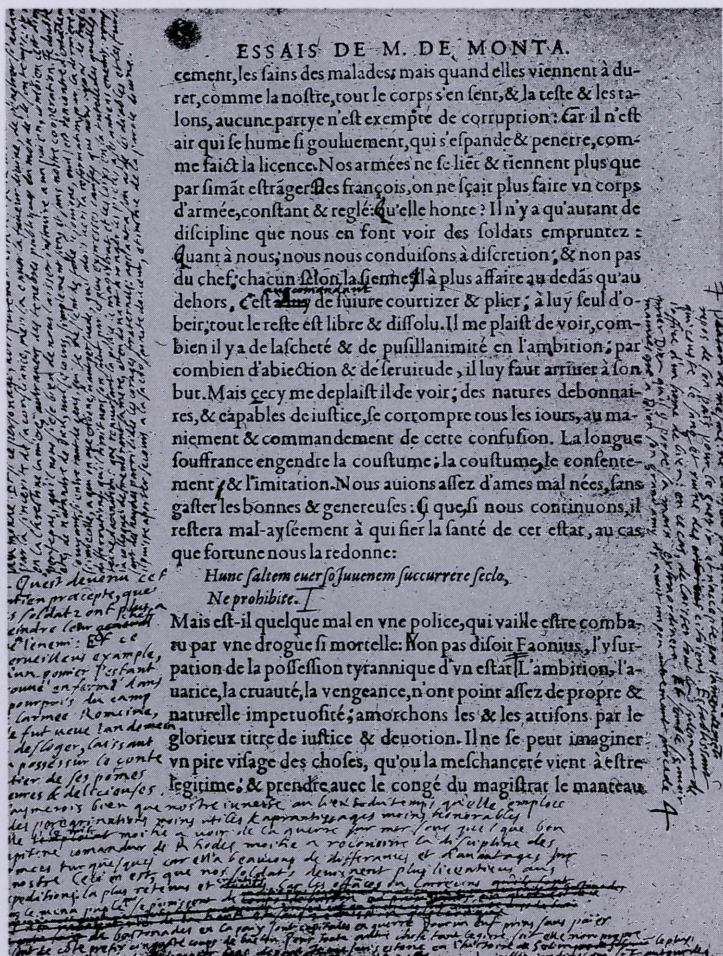


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MONTAIGNE IN PRINT

THE PRESENTATION OF A RENAISSANCE TEXT



Catalogue of an Exhibition in the Department of Special Collections,
University of Chicago Library, October 25, 1995 - February 2, 1996

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/MONTAIGNE IN PRINT/

THE PRESENTATION OF A RENAISSANCE TEXT

Philippe Desan and Arnaud Coulombel

MONTAIGNE STUDIES
AND
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1995

600 copies of this special issue of *Montaigne Studies: An Interdisciplinary Forum* have been published in conjunction with the exhibition "Montaigne in Print: The Presentation of a Renaissance Text," held in the Department of Special Collections, the University of Chicago Library, October 25, 1995 - February 2, 1996.

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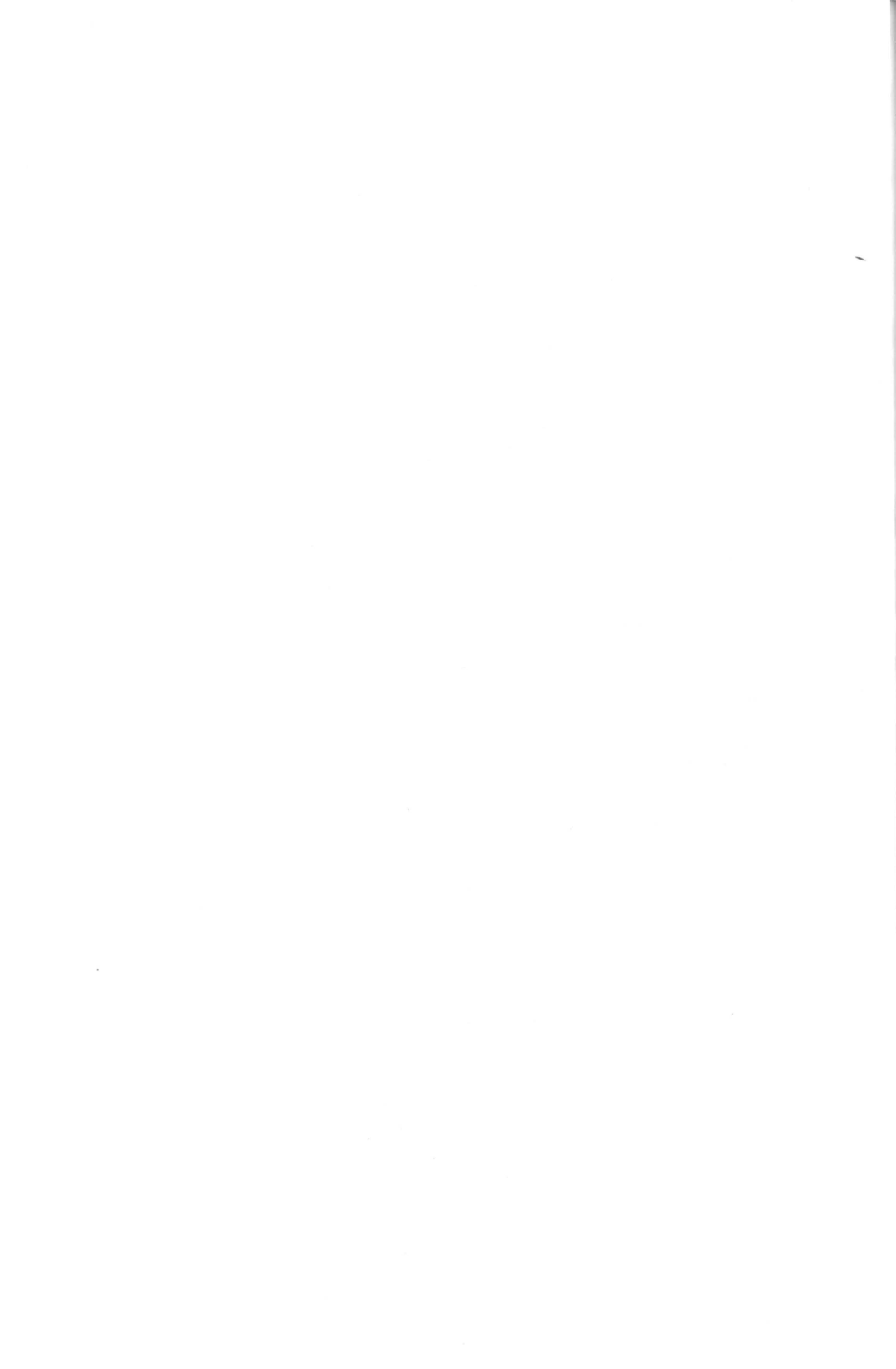


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CONTENTS

ALICE SCHREYER Preface and Acknowledgments	5
PHILIPPE DESAN AND ARNAUD COULOMBEL The Presentation of a Renaissance Text: Montaigne's <i>Essais</i> (1580-1995)	7
Catalogue of the Exhibition	29



Preface and Acknowledgments

"Montaigne in Print: The Presentation of a Renaissance Text" draws on the University of Chicago Library's comprehensive collection of Michel de Montaigne's *Essais* to chronicle the complex bibliographic history of this influential work. Surveying nearly all of the editions of the *Essais* published during Montaigne's lifetime, posthumous editions prepared by Marie de Gournay, and selected subsequent editions and translations, the exhibition and accompanying catalogue examine the relationships between author, editor, printer, and reader that shape the presentation of a text in book form.

The cornerstone of the Library's Montaigne holdings is the 1966 bequest of University alumna Lillian Alberta Wells (Ph.B. '14). Miss Wells's gift of about 500 volumes, primarily works of French language and literature, includes three of the four editions of the *Essais* published during Montaigne's lifetime, as well as several later editions, numerous works which influenced Montaigne, and many volumes of Montaigne scholarship. Wells came to the University of Chicago from Traverse City, Michigan, in 1909 and received her Ph.B. in 1914. She taught French at Sidney Lanier High School in Montgomery, Alabama, and at Harrison Technical High School in Chicago; and returned to the University and completed coursework for the Master's degree in Romance Languages in 1929. In her later years, Wells maintained homes in Traverse City; Oswego, New York; and New York City. Her bequest includes reading copies and rare editions of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century literature, and it reflects the complementary interests of a student, teacher, and book collector. A significant number of the rare editions in Miss Wells's collection are of

distinguished provenance, having been owned by noted book collectors Henri Bordes, Robert Hoe, Cortlandt Bishop, and others. Wells purchased several of these books at the 1938 sale of Bishop's library.

"Montaigne in Print" exemplifies the interdependence between scholarship and library collections at the University of Chicago. The ability to study and compare variant editions of Montaigne's *Essais* provides essential support for local and international research interests. Philippe Desan, Professor in the Department of Romance Languages and Literatures and Montaigne scholar, proposed an exhibition of the Library's Montaigne collection as part of a conference on editing Montaigne sponsored by the Newberry Library, the University of Chicago, the University of Minnesota, Northwestern University and the University of Wisconsin-Madison; and he was actively involved in every stage of bringing his vision to fruition. Arnaud Coulombel, graduate student in the Department of Romance Languages and Literatures, researched and wrote the bibliographic essays and collaborated with Professor Desan on the text. The Division of the Humanities at the University of Chicago supported the research and publication of the catalogue. Aeron Hunt, graduate student in the Department of English, provided valuable editorial assistance. Suzy Taraba coordinated the project effectively while balancing numerous other assignments. Valarie Brocato designed and installed a handsome exhibition with flair and good humor.

Alice Schreyer
Curator of Special Collections
University of Chicago Library

The Presentation of a Renaissance Text: Montaigne's *Essais* (1580–1995)

Philippe Desan and Arnaud Coulombel

Michel de Montaigne was born at the Château of Montaigne, thirty miles east of Bordeaux, on 28 February 1533. He was the third child but the first to survive of the ten children of Pierre Eyquem de Montaigne (1495–1568) and Antoinette de Louppes (?–1601). Little is known of Montaigne's mother, who is given only cursory mention in the *Essais*. It is his father who figures prominently in the work and who exerted the greatest influence on the author's early childhood.

Pierre Eyquem came from a line of Bordeaux merchants who had grown rich and purchased the seigneurie of Montaigne with its title of nobility. He adopted the noble profession of arms and fought under the Marshal of Lautrec (1485–1528) during the Italian wars. After his return from Italy, he became a deputy mayor and a judge, served several terms in various high local offices, and in 1554 was elected mayor of Bordeaux. Pierre Eyquem also displayed an interest in letters. He welcomed men of learning to his estate and held the new humanists in awe. In addition, he desired to instill a passion for knowledge and a sense of nobility in his son, Michel, and took great pains to secure an excellent education for him.

In 1535 Montaigne was entrusted to a German tutor, Horstanus, who was not familiar with French and spoke only Latin to his charge. Both Montaigne's father and mother mastered Latin

sufficiently well for the child to hear no other language at home. In so doing, Pierre Eyquem intended for Montaigne to master the language of the intellectual elite of the time, rather than French, as his native tongue. However, this innovative child-rearing technique proved not to be as advantageous as expected when Montaigne was sent to the Collège of Guyenne in Bordeaux at the age of six. Although the Collège of Guyenne was ranked among the best institutions in France and employed two of the greatest humanists, George Buchanan (1506–1582) and Marc-Antoine Muret (1526–1585), school disappointed Montaigne. Even at the age of six, Montaigne was far in advance of his peers and had to receive special tutoring sessions. Bored with his classes, Montaigne was given the chance to develop a love of books thanks to the tacit complicity of one of his masters. He eagerly read Ovid, Virgil, Terence, Plautus, and Italian comedies. Disliking the discipline and excessive reliance on memorization at the Collège of Guyenne, Montaigne left school at thirteen. Remarkably, he had finished the twelve-year course in seven years.

The particulars of his activities after he left the school are unknown, but it is thought that he studied law at the University of Toulouse. Scholars do know that in 1554 he received the office of councillor at the Cour des Aides of Périgueux from his uncle, Pierre de Gaujac. This court was incorporated into the parliament of Bordeaux in 1557. Montaigne performed his duties competently, though unenthusiastically. However, it was during this period that Montaigne met and befriended his fellow councillor, Etienne de La Boétie (1530–1563). This friendship, by far the most outstanding emotional relationship of his life, is extensively described in the central essay of the first book “Of Friendship.” As a result, La Boétie’s death in 1563 greatly affected Montaigne. He inherited his friend’s library and arranged the publication of some of La Boétie’s writings and translations.

On 23 September 1565, Montaigne married Françoise de La Chassaigne, who belonged to a loyal Catholic family from the upper magistracy. Their marriage, apparently an arranged match, was amicable if not passionate. All but one child of the marriage (a daughter, Léonor, born in 1571) died in infancy.

During 1567 and 1568, at his father’s request, Montaigne worked on the translation of Raymond Sebond’s *Theologia*

naturalis. But Pierre Eyquem died before he was able to see his son's task completed. Montaigne's translation was published in Paris in 1569 by Gilles Gourbin and Michel Sonnius. A revised version was again published in 1581.

In 1570, after thirteen years of service as councillor at the parliament of Bordeaux, Montaigne sold his post. Shortly after, on his thirty-eighth birthday, 28 February 1571, he retired to his castle. On the wall of the little room next to his library-study, Montaigne painted the following commemorative inscription in Latin:

In the year of Christ 1571, at the age of thirty-eight, on the last day of February, his birthday, Michel de Montaigne, long weary of the servitude of the court and of the public employments, while still entire, retired to the bosom of the learned virgins [the Muses], where in calm and freedom from all cares he will spend what little remains of his life, now more than half run out. If the fates permit, he will complete this abode, this sweet ancestral retreat; and he has consecrated it to his freedom, tranquillity, and leisure.¹

During his retirement, literary activity was to occupy a great part of his "leisure" time between 1571 and 1580. Montaigne read extensively during these years. Seneca and Plutarch were the authors he appreciated the most. In 1575, the discovery of Sextus Empiricus's skepticism strongly influenced the essayist. Montaigne also dedicated a lot of time to reading history and political thought—the *Mémoires* of the brothers Du Bellay, Guichardini's *History of Italy*, Julius Caesar's *Commentaries*, and Jean Bodin's *Methodus* and *Republique*, among others.

Montaigne probably started to write his first essays in 1572. By the term "essay," he meant the written collection of the "trial" or "test" of his judgment on a wide range of matters, from the trivial to the profound, from death, to love, to food, to the discovery of America, to sexuality, to imagination, and so on. The essay "Of Democritus and Heraclitus" explicitly makes this "trial" the essential subject of the writing:

Judgment is a tool to use on all subjects, and comes in everywhere. Therefore in the tests that I make of it here, I use every sort of occasion.

1. Michel de Montaigne, *The Complete Works of Montaigne*, trans. Donald M. Frame (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1958), pp. ix–x.

If it is a subject I do not understand at all, even on that I essay my judgment, sounding the ford from a good distance; and then, finding it too deep for my height, I stick to the bank. And this acknowledgment that I cannot cross over is a token of its action, indeed one of those it is most proud of. Sometimes in a vain and nonexistent subject I try to see if it will find the wherewithal to give it body, prop it up, and support it. Sometimes I lead it to a noble and well-worn subject in which it has nothing original to discover, the road being so beaten that it can walk only in others' footsteps. There it plays its part by choosing the way that seems best to it, and of a thousand paths it says that this one or that was the most wisely chosen. I take the first subject that chance offers. They are all equally good to me.²

This task, which occupied Montaigne for the remainder of his life, progressively evolved toward an unfolding of his self which culminated in the last essay, "Of experience." The *Essais* therefore represent one of the first examples of self-portraiture in European literature, an example often regarded as indicative of the individualism which came to dominate in Western culture.

The first edition of the *Essais* was released from the press by the Bordeaux printer Simon Millanges in 1580. It consisted of two books which were, respectively, composed of fifty-seven and thirty-seven essays. Montaigne, however, never looked upon his essays as neatly molded compositions which were finished once they were published. Rather, he was eager that they should grow as he grew, and, accordingly, he continually added to them. Books I and II were revised for republication in 1582 and again for the 1588 edition, which included a third book, increasing the total number of essays to 107. The process of revision continued between 1588 and 1592, and the posthumous edition (1595) of the three books incorporates Montaigne's further annotations and marginalia.

Contrary to what Montaigne tells us, his retirement was far from absolute, and in spite of a chronic and painful illness (quinsy), he made several incursions into the world of affairs. Following the first publication of the *Essais* in 1580, Montaigne embarked on an extensive journey through France, Italy, Switzerland, and Germany, recording his observations and experiences in his *Journal de Voyage* (*Travel Notebook*), which, unlike the *Essais*, was not written for publication. While still traveling in Italy, he was elected mayor of Bordeaux for a two-year term, which was renewed in 1583.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 219.

Bordeaux was a loyalist stronghold in the largely Protestant southwest. During this troubled period of religious wars, Montaigne succeeded in averting serious disturbances thanks to a policy of mediation. He corresponded with the Protestant Philippe Duplessis-Mornay (1549–1623) and arranged a meeting between the king's lieutenant in Bordeaux, the Marshall of Matignon (1525–1597), and Henri of Navarre (1553–1610), leader of the Protestant party. Montaigne left office on 31 July 1585. Throughout his mayoralty, and especially during his second term, Montaigne was effective in keeping a potentially explosive situation under control, did everything that was required of him, and served the city well.

The last years of Montaigne's life were cheered by the devotion of Marie le Jars de Gournay (1565–1645). When she was around twenty, Gournay discovered the *Essais*, which made a tremendous impression on her. The young woman immediately aspired to take the place left vacant by La Boétie. She met Montaigne for the first time in Paris, while the essayist was overseeing the printing of his 1588 edition. The sympathy between the two was immediate and intense. Montaigne visited his "fille d'alliance" (foster daughter) at Gournay several times during the summer and the fall of 1588. These were their last encounters. Suffering from quinsy, Montaigne died at his château on 13 September 1592, at the age of fifty-nine. It was Gournay who edited and published the posthumous edition of the *Essais* in 1595 and guaranteed the diffusion of the work during the first half of the seventeenth century.

The history of the publication of the *Essais* is a complex and fascinating one. For over four centuries, Montaigne's text faced a series of transformations, both of its content and its presentation, resulting from crucial editorial choices. The exhibition "Montaigne in Print" recounts these successive "mutations" of the text of the *Essais*, beginning with the editions of the work during Montaigne's lifetime; spanning Gournay's era, which lasted from 1595 until 1635; and presenting in a third section the most important editions of the *Essais* published in the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries. The fourth and last section of this exhibition presents the original editions of Montaigne's two other literary works (his translation of Raymond Sebond's *Theologia naturalis* and the *Travel*

Notebook), as well as selected original and modern translations of the *Essais* and of the *Travel Notebook* into Italian, English, German, Spanish, and Japanese. With this journey through time and languages, we discover a text as "ondoyant" and "divers" as the self of its author.

