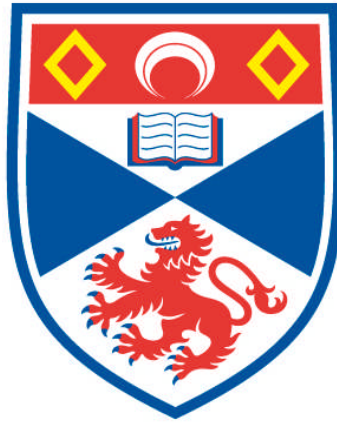


**PUBLISHING IN PARIS, 1570-1590:
A BIBLIOMETRIC ANALYSIS**

Philip Owen John

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



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Publishing in Paris, 1570-1590: A bibliometric analysis

Philip Owen John

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

September 2010

Declaration

I, Philip Owen John, hereby certify that this thesis, which is approximately 80,000 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.

I was admitted as a research student in September 2003 and as a candidate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in May 2004; the higher study for which this is a record was carried out in the University of St Andrews between 2004 and 2010.

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I hereby certify that the candidate has fulfilled the conditions of the Resolution and Regulations appropriate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of St Andrews and that the candidate is qualified to submit this thesis in application for that degree.

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Abstract

This thesis is an examination of the printing industry in Paris between 1570 and 1590. These years represent a relatively under-researched period in the history of Parisian print. This period is of importance because of an event in 1572 – the St Bartholomew’s Day Massacre, and an event in 1588 – the Day of the Barricades and the subsequent exit from Paris of Henry III. This thesis concerns itself with the two years prior to 1572 and two years after 1588 in order to provide context, but the two supporting frames of this investigation are those important events. This thesis attempts to assess what effect those events had upon the printing industry in the foremost print centre of both France and Western Europe. With the religious situation in Paris quietened was there any concrete change in the 1570s and 1580s regarding the types of books printed in Paris? Was there any attempt to exploit this religious stability by pursuing the ‘retreating’ Protestant confession, or did the majority of printers turn away from confessional arguments and polemical literature? What were the markets for Paris books: were they predominantly local or international? The method by which these questions have been addressed is with a bibliometric analysis of the output of the Paris print shops. This statistical approach allows one to address the entire corpus of a city’s output and allows both broad surveys of the data in terms of categorisation of print, but also narrower studies of individual printers and their output. As such this approach allows the printing industry of Paris to be surveyed and analysed in a way that would otherwise be impossible. This statistical approach also allows the books to be seen as an economic item of industrial production instead of purely a culture item of artistic creation. This approach enhances rather than reduces the significance of a book’s cultural importance as it allows the researcher to fully appreciate the achievement and investment of both finance and time that was necessary for the completion of a well printed book.

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St Andrews, 2010

Abbreviations and Editorial conventions

Archives nationales	ArchNat
Bibliothèque nationale de France	BnF
<u>French vernacular books: books published in the French language before 1601</u> , Andrew Pettegree, Malcolm Walsby & Alexander Wilkinson (eds.), 2 vols., (Leiden, 2007)	FB
Universal Short Title Catalogue	USTC
<u>Edit 16. Le edizioni italiane del XVI secolo: censimento nazionale</u> , 5 vols., (Rome, 1989-)	Edit 16
<u>VD16. Verzeichnis de im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des XVI. Jahrhunderts</u> , 25 vols., (Stuttgart, 1983-2000)	VD 16
<u>Répertoire bibliographique des livres imprimés en France au seizième siècle</u> , 32 vols., (Baden-Baden, 1968-1980)	RepBib
<i>Livre tournaï</i>	<i>lt.</i>
<i>Sols</i>	<i>s.</i>
<i>Deniers</i>	<i>d.</i>
<i>Florins</i>	<i>fl.</i>
<i>Stuivers</i>	<i>st.</i>
<i>ac.</i>	Active

Within the body of this work certain conventions have been adopted. Contractions and abbreviations have been restored to provide full comprehension of quotations; otherwise the spelling, punctuation, and peculiarities of 16th century French printing have been quoted verbatim.

A remark about names should be made here: all Christian names remain in their francophone style for printers while names of nobility and royalty have anglicised. Surnames have been kept with their contemporary spellings while common first names have been modernised: Robert Estienne remains as such while Estienne Petit has become Étienne Petit. Place names have, if possible, been anglicised and standardised and rendered in their contemporary spellings: thus Anvers becomes Antwerp. This is to aid reading.

Introduction

During the late autumn of 1589 the King, Henry III, and his heir, Henry of Navarre, were laying siege to the city of Paris. Short of money and blamed by the Catholic League for the assassinations of Henry, duke of Guise and his brother the Cardinal, Henry III had been forced into making a truce with his Protestant cousin. On 26 April 1589 he met Henry of Navarre and, at Plessis-lez-Tours, they reached an accord. For Henry III the alliance was a necessity borne out of financial difficulty and political isolation, for not only was he short of money but the League and their agents had driven him from all but three towns: only Blois, Tours, and Beaugency had stayed loyal to the king. Surrounding Paris, Henry III was encamped at Saint-Cloud, six miles west of the city, and Navarre at Meudon, just over five and a half miles to the south-west. The city itself was ablaze with anti-Valois feeling.

Distrust of Henry III had been mounting throughout the 1570s as the erstwhile hero of Catholic fidelity had become the king of *politique* expediency. In the wake of the death of Francis, Duke of Anjou and Alençon, the hope of a Catholic succession spurred the Catholic League, led by the Guises, into action as Henry refused to disinherit his heir presumptive, the Protestant Henry of Navarre. The growing disquiet over Henry III exploded into hatred with the deaths of the two Guise brothers in Blois in the winter of 1588. The convening of the Estates General in December 1588 had led to the concession of three-quarters of the delegates to representatives of the Guise and League factions. Unable to obtain agreement Henry III, on the 23 December 1588, invited his namesake Henry, Duke of Guise to,

...discuss and settle with him matters of paramount importance. The latter goes to the King on that very day at eight o'clock in the morning. But as he enters the hall leading to the King's chamber, there springs upon him two or three wounds in the back with a dagger. Thereupon several of the King's halberdiers hasten to the scene to do him to death...Thereafter the King gave orders for the assassination of the Cardinal de Guise, the brother of the murdered Duke.¹

¹ The Fugger News-letters: being a selection of unpublished letters from the Correspondents of the House of Fugger during the years 1568-1605, Victor von Klarwill (ed.), (London, 1928), p.146.

With these assassinations, members of the League broke all pretence of fellowship with Henry III. To the government of Paris a revolutionary 'Council of Forty' was added. On 7 January 1589, members of the Faculty of Theology of the University of Paris, the Sorbonne, proclaimed that subjects of the French crown were released from their duty of obedience to their monarch; an action for which they also sought Papal approval. In the rhetoric of the preachers in Paris, Henry III was the new Herod. Three broadsheet editions and ten octavo editions were printed in 1589 bewailing the deaths and the 'martyrdom' of the brothers. The Pope, alarmed and dismayed by the murder of a Cardinal, summoned Henry to Rome under threat of excommunication. Parlement, stripped of Royalists and packed by the League, proclaimed Charles, Cardinal of Bourbon, as Charles X and Charles, Duke of Mayenne and brother of the assassinated brothers, as lieutenant-general of the kingdom.

Henry's assassination of the Guise brothers would ultimately lead to his own murder. 1589 was a year of intense anti-Henrician preaching and publishing in Paris. The man who, as Duke of Anjou, had been celebrated by the Catholic factions of the kingdom had become a tyrant to be overthrown and on 1 August a Dominican took it upon himself to do just that. As Henry lay camped with his army in Saint-Cloud, Jacques Clément, carrying false papers from the Count de Brienne, who was imprisoned in Paris, arrived seeking an audience with the king. Under the pretext of delivering a secret message to the king:

[Henry] led [Clément] into his cabinet and read various scripts which the monk handed to him. When the King had perused the last, he asked the monk whether he had any more. The latter thereupon replied "Yes," and, in place of the script, drew forth from his sleeve a short knife, the width of two fingers, which he thrust into the King's abdomen below the navel.²

The wound was not believed to have been fatal but either in its initial thrust or its removal by Henry himself, it had damaged Henry's bowels and by midnight on 2 August 1589 the last Valois king was dead. His last act was to declare Henry of Navarre his successor. With dwindling troops, Navarre broke off the siege and retreated into Normandy.

² The Fugger News-letters, von Klarwill (ed.), p.150.

Henry's departure from Paris in 1588 marks a natural end for a survey of the 1580s. His flight marks the last time a Valois king would ever step foot in Paris and it marked the beginning of the end of a period of relative calm in the city that had begun with the massacre of August 1572. By 1593 Henry of Navarre was a Catholic having abjured in July of that year; in 1594 he was crowned in Chartres, Rheims still being in the hands of his enemies, and by the end of March he was finally in possession of the capital itself.

The period of 1572 to 1588, therefore marks a unique period in French sixteenth-century history. It marks a period of relative confessional stability for the city. The Protestant question had been answered in the massacre of 1572 and the Catholic ascendancy had become so assured that supporters of the extremity of that position had the power to ultimately force the King from Paris. The years between the St Bartholomew's Day massacre and the 'expulsion' of Henry III from Paris are, therefore, of interest to scholars of book history. This thesis is a study of those years through the prism of Parisian printing via a bibliometric approach to the study of the output of the Paris printing shops. The point of this statistical approach is that, with a corpus of nearly 10,000 editions printed between 1570 and 1590, of which many are no longer extant, these questions cannot be answered with an investigation of individual texts. Only by taking a wider view of the corpus, through the use of bibliometrics, can such a large number of editions be analysed. It is for this same reason that the extent of the analysis begins in 1570 and ends in 1590. While the pertinent events in Parisian history happen in 1572 and in 1588, one cannot investigate the importance of those events without the sufficient context in which to set them.

Surprisingly, this period is one that has been relatively under-researched. While Annie Parent-Charron compiled a thorough and important study of the Paris printing industry, her study focused upon an earlier period, concentrating on the years 1535 to 1560. There is a relatively complete printed bibliography of Parisian editions by Brigitte Moreau, but this only covers the years prior to 1541.³ The work that Moreau based her bibliography upon was initially done by the French bibliographer Philippe Renouard. Renouard, who died in 1934, had undertaken a survey of the entire century of Paris

³ Brigitte Moreau, Inventaire chronologique des éditions parisiennes du XVI^e siècle : d'après les manuscrits de Philippe Renouard, 5 vols. (Paris/Abbeville, 1972-2004).

printing, and volumes containing the years after 1540 have started to appear in printed form. However, rather than appearing in volumes in chronological order the printed volumes of these later years have been assembled by printer or *libraire* in alphabetical order. There are five volumes in this series, the latest of which, printed in 1991, deals with the printers from Bocard to Bonamy, inclusive. There have been supplementary tomes, the first in 1982 which covered Breyer; and the second in 1986 which covered Cavellat and the joint enterprise of Cavellat and Marnef.⁴ However, the gaps between Bonamy and Breyer, Breyer to Cavellat, and Cavellat to the end of the alphabet have yet to appear in print.

For the period of the latter half of the 1580s and early half of the 1590s, Denis Pallier's study of Paris print during the League years, 1585-1594, provides a useful starting point for these years.⁵ There are three strings to Pallier's bow: the first is an analysis of the printing industry in 1585; the second is a survey of the printers involved in the production of League polemic; and finally Pallier presents a bibliography and an examination of that polemic. However, outside of his examination of the printing industry, where Pallier discusses the structure of the industry in the run up to 1585, his survey of Paris printing is limited to the period of the League.

This thesis, therefore, is the only survey of this period in French and Parisian history. As such it is an attempt to investigate the experiences of the members of the industry and see what their reaction, and that of the industry, was to the events of the 1570s and 1580s. Because this is a bibliometric survey, the glass through which this will be viewed is the output of that industry. Beyond categorisation requirements, little comment will be made about the content of the books that were being printed. Instead this thesis will focus on the book as an economic and physical item. An integral part of this thesis, therefore, is the focus on the industrial aspect of the book and the book trade. In attempting to map out a large industry during a twenty-one year period, we must look at the entirety of that industry's output in that period. This would be impossible to do were we to focus on individual editions. Instead by creating a database of editions and then analysing them from a bibliometric point of view: the size of the

⁴ Philippe Renouard, *Imprimeurs et libraires parisiens du XVI^e siècle*, 7 vols. (Paris, 1964-1991).

⁵ Denis Pallier, *Recherches sur L'Imprimerie à Paris Pendant La Ligue (1585-1594)*, (Geneva, 1976).

book in terms of format, pages, sheets required and so on, we can create a map of the industry that is a map of the entirety of the industry and not just of one printer or print shop that may or may not be representative of the whole.

At the heart of this analysis is a database of all editions printed in Paris between the years 1570 and 1590. Like Denis Pallier, the core of this database comes from the manuscript records of Philippe Renouard. These are the same manuscript records that form the basis of the five volumes put together by Moreau for the pre-1541 period and for the seven volumes comprising the period post-1540 mentioned above.⁶ However, the database at the centre of this thesis has benefited from additional sources. The first of these additional sources are the files of the St Andrews Book Project. The records of this project went into producing the two volume French Vernacular Books (FB) and have been integrated into the core Paris database.⁷ The second additional source are the files of the Universal Short Title Catalogue (USTC) project. Currently the printed volumes of FB only provide data on French language editions and a limited number of non-French vernacular editions (where a significant proportion of the book is in French). However, one of the key components of the USTC project is the creation of companion volumes of FB containing non-French language editions printed in France. The files behind the creation of FB provide additional and supplementary information to the data provided by the Renouard manuscripts. There are good reasons for supplementing Renouard with these two sources. Firstly, FB is an attempt to provide as thorough a survey of the French printing industry as possible. For this reason FB often includes editions for which no-surviving copy is now known, and possibly was not known in Renouard's time. Furthermore, Renouard's manuscripts do not consistently contain collation or pagination detail, something that is present in the files of FB, if not the printed volumes.

Because the core database of this project contains data gleaned from the files of the St Andrews Book Project and the USTC project, the core database contains information on

⁶ MS, "Paris XVI. S. Tables Chronologiques", BNF, Usuel Réserve Service, C58 (7)-(10).

⁷ French Vernacular Books: Books Published in the French Language before 1601, Andrew Pettegree, Malcolm Walsby & Alexander Wilkinson (eds.), 2 vols. (Leiden, 2007).

books from a wide selection of printed and online bibliographies and catalogues.⁸ As such, the core database represents the most complete catalogue of Paris books printed between 1570 and 1590 as there currently exists. Without the completeness of the database the kind of statistical analysis that this thesis represents would not be possible. However, the database contains more than just physical information about the book as an object.

A significant step in the creation of the database and this thesis was the classification of items within it. Not only does each entry in the database represent a physical item of economic worth, but it also represents an intellectual contribution no matter how mean. While a thorough study of the content of the texts is outside the purview of this thesis, a general sense of content should be considered. This general sense can be conveyed through a classification scheme. For the purposes of this thesis the following classification scheme has been adopted.

The books were divided into one of four broad genres. The genres are learned, literature, political, and religious. The criterion for division into these genres is that the content of the book must be predominantly of that category. For instance, League pamphlets from the latter part of the 1580s were classified as belonging into the political genre. The basis of this decision is that, while many of these books contained a religious theme or argument, the main purpose of their creation was political rather than religious. Polemic and propaganda of this kind presents the greatest difficulty in classification since it requires a decision based upon ascertaining the motive beyond the authorship and publication of the edition.

Beyond the four main genres, each of which represented a type of book for which there was little overlap and each possessing an individual archetype, the database was categorised into a number of subcategories, twenty-three in total, unequally divided between the four top genres. The subcategories are obviously not as broad as the genre categories but, in order that the subcategories did not become overly specialised there is some degree of generalisation to them. The main aim of the subcategories is that they

⁸ Catalogues incorporated into FB include both contemporary sixteenth-century catalogues and also those from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. For a complete list, see FB, vol.1, pp.xxxi-xxxv.

should include within them books that share significant characteristics. For instance, the subcategory “Missals, Breviaries & Books of Hours”, which is a category containing three types of different religious books (one more different than the other two) but which share sufficient significant characteristics that they can be classed together. On the other hand, “Catechisms” is a separate and individual category despite having potential overlap with the previous category. The reason behind this separation is that catechisms represent a type of book that belongs to the post-Tridentine world, unlike the other three types of books.

A more complete discussion of the subcategories and of the form of the books within those subcategories takes place in Chapter III. However, it is worth iterating what the subcategories are here:

- Religious
 - Bibles & psalters
 - the Church Fathers
 - Biblical commentaries & interpretation
 - Theology
 - Catechisms
 - Missals, Breviaries, & Books of Hours;
 - Sermons & homilies
 - Spirituals & devotional texts
 - Religious controversy & polemic
 - Sacred History & regulations of the Church
- Learned
 - History & geography (including travel writing)
 - Philosophy & morality
 - Scientific books & Natural History
 - Educational & school books, linguistics & dictionaries
 - Medical texts, veterinary medicine, and agricultural texts
 - Architecture, military handbooks, & heraldic works
- Literature
 - Music
 - Classical authors
 - Mediaeval & Contemporary authors
- Political
 - Economics & monetary theory
 - Jurisprudence, edicts & ordinances (including 'Coustumes')
 - Discourses on government & political theory
 - Polemic, remonstrances & complaints (including Newsbooks & Funeral orations)

Much of this classification scheme is based upon contemporary schema such as the three used at the Abbaye Saint-Victor in Paris. The first, a reconstruction based on the 1514 catalogue of the Saint-Victor library; the second is designed for the personal use of the librarian Guillaume Cotin in the 1580s; and the third is from a 1624 manuscript.⁹ The three classification schemes are presented in Table 0-1.

1514	1586	1624
Bibles Scriptural interpretation Scholastic theology Canon Law Church Fathers Sermons Moral theology History and chronicles Hagiography Mathematics Rhetoric Grammar Poetry Philosophy Glosses on the psalms Miscellaneous religious	Books of devotions Old and New Testaments Sermons Works of the ancient theologians Sacred historians Cases of conscience Scholastic theologians Books against recent heresies Sacred poets Profane historians Profane poets Grammar Philosophy Rhetoric Civil and Canon law	Bibles Church Fathers Scholastic theology Conscience and catechisms Liturgy Works of controversy Sermons and homilies Spiritual and devotional books Church Councils Canon Law Chronicles and sacred history Lives of the saints Profane history Cosmography and geography Natural philosophy Medicine Philosophy Humanities Encyclopaedias and miscellanies Prohibited books

Figure 0-1: Three classification schema for the library of the Abbaye Saint-Victor, Paris.¹⁰

There is quite a significant overlap between the classification scheme used in the Paris database and the schema used in the sixteenth and seventeenth century at Saint-Victor, particularly in the area of religious books. However, there are differences in requirements between a classification scheme for books where one is able to study the text and for books where the only evidence of the content is a short title. Some of the categories used in classifying the Paris database contain more than one type of book to ensure that no category is so small as to make comment upon it pointless. Likewise the categories are general enough to ensure correct classification of editions about which sometimes only the minimal amount of information is known.

⁹ Paul Nelles, "Three audiences for religious books in sixteenth-century France", in Andrew Pettegree, Paul Nelles & Philip Conner (eds.), *The Sixteenth-century French Religious Book*, (Aldershot, 2001), p.258.

¹⁰ This table is reproduced from Nelles, "Three audiences", p.258.

This thesis is an attempt to answer a series of general questions about the nature of the printing industry in Paris in the 1570s and 1580s. It arose out of a desire to examine the experience of the print trade in the wake of the St Bartholomew's Day massacre and what effect such an event had upon a trade that had often been connected with Protestantism. Natalie Zemon Davis' 1965 study suggests that "printing supplied many supporters to the Protestant cause in Lyons as in other printing centres."¹¹ The standard paradigm is that urban groups, like artisans, are considered to be the social matrix for radical Protestantism. The desire was to investigate whether the events of August 1572 settled the religious matter in such a way that the printers of Paris avoided a return to the provocative publishing that had been a mainstay in the 1560s. The extension of this thesis into years predating the St Bartholomew's Day massacre was a natural result of a need to see the years post-1572 in context; likewise the extension of the study beyond 1588. That these twenty-one years would prove to be years of such abundance necessitated the method behind this study. The impossibility in examining in minute detail nearly ten thousand editions, many no longer extant, meant that the use of bibliometrics became a requirement rather than a luxury. That this thesis is a bibliometric analysis, however, allows it to focus on the big picture and uncover details about the printing industry previously unknown. It also allows for the evaluation of notions about the printing industry which are held to be true by received wisdom but are notions that are not borne out by the statistical evidence.

¹¹ Natalie Zemon Davis, "Strikes and Salvations at Lyons", in Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte, 56, (1965), p.49.

Chapter I: The organisation of the industry

The central focus of printing in Paris was the area of the city known as the Latin Quarter, the area surrounding the University, and it was here that the majority of Paris' booksellers, printers, binders, and other associated and allied trades were based. In the colophons and title pages of the sixteenth-century book these names stand out: the Rue St-Jacques, the Rue St-Jean-de-Beauvais, the Rue St-Jean-de-Latran, the Clos Bruneau which leads to the Rue Mont-St-Hilaire, and, slightly further afield, the Pont St-Michel.

The presence of the trade in this area was no accident for the book trade had long been an established presence in Paris. Printing had been established as early as about 1470 and, even before then, the area surrounding the University, and in particular the Faculty of Theology – the Sorbonne – was already home to a great number of scribes, illuminators, parchmenters, binders, and, not least, *libraires*, who provided services to the faculty and the students of the University. Perhaps the most ancient of the trades involved in the book trade, the *libraires* held the most prominent position. Translatable as variously 'bookseller', 'contractor', 'book producer',¹² the contemporary English word would be 'stationer'¹³ *Libraires* were the men responsible for the commission and production of a manuscript; assimilated into the university's body of scholars, manuscript *libraires* were more properly custodians rather than retailers of books.¹⁴ They controlled the authorised original texts (exemplars) from which copies were made; they therefore controlled the mechanism by which books were copied either in their entirety or in sections: the *pecia* system which allowed multiple customers to copy from one exemplar by dividing the text into portions. However, their role went further, acting as organisers of the trade. In the example of the manuscript Gui Bible the *libraire* Nicolas Lombard, was commissioned by Gui de Clermont or his agents with completing the task. Lombard assembled a team of craftsmen in the various required *metiers* and

¹² Richard H. Rouse & Mary A. Rouse, Manuscripts and their makers: commercial book producers in Medieval Paris, 1200-1500, (London, 2000), vol. 1, p.24.

¹³ "stationers, who are called *libraires* in French.", Rouse & Rouse, Manuscripts, vol. 1, p.25.

¹⁴ Marcel Thomas, "Manuscripts" in Lucien Febvre & Henri-Jean Martin, The Coming of the Book, (London, 2000), p.20.

thus his role, the role of a *libraire* in this instance, was akin to a foreman of a building site – arranging the various different trades to create one unified work.¹⁵

In the age of print, as in manuscript era, the *libraires* were the lynchpin of the book world. However, it can be difficult to determine, unless explicitly stated, whether someone was a *libraire* or a printer; or whether a *libraire* printed his own commissions or employed an independent printer to do so. With the gradual disappearance of the colophon, particularly in the late sixteenth century, this subcontracting of works is even more difficult to trace. What can, however, be done is to track interconnections between the various members of the book trade. Sometimes this is visible in the book itself, when one book trade professional records printing for another. Another web of connections is established through family networks. In Paris, the establishment of long-lived printing dynasties and a dense network of connections between them gave the print world a stability lacking in many other centres of print. It was a characteristic of many parts of the European trade world, but seems particularly strongly developed in Paris.

These connections, usually solidified through marriage and remarriage, also help to explain how elements of the Parisian book world functioned in the period 1570-1590, a period when Paris had no formal Guild structure. Loyalties and relationships formed through these arrangements ensured a degree of co-operation reinforced by mutual benefit that could exceed any formal arrangements. A number of extended examples may be of benefit here. Elucidating these family networks helps draw the character of the Paris book world and explains its resilience in a time of political turbulence.

¹⁵ For full details of the Gui Bible see Rouse & Rouse, *Manuscripts*, vol. 1, pp.51-71 & vol. 2, pp.51-58.

The Cavellat/Marnef family¹⁶

Guillaume Cavellat (*libraire-juré*, ac. 1546-1576) and Jérôme de Marnef (*libraire-juré*, ac. 1547-1595) were two of the most important printers in this period. Cavellat was possibly the first syndic appointed in the wake of the Edict of Gaillon of 1571, and together they printed 195 editions between 1570 and 1590 (after 1583 Marnef was in partnership with Cavellat's widow). Cavellat's second wife, Denyse Girault was Jérôme's niece.

The family connections between the Cavellat and Marnef families do not begin with Guillaume and Jérôme. Instead we begin with two sisters, Pierrette and Marie Alleaume. Pierrette married twice, firstly to Jean Loys (*libraire*, ac. 1535-1547) and then to Thomas Richard (*libraire*/printer, ac. 1547-1568). With Loys she had one daughter, Madeleine, and with Richard she had two daughters, Charlotte and Louise. All three married printers or *libraires*, Madeleine married Thomas Brumen (*libraire-juré*, ac. 1559-1588), a first generation member of the industry. Since Jean Loys was also a *libraire*, it is quite possible that at one period Brumen worked for Loys. Brumen, like Loys before him, worked mainly with Latin works – 89 out the 140 editions Brumen produced in the period 1570-1590 were printed in Latin, a proportion of nearly two-thirds (63.57 per cent). Both of Brumen's daughters, Pierrette and Marie Brumen married *libraires*, Pierrette Brumen married Clovis Eve (*libraire/relieur*, ac. 1578-1634/5) and Marie Brumen married Jean II Corbon (*libraire*, ac. 1587-1618), the son of Jean I Corbon (*libraire*, ac. 1545-1585). Of the Richard sisters, Charlotte Richard married Leonard Le Sueur (*libraire*, ac. 1571-1574) and Louise Richard married Antoine Gourdin (*libraire*, ac. 1565-1601).

Marie Brumen's namesake and great aunt, Marie Alleaume, also married twice. Her first marriage was to Guillaume Richard (*libraire*, ac. 1540-1545), with whom she had three

¹⁶ For full details on the printers and *libraires* mentioned in this and the following sections see Philippe Renouard, Répertoire des imprimeurs Parisiens, libraires, fondeurs de caractères et correcteurs d'imprimerie depuis l'introduction de l'Imprimerie à Paris (1470) jusqu'à la fin de seizième siècle: Leurs adresses, marques, enseignes, dates d'exercice, (Paris, 1965); Répertoire d'imprimeurs/libraires (vers 1500 – vers 1800): Nouvelle édition mise à jour et augmentée (5 200 notices), Jean-Dominique Mellot, Elisabeth Queval & Antoine Monaque (eds.), (Paris, 2004); and for transcripts of documents pertaining to them cf. Philippe Renouard, Documents sur les imprimeurs, libraires, cartiers, graveurs, fondeurs de lettres, relieurs, doreurs de livres, faiseurs de fermoirs, enlumineurs, parcheminiers et papetiers: ayant exercé à Paris de 1450 à 1600, (Geneva, 1969). For this section see Appendix B2 §1.

daughters, Catherine, Jeanne, and Gillette. Catherine married a *pâtissier* named Robert Glannier, while Jeanne married, firstly Jean Caveiller (*libraire*/printer, ac. 1553-1561), and then Michel Julien (*libraire-juré*, ac. 1562-1583). Gillette also married within the printing trade, to Michel Clopejau (*libraire/relieur*, ac. 1567-1584). Marie Alleaume's second marriage was to Guillaume Cavellat (*libraire-juré*, ac. 1546-1576). Cavellat inherited the address, the equipment and the stock of Guillaume Richard and he became stepfather to Richard's daughters perhaps influencing the marriages of two of them. The Cavellat/Alleaume marriage would prove fruitful for both resulting in the only male children born to the Alleaume sisters. Three of the four children Marie had with Cavellat were sons: Pierre (*libraire-juré*, ac. 1577-1628), Léon (*libraire*/printer, ac. 1577-1610), and Jean (*libraire*, ac. 1584-1587), and all of whom followed their father's footsteps. Pierre Cavellat's daughter, Marguerite, would later bind the Cavellat family to the important Chaudière family when she married the son of Guillaume Chaudière (*libraire-juré*, ac. 1564-1601), Regnault II Chaudière (*libraire-juré*, ac. c.1597-c.1633).

After Marie Alleaume's death, Cavellat remarried to Denyse Girault and this is where the Marnefs become connected to the Cavellats. It was this marriage that helped Cavellat become elevated above the crowd. Cavellat and Girault had five children, none of whom will feature further in the study, so it is to Girault's parentage that the focus now turns. Denyse Girault was the daughter of Ambroise Girault (*libraire-juré*, ac. 1520-1546) and Denise de Marnef. Her sister, Guillemotte Girault married Pierre Drouart (*libraire-juré*, ac. 1541-1586) and they had two sons, Jérôme (*libraire*, ac. c.1597-c.1636) and Ambroise (*libraire*, 1582-1608). Denise de Marnef was the daughter of Geoffrey de Marnef (*libraire-juré*, ac. 1489-1518) and the niece of Jean I de Marnef (*libraire-juré*, ac. 1485-1510) and Enguilbert de Marnef (*libraire-juré*, ac. 1491-1533). The Marnefs were a fecund family, Denise de Marnef had a number of siblings, Jérôme, Jean II de Marnef (*libraire-juré*, ac. 1515-1522), Simon (who became Simon de Marnetz, a printer in Lyon in 1545), Claude, Philippe, Jeanne, and Simone. Jeanne de Marnef married Denis Janot (*libraire-juré*, ac. 1529-1545) and after his death, she married Étienne Groulleau (*libraire-juré*, ac. 1545-c.1564).

Jérôme de Marnef was an established *libraire* on the Rue-du-mont-St-Hilaire, where he traded under the sign of the Pelican. From 1566, Cavellat and Marnef worked in collaboration under a joint name where they produced a wide range of books in Latin

and French, including 22 editions of Ovid (exactly half in French and half in Latin). Jérôme de Marnef's sister, Denise, the mother of Denyse Girault, married again after the death of Ambroise Girault, this time to Pierre Viart (*libraire-juré/relieur*, ac. 1512-1523), whose sister was connected to the greatest printing family of the sixteenth century, the Estiennes.

The Estienne/Chaudière family¹⁷

Pierre Viart, the second husband of Denyse Girault, had a sister, Guyunne, who also married more than once. Her first marriage brings a second connection between the Cavellats and Chaudières, and the second marriage brings a connection to the Estiennes.

The extensive careers of the members of the Estienne family, whose fortunes were intrinsically tied to the events of sixteenth-century France, are not very pertinent here for the influence of the Estienne family in the Paris of this period had dwindled due to the defection of Robert I Estienne (*libraire*/printer, ac. 1526-1550) to Calvinism and his subsequent move to Geneva. However, when Guyunne married Henri I Estienne (*libraire*/printer, ac. 1502-1520), Robert I's father, that marriage set the Estiennes on their way and is another example of a second marriage benefitting the second husband greatly. Before Guyunne married Estienne, she was married to Jean Higman (printer, ac. 1484-1500), a German émigré who moved to a house close to the Sorbonne where he ran a printing shop between 1484 and 1500. One of his journeymen was Henri I Estienne, who inherited Higman's stock and became stepfather to Damien (*libraire-juré*, ac. 1520-1525) and Geneviève Higman upon his marriage to Guyunne. Guyunne and Estienne had three more children, François I Estienne (*libraire*, ac. 1537-c.1552), Robert I, and Charles (*libraire*/printer, ac. 1551-1561). Henri I died circa 1520 and Guyunne, once again married one of her husband's journeymen, Simon de Colines (*libraire-juré*, ac. 1520-1546). Colines adopted his step-children and two of these, Damien Higman, and François Estienne became *libraires* in their own rights, both sending commissions to Colines. Robert I worked together with Colines, in the original shop first owned by Higman until 1526, when they separated. When Colines died, the children of both Jean Higman and Henri I Estienne inherited from Colines. Robert I moved to Geneva in 1551

¹⁷ For this section see Appendix B2 §2.

after his conversion, and was followed there by his eldest son, Henri II (*libraire*/printer, ac. 1554-1555) in 1555, and by his youngest, François II, in 1562. His middle son and namesake, Robert II (*libraire*/printer, ac. 1555-1571), stayed in Paris where he married Denys Barbé. This Estienne spent most of his career working as *imprimeur ordinaire du roi*, printing edicts and ordinances. However, he also printed a number of educational works, in particular grammars and dictionaries, these later works continued to be printed, in his name, by his corrector and successor, Mamert Patisson (*libraire*/printer, ac. 1574-1602), who married his widow.

Leaving this branch of the family and returning to the children of Jean Higman, the interconnections between members of various printing families continue. Geneviève Higman made an advantageous marriage into the Chaudière family when she married Regnault I (*libraire-juré*, ac. 1509-1554). Their grandson, Guillaume, would become a large figure in the printing world and, during the period of this study, would be one of the most prolific *libraires*. Guillaume, however, was not the first or only *libraire* in the family after Regnault I. Three of Guillaume's aunts married members of the industry and it is their marriages that link us to the third family network that played a critical role in Paris during this period.

The Chaudière/Du Puys/Sonnius/L'Angelier family¹⁸

Regnault I Chaudière and Geneviève Higman had at least four children, one son, Claude (*libraire*/printer, ac. 1546-c.1564), and three daughters, Guyonne, Catherine, and Hostelye. Guyonne married Andre Roffet (*libraire/relieur*, ac. 1533-1559), son of Pierre Roffet (*libraire-juré/relieur*, ac. 1511-1533), brother of Étienne Roffet (*libraire/relieur*, ac. 1534-1549), Ponce Roffet (*libraire/relieur*, ac. 1540-1555), and Jacques Roffet (*libraire*, ac. 1548-1551); and uncle of Nicolas Roffet (*libraire/papetier*, ac. 1560-1581), who succeeded him at the "*enseigne le Faulcheur*" on the Rue Neuve-Notre-Dame. One of Andre Roffet's sisters, Girarde, was married first to Arnoul L'Angelier (*libraire*, ac. 1536-1557), then to Lucas I Breyer (*libraire*, ac. 1561-1581). She was the mother of Abel L'Angelier (*libraire-juré*, ac. 1572-1609) and Lucas II Breyer (*libraire*, ac. 1586-

¹⁸ For this section see Appendix B2 §3.

c.1608). Another of his sisters, Guillemette, married Antoine Le Clerc (*libraire*, ac. 1545-1568).

Catherine Chaudière married Jean Macé (*libraire-juré*, ac. 1535-1588), who had succeeded Pierre Gaudoul (*libraire-juré*, ac. 1508-1537). Upon Catherine's death, Macé married Geneviève Roland, daughter of Guillaume Roland (*libraire/papetier*, ac. 1516-1546), and widow of Philippe de Brunel, "*procureur au Châtelet*". Jean Macé had three sons, though it is not clear through which marriage. All three sons followed him into the industry; Jacques (*libraire*, ac. 1563-1570), Barthélemy (*libraire-juré*, ac. 1587-1616), and Charles (*libraire*, ac. 1571-1606). Barthélemy married Marie Buon, daughter of Gabriel Buon (*libraire-juré*, ac. 1558-1595) and sister of Nicolas Buon (*libraire-juré*, ac. 1598-1628). Nicolas Buon, in turn, was married to Blanche Chaudière, the sister of Regnault II Chaudière and daughter of Guillaume Chaudière. If Catherine Chaudière was Barthélemy's mother, then she was the mother-in-law of Nicolas' sister while simultaneously being the great aunt of his wife. As already shown, Regnault II Chaudière married Marguerite Cavellat, the granddaughter of Guillaume Cavellat.

Hostelye Chaudière also married into a printing family for she married Mathurin du Puys (*libraire-juré*, ac. 1539-1558). Mathurin was the son of Guillaume du Puys (*libraire*, ac. 1504-1515) and the brother of Jacques I du Puys (*libraire-juré*, ac. 1540-c.1589). Jacques I had two sons, Jean-Baptiste (*libraire-juré*, ac. 1584-1590) and Jacques II (*libraire-juré*, ac. 1586-1591). Jacques II married Catherine Sonnius, the daughter of Michel I Sonnius (*libraire-juré*, ac. 1564-c.1588) and his second wife Marie de Villette. Sonnius' first wife had been Marie Bichon, sister of Guillaume Bichon (*libraire*/printer, ac. 1584-1627), and together they had three sons, Laurens (*libraire-juré*, ac. c.1575-c.1628), Michel II (*libraire*, c.1586-c.1625), and Jean (*libraire*, ac. 1600-1637). Laurens Sonnius also had a son, Claude, who married Marie Buon, the daughter of Blanche Chaudière and Nicolas Buon. Through these marriages the Chaudière/Buon/Du Puys/Sonnus connection became even stronger.

The Roigny/Chesneau/Morel family¹⁹

One of the lynchpins of the previous family was Jacques I du Puys, a *libraire* responsible for 227 editions between 1570 and 1590. Du Puys married twice: it was his second marriage to Marguerite Vaillant that produced his son and heir, Jacques II, who would end up marrying Michel I Sonnius' daughter from his second marriage. Jacques I's first marriage, however, was probably quite important in helping him on his way to success for he married Catherine, daughter of Josse Badius (*libraire*/printer, ac. 1503-1533). Badius, né Van Asche, was a native of Ghent and a man of some learning. He was a tutor in Valence and then Lyon, where he worked as a corrector for Jean Trechsel. Badius had a number of children, Perrette, Catherine I, Conrad (*libraire*/printer, ac. 1545-1548), Jeanne, Marie I, Madeleine, Catherine II, and Marie II. Perrette married Robert I Estienne, Jeanne married Jean de Roigny (*libraire-juré*, ac. 1529-1566), Catherine I married Michel de Vascosan (*libraire-juré*/printer, ac. 1530-1577), and Catherine II married Jacques I du Puys. Du Puys, therefore, was the brother-in-law of Robert I Estienne and uncle of Robert II, Henri II, and François II. He was also the uncle of the children of Michel de Vascosan and Jean de Roigny. Of these it is the Vascosan children that provide the link to the most prolific *libraire* of the period, Frédéric I Morel (*libraire*, ac. 1557-1583)

Morel's high level of output can be attributed to his position as a Royal printer, a position that remained in the family until at least 1624. As Royal printer he was responsible for 1,294 editions in the twenty-one years between 1570 and 1590, many of them short pamphlet versions of royal edicts. He was the son-in-law of Michel de Vascosan and succeeded him at the "*enseigne de la Fontaine*" on the Rue St-Jacques. Vascosan's daughter Jeanne, the wife of Morel, had a cousin on her mother's side also named Jeanne. This Jeanne was the sister of Michel de Roigny (*libraire-juré*, ac. 1565-1591), the daughter of Jean de Roigny and the wife of Nicolas Chesneau (*libraire-juré*, ac. 1556-1584). Chesneau's brother-in-laws, however, did not just include Michel de Roigny, they also included Pierre L'Huillier (*libraire-juré*/ printer, ac. 1561-1602), the husband of Jeanne de Roigny's younger sister, Marie.

¹⁹ For this section see Appendix B2 §4.

The extraordinary network of marriage and family connections that established and bonded the principal printing families of Paris was one of the industry's defining characteristics. Together these family groupings dominated the output of published books in one of Europe's principal centres of print. Guillaume Chaudière, Gabriel Buon, Abel L'Angelier, Jacques du Puys, and Michel Sonnius were all, as we have seen, members of one extended family. They were also five of the ten most prolific *libraires* in the period 1570-1590.²⁰ Jacques I du Puys, Sébastien Nivelles (*libraire-juré*, ac. 1549-1603), Michel Sonnius, Jean-Baptiste du Puys, Abel L'Angelier, Barthélemy Macé, Ambroise Drouart, Michel Laurens, and Jean Sonnius were also all, at one time, members of the *Compagnie de la Grand'Navire*, a syndicate formed to publish the works of the Church Fathers. Sébastien Nivelles was Ambroise Drouart's father-in-law and the connections between many of the other members have already been emphasised as has Drouart's connection to the Marnefs, and so on.

In fact, nothing demonstrates the importance of these connections better than the example of another collaborative syndicate, the *Societas typographica librorum Officii ecclesiastici ex decreto Concilii Tridentini*. This was formed after the death of Jacques Kerver's (*libraire-juré*/printer, ac. 1535-1583) to exploit his extensive privileges, including the privilege to print the liturgical works of the diocese of Paris and the privilege to print the reforms of the Council of Trent in France. The *Societas* included amongst its members Sébastien Nivelles, Michel Sonnius, Thomas Brumen, Guillaume de La Nouë (*libraire-juré*, ac. 1572-1601), Guillaume Chaudière, Claude Chappelet (*libraire-juré*, ac. c.1586-c.1648), Jean Corbon (*libraire*, ac. 1545-1585), Jean (aka Jamet) Mettayer (*libraire*/printer, ac. 1573-1605), Pierre L'Huillier, Laurens Sonnius, Pierre (aka Jamet) Mettayer (*libraire*/printer, ac. 1589/c.1591-c.1639), and Clovis Eve. Figure 1-1 indicates how all these men (with the lone exception of La Nouë) were connected, either by marriage, by family, or by associations that existed prior to Kerver's demise (in the case of the relationship between L'Huillier and Jean Mettayer, father of Pierre Mettayer).²¹

²⁰ All published more than 200 editions. See Chapter IV.

²¹ Renouard, *Répertoire*, pp.306-307.

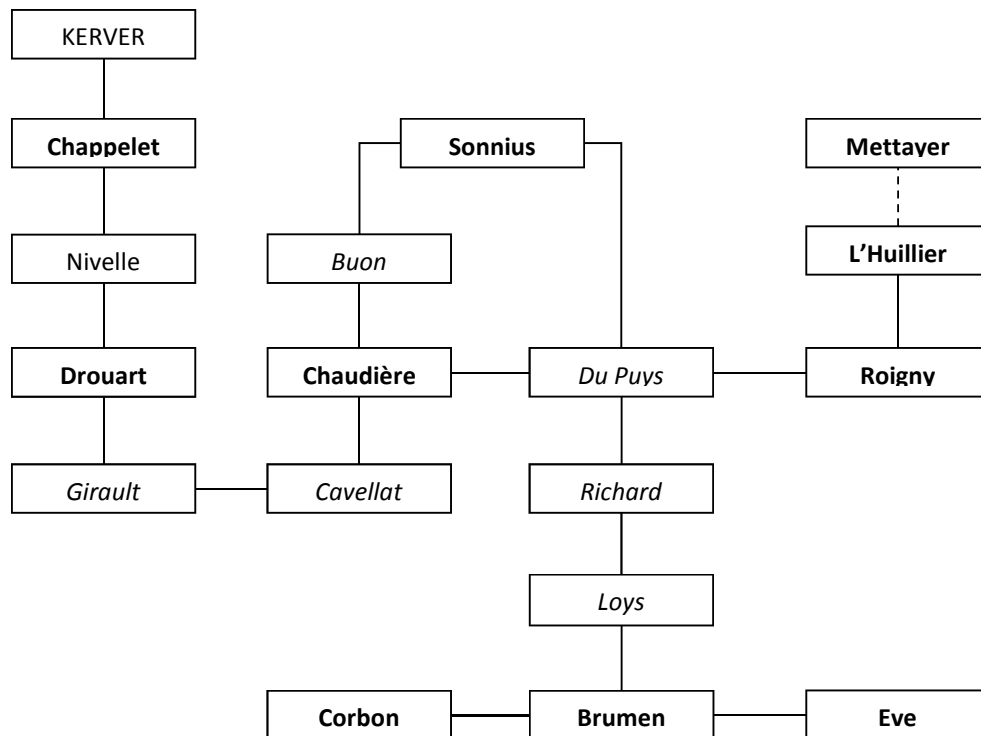


Figure 1-1: Connections between members of the *Societas typographica librorum Officii ecclesiastici ex decreto Concilii Tridentini*.²²

It is important to iterate that under no circumstances is this a suggestion that these connections are the reason for the formation of the *Societas* of the *Compagnie*. However, it does demonstrate how strong the lines of relationship and connection were between some of the most important printing families in Paris. Not only was this an industry of relative geographical closeness but also of consanguinity. It was not a world of strangers.

Why did this matter? The ties that bound the Parisian printers had two tangible consequences. Firstly it made it easier, through informal agreements and conversation, to establish an effective if never contractual division of work between the city's principal printing families. Paris printing, despite the difficulties of the times, was never characterised by cut-throat competition between the major printing firms. Secondly, the natural ties of family interest and, no doubt, mutual hospitality established a second, informal, organisational framework, to set alongside the formal organisational

²² Solid lines indicate marriage or other family connection; dashed lines indicate prior association. Names in bold are members of the *Societas*, names in italics indicate non-members acting as channels of association.

structures of the industry. The ties that bound the major Parisian printing families articulated a natural affinity and common interest that united the wealthier publishers against two other groups: newcomers attempting to break in to this relatively closed world, and the print shop journeyman. When employees and journeymen rebelled against harsh conditions of work, the Paris *libraires* had many reasons to stand together.

The organisation of the industry

The organisation of the printing industry in Paris was unusual compared to the organisations of other trades in the city. The printing industry was initially inseparable from the administration of the University of Paris: the *libraires* or booksellers and stationers of the city were brought into its body of scholars: likewise the University controlled the parchment sellers, the scribes and the illuminators.²³ Under this system these trades and arts received a number of privileges, including exemption from some taxation and from the duties of watch and ward. They also gained the right to be tried by University courts as befitted trades which were assimilated as a clerical branch of the University. However, as such a branch, they were forbidden to form a guild and the book trade in Paris was controlled wholly by the University via the trade's constituent parts.²⁴ While the book trade was purely manuscript and hand-written in nature, such an organisation was sufficient for the administration of the industry but the development and growth of the movable-type press would lead to problems in an organisation of this format, not least because of the growth in the numbers working within that industry.

The closest thing to a guild that the Paris printing industry was allowed in this period was a confraternity: the Brotherhood of St John. Formed in 1401, this brotherhood, clearly predating the advent of movable-type, was originally formed by a charter of association given by Charles VI to certain scriveners, illuminators and binders. The object of this brotherhood was strictly religious: it celebrated three masses a year (one

²³ David T. Pottinger, The French book trade in the Ancien Regime, 1500-1791, (Cambridge, Mass., 1958), p.111.

²⁴ Pottinger, French book trade, pp.114-117; René de Lespinasse, Les Métiers et corporations de la ville de Paris, vol. 3, (Paris, 1886-1897), p.694.

for the King, his predecessors, and the University; one for the living members of the confraternity; and one for the deceased members).²⁵ Based firstly at the church of St André-des-Arts it moved, in 1582, to the church of the Mathurin fathers on the Rue St Jacques, heart of the printing quarter [Figure 1-2].



Figure 1-2: The church of the Mathurin fathers, c. 1612.

It was purely a religious and social organisation without any commercial or industrial agenda. It provided material support for its members and its members' families in the

²⁵ Paul Chauvet, *Les Ouvriers du livre en France: des origines a la révolution de 1789*, (Paris, 1959), p.9.

way that any confraternity would, but it made no attempt at regulating or exerting any influence on the business side of the industry. Records seem to indicate that the Brotherhood was relatively wealthy, though most of these records date from the seventeenth century. In 1601, the Brotherhood paid 6 *lt.* 2 *s.* for a blue cloth robe for the beadle, decorated with a likeness of St John the Evangelist. The Brotherhood owned a painted image of the saint on which a crimson velvet corselet, fringed with red silk and gold thread, was placed. In 1620 they spent 548 *lt.* 1*s.* to renovate this corselet and add gold lilies.²⁶ In both these cases subscriptions had been raised from amongst the members. That such amounts could be found, even out of special contributions, is a testimony to the wealth of the Brotherhood's members and to the importance to those members of the confraternity.

The Brotherhood celebrated two saints' days: the 6th May (St John, Port Latin) and the 27th December (St John the Evangelist).²⁷ Observance of the May holiday was obligatory.²⁸ The requirements of observance were simple: every member had to shut his shop and attend high mass and vespers. These church observances were followed by the annual business meeting and then a banquet, though the banquet was on occasions suppressed due to the drunkenness that followed. This banquet, along with the other functions of the Brotherhood was funded primarily through subscriptions, mainly entrances fees and annual dues. From 1467 the annual dues were 16 *d.* New members who wished to open a shop had to pay an entrance fee of 24 *s.*, apprentices and journeymen had to pay 1 *d.* a week with additional levy when they entered service: 8 *s.* for apprentices and 12 *d.* for journeymen.²⁹

The Brotherhood, however, was a confraternity: it was not a Guild, and so its influence over the industry is difficult to gauge, especially with the paucity of official records. Because of the legal restrictions placed upon members of the industry as members of the University, it is unlikely that the Brotherhood was officially anything more than a simple confraternity, providing the same services and opportunities for religious

²⁶ Pottinger, *French book trade*, p.108.

²⁷ According to Tertullian, the Emperor Domitian had St John thrown into a cauldron of boiling oil at the Porta Latina in Rome, a cauldron St John escaped from without injury. See Leopold Fonck, "St John the Evangelist." in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 8. (New York, 1910); Chauvet, *Les Ouvriers*, p.8.

²⁸ Pottinger, *French book trade*, p.109.

²⁹ Pottinger, *French book trade*, p.110.

expression that other such confraternities did. It seems unlikely that the Brotherhood, like other fraternities in other industries, was anything more than a charitable and religious grouping. It is possible that because of the shared interests within the community, the Brotherhood could have exercised some control over admittance to membership and allowed for some shared awareness of appropriate industrial behaviour. This is certainly the conclusion of Pottinger: "Without doubt the law of 1618, which established the guild, crystallized a long standing demarcation between the charitable and the commercial interests of the members."³⁰

With no guild in existence prior to 1618 and only a charitable religious organisation and family connections binding the various members of the industry together, the trade could easily be considered a "free" one: that is, anyone who wished to do so could become a master so long as they possessed the necessary financial backing. The nominal controlling body in Paris, the University, was interested only in the orthodoxy of the books printed, not in business questions. Initially, all the University required was for *libraires* to take an oath of allegiance to the University. Failure to take this oath would result in the University 'banning' those *libraires* that had not done so: a step that was actually taken in 1316.³¹ Beyond this, internal administration was left in the hands of the four 'chief booksellers' appointed by the University who supervised the other authorised *libraires*, binders, illuminators, and copyists.

Despite this relaxed approach to the industry by the authorities both temporal and spiritual, the trade seems to have attracted a great deal of Royal support. Charles VIII confirmed the *libraires* as officers of the University and declared that they and their successors would be free from all taxes and requirements for service in the city watch.³² Louis XII, on exempting the booksellers of Paris from contributing to his 'great gift' of 30,000 *livres*, referred to them as privileged officers of the University and identified the

...great benefits which have resulted from the art and science of printing, the invention of which seems more divine than human, which has been invented in our time by the industry of said booksellers, and by which the

³⁰ Pottinger, *French book trade*, p.110.

³¹ Eduoard Tromp, *Étude sur l'organisation et l'histoire de la communauté des libraires et imprimeurs de Paris (1618-1791)*, (Nîmes, 1922), pp.9-11; Pottinger, *French book trade*, p.116.

³² Pottinger, *French book trade*, p.117

Catholic faith has been greatly increased and strengthened, justice better administrated, and divine service more honourably and carefully celebrated.³³

One of his successors, Charles IX, would recognise this in 1571 when he said:

Kings, our predecessors, between all the arts which they estimated worthy to be maintained and advanced, held in great reputation and esteem this art of printing, which cultivates, polishes and raises the good spirits.³⁴

However, while the trade could well be considered a “favoured infant industry”³⁵ of the King, the language of the authorities failed to reflect the full extent of the changes in the post-Gutenberg book world. A remarkable instance of this is that the first use in a legal text of the word *imprimeur* – printer – did not occur until 1571. For most of the printing industry’s infancy the Royal authorities seemed happy to leave the industry to its own devices, concerning itself with merely the content of the output, a concern that, while deepening with the spread of Lutheranism, did not bring about any industrial intervention.

Despite, or perhaps because, of this *laissez-faire* attitude, the industry would face grave questions within one-hundred years of the invention of the printing press. These problems came to a head in 1539 with the great strike in Lyon, a strike that spread within a few weeks to Paris. The grievances that sparked this protest were not fully resolved until 1571. In about 1530 the period of great prosperity and growth in Lyon had ended and the city faced a recession. Food had become scarce and its cost had risen while wages had stagnated.³⁶ The printing industry, which had grown at a great rate prior to the economic hardship, was particularly hit as the journeymen were traditionally fed by their masters and, as the price of food rose, the quality of that provided by the masters, fell. In April 1539 the journeyman printers of the town of Lyon, at the word ‘Tric’, simultaneously ceased their work and abandoned their jobs. The organising force behind this strike was called the ‘Company of the Griffarins’.

³³ Quoted in Pottinger, *French book trade*, p.118.

³⁴ *Edict du Roy sur la Reformation de l’Imprimerie*, (Paris: Fédéric Morel, 1571), A2r.

³⁵ Pottinger, *French book trade*, p.117.

³⁶ Chauvet, *Les Ouvriers*, pp.58-68

This Company was an attempt to organise the labour of the Lyon journeymen into a form of a trade union, an organisation that Royal officials considered to be a monopoly, as illegitimate in its efforts to raise wages as that of a merchant hoarding grain. What we know about this Company indicates that it was not unique and that similar secretive organisations existed in Paris. For the seventeenth century, our source for the existence of these organisations is a confession given to the Sorbonne in 1655 by an ex-journeyman.³⁷ For the sixteenth century, however, our sources come from the *Procès criminel de Genève* which consists of a testament from eighteen journeymen before the Consistory of Geneva. This latter source tells us of one journeyman, originally from Paris, who was accepted into the Company but spared the initiation ceremony because he had already been received at Paris “with his brothers”. Furthermore, connections between the Companies appear to have been strong: possession of a shared secret handshake and password, for instance, by which the Paris journeyman identified his membership to his Lyon brothers. This handshake is detailed thus:

Two right thumbs touch; the left little finger clasps the other’s left little finger; one right foot on the other’s right foot, one journeyman bites the other’s ear and whispers the password: ‘vivre les temps’.³⁸

This possible connection between the Lyon Company and a Paris Company suggests that the strike that began in Paris was not unconnected to the trouble in Lyon. But whether or not there was a connection, the authorities seemed to have dealt with the two independently. The trouble in Lyon was set off mainly by the economic situation and the reaction of the masters to their increasing economic difficulties. As the masters increased the use of apprentices they also began to limit the amount of food and drink given to their journeymen with the ultimate goal of eliminating victuals for journeymen altogether. Although apprentices and journeymen often performed similar tasks, and both participated in the harsh manual labour of the shop, their positions were quite different. Many apprentices were young men with prospects. They might hope on completion of their apprenticeship to set up as an independent master. If lucky they might inherit their master’s shop, or marry his widow. Quite often they came from good

³⁷ E. Levasseur, *Histoire des classes ouvrières et de l’industrie en France avant 1789* (Paris, 1900), pp.703-707

³⁸ Natalie Zemon Davis, “A Trade Union in Sixteenth-Century France”, in *Economic History Review*, 19/1 (1966), p.60; cf. Davis, “Strikes and Salvation”.

families, often the families of other master printers. Most journeymen were day labourers. Although often highly skilled and experienced they had no long term career prospects. The potential for conflict was obvious.

Since journeymen had a requirement to complete a specific amount of work each day, the masters continued to expect them to achieve this despite hours missed while the journeymen were away at meals. To compensate for this, the masters aimed to provide a small fixed amount to the cash wages as amelioration for the removal of meals.³⁹

The Seneschal of Lyon's solution was to ban strikes and walkouts, to forbid the carrying of arms by journeymen or apprentices unless with specific approval and to allow the masters to hire as many apprentices as they should wish; however, the Seneschal also kept the food allowance as part of the journeyman-master relationship. Having gained Royal support for this solution, the Lyon decree was issued as a Royal edict at Villers-Cotterets on 31 August 1539 and extended to the whole of the realm.⁴⁰ A further decree was issued by the King on 29 September, yet none of this solved the problems in Lyon as the trouble continued throughout 1540 and 1541.

The economic situation in Paris was better than in Lyon and the conflict less bitter. Here the troubles seem to have been focused around the issue of apprentice numbers, an issue covered in the 1539 edict. Unfortunately, this edict did not settle the matter in the way that the journeymen wished and trouble began afresh with actual strikes and violence against those of their number who continued to work. By 19 November 1541, the journeymen's complaints had been investigated and dismissed and an edict issued that was extended to Lyon on 28 December in the hope of stemming the problems there; finally on 19 July 1542, the King issued letters-patent addressed to the Lyon Seneschal forbidding further protests against the edict from the journeymen. The 1541 edict placed many restrictions upon the journeymen: they were forbidden to assemble in groups of more than five, forbidden to congregate or make donations for masses or banquets. It forbade idleness before a holiday or work on a holiday and it forbade any

³⁹ Natalie Zemon Davis, Protestantism and the printing workers of Lyons: a study in the problem of religion and social class during the Reformation, (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Michigan, 1959), p.166.

⁴⁰ Item 11168 in Paul Marichal, Catalogue des actes de François Ier, vol. 4, (Paris, 1887-1908), p.36

interference with the distribution of 'rush jobs'. The 'Tric' was forbidden and it reprimanded the journeymen for trying to get a higher rate of pay. For the masters, it allowed them to summarily dismiss workers (journeymen had to give eight days notice before leaving a job), and it removed all restrictions on the number of apprentices. Finally, it insisted that food must be reasonable and sufficient and gave the journeymen right to appeal to the city authorities if it was not.⁴¹

These decrees, particularly the edict of 1541 and the letters-patent of 1542, are important because they represent the first proper attempt to control and reform the printing industry in France. Indeed these decrees would be referred to in the preamble of Charles IX's 1571 edict:

For the handling and conservation of this aforesaid art [printing], [my predecessors] made several statutes and ordinances, like those of Our Late and very Honoured Grandfather in the years 1541 and 1542, to support the Printers and Booksellers...⁴²

The settlement of Francis I in 1542 appears to have placed all the power in the relationship between master and journeyman in the hands of the master. With the exception of the issue of food, the 1540s edicts neglected and dismissed the very real concerns of the journeyman printers. By its nature the Royal response had been reactive rather than proactive. No attempt had been made to settle the underlying problems between master and journeyman. The journeymen's complaints had been dismissed or ignored. In Paris there had been no changes to the organisational structure to take into account the expansion of the industry. The surprise, therefore, is not that trouble would break out again in 1571, but that it took thirty years of relative quiescence for it to do so.

It is important to turn now to the concerns of the journeymen and the nature of that role within the industry. Some of the men working as apprentices would be the sons of master printers or of master *libraires*, some might be sons-in-law working in the shops

⁴¹ Pottinger, *French book trade*, p.265.

⁴² *Edict du Roy sur la Reformation de l'Imprimerie*, A2^r.

of the families or family friends.⁴³ These young men could accept harsh treatment in return for their hopes of eventual independence.

The concerns of the journeymen, therefore, are the concerns of wage workers, the concerns of those whose livelihood and future lies not as master of a shop but rather in continued and regular employment. So, what of these concerns? We are able to examine some of the concerns of the journeymen, certainly the concerns they had at the beginning of the 1570s, through a pamphlet.⁴⁴ This was drawn up by Lyon journeymen and echoes many of their concerns from the 1540s, as it is based on many arguments and phrases from their briefs of that period.⁴⁵ One of the interesting elements of this Remonstrance is the presence of phrases, which if taken at their face value, indicate real concern for the state and future of the industry. The articles convey the sense that the journeymen felt that they were a special case and that they cannot be compared to other artisans, an attitude verging on conceit and impudence, though one may be more inclined to consider it pride: “[we] cannot be,” they write, “compared to other artisans who work independently...above all other arts, the Masters and Journeymen are or ought to be only one body together, like a family and fraternity.”⁴⁶ Furthermore, they boasted of the hard hours that they worked, and one does not envy them their workload for theirs was a long and arduous day at the press. For most the day began at 5am and continued until 8pm with perhaps only an hour for supper, but the workload could mean that a day began in the very early hours and continued on until well after dusk on any but the days closest to midsummer. Yet despite this, they state that “the name Printer should truly be reserved for [us, since we] perform the greatest part of printing...as free men working voluntarily at an excellent and noble calling.”⁴⁷

This very real pride in their art and their craft is admirable and acknowledging it is central to understanding the underlying causes of the troubles of the 1540s and 1570s. As mentioned there existed no organised guild structure in Paris for printing, it was a

⁴³ Davis, *Protestantism and the printing workers of Lyons*, p.168.

⁴⁴ *Remonstrances et mémoires pour les compagnons imprimeurs de Paris et Lyon, opposants, contre les libraires, maîtres imprimeurs desdits lieux, et adjoints*. ([Lyon]: sn, [1571]).

⁴⁵ Davis, “Strikes and Salvation at Lyons”, p.50.

⁴⁶ *Remonstrances et mémoires pour les compagnons imprimeurs de Paris et Lyon*, A1^r-A1^v; B2, quoted in Davis, “Strikes and Salvation at Lyons”, p.50.

⁴⁷ *Remonstrances et mémoires pour les compagnons imprimeurs de Paris et Lyon*, A1^r; B2^r, quoted in Davis, “Strikes and Salvation at Lyons”, p.52.

free and open trade. That meant that, prior to 1571, there were no official requirements and no qualifications to become a master printer or master bookseller. Yet legally, the difference between a master and a journeyman was vast: there was the economic difference, the difference between wage employees and those who gain directly from profit; there was the difference in punitive measures, for journeymen could be prescribed corporal punishment; there was potentially a large gulf between a journeyman and his master in terms of social standing, wealth, ability and experience. Yet in the case of a young master it was quite possible for the journeymen in the shop to have more experience, ability, and understanding of the trade. The apprentices, part of the master's social milieu, but relatively unschooled in print shop practice were another source of tension and grievance.

The issue of apprentices and the numbers allowed was one area constantly raised by the journeymen in the 1540s and commanded some sympathy. This element of their appeal was originally upheld by the Parlement of Paris in 1539, only for the King to strike it down. The settlement of 1542 allowed a master printer to have as many apprentices as he wished, and many masters saw the use of apprentices as a vital counterbalance to the independence of the journeymen. Apprentices could not walk out of their jobs for they were not hired help, but an integral part of the shop; breaking one's contract was a difficult and serious affair. The attraction of apprentices over journeymen to an unscrupulous and profit hungry master is obvious, an attraction that could well have had implications for the quality and the standard of the print shop's work.

There were some contemporary complaints that a number of master printers were using their membership of the Brotherhood of St John, for which there were only minimal entry requirements, in order to avoid regulation by the University appointed officials. Some claimed that membership of the Brotherhood "gave them the right to act as masters without taking the University oath"⁴⁸ an oath that would have placed them under the supervision of the four *libraires* appointed by the University to oversee the administration of the book-trade in Paris. Certainly the relationship between the

⁴⁸ Pottinger. French book trade, p.120: cf. Tromp, Étude sur l'organisation et l'histoire de la communauté, pp.18-20.

journeymen and those of the Brotherhood of St John had deteriorated early in the century as many of the journeymen had left the confraternity to form their own under the patronage of St John, Porte Latine (to distinguish it from St John the Evangelist) at the church of St Jean de Latran. This not only had the benefit of being located in the centre of the printer's quarter but was also a privileged possession of the Knights of St John and therefore outside of the jurisdiction of the University.⁴⁹

The tense and unsatisfactory relationship that evolved in the 1540s ended in May 1571 when Charles IX issued what has become known as the edict of Gaillon.⁵⁰ This edict, registered in the Parlement of Paris on 7 September, was a definitive attempt to solve all the problems and troubles that had been neglected in the 1540s. The edict was not extraordinarily innovative, often merely codifying long-established practices and echoing many of the regulations of the 1541 edict.⁵¹ Its significance lies in its attempt to effect a comprehensive reform of the organisation and regulation of the printing industry.

The edict's preamble summarised the issues facing the industry, very much from the *libraires* point of view. Trouble with apprentices and journeymen; the increasing price of paper (a significant cost in any printing enterprise); the unreliability of certain printing shops: failures to complete negotiated works either to a high enough standard or even at all. This all lead to distrust between *libraires* and printers (the blame for which was also laid at the feet of the journeymen):

The aforementioned journeymen's use of monopolies & plots which they make together and through ill will which they practise between them, it is impossible for notable merchants, who would like to undertake and complete long and laborious printed works, to make sure that what they would have started is completed by these Printers and, due to such Printers, who do not obey Our edicts and ordinances, works remain imperfect and the expenses for which they have been advanced, lost.⁵²

⁴⁹ Pottinger, *French book trade*, p.256.

⁵⁰ Paris editions: FB 12148, 12150; Lyon edition: FB 12149.

⁵¹ Chauvet, *Les Ouvriers*, p.43.

⁵² *Edict du Roy sur la Reformation de l'Imprimerie*, A2-A3^r.

It goes on to further state that the articles of the edict were discussed with the Seneschal and the burgomasters of Lyon, and with the Vice-Chancellor, the Doctors, Regents and principal representatives of the University of Paris.

So, what do the twenty-four articles actually say? The articles can be divided into two general groups: the majority, of which there are 18, are concerned with the duties and rights of the workmen. The remaining articles deal with the organisation of the industry into a new model. The first grouping, those that deal with the workmen, repeat many of the rules and regulations imposed in 1539-1541 by either the Seneschal of Lyon or by the King. The majority of these deal with the problems arising through the presence of proto-trade unions, the so-called 'monopolies' like the Griffarins.

The articles of the Edict of Gaillon, 1571

Strikes and walkouts were forbidden:

Article VI: Journeyman will continue on work started, without intermission and without making a "white day", as they call it; they will not leave work that is incomplete, and they will not say 'Tric' (which is the word they use to leave their work), and they will be liable for any lost days.

Article XXI: If one of the journeymen leaves his labour for any reason, the others will not be able to stop theirs, and the master will be able to put in his place any other journeyman or apprentice.

The organisations behind strikes and walkouts were, once again, forbidden and an attempt at removing the ability to form these organisations was codified as was the attempt to prevent violence:

Article I: Journeyman printers & apprentices shall not make any oath or monopoly, etc.; nor shall they have any Captain, Lieutenant, 'chef de bandes', or others; nor banner or sign; nor to assemble outside the houses and hearths of their Masters, or elsewhere, in greater numbers than five.

Article IV: They will make no brotherhood, nor celebrate Mass at the expense of the each other, nor will they require money for a common purse in order to provide for any brotherhood, Mass, or banquet.

Article V: They will have no banquets, that they call 'Proficiat', that is to say in aid of entry to any brotherhood.

Article II: Journeymen will not carry swords or daggers nor hidden batons, and will make no seditious act against their masters.

These four articles combined basically forbade any journeymen or apprentice confraternities, out of the fear that they were a front for a secret 'monopoly' and it forbade the initiation ceremonies of these confraternities which always involved a banquet. Furthermore, the days which journeymen could have off were controlled:

Article VIII: Journeymen will work on the day prior to holy days; they will not leave a job unfinished prior to holy days; and the shops will not open on holy days for work.

Article IX: Journeymen will only enjoy holy days that are ordered by the Church.

Relations between *libraires* and printers were dealt with, to the benefit of the *libraires*.

Article VII: If the merchant who has commissioned the work wishes the work to be more hastily done than it can be done by those who have begun; the merchant and master will be able to lease the remainder to be made by other printers.

Relationships between master and journeyman in terms of wages and contracts were dealt with:

Article X: The masters will provide the journeymen with the pledges and wages of one month or week respectively as they wish.

Article XII: The journeyman's contract will begin when the press starts the job and will finish when the press ceases and will give the masters all impressions.

Article XIII: Journeymen will give eight day's notice if leaving before the work is completed.

Article XIV: If a journeyman is of unremitting bad character: like a mutineer, blasphemer of the name of God or in the face of his duty, the master can put another in his place.

Article XXI: Master printers will reward good workmen with such wages, large or small, which they consider suitable, having regard for their dexterity and diligence.

And the relationships between the masters was also considered:

Article XV: The master will not be able to poach apprentices, journeymen, font makers, correctors or any other from another master, Printers will not be able to receive journeymen without first enquiring as to their departure from their previous master and on receipt of signed letters from their former masters.

Article XVI: master printers and *libraires* will not take marks or devices from each other, so that purchasers of books may know from which shop the book came.

Finally, the issue of food, the spark of the 1539 troubles, was finally settled in favour of the masters:

Article XI: The journeymen will nourish themselves, as they do in Germany, Flanders, Italy and elsewhere.

The above articles represent a continuation of the policies of those regulating the book trade in the previous century. They have much in common with the 1540s edicts and with the working practises already established in Paris. However in the remaining articles, the edict does begin to articulate a new organisational structure for the maturing industry. Sensibly enough these provisions are essentially modelled on those of other local craft industries. The issue of apprentices and their training was dealt with in Article XIX, specifying that all apprentices were expected to take their training under master printers. Upon completion of that training the apprentice will be granted certification from their master and two other heads of established printing families. This certification would approve the apprentices as having received sufficient training to undertake work in the printing shops of Paris, and Lyon, and elsewhere.

This certification of a successful apprenticeship was important as Article XX put limits on who could become a master printer. It specified that no one new could become a master printer without having partaken in an apprenticeship and without having received certification by two *libraires* and two master printers, all of whom needed to be heads of houses of good reputation.

These master printers, new and old alike were required by Article XVII to ensure the quality of their books by making sure they have sufficient correctors for Latin and books in other languages for which their own learning is insufficient. Finally, and most importantly, the edict arranges for a new administrative organisation to be formed.

Similar to the previous University system of employing four great booksellers, the edict makes the following provision:

Article XXIII: The master printers, who are of present in Paris, will elect two representatives each year, they with two of the twenty- four master *libraires* will hold office for that year and will ensure that no book is defamatory or heretical and that the impressions are well and suitably made, accurately corrected and on good paper by good characters [fonts] which have not been used too much. And where the aforementioned officer find some faults which merits reprehension, just one of the aforementioned faults in the impression, or if these articles are not observed, he will submit his report of it to be judged by the *Juge ordinaire civil ou criminel* there, according to the requirements of the case. The same will be done in Lyon. ⁵³

The edict, therefore, established an embryonic guild system, known as the *Communauté des libraires et imprimeurs*. Rules and regulations were established as to who can be certified a journeyman printer and who can be certified a master printer. A governing body was established, elected from within the body of the trade and it attempted to establish a balance between printer and bookseller and it did so irrespective of the traditional rights of the University.

The journeyman of Paris and Lyon's campaign against the Edict of Gaillon

While this seems to have been satisfactory for the masters of the trade, the journeymen were less satisfied, particularly on the issue of apprentices. The pamphlet Remontrances et mémoires pour les compagnons imprimeurs de Paris et Lyon, opposants, contre les libraires, maîtres imprimeurs desdits lieux, et adjoints,⁵⁴ written by the journeymen of Lyon for themselves and on behalf of those of Paris and already quoted above, indicates to the extent of their dissatisfaction. The Remonstrance expresses, sometimes with violence, the feelings, rancour, and anger of the journeymen and constitutes a true indictment against the master printers and *libraires*.⁵⁵ The forthright complaints of the journeymen were accompanied by counter-proposals with a boldness surprising for the time. Despite constant royal support for their masters the

⁵³ Edict du Roy sur la Reformation de l'Imprimerie, B3^r.

⁵⁴ Remontrances et mémoires pour les compagnons imprimeurs de Paris et Lyon, opposants, contre les libraires, maîtres imprimeurs desdits lieux, et adjoints, (Lyon : s.n., ca .1571)

⁵⁵ Chauvet, Les Ouvriers, p.51.

journeymen of Paris and Lyon remained as combative as they had been thirty years before.⁵⁶

This analysis, first advanced by Paul Chauvet, is certainly justified, for the language of their protest verges on the explosive. This is a pamphlet, written on behalf of one social class, that of waged workers, accusing another social class of profiteering from the sweat of the waged workers.

By their tyranny and their avarice – they continue – the Masters acquire, at the price of the sweat and often even of the blood of the journeymen, great riches, while the journeymen receive from them only poverty and disease caused by “the incredible work which they were constrained to endure”.⁵⁷

It is striking to see both in the language and content of this pamphlet an early example of a proletarian *cri de cœur* against bourgeois exploitation. They, the journeymen insisted, were the true printers, the ones who worked “unreasonable” hours, who produced the books with the sweat of their labour, not the “alleged Masters” who were, they said, just merchants, who merely provided tools and instruments.⁵⁸ Thus it was men who provided the labour, not the men who provided the capital, who had the greatest claim to the title of printer.

