

A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ENIGMA: THE H-1773: 08
EDITION OF RAYNAL'S *HISTOIRE DES
DEUX INDES*

Mens manet im mota

The year 2021 saw the publication, under the direction of C. P. Courtney of a *Bibliographie des éditions de Guillaume-Thomas Raynal 1747–1843*.¹ The work constitutes a completely new version of the one provided by the critical edition of Raynal's *Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements et du commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes*, published in 2010.² This article focuses on the edition of the *Histoire des deux Indes* which bears the number H-1773: 08 in Courtney's *Bibliographie* (Fig. 1).

Compound tailpieces on title pages: Dufour's register

The demonstrative value of compound ornaments to determine the origin of an edition has been established for a long time.³ For that reason, compound tailpieces will be considered here first, not only those used on title pages but also inside the various volumes.

Two compound tailpieces of title pages appear in editions produced by the bookseller-printer Jean-Edme Dufour (1728–1789), established in Maastricht, now in the Netherlands; his biography is provided by

We thank Muriel Collart, Cecil Courtney, and Alice Piette for their help.

¹ *Bibliographie des éditions de Guillaume-Thomas Raynal 1747–1843*, ed. by Cecil Patrick Courtney and others (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2021).

² Guillaume-Thomas Raynal, *Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements et du commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes. Edition critique. Volume 1*, ed. by Anthony Strugnell and others (Fernel-Voltaire: Centre international d'Étude du XVIII^e siècle, 2010).

³ Daniel Droixhe, 'Signatures clandestines et autres essais sur les contrefaçons de Liège et de Maastricht au XVIII^e siècle', *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, 10 (2001), 53–198; Muriel Collart, 'Des beaux ornements aux belles bibliothèques. À propos de l'édition clandestine des *Œuvres de Brantôme* par Jean-Edme Dufour (Maastricht, 1779)', *Histoire et civilisation du livre*, 13 (2017), 167–83; David Adams and Daniel Droixhe, 'Quelle contrefaçon rouennaise du *Théâtre* de Diderot a été imprimée par Louis-Joseph Oursel pour Pierre Machuel en 1770–1771?', *Recherches sur Diderot et sur l'Encyclopédie*, 58 (2023), 211–18; Daniel Droixhe, 'L'édition 1765–01 des *Œuvres* de Montesquieu: une contrefaçon rouennaise imprimée par Abraham-François Viret pour Pierre Machuel', *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, 99 (2024), 174–89; Daniel Droixhe, 'Contrefaçons rouennaises méconnues des œuvres de Gessner (1762–1764)', *Annales de la Société Suisse pour l'Étude du XVIII^e Siècle*, 15 (2024), 77–91; Daniel Droixhe, 'La contrefaçon rouennaise du *Candide* imprimée par Louis-Joseph Oursel pour Pierre Machuel en 1775', *Cahiers Voltaire: Revue Annuelle de la Société Voltaire*, 23 (2025), 101–111; Daniel Droixhe, 'Une contrefaçon du *Siècle de Louis XIV* de Voltaire imprimée par Abraham-François Viret pour Pierre Machuel en 1764. Style ornemental et identification numérique', *Revue Voltaire*, 25 (2025), 223–37.

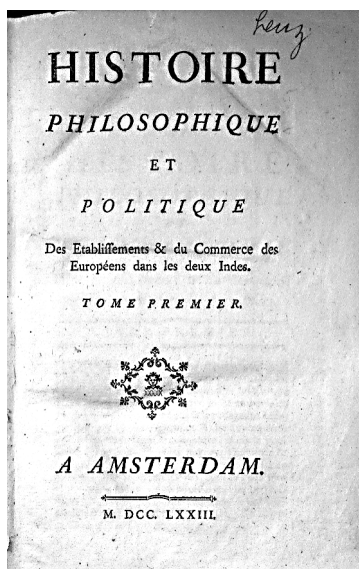
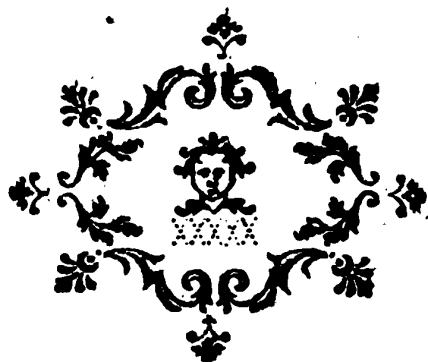


FIG. 1. (left) H-1773: o8, 1. Image by Daniel Droixhe and Alice Piette.