* * *

A literary genre was born in Bordeaux in 1580 when Michel de Montaigne published a work in two volumes with a novel title. In its first edition *Les Essais de Michel de Montaigne* comprised ninety-four chapters with titles as diverse as "Of liars," "Of cannibals," "Of coaches," and even "Of thumbs," "Of cripples," "Of smells," and "Of sleep." At first sight an ill-assorted group of observations and personal meditations, the *Essais* nevertheless all pursue the same end: to better understand life and to activate the judgment.

In 1588 Montaigne added a third book to his *Essais*, taking advantage of the new edition to augment his first two books with a considerable number of additions. This time Montaigne published his work in Paris with Abel L'Angelier, one of the greatest printers of the Renaissance. In the meantime, his *Essais* had been reissued in Bordeaux in 1582 and in Paris in 1587 with minor corrections. Even so, Montaigne did not stop with this edition of 1588, for writing was his lifeblood. He continued to add more text in the margins of his own copies of the *Essais*. Only death ended his continual additions to his *Essais*, which had become the forge of his thought. After his death in 1592 it fell to Gournay to undertake the enormous task of publishing a complete edition of the *Essais*.

Since 1592, publishing the *Essais* has entailed a series of often difficult editorial decisions. How to present the text? Indeed, the materiality of the *Essais* continually reminds us that a text only exists once it has been inserted into the framework that we call a book. The format of this framework and the presentation of the text incontestably influence our reading. Likewise, the editions of 1580, 1582, 1587, and 1588, as well as the Bordeaux copy hand-corrected by Montaigne, and finally the edition of 1595, established by Gournay based on a copy of the *Essais* found at Montaigne's death,

force upon us the evolving nature of every literary work.

Any consideration, even the most superficial, of the celebrated Bordeaux copy (a copy of the 1588 edition, held by the Bibliothèque Municipale de Bordeaux, containing a considerable amount of manuscript marginalia in Montaigne's hand) confronts us with the importance of the author's additions and corrections. Montaigne was unquestionably preoccupied with the physical appearance of his book and more particularly with the "paratext," or material presentation of the text itself along with the devices that surround it, such as headings, running titles, prefaces, table of contents, marginalia, title page, engravings, and so on. He accorded, for example, particular attention to the running titles, the punctuation, and the pagination of different editions of his book. The most visible proofs of this attention to the paratext are his corrections of erroneous pagination and his modification of the running titles at the top of each page. He wanted them to read "ESSAIS DE MICHEL DE" on the verso of the leaves (the left-hand page) and "MONTAIGNE LIV.1" on the recto (the right-hand page), in place of "ESSAIS DE M. DE MONTA." and "LIVRE PREMIER," which one finds in the 1588 edition.

The turbulent editorial history of the *Essais* during the first half of the seventeenth century raises problems which are both literary and ideological. The reprintings of the *Essais* are, in fact, numerous, culminating in the famous edition of 1635 with its dedication to Cardinal Richelieu—the final edition reviewed by Gournay and one which marks the end of a voyage of twenty editions of the *Essais* since the death of Montaigne in 1592.

At the helm of this ship adrift in the seventeenth century, we discover Gournay, a captain trying to navigate to a safe port. We know that form modifies content and that the presentation of merchandise influences our perception of its value. In a sense, the editorial history of the *Essais* is marked by the same principle: packaging ineluctably modifies content. Unfortunately, the editorial strategies of printers did not always follow the wishes of Montaigne's "foster daughter," who sought to restore the text of the *Essais* to a form of which only she was the guarantor, if not the legitimate heir. Her task was to avoid all editorial deviation and to minimize the commercial "novelties" of printers and booksellers who were so little concerned with the author's desires. For

Gournay, Montaigne's text was a cargo that she attempted to deliver intact to posterity. The pitfalls were numerous, for the seventeenth century had a tendency either to reject the *Essais* or to redefine them within its own ideological framework. Faced with these two attitudes, which she considered unjust, Gournay was wary of adulterated merchandise, and for her whole life she defended the original form of this unique work, unendingly mishandled and patched up nonetheless by often diverting editorial strategies.

It would be tedious to recount all of the numerous editorial stages during the period from 1592 to 1635. Let us note that these complex and surprising editorial choices were not solely the product of Gournay but more often those of the publishers of the time. Although Gournay always occupies a central place in the editorial history of the *Essais* at the beginning of the seventeenth century, it would nonetheless be false to say that she controlled the physical form of the book entitled *Essais*. Rather than offering a descriptive bibliography of the numerous editions published before 1635, we have chosen several markers that permit us to look into what we might call the ideology conveyed by the material presentation of a text at the end of the Renaissance.

Let us begin with the edition of 1595, the first posthumous launching of Montaigne for posterity. One notices right away the biographical precision supplied by the title page, with its subtitle that informs the reader that it is a new product, a "new edition, found after the death of the Author, amended & expanded by him to a size one third larger than preceding Editions." The edition of 1595 effectively marks a decisive stage, if not a definitive one, toward the establishment of a complete text. The *Essais* of 1595 clearly announce that the "extensions" written between 1588 and 1592 are from the author's hand, with no censoring or major editorial reworking on the part of Gournay. Our editor was content simply to reproduce the marginal manuscript additions as best as possible, hoping to assure sales by focussing on the newly added authorial material.

What we have here is supposedly an accurate restitution of the text rather than the product of a series of editorial decisions. Montaigne's "foster daughter" corrected the printer's typographical errors and recopied as closely as possible the text of the *Essais* based on the 1588 annotated edition she had in her hands. She refrained

from modifying the form of the *Essais*. It is nonetheless difficult to document that Gournay was but a simple proofreader. The famous second copy of the edition of 1588 she used for her edition is missing. We know that she did not see what is known as the "Bordeaux copy" before the 1595 edition appeared. It has since been argued that the Bordeaux copy in fact represents an anterior stage of Montaigne's marginalia, some of which had been retranscribed by Montaigne himself on the copy Gournay used for the 1595 edition of the *Essais*.

As one can see, the history of the 1595 edition is a true detective story. Scholars have offered a multitude of possible explanations for the discrepancies that exist between the 1595 edition of the *Essais* and the Bordeaux copy, which has since served as the basis for most modern editions of the text. Because the importance of this second copy is difficult to determine, it has long been believed that the copy of 1588, annotated by Montaigne and preserved at the municipal library of Bordeaux, was the principal source, if not the only one, for the edition of 1595. The complex history of the consolidation of these two copies remains to be fully understood.

We may well wonder what compelled Gournay to establish the text and the form of the *Essais* after 1595. It is sufficient to consider the massacre of the Lyon edition of 1593 and 1595 edition printed in Geneva to understand Gournay's preoccupation with the way Montaigne's text was scrapped, truncated, and exploited by printers who were less concerned with the accuracy of the text than with the possibility of making some money. Hence, for example, due to an error during the composition of the text, the edition of 1593 omits chapter I: 41 and suppresses a good deal of I: 42—although these chapters are listed in the table of contents. The *Essais* deteriorated even more severely in the Le Febvre edition of 1595, as the Genevan religious censors simply cut chapters I: 29, 35, 54, 55; II: 15, 19, 28, 30, 33, 35; and III: 5. Other chapters were mutilated or recast. The titles, too, were modified owing to censorial intervention. The chapter "Of three commerces" was rebaptized "Of the commerce of life" since the passages treating Montaigne's relationship to women simply disappeared from this essay. According to the same principle of suppression, "Of cripples" was transformed into "Of opinions," and women were expelled

— edue?

from the *Essais*.

In the face of this editorial travesty one easily understands Gournay's obsession with safeguarding Montaigne's text which, in the hands of unscrupulous editors and printers, might well have disappeared. If one considers the way the *Essais* were butchered in these first two posthumous editions, one understands Gournay's urgent need to reestablish the text of her "father" in its original state. The 1595 edition successfully allowed her to establish a definitive text which served as a reference for the rest of her life. But, as we have suggested, this edition was not without editorial innovations.

The spacious format of the L'Angelier edition of 1595 is immediately visible. Gournay included a long preface set off from Montaigne's text by the use of italic type. This is followed by a table of contents with continuous pagination for the first two books but a separate pagination for the third book—which leads to the supposition that the third book was printed at a different shop from the first two books. In contrast to the two preceding editions, the roman numerals identifying chapters are detached from the body of the text with wider spacing relative to the following text. Above the chapter numerals we find the title in italics. The tops of the pages no longer carry the abbreviations used in the editions published during Montaigne's lifetime. In sum, one could say that this edition was the object of greater care than the preceding editions and that particular attention was accorded to the text's visual presentation.

But what caught everybody's attention at the time was Gournay's preface. She offered a long discourse in which she positioned herself as guardian of the *Essais*. Certain phrases shocked her contemporaries; Gournay even made her preface the forum for an acerbic critique. The long preface "On the Essays . . . by his foster daughter" created a true editorial tempest, and she had to retract it from other editions. Indeed, after the general uproar that followed her 1595 preface, Gournay decided to eliminate this controversial document from subsequent editions of the *Essais* (1598, 1600, 1602, and 1604 published by L'Angelier, as well as the edition of 1611 published by Petit-Pas) and to replace it with a paragraph of apologies. The 1617 edition of Nivelles again contained the 1595 preface, but significantly revised. Likewise, the

Bertault edition published in 1625 contained the long preface with some new stylistic modifications. We also know that Gournay angrily tore her long preface from the copy of the *Essais* which she sent to Justus Lipsius in 1596, for she hardly appreciated the reproaches she received. Among other things, she was accused of having "edited" Montaigne's text and of having used it to increase her own stature. Indeed, it is true that the tone of the 1595 preface is often surprising.

Already concerned about the future journey of the *Essais* in 1595, Gournay anticipated the editorial problems that would arise during the forty years to come. For slowly the form and the presentation of the *Essais* changed. The text, in its material appearance, had to bend to the exigencies of readers, or at least to readers' expectations as they were anticipated by printers wishing to make the book into a successful commercial product. It is above all at the level of the paratext that the ideological evolution of the book manifested itself as the seventeenth century began to unfold. Forty years later, in her preface of 1635, Gournay delivered a damning assessment of the publishers who, for example, added a table of contents to increase sales of the *Essais*. She had been against this initiative since the beginning.

Always opposed to the editorial intrusions of printers and booksellers, Gournay also rebelled against the "life of the author," a brief biographical introduction included for the first time in the 1608 edition of the *Essais* (edited by Nivelles, Petit-Pas, Rigaud, and the widow of Dominique Salis) under the title "Summary discourse on the life of Michel, Seigneur de Montaigne." Also without Gournay's consent, in 1608 marginal notes appeared which offered summaries enabling readers to find their way swiftly through the text's diverse subject matter. These two innovations are mentioned on the title page and in the *privilege* shared by Michel Nivelles, Jean Petit-Pas, Claude Rigaud, the widow Salis, and Charles Sevestre for a period of seven years.

The 1609 edition printed in Leiden by Jean Doreau in one 1031-page volume contains an equally interesting series of innovations. After the table of contents we find a summary of Montaigne's ideas classified according to themes in the style of the time: "The pages of Seigneur de Montaigne. Where are contained the rarest remarks of his book, that is to say, the examples of the

virtues and the vices, the most serious sentences, similarities, and comparisons, with a collection of the ancient laws of people and nations." This catalogue of ideas is followed by a life of the author based on citations taken from the *Essais* "and the life of the Author by principal and precious remarks from his own book, the whole in the form of commonplaces." The reader could thus easily refer to the passages where the author speaks of his childhood, of his education, of his memory, of his affection for the city of Paris, of his style, or of his maladies. Jean Doreau also introduced an index, placed at the opening of the work, which permitted the reader to read the *Essais* according to subjects which range from "The Age at which Alexander the Great made his Conquests" to "How Zeal should be Handled," or "Woman Complaining of the Lack of Prowess of Her Husband" and "Ants Conferring Together"—in all, a copious index of over fifty-eight pages.

The 1617 edition published jointly by Petit-Pas, Rigaud, Gueffier, Nivelles, Sevestre, and the widow Salis introduced another editorial novelty: translation of the Latin citations and a revised version of Gournay's long preface. It is in this edition that Gournay hurled her first invectives at the printers, attacks which we will also find in the 1635 preface. However, she accepted responsibility for the sources of the citations and even declared that she had been aided in the task by messieurs Bergeron, Martinière, Marchard, and Bignon. In her introduction to this edition she reflected for the first time on the difficult work of the translator and claimed to have succumbed to the pressure from the printers.

As for the names of the authors cited, Gournay freely admitted that she went along with the work of identifying the sources of Montaigne's citations, a task which allowed her to exhibit her knowledge of classical letters. She recognized, for example, that there remained not more than "fifty empty passages" which she could not identify. She justifies herself for having identified Montaigne's citations, compelled by "the stupidity of a part of the world, who believe the truth much better under the hoary beard of the old centuries and under a name of ancient and pompous fashion" and by "the interest and begging of the Printers." The printers likewise pressured her to modify the syntax and to change certain words "with no consequence" for the meaning of Montaigne's text, particularly certain "adverbs or particles, which

seemed to them a bit surly for the taste of some conservatives of the century and these clauses [which were changed] without any alteration of the meaning, but only in order to lift from them a certain difficulty or obscurity, which seemed by chance to be born of some old printing error, or at the worst to be created through the ample misunderstanding of foolish typesetters." Gournay kept her distance from the print shop workers that she elsewhere judged harshly several times, reproaching especially the incompetence of proofreaders.

The edition published in Paris in 1625 represented an unprecedented commercial operation. Thirteen booksellers and printers—the widow of Remy Dallin, François Targa, Robert Bertault, Nicolas Besin, Rolet Boutonné, Martin Collet, Eustache Daubin, Charles Hulpeau, Thomas de La Ruelle, Guillaume Loyson, Gilles et Anthoine Robinot, Pierre Rocolet, and Estienne Saucié—worked together to publish this edition. With such a deployment of resources, they achieved a handsome and broadly disseminated volume. One senses a project clearly defined and controlled at every level by the editors. It is therefore not surprising to find at the head of this edition a short text entitled "The Printers to the Reader" which clarifies the commercial enterprise and the editorial choices of the printers and booksellers. The *Essais* had become a collective enterprise. Gournay represents only one hand among many. Her name has even disappeared—the printers mention only a "Demoiselle" without gracing the page with her name. Here we have, unarguably, the work of a team.

This enterprise remained incomplete, for only the first twenty-four chapters received the short marginal summaries describing the text. Apparently the editorial work of this printing of the *Essais* was carried out without rigor. Indeed, a certain commercial precipitousness seems evident in the publication of this work. Here is surely the best example of the sort of edition that Gournay abhorred. It is even conceivable that she did not want her name on its pages and that she was content with composing a short text ("To the Reader") placed at the end of the book where she explains the limits and compromises to her editorial work. There she downplays her work as editor in order to highlight only her role as proofreader and "austere translator." Interestingly enough, this notice "To the Reader," followed by Gournay's translations, is

separately paginated from 1 to 76. Gournay considered her editorial work an appendix to the book and preferred to place her translations either at the end of the chapters (as in the 1635 edition) or simply at the end of the three books (as in the 1625 edition).

Despite her repeated attacks on the printers, Gournay nonetheless gave in to their desire to modernize Montaigne in the style of the mid-seventeenth century. It is in some measure the price she had to pay in order to allow the *Essais* to traverse the centuries. Owing in part to her ambivalence, we find two contradictory editorial strategies: on the one hand, a fierce defense of the original text, a sort of editorial *status quo* aimed at fixing the text as it existed in the edition of 1595; and, on the other hand, an acceptance in spite of herself of the editorial constraints imposed by contemporary printers and booksellers. In the end, Gournay lost control of the text of the *Essais*, but she won in seeing the book of her "father" made accessible to the public of the age. Her position was a compromise; however, she maintained her good conscience by voicing gratuitous denunciations of the printers' methods in her successive prefaces.

Faced with these numerous and generally successful editions, Gournay continued to invoke a work which followed her editorial orientation: what she called "the old and good folio Copy," which is to say, the 1595 edition of L'Angelier. This "Copy" became her "religion." It is precisely this text of 1595 that she tried to recall to the minds of seventeenth-century readers. She declared herself the intellectual proprietor of Montaigne's text: "it has never fallen to anyone after myself, to put their hand to the same intention, moreover no one has brought [to the task] the same reverence or restraint, nor the same vision of the Author, nor the same zeal, nor perhaps such a particular understanding of the Book." Gournay had become much more than a disciple; she was the pope of the religion of the *Essais*.

And God knows that the printers bombarded her with what she considered heretical requests. They imposed upon her not only the translation into French of the Latin passages, but also the task of suppressing the Latin and Greek references themselves. Again she denounced this project, explaining that those who could not read Latin would in any case understand little of the *Essais*. But she added once again: "Nonetheless, in order to serve the purpose of

these same Printers and Booksellers, I set about translating them." Another deviation from the good old folio copy! She admitted to having made some paraphrases, but she fought any perversion or modification of Montaigne's language. In short, she defined herself as a simple laborer who refused to touch the text's form. The *Essais* served as a theoretical field upon which to express all sorts of ideas about the editorial practices of her time, but it is significant to note that these practices were never of her own choice. In this sense, the presentation of the text of the *Essais* was an object of reflection rather than an object of active editorial practice for Gournay. She was often merely reacting to a text which was escaping her more and more with each edition.

The opportunity to reedit the *Essais* in 1635 served to settle a good number of scores with preceding editions. Gournay considered this edition a new milestone permitting her to fix this perpetually fluid text one last time. The *privilege* granted to her on 13 September 1633 for the duration of six years was in her own name. It paid homage to this educated and dedicated woman who never ceased to honor Montaigne's memory. Gournay had claimed a "perpetual *privilege*" that was refused to her. Despite personal connections, she was only granted a *privilege* for six years. During this time she could nonetheless publish the *Essais* where she pleased. Her intention was to "conserve the said work of the Essays, and in the way that it was written by the Author, without changing anything that might corrupt it." She also maintained the last word on the presentation of the text. The *privilege* she obtained in 1633 thus allowed her to avoid the sort of edition published in 1625. The terms of the *privilege* were clear on precisely the point of the intellectual ownership of Montaigne's text: Gournay was to give her personal authorization for all future editions and reserved the right to decide the method to be followed in presenting the text of the *Essais*. This good resolution did not last long: on 28 August 1635, she transferred her *privilege* to the printer Jean Camusat.

And yet, when she transferred this *privilege* to Camusat she had to make concessions once more. But she had at least found a "serious" printer-bookseller who gave her the chance to establish an edition fairly close to the 1595 edition of L'Angelier. Long had Gournay sought another L'Angelier. Since 1627 she had contacted booksellers and printers and proposed her project to them. She

admitted, however, that such a work, owing to its language and its uncommon form, would pose problems for the typesetters and proofreaders in the print shops. Gournay also complained that the printers of the time had the bad habit of not even giving texts to proofreaders, and of employing novices who were unqualified for the work. Here we enter the shop of a printer who, then as now, had the objective of reducing production costs. On this subject Gournay's comments are enlightening: "In effect, just the correction of this printing cost me as dearly as the whole of their printing cost them, and that without counting my own sorrow and my care." With regret, and a forty-year litany of complaints, Gournay could not restrain herself from recommending the famous edition of L'Angelier one last time.

