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## Emblematic Printers' Marks in Portugal from the Fifteenth to the Seventeenth Century and Beyond: Essay of a Comprehensive Presentation

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### Resumen

Desde la primera edición de mi libro *Emblemática Lusitana e os Emblemas de Vasco Mousinho de Castelbranco*, del año 2000, y en las subsiguientes de 2001, 2004 y 2005, incluí una sección dedicada a las marcas emblemáticas de impresores en Portugal, por considerarlas un tema específico, hasta entonces poco estudiado individualmente, de la emblemática en sentido amplio. Ese primer ensayo de composición de un corpus, aunque limitado por basarse exclusivamente en la existente historiografía de la primitiva tipografía del país hasta el final del siglo XVI, no tuvo divulgación mucho más allá del ámbito lusófono. Habiendo logrado enriquecerlo para el período posterior gracias a investigaciones en otras fuentes ahora más fácilmente accesibles, me pareció conveniente publicar los resultados en inglés, con miras a un público lector más amplio.

### Palabras clave

Emblemática; marcas de impresores; Portugal

### Title

Marcas de impresores emblemáticas en Portugal del siglo XV al XVII y más allá: ensayo de una presentación general

### Abstract

Since the first edition of my book *Emblemática Lusitana e os Emblemas de Vasco Mousinho de Castelbranco*, in the year 2000, and in the subsequent ones in 2001, 2004 and 2005, I included a section dedicated to emblematic printers' marks in Portugal,

considering them a specific subject, until then scarcely studied individually, of emblematics *lato sensu*. This first essay towards the composition of a corpus, limited as it was because based exclusively on the extant historiography of the early typography of the country until the end of the sixteenth century, did not reach divulgation much beyond the lusophone circle. Having succeeded in enriching it for the later period thanks to research in other sources now more easily accessible, I thought it convenient to publish its results in English, aiming at a wider readership.

### Keywords

Emblematics; printers' marks; Portugal



## INTRODUCTION

In the recently published book *Typographorum Emblemata. The Printer's Mark in the Context of Early Modern Culture*, edited by Anja Wolkenhauer and Bernhard F. Scholz (Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter Saur, 2018, *Schriftmedien / Written Media*, 4, 429 pp.), a series of articles by different authors approaches the theme of the European printer's devices under a series of topics (Beginnings and Provenances, Regions and Places, and Concepts, Historical and Systematic), and, more specifically, in some selected countries (England, Hungary, Sweden), places (Leiden, Munich) and printers (Aldo, Froben, Calvo, Jewish printers in Poland and Greek Printers in Italy), and a chapter on Iceland's lack of printer's devices.

It is clear that the aim of the organizers was not the exhaustive presentation of the phenomenon in the whole of Europe or elsewhere. Many important publishing centers and printers were not considered therein. Each contributing author chose the form of treatment of the subject of his/her article, without concern for a homogeneous territorial or thematic consideration. Besides, in spite of the book's title, it includes also non-emblematic marks, i.e., those without the essential elements of a perfect device (*inscriptio* and *pictura*). The closing article, by Bernhard F. Scholz, is a reflection about the questions of terminology and definition and the possibility of ordering the corpus of the Early Modern printer's marks by means of definition and classification, a task not possible to deal with in the volume due to limits of space.

The volume concludes with an extensive bibliography of ample scope, which will prove extremely useful for anybody interested in that symbolic

universe. This is the only part where printers' devices from the Iberian Peninsula are dealt with, but only one work refers to Portugal: Konrad Häbler's *Spanischee um Portugiesische Bücherzeichen des XV. und XVI. Jahrhunderts*. This book reproduces a great number of marks, but in its overwhelming majority, from Spain. Only eight Portuguese marks are included, one of which is rather heraldic (Manuel de Lyra), and two others do not belong to the printers to whom they are attributed (Germão Galharde and Antão Gonçalves) but rather to their patrons or commissioners of the books, King Manuel I and the Infant Cardinal Henrique, the future King Henrique I.

It is true that the Portuguese contribution to this field, as well as in what refers to the production of emblem books and editorial output in general, was modest and peripheral in terms of the European culture. However, some marks were overlooked by Häbler.

Since the year 2000, in successive editions of my work *Emblematica Lusitana e os Emblemas de Vasco Mousinho de Castelbranco* (Tegucigalpa 2000 and 2001, Belgrade 2004 and Lisbon 2005), I included in the Introduction a section on emblematic printers' marks, in which I tried to display all those I could collect by then, in the context of a succinct overall presentation of Portuguese emblematics. I believe that essay, which contained all the marks shown by Häbler—except for the three referred to above—and several more, was the first attempt towards the treatment of the subject, although necessarily superficial and not exhaustive, due to the nature of the book, but containing some suggestions of interpretation of certain cryptical aspects.

I feel that this early effort did not reach much divulgation beyond the lusophone readership, probably because the two first versions of the book were limited editions privately printed for distribution outside commerce, and the third, published by the Center of History of the University of Lisbon, like the previous ones is equally in Portuguese. It must be pointed out that the interest in emblem studies in Portugal in those years was yet in its beginnings, when printer's marks had been dealt with mainly in the context of the history of typography.

I would like to profit from this medium to overcome those handicaps with a version in English, enriched with some additional data—especially regarding the seventeenth century, a period not much treated by the historians—and some corrections, but without lingering on theoretical considerations about the global fashion, a task that has been already accomplished by many a scholar.

This text will rely substantially on that my previous work. However, as over twenty years have passed by, several new marks, especially from the less studied seventeenth century, and many others from more recent times, have

been added to the original list thanks to research in other sources more easily accessible nowadays.

Emblematic printers' marks from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century constitute a separate chapter of emblematics *lato sensu*. The interest for these symbols, due to the fact that they are closely linked to the history of printing, precedes by a long time the enthusiasm for emblem studies initiated in the last decades, whereas already in the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries, but especially since the second half of the latter, various catalogues of marks were published. Generally inserted on the title page or on the colophon of the printed work, these woodcuts or engravings did not have only a decorative function or were signs of identification and/or ownership; they represented also some personal connotation of the owner, by means of a cryptical allusion through motto, image, pun, anagram or rebus. Displaying, not rarely, a remarkable artistic quality, they were composed by a *pictura* and an *inscriptio* and/or the owner's name, initials or monogram, being therefore like devices, frequently derived from emblem or device books. They differ from impresas/devices in strict sense only by the professional connotation.