FIG. 2. (below left) H-1773: o8, 1, t.p. Image by Daniel Droixhe and Alice Piette.

FIG. 3. (below right) Du Buat, *Éléments de la politique* ('Londres' [recte Maastricht: Dufour], 1773), 1, p. xliv. From BnF, NUMM 94013 < 1 >. By kind permission of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.



Courtney.⁴ A tailpiece of the first tome of H-1773: o8 appears in an edition that may be attributed to Dufour: the *Éléments de la politique* by L.-G. Du Buat-Nançay, published with the false address 'Londres' in 1773 (Fig. 2). The correspondence between the two editions had been mentioned in an earlier article published with the collaboration of I. Kachur and N. Vanwelkenhuyzen.⁵

Another tailpiece, more relevant, appears in an edition officially acknowledged by Dufour: the *Œuvres complètes* by J.-F.-É. Desmahis, also published in 1773 (Figs. 4-5).

⁴ *Bibliographie des éditions de Guillaume-Thomas Raynal*, p. 159.

⁵ Droixhe, 'Signatures clandestines', pp. 177-96; Daniel Droixhe, *Une histoire des Lumières au pays de Liège* (Liège: Éditions de l'Université de Liège), pp. 185-90, 240-45.

FIG. 4. (left) H-1773: 08, 1, 237.
Image by Daniel Droixhe and
Alice Piette.

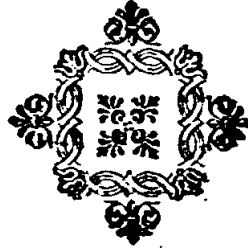


FIG. 5. (right) Desmahis,
Œuvres complètes (Maestricht:
Jean Edme Dufour, 1773), pp.
69, 90, 106; Du Buat, *Éléments*,
v, 13; VI, 122, 269. By kind
permission of Biblioteca
Nazionale di Napoli and
Biblioteca Lucchese Palli.

FIG. 6. H-1773: 08, 1, 121;
Du Buat, *Éléments*, 1, 1.



FIG. 7. H-1773: 08, 1, 237;
Du Buat, *Éléments*, 1, 47.

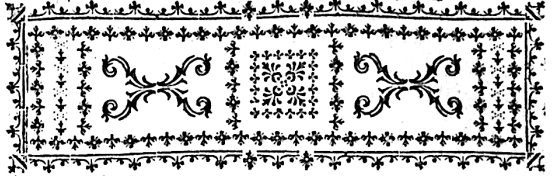


FIG. 8. H-1773: 08, 1, 146.



Compound headpieces: Dufour's register

Two headpieces also appear in Dufour's edition of Du Buat (figures 6–7).

The compound ornaments indicate only that the title page and p. 1 of volume I were produced by the same printer, that is to say Dufour. However, it is possible to argue that another headpiece might also be due to Dufour.

The reconstruction of a puzzle compound

The headpiece of volume II in H-1773: 08 has not been found in Du Buat (Fig. 8). It includes in particular two modules, inside the rectangular frame: (a) a central module which represents a head seen from the front, between two leaf-shaped typographic ornaments; (b) two symmetrical modules composed of vertical lines and three ornaments with a lily flower. We propose