One might say that the 1635 edition represents a last glorious monument to the memory of Montaigne, but it is a baroque monument and certainly one less Montaignian than L'Angelier's 1595 edition. From the simple form of the first essays and the first editions, slowly but surely the editions became much more intricately packaged. Likewise, just for the 1635 edition, we find a portrait of the author with the famous scale and the device, "What do I know?"; an epistle to Cardinal Richelieu; Gournay's long-reworked preface; the notice from "the author to the reader"; a life of the author "extracted from his own Writings"; a table of contents; the essays of Montaigne (with the translations of the Latin citations appearing at the end of each chapter with marginal references in the text); the royal *privilege*; and, finally, a "Table of Proper Names and the Principal Subjects Contained in the Book."

The publication of such a costly edition was made possible thanks to the sponsorship of "France's Greats," particularly Cardinal Richelieu. The epistle to Richelieu informs us that this "new edition, corrected exactly according to the true model" represents a last homage and true farewell to the *Essais*. Gournay shows herself in a new light: more conciliatory toward her detractors, she tries to regild her tarnished name. Thus her 1635 preface is less "aggressive" and more poised than that of 1595. She does not seek to "complain of the cold collection that men have made of the *Essais*," but she endeavors instead to "seek the causes of the cold reception that the uneducated men gave the *Essais*."

One of the functions of this preface is to defend Montaigne

against his adversaries. In a well-thought-out fashion, Gournay takes up the grievances against the *Essais* point by point. The authority of this new edition with the greatest names of the kingdom supporting it allowed her to settle these scores and to establish a certain critical distance from the text for which she had such an unusual affection. Gournay asks that we believe her; her understanding of Montaigne and the *Essais* give her the following prerogative: "I dare to say that the unusual familiarity that I have with this work merits that even posterity will be obliged to me for my care, and proud of it."

The voyage of the *Essais* from 1592 to the last edition reviewed by Gournay in 1635 is a fascinating one. Printers and booksellers—always responding to readers' tastes—presented a text that still passed before the moral and critical judgment of Gournay. During her lifetime the *Essais* were the object of a constant tension revealing sociological and ideological expectations. In fact, this tension is evident with each edition: in the choice between the preservation of the original text in its primary form and changes to accommodate public taste. Despite Gournay's admirable editorial intentions from 1595 to 1635, printers and booksellers always knew how to profit from the *Essais*, usually by circumventing the editorial wishes of the "foster daughter." The tension between the need to freeze the text in the 1595 version out of respect for the will of its "father" and the desire to make the *Essais* known to the rest of the world marks each successive edition of the *Essais* between 1595 and 1635. Pulled from these two extremes, Montaigne's *Essais* were the stakes in ideologies mobilized by a text that itself only existed through the materiality of the book.

The history of the *Essais* after Marie de Gournay's era remains exceedingly complex. For over fifty years (from 1669 to 1724), Montaigne's text was not published. This period of disregard came to an end with Pierre Coste's edition which appeared in 1724 and was revised four times (1725, 1727, 1739, and 1745). This edition greatly contributed to the dissemination of Montaigne's thought during the French Enlightenment. In the nineteenth century two editions are of particular interest: Jacques-André Naigeon's edition, published in 1802 and the first to be primarily based on the "Bordeaux copy"; and Joseph-Victor Le Clerc's edition, also referred to as the "Vulgate of the *Essais*," which dominated the

century with more than forty reprints. The "Edition Municipale," established by Fortunat Strowski and François Gêbelin at the beginning of the twentieth century, constitutes a turning point in the history of the publication of the *Essais*. The "Bordeaux copy," as opposed to Marie de Gournay's 1595 edition, was now considered the only reliable source of the *Essais*. This choice prevailed in all the main editions of our century. Two other editions represented major events: Dr. Arthur Armaingaud's twelve-volume edition of Montaigne's *Complete Works*, which listed all the textual variants of the *Essais*; and Pierre Villey's edition for the *Essais*, which used the letters A, B, and C as indicators to mark the successive stages of the composition of the work (1572–1580, 1580–1588, 1588–1592).

Although Montaigne is often described as the author of a single book, he produced two other literary works: the translation of Raymond Sebond's *Theologia naturalis*, which he undertook at the request of his father, and the *Travel Notebook* of his tour through Europe. The revised edition of the *Théologie naturelle*, issued in 1581, and the original edition of the *Journal du Voyage de Michel de Montaigne en Italie, par la Suisse & l'Allemagne en 1580 & 1581*, printed in 1774 shortly after the discovery of Montaigne's manuscript, are both included in this exhibition.

Montaigne's *Essais* were very quickly translated into English and Italian. In England, the first translation by John Florio appeared in 1603, and Charles Cotton published his own in 1685–1686. The first complete Italian translation of the *Essais* by Girolamo Canini was printed in 1633 and 1634. Christoph Bode's German translation was published from 1793–1799; Constantino Román Salameró's Spanish translation appeared in 1898; and in Japan, the first complete translation of the *Essais* by Hideo Sekine was issued in 1935. These translations each contributed to a wider diffusion of Montaigne's thought both in the Occident and the Orient.

Each era chose to present the text according to its unique aesthetic and ideological values. The rich collection of Montaigne's *Essais* at the University of Chicago testifies to the variety of editorial choices born of Montaigne's reception across the centuries. Instead of presenting the text that we believe was fixed at the author's death, this exhibition aims to remind us that a text is subjected to

reinterpretation in each of its various editions. In an age when one can find Montaigne on CD-ROM, it is revealing to look into the editorial history of the *Essais* and to consider the ways in which the material format of the text and its physical presentation determine our reading.

Catalogue of the Exhibition

Bibliographic entries for imprints through the eighteenth century reproduce punctuation and capitalization exactly as they appear on the title page.

1

Michel de Montaigne (1533–1592). *Essais de messire Michel seigneur de Montaigne, Chevalier de l'Ordre du Roy, & Gentil-homme ordinaire de sa Chambre. Livre premier & second.* A Bourdeaux. Par S. Millanges Imprimeur ordinaire du Roy, 1580, avec Privilege du Roy. Bound by Chambolle-Duru. From the libraries of Henri Bordes, Robert Hoe, John B. Stetson, and Mortimer L. Schiff. Bequest of Lillian A. Wells.

The *Essais* were first published in Bordeaux by Simon Millanges in 1580, with a *privilege* lasting eight years. This printing establishment, located in the capital of Guyenne since 1572, exercised a near monopoly in the region. Prior to Montaigne's *Essais*, Millanges had already printed about fifty books. Among these texts were works by the humanist Elie Vinet (1509–1587) and the poets Pierre de Brach (1548?–1605?) and Guillaume de Salluste du Bartas (1544–1590). Thus, for the first publication of his *Essais*, Montaigne discerningly chose a reputable and well-established printer.

The essayist also devoted special attention to the paratext¹ of his work and, more specifically, to the title pages and the preface to the reader. The title pages of Books I and II were certainly the matter of a negotiation between Montaigne and Millanges.² Several versions of each title page exist. On the title page of Book I, Millanges's device was ultimately replaced by a smaller *fleuron*. This change was probably accomplished in order to allow

1. In his book *Seuils* (Paris: Seuil, 1987), the literary critic Gérard Genette designates "paratext" as all the elements which surround the text and transform it into a book: the author's name, the title, the preface, the postface, the index, the *privilege*, etc.

2. In 1580, the *Essais* were divided in two sections: Book I, composed of fifty-seven chapters, and Book II, composed of thirty-seven chapters. In 1588, a third book was added.

ESSAYS
 DE MESSIRE
 MICHEL SEIGNEVR
 DE MONTAIGNE,
 CHEVALIER DE L'ORDRE
*du Roy, & Gentil-homme ordi-
 naire de sa Chambre.*
 LIVRE PREMIER
 & second.



A BOVRDEAVS.
 Par S. Millanges Imprimeur ordinaire du Roy.
 M. D. LXXX.
 AVEC PRIVILEGE DV ROT.

ESSAYS
DE MESSIRE
MICHEL SEIGNEVR DE
MONTAIGNE, CHEVALIER
de l'ordre du Roy, & Gentil-homme
ordinaire de sa Chambre.
LIVRE SECOND



A BOVRDE AVS.

Par S. Millanges Imprimeur ordinaire du Roy.

M. D. LXXX.

AVEC PRIVILEGE DV ROY.

Montaigne's titles of nobility to appear. For the second Book, however, Millanges was able both to keep his famous device and to add Montaigne's distinctions. By the information they provide and by their layout, these title pages demonstrate Montaigne's attempt to define his literary intentions. Instead of revealing the meaning of his innovative book title by a subtitle, for example, Montaigne prefers to put the emphasis on the author's status. While the title "Essais" appears in italicized characters of a medium size, the bulk of the information given by the title pages concerns the writer's social distinctions, the first four lines of which are printed in large roman characters. This shifting focus from the book to the author signifies Montaigne's resolution to devote his book to the "painting of the self." Montaigne frames his "public portrait" by two lines which focus exclusively on the book itself—"Essais" and "livre premier et second" (first and second book). The layout traces a circular movement from the book to the author back to the book and reflects Montaigne's ambition to be totally contained within his text. The essayist wishes his book to embrace the self in such a way that the two merge completely together.

However, the foreword to the reader immediately following the title page of Book I signals a rupture between Montaigne's public and private face. At the threshold of the book, the public sphere gives way to the definition of a private space: "This book was written in good faith, reader. It warns you from the outset that in it I have set myself no goal but a domestic and private one" ("To the Reader," p. 2).³ Montaigne reveals both the public for which he writes ("my relatives and friends") and the content of the book ("I am myself the matter of my book"). The reader, whose curiosity is doubtless aroused by Montaigne's flaunted indifference ("you would be unreasonable to spend your leisure on so frivolous and vain a subject"), is in this way encouraged to confront a new literary genre, the essay.

* * *

3. Michel de Montaigne, *The Complete Works of Montaigne*, trans. Donald M. Frame (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1965). References to this text will hereafter be noted in parentheses by book, chapter and page number.

2

Michel de Montaigne (1533–1592). *Essais de messire Michel, Seigneur de Montaigne, Chevalier de l'Ordre du Roy, & Gentil-homme ordinaire de sa Chambre, Maire & Gouverneur de Bourdeaux. Edition seconde, reveuë & augmentée.* A Bourdeaux. Par S. Millanges Imprimeur ordinaire du Roy, 1582, avec Privilege du Roy. Bound by Chambolle-Duru. From the Library of Voltaire, with his signature. From the libraries of Henri Bordes, Robert Hoe, and Cortland F. Bishop. Bequest of Lillian A. Wells.

Between the publication of the first two editions of the *Essais*, two major events occurred in Montaigne's life. The author embarked on an extensive tour of Europe, and he was appointed to a political office. From June 1580 to November 1581, Montaigne traveled through France, Switzerland, southern Germany, and Italy, visiting health spas in order to cure his kidney ailments. During this trip, on 1 August 1581, he was elected mayor of Bordeaux by the city officials for a renewable two-year term of office.

These two events had an effect on the 1582 edition of the *Essais*. First, the title page mentions Montaigne's latest distinction ("Maire & Gouverneur de Bordeaux") after listing his titles of nobility. It also announces that this second edition has been "reveuë et augmentée" (revised and augmented) by the author. With this small and common notice, the printer refers to Montaigne's first "touch ups" to the *Essais*. These changes, which consist of sixteen new quotations and about fifty additions, were heavily influenced by Montaigne's travels in Europe, especially in Italy.

The 1582 edition contains two supplementary quotations by Dante (1265–1321), two by Petrarch (1304–1374), and four by Torquato Tasso (1544–1595). Montaigne probably extracted Dante's and Petrarch's citations from two books he acquired during his trip, *La Civil Conversatione* by Stephano Guazzo (1530–1593) and the *Ercolano* by Benedetto Varchi (1503–1565). Montaigne's acquaintance with the third poet, Tasso, evidently resulted from an encounter he had with him in Ferrara, as he recounts in his "Apology for Raymond Sebond." The spectacle of the Italian poet's insanity reinforced Montaigne's conviction of the fragility of

ESSAYS
 DE MESSIRE
 MICHEL, SEIGNEUR
 DE MONTAIGNE,
 CHEVALIER DE L'ORDRE
 du Roy, & Gentil-homme or-
 dinaire de sa Chambre,
 Maire & Gouverneur
 de Bourdeaux.

*

ÉDITION SECONDE,
recuë & augmentée.



A BOVRDEAVS.

Par S. Millanges Imprimeur ordinaire du Roy.

M. D. LXXXII.

Avec Privilege du Roy.

Extraict du priuilege du Roy.

PAr priuilege du Roy , donné a Paris le 9.
iour de May. 1579. il est permisa S. Millā-
ges Imprimeur ordinaire du Roy, d'imprimer
tous liures nouueaux: pourueu qu'ilz soient ap-
proués par M. l'Archeuesque de Bourdeaus,
ou son Vicaire, & vn ou deux Docteurs en Theo-
logie: avec defences tres-expresses a tous autres
de quelque qualité , qu'ils soient de les imprimer,
vêdre, ne debiter de huiët ans apres la première
impression , sans le consentement dudit
Millanges, comme plus amplement est contenu
par les lettres dudiët priuilege signé

DE PVIBERAL.

human reason. Tasso's tragic journey, which began with the "careful and laborious pursuit of the sciences" (II: 12, p. 363) and ended in madness, illustrated to the essayist the danger of inquiring into matters which defy human comprehension.

For his fifty main additions, Montaigne also drew upon the experiences he had during his tour. Some passages were directly inspired by observations he made while traveling through France, Switzerland, Germany, and Italy, comparing the religious practices and the customs of these countries. The 1582 additions reveal that this travel allowed Montaigne both to reaffirm his Catholicism and to articulate more explicitly the purpose of his *Essais*. During his trip, the essayist became acquainted with the primary Protestant movements in Switzerland and Germany. In Rome, he was given the opportunity to greet the Pope. While he was at the Vatican he also submitted his book to the Roman censors for approval. The conclusion to be drawn from these various events is Montaigne's reinforced commitment to the Catholic faith.

Nevertheless, at the same time Montaigne clearly expresses that this fidelity to the Roman Catholic Church should not hinder his freedom to seek truth. He makes this clear in a 1582 addition which opens the essay "Of prayers"—a very controversial topic during this time of devastating religious wars. Montaigne writes:

I put forward formless and unresolved notions, as do those who publish doubtful questions to debate in the schools, not to establish the truth but to seek it. And I submit them to the judgment of those whose concern it is to regulate not only my actions and my writings, but even my thoughts. Equally acceptable and useful to me will be condemnation or approval; and therefore, always submitting to the authority of their censure, which has absolute power over me, I meddle rashly with every sort of subject, as I do here. [II: 56, p. 229]

Beyond the recurring rhetoric of respect and submission, Montaigne's desire to preserve the free exercise of his judgment betrays itself. Montaigne finds this independence essential in order to keep "essaying himself," in other words, to continue further discovering the self by freely inquiring into various matters.

3

Michel de Montaigne (1533–1592). *Essais de messire Michel, seigneur de Montaigne, Chevalier de l'ordre du Roy, & Gentil-homme ordinaire de sa Chambre, Maire & Gouverneur de Bourdeaux. Reveus & augmentez*. A Paris. Chez Jean Richer, ruë saint Jean de Latran, à l'Arbre Verdoyant, 1587. From the Library of Sir William Molesworth. Gift of Julius Rosenwald.

How were the first two books of the *Essais* received? Several testimonies from Montaigne's contemporaries suggest that the public—or at least the restricted circle of men of letters—responded favorably to the work. Beyond this intellectual elite, Montaigne's readers seem to have been a little disconcerted by the peculiarity of the *Essais*. For the most part, however, the literary establishment supported Montaigne's work. For example, in 1583 Justus Lipsius (1547–1606), one of the most celebrated European scholars of the sixteenth century, conferred on Montaigne the title of "Thales Gallicanus" (French Thales) during a public lecture at the University of Leiden. One year later, François Grudé de La Croix du Maine (1552–1592) wrote a laudatory article on the essayist in his *Bibliothèque françoise*. The bibliographer admired Montaigne for both his "vast culture" ("grande doctrine") and the "sharpness of his judgment" ("jugement esmerveillable").⁴ Likewise, recognized authors of the time rapidly accepted Montaigne as one of their own. Among others, Guillaume Bouchet (1513–1593) in his *Sérées* (first part published in 1584) and Tabourot des Accords (1549–1590) in his *Bigarures* (1586) often refer to or quote the *Essais*. Montaigne himself seems to have been pleasantly surprised by the reception of his book. In a 1588 addition, he reveals that "the favor of the public had given [him] a little more boldness than [he] had expected" (III: 9, p. 736). Finally, the successive editions of the *Essais* by Millanges in 1582 and by the Parisian publisher Jean Richer in 1587 also indicate that the Books I and II were well appreciated by the literary world.

Little is known about the circumstances surrounding this

4. François Grudé, sieur de La Croix du Maine, *Les Bibliothèques françoises de La Croix du Maine et de du Verdier*, 2 vols., ed. M. Rigoley de Juvigny (Paris: Saillant, Nyon and Michel Lambert, 1772), 2: 130.

ESSAIS DE
MESSIRE
 MICHEL, SEIGNEVR
 DE MONTAIGNE,
 CHEVALIER DE L'OR-
 dre du Roy, & Gentil-hom-
 me ordinaire de sa Cham-
 bre, Maire & Gouver-
 neur de Bour-
 deaus.

Reueu & augmenté.



A PARIS,
 Chez JEAN RICHER, rue saint
 Iean de Latran, à l'Arbre Verdoyant.

M. D. LXXXVII.

first Parisian edition of the *Essais*. Two hypotheses are generally put forward. It is possible that Millanges ceded his *privilege*, which did not expire before March 1588, to Richer. However, it is more generally believed among Montaigne scholars that Richer illegally published the *Essais*, a practice current at this time. This conclusion is based on several assumptions. First, if Millanges and Richer had come to an agreement, a written proof of it would be expected. None of the copies which remain of this edition include a *privilege*. Second, the title page of the Richer edition still mentions the distinction "Maire & Gouverneur de Bourdeaux" while Montaigne's second office term had expired 1 August 1585. This detail would probably have been corrected by the essayist if he had participated in the preparation of this edition. Finally, it would have been peculiar on Montaigne's part to undertake in 1587 a second edition of his 1582 text, since the composition of a completely new edition, to be published in 1588, was almost at its end.

The 1587 edition is a resetting of the 1582 text. Some variations can be found in the use of accents, the punctuation, and the spelling. Richer corrected most of the misprints of the previous publications. His edition is therefore considered particularly reliable.

* * *

4

Michel de Montaigne (1533–1592). *Essais de Michel seigneur de Montaigne. Cinquiesme edition, augmentée d'un troisieme livre et de six cens additions aux deux premiers*. A Paris. Chez Abel l'Angelier, au premier pillier de la grand Salle du Palais, 1588, avec Privilege du Roy. Bound by Trautz-Bauzonnet. From the libraries of Robert Hoe and Cortland F. Bishop. Bequest of Lillian A. Wells.