Not all printers possessed emblematic marks in Portugal<sup>1</sup>. Those who adopted them did not always employ them on every work. Some marks bear no interest from the emblematic point of view. Many prints presented only mere decorative vignettes without special meaning, or the coat of arms of the printer's patron or commissioner of the work. Such is the case of some of the most prolific, the official Royal or Coimbra University's printers, like João de Barreira, Pedro de Mariz, Antonio Ribeiro, Francisco Correa, Germão Galharde and João Alvares. Religious books showed preferentially sacred images or the symbol or monogram of the related institution, like the Society of Jesus, the Order of St. Dominic, the Inquisition or a bishop or cardinal. Some printers used the royal blason with a griffin in the crest. These authorities and institutions were responsible for a high percentage of the books printed in the country in that period. Occasionally a device without the character of mark was inserted in the book's frontispiece framework.

Differently from the usage in other countries, the Portuguese marks did not include the printer's full name, at most his initials or monogram—with the only possible exception of that of Luís Rodrigues—, and almost always contained a Latin *inscriptio*. The latter are the only ones we consider here. Due to the belated arrival of the printing press in Portugal and the progressive

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<sup>1</sup> E.g., books in Hebrew, the first to be printed in Portugal, in Faro, Lisbon and Leiria, in the end of the fifteenth century, do not present printers' marks.

differentiation of the activities of printer, publisher and bookseller, the local printers almost never used the kind of medieval merchant's marks and shop signs which, by then, was already falling into disuse in the other countries in behalf of the humanistic fashion.

The great majority of the printers considered here worked in Lisbon. So, when not otherwise mentioned here, it is implied that they worked in the capital of the kingdom. Differently from my previously published study, this time I do not include the marks of Jewish printers of Portuguese origin who worked in Amsterdam.

### **FIFTEENTH CENTURY**

The first book published in Portugal with an emblematic mark was the *Vita Christi*, printed in 1495 by Valentim Fernandes (fl. 1495-1516) in association with Nicolau de Saxonia (1495-1498), both of German origin<sup>2</sup>. It consists of a rectangle of double-line frame, inside which a *putto* encircled by a symmetrically entangled rope, holds a hanging blank escutcheon in each hand, having above, on each side, the letters N and V, the initials of the names of the partners. Outside the rectangle, and around it, in Gothic characters, these verses from the Psalms 71:9 and 79:9: NE PROJCIAS ME IN TEMPORE SENECTUTIS CUM DEFECERIT VIRTUS MEA NE DERELINQUAS ME. ADJUUA NOS DEUS [sic] SALUTARIS NOSTER (KJV: "Cast me not in the time of old age; forsake me not when my strength faileth. Help us, O God of our salvation") (Fig. 1) (Häbler, 1898, Tafel XI, a; Anselmo: 1981, 153-154 and 379; Pacheco, 39). The fact that the escutcheons are blank perhaps means that this was their first work.

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<sup>2</sup> For a thorough presentation of these printers' biographies and editorial activities, especially that of the much more relevant for the Portuguese typography, Valentim Fernandes, from Moravia, an ancient part of the Bohemian Crown, nowadays in the Czech Republic, see Deslandes, 1888, 1-2 and Anselmo: 1981, 146-205.



Fig. 1. Nicolau de Saxonia and Valentim Fernandes

## SIXTEENTH CENTURY

From 1496 onwards, Valentim Fernandes, having separated from his partner, adopted for individual mark a rectangle with a Greek frame, inside which a crowned tenant lion, projecting its tongue and with a bifurcate tail (the heraldic symbol of Bohemia) holds between its raised front paws, suspended from its nape by a belt, a shield with the monogram V FRZ in the field. Underneath the shield, a band with the mysterious letters ISVWH, whose meaning has resisted every attempt of deciphering, and, below it, a watering eye. Outside, and all around de frame, the following verses, in Gothic characters, from the Psalms 93:19 and 22 SECUNDŪ MULTITUDINEM DOLORUM MEORUM IN CORDE MEO: CŌNSOLATIONES TUE [sic] LETIFICAUERŪT [sic] ANIMĀ MEĀ. ET FACTUS EST MIHI DOMINUS [sic] IN REFUGIUM (KJV: Psalms 94:19 and 22 “In the multitude of my thoughts within me thy comforts delight my soul. (But the Lord is my defence) and my God is the rock of my refuge”) (Fig. 2). Fernandes’ mark is reproduced by W. Roberts at the end of his chapter dedicated to Italy and Spain (Roberts: 1893, 232.) Artur Anselmo gives a complete account of the interpretations offered to the whole image by different scholars, and adds his own (Anselmo, 1981, 159-168 y Anselmo, 1926, 155-9).



Fig. 2. Valentim Fernandes

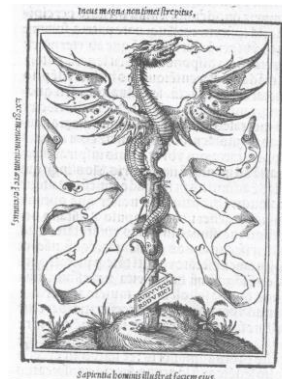


Fig. 3. Luís Rodrigues

This mark was used also without the surrounding *inscriptio* (Häbler, Tafel XII, b; Anselmo, 1926, 163; Anselmo, 1981, 159, 331 and 379; Pacheco, 116-7). It is interesting to notice its likeness with that of the Lyonese printer Michel Topie (fl. 1488-1490) (Roberts: 1893, 131 and 207; Silvestre: 1867, Fig. 15).