Chauvet dismisses the journeymen’s demands as unrealistic. Writing from a conservative perspective, he accuses them of attempting to shift the balance of power towards labour, in terms of industrial relations, in a way undreamed of by even the most militant of the trade unions of his time: « ils allaient plus loin que ne l'ont jamais fait les militants syndicalistes des temps modernes »⁵⁹

What Chauvet fails to recognise is that, despite the many radical innovations suggested by the journeymen of Lyon, the pamphlet is at heart also conservative. Its very existence is predicated on opposing change, the change of the Edict of Gaillon, and returning to the status quo. They sought to limit the numbers of apprentices, and,

⁵⁶ Chauvet, *Les Ouvriers*, p.51; Henri Hauser, *Ouvriers du temps passé*, (Paris, 1899); see also Pallier, *L’Imprimerie à Paris*, pp.5-6.

⁵⁷ Chauvet, *Les Ouvriers*, p.52.

⁵⁸ Chauvet, *Les Ouvriers*, p.52.

⁵⁹ Chauvet, *Les Ouvriers*, p.55.

furthermore, they sought to retain authority over the apprentices. It was they, or so they claimed, who were best placed to reprimand apprentices since it they who understood the workings of the *imprimerie*; not the masters “who generally understand nothing there”. More importantly, however, they sought to retain their right to food from their masters.

Their arguments in favour of this provision are mainly twofold. Firstly that it was impracticable for them to partake of food elsewhere and still perform their duties. The requirements on the amount of hours they were needed to work in order to produce the number of sheets they were required to produce in each day (3,350 sheets per diem in Lyon and 2,650 sheets per diem in Paris).⁶⁰ They complained that should they be forced to seek their victuals elsewhere, they would be unable to fulfil this requirement. They specify the difficulty of finding a place in big cities, of meals not necessarily being ready when they are required, and of the taverns in Lyon being out of bounds to journeymen.⁶¹

Their second argument for the continued observance of this provision is that it inspired a sense of fraternity amongst the workers; eating together allowed them to discuss the work and advance it. Furthermore, because of the way that the *imprimeries* functioned the journeymen were “a connected unit” and a delay of one would result in a delay of all. Thus the food provision enhanced the ability of the journeymen working the Lyon and Paris presses. If the masters provided food the press was operated more effectively. In light of the interdiction on more than five journeymen gathering in one place (Article I of the Edict of Gaillon), it may well have been desirable to the authorities of Paris and Lyon, and to the masters to break this cohesion, but it was canny to advance the argument that Paris and Lyon printing was supreme because, not despite, of this cohesion. Why forsake the old habits, they went, under the pretext of conformity to the traditions of foreign nations? This was a direct criticism of Article XI and a shrewd

⁶⁰ Lucien Febvre & Henri-Jean Martin, *The Coming of the Book*, (London, 2000), p.131; Chauvet, *Les Ouvriers*, p.54.

⁶¹ Chauvet, *Les Ouvriers*, p.53.

appeal to tradition in an age where the established, accustomed, way was instinctively assumed to be superior.⁶²

The journeymen make a bold case but crucially in their campaign against sections of the Edict of Gaillon and in their complaints against the masters of their industry, they could rely on support of an important ally – the Parlement of Paris. In their pamphlet, the journeymen confirmed that they had received three judgements in their favour from the Parlement in the years 1539-1544.⁶³ When the Edict of Gaillon confirmed that journeymen must not leave without finishing a job, nor without eight day's notice (Articles XII and XIII), the journeymen appealed to the Parlement:

At a session of the court on 8 April 1572 they pointed out that they could not easily give notice because they almost never had complete copy for a job and therefore could not estimate how long it would take and furthermore that the masters often interrupted a job either voluntarily or involuntarily.⁶⁴

This judgement prompted in turn a response from the King in a new declaration in September 1572.⁶⁵ This declaration dealt with a number of issues of contention provoked by the Edict of Gaillon. Article III was adjusted so that the master may only have two apprentices per press unless agreed by the journeymen. Article VI was elucidated by permitting work to cease before its completion for “some urgent or reasonable cause or excusable accident” and, if the break in work should be longer than three weeks, the journeymen should be free to leave and undertake other work without being recalled to the first work before the second work is complete. Article VII was refined by stipulating that a *libraire* cannot move a work from one printer to another if the delay is due to fraud or festivals falling and intervening in the work. Charles IX added some extra holy days and festivals to those specified by Article IX by allowing them the day of St Jean de Caresme and Good Friday. Wages were fixed outside of the control of the masters in response to complaints to Article XI and wages were set at 18 *lt.* per month for Parisian journeymen. The annulment of the food provision was confirmed: the master still did not have to provide food to his journeymen. The

⁶² FB 12150.

⁶³ Chauvet, *Les Ouvriers*, p.52.

⁶⁴ Pottinger, *French book trade*, p.251.

⁶⁵ *Declaration du Roy sur l'edict concernant la reformation de l'imprimerie*, ([Paris]: sn, [1573]).

comment on Article XIX presents one with an interesting insight into the world of the book:

And as for the nineteenth article. No compositor apprentice will be received for his training who cannot read nor write and the training of the aforesaid apprentice will be three years.⁶⁶

Behind this lies the hint of a real grievance: that master printers were accepting as apprentices callow youths wholly unqualified for the work. In a busy shop they were likely to be more in the way than of real use. For journeymen doing the heavy work, this must have been a source of real irritation

The masters of Paris campaign for the Edict of Gaillon

The provisions of this declaration represented a real victory for the journeymen. But it was not a victory that the master printers contested. Before the declaration of 1572 was delivered, the master printers and *libraires* were engaged in their own propaganda attempt aimed at supporting the Edict of Gaillon, and forcing the Parlement of Paris to ratify it. If the cause of the journeymen was championed by the Lyonnais, then the cause of the masters was championed by the Parisians. Around about 1571, two pamphlets were printed together: the first, which is of more interest to this study, entitled Plaidoyez pour la reformation de l'imprimerie, the second: Plaidoyez pour l'Université.⁶⁷ These two pamphlets, printed together (Plaidoyez pour l'Université begins on E1^v following the last page of the previous *plaidoyez* on E1^r) were written by different people for different audiences. 'Choart' wrote on behalf of the « Recteur & vniuersité de ceste ville de Paris » for the Plaidoyez pour l'Université; while Aubert wrote on behalf of the master printers and *libraires* for the Plaidoyez pour la reformation de l'imprimerie. It is possible that the Aubert of this pamphlet was the Seigneur of Massouignes & la Tour de Ris, Guillaume Aubert, a member of the Parlement, and later advocate general to the King in the « Cour des aides ». If so, the master printers and *libraires* had a powerful advocate, and a prolific author. Of more interest, however, is on whose behalf was Aubert writing?

⁶⁶ Declaration du Roy sur l'edict concernant la reformation de l'imprimerie, (sl., sn., sd). A3^r-A3^v.

⁶⁷ FB 30397.

This pamphlet gives us a unique insight into the early changes in the organisation of the industry. Prior to its publication, one further innovation had taken place in the organisation of the printing industry when Parlement decreed that the previous arrangement of two *libraires* and two printers was insufficient and that all the Master printers and *libraires* should elect a *syndic* or executive officer to represent them, thus expanding the governing body to five. This pamphlet gives us the names of all those five men: the first proper governing body elected by the industry itself and the pamphlet puts across their opinion and position. As such, this document is of prime importance since it represents the opinions of the most important members of an industry going through fundamental upheavals.

The *syndic*, on whose executive authority this pamphlet was issued, was Guillaume Cavellat. We have already mentioned Cavellat as being in possession of some of the most impressive dynastic connections within the industry and as such, he was an important and influential *libraire-juré*. For his career, which lasted about thirty years from c. 1546 to 1576, there are over five hundred editions bearing his name, two hundred of them in the period of this study. He inherited his shop and stock from his first wife, Marie Alleaume.⁶⁸

The first of the *libraires* was Michel de Vascosan who had been involved in the industry since about 1530 and would continue until 1577. The second *libraire*, Sébastien Nivelles was, like Cavellat, from an established family and he would enjoy a 53 year career from 1549 to 1603; he was a member of both the *Compagnie de la Grand'Navire* and the *Societas typographica librorum Officii ecclesiastici ex decreto Concilii Tridentini*. Both Vascosan and Nivelles were elected to represent the *libraires*, while Fleury Prévost and Olivier de Harsy, of whom less is known and their careers harder to trace, were elected to represent the printers.

However, if we return to Vascosan and his career we can see that the constituents of this executive panel often crossed divides. Vascosan was not only a *libraire-juré*, but also a printer, and a Royal printer at that. He represents the third class, the class that

⁶⁸ For more on Guillaume Cavellat see Chapter I §1: The Cavellat/Marnef family; also Renouard, *Répertoire*, p.70.

bridged the gap between *libraire* and printer, one that can best be described by the word ‘publisher’. Not only did Vascosan, and others like him, sell books printed by others, but they also printed their own books for sale; Nivelles did likewise. The great bibliographer Philippe Renouard in his survey of Parisian print refers to Vascosan and Nivelles as “*libraire-imprimeurs*”, but he also refers to the representatives of the printers, Prévost, and Harsy, as “*libraire-imprimeurs*”. The fact that Harsy and Prévost were elected as representatives of the master printers, not the master *libraires*, suggests that the difference between a *libraire* and printer is more difficult to determine over the space of the five hundred years that separate us from them than the simple easy divisions of nomenclature would suggest.

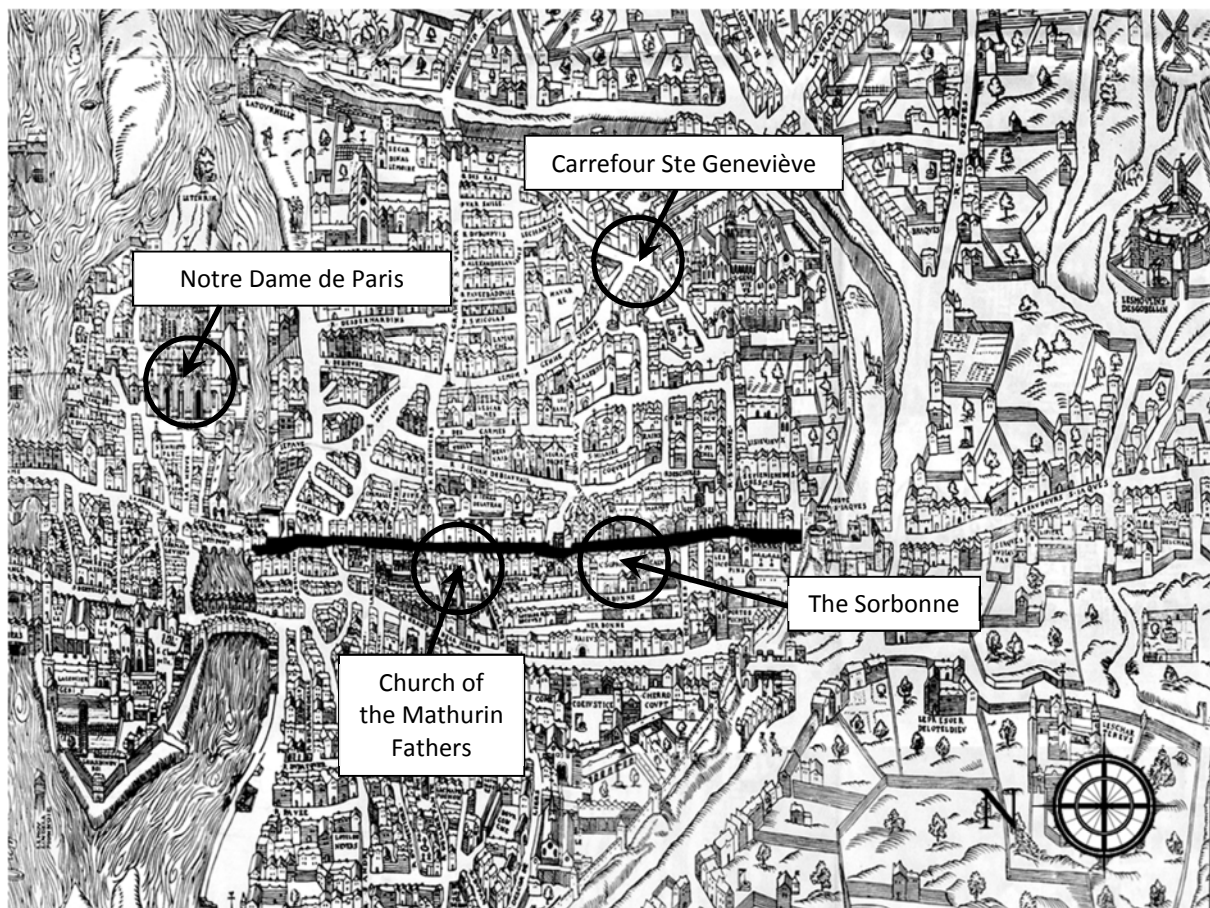


Figure 1-3: The Left Bank of Paris in the late sixteenth century. The road marked in red is the Rue St-Jacques.

Despite Renouard’s classification, it is clear be that Prévost’s activity as *libraire* was subordinate to his role as printer. The majority of Prévost’s output was not under his own name. As a name on a title page, Prévost is virtually unknown. In the files of the USTC Project there are only two editions which bear his name on the title page and both

are 1571 books on the Christian victory at the Battle of Lepanto. A look at his inscription may provide a clue as to why he may have found little success as a *libraire*. In 1571, which is towards the end of his career, he gives his address as being at the Carrefour Sainte Geneviève. The church of Sainte Genevieve is on the outskirts of Paris, close to the southern wall and the Carrefour Sainte Geneviève is likely to have been the crossroads where the Rue Mont-Ste-Geneviève crossed the Rue Des-Ras and became the Rue Bordelle. This is a less than ideal position and unlikely to attract much in the way of passing trade. However, it seems likely that the majority of Prévost's business came from others.

Just from a brief survey of Prévost's imprints, his appearance in colophons and privileges, we can see that he printed for a number of different *libraires*, many of whom are important and prestigious players in the Parisian books world, and many of whom we have already met: Gabriel Buon, Jean Dallier, Thomas Brumen, Vincent Norment, Michel Clopejau, Michel Julien, and Pierre and Olivier l'Huillier. Prévost prints for Galliot du Pré (a member of a family involved in the book industry in Paris since 1471), Abel L'Angelier, and Guillaume Chaudière. Prévost, therefore, would not seem to be a minor figure in the industry, but rather a major one among those who are almost exclusively involved only on the printing and production side of the trade.

The pamphlet to which they all put their names to is relatively small. It was published as part of a collection of documents concerning the book trade in an octavo 56 leaves long. The other articles its bound with are the Plaidoyez pour la Reformation de l'Université, the companion piece already mentioned, and with a reprint of the 1544 Arrest du Grand Conseil donné sur la reformation de l'Imprimerie. The content of the pamphlet is what it claims to be, it is a plea to the Parlement to employ sanctions against those opposed to the 1571 edict and it is a complaint about various bad practises in the system which the edict of Gaillon aimed at stopping.

The pamphlet begins by exhorting the Parlement and the Court to give their support to the printing industry, the conservation of which,

is the question of the conservation of all good sciences, by which the kingdoms and republics and other well organised states can preserve their establishment and primacy & protect themselves from that brutal

cruelty still present in those savage nations in which the excellence of arts and belles letters has not been extended.⁶⁹

It then goes on to examine the history of the book, from its earliest times until the present day, from Anaxagorus who – according to Diogenes Laertius – produced the first book, to “a good German man, named Cuttemberg [sic] [who] showed [‘the printing press’] first use in the city of Mainz, Germany.” It then goes on to describe how the art of printing made its way to the towns of France and gives a short history of the art in France which, due to the patronage of Francis I to those knowledgeable in “Hebrew letters, Arabic, Greek & Latin, & of the seven liberal arts, & particularly of mathematics & Philosophy, & all the rarest and excellent disciplines”, caused “the great increase in the noble art of Printing which took readily in this Kingdom, & especially in the town of Paris, & of Lyon.” And that all the people of “Christendom from as far away as Sweden, from Scotland & England, from Spain, and from Italy, and from Germany, and even from Poland and Bohemia, came to this Kingdom to examine the books printed here.” But, because of the terrible troubles affecting the industry, the “art of printing is almost abolished in France and that if a Frenchman wants books he must gain them from Italy, or Germany, or Flanders or some nations which were much inferior.”

The pamphlet then goes on to describe the way that the industry is organised. This description echoes the distinctions identified already in our own analysis of industry personnel. According to the pamphlet, the printing industry is made up of three kinds of people: the notable and rich merchants, who “have the power to provide a deep sea in sums of money, like ten thousand, and sometimes twenty thousand for the printing of long and laborious works, and of large expense.” The pamphlet suggests that these types of people are more common in Lyon than in Paris. The second, “species of people are the master printers, who possess all different kinds of characters [fonts], and the presses and utensils necessary for the exercising of the art of printing. One cannot deny that in this Kingdom there are the most expert master printers, the most excellent in all of Christendom and that they hold their art as first in splendour and dignity.” The third group are the journeymen printers, and the pamphlet explains that many shops will

⁶⁹ Plaidoyez pour la reformation de l’Imprimerie. (sl., sn., sd), A1^r.

have between four and six journeymen, depending upon scale of output. It is this group that are blamed for the troubles that befell the industry:

That while the aforesaid three groups did work with each other well; that the notable merchants did provide the great sums, & that the master printers have been diligent with ordering well, and the journeyman diligent with obeying well; this agreement has been the cause of the splendour and dignity of printing in this kingdom. Yet, the journeyman cannot in all humility obey their masters, they came little by little to such insolence, & degrading their masters they made their monopolies & conspiracies. These journeyman, conspiring against their masters, finally ruined the noble art of printing in this kingdom.⁷⁰

Continuing to lambast the journeymen, the pamphlet describes how they conspired against their masters and identified their potent weapon: each shop needed a number of journeymen and that if one journeyman ceases their work, then the whole shop cannot function. The pamphlet describes the walkouts that took place in Lyon and in Paris, it describes the abuse of the journeymen to their fellows who continued to work: the use of the word ‘forfant’, an equivalent of the modern-day ‘scab’; it describes how the masters attempted to break the strike by employing journeymen from other towns such Rouen, Bordeaux, Poitiers, Angers, and others, but that they were not numerous enough to keep the presses running and that the journeymen of Paris and Lyon conspired once more to prevent those from outside of those cities from working there. It describes how the journeymen bullied apprentices to join their conspiracy and that no apprentice would be allowed to gain his certificate without joining their monopoly. The ‘Tric’ is described here, couched in unfavourable terms:

That if one journeyman enters into debate with the master, so much that this journeyman becomes irritated, he pronounces the syllable ‘Tric’ and all journeymen of that shop stop their labour promptly and go down to the tavern.⁷¹

It suggests, slightly mischievously, that this happens more often in the summer months. This is in slight contrast to the explanation given by the journeymen for the ‘Tric’: they claimed that it happened only after a journeyman had asked his master three times to reconsider his controversial orders, orders such as placing an apprentice in a

⁷⁰ Plaidoyez pour la reformation de l’Imprimerie, A4^r.

⁷¹ Plaidoyez pour la reformation de l’Imprimerie, B3^r.

journeyman's possession; only if the master had refused three times would the journeyman call 'Tric' and the shop would shut down until the dispute had been resolved.⁷²

And so the pamphlet continues: placing the blame for the troubles purely on the shoulders of recalcitrant and disobedient journeyman. About two-thirds of the way through, once the author has explained the devilish behaviour of the journeyman and how that has caused the trade to be severely damaged, the tone of the pamphlet changes slightly. It stops being a complaint and a vilification of the journeymen, and becomes a proper plea, a plea to the Court to uphold the 1571 Edict of Gaillon. It explains the way in which the governing body of the proto-Guild was elected and presents a number of petitions, suggestions, and complaints to the Court for their consideration.

The first complaint is that the journeymen continue to make various conspiracies and monopolies to prevent the execution of the edict, and that they continue to make others swear to keep and observe those monopolies. Secondly, that the principal cause of the "ruin of printing" in France is the insolence of the journeymen and their conspiracies and monopolies and therefore the syndic and his board request that the Court are punished for disobeying the edict of the King. Thirdly, that the journeyman should be prevented from appealing the edict as they are but servants and the edict is supported by the masters, the King, the Attorney General of the King, his Advocates, the Vice-Chancellor of the University and other diverse and notable characters of the city of Paris. Finally, they call for master printers to be allowed to replace journeymen with apprentices at a ratio of two to one, thus breaking the monopoly of the journeymen. Their solution lay in having more apprentices: "The printing shops being depopulated as they are presently in France, one cannot have too many apprentices."

The issues and complaints surrounding the Edict of Gaillon of 1571, in the end, were short-lived. Within a few months bloodshed and violence would erupt on an enormous scale on the streets of both Paris, and Lyon, as well as other towns in the kingdom. Many involved in the printing trade were affected and it seems that the status quo as laid down by the Edict of Gaillon, whether fully observed or not, was satisfactory to take

⁷² Davis, "A Trade Union in Sixteenth-Century France", p.62.

the printing trade, particularly in Paris, through the troubles of the fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh wars.

The importance of this pamphlet is in its location within the corpus of the law and decrees surrounding the printing industry. The unique position of the trade in the sixteenth century is highlighted by its lack of an official Guild structure. In 1581 Henri III issued an edict making the guild structure the compulsory form of craft association; this edict was successfully challenged by the printer's representatives and in 1583 printing was given an exemption from the law on account of the trade members' position as members of the University.⁷³ This exemption shows that, despite the Edict of Gaillon, the master printers and their journeymen and apprentices still considered themselves separate to the other artisans of the city and that they held their rights and privileges sacrosanct. While the journeymen clearly had problems with the Edict of Gaillon, its favourable view of the masters found receptive ground and they were willing to make that known in a published pamphlet. They could see the benefit of guild organisational structures but still wished to consider themselves, possibly due to their learning and their scholarly aptitudes, above the level of the ordinary craftsman. And while the journeymen and masters had issues with each other and that often the relationships between the two could be strained, it seems clear from both their writings, from the Plaidoyez of the masters to the Remonstrance of the journeymen, that they had a shared affection for their trade and for their art.

The writings analysed here and the tensions revealed are an eloquent demonstration of the stresses present in the Paris printing industry in the middle years of the sixteenth century. After years of steady growth in the first half of the century Paris and Lyon had demonstrated an enviable reputation for high quality scholarly publishing. This had been put at risk, and to some extent compromised, by the religious upheavals of the 1560s. New types of books, especially religious controversy fought for press time with established genres. These troubled times inevitably found their echo in the cantankerous disputes within the industry.

⁷³ Pottinger, French book trade, p.121;

These difficulties, specific to the printing industry, would potentially have been compounded by the St Bartholomew's Day massacre. It is difficult to say for certain which printers or *libraires* were murdered in August 1572, however, there are a number who, while printing up until that moment suddenly stop: for example Charles Périer. Périer was almost certainly a victim of the massacre with it being responsible for either his own death or that of his son, Charles, and his own departure from the city.⁷⁴ Another confirmed victim was Oudin Petit, who had been deprived of his position as a *libraire-juré* in 1567 and replaced as such by Michel Julien.⁷⁵ Other victims included Guillaume Maillard and Philippe de Cosme. André Wechel escaped with little and returned to his ancestral town of Frankfurt. Another possible victim was Richard Breton who, in 1562 had printed Clément Marot and Theodore Beza's French psalter. Despite possession of a royal privilege, such a clear statement of Protestant sentiment could well have proved disastrous for Breton. There were two editions printed in late 1572 with his name on the title page and both times it was prefaced by the word "veuve". In 1569 some of Breton's books, along with those of Étienne Douart, Jean Petit and Jean Charron, were seized and delivered to the usher of the Parlement.⁷⁶

Despite these difficulties there were many indications that the industry could survive and prosper in the 1570s and 1580s. While 1571 marks the nadir in industrial relations, there existed a path through these problems: a *communauté* had been established and new methods and proper channels of control and organisation had been legislated for. Paris' reputation as an important centre of print manned by qualified and experienced printers remained largely intact. The principal members of the Parisian print community were happy to commit themselves to supporting the new institutions established by the King's edicts. Parisian printing had formidable strengths. These would be tested over the two following decades but they were never really in doubt.

⁷⁴ According to Renouard (*Répertoire*, pp.336-337) and Pallier (*Recherches sur L'Imprimerie à Paris*, p.8) Charles I Périer was killed in the massacre but other sources suggest it was his son, Charles II Périer who was killed with Charles I dying sometime between October 1572 and June 1575 (cf. *Répertoire d'imprimeurs/libraires*, p.438).

⁷⁵ Pallier, *Recherches sur L'Imprimerie à Paris*, p.7.

⁷⁶ Pallier, *Recherches sur L'Imprimerie à Paris*, p.7.

Chapter II: Paris as a centre of printing.

Paris was a distinctive entity in the European print world; it was not only a major centre of population and commerce but was also the centre of government of one of Europe's most developed kingdoms as well as home to one of Europe's most distinguished universities. This combination of factors was quite unique amongst European print centres and gave a particular cast to French printing output.

During the early days of printing, production became consolidated largely in Europe's major centres of commerce; although universities and students continued to be major customers for books in the first age of print, the supply of texts very often came from elsewhere.⁷⁷ It is of interest that many of the cities that were home to Europe's major universities failed to develop a robust print culture in the incunabula age; indeed, many had no printing press at all. Half of the largest centres of fifteenth century printing were in places with no university.⁷⁸

All of the dozen largest centres of early print culture were in major centres of population, but amongst them only Paris was the established capital of one of Europe's major kingdoms: thus Paris, quite uniquely, was the natural centre of several major markets. It could supply the high demand locally for books from clerics, lawyers, and nobles who followed the Court. It could play an innovative role in developing book ownership among the large bourgeois population. But its status as a major commercial centre also provided opportunities to supply books both to other places in France and abroad. In the mediaeval era, Paris had developed one of the largest centres of production of manuscript books.⁷⁹ Readers and purchasers naturally looked to Paris for expensive and precious books and this continued into the new age of print.

All of this made it possible for Paris to develop a market of considerable size and unusual diversity. This market consisted of two overlapping portions: a vernacular

⁷⁷ Thomas, "Manuscripts", p.19.

⁷⁸ Comparison based upon a survey of the *Incunabula Short Title Catalogue* (ISTC), hosted by the British Library. <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/istc/> - accessed 5th April 2009. Of the 41 places with more than one hundred records, 23 were towns without a university (including Florence whose university was moved to Pisa between 1473 and 1497).

⁷⁹ Rouse & Rouse, *Manuscripts*, vol. 1, p.11.

French market and a market in Latin books. This chapter will explore the size and development of these two markets and the relationship between them.

Paris as a centre of French Print

Paris' position in the French print world was essentially a consequence of this peculiar conglomeration of cultural and political functions. In the late sixteenth century there were essentially three major Francophone printing centres. There was Paris itself, Lyon towards the south of France, and the city of Antwerp in the Low Countries. In the Swiss Confederation Geneva played a particular and distinctive role as a centre of French print but in terms of its total output it comes a distant fourth. Of the major print centres Antwerp had a particular profile since it produced a quantity of books not only in the local vernaculars (French and Dutch) but other languages as well. Antwerp played a significant role as a producer of English print in the sixteenth century with a contribution to the corpus of English language print in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries of at least 300 editions.⁸⁰ Antwerp was the place of publication of 1,866 French language editions in the same period of time.

For Paris, however, vernacular print mainly meant French. There were nearly ten thousand editions printed in Paris in the period of this study and in those twenty-one years about seven and half thousand editions were printed in the vernacular language. Of these only eight were printed in a language other than French: five in English, two in Italian, and one in Spanish.

The importance of French vernacular printing to the printing shops of Paris is reflected in the share of the total French market commanded by the capital's publishers. Here we employ the definition of a French language book that has been used by FB, that is books "published wholly or substantially in the French language [including] bilingual or multilingual editions where French is a component" but excluding editions that are printed "wholly in Latin except for a French privilege."⁸¹ Based upon this definition, and concentrating purely on the period between 1570 and 1590, the corpus of French

⁸⁰ Figures derived from a survey of the English Short Title Catalogue (ESTC), hosted by the British Library. <http://estc.bl.uk> – accessed 3rd April 2009.

⁸¹ FB, vol.1, p.viii.

vernacular editions amounts to slightly over sixteen thousand editions. Of those 16,268 the 7,496 editions printed in Paris account for 46.08 per cent of the total [Figure 2-1].

	<u>In France</u>			<u>Outside France</u>			
	Paris	Other	Lyon	Antwerp	Geneva	Other	
<i>Inside France</i>	60.04%	22.44%	17.52%	N/A			
<i>Inside & Outside France</i>	46.08%	17.22%	13.45%	3.58%	2.18%	17.49%	
			19.21%				
		30.67%			23.25%		
		53.92%					
	76.75%			23.25%			

Figure 2-1: Percentage share of French vernacular print by locus.

Of the total output of French vernacular editions within the borders of France, 60 per cent was produced in Paris. Lyon, the second city of French print, was responsible for 18 per cent, that is something less than half of provincial production. All the other print towns of France combined were responsible for 22 per cent. Combining these figures we see that around four fifths of French vernacular printing took place within France. Most of the rest was mainly produced either in the Low Countries or the Swiss Confederation with Antwerp and Geneva the preponderant centres of production in these two places.

On average there were 357 French language editions printed in Paris in each year during this period. For the most part this print output was remarkably consistent.⁸² Only three years (1588, 1589, and 1590) fall outside the usual range [Figure 2-2]. In these years for very particular reasons relating to the siege of Paris and political controversy the output leaps high above the normal level in terms of editions before collapsing in 1590. This does not, however, represent an overall increase in the volume of production, as we shall see.

Paris established its primacy as the centre of vernacular print due to a number of reasons, some specific to Paris and many specific to France. We have spoken already of the peculiar conglomeration of cultural, political and legal institutions gathered in the

⁸² The standard deviation (σ) of French language books is 120.43 and for Latin books it is 49.30.

capital. But Paris was also a very large city. With an estimated 220,000 inhabitants by 1600, Paris was the second largest city in Europe (behind Naples).⁸³

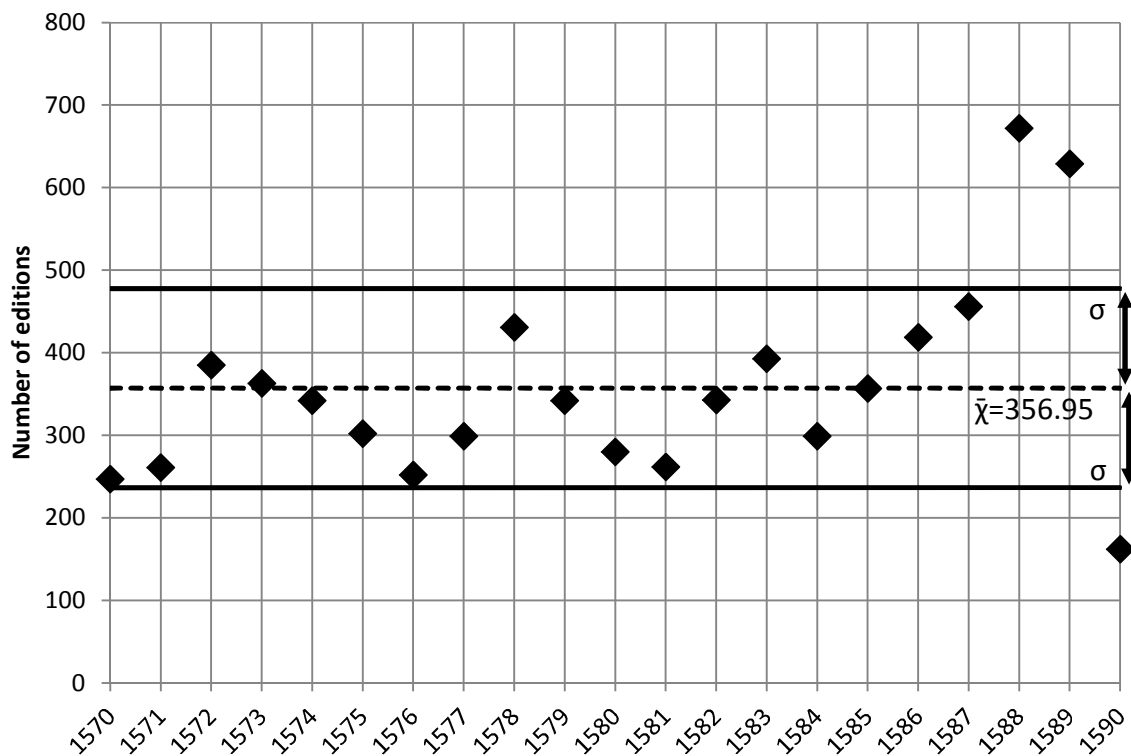


Figure 2-2: French books in Paris, 1570-1590 with mean average (\bar{x}).

In terms of sheer size it towered over the provincial towns of France. If we define a city as a community having at least 10,000 inhabitants, then the total estimated urban population of France was 964,000 spread between thirty-nine cities. Over 20 per cent of the urban population of France lived in the capital. Comparisons with other parts of Europe reveal some interesting if at times rather surprising results. Using this data (taken from Jan de Vries' classic study of European urbanisation) only around 5 per cent of the population of France lived in a city in this period.⁸⁴ This urban population density is on par with that of England, slightly larger than in Germany (4 per cent) but about half that of Spain (10 per cent) and significantly lower than that of both Italy (13 per cent) and of the Low Countries (21 per cent). By 1600 the urban population of

⁸³ See Jan de Vries, *European urbanization, 1500-1800*, (London, 1984); also Jan de Vries, "Population", in *Handbook of European History, 1400-1600*, Thomas A. Brady, Jr., Heiko A. Obermann, & James D. Tracy (eds.), vol. 1, (Grand Rapids, 1996). De Vries' figures on Naples seem large but possible given the size of the city (approximately 17 km²). When plague hit the city in 1656 it had a estimated population of 300,000, of which half were killed.

⁸⁴ de Vries, *European urbanization*.

France was 1.114 million living in 43 cities out of a total population of 19 million; thus by 1600 the urban proportion of France's population had risen to 6 per cent. But few cities in Europe had attained anything like the size of Paris by the end of the sixteenth century. There were no cities with more than 100,000 inhabitants in the Low Countries, none in Germany and none in Spain. London was the only city in the British Isles that had more than 100,000 inhabitants with only Edinburgh reaching 20,000.⁸⁵

Paris was large; it also had a dominant position within France. The 20 per cent of France's urban population that lived in the capital was a far higher proportion than for the cities of northern Italy where 14 per cent of the urban population lived in either Venice or Milan. In Italy as a whole Naples accounted for 14 per cent of the urban population (or 39 per cent of Southern Italy's urban population). Spain's biggest city, Seville, accounted for 10 per cent of the total urban population. England was, again, the special case. London accounted for a staggering 78 per cent of England's urban population and 70 per cent of the total urban population of the British Isles.⁸⁶

London's share of the urban population could go some way to help explaining why London dominated the domestic printing industry of England. Between 1570 and 1590 there were 3,832 editions printed in English in England, of which 3,672 editions were printed in London – 95.65 per cent. There were 4,155 editions printed in English in this period (from all places of publication) so London accounts for 88.38 per cent the rest were printed abroad (this applies especially to Catholic literature critical of the regime). Provincial presses contribute a paltry 160 editions. Paris' share of its language's vernacular printing was not as large as that of London, nor was its share of urban population and while Paris played a crucial and, in some respects, dominant role in French print output its hegemony was not as complete as that of London. However, it played a far greater role in national print culture than did any city in Germany where print was dispersed among the major cities of the Empire. This degree of dispersal marks the other extreme in European culture from the very particular situation of England.

⁸⁵ de Vries, European urbanization.

⁸⁶ de Vries, European urbanization.

Year	Latin	French	Minority Languages						
			Greek	Hebrew	English	Italian	Spanish	Subtotal	TOTAL
1570	39	247	0	0	0	0	0	0	286
1571	33	261	0	0	0	0	0	0	294
1572	127	385	0	0	0	0	0	0	512
1573	184	363	0	0	1	0	0	1	548
1574	156	342	0	0	0	0	0	0	498
1575	133	302	0	0	0	0	0	0	435
1576	136	252	0	0	0	0	0	0	388
1577	145	299	1	0	0	0	0	1	445
1578	146	431	0	0	0	0	0	0	577
1579	113	342	3	0	0	0	0	3	458
1580	142	280	6	0	0	0	0	6	428
1581	99	262	0	0	2	0	0	2	363
1582	135	343	0	0	0	0	1	1	479
1583	131	393	2	0	0	0	0	2	526
1584	135	299	3	0	0	0	0	3	437
1585	163	357	4	1	0	1	0	6	526
1586	168	419	6	0	0	0	0	6	593
1587	113	456	2	0	1	1	0	4	573
1588	125	672	4	0	1	0	0	5	802
1589	16	629	0	0	0	0	0	0	645
1590	16	162	0	0	0	0	0	0	178
Mean	116.90	356.95	1.48	0.05	0.24	0.10	0.05	1.90	475.76
Median	133.00	342.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	479.00
σ	49.24419	120.45019	2.06444	0.21822	0.53896	0.30079	0.218229	2.25621	135.17393
Total	2455	7496	31	1	5	2	1	40	9991

Figure 2-3: French books in Paris, 1570-1590 with mean average (\bar{x}).

The printers based in Paris were geographically and politically close to the foremost university of the realm and to the monarchy. Previous kings such as Louis XII and Francis I had encouraged the growth of *moyen français* and the Ordonnance of Villers-Cotterêts had made French the official language of the Courts of Justice.⁸⁷ These official functions provided a steady demand for printed legal texts and ensured that French would be a language of legal printing as it was of legal business. Paris' Latin output, on the other hand, was a far more complicated affair.

Figure 2-3 demonstrates that the number of Latin language editions printed in Paris was considerably smaller than the number of French language editions. The 2,455 Latin editions represents slightly less than one quarter of the total. Latin publications, on average, numbered 117 editions per year. The fluctuation in output was also far greater. Figure 2-2 and Figure 2-4 show French and Latin editions respectively plotted by year and additional markers indicate the mean average (\bar{x}) and the standard deviation (σ); the solid lines show the region: $\bar{x} \pm \sigma$. Years where the edition numbers as plotted fall outside this region indicate years which are outliers. As can be seen when comparing the number of outliers in Figure 2-2 French language (three years) and the number of outliers in Figure 2-4 Latin language (five years), the mean average is not a representative average for Latin print. Figure 2-5 shows the same data as Figure 2-4 only the average plotted is the median average (\tilde{x}) and the solid lines represent the region: $\tilde{x} \pm \sigma$. In this instance the majority of the years plotted fall within the region between the solid lines. The only years that do not, with the one exception of 1573, are the years 1570-71 and 1589-90 which are years in which Latin print is significantly below the median. The other exception, 1573, is a year in which the output is slightly more than the top boundary of the region, which suggests that it is the peak year of Latin output in this period. Furthermore, the shift upwards of the region from being centred on an average of 116.90 to being centred on an average of 133 indicates how much more reflective the median average is for Latin figures than the mean. If the median region for French output is plotted in the same way, Figure 2-6, one can see that the region is now centred around an average of 342, but this makes no difference to

⁸⁷ Febvre & Martin, *Coming of the Book*, p.272.

which years are outliers and which are not, though 1587 is closer to the upper boundary than in Figure 2-2.

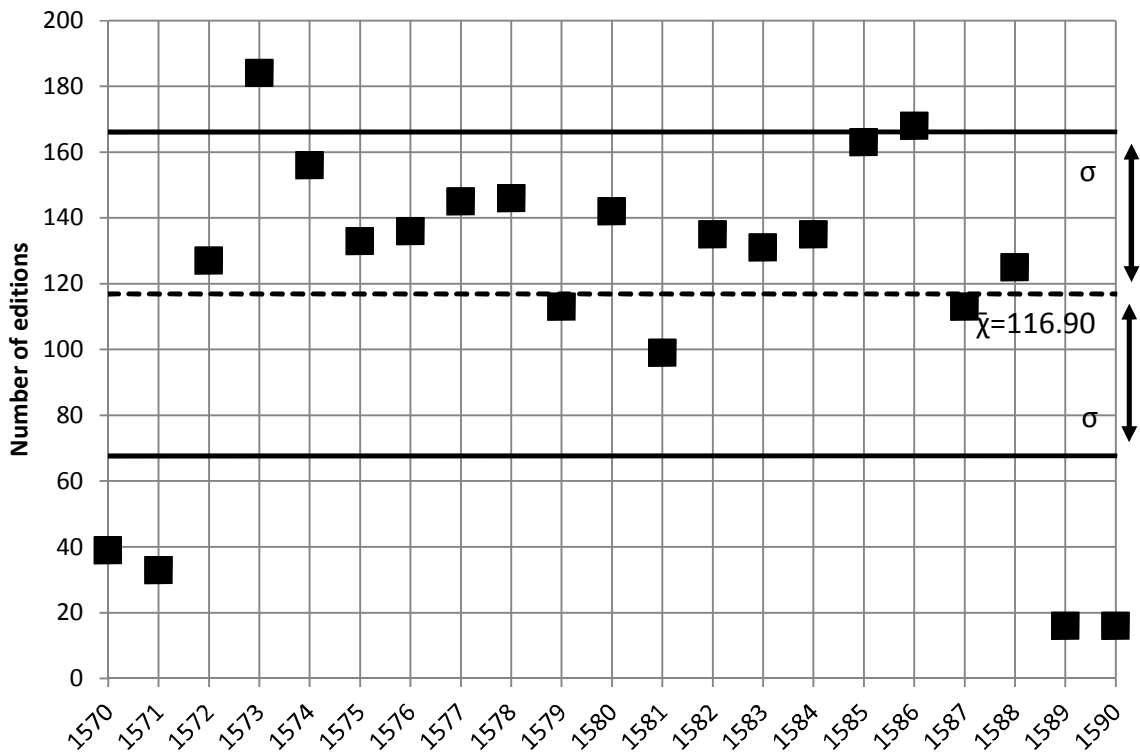


Figure 2-4: Latin books in Paris, 1570-1590 with mean average ($\bar{\chi}$).

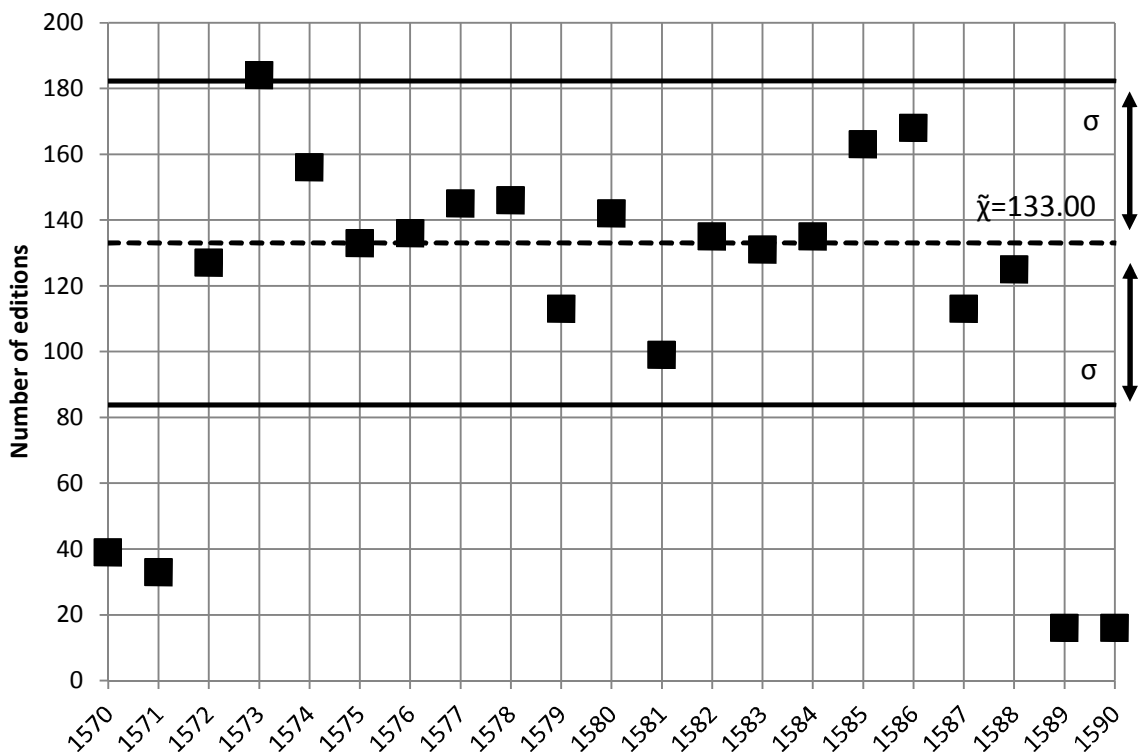


Figure 2-5: Latin books in Paris, 1570-1590 with median average ($\tilde{\chi}$).

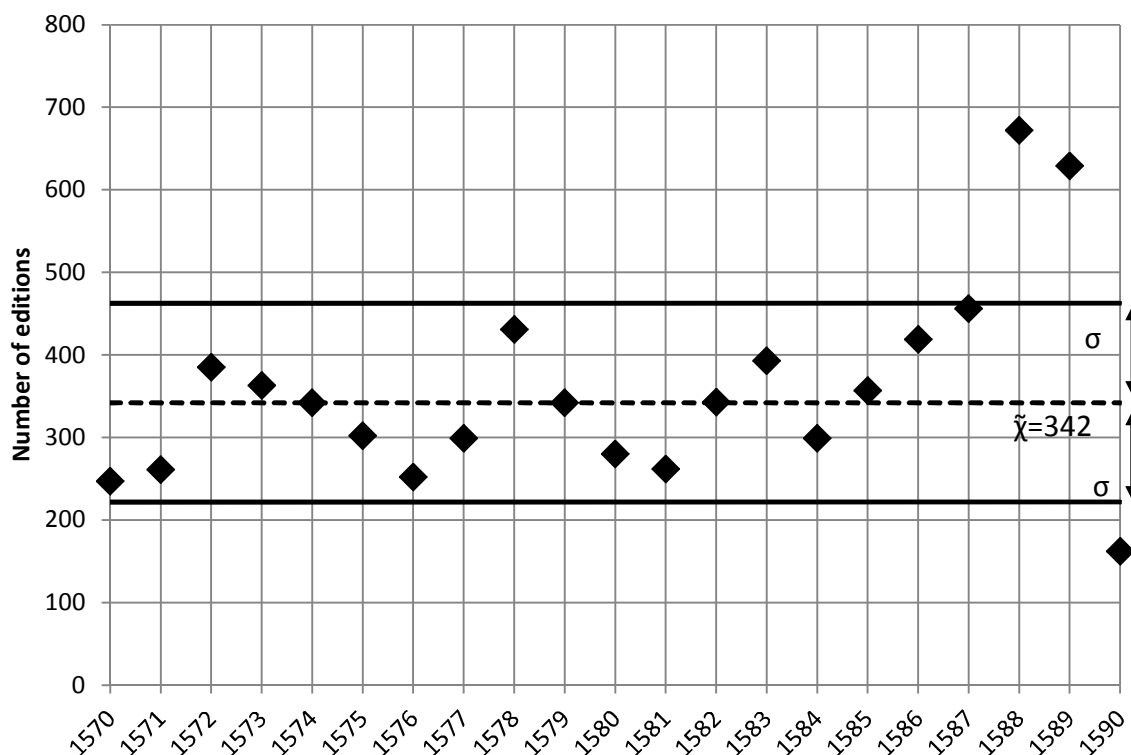


Figure 2-6: French books in Paris, 1570-1590 with median average (\tilde{x}).

Editions and sheets

Our analysis of print output thus far has been based entirely on a count of the number of separate editions, or projects, undertaken by Parisian printers. It should be acknowledged that is by far the most common method of analysis used in bibliographical studies and in analysis of national print outputs. There are very good reasons why this should be so. Most national bibliographical projects list each individual edition without often a great deal of further bibliographical information. New editions as they emerge are relatively easy to identify and differentiate from the known corpus.⁸⁸ However, if we rely only on the total number of editions as a measure of output we risk missing some very significant features of the local print culture. A list based purely on the number of editions tells us how many separate projects a printer or publisher undertook but it does not tell us how demanding, time consuming, or

⁸⁸ Philip Gaskell, *A new introduction to bibliography*, (Winchester, 1995), p.313.

financially burdensome these projects were. Measured purely by the number of editions, a small pamphlet appears as significant an undertaking as a substantial folio.

These considerations are particularly pertinent when applied to the circumstance of Parisian print between 1570 and 1590. The increase in the number of editions printed in 1588 and 1589 is due almost entirely to the increase in the production of political pamphlets in those years, an increase instigated by the political crisis in Paris between the Catholic League and the crown.⁸⁹ But was this increase in edition numbers an overall increase in production or was it simply that the same amount of sheets were divided between more editions? Likewise, the drop in the number of editions printed in 1590 was wholly a consequence of the siege of the town by Henry IV. This siege prevented paper supplies reaching the city of Paris and without paper supplies the printing industry inevitably experienced a contraction.

These two instances demonstrate why the number of editions is a far from ideal means of measuring output. Sometimes it is the only data available but when there is a more detailed and responsive metric to analyse output this should generally be employed. For the remainder of this chapter we will concentrate not on the number of editions but on the most precise measure available of the size of each edition, that is the number of sheets of paper used in the production of each book.

To find out the amount of sheets used by a particular edition requires a simple equation (see below) based upon two required pieces of bibliotechnical information. The first required piece of information is the format of the book, something that is generally known for the majority of sixteenth century books. However, this is useless on its own unless the pagination or foliation of the book is also known. This can be worked out through an accurate page count; it can also be worked out if the collation or signatures of the book are known. For instance, a book with the signatures A-Z⁴ contains 92 leaves or twice that number of pages (182). This represents 23 sheets.

$$sheets = \frac{pagination}{(format \times 2)} + \frac{foliation}{format}$$

⁸⁹ See Chapter III – Section Four: Political print.

For a book with that collation and printed in octavo, the number sheets required would be eleven and a half which means no fewer than twelve sheets of paper would be required to print one copy of that particular edition. By using this equation for all books for which the required information is available one can discover the total number of sheets used to create one copy of each edition. This corresponds roughly to the number of days for which the press would be employed in creating the work. This is largely regardless of modest variations in the print run, known or unknown. Most conventional estimates of print runs suggest that books were produced in editions of between 600 and 1500 copies. This corresponds well to the number of sheets to be printed, front and back, in contracts drawn up in the printing houses of Lyon, Paris and Antwerp.⁹⁰ Any decrease on these numbers would not, generally speaking, allow new work to be undertaken in the same day since a new sheet could not be set to the press until the reverse of any single sheet had been finished and the forme of type broken up for reuse. So, if we know how many sheets of paper were employed in the making of a book we have a tolerable estimate of how much time was required to see it through the press.

Overall sheet information can be calculated for the editions printed in Paris between 1570 and 1590. By using the calculation shown above the figure of 259,480 sheets is produced. This represents approximately the same number of days work required to produce these books. This averages out at 12,356.19 sheets per year. This information has been used to plot year by year the number of editions and the number of sheets used to print those editions [Figure 2-7].

An examination of this figure shows that, as a trend, as numbers of editions increase or decrease, so does the number of sheets required increase or decrease. There are few years where the number of sheets is plotted significantly lower than the number of editions. This, in concert with other data, can tell a great deal about the printing profile of a genre. When sheet usage is high and edition numbers are low, the type of book being printed is generally a large book. For instance, in 1572 and 1578 the same amount of paper was required: 13,522 sheets. Yet in 1572, those sheets produced 512

⁹⁰ Febvre & Martin, *Coming of the Book*, pp.218-219; Leon Voet, *The Golden Compasses: a history and evaluation of the printing and publishing activities of the Officina Plantiniana at Antwerp*, (Amsterdam, 1972), vol. 2, pp.169-173.

editions compared to the 577 editions that were produced in 1578. Therefore we can deduce that a book in 1578 was, on average, slightly smaller than a book in 1572.

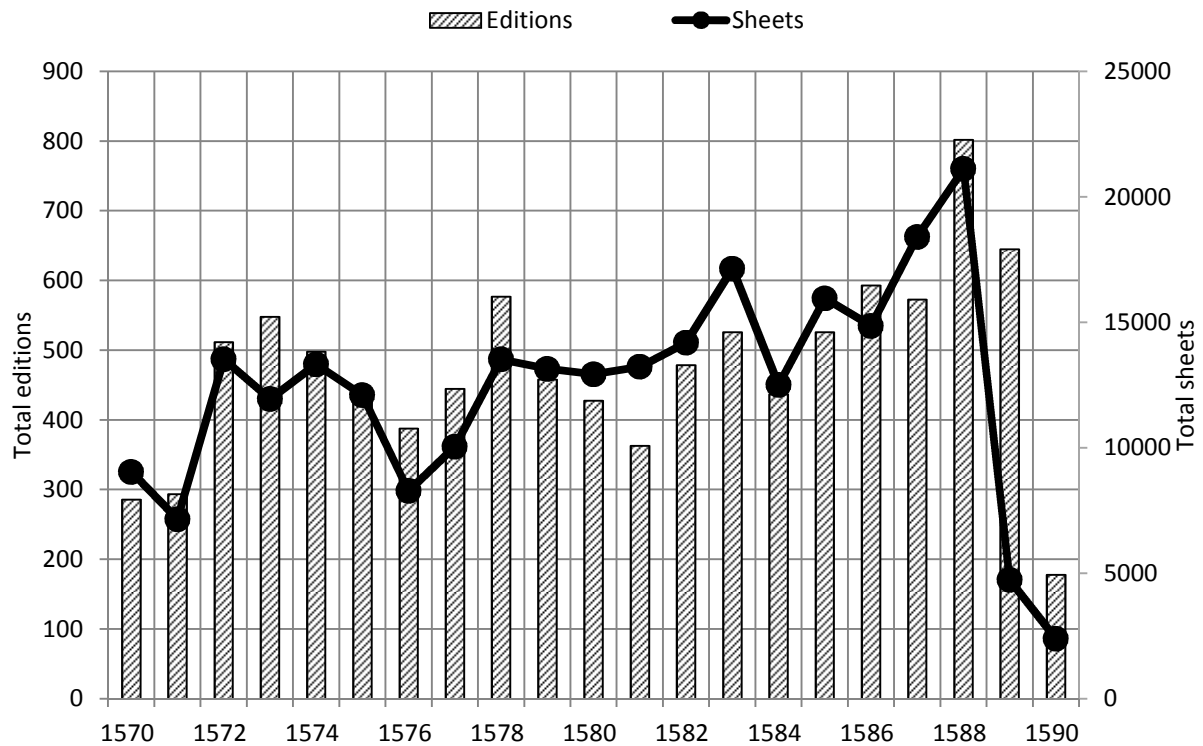


Figure 2-7: Number of sheets per copy / number of editions.

Why, in 1578, did a printer undertake smaller and generally less demanding titles? It may have been because political events created a particular demand for pamphlets, impacting on the market for larger books. This seems to have been the case in Paris during the 1560s, when political controversies created new readers and new markets. But when publishers substituted smaller books for larger, more demanding projects this can indicate a certain weakness in the market: either a reduction in purchasing power or a reduction in productive capacity. Plotted as a graph, this relationship between editions published and volume of output (by sheets) creates an indicative measure of the overall health of the trade: a confidence index. When publishers undertook a greater proportion of large books, we may surmise that they had confidence in the overall economic prospects. When, as in 1589/90, larger books vanished, to be replaced by a rash of small pamphlets, the confidence in the industry may be seen to have been very low. This was indeed the case. We will apply this “confidence index” to demonstrate rapid fluctuations in fortunes within the industry not evident from a

simple edition count which, as we have seen, remains largely consistent for much of the period.

The importance of calculating total output becomes particular clear when we apply this framework of analysis to a comparison of the Latin and vernacular trade. We know that during these 21 years 7,496 French editions and 2,455 Latin editions were printed in Paris. But although the number of Latin editions is so much smaller the amount of paper required to print these editions was not smaller by the same ratio. 175,768 sheets were required to print 7,496 French editions while 120,954 sheets were required to print 2,455 Latin editions. As an overall average number of sheets per edition, French books were, on average, half the size of Latin books. In other words to print one copy of one edition of a French book required half the number of sheets required to print one copy of one edition of a Latin book: 23.71 sheets per edition for French books and 61.64 sheets per edition for Latin books. Latin books, therefore, while fewer in number were usually larger in size. Indeed, often more paper was used to print Latin books each year than was used to print French books [Figure 2-8]. This was the case in at least five years: 1571, 1573, 1576, 1580 and 1590.

In 1573, for example, 184 Latin editions required 11,251 sheets, this is compared with the 363 French editions that required 6,208 sheets. That means that in that year, twice as many sheets were required to print half as many editions. When we consider that paper probably accounted for as much as one half of the total cost of producing a book the significance of this becomes very clear.⁹¹

⁹¹ Voet, Golden Compasses, vol. 2, pp.382-384; Febvre & Martin, Coming of the Book, p.116.

Year	French			Latin		
	Editions	Sheets	Sheets/Editions	Editions	Sheets	Sheets/Editions
1570	247	6246	25.29	39	3843	98.54
1571	261	3885	14.88	33	6229	188.75
1572	385	9727	25.26	127	4589	36.13
1573	363	6208	17.1	184	11251	61.15
1574	342	8294	24.25	156	8422	53.99
1575	302	8836	29.26	133	3687	27.73
1576	252	4899	19.44	136	6003	44.14
1577	299	6469	21.64	145	5699	39.3
1578	431	9607	22.29	146	4950	33.9
1579	342	9362	27.37	113	4751	42.04
1580	280	7236	25.84	142	10628	74.85
1581	262	9269	35.38	99	5238	52.91
1582	343	9896	28.85	135	5748	42.58
1583	393	11573	29.45	131	8094	61.79
1584	299	8765	29.31	135	4923	36.47
1585	357	11395	31.92	163	5652	34.68
1586	419	10116	24.14	168	6762	40.25
1587	456	13443	29.48	113	5622	49.75
1588	672	15866	23.61	125	5109	40.87
1589	629	3432	5.46	16	1524	95.25
1590	162	1245	7.68	16	2230	139.36
Mean	356.95	8369.91		116.90	5759.73	
Median	342.00	8835.90		133.00	5622.31	
Total	7496	175768	23.45	2455	120954	49.27

Figure 2-8: Latin & French books, edition numbers and sheet usage.

Paper was usually gathered into reams of 20 ‘mains’ or ‘quires’ of 25 sheets, so that a ream consisted of 500 sheets.⁹² Obviously, the cost of these reams varied from year to year and with geographical location and, unfortunately, there are no definitive costs for paper in Paris, at least in this period. In the late 1530s and 1540s the price of a ream of paper varied between 10 and 30 s. depending upon quality.⁹³ One of the best sources for information on the cost of paper comes from Antwerp and the accounts of that city’s foremost printer, Christopher Plantin.⁹⁴ Plantin imported a considerable amount of his paper and 97 per cent of that imported paper came from paper agents in France. Plantin kept his books in the unit of *monnoye de Brabant* which was equal to the *florin* consisting of 20 *stuivers*. Between 1563 and 1589, Plantin imported 194,000 *fl.* worth of paper from these French agents, including some in Paris. Lucas Breyer, for instance, who was also a *libraire* of some importance, sold 150 reams of paper to Plantin for 312 *fl.* 15 *st.*, this included the transportation of the paper from Paris to Antwerp at a cost of

⁹² Gaskell, *Bibliography*, p.59.

⁹³ Febvre & Martin, *Coming of the Book*, p.112.

⁹⁴ Full details of Plantin’s records can be found in Voet, *Golden Compasses*.

70 *fl.*⁹⁵ If we subtract these transport costs from this total then Plantin paid 242 *fl.* 15 *st.* for 150 reams of Breyer's paper, this works out to be about 1 *fl.* 12 *st.* per ream. With transport costs included then the cost per ream was 2 *fl.* 2 *st.*, thus transport costs amount to about 22 per cent of overall costs for the paper delivered to Plantin. We should, therefore, take this into account when considering how much Plantin paid for paper.

We should also consider the difference in cost between qualities of paper. For good quality paper, Plantin paid on average 1 *fl.* 5 *st.* per ream and, for cheaper paper, he paid about 13 *st.* If we factor out transport costs, this means about 1 *fl.* for good paper and 11 *st.* for cheaper paper. All these figures so far have been in *florins* and *stuivers* and for the purposes of this survey this *florin* can be converted into a French monetary unit called the *livre tournaiss (lt.)* divided into 20 *sous* (*s.*), with each *sous* consisted of 12 *deniers* (*d.*). In 1577, the exchange rate between *florins* and *livre tournaiss* was 20 *st.* [1 *fl.*] was equivalent to 24 *s.* (1 *lt.* 4 *s.*)⁹⁶ This means that paper of medium quality would cost about 18 *s.* which fits in with figures known for provincial French costs.⁹⁷

If we take 18 *s.* per ream as an average cost of paper in this period, we can use this data to create an estimated picture of the cost of producing these editions. First, however, paper as a proportion of total costs has to be divined. According to Plantin's balance sheets, paper costs were the majority of the costs involved in created a book: approximately 51 per cent.⁹⁸ Wages consisted of 47 per cent of the total costs and ink to a mere 2 per cent. If we take it that wages were about the same percentage of costs in Paris as in Antwerp, we can use these ratios to determine the total average cost of a book in this period.

$$Total\ costs = \left(\frac{100}{52} \right) \times paper\ costs$$

⁹⁵ Voet, *Golden Compasses*, vol. 2, p.28; p.43; Breyer's relationship with Plantin appears to have been complicated, Breyer purchased engravings from Plantin and by 1563 appears to have owed Plantin 1,528 *lt.* see also. Colin Clair, *Christopher Plantin*, (London, 1960), p.201, 245; also Renouard, *Documents*, pp.26-27.

⁹⁶ Voet, *Golden Compasses*, vol. 2, p.445.

⁹⁷ Febvre & Martin, *Coming of the Book*, p.113.

⁹⁸ Febvre & Martin, *Coming of the Book*, pp.382-384.

$$Wages = \left(\frac{47}{100}\right) \times total\ costs$$

$$Ink = \left(\frac{2}{100}\right) \times total\ costs$$

These estimated costs are shown in Figure 2-10. It must be emphasised here that this is the estimated cost of producing one copy of each edition in each year. No account is made for the format of the book. Individual editions would have had fluctuating costs based upon the quality of paper or upon the quality of workmanship. These costs are based upon an average cost of a medium quality paper, if the printed output in 1570 or 1571 was generally printed on high quality paper than the total costs in that year would be greater. If the output in 1589 or 1590 was generally printed on poor quality paper than the total costs in that year will be less than indicated. Additionally, these figures represent only the costs of producing the book: no attempt has been made to calculate profit margins or discern prices.

	Average costs			Total costs		
	<i>lt.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>lt.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Cost of paper	22	14	3	477	0	0
Cost of wages	20	18	8	439	11	9
Cost of ink	0	17	10	18	14	1
Total costs	44	10	9	935	5	11

Figure 2-9: Average costs.

It is very striking here that in a year when the number of editions produced was still very high, such as 1589, the dramatic shift from large format books to small vernacular pamphlets caused a dramatic fall in the overall productive capacity of the Paris industry. Latin books were generally speaking more expensive to publish; they would have occupied more overall press time than French books. As a general rule a printer or publisher would have had to invest more money for a greater length of time before receiving any financial return for Latin books. The Latin market was also far more widely dispersed. It might be expected that Latin editions would take far longer to sell out. The financial model for a large format Latin book was, therefore, totally different from that of a topical political pamphlet. This needs to be recognised in any more detailed analysis of the production patterns of the Parisian press.

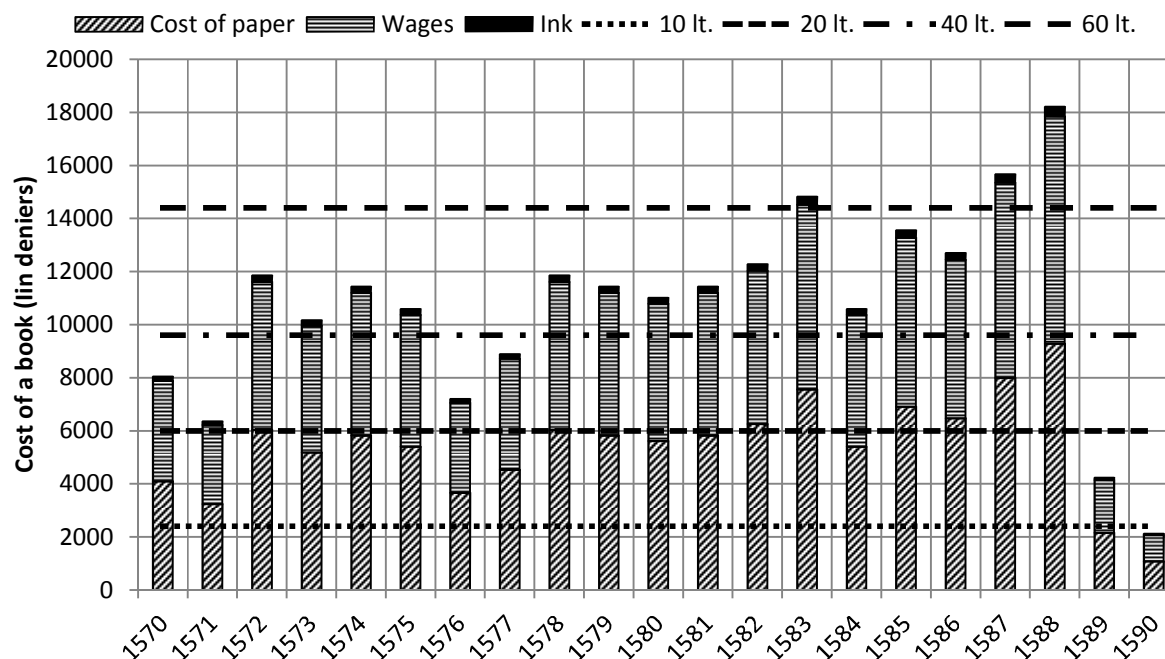


Figure 2-10: Estimated expenditure on paper, wages, & ink by year.

Paris books, 1570-1590: content and subject

To undertake a more detailed analysis of Parisian print activity we have divided the books published not only by size and language but also by subject. The 9,991 editions printed between 1570 and 1590 have all been divided into four broad genre categories. When we turn to a more detailed analysis of this subject output in Chapter III each of these four broad genre categories has been divided further, but for the moment we will investigate the relative importance of each of the main genres of print to overall Paris production. This measure of relative importance differs markedly depending on whether we consider overall output measured in editions or take into account the size of each book, by sheets. This detailed subject based analysis is undertaken here for the very first time for any major centre of European print. It follows the pioneering work by Jean-François Gilmont for Geneva – a smaller and much more specialised centre of print.⁹⁹ The results, applied to the varied and comprehensive production of Paris are stark.

⁹⁹ Jean-François Gilmont, *Le livre réformé au XVI^e siècle*, (Paris, 2005).

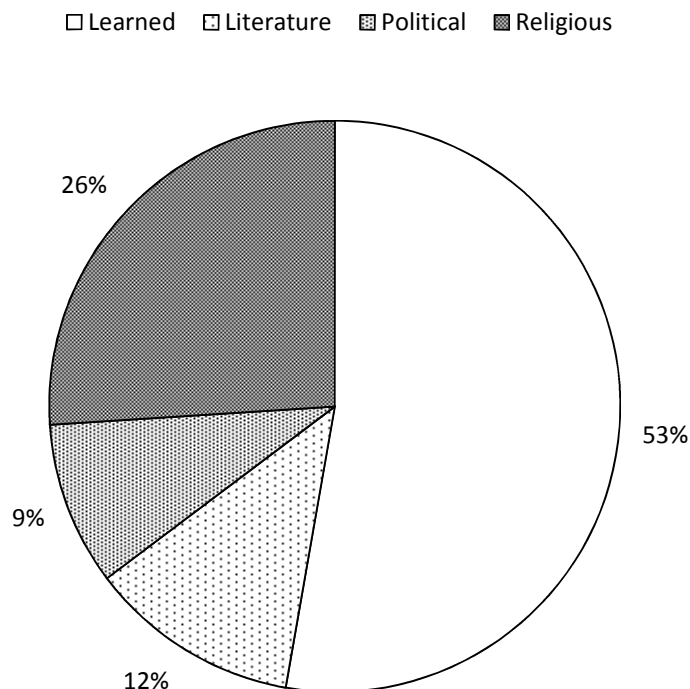


Figure 2-11: Sheet usage by category as percentage of total.

The four main genre categories applied here define each book as religious, learned, political, or a work of literature. Obviously these are overlapping rather than discrete categories. A work on a political subject may be a considerable work of literature. A religious work may have considerable political impact. But allocating each work to a main subject category can be achieved on the basis of a work's predominant characteristics. Certainly the Parisian printers themselves seem to have had a relative clear sense of the different industry character of these different sorts of work. The contents of each of the separate genres as they have been defined for the purpose of this analysis have been set out in Introduction. These subcategories are discussed in greater detail in the following chapter.

If we start with an analysis of learned print, one thing becomes immediately clear and that this represents one of the most important genres in Paris printing. Not only is it the second largest in terms of editions, more paper is required to print learned editions than editions in any other genre. For the 2,544 learned books printed in this period a total of 153,148 days work was required. If we take a working day as approximately

fourteen hours (beginning at 5am and ending at 8pm with only an hour's break)¹⁰⁰ then, in terms of man hours, the time spent on printing learned books throughout this period was over two million man hours.

To put this in context, more paper was required to print every edition in the learned category than was required to print every edition in the other three categories combined [Figure 2-11]. This means that learned books used 53 per cent of the paper required for the total output of the Parisian presses. Once again the best way to compare the importance of the genres in terms of sheet requirements is to divide the number of sheets by the number of editions. This way a year by year figure can be compiled for the average size of a book in each genre [Figure 2-16].

Year	Editions	Sheets	Sheets / Editions
1570	82	7815	95.3
1571	83	3159	38.06
1572	156	11308	72.49
1573	155	7712	49.75
1574	130	8544	65.72
1575	112	9387	83.81
1576	110	5612	51.02
1577	134	5154	38.46
1578	165	6692	40.56
1579	152	8581	56.45
1580	140	6837	48.84
1581	109	9809	89.99
1582	150	9592	63.95
1583	136	9777	71.89
1584	138	7432	53.86
1585	143	7875	55.07
1586	119	2181	18.33
1587	139	9301	66.91
1588	137	14362	104.83
1589	35	1173	33.51
1590	19	845	44.47
Mean	121.14	7292.83	
Median	136.00	7814.95	
Total	2544	153148	60.20

Figure 2-12: Learned books and sheets, with total figures.

¹⁰⁰ Febvre & Martin, *Coming of the Book*, p.139; Hauser, *Ouvriers du temps passé*, p.231

Year	Editions	Sheets	Sheets / Editions
1570	78	690	8.85
1571	84	2587	30.79
1572	115	2093	18.20
1573	148	1536	10.38
1574	83	1767	21.29
1575	109	1453	13.33
1576	95	715	7.53
1577	86	1159	13.48
1578	173	2800	16.18
1579	105	2440	23.23
1580	83	1568	18.89
1581	79	1196	15.14
1582	106	1886	17.79
1583	128	2698	21.08
1584	99	2075	20.96
1585	124	1907	15.38
1586	112	2217	19.80
1587	115	1901	16.53
1588	83	1646	19.84
1589	21	228	10.85
1590	15	160	10.68
Mean	97.19	1653.44	
Median	99.00	1766.84	
Total	2041	34722	17.01

Figure 2-13: Literature books and sheets, with total figures.

Year	Editions	Sheets	Sheets / Editions
1570	73	261	3.58
1571	89	701	7.88
1572	158	507	3.21
1573	144	1149	7.98
1574	200	1297	6.49
1575	116	651	5.61
1576	107	1059	9.90
1577	154	1823	11.84
1578	127	962	7.57
1579	114	798	7.00
1580	119	1800	15.13
1581	106	1552	14.64
1582	123	1278	10.39
1583	169	1482	8.77
1584	112	1494	13.34
1585	127	2774	21.84
1586	175	1933	11.05
1587	202	1607	7.96
1588	443	1877	4.24
1589	521	1415	2.72
1590	113	454	4.02
Mean	166.29	1279.80	
Median	127.00	1297.03	
Total	3492	26876	7.70

Figure 2-14: Political books and sheets, with total figures.

