting the ontologies devised in designing the super-model. As for images, they could be collected in this hub from both external and internal sources, the latter being enriched by the community.

Such a structure would allow us to take images from different sources and with different standards (HPB, USTC, Europeana and so forth) and harmonise them in the new database with a high degree of interoperability from the users. This would be a community-driven project, in which collaboration with people and institutions is essential in order to carry out the implementation and research on the collection. At the moment, this is one possible idea on how to develop these digital resources in a way that complies with the FAIR principles.¹⁷

Having explained the digital aspect of the project, in the next chapter we will focus on the corpus of illustrations which the project analysed, and the context in which these images were produced.

¹⁶ For the HPB database see <https://www.cerl.org/resources/hpb/main>.

¹⁷ See <https://www.go-fair.org/fair-principles/>.

3 Talking with Images, Talking about Images

3.1 The City Between Two Rivers: Lyon's Strategic Position and the Printing Industry in the Sixteenth Century

Between 1480 ca. until the end of the sixteenth century, Lyon became one of the most important printing hubs in Europe, second in France only to Paris. Developed along the banks of the two rivers Saône and Rhône and placed in a unique strategic position bordering Italy, Switzerland, and the south of Germany, the Renaissance city was a crossover of people, goods, and ideas. Though it lacked a local university, it became a cultural hub of men of letters who moved there for various reasons while mainly following the economic growth of the city which encouraged the coming of merchants, bankers, and money.

The number of books printed in the space of one hundred years is estimated to be over 20,000 and they were published by the over one hundred printers living in the city and strategically located for the most part in the Rue Mercière.¹ These printers were competing with one another for the commissions of books primarily for export, as evidenced by the many editions printed in English, German, Spanish and Italian.² The so-called 'âge d'or Lyonnaise' of

¹ The city did not have a university, but it became one of the most important hubs in France. See Walsby 2021; Benevent et al. 2012; Hulvey 2020.

² Among the vast bibliography on Renaissance printed books, I quote here some of the fundamental works on the subject, with no pretension of exhaustiveness: Fevbre 1976; Eisenstein 1980; Pettegree 2010. On illustrated books: Passavant 1860-64; Pastoreau 1983; Parshall, Massari 1989; Landau, Parshall 1994; Field et al. 2005; Harthan 2011; Dondi 2016. On the presence of foreigners, and specifically of Italian men of letters and their influence on the printing production, see D'Amico, Gambino Longo 2017.

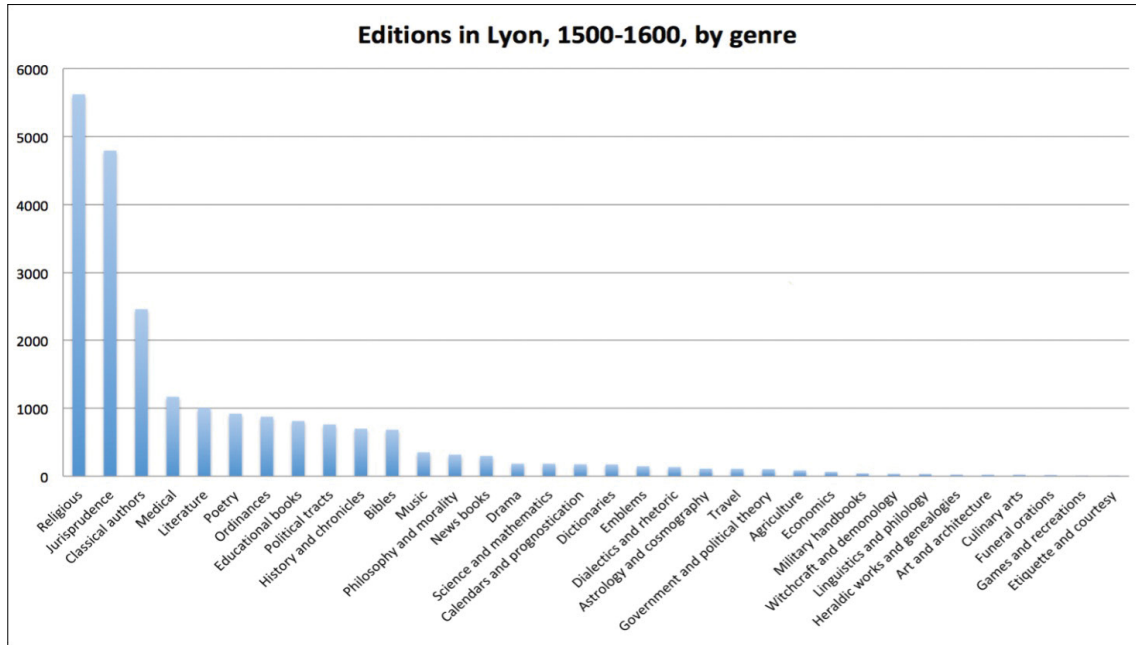


Figure 15
Editions in Lyon, 1500-1600, by genre. USTC catalogue

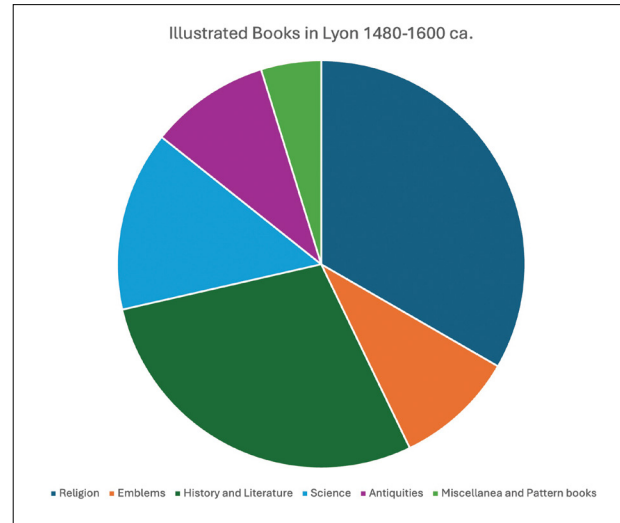


Figure 16
Illustrated editions in Lyon, 1480-1600

printing during the mid-sixteenth century and until the wars of religion saw the flourishing and production of books of which we estimate that around 12-15 percent were illustrated.³

In the first table we see the books printed by genre and a graph of the production of illustrated books [fig. 15]. The city hosted more than a hundred workshops in competition with the printing hubs of Basel, Venice and Paris. From 1520 to 1560, Lyon experienced exceptional economic and religious developments. Significantly, the *Collège de La Trinité* was founded under the leadership of the humanist Symphorien Champier in 1527.⁴ As Estelle Leutrat argued (2008), artistic and printing activities followed the movement in which the work of goldsmiths, in full expansion at the beginning of the century, was linked to the development of different types of prints.

The quality of the drawing and the *finesse* of the carving by artists such as Salomon, Woeiriot, Reverdy, Maître JG, Maître CC, Maître FG, and Eskrich made the woodcuts and engravings produced in Lyon known all over Europe. Local artists were stimulated and inspired by Italian and German models, adapting and creating their style characterised by a perfect combination of iconographic and decorative elements placed in harmony within the space of the printed page.

As different scholars have noted, the Lyon printing industry gave particular attention to the production of illustrations. Beginning with the *Le mirouer de la rédemption de l'humain lignage* (1483), the first illustrated book printed in France, the production flourished in the city until its apogee in 1530, when different printers decided

to publish illustrated editions of different types of books including religious books, emblem books, herbaria, astrological, and pattern books. Among the various types of publications in the city, particular attention should be given to the small-format religious books that became common in the middle of the century.

The table presents a summary of the types of illustrated books printed between 1500 and 1600 in the city, and it derives from the gathering of illustrated editions analysed during the *Biblissima* project [fig. 16]. As it shows, religious books stand out for being almost half of the production.

As Roger Chartier argued, we need a case-study method for the understanding of the diverse roles assumed by print in society (Chartier 1987). Very practically, during the *Biblissima* project the choice was made to start considering two parallel case studies of printers who collaborated mainly (but not exclusively) with two renowned artists of the time. I gather the majority of the illustrated production by the French printer Jean de Tournes [fig. 17], who employed the artist Bernard Salomon (*le petit Bernard*, 1506-1561 ca.) for many of his illustrated works, as well as the illustrated production of Guillaume Roville and his collaboration with the artist Pierre Eskrich (also named Pierre Cruche, or Pierre Vase).⁵

Jean de Tournes (1504-1564) was known as a pupil of Sebastian Gryphius (Gryphe, or Grifo in the Italian version), with whom he collaborated on the editions of the classics. He founded his own printing house around 1540, where he produced accurate editions which were characterised by a high technical ability and the elegance of

³ This estimate may also be higher for what concerns the books printed before 1500, which the project did not specifically focus on, if we consider the estimates for Europe in Landau, Parshall 1994, 33.

⁴ On Champier, see Copenhaver 1979 and Cooper 1998.

⁵ For a bibliography on Pierre Eskrich, see among other works the relatively recent study by Selbach (2011); fundamental on the subject remains the work by Rondot (1901). On Guillaume Roville (or Rouillé), see Rajchenbach-Teller 2012.



Figure 17 Marque d'imprimeur of Jean de Tournes

the layout and characters.⁶ He used woodcut friezes, arabesques and capitals of rare *finesse* to illustrate his books (see for example [cat. II.26-7, III.32-3]).⁷

De Tournes published and illustrated writings by ancient and modern writers such as Petrarch and Dante, as well as several editions of the *Fables* of Aesop, differ-

ent works by Vitruvius, Marguerite de Navarre, Ariosto and others in carefully printed and philologically accurate editions. The printer was particularly interested in abridgements, anthologies, collections of poems, and other works. He notably started with French translations of the classics (such as Hesiod, Isocrates, Epictetus, Salust, Suetonius, and Virgil). After starting a collaboration with the printer Guillaume Gazeau, he published many ancient works and texts in foreign languages (mainly in Dutch, German, Italian, Spanish and English) conceived for the foreign market. Due to the wars of religion, De Tournes' son Jean II moved the printing and publishing business to Geneva in 1585, where his successors continued it until 1780.

For the illustrated editions, the printer initially hired the artist Georges Reverdy [cat. I.17] as a collaborator until 1547, when he started to work with fellow printers Guillaume Gazeau and Bernard Salomon.⁸ In Lyon, Salomon is mentioned for the first time in 1540 in the *charteraux*, where he is described as a “master painter”. In 1545, Salomon resided on the right bank of the Saône until 1557 when he moved to the Platière district (Lejeune 2012, 22).⁹

During the project, I collected over 200 illustrated editions by Jean de Tournes (father and son). The full list of titles and years of edition can be found in Appendix 1, along with the 80 illustrated editions printed by Guillaume Renville (Appendix 2). The titles include several editions of the *Fables* of Aesop, a substantial number of illustrated

⁶ On de Tournes see the fundamental work of Cartier (1937-38) and the more recent studies, to mention only few: Sharratt 2005; Lejeune 2012; Jourde 2012.

⁷ I rely here on the works by the Baudriers, father and son, then by Eugène Vial and Alfred Cartier in order to reconstruct the quarries and identify the productions of the Lyon printers. See Baudrier 1899-1921 and Cartier 1937-38.

⁸ Reverdy was an engraver and painter active between 1531 and 1564, mistakenly called Cesare Reverdino. He most likely studied in Italy, as some engravings which follow the style of Marcantonio Raimondi testify to; he illustrated some works published by B. Arnoullet. See on the subject the fundamental work by Leutrat (2008). See also the review by Jenkins (2008). For this latter suggestion, I thank Prof. Giovanni Maria Fara.

⁹ As Lejeune mentions (2012, 22 fn. 38), not much is known about the artists' formative years. He was probably also the author of a treatise on perspective according to Antoine du Verdier (Lyon, Honorat 1585, mentioned in Lejeune 2012, 25). For a comprehensive catalogue, see Sharratt 2005.

Bibles [cat. 1.9-11], several editions of *Book of Emblems* (primarily editions of Alciati's *Emblemata*) [cat. IV.45-8], and authors already mentioned above, such as the illustrations for Dante's work [cat. II.21] and French editions of Petrarch's *Triumphs*.¹⁰

The indexation in the Warburg Institute iconographic database proved extremely useful as it allows comparisons between images among those two printers (for example, Roville printed illustrated editions of Petrarch's *Triumphs* in 1551, 1558, 1564 and 1574, following the edition by de Tournes printed in 1547, with the images attributed to Salomon), as well as with the pre-existing corpus of images in the database (Sharratt 2005, 274-5 fn. 6).

The collection presented under the title "Special collection *Le livre illustré à Lyon - Biblissima Project*", as we mentioned above, does not have any claim to exhaustiveness; it includes but it is not limited to illustrations printed by de Tournes and Roville, though the production of these two printers is substantial in the corpus. However, many other examples of illustrated production were inserted to highlight some of the best productions of illustrated books in Lyon during the sixteenth century. The corpus is constituted of over 2,800 records and contains illustrated works printed by Huguetan [cat. I.5-6], Gazeau [cat. II.24, IV.45-8], Crespin [cat. II.19-20], Michel [cat. II.25], Honorat [cat. II.26-7], Sabon [cat. IV.50-2], Molin and Bonhomme [cat. IV.41-4]. The iconographic corpus presented in this catalogue includes a selection of 63 images from

the most representative illustrations reflecting the work in the database, which has a focus on the mid-century for the most part, although some incunabula (including the *Mirouer*) were also listed and indexed in the collection.

In order to understand the fluidity and importance given to the production of illustrations, we have an interesting book entitled *Pourtraits Divers*, printed by De Tournes, of which two editions were published (respectively in 1556 and in 1557) and which constitutes an exemplary case. It is, according to Maude Lejeune (2012), one sample book of different types of illustrations used and reused in other different books. This work is a curious collection of images [cat. III.32-5] which assembles together woodcuts that come from the workshop of Jean de Tournes and are attributed to Bernard Salomon (Sharratt 2005).

Without any text and devoid of title in the first edition printed in 1556, the book is in octavo format and it is an interesting case study as regards the function of images, as the latter are the sole protagonists in this peculiar publication.¹¹ The book presents 62 illustrations, each arranged on a single-sided page, bringing together only small compositions with varied subjects that include theatre, hunting and daily life scenes, portraits, mythological scenes, planetary deities and allegories.¹² These images will all be reused in other books by de Tournes, of diverse genres.¹³ One example is the portraits reused in the book by Johannes de Indagine on palmistry, the *Chiromance et Physionomie*, published by de Tournes in 1571 [cat. V.62-3], which collects among its illustrations the

¹⁰ See the record in the Warburg iconographic database: <https://iconographic.warburg.sas.ac.uk/object-wpc-wid-dpps>.

¹¹ As Lejeune (2012) notes, the only typographic characters present are those on the first page, at the place of the bibliographic address, presenting the place, the name of the printer-bookseller and the date of publication: "A LION // IAN DE TOVRNES // M. D. LVI". There was a second edition the following year (1557), of identical presentation, showing the same woodcuts, with nevertheless a notable difference: the addition of the title *Pourtraits Divers*. The digital record can be found here: [https://iconographic.warburg.sas.ac.uk/results?mi_search_type=adv&mi_adv_search=yes&adv_reference_id=vpc-book-01365](https://iconographic.warburg.sas.ac.uk/category/vpc-taxonomy-026817https://iconographic.warburg.sas.ac.uk/results?mi_search_type=adv&mi_adv_search=yes&adv_reference_id=vpc-book-01365).

¹² The digital record can be found here: https://iconographic.warburg.sas.ac.uk/results?mi_search_type=adv&mi_adv_search=yes&adv_reference_id=vpc-book-01340.

¹³ The 1557 edition is indexed in the Warburg database, under the "Pattern books" category. On this book see Brunet 1842, 4: 850; Cartier 1937, 353 and 387; Sharratt 2005, 300-5 fn. 37.

schemes of the hand for hand-reading, the portrait of the author, various triumphs of deities and the physiognomic portraits already published in the *Pourtraits* almost thirty years before.¹⁴ The images which constitute the *Pour-*

traits shows an interest not only in producing but also in promoting and commercialising the illustrations for printed books, which were used and after reused in different kinds of publications.¹⁵

3.2 The Production of Religious Illustrated Books: An Overview

For what concerns religious books, we know that printers in Lyon used German blocks at first, such as for the images for the already mentioned *Mirouer* [cat. 1.1-2]. Early printers such as Guillaume Leroy, having learned the art of printing in Venice, set up a press in Lyon, financed by Barthélemy Buyer.¹⁶ Printers soon began to employ local artists and engravers and, by the third decade of the sixteenth century, a style and format of illustrated book typical of Lyon were developed similar to that of the English chapbook. As mentioned, it consisted of small format books (mostly octavo) that integrated image and text to create a unique balance of text and illustrations [fig. 18]. This format was used for religious books with popular intent (such as *Les Figures de la Bible* and *Les Figures du Nouveau Testament* printed by de Tournes and Roville in many different editions), which did not have a profound exegesis of the biblical text but instead cherry-picked different episodes of the Old and New Testament, framing an illustration on top of the page and inserting an explanation of the image in verses. One of the specialisations then became the illustrated episodes of the Old and New Testament, printed compendia which combined words and images [fig. 20].

As we see in the iconographic apparatus [cat. 1.9-11], *Les Figures de la Bible* and the *Quadrins historiques* offered a selection of biblical episodes accompanied by explanations written in the form of poems. It is difficult to decide which element, whether the image, text, or decorative frames, holds a prominent place.

It is both the written page that explained the image and the image that illustrated the verses, as the two are inextricably intertwined and as the complexity of the page above shows [fig. 6]. The elements included are the title, the poem, the illustration, and the decorative frame. All elements are placed together in harmony to be pleasing to the eye. As to the choice of the format (mostly in octavo for *Les Figures*) and of the layout, these many editions must have been influenced by the emblem book tradition [cat. 1.3], in which some of the illustrations are also reused. De Tournes and Roville produced several *éditions croisées*, in which they copy one another from the organisation of the page to the stylistic solutions. Salomon and Eskrich also influenced one another with similar solutions, although they retain some peculiarities of their own style (as we will see for the representation of the biblical episode of the creation of Eve further in

¹⁴ For the record of the *Chiromance*, see <https://iconographic.warburg.sas.ac.uk/category/vpc-taxonomy-026359>. The images are mentioned in Sharratt 2005, 279-80.

¹⁵ For a recount on the use of prints, especially ephemeral prints in the following century, see Goldstein 2012; an essential work on this subject remains Fevbre 1976.

¹⁶ It was there that, on April 18, 1476, LeRoy completed the printing of Jean de Vigne's (de Vignay's) *Legende Dorée*, a French translation of Jacques de Voragine's *Legenda Aurea*.

GENES. XI.



*L'audac' imprese, e' consigli superbi,
Che presumon contender co' celesti,
Son corn' osi disgiunti da' lor nerbi,
Quai si veggon', e leggon' esser questi:
Qui ben' appar quel che Dio lor riserbi,
Quand' è forzato, ch' in furor si desti.
Destrusse Dio la torre di Babello,
E voltò l' suo, ed ogn' altro ceruello.*

Figure 18 Bernard Salomon, *The Tower of Babel*. In *Le Figure del Vecchio Testamento* (Gen. 11). 1554. Lyon: de Tournes. Lyon, Bibliothèque Municipale, Rés 357524

Res B488453
FIGURES DE ^{et Bis}

LA BIBLE, IL-
LUSTRES DE
HVICTAINS
FRANCOYS,

POUR L'INTERPRETATION
ET INTELLIGENCE
D'ICELLES.



IN
VIR-
TYTE



ET
FORTYNA.

A LYON,
PAR GVILLAVME
ROVILLE,

M. D. LXIIII.



Figure 19 Title page of *Les Figures de La Bible*. 1564. Lyon: Roville. Lyon, Bibliothèque Municipale, Rés B488453



Figure 20 Bernard Salomon, *The Annunciation*, in *Le Figure del Nuovo Testamento* (Luc. 1). 1554. Lyon: de Tournes. Lyon, Bibliothèque Municipale, Rés 357524

this chapter).¹⁷ De Tournes also published in 1561 one of the best-known engraved works of the time, *L'Apocalypse figurée, par maistre Iehan Duet* [cat. I.3-4].¹⁸

One of the highest achievements in the production of sixteenth-century engravings (*gravure sur cuivre*, 'on copper') was achieved by the artist and goldsmith from Langres Jean Duvet, whom we see in the self-portrait portrayed as Saint John the Evangelist sitting at a desk, with a stylus in one hand, and pointing at an open book with the other [cat. I.4]. As Leutrat argues (2008), goldsmiths and engravers appeared in Lyon quite early around 1480-1490 and belonged to trades that occupied certain districts of the city. Lyon had one of the rare centres of engravings on copper, whose technique was more complex than that of the woodcut; it needed a specific type of press, different from the typographic one, and it was around 1546 that this technique truly started to be utilised to print illustrated books (Leutrat 2008; 2016). There were numerous links between the two professions of engraver and goldsmith, as well as between the men who practised them. Many engravers came from goldsmiths' families or were trained by a goldsmith, such as Jean Duvet himself, or Pierre Woeirirot [cat. II.29-30].

On Duvet, called *le maître à la licorne* as he depicted the unicorn in many of his works, not much is known. Different studies testify to his moving to Geneva in the 1540s, as many printers did a couple of decades later due, as already mentioned, to the wars of religion. The 24 plates of *L'Apocalypse*, whose first edition appeared in 1555, are one of the finest printed series of the period.¹⁹ The style of Duvet's engravings is notably influenced by Dürer, but also by Italian printers such as Marcantonio Raimondi and Domenico Campagnola (Fara 2021).

Aside from the editions of the *Speculum* and the illustrated Bibles, two other types of religious books, the *Horae* and the *Legenda Aurea*, are worth investigating as they were printed in illustrated versions in Lyon during the century. As regards the latter, we know that beautiful, illustrated editions

¹⁷ On the *éditions croisées* of the two artists, see Sharratt 2005.

¹⁸ The address in the database is <https://iconographic.warburg.sas.ac.uk/category/vpc-taxonomy-026358>.

¹⁹ On Duvet see, among the most important studies, Bersier 1976-77; Adhemar 1979; Grimme 1972; 1980; Hernmarck 1978 and catalogue entry.

gles & restabli la puolle au mu
 et. Il purga les demomades
 et nettoia les lepreux. Il guar
 les escames de mortel maladie
 il destruit l'idoles avecques le
 yle. **O**tre signe c'est de
 merueilleuse loueige qui desfer
 me auoir dignite & puissance
 de posier avec la dignite de uel
 que. Otre effort champion de iux
 seigneur. qui estoies la vestron
 de par aage eschauffe par per
 nes presche: forment es tomes
 ihuaise sauueu du monde.

De sainte ypine



Ypine est adue
 autant comme
 omte de celine
 Elle ot le basine
 de bonne odeur en coucufatio
 et luitte de deuocion en sa re
 se et la benedicon de gloire

Ypine fut nee de es
 nobles parens en
 tre dytalic. et lamiff
 son pere en eue touu avec un
 chambereus et auoit avec lui
 les dieu dor et dargent. et po
 ce que elle estoit tresbelle elle
 estoit de plusieurs requise a
 femme & ses parens ne le bon
 louent atones. mais vouloiet
 quelle demourast a honorer
 les dieu. mais elle qui estoit
 ituduite du saint esprit doub
 toit les sacrifices des ydoles
 et nucoit lenens de qu'on
 sacrifioit en une fenestre. Et
 quant son pere vint une fore
 la. ses chambereus sur dret
 Ca fille qui est une dame ne

Figure 21
 Saint Fabian and Saint Sebastian. In Jacques de Voragine, *Légende Dorée*,
 transl. by Jean de Vignay. Fifteenth century. BnF, fr. 242, 36r

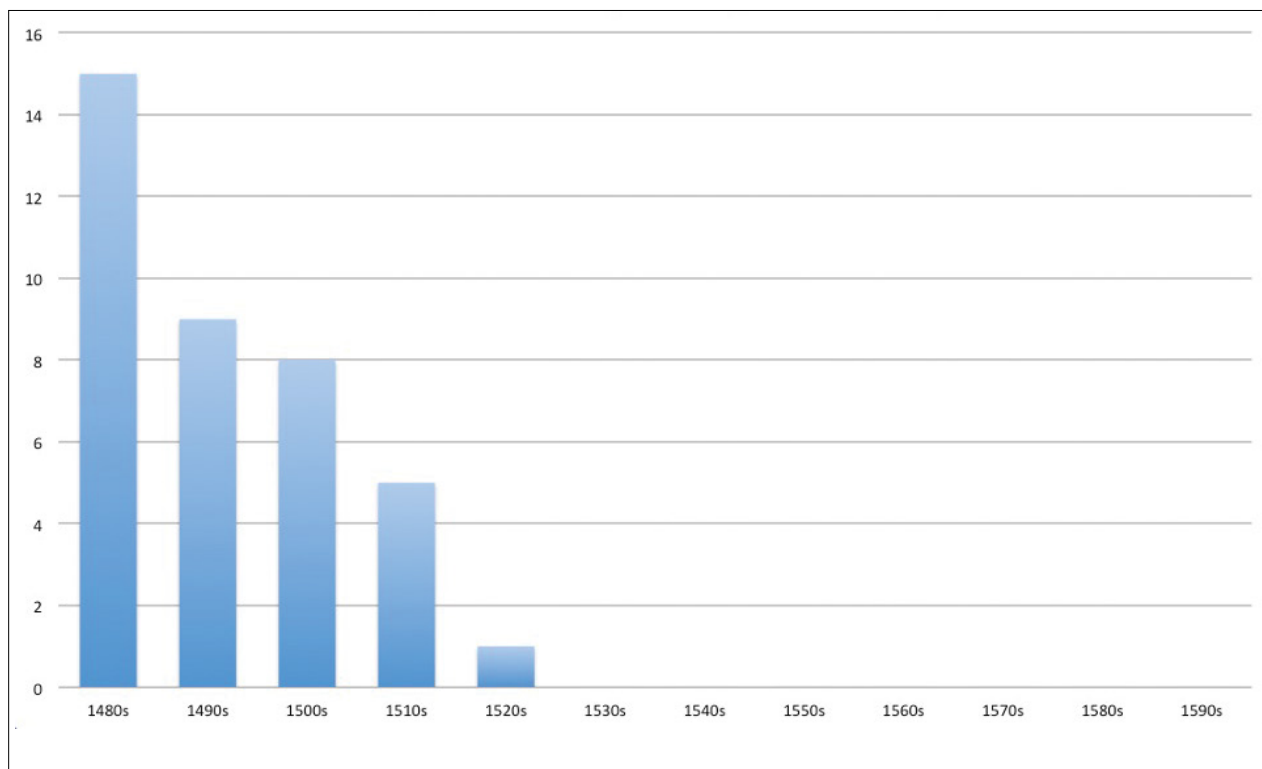


Figure 22 Editions of the *Legenda Aurea* printed in Lyon, 1480-1600. USTC catalogue

were produced in Lyon as early as 1483, when a printed version was published by Matthias Huss in collaboration with Pierre Hongre. It was republished in 1487 with different images.²⁰ We have other editions in those years by printers such as Guillaume Leroy (1483) and Nikolaus Philipphi and Markus Reinhart (1480), but they do not include illustrations.²¹

The publication of this fundamental work in printed illustrated versions was very much linked to the manuscript tradition, as many printers decided at the beginning to follow the familiar manuscript layout. It is interesting to note that they followed this tradition both for what concerns the organisation of the page as well as for the type of image-

²⁰ See the digital version of the BML in Numelyo: https://numelyo.bm-lyon.fr/f_view/BML:BML_00G000100137001103722687/IMG00000001.