Luís Rodrigues' mark (fl. 1539-1554) features a threatening dragon with spread wings on top of a tree trunk, with the tail coiled around it, having poised from the lower part a sign with the owner's name in Latin version, Luduovicus Rodurici, and floating on either side a band with the motto *SALUS vitae* inscribed. The whole inside a double line frame rectangle, initially with the following sentences all around, which is a mix from different sources: *INCUS MAGNA NON TIMET STREPITUS* (Erasmus, *Adagia*, III.i.29 (No. 2029): "The biggest anvil is not afraid of the rumble"); *NON FATO UENIENTE CADAM* (?) ("When my hour comes, I will not yield"); *QUANDO IBO SUB UMBRAS.* (Giovanni Boccaccio, *Carmina*, I:117: "When I walk under the shadows"); *EXEGI MONUMENTUM AERE PERENNIUS* (Horace, *Carmina*, III:30:1: "I have reared a monument more enduring than bronze"); *SAPIENTIA HOMINIS ILLUSTRAT* [sic, in the Vulgate, *illuminat*] *faciem eius* (Ecclesiastes 8:1, KJV: "a man's wisdom maketh his face to shine") (Fig. 3), (Pacheco, Fig. II.20). There is a version without frame and name, having all around the motto in cursive *SAPIENTIA CONFORTAUIT SAPIENTEM SUPRA DECEM VIROS* [sic; in the Vulgate: *principes*] *CIUITATIS* (an adaptation of Ecclesiastes 7:20, KJV: 7:19: "Wisdom strengtheneth the wise more than ten mighty men which are in the city") and, underneath, the maxim *NOSCE TE IPSUM* ("Know thyself") attributed to the Greek wise man Chilon (Fig. 4) (Häbler, XXI, a, b; Pacheco, 64). The *pictura* of this mark was used in Coimbra, in 1604, by Manoel de Araujo (fl. 1600-1605) on Leandro de Figueiroa Fajardo's *Arte do Computo Ecclesiastico*, only

with the motto SALVS VITE (Fig. 5). Ronald B. McKerrow mentions alike marks from 1604 and 1607 with a winged serpent (i.e., a dragon) on a rod upheld by two hands, with and without the motto SALUS VITAE (McKerrow: 1913, Fig. 340). It has given occasion to different attempts of interpretation. Without exclusion of other possible senses, I think it symbolizes the dragon tree or drago (*Dracaena draco*, L.), a plant from which a medicinal reddish resin is extracted called dragon's blood, but this explanation, which is not original, is disputed. The symbol looks very much like the device of King Manuel I's son Fernando, so that it is fair to think that Rodrigues enjoyed the protection of that prince, who was a great friend of books.



Fig. 4. Luís Rodrigues



Fig. 5. Manoel de Araujo

The image of Rodrigues' mark was used later in Coimbra by João Álvares, alone or in association with João de Barreira, not framed and with or without the mottoes SALUS VITE inside and OMNIA CHRISTUS VINCIT ("Christ defeats everything") around (Fig. 6) (Anselmo: 1926, 16 and 76-9).

Roth-Scholtzius, "the founding father of this research area" (Peil: 2018, 197), who does not consider any Portuguese mark in his *Thesaurus*, includes the very similar one to Rodrigues' of the Italian Gazioso Percacino, dated 1560 (Roth-Scholtzius: 1790, Fig. 142). This printer, who used the symbol in varied arrangements, flourished in Venice (1548-1599) and Padua (1553-1566) (Zappella, 1998, Figs. 1043-1046). Consequently, Percacino's adoption of the signet is posterior to Rodrigues'.





Fig. 6. João de Barreira e João Alvares



Fig. 7. João Pedro Buonhomini de Cremona

The printers João Pedro Buonhomini de Cremona (fl. 1501-1514), João Álvares (fl. 1536-1587?), João de Barreira (fl. 1542-1590), and André de Burgos (fl. 1552(?)-1579) used the armillary sphere inside a double line rectangular frame with de mysterious letters C.A.D.T.G. engraved on the ecliptic and a floating band around its stand with the motto SPERA IN DEO [sic, in the Vulgate, *Domino*] ET FAC BONITATEM, adapted from Psalms 36:3 (KJV 37:3: “Trust in the Lord, and do good”) (Fig. 7) (Häbler, 1898, Tafel XXIII, a; Anselmo, 1926, 16, 33, 64, 102, 104, 145 and 148; Pacheco, Figs. 47 and 49). In the case of Buonhomini, it is hard to determine whether it is the printer’s mark or King Manuel I’s device. Another mark attributed by Deslandes to this printer is not emblematic<sup>3</sup>.

The armillary sphere was used by some foreign printers, like the Parisian Gilles (or Gillet) Hardouyn, in this case with the initials *M.R.O.E.*, used also in Lisbon by Valentim Fernandes in the *Historia de muy noble Vespesiano* (1496) and the *Grāmatica Pastrane* (1497) (Anselmo: 1981, 378; Häbler, 1898, Tafels XVI and XLII, a; Pacheco, Figs. 2, 19 and 21; Roberts: 1893 19; Roth-Scholtzius: 1790, Figs. 146. 147 and 481; Silvestre: 1867, Fig. 55; Zappella: 1998, Figs. 1060 to 1065).

João de Barreira used also, in Lisbon (1576), a coconut tree with a rising sun on the background, inside an ornate elliptic frame with the motto along its interior HUC OMNIA HIC OMNIBVS or just OMNIA OMNIBVS (“All things to all men”) (Fig. 8) (Anselmo: 1926, item 225; Pacheco, Fig. II. 21). According

<sup>3</sup> Deslandes (1888, 11, n. 1): “a circle inside a parallelogram with a small black triangle in the center; on the upper third of the said a line, upon which sits a cross potent, as may be seen on the book called *Sacramental*, printed in his workshop of Lisbon in the year 1502” (my translation).

to Deslandes and Viterbo, the same mark was used in 1657 by Henrique Valente de Oliveira (fl. 1656-1659) as simple typographical decoration (Deslandes: 1888, 212, n.1; Viterbo, 1924, 158, n. 1).

Antonio de Mariz (fl. 1556-1599), who worked both in Braga and Coimbra, was, together with João de Barreira and Germão Galharde, one of the most productive printers in the sixteenth century in Portugal. Antonio Joaquim Anselmo considers him the most important among the Portuguese printers of his time, preferred by the Jesuits (Anselmo: 1926, 238). His mark, borrowed from Merten Verhasselt, of Leuven, was a mother hen lying down with its chicks inside an ellipse with the motto *FERVENS AMOR* (“Passionate love”) inscribed on its border, the whole within a cartouche, the bottom of which with or without the initials *A M.* above a caryatid (Fig. 9) (Meeus: 2018, 83).