Year	Editions	Sheets	Sheets / Editions
1570	53	1765	33.30
1571	38	1279	33.66
1572	83	1617	19.48
1573	101	3022	29.92
1574	85	3351	39.42
1575	98	2362	24.10
1576	76	1877	24.70
1577	71	2799	39.42
1578	112	4660	41.61
1579	87	3028	34.80
1580	86	4080	47.44
1581	69	2312	33.51
1582	100	3225	32.25
1583	93	5259	56.55
1584	88	2837	32.24
1585	132	4837	36.64
1586	187	9930	53.10
1587	117	7953	67.97
1588	139	6097	43.86
1589	68	2132	31.35
1590	31	1135	36.61
Mean	91.14	3597.95	
Median	87.00	3022.00	
Total	1914	75557	39.48

Figure 2-15: Religious books and sheets, with total figures.

Year	Learned	Literature	Political	Religious
1570	95.3	8.85	3.58	33.30
1571	38.06	30.79	7.88	33.66
1572	72.49	18.20	3.21	19.48
1573	49.75	10.38	7.98	29.92
1574	65.72	21.29	6.49	39.42
1575	83.81	13.33	5.61	24.10
1576	51.02	7.53	9.90	24.70
1577	38.46	13.48	11.84	39.42
1578	40.56	16.18	7.57	41.61
1579	56.45	23.23	7.00	34.80
1580	48.84	18.89	15.13	47.44
1581	89.99	15.14	14.64	33.51
1582	63.95	17.79	10.39	32.25
1583	71.89	21.08	8.77	56.55
1584	53.86	20.96	13.34	32.24
1585	55.07	15.38	21.84	36.64
1586	18.33	19.80	11.05	53.10
1587	66.91	16.53	7.96	67.97
1588	104.83	19.84	4.24	43.86
1589	33.51	10.85	2.72	31.35
1590	44.47	10.68	4.02	36.61
Total	60.20	17.01	7.70	39.48

Figure 2-16: Sheets by editions for the four genres.

These tables confirm the importance of learned books, in terms of size. This is in any case a large category but the books in it are also very large: an average of 60.20 sheets per edition. The much more modest size of books in the political category reflects the large number of edicts and political pamphlets published. Political books contribute the largest number of editions (3,492), yet the publication of these books required fewer than 27,000 sheets. What is perhaps most surprising is the small average size of literary publications: much smaller than the average size of religious books and only one third the size of learned texts.

Political books, while the most numerous in terms of editions, were the least numerous in terms of sheets. This genre included a significant number of pamphlets. Generally political books contributed the largest number of editions with the first major peak in 1574 when 40.16 per cent of books printed in that year fall into this category. For most of the 1570s and 1580s they account for around 30 per cent of the editions, a figure comparable with the numbers of editions of learned books and literature. The big movement showing an increase in the proportion of political books comes in 1587 when 35.25 per cent of editions were political in nature. The previous year had seen a steady increase, but it was in 1587 that the proportion of political books to other genres increased without a significant decrease in the number of editions in those other genres. Certainly, 1586 had seen a peak year for religious print when 187 editions were printed in that year alone, but for the other two genres, the number of editions printed in 1586 and 1587 were comparable: 119 learned editions in 1586, 139 learned editions in 1587, 112 literature editions in 1586, 115 literature editions in 1587. This increase in proportion of political editions without significant decrease in edition numbers in the other genres continued in 1588 when 80.78 per cent of all books were political in nature and yet the number of editions classed as religious was 139 (an increase from 117 in 1587), the number classed as learned was 137 (two fewer than the previous year). Only literature saw a significant drop from 115 editions in 1587 to 83 editions in 1588, and yet this decrease of 32 editions is not sufficient to explain the increase in political books from 202 in 1587 to an incredible 443 in 1588.

From a sheet requirement point of view, however, the significant change between 1587 and 1588 is not an increase in sheets used for political books but an increase in the number of sheets required for learned books. For the 443 editions printed in 1588 that

can be classed as political only required an increase in 270 sheets from the number required in 1587. The number of sheets required to print learned books, however, increased by 5061 sheets. This indicates, firstly, that learned books were more substantial in 1588 than they were in 1587, which can be seen in Figure 2-16 when the number of sheets per edition rose from 66.91 in 1587 to 104.83 in 1588. Secondly, political books became less substantial in 1588 than they had been in the previous year. However, the sample size of the political books is sufficiently large enough that a mode average can be worked out for each year. The benefit of the mode average in this instance is that it indicates the most common number of sheets used. This prevents the average from being increased unduly by outlying figures. For instance, if 100 editions were printed in year X and 90 of them consisted of only 1 sheet and the remaining 10 editions consisting of 21 sheets each, then the mode would indicate that the average size of an edition was 1 sheet because most editions would be that size. On the other hand, the mean would indicate that the average size of a book was 3 sheets, three times the actual size of the majority of the sample.

Year	Mode Average	Editions with same number of sheets as Mode Average		Editions with more sheets than Mode Average	
		Number	per cent of Total	Number	per cent of Total
1570	1	30	41.54%	43	58.46%
1571	1	40	45.45%	49	54.55%
1572	1	102	64.43%	56	35.57%
1573	1	65	45.30%	79	54.70%
1574	1	79	39.41%	121	60.59%
1575	1	57	49.49%	59	50.51%
1576	1	45	41.86%	62	58.14%
1577	1	65	42.03%	89	57.97%
1578	1	54	42.37%	73	57.63%
1579	1	45	39.25%	69	60.75%
1580	1	49	41.49%	70	58.51%
1581	1	48	45.10%	58	54.90%
1582	1	44	35.90%	79	64.10%
1583	1	68	40.27%	101	59.73%
1584	1	44	39.58%	68	60.42%
1585	1	57	45.10%	70	54.90%
1586	1	89	50.91%	86	49.09%
1587	1	140	69.07%	62	30.93%
1588	1	293	66.12%	150	33.88%
1589	1	344	65.93%	177	34.07%
1590	1	55	48.57%	58	51.43%

Figure 2-17: Political books showing mode average of sheets per edition.

Throughout the period 1570 to 1580, the mode average sheets for political books is just 1 sheet per edition. Figure 2-17 compares the mode average alongside the mean average for political books and the difference in many years is striking. In the example given above, we can be sure that the mode better represents the true average because we know that it is not just the most reoccurring number, nor just the number of sheets in the majority of books, but we know how large that majority is. Figure 2-17 shows how many editions the mode average of sheets represents, and it shows that occurrence as a percentage of that year's total.

As can be seen, for much of the 1570s and early 1580s, while the mode is the same as the later 1580s and therefore the most common size in sheets of an edition, the majority of editions required more sheets than 1. This situation is true until 1586 and it is not until 1587 when the majority of single sheet editions reached at least three-fifths. The main reason for the increase in the number of editions consisting of just a single sheet is down to the increase in the number of editions that can be classified into the polemical subcategory. In 1586 the number of books in this subcategory was 54 or 30.86 per cent of that year's political output. By 1587 this proportion had increased to 60.89 per cent (123 editions) and by 1588 this subcategory consisted of 270 or 60.95 per cent of that year's total. The peak for this subcategory, however, would not come until 1589 when an incredible 87.14 per cent of that year's political books were polemical. These 454 editions were not only the majority of that year's political print but also the majority of that entire year's output of any type of book. In 1589 only 645 editions were printed in total and the 454 editions that were polemical in nature represents 70.39 per cent of that year's entire total.

Another way of visually displaying this importance is by use of an index. By dividing the mean average of total editions and the mean average of total sheets by four, we get an idea of what each genre, *ceteris paribus*, would be providing as a proportion of each year's edition total and sheet total. If each genre's yearly total was then divided by that average through an index formula, a line moving above and below 0 can be plotted. When a genre is plotted at 0 it is responsible for exactly a quarter of that year's output, as it moves above 0, it shows that the genre is responsible for more than a quarter of that year's output and thus the relative importance of that genre increases and vice versa. The formula for creating the index is as follows.

$$Index = \left(Year\ total\ of\ genre / \left(\frac{Paris\ average}{4} / 100 \right) \right) - 100$$

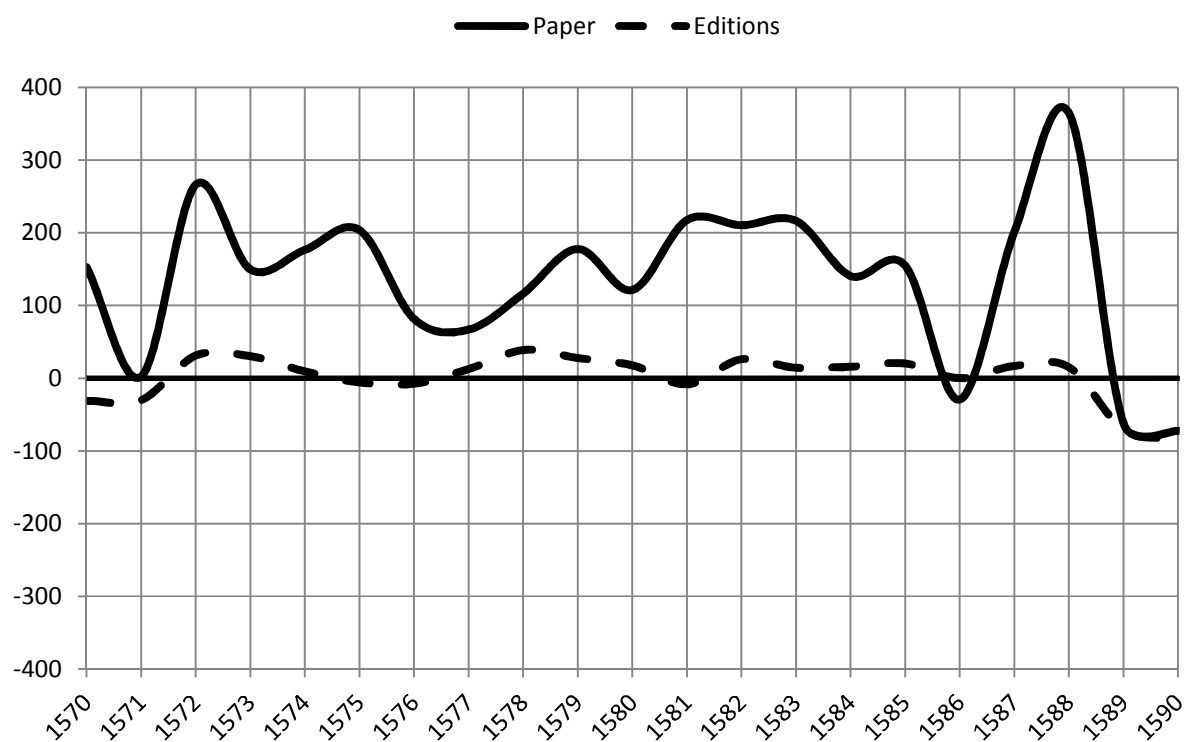


Figure 2-18: Index of learned print.

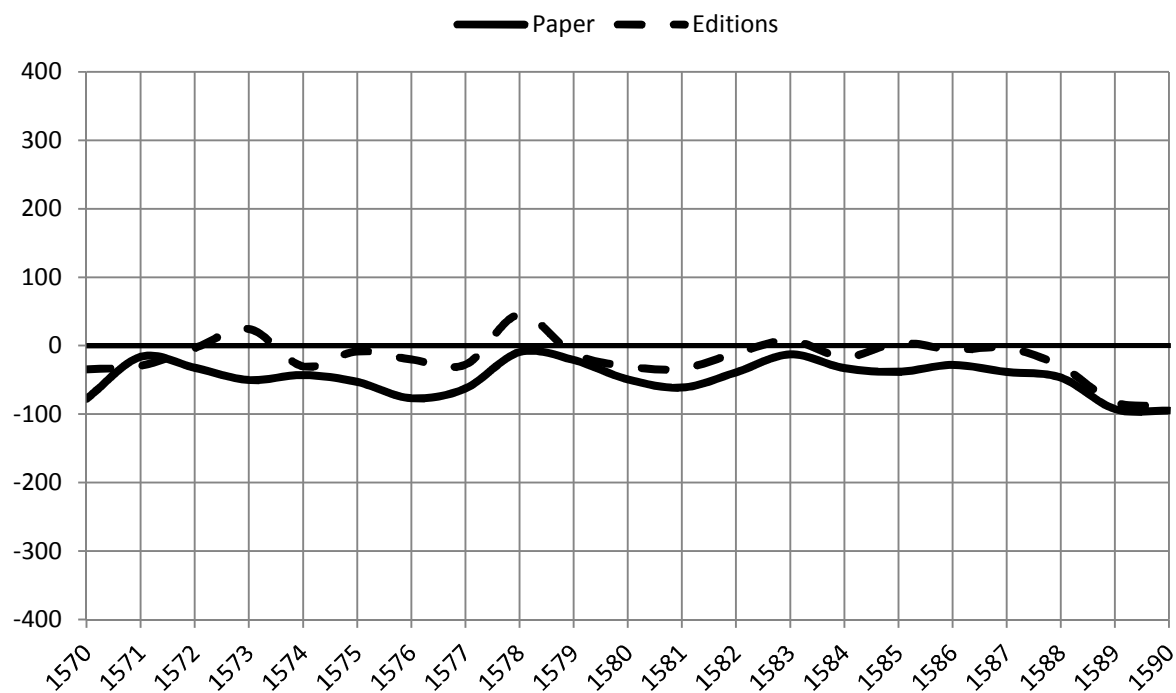


Figure 2-19: Index of literature.

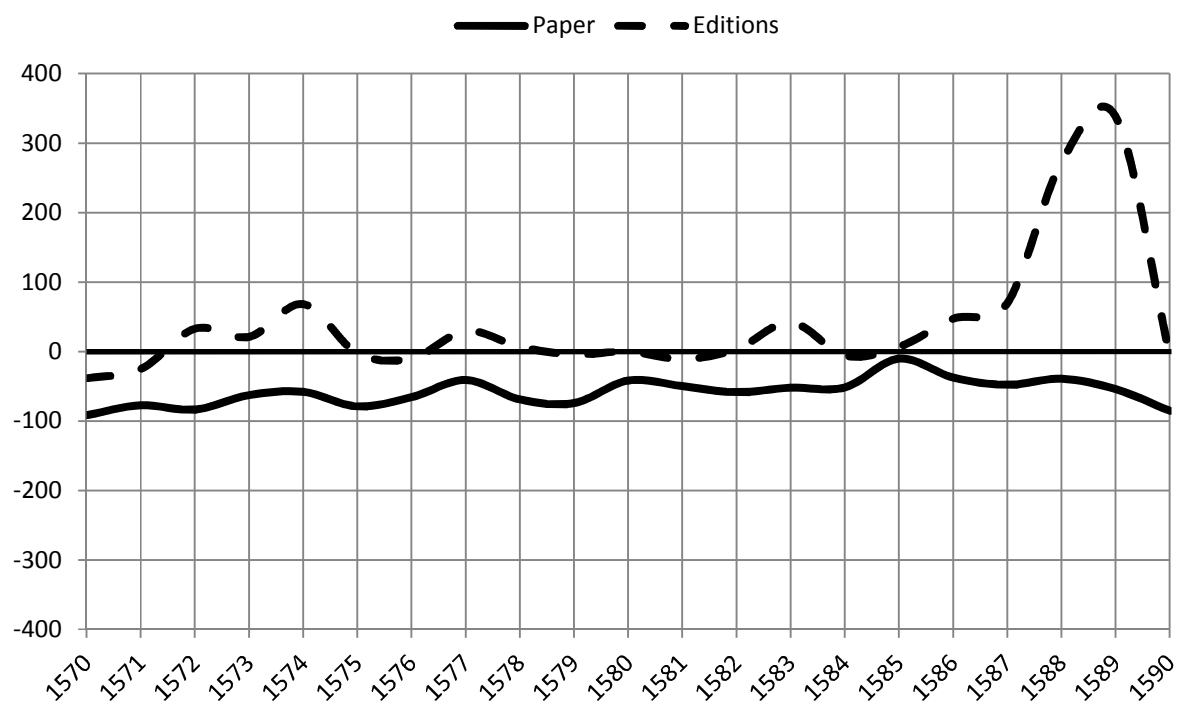


Figure 2-20: Index of political print.

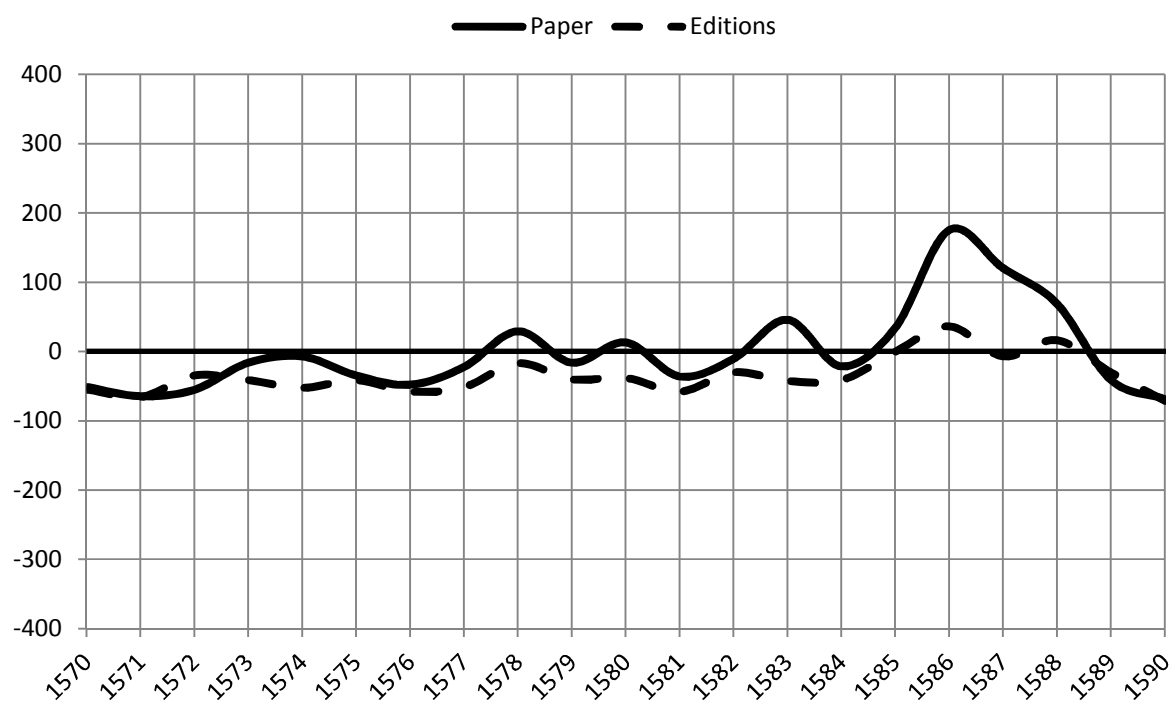


Figure 2-21: Index of religious print.

These indices are shown in Figures 2-18 to 2-21. What is clear from these graphs is that for most of the 1570s and 1580s the division of editions numbers is relatively evenly proportioned for all genres. The index lines waver around the 0 mark, sometimes above and sometimes below

The genre of religious print is a small exception to this, generally its proportion is below the quarter share that 0 represents, just as learned print and political print are generally slightly above that 0 line. The index line marking sheet requirement, on the other hand tells a different tale. religious print sometimes crosses the 0 line, most notably in the period 1585-88, but both literature and political print never cross that 0 line and so editions in those genres always require less than $\frac{1}{4}$ of that years' sheet average, because of the massive requirement of sheets for printing learned books. In the case of learned books the times when it crosses the 0 line in the opposite direction, dipping below it, in 1571 and 1586 are the anomalous years.

In many ways, the movement of the indices helps give some idea of the confidence of the industry in certain genres. In the instances of 1571 and 1586, edition numbers for learned books were not particularly different to proceeding of following years, in 1571 the number of editions classed as learned is 83, one more than in 1570. In 1586, there are 119 editions that can be classed as learned, fewer than its bracketing years and the smallest number since 1576, but not by a significant margin as the index indicates. However, the decrease in the size of those editions suggests that publishers were more inclined to take on smaller projects, where the investment more modest and the return more immediate.

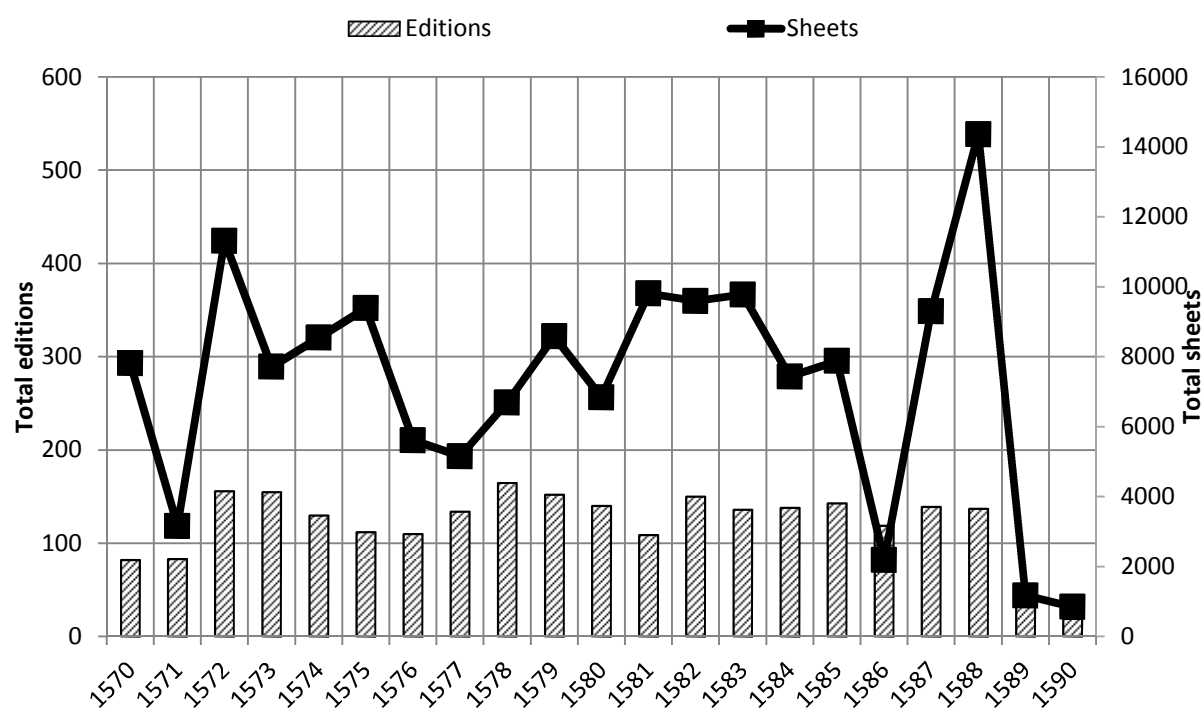


Figure 2-22: Number of sheets per copy / number of editions (learned print).

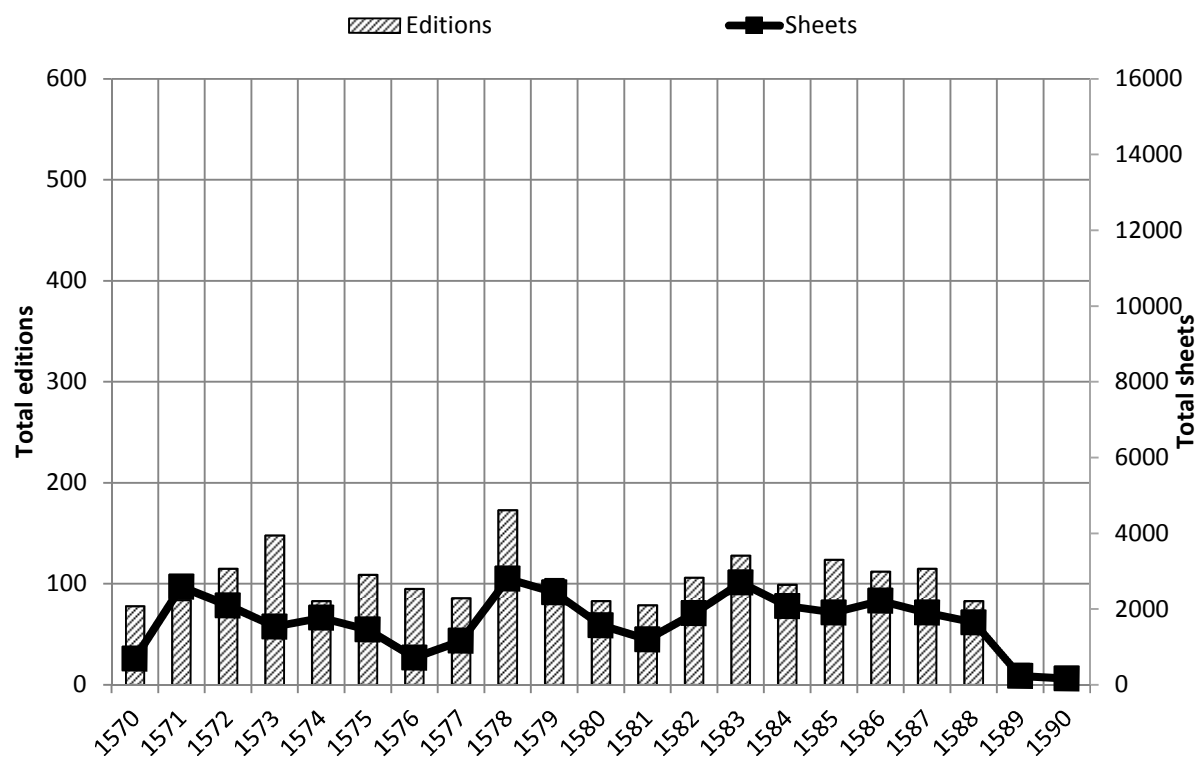


Figure 2-23: Number of sheets per copy / number of editions (literature).

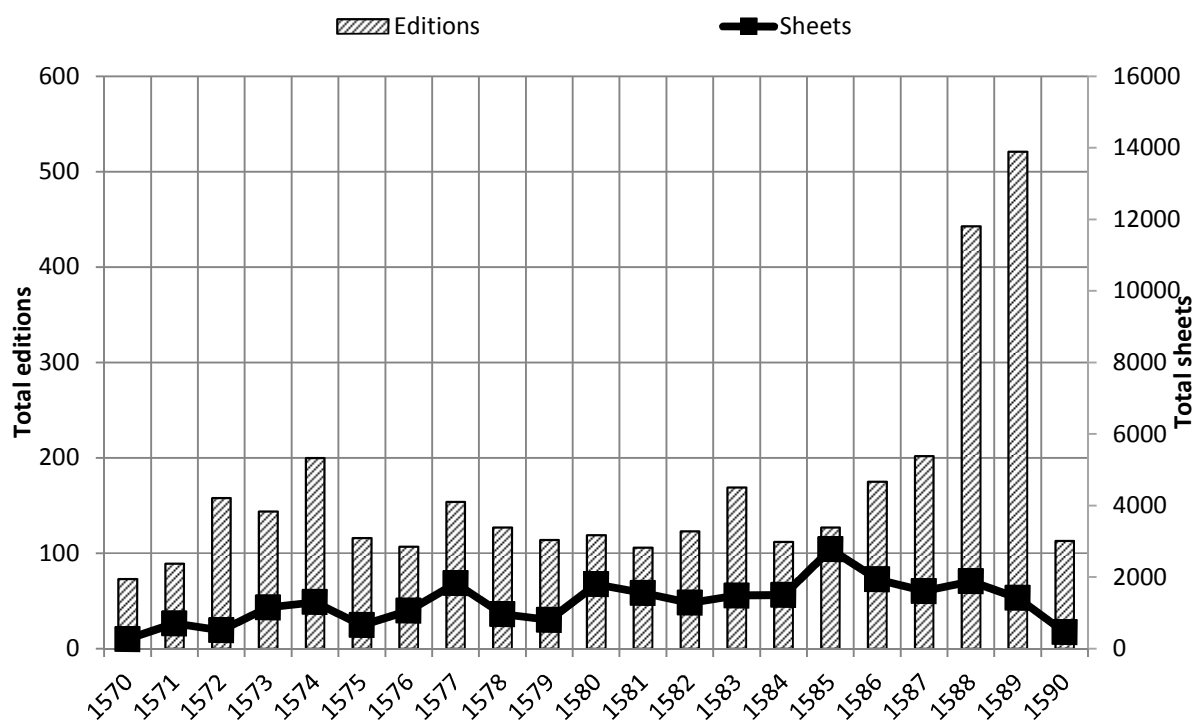


Figure 2-24: Number of sheets per copy / number of editions (political print).

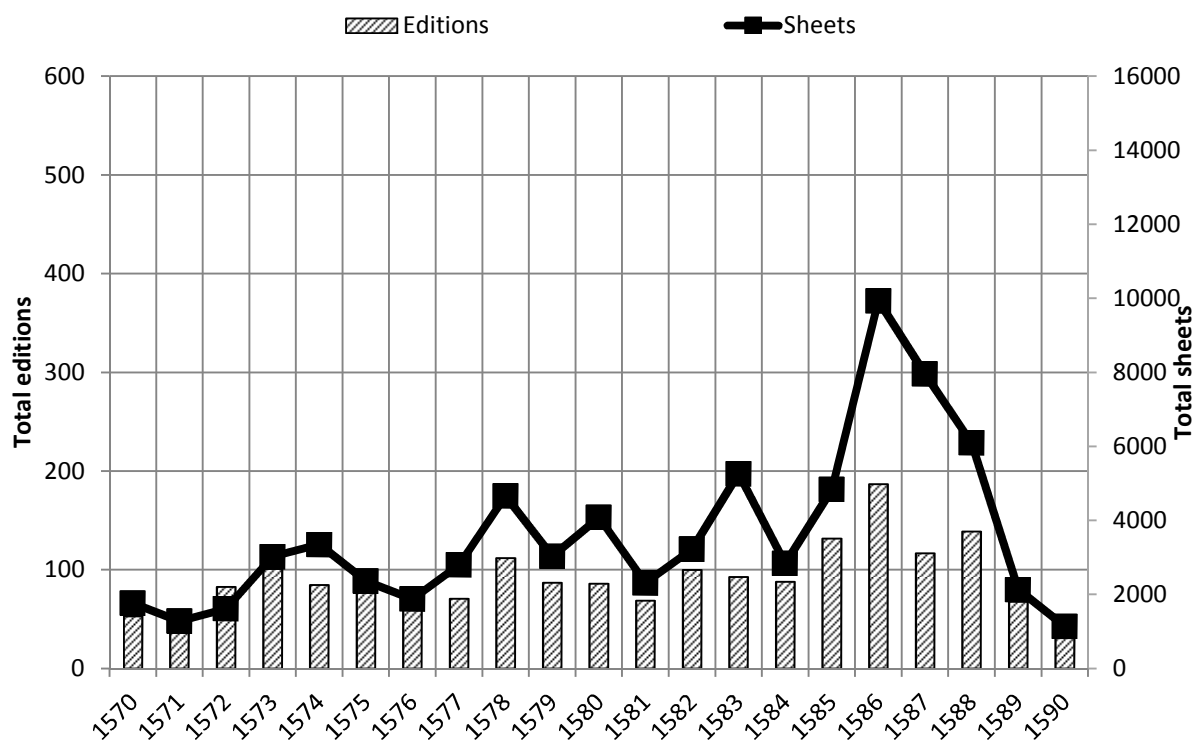


Figure 2-25: Number of sheets per copy / number of editions (religious print).

If we look at to the graphs shown in Figures 2-22 to 2-25, what can be seen is an idea of the confidence on an industry in a particular genre. The pertinent information is when the columns and the line markers diverge relative to other years. As an example, in Figure 2-22, every year, with the exception of 1586, has a large gap between the top of the column showing editions and the line marker showing sheet requirements. The reverse can be seen in Figure 2-24 where every shows the line marker within the column. When sheet requirements are high and edition numbers are low, as in most instances in Figure 2-22, the size of the book is larger and requires more sheets than when the edition numbers are high and sheet requirement is low, as in most years in Figure 2-24 and in particular in 1588 and 1589. This confidence measurement can also be marked on a scale. By subtracting the paper index from the edition index for each genre, a confidence index can be created and plotted in a similar way to the edition and sheet indices were plotted. The difference being that instead of two lines, one line represents each of the genres [Figure 2-27]. This allows the confidence factor of each genre to be plotted on the same graph. The confidence of an industry can be plotted on this graph on a scale of ± 500 :

-500	-300	-100	0	100	300	500
Extremely Weak	Very Weak	Weak	Normal	Strong	Very Strong	Extremely Strong

Figure 2-26: Industry strength/confidence scale.

In the following figure, the variation in the confidence of the industry in a particular form of publishing can be seen relative to other genres. Perhaps the most important period is that which begins in 1585 and continues until 1589. 1585 marks the first long term downward movement of the political confidence index, by 1587 it had crossed into the 'weak' zone and by 1588 had crossed into the 'very weak' zone. This drop in confidence is matched by an almost equal rise in confidence in religious books. While religious books had seen relative peaks in confidence, particularly in 1574, 1578, 1580, and 1583, the first time the confidence index of religious books moved from the 'normal' zone into the 'strong' zone was in 1586 where it remained until 1588 when it returned to the high end of 'normal' zone. This represents a peak in demand for religious books at the time of the growth of the Catholic League. Here industry indicators closely follow observable political events.

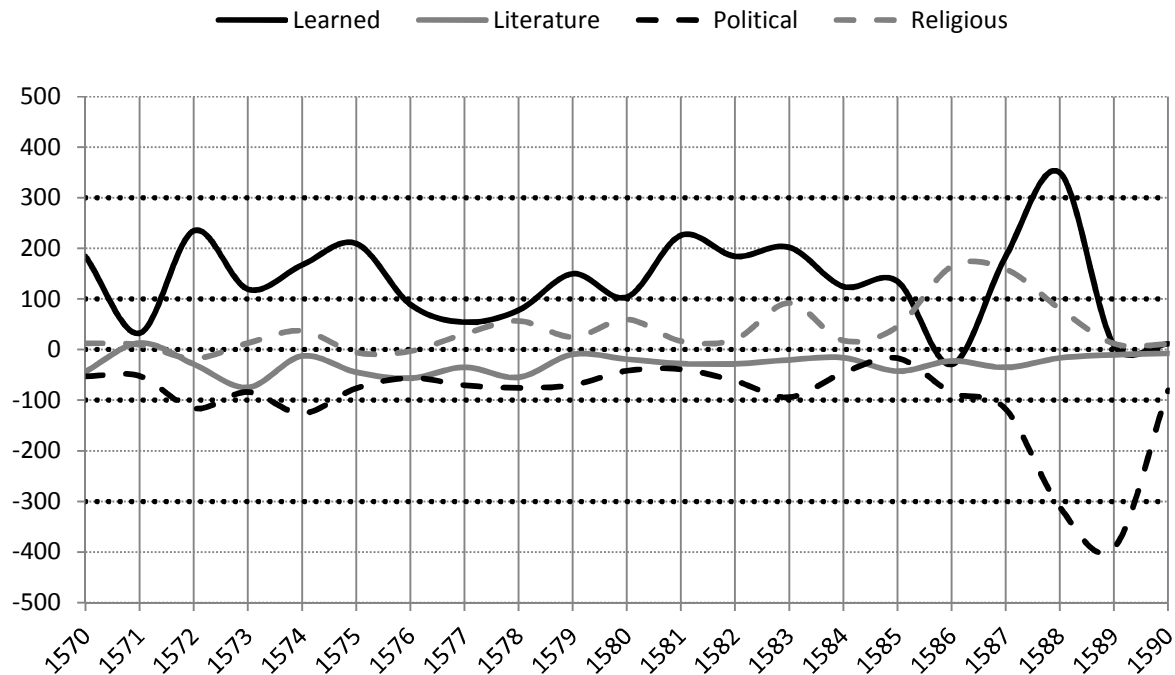


Figure 2-27: Confidence index.

Knowing the sheet requirements of the editions produced in this period, therefore, has allowed an analysis of the output of the presses to go beyond what is possible only with edition numbers. Often one of the problems with book history is the elevation of the book from a economic object to a cultural one. The contents of some books have caused the idea of the book to be elevated beyond consisting simply of paper and ink, to be considered with a reverence that hides the economic organisation of the industry that created the book. If the idea of the book, rather than the physical object, is treated with too much reverence, we can become blinded to the fundamental fact that the printing trade is, was, and always has been a trade; an industry with profit and loss margins, and an industry where those margins can be very narrow. That it is not to say that those involved in the industry were motivated by the idea of profit alone, many involved were highly learned men who were often involved in all stages of the production of a book, including in the creation of its text.

The industrial element of the book trade is integral to the understanding of the sixteenth-century book. The analysis of this chapter has attempted to redress this gap in the study of printing in the sixteenth century by focusing on the economic realities that underpinned the choice of text and market strategies. Throughout the period between 1570 and 1590 the Paris market remained extraordinarily diverse. But

printers and publishers had to take into account many different issues in deciding what to bring to the market. They had to assess what was the level of public demand and they had to be aware whether other printers were likely to attempt a competing edition. Most of all, they had to balance the prospect of profit against the risk of producing a longer and more complex book. It is this balance of risk and opportunity that this chapter has interrogated most directly by a consideration of the complexity rather than the mere number of books published. The following chapter will pursue these issues in more detail by looking more intensively at the particular projects which lie behind the broad categorisations that we have used thus far.

Chapter III: Classification

The industrial nature of printing: the cost of paper, ink and wages, represent only one side of the economic considerations necessary for a successful printing endeavour. The other side is that, above all, the book must sell. Multiple editions and multiple impressions indicate a degree of marketability. However, we have shown that large numbers of editions do not necessarily correlate with large sheet requirements. It is no surprise, then, to discover that religious books, while important in terms of sheets, could also account for the least number of editions. Of the four main categories, there were fewer religious editions than in the other three classifications: literature, learned, and political.

This is a finding of some importance. After all, for ten years France had been convulsed by religious conflict. Parisian presses turned out multiple editions of new works of controversy and polemic, excoriating the Protestant religion and counselling against any compromise with the Huguenots.¹⁰¹ This surge in cheap religious publishing had a profound impact on the Parisian press, diverting energies from more serious works of scholarship that had characterised its output during the golden years of mid-century.¹⁰²

The stalling of the Huguenot movement in northern France and the subsequent Catholic revenge in the St Bartholomew's Day massacre brought to an end this brief era when the conflict between faiths was so stark and urgent. In Lyon the period after 1565 saw growth in Catholic printing, from a resurgence in Catholic pamphlet literature and books of doctrine and devotion to loyal Royalist pamphleteering during the wars of the League.¹⁰³ While religious publications continued an important component of Parisian output, in this age as in any other, the nature of these religious publications changed. This change becomes even more obvious when we look beyond the four broad categories in which we have discussed Parisian print so far, to consider in more detail the sorts of books turned off the presses by Parisian printers in this period.

¹⁰¹ Andrew Pettegree, *The Culture of Persuasion*, pp.177-184; Andrew Pettegree, *The French Book and the European Book World*, pp.81-83. See also Davis, *Protestantism and the printing workers of Lyon*.

¹⁰² Luc Racaut, "Nicolas Chesneau, Catholic printer in Paris during the French Wars of Religion", in *The Historical Journal*, 52, 1 (2009), p.27.

¹⁰³ See Matthew Hall, *Lyon Publishing in the Age of Catholic Revival, 1565-1600*, (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of St Andrews, 2005).

The 1560s was a period of crisis for the French monarchy. It was also an extraordinarily testing but simultaneously vibrant period for the Parisian printing industry. In the twenty years before 1560, French typography had reached a pinnacle of technical excellence that was acknowledged throughout the European print community.¹⁰⁴ Printers in both Lyon and Paris took on complex projects of literature, science and scholarship. The books that they published were often masterpieces of technical skill and scholarly expertise. The passions roused in the decade following the death of Henry II threatened to destroy this carefully constructed edifice. The furious Catholic reaction to the advance of Protestantism stimulated an enormous wave of publication. But these books were very unlike those that had dominated the presses of the Parisian and Lyonnais printers in the decades previously. Parisian presses in particular churned out sermons, polemic, and excoriating attacks on Protestant doctrine. Overwhelmingly these editions were published in octavo. Although these works, to some extent, created new audiences for print they also, inevitably, soaked up disposal income previously used for literary and scholarly texts.

The destruction of Parisian printing houses that had flirted with Protestantism and the collapse of the movement in the wake of the St Bartholomew's Day massacre raised the prospect of a return to a more settled period in publishing as in politics. The absence of an immediate Protestant threat diminished the need for new and repeated editions attacking the Protestant faith. But the market for religious books was a cornerstone of the printing industry in every age and in every part of Europe. It remained to be seen whether as the immediate Protestant threat receded, Paris resumed patterns of work interrupted by the previous turbulent decade.

§1: Religious print¹⁰⁵

The market for religious books was always diverse and the books published in Paris during these years demonstrate this very well. Parisian printers served every part of this market: a vernacular trade in sermons and homilies and substantial tomes of scholarship for the clerical market. Here we will concentrate on exploring the

¹⁰⁴ Febvre & Martin, *Coming of the Book*, p.82.

¹⁰⁵ For full tables and charts see Appendix A: §4.

importance of religious customers for the serious and substantial works that marked out the Parisian industry, and that of Lyon, from less well capitalised centres of French printing in French provinces.

To illustrate this point we will return briefly to the broad typology that we have established for religious printing:

- Bibles & psalters
- Biblical commentaries & interpretation
- Catechisms
- the Church Fathers
- Religious controversy & polemic
- Missals, Breviaries, & Books of Hours
- Sacred History & regulations of the Church
- Sermons & homilies
- Spirituals & devotional texts
- Theology

It is immediately clear that a number of these categories will continue to feed the vernacular market. Others are overwhelmingly made up of scholarly works in Latin.

Category	Number				Percentage of Genre
	Latin	French	Others	Total	
Bibles & psalters	68	51	0	119	6.22%
Biblical commentaries & interpretation	29	14	0	43	2.25%
Catechisms	8	34	2	44	2.30%
the Church Fathers	108	69	6	183	9.56%
Religious controversy & polemic	25	157	3	185	9.67%
Missals, Breviaries, & Books of Hours	77	58	1	136	7.11%
Sacred History & regulations of the Church	79	170	0	249	13.01%
Sermons & homilies	88	216	0	304	15.88%
Spirituals & devotions	77	281	0	358	18.70%
Theology	136	156	1	293	15.31%
Total	695	1206	13	1914	100.00%

Figure 3-1: Religious subcategories by language and percentage of genre.

Religious books, along with learned books, represent a type of printing that was dominated by a number of established firms. Despite the potential popularity of religious works, many of the books were large, complex editions requiring skill and capital to produce. The average number of sheets per edition in this genre is close to forty and most of these books were printed in octavo. Forty sheets in octavo format

translates into over three hundred pages of text. Such books were larger than average and represents a significant level of investment on the part of the publisher.

It should be of no surprise, therefore, that amongst the names involved in the publication of these religious books we find many of the *libraires* and publishers who represent the best of their industry. These include men such as Guillaume Chaudière, Michel Sonnius, Abel L'Angelier and Nicolas Chesneau, all of whom were amongst the most prolific publishers of this period.¹⁰⁶ Chesneau, in particular, represents a fascinating portrait of a religious publisher in the 1570s. Unlike the others mentioned above, Chesneau started his career with little in the way of family support. Instead, Chesneau took advantage of the period of sustained religious unrest in the 1560s to build up a business based upon the publication of religious polemic. He became a specialist at producing short octavo vernacular texts aimed at an increasingly polarised Catholic community, making his name by producing tracts against the Reformed faith.¹⁰⁷

Chesneau was more than an opportunist profiting from a brief and unstable growth in the popularity of religious polemic. Gifted with a Christian humanist education, Chesneau's devotion to his religion was more than just financial. Even as early as 1566 the income from the cheap vernacular in-octavo polemic had enabled him to embark upon larger books, many of which were religious in nature, and it was Chesneau who produced René Benoist's French translation of the Bible.¹⁰⁸ Throughout the 1570s and until his death in 1584, he continued to produce religious works, and those in other genres, of significant length and cost. These include a five hundred page folio edition of the works of Philo Alexandrinus in 1575, a 1583 folio edition of Hosius' defence of Catholicism that required over two hundred sheets of paper, and a three volume version of Simeon Metaphrastes' lives of the saints in a 1580 folio of over one thousand seven hundred pages. It was in the theological genres and that of sacred history that men such as Chesneau, Chaudière, Sonnius, as well as the partnership of Guillaume Cavellat and Jérôme de Marnef, managed to cement their reputations as printers and *libraires* of quality. Substantial books of religious learning shared many of the same requirements

¹⁰⁶ See Chapter IV.

¹⁰⁷ Luc Racaut, "Nicolas Chesneau, Catholic printer in Paris during the French Wars of Religion", in The Historical Journal, 52, 1 (2009), pp.23-41.

¹⁰⁸ FB 4387.

as books of secular learning: they needed the same level of investment in the raw materials (good quality paper and inks), the same quality of composition, editing and correction, and the same level of sustained press time. In many ways, therefore, books in this genre were similar to books in the learned genre, with both genres having a higher proportion of books in Latin than that of political and literary texts, and both contributing substantially to the improvement in the profile of Paris as a centre of international scholarship.

What is clear from Chesneau's example is that it was possible to build a successful career upon the back of cheap vernacular polemic and to make the transition from producing that type of book to producing expensive and expansive works of erudition. It was not, perhaps, as difficult a move to make as it is usually considered to have been. Chesneau, and others like him, must have made useful connections within the Sorbonne and amongst the learned men of Paris who, eager in the 1560s to make their name as defenders of Catholicism may have wished, by the 1570s, to consolidate their positions as men of letters.¹⁰⁹

Bibles & psalters

One book that exercised the minds of members of the Sorbonne was the printed Bible. This was already a contentious issue by the 1570s. In 1526 the Sorbonne and the Parlement of Paris had banned the publication of the Bible in French in response to the translations of the evangelical Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples.¹¹⁰ Because this ban only involved French language publications of scripture it was, theoretically, possible for a Parisian printer to produce Bibles in other vernaculars. Many printers in the city certainly had the skill to succeed in such a complicated endeavour and indeed it was to a Parisian printer, François Regnault, that the English authorities turned to produce the Great Bible in the 1530s. However, Regnault could not escape the Protestant overtones

¹⁰⁹ Cf. *Moderate voices in the European Reformation*, Luc Racaut & Alec Ryrie (eds.), (Aldershot, 2005)

¹¹⁰ Alison Carter, "René Benoist: Scripture for the Catholic Masses" in Luc Racaut & Alec Ryrie (eds.), *Moderate voices in the European Reformation*, (Aldershot, 2005), p. 167.

of a vernacular bible and before it was finished Regnault's shop was raided and the completed sheets confiscated.¹¹¹

The ban on French bibles in the 1520s if anything reinforced the identification between vernacular scripture and the Reformed religion.¹¹² It was to challenge this Protestant monopoly of the Scripture text (which was not a feature of the pre-Reformation period) that led René Benoist to produce his own Catholic translation. Without such a work members of the Catholic laity, wishing a French translation would be required to turn to existing Protestant Bibles produced by the presses of Lyon and Geneva.¹¹³ Benoist's Bible was first published in Paris, followed by a Latin-French New Testament and a Latin-French Bible in 1568.¹¹⁴ These publications accelerated the break with his colleagues in the Sorbonne and his French translation was condemned by the Faculty and by Pope Gregory XIII; in 1572 the Sorbonne expelled him from their ranks.¹¹⁵

Perhaps the reason that Benoist's translation fell foul of the religious authorities may have had as much to do with his 'stiff-necked' approach to his relations with the more conservative members of the Sorbonne as with the ban on French translations.¹¹⁶ For, despite the ban, a healthy number of French language versions of the Bible continued to be produced in Paris throughout the 1570s. Certainly, the majority of the texts in this category were in Latin, but nearly 43 per cent were in French. Nearly half of these French editions were versions of the Psalms, but the majority were French translations of the entirety of the scriptures. Most of the French versions were not published until after 1580 and, by the mid-1580s, publishers such as Jamet Mettayer, Michel Sonnius, Gabriel Buon, Sébastien Nivelles and Abel L'Angelier had begun to produce new Parisian versions of the Bible based upon Benoist's translations.

¹¹¹ S.L. Greenslade, *The Cambridge history of the Bible. Vol. 3. The West from the Reformation to the present day*, (Cambridge, 1963), p.151.

¹¹² Pettegree, *Book in the Renaissance*, p.118.

¹¹³ Carter, "René Benoist: Scripture for the Catholic Masses", p.167; a previous Catholic version was produced by Nicolas de Leuze (the Louvain Bible) in 1550 but was difficult to obtain.

¹¹⁴ FB 5541 (1568 New Testament), FB 4398 (1568 Bible).

¹¹⁵ Carter, "René Benoist", p.167; Emile Pasquier, *Un curé de Paris pendant les guerres de religion: René Benoist, le pape des Halles (1521-1608)*, (Paris, 1913). Despite the papal condemnation, Christopher Plantin sought and received approbation from the Faculty of Theology in Louvain and a privilege from Philip II for his 1578 edition of Benoist's bible (FB 4417).

¹¹⁶ Carter, "René Benoist", pp.169-170.

The Church Fathers

Separating the works of the Church Fathers is necessary in order to distinguish between contemporary and older works of biblical commentary or theology. It can be assumed that the ancient theology represented in these books would not be as controversial in the religious climate of Paris in the 1570s and 1580s as contemporary writings.

Certainly the works of the Church Fathers were exceptionally popular. Given that these were usually large and expensive books, it can be seen that Paris was retaining its place as one of the European centres of scholarly print.

The names of most of the authors of books in this category are very well known:

Ambrose of Milan, Athanasius of Alexandria, Athenagoras of Athens, Augustine of Hippo, Basil the Great, Clement of Alexandria, Clement of Rome, Cyprian of Carthage, Cyril of Alexandria, Gregory Nazianzus, Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory the Great, Irenaeus, Jerome, John Chrysostom, John of Damascus, Origen, Polycarp, and Tertullian. However, Paris printers also turned works by authors whose names are not as well known but who were contemporary to the Church Fathers. These include men such as Ephraem Syrus (c.306-73), a Syrian exegete and possible delegate at the Council of Nicaea; the seventh-century Archbishop of Seville, Isidore Hispalensis (c.560-636), a Doctor of the Church who presided over the Fourth Council of Toledo (633) and was canonized by Clement VIII in 1598; or Salvian Massiliensis (c.400-80) who used the victories of the Germanic tribes against Rome as proof evident of God's judgment on society and on the importance of purity of life and faith in Providence. Finally, there is Philo of Alexandria (c.20 BC – c. AD 50) a Jewish intellectual, exegete and philosophical mystic whose theology combined Greek philosophy with the Old Testament and was directly influential on Clement of Alexandria and Origen, and indirectly influential on Ambrose and others of the Latin Fathers. It was because of the writings of Philo of Alexandria that the allegorical interpretation of the Bible was introduced into standard exegesis.

However, the most commonly printed of the Church fathers were Basil the Great, Augustine of Hippo, and Gregory the Great. Between them they account for eighty-four works, either individual or combined, which amounts to 46 per cent of all editions in this category. The most commonly printed works were collected editions of the Church Fathers, of which there were twelve editions. Of individual works, some of the most

popular seems to have been the works of Philo of Alexandria (eight editions, all in French), the works of Gregory the Great (nine editions, all in Latin), Ephraem Syrus' Divins opuscles et exercices spirituels, which was printed in seven editions. Three versions were printed in 1579 (a joint enterprise between Sébastien Nivelle and Michel Sonnius) and four editions in 1586.¹¹⁷ The fact that there were more editions of Ephraem in French than there were of him in Latin, is a little unusual for this subcategory.

Biblical commentaries & interpretation

Separating out of works by Church Fathers means that books in this class are all relatively contemporary to the period in which they are being printed. Most of these contemporary commentaries are various meditations or expositions on certain books of the Bible; these were either not selling well or the privileges on them were vigorously guarded as very few are printed in more than one edition. The exception is Hieronymus Lauretus' Sylva allegoriarum totius Sacrae Scripturae which was printed in five editions: once by Sébastien Nivelle in 1583 in a quarto edition, once by Michel Sonnius, also in a 1583 quarto, and three times by Jean Charron: two 1583 folios and again in a folio in 1584.

The 43 editions in this category represent only 2 per cent of all religious books. However, while there were few printed, those that were printed were not insubstantial. These were generally large books of many pages though, surprisingly perhaps, most of them were in small formats: over two-thirds were octavo or smaller. The small size of this category in terms of editions is reflected in the limited number of *libraires* and printers involved in the production of these books. This was a genre dominated by a small number of print shops. Of the 43 editions, over half were printed by just eight men, including Nicolas Chesneau, Guillaume Chaudière and Michel Sonnius.

¹¹⁷It is likely that there were four versions printed in 1579 since the later Nivelle edition of the same year suggests that there may also have been a non-extant Sonnius second 1579 edition. The 1586 editions consist of two French versions and two Latin versions jointly produced by Nivelle and Sonnius with separate title pages.

Theology

Those three *libraires* were important in the production of many types of religious works, including theological texts: they were responsible for nearly a quarter of all works in this category. This is even more impressive given the sheer number of theological texts printed in this period. At 293 editions this is the third largest category in the religious genre, and important too in economic terms, given the general size and format of texts within it, one which required a large amount of paper and took up an impressive number of working hours on a press.¹¹⁸ That theology would be a large and important category for the printers in Paris is not unsurprising. The importance of both the University of Paris and its Faculty of Theology were paramount in the early years of the book trade. It was the Faculty that provided the approbations that were required under the statutes of Francis I.¹¹⁹ Furthermore, the Faculty occupied the enviable position as one of the foremost theological faculties in all of Europe. When Henry VIII wanted biblical support for his annulment proceedings against Catherine of Aragon, he turned to the Paris Faculty of Theology.¹²⁰ Interestingly, one of the most published authors in this category was an Englishman, Thomas Stapleton. Stapleton, while a professor at the University of Louvain, had many of his theological writings published in Paris, predominantly by Sonnius. He had seven editions printed in this period, three editions in three successive years of his Principiorum fidei doctrinalium, and two editions in successive years of his Universa justificationis doctrina.

The importance of Latin texts can be seen in the popularity of Stapleton's texts. His theological works, written for an international audience in an international language transcended his English origins and his Flemish domicile. That an Englishman living in Flanders could be published in France in a language universal to scholars in all areas indicates how important the Latin language remained. Stapleton was one of a number of English exiles writing against the religious settlement of the country of their birth. Though mainly based in the Low Countries (and mainly in Louvain), their writings

¹¹⁸ Texts in this category required over seven thousand sheets at an average of 37 sheets per edition. The majority of books were octavo which translates into nearly 600 pages.

¹¹⁹ Pottinger, *French book trade*, p.211.

¹²⁰ John Guy, *Tudor England*, (Oxford, 1988), pp.116-117; cf. V.M. Murphy, *The Debate over Henry VIII's First Divorce: An Analysis of Contemporary Treatises*, (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Cambridge University, 1984).

found resonance amongst the Catholics of France, many of whom were unsatisfied with the attempted religious settlements of Henry III. Other exiles from Elizabethan England that found some modicum of success at presses of Paris include William Allen and Nicolas Sanders. Neither, however, enjoyed the same level of popularity as Stapleton though Sanders, at least, shared the same publisher. Sanders' *De visibili monarchia ecclesiae* was printed for Sonnius in an impressive folio in 1580.

Catechisms

Catechisms represent a relatively new type of book. The first catechism sanctioned by Rome and the Catholic Church did not appear until the Council of Trent and was not published until 1566. This catechism, developed under the control of Charles Borromeo by Leonardo Marino, Muzio Calini, Egidio Foscarini and Francisco Fureiro, was not aimed at neophytes or children but rather as a guide to priests. However, it is worth noting that it appears that only two of the forty-four editions in this class are a copy of this particular sanctioned work. They were both printed in French, the first in 1573 by Jacques Kerver and the second in 1586 by Guillaume La Nouë, one of Kerver's successors in the *Societas typographica librorum Officii ecclesiastici ex decreto Concilii Tridentini*.¹²¹ The remaining forty-two are unofficial catechisms, though all are Catholic in doctrine. The earliest of these were editions of the catechisms of the Jesuit Edmund Auger and both were printed in 1572. The first was printed by Gabriel Buon in a sextodecimo format, the other was printed by Thomas Brumen in an octavo format. These editions were followed by a third in 1573, also by Buon; other editions of Auger's catechism were printed by Jean de Bordeaux in 1576 (twice) and then in 1578 (with Thomas Brumen), all of which were in sextodecimo format. Auger's catechism, designed to counter the teachings of Calvin, accounts for nearly a quarter of all catechisms printed in the 1570s. By the 1580s, however, its popularity had begun to wane. In this decade Auger's catechism was progressively eclipsed by that of another Jesuit, Peter Canisius. Canisius, from the Duchy of Gueldar, was a leading light in the early years of the Jesuits. He was present at the 1557 Colloquy of Worms and would later found the Jesuit College that would become the University of Fribourg,

¹²¹Kerver held the French licence to print official Tridentine works and the *Societas* was formed to exploit this licence after his death in 1583.

Switzerland. His catechism was so influential in Catholic circles that when people spoke of the “catechism” they almost invariably meant that of Canisius. It is therefore not surprising to see a number of editions being printed in Paris in the 1570s and 1580s: there were nine separate editions of Canisius’ catechism produced by three different printers and in a number of languages. While all of Auger’s catechisms were printed in French, Canisius’ catechism was printed in Latin, French, and two editions were printed in English. The first editions were printed in 1576, one by Jacques Kerver in a octavo Latin edition, and two by Thomas Brumen in a smaller sextodecimo French edition. Brumen would go on to print over two thirds of the Paris Canisius editions, and he was responsible for 3 editions of a Latin folio version in 1579, 1581, and 1585; followed by a Latin octavo in 1587. Kerver would only print one edition, the remaining editions of Canisius being printed by Pierre Hury in English in, firstly a sextodecimo in 1587, and then in an octavo in 1588.



Figure 3-2: The church of Saint-Eustache.

The final important author of these Parisian catechisms is René Benoist, by this time curé of the church of Saint-Eustache. However, in the 1570s and 1580s fourteen editions of his catechisms were produced, primarily by Jean Poupy, Guillaume de La Nouë, and by Nicolas Chesneau who, we have seen, had established a relationship with Benoist earlier in the 1560s. Chesneau published two editions in 1573 in sextodecimo

and he would print his third edition in 1582 as a folio. Jean Poupy printed five editions, all in octavo, one each in 1573 and 1574, three in 1575, and the last in 1577. La Nouë printed five editions of Benoist's catechisms, all in 1589 and all in French octavos. The last Benoist catechism was a 1577 Jean Postel edition. These three authors account, between them, for twenty-nine of the forty-four books in this class.

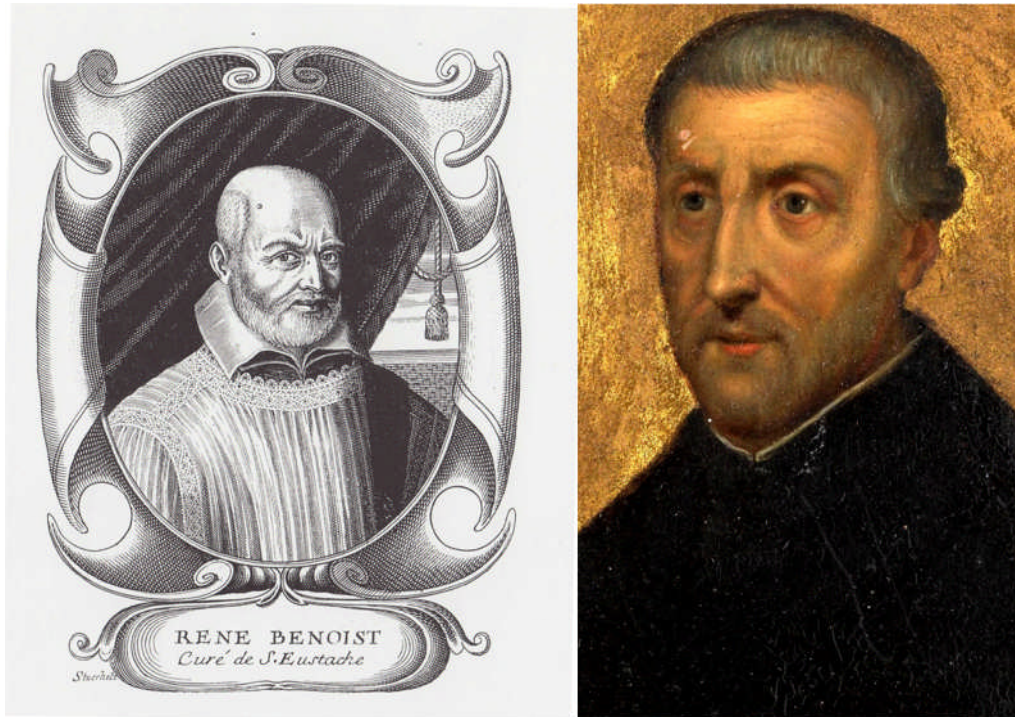


Figure 3-3: René Benoist, curé of Saint-Eustache (left) and Peter Canisius, SJ (right).

Over eighty per cent of the editions in this class were printed in the vernacular suggesting the audience for these books was amongst the laity or amongst the less well educated clergy. With the exception of two, all non-French catechisms were editions of Canisius' work including the two English catechisms printed by Hury.¹²² These two English catechisms were both editions of Canisius' "Parvus Catechismus" and thus an abridged version of his larger catechism. It seems unlikely that the Parisian marketplace would require two editions of Canisius' catechism. And it seems unlikely that such an edition would be popular enough in the boutiques of Paris to require a second edition within the space of a year. Given the importance of Canisius' catechism

¹²² The two exceptions were those written by A. Benson and René Flacé.

in the Catholic Reformation in Germany, it is plausible that these editions were commissioned by the Jesuits not for sale in France but for use in England.¹²³

Missals, Breviaries, & Books of Hours

Unlike Catechisms, the type of books in this category possess a pre-Tridentine history. As important textual artefacts of the Catholic Church that history is a long and significant one that predates the invention of movable type. Missals were one of the earliest forms of ecclesiastical publications. These were books that contained all the necessary elements for the celebration of the Mass throughout the year. As a publication they date from about the tenth century when the Antiphonary (containing all parts of the Choir Office and the Mass sung by the choir antiphonally), the Epistolarly (containing the passages of Scripture read at Mass), the Gradual (the antiphons sung after the Epistle), the Ordinal (the manual acquainting the priest with the required Office to be recited), and the Sacramentary (the manual that contained the Canon of the Mass and the necessary Collects and other prayers) were combined. The combination of these books into one became a necessity with the growth in the saying of Mass without the assistance of a Choir or assistants; missals were useful handbooks for priests working outside of the larger, better equipped churches. The missal may have existed before the Council of Trent but it was not unaffected by the reforms of that body. One of the most important changes to the missal happened in 1570 when Pius V (1566-71) introduced the *Missale Romanum*, or Roman Missal, which would eventually replace the more localised and individual missals in use.

Breviaries are closely related to missals in that they contain much of the information about the liturgical rites of the Catholic Church. They usually contained the necessary prayers, hymns, Psalms, readings, and notations for use by clerics for conducting the Divine Office of the liturgical hours. Prior to the development of breviaries in the eleventh century the information necessary for the recitation of the liturgical hours was contained in a number of different books, for example in the Psalter, the Hymnary, and the Lectionary. A number of different breviaries developed through the Middle Ages, based around the conduct of the Divine Office in different monastic settings. As with the

¹²³ See Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent, H. J. Schroeder (ed.), (London, 1960), pp.183-190.

missal, the Council of Trent paved the way for the unification of these various forms of the breviary: in 1568 Pius V issued the *Breviarium Romanum*. This, together with the Roman Missal, the Roman Catechism (of 1566) and the revised 1592 Vulgate Bible, created the four pillars of post-Tridentine Catholic worship.

Unlike missals and breviaries which were aimed squarely at a clerical audience, Books of Hours, or primers, were aimed at a more general lay audience. Already popular in the manuscript era, Books of Hours made the transition to print relatively quickly. They became a cornerstone of the market place in the major printing centres of northern Europe for the first decades of the sixteenth century, and remained a staple of the Paris market for many decades thereafter. They were designed as abbreviated breviaries for the use by the laity so that they could introduce elements of monastic piety into their daily lives. Books of Hours were usually comprised of the Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Office for the Dead, and the Litany of Saints with the addition of any prayers of devotions peculiar to the area. As with breviaries, Books of Hours differed from location to location with Hours of Paris, Rome, Rouen and Chartres especially frequent among the output of the printing presses of late sixteenth-century Paris.

In some respects it is surprising that this category is not larger than it is: only 136 editions were published in the period 1570-1590. One would suspect that the demand for the literary paraphernalia of devout Catholic worship would have been a significant market in the Paris of the period. After all, in the 1560s and 1570s, Plantin produced over 52,000 copies of this type of book specifically for export to Spain.¹²⁴ It would be useful to briefly examine the individual books separately because, despite the similarity in content between the three constituent books of this category, they were aimed at different audiences. Clearly the main distinction is between missals and breviaries on the one hand and Books of Hours on the other. Missals and breviaries were technical tools for the clergy and printed almost exclusively in Latin. Of the two, breviaries were by far the most common with nearly twice as many printed as there were missals. Books of Hours, on the other hand, were mainly aimed at a laity readership. This accounts for the fact that 84 per cent of these editions were published in French. However, the dominance of vernacular Books of Hours was not always assured. While

¹²⁴ Colin Clair, *Christopher Plantin*, (London, 1960), pp.87-104.

Books of Hours were wholly Catholic in nature, the ban on French translation of scripture encompassed books that included parts of the Bible in translation, such as Books of Hours. French language primers, with their extracts of Psalms and of the Gospels had fallen foul of the religious authorities as early 1520.¹²⁵ It was René Benoist who, once more, challenged the authority of the Sorbonne and revised the French vernacular Book of Hours in 1569.¹²⁶ Even prior to the growth of vernacular Books of Hours they had been 'read' by literate and illiterate alike: "as a devotional object the book of hours is located at the intersection of literate and not necessarily literate experience – particularly the visual, aural and tactile dimensions of devotional practice."¹²⁷ However, vernacular Books of Hours extended the literate experience to those who could read French but not Latin and thus widening their devotional routine.

Books of Hours were also the most numerous of the three types of books in this genre with 61 editions printed in this period. Furthermore, these Parisian books of Hours were generally printed in smaller formats, with books larger than octavo a rarity. Finally, the market for Books of Hours remained diverse. While the Book of Hours of Rome, derived from the *Breviarium Romanum*, was the most popular with twenty-three editions, there were a number of competing versions such as those of Paris, Rouen, Chartres, Le Mans, Rheims, Amiens and Sens.¹²⁸

Sermons & homilies

Of the 1,914 religious books under discussion, a full 303 are classified as either a sermon or a homily (16 per cent of the total). In some years as much as a quarter of the religious books produced in Paris were literature of this kind. Homilies mainly focused on biblical or theological themes. Some were similar in many ways to biblical commentaries, but with a moral and spiritual message beyond that of simple exegesis,

¹²⁵ Pierre Gringoire's French verse translation was condemned by the Faculty of Theology in 1525; Carter, "René Benoist", p.171; Francis M. Higman, *Censorship and the Sorbonne: A Bibliographical Study of Books in French Censured by the Faculty of Theology of the University of Paris, 1520-1551*, (Geneva, 1979), pp.77-79.

¹²⁶ Carter, "René Benoist", p.171.

¹²⁷ Virginia Reinburg, "Books of Hours," in Andrew Pettegree et al. (eds.), *The Sixteenth-Century Religious Book*, (Aldershot, 2001), p.71.

¹²⁸ There were eight Books of Hours of Paris. The edition numbers for the other cities: Rouen (5), Chartres (3), Le Mans (2), Rheims (1), Amiens (1), Sens (1).

often on the Old Testament prophets. Other favoured topics included homilies on the gospels or on the passion of Christ.

The largest number of editions in this category, however, were sermons written for a particular occasion. There are four different editions of Simon Vigor's Sermons catholiques sur le symbole des apôtres et sur les evangiles des dimanches et festes de l'advent faits en l'église S.Merry à Paris printed in 1588, all by different printers – though working in collaboration.¹²⁹ There were six editions printed prior to 1588 by Claude Bruneval, Sébastien Nivelles, Jérôme de Marnef, Guillaume Cavellat, and Nicholas Chesneau. Chesneau was also responsible for four out of the nine editions of Vigor's Sermons et predictions chrestiennes et catholiques du saint sacrement de l'autel, all published in quick succession.¹³⁰ There are a number of editions of Vigor's sermons on Lent and Easter, all with varying titles, but on the same subject starting with the first, by Chesneau in 1577, then his new editions in 1578, two in 1579 and in 1580, and one in 1582. In 1585 Gabriel Buon, Guillaume Bichon, Sébastien Nivelles all publish a version; in 1586 Guillaume Chaudière published a version and in 1588 there was an edition published by Abel L'Angelier as well as Nivelles's second edition and that of Gabriel Buon. Additionally, François Gueffier publishes two editions, and Michel Sonnius and Nicolas Bonfons both published an edition.¹³¹

Vigor's work was very popular and the publication of his sermons by *libraires* such as Chesneau and Sonnius indicate how important these types of religious books were. They also give some indication as to the size of books in this category. It would be easy to assume that books of this type were short, small format and inexpensive and that they were produced in large quantities, relatively cheaply for the edification of the laity. This assumption, however, is not borne out by the data. Rather than generally being small and short books, this category included some of the larger books in this genre, in average comparable to theological texts. There were certainly a number of single sheet items of only 16 pages, yet editions of two hundred pages or more were more common. For instance, Marnef and Cavellat's 1585 edition of Vigor's Sermons catholiques sur les

¹²⁹ FB 50929; FB 50930; FB 50938; FB 50939.

¹³⁰ FB 50890; FB 50895; FB 50896; FB 50901; FB 50906; FB 50907; FB 50908; FB 50909; FB 50910.

¹³¹ FB 50891; FB 50892; FB 50893; FB 50894; FB 50897; FB 50898; FB 50902; FB 50911; FB 50912; FB 50913; FB 50927; FB 50936; FB 50937; FB 50932; FB 50931; FB 50934; FB 50933; FB 50935.

dimanches et festes depuis l'octave de Pasques jusques à l'advent was nearly two thousand pages long.¹³² While this is an extreme example it was not unique: in 1586 Pierre Cavallet printed a quarto edition of Cent sermons sur la passion de nostre seigneur by Francesco Panigarola requiring over 170 sheets of paper.¹³³ Gervais Mallot's edition of the same work, also of 1586, was shorter but still used over eighty sheets.¹³⁴ These, then, were not books of insignificant length, turned out quickly and cheaply.

Spiritual & devotional texts

With 357 editions, this is the largest subcategory in the 'religious' class. They account for 19 per cent of all religious books and 4 per cent of all Paris books. Books in this subcategory, as the name suggests, are focused on the more spiritual and devotional side of life and as such are aimed predominantly at a lay audience. The most popular authors included both contemporary Paris writers and a number of the most renowned figures of international Catholicism. These include René Benoist, Christopher de Cheffontaine, Pierre Crespet, Luis de Grenada, Antonio de Guevara, Gaspar de Loarte, and Philippe du Plessis-Mornay. Of those seven, it is Benoist and Grenada who are the most common with Benoist the author of 22 editions and Luis de Grenada responsible for 20 editions.

René Benoist, whose catechism and Bible have already been discussed, had been Mary Queen of Scots' confessor before becoming priest of Saint-Eustache near Les Halles – the main market place – in Paris. During the period of the Sixteen, he fled Paris for the Court of Henry IV where he became Henry's confessor and became influential in his conversion.¹³⁵ As the spiritual guide to monarchs, it is not surprising that his works were popular in print. Given his position as a priest in a key urban parish it is also not surprising that his writings were popular Paris publications, and most popular in the period before 1588.

¹³²FB 50922.

¹³³FB 40440.

¹³⁴FB 40439.

¹³⁵ See Émile Pasquier, Un curé de Paris pendant les guerres de religion: René Benoist, le pape des Halles (1521-1608), (Paris, 1913).

Born around 1505, Luis de Grenada entered the Dominican convent of the Holy Cross at Granada. Sent to reform the convent of Scala Coeli in 1544, he spent the next ten years restoring discipline before founding a convent at Badajoz in western Spain. In 1557 he was elected provincial of his order for Portugal where he became confessor to the Queen Regent, Catherine of Hapsburg. Despite some of his works being put on the Index in 1559 owing to fears of mysticism, they were later approved of by the Pope and the Council of Trent. Of the twenty editions of Luis de Grenada printed in the 1570s and 1580s, all but two were printed in the vernacular.

