

UNIVERSITY OF ST ANDREWS



**FRENCH ROYAL ACTS PRINTED BEFORE 1601:**

**A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL STUDY**

VOLUME ONE

A THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

AT THE UNIVERSITY OF ST ANDREWS

DEPARTMENT OF MODERN HISTORY

BY

LAUREN JEE-SU KIM

MARCH 2008

ST ANDREWS, SCOTLAND



To my parents  
and my grandparents



## DECLARATIONS

---

I, Lauren Jee-Su Kim, hereby certify that this thesis, which is approximately 78,000 words in length (excluding the appendix), 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.

March 20, 2007

Lauren Kim

I was admitted as a research student in October 2001 and as a candidate for the degree of PhD in October 2002; the higher study for which this is a record was carried out in the University of St Andrews between 2002 and 2006.

March 20, 2007

Lauren Kim

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

March 20, 2007

Andrew Pettegree

In submitting this thesis to the University of St Andrews I understand that I am giving permission for it to be made available for use in accordance with the regulations of the University Library for the time being in force, subject to any copyright vested in the work not being affected thereby. I also understand that the title and abstract will be published, and that a copy of the work may be made and supplied to any bona fide library or research worker, that my thesis will be electronically accessible for personal or research use, and that the library has the right to migrate my thesis into new electronic forms as required to ensure continued access to the thesis. I have obtained any third-party copyright permissions that may be required in order to allow such access and migration.

March 20, 2007

Lauren Kim



## ABSTRACT

---

This thesis is a study of royal acts printed in French before 1601. The kingdom of France is a natural place to begin a study of royal acts. It possessed one of the oldest judicial systems in Europe, which had been established during the reign of St Louis (1226-1270). By the sixteenth century, French kings were able to issue royal acts without any concern as to the distribution of their decrees. In addition, France was one of the leading printing centres in Europe. This research provides the first detailed analysis of this neglected category of texts, and examines the acts' significance in French legal, political and printing culture.

The analysis of royal acts reveals three key historical practices regarding the role of printing in judiciary matters and public affairs. The first is how the French crown communicated to the public. Chapters one and two discuss the royal process of dissemination of edicts and the language of royal acts. The second is how printers and publishers manoeuvred between the large number of royal promulgations and public demand. An overview of the printing industry of royal acts is provided in chapter three and the printers of these official documents are covered in chapter four. The study of royal acts also indicates which edicts were published frequently. The last two chapters examine the content of royal decrees and discuss the most reprinted acts. Chapter five explores the period before 1561 and the final chapter discusses the last forty years of the century. An appendix of all royal acts printed before 1601, which is the basis of my research for this study, is included. It is the first comprehensive catalogue of its kind and contains nearly six thousand entries of surviving royal acts printed before 1601.



## TABLE OF CONTENTS

---

### **Volume 1 - Thesis**

DECLARATIONS.....	iii
ABSTRACT.....	v
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	ix
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.....	xiii
INTRODUCTION.....	1
Chapter	
1. THE KING AND THE MAKING OF LAW.....	17
2. ROYAL ACTS.....	47
3. THE PRINTING OF ROYAL ACTS.....	85
4. THE PRINTERS OF ROYAL ACTS.....	115
5. ROYAL ACTS PRINTED BEFORE 1561.....	145
6. THE LAST FORTY YEARS.....	175
CONCLUSION.....	219
Bibliography	
1. PRIMARY SOURCES.....	223
2. SECONDARY WORKS.....	229

### **Volume 2 - Appendix**



## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

---

This endeavor would not have been possible without the love and support of many people. My parents are on the top of this list as they have supported me and my endeavors my whole life, financially, spiritually, and lovingly. In the case of my thesis, their patience was extremely appreciated. My brother was also a strong supporter of continuing my education in Scotland. Together with my parents, my family was and always will be important, beloved people in my life.

I'd also like to thank my supervisor, Professor Andrew Pettegree. There is no doubt that I feel that I learned from one of the best scholars in history during my stay in St Andrews. I especially would like to thank him for helping me pick my topic, sending me out to research, and then correcting my work so that I can contribute to academia at a professional level. I would also like to thank his wife, Jane, whose kindness I will always cherish for the rest of my life.

My thesis owes its very existence to Professor Pettegree's French Vernacular Book Project of St Andrews. Under this umbrella, I owe thanks to many people. First among them is Dr Alexander Wilkinson, who created my database and helped me with my catalogue. He was always there to fix my computer problems, which made him invaluable. However, I especially appreciated the generosity and friendship that were showered upon me by him and his wife, Dr Melissa Pollack, during my stay in St Andrews. Even in Dublin, they continue to show their affection and support for which I am grateful.

I also would like to thank Dr Malcolm Walsby, my internal examiner, and current manager of the project. He was extremely helpful by answering my questions on anything French both past and present. I also would like to thank Philip John, who sheltered me several times in Paris. He too was my "go to" guy during a computer crisis. I also need to acknowledge Dr Matthew Hall and his wife, Dr Alexandra Kess. Dr. Hall and I began the Book Project together and we kept each other company when no one else was around. Dr Kess translated one of Heinrich Bullinger's letters for me, which I used in chapter two.

Furthermore, I am extremely grateful for the friendships created during my time in St Andrews among fellow students and the staff. My affections for them would require another volume (so I hope they know who they are). My colleagues, such as my officemates, other members of the Reformation Studies Institute, and my favorite people in the medieval department kept me company during my years in Scotland. There are also others beyond St John's House including Dr Janet Deatheridge, whose generosity and good cooking fed me and others extremely well on too many occasions. The benevolence and consideration that people have shown are more than I can enumerate. I also feel extremely fortunate to have the support of the secretaries of both the medieval and modern history departments with special thanks for the company of Berta Wales, Audrey Wishart and Anne Chalmers. I would also like to thank Anne Bolland at Dean's Court for my accommodations in St Andrews.

I also would like to thank the Free Church of Scotland for creating a church in St Andrews. In this, I need to thank the congregation at the church of Dundee who supported this decision. The church also allowed me to make strong friendships outside the history department in St Andrews. I will always treasure their friendships.

Outside St Andrews, a few more people need to be acknowledged. Chapter two of my work owes a great deal to Dr Hugh Daussy, whose brief conversations and following emails led me to study diplomatics. I also would like to thank Dr Robert Strimple, Dr Scott Clark, and Dr Michael Horton, all of whom have encouraged me to continue my education during my studies at Westminster Seminary. I also need to thank Dr Joshua Rosenthal for suggesting that I study under Professor Pettegree.

People who helped me considerably with my thesis were my readers and editors. I would like to thank Dr Christine Linton, Dr Elaine Fulton, and Connie Lee for correcting my rough drafts. Their patience and meticulous feedback were extremely helpful. I especially would like to thank Dr Michael Springer for not only doing the same but also being there for me as a friend. He is the first friend I made in St Andrews and he continues to be the best.

Finally, on that note, I also need to thank my friends, church, and extended family members in Los Angeles. I have no shame in stating that much of my well being depends on their kindness and love. Their constant phone calls, posts, or emails to St Andrews were always welcomed. All my loved ones kept me afloat.

Lauren Jee-Su Kim  
February 2008, Los Angeles  
S.D.G.



## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

---

Bibliothèque Nationale de France	BnF
Bibliothèque Municipale	BM



## INTRODUCTION

---

This thesis is the first study of the printing of royal acts in early modern France—a scholarly endeavour that, until now, had not been attempted in France or for any part of Europe. The kingdom of France is a logical place to start. Its rich and complex juridical culture was established during the reign of St Louis (1226-1270). Since then, the kings of France promulgated their acts to regulate, rule and change society. By the sixteenth century, the French judicial system had had centuries to cultivate its practices, possessing one of the largest legal communities and longest judicial traditions in all of Europe.

With the advent of the printing press, the publication of royal acts moved beyond the legal world into the realm of the general public; royal acts were popularly printed pamphlets and books, composing at least 12 per cent of the French vernacular market in the book trade before 1601. Booksellers were not only selling to magistrates and lawyers but also to merchants and tradesmen, who purchased royal acts relevant to their trade. During the second half of the sixteenth century, the onslaught of religious dissent and controversy manifested itself as civil wars. The religious wars expanded public interest in royal acts in France and the rest of Europe. Thus, the printing industry provided an opportunity for anyone with a disposable income to possess a royal act for his own interest.

The arrival of the printing press has been hailed by some scholars as revolutionary. Led by Elizabeth Eisenstein, some historians have argued that the new invention provided a better, quicker way of dispersing ideas to the public in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The possible exception is conceded in a few words followed by a footnote in a re-edition of Eisenstein's seminal work, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change*. She states, "...hand-copying could be quite efficient for purpose of duplicating a royal edict or a papal bull."<sup>1</sup> In other words, printing was *probably* not as revolutionary in copying royal documents. According to her footnote,

---

<sup>1</sup> Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early Modern Europe, Volumes I and II* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 46.

medieval French historian, Joseph Strayer, corrected her understanding in a conversation regarding edicts and ordinances: the medieval royal communication system was efficient.<sup>2</sup> Chapter one of this thesis will confirm that not only was Strayer right but the system's effectiveness in the sixteenth century did not allow any room for change by the printing press; general royal conduct did not change. Instead, the printing press was integrated into the dissemination process. Printers also provided a piece of merchandise for the public to purchase, a product that was originally proclaimed *à voix haute* by town criers in their local communities.

This thesis contributes to current scholarship that attempts to provide a more sober outlook on the printing press. It demonstrates the gradual incorporation of printing into early modern royal business and practice. In this endeavour, my work owes its very existence to the French Vernacular Book Project of St Andrews directed by Andrew Pettegree. The Book Project aims to become the first short title catalogue that has surveyed the world to record books printed in the French vernacular before 1601. This monumental enterprise began in 1997 in St Andrews, Scotland.

When I joined the Book Project in 2001, a huge gap needed to be filled on printed royal acts. This category required special attention, as the title pages of royal acts were unreliable bases for identification. For example, similar titles printed in non-consecutive years did not necessarily correspond to the same work. Instead, they represented two different edicts, albeit usually addressing the same problem. The following are examples of title pages that might be misconstrued as the same royal act, but they are, in actuality, are three different edicts:

Edict du Roy, || CONTENANT INTER- || DITION ET DEFFENCE || de toute presche, assemblee, & || exercice d'autre Religiō, que de la || Catholique, Apostolique & Ro- || maine. || [printer's device] || A PARIS, || Pour Iean Dallier libraire, demourant sur le pont || S. Michel, à l'enseigne de la Rose blanche. || 1568. || Auec priuilege.<sup>3</sup>

EDICT DV ROY || SVR LA REVNION DE || ses subjects à l'Eglise Catholique, || Apostolique & Romaine. || Leu & publié en la Court de Parle- || ment à Paris, le Roy y seant, || le 18. Juillet. 1585. || [Printer's device] || A PARIS, || Par FEDERIC MOREL Impri- || meur Ordinaire du Roy. || M. D. LXXXV. || Auec Priuilege dudict Seigneur.<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>2</sup> Eisenstein's footnote states, 'From conversation with Joseph Strayer, I learned that fourteenth-century French royal edicts were rapidly multiplied and distributed by a kind of 'chain letter' technique. At court, ten scribes were put to work producing ten copies each, some of which were carried by couriers to numerous provincial centers where the same procedure was repeated so that thousands of copies were produced.' See footnote nine in *Ibid*.

<sup>3</sup> *Edict du roy sur la reunion de ses subjects à l'eglise catholique, apostolique et romaine* (Paris: Jean Dallier, 1568). Médiathèque d'Orléans: Rés. E 17967 D (4).

<sup>4</sup> *Edict du roy sur la reunion de ses subjects à l'eglise catholique, apostolique et romaine* (Paris: Frédéric Morel, Paris). BnF: FZ 2031.

EDICT DV || ROY SVR L'VNION || DE SES SVBIECTS || catholicques. || Verifié en  
la Court de Parlement le vingt- || vniesme iour de Iuillet, 1588. || [printer's device] || A  
PARIS, || Par FEDERIC MOREL Impri- || meur ordinaire du Roy. || M. D. LXXXVIII.  
|| Auec Priuilege dudict Seigneur.<sup>5</sup>

The edicts listed above are three different edicts of revocation that banned the Protestant religion from France. The first royal act, the Edict of St Maur, was promulgated by Charles IX in September 1568. The other two acts, the Edicts of Reunion and Union, were decreed in July 1585 in Paris and in July 1588 in Rouen, respectively. Henry III issued them at the Holy Catholic League's directive.<sup>6</sup>

After sifting through thousands of printed royal acts, it appears that the best way to identify them, without reading the contents of every single one, is to correlate similar title pages to the dates of issue. For example, after matching the dates of royal decrees to their title pages, a dozen printed acts are identified as the Edict of St Maur, and the Edicts of Reunion and Union each merited thirty-one printed editions.<sup>7</sup>

Conversely, for a few, rare publications, knowing the contents is important to identify them properly. A few edicts with two dissimilar title pages look like different royal acts but, under closer scrutiny, they are the same edict. For example, I was able to identify the two different title pages as the Edict of Mantes of 1591 because they have the same issue date and their title pages simply emphasized a different part of the contents therein.

The Edict of Mantes revoked the Edicts of Reunion and Union, and referred generally to previous edicts of pacification for the peace and tranquillity of the kingdom.<sup>8</sup> In the sixteenth century, printers often summarized the contents of royal acts on the title pages because the documents did not come with standard titles of their own. Thus, if several royal acts were issued on the same day, I investigated their contents to see if they were different editions of the same promulgation. Figure 0-1 (below) pictures two different editions of the Edict of Mantes, which was issued in July 1591 by Henry IV.

---

<sup>5</sup> *Edict du Roy sur la reunion de ses subjects à l'église catholique, apostolique et romaine* (Paris: Fédéric Morel, Paris). BnF: F 46887 (5).

<sup>6</sup> The Edict of St Maur (1568) was also issued by Guise pressure.

<sup>7</sup> See chapter six for their context, figures 6-22 and 6-23.

<sup>8</sup> Article two states 'Volons et nous plaist que les derniers édicts de pacification soient cy après entretenus, exécutez, gardez et observez inviolablement par tous nos pays.' Athanase Jean L. Jourdan, Decrusy, and François-André Isambert, *Recueil général des anciennes lois françaises: depuis l'an 420 jusqu'à la révolution de 1789.*, 28 vols., vol. 15 (Paris: Belin-Leprieur, 1829), 30.

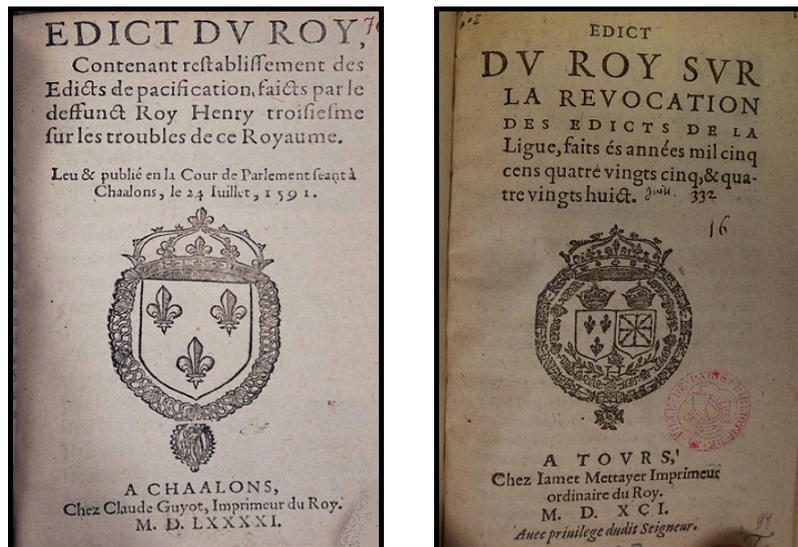


Figure 0-1: The Edict of Mantes of 1591 printed in Châlons (left) and Tours (right).<sup>9</sup>

The most time-consuming problem with royal acts is that some decrees look like copies of the same edition, but under closer examination, they are different editions of the same decree. An example of this is the Edict of Nantes of 1598 printed in 1599 by royal printers, Fédéric Morel, Jamet Mettayer, Pierre L’Huillier, and Mamert Patisson. The pictures below illustrate three editions that appear very similar.

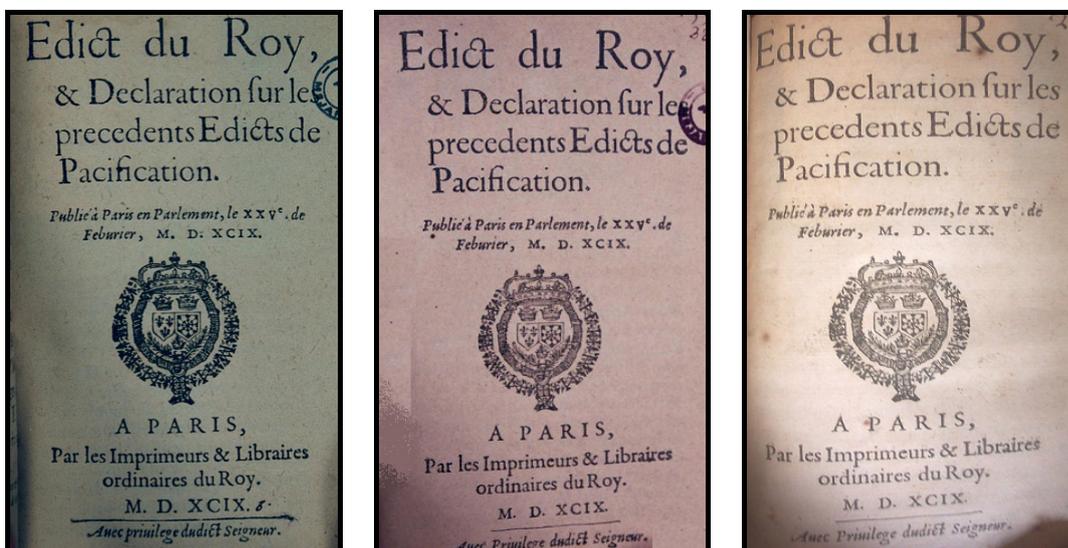


Figure 0-2: Three different editions of the Edict of Nantes of 1598.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>9</sup> *Edict du roy contenant reestablishement des edicts de pacification* (Châlons: Claude Guyot, 1591). Aix, Bibliothèque Méjanès: Rec D 8 (76). *Edict du roy sur la revocation des edicts de la Ligue* (Tours: Jamet Mettayer, 1591). Bibliothèque Historique de la Ville de Paris: Rés. 550337.

<sup>10</sup> *Edict du roy et declaration sur les precedents edicts de pacification* (Paris: Imprimeurs du roi, 1599). Aix, Bibliothèque Méjanès: Rec. D 8 (307) and Rec. D 2 (320). Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine: 34613 17 (16).

In fact, there are at least seven different editions published by the four royal printers previously mentioned but only three editions are shown above. The most obvious difference from the pictured examples is the capitalization of a single letter in the word “privilege,” located in the last line. One is lowercased (figure 0-2a) while the other two are capitalized. The less obvious difference is that two of the three books above have signatures of A-K4 while the third copy has signatures of A-O4 (figure 0-2c). Thus, the less noticeable variance is found not in the title page but inside the pamphlet.<sup>11</sup> In this case, the title pages appear almost exactly the same, but the pamphlets were collated differently.

Therefore, without a side-by-side comparison, distinguishing one edition from another can be difficult. A bibliographer could easily misconstrue different editions as mere copies of the same edition. I have, therefore, studied reprints and copies with special care. My method of differentiating editions of the same royal act relied on several checks. The first and easiest check was to compare the title pages. The standard title page exhibits the title, printer’s device, location of print, the printer’s name and address, and the year of publication. If the title pages of two or more editions are similar, then different places of printing, printers, or years are quickly differentiated and categorized. However, when the bottom halves of two pamphlets are similar as well, consisting of the same places, printers, and years, then the titles and printer’s devices are carefully scrutinized. Other ways of comparing two editions of the same royal act include examining sentence breaks, missing letters from words and differences in capitalization. General checks are quickly made for provincial editions when two copies of the same edict from the same printer are found in a single library. However, if two or more Parisian copies appear, a more careful methodology is used, since Parisian royal printers were prolific and multiple editions were common.

Examining copies in libraries can also bring other incidental benefits. For instance, I have on occasions found pamphlet editions of edicts which though undoubtedly separate editions were also equally clearly customarily sold together. An example of this is the bound *recueil* of three ordinances on money and coinage as seen below. The libraries in Aix-en-Provence and Carpentras catalogued each ordinance

---

<sup>11</sup> Other variances are found in borders, ornate letters, sentence stops within the text and subsidiary information.



de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français, L'École Nationale des Beaux-Arts, and Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire Cujas. Through these book hunts, I was able to make careful firsthand comparisons between royal acts and differentiate editions, especially among Parisian editions. In all, together with the help of other colleagues in the St Andrews Book Project team, I examined around 4000 edicts; around 80 per cent of the total number of editions inspected by the Book Project.

The basis for an inquiry into printed royal acts is the venerable compendium of the *Actes Royaux* of the BnF, published in 1910. Around the turn of the twentieth century, the BnF catalogued all their royal acts into seven volumes, from the first Carolingian king to the establishment of the General Estates in 1789. For the purpose of this thesis, however, we are only interested in the first volume, edited by Albert Isnard, which covers the first kings of France to Henry IV. This tome lists a collection of over five thousand items printed over five hundred years, from the fifteenth to the twentieth century.

My five years of research in libraries around France and elsewhere have demonstrated that the *Actes Royaux* provides an incomplete picture of the total output of French royal acts printed in the sixteenth century. The following chart compares the number of surviving printed edicts of pacification found in the *Actes Royaux* to those in my personalized database, the French Royal Acts Database, within a two-year period—the year the edict was registered and the subsequent year. This database was created to help the Book Project catalogue every royal act printed before 1601. For example, the number of editions found for the Edict of Nantes of 1598 spans the years 1599 and 1600 because it was registered in the Parlement of Paris on 25 February 1599. In this case, the *Actes Royaux* acknowledges at least six different editions printed during the two-year period. In contrast, my database reports seventeen different editions of the same edict. This larger number is indicative of the problem with BnF's catalogue: the *Actes Royaux* is not sufficient to demonstrate a royal act's true impact during the sixteenth century.

