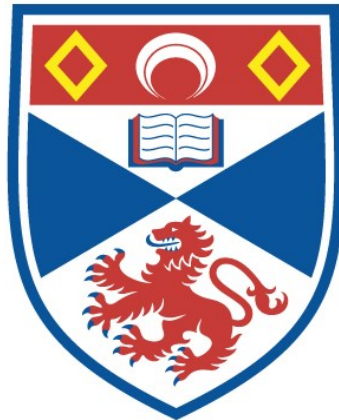


LYON PUBLISHING IN THE AGE OF
CATHOLIC REVIVAL, 1565-1600

Matthew Hall

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews



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**LYON PUBLISHING IN THE AGE OF
CATHOLIC REVIVAL, 1565-1600**

MATTHEW HALL

Thesis submitted for the degree of Ph.D. at the University of St. Andrews,
March 2005



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Declaration

- (i) I, Matthew Ian Hall, hereby certify that this thesis, which is approximately 100,000 words in length, has been written by me, that it is the record of work carried out by me and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree.

Date 6.5.2005 Signature of candidate

- (ii) I was admitted as a research student in September 2001 and as a candidate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in September 2002; the higher study for which this is a record was carried out in the University of St. Andrews between 2001 and 2005.

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Abstract

This PhD dissertation focuses upon the role of Lyon's printing industry in the revival of Catholicism in the second half of the sixteenth century. Lyon was one of Europe's premier cities; booming trade and tolerant attitudes had been catalysts for its growth. It possessed one of the finest and most renowned printing industries on the continent. Reputations were turned upside down by the development of evangelical activism in the 1560s. By the late 1560s the city was once more firmly placed in the Roman Catholic camp. Lyon's presses joined in the newly found Catholic sentiment. Presses produced a vast range of texts necessary for the reconstruction of the Church. From the start, the commerce of the book and the fate of Catholic revival were closely bound together. Within a decade of the fall of the Protestant regime, Catholic authors and publishers produced steady streams of violent pamphlet literature aimed towards the eradication of the Huguenot. With a powerful combination of theological tomes and a flood of book and pamphlet literature addressed to a wider audience, Lyon's printing presses held an important role in the progress of Catholic revival.

Chapter one sketches core aspects of the history of the printing industry in Lyon from its inception in the 1470s until 1600. Chapter two concentrates on the production of pamphlet literature between 1565 and 1588, the years of Catholic victory and the period leading up to the radical developments of the Holy Catholic League. Chapter three extends the survey of the period 1565 until 1588 by addressing the body of larger religious books published. Chapters four and five explore the role of pamphlet literature during Lyon's adherence to

the Leaguer, and then Royalist movement. Chapter six examines the production of larger religious books throughout the years 1589 until 1600.

This study of Lyon's place in print culture demonstrates that our preconceptions of the book culture – seen through the predominantly German model – cannot be accurately imposed across European printing centres. Contrary to the German experience print culture and the Counter-Reformation were inextricably linked. Moreover, French Catholic authors were prepared to confront the evangelical movement in the medium of print. By doing so Catholic authors and publishers fully utilised the weapons that had brought Protestantism so much success, making them their own.

Acknowledgements

A work of such scope incurs debts to many without whom this work would not have been possible. On a practical note, this work could not have been undertaken without financial assistance. My thanks go to the Arts and Humanities Research Board and the Modern History Department of the University of St Andrews for their generous awards.

Over the course of the last few years I have been fortunate enough to have worked in many libraries in Great Britain, France, Germany and Switzerland. I would like to thank all of the staff for their kindness in dealing with my many requests. In particular I would like to give special thanks to the staff of the rare books reading rooms in Aix-en-Provence's Bibliothèque Méjanes, in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich and in the Zürich Zentralbibliothek, but most of all to the staff of the Fonds anciens in the Bibliothèque Municipal in Lyon, many thanks for your patience and assistance.

I have been fortunate to receive valuable advice from a number of academics along the way. My thanks go to Dr Timothy Watson, to Dr Judi Loach, Dr Daniel Roux, David Clot, and not least of all Dr Jacqueline Eales.

My gratitude is owed especially to friends and colleagues in the St Andrews Reformation Studies Institute, especially the family Pettegree, Dr David and Christine Gascoigne, Dr Bruce Gordon, Dr Malcolm Walsby, Dr Alexander Wilkinson, Dr Michael Springer, Lauren Kim, Chan-Kwon Seok, and Claire Webb.

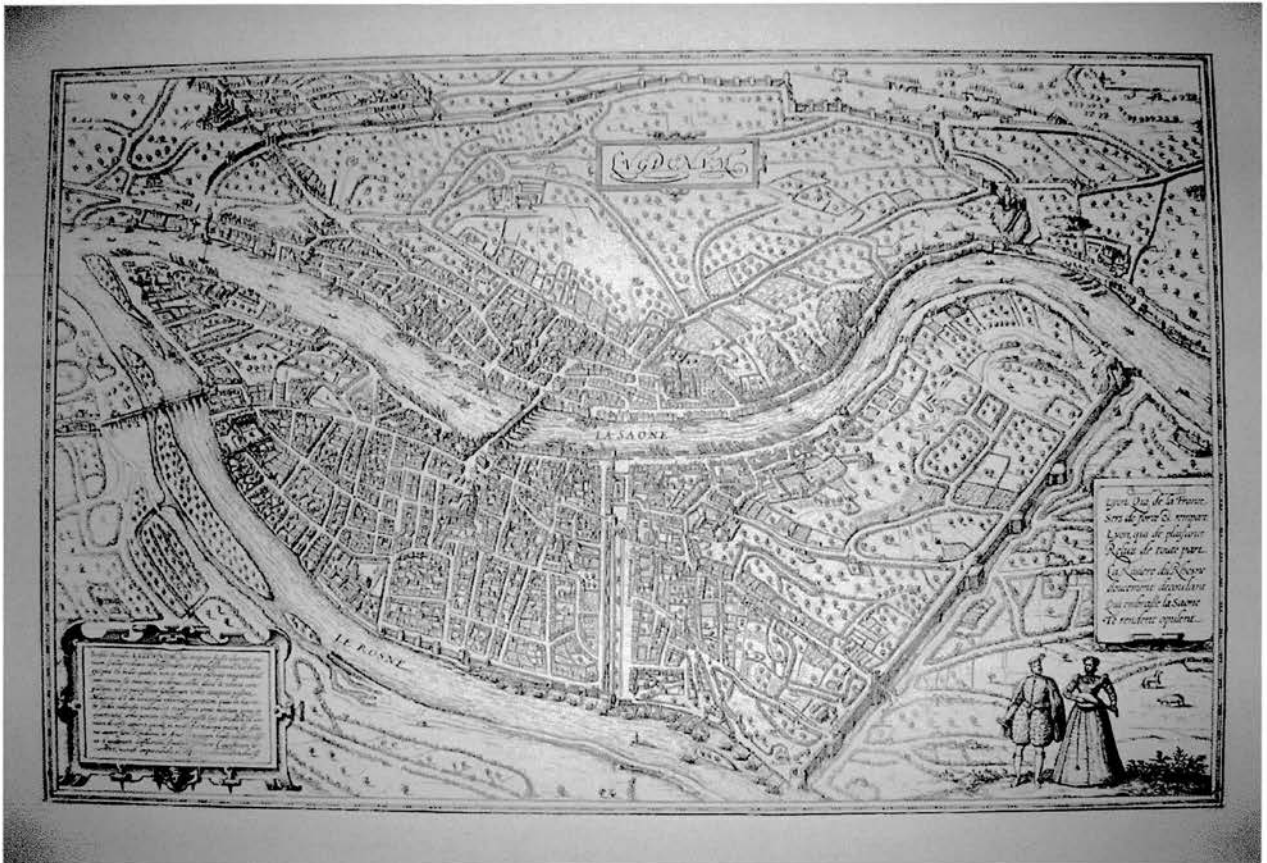
Over the last years I have relied heavily on the support of friends and family outside of St Andrews. Thank you to my family for their support throughout, especially my mother Julie Foster, who has always dared to believe. I very much value the support of my friends, whom I am lucky to know, and without mentioning you all here I would like to thank you for being there and keeping my feet on the ground. I would like to give special thanks to Alexandra Kess for her constant help and support in so many ways.

Finally, my sincere thanks go to my supervisor, Professor Andrew Pettegree. His patient help, advice and friendship have made this study period a pleasure.

Abbreviations and editorial conventions

BHR	<u>Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance</u>
FH	<u>French History</u>
FHS	<u>French Historical Studies</u>
RH	<u>Revue Historique</u>
SCJ	<u>Sixteenth Century Journal</u>
Baudrier	Baudrier, H.-L. & J. (eds.), <u>Bibliographie Lyonnaise. Recherches sur les Imprimeurs, Libraries, Reliers et Fondateurs de Lettres de Lyon au XVIe siècle</u> , 12 vols., Paris 1895-1921
Bremme	Bremme, H.J., <u>Buchdrucker und Buchhändler zur Zeit der Glaubenskämpfe. Studien zur Genfer Druckgeschichte 1565-1580</u> , Geneva 1969
Cartier	Cartier, A. et al. (eds.), <u>Bibliographie des Éditions des de Tournes, imprimeurs lyonnais</u> , 2 vols., Paris 1937-1938
Chambers	Chambers, B.T. (ed.), <u>Bibliography of French Bibles. Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century French Language Editions of the Scriptures</u> , Geneva 1983
Gültlingen	Gültlingen, S. von (ed.), <u>Bibliographie des livres imprimés à Lyon au seizième siècle</u> , 7 vols., Baden-Baden 1992-2001
IA	<u>Index Aureliensis Catalogus Librorum Sedecimo Saeculo Impressorum</u> , 14 vols., Baden-Baden 1962-2004
LN	Lindsay, R.O. & Neu, J. (eds.), <u>French Political Pamphlets 1547-1648: A Catalog of Major Collections in American Libraries</u> , Madison/Milwaukee/London 1969

Sixteenth century French is standardized according to modern spelling in the case of 's' and 'f', 'i' and 'j', and 'u' and 'v'. The contractions 'ã', 'ë', 'ö', and 'ü' in sixteenth century French printed texts were expanded to 'an/am', 'en/em', 'on/om', and 'un/um'. The spelling of sixteenth century Latin was left untouched.



Copperplate engraving of Lyon attributed to Balthasar van den Bosch c.1550 and first published in Braun, Georg (ed.), *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, Cologne (Abraham Ortelius) 1572; includes detail of the rue Mercière.

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Introduction

It is widely accepted that printers and publishers ranked alongside the theologians and local rulers as essential forces of the Reformation.¹ Publishers and printers were the essential middle men who laboured - and profited - in the provision of Europe's books and pamphlets. Whereas this point has long been accepted for studies of Protestantism, slowly, this concept is also being shown to be applicable to the success of Catholic reform.² Protestantism was not the only religion based on the book. Gradually, throughout the sixteenth century, the Roman church lowered its guard and allowed the book to take a supporting role alongside belief, scripture and tradition in defence of the faith.

With religious controversy came new opportunities for print culture. Having begun the century as a fledgling technology, print penetrated all levels of society. It swiftly became one of the most powerful means of expressing culture and learning. Likewise print assumed an important role in helping to influence opinion and in spreading the authority of the state power.

¹ Cf. for example Edwards, M., Printing, propaganda, and Martin Luther, Berkeley/et al. 1994; Scribner, R.W., For the sake of simple folk: popular propaganda for the German Reformation, Cambridge 1981; also Droz, E., 'Antoine Vincent. La Propagande Protestante par le Psautier', G. Berthoud et al. (ed.), Aspects de la Propagande Religieuse, Geneva 1957, pp.276-293. For book dealers see Higman, F.M., et al., 'A bookseller's world: the 'inventaire' of Vincent Réal', A. Pettegree et al. (eds.), The Sixteenth Century French Religious Book, Aldershot 2001, pp.303-318; also Pettegree, A., 'Emden as a centre of the sixteenth-century book trade a catalogue of the bookseller Gaspar Staphorst', Quaerendo 24/2 (1994), pp.114-135; also Schlaepfer, H.-L., 'Laurent de Normandie', Berthoud, G. et al., Aspects de la Propagande Religieuse, Geneva 1971, pp.176-230.

² Cf. Diefendorf, B.B., Beneath the Cross: Catholics and Huguenots in Sixteenth-Century Paris, New York/Oxford 1994; Edwards, M., 'Catholic controversial literature, 1518-1555: some statistics', Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte 79 (1988), pp.189-205; also Higman, F.M., 'Premières réponses catholiques aux écrits de la Réforme en France, 1525-c. 1540', P. Aquilon & H.-J. Martin & F.D. Desrousilles (eds.), Le Livre dans l'Europe de la Renaissance. Actes du XXVIIIe Colloque international d'Etudes humanistes de Tours, Nantes 1988, pp.361-377; by the same author 'Theology in French. Religious pamphlets in the Counter-Reformation', F. Higman (ed.), Lire et découvrir: La circulation des idées au temps de la Réforme, Geneva 1998, pp.515-530; also Racaut, L., Hatred in Print: Catholic Propaganda and Protestant Identity during the French Wars of Religion, Aldershot 2002.

The power of the new medium was only slowly grasped by the conservative Catholic establishment. However, by at least the late 1560s, French Catholics were easily outpublishing their evangelical counterparts. This Catholic literature comprised not only the full body of orthodox theology and tradition, but also new styles of pedagogic, spiritual and doctrinal works. These longer, more reflective works were underpinned by a flood of vernacular pamphlet editions that addressed the burning religious and political issues of the day. Behind this outpouring of ideas lay not only a new generation of authors and activists, but also a well organised and coherent body of publishers and printers.

In France, Lyon was at the forefront of this Catholic counter-offensive. Having played a full and prominent role in the Protestant polemical assault at the beginning of the French Wars of Religion, the city's printing industry executed a rapid transformation to become a bastion of orthodoxy. The illustrious history of the city's printing industry meant that Lyon's printers were in many respects ideally positioned to assume a role supporting one of the leading centres for the production of Catholic literature. The industry had a vast experience on which to draw, since in the century before this Lyon had established a well merited reputation for high quality publishing. The industry could also take much from its experiences of Protestantism. The violence and extremism that surrounded the Protestant regime had led to a passionate revival of orthodox belief and practice, stimulated by the arrival of the new religious orders, especially the Jesuits. In the last three decades of the century preachers and church leaders worked closely with members of the publishing fraternity in the production of Catholic books. These books generated healthy profits. Publishers attached themselves to the Catholic cause both for confessional and financial reasons.

In the half century before the Reformation, the Lyon publishing industry had cultivated a reputation for books of high quality, often expensive books in large formats. This established tradition to some extent shaped the production of religious books in the period under study. But the industry also experienced change: throughout our period Lyon was the largest provincial producer of French polemical literature. Over almost half a century the Religious Wars were fought on two fronts: to gain victory, not only by force of arms, but also in the polemical discourses that competed in the battle for hearts and minds. On both fronts French Catholics had effectively defeated the Huguenot threat by the mid 1570s; however, from that point, as the Catholic cause descended into internecine strife between Royalist and Leaguers, Catholics turned their finely sharpened polemics against each other. These battles of printed polemic were a crucial aspect of the French Wars of Religion, and reading these pamphlets allows us to recreate many of the crucial debates of the period. Lyon's pamphlet literature is an important if far less well known aspect of the literature of the time, equalling the ferocity and vitriol of the leading Parisian publishers. Lyon also held a particular role in disseminating the news and opinions of the Wars throughout the southern part of the kingdom and, thanks to its strategic position, beyond French speaking territories.³

Lyon, as France's second city, has been the focus of much scholarly attention. It was the Lyonnais councillor, jurist and historian Claude de Rubys who produced the first account that covered the entirety of our period, the unashamedly Catholic *Histoire de Lyon*

³ For instance many Lyonnais polemical pamphlets survive today in contemporary collections in Germany (Munich, Tübingen), and German speaking Switzerland (Zürich ZB, Solothurn KB).

(1604).⁴ Rubys' *Histoire* was the latest manifestation of the strong local interest in the history of their own region, following works such as Guillaume Paradin's *Memoires de l'histoire de Lyon* (1573).⁵

In terms of the more recent historiography, it is clear that Lyonnais studies underwent a revival in the later part of the nineteenth century, partly the result of the awaking of a new localised patriotism. André Steyert's 1899 multi-volume *Nouvelle Histoire de Lyon* is typical of this period, offering valuable information on certain aspects of Lyon's history, but being tainted with the confessional patriotism of its time.⁶ Outstanding Lyonnais scholars of this epoch such as Henri Baudrier and Aimé Vingtrinier were also responsible for some fine scholarship.⁷ Baudrier's monumental *Bibliographie Lyonnais* is one of the exceptional studies of its kind. Apart from a wealth of bibliographical information, it also contains extensive biographical information from Lyon's archives regarding many of the city printers, publishers and print labourers. Baudrier is still the seminal work of reference on Lyon's printing industry, and its influence can be seen through a generation of more recent work, such as Denis Pallier's study of the printed polemic of the Paris League.⁸ Vingtrinier's informative *Histoire de l'Imprimerie à Lyon* does not offer the same wealth of information as Baudrier, but is still an important source on this topic. Baudrier's work also served as a model for other monographs directed

⁴ Rubys, Claude de, *Histoire Veritable de la Ville de Lyon*, Lyon (Bonaventure Nugo) 1604.

⁵ Paradin, Guillaume, *Memoires de l'Histoire de Lyon*, Lyon (Antoine Gryphe) 1573.

⁶ Steyert, A., *Nouvelle Histoire de Lyon et des Provinces de Lyonnais-Forez-Beaujolais Franc-Lyonnais et Dombes*, esp. vol.3: *Époque Moderne Depuis la Renaissance jusqu'aux Cent Jours*, Lyon 1899.

⁷ Baudrier, H.-L. & J. (eds.), *Bibliographie Lyonnaise. Recherches sur les Imprimeurs, Libraries, Reliers et Fondateurs de Lettres de Lyon au XV^e siècle*, 12 vols., Paris 1895-1921; also La Perrière, Y. de (ed.), *Supplément provisoire à la Bibliographie Lyonnaise du Président Baudrier*, Paris 1967; also Vingtrinier, A., *Histoire de l'Imprimerie à Lyon de l'Origine Jusqu'à Nos Jours*, Lyons 1894.

⁸ Pallier, D., *Recherches sur l'imprimerie à Paris pendant la Ligue, 1585-1594*, Geneva 1976.

specifically at the Lyon print industry, most notably Alfred Cartier's *Bibliographie des Éditions des de Tournes*.⁹ Influenced heavily by Baudrier, Cartier's *Bibliographie* contains a comprehensive study of the publishing dynasty of the de Tournes family, whilst at the same time providing a real insight into the daily operations of a sixteenth century publishing house.

The 1930s and 40s saw the widening of Lyonnais scholarship to include the fields of socio-economic and political history of the city. Roger Doucet's *Finances municipales et crédit public à Lyon au XVIe siècle* was published in 1937.¹⁰ Doucet used archival data that allowed the construction of a most vivid picture of Lyon. Doucet's study of Lyon's finances featured heavily in his still respected two-volume *Les institutions de la France au XVI^e siècle*, published in 1948.¹¹ Doucet was also responsible for the writing of one of the clearest narrative accounts of sixteenth century Lyonnais history.¹² In 1943 Maurice Pallasse published *La Sénéchaussée et Siège Présidial de Lyon pendant les Guerres de Religion*.¹³ Pallasse's fine work contributed much to the understanding of the social, economic and political history of the city. This interest in the political history of Lyon coincided with Jean-Hippolyte Mariéjol's 1935 publication of the biography of the governor of Lyon, *Charles-Emmanuel de Savoie: Duc de Nemours*.¹⁴ This text remains the

⁹ Cartier, A. et al. (eds.), *Bibliographie des Éditions des de Tournes, imprimeurs lyonnais*, 2 vols., Paris 1937-1938.

¹⁰ Doucet, R., *Finances municipales et crédit public à Lyon au XVIe siècle*, Paris 1937.

¹¹ Doucet, R., *Les institutions de la France au XVIe siècle*, 2 vols., 1948.

¹² Doucet, R., 'Le Seizième Siècle', A.Kleinclausz (ed.), *Histoire de Lyon. Des Origins à 1595*, Marseille 1978, vol. 1, book 5, pp.355-549.

¹³ Pallasse, M., *La Sénéchaussée et Siège Présidial de Lyon pendant les Guerres de Religion. Essai sur l'évolution de l'administration royale en province au XVIe siècle*, Lyon 1943.

¹⁴ Mariéjol, J.H., *Charles-Emmanuel de Savoie: Duc de Nemours. Gouverneur du Lyonnais, Beaujolais, et Forez (1567-1595)*, Paris 1935.

standard work on one of sixteenth century France's most powerful and important provincial figures.

In the second half of the 20th century, research gained further momentum. The most notable modern historians of the Lyonnais are undoubtedly Richard Gascon and Natalie Zemon Davis. Richard Gascon's 1971 two-volume *Grand Commerce* contains a wealth of information.¹⁵ Apart from providing one of the most concise narratives of Lyonnais history, it remains a core text for the understanding of Lyon's social and economic history. Although Gascon takes his survey only as far as 1580, his brilliant use of the archive source material makes this work one of the cornerstone texts for historians of sixteenth century Lyon. Natalie Zemon Davis' work has focused upon social aspects of Lyonnais history, with particular interest in Protestant culture and the printing industry in the first two thirds of the century. Likewise, Davis' work has played an important role in developing our understanding not only of Lyon, but also of wider aspects of contemporary European culture.¹⁶

Other recent histories include Jacqueline Boucher's studies of Lyon's Italian immigrant community, a work which draws attention to the city's cosmopolitan character.¹⁷ The most recent monograph on Lyonnais history is Yann Ligneraux's *Lyon et le Roi*,

¹⁵ Gascon, R., *Grand Commerce et Vie Urbaine au XVIe Siècle. Lyon et ses marchands (environs de 1520 - environs de 1580)*, 2 vols., Paris 1971.

¹⁶ See especially Davis, N.Z., 'Le monde de l'imprimerie humaniste: Lyon', H.-J. Martin & R. Chartier (eds.), *Histoire de l'édition française*, vol. 1.: *Le livre conquérant: Du Moyen Age au milieu du XVIIe siècle*, Paris 1989, pp.303-335; also *Protestantism and the Printing workers of Lyon: a Study in the Problem of Religion and Social Class during the Reformation*, PhD dissertation, University of Michigan 1959; also by the same author *Society and Culture in Early Modern France*, Stanford 1976; also 'A Trade Union in Sixteenth-Century France', *Economic History Review* 19/1 (1966), pp.48-69.

¹⁷ Boucher, J., *Présence italienne à Lyon à la Renaissance*, Lyon, s.d. [1994].

published in 2003.¹⁸ Although the emphasis of Ligneraux's work lies firmly in the seventeenth century, he provides a detailed treatment of the last decade of the sixteenth century in a study that vastly improves our knowledge of the period.

The recent growth in interest in the movement of Catholic renewal has also not passed Lyon by. One important work is Philip Hoffman's 1984 survey of Catholic reconstruction in the Rhônnaise, *Church and Community in the Diocese of Lyon 1500-1789*.¹⁹ Hoffman's monograph brilliantly emphasises the long-term practical difficulties of Catholic reform, particularly in the surrounding rural areas. Other works on Lyon's religious experiences have focused on the role of the new orders. A Lynn Martin's *Henry III and the Jesuits* not only calls attention to Lyon's role as the centre of a well-organised communication network, but also provides valuable detail on the Jesuits' work in the city.²⁰ Two other works have done much to expand our understanding of the Jesuits' activities in Lyon, Pierre Guillot's 1991 monograph, *Les Jésuites et la Musique. Le collège de la Trinité à Lyon 1565-1762*, and Georgette de Groër's 1995 study of the collège de la Trinité, *Réforme et Contre-Réforme en France: Le collège de la Trinité au XVIe siècle à Lyon*.²¹ Both of these works offer a valuable discussion of the Jesuits' pedagogic activities within the Rhônnaise; de Groër's work in particular pays close attention to the history of the order in Lyon and its interaction with the community. Work on the other orders is as yet not as

¹⁸ Lignereux, Y., *Lyon et le Roi, De la 'Bonne Ville' à l'Absolutisme Municipal (1594-1654)*, Paris 2003.

¹⁹ Hoffman, P., *Church and Community in the Diocese of Lyon 1500-1789*, New Haven/London 1984.

²⁰ Martin, A. Lynn, *Henry III and the Jesuits*, Geneva 1973.

²¹ Guillot, P., *Les Jésuites et la Musique. Le collège de la Trinité à Lyon 1565-1762*, Liège 1991;

Groër, G. de, *Réforme et Contre-Réforme en France: Le collège de la Trinité au XVIe siècle à Lyon*, Paris 1995.

developed, with the noticeable exception of the work of Bernard Dompnier who has studied the history of the Capuchins in Lyon.²²

Scholars have also devoted further work to aspects of the history of Lyon's print culture. Sabine Vogel's 1999 monograph *Kulturtransfer in der frühen Neuzeit: Die Vorworte der Lyoner Drucke des 16. Jahrhunderts* examines aspects of the publishing industry and reading public in Lyon.²³ Other studies, by M. A. Etayo-Pinaol and Christian Péligré, have revealed much about aspects of the interaction of Lyon's book world with the Iberian Peninsula.²⁴ Works such as Paul Roudié and Louis Desgraves' *Relations entre les imprimeurs et les libraires de Bordeaux et de Lyon* have examined other aspects of the wider market for Lyon books.²⁵ However, probably the most important recent addition to specialist work on the Lyon print industry has been the project undertaken by Sybille von Gültlingen, an attempt to revise and update Baudrier. This, though extremely valuable, has made slow progress, and in five volumes has progressed only as far as printers active in the 1540s, still outside the period covered in this dissertation.²⁶

²² Dompnier, B., *Enquête au pays frères des anges: les Capucins de la province de Lyon aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles*, Saint-Etienne 1993; also by the same author 'Le premier apostolat des Capucins de la province de Lyon (1575-1618)', *Revue d'Histoire de l'Eglise de France* 75/194 (1989), pp.125-136.

²³ Vogel, S., *Kulturtransfer in der frühen Neuzeit: Die Vorworte der Lyoner Drucke des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Tübingen 1999.

²⁴ Etayo-Pinaol, M.A., 'Impact du siècle d'Or espagnole en France à travers l'édition lyonnaise', *RH* 286/1 (1991), pp.35-41; also 'Le livre médical espagnol à Lyon aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles: l'apport espagnole aux progrès de la médecine', *RH* 294/1 (1995), pp.45-58; also 'Premiers récits publiés à Lyon sur la mission en Asie aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles', *RH* 291/1 (1994), pp.71-84 ; also Péligré, C., 'Les Éditeurs Lyonnais et le Marché Espagnol aux XVIe et XVIIe Siècles', *Livre et Lecture en Espagne et en France Sous l'Ancien Régime. Colloque de la Casa de Velazquez* 1980, Paris 1981.

²⁵ Roudié, P. & Desgraves, L., 'Relations entre les imprimeurs et les libraires de Bordeaux et de Lyon aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles', R. Chartier & L. Desgraves et al., (eds.), *Nouvelles Études Lyonnaises*, Geneva/Paris 1969, pp.65-78.

²⁶ Gültlingen, S. von (ed.), *Bibliographie des livres imprimés à Lyon au seizième siècle*, 7 vols., Baden-Baden 1992-2001.

Within these studies, certain aspects of Lyon's history have attracted the main attention, notably the religious, cultural, social and intellectual history from the Italian Wars up until the 1560s. Alongside this, a small, but highly significant literature has also served to discuss economic and political aspects of Lyonnais history. There is now more work carried out on aspects of Lyon's religious experiences throughout the later part of the sixteenth century. However, gaps remain: there is little published scholarship, before this work, on the print culture of Catholic renewal in the last decades of the sixteenth century.

From the outset, this thesis was conceived as an interdisciplinary study, combining traditional textual analysis with in-depth bibliometric investigation. My sense of the potential of this sort of work stemmed from the reading of two exemplary studies, Miriam Chrisman's *Lay Culture, Learned Culture. Books and Social Change in Strasbourg*, and Denis Pallier's *Recherches sur l'imprimerie à Paris pendant la Ligue*.²⁷ The present study attempts to add to such quantitative studies in order to provide a small, but distinct contribution to studies of early modern Lyonnais and French history. To this end I have assembled a database of almost 6,000 Lyon imprints dating from 1565 to 1600. This database forms the most comprehensive accumulation of such data and increases our knowledge of the Lyon imprints of this period by just over a third. The data has been assembled both from relevant bibliographies and catalogues, and through field work in some of Europe's finest surviving collections of sixteenth century books.

²⁷ Chrisman, M.U., *Lay Culture, Learned Culture. Books and Social Change in Strasbourg, 1480-1599*, New Haven/London 1982; also Pallier, D., *Recherches sur l'imprimerie à Paris pendant la Ligue, 1585-1594*, Geneva 1976.

As a point of departure, I have utilised the main bibliographies of Lyonnais print editions, Baudrier's *Bibliographie Lyonnais*, Gültlingen's *Bibliographie des livres imprimés à Lyon au seizième siècle* and Cartier's *Bibliographie des Tournes*.²⁸ Alongside these, other recent Lyon-specific projects, such as Guillo's *Les Éditions Musicales*, have made significant contributions.²⁹ These bibliographical works contain a total of just over 3,500 Lyonnais editions dated between 1565 and 1600. Other bibliographical works such as the *Index Aureliensis* have provided some additional information.³⁰ Thematic bibliographical studies, such as Lindsey and Neu's catalogue of French pamphlets in American libraries, Chambers' work on French sixteenth century Bibles, and Chomarat's study of Nostradamus imprints have also provided additional references.³¹

Starting from this bibliographical foundation, I have assembled the remaining data from work with library catalogues and in libraries. My database contains data from catalogues of about sixty libraries I could not visit. Online resources are increasingly able to provide excellent data for this type of research; in this way I have been able to search the holdings of a large number of collections in France, Germany, Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, Spain, Sweden and North America. Yet in the last resort my project, with its discovery of many new works and editions, has highlighted the fact that there is no real

²⁸ Baudrier, H.-L. & J. (eds.), *Bibliographie Lyonnaise. Recherches sur les Imprimeurs, Libraries, Reliers et Fondateurs de Lettres de Lyon au XVIe siècle*, 12 vols., Paris 1895-1921; also La Perrière, Y. de (ed.), *Supplément provisoire à la Bibliographie Lyonnaise du Président Baudrier*, Paris 1967; Cartier, *Bibliographie des Éditions des de Tournes*; Gültlingen, S. von (ed.), *Bibliographie des livres imprimés à Lyon au seizième siècle*, 7 vols., Baden-Baden 1992-2001.

²⁹ Guillo, L. (ed.), *Les Éditions Musicales de la Renaissance Lyonnaise*, Paris 1991.

³⁰ *Index Aureliensis Catalogus Librorum Sedecimo Saeculo Impressorum*, 14 vols., Baden-Baden 1962-2004.

³¹ Lindsay, R.O. & Neu, J. (eds.), *French Political Pamphlets 1547-1648: A Catalog of Major Collections in American Libraries*, Madison/et al. 1969; Chambers, B.T. (ed.), *Bibliography of French Bibles. Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century French Language Editions of the Scriptures*, Geneva 1983; Chomarat, M. (ed.), *Bibliographie Nostradamus, XVIe – XVIIe – XVIIIe siècles*, Baden-Baden/Bouxwiller 1989.

substitute for actual time spent in a library or archive handling the books themselves. The central collections of Lyonnais imprints for this period are the Lyon Bibliothèque Municipale (BM) and the Bibliothèque Nationale de France in Paris (BNF). In France, many other superb collections of Lyon material can be found, such as the Bibliothèque Méjanes in Aix-en-Provence, Carpentras BM, Lille BM, and Grenoble BM. Several smaller and less known provincial libraries, such as Auxerre BM, Strasbourg Bibliothèque Universitaire (BU), and Chantilly's Musée Condé also provided a wealth of new finds. Outside of France I also discovered wonderful collections of Lyon material, for example in Munich's Staatsbibliothek and Universitätsbibliothek and in both Tübingen and Stuttgart. Likewise, Swiss libraries have also provided a significant number of interesting finds; especially the holdings of Lyonnais imprints in the Zürich Zentralbibliothek, as well as in the collections held in St. Gallen, Schaffhausen, Solothurn and Frauenfeld.

The data was collected in an electronic database, and was compiled primarily according to key values: author, title, publisher, date, format, collation and pagination. Wherever possible I have also included additional information regarding contracted printer, privilege, dedication and approbation, provenance, and bibliographical references. Of course such a project creates many problems. Since it is impossible to see all editions personally, one has to rely partly on bibliographies and catalogues, which come with their own peculiarities and idiosyncrasies. These are often evident in the case of Latin books, where titles can often be abbreviated, excluding the main part of the title. With problem cases I have attempted to maintain strict and constant codes of working practice. If any doubts have arisen then the edition has not been included in the main database; rather it has

been held in secondary files for reference purposes. Whilst dating a work from the period 1565-1600 does not hold the same problems as with works of the incunabula age, there are still editions that cannot be placed in a specific year, or an issue that causes problems when trying to reconstruct the work of a particular printer or publisher.

Another problem facing all students of sixteenth century books is the issue of survival. Many of the books studied in this dissertation are not particularly rare. Renville's 1556 impression of du Choul's *Discours de la religion des anciens romains* for example has survived in over 60 copies.³² Yet others, particularly the small books and pamphlets that occupy much of my attention, are very rare indeed. The vast majority of imprints listed here are known in only one to three surviving copies. It is fair to assume that since so many books have survived in only one copy, some may have disappeared altogether. How large a proportion of the total corpus of printed works published in the period this may encompass is impossible to say. Most likely the number of books that have disappeared will be very different for different classes of books: single-sheet broadsheets and small pamphlets are certainly the most likely not to have survived. In a small number of cases one is able to demonstrate that a now disappeared book was certainly published. Several pamphlets are known only through reference to a prior edition in a later book, or through a reference in a privilege. For example we are able to locate two Benoist Rigaud pamphlets on the Turk by the fact that they were reprinted elsewhere. Rigaud's 1580 *Copie d'une Lettre envoyee de Constantinople*, and *Les prodigieuses et admirables visions apparues à Selim Sultan*, of 1583, are known to us only through Parisian reprints that either cite Rigaud on the title

³² Cf. Baudrier IX 229-230; IA 156.80; St Andrews French Vernacular Book Project (FVB), serial number 1132.

page, or Rigaud's privilege for the work.³³ This was not just a phenomenon that occurs with pamphlets and ephemeral literature, but also with larger books, such as a Jean d'Ogerolles 1584 publication of a work by Antoine du Verdier, *Le Compseutique*, known only through an anonymously published edition of 1592.³⁴ In the last resort it is impossible to know how many other books may have been lost altogether. Others may well turn up in libraries not yet visited. A matter of weeks before completing the final text of this thesis I came across a previously unknown group of prose romances published by Benoist Rigaud in the 1570s.³⁵ What can be stated with total assurance is that the work that underpins this dissertation has created a far fuller picture of Lyon printing, in purely numerical terms, than at any previous point in the history of scholarly investigation of these issues.

However important the role of the books, scholars now recognise that print played its part in a broader culture of communication. Various forms of media played an important role in the second half of the sixteenth century: sermons, songs, print and rumour. Today we have only the scantest evidence of the contemporary importance of non-print media. Whilst examining the mood and opinions of the sixteenth century through the surviving printed sources has its own problems, it remains the best method available to us.

³³ Anon., *Copie d'une Lettre envoyee de Constantinople, jouxte la copie imprimée à Lyon, par Benoist Rigaud [...] avec permission*, Paris (Jean de Lastre) 1580; anon., *Les prodigieuses et admirables visions apparues à Selim Sultan, grand Seigneur des Turcs, le septieme d'Avril dernier passé, l'an 1583. Suivant la coppie imprimée à Lyon par Benoist Rigaud avec permission*, s.l. (s.n.) s.d. [1583], see Göllner, C., *Tvrcaica. Die europäischen Türkendrucke des XVI. Jahrhunderts. II. Band MDLI-MDC*, Baden-Baden 1968, entries: 1725, 1763.

³⁴ Cf. Simonin, M. (ed.), *Dictionnaire des Lettres Françaises. Le XVIe siècle*, Varese 2001, p.453, col.2.

³⁵ Cf. anon., *La tres plaisante histoire de Maugis d'Aygrement et de Vivian son frere*, Lyon (Benoist Rigaud) 1579, copy in Zürich ZB XV 238 (2); anon., *La conqueste du grand Charlemaigne, Roi de France, & des Espaignes*, Lyon (Benoist Rigaud) 1575, copy in Zürich ZB XVIII 176 (1); anon., *L'histoire terrible et merueilleuse de Robert le Diable*, Lyon (Benoist Rigaud) 1576, copy in Zürich ZB XVIII 176 (4); anon., *Histoire de la patience de Griselindis*, Lyon (Benoist Rigaud) 1577, copy in Zürich ZB XVIII 176 (5); anon., *Histoire admirable de Jeanne la Pucelle*, Lyon (Benoist Rigaud) 1577, copy in Zürich ZB XVIII 176 (6). See also anon., *Morgan le geant*, Lyon (Benoist Rigaud) 1596, copy in Zürich ZB CC 109.

Between 1565 and 1600, a huge volume of print was generated in Lyon, and in Baudrier the city has been fortunate to have had a pioneer in the field of technical bibliography.

However, the limitations of this early study have led to misinterpretations of crucial aspects of the Lyonnais print culture, none more important than the neglect of the city's crucial role as a producer of Royalist polemic in the period following February 1594.³⁶ Bibliometric study is therefore a crucially important component of this work. The utilisation of quantitative analysis and statistics has allowed us to trace distinct patterns of publication; this in turn has permitted us to highlight and clarify some of the most important yet neglected aspects of Lyonnais print culture in our period. However, it has been important not to rely simply on bibliometric study, but to create a synthesis between statistical and textual analysis.

This thesis aims to contribute to the expanding knowledge of one aspect of Lyonnais history, the revival of Catholicism and the vital role played in this by the printing industry. In limiting this study to an exploration of Lyon's Catholic publishing industry from 1565 until 1600 I do not suggest that Catholicism was fully reconstructed by 1600. I would, however, agree with both Philip Hoffman and Marc Venard in stating that the reconstruction of Catholicism was well underway by the later decades of the sixteenth century.³⁷ The arrival of the Jesuits in 1565 signals the beginnings of Catholic reconstruction in Lyon. It was from this point that the tide was turned after the charismatic

³⁶ See below, chapter 5.

³⁷ Hoffman, *Church*, p.35; also Venard, M., 'Catholicism and Resistance to the Reformation in France, 1555-1585', P. Benedict et al. (eds.), *Reformation, Revolt and Civil War in France and the Netherlands 1555-1585*, Amsterdam, 1999, pp.133-148.

preaching of evangelicals such as Pierre Viret had briefly threatened to turn Lyon into a Protestant city.

Given the dramatic events that unfolded during this period, it has seemed logical to follow a broadly chronological structure. Chapter 1 sketches various aspects of Lyonnais printing from its origins in 1473 until 1600. This account of the early history of Lyon's printing industry allows one to contextualise the developments in Lyon publishing that followed in the period that forms the main focus of my interest. Chapters 2 to 6 focus more specifically upon both an analysis of the religious and theological imprints and the publishers most closely involved in their production. Chapters 2 and 3 address the period from 1565 until 1588, the fundamental period in the defeat of the evangelical threat and in the reconstruction of Catholicism. Chapter 2 concerns itself with pamphlets, the small cheap books that were such a characteristic product of the age of confessional conflict. Chapter 3 completes the survey of our opening period with a look at the trade in larger religious and theological books in Lyon. Chapter 4 returns to the examination of pamphlet publications, now focused on the period of Lyon's five-year adherence to the Leaguer movement from the turn of 1589 until February 1594. Chapter 5 then examines the production and themes of the Royalist pamphlets that flooded from the presses after Lyon's return to crown allegiance in 1594. These chapters highlight the stark contrasts in style and content between the violence and pessimism of the League and the optimism of the Royalist movement. Chapter 6 then reviews the publishing output of the years 1589 to 1600 from the perspective of larger theological and religious books.

Chapter 1 A long century of publishing

Culture and print in Lyon, 1473-1565

In the sixteenth century Lyon was France's second city. As with many of the larger centres of the old Roman Empire, Lyon was situated on one of Europe's main trade and communication crossroads, the rivers Saône and Rhône. The sweeping arc of the fertile Rhône valley facilitated transport between the Mediterranean and Europe's northern cities and seaports. Flowing from the East, the Saône was no less important, providing access to the Dauphiné, the Swiss confederation and the southern Imperial lands. Moreover, Lyon was located beside one of the main Alpine passes.¹ This made the city a focal point not only for the exchange of ideas from Italy to Northern Europe, but also of communications from Rome.² Such a favourable location allowed Lyon to become one of Europe's main trading centres. This was a point emphasised by the contemporary Venetian Lippomano, who referred to the city as being the warehouse of the richest and most populous countries in Europe.³

Yet even with its favourable location, Lyon entered the second half of the fifteenth century with neither a *parlement* nor a university, two of the major institutions that generated both influence and wealth. It was the change in focus of the Habsburg-Valois conflict that signalled the beginnings of Lyon's renaissance. The onset of the Italian Wars stimulated a remarkable period of civic expansion. As a border city perched close to Italy,

¹ On Lyon's centrality to Europe's trade networks see Gascon, Grand Commerce.

² Cf. Martin, Henry III.

Lyon was the natural bridgehead for the French invasions. French Kings exploited this to the full, establishing Lyon as the central base and point of embarkation for the French court and its armies on their annual campaigns. These invasions attracted the entire body and pomp of the court to Lyon for several months at a time.

The arrival of the court in Lyon was the catalyst that transformed the city into one of Europe's premier metropolises.⁴ The city's expansion was then further fuelled by waves of immigrants from across Europe wanting to share in this golden period. Among the most important immigrant communities were the Italian banking families who rapidly transformed the city into France's centre of banking and credit.⁵ Lyon's growth was accelerated by its victory over Geneva in the race to become the location for the most notable trade fairs in that particular part of Europe. Charles VII saw it as a point of personal pride that a city of his should reap the reputation and financial rewards that came with hosting such well attended international events.⁶ By 1462, when Lyon's two-week long fairs were instituted on a quarterly basis, they were one of the most important events on the European calendar.⁷

³ Febvre, L. & Martin, H.-J., The Coming of the Book: The Impact of Printing 1450-1800, London 1986, pp.227-228.

⁴ On the rise of Lyon see Gascon, R., 'La France du Mouvement: les Commerces et les Villes', in P. Chaunu & R. Gascon (eds.), Histoire Économique et Sociale de la France, Paris 1977, vol.1., esp. pp.235-247; also Déniau, J., 'La Commune', in Kleinclausz, Histoire de Lyon, vol. 1, Book IV, esp. pp.323-350; also Doucet, 'Le XVI^e Siècle', pp.357-392.

⁵ Cf. Gascon, R., 'La France du Mouvement', esp. pp.273-323, also Gascon, Grand Commerce; also Doucet, Finances.

⁶ Geisendorf, P.-F., 'Lyons and Geneva in the Sixteenth Century: The fairs and printing', W.L. Gundersheimer (ed.), French Humanism 1470-1600, London 1969, pp.146-159.

⁷ Cf. Gascon, Grand Commerce; also Brésard, H., Les Foires de Lyon au XV et au XVI siècles, Paris/Lyon 1914.

Lyon's political life was transformed by the increased interaction with the court. The city council grew in confidence and expanded the remit of their powers on an almost yearly basis. By the turn of the sixteenth century the city had gained the right to draft legislation and issue edicts. The city council, dominated by members of the merchant community, had a vested interest in ensuring the continual expansion of Lyon's trading activities.⁸ To this end the council did its best to foster a civic attitude of tolerance. Until the onset of the Religious Wars, we find comparatively lenient policies that encouraged the free-flow of merchants, and with them, their trade.⁹ Such policies were not particular to Lyon, but were also found in other rising trading metropolises such as Antwerp.¹⁰

The city's cultural life was greatly stimulated by the tolerant attitude of the authorities. Lyon saw a massive population boom in the first half of the sixteenth century. It has been estimated that a population of 37,000 at the turn of the century increased to around 58,000 by 1550.¹¹ Much of this growth was due to floods of immigrants from Italy, Germany, the Low Countries and Spain. All came in the hope of participating in the economic affluence of Lyon, and all brought with them particular skills. Among the immigrants, we find bankers, merchants, intellectuals, entrepreneurs and printers, as well as large numbers of skilled and semi-skilled workmen. Groupings of different nationalities lived within the city walls, mixing religious, linguistic, cultural and social experiences.

⁸ Cf. Watson, T.D., The Lyon City Council c. 1525-1575: Politics, Culture, Religion, unpublished PhD dissertation, Cambridge 1999, esp. chs.1-3.

⁹ Few heresy trials were brought forward in Lyon prior to the 1550s, cf. Hours, H., 'Procès d'hérésie contre Aimé Meigret' BHR 19 (1957), pp.14-43; also Naphy, W.G., 'Catholic Perceptions of Early French Protestantism: The Heresy Trail of Baudichon de la Maisonneuve in Lyon, 1534', FH 9 (1995), pp.451-477. For an overview of the Lyonnais persecution of heresy see Doucet 'Le Seizième Siècle', pp.402-407.

¹⁰ Cf. Marnef, G., (transl. J.C. Grayson), Antwerp in the age of Reformation: underground Protestantism in a commercial metropolis, 1550-1577, Baltimore/London 1996.

¹¹ Benedict, P., Cities and Social Change in Early Modern France, London 1989, chap.2.

Whilst we have a limited amount of evidence suggesting a level of xenophobia among native Lyonnais, it appears that such sentiments were not prevalent among the city's printing fraternity.¹² German print workers, for example, were able to establish a confraternity in the chapel of the Jacobin monastery as early as the fifteenth century.¹³

Tolerant attitudes extended into the industrial life of the city. The absence of guild restrictions on opening new workshops made enterprise attractive. Whilst defending Lyon's liberties, a royal privilege of 1486 noted that 'it is permissible for every artisan to work at his trade in a shop, workshop, room or elsewhere without being bothered or hindered under the pretext of not having made a *chef-d'oeuvre*.'¹⁴ Entrepreneurial printers were quick to seize upon such relaxed laws and benefit from the prevailing climate. Similarly, experienced publishing families could establish themselves in Lyon without expense. However, such relaxed regulations also proved problematic. Over the years, both the journeymen and the publishers strove, often against each other, to develop self-regulation within the Lyonnais print industry.¹⁵ Yet, despite ongoing struggles Lyon's printers and publishers had to wait until 1567 to gain a more standardised regulatory system, when, after almost a century of craftsmanship, the master printers were invited to elect representatives to sit with the masters of the city's trades.¹⁶

If the spark for Lyon's rejuvenation was provided by the Italian Wars, then the main driving forces of the boom of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century were trade and

¹² Davis, *Protestantism*, p.165; also Watson, *City Council*, pp.68-69.

¹³ Cf. Baudrier XII 230-232.

¹⁴ Cited in Davis, *Protestantism*, p.25.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp.25-40, 158.

¹⁶ Cf. Baudrier IX 74-76.

Renaissance ideas. Whilst visibly present, the pre-reformation Church remained rather more in the background. Indeed, the Church was the one part of Lyon with a declining reputation.¹⁷ With no fewer than a dozen religious institutions Lyon was not untypical in the large number of churches and monastic houses that were located within the city walls.

The Cathedral of St. Jean was foremost among Lyon's churches. The seat of an archbishopric, St. Jean and its monastic house were situated on the west bank of the Saône among the elite nobility and richest inhabitants of the city. The city's wealthier quarters lay on the western bank of the Saône and it is here that we locate the similarly opulent churches of St. Jean, St. Etienne and St. Croix.¹⁸ Also on the west bank were located a number of smaller churches with less influential congregations. To the south of the Cathedral were the churches of St. Just and St. George. Perched high above the Cathedral was the church of St. Fourvière. To the north of the Cathedral were the quarters of Saints Paul and Laurent. Both of these churches were predominantly used by the merchant community that resided and worked on the quays surrounding the quarter's edge.¹⁹

Moving across the river Saône, a dense network of churches occupied large parts of the Presqu'île. The churches on the Presqu'île reflected their congregations, and were not as rich as those across the Saône. Merchants formed the highest level members of the congregations, especially at the church of St. Nizier, which lay on the northern edge of the printers' district. Indeed, St. Nizier was the place of worship for many elite members of

¹⁷ Davis, *Protestantism*, ch.2.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p.102.

Lyon's print community.²⁰ A number of poorer churches were situated on the Presqu'île, primarily serving the less affluent communities of the city. Located at the confluence of the rivers Saône and Rhône was the quarter of St. Michel. This was a poorer quarter of the city than St. Nizier. Few merchants were to be found in a congregation that was dominated by the lower classes. A number of the less prosperous printing workers formed a part of the congregation as rents were cheaper in this district.²¹ To the north of the city, on La Croix-Rousse, St. Vincent was a small and poor church that would have had many members of the cloth trade among its congregation.²²

The Presqu'île was the location of the majority of Lyon's religious orders. By the mid to late-sixteenth century the Cordeliers, Jacobins, Augustinians, Celestines, Carmelites and Jesuits were all to be found here. The orders and their confraternities had the best relations with the ordinary people of the city.²³ The Augustinians and the Carmelites were located towards the north of the city boundaries. The confraternity of master printers was located in the Carmelite chapel.²⁴ Moreover, the prior of the monastery, Jacques Maistret, was to become a leading activist in the city's Catholic revival, and eventually became a prominent Leaguer agitator.²⁵ To the south of the printer's district, and almost side by side, were located the Jacobins and the Celestines. The Jacobin monastery and chapel, Notre Dame de Confort was a place of worship for much of Lyon's printing world. The Cordeliers and the Jesuits were also located within similarly close proximity on the eastern

²⁰ Ibid., p.105; also Baudrier II 382-387, III 175-183, IV 35-36, 82-83, 113-131, V 271-276, VI 1-13, 384-403, IX 86-124, X 318-324.

²¹ Davis, *Protestantism*, p.108.

²² Ibid., pp.108-110.

²³ Ibid., esp. ch.2.

²⁴ Ibid., p116

²⁵ Ibid., pp.552-553.

bank of the Rhône. Aside from these orders, the Presqu'île was also the location of two priories: Notre Dame de La Platière, and the Benedictine nunnery of St. Pierre. St. Pierre in particular was a large establishment and was the landlord for much of the peninsula.²⁶

Attempts in the 1520s and 1530s to instigate reforms in the Lyonnais church, including the censorship of printing, were ultimately unsuccessful.²⁷ Instead, we find that throughout the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century the Lyonnais church was left in a sorry state of disrepair. Nepotism and pluralism were rife as the higher classes attempted to gain social advantages.²⁸ Moreover, monastic rents increased in order to continue funding the lifestyle of Lyon's clergy. The Benedictines of St. Peter's church, for example, refused to carry out reforms when requested, but abandoned the monastery, taking with them the precious ornaments and sacred vessels to sell for personal profit.²⁹ Lyon's churches also competed for the possession of religious relics. The churches of St. Nizier and St. Peter both claimed to hold the relics of St. Ennemond. Likewise, the churches of St. Peter and St. Just both claimed to be in possession of the entire remains of St. Irenaeus.³⁰ Corruption and competition was further compounded by poor clerical standards: services were simply not performed and guidance was not provided by often ill educated members of the clergy.³¹ By the mid-century, the dominant relationship between the inhabitants of Lyon and the church was one of landlord and tenant.³²

²⁶ Ibid., esp. ch.2.

²⁷ Cf. Hoffman, *Church*, p.35; also Davis, *Protestantism*, p.238.

²⁸ Cf. Davis, *Protestantism*, pp.89-104, also Steyert, *Histoire*, pp.114-116.

²⁹ Cf. Steyert, *Histoire*, pp.114-115.

³⁰ Ibid., pp.114-115.

³¹ Ibid., 114-116.

³² Cf. Davis, *Protestantism*, ch.2.

The shock of the Protestant coup of 1562-63 does not appear to have galvanised Lyon's existing Catholic establishments. Writing in 1563, shortly after his arrival in the city, the Jesuit Auger complained about the standard of the city's clergy: 'All the work falls on the Society's shoulders, since the monks, friars, and other clergy are either married, have been killed in the war, or have fled a long distance from here [...] In this country there are many clergymen who enjoy their benefices but who never take any care whatsoever of their duties. Others never say mass'.³³

Lyon's printing industry not only developed in this environment, but also helped shape both the city's economic fortunes, cosmopolitan attitudes, beliefs and opinions. The art of printing with moveable type arrived early in Lyon. The first printing workshop was established in Lyon in around 1473 by Barthélemy Buyer.³⁴ Buyer's enterprise may have been unable to compete with the largest of European print shops, but it paved the way for the future publishing community that would do so much to alter the face of Lyon forever.³⁵

At this point it is necessary to highlight the fact that although Lyon had a significantly sized cathedral chapter and several other monastic houses, it had not developed a reputation as either a particularly famous centre of learning, or as a centre for manuscript production. The lack of university and *parlement* hindered such a development. The industry of print was attracted to Lyon's vibrant expanding culture and economy in search of budding business opportunity, it was not settling on established roots.

³³ Cited in Martin, *Jesuit Mind*, pp.208-209.

³⁴ Cf. Perrat, C., 'Barthélemy Buyer et les Débuts de l'Imprimerie à Lyon', *Humanisme et Renaissance* II (1935), pp.102-121, 234-275, 349-387.

³⁵ Cole, R.G., 'The Dynamics of Printing in the Sixteenth Century', *The Social History of the Reformation*, Ohio 1972, p.95.

Lyon soon witnessed a rapid initial expansion of print. The first generation of printers and publishers catered for the religious market in Lyon as well as producing texts specifically for sale at the fairs. It has been estimated that from 1473 until 1500, around 500 editions were published in Lyon: these included 130 religious works, 45 legal texts and 58 tomes of scientific and artistic work.³⁶ By the start of the sixteenth century between 50 and 80 Lyonnais printing houses had been active at some level.³⁷ The most important early influences on Lyon's printing industry came from Germany, the Low Countries and Italy. Early printers from Germany include Nicolas Philip of Darmstadt, Marc Reinhart of Strasbourg and Martin Husz from Württemberg.³⁸ Indeed, several of Lyon's later publishing houses had emerged from German origins, like those of Sébastien Gryphe and the brothers Frellon.³⁹ Italian influences were equally crucial in the development of print in Lyon.⁴⁰ Many of the larger Lyon publishing families came to Lyon from Italy, for example the houses of Gabiano, Portonariis, Giunta and Honorati.⁴¹ The reputation of Italian print was such that French printing apprentices often travelled to learn their craft there, most notably the merchant publisher Guillaume Roville. Born near Loches in Touraine, Roville apprenticed in Venice under the famed publisher Giovanni Giolito.⁴²

³⁶ Cf. Wadsworth, J.B., *LYONS 1473-1503. The Beginnings of Cosmopolitanism*, Cambridge Massachusetts 1962, esp.ch. 1.

³⁷ Estimates have varied greatly: Romier has claimed 80, Geisendorf 60, and Doucet 53. Cf. Romier, L., 'Lyons and Cosmopolitanism at the Beginning of the French Renaissance', W.L. Gundersheimer (ed.), *French Humanism 1470-1600*, London 1969, p.99; also Geisendorf, 'Lyons and Geneva', p.149; also Doucet, 'Le Seizième Siècle', p.507.

³⁸ Cf. Doucet, 'Le Seizième Siècle', p.507.

³⁹ Cf. Baudrier V 154-309 (Gryphe); V 154-271 (Frellon).

⁴⁰ Cf. Boucher, *Présence*, pp.57-66.

⁴¹ Cf. Baudrier IV 162-193 (Honorati), V 395-484 (Portonariis), VI 77-223, 224 bis (Giunta), VII 1-26 (Gabiano).

⁴² Cf. Baudrier IX 17-18.

Lyon rapidly built a name for itself as an international metropolis of fine humanist learning. This was partly built upon the large scale publication of high-quality editions of the classics, legal compendia, and technical, scientific and medical manuals. The expanding industry attracted many of Europe's elite illustrators. In 1538 Melchior Trechsel published woodcuts by Hans Holbein in his editions of *Les simulachres de la mort*.⁴³ Following this, other publishers such as Guillaume Roville did much to help pioneer the art of book illustration.⁴⁴

One of the most important of Lyon's producers of fine books was Sébastien Gryphe, who between 1524 and 1555 published large numbers of legal texts, linguistic volumes, classics and contemporary works of literature. Many of Gryphe's productions were technically superb, matching any of the high quality work emerging from Venice, Antwerp, Frankfurt or Paris. Gryphe sought an international market for his productions, publishing many large Latin books and employing the likes of Estienne Dolet in his workshops as a corrector.⁴⁵ Alongside Gryphe we find a number of other publishers responsible for some of Europe's finest editions, like Jean (I) de Tournes, who invented the civilité font and was noted for his highly prized beautiful editions of classics and of contemporary literature.⁴⁶ Another was Jacques Giunta, who published several hundred editions, the majority of which were large books in Latin.⁴⁷

⁴³ Holbein, Hans, *Les simulachres & Histoires Faces de la Mort*, Lyon (Melchior Trechsel) 1538.

⁴⁴ Cf. Baudrier IX 42-73.

⁴⁵ Cf. Baudrier VIII 24-25.

⁴⁶ Cf. Cartier.

⁴⁷ Cf. Baudrier VI 77-223.

From the outset Lyon's expanding repertoire of printing and publishing houses catered for the market in religious books. Lyonnais publishers were not just responsible for the production of religious and theological best-sellers, they also published large numbers of the most ardent Catholic texts. Before 1565 almost 220 editions of works by a number of Europe's leading Catholic controversial theologians had been published on Lyon's presses.⁴⁸ It is interesting to note that producers of such works, such as Antoine Vincent or Sébastien Gryphe, were subsequently numbered among Lyon's most active Protestant publishers.⁴⁹ Vincent published no fewer than 15 editions of Catholic controversial theologians between 1541 and 1558, whereas Gryphe published over 40 such editions between 1530 and 1563.⁵⁰

The fruits of Lyon's early age of publishing are reflected in the rich collections of Lyon incunabula and early works throughout France and beyond. For example, many early Lyonnais works can be found not only in Munich's Staatsbibliothek, but also in Switzerland, in Zurich's old Grossmünster library and in Vadian's collection now in the Bibliothek Vadiana in St. Gallen. Lyonnais imprints from the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries were widely sought by collectors such as the Spaniard Fernando Colomb, and then later in the century by professionals such as the Strasbourg lawyers Martin Crusius and Ludwig Grempp.⁵¹ Lyonnais imprints were also popular within France,

⁴⁸ Klaiber, *Kontroverstheologen*, 123-3276.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Ibid; also Politti, Lancelloto, *Tresutile traicté contre les erreurs et deceptions Lutheriennes*, Lyon (Sébastien Gryphe) 1548, copy in Lyon BM Rés. 802928.

⁵¹ Wagner, K., 'Le commerce du livre en France au début du XVIe siècle d'après les notes manuscrites de Fernando Colomb', *Bulletin du Bibliophile* 2 (1992), pp.305-329, also Wilhelmi, Thomas, *Handschriftenkataloge der Universitätsbibliothek Tübingen. Bd. 2: Die griechischen Handschriften. Sonderband Martin Crusius. Handschriftenverzeichnis und Bibliographie*, Wiesbaden 2002; also Brinkhus,

one such case being the collection of the Grenoble jurist and *parlementaire* Claude Expilly.⁵²

Ending the status quo

Lyon's fortunes were dramatically changed on 30 April 1562, when Protestants seized control of the city.⁵³ The city was one of a number of provincial centres taken in the first wave of the Religious Wars. It was a bold move that not only signalled Protestant dissatisfaction with the fortunes of reform in France, but demonstrated the optimism and confidence of the Huguenots. Protestant sentiment had developed slowly since it first arrived in Lyon. We know of the existence of evangelical groups in Lyon as early as 1520-25, probably influenced by the book-seller Jean Vaugris, who held business relations with Basle and was related to Guillaume Farel.⁵⁴ However, until 1550 Lyon's Protestant world remained a largely clandestine movement.⁵⁵

The new religion was not limited to a small section of Lyonnais society, but rather attracted a cross-section of all social classes.⁵⁶ Protestantism was particularly popular

Gerd, 'Drucke des 16. Jahrhunderts aus französischen Offizinen in der Universitätsbibliothek Tübingen', Arnold, Werner, *Bibliotheken und Bücher im Zeitalter der Renaissance*, Wiesbaden 1997, pp. 77-84.

⁵² A number of contemporary books in Grenoble BM bear the provenance of Claude Expilly, for example see F 11886 Rés, F 2400 Rés, F 2408 Rés, F 2422 Rés, F 2478 Rés, F 6071 Rés, F 6072 Rés, F 6073 Rés, F 6077 Rés, F 6079 Rés, F 1712 Rés, F 9988, F 1189, F 5129, F 17939.

⁵³ On the rise of Lyon's Protestantism cf. Paradin, *Histoire* 1573, fols.H1v-H3r, I6v-K5r; Rubys, *Histoire*, 1604, fols.Ccc1r-Ddd3v; Doucet, 'Le Seizième Siècle', pp.393-427; Pallasse, M., *La Sénéchaussée*, pp.251-282; Steyert, *Histoire*, pp.113-146.

⁵⁴ Guillo, *Éditions Musicales*, pp.61-62.

⁵⁵ *Ibid*, pp.62.

⁵⁶ Cf. Davis, *Protestantism*, chs.4-8, 'The Sacred and the Body Social in Sixteenth-Century Lyon', P&P (1981), pp.44-50.

within the printing industry.⁵⁷ A number of merchant publishers were prominent in the Protestant advance in Lyon. The brothers Balthazar (II) and Henri Gabiano played an active part in the iconoclastic destruction of the Church of St. Just.⁵⁸ Moreover, a number of the publishing fraternity rose to hold roles in the city's civic council.⁵⁹ Indeed, several were named in the edict of 1568, declaring them as among the most active and subversive of the city's Protestant community.⁶⁰

Printing workers were also highly active agitators for the Protestant cause. In the 1530s members of Lyon's community of printers and printers' journeymen marched to aid the armies of Geneva against the attacks of French troops.⁶¹ Then in 1551 the printer's journeymen took part in the first outward manifestations of Protestantism in Lyon when several hundred of them roamed the streets singing Marot's translation of the psalms.⁶² The collapse of the Protestant coup did not lead to a meltdown in evangelical sentiment among the city's printing workers; numbers continued to meet in secret. In 1566 this resulted in printer's journeymen being banned from holding non-Church regulated festivities and conspiratorial gatherings hidden under the mask of confraternity meetings.⁶³ The Protestant activities of the printers' workers came under no less scrutiny than their social superiors. A number of printing workers were also named in the 1568 edict.

⁵⁷ Cf. Davis, *Protestantism*, chs.4-8.

⁵⁸ Cf. Baudrier VII 137-147.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 141-147 (Gabiano), VII 262-300 (La Porte).

⁶⁰ Anon., *Ordonnance de Messieurs les Seneschal & gens tenans le siege Presidial en la ville de Lyon, contre les detenteurs des biens de ceux de la Religion pretendue reformee: Ensemble les noms & surnoms, des seditieux & rebelles contre la Majesté du Roi nostre Sire*, Lyon (Michel Jove) 1568. Charles Pesnot, Antoine Vincent and Henri de Gabiano were named on fol.A3v, Barthélemy de Gabiano on fol.B1r, Jean Mareschal and Jean Petit on fol.B1v, the brothers Senneton on fol.B2r.

⁶¹ Cf. Davis, *Protestantism*, pp.274-278.

The printing of both evangelical books and works critical of the Catholic Church began early in Lyon. Books such as Lefèvre d'Étaples' translation of the New Testament and titles of Erasmus were printed in the 1530s.⁶⁴ However, it was not until the 1540s that we note the onset of a Protestant printing agenda by several of the city's printers and publishers. The most prominent of Lyon's Protestant publishers were Sébastien Gryphe (who was in correspondence with Calvin), Antoine Vincent, Claude Senneton, Jean (I) de Tournes, Balthazar Arnoullet, Jean (II) Frellon, and Barthélemy de Gabiano.⁶⁵ These men underwent a sincere conversion to the new faith, and not only published large numbers of evangelical books, but also influenced the opinions of a significant cross-section of the next generation of Lyon's publishing world.

The publication of Protestant books was not a role specific to Lyon's most committed evangelical disciples. The majority of contemporary Lyonnais publishers involved themselves at least once in the production of evangelical literature. Two of the most interesting were Benoist Rigaud and Guillaume Roville.⁶⁶ Yet whilst they published Protestant material, both also published numerous editions of strictly orthodox material.⁶⁷ In a similar manner, as we have seen above, the most prominent of Protestant publishers, Senneton, Gryphe, Crespin, Frellon and de Tournes, also produced many editions of orthodox works.⁶⁸

⁶² Ibid., p.326.

⁶³ Ibid., p.329.

⁶⁴ Cf. Guillo, *Éditions Musicales*, pp.64-65.

⁶⁵ Cf. Baudrier V 154-285 (Frellon), VII 141-157 (Gabiano), 367-448 (Senneton), VIII 11-286 (Gryphe), X 1; also Bremme pp.240-241; also Cartier.

⁶⁶ See chapters 2 and 3.

⁶⁷ Cf. Baudrier III 183-233 (Rigaud), IX 169-303 (Roville).

For over a decade Lyon was one of the most important production centres of French language Protestant print in Europe. Lyonnais publishers exploited the city's freedom and tolerance to the full. From the 1550s Lyonnais publishers produced many editions of large Protestant works, vernacular Bibles, Psalters and the works of reformers such as Calvin, Bèze, Viret and Farel.⁶⁹ However, it is from 1560 that we see a shift in the level of Protestant printing commissioned in Lyon when evangelical publishers began to dedicate more of their resources towards the production of works aimed at the confessional struggle for France.⁷⁰ Lyon's role as a leading producer of Protestant books was recognised when several of the city's Protestant publishers were involved in the monumental nationwide project to publish 30,000 copies of the Marot and Bèze Psalter in the year 1562.⁷¹ Yet although evangelical print played a crucial part in the Lyonnais printing world for around a generation, it never rose to dominate the industry. Whilst the production of evangelical books was important to the mechanics of Lyon's industry, its backbone remained focused on the production of other genres such as scientific and technical manuals, legal tomes and an extensive output of literature and the classics.

Lyon did not just develop a name for the specialised production of large, quality productions of Protestant books; from around 1560 the city found itself at the forefront of

⁶⁸ Cf. Klaiber, W. (ed.), *Katholische Kontroverstheologen und Reformen des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Münster 1978.

⁶⁹ Guillo, *Éditions Musicales*, pp.64-65.

⁷⁰ Baudrier IV 162-193 (Honorati), VII 367-448 (Senneton); also Cartier.

⁷¹ Droz, E., 'Antoine Vincent. La Propagande Protestante par le Psautier', G. Berthoud et al. (ed.), *Aspects de la Propagande Religieuse*, Geneva 1957, pp.276-293.

the development of a new genre in French print: the politico-religious pamphlet.⁷² This was the first concentrated outburst of French pamphlet literature. Jean Saugrain, the nephew of Benoist Rigaud, was the publisher most associated with the production of these works.⁷³ Indeed, Saugrain was the dominant producer of these confrontational little books in French-speaking territories.⁷⁴ The literature was relatively accessible, it was small, printed in octavo and used large bold type. These polemics were staunchly anti-Catholic, they not only attacked sacraments such as the Mass, but the papacy and the priesthood, all the while gloating over Catholic military defeats.

While the production of Protestant texts benefited Lyon financially in the short term, such dangerous affiliations would see the city pay a heavy price. The association with militant Calvinism, twinned with the production of evangelical tomes, did much to tarnish Lyon's long established reputation. In the eyes of the Catholic establishment, the works of Calvin and Genevan Bible translations were the antithesis of fine learning and culture. The offering of the scriptures in the vernacular to the masses both appalled and threatened. The production of Saugrain's violent little polemics simply compounded Catholic reactions. The printing of Protestant material had a profound impact on Lyon, shattering the old attitude of tolerance, and leaving in its wake a devastating and lasting legacy of hatred and bitterness. The short punchy pamphlets produced by Saugrain left the bitterest aftertaste. His works of vitriol and hatred would soon be mirrored and become a key component of the French Catholic resurgence. Catholic authors and members of the

⁷² Pettegree, A., 'Protestant Printing During the French Wars of Religion: The Lyon Press of Jean Saugrain', *The Work of Heiko A. Oberman. Papers from the Symposium on His Seventieth Birthday*, Leiden / Boston 2003, pp.107-129.

⁷³ Cf. Baudrier IV 317-346.

⁷⁴ Cf. Pettegree, 'Saugrain'.

establishment, buoyed by the arrival of the Jesuits, would still take several years to become fully comfortable utilising the vitriolic pamphlet. However, by the late 1560s committed Catholic publishers were beginning to produce short punchy works calling for the eradication of the Huguenot.⁷⁵

With Lyon's return to the crown in 1563 the city's tolerant attitudes slowly melted away. The 1567 change in crown policy towards a solid Catholic settlement was the watershed. Tolerance gave way to censorship and harassment, and by the turn of the 1570s, persecution.⁷⁶ Under the watchful eye of the Jesuits, the printing industry became a prime focus for such anti-Protestant initiatives. Edmond Auger swiftly ensured that previously unimplemented censorship decrees were ratified and enforced.⁷⁷ Added to extraordinary taxation and threats of random violence, publishers and book dealers with known Protestant sympathies were subjected to their business being searched for signs of heretical books. When found, such books were burnt, as in 1569, when Claude Senneton complained that a stock of Bibles in folio had been seized and burnt in the street.⁷⁸ On occasion, it appears that a restless crowd could magnify the punishment by sacking the business involved, as was the fate of Jean (II) de Tournes in 1567. De Tournes was temporarily held prisoner in the Abbey of the Celestines, whilst books from his stock were burnt in the street and his workshops ransacked by the assembled crowd.⁷⁹ Such searches had a great impact on the evangelical community and news of them resounded throughout the Protestant community. In a letter to Heinrich Bullinger dated 1568, Théodore de Bèze noted that evangelical books

⁷⁵ See chapter 2.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Martin, H.J., *Print, Power, and People in 17th-Century France*, Metuchen, N.J./London 1993, pp.2-3; also Groër, *Réforme*, p.116.

⁷⁸ Cf. Baudrier IV 162.

that had escaped earlier searches in Lyon, had been discovered and thrown into the Rhône.⁸⁰

The religious changes had a large impact on Lyon's commerce.⁸¹ One of the most visible signs of decline came with the quarterly trade fairs. Under Protestant occupation the once bustling fairs were transferred north to Châlons-sur-Saône. Although they returned to Lyon in 1563 with the city's return to the crown, much damage had been done. Debts went unpaid and the threat of religious persecution loomed large, especially in the years following 1567. This led not only to many banking houses abandoning Lyon, but to many traders preferring to switch their trade to alternative, less risky trade fairs, such as those at Frankfurt and Leipzig. Moreover, the once famed policy of free trade on imported goods gave way to restrictions, arbitrary inspections and growing levels of taxation. Trade with Protestant neighbours became the focus of much repression. In October 1568 two Lyon merchants, Jean Buysson and Claude Dupré, were imprisoned after being found guilty of importing unspecified goods of Protestant nature, possibly books, from Geneva in the previous autumn.⁸² Accusations of either importing books from Geneva or farming contract printing out to Genevan printing houses would be a common point of conflict throughout the remainder of the century.⁸³

The result of all this was the exile of many of those involved with the Protestant cause. The effect of many exiles fleeing the city hit the printing industry as hard as any

⁷⁹ Cartier I 18.

⁸⁰ Meylan, H. & Dufour, A. et al. (eds.), *Correspondance de Théodore Bèze*, Geneva 1970-2004, IX 598.

⁸¹ For this and the following see Doucet, 'Le Seizième Siècle', pp.421-426, 520-527; also Doucet, *Finances*, pp.63-88.

⁸² Lyon Archives Municipales (AM) CC 1174-1.

other sector in Lyon. Many publishers fled the city in the late 1560s.⁸⁴ Likewise, we can also find a large number of journeymen and labourers abandoning Lyon at this point.⁸⁵ Yet several of the largest names to have fled returned to Lyon to resume publishing activities in a more orthodox manner in the 1570s.⁸⁶ It remains uncertain whether this was due to a collapse in confidence in the new faith or simply due to the lack of opportunity in Geneva with its tightly regulated printing industry.⁸⁷ The flood of publishing knowledge, talent and resources to Geneva had a lasting impact on the Lyonnais book world. The Genevan industry was both able, and at times willing to undercut their Lyonnais counterparts and print books clandestinely for Lyonnais publishers.⁸⁸ Indeed, this remained a controversial point throughout the century, on occasion leading to legal action.⁸⁹

The collapse of Protestantism and the radicalisation of Catholic Lyon left the Lyonnais book world at a crucial cross-road. Questions of how it would fare with the vacuums created both by the drain of talent and the collapse of Protestant printing as a profitable genre provided its biggest challenge to date.

⁸³ Cf. Baudrier IV 125, V 299-300, VI 338-339, VII 206-224, 240-242.

⁸⁴ Bremme, pp.138-248.

⁸⁵ For examples see Baudrier III 56, 114, 115.

⁸⁶ Cf. Baudrier IV 113-131(Honorati), VII 202-224 (Gabiano); also Bremme pp.138-139, 174, 177-178, 197-198, 230-231.

⁸⁷ Higman, F.M., 'Genevan Printing and French Censorship 1520-1551', Cinq Siècles d'Imprimerie Genevoise. Actes du Colloque international sur l'histoire de l'imprimerie et du livre à Genève 27-30 avril 1978, Geneva 1980, pp.31-54 ; also Jostock, I., 'La censure au quotidien: le contrôle de l'imprimerie à Genève, 1560-1600', A. Pettegree et al. (eds.), The Sixteenth Century French Religious Book, Aldershot 2001, pp.210-238.

⁸⁸ Cf. Baudrier VI 384, 437; also Bremme, pp.240-242.

⁸⁹ Cf. Baudrier IV 125, V 299-300, VI 338-339, VII 206-224, 240-242.

The Lyonnais publishing industry, 1565-1600

Throughout the final decades of the sixteenth century, the Lyonnais book trade occupied an important physical place at the heart of the city. Unlike Paris, the Lyonnais industry was not located around the *parlement* and the university buildings. Rather, the core of Lyon's industry was located upon one of the city's main commercial thoroughfares, the rue Mercière and its adjoining streets and alleyways. The rue Mercière was one of the most frequented streets of the city. It formed a major part of the main boulevard that swept across the centre of Lyon's Presqu'île, linking the bridges over the rivers Rhône and Saône.⁹⁰ At its northern edge it began close to the church of St. Nizier, and towards its southern edge met with the Jacobin monastery of Notre Dame de Confort, whose square housed a number of bookshops.⁹¹ The rue Mercière ran one street away from one of Lyon's busiest working quays which was often used for the delivery of paper to the city's publishers, the Port du Temples.⁹² The rue Mercière was not only a hub of trade, it was also at the civic heart of Lyon, featuring prominently in processions and festivities. For example, in 1566, and again in 1578, the inhabitants of the rue dressed as Turks, and gave orations to welcome the parade and civic dignitaries.⁹³ The celebrations following the battle of Jamac in 1569 similarly passed along rue Mercière and the Place de Confort,

⁹⁰ See the copperplate engraving of Lyon and detail of the rue Mercière above, p.vii.

⁹¹ Cf. Baudrier V 306, X 320.

⁹² Cf. Baudrier III 126, IV 120, V 299-304.

⁹³ La Coquille, Snr de, Recueil fait au vrai, de la Chevauchee de l'Asne, faite en la ville de Lyon: Et commencée le premier jour du mois de Septembre, Mil cinq ens soixante six, Lyon (Guillaume Testefort) s.d. [1566], fols.C4v-D1r ; La Coquille, Snr de, Recueil de la Chevauchee, faite en la Ville de Lyon: Le dixseptiesme de Novembre. 1578, Lyon (Les Trois Supposts [Guillaume Testefort]) 1578, fols.B1r-B1v.

where the city's merchants were paraded in order of rank, elaborately dressed in embroidered red cassocks.⁹⁴

By the mid-sixteenth century the publisher had risen to dominate the printing industry. Lyon was no exception. Publishers were typically wealthy entrepreneurs who drove the industry. They did not own presses but rather their own fonts, devices, ornaments and paper which they doubtlessly contracted out to master printers. The publisher was superior both financially and socially, and the competition to break into this elevated class was great. Such was this competition that it allowed two main types of publisher to emerge from the 1560s onwards: the merchant publisher and the publisher. Merchant publishers were by far the larger, wealthier and socially more important of the two. A majority of the city's merchant publishing firms had gravitated to Lyon from the Italian Peninsula in the first half of the century. By 1550 these publishers had cemented Lyon in the centre of the European book trade network. Publishing houses such as the Giunta, held close personal and business relations throughout the continent, especially to their sister business, the Venetian house of Giunta.⁹⁵ Likewise, Guillaume Roville was not alone in employing skilled and trusted associates or family members to run book shops for Lyon-printed books in Italy or Spain.⁹⁶

Lyon's merchant publishers were within grasping distance of the city's social elites. Several are known to have held official roles in the government, administration or policing

⁹⁴ Cf. Vial, E., *Institutions et Coutumes Lyonnaises*, Lyon 1903, pp.280-281.

⁹⁵ Cf. Baudrier VI 223-225, 384-403.

⁹⁶ Cf. Baudrier IX 77-124.

of the city.⁹⁷ But above all, merchant publishers considered themselves men of elevated learning. Lyon's meteoric rise was reflected in its adoration of fine learning and Renaissance ideals, and the merchant publishers doubtlessly saw themselves as part of this wave of culture.⁹⁸ Men such as Roville, Gryphe, Honorati or Vincent tended to involve themselves neither in the production of polemical pamphlet literature, nor the populist contemporary literature such as the *Amadis de Gaulle* series. This was a question both of finance and of personal status. Major merchants had less need to exploit the quick returns found in the ready and growing market for base and unlearned literature. They were able to invest fortunes in the publication of beautifully produced folio editions. Moreover, they possessed the resources to be able to wait several years to reap the full profit from their investment.

Lyon's merchant publishers worked tirelessly to carve out successful niches for themselves in the highly competitive publishing world. They strove to develop a specialisation, whether for the production of religious books, literary works, legal tomes, or technical scientific and medical manuals. The most successful publishing firms were those able to bridge genres and adapt to changing currents and trends. This can be seen most clearly with religious and theological works. Up until the 1550s Lyon's dominant printers and publishers had reaped huge rewards from their tireless efforts to satisfy the market for religious works. From around 1550 until around 1565 Lyon's merchant publishers expanded their repertoire in order to cater for the market demand for evangelical books. Then from around 1565, as the tide turned firmly back towards the Roman Church, Lyon's

⁹⁷ Cf. Baudrier VII 141-147 (Gabiano), VII 262-300 (La Porte), IX 74 (Roville).

⁹⁸ Davis, 'Rouillé'.

merchant publishers concentrated an ever increasing proportion of their production towards fulfilling the demand for Catholic books.⁹⁹

Below the publisher we find the master printer. The master printers either owned or rented, and managed the many printing workshops of the city. The job of a master printer was to control a volatile workforce, win printing contracts and ensure the production of quality products. This was a challenging role which earned only a comparatively small set payment per contract. Locked between publishers and labourers, evidence suggests that the role of a master printer was often an unenviable task, never more than when publishers attempted to squeeze the maximum profits at the expense of the master printer. It was not unusual for master printers to have to resort to costly legal action to recoup an overdue payment for printing.¹⁰⁰ Likewise, the printers' journeymen were not averse to applying pressure on their employers in order to obtain improved levels of pay and subsistence.¹⁰¹

We do not know how tightly the role of the master printer was regulated in Lyon. There is no surviving evidence to suggest that the Lyonnais council followed the Genevan example of limiting the workings of the master printers and printer-publishers by capping the number of presses active in the city.¹⁰² Whilst official regulations increased incrementally it appears that the industry provided its own system of self-regulation.¹⁰³

⁹⁹ See chapters 3 and 6.