²¹ See the BML catalogue entries: <https://catalogue.bm-lyon.fr/ark:/75584/pf0000303643.locale=fr>.

ry presented [fig. 21].²² It is also interesting to note that the production of this book disappears in Lyon by the 1520s (see table in fig. 22).²³

Other medieval books were published and illustrated in Lyon, such as the famous *De Proprietatibus Rebus* written in 1240 by Barthelemy l'Anglais, translated into French and printed in around fifty editions between the 1470 and 1600 by Huss, Siber and Guillaume LeRoy (see Krumenacher 2016).

For what concerns the illustrated editions of the books of hours (*Horae*), they were published more consistently throughout the sixteenth century. These were prayer booklets in which one could find the instructions to pray the liturgy of the hours, divided into fixed times during the day and following a set schedule for each prayer. The images were notably inserted and designed to guide the reader through the different liturgies. In Lyon, we have beautiful editions published by Macé Bonhomme (with the frames designed by Eskrich) and an interesting production of Italian and Spanish translations including *Las horas de nuestra Señora segun el uso Romano* (Lyon: J. Junty, 1560), as we know the book production was mostly intended for the foreign market. In the catalogue, we present an interesting, illustrated edition by Pierre Busseron [cat. 1.5-6], printed by Huguétan in 1538, which includes liturgical images with frames attributed to Georges Reverdy along with the Latin text.²⁴

Reverdy also produced the images for the Italian edition of the New Testament printed by Roville/Gazeau in 1547 [cat. 1.17].²⁵

Reverdy is now known for around 50 engravings on copper which have his monogram and for many woodcuts of which we do not have a comprehensive catalogue yet (Leutrat 2016). He collaborates with different printers in the city, always adapting the style to the technique he used, and sometimes following the style of the mysterious 'Maitre JG', another engraver whom Reverdy probably knew.²⁶ A similar organisation of the page can be found in the earlier religious book *Hortulus anime cum aliis quamplurimis orationibus pristinae impressioni super additis*, printed by Jean Clein in 1513 after a German edition by Anton Koberger of which the author is not known. It is a collection of 57 German woodcuts mentioned in Gültlingen (Gültlingen I, nr. 54, 140 [cat. 1.7]). We presented this selection in order to give a glimpse of which types of religious books were illustrated and printed in the city during the century, as well as the variety of recurrent themes that were utilised by the different printers of the city.

We will now analyse a number of prefaces of the period to understand how these images were spoken of in the books themselves and to enquire on their possible functions. We will subsequently conclude with a closer look at the iconography of two illustrations produced by the two competing artists, Salomon and Eskrich.

²² The *Legenda* is notably a medieval collection of hagiographic biographies composed in Latin by Jacopo da Varagine, Dominican friar and bishop of Genoa, which still constitute an important reference for the interpretation of the iconography in pictorial works. The bibliography on the subject is vast; see among others Legoff 2011.

²³ During my cataloguing work I did rely on the USTC and I found it most useful, although it is a work in progress, so mistakes are possible and additions are always being made.

²⁴ As the BML catalogue entry states, it is a reduction of the *Heures de Tory* (Baudrier XI, 318).

²⁵ See <https://catalogue.bm-lyon.fr/ark:/75584/pf0001383674.locale=fr>.

²⁶ I do not take here into account the issues of attribution to Maître JG, already discussed in Leutrat (2008) and others, or to other artists such as Maître CC or Maître FG, on whose identities still much is to be enquired upon. It will certainly be the subject for future research.

3.2.1 The Function of Images in Early Modern Books Printed in Lyon: Some Pieces of Evidence in Sixteenth-Century Prefaces

The exhibition *Lyon Renaissance: Arts et Humanisme* at the Musée des Beaux Arts in Lyon (2015) gave much-needed insight into the production of images during the Renaissance period.²⁷ It underlined the central role of Pierre Eskrich and Bernard Salomon as illustrators, though both of them were not mainly engravers, as Leutrat points out (Leutrat 2016).

While Salomon was employed by the city for the realisation of ephemeral décors for the entry of important noblemen and noblewomen in the city, Eskrich was, as we mentioned above, a goldsmith by trade. They can be described as versatile artists and talented draughtsmen skilled in working with small formats. They worked with complex objects such as printed pages, drawing their images, while probably the cutters were other personalities whose identities are not known, as Sharratt (2005) argues. Their illustrations were meant to be inserted in the page which was composed of different ornamental elements (the ornated letters, the frames), and obviously by the textual elements (the titles of the episodes, the poems). Their production was characterised by the diversity of genres, as it included religious works, scientific treatises, books of poetry, and works of classical literature. This diversity allowed publishers to reach a wide audience.

We know that printers collaborated with artists and printmakers to create quality illustrations. These collaborations helped to visually enrich books, making the works more appealing and informative. The aesthetic and the educational functions of the images were both implemented (Landau, Parshall 1994; Chartier 2014). The prefaces of some Lyon editions give us precious hints on the function of these images.

Starting from the illustrations utilised for different editions of *Les Figures de la Bible* and comparing them to the different genre but similar in format of the emblem books, I wish to briefly discuss the role of images printed in Lyon, and how the hierarchy image versus text is often reflected not only in the prefaces, but also in the layout of the page. Customarily, in the prefaces of illustrated editions of the Bible, as in other illustrated books, we find little explicit information on the role of the images. Apart from general praise for the quality of the woodcuts or engravings, and possibly some information on the cost, along with the usual *privilegio* which forbids other printers from re-publishing the book (images included), not much is explicitly said on the function of these illustrations. However, the new format of these compendia published in Lyon, as well as of the New and Old Testament which were printed in the city in different languages, usually provide readers with an explanation of what the book was intended to be.

Les Figures are spoken of as a prominent part of what the text is about. They are intended to explain the text itself, while the text also provides clarification for the most obscure parts of the illustrations. In an interesting German edition of *Les Figures de la Bible*, for instance, entitled *Wol Gerissnen und Geschnidten Figuren ausz der Bibel* (Lyon, de Tournes, 1554), we find a dedicatory letter from Caspar Scheydt in Worms to Nicola Gerbelio (see Appendix 4, nr. 1).²⁸ In this letter dated 1551 the author states that “he brought from France some printed figures drawn in Lyon, which were included with great cost

²⁷ See the catalogue *Lyon Renaissance*. Paris: Somogy, 2015.

²⁸ This German edition is in the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin. Nicola Gerbelio (in Latin Nicolaus Gerbelius) was a German humanist, part of the circle of Martin Luther; he corresponded with Erasmus from Rotterdam and edited many editions of Latin and Greek ancient authors, such as *Alexandra, sive Cassandra* (Basel, 1546). On him not much is known. See the work by Merker 1923, especially the chapters “Das Leben und die Persönlichkeit des Nicolaus Gerbelius” and “Die Schlussbeweise für die Autorschaft des Gerbelius”.

in the Bible". These images are said to be similar in style to both Holbein and Sebald Beham, and deemed to be of great use for "artists, painters and lovers of the arts".²⁹ The letter does not say much else, but it is interesting to note that the images are here valued for their cost and use, meaning they are granted the function of model and instructions not only for artists (*Kunstlers*) in general and painters (*Malers*), but also for that interesting figure of the 'art lover' (*Kunst Liebhaber*) which is still undefined

The instructive things which are represented to the sight and through which they enter into learning and from there on into understanding and then into memory [...] remain firmer and more stable than those which enter only through the ear. And for this reason, I have embellished this booklet with figures taken from the stories of the New Testament and which concern the main episodes, mysteries, and representation with the exposition in verses placed briefly under each illustration. Receive them therefore, oh reader, for pleasure to the eye, aid to the memory and lifting of the spirit that God always wishes to preserve for his honour and eternal praise.

The paragraph takes up the concepts of other dedications made by him and adds in the final sentence a summary of the three functions of illustrations: visual pleasure, mnemonic aid, and spiritual pleasure.³¹ To satisfy these three requests, de Tournes relies on a delicate and precise artist such as *le petit Bernard*.

The concept of visual pleasure is taken from the function of the books of emblems, and we see this parallelism not only in the organisation of the page. Although the usu-

al set of instructions for creating an emblem page is missing in *Les Figures*, we have here many of the elements summarised that are similar to those instructions for the creation of the emblems. We can find these detailed instructions in prologues such as the famous one by Lodovico Domenichi dedicated to Alessandro Farnese in the Italian edition of *Imprese* by Paolo Giovio published in 1559 (Appendix 4, nr. 3):

in the sixteenth century, and which will gain a much greater consideration from the seventeenth century onwards.³⁰ We have another interesting preface to a French edition of *e Les Figures du Nouveau Testament* (see Appendix 4, nr. 2), printed in 1554 and entitled "L'Imprimeur au lecteur salut", in which de Tournes clearly states that the figures create an aid for the reader's memory and, at the same time, they delight him with pleasant images. In this preface, he makes his words very clear:

Though I do not doubt that seeing published now the dialogue about M. Paolo Giovio's *impreses* offers you a sublime wonder, I am sure that once you understand the reason you will cease to be amazed [...] But before I come to these details, I must tell you the universal conditions that are sought to carry out a perfect *impresa*. Know therefore

²⁹ I thank my colleague and friend Celine Camps for helping me with the translation of this passage.

³⁰ See the studies on the Dutch *liefhebber* by Alexander Marr (2010) and Lara Yeager-Crasselt (2016). On production rates, costs and market value see Landau, Parshall 1994, 30-2.

³¹ On the contents of these Bibles before and after the wars of religion see Pettegree 2007, especially chapter 4, "Protestant Printing during the French Wars of Religion. The Lyon Press of Jean Saugrain".

that the invention or true *impresa*, if it is to be good, must have five conditions: firstly, the right proportion of soul and body, secondly, that it is not obscure in nature, that it has the mystery of the sibyl for people who want to understand it, nor as clear as any plebeian understands it. Third, above all it is a beautiful sight, which is made to be very entertaining, having stars, suns, moons, water, trees, mechanical instruments, bizarre animals and fantastic birds. Fourth, it seeks no human form. Fifth, it requires the *motto*, which is the soul of the body.

Although less enigmatic and intellectually constructed to stimulate the sagacity of the user, the figures of the Bible comply both to the first criterion of “right proportion between soul and body”, or between image and text, and to the third, “being beautiful to see”, that is pleasing to the reader’s eye. Moreover, the aesthetic function

I hope that [this work] will delight you, having come from a good hand; because the invention is by M. Bernard Salomon, an excellent painter who has no equal in our hemisphere [...] if I see that you will receive them with good grace, I will shortly show you some other similar booklet.³²

This short comment also summarises the qualities of Salomon’s style: having a good hand (or *docta manus*), being able to provide a good *invenzione*, and being able to create images that will be pleasing to the eye. The eye must be content in the balance between text and image which will be achieved in the small-format Bibles following the layout of the book of emblems. From the *Morosophie* of Guillaume de la Perrière to the many editions in different languages of Alciati’s *Emblems* [cat. IV.45-7], the page in both kinds of illustrated books seems to be similar in organisation and scope.

It was also used for other types of books, such as Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* and the innumerable editions of Aesop’s *Fables*. The balance between text and image is evident, and although it is traditionally said that the text was add-

is stressed for both types of images as it will be in other publications such as the 17 woodcuts illustrating the *Hymnes du temps et de ses parties* by Guillaume Guérout published in 1560 [cat. III.39-40]. In the preface to this edition, the author states that:

ed to explain the image, these and other different prefaces testify that the two tasks were interchangeable. The last preface we consider here belongs to another highlight of the Lyon production. It is *Les Figures de la mort* printed in Lyon in several editions, from Holbein’s drawings. In this Italian edition printed in 1549 [fig. 23] we find a preface to the “wise and savvy readers”, in which the issue of the quality of these famous images is questioned. The first Lyon edition was published by Melchior and Gaspar Trechsel for Jean and François Frelon in 1538 with 41 woodcuts after the drawings by Holbein. It was followed by two editions in 1542 by Frelon, one in French and one in Latin. In 1547, Frelon again published one Latin and one French edition adding 12 woodcuts, and in 1549 he published the first Italian edition in octa-

³² See Appendix 4, nr. 4; also, Cartier 1937-38, fn. 456; Sharratt 2005, 313-14, fn. 48.

vo, with 53 illustrations. After this edition, he republished one French edition in 1562 with 5 new illustrations.³³

In the preface to the 1549 Italian edition (Appendix 4, nr. 5) we read:

Frellone having in the past brought to light with beautiful figures the symbols of death, first in the Latin language, and then in the French vernacular, has now endeavored to give them to you in the Italian vernacular. And he did this with such admirable diligence and curious study that, wishing to satisfy you as much as possible, he had many other figures designed and engraved which in the past had never been printed, nor figures already for others printed in the Italian language. Therefore, take them with a happy heart, kind readers, not paying attention to the words of some Fool, who after having made use of the drawings of the figures already made by the said Frellone [*sic*], not knowing how else to embellish those figures which are much less beautiful than those of France, wrote that he had them drawn and carved so well, these figures of the above-mentioned *Simolachri*, which are not just equal (as he says) but far better, more beautiful than those of France: which although it is said rashly and without judgement, those with a judicious eye will consider those in France, commissioned by the said Frellone, as a fair judgement, and they will easily be able to judge those made in other places.³⁴

Whether the French illustrations were superior to those printed 'elsewhere' or not, the issue of the importance of the quality of these images is clearly stated here, not only questioning the quality of the drawings, but also of the printed edition itself. It raises questions of aesthetic criticism and comparison between printers and editions which testify to the interest of these images for the readers of the time.

We do not wish here to go deeper into the issue of these

images which have been analysed by different scholars in the past. They are presented as a 'hybrid' sort of publication, in between the emblem book, the book of hours and the Lyon *Figures*, which testifies to the fluidity of these genres and the appropriation of one format for different types of books. This included the series of *immagini moralizzanti*, which present both an aesthetic value and a didactic purpose to the reader.

³³ See Brun 1969, 222. These images will have an incredible success in Europe during the sixteenth century. Lützelburger and Holbein's *Images of Death* series was always intended to illustrate a printed book. The devotional texts were written by Nicholas Bourbon and Jean de Vauzelles or Gilles Corrozet. In the first edition in 1538, the introduction states that several of the blocks were incomplete when Lützelburger died. The printers failed to find a block cutter of equal ability to complete the images (ultimately hiring a less skilled artist), which is why the book was not published until 1538, twelve years after Lützelburger's death. Nevertheless, the edition was hugely successful and reprinted in Lyon into the 1560s. Holbein's compositions were copied by dozens of printers and artists across Europe into the nineteenth century (from the Morgan Library Exhibition: <https://www.themorgan.org/exhibitions/online/holbein/les-simulachres-historiees-faces-de-la-mort>).

³⁴ Preface to the Italian edition *Simolachri, Historie et Figure de la morte* (Lyon: Frellon, 1549).

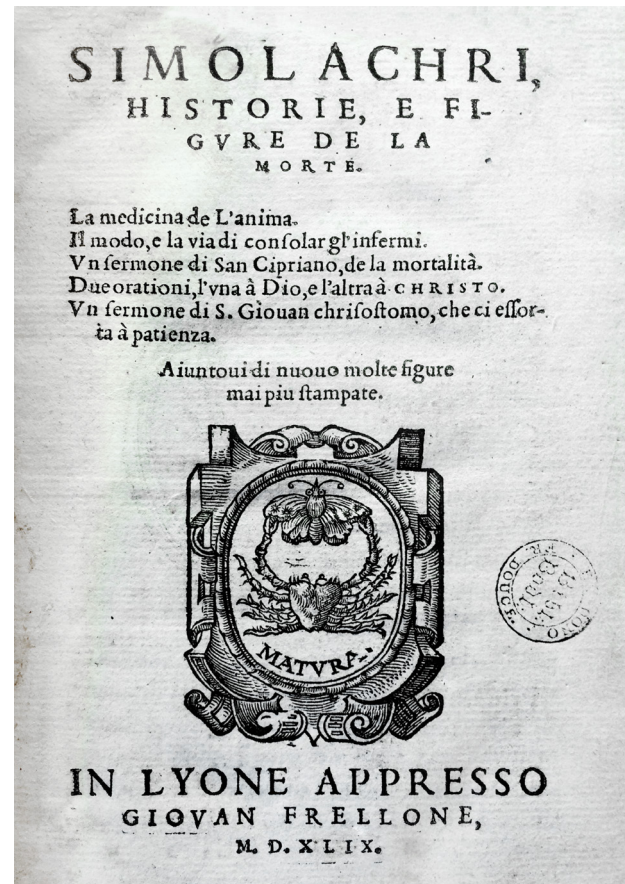


Figure 23 Title page of *Simolachri, Historie et Figure de la morte*. 1549. Lyon: Frellon. Oxford, Bodleian Libraries, Crynes 567

3.2.2 From German Blocks to the Emergence of the Lyon Style, Influences and Original *Invenzioni*: The Iconographic Choices for the Creation of Eve in Salomon and Eskrich

In order to understand the emergence of what we could define as the 'Lyon style' one needs to look at the images produced by Salomon and Eskrich more closely. The two artists, although not employed exclusively by de Tournes

and Roville, stand out for the quality and fine details of the illustrations that accompany various biblical compendiums, including the editions of the figures of the Bible published in different languages and in the same years.



Figure 24 Bernard Salomon, *Creation of Eve* (Gen. 2), 1553. In Claude Paradin, *Quadrins historiques de la Bible*. Lyon: de Tournes. Lyon, Bibliothèque Municipale, Rés 377665 (1)

For Roville, we mentioned some important titles such as *Les Figures de la Bible*, 1564; *Le Figure della Bibbia illustrate da Stanze Toscane*, in the editions of 1564, 1565, 1577; the *Biblia Sacra ad Vetustissima Exemplaria Castigata*, 1569; and the *Biblia Sacra ad Optima quaeque Veteris* published in 1564, 1565, 1566, 1567, 1569. For Jean de Tournes, in parallel, there are the *Quadrins Historiques de la Bible*, published in various editions in 1553, 1555, 1558, 1560, 1583, whose illustrations are also used for other titles, namely in the *Biblia Sacra* (1554, 1556, 1558, 1569); in *La Sainte Bible* (1551, 1554, 1557, 1559); *The Bible* (1561); *Figures from the Old Testament*, (1554); *Histoire de Fl. Joseph* (1562); *Figuren Ausz der Bibel* (1554).

As mentioned above, Salomon and Eskrich produced series of biblical illustrations, influencing each other stylistically both in terms of iconographic and organisational choices of the page. As Leutrat and Lejeune pointed out (Leutrat 2015; Lejeune 2016), and as I will exemplify here, Eskrich was inspired by the work of Salomon but with original results. Salomon models the volumes for the figures in a synthetic way, though with more grace and virtuosity, while Eskrich is more descriptive and more organised in the realisation of the biblical scenes. They both utilise a series of ‘types’, forming models for both religious and profane books, which will travel around Europe and will influence not only book illustrations but also the decorative arts.³⁵ They both insert in their illustrations a great deal of details and almost an obsession against the *horror vacui* (Andreoli 2024). Despite this need to fill the pictorial space, the images remain readable and under-

standable, in harmony inside and outside the vignette, constituting a page heavily illustrated but still in balance.

I cannot claim to conduct an exhaustive analysis between the two artists, which has already been done to some extent by other scholars already mentioned. However, I believe that in order to understand this process of ‘influence’ (I prefer to use this term instead of merely ‘copy’), it is useful to focus on a case study taken from the most famous images by the two artists. I will therefore take into account here one biblical scene represented by both artists to give a comparison of the stylistic choices, similarities and differences. The episode of the creation of Eve, taken from the Book of Genesis quite significant in terms of iconographic rendering and editorial strategies. I argue that, while Bernard Salomon illustrates the birth of Eve following the iconographic canons of the manuscript tradition, Pierre Eskrich interprets the episode more freely by introducing a descriptive and in some ways innovative narrative, in which the figure of Eve is exalted in her uniqueness.

The first edition in which we find Salomon’s illustration of the episode is the edition of the *Quadrins* of 1553, in which the artist creates the drawings for the various episodes of Genesis in sequence (starting from the creation of the world and man). Salomon draws God who, after creating the cosmos, the lands, the seas and man, extracts Eve from Adam’s rib [fig. 24]. The scene takes place in the idyllic landscape of paradise on earth, represented in detail and populated with varied flora and fauna.

From the biblical text we read:

Then the Lord God caused a torpor to descend upon the man, and he fell asleep;	
he removed one of his ribs and closed the flesh in its place.	21
The Lord God made a woman out of the rib that he had taken from the man and	
brought her to the man.	22

³⁵ We find examples of plates and caskets inspired by Salomon’s drawings for instance in the Musée des Beaux Arts in Lyon and in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London. For the influence of Salomon on majolica, see Deswarte Rosa 2003.



Figure 25
Konrad Schlappertzin, *God Creating Eve from Adam*.
c. 1445. New York, Public Library, MssCol 2557, fol. 6r

Here the printer takes up the didactic role of images in the paragraph below his prologue as he adds: “So that you, (reader) if you do not have the time to read and enjoy writing as you would like, can at least wallpaper the chambers of your memory with those figures”. We should note how in this case the editor underlines the social class of the potential buyer. He writes “if you do not have the time”, and not “if you do not have the ability”; we are far from the images that hung in churches to help the illiterate faithful.

So he who merely hears or reads, without seeing in presence, or almost in presence, the things depicted, has no true knowledge of the many parts, or barely the slightest knowledge of the movement of the soul. [...] Therefore we have taken the principal and almost chief parts of the New Testament, and we have explained them, painted them and almost alive to the eyes of the faithful, so that they may be more powerfully drawn to the knowledge and contemplation of them. Then for greater consolation of noble spirits, we have accompanied them, adorned them and illustrated them with short poems, to make up for where the painting is lacking in some part.³⁹

From this passage the importance of the illustrations becomes clear. The printer aspired to create a page full of grace, where stylistic synthesis and beauty were complementary and exalted the glory and sacredness of the episode described with images and then accompanied by words. The synergy between image and text results in a powerful synthesis of the biblical episodes. It is no coincidence that this format for illustrated Bibles, in which verses and images coexist in a delicate balance, was inspired by the pages of the books of emblems for which Lyon became famous during the sixteenth century.

The scene of the creation of Eve is a clear example of this stylistic success: although small, the woodcut is aesthetically pleasing and precise, very detailed in the landscape, and each element is rendered with delicacy and stylistic grace.

The reader of these valuable illustrated editions is a cultured man who reads and looks at the illustrations for the pleasure of the mind and for personal aesthetic delight. The same statement can be found in the preface to the reader in the Italian edition of the figures, the *Figure del Nuovo Testamento illustrate da versi vulgari italiani* by Damiano Maraffi (published by de Tournes in 1559), in which he states:

God holds out His hand to Eve as if wanting to accompany her at her birth, in a manner very different from the gesture found in other artists’ representations of the same episode, such as the famous one by Hans Holbein the Younger for the Dance of Death series mentioned above. This image, which Salomon may have seen since two editions of the work were printed in Lyon in those years, found success in the years to come outside of France.

Despite the differences, both artists choose to represent Eve emerging from Adam’s rib following the tradition of the manuscript illustration, which sees Eve still partially anchored to the body of the first man. We can find this iconographic choice, for example, in a German manuscript from 1400 by Konrad Schlapperitzin, currently in the New York Public library [fig. 25], where Eve is repre-

³⁹ “Onde chi solamente ode o legge, senza veder presenti, o quasi presenti le cose fatte: non ha delle molte parti la vera cognizione, o del movimento dell’animo appena la minima. [...] però haviamo presi i principali et quasi capi del Nuovo Testamento: et gl’haviamo spiegati, dipinti et quasi vivi à gli occhi de’ fedeli: acciò più potentemente sieno tirati à la cognizione, et contemplazione d’essi. Poi per più consolazione degli spiriti nobili, gl’haviamo con brevi versi accompagnati, adornati et illustrati: per supplire dove la pittura in qualche parte mancassi”.

sented emerging from Adam's body and, as a slight variation, is kneeling with her hands clasped before God, who takes them and blesses her. The wrist grip in the illustration of the first French translation printed in Lyon of the *Speculum*, *Le Mirouer de la rédemption*, is similar. Here Eve seems to free herself from her sleeping body to be born smiling before the blessing Lord [cat. 1.1].