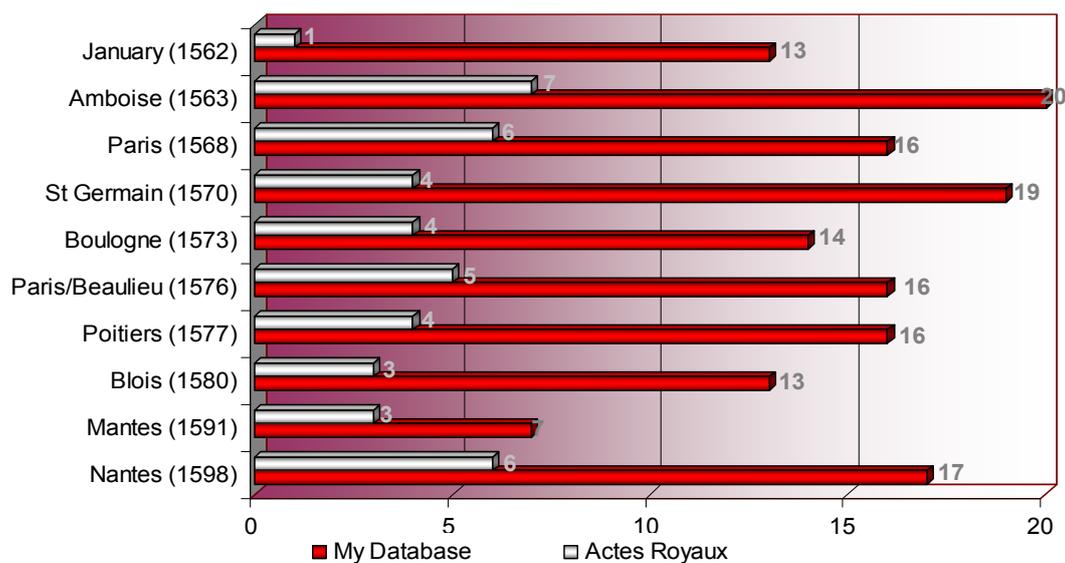


Figure 0-4: The number of surviving editions of the edicts of pacification.

An update on the *Actes Royaux* is overdue since its publication in 1910. The BnF has continued to increase its own collection without updating its main catalogue of royal acts. However, Isnard's work is still helpful because it includes acts printed in different languages, such as Latin. Furthermore, editions in the *Actes Royaux* are organized in chronological order by their issue date. If a contemporary edition did not survive, and a post-sixteenth-century edition was printed, the edict is still listed under its original issue date. For example, the Edict of Nantes was reprinted in 1765 but this edition is also listed under April 1598, its issue date. Through this great catalogue, scholars can assess the number of acts a king issued.

The *Actes Royaux* is also one of the better sources of information on the decrees issued by Charles IX and his successors, simply because a catalogue of every decree promulgated after 1560 has yet to be published. This enterprise has been undertaken by the editors of the *Collection des ordonnances des rois de France*. Their purpose is to list every royal act issued from the royal *chancellerie*. For example, according to the *Collection*, Francis I promulgated an average of over eight hundred acts per year.<sup>14</sup> The *Actes Royaux*, on the other hand, lists a total of 321 royal acts printed under Francis I.<sup>15</sup> Unfortunately, the scholars working on *Collection des ordonnances* have

<sup>14</sup> See figure 3-1.

<sup>15</sup> Albert Isnard, ed., *Catalogue général. Actes royaux*, 7 vols., vol. 1 (Paris: Min. de l'instr. publ. et des beaux-arts, 1910), 104-60.

yet to publish their findings for the entire sixteenth century. They have so far only published the royal acts of the years 1515-1552 and the reign of Francis II (1559-1560).

In contrast to the two catalogues of the *Actes Royaux* and the *Collection des ordonnances*, the purpose of my database is to list every printed royal act known to the Book Project. The database of royal acts will be presented as a catalogue at the end of this thesis. Because my emphasis is on royal acts published before 1601, each entry will be ordered by an edict's year of publication rather than by the original issue date. For example, if a royal act was given by the king in 1570 but was printed in 1574, it is listed under 1574.

My catalogue also differs from the earlier French attempts to document printed royal edicts because it has captured far more editions printed outside Paris than is the case with the *Actes Royaux*. For example, the *Actes Royaux* contains four editions of the Edict of St Germain of 1570 printed within two years of its registration in Paris. Two editions were published by Jean Dallier of Paris and two others were printed in Angoulême and Troyes. My database, in contrast, lists at least nineteen different editions of the same edict. Six were printed in Paris by Dallier, two in Troyes and the rest once each in Angoulême, Bordeaux, Caen, Clermont, Dijon, Lyon, Poitiers, Rennes, Rouen, and Toulouse. I have done intensive work in French provincial libraries and thus have transformed our knowledge of French royal acts. After comparing my information on the Edict of St Germain with the *Actes Royaux*'s list, twice as many editions were found printed outside Paris than in Paris. This contrasts significantly with the one-to-one ratio suggested by the *Actes Royaux*.

The example of the Edict of St Germain demonstrates at least two points. The first is that no one provincial town could compete with the number of editions printed in Paris. On the other hand, the edict also shows that the rest of the kingdom actively participated in publicizing the will of the king. If scholars rely solely on Isnard's volumes for their understanding of printed acts, they will come to false conclusions simply because the catalogue usually contains more Parisian editions than provincial ones. For example, if one wanted to inquire about the declaration of the war against Spain promulgated on 17 January 1595, one would see four Parisian editions and one Rouen copy in the *Actes Royaux* when in fact, according to my database, it was printed outside Paris in at least eight different towns including Rouen.<sup>16</sup> Again, such fresh

---

<sup>16</sup> Isnard, ed., *Actes royaux*, 696-97.

information sheds new light on the history and popularity of a particular decree. The following chart demonstrates the number of editions found in Paris and outside Paris.<sup>17</sup>

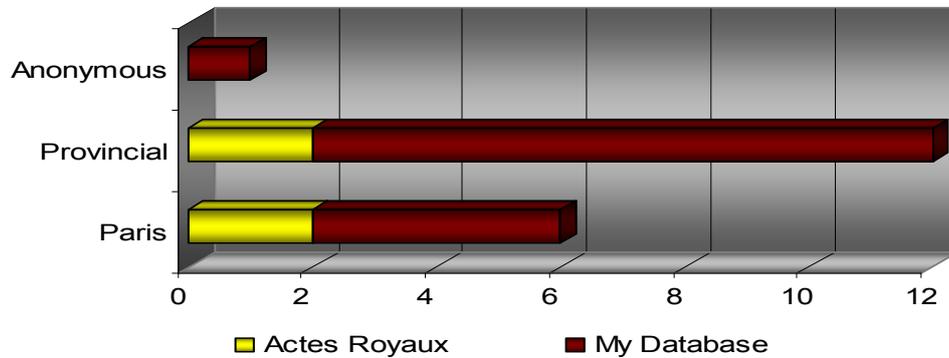


Figure 0-5: Surviving printed editions of the Edict of St Germain of 1570 by location.

Another important source for French royal acts is a bibliography of French pamphlets in American libraries, *French Political Pamphlets, 1547-1648*. In their introduction, compilers Robert O. Lindsay and John Neu state that “*édits, arrêts, déclarations, lettres patentes, or ordonnances*” have “no real difference... among them” and therefore have been placed under the single heading of “France. Sovereigns.”<sup>18</sup> Other library catalogues, including the BnF and the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C., have placed these acts under similar single headings. Although the differences among these acts may not be enough to separate them individually, thereby giving each type their own heading, there are some distinctions. Each type has particular patterns, which become more apparent under closer examination. This thesis will examine the nuances evident in different types of royal acts as they were printed in early modern France. On this note, I have preferred to define a royal act as any act with legislative ramifications, issued by the king and his *conseil privé*. I have considered such documents as official business of the crown. Here I am in accord with Roger Doucet as he states in *Les institutions de France au XVIe siècle*:

C’était en définitive la volonté du roi qui se réalisait sous toutes les formes que pouvait prendre l’activité législative: ordonnances, édits, déclarations, décisions sous forme de simples lettres patentes, arrêts du Conseil, rendus au nom du roi.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>17</sup> To see a list of towns, see chapter six, figure 6-12.

<sup>18</sup> Robert O. Lindsay and John Neu, eds., *French Political Pamphlets, 1547-1648; a Catalog of Major Collections in American Libraries* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), xi.

<sup>19</sup> Roger Doucet, ed., *Les institutions de la France au XVIe siècle*, 2 vols., vol. 1 (Paris: A. et J. Picard, 1948) 93. Translation: It was ultimately the will of the king who carried out in all the forms that could

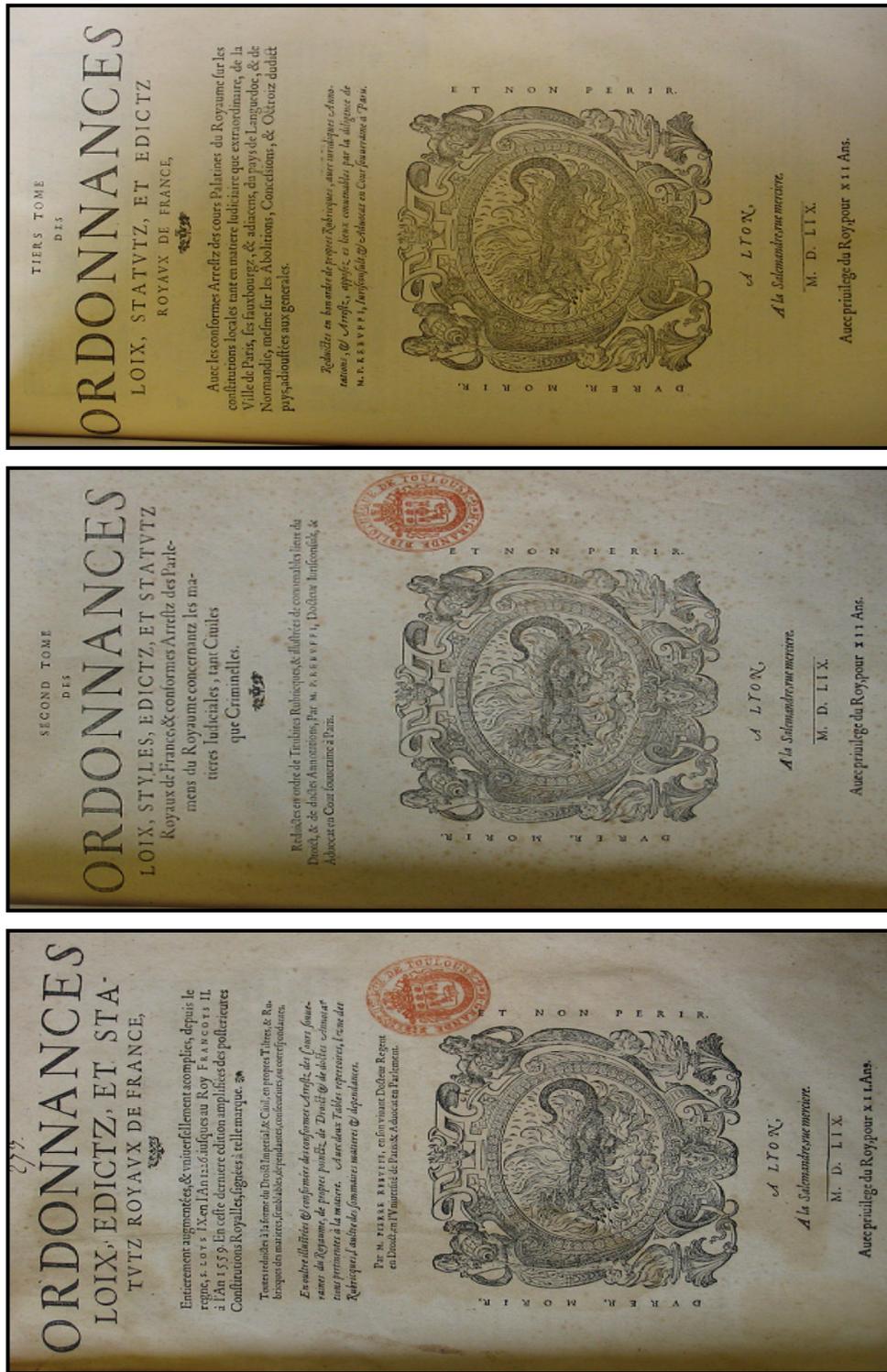


Figure 0-6: Pierre Rebuffi's short title catalogue of royal acts in three volumes.<sup>20</sup>

take legislative activity: ordinances, edicts, declarations, decisions in the form of simple letters patent, settlements of the council, in the name the king.

<sup>20</sup> Pierre Rebuffi, *Ordonnances, loix, edictz, et statutz royaux de France* (Lyon: Claude Senneton, 1559), sigs. \*1r, Alr bis, and AA1r. Toulouse BM: Fa A 2185 (1-3).

I have also decided to use the works of Pierre Rebuffi and Antoine Fontaine, doctors in law and advocates in the Parlement of Paris, as contemporaneous guides from the sixteenth century.

Rebuffi compiled and edited royal acts for the printers to sell as large volumes of legal references during the sixteenth century. Royal acts, according to Rebuffi, were works issued by the king.<sup>21</sup> These works are known as *édits*, *ordonnances*, and *lettres patentes*. Royal *arrêts* are also in his volumes.<sup>22</sup> Thus, in this thesis, edicts, ordinances, *lettres patentes* and *arrêts* are considered legislative royal acts. One edition of Rebuffi's short title catalogue printed in 1559 is shown in figure 0-6.

In addition, I have broadened the scope of royal acts by including royal letters. The line between the king's command and a letter of instruction was thin and often blurred; they both proclaimed the will of the king. Deciding whether a letter constituted official business is difficult because some of these supposed private letters resembled an official act. For example, Henry IV wrote to the count of Brissac on 7 October 1599. In his letter, he asked the count to advertise the delay in the meeting of the General Estates in Brittany.<sup>23</sup> Such considerations warrant treating royal letters as acts of the king despite their informal, personal nature.

Regarding published royal dialogues, better known as harangues, *notable propos*, and remonstrances, I differ from the works of Isnard, Lindsay, and Neu. I would argue that these publications had no real legal significance. They may have had some political influence but no legislative impact. Any effects on the legal system would have required these public dialogues to be properly composed as a royal act: an edict, ordinance, letters patent, etc. For example, the Ordinances of Orléans of 1561 were created because of complaints about royal policies.<sup>24</sup> The ordinances were included in my database but complaints and remonstrances were excluded.

However, there are always exceptions to the rule. Some printed political dialogues contain dates and official signatures, justifying their inclusion here. For example, *arrêts* made by the *conseil* contain the date of judgment and signature of a *greffier*. Similarly, other official declarations, such as the declaration of peace with

---

<sup>21</sup> See the title pages of Pierre Rebuffi in figure 0-6.

<sup>22</sup> Pierre Rebuffi, *Ordonnances, lois, statutz, et edictz royaulx* (Lyon: Macé Bonhomme, 1547). Médiathèque d'Orléans: Rés. B 1476.

<sup>23</sup> *Mon cousin, ayant advisé bien de mon service* (s.l.: s.n., ca. 1599). Rennes BM: Liasse 9. See figure 2.12.

<sup>24</sup> *Ordonnances du roy...faites en son conseil sur les plainctes, doleances et remonstrances* (Paris: Jean Dallier, Maturin Breuille, and Vincent Sertenas, 1561). Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal: 8o J 2826.

Spain, were integrated into my database as an official proclamation of the king. It is difficult to close a category without finding a reason to open it up again. Even so, categories are useful for our purpose. I believe it is helpful to find some positive patterns and discernable elements that differentiate one royal act from another rather than gathering everything under a single label as “France. Sovereigns.” To this end, the style and structure of the acts will be discussed in chapter two.

Acts issued by other dignitaries, such as Catherine de Medici, the faux ruler, Charles X, and the Catholic League’s leader, Charles de Lorraine, duke of Mayenne, have been excluded. They may have had some legitimacy as rulers but they were not official kings. Acts issued by courts and administrative offices, including the Parlement of Paris and the *département des eaux et forêts*, were rejected because of their semi-independent status from the king.<sup>25</sup> *Arrêts* from the *conseil privé* were included because they were the privy council and as such personal advisors of the king; they were not independent from him although they were able to judge cases on his behalf. While French kings were issuing royal acts of their own, other subordinate authorities were concurrently issuing local regulations and *ordonnances*. These documents were locally created and applied, and therefore are not royal acts. Promulgations made by rulers of other countries and religious leaders have also been excluded, and acts issued by a member of the royal family before he became a French king were excluded as well. In this case, acts given by Henry de Bourbon, as king of Navarre, are not in this work but his royal acts as the king of France are included. Therefore, royal acts examined in this thesis were those of the following kings: Louis XI, Charles VIII, Louis XII, Francis I, Henry II, Francis II, Charles IX, Henry III, and the first Bourbon sovereign, Henry IV.

The scholarly works of Penny Roberts and Mark Greengrass demonstrate that the enforcements of the king’s will is a large issue that requires a separate study, and it is outside the scope of this thesis. Instead, the thesis will focus on the publication of royal acts, and answer such questions as: who were the printers, what did they print, and how were the presses used by the crown? The consequences including public reaction and legal enforcement must be the subject of separate research.

---

<sup>25</sup> Every administrative and judicial branch received their authority from the king.

This thesis contains the conclusions from my study of over 5,800 surviving royal acts from a period of almost 120 years. The first two chapters concern royal business. The first chapter will examine the practice of transmitting royal acts from the crown to the public through the printing press. This technological advance differentiated the medieval and early modern systems of communication as presses were employed to circulate official documents. The second chapter will discuss the various types of royal acts: *ordonnances*, *édits*, *lettres patentes*, *déclarations*, and others. The nature and structure will be established for every type of decree. At the end of the chapter, royal acts will be compared to other legislative works printed in the vernacular before 1601.

The number of printed editions, whether sold individually or together, as in- quartos or in-octavos, prove the great public demand to possess royal proclamations. The market for printed royal acts will be considered in chapter three. This chapter will provide a general overview by comparing the editions of royal acts to the number of decrees promulgated by the crown and books printed by vernacular book trade. Unknown to most historians, by the end of the sixteenth century, the number of royal acts printed in the French provinces exceed the number of Parisian editions. The expanding number of provincial presses will be examined as part of chapter three's overview of the printing industry.

Chapter four will discuss important printers who published royal acts before 1601. It will begin with the small number of fifteenth century printers and conclude with the spread of royal printers in the provinces by the end of the sixteenth century. In particular, it will focus on a handful of men who printed more than two hundred acts during the period.

The last two chapters will examine the subjects of printed royal acts and discuss published decrees and topics that were especially widely disseminated. Chapter five will consider royal acts published before the reign of Charles IX, that is, before December 1560, and chapter six will deal with the last forty years of the sixteenth century. The purpose of these final chapters is to understand what was circulated in the public sphere in early modern France.

These last sections focus more on acts that were frequently reprinted rather than those that have been regarded as exceptionally significant historically. Other scholars have naturally concentrated their attention on those royal decrees which are deemed to have had most contemporary impact. For example, the Treaty of Nemours of 1585 is

often recognized as an important pact made between the crown and the Holy Catholic League in France. The treaty was important but could not be described as “popular,” especially in comparison to the Edict of Reunion, which confirmed the Treaty of Nemours through a new law. The Edict of Reunion was printed over thirty times in a dozen towns throughout France. It was also published in three towns in the Low Countries. In contrast, only seven editions of the Treaty of Nemours were printed, of which five were printed anonymously.<sup>26</sup>

The Book Project as a whole will publish its research for the first time in 2007. The Project is, of course, constantly being updated as more books are entered from newly explored libraries. As the database continues to grow, some of the detailed statistics in this thesis are likely to change. However, it is expected that the main patterns and conclusions set out in my thesis will remain valid; only a few scattered libraries with a handful of early modern books have yet to be explored.

A further point should be made about dates expressed in this thesis and catalogue. Some printed royal acts omitted the year of publication. Because most acts were printed in the first years after their registrations in Parlement, I have estimated that undated editions were printed as the same years they were issued, registered, or cried, whichever was latest of these processes to be recorded in the printed edition.<sup>27</sup>

The French calendar was changed twice during the sixteenth century. The first modification, made in 1565, was to start the New Year on 1 January instead of at Easter and the second change, in 1582, was to adopt the Gregorian calendar. The adoption of the Gregorian calendar has not affected the dates in this thesis.<sup>28</sup> I have not subtracted ten days from the dates in documents printed before 1582. The Edict of January is still dated 17 January. However, I did change the years to comply with today’s calendar. For example, under the old style, the Edict of January was issued on 17 January 1561, as records from that period indicate. In this thesis, the year has been changed to 1562. In the footnotes and bibliography, I have kept both styles and indicated the change with a slash. Still using the Edict of January as an example, some Estienne editions state on their title pages that they were printed in 1561. In keeping with the above, the year of print will be expressed as “1561/2.”

---

<sup>26</sup> Two of the seven editions were printed in Lyon and Brussels.

<sup>27</sup> See chapter two, figure 2-5.

<sup>28</sup> In 1582, Pope Gregory XIII issued a bull that reformed the Julian calendar by suppressing ten days. The purpose was to have the seasons correspond correctly with vernal and autumnal equinoxes and committed a year to have 365.25 days.

The St Andrews Book Project is the first attempt at a comprehensive survey of all books printed in the French vernacular before 1601. Similarly, this thesis is the first attempt to provide a comprehensive survey and analysis of all the royal acts published in one of the major kingdoms of sixteenth-century Europe. France was one of Europe's three main zones of print, the others being Italy and the German Empire. It was the only one of the three to be a single integrated kingdom. The sheer quantity of print dedicated to enacting and enforcing the royal will is therefore quite unique to France. This thesis will make a distinctive and novel contribution by exploring the diverse and intricate contribution that could be made by the printing press to the process of government in the sixteenth century.