Spiritual texts, such as those written by Luis de Grenada and Benoist, may have been popular, but the market for them is unlikely to have filled the gap left by the decrease in demand for religious controversy. As is common amongst books in this religious genre, many of the devotional texts produced in this period were lengthy. At an average of 24 sheets per edition, these were twice as large as the average work of religious controversy and eight times as large as the average book of political polemic. It is becoming increasingly clear that, as the demand for religious polemic diminished, those printers and *libraires* (such as Chesneau) who made the name in that genre took the opportunity to move into less controversial and more demanding work.

Religious controversy & polemic

The subcategory of religious controversy and polemic is one that is surprisingly small given the popularity of political polemic in the same period. There are only 186 editions in this subcategory: as a genre it is one much diminished from the 1560s. The success of Catholicism as a majority religion in Paris was confirmed by the events of August 1572. As far as Paris was concerned the battle between Catholic and Protestant was over. As such the demand for religious controversy was diminished. This was likely paralleled by the reluctance of many printers, some of whom lost family and colleagues during the massacre, to raise their heads above the parapet and print any works that brought back memories of the distasteful conflicts of the 1560s, even if they were loyally Catholic in tone. The period after St Bartholomew was a period of recovery and consolidation. For both Paris and Lyon this was an opportunity to recover some of the prestige and status in the international book world that had been lost during the turbulent 1560s.

The period of the 1570s, therefore, was a period when controversial literature was potentially damaging to the industry as a whole. The data supports this view. The supply, if not the demand, for controversial literature both religious and political was flat throughout the 1570s and early 1580s. Beyond peaks of controversial literature on the St Bartholomew's Day massacre and the death of Charles IX, the supply of polemic of either sort remained steady, even diminishing, until the crisis of the Catholic League led to a resurgence of political polemic in the mid to late 1580s. [Figure 3-4].

Furthermore, many of the men who had produced these books had moved onto to better things. We have already discussed Nicolas Chesneau, but his example provides us with an illustration of a man who had successfully ridden the pamphlet moment of the 1560s and upon its back had become a printer of influence.

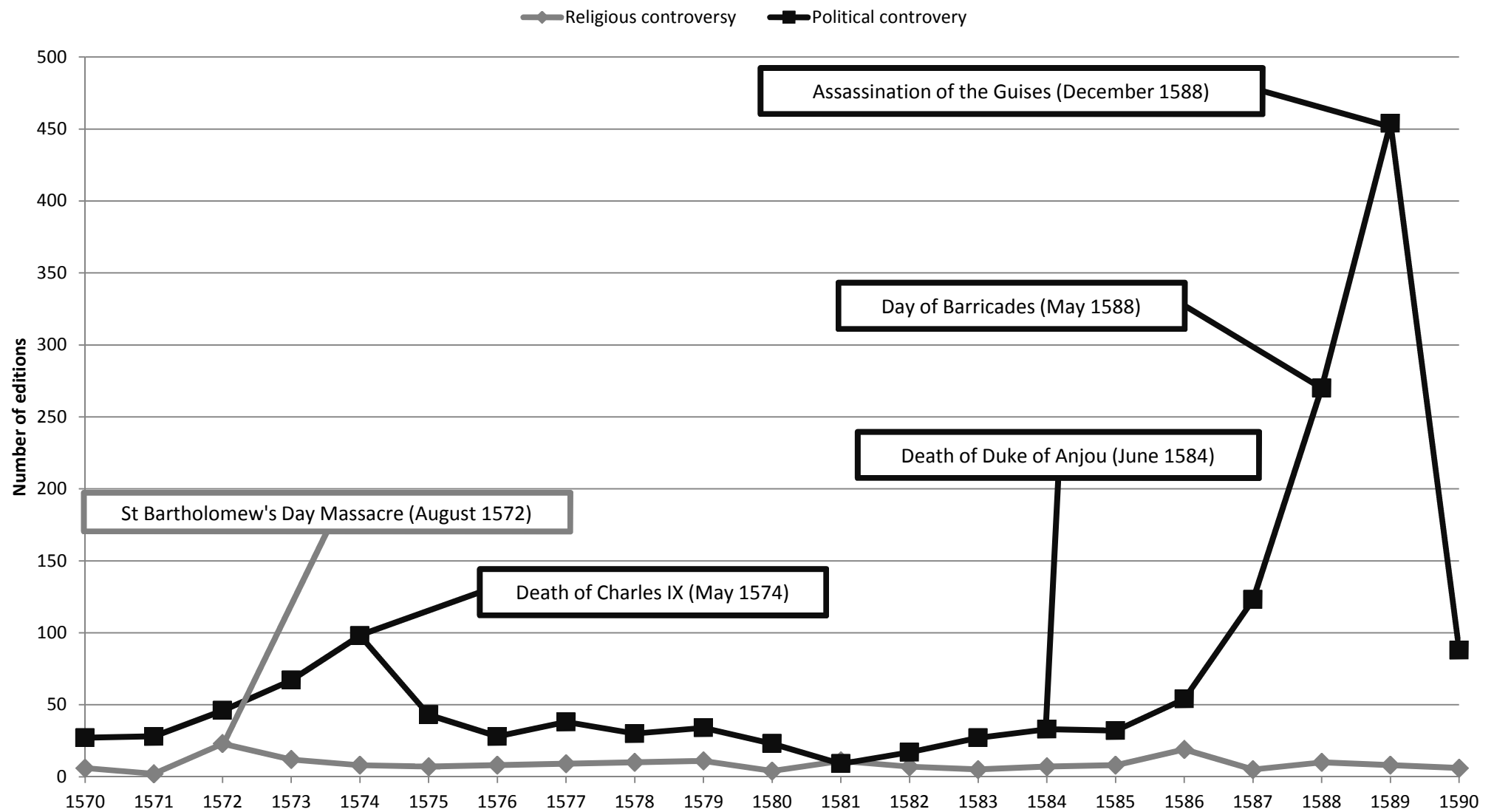


Figure 3-4: Publication of controversial literature, 1570-1590 with trigger events.

Sacred History & regulations of the Church

The final subcategory is a rather odd subcategory in that it could belong to either the religious class or the learned class. The combination of Sacred history – the history of the Church or hagiographies of Saints, along with print editions of various papal bulls and monastic regulations means that this subcategory has been placed in the religious class. With all that said and done, it is quite a large class comprising 250 books, of which the majority are histories of the church. Of particular note are the seven editions of Pierre Boaistuau's Histoire des persecutions de l'Eglise chrestienne et catholique, first printed in Paris in this period with three editions in 1572, three editions in 1576 and one edition in 1586. Of further note are the twenty-five editions of Cassiodorus' Ecclesiastical history, four editions in Latin, the rest in French. Eusebius' Ecclesiastical history was also popular, going through nine editions between 1572 and 1587. Finally, Nicephorus' Ecclesiastical history accounted for twenty-five editions, mostly French, between 1573 and 1587 with twelve editions printed in 1587 alone. Those four authors, three of whom wrote pre-Mediaeval history of the Church, account for 26.40 per cent of books in this subcategory.

As with most categories in this genre, these were large tomes of considerable length. Most used more than ten sheets with the average sheet per edition as high as 55 or 880 pages of octavo. This is a category that confirms what has become clear: that religious books in general in the 1570s and 1580s are works of substance. The pamphlet moment of the 1560s has passed and these are texts aimed at a learned audience with income to spend on large and lengthy volumes. In this, religious books share many of the characteristics of the profile of the following genre.

§2: Learned print¹³⁶

History & Geography

The historical and geographical works published in Paris in these years are very varied in character. They include contemporary chronicles of the Wars of Religion, genealogies of the Kings of France, reports on the fall of Constantinople and histories of the Byzantine Empire. These books are by and large printed in French.¹³⁷ However, many of these French language editions are translations of classical works. Of the twenty-one works of Livy produced in Paris, twelve of them were printed in translation. Of particular note were the numerous editions of Jacques Amyot's translation of Plutarch's Lives. Amyot, tutor of Henry II's sons and later Bishop of Auxerre, dedicated his translation to Henry II and accompanied it with a critical essay in praise of history.¹³⁸ Beyond Amyot and his Plutarch there were seven editions of Tacitus in French – compared with only three in Latin. These figures are a graphic demonstration of an extraordinarily lively market for classical works in translation. The classics were a cornerstone of the educational curriculum: we have many examples of surviving curricula for the French grammar schools, or *lycées*. These laid out a carefully gradated educational agenda which introduced the reader in turn to many of the standard texts of classical scholarship. By the fourth year, students would have been familiar with the works of Cicero and the poetry of Terence, and Virgil.¹³⁹ The highest classes introduced Quintilian, Sallust and Livy. The introduction of historical writing into the school curriculum was essentially an achievement of the humanist educational revolution and an important one. The *reglemens* of the schools and the official reading lists were dominated by classical texts with little mention of contemporary Christian authors such as Erasmus, Ramus, Estienne, or Cordier.¹⁴⁰ The import of the proliferation of Latin works in these curricula introduced an important crossover market for classical texts. These were texts to which students would have been introduced in the schoolroom and now return to in adulthood for pleasure.

¹³⁶For full tables and charts see Appendix A: §1.

¹³⁷ There were 660 French editions, 165 Latin editions, 1 Greek, and 1 Spanish.

¹³⁸ Bernard Weinberg, Critical Prefaces of the French Renaissance, (Evanston, Ill., 1950), pp.161-178.

¹³⁹ George Huppert, Public schools in Renaissance France, (Chicago, 1984), p.79.

¹⁴⁰ Huppert, Public schools, p.76.

This accounts for the fact that Parisian publishers could dispose on the market of a number of large and expensive books in this category. Almost half of the books in this class were in the largest formats: quarto or folio. This includes a substantial proportion of the histories, chronicles and travel books and also extends to the vernacular texts. The market for this sort of writing remained fairly steady throughout the period [Figure 3-5].

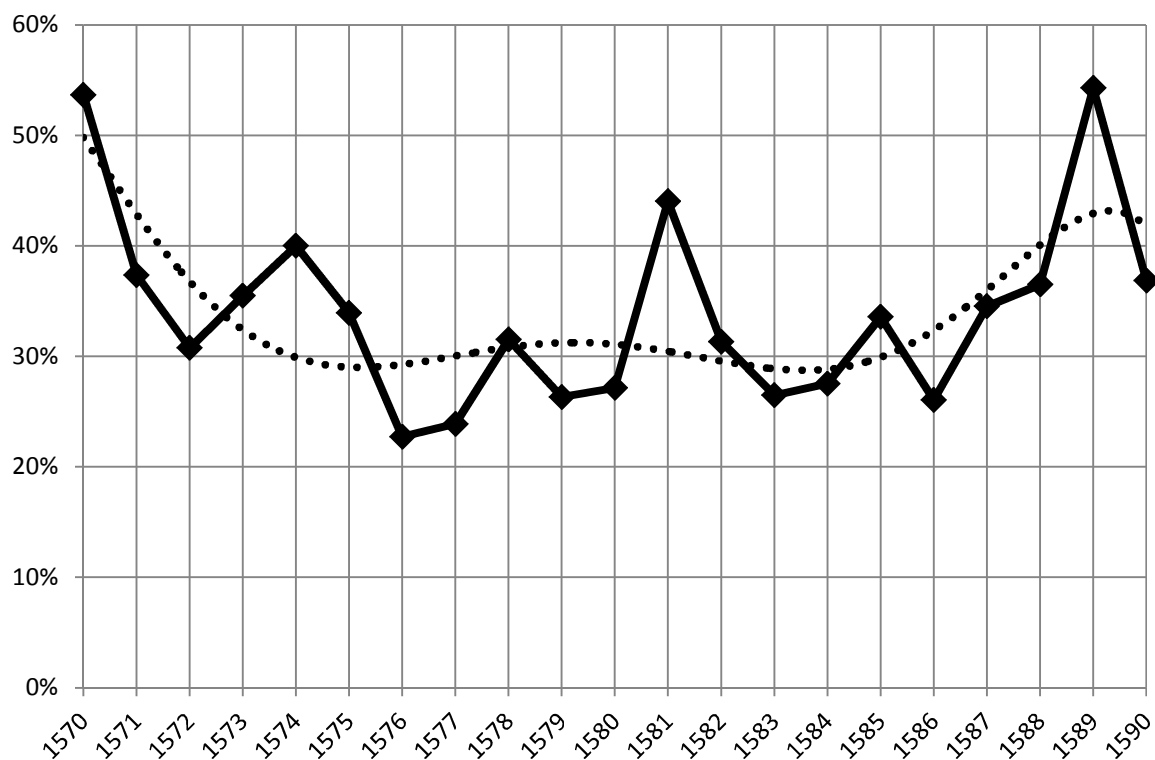


Figure 3-5: History and Geography as proportion of learned texts with trendline.

Philosophy & morality

As with history or geography, many of the works of philosophy or morality printed in Paris possessed a classical provenance. However, these classical philosophical texts were more likely to be in Latin. Indeed, this is one of the only genres where Latin books are in the majority. However, despite the small number of French titles, many of the works in this category are translations. All but five of the 106 editions of Aristotle's works printed between 1570 and 1590 were in Latin, of those five, none were in Greek. Generally, the classical texts in this category were printed in Latin. Their texts were

translated and edited for an international Latinate audience. Furthermore, it was not just classical authors who were printed in Latin, contemporary authors were too.

Aristotle remained the pre-eminent philosopher during this period. No other author is as well represented in this category, only Cicero comes close with 93 editions of his works. That the works of Aristotle's own teacher, Plato, were printed in only 20 editions between 1570 and 1590 is interesting in the light of the growth of Renaissance neo-Platonism. That neo-Platonism was never as integral to programmes of study as Aristotle may account for this discrepancy. The works of Plato, at least in Greek or Latin, were advanced texts to be read either as a culmination of one's Greek learning, or in order to aid one's understanding of Cicero.¹⁴¹ Furthermore, most editions of Plato were in French. Perhaps Plato was read for pleasure in a way that Aristotle, a necessary schoolbook, was not. The importance of Aristotle as a set text is reflected in the publication of repeat editions of a limited number of titles. Nearly a quarter of Aristotelian editions are versions of Ethica Nicomachea, printed regularly and steadily throughout the period and clearly representing a continual market for Aristotle's best known ethical work.

Quartos were an uncommonly popular format for philosophical books with nearly a third of the books in this class in that format. This is because of the importance of Latin language editions. In general quartos were more common amongst Latin books than French books: because of the popularity of octavo for French language pamphlets, there are nearly seven times as many octavos as quartos. For Latin books, the ratio is far closer to two to one. Because over a half of all editions in this class were printed in Latin, quartos account for a third of all philosophical books. The popularity of the quarto for these texts is at odds with its general unpopularity amongst Parisian printers compared with the smaller octavo. During this same period, Antwerp printers produced nearly a quarter of their texts in quarto compared with fewer than one in six for Paris.¹⁴² This reflects a general cultural difference. Over the century as a whole approximately four in every ten books printed in the Low Countries used the quarto format. The figure for France would be much lower.

¹⁴¹ Louis Narbonne, L'instruction publique à Narbonne, (Narbonne, 1891), pp.27-28; William Harrison Woodward, Studies in Education during the Age of the Renaissance, 1400-1600, (New York, 1965), p.45.

¹⁴² Figures derived from the USTC. See also the introduction to FB (Leiden, 2007).

Scientific books & Natural History

This category contains a wide range of differing texts. It includes not only the new learning about nature and the world encouraged by the Renaissance, but also the rediscovered ancient texts by authors such as Pliny or Lucretius. It was also a genre that appears to become increasingly popular through this period. Figure 3-6 shows the trendline as steady through the 1570s. Then there is a steady rise through the 1580s until an inevitable drop after 1585, followed by a total collapse in 1590. This is one of the most consistent trends of this period: the market for books in this category remained constant and steady for the majority of this period and did not witness the fluctuations in popularity experienced by most categories. The most likely explanation for this is the relatively small numbers of these books produced, never more than 25 in a single year. This represents less than 5 per cent of an average year's output and suggests that the specialised nature of these texts meant that they were the purview of a select group of publishers. These publishers, such as Étienne Prévosteau, Gilles Gourbin, Jacques du Puys, and Jérôme de Marnef, appear to have been careful not to saturate the market with oversupply.¹⁴³ If this is the case, and supply met, but did overwhelm, demand, then this class could well have represented a very lucrative business for those involved in it.

Curiously, books in this subgenre were predominantly printed in the vernacular, with 64 per cent printed in French compared with 36 per cent in Latin. This is, perhaps, not what one would naturally expect. The popularity of the vernacular is probably explained by the success of Francophone texts on the natural sciences, books on plants and fish and other animals in particular, as well as scientific manuals translated into French for practical use, such as Vanoccio Biringuccio's La Pyrotechnie, ou Art du Feu, translated by Jacques Vincent and printed by Claude Frémy, originally in 1556, but again in 1572.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴³ These four printers produced nearly one in three of the total scientific editions in this period.

¹⁴⁴ FB 5713, 5714.

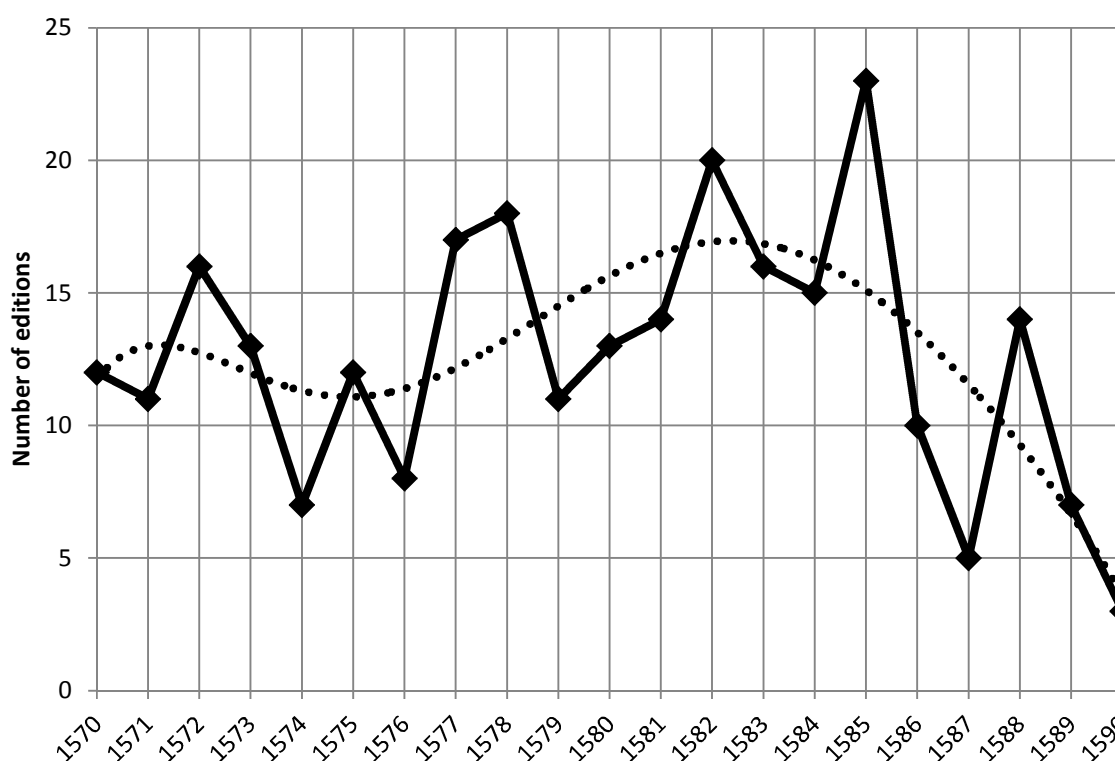


Figure 3-6: Scientific books & natural history editions with trendline.

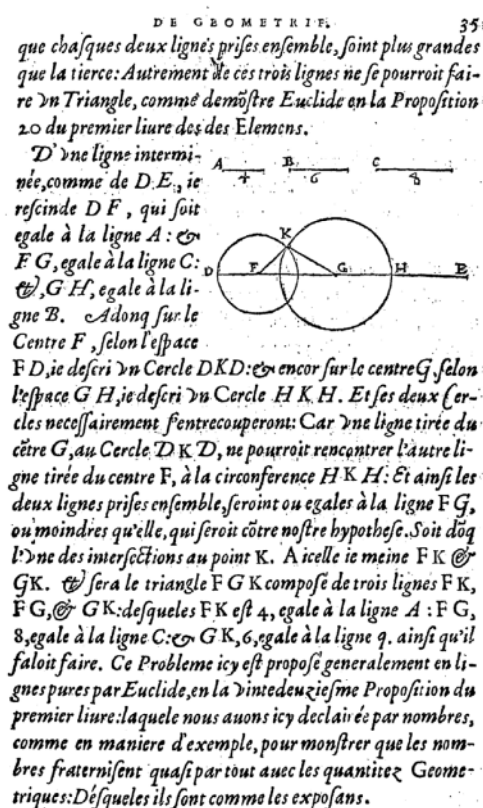
Also popular were editions of mathematical books, particular geometry and arithmetic, of which there were thirty. Twenty of these editions were in French and half were in octavo while thirteen were quartos. It is generally believed that in terms of mathematical printing, Paris was a follower rather than a leader.¹⁴⁵ While this may be true, mathematical editions printed in Paris were certainly important in the French book trade. Of the 170 editions of mathematical books in the possession of Jean I du Temps, 59 were printed in Paris with Basel a distant second (28 editions). Furthermore these included editions of books that had never been printed elsewhere.¹⁴⁶ While most of these original publications came about in the early part of the sixteenth century, from the presses of Simon de Colines, Michel de Vascosan, and Gilles Gourbin, Paris continued to print important mathematical books from influential authors: for example, three editions of Oronce Fine's *La pratique de la geometrie*, and six editions by Jacques Chauvet.¹⁴⁷ That Fine's works were still being printed thirty years after his death

¹⁴⁵ Henri-Jean Martin, *Print, Power, and People in 17th-Century France*, trans. David Gerard, (London, 1993), p.155.

¹⁴⁶ Alexander Marr, "A Renaissance Library Rediscovered: The 'Repertorium librorum Mathematica' of Jean I du Temps", in *The Library*, VIIth Series 9:4 (December, 2008), pp.436-437.

¹⁴⁷ FB 19797, 19799, 19800; FB 12955, 12956, 12957, 12958, 12959, 12960.

indicates the longevity of his work and the importance of his role as chair of mathematics at the Collège Royal.¹⁴⁸



42 DE L'VSAGE

ligne droite, & seulement celle-la: ainsi trois points ne se peuuent assigner en nulle position, qu'il ne se meine par iceux une ligne Circulaire, & non autre qu'elle.

La commune vsance des Artisans est un peu plus compendieuse, mais toutesfois tirée de cecy. Desus le point A, de la Circonference, ils tirent un Cercle obscur, duquel le Semidiametre soit plus estendu que la moitié de la Circonference, ou Arc A B: Et sur le point B, ils meinent un autre Cercle de mesme estendue, & qui coupe le premier en deux points (ainsi que tousiours font les Cercles s'entrecoupés) comme en D, & en E. Semblablement sur deux autres points, ils tirent deux Cercles d'egale estendue, s'entrecoupans en deux autres points, comme ici en F, & en G. Adonc par les interseptions ils tirent deux lignes droites, comme ici sont D E, & F G, passans aux parties opposites de la Circonference. Lesqueles s'entrecouperont comme au point H. Et sera le point H, le Centre du Cercle, passant par les trois points A, B, C, donnez.

XXIIII.

Trouuer l'aire d'un Cercle donné, selon la tradition d'Archimede.

C'est une mesme façon de mesurer l'aire du Cercle, comme de mesurer l'aire du Polygone par nous cy deuant monstree. Car quand nous auons pose une ligne droite estre égale à la

Figure 3-7: Two pages from a 1573 edition of Jacques Peletier's *De l'usage de géométrie*, showing the sophisticated combination of diagrams and text.¹⁴⁹

That Paris could print high quality mathematical and scientific books is significant in placing Paris as a centre of learned print. This is one of perhaps three categories where the expertise of Paris printers gave them an advantage over their competitors in other centres of print. Scientific and mathematical books, along with architectural and musical books, require a technological sophistication unavailable in many other European centres of printing. Here, Parisian printers were competing directly with printers in Antwerp, Venice, Nuremberg and possibly Lyon, but with few others. Many printers were capable of adding images as frontispieces or as pictures inserted in the midst of the text. To be able to print accurate diagrams accompanied by explanatory

¹⁴⁸ See Isabelle Pantin, "Oronce Fine's Role as Royal Lecturer", in Alexander Marr (ed.), *The Worlds of Oronce Fine: Mathematics, Instruments and Print in Renaissance France* (Donington, 2009), pp.13-30.

¹⁴⁹ FB 42767.

text required a level of sophistication not only in printing but also in organisation. Engravings were often printed on separate presses, even in separate premises.¹⁵⁰ Even the printing of woodcuts opened up varied possibilities for error.¹⁵¹

Overall, editions in this subgenre were relatively evenly divided between French and Latin, with many of the French editions translations and with a relatively broad spread of formats. There were 15 folios in this format (6 per cent), 57 quartos (22 per cent), 159 octavos (60 per cent), and a number of smaller formats including one broadsheet: Jacques Chauvet's Table general d'arithmetique.¹⁵²

Educational & schoolbooks, linguistics & dictionaries

We have already touched upon the issue of educational books in discussion of the popularity of classical Latin histories. However, there was more to the issue of educational books than just the classics, despite their obvious importance. This genre of books, therefore, contains the more modern tools of education: books on grammar, on vocabulary, on rhetoric, and prosody. Reflecting the importance of these tools to Renaissance and humanist education, this is a large category and is the seventh largest category overall.

One metric that becomes almost useless when discussing this subgenre is that of language. Many of the editions printed in this subgenre are multilingual. A comparison between editions in French and editions in Latin is pointless since so many editions are in both languages. Some have more, such as the Latin-Greek-French dictionary printed by Michel Sonnius in 1573 and also in 1577.¹⁵³ Ambrosius Calepinus' Dictionarium octolinguarum published by Guillaume Chaudière in 1588 contains eight languages: Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French, Italian, Spanish, German, and English.¹⁵⁴

Amongst the books in this category, the popularity of the works of the Estienne family, particularly Robert, become apparent. Foremost amongst the scholarly printing

¹⁵⁰ David McKitterick, Print, Manuscript and the Search for Order, 1450-1830, (Cambridge, 2003), p.88.

¹⁵¹ See McKitterick, Search for Order, pp. 53-96.

¹⁵² FB 12956.

¹⁵³ FB 18940, 18954.

¹⁵⁴ FB 8398; Albert Labarre, Bibliographie du dictionarium d'Ambrogio Calepino, (Baden-Baden, 1975).

families of Paris, the Estiennes (Robert's brothers Charles and Henri were also prolific authors) were responsible for some 43 editions in this category. Robert Estienne's works were more than just simple grammars or manuals as they also included pedagogical advice which it seems Estienne practiced at home.¹⁵⁵ Something that is hidden by the proliferation of Latin texts and the domination of these works in the reading lists of the grammar schools of France, is the encouragement of the vernacular tongue. Estienne's work include his La maniere de tourner en langue françoise and his Les mots françois selon l'ordre des lettres.¹⁵⁶ Even his Latin grammar recommended that children be taught French pronunciation and syntax so that they could write as well in French as in Latin.¹⁵⁷

This encouragement of children educated in the public schools of sixteenth-century France to learn good French alongside Latin indicates the increasing prominence of the vernacular language even amongst the learned classes. In Lyon the consuls of the city considered it preferable that younger children would be "better off speaking good French rather than...bad and barbaric Latin".¹⁵⁸

Medical texts, veterinary medicine, and agricultural texts

From a survey of the texts in this class, it becomes apparent that there were at least two kinds of texts aimed at men of medicine: those that would appeal to the learned man of medicine and those that would appeal to less educated practitioners. This is the division between the physician and the surgeon. There were forty-two editions aimed primarily at physicians compared with only twenty-six books specific to surgery. It is interesting to find that practical books on surgery were less common in terms of edition numbers than editions of non-surgical medicine: an indication of the continuing status of the inherited theoretical canons of classical, particularly Galenic medicine.

Taking non-surgically specific medicine first: of those editions, most of them were octavos with only small numbers of other, mostly larger, formats. Of more interest, however, is that a large majority of these texts are Latinate: 88 per cent of medical

¹⁵⁵ Woodward, *Studies in Education*, p.310; Huppert, *Public schools*, p.71.

¹⁵⁶FB 18941, 18949, 18995, 18996; FB 18955, 18956, 18963, 18973, 18980, 18986, 19002.

¹⁵⁷ Huppert, *Public schools*, p.72.

¹⁵⁸ Lyon, A.M., BB.58 quoted in Huppert, *Public schools*, p.72.

books excluding surgical texts were available in scholarly languages. If we compare this to the surgical books, we find the data reveals a wholly different profile. Here the majority are printed in the vernacular – eighteen in total. Furthermore, not one of these twenty-six editions is larger than an octavo, with five editions in sextodecimo and one duodecimo. Clearly, books on surgery were aimed at a readership primarily literate only in the vernacular. The differences between sixteenth-century medical men, between physicians and surgeons are echoed in their type of professional book. The physicians, learned university-educated men, read their medical books in the language of the learned sphere while the barber-surgeons, more practical hands-on (both metaphorically and literally) in their treatment, read their medical books in the language of their patients.

As a further aside on this issue, one particular edition is of interest: an octavo two-sheet pamphlet printed by Denis Duval in 1577 by the physician Guillaume de Baillou comparing surgery with medicine. Baillou, in time, became dean of the Faculty of Medicine of the University of Paris and private physician to Henry IV. Unsurprising, therefore, his comparison is less than complimentary to surgery and surgeons.¹⁵⁹ On a further historical note, this edition was printed one year before Baillou provided the first clinical description of whooping cough. However, that description does not appear to have published in Paris during the period of this survey.

Architecture, military handbooks, & heraldic works

Jacques Androuet du Cerceau was born in Paris c.1510. An architect by training, he probably studied in Italy returning to France in 1533. In 1559, the first Paris edition of his Livre d'architecture¹⁶⁰ was printed by Benoît Prévost. This was a folio edition of 16 unnumbered leaves signed A-D4 followed by 69 leaves of highly detailed architectural plans. This book was more than just a 'coffee table' book of attractive architecture, for it had practical purposes too. As the title explained, the book also contained detailed scale plans and elevations such that those who wished could rebuild in a variety of sizes.

¹⁵⁹ Guillaume de Baillou, Comparatio medici cum chirurgo, (Paris: Denis Duval, 1577).

¹⁶⁰ FB 17064.

This 1559 edition was followed three years later by a Second livre d'architecture, this time printed by André Wechel, and containing two unsigned leaves and 62 architectural diagrams. In the same year, an edition was printed with Androuet du Cerceau's own name on the title page. This would happen three times more, in 1576, 1579, and 1582. In all instances, the work was printed by someone else, probably Denis Duval.¹⁶¹ Jacques Androuet du Cerceau, a Protestant, dedicated a significant number of his works to members of the Royal family: two editions to Henry II (in 1559), two editions to Charles IX (in 1561), two to the mother of the kings, Catherine de Medici (1576 and 1579), and finally to Henry III (1582). Despite his religious beliefs, Androuet du Cerceau's closeness to the Royal family gained him the title *architecte du Roy*. This title was attributed by Jacques Besson, in the foreword of his Livre premier des instruments mathematiques et mechaniques, which Androuet du Cerceau illustrated.¹⁶² His royal connections, however, did not prevent his banishment from France, and his death as an exile in either Geneva or Annecy.



Figure 3-8: Medal bearing the likeness of Jacques Androuet du Cerceau.

¹⁶¹Renouard, Imprimeurs et Libraires Parisiens, vol. 1, p.94.

¹⁶² FB 4020.

Androuet du Cerceau has been used as an example because his writings represent a particular type of book within this subcategory, that of architectural designs. While architecture and heraldry may seem to have insufficient in common to cause them to be classed together, the progression from architecture to heraldic works via military handbooks makes this classification seem more reasonable. Even considering these books together, there are only seventy-five editions in this subcategory, making it one of the smallest subcategories in the learned genre. This may, given that it includes military works, seem surprising, and it may be worthwhile investigating the pattern of this subgenre. It is predominantly French, there are only ten Latin books in this subgenre, which means that 87 per cent are French language books. This separates architectural books from mathematical books, which, as we have already seen, are more often Latinate. Furthermore, most of the books in this subgenre are folios – nearly half (32 editions or 43 per cent), with octavos a close second in terms of numbers (27 editions or 36 per cent exactly). Indeed, in the year when most books in this subgenre were printed – 1588 – all 13 editions were folios.

§3: Literature¹⁶³

The category literature has been divided in a slightly different manner than the other categories. Rather than make the divisions based upon content (something that is much harder to do with literature than with learned print, political print, or religious print) literature has been, with the exception of music, divided by the time period from the which the author originates: classical or contemporary.

Music

Music books were very popular in Europe in the sixteenth century with over 6,000 separate printings of musical part books between 1500 and 1600.¹⁶⁴ Mostly they were printed in the form of part books consisting of, usually four parts: the *superius*, the *contratenor*, the *tenor*, and the *bassus*; sometimes there was an additional fifth part or *Quinta pars*. Because musical books were printed in this way, as separate books, we are

¹⁶³For full tables and charts see Appendix A: §2.

¹⁶⁴ F. Lesure, Répertoire international des sources musicales. Recueils imprimés XVIe-XVIIe siècles. Tom. 1. Liste chronologique (Munich, 1960); c.f. Pettegree, The Book in the Renaissance, pp. 174-175; p.375.

able to make relatively confident predictions about the historical existence of non-extant parts. Many, indeed, survive in only one part – a bound collection of the tenor parts of many separate works is a common find in libraries.

In Paris in this period musical printing was almost entirely the work of one partnership, that of Adrian Le Roy and Robert Ballard, Royal Printers of Music.¹⁶⁵ Their possession of this privilege along with their own personal knowledge of the subject (Le Roy was a luteist and composer in the *Chapelle du Roi*) allowed them to dominate the realm of recreational music printing in late sixteenth century Paris. The popularity of music as a domestic recreation in bourgeois households can be seen in the numbers of profane songs and musical books printed in the sixteenth century. Le Roy and Ballard, responsible for 461 of the books in this subgenre, were at the forefront of the Parisian market for this type of book. Their possession of the royal privilege, first granted in 1551 and then renewed every ten years, allowed them to invest heavily in the technological innovations required to produce high quality musical books.

Music printing was complex. It required special fonts of type, each note printed with a section of stave behind. The notes could then be set up to make a line of music. This technological breakthrough, achieved in Paris in the 1520s, superseded the double impression technique which required the stave to be printed first, and then the notes superimposed. This was a very intricate operation, leading to many wasted sheets when the second impression slipped off centre.¹⁶⁶ Single impression was much more reliable, but the high initial investment costs meant the printers would only embark on this sort of work if they intended or were allowed to make it a specialty. In this instance the protection and patronage of the crown was of utmost importance and thus the printing of music in Paris became the sole domain of the Royal Printers of Music, first Pierre Attaignant and then Le Roy and Ballard.

¹⁶⁵ See Chapter V.

¹⁶⁶ Pettegree, *Book in the Renaissance*, pp.173-174; Richard J. Agee, *The Gardano Music Printing Firms, 1569-1611*, (Rochester, NY, 1969).



Figure 3-9: Signature A3v and A4r of Antoine Bertrand d'Airolles, *Les Amours de Pierre de Ronsard. Superius*.¹⁶⁷

The majority of their early type came from the foundry of Guillaume Bé who created at least three different types of font specifically for Le Roy and Ballard: a “musique gross”, a “petite tablature d’épinette sur la moyenne musique” and a “grosse tablature d’épinette pour imprimer a deux foy”.¹⁶⁸ The fantastic detail and quality of their

¹⁶⁷ FB 46649.

¹⁶⁸ F. Lesure & G. Thibault, *Bibliographie des éditions d'Adrian Le Roy et Robert Ballard (1551-1598)*, (Paris, 1955), p. 18.

typographical material is evident from an examination of their output and can be seen in Figure 3-9, an example for their work, in this instance, from the *superius* part of a 1587 edition of Les Amours de Pierre de Ronsard. The musical notation is clear and precise, easy to follow with the text for the vocal arrangement laid out below the notation.



Figure 3-10: Example of long-octavo format.

Their possession of both advanced fonts and a Royal privilege allowed them to dominate this subgenre of book: over three-quarters of all musical books in this period came from the presses of this partnership. The recreational nature of these types of book explains the predominance of French language musical books (91 per cent). This represents a quantum shift from the early years of music printing, when almost all musical part books would have been arrangement of sacred music, intended for performance during the Mass. Of especial interest is the format that these books were printed in as most were printed in oblong or long octavo [Figure 3-10] where the book is in a landscape rather than portrait layout with the longest edges being the horizontal rather than vertical edges.

Classical authors

The literature of Classical authors continued to be popular in the sixteenth century, particularly in the 1580s. The names of the most common authors in this subgenre would probably come as no surprise: there were seven editions of Aesop's writings; there were twenty-one editions of Homer: thirteen editions of the *Iliad*, eight editions of the *Odyssey*. There were fifteen editions of Horace and fifteen editions of Terence. There were editions of Seneca, of Juvenal, of Sophocles, and of Persius. Perhaps the two most popular authors, however, were two first century Roman poets, Ovid and Virgil. In this period in Paris, no other classical author of literature was published more than these men; there were thirty-six editions of Ovid's writings printed in Paris between 1570 and 1590 and twenty-two editions of Virgil. Nearly half of all of Ovid's books were editions of his Metamorphoses, with fifteen editions of this work, the earliest in 1570 and the latest in 1587 and all but three printed by the partnership of Jérôme de Marnef and Denise Girault, Marnef's niece and the widow of Guillaume Cavellat.

Editions of Virgil, on the other hand, were slightly more varied than those of Ovid: the majority of Virgil's twenty-two editions were collected works, of which there were ten printed in this period. Sole editions of the Aeneid account for seven editions, and sole editions of his other works, e.g. the *Bucolics*, and the *Georgics*, for the remaining five editions. Additionally, editions of Virgil were far more likely to be available in Latin than they were in French. Only eight editions of Virgil were printed in French and, with the exception of a lone sole edition of the Aeneid, they were all editions of collected works.¹⁶⁹

This language preference is reflected in the whole subgenre as Latin editions outnumber French editions. There are 109 French editions in this subgenre, and 147 Latin editions as well as 8 Greek editions. This means that over half (56 per cent) of all editions of literature written by classical authors were printed in the original language of composition, rather than printed in translation. The relative number of translated texts suggests the popularity of classical texts as leisure reading alongside their use in the classroom as set Latin texts.

¹⁶⁹Aeneid: FB 50640; Opera: FB 50641, 50643, 50645, 50647, 50649, 50650, 50651.

Also of note is that editions in this subgenre are more varied in format than editions in most of the other subgenres. Although octavos are the most numerous they only account for 36 per cent of editions in this subgenre. One quarter of the editions are sextodecimos, while slightly more (26 per cent) are quartos. Nearly seven per cent are duodecimos and there are 13 folio editions (5 per cent). This is one of the most heterogeneous subgenres in terms of format.

Mediaeval & Contemporary authors

This is the largest of the three subgenres in this category and covers an extraordinary range of literary works. The 1,182 editions in this subgenre mean that it accounts for slightly more than one in ten of the total output of Paris books in this period. This category nevertheless has a certain unity in that these books (like music and the translated works of classical authors) were bought for pleasure and recreation. They had no practical application, they served no devotional purpose and offered no guidance in current political events. Rather they were purchased to wile away precious hours of leisure. The existence of such a large market in France's capital for works of no practical utility was a very significant phenomenon and one the capital's publishers were very eager to exploit commercially.



Figure 3-11: Pierre de Ronsard (left) and Philippe Desportes (right).

Of these 1,182 editions, 211 were written by a group of sixteenth-century French writers known as La Pléiade, after the original Pleiades of the third century BC and,

possibly, in homage to the Pléiades of fourteenth century Toulouse. The sixteenth-century group included Pierre de Ronsard, Joachim du Bellay, and Jean-Antoine de Baïf as its core constituents, as well as a number of other poets such as Jean Dorat, Pontus de Tyard, Étienne Jodelle, and Rémy Belleau, Jacques Pelletier du Mans, Jean de la Péruse, or Guillaume des Autels. All of these were men Ronsard, at one time or another, considered to be the best poets of their generation. Within this group it is the works of Pierre de Ronsard that are the most popular or, at least, the most often printed. There were 131 editions of Ronsard's poetry and songs printed in this period, almost entirely in French.

Ronsard's works retained their popularity with the buying public despite the fact he was less fashionable at the court of Henry III since the rise of Philippe Desportes. It was during the reign of Charles IX, which ended in this period, that Ronsard found the perfect match of courtly poet and court. The majority of his elegies were written during the reign of Charles, often to order; his financial situation improved and Charles became, and remained, Ronsard's favourite monarch.¹⁷⁰ During the reign of Henry III, on the other hand, Ronsard's fortunes at court darkened, a twilight in his output that is matched by a more satiric tone. This period saw an increased rivalry with Philippe Desportes, a proponent of the revival of Italianate taste at Court, and the rise of whom is matched by the fall from favour of Ronsard.¹⁷¹ This is the context into which the publishing history of both Ronsard and Desportes in this period must be placed.

It is at first hard to see Ronsard's fall from grace for his works remain relatively popular throughout the 1570s and it is not until 1581 that there are more editions of Desportes printed in a year. Ronsard's death, however, resulted in a large resurgence of printing with 17 printings in 1587 alone [Figure 3-12]. However, throughout the period, Ronsard remains an important author for Parisian printers and more commonly printed than Desportes [Figure 3-13].

¹⁷⁰ I.D. McFarlane, *A Literary History of France: Renaissance France, 1470-1589*, (London, 1974), pp.310-312.

¹⁷¹ McFarlane, *Literary History*, pp.316-318.

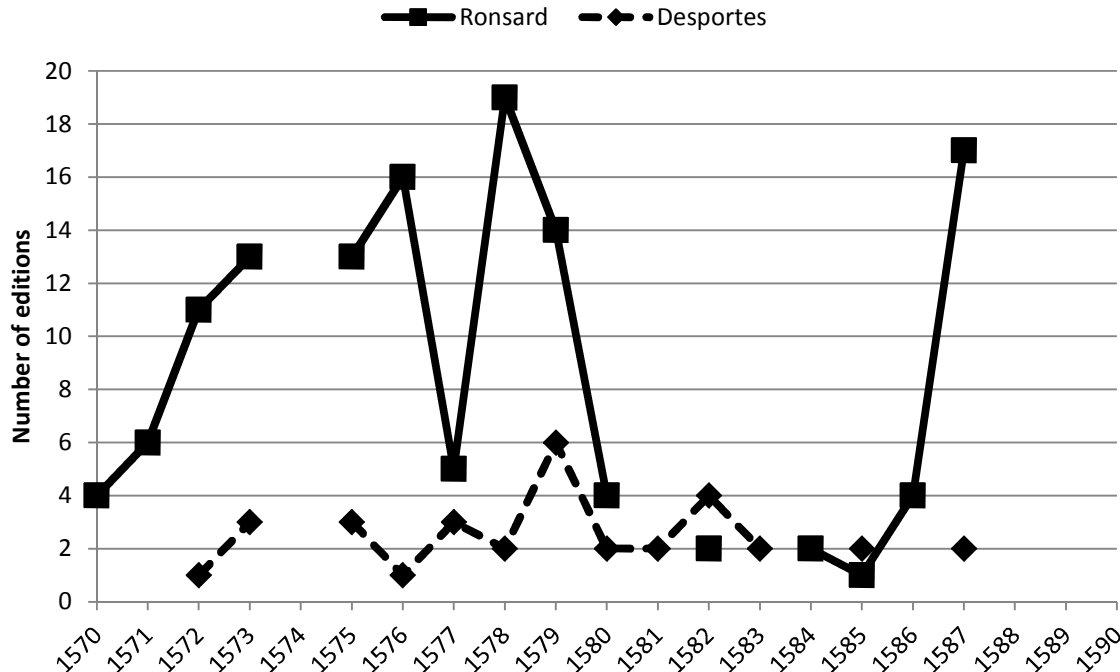


Figure 3-12: Yearly printings of Ronsard and Desportes, 1570-1590

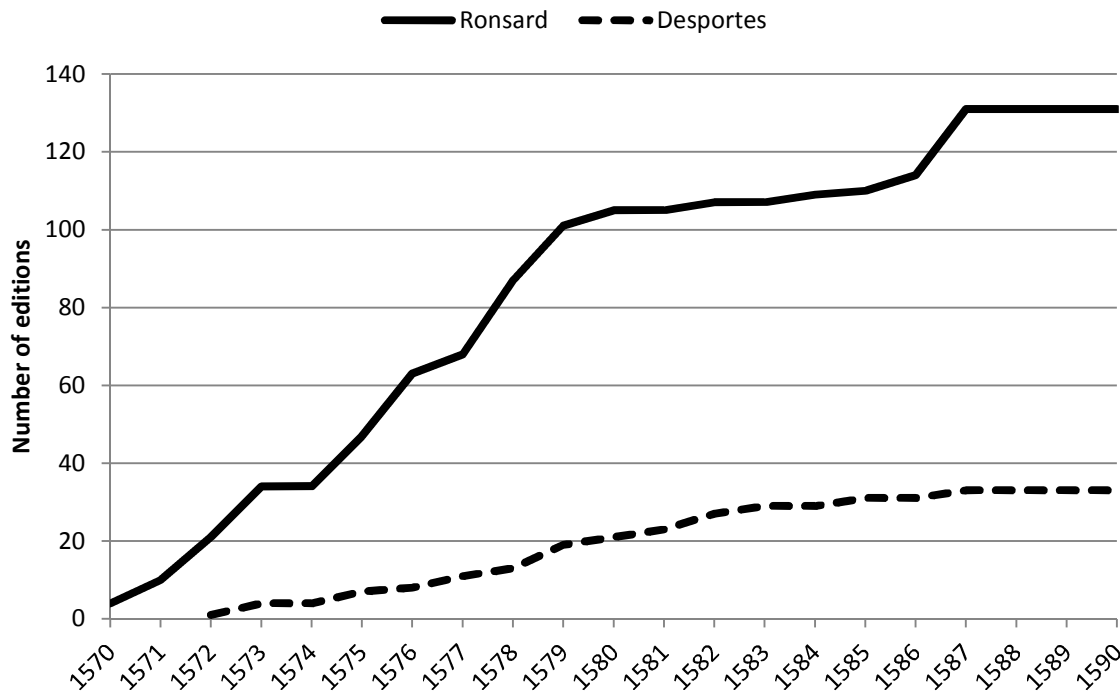


Figure 3-13: Cumulative numbers of printings of Ronsard and Desportes during the period 1570-1590.

§4: Political print¹⁷²

If the output of Paris presses was judged purely by the metric of numbers of editions then the number of books that can be best classified as political print would indicate that this genre was by far the most important genre. There are 3,491 editions that can be classified as predominantly political. This means over one third of all editions are in this class. Within this total, the works published exhibited a considerable variety of market, style and theme. We may divide them into four significant groups:

- Economics & monetary theory;
- Jurisprudence, edicts & ordinances (inc. 'Coustumes');
- Discourses on government & political theory;
- Polemic, remonstrances & complaints (inc. Newsbooks & Funeral orations).

Political books only appear in one of six formats: broadsheet, folio, quarto, octavo, duodecimo, and sextodecimo. There are none of the very small editions of 24o and 32o that can be found in the other genres.

Economics & monetary theory

The sixteenth century was a period of demographic growth in France which, while perhaps only being a recovery from the population loss wrought by the Black Death, brought about changes in prices and productivity.¹⁷³ These changes saw price inflation in terms of grain so that by 1600 the average nominal price of grain was five times higher than it had been in 1520.¹⁷⁴ One of the first books that tackled the causes of these changes was by Jean Cherruyt, better known as monsieur de Malestroit, who produced his Les remonstrances et paradoxes sur le fait des monnoyes in 1566.¹⁷⁵ This was followed by a response from the philosopher Jean Bodin, best known for his Six livres de la republique first published in French in 1576. Bodin's response was entitled simply La response au paradoxe de monsieur de Malestroit.¹⁷⁶ Enterprisingly, the Parisian printer Martin Le Jeune published both Malestroit's Remonstrance and Bodin's

¹⁷²For full tables and charts see Appendix A: §3.

¹⁷³Knecht, The rise and fall of Renaissance France, 1483-1610, (Oxford, 2001), p.260.

¹⁷⁴Knecht, Renaissance France, p.260.

¹⁷⁵ FB 35989, 35990, 35991.

¹⁷⁶ FB 6145.

Response together in 1568, an innovation copied ten years later by Jacques du Puys, and argues for a early adoption of a dialectic argument.¹⁷⁷

According to Bodin, rather than the price rises being illusions caused by depreciation of the *livre*, as Malestroit had suggested, the price rises were real and should be blamed rather on the increase in circulation of gold and silver. Bodin's response could be seen as the first instance of the quantitative theory of money. Whatever the causes of the 'economic crisis of the 1560s', one thing is certain: it led to the publication of a rash of books. In terms of overall editions, this subgenre is one of the smallest, indicating a minor audience. Despite, or perhaps, because of this, it is one of the most unified subgenres.

Jurisprudence, edicts & ordinances (inc. 'Coustumes')

The reasons for combining jurisprudence (the discussion of laws) with the printed forms of the laws themselves seem obvious. The audience for both would be similar, primarily lawyers and advocates. The importance of the production of this type of book in Paris, home of the principle Parlement of the kingdom, would be self-evident. However, there are some important differences between the types of books in this subgenre.

Most edicts and ordinances printed in Paris in this period were Royal edicts, their authority derived from the King. They were his laws and the printing of these edicts was an important contract for the printer that could win it. For the crown, printing provided an important channel for the dissemination of royal acts and can be seen as a natural continuation of the practice of the 'crying' of the edict by town criers; for the printers, it provided an important source of income and financial security.¹⁷⁸ The other types of published law are the *coustumes*. These were a collection of the customs of a province or locality, gathered together with civil and private rights which had the force of law. Most *coustumes* were for northern towns and provinces, where there was the tradition of customary rights, *the pays de droit coutumier*, rather than in the south in the

¹⁷⁷ FB 35992, FB 35994.

¹⁷⁸ On which see Lauren Jee-Su Kim, French Royal Acts printed before 1601: A Bibliographical Study, (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of St Andrews, 2008).

pays de droit écrit.¹⁷⁹ Not surprisingly, the majority of the *coutumes* printed in Paris in this period were for Paris of which there were ten editions. Paris printers would also print the *coutumes* of other regions for *libraires* and merchants of those regions. For instance, in 1586 Jean Le Blanc printed editions of the Coutumes du pais de Normandie for Thomas Mallard in Rouen and one edition for Martin Le Mégissier also of Rouen¹⁸⁰; in 1587 he printed another two editions, one for Mallard and one for Le Mégissier.¹⁸¹ Le Blanc also printed editions for Jacques du Puys of Paris in 1586 and possibly in 1587.¹⁸² By 1588 this circle of printers resulted in Le Mégissier printing for both Du Puys and Mallard.¹⁸³

These were substantial volumes intended as works of reference and professional handbooks. They were a staple of publishing since the first days of print and, indeed, many examples survive from the manuscript era. A more distinctive and novel feature of Parisian printing was the republication for commercial sale of individual royal edicts in pamphlet form. These pamphlet versions account for 1,689 separate printings of the ten thousand books published in Paris during these twenty-one years. This was a large proportion of the legal publishing industry of Paris, and indeed of France, although many of these Parisian edicts would subsequently be republished on provincial presses, often by the King's command. In appearance these edicts resemble the news pamphlets which were also a popular feature of publishing in these years, rather more than the legal prints of the first half of the century. Significantly, from about 1540, Parisian French printers started using the small octavo format for these official publications rather than the quarto that had been customary until that point and remained so in several parts of northern Europe, such as Germany and the Low Countries. So these books would have been very different in style and character from either the *coutumier* – fat books that were scarcely viable in octavo – or the earlier generation of royal edicts. Whether they remained so, however, is a different question. The evidence of survival suggests that they were very often collected up and bound together in impromptu

¹⁷⁹ Leon Mirot, *Géographie historique de la France*, (Paris, 1979), p.385.

¹⁸⁰ For Mallard: FB 39492, 39493, 39494; for Le Mégissier: FB 39496.

¹⁸¹ For Mallard: FB 39498; for Le Mégissier: FB 39497.

¹⁸² FB 39495, 39499.

¹⁸³ For Du Puys: FB 39502; for Mallard: FB 39503, 39504.

collections, either by booksellers or by their purchasers. In this way they became impromptu and often customised legal handbooks.

Discourses on government & political theory

The most popular book in this subgenre of political philosophy is Jean Bodin's Les six livres de la republique of which there were twelve editions printed in this period all for purchase from Jacques du Puys.¹⁸⁴ One of these twelve editions was a Latin edition and there was also an additional French edition printed in 1580 by Jean de Tournes in Lyon for Du Puys.¹⁸⁵ There were a further three editions of Bodin's Apologie pour la republique de Jean Bodin, also for Du Puys.¹⁸⁶

Here is not the place for a study of the influence of Bodin's political philosophy, but what is of note is the quantity of editions printed in Paris of his writings and the domination of his writings in this category. There are more editions of Bodin in this subgenre than any other author: for instance, there are only nine editions of René Choppin and only four editions of Machiavelli. Bodin's popularity in Paris in this period could well have been a reaction to the events of the 1560s, the revolutionary movement which was set off by the St Bartholomew's day massacre provoking an ideological rejoinder in the form of his doctrine of absolute and indivisible sovereignty.¹⁸⁷ Certainly his writing achieved a contemporary success that he failed to achieve in his professional life as a deputy at the Estates of Blois.¹⁸⁸

It does seem that the events of August 1572 affected Bodin's opinions for in its aftermath he abandoned the constitutionalist position he had held with many French jurists and took up a position as a defender of absolutism. He increasingly demanded the outlawing of all theories of resistance and the acceptance of a strong monarchy as the only means of restoring political unity and peace.¹⁸⁹ Bodin goes on to deny that any

¹⁸⁴ FB 6146, 6149, 6150, 6151, 6153, 6157, 6158, 6162, 6172, 6173, 6178.

¹⁸⁵ FB 6161.

¹⁸⁶ FB 6163, 6164, 6165.

¹⁸⁷ Knecht, *Renaissance France*, p.397.

¹⁸⁸ John Plamenatz, *Man and Society: political and social theories from Machiavelli to Marx*, vol. 1, (Oxford, 1963), pp.89-115; Mark Greengrass, *Governing Passions: Peace and Reform in the French Kingdom, 1576-1585*, (Oxford, 2007).

¹⁸⁹ Quentin Skinner, *The foundations of modern political thought*, vol. 2, (Cambridge, 1978), p.284; Plamenatz, *Man and Society*, p.107.

public act of resistance by a subject could ever be justified against a legitimate sovereign; he even denies the legitimacy of resistance against tyrants. In his Republique, first printed in 1576, Bodin clearly alluded to the Huguenot resistance theory that,

‘subjects may take up arms against their prince’ in any case of tyranny, and may lawfully ‘take him out of the way’ in the name of the public good (p.224). These he denounces with the greatest ferocity, arguing that it can never be lawful ‘for any one of the subjects in particular, or all of them in general, to attempt anything either by way of fact or justice against the honour, life or dignity of the sovereign, albeit he had committed all the wickedness, impiety and cruelty that could be spoken’ (p.222)...he ends by citing with full approval Cicero’s remark to the effect that no cause can ever be ‘just or sufficient for us to take up arms against our country’ (p.225).¹⁹⁰

In light of Bodin’s opinion that subjects should suffer a tyrant, it is a curiosity that, while the majority of Du Puys’ editions of Bodin were printed in the late 1570s and early 1580s (1 in 1576, 3 in 1577, 1 in 1578, 2 in 1579, 1 in 1580, and 2 in 1583), there was a lone edition printed in 1587. With Anjou dead, Henry of Navarre heir apparent, and the Catholic League in a position of increasing power, could this have been a subtle show of support for the king? By 1587 Bodin’s Republique had faded in popularity and Du Puys’ is the last edition of that text printed in Paris in the sixteenth century.

Polemic, remonstrances& complaints (including newsbooks& funeral orations)

There are two types of polemical subgenres in this study, religious and political. Those which are of an predominantly religious nature have been classified as Religious books and thus are dealt with in the opening part of this chapter. The editions that are predominantly political in nature are dealt with here. The differences between the two subgenres are often very slight and the categorisation tends to depend upon the aim of the work rather than the content, though often they are closely connected. League pamphlets, for instance, are classified into this subcategory because they are predominantly political in nature rather than religious.

¹⁹⁰ Skinner, Foundations of modern political thought, vol. 2, 285-286.



Figure 3-14: The Assassination of the Cardinal of Lorraine and the Duke of Guise.¹⁹¹

This subgenre, however, contains more than just polemic works such as League pamphlets, it also contains some slightly less polemical works, works referred to as 'remonstrances' & complaints, but also news-books and funeral orations. This last type of book was increasingly common throughout the period and many, if not most, of them had a political theme to them. In the period between 1570 and 1590 there were 87 editions of funeral orations printed in Paris. Most of them were printed in French, yet there were fifteen editions printed in Latin. These fifteen Latin editions consisted mostly of funeral orations to just three men: Charles IX, Claude Duke of Guise, and Pierre de Ronsard. Ronsard (for whom seven funeral orations were printed) was not the only luminary of the arts whose death brought a published funeral oration – Jean

¹⁹¹ FB 24453.

Edouard de Monin, after his assassination in 1586, had two elegies published on his behalf.¹⁹²

However, the majority of the figures for whom laments and funeral orations were published were important political figures. As the period wore on and the political winds began to blow against the crown, many of these lamentations verged into polemical complaints either against foreign powers or against the crown. Of the former, there were three editions of John Leslie's funeral oration for Mary Queen of Scots, published under two variant titles, in 1587 of which one was definitely printed in Paris.¹⁹³ Of the latter, in 1589, there were three editions of Muldrac's Oraison funebre prononcee aux obseques de Loys de Lorraine, cardinal, et Henry duc de Guise, freres,¹⁹⁴ and also an edition of Discours en forme d'oraison funebre sur le massacre et parricide de messeigneurs le duc et cardinal de Guyse.¹⁹⁵ Outside of the exact content and considering only the aim of these funeral orations, it is difficult to distinguish these four editions from the other 61 editions printed in 1588 and 1589 bewailing the assassination of the Duke and Cardinal of Guise.

In all there were 66 editions (including the funeral orations) that dealt with the assassination of the Guises and 65 of them were printed 1588 and 1589. It is worth repeating the importance of this category in the explosion in printing in those two years. Together they account for 14 per cent of all Paris editions printed in the period of this study. Political books printed in 1588/89 account for nearly one in ten of all Paris editions and for two-thirds of all books printed in those two years. In consequence they make up 16 per cent of all the editions printed in the period of this study.

Unsurprisingly, given the audience of this subgenre, French is the dominant language. These are, after all, aimed at a vernacular audience. Only 84 out of 1,569 editions in this subgenre are in a language other than French. Furthermore, the books in this genre ape the style of official publications. The majority of books in this subgenre are octavo and

¹⁹² FB 7537, 40303.

¹⁹³[John Leslie], Oraison funebre sur la mort de la Royne d'Escosse (Paris, Jean Charron, 1587), FB 34380; and Oraison funebre sur la mori de tres-heureuse memoire Marie Stuard, royne d'Escosse (s. l., s.n., 1587), FB 34381, 34382; cf. Alexander Wilkinson, Mary Queen of Scots in the Polemical Literature of the French Wars of Religion, vol. 1, (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of St Andrews, 2001), p.216.

¹⁹⁴ FB 38854, 38855, 38856.

¹⁹⁵ FB 24438.

octavos were overwhelmingly the format of choice for Royal edicts and other official publications. That both polemical literature and official printing in Germany, England, and the Low Countries tended to be printed in quarto suggests that this was not a mere coincidence.¹⁹⁶ It would seem that octavo had not only become the format of choice in Paris and France for government publications, but also for anti-government publications, not least because it offered a way for new members of the printing fraternity to find a voice and an audience. In a world where the more substantial categories of large, expensive books had been appropriated by established workshops, the political pamphlets that appeared in such proliferation from 1588 offered an element of disruption and novelty – in an economic as well as a political sense. In this respect, as we shall see, they performed the same role as that of religious pamphlets in the 1560s. To the crown they may have been deeply unwelcome – but for the Paris printing trade it required this sort of tumult to disrupt an industry otherwise dominated by a relatively small number of entrenched families.

¹⁹⁶Joad Raymond, Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain, (Cambridge, 2003).

Chapter IV: Printers, *Libraires*, & the division of labour.

Between 1570 and 1590 nearly four hundred names of printers and booksellers appear on the title pages or colophons of books printed in Paris. The careers of these printers are as varied as their names and no archetype can be discerned. For every press grandee there were numerous men whose names appeared only fleetingly in the tally book of printers, men who are known only to us through one lone surviving edition, a name on the title page, or in the colophon, or on a privilege or dedication. 156 names appear only once in the database: only one edition can be attributed to them by name. Perhaps they were printers who did their work for one of the master *libraires* of Paris, perhaps they specialised in ephemera. The details of their careers are now as lost as most of their output perhaps is. These 156 names mean that 156 editions have come from the presses of people about whom we can know very little, but it also means that just over 39 per cent of the printers active in this period were responsible for only one edition. The remaining 62 per cent of printers were responsible for all but one and a half per cent of editions.

Of these remaining 61 per cent, a large number of them were also 'small' printers, that is printers whose editions number fewer than ten. 114 out of the remaining 242 (47 per cent) printers were responsible for 10 or fewer editions; 90 were responsible for more than 20 editions and only 63 for more than 40 editions. This means that out of the total of 398 names which can be credited with an edition, only 63 printers produced more than 40 editions, an amount that would, if the printer was active for the entire period, consist of less than two editions per year. This profile puts the output of the grandees of the printing industry in perspective. Between 1570 and 1590 there were ten men who had more than 200 editions attributed to them and they were responsible for 27 per cent of the total production.

Name	Number of Editions
Fédéric Morel	1264
Adrian Le Roy & Robert Ballard	566
Guillaume Chaudière	356
Denis du Pré	255
Gabriel Buon	249
Abel L'Angelier	245
Nicolas Chesneau	234
Jacques du Puys	223
Michel Sonnius	203
Nicolas Bonfons	195

Figure 4-1: *Libraires*/printers responsible for more than 200 editions.

The highly stratified nature of the Parisian publishing industry tells us much about the harsh realities of the trade. Our brief explanation of the lower reaches of the Paris book world suggests that a high demand for books did not necessarily make it easy to make a living. The nature of the industry made it highly competitive and one in which the strongest members used every method at their disposal to press their advantages and make it unprofitable for their rivals.¹⁹⁷ The grandees of Paris printing, those who produced the lions' share of the books in this period, were in essence monopolistic *libraires* with other members of the industry existing either to print for them or struggling to make a living. Amongst the many strategies which these grandees could use to repel new comers included the use of their strong family connections, the close geographical conglomeration of the industry, and the judicial use of privileges.

Nor was it easy for new men to emerge. Printing, as a new industry, is often presented as if characterised by dynamic growth, responding quickly to market demand. It is true that in exceptional circumstances new centres of print could emerge remarkably rapidly – Wittenberg in the 1520s is a prime example.¹⁹⁸ But by the second century of print this dynamism was balanced by economic factors favouring the largest firms in the most established centres of print. Most of those who dominated the Paris industry in the second half of the century were men who had inherited long established businesses. The turbulence of the mid century created remarkably few new dynasties. The established firms had many advantages, not least a well developed instinct for conflict

¹⁹⁷ Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance*, p.122.

¹⁹⁸ The output of Wittenberg's presses leapt from 29 editions in 1518 and 46 in 1519 to 110 in 1520. The output remained high throughout the 1520s until a relative decline in the early 1530s, a decline matched by many of Germany's printing centres. Data derived from the *Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachraum erschienenen Drucke des 16. Jahrhunderts* (VD 16). <http://www.vd16.de/> – accessed 27th January, 2009.

avoidance. In a competitive industry Paris printers found effective means to substitute cooperation for competition.

So far the words 'printer' has generally been used to encompass both printers and *libraires*, though the roles they played within the industry could be quite different. Without exception, the ten grandees were all *libraires*. While *libraires* could, and often did, print their own material on presses owned by themselves, they would also work with non-*libraire* printers to have editions printed for them. Likewise they would often work with other *libraires* to spread the cost and share the profits. In these cases the *libraire's* name would be on a work printed by other people. While in earlier periods the names of these printers would be recorded in the colophon, the use of a colophon in the period 1570 to 1590 decreased and so, increasingly, the names of these printers-for-hire, are lost to us. This suggests that many of the names for which we only have one recorded edition were more prolific than that number suggests.

Even among the major figures of the industry, some editions were so complex that they required investment and involvement of more than one publisher. On other occasions major publishers would co-operate to produce titles that promised to be especially valuable – this avoided the possibility of unseemly disputes and legal proceedings that might threaten the solidarity of the main players in the industry. This co-operation was most evident in the formation of two formal companies: the *Compagnie de la Grand'Navire*, and the *Societas typographica librorum Officii ecclesiastici ex decreto Concilii Tridentini*.

The *Compagnie de la Grand'Navire* was a society that existed 1585-c.1641. It was formed to publish the works of the Church Fathers and, on editions published by the company, no address or printer's name was given, only the marque of a ship with the initials I.D.P., S.N., M.S., and B.D.P. inscribed in the rigging. These initials stood for Jacques du Puys, Sébastien Nivelles, Michel Sonnius, and [Jean-]Baptiste du Puys; after 1589 the initials of Jacques du Puys were removed. The company itself had no name until the 17th century by which time, the membership had changed. Between 1589 and 1599 there are no examples of a book from the company, and when the company was reconstituted in 1599, the members included Abel L'Angelier, Barthélemy Macé, Ambroise Drouart, Michel Laurens, and Jean Sonnius. According to an *avertissement*

written by Abel L'Angelier, the company was dissolved in 1589 because of the troubles of that period.¹⁹⁹

The *Societas typographica librorum Officii ecclesiastici ex decreto Concilii Tridentini*, as the name suggests was formed to print liturgical works and works based upon the reforms of the Council of Trent. Prior to its formation, Jacques Kerver had held a number of exclusive privileges including the privilege to print the liturgical works of the diocese of Paris, and privileges granted by Popes Pius V and Gregory XIII, to print the reforms of the Council of Trent in France. These papal privileges were confirmed by both Charles IX and Henry III in 1567, 1572, and 1577. Jacques Kerver died in 1583 and upon his death the *Societas typographica* was formed to exploit his privileges. In this period, there are five editions printed by the *Societas*, two in 1587 and three in 1588. Initially the *Societas* consisted of four *libraires*: Sébastien Nivelles, Michel Sonnius, Thomas Brumen, and Guillaume de La Nouë. By 1597, Thomas Brumen had died, and the remaining three had been joined by Guillaume Chaudière, Claude Chappelet, Jean Corbon, Jean Mettayer, and Pierre L'Huillier. In 1603, Guillaume Chaudière and Guillaume de La Nouë, who were both dead, were replaced by Laurens Sonnius, Pierre Mettayer, and Clovis Eve.²⁰⁰ As with the *Compagnie de la Grand'Navire*, the editions from the *Societas* are only attributed to the *Societas* not to the individual constituent members.

Alongside these 'anonymous' corporate bodies are three partnerships for which the sheer number of editions that they were responsible for were too great to be attributed in the normal manner. The first of these partnerships is that of Jérôme de Marnef and Guillaume Cavellat (and then Cavellat's widow after his death in 1576). This partnership was responsible for 195 editions of varying content: 72 learned books, 60 works of literature, 15 political and 48 religious books. This partnership was discussed in Chapter One as an example of familial connections as Denyse Girault, Cavellat's wife and widow, was Marnef's niece, and Ambroise Girault's daughter. The second partnership was another connection that emphasised the importance of familial connections, indeed it was another one that survived the death of one of the partners.

¹⁹⁹ Renouard, *Répertoire*, p.91. Editions printed by the company are attributed only to the company not to the individual members; there are eleven editions attributed to the company.

²⁰⁰ Renouard, *Répertoire*, pp.399-400.

This partnership was between Robert Ballard and his half-brother Adrian Le Roy. Le Roy was a lutist, and composer in the Chapelle du Roi. Ballard and Le Roy acted as Royal Printers of Music, of which they were responsible for 566 editions, and upon Ballard's death in 1589, his widow, Lucrèce Le Bé, continued the partnership and continued to print music. When Le Roy died, Le Bé and her son, Pierre Ballard, continued as the Royal Printers of Music.

The final partnership was not as long lived, nor formed for so specific a purpose. Between 1588 and 1590, Nicolas Nivelles and Rolin Thierry were in partnership together to print some of the most popular propaganda for the Catholic League and for the Sixteen that governed Paris in those years. In those two short years, they produced 114 editions, all of which were attributed to the partnership alone and not the individual totals. Outside of the partnership, Nivelles was responsible for thirty-six editions and Rolin Thierry for fifty-five.

These formal partnerships were one means of ensuring the smooth operation of the Paris trade; another was the high level of specialisation that allowed most of the firms, to establish a distinctive profile even in so diverse a market. This can be demonstrated if we examine in turn the output of the ten major firms – in ascending order – beginning with Nicolas Bonfons, and ending with the most prolific of all, the King's printer Frédéric Morel.

Nicolas Bonfons

(*libraire*, ac. c.1570-c.1625)

Nicolas Bonfons was the son of Jean Bonfons (*libraire*, ac. 1543-1566), who died in 1568 and Catherine Sergent, daughter of Pierre Sergent (*libraire*, ac. 1532-1547). Upon the death of his father, he inherited the shop on the Rue Neuve-Notre-Dame at the "*l'enseigne St-Nicolas*". In 1578, he was to buy the shop next door that had once belonged to Simon Vostre (*libraire/relieur-juré de l'Université*, ac. 1486-1521), at the sign of St John the Evangelist. This shop would become his home, yet he still posted his address as at the "*l'enseigne St-Nicolas*". In 1571 he married Catherine Ruelle, daughter of Jean Ruelle (*libraire*, ac. 1538-1571). Catherine was his second wife and he had two sons, Nicolas and Pierre, the latter of whom followed him into the printing business. It

is possible that Jean Bonfons was related to Vincent Sertanas (*libraire*, ac. 1534-1562) and also to the Robinet family. A document dated 21 September 1562 refers to Jean Bonfons as the paternal uncle of Sertanas' children from his second marriage.²⁰¹

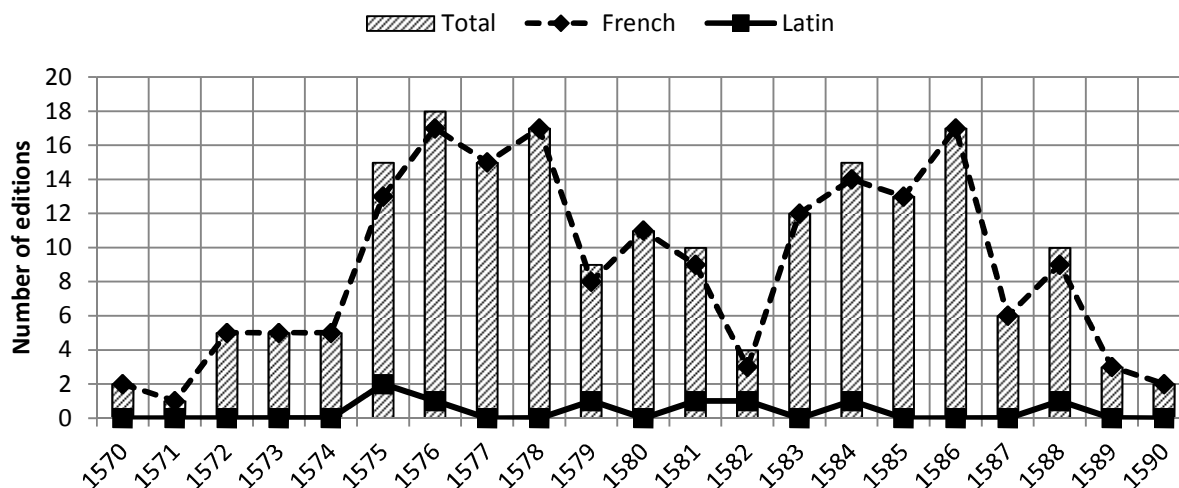


Figure 4-2: Nicolas Bonfons - French & Latin editions.