Another interesting variant that we often find in manuscript form is with Eve still part of the rib and only half in human form, as in the depiction of a *Speculum* manuscript from around 1410, at Yale University's Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library. In this case, the image underlines Eve's metamorphosis from rib to human being, as are Adam's ribs in plain sight, while we find the Lord always blessing with his right hand. This iconography will be abandoned during the sixteenth century.

All these versions, although with different stylistic choices, have in common the position of the characters (God blessing on the left, Adam sleeping on the right, Eve in the middle), a position that Salomon takes up together with the choice to portray Eve emerging from Adam's body. The style is lyrical and the landscape more detailed, as stated in the comments on the artist made by de Tournes on the

invention of *le petit Bernard* in the prologue to Guillaume Guérault's *Hymnes du temps et de ses parties* presented above (Appendix 4, nr. 4). Salomon is praised as being admirable at creating inventions, that is, representations of the stories frequently cited by sixteenth-century art treatise writers. If we compare the choice of Salomon's invention for the creation of Eve with that of Pierre Eskrich [cat. 1.15], we will notice that while the former follows the iconographic tradition of representing Eve being born from Adam's rib, the latter chooses a different solution.

As we can see from the woodcut used for *Figures de la Bible, illustrees de huictains francoys, pour l'interpretation et intelligence d'icelles* published by Roville in 1564, which will then be reused in various editions and in various other titles, Eskrich chooses to represent Eve already created by God, who holds her by the hand and shows her Adam asleep, pointing to Adam with his right hand. The act of giving birth to Eve from his rib has already occurred. Eve is fully formed and naked with her hair flowing down to her ankles (an iconography similar to that of Mary Magdalene). The bucolic landscape is well represented although the variety of animals present is less than the choice Salomon offers us. The text reads:

God seeing that it was not good that man
Lives alone, aspiring to his good,
He put him into a deep, heavy sleep
Then he took a rib from his body.
And he gave him a sweet dream at that hour
And he created for him a steady help:
This happy couple is lucky
And possesses the garden of delights.

This rhyming text is longer and more descriptive than that of the *Quadrins historiques* (Lyon: de Tournes, 1554), which reads:

The Lord God took an entire rib
Of Adam's body, making him sleep,
And he formed Eve the first woman
Whom he showed him when he woke up.⁴⁰

The text of the *Quadrins* on this page does not mention the reason why Eve was created, but focuses on her creation. In the text of *Les Figures*, however, much importance is given to the reason why Eve was born, that is, to be of 'sure help' to Adam. In this case, the illustration also seems to emphasise this purpose. God points to Adam instead of blessing Eve as He seems to say to her "this is whom you were created for". It is possible that Pierre Eskrich, in creating the drawing for the book, saw the text for which he had to create the illustration and chose to portray the scene a moment after Eve's exit from Adam's body to emphasise this aspect of the text. This would explain the decision not to copy his colleague (and rival) Salomon, whose *Quadrins* he knew, and to distance himself from the manuscript tradition that sees Eve emerging from Adam's body, an iconography that we not only find in printed illustrations, but which has a long tradition in the visual arts. The result is a didactic illustration that, although it loses some of the lyrical aura we can find in Salomon's work, denotes Eskrich's stylistic independence

and will to innovate with a pleasant but decidedly stiffer result. In this solution, Eve's body loses a certain elegance in its transformation into an elongated body with little grace compared to Salomon's Eve/Venus. This image will be reused for over a decade by the printer Roville, in the following editions and translations of the work and for other works of a religious nature.

We must therefore conclude that both versions received good editorial success and were appreciated by the city's literary and merchant public, as well as for the foreign market, given their numerous editions and translations in Italian, German, English and Dutch. Although similar in the organisation of the page, in the division of text and image, and in regard to the purpose of the work and the editorial strategies, the comparison between these two scenes suggests an independence and an autonomous reflection regarding the iconographic choices of the two artists, who, although influencing each other, have maintained their style and their originality in the representation of the biblical subjects assigned to them.⁴¹

⁴⁰ "Le Seigneur Dieu print une costole entire | Du corps d'Adam, le faisant sommeiller | Et en forma Eve femme première | Qu'il luy monstra venant à s'éveiller" (fol. 3).

⁴¹ The illustrated editions of Roville and de Tournes, as has been said, were created for that wealthy upper class who could afford to buy and enjoy such pamphlets. The iconography we have analysed here is only one example of the possibilities offered by the direct comparison of these images.

Conclusions

The Lyon printing industry not only printed the first book in French, but introduced the illustrated book to France. The quantity of books published in Lyon during the Renaissance is lower only than that of books published in Paris, and differs from Parisian production by the importance given from the beginning to the role of the image. The production of illustrated books was characterised by the variety of literary genres, including religious works, scientific treatises, books of poetry, and works of classical literature.

Printers often collaborated with artists and printmakers to create quality illustrations, as we have seen for the cases of Jean de Tournes employing Bernard Salomon and Guillaume Roville employing Pierre Eskrich for the making of illustrations. These collaborations helped to visually enrich books, making the works more appealing and informative, providing a high standard of quality for illustrated publications, and allowing the city to become an important centre of publishing and culture during the Renaissance.

To advance further in the knowledge and study of illustrated books in the city, the project *Biblissima* constituted and analysed a corpus of these images underlining the importance of illustrations in printed books. The project's objective was to constitute this corpus of editions, using the new and still incomplete surveys launched several years ago in Lyon by the history of art group within the Institute of the History of Classical Thought, and completing them by examining the records of existing Lyon bibliographies.

The digital collection created in the Warburg Institute is an instrument of knowledge that allows users to locate editions already digitized and to insert links to the digitization programs already in place. In the first part of the book, I outlined the work and the results achieved during the project, discussing the methods of indexation in the Warburg Institute Iconographic

Database and underlining the crucial role of early modern matrices in the study of this precious material. In the second chapter, I presented the work on image recognition which was developed in collaboration with the Visual Geometry Group in Oxford. In the third and final chapter, I gave an overview of the corpus of printed illustrations in Lyon: from the context of the city in the sixteenth century to the role of matrices, and a comparison between the production of two main printers of the time.

The research could be expanded in two different complementary directions: a further survey of illustrated editions, expanding the scope chronologically and focusing on incunabula (such as the substantial illustrated production of the early printers Barthélemy Buyer and Jean Syber) as well as on the illustrated production toward the end of the sixteenth century, which still requires significant inquiry. The other direction concerns the digital side of the project, that is the indexing and analysis of the digitized collection, and it would be implemented thanks to the inclusion of more digitized illustrated books in the Lyon16ci and 1516 databases for the automatic image retrieval of this corpus.

Being inherently linked to the digital advancements of libraries, the project itself will continue following the developments of on-going digitization works. In creating the files in the Warburg databases, we tried to be as systematic as possible while inserting useful information, such as links to catalogue entries, to the digitized entire work, and to the existing parallel projects. Currently, we are also discussing the possibility of integrating the Iconclass number into the Lyon16ci, to make the base as in-

teroperable as possible with other iconographic indexing systems in use.¹

Research projects involving the Digital Humanities thrive only when they are - and keep on being - collaborative projects, such as many past and contemporary case studies have shown. *Le livre illustré à Lyon* project will be inherently linked to the future developments of the three main actors involved: the project *Bibliissima* in France, the Warburg Iconographic Database in London, and the Visual Geometry Group in Oxford.²

As Filippo Diara and others have discussed in the past (Diara 2020), the innovative ways in which we can expand our research on cultural heritage artifacts, as well as on their conservation and analysis, produce a substantial amount of data, which need to be managed and kept in the best possible way: issues of long-term maintenance and future of digital resources include data storage, redundancy and sustainability of these resources in the long run.³

While we open new horizons thanks to new technologies (e.g. the Iagematching software discussed here, which is an academic and authoritative tool for image recognition among many existing tools), we always need to be careful about whether and what we are losing along the way. Many research projects utilise digital methodologies along with more traditional art historical research on early modern illustrated books to obtain the most of the two worlds without the risk of losing any part of the precious work done. This 'integrative model' which allows the implementation of traditional and digital research (for iconographic indexation, for instance) is now both possi-

¹ I thank Prof. Hans Brandhorst and Dr. Etienne Posthumus for their unfailing availability to discuss these topics, and for their invaluable work on digital iconographic indexation.

² I wish to thank Dr. Abhishek Dutta for all the technical support on the Lyon16ci, and for the reassurance of the future support of the VGG in maintaining this resource.

³ I also wish to thank Prof. Neil Harris from the Scuola Superiore in Udine, for discussing these crucial issues during the seminar I was invited to speak at the Master Course in "Illustrazione Libreria" (2022).

ble and desirable, especially because we still do not have the certainty of which digital indexation systems will become the standard models in the future.

As scholars working in these parallel fields and using hybrid methodologies, we should always take the opportunities to discuss these topics, not only to share our research, but also to envision a possible common direc-

tion to apply to our different research material. We may not find a unique solution, but we will at least discuss the most desirable options, as well as the ones that may not be the best tools/methods to use in our research: this alone would save us precious time and resources and pave the way for establishing methodologies for future investigations in these areas.

Introduction to the Catalogue

This catalogue celebrates the evolution of printmaking in Lyon during the Renaissance period, with particular focus on the works published in the mid-sixteenth century. During these years, the city experienced an explosion of creativity and innovation, bringing visual culture to new heights of expression. These works not only illustrate religious and mythological subjects, but also provide insight into landscapes, portraits, and the production of scientific images. Renaissance prints from Lyon are an exemplary case of artistic objects in which the process is fundamental to understanding the final product: they are the result of technical skill, creativity, and technology, and they became unprecedented tools for cultural dissemination, contributing to the spread of ideas and imagery throughout Europe. Each piece selected in this catalogue showcases the artistry of Lyon printmakers, who masterfully combined lines and shadows to create images of rare beauty and depth. The catalogue shows *le chemin de l'image* during the golden era of printing production in the city, inviting the readers to experience this world of symbols, details, and visual storytelling.

Each selection implies a choice, and many other beautiful illustrations (such as more examples from the corpus of illustrated incunabula or the illustrated books depicting antiquities) could not be included, for space reasons, in the present volume.

The catalogue is divided into five sections: religious images, images from historical and literary books (both contemporary and ancient), miscellanea and pattern books, emblem images, and scientific images. This selection mirrors the iconographic categorisation used in the Warburg Institute Iconographic Database. I have chosen one or more highlights per category and included extended explanations in the entries at the beginning of each section, along with a sample of digital iconographic indexation from the database. Additionally, each image presented in the catalogue includes a link to the database entry and a corresponding QR code, making this volume an interactive digital resource for the reader, as well as a tool for exploring the world of printed images from Lyon in greater depth.

Part Two

**Iconographic Apparatus:
A Selection from the Illustrated Book
in Lyon**



I. Religion

***Le Mirouer de la rédemption de l'Humain Lignage* (cat. I.1-2)**

This important book is the illustrated translation of the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*. The edition preserved in the Bibliothèque Municipale in Lyon was printed in 1479, one year after the first edition published in 1478. The woodblocks are the same. The library also holds two other editions, one printed in 1482 and one in 1483. The book is a translation of a German adaptation that appeared in Basel in 1476. As is well known, it was widely spread throughout Europe, both in manuscript and in printed forms. The *Speculum* narrates the history of fall and redemption according to typology, which was a way to read the scripture based on the idea that each story of the New Testament (antitype) is announced by and specular to a story of the Old Testament (type). Julien Macho, an Augustin monk from Lyon, was devoted to the spread of French translation of religious books in order to nourish the faith of Christians who could read French but not Latin. These kinds of illustrations notably helped popularise these complex concepts, making texts more understandable to a variety of audiences, including the less literate. This was particularly important in the context of religious books, when access to knowledge was expanding throughout Europe. The 256 woodcuts for the illustrations were taken over by Bernhard Richel from Basel. Today, more than 190 illuminated manuscripts still survive, alongside even more manuscripts without images, and more than 20 incunabula editions. The *Speculum* is therefore one of the most popular works of the late Middle Ages, and it is also one of the richest repertoires for biblical imagery of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.¹ The Warburg Institute holds a substantial collection of images from different manuscripts and printed editions of the *Speculum*, along with an introduction to the work.

Sources and references

ISTC no. is00661000

Known copies (1478 edition)

Lyon MIB ((2) both imperfect. 1: leaf A only)
 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (2)
 Troyes, Médiathèque de Troyes Champagne Métropole (imperfect)
 St. Gallen, Kantonsbibliothek
 San Marino CA, Huntington Library
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(Source: ISTC catalogue entry, <https://data.cerl.org/istc/is00661000?style=expanded>)

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Warburg Database Indexation (cat. I.1-2)

Permalink

<https://iconographic.warburg.sas.ac.uk/object-wpc-wid-dxyp>

Iconography

RELIGIOUS ICONOGRAPHY

Typology and Prophecy / Cycles / Manuscripts and Prints / Speculum humanae salvationis / Printed editions / Lyon: Huss, 1478

Typology and Prophecy / Cycles / Manuscripts and Prints / Speculum humanae salvationis / Chapter 1: From the Fall of Rebel Angels to the Fall of Man / 1a: Fall of Rebel Angels / All images

Typology and Prophecy / Cycles / Manuscripts and Prints / Speculum humanae salvationis / Chapter 1: From the Fall of Rebel Angels to the Fall of Man / 1a: Fall of Rebel Angels / Variant: At the top God flanked by angels who fight the devils beneath

Typology and Prophecy / Cycles / Manuscripts and Prints / Speculum humanae salvationis / Chapter 1: From the Fall of Rebel Angels to the Fall of Man / 1b: Creation of Eve / All images

Typology and Prophecy / Cycles / Manuscripts and Prints / Speculum humanae salvationis / Chapter 1: From the Fall of Rebel Angels to the Fall of Man / 1b: Creation of Eve / Variant: God extracts with one hand Eve out of Adam and blesses her with the other hand - Eve not partially still rib

Old Testament / Genesis / Creation / Fall of rebel angels / Good angels fighting rebel angels - no special role for Lucifer

Old Testament / Genesis / Adam and Eve / Creation of Eve

Further details

Woodcut. Image also used in the first edition printed in Lyon in 1478 (first illustrated book printed in France). Image also used in the editions: 1479, 1486 (presumably, no surviving copy), 1488.

Book, text or document (source of image)

Unknown author. Colophon: *Cy finist le Mirouer de la redemption de lumain lignage* (GW M43034). Lyon (Huss). 1483. Folio: 1r.

[BML catalogue entry \(1479 edition\)](#)

[Complete digital copy \(Gallica\) \(1483\) edition](#)

Web resources

[BML catalogue entry \(1479 edition\)](#)

Comme le mirouer de la redem-
 ptio delumain lignaige trāstare de
 latin en frācoys selon l'intēcion de la sain-
 te escripture. Et p̄mieremēt d̄mēt lucifer
 p̄ son orgueil fut gecte de la haultesse du
 ciel au p̄fond denfer au. xiiii. chapitre de
 ysaiē. et au. xii. chapitre de lapocalipse.



A nom de dieu et de la
 sainte trinite commence
 le mirouer de la redem-
 ption humaine auquel est pre-
 mierement demōstre com-
 ment lucifer p̄ son orgueil
 fut gecte de la haultesse du
 ciel au p̄fond denfer. car il
 dit en son cuer. Je monteray
 au ciel dessus les estoilles
 de dieu et eraulceray mon
 siege. Je me assiray en la
 montaigne du testament
 au couste du acquilon. Je
 monteray dessus la haultesse
 des nues et seray esgal et
 semblable au tres hault dieu.
 pourquoy dieu nostre crea-

ateur le deiecta de la haultesse de paradys
 au p̄fond denfer avec les anges qui a luy
 estoient adherās et accordās. Et pour la
 repaciō de la dictē ruyne dieu nostre crea-
 teur p̄ son ineffable puidence crea nature
 humaine d̄me cy apres est demonstre.

Comment adam et eue furent crees au
 second et au quart chapitres de genesis



Dieu forma adā en vng chāp ap-
 pelle dama scēn hors de paradys
 duquel chāp il fut porte en pa-
 radys. Et inspira dieu en sa face
 esprit de vie et eut lomme ame
 viuante. Et apres ce il dit. Il
 nest pas bon que lomme soy
 seul. fai son s luy ay de sem-
 blable a luy. Et adonques dieu
 nostre seigneur donna a adā
 voulēte de dormir. Et quār adā
 fut endormi, nostre createur
 print vne de ses costes et
 ēplit la place de la coste de
 chair et de la coste quil print
 il forma Eue. Et
 a. i.

I.1

(previous page)

The Creation of Eve. In *Le Mirouer de la redemption
 de l'humain lignage*. 1483. Lyon: Huss.
 Woodcut, f. 1r, 2° (30.3 cm). Gallica.bnf.fr

I.2

The Fall of Rebel Angels and the Creation of Eve.
 In *Le Mirouer de la redemption de l'humain lignage*.
 1483. Lyon: Huss. Woodcut, f. 1r, 2° (30.3 cm).
 Gallica.bnf.fr

<https://iconographic.warburg.sas.ac.uk/object-wpc-wid-dxyp>





I.3

Jean Duvet, *The Marriage of Adam and Eve*.
In *L'Apocalypse figurée, par maistre Jehan Duvet, iadis
orfevre des rois*. 1561. Lyon: de Tourmes. Engraving
(taille douce), in-2 (38 cm). Rés 21911, f. 03

<https://iconographic.warburg.sas.ac.uk/object-wpc-wid-dpqc>





1.4
 Jean Duvel, *Self-Portrait as St. John. In L'Apocalypse
 figurée*. 1561. Lyon: de Tournes. Engraving, in-2
 (38 cm). Rés 21911, f. 06

<https://iconographic.warburg.sas.ac.uk/object-wpc-wid-dpqf>





Mortis exhortatio ad stultum di-
uitem funesto in eius die pompo-
sas optantem exequias.

Fare, superba potens dives quid funera nunc
fers?

Non animam hæc flectent ad sacra Regna tuã.
Sed bona quæ facies facient te quippe beatum
Ante Redemptorem, qui fugat omne scelus.

1.5

Mortis exhortatio. In Petri Busseroni, *Sapphicæ Petri
Busseroni medicam colentis facultatem horæ ad fidissimorum
Christicolarum vsum*. 1538. Lyon: Huguetan. 8° (15.3 cm), fol. 67r.
Réf 357568

<https://iconographic.warburg.sas.ac.uk/object-wpc-wid-fiul>



AD TERTIAM.



Summe Plasmator dominans ubique,
Nunc meis coeptis leuibus faueto,
Ut tuae aduentum Sobolis serenum
Cudere possim.

Doxa pio Patri, Nato, cum flamine Diuo,
Qui sine principio degit, semperq; triumphat.

C

1.6

The Annunciation. In Petri Busseroni,
Sapphicæ Petri Busseroni medicæ colentis facultatem horæ
ad fidissimorum Christicolarum vsum. 1538.
Lyon: Huguetan. 8° (15.3 cm), fol. 8r. Rés 357568

<https://iconographic.warburg.sas.ac.uk/object-wpc-wid-fiud>





Cursus beate Marie.

I.7

The Annunciation. In Hortulus anime cum aliis quamplurimis orationibus pristine impressioni super additis. 1513. Lyon. 16° (12.7 cm), Chomarat 5241

<https://iconographic.warburg.sas.ac.uk/object-wpc-wid-dzvh>



In festo Natalis christi.



t iij

1.8
*Nativity. In Hortulus anime cum aliis
quamplurimis orationibus pristinae
impressioni super additis. 1513. Lyon.
16° (12.7 cm), Chomarat 5241*

<https://iconographic.warburg.sas.ac.uk/object-wpc-wid-dzwy>



GENESE XI.



*Du bon Noé la generation,
Dressant la Tour Babel tant merueilleuse,
En son parler tombe en confusion:
Dieu empeschant l'entreprinse orgueilleuse.*

I.9

Bernard Salomon, *The Tower of Babel* (Gen. 11).
In Claude Paradin, *Quadrins historiques de la Bible*.
1583. Lyon: de Tournes. Woodcut, 8°(15.2 cm), Rés 357521

<https://iconographic.warburg.sas.ac.uk/object-wpc-wid-dthz>



G E N E S E X X V .



*Quand Abraham eut mis ordre à ses biens,
Estant fort vieil luy defaillit nature,
Si qu'il mourut entre les mains des siens:
Lesquels son corps mirent en sepulture.*

D

I.10

Bernard Salomon, *Abraham's Death*. In Claude Paradin, *Quadrins historiques de la Bible*. 1583. Lyon: de Tournes. Woodcut, 8°(15.2 cm), Rés 357521

<https://iconographic.warburg.sas.ac.uk/object-wpc-wid-dtiv>





I.11

Bernard Salomon, *Adam and Eve*. In *Biblia sacra ad optima quaeque veteris... translationis exemplaria*.
Lyon: de Tournes, 1556. Lyon, Bibliothèque Municipale, 20041, p. 2

<https://iconographic.warburg.sas.ac.uk/object-wpc-wid-dmkg>





I.12
After Bernard Salomon, *Adam and Eve*. Sixteenth century. Woodcut.
Lyon, Musée de l'Imprimerie et de la Communication Graphique. Not indexed in the database

I.13
After Bernard Salomon, *Adam and Eve*. Detail of Adam's leg. Sixteenth century.
Woodcut. Lyon, Musée de l'Imprimerie et de la Communication Graphique.
Not indexed in the database



DE GENESE CHAP. III.



*Le caut Serpent mignardant son langage
Ses laqs subtils dessus eux ha rendu,
Si que, tentez, ont mangé le fruitage,
Que le Haut Dieu leur auoit deffendu.
Qui courroucé, tance Adam esperdu,
Et le condamne à la suante peine:
Eue au travail de son fruit, en temps deu,
Souz un espoir de deliurance plaine.*

A 4

I.14

Pierre Eskrich, *The Serpent Seduces Adam and Eve* (Gen. 3:1-6).
In Guillaume Guérault, *Figures de la Bible, illustrees de huictains
francoys, pour l'interpretation et intelligence d'icelles*. 1564. Lyon:
Roville. Woodcut, in-8, Rés B 488453

<https://iconographic.warburg.sas.ac.uk/object-wpc-wid-dvyg>



DE GENESE CHAP. II.



*Dieu preuoyant n'estre pas bon que l'Homme
Seul demeurast, à son bien aspira,
Si l'endormit d'un profond & fort somme.
Puis de son corps une coste tira.
Et d'un doux soing tel heur luy procura,
Qu'il luy forma une Ayde secourable:
Ce couple heureux ainsi par faueur ha
Possession du Verger delectable.*

I.15

Pierre Eskrich, *Creation of Eve*. In Guillaume Guérault,
Figures de la Bible, illustrees de huitains francoys,
pour l'interpretation et intelligence d'icelles.
1564. Lyon: Roville. Woodcut,
in-8, Rés B 488453

<https://iconographic.warburg.sas.ac.uk/object-wpc-wid-dvyf>



DE GENESE CHAP. XI.



Lors qu'en la Terre estoit un seul langage
Les Hommes ià fiers & audacieux,
Ont comploté un excellent ouvrage:
Un bastiment qui s'égalast aux Cicux.
Ils ont basty d'un art laborieux
La Tour Babel: mais la Divine Essence
Pour rendre vain l'ouvrage sumptueux,
Ha confondu leur parole & puissance.

B 2

I.16

Pierre Eskrich, *Building the Tower of Babel*
(Gen. 11:1-4). In Guillaume Guérault, *Figures
de la Bible, illustrees de huictains francoys,
pour l'interpretation et intelligence d'icelles*. 1564.
Lyon: Roville. Woodcut, in-8, Rés B 488453

<https://iconographic.warburg.sas.ac.uk/object-wpc-wid-dvyr>



uato, fate melo assapere, accioche anchora io venga, & adorilo. Et quegli hauendo vditto il Re, si partirno, & ecco la stella che essi hauerono veduta



in Oriente, andana loro auanti, infino à tãto, che venendo, stesse sopra doue era il fanciullo. Et vedendo la stella molto di grãdissima letitia si rallegrorno. Et entrati nella casa, trouorno il fanciul

I.17

Georges Reverdy, *The Three Kings*. In *Il Nuovo Testamento di Gesù Christo*. 1549. Lyon: Roville. Woodblock, in-16 (12 cm), Rés 800725, p. 10

<https://iconographic.warburg.sas.ac.uk/object-wpc-wid-dvqb>





I.18
After Bernard Salomon, *The Tower of Babel*. Sixteenth century. Woodcut. Lyon, Musée de l'Imprimerie et de la Communication Graphique.
Not indexed in the database



II. History and Literature

Opera Virgiliana (cat. II.19-20)

The two images selected in the catalogue represent two different scenes of the *Aeneid*, respectively *Aeneas and the Sybil in the Underworld* and *The Procession of the Trojan Horse into Troy*, in the *Opera Virgiliana cum decem commentis, docte et familiariter exposita* published by Jean Crespin in 1529. The volume is richly illustrated with woodcuts placed at the beginning of each book within the *Eclogues*, *Georgics* and *Aeneid*. Except for the Book VI of the *Aeneid*, where a different set of woodcuts was added, the illustrations are closely based on the woodcuts of Sebastian Brant in the edition by Johannes Grüninger, published in Strasbourg in 1502. Grüninger's illustrations also served as a model for editions of Virgil printed in Italy and France throughout the sixteenth century. For instance, Grüninger's original woodblocks were in the hands of Jacques Sacon in 1517 – *Opera Vergiliana & familiariter exposita* (Lyon: Jacobo Sachon, 1517). It is likely that Crespin eventually passed the blocks to Jacopo Giunta at Lyons since in the 1552 Giunta edition of Virgil, the woodcuts of the *Eclogues* and *Georgics* were also printed from the Grüninger's blocks. These images produced in 1502 will be reprinted and imitated for almost a century denoting their importance for pedagogical purposes, as E.P. Goldschmidt argued (Goldschmidt 1966). Most likely, publishers and editors like Sebastian Brant were strictly concerned with the educational role of these illustrations. However, while the style is rather old-fashioned and has been described as anachronistic, these images are intrinsically appealing to the eye, as the complex depiction of the underworld (cat. 19) clearly shows. The illustrations present a strong sense of visual storytelling, with scenes taken directly from Virgil's texts. The images are detailed and rich in decorative elements. Stylised human figures, animals, and landscapes are often depicted with a keen attention to symmetry and synthesis. The human figures show Gothic influences in their proportions and stylised details, but at the same time there are few signs of change in style, with attention to realism, perspective, and anatomy, especially in the landscapes, architectures and moving figures (such as in the perspective of the horse entering the city, cat. I.20). This 1529 edition of the *Opera* is a significant example of the attempt to unite text and image in a work that celebrates both the poetic content of the classical text and the artistic progress of the print medium during the sixteenth century.