## CHAPTER ONE

### THE KING AND THE MAKING OF LAW

---

The institution of the French monarchy centred on the medieval belief that the king was a divinely appointed judge. His chief roles were to arbitrate disputes among his subjects and to provide laws that dispensed justice to his people. In legislative matters, the crown had divine authority to create laws and declarations that affected the whole nation, or any part thereof; no other sector of government had the right to issue an ordinance outside its jurisdiction or alter the king's orders. To assist the king in his judiciary functions, various governing bodies were built around the cornerstone of the crown. By the sixteenth century, the king and his councils had plenary authority over the entire realm. Below them, the Parlement of Paris had primacy over the sovereign courts, whose judgments were final in their assigned districts unless the king interposed. Inferior to the sovereign courts, the *bailliages* and *sénéchausées* were royal tribunals that governed larger towns, and their members were either elected or appointed by the king. In smaller towns, the *prévôté*, *châtellenie* or *vicomté* acted as local courts of first instances, where civil cases were initially tried. Their relationships will be explained in more detail later in this chapter.

A royal act is any command or statement given by the king where the king's will was written down as a document. This ranged from a law intended to apply throughout the kingdom to a simple commission to an individual. If the crown issued a new law, it was registered in a sovereign court. Laws with general application were sent first to the Parlement of Paris, which entered the new laws in its registers. Then, the Parlement of Paris communicated the new laws to other sovereign branches throughout France and to the lower courts under its regional jurisdiction, which, for Paris, was the Île-de-France. Similarly, provincial sovereign courts, having received the edict from Paris, followed the same course. Once entered in their registers, they distributed the documents to other ruling bodies and lower courts in their district. Each body had to register the act, and every town was responsible for publicizing it by verbal proclamation and by posting it in their most frequented locations. The diagram below (figure 1-1) illustrates the workings of the French judicial system during the sixteenth century. Not all royal acts were registered in this way. For example, simple commands

such as *mandements* were issued immediately without any legal registration.<sup>1</sup> These were straightforward orders for a particular individual or group; for example, the king may have commanded a governor to publish a declaration or to receive a guest on his behalf.

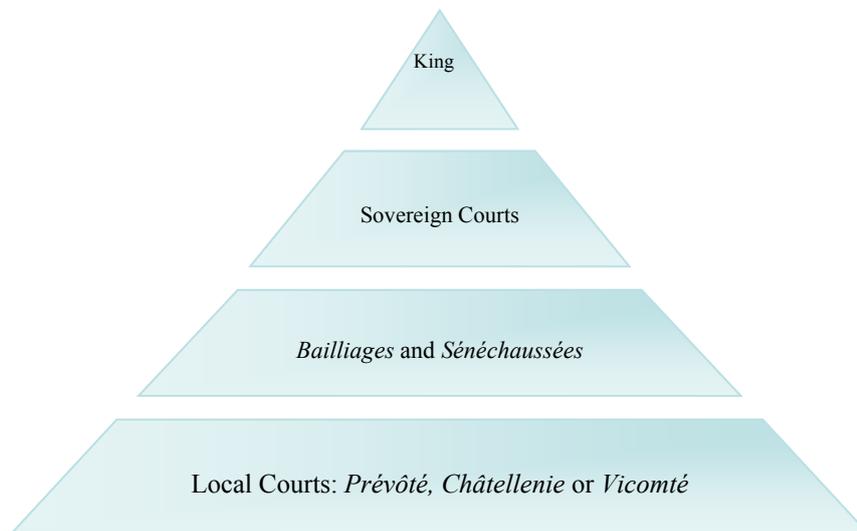


Figure 1-1: The French judicial system.

By the sixteenth century, government institutions contracted printers to publish legal documents to circulate among other branches of the government or for public consumption. The use of the moveable type in royal business marks a key difference between the medieval and early modern royal process of communication. Printing allowed numerous copies of decrees to be sent out more quickly over a greater area. In order to understand how the branches of government communicated with each other and how they incorporated printing into government business, the remainder of this chapter will examine the normative course of action from the point at which the king conceived a new law to the final stage at which it was made known to the public.

In theory, any Frenchman had the right to petition the king, who could respond to the petitioner with a royal act. By the sixteenth century, however, most royal acts emerged from the deliberations of the king's councils or governing bodies. When they felt that a legal action was required, their representations were passed to the *maître des*

---

<sup>1</sup> *Mandement du roy...à tous gentilshommes et autres subjects au ban et arrireban* (Le Mans: Jérôme Olivier, 1568), sig. A4r. BnF: Rés. F 175 (4).

*requêtes*, who “interceded” between them and the king.<sup>2</sup> The *maître des requêtes* was the official who presented petitions before the king’s council, which discussed important matters of the state. Successful requests were sent to the *chancellerie*, where royal secretaries and notaries created a *minute*, or a draft of the royal act. During the medieval period, a calligrapher copied the *minute*. This copy was inspected by another official in the *chancellerie* who examined its structure and content.<sup>3</sup> Then it had to be approved and signed off by a secretary of the king before it was sealed by the *chancelier* and delivered to its beneficiary.

The king, his *conseils*, and the *chancellerie* played the largest role in the creation of a royal decree. Some acts were initiated by the king while others were discussed and negotiated by his *conseils* or stipulated by the *chancelier* himself. Those who had participated in the creation of an act were often stated at the end of the decree. *Par le roi en son conseil* implied that the council effectively wrote it on the king’s behalf. If the king was present at its completion, he would have signed it and his name would have been explicitly printed in copies. *Mandements*, in contrast, were usually written without counsel and either had the king’s signature or, as *par le roi*, where the king’s name was implied. For example, a *mandement* of Henry III convoked every military company to meet at Montereau-Fault-Yonne to fight against Henry of Navarre and his Protestant army. This royal act closed with his signature along with his secretary’s name: “Signé, HENRY. Et plus bas, PINART.”<sup>4</sup>

In the sixteenth century, the king’s *conseil* was constituted in different ways but its purpose was the same: to advise the king in all matters of the kingdom and act as the king’s personal, mobile court. The *conseil* followed wherever the king went and the custom was that the court was peripatetic—they travelled around France from town to town.

A new piece of legislation may have been initiated in the king’s private, secret *conseil* or his official *conseil*. The first *conseil* had several names during the sixteenth century: *conseil des affaires*, *secret*, *étroit*, or *du matin*. It was an unofficial *conseil*. What is known about this group comes from the reign of Francis I, Henry II, and from the activities of Henry II’s widow, Catherine de Medici. The *conseil secret* met early

---

<sup>2</sup> Luciana Duranti, *Diplomatics: New Uses for an Old Science* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 1998), 110.

<sup>3</sup> Henri Jean Martin, *The History and Power of Writing*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 140.

<sup>4</sup> *Mandement du roy pour la convocation de toutes ses compagnies de gens de guerre à Montereau Faut-Yonne* (Lyon: Jean Pillehotte), sig. A4r. Lyon BM: Rés. 316316.

in the mornings and discussed policies of the state that were “most urgent, secret and important.”<sup>5</sup> Francis I’s closest advisors included the cardinal of Lorraine and Anne de Montmorency before the latter’s political downfall during the 1540s. Montmorency was replaced by “Cardinals Tournon, du Bellay and Mâcon as well as the bishop of Soissons...[the king had] long consultations with *Chancelier* Poyet and Cardinal Tournon, who, together with Madame d’Etampes, were continually in his company.”<sup>6</sup> During the more unstable times after her husband’s death, the queen mother, as France’s regent, trusted the L’Aubespine brothers for advice on state affairs as she governed the country on behalf of her underage son, Charles IX.<sup>7</sup>

The official *conseil* followed after the morning *conseil de secret* and kept an official registry where royal acts were entered. At the end of the fifteenth century, the official *conseil* was called *conseil étroit*. However, by the end of the sixteenth century, it was also called *conseil privé, du roi*, and, finally, *d’État* under Henry III. This was the *conseil* mentioned at the end of a royal act when it stated *par le roi en son conseil*, meaning his privy council. It consisted of the most powerful members of French society, mixing the personnel from the earlier *conseil secret* along with other dignitaries and clergy. The members consisted of around fifteen to twenty people including the king and secretaries of state.<sup>8</sup> A broad range of people participated in royal business. Membership was subject to change, as R. J. Knecht notes that members comprised of “the princes of the blood, the peers of the realm and the great officers of state, but in practice admission to it was by royal invitation.”<sup>9</sup> Therefore, there was no official membership list since the *conseil* fluctuated in numbers and in personnel. An edict from the reign of Henry II listed as present in the *conseil*, the duke of Vendôme, the cardinal of Guise, the duke of Nevers, Constable Anne de Montmorency, *Chancelier* Francis Olivier, Jacques Dalbon, *maréchal de France*, the bishop of Soisson, President Jean Bertrand, and Jean de la Chesnaye, the general of finances.<sup>10</sup> An edict of Charles IX included the queen mother, the duke of Alençon, king of Navarre, the

---

<sup>5</sup> N. M. Sutherland, *The French Secretaries of State in the Age of Catherine de Medici* (London: University of London Athlone Press, 1962), 39.

<sup>6</sup> R. J. Knecht, *Francis I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 299.

<sup>7</sup> Claude de L’Aubespine was a secretary of state and his brother, Sébastien, was the bishop of Limoges. Sutherland, *The French Secretaries of State in the Age of Catherine de Medici*, 147.

<sup>8</sup> David Potter, *A History of France, 1460-1560: The Emergence of a Nation State* (New York, NY: St Martin’s Press, 1995), 93.

<sup>9</sup> R. J. Knecht, *French Renaissance Monarchy: Francis I and Henry II*, 2nd ed. (London: Longman, 1996), 14.

<sup>10</sup> *Edict du roy sur le faict de l’imposition foraine, resue, ou domaine foraine et hault passage* (Paris: Vincent Sertenas and Jacques Kerver, 1550), sigs. G2v-G3r. Toulouse BM: Rés. DXVI 431.

cardinals of Bourbon and Guise, the duke of Guise, the lord of Lanssac, and the bishops of Limoges, Rostain, and St Supplice.<sup>11</sup>

The king's attendance was not essential for this *conseil* to function with royal authority. Thus, the king often delegated the responsibilities of examining royal ordinances to members of his privy council or his secretary and then approved them for promulgation.<sup>12</sup> For example, members of the royal council and the Huguenot leadership debated for two months over the contents of the Edict of Beaulieu before its publication in May 1576.<sup>13</sup> After these deliberations, Henry III gave his endorsement and it was printed under his authority.<sup>14</sup> A similar situation occurred with regard to the Concordat of Bologna. Francis I left his legal delegates in Bologna to labour over the details of the concordat with the cardinals who represented Pope Leo X, in December 1515.<sup>15</sup> The pope approved it on 18 August 1516, eight months later.<sup>16</sup> Francis I presented the work to the Parlement of Paris on 5 February 1517.<sup>17</sup>

Apart from the king, the largest role in the creation of legislation was played by the *chancelier*.<sup>18</sup> During the king's absence, the *chancelier* presided over his royal *conseils* and over Parlement. He also presented edicts in the *Palais de Justice* where *Parlementaires* met. He also supervised their elections. Theoretically, part of his duties was to ensure that new legislation did not conflict with existing laws but in practice it was hard for him to challenge the will of the sovereign.<sup>19</sup> In the sixteenth century, it was more likely the Parlement of Paris that objected to royal legislation on these grounds. The Parlement usually sought to signal its reservation by postponing registration, much to the king's annoyance. But the Parlement, too, usually submitted in the end.

The *chancelier*'s primary duty was to oversee the *chancellerie*, which oversaw the affairs of the kingdom. As part of its duties, the *chancellerie* wrote, rechecked, and

---

<sup>11</sup> *Edict du roy sur la creation d'un estat et office de conseiller* (Paris: Frédéric Morel, 1573), sig. B2r. BnF: F 46845 (7).

<sup>12</sup> Gustave Brunet et al., eds., *Mémoires-journaux de Pierre de L'Estoile: édition pour la première fois complète et entièrement conforme aux manuscrits originaux*, 11 vols., vol. 1 (Paris: Librairie des bibliophiles, 1875), 143.

<sup>13</sup> Nancy L. Roelker, ed., *The Paris of Henry of Navarre, as seen by Pierre de L'Estoile; Selections from His Mémoires-Journaux* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1958), 48-50. Sutherland, *The French Secretaries of State in the Age of Catherine de Medici*, 186.

<sup>14</sup> Sutherland, *The French Secretaries of State in the Age of Catherine de Medici*, 186.

<sup>15</sup> Knecht, *Francis I*, 49-50.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 55.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>18</sup> Frederic J. Baumgartner, *Henry II, King of France 1547-1559* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1988), 52-53.

<sup>19</sup> Martin, *The History and Power of Writing*, 140-42.

sealed royal acts before delivering them to their recipients. During the reign of Francis I, the king's scribes numbered 119 notaries and secretaries who copied the king's personal letters. In theory, the 120<sup>th</sup> copy was written by the king himself.<sup>20</sup>

The structure of a royal act in the sixteenth century was prescribed during the medieval era and will be examined in chapter two. First checks were made between the draft and the calligrapher's copy. Then the draft was signed by king's secretaries, whose signatures made any document an "original."<sup>21</sup> Copies were made from the original and checked by notaries, noted as *collation*.

The king's secretary, arguably, had the greatest role in creating a royal act. Every act required his signature. Every official decree bore the secretary's name. Indeed, not even the king's own signature was necessary to make it official; his authority was assumed by the words *par le roi* and in the seal. However, the name of the secretary who wrote or supervised the royal act on the king's behalf always had to be present. It was his responsibility that the document followed established procedures and his signature authenticated the process.<sup>22</sup> Again, the title for this office differed throughout the century. From the late medieval era, secretaries were known as the *secrétaires des finances*, or unofficially called *secrétaires des commandments*. Their positions originated in the *chancellerie* as *clercs du secret*, who were in charge of confidential documents, but over time they became officers of the royal household.<sup>23</sup> By the end of the fifteenth century, their status was enhanced as they established themselves as versatile, reliable administrators of the king. From 1558 to 1589, their title changed to the *secrétaires d'État*.<sup>24</sup> The responsibilities of this position were manifold since the crown employed them for all kinds of roles, from acting as diplomats to organizing social events and as royal wordsmiths.<sup>25</sup> Their presence was required during meetings of the *conseil*, and they followed the king and his royal entourage throughout France.<sup>26</sup> Their powers and prestige oscillated with each king. During the reign of Charles IX, the secretaries enjoyed a very privileged position of

---

<sup>20</sup> Jean Jacquart, *François Ier* (Paris: Fayard, 1981), 281.

<sup>21</sup> Duranti, *Diplomatics*, 49. from Georges Tessier, *La diplomatie* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1952), 17.

<sup>22</sup> Duranti, *Diplomatics*, 87-88.

<sup>23</sup> Sutherland, *The French Secretaries of State in the Age of Catherine de Medici*, 7-17.

<sup>24</sup> This position existed before and during the *Ancien Régime*, however, other titles were given although the name, *secrétaire* was commonly used.

<sup>25</sup> Secretaries can draft a royal act themselves or sign off on a royal act written by their assistants. Sutherland, *The French Secretaries of State in the Age of Catherine de Medici*, 136.

<sup>26</sup> These secretaries were employed during the reigns of Henry II to Henry III.

trust. In contrast, Henry III limited their responsibilities, drafting his own edicts and demanding that a secretary sign them, often to the offence of these learned men.<sup>27</sup>

In addition to framing ordinances mandated by the king's *conseils*, the *chancellerie* had to seal and dispatch the king's decrees.<sup>28</sup> The practice of sealing acts began during the medieval era. The seal acted as the king's signature before John II (1350-1364), who began signing his decrees. However, by the sixteenth century, both the seal and the name of the state secretary were required to substantiate a royal act's true origin.<sup>29</sup> The *chancelier* was in charge of guarding and employing three of the king's royal seals in the sixteenth century, and his staff assisted him in sealing royal acts. These were produced in the thousands from the fourteenth century onwards. The reign of Philip VI produced a high volume of decrees, as many as 1600 documents per year from 1328 to 1350.<sup>30</sup> According to the *Collection des ordonnances des rois de France*, the *chancellerie*, in the sixteenth century, sealed an average 840 royal acts per year under Francis I and 2181 documents during the first six years of Henry II's reign.

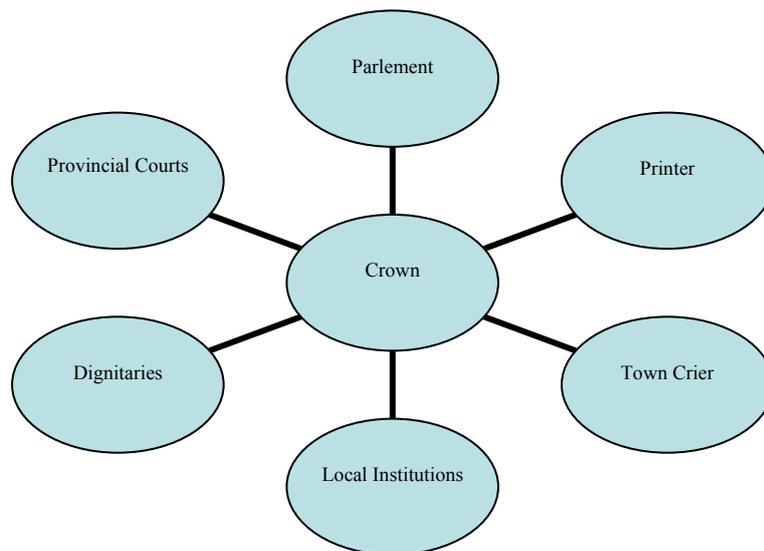


Figure 1-2: Various destinations for a royal act from the crown.

Finally, notaries and clerks sent copies to provincial towns, regional parlements, and important dignitaries.<sup>31</sup> The process continued until the smaller municipal courts

---

<sup>27</sup>Sutherland, *The French Secretaries of State in the Age of Catherine de Medici*, 186-88.

<sup>28</sup> Jacquart, *François Ier*, 281.

<sup>29</sup> Martin, *The History and Power of Writing*, 138.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 141.

<sup>31</sup> See footnote nine in Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early Modern Europe, Volumes I and II* (Cambridge:

processed the king's decree. Judicial courts employed their own notaries to reproduce the text.<sup>32</sup> Sometimes, local officials were sent to Paris to verify their copies against the originals.<sup>33</sup> These checks were crucial to ensure the authenticity of a royal act and to prevent the enactment of false acts.<sup>34</sup>

From the king's *conseil*, a royal act was delivered to various locations depending on the intended recipient. Before the existence of *La Poste*, the French state, under St Louis, followed the church and university by creating its own courier system in the thirteenth century, and by 1350 "[messages reached] Paris from Avignon in five or six days,"<sup>35</sup> although the length of the voyage to an institution or person depended on the location of the destination, weather, and terrain. Trips took longer at times of inclement weather. By 1515, *maîtres de postes* supervised over 226 horsemen who were employed by the monarchy.<sup>36</sup> The crown's *écurie*, or royal stables, also provided messengers and couriers as well as horses for hunting at the king's pleasure.<sup>37</sup> Sometimes royal officials acted as carriers: secretaries, notaries, heralds,<sup>38</sup> king's councillors,<sup>39</sup> and notable figures like the *maréchal de Montmorency* all fulfilled this role.<sup>40</sup> According to RJ Knecht, following Charles Estienne's *La guide des chemins de France*,<sup>41</sup> on a good day, "it would have taken two days to travel from Paris to Amiens, six from Paris to Limoges, seven and a half days from Paris to Bordeaux, six to eight from Paris to Lyons and 10 to 14 days from Paris to Marseilles."<sup>42</sup> But despite the distance, this system seems to have worked very efficiently. French kings and their

---

Cambridge University Press, 1997), 46. Sutherland, *The French Secretaries of State in the Age of Catherine de Medici*, 146.

<sup>32</sup> *Greffier de la prévôt* checked against the original. See *Ordonnance du roy sur la prohibition et defense à tous gentilshommes* (Paris: Jean Dallier, 1566), sig. A4r. BnF: Rés. F 174 (29).

<sup>33</sup> On several occasions Michel Seillatz checked copies against the original. See *Ordonnances dernièrement faites par le roy en sa ville de Moulins* (Lyon: Jean Temporal, 1566), sig. D8r. BnF: F 46829 (13).

<sup>34</sup> Harald Kleinschmidt, *Understanding the Middle Ages: The Transformation of Ideas and Attitudes in the Medieval world* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell, 2000), 217.

<sup>35</sup> Martin, *The History and Power of Writing*, 169.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>37</sup> Baumgartner, *Henry II*, 66.

<sup>38</sup> Brunet et al., eds., *Mémoires-journaux de Pierre de L'Estoile*, 112.

<sup>39</sup> Jean Mosnier, *conseiller du roi and lieutenant civil from the prévôté de Paris*, carried official letters on 22 April 1557. See *Letres patentes et ordonnance du roy nostre sire sur le fait du ban et arriereban* (Paris: Jacques Nyverd, ca. 1577), sig. A4r. Chantilly, Musée Condé: IV B 63.

<sup>40</sup> Barbara B. Diefendorf, *Paris City Councillors in the Sixteenth Century: The Politics of Patrimony* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1983), 21.

<sup>41</sup> Charles Estienne, *La guide des chemins de France* (Rouen: Martin Le Mégissier, 1553). Rouen BM: U 2647 (1).

<sup>42</sup> Knecht, *French Renaissance Monarchy: Francis I and Henry II*, 4.

councils were able to issue several acts a day without any concern that they would not reach their destination.