Nicolas Bonfons was predominantly a printer of literature and learned works. Of the 195 editions for which he was responsible, 80 were learned and 87 were works of literature.²⁰² This contrasts with the 10 political and 18 religious books that he printed. Amongst the works he printed were several editions of the *Histoire pitoyable du prince Erastus*, predominantly in 16o format, a number of editions of Caesar's *Commentaires de la guerre civile des Romains*, all in French and all in the small 16o and 12o formats. Indeed, Bonfons seems to have specialised in these smaller formats. 110 editions out of the 195 total editions were 16o, compared with 46 octavos and 32 quartos. This is an important point: given how small a part in overall output was played by books in smaller formats (16o, 24o, 32o) this suggests that Bonfons catered to a specific clientele. Significantly for such a major figure Bonfons printed no folios. In addition, despite printing a large proportion of learned books, Bonfons is almost entirely a printer of French vernacular. 187 editions between 1570 and 1580 were in the French language, compared with a mere 8 Latin books.

²⁰¹ Arch. Nat. Y 5250, f° 45 v°.

²⁰² This contrasts with the 11 political books Bonfons printed and 23 religious books that he printed.

Given his profile as a printer of mainly learned and literature works, one would suspect that Bonfons' editions were relatively large in size, and this seems to hold true. To produce his editions, Bonfons required 3,491 sheets. This does not seem like a large amount, but works out as 17.20 sheets per edition. The average size of an edition classed as literature is 17.01 sheets per edition, while the average size of an edition in the learned genre is 60.20 sheets. This suggests that despite the fact that nearly 40 per cent of Bonfons' books were learned in nature, they were on the small side of the learned scale, while Bonfons' literature books seem to fit the profile almost exactly. A look at the details of the individual books confirms this. For Bonfons' learned editions he required 1,595 sheets at an average ratio of 19.94 sheets per edition – some 40 sheets fewer than the average for the category as a whole. Indeed, only one edition, a 1587 quarto edition of Osario's Histoire de Portugal, required more sheets than the average learned edition, in this case 152 sheets. Literature books do not quite fit the average profile as perfectly as it otherwise looks. The 1,051 sheets needed to print his editions of literature puts the ratio at 12.29, but this is far closer to the literature average of 17.01 than the Bonfons' learned books are to the learned average. Bonfons' specialisation in smaller format learned books is an interesting one. Books in the smaller format are, obviously, usually printed with a smaller font with a smaller point. Thus, the same number of words can be fitted onto a similar number of pages, or even slightly more pages, with the important point that those pages required fewer sheets. One sheet printed in folio produces four pages, the same sheet printed in sextodecimo produces thirty-two pages, an increase by a factor of eight. Furthermore, producing sextodecimo, while requiring cutting, only requires one simple cut following the chain lines, compared to the more complicated cutting involved in producing duodecimos, thus resulting in a more expensive book. Bonfons', therefore, may owe his position in this list not because he was a particularly powerful or important *libraire*, but because he took advantage of the desire for cheap learned books.

Michel I Sonnius / Michel II Sonnius

(*libraire-juré*, ac. 1564-c.1588 / *libraire*, c.1586-c.1625)

There were two Michel Sonniuses active during the period 1570-1590 and, for the purposes of this analysis, the two have been combined. It is likely that the majority of

the output of the Michel Sonnius came from the workshop of Michel I Sonnius, rather than Michel II. The elder Sonnius was active between 1564 and 1588 and the end of his period merges with the beginning of the period of activity of his son who continued in activity until the 1620s. Michel I Sonnius was a *libraire-juré* while Michel II Sonnius was a *libraire*.

Michel I Sonnius appears to have been the first of his family to have been a *libraire* in Paris. Certainly by 1577, Sonnius had achieved sufficient wealth to purchase, for the cost of 7,500 *lt.* Christopher Plantin's Paris shop which, until then, had been managed by Gilles Beys (*libraire-juré*, ac.1577-1595), Plantin's son-in-law. Sonnius père married twice, in the first instance to Marie Bichon, sister of the *libraire* Guillaume Bichon (*libraire*, ac. 1584-1627). From this marriage he had three sons and two daughters. His three sons, Michel II, Laurens, and Jean followed their father into the printing trade, all three probably becoming members of the *Compagnie de la Grand'Navire*. His eldest daughter Marie, married Thierry Abraham, *commissaire-examineur au Châtelet*, and then Jacques du Vivier, a *conseiller élu* in Paris; while his youngest married Charles Lelievre, a master draper and one of the four hereditary *chauffe-cires*. By his second marriage, to Marie de Villette, he had another two daughters, Margueritte, and Catherine who, in 1591, married Jacques II du Puys.

The younger Michel Sonnius, initially worked with his father at the "*L'escu-Bâle*" on the Rue St-Jacques, but with the death of Michel I Sonnius both he and his brother Laurens ceased the use the "*L'escu de Basle*" for the "*Compas d'Or*", a sign that had come from the Plantin shop. He married Gillette de Villette, a possible relation to his father's second wife, with whom he had a son, Michel, who predeceased his father.²⁰³

Sonnus only printed eight more editions than Bonfons in this period, yet Sonnius' output is of a very contrasting character. While Bonfons' 87 literature editions put him in the top five printers, in terms of editions, of books in that genre, Sonnius only printed 11. He did print a significant amount of learned books: 66, and also 25 political books. However, Sonnius was in the main, a printer of religious works. His membership of

²⁰³ Renouard, *Répertoire*, pp.401-402.

both the *Compagnie de Grand'Navire* and the *Societas typographica* confirms the fact that religious books were an important area of output for Sonnius.²⁰⁴

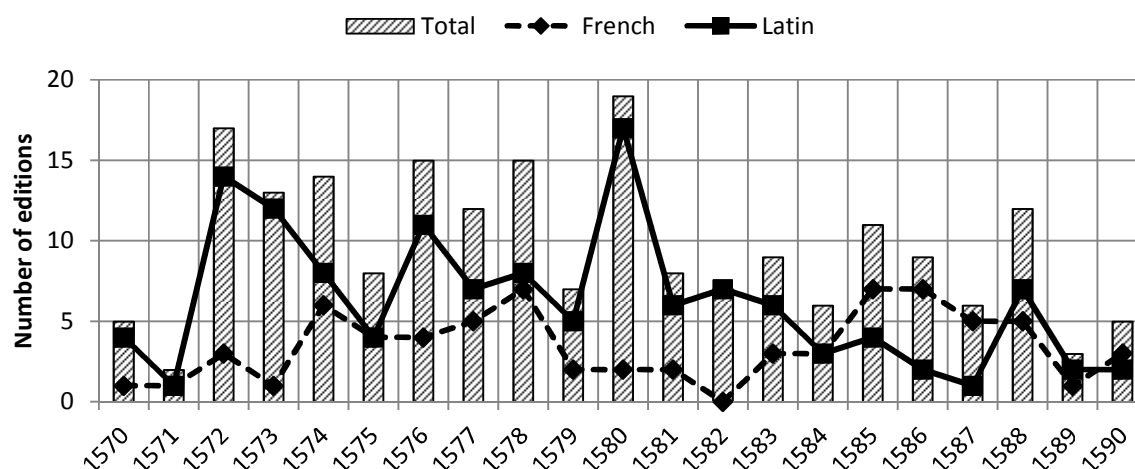


Figure 4-3: Michel Sonnius - French & Latin editions.

Unlike Bonfons Sonnius was also mainly a printer of Latin works. In this period, 131 out of 203 editions were printed in Latin rather than the 72 vernacular works he printed. He is only one of two grandee *libraires* who favoured Latin print over vernacular printing and every year until 1585 sees Latin printing outnumber vernacular printing.

The contrast between the publishing profile of Sonnius and Bonfons is striking. Sonnius required 23,937 sheets to print his editions at a ratio of 116.77, nearly one hundred more sheets per edition than Bonfons required. Sonnius worked very much at the upper end of the market. He published large Latinate texts for a largely professional, clerical market. In the more settled environment of post-St Bartholomew France, this was a market that promised steady returns for publishers with the capital resources to exploit it.

Jacques I du Puys / Jacques II du Puys

(*libraire-juré*, ac. 1540-c.1589 / *libraire-juré*, ac. c.1586-c.1591)

As with Michel Sonnius, there were two men who shared the name 'Jacques du Puys' in this period and the output of both has also been conflated in this study. Again it is likely that the majority of the output came from the father rather than from the son. Jacques I

²⁰⁴ Sonnius printed 101 editions classified as religious in this period.

was most likely a son of Guillaume du Puy (*libraire*, ac. 1504-1515) and brother of Mathurin I du Puys (*libraire-juré*, ac.1539-1558).²⁰⁵ Alongside the “*Croix-Blanche*”, Jacques I was proprietor of the “*l’enseigne de la Samaritaine*” on the Rue St-Jean-de-Latran, a shop that had previously the “*Corne-de-Daim*”. These two shops put Du Puys right at the centre of the printing area of Paris.

Jacques I’s first marriage was to Catherine Badius, daughter of Josse Badius (*libraire*, ac. c.1500-1535), with whom he had a son, Jean-Baptiste (*libraire-juré*, ac.1584-1590). After his first wife’s death, he married Marguerite Vaillant and had another son, Jacques II. Jacques II was born in 1566 and followed fairly closely in his father’s footsteps. He was proprietor of the same shop, and he used the same device. He also became proprietor of the “*Cornemuse*”, Rue Des-Prouvaires, and the “*Coq-d’Or*” on the Rue-St-Jacques, where he lived with his wife, Catherine Sonnius. He had a daughter, Marie and, after his death in 1591, he was replaced as *libraire-juré* by Jean Houzé.²⁰⁶

Du Puys became the most important printer of learned books in this period. 141 out the total 223 editions he was responsible for were learned.²⁰⁷ Du Puys certainly catered for a vernacular as well as a Latin market: over half the books he published were in French. But his was a well-capitalised shop, well able to undertake large, complex projects. Many of the books he published were impressively large.

In terms of sheets required, only Sonnius has a higher sheet/edition ratio than Du Puys. Du Puys required 23,614 sheets to print one copy of each of his 223 editions. This works out as a ratio of 105.89 sheets per edition. It is interesting that this is significantly larger than the average ratio of sheets per edition for learned books of about 60. Du Puys was not only printing scholarly books, he was printing large complex editions. His largest learned book was a 1588 folio edition of Bertrand d’Argentré’s L’histoire de Bretagne which required 430 sheets. This, though impressive, was not Du Puys’ largest edition. He was also responsible for three editions that required more than 500 sheets, all political: two editions of Charles du Moulin’s Premier tome des

²⁰⁵ The likelihood of Jacques I du Puys being the son of Guillaume du Puy comes from the fact that Jacques I owned the “*Croix-Blanche*” on the Rue St-Jacques, a shop that was previously owned by Guillaume.

²⁰⁶ Renouard, *Répertoire*, pp.134-136.

²⁰⁷ This is 23 editions more than Gabriel Buon printed, 25 more than Denis du Pré, and 27 more than Frédéric Morel.

coustumes generales et particulieres du royaume de France et des Gaulle, one printed in 1581 and the other in 1586, and an edition entitled Les edicts et ordonnances des roys de France, which he printed in 1585, this latter edition requiring 547 sheets.

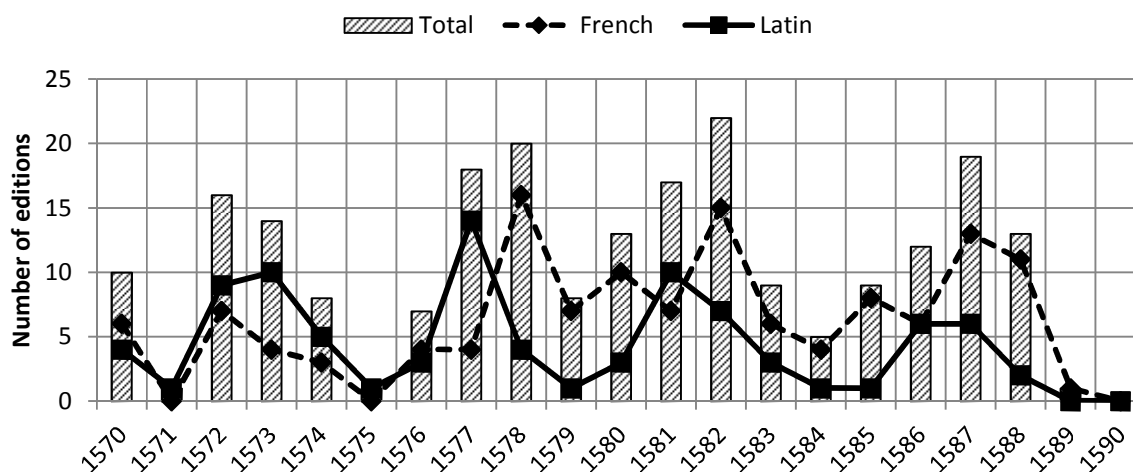


Figure 4-4: Jacques du Puys - French & Latin editions.

Nicolas Chesneau

(*libraire-juré*, ac. 1556-1584)

Nicolas Chesneau was born, in Cheffes in Anjou, in 1533 and is not to be confused with his namesake, the canon of Rheims.²⁰⁸ Initially, until 1560, he was based at the house of Claude Frémy at the “*St Martin*” on the Rue St-Jacques. In 1560 he moved to the “*l’enseigne de l’Escu de Froben et du Chesne verd*” on Rue Mont-St-Hilaire. This is the first instance of his use of the “*Chesne verd*” an obvious pun on his name. In 1563 he moved, along with his sign, to the Rue St-Jacques and in 1567 expanded into a second contiguous shop.²⁰⁹ In 1573 he abridged his sign to just “*l’enseigne du Chesne verd*”. His first wife was Marie Aurillet, with whom he had four children, Marie, Madeleine, Nicolas, and Clement. In 1577 he remarried to Jeanne de Roigny, most likely related to Jean de Roigny (*libraire-juré*, ac. 1529-1566). By this time he had achieved the position of Syndic, a position he had held in 1575.²¹⁰

²⁰⁸ Luc Racaut, “Nicolas Chesneau”, p.24.

²⁰⁹ Racaut, “Nicolas Chesneau”, p.27.

²¹⁰ Renouard, *Répertoire*, pp.80-81.

Recent work has put Chesneau in the centre of the Catholic printing experience on either side of the St Bartholomew's Day massacre.²¹¹ Personally and commercially committed to the Catholic cause, Chesneau represents a side of printing that was not based on purely economic considerations. He believed that printing was a process that could be successfully wielded in the Catholic cause against its enemies. This belief resulted in his attraction to the Guisard cause. In the 1560s he devoted much of his press time in defending the Guises, particularly after the death of the Duke of Guise in 1563 and in support of the Cardinal of Lorraine's actions at the Council of Trent. This dedication to the Catholic cause often put Chesneau at odds with the more traditional religious authorities. He was a pioneer in printing René Benoist's vernacular Catholic Bible, a translation that had been condemned by the Sorbonne but given a Royal privilege in December 1563. In this action he was joined by Michelle Guillard, Sebastien Nivelles, and Gabriel Buon.²¹²

Luc Racaut has argued that Chesneau's business was built upon profits gathered during what Andrew Pettegree has referred to as a 'pamphlet moment'.²¹³ This 'pamphlet moment' is fuelled by cheap polemical printing in a vernacular octavo format and, in France and the case of Chesneau, was concentrated in the period of the First War of Religion. Racaut further argues that, rather than continue to concentrate on this cheap propaganda, which had begun to reach saturation point in the 1570s and in the wake of the St Bartholomew's Day Massacre, Chesneau instead turned his attentions to more worthy and substantial works.²¹⁴

From a study of Chesneau's output in the 1570s and 1580s, Racaut's conclusion rings true. Chesneau printed 257 editions between 1570 and his death in 1584. The majority of these editions, while in French, were of more than two sheets [Figure 4-5]

²¹¹ FB; Racaut, "Nicolas Chesneau".

²¹² Racaut, "Nicolas Chesneau", pp.26-34.

²¹³ Pettegree, *Culture of persuasion*, pp.177-184.

²¹⁴ Pettegree, *Culture of persuasion*, p.183; Racaut, "Nicolas Chesneau", pp.38-41.

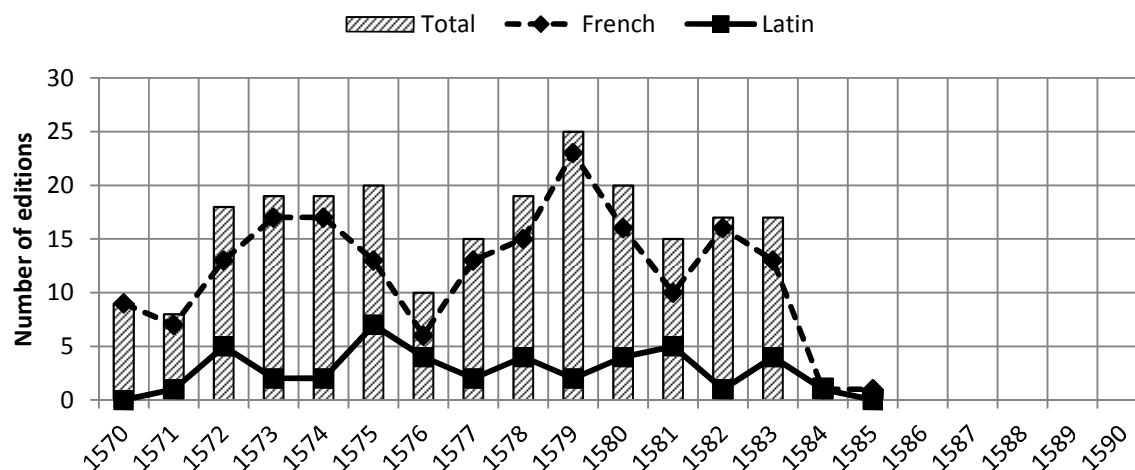


Figure 4-5: Nicolas Chesneau - French & Latin editions.

For books in octavo format, two sheets results in 32 pages, and any book larger than that cannot be considered a pamphlet. Of all the editions that Chesneau was responsible for in this period, whether sole or joint enterprises, eight editions required two sheets but only six editions required just one sheet. This means that only 2 per cent of Chesneau's output in the 1570s and 1580s was, irrespective of content, pamphlet sized. Chesneau's main focus post-1570 is on religious books. He is the second largest publisher of religious books after Guillaume Chaudière, and 47 per cent of his output is in this class of book. Of those 110 editions, only twelve can be classed in the subgenre "Controversy & polemic", though despite this classification, none of these twelve had fewer than two sheets.

Chesneau's move from pamphlets to substantial works can also be seen if we look at his sheet requirements. Chesneau printed 234 editions between 1570 and his death, and these editions would require 16,937 sheets. The sheet/edition ratio of these editions comes to 72.38 sheets per edition. This puts Chesneau in the top half of these ten grandees, not only in terms of numbers of editions, but also in terms of size of those editions. It has been suggested that this commitment to large projects led Chesneau into financial difficulties in the troubled economic times of the late 1570s. When he died in 1584, his debts were many, and his widow was left bankrupt as his creditors and former associates seized his assets and liquidated his stock.²¹⁵

²¹⁵ Racaut, "Nicolas Chesneau", pp.37-39.

Abel L'Angelier

(*libraire-juré*, ac. 1572-1609)

The life and career of Abel L'Angelier indicate the importance of family connections in the printing industry in this period. He was born to Arnoul L'Angelier (*libraire*, ac. 1536-1557) and Girarde Roffet. Girarde Roffet was the daughter of Pierre Roffet (*libraire-juré*, ac. 1511-1533) and Girarde and Arnoul also had three daughters: Catherine the elder, who married, first, Guillaume Prévost (*libraire*, ac. c.1560-1566) and, then, Mathieu Bachelet. Their second daughter, Michelle, became a nun, and Catherine the younger married Claude Gaultier (*libraire*, ac. 1564-1582). After Arnoul's death in 1557, Girarde married Lucas I Breyer and the two had a son, Lucas II Breyer (*libraire*, ac. c.1586-1608). When Lucas I Breyer died in 1581, Abel L'Angelier, Mathieu Bachelet, and Claude Gaultier were all involved in choosing the tutor for the younger Lucas. Through the Prévosts, L'Angelier was related to the Hopyl family, who, at one time, had been associates of the Higman and Estienne families; through the Roffets, L'Angelier was actually related – if only by marriage – to the Higman and Estienne families via the Chaudière family, and also through the Chaudière family to the Buon, Macé, Sonnius, Du Puys, Bichon, Marnef, and Cavellat families. L'Angelier married the widow of Pierre du Pré (*libraire-juré*, ac. 1562-1571) and thus, through marriage, was also connected to that family. L'Angelier certainly became an important *libraire* in his own right. In 1595/96 he acted as the Syndic of the *Communauté des libraires*, and in 1610 he was replaced by Sébastien Cramoisy as one of the *libraire-jurés*.²¹⁶

L'Angelier is the only grandee in this study whose career began after the start of the period under analysis. While the *Index Aureliensis* considers Bonfons to have started his career c.1576, and Renouard considers it to have started in 1572, the fact that there are editions under his name in 1570 and 1571 shows this not to be the case; Brunet cites Bonfons as being responsible for an edition as early as 1561, though Bonfons is problematic as a large proportion of his imprints are undated.²¹⁷

²¹⁶ Renouard, *Répertoire*, pp.235-237.

²¹⁷ Jacques-Charles Brunet, *Manuel du libraire et de l'amateur de livres*, vol. 2, (Paris, 1860-1865), col. 307.

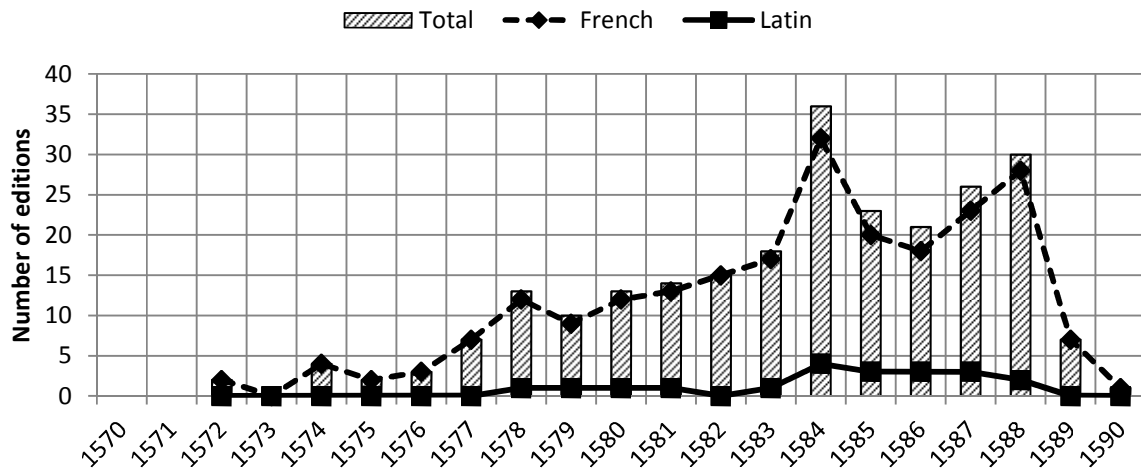


Figure 4-6: Abel L'Angelier - French & Latin editions.

L'Angelier, on the other hand, shows the perfect example of the importance of vernacular printing for success in this period, and Figure 4-6 indicates clearly the way L'Angelier increased his business year on year.

Latin editions never really accounted for much of L'Angelier's output. Only 20 editions were published in Latin by L'Angelier in this period, compared with 225 French editions. Those 225 vernacular editions account for 92 per cent of his output in the period 1570-1590 or, more technically accurate, the period 1572-1590. Starting from a humble beginning of only two to four editions per year up until 1576, 1577 marks a doubling in output. That output continued to follow a general pattern of increase for the remaining years of the period, resulting in a peak in 1584, a peak that was most likely due to L'Angelier's absorption of the activity of the printers and authors who had worked with Chesneau, notably Thierry and Claude Bruneval and his subsequent copying of Chesneau's style of quartos.²¹⁸ It was only L'Angelier's failure to participate in the general polemic and pamphleteering experience of 1589 and 1590 that saw his output drop off from the height it had been in 1588 when he was responsible for 28 French editions and 2 Latin editions. L'Angelier refrained from contributing to the polemic of the heightened League years of 1589 and 1590, for his output in those years is confined to learned books and literature, particularly historical books. The reason for L'Angelier's reticence seems to have been that he did not share the generally Leaguer

²¹⁸ Racaut, "Nicolas Chesneau", p.39.

sentiments of the Parisian publishing community.²¹⁹ In his survey of pamphlet polemic for those years, Denis Pallier identifies only one edition by L'Angelier, a Royalist pamphlet entitled Congratulation au roy sur sa victoire et heureux succes contre l'estranger.²²⁰ L'Angelier actually printed two editions of this pamphlet in 1588.²²¹ Indeed, L'Angelier left Paris in 1591 rather than continue in such a compromised position. He received his reward after Henry IV's victory when, as one of the few major figures in the industry that the King could wholly trust, he took his place as *syndic* of the Paris publishers.

Gabriel Buon

(*libraire-juré*, ac. 1558-1595)

Not a great deal is known about Gabriel Buon's life. He began his early career at the "*Clos Bruneau, à l'enseigne St Claude*", on the Rue Mont-St-Hilaire, the old address of Maurice I and Ambroise de La Porte. When Maurice II died in 1571, he left the remaining share of the shop, the share that not already been purchased by Buon, to him. He was married to Jeanne Rondel, who survived him, and succeeded him in the business in 1597. Their daughter, Marie, married Barthélemy Macé, and Buon and Jeanne also had a son, Nicolas (*libraire-juré*, ac. 1598-1628), who followed Buon père into the industry working, at first, with his mother, the widow Buon.²²²

While a large part of Buon's biography lies in the shadows for he does not seem to have many connections with other printers in Paris. Despite this, Buon achieved remarkable success in this period. Buon seems to have built his career upon the importance of learned books throughout the 1570s and 1580s. If one considers Buon's Latin output [Figure 4-7], one can see the steady rise in Latin editions in the 1571-1574 period.

²¹⁹ His lack of enthusiasm could well be down to personal experience: his mother and stepfather were both accused in the 1560s "« par leurs voisins et malveillants d'appartenir à la nouvelle religion. »"; cf. Arch. Nat., X/2 A 130, f° 396 v° in Renouard, *Documents*, p.26.

²²⁰ Pallier, *Recherches sur L'Imprimerie à Paris*, p.249. #133.

²²¹ FB 42296, 42297.

²²² Renouard, *Répertoire*, pp.62-63.

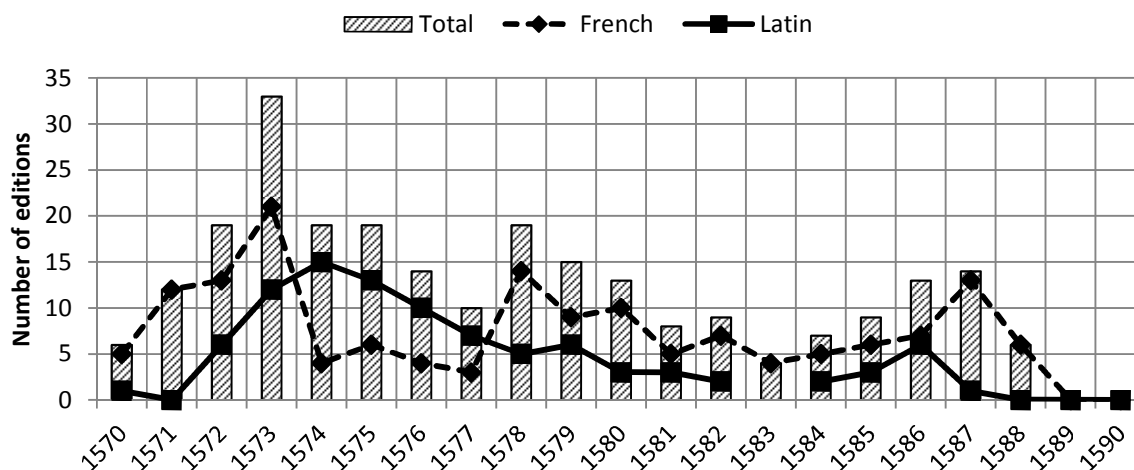


Figure 4-7: Gabriel Buon - French & Latin editions.

While the output Latin books then drops off, it is not until 1578 that Buon's French output outnumbers his Latin output. Given his position as the second most important printer of learned books (after Du Puys), this indicates his attempt to take advantage of the relative importance of those type of books in those years. Indeed, of the 117 learned editions that Buon was responsible for, 63 editions were printed in Latin. The reason for this high ratio could well be down to the large numbers of schoolbooks printed by Buon. The modest growth in Buon's output of Latin books during the years 1583-1586 was fuelled entirely by this type of publication

Buon printed quite a number of books that can be classed in the other three main categories. As with Bonfons, the printing of learned books appears to have gone hand in hand with the printing of literature. After learned books, Buon printed more literature than any other genre: 73 editions compared with 36 religious books and 23 political books. Unlike, Bonfons, however, who seems to have specialised in shorter, smaller learned books – small formats leading to smaller sheet requirements, Buon's emphasis was on the larger more expensive formats. All but one of his Latin learned books, were printed in octavo or larger and, though he did print twenty-one French sextodecimos and even a 24o edition of Cicero, the majority of all his learned books were in octavo or larger. Buon's sheet requirements, therefore, were considerably larger than Bonfons. Buon's 249 editions required 13,756 sheets.

Denis du Pré

(*libraire-juré*, ac. 1562-1594)

By the late sixteenth century, the name Du Pré had become almost synonymous with printing in Paris. The first Du Pré was Jean I du Pré (*libraire-juré*, ac. 1481-1504), who also used the variant names *de Pratis*, *a Prato*, and *Pratensis*. The next was Jean II du Pré (*libraire*, ac. 1514-1526), followed by Galliot I du Pré (*libraire-juré*, ac. 1511-1561). These three may well have been related to each other but, beyond their shared surname and their communal use of the variant names, little evidence exists to pinpoint how they were related to each other. We do know, however, that Galliot I du Pré had a number of sons, Jacques (*libraire*, ac. 1542), Galliot II (*libraire-juré*, ac. 1562-1579), and Pierre (*libraire-juré*, ac. 1562-1571). These three *libraires* also had a brother, Denis, but in documents referring to him, it is said that he held the position of a member of the Parlement rather than as a *libraire* or a printer. It is possible that the two Denis du Prés are the same, they would be alive at a similar time, and being a member of the Parlement would not necessarily prevent Denis du Pré from owning a printing works. Unlike Galliot II and Pierre, who sometimes worked together, Denis did not work with either of them and, unlike the other two Du Pré *libraire-jurés*, Denis did not keep a stall at the Palais – the fourth pillar in the case of Galliot II and the second in the case of Pierre. Instead, Denis was based at the “*Corne-de-Cerf*”, near the college of Fortet, on the Rue Sept-Voyes, at least until 1565 when he appears to have acquired the “*Vérité*” on the Rue des-Amandiers. Finally, he had a son, Philippe (*libraire-juré*, ac. 1558-1612).²²³

Denis du Pré is the second printer in this list whose Latin output is higher than his French output. As can be seen in Figure 4-8, other than in 1570 and 1571, Du Pré always published more Latin books than he did French books. There are three main categories of books that Du Pré produced. 117 editions of Du Pré’s total 255 editions were learned, 63 editions were political and 58 were literary. He did print some religious books but only 17. This distribution of work helps explain his focus on Latin print. 88 per cent of his learned output was in Latin, 74 per cent of his literature output was in Latin, and 88 per cent of his religious output was in Latin. Du Pré is perhaps the

²²³ Renouard, *Répertoire*, pp.130-134.

best example of a printer in this period who dedicated himself almost wholly to producing books in the learned languages.

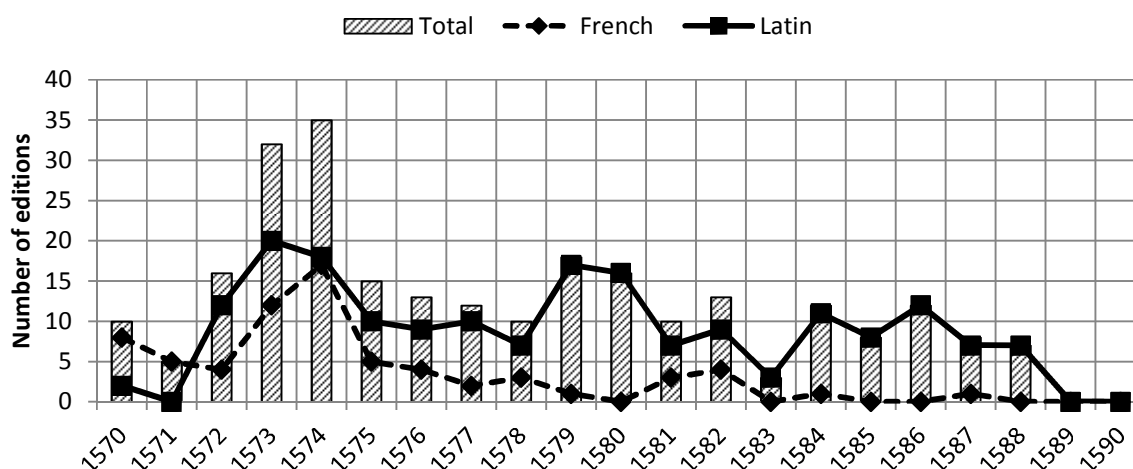


Figure 4-8: Denis du Pré - French & Latin editions.

Guillaume Chaudière

(*libraire-juré*, ac. 1564-1601)

Unlike Denis du Pré, it is certain that Guillaume Chaudière was related to the other Chaudières who had made their mark on printing in Paris in the sixteenth century. The lineage begins with Regnault I Chaudière (*libraire-juré*, ac. c.1509-1554). The son of Nicolas and Collette Tassine, Regnault I married Geneviève Higman, daughter of the printer Jean Higman and his wife Guyunne Viart. Viart was the sister-in-law of Jérôme, Jean II, and Simon de Marnef through her brother's marriage to their sister. She also remarried twice, first to Henri Estienne, father of the Estienne printing dynasty, and secondly to Simon de Colines, both of whom were step-father's to Geneviève Higman. This relationship was a boon to Regnault I as Simon de Colines yielded his shop to him – the “*Soleil d'Or*” on the Rue St-Jean-de-Beauvais, and after Colines' death in 1546, Regnault I and his son Claude Chaudière worked together in that shop. Alongside Claude, Regnault I had five daughters, three of whom married printers. Guyonne, became the first wife of André Roffet (*libraire*, ac. 1533-1559); Catherine, who was the first wife of Jean Macé (*libraire-juré*, ac. 1535-1588); and Hostelye, wife of Mathurin du Puys (*libraire-juré*, ac. 1539-1558). Claude, followed on in the family business and married Anne Cremyllier. Cremyllier had already been widowed twice, her first

marriage was to a draper, Eustache Dignel, but her second marriage had been to Simon Higman, grandson of Jean Higman. Together, Claude and Anne had several children, Guillaume being the only one to follow Claude into the printing industry. This establishment, both in terms of proprietorship of shops and of relationships with other important printing families, caused Guillaume Chaudière to become one of the most important printers in this period. Based at the "*l'enseigne du Temps et de l'Homme Sauvage*" on the Rue St-Jacques, before the League, Guillaume was *libraire* and printer for the Holy Union. With his wife Gillette Haste/Hatte, he had eleven children, Regnault II followed Guillaume into the industry, Blanche married Nicolas Buon (*libraire*, ac. 1598-1628), and Gillette married Robert Fouët (*libraire-juré*, ac. 1595-c.1642).²²⁴

It is with Guillaume Chaudière that we begin to see an acceleration in the number of editions printed by the top ten grandees. In terms of numbers of editions, there is not a great difference between Denis du Pré, Nicolas Chesneau, Gabriel Buon, or Abel L'Angelier. But the difference between Chaudière and Du Pré is over one hundred. This means that, in terms of editions, Chaudière is 39 per cent more productive than Du Pré. However, despite this Chaudière's profile is very similar to Chesneau's. Most of Chaudière's output is religious in nature: the 195 editions that were produced that are in this class represents 55 per cent of his output. There was no-one responsible for more religious print in this period than Chaudière. Chaudière's importance as a printer of religious texts, however, does not significantly impact his role as a printer of texts in other genres. Alongside his religious books, Chaudière was responsible for 69 learned editions and 73 political editions; he was also responsible for 19 books classed as literature. It is the learned and political editions that pose the most interesting questions. As Figure 4-9 shows: while Chaudière is predominantly a printer of French editions, there are a number of years when his Latin editions are not an insignificant proportion of his output.

²²⁴ Renouard, *Répertoire*, pp.77-79.

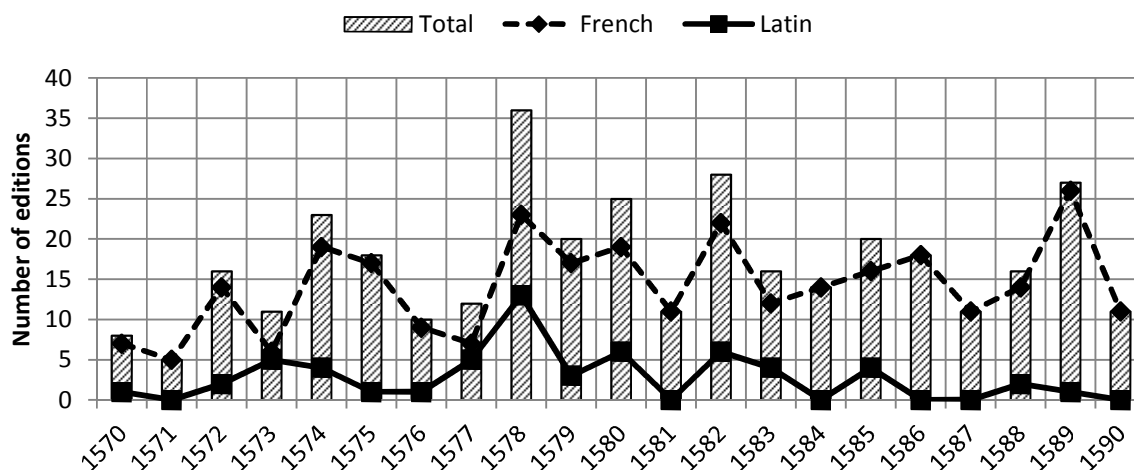


Figure 4-9: Guillaume Chaudière - French & Latin editions.

The importance of Latin printing in these years, however, almost entirely comes from an increase in Latinate religious works rather than learned works. Of the 69 learned editions, only 12 were Latin editions. The rest were French editions of, predominantly Philosophy & morality. Of more interest, perhaps, is that Chaudière, unlike Chesneau, took advantage of the ‘pamphlet moment’ that began around 1587/8 with the increasing ascendancy of the Catholic League in Paris, something that Chesneau could not take advantage of because of his death. Chaudière printed 54 editions in the political polemic subgenre; and 41 per cent of them were printed after 1587. Prior to 1587, the majority of these are funeral orations and panegyrics to various nobles and members of the royal family, including Marguerite de Valois, and Charles IX. After 1587, they are pro-League pamphlets, perhaps not with the invective of other pamphleteers’ works, but still Leaguer propaganda. By coincidence, in the years 1588-1590 inclusive, Chaudière produced 54 editions, so the percentage of his output in those years that was polemic was also 41 per cent.

Adrian Le Roy & Robert Ballard

(*libraire*, ac. 1547-1598 & *libraire*, ac. 1551-1589)

It is believed that Adrian Le Roy and Robert Ballard shared the same mother and together they became Royal printers of music. As well as being a *libraire* and printer, Le Roy was a lutenist, and composer of music in the Chapelle du Roi. Le Roy married Denyse de Broilly, daughter of Jean de Broilly (*libraire*, ac. 1514-1552) and after Jean de Broilly’s death, Le Roy inherited his shop. With Ballard, they were proprietors of the

“Sainte-Geneviève” on the Rue St-Jean-de-Beauvais. When Ballard died sometime around 1589, Le Roy continued to work with Ballard’s widow, Lucrèce Bé. Upon his own death, Le Roy left his wealth to Ballard’s children and Pierre I Ballard (*libraire-juré*, ac. 1599-1639) continued to hold the privilege of Royal printer of music with his mother, Lucrèce. This privilege, granted to Robert by Henry II, remained with the Ballard family until the Revolution.²²⁵

With this assurance and continuation of royal favour, Le Roy and Ballard were able to establish a total domination of the production of musical part books in this period. This was clearly a healthy market and Paris, along with Antwerp and Louvain, played a dominant role in supplying customers throughout northern Europe.²²⁶ Le Roy and Ballard were first granted the coveted privilege of being the king’s printers of music in 1551. This nine year privilege was regularly renewed. In 1567 the terms of the privilege was extended to ten years.²²⁷

Most of the musical part books produced by Le Roy and Ballard were intended for domestic recreational use. Most of the songs were in the French language, although it was not unusual for these collections to mix songs from different traditions, some of which had lyrics in Italian or even Latin.²²⁸ The number of editions is inflated by the fact that each project required a separate book for each voice. Normally Le Roy and Ballard’s music was set for four voices: superius, contratenor, tenor, and bassus. These books were, on the whole, quite short, often no more than two sheets (sixteen pages in quarto). They were printed in a distinctive landscape format to facilitate use in performance. This too gave them a very distinctive appearance, quite different from the normal run of Paris printing in this period.

²²⁵ Renouard, *Répertoire*, pp.16-17, 273.

²²⁶ Lesure & Thibault, *Bibliographie des éditions d’Adrian Le Roy et Robert Ballard*.

²²⁷ Privileges derived from data held by the USTC.

²²⁸ 527 out of 566 – 93 per cent – were in French.

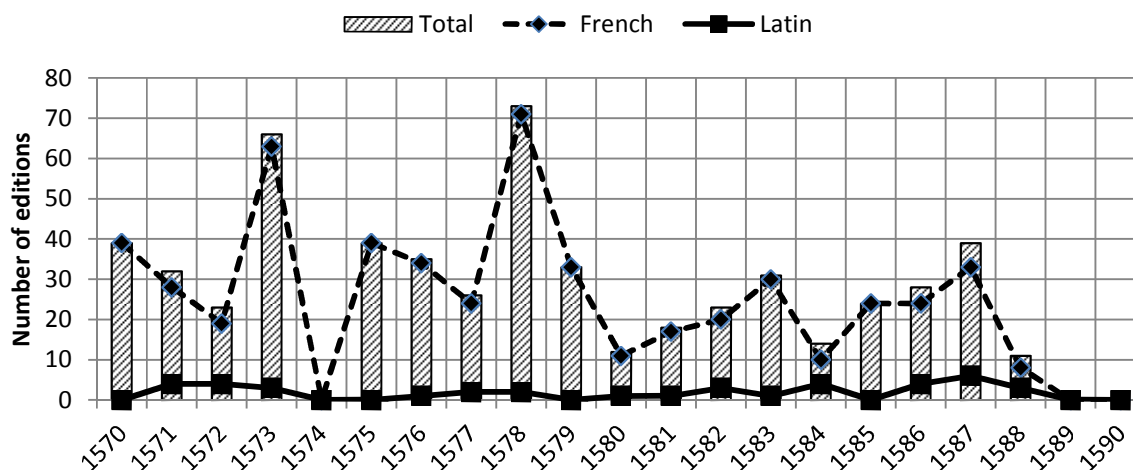


Figure 4-10: Adrian Le Roy & Robert Ballard - French & Latin editions.

Le Roy and Ballard were clearly in an enviable position. Few printers in Paris, or indeed anywhere else in Europe, could specialise to this degree in one type of publication. They must have been extremely confident in the health and durability of the market. This confidence seems to be justified. Every year saw a steady sequence of new editions, often reprints of collections published only the year before. These books clearly sold out quickly. What is more, Le Roy and Ballard were able to tap into a broad demand for musical books which spread far beyond the borders of France. The few surviving copies that exist of these editions are very often found in one of the great collections of music printing as for instance in Vienna, Kassel, London, and Uppsala. These editions clearly made their way into aristocratic or royal collections. This indeed is why they survive. The overwhelming proportion of the copies of these small but neatly produced books have disappeared. They were clearly used and used to destruction.

Fédéric I Morel / Fédéric II Morel

(*libraire*, ac. 1557-1583 / *libraire*, ac. 1581-1602)

The Fédéric Morels seem to have taken full advantage of the license they were granted when, on 4th March 1571, Fédéric père was made the Royal Printer. He had initially begun his career in the industry as corrector in the printing-works of Charlotte Guillard. From there he moved to the "*franc Meurier*" on the Rue St-Jean-de-Beauvais until 1578 when he moved to the "*l'enseigne de la Fontaine*" on the Rue St-Jacques with his wife Jeanne (who he had married prior to 1552), having succeeded his father-in-law, Michel

Vascosan (*libraire-juré/printer*, ac. 1530-1577). Vascosan had been the Royal Printer until his death, and it's likely that Morel inherited the privilege along with the business.

Fédéric I and Jeanne had several children; the most important one followed his father both in business and in name. Fédéric II was born in 1552 and soon became a *libraire* and printer, replacing his father as Royal Printer in 1581. In many ways, Fédéric II was more accomplished than his father. Clearly Fédéric I had been sufficiently wealthy and established to provide Fédéric II with a good education as not only was he the Royal Printer but also *Lecturer du Roi* in Greek at the Royal College. Fédéric II married Isabelle du Chesne, and they had several children, including Claude (*libraire*, ac. 1598-1626), and a third Fédéric (*libraire*, ac. c.1602-c.1650), who was also the Royal Printer until 1624.²²⁹

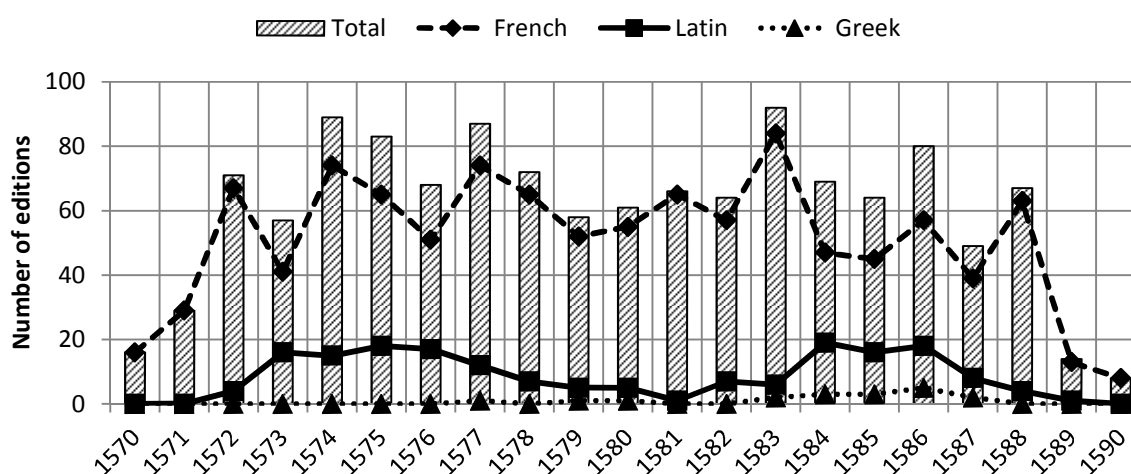


Figure 4-11: Fédéric Morel - French, Latin, & Greek editions.

We saw with Le Roy & Ballard, how important a Royal licence was for ensuring a healthy business and, in terms of editions, there was no healthier a business than that of Fédéric Morel during this period. In total, he produced 1,264 editions in the twenty-one years between 1570 and 1590, accounting for 12.65 per cent of all editions. This is an extraordinary amount and it is not surprising to see his name in the top ten list of printers for each of the genres for such a prodigious output meant that even if a particular genre amounted for a small percentage of his total output, it would still account as one of the largest outputs in that genre. He printed 112 learned editions and

²²⁹ Renouard, *Répertoire*, pp.315-317.

so was fourth most important publisher in that genre, 97 editions makes him the second most important publisher of literature, though a very distant second behind Le Roy & Ballard's 559 editions. His religious output was his smallest as he only published 76 editions of books classed in this genre, placing him seventh behind Guillaume Chaudière, Nicolas Chesneau, Michel Sonnius, Guillaume de La Nouë, Sébastien Nivelles, and Jacques Kerver. Though, again it is important to point out that while 76 editions consists of a mere 6.01 per cent of Morel's output, there were only six publishers or printers who produced more religious books. Morel's extraordinary output of edicts mask a considerable business as a general printer. Even without his output of edicts, the number of editions he produced in the three other genres would still make his output greater than all but Chaudière and Le Roy and Ballard. But it was his work as the king's printer of official publications that propelled him to his position as the leading printer of Paris, at least in terms of editions. The market for pamphlet copies of the king's edicts and ordinances seems to have been very considerable. Between 1570 and 1590 almost 1,700 editions were published. Morel was responsible for 904 of these. Many of the remainder were reprints of editions first published by Morel, published after his privilege had expired. The privilege for edicts was unusually short, normally only a few months. This reflected the crown's need to balance a responsibility to reward the privileged printer while at the same time allowing other printers to exploit this important commercial market. But for Morel this was clearly the cornerstone of his prosperity.²³⁰

Because of these responsibilities the overwhelming proportion of Morel's publications were in French. In a milestone ruling of 1539 Francis I had established French as the exclusive language of all judicial and official publications. This legislation is often regarded as a critical moment in development of the French language. It certainly helped create a new and robust part of the Paris book world. Morel's edicts had a very distinct appearance.²³¹ Whereas in Germany and other parts of northern Europe such as England and the Low Countries, quarto was the format of officialdom, French

²³⁰ Kim, *French royal acts*; Kim has highlighted the importance of Morel in the printing history of Royal ordinances as his copies of royal acts became the exemplars from which printers in both Paris and the provinces based their own editions. Likewise English translations of French edicts claim authority from Morel editions.

²³¹ Kim, *French royal acts*, pp.134.

printers adopted octavo as the convenient format for publication of official edicts. In this respect they could easily have merged into the general pamphlet culture of this period but for the fact that they were invariably distinguished by a royal device or coat of arms on the title page. Morel had a number of these which he used to advertise his privileged status and to distinguish these publications from those of other printers or from other pamphlets [Figure 4-12].

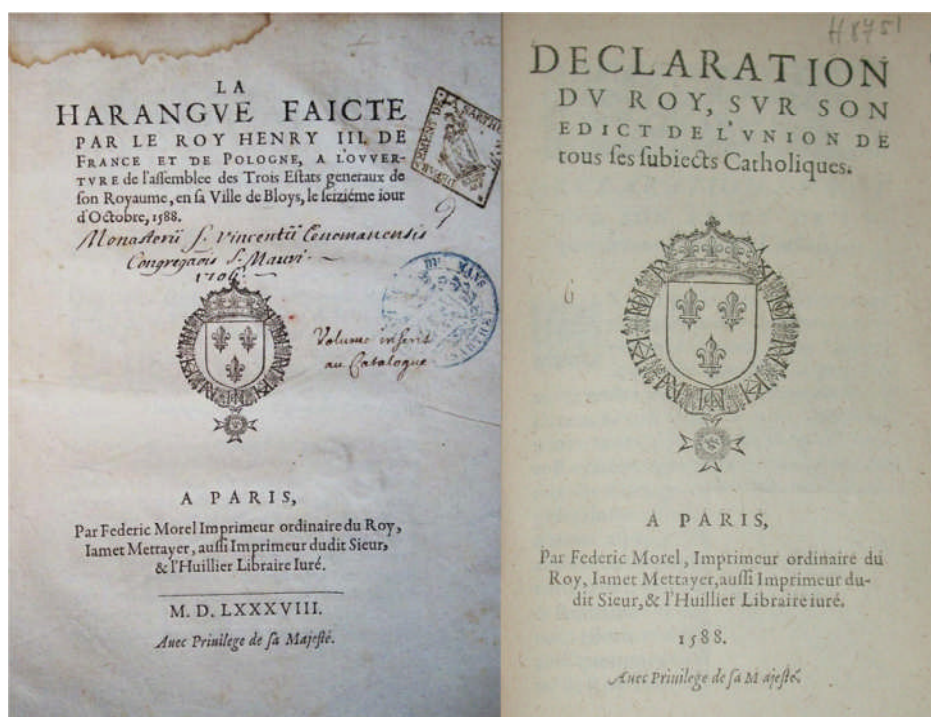


Figure 4-12: Examples of Morel's printing showing use of Royal Arms.²³²

So far we have only dealt with the most important grandees of the Paris printing world, the men or partnerships which were each responsible for more than two hundred editions and who, combined, produced 3,868 editions. These nearly four thousand printings required over a quarter of a million sheets to produce one copy and thus represent a similar number of days of work to produce. These ten represent the pinnacle of the late sixteenth century printing industry in Paris, but what of the other three hundred or so other less important members of this industry?

The first finding of significance is that a large proportion of these men are named on only one printing. Indeed, the names of nearly two-fifths of all the printers or *libraires* occur only on only one item [Figure 4-13].

²³² FB 27175, 27089.

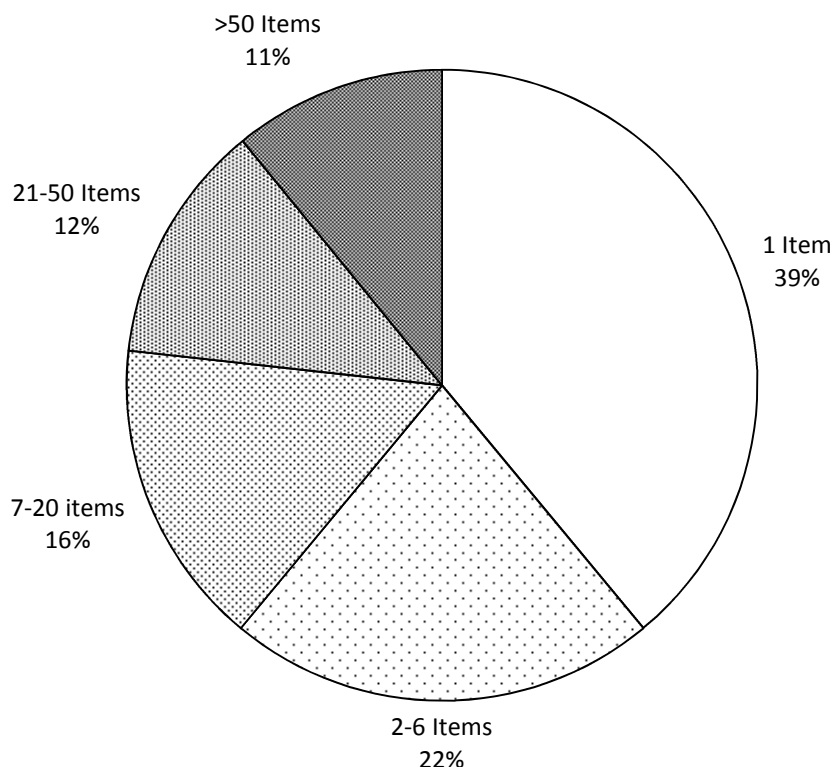


Figure 4-13: Percentage of printers/*libraires* with the number of bibliographical distinct items to their name.

There could be a couple of explanations for this scenario. One is that the majority of these people were named on only one or few items because they were ‘vanity’ printings, that is the individual named was not an established *libraire*, nor were they someone involved in the physical production of the book. Instead, they provided the capital for the printing, perhaps of a favoured author otherwise unavailable or, perhaps, of their own work.

The architect and mathematician, Jacques Androuet du Cerceau is a good example of the latter. His publications have already been discussed in the context of their content earlier in this thesis, but it is worth reiterating that both editions of his work printed in this period carried his name upon the title page not only in the position usual to that of the author but also in the position usually reserved for the printer or *libraire* [Figure 4-14]. These were works printed by others for a wealthy patron willing to cover the costs of the enterprise. Another explanation is that these were rare publications from men involved in the industry as printers for hire who had gathered sufficient capital to print under their own name. It is likely that these types of printers were far more numerous than lists of printers may suggest.

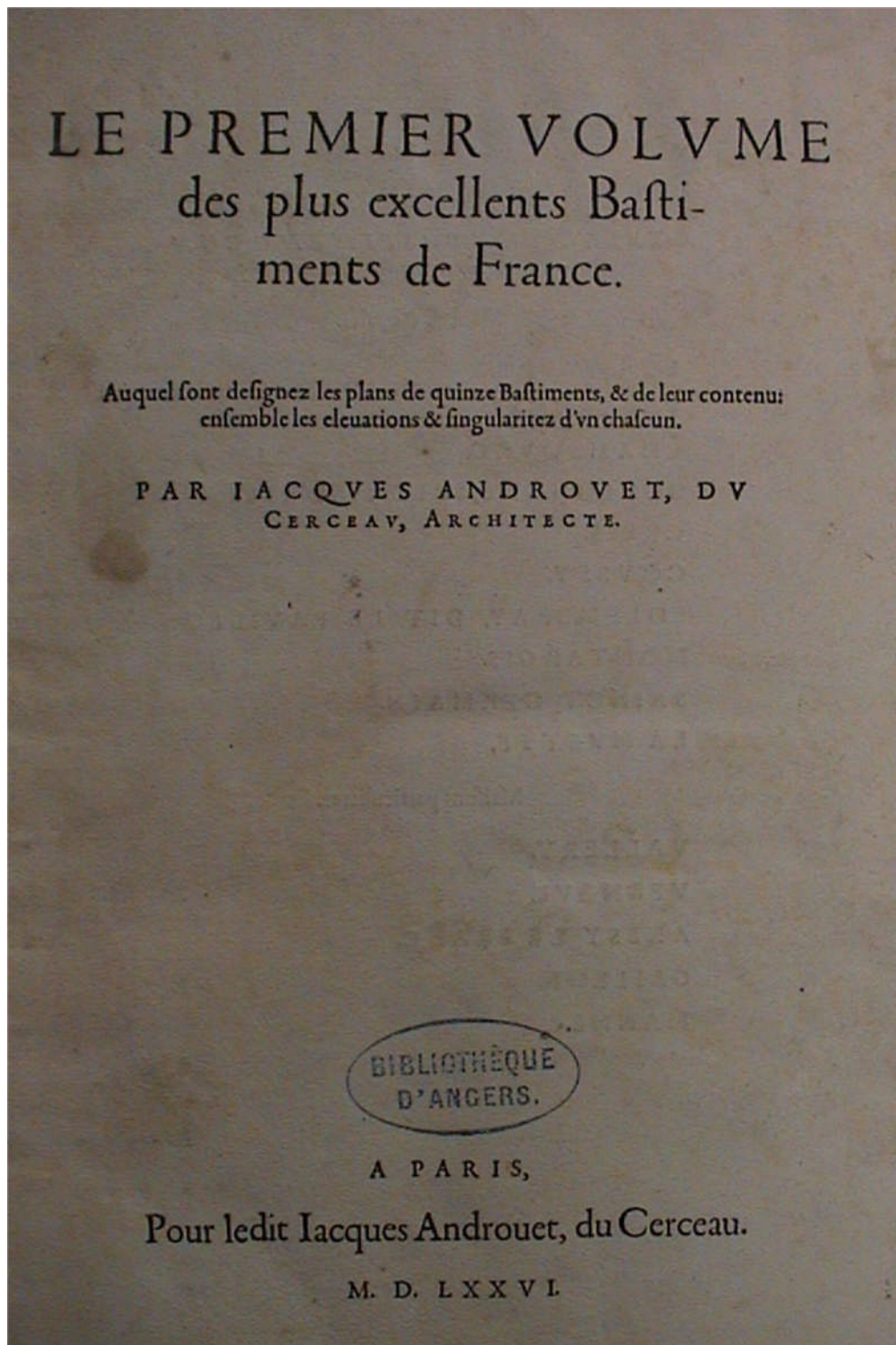


Figure 4-14: Title page from Jacques Androuet du Cerceau, Le premier volume des plus excellents bastiments de France; FB 17068. This was probably printed by Denis Duval.²³³

²³³ Renouard, Imprimeurs et Libraires Parisiens, vol. 1, p.94.

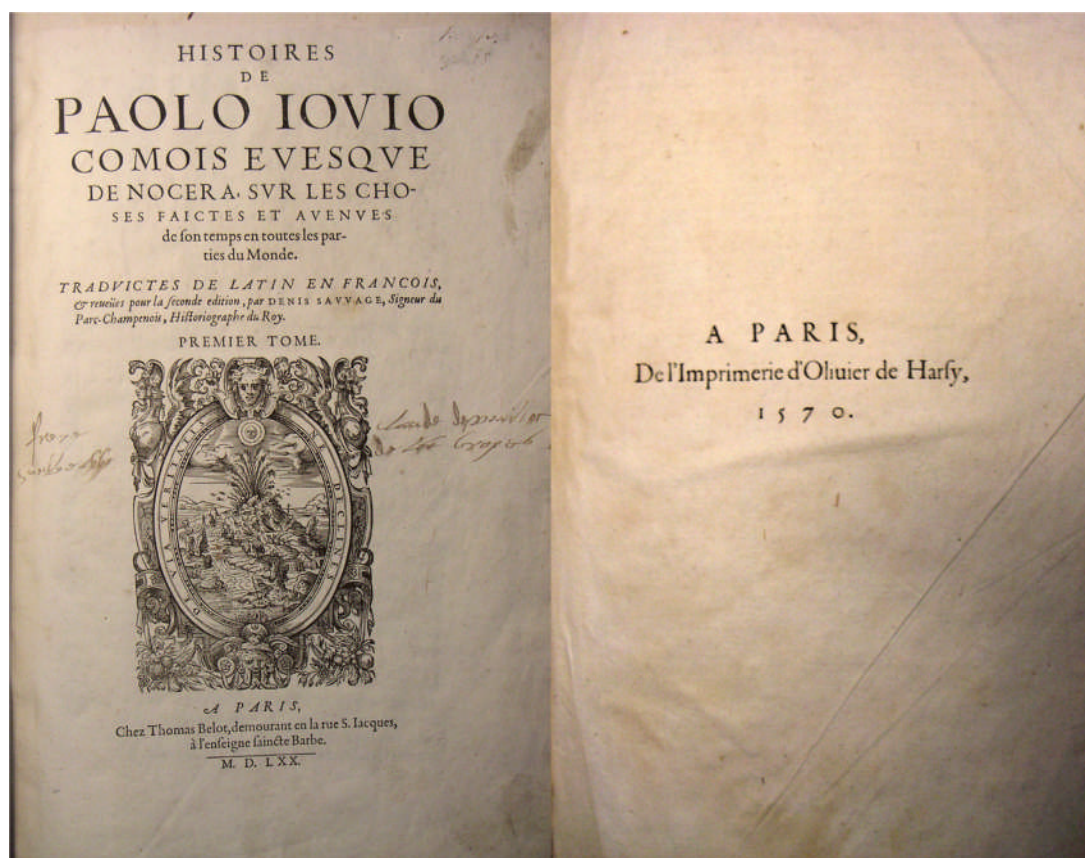


Figure 4-15: Thomas Belot's edition of Paolo Giovio's Histoires with colophon indicating that it was printed by Olivier de Harsy for Belot

We have already come across two examples of men whose roles in this period were predominantly printers for hire, employed by *libraires* to produce books for sale in their boutiques. These men are the printer's representatives elected to the first executive of the communauté, Fleury Prévost and Olivier de Harsy. As described in Chapter I, Prévost's name appears on the title page of only one item and far more often in colophons, though those are increasingly rare as the period progresses. Harsy also printed for other *libraires* [Figure 4-15]. Prévost's election to the *communauté* suggests that he was a highly successful and powerful member of his industry. There could well be other printers like Prévost, men whose names never or rarely appear on title pages, yet were not insignificant contributors to the corpus of printed books.

In many cases these printers were perhaps producing purely under their own name for the first time. In this case it is not surprising to see that in the majority of cases the books they were producing were short and, by extension, cheap and were, in particular, pamphlets. Even Prévost, someone who it would be safe to assume enjoyed a level of prosperity greater than many of his printer colleagues, produced a short, relatively

cheap pamphlet. In his case it was regarding the recent victory at Lepanto [Figure 4-16].

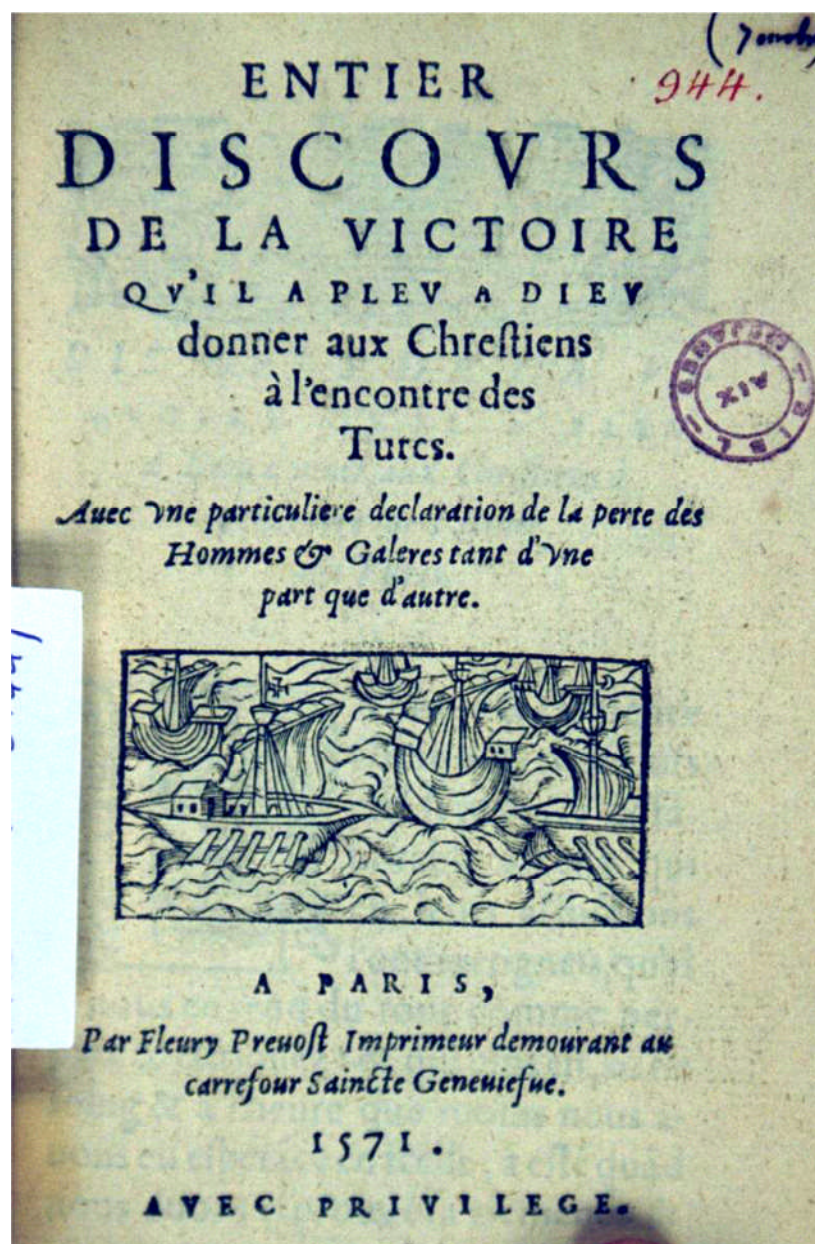


Figure 4-16: Title page from Entier discours de la victoire qu'il a pleu à Dieu donner aux chrestiens à l'encontre des Turcs; FB 34317

That pamphlets provided a mechanism of entry for printers to move beyond the confines of printing for others and begin to print for themselves is not surprising. Pamphlets provide examples of some of the cheapest forms of print produced in this period. This is a factor that all types of pamphlets produced in Europe had in common, for the general notion of the pamphlet differed slightly between the various print regions of sixteenth century Europe. In Germany, early pamphlets had been cheap

quartos printed in the vernacular. These were often accompanied by striking visual imagery with woodcut title-pages.²³⁴ Some of these early versions of cheap print were predominantly visual and included blockbooks and other primitive broadsheet propaganda.²³⁵ The pamphlet in-quarto was also a popular format in the Netherlands and in England. In the confiscated printed belongings of Richard Stonley, a royal clerk who had embezzled over £12,600, there were a number of bundles of quarto pamphlets valued at about 20d.²³⁶ Stonley also possessed octavo pamphlets but, according to Raymond, the general format of an English pamphlet was quarto and short, consisting of between one sheet and a maximum of twelve. This meant that it was usually issued on its own, unbound and too insubstantial to constitute a volume by itself.²³⁷ It was cheap, disposable and topical, usually in the vernacular and these factors were generally common throughout Europe. However, in France, pamphlets came predominantly in octavo rather than quarto which mirrored the popularity in France of the octavo format for other types of books that, elsewhere, were more commonly quartos. It would seem that pamphlets, particularly those of a political nature, aped, at least in format, the short, cheap print produced on behalf of officialdom.²³⁸ Certainly this is the case for the one of the most hectic periods of pamphleteering in the history of the Parisian press, that done by and on behalf of the Catholic League.

League pamphlets and their printers

Towards the end of the period under study the Paris printing industry entered a new era of turbulence and uncertainty. By 1588 it was clear that Henry III's attempts to dampen the political tensions caused by confessional discord had been wholly unsuccessful. Forced to accede to the demands of the Catholic League to act against Protestantism, Henry made one final desperate attempt to reassert his independence. In December 1588 the Duke and Cardinal de Guise were summoned to the king's presence and assassinated. Catholic France erupted in outrage. All of France's major cities, including the capital, declared for the League. The king was forced to make

²³⁴ Pettegree, *Culture of persuasion*, p.133.

²³⁵ R.W. Scribner, *For the Sake of the Simple Folk: Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation* (Oxford, 1994), p.5.

²³⁶ Joad Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering*, p.5.

²³⁷ Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering*, pp. 7-8.

²³⁸ See section on Fédéric Morel.

common cause with Henry of Navarre, the Protestant champion and heir apparent. It was while the Royal forces were besieging Paris, in an attempt to reduce the capital to obedience, that Henry III was himself assassinated.

Henry of Navarre was now nominally king, but it would be four years before Paris would submit to his authority. The campaign to assert his claim was waged through diplomacy, on the battlefield, and in print. Henry could hardly hope that his case would find a hearing on the Paris press – the output of the capital in these years was overwhelmingly pro-League. His military activity, however, could at least disrupt the flow of pro-League propaganda. For much of 1590 Paris was under siege. The armies in the vicinity disrupted the supply of paper and cut Paris off from its normal markets. The presses within the city were suddenly operating in a far more challenging context. The effect was to produce a drastic reordering of the output of the Parisian presses.

One cannot talk about Leaguer printing in Paris without first mentioning Denis Pallier's survey published in 1976.²³⁹ Pallier's monograph concerns a nine year period, between 1585 and 1594, when printed production in Paris coincided with an increasingly influential League presence, a presence that culminated in the Day of the Barricades in 1588 and Henry III's effective exile from his own capital. It is not the intention here to repeat the work of Pallier, rather to place the period 1588-1590, those years of intense Leaguer pamphlet activity, in the context of the proceeding years.

1588, rather than 1585, marks a watershed date for Paris printing, for that is the first year that political print represents more than half of the yearly output and, of the political books, polemical works factor as the majority genre.²⁴⁰ By 1589, with Henry III roundly condemned for the murders of the Duke and Cardinal of Guise, political printing represented 80 per cent of all printing, and polemical works, on their own, for one third of all texts produced. The vast majority of these texts were pro-League.

As we have already seen the years 1588 and 1589 also witnessed a sudden explosion in edition numbers. Figure 2-14 indicates the massive increase in political titles as the number of editions in that genre more than doubled between 1587 and 1588, before

²³⁹ Pallier, *Recherches sur L'imprimerie à Paris*.

²⁴⁰ For full figures see Appendix A.

increasing by another quarter in the following year. This increase in edition numbers comes without a proportionate rise in total output. In 1589, the peak of the pamphlet period, the books published used less paper than in 1587.²⁴¹ 1589 was also the peak year for broadsheet production. Over two-thirds of all political broadsheets were printed that year and over half of all broadsheets, of whatever genre, were printed in 1589. It is this genre of political polemic into which the vast majority of Leaguer printing falls into. This is as opposed to religious polemic, which had been most popular in 1572.²⁴²

On compiling a list of the printers who, during this period, printed more than twenty-one editions of political polemic, one immediately notices that three of the grandees discussed earlier in the chapter, Frédéric Morel, Guillaume Chaudière, and Denis du Pré are all on this list, though the percentage of their output of this type was, for all three, very small [Figure 4-17]. We have already noted that Morel had no desire to compromise his position as royal printer by engaging on attacks on the king in the name of the Catholic League. Nor did Du Pré take any part in the Leaguer polemic of the late 1580s – all of his editions in this genre were printed prior to 1586 and they mostly consist of reports of triumphant entries of the king or royal armies; strictly Royalist in content.