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Warburg Database Indexation (cat. II.20)

Permalink

<https://iconographic.warburg.sas.ac.uk/object-wpc-wid-eagw>

Iconography

LITERATURE

Ancient / Vergil / Collected works / Printed books / Lyon (Crespin), 1529

Ancient / Vergil / Aeneid / Cycles / Printed Books / - Lyon (Crespin)

Indexing the Early Modern Printed Image

Further details

Date: 1529

Book, text or document (source of image)

Vergil. Opera Virgiliana cum decem commentis, docte et familiariter exposita. Lyon (Crespin). 1529

Web resources

[BML catalogue entry](#)



II.19

*Aeneas and the Sybil
in the Underworld. In Vergil,
Opera Virgiliana cum decem
commentis, docte et familiariter
exposita. 1529. Lyon: Crespin.
2° (31 cm), Rés 132708, p. ccci*

<https://iconographic.warburg.sas.ac.uk/object-wpc-wid-eaiy>





II.20

The Procession of the Trojan Horse into Troy. In Vergil, Opera Virgiliana cum decem commentis, docte et familiariter exposita. 1529.

Lyon: Crespin. 2° (31 cm), Rés 132708, p. ciii

<https://iconographic.warburg.sas.ac.uk/object-wpc-wid-eagw>





II.21

Dante and Virgil Leaving Hell.

In Dante Alighieri, *Dante con nuove et utili ispositioni.*

1571. Lyon: Roville.

16°, Rés 810637, p. 225

<https://iconographic.warburg.sas.ac.uk/object-wpc-wid-dznp>





VERSI IN LODE
DI M. GIOVANNI
BOCCACCIO.

II.22

Pierre Eskrich, *Portrait of Giovanni Boccaccio*.

In Giovanni Boccaccio, *Il Decamerone di M. Giovanni Boccaccio: nuouamente stampato con vn raccoglimento di tutte le sentenze*. 1555. Lyon: Roville. Rés 810638, p. 16

<https://iconographic.warburg.sas.ac.uk/object-wpc-wid-dznt>





II.23

Pierre Eskrich, *Giornata Prima*. In Giovanni Boccaccio, *Il Decamerone di M. Giovanni Boccaccio: nuouamente stampato con vn raccoglimento di tutte le sentenze*. 1555. Lyon: Roville. 16°, Rés 810638, p. 17

<https://iconographic.warburg.sas.ac.uk/object-wpc-wid-dznu>





II.24

Bernard Salomon (attributed to), *Various Scenes of the Metamorphoses*. In Apuleius, *Metamorphose, avtrement, l'Asne d'or de L. Apvlee de Madaure Philosophe Platonique*. 1553. Lyon: de Tournes and Gazeau. Woodcuts, 16° (11.3 cm), Chomarat 6541

<https://iconographic.warburg.sas.ac.uk/object-wpc-wid-dzqx>





II.25

The Lazy Soldiers and Captains' Hell (L'enfer des soldats et capitaines poltrons). In Antonio Francesco Doni, *Les Mondes célestes, terrestres et infernaux...* tirez des oeuvres de Doni Florentin par Gabriel Chappuis Tourangeau. 1580. Lyon: Michel. 12, Rés 428618, p. 455

<https://iconographic.warburg.sas.ac.uk/object-wpc-wid-eaal>





ARGOMENTO.

RACCONTASI IL DANNO, CHE RODOMONTE FECE IN PARI-
 rigi, e i prouedimenti di Carlo. Descruesi Damasco, e la giostra, nella quale si contiene la viltà di
 Martano, & il valor di Grifone: prima narrandosi lo amore, e i varifaccidenti di Lu-
 cina, e di Norandino. Grifone torna all'Albergo: e addormentando-
 uisi, Martano gli toglie le arme, e il cauallo; per le quali ef-
 fendo creduto Grifone, è honorato dal Re:
 Grifone da poi è preso, e vil-
 mente vituperato.

CANTO SETTIMODECIMO.



L G I V. Per questo Mario, e Silla pose al Mondo,
 sto Dio, E duo Neroni, e Caio furibondo.
 quando i Domitiano, e l'ultimo Antonino,
 peccati no E tolse dalla immonda, e bassa plebe,
 stri Et esaltò à l'Imperio Massimino,
 E nascer prima fe Creonte à Thebe;
 Han di re- E diè Mezenzio al popol' Agilino,
 mission pas Che fe di sangue human grasse le glebe,
 fato il se- E diede Italia à tempi men rimoti, (ibi.
 gno: In preda à gli Hunni, à i Longobardi, à i Go-
 Che d' Attila dirò? che dell'iniquo

II.27

Argomento and Canto Settimodecimo.
 In Ludovico Ariosto, Orlando Furioso.
 1556. Lyon: Honorat. Rés 109616,
 p. 138

[https://iconographic.warburg.sas.ac.uk/
 object-wpc-wid-dzou](https://iconographic.warburg.sas.ac.uk/object-wpc-wid-dzou)



LE TRIUMPHE DAMOVR. Fueillet.II.
AMOR VINCIT MVNDVM.



LE POËTE.



V temps que se renouellent mes
sospirs par la douce memoire de
celluy iour qui fut cōmencement
& si lōg martyr, & que sol eschauf
foit la corne du thoreau, & la fem
me de titā, cest a dire la lune estoit
la gellee & seoit en son ancien sie
ge de froidure le labeur damour
peine & gemissement cōtinuel me
auoient ia monstre le lieu auquel
me reposeroye. Las de cueur entre
les herbes gisant triste de gemissement & pleur vaincu de
sommeil vy vne grande lumiere au dedans de laquelle auoit
beaucoup de douleur & peu de ioye. En celle lumiere ie vy
vng victorieux & souuerain duc plus bel & plus resplendiss

a ij

II.28

The Triumph of Love. In Petrarch, *Triumphes.* 1531.
Lyon: Morin (Harsy). Douce P 583, fol. Iir.
Not indexed in the database

Digital record in SOLO (Oxford):
[https://solo.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/permalink/440XF_](https://solo.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/permalink/440XF_INST/35n82s/alma990144619880107026)
[INST/35n82s/alma990144619880107026](https://solo.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/permalink/440XF_INST/35n82s/alma990144619880107026)



1532 digital edition:
[https://nume.lyo.bm-lyon.fr/f_view/](https://nume.lyo.bm-lyon.fr/f_view/BML_00G000100137001100866487)
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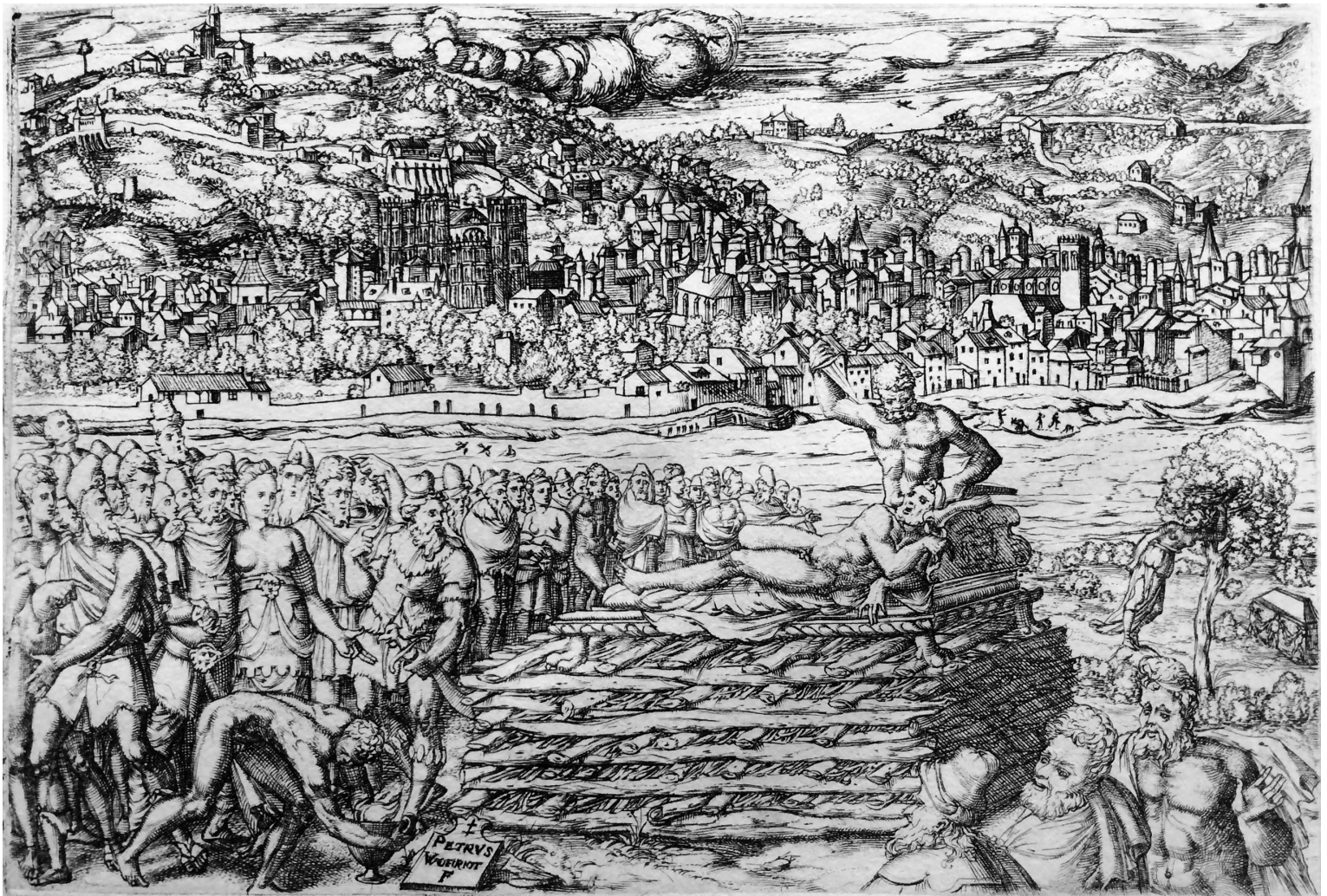


II.29

Pierre Woeriot, *Descriptio I, Veterum Romanorum Sepeliendi Ritu*. In *Pinax Iconicus Antiquorum*. 1556. Lyon: Baudin. 8°, fol. 6r. Not indexed in the database

https://solo.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/permalink/440XF_INST/35n82s/alma990139090590107026





II.30

Pierre Woeiriot, *Descriptio VI, Funeral Pyre with a View of Lyon*. In *Pinax Iconicus Antiquorum*. 1556. Lyon: Baudin. 8°, fol. 16r. Not indexed in the database

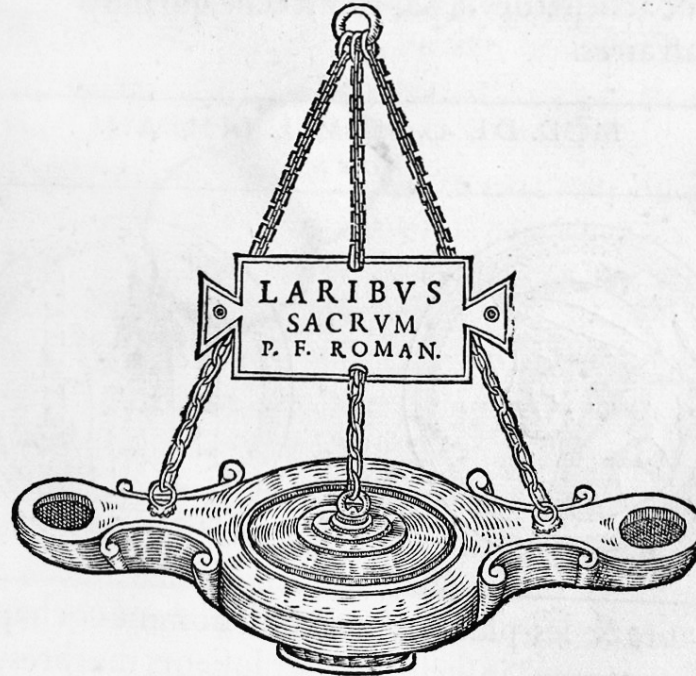
https://solo.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/permalink/440XF_INST/35n82s/alma990139090590107026



L V C E R N E D E B R O N Z E

*antique, trouvée à Lyon l'an mil cinq
cents vingt & cinq.*

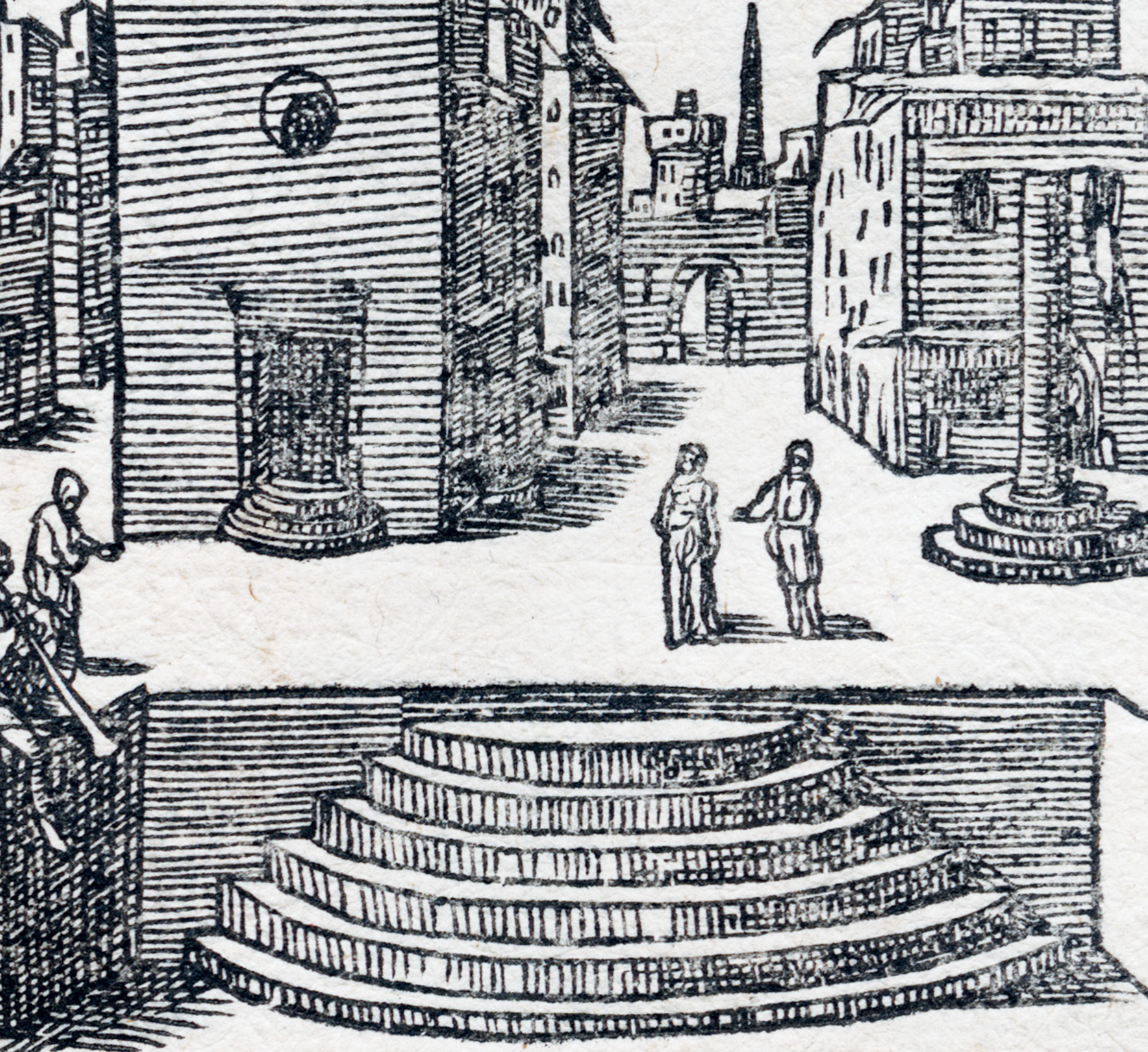
35



II.31

Bronze Lamp. In *Discours de la religion des anciens Romains*. 1556. Lyon: Roville. Rés 157495, p. 247.

Not indexed in the database



III. Miscellanea and Pattern Books

Pourtraits Divers (cat. III.32-5)

The images of this interesting ‘sample book’ are a typical example of the illustrated production of Jean de Tournes (1504–1564). The first edition printed in 1556 presents 62 woodcuts, each displayed on a recto page. The second edition, printed in 1557, repeats the same woodcuts, with the addition of the title *Pourtraits Divers* (cat. III.32). This first edition has a border decorated with white arabesques on a black background and with a cross of Lorraine in the centre at the bottom. Deprived of the title, only the address appears refocused towards the top of the sheet to fill the space left empty: “A LION // BY IAN DE TOVRNES // (one line) // M. D. LVI.”, indicating the name of the town and the bookseller. The precise address and the sign are missing, providing unnecessary details in the case of a renowned printer-bookseller. The images are attributed to the artist Bernard Salomon (see Part I, ch. 3). They present stage scenes (cat. III.34), portraits (reused in the editions of the *Chiromance*), scenes of triumphs (reused in several editions of Petrarch’s Triumphs, cat. III.35), bucolic scenes (already used for instance in the *Sausalye*, 1547, cat. III.36), which will also be used in several books of emblems. Maude Lejeune (2012) and Peter Sharratt (2005) already discussed these illustrations in detail, focusing on the technique used for the making of these woodcuts. As Lejeune argues, the ink used could have been manufactured in the printer’s workshop. It was applied to the typographic form using two balls or two inked stamps rubbed against each other (Lejeune 2012, 41). These characters have a graceful elegance and adopt gestures and poses which were probably inherited from the school of Fontainebleau. However, they could also have been influenced by Italian woodcuts, especially Venetian, especially as they are embedded in heavily decorated landscapes which includes natural and architectural elements and for what concerns the construction of the perspectival space.

Known copies (1557 edition)

Chantilly, France, Musée Condé Shelfmark: XII B 01
 Dijon, France, Bibliothèque municipale Shelfmark: Est 376
 Le Mans, France, Médiathèque Louis Aragon Shelfmark: SA 8o 4394
 Lyon, France, Bibliothèque municipale Shelfmark: Rés 433081
 Paris, France, Bibliothèque de l’Ecole Nationale Supérieure des Beaux Arts Shelfmark: Masson 940
 Paris, France, Bibliothèque de l’Ecole Nationale Supérieure des Beaux Arts Shelfmark: N d Masson 32
 Paris, France, Bibliothèque de l’Ecole Nationale Supérieure des Beaux Arts Shelfmark: Masson 937 (1)
 Canterbury, United Kingdom, Cathedral Library Shelfmark: H/M 4 2 (2)
 Edinburgh, United Kingdom, National Library of Scotland Shelfmark: NG 1346 d 23
 Cambridge, United States, Houghton Library, Harvard University Shelfmark: Unknown
 Chicago, United States, Newberry Library Shelfmark: Wing ZP 539 T 647
 (Source: USTC, <https://www.ustc.ac.uk/editions/24372>)

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Warburg Database Indexation (cat. II.34)

Permalink (1557 edition)

<https://iconographic.warburg.sas.ac.uk/object-wpc-wid-dsyj>

Iconography

LITERATURE

Art and art theory / Pattern books / Miscellaneous / Pourtraits Divers, Lyon (de Tournes), 1557

MAGIC AND SCIENCE

Theatre / Stage design

Further details

Woodcut

Artist or creator: [Salomon, Bernard \(born 1508 or 1510, died 1561\)](#) (attributed)

Date: 1557

Book, text or document (source of image): [Pourtraits divers. Lyon \(de Tournes\). 1557](#)

Web resources

[Bibliothèque municipale de Lyon \(catalogue entry\)](#)

Warburg Database Indexation (cat. II.35)

Permalink (1557 edition)

<https://iconographic.warburg.sas.ac.uk/object-wpc-wid-dsxh>

Iconography

MAGIC AND SCIENCE

Modern / Petrarca, Francesco / Trionfi / Cycles / Bernard Salomon, Pourtraits divers, Lyon, 1557

Modern / Petrarca, Francesco / Trionfi / Triumph of Fame

SOCIAL LIFE

Art and art theory / Pattern books / Miscellaneous / Pourtraits Divers, Lyon (de Tournes), 1557

Further details

Woodcut

Artist or creator: [Salomon, Bernard \(born 1508 or 1510, died 1561\)](#) (attributed)

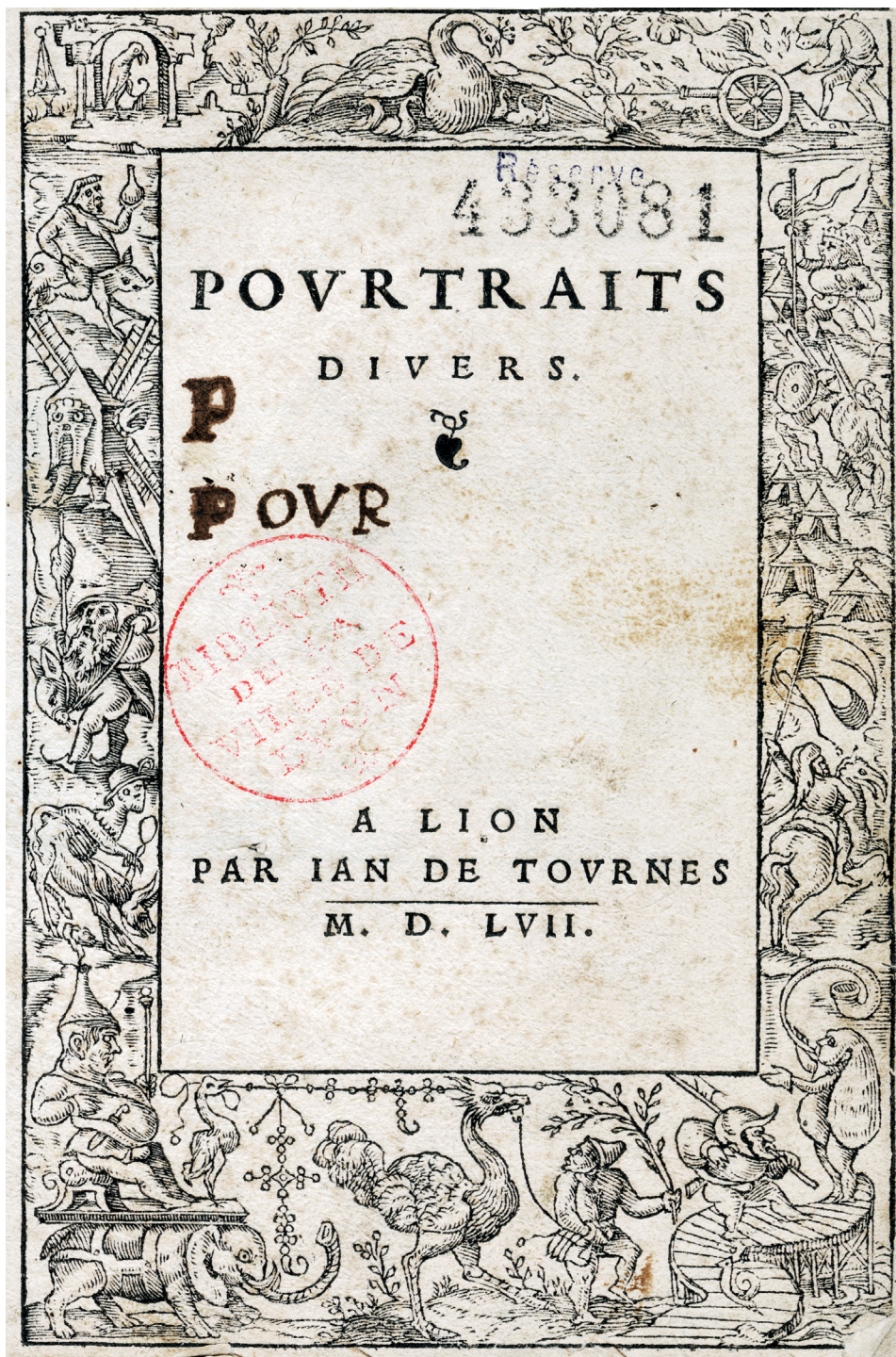
Date: 1557

Book, text or document (source of image)

[Pourtraits divers. Lyon \(de Tournes\). 1557](#)

Web resources

[Bibliothèque municipale de Lyon \(catalogue entry\)](#)