The 1588 edition of the *Essais* was published by Abel L'Angelier, a Parisian printer and among the best in France. The essayist was now recognized as one of the most important authors of his time, which he proudly underlines in one of his late

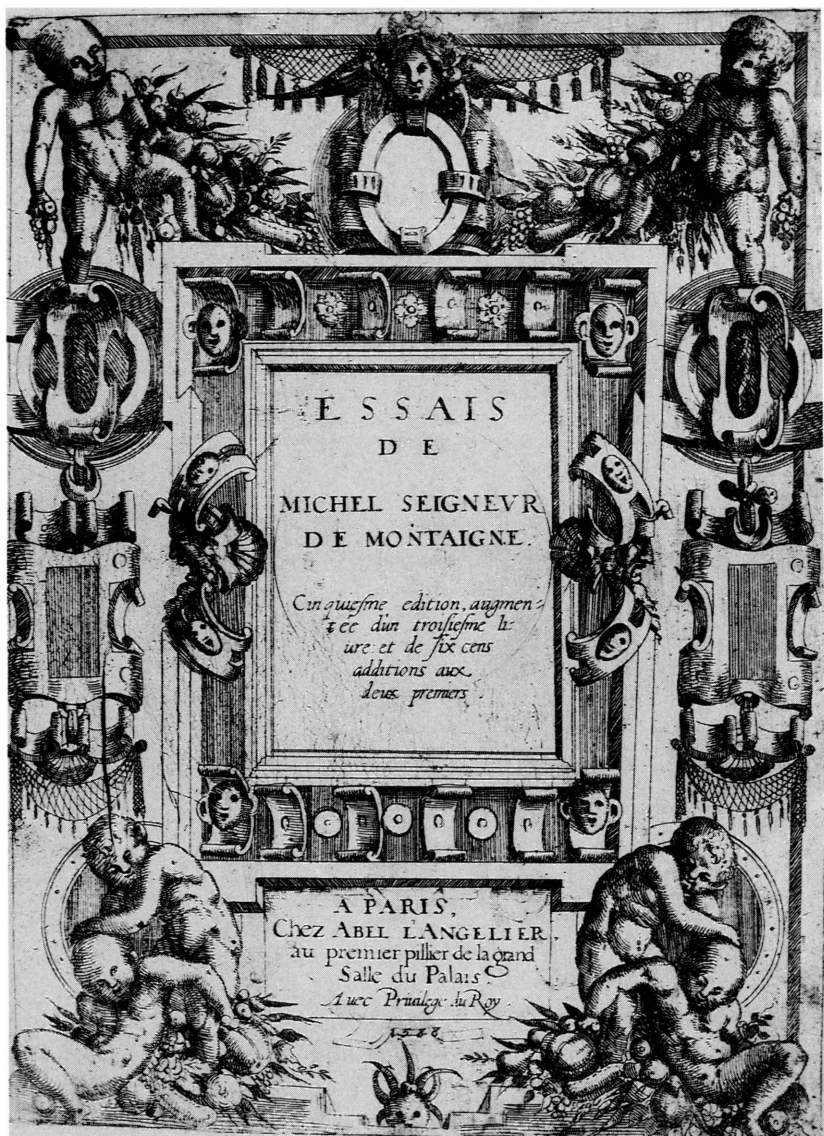
additions: "I buy printers in Guienne, elsewhere they buy me" (III: 2, p. 614).

This new edition opens with an imposing engraved title page. The etching reproduced by L'Angelier, often referred to as the etching with "bold children," is characteristic of the first style of the Fontainebleau School. Its design was inspired by the motifs of the Pavillon Pomone at Fontainebleau. The symmetrical composition produces an effect of harmonious grandeur. The profusion and variety of adornments (fruits, garlands, masks, statuettes in their niches, and *putti*) contrast with the sobriety of the central frame. In this delineated space, the title of the work, the author's name with the designation "seigneur," and a description of the work stand out against the rest of the page. The majesty of the composition, however, is lessened by the sketchy nature of the etching itself. The anonymous artist's engraving lacks polish. This combination of majesty and roughness in the title page fits adequately with Montaigne's aesthetic conceptions. While Montaigne was perfectly conscious of the literary value of his work, he nevertheless always refused to consider himself a writer or a master of rhetoric. On the contrary, he wanted to develop a more personal and natural writing style that could express the complexity and variations of the self.

The title page of the 1588 edition announces the work as the fifth edition of the *Essais*. Today, only three editions published before this one remain. A clue to the enigma concerning the "missing" edition can be found in La Croix du Maine's *Bibliothèque françoise* (1584). In his article on Montaigne, the bibliographer enumerates the successive editions of the *Essais* and mentions editions printed in "Rouen and elsewhere." If La Croix du Maine's statement is correct, then the Richer edition would be the fourth edition of the *Essais*, a third one having been published between 1582 and 1584. However, since no copy of a Rouen edition previous to 1584 has ever been found, this explanation can be no more than a hypothesis.

For the 1588 edition, Montaigne undertook a considerable revision of his work: Books I and II were augmented by more than six hundred additions, and Book III was added. Altogether, the *Essais* of 1588 were nearly twice the length of those of 1580.

Book III and the 1588 edition as a whole constitute a crucial step in the evolution of the *Essais*. For the first time, Montaigne



4. Montaigne, *Essais*, 1588.

Extrait du privilege du Roy.

PA r grace & privilege du Roy, il est permis à Abel l'Angelier, Libraire luré en l'Vniuersité de Paris, d'imprimer ou faire Imprimer, les *Essais du Seigneur de Montaigne*, reueus & amplifiez, en plus de cinq cens passages, avec l'augmentation d'un troisieme liure, & sont faictes tres-expresses deffences à tous Imprimeurs & Libraires, d'Imprimer ledit liure, iusques au temps & terme de neuf ans, sur peine de confiscation des liures qui se trouueront Imprimez, & d'amende arbitraire, comme plus à plein est declaré és lettres données à Paris le quatriesme iour de Iuin mil cinq cens quatre vingts & huit.

Signé, Par le Conseil

DV D VII.

overtly puts the emphasis of his book on the "painting of the self." He accumulates intimate details concerning various aspects of his life and writes about his marriage, his disease, his meals, his sexual experiences. One might judge these details trivial and frivolous but, for Montaigne, they contribute to a more complete revelation of the author's self. The thirteen new essays also distinguish themselves from the first two books by the very chaotic progression of their argument. Each essay covers a wide variety of themes and often ends without resolving the question raised. Montaigne is in fact more interested in transcribing the wanderings of his mind than in producing a definitive statement. His desire is to submit his writing strictly to the flow of his thoughts: "It is a thorny undertaking, and more so than it seems, to follow a movement so wandering as that of our mind, to penetrate the opaque depths of its innermost folds, to pick out and immobilize the innumerable flutterings that agitate it" (II: 6, p. 273). The essayist wants his writings to convey as closely as possible the spontaneous associations of ideas which occur in his mind, the stream of his consciousness. Consequently, most of the essays of this third book lose their unity in the accumulation of numerous digressions. By choosing to write in such a way, Montaigne considered that his "painting" gained authenticity.

The evolution of the genre reveals that the 1588 edition, the last one published during Montaigne's lifetime, was a turning point in the author's literary and philosophical development. The text of 1588 is therefore often considered the core, or, as Montaigne would say, the *skeleton*, of the *Essais*.

* * *

5

Michel de Montaigne (1533–1592). *Essais. Reproduction en fac-similé de l'exemplaire de Bordeaux, 1588, annoté de la main de Montaigne*. Edition établie et présentée avec une introduction par René Bernoulli. Genève-Paris: Editions Slatkine, 1987. On loan from Professor Philippe Desan.

Between 1588 and his death in 1592, Montaigne kept

modifying his text. He may have done so on several copies of the 1588 edition that he had at his disposal but only one of them has been located so far. This copy is known as the "Bordeaux copy" or "Exemplaire de Bordeaux." Sometime after Montaigne's death, this copy was given to the convent of the Feuillants in Bordeaux and quickly forgotten. It was rediscovered in the eighteenth century by local scholars. During the French Revolution, the order of the Feuillants was dissolved, and, as a consequence, Montaigne's personal copy was transferred to the library of Bordeaux where it has been kept ever since.

The title page of the "Bordeaux copy" reveals that the essayist was revising his *Essais* with an eye toward a possible sixth edition. In the central frame of the page, he crossed out the phrase "Fifth edition, augmented by a third book and by six hundred additions to the first two books" and replaced it with the statement "Sixth edition, Viresque acquirit eundo" ("it gathers force as it proceeds"). Montaigne's revisions enlarged the text by a third in comparison with the 1588 edition. These revisions are of two kinds. On the one hand, Montaigne meticulously corrected the punctuation and the misprints of the previous edition. He attached great importance to the punctuation and to the capitalization and tended to reduce the length of his sentences as much as possible. By doing so, Montaigne aimed to bring his writing style closer to the spoken language as he stated in the essay, "Of the education of children": "The speech I love is a simple, natural speech, the same on paper as in the mouth; a speech succulent and sinewy, brief and compressed, not so much dainty and well-combed as vehement and brusque" (I: 26, p. 127). On the other hand, Montaigne kept adding to his book. The margins of the Bordeaux copy are covered with new text. This process of constant revision of the *Essais* allowed the book to evolve along with the self of the writer. Montaigne affirms: "In this case we go hand in hand at the same pace, my book and I" (III: 2, pp. 611-12). The principle of "consubstantiality" between the book and its author was thus maintained by Montaigne until his death. The Bordeaux copy is one of the rare manuscript texts from the Renaissance which has been preserved. It gives us fascinating insight into the essayist's interaction with his book.

6

Michel de Montaigne (1533–1592). *Les Essais de Michel seigneur de Montaigne. Edition nouvelle, trouvee apres le deceds de l'Autheur, reveuë & augmentée par luy d'un tiers plus qu'aux precedentes Impressions.* A Paris. Chez Abel l'Angelier, au premier pilier de la grande salle du Palais, 1595, avec Privilege. Bound by Cuzin. From the libraries of Robert Hoe and Cortland F. Bishop. Bequest of Lillian A. Wells.

When Michel de Montaigne died on 13 September 1592, at the age of 59, he left behind an unfinished revision of his *Essais* for a projected sixth edition. This edition, which was not published until 1595, resulted from a complex process involving three main figures: Madame de Montaigne, Pierre de Brach (1548?–1605?) and Marie Le Jars de Gournay (1566–1645). Brach was a respected poet in the Bordeaux region and a close friend of Montaigne. Gournay discovered Montaigne's work when she was around twenty years old. The *Essais* strongly impressed the self-taught young woman who eagerly desired to meet their author. Their first encounter occurred in 1588 in Paris while Montaigne was overseeing the printing of his new edition of the *Essais* at L'Angelier. A friendship grew from this first meeting, and Montaigne went several times to Gournay's estate in Picardy between July and November 1588.

Under the influence of her mentor, Gournay developed her literary interests and wrote her first work, *Le Proumenoir de M. de Montaigne*, published after Montaigne's death. This short novel was inspired by a conversation she had with Montaigne on Plutarch's *Accidents of Love* during the essayist's visit at Gournay in November 1588. This visit constituted the last moments Montaigne and his "fille d'alliance" (foster daughter)—as she described herself in her correspondence—spent together. After Montaigne's death, Gournay remained faithful to her literary mentor and played a key role in the success of the *Essais* during the first half of the seventeenth century. Beginning with the 1595 edition, she prepared eleven different editions of the work over a period of forty years.

In the library of the estate, Madame de Montaigne likely

LES
ESSAIS
DE MICHEL SEI-
GNEVR DE MONTAIGNE.

EDITION NOUVVELLE, TROVVEE APRES
*le deceds de l'Auteur, reueüe & augmentée par luy d'un
tiers plus qu'aux precedentes Impressions.*



A PARIS,
Chez ABEL L'ANGELIER, au premier pilier
de la grande falle du Palais.

CIO. IO. XCV.

AVEC PRIVILEGE.

Extrait du Priuilege du Roy.

PAR grace & Priuilege du Roy, il est permis à Abel l'Angelier, Marchant Libraire luré en l'Vniuersité de Paris, d'imprimer ou faire imprimer, vendre & debiter ce present liure, intitulé *Les Essais de Michel Seigneur de Montagne*, reueuz & augmentez de plus du tiers par le mesme Auteheur. Et sont faictes tref-expresses inhibitions & deffenses à tous autres Libraires & Imprimeurs, d'imprimer, ou faire imprimer, vendre ou debiter ledit liure, sans le consentement dudit l'Angelier: Et ce iusques au temps & terme de dix ans entiers & consecutifs: à peine de confiscation de tous lesdits liures qui s'en trouueront imprimez, & d'amende arbitraire. Et outre voulons qu'en mettant au commencement ou à la fin dudit liure ce present extrait, il soit tenu pour deument signifié, comme plus amplement est declaré & contenu ausdites lettres de Priuilege, données à Paris, le quinziésme iour d'Octobre, mil cinq cens quatre vingts & quatorze. Ainsi signé,

Par le Conseil.

RAMBOUILLET.

found a copy of the 1588 edition on which the essayist had written out all the changes he wanted to introduce into his text. This copy, which has not been located, must have differed from the famous "Bordeaux copy" and probably represented a more advanced working version of the *Essais*. With Brach's help, Madame de Montaigne recopied her husband's notes and sent them to Gournay for publication. Thus, for this edition, Gournay did not work from the original copy of the *Essais* with Montaigne's handwritten annotations. In order to establish the text of the 1595 edition she had to rely on Madame de Montaigne's and Brach's preparatory work. It took her nine months (from March 1594 until the end of the year) to complete this difficult task. Early in 1595, Abel L'Angelier was able to publish an augmented edition of the *Essais*.

For this new edition Gournay wrote an eighteen-page preface in which she defended the *Essais*. She scolded her contemporaries for having given a "froid recueil" (a cold reception) to Montaigne's third book which appeared in the 1588 edition for the first time. Gournay meticulously and convincingly responded to the negative criticism that had greeted the *Essais*. She justified Montaigne's use of latinisms, neologisms, and regionalisms by reminding her reader that the author always sought the expressive means best suited to his most personal thoughts. If some readers were shocked by the author's frankness in writing about women and sexuality, it was, Gournay maintained, because they had failed to consider that these passages contributed to the authenticity of the self-portrait. Against the allegation of "obscurity" which was often put forward by Montaigne's critics, Gournay simply replied that the *Essais* were intended for a "suffisant lecteur," one who was familiar with the complexity of philosophy. When she responded to the accusation that Montaigne did not pay enough attention to religious matters, Montaigne's "foster daughter" reacted violently and strongly reaffirmed the author's faithfulness to the Roman Catholic Church.

The first main critique of the *Essais* concerns the very purpose of the self-portrait. Gournay denied that Montaigne's motivation was essentially narcissistic. If Montaigne undertook to paint himself and to include so many intimate details it was in order for the reader better to identify himself with the author and thereby to acquire a more complete knowledge of himself. Gournay ended her preface by emphasizing the care with which she had established the

text of this new edition.

Aside from Montaigne's additions, the 1595 edition contained a major change. Essay I: 14 was moved to become I: 40, and the numbers of the intervening essays were consequently reduced by one. It is not clear if this modification resulted from Montaigne's wish or from an error by the printer. Montaigne's "To the Reader," which did not appear in the first copies of this edition because it had been lost, was added by Gournay later in the printing run. However, the text of this foreword was inaccurate since it mixed two versions (from the 1588 edition and the missing transcription Gournay used).

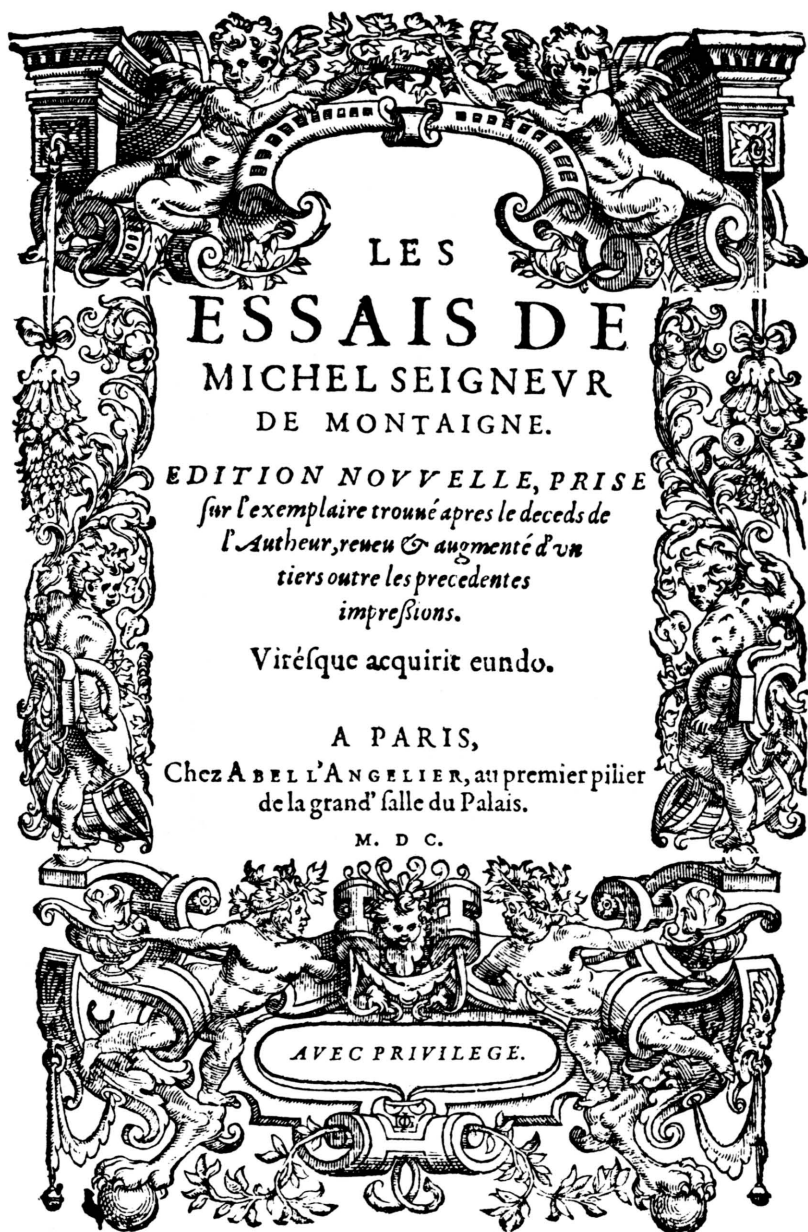
For the next three centuries the 1595 edition was considered the definitive text for the *Essais*. At the beginning of the twentieth century, however, Gournay's editorial work was judged unreliable. This allegation was based on the numerous discrepancies which existed between the 1595 edition and the Bordeaux copy. From then on all the main editions of the *Essais* were based on Montaigne's extant "Bordeaux copy" with his manuscript annotations.