Fig. 8. João de Barreira



Fig. 9. Antonio de Mariz

Mariz printed in Braga, for the archbishop, in 1565 and 1566, two editions of the *Summa Caietana*, with an engraving within a square on the colophon, thus described by Antonio Joaquim Anselmo: a skull with two arrows crossing the orbits and the initial *M* underneath (Anselmo: 1926, item 841). In fact, on both editions the initial is *A*. Around the square the lemma from the Ecclesiasticus (Sirach) 7:40: *MEMORARE NOVÍSSIMA TVA ET IN ETERNAM NON PECCABIS* (“Remember your last things, and you will not sin forever”) (Fig. 10).

In the year 1564, the heirs of João Blávio printed Pedro da Fonseca’s *Institutionum Dialecticarum Libri Octo* with an engraving on the end of the volume, consisting of a sword and a cubit crosswise, entangled by a rope, on a cartouche, with the following *inscriptio* underneath: *DEFINIT CUBITO, GLADIO DIALECTICA TOTUM DIUIDIT, & TORTO FUNE REPERTA LIGAT* (Anselmo: 1926, item 358), (Fig. 11). This symbol was imprecisely described but not reproduced

in my previous work. Anselmo calls it a device, not a mark. The author's? Or a mere adornment allusive to the book's subject matter?



Fig. 10. Antonio de Mariz



*Definit cubito, gladio Dialectica totum  
Diuidit, & torto fime reperta ligat.*

Fig. 11. Heirs of João Blavio

The mark of António Ribeiro (fl. 1574-1592) was an ellipse framed by a cartouche having on top a lion's head, with the following motto inscribed inside its double lined border *MEDIA VTROQUE GAUDET VIRTUS* ("Virtue rejoices between both sides"), showing in the center a palm-tree topped by a radiate sun over a royal crown and, on either side the classical allegories of the rivers Douro and Minho (called "Doro" and "Miño", in Spanish), a rebus with the printer's surname: "ribeiro" means brook (Fig. 12). For Antonio Joaquim Anselmo, Ribeiro is among the most remarkable printers in the second half of the sixteenth century in Portugal (Häbler, 1898, Tafel XII; Anselmo: 1926, 267 and 275).

In the years 1578 and 1579, João Fernandes printed some five books at the press of the Monastery of São Vicente de Fora, in Lisbon, on one of which, Fr. Hilarião Brandão's *Voz do Amado*, from 1579, displays an engraving of a rectangle with vegetal decoration containing a double line elliptic border with the motto *FORTIS EST VT MORS DILECTIO CANT 8* inscribed in it, having in its center the image of the pelican in her piety, the symbol of the sacrifice of Jesus Christ in the Eucharist, frequently used by other printers. The motto is from the Cantic of Canticles 8:6 (KJV: "love is strong as death"). The plate occupies a large portion of the page, between the title and the author's name. Antonio Joaquim Anselmo (Anselmo: 1926, item 545) does not say it is the printer's mark, Friar Brandão's or the printing workshop's device, or a mere emblematic decoration. Apparently it does not appear on any other publication. In doubt, and due to its beauty, I reproduce it here, as I did in my previous study (Fig. 13).



Fig. 12. Antonio Ribeiro



Fig. 13. João Fernandes

Antonio de Barreira (fl. 1579-1597), João de Barreira's son and heir, used, in 1593, in the book *Sphaerae Vtriusque Tabella* [...] the signet of an elliptic double line frame with the *inscriptio* FLECTIMVR SED NON FRANGIMVR (“We are bent but not broken”) inscribed in it, and, in the center, a body of water containing reed bent by the wind. Antonio Joaquim Anselmo (Anselmo: 1926, item 545) considers it a mark. Induced by him, I erroneously included it in my previous work. In fact, it is the device of the author of the book, André do Avelar, and was used in other of his works printed by other printers, e.g., Manuel de Lyra and Simão Lopez. It is a frequent subject of emblems and is based on the motto of the Colonna family, FLECTIMER NON FRANGIMVR IN VNDIS (de Andrade Martins, 324). Deslandes supposed, with no grounds, that the image represented the four elements (Deslandes: 1888, 103, n. 1).

Manuel de Lyra (fl. 1582-1609) (fl. 1582-1609) used, on two editions of the great Portuguese poet Luis de Camoens' epic *Os Lusíadas* (*The Lusíads*), an almost square mark containing in the center the full size image of Orpheus playing the lyre—a rebus with the printer's surname (Lyra/lyre)—with the motto NON VI SED INGENIO ET ARTE (“Not by force but by ingenuity and skill”) which begins within Orpheus' tunic's billowing tail and continues inside and around the broad frame, accompanied or not by MVSIS SACRVM (“Consecrated to the Muses”), with or without the initials M. L. (Fig. 14) (Anselmo: 1926, 209 and items 738 and 757). In accordance with the convention of the time for the representation of this mythological entity, the musical instrument is not the classic Greek lyre, but rather a kind of viola played with a bow. Although the motto constitutes a Latin proverb, Lyra's immediate inspiration was probably the verse from *Os Lusíadas*, II, II, 8 *Se a tanto me ajudar o engenho e arte* (Sir

Richard Fanshawe's *rendering* [1655]: "If wit and art will so much guide my pen").



Fig. 14. Manuel de Lyra

Deslandes describes a version of this mark with a stag and a lion near Orpheus, with, on top, Diana leaning on a stag, but I could not find an example of it (Deslandes: 1888, 104, n. 2). It might be a confusion with Lyra's other mark described below.

It is interesting to note that a similar image of Orpheus, with the two animals, was used by the Venetian printer Francesco Ziletti (fl. 1569-1587) with and without the motto *VIS IN VIRTUTE COELETIS* (Roth-Scholtzius: 1790, Fig. 197; Zappella: 1998, Fig. 909). This must have been Lyra's model.