Although the printing of royal edicts would come to play an important part in royal strategies for controlling the kingdom of France, the crown's relationship with printing began relatively late. The Sorbonne, at the instigation of its German prior, brought the art of printing with moveable type from Germany to Paris in 1470 and began publishing academic books immediately. The members of the Parlement of Paris employed printers possibly as early as 1476, publishing regional *coutumes*. But it was only in 1482 that the French crown made direct use of the press when Louis XI circulated printed copies of the Treaty of Arras.<sup>43</sup>

This set the pattern for what remained a relatively modest use of the printing press by the crown during the first half of the sixteenth century. There are few examples of individual edicts being printed by royal command until the second half of the sixteenth century. In 1539, Francis I authorized Galliot du Pré on 28 August to print the Ordinances of Villers-Cotterêts before their registration in the ancient court of Paris.<sup>44</sup> This was a subversion of the normal process whereby publication normally followed registration in the Parlement. But this was a wholly exceptional occasion. Here, it seems the crown used printing to pre-empt possible obstruction by the sovereign court.

The Ordinances of Villers-Cotterêts, however, were an exceptional instance: for royal acts to become laws, they had to be registered in a sovereign court. There were two types of sovereign courts in sixteenth-century France: the parlements and the financial courts. All appeals terminated in these courts unless the king or his *conseil* intervened. A parlement's main function was to arbitrate criminal and civil disputes in a given territory, and the financial courts dealt with matters such as taxes and coinage. As a rule, each parlement was independent and had control over a specific area. Every region had its traditions and customs, which were collected in books called *coutumiers*. Laws enacted in Brittany would not have applied in Provence or Guyenne. Similarly, one province did not have jurisdiction over another. The exception to the rule was the

---

<sup>43</sup> Paul Murray Kendall, *Louis XI: "The Universal Spider"* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1971), 360.

<sup>44</sup> *Ordonnances royales sur le fait de la justice et abréviation des procès par tout le royaume de France* (Paris: Galliot du Pré, 1539), sigs. a1v-a4r. Rouen BM: Montb p 4879.

Parlement of Paris, France's oldest and most dignified court, which took precedence over other authorities in matters of national importance.

The Parlement of Paris convened in the *Palais de Justice* located in Île-de-la-Cité. The Parlement originated in the middle ages as part of the king's *conseil* known as the *regis curia*; however, by the sixteenth century, it had developed into an independent institution, that is, as independent as an institution could be since their authority was rooted in the monarchy. As in all parlements, members of the Parisian court adjudicated final appeals from their jurisdiction, which, in this case, was the province of Île-de-France. Final pleas were heard from the surrounding towns with *bailliages* and *sénéchaussées*, and from local tribunals situated in Paris. Cases from special branches of government, such as the department of *eaux et forêts*, were settled in Parlement. However, as France's largest court, its jurisdiction also extended to regions that did not have a provincial parlement. *Parlementaires* travelled to these districts and held special sessions (*grands jours*) in their leading towns, most frequently in Troyes, Lyon, and Poitiers. Through these special sessions the town and its surrounding area were able to make their petitions to a sovereign court.

In addition to its extensive geographical jurisdiction, the Parlement of Paris acted as a court of first instance in specific circumstances. Princes of the blood and members of the nobility had the right to be heard in Paris rather than appearing in a lower court. In the Parlement of Paris, they had the right to be judged by their peers in the *cour des pairs*. In addition, disputes between courts or any sovereign, regional, and inferior judges, were heard in Parlement along with ecclesiastical problems.

*Parlementaires* were also the first judges to try cases concerning the king's domains, privileges, treason, lèse-majesté, counterfeiting, and other crimes against the king. Judgments issued by the Parlement of Paris could be revoked only by the king and his personal courts, such as the *grand conseil*, the monarch's personal, judiciary court, which was located in Paris. Like the king, it had jurisdiction over the entire kingdom and could overturn any parlement's decision, but it only intervened at the king's request. This might be when a parlement made a judgement which the king held to be inequitable or when the Parlement of Paris and another sovereign court were in dispute. However, such interventions occurred only in extraordinary circumstances so it was not part of the regular process of appeals or the dissemination of a royal act.

Royal acts of national import were sent from the king's *conseil* to the Parlement of Paris where it was registered in the *grand chambre*,<sup>45</sup> its most distinguished hall.<sup>46</sup> This was Parlement's oldest chamber, where the most dignified and experienced *parlementaires* were seated: thirty-four councillors, their clerks, and other personnel.<sup>47</sup> Here, royal acts were read and registered before the *procureur du roi*.<sup>48</sup>

The *procureur général du roi* represented the king and his interests in the sovereign courts and prosecuted cases on the king's behalf.<sup>49</sup> Each sovereign court had its own *procureur general*, who kept the courts under close observation and intervened in their affairs whenever necessary.<sup>50</sup> Part of his normal duties was to witness the proclamation and registration of royal acts in these courts, which were then recorded by a *greffier civil*. There were three *greffiers* in the Parlement of Paris,<sup>51</sup> including the *greffier civil en chef*, whose main duties were to maintain the official records, send remonstrances to the king, and verify the registration of royal acts. Thus, the signature of a *greffier* authenticated a royal act in the judicial court, making it legally binding. Although the *greffier civil* was a full member of Parlement during the sixteenth century, he was sometimes seen as a lackey for the crown, as in the case of Jean du Tillet, who served in Parlement from 1530 to 1570. *Parlementaires* were so distrustful that they kept their records separate from du Tillet's official books.<sup>52</sup> His sons took over his position after his death on 7 October 1570 and continued to serve in the Parlement into the next century.<sup>53</sup>

From the Parlement of Paris, domestic legislation was sent to other sovereign courts, the larger *bailliages* and *sénéchaussées*, and smaller courts in the Île-de-France. This process can be demonstrated from the king's preamble to the Edict of Nantes of 1598:

---

<sup>45</sup> Sometimes known as the *chambre de plaidoyer*.

<sup>46</sup> *Lettres patentes du roy pour l'entretienement de edict de pacification* (Paris: Frédéric Morel, 1580), sig. C2v. BnF: F 46865 (10).

<sup>47</sup> Roger Doucet, ed., *Les institutions de la France au XVIe siècle*, 2 vols., vol. 1 (Paris: A. et J. Picard, 1948), 168.

<sup>48</sup> *Edict du roy et declaration sur les precedents edicts de pacification* (Paris: Imprimeurs du roi, 1599), sig. K3r. BnF: F 46905 (5).

<sup>49</sup> J. H. Shennan, *The Parlement of Paris*, 2nd ed. (Phoenix Mill: Sutton, 1998), 43.

<sup>50</sup> Doucet, ed., *Les institutions de la France au XVIe siècle*, 172-73.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, 168.

<sup>52</sup> Nancy L. Roelker, *One King, One Faith: The Parlement of Paris and the Religious Reformations of the Sixteenth Century* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1996), 73.

<sup>53</sup> *Edict du roy pour la vente et revente de son domaine: greffes, clerks d'iceaux, sceaux, tabellionnages et aydes* (Paris: Frédéric Morel, 1600), sig. B3v. BnF: F 46895 (10).

Si donnons en mandement ausd. gens nosd. cours de parlemens, chambres de noz comptes, courtz de noz aydes, baillys, seneschux, prevostz et autres noz justiciers et officiers qu'il appartiendra et à leurs lieutenans, qu'ilz facent lire, publier et enregistrer cestuy nostre present edit et ordonnance en leurs courtz et jurisdictions, et icelluy entretenir, garder et observer de point en point, et du contenu en faire jouir et user plainement et paisiblement tous ceulx qu'il appartiendra, cessans et faisans cesser tous troubles et empeschemens au contraire, Car tel est nostre plaisir.<sup>54</sup>

Rephrased, every sovereign court and every ruling official should read, publicize, and register the act in their courts and jurisdictions, and they should entertain, keep, and observe every point and continue in a fair judicial process peacefully, for that was the crown's pleasure. The edict does not state how it should be done but rather that it should be done. The distribution process was already well enough known.

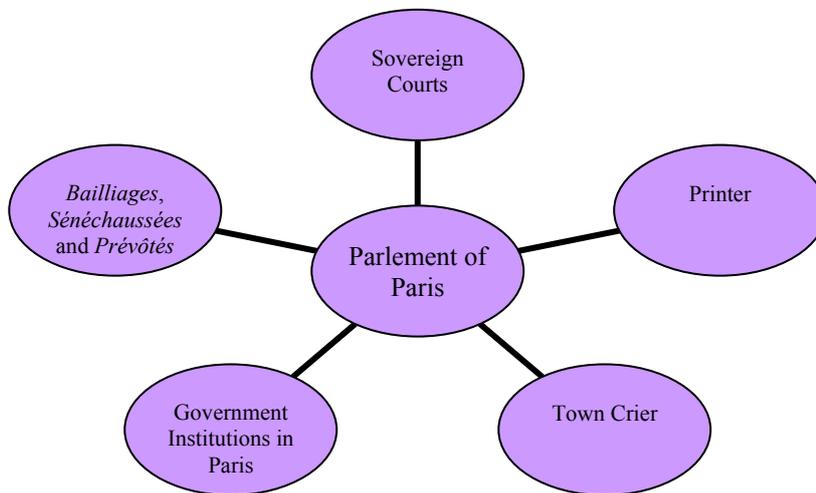


Figure 1-3: Various destinations for a royal act from the Parlement of Paris.

In addition to the Parisian Parlement, there were seven other provincial parlements in France. The oldest of these was established in 1443 in Toulouse, in the province of Languedoc. This was followed by the Parlement of Bordeaux, which became the administrative centre of Guyenne and Gascony in 1451.<sup>55</sup> In Dauphiné, Charles VII founded a parlement in Grenoble in 1457. In 1494, Louis XI established a parlement in Dijon to preside over the province of Burgundy. In the sixteenth century, the parlement in Aix-en-Provence was established in 1501 by Louis XII. His successor, Francis I, established several more parlements. The first was in Normandy,

<sup>54</sup> *Edict du roy et declaration sur les precedents edicts de pacification* (Paris: Jamet Mettayer and Pierre L'Huillier, 1599), sig. G3r. BnF: F 46905 (3).

<sup>55</sup> Shennan, *The Parlement of Paris*, 84.

located in the town of Rouen in 1515. In 1523, Piedmont and Dombes were annexed, and Francis I added a parlement in Turin, while Lyonnais magistrates participated in the proceedings of the parlement in Dombes. However, these later provinces were never incorporated into the kingdom of France.<sup>56</sup> The last parlement instituted in France by a Valois king was in the province of Brittany. A temporary parlement was first held in Brittany in 1492 but it became a permanent institution through an edict given in March 1554 by Henry II. The parlement met alternately in Rennes and in Nantes until 1569 when Charles IX fixed it in Rennes.

The diffusion of royal orders from Paris to the other parlements was not always smooth. The royal government experienced various ruptures during the sixteenth century. The most disruptive period followed the Day of Barricades on 12 May 1588. The division between radical Catholics and royalists divided magistrates and parlements across France. After the Holy Catholic League seized Paris and forced Henry III into exile, royalist members of the sovereign courts faced difficult decisions if they were to reconcile conflicting claims on their loyalties. From 1588 to 1594, royalist parlements gathered in a number of alternative towns. A few moved around in their province to up to three different locations. Grenoble magistrates convened in Romans. Members from the parlement in Aix assembled in Pertuis, Sisteron, and Manosque. Similarly, royalists from the Parlement of Toulouse gathered in Carcassonne, Béziers, and Castelsarrasin. Semur replaced the town of Dijon in Dauphiné, and royalists met in Caen, Normandy, in opposition to the parlement in Rouen. On the other hand, the parlement in the town of Rennes was dominated by royalists and therefore Leaguers gathered in Nantes.<sup>57</sup>

These new circumstances inevitably necessitated changes to the process of registration and dissemination if the king's will was to be known throughout the kingdom. Royalist magistrates gathered in Tours and Châlons assumed the roles of the Parisian courts, including the Parlement of Paris. After the recapture of Paris in 1594 by Henry IV, the *parlementaires* returned to their antebellum locations and resumed their role as sovereign courts of France.

These were exceptional circumstances but there were other events which could also disrupt the usual process of dissemination. Sometimes this reflected a quite conscious intervention on part of the crown or his officials. Under Charles IX, for

---

<sup>56</sup> Doucet, ed., *Les institutions de la France au XVIe siècle*, 211-15.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, 216-17.

example, his *chancelier*, Michel L'Hôpital, circumvented the Parlement of Paris and sent an edict to local courts in April 1561 from Fontainebleau. This caused a serious dispute between the *parlementaires* and the crown. L'Hôpital's contempt for the traditional protocol was immediately denounced by the president and *conseillers* in the Parlement of Paris. They declared the edict unconstitutional because the superior courts had been bypassed in this way.<sup>58</sup> They observed, furthermore, that the edict contradicted previous laws.<sup>59</sup> As a consequence of these protests, the edict was temporarily set aside until it was reworked into the Edict of January of 1562.

On 17 August 1563, the crown confronted the primacy of the Parlement of Paris, again, by declaring the majority of Charles IX in the Parlement of Rouen through a *lit de justice*. This was a traditional process whereby the king, attending a session of the Parlement in person, commanded that an edict be registered. Outraged, the Parisian magistrates sent remonstrances to the king and his *chancelier*, stating that among many issues a *lit de justice* could be held only in Paris. However, by this time, Charles IX had attained his majority and he felt confident enough to dismiss the objection. According to N. L. Roelker, this dispute established the crown's supremacy, and ensured that any challenges to the king's prerogative by the Parlement of Paris were to serve from this point on only to weaken their own position by undermining their claim to be the true partner of the king in government.<sup>60</sup>

The relationship between the Parlement of Paris and the crown was often tense during the sixteenth century. *Parlementaires* perceived themselves as colleagues in the legislative process when they examined new measures taken by the crown to keep laws coherent and consistent.<sup>61</sup> The process of registration involved an element of ratification and approval. In fact, most edicts were dealt with in a timely manner despite the ongoing rivalry. For example, with the exception of the Edict of Nantes of 1598, most of the edicts of pacification were registered within a month of their date of issue.

---

<sup>58</sup> Roelker, *One King, One Faith*, 249-52.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, 252-54.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, 298.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*

Edict	<b>Amboise (1563)</b>	<b>Paris (1568)</b>	<b>St Germain (1570)</b>
Issued	19.03.1562/1563	23.03.1568	00.08.1570
Registered	27.03.1562/1563	27.03.1568	11.08.1570

Edict	<b>Boulogne (1573)</b>	<b>Paris/Beaulieu (1576)</b>	<b>Poitiers (1577)</b>
Issued	00.07.1573	00.05.1576	00.09.1577
Registered	11.08.1573	14.05.1576	08.10.1577

Edict	<b>Blois (1580)</b>	<b>Mantes (1591)*</b>	<b>Nantes (1598)</b>
Issued	26.12.1580	00.07.1591	00.04.1598
Registered	26.01.1581	24.07.1591	25.02.1599

Figure 1-4: A chart of the issued and registration dates in the Parlement of Paris for the edicts of pacification.  
\*The Edict of Mantès was registered by the royalist parlement in Châlons.

The obvious exception here is the Edict of Nantes, which was registered and published a year later. Although Henry IV was in Paris by June 1598, two months after promulgating the Edict of Nantes, he did not formally address the Parlement about the edict until 3 January 1599. Four days later, he demanded its registration and publication in the Parlement of Paris.<sup>62</sup>

Few registrations were delayed for more than a year. The most problematic registrations were royal acts that concerned administrative changes in government and personnel, especially if it affected the judicial system. For example, in December 1581, Henry III made changes to the jurisdictions of the lower courts through an edict promulgated in Paris. More than a year later, it was registered by Parlement in March 1583.<sup>63</sup>

Two months later another edict was created in Paris in May 1583. It was entered in the records of Parlement on 15 January 1585. A transcription of the title page is given below:

<sup>62</sup> Gustave Brunet et al., *Mémoires-journaux de Pierre de L'Estoile: édition pour la première fois complète et entièrement conforme aux manuscrits originaux*, 11 vols., vol. 6 (Paris: Librairie des bibliophiles, 1875), 295-97.

<sup>63</sup> *Edict et déclaration du roy sur le reglement des jurisdictions des baillifs* (Paris: Frédéric Morel, 1583), sigs. B3v-B4r. Troyes BM: M 12 2124 (10).

Edict & Declaration du || ROY, POVR LE REGLE- || ment general & diffinitif d'entre les Senes- || chaux, Baillifs, Iuges, Conseillers, Magi- || strats, Conseruateurs, Preuosts, Lieute- || nants, Greffiers, & autres Officiers de ce || Royaume, & les Enquesteurs & Commis- || saires, examinateurs des Seneschaucees, || Bailliages, Preuostez, & autres Jurisdictions || Royales de cedit Royaume. || [printer's device] || A PARIS, || Par FEDERIC MOREL Impri- || meur ordinaire du Roy. || M. D. LXXXV. || Auec Priuilege dudict Seigneur.<sup>64</sup>

Henry III wanted to clarify the responsibilities of the various offices, which resulted in modifying the duties of current officers. These types of postponements by the Parlement of Paris continued under the new Bourbon dynasty. Henry IV was confronted with delays. In January 1596, an edict created in Folembray re-established and changed some hereditary offices. The edict was finally registered in May 1597 in the Parlement of Paris, almost a year and a half later.<sup>65</sup> Similarly, royal acts concerning administrative changes were also difficult to register in the financial courts. The edict to create a new office of a provincial treasurer of artillery issued in April 1582 was ratified a year later in the *cour des aides*.<sup>66</sup>

If a royal act was purely a financial document, it did not require registration in any parlement and became lawful when it was registered in the relevant financial court. The financial courts with sovereign powers were the *chambre des comptes*, *cour des aides* and the *cour des monnaies*. The *chambre des comptes* was one of the highest courts in France and its main purpose was to verify and regulate the accounts of the treasuries, including taxes, wars, and general receipts.<sup>67</sup> By the end of the fifteenth century, the *chambre des comptes* in Paris had jurisdiction over the entire kingdom with the exception of the provinces of Provence, Brittany, Burgundy, and Dauphiné.<sup>68</sup> The

---

<sup>64</sup> This was issued in May 1583 from Paris signed by Henry III and Claude Pinart. Registered in the Parlement of Paris on 15 January 1585 signed by du Tillet. See *Edict et declaration du roy, pour le reglement general* (Paris: Fédéric Morel, 1585), sig. F2v. BnF: F 46875 (19).

<sup>65</sup> Issued in January 1596 at Folembray signed Henry and Forget. Registered in Parlement of Paris on 21 May 1597 signed Voisin. See *Edict du roy contenant le restablissement en heredité des offices de controlleurs* (Rouen: Raphaël du Petit Val, 1600), sig. A4r. Aix, Bibliothèque Méjanes: Rec D 28 (29).

<sup>66</sup> It was issued in April 1582 from Paris signed de Neufville and registered in the *chambre des comptes* on 30 June 1582 signed de la Fontaine, and registered in the *cour des aides* in Paris on 25 May 1583 signed by Poncet. *Edict du roy sur la creation en tiltre d'offices d'un tresorier provincial de l'artillerie* (Paris: Fédéric Morel, 1583), sigs. B2v-B3r. Caen BU: Rés. 251348 (36).

<sup>67</sup> Doucet, ed., *Les institutions de la France au XVIe siècle*, 193.

<sup>68</sup> "L'activité de la chambre des comptes s'étendait sur un ressort très étendu, plus vaste que celui du Parlement: il comprenait toutes les provinces anciennement rattachées au royaume, n'excluant que la Provence, la Bourgogne, la Bretagne et le Dauphiné." Ibid., 192. *Edict sur les démolitions des maisons*

*chambre des comptes* in Brittany met in Nantes a few times but was stationed in Rennes by the end of the century.<sup>69</sup> The other chambers were located in the same town as their respective parlements: Aix, Dijon, and Grenoble.<sup>70</sup> In the sixteenth century, two more *chambre des comptes* were created in Montpellier in 1523 and in Rouen in 1580.<sup>71</sup> During the siege of Paris from 1588 to 1594, royalists from the Parisian *chambre des comptes* reconvened in Tours.<sup>72</sup>

Royal acts concerning taxation and tax exemptions were registered in the *cour des aides*, located in Paris, Montpellier, Rouen, Montferrand, and Provence.<sup>73</sup> This court's authority was limited to extraordinary finances.<sup>74</sup> During the exile of Henry III, royalists from the Parisian court followed the king in exile to Chartres<sup>75</sup> and then established themselves in Tours,<sup>76</sup> while the royalist *cour des aides* in Rouen moved to Caen.<sup>77</sup> After the recapture of Paris in 1594, Henry IV returned the financial courts to their previous locations.

The last financial, sovereign court was the *cour des monnaies*, which oversaw the French currency. Unlike the other courts, its jurisdiction allowed it to create ordinances on the king's behalf, particularly to advise the general public with regard to the value and legitimacy of coins circulating within the kingdom. When printed, these

---

*fortes, colombiers et signes patibulaires dressés et edifiés soubz les seigneuries du roy* (Lyon: Benoît Rigaud, 1566), sig. a3r. Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève: 8o F 864 inv. 4138 (15) Rés.

<sup>69</sup> *Les ordonnances faictes par le roy et ses predecessurs sur le faict de sa chambre des compte en Bretagne* (Tours: Jean Rousset, 1556), sig. A2v. Toulouse BM: Rés. D XVI 169. *Lettres patentes de declaration et commission du roy pour proceder a la recherche* (Nantes: Jean Guadin, 1588), sig. A2v. BnF: F 23610 (354). *Edict du roy sur la réduction de monsieur le duc de Mercoeur en l'obeissance de sa majesté* (Rennes: Michel Logeroys, 1598), sig. D4v. Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève: 8o F 849 inv. 4123 (20) Rés.

<sup>70</sup> There appears to be some question about the locations of the *chambre des comptes* in France during the sixteenth century. N. L. Roelker stated the locations of Paris, Dijon, Aix-en-Provence, Grenoble, Nantes, Montpellier, Blois, Rouen, Pau, and Dôle. Roelker, ed., *The Paris of Henry of Navarre*, 306. See footnote 59 for her locations. Doucet, ed., *Les institutions de la France au XVIe siècle*, 189-96.

<sup>71</sup> *Lettres patentes en form d'edict du roy sur la reduction des villes de Rouen* (Rouen: Martin Le Mégissier, 1598), sig. E2r. BnF: F 23610 (506).