* * *

7

Michel de Montaigne (1533–1592). *Les Essais de Michel seigneur de Montaigne. Edition nouvelle, prise sur l'exemplaire trouvé apres le deceds de l'Autheur, reveu & augmenté d'un tiers outre les precedentes impressions.* Virésque acquirit eundo. A Paris. Chez Abel l'Angelier, au premier pilier de la grand' salle du Palais, 1600, avec Privilege. On loan from Professor Philippe Desan.

Shortly after the 1595 publication of the *Essais*, Marie de Gournay was invited by Madame de Montaigne to come and spend some time at her estate. For several months, Gournay was able to consult Montaigne's original working version of the *Essais*. She noticed that in several cases, Madame de Montaigne's and Pierre de Brach's transcription did not follow Montaigne's text exactly. She



corrected these discrepancies on several copies of the 1595 edition that she had brought with her. These copies were forwarded to Justus Lipsius (1547–1606) and the “most renowned printers in Europe” (Letter to Justus Lipsius, 15 November 1595) for possible reprinting of the *Essais* abroad. One of the copies with Gournay’s handwritten corrections was found at the Plantin printing house and is referred to as the “Antwerp copy.”

The next edition which integrated Gournay’s corrections was published in 1598. On its title page, a notice specified for the first time that the text had been based on the actual copy found after the author’s death: “édition nouvelle, prise sur l’exemplaire trouvé après le deceds de l’Auteur.” Montaigne’s epigram for the book, *Viresque acquirit eundo*, was also added. The most striking change in this edition results, however, from Gournay’s reversal. She decided to remove her passionate 1595 preface and to replace it by a brief foreword to the reader in which she severely criticized her previous stance. This short preface has often been described as an “excuse,” or statement of apology. In addition to her defense of the *Essais*, Gournay’s initial preface contained several digressions presenting her views on the equality between man and woman. This association of a protofeminist discourse with the apology for the *Essays* was interpreted by some readers of the time as an attempt by Gournay to distort Montaigne’s work. No accusation could more deeply affect Gournay who repeatedly proclaimed her faithfulness to her “foster father” in editing and publishing his text. Later on, she considered her long preface inappropriate and decided to remove it.

Gournay based most of her editions of the *Essais* on the 1598 text. Such is the case with the 1600 edition, which was also published by Abel L’Angelier.

* * *

8

Michel de Montaigne (1533–1592). *Les Essais de Michel seigneur de Montaigne. Edition nouvelle, prise sur l’exemplaire trouvé après le deceds de l’Auteur. Reveu & augmenté d’un tiers outre les precedentes*

impressions. Viresque acquirit eundo. A Leyden. Par Jean Doreau, 1609. Gift of Bernard Weinberg.

Between 1600 and 1609, the *Essais* were reprinted five times by three different publishers: Abel L'Angelier, Jean Doreau, and an association of five Parisian booksellers (Michel Nivelles, Jean Petit-Pas, Claude Rigaud, the widow of Dominique Salis, and Charles Sevestre). These various editions reproduced either the 1598 or the 1600 text. In each case, there is a noticeable expansion of the paratext. In L'Angelier's 1602 edition, three different indexes appeared for the first time listing, respectively, the topics and the proper names in the *Essais*, as well as all the passages in the work in which the author explicitly referred to a specific event or period of his life. The edition by the five Parisian booksellers, which was published in 1608, included new biographical information such as a discourse on Montaigne's life composed from his *Essais* and a reproduction of the author's portrait by Thomas de Leu. It also added marginal annotations which summarized the main ideas of each essay.

Jean Doreau's 1609 edition, which was probably a pirated one, incorporated some of these new paratextual elements. It included Marie de Gournay's 1598 preface, Montaigne's foreword "To the reader," a table of contents for each book, and also the subject and biographical indexes. This subject index had a double function. It allowed the reader of the *Essais* to find his or her favorite passages more easily. It also listed some of Montaigne's most famous maxims. The reader wishing to recall one of them could do so simply by referring to this list. The addition of these indexes to the *Essais* may have been linked with the success of the work within the *salons* at that time. Montaigne's pithy thoughts could easily be used in conversation, and, during the seventeenth century, the *Essais* quickly became one of the essential books of the *salon* culture.

9

Michel de Montaigne (1533–1592). *Les Essais de Michel seigneur de Montaigne. Edition nouvelle. Corrige'e & augmentee d'un tiers outre les premieres Impressions: Plus la vie de l'Auth eur, Extraicte de ses propres escrits.* Viresque acquirit eundo. A Paris. Chez François Argat au Palais, en la grande gallerie des Prisonniers, 1625, avec Privilege du Roy. Rare Books Collection.

During the first third of the seventeenth century, Marie de Gournay devoted much time and skill to ensure that Montaigne's *Essays* were properly printed and promoted. Improvements came with each new edition. In 1611 she began to identify certain quotations by indicating the author's name and the title of the work in the margins of the text. This task was completed for the 1617 edition. This was also the first edition to contain Gournay's translations of Latin quotations. Eight years later, in the 1625 edition, almost all the quotations of the *Essais* were translated.

Gournay's relations with the printers were often tense. For the 1625 edition, she was pressured by the fourteen booksellers involved to republish her 1595 preface. Reworking her long preface, she suppressed all the feminist statements which had appeared in the original version. She focused exclusively on the defense of the *Essais* and responded directly to the attacks instigated by the poet Dominique Baudius (1561–1613) on Montaigne's vanity and licentiousness. At the end of her preface, however, Gournay violently criticized the printers of the *Essais* for two reasons. She declared that the indexes added to Montaigne's work were useless since they did not provide new information about either the author or the book. She also found it regrettable that the printers forced her to make six textual changes concerning three old-fashioned words and three obscure syntactic constructions. Her discontent is indicative of the scrupulous care with which she pursued her editorial work.

These invectives reveal that Gournay was gradually losing her control on the edition of the *Essais*. This power struggle was turning to the advantage of the printers and booksellers who could impose their choices. The 1625 edition opens with a foreword entitled "The Printers to the Reader," which announces the editorial choices

LES ESSAIS
DE MICHEL
SEIGNEUR
DE MONTAIGNE.

EDITION NOUVELLE.

Corrigée & augmentée d'un tiers outre les
premières Impressions :

*Plus la vie de l'Auteur, Extraicte de ses
propres escrits.*

Viresque acquirit eundo.



A PARIS,
Chez FRANÇOIS ARGAT au Palais, en la grande
gallerie des Prisonniers.

M. DC. XXV.
AVEC PRIVILEGE DV ROY.

of the booksellers. Indeed, Gournay's name is elided, and she is given credit for the translations only as an anonymous "Demoiselle." These quite substantial translations, which consist of more than 1200 passages, were published at the end of the book with a short introductory text addressed to the reader. In this text, Gournay focused mainly on her role as a translator and evoked briefly her editorial work. In both her revised preface and her foreword to the reader, Gournay's discontent and frustration become obvious. She will have to wait until 1635 to regain some control on the editing of the *Essais* and to act out more significantly her role as "fille d'alliance."

* * *

10

Michel de Montaigne (1533–1592). *Les Essais de Michel seigneur de Montaigne. Edition nouvelle enrichie d'annotations en marge: Corrigée & augmentée d'un tiers outre les précédentes Impressions. Avec une Table tres ample des noms & matieres remarquables et signalees. Plus la vie de l'Authheur extraite de ses propres escrits.* Viresque acquirit eundo. A Rouen. Chez Jacques Cailloué, dans la Cour du Palais, 1627. Acquired on the Herman and Fannie Feldstein Memorial Book Fund.

The 1627 edition was published in Rouen by an association of seven booksellers: Jacques Cailloué, Louis du Mesnil, Robert Féron, Guillaume de la Haye, Pierre de la Motte, Robert Valentin, and Jean Berthelin. The title-page engraving, which was reproduced for the first time in a 1608 Parisian edition (Michel Nivelle), was created by the artist Edme Charpy. In the oval cartouche at the bottom of the page, each bookseller printed his own name and address. This edition, however, was not granted a *privilege*.

Marie de Gournay was not involved in this edition. Her revised preface and her translations of the quotations were not reproduced. Aside from these two elements, the 1627 edition contains all the paratextual elements previously described:



10. Montaigne, *Essais*, 1627.

Montaigne's foreword "To the Reader," Gournay's 1598 short preface, a table of contents, a short biography of Montaigne's life, a reproduction of Montaigne's portrait by Thomas de Leu, marginal notes (quotations, identifications, and summaries), a subject index, and an index of Montaigne's life.

The 1627 edition, with the richly adorned title page of Jacques Cailloué, is of special importance in the history of the *Essais*. It was probably the one read by the papal censors when the *Essais* were placed on the *Index librorum prohibitorum* (Index of Prohibited Books) in 1676. From 22 June 1676 until 14 June 1966, the date of the abrogation of the Index, it was strictly forbidden for any Catholic to edit, read, keep, sell, translate, or otherwise distribute the *Essais*. As a result of this decision, for the next two centuries Montaigne's *Essais* were associated with and claimed by the Free-thinkers' philosophical trend in France. This radical interpretation of Montaigne's thought has been questioned by several twentieth-century scholars who recall Montaigne's repeated proclamation of faithfulness to the Roman Catholic Church and who likewise underscore the essayist's profound respect for tradition.

* * *

11

Michel de Montaigne (1533–1592). *Les Essais de Michel, Seigneur de Montaigne. Edition nouvelle. Exactement corrigée selon le vrai exemplaire. Enrichie a la marge du nom des auteurs citez, et de la version de leurs passages, mise à la fin de chasque Chapitre. Avecque la vie de l'Auteur. Plus deux Tables: l'une des Chapitres, & l'autre des principales Matieres.* A Paris. Chez Jean Camusat, ruë Saint Jacques, à la Toyson d'or, 1635, avec Privilege du Roy. Acquired on a Fund given by a Member of the University Faculty in Honor of Herman H. Fussler.

The 1635 edition was the last overseen by Marie de Gournay. The first issue was printed by Toussaint Du Bray and Pierre Rocolet, the second by Jean Camusat. On the title page of both

issues, an inscription in red ink clarified that this new edition was "exactly corrected according to the true copy." With this short statement, Du Bray, Rocolet, and Camusat referred to the editorial work undertaken by Gournay in order to eliminate all the errors which had crept into the text over the previous forty years. In establishing this text, Gournay returned almost systematically to the 1595 L'Angelier edition. She also proclaimed in her newly revised preface that the correct text of the *Essais* was to be found only in "the L'Angelier editions which appeared after Montaigne's death." These, of course, were the editions she herself had prepared.

Gournay wanted this last edition of hers to be an event as important in the history of the publication of the *Essais* as the 1595 L'Angelier edition. In order to succeed, she spared herself neither time nor effort. On 13 September 1633, Gournay's dedication and perseverance finally paid off, and she was granted a personal *privilege* on Montaigne's *Essais* for a duration of six years. This *privilege* gave her the intellectual ownership of Montaigne's text. As a consequence, no one could publish the work without obtaining her personal approbation and following her editorial choices concerning the presentation of the text. As a result of this *privilege*, Gournay was guaranteed not to have to face a situation as precarious as the one with which she was confronted concerning the 1625 edition. In seeking a publisher, however, Montaigne's "foster daughter" met with substantial difficulty.

The printers Gournay contacted successively refused to embark on this ambitious editorial project. The main reason motivating these refusals was a financial one. The level of quality and reliability which Gournay desired to impose on the edition of a book, written in "le vieux langage français" (old French) and of an uncommon form, necessitated the recruitment of competent typesetters and proofreaders, and therefore involved high production costs. In order to solve this economic obstacle, Gournay decided to solicit financial support from the "Grands du Royaume" (the most influential members of the French Court). Thus, the 1635 edition was put under the patronage of Cardinal Richelieu. With his sponsorship, Gournay finally succeeded in persuading a respected printer, Jean Camusat, to participate in the project. She was nevertheless once again obliged to make several concessions. First, she lost her personal *privilege* on the *Essais* by

LES
ESSAIS
DE
MICHEL,
SEIGNEUR
DE MONTAIGNE.
EDITION NOUVELLE.

EXACTEMENT CORRIGÉE SELON
LE VRAI EXEMPLAIRE.

ENRICHIE À LA MARGE DU NOM DES AUTEURS
CITEZ, ET DE LA VERSION DE LEURS PASSAGES,
mise à la fin de chaque Chapitre.

Avecque la vie de l'Auteur.

Plus deux Tables : l'une des Chapitres, & l'autre des principales Matières.



A PARIS,
Chez JEAN CAMUSAT, rue Saint Jacques,
à la Toison d'or.

M. DC. XXXV.
AVEC PRIVILEGE DU ROY.

PRIVILEGE DV ROY.



LOUIS par la grace de Dieu Roy de France & de Navarre. A nos amez & feaux Conseillers les gens tenans nos Cours de Parlement Baillifs, Seneschaux, Preuosts, ou leurs Lieutenans, & autres nos Iusticiers & Officiers qu'il appartiendra, Salut. Nostre chere & bien amée la Damoiselle de Gournay nous a fait remonstrer, que le feu sieur de Montaigne luy ayant de son viuant recommandé le soin de son liure des Essais, & depuis son decez ses plus proches luy ayant donné toute charge de l'impression d'iceux, comme il est notoire : & plusieurs fautes énormes s'estans coulees en la pluspart des impressions, en sorte que tout le liure s'en trouue gâté, & plain d'obmissions & additions apostrophées, cōmes l'exposante a fait voir à aucuns de nos amez & feaux Conseillers Maistres des Requestes ordinaires de nostre Hostel, & autres nos Officiers. Elle a désiré rendre ce deuoir au public, & à la memoire dudit defunct sieur de Montaigne, d'empescher que ce desordre n'arriue plus en l'impression dudit liure, qui est d'importance, cōme estant vn œuvre tres excellent, & qui fait hōneur à la France; Auquel en outre elle desire adiouster la versu de tous les passages Latins, avec les noms & cōtes des Auteurs d'iceux, qui sont en grand nombre. Et pour pouoir effectuer ce dessein elle nous a prié luy vouloir accorder vn privilege perpetuel. A CES CAUSES, desirans gratifier ladite exposante : & fauoriser la bonne intention qu'elle a de conseruer ledit œuvre des Essais, & en la façon qu'il a esté composé par l'Auteur, sans qu'il y soit chargé aucune chose qui le puisse corrompre; De nostre grace speciale, puissance & autorité royale, auons à icelle exposante donné & octroyé, donnons & octroyons par ces presentes priuilege pendant six ans, de faire imprimer ledit œuvre des Essais dudit sieur de Montaigne par tels Libraires & Imprimeurs que bon luy semblera. Et faisons tres-expresses defences à tous autres Imprimeurs & Libraires d'entreprendre d'imprimer ledit Oeuure, sans le gré & consentement de ladite exposante, & sans s'adresser à elle pour prendre aduis & adueu de la copie & methode qu'ils doivent choisir; pour faire sur icelle ladite impression, & s'obliger à elle d'y mettre bon ordre & bons correcteurs, pour euitier aux inconueniens & fautes qui peuent ruiner le dudit liure : offiant aussi ladite exposante de la part rendre cet office gratuitement au public, & ausdits Imprimeurs quand ils l'en requerront, & sans les obliger à aucune charge que de suiure les anciens & meilleurs exemplaires, lesquels elle leur fournira; à peine à tous ceux qui contreviendront au present priuilege, de confiscation de tous les exemplaires, despens, dommages & interets, amende arbitraire, & de toute autre peine de droit & de nos ordonnances. Voulons en outre, qu'en faisant mettre au commencement ou à la fin dudit liure ces dites presentes, ou extrait d'icelles, elles soient tenues pour significées & venues à la cognoissance de tous, cessant ou faisant cesser tous troubles & empeschemens au contraire: Nonobstant oppositions ou appellations quelconques. A la charge de mettre deux exemplaires dudit liure en nostre Bibliothèque, premier que del'exposer en vente, à peine d'estre descheu de l'effect de ces presentes; car tel est nostre plaisir. Donné au Camp deuant Nancy, le treiziesme iour de Septembre, l'an de grace mil six cents trente trois, & de nostre regne le vingt-quatriesme. Ainsi signé, par le Roy en son Conseil, LE QVESNE. Et scellé.

Ladite Damoiselle de Gournay a transporté le Priuilege cy-dessus à Jean Camusar, Libraire juré à Paris, pour en iouyr conformément à l'accord fait entr'eux, le vingt-huitiesme iour d'Aoust 1635.

Acheué d'imprimer le 15. Iuin 1635.

Les deux exemplaires ont esté fournis en la Bibliothèque du Roy.

transferring it to Camusat in an agreement dated 28 August 1635.

Although she opposed most paratextual elements, Gournay had to include a short biography of Montaigne and an index of proper names and principal subjects in this edition. More importantly, Camusat requested that she expand the modernization of the text which had begun with the 1625 edition. This last exigency was the most difficult one for Gournay to accept since it involved the alteration of Montaigne's original text. In her once-again-revised preface, she deplored her modifications to the *Essais* and rejected the responsibility. She further stated to the reader that these changes consisted of minor corrections (misprints, new spelling, substitution of archaisms, and simplification of obscure syntactic forms) that by no means would betray Montaigne's thought. She again protested strongly and declared that she was not so "sacrilège" as to touch crucial words or sentences in such a "precious work."

Gournay's final edition was entirely dedicated to Montaigne's glory. The luxurious folio opens on an engraved title page adorned with a very delicate portrait of Montaigne underlined by the famous scale and the device "What do I know?" It contains an epistle to Cardinal Richelieu, Gournay's long-reworked preface, the foreword from the author "To the Reader," a life of the author "extracted from his own Writings," a table of contents, the essays of Montaigne (the translations of the citations appear at the end of each chapter with marginal references in the text), the royal *privilège*, and, finally, a "Table of proper Names and the Principal subjects contained in the Book." In her dedicatory letter to Richelieu, Gournay asked the cardinal to place the *Essais* under his protection after her death.

Marie de Gournay died in 1645, ten years after the publication of her last supervised edition of the *Essais*. For forty years, Montaigne's "foster daughter" played, in a sense, the role of "adoptive mother" for a book she described in her dedicatory epistle to Richelieu as an "orphan entrusted to her care." One could argue that Gournay literally carried Montaigne's *Essais* through the first half of the seventeenth century.

12

Michel de Montaigne (1533–1592). *Essais de Michel seigneur de Montaigne, donnez sur les plus anciennes & les plus correctes Editions: Augmentez de plusieurs Lettres de l'Auteur, & où les Passages Grecs, Latins & Italiens, sont traduits plus fidèlement, & citez plus exactement que dans aucune des précédentes. Avec des Notes; & une Table générale des Matières plus utile que celles qui avoient paru jusqu'ici. Par Pierre Coste. Quatrième édition, Augmentée de la Vie de Montaigne, & de Nouvelles Notes qui ne se trouvent point dans les trois dernières Editions publiées en 1724, 1725, & 1727. A Londres. Chez Jean Nourse, 1739. In six volumes.*

Marie de Gournay's three main editions of the *Essais* (1595, 1617, and 1635) were republished frequently after 1635. However, in 1652 Henri Etienne's first edition superseded them and dominated the scene until 1669. After this date, for more than half a century Montaigne's work was not republished. Only abbreviated versions of the *Essais*, which better suited the taste of the reading audience, appeared: *L'Esprit des Essais* by Charles de Sercy in 1677 and *Pensées de Montaigne* by Jean Anisson in 1700. This period of disregard for Montaigne's complete text came to an end only in 1724 with Pierre Coste's edition, first published in London.