In 1583 Lyra used another mark on the book *La entrada que em el Reino de Portugal hizo la S.C.R.M. de Don Philippe, invictissimo Rey de España*, consisting in the coat of arms of Phillip II of Portugal (III of Spain) within an ellipse inserted in an elaborate framework formed by the images of mythological Greco-Roman gods —Artemis/Diana with the stag on top, Zeus/Jupiter with the eagle on the left, and Athena/Minerva with the aegis on the right— having above the inner ellipse the motto *MVSIS SACRVM* and, on the bottom, M. L. (Fig. 15) (Anselmo: 1926, item 734).

Alexandre de Siqueira (fl. 1592-1598) printed in 1597 Friar Bernardo de Brito's *Silvia de Lysardo* with an engraving thus described by Antonio Joaquim Anselmo: a small engraving representing a mount that has above a star sending down a ray, with a caption around (Anselmo: 1926, 307 and item 107). He does not transcribe the caption which, on the only known copy of the book, is partially damaged, but reads *SOL [?] NOTA, SOLI* (Fig. 16).



Fig. 15. Manuel de Lyra

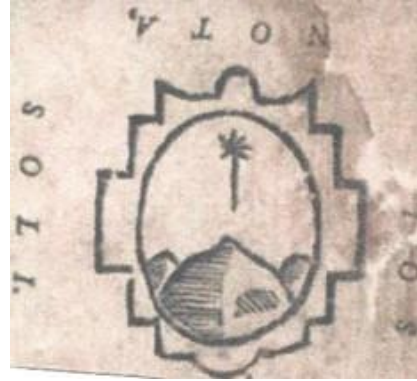


Fig. 16. Alexandre de Siqueira

## SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Pedro Craesbeeck (fl. 1597-1632), a disciple of the famous Christophe Plantin from Antwerp, initiated a dynasty of Flemish printers in Portugal. He used as mark the sunflower under a radiant sun, a recurrent symbol, within an elliptic double line border having inscribed in it the motto *TRAHIT SVA QVEMQVE VOLVPTAS* (“Everyone is dragged on by their favourite pleasure”) inside a cartouche (Anselmo: 1926, 141 and item 517; Häbler, 1898, Tafel XLVI). The verse is from Virgil’s *Bucolics*, Eclogue II, 65 (Fig. 17). In 1598 he printed Bartolomé Scarion’s *Doctrina Militar*, in which he used the symbol of a rectangle containing a laurel bough and a palm crosswise, with the motto *IN VTRVQUE PARATVS* (“Prepared for either”), much used in emblems and devices (Fig. 18) (Anselmo: 1926, item 518). It is possibly the author’s device, since the book was printed at his expenses and its subject seems to match the motto. In 1611 he printed Camoens’ *Os Lusíadas* with the mark of a pen and a sword crosswise—the usual representation of the simultaneous practice of arms and letters and a clear reference to that poet—inside a laurel wreath surrounded by the motto *SIMVL IN VNVM* (“Like one”), reprinted in 1633 by his successor Lourenço Craesbeeck, with the same mark (Fig. 19). In 1615 Pedro used the mark of a fleur-de-lis and a lion rampant in the center of an ellipse with the motto *QVID HUMILITATE INVIDIA?* (“Why to envy humility?”), the whole within a cartouche (Fig. 20). The motto derives from a famous portrait of the Spanish poet Lope de Vega printed on the 1598 edition of his *Arcadia* (Arellano Ayuso, 2022, 341 and 343).



Fig. 17. Pedro Craesbeeck



Fig. 18. Pedro Craesbeeck



Fig. 19. Pedro and Lourenço Craesbeeck



Fig. 20. Pedro Craesbeeck

Another interesting case of doubt whether the signet belongs to the author or to the printer is that of the book *Daphne e Apollo*, by Hieronymo Correa, printed by Pedro Caesbeeck in 1624: inside a single edged rectangle, two dogs leap towards—or bark at—an angel with stretched wings hovering upon a cloud above, holding a palm in one hand and an unidentified object in the other, with in between the motto *INANIS IMPETUS* (“An inane undertaking”), inspired in an emblem of Andrea Alciato, with adaptations (Fig. 21).



Fig. 21. Pedro Craesbeeck



Fig. 22. Luís Estupiñán

Luís Estupiñán (fl. 1606-1625), probably a Spaniard, worked in Seville and in Lisbon, where apparently he printed only Fernão Álvares de Oriente's *Lusitania Transformada* in 1607, used as mark an angel shaking a tree that has the word CEDAT ("Yield") inscribed on a band placed on its trunk, on top of which appears the head of a bird and, on the ground, a lion, the whole in the center of an ellipse surrounded by an ornate frame (Fig. 22). In my opinion, it represents certainly king Nebuchadnezzar's dream, described by the prophet Daniel in 4:10-14 (KJV: "Thus were the visions of mine head in my bed; I saw, and behold a tree in the midst of the earth, and the height thereof was great. The tree grew, and was strong, and the height thereof reached unto heaven, and the sight thereof to the end of all the earth: The leaves thereof were fair, and the fruit thereof much, and in it was meat for all: the beasts of the field had shadow under it, and the fowls of the heaven dwelt in the boughs thereof, and all flesh was fed of it. I saw in the visions of my head upon my bed, and, behold, a watcher and an holy one came down from heaven; He cried aloud, and said thus, Hew down the tree, and cut off his branches, shake off his leaves, and scatter his fruit: let the beasts get away from under it, and the fowls from his branches: Nevertheless leave the stump of his roots in the earth, even with a band of iron and brass, in the tender grass of the field; and let it be wet with the dew of heaven, and let his portion be with the beasts in the grass of the earth: Let his heart be changed from man's, and let a beast's heart be given unto him; and let seven times pass over him. This matter is by the decree of the watchers, and the demand by the word of the holy ones: to the intent that the living may know that the most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will, and setteth up over it the basest of men"). This mark was used before Estupiñán by Gabriel Ramos Bejarano, who worked in various places in Andalusia.