<sup>72</sup> *Edict du roy sur la reduction de la ville d'Orleans en son obeissance* (Orléans: Saturnin Hotot, 1594), sig. D2r. BnF: F 46892 (5).

<sup>73</sup> *Lettres de declaration et reiglement faites par le roy...entend etre observé tant pour le passé que pour l'advenir* (Rouen: Martin Le Mégissier, ca 1570), sig. E2v. BnF: F 46839 (1). *Edict du roy sur les cartes, taros et dets* (Paris: Jamet Mettayer, 1586), sig. B3r. BnF: F 46875 (24). *Lettres patentes du roy portant commission à maistre Estienne Puge* (Aix-en-Provence: Guillaume Maillou, 1583), sigs. A3v-A4r. Aix, Bibliothèque Méjanès: In 16o pièces 301 (2).

<sup>74</sup> Doucet, ed., *Les institutions de la France au XVIe siècle*, 197.

<sup>75</sup> *Edict du roy pour le restablissement de sa cour des aides de Paris* (Chartres: Claude Cottereau, 1592), sig. A4v. BnF: F 46890 (29).

<sup>76</sup> *Edict du roy portant creation en tiltre d'office formé de deux receveurs particuliers* (Tours: Jamet Mettayer, 1593), sig. C4v. Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève: 8o F 849 inv. 4123 (11) Rés.

<sup>77</sup> *Edict du roy de la suppression de tous estats et offices tant de judicature que de finance* (Caen: Jacques Le Bas, ca. 1590), sig. A3v. Toulouse BM: Rés. D XVI 178 (16). This edition is missing its title page.

thick pamphlets contained woodcut examples of the coins spoken of in the text, both foreign and French. Ordinances of this sort had an obvious utility to all those engaged in commerce within the kingdom, and not surprisingly they sold very well. By 1577, every French province with a parlement had a corresponding *cour des monnaies*.<sup>78</sup>

In a parlement, *greffiers* distributed edicts to other tribunals and departments. Royal acts on the maintenance of the king's domains were sent to relevant bureaus. For example, decrees on waterways and forests were sent to the department of *eaux-et-forets*.<sup>79</sup> Military letters and decrees were remitted to the *connétable* whose base was located at the *Table de marbre du Palais* in Paris.<sup>80</sup> After its registration in the Parlement, a royal act to police Paris was sent to the *grand prévôt de France*, also known as the *prevôt général* or *grand prévôt des maréchaux*. Provincial parlements acted similarly by sending royal acts to the appropriate local institutions and courts in their local area.

Since the medieval era, *bailliages* or *sénéchaussées* were local centres of government for larger towns. In 1536, however, Francis I made significant governmental changes, expressed in the unpopular Edict of Crémieu. He reorganized the judicial system into a more comprehensive form of administration. Within the new judicial hierarchy, *bailliages* or *sénéchaussées* acted officially as intermediaries between the parlements and lower courts. They were now the first royal court of appeals before an appellant took his case to a local parlement. Local courts consisted of the offices of the *prevôts*, who were ordinary judges and whose functions were modeled after the *bailliage* system but whose rank fell below it.<sup>81</sup> On the other hand, greater *bailliages* and *sénéchaussées* were given a *siège présidial* consisting of nine legal specialists who judged cases.<sup>82</sup> In this way, the crown sought constantly to improve the mechanisms for making its will known in the French provinces and ensuring that the law was more efficiently maintained.

---

<sup>78</sup> Doucet, ed., *Les institutions de la France au XVIe siècle*, 202.

<sup>79</sup> *Edict du roy concernant l'establissement et erection en tiltre et qualité d'office formé* (Paris: Frédéric Morel, 1575), sig. D2v. BnF: F 46848 (8).

<sup>80</sup> *Ordonnances du roy concernants la forme du payment de sa gendarmerie* (Lyon: Benoît Rigaud, 1567), sig. D3v. BnF: F 46832 (1).

<sup>81</sup> Doucet, ed., *Les institutions de la France au XVIe siècle*, 271-72.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, 265.

We can explore a tangible example of how this worked in practice by examining the archives of the town of Caen. Caen was the second largest city in Normandy. The Parlement of Normandy was situated in Rouen, a city with which Caen lived in a state of perpetual rivalry. But Caen was the seat of a famous university, a bishopric, and a *bailliage*. It was therefore an important part of the administrative network of northern France, and communication between the royal government and city magistrates was strong and regular. This allowed for a more interactive style of supervision from Paris than would be possible in a more remote corner of France like Bordeaux. The correspondence between Paris and Caen offers a useful demonstration of how print was integrated into the administrative process.

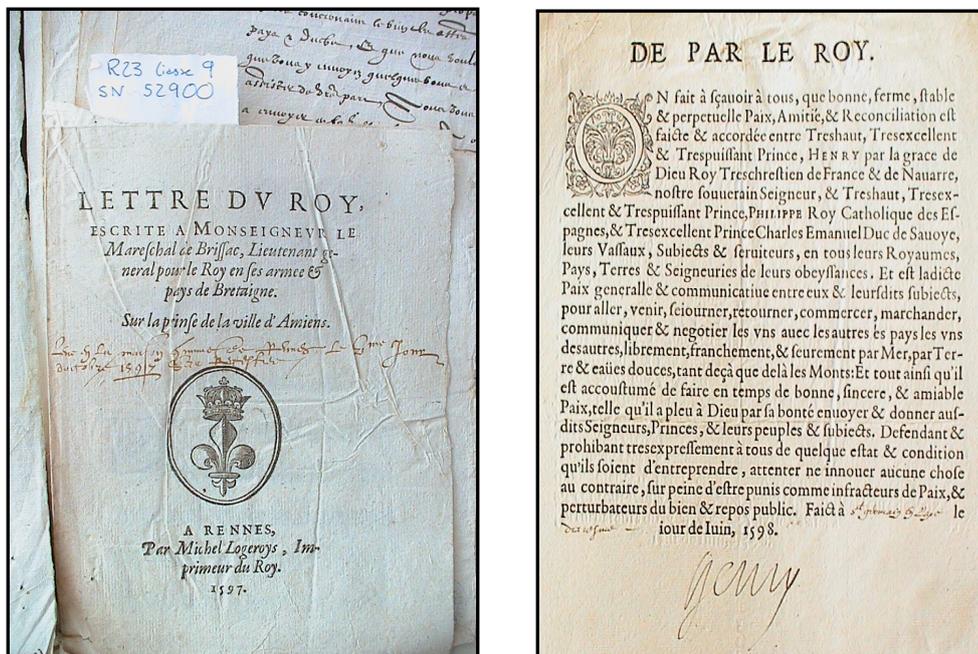


Figure 1-5: Royal acts from Rennes with manuscript (left), and a broadsheet with the signature of Henry IV (right).<sup>83</sup>

In the municipal archives of Caen, royal acts were enrolled in a fascinating mix of manuscript and print. Sometimes, a published act would be dispatched with a manuscript folded into a manuscript letter (figure 1-5). The manuscript mandated that the contents of the printed text should be made known locally. Sometimes, a more complex process was clearly envisaged. The royal administration made extensive use of forms that mixed print and manuscript with handwritten insertions. These printed

<sup>83</sup> *Lettre du roy escrite à monseigneur le mareschal de Brissac* (Rennes: Michel Logeroys, 1597). Rennes AM: Liasse 9. *De par le roy* (s.l.: s.n., ca. 1598). Also found in Rennes AM: Liasse 9. The second photograph is a broadsheet that declares the peace with Spain in June 1598.

forms were completed in the royal *chancellerie* before dispatch and formed an essential part of the sinews of government, but they were not the sort of material that was collected in a public library. Their survival is therefore rare and such forms were normally found only bundled up with a manuscript, as in the case in Caen. The letter books of their town council contained all the items sent to them by central government. The letters, printed items, or even semi-printed texts with manuscript additions were collected together and annotated with a note of the action taken by the Caen authorities. An analysis of this material provides a rare opportunity to see the day-to-day relationship of central government and a major provincial city.

In the case of some of the materials found in Caen, royal acts were printed with two areas of blank spaces, where the dates were to be filled in by hand. These blanks were completed in Paris before the edicts were dispatched, noting the place and date of where and when the edict was given. Then it was signed by the king's secretary, and the monarch, if he was available. After it arrived in Caen, the magistrates wrote their response to the act at the bottom. For example, a printed letter from Charles IX to the town of Caen had the inscription "Collation a este faicte a l'original par moy De Lomenie," and farther down it said, "Lecture et publication a este fete en l'audience du siege presid~ presens les advocatz du roy..." Further annotation noted that it was registered in Caen's royal court, the *siège présidial*, on 25 August 1561.<sup>84</sup> The next stage for the local authorities was to order local publication.<sup>85</sup> This could be achieved in two ways. The city fathers could instruct the local town crier to publicize the edict in the normal public places. In addition, they could commission a local printer to produce a broadsheet version of the royal order. In the case of Caen, a copy of this local broadsheet was also often inserted in the letter books.

The survival of these letter books in Caen allows the study of royal acts to a far more sophisticated level than is normally possible. The vast majority of royal edicts that have survived are conventional octavo pamphlets published after the edict had completed its process of registration, although even these are not uncomplicated bibliographically. In addition to the more common octavo pamphlets, published with a title page for retail sale, publishers also turned out more rudimentary editions, in which the text began, without further ceremony, on the first page. These books are called

---

<sup>84</sup> *Charles par la grace de Dieu* (s.l.: s.n., ca. 1561). Caen AD: 1B2 134. This broadsheet was issued on 1 August 1561 from Saint-Germain-en-Laye.

<sup>85</sup> *De par le roy* (s.l.: s.n., 1561). Caen AD: 1B2 122. This broadsheet was issued on 13 June 1561 from Saint-Germain-des-Prés-lez-Paris.

*titres de départ*. Edicts in this form were almost certainly intended purely for official distribution, to make a royal order known to local officials or municipalities, rather than for retail sale.

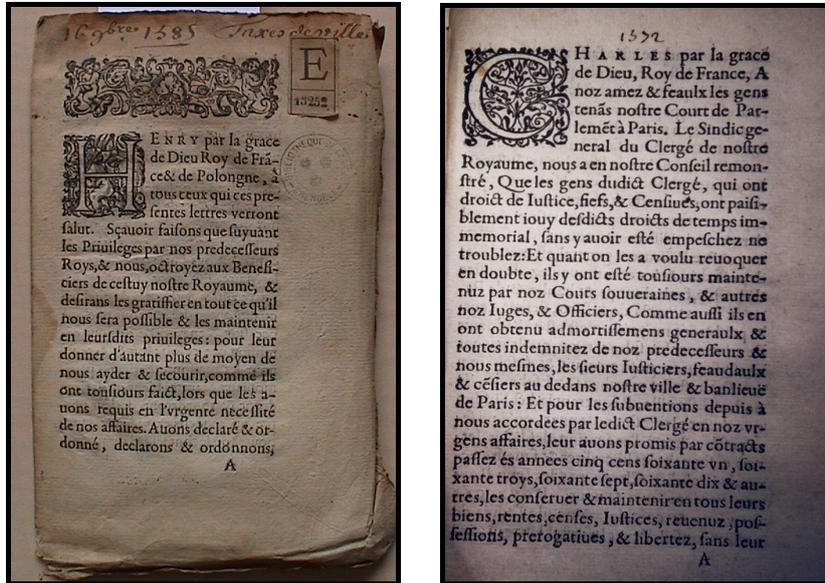


Figure 1-6: *Titres de départ*—rush prints for royal business.<sup>86</sup>

The vast majority of edicts that survive, however, are pamphlets published with a conventional title page and printer information. The main market for these pamphlet versions appears to have been members of the legal profession who acquired them for reference purposes. In this form, edicts had an enormous sale, and often went through several editions, as we shall see. What the Caen records tell us, however, is that these most familiar edicts were part of a large and very diverse category of ephemeral print involved in conveying royal orders to those officials responsible for local enforcement. It is only accidents of survival that make it appear as if the octavo pamphlet form of the edict was so overwhelming preponderant. One may surmise that there were many more examples of these other types—both the broadsheet and the octavo edict published without title page—and that these have simply disappeared. But it is well to remind ourselves at this stage of the range of printed forms that governments put to work as part of the process of administration.

<sup>86</sup> *Henry par la grace de Dieu or Lettres patentes du roy confirmant aux bénéfices ecclésiastiques* (s.l.: s.n., ca. 1586). Grenoble BM: E 13252. These letters were issued on 6 February 1586 from Paris. *Charles par la grace de Dieu or Mandement du roy ordonnant de suseoir en ce qui regarde les gens d'église* (s.l.: s.n., 1572). Rouen BM: Leber 5390 (1). This *mandement* was issued on 15 September 1572 from Paris.

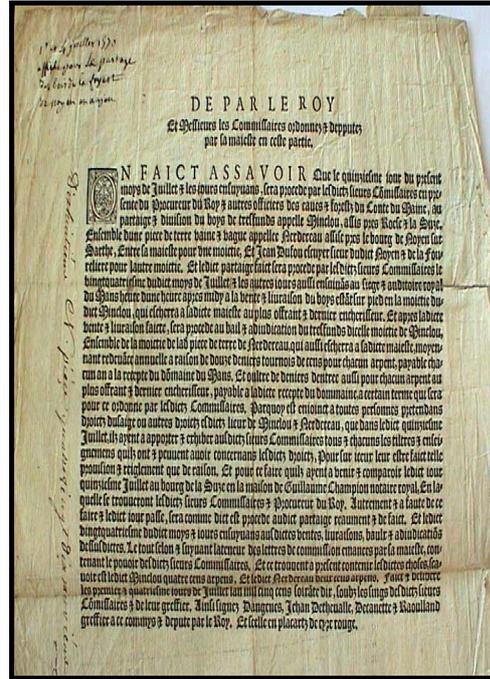
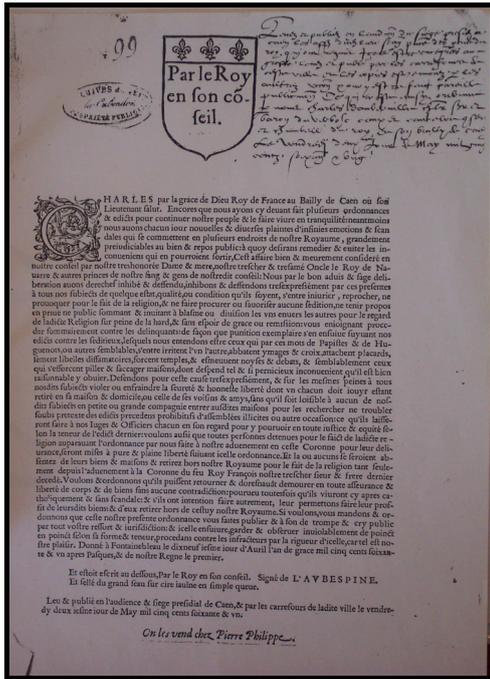


Figure 1-7: Broadsheets from Caen (left) and from Le Mans (right).<sup>87</sup>

In addition to the diverse forms of edicts published in octavos, royal acts were also frequently printed as broadsheets. Royal acts displayed as broadsheets in public areas consisted of simply the bare text usually with a royal device at the top (figure 1-7a). This differed from royal acts printed for public consumption, which often included summaries of their registration and a note of where and when they had been publicly proclaimed. Broadsheets often contained the heading *de par le roi* and printed the first line in larger type to draw attention to the subject being discussed. As in the tradition of placards, the name of the printer is usually not given.<sup>88</sup> This is for a straightforward reason: broadsheets of this sort had no commercial sale; a printer would therefore have no need to advertise his responsibility, as he was not attempting to stimulate commercial business. It was the duty of the local authorities to disseminate these acts publicly.

Of course, the public postings of these printed broadsheets would only convey the contents of an edict to a certain proportion of the population, that is, those who

<sup>87</sup> Charles par la grace de Dieu or *Lettre du roy au bailly de Caen* (Caen: Pierre Philippe, 1561). Caen AD: 1B.2. fol. 99. This broadsheet was issued on 19 April 1561 from Fontainebleau. *De par le roy et messieurs les commissaires* (Le Mans: s.n., 1570). Le Mans AD: 6 J 134. This broadsheet was issued by Le Mans authorities in conjunction with the king. It was created on 1 July 1570.

<sup>88</sup> Christian Jouhaud, "Readability and Persuasion," in *The Culture of Print: Power and the Uses of Print in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Alain Bureau and Roger Chartier (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1989), 237.

could read.<sup>89</sup> If an illiterate person approached a posted placard out of curiosity, he would rely on someone who could read passing by and being prepared to read it aloud. On the other hand, a prankster, literate or not, may offer an imaginative substitution which can cause a public uproar over a statement that was essentially innocuous.<sup>90</sup> False assertions concerning taxes easily provoked riots. By the seventeenth century, the town of Tulle was suspicious of any foreigner, and rioted on several occasions as a result of fabricated accusations when simple travellers were denounced as tax collectors from Paris.<sup>91</sup> Despite these rare, mischievous occasions, the early modern world depended heavily on the medieval economy of mass media to communicate ideas, or in this case, new laws, to the public. Printing assisted this process; but the oldest, and probably the most effective, of these methods of communication remained the oral form.

The town crier was the most vital instrument of the crown for communicating the royal acts to the general population. His main task was to ensure the public display and announcement of a royal act.<sup>92</sup> According to the testimonies of surviving broadsheets, the announcements were printed and posted after the town crier presumably made his rounds of proclamations in the busy areas of town (see the bottom of figure 1-7a). Royal acts for public display were posted in the same busy locations visited earlier by the crier.<sup>93</sup> After the local crier completed his duties to publicize a royal act, his testimony was recorded in the court register, usually on the court copy, and this completed the royal process of the dissemination on an official level.

Criers made sure their presence were noticed by building round the proclamation considerable degree of ceremony. A crier was often accompanied by a trumpeter or other attendants. In smaller towns, trumpeters accompanied only royal criers to differentiate them from other municipal criers. In remote areas, a single crier made announcements in several nearby villages. Because royal criers were not the only

---

<sup>89</sup> Ibid., 238.

<sup>90</sup> Yves Marie Bercé, *History of Peasant Revolts: The Social Origins of Rebellion in Early Modern France*, trans. Amanda Whitmore (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990), 41.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid., 259.

<sup>92</sup> Brendan Maurice Dooley and Sabrina A. Baron, *The Politics of Information in Early Modern Europe* (London: Routledge, 2001), 161.

<sup>93</sup> *De par le roy or Mandement du roy au bailli de Caen pour défendre toute violence* (s.l.: s.n., ca. 1572). BnF: Rés. F 175 (42). This first broadsheet was issued on 24 October 1572 from Paris. *De par le roy or Declaration du roy au bailli de Caen* (s.l.: s.n., ca. 1572). Caen AD: 1 B 3 f. 31. This declaration was issued on 31 March 1572 from Blois.

criers who used trumpeters in major towns, one to three more trumpeters often escorted the king's messengers to emphasize the act's royal origins.

Sometimes, to emphasize the importance of the occasion, royal criers were escorted by important local dignitaries or by a more elaborate musical accompaniment. The number of people who accompanied the royal crier and trumpeter varied from act to act. By the seventeenth century, the town crier in Paris was followed by three trumpeters on their horses who marched around the busier areas of Paris, although this was not common in the sixteenth century.<sup>94</sup> Royal acts concerning money were cried in the presence of *huissiers* from the *cour des monnaies*.<sup>95</sup> One of the largest groups to publicize a royal act in Paris accompanied the proclamation of the Edict of St Maur issued by Charles IX in June 1568, which revoked the toleration of the Protestant religion. The edict was proclaimed in the presence of the company of the Herald of Arms of France and Alençon with *lieutenant civil* and the *avocat général* from the Châtelet de Paris.<sup>96</sup> In Rouen, royal sergeants followed Philip Le Bel and the company of *cinquantaine & harquebuziers* as he cried the Edict of Amboise of 1563.<sup>97</sup> In Toulouse, Mariet Daverano, a local judge, assisted the announcements of the edict of the reduction of Toulouse on 15 March 1596 with four other nobles and their assessors, the family du Guet, and several official trumpeters.<sup>98</sup> On special occasions, extra provisions were made. Edicts were celebrated according to the inclinations of the town and its leaders. For example, for the Edict of Beaulieu of 1576, Protestant La Rochelle gathered and celebrated at the Place du Château at five in the evening with companies of trumpets and tambourines and a prayer given by the minister, Odet de Nort. After the prayer, there were fireworks.<sup>99</sup>

---

<sup>94</sup> Dooley and Baron, *The Politics of Information in Early Modern Europe*, 161.

<sup>95</sup> See *Ordonnance du roy contenant le cours, poix et pris* (Paris: Jean Dallier, 1573), sigs. F3v-4r. BnF: F 46844 (19). *Ordonnance du roy Henry troisieme sur le fait de ses monnoyes* (Paris: Jean Dallier, 1574), sig. F3v. BnF: F 46847 (3).

<sup>96</sup> *Edict du roy contenant interdiction et deffence de toute presche, assemblée, et exercice d'autre religion, que de la catholique, apostolique et romaine* (Paris: Jean Dallier, 1568), sig. D2v. Aix, Bibliothèque Méjanès: Rec D 32 (13).

<sup>97</sup> *Edit et declaration faite par le roy...sur la pacification des troubles* (Rouen: Martin Le Mégissier, 1563), sig. C2r. Aix, Bibliothèque Méjanès: Rec D 2 (576).

<sup>98</sup> *Edict du roy sur la reduction de Toulouse* (Paris: Jean Richer and Claude de Montr'oeil, 1596), sig. C4v. BnF: F 46898 (2).

<sup>99</sup> *Edict du roy sur la pacification des troubles* (La Rochelle: Jean Portau, 1976), sig. L4r. Aix, Bibliothèque Méjanès: Rec D 8 (88).



Figure 1-8: Map of Paris (1572) by cartographer Georg Braun and Frans Hogenburg. Letters correspond to the locations listed in the following page.