¹⁰⁰ Baudrier III 163, IV 113-131, VI 223-255.

¹⁰¹ Cf. Audin, M., 'Les Grèves dans l'Imprimerie à Lyon au Seizième Siècle', *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* (1935), pp.172-189; also Davis, N.Z., 'Strikes and Salvation in Lyon', *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 56 (1965), pp.48-64; also Davis 'Trade Union', pp.48-69.

¹⁰² Higman, 'Genevan Printing', pp.31-54; also Jostock, 'La censure', pp.210-238.

¹⁰³ Cf. Baudrier IX 75-76; also Anon., *Ordonnances et Edicts royaux de France*, Lyon (Frères de Senneton) 1566, vol.1, fols.EE3r-FF3r, copy in Troyes BM O 6 709; also (Charles IX), *Edict du Roi, sur la reformation de l'Imprimerie*, Lyon (Michel Jove & Jean Pillehotte) 1571, copy in the British Library 5423 h 10 (1).

This is illustrated by the most successful master printers to appear in the last decade of the century, Thibaud Ancelin and Guichard Jullieron. In 1594 Ancelin and Jullieron's businesses were radically transformed – by the personal intervention of Henri IV – to the extent that they were able to afford to fund the publication of a number of larger books.¹⁰⁴ However, such social and commercial advancement did not come easily or quickly. Established publishing houses maintained such a tight grip over the industry that even after the personal intervention of Henri IV, the vast majority of Ancelin's and Jullieron's time was spent contract printing rather than in the production of their own publications. Indeed, until at least 1600 they continued to be known in Lyon as master printers, rather than publishers.¹⁰⁵

The printers' journeymen were at the bottom of their profession. The journeymen had the hardest physical job in the industry, being expected to work long hours.¹⁰⁶ Lyonnais printers' shops were known to begin working at 2 o'clock in the morning.¹⁰⁷ It is likely that only the least skilled labourers arrived at such an early hour in order to prepare the ink for the day and begin moistening sheets of paper. The printers themselves probably began work at around 4 or 5 o'clock and were known to work through until 8 or 9 at night.¹⁰⁸ Working hours could vary, but typically increased in the days leading up to a large festivity or trade fair, when it was not unusual to find that presses had been operated overnight.¹⁰⁹ However, along with Parisian printers, their average earnings were higher

¹⁰⁴ See chapters 5 and 6.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Audin, 'Les Grèves', pp.172-89; also Davis, 'Misprint', pp.17-23.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. Audin, 'Les Grèves', pp.184.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. Davis 'Misprint', pp.18-19.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, pp.18-19.

than printers' journeymen in Antwerp and other centres.¹¹⁰ In return for higher wages Lyon's printers' journeymen were expected to be more productive, even more so than their Parisian counterparts.¹¹¹ Their long hours of often hard physical labour in candlelight resulted in physical deformity and poor eyesight.¹¹² In a complaint of 1572, Lyon's journeymen protested that they suffered from fatigue and arthritis.¹¹³ This did not prevent the journeymen from having great pride in their trade. In the 1572 pamphlet *Remonstrances, pour les compagnons imprimeurs, de Paris et Lyon*, the *compagnons* claimed that 'printing is [an] invention so admirable [...] so honourable in its dignity, and profitable above all others to the French. Paris and Lyon furnish the whole of Christendom with books in every language.'¹¹⁴

Little is known regarding the potential size of the workforce employed in Lyon's printing industry. However, with a yearly average of several million sheets being printed in the city it was likely that over a hundred individuals would have held full or close to full-time employment. From Baudrier's notes one is able to get some idea of the workforce employed. However, as a recent survey of printers and journeymen from the first half of the century has illustrated, Baudrier's notes are far from comprehensive and must be regarded as well below the real level of employment.¹¹⁵ Between 1565 and 1600 Baudrier has noted the presence of 71 men that were either apprenticed printers, printers or members

¹¹⁰ Cf. Febvre, & Martin, *Coming*, p.131.

¹¹¹ Cf. Audin, 'Les Grèves', pp.172-89.

¹¹² Cf. Pollak, M., 'The Performance of The Wooden Printing Press', *The Library Quarterly* 42/1 (1972), pp.227-229.

¹¹³ Cf. Davis 'Misprint', p.18.

¹¹⁴ Anon., *Remonstrances, et Memoires, pour les Compagnons Imprimeurs, de Paris et Lyon: Opposans contre les Libraires, maistres Imprimeurs desdicts lieux*, s.l. [Lyon] (s.n.) s.d. [1572], fol.A2r.

¹¹⁵ Fau, G. & Saksik, S. & Smouts, M. Tisserand, S., 'Dictionnaire des Imprimeurs et libraires lyonnais du Xve siècle', *Revue Française d'Histoire du Livre* 118-121 (2003), pp.209-275.

of the company of printers. He also cites another 31 as being employed within the book trade: half a dozen were at one time a printer and at another either a binder or a caster of type. Two further men were noted as collators, one additional as a corrector, nine as binders, eleven solely as casters of type, and two men were noted as being employed as trimmers, to finish the bound books.¹¹⁶ Whilst this indicates the presence of around 100 men employed within the book industry, we should not regard this as representing the real scope of the workforce.

The printers' journeymen were highly vocal members of the city and active in defending their livelihood. Printers' labourers had a strong history of striking to preserve basic levels of income, accommodation and nutrition during the working day.¹¹⁷ The success of the printers' journeymen is illustrated by a lawsuit brought forward in July 1588 against several publishers who had used the cheaper Genevan presses to publish books carrying the name of Lyon on the title page.¹¹⁸ The publishers complained that the journeymen had forced the cost of printing a ream of paper to the inflated level of 33 or 34 *sous*, whereas in Geneva the cost was only 20 to 25 *sous* per ream. The journeymen argued successfully that they had caused but a tenth of the rise in the cost of printing and that inflation was to blame for the vast majority of the rise. The council reprimanded the publishers in question and reiterated a ban on the printing of books in Geneva for sale as Lyon imprints.

¹¹⁶ Cf. Baudrier I-V, IX-XI.

¹¹⁷ Cf. Audin, 'Les Grèves', pp.172-189; also Davis, 'Strikes', pp.48-64; also Davis 'Trade Union', pp.48-69.

¹¹⁸ Cf. Baudrier V 298.

Throughout the 1550s and 1560s, sections of the journeymen had been among the most proactive of Lyon's evangelical movement.¹¹⁹ However, it was the same journeymen that were among the first to become disillusioned with the Protestant coup, and agitate for a return to the traditional ways.¹²⁰ In both 1566 and then again in 1568 the representatives of the printer's syndicate, under the corporate name Seigneur de La Coquille, published pamphlets condemning Protestantism and its excesses.¹²¹ Several years later the printers' journeymen were to be active participants of the repetition of the St. Bartholomew's Day massacres that took place in Lyon.¹²²

Lyon's printing industry also supported a network of associated industries. In the first instance it provided a burgeoning business opportunity for the paper mills that serviced Lyon's publishers and printers. Paper mills scattered across the Beaujolais, the Dauphiné, the Auvergne, and as far south as Avignon produced raw product for Lyon's presses.¹²³ This industry was so successful that even booksellers such as Pierre de Portonariis would abandon a lucrative business venture in favour of running a paper mill.¹²⁴ On and around rue Mercière, one would also have found a number of book-binding workshops. These were typically found alongside major printing centres. It is often assumed that books were transported unbound for reasons of both cost and weight; certainly if this were so, then the number of books imported into Lyon from Paris, Antwerp, Venice and elsewhere would

¹¹⁹ Davis, N.Z., 'The Protestant Printing Workers of Lyons in 1551', G. Berthoud et al. (ed.), Aspects de la Propagande Religieuse, Geneva 1957, pp.247-257.

¹²⁰ Davis, Protestantism, pp.503-540.

¹²¹ La Coquille, Snr de, Recueil faict au vrai, de la Chevauchee de l'Asne, Lyon (Guillaume Testefort) s.d. [1566]; La Coquille, Snr de, Discours du temps passe & du present, publié en la ville de Lyon, par les trois suppostz, de l'Imprimerie, Lyon (Pierre Brotot) 1568, copy in Lyon BM Rés. B 493544.

¹²² Pallier, D., 'Les réponses catholiques', H.-J. Martin & R. Chartier (eds.), Histoire de l'édition française vol.1., Le livre conquérant: Du Moyen Age au milieu du XVIIe siècle, Paris 1989, pp.329-330.

have maintained several workshops. Yet the picture was probably not as clear cut as this. It is probable that many volumes were bound and decorated in Lyon both for local sale and transport to other book selling centres, and similarly, that books printed elsewhere were bound before transport to Lyon. Working extensively with Lyonnais imprints in several large collections has revealed a distinct similarity in the decoration of contemporary bindings and has created a strong impression that these bindings were the work of centralised binderies.

The book industry also needed storage facilities. In the first instance, publishers needed to be able to store their fonts and devices safely, these were expensive to recreate and necessary for the individualistic appearance of an edition. Likewise, publishers needed to be able to accept large deliveries of paper without it becoming soiled or wet. Contracts indicate that it was quite normal for between 100 and 200 reams of paper to be delivered at one time to a publisher at the Port du Temples.¹²⁵ Moreover, publishers needed to store their finished books, artefacts which were delicate and highly susceptible to both the climate and vermin. Not every copy of an edition was sold immediately upon completion of printing. It was normal for publishers to store a part of a print run. Lyon's publishers followed this practice. Roughly 500 of the book editions published between 1565 and 1600 appear to be re-issues of the remaining stock of a previously published text.¹²⁶ This style of business allowed publishers to avoid saturating the market, and to be able to re-issue books as re-edited or re-printed editions.

¹²³ Audin, M., 'Les Ancienne Papeteries du Beaujolais et le Chapitre de Beaujeu', *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* (1938), pp.9-16; also Febvre and Martin, *Coming*, pp.35-42.

¹²⁴ Cf. Baudrier V 392.

¹²⁵ Cf. Baudrier III 126, IV 120, V 300-304.

The storage of printed texts was expensive and required the medium or long term occupation of a dry and secure location. Let us consider for a moment the case of the Gabiano's edition of the *Code du Roi Henri III*.¹²⁷ That the Gabianos first published the *Code* in 1594 and then re-issued the work in 1597 allows us to speculate that a half of the print run was held back in storage for around three years. The *Code* is a quarto imprint comprising of 147 printed sheets. It is not one of the larger books published on Lyon's presses at this time: it measures 23.5 cm long, 15 cm wide and 6.3 cm deep.¹²⁸ The volume of one single copy of the *Code* is 0.0022207 m³; and 3.33 m³ for an entire print run of 1,500 copies. However, this accounts for neither additional packing material, nor the type of storage vessel used. Therefore, we can speculate that in order to store a half of the print run of the 1594 *Code du Roi*, the Gabiano brothers had to locate dry and secure storage for around 2m³.

Although we have contracts for publishers renting rooms or buildings within the city, we do not know how the rented space was used.¹²⁹ It remains much more likely that publishers attempted to side-step the high costs of renting storage space within the city and evade the high civic taxation by storing books outside the city limits. It has been speculated that books were often held in barrels in stables and other buildings in Guillotière, effectively a suburb of Lyon sitting on the Dauphiné side of the Rhône.¹³⁰

¹²⁶ These comprise editions that possess identical title, page signatures and either pagination or foliation. The majority of these re-issued works are noted as being so by Baudrier.

¹²⁷ Brisson, Barnabé (ed.), *Code du Roi Henri III*, Lyon (Frères de Gabiano) 1594, and reissued in 1597.

¹²⁸ Measurements taken from copy in Aix Méjanes BM 8o 11065.

¹²⁹ For examples of contracts see Baudrier III 176-183.

¹³⁰ A point raised by Dr. Judi Loach at the colloquium for Lyonnais History, held in Glasgow, 13th May 2002.

Publishing was primarily a business driven activity, and publishers sought to protect their business investments by seeking a privilege, an early form of copyright, for their work.¹³¹ A privilege was typically granted by a particular authority to a publisher, printer, author or translator for a certain set period. Normally, privileges were granted by either the King or a civil authority such as a *parlement* or *sénéchaussée* and were valid for the whole kingdom. Throughout the second half of the sixteenth century the majority of Lyonnais privileges were granted by the King's official representatives in Lyon. However, alongside this, we also find a number of privileges issued by the city council; these tended to be for the publication of smaller vernacular editions, including pamphlets and populist literature.

The privilege system was complicated in 1583 by the issuing of an edict declaring that the printing and publication of all works by Jesuit authors was subject to the obtaining of a Jesuit privilege from one of a number of Jesuit institutions.¹³² Lyon's collège de la Trinité was one of the major centres of Jesuit activity in France, and as such it was no surprise that a number of publishers fostered close relations with the Jesuits and were well rewarded in privileges to print the lucrative religious and pedagogic Jesuit books.¹³³

This system was even further complicated with the League coup of 1589. The League fully comprehended the power of the printing press and recognised the role that it

¹³¹ Cf. Armstrong, E., *Before Copyright. The French Book-Privilege System 1498-1526*, Cambridge/New York 1990.

¹³² As reprinted for example in Platus, Hieronymus, *De bono status religiosi libri tres*, Lyon (Jean-Baptiste Buysson) 1592, fol.*1v; also Possevino, Antoine, *Iudicium De Nuae militis Galli, Ioannis Bodini, Philippi Mornaei, & Nicolai Machiavelli*, Lyon (Jean-Baptiste Buysson) 1593, fol.*8v; also *Ioannis Petri Maffei Bergomatis ex Societate Jesu, Historiarum Indicarum Libri XVI*, Lyon (Giunta [Jean-Baptiste Regnaud]) 1589.

¹³³ See chapters 2-6.

could play in helping to shape public opinion.¹³⁴ The *Seize* in Paris were quick to control the privilege system, extending their control over the Parisian book world.¹³⁵ Much like the King and *parlement* before them, the *Seize* were not able to hold such tight control over Lyon's presses. Their most significant attempt was to issue privileges for the production of the flood of pamphlet works that emerged from the city.¹³⁶ During the Leaguer years privileges continued to be issued by the city's council and religious institutions, and then in 1592-93, Lyon's Leaguer council extended the issuing of privileges. A number of publishers received generic privileges to print the necessary works of literature, science, law or theology that were currently unavailable to the Lyonnais book market due to the blockades of Paris.¹³⁷

Following Lyon's return to the crown in 1594, Henri IV strove to re-impose his control over every aspect of Lyonnais society. Henri IV, much like the League, understood the full power of the press. He therefore gave emphasis to establishing control over the presses, especially those that had occupied themselves with the production of pamphlet literature.¹³⁸ In order to bring the presses to heel, Henri IV punished Leaguer pamphleteers and severely curtailed the powers of Lyon's civic council to issue privileges. From the mid-1590s localised privileges issued by the civic council cease to be seen in Lyonnais imprints. Privileges instead were typically issued by the royal authority in Lyon, with a handful being issued by the local church.

¹³⁴ See chapter 4.

¹³⁵ Pallier, 'Les réponses', pp.341-346.

¹³⁶ Cf. Baudrier II 238-240.

¹³⁷ For an example of the privilege see Brisson, Barnabé (ed.), *Code du Roi Henri III*, Lyon (Frères de Gabiano) 1594, fol.++8v.

Although publishers eagerly sought to protect their investment, the privilege system did not stop the publication of clandestine or pirated book editions.¹³⁹ Lyonnais imprints were illegally printed in other centres, just as works printed elsewhere were illegally copied in Lyon. The use of Genevan presses to print Lyon imprints was commented upon by the company of printers in a 1589 pamphlet: 'Si l'on n'imprimoit à Geneve / Pour des Libriares de Lyon, / Nous aurions d'or un million.'¹⁴⁰ There were several very lucrative reasons for this underhand behaviour. First we find the wish of a publisher to reap a share of the profits for a best-seller currently under privilege to another. One such case was the 1564 Senneton edition of Sleidan's *Commentaries*; a genuine contemporary best-seller. Senneton published his Lyon edition under the auspice of it being an official Strasbourg edition.¹⁴¹ Likewise, we find the pirating of editions of Guillaume de Saluste, whose works were popular and were widely reprinted. Between 1579 and 1582 three of his titles were clandestinely printed in Lyon as Antwerp editions: one, *La sepmaine, ou creation du monde* by Louis Cloquemin and two, *Les Oeuvres* and *Hymne de la paix*, by Benoist Rigaud.¹⁴²

Another reason for the illicit publishing of books was to discredit or slander a confessional opponent. From the second half of the 1560s, a number of violent pamphlet editions published in Geneva bore the name of Lyon on the title page. This would have been a calculated swipe at the power and often violent nature of resurgent Catholicism within Lyon. Although the Genevan industry was one of the most tightly regulated such

¹³⁸ See chapter 6.

¹³⁹ Cf. Jostock, I., 'Segeln unter falscher Flagge: Genfer Druckortangaben in konfessionellen Zeitalter, ca. 1550-1625' *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 2002, pp.176-187.

¹⁴⁰ La Coquille, Snr de, *Les Plaisants Devis en Forme de Coq à L'Asne. Recitez par les Suppostz du Seigneur de la Coquille, en l'an 1589*, Lyon (Seigneur de la Coquille) s.d. [1589], fol.A3v.

¹⁴¹ Sleidan, Johann, *De l'Estat de la Religion et Republique Chrestienne, et des quatre Monarchies*, Strasbourg [Lyon] s.n. [Frères de Senneton] 1564, copies in Avignon BM 8o 11650, and Bordeaux BM H 1179.

practices continued throughout the century.¹⁴³ In 1591 and 1592 for example we find the outwardly Protestant work by Henri Estienne, the *Apologie pour Herodote*, allegedly published by the then firmly orthodox Lyonnais publisher Benoist Rigaud.¹⁴⁴ Natalie Zemon Davis has shown that this was a clandestine Genevan imprint bearing all the marks and stylistic form of a typical Rigaud work. This was clearly both a swipe, and an ‘in joke’ within the evangelical book world at Rigaud, one of the most vociferous publishers of violent Catholic propaganda during 1572 and 1573, and one of the most ardent early Leaguer publishers in France from 1585 until 1588.¹⁴⁵

One of the most frequent uses of clandestine print was in order to elevate the status of a work. Although Lyon’s publishing industry remained in decline throughout the second half of the century, it maintained a reputable name throughout the European book world for the production of high quality, erudite books. Geneva on the other hand had less of a reputation. It was seen as providing technically inferior works that were produced at a cheaper rate.¹⁴⁶ This led several Genevan publishers to use Lyon’s reputation to elevate their own editions. Between 1565 and 1600 at least 166 book editions were published in Geneva, claiming to be Lyon imprints.¹⁴⁷ The primary offenders were Jean (II) de Tournes (at least 32 editions), Francois Le Fevre (59), Francois Le Preux (23), Jacques Chouet (11), Guillaume Laimaire (6), Jean Lertout (6) and Jacob Stoer (4). This practice grew ever more pronounced as the century progressed. At least seven such editions were published in

¹⁴² Cf. IA 156.242, 156.243, 156.257.

¹⁴³ Higman, ‘Genevan Printing’, pp.31-54; also Jostock, ‘La censure’, pp.210-238.

¹⁴⁴ Cf. Davis, N.Z., ‘The 1592 Edition of Estienne’s *Apologie pour Hérodote*’, G. Berthoud et al. (ed.), *Aspects de la Propagande Religieuse*. Geneva 1957, pp.373-376.

¹⁴⁵ See chapter 2.

¹⁴⁶ Cf. Baudrier V 298.

¹⁴⁷ This figure does not include clandestine pamphlets printed in Geneva that claimed to be from Lyon.

the 1560s, 11 in the 1570s, 47 in the 1580s and over 100 editions between 1590 and 1600. Such a high number of cases illustrates the continued good reputation that Lyon held in the book world.

An interesting and not dissimilar case is provided by Jean (II) de Tournes' 1591 edition of the trilingual *Libro llamado menosprecio de corte y alabanza de aldea*.¹⁴⁸ The privilege for the *Libro llamado* was initially granted to de Tournes by the King in 1574, whilst de Tournes was still resident in Lyon. De Tournes hung on to the privilege for almost twenty years before publishing the work in 1591. The *Libro llamado* was published in Geneva; however, de Tournes neglected to include mention of either Geneva or Lyon alongside his printer's signature on the title page. This was a subtle piece of marketing by de Tournes. He did not pretend the book was a Lyon imprint; however, he did not deny it. Rather he left it to the prospective purchasers to assume a place of print from the privilege granted in Lyon.

Throughout the second half of the sixteenth century Lyon maintained its place as one of Europe's prime centers of print. The city did not have the production power of the two genuine market leaders, Venice and Frankfurt/Main. However, Lyon did feature among the second rank of printing centres, which included Antwerp, Leiden, Rome, Florence, Paris, Leipzig and Cologne.¹⁴⁹ Within France itself, Lyon remained second to Paris. It has been speculated that the Parisian publishing industry was somewhere in the region of around one

¹⁴⁸ Guevara, Antonio de, *Libro Llamado Menosprecio de Corte y Alabanza de Aldea*, s.l. [Geneva] (Jean de Tournes) 1591, fol.m4r, copy in Grenoble BM F 1189.

¹⁴⁹ Cf. Pettegree, A. & Hall, M., 'The Reformation and the Book: a Reconsideration', *The Historical Journal* 47/4 (2004), pp.785-808.

and a half to two times larger than Lyon's.¹⁵⁰ This is not to devalue Lyon's weighty contribution to sixteenth century print. In their landmark study, Martin and Febvre suggested that France was divided into two typographical zones, one in the North based around Paris, and the other in the South, centred upon Lyon.¹⁵¹ Whilst this model seems convincing, a more subtle differentiation might be closer to the truth. Paris and Lyon had a large overlap in both types of books published and actual titles. Contemporary collections provide us with evidence that Parisian books circulated freely in the South of France whilst Lyonnais imprints were similarly collected in northern France. We can for example find strong collections of Lyonnais pamphlets in Lyon and other southern cities such as Grenoble and Aix-en-Provence. Yet Lyonnais pamphlets can also be found in northern collections, such as in Paris, Rouen, Auxerre and Lille. This pattern is replicated with larger works, be it the orthodox tomes such as the Louvain Bible, editions of the classics, such as Cicero and Aristotle, or indeed, contemporary literature such as the chivalric volumes of *Amadis de Gaule* or the fashionable Italian works of Boccaccio.

The confined parameters of this study have not allowed for a full survey of the Lyonnais publishing industry. To carry out such a work would be a simply massive enterprise. Defining the survey as looking at religious and theological imprints has meant the exclusion of some of Lyon's most active publishing houses. The printing of orthodox religious books became a larger focus of the industry throughout the century. As such a large number of Lyon's publishers were heavily involved in the production of orthodox texts. Publishing houses such as Roville-Buysson, the Giunta, Senneton-Pesnot-Landry,

¹⁵⁰ Cf. Febvre and Martin, *Coming*, p.189.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*

Rigaud, and Jove-Pillehotte will form much of the focus of this study. However, several of Lyon's major publishing houses did not become closely engaged in the production of religious and theological texts. Instead, we find that publishing houses such as Gryphe, de Tourmes and Vincent developed a niche in the production of high quality literary, historical, legal or scientific editions. It is to these that we will briefly turn our attention.

Antoine Gryphe was one of Lyon's largest merchant publishers.¹⁵² He was responsible for the production of almost 300 editions between 1565 until 1599.¹⁵³ Only a fraction of his editions (19) were religious works. These were formed mainly of small format Bibles printed in either French or Latin. Noticeable, however, is the production of several editions of the Genevan Bible translation, published in the 1570s and 1580s.¹⁵⁴ It is unknown why Gryphe published so few religious works, while his father Sébastien had been a prominent publisher of evangelical books.

¹⁵² For Gryphe see Baudrier VIII 309-408.

¹⁵³ Cf. Baudrier VIII 342-407; Bingen, N. (ed.), *Philausone (1500-1660). Répertoire des Ouvrages en Langue Italienne Publiés dans les Pays de Langue Française de 1500 à 1660*, Geneva 1994, 163; Bujanda, J.M. de (ed.), *Index des Livres Interdits: X. Thesaurus de la Littérature interdite au XVIe Siècle*, Geneva/Sherbrooke 1996, 584; Chambers 425, 491; Decherf, J.-L. (ed.), *Répertoire des Livres Imprimés Aux XVIe (incunables) et XVIIe Siècles*. Bibliothèque Central de L'Université Catholique de Lille, s.l. 1998, 52.01308; Dekesel, C.E. (ed.), *Bibliotheca Nummaria. A Bibliography of 16th Century Numismatic Books*, London 1997, A78, S144, S149; Gültlingen VII 83; Girard, A.R. & Bouteiller, A, le (eds.), *Catalogue Collectif des Livres Imprimés à Lyon de 1478 à 1600 Conservés dans les bibliothèques publiques de la région Basse-Normandie*, Baden-Baden 1987, 924; IA 110.503, 135.949, 139.328, 139.444, 139.472, 139.474, 139.688, 139.889, 140.807, 141.501, 141.512-3, 148.820 Renting, A.D. et al. (eds.), *The Seventeenth-Century Orange-Nassau Library. The Catalogue Compiled by Anthonie Smets in 1686, the 1749 Auction Catalogue, and Other Contemporary Sources*, Utrecht 1993, 3221; Schlaefli, L. (ed.), *Catalogue des Livres du Seizième Siècle (1531-1599) de la bibliothèque du Grand Séminaire de Strasbourg*, Baden-Baden/Bouxwiller 1995, 1390, 2929; *Le Fonds XVIe siècle à la Médiathèque Luxembourg de Meaux*, Luxembourg s.d, 6083, C640; also copies not cited in bibliographical works; also *Pentateuchis Moysis*, Lyon (Antoine Gryphe) 1569, copy in Le Havre BM; also Sallustius, Caius Crispus, *Coniuratio Catilinae et Bellum Iugurthinum*, Lyon (Antoine Gryphe) 1578, copy in Lyon BM 811402.

¹⁵⁴ Chambers 424, 425, 426, 432, 433, 443, 444, 481, 482, 491, 492, 495.

The overwhelming majority of Gryphe's publications were literary, 194 editions or 66%; 43 editions or 15% were historical works; 10% were legal works; besides these we find a small residue of scientific tomes. Gryphe's literary productions focused primarily upon the classic authors such as Aesop, Aristotle, Caesar, Cicero, Ovid, Virgil, Seneca and Terrence. Indeed, it is noticeable how little contemporary literature one finds in Gryphe's publications. Of his historical editions, we find the tomes of Apian, Caesar, Herodotus, Plutarch and Tacitus. Scientific works were dominated by medical volumes. This was an elitist, highly learned corpus of publications, and as one would expect, the majority of Gryphe's works, 90% or 265 editions, were published in Latin, 24 editions in French, with a further five in Italian.

Jean (II) de Tournes was one of Lyon's most famed inhabitants. After inheriting his father's printer-publisher business, de Tournes published 161 editions between 1565 and 1585.¹⁵⁵ In 1585 he was forced to flee Lyon as a religious refugee.¹⁵⁶ Besides his published editions, we find that de Tournes also contract-printed at least seven other editions for other merchant publishers in the 1570s and 1580s.¹⁵⁷ With 27 religious editions, de Tournes published a higher proportion of religious works than either Gryphe or Vincent. However, the majority of these were Protestant editions in the second half of the 1560s. Half of de Tournes' publications between 1565 and 1585 were literary. Whilst we find a number of classical authors such as Aesop, Aristotle, Caesar, Cicero and Terrence,

¹⁵⁵ Cf. Cartier II; Baudrier VIII 385; Bird, D.T. (ed.), *A Catalogue of Sixteenth-Century Medical Books in Edinburgh Libraries*, Edinburgh 1982, 1737; Chambers 492; also Guillo, *Éditions Musicales*, 91, 94; Girard, *Catalogue*, 893; Shaaber, M.A., *Sixteenth-century Imprints in the Libraries of the University of Pennsylvania*, Pennsylvania 1976, C14; also copy not cited in bibliographical works: anon., *Commentarii ad Edictum Jurisdictionis Iudicum Praesidalium*, Lyon (Jean de Tournes) 1566, copy in Troyes BM.

¹⁵⁶ Cartier I 18-19.

we also note an increased number of contemporary authors such as Guy du Faur, known also as Seigneur de Pibrac and a series of musical editions by Corneille de Blockland. Alongside these de Tournes also published a number of historical volumes (15 editions), legal tomes (19), and scientific works (21). Many other similar examples could be cited here, such as the house of Vincent. Combined, Antoine and, from 1568, Barthélemy Vincent published many editions in Lyon and remain one of the most serious omissions from the work of Baudrier. Few of Barthélemy's editions were religious works. He was instead much more active in the publication of editions of the classics - such as Aristotle, Cicero, Ovid and Terrence -, literary, judicial and scientific volumes such as Jean Besson's *Theatre des Instrumens*.¹⁵⁸

General patterns of publication

Now we progress to examine aspects of the publication of Lyonnais books between 1565 and 1600. The first point we turn our attention to is the overall pattern of publication. Appendix 1.1 highlights the apparently volatile peak and trough in patterns of production, illustrating how the Lyonnais book industry reacted strongly to political and religious events. In the years immediately following the return of Lyon to the crown (1564-67), the period of Catholic and Protestant power-sharing, there was a rise in the number of editions published. This sudden revival was the result of several factors including the return of the quarterly trade fairs that had briefly been held in Châlons during the Protestant occupancy,

¹⁵⁷ Cf. Baudrier I 265; also IA 109.423, 128.807, 139.654 148.825, 149.321; also Bodin, Jean, Les Six Livres, Lyon (Jacques du Puys) 1579, de Tournes noted in colophon on fol. sss5v.

¹⁵⁸ Cf. IA 118.192-7; also Girard, Catalogue, 125, 133.

Important also was the return of a number of high profile members of the publishing community from exile in Geneva to resume their business activities.¹⁵⁹ Following the peak in 1581, production slowed to a steady constant between 1582 until 1587, with between 130 and 150 books being published per year.

The turmoil of the final years of the century is reflected in the sudden peaks in print production from 1588 until 1596. In the years 1588 and 1589 there was a sharp peak in publications that corresponded with the rise of Leaguer sentiment. At its pinnacle in 1589, the industry produced almost 200 editions mirroring the highs seen in 1568, 1574 and 1581. This surge was followed by a sharp decline in the number of editions published from 1590 until 1593, coinciding with Lyon's Leaguer adherence, the rises in taxation, and the decimation of the city's trade fairs and banking community. The sharp decline in the number of editions published in the early 1590s appears all the greater against the massive surge of publications that occurred immediately upon the return of Lyon to the crown in 1594 and 1596. In both of these years we find a far greater production of editions published in Lyon than in any other part of our period, with around 250 and 220 editions.

From 1597 the number of published editions fell dramatically. Average production fell to around only 130 editions per year. In 1599 production ebbed with only 85 works emerging from the city's presses. Several factors came into play, the decline in demand for polemical works, the rise of the Parisian publishing cartels, and, as we shall see, the decline of Lyon's merchant publishers.

¹⁵⁹ Cf. Baudrier IV 113-131(Honorati), VII 202-224 (Gabiano); also Bremme pp.138-139, 174, 177-178, 197-198, 230-231.

Latin and the vernacular

The sixteenth century saw the arrival of the vernacular book in Western Europe. The printing press gave Europe's vernacular languages a stage on which they could flourish. Latin maintained its role as primary medium for academic and elite discourse and communication throughout the early modern period. However, by the second half of the sixteenth century vernacular languages had made huge inroads into the domination of Latin.

The impact of vernacular print was certainly seen in the Lyonnais printing industry, where between 1565 and 1600, 59% of editions were printed in French, with a further 1% of books being printed in either Italian or Spanish. Only 40% of Lyonnais editions from 1565 until 1600 were published in Latin. Crucially, this does not mean that 60% of all sheets printed in Lyon were in a vernacular language. The printing of French language editions occupied only a fraction of the overall time spent on book production. Latin books were typically larger than editions printed in the vernacular, often spanning several volumes that required the printing of over a hundred sheets of paper. Only on occasion did a vernacular edition require such a level of investment and work.

If we return briefly to appendix 1.1, we see that Lyon's Latin publications can be divided into three main periods. The first, 1565 until 1570, perfectly mirrors the boom and bust cycle described above. Between 1565 and 1567 there was a rise in the number of editions published. This was followed in 1568 by a chronic recession in the Latin industry. Following this, the Lyonnais Latin publishing industry maintained a fairly steady level of

production. It staged something of a recovery following the crash of 1567-1568, peaking in 1581. It was then from 1588 until 1589 that the decline in Latin print signalled the real collapse in the fortunes of the Lyonnais industry. Beyond a brief attempt to rejuvenate Latin print in 1592-1593, the all important business of Latin print was falling markedly. Indeed, by 1599 fewer Latin works were published in Lyon than at any time since 1565.

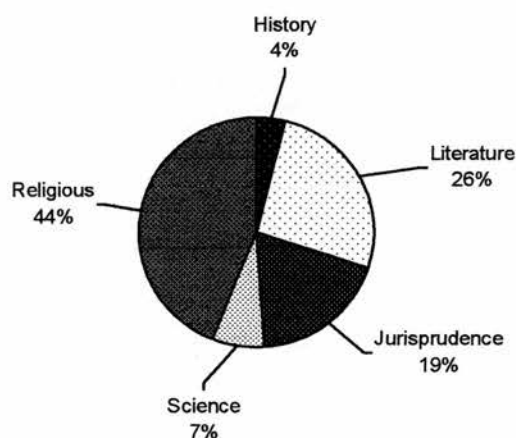
The story of vernacular print differs considerably. Heavily led by the outpourings of pamphlet editions, French language print reacted to events in France. The primary peaks occurred at the same time as the third War of Religion, the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre, in correspondence with the Leaguer coup in Lyon, and then again with the city's resurgence of Royalist sentiment. It is, however, interesting to note a fairly consistent and high production of vernacular editions throughout the mid-late 1570s till the mid 1580s.

Published genres

Whilst collecting the data for this study each book edition was assigned, wherever possible, a classification from the following: historical, jurisprudence, literature, scientific or religious. Such attempts to categorise books brings with them certain problems, especially in the case of religious books. Included in this category are all works of theology and religion. Likewise, included are all imprints which I believe were designed to have a direct and meaningful impact on the religious situation, most specifically the political pamphlet literature. The most notable exclusions from the body of religious works are royal edicts and ordonnances; these I have included within jurisprudence.

Chart 1.1 provides a breakdown of the genres of all known books printed in Lyon between 1565 and 1600. Religious books account for just under a half of the total production; this was almost twice the number of literary works. Around a fifth of books were works of jurisprudence, comprising legal compendiums, edicts and commentaries on legal processes. By far the smallest groups of books printed were scientific manuals and historical texts; however, such works tended to be lengthy and complex works that were invaluable to the fortunes of the industry.

Chart 1.1 Genre of editions published in Lyon, 1565-1600



Appendix 1.2 allows us to take a closer look at the Lyonnais publishing activity from 1565 until 1600. The first thing to notice is the dominance of religious editions. Four distinct periods occur in the production of religious editions, between 1565 and 1574, 1575 until 1587, 1588 until 1596, and from 1597 to 1600. In the first of our periods, between 1565 and 1574, we see a large production of theological texts. 1575 until 1587 witnessed a decline in the production of religious editions. Throughout this period the number of religious works fell to around 50 to 70 editions per year. From 1588 until 1596 the

numbers of religious editions peaks quite dramatically. This was the result of the flood of propaganda published in Lyon, firstly by the League and then followed by the Royalists.

Throughout the century Lyon had been at the forefront of the production of literary works and had developed a fine reputation for such production. Literary editions were the only genre to really challenge the dominance of religious editions. We find three periods in the production of literary editions in Lyon. The first, spanning the second half of the 1560s, saw a relatively low number of literary editions. From 1570 until around 1584-1585 the production of literary editions recovered. Our final period in the production of literary editions spans from 1584-1585 until 1600. It is evident that at around the time of the first stirrings of the League a change in market demand occurred. Whilst the production of religious works increased, the number of literary editions decreased. The impact of the Leaguer rebellion in 1589 signalled a low point for the production of literary works with only 20 editions. Following the fall of the League one can trace a slight recovery of the numbers of literary works published. Yet generally fewer literary works were published in Lyon during the last decade of the century than at any point during the 1570s and 1580s, illustrating how hard the Leaguer-Royalist struggle hit one of the city's main industries.

These literary works were comprised of a wide corpus. At the higher end we find many editions of large format classics printed in both Latin and in French. Alongside these Lyon also boasted a strong production in contemporary literature, including several works that focused upon the the ancient Roman Empire. Several of the most popularly reprinted works were du Choul's *Discours de la religion des anciens Romains*, and the *Discours sur*

la castrementation et discipline militaire des anciens Romains.¹⁶⁰ The intellectual thirst for the Roman period was further stimulated by the production of multiple editions of the Roman authors such as Apian, Tacitus, and of course Julius Caesar.

Aside from such erudite books, large numbers of small format vernacular texts were produced. The most popular of these were the serialised tales of *Amadis de Gaule*, with over 50 editions from 1565 till 1600. These chivalric romances became such an important part of the repertoire of Lyonnais publishers that Benoist Rigaud had the final books 15-21 translated in order to be the first to publish them in French.¹⁶¹ Moreover, the tales of *Amadis* spawned a string of popular and widely reprinted imitations such as *Quatre fils Aymon*, or *Primalèon de Grece*. Several publishers, again most notably Benoist Rigaud, developed something of a niche in the production of vernacular editions of the classics printed in small format. This provides plentiful evidence to support Roger Chartier's assertion that the origins of the *Bibliothèque Bleue* are to be found in the sixteenth century publications of Paris and Lyon.¹⁶²

The third largest genre of works published in Lyon was jurisprudence. This combined two basic groups, the first of which were comprised of the large volumes of legal works such as the *Corpus juris civilis / canonici*, legal expositions and commentaries. These large legal editions were of the scale that only merchant publishers were capable of

¹⁶⁰ Cf. Baudrier IX 54-378; also Dekesel, C.E. (ed.), *Bibliotheca Nummaria. A Bibliography of 16th Century Numismatic Books*, London 1997, D22.

¹⁶¹ Simonin, *Dictionnaire*, pp.49-52.

¹⁶² Chartier, R. (transl. L.G.Cochrane), 'The *Bibliothèque bleue* and Popular Reading', in R.Chartier, *The Cultural Uses of Print in Early Modern France*, New Jersey 1987, pp.240-264, *Lectures et Lecteurs dans la France d'Ancien Régime*, Paris 1987, p.116.

funding. It was usual to produce an edition in association with either one or a select group of merchant publishers. Up until 1590 we find a relatively constant production of the larger jurisprudence texts. It is interesting that Lyon developed such a niche as the city possessed neither a *parlement* nor a university. There would have doubtlessly been a limited market for these works domestically from jurists and lawyers; however, it remains likely that these works were intended primarily for the export market, both throughout French *parlement* centres and further abroad.

The second group is comprised of pamphlet style publications, the edicts, declarations and *lettres patentes*, issued by the King or a local governing body. As we shall see in the following chapters, the majority of edicts and declarations directly concerned themselves with the politico-religious situation in the kingdom. We can trace a fairly constant trickle of edicts and declarations throughout the century, with three particular surges that coincided with the peaks of activity in the Religious Wars. The first wave, 1568-1569, was as a direct result of two factors, Charles' IX nationally imposed Catholic settlement, and the attempts to pacify France following the second and third wars. The next major wave of edict publication in Lyon was in 1589, and was due to the many Leaguer edicts that were issued in a battle for legitimacy and authority in France.¹⁶³ In a similar manner, the peak in the edict editions from 1594 till 1596 was caused by the Royalist reaction to the League and the holding of the *grands jours* in Lyon.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶³ Cf. chapter 4.

¹⁶⁴ Cf. chapter 5.

We turn now to consider the production of works of history and science. Both occupied the smallest market share, representing just over a tenth of all publications. Much as other genres, the production of historical and technical scientific works were hit hard by the mass exile of Protestants in the late 1560 and early 1570s. Both genres recovered well during the healthy years of the 1570s and 1580s, and formed a part of the peak of production that occurred in 1581. From the late 1580s the number of historical works and scientific manuals declined, with only a handful of such editions published per year.

Charts 1.2 and 1.3 allow us to see that the production of genres differs significantly between larger books and pamphlets. Chart 1.2 illustrates the genre of all larger books published in Lyon during our period. Religious imprints accounted for almost a third of the larger books, as opposed to 44% of all imprints. 38% of larger book editions were literary works, compared to 26% of all imprints. Works of jurisprudence were published in roughly the same proportion when considering larger books and total editions. Only around 16% of larger books were historical or scientific works.

Chart 1.3 allows us to see quite how weighted pamphlet production was towards religious and legal imprints. Two-thirds of all pamphlet editions discussed the religious situation in France. Around a quarter of pamphlets were legal imprints, comprising largely of edicts, whether royal, issued locally or by the League between 1589 and 1593. Only a tiny number of pamphlets can be classified as either literary, scientific or as works of

history, combining 6%.

Chart 1.2 Genre of larger books

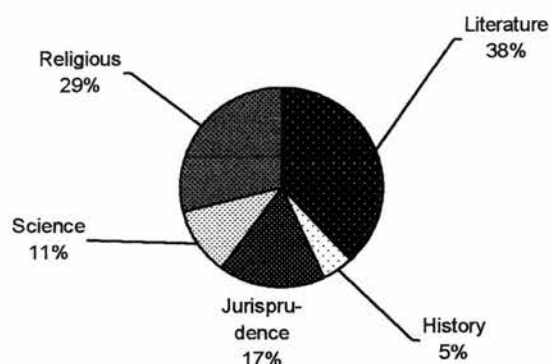
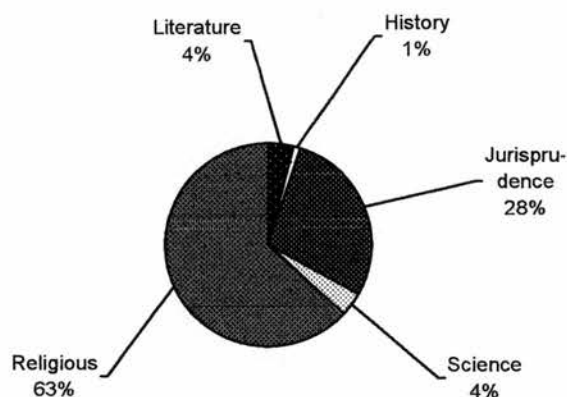


Chart 1.3 Genre of pamphlet editions



The scope of the industry

Although examining the production of editions tells us much about the printing industry, it cannot inform us about its size and scope. In order to explore this point we must attempt to find an approximate figure for the minimum levels of production. I have attempted to undertake this here by working out how many sheets were printed for the total body of published editions in the years 1565, 1570, 1575 and at five yearly intervals. These are presented in graph 1.1 below.

This is far from a straightforward process. One must begin by collating the total number of printed sheets required for all known works in a given year. To avoid the artificial swelling of figures one must first isolate shared editions and reissues. The process is further complicated by the fact that we do not possess information regarding pagination or foliation of around 15% of the assembled bibliographical records. In order to represent

these books one must form a hypothetical figure for the number of sheets printed. For this purpose I have calculated an average sheet count for known editions. This was aided by the fact that when examining the publishers and titles, one can see that Latin and vernacular editions are represented in roughly equal numbers. Then the final step is to settle on a production figure for the size of editions, for this we will work with the estimate that an average print run consisted of 1,500 copies.¹⁶⁵ There is much dispute regarding the number of printed sheets it was possible for one press to produce in a single day, with estimates ranging from 2,000 to 3,000 impressions, or 1,000 to 1,500 finished sheets.¹⁶⁶ In the middle of these estimates we find the *Officina Plantiniana*: Plantin's printers were expected to produce around 1,250 finished sheets per day.¹⁶⁷ However, contemporary accounts claim that printers were capable of a much higher level of production. In a supplication of 1571 the representatives of Lyon's printers claimed that although Parisian printers complained about being expected to produce 2,650 impressions per day, they were expected to print 3,350 impressions in a working day.¹⁶⁸

This survey cannot though successfully account for other problematic elements of the print industry. For example, publishers and printers encountered many problems that delayed the production of books. These could vary from poor cash flow and breakages of machinery to the tardiness of workers. Likewise, this survey cannot account for the use of Genevan presses by Lyonnais publishers to produce clandestine Lyonnais imprints.

¹⁶⁵ Pollak, 'Wooden Printing Press', pp.218-64; also Audin, 'Les grèves', p.189.

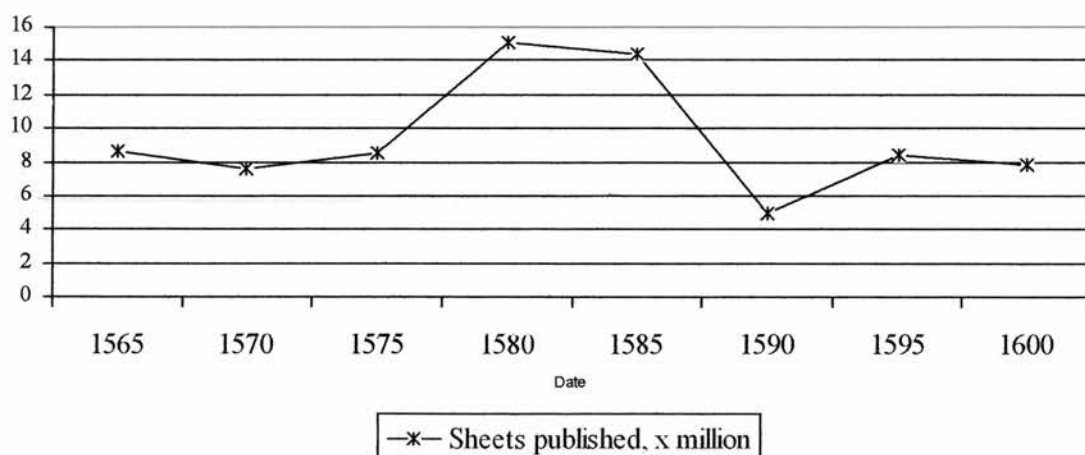
¹⁶⁶ Pollak, 'Wooden Printing Press', pp.218-64.

¹⁶⁷ Cf. Voet, L., *The Golden Compasses. A History and Evaluation of the Printing and Publishing Activities of the Officina Plantiniana*, Amsterdam et al., 2 vols., 1969, pp.318-327.

¹⁶⁸ Audin, 'Les Grèves', p.189.

Graph 1.1 charts the approximate minimum production of printed sheets in Lyon. In the years 1565, 1570 and 1575 we find a steady printing of around 8 million sheets per year. Through the 1580s production almost doubled; over 15 million sheets were printed in 1580, with 14.5 million in 1585. The crash of 1590 is clearly evident, with just under 4 million printed sheets. Production recovered at the tail end of the century, as we can see with the figures for 1595 and 1600, with roughly 8 million sheets being published in either sample year. This places the Lyonnais industry on a roughly even keel at both the beginning of our period, 1565-1575, and at the end, 1595-1600. Likewise it illustrates that the period from 1570s to the onset of the League was indeed a golden time in Lyonnais publishing, brought to an end with the coming of the League. Moreover, we can see here that the Lyonnais print industry was not thrust into terminal decline by the effects of the League. With Lyon's return to the fold, the printing industry was able to recover much ground and return to the levels of production seen in the first 15 years of our survey.

Graph 1.1 Approximate number of sheets printed in Lyon, 1565-1600



From knowing the minimum number of printed sheets produced, it is possible to deduce the minimum number of days that had to be worked in order to satisfy the production. In order to do this one must divide the number of sheets printed by the capacity of a single printing press. As discussed above, I have opted to use production figures of 3,000 impressions, or 1,500 completed sheets per press in a single day. Therefore, in order to deduce the base number of work days needed, we must divide the number of sheets printed by 1,500. Column 2 of table 1.1 shows us the basic number of day's work that was required from Lyon's presses. This suggests that throughout the periods 1565 till 1575, and then again from 1595 till 1600, there was a roughly constant level of work, at around 5,000-6,000 working days per year. It likewise shows us the effects of the 'golden 1580s' where the volume of work within the industry doubled; and the troubled period of the League, where levels of production and work fell by two-thirds to just over 3,000 days in the year 1590.

Table 1.1 Volume of work of the Lyonnais print industry, 1656-1600.

	Sheets x million	Days work	Number of presses required required per working days		Minimum size of actual workforce	
			312 days	260 days	312 days	260 days
1565	8.616	5,744	19	23	57	69
1570	7.6275	5,085	17	20	51	60
1575	8.472	5,648	19	22	57	66
1580	15.081	10,054	33	39	99	117
1585	14.409	9,606	31	37	93	111
1590	4.899	3,266	11	13	33	39
1595	8.4165	5,611	18	22	54	66
1600	7.831	5,221	17	21	51	63

From here we can then extend our current enquiry to convert the minimum number of days worked into an estimate of both how many presses were occupied and the size of a potential workforce. In order to establish the former, we divide the minimum number of days required to carry out the work by the average number of days worked per year. It is not known precisely how many days per year a printer's shops worked. However, evidence from earlier in the century suggests that the Lyonnais printing industry worked intensively, and might not have adhered to religious feast days as strictly as they might. Indeed, the system of *Jour de Tric* guaranteed a worker's rights to claim an unpaid day off if they had worked for a total of 15 weeks without a holiday.¹⁶⁹ For this reason table 1.1 includes the figures for both a six day week (312 days), and a five day working week (260 days). Depending on whether the industry worked a five or a six day week, it would have needed no fewer than 17 to 23 presses to produce the known printed sheets from 1565 till 1575, and then again from 1595 till 1600. During the 1580s the number of presses would have risen to between 31 and 39; whereas only 11 to 13 presses would have been required in 1590 to print the known editions.

In order to establish the minimum size of the workforce occupied in any one of the above years the number of active presses must be multiplied by the number of workers likely to have been necessary to operate a press. Again, there is little agreement as to the number of men employed per press. Documents of Plantin for example show clearly that he employed only two pressmen per press.¹⁷⁰ Additionally, Leon Voet argues that in most

¹⁶⁹ Davis, 'Misprint', p.19.

¹⁷⁰ Cf. Voet, *Golden Compasses*, pp.318-327.

cases there was a need for at least one single full-time compositor per press.¹⁷¹ This means that at least three men could be occupied by each printing press, two printers and a compositor. One must be mindful that this does not account for the collators, the correctors, paper trimmers, apprentices or binders.¹⁷²

Table 1.1 provides us with a much lower figure than one might expect for a pre-industrial workforce in one of Europe's premier printing centres. Throughout 1565 till 1575, and then again from 1595 till 1600 we find only around 50-70 men occupied in composing the printing forms, and the process of printing. This workforce doubled during the 1580s, only to be slashed to a low of around 35-40 men during 1590. So how does this compare with what we know? We have seen above that Baudrier cites evidence that just over 100 men were employed at some point in Lyon's printing industry throughout 1565 until 1600.¹⁷³ The 1572 *Remonstrance [...] pour les compagnons imprimeurs* provides us with a very different image of the industry. It complained that whilst once more than 3,000 printers' journeymen had been active in Lyon, by 1572 barely 300 could be found.¹⁷⁴ Table 1.1 instead gives us between 51 and 66 men employed in both 1570 and 1575. Several options provide viable alternative explanations for this difference. Firstly, it is possible that the figure of 300 workers in 1572 was a gross overestimate; secondly, that not all printers were employed full time. However, it is as possible that the fault lay with the findings in both appendix 4.1 and the above table. The table represents the very minimum number of days' work, hence the minimum number of presses and workers needed to print the sheets

¹⁷¹ Ibid., pp.311-317.

¹⁷² Cf. fn. 113.

¹⁷³ Ibid.

¹⁷⁴ (Anon.), *Remonstrances, et Memoires, pour les Compagnons Imprimeurs, de Paris et Lyon: Opposans contre les Libraires, maistres Imprimeurs desdicts lieux*, s.l. [Lyon] (s.n.) s.d. [1572], fol.C1v.

of all known books for the sample years. It does not account for the printing of proofs, reprinting error strewn sheets, or a host of industrial problems. We simply have no way of accounting for the lost time and inefficiencies of the pre-industrial printing shop. Yet the greatest fault of all probably rests with the surveyed sample of books. It is only possible to work with known surviving editions; we have no way of knowing how many books have failed to survive.

Conclusion

We have noted that at the very start of our period, the Lyonnais book world had reached a crucial cross road. Alongside the shattering of the city's reputation for tolerance and fine learning, it had lost some of its finest talents as religious exiles, along with the lucrative market of Protestant print. In the light of these shifts the Lyonnais print world staged a resounding recovery, retaining its place as one of Europe's premier centres of print. Older publishers, such as Renville, rose to the challenge and extended their repertoire; newer and smaller publishers such as Rigaud expanded their enterprises with amazing speed. The recovery of the Lyonnais print world owed much to the resurgence of the Catholic Church. Throughout the late 1560s and early 1570s the ever expanding repertoire of the new generations of Catholic academics enabled Lyon's publishers to replace Protestant print with a rising tide of orthodox literature. However, the resurgence of Lyon's print world was not just due to religious and theological imprints. Works of classical and contemporary literature flooded from Lyon's presses. Likewise, Lyon successfully retained its name as the unrivalled producer of legal texts in France.

The 1580s were indeed golden times for Lyon's printing industry. However, it was not to last. Its fortunes crashed with the coming of the League. The extremism and violence of the early 1590s devastated the Lyonnais industry, quite apart from anything else, causing havoc with commerce and credit. As a result production plummeted, and unemployment levels shot up. Although the League was relatively short lived, it took much of the impetus from Lyon's printing industry. In the following chapter we will progress to consider pamphlet production and its impact during the period 1565 till 1600.

Chapter 2 Catholic Reconstruction 1565-1588: Pamphlet Literature

The Protestant seizure of Lyon in 1562-1563 created a series of fundamental shifts. When the city returned to the crown in 1563 its commercial life had been devastated, its sacred spaces desecrated and its fine reputation for tolerance and humanist learning shattered. Contemporary works noted the destruction caused in Lyon during the Protestant occupancy: ‘Je laisse les ordres des mendiants, lesquels avoient avant les troubles, des maisons & Eglises fort magnifiques en cet cité: [...] car si je vouloy espulcher par le menu tout ce qui estoit de rare a Lyon avant que les Huguenots la difformassent [...]’.¹ Within the city an undercurrent of popular opinion began to flow against the evangelical movement. This current became a river with the work of the Jesuits, who arrived in 1565. Yet far from unleashing an immediate torrent of Catholic recriminations with their popular preaching, Lyon’s Jesuits were noted for their irenic attitudes during the first years of their work in the city.² The Jesuits were not alone in trying to maintain calm in the city. Their work was reinforced with the council’s attempts to implement the crown’s policies of tolerance and oversee a period of power-sharing between Catholics and Huguenots.³

This picture changed irrevocably in 1567 as Lyon’s period of begrudging toleration was brushed aside.⁴ Charles’ IX nationally imposed Catholic settlement found popular sympathies throughout Lyon. During the following twenty years, the city followed the

¹ Cf. Münster, Sebastian, (transl. François de Belleforest), *La Cosmographie universelle de Tout le Monde*, Paris (Michel Sonnius) 1575, fol.yyy4v.

² Cf. Groër, *Réforme*, pp. 99, 102-104.

³ Cf. Watson, *City Council*, pp.218-248.

⁴ Cf. Rubys, *Histoire*, 1604, fols.Ddd4r-Fff4v.

ultra-Catholic attitude that was evolving throughout France.⁵ Popular Catholic piety peaked as numerous religious orders, confraternities and congregations sprang up throughout the city.⁶ Within a decade the massacres of St. Bartholomew's Day would be repeated with ferocity.⁷

This period spanning from Lyon's Catholic rebirth in 1565 until the city's populist Leaguer uprising in February 1589 was a fundamental period in French Catholic revival. Print, especially the pamphlet, was one of the most powerful tools used in the revival of Catholicism. Hundreds of editions of Catholic pamphlet polemics were produced in France. Lyon's publishers and printers were at the forefront of this unprecedented Catholic movement publishing an extensive catalogue of literature.

Pamphlet literature as a catalyst of Catholic reconstruction

Our first task is to consider the capacity of pamphlet literature to help motivate a popular groundswell of militant Catholicism. At its most base form, popular action required popular motivation. Popular motivation was generated largely from the influences of a popular media. In the sixteenth century, the main forms of media were oral, propagated by

⁵ For news of outbreaks of Catholic violence against the city's Huguenots see *Calendar of State Papers*, 1564-1565 pp.402-403; 1566-1568 pp.193, 386, 568-569; also see *Correspondance de Bèze*, VI 484, VIII 585, X 652, 655, XII 843, XIII 939, 941, 944.

⁶ Cf. Groër, *Réforme*, ch.3; Hoffman, *Church*; also Dompnier, 'Le premier apostolat', pp.125-136; also Gutton, J.-P., 'Confraternities, *Curés* and Communities in Rural Areas of the Diocese of Lyons under the Ancien Régime', K.von Greyerz (ed.), *Religion and Society in Early Modern Europe 1500-1800*, London 1984, pp. 202-210; also Chevailler, L., 'Les nonces apostoliques de France au XVIe siècle et la ville de Lyon', *Mélanges dédiés à Jean Vincent*, Paris 1981, pp.58-59.

⁷ Cf. Rubys, *Histoire*, 1604, fols.Fff4v-Ggg4v; Doucet, 'Le Seizième Siècle', pp.427-430; Martin, *Henry III*, ch.3; also 'The Saint Bartholomew's Massacres in the Provinces', *The Historical Journal* 21 (1978), pp.205-225.

preachers and lay gossip, and to some extent communal activities, such as civic entries and festivals. The role of oral culture in stimulating popular Catholicism, particularly the manner of preaching employed by the likes of Simon Vigor, has received some attention.⁸ Lyon certainly possessed its own charismatic preachers, Edmond Auger, Antoine Possevino and Jacques Maistret, to name but a few. Maistret was a highly active and radical preacher. He was the prior of the Carmelite monastery, and would be one of the key figures in establishing Leaguer control of Lyon in 1589.⁹ However, as we shall see, few would be more active in the re-establishment of Catholicism in the Rhônnaise than the Jesuits Auger and Possevino.¹⁰

The Flugschriften phenomenon has long been recognised as one of the prime catalysts of the early Reformation, particularly in Germany.¹¹ Within French studies the role of pamphlets and broadsheets has not always been fully accredited, although it is now being slowly recognised.¹² Pamphlet literature emerged in the second half of the sixteenth century as an important tool in the confessional struggle for France. Its hard-hitting polemical edge proved to be central to its success. This was a new feature of Catholic printing, one that had evolved directly from the polemical pamphlets of the evangelical movement, especially those produced by Jean Saugrain.¹³ These short Catholic polemics

⁸ Diefendorf, B.B., *Beneath the Cross: Catholics and Huguenots in Sixteenth-Century Paris*, New York/Oxford 1994, esp. ch.9; Taylor, L.J., (ed.), *Preachers and People in the Reformations and Early Modern Period*, Leiden 2001; also Pettegree, A., *The Culture of Persuasion in the European Reformation*, forthcoming Cambridge 2005.

⁹ Davis, *Protestantism*, ch.8.

¹⁰ Cf. Martin, *Henry III*; also *The Jesuit Mind: the Mentality of an Elite in Early Modern France*, New York 1988.

¹¹ Cf. for example Edwards, *Printing*; Scribner, *Simple folk*.

¹² Cf. Higman, 'Premières réponses', pp.361-377; by the same author 'Theology in French', pp.515-530; also Racaut, *Hatred*; also Wilkinson, A., *Mary Queen of Scots and French public opinion, 1542-1600*, Basingstoke/New York 2004.

¹³ See chapter 1.

fitted swiftly into a vacant niche in contemporary literature. Such literature was so effective because it could work on different levels. To the educated elite these short punchy works were easily accessible. To the lower classes, the simple messages contained in pamphlets could have been orally transmitted in the taverns and workshops.¹⁴ The immediate problem that we are presented with here is the scant nature of direct evidence for such public readings.¹⁵ However, we must accept some medium of oral transmission of printed 'news' if we are to explain such communal political expressions as the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacres and the popular Leaguer rebellions. Pamphlets helped to spread news and opinions, impacting on local mentalities by providing news from other regions.¹⁶

Before we progress, it is necessary to outline what we mean by the term pamphlet.

Although this study explores the pamphlet and the longer book separately it does not seek to reclassify pamphlets as something other than books. All of the pamphlets discussed here were books. This work treats pamphlet literature as a sub-section of the book with its own peculiarities and interests separate from those of the vast majority of larger books. The prime definition of the pamphlet is a small, technically unadvanced publication. Using the most basic criteria, a pamphlet is judged by its size. Consisting of a half to three printed sheets published in octavo or quarto, pamphlets spanned four to twenty-some printed pages in length. However, size should not be seen as the sole criteria. It is also necessary to look

¹⁴ Higman, F., 'The Reformation and the French Language', *Lire et découvrir*, Geneva 1998, p.349.

¹⁵ For an example of the impact that pamphlet literature could have upon a community in the early seventeenth century see the case study 'The Affair of Poitiers' in Sawyer, J.K., *Printed Poison. Pamphlet propaganda, faction politics, and the public sphere in early seventeenth century France*, Oxford 1990, pp.73-83.

¹⁶ This ties with Benedict's notion of the fusing of local and national events to agitate localised opinions and actions. Benedict, P., *Rouen during the Wars of Religion*, (Cambridge 1981), pp.xii-xiii.

at the style, content and paratextual appearance of the publications in question. One can notice the publication of a significant number of longer works identical in style, content and appearance to the pamphlet literature we have just described. Typically, these publications range from three and a half to eight printed sheets in length, or somewhere between 20 and 120 printed pages. Measured in size alone these more substantial pamphlets have more in common with the longer books we will address in the following chapter. However, in terms of both content and style, these more extensive pamphlet works stand apart from the longer religious books by the likes of Edmond Auger and René Benoist.¹⁷ They have far more in common with the shortest most vitriolic pamphlet titles. They were untechnical productions, which contained a simple confessional message expressed in a clear hard-hitting style.

Pamphlet literature formed a distinct body of work that shared much in its style, composition and appearance. The title page of all polemical pamphlets tended to provide a general layout of the work. It outlined the contents of the text whilst advertising key facts such as dates, locations, protagonists and outcomes.¹⁸ Importantly, the title page often displayed information regarding the publisher and/or printer. Publishers tended to become associated with typical styles of publication. Jean Saugrain developed a reputation for militant Protestant pamphlets, likewise Jean Pillehotte and Benoist Rigaud became known for their ardent Catholic publications.¹⁹ The publisher's signature was often accompanied or even replaced by an easily recognisable device or fleuron. Fleurons were often highly distinctive, for instance those of Jove and Pillehotte stand apart as quite dissimilar to those

¹⁷ See chapter 3.

¹⁸ See illustration 2.

of Rigaud. Similarly, fleurons utilised by major Parisian or Genevan pamphlet publishers were noticeably different again.²⁰ Such branding of merchandise could have enabled a potential reader to associate the publisher or printer with the character of the work. The sixteenth century was more acutely aware of symbolism; heraldry, for instance, remained an important part of everyday life. These distinctive devices and fleurons helped brand a work, both in terms of the publishing house, and in terms of its typical content. This allowed a prospective purchaser to associate an imprint immediately with a political or religious standpoint. These marks allowed a collector or reader to buy into a logo and an idea, to be a part of a community.²¹

Largely due to Scribner's pioneering study of German pamphlet literature, one usually associates pamphlet literature with satirical and often complex woodcut images.²² Whilst throughout the period Lyon was a renowned centre of engraving and book artwork, Lyon's pamphlet publishers did not utilise illustrations in the same manner. What we find instead are a limited number of repeated, very basic woodcut illustrations depicting battle scenes, almost exclusively used within pamphlets of battle reports.²³ This must have been the result of a conscious decision, although we cannot be sure if it was for commercial or cultural reasoning.

Around a quarter of known editions printed in Lyon between 1565 and 1588 were pamphlets (1003 editions). 81% of those pamphlets (814 editions) related directly to

¹⁹ On Saugrain see Pettegree, 'Saugrain', 107-129. On Rigaud and Pillehotte see below.

²⁰ For examples see the commonly used fleurons of Jean Pillehotte, see Baudrier II 275, esp. nos. 1, 2, 4, 6 and 8. For devices used by Rigaud see Baudrier II pp-pp.456-471.

²¹ Pettegree, *Culture of Persuasion*, esp. ch.7.

contemporary religious and political issues. There exists no comparable data as yet for Paris, France's first centre of print.²⁴ Graph 2.1, below, allows us to trace the pattern of pamphlet literature publication and see that it corresponded closely to times of crisis and heightened religious tensions.²⁵ The numbers of pamphlets produced peaked with the re-assertion of Catholicism in Lyon and the victories of the second and third wars during the late 1560s. Again, pamphlet publication peaked in 1573 and 1574, following the tensions and celebrations that surrounded the St. Bartholomew's Day massacres. A third significant peak then occurred in the years 1587 and 1588 with the rise in the agitations of the Leaguer movement.

Pamphlet literature of this period has on occasion either been disregarded or treated as the poor, vulgar relative in the literary arm of Catholic publications.²⁶ Yet it was a highly effective tool that operated well within the boundaries of contemporary thought, utilising widely recognisable references and analogies. Denis Pallier's influential study of Parisian League printing has been instrumental in shaping our understanding on this question.²⁷ Since then a handful of other recent studies have helped to emphasise the importance of pamphlet literature as a literary tool.²⁸

²² Scribner, *Simple folk*.

²³ For such an example see illustration 9.

²⁴ The sheer size and importance of the pamphlet industry to sixteenth century publishing in France is only coming to light with the progression of the St. Andrews French Vernacular Book Project. Cf. Pettegree, A., 'The Sixteenth-Century French Religious Book Project', A. Pettegree et al. (eds.), *The Sixteenth Century French Religious Book*, Aldershot 2001, pp.1-18; by the same author, 'Saugrain', pp.107-129.

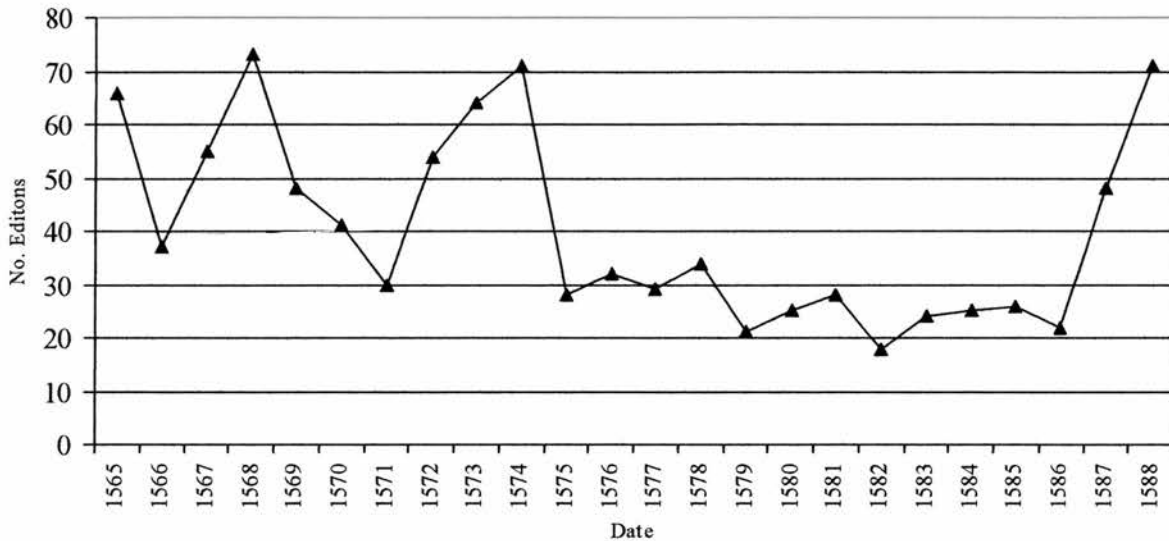
²⁵ To place the publication of pamphlet editions between 1565 and 1588 in a fuller context see appendix 1.3.

²⁶ Frank, G., *Artus Desiré: Priest and Pamphleteer of the Sixteenth Century*, Chapel Hill 1973, p.35; Crouzet, D., *Les Guerriers de Dieu. La violence au temps des troubles de religion, vers 1525- vers 1610*, 2 vols., Paris 1990, vol.1, pp.61, 75, 191, vol.2, p.287.

²⁷ Cf. Pallier, *Recherches*.

²⁸ Cf. Cameron, 'Satire, dramatic stereotyping and the demonizing of Henry III', A. Pettegree et al. (eds.), *The Sixteenth Century French Religious Book*, Aldershot 2001, pp.157-176; Higman, 'Premières réponses', pp.361-377; by the same author 'Theology in French', pp.515-530; also Racaut, *Hatred*; also Wilkinson, A.,

Graph 2.1 Pamphlet editions published in Lyon, 1565-1588



The sheer weight of this body of pamphlet literature not only influenced opinions, it also mirrored existing popular currents and trends. Pamphlets were so effective in fulfilling both of these roles because they worked within existing contemporary frameworks, setting good against evil. Stuart Clark's work on witchcraft and society provides one of the keenest observations of sixteenth century social models.²⁹ Central to Clark's thesis is the idea of dualistic contrary, of topsy-turveydom, the idea that social groups defined themselves and the world around them by a fluid set of binary opposites. The process of inversion was crucial to the social definition of the enemy, presenting them as beyond the norm. Catholic pamphlet literature originating from around the mid 1560s worked clearly within this framework. Luc Racaut has demonstrated that such works were far from raucous and reactionary gutter writings. Rather, the language of pamphlet literature adhered closely to accepted definitions of social norms, and as such demonised

²⁹'Homicides Royaux': The Assassination of the Duc and Cardinal de Guise and the Radicalization of French Public Opinion', *FH* 18/2 (1004), pp.129-153.

the other, the enemy, in a manner recognisable to all. Indeed, Racaut has expanded this to suggest that the body of persuasive literature seen during the Renaissance evolved during the Wars of Religion into the first forms of modern propaganda.³⁰

Whilst pamphlet literature worked within well defined parameters, it did not prevent the texts from operating on several levels. This was necessary as an urban metropolis such as Lyon would not necessarily have possessed a unified corporate opinion. Differentiations in culture, social status and levels of religious affiliation led to differences in opinion. Pamphlet literature mirrored this and did not rigidly conform to a single style and tenor. More forthright publications appealed to the fluctuating group of Lyon's more outspoken Catholics, whilst less candid pamphlets offered something to the more moderate members of the city's community.

Between 1565 and 1588 the vast majority of all pamphlet editions, over 96%, were published in French. Unlike the production of larger books, pamphlet literature was dominated by the vernacular. Less than 4% of pamphlets were published in Latin, these were predominantly pamphlets with a religious content. Such pamphlet Latin editions were typically also printed in a French translation by the same publishing house in the same year. The style and paratextual apparatus of Latin pamphlet literature does not differ largely from its vernacular counterpart. Moreover, the content of the Latin pamphlets tended to mirror that of pamphlets printed in French. For instance, several polemical pamphlets were published in the late 1560s and in the 1570s that related to events such as the St.

²⁹ Clark, S., *Thinking with Demons. The Idea of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe*, Oxford 1997.

³⁰ Racaut, *Hatred*, esp. ch.1 and pp.44-46.

Bartholomew's Day massacre and the election of the Duc d'Anjou to the throne of Poland.³¹ These Latin pamphlets were primarily the work of the houses of Rigaud and Jove-Pillehotte.

Although pamphlets were almost exclusively produced in the vernacular, it is interesting to note that Latin quotes and terms were still evident when discussing certain topics such as rights of succession and pivotal points of Catholic doctrine. This was a device used both to claim authority by referencing key traditions and authoritative texts, whilst illustrating the knowledge of the author. The style of a pamphlet varied according to author and in some cases, according to publisher. Pamphlets tended to be written in more simple terms than larger books, the vocabulary being more limited and the syntax more direct, avoiding the more complex structures of larger books. The development of the use of shorter sentences made pamphlet literature more accessible. Short, punchy and highly repetitive sentences removed any need for the reader to apply their own interpretation to the text.

Unlike the German Catholics during the early Reformation, French Catholic print of the Wars of Religion also found a way to express a constructive, positive message against Protestantism.³² A significant number of pamphlets sponsored by the Catholic Church were essentially positive in outlook, offering a Catholic reader a strong message of

³¹ Cf. Leodegario a Quercu, *De interneccione Gasparis Collignii et Perti Rami Sylva*, Lyon (Benoist Rigaud) 1572; Aurato, Io., *Ad amplissimos Polonorum legatos Parisiorum urbem ingredientibus*, Lyon (Michel Jove) 1574; also by the same author, *In Henrici III regis Galliae et Poloniae foelicem reditum versus, in fronte domus publicae Lutetiae urbis ascripti*, Lyon (Benoist Rigaud) 1574. See, IA 155.345, 155.347; also anon, *Ioan Sarri Zamoscii Belsensis & Zamechensis Praefecti, ac in Galliam Legati, Oratio: Qua Henric Valesium*, Lyon (Michel Jove) 1574, copy in Aix Méjanès.

³² Scribner, *Simple folk*.

his own, rather than finding themselves defined in more negative, anti-Protestant terms. One example of this is the number of pamphlets that spread the good news from the Catholic missions, narrating the international successes in the Catholic struggle. Lyon was prominent in the printing of these works that presented tales of mass conversions and vivid details of the everyday religious life of Catholics, emphasising a positive teaching without mention of the Protestant equivalent.³³ Alongside these we can also trace the publication of a number of small pedagogic Catholic works printed as pamphlets or broadsides for use as primers or for religious instruction throughout the city.

Traditionally it has been the view that pamphlet literature was accessible, at some level, to the masses. Many examples have been cited to show the artisan and/or peasant both accessing and reading printed works.³⁴ Similarly, contemporary artwork suggests that the lowest classes had some access to print. Peter Aertsen, the contemporary Dutch painter, linked the common man with printed material in at least two works. In his painting of a *Market Scene* from c.1550, we are shown the distribution of cheap print in the market place.³⁵ His *Peasants by the Hearth* from the 1560s provides a more explicit link between the lower classes and cheap print. In the painting we are shown placard style prints pinned both to the cloth covering of the hearth and as an adornment to a hat.³⁶ However, we must be cautious about our ideas of how deeply print permeated into sixteenth century society. The first point to consider is the question of literacy. Direct access to print was physically limited by the low levels of literacy throughout the early modern period. Robert Scribner

³³ See below.

³⁴ Several such examples include Ginzburg, C. (transl. A. Tedeschi), *The Cheese and the Worms: the Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller*, London 1980; Scribner, *Simple folk*; also Spufford, M., *Small books and pleasant histories*, Methuen 1981; also Watt, T., *Cheap print and popular piety, 1550-1640*, Cambridge 1991.

has estimated that an average of 5% of the population were literate in Reformation Germany. He added to this by suggesting this figure could rise as high as 20% in urban areas.³⁷ Certainly the work of Natalie Zemon Davis does not lead us to think that Lyon stood above other European cities in regards to literacy levels.³⁸

Added to this one must remember that throughout the sixteenth century print remained a luxury commodity. To own an imprint of even a broadsheet almanac typically required levels of disposable income. Reaching into the 1550s Lyon was still a city on the make, volumes of expendable cash were to be found among sections of the population. However, this changed markedly with the onset of the Wars of Religion. By 1567 the Lyonnais would have had considerably less disposable income. In his monumental study of Lyon, Gascon illuminates the sharp economic downturn of the city during this period.³⁹ The hardest net losers were the lower classes. Therefore during precisely the time at which pamphlet production boomed in Lyon, the lower classes had less spending power and certainly less disposable income to spend on print.

We cannot discount the fact that numbers of Lyon's lower classes had some form of direct access to print, perhaps even owning a small collection of almanacs or polemical pamphlets. Yet with over 1,000 pamphlet editions published between 1565 and 1588 it is unlikely that the lower classes formed the backbone of the intended marketplace for such literature. Rather, as Roger Chartier has suggested, it was perhaps the professional,

³⁵ Held in the Alte Pinakothek, Munich.

³⁶ Held in the Museum Mayer van den Bergh, Antwerp.

³⁷ Cf. Scribner, R. W., *The German Reformation*, London 1986, pp.19-20.

³⁸ Davis, 'Printing and the People', p.210.

entrepreneur or preacher that was destined to purchase the majority of the polemical pamphlet literature.⁴⁰ This did not necessarily have the consequence that the lower classes were excluded from the information contained within pamphlet literature. The latest news could be easily filtered through the highly effective and well trodden communication channels of the late medieval and early modern world.

Whilst we can assume literacy was a prerequisite for access to larger books, the same did not appear to have been the case with pamphlet literature. With such low levels of literacy we must assume other media were central to information transfer: most essentially that of reading aloud, or having main points of a text recited. This could have occurred in various ways, via a religious medium, the pulpit, 'corner' preachers or confraternities; or via a more common medium in the gossip of taverns, workshops and the bustling streets. Natalie Zemon Davis' work on print culture has indeed highlighted the existence of such networks within Lyon's Protestant community.⁴¹ There is little reason to suspect that such circles were neither a feature of Catholic life, nor that they failed to continue into the late 1560s. This is supported by Robert Scribner's conclusions on German pamphlet printing, that print added to oral communication, and that most people would have had only indirect access to a text that was read aloud.⁴² This view is also supported by Denis Pallier, who has claimed that pamphlets were directed at the entire

³⁹ Gascon, R., 'La France du Mouvement: les Commerces et les Villes', in P. Chaunu & R. Gascon (eds.), *Histoire Économique et Sociale de la France*, Paris 1977, vol. I., pp.323-344.

⁴⁰ Chartier, R., 'Publishing Strategies and What People Read, 1530-1660', in Chartier, R. (ed.) (transl. L.G. Cochrane), *The Cultural Uses of Print in Early Modern France*, New Jersey 1987, pp.145-182.

⁴¹ Cf. Davis, 'Printing and the People', pp.202-203.

⁴² Cf. Scribner, *Simple folk*, pp.2-3. Also see Oberman's discussion of Scribner's conclusions, Oberman, H.A., 'Die Gelehrten die Verkehrten: Popular Response to Learned Culture in the Renaissance and Reformation', S.Ozment (ed.), *Religion and Culture: in the Renaissance and Reformation*, XI (1987), pp.43-64.

population, with reading aloud circumventing the problem of illiteracy.⁴³ Likewise, Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie's *Carnival in Romans* illustrates how a limited number of credible information carriers were able to shape and motivate public opinion in a highly politicised town.⁴⁴ These are all conclusions that are supported by the diary of the Parisian Pierre de l'Estoile, who tells us that pamphlets were 'hawked, preached, and sold publicly in Paris in all places and streets of the city'.⁴⁵

It is certainly possible to speculate that many pamphlets were read aloud in the streets of Lyon. As an example we know that edicts were declared throughout the city's streets and squares on what appears to have been a set route.⁴⁶ One can imagine zealous Catholics such as Jacques Maistret, similar to the Parisian Simon Vigor, either corner preaching from the latest editions, or sharing news and opinions learnt from pamphlet literature.⁴⁷ Indeed, the Jesuit Possevino was known to read quotations from books to add weight to his sermons in the 1560s.⁴⁸ The repeated attempts of authorities to limit the use, and indeed censor such ephemeral print betray its powerful impact on society.⁴⁹

⁴³ Cf. Pallier, *Recherches*, pp.188-191.

⁴⁴ Le Roy Ladurie, E., *Carnival in Romans. A People's Uprising at Romans 1579-1580*, Middlesex/New York 1979.

⁴⁵ Cf. L'Estoile, Pierre de, *Memoires-Journaux 1574-1611*, Paris 1875-1899, 3:242, 279; Chartier, 'Publishing Strategies', p.162.