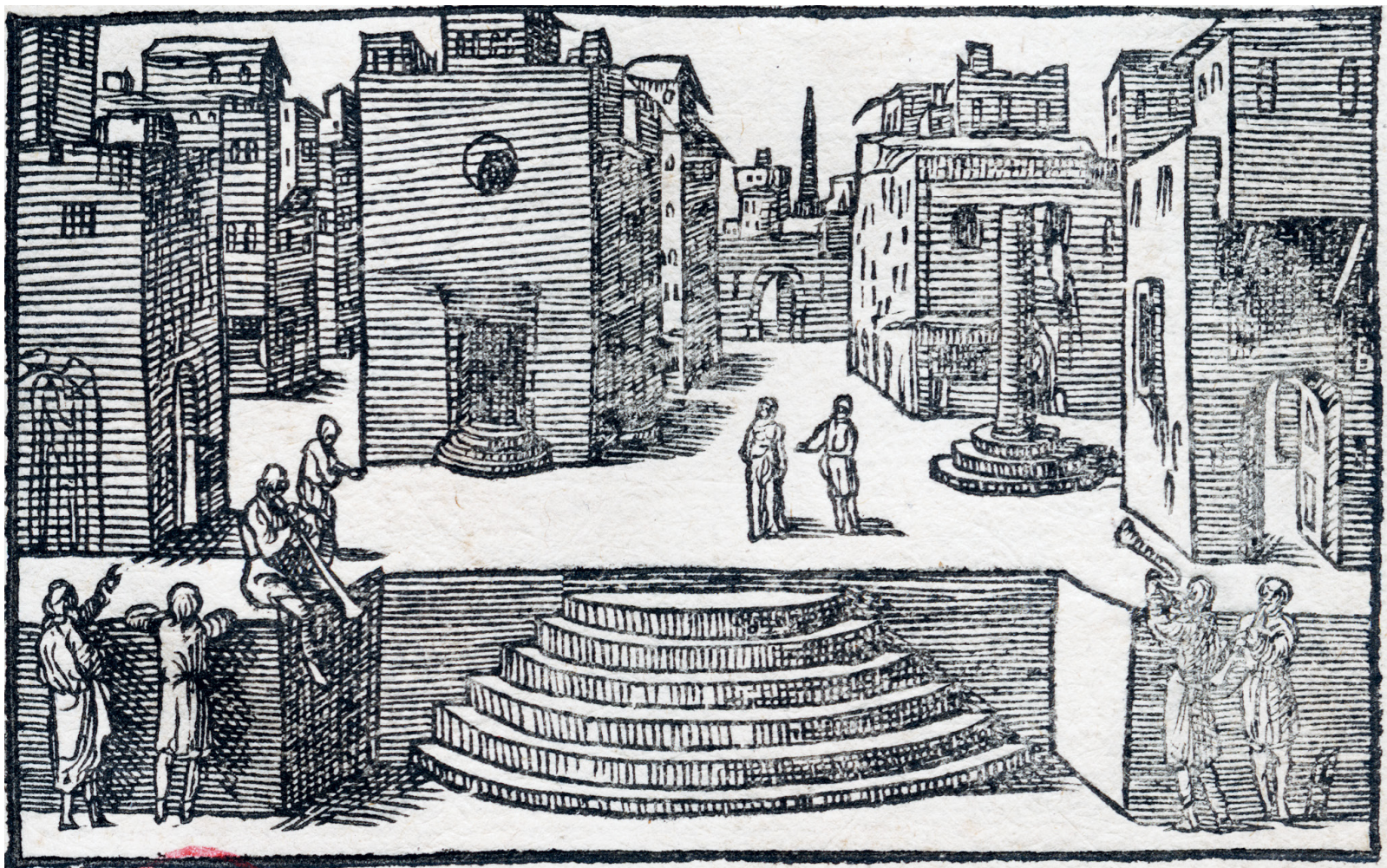


III.32

Title page for the 1557 edition of *Pourtraits Divers*.
Lyon: de Tournes. Bibliothèque Municipale, Rés 433081.
Not indexed in the database



III.33
Details of the decorative frame for the 1557 edition of *Pourtraits Divers*. Lyon: de Tournes. Bibliothèque Municipale, Rés 433081. Not indexed in the database



III.34

Bernard Salomon (attributed to), *Stage Scene*. In *Pourtraits Divers*. 1557. Lyon: de Tournes. Bibliothèque Municipale, Rés 433081, p. 17

<https://iconographic.warburg.sas.ac.uk/object-wpc-wid-dsyj>

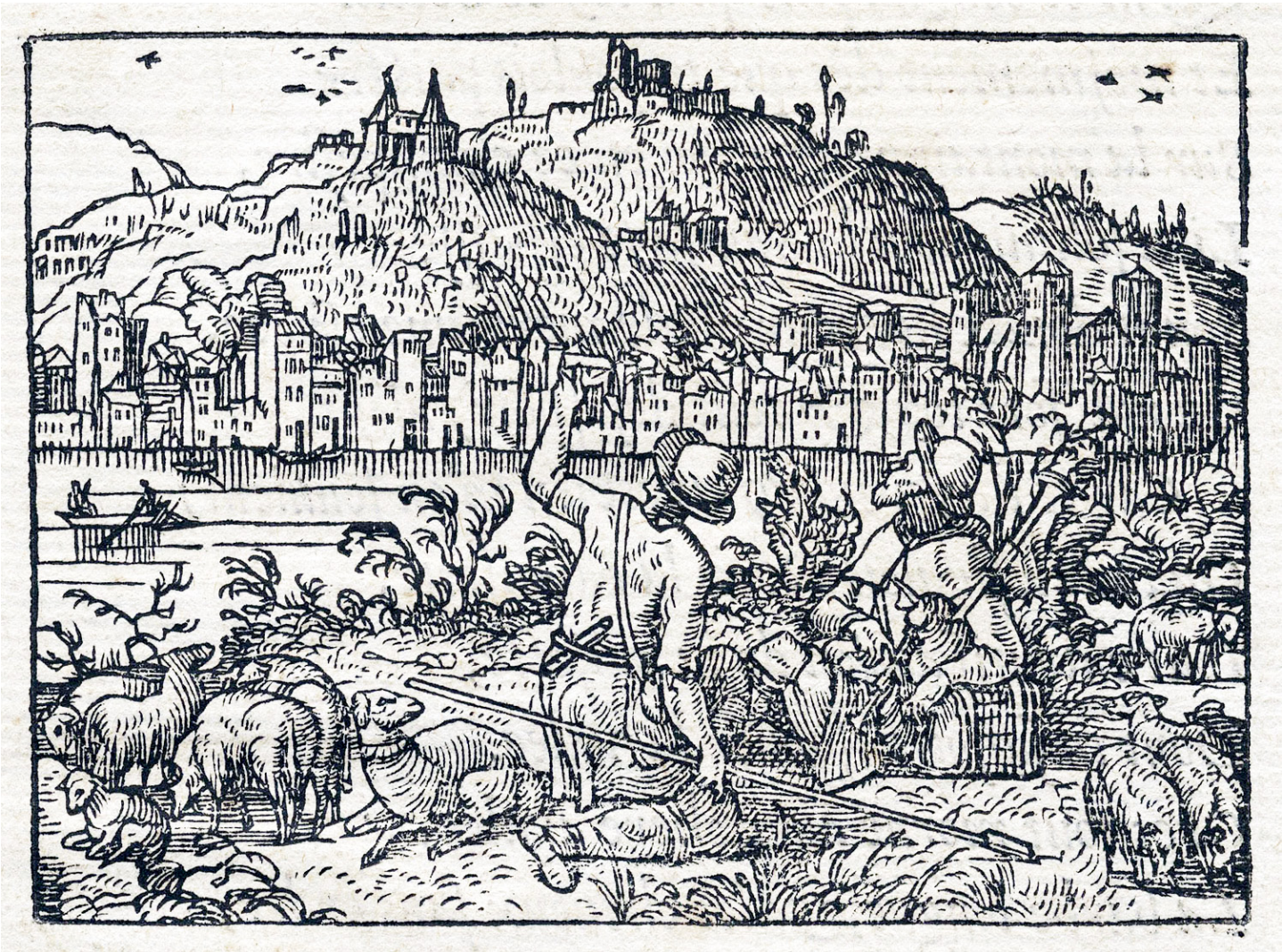




III.35
Bernard Salomon, *Triumph of Fame*. In *Pourtraits Divers*. 1557. Lyon: de Turnes.
Bibliothèque Municipale, Rés 433081, p. 51

<https://iconographic.warburg.sas.ac.uk/object-wpc-wid-dsxh>

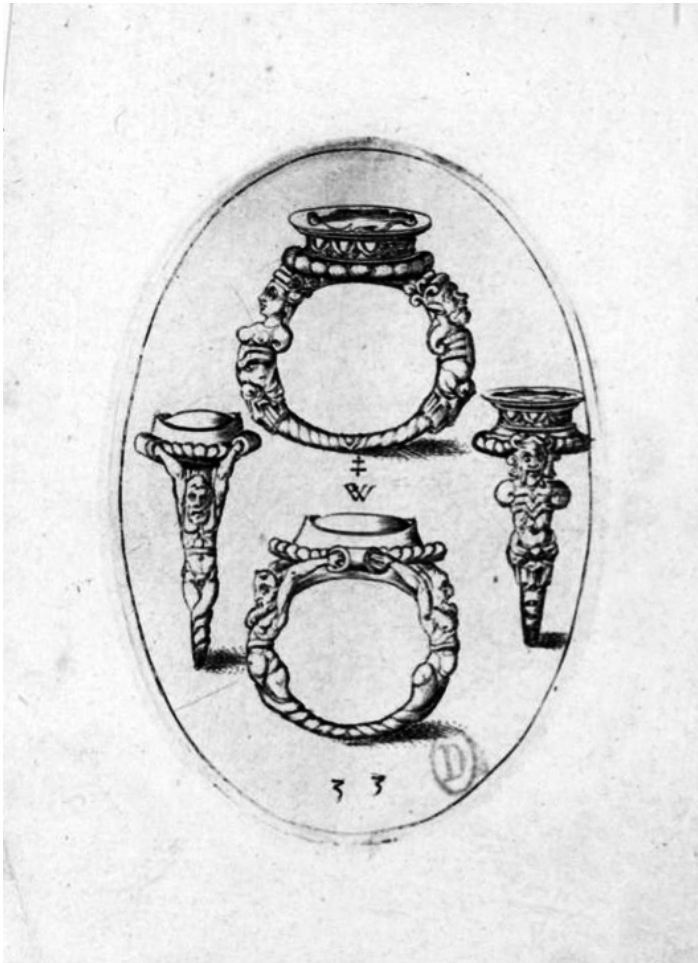




III.36
Bernard Salomon, *View of Lyon*. In Maurice Scève, *Saulsaye; Eglogue de la vie solitaire*. 1547. Lyon: de Tournes. Woodcut, 8° (16 cm), Rés 355925, p. 3.
The same image will be reused for the *Pourtraits Divers*, Lyon: de Tournes, in 1556 and 1557

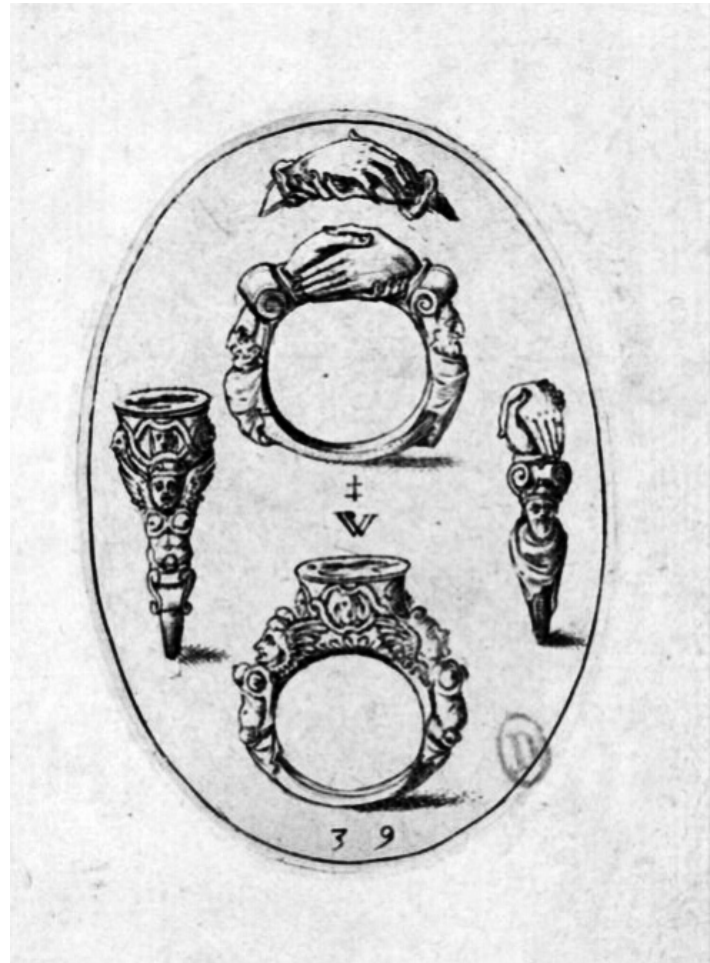
<https://iconographic.warburg.sas.ac.uk/object-wpc-wid-drgq>





III.37
 Pierre Woeiriot, *Design for Two Rings*. In *Livre d'anneaux d'orfèverie*. 1561.
 Lyon: Roville. INHA, NUM 8 Rés 82, fol. 68r

<https://iconographic.warburg.sas.ac.uk/object-wpc-wid-dzii>



III.38
 Pierre Woeiriot, *Design for Two Engagement or Wedding Rings*. In *Livre d'anneaux d'orfèverie*. 1561. Lyon: Roville. INHA, NUM 8 Rés 82, fol. 80r

<https://iconographic.warburg.sas.ac.uk/object-wpc-wid-dzio>



HYMNE DV IOVR.



Maint harpeur melodieux
 D'une souveraine grace
 Sonne la guerre des Dieux
 Contre l'orgueilleuse race
 Des Titans foudroyez
 Et de leurs corps poudroyez
 L'honneur va renouvelant:
 Dessus lesquels la puissance
 De la divine vengeance
 Va les monts amoncelant.
 L'autre chante les forts Grecs
 Qui la magnanime Troye

Par

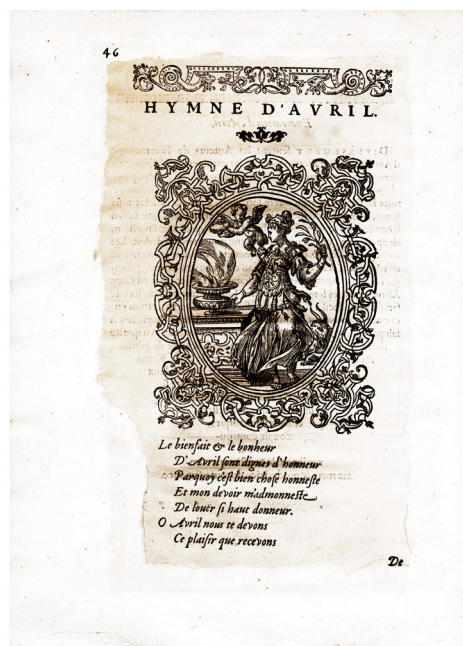
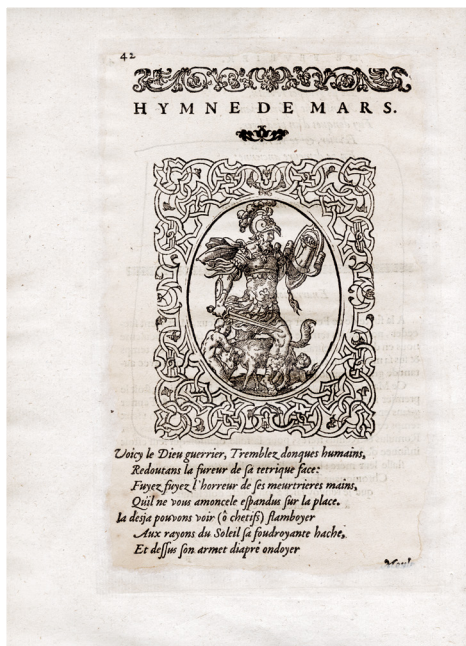
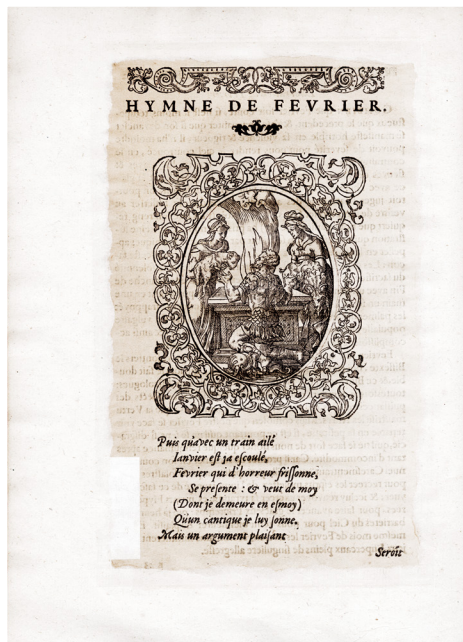
HYMNE DE LA NYCT.



Or ha le flambeau des cieux
 Par la luisante carriere
 Parfait le tour spacieux
 De sa course journaliere
 La lumere s'ensuit
 Pour faire place à la Nuit,
 Qui couvre d'une noire ombre
 Le firmament coy & sombre.
 Pource je veuil entonner
 (Nuit tenebreuse & silente)
 Un vers qui puisse sonner
 L'heur de ta gloire excellente.

Puisse





III.40

Bernard Salomon, *Hymn of Months (January, February, March and April)*. In Guillaume Guérout, *Hymne du temps et de ses parties*. 1560. Lyon: de Tournes. Bibliothèque Municipale, Rés 373727, pp. 32, 38, 42 and 46

<https://iconographic.warburg.sas.ac.uk/object-wpc-wid-dohy>



L'homme enuers l'homme, Dieu.



IV. Emblems

Le Pegme (cat. IV.41-4)

Le Pegme by Pierre Cousteau is here presented in the 1560 French translation of the 1555 Latin edition printed by Macé Bonhomme. Another French edition appeared in the same year. Bonhomme collaborated with Guillaume Roville to produce several editions of Alciat's emblems in different languages, he had therefore experience in publishing these kinds of books. The 1555 Latin edition was probably planned much before the date of publishing, as the privilege is dated 1553. The illustrations are attributed to Pierre Eskrich. This French translation of the Latin *Pegma* constitutes one of the most renowned emblem books, a genre that combines images and texts to convey moral and philosophical ideas. In this book, Cousteau explores various themes through symbols and metaphors, often related to nature, humanity and knowledge. Emblems have a complex layout that combines motto, text, illustrations and decorative elements and they are generally composed of a central image, a caption and an explanatory text, in order to invite the learned reader to reflect on the deeper meaning of each symbol. The book also offers an in-depth 'philosophical narration' after each emblem, which aims at deepening the moral reflection on the image.

While the first emblem presents a reflection on Fate (Fortuna, cat. IV.42), the second emblem presents a moral poem on death and taxes (cat. IV.43), as the text reads:

*Tailler la mort.
Moderation en tributs.*

*La mort ne peut payer tribut ne taille,
Necessité ne permet que l'on donne:
Qui trop en veut, ailleurs chercher en aille
Qui n'a ne peut. La Loy ainsi l'ordonne.*

(To tax death. | Moderation in Taxes. Text: Death cannot pay taxes or tributes | Necessity does not allow it | Those who want too much of it should seek elsewhere | Those who have it can, the law commands it).

We see how the text in the 1555 Latin edition is more concise

*Desine nocturnas tabulis incessere larvas,
Pendere vectigal mortuus ane potest?*

(Leave off going after the ghosts of the night with your account books | Can a dead man pay tax?)

The figure of the Death presented here can be inspired by Holbein's Dance of Death (see Part One). The third emblem (cat. IV.44) advises always showing kindness to friends. The story comes from Plutarch, and there are different versions of it (in the Fables of Aesop, for instance, the camel is substituted by a donkey).

Known copies

Toronto, Canada, Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library of the University of Toronto, Shelfmark: B11 7075

København, Denmark, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Shelfmark: 178:3, 12 00043 S-1977

Besançon, France, Bibliothèque municipale, Shelfmark: 246734

Caen, France, Bibliothèque municipale, Shelfmark: Rés A 1099

Châlons-en-Champagne, France, Bibliothèque municipale, Shelfmark: Gt 9944 (2)

Lunel, France, Bibliothèque municipale, Shelfmark: B 19

Lyon, France, Bibliothèque municipale, Shelfmark: Rés 810905

Paris, France, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Shelfmark: 8o BL 32950

Paris, France, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Shelfmark: 8o BL 32951

Poitiers, France Médiathèque municipale François Mitterrand, Shelfmark: DR 145
Troyes, France, Médiathèque de l'Agglomération Troyenne, Shelfmark: Y 12 2196
Berlin, Germany, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Shelfmark: Nv 7333
Moskvá, Russian Federation, Russian State Library (formerly Lenin Library), Shelfmark: Unknown
Glasgow, United Kingdom, University Library, Shelfmark: S M 372
London, United Kingdom, British Library, Shelfmark: 98 a 15
London, United Kingdom, British Library, Shelfmark: G 17435
Durham, United States, Duke University, Library Shelfmark: x
Evanston, United States, United Library of Garrett-Evangelical and Seabury-Western Theological Seminaries Shelfmark:
Special Collections 704 946 C869pXF
New York, United States, The Morgan Library, Shelfmark: PML 126160
Princeton, United States, University Library, Shelfmark: 2949 269
Washington, D.C., United States, Folger Shakespeare Library, Shelfmark: PN 6349 C75 F7 Cage
(Source: USTC, <https://www.ustc.ac.uk/editions/6624>)

Selected bibliography

Adams, A.; Rawles, S. (1999-2002). *A Bibliography of French Emblem Books*. Genève: E. Droz.
Coulet, H. (1981). *Le Livre de l'emblème: Études sur l'illustration de la pensée au XVI^e et XVII^e siècle*. Paris: SEDES.
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Guiderdoni-Bruslé, A. (2004). "Pierre Coustau's Pegma: A Lionese Emblem Book in the Renaissance". *Emblematica*, 14(1), 45-70.
Pettegree, A.; Walsby M.; Wilkinson A. (2007). *French Vernacular Books, Books Published in the French Language Before 1601*. Leiden: Brill.

Digital critical editions

1555: <https://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/french/books.php?id=FCPb&o=>
1560: <https://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/french/books.php?id=FCPb>

Warburg Database Indexation (cat. IV.44)

Permalink (1557 edition)
<https://iconographic.warburg.sas.ac.uk/object-wpc-wid-eadz>

Iconography

SECULAR ICONOGRAPHY

Emblems / Cycles (Emblem Books) / Coustau, Pegme, Lyon (Molin and Bonhomme, 1560)

Further details

Image also used in the edition: 1555

Artist or creator: [Eskrich, Pierre \(Vase, Cruche\) \(c1530-c1590\)](#)

Date: 1560

Book, text or document (source of image)

[Coustau, Pierre \(Petrus Costalius\). Le Pegme de Pierre Coustau, avec les Narrations philosophiques mis de latin en François par Lanteaume de Romieu. Lyon \(Molin and Bonhomme\). 1560](#)

Web resources

[BML catalogue entry](#)

810905

LE
PEGME DE PIERRE
COUSTAV, avec les NARRATIONS
PHILOSOPHIQUES,
Mis de Latin en François par L ANTEAU-
ME de Romieu Gentilhomme d'Arles.



A LYON, Par Barthelemy Molin.
M. D. L X.
Aucc Priuilege du Roy.

IV.41
Pierre Eskrich, title page for Pierre Coustau (Petrus Costalius),
*Le Pegme de Pierre Coustau, avec les Narrations philosophiques
mis de latin en François par Lanteaume de Romieu.* 1560. Lyon:
Molin and Bonhomme. 8°, Rés 810905

<https://iconographic.warburg.sas.ac.uk/object-wpc-wid-eaao>





À l'image de Fortune.

Ne dependre point de Fortune.



*Jadis fut veue estre chose oportune
 Batir autelz, faire maint sacrifice,
 Et immoler victimes à Fortune,
 Pour l'auoir plus fauorable & propice:
 Mais maintenāt pour son malchef & vice
 La France l'a en ses terres pendue.
 Ce n'est dōc pas d'un sage hōme l'office
 En elle auoir sa vie suſpendue.*



IV.42

Pierre Eskrich, *Ne dependre point de Fortune*. In Pierre Coustau (Petrus Costalius), *Le Pegme de Pierre Coustau, avec les Narrations philosophiques mis de latin en François par Lanteaume de Romieu*. 1560. Lyon: Molin and Bonhomme. Woodcut, 8°, Rés 810905, p. 118

<https://iconographic.warburg.sas.ac.uk/object-wpc-wid-eacl>





Tailler la mort.

Moderation en tributs.



*La mort ne peut payer tribut ne taille,
Necessité ne permet que l'on donne:
Qui trop en veut, ailleurs chercher en aille
Qui n'a ne peut. La Loy ainsi l'ordonne.*



IV.43

Pierre Eskrich, *Moderation en tributs*. In Pierre Coustau (Petrus Costalius), *Le Pegme de Pierre Coustau, avec les Narrations philosophiques mis de latin en François par Lanteaume de Romieu*. 1560. Lyon: Molin and Bonhomme. Woodcut, 8°, Rés 810905, p. 214

<https://iconographic.warburg.sas.ac.uk/object-wpc-wid-eack>



Sur le chameau & beuf de Plutarque.
L'homme envers l'homme, Dieu.