Criers would make their announcements at fixed locations in the busiest areas in town. Royal acts were cried in the usual places: busy markets, major crossroads, government buildings, and in front of churches.<sup>100</sup> In Paris, the criers stopped at the *Pierre de Marbre*, *Cour des Palais* (G),<sup>101</sup> Hall of Wheat, and the school of St Germaine of Auxerrois (F).<sup>102</sup> They were also cried outside churches (Notre Dame is labelled as C). Other popular locations were the markets (*Les Halles* was the major marketplace and labelled as I), the *Cossonnerie*, the *Place Maubert* (E),<sup>103</sup> at the *Pavé* (D)<sup>104</sup> in the *Grève*, or better known as the place of the *Hôtel-de-Ville* (B), situated on the bank of the Seine, where they held executions. Other known areas included the cemetery of St Jean (A),<sup>105</sup> the *Ville Cité*,<sup>106</sup> the university of Paris (F),<sup>107</sup> the *Hôtel du Roi*, and the *Château Louvre* (K).<sup>108</sup>

In Lyon, public places included the Royal Palace of Justice, the two descents of the Saone, the places of *les Changes et L'Herberie*, and the *Grenette*.<sup>109</sup> In Le Mans, the *Palais Royal du Mans* and the court of *Pierre és halles* were two popular locations.<sup>110</sup> In Orléans, besides in the busy places of the town, decrees were also proclaimed at *Portereau d'Orléans*.<sup>111</sup>

Such elaborate arrangements ensured that an edict reached a large proportion of the population on the day of its proclamation. However, it was not unheard of for an edict to be cried again on the streets the following day. Most royal proclamations were cried for one day either the same day of the most recent court registration or the day after, and more certainly, it was cried within a week after it was ratified by the court.

---

<sup>100</sup> *Edict du roy nostre syre par lequel est deffendu a tous gentilz hommes* (s.l.: s.n., ca. 1540), sig. [J]4r. Chantilly, Musée Condé: IV B 91.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>102</sup> Also the king's parish. Roelker, ed., *The Paris of Henry of Navarre*, 261.

<sup>103</sup> Books were burned there. *Ibid.*

<sup>104</sup> Stone blocks.

<sup>105</sup> *Ordonnances du roy concernants la police generale de son royaume* (Paris: Robert Estienne, 1567), sig. I4r. BnF: Z Thoisy 492 (11).

<sup>106</sup> *Edit du roy contre les jureurs et blasphemateurs du nom de Dieu* (Paris: Veuve Nicolas Roffet, 1586), sig. A4r. BnF: F 46870 (16).

<sup>107</sup> *Edict du roy contre les jureurs et blasphemateurs du nom de Dieu* (Paris: Veuve Nicolas Roffet, 1586), sig. A4v. BnF: F 46870 (17).

<sup>108</sup> *Defenses de par le roy à toutes personnes de porter par ceste ville* (Paris: Frédéric Morel, 1575), sig. A4r. BnF: F 46848 (14). *Lettres patentes du roy pour convoquer les estats à Blois le quinziemesme Septembre 1588* (Lyon: Jean Pillehotte, 1588), sig. B4v. BnF: F 46886 (23).

<sup>109</sup> *Lettres patentes du roy par lesquelles il est defendu de porter* (Lyon: Michel Jove, 1571), sig. A4v. BnF: F 46840 (21).

<sup>110</sup> *Lettre du roy envoyees au seneschal du Maine pour advertir tous capitaines, chefs, hommes d'armes* (Le Mans: Jérôme Olivier, 1575), sig. B2v. BnF: F 46849 (24).

<sup>111</sup> *Edict du roy sur la pacification des troubles de ce royaume* (Orléans: Eloi Gibier, 1576), sig. F2v. BnF: F 46851 (7).

Sometimes a royal act was cried on the same day as its local registration.<sup>112</sup> If a *mandement* was created in Paris, it was usually cried within seven days and, at the latest, in twelve days. For other royal acts, the town crier was usually notified by the parlement after it had registered the decree. For example, a much-needed royal ordinance on money was issued by the king in September 1577.<sup>113</sup> It was registered in the Parlement of Paris on 18 November and cried on the same day. Two days later, it was registered in the *cour des monnaies*.<sup>114</sup> This reaffirms the significance of the Parlement of Paris, as it was the only obstacle to an edict's legalization and confirms the responsibility of the Parlement to pass the information to various courts and especially to the town crier.

On a few occasions, however, the king summoned a crier before an edict's day in court. For example, Pierre de L'Estoile's journal entry states that on 5 October 1577, the Edict of Poitiers was cried on the streets of Paris and again three days later following its registration in Parlement.<sup>115</sup> On 11 October, the *chambre des comptes* registered the edict. This was an example of an interference with normal procedure in the case of a sensitive royal act. Interestingly, the subsidiary information given in the pamphlet versions of the Edict of Poitiers states that it was cried on 8 October 1577 by Pierre Chrestien, accompanied by four trumpeters, and does not make any mention of its first public debut.<sup>116</sup>

Occasionally, acts were cried for two successive days,<sup>117</sup> and less commonly, three or more successive days.<sup>118</sup> Mondays to Saturdays were working days.<sup>119</sup> If an act required repetition after a Saturday, it was proclaimed the following Monday.

---

<sup>112</sup> *Edict de pacification fait par le roy pour mettre fin aux troubles de son royaume* (Paris: Fédéric Morel, 1581), sig. F4v. BnF: F 46858 (6).

<sup>113</sup> Brunet et al., eds., *Mémoires-journaux de Pierre de L'Estoile*, 221.

<sup>114</sup> *Ordonnance du roy sur le fait et reglement general de ses monnoyes* (Paris: Veuve Jean Dallier et Nicolas Roffet, 1577), sig. G4v. Aix, Bibliothèque Méjanes: Rec D 673 (12).

<sup>115</sup> Brunet et al., eds., *Mémoires-journaux de Pierre de L'Estoile*, 213.

<sup>116</sup> *Edict de pacification fait par le roy pour mettre fin aux troubles de son royaume* (Tours: Jamet Mettayer, 1577), sigs. F1v-F2r. Aix, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève: 8o F 898 inv. 4173 (22) Rés.

<sup>117</sup> *Declaration du roy contre ceux qui font ligues* (Paris: Fédéric Morel, 1584), sig. A4v. BnF: F 46878 (14). *Declaration du roy sur l'observation de ses edicts d'union* (Lyon: Jean Pillehotte, 1589), sig. B2r. BnF: F 46887 (35).

<sup>118</sup> On 2, 3, 5 and 6 December 1594, J. Rigaud cried in Lyon. See *Reglemens et ordonnances sur le fait des gardes ordinaires de Lyon* (Lyon: Guichard Jullieron et Thibaud Ancelin, 1594), sig. B4r. BnF: Rés. F 177 (51).

<sup>119</sup> *Edict du roy sur la reduction d'Orleans en son obeissance* (Nevers: Pierre Roussin, 1594), sig. C3v. BnF: F 46892 (3). Six trumpets accompanied the town crier on 5 and 7 March 1594. See *Edict du roy sur la reduction de la ville d'Orleans en son obeissance* (Orléans: Saturnin Hotot), sig. C4v. BnF: F 46892 (4).

Declarations cried on a Sunday were extremely rare.<sup>120</sup> Only one royal act is known to have been proclaimed on a Sunday. The peace between Philip II and France was publicized on a Sunday in Rouen, in June 1598, with twelve Heralds of Arms, six tambourines, four flutes, the *sergents à masse* and *sergents à cheval*, and the company of *cinquantaine*.<sup>121</sup>

Official criers were located in every major city and they cried on behalf of each government authority. The crier and trumpeter occupied important local offices and they were appointed to these positions by the local government. Each *ville* had rules and stipulations for a town crier that were written in their *coutumier*. For example, according to a *coutumier* from Amiens, the crier was also an official letter carrier, who rode a horse for his dispatches, with two extra horses in the stables, and “n’a autre gages que cinq aulnes d’Amiens de drap moitié bleu, moitié rouge pour luy faire un say: & peut porter l’esmail & armoiries de la ville, si est exempt de la Port, Guet & Réueil.”<sup>122</sup> The trumpeter, however, was not allowed to leave the town without permission from the magistrates and could not sound the trumpet without their permission. Like his partner, he was exempted from guard duty and had “cinq aulnes d’Amiens de drap pour luy faire vn saye ou robe. Et si est payé pour sonner sa Trompette aux trois Carfours ordinaires huict sols, & s’il va aux Carfours ordinaires & extraordinaires, 16. sols.”<sup>123</sup> The criers of each locality would bear their town shield of arms and were paid according to the number of locations at which they cried.

Furthermore, it was the responsibility of these criers to find suitable replacements if they were unavailable, otherwise the local government intervened. In Paris, during the 1560s, Paris Chrestien was the crier for the king and the Parlement of Paris. He was accompanied by Claude Malassigné, the official trumpeter. When Paris Chrestien was unavailable, he commissioned Pierre Gaudin, *sergent à verge* at the Châtelet de Paris, as his substitute<sup>124</sup> and Malassigné employed the brothers Bertrand

---

<sup>120</sup> *Mandement du roy a tous seigneurs gentilshommes* (Paris: Frédéric Morel, 1587), sigs. A3r-A3v. BnF: F 47025 (4). This *mandement* was cried from Friday to Sunday, 16-18 October 1587. Ten trumpets were sounded on Saturday.

<sup>121</sup> *Mandement du roy pour la publication de la paix generale entre ledit seigneur le roy d'Espagne et le duc de Savoye* (Rouen: Raphaël du Petit Val, 1598), sig. A4r. BnF: F 46906 (7).

<sup>122</sup> *Receuil des derniers et principales ordonnances, qui concernent principalement l'honneur de Dieu* (s.l.: s.n., ca. 1586), sig. Cc1v. Toulouse BM: Fa B 2091.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>124</sup> *Lettres du roy pour la publication des monstres de la gendarmerie* (Paris: Robert Estienne, 1564), sig. C2r. Aix, Bibliothèque Méjanès: Rec D 278 (19).

and Pierre Braçoniers during his absences.<sup>125</sup> Like most positions, proclaiming acts was a family business. This is further demonstrated by Michel Noiret, the king's trumpeter from 1566 to 1585,<sup>126</sup> who hired Philippe Noiret during his absence in the 1580s and the latter replaced him as the royal trumpeter during the years of 1587 to 1589.<sup>127</sup> Under Henry IV, the Godet brothers, Nicolas and Pierre, sounded horns in Reims; and Roupeau and Pierre Cormier, also likely brothers, trumpeted in Bourges.<sup>128</sup>

Although the position of royal criers may appear insignificant, they were recognizable by the public and considered faithful servants of the king and the faces of royal authority. Their arrival as the royal messengers demonstrated the crown's authority and omnipresence. During the religious wars, this job became dangerous, especially over unpopular decrees from an ostracized king. In 1589, the crier Thomas L'Auvergne was imprisoned by the Holy Catholic League, thereby preventing him from proclaiming royal acts in France's capital city.<sup>129</sup> The following year on 23 June 1590, Michel Noiret was hanged by Leaguers after he had brought royal letters to royalists in Paris.<sup>130</sup> In France, popular opinion or social behaviour was not easily regulated. Because royal acts were never traditionally cried in churches, but rather outside of them or "at the doors," the churches were available for sermons that often implicitly criticized royal policy. Even the *parlementaires* themselves wavered in their support and loyalty to the crown. Therefore, to be a royal crier required not only reading skills and a loud voice but also a degree of courage. The men who performed these tasks both on behalf of the crown and on behalf of local municipalities performed an absolutely vital function. The record of their ceremonial proclamation of edicts, recorded in so many published acts, demonstrates that the printing of royal acts was an adjunct to this oral communication and never a substitute. Oral communication

---

<sup>125</sup> How the Noiret trumpeters were related is currently unknown, although it is likely that Philip was younger than Michel since he took over as the head trumpeter of the king around 1587. See *Mandement du roy sur le fait de sa gendarmerie* (Paris: Jean Dallier, 1563), sig. A3v. BnF: F 46825 (24). *Mandement du roy pour la convocation de toutes ses compagnies de gens de guerre à Montereau Faut-Yonne* (Paris: Frédéric Morel, 1587), sig. A4r. Carpentras BM: M 709 (33).

<sup>126</sup> *Lettres patentes du roy portant commandement expres à tous capitaines et chefs de gendarmerie* (Paris, Robert Estienne, 1566), sig. B4r. Aix, Bibliothèque Méjanès: Rec D 8 (35). *Edict du roy sur la reunion de ses sujets à l'église catholique, apostolique & romaine* (Paris: Frédéric Morel, 1585), sig. A4v. BnF: F 46879 (25).

<sup>127</sup> *Ordonnance du roy touchant un calendrier ecclesiastique nouveau* (Paris: Frédéric Morel, 1582), sig. B2r. BnF: F 46873 (10).

<sup>128</sup> *Edict du roy sur la reunion de monr le duc de Guyse de messieurs ses freres de la ville de Rheims* (Cahors: Jacques Rousseau, 1595), sig. B4r. Toulouse BM: Rés. D XVI 229 (6). *Edict du roy sur la reduction de la ville de Bourges* (Bourges: Nicolas Lévez, 1594), sig. B4v. Rouen BM: Leber 4181 (2).

<sup>129</sup> Roelker, ed., *The Paris of Henry of Navarre*, 171.

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*, 189.

remained at the heart of the relationship between government and governed throughout the sixteenth century. The effectiveness of "live" oral communication probably was not supplanted until the invention of the home radio.

The royal communication system of the sixteenth century was a combination of medieval and early modern techniques. The traditional procedure for enacting new laws was maintained throughout the period: the king, his *conseils* and *chancellerie* continued to govern France and issue edicts, the Parlement of Paris and other courts endured as judicial arms of the crown, and the people continued to be informed by town criers and broadsheets posted in public places. At every stage, the new technology of printing was employed in the service of government and it brought about a considerable change in how the French government conducted its business in official matters. Print undoubtedly allowed the crown to make its will known to a far greater number of the kingdom's growing number of active citizens. This in turn produced an increase in the range of activities that government sought to regulate and an increased determination to enforce its will. The printing press played a vital part in this process, often directly in the service of the crown and of local authorities. Printers also seized the opportunity to profit through the desire of lawyers and other interested parties to own their own copies of the numerous acts and edicts on matters that directly concerned them. Nevertheless, in the study of printed edicts, we must not ignore the fact that print was integrated into a system still dominated by manuscript and oral communication. The evolution of this subtle and changing relationship will be explored in subsequent chapters of this work.

## CHAPTER TWO

### ROYAL ACTS

---

The sixteenth-century French legal system was a mixture of at least four different traditions: customary law, Roman law, canon law, and royal acts.<sup>1</sup> Customary laws, or *coutumiers*, were local laws based on tradition that were observed mostly in northern France. Roman law, however, was practiced predominantly in the south and was an amalgam of the various laws from antiquity, including the Justinian Code, the Theodosian Code of 439, and the Breviary of Alaric.<sup>2</sup> At the same time, a compendium of canon law called the *Corpus Juris Canonici* governed judgments rendered in civil cases that overlapped with ecclesiastical issues such as marriage.<sup>3</sup> Royal acts are distinguished from the other three traditions in that they were decreed by French kings and, with the exception of fundamental laws, superseded other judicial works, judgments, and traditions.

Printed broadsheets and proclamations by the town crier were the two primary vehicles that were used to publicize the will of the crown. However, the invention of moveable type made the production of printed versions affordable, facilitating their dispersal among those who were interested in the crown's affairs. Although this opportunity was essentially limited to people with disposable income, it served as an alternative way to keep the king's message circulated in the public sphere.

This chapter will focus on the various types of royal acts that were printed in the sixteenth century for public sale. It will begin with an analysis of large collected works then consider specifically the earliest examples of printing royal edicts in the incunabula age. Finally, it will turn to an analysis of by far the most common form of most printed edicts, the pamphlet.

During the sixteenth century, royal acts were printed in two ways: some acts were collected together and sold as a book while most others were printed as a pamphlet, usually containing a single decree. Most collected editions were arranged

---

<sup>1</sup> David Avrom Bell, *Lawyers and Citizens: The Making of a Political Elite in Old Regime France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 23.

<sup>2</sup> J. H. Shennan, *The Parlement of Paris*, 2nd ed. (Phoenix Mill: Sutton, 1998), 53-54.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 55-56.

thematically rather than chronologically by their date of issue. Most often, these collections contained laws that affected the whole kingdom and often consisted of decrees spanning the reigns of several kings. On other occasions, these collections gathered together laws issued during a single reign.<sup>4</sup> In addition, some editors selected a topic and gathered royal acts under a large subject, such as tax ordinances, and then categorized each act further into subcategories. For example, the salt tax (*gabelle*) or indirect taxes (*aides*) on wine or other goods would become subheadings in a collection on tax.<sup>5</sup>

These collected editions signify an interesting phase in the transition from manuscript to print because they represent a type of book that was not part of any oral tradition. Pamphlets that contained a single edict may be said to have preserved the link with the oral tradition since they published the text of a royal act which was also cried abroad by the public crier. In contrast, the collected editions, which were a particularly dominant form during the first century of print, were essentially intended as tools of reference, for private use. Some of these collections provided the complete texts of laws. For example, in 1552, Antoine Gryphius printed *Les edicts et ordonnances, contenant les privileges octroyez par les rois treschrestiens aux foires de Lyon*.<sup>6</sup> He chose to print whole royal acts promulgated by French kings from Philip IV to Charles IX concerning the fairs of Lyon, a city renowned for commerce and trade.

Other collections did not contain the whole texts of laws but were made up of summaries. In 1573, Pierre Rebuffi published *Les edicts et ordonnances du roi de France*, a five-volume compendium of the laws of France.<sup>7</sup> The first volume contained acts concerning the question of justice and the judicial process; the second volume encompassed acts regarding royal domain and finances; the third volume consisted of ordinances on war and the nobility; the penultimate volume focused on politics and other miscellaneous issues; and the last volume detailed ecclesiastical matters. Within each volume were chapters that included summaries of royal acts decreed on these issues. References to where and when a royal act was issued were not included, which

---

<sup>4</sup> *Extraict de toutes les ordonnances royaulx* (Poitiers: Enguilbert Marnef, ca. 1521). Poitiers, Médiathèque François Mitterrand: DM1394 (2).

<sup>5</sup> *Edicts et ordonnances du roy concernans l'autorité et jurisdiction des cours de aides* (Lyon: Thibaud Payen, 1561). Carpentras, Bibliothèque Imguimbertaine: D2 1940.

<sup>6</sup> *Edicts et ordonnances contenant les privileges octroyez par les rois treschrestiens aux foires de Lyon* (Lyon: Antoine Gryphius, 1574). Lyon BM: Rés. 366010.

<sup>7</sup> Pierre Rebuffi, ed., *Les edicts et ordonnances des roys de France* (Lyon: Claude Senneton, 1573). BnF: Résac. F 2006.

suggests that these collections were intended rather to provide a general sense of the tenor of royal law on a particular subject. Books such as these could be used as a glossary or as a legal text for law students or legal practitioners.

These collections do offer a resonance of the age before print in the sense that they recall the manuscript collections, which were previously compiled by clerks to aid the king in his affairs.<sup>8</sup> The king and councils often called upon the services of *greffiers* to assist the crown to settle legal quandaries and set up lawful arguments before the Parlement of Paris or a sovereign state such as England. Medieval clerks produced personal catalogues to aid their research, often creating thematic rosters of royal acts that were constantly updated.<sup>9</sup> Thus, if the *chancellerie* had a question on a particular topic, researchers were able to find and study the subject quickly, as royal acts were summarized under sundry headings. If other personnel were interested in copying the works, they would need to hire copyists or copy it themselves.<sup>10</sup>

These summaries or epitomes were not, however, the most common form of collections published in the first age of print. Most of the successful editions were those that printed a series of edicts on a particular topic. The first printed collection of this type listed royal ordinances registered by the Parlement of Dijon in 1492 as *Les ordonnances royaulx constituees es parlemens du duche de Bourgoingne*.<sup>11</sup> This compilation featured royal acts registered in Burgundy from 1481 to 1492 and covered decrees promulgated by Louis IX and Charles VIII. It is more likely that a member of parlement, or the parlement itself, financed this edition because printers of this era generally lacked the capital to venture into the genres outside known popular sellers. If this collection was printed for public consumption, it failed; otherwise, its popularity would have manifested itself into multiple editions in the following years. It was not printed again until 1508, which suggests that it attracted a limited readership.<sup>12</sup> Printers in Brittany also dabbled in this genre and two books of *ordonnances royaulx* were

---

<sup>8</sup> Craig Taylor, "War, Propaganda and Diplomacy in Fifteenth-Century France and England," in *War, Government and Power in Late Medieval France*, ed. Christopher Allmand (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000), 74.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> Anthony Musson, "Law and Text: Legal Authority and Judicial Accessibility in the Late Middle Ages," in *The Uses of Script and Print, 1300-1700*, ed. Julia C. Crick and Alexandra Walsham (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 98-99.

<sup>11</sup> Coutumes, *Les ordonnances royaulx constituees es parlemens du duché de Bourgoingne* (s.l.: s.n., ca. 1492). BnF: Res P F 2 (2).

<sup>12</sup> Coutumes, *Les ordonnances royaulx constituees es parlemens du duchie de Bourgoingne* (Lyon: Claude Davost, 1508). Lyon BM: Rés. B 492165 (2).

published separately around 1494. This book also failed to find a more extensive resonance: the next book of this type was not published until 1532.<sup>13</sup>

In contrast, collections that covered ordinances of several kings were constantly in demand. The first was printed in 1505 by Robert Pincelou in Paris and was followed by seven more editions before the reign of Francis I in 1515. The first printer who received a privilege for this type of work was Galliot du Pré by the Parlement of Paris; du Pré received two years of privilege on 21 April 1515.<sup>14</sup> These kinds of collections continued as marketable items into the next two decades, as demonstrated below. The top portion of every column represents the number of printed decrees that were *not* collections. The bottom section represents the number of known collections in each decade.