⁴⁶ Edicts were declared in front of the royal palace of justice, at either side of the bridge over the Saône, at the place des Changes and the place de l'Herberie and at la Grenette. Cf. (Charles IX), *Lettres Patentes du Roi pour convoquer les Estats à Blois, le quinzième Septembre 1588*, Lyon (Jean Pillehotte) 1588, fol.B3v; (Charles IX), *Lettres Patentes du Roi, par lesquelles il est defendu de porter, ou faire porter aucunes harquebouses, pistoles, pistolletz à feu, ne arbalesters*, Lyon (Michel Jove) 1571, fol.A4v.

⁴⁷ Cf. Diefendorf, B.B., 'Simon Vigor: a radical preacher in sixteenth-century Paris', *SCJ* 18 (1987), pp.399-410.

⁴⁸ Cf. Groër, *Réforme*, pp.82-83.

⁴⁹ Labarre, A., 'La répression du livre hérétique dans la France du XVI^e siècle', *Revue française d'histoire du livre* 118-121 (2003), pp.335-360.

The likelihood of indirect access to pamphlets by reading aloud is increased when we see that publications of such similar style were often available throughout the city. Unknown numbers of pamphlets were printed in the format of broadsheets and posted in central points of the town. Broadsheets were not only used for official proclamations, as in 1562 when the council attempted to reinforce their ban on assemblies and confraternities by posting over 100 placards throughout the city.⁵⁰ A royal declaration of the following year not only paid testimony to the power and accessibility of placards, but also hinted that placards were a common form of popular dialogue. Issued in the wake of the fall of Lyon's Protestant coup, the *Deffences de par le Roi* prohibits not only confessional insults, but also the posting of incendiary placards, both of these being cited as catalysts for the explosions of violence.⁵¹ Similarly, Pierre de l'Estoile tells us that placards were a popular form of disseminating news discourse and slander.⁵² One example of the circulation of Catholic broadsheet literature in Lyon arises during the celebrations following the battle of Jamac in 1569. For these celebrations Lyon's council had many celebratory verse placards printed and posted around the citadel.⁵³ This seems to have been somewhat common practice as Lyon council repeatedly had placards printed through the 1570s and 1580s, including at least one for the public advertisement of edicts.⁵⁴

⁵⁰ Cf. Vial, *Institutions*, pp.28.

⁵¹ (Charles IX), *Deffences de par le Roi, et Monseigneur de Vieilleville Mareschal de France. & Lieutenant general pour le Roi, és pays Lyonnais, Dauphiné, Provence & Languedoc*, Lyon (Benoist Rigaud) 1563, fols.A2r-v.

⁵² Cf. L'Estoile, Pierre de, (transl. & ed. N.L. Roelker), *The Paris of Henry of Navarre as seen by Pierre de l'Estoile. Selections from his Mémoires-Journaux*, Harvard/Cambridge 1958, e.g. pp.49-50, 53, 171. Cf. the violently Catholic broadsheet (1572) held in Paris BSHPF Rés. 2048; also see the collection of broadsheets in Troyes BM AA (3), BB 14 (3), BB 15 (3), Layette 20 (4) to Layette (82), P1 (1) to P1 (23); also Aix Méjanes Rés. D 68, Rés. D 68 (1bis) to Rés. D 68 (6bis). At first inspection none of these Broadsheets appear to be of Lyonnais origin.

⁵³ Cf. Vial, *Institutions*, pp.297-299.

⁵⁴ For example see Baudrier esp. II 226-227, 228-229, 232-233.

Little definitive can be said regarding the circulation and print-run of pamphlets: we simply lack precise data. However, we do know that pamphlets were comparatively speedy to produce, only requiring a limited amount of paper, and the type was rapidly set into its forms.⁵⁵ From existing copies held in contemporary collections we can deduce that French religious Catholic pamphlets circulated widely. It was not necessary for large numbers of Lyonnais or Parisian pamphlets to circulate throughout provincial towns such as Toulouse and Nîmes. We know that small numbers of such pamphlets were distributed throughout localised provincial centres in order to be reprinted in sufficient quantities.⁵⁶

Surviving contemporary collections suggest that this pamphlet literature was owned throughout France and beyond. For instance, we know of a European interest in news from the French Religious wars, notably from German speaking lands.⁵⁷ Moreover, the magnificent collections of French pamphlet literature collected in Germany indicate that language was not the barrier we sometimes perceive it to be. Extensive repertoires of polemical pamphlets relating to specific events, such as the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre and the election of Henri d'Anjou to the Polish throne, are to be found outside France. In some cases, these holdings even include a number of pamphlets which have not

⁵⁵ Cf. Voet, *Golden Compasses*, pp.302-305.

⁵⁶ Cf. Pallier, D., 'Circuits de diffusion de l'imprimé en temps de paix et en temps de guerre: modes de distribution et livres distribués pendant la Ligue', P. Aquilon & H.-J. Martin & F.D. Desrousilles (eds.), *Le Livre dans l'Europe de la Renaissance. Actes du XXVIIIe Colloque international d'Etudes humanistes de Tours*, Nantes 1988, pp.386-404; also Conner, P., 'A provincial perspective: Protestant print culture in southern France', A. Pettegree et al. (eds.), *The Sixteenth Century French Religious Book*, Aldershot 2001, pp.286-302.

⁵⁷ For example (Charles IX), *Edict über die Friedenshandlung und hinlegung jüngsten Kriegs*, Basle (s.n.) 1570, copy in Zurich ZB XVIII 471a (18); anon., *Declaration von wegen des Anstands, so dem König von Navarra bewilliget*, s.l. (s.n.) 1589, copy in Zurich ZB XVIII 480 (19); anon., *Ausschreiben an die drei Ständ dess Königreichs Franckreich*, s.l. (s.n.), 1589, copy in Zurich ZB VI 131 (2); anon., *Glaubens Bekenntnis beiden Parteien, so in Frankreich wegen der Religion streitigk*, s.l. (s.n.) 1593, copy in Zurich ZB SM 149 (8).

survived in French libraries and are unknown to bibliographical works.⁵⁸ Examples of such outstanding German collections are those of the Bavarian Kings, Dukes and monasteries held in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek and the Universitätsbibliothek in Munich.

The Lyonnais pamphlet publishers

The actual production of pamphlet literature did not require a high level of industrial expertise. Compared to larger books, pamphlets were typically far inferior in production quality. They were printed on the lowest quality paper with imperfect typesetting and an irregular use of grammar. Similarly, textual tools, such as illustrations or marginalia were uncommon, and kept to a simplistic minimum when used. The high standards demanded of larger book publishers did not apply with the same rigidity to the producers of pamphlet literature. However, it was precisely due to this more simplistic format that the production of pamphlet literature became so specialised. It is highly irregular to find a pamphlet edition published by one of the city's merchant publishers, like Roville or Honorati. Such men shunned pamphlet literature in order to maintain their reputation within the industry. Only a small number of printer-publishers rose to the fore as producers of such literature. Throughout the period 1565-1588, around 70% of the religiously orientated pamphlets printed in Lyon came from two publishing houses, that of Rigaud and Jove-Pillehotte. These two publishing concerns managed to develop a virtual monopoly on the publication of pamphlet literature for several decades.

⁵⁸ Two such examples are anon., Les Estrenes Royales a tous Nobles et vaillans Chevaliers, & Catholiques François, Lyon (Benoist Rigaud) 1573, copy in the Munich Staatsbibliothek (SB) Gall.sp. 56m (36); also, Medici, Catherine de, Accord fait par la Royne Mere du Roi, sur les differens survenuz au pays de Provence, Lyon (Michel Jove & Jean Pillehotte) 1579, copy in Munich SB Gall.g. 753.

Benoist Rigaud

Benoist Rigaud was one of Lyon's most important publishers.⁵⁹ He produced more editions than any other contemporary Lyonnais publishing house: between 1565 and his death in 1597 Rigaud published no fewer than 1330 editions. However, we must be careful to qualify Rigaud's position within Lyon's printing industry. He was never a part of the elite merchant publishing fraternity. The majority of his works were pamphlet editions and small vernacular books, such as the chivalric tales of Amadis de Gaille. Rigaud was rarely involved in the production of large multi-volume erudite works printed in Latin, but was one of the most important publishers of pamphlet literature. Between 1565 and 1588 he was responsible for publishing at least 478 pamphlet editions, making up around a half of all such editions printed in Lyon.⁶⁰ Of these, 400 related to the religious or political events of the Wars of Religion.

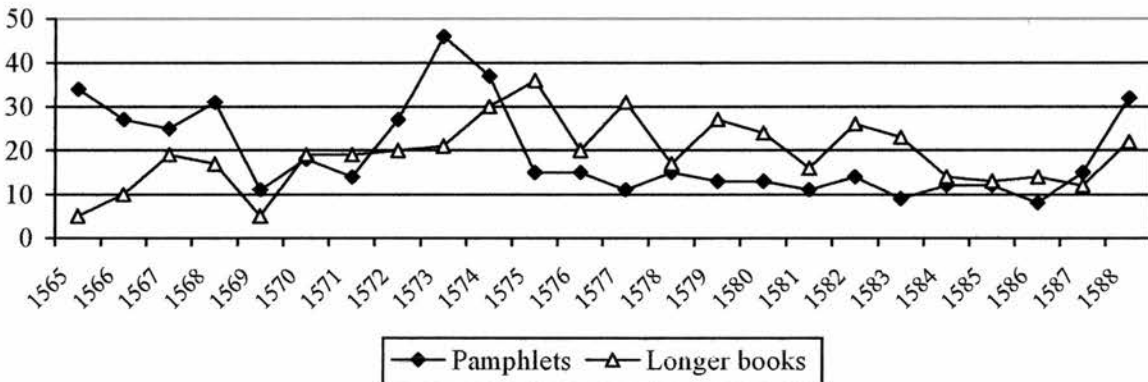
Benoist Rigaud was a highly successful long standing member of Lyon's business community. He built his publishing house over a period of more than 40 years, creating one of France's most prolific publishing firms. By the time of his death in 1597, a combination of luck and judgement had allowed Rigaud to build a reputation as one of

⁵⁹ On Rigaud see Baudrier III 175-471, 476-495; also Davis 'Rigaud'.

⁶⁰ Cf. Baudrier III 233-413, 484-493; also IA 116.148, 122.693, 123.144, 144.454, 155.347; also LN 464, 794, 820, 972; also Göllner, C., *Tvrcaica*, 1137, 1156, 1229, 1250, 1595, 1667, 1671, 1763; also editions not cited in bibliographical works: Aix Méjanes Rec. D 39 (6-7), (11), (18-19), (21), (31-32), (110), (115), (120), (122), (141), Rec. D 51 (5), (8), (10), Rec. D 71 (17); Auxerre BM C 2559 (12/1), C 2559 (3/40); Blois BM LI 22; BNF Lb33 (379); Carpentras BM M 211, M 710; Chantilly MC XXIX C 122, XXIX D 57 (26), (39); Grenoble BM C 17418, E 28998, F 10676 Rés., F 11717, F 18162, F 18170, F 18242, F 18258, F 9517, L 3514; Harvard Houghton Ott. 3 11.1; Laval AD mf 1458; Lyon BM Choromat 0801, Choromat A 5687, SJ IF 233/92 (24); Munich UB 8o Hist. 3434 (37-38), (44); Munich SB Gall.sp. 56m (22-24), (30), (35-36), Gall.g. 755 a; Rouen BME 835, Leber 3985 (6); Strasbourg BU R 100674 (3) 19-20, R 100674 (3) 41, R 100674 (3) 48, R 100674 (4) 22b.

Lyon's leading book dealers.⁶¹ His publishing career began in 1555 in close association with his nephew, Jean Saugrain.⁶² This profitable association came to an end in 1558. Saugrain's growing affiliation to the Protestant cause is typically cited as the reason for the split.⁶³ During this three to four year period the pair published around forty works together.⁶⁴ The majority of their productions were of a literary, historical and scientific nature. Only around a quarter of their publications were religious in content. None were Protestant, indeed on the contrary, we see several openly Catholic works by authors such as Artus Desiré and Leger Bontemps.⁶⁵

Graph 2.2 Editions published by Benoist Rigaud, 1565-1588



In the 1560s Rigaud's business started to boom. In 1566 he was granted the role of printer to the King. This was a highly lucrative contract to oversee the printing of royal edicts, which were typically printed as broadsheets or small pamphlets. Such work

⁶¹ Cf. Baudrier III 175-205.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Ibid., 175-205, IV 317-346; also Pettegree, 'Saugrain', pp.107-129.

⁶⁴ Cf. Baudrier III 196-205.

⁶⁵ Bontemps, Leger, *Les principales et premiers éléments de la Foi chrétienne*, Lyon (Benoist Rigaud & Jean Saugrain) 1558; also Desiré, Artus, *Les grandes chroniques et annales de Passe-par-tout, chroniqueur de Geneve, avec l'origine de Jean Covin, fausement surnomme Calvin*, Lyon (Benoist Rigaud & Jean Saugrain)

required little in the way of technical investment and guaranteed regular cash returns.⁶⁶

This occurred at a time when Lyon was developing its reputation for evangelical printing.

The growing market demand for Protestant literature and the profits being made by

Saugrain would not have been lost on Rigaud. He therefore expanded his catalogue of

works by printing a small number of moderate evangelical titles.⁶⁷

Natalie Zemon Davis has suggested that Rigaud flirted with Protestantism like so many of his contemporaries.⁶⁸ Rigaud's adopted literary device from 1565, 'nul bien sans Dieu', sheds little light on the topic.⁶⁹ Instead we must look towards his publications for clues. Rigaud certainly produced a number of mild natured Protestant books in the early 1560s, the last of which being a work by the Lutheran theologian André Hyperius in 1566.⁷⁰ However, an examination of Rigaud's publications from 1558 to 1566 reveals that only around a tenth (9 editions) of his total religious imprints were of Protestant orientation. Rigaud's evangelical editions remained within the mainstream of Protestant printing. He produced no incendiary or particularly violent works. Against this, between 1558 and 1566 over a half of Rigaud's theological publications were overtly Catholic in orientation.⁷¹ As Timothy Watson has noted, it appears not to have been a major taboo to be involved in publication of Protestant material up until the reassertion of Catholicism in Lyon from 1567

1558; also by the same author Instruction Chrestienne, Contre les execrables blasphemes & blasphemateurs du nom de Dieu, & autres pechez qui regnent à present, Lyon (Benoist Rigaud & Jean Saugrain) 1558.

⁶⁶ Cf. Baudrier III 177-178.

⁶⁷ Cf. Baudrier III 208-244; also Davis, 'Rigaud'.

⁶⁸ Cf. Davis, 'Rigaud'.

⁶⁹ Jouanna, A. et al. (eds.), Histoire et Dictionnaire des Guerres de Religion, Turin 1998, p.354 col.2.

⁷⁰ Hyperius, André, Les Fondemens de la Religion Chrestienne du tems de l'Eglise primitive, Lyon (Benoist Rigaud) 1566.

⁷¹ Cf. Baudrier III 203-233.

onwards.⁷² Rather, printing Protestant material of a mild nature could be seen as a good business opportunity and as such was readily grasped. This is certainly a pattern that fits Rigaud's involvement with evangelical publishing during the early 1560s. His Protestant editions were neither a corpus of Reformed theological opinions, nor a comprehensive body of anti-Papal polemic, unlike the repertoire of his former partner and nephew, Jean Saugrain. Rigaud's limited involvement in the publication of evangelical works does not provide enough evidence of a sincere belief in the new faith.

Added to this, throughout the early 1560s Rigaud did not feature in Lyon's council. Contrary to Natalie Zemon Davis' assertion, this was not too surprising. During the early-mid 1560s Rigaud was still a relatively small to medium player in Lyon's publishing industry. We can see by the levels of taxation he paid that he did not have the financial status of the publishing barons who did hold official roles within the city, such as the La Portes or the Sennetons.⁷³ Indeed, during this period Rigaud does not appear to have been overly popular within the industry, winning few accolades. He was only elected as representative for Lyon's syndicate of publishers and printers in the role of publishers' representative twice in 50 years, in 1584 and again in 1596.⁷⁴ As telling of Rigaud's coolness towards Protestantism is his absence from any other active role in the consistory. Likewise Rigaud is not noted amongst the iconoclastic crowds of Protestants that swept

⁷² Cf. Watson, T.A., 'Preaching, printing, psalm-singing: the making and unmaking of the Reformed church in Lyon, 1550-1572', R.A. Mentzer & A. Spicer (eds.), *Society and Culture in the Huguenot World 1559-1685*, Cambridge/New York 2002, pp.15-16.

⁷³ Cf. Baudrier VII 288-300, 363-397.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, IX 175-176.

through the city.⁷⁵ The only piece of evidence that provides a link between Rigaud and the Lyonnais Protestant community is the appearance of his name on a list of abjured Protestants dating from 1568-1569.⁷⁶ However, even in 1568 it appears that Rigaud was not perceived as posing a threat to either the crown or the Church. Crucially, he was not included within the locally issued edict that effectively named and shamed a large number of Lyon's Protestants, including a number of printers and publishers.⁷⁷

For Natalie Zemon Davis, Rigaud, from 1567 onwards, simply maintained an outward Catholic observance and published a selection of moderate Catholic works in order to compensate for his past evangelical leanings and re-integrate himself within the Lyonnais community. Proof of this for Davis is Rigaud's refusal to become involved in the Leaguer machinations of the late 1580s and early 1590s.⁷⁸ However, apart from his appearance upon the 1568-1569 document, we have nothing to suggest that Rigaud maintained anything but a blameless Catholic life and career. He had two Catholic weddings, oversaw a Catholic burial for his first wife, and had Catholic christenings and burials for his children.⁷⁹ He was a regular at the Jacobin church of Notre Dame de Confort. Likewise, he was both a member of the Confraternity of Saint Roch, based within the Church of Notre Dame de Confort and made several significant donations to the church.⁸⁰ Professionally, Rigaud oversaw the publication of a wide corpus of Catholic works which included a limited number of larger devotional and doctrinal books.

⁷⁵ In contrast to Rigaud's absence from popular manifestations of Protestantism we know of several members of the Gabiano merchant publishing family that were involved in the destruction of the Church of St. Just. See Baudrier VII 137, 142, 148.

⁷⁶ Cf. Davis, 'Rigaud', p.247.

⁷⁷ Anon., *Ordonnance de Messieurs les Seneschal*, Lyon (Michel Jove) 1568.

⁷⁸ Davis, 'Rigaud', pp.246-251.

⁷⁹ Cf. Baudrier, III 175, 178-179, 180-181.

However, and more significantly, Rigaud was one of the most important publishers of vitriolic pamphlet literature of the 1570s and 1580s. Most notably, Rigaud was responsible for much of the outpouring of violent pamphlets during two of the major bursts of Catholic pamphlet publication, during 1572-73 and again in 1587-88. His pamphlet literature regarding the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacres and early Leaguer agitation circulated some of the most virulent threats and calls to arms, whilst providing some of the coldest justifications for what was effectively ethnic cleansing.

Michel Jove and Jean Pillehotte

Michel Jove and his son-in-law, Jean Pillehotte, have all but been eclipsed from history. Vintrinier's article 'Jean Pillehotte et sa famille' appeared at the end of the nineteenth century, just prior to Baudrier's biographical and bibliographical notes in the second volume of his *Bibliographie lyonnaise*.⁸¹ Since the turn of the twentieth century the house of Jove-Pillehotte has been only the occasional focus of academic study, most notably in the work of Denis Pallier.⁸² Yet between 1556 and 1600 the house of Jove-Pillehotte was responsible for the publication of around 780 pamphlet and larger book editions.⁸³

⁸⁰ Ibid., III 179, 180.

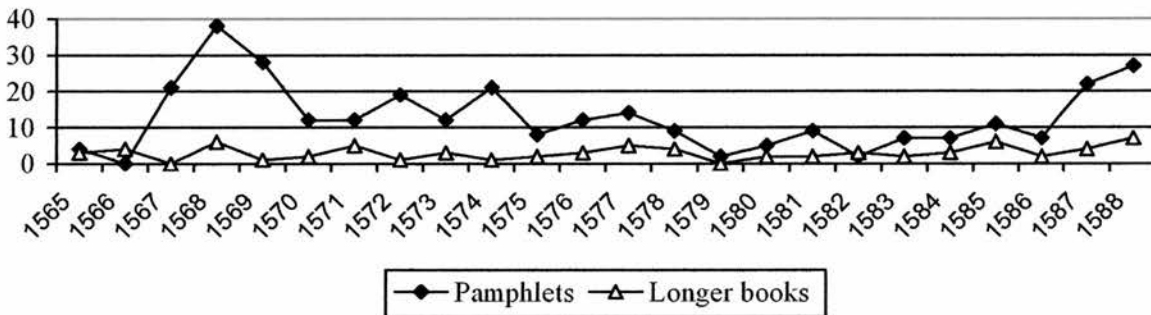
⁸¹ Vingtrinier, A., 'Jean Pillehotte et sa Famille', *Revue Lyonnais* 8 (1884), pp.569-586; also Baudrier II 82-147, 224-264, 433-438, 440-443.

⁸² Pallier, *Recherches*; also 'Circuits', pp.386-404.

⁸³ Cf. Baudrier II 103-147, 435-437; also IA 109.804, 112.093, 122.183, 155.345, 158.120; also LN 526, 582, 592, 600, 602, 611, 621, 625, 635, 768, 913, 935; also Shaaber, *Pensylvania*, A 45; also Collet, A. (ed.), *Catalogue des livres du XVIIe siècle conservés dans la Bibliothèque de la Collégiale de Saint-Bonnet-le-Château*, Saint-Étienne, 1998, 37, 231, 292; also editions not cited in major bibliographical works: Sarius Zamoscius, Johannes, *Oratio: Qua Henric Valesium*, Lyon (Michel Jove) 1574, copy in Aix Méjanes; Aix Méjanes Rec. D 9 (127), Rec. D 21 (3), Rec D 39 (1), Rec. D 291 (14), Rec. D 291 (20), Rec. D 384 (3); Auxerre BM C 2559 (2/14), C 2559 (30/8); British Library 5423 h 10 (1), 9200 bb 29 (5); Brussels BR 9744 III (1), VI 74000 A; Carpentras BM D2. 1368; Chantilly MC XXIX D 57; Grenoble BM F 18368, Mj 7296, O 8913, O 8914, P 8435, T 935, U 4124; Lyon BM Rés. 354054 bis; Munich SB Gall.g. 753, Gall.g. 755 a, Gall.sp. 56m (19); Rouen BM Leber 3989 (9), Leber 3989 (10); Strasbourg BU R 100674 (1) 24, R 100674

Between 1565 and 1588 they published a total of at least 386 editions; of these, 318 editions, or 82%, were pamphlets. The overwhelming majority of these were related to the religious situation in France: 252 editions, or 80%. Between 1565 and 1588, the house of Jove-Pillehotte was responsible for the publication of around a third of pamphlet literature published in Lyon. Similarly, we find that they were responsible for around a third of the religiously related pamphlets that emerged from Lyon. Regarding the publication of Catholic pamphlets in Lyon, the house of Jove-Pillehotte was second only to the house of Rigaud.

Graph 2.3 Editions published by Jove-Pillehotte, 1565-1588



Both Jove and Pillehotte were key players in the production of Catholic pamphlets in Lyon. They placed their presses, name and fortunes alongside the Catholic Church in its struggle to reconstruct French orthodox religion. Unlike Benoist Rigaud, there is no evidence to suggest that either Jove or Pillehotte ever strayed from the Catholic Church.

(2) 13, R 100674 (2) 14, R 100674 (3) 2, R 100674 (3) 3 (Jove). Also cf. Baudrier II 241-277, 440-441; Chambers 497; also Collet, *Saint-Bonnet-le-Château*, 232; also LN 1051, 1306; also Hoock, *Ars Mercatoria*, T8.7; also Schlaefli, *Catalogue*, 249; Saktorová, H. et al. (eds.), *Tlačé 16.storocia vo fondoch Slovenskej národnej knižnice Matice slovenskej*, 2 vols, Slovenská 1993, 2:734; also Aix Méjanès Rec. D 51 (33), Rec. D 54 (15), Rec. D 454 (1); BNF Lb35 (126); Carpentras BM M 169, M 709; also Lyon BM 363775, Rés. 316216; Grenoble BM F 18367; Paris BHSPF Rés. 16179; Strasbourg BU R 100674 (3) 42-45, R 100674 (3) 8 (Pillehotte).

Rather, the heads of the house ‘à l’enseigne de Jesus’ both appear to have remained ardent in their Catholicism.

Michel Jove established his printing-publishing house sometime in the 1540s or 1550s.⁸⁴ It appears that he was initially a contract printer responsible for the production of larger books for the city’s merchant publishers; one of Jove’s most distinctive printer’s fleurons is located within Guillaume Roville’s 1552 edition of Paolo Jovio’s *Histoires*.⁸⁵ Over the next two decades Jove’s business expanded from being a small business to a successful middling rank publishing house. It is interesting to note that in 1567 Jove was still distinguished as a printer, being elected to Lyon’s syndicate of publishers and printers as the representative for ‘imprimeurs’.⁸⁶ However, by 1569 Jove was elected as the joint representative of the publishers.⁸⁷ He was elected into this position three more times, in 1570, 1572 and 1577, indicating both Jove’s success and popularity amongst Lyon’s publishing fraternity.⁸⁸

Initially, Jove began by printing small pamphlets and royal edicts and within a few years he was able to fund the publication of some small format literary and mathematical works.⁸⁹ Unlike Rigaud, Jove refused to capitalise on the growth of Protestantism. Indeed, throughout 1562 and 1563, the years of Lyon’s Protestant seizure, Jove stood out amongst his contemporaries for having published several works of heated Catholic polemic by

⁸⁴ Cf. Baudrier II 82.

⁸⁵ Cf. Jovio, Paolo, (transl. Denis Sauvage), *Histoires*, Lyon (Guillaume Roville) 1552, fol.a2v. Fleuron per Baudrier II Jove fleuron no.1, 275, mk.8.

⁸⁶ Cf. Baudrier IX 175.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 175-176.

⁸⁹ Cf. Baudrier II 95-106.

authors such as Artus Desiré.⁹⁰ In a publishing career that spanned a quarter of a century Jove printed only orthodox religious works.⁹¹ Above all else, two factors were central to the rapid development of Jove's business in the 1560s: the award of the title of printer to the King, and his association with the Jesuits.

Antoine Possevino, a young charismatic Jesuit preacher arrived in Lyon in the early months of 1560 and arranged with Jove for the printing of many 'small books' for the cause of Catholicism to be distributed freely.⁹² In 1565 the relationship between Jove and the Jesuits was strengthened when Lyon's council invited the Jesuits to assume control of the collège de la Trinité. Jove's allegiance to Catholicism and the Jesuits in particular is reflected in the adoption of the Jesuit coat of arms as a printing device by 1561, as opposed to depictions of biblical or classical allegories.⁹³ This was a distinctive and important choice of symbolism, especially during the rise of Protestantism in Lyon.

Jove took the opportunity to publish a preface in a staunchly pro-Jesuit work in 1565.⁹⁴ Two months after the handing of Lyon's collège de la Trinité to the Jesuits, Jove

⁹⁰ Ibid., 99-102.

⁹¹ Questions have been raised regarding the orthodoxy of two of Jove's editions: anon., Remonstrance a la Royne Mere du roi tres-chrestien, Lyon (Michel Jove) 1561, and Marc-Antoine Muret, Oraison pour Antoine et Jane, Roi, & Royne de Navarre, au Pape Pie Quatriesme, Lyon (Michel Jove) 1561; however, both are faultlessly Catholic. Confusion over the Remonstrance has been caused by erroneous cataloguing in the BNF. The existence of two separate 1561 works with identical short titles has led the BNF to wrongly attribute this work to Antoine Marlorat, BNF 8o Lb33 17. The Jove work is anonymous and very clearly a Catholic work. Other copies of Jove's 1561 Remonstrance are in Munich BSB Gall.g. 755 k (60), Carpentras BM D2 1577 (5), Grenoble BMF 15728. The Oraison is likewise a faultlessly orthodox work, and was granted a privilege that expressly claims so, see fol.A1v.

⁹² Cf. Davis, Protestantism, p.528.

⁹³ For examples of the development of Jove's printing device see Baudrier II 91, 95, 97, 103, 105, 107, 111. Also see illustrations 2, 3 and 4.

⁹⁴ Payua, Diego, (transl. Edmond Auger), Le Premier Livre des Exploications Catholiques [...] une Apologie pour ceux de la Compagnie de Jesus, contre certains Ministres Predicans d'Allemagne, Lyon (Michel Jove) 1565, fols.A2r-A3r.

both defended the reputation and actions of the Jesuits, and also wished for ‘leur longue presence et service’. Jove claimed to have had the work translated from Latin into French so its contents can be known in France – an advertisement of the good work of the Jesuits to the Lyonnais.

Jove received a further boost in 1569, being granted the first of two royal privileges declaring him printer to the King, granting him the highly lucrative right to produce royal edicts.⁹⁵ This appears to have coincided with the apparent withdrawal of the same royal privilege from Rigaud.⁹⁶ Throughout his career Jove was also to hold three other titles: printer to the Archbishop, to Lyon and also to the region.⁹⁷

On a personal level, Jove left only a few indicators as to his religious persuasion. However, they clearly point to a Catholic life. In 1575 Jove made a large donation of 100 *livres tournois* to a loyal local priest. Between 1575 and 1577 Jove gave charitably to three orphans.⁹⁸ On the last day of August 1579 Jove made a clearly Catholic Testament, in which he requested a correct Catholic burial including the making of the sign of the cross on his corpse; payments were assigned for prayers for the intercession of the Saints and Mary.⁹⁹ Jove was to be interred in the convent of the Church of Cordeliers in Lyon. Likewise, payments were also assigned to pay for a procession from the church of St. Nizier, closely associated with Lyon’s merchant community. Jove’s will also made a

⁹⁵ Cf. Baudrier II 82, 84.

⁹⁶ No documentary evidence survives to suggest the privilege was taken from Rigaud; however, Rigaud’s production of royal edicts all but dries up from this date onwards. Cf. Baudrier III 261-448.

⁹⁷ Baudrier notes several payments from Lyon’s council to Michel Jove for the publishing of official materials, ranging from broadsides advertising local and royal edicts to the catalogue of Lyon’s trade fairs, *Ibid.*, 82-90.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 84-90.

charitable bequest to the poor. During the years 1579 and 1580 he again made significant charitable donations, this time 700 small books to the honourable ladies of the town for the instruction of order and the visiting of the poor.¹⁰⁰

We know that Jean Pillehotte had worked either alongside or under Jove in his business since at least 1570.¹⁰¹ From 1575 the two published works both together and separately until Jove's death in 1580. However, it was Pillehotte's marriage to one of Jove's daughters that assured him of his eventual inheritance. From 1580 until his death in 1612, Pillehotte held sole control of his deceased father-in-law's publishing house. It is doubtful that Pillehotte ever owned a printing press.¹⁰² Like his father-in-law, he appears to have been an immensely popular member of the publishing confraternity. He was elected as the joint publishers' representative to Lyon's publishers' and printers' syndicate no less than ten times between 1574 and 1600. Six of those occasions came between the years 1574 and 1587.¹⁰³ Like Jove, Pillehotte also held the titles of printer to the King, to the Jesuits, to the Archbishop, to the city and to the region.¹⁰⁴

There can be little doubt that Pillehotte was deeply committed to the Catholic cause. On a personal level, Pillehotte left behind few religious footprints; however, those he did, including considerable payments and donations to religious institutions, point clearly towards Catholicism.¹⁰⁵ On a professional level he entered into an employment that had

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 86-90.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 90.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 224.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 224-225.

¹⁰³ Cf. Baudrier IX 175-176.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, II 224-225.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 229.

already allied itself with the Jesuits. Moreover, he continued to embrace the relationship with the Jesuits and helped foster the increasing religious polarisation of Lyon. One can see that he published extensively for the Catholic faith, including, like Jove, small books to use in the Jesuits' charitable and pedagogic work amongst the poorer neighbourhoods of Lyon.¹⁰⁶ Indeed, as we will see, Pillehotte was to become one of the most virulent and important printers of the Catholic League.

Popular Polemical Literature

Politico-religious pamphlets: the Wars of Religion and the Turk

The Wars of Religion had an immeasurable negative impact upon Lyon. The intermittent nature of forty years of violent civil wars devastated one of Europe's elite cosmopolitan centres. The Protestant coup of 1562-1563 marked an important and permanent shift in every aspect of Lyonnais life. The first war was the only war to be fought directly within Lyon; however, that is not to dismiss the continued impact of the other wars. Trade and credit continued to be disrupted; the imposition of arbitrary taxation and civic unrest further disturbed a bruised economy and discouraged foreign merchants. Indeed, several times between 1565 and 1588 Protestant armies approached Lyon and menaced her outer environs.

¹⁰⁶ In 1582 the almoner general paid Pillehotte three *écus* for printing two dozen alphabets, two dozen bound *Vitae Christi*, a dozen catechisms, two dozen *Catons* and six grammars for the instruction of the children of La Chana – a poor quarter towards the north of the city, see Baudrier II 229.

Although further wars were not fought within Lyon, the city was linked with the struggles in several ways. One of the most important links was in the person of Edmond Auger, first Jesuit head of the collège de la Trinité and likewise the first Jesuit Provincial of Lyon. Auger participated as spiritual guide in the third and fourth wars, advocating a crusading fervour throughout the royal camp.¹⁰⁷ We can expect that news of the battle travelled back to Lyon via Auger's communications with the collège.¹⁰⁸ Good news from the front was eagerly received in Lyon, reflected in the joyous celebration that followed the Catholic victories in the battles of Jamac.¹⁰⁹

The Wars of Religion naturally held an interest amongst the population of Lyon. The news from the front was relayed throughout the country by the vast numbers of printed pamphlets that represent the first flourishes of the newspaper.¹¹⁰ It was this outpouring of print that directly addressed the confessional wars which was the primary expression of pamphlet production by Lyon's presses. 372 such editions were published in the period 1565-1588. In excess of three-quarters of these pamphlets were published directly by either Rigaud, or Jove and Pillehotte. These battle reports were produced in direct correlation with the events during the wars, a constant simmering output was interspersed with several significant peaks in publication.¹¹¹ The initial peak in production coincided with the third war (August 1568 – August 1570), illustrating the growth in Catholic confidence

¹⁰⁷ Cf. Martin, *Henry III*, esp.ch.2.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, esp. pp.29-44.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. Vial, *Institutions*, pp.275-304; also Boucher, J., *Lyon et la Vie Lyonnais aux XVIIe Siècle*, Lyon 1992, pp.117-123.

¹¹⁰ For early development of the newspaper see J. Wiltenburg, 'Patricide and Pathos: a 1565 Murder in Deed and Word', in J.v.H.Melton (ed.), *Cultures of Communication from Reformation to Enlightenment*, Aldershot 2002, pp.24-38; also Wolfe, M., 'Henry IV and the press', A. Pettegree et al. (eds.), *The Sixteenth Century French Religious Book*, Aldershot 2001, pp.177-196; also Chartier, Roger, 'Pamphlets et gazettes', Martin, H.-J. & Chartier, R. (eds.), *Histoire de l'édition française*, vol.1. pp.405-425.

throughout France after the victories of Jarnac and Moncontour. Another significant peak occurred from 1572-1575, coinciding with the St. Bartholomew's Day massacres, the siege of La Rochelle and the coronation of the Duc d'Anjou as Henri III. Then, from 1587 into 1588 there was a steep rise in the number of religious pamphlets published in Lyon. This was a crucial period of awakening for zealous Catholics throughout France following the death of the Catholic heir to the throne, the Duc d'Alençon. In this time fell also the growing Catholic dissatisfaction with Henri III and the consolidation of the Catholic League.

The early pamphlets: The second and third wars

Pamphlet publication during the second and third wars witnessed both a growth in the production of politico-religious pamphlets and a marked development towards the forthright polemic that would dominate later publications. From 1565 to 1567 the confessional cleavage in Lyon was evident to all. A flood of edicts attempted to halt the daily cycles of violence and restore peace and order in Lyon.¹¹² Attempts to pacify the city were also supported by the council and Jesuits.¹¹³

The growth in Lyonnais Catholic confidence from 1567 was mirrored in the increased production of small pamphlets; around 50 such editions were published in four years. A number of themes are prevalent in this early outpouring of Catholic polemic, the most dominant one being news of military victories. These concentrated on the narrating of

¹¹¹ See graph 2.1, above.

¹¹² Cf. Baudrier II 107-123, III 224-264, 486-488.

information rather than conveying overt confessional polemic. Typical of this style of work is the *Discours de la bataille donnee par monseigneur le Duc d'Anjou [...] entre la ville d'Angolesme & Jarnac*, published by Rigaud in 1569.¹¹⁴ The book is presented in an unemotional narrative style. The opening pages describe the massing of the opposing armies under Condé and the Duc de Guise and Duc de Martegues, leading on to the first action of battle ending with an advantage for the Catholics. The third gathering sees the battle of Jarnac come to a triumphant end for the Catholic forces. Whilst Condé's death is noted several times, one can see a distinct lack of Catholic triumphalism. The pamphlet finishes with a roll-call of all noble fatalities and prisoners. Only towards the end do we find something resembling an open confessional statement:

[...] Audict lieu l'a laissé ledict seigneur de Losses, remerciant Dieu de ceste heureuse victoire qu'il lui avoit donné avec bonne deliberation de partir dès le lendemain pour poursuivre le reste desdictz rebelles, ennemies de Dieu & du Roi.¹¹⁵

Although describing battle scenes, tracts such as this did not contain calls to violence, instead they were intended to convey the positive news of a victory of Catholicism. Such a factual style could hold an appeal across the Catholic spectrum, holding interest for moderate Catholics whilst whetting the appetite of the zealot.¹¹⁶ The rising tide of extremism among Lyon's Catholics provided the audience for which an increasing number of pamphlets would be printed. Two pamphlets written by Louis Le

¹¹³ Watson, *City Council*, pp.218-248; also Groër, *Réforme*, pp. 99, 102-104.

¹¹⁴ Anon., *Discours de la bataille donnee par Monseigneur le Duc d'Anjou*, Lyon (Benoist Rigaud) 1569.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, fols.C2v-C3r.

¹¹⁶ Pamphlets of a similar tenor include: Espervier, Jacques de l', *Triomphe Heroique avec Trophees, de Monseigneur le Duc d'Anjou*, Lyon (Benoist Rigaud) 1569; also anon., *Discours de l'Entreprise & conspiration, faicte par ceux de la nouvelle opinion, portans les armes contre le Roi, sur la ville de Bourges & du succez de ladicte entreprinse*, Lyon (Michel Jove) 1570; anon., *Discours de la Bataille gaignee par Monseigneur le Duc d'Anjou [...], contre les subjects rebelles de sadicte Maiesté, entre, S. Jouyn & Montcontour, le troisieme d'Octobre 1569*, Lyon (Michel Jove)1569.

Roy and published by Rigaud in 1568, *Consideration sur l'histoire françoise*, and *Des troubles et differens advenans entre les hommes par la diversité des Religions*, provide an example of highly motivated confessional spite.¹¹⁷ Prominent themes within such works include accusations of obstinate heresy and sedition which in turn led to the accusations that the Huguenots had initiated the blood-letting of the Wars of Religion.¹¹⁸ These themes are at the core of Louis Le Roy's *Des troubles et differens*. Le Roy blames all the sedition and violence of the age upon heretics who use their God as justification for their inhuman actions.

‘Mais és seditions & guerres suscitées pour differences de loix, ou pour heresies, quand ils arrachent les enfans des ventres des meres, ou les tuent és berceaux, violent filles & femmes, asservissent les hommes, gastent pais, bruslent maisons, villes & chasteaux, destrisent temples, rompent sepulchres, ravissent biens, s’entreperscutans inhumainement en tout gendre de cruauté comme bestes sauvages en oubliant la civilité à laquelle ils sont naiz, & confondant pesle mesle les droicts divins & humains, ils pensent faire actes profitables leur salut, & agreable à Dieu.’¹¹⁹

The theme of heresy is extended with a discussion based upon biblical evidence of the destructiveness of schisms. Le Roy cites stories of the plague of frogs, Cain and Abel and the Egyptian persecution of the Jews. The author then uses this discussion to form a direct comparison between Huguenots and major heretical and barbarian groups of the medieval period within the Christian West, forming a line of heretics through Arians, Nestorians, Manichees, and Donatists, all culminating in Martin Luther.¹²⁰

¹¹⁷ Le Roy, Louis, *Consideration sur l'Histoire françoise, et l'universelle de ce temps, dont les merveilles sont succinctement recitées*, Lyon (Benoist Rigaud) 1568; by the same author, *Des Troubles et Differens advenans entre les hommes par la diversité des Religions: ensemble du commencement, progresz, & excellence de la Chrestienne*, Lyon (Benoist Rigaud) 1568.

¹¹⁸ On these issues see Baumgartner, F.J., *Radical Reactionaries: the political thought of the French Catholic League*, Geneva 1976, ch.3; also Racaut, *Hatred*, ch.4.

¹¹⁹ Le Roy, *Des Troubles*, Lyon (Benoist Rigaud) 1568, fol.A2v.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, fols.B3v-C1r.

TUMBEAUX
DES BRISE-
CROIX.

Mesmes de Gaspard de Col-
igni iadis Admiral
de France.

Tu es Iustes, ô Seigneur, & tes iugemens droits.



A LYON,
PAR BENOIST RIGAUD.

1573.
Avec permission.

3
VRAI
DISCOVRS
DE LA BATAILLE
DES ARMEES CHRESTIEN-
ne & Turque(que, & de la triom-
phante victoire contre le Turc.

*Item les noms des Chrestiens & Turcs de marque, tant
morts, blesez, que pris: & le nombre des uais-
seaux que pris, enfincez que brulez.*



A LYON,
PAR MICHEL IOVE.

M. D. LXXI.
Avec permission.

Left: Title page of anon., Tumbeaux des Brise-Croix, Lyon (Benoist Rigaud) 1573; an example of the pamphlet literature that followed the repetition of the St. Bartholomew's Day massacres.

Right: Title page anon., Vrai Discours de la Bataille des Armees Chrestienne, Lyon (Michel Jove) 1571; featuring an example of Jove's Jesuit style printer's device.

1572-1575: 'There is hope that now things will go well in France'¹²¹

The early 1570s saw an explosion in the number of editions and of the highly polemical content of pamphlets. During the early 1570s, France witnessed a marked increase in Catholic fervour. This strong Catholic confidence was created by a number of catalysts. The initial spark was provided by the wedding of the Protestant Henri de Navarre to Marguerite de Valois. Further events added tinder to the flame such as the outbreak of renewed hostilities with the fourth war. Moreover Catholics were presented with a new hope in the form of the Duc d'Anjou. In all, around 70 pamphlet editions were issued from Lyon's presses in direct relation to these tumultuous events.

The fury of the St. Bartholomew's Day massacres was repeated throughout France with little mercy. In Lyon, even the company of printers participated in the violence that occurred in late August and early September 1572.¹²² Whilst contemporary estimates claimed that several thousand Protestants were killed, it is more likely that the figures remained in the low hundreds.¹²³ Throughout 1572 and 1573, a large proportion of the pamphlet literature concerned itself directly with the events of the massacres. Bloodthirsty descriptions of killings abounded. Similarly, multi-layered justifications for the bloodlust rolled from the presses. At least 25 editions were published in Lyon in these years, the majority published by Benoist Rigaud (15) and Michel Jove (6). This indicates the existence of a market for printed material that mirrored the type of violence described by

¹²¹ Extract from an anonymous letter from a Lyonnais Catholic, written 30 August 1572 (Archives d'Etat de Genève, pièce historique 1929), cited in Benedict, P., Rouen during the Wars of Religion, Cambridge 1981, p.123.

¹²² Pallier, 'Les réponses', p.329.

Natalie Zemon Davis.¹²⁴ A typical example of a Rigaud pamphlet from 1572 gloats openly of more massacres to come:

‘Tremblez tremblez Huguenotz, / Maintenant sont mis par terre / Les plus
grans de vos suppos, / Jamais ne nous feront guerre, / Paris les a tint en serre
/ Tant qu’ils furent à mort mis, / La foudre plus que Tonnerre / Couroit sur
ces ennemis.’¹²⁵

In a later verse we see even further evidence of the threats and self-congratulation of the zealous Catholic camp:

‘De savoir nombre des morts / C’est une chose impossible. / Sans fin sans
cesse les morts / Pendant la fureur terrible, / Tant de masles que femelles /
Estoient tous jettez dans l’eau, / Pour en porter les nouvelles / Jusqu’à
Rouan sans batteau.’¹²⁶

Of course such violence needed justification. The historical debate regarding the overall responsibility for the massacres was bypassed by the Catholic presses in Lyon. Catholic propaganda circulated news that Charles IX as God’s appointed monarch was rightly responsible for instigating the autumn of blood-letting. In this instance, a Jove pamphlet shows Charles IX deciding upon the tactic of massacre himself: ‘[Charles IX] commencast à ladicte execution, et à tuer ledict Admiral et tous ceux de sa ligue et faction. Ce qui fut executé avec la felicité, diligence et celerité [...]’¹²⁷

¹²³ Doucet, ‘Le Seizième Siècle’, pp.427-428. In a letter to Hardsheim dated 1572, Théodore de Bèze wrote that 3,000 Protestants had been massacred in Lyon. cf., *Correspondance de Bèze*, XIII 939.

¹²⁴ Cf. Davis, N.Z., ‘The Rites of Violence’, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France*, Stanford 1976, pp.152-187.

¹²⁵ Anon., *Chanson Nouvelle a l’encontre des Huguenotz*, Lyon (s.n. [Benoist Rigaud]) 1572, fol.A1v.

¹²⁶ Ibid., fol.A2v.

¹²⁷ Anon., *Discours sur les causes de l’Execution faicte és personnes de ceux qui avoient conjuré contre le Roi & son Estat*, Lyon (Michel Jove) 1572, fol.C4r.

The above Rigaud pamphlet, *Chanson Nouvelle*, provides further weight to the point. Here, it is the Huguenots themselves who literally ask for their just punishment, having caused so much offence to Charles.

‘Vous avez tant offensé / Charles noble Roi de France, / Que Dieu s’en est courroucé, / Et en a prins a la vengeance, / Le Roi par vostre demande, / Vous feist paix soubz bon accord, / Et si par trahison grande / Vous lui pourchassiez sa mort.’¹²⁸

The theme of justification for the massacres was prevalent through 1572-1573. Some pamphlets claimed that the massacres had been justified due to the actions of the Huguenots. Pamphlets show a graphic repetition in the theme of relapsed and unrepentant heretics, ‘[...] les impudens visages, & oui les paroles execrables des predicans, & ministres du diable, blasphémer le saint sacrifice de Jesus Christ, & tous ses autres sacremens’.¹²⁹

Alongside this, we can also find accusations of sedition. The anonymous author of the *Discours où epistre à messieurs de Paris, & autres catholiques de France* laments about the violence of the Huguenots that had caused:

‘[...] la Republique tant affligée & vexée par l’incursion de ceux lesquels de fresche memoire ont conspiré & se sont revoltés & rebelles contre Dieu, leur Prince, & contre l’Eglise [...] que leur folle entreprise, cruauté, & inhumanité, qui outre passent l’insolence & la bestialité de toutes nations infideles & barbares, sera bien tost reprimée par un juste jugement de la justice divine, & humaine [...]’¹³⁰

¹²⁸ Anon., *Chanson nouvelle a l’encontre des Huguenotz*, Lyon (s.n. [Benoist Rigaud]) 1572, fol.A1v.

¹²⁹ Anon., *Discours où Epistre à Messieurs de Paris, & autres Catholiques de France, sur les nouvelles entreprises, n’aguères descouvertes, d’aucuns rebelles, & seditieux, lesquels soubz couleur & pretexte qu’ils disent en vouloir aux Ecclesiastiques, & vouloir reformer le Royaume, entreprennant contre le Roi, & son Estat*, Lyon (Benoist Rigaud) 1574, fols.A3v-A4r.

¹³⁰ Ibid., fol.A2v.

Henri III attracted much attention throughout pamphlet literature printed on Lyon's presses. This developed in the late 1560s prior to Henri's coronation, when as the then Duc d'Anjou he was placed in control of the royal army following the death of the Duc de Montmorency. Overnight Henri became the darling of Catholic pamphlet literature after leading the royal army in a series of military victories against the Huguenots. He quickly became thought of as the sole hope for the restoration of a unified Catholic France. During the siege of La Rochelle Henri was elected to the throne of Poland, only to have to return to France a year later in 1574, following the death of Charles IX. While Charles' death only merited the publication of around half a dozen pamphlets, Henri's fortunes were avidly followed. Rigaud alone published 25 editions in two years; Jove published a further half dozen that were widely supported by the editions of small printers cashing in on the interest. The departure of the Catholic hero was lamented in a more spectacular fashion than the passing of monarchs. Similarly, his return was greeted with a giddy enthusiasm that expected Henri, once crowned, to eradicate heresy from France.

Within pamphlet literature Henri underwent a process of character building that verged on hagiography. His military prowess had been well chronicled from victories of the third war and was further bolstered with publications narrating the progress of the fourth war. Alongside these, we also find a rich seam of literature that served to glorify Henri's personality and qualities as defender of the faith and prince of the blood. The hagiography of Anjou is illustrated in the anonymous *Esioissance des francois et bons citoyens de Paris, sur l'election de Roi de Pologne*. Here Henri is praised for his virtues, his heroism and valour which is comparable to that demonstrated in the tales of antiquity.

But above all, Henri is the true protector of the Church, with the will and the personality to enforce a unified Catholic settlement upon France:

‘Voyant toute la France, à l’envi admirer / Les vertus, don’t le ciel à voulu
decorer / Ce vaillant Duc d’Anjou, don’t les faits heroiques / Ne cedent
nullement, aux plus braves antiques: / A perpetuité, celebrer ses louanges /
[...] / De ce grand Protecteur d’Eglise Catholique / (Frere de nostre Roi) de
ce preux Duc d’Anjou / Sous qui l’ennemi tremble, & s’en va faire jou. /
Mais qui pourroit assez (ô Henri de Valois) / Henri miroir des preux, Henri
l’honneur des Rois, / [...]’.¹³¹

In a preface to a pamphlet discussing Henri’s departure to Poland in 1573, Benoist Rigaud used the opportunity to address his readers personally, lamenting the departure of the most illustrious prince. Rigaud points to France’s great loss, whilst emphasising Henri’s virtues, natural kindness and his heroism:

‘Je suis tout assureé que le depart de ce magnanime prince de la tresnoble et
tresillustre maison de France, causera un regret indicible à tout vrai
François: [...] vous ne devez de vostre part lui envier son heur, ains en
souvenance de ses rares vertus, bonté naturelle et de ses plus que heroiques
deportemens en ses tendres ans, au service de nostre Roi treschrestien, son
frere, et de la partie, prier nostre Seigneur pour sa prosperite.’¹³²

Similar themes circulated in large numbers throughout 1574 and 1575, especially with Henri’s return from Poland and his accession to the throne. It is well noted that Henri d’Anjou took a rather long route from Cracow to Paris, via Italy and several French cities, including Lyon. A Catholic audience eager for the return of their saviour followed Henri’s passage with interest in pamphlets such as

¹³¹ Anon., Esiouvissance des Francoiis et bons citoyens de Paris, sur l’Election de Roi de Pologne, à l’honneur de tres haut, tres-puissant & tres-magnanime Prince Henri Duc d’Anjou invincible defenseur de la foi Catholique, Lyon (Benoist Rigaud) 1573, fols.A2r-v.

¹³² Anon., Catalogue des Princes, Seigneurs, Gentilshommes et autres qui accompaignent le Roi de Polongne, Lyon (Benoit Rigaud) 1574, fol.A1v.

the *Heureux passage [...] en sa [...] ville & cité de Lyon*, and *Le discours sur l'honorable entrée [...] en la ville de Chambery*.¹³³

Henri's sudden fall from favour was mirrored on the Lyonnais pamphlet presses. By 1576 the noise of the Catholic polemicists had passed with Henri's failure to live up to the fervent expectations of a Catholic nation growing ever more impatient. In a letter to Rome, the Jesuit William Creighton noted the ever growing popular disillusionment in Lyon towards Henri III.¹³⁴ Henri's reluctance to launch a crusade against the Huguenots matched his eventual moves towards a religious accommodation.

Early League literature and the hagiography of the Guise

The death of the Duc d'Alençon in 1584 combined with Henri's movements towards religious accommodation once more plunged France towards crisis. A period of relative comfort for zealous French Catholics following the victories of the early 1570s rapidly turned to disillusionment and growing panic with the thought of a Protestant French monarch. During this time Lyon witnessed a considerable further growth of ardent Catholicism, resulting in the expulsion of the city's remaining Protestants in 1585. Lyon remained a royal Catholic city until February 1589; however, the development of Lyonnais League pamphlet literature through 1584-1589 mirrors the growth of Leaguer sentiment

¹³³ Chappuys, Gabriel, *Heureux Presage sur la bienvenue du Tres-Chrestien Roi de France & de Polongne, Henri de Valois troiziesme, en sa tres antique & fameuse ville & cité de Lyon*, Lyon (Benoist Rigaud) 1574; also anon., *Le Discours sur l'Honorable entrée faicte à Henri de ce nom III. Roi de France, & de Pologne, en la ville de Chambery en Savoye*, Lyon (Gabriel de la Grange) 1574.

¹³⁴ Cf. Martin, *Jesuit Mind*, p.219.

within the city.¹³⁵ Added to the religious troubles were outbreaks of the plague (1585-1586) and famine (1586-1587). The blame for events like these was generally directed towards the city's Protestants inhabitants.¹³⁶ One of the clearest manifestations of Lyon's religious fervour was the brief seizure of the citadel in 1585 in order to deter a rumoured Huguenot plan to take Lyon.¹³⁷

These heightened tensions among Lyon's Catholics were mirrored by the escalation of pamphlet production, particularly of that associated with the League. Between 1584 and 1588 Lyon's presses printed at least 117 editions of religious pamphlets, peaking in 1588 with the publication of 54 titles. Once more we find that Benoist Rigaud and Jean Pillehotte were responsible for the vast bulk of these editions, around 90%. All of the themes we have seen above appear again in these pamphlets. Yet they resurfaced this time with a new resonance due to spiralling events: the question of the succession, the outbreak of the eighth war, and the rise of new Catholic saviours in the form of the brothers Guise.

The eighth war, especially in its later phases (1585-1587), was the focus of much increasingly vindictive Catholic pamphlet literature. This polemic not only developed a nationalistic element, but also acted as the spark that saw a renaissance in the ambitions of the ultra-Catholic party and the Guise family. The battles of the eighth war reinvigorated a widespread interest in the reports of military action. At least 32 such pamphlets were produced on Lyon's presses in 1587 alone. The wars of 1587 had a direct impact on Lyon.

¹³⁵ Cf. Doucet, 'Le Seizième Siècle', pp.434-435.

¹³⁶ Cf. Martin, *Jesuit Mind*, p.96.

The city was not only called upon for hefty taxes, but also to contribute troops to fight in the struggle. The fact that Lyon as a border city was potentially under direct threat from the German mercenaries struck a particular resonance throughout the city's presses. The appeal to God's help in these pamphlets reflected the imminent fear as well as the faith of the Catholic Lyonnais.

The battle reports of the late 1580s display a vivid sense of panic. These pamphlets did not just trace the battles, protagonists and outcomes, as previous pamphlets had done. They evolved to follow the wars in much more pedantic detail, reporting troop movements and generating fake clandestine correspondence to show the malign intentions of Henri de Navarre. However, they did continue to emphasise the basic facts in a reportage style rather than becoming overburdened with polemical zeal. Typical examples of the literature discussing troop movements include *Du passage et route que tiennent les reistres et allemans*, and *Le vrai discours sur la route et admirable desconfiture des reistres*.¹³⁸ Both pamphlets give a detailed account of the massing of troops. They offer the reader precise listings of companies, their commanders and colours. More than that, these pamphlets also provided some details of the offences of Protestant troops, such as desecration of holy sites and the murder and violation of Catholic women and children.¹³⁹ This acts to provide justification and encouragement for both the Catholic forces and Catholic population. *Le vrai discours sur la route* is addressed to the 'peuple François'

¹³⁷ Cf. Doucet, 'Le Seizième Siècle', pp.437-440.

¹³⁸ Anon., *Du Passage et Route que Tiennent les Reistres et Allemans, estans repoussez par le Duc de Lorraine*, Lyon (s.n. [Pierre Chastain dit Dauphin]) 1587; Anon., *Le vrai Discours sur la Route et admirable desconfiture des Reistres*, Lyon (Jean Pillehotte) 1587.

¹³⁹ Anon., *Le vrai Discours sur la Route*, fols. A2r-A3v.

calling for France to stand upright and defend herself against what is portrayed as the Germanic barbarian.¹⁴⁰

In reaction to the Leaguer settlement forced upon Henri III, Henri de Navarre spent a part of winter 1586 arranging a German and Swiss mercenary army to come to fight within France. This in turn led to the introduction of a new theme in both Catholic and Protestant French pamphlet literature that ran throughout the remaining decade of the century, nationalism. Catholic nationalistic arguments were an important addition to the polemic of the period. The theme of French liberty against the oppression of foreigners is typically prevalent throughout pamphlets such as *La rendition et protestation de douze mille Suisses au Roi*, or *Du passage et route que tiennent les reistres et Allemans*.¹⁴¹ The destruction of France by these foreign troops was described in shocking detail.¹⁴² Calls were made for all true Catholic Frenchmen to resist the suffering of 'la tyrannie de l'estranger'.¹⁴³ The popular fear of the German armies was further fuelled by the panic-driven tones of the literature. Even edicts issued by Henri III, printed as pamphlets calling for Lyon to mass troops, begin in almost hysterical tones portraying German hordes

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., fols. A2r-v, B1v.

¹⁴¹ Anon., *La Rendition et Protestation de Douze mil Suisses au Roi, qui s'estoient acheminez contre sa Majesté, avec une sommaire de tout ce qui s'est passé depuis l'advenue des Reistres en France jusques à present*, Lyon (Benoist Rigaud) 1587; also anon., *Du Passage et Route que Tiennent les Reistres et Allemans, estans repoussez par le Duc de Lorraine*, Lyon (s.n. [Pierre Chastain dit Dauphin]) 1587.

¹⁴² Anon., *Du Passage et Route que Tiennent les Reistres*, Lyon (s.n. [Pierre Chastain dit Dauphin]) 1587, fols. A2r-A3r.

¹⁴³ Anon., *Le vrai Discours sur la Route et admirable desconfiture des Reistres*, Lyon (Jean Pillehotte) 1587, fol.A3v; also (Henri III), *La copie de la harangue, qu'a fait le Roi, a Messieurs de Paris, devant que monter à cheval, pour aller à la guerre*, Lyon (Jean Pillehotte) 1587.

marching to aid their Huguenot neighbours, in what amounted to a Protestant invasion of France.¹⁴⁴

Pre-1589 Leaguer pamphlets

Leaguer pamphlets were widely reproduced on the presses of Lyon between 1585 and 1588. In his bibliographical analysis, Denis Pallier has identified 28 such Lyonnais editions.¹⁴⁵ The majority of these were published by Pillehotte (14 editions) and Rigaud (10), with a handful published by others, including Pierre Chastain. However, it is possible to add around another 20 to 25 pamphlet editions of similar style and content to this number.¹⁴⁶ Virtually all of these were produced by Pillehotte and Rigaud, allowing their totals for early Leaguer pamphlet production to shift to around 25 editions each. Indeed, pamphlet literature produced by both Rigaud and Pillehotte during 1585 to 1588 was dominated by early Leaguer productions.

Early Leaguer pamphlet literature underwent an evolution between 1585 and 1588. Within two years a body of loyal publications was increasingly punctuated with increasingly heated warnings to Henri III. By 1588, Lyon was on the verge of joining the Catholic League. In a 1588 pamphlet, Pierre Matthieu's *Stances sur*

¹⁴⁴ (Henri III), Lettres du Roi au seneschal de Lyon ou à son Lieutenant, par lesquelles il ordonne que toutes les Compagnies d'Ordonnances ayent à s'acheminer et rendre aux lieux designez et specifiez par la presente, dans le 20. de Julliet, et premier d'Aoust prochain, Lyon (Jean Pillehotte) 1587.

¹⁴⁵ Cf. Pallier, *Recherches*, 219-272.

¹⁴⁶ Cf. Baudrier I 281 (Millot), II 200 (Patrasson), 253-277 (Pillehotte), III 386-413 (Rigaud); VI 19-25 (Chastain); also LN 1306, 1355; also Pallier, *Recherches* 149; also IA 115.148, 123.144; also anon., Ample Discours de la deffaicte de vingtune Cornettes de Reistres: faicte à Vimory en Gastinois pres Montargis, le vingtsixiesme jour d'Octobre, mil cinq cents quatre vingts sept, Lyon (Jean Pillehotte) 1587, copy in Carpentras BM M 169.

l'heureuse publication de la paix et sainte union published by Rigaud, we find an outline of the case against the Huguenots which serves as both propaganda and an open warning for Henri III of the unwillingness to bend on theological issues.¹⁴⁷ This sort of pamphlet was very rarely seen in Lyon before 1589. Rather the norm were works of a predominantly loyal nature. Battle reports continued to rely on factual reports, lacking significant polemical confessional statements; any confessional statement or attack remained a minor part of the text. Similarly, polemical tracts and Leaguer-enforced edicts, such as the 1585 Treaty of Nemours, remained largely loyal in content and calm in tone. Prior to the news of the assassination of the Guise reaching the Rhônnais, Catholic, and more specifically Leaguer pamphlet literature maintained the overall style and content of the 1570s and 1580s.

The events of December 1588 marked a pivotal point in Leaguer pamphlet literature. Almost all pamphlets published prior to 1589 were significantly different in tone, retaining outward loyalty to Henri III.¹⁴⁸ The pivotal point in the evolution of Leaguer radicalism followed the assassinations of the Guises in December 1588.

Hagiography of the Guise

Long before their assassinations, the Duc and Cardinal de Guise had been popular figures within Lyon's Catholic circles; in both 1563 and 1573 Edmond Auger had written that the

¹⁴⁷ Matthieu, Pierre, *Stances sur l'heureuse publication de la paix et sainte union*, Lyon (Benoist Rigaud) 1588, fol.A4v.

Cardinal was a true model of virtue upon whom the political and religious future of France depended.¹⁴⁹ The Duc de Guise had similarly been praised by Antoine Possevino in 1569.¹⁵⁰ The popularity of the Guise was not a sentiment specific to Lyon's Jesuit community. A much wider interest can be traced through the productions of the city's printing presses. The Guise had been held aloft in Catholic pamphlet literature since at least the third war (1569-1570). In a 1569 Rigaud pamphlet concerning the battle of Jarnac, *Discours de la bataille*, the Duc de Guise was typically noted as having led the daring military manoeuvre that proved decisive in the battle.¹⁵¹ Yet the Duc de Guise's high profile among Catholic France was tarnished by several developments during the early-mid 1570s: Henri's III brief spell of popular appeal, the failure of Guise to gain full advantage from the battle of Moncontour, and Guise's leadership of the Picardy Catholic League in 1576.¹⁵²

However, by the mid 1580s the Duc de Guise was able to resurrect himself as the darling of Catholicism. Pamphlet literature from the period helped create the Duc de Guise's reputation as being the potential saviour of the French Catholic Church. A potent combination of mounting popular Catholic dissatisfaction with Henri III, and Guise's ability on the battlefield once more returned him to favour in both court circles and in the public eye. Henri's III attempts to bleed the Guise's forces white by sending him to face

¹⁴⁸ See chapter 5.

¹⁴⁹ Martin, *Jesuit Mind*, p.204.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

¹⁵¹ Anon., *Discours de la bataille donnee par Monseigneur le Duc d'Anjou, & de Bourbonnois frere du Roi, & Lieutenant general pour sa Majesté par tout son Royaume & terres de son obeissance: contre les rebelles de sadicte Majesté, entre la ville d'Angolesme & Jarnac, le XIII jour de Mars 1569*, Lyon (Benoist Rigaud) 1569, fols.B1v-C1v.

¹⁵² Cf. Martin, *Henry III*, pp. 29-45.

the German mercenaries in 1587 backfired. Guise's comprehensive military victories were celebrated by Catholics throughout France and followed in a flood of news reports.

Throughout 1587 and 1588 Catholic pamphlets constructed a positive image of the Guise. One example of this is an anonymously published pamphlet from the presses of Benoist Rigaud, the *Discours au vrai de la prise et reddition de la ville de Raucroy*, which used the military victories of Henri de Guise to enhance the ability and personality of the Guise. It associated him with key aspects of medieval kingship, military capability, honour and ability to deliver glory.¹⁵³ Benoist Rigaud's 1587 production, *La reddition et protestation de douze mil suisses au roi*, provides us with such Guise hagiography. In *La reddition*, the Guise are held aloft as Hercules for their valiant returning of honour to the shattered phoenix that is Catholicism, strengthening its arms so it may rise from the burden of heresy.¹⁵⁴ The pamphlet includes a sonnet holding Guise on high as Mars the God of war:

'Henri de Lorraine Duc de Guise.
Né hardy il decide nos guerres.
Race de ce grand Mars, non de celuy de Trace / Qui aime les combats pour piller seulement, / Mais de ce Mars Chrestien, qui pour l'avancement / De l'Eglise en tout temps à vertu la cuirace. [...]'¹⁵⁵

Between 1584 and 1588 France became heavily polarised over the issue of the succession. Religious and political issues fused. Lyon's growing adherence to the

¹⁵³ For example, anon., *Discours au vrai de la prise et reddition de la ville de Raucroy*, Lyon [on the Troyes copy] s.n. [Benoist Rigaud] s.d. [1587/8], esp. fols. B2v-B3r; also anon., *La Rendition et Protestation de Douze mil Suisses au Roi*, Lyon (Benoist Rigaud) 1587, fols. A4r-v.

¹⁵⁴ Anon., *La Rendition*, fols. A3r-A3v.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, fol. B4v.

conservative Catholicism of the League becomes more evident when we consider the growing corpus of Leaguer literature published on Lyon's presses.¹⁵⁶

The Turkish Threat

Throughout the sixteenth century the Turk posed a very tangible threat to the Christian West. For well over a century, Europe had had little to cheer in its struggle against the Turkish armies. Turkish troops also maintained two other fronts: attacking the Iberian Peninsula through North Africa, and through the Mediterranean, attacking a number of islands such as Malta and Cyprus. The subject matter of the Turk was highly emotive since Europe appeared to be on verge of crisis. The Turk was an important reoccurring theme throughout the 1560s and 1570s. In Lyon, we find that the Turk featured in processions and festivities, the Turkish fleet being recreated for a mock naval battle on the river Saône; the inhabitants of the rue Mèrciere dressed as Turks for the 1566 procession organised by the *compagnie des libraires*.¹⁵⁷ However, it was the fear and threat of the Turk that unleashed a flood of pamphlets concerning the struggle through the mid-1560s and in the early 1570s.

Lyon's extensive trade links meant that it became a primary centre of news regarding struggles against the Turk. News filtered into Lyon and was disseminated

¹⁵⁶ See chapter 4.

¹⁵⁷ Cf. Vial, *Institutions*, pp.301-302; also s.n., Receuil fait au vrai, de la Chevchee de l'Asne, faite en la ville de Lyon: et commencée le premier jour du mois de Septembre, Mil cinq ens soixante six, Lyon (Guillaume Testefort) s.d. [1566], fols. C4v-D1r.

throughout Europe.¹⁵⁸ This was reflected in the city's production of news pamphlets on the Turkish wars. Between 1565 and 1588 Lyon was the leader in French language pamphlet literature on the Turk. For instance, more editions were produced in Lyon than in Paris: 68 editions as opposed to Paris' 51 editions.¹⁵⁹ Lyon was the dominant driving force behind this literature. Rigaud was the largest producer of pamphlet literature on the Turk in Lyon. Between 1565 and 1588 he published 51 editions or 75% of such works. Pamphlet editions relating to the Turk were produced in direct correlation to periods of heightened threat and warfare. Whilst only four pamphlets on the Turk were initially published in Paris and re-published in Lyon, up to fifteen editions were initially printed in Lyon, to be later republished in Paris.¹⁶⁰ Only a handful of pamphlets on the Turk were reprinted in other centres such as Brussels, Antwerp, Rouen and Orleans.¹⁶¹

Lyon's public was able to follow with a dark interest the bloody progression of the Turkish campaigns. Interest was understandably high, as is evident from the regular publication of news pamphlets. In a similar manner to the many published battle reports from the Wars of Religion, these pamphlets tended to inform the reader of the basic facts of the engagement. They were generally not overtly confessional in the strictest sense, but contained important implicit references that were highly relevant to both the Turkish and the confessional struggles. On one hand, these works portray Christianity under attack from a vicious outsider who threatened religion, peace and property; on the other, we see the papacy and Catholic princes leading the defence of Europe. Although a crisis for

¹⁵⁸ Cf. *Calendar of State Papers, 1575-1577* p.6.

¹⁵⁹ Cf. Göllner, *Tvrceica*.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*

Christian Europe, the Turkish wars were often portrayed in essence as a Catholic struggle against an apocalyptic threat. This association can be seen in the publication of several pamphlets featuring the Turk and comets, floods and prognostic visions.¹⁶²

However, this only tells a part of the story as we find that the Turk was one of the most common points of reference in the polemical literature of this period printed in Lyon. It was a theme that arose regularly in association with negative images. References to Turk were seen in far higher ratio than references to the New World, and in similar ratio to specific medieval heresies. Images used in polemical style were directed specifically against Protestants. A large number of pamphlet publications attempted to establish links in the readers' mind between the Protestant and the Turk. The predominant use was the image of the Turk as being Godless, cruel and barbaric. After the battle of Venice an anonymous report was printed in Lyon, advertising 'des oppressions cruelles de ce grand Tyran ennemy commun de toute la Chrestienté'.¹⁶³

It was typical of the Catholic pamphlet literature of the time to form comparisons and contrasts between the Huguenot and the Turk. A 1574 pamphlet from Benoist Rigaud discussing the St. Bartholomew's Day massacres, *Discours où epistre à messieurs de Paris*, portrays the Turk as openly cruel, but the Huguenot possesses 'une cruauté plus que

¹⁶² Anon., Merveilleux deluge d'Eau et de foudres, advenu à Constantinople, qui a causé la ruine de plusieurs edifices d'ineestimable valeur, où la vie du grand Seigneur a perillé, Lyon (Benoist Rigaud) 1573; also anon., Cas merveilleux a ouyr, et espouventable à reciter, de certains fleuves de feu & fumée decoulant du Montgibello, pres la Cité de Randouza, advenu au mois de Novembre, Mil cinq cens soixante six, Lyon (Benoist Rigaud) 1566, cf. Tyrcica 1156.

¹⁶³ Anon., Le tres excellent et somptueux triomphe, fait en la ville de Venise, en la publication de la ligue, Lyon (Benoist Rigaud) 1571, fol. A2r.

Turquesque'.¹⁶⁴ This polemical use of the Turk remained a common reference in the pamphlet literature of the 1580s, one such example being the anonymous pamphlet *Exhortation aux catholiques françois*, published in 1588 by Rigaud. The *Exhortation* is a Leaguer appeal to the French nation to unify under the banner of Catholicism. It centres upon the 'fact' that the heretics are as cruel to France as the Turk and therefore calls for Catholic France to fight the Huguenots as enemies of God.¹⁶⁵

Prodigious and marvellous literature

Throughout the latter third of the sixteenth century we can trace the evolution of a new type of French literature providing information on the sighting of comets, news of natural disasters and hideous crimes and prophecies. Such printing can best be termed as sensationalist literature, and has much in common with perceptions of German popular printing of the sixteenth century.¹⁶⁶ Less sensationalist but as important was the popular genre of calendars and almanacs. The evolution of this vernacular genre became a specialisation of Lyon's presses; elitist Parisian publishers initially tended to shy away from such vulgar works.¹⁶⁷

In a time when science had not explained the mysteries of the world, folklore and popular superstition and the idea of divine providence were all called forward to explain the

¹⁶⁴ Anon., *Discours où Epistre à messieurs de Paris, & autres Catholiques de France, sur les nouvelles entreprises, n'agueres decouvertes, d'aucuns rebelles, & seditieux, lesquels sous couleur & pretexte qu'ils disent en vouloir aux Ecclesiastiques, & vouloir reformer le Royaume, entreprennant contre le Roi, & son Estat*, Lyon (Benoist Rigaud) 1574, fol.A4v.

¹⁶⁵ Anon., *Exhortation aux Catholiques François*, Lyon [sur la copie à Paris], s.n. [Benoist Rigaud], 1588, fols.A3r-A4v.

¹⁶⁶ Scribner, *Simple folk*, also Edwards, *Printing*.

mysteries of natural science and natural disaster. For instance in 1581 the citizens of Lyon feared the passing of a large wolf with fearful howls as indicating some ill omen for the city.¹⁶⁸ It is into this belief system that the torrent of almanacs and prodigious pamphlets printed on Lyon's presses flowed. These held an appeal because they provided a means of interpreting and predicting the world. Popular propheticism peaked at times of warfare, famine and plague, illustrated in the diary of Pierre de l'Estoile.¹⁶⁹ The production of such small works in Lyon fits into this pattern; the growth in the production of these texts in Lyon from 1570 until 1580 helps to illustrate the growing propheticism evident in the city during this time.¹⁷⁰

Around a hundred editions of these little prodigious and prophetic works were published in Lyon between 1565 and 1588. Just over a half of these (56) were prodigious and marvellous histories. Calendars and almanacs account for 43 editions. Benoist Rigaud was the main producer of such populist material, publishing 36 editions of prodigious histories and 18 editions of almanacs and calendars.¹⁷¹ The main author of such literature printed in Lyon was Michel Nostradamus. Lyon was the market leader in the production of Nostradamus imprints. Between 1565 and 1588, around 79 editions of Nostradamus'

¹⁶⁷ Cf. Chomarat, *Bibliographie*.

¹⁶⁸ Cf. *Calendar of State Papers*, 1581-1582 p.123.

¹⁶⁹ There seems to be no recorded literary evidence from Lyon for this phenomenon, but similar works provide evidence of this link, see l'Estoile, Pierre de (transl. & ed. N.L. Roelker), *The Paris of Henry of Navarre as seen by Pierre de l'Estoile*, pp.38-40, p.47, 61, 78, 85, 89, 106; also for examples from London see Defoe, Daniel, (L. Landa & D. Roberts eds.), *A Journal of the Plague Year*, Oxford/New York 1990, pp.19-28.

¹⁷⁰ This literature must be seen alongside the rapid expansion of congregations and frequency of processions, see Hoffman, *Church*, pp.35-41; also Groër, *Réforme*, pp.119-122.

¹⁷¹ Cf. Baudrier I 351, II 103-147, 433-438, 193-200, 404, III1233-413, 484-493, IV 84-91, X 157-158, 167, 381. Also see copies not known to Lyonnais bibliographical works held in Aix Méjanes Rec. D 39 (31), Rec. D 39 (110), Rec. D 39 (119), Rec. D 39 (133), Auxerre BM C 2559 (3/40), Carpentras BM M 211, Strasbourg BU R 106674 (3) 41.

writings were published in Europe. 35 of those editions, or 44%, were published in Lyon. Paris was the second largest centre of Nostradamus publication, with 19 editions.¹⁷²

The main theme of prodigious works was to emphasise the possibility of impending punishment for heretics and grave sinners. Several topics dominated this field, natural disasters such as tales of floods, fires, earthquakes, and comets were the focus of at least 35 editions. Apparitions and visions accounted for another 12 editions, with several publications specifically warning of divine intervention. Only a handful of editions were more positive, containing news of successful local exorcisms and the curing of the lame during a religious procession. These works were highly popular and certainly appear to have mirrored a contemporary popular obsession.¹⁷³

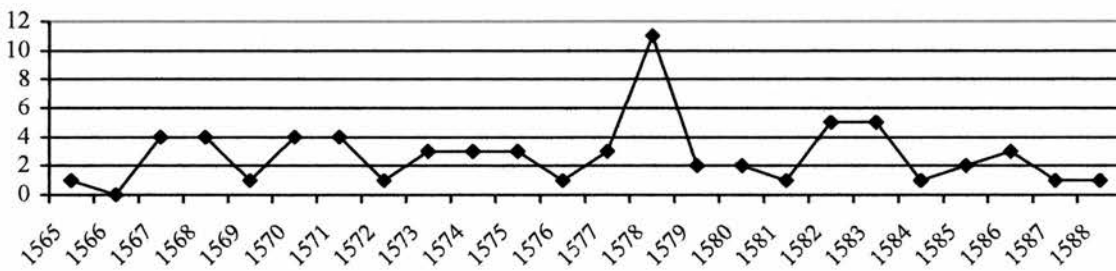
One of the more interesting aspects of Lyon's prodigious literature is the apparent decline in the numbers of editions published from 1584 onwards. In the generation since Denis Crouzet's landmark study, much has been said about the role of propheticism in the history of French thought and literature.¹⁷⁴ Crouzet placed great emphasis on the rise of the apocalyptic idea as a driving force behind the religious violence of the age. However, this thesis does not seem to be borne out when considering the Lyonnais publishing industry. Firstly, as graph 2.4 demonstrates, there were just not that many prodigious works printed on Lyon's presses; this can be reinforced by pointing out apocalyptic images were also not stock-in-trade references of the general Lyonnais pamphlet literature. Between 1566 and 1578 we find an average of around 5 such works published per year. The peak years of

¹⁷² Figures taken from Chomarat, *Bibliographie*.

¹⁷³ Cf. L'Estoile, *The Paris of Henry of Navarre*, e.g. pp.38-40, 47, 61, 78, 85, 89, 98, 106.

production were 1578 with 11 editions, and then 1582 to 1583, with 6 and 5 editions respectively. From here, however, production of such literature fell largely by the wayside. From 1584-85 onwards we know that Lyon witnessed a surge in Leaguer sentiment; however, as graph 2.4 below, illustrates, it becomes increasingly difficult to claim that it was linked to prophetic and apocalyptic imagery.

Graph 2.4 Editions of almanacs and prophetic literature published in Lyon, 1565-1588



Indeed, it must also be pointed out that not all of the prodigious or marvellous pamphlet literature published in Lyon contained strands of apocalyptic thought. Rather several editions contained a more positive and devotional message. One such is the 1582 pamphlet *La triomphante victoire de la vierge Marie*, which presents accounts of several purportedly successful exorcisms.¹⁷⁵ The first two accounts are of possessed women from the Lyonnais being cured in the church of the Cordeliers in Lyon. For these accounts the spectre of evil emanated from Zwingli and Calvin and the curing is claimed to be a clear sign to avoid heresy. Yet the tales are largely positive. The texts emphasise the redemptive

¹⁷⁴ Crouzet, *Les Guerriers de Dieu*.

¹⁷⁵ Benedict, J., *La Triomphante Victoire de la vierge Marie sur sept malins esprits finalement chassés du corps d'une femme le 27. d'Octobre de l'an 1582. dans l'eglise des Cordeliers de Lyon*. Lyon (Héretiers de François Didier) 1582.

powers of both the 'truth' and of the Virgin and finish with saved souls and rejoicing congregations. Whilst prophetic pamphlets were popular, neither the numbers in which they were published, nor their content suggests that they played a central role in the popular violence carried out by Lyon's Catholics.

Pamphlets discussing natural disaster and comets were not simple jubilant tales of the suffering of Protestants. Rather, these works were used to emphasise the communal punishment of heretics and sinners. This was important symbolisation for a town like Lyon where there had been wide public support for the Protestant coup of 1562-1563. Such reinforcement of the idea of communal punishment or salvation has been shown to be an important catalyst in the polarisation of popular opinion.¹⁷⁶ The reported sighting of one such comet in November 1587 generated at least nine pamphlet editions with sightings noted in Paris, Lyon, in Germany, and in Venice and Ferrara.

