In his *Champ Fleury* of the year 1529, Geofroy Tory, humanist and printer, interrupts his discourse on *l'art et de la proportion des lettres* to enlarge for some three pages on printer’s marks in general and on his own in particular. This he sums up as follows: „Devices are not composed out of letters but out of representations which bespeak the fantasy of their author. They are sometimes called *rebus*. Their invention requires imagination but they also stimulate others to reflection”. These words of Tory’s are applicable to his own printer’s mark (fig. 1), which appears in the *Champ Fleury* with an additional explanation¹.

Tory’s device may be described as follows: On a book stands a broken vase at the foot of which three locks are chained. A windlass is stuck through a hole in the pitcher and finally there grows out of its mouth what may be described as a posy. In the upper left corner there appears a conventional *Wolkenkrause* through which the rays of the sun seem to be breaking, not without effort. The device *NON PLVS* appears in the opposite corner upon a *cartellino* that seems to be suspended from the line that frames the woodcut. Above and below the mark proper we find the following additional

¹ Tory, fol. XLIII recto, XLIII verso.
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titles: MENTI BONAE DEVVS OCCVRRIT (above) and SIC, VT. VEL, VT. NON PLVS. (below).

The development of Tory's mark has gone through a number of stages: the stylized broken vase on the title-page of Aediloquium (1530), on the Hours of 1531 and on Diodore (1535); the broken vase with the toret (windlass, winch, spindle, reel) and the book in the Hours of 1527, and the mark with the new additions in the Hours of 1524.

Auguste Bernard thus sums up the course of the mark's development². Evidently Bernard has not noticed that the earliest mark of his series is at the same time the one which he considered to be the final stage in the development. Probably Tory simplified his mark in proportion as his trade-mark (The Broken Pot) became better known. It was only while printing Champ Fleury that he gave his mark an emblematic function and that he added the necessary attributes.

Probably the various versions of the mark existed side by side with the "complete" form, which Tory gave to his mark in 1529. This mark, which he, together with its explanation, printed in Champ Fleury differs in some details from the older mark on the title-page of the same book. It is as if he found this "definitive" form of the mark while printing the book (which took three years, from 1526-1529)³. The last page in Champ Fleury shows the mark in its definitive form. In the second edition (1536) the mark on the title-page was also replaced by the new one. In the 1549 octavo edition by Vivant Gautherot, the mark and its explanation in the text of Champ Fleury are missing. In all likelihood Tory himself did not cooperate in this edition, which will explain why Gautherot left out the irrelevant passage. Though Tory made an arbitrary choice from the various versions of his mark also after 1529, in Champ Fleury it becomes quite clear that he attached most value to this "definitive" mark.

As we turn to Tory's own explanation of the mark we learn the following:

Premierement en icelle ya vng vase antique qui est casse, par lequel passe vng toret. Ce dict vase et pot casse signifie nostre corps, qui est vng pot de terre. Le toret signifie Fatum, qui perce et passe foible et fort. Soubz icelluy pot casse ya vng liure clos a trois chaines et catenats, qui signifie que apres que nostre corps est casse par mort, sa vie est close des trois Deesses fatales. Cestuy liure est si bien clos, qu'il ny a celluy qui y secuest rien veoir, si ne scayct les segrets des catenats, et principalement du catenat rond, qui est clos et signe a lettres. Aussi apres que le liure de nostre vie est clos, il ny a plus homme qui y puisse rien ouvoir, si non celluy qui scayct les segrets, et celluy est Dieu, qui seul scayct et cognoist auant et apres nostre mort, qu'il a este, qu'il est et qu'il sera de nous. Le feuillage et les fleurs qui sont au dict pot signiffient les vertus que nostre corps pouuoit avoir en soy durant sa vie. Les rayons de soleil qui sont au dessus et au pres du toret du pot signiffient l'inpiration que Dieu nous donne ennoys exerceant a vertus et

² Bernard, 29-32. ³ Bernard, 239.