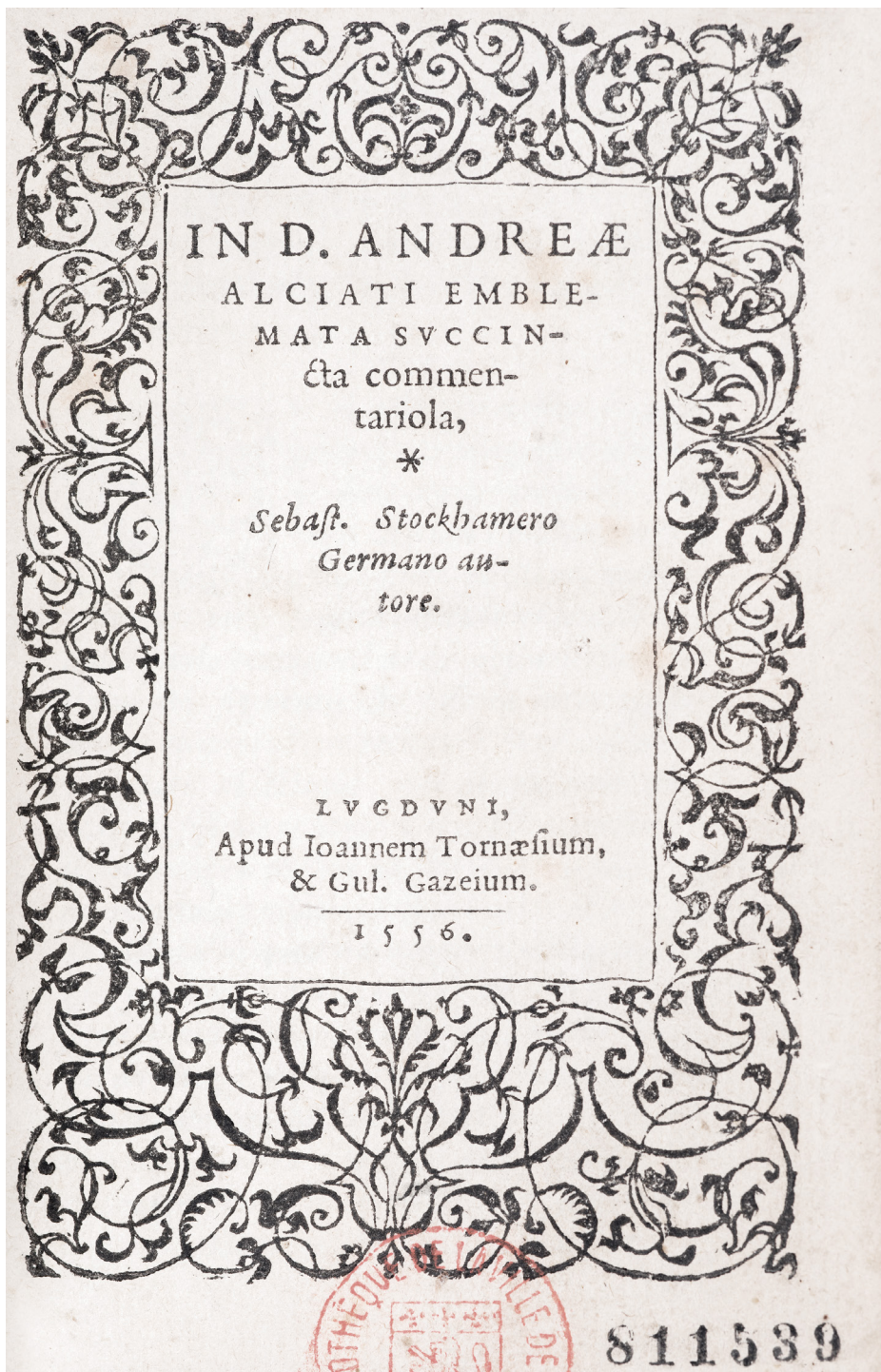
*Quelque chameau. & un beuf trop chargé
Alloyent un iour ensemble voyager:
Le beuf voulant être un peu deschargé
Prie au chameau le vouloir alléger:
Mais nul secours receut à son danger,
Tant qu'il mourut. Lors par cõmandemẽi.
L'ingrat chameau fut forcé iustement
Porter le beuf & son fardeau ensemble:*

IV.44

Pierre Eskrich, *L'homme envers l'homme, Dieu*. In Pierre Coustau (Petrus Costalius), *Le Pegme de Pierre Coustau, avec les Narrations philosophiques mis de latin en François par Lanteaume de Romieu*. 1560. Lyon: Molin and Bonhomme. Woodcut, 8°, Rés 810905, p. 398

<https://iconographic.warburg.sas.ac.uk/object-wpc-wid-eadz>





IV.45

Title page of *In D. Andreae Alciati Emblemata succincta commentariola*, Sebast. Stolckhamero Germano autore. 1556. Lyon: de Tournes and Gazeau. Rés 811539. Not indexed in the database

811539



IV.46

Bernard Salomon, *Triton and Ouroboros*. In Andrea Alciati, *Emblemata*. 1556. Lyon: de Tournes and Gazeau. Woodcut, 16°, 115 mm, Rés 811539, p. 59

<https://iconographic.warburg.sas.ac.uk/object-wpc-wid-dstg>





IV.47

Bernard Salomon, *Occasio*. In Andrea Alciati, *Emblemata*. 1556. Lyon: de Tournes and Gazeau. Woodcut, 16°, 115 mm, Rés 811539, p. 26

<https://iconographic.warburg.sas.ac.uk/object-wpc-wid-dssj>





Il en usa pareillement d'un autre d'une Sphinge en son cachet, voulant signifier qu'il estoit homme prompt & resolu pour esclairsir toutes choses douteuses: laquelle devise il laissa apres qu'il eut mis ordre à toutes les difficultez de son Empire, & cacheta ses lettres avec l'image du grand Alexandre, monstrant qu'il pretendoit à la monarchie, comme l'autre faisoit: laquelle apres auoir paisiblement acquise, il usa l'image de soy mesme, signifiant qu'il estoit seul, & que nul autre estoit plus grand que luy.

E 2

IV.48

Festina Lente. In Paolo Giovio, *Dialogue des devises d'armes et d'amours du S. Paulo Iouio*. 1561. Lyon: Roville. Woodcut, in-4 (21.2 cm), Rés 357246, p. 219

<https://iconographic.warburg.sas.ac.uk/object-wpc-wid-dtga>



DEUISES HEROIQUES
POVR VN HOMME INI-
STEMENT OFFENSE.



Certains fols esuentez s'asseurans trop sus leur credit & richesses, ne font point cas d'iniurier ou gourmander de fait & de paroles vne pauure personne, estimans qu'à fauce de biens, de faueur, de parens, ou d'amis, elle n'aura iamais le moyen de se venger, ou leur rēdre la pareille, ains qu'elle doiue bien tost oublier le mal qu'elle a receu. Or combien ces Tyrans (c'est leur propre nom) soyent abusez de leur grande folie & ignorāce, l'occasion & le temps le leur fera à la fin congnoiſtre, apres les auoir admonnestez par ceste deuise d'un homme assis, qui graue en vn tableau de marbre ces paroles:
S C R I B I T I N M A R M O R E L A E S V S .

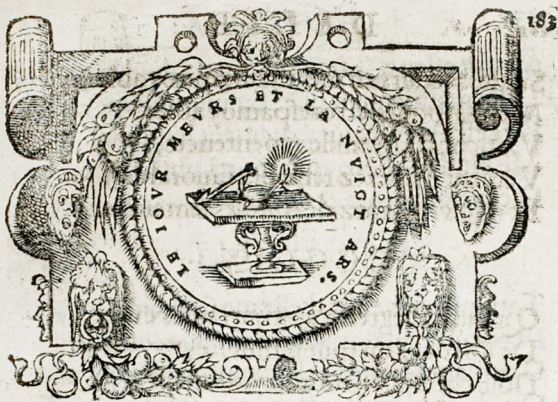
Un

IV.49

Pour un homme iniustement offense. In Paolo Giovio, *Dialogue des deuises d'armes et d'amours du S. Paulo Iouio*. 1561. Lyon: Roville. Woodcut, in-4 (21.2 cm), Rés 357246, p. 230

<https://iconographic.warburg.sas.ac.uk/object-wpc-wid-dtgl>





CCCCXI.

La roue en fin le fer assubtilie,
Et le rend apte a trancher la durte.
Aduersite' qui l'orgueil humilie,
Au cœur gentil de passion hurt e'
Fait mespriser fortune, & malheurte,
Le reseruant a plus seconde chose.

Mais mon t' auail sans entremesler pose
A mon souffrir, m'aiguise par ses artz
Si viuement, que (si dire ie l'ose)
Tout le iour meurs, & toute la nuit ars.

CCCCXII.

Tout le iour meurs voyant celle presente,
Qui m'est de foy meudryement benigne.
Toute nuit i'ars la desirant absente,
Et si me fens a la reuoir indigne,
Comme ainsi soit que pour ma Libytine

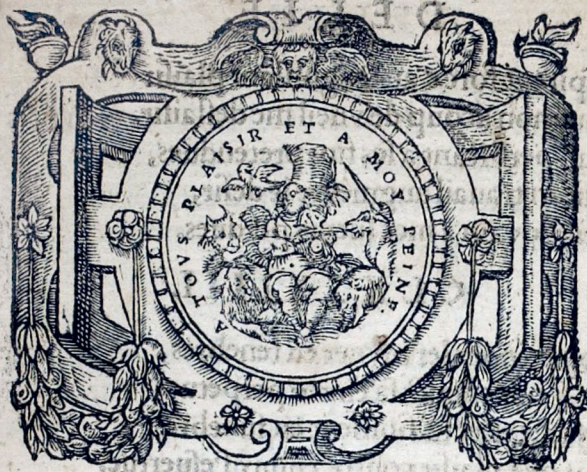
m 4 Me

IV.50

Le jour meurs et la nuit ars. In Maurice Scève, *Délie*, *objet de plus haulte vertu*. 1544. Lyon: Sulpice Sabon. Woodcut, 8° (155 mm), Rés 355912, p. 183

<https://iconographic.warburg.sas.ac.uk/object-wpc-wid-dvpt>





CLXXXVI.

Par ta figure, haultz honneurs de Nature,
Tu me feis veoir, mais trop a mon dommage
La grauite' en ta droicte stature,
L'honneste'e en ton humain visage,
Le venerable en ton flourishant aage
Donnant a tous mille esbahissementz
Avec plaisir: a moy nourrissementz
De mes traualx avec fin larmoyeuse.
Et toutesfoys telz accomplissementz
Rendent tousiours ma peine glorieuse.

CLXXXVII.

Pour estre l'air tout offusque' de nues
Ne prouient point du temps caligineux:
Et veoir icy tenebres continues
N'est procede' d'Autonne bruyneux.
Mais pour autant que tes yeulx ruyneux

f 2 Ont

IV.51
A tous plaisir et à moi peine. In Maurice Scève, *Délie*, *object de plus haulte vertu*. 1544. Lyon: Sulpice Sabon. Woodcut, 8° (155 mm), Rés 355912, p. 83

<https://iconographic.warburg.sas.ac.uk/object-wpc-wid-dvot>



M. I. S.



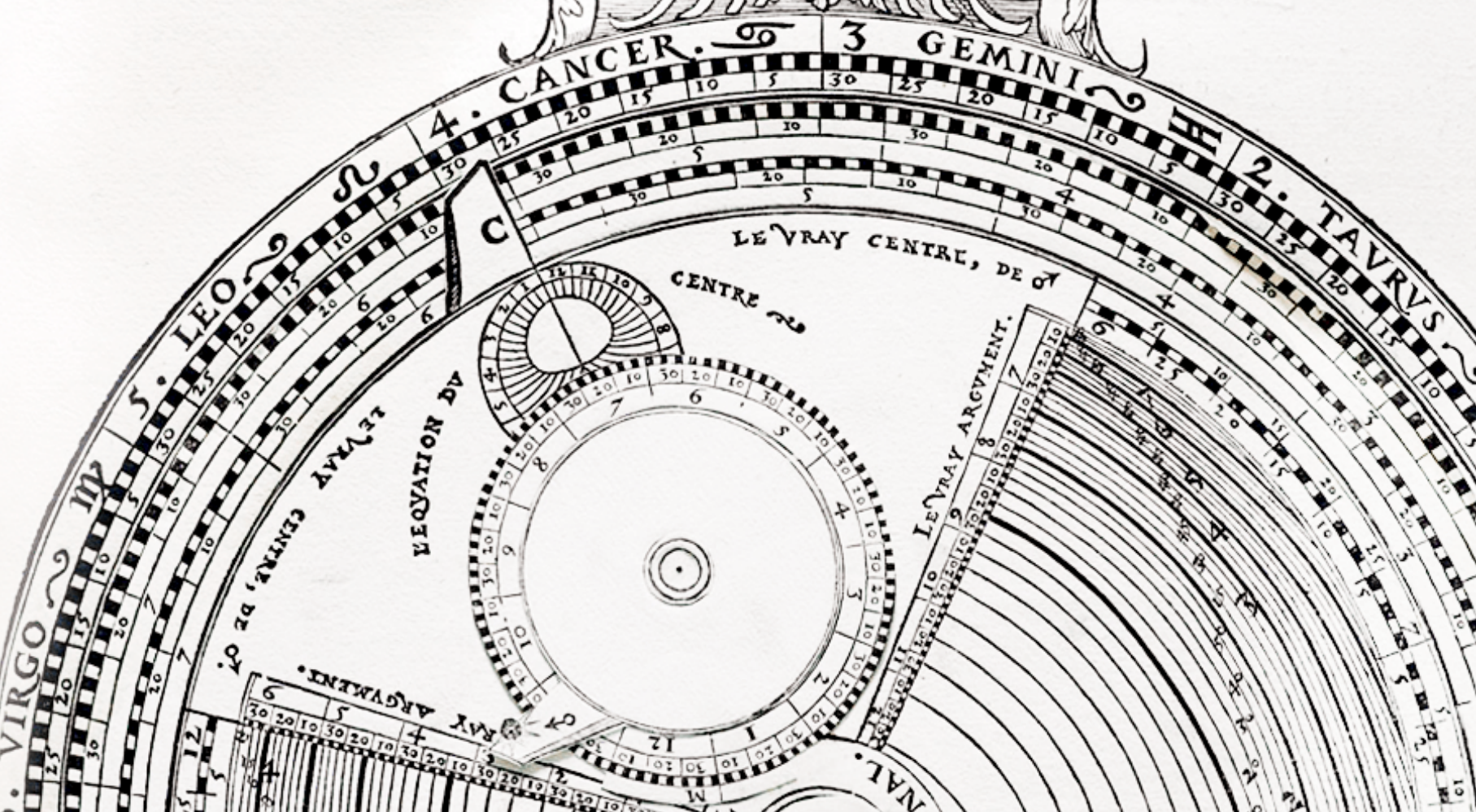
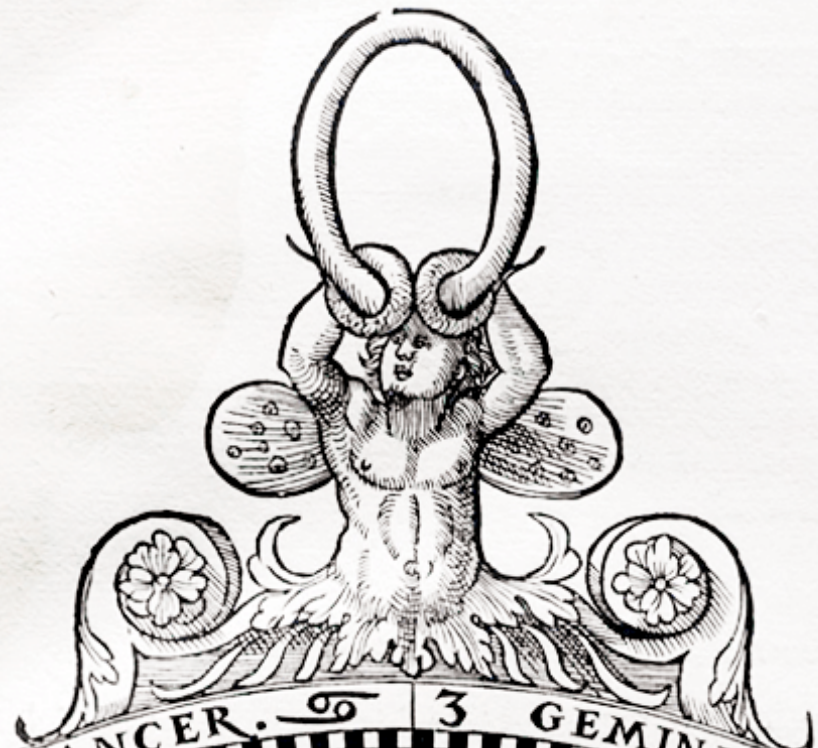
IV.52

Portrait of Maurice Scève. In Maurice Scève,
Délie, objet de plus haulte vertu.

1544. Lyon: Sulpice Sabon. Woodcut,
8° (155 mm), Rés 355912

<https://iconographic.warburg.sas.ac.uk/object-wpc-wid-dvz>





V. Science

Astronomique Discours (cat. V.53-54)

The book by Jacques Bassantin presents different explanations of the order of the celestial spheres by Tycho Brahe, Copernicus and takes inspiration from Peter Apian's *Astronomicum Caesareum* (1540). The first edition was published in 1557. A Latin translation, under the title *Astronomia Jacobi Bassantini Scoti, opus absolutissimum*, was published in Geneva in 1599. In 1555 Bassantin published in Lyon a corrected edition of the work of Jacques Focard, the *Paraphrase de l'Astrolabe*, to which he added *Une Amplification de l'usage de l'Astrolabe*, which is also heavily illustrated. Another edition by Dominique Jacquinot appeared in 1598. Many schemata in these book are taken from the *Paraphrase de l'Astrolabe* (1546 and 1555). The work is dedicated to Caterina de Medici, and it is one of the most important astronomy books of the sixteenth century. It presents 175 woodcuts, along with 14 so-called *volvelles*. The *volvelles* were mechanical graphic instruments, made up of overlapping paper discs that can rotate around a central pivot. These movable discs were used to visualise and calculate astronomical elements, such as the positions of planets, lunar phases, or calendar computations. The book dealt with astronomical and astrological issues, so the *volvelles* were employed to represent models of celestial movement, such as the position of stars over time or other astronomical phenomena. These tools allowed the reader to manually perform operations that a calculator would do today, such as predicting eclipses, determining the position of planets, or understanding the movements of the sun and moon relative to the zodiac. The *volvelles* are a tool of knowledge which made the text interactive, enabling readers to actively experiment with the astronomical theories described in the book by moving the discs to observe how astronomical data varied over time. One can see it for instance in the *Instrument to Find the Longitude and Latitude of the Fixed Stars* (cat. V.53).

Known copies

Wien, Austria, Universitätsbibliothek, Shelfmark: III 34635
 Angers, France, Bibliothèque municipale, Shelfmark: Unknown
 Besançon, France, Bibliothèque municipale, Shelfmark: 11497
 Béziers, France, Médiathèque André Malraux, Shelfmark: Unknown
 Carpentras, France, Bibliothèque municipale Inguimbertaine, Shelfmark: Unknown
 Lille, France, Médiathèque municipale Jean Lévy, Shelfmark: 44542
 Lyon, France, Bibliothèque municipale, Shelfmark: Rés 30667
 Lyon, France, Bibliothèque municipale, Shelfmark: Rés 22839
 Marseille, France, Bibliothèque municipale L'Alcazar, Shelfmark: DC 22441
 Paris, France, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Shelfmark: GE DD 1688
 Paris, France, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Shelfmark: Rés V 222
 Paris, France, Bibliothèque Sainte Geneviève, Shelfmark: Fol. V 81 inv. 106
 Paris, France, Bibliothèque de l'École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux Arts, Shelfmark: Masson 1048
 Paris, France, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Shelfmark: Fol S 1188
 Toulouse, France, Médiathèque José Cabanis, Shelfmark: Rés A XVI 11
 Tours, France, Bibliothèque municipale, Shelfmark: Unknown
 Berlin, Germany, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Shelfmark: 2o Ebd 75-3
 Göttingen, Germany, Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Shelfmark: Unknown
 München, Germany, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Shelfmark: Res. 2o Astr u 9
 Tübingen, Germany, Universitätsbibliothek, Shelfmark: Bd 25 2
 Torino, Italy, Biblioteca nazionale universitaria, Shelfmark: Unknown
 Leiden, Netherlands, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Shelfmark: 586 A 23
 St Petersburg, Russian Federation, National Library of Russia (Saltykov-Shchedrin State Public Library), Shelfmark: 5 12 1 109

Madrid, Spain, Biblioteca del Palacio Real, Shelfmark: Unknown
St Gallen, Switzerland, Kantonsbibliothek Vadiana, Shelfmark: M 20
Zürich, Switzerland, Zentralbibliothek, Shelfmark: T 37
Cambridge, United Kingdom, Trinity College Library, Shelfmark: T 18 18
Cambridge, United Kingdom, University Library, Shelfmark: S342 bb 55 1
Canterbury, United Kingdom, Cathedral Library, Shelfmark: W2/A 7 6
Edinburgh, United Kingdom, National Library of Scotland, Shelfmark: H 33 a 2
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London, United Kingdom, University College Library, Shelfmark: Graves 6 h 25
Cambridge, United States, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Shelfmark: Typ 515 57 194 (A)
New York, United States, New York Public Library, Shelfmark: +++*KB
(Source: USTC, <https://www.ustc.ac.uk/editions/4740>)

Selected bibliography

Cartier, A. (1937-38). *Bibliographie des éditions des de Tournes, imprimeurs lyonnais*. Paris: Audin.
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Du Verdier, A. (1585). *La Bibliothèque d'Antoine Du Verdier, contenant le catalogue de tous ceux qui ont écrit, ou traduit en françois*. Lyon: Barthelemy Honorat.
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Index Aureliensis (1962-2004). *Catalogus Librorum Sedecimo Saeculo Impressorum*. Baden-Baden: V. Koerner.

Warburg Database Indexation (cat. V.53)

Permalink (1557 edition)
<https://iconographic.warburg.sas.ac.uk/object-wpc-wid-drul>

Iconography
MAGIC AND SCIENCE
Astronomy and astrology / Schemata and Tables

Further details
Date: 1557

Book, text or document (source of image)
Bassantin, Jacques. Astronomique discours. Lyon (de Tournes). 1557. Page: 103.

Web resources
Bibliothèque Municipale de Lyon (catalogue entry); Numelyo

*Instrument pour trouver les longitudes & latitudes des Etoiles fixes,
& pour trouver le mouvement des aiges
des Planettes.*

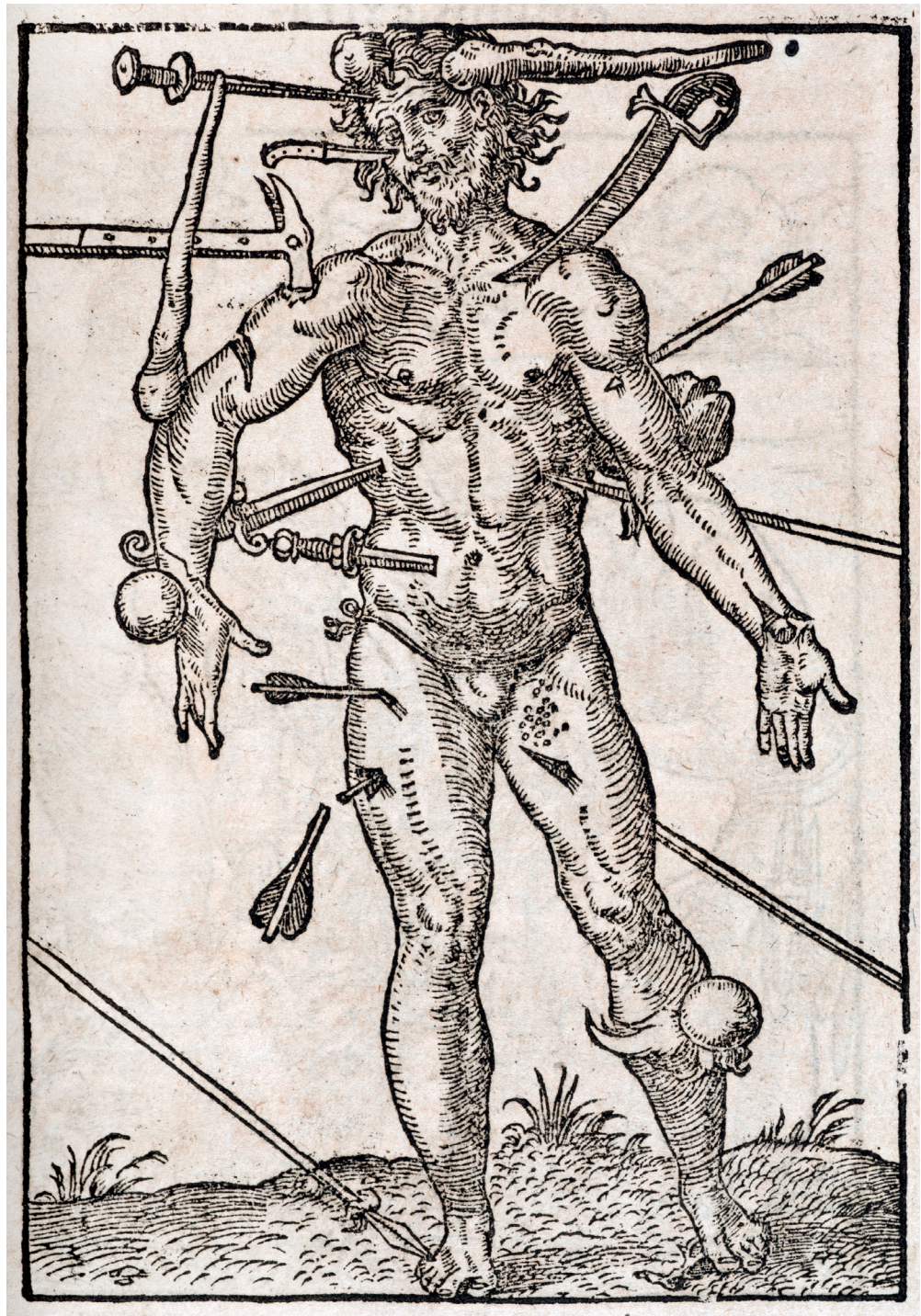


V.54

*Instrument to Find the Longitude and Latitude of the Fixed Stars Representing the Constellations of the Northern Hemisphere. In Jacques Bassantin, *Astronomie discursive*. 1557. Lyon: de Tournes. Rés 30667, p. 196*

<https://iconographic.warburg.sas.ac.uk/object-wpc-wid-dru1>





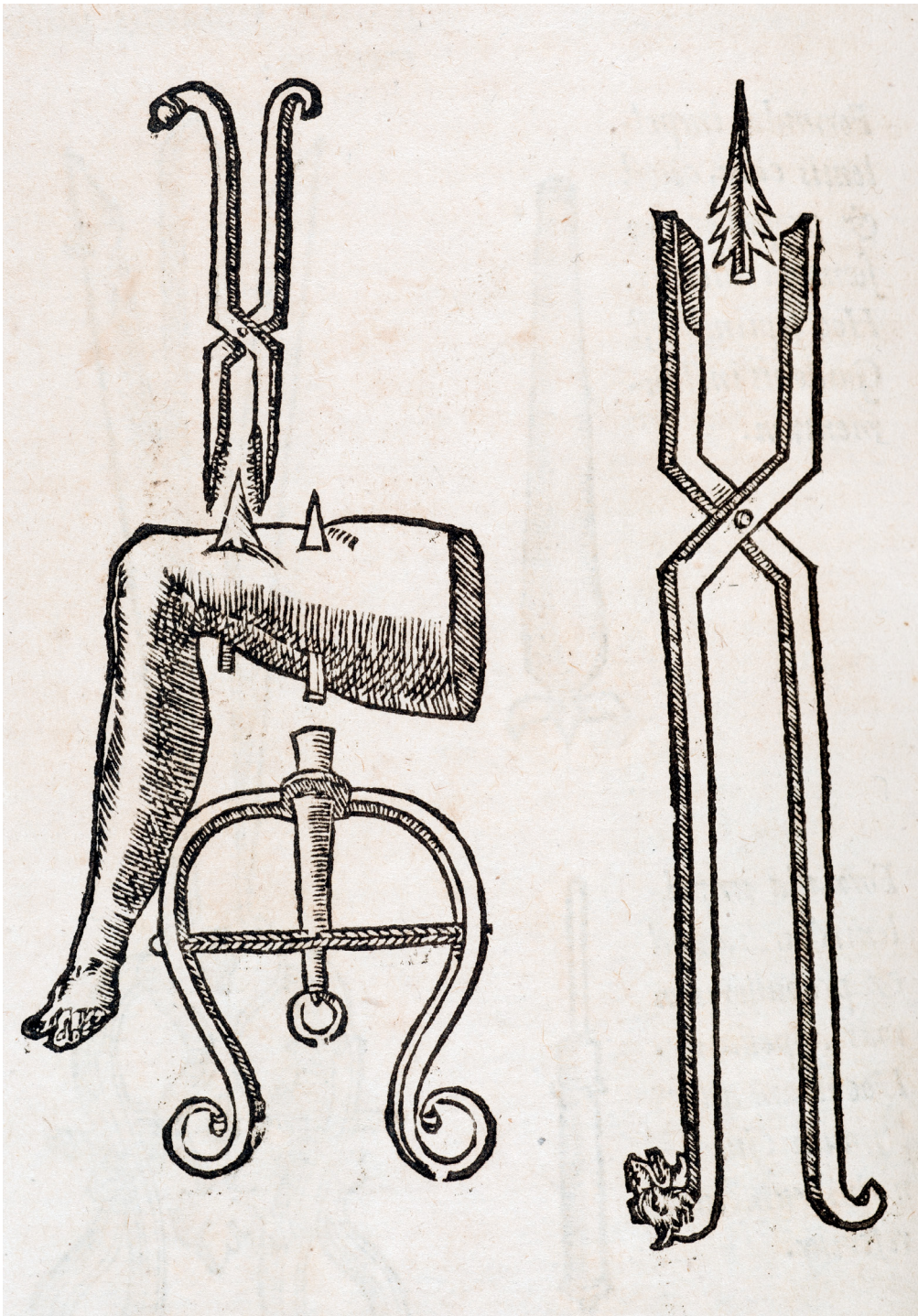
V.55

Wounded Man (recalling Saint Sebastian).