The *Discours du disastre fait par l'horrible foudre du ciel* provides a typical example of prodigious literature featuring natural phenomena such as storms, floods and comets.¹⁷⁷ In simple and unemotional prose the *Discours* reports a violent thunderstorm that struck a Protestant village, resulting in the loss of both life and property. The overriding but rather subtle theme is that of God's vengeance being cast on those who have strayed from the truth. This same theme is displayed in a more obvious manner in a discussion of the comet sighted in late 1577, the *Discours sur ce que menace d'avoir*

¹⁷⁶ Cf. Davis, 'Rites of Violence', pp.152-187.

¹⁷⁷ Anon., *Discours du Disastre fait par l'horrible foudre du Ciel*, Lyon (Benoist Rigaud) 1580, copy in Aix Méjanes Rec. D 39 (110).

advenir la comete.¹⁷⁸ In this instance, the anonymous author provides the audience with what can best be described as a Catholic comet. The text begins by noting that a comet has been sighted in Lyon, heading eastwards towards the Occident. It is then expressly stated that normally comets foretell of woe: pestilence, war, pain, rebellion, the death of a King. However, for the local audience this particular comet is cited as ushering a time of plenty, of peace, abundance and saintliness.¹⁷⁹

Prodigious history pamphlets enforced the view that natural disasters were not the only means of God's punishment being dealt to heretics and sinners. While the threat of communal punishment was powerful, these works also reinforced the view that direct personal punishment could be dealt from God. In the anonymous *Histoire miraculeuse de trois soldats* the reader is warned of God's vengeful omnipotence.¹⁸⁰ The pamphlet deals with God's ability to see all and deal out punishment, and acts as a direct warning to all Catholics to be good Christians, show all due reverence to religious relics and to avoid blasphemy. The text tells of three Protestant soldiers billeted at Soulcly near Châtillon-sur-Seine in the summer of 1576. The three enter a Catholic church, where they find an image of Saint Anthony. The soldiers use blasphemous language to poke ridicule at the Catholic use of relics and saints before shooting at the image of Saint Anthony. Following the shooting all three soldiers were struck down. The account tells us that the first soldier, who shot the face of the image suddenly developed a fire in his face and died. The second, fearing the same fate, threw himself in a nearby river and drowned, whilst the third simply

¹⁷⁸ Anon., *Discours sur ce que menace d'avoir advenir la comete apparue le 12 de ce present mois de Novembre 1577*, Lyon (François Didier) s.d. [1577].

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, fols.A2r-A3r.

dropped dead where he stood. The death of the Protestant soldiers was a result of a holy vengeance, providing a Catholic audience with an illustration of the power held by the relics.

Similarly, Satan's intervention could provide a chilling reminder that direct personal punishment could be dealt out at anytime. This is illustrated in the *Comi-tragedie digne de memoire de d'Arougville*.¹⁸¹ The pamphlet claims to report accurately a Protestant play held in a Swiss town in canton Bern that invokes the direct intervention of Satan. The theme of the alleged play was a Protestant satire on the Catholic mass. The pamphlet begins by describing the performers and the commencement of the play itself, demonstrating the obstinate heresy and rampant blasphemy of the townsfolk of Arougville. The actor depicting the Catholic priest giving mass was dressed in the form of the devil; however, the appearance of this fake devil on the stage caused the real devil to materialise in order to claim the Protestant actor. Satan's taking of the heretic was not only unimaginably horrific, but provided proof to the readership that the Protestants were heretics and Satan's followers.

Church-sponsored literature

Lyon's Catholic establishment actively involved itself in the city's book world. Most active in this respect were the Jesuits, who established themselves in Lyon's collège de la

¹⁸⁰ Anon., Histoire miraculeuse de trois soldats punis divinement pour les forfaits violences, [...] avec blasphemés execrables contre l'image de Monsieur saint Antoine, Lyon (Michel Jove & Jean Pillehotte) 1576.

Trinité in 1565, only 18 months after the fall of the city's Protestant government. The collège was not only the centre of Jesuit activity in Lyon, it was also one of the Jesuit's primary seats in France. The collège de la Trinité was an important focal point within the city. From its opening in 1519 it had developed a reputation for a fine humanist learning, and under the leadership of the likes of Barthélemy Aneau its reputation as a bastion of humanist and evangelical thought. The first Jesuit head of the collège, Edmond Auger, correctly saw the importance of securely winning Lyon for Catholicism, remarking that the city was 'la clef de France du côté de Genève'.¹⁸²

The Jesuits had developed an early interest in Lyon and its printing industry. In 1560, Antoine Possevino had been briefly active in Lyon. Possevino returned to Lyon in 1564 with the intention to have small booklets printed directed against the Huguenots, for both propaganda and education. 3,000 booklets summarising Catholic teaching and 6,000 catechisms were distributed in both the Lyonnais and through neighbouring Savoy. These were intended specifically to provide a counterbalance to the widely circulated Huguenot booklets printed in Lyon.¹⁸³ Unfortunately today we cannot trace these works: the entire edition seems to have disappeared in both cases.

The Jesuits appear to have fully comprehended the power and importance of the printing press in the confessional war. Indeed it has been suggested that it was at this point that the Jesuits began to replace the figure of the humanist in the printing houses of

¹⁸¹ Anon., Comi-Tragedie digne de Memoire de l'admirable et tragicque succes advenu en une comedie representee contre le s. sacrifice de la Messe et en derision de l'Eglise Catholique par les heretiques d'Aroug ville en Suisse du canton du Berne, Lyon (François du Puys) 1586, copy in Aix Méjanes Rec. D 39 (133).

¹⁸² Cf. Groër, Réforme, p.78

Lyon.¹⁸⁴ Led by Auger and Possevino, Lyon's Jesuits rapidly established close links with publishing houses in the city, most notably the businesses of Jove-Pillehotte and Guillaume Roville.¹⁸⁵ These special relationships were often formed upon more than simple business actions. As seen above, publishers like Jove became so closely linked to the Jesuit cause that printing their works was transformed from mere trade to a manifestation of personal belief.

In 1563, Auger wrote to the papal Curia from Lyon requesting permission to have accounts from missionary works in both Asia and the New World translated and printed.¹⁸⁶ This was the first time the news of such positive Catholic works were brought into the wider public domain, and mirrored the personal interests of several of Lyon's most prominent Jesuits, such as Auger himself, Possevino and Louis Richeome. All three held interests in 'world evangelisation' for both the benefit of indigenous peoples and the Catholic Church. They also realised the potential of such work for its use within the contemporary confessional war of polemics.¹⁸⁷ Lyon's collège de la Trinité was at the forefront of the evolution of this type of pamphlet literature. In all, Lyonnais presses saw nine works printed on the progress of the Catholic Asian missions alone, another six on the progress of winning hearts and

¹⁸³ Ibid., pp.69-88.

¹⁸⁴ Pallier, 'Les réponses', p.328.

¹⁸⁵ Cf. Baudrier II 82-90 (Jove), 224-242 (Pillehotte); for Roville see chapters 3 and 6.

¹⁸⁶ Frostin, C., 'Lyon, Place Jesuite, et l'Ouverture sur la Mission Lointaine (fin XVIe – début XVIIe siècle)', *CH* 30/3-4 (1985), pp.231-262.

¹⁸⁷ Cf. Groër, *Réforme*, esp. Ch.3; also Donnelley, J.P., 'Antonio Possevino's Plan for World Evangelisation', J.S.Cummins (ed.), *Christianity and Missions, 1480-1800*, Aldershot 1997, pp.37-56, by the same author 'Some Jesuit Counter-Reformation Strategies in East Central Europe, 1550-1585', in M.R. Thorp & A.J. Slavin (eds.), *Politics, Religion and Diplomacy in Early Modern Europe*, (Kirksville 1994), pp.83-94; also Frostin, 'Lyon, Place Jesuite', pp.231-262.

minds in Africa, the New World and Russia.¹⁸⁸ These works were printed almost exclusively by Rigaud, with Jove and Jean Patrasson providing a marginal contribution.

The aim of these pamphlets was not simply to disseminate news from Catholic missions, but also to contribute to the polemical debate centring on the religious controversy. Such works provided Catholics with positive news in the context of a world view of the struggle against heresy in the face of the horror of civil war. This was intended to provide added inspiration to both the army and the Catholic population to continue in the confessional struggle against heresy. These pamphlets report impressive accounts of mass conversions during successful Catholic missions. 50,000 converts alone are mentioned in one particular rousing pamphlet from Asia.¹⁸⁹ Accounts of both Oriental and African Kings and Queens being received in Rome to kneel before the Pope to receive absolution were also popular.¹⁹⁰ Such accounts were typically stylised, they noted the revelation of the true faith to a previously godless people, the sincere conversion of the ruler to the Catholic Church, the papal reception in full pomp, and finally, the conversion of the said ruler's people.

These emotive accounts of the Catholic missionary successes beyond the European borders were popular not only within Lyon, spreading through France and being reprinted often in Paris.¹⁹¹ Whilst Lyonnais publishers first stimulated this market, they were unable

¹⁸⁸ Cf. Baudrier II 103-147, 197-198, III 175 233-413, 484-493.

¹⁸⁹ Anon., *Lettres envoyees des Indes Orientales, contenant la conversion de cinquante mille personnes à la Religion Chrestienne, és Isles de Solor & de Ende*, Lyon (Benoist Rigaud) 1571.

¹⁹⁰ Cf. anon., *Les Actes du Consistoire public exhibe par nostre S. P. le Pape Gregory III. aux ambassadeurs des Rois du Gaipon, à Rome le xxiii Mars M.D.LXXXV*, Lyon (Benoist Rigaud) 1585; anon., *Nouvelle de la venue de la Royne d'Algier à Rome*, Lyon (Jean Pillehotte) 1587.

¹⁹¹ Cf. Frostin, 'la Mission Lointaine', pp.231-262.

to hold its monopoly. By the mid-1570s many such works printed in Lyon were reproductions of pamphlets initially published in Paris. In 1579 Benoist Rigaud published an anonymous pamphlet, *Lettres du Japon, Peru, Brasil*, a work first published earlier in the same year in Paris by Thomas Brumen. Rigaud had the pamphlet printed including both Brumen's privilege and approbation for the work.¹⁹²

The application of the technology of printing was one of the main weapons employed by the Jesuits in their battle to win hearts and minds. Lyon's Jesuits utilised the city's presses for their pedagogic missionary work among the poorer classes of the society. As we have seen above, both Auger and Possevino recognised the power and role of the print in the confessional war. Indeed, on his arrival in Lyon, Possevino announced the express intention of having large numbers of small educational pamphlets printed for the advancement of the Catholic faith.¹⁹³ These little books were to be distributed among the priests of the city for the education of children.¹⁹⁴ The successful use of the printed works for the reconversion of Lyon helped crystallise these ideas for Possevino. Indeed, Possevino's 1587 work *Bibliotheca Selecta* was a core statement for Jesuit missions; it claimed that print was essential to the success of missionary work, advocating all missions should incorporate a competent skilled printer and type founder.¹⁹⁵

Consequently, Lyon's Jesuits were responsible for the publication of several editions of little pedagogic and catechistic works to be used both within the collège and

¹⁹² Anon., *Lettres du Japon, Peru et Bresil*, Lyon (Benoist Rigaud) 1579, cf. Baudrier III 352.

¹⁹³ Cf. Groër, *Réforme*, pp.69-88.

¹⁹⁴ Cf. Martin, *Jesuit Mind*, p.71.

¹⁹⁵ Cf. Donnelley, 'Possevino', p.46; also by the same author, 'Strategies', pp.84-85, p.88.

throughout the city's poorer areas.¹⁹⁶ Most notable among these were the two editions of Auger's catechism, the larger in 1563 and the smaller in 1568. His catechisms were remarkable for their simplicity; they confuted Calvinist teaching without entering into polemical discourse, earning Auger the title of the 'French Canisius'.¹⁹⁷ Fellow Lyonnais Jesuit Pierre Coyssard composed a hymnbook to complement Auger's catechism. This work, the *Hymnes sacrés et odes spirituelles*, was also used within the collège, partly, it has been suggested, in direct response to Marot's psalms, which had circulated freely in Lyon.¹⁹⁸ Recent work has emphasised the power and role of song during the Reformation; with this in mind it is possible to speculate that sections of this work were prepared for the teaching of the hymns throughout Lyon.¹⁹⁹

We also know of works printed by the Jesuits specifically for educational missionising purposes. Lyon's Jesuits actively used, or at least attempted to use the printed word within their proactive educational programme for the city.²⁰⁰ The Jesuits placed great emphasis on active charitable work throughout Lyon, obligatory for both the Jesuits and the children of the collège: regular visits were made throughout the poorer parts of the city.²⁰¹ On several occasions the Jesuits paid for the printing of small booklets for such charitable works.²⁰² Such charitable works of education appear not to just have been a feature of

¹⁹⁶ Martin, *Jesuit Mind*, p.207. Martin, referring to a letter dated 11.03.1564, notes that Possevino was aided by members of another religious order in distributing catechisms throughout Lyon.

¹⁹⁷ Martin, *Henry III*, pp.27-28.

¹⁹⁸ Coyssard, Pierre, *Hymnes Sacrés et Odes Spirituelles pour chanter devant at après la leçon de catéchisme*, cited in Groër, *Réforme*, p.124.

¹⁹⁹ Cf. Green, I., *Print and Protestantism in England*, Oxford 2000, esp. Ch.8; also Wagner Oettinger, R., *Music as Propaganda in the German Reformation*, Aldershot 2001; also Pettegree, A.D.M., *Huguenot Voices: The Book and the Communication Process During the Protestant Reformation*, Greenville NC 1999.

²⁰⁰ Cf. Davis, *Protestantism*, p.528.

²⁰¹ Cf. Groër, *Réforme*, pp.69-88; also Martin, *Jesuit Mind*, p.168.

²⁰² Cf. Baudrier II 229.

Jesuit activity. On at least two other separate occasions we know that Jove and Pillehotte printed small works for such a purpose. In 1579-1580 Michel Jove printed 700 small pamphlets for donation to the honourable ladies of the town for the instruction of order among the poor of the city hospital in Lyon.²⁰³ Additionally, in 1582 the Almoner general paid Pillehotte three écus for printing two dozen alphabets, two dozen bound *Vita Christis*, a dozen catechisms, two dozen *catons* and six grammars for the instruction of the children of 'La Chana', a particularly poor district of Lyon.²⁰⁴ Once more, due to the failure of works to survive the tests of time, we cannot tell if these were indeed, as one might expect, a part of a larger print run.

Official pamphlet literature: royal edicts and polemic

Another important aspect of pamphlet production, both in number of editions printed and impact on Catholicism, was that of edicts. Edicts could be issued from two authorities, primarily by the King, but also by the local authority, typically the local *parlement* or *sénéchaussée*. The regular presence of the royal court in Lyon during the Italian Wars had bolstered the confidence of the city's *sénéchaussée*, resulting in the increasingly regular issue of local edicts from an early point in the sixteenth century. At their most basic, edicts were laws that addressed a wide variety of issues, ranging from prescribing fabrics worn by specific social classes, to trade regulations and the highest matters of state. All edicts had to be ratified locally in a *parlement* or *sénéchaussée*. This was followed by the printing, public declaration and the posting of the edict.

²⁰³ Ibid., 90.

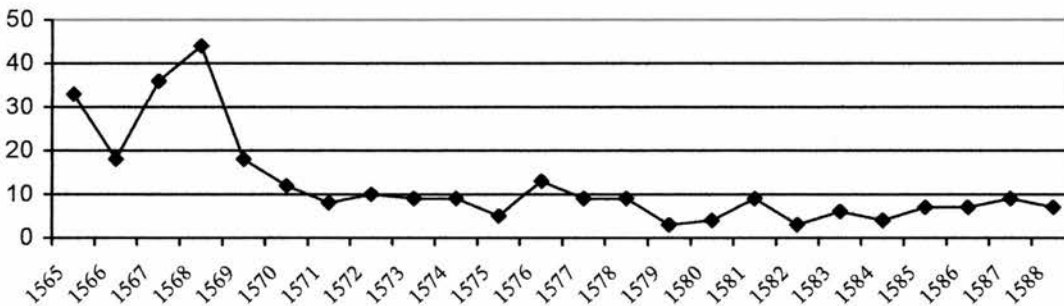
²⁰⁴ Ibid., II 229.

One must be wary of discussing the edict within this context. A new edict was typically published as a pamphlet partly because its short nature lent itself to this format, and print was the latest technological development for the mass distribution of the law. For the first time, identically worded edicts could be circulated rapidly. The edict therefore primarily qualifies as a pamphlet because of its limited length. Editions of pamphlet form edicts were only a component part of the legislative process, complimenting the multiple editions of larger legal tomes and edited collections of edicts. However, I would like to argue that a significant number of pamphlet format edicts deserve to be included within the wider body of polemical pamphlet literature. Not only were these edicts short by their nature, but they also fulfilled another important definition of the polemical pamphlet, that of galvanising, influencing or reinforcing public opinion.

From 1565 to 1588 there were approximately 300 edicts printed in Lyon; around two-thirds of these held a direct significance to the religious situation. Almost all of the edicts published in Lyon during this time stemmed from the presses of Rigaud and the house of Jove-Pillehotte. These small works provided an important stimulus to the printing industry. Edicts were relatively cheap and easy to reproduce. Like most pamphlets they were basic in their paratextual appearance, used small quantities of font, the type was rapidly set and several hundred copies were quickly printed. As such, edicts ensured the printer a quick and safe turnover, with regular payments from the responsible authority.²⁰⁵ The printing of edicts was strictly controlled. Several designated printers or publishers, including at one time both Rigaud and Jove-Pillehotte, held a privilege that permitted only

themselves to oversee the printing of edicts. Such privileges were tightly guarded. For example, in 1587 Pillehotte initiated a legal battle with Rigaud over the publishing rights to a royal edict. Rigaud had broken the privilege rights for the edition which was evidently granted to Pillehotte. Pillehotte won the ensuing court settlement in December 1587, which forced Rigaud to surrender his copies of the edition.²⁰⁶

Graph 2.5 Editions royal edicts published in Lyon, 1565-1588

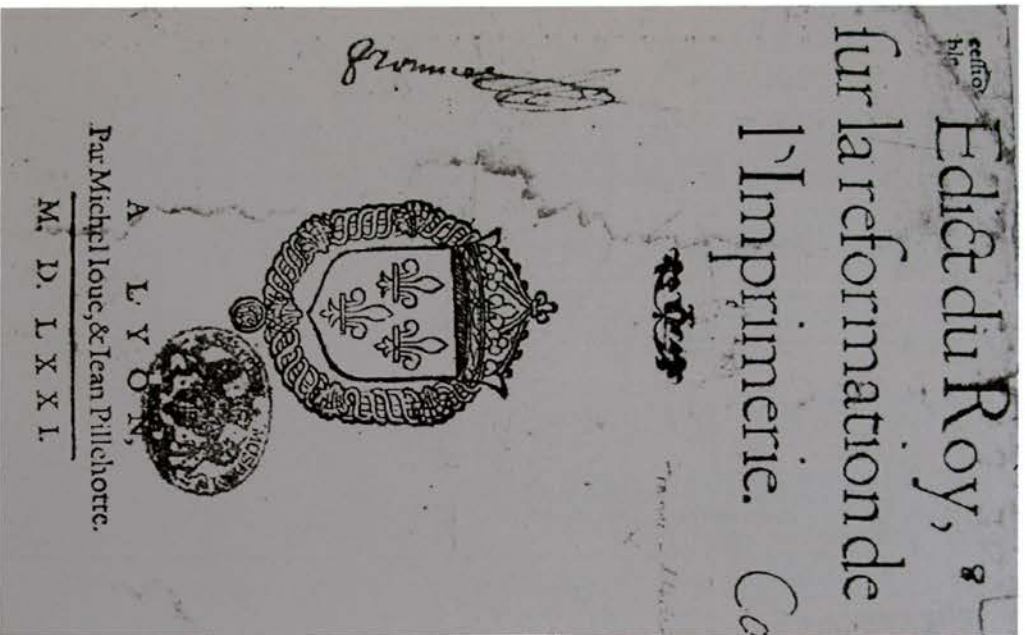


One of the most direct means of enforcing religious policy was through the issuing of edicts and strict policing. The edicts of 1565-1566 centred upon enforcing peace and rejuvenating the economy.²⁰⁷ However, from 1567, we see a significant change in tone. Edicts were now used in Lyon to construct a comprehensive Catholic settlement for the city. Over the next generation Protestants were excluded from civic occupations, their goods confiscated and books outlawed. Following the early development of the League, Protestantism was prohibited altogether in Lyon. Lyon was one of a number of centres that

²⁰⁵ From at least 1581 until the fall of the League in Lyon, Jean Pillehotte received regular payments from the Lyon council for the printing of edicts, placards advertisements for the trade fairs and other such official material, see Baudrier II 226-240.

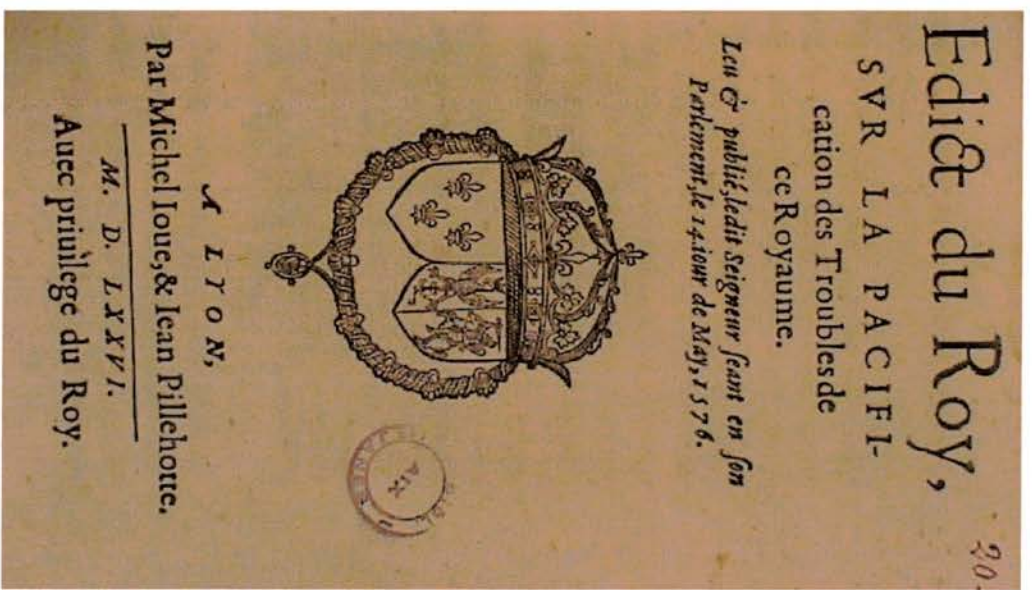
²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 236-237, III 182-183.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, esp. II 107-112, also III 233-244.



Left: Title page of (Charles IX), Edict du Roi, sur la reformation de l'Imprimerie, Lyon (Michel Jove & Jean Pillehotte), 1571; featuring a typical example of royal arms.

Right : Title page of (Charles IX), Edict du Roi sur la Pacification des Troubles de ce Royaume, Lyon (Michel Jove & Jean Pillehotte), 1576; featuring an example of the arms of France and Poland, often seen on the title page of edicts issued under Henry III.



actively partook in a policy of refusing to register pro-Protestant edicts.²⁰⁸ Indeed, royal commissioners were forced to visit the city in order to enforce the royal will following both the edicts of Amboise and St. Germain.²⁰⁹

Within the construction of a Catholic settlement for the city, a number of themes reoccur within the surviving edicts. Firstly, throughout the mid and late 1560s a number of edicts outlined a strict policing of religion in Lyon. In 1567, the same year as Lyon officially abandoned its policy of religious toleration, a local edict provided for the direct policing of the city through its *penons*. *Penons* were the most basic form of administration or police within the city. There were more than 20 *penonages* for the quarter of St. Nizier and 14 for the quarter of St. Jean.²¹⁰ The Edict of 1567 ordered the *captain de la Penon* to ensure religious orthodoxy within the area of his charge. Amongst the *captains de la Penon* we find the publisher Guillaume Roville.²¹¹ Indeed, in 1568, Lyon's Catholic-dominated council published a list of infamous Protestants, using this process to both encourage abjurations and public shame.²¹² Throughout the following decades, a number of other edicts reinforcing the religious policing of Lyon were published.²¹³ Secondly, through edicts we can trace a distinct policy of persecution of the city's remaining

²⁰⁸ Cf. Calendar of State Papers, 1575-1577 pp.471-472; also Correspondance de Bèze, XII 843; also Gennerat, R., Histoire des Protestants a Lyon des Origines a nos Jours, Geneva 1994, also Roberts, P., 'Religious Pluralism in Practice: The Enforcement of the Edicts of Pacification', K. Cameron et al. (eds.), The Adventure of Religious Pluralism in Early Modern France, Oxford/et al. 2000, pp.31-44.

²⁰⁹ Foa, J., 'Making Peace: The Commissions for Enforcing the Pacification Edicts in the Reign of Charles IX (1560-1574)', FH 18/3 (2004), pp.256-274.

²¹⁰ Watson, City Council, pp.110-111.

²¹¹ (Charles IX), Ordonnance faisant Commandement à tous habitans de Lyon d'obeir à leurs Penons, Quaterniers, & dizeniens, & aux gens de guerre, Lyon (Michel Jove) 1567; also (Charles IX), De par le Roi, il est enjoinct a tous les manans & habitans de la ville de Lyon, qui sont inscriptz & denommez és roolles des Penons aller en garde es lieux & endroit qui leur seront commandé, Lyon (Benoist Rigaud) 1568.

²¹² Anon., Ordonnance de Messieurs les Seneschal & gens tenans le siege Presidial en la ville de Lyon, contre les detenteurs des biens de ceux de la Religion pretendue reformee: Ensemble les noms & surnoms, des seditieux & rebelles contre la Maiesté du Roi nostre Sire, Lyon (Michel Jove) 1568.

Huguenot population. From 1567 onwards the possessions of Huguenots were ordered to be seized, an injunction that was repeated several times.²¹⁴

Edicts were also used to control public office and education. A 1567 edict stipulated not only that all of the city's teachers were to be Catholic, but also prohibited the printing of non-Catholic books.²¹⁵ In a further move an edict of 1577 called for all Protestants holding public office to either publicly abjure or resign their position; all public offices were to be held solely by Catholics.²¹⁶ We also find a flurry of official acts attempting to bring the printing industry to heel, going so far as in 1571 to attempt to legislate for its restructure and reform. Aside rules for basic working conditions the *Edict... sur la reformation de l'imprimerie* prohibited the sale or printing of works under false names of print, and banned the publication of any libellous or heretical books.²¹⁷ Indeed, the previously mentioned *Ordonnance du Roi sur les Defences de tenir escolles* of the previous year both banned the reprinting of books on the Index, and attempted to ensure that all book shops were to be visited by a relevant and qualified authority in an attempt to eradicate all unsavoury imprints.²¹⁸

²¹³ Cf. Baudrier II 103.147, 433-438, III 233-413, 484-493.

²¹⁴ (Charles IX), Lettres Patentes du Roi, contenant la declaration, ensemble les lettres patentes & articles faicts par ledict Seigneur de son intention contre les sedicieux & rebelles de sa Majesté de la Religion pretendue reformee, Lyon (Michel Jove) 1568, fols.A2v-A3v; also (Henri III), Lettres patentes du Roi, Contenans la Commission pour la saisie & vente des biens de ceux de la nouvelle Opinion, & autres tenans leurs party, Lyon (Michel Jove & Jean Pillehotte) 1577.

²¹⁵ (Charles IX), Ordonnance du Roi, sur les defences de tenir escolles, principautez, colleges, Lyon (Michel Jove) 1570.

²¹⁶ (Charles IX), Lettres patentes et declaration du Roi, concernans les officiers de Justicature, et leur religion, Lyon (Michel Jove) 1577.

²¹⁷ (Charles IX), Edict du Roi, sur la reformation de l'Imprimerie, Lyon (Michel Jove & Jean Pillehotte) 1571, esp. fols. A2v-A4r.

²¹⁸ (Charles IX), Ordonnance du Roi, sur les defences de tenir escolles, principautez, colleges, Lyon (Michel Jove) 1570.

The evolving Catholic settlement was cemented in Lyon during the early period of the League. The manoeuvres of the Guise and their supporters in 1585 forced Henri III to cede any initiative he had held with the Treaty of Nemours. The Leaguer edict that followed was printed in several formats by Jean Pillehotte in 1585.²¹⁹ This was followed by several Lyonnais Leaguer style edicts that reinforced the Treaty of Nemours, such as the confiscations of remaining property and goods from any Huguenots remaining in Lyon, and the prohibition of Protestant practice in the city and its environs.²²⁰ It was in direct response to these edicts that the famous publisher Jean (II) de Tournes was forced to abandon his home and transport what little of his business he could to Geneva.²²¹

Conclusion

The initial Protestant outpourings of short punchy polemical pamphlets from Lyon's presses had met with revulsion and consternation from the Catholic establishment.

However, little more than a decade after the Protestant coups of 1562 the Catholic establishment had fully adopted pamphlet literature as the latest tool in their armoury.

Lyon's Catholic pamphlet literature was produced in large numbers, especially so during

²¹⁹ Edict du roi sur la reunion de ses sujets a l'eglise catholique, apostolique et romaine, Lyon (Jean Pillehotte) 1585; Reglement que le Roi veut estre observé, par les Baillifs & Seneschaux, ou leurs Lieutenans, pour l'execution de l'Edict de sa Majesté, sur la reunion de ses subjects à l'Eglise Catholique, Lyon (Jean Pillehotte) 1586; Declaration du roi sur son edict du mois de Juilliet dernier touchant la reunion de tous ses subjects, Lyon (Jean Pillehotte) 1585.

²²⁰ (Charles IX), Lettres Patentes de declaration du Roi, sur son Edict de Julliet, pour l'execution de la saisie, vente des biens meubles & perception des immeubles de ceux de la nouvelle opinion, & tous autres portans les armes contre sa Majesté, Lyon (Jean Pillehotte) 1586; also (Henri III), Declaration du Roi, sur son edict du mois de Julliet dernier, touchant la reunion de tous subjects à l'eglise Catholique, Apostolique et Romaine, Lyon (Jean Pillehotte) 1585; also (Henri III), Edict du Roi, sur la reunion de ses subjects a l'eglise Catholique, Lyon (Jean Pillehotte) 1585.

²²¹ De Tournes' sufferings throughout 1567-1585 indicate that he was adamant to remain resident in Lyon. His enforced exile under the terms of the Edict of July 1585 was delayed as long as it remained safe; he left

times of crisis. The majority of pamphlets were essentially Catholic news accounts or expositions on a particular point. However, at times of crisis Lyon's Catholic pamphlets changed in tone, becoming alarmist, not only encouraging violence against the Huguenot but providing layered justifications.

The market for these pamphlets was significant, and it allowed two medium to large scale publishing houses, Rigaud and Jove-Pillehotte, to focus a crucial portion of their businesses around pamphlet production. Moreover, the rapid cash returns of pamphlet literature enabled the further expansion of their enterprises, allowing them to take on ever bigger and more impressive projects.

Pamphlets played an important part in the construction of a popular Catholic consensus in Lyon. They were simplistic texts grounded in everyday language. They not only mirrored contemporary opinion, but helped to shape and mould it through the interaction of society's natural valves of communication, preachers, confraternities and gossip. They highlight both the subject of heightened tensions, and when these tensions were at their strongest. The Catholic pamphlet formed a part of a mass Catholic culture that abandoned toleration in favour of the militant defence of their society and religion. We have seen in this chapter how pamphlets formed an important part of the production of the Lyonnais printing industry; in the next chapter we will examine the role of more substantial religious books in the years 1565 to 1588.

Lyon on 13 November 1585, shortly after the deadline for the exile of all Lyon's remaining Protestants. Cf. Cartier, I 18-19.

Chapter 3 Catholic reconstruction 1565-1588: Longer books

In the last chapter, we discussed the Lyonnais printing industry in specific relation to a subsection of the book industry, the pamphlet, during the crucial years of Catholic renewal. Yet although the role of the pamphlet in the process of Catholic reconstruction was important, it illuminates only one aspect of the subject. To complete any survey we must also consider the role of longer books. Three quarters of all printed editions published in Lyon between 1565 and 1588 were books longer than those we have described as pamphlets. 28% of these longer books, some 846 editions, were theological or religious tomes. Throughout the latter half of the sixteenth century Lyon appears to have developed a reputation for the production of orthodox religious publications. Indeed, it is noticeable that many of the surviving contemporary monastic and secular collections held in Europe today contain a significant number of religious works that were published in Lyon during our period.

A large range of works were produced upon Lyon's presses in order to satisfy the varied needs of the Catholic Church. These can best be divided under two main headings: theological books designed for the reconstruction and reform of the Church, and a series of shorter less learned lay religious books, which taught basic elements of the faith and/or expounded the polemic of the pre-League era.

From 1567 life became much more difficult for the city's Protestants. The leading members of Lyon's openly Protestant publishing houses were subject to harassment and discrimination. As a result, many of their number fled Lyon in the late 1560s and 1570s.

Many, publishers, printers and journeymen, moved to Geneva and La Rochelle.¹ The systematic reduction of Protestant influence in Lyon culminated in 1585 with the Treaty of Nemours. Although by then Lyon's Protestant community was virtually non-existent, 1585 saw the remaining vestiges of the community abandon the city, including the famous printer and publisher, Jean (II) de Tournes.²

The publishing industry and Catholic reconstruction

Whilst pamphlets could be produced by smaller publishing houses, or simply by jobbing printers, the publication of large books was beyond the means of all but a handful of the publishers. Larger tomes not only required greater resources of raw products, paper, and ink and often more complicated fonts, they were also far more complicated in design and printing terms. Many editions of Bibles and the Church Fathers ran into hundreds of sheets of printed paper; the 1582 edition of the Louvain vernacular Bible published by a syndicate of Michel Estienne and Symphorien Beraud ran to over 360 printed sheets, while many patristic editions ran to 700 printed sheets in length.³ In order to help meet the huge financial costs and minimise the accompanying risks it was often necessary for two or more publishers to enter into a business association. Larger books required not only more paper but took far longer to complete, which meant a delayed return on the investment.

It is generally accepted that the average print run of a book in the sixteenth century ran to around 1,500 copies. This could differ markedly, but only in the case of an

¹ See chapter 1.

² Cf. Cartier I 18-19.

exceptional edition.⁴ However, the figure of 1,500 copies is supported by the production capability of a single hand pull press. Barring complications, Lyon printers were legally expected to be able to produce up to 3,000 impressions per press in one working day, accounting for 1,500 printed sheets. Typically, a press would attempt to print a single sheet for a complete edition, on the recto and verso, on a single day. Two practical judgements came to bear on this issue. It was unlikely that many print houses would be able to print more than a completed single sheet due to the need to work in tandem with compositors and correctors.⁵ Secondly, the most time-effective presses would try not to change the printing form more than once in a day when possible. Another consideration for the publisher would be the need to avoid a situation where an edition sold out too quickly, creating the demand for a few hundred extra copies. It made poor financial sense to have to completely reset a book for a further limited print run. In stark contrast to pamphlet production it was simply not financially viable to have extra copies of larger books printed in this way.

The size of the print run was not the only financial variant. A number of other factors could dramatically effect the investment required to print a book. Prime among these were the quality of paper and the use of illustration. For more expensive books, it was also the case that the market demanded technically fine, error free tomes.⁶ The technical ability required to be able to publish a large Bible or commentaries on Scripture was far greater than that needed to print a smaller doctrinal statement of ten to twenty printed sheets.

³ Cf. Chambers 466; also Schlaefli, *Catalogue*, 2983.

⁴ For examples see Voet, *Golden Compasses*, pp.169-170.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp.302-305.

Many publishers found their wares tied up in complex financial arrangements.⁷ A complete edition did not always sell out on its initial publication. One can often find that an edition was reissued several times with new title page details over the decade following its first publication.⁸ One such example is Frans Tittlemans' *Elucidatio in omnes psalmos*, a two volume work in octavo which comprised over one thousand seven hundred pages. The *Elucidatio* was first published by Guillaume Roville in 1573, the bulk of the text was then reissued in 1588.⁹ All of these various factors could have their impact on the price charged to potential purchasers. Work that has been carried out on surviving inventories of booksellers suggests a quite complex method of pricing books.¹⁰ In principle, the price of a book was determined by the number of sheets of paper needed to print it. But this might be altered drastically by several factors: paper quality, the binding, whether loose, tied, soft or hard bound, ornamented with illustrations or clamps; and the use of other ornamentation, either on the page, or through the application of colouring or gold leaf. A small number of presentation copies of rubricated books were typically produced, that is lined in red, in imitation of the guide lines of manuscript books – in printed books this was purely a decorative feature. It required the laborious work of marking every page to produce this effect, both after printing and before binding, yet a remarkable number of books survive marked up in this way.

⁶ Much effort was expended by publishers to ensure books were both free from error and well produced, for examples see Rooses, M. (ed.), *Correspondance de Christophe Plantin*, 8 vols., Antwerp 1883-1955, I 199-202, 319-320, II 49-51, VII 279-80, 312-313.

⁷ A good example of such contrasting financial arrangements can be seen in Kingdon, R. M., 'The Business Activities of Printers Henri and François Estienne', G. Berthoud et al. (eds.), *Aspects de la Propagande Religieuse*, Geneva 1957, pp.258-75.

⁸ See chapter 1, fn.123; for other examples see notices for reissued book editions of Guillaume Roville, in Baudrier IX 300-301, 302, 305, 309, 315, 317, 322, 325, 326, 328, 338, 345, 346, 348, 354, 356, 359, 362-363, 368-369, 375, 403, 406, 457-458.

⁹ Tittlemans, Frans, *Elucidatio in omnes psalmos*, Lyon (Guillaume Roville) 1573; Tittlemans, Frans, *Elucidatio in omnes psalmos*, Lyon (Guillaume Roville) 1588, cf. Baudrier IX 406.

These financial complexities played into the hands of the more established, heavily capitalised firms. The well established firms continued to play a major role in the industry, not least in the market for religious books. The vast majority of the larger theological books published in Lyon in this period were the work of four publishing houses: the house of Roville, the inheritors of the house of Senneton, Charles Pesnot and Pierre Landry, and the houses of Giunta and Tinghi. Nevertheless, the turbulence in the market brought by the growth in the readership for works of polemic and religious instruction created opportunities for new men. This period is characterised by examples of striking upward mobility, as printer-publishers like Rigaud seized the opportunity to expand their business and climb the professional ladder. The smaller religious books we will consider later in this chapter were mostly published by the smaller publishers, Benoist Rigaud and the house of Jove-Pillehotte.

Guillaume Roville

Guillaume Roville headed the best known of these four publishing houses. Both Baudrier and Natalie Zemon Davis have highlighted Roville's role as one of France's most prominent producers of humanist literature.¹¹ Roville's role in the production of Counter-Reformation literature has previously merited only marginal comment.¹² Yet Roville was the single most important publisher of large theological Catholic texts in Lyon throughout the period 1565 until his death in June 1589. During this time he produced more large-

¹⁰ Higman, 'Vincent Réal', pp.303-318; also Pettegree, 'Emden', pp.114-135; also Schlaepfer, 'Laurent de Normandie', pp.176-230, Voet, *Golden Compasses*, 379-421.

¹¹ Cf. Baudrier IX 13; also Davis, 'Rouillé'.

¹² Cf. Pallier, 'Circuits', pp.328-331, 334-335.

scale editions and more printed sheets of Catholic text than any other of his Lyonnais contemporaries. From the fall of Lyon's Protestant government until his death, Roville published around 160 theological and/or religious texts, representing around 44% of his published editions.¹³ The vast majority of these books were orthodox Catholic texts, printed primarily in Latin and published in small formats. Whilst we note that Roville was responsible for publishing around 12% of all Lyonnais book editions between 1565 and 1588, he produced 19% of all theological and religious books published in Lyon in this period.

Roville arrived in Lyon in 1543 via Paris, having served his printing apprenticeship in Venice.¹⁴ He established considerable connections in Spain and in Italy, and maintained such pan-European dealings throughout his career.¹⁵ Roville built himself a reputation primarily for the production of fine legal and humanist works and illustrated books on medicine, surgery and botany.¹⁶ He was never one to shy away from business opportunities: throughout the 1550s and into the mid-1560s he printed a number of Protestant works, including several works by Calvin and de Bèze.¹⁷ We should not discount the possibility that Roville developed some interest in Protestantism; however, we know that he was not active within Protestant circles. Printing Protestant works was good

¹³ Cf. Baudrier IX 301-411; also IA 102.621, 102.626, 111.203, 119.932, 122.040, 149.362, 153.991; also Bellinger, *Bibliographie*, 11, 13, 43; also Girard, *Catalogue*, 96; also Martínez, T.H. (ed), *Bibliotecas privadas en el mundo colonial. La difusión de libros e ideas en el virreinato del Perú (siglos XVI-XVII)*, Frankfurt/Madrid 1996, 3/161, 3/171, 1574/6; also Saktorová, *Tlače*, 1:515, 2:1318; also Schlaefli, *Catalogue*, 944, 1426, 2300; also works not cited in consulted bibliographies: Hibernicus, Thomas, *Flores omnium pene doctorum qui cum in theologia*, Lyon (Guillaume Roville) 1567, copy in Lyon BM 813343; *Biblia Sacra*, Lyon (Guillaume Roville) 1588, copy in Lyon BM Chomarat 5213.

¹⁴ Cf. Baudrier IX 17-18.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 76-124.

¹⁶ Cf. Davis, 'Rouillé', pp.72-112.

¹⁷ Cf. Baudrier IX 169-303.

business through the 1550s and into the 1560s, and there was little if any stigma in the Lyonnais publishing community for doing so prior to the escalation in the Wars of Religion.¹⁸ Indeed, during this same period Roville also published multiple editions of orthodox religious works. For instance, between 1545 and 1564 he published 32 editions of works by Catholic controversial theologians.¹⁹ We must look elsewhere for signals of Roville's religious leanings. Roville neither obtained a role in the administration of Protestant Lyon, a role that would certainly have befitted a man of his status, nor do we have evidence to suggest that he suffered when Lyon returned to Catholic obedience.

Roville displayed many signs of living a Catholic life. We know that he had two children baptised at the Church of St. Nizier in 1584 and 1585 and that he made charitable civic donations in 1572 and again in 1578. His last testament, of 1586, was an overtly Catholic statement asking that he be buried in the Celestine monastery.²⁰ Roville appears also have participated in the Catholic takeover of Lyon in 1567, being named *captain de la penon* in 1567.²¹ While acting in this capacity Roville drew up a list with a special category of 'Huguenotz reduictz et qui ont faict confession de foi du commencement et qui ont vescu depuis et toujours vivent catholiquement et frequentent les eglises'. The first name on list was fellow publisher Thibaud Payen.²² Then in the following year he was elected to the City Council.²³ In the view of Philip Hoffman this is sufficient to characterise Roville as an ardent Catholic personally active in enforcing religious

¹⁸ Cf. Watson, 'Preaching, printing, psalm-singing', pp. 15-16.

¹⁹ Cf. Klaiber, *Kontroverstheologen*.

²⁰ Cf. Baudrier IX 106-107.

²¹ (Charles IX), *Ordonnance faisant Commandement à tous habitans de Lyon d'obeir à leurs Penons*, Lyon (Michel Jove) 1567; also (Charles IX), *De par le Roi, il est enjoinct a tous les manans & habitans de la ville de Lyon, qui sont inscriptz & denommez és roolles des Penons*, Lyon (Benoist Rigaud) 1568.

²² Watson, *City Council*, p. 236.

orthodoxy in the city, standing guard at the communion rail watching out for those who showed signs of insincerity.²⁴

Professionally Roville's published output aligned him to the Catholic cause. We can only speculate that good relations with the Jesuit community helped assure Roville's place as Lyon's premier publisher of Catholic texts. The trust of Lyon's Jesuits would doubtless have aided Roville in securing permission to print the Tridentine works under Paul Manutius' Roman privilege.²⁵ Indeed, such links were alluded to after Roville's death by his son-in-law and heir, Jean-Baptiste Buysson.²⁶

Roville's religious works averaged in total around four large theological texts per year. The vast majority of these were substantial books: some were over 1,000 pages long, books that would have comprised over 100 printed sheets, around 100 days' work for one press. Roville published over 50 editions of large doctrinal works, a large number of these being works of canon law, Tridentine texts and a host of guides for priests, particularly confessional manuals. Beside this, Roville published multiple editions of biblical works in Latin, among which are 10 editions of the Latin Bible, including the translation of the University of Salamanca, three New Testaments and several editions of the psalms. Alongside this, we find a number of devotional and moral works.

²³ Cf. Baudrier IX 89-91.

²⁴ Hoffman, *Church*, pp.33, 37.

²⁵ See below.

²⁶ Azpilcueta, Martin, *Opera in tres tomos digesta*, Lyon (Jean-Baptiste Buysson) 1595, fols.a2v-a3v.

All but a small handful of Roville's publications were printed in Latin. Among publications in the vernacular, we find a New Testament, two defences of the Eucharist and works on pilgrimage and God's grace. The vernacular works did include important works such as Edmond Auger's catechism, written in Lyon in 1563, and a vernacular Tridentine catechism. Unlike Lyon's other major publishers of large Catholic books, Roville made a brief foray into publishing small Catholic books of lay doctrine and religious polemic; in 1567, he published Gabriel du Saconay's *Du vrai corps de Jesus Christ*, reissued in 1568 (this appears to be the remaining body of the 1567 stock).²⁷

The houses of Giunta

Taken together, the various manifestations of the houses of Giunta were among the most successful of Lyon's publishing establishments. Between 1565 and 1598 they were responsible for the publication of around 430 editions, over 40% of which were religious works.²⁸ Prominent among them we find an extensive corpus of Catholic literature: Bibles, including extracts and commentaries, patristic and scholastic editions, works of canon law

²⁷ Cf. Baudrier IX 310-320.

²⁸ Cf. *Ibid.*, VI 313-336, 369-384, 403-424; also Gültlingen IV 80-94; also Durling, *Catalogue*, 1471; also IA 108.509, 115.940, 122.641, 150.885, 158.397; also Martínez, *Bibliotecas*, 3/210; also Saktorová, *Tlačé*, 1:1286, 2:904; Schlaefli, *Catalogue*, 1328; Girard, *Catalogue*, 469; Varga, András & Ötvös, Péter (eds.), *Die Bibliothek Sambucus. Katalog. Bibliothecae Ioannis Sambuci Catalogus Librorum 1587*, Szeged 1992, 557; also Index serum omnium, Lyon (Jeanne Giunta) 1579, copy in Bordeaux BM (Giunta). Baudrier VI 459-481, 485; also IA 111.047, 129.480, 129.499, 145.752, 150.877; also Martínez, *Bibliotecas*, 3/93, 3/105, 3/177; Collet, *Saint-Bonnet-le-Château*, 248; also de Capa, Benedict, *Communes opiniones*, Lyon (Philippe Tinghi) 1571, copy in Grenoble BM; also Junctino, Francisco, *Speculum astrologiae*, Lyon (Philippe Tinghi) 1581, copy in Besançon BM (Tinghi). Baudrier V 71-92, 498; IA 108.573, 111.050, 129.480; Durling, *Catalogue*, 4569, 4614; Girard, *Catalogue*, 867; Gustin, *Catalogue*, N16; Saktorová, *Tlačé*, 1:1286; Schlaefli, *Catalogue*, 1653; also anon., *Opera, quibus quicuid ad rationalem*, Lyon (Symphorien Beraud) 1580, copy in Bordeaux BM; also Allot, William., *Thesaurus Bibliorum*, Lyon (Symphorien Beraud) 1585, copy in Lyon BM B 508853 (Beraud, S.). La Perrière, *Supplément*, pp.145-157; also IA 104.448; 105.817, 129.509, 146.593; also Bujanda X, 383; also Chambers 449, 466; also Decherf, *Répertoire*, 103.01468; Girard,

and church discipline, and various devotional texts. Non-religious publications encompassed a wide range of genres including a large number of works of literature and jurisprudence. The various branches of the Giunta family were responsible for the publication of superbly high quality books of great learning.

The Lyon branch of the Giunta family originated from Venice. Jacques Giunta was the first of the family to settle in Lyon in 1520.²⁹ Within a short time the Giunta were established as one of Lyon's finest publishing houses, rising to assume the head position in several of the largest of Lyon's publishing syndicates.³⁰ In 1540, Jacques called his nephew Philippe Tinghi to Lyon in order to work within his publishing business.³¹ When Jacques died in 1546 the business assets were divided three ways, between Tinghi and Jacques' two daughters, Jeanne and Jacqueline. Jacques entrusted the management of his business to a joint association of his nephew, Philippe Tinghi, and his son-in-law, Guillaume Regnauld.³² The two published under the title of *Héretiers de Jacques Giunta*. Regnauld quit this association in 1557, which resulted in Symphorien Beraud assuming control of Regnauld's share of the Giunta business.³³ However, this association was acrimoniously terminated in 1571.³⁴

Catalogue, 81, 102, 801; Renting, *Seventeenth*, 1390 also Grenoble BMF 8042-3; Lyon BM Rés. 808159; Munich SB A.lat.b. 374 b, Epist. 350; Paris Arsenal 8 H 6298; Paris BSHPF Rés. 12251 (Michel, E.).

²⁹ Baudrier VI 77-424.

³⁰ Ibid; also Dureau-Lapeyssonnie, 'compagnies de libraires', pp.3-64.

³¹ Cf. Baudrier VI 77-97, 223-255, 337-369 436-459.

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Jeanne Giunta appears to have blamed Tinghi for the decline in the fortunes of the Giunta publishing business throughout the late 1560s, accusing him of 'malversions et subtractions commises en sa charge'. The struggle between the two branches of the Giunta peaked in 1578-1579, when Jeanne Giunta took recourse to legal measures to defend her sole right within Lyon to utilise the family *fleur-de-lys* printers' device. Cf. Ibid., VI 337, 437.

The ensuing fallout created rivalries and recriminations that led to the creation of two distinct branches of the Giunta family and publishing house. One was headed by the eldest of Jacques' daughters, Jeanne Giunta, and managed by her son Jean-Baptiste Regnauld, the other was held under the direction of Philippe Tinghi.³⁵ The rapid descent from consolidated to divided family publishing houses did not reduce the quality and output of the Giunta as a publishing concern. Throughout the 1570s and 1580s both branches of the Giunta continued to feature among the highest ranks of Lyonnais publishers, producing significant numbers of large books of superior quality.

Through 1571 to 1572 Jeanne Giunta continued to publish several editions under the title of the *Héretiers de Jacques Giunta*. However, we find no publications from the period between 1572 and 1577. From 1577-78 Jeanne made a slow return to the publishing industry, and from 1578-79 we can trace a marked increase in activity. Following Jeanne's death in 1584 her publishing house passed on to her son and long-term business associate, Jean-Baptiste Regnauld. Over thirty editions were published under the name of Jeanne Giunta from 1579 to 1584, mostly large tomes, half of which were religious publications in Latin. These included six editions of the works of Thomas Aquinas, two treatises on the council of Trent and several devotional texts including Kempis' *Imitatio Christi*.

After managing the business affairs of his mother for seventeen years, Jean-Baptiste Regnauld successfully ran his branch of the Giunta firm from 1584 until his death in November 1596. In total Regnauld published 59 editions under the title *Libraire des Giunta* from 1585-1595. Of those, 13 editions were published between 1585-1588, eight

³⁵ Ibid., 223-225, 337-344.

of which were Latin religious books, including three biblical works and texts on the councils of Nicea and Trent. We also find that Regnauld continued to publish several religious texts for which Jeanne had obtained a privilege, most notably several editions of Kempis' *Imitatio Christi* and an edition of the works of Aquinas.³⁶

From 1571 until his death in 1580, Philippe Tinghi directed the second branch of the Giunta publishing business. After the quarrel with Jeanne Giunta, Tinghi went on to become one of Lyon's most illustrious publishers, being responsible for some of the finest quality imprints, many of which were destined for the international market.³⁷ To this end, Tinghi tried in 1578-79 to hold on to the rights to use the highly distinctive fleur-de-lys printers' device of the Giunta.³⁸ Interestingly, Tinghi's international contacts were recognised when he was granted a royal privilege in 1580 for the printing of works outside France, effectively granting the right to have works printed in Geneva.³⁹ The publication of orthodox theological editions formed a significant part of Tinghi's business. From 1571 Tinghi published over 70 editions, over a third (25) of which were large theological works in Latin, the most prominent being editions of the Church Fathers and various doctrinal works.

By a testament of 1572, Symphorien Beraud was named as the sole inheritor of Philippe Tinghi. Following Tinghi's death in 1580, Beraud continued to publish in a very similar style and quality. Even Beraud's Genevan connections were recognised in 1580

³⁶ Ibid., 403-409.

³⁷ Ibid., 459-482.

³⁸ Ibid., 338-339, 437-438.

³⁹ Ibid., 456-459.

when both Beraud and Estienne Michel were named in a royal privilege that permitted them to sell non-prohibited Genevan imprints within Lyon.⁴⁰ Whilst Beraud held contacts and was active to some degree in Geneva, we must assume that he was Catholic enough both to remain in Lyon following the 1585 Treaty of Nemours, and also to be trusted to have business contacts with Geneva. That Beraud was accepted within Catholic Lyon is confirmed by his position of a rector of the Aumône-Générale.⁴¹ Beraud published 60 editions between 1570 and 1588. Latin imprints of orthodox theological and religious works formed over two-thirds (23) of the editions he produced. These comprised a varied selection, including six biblical works, four editions of Aquinas, two treatises on the council of Trent and several editions of works of the Church Fathers. Beraud's major contribution to the publication of orthodox works in the vernacular was his participation in an association that printed an edition of the Louvain French Bible in 1585.

Michel Estienne was only loosely linked with the house of Giunta, but he was often closely associated with Symphorien Beraud from the early 1580s and took control of Beraud's business. The pair entered into an official association from 1583, although their agreement was suspended in 1586. Following Beraud's death Estienne purchased control of Beraud's stock and business. Whilst Estienne maintained the reputation of the business for fine imprints, he published more vernacular works than any other branch of the Lyonnais Giunta houses. Little else is known of Estienne beyond the bibliographical details of his publishing career: it is not even clear, for instance, whether he was part of the

⁴⁰ Cf. *Ibid.*, V 40; Bremme notes Beraud as being active in Genevan publishing circles from 1586, cf. Bremme p.245.

great publishing family so prominent in Paris and Geneva. Beraud published a total of 92 editions between 1572 and 1588. 37 of these were Catholic works in Latin, including eight biblical books, five editions of Aquinas, several works of the Church Fathers and a catechism by Augustine Huens. Beraud's orthodox publications included a number of vernacular works, featuring multiple editions of devotional texts such as those by Pierre Boaistuau and the Spanish mystic Antonio de Guevara. During the period of his partnership with Beraud, from 1583 until 1588, Estienne published 39 works, 18 of which were Latin theological texts.

The inheritors of the house of Senneton: Charles Pesnot and Pierre Landry

The joint heirs of the printing dynasty of the Senneton family, Charles Pesnot and his nephew Pierre Landry, were responsible for a significant number of Catholic publications. Between 1567 and 1588 they produced around 70 editions of large Catholic texts, primarily in Latin.⁴² We know that both the Senneton family and Charles Pesnot had become adherents of the Calvinist movement through the 1550s and early 1560s.⁴³ Pesnot had entered into association with Claude Senneton in the early 1550s.⁴⁴ Throughout these years both men published a wide spectrum of Protestant works, including many editions of

⁴¹ Lyon's Aumône-Générale was established in 1531 following an outbreak of famine in order to provide aid for the poor. From 1534 onwards its functions were supervised by two or three rectors chosen from amongst the elite of the city. Cf. Doucet, 'Le Seizième Siècle', pp.479-480.

⁴² Cf. Baudrier III 133-161, 165, Gültlingen VIII 161-179, 204-209, Decherf, *Répertoire*, 20:01086-87, 96:01652; also Saktorová, H. et al. (eds.), *Tlačé 16.storocia vo fondoch Slovenskej národnej knižnice Matice slovenskej*, 2 vols, Slovenská 1993, II 786 (Pesnot). Cf. Baudrier I 9, V 308-327; Girard, *Catalogue*, 905; IA 105.851, 121.397, 153.479, 153.490-1; Schlaefli, *Catalogue*, 926, 927, 2834, 2978 (Landry). Baudrier VII 367-448 (Senneton).

⁴³ Cf. Baudrier VII 367- 371.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

Calvin's *Institutes*.⁴⁵ Moreover, Senneton was an active member of Lyon's Protestant council. Added to this, Pesnot was named as a leading Protestant threat to the Catholic authorities in 1568.⁴⁶ Both were among the Protestant exiles that fled Lyon for Geneva in 1568.⁴⁷

Although Pesnot fled Lyon and was registered as an inhabitant of Geneva, he was nevertheless placed in control of some of the remaining assets of Senneton's *compagnie de la Salamandre* in Lyon. For a decade Pesnot successfully ran the house of the Salamander from Geneva. However, with Senneton's death Pesnot's Genevan fortunes plummeted. So, in 1578 Pesnot abandoned a mediocre living in Geneva to assume personal control of his Lyon publishing house.⁴⁸ From the last years of the 1560s we can see an important transformation in the business strategy of the house of the Salamander, with a shift from the wide publication of Protestant to Catholic works aimed at a pan-European market.

The house of Senneton-Pesnot provides us with our first example of a remarkable phenomenon, that of highly committed Protestant publishers who fled into exile only to return to their Catholic lives and businesses in Lyon at a later date. The stringent regulations of the Genevan publishing industry left the entrepreneurial exiles with only limited opportunity to ply their trades.⁴⁹ This led several of Lyon's more prominent publishing houses either to abandon Geneva completely, or send family representatives to

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 412-448.

⁴⁶ Anon., *Ordonnance de Messieurs les Seneschal*, Lyon (Michel Jove) 1568. Pesnot is named on A3v and the Senneton brothers on B2r.

⁴⁷ Bremme pp.215-6, 228.

⁴⁸ Cf. Baudrier III 122-123; also Bremme pp.215-216.

⁴⁹ Higman, 'Genevan Printing', pp.31-54; also Jostock, 'La censure', pp.210-238.

keep up their business interests in Catholic Lyon.⁵⁰ Considering this curious phenomenon Timothy Watson has surmised that such members of the Lyonnais elites were able to slip comfortably back into their native Catholic community once ‘suitably blushing and repentant.’⁵¹

Throughout the second half of the century the house of the Salamander maintained boutiques in Geneva, Frankfurt and Medina del Campo. It was as the manager to Senneton’s affairs in Medina del Campo in 1565 that we first encounter Pierre Landry.⁵² Whilst Landry ran a successful publishing house in Lyon from 1573, he continued to hold close associations with the house of Salamander. On Pesnot’s death in 1585, Landry inherited control of the business.

On a more personal level we can say little about the Catholicism of either Pesnot or Landry. Whilst we know that Pesnot was active within Lyon’s Protestant circles, it would appear that he later took part in a public abjuration of faith on his return and lived an ostensibly Catholic life within Lyon. At the time of Pesnot’s relocation to Lyon, in the late 1570s, the city had shifted decisively towards a firmly Catholic settlement. Certainly, Pesnot must have blended into this Catholic Lyon as he was not forced into exile under the terms of the Treaty of Nemours, and by 1573 was allowed to begin publishing in the city. Three of the four books he published in 1573 were orthodox Catholic texts printed in

⁵⁰ Cf. Baudrier IV 113-131 (Honorati), VII 202-224 (Gabiano); also Bremme pp.138-139, 174, 177-178, 197-198, 230-231.

⁵¹ Watson, T.D., ‘“When is a Huguenot not a Huguenot?” Lyon 1525-1575’, K. Cameron et al. (eds.), *The Adventure of Religious Pluralism in Early Modern France*, Oxford/et al. 2000, pp.167-168.

⁵² Cf. Baudrier V 294.

Latin.⁵³ By 1586 we know that he had earned the trust of the Catholic authorities, receiving a papal privilege for the publication of a work of Peter Canisius.⁵⁴

In the years 1567 to 1577, whilst Pesnot was resident in Geneva, his house of the Salamander published at least fifteen editions of orthodox Latin works, including several homilies and biblical commentaries, two works by the Bishop of Lyon, and an edition of Tridentine canon law.⁵⁵ From 1578 until his death in 1585 a further 25 Catholic works were produced by Pesnot. Prominent among these were Bibles and biblical commentaries, several editions of canon law and the Church Fathers. From 1573 to 1588 Pierre Landry published 36 editions of large Catholic books, including several Bibles, a number of commentaries and works of Church law and discipline.⁵⁶

Barthélemy Honorati

The Honorati family originated from Florence; Sébastien was the first of the Honorati family to settle in Lyon, establishing his publishing house in 1554.⁵⁷ Professionally, Sébastien was successful in Lyon, publishing many fine editions and entering into several of Lyon's printing syndicates, notably with Jacques Giunta.⁵⁸ Personally, he was a respected member of the Protestant community, and a leading member of the Protestant

⁵³ Ibid., 308-310.

⁵⁴ Canisius, Peter, *Commentariorum de verbi dei corruptelis*, Lyon (Charles Pesnot) 1584. Pesnot donated a copy of this work to Lyon's collège de la Trinité, see provenance of copy in Lyon BM 21049, 'Dono Caroli Pesnoti Bibliopher. Coll. Lugd. Cat. Inscript.'.

⁵⁵ Cf. fn.42.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Cf. Baudrier IV 113-114, 162.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 162-163.

Church in Lyon.⁵⁹ Sébastien fled into exile in 1572.⁶⁰ In February of the same year he was accepted as a citizen of Geneva, and in July he made his will.⁶¹ Sébastien died in the same year, leaving the fortune of 1,000 *livres tournois* to his nephew in Lyon.⁶²

Barthélemy Honorati had followed his uncle to Lyon in the 1550s.⁶³ Like his uncle, Barthélemy chose to abandon Lyon for Geneva in 1572.⁶⁴ Crucially, he chose to return to Lyon in 1577 to manage what remained of his uncle's business. In November of the same year Barthélemy obtained his official pardon from Henri III.⁶⁵ In the following year he cemented his links to the Lyonnais community by marrying Benoite Veyrat, sister of Jean Veyrat, himself a known printer-publisher; this was followed by Jean Veyrat's marriage to Sébastien Honorati's sister, Marie Honorati, who had also chosen to remain in Lyon.⁶⁶ Barthélemy became further entrenched in Lyonnais society in the following year by entering into association with Estienne Michel and Sybille de La Porte; Barthélemy's position in the higher echelons was confirmed later that year with his entry into the prestigious *compagnie des libraires*.⁶⁷

Barthélemy Honorati has been described as one of the finest of Lyon's publishers, whose editions rival the beautiful, technically superb books of Jean de Toumes and Guillaume Roville. Barthélemy's technical expertise and high standards are evident

⁵⁹ Cf. Bremme pp.175-176.

⁶⁰ Cf. Baudrier IV 162-163; also Bremme pp.175-176

⁶¹ Cf. Bremme pp.175-176.

⁶² Cf. *Ibid.*, pp.175-176.

⁶³ Cf. Baudrier IV 113; also Bremme pp.175.

⁶⁴ Barthélemy Honorati was noted as a habitant of Geneva on the 6.09.1572, cf. Bremme p.175.

⁶⁵ Cf. Baudrier IV 114.

⁶⁶ Cf. Baudrier IV 113-114, 394-396; Bremme pp.175-176.

⁶⁷ Cf. Baudrier IV 115-131.

throughout his theological publications. His 1578 edition of the Bible is a good example of such fine work, distinguishing itself by a very clear print and beautiful illustrations.⁶⁸

The house of Barthélemy Honorati did not publish theological works whilst Barthélemy was resident in Geneva from 1572 until 1577. Only after he received his pardon from Henri III does it appear that Barthélemy was free to begin the production of orthodox religious works. Almost a third of Barthélemy's publications from 1578 to 1588 were orthodox theological books. Over a half of these were in the vernacular. Bibles and devotional texts in smaller formats dominated, such as his three separate editions of Gabriel Chappuys' translation of Doni's *Les mondes celestes terrestres et infernaux*.⁶⁹

Barthélemy's Latin theological works were mainly doctrinal works of the Church Fathers, the majority of these published as large format folio editions. It is interesting to note here that Barthélemy continued to publish the vernacular Genevan translation of the Bible in Lyon until 1572, after which he did not publish another Bible edition in Lyon until the appearance of his first edition of the orthodox Louvain translation in 1578.⁷⁰

Publishers of smaller books of doctrine and devotion: Rigaud, Jove and Pillehotte

In addition to the serious theological tomes considered above, the second half of the sixteenth century also witnessed the publication of a large quantity of smaller religious books. These works, almost all published in the vernacular, fell largely into one of two categories: relatively sober statements of Catholic belief, or more polemical works

⁶⁸ *La Sainte Bible*, Lyon (Barthélemy Honorati) 1578. Cf. Chambers 440; copy in Lyon BM Rés. 31564.

⁶⁹ Cf. Baudrier IV 136, 137, 145.

addressed at the major controversial issues of the day. Their authors were zealous members of the French clergy, such as Artus Desiré, Edmond Auger and Pierre Matthieu. These religious texts were very different from the theological tomes we have described above. In the first instance, they were typically published in French. Whilst Latin phrases and terms were littered throughout the text and marginalia, only a small proportion of the texts were published in Latin. Secondly, these books were much shorter than most theological works, ranging from around 120 pages long (seven printed sheets) to 300-500 pages (20-40 printed sheets in octavo). At around the size of a modern paperback book these works were far more accessible and affordable for the reading public.

As we have seen above, publishing barons such as Roville, the Giunta and Honorati were responsible for the production of a small number of these religious texts. However, the majority of these small religious works were not printed by Lyon's publishing barons. Instead we see the concentration of this type of publication in the hands of medium-sized publishers, such as Rigaud and Jove-Pillehotte, who we have already considered in the previous chapter. Lyon's publishing barons showed a pronounced reluctance to engage in the printing of such small, comparatively unlearned works.

Nevertheless this middle class of literature – between the pamphlet and the larger works of theology – provided an important market for publishers of this sort. From 1565 until 1588, Rigaud published around 475 books of this type. Among these around 80 were

⁷⁰ Cf. Chambers 426, 441.

religious works.⁷¹ These were printed almost exclusively in the vernacular: 76 in French, two in Italian, and only four in Latin. Almost all were published in small formats, either octavo or sextodecimo. These works included devotional works by Pierre Boaistuau, Louis de Grenade, Antonio de Guevara, and Gabriel de Saconay; eleven doctrinal expositions, including three breviaries and two catechisms, a treatise on the sacraments and a book for the instruction of priests. They also included 12 works of polemic, defences of the Catholic faith by Artus Desiré, Pierre Du Val, Nicolas Grenier and Gabriel de Saconay.

The house of Jove-Pillehotte published a total of 76 book editions between 1565 and 1588. 50 of these were religious works.⁷² Much like Rigaud, the majority of Jove-Pillehotte's productions were in the vernacular (44 in French and only six in Latin) and in small format; we only trace a single folio edition and less than a half dozen quarto editions. The most distinctive of their productions were the editions of the Louvain Bible produced by Pillehotte. Besides this we find 16 devotional works, featuring several editions of Edmond Auger and Thomas à Kempis; five doctrinal expositions, including a Tridentine catechism and an edition of Louis de Grenade's *La grande guide des pescheurs* as well as ten polemical works by the likes of Edmond Auger, Gabriel de Saconay and Artus Desiré.

⁷¹ Cf. Baudrier III 175 233-413, 484-493; IA 100.090, 145.290, 151.710; Chambers 377; Bingen, N. (ed.), *Philausone (1500-1660). Répertoire des Ouvrages en Langue Italienne Publiés dans les Pays de Langue Française de 1500 à 1660*, Geneva 1994, 299, 625; Collet, *Saint-Bonnet-le-Château*, 372; Dobbins, F., *Music in Renaissance Lyons*, Oxford 1992, 309; *Bibliothèque Victor Cousin. Catalogue des Ouvrages du XVIe Siècle*, Paris 1978, 4410; also titles not cited in consulted bibliographies: Aix Méjanes Rec. D 601 (2); Avignon BM 8o 11932; Chantilly MC XXVIII D 23; Grenoble BM F 14206; Lyon BM Chomarat 7896, Rés. 811805, SJ A 127/20 (3); Wolfenbüttel HAB 591.85 Theol.

⁷² Cf. Baudrier II 103-147; IA 109.804; Collet, *Saint-Bonnet-le-Château*, 37; Aix Méjanes Rec. D 291 (20); Brussels BR VI 74000 A; Munich SB Gall.g. 753 (Jove). Baudrier III 241-277, 440-441; Chambers 497; Saktorová, *Tlače*, 2:734; also books not cited in bibliographical works: BNF Lb35 (126); Lyon BM Rés. 336028 (Pillehotte).

By the mid-1560s both Jove and Rigaud had been active in the book industry for over a decade. When we look at their publications we can see that it is precisely at this point that both the houses of Jove and Rigaud underwent a period of consolidation and expansion. Michel Jove began printing and publishing mainly pamphlets, specifically edicts, small theological books, news accounts and suchlike. Rigaud also began producing similar pamphlets to Jove, and small format editions of the classics.⁷³

Although the trade in pamphlet literature remained an important part of both houses, by the mid 1560s we can also see a growth in the size of books published by Jove and Rigaud. This occurred as both manoeuvred themselves towards occupying the sole role of publisher rather than the more troublesome role of printer, a shift that was a gradual process that took place over a generation. Alongside the publication of a number of works of literature and smaller legal collections, these small religious books of devotion and doctrine helped provide the impetus for this process of expansion. By the mid 1570s neither Jove nor Rigaud were restricted to the publication of pamphlets.

These small religious books were popular, being reprinted regularly and circulating widely throughout France. As an illustration, 1,000 copies of an average pamphlet required a minimum of 500 to 2,000 printed sheets; whereas 1,000 copies of an edition of a small religious book of 300 to 500 pages would require 20,000 to 40,000 sheets of paper for the complete edition. This is to say nothing of the greater quantities of other necessary raw materials and manpower. But while greater investments were required, the financial rewards were also higher. The rapid turnover and cash return from these books appears to

⁷³ Cf. Baudrier II 90-103, III 196-233.

have helped provide the necessary stepping stone for both Jove and Rigaud to climb the professional ladder. This in turn enabled them to expand to the extent of being able occasionally to publish major Catholic works, alone or as a member of a syndicate. Pillehotte for example published several editions of the Louvain Bible in the 1580s.⁷⁴

Themes and genres of publications

Before the Reformation, in Western Europe Christian theology and Catholic theology were one and the same. The challenge of Protestantism in the sixteenth century, however, cast all this into doubt. Catholic theologians were forced on to the defensive on a number of fronts, defending the coherence and integrity of their beliefs against sustained attack. It was necessary both to mount a defence of core Catholic beliefs, and to clarify tenets of belief to enable all Catholics to stand on a common ground for the defence of the faith. Theologically at least, this was achieved with the council of Trent. Trent defined a clear corpus of Catholic theology based on scripture and supported by a rich body of ritual and law which stemmed from the Church Fathers, Papal authority, and the decisions of the Church's Councils.⁷⁵ Much has been said about the short-term failings of Tridentine efforts to improve practice and belief.⁷⁶ However, Trent combined with the energy of the missionary orders provided the necessary spur for the revitalisation of Catholic religion. From the 1560s the Catholic authorities produced new versions of core texts, the Bible, the

⁷⁴ Cf. Chambers 467, 497.

⁷⁵ Cf. Bedouelle, G., 'Le Réforme catholique', in G. Bedouelle & B. Roussel, Le temps des Réformes et la Bible, Paris 1989, pp.328-368; also Wanegffelen, T. Une Difficile Fidélité. Catholiques Malgré le Concile en France XVIe-XVIIe Siècles, Paris 1999, esp. pp.69-110.

⁷⁶ Cf. O'Malley, J.W., Trent and all That. Renaming Catholicism in the Early Modern Era, Cambridge Massachusetts/London 2000.

Church Fathers, commentaries, and canon law. Many of these books were aimed specifically at the educated elites of the Church.

The full panoply of orthodox Catholic theological works were published on the printing presses of Lyon from 1565 to 1588; 846 editions, or 24% of all editions printed in these years were more substantial religious books. Roville was the main producer of such volumes within Lyon, closely followed by the publishing houses of the Giunta and Tinghi, Pesnot and Landry, and Honorati. The publication of such texts was important not only for the fortunes of the Lyonnais printing industry, but also for the rejuvenation and reconstruction of the Catholic faith. These imprints provided the key texts necessary for the reform, education, administration and discipline of the Catholic Church. 58% of all large Catholic books printed in Lyon in this period were in Latin, aimed at both a domestic and international market. Here, Lyon's established position in the industry was important: such large and technically advanced works were not easily reprinted on the smaller regional presses. The vast majority of Bibles and biblical works, editions of the Church Fathers and commentaries were printed in Latin, normally in large format.

42% of the longer Catholic books printed in Lyon during this period were in the vernacular, with few exceptions almost all were in French.⁷⁷ On the whole, vernacular books tended to dominate the publication of the more general religious texts, such as devotional works, lay doctrinal defences and polemics such as Bolsec's *Histoire de la vie et*

⁷⁷ Such as an Italian edition of Simeone's emblem book *Figure del nuovo testamento*. Cf. Baudrier IX 331, 349.

mort de Jean Calvin.⁷⁸ However, we do see the development of a small number of vernacular Catholic theological texts through this period, most notably several catechisms and the Louvain translation of the French Bible.

Table 3.1 Genre of longer religious books, 1565-1588

Genre	Number of editions 1565-1588	Av. editions per year 1565-1588
Tridentine texts, inc. commentaries	36	1.5
Bibles, inc. parts and commentaries	182	7.6
Patristic texts	29	1.2
Canon Law	66	2.75
Instructional and devotional texts	156	6.5
Polemical / doctrinal handbooks	33	1.4

One of the main aims of the Council of Trent (1545-1563) was to define and then to propagate Catholic belief. Part of this was achieved through issuing official texts, such as the first papal Index in 1564, the catechism, published in its revised form in 1566, the breviary in 1568, the missal in 1570, and finally, the newly edited Vulgate 'Sistine' Bible in 1590. Petitions for the application of the Tridentine decrees in France were resisted throughout the sixteenth century; however, studies of late sixteenth and seventeenth century

⁷⁸ Bolsec, Jerome Hermes, Histoire de la Vie, Moeurs, Actes, Doctrine, Constance et Mort de Jean Calvin, jadis ministre de Geneve, Lyon (Jean Patrasson) 1577.

France have illustrated that the process of Tridentinisation was underway in France by the 1580s.⁷⁹

Gallican objections to Trent did not stop Tridentine publications from becoming immediate best-sellers within France. In order to maintain the quality of content and appearance of these works a papal commission granted the privilege for Tridentine works to the Venetian Paul Manutius. Within the terms of the Tridentine privilege Manutius shouldered ultimate responsibility for the standard of the editions; however, he swiftly realized that he was unable to satisfy Europe-wide demand for the texts and turned to the sub-contracting of editions, most prominently to Christopher Plantin in Antwerp.⁸⁰

Less is known of the French publishers who obtained privileges to print the Tridentine works from Manutius; we know that the pre-1572 Tridentine editions of Guillaume Roville, the main publisher of Tridentine texts in Lyon, were published under the Manutius-papal privilege of 1564.⁸¹ French publishers were the third largest producers of Tridentine texts throughout the sixteenth century, Lyon as usual being second to Paris. More specifically it appears that outside Italy Lyon was the primary centre for the production of editions of the Tridentine Catechism. Throughout Europe between 1566 and 1588 around 63 editions of the Tridentine Catechism were published.⁸² Venetian

⁷⁹ Venard, 'Catholicism and Resistance', pp.133-148; also Hoffman, *Church*, esp. pp.33-45; also Martin, *Henry III*; also Groër, *Réforme*, p.124.

⁸⁰ Cf. Rooses, *Correspondance*, for examples see I pp.193-202, 220-222, 251, II pp.5-7, 49-51, 90, 111, III pp.333-334; also Voet, L., *The Plantin Press (1555-1589) A Bibliography of the Works printed and published by Cristopher Plantin at Antwerp and Leiden*, Amsterdam, 1980, II pp.448-449, 550-451.

⁸¹ Cf. Pallier, 'Les réponses', p.331.

⁸² Figures taken from Bellinger, G.J., *Bibliographie des Catechismus Romanus. Ex Decreto Concilii Tridentini ad Parochos 1566-1978*, Baden-Baden 1983, 1-73.

publishers dominated the field, producing 23 editions. Lyon was the second largest producer with 8 editions, 7 of which were in Latin.

Between 1566 and 1588 Roville published six separate editions of the canons of Trent, five editions of the catechism and two editions of the missal.⁸³ Within a decade of the first publication of the Tridentine works the papacy rescinded their own monopoly over the texts and granted a number of privileges. In 1572 Roville received a royal privilege to print Tridentine texts; this was recognised by a papal privilege in the following year.⁸⁴ This, however, was not before Roville had already published multiple editions of both the canons and the catechism of Trent.⁸⁵ Roville continued to print Tridentine work even though he failed to obtain a similar privilege for the 1580 revised texts.

Let us now progress to consider the publication of scriptural works and commentaries. From being the first book to be published using moveable type the Bible became the best-seller of the sixteenth century. The main Lyonnais producer of orthodox biblical works between 1565 and 1588 was Roville, who published around 20% of Lyonnais editions during our period. Roville was marginally ahead of the combined inheritors of the house of Senneton, Pesnot and Landry with 19%. Barthélemy Honorati and Antoine Gryphe both produced a considerable number of biblical works, with roughly 8% each. The inheritors of the house of Tinghi, Beraud and Estienne, were responsible for around 6% of biblical editions, whilst the house of Giunta published 5%.

⁸³ Cf. Baudrier IX 303-411; also Bellinger, *Bibliographie*, 11, 13, 43.

⁸⁴ Cf. Pallier, 'Les réponses', p.331

Table 3.1 above, shows us that editions of scripture made up the largest category of religious and theological works published in Lyon. Between 1565 and 1588 over 160 editions of Catholic Bibles, other editions of scripture, and commentaries were published in the city. The majority, two thirds of these books, were printed in Latin. A significant proportion of these Latin texts were complete Bibles (around 30) and New Testaments (10). Alongside this we find a flood of Latin Psalters (30 editions) and multiple editions of biblical concordances and commentaries. Most interestingly, around 50% of these texts were published in small formats, octavo or sextodecimo. The majority of editions of Latin Bibles were printed in larger format.

With regard to vernacular editions, we find around 30 editions of the complete Bible or the New Testament in French with a further four editions in Italian. Alongside this we see separate publication of individual books of the Bible, compilations of sentences and biblical emblem books like the *Figures du nouveau testament*.⁸⁶ The vernacular Bibles tended to be published in larger formats, folios and quartos, whilst other religious texts were published in smaller, more accessible formats such as octavo and sextodecimo.

Remarkably, the failure of Lyon's Protestant coup did not bring a sudden halt to the production of Protestant Bibles: between 1565 and 1570 at least 17 editions of Genevan Bibles or other scriptural texts were published in Lyon.⁸⁷ However, the extent to which

⁸⁵ Cf. Ibid.

⁸⁶ Simeone, Gabriel, *Figures du nouveau testament*, Lyon (Guillaume Roville) 1565. Roville reprinted several times in French, Italian and Latin, cf. Baudrier IX 303-411.