Pierre Coste (1668–1747), a Protestant writer who lived most of his life in exile after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, is better known for his translations of John Locke (1632–1704). In 1700 he translated into French the *Essay on Human Understanding* which had a tremendous influence on the French Enlightenment. It was also through the English philosopher that Coste became interested in Montaigne. While translating Locke's *Of the Education of Children*, Coste underscored many parallels between the English philosopher's and the French essayist's thoughts. He saw in Montaigne a precursor of the eighteenth-century philosophical movement and decided to publish a new edition of the *Essais*.

Coste based his edition on Gournay's 1595 text, which he judged to be the most reliable. However, he completely reviewed the work undertaken by Montaigne's "foster daughter" concerning the identification and the translation of the quotations. Coste

ESSAIS
DE MICHEL
SEIGNEUR DE
MONTAIGNE,

*DONNEZ SUR LES PLUS ANCIENNES
& les plus correctes Editions : Augmentez de
plusieurs Lettres de l'Auteur, & où les Passages
Grecs, Latins & Italiens, sont traduits plus
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Avec des NOTES ; & une TABLE générale des Matières
plus utile que celles qui avoient paru jusqu'ici.

Par **PIERRE COSTE.**

QUATRIÈME EDITION,

Augmentée de la Vie de Montagne, & de Nouvelles
Notes qui ne se trouvent point dans les troisdernieres
Editions publiées en 1724. 1725. & 1727.

TOME PREMIER.



A LONDRES,

Chez **JEAN NOURSE.**

M D C C X X X I X.

considered that, in many cases, Gournay's references were either incorrect or imprecise. He was also critical of her failure to convey in her translations how Montaigne often twisted the original meaning of his quotations in order better to suit his own arguments. Thus, whenever it was necessary Coste verified and corrected the identification and the translation of each quotation. Moreover, he identified for the first time the sources of the passages which Montaigne silently borrowed and incorporated into his own text. The essayist himself designated these borrowings his "spoils." When Montaigne faithfully translated the original meaning of the borrowed passages, Coste merely cited the original text in a note. However, in cases where Montaigne altered the translation, Coste translated the passages according to their original meaning in a note in order for the reader to appreciate better the distortion the essayist imposed on his sources almost always consciously. For Montaigne, this practice of "creative translation" was an integral part of the "painting of self," since the concealed and twisted quotation revealed more about the essayist than it did about the original author:

I, among so many borrowings of mine, am very glad to be able to hide one now and then, disguising and altering it for a new service. At the risk of letting it be said that I do so through failure to understand its original use, I give it some particular application with my own hand, so that it may be less purely someone else's. [III: 12, p. 809]

Thus, Coste's notes allowed the readers of the *Essais* to discover an essential aspect of Montaigne's poetics which consisted of the assimilation of external literary sources into a book he wanted to be totally his own.

Coste incorporated three other important innovations into his edition: explanatory annotations to Montaigne's text; a selection of judgments and criticisms made by men of letters from the sixteenth, seventeenth, and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries; and, finally, the publication with the *Essais* of ten letters written by Montaigne as well as La Boétie's *Discours de la servitude volontaire*. The first innovation was necessitated by the difficulties in understanding the *Essais* encountered by the eighteenth-century reader. Both the evolution of the French language since the sixteenth century and Montaigne's digressive writing style

constituted true obstacles for readers. In order to facilitate the reading of the *Essais*, Coste included explanatory commentaries. He specified, however, that these commentaries were only added to motivate the reader to go back to the original text and to better appreciate the richness of its concision. The addition of a whole section dedicated to the reception of Montaigne's work from the end of the sixteenth century until the beginning of the eighteenth century played an important role in Coste's defense of the *Essais*.

The laudatory commentaries written by Justus Lipsius, Etienne Pasquier (1529–1615), as well as Jean de La Bruyère (1645–1696), Charles de Saint-Evremond (1613–1703), and Pierre Bayle (1647–1706) proved, if proof was necessary, the philosophical and literary value of the *Essais*. Finally, Coste justified his choice of including Etienne de La Boétie's *Discours de la servitude volontaire* in this edition of the *Essais* by recalling that Montaigne himself intended to do so; only the appropriation of his closest friend's antiroyalist pamphlet by the Protestants turned Montaigne away from including it in the original version of the essay entitled "Of friendship." Since the political and religious climate in France had calmed down during the reign of Louis XV (1710–1774), Coste judged the time appropriate to realize Montaigne's initial wish to add the *Discours de la servitude volontaire* to the *Essais*.

During his lifetime, Pierre Coste oversaw five editions of the *Essais*, which appeared in 1724, 1725, 1727, 1739, and 1745, respectively. His last edition was the most important one for eighteenth-century readers and was frequently republished during the second half of the eighteenth century.

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Michel de Montaigne (1533–1592). *Essais de Michel seigneur de Montaigne. Par Naigeon*. Paris: de l'imprimerie et de la fonderie stéréotypes de Pierre Didot l'aîné, et de Firmin Didot, 1802. In four volumes. Berlin Collection. From the Library's General Collection.

Jacques-André Naigeon (1738–1810) was a philosopher, a friend and admirer of Denis Diderot (1713–1784), who collaborated with the Baron d'Holbach (1723–1789) on *Le Militaire philosophe*, *Difficultés sur la religion proposées au Père Malebranche* (Paris, 1767), as well as the *Traité des Trois Imposteurs* (Amsterdam, 1776). He participated in the *Encyclopédie*, for which he wrote two articles: "Ame" and "Unitaire." Even before editing the *Essais*, Naigeon had an in-depth knowledge of Montaigne's work. He already had written extensively about the Renaissance thinker in his *Collection des moralistes anciens* (1782) and his *Mémoires sur Diderot* (1784), as well as in the three volumes which constituted the "Philosophy" section of the Panckoucke's *Encyclopédie méthodique* (1791).

In order to establish the text of his edition, Naigeon initially compared the first seventeen editions of the *Essais*. He was well advanced in this task when François de Neufchâteau (1750–1828), Minister of the Interior, informed him that a copy of the 1588 edition with Montaigne's handwritten annotations was kept at the library in Bordeaux. Naigeon succeeded in having the copy sent to him. He studied it for three years and revised the text of his edition completely. Because of time constraints, however, he was not able to incorporate all of Montaigne's corrections and additions into his edition.

Even before it was issued by Pierre and Firmin Didot's printing house, Naigeon's edition was condemned by Bonaparte himself. The First Consul, who had just reconciled himself with the Roman Catholic Church by signing the Concordat, judged Naigeon's preface too critical of the clergy. It contained violent attacks on monks, theologians, and religious morality. As a consequence, Naigeon withdrew his preface and replaced it with a short foreword to the reader in which he emphasized the importance of the discovery of the Bordeaux copy. This foreword was followed by the reproduction of Montaigne's recommendations to his publisher, which the essayist wrote on the back of the title page of his personal copy. Naigeon considered that these handwritten instructions constituted irrefutable proof of Montaigne's intention to publish this particular working version of his *Essais*.

Even though Naigeon based his 1802 edition of the *Essais* on

the text of the Bordeaux copy, he also incorporated in parentheses the additions contained in Gournay's 1595 edition. Footnotes indicated the variant versions between the Bordeaux copy and the 1595 edition as well as the identification and translation of the quotations. The fourth and last volume of this edition contained nine letters written by Montaigne and La Boétie's *Discours de la servitude volontaire*.

With the publication of Naigeon's edition, the reliability of Gournay's editorial work was questioned for the first time. In a footnote, Naigeon stated: ". . . the two editions of Montaigne's book [1595 and 1635] that she [Gournay] published may be consulted with profit, today they nevertheless have only a secondary and subordinate authority in comparison to the one of the copy owned by the central library of Bordeaux."⁵ This statement was still contested during the nineteenth century, but ultimately prevailed in the following century and influenced all subsequent editions.

Naigeon's edition was not without problems. For example, in 1866 the scholar Reinhold Dezeimeris noted that "Naigeon's edition, with its fantasy spelling and numerous other faults, is quite lacking." A real scientific edition was needed more than ever.

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14

Michel de Montaigne (1533–1592). *Essais de Montaigne. Nouvelle édition avec des notes choisies dans tous les commentateurs et la traduction de toutes les citations que renferme le texte. Par M. J.-V. Leclerc.* Paris: Garnier Frères, 1872. In two volumes. From the Library's General Collection.

During the nineteenth century, the *Essais* were closely associated with the name of one editor, Joseph-Victor Le Clerc (1789–1865). His edition, which appeared for the first time in 1826, was so successful that it was often referred to as the "Vulgate

5. Montaigne, *Essais* (Paris: Pierre et Firmin Didot, 1802), p. 280, n. (b).

of the *Essais*." All the other editions (Naigeon, Johanneau, and Amaury-Duval) which were published in the first third of the nineteenth century were unable to compete with that of Le Clerc and gradually disappeared. After 1833, the Le Clerc edition was the only current one available in France. From that date until 1935, it was republished forty-nine times.

Such a success was closely linked with the prestige of the editor. Le Clerc occupied the chair of Latin literature at the Sorbonne. By 1826 he had already published a translation of Cicero's *Complete works*. His competence as a philologist and his thorough knowledge of classical languages and literatures greatly contributed to the prestige of his edition of the *Essais*. It is distinguished by its precise identification and accurate translation of the Latin, Greek, and Italian quotations.

In establishing the text, Le Clerc privileged the 1595 edition over the Bordeaux copy. In his preface, the editor described the Bordeaux copy as a working version which Montaigne had himself abandoned and which was, therefore, less reliable than the 1595 text. Le Clerc, however, was not always consistent with his editorial choice. At the beginning of the twentieth century, Dr. Armaingaud (1842–1935), the preeminent Montaigne scholar of the time, vehemently criticized this edition, reproaching Le Clerc for not having followed the editorial principles he had laid out in his preface. Armaingaud noticed that in many cases Le Clerc did not reproduce the text of 1595 or, for that matter, any other versions. He also demonstrated that the text of this edition was altered in each of its successive and numerous republications. After Dr. Armaingaud unveiled the numerous discrepancies which existed between the text established by Le Clerc and the 1595 edition, the Le Clerc edition lost its prestige.

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15

Michel de Montaigne (1533–1592). *Les Essais de Michel de Montaigne. Publiés d'après l'exemplaire de Bordeaux, avec les variantes manuscrites & les leçons des plus anciennes impressions, des*

notes, des notices et un lexique. Par Fortunat Strowski, François Gêbelin et Pierre Villey, sous les auspices de la Commission des archives municipales. Bordeaux: Imprimerie nouvelle F. Peche & Cie, 1906–1933. In five volumes. Bequest of Lillian A. Wells.

The publication of the Strowski, Gêbelin and Villey edition constitutes a turning point in the editorial history of the *Essais*. The categorical statement made by Fortunat Joseph Strowski (1866–1952) that the Bordeaux copy was the only authentic text of the *Essais* had a powerful influence on all the major editions of the twentieth century. Strowski was very critical of Marie de Gournay's 1595 edition and believed that almost all the discrepancies between her edition and the Bordeaux copy were "either mistakes or falsifications."⁶ A reliable edition of the *Essais* could therefore only be based on the Bordeaux copy.

In order to keep the distinction between the printed and the written text apparent in his edition, Strowski used different typefaces. The text in roman characters corresponded to the printed copy and the passages in italics reproduced Montaigne's handwritten corrections and additions. The letters A and B in the margin indicated in which edition (A: 1580; B: 1588) the designated portion of the text appeared for the first time. This combination of two typefaces (roman/italic) and marginal indications (A/B) enabled readers to identify visually the three main textual "layers" of the *Essais* (1580, 1588, and 1592). For the variant versions, Strowski also had to distinguish between those concerning the text of 1588 and those concerning the additions written between 1588 and 1592. At the bottom of the page, the notes in roman characters that began "Texte de 1588" provided the text of the 1588 edition that Montaigne had crossed out on his personal copy and did not intend to include in the new edition he was working on. The manuscript variant versions were also indicated in the footnotes with the designation "Var. Ms" in italics. The variant versions of the 1580, 1582, and 1595 editions were given in the appendixes placed at the end of the first three volumes.

The Strowski and Gêbelin edition consists of five volumes.

6. Montaigne, *Les Essais de Michel de Montaigne*, 5 vols., ed. Fortunat Strowski and François Gêbelin (Bordeaux: Imprimerie nouvelle F. Peche & Cie, 1906–33), 1: 464.

Each of the first three volumes contains one book of the *Essais*. Strowski established the text of Book I (volume I, 1906) and Book II (volume 2, 1909). When he left the University of Bordeaux to accept a position at the University of Paris-Sorbonne, he resigned from the editorial project and was replaced by François Gêbelin, librarian at the Bibliothèque municipale de Bordeaux. Book III of the *Essais* appeared in 1919. Pierre Villey, professor at the University of Caen, was in charge of the last two volumes of the edition. The fourth volume (published in 1920) contained an index of all the authors quoted in Montaigne's work and also provided the biographical, literary, and historical sources of each essay. The last volume, which appeared only in 1933, consisted of a lexicon of the language of the *Essais*.

This impressive editorial undertaking, spread over thirty years, was initiated by the Bordeaux city council. It is therefore often referred to as the "Edition municipale" (the municipal edition).

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Michel de Montaigne (1533–1592). *Essais de Michel de Montaigne*. Nouvelle édition par Pierre Villey. Paris: Librairie Félix Alcan, 1922–1923. In three volumes. From the Library's General Collection.

Pierre Villey (1879–1933), a brilliant scholar, developed an interest in Montaigne early in his career. His doctoral thesis, which eventually became his major work, analyzed the sources of the *Essais* and the evolution of Montaigne's thought. Villey was thus able to distinguish three different philosophical phases in the *Essais*: a stoic period, which characterized the chapters written between 1572 and 1574; a skeptical crisis, the peak of which was reached with the "Apology for Raymond Sebond"; and, finally, an Epicurean phase which lasted until Montaigne's death and distinguished Book III from the two previous ones. According to Villey, this philosophical journey was very much oriented by Montaigne's readings at the

time, at least during the first two periods. Montaigne was at first most influenced by Seneca's writings, more specifically his *Epistles to Lucilius*. His discovery of Sextus Empiricus around 1576 strongly contributed to Montaigne's move from stoicism to skepticism.

After elaborating this evolutionary theory, Villey oriented his research towards the reception of the *Essais* in France and in England. He planned to expand his inquiries to the rest of Europe, but before he had completed his work, he died tragically in a train wreck in 1933. All the material he had collected was brought together by his widow and his friend Jean Plattard and published posthumously as *Montaigne devant la postérité* (Paris: Boivin, 1935).

If Pierre Villey's name is still familiar to those who read Montaigne, it is essentially because of his edition of the *Essais*. The main innovation of this edition concerned the marginal set of strata indicators (A, B, and C) showing when each passage first appeared in print (1580, 1588, or 1592). In establishing the text, Villey followed the Bordeaux copy but indicated in the notes the additions which appeared in the 1595 edition. Each essay was introduced by a short commentary which indicated its sources, the date at which it was written, and its main themes. At the end of the third volume, Villey included three appendixes which contained a study of the reception of the *Essais* in France and England, an anthology of judgments on Montaigne during the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries, and an abbreviated list of the sources of each essay. This edition was republished two times, once in 1930–1931 by Villey himself and a second time by V.-L. Saulnier with the Presses Universitaires de France. The Villey-Saulnier edition is the one most widely used today.

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Michel de Montaigne (1533–1592). *Œuvres complètes de Michel de Montaigne. Les Essais*. Texte du manuscrit de Bordeaux, étude, commentaires et notes par le Dr. Armaingaud. Paris: Louis Conard, 1924. In three volumes. From the Library's General Collection.

Although he was a medical doctor and professor at the Faculté de Médecine de Bordeaux, Arthur Armaingaud (1842–1935) devoted much of his life to his favorite author, Montaigne. A passionate reader of the *Essais*, his views on Montaigne's work often led him to controversial debates with contemporary young scholars. Armaingaud challenged the evolutionary theory that both Pierre Villey and Fortunat Strowski defended. According to the doctor, Montaigne was always a relativist, atheist, and Epicurean thinker. Another polemic over the authorship of the *Discours de la servitude volontaire* put Armaingaud and Villey at loggerheads for three years (1904–1907). In two articles, published respectively in 1904 and in 1906,⁷ Armaingaud tried to prove that after the Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre (24 August 1572) Montaigne supported Henry of Navarre (1553–1610) against Charles IX (1550–1574) and later Henri III (1551–1589). In order to incite the Protestants to revolt and even to tyrannicide, Montaigne revised and added to La Boétie's pamphlet. He then arranged the publication by the Protestant camp, first in part in 1574 in the *Reveille-Matin des François*, then in full in 1576 in the *Memoires de l'Estat de la France sous Charles le Neufiesme*. Villey was the first one to contest this analysis. In his article entitled "Le véritable auteur du Discours de la servitude volontaire,"⁸ Villey answered Armaingaud's argument point by point and demonstrated its unreliability. Even though Armaingaud never withdrew his statement, Villey clearly was the winner of the debate.

Despite his questionable interpretations of Montaigne's work, Armaingaud contributed greatly to the renown of the *Essais*. In 1911 he founded the Société des amis de Montaigne whose first president was the writer Anatole France (1844–1924). Armaingaud also undertook the edition of Montaigne's *Œuvres complètes* in 12 volumes. The first nine volumes, which appeared during the doctor's lifetime between 1924 and 1935, consisted of the *Essais* (6 volumes), the *Journal de Voyage en Italie* (2 volumes), and the first

7. Arthur Armaingaud, "Le Discours de la servitude volontaire. La Boétie et Montaigne," *Séances et travaux de l'Académie des sciences morales et politiques*, 64 (1904): 640–43, and "Montaigne et La Boétie. Le véritable auteur du discours «sur la servitude volontaire»," *Revue politique et parlementaire*, 47 (March 1906): 499–522; 48 (May 1906): 322–48.

8. Pierre Villey, "Le véritable auteur du Discours de la servitude volontaire," *Revue d'Histoire Littéraire de la France*, 13 (Oct.–Dec. 1906): 727–36.

section of the *Théologie naturelle* by Raymond Sebond in Montaigne's translation (1 volume). The last three volumes, published posthumously, included the second section of the *Théologie naturelle* (1 volume); the *Discours de la servitude volontaire*, thirty nine letters written by Montaigne, the essayist's annotations on his copy of the "Beuther" (a calendar book very popular during the Renaissance), and his marginal notes on a copy of Julius Caesar's *Commentaires* (1 volume); and the last volume gathered together Montaigne's marginal notes on two history books, the *Annales et Chroniques de France, jusqu'au temps du roi Louis onzième* by Nicolle Gilles and the *De rebus gestis alexandri magni* by Quintus Cursius Rufus. This edition constituted a further step toward the elaboration of a critical edition of the *Essais*. Although Armaingaud took the Bordeaux copy as a reference, all the variant versions of the first main editions (1580, 1582, 1588, and 1592) were indicated in the footnotes at the bottom of the page. Such a disposition allowed the reader to compare the various stages of the text. With this edition, Armaingaud reinforced his position as dean of Montaigne scholars during the first third of the twentieth century.