In Jean Tagaut, *De Chirvrgica
Institutione libri quinque His accessit sextus liber
de Materia chirurgica auctore Iacobo Hallerio
Stampano, medico Parisiensi*. 1567. Lyon: Roville.
8°, Rés 808263, p. 193

<https://iconographic.warburg.sas.ac.uk/object-wpc-wid-dzqg>





V.56

Medical Instruments. In Jean Tagaut, *De Chirvrgica Institutione libri quinque His accessit sextus liber de Materia chirurgica auctore Iacobo Hallerio Stampano, medico Parisiensi.* 1567. Lyon: Roville. 8°, Rés 808263, p. 210

<https://iconographic.warburg.sas.ac.uk/object-wpc-wid-dzqm>



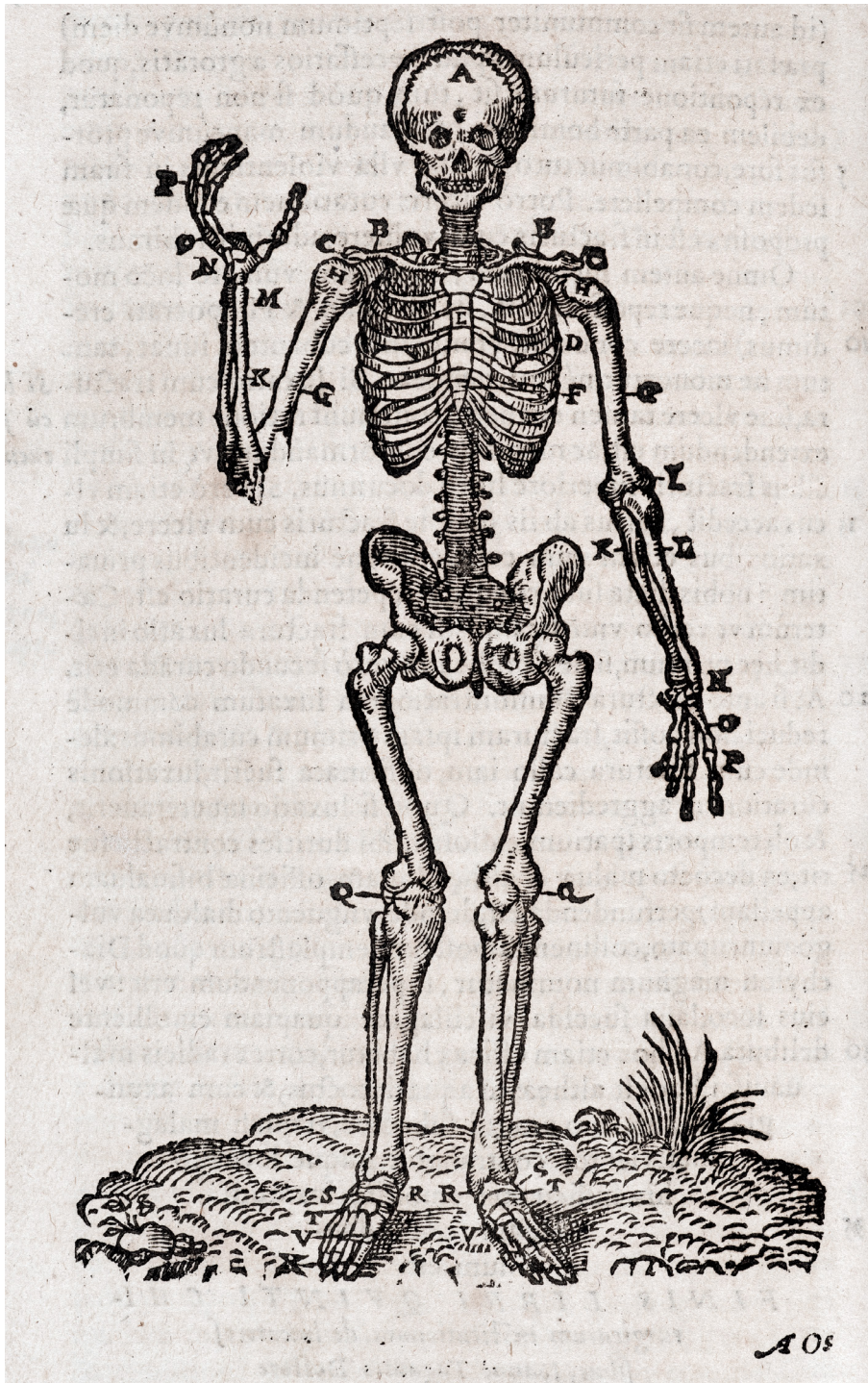


V.57

Operation. In Jean Tagaut, *De Chirvrgica Institutione libri quinque His accessit sextus liber de Materia chirurgica auctore Iacobo Hallerio Stampano, medico Parisiensi*. 1567. Lyon: Roville. 8°, Rés 808263, p. 194

<https://iconographic.warburg.sas.ac.uk/object-wpc-wid-dzqh>





V.58

Human Skeleton. In Jean Tagaut, *De Chirurgica Institutione libri quinque His accessit sextus liber de Materia chirurgica auctore Iacobo Hallerio Stampano, medico Parisiensi.* 1567. Lyon: Roville. 8°, Rés 808263, p. 478

<https://iconographic.warburg.sas.ac.uk/object-wpc-wid-dzqo>



Galuciana plu

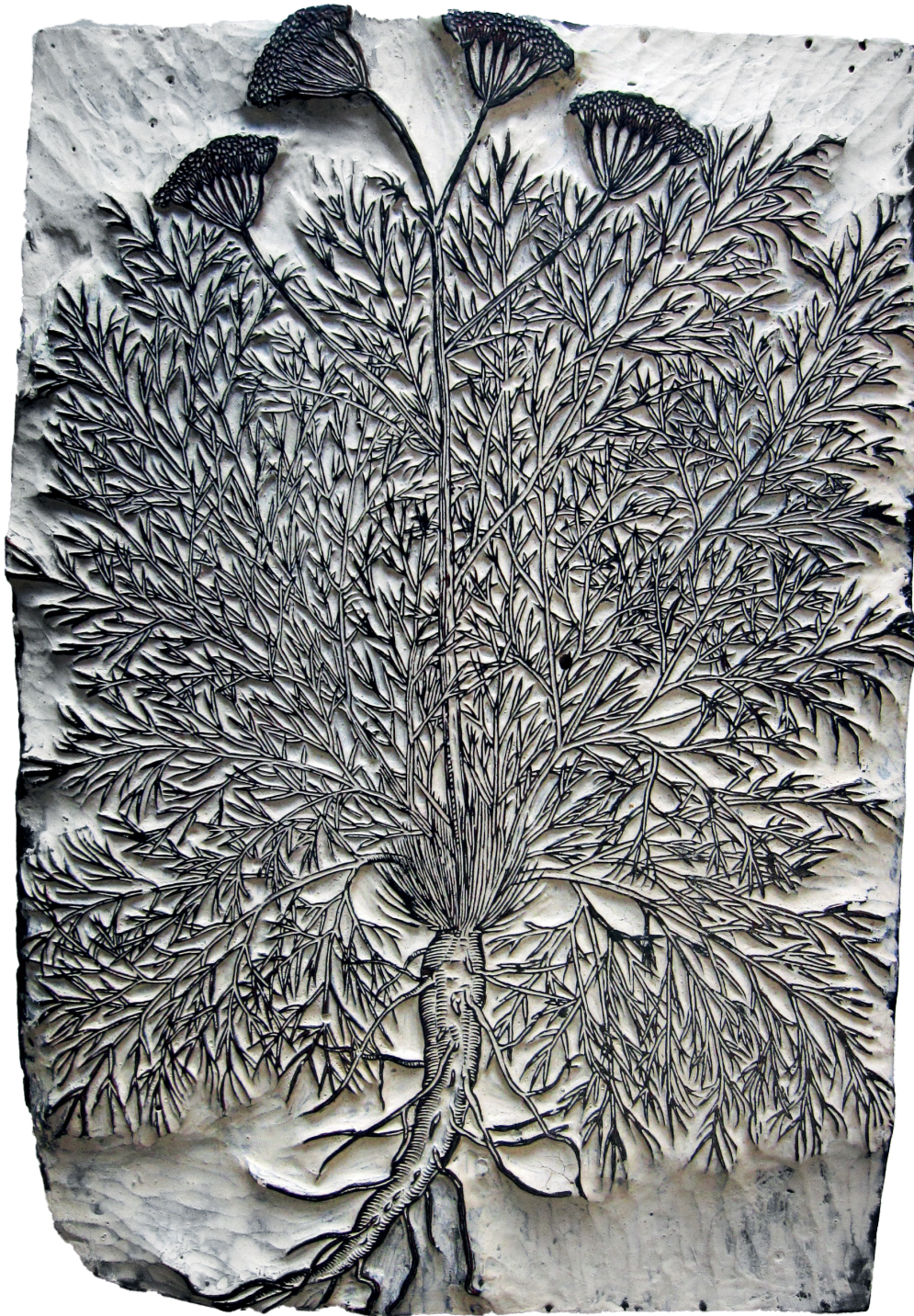
Phu vires ex
Galieno.

Carpesi con-
federato.

quatur cum dulci radice, vis paffis, & semine anifi. Denorata radix status pellit. Totaplanta vires una cum radicibus
contusa, & capiti dolenti illita, dolores, & punctiones mulcet. Facit & ad oculorum vitia; ubi albo vino decoquatur. Et de-
inde unum in oculu instilletur. Additur in potionibus vulnerum intrinsecorum magno inuameto. Phu (ut scriptum reliquit
Gal. lib. v. 11. simp. med.) odoratum quodammodo est. Huius herbe radix nardo viribus similis, sed tamen ad pleraq; infirmitor.
Vrina plus monet, quam aut Indica, aut Syriaca nardus; similiter autem ut Celtica. simile Phu asserit ipse Gal. esse Carpesium,
cuius cum nullibi meminerit Dioscorides, ut recte scribi possit quidam senioribus Græcis fuerit Carpesium, in prænais Galeni
testimonio eius vires & formâ describâis enim lib. v. 11. simp. med. sic habet. CARPESIVM simile est uocato Phu, non gustu
autem, sed & facultate. Sed plus habet tenuitatis: proinde magis eo etiam viscerum obstructions extergit, & vrinam mo-
tiect, venesq; calculi degravatos expurgat. Non tamen catenus tenuium est partium, ut licet loco cinnamomi, si non ad ma-
num sit, usurpare, sicui faciebat Quintus. Præstantius est Carpesium ponticum lærtio: non tamē vel ipsum cinnamomi viri-
bus vicinum est, imò non paruo deterius optima casta. Nuncupatur utrunque à montibus quibusdam Pamphiliæ, in quibus
nascitur. Ingenus, eius proventus est in Syria. Et primo libro de antidotis inquit. Quintus (ut aiunt) quoties cinnamomum
decrat, Carpesium, ut quod viribus nihil ab optima casta differret, in theriaca cōpositione imponebat. Ego idcirco eius pluri-
mum mecum attuli ex ea peregrinatione, qua orientis provincias adi, diligenterq; repositum nunc vlt; multum sc. no: quod
odorem etiamnum & saporem, si non qualem prius habebat, certè nondum exoleum recidet. Est autem Carpesium her-
ba plis

V.59

Andrea Mattioli, *Commentarii in sex libros Pedacii Dioscoridis Anazarbei de Medica materia*. 1583. Venice: apud Felicem Valgrisiium. Rés 28370, p. 36. Not indexed in the database



V.60

Matrix for Andrea Mattioli's *Commentarii*.
Late sixteenth century. (?). Woodblock. Lyon,
Musée de l'Imprimerie et de la Communication Graphique.
Not indexed in the database

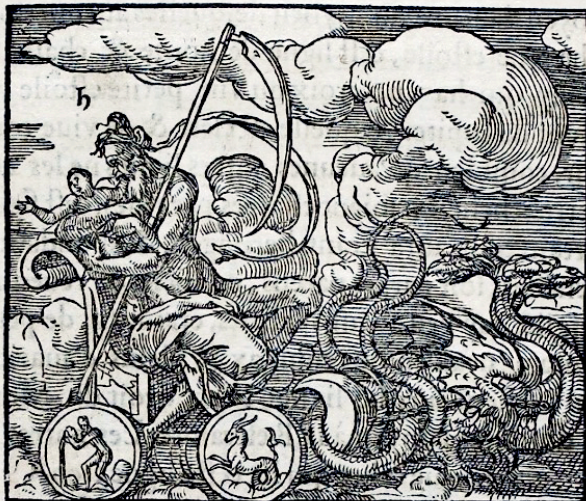


V.61

Matrix for Andrea Mattioli's *Commentarii*.
Late sixteenth century (?). Woodblock. Lyon, Musée
de l'Imprimerie et de la Communication Graphique.
Not indexed in the database

Du Mont du doigt Moyen, qui est de Saturne,
& de celuy doigt, & des hommes
Saturniens.

CHAP. X.



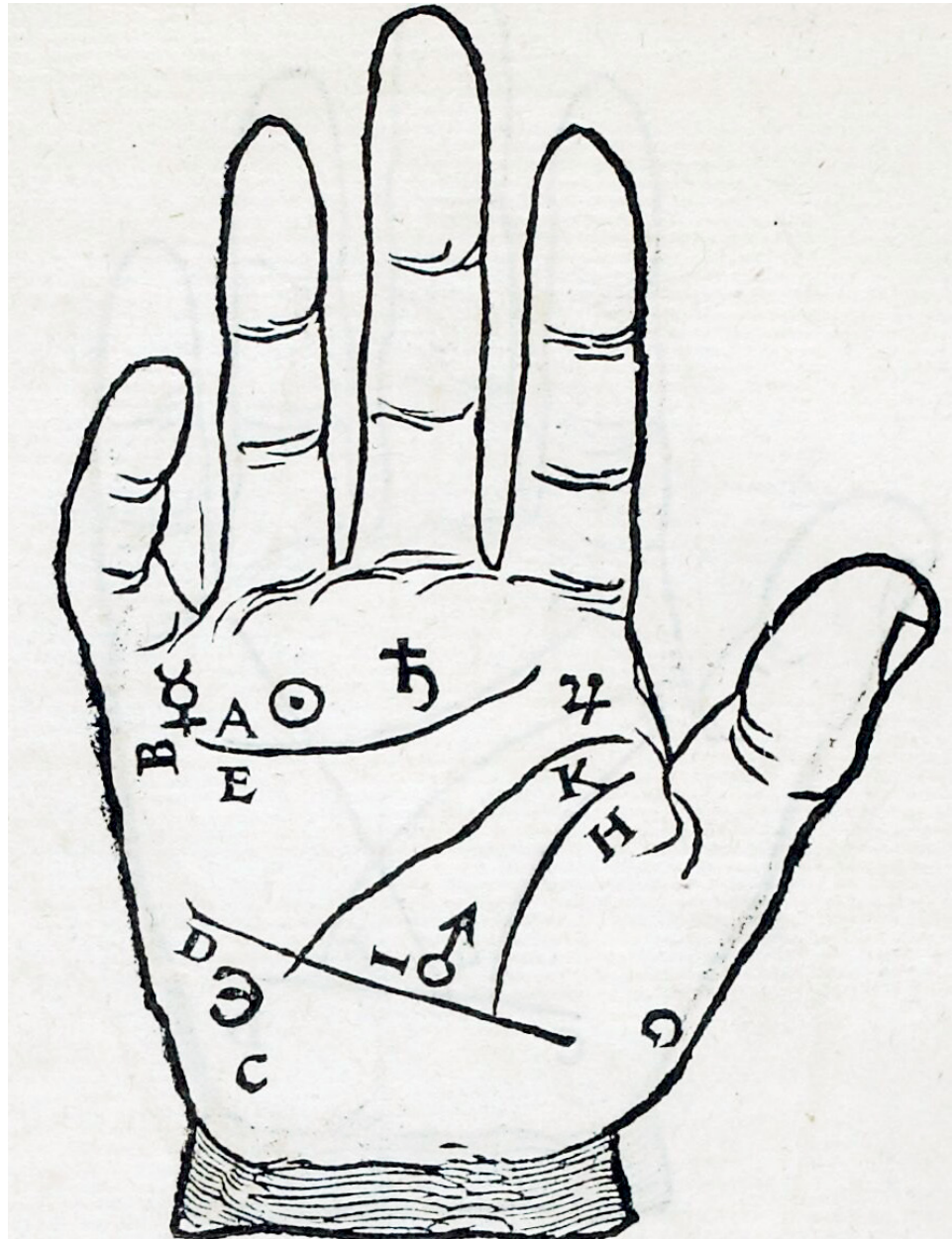
Nous auons dit cy deuant, le Moyen doigt
de la main, estre donné en cest art à Saturne:
& pour ceste cause estre de luy ainsi nommé. Par-
quoy lenflure qui est souz luy, est nommee le
Mont de Saturne. Et sil est plein & euident, doux,
fans rides ny incisions, il demonstre la simpleste
de l'homme, & quil fera labourieux, songneux, &
fans tromperie. Et si vne ligne vient de la ligne
Mensale, & trenche ceste montaigne de Saturne,
elle

V.62

Triumph of Saturn. In Johannes de Indagine,
Chiromance et physionomie par le regard des membres de l'homme.
Transl. by Antoine du Moulin. 1549. Lyon: de Tournes.
B509461, p. 88

<https://iconographic.warburg.sas.ac.uk/object-wpc-wid-dpry>





V.63

Schemata of Hand for Hand Reading.
In Johannes de Indagine, *Chiromance*
et physionomie par le regard des membres
de l'homme. Transl. by Antoine du Moulin. 1549.
Lyon: de Tournes. B509461, p. 19

<https://iconographic.warburg.sas.ac.uk/object-wpc-wid-dpqy>



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Appendices

Appendices 1, 2, and 3 present a selection of illustrated editions printed in Lyon during the sixteenth century. The first two appendices summarize the production by Jean de Tournes (I and II) and Guillaume Roville, the two case studies of the initial project. In appendix 3 I give a list of titles published by other printers in the city, with particular attention to editions printed from 1500 to 1562 (the year of the beginning of the wars of religion). Following the research lines of the project, I have selected books that present iconographically relevant images. These lists are not exhaustive; they aim to give a sense of the kinds of illustrated books printed in the city during those years.

Appendix 1 Illustrated editions printed by Jean de Tournes (I and II)

Author/Editor	Title	Date	Author/Editor	Title	Date
Aesopus	Fabulae	1550			1556
		1556		Les Subtiles Fables	1502
		1558	Jacques Focard	Paraphrase de l'astrolabe	1546
		1569			1555
		1564		Pourtraits divers	1557
		1580			1556
		1579	Jacques Peletier	Algebre (L')	1554
		1594			1552
		1551			1558
		1570	André Thevet	Cosmographie de Levant	1556
		1571			1554
		1582	Bartholomaeo	De Turcarum moribus epitome	1558
		1605	Georgieuz Peregrin		
		1628			1553
		Fables	Fables	1570	
1596					1578
1598					1555
1583					1567
1549					1598
1551					1578

Indexing the Early Modern Printed Image

Author/Editor	Title	Date	Author/Editor	Title	Date
Obsequens, Julius	Des prodiges. Plus trois livres de Polydore Vergile sur la mesme matiere	1555	Virgile	Eneide	1560
		1555		Les quatre premiers livres de l'eneide	1552
Obsequens, Julius	De prodigii	1554	Ovid	Vita (La) et Metamorfoseo d'Ouidio, figurato & abbreviato	1559
Claude Paradin	Devises heroïques	1557		Metamorphose, avtrement, l'Asne d'or	1553
		1551		Vita (La) et Metamorfoseo d'Ouidio, figurato & abbreviato	1559
		1577		Metamorphose (La) d'Ovide figuree	1564
Peverone di cuneo	Due brevi e facili trattati	1558		[Illustrations de La Métamorphose d'Ovide figurée]	1557
Gabriel Symeon	Illustres (les) observations antiques	1558			1583
Gabriel Symeoni	Illustratione de gli epitaffi et medaglie antiche	1558			1583
Gueroult	Hymnes du temps et de ses parties	1560			1583
Duvet, Jean	Apocalypse (L') figuree, par maistre Jehan Duvet	1561		Olympe ou metamorphose	1609
	Epitome thesauri antiquitatum	1553			1597
	Epithome du thresor des antiquitez	1553			1582
	Marguerites de la marguerite des princesse	1547		Sainte (La) Bible	1561
					1559
Alciat	Emblemata	1556			1557
		1554			1551
		1561			1553
		1580			1554
		1594			1564
	Emblemes (Les)	1547		Biblia sacra ad optima quaeque veteris	1556
		1548			1554
		1549			1558
		1555			1569
		1570			1567
		1574			1553
	Introductiones apotelesmaticae elegantes	1556		A true and lyuely historyke purtreasures of the vvoll Bible	1588
		1582		Testamenti veteris biblia sacra	1590
	In Euclidis Elementa Geometrica	1557			1596
		1577			1555
Jules César	Commentaires de Jules Cesar de la guerre de Gaule	1545	Claude Paradin	Quadrins historiques de la Bible	1553
		1555			1553

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Author/Editor	Title	Date	Author/Editor	Title	Date
		1558			1551-
		1583			50?
	Quadrins historiques d'Exode	1553			1551
	Figure del Vecchio Testamento	1554			1553
	Quadrins historiques d'Exode	1553			1573
	Calendrier historial	1563			1579
		1569			1561
	Figure del Nuovo Testamento	1559			1553
		1544			1597
		1577		Cronique de Savoye	1556
	Figures du Nouveau Testament	1559			1552
	Insignum aliquot virorum iconae	1559			1561
Maurice Scève	Sausalye	1547			1546
	Solitaire second ou prose de la musique	1555	Diego de San Pedro	Petit Traité de Arnalte et Lucenda	1547
				Arnalte et Lucenda	1555
Fontaine, Jean de la	La fontaine des amoureux de science	1547	Leon l'Hebreu	De L'Amour	1551
	L'alchimie	1547	Bouchet	Les angoisses et remèdes d'Amour	1550
Girolamo Cattaneo	Le capitaine de Ierosme Cataneo	1593	Johannes de Indagine	La Chiromance	1571
		1600	Guichard, Claude	Funerailles et diverses manières	1581
		1574		Histoire de Fl. Josèphe	1562
					1569
	Escuirie de M. de Pavari Venitien	1581		Le Livre de Hester	1553
	Hymnes des Vertus	1605		Vie (La) de Moise representee par figures	1560
Guillaume Paradin	Historiarum memorabilium ex Genesi descriptio	1558		Wol gerissnen und geschnidten figuren Ausz der Bibel	1554
Vitruve	De Architectura	1552			
Serlio, Sebastiano	Le livre extraordinaire d'architecture	1551	Bassantin, Jacques	Astronomique discours	1557
Guillaume La Perrière	Le Theatre des Bons Engins	1545		Astronomia opus absolutissimum	1559
		1536	Suétone	Vie des douze Césars	1556
		1561			1569
		1580		Thesaurus Amicorum	1550
		1583			1557
		1553			1558
		1546			1559
		1549			1596
		1547			1597
Marot, Clément	Œuvres (les) de Clement Marot	1549	Paradin, Claude	Alliances généalogiques des rois et princes de Gaule	1561