⁸⁷ Cf. Cartier II 561; Chambers 351, 356, 395, 411, 420, 426; Gültlingen VII 165-161. Other copies not known to Lyonnais bibliographies, *La Sainte Bible*, Lyon (Sébastien Honorati) 1566, copy in Lyon BM Rés. 20802. Marot, Clement & de Bèze, Theodore (eds.), *Les Pseaumes*, Lyon (Sébastien Honorati) 1570, copy in Edinburgh National Library Newb 1065 (2).

these editions were either simply reissued from existing stock or printed clandestinely in Geneva remains unclear. Although associated primarily with Protestantism, we also have evidence of an active Catholic market for vernacular scriptures in the 1550s and 1560s. To satisfy these demands publishers issued editions of the Genevan translation edited for a Catholic audience. In Lyon, both Roville and Rigaud published such edited copies of the Genevan translation. Roville's bilingual Latin-French 1557 Bible edition excluded contentious parts and added Catholic sections as well as contained the phrase 'selon l'usage de Rome, Paris et Meaux'.⁸⁸ In 1566 Rigaud likewise published an edition of the Genevan vernacular translation of the New Testament popular in Lyon in the 1560s.⁸⁹ However, he removed the Genevan prefaces and any mention of Geneva on the title page.

The Catholic counter-offensive against the influx of Genevan Bible translations was initially led by René Benoist, with the 1566 publication of his translation of the vernacular Bible for Roman Catholic audiences. Although condemned a year later by the Sorbonne, this did not halt its regular publication in France. The first Lyon publication of the Benoist Bible was commissioned by Barthélemy Honorati in 1578.⁹⁰

The official reaction of the Catholic Church, however, was tediously slow. Commissioned in 1546, the 'Sistine' Bible was finally published in 1590. Despite the initial rejection of vernacular Bibles on the part of the Catholic establishment, an orthodox French Bible received the approval of the Sorbonne in 1578. The Louvain translation

⁸⁸ *Biblia Sacra*, Lyon (Guillaume Roville) 1577. Cf. Baudrier IX 247; Chambers 239.

⁸⁹ Cf. Chambers 377.

became an immediate best-seller throughout French-speaking territory. Within a decade of its appearance it had been published in at least 13 editions throughout France, and in at least 12 editions in Lyon between 1582 and 1600.⁹¹

As table 3.1 illustrates, at least 40 editions of both the Church Fathers and commentaries upon the Fathers were published in Lyon between 1565 and 1600: three quarters of these were produced between 1565 and 1588. Most prominent among the patristic works published in Lyon were the Latin Fathers Augustine and Dionysius.

Alongside patristic publications a significant emphasis was placed upon the writings of traditional theologians of the Middle Ages. In opposition to Protestant thought, the Catholic Church turned to its main authors of scholasticism, focusing on Thomist and Aristotelean thought. Between 1565 and 1585 at least 45 editions of Thomas Aquinas were published in Lyon, with around ten editions of Peter Lombard. These publications were exclusively in Latin, the majority in folio, and some were very major undertakings. Over a quarter of these editions comprised in excess of 700 printed sheets for each copy. The houses of Giunta were the largest publishers of Aquinas with 25 editions between the branches of Jeanne Giunta and Philippe Tinghi.

Although it lacked both a university and *parlement*, Lyon developed a leading reputation for the publication of legal works, including canon law.⁹² Over 80 such works were

⁹⁰ Cf. Chambers 440.

⁹¹ Cf. Simonin, *Dictionnaire*, pp.144-147; also Chambers 465, 466, 467, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 537, 542, 543, 549.

⁹² Cf. Chapter 2; also Brinkhus, 'Drucke des 16. Jahrhunderts', Arnold, *Bibliotheken*, pp.77-84.

published in Lyon between 1565 and 1600, 70 alone between 1565 and 1588. Canon law and papal decrees were central to the administration and discipline of the Church. Under Pope Gregory XIII a uniform body of canon law was achieved with the 1582 *Decretum Gratiani Corpus Juris Canonici*. Lyonnais imprints of canonical texts were published in Latin in a roughly equal proportion of large and small formats, and they included some of the largest books published (running up to as much 1,500 sheets). Guillaume Roville was Lyon's primary publisher of canon law with 25 editions. The composite branches of the Giunta family published at least twelve editions, whilst the houses of Pesnot and Landry were responsible for at least nine editions.

Next to the official Tridentine works a wide body of books which may be described as instructional books, defining and expounding orthodox practice for both Churchmen and members of the laity. Around 100 editions of this character were printed in Lyon between 1565 and 1588. Published in both large and small format, only around 10% of these were in French, the majority being in Latin. These works often discussed major matters of faith treated at Trent and fundamental to the life of faith: charity and the sacraments confession, penitence, and extreme unction. Among the authors of such works were leading Catholic theologians such as Louis de Grenade and the Jesuits Martin Azpilcueta and Edmond Auger. The production of these editions was divided throughout the Lyonnais publishing world. Roville was responsible for at least 15 editions, the houses of Giunta 37, whilst Landry and Pesnot had at least 16 such editions printed. Interestingly, we find that the works of Auger, mainly concerned with the sacraments, were printed in the main by Jove.

Alongside instructional texts, a growing number of devotional writings circulated throughout Europe in the second half of the sixteenth century. Devotional writings were an important part of Counter-Reformation literature; they incorporated a wide spectrum of spiritual works, from sermons and prayers to more mystical works encouraging the imitation of an apostolic life. These works were printed in considerable volume in France and illustrate the awareness within Catholicism of the need for an increased lay spirituality.⁹³ The most important of these works were translations of works of Spanish, Italian and German authors, increasingly popular in France from around 1570.⁹⁴ Lyon's Catholic presses embraced these new trends, publishing a considerable number of these works in translation. By far the most popular of the Northern mystics published in Lyon was the *Imitatio Christi* of Thomas à Kempis, reissued in both Jean Gerson's and Edmond Auger's translations. This considerable work, almost 400 pages in length, was reprinted three times by Jove alone in the 1570s.⁹⁵

The Southern European mystics were even more popular with Lyon's presses. Rigaud and Jove published several translations of Spanish authors such as Louis de Grenade and Antonio de Guevara. Michel Jove was the first to take the initiative with the printing of such works in 1568; however, it did not take long for Rigaud to follow, indeed it seems he was able to obtain the rights to most of the editions subsequently printed in

⁹³ Cave, T.C., *Devotional Poetry in France c.1570-1613*, Cambridge 1969, pp.1-17.

⁹⁴ Cf. Pallier, 'Les réponses', pp.332-335.

⁹⁵ Cf. Baudrier II 124, 138, 141.

Lyon.⁹⁶ Lyon's presses also printed a number of editions of works by native French authors in this style, including the *Celestine Pierre de Sure*.⁹⁷

The Counter-Reformation saw the evolution of a new weapon in the armoury of France's Catholic literature with a series of vernacular books that combined elements of both doctrinal instruction and a polemical response to Protestantism.⁹⁸ By at least the 1560s, such works had become an accepted part of Catholic literature. They were carefully written, guiding the reader through the text with clear signposts. References and regular marginalia were added both to claim authority for the text, and later, to fulfil the Tridentine requirement for such textual apparatus.⁹⁹ These works were typically written by Catholic priests and published in medium size volumes, around the average size of a modern paperback book. The Jesuit Auger was clear in his intention for such works, noting in the preface to one such edition that he had written the work in the most simple French possible so it could be read by greater numbers in order to correct Huguenot lies.¹⁰⁰

Table 3.1 records 33 editions of works of this character. These were produced by several publishers like Rigaud, Pillehotte and a numbers of others, who were responsible for the publication of some of France's most influential Catholic polemical writers

⁹⁶ Ibid., II 112-118, III 271-401.

⁹⁷ Pierre de Sure, *Le Mirror de bien vivre et bien mourir*, Lyon (Jean Voullant) 1565, also Anselme du Chastel, *Cent Quatrains en Commendation de la Vie Solitaire et Religieuse*, Lyon (Benoist Rigaud) 1578; anon., *Notables Sentences de la Bible, Tournees en Quatrains*, Lyon (Benoist Rigaud) 1579.

⁹⁸ Cf. Edwards, 'Catholic', pp.189-205; also Higman, 'Premières réponses', pp.361-377; Saconay, Gabriel de., *Discours Catholique, sur les causes et remedes des malheurs intentés au Roi, et eschevins à son peuple par les rebelles Calvinists*, Lyon (Michel Jove) 1568, fols.E1r-v.

⁹⁹ For an example see Saconay, Gabriel de, *De la vrai idolatrie de nostre temps*, Lyon (Michel Jove) 1568, fol.A5v.

¹⁰⁰ Auger, Edmond, *Livre troisieme, de l'institution, verite, continuation, et utilite du sacrafice de la Messe*, Lyon (Michel Jove) 1565, fol.+6r.

including Nicolas Grenier, Pierre du Val and Artus Desiré.¹⁰¹ However, the most popular works printed on the Lyonnais presses were Auger's works concerning the Mass and the sacraments, and the anti-Protestant works of the native Lyonnais Gabriel de Saconay.

A considerable number of these longer books of religious polemic reiterated many of the arguments against the heretic evil taken up in the shorter pamphlet literature. Crucially, the actions of the Huguenots were shown to be of such grave consequence that they threatened the sanctity of France and endangered its communal salvation.¹⁰² Saconay likened the heretics to the tyrannical Egyptians persecuting the Israelites, whilst in another work he compared them to the sinners of Sodom.¹⁰³ Equally popular was the association of Protestants with the long line of heresies combated by the Church throughout the Early Church into the Medieval times, such as the Arians, the Donatists, the Manicheans and the Albigensians.¹⁰⁴ The spread of the Albigensian heresy, with its heart in the Languedoc, drew a pertinent parallel to the Protestant Midi, a theme at the core of Saconay's work *De la providence de Dieu*.

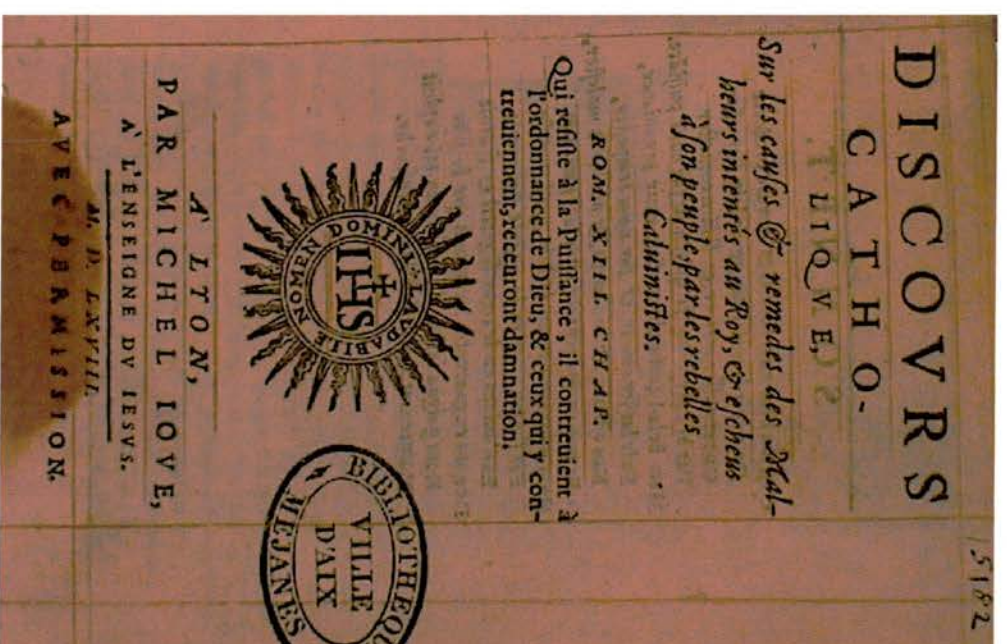
These doctrinal handbooks also used historical precedent in an effort to point up the evils of Protestantism. The Protestants were compared with the Barbarian tribes that dominated Europe in the wake of the fall of the Roman Empire. They were seen to pose

¹⁰¹ For example see Baudrier II 132, III 348, 493; also IA 151.710.

¹⁰² Bedouelle, 'Réforme catholique', pp.328-368.

¹⁰³ Saconay, Gabriel de, *Discours des premiers troubles*, fol.A1r; also by the same author, *Discours Catholique*, fol.A1r.

¹⁰⁴ Saconay, Gabriel de, *De la Providence de Dieu sur les Rois de France treschrestiens*, Lyon (Michel Jove) 1568, fol.F3r; also by the same author *Discours des premiers troubles*, fols.*7r-v.



Left: Title page of Payua, Diego, (transl. Auger, Edmond), Le premier Livre des Explications Catholiques, Lyon (Michel Joue) 1565; an example of a longer polemical book, featuring an example of Jove's Jesuit style printer's device.
Right: Title page of Saconay, Gabriel de, Discours Catholique, sur les causes et remedes des malheurs intentés au Roi, Lyon (Michel Jove) 1568; an example of a longer polemical book.

a threat to civilised society in much the same way as the Goths, Vandals and Lombards had brought about the collapse of Roman civilisation. This was an analogy consciously developed by Saconay.¹⁰⁵

Such use of biblical and historical precedent was all directed towards influencing crown policy, and urging the King towards the extermination of heresy in France. These polemical books made frequent reference to the historical role of the French crown in the persecution of heresy. Throughout *De la providence*, Saconay goes to great lengths in describing the nature of the holy office of the French crown, maintaining that the ancestors of the Valois had preserved their sacral quality by protecting the faith and killing all heretics.¹⁰⁶ The same author takes a longer historical approach in his *Discours Catholique*, asserting that Charles IX must take his lead from his ancestors, boasting that they were among the greatest of the persecutors of heresy.¹⁰⁷ However, it was not only the King that Saconay hoped to move to action. Saconay's *De la vrai idolatrie de nostre temps* is typical in its vivid call for the faithful Catholic servants to see the true vocation of the French crown and join in the bloody confessional struggle with all their might.¹⁰⁸

The repeated emphasis on the seditious nature of the Huguenot heresy also conjured memories of the revolt of 1562-1563, and hinted darkly at the heretics' responsibility for the current financial hardship due to the decline in trade and sharp rises in taxation. This was a point that Saconay was quick again to point out in his *Discours des premiers troubles*

¹⁰⁵ Saconay, *Discours des premiers troubles*, fols.*6-*7v; also by the same author *De la Providence de Dieu*, fol.F3r.

¹⁰⁶ Saconay, *De la Providence de Dieu*.

¹⁰⁷ Saconay, *Discours Catholique*, fols.A2r-v.

advenus à Lyon, highlighting the disloyal hearts of the rebels, intimately linking heresy and sedition.¹⁰⁹

Accusations of sedition feature in one of the few cases where the Lyon polemical books use illustrations. Three woodcuts are featured in the text of Saconay's *Genealogie et la fin des Hugenaux*.¹¹⁰ All three depict the Calvinists as monkeys torturing a lion, an obvious reference to Lyon. The first woodcut depicts sedition, revolt and the fall of France. It shows the monkeys dominating the lion whilst others foul the chalice and smash crucifixes, being all the while directed by a single monkey from a wooden pulpit. The pulpit bears a scabbard and swords, illustrating the violence with which the Huguenots would ruin France. This image is reinforced by an inscription from Ezekiel 29, in which God warns the Egyptian pharaoh that he would make Egypt a desolate land for 40 years.

The second illustration is formed of two parts demonstrating the action Catholics must take to defend France. In the background the lion strikes back at the monkeys, killing some and forcing the others to flee. The foreground shows contrasting fortunes of those who fail to fight the Huguenots, as an enthroned monkey rules through tyranny over other monkeys. The third in the series of illustrations shows the fate of France under Huguenot rule. In this, the monkey is depicted ruling on earth, enthroned and preaching from the pulpit, and the Devil is shown looking on approvingly from behind. The implicit association between Calvinism and Satan is made clear with the inscription 'Malheur sur la

¹⁰⁸ Saconay, *De la vrai idolatrie*, fols.A2v-A3r.

¹⁰⁹ Saconay, *Discours des premiers troubles*, fol.A1v.

¹¹⁰ Saconay, Gabriel de, *Genealogie et la fin des Hugenaux, & decouverte du Calvinisme*, Lyon (Benoist Rigaud) 1572, fols.*1v, *7v, A7v.

terre et la mer, car le diable est descendu vers vous, ayant grand courroux.’ (Revelation 12:12).

Catholic publishing and the Jesuits

It was not just the initiative of Catholic authors, publishers and printers alone that formulated the Catholic literary response to Protestantism; Lyon’s Catholic establishment was actively involved both in forming associations with printers, and developing the production of Catholic literature. At the forefront of this fruitful association were the Jesuits.

Between 1565 and 1585 at least 44 editions written by Jesuits were published in Lyon; from 1565 to 1600 around 140 editions were published. These include multiple editions of commentaries on the Bible, the gospels of Matthew and Luke and several devotional texts. Most prominent among the Jesuit authors published in Lyon was Edmond Auger. Several lay doctrinal works of his were published in multiple editions, such as his catechism and translation of the *Imitatio Christi*. Another of Lyon’s Jesuits, Pierre Coyssard, head of the collège from 1580 to 1582, composed *Hymnes Sacrés et Odes spirituelles pour chanter devant et après la leçon de catéchisme*, a work intended to be used hand in hand with Auger’s Catechism.¹¹¹ We also find ten editions of massive educational works on Thomas Aquinas written by François Toleti, Benedict Pierer and Peter Fonseca. These works must all be set alongside the pamphlets we have considered in the previous chapter, relaying news from the missions in the New World and Asia.

We have seen above how Lyon's Jesuits embraced the pamphlet literature of the time, even having many small pedagogic books printed for missionary work within the city. However, this was not the full measure of the involvement of Lyon's Jesuits in the book world. The collège de la Trinité became one of the main centres of Jesuit learning, and as such became an internationally renowned centre of the book. The collège de la Trinité was reputed to have had one of the largest libraries in sixteenth century France enriched by several notable donations, such as the founding gift of over 2,000 books made by André Gérard in 1577, and the 1587 donation of 1,500 volumes by Henri III as a gift to his ex-confessor and ex-head of the collège, Edmond Auger.¹¹² Many of these books were removed from Lyon by the Jesuits during their flight from Lyon following their sudden expulsion from the city in 1595.¹¹³

The role of censorship appears to have been one eagerly grasped by the Jesuits upon their arrival in Lyon. In 1567 Auger put himself at the forefront of the battle within Lyon to eradicate all suspect books. Prior to 1567 the Lyonnais authorities had not wished to alienate the merchant community by censoring the printing trade. Neither the edict of 1563 nor rule ten of the papal index, both of which declared that all printing shops should be searched for Protestant books, had been applied in Lyon.¹¹⁴ The 1567 purge reflects clearly both the growing confidence of the Catholic community and the escalating hostility towards

¹¹¹ Cf. Groër, *Réforme*, pp.124.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, pp.101-102; also Guillot, *Jésuites et la Musique*, pp.54-55; also see provenances of several books in Lyon BM Rés. 21980, Rés. 21678, Rés. 21679, Rés.21473, Rés. 20283, Rés. 339151. Provenance of Rés. 21678 is typical, 'Henrici III. Regis Christianiss: donum Coll. Ludg. Soc. JESU peu P.Emond Aug. 1587', also see bookplate in front binding, 'Regis Henrici III. Christianissimi pium munus, attulit R. P. Emondus Augerius Lutetia pro Collegio Lugdensi Societatis IESV. 1587'. Also see the arms of Henri III on the front and rear of the binding.

¹¹³ Cf. Groër, *Réforme*, pp.193-194.

¹¹⁴ Martin, *Print, Power*, pp.2-3; also Groër, *Réforme*, p.116.

their Reformed counterparts. Certainly we know that many appear to have been targeted, including Jean (II) de Tournes. While de Tournes was granted personal protection from the Governor Birague, his workshops were ransacked and his stock burnt in the street.¹¹⁵ These are scenes that were doubtless repeated throughout the streets surrounding rue Mèrciere. A similar purge appears to have taken place in 1569. A letter of business transaction between Claude Senneton and Sébastien Honorati notes that ‘sur une vente de livres faite le 13 septembre 1567 dont partie, y compris 96 bibles en folio annotées, ont été pris et brûlés dans le troubles et guerre de Lyon’.¹¹⁶ The Jesuit role in book censorship was extended with a royal privilege of 10 May 1583 that strictly controlled the production of Jesuit works by making the acquisition of a Jesuit privilege mandatory.¹¹⁷

The decade following 1565 was an important period for Lyon’s Jesuits. On the one hand we see that the Jesuits led the way in the confessional struggle in the city that ended with the complete capitulation of Protestantism. On the other hand, we can see that the victory of Catholic Lyon also helped crystallise the ideas of Auger and Possevino. Lyon was an important laboratory for what could be achieved when preachers and publishers worked together in the publication of a full range of catechismal and doctrinal literature.

¹¹⁵ Cartier I 18.

¹¹⁶ Cf. Baudrier IV 162.

¹¹⁷ As reprinted in Possevino, Antoine, *Iudicium, De Nuae militis Galli, Ioannis Bodini, Philippi Mornaei, & Nicolai Machiavelli*, Lyon (Jean-Baptiste Buysson) 1593, fol.*8v; also *Ioannis Petri Maffei Bergomatis E Societate Iesv, Historiarum Indicarum Libri XVI*, Lyon (Giunta [Jean-Baptiste Regnauld]) 1589, also *Ioannis Petri Maffei Bergomatis E Societate Iesv, Historiarum Indicarum Libri XVI*, Lyon (Giunta [Jean-Baptiste Regnauld] 1589, fol.*4v; also Francisco de Ribera, *In sacram Beati Ioannis Apostoli, & Evangelistae Apocalypsin Commentarii*, Lyon (Giunta [Jean-Baptiste Regnauld]) 1592, fol.*4v.

When he left Lyon for Rome, Possevino took with him a clear idea of the power of the text, a lesson that helped shape the future work of the society.¹¹⁸

Conclusion

Throughout the period between 1565 and 1588, the full corpus of Catholic theology and religious writings was printed in Lyon. We find multiple editions of Tridentine texts, scriptural editions, works of tradition, religious interpretation and law. These works helped provide a positive body of texts for the reconstruction of the faith, from academic works to works to educate the clergy and stimulate lay belief. Alongside these, we also find the publication of a new and dynamic genre of Catholic vernacular works, the small doctrinal handbooks aimed at the lower clergy and elite laity.

The majority of the principal members of Lyon's publishing fraternity involved themselves in the publication of Catholic works. Indeed, we can see close cooperation between these members of Lyon's publishing world and the Catholic establishment, the connections being most evident between the Jesuits and their favoured publishing houses. Throughout the period between 1565 and 1588 the market for Catholic texts in France expanded hugely. Lyonnais publishers were at the very forefront of the rush to satisfy the market. However, the production of Catholic texts was not just driven by commercial principles. Publishers such as Rville and the Giunta were unfaltering in their orthodoxy.

¹¹⁸ Donnelley, J.P., 'Some Jesuit Counter-Reformation Strategies in East Central Europe, 1550-1585', pp.83-94.

That they bound both their businesses and personal reputation so closely to the mast of the Catholic ship betrays a strong personal affinity with the orthodox church.

Chapter 4 Loyal Rebellion: pamphlet publishing during the League, 1589-1594

From the mid 1570s until the mid 1580s French Catholicism fell into a state of uneasy equilibrium as the threat of the kingdom being enveloped by Protestantism appeared to have passed. Yet this composure was not to last. From 1585 into 1588 an increased anxiety spread throughout French Catholicism. The trigger for this change was the untimely death of the Duc d'Alençon and Henri's III subsequent alliance with Henri de Navarre. The King's actions reignited fears of Protestantism and dismayed many elements of a resurgent Catholic community. Under the stewardship of the Guise, anti-Navarre sentiment blossomed into a new Catholic League. By 1588 this Leaguer movement had grown powerful enough to be able to dictate crown policy.

Lyon shows signs of having held significant early Leaguer sympathies. One of the clearest indications of this is the body of early Leaguer pamphlet literature published in the city. We have seen in chapter 3 how the pamphlet literature of the mid to late 1580s grew more vocal and forthright. Following the assassinations of the Duc and Cardinal de Guise this movement of opinion would harden further. Increasingly candid and trenchant views were transmitted in a new outpouring of Leaguer pamphlet literature printed in Lyon.

The events of November and December 1588 were crucial in pushing Lyon to break its allegiance to Henri III and affiliate itself with the League.¹ The first of these events was the murder on 23 November of Lyon's long standing and popular Governor, François de

¹ On Lyon's Leaguer period see Rubys, *Histoire*, 1604, fols.Hhh4v-Kkk4r; Groër, *Réforme*, pp. 184-187; also Doucet, 'Le Seizième Siècle', pp.437-463; Lignereux, *Lyon*, pp.26-40; Steyart, *Histoire*, pp.165-214; Pallasse, *Sénéchaussée*, pp.373-386.

Mandelot. At Mandelot's funeral Edmond Auger used his sermon to preach against Lyon's growing adherence to the League.² This, however, remained nothing more than a vain gesture, as the half brother of Henri de Guise, the Leaguer Charles Emmanuel de Savoy, Duc de Nemours, was appointed as the new Governor of Lyon. Tensions were further exacerbated when exactly a month later Henri III attempted to purge the leadership of the League by murdering the Duc and Cardinal de Guise at Blois. The Guise assassinations caused widespread shock and consternation throughout France. Lyon was no exception. Yet this did not provide the immediate catalyst for Lyon's switch of allegiance. The decisive factor was provided on 23 December 1588 by the Duc d'Épermon, the celebrated favourite of Henri III. In an effort to pressure the Lyonnais into remaining loyal to the crown Épermon marched his army into Lyon's outer suburbs. The ensuing lack of discipline on the part of Épermon's army helped to stir popular resentments which crystallised in a popular Leaguer *coup* that evening.

It was on the following day that the news of the murder of the Duc de Guise arrived in Lyon. Enraged by the assassinations and encouraged by the popular Leaguer *coup* of the previous evening, the council issued a statement in which it confirmed its alliance with the League. Although the city initially maintained an ambiguous loyalty to the crown, the reality of life in Lyon differed. Any attempts at moderation were immediately viewed as dangerous and resulted in several high profile Royalists being exiled from the city.³ By Christmas 1588 the control of Lyon was effectively seized by a city council that recognised the authority of the Leaguer Governor, the Duc de Nemours. Nonetheless it was not until

² Groër, *Réforme*, p.184.

³ Cf. Groër, *Réforme*, pp.184-185.

early February 1589 that Lyon was presented with written articles of the League, penned by the Lyonnais jurist, historian and polemicist, Claude de Rubys.⁴

Throughout its period of affiliation to the League, Lyon suffered from divided leadership. The Leaguer administration found itself beset by rivalries in a similar manner to their rebellious Protestant forebears.⁵ The factions that emerged would ultimately hasten the downfall of Lyon's Leaguer movement. Overall power in the region lay with the appointed Governor, the Duc de Nemours. Nemours was often absent from Lyon, and so immediate day to day authority was left in the hands of the city council and the newly created council of the Holy Union.⁶ The League drew upon wide support from all of the city's social classes. Most prominent among the Leaguers were the two civic dignitaries, the Duc de Nemours and the Archbishop of Lyon, Pierre d'Épinac. Leaguer membership was strong amongst the clergy, notably among the new religious orders, the Carmelites and the Jesuits.⁷ Likewise, the lower classes appear to have largely supported the rebellion.

The lack of homogeneity that characterised the League in different parts of France has already been the focus of much scholarly attention, particularly in the work of Elie Bar-Navi, Mark Greengrass and Robert Harding.⁸ Lyon's experience of the League certainly

⁴ Rubys, Claude de, *Declaration des Consuls, Eschevins, Manans et Habitans de la ville de Lyon, sur l'occasion de la prise des armes par eux faicte, le vingtquatriesme Febvrier 1589*, Lyon (Jean Pillehotte) 1589.

⁵ Cf. Watson, 'Preaching', pp.10-28.

⁶ Hours, H., 'Le "Conseil d'Etat" à Lyon pendant la Ligue', *Revue Historique de Droit Français et Étranger* (1952), pp.401-420; also Doucet, 'Le Seizième Siècle', p.442-446.

⁷ In a letter, Cardinal Cajetan declared that the violence was much more ferocious and prolonged in Lyon due to the actions of the Jesuits. Cf. Groër, *Réforme*, p.187.

⁸ Bar-Navi, E., 'Centralisation ou fédéralisme? Les relations entre Paris et les villes à l'époque de la Ligue (1585-1594)', *RH* 259 (1978), pp.335-344; also by the same author, 'La Ligue Parisienne (1585-94); Ancêtre des parties totalitaires moderne?', *FHS* 11/1 (1979), pp.29-57; also Greengrass, M., 'The Sainte-Union in the Provinces: The Case of Toulouse and the French Catholic League (1585-1594)', *SCJ* 14/4 (1983), pp.467-

differed markedly from that of Paris. Paris presents us with a model of millenarian ideas, daily acts of violence, communal fear, processions and flagellation.⁹ In Lyon, Leaguer sentiment was dominant, but relatively more restrained.¹⁰ In contrast to Paris, numbers of Politiques and Royalists were able to maintain residency within the city.¹¹ Lyon also lacked several of the institutions that in Paris became a focal point of League authority, such as the *parlement* and university. Nor was there a strong military presence: unlike in Paris, the Leaguer wars were not fought in Lyon.¹² Lyonnais troops fought in the wars; however, they featured primarily in localised campaigns fought for the control of the trade and toll towns such as Vienne and Châlons.¹³

With the rise of the League Lyon's financial difficulties once more spiralled out of control. In order to attempt to ease its financial plight the council authorised confiscations of goods and the levying of extraordinary taxation. Anyone suspected of holding Protestant or Politique sympathies bore the brunt of the hardship. Unfortunately such measures committed the council to the fiscal policies that had helped to ruin commerce during the Protestant years. Against widescale protest in 1589, tax was imposed on both furs and wines, while custom duty on all bundles transported into Lyon was doubled.¹⁴ Religious extremism, a rebellious coup and weighty taxation all served to deter foreign merchants and help destroy the remnants of Lyon's once famous trade fairs. In reaction many of the once

496; Harding, R., 'Revolution and Reform in the Holy League: Angers, Rennes, Nantes', *Journal of Modern History* 53 (1981), pp.379-416.

⁹ Cf. L'Estoile, Pierre de, *Memoires-Journaux 1574-1611*, Paris 1875-1899; also Diefendorf, *Beneath the Cross*.

¹⁰ Cf. Doucet, 'Le Seizième Siècle', p.443-444.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp.448-454.

¹² On several occasions Protestant forces approached Lyon, but it does not appear they were ever confident or strong enough to besiege the city, cf. *Calendar of State Papers*, V, p.454, XXIII p.233.

¹³ Cf. Steyart, *Histoire*, pp.165-214.

¹⁴ Cf. Doucet, 'Le Seizième Siècle', pp.448-454.

famous foreign banking houses abandoned the city. Indeed, by the fall of the League only one Italian banking house was still to be found in Lyon.¹⁵ The council was rapidly driven to desperate measures and moved to alleviate the monetary problems by attempting to secure loans to aid the city's survival. By 1590 they were openly soliciting Catholic heads of state such as Philip II, the Duc de Savoy and the Pope.¹⁶ The Leaguer rebellion bankrupted Lyon, once France's centre of banking and credit.

The Printing Industry

The League embraced the medium of print wholeheartedly, recognising in particular the power and impact of pamphlet literature. Throughout France Leaguer authors, printers and publishers were responsible for an unprecedented outpouring of pamphlet titles. Whilst Paris was the epicentre of Leaguer agitation and publication, Lyon was the most important provincial centre. Indeed, for a brief moment during the blockades caused by the besieging of Paris, Lyon rose to become the most important centre of Leaguer print.¹⁷ Lyon's Leaguer pamphlets helped to satisfy a buoyant demand for news and opinions throughout France and beyond.

Yet, despite this lively contribution to the pamphlet exchange, the Leaguer years constituted one of the lowest points in the century for Lyon's publishing industry. This decline in the production of print was as serious as the blow struck to the industry in the

¹⁵ Ibid., p.453.

¹⁶ Saugnieux, J., 'Philippe II et les Ligeurs Lyonnais', J.-R., Derré (ed.), Actes du Colloque sur l'Humanisme Lyonnais au XVIe Siècle, Grenoble 1974, pp.223-229.

¹⁷ Cf. Pallier 'Les réponses', pp.334, 337-338.

late 1560s and early 1570s when many Protestant publishers were exiled.¹⁸ Between 1589 and 1593 a total of around 800 larger book and pamphlet editions were published in the city. Pamphlet literature accounted for over a third of these titles, some 300 editions. The vast majority of these pamphlet editions, 260 or 88%, were explicitly Leaguer imprints.

It has been claimed that Leaguer pamphlets came close to monopolising the Parisian presses.¹⁹ However, no such parallel claim can be made for Lyon's printing industry. Between 1589 and 1593 around twice as many larger book editions than editions of Leaguer pamphlet literature were published in Lyon (see chart 4.1, below). Although the production of Leaguer pamphlets was an important aspect of the industry, their role remained secondary to the production of larger books. For example, even in 1589, which witnessed the peak in Leaguer publications, Lyon's most active Leaguer publisher, Jean Pillehotte, occupied more press time with the publication of large books (60-70%) than with pamphlet production (30-40%).²⁰

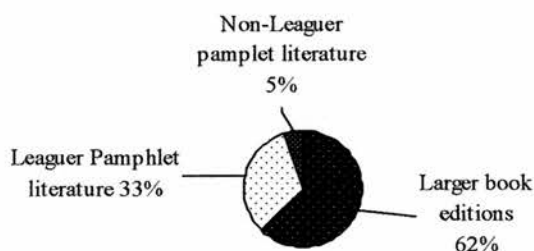
The publication of Leaguer pamphlets in Lyon began before the League take over of the city in 1589. Between 1585 and 1588 around 80 Leaguer pamphlet editions were produced on Lyon's presses (see graph 4.1, below). The number of works published remained relatively small until 1587, when the market for radical Catholic print in Lyon grew markedly: 23 editions were produced this year, with a further 50 editions printed in 1588.

¹⁸ See appendix 1.1.

¹⁹ Cf. Bell, D.A., 'Unmasking a King: The Political Uses of Popular Literature under the French Catholic League, 1588-1589', *SCJ* 20/3 (1989), p.375.

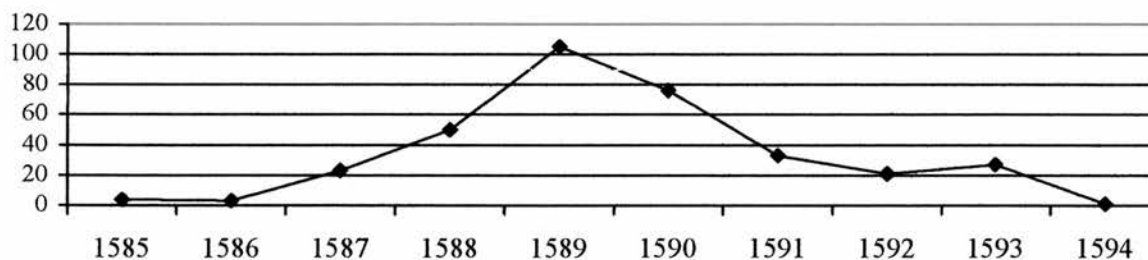
²⁰ For Pillehotte's 1589 publications see Baudrier I 4, III, 277-297; also IA 156.551; also copies in consulted bibliographies: Aix Méjanes BM Rec. D 74 (6); Auxerre BM C 2559 (3/30); Blois BM LI 10.

Chart 4.1 Breakdown of editions printed in Lyon, 1589-1593



Graph 4.1 shows that the production of Lyon's Leaguer pamphlets peaked in 1589 with over 100 editions. Throughout the remainder of the time that the city adhered to the League the number of pamphlets declined. This is a pattern that mirrors the production of Parisian Leaguer pamphlets.²¹ Such a sudden fall in the number of Leaguer pamphlet editions is striking. One can suggest two possibilities for this market recession. On the one hand, the economic difficulties afflicting Lyon would have reduced the amount of money its citizens could afford to expend on ephemeral print. But it could also be indicative of a reduction in popular Leaguer sentiment as the costs of the rebellion were recognised.

Graph 4.1 Leaguer pamphlet editions published in Lyon



²¹ Pallier, *Recherches*, p.53.

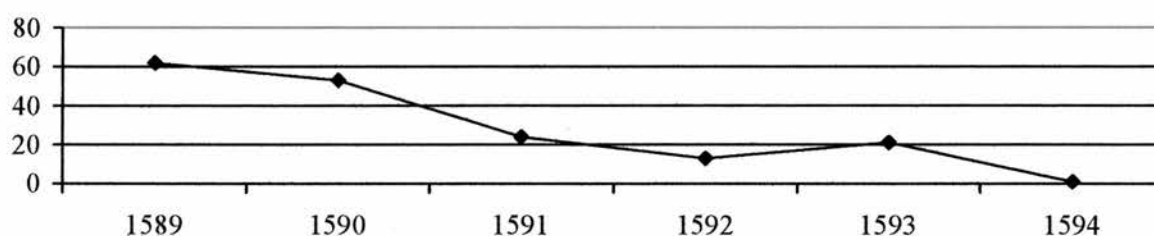
Let us now turn to the printers of Leaguer pamphlets. The production of these works was dominated by a single publishing house, that of Jean Pillehotte. Other producers of Leaguer literature were Louis Tantillon and Jean Patrasson, as well as to a far more limited extent Benoist Rigaud and his nephew, Pierre Chastain.

The Publishers

Jean Pillehotte

Jean Pillehotte was the single largest provincial publisher of League material in France. According to Denis Pallier, Pillehotte published 69% of all of France's regional Leaguer publications.²² Between 1585 and 1594 he published around 210 Leaguer pamphlets.²³ The core of Pillehotte's Leaguer pamphlet production lay between 1589 and 1590, during which time he published over half of his Leaguer pamphlet editions.

Graph 4.2 Leaguer pamphlet editions published by Jean Pillehotte, 1589-1593



²² *Ibid.*, p.395.

²³ Cf. Baudrier III 401-431; also LN 1806; also books not cited in bibliographical works: Aix Méjanes Rec. D 3 (1069); Rec. D 74 (6); Auxerre BM C 2559 (3/30), C 2559 (24/4), C 2559 (24/13), C 2559 (25/6); Grenoble BM F 14348; Lyon BM Rés. 314817, Rés. 314850, Rés. 316467; Paris BHSFP Rés. 19781 (19); Wolfenbüttel HAB 132.1 Pol. (26).

The League period was a boom time for Pillehotte. He was the sole holder of the official Leaguer privilege for works of this type in Lyon, and one of only a handful to hold such a privilege in provincial France.²⁴ With this powerful and lucrative backing he was able to convert the moderate publishing house he inherited a decade earlier into a striving business. In 1585 Pillehotte commissioned the printing of approximately 840,000 sheets. By 1590, his production had almost doubled, rising to somewhere in the region of 1,520,000 printed sheets. Not all of this growth was due to the publication of pamphlets. As mentioned above, a majority of Pillehotte's press time was spent printing larger books. Crucially though it was the printing of Leaguer pamphlets, with their comparatively rapid cash returns, that would have provided the immediate opportunity for Pillehotte to expand his business operations. Throughout this period Pillehotte was evidently undertaking to change the direction of his business. He was shifting production from a heavy dependence on pamphlet publication to focusing ever more on the publication of larger books. This was a successful strategy that would eventually allow him to survive his enforced exile from Lyon under orders from Henri IV between 1594 and 1595. Indeed, the rewards were so great that at his death, Pillehotte was able to bequeath an estate estimated to have been worth an impressive two million *livres d'or*.²⁵

Pillehotte's close involvement with the League was more than a mere business opportunity. Pillehotte himself was an ardent Leaguer who threw his personal reputation and fortune behind the fate of the League.²⁶ He outlined his personal view of the troubles of France in the preface and postscript to one of his 1589 publications, *Metamorphose*

²⁴ Baudrier II 238.

²⁵ Cf. Vingtrinier, A., 'Jean Pillehotte et sa Famille', *Revue Lyonnais* 8 (1884), p.570.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p.570; also Baudrier II 224-225, 237-240.

d'Henri de Bourbon jadis roi de Navarre. The *Metamorphose* was a powerful piece defending the papal exclusion of Navarre from the French throne.²⁷ Far from simply citing the papal bull, Pillehotte constructs a multi-layered argument of exclusion directed against 'Martinistes ou Protestants' and their leader, Henri de Navarre. Pillehotte demonstrates his keen understanding of Leaguer pamphlet polemic by beginning his preface with a patriotic appeal, reminding readers that Navarre was personally responsible for the invasion of France by German Protestants, who were 'pire que tous les Ottomans'. Pillehotte then turns to make an appeal on religious grounds. He claimed that the aim of Navarre's invitation to the German Protestants was to force the imposition of the Treaty of Augsburg on France. The preface culminates with the rejection of Navarre's claims to the throne and an appeal to the reader that it was their religious obligation to place themselves fully in the struggle against 'this runt (*ceste avorton*) of the house of Bourbon'.

Even the Leaguer nobles of the Paris *Seize* recognised Pillehotte as a pillar of the League. He was the only Lyonnais publisher to receive the privilege of the League in October 1589 for the publication of all 'Edicts, Ordonnances, Declarations, Lettres patentes ou closes, Harengues, Remonstrances, Discours, Advis, Accords, Arrests, Prinse de Villes, Discours de Batailles, et généralement tout ce qui peut concerner l'Etat public et affaires de France et de la S. Union.'²⁸ This privilege has several important aspects: first and foremost it shows that the League appreciated the power of the press. Here, the wider boundaries of publication do not just include edicts, but also polemics such as 'Prises de Villes' and 'Discours de Batailles' and any work considered useful to the cause of the

²⁷ Anon., *Metamorphose d'Henri de Bourbon jadis Roi de Navarre, faussement & uniquement pretendunt d'estre Roi de France*, Lyon (Jean Pillehotte) 1589, fols.A2r-v, F4v.

²⁸ Cf. Baudrier II 238.

League. Moreover, it illustrates that the League was keen to keep a tight control on the presses, granting privileges as a reward to a select circle of trusted publishers.

In Lyon itself, Pillehotte's contribution to the Leaguer cause was also well recognised. The Lyonnais civic council adopted him as their favoured printer-publisher.²⁹ Indeed, they commanded him to print the city's Leaguer articles, penned by Claude de Rubys in 1589. Likewise the council continued to reward Pillehotte by renewing his contract as printer to the city and the region.³⁰ Pillehotte received regular civic commissions to print materials between 1589 and 1594, including booklets and regulations for the trade fairs, as well as passports, placards and edicts imposing the will of the Leaguer civic council.³¹ Pillehotte was further rewarded by Lyon's Leaguer council in April 1590 when he was granted permission to reproduce any book 'de devotion & autres servans pour l'edification et instruction du peuple en la Religion Catholique Apostolique et Romaine'.³² Officially at least, this privilege was issued because it had become impossible to obtain religious books published in Paris due to the blockade of the capital. Further to this, Lyon's printing industry paid homage to Pillehotte by electing him as one of the representatives of the syndicate for printers in 1589, 1591 and again in 1593 – whether by conviction or pressure from the council we can but guess.³³ Pillehotte's services to the League were also recognised by the new Pope Gregory XIV in a bull despatched to France

²⁹ Lyon AM AA 045.

³⁰ Rubys, Claude de, Declaration des Consuls, Eschevins, Manans et Habitans de la ville de Lyon, sur l'occasion de la prise des armes par eux faicte, le vingtquatriesme Febvrier 1589, Lyon (Jean Pillehotte) 1589.

³¹ Cf. Baudrier II 237-240.

³² Ibid., II 238-239.

³³ Ibid., IX 75-76.

urging loyal Catholics to continue the struggle against heresy.³⁴ Among a number of prominent Leaguers singled out for special commendation, the bull named ‘Jean Pillehotte, Libraire de la sainte Union’ alongside Guillaume Roville’s successor, Jean-Baptiste Buysson.

Pillehotte published not only original Lyonnais Leaguer material, but also at least 30 editions initially published elsewhere in France.³⁵ Around 20 of these editions were first published in Paris by the likes of Nicolas Nivelles and Rolin Thierry, Pierre l’Hullier, Frederic Morel, Hubert Velu and Denis Binet. Other reprints originated from presses in Rouen, Douai, Troyes, Toulouse, Orleans and Puy, as well as two editions from Rome and Florence. However, this was not a one-way influence flowing into Lyon. A number of Pillehotte’s Leaguer pamphlets were republished in other French cities like Paris and Toulouse, Pillehotte being cited on the title pages of the Parisian reprints.³⁶

³⁴ Gregory XIV, Lettres de nostre S. Pere le Pape Gregoire XIII. du nom, exhortatoires & monitoires aux Princes, Ducs, Marquis, Comtes, & autres grands Seigneurs, & Nobles du Royaume de France, suivans le party d’Henri de Bourbon, jadis Roi de Navarre, Lyon (Jean Pillehotte) 1591, fols.C3r-C4v; also Monitoire de N.S.P. le Pape Gregoire XIII. Sur Censures et peines aux Archevesques, Evesques, Abbez, Prieurs, et autres Prelatz seculiers et reguliers, [...] à fin qu’ils se despartentent du tout, laissent et quittent Henri de Bourbon jadis Roi de Navarre, et ses adherans, Lyon (Jean Pillehotte) 1591, fols.D1r-D2v.

³⁵ Cf. Pallier, Recherches, 370, 400, 413, 421, 431, 458, 486, 489, 538, 544, 570, 589, 602, 608, 618, 650, 669, 671, 686, 696, 697, 706, 719, 835, 849; also LN 1421, 1460, 1466, 1506, 1572, 1686, 1737, 1780, 1783; also Baudrier II 191-209, 227-335, 406-417. Other copies not known to bibliographical sources: anon., Articles de la suspension d’Armes pour la Ville de Lyon, Lyon (s.n.) 1593, [also Paris (Rolin Thierry) 1593], Grenoble BME 14357; anon., Déclaration faite par la Ville de Tolose [...] Prins sur la coppie imprimée à Tolose, Lyon (Jean Pillehotte) 1589, Lyon BM Rés. 322963.

³⁶ Cf. Pallier, Recherches, 405, 412, 533, 586, 609, 645, 676, 809; also Welsh, D.V. (ed.), A Checklist of French Political Pamphlets 1560-1644 in the Newberry Library, Chicago 1950, 241, 242; also Bodin, Jean, Lettre [...] Prins sur la coppie Imprimée à Lyon, Toulouse (Raymond Colomiés) 1590, copy in Lyon BM SJ IF 223/53 (8), on copy published by Jean Pillehotte in 1590; also anon., Articles accordez et jurez en l’assemblée des estats du pais de Languedoc, Toulouse (Jacques Colomiés) 1590, copy in Toulouse BMT 21 (13), on copy published by Jean Pillehotte in 1590.

Jean Patrasson and Louis Tantillon

Little is known about the lives and activities of either Jean Patrasson or Louis Tantillon.

Although they do not seem to have formed a business association, certain similarities invite us to consider them together. Both were active members of Lyon's printing and publishing confraternity from the 1560s and 1550s respectively. We have no evidence of the pair being involved with Protestantism; indeed both appear to have led blameless Catholic lives.

Both Patrasson and Tantillon published a number of editions prior to 1589; however, it was 1589 that marked a significant gear change for the pair as they became deeply involved in the publication of Leaguer pamphlets. Patrasson and Tantillon were amongst the leading Leaguer publishers throughout 1589 and 1590, between them being responsible for around 70 Leaguer editions. Combined, they published some of the most virulent Leaguer pamphlets to emerge from Lyon's presses.

Patrasson first comes to our attention in 1565, where he is noted in a contract as a *libraire*.³⁷ In his biographical notes, Baudrier claims that Patrasson never owned a printing press, although he owned his own font and printer's devices. Patrasson published a number of explicitly Catholic vernacular pamphlets and small vernacular polemical and doctrinal books prior to the rise of the League, and four early Leaguer editions in 1588.³⁸ However, it was from 1589 that Patrasson came to the fore as an active Leaguer publisher. He was responsible for at least 33 Leaguer editions, 20 of which were published in 1589, with a

³⁷ Cf. Baudrier I 274, II 189.

³⁸ Ibid., II 200-201,

handful produced between 1590 and 1592.³⁹ Patrasson only ever ranked in the second tier of Lyonnais Leaguer publishers, yet the city's Leaguer elite acknowledged his position by electing him as one of the publishers' representatives of the syndicate for printers and publishers in 1589 and again in 1591.⁴⁰ Baudrier notes that Patrasson maintained close relations to several Parisian printers and publishers, and that he was responsible for importing many Parisian Leaguer pamphlets into Lyon.⁴¹ Indeed, one can trace an overlap between Patrasson's productions and several of these Parisian printer-publishers.⁴² There is a marked similarity in the style, content and the paratextual apparatus of works published by Patrasson and the Parisian publishers Jacques Varangues and Pierre Mercier. A number of works by Patrasson share the highly distinctive title page fleurons and initial letters of these Parisian publishers.⁴³ Moreover, Patrasson published several pamphlet editions in Lyon that were reprints of works initially printed elsewhere: from the Parisian editions of Nicolas Nivelles, Hubert Velu and Guillaume Chaudière as well as a translation of a pamphlet penned and published in Milan.⁴⁴

³⁹ Ibid., II 201-209; LN 1715; other copies not cited in bibliographies: anon., Briefue Naration de tout ce qui c'est passe en la ville d'Agen, Lyon (Jean Patrasson) 1590, copy in Lyon BM Rés. 314755; also anon., Discours pitoyable des execrables Cruautes et inhumaines Barbaries, Lyon (Jean Patrasson) 1589, copy in Aix Méjanes Rec. D 9 (46).

⁴⁰ Cf. Baudrier II 75-76.

⁴¹ Cf. Baudrier II 189. On such example being, anon., Discours entre le Roi de Navarre, et Marmet son Ministre, sur l'instruction par lui demandee en forme de Dialogue, Lyon (Jean Patrasson) 1590 upon the copy printed in Paris by Hubert Glar of the same year.

⁴² Cf. Pallier, Recherches, 204, 207, 370, 586, 650, 706.

⁴³ For examples of fleurons and initial letters contrast Baudrier from 189 with anon., Origine de la Maladie de la France, avec les Remedes propres la guarisson d'icelle, Paris (Jacques Varangues) s.d. [1589]; also anon., Discours entre le Roi de Navarre, et Marmet son Ministre, sur l'instruction par lui demandee en forme de Dialogue, Paris (Hubert Glar) 1590, esp. initial letter on fol.A2r and typographical ornament on fol.F3r, for which see Baudrier II.

⁴⁴ See fn 42; also Baudrier II 201-209.

Louis Tantillon remains as elusive as Jean Patrasson. He was active as a publisher and bookseller in March 1555, and then as a *libraire* in the early 1570s.⁴⁵ His earliest publications date from 1578, although the publication of a small undated octavo single-sheet Catholic confession in gothic font suggests earlier publishing activity.⁴⁶ It is possible that Tantillon operated primarily as a book dealer rather than commissioning printed texts, or that his typical publications were primarily ephemeral pamphlet or single sheet productions that have not survived the test of time. Tantillon's fortunes appear to have fluctuated in the publishing world. He was first elected as one of the publishers' representatives in 1577. However, by 1591, we can see a significant reduction in status, when Tantillon was elected as the representative for the syndicate of printers, a position he was to hold a further three times, in 1595, 1597 and 1598.⁴⁷

It was from 1589 that Tantillon's presence in Lyon's publishing world became more prominent. Tantillon embraced the League fully, being described by Baudrier as 'avec Pillehotte et Patrasson, un des trois principaux éditeurs du parti de la Ligue à Lyon.'⁴⁸ He was one of the most prominent of Lyon's pamphlet publishers of 1589 and 1590, being responsible for over 30 polemical editions.⁴⁹ Tantillon also published a number of Leaguer pamphlets that were first seen within other Leaguer cities: at least six editions reprinted from the Paris copy, one each from editions published in Amiens, Douai, Rouen and Sens.⁵⁰ Some of the most urgent calls to arms and most hate-filled little works were printed

⁴⁵ Cf. Baudrier II 405.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 405-406.

⁴⁷ Ibid., IX 75-76.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 404.

⁴⁹ Ibid., from 406-417; also anon., *Admirable et prodigeuse mort de Henri de Valois*, Lyon (Louis Tantillon) 1589, copy in Chantilly Musée Condé IX E 32 (6).

⁵⁰ Ibid.

on Tantillon's behalf. However, his activism within Leaguer publishing circles declined sharply from 1591, the very year that Tantillon is first mentioned as being solely an *imprimeur*, rather than a *libraire*.⁵¹

Benoist Rigaud

As we have seen in chapter 2, Benoist Rigaud was responsible for some of the most forthright of Lyon's early, pre-1589 Leaguer polemics. However, his Leaguer enthusiasm did not last into 1589. Between 1589 and 1593 Rigaud published only a handful of League pamphlets, and these tend to be those of the least polemical character: they include remonstrances from the Blois Estates, and three reprinted papal letters.⁵²

From 1588-89 onwards we know very little of Rigaud's personal life or business affairs. We possess only a tiny amount of contractual or testamentary evidence for the all important final decade of his life.⁵³ Thus one cannot say definitively whether Rigaud remained a committed Leaguer, or, as his bibliographical history suggests, he shunned the League as it became a revolutionary movement following the Blois assassinations. Certainly there is nothing to suggest that Rigaud was ever an active member of Lyon's Leaguer fraternity. Indeed, he does not seem to have ever been completely accepted by

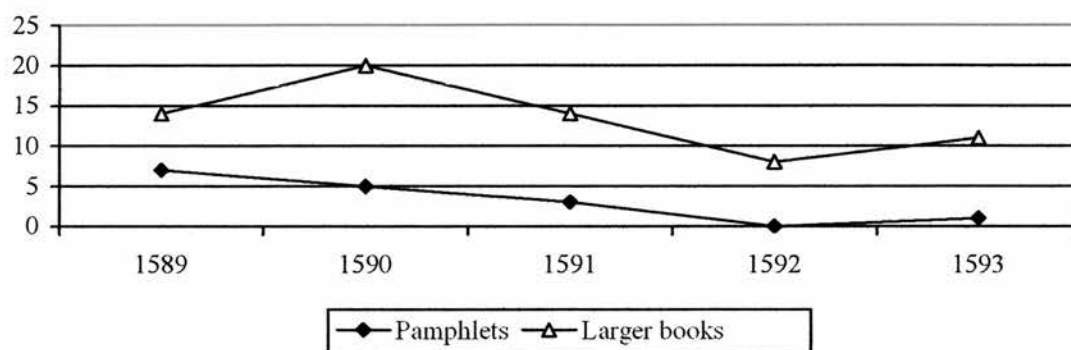
⁵¹ Cf. Baudrier IX 75-76.

⁵² Cf. Baudrier III 401-431; also books not cited in consulted bibliographical works: Mallot, & Bobier, Replique a la Responce faite sur l'advis & requeste n'agueres presentez au Roi, Lyon (Benoist Rigaud 1589, copy in Aix Méjanes Rec. D 19 (9); anon., L'Ordre des Estates Generaux tenus a Blois, l'an 1588, Lyon (Benoist Rigaud) 1589, copy in Aix Méjanes Rec. D 71 (25); also anon., Discours des Honneurs, Pompes, et Magnificences, faictes tant au coronnement de nostre S. Pere le Pape, Lyon (Benoist Rigaud) 1591, copy in Aix Méjanes P 10730.

⁵³ Cf. Baudrier III 182-183.

Lyon's Leaguer hierarchy. He was not elected to represent the publishers' syndicate during the Leaguer years.⁵⁴

Graph 4.3 Editions published by Benoist Rigaud, 1589-1593



During the Leaguer years Rigaud's publishing activities changed. Ever since the early 1560s Rigaud had specialised in the production of pamphlet literature. Between 1565 and 1588 he had been responsible for around a half of the pamphlet editions published in Lyon. Yet between 1589 and 1593 he appears to have almost abandoned the publication of pamphlets. This must have been a conscious choice. He cannot have been simply squeezed out of the production of pamphlet literature by Jean Pillehotte: Rigaud was a wealthy man and could have afforded to commission or produce Leaguer polemics if he had so wished. Likewise, Rigaud did not appear to have been harassed in Lyon, since he was able to maintain a slightly reduced, but close to normal output of larger books, the majority of these being small legal works, literary editions and small format classics.⁵⁵ The evidence suggests that Rigaud intentionally stepped back from the production of Leaguer pamphlets, indicating a reluctance to become involved with the more revolutionary Leaguer movement.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, IX 75-76.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, III 401-431.

Pierre Chastain

Little is known of the printer and minor publisher Pierre Chastain. Chastain, termed *le dauphin*, was a cousin of Benoist Rigaud. We can place Chastain in Lyon's book world from his witnessing of contractual statements as early as 1562.⁵⁶ Until 1584 he was registered as a member of the *compagnie d'imprimeurs*, indicating that he was employed in one of the varying roles of print shop labourer. In October 1584 it appears that Chastain took a further step to establish himself in Lyon's printing industry, when he became an apprentice of his cousin Rigaud.⁵⁷ Following this Chastain established what Baudrier has described as a workshop of the third order, but among the better typographically.⁵⁸ The first Chastain imprint that we are aware of is a 1585 pamphlet edition for Jean Pillehotte.⁵⁹ In just under three years from signing his apprenticeship papers, Chastain was registered in a contract of 1587 as a being a master printer. Hence by at least August 1587 Chastain was operating his own printing workshop.⁶⁰ Chastain's rise was cemented in 1592 when he was elected alongside the master printer Pierre Roussin as the joint printers' representative on the syndicate.⁶¹

Chastain contract printed no fewer than 70 editions; however, we may guess that the true figure is actually much higher as it appears that printers were not allowed to sign all the editions they worked on. As a printer Chastain was commissioned to print for a number of publishers. Benoist Rigaud appears to have been the most regular user of Chastain's

⁵⁶ Ibid., VI 1.

⁵⁷ Ibid., also III 181.

⁵⁸ Ibid., VI 1.

⁵⁹ Anon., Articles generaux de la paix universelle, Lyon (Jean Pillehotte) 1585.

⁶⁰ Cf. Baudrier III 182.

⁶¹ Ibid., IX 75-76.

presses, with around 50 known editions. Among others Chastain also printed for Pillehotte, Tantillon, Patrasson and the merchant publisher Jean Gabiano. Much of Chastain's work involved the printing of pamphlets and on occasion smaller books of up to a hundred printed sheets.

Chastain published around 20 pamphlet editions between 1587 and 1594; of these we find a half dozen Leaguer editions, the majority of which were published in 1587 and 1588.⁶² Much like his uncle, Chastain veered away from the most incendiary Leaguer material. None of his pamphlet editions are of a particularly hostile and virulent tone. Chastain's record as a Leaguer contract printer betrays a similar pattern. He printed a number of Rigaud's pre-1589 Leaguer tracts, as well as several for Rigaud, Pillehotte, Tantillon and Patrasson during 1589 to 1591, all among the milder Lyonnais Leaguer publications.

Leaguer Pamphlets

Lyon's Leaguer imprints were almost all pamphlets: the pamphlet format accounts for some 95% of the total number of books issued on behalf of the League in the city. And during these years, the League domination of pamphlet production was close to being total. From 1589 to the fall of the League in Lyon in 1593, around 90% of Lyon's pamphlet publications can be classified as Leaguer works. The remainder were works of a largely

⁶² Ibid., VI 19-26; also anon., Lettre d'un gentil homme de champagne a un conseiller de Paris, Lyon (Pierre Chastain dit Dauphin) 1593, copy in Rheims BM CRIV602p.

non-partisan character that could have been published in any period, such as discussions of the Turkish threat and prognostications.

Leaguer pamphlets differed markedly from anything previously seen from Lyon's presses. During the 1560s Lyon's Protestant printers were at the forefront of establishing the French printing press as a medium for the circulation of pungent and violent sentiments through the pamphlet.⁶³ This radical precedent was followed and developed by the city's Catholic printer-publishers into the 1570s and beyond.⁶⁴ However, from 1589 there was a distinctive and radical evolution in the tone, style and content of politico-religious pamphlet literature. This evolution was triggered by the Blois assassinations, after which the League became embroiled in a quite different struggle: the battle for legitimacy. In 1589 the League undertook a massive campaign to win popular support throughout France. They needed to make the case that they were the true defenders of the faith and the rightful rulers of France. At the forefront of this media campaign was the polemical pamphlet.

Lyon's printed Leaguer polemic differed from Parisian polemic in several important aspects. In the first instance, Lyon's pamphlets did not focus so specifically upon the figures of the Duc and Cardinal de Guise. In Paris and Toulouse a large body of pamphlets were published that concentrated entirely upon the Blois assassinations.⁶⁵ However, for Lyon we find that fewer than ten editions dealing specifically with these events. This difference extends to one further leading characteristic of these pamphlets, the fact that the

⁶³ See chapter 1.

⁶⁴ See chapter 2.

⁶⁵ Cameron, K., *Henri III: A Malignant Or Malignant King? (Aspects of the Satirical Iconography of Henri de Valois)*, Exeter 1978; by the same author, 'L'illustration au service de la popogande contre Henri III', N. Cazauran (ed.), *Le livre et l'image en France au XVIe siècle*, Paris 1898, pp.89-104; also Greengrass, 'The Sainte-Union', pp.467-496.

Paris editions often contained woodcut illustrations. Woodcut portraits and death scenes of the Duc de Guise were widely reproduced within Parisian Leaguer literature, both within pamphlets and as specifically designed broadsides.⁶⁶ These imprints created a successful synthesis of image and text that appealed to both base and more sophisticated emotions. We lack any evidence to suggest that Lyon participated in this output of illustrated pamphlets in any significant way. Throughout surviving Lyonnais Leaguer imprints one finds only very rare examples of woodcuts illustrations. The few existing images tend to be simply generic portraits of the Duc de Guise. Lyon's Leaguer movement also does not appear to have become embroiled in the production of illustrated broadsides. Although the St. Andrews French Vernacular Book Project has discovered quite a number of single-leaf broadsides, none appear at first inspection to be of Lyonnais origin.⁶⁷

Another major difference between Lyonnais and Parisian Leaguer pamphlet literature relates to the prophetic tone adopted in many of the Parisian works. Since Denis Crouzet's landmark study, the discussion of pamphlet literature has focused heavily on the idea of millenarianism.⁶⁸ However, bibliographical study shows us that millenarian sentiment seems not to be an over-riding feature of Lyonnais League publication (see graph 4.4). Almanachs, previously a very popular genre, seem hardly to have been published immediately before or during the years of the League. Even the best-selling works of

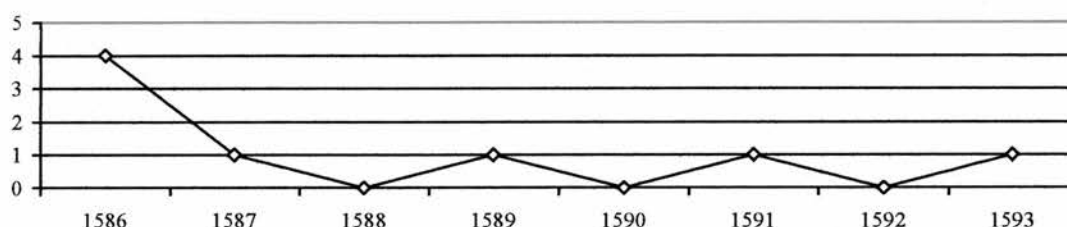
⁶⁶ Keith Cameron's work has done much to highlight the role of the Leaguer illustrated broadside in Paris. Cameron, *Henri III*; by the same author, 'L'illustration', pp.89-104.

⁶⁷ See chapter 2, esp. fn.52.

⁶⁸ Crouzet, *Les Guerriers de Dieu*; also Lignereux, *Lyon*, p.129.

Nostradamus were not reprinted at all in Lyon under the League, although they were printed elsewhere in France, especially in Paris and Rouen.⁶⁹

Graph 4.4 Editions of almanacs and prophetic literature published in Lyon, 1586-1593



Rather than exhibiting a deep apocalyptic pessimism, Lyon's Leaguer literature stressed that this was a time of testing for God's chosen people. In the anonymously penned *La prinse de la ville et chasteau de Gournay* the author builds around an account of the siege a history of the Catholic struggle against heresy. His purpose is to explain that the faithful in other ages have suffered greater tests and yet remained steadfast.⁷⁰ Other works such as the *Allegresse et resioissance publique des vrais et zelez Catholiques* emphasise that the healing of the French Church would be a long and painful journey that required much suffering.⁷¹ These ideas have far more in common with the findings of Robert Harding's study of Leaguer sentiment and literature in Angers, Rennes and Nantes than the overwhelmingly millenarian sentiment postulated by Crouzet.⁷²

⁶⁹ Statistics of non-Lyonnais Nostradamus imprints taken from Chomarat, *Bibliographie*, 91-160.

⁷⁰ Anon., *La prinse de la Ville et Chasteau de Gournay en Normandie, par Monseigneur le Duc de Mayenne, le septiesme de ce present mois*, Lyon (Jean Patrasson) 1589, fols.A2v-A4r, B2r-B3v.

⁷¹ Anon., *Allegresse et Resioissance publique des vrais et zelez Catholiques François, sur l'heureuse venue de monseigneur l'illustrissime Cardinal Cajetan*, Lyon (Louis Tantillon) 1589, fols.A4v-B2r.

⁷² Harding, 'Revolution and Reform', pp.403-412.

Polemical tracts

Polemical tracts dominate the production of Lyon's Leaguer pamphlets, with around 180 editions, or 80% of the total. For the purpose of this study I have divided these polemical tracts into two strands: polemical discourses (42% of all Lyonnais Leaguer pamphlet editions), and accounts of battles and military skirmishes (38%).

Between 1589 and 1593, just over a third of the 263 Leaguer pamphlets published on Lyon's printing presses were narrative accounts of the wars. In sheer numbers, Pillehotte dominated this field, thanks largely to his Leaguer privilege.⁷³ However, both Patrasson and Tantillon also involved themselves with the production of works of this nature. Reports of battles were a crucial part of the printed propaganda of the League, and over the period 1589-1592 they comprised an increasing proportion of the production of the Lyonnais Leaguer pamphlets (see table 4.1). Bibliographically, it is not simple to trace a definite pattern of production. Many pamphlets were devoted to localised skirmishes; there are also several cases in which the summary of a series of campaigns in a region will be presented. However, as one would expect, one can trace heightened interest in the major campaigns, such as Navarre's sieges of Paris or Rouen.

Table 4.1 Breakdown of Lyonnais pamphlet editions, 1589-1593

	Battle reports	Polemics	Edicts	Non-Leaguer pamphlets
1589	33 %	47%	18%	2%
1590	32 %	46%	16%	6%
1591	48 %	36%	8%	8%
1592	66 %	13%	18%	3%
1593	31 %	32%	11%	26%

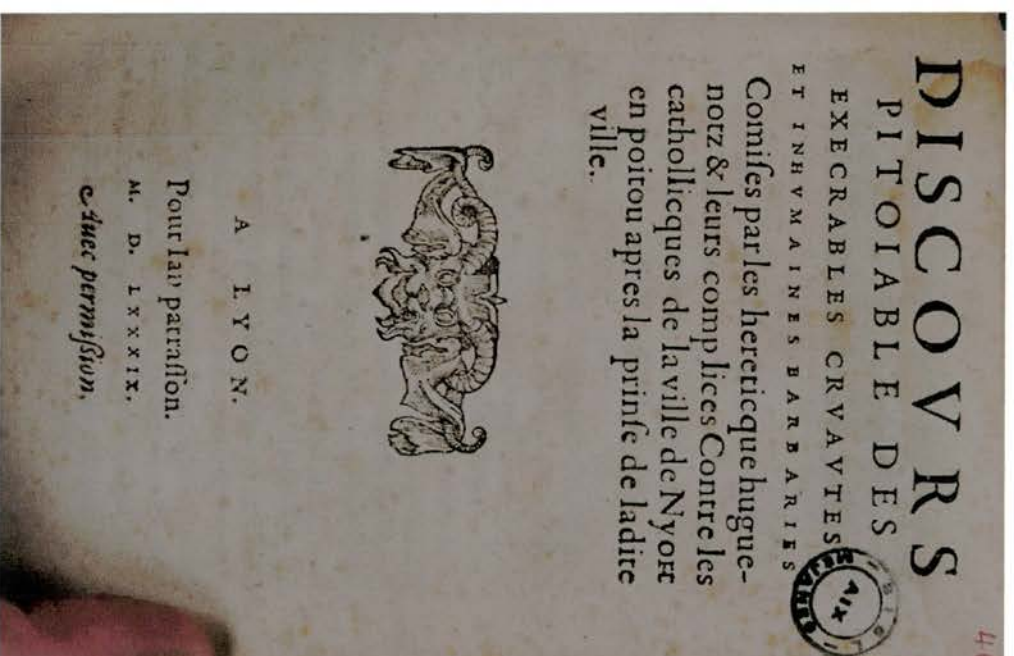
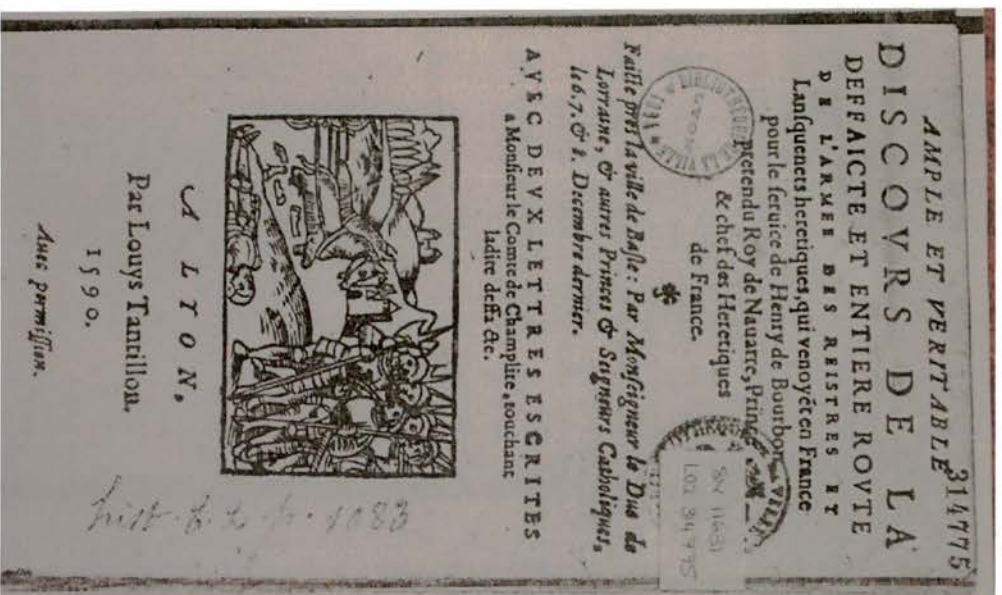
⁷³ Cf. Baudrier II 238.

As we saw in chapter 2, printed accounts of the wars were not a new phenomenon. From 1589, however, one can sense a distinct change in the content and tone of such publications in Lyon under the League. These works now departed from the style of mere reportage that had characterised earlier pamphlets of this type. Instead these publications include increasingly overt and often violent confessional statements. From 1589, battle tracts provided justification for violence in a manner seen only previously in the pamphlet literature surrounding the events of 1572, and the small theological handbooks by the likes of Gabriel de Saconay, Pierre Matthieu and Artus Desiré.⁷⁴

It was not unusual for the larger part of the text to be taken up with overtly confessional statements, with only a minority of the text dedicated to relaying the information from the skirmish and its outcome. An example is the *Defaictie veritable sur les troupes du roi de Navarre*, a joyful celebration of the defeat of Navarre's army by the Duc de Mayenne.⁷⁵ In a pamphlet containing 12 printed pages of text in octavo, we find that only four printed sides are given to a factual account of the battle. The remainder, including a series of three sonnets, is comprised of a justification for military actions, abuse of the Huguenots and appeals to Catholics to join in the confessional struggle. Even the factual account of the battle is regularly punctured with polemical statements. Only the few remaining paragraphs present the reader with access to the bare facts, including the customary listings of prisoners and fatalities.

⁷⁴ See chapters 2 and 3.

⁷⁵ Anon., *Defaictie veritable sur les Troupes du Roi de Navarre, le Lundy cinquième Mars 1590*, Lyon (Louis Tantillon) 1590.



Left: Title page of anon., Ample et véritable Discours de la Defaictte et entiere Route de l'Armee des Reistres, Lyon (Louis Tantiillon) 1590; featuring an example of the basic type of woodcut occasionally employed in such works.
 Right: Title page of anon., Discours pitoyable des execrables Cruantes et inhumaines Barbaries comises par les heretique hugenotz, Lyon (Jean Patrasson) 1589; featuring a typical example of a distinctive title page fleuron used by Patrasson.

In this way the printed accounts of battles changed markedly under the League, evolving from factual documents to highly polemicised confessional statements. They came to be an essential part of the propaganda war, alongside the main body of polemical pamphlets, focused more specifically upon discussion of the controversial issues of the day. These polemical tracts ranged very widely, and included appeals and remonstrances, speeches, political discourses, funeral oraisons and correspondence.

Various elements of the polemical literature of the League have been discussed by scholars. The political theory of the League was explored in the classic work of Frederic Baumgartner; more recently, the notion of pollution has been the subject of work by Keith Cameron, Charlotte Wells and David Teasley.⁷⁶ Within the scope of this thesis our discussion will focus upon tracing three dominant themes in Lyon's Leaguer polemical pamphlets. Firstly we will explore the notion of leadership, encompassing both the promotion of Leaguer claims to legitimate authority and the refutation of the claims of Henri III and Henri de Navarre. This is followed by an examination of the theme of communal pollution used to attack the Protestants and their faith. Finally we will discuss the emergence of French and Catholic nationalism. This three-pronged polemical assault was designed both to create empathy for the League and win the battle for legitimacy in France.

⁷⁶ Baumgartner, F.J., *Radical Reactionaries: the political thought of the French Catholic League*, Geneva 1976; Cameron, *Henri III*, 'L'illustration', pp.89-104; also Wells, C., 'Leeches on the Body Politic: Xenophobia and Witchcraft in Early Modern Political Thought', *FHS* 22/3 (1999), pp.351-377; also Teasley, D., 'The Charge of Sodomy as a Political Weapon in Early Modern France: The Case of Henry III in Catholic League polemic, 1585-1589', *Maryland Historian* 18/1 (1987), pp.17-30.

Leadership and legitimacy

From the outset the League found itself embroiled in a battle for legitimacy. The League needed to convince the kingdom of their legitimate role as saviours of the kingdom and its religion, and that it was the duty of all Frenchmen and good Catholics to heed the cause. The difficulties inherent in such an argument were obvious. In the first years of the Leaguer rebellion, they were faced by a legitimate King, Henri III, and his acknowledged heir, Henri de Navarre. It was easier to challenge Navarre than to challenge the legitimacy of the present King: he was nevertheless subjected to a systematic campaign of denigration. Both Valois and Navarre were charged with hideous crimes against the true religion and the state. In parallel to this, the League had to undertake a campaign promoting themselves as the strong and rightful leaders, capable of healing France's wounds.

French Catholic opinion had begun to shift against Henri III shortly following his return from Poland in 1574. In chapter two we have seen how this opposition grew to manifest itself in the early Leaguer pamphlets of the mid-1580s. By 1587 elements of early Leaguer polemic had developed from accusations levelled against Henri's *mignons* and councillors, and included personal attacks on Henri himself. The breaking point came with the Blois assassinations in December 1588.

Although even into 1589 a number of overtly loyal remonstrances from the Blois Estates were reprinted in Lyon, a larger, more menacing body of literature was hostile to the King. Loyalist works typically laid the blame for Blois at the feet of Henri's malign council, but the greater part of the Leaguer pamphlets attacked the King more directly.

These more radical publications assailed Henri as a murderer and tyrant. The main body of pamphlet literature published in Lyon from 1589 blamed Henri personally not only for the assassinations, but also for the survival of heresy within the kingdom. In 1589 and 1590 over a dozen pamphlets specifically addressed the assassination of Henri III. The murder of the demonised King was greeted with giddy jubilation amongst the Leaguer pamphleteers, and almost every Lyonnais Leaguer pamphlet published between 1590 and 1593 alluded to the event in some way or other. The tale was typically retold as a mirror of the Guise assassinations in the form of a morality play.

An anonymous pamphlet published by Pillehotte in 1589, *Contre les fausses allegations* is somewhat typical in the way it explored the malign intentions of the capricious and avaricious Valois.⁷⁷ The pamphlet accused the King of an association with Satan, accusing him of using ‘charmes diaboliques’ to murder the Guises. The massacres were also presented as the work of an ungrateful and jealous individual, bent on revenge for the honourable and religious activities of the Guise. Henri was accused of being complicit with heretical foreign monarchs such as the ‘Jezabel d’Angleterre’. The pair were depicted as working to implant heresy in France: here a typical point of reference was the invasion of the German *Reistres* in 1587. The work uses binary opposites to construct a hagiographical description of the Guise that contrasts clearly with the demonic world of the perjured Valois.

⁷⁷ Anon., *Contre les fausses Allegations que les plus qu’Achitofels, Conseillers Cabinalistes, proposent pour excuser Henri le meurtrier de l’assassinat par lui perfidement commis en la personne du tresillustre Duc de Guise*, Lyon (Jean Pillehotte) 1589.

The work of such authors in demonising the actions and memory of Henri III also allowed them to justify the actions of his assassin, Jacques Clement. The actions of Clement in 1589 did not cause an immediate wave of shock and consternation throughout Leaguer literature. Rather they led to a strengthening of printed opinion. The assassination of Henri III was typically discussed from the point of view of Clement, in works such as the *Discours des preparations faictes par frere Jaques Clement*, a 1589 Pillehotte publication. In this pamphlet Clement, alone and divinely inspired, calmly drank water and prayed before setting out for the royal camp, ‘pour mettre fin une si heroique entreprise, et non humaine, mais divine’.⁷⁸

Public interest in Jacques Clement was whetted by a range of pamphlet publications. Much like Henri III, Clement quickly became a stock reference within Leaguer literature. The reader was left under no illusion that the assassination of Henri was divinely inspired retribution for the failings and sins of the heretical Valois. Clement was seen to be acting under divine guidance. One example was the 1589 *Discours veritable*, which claimed that the monk was visited by an angel who commanded the assassination.⁷⁹ Such references resounded throughout the pamphlet literature well into 1593, as seen in the anonymously penned *Syllogismes en quatrains*, published by Pillehotte. The *Syllogismes* ends with a sonnet celebrating Clement’s deeds, firstly in French and then repeated in Latin.⁸⁰

⁷⁸ Anon., *Discours des Preparations faictes par frere Jaques Clement, religieux de l’ordre de S. Dominicque, pour delivrer la France de Henri de Valois*, Lyon (s.n. [Jean Pillehotte]) 1589.

⁷⁹ Anon., *Discours veritable de l’estranger et subite Mort de Henri de Valois, advenue par permission divine, [...] par un religieux de l’ordre des Jacobins*, Lyon (Jean Pillehotte) 1589, fols.A3v-A4r.

⁸⁰ Anon., *Syllogismes en Quatrains sur l’Election d’un Roi*, Lyon (Jean Pillehotte) 1593.

Henri's malign and demonic nature was not forgotten even after his death. Rather an alleged deathbed confession of Henri was penned by d'Estourneaux, *Les derniers propos de Henri de Valois*, published by Tantillon in 1589.⁸¹ In a confession of guilt, Henri is shown to have died in poverty and in pain with his sorrows. This impoverished and painful death was given as a clear sign of God's revenge on Henri for his abandonment of the true faith and for allowing heresy to prosper in France. Within the work Henri claims that he had been in league with Nebuchadnezzar and had been perpetrating all manner of crimes since the death of Charles IX. Moreover, D'Estourneaux has Henri admit to being solely responsible for the continued division of the kingdom and the jealous murder of the Guise at Blois, all before entering 'au plus profond des Enfers'.⁸²

From the inception of the first Leaguer movement Henri de Navarre had faced a barrage of literary attacks; however, the assassination of Henri III provided a new impetus to the scale and ferocity of the League's literary attacks. In attempting to subvert Navarre's claims to the throne, Leaguer pamphlets aimed to illustrate the multitude of heinous crimes he had allegedly committed and subject him to a barrage of abuse and slander similar to that suffered by Henri III. Between 1590 and 1591 more than a dozen titles were penned with the specific intention of laying siege to Navarre. They addressed his sins, malign ambitions and inadequate qualities for holding the King's office. Moreover, Navarre became a primary focus of almost all Leaguer pamphlets in Lyon from 1591 onwards.