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Michel de Montaigne (1533–1592). *Essais*. Préface de Roger Delbiousse & Camille Marignac, texte établi et annoté par Marcel Guilbaud. Bois gravés originaux de Jean Peschard. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1962–1963. In five volumes. From the Library's General Collection.

In 1963 Montaigne was published for the first time by the Imprimerie Nationale in the prestigious Collection Nationale des Grands Auteurs. Marcel Guilbaud established the text of this edition from the Bordeaux copy. His marginal notes both identified and translated the quotations and explained the expressions or passages which might be difficult for a modern reader to understand. Three innovative elements added to the paratext of



18. Montaigne, *Essais*, 1962-1963.

this edition: a bibliographical listing of the major editions of the *Essais* from 1580 until 1963, including the translations of the work; a short essay on the iconography of Montaigne; and numerous engravings executed by Jean Peschard and inspired by the main themes of the work.

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19

Raimundo Sabunde (?-1436). *La Theologie naturelle de Raymond Sebon, traduite nouvellement en François par messire Michel, Seigneur de Montaigne, Chevalier de l'ordre du Roy, & Gentil-homme ordinaire de sa Chambre*. A Paris. Chez Michel Sonnius demeurant à l'Escu de Basle, rue Saint Jaques, 1581. Avec Privilege du Roy. Bequest of Lillian A. Wells.

The Spanish theologian Raymond Sebond was born in Gerona or Barcelona during the last quarter of the fourteenth century. A master of art, theology, and medicine, he taught most of his life at the University of Toulouse. He is the author of a treatise entitled *Liber creaturarum seu Liber de homine*, which was completed in February of 1436, a few weeks before his death. Apparently this work was not published until 1484. A second edition of Sebond's book appeared one year later with a new title, *Theologia naturalis seu liber creaturarum, specialiter de homine*. In this work, divided in seven parts and three hundred and thirty chapters, the theologian undertook to prove rationally the veracity of the Catholic religion. He believed that God had revealed itself to man in two books, the Bible and the universe, which Sebond called the "Book of Creatures" or "Book of Nature." In his treatise, however, he essentially based his demonstration on the Book of the creatures, which he judged less likely to be misinterpreted.

According to Sebond, human reason could distinguish different levels of being (mineral, vegetal, animal, and human) in the universe and discover from these a natural order. Because of his spiritual vocation, man occupies a preeminent place in this classification scheme. For the Spanish theologian, this natural order

was the undeniable proof of the existence of God. After presenting his natural theology, in the rest of his work Sebond associates his discussion of the "Book of Nature" with the Bible. He analyzes the Fall and the Redemption in light of the natural order previously described. Because of his pride, man turned away from God and committed the original Sin. As a result of this betrayal, he was expelled from Paradise and lost his privileged rank among the creatures. Man could reestablish his place in the natural order only through the mediation of a Savior. This Savior came; Jesus Christ redeemed mankind. Sebond ended his treatise with an evocation of the Last Judgment.

Sebond's work was well received in Europe at the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth century. In France the *Theologia naturalis* was translated for the first time in 1519 by Bernard Lescuyer and published in Lyon by Claude Dauphin. In 1551 a second translation by Jean Martin came from the press of the Parisian printer, Vascosan. It was Montaigne's translation, however, which contributed most to the prolonged success of the book.

Montaigne undertook this task on his father's request, as he reveals in the *Essais*:

Now some days before his death, my father, having by chance come across this book [Sebond's *Theologia Naturalis*] under a pile of other abandoned papers, commanded me to put it into French for him. . . . It was a very strange and a new occupation for me; but being by chance at leisure at the time, and being unable to disobey any command of the best father there ever was, I got through it as best I could; at which he was singularly pleased, and ordered it to be printed; and this was done after his death. [II: 12, p. 320]

Montaigne's translation was first published in 1569 by Gilles Gourbin and Michel Sonnius. It was reissued with corrections in 1581 by Michel Sonnius. In the dedication addressed to his father, Montaigne described his work as a translator in the following metaphorical terms: "I myself cut and designed for Raymond Sebond, this major Spanish theologian and philosopher, garb with a French accent." In recent years, a debate has arisen among Montaigne scholars about the faithfulness of Montaigne's translation. This discussion has led to a reassessment of Montaigne's intentions. Some critics, such as Joseph Coppin and

Jean Porcher, consider that the freedom Montaigne allowed himself in his task was only motivated by linguistic and stylistic considerations.⁹ They conclude that, in general, Montaigne respected the author's thought even though he sometimes distanced himself from the original text and from its rigid outline. By doing so, Montaigne intended to adapt Sebond's treatise to a French audience of the second half of the sixteenth century. Other critics, such as Mireille Habert and Philip Hendrick, however, view Montaigne's deviations from the original text as a first attempt to subvert Sebond's theological assessments.¹⁰ This analysis of Montaigne's translation finds its justifications in the reading of one of Montaigne's most famous essays, the "Apology for Raymond Sebond." In this essay, Montaigne clearly distanced himself from the Spanish theologian by questioning the reliability of human reason and knowledge as well as the superiority of man over other living creatures. Since it is still unclear which edition Montaigne used for his translation, the debate remains open. It is nonetheless recognized by all scholars that Montaigne devoted a great deal of time and effort to his task.

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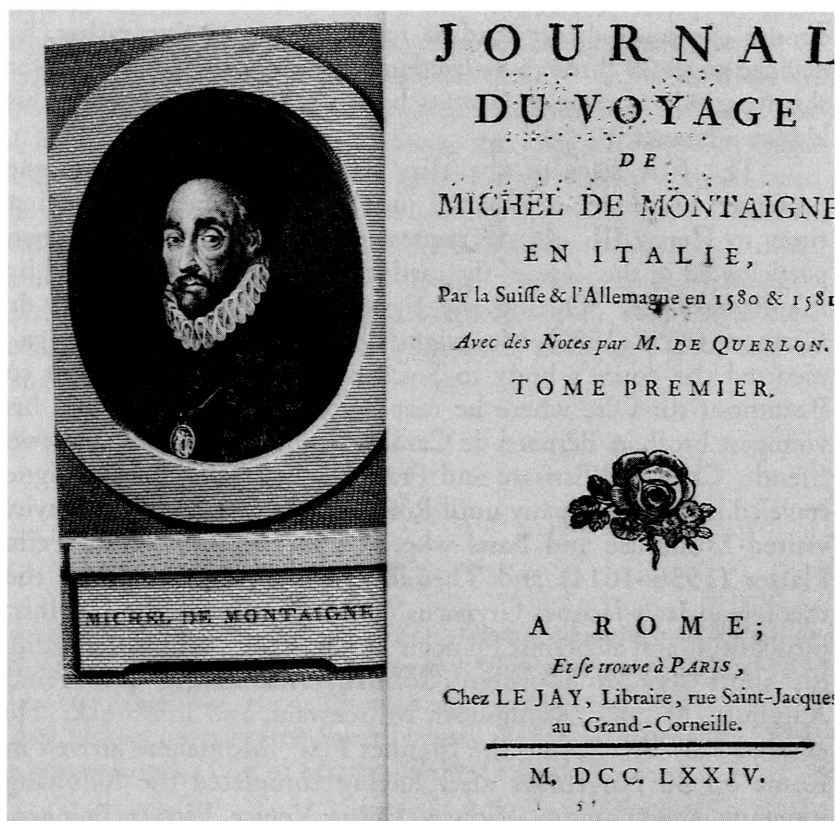
Michel de Montaigne (1533–1592). *Journal du voyage de Michel de Montaigne en Italie, par la Suisse & l'Allemagne en 1580 & 1581. Avec des Notes par M. de Querlon.* A Rome; et se trouve à Paris, Chez Le Jay, Libraire, rue Saint-Jacques, au Grand-Corneille, 1774. In two volumes. Gift of Harriet Walton Freund.

9. Joseph Coppin, *Montaigne traducteur de Raymond Sebond* (Lille: Morel, 1925) and Jean Porcher, "La Théologie Naturelle et les Théories de la traduction au 16ième siècle," in *Œuvres complètes de Michel de Montaigne*, 12 vols., ed. Armaingaud (Paris: Louis Conard, 1924), 10: 447–479.

10 Mireille Habert, "L'inscription du sujet dans la traduction de la *Theologia naturalis*," *Montaigne Studies* 5 (1993): 27–47; Philip Hendrick, "Montaigne's Translation of Sebond: Towards a Re-assessment," *Montaigne Studies* 5 (1993): 49–64.

After the signing of the treaty of Cateau-Cambresis in 1559, which ended the Italian Wars between the French kingdom and Spain, the roads to Italy were once again safe. Rome still fascinated and attracted many humanists and noblemen anxious to discover the ruins of the ex-imperial city as well as the pomp of the Holy See. Montaigne shared this interest with his contemporaries and left his castle to visit Rome on 22 June 1580. His travels through Europe lasted seventeen months and eight days. Montaigne did not choose the most direct road to reach the papal city; rather, he decided to travel through Switzerland and Germany and to stay for short periods of time at famous health spas in order to cure his kidney ailments.

The first stop of the trip was Paris, where Montaigne presented his *Essais*, which had just been published for the first time, to Henry III. At the request of the king, Montaigne then participated in the siege of the castle of La Fère, which was held by the Protestants. During the fighting the count Philibert de Gramont (1552–1580), Montaigne's friend, was killed. Montaigne escorted the count's body to Soissons. From there he went to Beaumont-sur-Oise where he met Bertrand de Mattecoulon, his youngest brother; Bernard de Cazalis, his brother-in-law; and two friends, Charles d'Estissac and François du Hautoy. Montaigne traveled in their company until Rome. In Switzerland, the essayist visited Mulhouse and Basel where he met the physicians Félix Platter (1536–1614) and Theodor Zwinger (1533–1588), the theologian Jean-Jacques Grynæus (1540–1618), and the Calvinist jurisconsult and alchemist François Hotman (1524–1590). During his short stay in Southern Germany, Montaigne discovered Augsburg, Munich, Königsdorf, Mittenwald, and Innsbruck. He entered Italy by crossing the Brenner Pass. Montaigne arrived in Rome on 30 November after having completed the following itinerary: Trent, Verona, Vicenza, Padua, Venice, Ferrara, Bologna, Florence, and Siena. In Rome, he met Pope Gregory XIII (1502–1585) on 29 December. On 19 April 1581 he left Rome for a pilgrimage to Our Lady of Loreto. Montaigne then crossed the Italian boot from east to west to reach the spa of della Villa and visit Tuscany. On 7 September 1581, at the spa of della Villa, he was informed by mail of his election to the mayoralty of Bordeaux. Before returning to his estate, Montaigne stayed two more weeks in

20. Montaigne, *Journal de Voyage*, 1774.

Rome (from 1 until 15 October) and one week in Lyon. He arrived at Montaigne on 30 November 1581.

In a travel notebook Montaigne collected observations he made while he visited the eastern part of France, Switzerland, Southern Germany, and Italy. The manuscript was only discovered in 1770 in a chest at Montaigne by a local historian, the abbot Joseph Prunis. Prunis received authorization from the count Charles-Joseph de Ségur, owner of the castle at this time, to publish the travel notebook. However, the abbot judged that some passages of the manuscript concerning Montaigne's diet and cure were too intimate and should not appear in his edition. Thus, he planned to publish excerpts from the notebook. The count de Ségur opposed this project. He reclaimed the manuscript and asked the Parisian printer Le Jay to undertake the publication of the complete travel notebook. For this purpose, the printer contacted Anne-Gabriel Meunier de Querlon, keeper of the manuscripts at the royal library.

Montaigne's manuscript consisted of a small folio approximately three hundred pages long and divided into four parts. The first section was written by an anonymous secretary, probably from Montaigne's dictation. The second part is in Montaigne's handwriting and begins with his first visit to Rome when he departed from his travel companions and his secretary. From the spa of della Villa until the end of his journey through Italy, Montaigne wrote in Italian, a language he mastered fairly well. The last part of the notebook begins with these words: "Here they speak French; so I quit this foreign language [Italian], which I use easily but with very little sureness, not having had the time to learn it at all well, since I was always in the company of Frenchmen."¹¹ It covers the return home, from the crossing of the Alps at Mont-Cenis to Montaigne.

Querlon's edition was the result of a collective undertaking. The Italian section of the manuscript was deciphered and transcribed by a Piedmontan scholar, Giuseppe Bartoli, foreign associate of the Académie royale des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. For the explanatory notes concerning linguistic, geographical, and historical difficulties, Querlon was assisted by a young bibliophile, François-Louis Jamet. Querlon's edition appeared in the spring of 1774 in three different formats: a luxurious quarto volume and two

11. Montaigne, *The Complete Works of Montaigne*, p. 1036.

duodecimo versions, one in two volumes, and the other one in three volumes. In circumstances which still have not been clarified, the original manuscript of Montaigne's travel notebook was lost shortly after it was deposited at the royal library. Only copies of it made by Prunis, Querlon, Jamet, and other collaborators survive today.

One can read Montaigne's travel notebook as a long essay in which considerations on medical matters parallel descriptions of art and scenery, and even a laudatory discourse on Pope Gregory's urban policy. Montaigne displays the same freedom and spontaneity in discovering new places as he does in inquiring into unfamiliar philosophical topics. In this notebook, Montaigne the writer and Montaigne the traveler come together in the same wanderings.

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21

Michel de Montaigne (1533–1592). *Giornale del viaggio di Michel de Montaigne in Italia*. Prefazione di Guido Piovene. Introduzione critica di Glauco Natoli. Traduzione, cura del testo italiano e note di Alberto Cento. Firenze: Parenti, 1958. In three volumes. From the Library's General Collection.

After Stendhal's *Promenades dans Rome* and President de Brosses' *Lettres d'Italie*, Montaigne's *Journal de voyage en Italie* was the third work the editor Parenti decided to publish in his collection: "L'Italia nel tempo" (Italy through time). Alberto Cento based his translation on both Alessandro D'Ancona's critical edition and Louis Lautrey's edition.¹² For the part of the travel notebook in Italian, Cento reproduced the text of Querlon's original quarto edition.

This luxurious edition is remarkable for both the quality of its

12. Montaigne, *L'Italia alla fine del secolo XVI. Giornale del viaggio di Michele de Montaigne in Italia nel 1580 e 1581*, trans. and ed. Alessandro D'Ancona (Castello: Lappi, 1889); Montaigne, *Journal de voyage*, trans. and ed. Louis Lautrey (Paris: Hachette, 1906).

layout and its numerous illustrations. Montaigne's text is enriched by reproductions of drawings, maps, etchings, and engravings chosen from original guidebooks and art books of the end of the sixteenth century. Four themes prevailed in the choice of the illustrations: Italian towns of the Renaissance, antique and modern Rome, Italian women of the sixteenth century, and the representation of Italy in Alo Giovannoli's etchings and engravings. Among the works from which these original documents were extracted the most famous are: *Speculum Romanae magnificentiae*, published by the bookmaker Antoine Lafrery (1512-1577) between 1548 and 1585 and to which artists such as Nicolaus Beatrizet (1515-1565?), Balthazar van den Bos (1518-1580), and Etienne Du Perac (1525-1604) contributed; *Dei veri ritratti degl'habiti di tutte le parti del mondo*, a collection of drawings on women's clothing by Bartolomeo Grassi (1532-1600), published in Rome in 1585; and *La Cosmographie universelle* by Sebastian Münster (1489-1552), published in Basel in 1544, one of the most popular travel guides of the Renaissance, which Montaigne mentions in his notebook and regrets not having brought with him during his tour of Europe. Thanks to the inclusion of these illustrations in Montaigne's text, late Renaissance Italy appears even more vividly in the imagination of the twentieth-century reader.

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22

Michel de Montaigne (1533-1592). *Saggi di Michel Sig. di Montaigne, Ouero, Discorsi, Naturali, Politici, e Morali, Trasportati dalla lingua Francese nell' Italiana, Per opera di Marco Ginammi*. Al Clariss. Sig. Sig. Osservandiss. Il . Sig. David Spinelli. In Venetia, 1633. Presso Marco Ginammi. Con Licenza de' Superieri, e Privilegio.

The first Italian translation of the *Essais* appeared during Montaigne's lifetime in 1590 at Ferrara with the title *Discorsi morali, politici, et militari*. This duodecimo volume, 170 pages long, was the work of Girolamo Naselli, ambassador of Ferrara in

SAGGI
DI MICHEL
SIG. DI MONTAGNA.

Ouero

DISCORSI, NATVRALI, POLITICI, E MORALI,

Trasportati dalla lingua Franceſe nell' Italiana,

Per opera di MARCO GINAMMI.

Al Clarifs. Sig. Sig. Offeruandifs.

IL SIG. DAVID SPINELLI.



IN VENETIA, MDC XXXIII.

Preſſo Marco Ginammi.

Con Licenza de' Superiori, e Priuilegio.

Ex Libris Anthony Corraij Lat. Venet.

France for three years. Naselli, however, limited his task to the translation of only forty-four essays from the first two books. Furthermore, he modified the order of the essays, suppressed some passages, and sometimes even fused two essays into one (this is the case of the essay "Whether the governor of a besieged place should go out to parley," which also contains the essay, "Parley time is dangerous"). The reader of Naselli's translation had therefore a very partial and imprecise survey of Montaigne's work.

Montaigne's audience had to wait until 1633 to read a more complete and accurate translation of the *Essais*. This translation was published in Venice by the printer Marco Ginammi. Ginammi devoted special attention to the paratext of his edition. It includes a dedication to David Spinelli; a table of contents; a foreword by the editor to the reader; and, at the end of the work, a list of the books published by the printing house Ginammi. While Ginammi's name is mentioned two times on the title page of the book, the translator's name, Girolamo Canini, is only revealed in the "Foreword to the reader".

Girolamo Canini (1551–1631) belonged to the order of the Jesuits and displayed an interest in philosophy, theology, and history, as well as law. Although he wrote a historical essay entitled *Sommaria historia della eletione e coronatione del re dei romani*, published in Venice in 1612, Canini's work consists essentially of editions and translations. During his lifetime Canini's name was associated with a luxurious edition of Tacitus's complete works, which was printed in Venice in 1618 and reissued three times during the first half of the century (1620, 1628, and 1641). In 1620 Canini published his translation of the *Traité de la Cour*, written four years earlier by the French diplomat Eustache du Refuge (?–1617). This treatise, influenced by the principles Montaigne expressed in his essay "Of the art of discussion," contributed greatly to the elaboration of the figure of the "honnête homme" in seventeenth-century France. Canini also collected and printed in 1625 a selection of thoughts taken from Guicciardini's *Storia d'Italia* which he entitled *Aforismi politici*. The interest Canini displayed in both classical and modern historians as well as in French culture undoubtedly prepared him for the translation of the *Essais*, a difficult task which he undertook during the last year of his life.