Between 1611 and 1627 Fructuoso Lourenço de Basto used in Braga two different marks, one being a square single border signet showing in its center the image of two armillary spheres, each with the words PROSPERA and ADVERSA inscribed on the respective ecliptic; standing on each sphere a female figure reaches for a star in the center of a cloud above; on top of the cloud, the monogram *IHS* surmounted by a cross; around this image, a circular double border frame with the motto TIMOR DOMINI ET VERITAS IN HOMINE VINCIT OMNIA (“Fear of the Lord and Verity in Man Overcomes Everything”) (Fig. 23). The other shows, inside a double border rectangle surrounded or not by an elaborate cartouche, having in its center a calyx with the sacred host, sided by two kneeling angels holding burning candles, the whole under a church crossing in whose arch is inscribed the invocation in Portuguese LOUVADO SEJA O SANTÍSSIMO SACRAMENTO (“Praise be to the Most Holy Sacrament”) (Fig. 24). In spite of their religious character, both signets were used on more than one book by different authors, so that they are probably the printer’s mark and not the authors’ devices.



Fig. 23. Fructuoso Lourenço de Basto



Fig. 24. Fructuoso Lourenço de Basto

In 1622 Antonio Alvares (Father) (fl. 1613-1618) published the *Comedias Famosas Portuguesas* by Francisco de Sá de Miranda and Antonio Ferreira using, as remarked by Deslandes (Deslandes: 1888, 171-1, n. 1), the very same mark of the Spanish printer Juan de la Cuesta, who had printed in Madrid the first edition of Cervantes’ *Don Quijote* (1605), with the hand descending from a cloud, holding a hooded hawk, having below a lion dormant, within an ellipse containing the motto POST TENEBRAS SPERO LVCEM (Job 17:12: “After darkness, I hope for light”), the whole encircled by a cartouche adorned with floral motives (Fig. 25). The motive of the hand with the hooded

hawk and the same motto was used by various other Flemish and Spanish printers before and after Juan de la Cuesta.



Fig. 25. Antonio Alvarez (father)



Fig. 26. Geraldo da Vinha

Geraldo da Vinha (fl. 1620(?)-1628(?)) printed in 1626, in Spanish, *Varia fortuna del soldado Pindaro*, with the mark of a pilgrim in front of different roads that lead to the top of a high mountain, surrounded by an elaborate frame with four *putti* and the motto from the Psalms 24:4 VIAS TUAS DOMINE DEMONSTRA MIHI (KJV: 25:4 “Shew me thy ways, O Lord”). The same mark was used by Antonio Alvarez (fl. 1620-1659) on various of his prints. Inscribed on the bottom of the frame there is a monogram that seems to belong to Alvarez (Fig. 26). This mark was used also without indication of the printer.

Manoel Carvalho (fl. 1623-1637) printed in 1624, in Evora, the second part of Friar Pedro Correa’s *Triumphos Ecclesiasticos* with a figure composed by an elaborate framework with caryatids and fruit decorations, having in its center the following images: on top, a closed book within a circle; in the middle, a sword crossing a coiled band with the motto VT EVADAT (“In order to escape”); and underneath, the Hydra of Lerna (Fig. 27). It is not clear whether this is his mark or the author’s device, whereas apparently it was not used in other prints.

In 1638 Manoel de Sylva (fl. 162(?)-165(?)) printed a sermon by Friar Thomás Aranha using the mark of a date tree inside a double edge ellipse with the inscription SERO SED DACTYLUS, possibly intending to say *dactylicus*, i.e., “Late but numerous” (Fig. 28). The concept seems to be that the palm is the slowest of trees, yet in time it will bear fruit, as Harold Bayley explains about a Parisian mark of 1701 with the motto IN TEMPORE FERET (“In time it will bear fruit”) (Bayley, 1909, Fig. 302).



Fig. 27. Manoel Carvalho



Fig. 28. Manoel da Sylva

Jorge Rodrigues used in 1632 the mark of a palm-tree with the motto TANDEM (“At last”) on a band behind the trunk (Fig. 29).

In 1649, Paulo Craesbeeck (fl. 1628-1642) published a book with the imprint of a brilliant sun with the motto OBLECTAT ET ILLUMINAT forming an angle underneath, inside an elliptic framework (Fig. 30). Due to this being its unique example, it must be included among those of doubtful printer/author character.

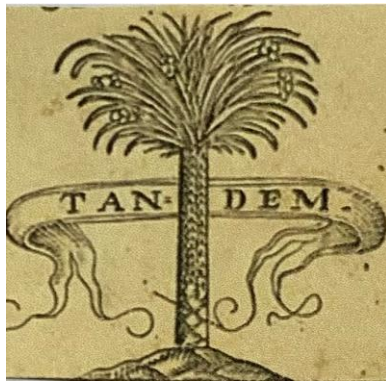


Fig. 29. Jorge Rodrigues



Fig. 30. Paulo Craesbeeck

Antonio Alvarez (Son) printed in 1640 the first edition of Antonio de Sousa de Macedo’s epic poem *Vlyssippo* with a mark, but the image is so blurred in the few copies I could examine of this very rare edition that it is not possible to interpret it with precision. It looks like a hummingbird hovering over

a flower plant, having above the motto VT PROSUNT (?) (“For profit”), the whole within an ellipse encircled by an elaborate baroque framework (Fig. 31).

Lourenço Craesbeeck (fl. 1599-1673) illustrated the title page of a Sermon he printed in Coimbra in 1641 with an engraving showing a single line rectangle containing, in a cartouche, an ellipse with the picture of a king inside a cup having, on either side, a dragon and a lion as supporters; around the ellipse the motto SIT PRIOR IN QVARTO SIT TERTIVS ATQUE SECVNDVS (“He is the first in the fourth, he is the third and the second”). This signet, which possibly was not intended as a mark, must have been conceived especially for the occasion, whereas the sermon was preached in celebration of the acclamation of King John IV after Portugal restored its independence from Spain (Fig. 32).



Fig. 31. Antonio Alvares (son)



Fig. 32. Lourenço Craesbeeck

In 1651 Domingos Lopes Rosa used in a book one of the many versions of the famous mark of the Antwerp printer Christophe Plantin, with the usual image of the hand descending from a cloud, holding a drawing compass that traces a circle on a leaf of paper, surrounded by the motto LABORE ET CONSTANTIA (“Labour and Constancy”), inside a framework having a labourer on the left with his shovel and a woman on the right with a cross, both holding boughs upwards (Fig. 33). The central motive and the motto were also used by Plantin’s successors and other printers in Belgium (Havre: 1884, II, 97-193), France, Italy and the Netherlands.