Printer	Total Editions	Polemic, remonstrances & complaints (inc. Newsbooks & Funeral orations)	%
Anonymous	501	114	22.75%
Hubert Velu	72	66	91.67%
Didier Millot	98	62	63.27%
Nicolas Nivelles & Rolin Thierry	96	50	52.08%
Fédéric Morel	1287	39	3.03%
Denis Binet	43	36	83.72%
Guillaume Bichon	118	34	28.81%
François Plumion	32	31	96.88%
Michel Jouin	26	26	100.00%
Guillaume Chaudière	349	25	7.16%
Denis du Pré	253	24	9.49%
Pierre des Hayes	30	24	80.00%
Michel Buffet	46	23	50.00%

Figure 4-17: Printers of more than 21 books classed as “Polemic, remonstrances & complaints (inc. Newsbooks & Funeral orations)”.

²⁴¹ See Appendix A1 §3.

²⁴² See Chapter III.

Likewise the majority of Chaudière's output came from before 1586, although he did print some polemic after that date. This is of note because Chaudière was the principal *libraire* of the League itself, a position he held alongside Nicolas Nivelles and Rolin Thierry, the principle printers of the League. However, Chaudière's name is conspicuously absent from the list of League pamphleteers of this period. Both Thierry and Chaudière continued to work into the seventeenth century (Nivelles died in the 1590s) long after the succession of Henry IV and, yet, the greatest penalty they suffered as printers and *libraire* of the League was their arrest in December 1593 for printing a pamphlet critical of Mayenne and the Sixteen.²⁴³

Moving beyond the issue of political polemic as a whole and towards the specifics of League polemic, we are forced to pose a number of questions. There are many printers in this period, and they are predominantly printers rather than *libraires*, for whom the majority of their output was short, vernacular books of two or fewer sheets. The main question is how many of these printers overlap with the printers of pro-League polemic. In other words, were the predominant producers of League pamphlets actually well established printers for whom pro-League polemic was an additional profit making sideline to their main work of printing less contentious works for a less radical market? Or, rather, were the printers of pro-League texts predominantly printers for hire for whom the political situation of late-1580s Paris provided them an opportunity to attempt to build their careers on the back of League pamphleteering? Were they attempting to carve out a more established place by riding the wave of a new pamphlet moment in the way that Chesneau had managed to ride the wave of the pamphlet moment of the 1560s?

If we compile a list of the printers who were responsible for at least fifteen editions of pro-League polemic in the years 1588-1590 [Figure 4-18]

Printer	League Editions	Percentage of Total League Editions
Anonymous	73	13.37%
Rolin Thierry	67	12.27%
Nicolas Nivelles	66	12.09%
Didier Millot	50	9.16%

²⁴³ Peter M. Ascoli, "A Radical Pamphlet of Late Sixteenth Century France: *Le Dialogue D'Entre Le Maheustre Et Le Manant*", in *the Sixteenth Century Journal*, 5:2 (Oct., 1974), p.10.

Hubert Velu	44	8.06%
Denis Binet	32	5.86%
François Plumion	29	5.31%
Guillaume Bichon	24	4.40%
Michel Jouin	23	4.21%
Antoine du Brueil	17	3.11%
Guillaume Chaudière	16	2.93%
Jacques de Varangles	16	2.93%
Pierre des Hayes	15	2.75%

Figure 4-18: Printers of more than 15 League editions with the percentage of total league editions printed.

Putting aside the issue of the number of items printed anonymously, we will focus on the examples of Rolin Thierry and Nicolas Nivelles, the two men appointed by the League as official printers in Paris. Apart from the joint enterprises on behalf of the League, of which they printed 50, they were also responsible for sixteen, in the case of Nivelles, and seventeen, in the case of Thierry, individual items on their own.

That Rolin Thierry was the more productive, if only slightly, of the two in this period is also slightly surprising given that Nivelles, on the face of things, would have had a more auspicious start to his career. Thierry was born probably no later than 1565, the son of Oudin, a simple labourer. In 1581 he became apprenticed to his uncle, Henri Thierry (*libraire*/printer, ac. 1574-1585). Henri Thierry was the son of Pierre Thierry (*libraire*, 1551-1556) which makes Rolin likely to be Pierre's grandson. Rolin Thierry appears to have become Henri's successor in 1585 and he continued as a *libraire*/printer until 1623 when he died.

Nicolas Nivelles also made his entry into the business via a family member, in this case his father, Sébastien. Sébastien Nivelles, a member of the *Compagnie de la Grand'Navire* and of the *Societas typographica librorum Officii ecclesiastici ex decreto Concilii Tridentini*, was the son of Jean Nivelles a *papetier* from Troyes.²⁴⁴ Sébastien was also a *libraire-juré* a position that Nicolas Nivelles would also gain. However, unlike Rolin Thierry, who inherited his shop in 1585, Sébastien Nivelles did not die until 19 November 1603, and continued in his shop until at least that year. This meant that during the 1580s and 1590s, Nicolas Nivelles was not Sébastien's successor. Indeed, Nicolas Nivelles predeceased his father, dying before 1594 at the age of 38. According to

²⁴⁴ See Chapter 2.

Renouard, the younger Nivelles was active for a period of only seven years (1583-1590),²⁴⁵ dates which are backed up by the bibliographical evidence of his output. Given that a hefty proportion (46.81 per cent) of Nicolas Nivelles's output was in the form of pro-League pamphlets, maybe he saw the partnership with Thierry as a chance to make his name and fortune by supplying the demand for such works, a chance that ended with his death. The evidence suggests his death was earlier than 1594 – that was only the date at which he was replaced as a *libraire*. During 1592 and 1593 his brother, Robert Nivelles, worked in association with Thierry producing the same kind of books that Nicolas Nivelles and Thierry had produced. If Robert had already succeeded him in 1592, then it seems likely that Nicolas was already dead, or if not, certainly incapacitated and unlikely to recover.

For whatever reasons they went into partnership, Nivelles and Thierry's positions as official printers of the League would certainly have ensured them primacy in the lists of printers of League pamphlets. However, that cannot be the whole story. Indeed, when compared with all their output, League pamphlets make up a much smaller proportion than it does for other printers. [Figure 4-18/Figure 4-19].

Printer	League Editions	Total Editions	Percentage of Total Editions
François Le Jeune	3	3	100.00%
François Plumion	29	32	90.63%
Michel Jouin	23	26	88.46%
Nicolas Givry	7	8	87.50%
Nicolas Viveret	6	7	85.71%
Jacques Grégoire	9	11	81.82%
Jacques de Varangles	16	20	80.00%
Pierre Mercier	12	16	75.00%
Denis Binet	32	43	74.42%
Antoine du Brueil	17	25	68.00%
François Le Fèvre	2	3	66.67%
Jean des Nois	2	3	66.67%
Hubert Velu	44	72	61.11%
Antoine Le Riche	5	9	55.56%
Didier Millot	50	98	51.02%
Pierre des Hayes	15	30	50.00%
Nicolas Nivelles	66	141	46.81%
Rolin Thierry	67	145	46.21%

Figure 4-19: Printers of more than one League edition of which those editions represent more than 50 per cent of their total editions.

²⁴⁵ Renouard, *Répertoire*, pp.325-326.

While League printing was quite a sizable proportion of their output and was, indeed, for both the single largest genre, it was not a majority for either. For Thierry, pro-League material did not even represent the majority of his output for the years 1588-1590 [Figure 4-19].

This is a significant result and emphasises the importance of time on the presses.

League pamphlets were short and quick to produce and emphasis on edition numbers hides the speed at which these cheap pamphlets could be churned out. That one of the official printers of the League spent less time on League pamphlets than he did on other items is suggestive of the continued importance of his other business.

Printer	League Editions	Total Editions (1588-1590)	Percentage of Total Editions (1588-1590)
François Le Jeune	3	3	100.00%
François Plumion	29	32	90.63%
Michel Jouin	23	26	88.46%
Nicolas Givry	7	8	87.50%
Nicolas Viveret	6	7	85.71%
Hubert Velu	44	53	83.02%
Jacques Grégoire	9	11	81.82%
Jacques de Varangles	16	20	80.00%
Pierre Mercier	12	16	75.00%
Jean Parent	3	4	75.00%
Denis Binet	32	43	74.42%
Pierre des Hayes	15	21	71.43%
Antoine du Brueil	17	25	68.00%
François Le Fèvre	2	3	66.67%
Jean des Nois	2	3	66.67%
Didier Millot	50	81	61.73%
Antoine Le Riche	5	9	55.56%
Nicolas Nivelle	66	126	52.38%
Pierre Ramier	6	12	50.00%
Jean Le Blanc	5	10	50.00%
Rolin Thierry	67	141	47.52%

Figure 4-20: Printers of more than one League edition of which those editions represent more than 50 per cent of their total editions printed 1588-1590.

Instead, we must turn towards those printers for whom League printing was not only an important part of their business during the years 1588-1590 but also an important part of their business as a whole. There is only one printer, François Le Jeune, who printed nothing but League pamphlets during these years. However, Le Jeune actually printed nothing but League pamphlets throughout this whole period of study (1570-1590). Of additional note, are the other eight bookmen for whom League pamphlets consisted of

more than three quarters of their output in the years 1588-1590, and of a significant part of their total output. These eight men are François Plumion, Michel Jouin, Nicolas Givry, Nicolas Viveret, Hubert Velu, Jacques Grégoire, Jacques de Varangles, and Pierre Mercier.

Little is known about the man who heads these two tables, François Le Jeune. So little, in fact, that his entry in Renouard can be quoted in full:

LE JEUNE (FRANÇOIS), libr., 1588
Ne donne pas d'adresse.²⁴⁶

In Pallier's comprehensive study of League printing between 1585 and 1594, Le Jeune appears once, in a footnote. Given the lack of detail about Le Jeune, one must focus attention upon the other nine bookmen if one is to probe the profile of a printer which spent most of his time printing League pamphlets in the years 1588-1590.

More is known of François Plumion than is known of Le Jeune. Plumion, however, was not alive for most of the period of interest as he died in 1588. It would seem that the majority of his output was completed by his widow.²⁴⁷ Michel Jouin was also active for a similarly short period, 1588-1589. Also like Plumion, Jouin appears to have been a *libraire*.²⁴⁸ Nicolas Givry appears to have been a *libraire*/printer active only in 1589.²⁴⁹ Nicolas Viveret was a *libraire*, active only in 1588 but on the Rue-Saint-Jacques.²⁵⁰ Jacques Grégoire seems to have been a *colporteur* from Blois who became a Paris printer in 1589 in the less fashionable parts of Paris, near the Porte Saint-Victor, by the Petit-Navarre, and on the Rue d'Arras.²⁵¹ What they all have in common is that their careers were transitory and their output small, they were bookmen whose influence beyond the moment was minimal and they cast short shadows.

Four of this group, however, were more important. On the other hand, the production of League editions in the years 1588-1590 for the other three bookmen, Pierre Mercier, Jacques de Varangles, and Hubert Velu, represented not only more than 75 per cent of

²⁴⁶ Renouard, *Répertoire*, p.262.

²⁴⁷ Renouard, *Répertoire*, p.349.

²⁴⁸ Renouard, *Répertoire*, p.220.

²⁴⁹ Renouard, *Répertoire*, p.174.

²⁵⁰ Renouard, *Répertoire*, p.430.

²⁵¹ Renouard, *Répertoire*, p.183.

their production in those years but also more than 75 per cent of their entire production in the years 1570-1590.

In two cases, that of Hubert Velu and Pierre Mercier, the beginning of their careers overlaps with the pamphlet moment of the 1580s. Velu began his career in 1587 and Mercier in 1588. Varangles, on the other hand, began his career as a *libraire* and *relieur* in 1582, a number of years before the pamphlet moment began. Furthermore, Varangles was linked to the *libraire/relieur* Guillaume Thioust as Varangles was married to Thioust's daughter, Anne. What connects Velu, Mercier, and Varangles, however, is the importance of League pamphlets to their careers. Most of their production during the period of this study were League pamphlets but, unlike people like Le Jeune or Plumion, their careers continued long after the pamphlet moment had ended.

Hubert Velu continued in business as a *libraire*/printer until 1615, and even moved up in the world, if perhaps hesitantly. Before 1588, Velu was based very close to the city walls at the Porte Saint-Victor; by 1588 he was on the Rue du Bon Puys, and in 1589 he was working out of a shop on the Rue Saint-Jacques. In 1590 he had moved closer to the Porte Saint-Michel and by 1600 he was close to the Pont Notre-Dame, on the Rue de la Tannerie.²⁵² Less is known about Mercier, except that he had, during 1588-1589, the same address as the *libraire*/printer Pierre des Hayes. As with Velu, however, Mercier continued in business as a *libraire*/printer well into the seventeenth century, in his case until 1628.

It is impossible to know, without a complete survey of Parisian print of the seventeenth century, the type of books these three men were producing in the later parts of their careers. That they continued as *libraires* and, in the case of Mercier and Velu, as printers past the pamphlet moment of the League controversy of the later 1580s and early 1590s, is significant. Most of the printers for whom League pamphlets were a majority of their output were bookmen who made brief appearances during the extremes of the pamphlet moment and then disappeared having failed to make a significant impact. Perhaps a reason for this is the stranglehold on 'official' League

²⁵² Renouard, *Répertoire*, p.423.

printing held by Chaudière, and more specifically, Nivelles and Thierry. Yet here are three bookmen, responsible for a not insignificant amount of League pamphlets (Velu produced 44, Varangles produced 16, and Mercier produced 12 League pamphlets) for whom the pamphlet moment helped them further their business. They represent bookmen who had successfully ridden the pamphlet moment to their advantage.

Chapter V: Paris and the international market.

The creation of an international market for books was essential to the economics of the industry. In the manuscript period it was not at all unusual for scholars to send for exemplars or books from abroad to borrow, copy, or purchase.²⁵³ In the era of print this international trade became vital to the economic model of the industry. As the printers and publishers of books had begun to think of their merchandise in terms of multiples of hundreds rather than single items, so they had to think of their customers in the same terms. Even in a city the size of Paris it would be impossible for the printers and *libraires* to sell the entirety of their print run to local purchasers. These men had, instead, to consider the non-domestic market: firstly, this was the market outside the environs of their own city and, secondly, this was the international market. This international market was particularly important for Latin books for the sale of such books, printed in an international language, would not be confined to homogenous language areas.²⁵⁴

The printing industries of some cities were better suited than others to take advantage of this international market. Many of the major print centres of Europe were cities with commercial ties throughout Europe, strategically sited on the waterways and trade routes that had been established throughout Europe in the centuries prior to the introduction of movable type.²⁵⁵ These were the major European competitors of the French capital. This chapter will attempt an extended comparison of the output of Paris with major printing centres around Europe. Based upon data extrapolated from the main bibliographical databases of printing in Europe in the sixteenth century, this analysis will consider both vernacular and Latin print.²⁵⁶

²⁵³ Pettegree, *Book in the Renaissance*, pp.8-9, p.20.

²⁵⁴ Pettegree, *The French book*, p.129.

²⁵⁵ J.N.L. Baker, *Medieval Trade Routes*, (London, 1938).

²⁵⁶ *Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des 16. Jahrhunderts* (VD16); *Censimento nazionale delle edizioni italiane del XVI secolo* (EDIT16); *English Short Title Catalogue* (ESTC); Nijhoff and Kronenburg's *Nederlandsche bibliographie van 1500 tot 1540*; *Typographia Batavae*; *Belgica Typographia*; *French Books* (FB); *Universal Short Title Catalogue* (USTC).

Region	Vernacular languages		Scholarly languages		Total
	Numbers	%	Numbers	%	
France	40,500	53.64%	35,000	46.36%	75,500
Italy	48,400	55.00%	39,600	45.00%	88,000
Germany	37,600	40.00%	56,400	60.00%	94,000
Swiss Confederation	2,530	23.00%	8,470	77.00%	11,000
The Low Countries	17,896	56.07%	14,021	43.93%	31,917
<i>Subtotal</i>	<i>146,926</i>	<i>48.91%</i>	<i>153,491</i>	<i>51.09%</i>	<i>300,417</i>
<i>Percentage of total</i>	<i>81.33%</i>		<i>92.16%</i>		<i>86.52%</i>
England	13,463	89.00%	1,664	11.00%	15,127
Spain	14,400	72.00%	5,600	28.00%	20,000
Scandinavia	873	52.40%	793	47.60%	1,666
Eastern Europe	5,000	50.00%	5,000	50.00%	10,000
<i>Subtotal</i>	<i>33,736</i>	<i>72.10%</i>	<i>13,057</i>	<i>27.90%</i>	<i>46,793</i>
<i>Percentage of total</i>	<i>18.67%</i>		<i>7.84%</i>		<i>13.48%</i>
TOTAL	180,662	52.03%	166,548	47.97%	347,210

Figure 5-1: Breakdown of language printing between centre and periphery prior to 1601.²⁵⁷

All of the cities chosen for this comparison come from the heart of the European landmass. These five major print zones, France, Italy, Germany, the Swiss Confederation, and the Low Countries account for the vast majority of all scholarly print in the sixteenth century. Only 8 per cent of the European output of Latin books came from outside this central zone: from places like England, Spain, Scandinavia, or Eastern Europe. Indeed these print centres further away from the epicentre of European print account in total for only 19 per cent of all the editions printed in Europe: and this includes the books published in their own native vernaculars for domestic consumption. The books published in Spanish for Spain and English for the English market were the mainstay of these smaller outlying markets. In these peripheral markets 72 per cent of editions were printed in vernacular languages. In the heart of Europe (France, Italy, Germany, the Swiss Confederation, and the Low Countries) a much smaller proportion, 49 per cent of output, was printed in the different vernacular languages of these countries.

Figure 5-1 illustrates the stark difference between the printing industries in Europe's central and peripheral zones. The central market, of which Paris formed a part, articulated around what has been described as a "steel spine that ran along Europe's

²⁵⁷ Figures derived from a survey of the USTC.

major trade routes.”²⁵⁸ This spine followed the rivers of Europe, particularly the Rhine and its tributaries. As we will see, printing centres that had easy access to this network of waterways had a huge advantage in their ability to move large shipments of books to the other major centres of trade and distribution. Print developed around the major arteries of international trade and most of the cities that rose to challenge Paris in the international market were also major centres of international commerce.

The cities chosen for this comparison are Antwerp, Lyon and Geneva in the north, and Venice, Rome and Florence in southern Europe. Of these only Venice came close to rivalling Paris in the total size of its printing output, yet all the other northern cities, as we shall see, were important competitors to Paris in the production and sale of Latin books. There is no German city included in this comparison for a specific reason: although Germany was overall the largest single market in the European book world, this market was very dispersed. No single city played the dominant role of, for instance, Paris in the French market or Venice in Italy. There are at least ten cities in Germany that have a very substantial production of books, both Latin and vernacular, but none established a real supremacy. The position of Germany is also rather different because the Frankfurt book fair, the major centre for the distribution and exchange of Latin books, was also their major emporium for the sale of books in German. At Frankfurt the centres of production outside Germany were competing with each other for a part of the Latin market rather than in direct competition with domestic centres of production. It was this contest with Venice and with the other northern centres that was for Paris most crucial.

In the Italian book world Venice was the dominant city. This domination was established early in the history of print and continued almost without interruption through to the end of the sixteenth century. Venice was the main commercial centre of the peninsula with strong trade connections throughout Europe. Additionally, in terms of population, it – along with Milan – was the largest centre of population in northern Italy.²⁵⁹ Between 1570 and 1590 Venetian printers turned out some 7,771 editions. Of these, rather more than half (4,018 editions) were printed in Italian: an average of 191

²⁵⁸ Andrew Pettegree, “Centre and periphery in the European Book World”, in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 18 (2008), p.104.

²⁵⁹ Milan’s output in the years 1570-1590 amounted to 519 Italian editions and 336 Latin editions.

editions per year. The 3,753 Latin editions published in Venice during these years gave it the largest Latin production of any of these key printing cities, something approaching sixty per cent more than that of Paris. The printing industries of Florence and Rome show utterly divergent characteristics. Some 70 per cent of the books published in Rome were in Latin, giving it a Latin production to rival that of Antwerp or Lyon. In contrast, of the 2,169 books published in Florence, 1,855 were in Italian.²⁶⁰

Geneva is a very particular case. The city owed its importance in the international trade to its place at the heart of Reformed Protestantism. Before Calvin's arrival in the city there was scarcely any printing in Geneva but, once established, the industry flourished.²⁶¹ It profited from the injection of expertise from the established French printing centres of Paris and Lyon. By the 1570s its role as an important centre of French Protestant printing had dwindled: its share of that market had dropped from two-thirds in the 1550s to between 15 and 30 per cent.²⁶² In its Latin output it closely resembled Lyon printing in typographical style not least because in great part it was done by the same print houses.²⁶³

As befits a great cosmopolitan trading centre, Antwerp developed into the major centre of print in the Low Countries and an important centre of scholarly publishing. Antwerp's position was different from all of the other examples we have considered in the sense that it served two separate vernacular language communities: French and Dutch. Over half of the 3,859 editions published in Antwerp during these years was in one or other of these two languages.²⁶⁴ But this still left considerable room for the development of a significant Latin trade including many substantial and expensive books. This was, after all, the heyday of the great Plantin workshop.

Finally, we should include in this comparison the publishing of France's second city, Lyon. Lyon was in a slightly anomalous position. Lyon fell within the jurisdiction of the Parlement of Paris but on its very periphery. Thus, although the industry was nominally

²⁶⁰ Italian print data derived from an analysis of EDIT16.

²⁶¹ Jean-François Gilmont, *John Calvin and the printed book*, trans. Karin Maag, (Kirkville, Mo., 2005).

²⁶² FB provided data for vernacular output; Latin output was derived from an analysis of GLN 15-16. See Andrew Pettegree, *The French Book*, p106.

²⁶³ See Hall, *Lyon Publishing*.

²⁶⁴ There were 1,465 Dutch language editions printed in Antwerp compared with 582 in French. Antwerp's printers produced about 12 per cent of the total Dutch output.

under the legislative control of the Paris Parlement it laid far closer and more strategically placed for the major European markets. Thanks to the immigration of a large number of Italian trading families, Lyon developed particularly close relations with the major trading cities of the Italian peninsula. All of this made it possible for Lyon to develop an extraordinarily rich, well financed and important printing industry. Between 1570 and 1590 Lyon printers turned out almost four thousand editions. Something under half of these were in Latin. Many of these scholarly books were intended for the international market. Lyon had, since the early part of the sixteenth-century, established a reputation for the production of legal texts and this continued until late into the century.

For Paris this range of wealthy and established publishing cities represented formidable competition. How then does Paris compare? The ten thousand editions published in Paris in these twenty-one years represent a larger total output than any of its competitors: only Venice comes close. But, in terms of scholarly print, Paris was rivalled or, indeed, outpaced by a number of these centres. This is because Latin books account for only 25 per cent of the total Parisian output. This compares to 43 per cent for Lyon, 47 per cent for Antwerp and 48 per cent for Venice. The industries of Rome and Geneva were far smaller in overall size but because such a high proportion of their output was in Latin (69 per cent for Rome and 76 per cent for Geneva), these industries also represented potentially formidable competitors.

Of course the Latin output of Paris was far from negligible. The 2,455 editions published in Latin during these years were bettered only by the 3,753 editions published in Venice. This provided a formidable body of materials to dispose of at home and abroad. What makes the Paris market so extraordinary is the extent to which this robust output of scholarly books was matched by an equally vibrant and, as we have seen, diverse vernacular market.

These figures provide many clues to the enigmatic performance of Parisian printers in the international market which we will now come on to investigate. The particular profile of Parisian output, different from all of the examples we have set alongside it, is a graphic demonstration of the extent to which Paris prospered at the centre of multiple markets. There was, first of all, the local market in Paris, one of Europe's largest cities.

The university, the legal community, the court and a highly engaged citizenry provided a robust and diverse market for books in both French and Latin. Secondly, Paris enjoyed a critical role as the dominant producer in one of the largest vernacular markets in Europe. France was a country of some nineteen million people and, although by this point many provincial towns had a printing industry of sorts, Parisian books still found their way in large numbers to most parts of the kingdom. The Parisian industry also served the domestic scholarly market in a long established nation state with many distinguished universities. In other words, there were good profits to be made even before books were shipped abroad. All of this may help explain the curious ambivalence of Parisian participation in a market in which it might have been expected to excel: the international market in scholarly books.

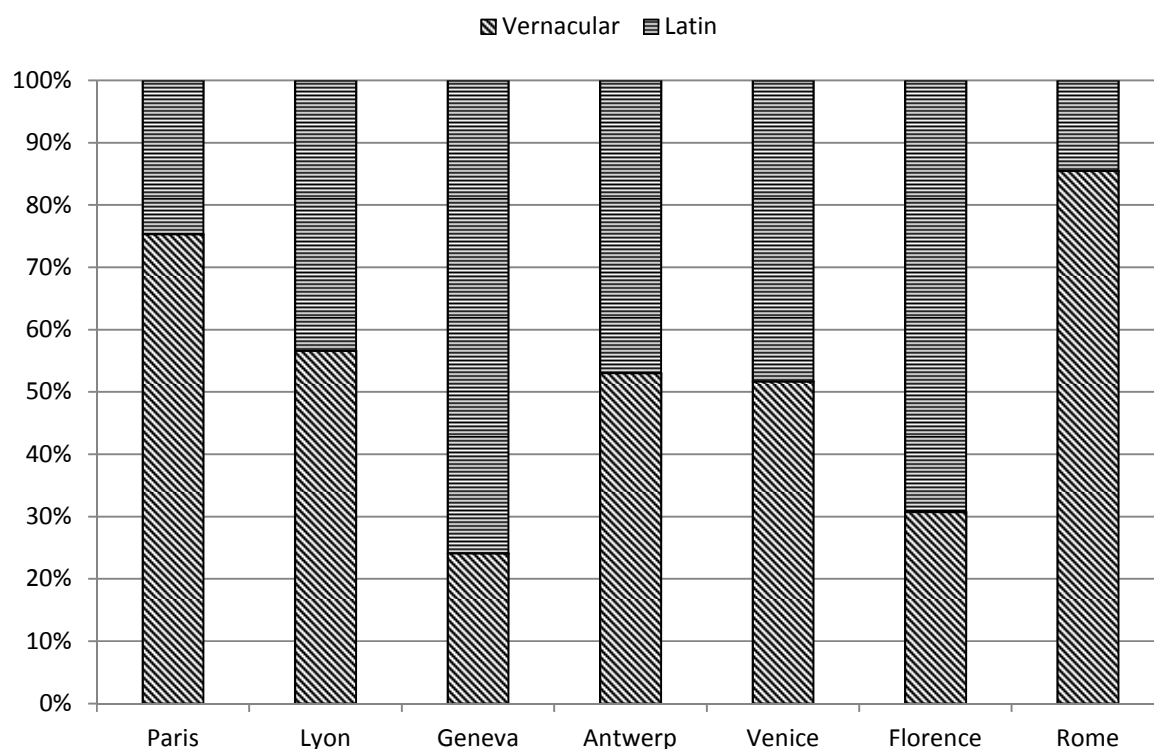


Figure 5-2: Proportion of Latin to vernacular print in seven centres of printing.

Date	Paris		Lyon		Geneva		Antwerp		Venice		Rome		Florence	
	French	Latin	French	Latin	French	Latin	French & Dutch	Latin	Italian	Latin	Italian	Latin	Italian	Latin
1570	247	39	99	61	24	43	55	113	196	214	26	95	74	9
1571	261	33	81	63	6	28	76	93	188	173	29	94	82	13
1572	385	127	112	80	3	27	52	133	199	229	26	76	127	12
1573	363	184	159	57	2	41	62	113	145	187	26	62	70	12
1574	342	156	85	67	11	27	42	87	195	218	25	54	159	25
1575	302	133	85	70	7	38	68	158	197	230	17	61	173	25
1576	252	136	81	71	12	25	51	95	148	148	18	48	111	20
1577	299	145	116	54	33	37	74	59	103	63	13	40	121	21
1578	431	146	135	83	26	53	128	60	149	143	16	38	132	23
1579	342	113	109	96	22	52	161	80	146	142	15	41	51	18
1580	280	142	113	91	31	110	155	88	166	190	12	64	78	13
1581	262	99	90	124	21	54	131	101	195	163	17	60	54	9
1582	343	135	98	69	35	43	180	80	212	158	14	58	47	13
1583	393	131	90	58	27	72	140	64	198	166	25	67	66	17
1584	299	135	89	98	15	65	136	100	244	212	41	82	74	5
1585	357	163	90	119	14	88	134	77	245	183	64	134	77	9
1586	419	168	61	95	13	67	99	53	241	211	86	169	50	8
1587	456	113	85	96	18	58	90	68	262	195	66	193	71	19
1588	672	125	115	98	17	65	77	81	228	216	91	174	86	15
1589	629	16	177	67	6	57	72	76	197	162	126	135	74	14
1590	162	16	118	58	12	65	64	33	164	150	81	134	78	14
Subtotal	7496	2455	2188	1675	355	1115	2047	1812	4018	3753	834	1879	1855	314
Mean	356.95	116.90	104.19	79.76	16.90	53.10	97.48	86.29	191.33	178.71	39.71	89.48	88.33	14.95
Median	342	133	98	71	15	53	77	81	196	183	26	67	77	14
σ	120.45	49.24	27.21	20.54	9.81	21.32	42.03	28.10	40.11	39.31	32.51	47.71	35.38	5.67
TOTAL	9951		3863		1470		3859		7771		855		2713	

Figure 5-3: Comparison of seven centres of printing.

Paris and the Frankfurt Book Fair

If we accept that Paris made a significant contribution to the world of Latin print, we must also examine Paris' role in the international nature of the trade in Latin books. Given that Paris was an international city of commerce and politics and a city of almost unequalled population size, the *libraires* of the city were in a position to sell books within their shops to both the large numbers of inhabitants and the multitude of travellers to the city. Yet it seems unlikely that there existed the appetite, even on the part of Parisians and visitors, for an average Paris output of nearly 480 editions per year. Therefore, the *libraires* of Paris must have disposed of their stock in other ways. A glimpse into the life of Henri II Estienne gives us one possible answer. Henri II Estienne was the son the *libraire* and *imprimeur ordinaire du Roi en lettres hébraïques et latines*, Robert I Estienne. A Calvinist, Robert I had moved his family to Geneva in the 1550s where he was followed by his family including his adult son. An eminent scholar in his own right, the move to Geneva was not overly successful for Henri II and a large part of his life in the period of the 1570s was spent in commercial anxiety. From about 1573 his printing business went into decline. He soon became overstocked with books and he was forced to seek out new markets. Soon he was spending a great deal of time in Germany, particularly at the Fair of Frankfurt – at that time the greatest book market in Europe.²⁶⁵

As Estienne, by then a Genevan publisher, could find succour to his financial woes at Frankfurt so too could publishers and printer still based in Paris with the book fair at Frankfurt the answer to an overstocked store room. The Frankfurt book fair was held in the Büchergasse twice a year. The *Fastenmesse*, or Spring fair, was a floating festival tethered to the ecclesiastical calendar. It began twenty-four days before Easter rather than on any specific date in March or April.²⁶⁶ In 1570, the fair began on the 2 March and lasted twenty days. Generally the fair took place wholly in March, though in 1573 it began as early as the 26 February and in 1576 it began as late as the 29 March. In contrast, the Autumn fair, or *Herbstmasse*, was also tethered to the ecclesiastical

²⁶⁵ L. Feugère, *Essai sur la vie et les ouvrages de Henri Estienne*, (Paris, 1853), quoted in James Westfall Thompson, *The Frankfurt Book Fair: The Francofordiense emporium of Henri Estienne*, (New York, 1968), p.viii.

²⁶⁶ Gilmont, *John Calvin*, p.220.

calendar, but in this case to fixed dates: the Assumption (15 August) and the Nativity of the Virgin (8 September).²⁶⁷ The Frankfurt book fair became increasingly important on the rhythms of the industry. This is shown in the number of editions completed in the months leading up to the fairs. The quantities of books for sale from all corners of Europe meant that, for authors and printers alike, the fair became the principle deadline.²⁶⁸ Many authors were found themselves pressed to complete a task in order to have the book ready for the fair. A book already printed was sometimes held back for publication at the appropriate fair.²⁶⁹

Fairs had been held in Frankfurt on these dates long before the book industry took them over as their own, they had been in existence there for a number of years before 1240.²⁷⁰ Nor was it alone in being an important Germanic fair, Leipzig, which would later rival Frankfurt as the premier book fair in central Europe, was incorporated from 1268, in Hamburg there was a fair as early as 1159. By the sixteenth century, however, it was the fairs at Frankfurt-am-Main and Cologne that were the most important. Frankfurt's position as a predominant trade and fair town came about due to the number of commercial privileges it had gathered. In 1240 Frederick II granted a decree giving Imperial protection to all merchants, travellers and visitors to the Autumn fair. Until 1330, this was the only fair at Frankfurt, and in the thirteenth century it was not tied to any specific date. In 1238 it began on the first Sunday before Assumption, later it took place between the festivals of Assumption (15 August) and the Nativity of the Virgin (8 September), whence it was fixed. In 1330, Ludwig the Bavarian established the Spring or Lent fair and granted the citizens of Frankfurt increasing privileges: in 1337, he forbade nearby Mainz or any other city to harm the Frankfurt fair. A year previous to the foundation of the Spring fair, Frankfurt was given freedom from Imperial tolls and permissions and privileges were reconfirmed in 1349 and 1357 by Charles IV and in 1424 by Sigismund. These privileges of the fair continued to be

²⁶⁷ Thompson, *The Frankfort Book Fair*, pp.44-45; Gilmont, *John Calvin*, p.220.

²⁶⁸ Pettegree, *The French Book*, p. 132.

²⁶⁹ Gilmont, *John Calvin*, pp.46; see also John L. Flood, "Omnium totius orbis emporiorum compendium": The Frankfurt fair in the early modern period", in Robin Myers, Michael Harris & Giles Mandelbrote (eds.) *Fairs, Markets and the Itinerant Book Trade*, (London, 2007), pp.6-7; Pettegree, *Book in the Renaissance*, pp. 78-82.

²⁷⁰ Thompson, *The Frankfort Book Fair*, p.42.

enhanced by successive Emperors, Frederick III in 1442, Maximilian I in 1485, Charles V in 1520, Ferdinand I in 1559, Maximilian II in 1566, and Rudolph II in 1579.²⁷¹

By the 1570s and 1580s, the Frankfurt book fair had become the pre-eminent book fair in all of Europe and Frankfurt one of the most important commercial centres. The book fair in Frankfurt, however, was not just the domain of the printers and publishers of Frankfurt, or indeed of Germany. At the Autumn fair of 1557 there were a number of non-German dealers, two from Lyon, four from Paris, two from Geneva, five from Antwerp, and others from Utrecht, Amsterdam, and Louvain; in Autumn 1569, there were three dealers from Venice, four from Lyon, and five from Geneva though there were no representatives from Paris.²⁷²

Although the Paris dealers were absent from the last fair on the eve of this study, clearly Parisian book dealers were a familiar sight in Frankfurt. We now need to investigate how important a role the fair played in the commerce of Parisian publishers in the twenty years that followed.

There are two main sources for data on Paris books at the Frankfurt book fair. The first is that of the Augsburg printer, Georg Willer. His Die Messkataloge des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts represents a contemporary attempt at creating a catalogue of all books for sale at the Frankfurt fairs. Beginning in 1564 and for each fair thereafter, Willer produced a convenient compendium of all the books offered for sale at the fair organised according to a settled scheme of categorisation. There are three main sections within Willer's catalogues. The first section deals with Latin print divided between a varying number of categories, of which there are ten in total. Each edition began with a list of Latin Protestant theology, as befitted a reformed city, but this category was followed immediately by 'Orthodox' theology and then by Catholic theology of which there was always a not insignificant amount.²⁷³ Theology was almost always followed by jurisprudence, medicine, history and geography, and philosophy in

²⁷¹ Thompson, *The Frankfort Book Fair*, pp.43-44.

²⁷² Thompson, *The Frankfort Book Fair*, pp.78-79.

²⁷³ In the context of Willer's catalogue 'Orthodox' theology generally meant books of pre-Reformation theology: books of the Church Fathers or Mediaeval Doctors of the Church, for instance. However, this division is not always consistent. In some years books that had been previously been separated into Orthodox Theology were included in Catholic Theology. Therefore, for the purposes of this study these two categories have been merged.

that order.²⁷⁴ In the later editions, Latin poetry received its own category as did music and a miscellaneous category was sometimes included to catch editions that did not fit into any other category. This Latin section was then followed by a German language section, divided into categories. Finally, there came a section devoted to non-Germanic vernacular editions. Since this always contained a relatively small number of titles, these were always grouped together without distinctions of content.

The second source for the provenance of editions at the Frankfurt book fair is the Codex Nundinarius; a union catalogue based largely on Willer's publications but also incorporating data from a number of rival ventures. Having observed the success of Willer's catalogues, a number of other booksellers tried to imitate him. None have the success or the status of Willer's established enterprise but they do, collectively, add valuable additional material on the books for sale. The Codex Nundinarius organises this material by fair and by place of publication. This, then, provides a very valuable statistical annex to the detailed information on titles that can be extracted from Willer.

In assessing the comparative success of Paris publishers at the Frankfurt fair we will here ignore the German language titles offered for sale. This was a very important part of the business of the Frankfurt fair but, for obvious reasons, dominated by local places of printing. To test the contribution of non-German publishing firms, it is more relevant to look at the two other categories: that is Latin books and those small numbers published in other vernacular languages such as French, Italian, and Spanish.

In total, between 1570 and 1590 there were 8,257 editions for sale in Frankfurt that were printed in Latin or in a non-German vernacular. 1,288 were works of Protestant theology, with editions of Catholic theology a little more common and accounting for 1,310. There were 1,345 editions of legal works, 505 books of medicine, and 549 histories and chronicles. Works of philosophy found a ready sale in this international market. Willer's catalogue lists an impressive total of 1,693 editions in addition to 546 books of Poetry and 305 music books. In addition there were a further 321 Latin works in various other miscellaneous categories and the relatively paltry total of some 395

²⁷⁴ This order followed the order of precedence of university faculties: theology, law, medicine, the liberal arts. See Flood, "The Frankfurt fair in the early modern period", p.16.

editions printed in vernacular languages other than German.²⁷⁵ Generally, there were more editions available for sale in the Spring fair (4,371 editions in total) than in the Autumn fair (3,886 editions in total). However, Paris editions tended to be more frequently representing at the Autumn fair (Figure 5-5/Figure 5-6), though the difference is small.

²⁷⁵ The miscellaneous category included all items that either did not fit into one of the other Latin categories or, more often, were addenda added after the text of the other categories had been composited in the formes.

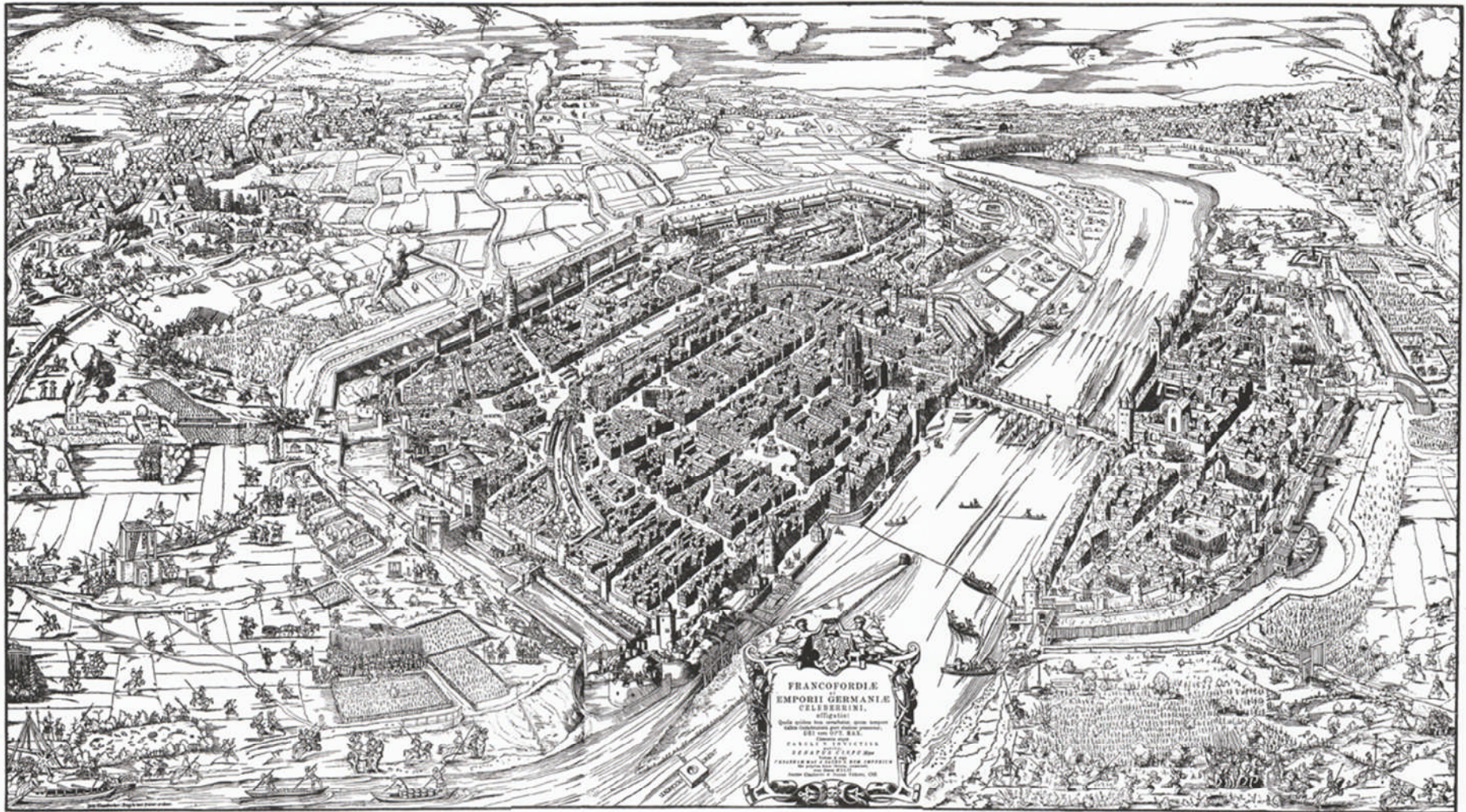


Figure 5-4: Frankfurt, c.1552.

Year	Latin								Non-German Vernacular	Total
	Theology (Catholic)	Jurisprudence	Medicine	History & Geography	Philosophy	Poetry	Music	Misc		
1570	5	5	1	4	8	0	0	0	1	24
1571	7	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	2	13
1572	3	3	2	2	3	0	0	0	5	18
1573	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	3	6
1574	3	3	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	9
1575	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1576	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2
1577	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2
1578	5	0	0	1	5	0	0	0	1	12
1579	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	2	8
1580	8	2	0	3	2	1	0	2	1	19
1581	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2
1582	7	1	1	0	1	3	0	0	6	19
1583	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	1	7
1584	2	0	0	0	4	1	0	1	3	11
1585	5	3	2	2	5	3	0	0	1	21
1586	2	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	6
1587	4	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	2	8
1588	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1589	7	2	0	2	0	0	0	2	0	13
1590	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Subtotal	60	23	7	16	36	10	0	17	31	200

Figure 5-5: Number of editions from Paris at the Spring Fair, 1570-1590.²⁷⁶

²⁷⁶ Georg Willer; Die Messkataloge des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts, Bernhard Fabian (ed.), 5 vols., (Hildesheim, 1972).

Year	Latin								Non-German Vernacular	Total
	Theology (Catholic)	Jurisprudence	Medicine	History & Geography	Philosophy	Poetry	Music	Misc		
1570	14	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	1	18
1571	8	0	1	1	5	0	0	0	11	26
1572	11	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	2	16
1573	3	0	1	2	1	0	0	0	5	12
1574	9	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	13
1575	5	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	4	10
1576	6	2	1	2	3	3	0	0	0	17
1577	2	2	1	0	3	0	0	0	1	9
1578	5	1	3	1	6	1	0	0	5	22
1579	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	2
1580	2	0	1	0	4	0	0	0	0	7
1581	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	4	1	6
1582	2	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	5
1583	4	0	0	1	2	0	3	0	1	11
1584	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	2	0	6
1585	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	3
1586	6	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	2	10
1587	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1588	2	6	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	10
1589	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1590	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Subtotal	80	13	13	10	34	7	3	10	33	203

Figure 5-6: Number of editions from Paris at the Autumn Fair, 1570-1590.²⁷⁷²⁷⁷ Willer, *Die Messkataloge*.

Year	Latin								Non-German Vernacular	Total
	Theology (Catholic)	Jurisprudence	Medicine	History & Geography	Philosophy	Poetry	Music	Misc		
1570	19	5	2	4	10	0	0	0	2	42
1571	15	0	2	2	6	1	0	0	13	39
1572	14	3	4	3	3	0	0	0	7	34
1573	3	2	1	2	2	0	0	0	8	18
1574	12	4	1	1	3	0	0	1	0	22
1575	5	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	4	10
1576	7	2	1	2	3	3	0	0	1	19
1577	2	3	1	0	4	0	0	0	1	11
1578	10	1	3	2	11	1	0	0	6	34
1579	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	6	2	10
1580	10	2	1	3	6	1	0	2	1	26
1581	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	4	2	8
1582	9	1	2	0	2	4	0	0	6	24
1583	4	0	0	1	2	0	3	6	2	18
1584	2	1	0	1	5	2	0	3	3	17
1585	6	3	2	2	5	3	0	2	1	24
1586	8	1	0	0	3	0	0	1	3	16
1587	4	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	2	8
1588	2	6	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	10
1589	7	2	0	2	0	0	0	2	0	13
1590	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Subtotal	140	36	20	26	70	17	3	27	64	403

Figure 5-7: Number of editions from Paris at the Fair, 1570-1590.²⁷⁸²⁷⁸ Willer, *Die Messkataloge*.

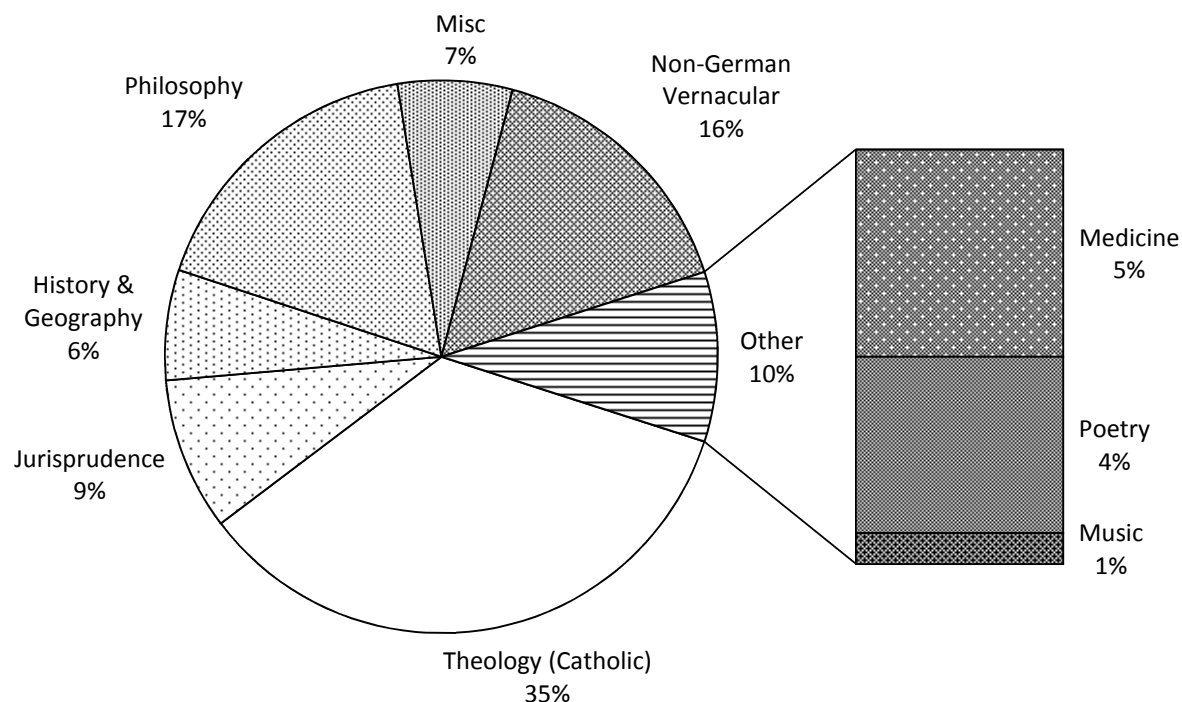


Figure 5-8. Classification of books from Paris at the Frankfurt Fair (1570-1590).²⁷⁹

Of course we have to bear in mind that just because an edition was presented at Frankfurt, in 1581 for instance, that does not mean it was printed in that same year. In fact, when it comes to Parisian books, the editions available in the Spring fair were almost as likely to have been printed in a previous year than in the year of the Fair. This was less the case in the Autumn fair. [Figure 5-9/Figure 5-10]. In the Spring fairs only 52 per cent of editions were printed in the same year as the fair, while in Autumn, the number of editions printed in the same year as the fair account for 68 per cent. Most of the remainder were printed the previous year, though it was not unheard of for Willer to list titles printed many years before. This, though, was unusual. Willer's list was meant to be a compendium offered for the first time rather than the backstock that many publishers kept in Frankfurt and made available for retail sales on a recurring basis.

²⁷⁹ Willer, *Die Messkataloge*.

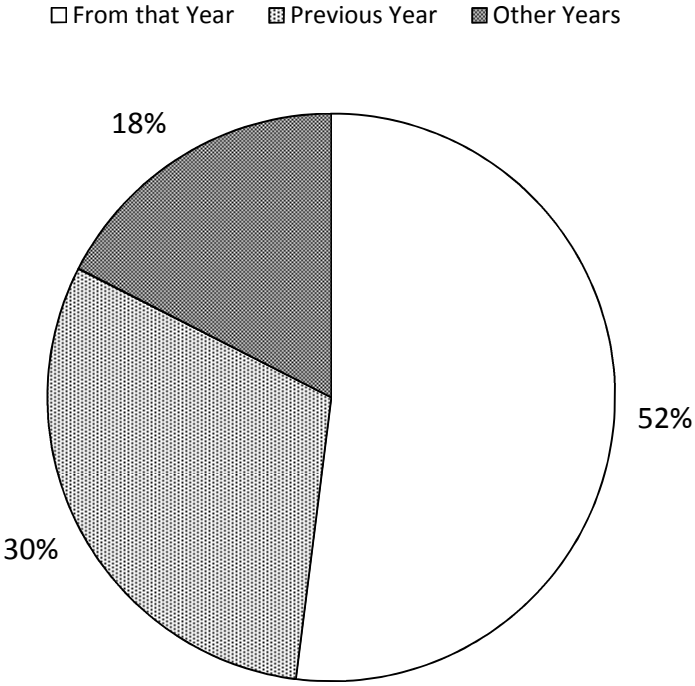


Figure 5-9: Proportion of books from Paris at the Spring fair that date from the year of that fair.

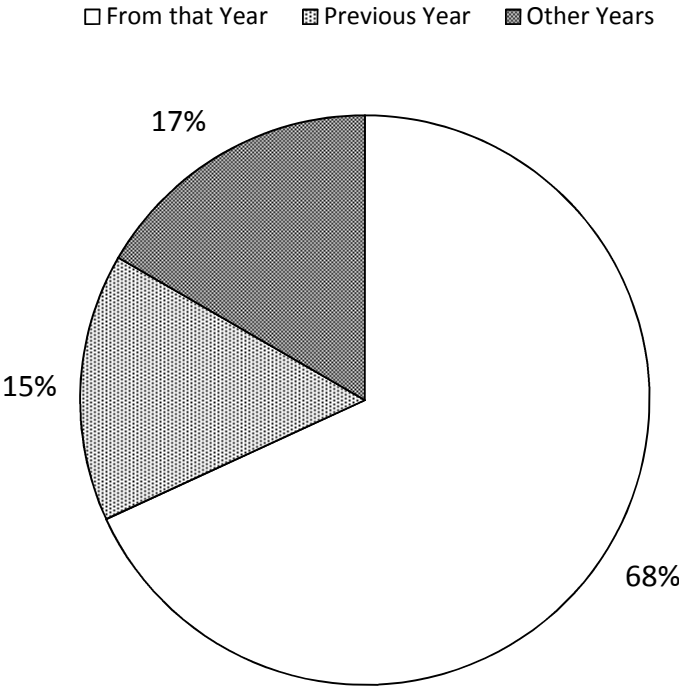


Figure 5-10: Proportion of books from Paris at the Autumn fair that date from the year of that fair.

These overall figures hide wide fluctuations through the period as a whole. There were some years when Paris printers were scarcely represented at all. In particular, the Spring fairs of 1575 and 1576 were a particularly barren year for Paris editions. There were no editions for sale at the Spring 1575 fair, though there were ten for sale (nine printed in 1575, one in 1574) at the Autumn 1575 fair. And there were only two editions at the Spring 1576 fair, a Latin edition of John Chrysostom published by Jean Roigny in 1547, and a 1564 edition of Gabriel Dupuyherbault's Expositions avec exhortations sur les leçons, Epistres & Evangiles du Quaresme also published by Jean Roigny. In Spring 1570, there were twenty-four Paris editions available, of which twenty were printed before 1569, the earliest a 1538 edition.

At some fairs, even those in Spring, the situation was reversed, most significantly in the Autumn fair of 1578 and the Spring fair of 1585 for at each of these fairs there were twenty Paris editions available that had been printed the same year as the fair.

Paris publishers were generally speaking represented with a decent showing of titles, more often than not recent publications. What sort of books were they most likely to dispose of though this international emporium? The largest group of books that Paris printers sent to the Frankfurt fair were works of Catholic theology [Figure 5-8]. 35 per cent of all Paris editions available at the Frankfurt fairs in this period fall into this category. Given that Frankfurt was a reformed Protestant city the amount of Catholic theology for sale is quite noteworthy. Paris printers also disposed of a fair quantity of philosophical works.

How does the profile of the Paris books on sale compare with the other major centres of the European trade? We can begin to answer this question by comparing Paris to its closest rivals, Antwerp and Lyon. Paris' 140 editions of Catholic theology compares quite favourably with Lyon, whose publishers presented only 60 editions in this category at Frankfurt. However, both fell far behind Antwerp. The Netherlandish emporium sent to Frankfurt as much Catholic theology as the two French cities combined. Given the importance of theological books in the overall production of Paris; given its status as western Europe's premier Catholic university and given the fact that Antwerp had no university it is a remarkable fact that Antwerp forged ahead in this market.

In fact, despite being the most prolific centre of print in the period 1570-1590, Paris was not the dominant supplier, west of the Ruhr, of any category of book. There were more editions of jurisprudence from Lyon available at Frankfurt than from Paris by a factor of almost three; there were fewer editions of medical books from Paris than either Antwerp or Lyon. Nearly twice as many history books came from Antwerp than from Paris, though there were seven more from Paris than from Lyon. This pattern continues for the other Latin language categories: Philosophy, the second largest category, contains 70 editions from Paris, 80 from Lyon, and 156 from Antwerp; Paris provided 17 poetry books, Lyon 18, and Antwerp 56; there were 3 musical books from Paris, 4 from Lyon, and 13 from Antwerp. Only in vernacular language editions did Paris achieve primacy: 64 editions compared with 62 from Antwerp and 25 from Lyon [Figure 5-11].

	Latin				
	<i>Theology (Catholic)</i>	<i>Jurisprudence</i>	<i>Medicine</i>	<i>History & Geography</i>	<i>Philosophy</i>
Paris	140	36	20	26	70
Antwerp	198	19	29	54	156
Lyon	60	90	37	19	80
	Latin			Non-German Vernacular	TOTAL
	<i>Poetry</i>	<i>Music</i>	<i>Misc</i>		
Paris	17	3	27	64	403
Antwerp	56	13	57	62	644
Lyon	18	4	14	25	347

Figure 5-11: Number of editions in each category by location of origin in the Willer's catalogue.

What these figures indicate is that, category for category, Paris printers were continuously outperformed by their closest western European competitors; only in French vernacular language editions (Antwerp's non-German language editions were all in the French language) did Paris editions outnumber those that had originated from Antwerp or Lyon. But in the crucial Latin market Antwerp performed far better than either Paris or Lyon.

This is all the more remarkable when we consider the size of Paris' Latin output in these years. To take an example, Paris produced around 459 editions of scholarly texts which would have fallen into Willer's categorisation as philosophical, yet of these only seventy were offered for sale in Frankfurt during this period. In contrast 160 editions printed in

Antwerp were on sale in Frankfurt in this period. Why was it that so much of the Parisian output of scholarly books never found its way to the Frankfurt fair?

To answer these question we must turn back to global statistics and in particular those provided by the Codex Nundinarius. During these twenty-one years a total of 11,816 editions were offered for sale in Frankfurt. Of these, around two thirds (7,840) were in Latin. Of the remainder, the vast majority were German imprints: 3,468 editions as opposed to only five hundred in other vernacular languages. Of this total, by far the majority were published within the German empire itself: 7,802 editions as compared to 3,454 editions from abroad. Of the German centres, the largest contingent were printed in Frankfurt itself. 1,072 editions originated from Frankfurt-am-Main, the largest quantity, but the localisation of the market in Frankfurt was only sufficient to give Frankfurt a 13.74 per cent share of the German production available, and only a 9.07 per cent share of total available.

Frankfurt's north-eastern neighbour, Cologne, provided the next largest contingent of German origin contingent with 795 editions, followed by Basel's 590 editions, Tübingen provided 570 editions, and Leipzig 508 editions. Those provided fewer than 500 editions but more than 200 editions were Ingolstadt (496), Strasbourg (402), Wittenberg (340), Heidelberg (290), and Nuremburg (223). Of these ten cities, Wittenberg at 210 miles was the furthest away from Frankfurt. In fact of the centres of print that were represented by more than 200 editions at Frankfurt between 1570-1590, only Wittenberg, Leipzig (182 miles), Basel (183 miles), and Ingolstadt (154 miles) were more than 120 miles away from the city, with Heidelberg as close as 49 miles. 120 miles, in terms of pan-European distances was relatively close, especially since Paris was nearly 300 miles away, nearly a third of the distance further than Wittenberg was to Frankfurt.

Of the non-German centres, there are only five that are represented by a total of more than 200 editions in this period, Venice, Antwerp, Paris, Lyon, and Geneva. Rome was represented by 109 editions, yet there are seven Germanic towns that provided more editions including Zurich, Jena, Erfurt, Munich and Neustadt an-der-haardt. Of the non-Germanic towns, Venice was the best represented with 795 editions which means that it is tied with Cologne as the second largest provider of editions at the Frankfurt fair. The

next largest non-Germanic printing centre represented was Antwerp with 678 editions. This means that the top four largest providers of editions at Frankfurt, each providing over 600 editions, were Frankfurt, Cologne, Venice and Antwerp. Between them 28 per cent of all editions available at the Frankfurt book fair between 1570 and 1590 came from those four places – over one out of every four editions available were from one of these centres. These figures stand in stark comparison with Paris' 416 editions and Lyon's 409 editions. In fact, Basel, Tübingen, Leipzig, and Ingolstadt all provided more editions to the Frankfurt fair in these years than either Paris or Lyon, and both Strasbourg and Wittenberg provided more than Geneva's 317 editions. Figure 5-14 shows that both Paris and Lyon are in the top ten providers of books to the Frankfurt book fair. However, in the case of Paris (which is at number nine) this position is unrepresentative of the size of the industry. Paris produced more editions in the years of this study than both Antwerp or Venice but this would not be evident from the catalogues of books available at Frankfurt in that period.

City	Number of editions	Direct distance from Frankfurt (miles)
1 Frankfurt-am-Main	1072	0
2 Cologne	795	95
3 Venice	795	365
4 Antwerp	678	202
5 Basel	590	183
6 Tübingen	570	111
7 Leipzig	508	182
8 Ingolstadt	496	154
9 Paris	416	296
10 Lyon	409	349
11 Strasbourg	402	114
12 Wittenberg	340	210
13 Geneva	317	294
14 Heidelberg	290	49
15 Nuremberg	223	116
16 Erfurt	197	119
17 Neustadt an der haardt	167	58
18 Jena	159	140
19 Munich	151	190
20 Zurich	149	322
21 Magdeburg	115	190
22 Dillingen	112	102
23 Rome	109	596

Figure 5-12: Cities represented by more than 100 editions at the Frankfurt book fair, 1570-1590 (ordered by number of editions).

The 416 editions from Paris at the Frankfurt Fair represent just 4.16 per cent of the total printed output of the city. This is in comparison with Venice, where 10 per cent of

production was available at Frankfurt, and with Antwerp where as much as 17.57 per cent of production was available at Frankfurt. Even cities that are represented by fewer editions, like Lyon or Geneva, have a larger proportion of their output available: 10 per cent of Lyon output and an extraordinary 22 per cent of Geneva production.

City	Number of editions	Direct distance from Frankfurt (miles)
1 Frankfurt-am-Main	1072	0
2 Heidelberg	290	49
3 Neustadt an der haardt	167	58
4 Cologne	795	95
5 Dillingen	112	102
6 Tübingen	570	111
7 Strasburg	402	114
8 Nuremberg	223	116
9 Erfurt	197	119
10 Jena	159	140
11 Ingolstadt	496	154
12 Leipzig	508	182
13 Basel	590	183
14 Munich	151	190
15 Magdeburg	115	190
16 Antwerp	678	202
17 Wittenberg	340	210
18 Geneva	317	294
19 Paris	416	296
20 Zurich	149	322
21 Lyon	409	349
22 Venice	795	365
23 Rome	109	596

Figure 5-13: Cities represented by more than 100 editions at the Frankfurt book fair, 1570-1590 (ordered by distance from Frankfurt).

Why is it that so little of Paris' production was sold through Frankfurt? We have to consider the possibility that Parisian publishers did not particularly need the Frankfurt market. As we have seen, Parisian publishers could orientate much of their production towards a robust domestic market. There was also a market for scholarly books in England and the Low Countries.²⁸⁰ Parisian books held a particular place in the market of these areas as they also did in Spain. It would have been impractical to service these markets via Frankfurt.

These markets were served by strong established networks along the major rivers which, from Paris, flowed westward towards the Atlantic. Compared to these excellent connecting waterways, the continental communications toward Germany were far more

²⁸⁰ Cf. E.S. Leedham-Green, *Books in Cambridge inventories: book-lists from Vice-Chancellor's Court probate inventories in the Tudor and Stuart periods*, 2 vols., (Cambridge, 1986).

problematic. The central nexus of European print was, as has already been noted, articulated around the central axis of the Rhine. We know that Christopher Plantin, the great Antwerp printer, sent his books by wagon to his associate, Maternus Cholinus, in Cologne, who would then ship the cargo to Frankfurt up the Rhine and the Main.²⁸¹

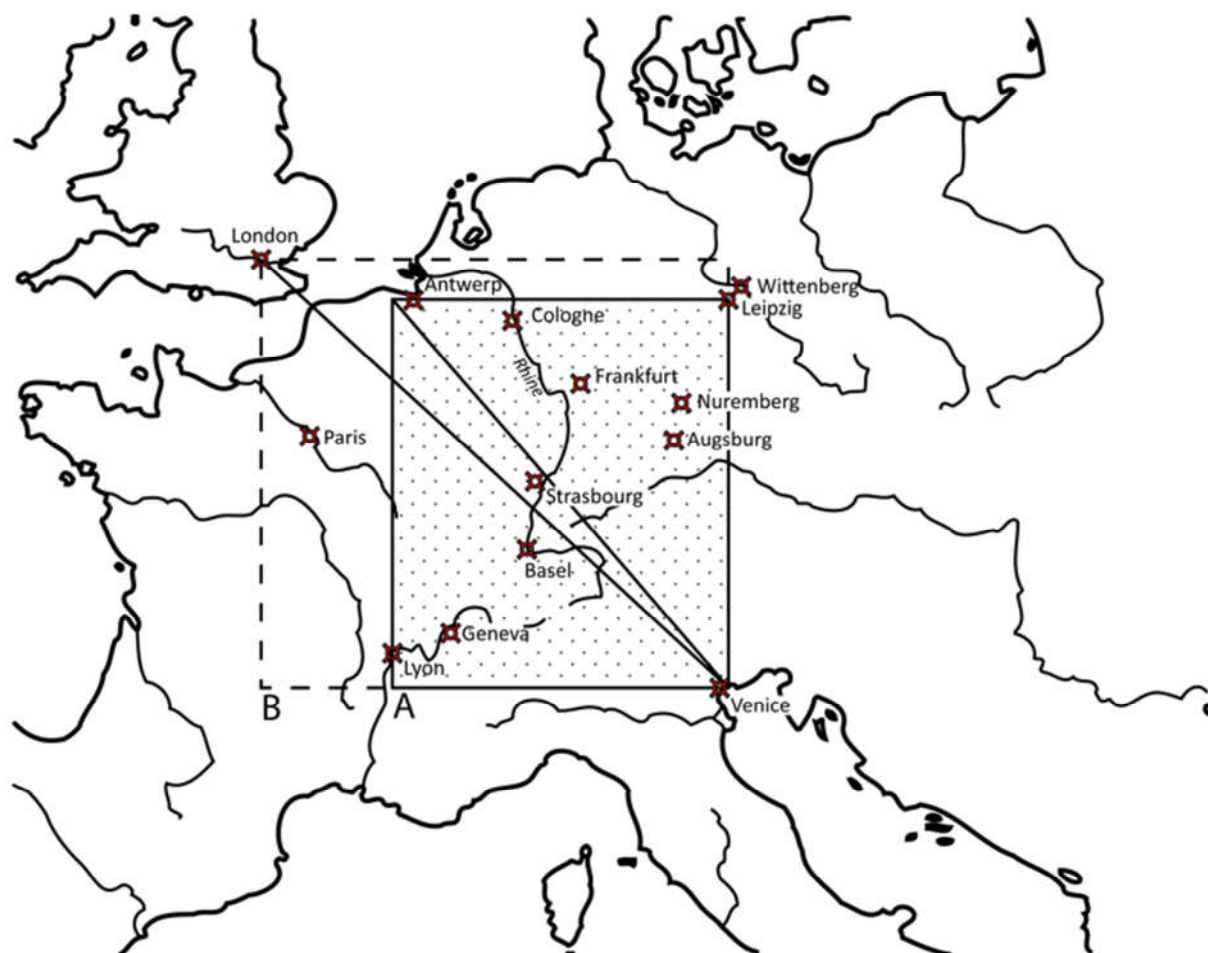


Figure 5-14: European centres of print.

Frédéric Barbier has remarked upon the importance of the Rhine valley to the printing industry, he referred to it as the “paper valley”, in comparison with California’s “silicon valley”.²⁸² Certainly many of the major providers of editions to the Frankfurt book fair lie on or near the Rhine: ‘s-Hertogenbosch, Dordrecht, Duisburg, Dusseldorf, Mainz, Heidelberg, Tübingen, and Stuttgart; as well as Antwerp, Cologne, Strasbourg, Basel and Frankfurt itself. All these cities were either on the Rhine or within a short distance of it and all were places of imprint of books available at the Frankfurt fair. That Paris and

²⁸¹ Flood, “The Frankfurt Fair in the early modern period”, p.2.

²⁸² Frédéric Barbier, *L'Europe de Gutenberg: le livre et l'invention de la modernité occidentale (XIIIe-XVIe siècle)*, (Paris, 2006).

Parisian merchants were under represented at Frankfurt can be seen in the records of the Frankfurt publisher Seymour Feyerabend. At the Spring Fair of 1565 he sold 2,635 books of which 17 were sold to the two Parisian booksellers that did business with him that fair. In comparison, his three Antwerp customers bought 83 books between them, and the lone Venetian customer, 57 books. Between 1590 and 1597, Feyerabend dealt with 350 customers from 110 different places, over 85 per cent of whom were trade customers. While two-thirds of these trade customers came from major commercial centres or university towns, Paris is not well represented.²⁸³

Perhaps the best way to see the importance of this valley is to visualise the cities on a map of Europe [Figure 5-14]. If one were to draw a diagonal line from a north-western point to a south-eastern point, that would create a box with a northern limit at Antwerp, an eastern limit at Leipzig, a southern limit at Venice and a western limit at Lyon (box A). This box would include not only those four cities but also Geneva, Basel, Strasbourg, Frankfurt, Cologne, Nuremburg, Augsburg, Mainz, Heidelberg, and Tübingen. All cities represented by more than 80 editions at the Frankfurt fairs. By drawing this line from the North Sea to the Adriatic through the Rhine valley, we see that one centre in particular stands out a distance from this ideal line: Paris. Wittenberg is also outside this boundary box but Wittenberg is only 38 miles from Leipzig and a box extended to include Wittenberg would make only slight changes to the dimensions of the box without greatly altering the path of the line from Antwerp to Venice through the Rhine valley.

To include Paris in a boundary box the line must instead extend from Venice in the south-east towards London in the north-west (box B), a relatively insignificant contributor to the Frankfurt fair (just 38 editions), and to international Latin print as a whole. About 1 per cent of sixteenth-century Latin print was produced in England (1,664 editions), compared with 21 per cent in France (approximately 35,000 editions), 23 per cent in Italy (approximately 39,600 editions), and 34 per cent in Germany (approximately 56,400 editions).²⁸⁴

²⁸³ Flood, "The Frankfurt Fair in the early modern period", pp.23-24.

²⁸⁴ Figures derived from USTC; see also Pettegree, "Centre and Periphery", p.105; p.108.

Furthermore the region east of Paris towards Strasbourg is surprisingly empty of print centres, as is the region just south of the city.²⁸⁵ The lack of major rivers in this area, for transport and for paper production, does seem to have provided a handicap to the establishment of a viable printing industry or at least one orientated towards the market at the centre of Europe. The total number of editions printed in those towns confirms the relative unimportance of the crescent running south and east of Paris to the French printing industry. Between them, and for the entirety of the sixteenth century, the printers of Metz and Rheims only produced only 200 editions.²⁸⁶

The truth is that, except in exceptional circumstances, all these places were perfectly adequately served by the Parisian market. The relative lack of Parisian involvement in the Frankfurt book trade is partly a response to the size and vibrancy of the domestic market in which it played a dominant role. Paris' position as a commercial and political hub, its position as home to the Parlement of Paris – the most influential of France's Parlements; its position as regular home to the Royal court and its increasing establishment of de facto capital of the kingdom, all would benefit the growth of the printing industry.

The dominance of Paris is evident in the fact that even places that had a distinguished mediaeval university often failed to develop a robust book industry in this period. Neither Toulouse nor Montpellier, both rivalling Paris as thirteenth century university foundations, were major contributors to the corpus of French printing. Only 56 editions were printed in Montpellier before 1601, and fewer than a thousand were printed in Toulouse, despite its advantage as a Parlement town.²⁸⁷ In this respect the experience of France was not unique. In Italy none of the major university cities could rival the production of Venice, the commercial emporium which (like Antwerp and Lyon, of course) had no university. Bologna had one of the oldest universities in the world and between 1500 and 1600 printers in Bologna produced 3,284 editions.²⁸⁸ But Pisa had no printing industry.²⁸⁹ In other university cities the output of the press was extremely

²⁸⁵ Metz: 58 editions (1 edition at the Frankfurt fairs) and Rheims 149 editions (6 editions).

²⁸⁶ Figures from USTC and *Répertoire bibliographique des livres imprimés en France au seizième siècle*, 32 vols., (Baden-Baden, 1968-1980).

²⁸⁷ *Répertoire bibliographique*.

²⁸⁸ Edit 16.

²⁸⁹ where Edit 16 records just one sixteenth-century edition – a false imprint. Edit 16: CNCE 16296.

modest. Take the example of Vicenza (294 editions), or of Padua (955 editions); the examples of Sienna (850 editions), Perugia (532 editions). Even Florence, mediaeval Europe's principle centre of the production of manuscripts could muster only 4,711 editions. All of these places together were easily dwarfed by Venice, whose printers were responsible for an astonishing 26,674 editions during the course of the sixteenth century.

Paris was home to one of Europe's largest and most illustrious universities but, as we have seen, it was not this that guaranteed it its place among the first rank of European printing cities. Rather, it was its multiple roles as a commercial centre and as the fulcrum of one of Europe's largest nation states. It was this which allowed it to sustain a publishing industry of impressive dimensions throughout the sixteenth century and through a generation of civil conflict and intermittent political strife in the second half of the century. To weather these storms, Paris publishers exploited a range of tried and tested markets in the city and throughout France. When they looked abroad, they looked north and west rather than towards the major international markets in Germany.