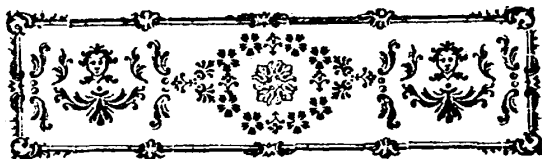
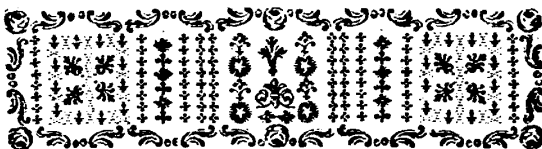
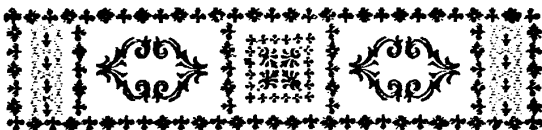
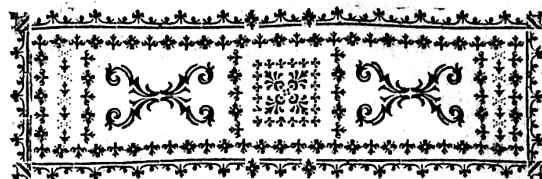
FIG. 9. Du Buat, *Éléments*, I, 13; III, 229.FIG. 10. Du Buat, *Éléments*, v, 1.FIG. 11. Du Buat, *Éléments*, IV, v.

FIG. 12. H-1773: 08, I, 237.

to use these modules as ‘matrices’ to determinate series of tailpieces which could be classified.⁶

This headpiece has a central module which appears as a lateral module in another headpiece used by Dufour in Du Buat’s edition (Fig. 9).

On the other hand, the symmetrical arrangement of the ornaments in H-1773: 08—vertical lines, lily flower, etc.—characterizes a central module in another headpiece of Du Buat (Fig. 10).

By combining the two modules which appear in Du Buat, a model corresponding to the headpiece of H-1773: 08, t. II may be constructed. The productivity of such a ‘puzzle reconstruction’ can be illustrated by another correspondence between H-1773: 08 and Du Buat’s edition (Figs. 11–12). If the external rectangular frame of H-1773: 08 is different, that which is internal is the same as in Du Buat; the vertical lateral lines are constructed with the same ornaments (flowers, dotted crosses, ‘black snowflakes’); the ‘seahorse’ ornaments are assembled differently; the central module has ornaments which are differently oriented. Almost all the ornaments used in Du Buat could be used to construct the *Histoire des deux Indes* headpiece.

⁶ Daniel Droixhe, ‘The Rouen Nebula of Counterfeiting. AI, the BnF and Voltaire’s Editions’, forthcoming.



FIG. 13. (top left) H-1773: 08, I, 1.

FIG. 14. (top right) Perrin, *Sermons*, III, 365; IV, 1.

FIG. 15. (bottom left) H-1773: 08, IV, 3.

FIG. 16. (bottom right) Perrin, *Sermons*, II, 94; III, 137.

FIG. 17. H-1773: 08, I, 1. – C.-J.-B. Le Chapelain, *Panegyrique de sainte Thérèse* (Liège: Clément Plomteux, 1768), p. A. – P.-J. Henry, *Explication, ou notes courtes et faciles sur le catéchisme* (Liège: Clément Plomteux, 1768), p. A2. – Perrin, *Sermons*, IV, 194.



Engraved drop caps in the various volumes: Plomteux's register

If the compound ornaments of volumes I and II of H-1773: 08 indicate volumes printed by Dufour, the engraved tailpieces and headpieces introduce a problematic disruption. They come from another printer, Clément Plomteux, whose biography, as given by Courtney, is also well known.⁷

The following engraved drop caps or ornate initial letters are common to H-1773: 08 and to the *Sermons sur la morale et sur les mystères* of C. J. Perrin published by Plomteux in 1768. They are reversed in these occurrences where the break in the frame of the 'P' is more worn in 1773 (Figs. 13–16).

The engraved headpieces of the various volumes: Plomteux's register

The engraved headpieces of H-1773: 08 confirm that the texts of volumes III, IV, V and VI were entirely printed by Plomteux, because they correspond to models noted in his edition of Perrin's *Sermons*. We reproduce one of the most significant headpieces, with a cherub holding a basket of flowers and fruits between foliage (Fig. 17). Its occurrence has also been noted in other religious books which have Plomteux's official address, such as Le Chapelain's *Panegyrique de sainte Thérèse* and Henry's *Explications, ou notes courtes et faciles sur le catéchisme*.