⁸¹ Estourneaux, d', *Les derniers Propos de Henri de Valois, jadis Roi, & tyran de France: qui mourut le Mercredi deuziesme d'Aoust 1589 a S. Cloud, à deuz heures apres minuict*, Lyon (Louis Tantillon) 1589.

⁸² *Ibid.*, fols.A2r-B4v.

At the hands of the League, Navarre underwent character assassination similar to that of Henri III. Navarre was regularly portrayed as both vicious and unjust in an attempt to negate his very obvious kingly qualities. In the anonymous *Advertissement des catholiques de Bearn*, published by Patrasson 1589, Navarre is presented as little more than the leader of a violent gang of rapists and murderers marauding through France.⁸³ Indeed, the cruelty of Navarre's armies was widely cited in Leaguer pamphlets, both within battle reports and in the wider corpus of polemical literature. Within the battle reports Navarre faced charges of cruelty at every turn. The *Vrai discours et defence des catholiques de la ville de Rouen* is typical in this respect. The work claims that during the siege, Navarre was personally responsible for having put many honest citizens to the sword during the barbaric siege of the town.⁸⁴

This image of Navarre as unjust and vicious was reinforced within the Catholic community by reports of atrocities committed against priests. In *Le martyre et cruelle mort du venerable prieur des jacobins de Paris*, Navarre murders poor and defenceless monks and female religious in both Tours and Paris simply because they were members of the same order as Jacques Clement.⁸⁵ The message is clear: if Navarre and his men are capable of the murder of monks, they are capable of murdering anybody.⁸⁶ The work progresses to

⁸³ Anon., *Advertissement des catholiques de Bearn, aux catholiques francois, unis a la Sainte Union, touchant la Declaration faite au Pont Saint Clou, par Henri deuxiesme Roi de Navarre, le quatriesme jour d'Aoust 1589*, Lyon (Jean Patrasson) 1589.

⁸⁴ Anon., *Vrai Discours et defence des catholiques de la ville de Rouen, contre la siege & force du Roi de Navarre*, Lyon (Jean Patrasson) s.d. [1589].

⁸⁵ Anon., *Le martyre et cruelle mort du venerable Prieur des Jacobins de Paris, fait à Tours le vingt-troisiesme de Fevrier, 1590*, Lyon (s.n. [Jean Pillehotte]) s.d. [1590].

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, fols.A4r-v.

describe the inhuman dismemberment of the corpses, claiming that Navarre and his troops were more barbaric in their behaviour than anything seen by the Turk.⁸⁷

Navarre's Protestant background provided further grist to the polemical mill. He was held responsible for the introduction of malign Protestant foreign forces into the kingdom, firstly in the winter of 1587 with the *Reistres*, and then throughout the remainder of the Wars of Religion. In a 1589 Patrasson publication, the *Advertissement des catholiques de Bearn*, the author reminds the reader that Navarre had brought foreign forces into France to aid his ambitions: 'la France [est] captive par des cadets d'Allemagne, qui a les mains encore toutes sanglantes du meurdre de voz bons citoiens'.⁸⁸ The pamphlet then argues that for 20 years foreign armies had aided the Huguenots in the division of France, destroying churches, fouling relics and images of saints, sacking towns, violating women and murdering children. The *Advertissement* then reminds the reader that the French kingdom was privileged by God, and that Navarre and his Protestant armies wanted to invert the natural order of creation and seize the throne.⁸⁹ In another Patrasson publication of the same year, *Sommaire de la defaictte de quelques troupes des reistres*, we find similar accounts of the suffering of Catholics at the hands of the Huguenots and *Reistres*, who sack, ruin and violate France.⁹⁰

Hand in hand with the accusations of treason the pamphlets placed Navarre into the line of heresy against which the true Catholic Church had always battled. It was common

⁸⁷ Ibid., fols.A4v-B2r.

⁸⁸ Anon., *Advertissement des catholiques de Bearn*, Lyon (Jean Patrasson) 1589, fols.A3v-A4r.

⁸⁹ Ibid., Lyon (Jean Patrasson) 1589, fol.A4v.

⁹⁰ Anon., *Sommaire de la defaictte de quelques Troupes des Reistres. Exploitee par Messieurs de Clemond, Mellay et Guyouvelle [...] avec la prinse de Chasteau de Jaméz faicte par monseigneur le Duc de Lorraine*, Lyon (Jean Patrasson) 1589.

for Leaguer pamphlets to draw attention to the similarities between the medieval crusades and the ongoing wars against forces loyal to Navarre. In the anonymous *Remonstrance a la noblesse catholique de France* the weight of argument for the destruction of Navarre and his forces rests upon the fact that Catholic France had fought the Arians, Visigoths, infidels, heretics and schismatics in all provinces of Greece, Asia, Judea, Egypt, Africa, Sicily, Spain, Germany and Hungary.⁹¹ Other pamphlets took a slightly different approach, accusing Navarre of being a part of a European league of heresy directed towards the eradication of the True Church, with the aid of England, Germany and the Turk.⁹² Moreover, within France Navarre was claimed to be 'le plus grand chef des Heretiques' in a body that included Calvin, de Bèze and Luther.⁹³ Navarre's heretical background demanded his exclusion from the succession to the French throne. A 1592 Pillehotte production, *Copie d'un lettre escript a Rome*, commented that it would be impossible to suggest that Navarre could simply abjure and assume the throne as history had shown that any abjuration would be insincere and would only be recanted later.⁹⁴

The use of fabricated correspondence allegedly penned by Navarre was a powerful tool for the Leaguer cause. Correspondence with England's Jezebel was certain to confirm the French Catholics' notion of Navarre as a malign and treacherous heretic. The *Lettre du roi de Navarre, escrete a la royne d'Angleterre* begins with a supposed confession of

⁹¹ Anon., *Remonstrance a la Noblesse catholique de France, qui tient le party du Roi de Navarre*, Lyon (Jean Pillehotte) 1590, esp. fols.A-B.

⁹² Anon., *Le Fouet des Heretiques, politiques, et traistres de la France associez du feu Roi de Navarre*, Lyon (Louis Tantillon) 1590, fol.D1r.

⁹³ Rit, Michel du, *Le bon Francois, ou de la Foi des Gaulois*, Lyon (s.n. [Jean Patrasson]) 1589, fol.B1r.

⁹⁴ Anon., *Copie d'une Lettre escripte a Rome, donnant advis de la bonne volonté de sa Sainteté, pour la conservation de l'Eglise Catholique en France*, Lyon (Jean Pillehotte) 1592, fols.A2r-A3r.

Navarre's personal objectives.⁹⁵ Navarre boasts that he is working towards the extermination of Catholicism and thanks Elizabeth for her advice:

‘Madame, [...] touchant le conseil que m’aviez donné de prendre la religion Romaine à fin de m’installer plus facilement à mon Royaume, [...] pour remettre les choses en l’estat de reformation de l’Eglise à quoi je me sens appellé de Dieu pour toute la Chrestienté, comme vous l’avez esté premierement pour vostre royaume d’Angleterre’.⁹⁶

This is followed by Henri's alleged claims that he will not end his struggle until the Catholic Church is eradicated and all of his enemies are left dead. A similar example is provided with *La lettre du roi de Navarre et de d'Espéron envoyée aux Rochelois*.⁹⁷ The letter, which the editor claims fell into Catholic hands after it was intercepted outside Henri's military camp near Rouen, begins with Henri allegedly attempting to rally Protestant armies from Germany and England ‘pour extriper la loi Papistique et Romaine, comme j’ai desia bien commencé’.

The media battle to authenticate the legitimacy of the League's claims to be the rightful rulers of France involved a two-pronged strategy. On the one hand, as we have seen, the League had to deny Navarre's right to the crown and prove his unworthiness ever to succeed; on the other it had to present the kingdom with strong and coherent leadership. At least into 1591 Leaguer pamphlet literature was highly effective in its attempts to blacken the reputations of Henri III and Henri de Navarre. Yet the League comprehensively failed to present either a viable or a popular alternative figurehead around whom the movement

⁹⁵ Anon., *Lettre du Roi de Navarre, écrite a la Royne d’Angleterre. Avec une remonstrance sur icelle à la Noblesse qui le suit, et tient son party*, Lyon (Jean Pillehotte) 1590, fol.A2r-A4r.

⁹⁶ Ibid., fol.C2r.

⁹⁷ Anon., *La Lettre du Roi de Navarre et de d’Espéron envoyée aux Rochelois, où sont contenus tous leurs desseins & entreprises, & comme elle a esté trouve à un heretique prins à Poitiers*, Lyon (Jean Pillehotte) 1589, fols.A1v-A2v.

could crystallise. Both in terms of *Realpolitik* and propaganda this represents possibly the most deep-seated failing of the Leaguer movement.

The League's search for leadership suffered from the fundamental flaw that it focused upon the dead in the persons of the Guise, and the old and unwilling in the person of Charles, Cardinal de Bourbon. Beyond the dead and ailing the League really had few realistic options. The Duc de Mayenne, a member of the Guise clan, and the Paris *Seize* provided leadership without solving the problem of legitimacy. The death of the Cardinal de Bourbon in 1590 only posed the problem in still sharper terms: now the question of an alternative to Henri de Navarre had to be addressed. Some among the League were prepared to consider a foreign alternative, even Philip of Spain. Others thought Mayenne could be married to a Spanish Infanta, though his credentials were widely discounted by other leaders of the movement. The failure to construct a coherent way forward in this crucial respect robbed the League of the most basic building blocks and propaganda tools. It proved instead to be an Achilles' heel.

In Lyon the supporters of the League at first eagerly embraced the denunciations of Henri de Navarre. However, with the failure to provide the movement with either a coherent collective mentality or a realistic plan for the future we find an increasingly fragmented local leadership, with separate factions centred on the two figures of the Governor and the Archbishop. Worse, when the hurdle of Navarre's Protestantism was

removed and French Catholics began to rally to his cause, a large proportion of Lyon's League support simply disintegrated.⁹⁸

The League's failure is reflected clearly in Lyon's pamphlet literature. Fewer than ten editions were printed specifically for the purpose of extolling the rights and virtues of Charles, Cardinal Bourbon as the Leaguer King Charles X, four of which being reprints of Leaguer edicts.⁹⁹ Regular changes in the nomination for the Leaguer leadership compounded this problem. With each new candidate Leaguer polemicists were forced to begin the propaganda battle anew.

Although Charles de Bourbon's rights to the throne were argued in a limited number of short polemical works, he was not the object of a sustained hagiographical campaign. His claims to the throne were addressed in a matter of fact way as the right of the natural heir. In his 1590 publication *Lettres*, Jean Bodin raises the issue of the succession in a typical fashion.¹⁰⁰ Bodin provides a strictly factual appraisal of the rights to the succession in which Navarre is shown not to be the closest in line to the throne. Bodin spends twelve pages tracing the line of succession to demonstrate that Charles de Bourbon should be the rightful heir, and thus that the Leaguer resistance against Henri de Navarre was legal. Another similar example is provided by the Leaguer polemicist Matthieu Zampini.¹⁰¹ In *De la succession* Zampini outlines the history of the succession and the laws that govern it. As an aside, it is interesting to note that this work is peculiar in that it

⁹⁸ Cf. Lignereux, *Lyon*, pp.26-40.

⁹⁹ Cf. Baudrier III 297-311; also LN 1691, 1715.

¹⁰⁰ Bodin, Jean, *Lettres de monsieur Bodin*, Lyon (Jean Pillehotte) 1590, esp. from fol.B2r.

¹⁰¹ Zampini, Matthieu, *De la succession du Droict et prerogative de premier Prince de sang de France, deferée par la loi du Royaume, à Monseigneur Charles Cardinal de Bourbon, par la mort de Monseigneur François de Valois Duc d'Anjou*, Lyon (Jean Patrasson) 1589.

contains a full page woodcut portrait of Charles.¹⁰² A small body of Leaguer edicts also attempted to legitimise the Leaguer claims that Bourbon was the rightful heir. Three editions were published in Lyon in 1590, two being reprints of declarations by the Paris *parlement* and one a reprint from the *parlement* of Dauphiné from November 1590.¹⁰³ These Leaguer edicts do little but outline the fact that Charles was considered by the League as the legitimate monarch, and as such claimed the right to allegiance.

Otherwise references to Charles de Bourbon seem almost incidental occurrences in the broader scope of Leaguer polemic. In the anonymous *Les raisons pour lesquelles Henri de Bourbon [...] ne recogneu roi de France*, a ten point discussion of why Navarre should remain excluded from the throne, the author mentions Charles de Bourbon as the rightful and orthodox heir only as points nine and ten, after a sustained denigration of Navarre.¹⁰⁴ It is perhaps a mark of the difficulties the League movement faced that pamphlets of this nature continued to be printed and reprinted even after Charles de Bourbon had died (on 7 May 1590, still a prisoner of his nephew, Henri); either Leaguer authors had not heard this news, or they simply found it impossible immediately to adjust to the loss of this weak but essential figurehead.

It is interesting to contrast the image of Bourbon with that of more active and zealous Leaguers, such as the Duc de Mayenne. During the years 1590 and 1591 Mayenne

¹⁰² Ibid., fol.A2v.

¹⁰³ Anon., *Arrest de la Cour de Parlement de recognoistre pour Roi Charles X*, Lyon (Jean Pillehotte) 1590; also anon., *Arrest de la Cour de Parlement. Par lequel est enionct de recognoistre le Roi Charles X pour vrai & legitime Roi de France, & deffendu aucun traicté de paix avec Henri de Bourbon*, Lyon (Jean Pillehotte) 1590; also anon., *Arrest de la Cour de Parlement du Dauphiné, du xxii de Novembre 1590*, Lyon (Jean Pillehotte) 1590.

¹⁰⁴ Anon., *Les Raisons, pour lesquelles Henri de Bourbon, soi disant Roi de Navarre ne peut, & ne doit estre receu, approuvé, ne recogneu Roi de France*, Lyon (Jean Pillehotte) 1591, esp. fols.A2r-B4r.

featured as either the main heroic subject, or as a leading protagonist, in several pamphlets. Whilst polemicists had to work hard to construct a positive image of the largely invisible Bourbon, the Duc de Mayenne was a far more plausible heroic figure. Mayenne actively pursued the Leaguer cause, issuing edicts and leading several military campaigns. Bourbon, in contrast, could never be presented as a strong military leader. In two 1590 Tantillon publications, the *Defaicté sur les troupes du roi de Navarre*, and *La prinse de la ville de Montestruc*, it is the ordinary Catholic inhabitants who are singled out as the saviours of local Catholicism. Against this Bourbon is mentioned only in official terms as the figurehead of the League, providing neither funds nor armies to help in the struggle of the ordinary Leaguers.¹⁰⁵

The problem of Leaguer leadership was illustrated by the lack of a viable figurehead capable of uniting the disparate Leaguer movement between the death of the Cardinal of Bourbon in May 1590 and the proposed involvement of Philip of Spain in January 1593. The League attempted to engage this problem by calling two Estates General in 1591. Both times the Estates failed to convene. Only in January 1593 were delegates of the Leaguer movement able to assemble in Paris, where the idea of a marriage between the Spanish Infanta and a prominent Leaguer was raised. The failure of the Estates to reach a unanimous agreement served to further harden the cleavages within Leaguer movement.

The idea of looking towards Spain for a solution gained momentum in January 1593; however, we find that Philip was portrayed as the possible saviour of French, even

¹⁰⁵ Anon., *Defaicté sur les Troupes du Roi de Navarre devant la ville de Sens. Par les habitans catholiques de ladite ville le Jeudy troiesme May 1590*, Lyon (Louis Tantillon) 1590; also anon., *La Prinse de la Ville de Montestruc, pres de Tolose [...] par Monseigneur de Joyeuse*, Lyon (Louis Tantillon) 1590, fol.A2r-A3r.

European Catholicism, very much earlier in the pamphlet literature: indeed he appears in this guise in Lyon pamphlets as early as 1590. The city had long fostered good relations with Philip II: Lyon was at the centre of an important route for imperial communications between Spain and Flanders, the city's surviving Italian banking houses were also well known to Philip, and Philip had garrisoned troops in the Lyonnais during the previous decade.¹⁰⁶ Correspondence between Lyon's Leaguer council and Philip II following the death of Charles de Bourbon in May 1590 illustrates high respect in which Philip was held within sections of Lyon's population as the perceived protector of the city's religion and reputation.¹⁰⁷ In Lyon's Leaguer pamphlet literature Philip was praised to an extent quite remarkable for a foreign monarch. Philip was portrayed as a strong ruler who displayed all the qualities of kingship, military prowess, orthodoxy, and a strong attachment to natural justice.

Pierre Corneio in his *Bref discours [...] au siege memorable [...] de Paris* provides us with a typical early example of Philip's role in League mentalities.¹⁰⁸ The *Bref discours* is for the most part an account of the siege of Paris. It is only after an extended description of the widespread suffering within Paris, exaggerated by the famine conditions within the city that the King of Spain is offered as a possible leader for the League.¹⁰⁹ The reader is then introduced to Philip's credentials, not least Spanish success in repressing heresy in the

¹⁰⁶ Saugnieux, 'Philippe II', pp.221-223; also *Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts, Relating to English Affairs, Existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice, and in other libraries of Northern Italy*, vol.VIII. 1581-1591, London/et al. 1894, 938.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, pp.224-228.

¹⁰⁸ Corneio, Pierre, *Bref Discours et veritable des choses plus notables, arrivees au siege memorable de la renommee ville de Paris, & defence d'icelle par Monseigneur le Duc de Nemours, contre le Roi de Navarre*, Lyon (Jean Pillehotte) 1590.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, esp. from fol.F4v.

Low Countries, and his generous aid in the campaigns against Navarre.¹¹⁰ According to the *Bref discourse*, Philip was ready both to fund and to lead the struggle for the French Catholic Church.¹¹¹ This was also emphasised in the anonymous *Prophetie merveilleuse des affaires et troubles de France*, in which the author argues that Philip would inevitably take on the leadership of the League.¹¹²

Winning popular acceptance of Philip of Spain was a mighty task for the Leaguer polemicists, and one with which they would ultimately fail. Philip faced accusations from the Royalist camp of acting solely out of avarice and malign intentions for France. Pamphlets such as *L'Anti-Espagnol* circulated widely, discussing the cruelty exhibited by Philip's armies in both the Low Countries and in the Spanish annexation of the Portuguese throne. A stock accusation in works like *L'Anti-Espagnol* was that Philip would simply annex France, placing all Frenchmen under Spanish rule.¹¹³ Against these accusations the League circulated defences of Philip, one of the most prominent being the *Response a l'anti-Espagnol*, penned by the Lyonnais Leaguer Claude de Rubys in 1590.¹¹⁴ In the *Response*, Philip was shown not only to be the most loyal Catholic in Christendom, but that he was acting in the manner of a great monarch, making personal sacrifices for the truth

¹¹⁰ Ibid., esp. from fol.G1v.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² Anon., *Prophetie merveilleuse des affaires et troubles de France de nostre temps*, s.l. [Lyon] (s.n. [Jean Pillehotte]) 1590, fol.A2r.

¹¹³ In his response to *L'Anti-Espagnol*, Claude de Rubys notes that copies of *L'Anti-Espagnol* had been discovered to have circulated clandestinely in Lyon during the night. At least two editions of *L'Anti-Espagnol* were published in 1590, anon., *Anti-Espagnol*, s.l. (s.n.) 1590, Lyon BM SJ IF 223/53 (11); also anon., *Coppie de l'Anti-Espagnol, Faict a Paris*, s.l. (s.n.) 1590, Paris Mazarine 25253 (5), 35287 (12).

¹¹⁴ Rubys, Claude de, *Response a l'Anti-Espagnol*, Lyon (Jean Pillehotte) 1590.

and for the faith.¹¹⁵ For de Rubys, it was not the League which was introducing foreign rule into France; rather Philip was acting as the true protector of the Church.

A second prominent theme within Leaguer pamphlet literature was its violent attacks on the Huguenot. The ideas that underpin the literary attacks on the Huguenot are essentially the same as seen earlier in the century, as discussed in chapter 2. However, Leaguer pamphlet literature printed in Lyon was far more extreme in its use of violent images in its justifications for a call to arms than any of the pamphlets seen throughout the 1570s and 1580s.

Leaguer pamphlet literature did not to differentiate theologically between the present Huguenot enemy and earlier heretical groups. From Satan through the biblical fiends to Arius, from the Goths and Vandals to the Cathars and the Waldensians, to Hus, Luther and Calvin there was a chain of heresy which in France culminated in the Huguenots under Navarre. The classification of the Huguenot as a heretic meant that they deserved the same persecution and punishment as the heretics pursued in earlier generations. The *Articles accordez [...] a Melun par Henri de Bourbon*, a Pillehotte pamphlets of 1590, provides a typical example of this association.¹¹⁶ The work begins by lamenting the painful struggles of centuries undertaken by French Catholics against heretics such as Arius, the Albigensians, the Goths and Waldensians. The work then asserts that all the efforts had been rendered vain by Navarre, who had seized the torch of heresy in an

¹¹⁵ Ibid., fols.B2r-B3r.

¹¹⁶ Anon., *Articles accordez, jJurez, et signez a Melun par Henri de Bourbon, pretenu Roi de Navarre, & les prelates, princes, seigneurs, gentilshommes, soldats françois & estrangers estans à sa suite, lors qu'il pensoit entrer dans Paris*, Lyon (s.n. [Jean Pillehotte]) 1590, fol.A2r.

attempt to follow in their steps. Similarly, in the 1589 Patrasson publication *Advertissement des catholiques de Bearn* Henri is shown to be wilfully leading all Huguenots in a covenant with Satan to carry out Satan's 'cruel et de sanguinaire' work.¹¹⁷ This theme is pursued in the anonymous work *Advis sur ce qui est a faire tant contre les Catholiques*, where Navarre, the 'sanguinaire tyran de Bearn', is noted as being 'le ministere de Sathan', responsible for Satan's work and the suffering of Catholic France.¹¹⁸

All Huguenots were alleged to have entered into a covenant with Satan. In a 1589 Pillehotte publication of Renaud de Beaune's *Declamation ou harangue* we find accusations that all of Navarre's Huguenots are working to pursue Satan's wishes. These include separating families, inverting the natural order of creation, igniting wars, creating orphans, famine, poverty and destruction.¹¹⁹ Moreover, the Huguenots were knowingly helping to 'prepare une grand & puissante Monarchie à l'Antechrist'. The criticism of the Huguenots could easily be extended to all enemies of the League. Several works singled out Politiques for similar attacks, claiming that they had also made a covenant with Satan, joining the true line of schismatics. In the 1589 Pillehotte pamphlet *Des raisons pour lesquelles, ceux que lon appelle Politiques*, the Politiques are throughout referred to as having sided with Satan by their support for Navarre.¹²⁰ An anonymous pamphlet of 1591, *Coppie d'une lettre escripte par un catholique à un politique*, specifically accused France's Politiques of selfishly attempting to invert the natural order against the best interests of

¹¹⁷ Anon., *Advertissement des catholiques de Bearn*, Lyon (Jean Patrasson) 1589, fol.B2r.

¹¹⁸ Anon., *Advis sur ce qui est a faire tant contre les Catholiques simulez, que les ennemis ouverts de l'Eglise catholiques, apostoliques, & romaine*, Lyon (Jean Pillehotte) 1590, fols.B3v-B4r.

¹¹⁹ Beaune, Renaud de, *Declamation ou Harangue faicte aux Estats tenus à Blois. Par Monsieur l'Archevesque de Bourges*, Lyon (Jean Pillehotte) 1589, fols.B1r-B2v.

¹²⁰ Anon., *Brief recueil des Raisons pour lesquelles, ceux que lon appelle Politiques, ne doivent encores estre receuz en ceste ville de Lyon ni és autres villes de la S.Union*, Lyon (s.n. [Jean Pillehotte]) 1589.

France and the Roman Church.¹²¹ The *Coppie* claims that the Politiques, heretics and all schismatics ignored the true teachings and abandoned God. In the *Coppie*, Huguenots and Politiques were illegitimate usurpers pretending to rule through their false King who issued pronouncements from the synagogue in Tours. The pamphlet accused Henri of working to impose a heretical settlement on France, as had occurred in England.

To further traduce the Huguenot and justify the violence exhibited by the League, Lyonnais Leaguer pamphlets emphasised that the Huguenots had initiated the savage crimes and murders that characterised the Wars of Religion in France. The cruelty and offences committed by the Huguenots were the principal theme of the *Declamation ou harangue* of Renaud de Beaune, published by Pillehotte in 1589.¹²² De Beaune neatly sums up all the typical Leaguer accusations that the Huguenots were known to ‘[...] battre, mutiler, lier, rançonner, emprisonner, saccager, forcer, violer femmes & filles, distraire les enfans de la mammelle, gaster, rompre, briser, [...]’. In a similar style, another Pillehotte pamphlet of 1589 describes Huguenots massacring Catholics in Niort. The *Discours pitoyable des excreables cruautés* laments the courage of the brave Catholics of Niort, who failed to halt the heretic onslaught. Upon the fall of the town the Huguenots massacred 200-300 people and filled the streets with their bodies.¹²³

¹²¹ Anon., *Coppie d’une Lettre escripte par un catholicque à un politique, sur l’ Arrest prononcé en la Synagogue de Tours, le cinquiesme d’ Aoust dernier 1591*, Lyon (s.n. [Jean Pillehotte]) 1591.

¹²² Beaune, Renaud de, *Declamation ou Harangue Faicte aux Etats tenus à Blois*, Lyon (Jean Pillehotte) 1589, fol.G3v.

¹²³ Anon., *Discours pitoyable des excreables Cruautés et inhumaines Barbaries comises par les heretique huguenotz & leur complices contre les catholicques de la ville de Niort*, Lyon (Jean Patrasson) 1589, A2v-A4r.

Accusations of Protestant violence and cruelty were also extended to the desecration of religious space. This was an offence that would graphically demonstrate the threat posed by the Huguenot to the Catholic community and its salvation. The accusations of blasphemous destruction of sacred sites would have rung a strong resonance throughout Lyon, evoking the iconoclastic atrocities committed during the Protestant coup of 1562 to 1563. For the sixteenth century mind, the destruction of sacred sites could be symbolic of the destruction of the *Corpus Christianorum* as a whole. In the pamphlet *Harangue de monseigneur le duc de Parme* César de Plaix reminded the French of the sorry state of the kingdom of France; a kingdom that displayed so many ravaged churches due to the actions of the Huguenot.¹²⁴ In a similar manner, the *Advertissement des catholiques de Bearn* reminds the Catholic reader that the Protestant forces have ‘desmoli vos temples, bruslé les reliques de vos saints, pillé le sanctuaire de Dieu, rompu les monuments de vos Saints, et jetté les cendres au vent [...]’.¹²⁵

A Catholic nation

Underpinning the fear and anger generated by the image of the Huguenot were nationalist sentiments. Two currents of nationalist thinking were prevalent within Leaguer polemic, the first of which was a French nationalism based around safeguarding the religious, geographical and political entity of France. Alongside this we find a strand of Catholic nationalism which was founded on a notion of a brotherhood of Roman Catholics as God’s

¹²⁴ Plaix, César de, *Harangue de monseigneur le duc de Parme & de Plaisance faite à Peronne aux seigneurs, gentils-hommes, capitaines, & soldats de l’armée, que le Catholique Roi d’Espagne envoie en France pour le secours de la Sainte Union*, Lyon (Louis Tantillon) 1590.

¹²⁵ Anon., *Advertissement des catholiques de Bearn*, Lyon (Jean Patrasson) 1589, fols.A3v-A4r.

chosen people. It is important to emphasise that both these strains were fundamentally different from the idea of Gallicanism as supported by either the medieval French Church, or the Politiques of the 1590s. The idea of Gallicanism had emerged in the fourteenth century to justify the semi-independent aspects of the French Roman Catholic Church. Throughout the 1590s, Politiques argued to maintain the long established status quo, against any form of limitation.¹²⁶ This is seen in their arguments against the strengthening of Rome's power with the implementation of the Tridentine decrees. The League's Catholic nationalism looked instead towards the construction of a pan-European Catholic brotherhood, at the base of which lay the ratification of the Tridentine decrees, especially in France. Only a fully unified Catholic brotherhood could preserve the political and religious entity of France. It was to this end that Leaguer pamphlets argued for Catholic unity centred upon the person of Philip II of Spain.

Many Lyonnais Leaguer pamphlets called for the immediate introduction of the Tridentine decrees in France. Some simply provided uncritical calls for the ratification of the decrees, although a number of Leaguer pamphlets did attempt to refute the notion that the introduction of the Tridentine decrees would lead to an erosion of Gallican liberties. At one extreme we find an anonymously penned Tantillon pamphlet of 1589, *Remonstrance aux trois estats*, which expounds the notion that Trent would not have a real effect on the power of French Crown. Moreover, it claims France would be able to renegotiate any aspects of the Tridentine settlement that contravened Gallican liberties. For the *Remonstrance* Trent stood to do less harm to France than the continuation of religious

¹²⁶ Powis, J.K., 'Gallican Liberties and the Politics of Later Sixteenth-Century France', *The Historical Journal* 26/3 (1983), pp.515-530.

division.¹²⁷ A more unapologetic line was pursued in a Pillehotte pamphlet published in 1591, the *Coppie d'une Lettre escripte par un catholicque à un politique*.¹²⁸ The *Coppie* argues that the powers of the papal office should override those of the French crown, and in doing so draws upon both biblical and historical precedent to reinforce the power of the Pope to ignore Gallican liberties.

The second form of nationalism that ran through the Leaguer pamphlets centred upon France as an independent religious, political, cultural and geographical entity. The French owed a debt to their nation to defend it against all foreign influences. In its most common form such appeals were associated with criticism of foreign troops under the command of Henri de Navarre. Navarre was accused of repeatedly attempting to bring France under foreign rule, introduce foreign ideas, impose a heretical settlement upon France, and abolish Catholicism in favour of heretical worship. This was a stock in trade theme that arose in the early Leaguer pamphlet literature during the eighth war following Navarre's recruitment of Swiss and German mercenaries.¹²⁹ Indeed, this was such a common theme that we must assume that it was a popular contemporary concern among the masses, especially in towns like Lyon, which had previously suffered under Protestant rule.

Lyon's Leaguer pamphlets declared that France had always held one of the highest places in the Catholic Church, and according to history all true Frenchmen were Catholic. These pamphlets declared that it was the duty of true Frenchmen and Catholics to fight to

¹²⁷ Anon., *Remonstrance aux trois estats sur la publication & reception du saint Concile de Trente en France*, Lyon (Louis Tantillon) 1589.

¹²⁸ Anon., *Coppie d'une Lettre Escripte par un Catholicque*, Lyon (s.n. [Jean Pillehotte]) 1591, esp. fols.B1v-D1v.

¹²⁹ See chapter 3.

purify France of malign foreign influences, at the core of which lay heresy and the imposition of unjust and tyrannical rule by a foreign heretical ruler. Foreign here did not just imply non-Frenchmen, but included both Huguenots and Politiques. In the League's eyes both groups merged into one malign enemy seeking to bring about the death of Catholic France. It is interesting to note the paradoxical situation in Leaguer polemics when the same works appealed to French nationalism and meanwhile extolled Philip's II role as the saviour of France.

We can see how the Leaguer pamphlets wrestled with these two notions of Catholic national identity as they attempted to find a solution to the political problems that beset the movement. The *Advis sur ce qui est a faire tant contre les catholiques*, a 1590 Pillehotte publication, begins by emphasising Navarre's use of his many links to international Protestantism: 'Ce tyran a secours d'hommes, d'argent, & de munitions d'Angleterre et d'Ecosse, aussi certain et plus proche que nostre secours d'Italie. Il a en Allemaingne et Suisse des adherans plus que nous, Dannemarc lui est assure.'¹³⁰ The pamphlet plays on the apparently overwhelming odds stacked in Navarre's favour in an attempt to stimulate both French nationalism and the sentiment of an international Catholic nation or brotherhood. It tells of the struggle of good French Catholics against heresy, and reminds the reader that it remains necessary that Spain send loyal Catholic troops and supplies. Philip is introduced as the saviour of Catholicism rushing to the aid of France. Philip's efforts in turn incur a natural debt of allegiance from loyal French Catholics to the King of Spain. For the *Advis*, to side against Spain and with the heretics was no better than siding

¹³⁰ Anon., *Advis sur ce qui est a faire tant contre les Catholiques simulez*, Lyon (Jean Pillehotte) 1590, fol.C2v.

with the Turk. In a dramatic finale, the pamphlet claims that if the current struggle were lost, then France would be under the control of the heretic Navarre, and French Catholics would lose their possessions and be forced to wear turbans.¹³¹

Leaguer pamphlet polemic thus combined violent attacks on the Protestants with the fostering of strong appeals to two finely layered varieties of nationalism; all of this was achieved in a blunt hard-hitting manner using a great deal of violent imagery. The natural consequence of the fuelling of these fears was the call to arms. Leaguer pamphlets called almost without exception for the destruction of all schismatics, whether Protestant or Politique, in a brand of frenzy only previously seen in rare glimpses prior to 1589. At the core of the Leaguer calls to arms lay the nurturing of a crusading zeal to cleanse France of all unsavoury elements.

Although this may not have been true elsewhere in France, the idea of a crusade does not appear to have manifested itself in a widespread scale within Lyon's Catholic pamphlet literature at any point prior to the League.¹³² Yet between 1589 and 1593 Leaguer pamphlet literature called repeatedly for the launching of a crusade. A pamphlet by César de Plaix, the *Harangue de monseigneur le duc de Parme*, calls for such a crusade against 'ceste canaille huguenotte'.¹³³ De Plaix writes that the French ancestors had fought crusades against the Saracens and Moors, who remained more acceptable than the Huguenot, before calling for a repeat of concerted Leaguer military action against the Protestants, which would be 'un service agreable à Dieu'.

¹³¹ Ibid., fols.C4r-D2r.

¹³² Martin, *Henry III*, pp.29-44.

¹³³ Plaix, *Harangue de Monseigneur le duc de Parme*, Lyon (Louis Tantillon) 1590, fols.A4r-B3v.

Geneva formed the natural focus for Leaguer calls to crusade. The *Remonstrance faicte a monseigneur le duc de Savoye* calls specifically for Lyon's Catholics to form the forefront of a such an attack.¹³⁴ Lyon, so the *Remonstrance* claims, was largely responsible for the troubled state of France. Many of the powerful heretical books had been printed in Lyon and many of the city's Protestants fled to Geneva, bolstering its ranks significantly.¹³⁵ The *Remonstrance* argued that as Lyon was at least partly responsible as once being the heretics' best friend, it should do God's bidding and lead the Holy War against Geneva.¹³⁶

As if to reinforce the calls for crusade and encourage the persecution of all schismatics, numerous pamphlets stated explicitly that God expressly permitted violent revenge by Catholics on Huguenots. The anonymous pamphlet of 1589 *Les causes qui ont contrainct les catholiques prendre les armes* argues that vengeance will be served by the killing of Huguenots and outlines situations in which it is permissible for good Catholics to pursue a bloody revenge.¹³⁷ While the pamphlet admits that God does not generally support vengeance, such retribution against the Huguenots could be theologically countenanced: 'Neantmoins il y a certains cas, pour lesquels venger les Docteurs permettent, mesmes commandent d'exposer non seulement ses moyens, mais sa propre vie.'¹³⁸ An even more radical line was proposed in the anonymous *Discours de deux belles*

¹³⁴ Anon., *Remonstrance faicte a monseigneur le duc de Savoye, par ung Gentil'homme Francois, pour poursuivre & continuer ce qu'il a heureusement commencé contre la malheureuse ville de Geneve*, Lyon (Louis Tantillon) 1589.

¹³⁵ Ibid., fols.B2r-v.

¹³⁶ It appears as though efforts to raise a crusade, departing from Lyon to march on Geneva had occurred in the previous decades, cf. *Calendar of State Papers*, XXIII p.236.

¹³⁷ Anon., *Les Causes qui ont contrainct les Catholiques prendre les armes*, Lyon (s.n. [Jean Pillehotte]) 1589.

¹³⁸ Ibid., fol.A2r.

deffaictes des ennemis, which urges all Catholics to put themselves at the service of the Church and fulfil God's will, that being the slaughter of Huguenots.¹³⁹

Leaguer Edicts

Chapter 2 attempted to demonstrate that from 1565 onwards a proportion of printed edicts deserve to be included within the wider body of polemical pamphlet literature. As short pamphlet-format publications edicts were able to play their part in the moulding of public opinion. Identical claims can be made in regard to the body of edicts published in Lyon. Leaguer edicts were an important part in the polemical pamphlet wars. Both the Leaguer and the Royalist parties competed for the mantle of legitimacy to justify their cause legally and morally. The publication of a large body of edicts by the League illustrates the confidence of the ultra-Catholic movement. Many Leaguer edicts issued through provincial France were reprinted on Lyon's presses, and were certainly intended to contribute to the legitimization of Lyon's adherence to the League.

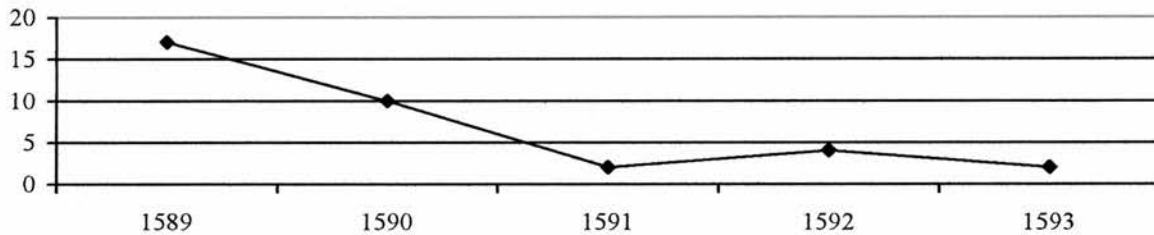
The majority of Leaguer edicts were issued in Paris by the *Seize*, and followed the same process of ratification as pre-1589 royal edicts. The number of Leaguer edicts issued multiplied significantly in the immediate aftermath of the polarisation of France in December 1588. While the main body of League edicts were published in Paris by Rolin Thierry and Nicolas Nivelles, a large corpus was reprinted on Lyon's printing presses. Jean Pillehotte, who held the League privilege for printing edicts and other Leaguer documents,

¹³⁹ Anon., *Discours de deux belles deffaictes des Ennemis, executees en Champagne & en Bourgogne, par les Sieurs d'Hautefort, de Feruaques, de Gionnelle, et autres Capitaines, le 23 jour d'Avril, 1589*, Lyon (s.n. [Jean Pillehotte]) s.d [1589].

was the primary publisher of League edicts in Lyon, and the second largest in France.

Around 15% of all Lyon's Leaguer pamphlets were Leaguer edicts.

Graph 4.5 Editions of Leaguer edicts published in Lyon



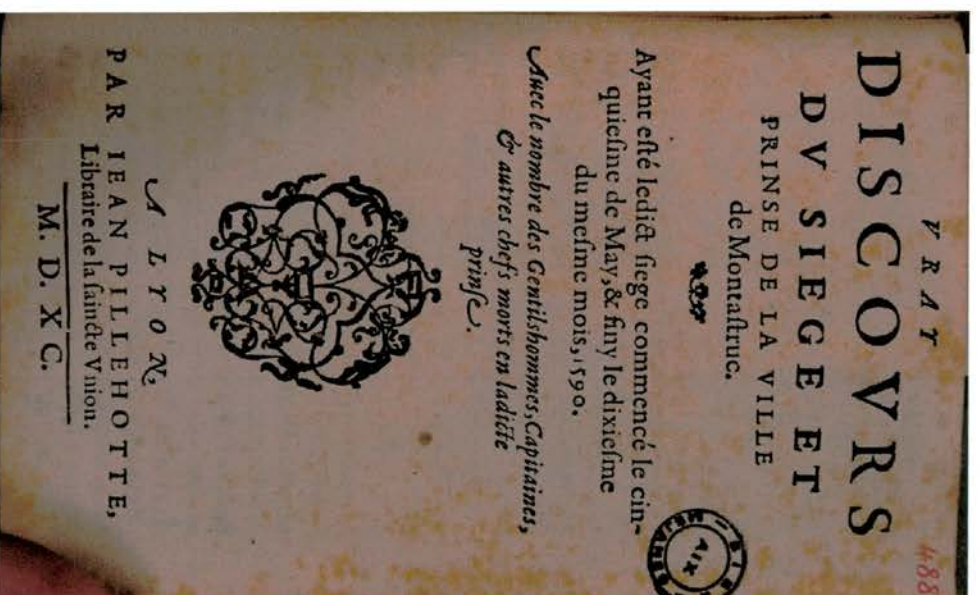
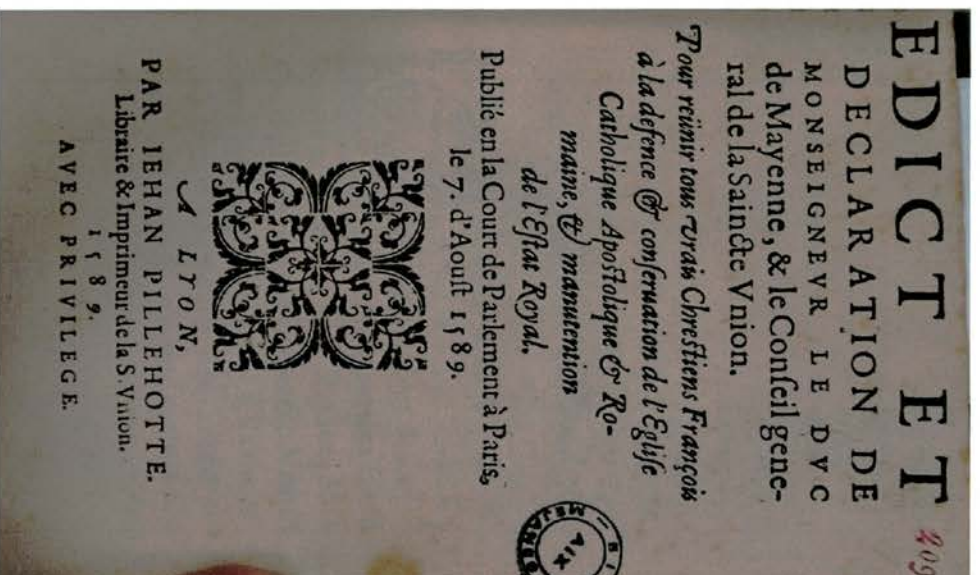
In general, the appearance of Leaguer edicts was almost identical to royal edicts.

They are phrased in much the same way, and have a very similar physical appearance.

However, it is important to note that Leaguer edicts lacked one of the most important aspects of a royal edict, the royal arms on the title page.¹⁴⁰ These arms held huge significance, since they instantly identified the source of authority, be it King or any other body. In Lyon, Leaguer edicts issued by the *Seize*, provincial Leaguer *parlements* and councils did not carry such a coat of arms. Even during the assertion of the Leaguer claims for Charles' X rights to the succession we see no adoption of the arms of Charles of Bourbon. This is yet another important example of the Leaguer movement lacking some of the most important attributes of power at a time when heraldic symbolism was still crucial to the representation of authority. Instead Pillehotte's typographical ornaments were normally found adorning the title pages of Lyonnais printed Leaguer edicts.¹⁴¹

¹⁴⁰ See illustration 11. The same practice was not always followed throughout France, the Parisian printer-publisher Frederic Morel for example often published royal edicts without royal arms on the pamphlet title page, opting to use his own distinctive fountain device.

¹⁴¹ Ibid.



Left: Title page of anon., Edict et Declaration de Monseigneur le Duc de Mayenne, & le Conseil general de la Saincte Union, Lyon (Jean Pillehotte) 1589; a Leaguer edict bearing an example of one of Pillehotte's distinctive fleurons.

Right: Title page of anon., Vrai Discours du Siege et Prinsse de la Ville de Montastruc, Lyon (Jean Pillehotte) 1590; featuring an example of one of the most common fleurons used by both Jove and Pillehotte.

The League used the normal legal style and language of edicts in an attempt to draw to themselves the normal attributes of authority; but the absence of key paratextual aspects of royal edicts, such as the coat of arms, weakened this claim. Leaguer edicts also differed in tone from the pre-1589 edicts printed in Lyon. Prior to 1589 edicts were issued that, when taken together, formed a series of prohibitive measures against Protestantism. They tended to tackle specific issues such as the banning of Protestants holding public offices or the banning of Protestant books and teachers, creating an ad hoc Catholic settlement for Lyon. Leaguer edicts addressed the issue of Protestantism in a different and all embracing way, delivering more powerful and general blows against Protestantism. Central to the proscription of Protestantism was the enforced abjuration of any suspected Huguenots. Prohibition of Protestantism was reinforced with the regular re-printing of the terms of the edict of Nemours (1585), which declared that all Protestants were to abjure within six months. Many of the Leaguer edicts repeated the prohibitive terms as cloaked threats. For example we find at the end of the text of the Pillehotte edition of the Leaguer edict, *Forme du serment qu'il convient faire par tout le royaume* the addition, 'Extraict des registres de la seneschaussee et siege presidial de Lyon'.¹⁴² This codicil declared that many Protestants had abandoned Lyon for Geneva, and in reaction to these events all the remaining Lyonnais must make a public Catholic confession of faith. If they failed, their wives and children were to suffer public corporal punishment and all goods were to be confiscated and put to the service of the League.¹⁴³

¹⁴² Anon., *Forme du serment qu'il Convient Faire par tout le Royaume, pour l'entretènement de la saincte Union, suivant l'Edict & Arrest sur ce intervenu par la Cour de Parlement de Paris, Lyon (Jean Pillehotte) 1589, fols.B1r-B3r. The Extraict was signed in Lyon by Charles de Savoy on 17 April 1589.*

¹⁴³ Ibid.

Although Leaguer edicts were built around the same essential blueprint as royal edicts, it is important to note that they differed markedly in content and very often style. Leaguer edicts extended far beyond simple proclamations of law. Instead they utilised the framework of a legal document to spread anti-Huguenot propaganda that contained many of the same themes as we have seen within the wider body of Leaguer polemical pamphlets. Leaguer edicts were far more radical in content than any of the pre-1589 royal edicts, addressing many of the themes highlighted in our earlier discussion of Leaguer polemic.

The cornerstone of the fight for legitimacy centred upon the rival claims for the crown. Edicts bemoaning the illegitimate claims of Navarre, or releasing Frenchmen from their oaths and obligations towards Henri III were reprinted in Lyon.¹⁴⁴ One such example is the *Articles accordez et jurez*, dated December 1589 and published by Pillehotte. The *Articles* used a tight legalistic framework to absolve the people of France from any oath taken to Henri de Navarre.¹⁴⁵ In a calm statement of the facts it outlined the historical Catholic nature of the French throne and argued that no one should be made to serve a heretic. Other edicts went further, attacking Navarre and his Royalist regime in Tours. The *Arrest de la cour de parlement* (1591) attacked Navarre on the grounds that he was a schismatic and a lapsed heretic. It also declared all Tours edicts null and void, claiming that all authority over institutions, morality and religion lay with the traditional and rightful authority of the Pope.

¹⁴⁴ Anon., *Articles sur l'Union des Manans et Habitans de la Ville de Toulouse*, Lyon (s.n.) [Jean Pillehotte] 1589; also *Deux Arrests de la Cour de Parlement de Dijon du 5 Septembre 1589*, Lyon (Jean Pillehotte) 1589.

¹⁴⁵ Anon., *Articles accordez et jurez, en l'assemblee des Estats du pais de Languedoc: faicte dans la ville de Lavaur, pour l'Union des habitans Catholiques dudict pais*, Lyon (Jean Pillehotte) 1589.

Edicts were also used to disseminate anti-Huguenot propaganda. The Lyonnais edict penned by Claude de Rubys in 1589, the *Declaration des consuls, eschevins, manans et habitans de la ville de Lyon*, provides ample illustration of the manner in which Leaguer edicts attempted to denigrate the Huguenot in the public eye.¹⁴⁶ The pamphlet calls for all non-Leaguers to abandon their adherences to the cruel, war-mongering Reformed party that so brutally persecuted the Catholics of Orleans and Niort. It also accuses the heretics of polluting Catholic France, being responsible for the widespread desecration of religious space and destruction of religious sites and artefacts.¹⁴⁷ Further to this we find that edicts accused Navarre and the Politiques of malign ambitions for France, attempting to usurp and subvert the state for selfish individual reasons.¹⁴⁸ Moreover, one can also find that Leaguer edicts were radical in their encouragement of popular Leaguer violence against all schismatics. An edict of Charles de Lorraine, *Edict et declaration*, argued forcefully for the military eradication of the Huguenot.¹⁴⁹ Other edicts promoted official calls for the mobilization of all Leaguers for a crusade against the schismatics.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁶ Rubys, Claude de, *Declaration des Consuls, Eschevins, Manans et Habitans de la ville de Lyon, sur l'occasion de la prise des armes par eux faicte, le vingtquatriesme Febvrier 1589*, Lyon (Jean Pillehotte) 1589.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., fols.B2r-B4r.

¹⁴⁸ Lorraine, Charles de, *Declaration faicte par Monsieur le Duc de Mayenne Lieutenant general de l'Estat & Couronne de France, pour la Reünion de tous les Catholiques de ce Royaume*, Lyon (Jean Pillehotte) 1593.

¹⁴⁹ Lorraine, Charles de, *Edict et declaration de Monseigneur le Duc de Mayenne, & le Conseil general de la Sainte Union. Pour reunir tous vrais Chrestiens François*, Lyon (Jean Pillehotte) 1589.

¹⁵⁰ Anon., *Arrest de la Cour de Parlement de Paris, contre Henri de Bourbon, ses fauteurs & adherans*, Lyon (Jean Pillehotte) 1589; also anon., *Arrest de la Court de Parlement donné a Rouen, contre ceux qui ont par cy devant assermenté vivre & maintenir la Religion Catholique, Apostolique & Romaine: avec ordonnance & mandement à tous Gentils-hommes de se trouver és troupes de l'armee de l'Union Catholique*, Lyon (Jean Pillehotte) 1589.

Conclusion

The period of the League saw the greatest production of pamphlet literature in Lyon's publishing history to date. It was a remarkable outpouring of several hundred works intended to radicalise public opinion. The calm confessional statements of the 1560s, 70s, and 1580s fell by the wayside. Leaguer pamphlets became almost entirely enveloped in the most vitriolic polemic of the age. Their calls to arms and justification for the ethnic cleansing of the kingdom were outspoken even in comparison to pamphlet literature surrounding the tumultuous events of the St. Bartholomew's Day massacres. Yet it was not just the contents of the pamphlet literature that was designed to resound in their impact; the sheer volume of pamphlets added weight to the cause.

Although Leaguer pamphlets were successful in sowing suspicion and fuelling paranoia, they ultimately failed in their intentions. The overwhelmingly negative tone of the texts left the Leaguer movement with little in the way of a positive agenda, or strategy for the future. Whilst the rank and file of the League agreed on what they despised, they lacked convincing leadership. They failed to find an alternative to the hated heretic King. With the abjuration of Henri de Navarre the focus of hate was removed for much of the League's support.

The League's radicalism had also served to alienate a portion of Lyon's printing industry. Individuals such as Benoist Rigaud and Pierre Chastain, who had been the earliest foot soldiers of the League in the provinces, stood back once the more revolutionary aspects of the movement were revealed following the assassinations of the

Duc and Cardinal de Guise. With their restraint we see a hint of the enthusiasm with which a portion of Lyon's printers would embrace the new order when Lyon reverted to Royalist control from 1594 onwards.

Chapter 5 ‘Vostre belle et auguste ville de Lyon’: Royalist Lyon, 1594-1600¹

It was with something of an audible sigh of relief that Lyon returned to royal control in February 1594.² The return to the King was the culmination of a volatile and unstable set of local events that had been evolving since the previous September. Five years of revolt had left the city financially and militarily exhausted. This was greatly accentuated by the development of factions within Lyon’s Leaguer establishment based around personal ambitions and conflicting personalities. These served to split the Leaguer movement irrevocably and push its leading faction towards a settlement with Henri IV.

In the late summer of 1593 the divisions in Lyon’s Leaguer establishment became clear to all. During the summer, fearing an invasion from Royalist forces, the city called for its Governor, the Duc de Nemours, to return to Lyon with his army. Nemours refused, acting instead in his own personal interest, attempting to carve out a private kingdom based around Lyon. These actions and his general obstinacy helped to alienate the Lyonnais and the Duc de Mayenne, the effective leader of the Leaguer movement. Mayenne turned to the Archbishop of Lyon, Pierre d’Épinac, to negotiate the return of Nemours to Lyon. Épinac had for a long time enjoyed a difficult relationship with Nemours and he took this opportunity to move against the Governor, raising loans to finance a standing army for Lyon.

¹ Anon., *Histoire memorable des Guerres entre les deux Maisons de France & d’Austriche*, s.l. (s.n.) 1599, fol.à2v.

Popular sentiment in the city was riding high against the ambitions of Nemours and Épinac's assertiveness provided the catalyst that sparked a major municipal insurrection by the Lyonnais on 18 September 1593. However, even when presented with a *fait accompli*, the council lacked the confidence to take decisive action in support of Épinac without first calling upon the city's notables for advice. The meeting resulted in both a public declaration of support for Épinac and a reaffirmation of Lyon's support for the *Seize*. Yet with Nemours refusing to cede his position as regional Governor the council was forced to invite him to return, as a prisoner, with Épinac acting as the Governor in all but name.

Épinac's sudden elevation within Lyon's Leaguer movement brought tensions and divisions to the fore, entrenching a bitter Épinac–Nemours cleavage that drew in the whole of the city. Épinac outwardly continued to reaffirm allegiance to the *Seize*. However, in Paris Mayenne was so angered by the machinations of the Lyonnais that he ordered an army into Lyon's outer suburbs in order to force Épinac to stand down. The situation rapidly became bewilderingly complex with the arrival of two other armies. Royalist forces under the command of the Duc d'Ornano assumed positions outside the city limits, whilst armies loyal to Nemours under the command of his nephew, the Marquis de Saint-Sorlin, swiftly moved into several outer suburbs, abusing the population as they progressed. A combination of the blockade and the rapacious actions of Saint-Sorlin's army left Épinac with little choice but to accept terms with either Mayenne or the Royalists. It was to the Royalists that Épinac turned on 30 September 1593, yet the surrender to Henri IV was not

² On the return of Lyon to the crown see Rubys, *Histoire*, 1604, fols.Kkk4r-Lll3v; Lignereux, *Lyon*, pp.45-76; Groër, *Réforme*, ch.7; Doucet, 'Le Seizième Siècle', pp.448-463; Steyart, *Histoire*, pp.214-239; Pallasse, *Sénéchaussée*, pp.387-406.

immediate, or even certain. Lyon refused terms from both Henri and Mayenne in the following days, committing itself only to a two-month general truce.

If the truce provided no easy answers, this was largely due to a lack of leadership from the *Seize*. In Paris Mayenne remained too distracted to pay enough attention to the unrest and divisions within Lyon's Leaguer movement. As the months progressed the blockade began to cripple the city. Commerce was temporarily interrupted, both for essential victuals and the trade that was the lifeblood of the city. Lyon was not able to shoulder the mounting pressure and on 7 February 1594 the Lyonnais staged a popular rebellion for the second time in less than six months. The Royalist coup swiftly took control of all strategic points of the city. On the following day the city council convened, and, presented with these unfolding events, promptly undertook a dramatic volte-face, inviting the Royalist army of the Duc d'Ornano to enter Lyon.

Throughout the city there was a mixed response to these events. Some of the most ardent Leaguers transferred allegiance as rapidly as the council, while some remained hostile. The abjuration of Henri de Navarre had proved crucial in the evolution of Lyon's civic allegiance, weakening its Leaguer adherence and providing a viable political alternative, the attractiveness of which was all the more evident with the increasing hardships of the winter. Over the following two months a hardcore of Leaguer support in the region centred upon conspiratorial attempts to retake Lyon. However, the death of Nemours in April 1594 brought this movement to an end. Lacking its figurehead and patron, the movement simply ebbed away.

Royalist forces policed Lyon tightly following the events of February 1594. Henri IV entered Lyon in June 1594 confirming the return of France's second city to the fold. This was followed in 1595 by the official celebrations and civic entry of Henri. Henri then returned to Lyon between August and November 1596 to hold the special sitting of the *parlement*, the *grands jours*. Locating the *grands jours* in the city was a reinforcement of Lyon's status, and emphasised the critical importance of the return of France's second city to royal obedience. Hosting the *grands jours* was more than a privilege for Lyon. It provided a huge financial windfall after years of inflation and taxation. This shone through especially with the printer-publishers who were granted the title 'printer to the King', for a good profit could be made printing the proceedings of the *grands jours* and the many edicts issued.

Between 1589 and 1594 the Royalist headquarters in France had been Blois with Tours as the primary centre of Royalist print. Denis Pallier has noted that the Royalist publishers were responsible for the publication of an approximate total of 540-550 editions.³ This is broken down as roughly 260 editions from Tours, 65 from La Rochelle, 50 from both Châlons and Caen, with slightly fewer from both Angers and Bordeaux, 30 editions from Blois, and around 12 from Chartres, Melun and Langres.⁴ Notably, this excludes Lyonnais Royalist publications. Lyon has not generally been credited with possessing much of a role in the publication of Royalist pamphlet literature. The reason for this is simply due to Baudrier's neglect of Lyon's primary Royalist pamphlet publishers, Ancelin and Jullieron. No fewer than 366 Royalist pamphlet editions were printed in Lyon

³ Pallier, 'Les réponses', pp.343.

⁴ Ibid.

between February 1594 and 1600. Adding these statistics to Pallier's figures, we find a production of at least 900 pamphlets. If this figure rings true then it is possible to suggest that Lyon produced somewhere in the region of 40% of provincial Royalist pamphlet publications.⁵

The pamphlet industry

Henri IV was the first French monarch to comprehend the full effect and power of the printing press. Henri and his polemicists utilised print to great effect. They fine-tuned the valuable lessons of the pamphlet wars to provide one of the fullest manifestations of propaganda seen in sixteenth century France. Lyon had been a lynch-pin in the League's own propaganda wars, providing reams of fresh print for circulation throughout France. It was precisely to this same aim that Henri turned the now Royalist presses of Lyon. Within hours of Lyon's popular Royalist coup printed images of Henri IV appeared hung from windows in the city.⁶ Over the following weeks, many printed images of Henri or his royal arms bearing inscriptions were posted throughout the city.⁷ As mentioned in the previous chapter, this appears to be in contrast to Lyon's League movement, for which we find a dearth of evidence for the usage of such placard literature. This was a mistake that Henri IV and the Royalist activists did not repeat. Such images were far more than symbolic, they conveyed the actual physical power of the King.⁸

⁵ A fuller picture will be available with the completion of the St Andrews French Vernacular Book Project.

⁶ Cf. Lignereux, *Lyon*, pp.47-57, 72-76.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Ibid.*; also Watson, *City Council*, pp.104-108, 110-113.

Henri permitted hundreds of titles to pass through Lyon's presses for circulation. He recognised the importance of the press in the privilege he granted to his chosen printer-publishers. The privilege granted to Jullieron and Ancelin in April 1594 had more in common with the Leaguer privileges than those issued under Charles IX and Henri III. Henri not only allowed for the printing of 'Edicts, Ordonnances, Arrests, lettres patentes que choses' but also 'Annales, Croniques, Memoires, & autres concemans nos affaires [...]'.⁹

Lyon's Royalist publishers clearly outpublished their Leaguer predecessors. Between 1589 and February 1594, 263 Leaguer pamphlets emanated from Lyon; from February 1594 until 1600, Royalist publishers produced 366 editions. The largest number of Leaguer pamphlet editions published in Lyon in any given year was 106 in 1589, whereas in just eleven months of 1594, Royalist publishers were able to produce 124 pamphlet editions. Royalist publications dominated the Lyonnais pamphlet literature from 1594 onwards: of a total of 445 pamphlet editions some 366, or 82%, were overtly Royalist.

However, it remains important to maintain the wider view of the industry. Although the publication of Royalist pamphlets was an important part of Lyon's publishing industry, it remained only ever secondary to the production of larger books. Between 1594 and 1600, more editions of larger books were published in Lyon than pamphlets. On only two occasions, in the years 1594 and 1597, were more pamphlet editions published in Lyon

⁹ (Henri IV), Edict du Roi, de la Reunion à son Domaine de tous les Greffes, Clercs d'iceux & Tabellionnages, pour estre revendus à faculté de rachapt perpetuel, avec l'augmentation du paris ordonné par

than book editions.¹⁰ When one considers the larger size and more complicated nature of books vis-à-vis pamphlets then one must realise that the production of pamphlets occupied only a fraction of the effort, time, investment and storage space required for the production of larger books.

The publishers

Guichard Jullieron and Thibaud Ancelin

Little is known of either Guichard Jullieron or Thibaud Ancelin, yet combined they were responsible for one of the largest outpourings of Royalist pamphlet literature seen in France. Aimé Vingtrinier included the briefest of bibliographical detail on the pair in his *Histoire de l'imprimerie à Lyon*.¹¹ Similarly, Baudrier all but excluded the pair from his monumental *Bibliographie lyonnais*.¹² Both printer-publishers were treated by Baudrier solely as printers. Hence they merit merely a handful of references for the contract printing of larger books for Lyon's publishing fraternity. Indeed, Baudrier's omission of Jullieron and Ancelin remains one of the largest single lacuna in his *Bibliographie*, the consequence being the absence of around 350 omitted editions and the lion's share of Lyon's Royalist pamphlets.

ledict Edict, Lyon (Thibaud Ancelin & Guichard Jullieron) 1596, copy in Lyon BM 363532.

¹⁰ See appendix 1.3.

¹¹ Vingtrinier, *Histoire*, pp.295-7.

¹² Cf. Baudrier I 5 (Ancelin), 221, 224-225 (Jullieron).

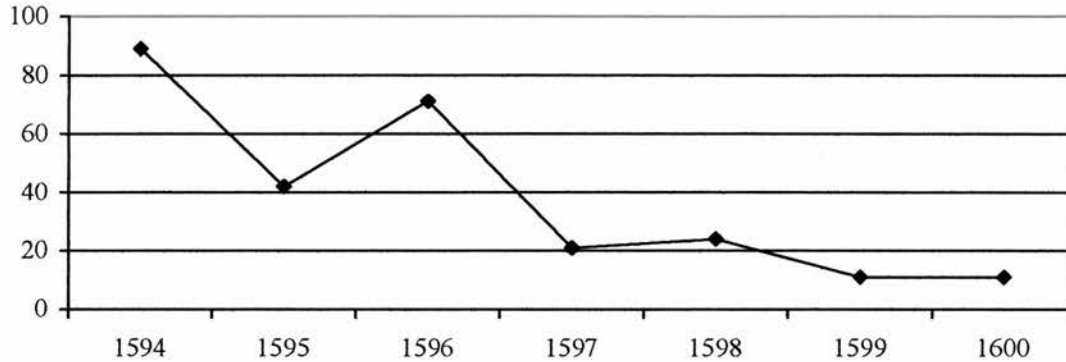
From at least the mid 1590s both Jullieron and Ancelin occupied workshops within the main publishing district of Lyon. Many of their pamphlets bear the address ‘demeurans en rue Raisin’ within the publisher’s signature. The rue Raisin was a side street adjoining the rue Mèrciere.¹³ The pair appear to have worked in close association following the Royalist takeover of Lyon. In 1594 they were named as joint printers to the King in Lyon and utilised this privilege to the full, embarking on a massive printing and publishing campaign for the Royalist cause.¹⁴ We might, on this evidence, be inclined to assume a close affinity between the pair prior to this point. Nevertheless no evidence exists to show that they worked together on contract printing associations or joint publications before 1594. It remains quite possible that a common enemy such as the League served to bring Jullieron and Ancelin together for the first time. Of the 366 editions of Royalist pamphlets published in Lyon from 1594, 271 or 74% were published by Ancelin and Jullieron.

From bibliographical data there appears little pattern to the mechanics of the association. 75 Royalist pamphlet editions bear the title page signature of Jullieron and Ancelin, whilst 50 editions have the reversed signature of Ancelin and Jullieron. At least 41 pamphlet editions were published independently by Jullieron, whilst Ancelin was solely responsible for around 105 editions.

¹³ For example (Henri IV), Declaration du Roi, sur autre Precedente du XXVII jour de Decembre dernier passé [...] demeurens en rue Raisin, Lyon (Guichard Jullieron & Thibaud Ancelin) 1594, copy in Lyon BM Rés. 3 16271.

¹⁴ Cf. (Henri IV), Edict du Roi, de la Reunion à son Domaine de tous les Greffes, Lyon (Thibaud Ancelin & Guichard Jullieron) 1596.

Graph 5.1 Editions of Royalist pamphlet literature published by Jullieron and/or Ancelin



Jullieron and Ancelin associated themselves jointly with the Royalist cause in a prologue to a 1594 pamphlet, the *Discours de la legation de monsieur le duc de Nevers*.¹⁵ The pair endorsed a hagiographical image of Henri IV, who possessed all the necessary qualities as both King and loyal Catholic to reunite France. Under Henri, France would be the quiver at God's side. Henri was shown, rather implausibly, to have exhibited humility with his rejection of pomp and glory. But most importantly, Henri had recently received papal absolution.

Guichard Jullieron was active in the Lyonnais publishing world until 1607. He first appears in 1572 as the contract printer for Hughes de La Porte's *Corpus juris Canonici*.¹⁶ This was a vast and complicated book to print and demanded a large level of expertise. That Jullieron was evidently a master printer able to oversee the production of such work in 1572 allows one to surmise that he was active in Lyon's book world from at least the mid

¹⁵ Anon., *Discours de la Legation de Monsieur le Duc de Nevers*, Lyon (Guichard Jullieron & Thibaud Ancelin) 1594, fols.A2r-A5r, copy in Lyon BM 325639; also same title, Lyon (Guichard Jullieron) 1594, copy in Grenoble BM E 14474.

¹⁶ Cf. Baudrier VII 341-342.

1560s. We have no information regarding any possible involvement with Protestantism. Jullieron was not mentioned within either the list of Lyon's abjuring Protestants or within edicts naming the city's most notorious Protestants.¹⁷ Throughout the 1570s and 1580s one can trace a number of books that bear either Jullieron's printer's signature or devices.

In 1587, Jullieron emerged in the publishing syndicate, being elected for the first time as one of the representatives of the printers alongside François Durelle. Jullieron was elected to the position of representative of the printers twice more, in 1590 and again in 1597.¹⁸ Indeed his election as joint representative in 1590, amid the height of Lyon's Leaguer adherence, illustrates that Jullieron was either an early supporter of the League or at the very least accepted by Lyon's Leaguer establishment. Yet by 1594 we can place Jullieron firmly among Lyon's most committed Royalists putting himself and his business in the service of Henri de Navarre. Vingtrinier notes that Jullieron even put his fortune forward for the Royalist cause in the immediate aftermath of the council's volte-face in February 1594, contributing to the payment of the outstanding wages of the Swiss troops in order that they remained in Lyon.¹⁹ Henri rewarded Jullieron well for his loyalty, granting him with Ancelin the joint position of printer to the King.

Interestingly, existing documentation never refers to Jullieron as a publisher. This is probably due to the fact that Jullieron remained largely a contract printer of large volume editions for the city's merchant publishers. Jullieron published at the very least 58 such large editions between 1572 and 1600; added to this, from 1594 until 1600 he contract

¹⁷ Anon., *Ordonnance de Messieurs les Seneschal*, Lyon (Michel Jove) 1568.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, IX 75-76.

printed 28 large book editions.²⁰ At least nine of these contract printed books were executed in 1594. With a conservative estimate, these nine sub-contracted print editions comprised over four times more actual press work than was required for all pamphlets and longer book editions that were published in 1594 by him alone or in association with Ancelin. Between 1594 and 1600 the production of pamphlets by one of the city's major pamphleteers occupied somewhere around only 7-8% of the print completed within Jullieron's printing workshops

Thibaud Ancelin remains as elusive as his associate Jullieron. Ancelin first appears in 1579 and is known to have been active in Lyon's publishing world until 1608.²¹ We possess only scant details of Ancelin's life. We find no information regarding any involvement with Protestantism; likewise we have no indication that he held any civic role. Ancelin was referred to as master printer for the first time in a 1587 contract, indicating that he ran his own printing workshop(s). Although Ancelin was an ardent Royalist he was able to blend into Leaguer Lyon, maintaining a successful contract printing business between 1589 and 1594. This notably includes winning a contract to print for Jean-Baptiste Buysson, one of Lyon's most ardent Leaguers.²²

It is in 1594 that Ancelin really comes to our attention, beginning the production of over a hundred Royalist pamphlets. Following the return of Lyon to the crown Ancelin,

¹⁹ Vingtrinier, *Histoire*, pp.295-296.

²⁰ Cf. Baudrier I 181, II 403; III 323, IV 139-141, 148, 348-362, 368-375, 401, V 31, 70, 135, 314, VI 407-423, VII 224-240, 341-342; Baudrier Supplement; IA 143.409; Chambers 453; LN 1911, 1919; Gustin, *Catalogue*, F17; Rev Hisp-Franc:760; Collet, *Saint-Bonnet-le-Château*, 289; Lyon BM Rés. 330536; Poitiers BM C 318.

²¹ Ancelin first comes to our attention as having contract printed Louis Cloquemin's 1593 edition of Boyssieres, Jean, *Les troisiemes oeuvres*, Lyon (Louis Cloquemin) 1579.

alongside Jullieron, was named as printer to the King in Lyon. A certificate from Lyon's council notes declares that Ancelin was granted the position of King's printer in replacement of Jean Pillehotte, who had served the League.²³ Like Jullieron, Ancelin seems to have supported the Royalist cause financially as a document mentions that the Royalist council paid him for his good services.²⁴ Ancelin continued to be in the employment of the King, the city of Lyon and the region through the remainder of the century. In 1595-1596 he was paid by the city council for the printing of placards, passports and official bulletins.²⁵ Then in 1598 Ancelin was elected for the first time to the position of a representative for the printers in Lyon's publishing syndicate, alongside the ex-Leaguer Louis Tantillon.

Certainly, Ancelin was keen to demonstrate his loyalty to the Royalist cause. We have seen above that he was prepared to include a prologue in a work co-produced with Jullieron. Alongside this, we find that Ancelin also published another, shorter prologue for a pamphlet penned by Alexandre de Pontaimery, and published in 1594.²⁶ In *Le roi triomphant* Ancelin took the opportunity to make a bitter attack against the tyranny of Spain and the Leaguers. For Ancelin, both Spain and the League were traitors motivated solely by personal ambitions that were ruinous to France. While Ancelin claimed that he wanted to present eye-witness accounts to illustrate the avaricious tyranny of the League, he advocated a sympathetic and reconciliatory stance towards any Leaguers that had surrendered, claiming that they had shown their regret with their sorrowful apologies.

²² Beauxamis, Thomas, *Commentarorium in evangelicum*, Lyon (Héretiers de Guillaume Roville) 1593.

²³ Lyon AM AA 045.

²⁴ Ibid., CC 1468 -1.

²⁵ Ibid., CC 1468 -1, CC 1472 -1, CC 1521 -1.

Besides his pamphlet production, Ancelin published around 40 editions of larger books. Yet, similarly to Jullieron, he was continually known in official documentation as a printer rather than a publisher. This probably results from the fact that until at least the mid-1590s Ancelin spent the majority of his press time producing contract printed books, with around 46 titles, including many large printing projects.²⁷ However, unlike Jullieron, Ancelin appears to have attempted to distance himself from the less lucrative business of contract printing once he had broken through into the publishing side of the industry. Throughout the last years of the decade we find less evidence of Ancelin taking on contract printing work.

Ancelin's contract printing between 1572 and 1588 was carried out in a roughly equal mixture of Latin (26 titles) and the vernacular (20), in a mixture of formats, with around half printed in folio and around a quarter each for quarto and octavo. These imprints were primarily works of literature (20 editions) and theological works (23). Notably, Ancelin printed several large erudite tomes, including editions of Plutarch, Cicero and Aristotle. Scriptural and devotional works dominated his religious contract printing. Ancelin was therefore clearly a highly adept and skilled master printer. Further testament is paid to Ancelin's abilities when one sees that Ancelin printed books for some of the largest of Lyon's publishing houses. The majority of Ancelin's contract printing appears to have been carried out for Antoine de Harsy, Pierre Landry, Charles Pesnot, and Thomas Soubron. However, whilst it would appear that Ancelin was not regularly contracted by the

²⁶ Pontaimery, Alexandre de, *Le Roi triomphant, ou sont soutenues les merveilles du tres-illustre & tres-invincible Henri III*, Lyon (Thibaud Ancelin) 1594, fol.A3v, copy in Lyon BM A 508123.

merchant publishers we know that he was called upon to print a few editions for the likes of Jean-Baptiste Buysson, Barthélemy Honorati and the house of Giunta.

The monopolisation of Royalist pamphlet literature by Ancelin and Jullieron created significant rapid cash returns. Ancelin utilised this considerable boost in income to begin climbing the slippery pole of the Lyonnais publishing world. He rapidly began publishing handbooks of around 15 to 25 printed sheets, mixing literary, theological, religious and scientific titles. By the turn of the seventeenth century Ancelin's business had expanded to enable him to undertake the massive investment of printing an edition of the Louvain Bible.²⁸ With a single copy comprising over 200 printed sheets, or 1,600 pages, Ancelin's 1604 edition featured a specially commissioned ornate engraved title page and the incorporation of dozens of newly carved woodcuts throughout the text.

Benoist Rigaud

Benoist Rigaud printed 26 pamphlet editions between 1594 and his death in 1597. Of these 16 were solidly Royalist. A further eight pamphlet titles were published by the heirs of Benoist, a half of these were Royalist in character.²⁹ From 1589, when Rigaud made his will, until his death in 1597, we possess little documentary evidence of his life.³⁰ He was elected as joint publishers' representative for the printing and publishing syndicate in

²⁷ Cf. Baudrier I 47, 360 II 348, III 149-150, 157, 159, 161, IV 57, 143, 148-149, 158-159, 160, 351-352, 355-356, 373, 401; Chambers 497; IA 116.698, 121.362, 139.651, 152.216; Gültlingen VIII 173; Bujanda X, p.588; Girard, *Catalogue*, 333; also Lyon BM Rés. 316249, Rés. 316266.

²⁸ *La Sainte Bible*, Lyon (Thibaud Ancelin) 1604.

²⁹ Cf. Baudrier III 431-448, 493-495; LN 1870; also Carpentras BM M 711; Strasbourg BU R 100674 (5) 8.

³⁰ Cf. Baudrier III 183.

1596.³¹ Two years later Benoist's son Pierre Rigaud was chosen to replace his father in this position alongside the ex-Leaguer Jean-Baptiste Buysson.³² Upon his death, Rigaud's eldest son took immediate charge of the family business, publishing under the name *Héretiers de Benoist Rigaud*. Between 1597 and 1600 Pierre Rigaud published only eight pamphlet editions. This low production of pamphlets is indicative of the direction in which Benoist had attempted to steer his business. Since the mid-1560s it was evident that Rigaud schemed to expand his business. By the turn of 1589, Rigaud was in a position to be able to turn his back on the more radical aspects of the literature, publishing only a number of milder tracts alongside an expanding repertoire of larger volumes.

Benoist Rigaud had produced a similar number of pamphlet editions in favour of firstly the League, and then the Royalists. However, one can note a profound difference between his Leaguer and Royalist pamphlet editions. From 1589 onwards Rigaud consciously steered away from radical aspects of Leaguer literature. Moreover, Rigaud did not add a preface or postscript to any of his Leaguer publications. Against this we find that Benoist embraced the Royalist cause in a wholehearted manner. Rigaud published Royalist works that contained a full exhibition of all aspects of Royalist pamphlet polemic. Examples of this are Thomas Beauxamis' *Remonstrance au peuple françois* and Rene Benoist's works such as *Advertissement en forme d'epistre consolitaire*, and *Exhortation de prier Dieu eternal pour nostre roi*.³³

³¹ Ibid., IX 75-76.

³² Ibid.

³³ Beauxamis, Thomas, Remonstrance au Peuple François qu'il n'est permis à aucun subject souz prétexte que ce soit se rebelle ne prendre les armes contre son Prince et Roi, Lyon (Benoist Rigaud) 1594; Benoist René,

Rigaud was closely associated with the Royalist movement in other visible ways. On at least one occasion, in the 1594 work *Remonstrance au peuple François*, he used his own personal arms as a title page decoration.³⁴ Whilst this was common practice for many publishers, it was highly unusual for Rigaud. As such it illustrates his wish to be closely associated with the work, a stringent defence of Henri IV and a comprehensive attack on the League and Philip II. Indeed, Rigaud went even further, publishing a Royalist address as a preface to his 1595 publication of *Discours de la verite*.³⁵ In this preface Rigaud provides an outline of the argument of the work, which charts the history of the rise and fall of empires through the ages. He concurs with the author that the troubles that engulfed France had been written in the stars arguing that France had been plagued by over-active skies since the turn of the 1560s. Rigaud then interprets these as signs that God was displeased with the sins and vices of men.

Jean Pillehotte

Whereas Pillehotte had been well rewarded for his Leaguer association, the events of 1594 placed him clearly on the losing side. Pillehotte was banned from Lyon and lost his titles of printer to the King and printer to the city; he only maintained his close and long-standing affinity with the Jesuits in the collège de la Trinité. Jullieron and Ancelin took full advantage of Pillehotte's disgrace, printing in a quarto placard the edict of April 1594, which ordered the transfer of titles and Pillehotte's expulsion from Lyon.³⁶

Advertissement en forme d'Epistre consolatoire, Lyon (Benoist Rigaud) 1594; by the same author, Exhortation de Prier Dieu eternel pour nostre Roi treschrestien Henri III, Lyon (Benoist Rigaud) 1595.

³⁴ See illustration 18.

³⁵ Anon., Discours de la verite des causes et effects des decadences, Lyon (Rigaud) 1595, fol.+6v.

³⁶ Henri IV, Arrest du conseil d'estat du Roi, s.l. [Lyon] s.n. [Guichard Juilleron & Thibaud Ancelin] s.d. [1596], copy in Lyon BM Rés. 3 14914.

Following these events, Pillehotte's pamphlet publication declined dramatically. Upon his return to Lyon, he all but abandoned the production of controversial pamphlet literature. Between 1594 and 1600 he produced only around 30 pamphlet editions, this alongside 83 editions of larger books.³⁷ Of his pamphlet works, a half were overtly Royalist, with the other half being orthodox religious texts, works promoting the agenda of the Council of Trent, news of the war between Spain and England and biographical accounts of Protestant abjurations. The majority of his pamphlet editions were produced within two years of his return to Lyon: 18 editions in 1596 and seven editions in 1597.

Pillehotte was allowed to return to the city and his livelihood sometime in 1595. Although Pillehotte, as one of France's most vocal Leaguers, had fallen into disgrace during 1594 and 1595, he was fully accepted back into the fold on his return to Lyon in 1595. Whilst Pillehotte was no longer official printer for either the King or the city, he continued producing imprints for official usage. From 1596 to 1600 the council accounts cite nine separate payments to Pillehotte.³⁸ By 1597 he must have been fully rehabilitated since he was elected as one of the publisher's representatives. Whilst he published a number of pamphlets, he also produced a growing number of larger, more significant publications.

³⁷ Cf. Baudrier 335-364; IA 129.114; LN 1691, 1806; also books not listed in bibliographies: Aix Méjanès Rec. D 3 (1069), Rec. D 30 (47), Rec. D 74 (6); Auxerre BM C 2559 (3/26), C 2559 (3/30), C 2559 (24/4), C 2559 (25/6); Grenoble BMD 7680, F 14348; Lyon BM Rés. 314592, Rés. 314817, Rés. 314850; Paris BSHPF Rés. 19781 (19); Wolfenbüttel HAB 132.1 Pol. (26). Also see chapter 6.