Conclusions

This study of Paris printing confirms the city's place as a major centre of sixteenth-century print. Indeed, the size and scale of its printing industry makes it the largest centre of print in Europe during the period 1570-1590. Its only close rival in scale of output is Venice and the number one position fluctuates between the two of them. The size of the industry in Paris is also despite its distance from the major book fairs. Tracing the destinations of books in the sixteenth century is a thankless and frustrating task. Outside of contemporary reports and lists of books – like those of Willers and the Codex Nundinarius it is impossible to say with any great accuracy where books have ended up. Provenance information, sparingly collected, can often only provide anecdotal evidence.

Paris' export market, certainly eastward to the great book fairs of Germany, was small in comparison with its level of output. We have seen that this can be partially explained away by Paris' vernacular focus in the years of this study. During those years the majority of the books available for sale at Frankfurt were in Latin or German with less than one in twenty editions in another vernacular language. For Paris, where over three-quarters of the output was in French, this lack of an eastward export market is striking. While we cannot in all certainty know where Paris books were generally ending up, we can tell that they were probably not going to the great book fair at Frankfurt.

Success in the printing trade did not rest upon proximity to intellectual centres. That Paris both had a university and was a major centre of print is a matter of correlation rather than causation. With the possible exception of the unique example of Wittenberg as *Lutherstadt*, this seems to be true throughout Europe: the development of successful printing ventures was not contingent upon the existence of a university. Instead, what was far more important, as the examples of Lyon, Antwerp, and Venice show, was a developed commercial sector. Additionally, in the case of Paris, its position close to the monarchy and close to the Parlement could be argued to be influential on the high edition numbers produced by printers in the city. The importance of jurisprudence and of edicts and ordinances is due to the proximity of Paris printers to the Parlement of Paris and to the crown. We have seen how important these political editions were to

the overall output, and also how important they were to the individual printers, with men like Frédéric Morel basing his career upon these types of editions.

Morel was not alone in basing his career upon specific types of books. A number of the *grandeess* focused on particular types of book. The partnership of Le Roy and Ballard made musical part books the basis of their careers, a forte backed up by appointment to the court as Royal printers of music. Nicolas Bonfons appears to have specialised more than others on smaller format books (16o, 24o, and 32o), particularly educational books, aimed at a specific clientele. This concentration on a particular market may have been necessary for success in the printing trade in Paris. Almost certainly another essential element was the use of family connections and networks. These provided individuals with support and the interconnectedness of some of these families is extraordinary. Abel L'Angelier provides us with a salient example of the importance of these family connections; an example that it is well worth repeating. Abel L'Angelier was the seventh most prolific *libraire* in this period with 247 editions, or 2 per cent of total Paris output, to his name. This was despite his first edition not being published until 1572. L'Angelier, however, had good family connections: he was the son and a step-son of a *libraire* as well as being related to the Chaudière family, the Du Puys family, and the Sonnius family. Each of those three families had a representative in the list of Paris 'grandeess': Guillaume Chaudière, Jacques du Puys, and Michel Sonnius. L'Angelier's step-father, Lucas Breyer, even sold paper to Christopher Plantin in Antwerp.²⁹⁰

It is likely that the paper Breyer was selling to Plantin came from the south of the country as it was the south that was the most important region for the supply of paper.²⁹¹ The distance that Paris is from paper making regions is one thing that perhaps sets Paris apart from other print centres. Obviously, most centres were unable to produce paper within the limits of the city. Paper requires clean, fast running water and few, if any, rivers remain clean when travelling through large urban populations. Paris, while no doubt a significant producer of rags – the other requirement for paper production, was often a distance from these fast running clean rivers. Of the most

²⁹⁰ Cf. Chapter II; Voet, *Golden Compasses*, p.37; *Correspondance de Christophe Plantin*, Max Rooses (ed.), vol. 1, (Nendeln, Liechtenstein, 1968), pp.35-39.

²⁹¹ Pottinger, *French Book Trade*, p.290-291.

important paper making centres in France: those in the Auvergne (at Thiers, Ambert and Chamalières); in the Vosges, and near St Dié and Epinal; and in Angoumois; it was those in Champagne that were the closest to Paris.²⁹²

However far from the paper mills Paris may have been, the importance of paper cannot be over emphasised. Indeed, because paper was perhaps the most important thing for a printer of the book, so it is for a student of the book. Chapter Two shows that the use of edition numbers may not be the best judge of the importance of a print centre. The printing industry in Paris certainly trumps all others in the period 1570-1590 when judged on that metric. However, it has also been shown that large edition numbers can belay small sheet requirements with those of 1589 particularly low in comparison with edition numbers. In that year only 4,734 sheets (approximately 10 reams) were required to print one copy of each of the 645 editions produced in that year. This is compared with the 13,230 sheets (about 27 reams) required to print one copy of the each of the 363 editions printed in 1581. The result is that in 1581 half the number of editions required three times the number of sheets as that required in 1589.

As the collection of data on the collation and pagination of books increases so does our ability to calculate the sheet requirements of those books. This data is important, as this thesis has shown that this method of analysis is superior to simple edition counts. Much more can be discovered about an industry and indeed an individual book if its, for want of a better word, 'footprint' is known. Its size and sheet requirements determine the length of press time required to print it. This, in turn, determines how many presses may have been required, how many men were needed to produce it, and how much financial outlay was required to purchase the material and labour necessary to print it. This economic model of the printing industry is possible only when sheet sizes are known, yet it provides a more in depth view of the trade than is possible when relying purely on edition numbers. Unfortunately these sheet figures are all but unknown for other major centres of printing. Without them it is impossible to make a comparison between them and Paris with this metric. This study, by focusing on the bibliometric aspects of the printing industry, is an attempt to provide an understanding of the

²⁹² Febvre & Martin, Coming of the book, p.34.

economic and social aspects of the printing industry in one of the greatest print domains in sixteenth-century Europe.

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§1: Learned print

Year	Architecture, military handbooks, & heraldic works	Educational & school books, linguistics & dictionaries	History & geography (inc. travel writing)	Medical texts, veterinary medicine, and agricultural texts	Philosophy & morality	Scientific books & Natural History	TOTAL
1570	0	5	44	9	12	12	82
1571	2	5	31	14	20	11	83
1572	5	20	48	20	47	16	156
1573	1	21	55	16	49	13	155
1574	6	12	52	13	40	7	130
1575	4	11	38	9	38	12	112
1576	4	15	25	11	47	8	110
1577	1	21	32	16	47	17	134
1578	2	25	52	16	52	18	165
1579	2	14	40	25	60	11	152
1580	2	21	38	20	46	13	140
1581	2	8	48	13	24	14	109
1582	4	17	47	13	49	20	150
1583	5	7	36	20	52	16	136
1584	2	19	38	8	56	15	138
1585	4	20	48	13	35	23	143
1586	6	17	31	15	40	10	119
1587	6	17	48	15	48	5	139
1588	13	20	50	6	34	14	137
1589	1	3	19	1	4	7	35
1590	3	3	7	0	3	3	19
Mean Avg	3.57	14.33	39.38	13.00	38.24	12.62	121.14
Median	3.00	17.00	40.00	13.00	46.00	13.00	136.00
σ	2.820840807	6.814200858	12.1139432	6.123724357	16.51939697	4.954555383	38.35529392
TOTAL	75	301	827	273	803	265	2544

Figure A1-1-1: Learned print – subgenre by year.

Year	Broadsheet	2o	4o	8o	12o	16o	24o	32o	N/S	TOTAL
1570	0	14	15	32	1	19	0	0	1	82
1571	0	4	14	39	1	23	0	0	2	83
1572	0	24	37	64	2	23	0	0	6	156
1573	0	20	50	68	1	12	0	0	4	155
1574	0	23	31	60	2	12	0	0	2	130
1575	0	14	22	60	2	13	0	0	1	112
1576	0	15	27	47	3	14	0	0	4	110
1577	0	9	46	60	0	18	0	0	1	134
1578	1	11	23	98	2	29	0	0	1	165
1579	0	15	35	85	1	14	1	0	1	152
1580	1	20	29	72	2	15	0	1	0	140
1581	1	25	21	40	3	19	0	0	0	109
1582	0	23	26	84	1	16	0	0	0	150
1583	1	23	24	58	11	19	0	0	0	136
1584	1	10	28	72	8	16	0	0	3	138
1585	0	22	29	74	3	14	0	0	1	143
1586	0	6	30	62	5	15	1	0	0	119
1587	1	15	27	81	6	6	0	0	3	139
1588	0	45	20	64	6	2	0	0	0	137
1589	0	4	5	15	6	5	0	0	0	35
1590	1	4	2	10	1	1	0	0	0	19
Mean Avg	0.33	16.48	25.76	59.29	3.19	14.52	0.10	0.05	1.43	121.14
Median	0.00	15.00	27.00	62.00	2.00	15.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	136.00
σ	0.483045892	9.61571135	11.43199354	22.34086582	2.803908836	6.889260103	0.300792604	0.21821789	1.69030851	38.3552939
TOTAL	7	346	541	1245	67	305	2	1	30	2544

Figure A1-1-2: Learned print – format by year.

Year	Latin	French	Minority Languages			TOTAL
			Greek	Spanish	Subtotal	
1570	22	60	0	0	0	82
1571	19	64	0	0	0	83
1572	64	92	0	0	0	156
1573	78	77	0	0	0	155
1574	61	69	0	0	0	130
1575	51	61	0	0	0	112
1576	56	54	0	0	0	110
1577	80	53	1	0	1	134
1578	63	102	0	0	0	165
1579	63	88	1	0	1	152
1580	56	81	3	0	3	140
1581	35	74	0	0	0	109
1582	65	84	0	1	1	150
1583	49	85	2	0	2	136
1584	54	84	0	0	0	138
1585	58	84	1	0	1	143
1586	50	67	2	0	2	119
1587	48	91	0	0	0	139
1588	50	85	2	0	2	137
1589	4	31	0	0	0	35
1590	5	14	0	0	0	19
Mean Avg	<i>49.10</i>	<i>71.43</i>	<i>0.57</i>	<i>0.05</i>	<i>0.62</i>	<i>121.14</i>
Median	<i>54.00</i>	<i>77.00</i>	<i>0.00</i>	<i>0.00</i>	<i>0.00</i>	<i>136.00</i>
σ	<i>20.99501075</i>	<i>21.07503601</i>	<i>0.9258201</i>	<i>0.21821789</i>	<i>0.920662287</i>	<i>38.35529392</i>
TOTAL	1031	1500	12	1	13	2544

Figure A1-1-3: Learned print – language by year.

Subgenre	Broadsheet	2o	4o	8o	12o	16o	24o	32o	N/S	TOTAL
Architecture, military handbooks, & heraldic works	0	32	11	27	0	5	0	0	0	75
Educational & school books, linguistics & dictionaries	0	32	71	157	7	28	0	0	6	301
History & geography (inc. travel writing)	5	210	108	391	14	96	0	0	3	827
Medical texts, veterinary medicine, and agricultural texts	0	10	48	165	5	42	0	1	2	273
Philosophy & morality	0	47	246	347	28	115	2	0	18	803
Scientific books & Natural History	1	15	57	159	13	19	0	0	1	265
Mean Avg	1.00	57.67	90.17	207.67	11.17	50.83	0.33	0.17	5.00	424.00
Median	0.00	32.00	64.00	162.00	10.00	35.00	0.00	0.00	2.50	287.00
σ	2	75.8014951	82.601251	135.9568559	9.745084231	44.43159536	0.816496581	0.40824829	6.693280212	313.3885767
TOTAL	6	346	541	1246	67	305	2	1	30	2544

Figure A1-1-4: Learned print – format by subgenre.

Subgenre	Latin	French	Minority Languages			TOTAL
			Greek	Spanish	Subtotal	
Architecture, military handbooks, & heraldic works	10	65	0	0	0	75
Educational & school books, linguistics & dictionaries	200	100	1	0	1	301
History & geography (inc. travel writing)	165	660	1	1	2	827
Medical texts, veterinary medicine, and agricultural texts	101	170	2	0	2	273
Philosophy & morality	459	336	8	0	8	803
Scientific books & Natural History	96	169	0	0	0	265
Mean Avg	171.83	250.00	2.00	0.17	2.17	424.00
Median	133.00	169.50	1.00	0.00	1.50	287.00
σ	155.0888992	221.4416402	3.033150178	0.40824829	2.994439291	313.3885767
TOTAL	1031	1500	12	1	13	2544

Figure A1-1-5: Learned print – language by subgenre.

Language	Broadsheet	2o	4o	8o	12o	16o	24o	32o	N/S	TOTAL
Latin	0	93	326	508	25	47	1	1	30	1031
French	7	253	207	732	42	258	1	0	0	1500
Greek	0	0	8	4	0	0	0	0	0	12
Spanish	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Minority Language Subtotal	0	0	8	5	0	0	0	0	0	13
Mean Avg	1.75	86.50	135.25	311.25	16.75	76.25	0.50	0.25	7.50	636.00
Median	0.00	46.50	107.50	256.00	12.50	23.50	0.50	0.00	0.00	521.50
σ	3.5	119.344	159.184	368.057	20.5487	123.176	0.57735	0.5	15	751.692
TOTAL	7	346	541	1245	67	305	2	1	30	2544

Figure A1-1-6: Learned print – format by language.

§2: Literature

Year	Music	Classical authors	Contemporary authors	TOTAL
1570	46	4	28	78
1571	31	6	47	84
1572	22	27	66	115
1573	63	7	78	148
1574	4	16	63	83
1575	35	14	60	109
1576	27	8	60	95
1577	25	5	56	86
1578	69	13	91	173
1579	21	16	68	105
1580	13	24	46	83
1581	23	11	45	79
1582	25	21	60	106
1583	40	22	66	128
1584	22	14	63	99
1585	34	20	70	124
1586	32	13	67	112
1587	40	10	65	115
1588	16	11	56	83
1589	5	1	15	21
1590	2	1	12	15
Mean Avg	28.33	12.57	56.29	97.19
Median	25.00	13.00	60.00	99.00
σ	17.23465501	7.372729675	19.1027298	35.56630294
TOTAL	595	264	1182	2041

Figure A1-2-1: Literature – subgenre by year.

Year	2o	4o	8o	12o	16o	24o	N/S	TOTAL
1570	0	31	37	0	9	0	1	78
1571	2	15	37	1	25	1	3	84
1572	4	27	55	3	26	0	0	115
1573	0	32	91	3	21	0	1	148
1574	1	13	48	2	18	0	1	83
1575	2	29	57	0	20	0	1	109
1576	0	43	28	3	20	0	1	95
1577	1	20	39	8	16	0	2	86
1578	6	49	81	9	26	0	2	173
1579	5	33	33	11	22	0	1	105
1580	3	25	21	9	23	0	2	83
1581	2	23	25	12	15	0	2	79
1582	2	24	41	14	25	0	0	106
1583	4	29	46	22	27	0	0	128
1584	3	36	30	26	3	0	1	99
1585	2	15	60	20	23	0	4	124
1586	1	44	33	16	15	1	2	112
1587	5	29	43	30	3	0	5	115
1588	3	7	41	18	13	0	1	83
1589	0	2	12	5	2	0	0	21
1590	0	4	6	4	1	0	0	15
Mean Avg	2.19	25.24	41.14	10.29	16.81	0.10	1.43	97.19
Median	2.00	27.00	39.00	9.00	20.00	0.00	1.00	99.00
σ	1.833549771	12.74717522	20.20714159	8.883371303	8.611730648	0.300792604	1.32557265	35.5663029
TOTAL	46	530	864	216	353	2	30	2041

Figure A1-2-2: Literature – format by year.

Year	Latin	French	Minority Languages				TOTAL
			Greek	Hebrew	Italian	Subtotal	
1570	1	77	0	0	0	0	78
1571	4	80	0	0	0	0	84
1572	31	84	0	0	0	0	115
1573	23	125	0	0	0	0	148
1574	18	65	0	0	0	0	83
1575	19	90	0	0	0	0	109
1576	23	72	0	0	0	0	95
1577	26	60	0	0	0	0	86
1578	24	149	0	0	0	0	173
1579	17	88	0	0	0	0	105
1580	32	49	2	0	0	2	83
1581	24	55	0	0	0	0	79
1582	30	76	0	0	0	0	106
1583	24	104	0	0	0	0	128
1584	30	67	2	0	0	2	99
1585	38	82	2	1	1	4	124
1586	36	73	3	0	0	3	112
1587	28	87	0	0	0	0	115
1588	26	57	0	0	0	0	83
1589	3	18	0	0	0	0	21
1590	1	14	0	0	0	0	15
Mean Avg	21.81	74.86	0.43	0.05	0.05	0.52	97.19
Median	24.00	76.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	99.00
σ	11.08881891	30.23786652	0.9258201	0.21821789	0.21821789	1.167006753	35.56630294
TOTAL	458	1572	9	1	1	11	2041

Figure A1-2-3: Literature – language by year.

Subgenre	2o	4o	8o	12o	16o	24o	N/S	TOTAL
Music	6	150	363	22	40	1	13	595
Classical authors	13	69	96	18	66	0	2	264
Mediaeval and Contemporary authors	27	311	405	176	247	1	15	1182
Mean Avg	15.33	176.67	288.00	72.00	117.67	0.67	10.00	680.33
Median	13.00	150.00	363.00	22.00	66.00	1.00	13.00	595.00
σ	10.6926766	123.184144	167.5977327	90.08884504	112.7578526	0.577350269	7	464.9111026
TOTAL	46	530	864	216	353	2	30	2041

Figure A1-2-4: Literature – format by subgenre.

Subgenre	Latin	French	Minority Languages				TOTAL
			Greek	Hebrew	Italian	Subtotal	
Music	51	544	0	0	0	0	595
Classical authors	147	109	8	0	0	8	264
Mediaeval and Contemporary authors	260	919	1	1	1	3	1182
Mean Avg	152.67	524.00	3.00	0.33	0.33	3.67	680.33
Median	147.00	544.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	3.00	595.00
σ	104.6151678	405.3702012	4.358898944	0.577350269	0.577350269	4.041451884	464.9111026
TOTAL	458	1572	9	1	1	11	2041

Figure A1-2-5: Literature – language by subgenre.

Language	Broadsheet	2o	4o	8o	12o	16o	N/S	TOTAL
Latin	27	148	186	18	50	0	29	458
French	19	376	673	198	303	2	1	1572
Greek	0	0	6	3	0	0	0	9
Hebrew	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Italian	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Minority Language Subtotal	0	0	8	3	0	0	0	11
Mean Avg	9.20	104.80	173.40	43.80	70.60	0.40	6.00	408.20
Median	0.00	0.00	6.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	9.00
σ	12.9112	164.594	290.355	86.5228	131.707	0.89443	12.86468	679.686
TOTAL	46	524	867	219	353	2	30	2041

Figure A1-2-6: Literature – format by language.

§3: Political print

Year	Economics & monetary theory	Jurisprudence, edicts & ordinances (inc. 'Coustumes')	Discourses on government & political theory	Polemic, remonstrances & complaints (inc. Newsbooks & Funeral orations)	TOTAL
1570	1	37	8	27	73
1571	0	55	6	28	89
1572	2	104	6	46	158
1573	3	69	5	67	144
1574	3	96	3	98	200
1575	0	63	10	43	116
1576	4	69	6	28	107
1577	2	105	9	38	154
1578	4	83	10	30	127
1579	2	70	8	34	114
1580	1	84	11	23	119
1581	3	86	8	9	106
1582	2	99	5	17	123
1583	5	134	3	27	169
1584	3	69	7	33	112
1585	2	85	8	32	127
1586	7	109	5	54	175
1587	1	72	6	123	202
1588	2	156	15	270	443
1589	0	57	10	454	521
1590	0	21	4	88	113
<i>Mean Avg</i>	2.24	82.05	7.29	74.71	166.29
<i>Median</i>	2.00	83.00	7.00	34.00	127.00
<i>σ</i>	1.786190413	30.53600529	2.9179249	103.7242223	110.8319191
TOTAL	47	1723	153	1569	3492

Figure A1-3-1: Political print – subgenre by year.

Year	Broadsheet	2o	4o	8o	12o	16o	N/S	TOTAL
1570	0	0	10	61	0	2	0	73
1571	0	0	6	81	0	2	0	89
1572	1	0	11	142	0	3	1	158
1573	4	1	18	114	0	6	1	144
1574	1	2	28	162	1	5	1	200
1575	0	1	13	96	1	5	0	116
1576	0	7	14	82	0	3	1	107
1577	0	6	10	130	2	5	1	154
1578	0	2	10	112	0	3	0	127
1579	0	1	8	100	1	4	0	114
1580	0	7	12	95	2	3	0	119
1581	0	5	7	87	0	7	0	106
1582	1	2	13	100	0	7	0	123
1583	0	4	15	145	1	4	0	169
1584	0	1	18	89	1	3	0	112
1585	1	9	8	100	2	5	2	127
1586	0	4	12	155	2	1	1	175
1587	0	3	9	184	4	2	0	202
1588	1	5	23	409	3	2	0	443
1589	21	1	9	484	3	2	1	521
1590	1	3	1	108	0	0	0	113
Mean Avg	1.48	3.05	12.14	144.57	1.10	3.52	0.43	166.29
Median	0.00	2.00	11.00	108.00	1.00	3.00	0.00	127.00
σ	4.567483417	2.616795569	5.952190473	105.5398368	1.220850601	1.88730092	0.5976143	110.831919
TOTAL	31	64	255	3036	23	74	9	3492

Figure A1-3-2: Political print – Format by year.

Year	Latin	French	Minority Languages			TOTAL
			Greek	Italian	Subtotal	
1570	5	68	0	0	0	73
1571	1	88	0	0	0	89
1572	9	149	0	0	0	158
1573	32	112	0	0	0	144
1574	27	173	0	0	0	200
1575	16	100	0	0	0	116
1576	20	87	0	0	0	107
1577	14	140	0	0	0	154
1578	11	116	0	0	0	127
1579	9	105	0	0	0	114
1580	25	94	0	0	0	119
1581	9	97	0	0	0	106
1582	8	115	0	0	0	123
1583	16	153	0	0	0	169
1584	12	99	1	0	1	112
1585	20	107	0	0	0	127
1586	9	166	0	0	0	175
1587	5	196	0	1	1	202
1588	16	426	1	0	1	443
1589	4	517	0	0	0	521
1590	3	110	0	0	0	113
Mean Avg	<i>12.90</i>	<i>153.24</i>	<i>0.10</i>	<i>0.05</i>	<i>0.14</i>	<i>166.29</i>
Median	<i>11.00</i>	<i>112.00</i>	<i>0.00</i>	<i>0.00</i>	<i>0.00</i>	<i>127.00</i>
σ	<i>8.287971778</i>	<i>111.4759637</i>	<i>0.3007926</i>	<i>0.21821789</i>	<i>0.358568583</i>	<i>110.8319191</i>
TOTAL	271	3218	2	1	3	3492

Figure A1-3-3: Political print – language by year.

Subgenre	Broadsheet	2o	4o	8o	12o	16o	N/S	TOTAL
Economics & monetary theory	0	0	6	38	0	3	0	47
Jurisprudence, edicts & ordinances (inc. 'Coustumes')	5	42	107	1518	9	37	5	1723
Discourses on government & political theory	0	20	27	90	2	12	2	153
Polemic, remonstrances & complaints (inc. Newsbooks & Funeral orations)	26	2	115	1390	12	22	2	1569
<i>Mean Avg</i>	7.75	16.00	63.75	759.00	5.75	18.50	2.25	873.00
<i>Median</i>	2.50	11.00	67.00	740.00	5.50	17.00	2.00	861.00
<i>σ</i>	12.3928743	19.527758	55.32555166	804.4965299	5.678908346	14.571662	2.061552813	895.8407597
TOTAL	31	64	255	3036	23	74	9	3492

Figure A1-3-4: Political print – format by subgenre.

Subgenre	Latin	French	Minority Languages			TOTAL
			Greek	Italian	Subtotal	
Economics & monetary theory	4	43	0	0	0	47
Jurisprudence, edicts & ordinances (inc. 'Coustumes')	130	1591	2	0	2	1723
Discourses on government & political theory	54	99	0	0	0	153
Polemic, remonstrances & complaints (inc. Newsbooks & Funeral orations)	83	1485	0	1	1	1569
<i>Mean Avg</i>	67.75	804.50	0.50	0.25	0.75	873.00
<i>Median</i>	68.50	792.00	0.00	0.00	0.50	861.00
<i>σ</i>	52.79125559	848.385722	1	0.5	0.957427108	895.8407597
TOTAL	271	3218	2	1	3	3492

Figure A1-3-5: Political print – language by subgenre.

Language	Broadsheet	2o	4o	8o	12o	16o	N/S	TOTAL
Latin	0	33	84	116	7	22	9	271
French	31	31	169	2919	16	52	0	3218
Greek	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	2
Italian	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
<i>Minority Language Subtotal</i>	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	3
<i>Mean Avg</i>	7.75	16.00	63.75	759.00	5.75	18.50	2.25	873.00
<i>Median</i>	0.00	15.50	43.00	58.50	3.50	11.00	0.00	136.50
<i>σ</i>	15.5	18.4932	80.3425	1441.03	7.58837	24.6238	4.5	1568.49
TOTAL	31	64	255	3036	23	74	9	3492

Figure A1-3-6: Political print – format by language.

§4: Religious print

Year	Bibles & Psalters	Biblical commentaries & interpretation	Catechisms	Church Fathers	Controversy & polemic	Missals, Breviaries, & Books of Hours	Sermons & homilies	Spirituals & devotional texts	Theology	Sacred History & regulations of the Church	TOTAL
1570	3	1	0	6	6	2	7	12	9	7	53
1571	2	0	0	5	2	2	5	15	4	3	38
1572	1	0	3	13	23	4	8	16	6	9	83
1573	8	1	5	16	12	5	15	11	16	12	101
1574	6	3	2	20	8	7	10	9	14	6	85
1575	8	3	6	10	7	6	17	19	11	11	98
1576	6	2	5	5	8	2	6	16	15	11	76
1577	5	0	2	8	9	3	12	14	12	6	71
1578	4	5	2	7	10	6	18	19	17	24	112
1579	2	2	1	12	11	6	12	14	14	13	87
1580	5	2	0	12	4	6	9	23	18	7	86
1581	5	0	1	7	11	4	12	11	11	7	69
1582	10	3	3	7	7	7	20	17	14	12	100
1583	2	6	0	11	5	13	12	20	9	15	93
1584	3	3	0	12	7	15	10	18	11	9	88
1585	3	4	1	12	8	11	33	28	16	16	132
1586	19	3	1	27	19	13	35	28	22	20	187
1587	12	3	3	7	5	8	13	16	15	35	117
1588	12	2	2	9	10	10	33	32	15	14	139
1589	2	0	7	3	8	5	14	13	10	6	68
1590	1	0	0	3	6	1	2	6	5	7	31
Mean Avg	5.67	2.05	2.10	10.10	8.86	6.48	14.43	17.00	12.57	11.90	91.14
Median	5.00	2.00	2.00	9.00	8.00	6.00	12.00	16.00	14.00	11.00	87.00
σ	4.531372125	1.745743122	2.119074371	5.7262969	4.767449153	3.957512446	9.135488102	6.496152708	4.467341811	7.334199083	34.77971494
TOTAL	119	43	44	212	186	136	303	357	264	250	1914

Figure A1-4-1: Religious print – subgenre by year.

Year	2o	4o	8o	12o	16o	24o	32o	N/S	TOTAL
1570	1	6	39	0	5	0	0	2	53
1571	3	4	23	0	6	0	0	2	38
1572	12	3	58	0	10	0	0	0	83
1573	15	3	56	5	21	0	1	0	101
1574	11	9	51	3	10	0	0	1	85
1575	7	8	66	2	15	0	0	0	98
1576	9	3	45	0	14	0	0	5	76
1577	7	7	45	1	9	0	0	2	71
1578	19	8	63	0	21	1	0	0	112
1579	12	8	50	1	15	0	0	1	87
1580	9	12	49	2	14	0	0	0	86
1581	12	5	45	2	5	0	0	0	69
1582	6	8	69	1	15	0	0	1	100
1583	13	9	56	4	10	0	0	1	93
1584	9	18	44	2	10	0	0	5	88
1585	10	4	91	4	23	0	0	0	132
1586	21	24	115	8	16	1	0	2	187
1587	14	12	79	6	4	0	1	1	117
1588	5	8	96	20	7	2	0	1	139
1589	1	2	52	5	7	1	0	0	68
1590	3	1	25	2	0	0	0	0	31
Mean Avg	9.48	7.71	57.95	3.24	11.29	0.24	0.10	1.14	91.14
Median	9.00	8.00	52.00	2.00	10.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	87.00
σ	5.390909456	5.451081151	22.41534338	4.437395203	6.083936695	0.538958431	0.300792604	1.49284005	34.7797149
TOTAL	199	162	1217	68	237	5	2	24	1914

Figure A1-4-2: Religious print – format by year.

Year	Latin	French	Minority Languages			TOTAL
			Greek	English	Subtotal	
1570	11	42	0	0	0	53
1571	9	29	0	0	0	38
1572	23	60	0	0	0	83
1573	51	49	0	1	1	101
1574	50	35	0	0	0	85
1575	47	51	0	0	0	98
1576	37	39	0	0	0	76
1577	25	46	0	0	0	71
1578	48	64	0	0	0	112
1579	24	61	2	0	2	87
1580	29	56	1	0	1	86
1581	31	36	0	2	2	69
1582	32	68	0	0	0	100
1583	42	51	0	0	0	93
1584	39	49	0	0	0	88
1585	47	84	1	0	1	132
1586	73	113	1	0	1	187
1587	32	82	2	1	3	117
1588	33	104	1	1	2	139
1589	5	63	0	0	0	68
1590	7	24	0	0	0	31
Mean Avg	<i>33.10</i>	<i>57.43</i>	<i>0.38</i>	<i>0.24</i>	<i>0.62</i>	<i>91.14</i>
Median	<i>32.00</i>	<i>51.00</i>	<i>0.00</i>	<i>0.00</i>	<i>0.00</i>	<i>87.00</i>
σ	<i>16.95554411</i>	<i>23.01645374</i>	<i>0.66904338</i>	<i>0.538958431</i>	<i>0.920662287</i>	<i>34.77971494</i>
TOTAL	695	1206	8	5	13	1914

Figure A1-4-3: Religious print – language by year.

Subgenre	2o	4o	8o	12o	16o	24o	32o	N/S	TOTAL
Bibles & Psalters	20	21	45	10	21	1	0	1	119
Biblical commentaries & interpretation	5	4	29	2	3	0	0	0	43
Catechisms	5	1	26	1	11	0	0	0	44
Church Fathers	69	24	94	6	12	0	0	7	212
Controversy & polemic	1	4	168	0	11	0	0	1	185
Missals, Breviaries, & Books of Hours	13	19	77	7	17	0	0	3	136
Sermons & homilies	7	12	239	14	28	2	0	2	304
Spirituals & devotional texts	14	25	215	13	85	1	2	3	358
Theology	18	35	165	11	28	1	0	6	264
Mean Avg	47	17	159	4	21	0	0	1	249
Median	19.90	16.20	121.70	6.80	23.70	0.50	0.20	2.40	191.40
σ	21.5996399	10.90157991	77.65600785	5.050852513	22.95430243	0.707106781	0.632455532	2.412928143	106.222199
TOTAL	199	162	1217	68	237	5	2	24	1914

Figure A1-4-4: Religious print – format by subgenre.

Subgenre	Latin	French	Minority Languages			TOTAL
			Greek	English	Subtotal	
Bibles & Psalters	68	51	0	0	0	119
Biblical commentaries & interpretation	29	14	0	0	0	43
Catechisms	8	34	0	2	2	44
Church Fathers,	128	78	6	0	6	212
Controversy & polemic	25	157	0	3	3	185
Missals, Breviaries, & Books of Hours	77	58	1	0	1	136
Sermons & homilies	88	216	0	0	0	304
Spirituals & devotional texts	77	281	0	0	0	358
Theology	116	147	1	0	1	264
Mean Avg	79	170	0	0	0	249
Median	69.50	120.60	0.80	0.50	1.30	191.40
σ	38.77929001	87.38954934	1.87379591	1.08012345	1.946506843	106.222199
TOTAL	695	1206	8	5	13	1914

Figure A1-4-5: Religious print – language by subgenre.

Language	2o	4o	8o	12o	16o	24o	32o	N/S	TOTAL
Latin	137	102	354	18	59	1	0	24	695
French	62	55	857	49	177	4	2	0	1206
Greek	0	5	2	1	0	0	0	0	8
English	0	0	4	0	1	0	0	0	5
Minority Language Subtotal	0	5	6	1	1	0	0	0	13
Mean Avg	49.75	40.50	304.25	17.00	59.25	1.25	0.50	6.00	478.50
Median	31.00	30.00	179.00	9.50	30.00	0.50	0.00	0.00	351.50
σ	65.09672291	47.934	403.944	22.8765	83.2041	1.89297	1	12	583.581
TOTAL	199	162	1217	68	237	5	2	24	1914

Figure A1-4-6: Religious print – format by language.

§5: Paris Print

Year	Learned	Literature	Political	Religious	TOTAL
1570	82	78	73	53	286
1571	83	84	89	38	294
1572	156	115	158	83	512
1573	155	148	144	101	548
1574	130	83	200	85	498
1575	112	109	116	98	435
1576	110	95	107	76	388
1577	134	86	154	71	445
1578	165	173	127	112	577
1579	152	105	114	87	458
1580	140	83	119	86	428
1581	109	79	106	69	363
1582	150	106	123	100	479
1583	136	128	169	93	526
1584	138	99	112	88	437
1585	143	124	127	132	526
1586	119	112	175	187	593
1587	139	115	202	117	573
1588	137	83	443	139	802
1589	35	21	521	68	645
1590	19	15	113	31	178
Mean Avg	121.14	97.19	166.29	91.14	475.76
Median	136.00	99.00	127.00	87.00	479.00
σ	38.35529392	35.56630294	110.8319191	34.77971494	135.1739268
TOTAL	2544	2041	3492	1914	9991

Figure A1-5-1: Paris Print – genre by year.

Year	Broadsheet	2o	4o	8o	12o	16o	24o	32o	N/S	TOTAL
1570	0	15	62	169	1	35	0	0	4	286
1571	0	9	39	180	2	56	1	0	7	294
1572	1	40	78	319	5	62	0	0	7	512
1573	4	36	103	329	9	60	0	1	6	548
1574	1	37	81	321	8	45	0	0	5	498
1575	0	24	72	279	5	53	0	0	2	435
1576	0	31	87	202	6	51	0	0	11	388
1577	0	23	83	274	11	48	0	0	6	445
1578	1	38	90	354	11	79	1	0	3	577
1579	0	33	84	268	14	55	1	0	3	458
1580	1	39	78	237	15	55	0	1	2	428
1581	1	44	56	197	17	46	0	0	2	363
1582	1	33	71	294	16	63	0	0	1	479
1583	1	44	77	305	38	60	0	0	1	526
1584	1	23	100	235	37	32	0	0	9	437
1585	1	43	56	325	29	65	0	0	7	526
1586	0	32	110	365	31	47	3	0	5	593
1587	1	37	77	387	46	15	0	1	9	573
1588	1	58	58	610	47	24	2	0	2	802
1589	21	6	18	563	19	16	1	0	1	645
1590	2	10	8	149	7	2	0	0	0	178
Mean Avg	1.81	31.19	70.86	302.95	17.81	46.14	0.43	0.14	4.43	475.76
Median	1.00	33.00	77.00	294.00	14.00	51.00	0.00	0.00	4.00	479.00
σ	4.490200971	13.21597158	25.58180157	115.5497625	14.37574015	19.1397119	0.810643483	0.358568583	3.10759438	135.173927
TOTAL	38	655	1488	6362	374	969	9	3	93	9991

Figure A1-5-2: Paris Print – format by year.

Year	Latin	French	Minority Languages						TOTAL
			Greek	Hebrew	English	Italian	Spanish	Subtotal	
1570	39	247	0	0	0	0	0	0	286
1571	33	261	0	0	0	0	0	0	294
1572	127	385	0	0	0	0	0	0	512
1573	184	363	0	0	1	0	0	1	548
1574	156	342	0	0	0	0	0	0	498
1575	133	302	0	0	0	0	0	0	435
1576	136	252	0	0	0	0	0	0	388
1577	145	299	1	0	0	0	0	1	445
1578	146	431	0	0	0	0	0	0	577
1579	113	342	3	0	0	0	0	3	458
1580	142	280	6	0	0	0	0	6	428
1581	99	262	0	0	2	0	0	2	363
1582	135	343	0	0	0	0	1	1	479
1583	131	393	2	0	0	0	0	2	526
1584	135	299	3	0	0	0	0	3	437
1585	163	357	4	1	0	1	0	6	526
1586	168	419	6	0	0	0	0	6	593
1587	113	456	2	0	1	1	0	4	573
1588	125	672	4	0	1	0	0	5	802
1589	16	629	0	0	0	0	0	0	645
1590	16	162	0	0	0	0	0	0	178
Mean Avg	116.90	356.95	1.48	0.05	0.24	0.10	0.05	1.90	475.76
Median	133.00	342.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	479.00
σ	49.24419231	120.4501873	2.06443812	0.21821789	0.53895843	0.3007926	0.21821789	2.256208366	135.1739268
TOTAL	2455	7496	31	1	5	2	1	40	9991

Figure A1-5-3: Paris Print – language by year.

Subgenre	Broadsheet	2o	4o	8o	12o	16o	24o	32o	N/S	TOTAL
Learned	7	346	541	1245	67	305	2	1	30	2544
Literature	0	46	530	864	216	353	2	0	30	2041
Political	31	64	255	3036	23	74	0	0	9	3492
Religious	0	199	162	1217	68	237	5	2	24	1914
Mean Avg	9.50	163.75	372.00	1590.50	93.50	242.25	2.25	0.75	23.25	2497.75
Median	3.50	131.50	392.50	1231.00	67.50	271.00	2.00	0.50	27.00	2292.50
σ	14.7082743	139.370908	192.6257165	979.1399287	84.31883933	121.8451887	2.061552813	0.957427108	9.912113801	716.4860431
TOTAL	38	655	1488	6362	374	969	9	3	93	9991

Figure A1-5-4: Paris Print – format by genre.

Subgenre	Latin	French	Minority Languages						TOTAL
			Greek	Hebrew	English	Italian	Spanish	Subtotal	
Learned	1031	1500	12	0	0	0	1	13	2544
Literature	458	1572	9	1	0	1	0	11	2041
Political	271	3218	2	0	0	1	0	3	3492
Religious	695	1206	8	0	5	0	0	13	1914
Mean Avg	613.75	1874.00	7.75	0.25	1.25	0.50	0.25	10.00	2497.75
Median	576.50	1536.00	8.50	0.00	0.00	0.50	0.00	12.00	2292.50
σ	327.8387561	909.8791128	4.193248542	0.5	2.5	0.577350269	0.5	4.760952286	716.4860431
TOTAL	2455	7496	31	1	5	2	1	40	9991

Figure A1-5-5: Paris Print – language by genre.

Language	Broadsheet	2o	4o	8o	12o	16o	24o	32o	N/S	TOTAL
Latin	0	290	660	1164	68	178	2	1	92	2455
French	38	365	807	5181	305	790	7	2	1	7496
Greek	0	0	15	12	4	0	0	0	0	31
Hebrew	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
English	0	0	0	4	0	1	0	0	0	5
Italian	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
Spanish	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Minority Language Subtotal	0	0	15	20	4	1	0	0	0	40
Mean Avg	5.42857	93.5714	211.714	909.286	53.8571	138.429	1.28571	0.42857	13.28571	1427.29
Median	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	5
σ	14.3626	161.264	359.006	1932.62	113.549	294.858	2.62769	0.7868	34.71174	2827.19
TOTAL	38	655	1482	6365	377	969	9	3	93	9991

Figure A1-5-6: Paris Print – format by language.

Appendix A2: Graphs

§1: Learned print

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§2: Literature

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§3: Political print

1. Subgenre (pie chart)	231
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§4: Religious print

1. Subgenre (pie chart)	236
2. Subgenre by year	237
3. Format (pie chart)	238
4. Language (pie chart)	239
5. Language by subgenre	240

§5: Paris Print

1. Subgenre (pie chart)	241
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3. Format (pie chart)	243
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5. Language by subgenre	245

Figure A2-1-1: Learned books by subgenre.

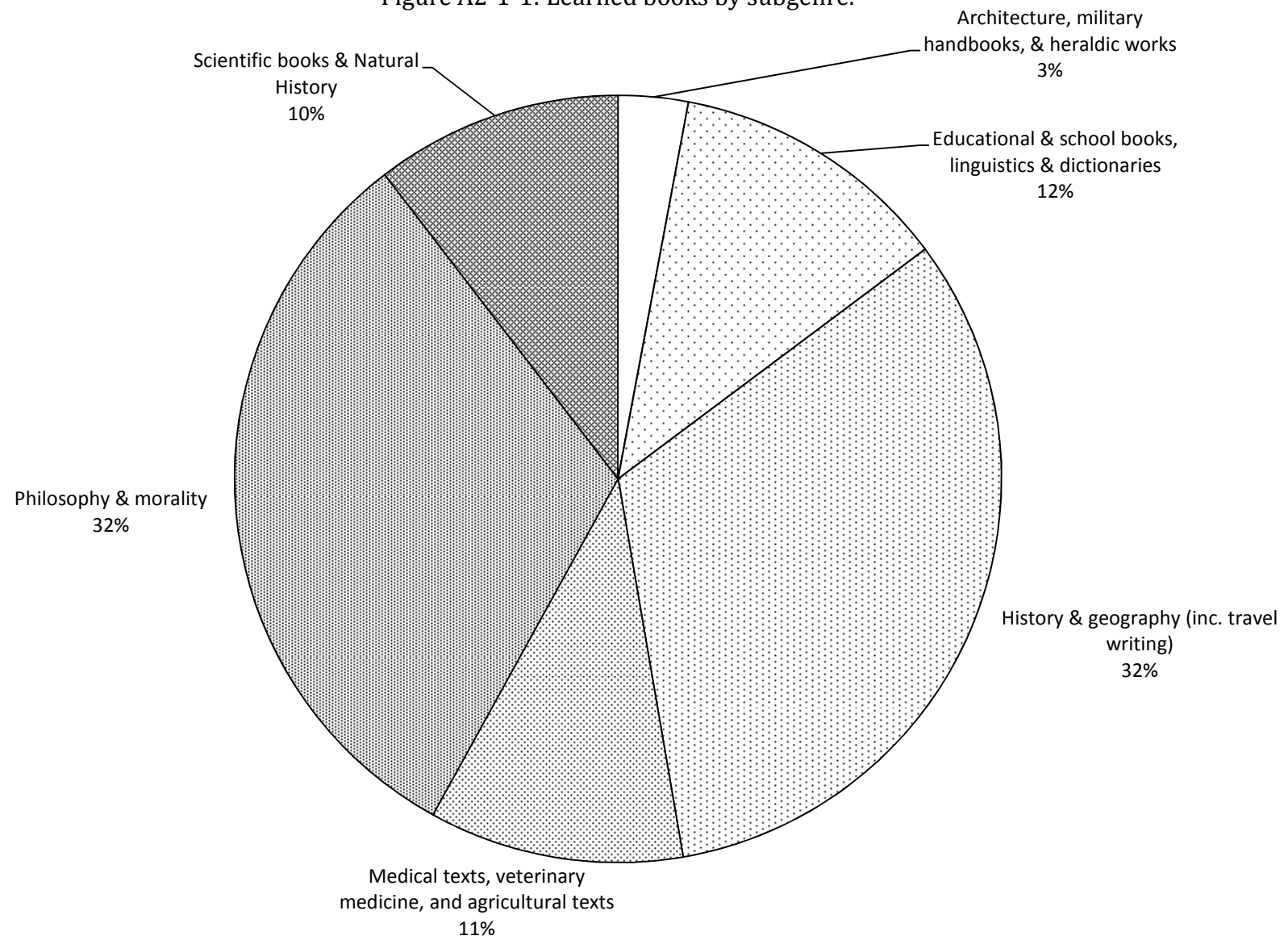


Figure A2-1-2: Learned books by subgenre and year (percentage of year)

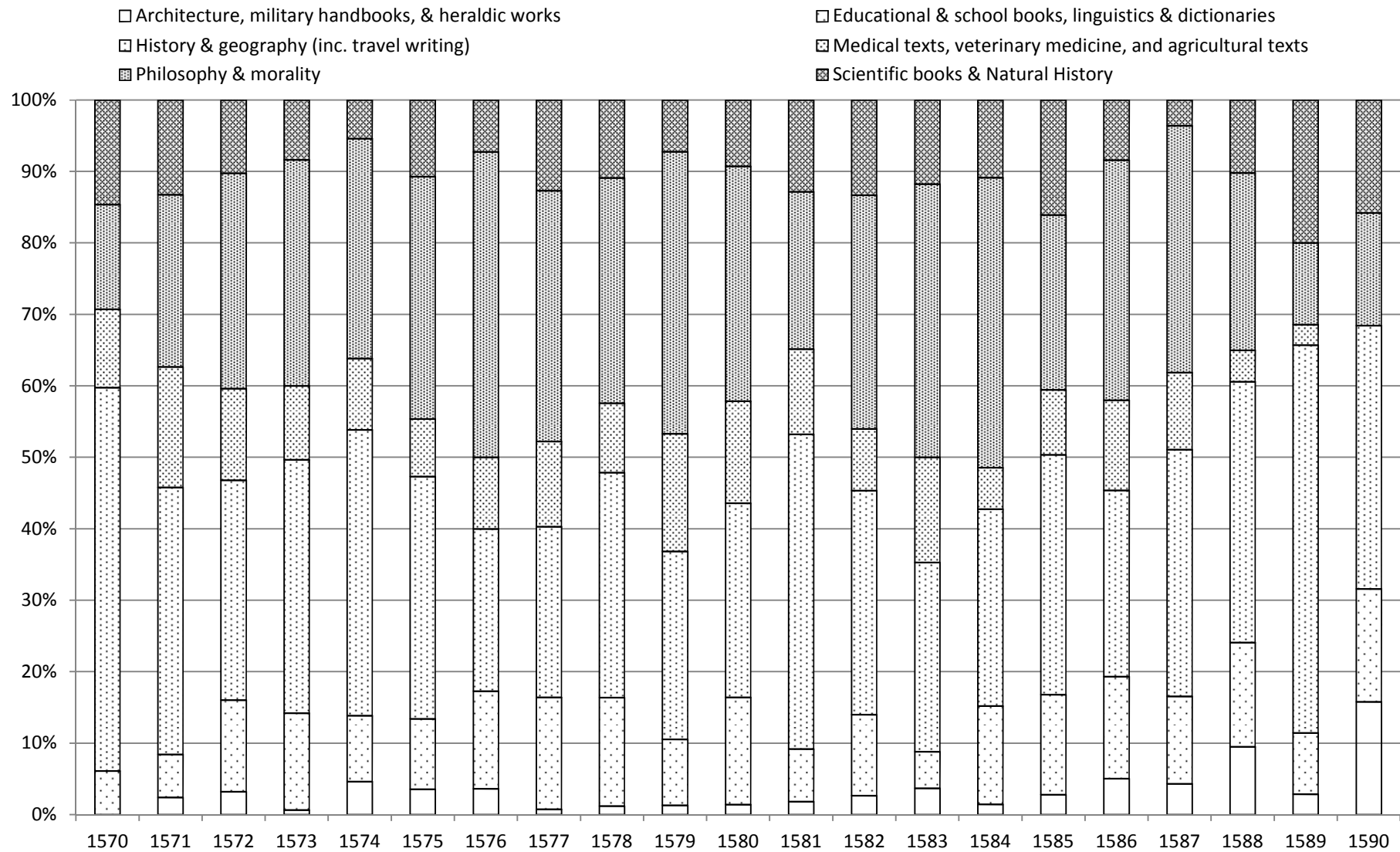


Figure A2-1-3: Learned books by format.

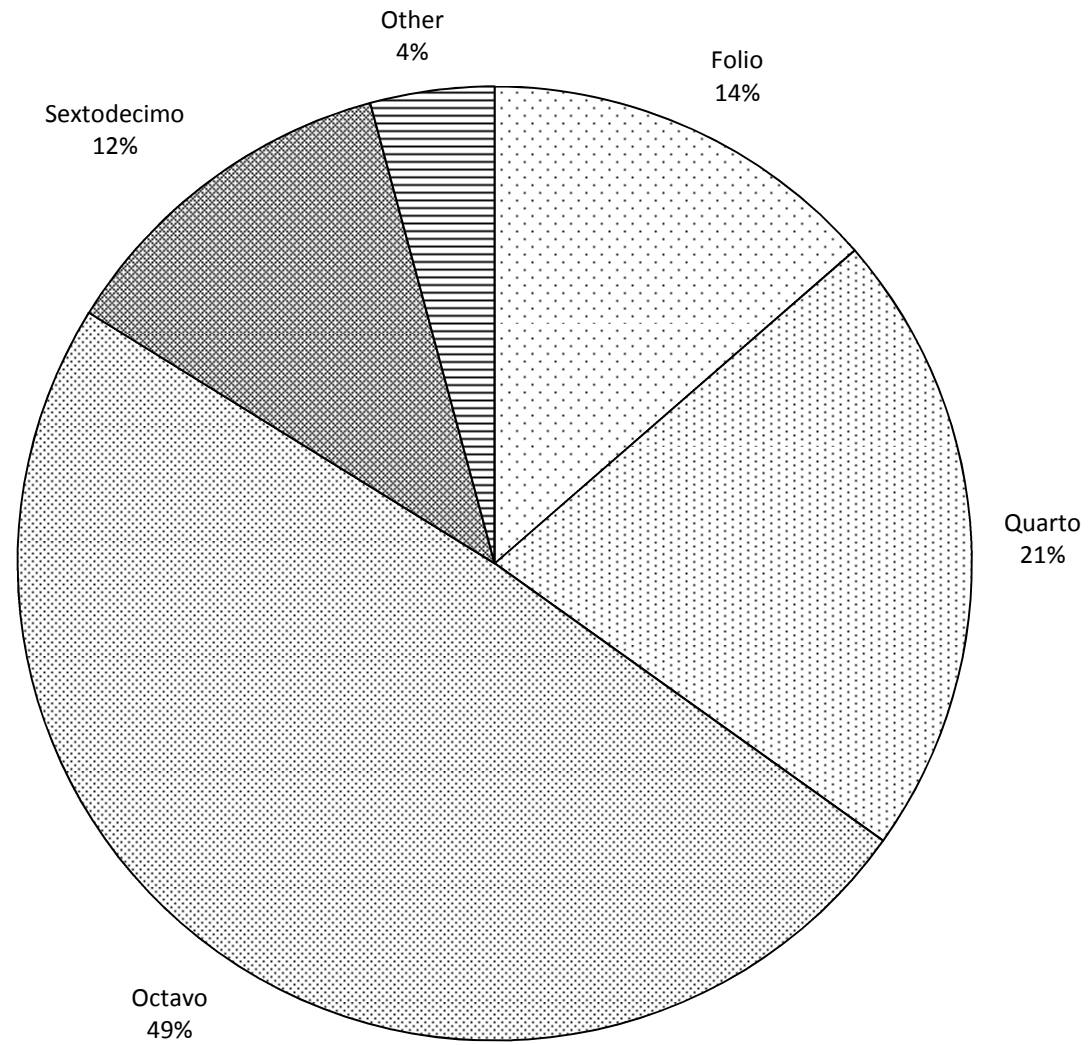


Figure A2-1-4: Learned books by language.

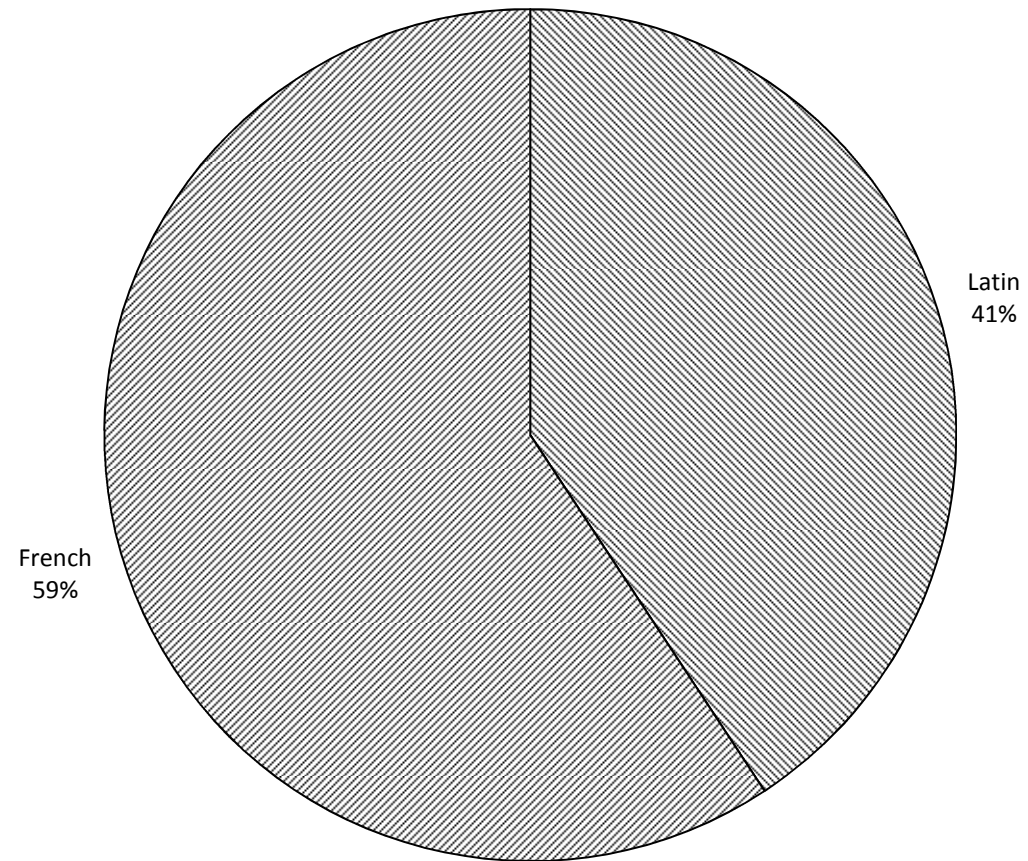


Figure A2-1-5: Learned books by language and subgenre.

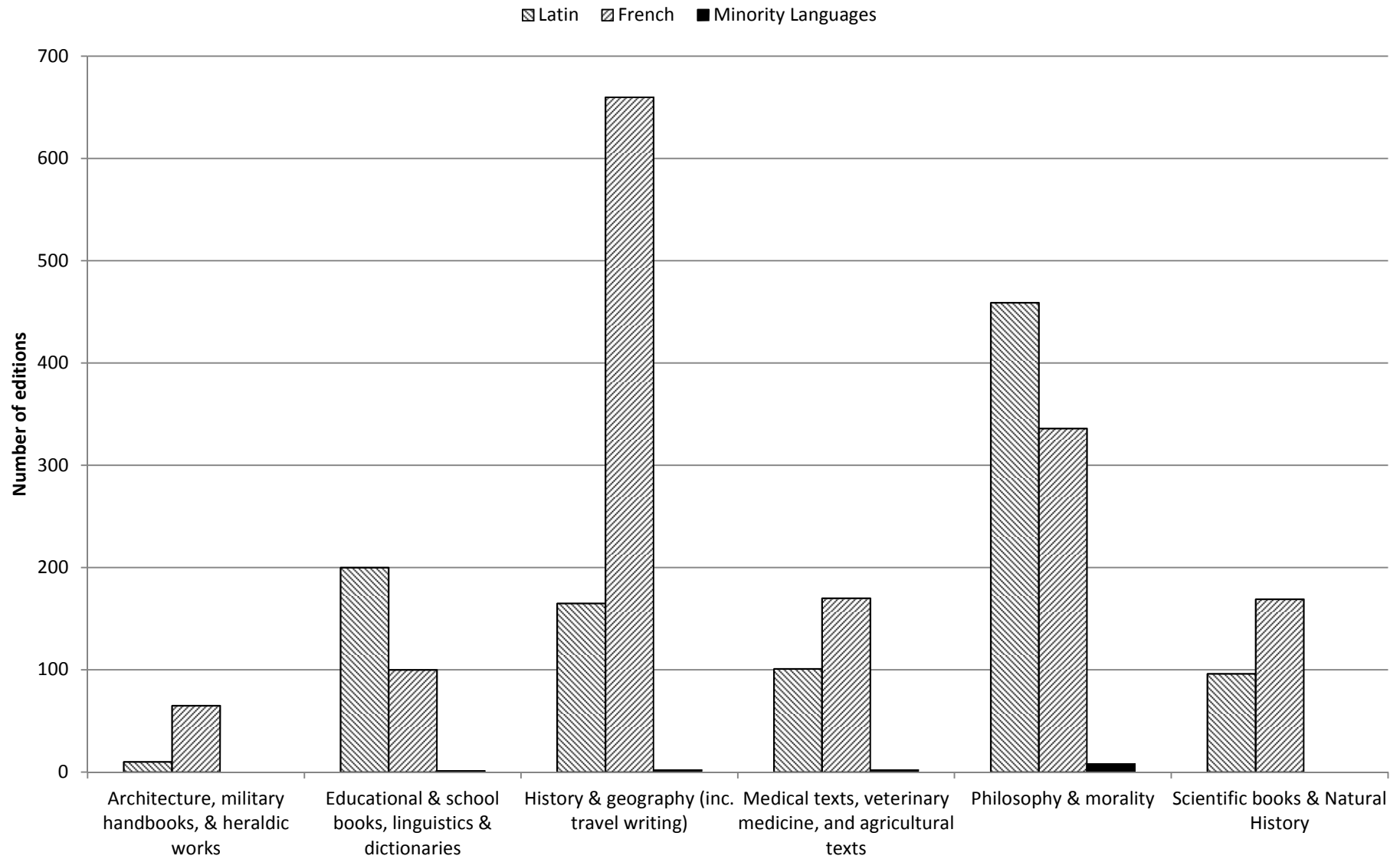


Figure A2-2-1: Literature by subgenre

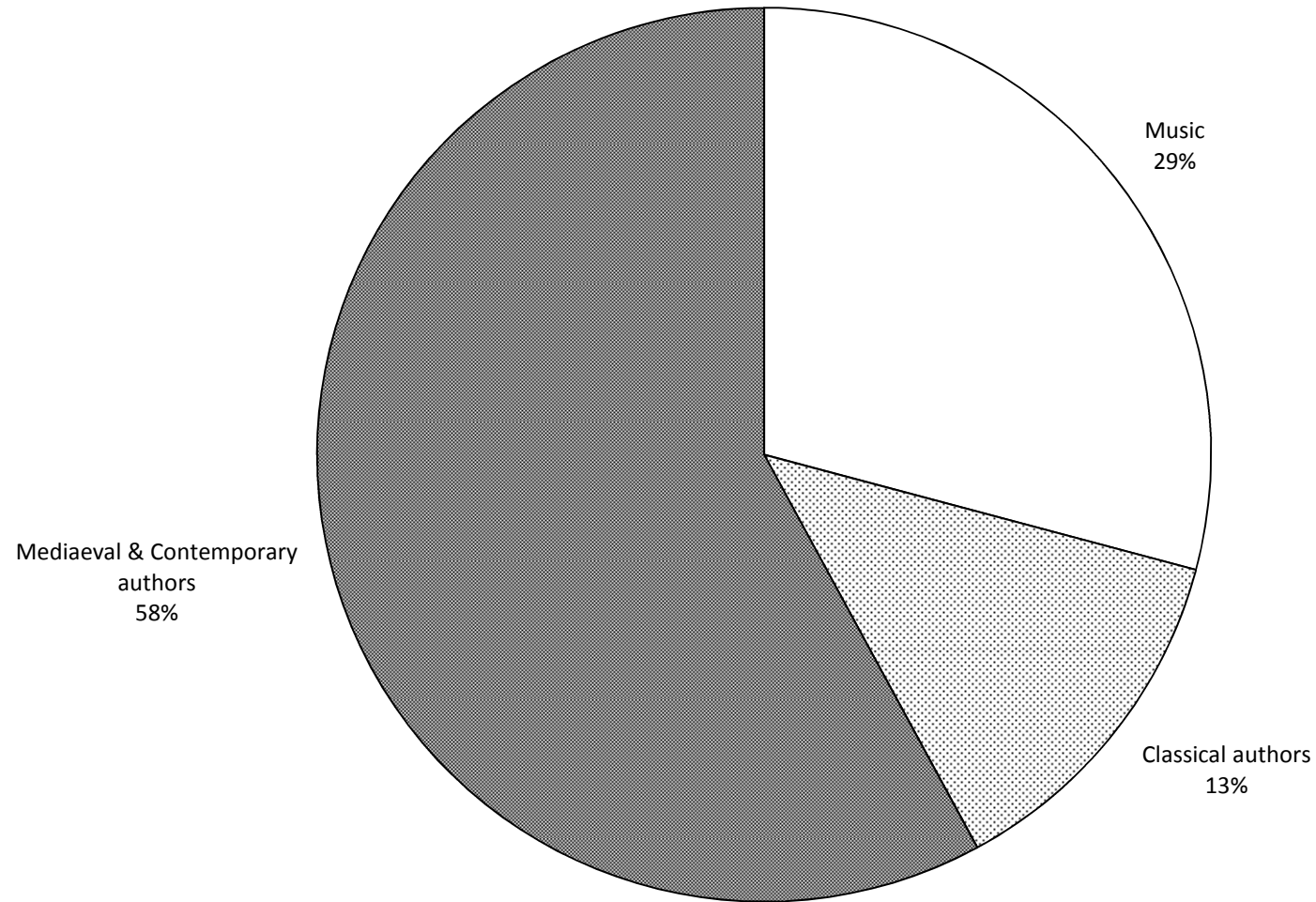


Figure A2-2-2: Literature by subgenre and year (percentage of year).

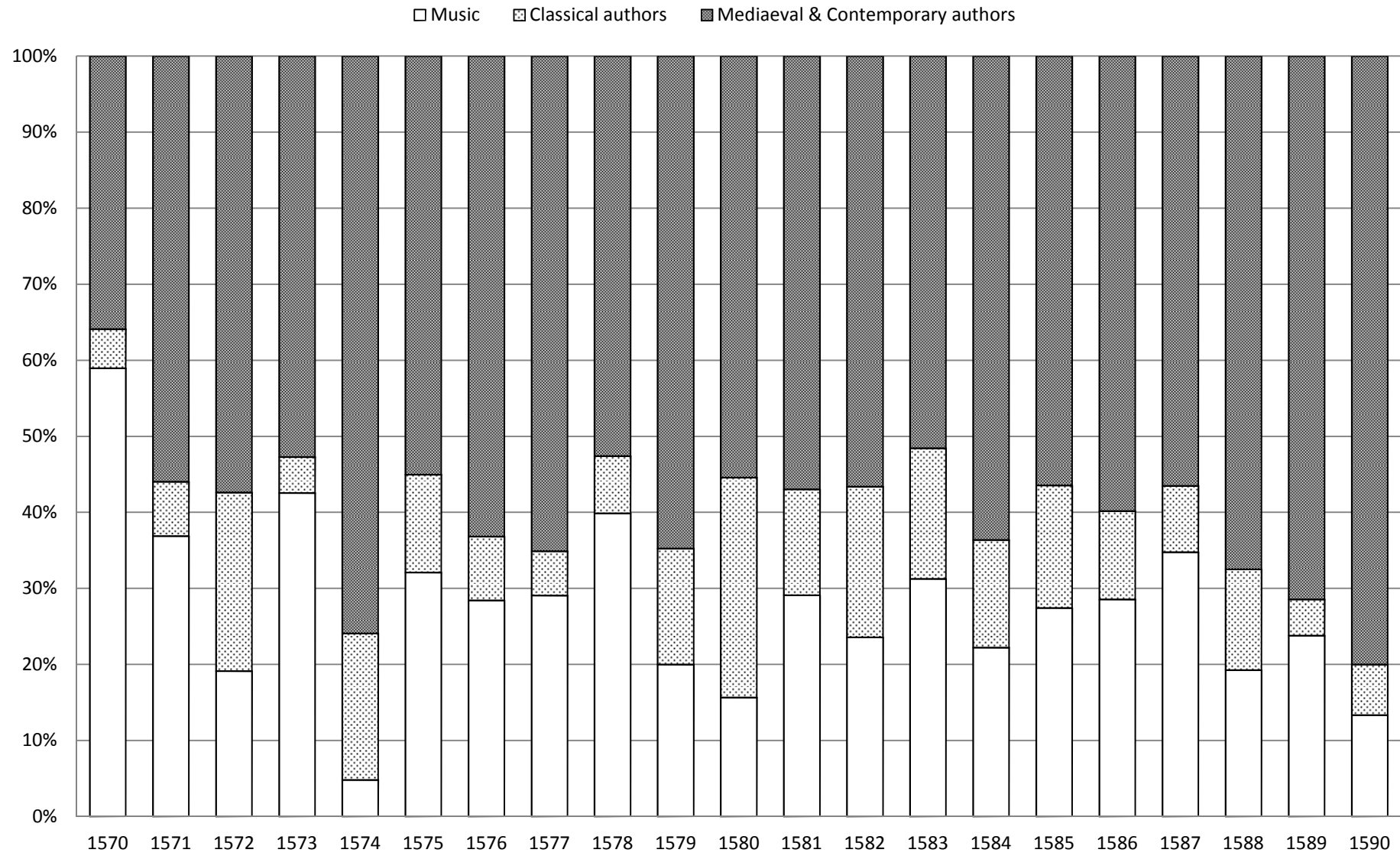


Figure A2-2-3: Literature by format.

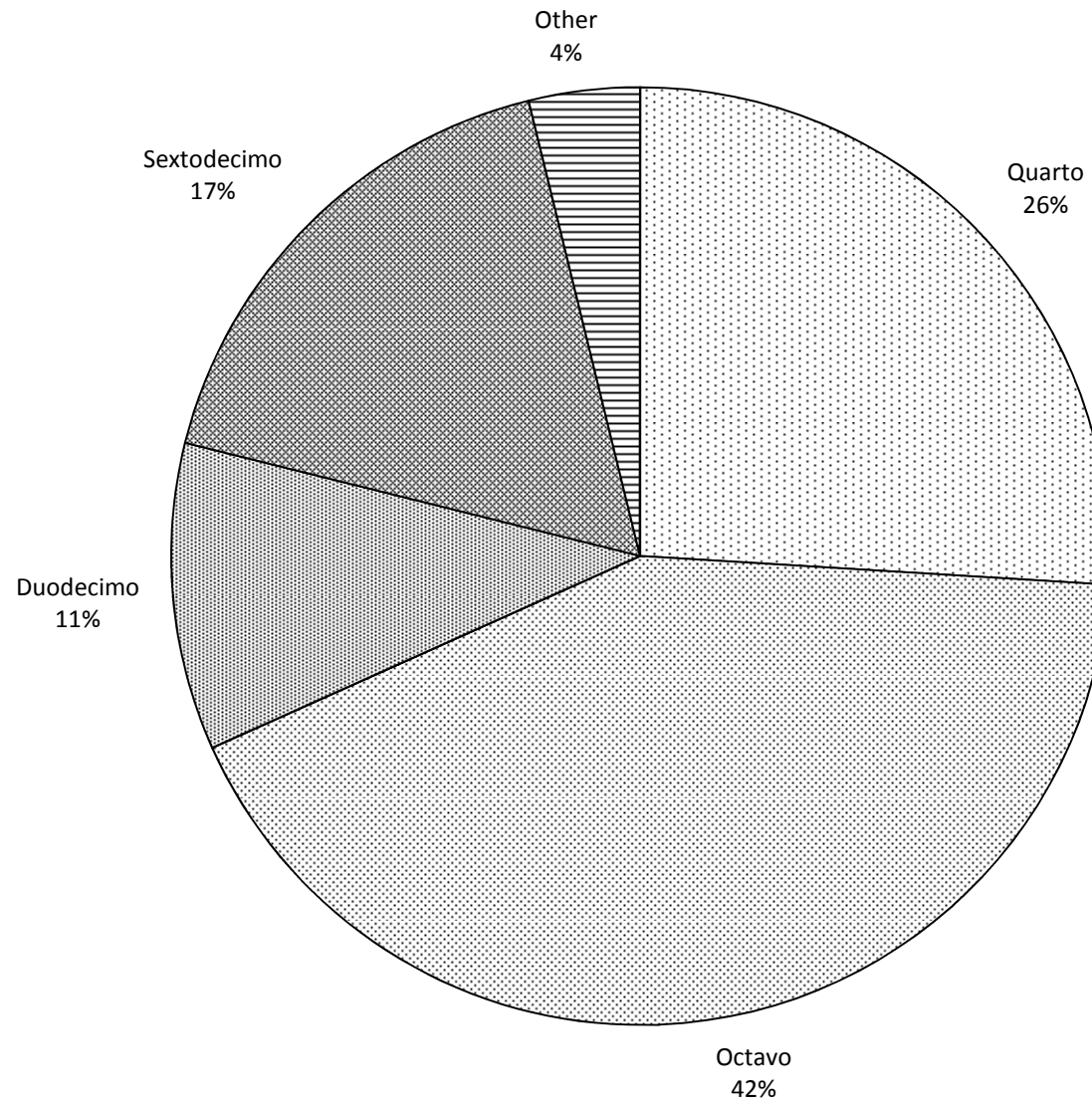


Figure A2-2-4: Literature by language.

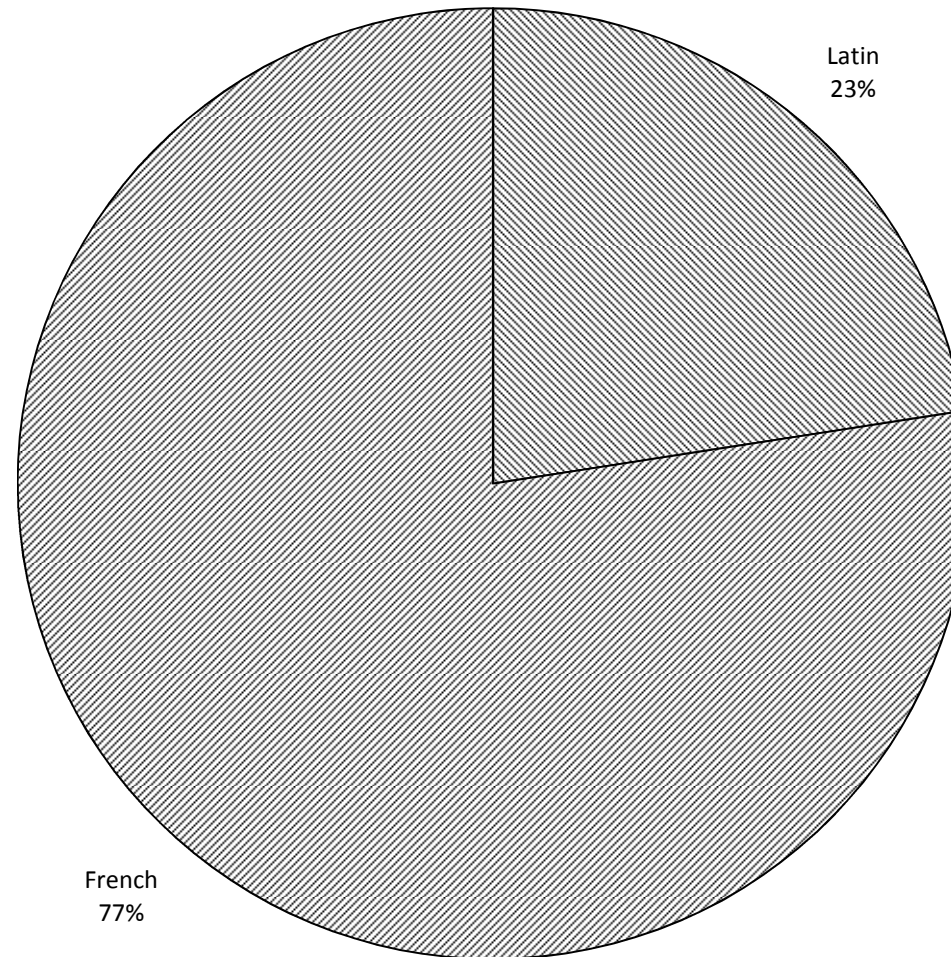


Figure A2-2-5: Literature by language and subgenre.