⁷ *Bibliographie des éditions de Guillaume-Thomas Raynal*, pp. 134–35; Droixhe, *Une histoire*, pp. 185–87; Daniel Droixhe, 'Images de livres: Raynal, Buffon, Mercier dans une *Visite à l'imprimerie perdue et retrouvée*', *Histoire et civilisation du livre: revue internationale*, 7 (2011), 99–113.



FIG. 18.

x

Vols I–II, *Livres* 1–5Vols III–VI, *Livres* 6–18

FIG. 19.

x

The spelling of the titles

The spelling of the titles of volumes varies, and that of the titles of the *Livres* in each volume is not uniform. The modern spelling in *-ents* as in ‘établissements’ is generally used by Dufour in his editions, as in Du Buat’s *Éléments* or Desmahis’s *Œuvres complètes*. It is used here in the titles of volumes I–III, in the corresponding titles of the *Livres* and in the text of these volumes—which are supposed to have been printed by Dufour. The old, traditional spelling in *-ens* is generally used by Plomteux, as in Perrin’s *Sermons*, Cicero’s *Lettres à Atticus* (1773), etc. It is used here in titles and text of the volumes IV–VI. Volume III is a special case: its title page has ‘Etablissements’, in Dufour’s style, but the title of its *Livres* 6–8 and the corresponding text have ‘établissemens’, in Plomteux’s style.

Other typographical features: fonts, rod, ampersand, fonts, swash

Fournier fonts are used in volumes I–II and Enschedé fonts are used in the other volumes. The distinction is obvious in letters of the title pages such as *T* and *E* which have simpler horizontal bars in Fournier and angular bars in Enschedé. In Fournier, the *Q* has a simple line under the circle and the line is curved in Enschedé: a rococo style which is also obvious in the shape of the ampersands (Figs. 18–19). The same style uses the *T* swash in the mention of the volume number opening a signature, in Enschedé while a *T* without swash is used in volumes I–II. This must be correlated to the fact that Dufour elsewhere in his editions uses Fournier fonts, and Plomteux uses Enschedé.⁸

Conclusion

The analysis above highlights certain points. In volumes I–II, the title pages, the titles of page 1 and the text present characteristics specific to Dufour: Fournier fonts, modern spelling and a tailpiece which he uses elsewhere. In volumes IV–V–VI, the title pages and the whole text present characteristics specific to Plomteux: the Enschedé fonts, traditional or antiquated spelling, engraved headpieces, and drop caps that he uses elsewhere.

⁸ Concerning Plomteux’s style, see John Leland’s *Nouvelle démonstration evangelique* of 1768.

	VOL. TITLE PAGE	P. I TITLES + TEXT	P. I HEADPIECE + DROP CAP	SPELLING
1773: 08 Vol. I	Dufour	Dufour	Plomteux	Dufour
1773: 08 Vol. II	Dufour	Dufour	Plomteux	Dufour
1773: 08 Vol. III	Dufour	Dufour	Plomteux	Dufour (Vol. title page) Plomteux (p. 1 + text)
1773: 08 Vol. IV	Plomteux	Plomteux	Plomteux	Plomteux
1773: 08 Vol. V	Plomteux	Plomteux	Plomteux	Plomteux
1773: 08 Vol. VI	Plomteux	Plomteux	Plomteux	Plomteux

Volume III is special, as it mixes two styles. The title page of the volume, the titles and the text of page 1 are completely in Dufour's style. The title of page 1, the headpiece, drop cap, and the whole text are in Plomteux's style. This can be summarized in the following table.

In other words, Dufour's compositor retained the workshop fonts and spelling of volumes I–II in the title page of volume III, before a text and engraved ornaments which came from Plomteux.

Everything suggests that the H-1773: 08 collection was undertaken first to continue the previous counterfeits provided by Plomteux in 1772–73, which were completely his own. The immediate success of his editions of such a bestseller demanded a rapid renewal. The Lyon printers were in the race. Volumes I and II of the H-1773: 07 must have been sold faster and more widely. That Plomteux reused this stock is attested by the fact that volume IV of H-1773: 07, as described by Courtney, is the same as volume IV of H-1773: 08. In both, p. 102 is paginated 202. If volume V of H-1773: 07 has p. 285 paginated 85, as Courtney also observes, H-1773: 08 no longer has the mistake, and spelling differences confirm that the text this edition results from was a different composition.⁹

This scenario leaves intact the difficulty of explaining how the first page of the text in volumes I and II, printed by Dufour, has headpieces and tailpieces from Plomteux. We suppose that the engraved ornaments were sent,

⁹ It has 'Guiane' versus 'Guyane', p. 31; 'Sainte-Lucie' versus 'sainte-Lucie', pp. 36, 42; 'défricher', versus 'défricher', p. 42, etc.