³⁸ Cf. Lyon AM CC 1483 -3, CC 1492, CC 1500, CC 1503, CC 1518 -2, CC 1518 -3, CC 1524, CC 1526, CC 1533.

Pamphlet literature

Even before the Royalist takeover of Lyon, we can trace the existence of a limited circulation of Royalist print. It was highly dangerous to be found in possession of this type of printed material. Under the League Royalist literature was distributed secretly, in small quantities, under the dead of night.³⁹ We know of the appearance of at least a single copy of the Royalist book *l'Antiespagnol* in 1591 which 'fait secrettement courir par ceste ville souz le nom d'un Catholique'.⁴⁰ A Royalist pamphlet of the same year, François de Clary's *Remonstrance faicte au grand conseil*, bears one of Jean Pillehotte's highly distinctive printer's fleurons.⁴¹ Clary's *Remonstrance* provides an encouragement for Leaguers to abjure. Clary attacks the recalcitrant Leaguer leadership whilst discussing the welcome given to pragmatic nobles who have abandoned the League. The use of one of Pillehotte's fleurons suggests that the work was produced by an individual previously commissioned to print for Pillehotte using his font and devices: it is likely to have been the work of Guichard Jullieron.⁴² No doubt this would have been a poignant satirical comment that would not have been lost on many contemporaries.

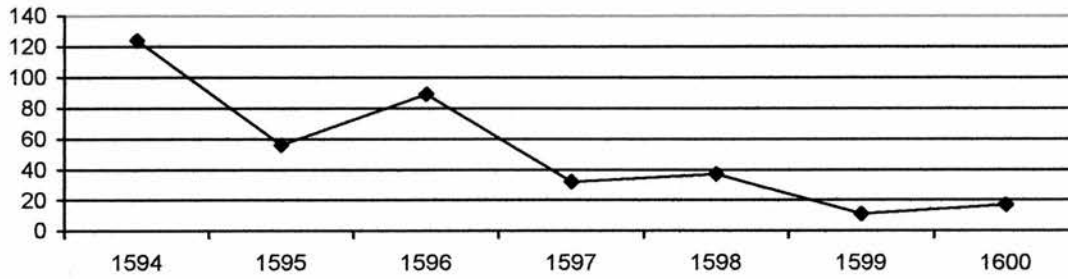
³⁹ Cf. Péricaud, A., *Notes et Documents pour Servir à l'Histoire de Lyon Pendant la Ligue 1589-1594*, Lyon 1844, 86, 109-110; Rubys, Claude de, *Response à 'l'anti-Espagnol' semé ces jours passez par les rues et carrefours de la ville de Lyon*, Lyon (s.n. [Jean Pillehotte]) 1590, esp. fol. A3v; also *Responce au cartel d'un politique bigarré qui ne s'est osé nommer. Jecté de nuit à la porte du Sieur de Rubys*, Lyon (s.n. [Louis Tantillon]) 1591.

⁴⁰ Rubys, *Response a l'anti-Espagnol*, fol.A4v.

⁴¹ Clary, François de, *Remonstrance faicte au grand Conseil du Roi, sur le restablissement requis par les officiers qui ont suivi la Ligue*, s.l. [Lyon] (s.n.) 1591, for the printer's fleuron see K4v, copy in Lyon BM Rés. 314843. Compare this fleuron to Baudrier II 275, no.4.

⁴² The same work was published again in 1594 by Jullieron. Clary, François de, *Remonstrance faicte au grand Conseil du Roi, sur le restablissement requis par les officiers qui ont suyui la Ligue*, Lyon (Guichard Jullieron) 1594, copy in Grenoble BME 14476.

Graph 5.2 Editions of Royalist pamphlet literature published in Lyon



From February 1594, Lyon became the single largest provincial producer of Royalist pamphlet literature. Between 1594 and 1600 at least 445 pamphlet editions were published in Lyon. No fewer than 366, or 76%, of these editions were produced in favour of the Royalist cause. Of the other quarter, we find many Catholic texts including funeral orations, hagiographies and devotional works, discussions of battles with the Turk, and a handful of prognostics. As graph 5.2 illustrates, the output of Lyon's Royalist pamphlets was highest in the crisis years of 1594-1596. Following that, 30-40 editions per year were devoted largely to charting the fortunes of Henri's IV war with Philip of Spain throughout 1597 and 1598. The last years of the century yielded only a small residue of Royalist pamphlets. Around 12 of the 366 Royalist editions were duplicates: pamphlets published by both Jullieron and Ancelin which were identical in all but the title page printer's signature. The *Discours de l'arrivee du Roi en la ville de Dijon*, for example, survives in three bibliographical states: one bearing the signature Jullieron and Ancelin, a second bearing the reversed signature Ancelin and Jullieron, and a third bearing the sole signature

of Jullieron.⁴³ It is difficult to determine whether these are part of the same print-run or fresh editions.

Themes

Royalist pamphlet literature differed from its Leaguer counterpart in several ways. Royalist pamphlets are notable for their less fervent, more irenic tone; less of the text was focused on forthright criticism of the enemy. Above all the Royalist pamphlets presented a positive focus, attempting to construct the vision of a golden age around which France could unite in the hope of a better future. In the following sections we will address these issues in further detail. When examining Lyon's Royalist pamphlet literature, one can identify three main groups: news accounts that were primarily accounts of the Wars of Religion, political discourses, and royal edicts. These three types of pamphlet literature had also formed the core of the equivalent Leaguer pamphlet literature.

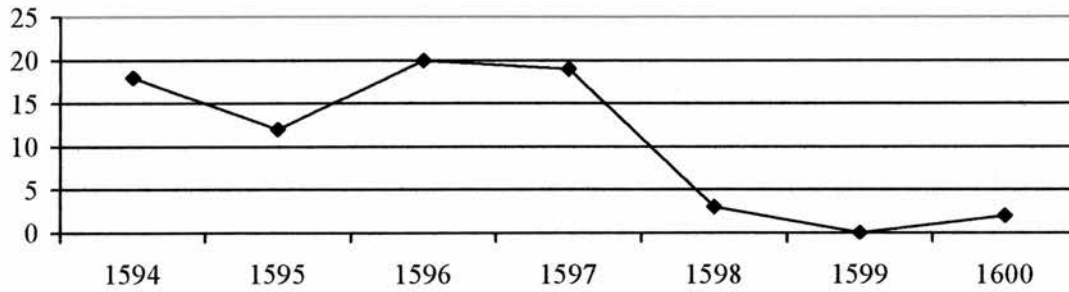
The reprinting of accounts of battles and skirmishes continued to be important. These little works narrated both the recapture and reunification of France, and the imposition of Henri's control with the defeat of the League and Philip of Spain. However, in a more immediate sense, the news of such Royalist successes helped to reinforce the decision of the Lyonnais to abandon the League.

⁴³ Anon., Discours de l'arrivee du Roi en la ville de Dijon, & de la charge faite par sa Majesté, sur l'armee du Connestable de Castille, pres le village de Fontaine-Françoise, Lyon (Guichard Jullieron & Thibaud Ancelin) 1595, Lyon BM Rés. 314929 also LN 1963; same title, Lyon (Thibaud Ancelin & Guichard Jullieron) 1595,

The reunification of France under Navarre was a long and hard fought campaign. It began in 1589 and continued as a war of attrition until 1594 when the momentum swung clearly in Henri's favour. The submission of Lyon marked a crucial watershed in the struggle: it provided Henri with control of one of France's major regional metropolises. Although Paris capitulated in March 1594, the wars were not over for Henri or France until mid 1598. In the meantime Henri had gambled his grip on France by declaring war against Spain. A series of protracted campaigns ended in Henri's favour with the defeat of the Duc de Mercoeur's Spanish-backed army in Brittany; this was followed rapidly by a treaty of peace with Spain and the signing of the Edict of Nantes.

The closing stages of the Wars of Religion were closely followed on Lyon's presses. Almost 80 pamphlet editions, or around a fifth of Lyon's Royalist pamphlet literature was dedicated to tracing the accounts of battles, skirmishes or sieges. As graph 5.3 illustrates, these pamphlet accounts of the battles were primarily produced between 1594 and 1597, during the heightened period of struggle between Henri IV, the League and Philip of Spain. These pamphlet accounts of the battles were published almost entirely by Jullieron and Ancelin, with a small residue being published by Rigaud, and later also by Pillehotte.

Graph 5.3 Editions of Royalist battle reports



The Royalist battle reports printed in Lyon from 1594 were distinctly different in both tone and emphasis from the comparative Leaguer publications. One of the few similarities was in the layout of the title page, which provided information on the dates, locations and participants of the military engagements. Otherwise, the differences were profound. Leaguer battle reports printed in Lyon between 1589 and 1593 were overt confessional statements with a specific agenda aimed at fostering visceral hatred to promote manifestations of popular Leaguer violence. The Royalist pamphlets of battle reports printed in Lyon wholeheartedly rejected this style and tone, returning instead to a reportage style similar to that seen in publications prior to the League. The texts typically concentrated on the details of the mustering, the ensuing military action, the outcome and a roll call of the noble fatalities and prisoners. The contrast between the inflammatory style of Leaguer pamphlet literature and the factual nature of the Royalist works is striking. For Royalist polemicists it remained enough to name the enemy: both the League and Philip II.



Left: Title page of anon., Au Roi sur le Sacre de sa Majesté, Lyon (Guichard Jullieron & Thibaud Ancelin) 1594; featuring a typical example of the royal arms of Henry IV seen on many Royalist pamphlets.

Right: Title page of anon., Recepte pour Guérir les Trahisons qui se sont contre ce Royaume, Lyon (Guichard Jullieron & Thibaud Ancelin) 1594; featuring a highly distinctive printer's fleuron most commonly associated with Royalist pamphlet literature. This fleuron is first seen on Royalist Troyas impressions, yet became widely used in Lyon following the city's return to the crown in 1594.

An interesting and unprecedented aspect of this type of Royalist pamphlet literature was the reprinting of descriptions of military campaigns fought several years previously. One such example is the anonymous *Discours veritable de la victoire [...] pres le village de Ivry*, published in 1594 by Jullieron and Ancelin.⁴⁴ The text of the *Discours* gives an account of the battle fought between the armies of Henri and the League by the village of Ivry-la-Bataille in 1590. It begins with the mustering and description of forces before describing in some detail the positions taken and the military action; it then rounds off with a list of noble fatalities. Retrospective accounts of this nature draw attention to the successful military campaigns that Henri had fought against the League before Lyon changed sides, and reinforce the idea that he had always been fighting on behalf of the French nation to rescue the kingdom from the destructive ambitions of the League.

Royalist accounts of battles provided a third interesting departure from their Leaguer forerunners. They included a number of pamphlet reprints of letters signed by Henri reporting news of sieges and battles. Around 30 such editions were published in Lyon, most written explicitly to the city's civic rulers. It remains uncertain whether Henri actually wrote these documents himself or whether they were products of the Royalist propaganda machine. But the correspondence form gave these accounts a certain additional authority and authenticity. They appeared more intimate: by sharing the King's own thoughts, the reader was flattered by a sense of proximity to the process of the reunification of France. For the Royalists, such literature was a good opportunity to circulate a view of a clement Henri, a ruler not bent on revenge and recrimination. For the year 1594, a large

⁴⁴ Anon., *Discours veritable de la Victoire obtenue par le Roi, en la bataille donne pres le village d'Ivry, le quatorziesme de Mars, 1590*, Lyon (Guichard Jullieron & Thibaud Ancelin) 1594.

volume of correspondence between Henri IV and Lyon was published, mainly by Jullieron and Ancelin. These regular communications not only informed the city of the ongoing royal victories, but appealed for support. They urged a watchful eye for Leaguer and Spanish forces and very often thanked Lyon for abandoning the League. Henry had embarked on this new strategy within weeks of the submission of Lyon. One such reprinted letter from Henri to Lyon's council, the *Coppie des lettres du Roi* signed in Paris on the last of March, informed the city of Henri's military fortunes.⁴⁵

The *Coppie des lettres du Roi, sur la prinse de Laon* (1594), published by Ancelin and Jullieron, provides an account of the ongoing wars and uses the opportunity to communicate both gratitude and a warning to the Lyonnais.⁴⁶ The text, claiming to be written by the King, is dated 4 August 1594 and signed in camp at Laon. It begins with the bad news of the escape of the Duc de Nemours's army from Henri's grasp, but thanks Lyon for its continued loyalty in testing times. It then goes on to discuss the danger of Nemours' army, which is still at large in the Lyonnais. The second half of the pamphlet provides a factual account of the siege of Laon and the battles for Amiens and Beauvais. The pamphlet ends on a positive note, claiming that Henri hoped to be able to take the momentum of the victories onwards throughout France.

The body of pamphlet battle reports served to construct a picture of Henri as a just and militarily successful ruler. Militarily, these works demonstrated that Henri was capable

⁴⁵ (Henri IV), *Coppie des Lettres du Roi. A Messieurs les Consuls Eschevins, manans et habitans de la ville de Lyon. Sur la reduction des villes de Roüan, Havre de Grace & autres*, Lyon (Guichard Jullieron & Thibaud Ancelin) 1594, copy in Lyon BM 354085.

of great victories. At the same time they illustrated Henri's strong propensity towards natural justice. The prologue to the 1594 print *L'oracle ou chant de protee* from Ancelin is typical in its comparison of Henri IV's military abilities with those of the classical tales of the Trojan Wars. It underlines that Henri IV was fit to stand shoulder to shoulder with the most renowned Kings in history.⁴⁷ From the outset, Royalist propaganda claimed that God's favour was with Henri. The 1597 Ancelin pamphlet *Reddition de la ville d'Amiens* propagates this theory, claiming that Henri's victory was due to God's blessing and divine aid afforded to his forces.⁴⁸ Another Ancelin pamphlet of the same year encourages the same conclusion for the reader. The *Sommaire recit des progres de l'armee du Roi* links the success of Henri's cause with God's will: 'Il n'y a rien rende les armes plus heureuses, & les effects d'icelles plus favorisees de Dieu, que la justice de leur cause'.⁴⁹

Throughout the extensive body of Royalist battle reports printed in Lyon only a tiny handful chose to reciprocate the vengeful tone of Leaguer works. These were not published by Jullieron or Ancelin, but by peripheral members of the fraternity such as Jean Tholosan and Pierre Michel. Pierre Michel's 1594 publication *Discours veritable de ce qui s'est passé en la reduction de la ville de Paris* is in the main a news report. However, quite untypically of such Royalist pamphlets, the *Discours* begins with four sides of vitriolic

⁴⁶ (Henri IV), *Coppie des Lettres du Roi, Sur la prinse de Laon, et reduction d'Amiens, et autres villes*, Lyon (Thibaud Ancelin & Guichard Jullieron) 1594, copy in Lyon BM 354078.

⁴⁷ Godard, Jean, (ed. Claude Le Brun), *L'Oracle ou Chant de protee. Où sont predictes les glorieuses victoires de Henri IIIII*, Lyon (Thibaud Ancelin) 1594, fols.A1r-C2r, copy in Lyon BM A 508123 (2).

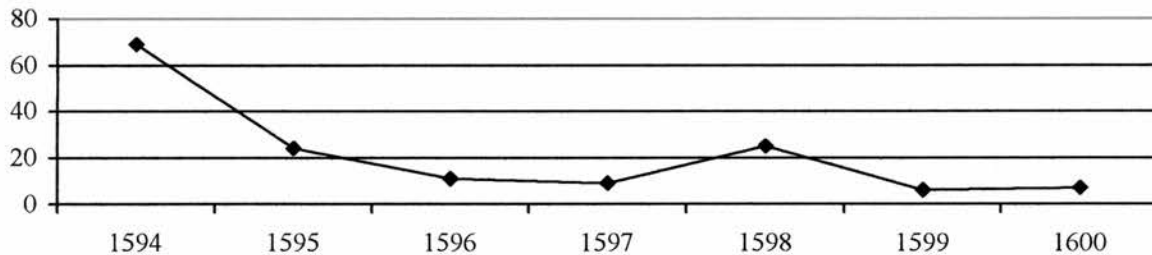
⁴⁸ Anon., *Reddition de la Ville d'Amiens à sa Majesté le 25 Septembre 1597*, Lyon (Thibaud Ancelin) 1597, fol.A2r, copy in Lyon BM Rés. 315815.

⁴⁹ Anon., *Sommaire recit des Progres de l'Armee du Roi en Savoye*, Lyon (Thibaud Ancelin) 1597, fols.A2r, copy in Lyon BM Rés. 315819.

anti-Spanish polemic in which the duplicity, tyranny and malign intentions of Spain are vividly outlined.⁵⁰

By far the largest groupings of Lyon's Royalist pamphlets, with 44% (or over 150 editions) were political commentaries. These printed political discussions were formed of two primary strands: the positive construction of the image of Henri IV and the Royalist regime, and the negative attacks on the League and Spain. Graph 5.4 charts the production of such pamphlet literature in Lyon. As we can see, production peaked in 1594, yet a constant trickle of these texts emerged from Lyon's presses throughout the remainder of the century. These were works mostly published by Jullieron and Ancelin with several editions produced by others such as Rigaud, Chastain, Roussin and Pillehotte.

Graph 5.4 Editions of Royalist polemical pamphlets



In the previous chapter we have explored the notion that Leaguer pamphlets were overwhelmingly negative in content and tone. The central reason for the negativity of the Leaguer imprints was that the Leaguer movements were unable to provide a central positive theme, or leader, around which the movement could coalesce. Whilst the Leaguer

⁵⁰ Anon., *Discours veritable de ce qui s'est passé en la reduction de la Ville de Paris*, Lyon (Pierre Michel)

movements were in general agreement with what they found abhorrent, there was little common ground on which to unite for a realistic future.

Lyon's Royalist polemical pamphlets contrast starkly to their Leaguer counterparts. Royalist political discourses were far less laden with hatred and vitriol. Whilst attacks on the League or Philip II are commonplace, they did not become involved in demonic defamation. Such Royalist attacks on the enemy maintain a sense of urgency, but fall far short of the panic and blood lust that the Leaguer pamphlets embraced. Yet what is most noticeable is the contrast in the two camps' respective vision for the rebuilding of France.

Typical for Royalist pamphlets, political discourses were able to construct the vision of a future around which the disparate elements of France could unite. Several elements were central to this vision: the reconstruction of the image of the monarch, Henri IV, the role of the cities, and the resurgence in both Gallicanism and French nationalism. Throughout the corpus of Lyon's Royalist pamphlets one finds that the positive imagery easily counterbalances the more negative discussions of the League and Philip II. The first point in this process was to rehabilitate Henri IV. For almost his entire adult life Henri had been viciously attacked in firstly Catholic, and then Leaguer pamphlet literature. Henri had to be transformed from a figure of hate to both a King and father figure. It was therefore necessary to undergo a process of pseudo-hagiography to create the public face of France's new monarch. Henri became more than the natural heir to the throne, his qualities of kingship were extolled as second to none: a true protector of both the Catholic Church and

of France, he was fair and just, loyal, a natural leader of men and a masterful general in warfare.

It was also important for Royalist propagandists to show that Henri had been chosen by God. Both the 1594 Jullieron and Ancelin pamphlet *Advertissement Salutaire aux François* and the Ancelin production of du Souhait's *Discours veritable des ceremonies [...] en la ville de Toulouse* are typical in this respect.⁵¹ Both works emphasise the fact that God had answered the prayers of the faithful by providing an end to the wars and the Spanish tyranny in the person of Henri IV. Following the attempted assassinations of Henri in 1595 and 1599 Royalist authors were able to build further on this theme through the evocation of this clear evidence of God's favour towards the King. In the 1595 publication *Copie de la lettre du Roi*, published by Jullieron and Ancelin, Henri enjoyed divine protection against the assassins, '[...] il lui [God] plaise nous conserver tousjours en sa sainte protection contre tels assassinats.'⁵² In a 1599 du Souhait pamphlet, *Le bon ange du roi*, produced by Ancelin and Jullieron, we find a divine angel protecting Henri, much as Daniel was spared from the lions: 'Bon ange qui descends de l'eternel Empire / Pour defendre le Roi des homicides mains: / Qui lisant leur front leurs perfides dessains, / Nous fais les eviter avant qu'on conspire.'⁵³

⁵¹ Anon., *Advertissement salutaire aux François*, Lyon (Guichard Jullieron & Thibaud Ancelin) 1594, copy in Lyon BM Rés. 314886; also Souhait, du, *Discours veritable des Ceremonies feux de joye, solemnitez, et autres resiouissances publiques, faictes en la ville de Tolose*, Lyon (Thibaud Ancelin) 1596, copy in Aix Méjanes Rec. D 42 (110).

⁵² Henri IV, *Copie de la Lettre du Roi, sur l'Assassinat attenté contre sa personne: envoyee à Messieurs les Consuls, Eschevins, manans et habitans de la ville de Lyon*, Lyon (Guichard Jullieron & Thibaud Ancelin) 1595, fols.A3v-A4r, copy in Lyon BM 354080.

⁵³ Souhait, du, *Le bon Ange du Roi*, Lyon (Thibaud Ancelin & Guichard Jullieron) 1599, fols.B3r-v, copy in Aix Méjanes Rec. D 42 (205); also same title Lyon (Thibaud Ancelin) 1599, cf. IA 158.135.

In order to unite Catholic France it was crucial for the Royalist movement to propagate a positive view of Henri's Catholic credentials. Henri's abjuration was neither hidden nor disguised. Many pamphlets, such as the anonymous *Advertissement salutaire aux François*, published by Jullieron and Ancelin in 1594, presented the abjuration as the will of God.⁵⁴ 'Il est fils comme nous de l'Eglise Catholique, Apostolique et Romaine, à laquelle il s'est soumis pour le Spirituel. Dieu lui a ouvert & tendu les bras, comme jamais il ne rebute le pecheur converti.'⁵⁵ The *Advertissement* is typical of Lyon's Royalist pamphlets, claiming that Henri 'est Roi legitime, l'esleu & l'oinct de Dieu en ceste charge [...]. Nostre Roi (vrai François) est du vrai tige & race de ce bon saint Louis, la plus noble & ancienne du monde.'⁵⁶ Indeed, some pamphlets saw Henri's former Protestantism as a positive attribute. In Jullieron and Ancelin's 1594 publication of Claude de La Chatre's *Declaration [...] faicte aux habitans d'Orleans*, Henri, the true Catholic monarch, is shown as better capable of healing France's divisions due to his understanding of the Huguenots and his being an outsider: 'Et pource que le Roi, estoit lors Huguenot, il leur convenoit & estoit loisible de nommer & eslire un Roi, qui fust premierement reconnu tres-bon Catholique, digne & capable de sens & de conditions, pour regner sur eux.'⁵⁷

A large number of pamphlets were published to emphasise the point that Henri was a true Catholic monarch and a loyal son of Rome. One such was the *Advis aux François*,

⁵⁴ Anon., *Advertissement salutaire aux François*, Lyon (Guichard Jullieron & Thibaud Ancelin) 1594.

⁵⁵ Ibid., fols.A2v-A3r.

⁵⁶ Ibid., fol.A3r.

⁵⁷ La Chatre, Claude de, *Declaration de Monsieur de La Chastre Mareschal de France, faicte aux habitans d'Orleans en l'assemblee tenue en son logis, le Jeudy dixseptiesme Fevrier 1594*, Lyon (Guichard Jullieron & Thibaud Ancelin) 1594, fol.A3r, copy in Lyon BM Rés. 3 16243.

published by Jullieron and Ancelin in 1594.⁵⁸ The work begins by placing Henri within the true line of French Catholic monarchs. It then builds by emphasising the acceptance of Henri as Catholic and rightful monarch by both the *parlement* of Paris and the Sorbonne. Throughout 1594 and 1595 several editions of the formal acts of reconciliation with the Pope and the Sorbonne were published in Lyon. Henri's acceptance by the Sorbonne was emphasised in the *Acte publique touchant l'obeissance rendue juree et soubssignée au tres-chrestien & tres-clement Henri III*, published by Jullieron and Ancelin in 1594.⁵⁹ Likewise, the Royalist movement was keen to publicise the reconciliation between Henri and the papacy, as seen in the *Coppie des lettres du Roi. Sur l'absolution donnée à sa Maiesté par [...] Clement VII*, published in at least two editions in Lyon in 1594.⁶⁰ Even foreign academic support was provided by the *Advis de quatre fameuses universitez d'Italie sur l'absolution du Roi*, which was published in no fewer than three editions.⁶¹

To add to Henri's Catholic credentials, it was crucial to show that he was the rightful King and had been crowned according to historical precedent. Since Henri was not able to be crowned at Rheims according to custom, the League attacked him on this point claiming it invalidated his claims to the throne. Royalist propagandists were swift to counter this claim. A pamphlet published by Claude Morrillon in 1594, *Epistre de Yves*,

⁵⁸ Anon., *Advis aux Francois, sur la declaration faite par le Roi*, Lyon (Guichard Jullieron & Thibaud Ancelin) 1594, copy in Lyon BM Rés. 3 16279; also same title, Lyon (Guichard Jullieron) 1594, copy in Grenoble BM E 14350.

⁵⁹ Anon., *Acte public, touchant l'Obeissance rendue et juree et soubssignée au tres-chrestien et tres-clement Henri III*, Lyon Guichard Jullieron & Thibaud Ancelin) 1594, copy in Lyon BM Rés. 314910.

⁶⁰ (Clement VII) *Coppie des lettres du Roi. Sur l'absolution donnée à sa Maiesté par nostre Saint Pere le Pape Clement VII*, Lyon (Thibaud Ancelin & Guichard Jullieron) 1595, copy in Lyon BM SJ IF 233/53 (21); also published by Thibaud Ancelin in the same year, copy in the BNF Lb35 (654).

⁶¹ Anon., *Advis de quatre fameuses universites d'Italie sur l'absolution du Roi. Auquel par le tesmoignage des Canons & Ordonnances des Papes*, Lyon (Guichard Jullieron & Thibaud Ancelin) 1594; also published by Guichard Jullieron in the same year, copy in Grenoble BM F 17644; the title was then anonymously published in 1595, copy in Grenoble BM E 14335.

evesque de Chartres, was typical of the defence used by the Royalists.⁶² Although it concedes that it was traditional for coronations to be held at Rheims, it cites historical precedent to argue that coronations could take place in other cathedrals, pointing to the coronation of Louis VI in Orleans by the Archbishop of Sens in 1109.⁶³

Royalist pamphlets also attempted to portray Henri as a determined and strong leader capable of bringing civil wars and division to an end through determined action and force. A 1594 pamphlet published by Pierre Chastain, the *Declaration de la ville de Meaux*, was penned as an urgent request to Paris to abandon the League and cede to Henri IV before the war was allowed to ravage the great city.⁶⁴ The author of the *Declaration* is typical in his praise for Henri's ability to lead France, pointing to his military prowess: '[...] nostre Roi tenant le premier rang, non seulement à cause de sa Couronne, mais aussi pour son excellence en l'art militaire, sa diligence, & resolution admirable en la pointe des plus grands perils [...] n'y ayant que ce seul Prince qui ait l'autorité, la reputation, l'age propre, & la suffisance [...]'.⁶⁵

The praise of Henri's leadership qualities, especially of his military prowess, was a critical feature of the pamphlet literature throughout the remainder of the century. The 1598 Ancelin pamphlet *Congratulation a la France* bears all the same hagiographical

⁶² Yves., *Epistre de Yves, evesque de chartres touchant le sacre des rois de France*, Lyon (Claude Morillion) 1594, copy in Lyon BM Rés. 316245.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, fols.A2r-B2r.

⁶⁴ Anon., *Declaration de la Ville de Meaux, a Messieurs les Prevost des Marchans Eschevins & Bourgeois de la ville de Paris*, Lyon (Pierre Chastain dit Dauphin) 1594.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, fol.A3r.

imagery as its predecessors published during the previous years.⁶⁶ A central tenet of the *Congratulation* is the praise of Henri's military abilities. After victories against the League and Spain, the tract talks of Henri's 'braves exploits militaires, & de batailles rangees, gaignees'.⁶⁷ Henri was portrayed as personally responsible for the victories that had ensured the end of warfare and brought peace to France. Using a popular comparison, the *Congratulation* draws parallels between Henri's military conquests and those of the ancient Roman Empire. To conclude it claims that '[n]ostre Roi, l'ame de nostre republique Françoise, avoit desia surpassé tous les Monarques de l'Univers en valeur & prouesse'.

Whilst it was crucial to emphasise Henri's positive leadership and military credentials it was also important to show that he was a clement and just monarch. Readers were reassured that Henri had no interest in bringing every man, woman and child to heel for their actions during the previous decade. Instead Royalist writers were keen to illustrate Henri's clemency and his wish to see a kingdom reunited and healed. Indeed, the *Congratulation* not only claims that Henri had militarily surpassed all the kings in the universe, but he had done so 'en douceur & clemence'. Whilst Henri had the occasion to resent the usurpations and cruel actions of the enemy, he had instead chosen to forgive in order to reunite his people.⁶⁸

Henri's remarkable willingness to forgive and reintroduce previous enemies back into the fold was proven in the numbers of pamphlets that cited the surrender of Leaguer

⁶⁶ Anon., *Congratulation a la France, pour le Benefice de la paix generale entre les Princes Chrestiens, faicte & conclue le deuxiesme May 1598*, Lyon (Thibaud Ancelin) 1598, copy in Lyon BM Rés. 314951.

⁶⁷ Ibid., fols.A3r-v.

⁶⁸ Ibid., fols.A3r-A4r.

strongholds. As the first major city to cede to Henri, Lyon could openly boast of a lack of repercussions for the all too evident and recent Leaguer enthusiasm. Indeed, by 1596, the remnants of the League could see for themselves that the provincial stronghold of the League had held Royal entries and the *grand jours*; and that some of Lyon's most celebrated Leaguer enthusiasts, such as Jean Pillehotte and Jean-Baptiste Buysson, had after a brief hiatus resumed highly lucrative and successful businesses with the King's grace.

Alongside this we also find a number of Royalist pamphlets penned specifically on the surrender of other Leaguer towns to Henri. One case in point is the surrender of the stronghold of Marseille, which stimulated the publication of at least seven pamphlet editions.⁶⁹ Both the *Discours de ce qui s'est passé en la prise de la ville de Marseille* (1596) and the *Remonstrance aux habitans de Marseille* (1597) share similar characteristics.⁷⁰ The pair appeal to the civic pride of Marseille by discussing the port's importance to France. Likewise, they also discount any malign intent from the population of Marseille, claiming instead that they were merely obedient to the tyrannical town council. The pamphlets show that Marseille, a hotbed of Leaguer activity, was welcomed back by Henri with no repercussions, indeed, even with rewards. These pamphlets were supported by the reprinting of Henri's letters welcoming Marseille's decision to abandon the League in the *Coppie des lettres du roi, envoyees à [...] Marseille* (1596), published by

⁶⁹ Cf. Baudrier II 341-342, 442; also IA 117.368; also Lyon BM Rés. 367708.

⁷⁰ Anon., *Discours de ce qui s'est passé en la prise de la ville de Marseille, pour le service du Roi, par monseigneur le Duc de Guise, son Lieutenant general en Provence*, Lyon (Thibaud Ancelin) 1596, copy in Lyon BM Rés. 315796; also anon., *Remonstrance aux Habitans de Marseille*, Lyon (Thomas Soubron) 1597.

Ancelin and Jullieron.⁷¹ The *Coppie des lettres* is a skillful illustration of Henri's clemency. Henri begins by addressing the folk of Marseille as dear friends before heartily extolling their generosity to him and claiming that he is forever in their debt. Henri expressly claims that he will safeguard all of Marseille's privileges and trade agreements.

Polemical tracts

The core issues discussed in Royalist pamphlet polemics did not differ significantly from their Leaguer forbears. The crux of all polemical pamphlets was the building of public support both through legitimising the movement and stirring emotions. Royalist pamphlets spent much time discussing the question of leadership; much effort was expended in refuting the claims of Philip II and the League, and as we have seen above, in robustly defending the rights of Henri de Navarre. Likewise, Royalist polemics engaged their Leaguer counterparts on nationalistic grounds, embracing pro-Gallican sentiment. Yet the tone and style of Royalist polemics differed markedly from Leaguer pamphlets.

Throughout the Royalist pamphlets printed in Lyon from 1594 one can trace a strong resurgence in Gallican sentiments. This was in stark contrast to the League's advocacy of a Catholic nationalism linked with Spain. Each side put forward competing claims that they were indeed true Catholics and Frenchmen. Royalist authors were quick to retort against the League's arguments for a brand of pan-European Catholic nationhood by demonstrating Gallican France's historical role at the very centre of European Christian

⁷¹ Henri IV, *Coppie des lettres du Roi, envoyees à Messieurs les Viguier, Consuls & habitans de la ville de Marseille, sur le contentement qui demeure à sa Majesté, de l'heureuse reduction de ladicte ville, à son*

history. A typical example of this argument can be found in the anonymous *Lettres d'un francois pour la preseance du roi*, published by Ancelin in 1594.⁷² The *Lettres* takes the line that France had always maintained a key role in the Roman Church since its very foundation with the crowning of Clovis. France, it points out, took the lead in both the persecutions of the great heresies and the progress of the crusades. It then cites Pope Gregory the Great, who underlined that 'le Roi de France surpassoit d'autant tous les Rois des autres nations'.⁷³ For Royalist polemicists the answer was to be found in the person of Henri IV. We have seen above how pamphlets constructed an image of Henri as loyal Catholic son and protector of Rome, and how this was extended to incorporate Henri as protector of the French Church and its liberties. Henri was the figure-head of the struggle against papal supremacy.

Popular also with Royalist authors was the reiteration and defence of the privileges and liberties of the Gallican Church. The roots of the defence of Gallican liberties were to be found within the medieval period, as successive Popes sought to reimpose control over religious matters in France. A pamphlet written by Pierre Pithou, *Les libertez de l'eglise gallicane*, provides us with one popular and typical attempt to define and defend Gallican privileges.⁷⁴ The work argues passionately for the rights of the French crown to continue to hold privileges such as the right to appoint bishops. It builds upon this, addressing popular Gallican sentiments by attacking the attempted papal usurpation of French rights. Central

obeissance, Lyon (Thibaud Ancelin & Guichard Jullieron) 1596, copy in Lyon BM Rés. 367708.

⁷² Anon., *Lettres d'un Francois pour la Preseance du Roi de France, contre le Roi d'Espagne*, Lyon (Thibaud Ancelin) 1594, copy in Lyon BM Rés. 367703.

⁷³ Ibid., fols.A3v.

⁷⁴ Pithou, Pierre, *Les Libertez de l'Eglise Gallicane*, (Guichard Jullieron & Thibaud Ancelin) 1594, copy in Lyon BM 329809.

to this attack was a focus on papal corruption, specifically nepotism, pluralism and the unchaste ways of the clergy.

The primary target for Lyon's Royalist polemics was Philip II and his involvement in French affairs. Although Royalist authors attempted to portray Henri IV as the antidote to Philip and the League, they were far more hesitant and restrained in their polemical arguments. Whilst Leaguer pamphlets spun accusations of satanic pacts and sexual misdemeanours, Royalist polemics focused on specific and more prosaic charges against the Spanish King, attacking him for his tyranny, his exploitation of France's weakness, and his ambition.

Royalist propagandists did not wait for Henri's risky declaration of war with Spain to begin their attacks on Philip. We have noted how one of the most famous of the Royalist tracts, *L'anti-espagnol*, had circulated secretly in Lyon during the League.⁷⁵ Similar attacks were at the centre of the flood of Lyonnais Royalist imprints of 1594. One of the most common themes in the Lyonnais attacks on Philip was the accusation that the King of Spain was a bloody tyrant who was exploiting France's troubles in order to annex the kingdom. The *Coppie de l'anti-espagnol*, published by Pierre Ferdelat in 1594, provides us with an example of such an attack.⁷⁶ The *Coppie* discounts any religious or altruistic motive for Philip's continued interventions in France, claiming that his sole wish was to annex France. Yet rather than simply citing the malign intentions of Philip, it claims to use evidence of the Spanish ambassador, 'par les confessions d'aucunes espies desguisees [...]

⁷⁵ See chapter 4.

⁷⁶ Anon., *Coppie de l'anti-Espagnol faict a Paris*, Lyon (Pierre Ferdelat) 1594.

qu'en fin on lui a passé un contract, qui est en effect, & en substance, la vente de la Couronne de France, il est question maintenant de la ratifier, & de mettre l'Espagnol en possession'.⁷⁷ A similar line is pursued by Claude de La Chatre in his *Declaration [...]* *faicte aux habitans d'Orléans*, published by Jullieron and Ancelin in 1594.⁷⁸ However, La Chatre proceeds to claim that Philip had not only deceived the League into fighting for him, but that he had kept alive the memory of the murdered Guises purely to build public sentiment in favour of the marriage of the Infanta, and thus to deliver France into Spanish hands.⁷⁹

It was indeed common to find Royalist polemicists claiming that Philip was acting purely from personal ambition and that issues of empire and gold were Spain's only interests. Alexandre de Pontaimery's pamphlet, *Le roi triomphant*, published by Ancelin in 1594, claims that the fundamental interest of Spain was neither religious nor moral, but driven purely by greed. Ample evidence of Spanish avarice was provided by her conquests in India, Portugal and Peru, where the Spanish terror and rapacity had led to a slaughter of the indigenous peoples.⁸⁰ In the anonymous *La premier philipique a la France*, published by Claude Morillion in 1594, we find the examples of Spanish avariciousness and cruelty further developed.⁸¹ The author discusses at length the cruelty of the 'furieux Lions d'Espagne' during the quelling of the Dutch Revolt, but also throughout the New World. Philip is described as 'une cruauté Espagnole pire que toute celle des Canibales, en ce que

⁷⁷ Ibid., fols.A2v-A3r.

⁷⁸ La Chatre, Claude de, *Declaration de Monsieur de la Chastre Mareschal de France, faicte aux habitans d'Orléans en l'assemblee tenue en son logis, le Jeudy dixseptiesme Fevrier 1594*, Lyon (Guichard Jullieron & Thibaud Ancelin) 1594, copy in Lyon BM Rés. 316243.

⁷⁹ Ibid., fols.A4r-v.

⁸⁰ Pontaimery, Alexandre de, *Le Roi triomphant, ou sont contenues les Merveilles du tres-illustre & tres-invincible Henri III*, Lyon (Thibaud Ancelin) 1594, fol.H4v, copy in Lyon BM A 508123.

sa naissance & sa nourriture parmi la debonnaireté Chrestienne, la rendent plus inexcusable que celle de ceux qui sont cruels naturellement.⁸²

Alongside polemical attacks on Philip II, we also find that Royalist polemicists were prepared to attack the League. Central to their attacks was the notion that the League was inverting the natural order as created by God; in essence that the League was a disease polluting France. Indeed, a common Royalist metaphor for the League was to compare it to a cancer, plague or gangrene polluting and corrupting the heart of France. In the *Recepte pour guerir les trahisons*, published in 1594 by Jullieron and Ancelin, Spain was portrayed as keeping the plague of the League alive in France, as the Leaguer treason meant the death of France.⁸³ Nicolas de Pontaimery, in his *Discours d'estat sur la blessure du roi*, also by Jullieron and Ancelin in 1594, described the League as an ulcer fed by the papacy and the Jesuits.⁸⁴ For these Royalist polemicists there were obvious answers to the problem of France's illness: to cure or to cauterise.

In contrast to the Leaguer polemic published in Lyon, the Royalist pamphlets stopped short of calling for bloodthirsty vengeance and communal action to eradicate every member of the League. At their most basic the Royalist polemics attacked the Leaguer movements by reciprocating similar claims of violence and terror that were made against the Royalists. Accusations that the League had initiated the violence of the 1590s were

⁸¹ Anon., *La Premier Philippique a la France*, Lyon (Claude Morillion) 1594, copy in Lyon BM Rés. 316244.

⁸² *Ibid.*, fols.A4v-B3v.

⁸³ Lanagerie, J. *Recepte pour guerir les Trahisons qui se font contre ce Royaume*, Lyon (Guichard Jullieron & Thibaud Ancelin) 1594, fols.A2r-A3v, copy in Lyon BM Rés. 316275

⁸⁴ Pontaimery, Alexandre de, *Discours d'estat sur la Blessure du Roi*, Lyon (Guichard Jullieron & Thibaud Ancelin) 1595, fol.A3r, copy in Lyon BM Rés. 314932; same title, Lyon (Thibaud Ancelin) 1595, copy in BNF Rothschild 2243.

widespread throughout Lyon's Royalist pamphlets. The 1595 Jullieron and Ancelin publication *Advis donne au pape par le Cardinal de Plaisance* arraigns the League as guilty of subverting laws and introducing tyranny in France.⁸⁵ Its principal charge is that the League were playing into the hands of Spain by committing murders, pillaging and sacking towns, violating women and children.⁸⁶ A typical Royalist perception of the Leaguer violence and extremism was provided in the 1594 Pierre Chastain production *Le testament de la Ligue*, in which the League, here as narrator, lists its heritage to the French:

'Je lui laisse les pleurs, le sang, les pilleries, / Les meurtres, assassins, insignes voleries, / Les vefues, orphelins, & les violemens, / Les larmes, les regrets, & les rançonnemens, / les ruines des bourgs, des villes et villages, / Des chasteaux, des maisons, et tant de brigandages.'⁸⁷

Royal Edicts

It is with the royal edict that we are able to complete our contrast of the literary styles of the Leaguer and the Royalist movements. We have explored how edicts became a polemical tool under the League. In contrast, we find that the Royalist edicts abandoned this practice, instead placing the edict back within the traditional legal style.

Edicts, as we have seen, were crucial in the battle for legitimacy and re-imposing order and were published in large numbers between 1594 and 1600. Henri IV worked very hard to restore control and construct legitimacy throughout France. Part of this work was

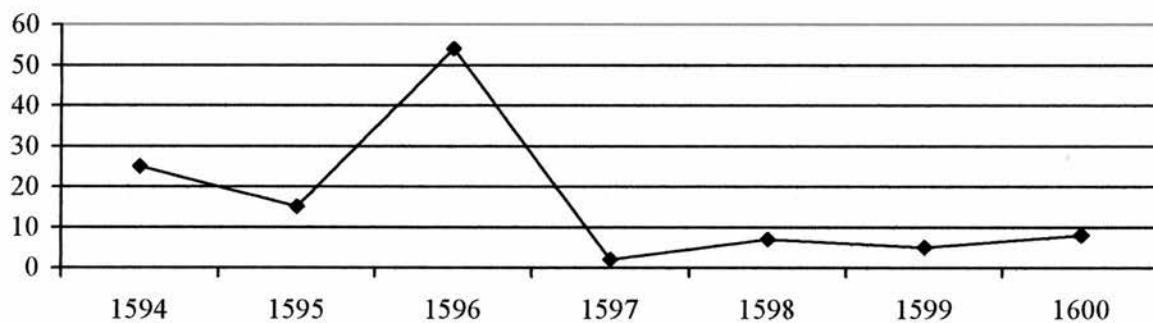
⁸⁵ Anon., *Advis donne au Pape par le Cardinal de Plaisance Legat vers la ligue en France*, Lyon (s.n. [Guichard Jullieron & Thibaud Ancelin]) 1595, fols.A2r-A4v, copy in Lyon BM Rés. 314914.

⁸⁶ Ibid., fols.A2r-A3r.

⁸⁷ Anon., *Le Testament de la Ligue*, Lyon (Pierre Chastain) 1594.

carried out with royal edicts published in pamphlet and broadsheet formats. In total, edicts account for around a quarter of all pamphlets published in Lyon between 1594 and 1600. 34% of Lyon's Royalist pamphlet imprints were edicts, a total of 116 editions. A large proportion of the edicts were published in the immediate aftermath of the submissions of Lyon, Paris and Rouen during 1594. This was followed by a flurry of activity in Lyon during the *grand jours* in 1596, from which around 50 Lyonnais editions survive.

Graph 5.5 Editions of Royal edicts



This flurry of publishing activity brought benefits for Lyon's royal publishers Jullieron and Ancelin; however, for the council, this period signalled a dramatic reduction in their ability to legislate. As part of the measures taken to safeguard the Lyonnais following the *grands jours* the Lyonnais council was no longer permitted to issue their own edicts. Royalist edicts had the purpose of rebuilding the state and re-imposing royal authority over the kingdom. Many edicts were issued to stimulate the recovery of the economy, to promote public safety and health and to restore the legal status quo. However, a significant proportion of the Royalist edicts helped to reshape France's political and religious arena.

As early as 1594, Henri IV had imposed a ban on the Reformed religion in Lyon, and defined Catholicism as the religion of the state. The *Reiglemens ordonnez en execution des edicts du roi contre ceux de la religion pretendue reformee* demands that all Protestants vacate the city.⁸⁸ It notes a recent trend of allegedly abjured Protestants returning to Lyon. At no point in the following years were such edicts proscribing Protestantism in Lyon rescinded. Indeed, the banning of Protestantism in the archbishopric was cemented within the Edict of Nantes in 1598. With the banning of Protestantism went the enforcement of Catholicism. Inspections, as discussed in the *Arrests de la cour des grands jours pour le restablissement du service divin*, were used in an attempt to enforce orthodoxy.⁸⁹ The edict states that all bishops were to carry out rapid inspections of their diocese to ensure that all aspects of spiritual and temporal life were in order.

Edicts were also used in an attempt to eradicate the League in Lyon. The 1594 *Lettres du roi, sur la convocation du ban et arriereban* specifically prohibited the League.⁹⁰ It also provided the council and the new Governor with the means to exile the most prominent Leaguers. A number of these were either temporarily exiled or placed under house arrest. Jullieron and Ancelin took full opportunity of the chance to denounce their

⁸⁸ Anon., *Reiglemens ordonnez en execution des Edicts du Roi contre ceux de la Religion pretendue reformee, & aussi pour la garde & conservation de ceste ville de Lyon*, Lyon (Guichard Jullieron & Thibaud Ancelin) 1594, copy in Lyon BM 354087.

⁸⁹ Anon., *Arrests de la Cour des Grands Jours pour le restablissement du service divin, ordre Ecclesiastique, entretenement des Edicts, & punition des crimes au soulagement des subjects du Roi*, Lyon (Thibaud Ancelin) 1596, copy in Lyon BM Rés. 316424.

⁹⁰ Henri IV, *Lettres du Roi, sur la Convocation du Ban et arriereban, de sa Gendarmerie*, Lyon (Guichard Jullieron & Thibaud Ancelin) 1594, copy in Lyon BM Rés. 354088.

Leaguer foes by publishing Henri's *Arrest* which specifically exiled the publisher Jean Pillehotte and the contract printer Jacques Roussin.⁹¹

Gallican sentiments were also fostered with the ratification and circulation of edicts. Edicts such as the *Arrest de la court de parlement contre toutes provisions de benefices* attempted to shape public opinion by minimising Roman influence within the French Church.⁹² The edict draws attention to the centuries-old conflict between the Gallican and Roman Churches, providing an historical outline of relations between the Pope and the French King since the rule of Charlemagne. In each case, it is the papacy that is shown as corrupt and wishing to usurp France's rights. The latest manifestation of these struggles was the attempts of the Cardinals Cajetan and Plaisance to curtail the liberties of the Gallican Church with their missions on behalf of the Pope.

Conclusion

The period 1594 until 1596 was truly remarkable for the publication of pamphlet editions in Lyon. The flood of pamphlets exceeded anything that had been seen previously. The deliverance from the League released a tidal wave of pamphlets that betrays a genuine sense of relief. Indeed, the fact that so many printers, publishers and merchant publishers associated themselves with the production of Royalist literature emphasises this point.

⁹¹ Henri IV, *Arrest du conseil d'estat du Roi*, s.l. [Lyon] s.n. [Guichard Juilleron & Thibaud Ancelin] s.d. [1595-1596], copy in Lyon BM Rés. 119072 (bis).

⁹² Anon., *Arrest de la Court de Parlement contre toutes Provisions de Benefices decernees par les Cardinaux Cajetan & de Plaisance eux desans Legats de nostre S. Pere le Pape mesmes à ceux de leur faction*, Lyon

The wave of Royalist pamphlets was accompanied by a dramatic shift in the content and style of the works. Royalist authors abandoned the bloody violent calls of the League and produced a more inclusive literature that called for future co-operation and toleration. Royalist pamphlets reflected the realisation that France must establish itself anew, in an as united and coherent a way as possible. In this sense the repeated waves of Royalist pamphlets were a success. Whilst advocating the military defeat of the enemy, they did not emphasise the need for its total eradication; indeed, they espoused reconciliation. Where Leaguer pamphlets had failed, the Royalist works succeeded. Royalist works not only advocated a future in which one could perceive of rekindling neighbourly relations, but these works also constructed a realistic and viable vision of a new age for France under the leadership of Henri IV.

Chapter 6 Theological and religious books, 1589-1600

The period from 1589 until at least 1596 was disastrous for French industry and commerce. A number of factors served to create an adverse context for trade, not least of which were the cumulative effects of three decades of civil war. Added to this were the problems caused by bandits and the lawlessness of the countryside which affected all major trade routes. Moreover, blockades made trade with some cities impossible for long periods, such as with Paris.

The suffering of trade and industry in Lyon mirrored the fortunes of France. Only a few generations before, Lyon had been a busy metropolis attracting merchants from all across Europe to the famous quarterly fairs. Yet by the last decade of the century the destruction wrought by the Wars of Religion had taken its toll. In the 1570s it was noted that the Protestant violence of the previous decade had destroyed all the notable civic sites of the city.¹ In 1596 Lyon's city council remarked that Lyon resembled little more than a village with its large empty spaces and vacant buildings.² The cycles of religious violence and extremism all but halted the trade fairs.

Lyon's publishing trade also suffered. From 1589 one can see a decline in the number of editions published on Lyon's presses. During the last few years of the century publishing levels fell to a point seen only during the tumultuous late 1560s, when many of the major publishers and printers fled Lyon. However, Lyon was not the only town in

¹ Cf. Münster, *Cosmographie*, Paris (Michel Sonnius) 1575, fol.yyy4v.

² Lignereux, *Lyon*, p.35.

Europe to suffer, and although its influence had waned, at the close of the sixteenth century it was still one of Europe's main centres of print.

Indeed, the religious and political turmoil that afflicted France was not entirely negative for Lyon's publishing industry. There were certain businesses that managed to reap the benefits from the losses of others. The blockades of Paris made the acquisition of certain books published there impossible. In reaction to this Lyon's council issued open privileges to have any unavailable works, even those still under privilege, reprinted in Lyon by the *marchands libraires*.³ At the same time, the activities of the Counter-Reformation helped to stimulate the printing industry. From 1589 until 1600 the year-on-year growth in the production of Catholic books helped to provide a crucial lifeline to the industry that became weighted ever more towards the printing of Catholic texts.

The period between 1589 and 1600 stands out bibliographically for the huge output of pamphlet literature throughout France. Lyon's Catholic presses churned out hundreds of pamphlets, firstly Leaguer and then Royalist. However, whilst important in defining the character of Lyonnais printing during these years, these little ephemeral imprints represent only a small sector of the Lyonnais publishing world. For the most part, Lyon publishing was still dominated by the output of larger books.⁴ Only in the distinct peak years of 1589, 1590, 1594 and 1596 did Lyon's production of pamphlet editions match or surpass the number of book editions published.

³ For examples of the privilege see Baudrier II 238-239 (Pillehotte); also Brisson, Barnabé (ed.), *Code du Roi Henri III*, Lyon (Frères de Gabiano) 1594. fol.++8v.

⁴ See appendix 1.3.

However, even during years such as 1589 and 1590, the publication of larger books still played a dominant role in the Lyonnais publishing industry in terms of production time, volume and investment costs. In these respects, pamphlet production represented only a fraction of the output of Lyon's presses between 1589 and 1593. Even in 1589, the peak in Leaguer publication, Lyon's most active Leaguer publisher Jean Pillehotte occupied more press time with the publication of books (at least 60-70%) than with pamphlet production (at most 30-40%).

Throughout the later part of the century, the publication of longer orthodox theological and religious volumes became increasingly important to the Lyonnais printing industry. Table 6.1 shows a general decline in the publication of longer books which can be explained with the rise of the Parisian publishers' cartels and the impact of the League. The period from 1589 until 1593 witnessed a decline of around a fifth in the average annual production of large book editions compared to the period 1565-1588. Although levels of output recovered slightly in the years after 1594, it failed to return to pre-League levels. However, table 6.1 also shows that the overall decline of the production of longer books was not mirrored in the case of religious books, where the average yearly production of editions rose in the later decades of the century.

Table 6.1 Breakdown of longer books published in Lyon, 1565-1600

	Total longer books		Longer religious books	
	<u>Editions</u>	<u>Average per year</u>	<u>Editions</u>	<u>Average per year</u>
1565-1588	2,953	123	846	35
1589-1593	506	101	184	37
1594-1600	689	114	267	38

It is clear from this statistical analysis that the production of religious and theological books was one of the crucial stabilising factors in the Lyonnais publishing world. Not surprisingly, the majority of the city's leading publishers became increasingly involved with the production of religious books. As we saw in the preceding period, between 1565 until 1588, several publishing houses were able to dominate the publication of religious and theological texts. This was primarily because the publication of religious books was becoming an increasingly specialised business activity as both the state and church became ever more deeply involved in the policing of the industry.

As seen in chapter 3, the arrival of the Jesuits in Lyon in the 1560s increased reciprocal cooperation between the Church and the industry, most obvious in the form of the Jesuit privilege granted to selected printer-publishers.⁵ Between 1589 and 1600 at least 91 editions of books by Jesuits were published in Lyon. The expulsion of the Jesuits on Henri IV's order in January 1595 did not bring this relationship to an end. Following their expulsion 41 editions were published on Lyon's presses.⁶

The late sixteenth and early seventeenth century saw the rise in the power of Parisian publishers' cartels at the expense of France's provincial printing centres.⁷ A host of reasons lay behind the shift in power, not least the greater availability of credit in the capital; here the collapse of Lyon's foreign banking sector was a crucial handicap to the

⁵ See chapter 3.

⁶ Cf. Baudrier I 334, II 335-364, IV 37-39, V 110 121-132, V 280-281, VI 409-420, VII 225-239; also Desgraves, L. (ed.), *Répertoire des Ouvrages de Controverse entre Catholiques et Protestants en France*, vol.1, Geneva 1984, 11; also IA 100.459; also Foulché-Delbosc, R. (ed.), *Revue Hispanique* 42/110, Paris/New York 1918, 760; also not cited in bibliographies: Richeome, Louis, *L'Adieu de l'Ame Devote*, Lyon (Thibaud Ancelin) 1597, copy in St. Michael's College, University of Toronto BQT/2609/R53/CRC.

⁷ Pallier, 'Les réponses', pp.328-332.

printing industry.⁸ However, location was also crucial. Lyon was several hundred miles from the centre of power. Parisian consortia found themselves naturally better positioned to lobby for privileges in order to develop virtual monopolies. All of this made for a generally forbidding economic and commercial climate for Lyon publishing. In the circumstances, the continued robust market for religious books was a lifeline for publishers otherwise struggling to keep up with the increasingly dominant position of the capital in the publication of quality books in all genres.

The publishers

Here we shall begin by returning briefly to a trend mentioned in chapter 1: the decline of Lyon's merchant publisher. By 1550 the merchant publisher had risen to be the dominant force within the European print industry. Indeed, even throughout the 1570s and into the 1580s the merchant publishers remained the driving force of the industry. However, by the turn of the 1580s-1590s the decline of the merchant publisher in Lyon becomes obvious with only a handful of the biggest names left: the houses of Antoine Gryphe, Barthélemy Vincent, Giunta, Gabiano and Roville-Buysson. A city once bristling with merchant publishers was left with just a small handful. Throughout the 1590s, the merchant publishing houses of Antoine Gryphe and Barthélemy Vincent continued to trade successfully on Lyon's old reputation for the fine production of text. Likewise, we find the continued presence of the houses of Giunta, Gabiano and Roville-Buysson.

⁸ Domestic banking houses continued to operate in Lyon. The return of the Lyon to the crown in 1594 had a great impact on the future of the French Leaguer movements, as money set aside to subsidise the League was due to be transferred from the Netherlands through Lyon's banks. Lyon's sudden switch of allegiance negated these plans and increased the financial hardships of the League. Cf. Calendar of State Papers, 1593-1594 p.423.

Several of Lyon's merchant publishing houses died without an heir, or were similarly ruined by the mismanagement of an heir: we have seen how the successful publishing house of Tinghi simply ceased to trade through the negligence of Michel Estienne.⁹ Other prominent publishers had been forced into exile, such as the brothers Senneton. However, the decline of the merchant publisher was not simply due to mortality rates and bad business sense. Local factors combined to hinder trade: spiralling taxation, the closure of banks, the death of the trade fairs, and local political and religious extremism were chronic factors in limiting the ability of the city merchant publishers to maintain established patterns of trade.

Jean-Baptiste Buysson

As the heir of Guillaume Rville, Jean-Baptiste Buysson was one of main producers of religious books in Lyon in the period between 1589 and 1600. Buysson continued to run his publishing house in a similar manner to Rville: his publications were mainly scholarly tomes printed in Latin. Buysson also managed to steer his business successfully through dramatic regime changes, maintaining all the while successful international trading links.¹⁰ Buysson was responsible for some of the finest contemporary book productions to have emerged from Lyon.

However, whilst one can find many similarities between the operations of Rville and Buysson, one must also note an important difference: the publication of religious

⁹ See chapter 3.

¹⁰ Cf. Baudrier V 110-120.

editions dominated far more of Buysson's activities. In chapter 3 we noted that between a quarter to a third of Roville's publications between 1565 and 1588 were Catholic religious texts. Buysson quite deliberately orientated his business far more towards the output of religious texts. Three in every four editions published under the name Jean-Baptiste Buysson were religious works; of those published by Buysson under the name *Héretiers de Guillaume Roville*, the figure was 60%.

Buysson, publishing under the title *Héretiers de Guillaume Roville*, was responsible for at least 33 editions, 21 of which were theological tomes. All theological publications were printed in Latin, in a mixture of large and small formats. Prominent authors include Martin de Azpilcueta, Thomas Beauxamis and the Church Father Dionysius. Publishing under his own name, Buysson was responsible for at least 39 editions between 1592 and 1600.¹¹ Of these 39 editions we find 33 primarily religious works. The peak of Buysson's religious publications came in the later Leaguer years 1592 and 1593, for which we find a total of 16 editions, 13 of them religious books. Buysson also oversaw a steady stream of religious publications between 1594 and 1600: 20 of a total of 23 editions. These texts were printed exclusively in Latin, the larger part in smaller formats of octavo and sextodecimo. Of these a significant number were penned by Jesuit authors such as Peter Alagona, Louis Molina and Antoine Possevino.

¹¹ Cf. Baudrier IX 418-467, V 121-135; Girard, *Catalogue*, 250; IA 100.459, 105.840, 111.243, 111.250, 132.216; also Gustin, J. (ed.), *Catalogue des imprimés du XVIe siècle conservés à la bibliothèque du Séminaire de Liège*, Brussels 1996, S57; also Schlaefli, *Catalogue*, 1629; also Durling, R.J. (ed.), *A Catalogue of Sixteenth Century Printed Books in the National Library of Medicine*, Maryland 1967, 3564; also works not cited in bibliographies, Simeon, Gabriel (transl. Antoine Chappuys), *Description de la limagne d'Auvergne en forme de dialogue*, Lyon (Guillaume Roville) [= Jean-Baptiste Buysson] 1591, copy in Toulouse BM Rés. C XVI 282; also Jovio, Paolo (transl. Denis Sauvage), *Histoires*, Lyon (Héretiers de Guillaume Roville) [= Jean-Baptiste Buysson] 1592, copy in Carpentras BM H 713; also Boulenger, Jules César, *Diatribes ad Isaaci Casauboni exercitationes adversus illustrissimum Cardinalem Baronium*, Lyon (Héretiers de Guillaume Roville) [= Jean-Baptiste Buysson] 1597, copy in Troyes BM.

Jean-Baptiste Buysson married Roville's granddaughter, Marguerite Carlet, before entering into association with Roville in December 1585.¹² However, this association was abruptly terminated by the death of Roville in 1589. Roville stipulated in his will that his business should continue after his death under the name of *Héretiers de Guillaume Roville* until 1592 with Buysson holding a third of the company.¹³ The company was dissolved in 1592 but Buysson continued occasionally to publish works under the name *Héretiers de Roville* until around 1625.

Buysson embraced the League fully and we have evidence that he was a leading member of Lyon's Leaguer community since he was elected as one of the publishers' representatives of the syndicate for printers in 1590. Buysson was also singled out for special thanks for his services to the Lyonnais Leaguer movement by Pope Gregory XIV in 1591.¹⁴ However, this commitment did not particularly shine through in his publishing activities. Buysson published only a few Leaguer works, although these included what Baudrier termed one of the most virulent Leaguer imprints to have emerged from Lyon, Louis d'Orleans' *Unis ex confoederatis pro catholica fide parisiensibus ad A S unum ex soc pro heretica perfidia Turonensibus*.¹⁵

Likewise, Buysson was accepted by Lyon's Jesuit community, who regularly granted him the Jesuit privilege required since 1582. Between 1592 and 1600 Buysson

¹² Baudrier V 110-112.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Gregory XIV, *Lettres de Nostre S. Pere le Pape Gregoire XIII*, fols.C3r-C4v; also *Monitoire de N.S.P. le Pape Gregoire XIII*, Lyon (Jean Pillehotte) 1591, fols.D1r-D2v.

¹⁵ Cf. Baudrier V 126.

published at least 14 Jesuit editions.¹⁶ Several of Buysson's religious editions were penned by members of other orders, such as the Carthusians, but he had also received approbations from Jesuits within the collège de la Trinité.¹⁷ Buysson maintained relations with the Jesuits throughout his career. In total Buysson oversaw the publication of 15 editions of Jesuit works.¹⁸

Buysson regularly expressed his admiration for the Jesuits in his prefaces to these books. In the preface to his 1592 edition of Martin Azpilcueta's *Enchiridion, sive manuale confessoriorum*, Buysson articulated his personal enthusiasm for the theological books he published with the pious hope that these would help to spread the correct faith among readers.¹⁹ In another preface to a 1595 edition of Azpilcueta's *Opera*, Buysson praised the Jesuits.²⁰ Moreover, in a preface to his 1593 edition of Antoine Possevino's *Judicium, de Nuae militis Galli*, Buysson confirms that he had been in direct communication with the collège de la Trinité regarding publication of the book, which he claimed was being read across France and Europe, even in Italy by Pope Innocent IX.²¹

¹⁶ See fn. 10.

¹⁷ For example see Michel, Jean *Liber exercitiorum spiritualium triplicis viae*, fols. ā2r-ā3r, and by the same author *Psalterium decachordum* fols. +2r-+3r.

¹⁸ See fn. 10.

¹⁹ 'Haec fere sunt quae nostro huic Manuali D Navarri accesserunt, lector Benevole, quae si a te animo accipi benevolo sentiam, efficiam profectò, ut brevi nomen meum, quod adhuc forte obscurum tibi fuit, multorum librorum tam S. theologiae quam utriusque juris doctrina clarissimorum editione tibi gratum et universo orbi Christiano illustre evadat.', cf. Azpilcueta, Martin, *Enchiridion, sive Manuale confessoriorum, et poenitentium*, Lyon (Jean Baptise Buysson) 1592, fol. *5r.

²⁰ Cf. Azpilcueta, Martin, *Opera in tres tomos digesta*, Lyon (Jean-Baptise Buysson) 1595, fols. a2v-a3v.

²¹ Cf. Possevino, Antoine, *Judicium, de Nuae militis Galli, Ioannis Bodini, Philippi Mornaei, & Nicolai Machiavelli*, Lyon (Jean-Baptise Buysson) 1593, fols. *2r-*2v.

With the fall of the League in Lyon Buysson was briefly exiled from the city, during which time Horace Cardon was placed in temporary control of Buysson's bookshop.²² Buysson was soon pardoned by Henri IV and allowed to return to Lyon to resume his business activities. Despite a lull in production for the year 1594, Buysson was able to resurrect at least a portion of his publishing business. Although he was accepted back into the fold of Lyon's commercial community he was unable to restore the business to the same level of output as the firm had enjoyed under Roville. Buysson's publishing activities ran at only somewhere between 30 and 50% of this level.

Pierre Landry

From 1589 Pierre Landry rose to become one of Lyon's largest publishers, publishing a total of over 75 editions, 78 editions if we are to include three titles issued from the surviving stock of Charles Pesnot under Pesnot's name.²³ We have noted in chapter 3 how the publishing dynasty of the brothers Senneton, Pesnot and Landry were among the most prominent producers of Catholic texts in Lyon. Between 1573 and 1588 Landry had produced 36 Catholic editions (58% of his total published editions) and was involved in the production of others in association with Pesnot. Between 1589 and 1600 Landry maintained his place as one of Lyon's primary producers of Catholic book literature, publishing at least another 49 religious editions (65% of his 1589-1600 production).

²² Cf. Lignereux, *Lyon*, p.170; also Baudrier V 110.

²³ Cf. Baudrier III 165, V 327-351; Gültlingen VIII 178-179; IA 111.053, 133.218, 136.429, 136.430, 157.996; also Dekesel, *Bibliotheca*, S66; also, Hooek, *Ars Mercatoria*, 12.2; also Bujanda X, p.588; also not cited in bibliographical works: *Commentaria in Psalmos*, Lyon (Pierre Landry) 1596, copy in Urbino UB.

Landry's religious books were almost exclusively published in Latin, in mixed formats; they include ten editions of biblical works, five devotional texts, six doctrinal editions including the Tridentine catechism, works of Peter Lombard and works on the Mass.²⁴ Like the other producers of orthodox theological books, Landry's publications were clearly not just aimed at the French market.

Pierre Landry was a book-dealer of the highest quality. He was well acquainted with the international book trade and kept relations and regular trading activities with booksellers throughout France and Europe's main book trading centres, Frankfurt, Antwerp, Rome, Medina del Campo, Barcelona and Geneva.²⁵ His extensive international contacts were established whilst working for his uncle, Charles Pesnot, managing Spanish trading connections in Medina.²⁶ To this can be added the connections established by both Pesnot and the Senneton brothers, especially in Rome and Geneva.

As for affiliation to either the League or the Royalist causes we have little evidence to draw upon. Landry appears to have been accepted within Lyon's Leaguer circles. In 1592 he was elected as joint representative for publishers alongside Jean Veyrat, known to be an ardent Leaguer.²⁷ In 1595 he was elected once more, alongside David de Gabiano, showing us that Landry was also well accepted within Lyon's Royalist circles. Likewise, Landry's publications reveal little, we find nothing that takes an openly Leaguer or Royalist standpoint, but rather general orthodox theological and religious texts. The peak of

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid., V 294-308.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid., IX 75-76.

Landry's activities lay between 1592 and 1596. It was only from 1597 that we see a sharp decline in the number of editions published by Landry. Landry only published one Jesuit work, the *Bibliotheca sancta* of 1592. This was published in partnership with Sybille de La Porte, and reissued with a new title page date in the following year.²⁸

The house of Giunta-Cardon

The house of Giunta was another of the most successful of Lyon's publishing dynasties. As we have seen in chapter 3, the various branches of the houses of Giunta were important producers of Catholic texts throughout the period between 1565 and 1600, printing fine works of theology in Latin aimed at both the French and international markets. Throughout the period, the Giuntas maintained their natural trade links with Italy, and also traded successfully with merchants in the Iberian Peninsula.²⁹

Between 1589 and 1600 the houses of Giunta-Cardon published around 75 editions.³⁰ These works were almost exclusively large works of learning, published in

²⁸ Ibid., V from 332-333, 336.

²⁹ Ibid., VI 223-255,

³⁰ Cf. Baudrier VI 337-368, 384-403, 409-423; Bird, *Catalogue*, 1839; Crahay et al. (eds.), *Bibliographie critique des éditions anciennes de Jean Bodin*, Belgium 1992, F3; Gustin, Liège, F17, S58; IA 108.766, 150.888; Foulché-Delbosc, *Bibliographie*, 658; Schlaefli, *Catalogue*, 252, 1266; also works not cited in bibliographical editions: Ribera, F. de, *In Sacram Beati Joannis Apostoli*, Lyon (Libraire des Giunta) 1592, also by the same author *De Templo*, Lyon (Libraire des Giunta) 1592, copy in Genoa BM; Maffai, Pietro, *Ignatii Loyolae vita*, Lyon (Libraire des Giunta) 1589, copy in Le Harve BM; also Ribera, F. de, *In Sacram Beati Joannis Apostoli*, Lyon (Libraire des Giunta) 1593, copy in Louvain BM; also *Biblia Sacra*, Lyon (Libraire des Giunta) 1590, copy in Louvain BM. For Cardon cf. Decherf, *Répertoire*, 44:00296 / 00297; also Girard *Catalogue*, 59, 244, 976; also Foulché-Delbosc, *Revue*, 760; also Schlaefli, *Catalogue*, 2341, 2910; also Schneider, V.O. (ed.), *Catalogue du Fonds hispanique ancien de la Bibliothèque municipale de Nancy (1477-1810)*, Paris 2000, 246 (Giunta); Also books not cited in bibliographical works: Perer, Benedict, *Disputation on Genesis*, Lyon (Horace Cardon) 1599, Amiens BM; Toleti, Fr., *Summae, de institutione sacerdotum*, Lyon (Horace Cardon) 1599, Lyon BM 330623; anon., *Conciones vespertinae*

Latin and often in large formats. 44 or 59% of these editions were religious tomes. These include a number of biblical and patristic works, several editions concerned with specific matters of doctrine, editions of canon law, and numerous devotional works including the lives of saints and books of sermons. Aside from this the house of Giunta-Cardon was also responsible for the publication of a significant number of commentaries on Aristotle written by Jesuits.

By 1589 only one branch of the Giunta family continued to be successful in the Lyonnais publishing industry. The second major branch of the Giunta, that of Philippe Tinghi, the nephew of Jacques Giunta, quickly faded into obscurity in the late 1580s. Following Tinghi's death in 1580, his assets passed first to Symphorien Beraud and then Michel Estienne.³¹ Beraud initially enjoyed considerable success, publishing 62 editions, but he was murdered in 1586 days after terminating his partnership with Estienne.³² Although Estienne paid a high price for Beraud's goods at auctions, he failed to make a success of the business. Indeed, Estienne's final contributions to Lyonnais publishing appear to be his 19 book editions published between 1586 and 1588. In the 1590s Estienne had to serve prison terms for unpaid debts from an unsuccessful association.³³

For a more successful story we turn to the descendants of the first of the Giunta family to settle in Lyon, Jacques Giunta. In chapter 3 we have seen that his daughter Jeanne Giunta placed the administration of her publishing house with her son, Jean-Baptiste

quadragesimales super septem poenitiales psalmos, Lyon (Horace Cardon) 1600, BNF; Suarez Francisco, *Varia opuscula theologica*, Lyon (Horace Cardon) 1600, Lyon BM 330536.

³¹ Cf. Baudrier V 40-52.

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid.

Regnauld. Regnauld's publications, works of orthodox theology and general Catholic religious texts, reveal little of Leaguer sympathies. However, he was one of Lyon's Leaguers singled out for punishment in 1594 under the new Henrician regime, being placed under temporary house arrest.³⁴ Upon his death in 1596, administration of the house of Giunta was placed with Jean Tarin, business associate of Regnauld. In 1598 the holdings of the house of Giunta passed on to one of the dominant merchant publishers of the early decades of the seventeenth century, Horace Cardon.³⁵

Both Regnauld and Tarin published under the name *Libraire des Giunta* and maintained the quality, reputation and status of the publishing house. Between 1589 and 1600 the house of Giunta remained one of the foremost publishing concerns in Lyon, publishing at least 61 editions.³⁶ Like the products of many other merchant publishers, their books were large erudite volumes printed in Latin.

From 1589 until 1598 the *Libraire des Giunta* was highly active in the publication of theological and religious texts, with some 31 editions. As sole administrator, Regnauld took the chance to deepen the house of Giunta's association with the Jesuits. Regnauld published his first Jesuit work in 1588, a discourse on the book of Daniel by Valentini.³⁷ From 1589 we find a steady stream of Jesuit authors published by Regnauld, at least 24 editions, including 12 editions of Jesuit commentaries on Aristotle.

³⁴ Lignereux, *Lyon*, pp.170, 179.

³⁵ Cf. Legay, S., 'Les frères Cardon, marchands-libraires à Lyon, 1600-1635', *Bulletin du Bibliophile* 1 (1992), pp.416-425.

³⁶ See fn.29.

³⁷ Cf. Baudrier VI 407.

Little is known of Jean Tarin, the last direct administrator of the Lyonnais house of Giunta. From 1596 until 1598 we can see only two specifically religious editions from at least 12 published works. However, 8 of these 12 editions were Jesuit works, being either new impressions or re-issues of Jesuit commentaries on Aristotle published in the previous years.³⁸ In terms of their position in the Lyonnais commercial world, it has to be noted that neither Regnauld nor Tarin were elected as a representative for the publishers' syndicate.

Horace Cardon had arrived in Lyon aged six months in 1566, born to an Italian family occupied in Lyon's silk trade, and is said to have been educated by the Jesuits in the collège de la Trinité.³⁹ Cardon entered into the book trade as an apprentice *maître libraire* under Guillaume Roville. Following the death of Roville in 1589, Cardon fell into difficulties with Buysson, and departed from the house of Roville-Buysson to enter into association with his younger brother, Jacques Cardon. However, this appears not to have been an irrevocable split, since Horace maintained regular business connections with Buysson. Following the death of Jean Tarin in 1598, Cardon assumed control of the house of Giunta, reaching an agreement to purchase the holdings from Jean-Baptist's widow in 1600. Horace's investment in the firm, financed largely through the massive dowries of his two wives, ensured that he quickly established one of Europe's premier publishing houses, with close contacts to the Iberian Peninsula and, notably, the Antwerp house of Plantin-Moretus. Cardon's publications are also found in significant quantities throughout contemporary New World collections.⁴⁰

³⁸ See fn.29.

³⁹ For this and following see Legay, 'Les frères Cardon', pp.416-425.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

Adopting the Giunta family title page fleuron of the fleur-de-lys, Cardon continued to publish editions of the very highest quality; but for the first time since 1520 the name of the house of Giunta was not seen upon the title pages of Lyon imprints. Cardon fully embraced the opportunity to exploit the market for religious books. These were at the very heart of his publishing activities: in 1599 and 1600 12 of his 14 editions were religious, a pattern continued into the seventeenth century.⁴¹ At the epicentre of his religious publishing activity were Cardon's excellent relations with the Jesuits, partly inherited from Regnauld and Buysson. Cardon began publishing Jesuit works in 1599, and published over 200 such works between 1600 and 1620, most of which were erudite religious works in large formats and printed in Latin.⁴² Cardon's association with the Jesuits was cemented in 1606 when he took over from the house of Pillehotte the title as the official printer-publisher for the Jesuit collège de la Trinité.⁴³ However, whilst maintaining close relations with the Jesuits in the late 1590s, Cardon remained firmly Royalist and placed himself in the service of Henri IV.⁴⁴

Publishers of smaller books of doctrine and devotion: Rigaud, Pillehotte, Ancelin and Jullieron

As this survey makes clear, the buoyant market for religious books was such that Lyon's merchant publishers were very willing to adapt their output to these new commercial opportunities. The same was true of a number of small and more moderately sized

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Vingtrinier, 'Pillehotte' p.575

⁴⁴ Cf. Legay, 'Les frères Cardon', pp.416-425.

publishing houses involved in the production of religious works. The books these men published tended to be rather smaller, and published in French, aimed at a wider audience than the large Latin books published by the likes of Buysson. As we have seen in chapter 3, certain publishing houses tended to monopolise the production of such editions. Indeed, between 1565 and 1588 the niche for these smaller religious works was captured by two publishing houses, those of Rigaud and Jove-Pillehotte. Both of these publishing concerns continued to hold a large part of the market for such works in Lyon between 1589 and 1600. However, the events of 1594, especially the meteoric rise of Ancelin and Jullieron, shattered their dominant role in the market.

We find a wide variety of religious and theological texts produced by these publishers. At the higher end, were a small number of quarto editions of the French vernacular Louvain translation of the New Testament. More popular with such publishers were editions of sermons, catechisms, expositions of the faith, and general devotional and spiritual texts. These publishers also produced a number of more polemical works, reflecting the continuing struggle for hearts and minds between supporters of the King and the residue of the Catholic League.

Benoist Rigaud

Between 1589 and 1597, Rigaud remained one of Lyon's most prolific publishers of religious books. Of a total of 119 published editions, over a fifth, 27 editions, were

religious works.⁴⁵ These editions were typically printed in small formats and can be characterised as popular, more accessible tracts rather than works of formal scholarship. Around 40% of Rigaud's religious editions were devotional works, including three works by Antonio de Guevara, books of sermons by Simon Vigor and Pierre Tamisier as well as assorted titles of religious *cantiques* and lives of saints.⁴⁶ There was also what we might describe as a religious news book, an account of several successful exorcisms, including one performed in the church of the Cordeliers in Lyon. This was obviously a work that would have held particular appeal in Lyon.⁴⁷

Alongside these religious texts we also find a number of books addressing the religious and political situation of France. Rigaud did not publish any Leaguer book editions; however, we find six Royalist booklet publications.⁴⁸ Five of the titles comprised between 20 and 35 sheets; the largest was without doubt the 1594 *L'irenophile discours de la paix*, which required over 50 printed sheets.⁴⁹ These books present a full repertoire of the complete web of arguments employed by Royalist polemicists. The imbalance of Royalist and Leaguer material in Rigaud's output suggests strongly that by this point his sympathies were strongly with the dominant Royalist party.

⁴⁵ Cf. Baudrier III 431-448, 493-495, VI 1; IA 112.217, 112.218, 112.221, 112.222, 112.223, 141.555, 141.556, 145.300, 152.309; Bird, *Catalogue*, 261; Decherf, *Répertoire*, 106.00277; Durling, *Catalogue*, 128, 319, 4309; Hooek, *Ars Mercatoria*, -5.6; Legrand, É. (ed.), *Bibliographie Hellénique des XV^e et XVI^e Siècles*, 4 vols., Paris 1962, IV 313; also books not cited in bibliographical works: Augsburg UB 02/VIII.2.8.22; Grenoble BM A 2418, E 22715, F 6851; Le Mans BM SA 2323; Lyon BM 358110, Chomarat 7481.

⁴⁶ Cf. Baudrier III 431-448, 493-495; also Lyon BM Choromat 7481, Grenoble BME.22715; also Decherf, *Répertoire*, 106:00277.

⁴⁷ Benedictus, Jean, *La triumpante victoire de la vierge Marie sur sept malins finalement chasses du corps d'une femme dans l'église des Cordeliers de Lyon*, Lyon (Benoist Rigaud) 1593.

⁴⁸ Rigaud published two Royalist booklets in 1594, three in 1595, with one further publication in 1596. Cf. Baudrier III from 175.

⁴⁹ Aphon, *L'irenophile Discours de la Paix, contre l'Injustice, les desordres, la cruauté, & rebellion des Guerres civiles*, Lyon (Benoist Rigaud) 1594.

As his finances improved, Rigaud was able to pick up the privilege for books that had previously been printed by other Lyonnais publishers. One example is *Les secrets du S. Alexis Piedmontois*, published in association by Guillaume Roville and Louis (I) Cloquemin in 1565, and republished by Rigaud in a smaller format in 1589.⁵⁰ Pardoux Du Prat's *Theorique de l'art des notaires* was published by the widow of Gabriel Cotier in 1565 and 1571, then by Estienne Michel in 1578, and finally by Rigaud in 1589.⁵¹

Likewise, Rigaud was also able to utilise other publishers' experience and purchase surplus stock. This enabled him to reissue a work with a new title page and sell it as his own. An example of this can be found following Jean (II) de Tourmes' 1585 flight from Lyon to Geneva. Rigaud appears to have purchased de Tourmes' stock of two volumes of a work by Nicolas Clenard, *Institutiones ac meditationes in graecam linguam*, and *Meditationes greacanicæ in artem grammaticum*; Rigaud then issued these works as his own in 1590.⁵²

Following his death on 23 March 1597, Rigaud's publishing house passed into the hands of his eldest son, Pierre Rigaud. Pierre took full control of the family business, publishing under the name *Héretiers de Benoist Rigaud*. Although continuing to publish into the seventeenth century, the house of Rigaud never matched the vibrancy and business seen in previous decades. Between 1597 and 1600 the house of the *Héretiers de Benoist Rigaud* was responsible for the total publication of 22 book editions. Much like Benoist's

⁵⁰ Cf. Baudrier IV 44, also IX 303; also Durling, R.J. (ed.), *A Catalogue of Sixteenth Century Printed Books in the National Library of Medicine*, Maryland 1967.128; also Bird, *Catalogue*, 89.