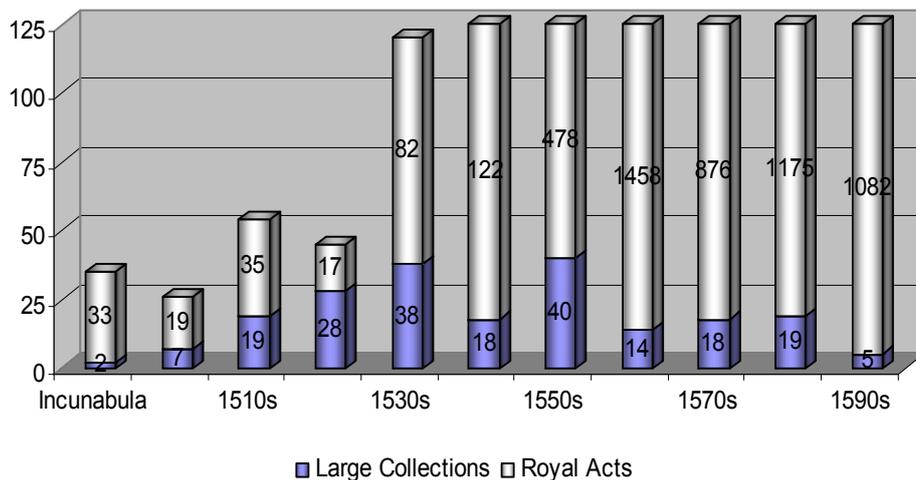


Figure 2-1: The number of collections published in the sixteenth century.

One can well understand the attraction of collections of this sort. Every member of the legal community—clerks, magistrates, students, and common lawyers—had access to what may have been previously restricted information; resources that were formerly collected by royal clerks were now accessible by the public. The texts freed researchers from law libraries and court registrars and allowed them to research in their homes or offices. The production of these collected editions peaked during the 1520s when they constituted over 62 per cent of printed editions of royal acts. By the

<sup>13</sup> Coutumes, *Les jouables coutumes du pays et duché de Bretagne visitées* (Nantes: Antoine Papolin, ca. 1532). BnF: Rés. 8o Z DON 594 (87).

<sup>14</sup> *Les ordonnances et status royaux des feuz roys* (Paris: Galliot du Pré, ca. 1515), sig. A1v. BnF: Rés. F 863 (1).

1530s, the number of printed collections began to wane to 31 per cent and then, in the 1540s, to 6 per cent of the total number of printed acts.

In their place, printers began to place on the market pamphlet editions of individual edicts. These small compact and convenient books had several advantages both for the producer and the potential purchaser. Pamphlets were faster to assemble, print, and sell. Publishers had an infinite source of material as the crown emitted acts faster than the industry could copy them.<sup>15</sup> Ironically, the very considerable sales of collected editions in the first half of the sixteenth century may have sealed their fate, since most lawyers and judges would already have purchased at least one of these large folio compilations. If this was the case, large sales of the collected editions may have helped create the market for pamphlets as law professionals attempted to keep their libraries updated with individually published decrees instead of purchasing another large, expensive book.

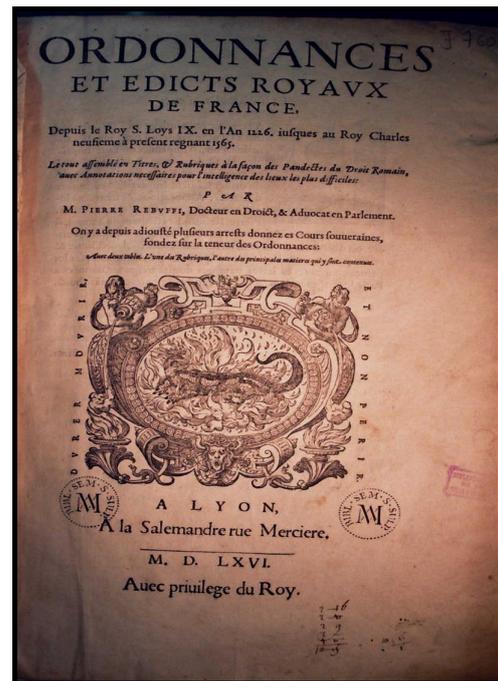
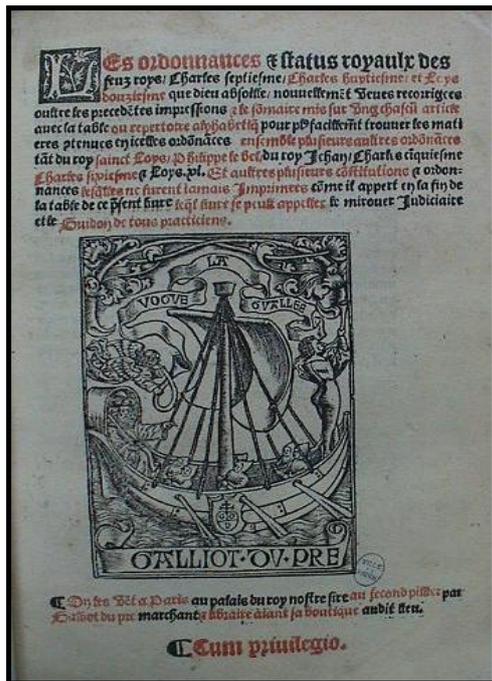


Figure 2-2: Collections printed by Galliot du Pré in 1515 (left) and by Claude Senneton in 1566 (right).<sup>16</sup>

<sup>15</sup> See chapter three, figure 3-1.

<sup>16</sup> *Les ordonnances et status royaux des feuz roys* (Paris: Galliot du Pré, ca. 1515). Bibliothèque Historique de la Ville de Paris: Rés. 550068. *Ordonnances et edicts royaux de France* (Lyon: Claude Senneton, 1566). Toulouse BM: Fa A 2104.

During the 1540s, the appearance of collected editions of edicts was revised with the changing fashions within the printing industry. Roman and italic fonts replaced gothic letters but the books remained bulky. Encyclopaedic works became more complex and were divided up into several tomes compiled by Parisian lawyers such as Pierre Rebuffi, mentioned earlier, and Antoine Fontanon, whose works were repeatedly published during the second half of the century. Rebuffi's compilations were printed nine times and sold from the same shop from 1547 to 1575 in Lyon "en la Rue Merciere, à l'enseigne de la Salamandre," which was owned by the Senneton family.<sup>17</sup> Fontanon, whose compilation was very much in the style of Rebuffi, was first published in Paris in 1580 chez Jacques du Puys.<sup>18</sup> Figure 2-2 (above) shows the contrasting style of collections of edicts from the first half and the second half of the century.

### Incunabula

In the fifteenth century, royal acts were often published as collections under the heading *ordonnances royaux*. Roughly 58 per cent of royal acts printed before 1501 contained the word *ordonnance* in the title.<sup>19</sup> A common feature of these earliest printed decrees is that the text of its title page often contains the date in which the edict was registered in the Parlement of Paris. It is often this feature which allows us to date the edict.

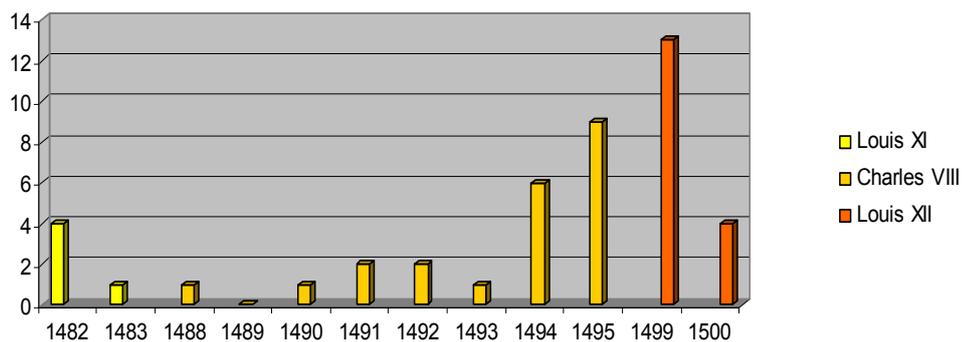


Figure 2-3: The number of royal incunabula by king.

<sup>17</sup> *Les ordonnances et status royaux des feuz roys* (Paris: Galliot du Pré, ca. 1515), sig. A1r. BnF: Rés. F 863 (1).

<sup>18</sup> Variants were noted by FVB bibliographers. His second edition was published in 1585. See *Les edicts et ordonnances des roys de France* (Paris: Jacques du Puys, 1585). London, British Library: 503 k 4.

<sup>19</sup> That is, twenty-five out of forty-three royal acts printed before 1501.

As can be discerned from the relative scarcity of publication of this nature, printed editions of royal acts were not a particularly important part of the business of publishing in France in the fifteenth century. In fact, they represent only 2.7 per cent of French vernacular books of the incunabula age. Nevertheless, considerable care was lavished on the production of their appearance. The earliest editions of printed royal edicts were invariably printed in gothic script, and sometimes the title page was printed in two colours, by the complicated process of double impression (see figure 2-2a for example taken from a slightly later period). These volumes in contrast made only a very occasional use of illustration. The use of illustrated woodcuts was in fact usually confined to a title page woodcut, although this could be a polished and intricate work of art. The next picture (figure 2-4) is the Ordinances of Blois issued in March 1499, the most widely printed incunabula on a royal ordinance.

The printer's name is very often not given on the title page. If the printer explicitly signed the book, this was usually in the colophon at the end of the book. However, in this case, the printer failed to mention himself or the publication year. Bibliographically, the printer responsible is identified by the woodcut. Pierre Le Caron, the printer responsible, used the same woodcut in another book that he printed for bookseller Antoine Vérard.<sup>20</sup>



Figure 2-4:  
The Ordinances of Blois of 1499  
were the most frequently printed act.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Hugh William Davies and Charles Fairfax Murray, *Catalogue of a Collection of Early French books in the Library of C. Fairfax Murray*, 2 vols., vol. 1 (London: Priv. print, 1910), no. 407.

<sup>21</sup> *Les ordonnances royaulx* (Paris: Pierre Le Caron, ca. 1499), sig. d7r. BnF: NUMM-111295.

The most problematic aspect of this era of publishing was the tendency to omit publication years. The St Andrews French Vernacular Book Project (FVB) attempted to resolve the problem by estimating the publication years based on the most recent date given in the royal act. For example, if the crown issued an ordinance that was registered in June 1499 but the printer failed to disclose the print date either in the colophon or in a privilege, then the year 1499 was used as its estimated printed date. If two or more dates were given, the most recent date was used. Under these guidelines, the earliest printed royal act known to the Book Project is the treaty of Louis XI and the duke of Austria, printed circa 1482, twelve years after the arrival of the first printing press in Paris in 1470. This was Louis XI's only contemporaneous printed act; he died 30 August 1483.

The estimated dates should be relatively accurate because royal acts were rarely produced more than two years after their registration date in the Parlement of Paris. For example, most edicts of pacification were printed the same year they were registered, which was usually the same year it was issued by the *chancellerie*. The single exception was the Edict of Nantes, which had a registration date in the Parlement of Paris of 2 February 1599, one year after it was issued. To demonstrate this trend, the chart below illustrates how many editions of printed royal acts of pacification were published from the date of their registrations in the Parlement of Paris to the end of the sixteenth century. Printers preferred to wait to print new legislation until it was registered in the Parlement of Paris; thereafter, most edicts were printed in the same year of its registration in Parlement. The only exception was the Edict of Poitiers of 1577, which was reprinted in the 1590s after Henry IV re-established the decree through his declaration issued on 15 November 1594 from Saint-Germain-en-Laye.

The chart below demonstrates two important trends. Most edicts were printed within the first year following their registration, and the chances of a reprint after its second year of publication was low. This was partly because in the fast moving context of French politics in the second half of the century, these edicts of pacification were often superseded by later peace settlements. From figure 2-5, we see that four edicts of pacification were issued during the reign of Charles IX, followed by a further three in the reign of Henry III. Although this was a special case, many categories of royal acts had an element of built-in obsolescence. Early modern magistrates believed that

ordinances were limited to the lifetime of the king who promulgated them.<sup>22</sup> Although this was never written down in Parlement as a constitutional truth, it may explain why printers preferred not to reprint royal acts over a long period of time, since the laws articulated in them were no longer necessarily valid. In fact, some decrees were overturned several times within a king's reign.

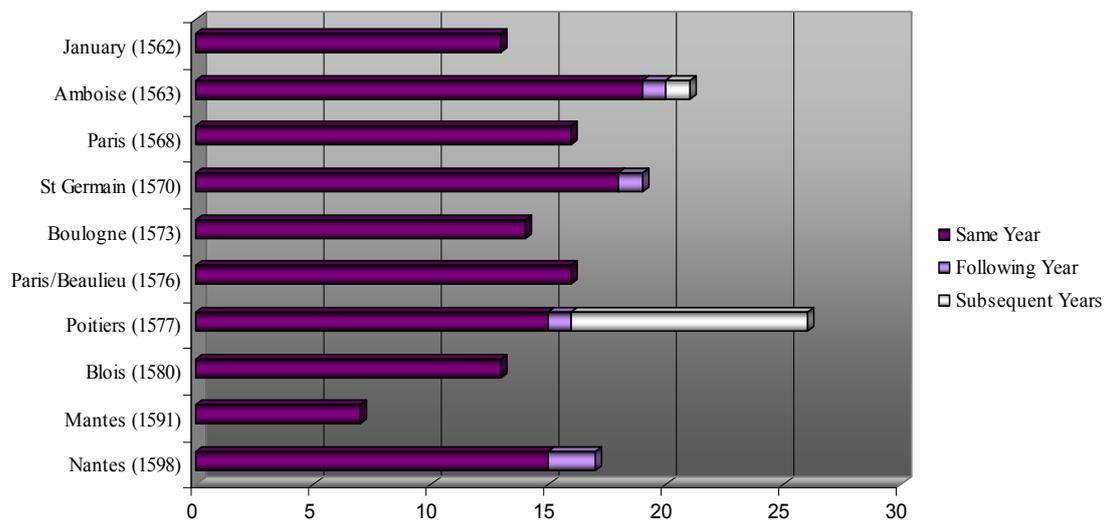


Figure 2-5: Edicts of pacification printed within two years or more from its date of registration in the Parlement of Paris.

Royal decrees were divided into four sections. The preamble, which could sometimes be quite lengthy, was followed by the main body of legislation. The provisions of the edict were often divided into separate articles, which were usually numbered. Provisions were followed by a conclusion, which embodied the king's order that the edict be obeyed. This concluding paragraph has a formulaic and standard form. The last part of the edict consists of the authentication, comprising the signatures of various officials and enrolments of various statutory bodies. Each section and subsection had a few variations within it. In a printed pamphlet, an optional fifth section included supplementary information, which could include anything from a description of the royal seal to various summaries of government registrations or the testimony of the town crier.

A royal act was written in either a formal, diplomatic structure or a less elaborate, succinct version. Only a handful of decrees that were probably written

<sup>22</sup>Roger Doucet, ed., *Les institutions de la France au XVIIe siècle*, 2 vols., vol. 1 (Paris: A. et J. Picard, 1948), 67.

during unofficial council meetings deviated from the two predominant structures. The diplomatic structure had a formal Christian address from the king. It began with his name and was followed by “par la grace de Dieu, roy de France.”<sup>23</sup> The acts of Henry III and Henry IV included other countries—“roy de France et Pologne” and “roy de France et Navarre.” This greeting was included in most royal acts and in every edict. References to God were expressions of the divinely appointed institution of the monarchy. They reiterated the belief that the king was ordained by God as a humble servant to govern France, with the implication that obedience to the king was obedience to God. After the opening sentence, the addressee was named. If it was addressed to the kingdom, it often stated, “A tous presens & à venir, salut.” Otherwise, a specific name or group was given or sometimes a combination of the three.

The second greeting, “de par le roy,” was less formal and was used less frequently than the Christian address. This shorter introduction to a royal act implied that the act was created during an informal meeting of the council.<sup>24</sup> In such instances, they were usually simple commands or pronouncements that did not require any verification in a court of law. Deviations from these traditional headings were rare and will be discussed in the next section under *déclarations* and *mandements*.

The body of a royal act consisted of the main text itself, which fell into two categories. The diplomatic style addressed the problems perceived by the crown and why a change was needed, detailing a remedy with punishments if it was not obeyed. It concluded an edict with commands that the courts register the act, practice it, and enforce it peaceably, “car tel est nostre plaisir.”<sup>25</sup> In less formal acts, the body simply contained a succinct version of the command without a full explanation.

The signatures of the act were vital, and three elements were required to authenticate a royal act: the date and place of issue and the surname of a member of the *secrétaires des finances*, also known as *secrétaires d'État*, who supervised it. Again, there were several ways to provide this information. The official ending began with the words “Donné à” as the Edict of January demonstrates:

Donné à Saint-Germain en Laye le dix septiesme jour de janvier, l'an de grace mil cinq cens soixante ung et de nostre regne le deuxiesme.  
Ainsi signé sur le reply: Par le roy estant en son Conseil, BOURDIN.<sup>26</sup>

---

<sup>23</sup> Translated as “by the grace of God, king of France.”

<sup>24</sup> David Potter, *The French Wars of Religion: Selected Documents* (New York, NY: St Martin's Press, 1997), 91.

<sup>25</sup> Translated as “for such is our pleasure.”

<sup>26</sup> *Edict du roy...fait par le conseil et aduis de la roine sa mere* (Paris: Robert Estienne, 1562), sig. C3r. BnF: FZ 2228.

The Edict of January was given in Saint-Germain-en-Laye on 17 January 1562 and signed by the royal secretary, Jacques Bourdin. As shown above, the king's name was not mentioned. Instead, his involvement was implied in the words "par le roy estant en son conseil." However, not all formal endings explicitly referred to his *conseil*. Sometimes, "par le roy" sufficed, as the Edict of the Reduction of Paris of 1594, among several others, demonstrates.<sup>27</sup>

The less formal style of signatures was subtly different from the more elaborate version. First, the duration of the king's rule was not included. In addition, the word "Fait" sometimes replaced "Donné," and the phrases "par le roy" or "en son conseil" were not used. In some rare cases, parts of the three marks of a royal act—the date, place, and secretary—were excluded, which will be discussed in the next section regarding *déclarations*, *mandements*, and *lettres*.

The signatures were often followed by a paratext, which was printed at the volition of the printer. Here, the seal that authenticated the act was described, along with any registration summaries of any court and institution that was involved. The seal was pressed on coloured wax. Green wax meant that it was an important new law. Edicts were usually sealed in green wax; yellow wax was placed on the other royal acts.<sup>28</sup> Subsidiary information also included the testimony of the town crier. On rare occasions, a list of members who sat in *conseil* was provided.

### A New Standard Appearance

Although the structure of the royal act remained the same, other transformations occurred in the visual appearance of printed edicts during the 1530s. The first was that printers opted to use Roman and italic fonts rather than the gothic script used in incunabula.<sup>29</sup> The second change was that pamphlets were now published routinely in octavo rather than larger formats such as quartos or folios. This shift, which began in 1530s, was completed in the following decade. In Paris and Lyon, France's two largest printing centres, printers favoured octavo because it made the pamphlets smaller and easier to handle. However, not every town adopted this practice, and the size varied

---

<sup>27</sup> Elizabeth Armstrong, *Before Copyright: The French Book-Privilege System, 1498-1526* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 63.

<sup>28</sup> Bernard Barbiche, *Les institutions de la monarchie française à l'époque moderne, XVIe-XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1999), 68-69.

<sup>29</sup> Colin Clair, *A History of European Printing* (London: Academic Press, 1976), 159.

according to the preferences of the printer. Toulouse, for example, which received its first printing press in 1476, preferred to print royal acts both in octavos and quartos throughout the century.

Around the same time, the layout of title pages changed considerably from those that were printed during the first half of Francis I's reign. Royal acts were no longer generically titled *ordonnances royaux*. Instead, they were titled by their different categories with the common addition of "du Roy." This new style dominated the appearance of the title page into the next century.

There were several types of royal acts: *édits*, *ordonnances*, *lettres patentes*, *lettres*, *arrêts*, *déclarations*, *mandements*, and *lettres de jussion*. Each royal act had peculiarities that were relatively well understood by their contemporaries.<sup>30</sup> As explained in chapter one, for example, an edict required registration in the Parlement of Paris. In contrast, a *mandement*, or a simple command of a king, did not usually require any registration and was cried immediately to the public. The descriptions of each royal act will be discussed in greater detail in the next section, "Types of Royal Acts."

Printed royal acts for public consumption followed the trend of title pages produced in the 1530s. Printed pamphlets and books contained a description of their contents at the top of the title page, usually summarized by the printer. This was normally followed by a printer's device, or alternatively, in the case of royal acts, the French royal arms. At the bottom of the title page, the printer included his name, location, and the year of publication. In the case of royal acts, royal printers added "Imprimeur du Roy" at the bottom, and if they obtained a privilege to print the act, a sentence of privilege was often included. This standard appearance was important because it allowed the reader to discern the contents immediately and more importantly, the bottom half of the title page allowed the reader to know who was accountable for the printed copy. In the case of royal printers, buyers were assured that their purchase was an authentic transcription. Anonymously printed pamphlets, usually pirated versions, had questionable credibility; they could be unreliable versions or completely false acts.

---

<sup>30</sup> Pierre L'Étoile sometimes called *lettres patentes*, *lettres*, and the Edict and Declaration of Paris (1594) on Paris' reduction was called a declaration. Gustave Brunet et al., eds., *Mémoires-journaux de Pierre de L'Estoile: édition pour la première fois complète et entièrement conforme aux manuscrits originaux*, 11 vols., vol. 1 (Paris: Librairie des bibliophiles, 1875), 197.

After the late 1530s and early 1540s, the printed royal act was subject to several minor changes. The earliest royal act of the new style was printed in 1538 by Jean Real. In Paris, he printed the Edict of Crémieu and provided his information in the colophon at the end of the pamphlet.

[fleuron] Edict du Roy || touchant les iurisdiccions des baillifz/ || seneschaux et autres iuges pre= || sidiaux et autres || iuges inferieurs. || [3 fleurons] || [arms of France] || Mil cinq cens. xxxviii.<sup>31</sup>

The Edict of Crémieu was issued by Francis I on 19 June 1536 and was responsible for the organization of France's higher and lower courts during the sixteenth century.