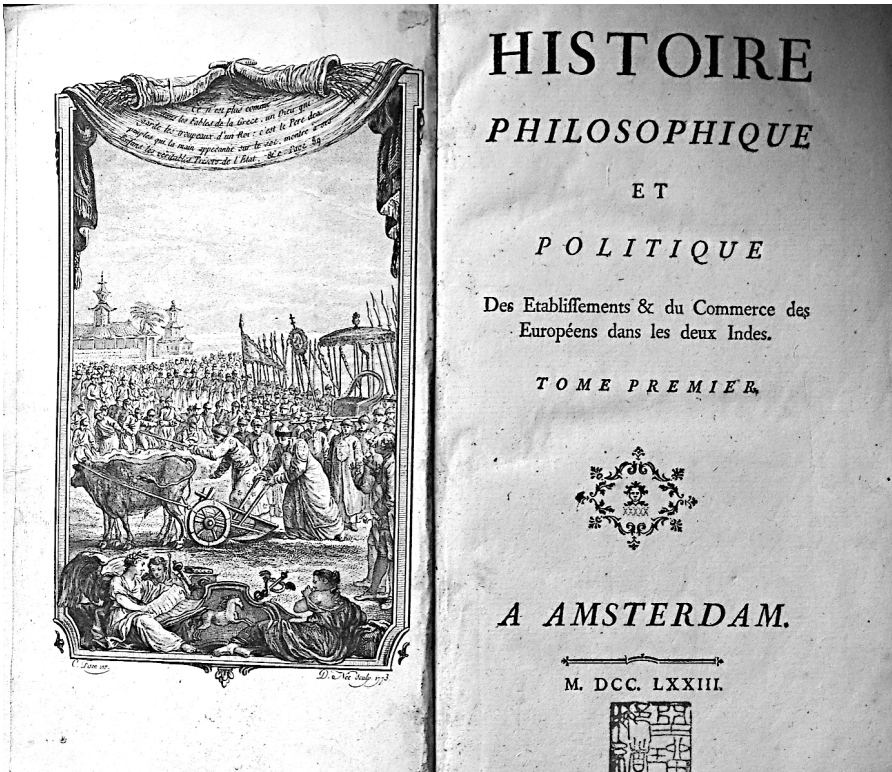


FIG. 20. Collection Droixhe–Piette. *Ex libris* Juan Narbona with motto *mens manet imota*, 'The mind remains unmoved'.

by post or by boat, from Liège to Maastricht. The two towns were only about thirty kilometres apart. They were linked during the second half of the eighteenth century by a stagecoach service, and, later, by boats which went from one city to the other in two and a half hours.¹⁰ This was in fact sufficient for a rapid exchange of typographic materials. The latter were typical of the printers' styles. Plomteux fonts looked more ancient, and closer to the curved or coiled rococo style of Louis XV furniture, while those used by Dufour, which broke, so to speak, with rococo forms, looked more modern as they came back to simple, straight shapes.

Plomteux had developed as a rival to old Bassompierre. Dufour, who had been a workshop manager in Liège for Bassompierre in his younger days, wanted to be much more than a student and to surpass the master. Bassompierre and Plomteux were living in a Catholic state, under the cross

¹⁰ Axel Somers (Antiquaire), 'Les Diligences', <<https://axso.be/>>.

of a prince-bishop. Dufour was determined to exploit the possibilities for greater intellectual modernity offered to him by the Protestant political regime in Maastricht. Typography did not concern itself with the border.

Another personal copy of H-1773: 08 raises a final question. It has a frontispiece signed left 'C. Eisen inv.' and right 'D. Nee sculp. 1773'. From which edition did Dufour or Plomteux borrow it?

Liège
Manchester

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DAVID ADAMS