The mark of João da Costa (Ioannis a Costa) that appears on a book printed in 1677 is composed by a large baroque style frame formed by three cherubs all around and varied fruits on the bottom, having inside it a minute ellipse containing the image of a palm-tree with a band across its trunk, with the almost illegible lemma CURVATA [?] RESURGO (“When I am bent, I rise again”), a symbol with strong emblematic tradition as a sign of resilience. The

frame is taken from the mark of the Antwerpian printers Jérôme Verdussen III and Jean Baptiste Verdussen I, with the replacement of their central old-style monogram for the image of the tree (Havre: 1884, II, 319 and 321). At the frame's foot there is added a tiny, almost imperceptible symbol like the ancient merchant's marks, rare in Portugal: the initials of the printer's Latinized name, I C, placed in a heart shaped border, then surmounted by a cross at whose extreme top is the lateral line formed into a sort of triangular four, with the tail of the cypher 4 traversed by a perpendicular bar which appear to form another cross (Fig. 34). The same central motive was used in the mark of the Parisian printer Augustin Courbé in the first half of the seventeenth century. McKerrow records a mark from 1640 and 1648 with the palm-tree and the motto *DEPRESSA RESURGO*, adding that the device alludes to the notion that the palm-tree has an especial power of straightening itself when held down by weights (McKerrow: 1913, Fig. 428).



Fig. 33. Domingos Lopes Roza



Fig. 34. João da Costa

Both Henrique Valente de Oliveira and João da Costa used separately, in 1657 and 1660 respectively, a quadrangular mark with a ship sailing amid tempestuous weather and a compass with the following motto in ancient Portuguese inscribed on a band underneath: *SEIA O CORAÇAM IGUAL* ("That the heart be equal") (Fig. 35).

Bernardo da Costa de Carvalho (fl. 1691-1730?) used the mark of an ablaze phoenix in its nest, looking up at the sun, having above it a band with the motto *VT VIVAT* ("That it may live"), another frequent subject of emblems, devices and marks, with varied *inscriptions* (Fig. 36). According to Ana Teresa Brito, this mark was used before by the *Officina Craesbeeckiana* and by Antonio Craesbeeck de Melo, and after by Pedro Ferreira, in this later case as mere vignette (Brito, 2014, §§ 23-7).



Fig. 35. Henrique Valente de Oliveira and João da Costa



Fig. 36. Bernardo da Costa Carvalho

In the second decade of the seventeenth century (1703-1715) the *Officina Real Deslandesiana* of Miguel Deslandes and Valentim da Costa Deslandes printed books with the following mark: a double line edged rectangle having in its center a bunch of flowers in a vase, above which floats a band with the motto *SEMPER HONORE MEO* (“Always my honour”), from Virgil’s *Æneis*, VIII, 76, surrounded by a decoration of vegetal motives (Fig. 37).

## EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Pedro Ferreira (fl. 1723-1769) used, between 1734 and 1755, a mark whose central theme is a flower standing still, resisting the wind that blows from left, having above a band with the motto *IN ÆTERNŪ NON CŌMOVEBIT*, adapted from Proverbs 10:30 (KJV: “shall never be removed”), the whole inside an elaborate framework (Fig. 38) (Brito, 2014, § 18).



Fig. 37. *Officina Real Deslandesiana*



Fig. 38. Pedro Ferreira

## NINETEENTH AND TWENTIETH CENTURIES

After a long period of complete oblivion of the genre, emblematic printers' marks experienced a revival in Portugal late in the nineteenth century and early in the twentieth century.

In Lisbon, the following printing houses adopted them: Ferreira & Oliveira, Limitada. – Editores and Portugal-Brasil Ld.<sup>a</sup> – Sociedade Editora, a standing winged woman raising a torch within a framework, having on top the motto *PER ORBEM FULGENS* ("It shines throughout the world") and on the bottom an open book (Fig. 39); Guimarães & Cia., an ancient printing press inside a double circle containing the motto *IN HOC SIGNO VINCIS* ("With this sign you will defeat them"), which, according to a pious legend, appeared in the sky, together with the image of the cross, to the Portuguese Count Afonso Henriques on the eve of the Battle of Aljubarrota against the Castilians (1385) (Fig. 40); Imprensa Libanio da Silva, within a circle, a standing winged woman holding a torch and the motto *FIAT LUX* (KJV: Genesis 1:3 "Let there be light") (Fig. 41); Livraria Ferreira, of Ferreira L.<sup>da</sup> Editores, a daisy losing its petals over a pile of books, two closed and the third open, with the motto on top *TUDO OU NADA* ("All or nothing") (Fig. 42); Livraria Ferin, of Baptista, Torres & C.<sup>ia</sup>, two different marks, the one with a squirrel crossing a mire, with the motto *LABOR VINCIT AERUMNAS* ("Work overcomes hardships") inscribed on a band underneath (Fig. 43), and the other with a priestess or vestal raising a torch, standing on top of the globe, resting her left hand on a scutcheon containing in the field the monogram *LF* and the motto *LABOR OMNIA VINCIT 1840* ("Work overcomes all") inscribed on the bordure (Fig. 44); Livraria Sá da Costa Editora, between two Doric columns, on the top the five scutcheons crosswise with bezants from the Portuguese coat of arms, an open book in the middle, and a band with the motto *INSTRUERE: CONSTRUERE* ("To instruct: To Build") on the bottom (Fig. 45); Livraria Zeferino, Editora, a scutcheon between two boughs, showing in the field the monogram *ZH* [Henrique Zeferino] formed by a branch of ivy in the form of a *Z* climbing up a wall in the form of a *H*, having, on a band underneath, the motto *CHI DURA VINCE* ("He who endures, wins") (Fig. 46); and Portugália Editora a domed distyle portico containing under it the Portuguese scutcheons crosswise with bezants, and the motto *PRO GREGIS GLORIA* ("For the glory of the people") inscribed on the plinth (Fig. 47).