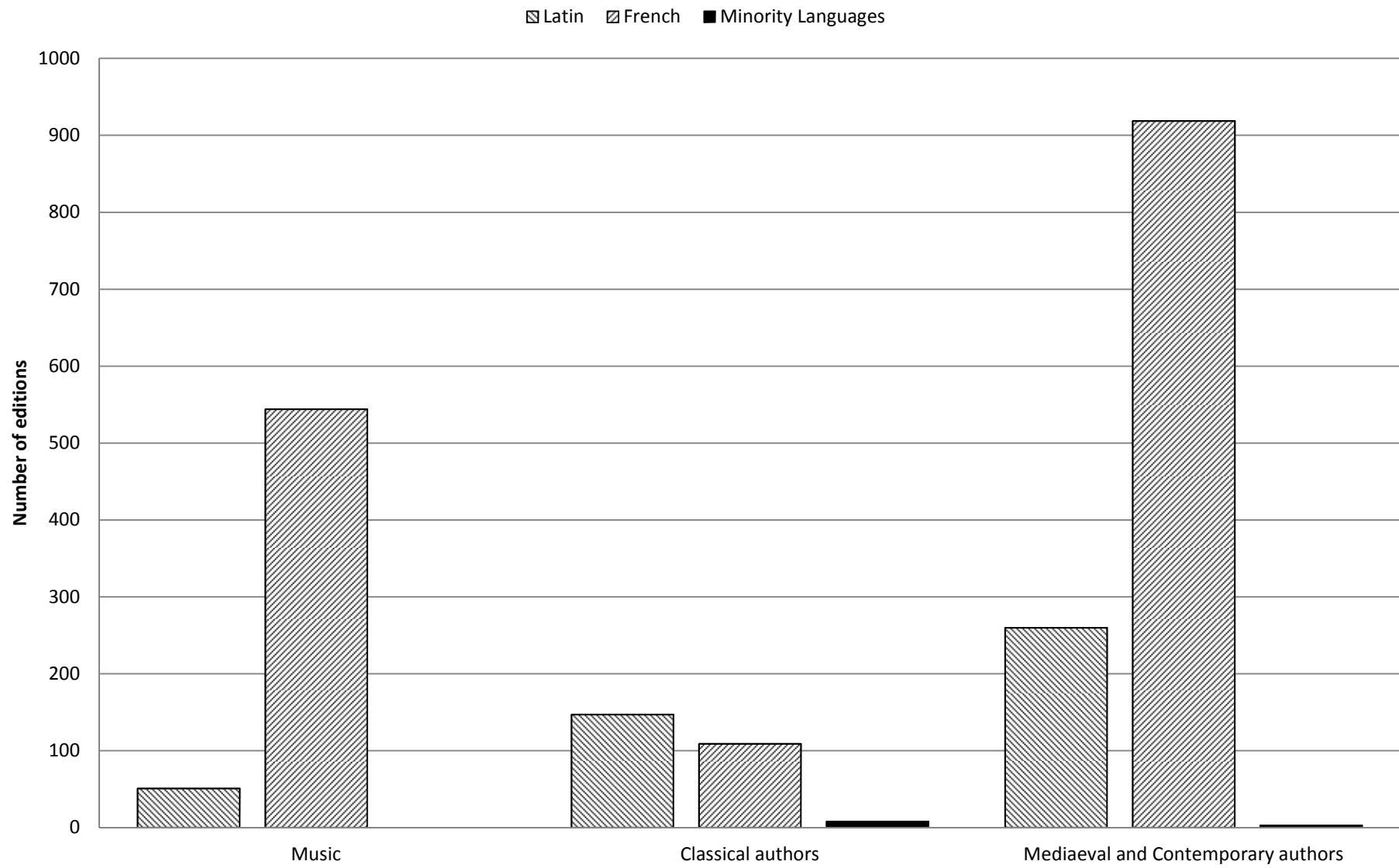


Figure A2-3-1: Political books by subgenre.

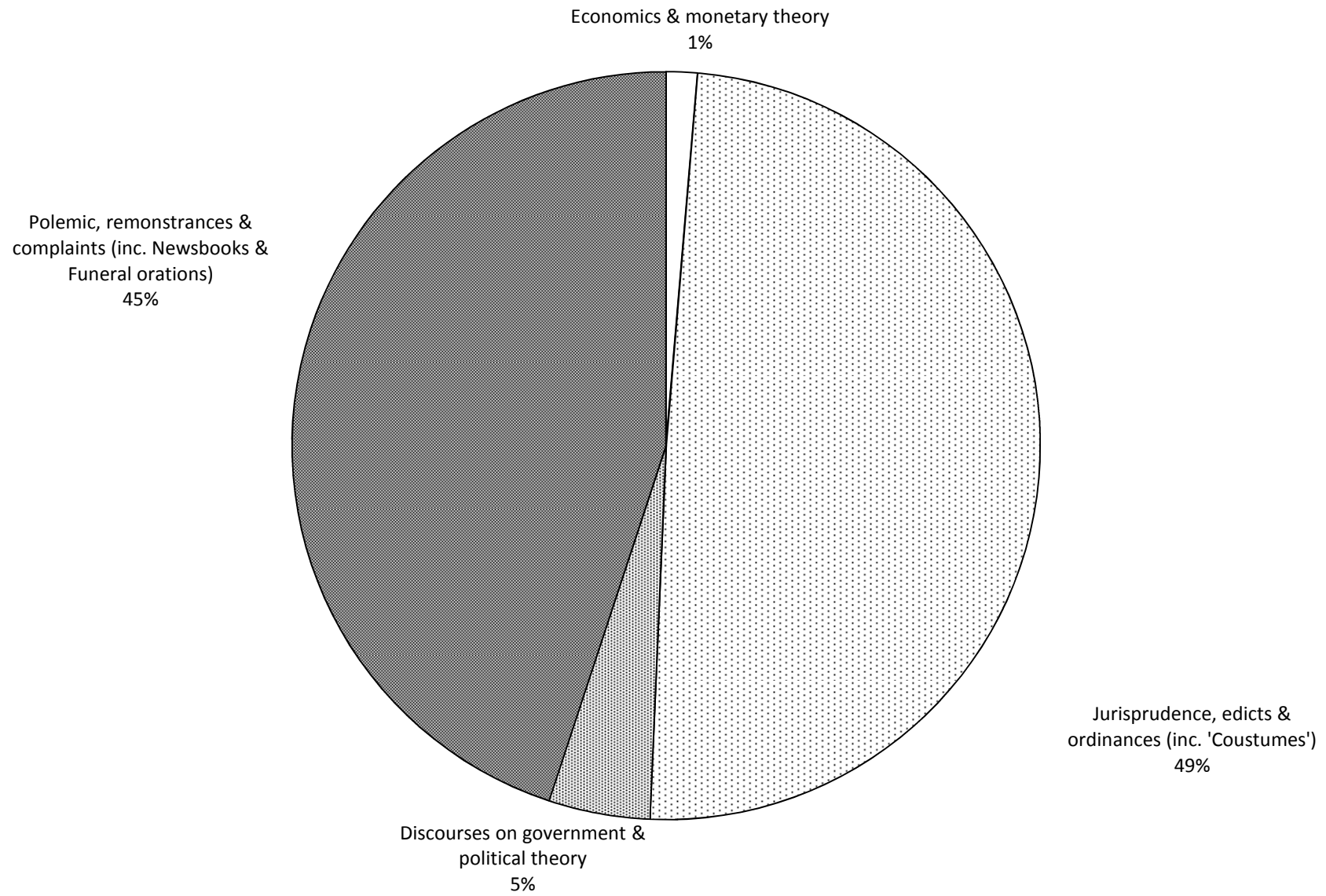


Figure A2-3-2: Political print by subgenre and year (percentage of year).

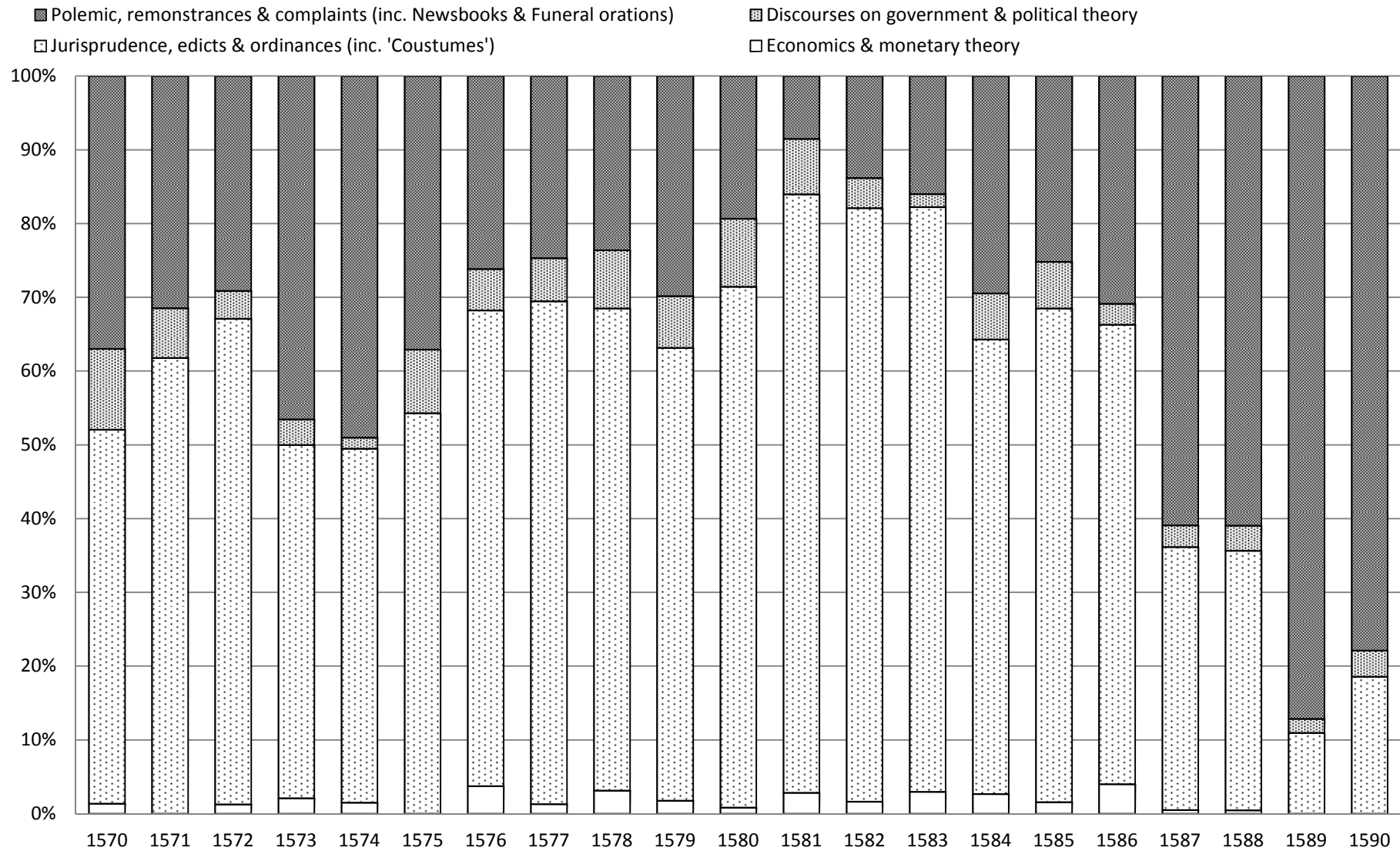


Figure A2-3-3: Political books by format.

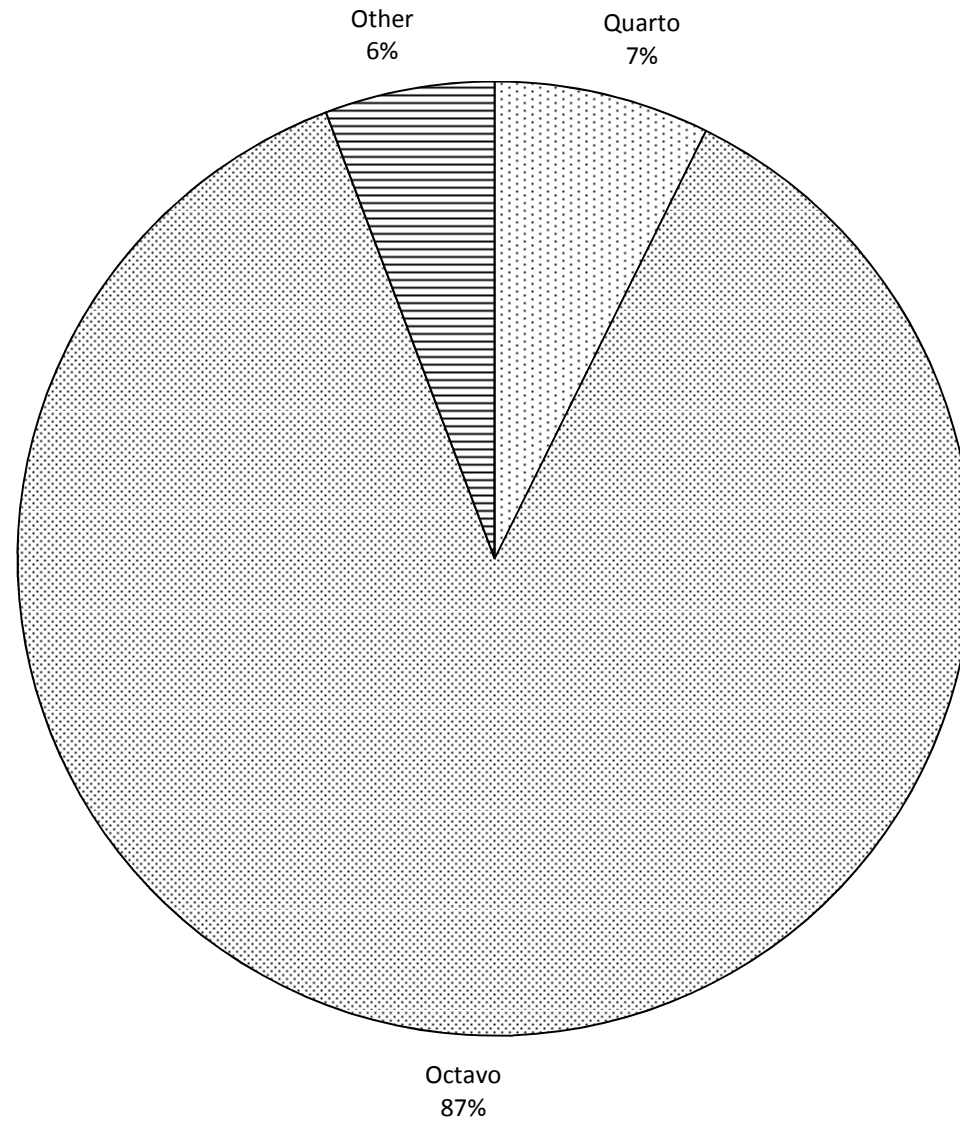


Figure A2-3-4: Political print by language.

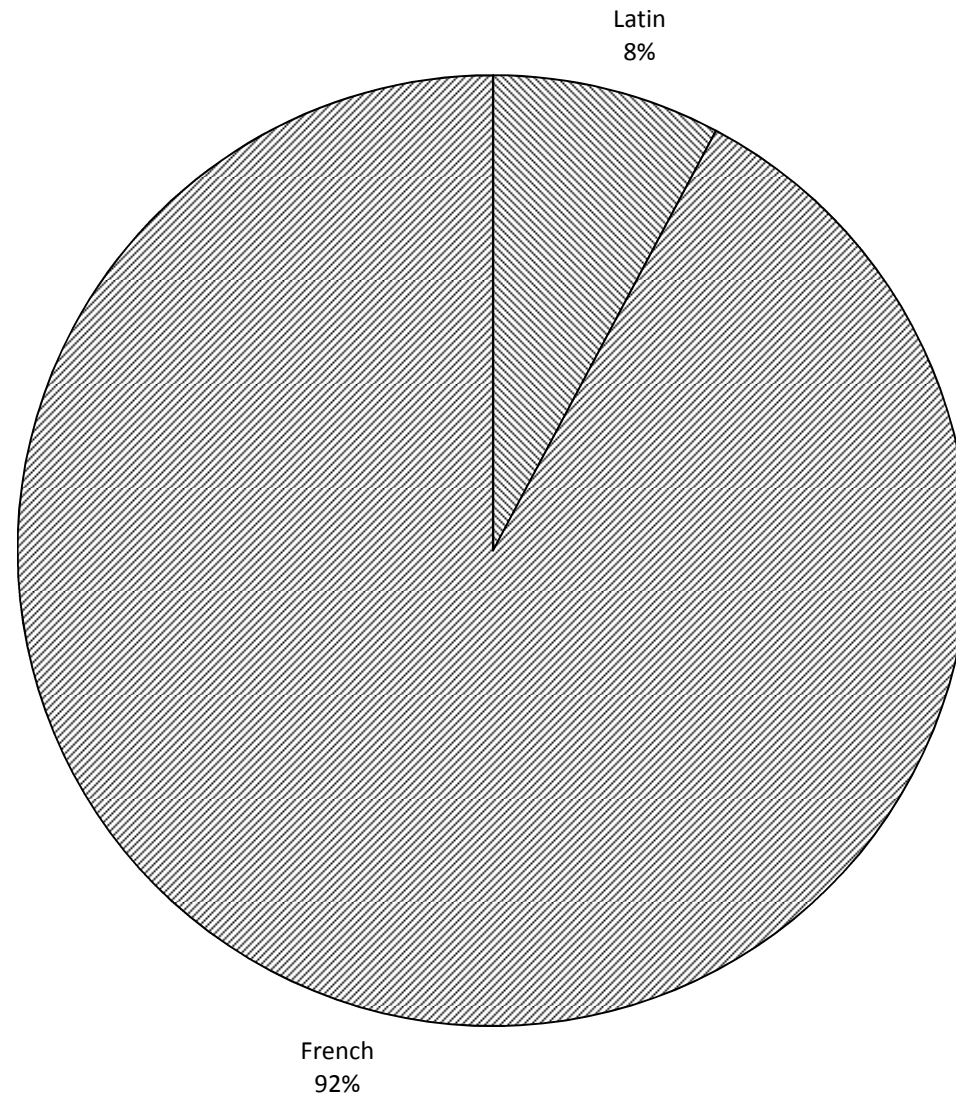


Figure A2-3-5: Political books by language and subgenre.

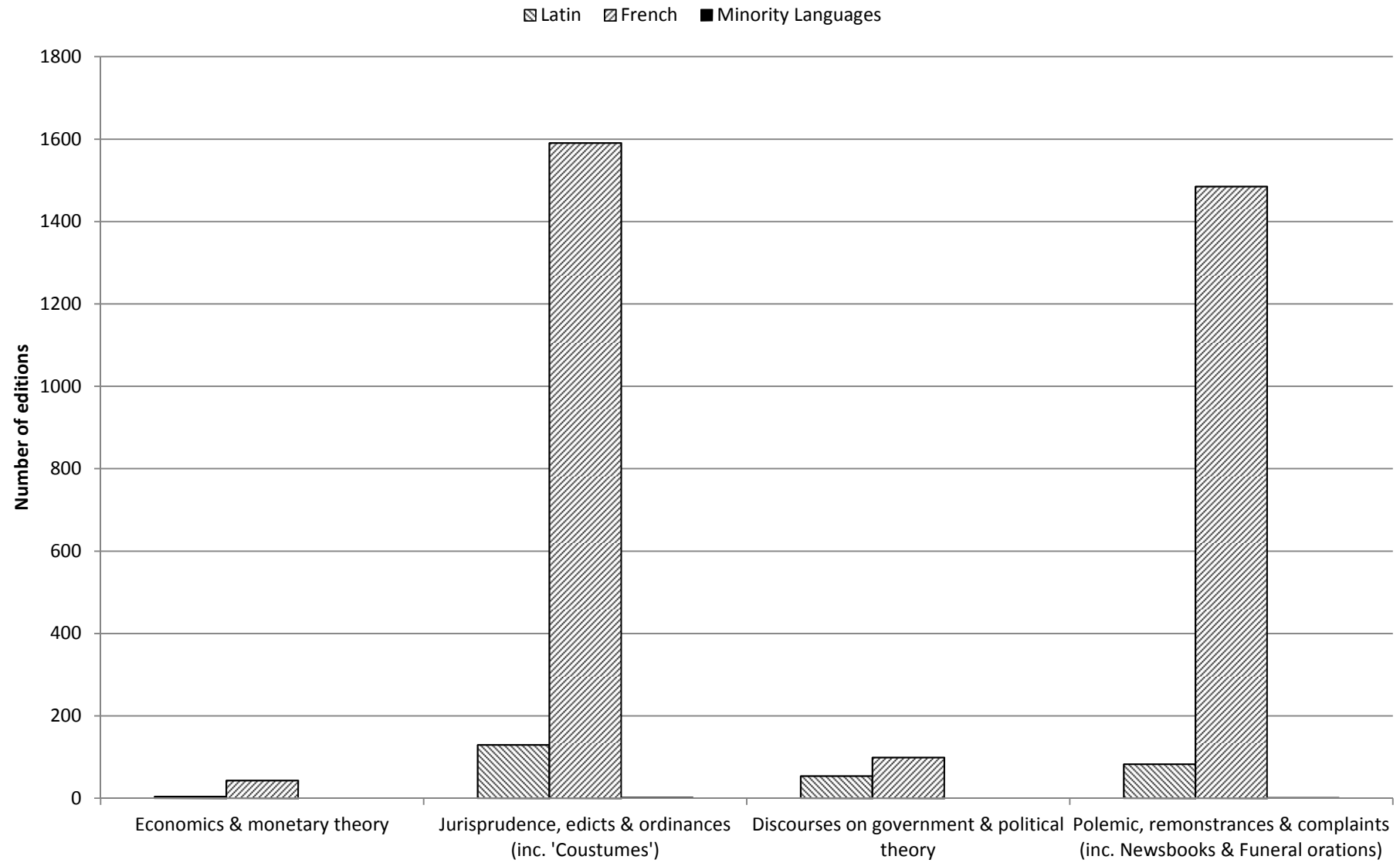


Figure A2-4-1: Religious books by subgenre.

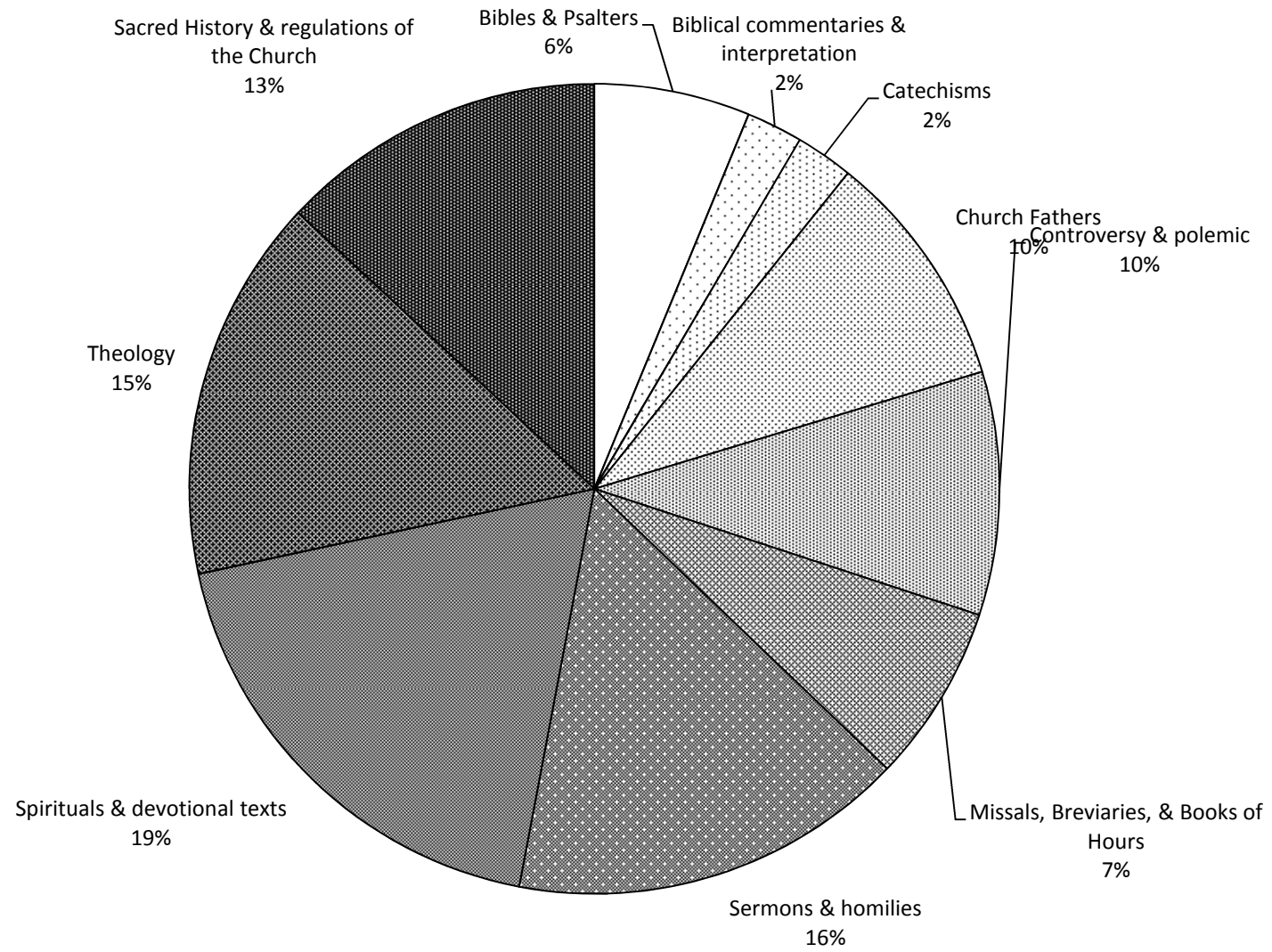


Figure A2-4-2: Religious books by subgenre and year (percentage of year).

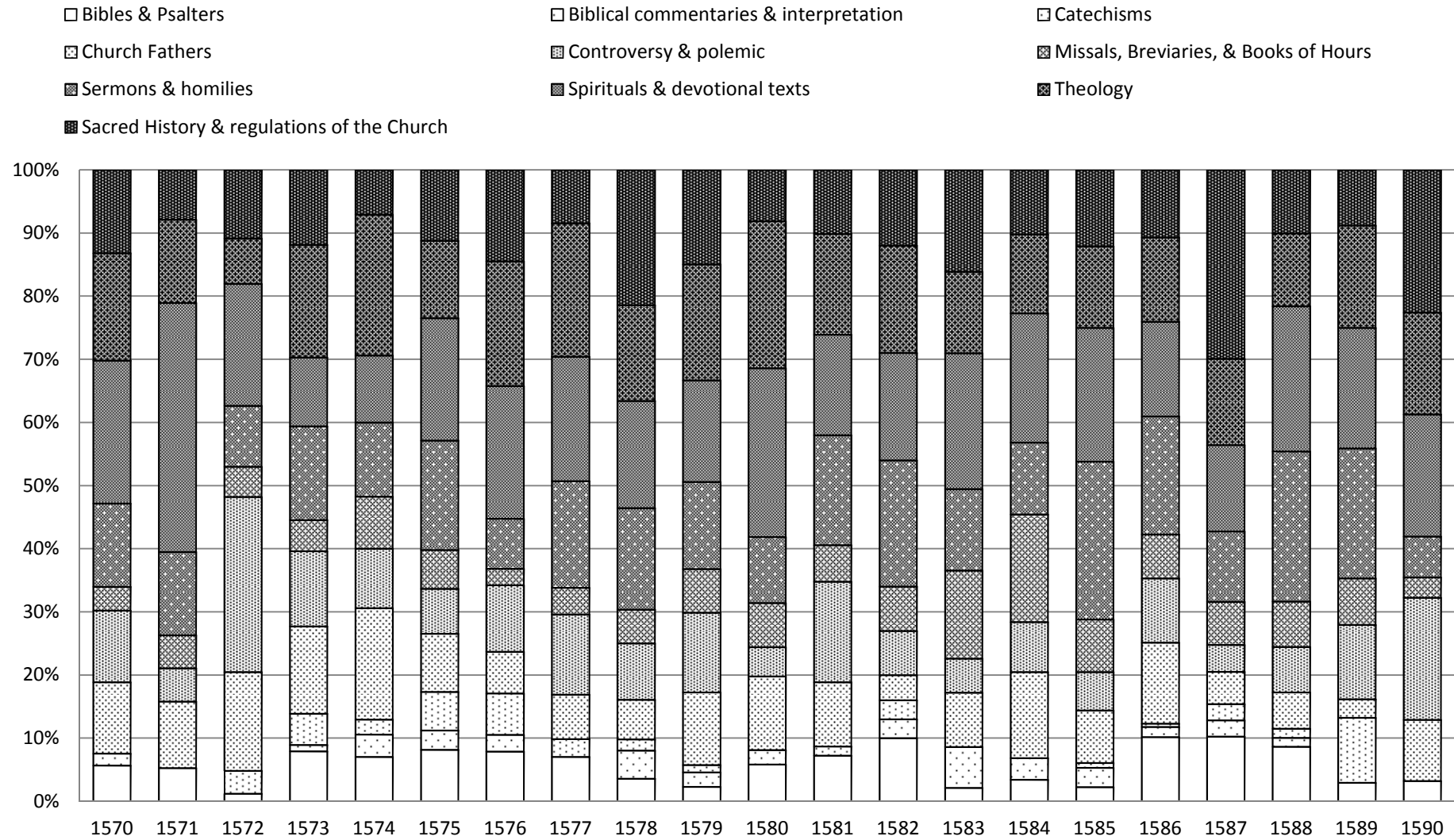


Figure A2-4-3: Religious books by format.

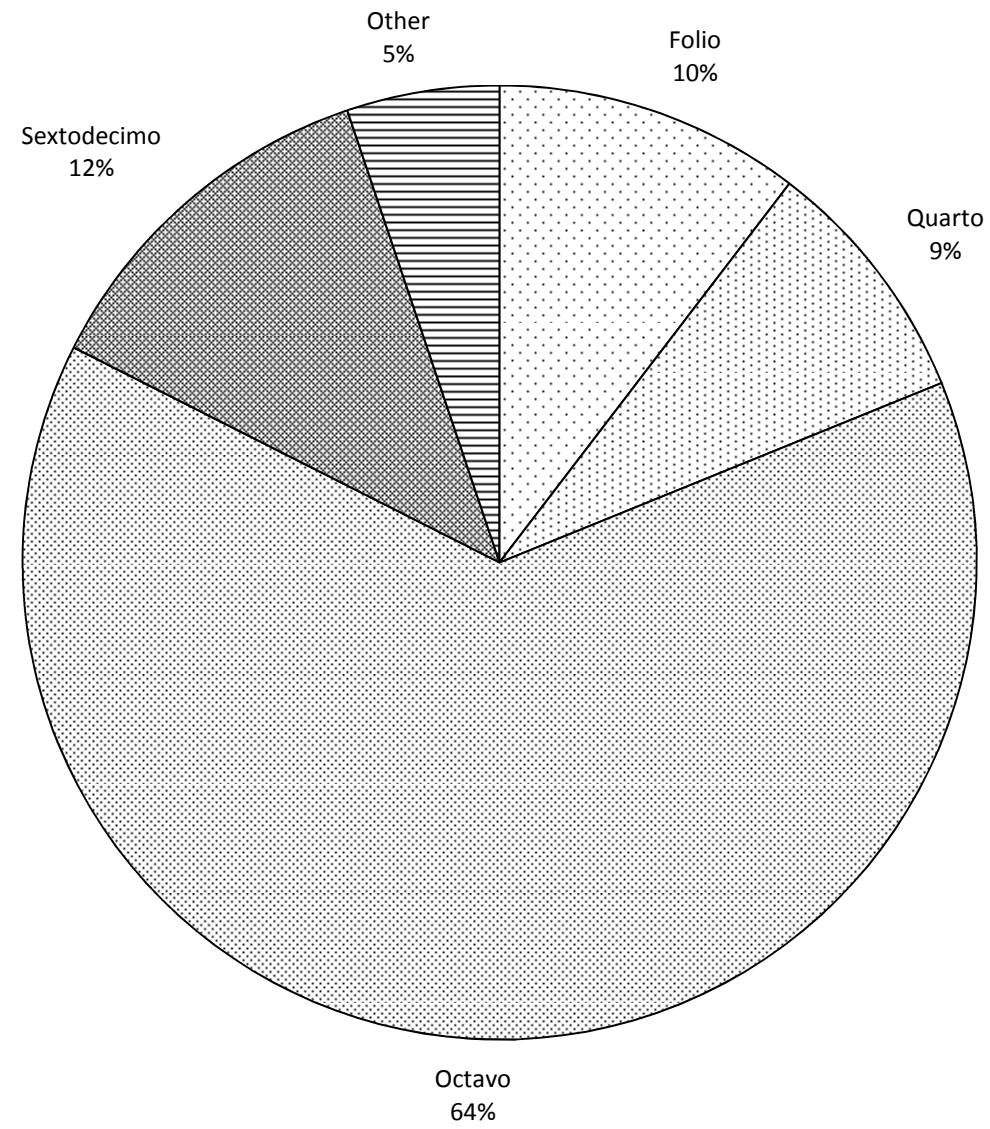


Figure A2-4-4: Religious books by language.

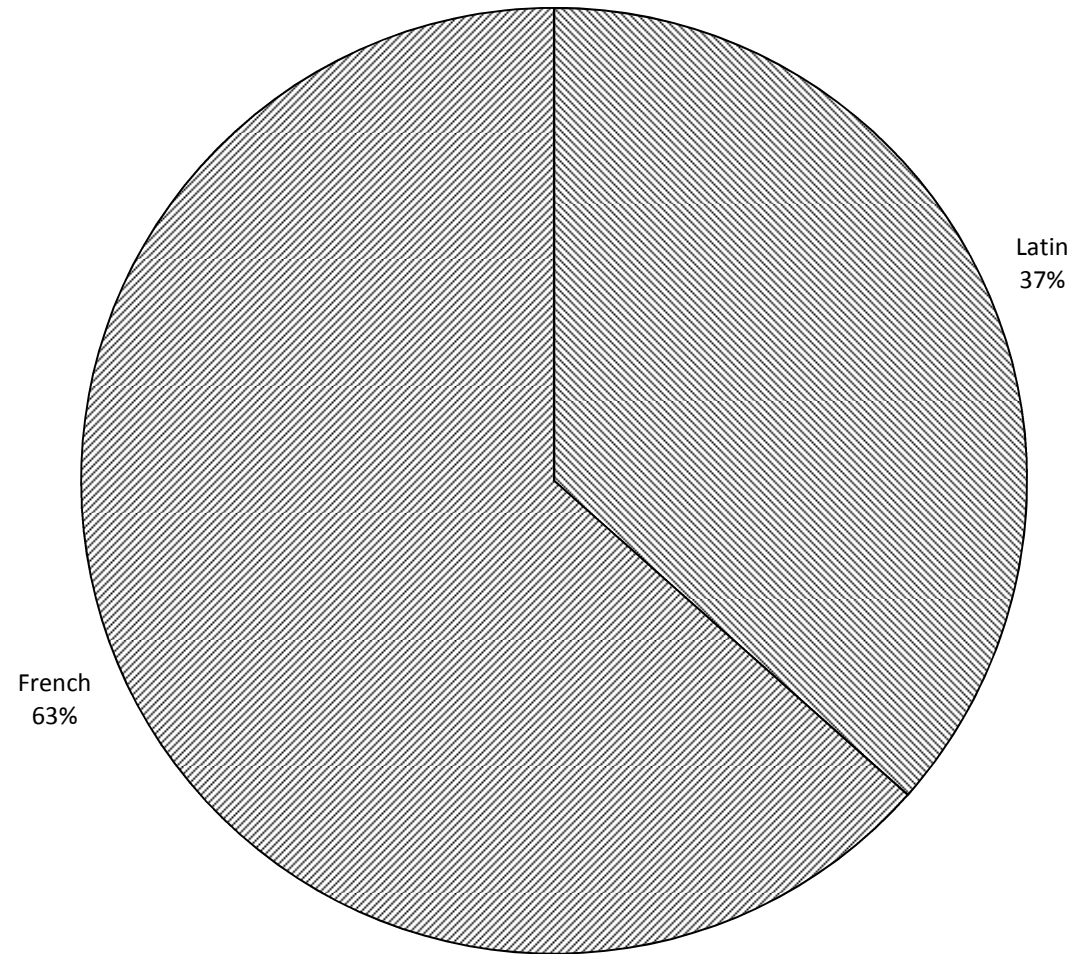


Figure A2-4-5: Religious books by language and subgenre.

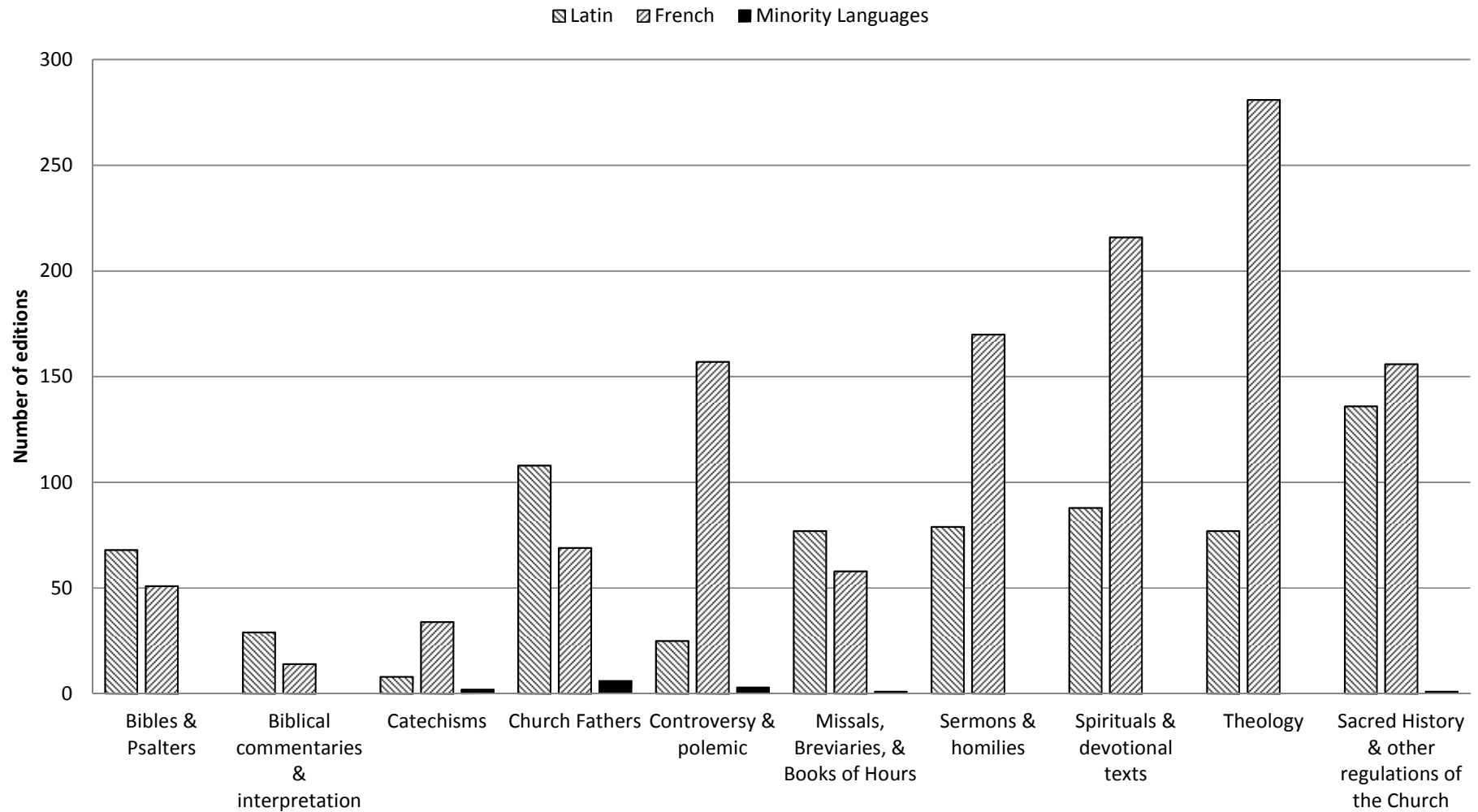


Figure A2-5-1: Paris print by genre.

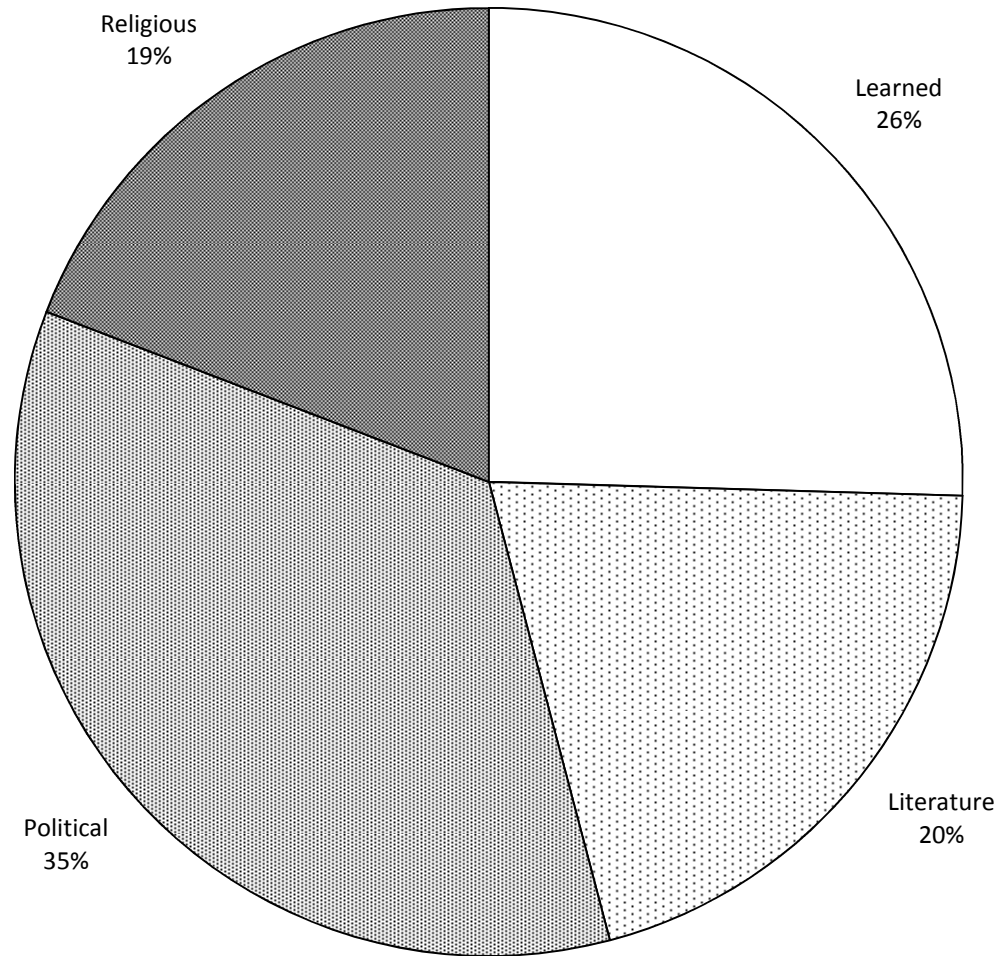


Figure A2-5-2: Paris print by subgenre and year (percentage of year).

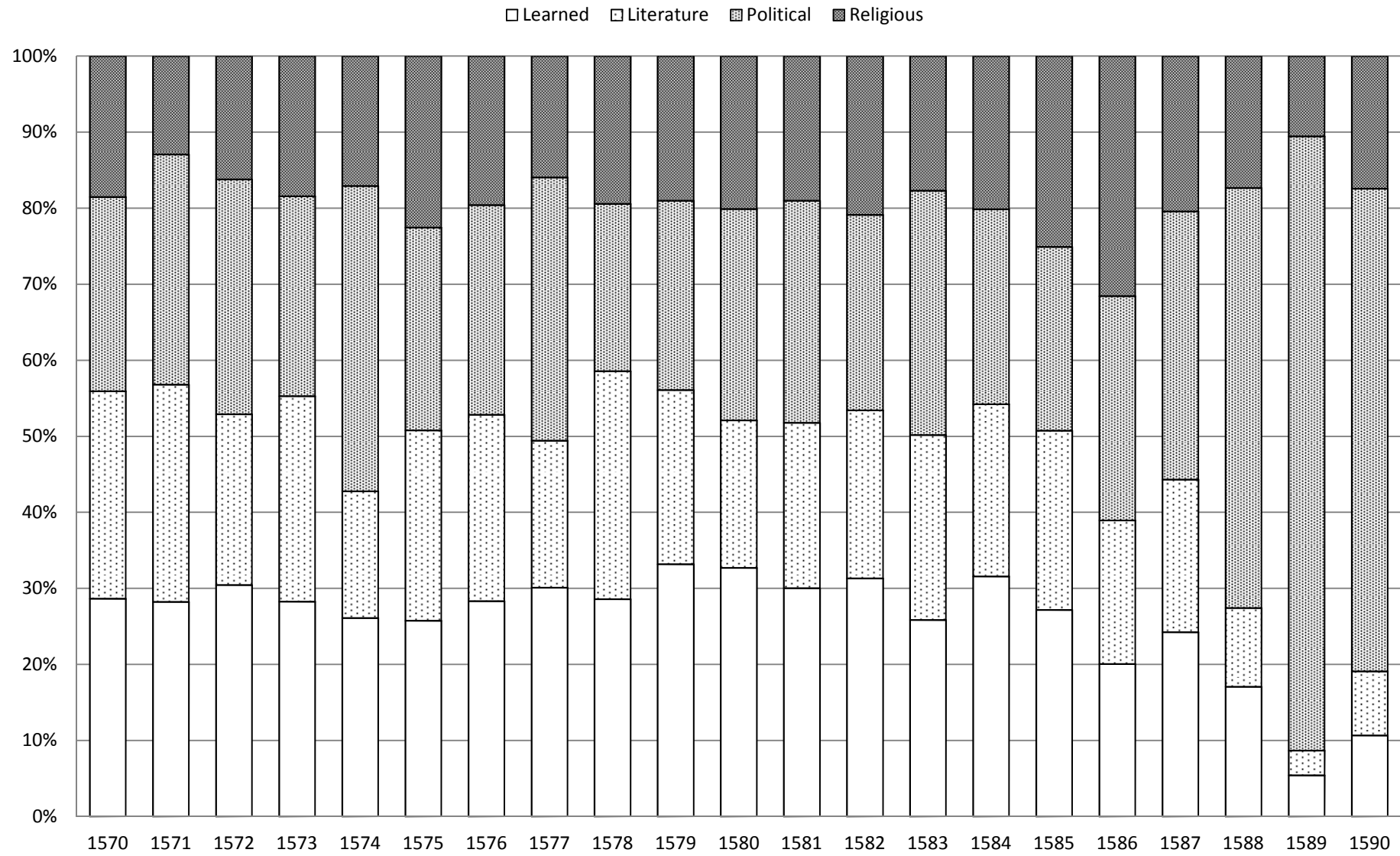


Figure A2-5-3: Paris print by format.

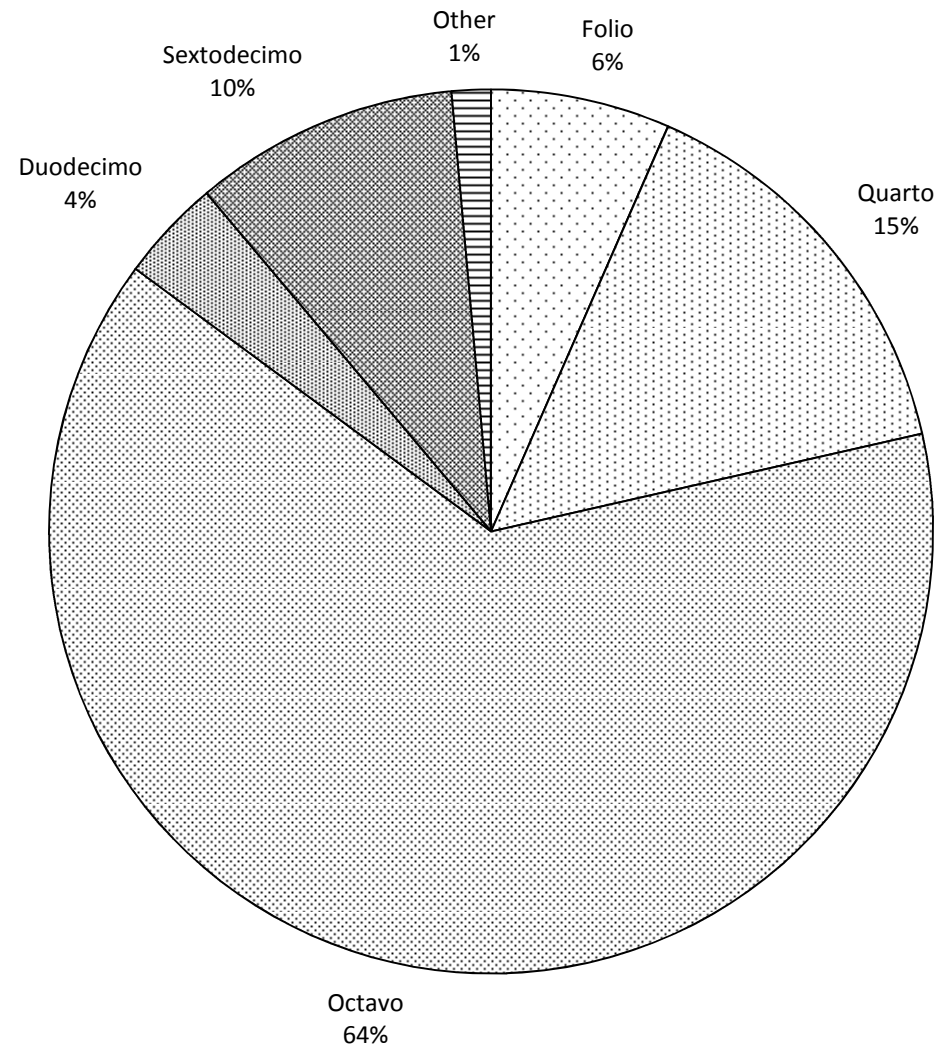


Figure A2-5-4: Paris print by language.

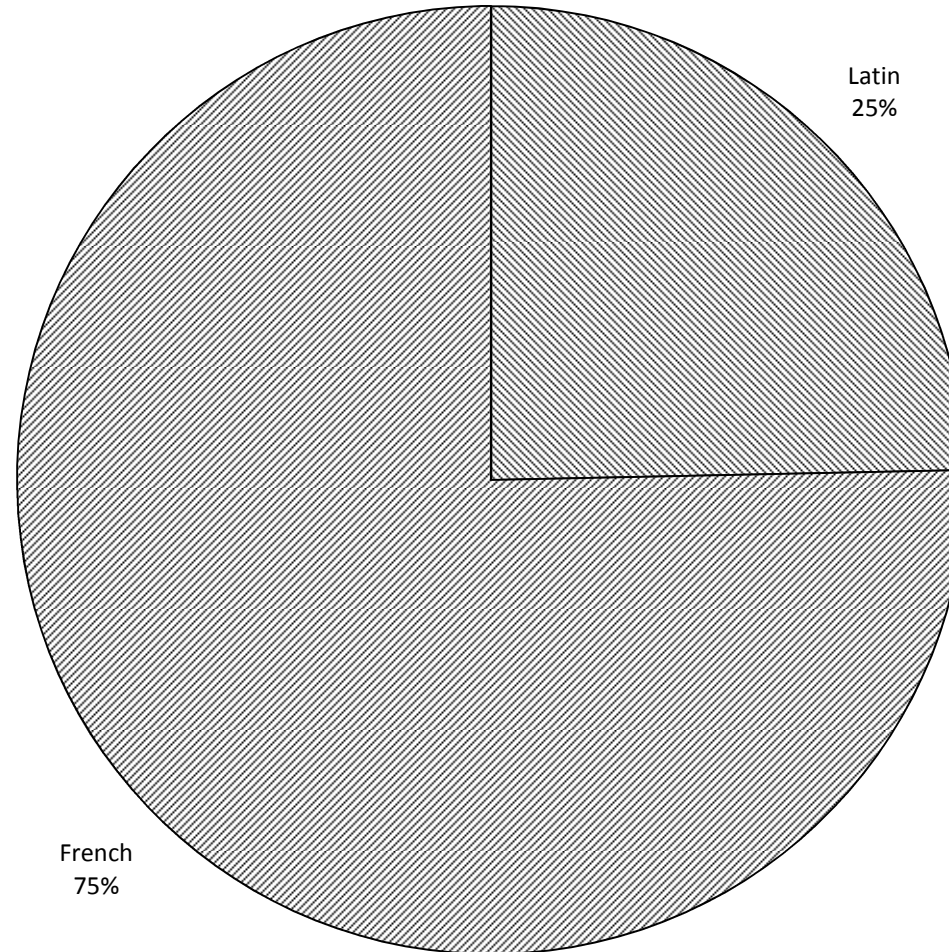
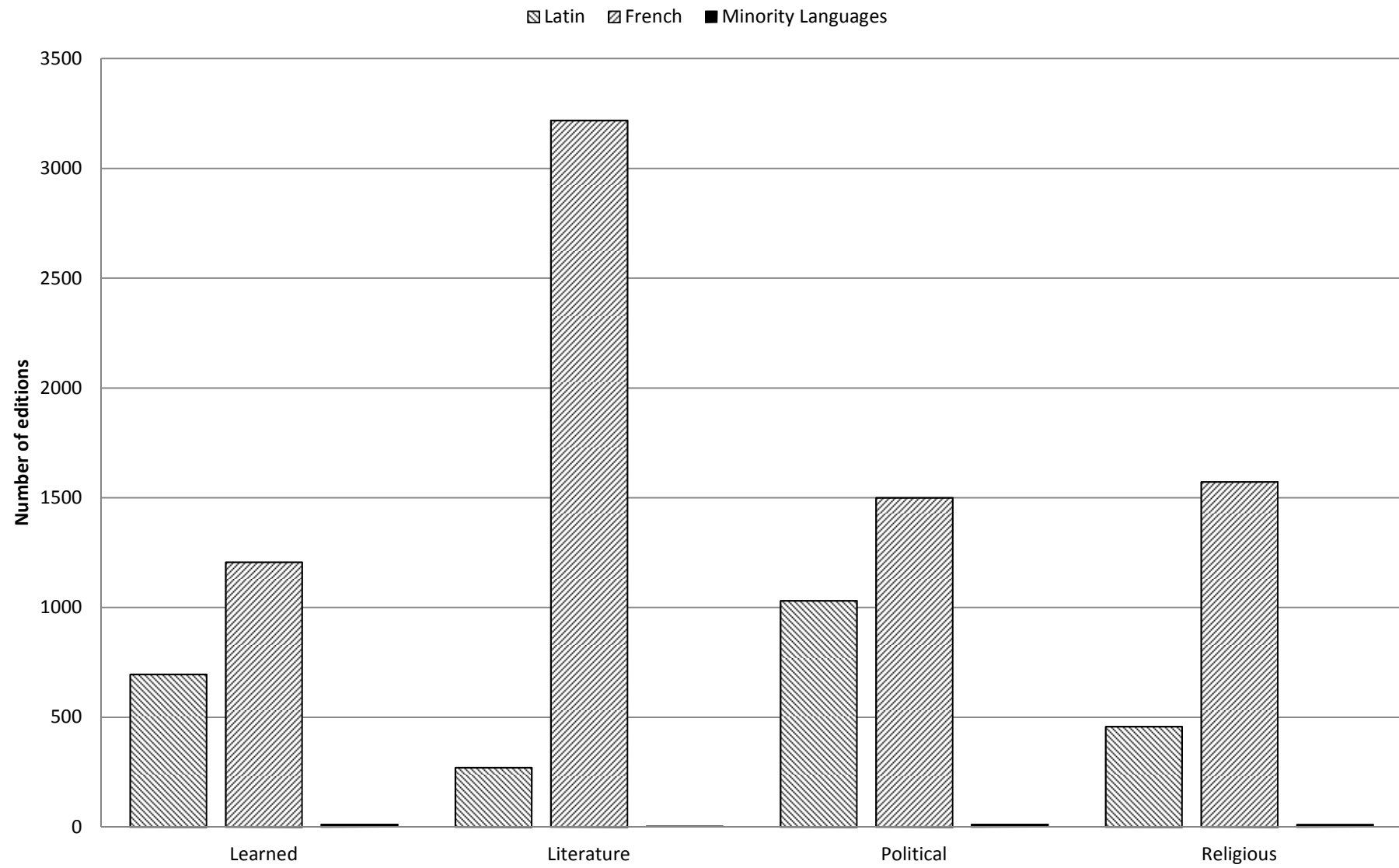
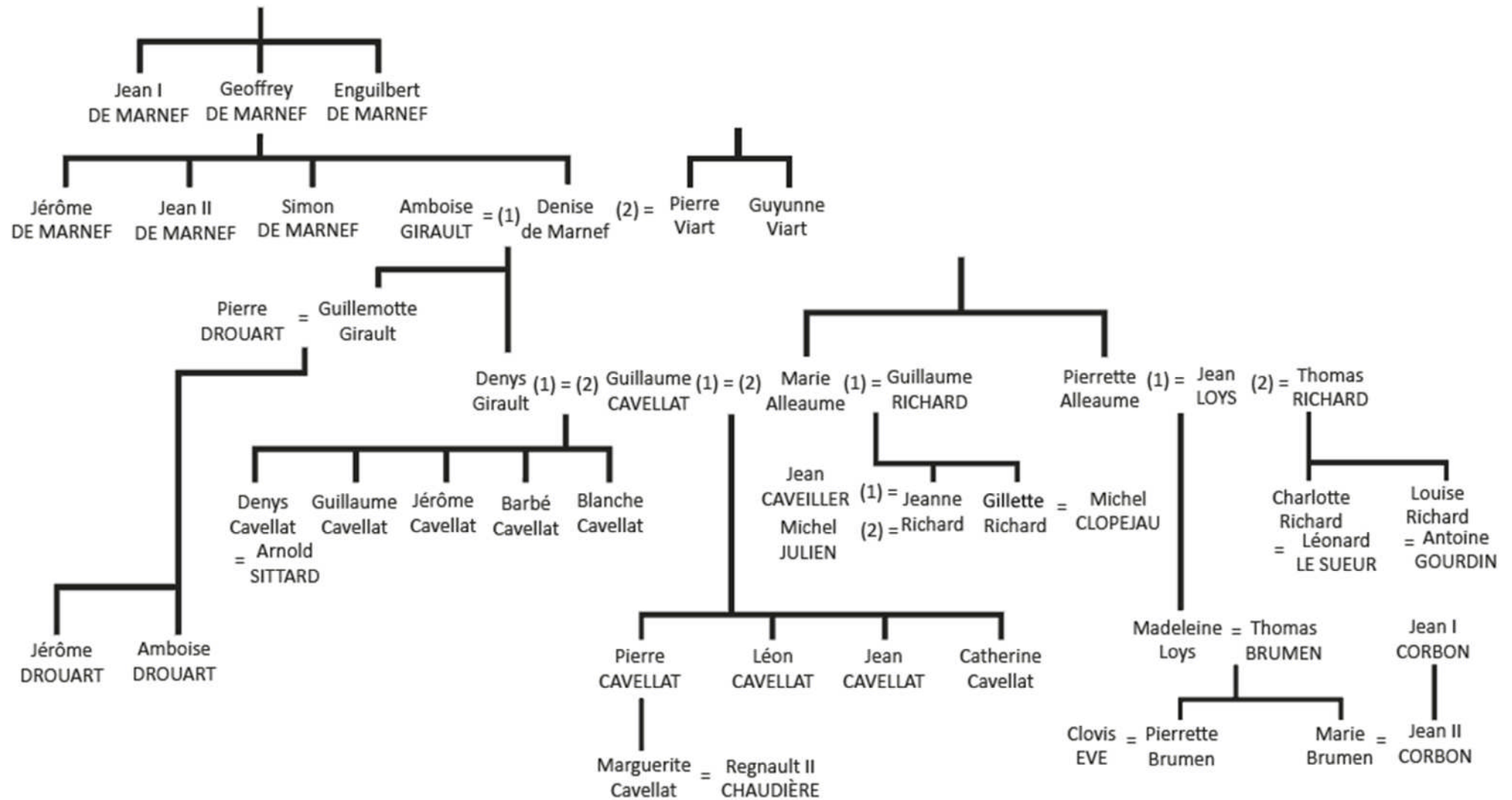


Figure A2-5-5: Paris print by language and subgenre.

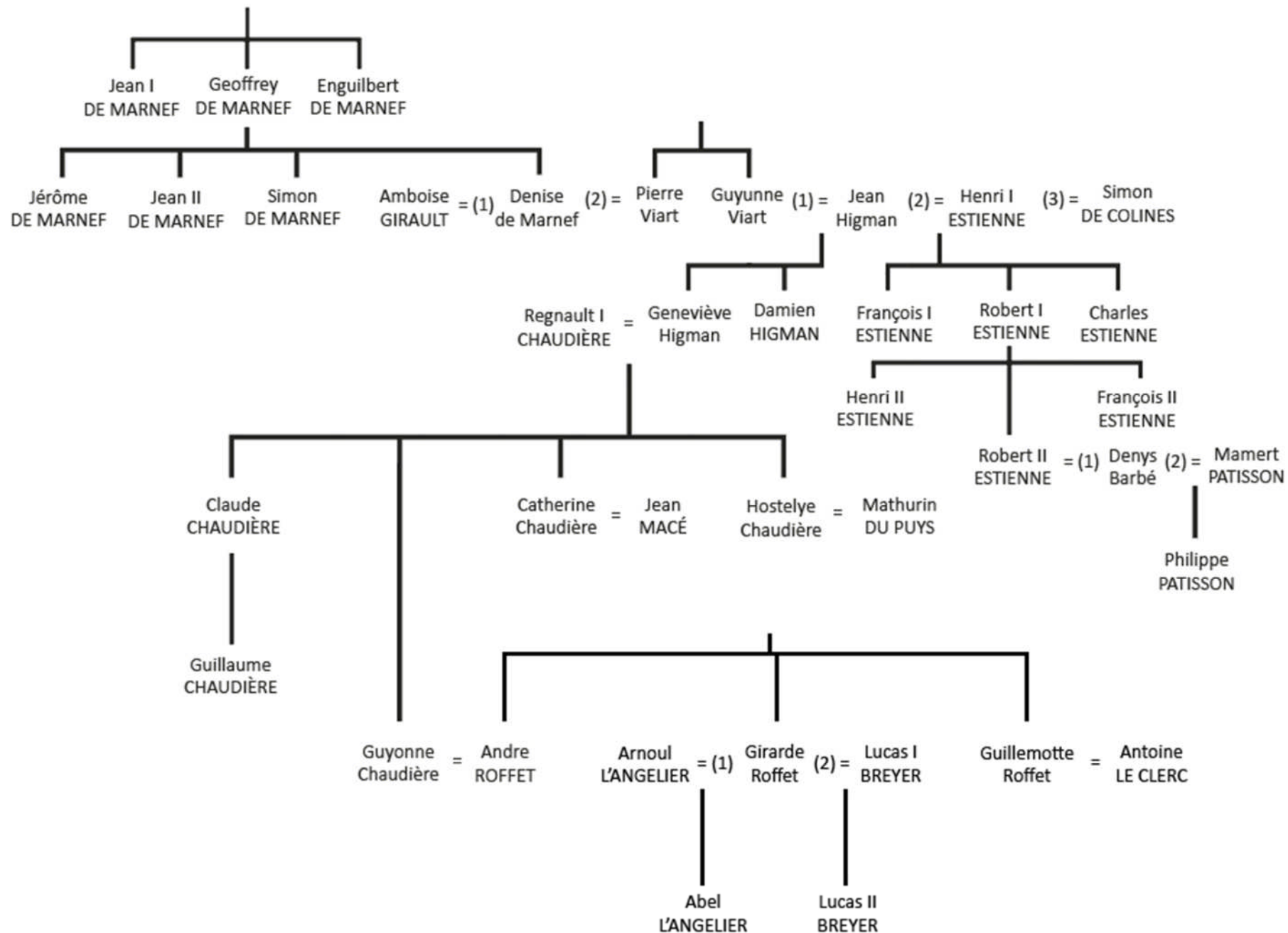


Appendix B: Family Trees

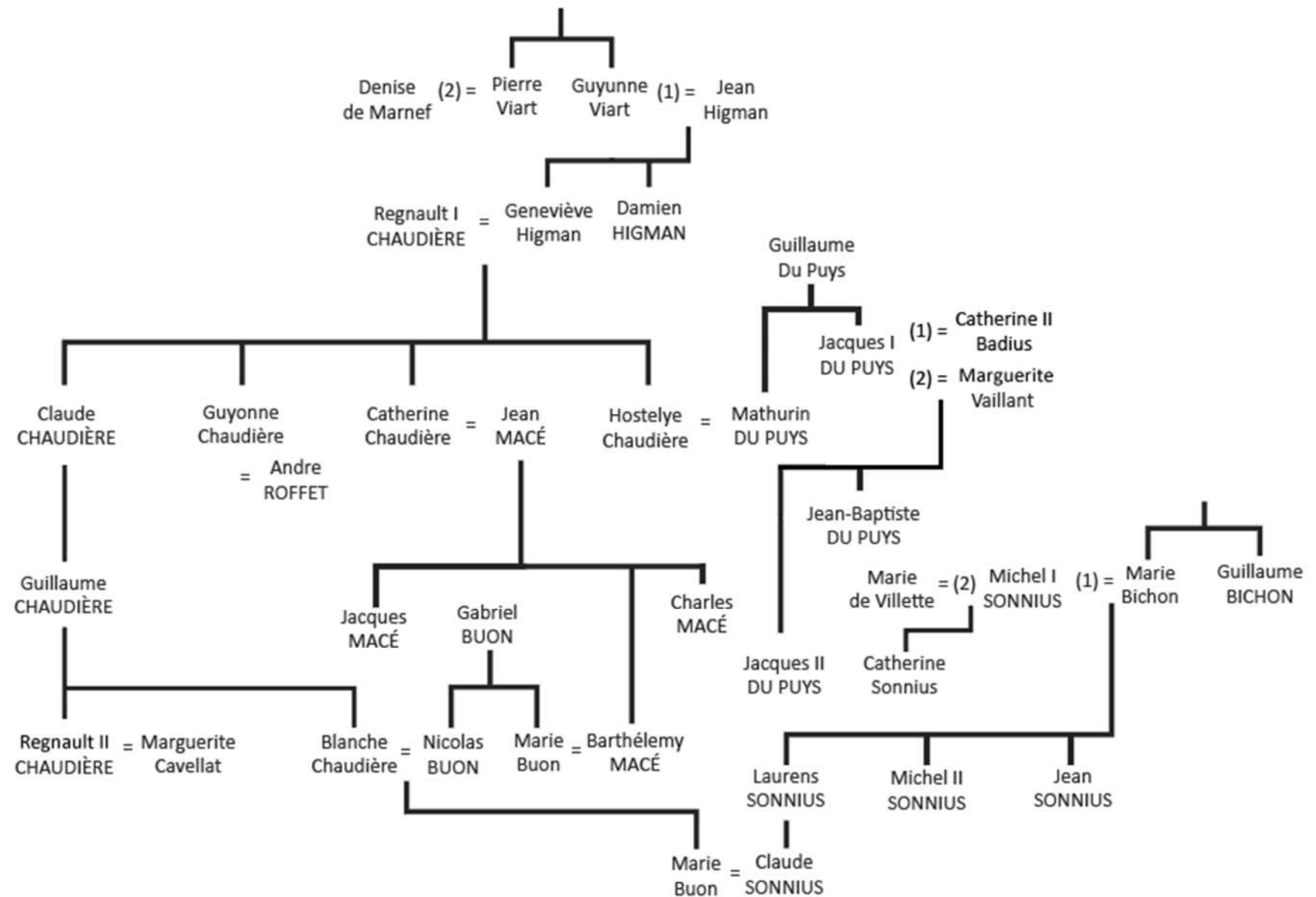
§1: The Cavellat/Marnef family	247
§2: The Estienne/Chaudière family	248
§3: The Chaudière/Du Puys/Sonnius/L'Angelier family	249
§4: The Roigny/Chesneau/Morel family	250



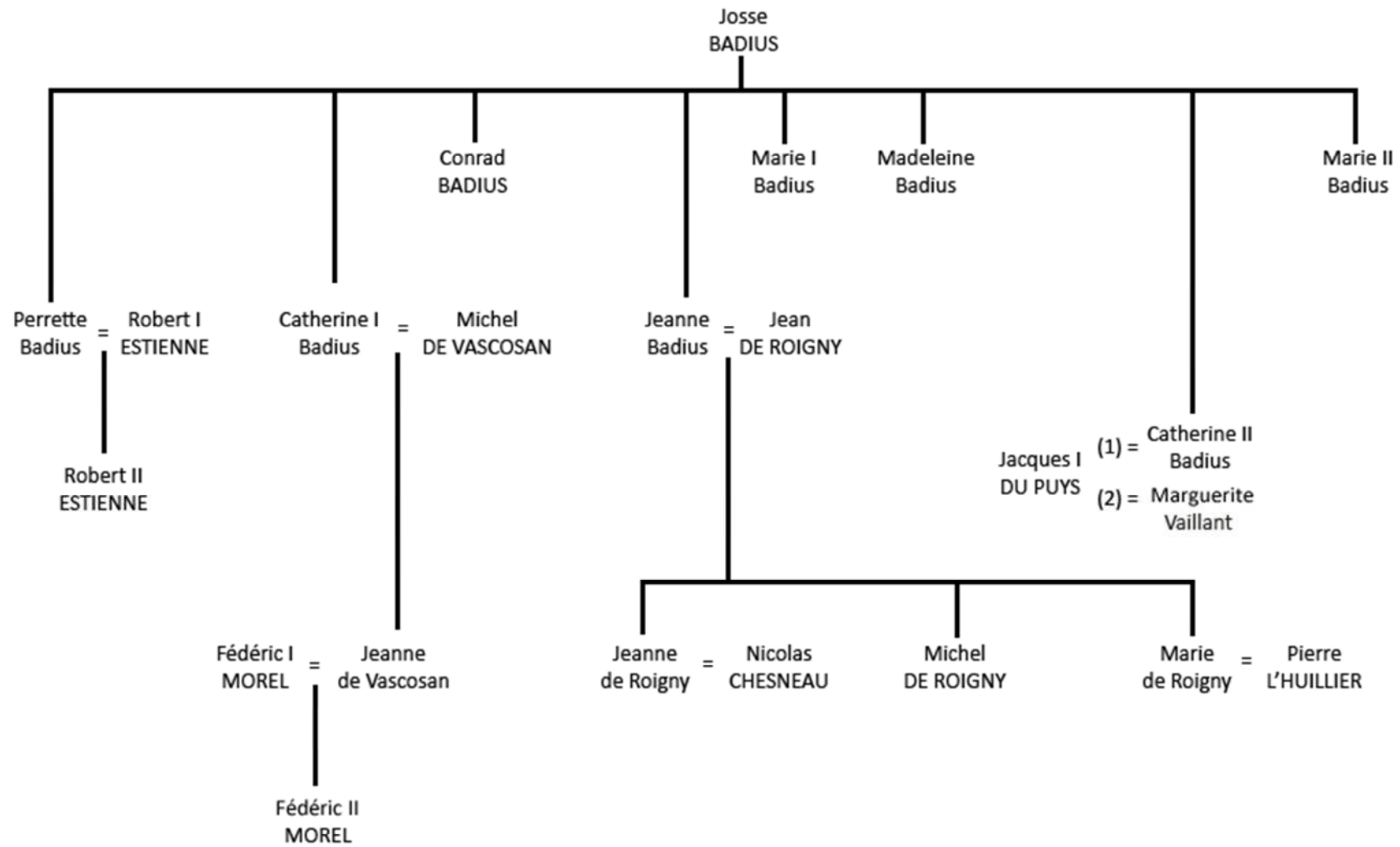
§1: The Cavellat/Marnef family. Surnames of individuals explicitly involved in the printing industry are in capitals.



§2: The Estienne/Chaudière family.



§3: The Chaudière/Du Puys/Sonnius/L'Angelier family.



§4: The Roigny/Chesneau/Morel family.

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- , "Paris XVI. S. Tables Chronologiques, 1583-1589", BNF: Usuels Réserve Service, C.58 (9)
- , "Paris XVI. S. Tables Chronologiques, 1590-1595", BNF: Usuels Réserve Service, C.58 (10)

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