Indexing the Early Modern Printed Image

Author/Editor	Title	Date	Author/Editor	Title	Date
		1606			
Lemaire de Belges, Jean	Illustrations de Gaule	1528		Des iugemens astronomiques sur les natiuitez	1550
		1549		De Historia stirpium commentarii insignes	1582
		1510			1555
		1528			1549
Petrarca	Il Petrarca	1547		Le Promptuaire des conciles de Leglise catholique, avec les Scismes et la difference diceulx	1547
		1545			
		1550		Il nuouo ed eterno testamento di Giesu Christo	1556
	Les Triumphe excellens et magnifiques du tres elegant poete	1532		Commentaire de la conservation de santé et prolongation de vie	1559
Ovide	Les 21 epistres	1556		De activa medicinae scientia commentarii duo	1557
	Le cinquieme livre de l'eneïde (Recueil de figures sur bois)	1557			
		1556			
Marguerite d'Angoulême	Le Miroir de l'Ame pecheresse	1549	Mattioli, Pierandrea	Petri Andrea Matthioli,... Commentarii,...	1563
Peletier, Jacques	Disquisitiones geometricae	1567		Commentarii denuo aucti in libros sexde medica materia. His accessit ejusdem apologia adversus Amathum Lusitanum	1562
Francesco Giuntini	Commentaria in Sphaeram	1577			
		1578			
	Le Grand Olympe	1583			

Appendix 2 Illustrated editions printed by Guillaume Roville

Author/Editor	Title	Date	Author/Editor	Title	Date
	Il nuovo testamento di Giesu Christo	1550	Giovio, Paolo	Dialogue des deuises d'armes et d'amours du S. Paulo louio, avec un discours de M. Loys Dominique sur le mesme subiet.	1561
		1558			
		1553			
		1549			
		1547		Dialogo dell'impresie militari et amorose...	1559
		1583			1574
		1552	Fuchs, Leonhart	De curandi ratione libri octo	1548
	Epistole di San Paulo , dal greco tradotte in lingua toscana, & nuovamente riviste & ricorrette	1552	Fuchs, Leonhart	Ad quinque priores suos libros de curandi ratione appendix	1554
Alighieri, Dante	Dante Alighieri. Dante con nuove et utili ispositioni	1571	Alciati, Andrea	Emblemata	1548
		1551			1551
		1552			1552
		1575			1564
		1555			1566
Boccaccio, Giovanni	Decamerone di M. Giouanni Boccaccio	1555			1588
		1558			1600
		1560		Omnia Emblemata	1614
		1555		Emblemata	1557
		1597			1550
	Il Petrarca	1574			1587
		1564			1574
		1558		Commentarius in Andreae Alciati Emblemata	1580
		1584		Emblemes	1573
		1551		Toutes les emblemes de M. Andre Alciat de nouueau translatez en François	1549
		1551		Heures à l'usage de Rome.	1558
	Le Imprese heroiche et morali ritrovate da M. Gabriello Symeoni	1559			1548
	Diuerse impresie accomodate a diuerse moralità, con versi che i loro significati dichiarano. : Tratte da gli Emblemi dell'Alciato.	1564			o
					1551
					?
				Heures à l'usage de Rome.	1558

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Author/Editor	Title	Date	Author/Editor	Title	Date
	Horae in laudem beatissimae virginis Mariae, ad usum Romanum. Lugduni, 1548.	1548			1576
Tagaut, Jean	De chirurgica institutione libri quinque	1549	Du Choul, Jean	De varia quercus historia	1555
		1567	Du Choul, Guillaume	Discours sur la castramétation et discipline militaire des Romains	1555
		1560			1557
		1547			1567
		1548		Discorso della religione antica de Romani, Insieme vn' altro Discorso della Castrametatione et disciplina militare	1581
Scève, Maurice	La magnificence de la superbe et triumpante entree de la noble et antique cité de Lyon	1549			1569
Roussat, Richard	Livre de l'estat et mutation des temps	1550			1559
Cardano, Girolamo	De subtilitate libri XXI	1551		Discorso sopra la castrametatione et disciplina militare de Romani con i Bagni	1569
		1554		Los discursos de la religion de los antiguos Romanos y Griegos, castramentación, assiento del campo, banos y exerçijos	1579
		1559			
		1580			
Galien, Claude	Galenî Pergameni De Fasciis libellus	1553	Du Choul, Guillaume	Discours de la religion des anciens Romains	1567
	La première (et seconde) partie du Promptuaire des médalles	1553			1556
	Promptuaire des medalles des plus renomnees	1577			1580
		1576			1581
	Primera parte del promptuario de las medallas	1561	Regnaut, Antoine	Discours du voyage d'outremer au Sainct Sepulcre	1573
	Prontuario de le medaglie de piu illustri, & famosi huomini & donne	1581	Poldo d'Albenas, Jean	Discours historial de l'antique et illustre cité de Nismes	1560
	Prima [-secunda] pars promptuarii iconum insigniorum à seculo hominum, : subiectis eorum vitis, per compendium ex probatissimis autoribus desumptis.	1553	Boccaccio	Le Decameron de M. lean Bocace florentin	1558
	Promptuarij iconum insigniorum a seculo hominum	1578			1560
			Fuchs, Leonhart	L'Histoire des plantes mis [<i>sic</i>] en commentaires par Leonart Fuschs [<i>sic</i>] medecin tres renomme,	1558
Medina, Pedro de	L'art de nauiguer de maistre Pierre de Medine	1554	Amatus Lusitanus	In Dioscoridis Anazarbei de medica materia libros quinque	1558
		1569			

Indexing the Early Modern Printed Image

Author/Editor	Title	Date	Author/Editor	Title	Date	
Simeoni, Gabriello	Les Devises ou Emblèmes heroiques et morales, inventees par le S. Gabriel Symeon	1559			1567	
					1567	
Simeoni, Gabriello	Description de la Limagne d'Auuergne	1561			1598	
					1600	
Simeoni, Gabriello	Devisas o emblemas heroicas y morales	1561	Ulsted, Philipp	Coelum philosophorum	1572	
		Dialogo de las empresas militares, y amorosas			1562	Commentaires de M. Pierre André Matthiole medecin senois
	Christophori a Vega, Complutensis, Caroli Hispaniarum principis max	1564			Authenticae seu Novelle constitutiones D. Iustiniani sacratissimi principis	1579
		1567			Corpus Juris civilis. ed. Ant. Contius	1581
		1565			Promptuarii Iconum Insigniorum a seculo hominum	1581
	Figures de la Bible, illustrees de huictains francoys	1564			Imp. Caes. Justiniani Institutionum libri IIII	1587
		1565			Testamenti Novi editio vulgata	1545
	Figure de la Biblia Illustrate da Stanze toscane	1565		Boccaccio	Nouveau (Le) Testament de nostre seigneur Jesus Christ, en francoys. A Lyon, par Balthazar Arnoullet, 1545	1545
	Figures du Nouveau Testament, illustrees de huictains françoys	1570				1554
	Joan. Tagaultii	De Chirvrgica Institutione libri quinque		1549		Des dames de renom. Nouvellement traduit d'italien en langage françoys
					1551	
Nicolay, Nicolas de	Les quatre premiers liures des navigations et peregrinations orientales de N. de Nicolay Dauphinois	1568		Novum testamentum illustratum insignium rerum simulachris	1541	
				Il Nuouo Testamento di Giesu Christo Salvatore Nostro	1547	
	Biblia sacra, ad uetustissima exemplaria castigata	1569			1552	
	Biblia sacra ad vetustissima exemplaria castigata	1569			1558	
		1566	Francesco Giuntini	Parthenice Mariana. F. Baptiste Mantuani, cum Andree Vaurentini singulorum Librorum descrptionibus	1525	
	Biblia sacra ad optima quaeque veteris	1567				
	Biblia sacra ad vetustissima exemplaria nunc recens castigata	1567				
	1567					

Indexing the Early Modern Printed Image

Author/Editor	Title	Date	Author/Editor	Title	Date
Du Pinet de Noroy, Antoine	Speculum Astrologiae, universam mathematicam scientiam, in certas classes digestam complectens. Autore Francisco Junctino,	1581		Andreæ Tiraquelli ... ex commentariis in Pictonum consuetudines	
Antoine Du Verdier	Plantz, pourtraitz et descriptions de plusieurs villes et forteresses, tant de l'Europe, Asie, et Afrique, que des Indes, et terres neuues	1564	Rampegolo, Antonio	Figurae bibliae	1554
	La prosopographie ou description des personnes insignes	1573		Historia Generalis Plantarum	1586
Scève	Dialogo delas empresas militares y amorosas compuestos en lengua italiana	1562		Enchiridion chirurgicum	1570
	La magnifica et triumphale entrada del christianiss. re di Francia Henrico	1549		Les Oeuvres de Clément Marot, de Cahors, vallet de chambre du roy	1554
	Orlando furioso	1570			1561
		1580		[Illustrations de Trois premiers livres de la Métamorphose	1556
	Promptuarium iconum insignorum	1553		L'introduction au iugement des astres	
	Petri Gyllii De topographia Constantinopoleos, et de illius antiquitatibus libri quatuor..	1562		Livre d'aneaux d'orfeurerie de l'inuention de Pierre Woeriot	1561
		1561		Libro d'annella d'orefici de l'inuentione di Piero Woeriotto di Loreno	1561
			Scève, Maurice	Delie	1544
					1564

Appendix 3 Other Illustrated Editions (Selected)

Title	Date	Title	Date
Testamenti Novi editio vulgata	1544	La Bible en françoys	1531
	1543	Les Cent nouuelles. Sensyuent les cent	1532
	1542	nouuelles contenant cent hystoires nouueaulx	
	1547	qui sont moult plaisans	
	15..?	Le blason des couleurs en armes, liures et	1530
		deuises	
Caroli Bovilli Samarobrini De laude Hierusalem liber unus	1531	Cronique abregee des faitz, gestes, et vies illustres des roys de France	1555
La prosopographie ou description des personnes insignes	1573	De Historia stirpium commentarii insignes	1549
Ioachimi Fortii Ringelbergii Andouerpiani Compendium de conscribendis uersibus	1531	Decades de la description, forme, et vertu naturelle des animaulx, tant raisonnables, que brutz	1549
Institutio eorum, quibus incumbit ministrare sacramenta	1545		1550
Ad rescripta principum commentarii	1535	Digestum novum. Pandectarum Iuris ciuilib Tomus tertius	
	1529	Digestum novum. Pandectarum Iuris ciuilib Tomus tertius	1551
De Asse et partibus ejus libri quinque Gulielmi Budaei	1531	Epitome gestorum LVIII. regum Franciae	1546
Guilielmi Benedicti,... Repetitio admodum solennis	1526	L'exemplaire de co[n]fession nouvelleme[n]t imprimee et corrigee	1529
Memoires de l'histoire de Lyon	1573	L'Histoire des plantes mis [<i>sic</i>] en commentaires par Leonart Fuschs	1558
Novum testamentum illustratum insignium rerum simulachris	1541	L'hystoire [et] cronicque du noble et vaillant Baudoin co[m]te de Fla[n]dres lequel espousa le dyable	1510
La Police de l'Aulmosne de Lyon	1539	L'hystoire du noble et preulx vaillant cheualier Guillaume de Palerne	1552
Repertorium in lecturas Bartoli. Index commentariorum Bartoli de Saxoferrato in omne ius ciuile	1524	Le Nouveau Testament de nostre seigneur Iesus Christ, en Françoys	1545
Esopo	1532	Matheolus, qui nous mo[n]stre sans varier les biens [et] aussi les vertus	1515
	1534	Pedanii Dioscoridis Anazarbei, De Medicinali materia Libri sex	1552
	1536		1550
	1539	Plantarum effigies, è Leonarcho Fuschio	1551
	1544	Le premier liure des emblèmes, composé par Guillaume Gueroult	1550
	1542		
	1546		
Nicolai borbonii...nugarum libri octo	1538		

Title	Date	Title	Date
Prophetias par l'astrologue du treschrestien roy de France & de Madame la duchesse de Sauoye	1572	Il theatro de gl' instrumenti et machine di M. Iacopo Bessoni.	1582
La Sainte Bible	1550		1578
Second liure de la description des animaux, contenant le blason des oyseaux composé par Guillaume Gueroult	1550	Biblia cum summariorum apparatu	1514
Sensuyt le rebours de Matheolus	1515	Biblia sacra Veteris et Novi Testamenti	1568
Les Six livres de Pedacion Dioscoride Anazarbeen, De la Matière medicinale	1580	Breuiarium Romanum, luculentissimo nu[n]c caractere impressum	1528
	1559	Bucolica Baptistae Mantuani, diversis diversorum commentariis	1536
Tresor de Evonyme Philiatre des Remedes secretz	1555	De bello Gallico Commentarii VII	1574
	1559		1581
	1567	C. Iulii Caesaris Rerum ab se gestarum commentarii	1574
Le Trésor des pouures qui parle des maladies qui peuuent venir au corps humain	1567	C. Iulii Caesaris Rerum ab se gestarum commentarii	1557
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Legenda hec aurea nitidis excutitur formis..	1507	Lucanus cum tribus commentis. M. Annei Lucani Cordubensis pharsalia diligentissime per G. Versellanum recognita	1519
Opera Salustiana In Ca. Crispi Salustii opera Ascensii familiaris interpretatio	1506	Opera Sallustiana. Caij Crispi Sallustij... cum Iodoci Badii Ascensii expositione... Opera	1519
Opus aureum ornatum omni lapide precioso singulare nouissime editum.	1510		

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Title	Date	Title	Date
Que hoc in volumine tractantur, epithome commentariorum Galeni in libros Hippocratis cohi. Primus aphorismorum	1516	Cosmographiae introductio cum quibusdam geometriae	1538 1517
Sermones quadragesimales de petitionibus super euangelijs totius Quadragesime Magistri Leonardi de Utino	1518	Articella nuperrime impressa cum quamplurimis tractatibus.	1515
Tractatus domini Guidonis Pape. Tractatus singulares aurei et in praxi contingibiles domini Guidonis Pape	1518	Habes hic iuuenis auctores octo opusculoru[m] Marsus, Cicero, Franciscus Ascensius, Martii [sic] Tullii Ciceronis... De Officiis, Amicitia, Senectute et Paradoxis illustria monimenta	1511 1511
Tractatus plurimorum doctorum. Tractatus singulares et in praxi contingibiles diuersorum doctorum cum additionibus et repertorio.	1519	Mercuriales domini iohannis andree	1510
La tres desiree et prouffitable naissance	1503	Opus aureum & legende insignes sanctorum sanctarum	1521
Les dames illustres et vertueuses	1597		1519
Prosopographie ou description des hommes illustres	1589		1524 1526
Bellum giganteum. Ad illustres et generosos comites ac dominos Phrysiæ orientalis	1588	Practica singularis ac perutilis conspicui domini Joannis Petri de ferrarijs	1527
Premier livre des figures et pourtraiz des villes plus illustres d'Europe	1552	Repertorium... [Ed. Johannes de Gradibus]. Impressum lugduni per	1510
Premier livre des figures et pourtraiz des villes plus illustres d'Europe	1557	Sermones quadragesimales de infirmitatib' gñris humani	1518
Les sentences illustres	1572	Sermones quadragesimales de peregrinatione generis humani a... Joanne Reynardi	1518
Cronique abregee des faitz, gestes et vies illustres des roys de France	1555	Compotus cum commento	1492
Le troisieme livre des epistres illustres	1560	Le Grant vita Christi	1493
Le tombeau de la tres illustre princesse de Parme	1586	Dialogus in magicarum artium destructionem	1498
Les divers et memorables propos des nobles et illustres hommes de la chrestienté	1558	Fortalitium fidei	1487
Nef des Folz	1498	Via salutis	1498
	1499	Chymisticum artificium naturae	1568
	1499	Mitistoire barragoyne	1574
La Grant nef des folz du monde (Adaptation en prose par Jean Drouyn d'après la version en vers de Pierre Rivière de la trad. de J. Locher)	1499	Sambin, Hugues, 1520?-1601 [1] Liste alphabétique	1572
Le Guidon en francoys	1503	Titre: Oeuure de la diuersité des termes, dont on vse en architec	
	1490	Histoire prodigieuse d'vn monstre horrible et espouventable apparu en l'air és terres & Seigneuries de Venise	1600
	1498		
	1520		

Title	Date	Title	Date
Disputation de l'Asne contre frere Anselme Turmeda	1544	Sapphicae Petri Busseroni medicam colentis facultatem hor[a]e, ad fidissimorum Christicolarum vsum	1538
La fleur et triumphe de cent et cinq Rondeaulx	1540	Commentaire au <i>Songe de Scipion</i> (latin)	1556
discours maitre aliborum	1600	Saturnales (latin)	1556
La terrible et merueilleuse vie de Robert le Dyable	1545	Epitome gestorum LVIII	1546
Biblia. Concordantiae in eadem... et ex uiginti Iosephi de Antiquitatibus	1546	[Premier volume contenant quarante tableaux ou histoires diverses qui sont mémorables touchant les guerres, massacres et troubles advenus en France	1569
Gabriel Biel super canone misse cum additioni. Profundissimi viri Gabrielis Biel	1527	Un petit traite de fleurs	1575
Lentree de la royne faicte en lantique et noble cite de Lyo[n] lan mil cinq cens trente et troys	1533	In magicarum artium destructionem dialogus	1498
Opera virgilliana	1529	Enfer de cupido	1555
Textus Biblie. Hoc in opere hec insunt	1529	Ad astrorum iudicia facilis introductio	1557
Summula Caietana. Reuerendissimi domini Thome	1530	L'amant resuscité de la mort d'amour	1558
	1529	L'Arioste francoes de lean de Boessieres	1580
Alphonsi Delbenei... De Gente, ac familiae Hugonis Capeti origine	1595	L'introduction au iugement des astres	1558
L'Arioste francoes de lean de Boessieres de Montferrant	1580	Picta Poesis, ab authore denuo recognita, ut pictura poesis	1564
L' Entrée de la Reine à Lyon le III. decembre M. D. C	1600	Cinq discours de cinq chants, nouveaux de M. Loys Arioste	1582
Les deux plus grandes, plus celebres et memorables resiouissances de la ville de Lyon	1598	Le Roland furieux, de Messire Loys Arioste noble Ferrarois	1582
Oeuvre de la diversité des termes	1572	hortulus anime	1513
Hip. de Mar. Auogadra. Solennis... Hippolyti de Marsilijs Bononien	1538	Cartel aux Iudiciaires et Celoteurs Astrologues. Auquel sera combattue divinement & humainement	1585
Do. Tho. Gra. Vota. Eximij viri Domini Thomasij Gramatici Neapolitani	1535	Liber totius medicine	1522
Jason de Actio. Preclarissima. J. V. Monarche Domini Jasonis Mayni Lectura super titu	1532		1523
Liber fugitiuus. Tractatus perutilis a magistro Nepote de Monte Albano	1250	Baldus super feudis. Opus aureum	1522
Practica Lanfranci de Oriano. Aurea & excellens.	1539	Biblie sacre textus. Venundantur Lugduni in vico mercuriali sub signo fontis [impressum impensis... Scipionis de Gabiano et fratrum Astensium industria... Jacobi Myt cacographi]	1531
Practica Mansuerij. Aureaus ac perutilis Tractatus	1536	[Livre]	
Tractatus de prescriptionibus	1532	Doctoris irrefragabilis Domini Alexandri de ales.	1515
		Aelii Antonii Nebrissens. introductiones in latinam grammaticem	1518

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Title	Date	Title	Date
Postille maiores totius anni cum questionibus de nouo additis	1516		1507
Postille maiores totius anni	1518		1509
Postille maiores totius anni	1521		1510
postille maiores totius anni	1527		1518
Computus cum commento	1490		1520
Computus cum commento	1504		1540

Appendix 3 Prefaces to Illustrated Books Printed in Lyon

Wol Gerissnen und Geschnidten Figuren ausz der Bibel, preface by Caspar Scheid dedicated to Nicola Gerbelio. Lyon: de Tournes, 1554

Dem ehrwurdigen und hoch gelerten Doctor Nicolao Gerbelio baiden rechten doctori meinen gustingern herren zu handen. Nach dem ich euch hochgelerter herr doctor, als ich nach mals ausz Franckreich komen bin, etliche wolgerissene getruckte figuren so ich von lion mit mir gebracht hab, gezaigt: und darbey des fleissigen berumpten truckerherren ioannis tornesy, welcher solche figuren mit grossem kosten in die Bibel (die dan solches und grossers fleisz wol wurdig) reissen laszt, gedachte, das er neHolbeinische und fleissige des Sebold Behmen, biblische figuren zu samen getruckt hat, sonderlich, an tag zu geben, und zu iedem figurin III lateinische Carminamlich der meynung were die selbingen fur kunstler, maler, und kunst liebhaber, wie man auch die kunstliche Holbeinische und fleissige des Sebold Behmen, biblische figuren zu samen getruckt hat, sonderlich, an tag zu geben, und zu iedem figurin III lateinische Carmina, dessgleichen Italianische Spanische, und Franzosische reymen, vil Nacionen zu mehrerem verstand zu setzen. Derhalben auch ich olche summarien und inhalt der kapitel zum theil ausz lieb des vaterlands, auff das solche kunstliche buchlin auch zu uns Teutschen bracht wurden, zum theil ausz erforderung, und belonung des truckherren gedachte figuren mit teutschen reymen begabt hab. Die weil aber gemelter Ioannes Tournesius mir sonderlich befolhen, solche Typos einem furnemen gelerten, berumpten man, Kunstler oder kunstliebhaber, dedicierren und zuschreiben.

Geben zu Worm den III tag September im iar 1551.

E.E: gut williger Caspar Scheyt von Worm

“L’imprimeur au lecteur salut”. *Les Figures du Nouveau Testament. Lyon: de Tournes, 1554*

Les choses d’instruction qui son représentées à la veüe et par icelle ont entree en l’apprehension et de là en avant en l’entendement et puis en la memoire esmeuvant et incitant davantage, et demeurent plus fermes et stables que celles qui ont leur seule entrée par l’oreille. A cause de quoy ay fait dresser ce présent Livret de figures prinses sur les histoires du nouveau Testament et concernans les principaux articles, mystères et points de nostre salut avec l’exposition, en petits vers, mise brièvement au dessouz de chacune d’icelles. Recevez le donq, Lecteurs, pour récréation à l’oeil, ayde à la mémoire, contentement à l’esprit que Dieu vous vueille tousiours garder à son honneur et louenge eternelle.

Preface, Paolo Giovio, *Dialogo dell'Imprese Militari e Amoroze*. Lyon: Roville, 1559, preface by Lodovico Domenichi dedicated to Alessandro Farnese

Quantunque io non dubiti che il veder fuori a quest'ora il dialogo delle imprese di m. Paolo Giovio vi porga una sublime meraviglia, tengo per certo che intesa la cagione cesserete di meravigliarvi [...] Ma prima che io venga a questi particolari è necessario che io vi dica le condizioni universali che si ricercano per fare una perfetta impresa. Sappiate dunque che l'inventione o vero impresa, s'ella debba avere del buono bisogna ch'abbia cinque condizioni: prima giusta proporzione di anima e corpo, seconda, ch'ella non sia oscura di sorte, c'habbia mistero della sibilla per interprete a volerla intendere, né tanto chiara c'ogni plebeo la intensa. Terzo, che sopra tutto abbia bella vista, la qual si fa riuscire molto allegra, entrandovi stelle, soli, lune, acqua, arbori, instrumenti meccanici, animali bizzarri e uccelli fantastici. Quarta, non ricerca alcuna Forma umana. Quinta, richiede il motto, che è l'anima del corpo

Preface, Guillaume Guérolt, *Hymnes du temps et de ses parties*. Lyon: de Tournes, 1560

J'espère que tu y prendras quelque délectation, pour estre le tout sorti de bonne main; car l'invention est de M. Bernard Salomon peintre autant excellent qu'il y en ait point en nostre hémisphère, [...] t'assurant que si je vois que tu les reçois en bonne part, je te feray voir en brief quelques autres semblables livrets.

Cf. Cartier 1937-38, fn. 456; Sharratt 2005, 313-14 fn. 48.

Preface, *Simolachri, Historie et Figure de la morte*. Lyon: Frellon, 1549. Bodleian Libraries, Crynes 567, Oxford

Avendo Frellone per il passato misso in luce con bellissime figure li simolachri della morte, et primo in lingua Latina, et dipoi in la vulgare francesa: si è adesso ingegnato di darvele in vulgare Italiano. Et ciò ha fatto con si mirabile diligenza e curioso studio, che desiderando al possibile satisfarvi, ha fatto designare et intagliare molte altre figure che per il passato non furono mai stampate, ne Simolachri già per altri stampati in lingua Italiana. Pigliatele dunque con lieto animo benigni lettori, non riguardando al dire di qualche Sciocco, che dopo essersi servito de disegni delle figure già fatte fare dal ditto Frellone, non sapendo come altrimenti imbellire quelle figure molto men belle di quelle di Francia ha scritto haver fatto si ben designare et intagliare le figure di sopraditti Simolachri, che non sono pure equali (come dice) ma di gran lunga migliore, più vaghe et più belle di quelle di Francia: il che quanto sia ditto temerariamente et senza giudicio, coloro con giudicioso ochio et giusto giudicio considereranno quelle di Francia, fatte fare dal ditto Frellone, et quelle degl'altri luoghi facilmente il potranno giudicare. Però qui farò fine non sforzandomi più oltra farvi a sapere una cosa si manifesta, ma pregando Dio che vi felicitì come desiderate.

Di Lyone alli VII d'Aprile 1549.

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