Fig. 39. Ferreira & Oliveira Limitada e Portugal Brasil L.ª



Fig. 40. Guimarães & C.ª



Fig. 41. Imprensa de Libanio da Silva



Fig. 42. Livraria Ferreira, Ferreira L.ª Editores



Fig. 43. Livraria Ferin, Baptista, Torres & C.ª



Fig. 44. Livraria Ferin, Baptista, Torres & C.ª





Fig. 45. Livraria Sá da Costa Editora



Fig. 46. Livraria Zeferino - Editora



Fig. 47. Portugália Editora

In Oporto, Lello & Irmão, Editores and the *Emprêsa Litteraria & Typographica - Editora*, adopted marks featuring a forger hammering at the anvil, the first with the motto *DECUS IN LABORE* (“Dignity in work”) next to a big “L” of Lello (Fig. 48); the second with the motto *PAR EST FORTUNA LABORIS* (“Luck is equal to the work”) (Fig. 49). The latter venture kept the same motto but, perhaps to avoid the competition with the mark of the older firm, replaced the forger by a lady seated on the border of a circle, in the act of writing (Fig. 50). *Livraria Figueirinhas* adopted as mark a bird perched on a bough, feeding her chick, with the motto *AD POSTERUM* (“Forward to the future”) underneath, a clear allusion to the house’s important activity in the field of textbooks for the young (Fig. 51). A rather curious case is that of the *Typographia a Vapor da Empresa Guedes*, who used in 1907 the mark of the seventeenth century Antwerpian printer Johannes Baptista Verdussen (fl. 1692-

1759) of a stork feeding her chick in the nest, with the motto on a band underneath PIETAS HOMINI TUTISSIMA VIRTUS (“Piety is the most secure virtue for men”) inside a framework of vegetal motives and caryatids, the monogram in the bottom being replaced by the year (Fig. 52). The same motive and motto were adopted by other printers from Antwerp and Venice in different arrangements, before and after Verdussen (Havre: 1884, II, 49-66, 328, 335 and 343; Zappella, 1998, Fig. 344).



Fig. 48. Lello & Irmão, Editores



Fig. 49. Empresa Litteraria & Typographica - Editora



Fig. 50. Empresa Litteraria & Typographica - Editora



Fig. 51. Livraria Figueirinhas



Fig. 52. Typographia a Vapor da Empresa Guedes

Lello's mark remains in use until nowadays and can be seen in the magnificent stained glass skylight at their historic bookshop.

In Coimbra, Coimbra Editora, Lim.<sup>a</sup> – Antiga Livraria França & Arménio used, inside a foliage circle, the bust a sportswoman raising a torch and the motto AB UNO AD OMNES (“From one to all”) (Fig. 53), and Livraria Editora F. França Amado an angel seated inside a circle, holding a lamp, with the motto LVMEN (“Light”) above (Fig. 54).

In Elvas, Antonio José Torres de Carvalho's mark was a pelican inside a frame with the motto ETIAMSI OMNES EGO NON (“Even if all others, not I”) (Fig. 55) reminiscent of St Peter's reply to Jesus Christ in Matthew 26:33.



Fig. 53. Coimbra Editora – Antiga Livraria França & Arménio



Fig. 54. Livraria Editora F. França Amado



Fig. 55. Antonio José Torres de Carvalho

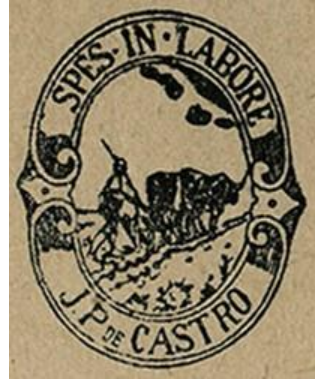


Fig. 56. Livraria Povoense Editora, José Pereira de Castro

Finally, in Póvoa de Varzim, the Livraria Povoense of José Pereira de Castro adopted as mark a labourer behind a plow pulled by two oxen, inside an oval frame with the motto *SPES IN LABORE* (“Hope in Labour”) (Fig. 56) above and the owner’s name below.

## CONCLUSION

It results clear from the above list that the number of emblematic printers’ marks in Portugal, as well as of printers’ marks in general, along the time that this fashion prevailed, was quite modest, unable to be compared to that of the more developed European countries and proportional to its weight in the continent. Besides being a small territory with a small population, Portugal, in spite of its success in the age of the great navigations and discoveries, was never a great economic or cultural power. The emblematic output itself, in terms of creation or printing of emblem books, was very scarce, as I have demonstrated in my other works on this subject.

Although some Portuguese marks are of sufficient good quality and even impressive, especially those from the early years, the printing press arrived in the country late in the fifteenth century, brought by foreign printers of German origin who imposed their style. So, in general terms they are far from being original in their conception, and tend to follow foreign models, inspired by emblem and *impresa*/device books, or even borrowing from foreign printers, changing only the mottoes, but with the same biblical or classical literary sources. Traditional images kept being adopted, like the pelican in her piety, the palm tree, the sunflower, the phoenix, classic personifications of river-gods, which do not represent any specificity regarding the nature, culture or exploits

of the country or of its many possessions in Asia, Africa and America. No ship alluding to the great navigations, no native African or Brazilian, no exotic beast, no colonial product. Add to this the fact that most of the books printed in Portugal in those times do not bear marks at all, and most printers who used them did not do it systematically, but only occasionally, on one or two of their books. This lack of a reiterated use make it difficult, in some measure, to assert whether the symbol is a real mark or a simple ornament. Some of them seemingly were made for just one specific print. Nevertheless, I suppose that this is not a question peculiar to Portugal, and that collectors of printers' marks had to deal with the same doubt in other countries.

It is doubtful even whether the matrices were engraved locally or imported, so dependent were the typographers on supplies of all kinds from abroad.

This study can certainly be improved by researchers with access to more complete information. In the absence of biographical data for some of the printers, it was not possible for me to check whether their marks contain allusions to a particular feature or event, a trait of character, a philosophical or religious creed, a purpose or expectation in life, or a mere resort to classical symbols without especial personal involvement. The poor resolution of some reproductions derive from the scarce quality of the originals available. I hope that the detailed descriptions given here will help the viewers in their understanding of the images.

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