⁵¹ Cf. Baudrier III 418, IV 75, 77; also see copy in Grenoble BM F 8042 (3).

⁵² Cf. IA 141.555, 141.556.

production these works were primarily small format vernacular texts aimed at the popular market. In a striking contrast to his father and the majority of Lyon's most successful publishers, Pierre turned his back on the publication of religious texts. Only four of the 22 editions Pierre published were religious works. The largest of these works was 70 printed sheets in length, two were of 30 printed sheets, and one consisted of 7 printed sheets. At a time in which Lyon's publishing industry was becoming ever more reliant upon the publication of religious and theological texts for its survival, this represented a catastrophic business decision.

Jean Pillehotte

From 1589 on one can see several dramatic reorientations in the business activities of Pillehotte. Firstly, the business relied decreasingly on pamphlets. During the League years Pillehotte diversified into book publication with a number of religious works, works of literature and popular classics, including several editions of the works of Cicero.⁵³ From 1594 we find also growing numbers of scientific, historical and legal works among Pillehotte's publishing repertoire.⁵⁴ These changes were compounded by the events of 1594 when Pillehotte was temporarily exiled from Lyon and lost several of his coveted printing contracts. Pillehotte had been printer to the King, to the city and to the region, a title which was officially revoked by Henri IV in April 1594.⁵⁵

⁵³ Cf. Baudrier II 277-335, 441.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 335-364.

⁵⁵ See chapter 5.

Between 1589 and 1600 Jean Pillehotte published a total of 346 editions. Of these, 131 were book editions and 215 were pamphlet works. Though the smaller part in terms of total editions, book editions dominated his business, occupying around 70% of his press time and at least 90% of his investment and daily operating costs. Of these 131 book editions, 77, or 59%, were religious in character.⁵⁶ The most notable of Pillehotte's vernacular religious works were his 1596 and 1600 editions of the Louvain translation of the Bible.⁵⁷ The 1596 edition was a re-issue or reprint of the quarto Louvain translation that he had published several times through the 1580s.⁵⁸ However, the 1600 edition represents a significant publication for Pillehotte. The type setting for a new format Bible would have been costly, and required extensive checking both in house and with the relevant religious establishment.

Pillehotte's religious vernacular texts were printed typically in smaller formats. Two groups of works dominated, the first of which were devotional texts. Pillehotte published 20 vernacular devotional texts with a further two in Latin. The most prominent author was the Spanish theologian Louis de Granada with eight editions, then Pierre Crespet with five editions, three of which printed in Latin: the *Summa Catholicae fidei*, published in 1593, 1598 and again in 1600.⁵⁹ We can also find a vernacular edition of the

⁵⁶ Cf. Baudrier II 277-364, 441; also Bellinger, *Bibliographie*, 582; Desgraves, *Répertoire*, 62; Girard, *Catalogue*, 316, 317, 318; also books not listed in bibliographies: Amiens BM H 2648/5 (32); Auxerre BM C 2559 (5/4); Avignon 8o 282256; BNF B 8649; Dole BM TH. 565; Grenoble BM O 5324; Lyon BM SJ A 406/205, 406/206, 406/207. Also see chapter 5.

⁵⁷ Cf. Baudrier II 335-364.

⁵⁸ Cf. Chambers 467, 499, 537, 549.

⁵⁹ Cf. Baudrier II 336-337, 305, 323, 331, 336, III 452, IV 348, 354, V 335-336, VII 237; also Girard, *Catalogue*, 316, 317, 318; also Collet, A. (ed.), *Catalogue des livres du XVIe Siècle conservés dans le Fonds ancien municipal de Montbrison Bibliothèque de la Diana*, Saint-Étienne, 1994, 192; also books not cited in bibliographical works: Châlons-sur-Saône BM 582, Dole BM TH 565, Lyon BM Rés. 808278, SJ A 406/205, SJ A 406/206, SJ A 406/207, Wolfenbuttel HAB 1315.7 Theol.

Imitatio Christi as well as two editions of the *Sommaire de la doctrine chrestinne*, penned by the notable Jesuit and former head of the collège de la Trinité, Pierre Coyssard.⁶⁰

Alongside works of devotion, Pillehotte carved out a rewarding niche in publishing orthodox doctrinal works. Between 1589 and 1600 he published 23 such editions, 11 in French and 12 in Latin. The French works were a mixture of treatises on the Council of Trent and catechistic works, published in smaller formats. His Latin publications were produced in a mixture of octavo and folio formats, suggesting that Pillehotte was looking to become involved in exploiting the booming international market for orthodox Latin imprints. Included in the doctrinal works we find a small number of doctrinal defences, Catholic works aimed against Calvinism: four in French and a further two in Latin, all published between 1596 and 1598.⁶¹

Pillehotte was also responsible for the publication of a number of Leaguer works. We find 10 in all, seven in French and three in Latin. There are no Royalist works among Pillehotte's publications. These Leaguer works vary in size, but include some substantial works: one was a work of more than 1,000 pages, or 65 printed sheets. Pillehotte's Leaguer titles are the largest such group emanating from Lyon's presses, and fit with Pillehotte's role as the premier provincial producer of Leaguer works.

The expulsion of the Jesuits from Lyon's collège de la Trinité did not halt Pillehotte's publication of Jesuit authors. Likewise, it did not bring to an end the granting of Jesuit

⁶⁰ Cf. Baudrier II 315, 318, 339.

⁶¹ Cf. Baudrier II 227-364, 441; also Desgraves, *Répertoire*, 62.

favour to Pillehotte. Indeed, following his brief exile, Pillehotte received a number of Jesuit privileges to print works penned by members of the order. Throughout 1595 and 1596 it was precisely these works that formed the backbone of Pillehotte's publishing business. Between 1589 and 1600 Pillehotte was responsible for the production of at least 26 Jesuit works. Pillehotte's Jesuit works were almost all in Latin, with only four in the vernacular, and mostly published in octavo format. They range in size from a comparatively modest ten printed sheets or less to the massive size of the three editions of Robert Bellarmin's *De controversiis christianae fidei*. These were very substantial publishing ventures of between 725 and 850 printed sheets, or 2,900 to 3,400 printed pages per book.⁶²

Perhaps surprisingly, the return of the Jesuits to Lyon did not rekindle long-established connections between Pillehotte and the collège de la Trinité. In December 1606 Lyon's Jesuits terminated their business arrangement with Jean Pillehotte, transferring their business to the publisher Horace Cardon, due to his superior workmanship.⁶³ This was poor reward for Pillehotte's loyalty over the years.

Thibaud Ancelin and Guichard Jullieron

Combined, the houses of Ancelin and Jullieron published 40 book editions between 1592 and 1600, 15 of which were religious works; apart from one edition, they were all produced in the years following the Royalist takeover of Lyon in 1594. Typically, the religious

⁶² Cf. Baudrier II 303, 343.

⁶³ Cf. Vingtrinier, 'Pillehotte', p.575.

imprints of Ancelin and Jullieron were small religious books printed in the vernacular and aimed at the lower, popular end of the market. Two of these editions were small books of between four and ten printed sheets in length; the remaining editions comprised between 10 and 25 sheets.

Although the main focus of their book publications were small books by supporters of the Royalist cause, both were responsible for the occasional publication of larger erudite works. At the highest end of their production was an edition of the Louvain French translation of the Bible, published by Jullieron in 1599. Ancelin published two Latin editions of Petro Alagona's *Compendium manualis Navarri*, published in two states in 1592 and 1593, and a work by the Lyon Jesuit, Louis Richeome's *L'adieu de l'ame devote laissant le loys*.⁶⁴ It would not be until 1604 that Ancelin was able to fund an edition of the Bible.⁶⁵

Ancelin and Jullieron published fewer books in association than was the case with their pamphlet production. Of the nine editions published between 1592 and 1599, seven were in French and two were published in Latin, all in smaller formats. This small number included several well known works of trenchant Royalist polemic, such as Claude de Trellon's *Le ligeur repenty*. Jullieron alone was responsible for the production of eight book editions between 1594 and 1600, including a 1599 edition of the Louvain translation of the Bible. It seems likely that Jullieron was not solely responsible for the edition, but

⁶⁴ Cf. Collet, *Saint-Bonnet-le-Château*, 7; IA 102.026; also not cited in bibliographies, Richeome, Louis, *L'Adieu de l'Amé Devote*, Lyon (Thibaud Ancelin) 1597, copy in St. Michael's College, University of Toronto BQT/2609/R53/CRC.

⁶⁵ *La Sainte Bible*, Lyon (Thibaud Ancelin) 1604.

probably shared it with Claude Michel, of whom nothing is known; Jullieron's name appears in the colophon of the Michel edition.⁶⁶ Intriguing though is the fact that Jullieron's edition of the Louvain Bible appears bibliographically as almost identical to Pillehotte's editions published in 1582, 1585 and 1596.

Themes and genres of publications

No fewer than 1,938 editions were published in Lyon between 1589 and 1600. Of these, around 700 were pamphlets, leaving 1,195 editions in the category that we have described as books. The publication of Catholic texts formed a major part of Lyon's book production during this period and represented the backbone of many publishers' business activities. Over 451 editions, or 38%, of Lyon's book editions were religious volumes.

We have seen in chapter 3 that the publication of Catholic texts was dominated by two primary types of work: orthodox theology and religious handbooks. We were also able to make other generalisations regarding these types of publications. Theological tomes tended to be printed in Latin in large formats, whereas religious handbooks were produced in smaller formats and published in the vernacular. Theological volumes were larger, learned works aimed at an international market, works that involved large funding as well as technical printing skills and as such were undertaken largely by the elite merchant publishers. Religious handbooks were smaller, less learned works aimed at a more immediate market for devotional and spiritual texts, and tended to be either expositions of doctrine or more polemical works. These books tended to be the forte of a small handful of

⁶⁶ Cf. Chambers 452, 453.

moderately sized publishers, who were generally not capable of funding the production of the larger, more complex works.

51% of all the Catholic book editions printed in Lyon between 1589 and 1600 were in Latin (see table 6.2). A large number of theological works was published in Latin, especially Bibles, patristic editions and doctrinal commentaries. As we have seen, these works tended to be large weighty editions, typically spanning several volumes and intended for the learned.

Table 6.2 Longer religious book publications by language

<u>Date</u>	<u>Latin</u>	<u>Vernacular</u>
1565-1588	62%	38%
1589-1600	51%	49%

Table 6.3, below presents a breakdown of the religious and theological books published in Lyon between 1589 and 1600 by genre, contrasted with the previous period, 1565-1588. We note both a decline in the production of the largest theological books and a marked increase in the output of both instructional and devotional handbooks and longer polemical books.

The decline in the production of larger theological works from 1589 onwards had a large impact on the industry. Table 6.3 charts the decline in output of many of the largest and best-selling editions, such as Bibles and Tridentine texts. This coincided precisely with the Lyon publishing industry developing an ever greater reliance upon the production of



Left: Title page of Grenade, Louis de, Catechism ou Introduction au Symbole de la Foi, Lyon (Jean Pillehotte) 1599; an ornate title page printed in red and black and featuring an example of Pillehotte's Jesuit style printer's device.

Right: Title page of Panigarole, Francois, Les Sermons, Lyon (Libraire de Giunta) 1593; an ornate title page printed in red and black featuring an example of the fleur-de-lys printer's device typically used by the house of Giunta.

these sorts of books for its economic survival. When we consider that one large edition of such a text was able to provide a year's work for one printing press, such reductions would have had a startling and worrying impact on those dependant on the book industry.

Table 6.3 Genre of longer religious books

	Number of editions per year 1589-1600	Av. editions per year 1565-1588	Av. editions per year 1589-1600
Tridentine texts, including commentaries	13	1.5	1
Bibles, including parts and commentaries	56	7.6	4.6
Patristic texts	9	1.2	0.7
Canon Law	10	2.75	0.8
Instructional and devotional texts	140	6.5	11.7
Polemical / doctrinal handbooks	63	1.4	5.25

Various factors can be pinpointed in order to try and explain this decline. One factor was the development of Parisian publishing associations. As early as 1582 the Parisian publishers Nivelles, Sonnius, Chesneau, Kerver and Dupuis formed a consortium that competed successfully for an effective French monopoly over future French Tridentine imprints of the Canons.⁶⁷ In the later decades of the century such associations became more adept at capturing the market by petitioning for privileges. Indeed, by the mid 1590s the favour shown by Henri IV to Parisian publishing cartels was having a serious impact on France's major provincial printing centres.

⁶⁷ Pallier, 'Les réponses', p.331.

These larger religious tomes were almost entirely the prerogative of the city's merchant and larger publishers. Between 1589 and 1600, 56 editions of Bibles, New Testaments or part editions of Scripture were published on Lyon's presses. Of these part editions, by far the most popular were editions of the psalms, which went through ten editions in Latin. These Bible editions were, as one might expect, shared between several publishers. The editions of the Vulgate, *Biblia Sacra*, were produced by the house of Giunta, Buysson and Thomas Soubron. Jean Pillehotte and an association of Jullieron and Claude Michel published the editions of the Louvain Bible. Roussin and Harsy were mainly responsible for the vernacular New Testaments. Editions of the psalms were published by Cardon, Giunta, Landry and Roussin. A surprisingly large proportion of these biblical works were published in smaller formats. Of the Latin Bibles two were published in octavo and three editions were published in quarto. Three of the editions of the Louvain Bible were published in quarto, with a single edition in folio. In contrast, five editions of the Latin Psalters were published in folio. These were presumably intended for use in church.

Editions of canon law were without exception large works, published in Latin and printed in large formats, and were precisely the type of book intended for both domestic use and export. The *Libraire de Giunta* were responsible for two of the editions, with Horace Cardon publishing another; Jean-Baptiste Buysson, publishing under the title *Héretiers de Guillaume Roville*, published three editions, Jean Pillehotte published two, and Pierre Landry was responsible for a single edition.

Contrasting the decline in the production of larger religious tomes, table 6.3 above, illustrates the rise in number of devotional and polemical works published in Lyon throughout the years 1589 until 1600. Devotional and instructional works accounted for 140 editions, giving an average of 11.7 editions per year, an increase of 5.2 editions per year compared to our earlier period. In the same period, the smaller number of 63 polemical works was produced, an annual average of 5.25 works. Whilst significant, this increase in the publication of longer devotional and polemical works could not compensate for the decline in the production of weightier theological and Church building tomes – at least in terms of the volume of work it produced for Lyon’s hard pressed printers.

Instructional and devotional works were printed primarily in the vernacular. Of the 140 editions, 93 were published in French, 42 in Latin, with several Italian or bilingual Latin-French editions. Such a surge of printing of vernacular devotional texts hints at a dramatic rise in private and communal devotion. The overwhelming majority of the texts were published in small formats; almost all were published in octavo or in sextodecimo, with only a handful being published in folio editions.

Yet another sign of the contemporary popularity of the spiritual and devotional edition was the wide number of publishers involved in their production. Many of the works were published by Pillehotte (23) and Rigaud (13). However, at least 25 separate printing or publishing houses involved themselves with the publication of devotional texts between 1589 and 1600. We also find a number of smaller publishers and printer-publishers attempting to claim a stake of the profits available, for example Jacques and Pierre Roussin.

We also find a web of Lyon's merchant publishers becoming more widely active in the production of small vernacular religious works. Prior to this the city's merchant publishers largely shunned the production of such works. From 1589 onwards this changed: Buysson was responsible for ten such texts, three under the name *Héretiers de Roville*; the Giunta produced seven, with Cardon adding another edition; Landry had twelve such texts printed, including those under the names *Héretiers de Pesnot* or *Héretiers de Beraud*; and the house of Gabiano published five. We also find other well known Lyonnais publishers involved in the production of devotional texts: Frellon produced seven, Didier five editions, La Porte one, Thomas Soubbron five, and Jean Veyrat three editions. Most notably, both merchant publishers Barthélemy Vincent and Antoine Gryphe published one such edition each, a publication that stands out from their usual production of literary, scientific, technical and legal works.⁶⁸

Of the texts themselves, it is clear that the Spanish mystics retained their popularity in Lyon. By far the most popular author was Louis de Grenade with 10 editions. Other prominent authors included Antonio de Guevara, with three editions. Alongside this translations of the *Imitatio Christi* remained widely popular. Less popular with Lyon's presses were the works of Italian and German mystics. Picco de La Mirandola was published just once, whereas we find a complete absence of German authors from Lyon's publishing repertoire.

⁶⁸ Cf. Baudrier VIII 405-406; also Mirandola, Pico della, Des douze reigles, lesquelles adressant l'homme au combat spirituel pour s'acheminer à la vertu et résister aux tentations du monde, Lyon (Barthélemy Vincent) 1596, copy in Troyes BM d g 16114.

Complimenting the popularity of the Spanish authors, a considerable number of local French works of devotion and instruction were published. Among others, works by Pierre Crespet were published seven times, Denis Perronet four times, Simon Vigor three times with both Pierre Boaistuau and Pierre Coyssard being published twice. Increasingly, the Catholic Church saw these devotional texts as tools to instruct the laity. Indeed, Denis Perronet's *Sermons et exhortations Catholiques* was penned specifically for such didactic use within the church.⁶⁹

Other devotional texts were intended for private meditation and fostering the spiritual life. These works typically dealt with aspects of the religious life such the sacraments, charity and the Mass. Two such were Louis de Grenade's *La memorial de la vie chrestienne*, published by Pillehotte in 1590, and *Le doctrinal de sapience* of Guy de Roye, published by Rigaud in 1597.⁷⁰ Both these books, like so many of the devotional texts published in Lyon, were relatively simple in their style and organisation, with the text arranged in short sections, well signposted both in the text and in the marginalia.

Polemical religious books

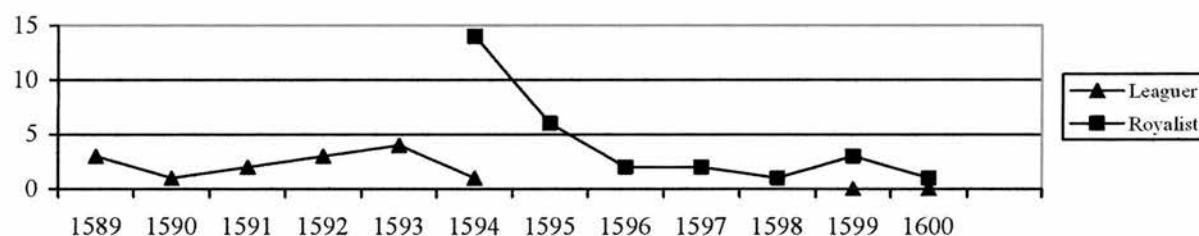
We noted in chapter 3 the evolution in the character of polemical and doctrinal books aimed against the Huguenots. From 1589 onwards, we find a number of similar works published in support of the League or on the Royalist side. This change reflected the new

⁶⁹ Perronet, Denis, *Sermons et Exhortations Catholiques sur les Evangiles des LII. Dimanches de l'annee, pour l'instruction du peuple Chrestien*, Lyon (Jacques Roussin) 1597, fols.A2v-A5r, copy in Lyon BM SJ S 13/78.

⁷⁰ Grenade, Louis de, *La Memorial de la Vie Chrestienne*, Lyon (Jean Pillehotte) 1590; also Roye, Guy de, *Le Doctrinal de Sapience*, Lyon (Benoist Rigaud) 1597.

focus of the religious struggle in France. By then, the confessional struggle between Catholics and Huguenots had effectively been won by the Catholics. By the late 1580s, French Catholics felt far more threatened by the prospect of Henri de Navarre becoming King than by the weight of popular Calvinism in France. The confessional battleground moved away from a struggle between Catholics and Protestants to a struggle between the League and the Royalists. This is reflected in the output of the Lyon presses, which from 1589 produced only few general Catholic doctrinal defences against the Huguenots of the type seen in the 1570s. Similarly, we find fewer than 20 general Catholic handbooks published between 1589 and 1600. The shift in focus of the primary battleground was reflected in the publication of longer Leaguer and Royalist books.

Graph 6.1 Editions of longer Leaguer and Royalist books



Leaguer books

We have seen in chapter 4 that Lyon was one of the primary centres of Leaguer print in France, second only to Paris. Over 260 pamphlet publications agitated for the Leaguer cause. However, only a very small number of longer books, 14, were dedicated to the same

purpose. Whilst pamphlet production peaked in 1589 and 1590 before dropping sharply, Leaguer books were published in roughly equal numbers between 1589 and 1593. The majority, ten of the fourteen, were printed in the vernacular, whilst only four of the editions were printed in Latin. Not surprisingly, given his dominant role in pamphlet production, Jean Pillehotte was also the most important producer of these longer Leaguer books, publishing ten of the fourteen editions. Pierre Roussin published Alain de Laval's *L'historial des rois non Catholiques* in 1592.⁷¹ Jacques Roussin published two known Leaguer book editions in 1589: the first and third edition of the *Guisiade*, a play composed in commemoration of the assassinations of the brothers Guise.⁷²

An example of Leaguer booklets is the 1592 Pillehotte publication of the *Excellent et tresutile traicté, de ne recevoir diverses religions en aucun royaume*, originally written in Latin by Jacques Pamelie and translated by Benoist Dutroncy.⁷³ The *Excellent [...] traicté* is a trenchant argument against accepting plurality of religion within a kingdom. The French translation follows the typical pattern established by the Leaguer pamphlet literature: the preface is written in vulgar and abusive language, claiming to be written thus in order to aid the confirmation of the true Roman opinions.⁷⁴ However, the main body of the work is presented in a far less direct style. The book offers several short chapters aimed at constructing a layered argument, beginning with the theme of division. The *Traicté* then

⁷¹ Laval, Alain de, *L'historial des rois non Catholiques [...] de la resistance continuelle des Catholiques contre l'impostre des faux politiques, disant que la religion est, & a toujours este separee de l'Etat*, Lyon (Pierre Roussin) 1592.

⁷² Matthieu, Pierre, *Guisiade, Tragedie Nouvelle*, Lyon (Jacques Roussin) 1589, copy in Aix Méjanés Rec. D 9 (648); also by the same author, *Troisiesme Edition de la Guisiade*, Lyon (Jacques Roussin) 1589, copy in Caen BM Rés. EG 122.

⁷³ Pamelie, Jacques (transl. Benoist Dutroncy), *Excellent et Tresutile Traicté, de ne recevoir diverses Religions en aucun Royaume, Monarchie, Province, Principauté, Republique, villes & Citez*, Lyon (Jean Pillehotte) 1592.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, fols.A2r-A3v.

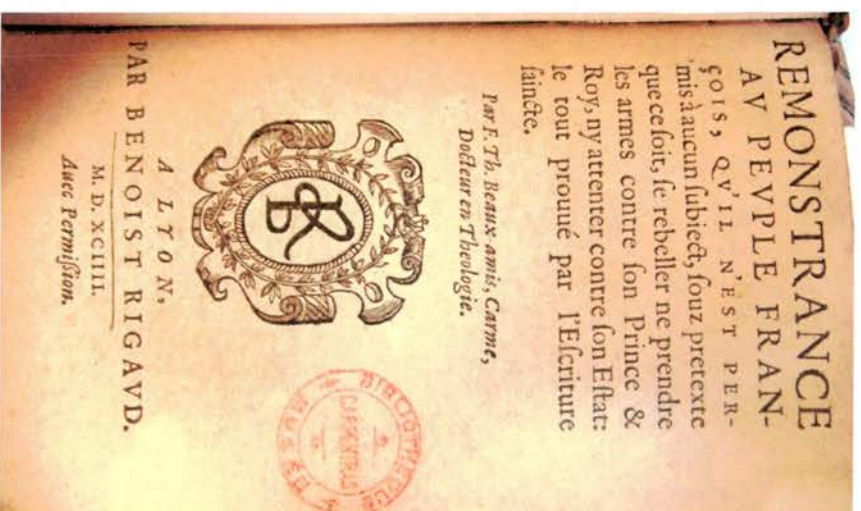
progresses to examine the heresies and divisions of the early Church, using learned references as evidence and legitimisation of the argument. The authors of such books aimed at a higher level readership than the pamphlet literature, presuming familiarity with historical and biblical sources. In chapter four of the *Traicté* we find an examination of the Gnostic heresies, with the author using many quotations from biblical and patristic works, the most popular being Augustine. The author expands this weighty repertoire by also citing from the early church historians Tertullian and Eusebius.⁷⁵

These Leaguer books contained more layered and complex messages than the pamphlets, although they maintained attacks on Royalists and Politiques in the same vitriolic manner. Claude de Rubys' *Le bouclier de la vraie catholique* shares stylistic elements with contemporary pamphlet literature, being essentially a diatribe against Henri III and a justification of the use of arms for the victory of the Catholic nation, 'par vivres raisons tirées tant des escritures saintes que prophanes que tant s'en faut que, secoüans le joug de la tyrannie et nous séparans de l'obeysance de celuy qui avoit faulsée sa foi à Dieu et aux hommes et violée la foi publicque [...]'.⁷⁶ For de Rubys, Henri was a murderous tyrant in the image of Nero or Caligula, and the young assassin of Henri III, Jacques Clement, was celebrated as 'un second David' striking down Henri, portrayed as Goliath.⁷⁷ One may imagine that the purchasers of these works were also deeply steeped in the pamphlet attacks of the same character, for all that these longer works offered a more comprehensive repertoire of arguments and justifications.

⁷⁵ Ibid., fols.A8v-B3r.

⁷⁶ Rubys, Claude de, *Le Bouclier de la Vraie Catholique*, Lyon (Jean Pillehotte) 1589, cf. preface to Nemours.

⁷⁷ Ibid.



Left: Title page of Rubys, Claude de, Le Bouchier de la Reunion des Vrais catholiques, Lyon (Jean Pillehotte) 1589; an example of a longer Leaguer book.

Right: Title page of Beauchamis, Thomas, Remonstrance au Peuple françois, Lyon (Benoist Rigaud) 1594; an example of a longer Royalist book featuring highly distinctive arms that contain the initials of Benoit Rigaud, closely associating the publisher with the work.

Royalist books

In contrast to the League, Royalist authors made a wider use of longer works of polemic. As with the pamphlet (of which 366 were published in Lyon between 1594 and 1600), Lyon's Royalist publishers were able to absorb the literary weapons used by the League and expand on them. The 29 editions of Royalist works were twice the output of the Leaguer books, even though these represent just 7% of all Royalist editions (a similar proportion to the production of Leaguer books). 27 of the editions were published in French, with one in Italian and a single edition printed in Latin. The majority were printed in small format; we only find five editions in quarto, with the remainder printed in octavo or smaller.

We have noted in chapter 5 the large number of publishers and printers that were responsible for the publication of Royalist pamphlets. We can trace a similar pattern in the production of Royalist books. Ten editions of the Royalist books published in Lyon were commissioned by either Ancelin or Jullieron. Nine of these editions were published by Ancelin alone, and one by Jullieron. Rigaud published 6 editions, and the rest were produced by Chastain, Pierre Michel, Jacques Roussin, as well as the merchant publishers Jean de Gabiano and Hughes de La Porte. Alongside these we find a number of anonymously published editions: three in both 1594 and 1595, and one edition in 1599.

Rather like the Royalist pamphlets, these longer books placed heavy emphasis on building the image of Henri IV, and building an argument for unity around the person of the King. Thomas Beauxamis' *Remonstrance au peuple François*, published in 1594 by

Benoist Rigaud, praises the King and attacks the League and Spain in a manner similar to that seen in the pamphlet literature.⁷⁸ But in a longer book like the *Remonstrance* the argument is developed with widespread references to biblical and patristic works, as well as regular citations from a range of historians, such as Nicephorus, as well as contemporary historians such as the Protestant reformation historian Johann Sleidan.⁷⁹ The text begins by using the Old Testament stories of David and Goliath, and Saul from the book of Samuel. The text tells of David's battle against Goliath, then of Saul's rebellion against David, followed by Saul's reconciliation with a clement King David. Within this context, David of course represents Henri IV. David's fight against Goliath represents Henri's struggle against the League and Philip II, and the reconciliation of Saul with David represents Henri's welcoming of the ex-Leaguers back into the royal fold. The *Remonstrance* is a remarkably well-organised text; its message is clear and concise, and would have been easily assimilated by the literate market to which it was aimed.

Catholic publishing and the Jesuits

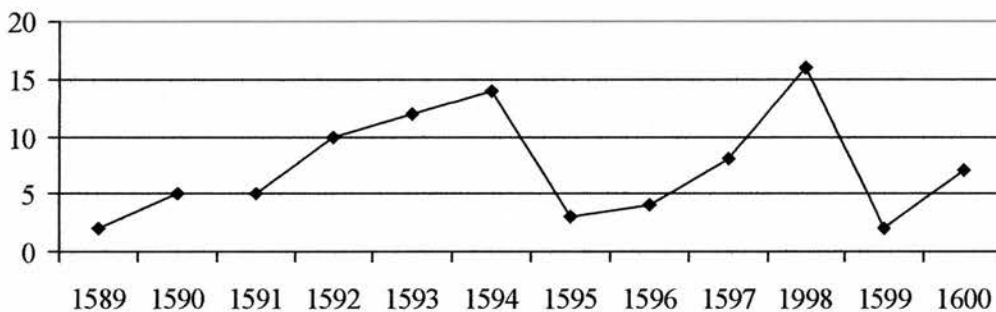
No fewer than 88 Jesuit book editions were published in Lyon between 1589 and 1600. These can be divided into two basic groups. Firstly we find religious works such as commentaries on scripture, doctrinal expositions, or devotional literature. A second group consists of a wider body of scholarly works written by Jesuit authors. The Jesuits were not solely interested in the winning of souls; as an order they were also interested in philosophy and the sciences. Among these works were over 20 editions of Aristotle or commentaries

⁷⁸ Beauxamis, Thomas, *Remonstrance au Peuple François*, Lyon (Benoist Rigaud) 1594.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, fols.H1v-H2r.

on his works. Aristotle's writings on natural philosophy had a great impact on the Jesuits, yet beyond these works, we find several editions of Jesuit scientific texts, such as Christoph Clau's *In sphaeram Joannis de Sacro Bosco* and Benito Pereira's *Adversus falleces et superstitiosas artes*.⁸⁰ There were also a number of literary texts, such as Alvarius' *De Institutione Grammatica*.⁸¹

Graph 6.2 Production of Jesuit books in Lyon, 1589-1600



Between 1589 and 1600, Jesuit works printed in Lyon can be typified as works of learning, aimed for the elite, and certainly for export. Only 6 editions or 7% of these imprints were published in French; whereas 82 editions, or 93%, were printed in Latin. Likewise, a large proportion of the works were produced in large format: over a third, 33 editions, were printed in folio or quarto, 55 editions were printed in the smaller formats octavo to sextodecimo. As graph 6.2 illustrates, the majority of these 88 Jesuit editions were published in two periods, from 1592 to 1594, and then between 1597 and 1598.

⁸⁰ Clau, Christoph, *In sphaeram Joannis de Sacro Bosco*, Lyon (Jean Gabiano) 1593 & 1594; also Pereira, Benito, *Adversus falleces et superstitiosas artes*, Lyon (Libraire des Giunta [Jean-Baptiste Regnaud]) 1589, cf. Bird, *Catalogue*, 1839.

⁸¹ Alvarius, Emmanuel, *De Institutione Grammatica*, Lyon (Jean Gabiano) 1594; same title, Lyon (Abraham Cloquemin) 1598, same title, Lyon (Jean Pillehotte) 1598.

The primary publishers of Jesuit works in Lyon were the house of Giunta-Cardon, publishing no fewer than 26 editions, and Jean Pillehotte, who produced 21 editions. Next we find the house of Roville-Buysson, with substantially fewer editions, 13. The house of Gabiano, Abraham Cloquemin and Jean Veyrat also contributed, with eight, seven and six editions respectively. Beyond these were a handful of other publishers who involved themselves with the publication of merely one or two Jesuit texts, such as Barthélemy Vincent, Pierre Landry and Benoist Rigaud.

Between 1589 and 1600, the books of Jesuit authors accounted for about one in every eight of the more substantial books published in Lyon. The printing of Jesuit books was clearly a lucrative business, as we can see by examining the volume of work necessary to produce these editions. Once all duplicated and shared editions are isolated, we are left with a total of 65 different editions. In order to print a single copy of each of these independent editions, one would require no fewer than 4,945 completed sheets. An approximate figure of some 1,500 copies in every edition gives a figure of 6,475,500 sheets of paper needed for the publication of all Jesuit books in Lyon between 1589 and 1600.

Each press was expected to produce around 3,000 impressions, or 1,500 printed sheets, per day. Using this formula for the 12 year period between 1589 and 1600, the printing of Jesuit books in Lyon required somewhere in the region of 4,317 full press days. As mentioned in chapter 1, we do not know how many working days a printing press averaged in a year. However, it is possible to speculate that some 360 press days per year equated to roughly one and a half to two presses being occupied on a full time basis over a

twelve year period. Publishing Jesuit work was not just a personal or confessional decision, as claimed by Buysson.⁸² As we can see, it was a very lucrative business indeed.

Conclusion

The traumas of the Leaguer rebellions struck hard at the core of Lyon's printing industry. From 1589 until 1591 book production was severely affected; as graph 1.1 shows, this would have been mirrored in employment levels. The decline reflects the effects of almost three generations of ever worsening civil war. Things did improve, however, with the return of Lyon to the crown, the print industry underwent a revival. Fewer book editions were published, almost year per year, throughout 1594-1600. However, appendix 1.4 shows that actual production levels, in terms of printed sheets, recovered remarkably during this period, indicating a return of confidence: Lyon's merchant publishers were once more willing to begin investing in large scale printing projects.

Whilst fewer editions of literary, scientific, legal and historical works were published, theological and religious editions were produced in ever increasing numbers. Throughout 1589 until 1600, theological and religious books became ever more important to the Lyonnais publisher. Only a minority opted to look elsewhere to develop their niche, and certainly those who abandoned religious publications, such as the heirs of Rigaud, found it very difficult to survive in the competitive world of publishing.

⁸² Azpilcueta, Martin, Opera in tres tomos digesta, Lyon (Jean-Baptiste Buysson) 1595, fols. a2v-a3v.

Several factors remained crucial to the continued success of Lyon as one of Europe's premier publishing centres. The influence of the Jesuits had helped to transform Lyon's industry in the face of losing the production of Protestant texts. Even after their expulsion from the city in 1595, they still maintained business relations with certain publishing houses. Likewise, Lyon's close trade links, especially with the Iberian Peninsula, helped to maintain her reputation.

The growing reliance of Lyon's publishing industry upon religious works such as the flood of devotional texts seen after 1589 set the trend that would be a feature of the city's print industry in the seventeenth century. The Wars of Religion helped to tarnish Lyon's reputation in Europe's book world. Other centres were happy to profit from Lyon's decline. Frankfurt and Leipzig were two of the Northern European centres that rose to dominate the international book trade. Within France Lyon also fell further behind its rival, Paris, as associations of Parisian publishers were able to lobby more effectively to monopolise the privilege system. At the turn of the seventeenth century Lyonnais publishers had to fight harder than before to gain privileges for their works.

Conclusion

This thesis has attempted to shed some light on the history of Lyon in the later sixteenth century, especially regarding the role of the printing industry as a backbone of both the life of the city and of Catholic revival. Much literature has touched upon aspects of Lyon and book culture, but none has focused on this particular period, concentrating instead upon the humanist and evangelical movements. Recently the role of the book in Catholic Reform has received more attention. Lyon provides us with an ideal case-study for examining the interrelation between print culture and Catholic revival. The city was the dominant centre of provincial print in France and intimately involved with the changing currents of the time: evangelical, Catholic, Leaguer and Royalist. The city's print world had to define itself against the French capital and leading centre of print, Paris, as well as against the capital of Calvinism and centre of evangelical print, neighbouring Geneva. Lyon's special position was acknowledged by the new religious orders, especially the Jesuits, who used the city as one of their strongholds for the re-Catholicisation of France. One of the weapons of choice in this struggle was Lyon's printing presses.

The most valuable tool for this research has been the electronic database within which I collated bibliographical details of all Lyonnais books between 1565 and 1600. This database, which increases the known number of Lyon imprints by over a third, has allowed the fullest reconstruction of Lyon's printing industry. It has permitted us to trace with confidence patterns of print production, to isolate the most important trends and authors, to determine who were the most important printers and publishers, and to form an assessment of the size, scope and fortunes of the industry. This work has not only

discovered previously unknown book editions, it has also served to bring previously underrated printers and publishers to the fore. For the first time men such as Guichard Jullieron and Thibaud Ancelin - and with them Lyon's involvement in Royalist pamphlet production - have been explored.

Between 1565 and 1600 a massive number of Catholic books were produced on Lyon's presses. A century's worth of experience as one of Europe's premier centres of print ensured that the city was well equipped to rise to this role. Lyon's workshops had a wealth of experience in the production of fine quality and technically superb large volume works; likewise, the city's publishing barons held close contacts throughout the European book world. Lyon was indeed a significant crossroads in the early modern information network, the proficiency of which only increased with the arrival of the Jesuits. Many of the city's publishers utilised such connections to the full by becoming closely associated with the fortunes of Catholic revival. Men such as Guillaume Roville shunned any former involvement with Protestantism and became leading producers of Catholic literature. From 1565 hundreds of editions of Scriptural works, the writings of Catholic theologians, educational and devotional texts rolled from Lyon's presses. These large works were essential for the reconstruction and re-education of the Church and its body, both in France and beyond.

Re-impressions of the Tridentine works were an important part of Lyon's publishing activities throughout our period. Whilst the impact of the Council of Trent has been widely debated in modern historiography, case studies have highlighted the fact that the process of Tridentinisation was underway in France during our period. Within a short time of their

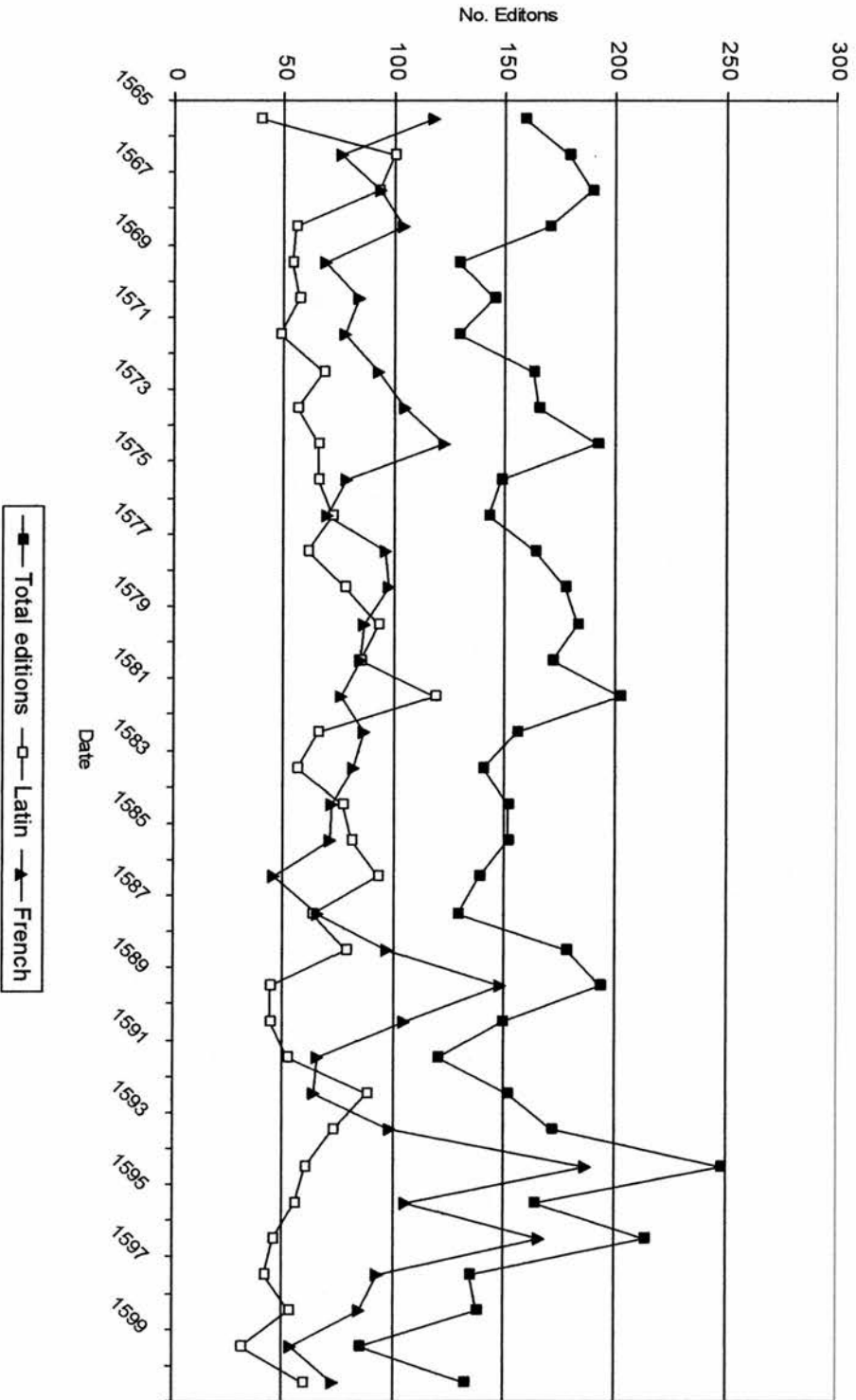
initial publication, the full catalogue of Tridentine literature was being regularly reproduced on Lyon's presses

Lyon's publishers did not only busy themselves with the production of weighty Church-building tomes, they were also at the forefront of the development of Catholic pamphlet literature in France. As Europe observed France's struggles, Lyon assumed a key role in determining the fate of the kingdom, issuing hundreds of editions of the most incendiary pamphlet works. Lyon's offerings were as virulent as anything to have emerged from the more well known forthright Parisian presses. In France, such literature had been pioneered in Lyon in the 1560s by the Protestant Jean Saugrain. The transition of Lyon's presses to producing such material was far from natural; these candid pamphlets had initially caused panic and consternation among the more conservative Catholic establishment. Yet faced with the evidence of the fruitful cooperation between Protestantism and print, French Catholics began their gradual acceptance of such print culture. Within a decade of the fall of Lyon's Protestant coup dozens of pamphlet editions were printed in Lyon, calling for the annihilation of the Huguenot. Luc Racaut has touched upon such cross-fertilization, claiming that Catholic and Protestant mentalities impacted upon one another, influencing and shaping each others' polemics.¹ The example of Lyon shows that the effects of this appear to be deeper. Indeed, the whole shape and formula of Catholic polemic was formulated by their earlier interaction with Protestant polemical pamphlets.

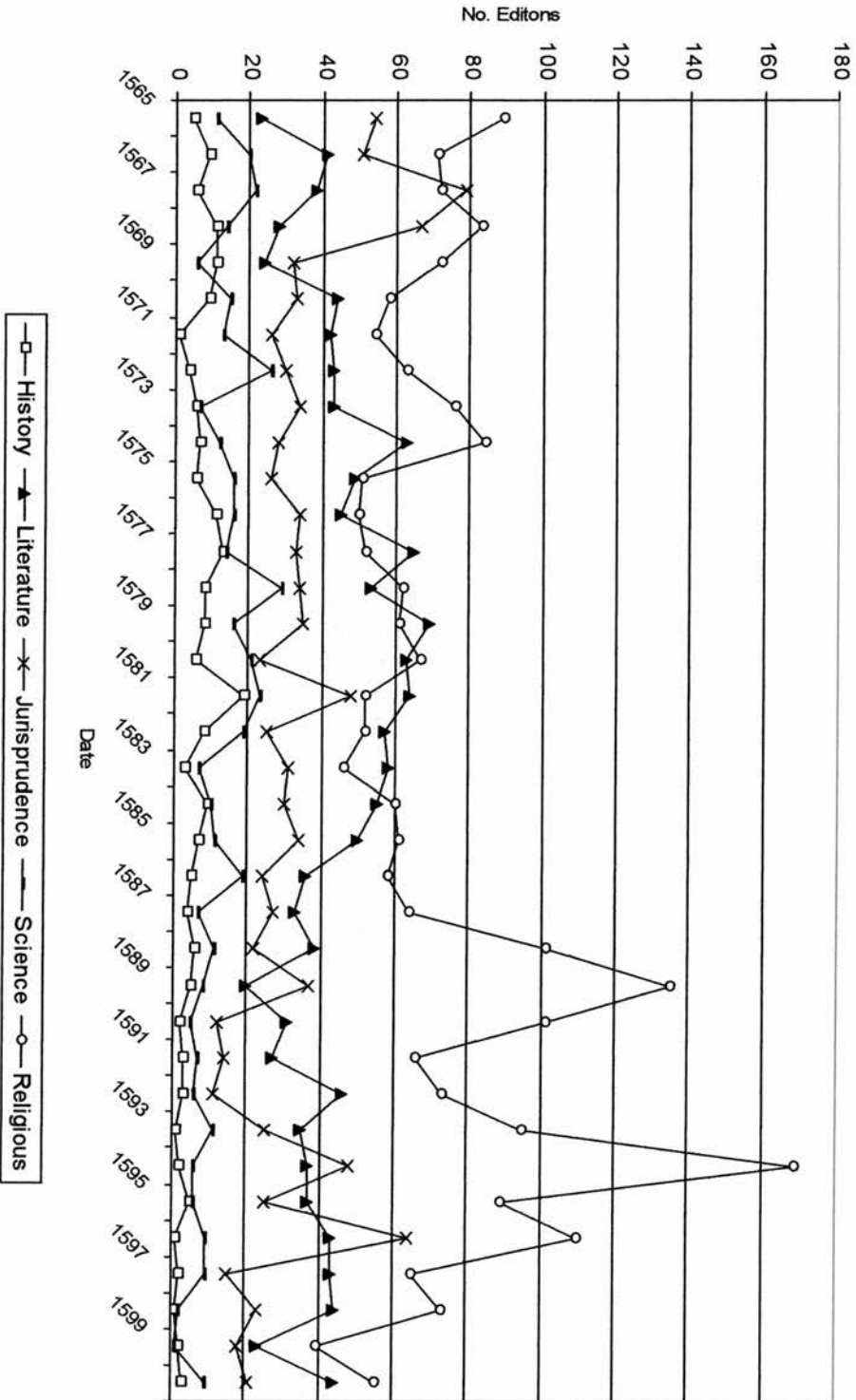
¹ Racaut, *Hatred*, Introduction fn.10; also see Pettegree 'Saugrain'.

This thesis also contributes to our growing understanding of print culture in early modern Europe. Traditionally, European print culture has been viewed through the paradigm of the early German Reformation. Print has been caricatured as a tool of the all conquering German Lutherans. Because we have learned that German Catholics refused to engage with the Lutherans in the medium of print, we have assumed that this applies to Europe as a whole. This simplified model is slowly being deconstructed as we recognise that across Europe diverse print cultures existed. This study shows that - at least in France - Catholics were prepared to engage the Huguenot head to head in a print battle. French Catholic authors and publishers were prepared to fight on the same grounds with the same levels of ferocity, and win. Lyon's presses were responsible for more than two thirds of provincial Leaguer pamphlet editions, and around almost a half of all provincial Royalist pamphlet editions. In this role Lyon was crucial in the battle for hearts and minds in France.

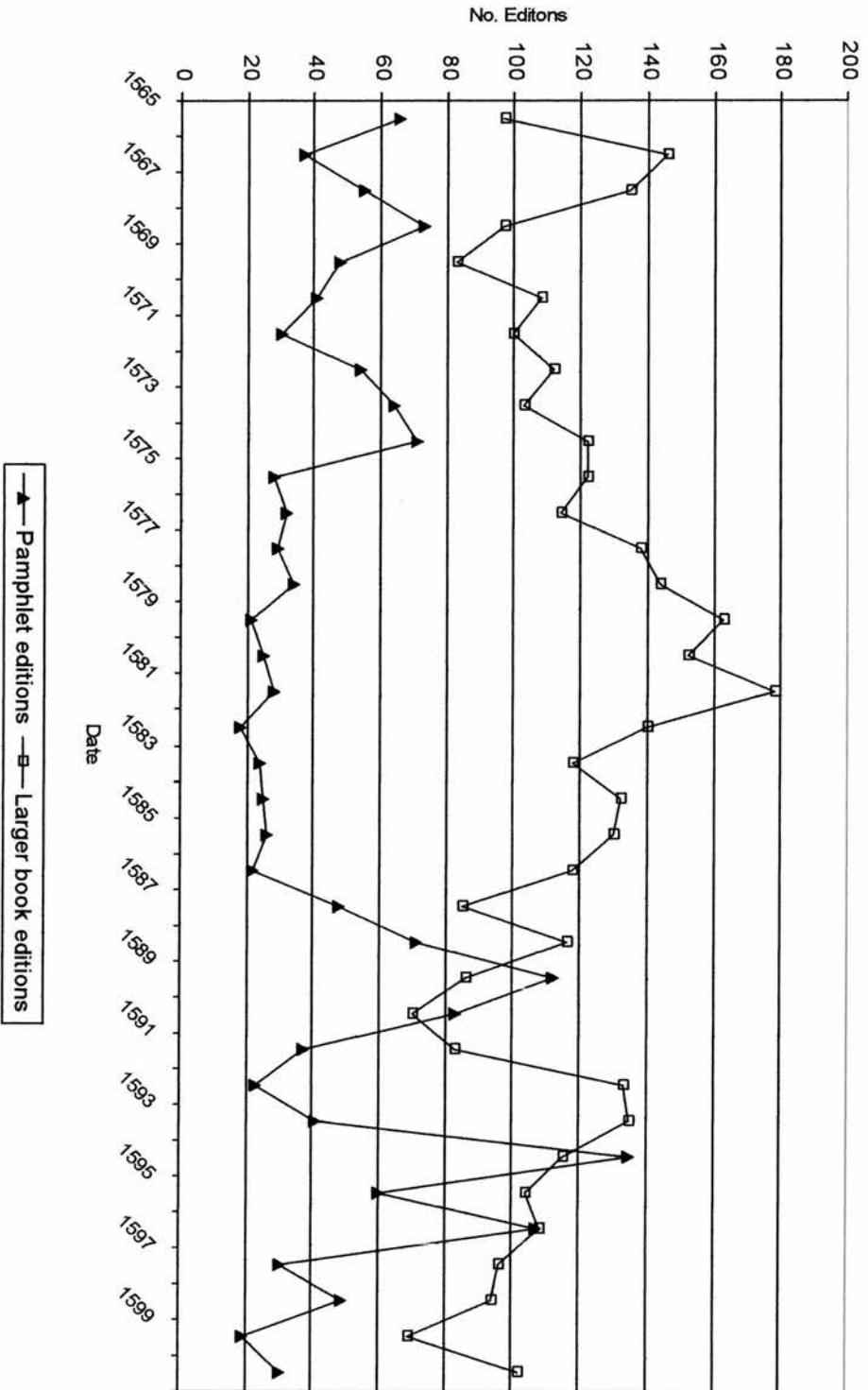
Appendix 1.1 Overall pattern of Lyonnais publications, 1565-1600



Appendix 1.2 Breakdown of Total Lyonnais editions by genre, 1565-1600



Appendix 1.3 Breakdown of larger book and pamphlet editions, 1565-1600



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- Anon., Discours de la Deffaictte de l'armée du Prince de Dombes. Avec le nom des Villes, et Chasteaux prins sur les Heretiques en Bretagne, Lyon (Louis Tantillon) 1590
- Anon., Discours de la Deffaictte de trois Cornettes de Cavallerie du Vicomte de Thuraine, et prise de Sainte Foi en Guyenne, par Monsieur le Mareschal de Matignon, le neufiesme jour de Decembre, Lyon (Benoist Rigaud) 1588
- Anon., Discours de la Deffaictte de la garnison de Soissons, que conduisoit le Baron de Conan, & le sieur de Bel-font, le Mercredy 15 de Fevrier 1595, Lyon (Guichard Jullieron & Thibaud Ancelin) 1595

- Anon., Discours de la Deffaicte des Rochellois par Monsieur le Duc de Joyeuse, Lyon (Jean Pillehotte) 1587
- Anon., Discours de deux belles Deffaictes des Ennemis, executees en Champagne & en Bourgongne, par les Sieurs d'Hautefort, de Feruaques, de Gionvelle, et autres Capitaines, le 23 jour d'Avril, 1589, Lyon (s.n. [Jean Pillehotte]) s.d [1589]
- Anon., Discours de l'Entreprise & conspiration, faicte par ceux de la nouvelle opinion, portans les armes contre le Roi, sur la ville de Bourges, Lyon (Michel Jove) 1570
- Anon., Discours de l'entreprise des heretiques et Huguenots sur la ville de Troyes, Lyon (Jean Pillehotte) 1590
- Anon., Discours ou Epistre a Messieurs de Paris, & autres Catholiques de France, sur les nouvelles enterprises, Lyon (Benoist Rigaud) 1574
- Anon., Discours sur l'espouvantable & merueilleux desbordement du Rosne dans & à lentour la ville de Lyon et sur les misères et clamités qui y sont advenues, Lyon (Benoist Rigaud) 1570
- Anon., Discours de l'estat l'armee des Reistres, depuis qu'ils ont perdu l'esperance du passage de la rivere de Loire, s.l. [Lyon] s.n. [Benoist Rigaud] 1587
- Anon., Discours de la guerre entre l'Empereur & le grand Turc, Lyon (Benoist Rigaud) 1566
- Anon., Discours de la Legation de Monsieur le Duc de Nevers, Lyon (Guichard Jullieron & Thibaud Ancelin) 1594
- Anon., Discours de la Maladie et trespas de Philippe II Roi d'Espagne, Lyon (Jean Pillehotte) 1599
- Anon., Discours de l'ordre tenu par les habitans de la ville de Rouen, à l'entrée du Roi nostre Sire, Lyon (Jean Pillehotte) 1588
- Anon., Discours de ce qui s'est passé en Transylvanie, de l'union des Princes de Moldavye & Duc de Valachie, avec le Waivode pour la deffence de la Chrestienté contre le Turc, Lyon (Thibaud Ancelin) 1595
- Anon., Discours des Preparations faictes par frere Jaques Clement, religieux de l'ordre de S. Dominicque, pour delivrer la France de Henri de Valois, Lyon (s.n. [Jean Pillehotte]) 1589

- Anon., Discours pitoyable des excreables Cruautés et inhumaines Barbaries comises par les heretique huguenotz & leur complices contre les catholicques de la ville de Niort, Lyon (Jean Patrasson) 1589
- Anon., Discours de la prinse d'Erventer [...] par Monsieur le Prince de Parma, Lyon (Benoist Rigaud) 1587
- Anon., Discours sur la Reduction des Villes de Dijon & Nuys, sous l'obeissance du Roi, Lyon (Guichard Jullieron & Thibaud Ancelin) 1595
- Anon., Discours de la Trahison, et Entreprise des Heretiques Rebelles, sur la Citadelle & Ville de Chalon sur Saone, faillie d'estre executee la nuit du Sammedy 15 de Juin 1591, Lyon (Jean Pillehotte) 1591
- Anon., Discours des Trahisons, Perfidies, et Desloyautez des Politiques de Paris, qui avoient vendu ladicte ville à Henri de Bourbon, [...] . Avec le discours des cruautez, violemens, et Sacrileges qu'il a commis és fauxbourgs de saint Germain, Saint Jaques, et Saint Marceau, Lyon (Louis Tantillon) 1589
- Anon., Discours tresample, et tresveritable: Contenant plus particulierement l'entiere desroutte & deffaite de l'armee des Huguenots. Faicte par le treschrestien Roi Henri troisieme de ce nom, et Princes et Seigneurs Catholiques, Lyon (Jean Pillehotte) 1588
- Anon., Discours tres-veritable de l'admirable et heureuse reprise de la ville & forteresse de Raab, autrement Lavarin, en Hongrie, par les Chrestiens sur les Turcs, Lyon (Jacaques Roussin) 1598
- Anon., Discours sur la Venue en France, Progrez, et Retraicte du Duc de Parme, Lyon (Pierre Chastain dit Dauphin) 1594
- Anon., Discours Veritable de la Deffaite de l'Armee du Roi d'Espagne, tenant la campagne en Brabant, par Monsieur le Prince Maurice de Nassau, le 24 Janvier 1597, Lyon (Thibaud Ancelin) 1597
- Anon., Discours veritable de la Deffence de Messieurs les habitans de Paris, conduits avec leurs garnisons par monseigneur le Duc de Nemours, contre le Roi de Navarre, Lyon (Jean Pillehotte) 1590
- Anon., Discours veritable de la Delivrance miraculeuse de Monseigneur le Duc de Guise nagueres captif au Chasteau de Tours, Lyon (Jean Pillehotte) 1591
- Anon., Discours veritable de l'estrange et subite Mort de Henri de Valois, advenuë par permission divine [...] par un religieux de l'ordre des Jacobins, Lyon (Jean Pillehotte) 1589

- Anon., Discours veritable des grands miracles de nostre Dame de Lusques, Lyon (Jean Pillehotte) 1590
- Anon., Discours veritable, et sans Passion, sur la prinse des armes, et changemens aduenus en la ville de Lyon, Lyon (s.n. [Jean Pillehotte]) 1593
- Anon., Discours veritable de ce qui s'est passé en la reduction de la Ville de Paris, Lyon (Pierre Michel) 1594
- Anon., Discours veritable de la Prinse de la Ville de Han, defaictes des Espagnols & reduction du Chasteau en l'obeissance du Roi, Lyon (Claude Morillon) 1595
- Anon., Discours veritable de la Route et Deffaictes des Mareschaux de camp de l'armee du Cardinal d'Austriche, qui venoyent pour le secours d'Amiens, advenue le 29 Aoust 1597, Lyon (Héretiers de Benoist Rigaud) 1597
- Anon., Discours veritable du succez de l'entreprise faicte par le Cardinal Albert d'Austriche pour secourir la ville d'Amiens, les XV & XVI du mois de Septembre 1597, Lyon (Guichard Jullieron) 1597
- Anon., Discours veritable de la Victoire obtenue par le Roi, en la bataille donnee pres le village d'Ivry, le quatorziesme de Mars, 1590, Lyon (Guichard Jullieron & Thibaud Ancelin) 1594
- Anon., Discours veritable des Visions aduenues au premier et second jour d'Aoust dernier, 1589 à la personne de l'Empereur des Turcs Sultan Amurat, Lyon (Jean Patrasson) s.d. [1589 / 90]
- Anon., Discours de la Vie, Mort, et Derniers Propos de feu monseigneur de Mandelot, Lyon (Jean Pillehotte) 1598
- Anon., Discours au vrai de la Defaictes des Reistres du Prince de Bearn à Connerré. Par Monsieur le Comte de Brissac, Lyon (Louis Tantillon) 1589
- Anon., Discours au vrai de la Deffaictes de la garnison de Cambrai, par le Chavalier du Peschier, estant en garnison à Guise, Lyon (Héretiers de Benoist Rigaud) 1597
- Anon., Discours au vrai de la desloyale Trahison & detestable conjuration, brasse par le Sieur de Botheon & ses complices, sur la ville de Lyon, s.l. [Lyon] (s.n. [Jean Pillehotte]) 1590
- Anon., Discours au vrai, de la memorable Deffaictes de l'armee Turquesque devant la ville de Rischet, Lyon (Jean Pillehotte) 1593

- Anon., Discours au vrai de ce qui s'est passé en la reduction de la ville de Vienne, sous l'obeissance du Roi, entre les mains de Monseigneur le Duc de Montmorency, Pair & Constable de France, le vingt-quatriesme d'Auril 1595, Lyon (Guichard Jullieron) 1595
- Anon., Discours au vrai de la prise et reddition de la ville de Raucroy, Lyon (s.n. [Benoist Rigaud]) s.d. [1587/8]
- Anon., Dits magnifiques et Gaillards, touchant les causes de la mort de l'Admiral de Colligny, & ses complices, Lyon (Benoist Rigaud) 1572
- Anon., Exhortation aux Catholiques François, Lyon [sur la copie à Paris], s.n. [Benoist Rigaud], 1588
- Anon., Exhortation Catholique aux trois Ordres de la France, Lyon (s.n. [Jean Pillehotte]) 1589
- Anon., Forme du serment qu'il convient faire par tout le Royaume, pour l'entretènement de la sainte Union, Lyon (Jean Pillehotte) 1589
- Anon., Forme du Serment fait au Roi, par la Cour de Parlement de Paris le 28 Mars 1594, Lyon (Guichard Jullieron & Thibaud Ancelin) 1594
- Anon., Harangue de Monsieur le prevost des marchans president pour le tiers estat, Lyon (Benoist Rigaud) 1588
- Anon., Histoire contenant les plus memorables faits advenus en l'an 1587 tant l'armee commandee par monsieur le Duc de Guise, qu'en celle des Huguenots, conduite par le Duc de Bouillon, Lyon (Jean Pillehotte) 1588
- Anon., Histoire memorable des Guerres entre les deux Maisons de France & d'Austriche, s.l. (s.n.) 1599
- Anon., Histoire miraculeuse de trois soldats punis divinement pour les forfaitcs violences, irreverences, & indinitez par eux commis, avec blasphemes execrables contre l'image de Monsieur saint Antoine, Lyon (Michel Jove & Jean Pillehotte) 1576
- Anon., Histoire du tout prodigieuse d'un accident de feu survenu dans la cite de Constantinople le 28 septembre dernier passé, Lyon (Benoist Rigaud) 1570
- Anon., Intimidations faitcs par le Duc de Sessio, Ambassadeur du Roi d'Espagne, pour detourner le Pape de la bonte volenté qu'il avoit de recevoir Henri III de ce nom, Roi de France & de Navarre, au giron de l'Eglise, Lyon (Benoist Rigaud) 1594

- Anon., La Copie d'une Lettre envoyee par un Gentil-homme, de l'armee de Monseigneur le Duc de Mayenne, aux Bourgeois & habitans de la Ville & Fauxbourgs de Paris, Lyon (Jean Pillehotte) 1589
- Anon., L'admirable et heureuse Prinse de la Ville de Bude en Hongerie par l'armee Imperiale, sur les Turcs, Lyon (Thibaud Ancelin & Guichard Jullieron) 1598
- Anon., La Deliverance admirable de la Ville de Rennes en Bretagne d'entre les mains des Politiques & heretiques, selon les lettres missives de ce dernier voyage, du 14 Mars 1589, Lyon (Jean Pillehotte) 1589
- Anon., La Deffaite de trois Cornettes de Reistres par Commandement de Monseigneur le duc de Guise, Lyon (Jean Pillehotte) 1587
- Anon., La Fleur de Lys. Qui est un Discours d'un François retenu dans Paris, sur les impietez, et desguisemens contenus au Manifeste d'Espagne, Lyon (Guichard Jullieron & Thibaud Ancelin) 1594
- Anon., La nouvelle Deffaicte, obtenue sur les Troupes d'Henri de Valois, dans les Fauxbourgs de Tours, le huitiesme May, 1589. Par Monseigneur le Duc de Mayenne, s.l. [Lyon] (s.n. [Jean Pillehotte]) s.d. [1589]
- Anon., Nouvelle de la venue de la Royne d'Algier à Rome, Lyon (Jean Pillehotte) 1587
- Anon., La Premier Philipique a la France, Lyon (Claude Morillion) 1594
- Anon., La Prinse du Comte de Montgommery, dedans le Chasteau de Donfron, par Monsieur de Matignon, Lyon (Michel Jove) 1574
- Anon., La Prinse du Fort de la Chaine, faite par Monsieur de Laverdin, le dixhuitiesme du mois d'Avril, Lyon (s.n. [Jean Pillehotte]) 1588
- Anon., La Prinse de la Ville et Chasteau de Gournay en Normandie, par Monseigneur le Duc de Mayenne, le septiesme de ce present moys, Lyon (Jean Patrasson) 1589
- Anon., La Prise de la Ville de la Fere en Picardie, par Monsieur le Marquis de Pienne, Lyon (Jean Pillehotte) 1589
- Anon., La Prinse de la Ville de Montestruc, pres de Tolose. [...] Par Monseigneur de Joyeuse, Lyon (Louis Tantillon) 1590
- Anon., La Prise de la Ville de Saint Maixant, par Monsieur le Duc de Joyeuse, Lyon s.n. [for Benoist Rigaud] 1587
- Anon., La rendition et protestation de douze mil Suisses au Roi, qui s'estoient acheminez contre sa Majesté, Lyon (Benoist Rigaud) 1587

- Anon., L'Arpocratie ou Rabais du Caquet des Politiques et Jebusiens de nostre aage, Lyon (Jean Patrasson) 1589
- Anon., La Seconde Charge que Monsieur le Mareschal de Biron [...] a faicte sur les Espagnols, entre Arras et Bapaume, le xxv du mois de septembre dernier, Lyon (Thibaud Ancelin) 1596
- Anon., La Sainte Bible, Lyon (Jean Pillehotte) 1582
- Anon., La Vie des Triastres Politiques Navarrois, Lyon (Louis Tantillon) 1589
- Anon., La vierge stigmatisee. Miracle nouvellement veu et approuve a Lisbone en Portugal, Lyon (Jean Pillehotte) 1586
- Anon., Le Couronnement du Serenissime Henri de Valois Roi des Polonnes, envoyé à l'Illustrissime Seigneur de la Mante, Lyon (Michel Jove) 1574
- Anon., Le Benedictus du Prophete Royal, adapté de mot à mot a la confusion et ruine des Heretiques, Lyon (Jean Patrasson) 1588
- Anon., Le Discours veritable de la reduction du chasteau de Montmillan, à sa Majesté Tres-chrestienne Henri III Roi de France & de Navarre, Lyon (Thibaud Ancelin & Guichard Jullieron) 1600
- Anon., Le Feu de Joye des Francois. Sur la memorable reprise de la ville d'Amiens par le Roi, Lyon (Thibaud Ancelin) 1597
- Anon., Le Fouet des Heretiques, Politiques, et traistres de la France associez du feu Roi de Navarre, Lyon (Louis Tantillon) 1590
- Anon., Le Martyre et cruelle Mort du Venerable Prieur des Jacobions de Paris, fait à Tours le vingt-troisiesme de Fevrier, 1590, Lyon (s.n. [Jean Pillehotte]) s.d. [1590]
- Anon., Le vrai Discours sur la Route et admirable desconfiture des Reistres, Lyon (Jean Pillehotte) 1587
- Anon., Les Articles de la Puissance donne par nostre S. Pere à Monseigneur l'illustrissime & reverendissime Cardinal Cajetan, Lyon (Jean Pillehotte) 1590
- Anon., Les Causes qui ont contrainct les Catholiques à prendre les armes, Lyon (s.n. [Jean Pillehotte]) 1589
- Anon., Les merueilleuses & espouventables visions apparuës au grand Turc Selim Soltan, Lyon (Benoist Rigaud) 1573

- Anon., Les Pilliers d'Estat, Lyon (Thibaud Ancelin) 1594
- Anon., Le tres excellent et somptueux triomphe, fait en la ville de Venise, en la publication de la ligue, Lyon (Benoist Rigaud) 1571
- Anon., Les Raisons, pour lesquelles Henri De Bourbon, soy disant Roi de Navarre ne peut, & ne doit estre receu, approuvé, ne recogneu Roi de France, Lyon (Jean Pillehotte) 1591
- Anon., Le Testament et Complaincte de la Desolation & ruine de la guerre, Lyon (s.n.) 1591
- Anon., Le Testement de la Ligue, Lyon (Pierre Chastain dit Dauphin) 1594
- Anon., Lettre escrete a Madame de Tinteville. Par laquelle on cognoit le but des adherans de Henri de Bourbon, Lyon (Jean Patrasson) 1589
- Anon., Lettres envoyees des Indies Orientales, contenans la conversion de cinquante mille personnes à la Religion Chrestienne, és Isles de Solor & de Ende, Lyon (Benoist Rigaud) 1571
- Anon., Lettres Patentes d'Abolition de ce qui s'est fait a Paris les xv. xvi. & xvii. de Novembre, Lyon (Jean Pillehotte) 1592
- Anon., Le Tyrannicide ou Mort du Tyran. Contenant sa derniere declaration & deliberation tyrannique envers les Catholiques de la France, Lyon (Jean Patrasson) s.d. [1589]
- Anon., Les Vers qui ont este faits, pour l'entrée du Roi en la ville de Rouen, Lyon (Thibaud Ancelin) 1596
- Anon., Lettres d'un Francois pour la preseance du Roi de France, contre le Roi d'Espagne, Lyon (Thibaud Ancelin) 1594
- Anon., L'Histoire des Miracles faits par l'Intercession de nostre Dame de Mont-serrat, Lyon (Héretiers de Guillaume Roville) 1600
- Anon., Lettre escrete par les Deputez des Princes, Officiers de la Couronne, & autres Seigneurs Catholiques qui reconnoissent le Roi, pour la Conference faicte à Suresne, & autres lieux, Lyon (Benoist Rigaud) 1594
- Anon., Lettre de Venize du XIX d'Octobre 1571. Touchant la tres-heureuse victoire des Chrestiens à l'encontre de l'armee du grand Turc, Lyon (Michel Jove) 1571
- Anon., Le vrai discours des derniers propos memorables, Lyon (Michel Jove) 1574

- Anon., Le vrai Discours sur la Route et admirable desconfiture des Reistres [...] le Vendredy xxvii de Novembre 1587, Lyon (Jean Pillehotte) 1587
- Anon., L'Ordre des Ceremonies du Sacre & Couronnement du Tres-Chrestien Roi de France & de Navarre Henri quatriesme du nom, Lyon (Guichard Jullieron & Thibaud Ancelin) 1594
- Anon., Manifeste des Consulz, Eschevins, Bourgeois & Habitans de la ville de Lyon, sur le fait de la prise de Vienne, rupture de la Trefue, et entrée de l'armee de Monseigneur le Duc de Nemours dans le pays de Dauphiné, Lyon (Jean Pillehotte) 1592
- Anon., Memoyres des entreprises du Turc sur la Chrestienté, tant du costé d'Allemagne, que d'Italie, Lyon (Benoist Rigaud) 1566
- Anon., Metamorphose d'Henri de Bourbon jadis Roi de Navarre, faussement & uniquement pretendant d'estre Roi de France, Lyon (Jean Pillehotte) 1589
- Anon., Missale Romanum ex decreto Sacrosancti Concilii Tridentini restitutum, Pii V. Pont. Max. issu editum, Lyon (Guillaume Roville) 1578
- Anon., Nouveaux advertissemens de la prise d'une forteresse [...] en Albanie, Lyon (Benoist Rigaud) 1571
- Anon., Nouvelles du Duché de Transilvanie reduit en l'obeissance de sa Majesté Imperiale le 24 Novembre 1599, Lyon (Jean Billioud) 1600
- Anon., Ordonnance de Messieurs les Seneschal & gens tenans le siege Presidial en la ville de Lyon, contre les detenteurs des biens de ceux de la Religion pretendue reformee: Ensemble les noms & surnoms, des seditieux & rebelles contre la Majesté du Roi nostre Sire, Lyon (Michel Jove) 1568
- Anon., Origine, Genealogie, et Demonstration: de ceste excellente, & heroïque maison de Lorraine, & Guise, Lyon (Jean Patrasson) 1589
- Anon., Prodige de deux armées veues en l'air, le 21. Septembre 1587 en la terre de Montfort, pres la ville de Sarlat en Perigord, Lyon (Benoist Rigaud) 1587
- Anon., Prophetie merveilleuse des Affaires et troubles de France de nostre temps, s.l. [Lyon] (s.n. [Jean Pillehotte]) 1590
- Anon., Proposition des Princes Prelates Officiers de la Couronne & principaux Seigneurs Catholiques [...] tendant à fin de parvenir au repos tant necessaire de la Religion Catholique, & de l'Estat, Lyon (Benoist Rigaud) 1594

- Anon., Reddition de la Ville d'Amiens à sa Majesté le 25 Septembre 1597, Lyon (Thibaud Ancelin) 1597
- Anon., Reiglemens ordonnez en Execution des Edicts du Roi contre ceux de la Religion pretendue reformee, & aussi pour la garde & conservation de ceste ville de Lyon, Lyon (Guichard Jullieron & Thibaud Ancelin) 1594
- Anon., Remerciment fait au nom de France, par le Baron de Senecey, Lyon (Benoist Rigaud) 1588
- Anon., Remonstrance et Exhortation a l'Armee du Roi, pour bien combatre le camp Espagnol nostre enemy, Lyon (Jean Marguerite) 1595
- Anon., Remonstrance faicte a Monsieur le Duc de Mayenne, Lyon (Guichard Jullieron & Thibaud Ancelin) 1594
- Anon., Remonstrance faicte a Monseigneur le Duc de Savoye, par ung Gentil'homme Francois, pour poursuivre & continuer ce qu'il a heureusement commencé contre la malheureuse ville de Geneve, Lyon (Louis Tantillon) 1589
- Anon., Remonstrance faicte a Monsieur d'Esperson, entrant en l'eglise Cathedrale de Rouen, le 3 de May 1588, Lyon (Benoist Rigaud) s.d. [1588/1589]
- Anon., Remonstrance aux Francoys, pour les induire a vivre en paix à l'advenir, Lyon (Benoist Rigaud) 1576
- Anon., Remonstrance aux Francois, sur la conversion de Henri de Bourbon IIII de ce nom, Lyon (Guichard Jullieron & Thibaud Ancelin) 1594
- Anon., Remonstrance aux Habitans de Marseille, Lyon (Thomas Soubron) 1597
- Anon., Remonstrance a la Noblesse Catholique de France, qui tient le party du Roi de Navarre, Lyon (Jean Pillehotte) 1590
- Anon., Remonstrance au Roi par les Estats de la France, Lyon (s.n. [Jean Pillehotte]) 1588
- Anon., Remonstrance a la Royne Mere du roi tres-chrestien, Lyon (Michel Jove) 1561
- Anon., Remonstrance aux trois Estats sur la Publication & reception du Saint Concile de Trente en France, Lyon (Louis Tantillon) 1589
- Anon., Remonstrance sur la Reduction de la Ville de Mascon à l'obeissance du Roi, Lyon (Guichard Jullieron & Thibaud Ancelin) 1594

- Anon., Requete presentee au Roi par Messieurs les Cardinaux, Princes, Seigneurs, & des Deputez de la ville de Paris, & autres villes Catholiques, Lyon (Jean Pillehotte) 1588
- Anon., Responce faicte par un Gentil-Homme a Monseigneur la Prince de P. contenant en bref ce que Monseigneur le Duc de Mayenne a faict depuis la mort de Monseigneur le Duc de Guise, Lyon (s.n. [Jean Pillehotte]) 1589
- Anon., Responce d'un grand Seigneur de ce Royaume, reduit à la S. Union, à une lettre que lui a escrite le Roi de Navarre, Lyon (Jean Pillehotte) 1590
- Anon., Sacrosancti et Oecumenici Concilii Tridentini Paulo III, Julio III & Pio IIII. Pont. Max. celebrati, Canones et Decreta, Lyon (Guillaume Roville) 1577
- Anon., Satyre Menippee de la Vertu du Catholicon d'Espagne. Et de la Tenue des Estatz de Paris, s.l. (s.n.) 1593
- Anon., Seconde Remonstrance a la Noblesse Catholique qui tient le party du Roi de Navarre, Lyon (Jean Pillehotte) 1590
- Anon., Sommaire de la Defaicte de quelques Troupes des Reistres, Lyon (Jean Patrasson) 1589
- Anon., Sommaire Discours du notable Martyre de deux venerables Prestres & deux hommes Lais, advenu en l'Université d'Oxonio en Angleterre, Lyon (Jean Patrasson) 1590
- Anon., Sommaire des Raisons qui ont meü les François Catholiques de recognoistre nostre Roi Charles dixiesme, entre tous les Princes qui sont en France, Lyon (s.n. [Pierre Chastain]) 1589
- Anon., Sommaire recit des Progres de l'Armee du Roi en Savoye, & de la prise des places & victoires obtenues en icelle, Lyon (Thibaud Ancelin) 1597
- Anon., Syllogismes en Quatrains sur l'Electon d'un Roi, Lyon (Jean Pillehotte) 1593
- Anon., Tumbeaux des Brise-Croix. Mesmes de Gaspard de Colligny jadis Admiral de France, Lyon (Bensoit Rigaud) 1573
- Anon., La Vie de Saint Catherine de Siene Vierge, de l'ordre S. Dominique, Lyon (Benoist Rigaud) 1581
- Anon., Vrai discours de la bataille des armees Chrestienne & Turquesque, & de la triomphante victoire contre le Turc, Lyon (Michel Jove) 1571

- Anon., Vrai Discours et Defence des Catholiques de la ville de Rouen, contre la siege & force du Roi de Navarre, Lyon (Jean Patrasson) s.d. [1589]
- Anon., Vraie relation, de la route et deffaicte des Tartares, & Turcs, par les Polonois, Lyon (Benoist Rigaud) 1590
- Apchon, Jacques d', Remonstrance au Roi, Lyon (Benoist Rigaud) 1589
- Aquinas, Thomas, Summa totius theologiae, Lyon (Jeanne Giunta) 1581
- Auger, Edmond, Livre second, de la vrai, reale et corporealle presence de Jesus Christ au S. Sacrement de l'autel. Contre les fauses opinions, et modernes heresies, tant des Lutheriens, Zwingliens, et Westphaliens, que Calvinists, Lyon (Michel Jove), 1565
- , Livre troisieme, de l'institution, verite, continuation, et utilite du sacrifice de la Messe, Lyon (Michel Jove), 1565
- , Responce a une Epitsre liminaire de Pierre Viret, Ministre des Reformez de Lyon. En faveur de ceux de la Compagnie de Jesus communement appelez Jesuites, Lyon (Michel Jove) 1565
- Azpilcueta, Martin de, Commentarius de datis et promissis pro iustitia vel gratia obtinend. in Extravag., Lyon (Guillaume Roville) 1575
- , Commentarius de voto paupertatis, Lyon (Guillaume Roville) 1575
- , (ed. Guivara, Petro) Compendium Manualis, Lyon (Héretiers de Guillaume Roville) 1591
- , Enchiridion, sive manuale confessoriorum et poenitentium, Lyon (Guillaume Roville) 1575
- , Enchiridion, sive Manuale confessoriorum, et poenitentium, Lyon (Jean-Baptise Buysson) 1592
- , Opera in tres tomos digesta, Lyon (Jean-Baptiste Buysson) 1595
- , Propugnaculum Apologiae Libri de Reditibus ecclesiasticis, Lyon (Guillaume Roville) 1575
- Beaune, Renaud de, Declamation ou Harangue faite aux Estats tenus à Blois, Lyon (Jean Pillehotte) 1589
- , Briefve Exhortation faite aux Estats de ce Royaume, par Monsieur l'Archevesque de Bourges [...] le Mardi xviii d'Octobre, 1588, Lyon (Benoist Rigaud) 1588

- Beauxamis, Thomas, Commentariorum in Evangelicam Harmoniam, sive Concordiam, ex antiquis ecclesiae patribus congestorum, Lyon (Héretiers de Guillaume Roville) 1593
- , Remonstrance au Peuple François qu'il n'est permis à aucun subject souz prétexte que ce soit se rebelle ne prendre les armes contre son Prince et Roi, Lyon (Benoist Rigaud) 1594
- Bellamera, Aegidius et. al., Sacrosanctae decisiones canonicae, Lyon (Philippe Tinghi) 1578
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