Canini based his translation on the text of Marie de Gournay's 1595 edition. The editor Ginammi, however, decided to publish the "Apology for Raymond Sebond" independently, because of its length. Thus, in 1633 the *Saggi di Michel signor di Montagna* contained the translation of all Montaigne's essays except the essay II: 12. The "Apology for Raymond Sebond" appeared in 1634. This volume also contained the translation of Montaigne's foreword "To the Reader," Gournay's 1595 preface, and a short biography of Montaigne. With this complementary volume, the edition of the *Essais* provided by Ginammi was the first complete one in Italian. It remained so for more than two and a half centuries. The astonishing longevity of this edition should not obscure the poor quality of Canini's translation. In his attempt to stay as faithful as possible to the original text, Canini often wrote in a dense and confusing style too literally close to Montaigne's prose.

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23

Michel de Montaigne (1533–1592). *The Essayes or Morall, Politike and Millitarie Discourses of Lo: Michaell de Montaigne, Knight Of the noble Order of St Michaell, and one of the Gentlemen in Ordinary of the French king, Henry the third his Chamber. First written by him in French. And now done into English . . . by John Florio.* Printed at London by Val. Sims for Edward Blount dwelling in Paules churchyard, 1603. On loan from the Newberry Library.

John Florio (1553?–1625), the first translator of Montaigne's *Essais* into English, was the son of Michael Angelo Florio, an Italian Protestant who fled his country because of religious persecution in 1550 and settled in England for a few years. John Florio was born in London in 1553, studied at the University of Tübingen in the dukedom of Württemberg, and eventually returned to England, where he was appointed professor of Italian at the University of Oxford around 1580. Not satisfied with this position, Florio resigned and became the private secretary of both Michel de Castelnau, lord of Mauvissière (1520–1592), and the Baron de

Châteauneuf, two successive French ambassadors in London. At the French embassy, Florio met the Italian philosopher Giordano Bruno, who played a decisive role in his evolution towards becoming a translator. In 1598 Florio published the first truly scholarly Italian-English dictionary which he entitled *A Worlde of Words: A Most Copious and Exact Dictionarie in Italian and English*.

In order to maintain his literary activity, Florio sought the support of aristocratic patrons. In the early 1590s he was appointed Italian tutor to the Earls of Southampton, Rutland, and Bedford. These connections were most helpful to Florio when he undertook the translation of the *Essais*. The countesses of Rutland and Bedford contributed, along with four other patronesses, to the accomplishment of Florio's task. Each book of Florio's translation of the *Essais* opens with a dedication to a couple of benefactors: Lucie Russel, countess of Bedford, and her mother, Anne Harrington, for Book I; the countess of Rutland and Lady Penelope Riche for Book II; and Lady Elizabeth Grey and Lady Marie Nevill for Book III. Lucie Russel developed a very intimate relationship with Florio. One of the most important Elizabethan patronesses, her coterie included Ben Jonson (1572–1637), John Donne (1572–1631), Michael Drayton (1563–1631), and George Chapman (1559?–1634). In his first dedication, Florio reveals that the countess of Bedford urged him to provide a complete translation of the *Essais* into English. She closely followed Florio's progress and kept encouraging him: "You often cryed *Coraggio*, and called *ça ça*, and applauded as I passt," the translator recalls.

Florio also received the support of two friends in his work on the translation of the *Essais*, Matthew Gwinne and Theodore Diodati. Gwinne, an ardent Italianophile whom Florio met in Oxford, identified and translated all the Latin, Greek, Italian, and French quotations present in Montaigne's text into English. He also composed the six laudatory sonnets, signed by his usual pen name "Il Candido," which follow each of Florio's dedications. Diodati, for his part, assisted Florio in translating the most difficult passages of the book. In 1603, only eleven years after Montaigne's death, the first English translation of the *Essais* was released with the title, *The Essayes or Morall, Politike and Millitarie Discourses of Lo: Michaell de Montaigne*.

The publication of this text had a powerful influence on



THE AVTHOR TO THE
Reader.



Reader, loe-here a well-meaning Booke. It doth at the first entrance fore-warne thee, that in contriving the same, I have proposed vnto my selfe no other than a familiar and private end: I have no respect or consideration at all, either to thy service, or to my glory: my forces are not capable of any such desseigne. I have vowed the same to the particular commodity of my kinsfolks and friends: to the end, that losing me (which they are likely to do ere long) they may therein finde some lineaments of my conditions and humours, and by that meanes reserve more whole, and more lively foster the knowledge and acquaintance they have had of me. Had my intention been to foretell and purchase the worlds opinion and favour, I would surely have adorned my selfe more quaintly, or kept a more grave and solemne march. I desire therein to be delineated in mine owne genuine, simple and ordinarie fashion, without contention, arte or studie; for it is my selfe I pourtray. My imperfections shall therein be read to the life, and my naturall forme discerned, so farre-forth as publike reverence hath permitted me. For if my fortune had been to have lived among those nations, which yet are sayd to live vnder the sweet libertie of Natures first and vncorrupted lawes, I assure thee, I would most willingly have pourtrayed my selfe fully and naked.

Thus gentle Reader my selfe am the ground-worke of my booke: It is then no reason thou shouldst employ thy time about so frivolous and vaine a subject.

Therefore farewell. From *Montaigne*,
the first of March. 1580.

English intellectual life of the time. Jonson, William Shakespeare (1564–1616), John Marston (1576–1634), John Webster (1580?–1634), and Francis Bacon (1561–1626) discovered Montaigne in Florio's translation. Montaigne's *Essais* were immediately absorbed by English readers, and Florio's work was reprinted two times: in 1613, with a new dedication to Anne of Denmark (1574–1619), queen of England; and again in 1632.

This success should not, however, minimize the lack of accuracy which often characterizes this translation. Aside from numerous gross errors of misinterpretation, Florio's additions of rhetorical ornament profoundly modify Montaigne's style. Instead of respecting "the simple natural speech" (I: 26, p. 127) which the essayist defended, Florio preferred to elaborate on Montaigne's text by doubling and trebling and sometimes even adding adjectives or adverbs that do not appear in the original. The following example is one of many that illustrate Florio's inclination to "rewrite" the *Essais*. Montaigne writes: "Nous ne travaillons qu'à remplir la mémoire, et laissons l'entendement vuide," which Florio translates: "We labor, and toyle, and plod to fill the memory, and leave both understanding and conscience emptie" (I: 26, p. 129). In defense of his work, however, one must emphasize Florio's ability to find English equivalents for allusions which would not be familiar to English readers. For example, he substituted "the Cornish, the Welsh, or Irish" for the "Basques" and the "Troglodytes" of Montaigne's text. The English audience could relate more easily to these examples of unfamiliar tongues. Many other well-inspired transpositions from a French context into an English setting such as this one can be found in Florio's work.

After 1650 Florio's translation fell into oblivion. However, it was rediscovered by the professor Henry Morley, who republished it in 1885, more than two hundred and fifty years after the last edition of 1632. Since then there have been ten other complete editions and five volumes of selections from it. This renewed interest may be explained by the richness and flavor of Florio's style, which make his work one of the most remarkable examples of the Elizabethan art of translation.

24

Michel de Montaigne (1533–1598). *The Essays of Michael seigneur de Montaigne. In Three Books. With an account of the Author's Life. Made English by Charles Cotton, Esq.* London. Printed for T. Basset at the George in Fleetstreet, and M. Gilliflower and W. Hensman in Westminster-Hall, 1685[–1686]. In three volumes. On loan from the Newberry Library.

While Montaigne's *Essais* experienced a period of disregard in France from approximately the last third of the seventeenth century until Pierre Coste's first edition of 1724, their popularity stayed intact across the Channel. The appearance of a new translation in 1685–1686 contributed greatly to maintaining the English audience's infatuation with Montaigne's work. The author of this translation was the poet Charles Cotton.

Cotton (1630–1687) inherited his interest for literature from his father, Charles Cotton the elder, who possessed an excellent library and was a friend of Ben Jonson, John Donne, Richard Lovelace (1618–1657?), and Izaak Walton (1593–1683). Although primarily a poet, Cotton is chiefly remembered for two nonpoetic literary achievements, his translation of the *Essais* and his share in Walton's famous *Complete Angler*. For the fifth edition of this treatise on pastoral life, Walton suggested that his friend write a section on fly-fishing. Cotton did so and thus contributed to the success of this handbook, which is still enjoyed by contemporary audiences. In his capacity as translator, Cotton did not limit himself to Montaigne. Prior to the *Essais* he translated Corneille's *Horace* (1671) and several historical and philosophical works. His interest in French literature is also demonstrated in the writing of *Scarronides* (1664, 1665), a coarse burlesque of the *Aeneid*, books I and IV, and *Burlesque upon burlesque . . . being some of Lucian's Dialogue newly put into English Fustian* (1675), both imitated from the French writer Paul Scarron (1610–1660).

In the preface to his translation, Cotton declares that Montaigne's style rendered the *Essais* "the hardest book to make a justifiable version of that [he] ever yet saw." The stylistic and linguistic obstacles Cotton had to overcome were also exacerbated by the recent evolution in English prose during the Restoration.

Charles II's court was heavily influenced by French neoclassicism. The Royal Society of London, following the example of the Académie Française with the French language, undertook to polish and systematize the English language. The effect of this trend can be perceived in Cotton's translation. Cotton frequently substitutes a clearer but plainer rendition of Montaigne's innovative and daring expressions or turns. His work is often criticized for not conveying the richness and vitality of Montaigne's French. Despite this shortcoming, Cotton's translation was preferred to Florio's and was very frequently reprinted, unedited or with some revisions, during the eighteenth, nineteenth, and even twentieth centuries.

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25

Michel de Montaigne (1533–1592). *Michael Montaigne's Gedanken und Meinungen über allerlen Gegenstände. Ins Deutsche übersetzt.* Berlin: F. T. Lagarde, 1793–1799. In eight volumes. From the Emil G. Hirsch-Bernays Library. Gift of Julius Rosenwald.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, there were few mentions of Montaigne's *Essais* in the writings of German men of letters and scholars. The late discovery of Montaigne's thought in Germany can be attributed in part to the successive crises which destabilized the country. From the date the *Essais* first appeared until the close of the sixteenth century, Germany was immersed in theological controversies that eventually developed into violent dissent. This polemical climate was not favorable to the reception of a work that advocated tolerance and whose theses were bound to skepticism. After the devastating Thirty Years War (1618–1648), German intellectual life slowly recovered and opened itself to the influence of Louis XIV's France. During the Sun King's reign (1643–1715), Montaigne's *Essais* were severely criticized by some of the main figures of the French literary and philosophical world: Blaise Pascal (1623–1662), the Jansenists of Port-Royal, Jacques Benigne Bossuet (1627–1704), and Nicolas Malebranche (1638–1715). These criticisms indirectly contributed to the deferral of

Montaigne's reception by a German audience. The first complete translation of the *Essais* into German, by University of Leipzig professor of mathematics and physics, Johann Daniel Titius (1729–1796), appeared in 1753–1754 under the following title: *Michaels Herrn von Montaigne Versuche, nebst des Verfassers Leben, nach der neuesten Ausgabe des Hern Coste ins Deutsche übersetzt*. Because of this translation, Montaigne's work gained some renown in eighteenth-century German literary circles. Furthermore, the *Journal de voyage de Michel de Montaigne en Italie*, published in France for the first time by Querlon in 1774, was anonymously translated into German in 1777. It was, however, the translation of the *Essais* by Christoph Bode which brought Montaigne to wide recognition in Germany.

Bode (1730–1793), a self-taught musician and man of letters discovered the art of translation in 1759. He started by translating minor Italian and French plays. Between 1768 and 1778 he developed an interest in English literature through translations of authors such as Laurence Sterne (1713–1768) and Tobias Smollett (1721–1771). It was only at the end of his life that Bode decided to undertake the translation of the *Essais*. He started it in the middle of 1792 and worked on it for thirteen months without interruption. He died on 13 December 1793 having completed his task. Bode's translation was published posthumously between 1793 and 1799 thanks to the care of his friend, the writer and philologist Karl August Böttiger (1760–1835). This translation of the *Essais* in eight volumes also included a short biography of Bode, written by Böttiger.

Bode based his translation on the text of Marie de Gournay's 1635 edition. He displayed remarkable ability to transpose into German the rhythm and the unusual grammatical casts, as well as the popular or local expressions, that characterize Montaigne's style. Bode's translation was acclaimed on its appearance by a series of articles in the *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*, the most respected German literary newspaper of the time. His translation was reprinted by the prestigious publisher Weigand and Flake in 1908. Today it is still considered one of the most accurate and faithful translations of the *Essais* into German.

26

Michel de Montaigne (1533–1592). *Ensayos*. Edición de Dolores Picazo y Almudena Montojo; traducción de Dolores Picazo y Almudena Montojo. Madrid: Ediciones Cátedra, 1987–1993. In three volumes. On loan from Professor Philippe Desan.

In an article celebrating the essayist's 450th birthday published in the newspaper *El País* in 1984, the preeminent Spanish scholar of Montaigne's work, Otilia López Fanego, regretted the absence of a modern and accurate translation of the *Essais* into Spanish¹³. The first attempt to translate Montaigne's book into Spanish was made by the theologian and ex-Carmelite Diego de Cisneros (1584–?) as early as 1634. However, this translation, the manuscript of which is in the National Library of Madrid, only included Book I of the *Essais*, a biography of Montaigne, Marie de Gournay's 1595 apologetic preface, and a "Discourse written by the translator about the lord of Montaigne and his work." This translation was never published, probably because of the censure of the Inquisition. Spanish audiences therefore had to wait until the end of the nineteenth century—until 1898, to be precise—to have access to the *Essais* in translation. This task was achieved by the novelist, Constantino Román Salamero. Salamero's work, which was first published by the Parisian printer Garnier, was reissued several times during the twentieth century and constituted, until recently, the standard translation. Because of its inaccuracies (Salamero used the controversial Le Clerc edition for his translation) and its dated style, however, this translation was increasingly judged unsatisfactory.

The appearance in 1987 of Maria Dolores Picazo and Almudena Montojo's translation of the first book of the *Essais* was therefore warmly welcomed in Spain. By 1993 the two University of Madrid professors had completed their task. Although faithful to Montaigne's text, they intended to disseminate the *Essais* to a wider audience by modernizing the syntax and punctuation and by including a glossary at the end of the second volume. This new

13. Otilia López Fanego, "Actualidad de Montaigne," *El País*, 27 February 1984.

translation should therefore enhance Montaigne's presence in the Spanish intellectual world.

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27

Michel de Montaigne (1533–1592). *Montaigne Zenshû* [*The Complete Works of Montaigne*]. Translated by Hideo Sekine. Tokyo: Hakusuisha, 1982. In nine volumes. On loan from Professor Philippe Desan.

The diffusion of Montaigne's thought in Japan resulted primarily from the dedication of two eminent scholars, Hideo Sekine (1895–1987) and Yoichi Maeda (1911–1987). Maeda first discovered Montaigne by studying Pascal. His dissertation, which he defended at the University of Tokyo in 1947, compared the apologetic arguments in the *Essais* and in Pascal's *Pensées*. Sekine dedicated his career almost entirely to Montaigne. He began translating the *Essais* in 1926 and completed the task in 1935. After the first publication of his translation, Sekine kept revising, improving, and adding to it. In 1954, 1964, and 1982, he published successive translations of Montaigne's *Complete Works* that included in their final version nine volumes of the *Essais*, the *Journal de voyage en Italie* (co-translated with Professor Hironobu Saito), the *Correspondence*, the *Livre de Raison*, the sentences engraved in Montaigne's library, and La Boétie's twenty-nine sonnets and *Discours de la servitude volontaire*. Sekine was also the author of several essays in which he fused Montaigne's thought with Taoist philosophy. His translations and studies constructed bridges between cultures often considered radically different and thus facilitated the Japanese audience's understanding of one the most important thinkers of the occidental world.

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Michel de Montaigne (1533–1592). *Les Essais de Michel seigneur de Montaigne. Edition nouvelle, prise sur l'exemplaire trouvé apres le deceds de l'Autheur, reveu & augmenté d'un tiers outre les precedentes impressions.* Virésque acquirit eundo. A Paris. Chez Abel l'Angelier, au premier pilier de la grand' salle du Palais, 1598, avec Privilege. Bound by Lortic. Acquired on the Helen and Ruth Regenstein Rare Book Fund and with the support of the Division of the Humanities, the University of Chicago.

For a description see item 7. This rare edition was acquired by the Library on 4 October 1995, after this exhibition catalogue had gone to press.

the following table, which is based on the results of the analysis of the material collected during the last five years.

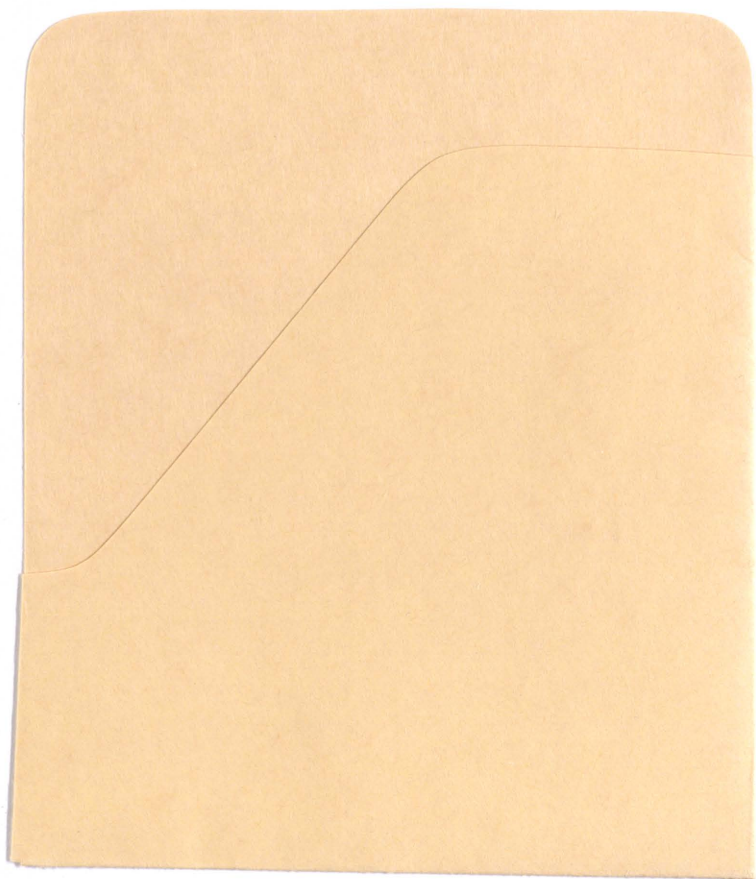
It will be seen from the above table that the incidence of the disease is not only increasing but also that the mortality is increasing. This is due to the fact that the disease is now being recognized at an earlier stage and is being treated more effectively. The following table shows the results of the analysis of the material collected during the last five years.

For a description of the disease, see page 10. The following table shows the results of the analysis of the material collected during the last five years.

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