Figure 2-6: Edicts of January of 1562 printed by Robert Estienne, his first edition (left), and Martin Le Mègissier's edition from Rouen (right).<sup>32</sup>

By the 1540s, printers began to imprint their character and style onto editions of royal acts with far greater confidence. Royal printers in Paris, such as Robert Estienne, began to use their own devices in lieu of the royal arms on the title page, while printers in Lyon preferred to use their own elaborate renditions of the royal arms, such as the king's picture instead of the simple shield of arms. However, this practice changed

<sup>31</sup> *Edict du roy touchant les iurisdiccions des baillifz* (Paris: Jean Réal, 1538). Châlons-en-Champagne BM: Rés. CH 601 (5).

<sup>32</sup> The printed year in Estienne's copy is in the old style. *Edict du roy...faict par le conseil & aduis de la roine sa mere* (Paris: Robert Estienne, 1561/2). Paris, Bibliothèque Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français: Rés. 13964 (4). *Edict et ordonnance du roy pour donner repos à ses subiectz* (Rouen: Martin Le Mègissier, 1561/2). Grenoble BM: E 14624.

under Henry IV, as Parisian printers replaced their devices with the arms of France and Navarre.<sup>33</sup>

The printer had full control of the title page and he decided how to describe a royal act on the cover. The government did not make any attempts to regulate this. Because of this, in many royal acts, various printers summarized the same decree differently.<sup>34</sup> However, the differences were usually inconsequential. For example, the above picture is the earliest known edition of the Edict of January, published by the king's official printer in Paris, Robert Estienne. As the king's printer, Estienne was the first to be authorized to print the Edict of January, which was enacted in Saint-Germain-en-Laye, located less than twelve miles from Paris.<sup>35</sup> His edition could have been an example for any printer to copy, as Anthoine du Rosne did in Lyon. However, printers were not obliged to follow their Parisian counterparts. The Poitiers printer, Ian de Marnef, preferred to write his own summary on the title page.

[small fleuron] Edict du Roy || CHARLES NEVFIEME || DE CE NOM, FAICT PAR || le Conseil & aduis de tous les || Parlemens de ce Royaume, pour || la tranquillité & repos vniuersel || de ses subiets, touchant le fait || de la Religion. || A POICTIERS, || Au Pelican, par Ian de Marnef. || 1561<sup>36</sup>

Likewise, the Rouen printer, Robert La Motte, also wrote his own description of the same edict, which differed from Marnef's text in a significant way (see figure 2-6b above).

In this way, individual printers had control over their title pages, although the contents therein remained uncompromised. These title pages reveal an important feature related to the titles of royal acts. Of the eight known editions of the Edict of January, not a single pamphlet was titled, *Édit de janvier*. These short titles were given by contemporaries and used as reference points rather than speaking in terms of absolute names. In his *Memoires*, Pierre de L'Étoile mentioned how some leading Protestants approached Henry IV to reconsider the Edict of January in February 1594. The king replied facetiously:

---

<sup>33</sup> One can speculate the reason for this change. For example, they accentuate their submission to the king after the rebellion of the Holy Catholic League or, in the case of royal printers, demonstrate their royal positions and nature of the pamphlets.

<sup>34</sup> See figure 0-1.

<sup>35</sup> Elizabeth Armstrong stated that Parlement sent all royal acts to Robert Estienne until 1561. Elizabeth Armstrong, *Robert Estienne, Royal Printer; an Historical Study of the Elder Stephanus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954), 140.

<sup>36</sup> *Edict du roy...faict par le conseil et advis de tous les parlemens* (Poitiers: Jean de Marnef, 1561/2). La Rochelle, Médiathèque Michel Crépeau: 2673c.

En ce temps, les députés de ceux de la Religion arrivés à Mantes présentèrent requête au Roy pour avoir l'Édit de Janvier, et estoit M. Du Plessis-Mornay, qui en portoit la parole.

Mais le Roy, s'en moquant, les pais tous d'un mot. "Comment! dist-il, sommes-nous pas en febvrier? Ce ne seroit pas l'Édit de Janvier, ce seroit l'Édit de Febvrier. Je suis d'avis qu'on attende le mois de janvier qui vient, et lors on vous pourvoira." Et, aiant tiré M. Du Plessis à part, lui dit quelques mots à l'aureille.<sup>37</sup>

The reference to such an important act demonstrates that the Edict of January was a contemporary and popular name although it was not used by the printers. Title pages belonged to the printers, who composed their titles for their own marketing strategy. The typology of royal acts, however, was determined by the text and here there were significant differences between the royal acts described variously as edicts, *lettres patentes*, or ordinances.

### Types of Royal Acts

In the sixteenth century, there were two types of printed acts—those that were legislative (containing the force of law) and those that did not have the force of law. Legislative royal acts had to be verified in a court of law, usually a sovereign court that had jurisdiction over the act, in order to be officially recognized. These were *édits*, *lettres de jussion*, *ordonnances*, *lettres patentes*, and *arrêts*. However, a smaller category of decrees known as *mandements* and most *déclarations* were not legislative but had the force of command. Regardless, they all carried the official will of the king and to disobey them would bring punishment either through a civil trial or through the personal disfavour of the king.

The following chart is an overview of the division of printed royal acts by type. Edicts were the most prolifically printed decree of the sixteenth century, contributing more than 30 per cent of the total output. *Ordonnances* comprised 17 per cent of the total. Pamphlets titled *déclarations du roi* accounted for 15 per cent of printed royal acts followed closely behind by *lettres patentes du roi* with 14 per cent. Printed letters of the king constituted 11 per cent of published acts before 1601. *Mandements* comprised 3 per cent followed by articles and *arrêts*, each of which constituted 2 per cent of printed decrees. *Titres de départ* also comprised 2 per cent of the royal corpus. This category also included broadsheets. The "Others" category included pamphlets

---

<sup>37</sup> Brunet et al., eds., *Mémoires-journaux de Pierre de L'Estoile*, 154-55.

with titles that deviated from the categories listed above including *ampliations*, *defenses*, and *extracts*. This final group generated nearly 4 per cent of all royal acts printed during the reign of the Valois kings and Henry IV.

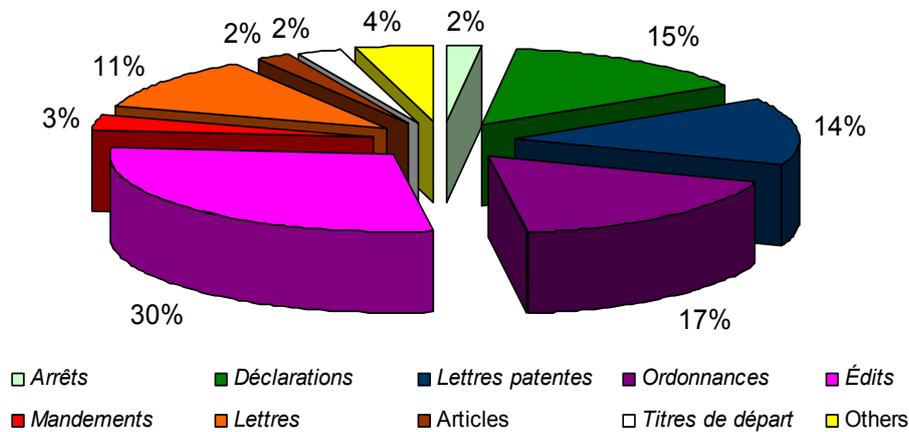


Figure 2-7: Division of the types of royal acts printed.

### *Édits du roi*

In the sixteenth century, edicts were lawful proclamations issued by a sovereign authority. In France, they were strictly from the king, who was often counselled by his advisors. Similar to ordinances, they may contain several articles but they were unlike them in two ways. Firstly, edicts pertained to specific topics, while ordinances can address several sundry topics. More importantly, no other authority, institution, or royal family member had the power to issue an edict addressed to the whole kingdom, or write one on his behalf, and no governing body could share in its promulgation.<sup>38</sup> Therefore, regents could not issue royal edicts, and nor any court, like the *cour des monnaies*. Edicts were sealed with green wax which meant that they were new laws, and if they were tied up with red and green silk, it meant they were important.<sup>39</sup>

Edicts were the most frequently printed royal acts of the sixteenth century, comprising 30 per cent of the total. Within this sub-category, Francis I contributed 5 per cent of the total number of printed royal acts, although this period covers the last nine years of his reign from 1538 to 1547. Henry II, during his twelve years as king, accounted for 13 per cent. His son, Francis II, who ruled for seventeen months, generated 5 per cent. Under Charles IX, edicts were promulgated and printed profusely

<sup>38</sup> This differs slightly from Bernard Barbiche's understanding. He calls edicts *petites ordonnances* because edicts contained several articles on a single topic. Barbiche, *Les institutions*, 67-68.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 68.

and contributed a quarter of those printed in the French vernacular. This increased to 31 per cent under Henry III, who ruled a year longer than his older brother. Their Bourbon cousin, Henry IV, published a fifth of the total corpus in the first part of his reign. The growth of royal business and printed acts will be discussed in detail during chapters three and four. The following chart demonstrates the various sources of printed edicts by editions:

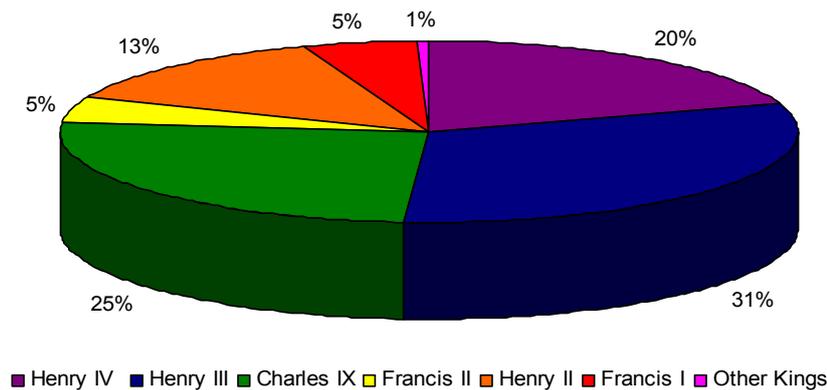


Figure 2-8: The distribution of printed edicts by kings.

The conflict between the Holy Catholic League and the monarchy from 1587 to 1594 complicated the right of issuing an edict. In opposition to Henry III, Charles de Lorraine, duke of Mayenne, issued an edict against the king on 22 March 1587 from Nancy.<sup>40</sup> During the siege of Paris, the duke issued two more edicts: one on 5 August 1589, after the death of Henry III, and another in November 1593.<sup>41</sup> This was a significant move by the League, which intended to usurp the powers of the kingship against Henry IV.

The rapid growth in the number of edicts printed in the sixteenth century certainly had its impact on the wider political consciousness. The number of edicts published itself became part of the public debate. In a poem that formed part of his dialogue with Pierre Ronsard, the Protestant poet Bernard de Montmeja complained about the unending number of edicts decreed by the king, contending they only brought more disorder:

<sup>40</sup> Charles II (Duc de Lorraine), *Edict et ordonnance de Charles...duc de Calabre* (Lyon: Benoît Rigaud, 1587). BnF: FZ 1838.

<sup>41</sup> Charles de Lorraine (Duc de Mayenne), *Edict et declaration de monseigneur le duc de Mayenne* (Lyon: Jean Pillehotte, 1589). Aix, Bibliothèque Méjanès: Rec. D 9 (209).

Et pour servir d'exemple à son peuple François,  
Qui marchera, craintif, sous le frain de ses lois,  
Estant plus curieux de soigneusement suivre  
La trace de ses moeurs, et sa façon de vivre,  
Qu'un million d'Edicts, dont nul ne fait grand cas,  
Quant le Roy le premier ne les observe pas.  
Comme par le contraire, une tourbe civile,  
A tous commandemens se trouvera docile...<sup>42</sup>

He also questioned whether citizens should be obliged to comply with edicts when the king himself failed to obey them. Although this excerpt exposed hypocrisy in the crown rather than advising civil obedience, the fact that he complained about them demonstrates the importance of edicts as hot political points of debate and public intellectual property.

This is reflected too in the correspondence between John Calvin and other European Protestant leaders. In October 1551, Calvin wrote to Heinrich Bullinger in Zurich about the Edict of Châteaubriant, issued a few months earlier by Henry II in June:

For in order to gain new modes of venting his rage against the people of God, he [Henry II] has been issuing atrocious edicts, by which the general prosperity of the kingdom is broken up. A right of appeal to the supreme courts has hitherto been, and still is, granted to persons guilty of poisoning, of forgery and of robbery; yet this is denied to Christians: they are condemned by the ordinary judges to be dragged straight to the flames, without any appeal.<sup>43</sup>

Without mentioning the name of the edict, Calvin continued to write indignantly about Châteaubriant because it sanctioned the persecution of Protestants in France and implicitly condemned Geneva more than ten times.<sup>44</sup> In an earlier letter from Zurich, Bullinger wrote to his colleague, Martin Bucer, about the edict of Francis I against the Lutherans that was issued on 29 January 1539.<sup>45</sup> Protestants were targeted as enemies of the kingdom. Edicts impacted on foreign leaders who had interests in France because the force of the law was applied to the whole kingdom. The only obstacle for legalization was their registration in the Parlement of Paris, or an equivalent sovereign court, and their verification was always required. This will be discussed further under the section *Lettres de jussion*.

---

<sup>42</sup> Antoine de Chandieu, *Responses aux calomnies contenues au discours* (Lyon: s.n., 1563), sig. C1v. BnF: NUMM- 70729.

<sup>43</sup> Jean Calvin, "Letter 284: To Bullinger. Edict of Chateaubriand, in France-Attacks on Calvin in Geneva: 15 October 1551, Geneva," in *Selected Works of Jean Calvin*, ed. Jules Bonnet (Albany, OR: AGES Software, 1998), 330-32.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 331.

<sup>45</sup> Heinrich Bullinger, "Briefe des jaures 1535," in *Heinrich Bullinger Briefwechsel*, ed. Rainer Henrich Hans Ulrich Bächtold, Kurt Jakob Rüestchi (Zurich: University of Zurich, 1992), 168-74.

An edict's road to the public sphere was longer than any other royal act. As national decrees, they were sent from the king's *conseil* directly to a sovereign court in Paris, usually to the Parlement of Paris. The *grand chambre* was at the legislative core of Parlement and registered every royal act.<sup>46</sup> After its verification in the Parlement of Paris, a royal act was officially legal despite its lack of recognition in other courts. The Parlement then dispatched the royal act to other sovereign courts, both provincial parlements and Parisian financial courts, and other ruling bodies located in their area of jurisdiction, such as *bailliages* and *sénéchaussées* located outside Paris. Royal courts verified the acts and sent them to smaller local institutions that corroborated the decree. The final step to publicize the edict was to contact a local printer and town crier.

The edict defined how a formal royal act should appear, because it always took on the diplomatic structure that included a Christian introduction and formal signatures at the end. Furthermore, an edict's ancillary information, if provided, was usually longer than that of any other royal act. Printers often added a description of the edict's seal and the registration summary from the Parlement of Paris. Edicts with financial consequences could also contain the registrations of any of the sovereign financial courts. In addition, the printer could include the testimonial of the town crier in the usual locations for publicity. In a full Parisian edition, the supplementary information may have up to five different statements: the seal, the registrations of Parlement, *chambre des comptes*, *cour des aides*, *cour des monnaies*, and the royal crier. Provincial printers sometimes added local information to their editions to note that it been publicized by the town crier in their own town. However, to have more than six subsidiary statements was rare. Therefore, in a provincial edition, the printer often inserted an edict's registration in the Parlement of Paris and followed it with the registration of the local government and the testimony of the town crier, and omitted the registrations of the other Parisian courts.

### *Mandements du roi*

In contrast to edicts, *mandements* were simple commands issued by the king and sent to an individual or a group of people. They were issued less frequently than most royal acts, comprising less than 3 per cent of the total corpus of printed editions.

---

<sup>46</sup> However, very few financial edicts went directly to a financial court without stopping in Parlement because they lacked civil applications. These were extremely rare because most financial edicts had civic repercussions. When these rare instances occurred, the financial court was responsible for sending the royal act to various other branches of government.

Similar to the edict, it was the practice of French printers to print *mandements* issued exclusively by the French king. Governing bodies or individuals could issue *mandements* in conjunction with the king but they could never declare them independently from him. In these cases, printers would place the king's name on the title page along with its co-author. However, the text itself was signed by a lower-ranking authority rather than the secretary of the king.<sup>47</sup> The exception to this occurred during the siege of Paris when the *mandement* of the duke of Mayenne ordered an assembly of the General Estates in Orléans in 1591.<sup>48</sup> For Henry IV, this was Mayenne's final treasonous act.

*Mandements* were the shortest printed royal act and, if they were sealed, the information was not printed in published decrees. They were direct, pithy orders that usually required a prompt response from their recipients. These decrees were not legislative so the crown preferred to issue *mandements* informally; very few of them were structured like an edict. They often greeted their hearers with "de par le roy" and the audience was usually general, although some *mandements* were tailored to an individual or specific group of people. After stating the order, it ended succinctly with "Donné" or "Fait" and the place and date where the decree was issued along with the name of the king's secretary. The supplementary information was limited as well. At most, the printer added the testimonial of the royal crier, who stated when and where he cried the act. Thus, it appears that the journey for the *mandement* to its audience was brief, from the king directly to the public, and unless the *mandement's* message was created for a specific court, other government institutions were not involved.

### *Lettres patentes du roi*

Most letters from the king were written as *lettres patentes du roi* to confer privileges to individuals or groups for a limited time, or act as official royal letters to government institutions. Considered official letters from the crown, they were followed as commands and just as binding as edicts but could be issued by a sovereign or his regent. If addressed to the general public, this letter often bestowed special powers or rights on individuals or specific groups for a period of time. Printers were

---

<sup>47</sup> François de Montmorency, *Mandement du roy et de monseigneur de Montmorency* (Paris: Jean Dallier, 1562), sig. A4v. Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève: 8o F 910 inv. 4185 (31) Rés. This was dated 19 December 1562 in Paris and signed F. de Montmorency and du Fossé.

<sup>48</sup> Charles de Lorraine (Duc de Mayenne), *Mandement de monseigneur le duc de Mayenne* (Troyes: Jean Moreau, ca. 1591). BnF: LE15 3.

given privileges through *lettres patentes*, which gave them the right to print a book without competition for a period that ranged from three months to ten years, depending on the grant. Any letter sent to a branch of government was also called a *lettre patente*. For example, on 4 May 1596, Henry IV addressed a *lettre patente* to the Parlement of Paris to hold a *grand jour* in Lyon.<sup>49</sup> The letter was registered in Parlement sixteen days later.

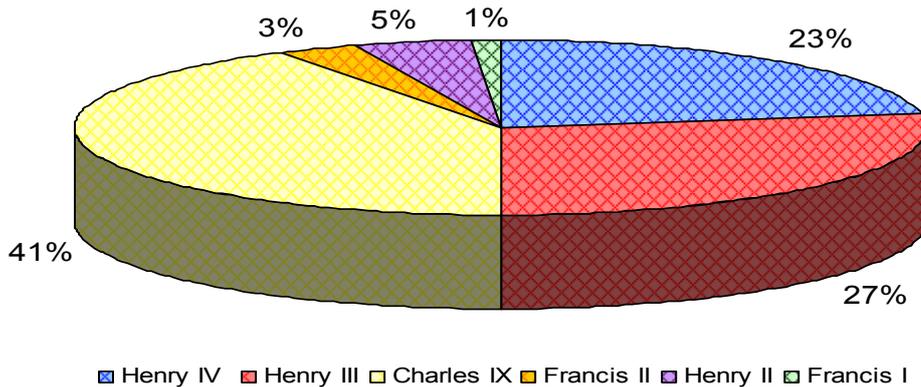


Figure 2-9: Division of printed *lettres patentes* by kings.

*Lettres patentes* were the fourth most frequently printed royal act of the sixteenth century. Seals were placed on yellow wax on double queue of parchment although rarely, on more important letters, green wax was used. In these cases, the letters were usually tied with red and green silk like edicts.<sup>50</sup> Less frequently, they were sealed in yellow wax on a simple queue.<sup>51</sup> They were the most common form of royal acts since the Middle Ages but they were more frequently printed in the last forty years of the sixteenth century. In the last nine years of his reign, Francis I contributed a meagre 1 per cent of all printed *lettres patentes*. The *lettres patentes* printed during the reign of Henry II amounted to only 5 per cent of the total and those during the short reign of Francis II only 3 per cent. However, his younger brother and successor, Charles IX, printed the most *lettres patentes*, providing 41 per cent of the total corpus. This dropped very significantly under Henry III, who accounted for only 27 per cent, while Henry IV accounted for 23 per cent of the total number of *lettres patentes* printed in the sixteenth century in the first eleven years of his reign.

<sup>49</sup> *Lettres patentes du roy pour tenir les grands jours en la ville de Lyon* (Paris: Mamert Patisoon, 1596). BnF: F 46899 (26).

<sup>50</sup> Barbiche, *Les institutions*, 68.

<sup>51</sup> *Lettres patentes du roy pour la confirmation des privileges octroyez par ses predecesseurs roys* (Paris: Fédéric Morel, 1595), sig. A4v. BnF: F 46896 (10).

Few others issued *lettres patentes* in France. The first legitimate letters were issued by Catherine de Medici during her brief period as regent after the death of Charles IX in 1574. Henry III sent letters to Parlement confirming her regency until such time as he arrived from Poland to claim the throne. She again issued *lettres patentes* in 1578 as she attempted to recover some money due on behalf of her son.<sup>52</sup> After the death of Henry III, the duke of Mayenne became the lieutenant general of the State and Crown of France. He issued *lettres patentes*. In 1589, he wrote letters to conserve the Roman Catholic Church in France.<sup>53</sup> Two years later, he prohibited private assemblies<sup>54</sup> and in 1593, he gave orders to collect taxes to defend League borders.<sup>55</sup> Again, this demonstrates the determination of the League to reinforce their legitimacy by propagating acts that were the legitimate prerogative of the crown.

The structure of *lettres patentes* usually followed the layout of an edict. They were addressed to a specific group, individual, or kingdom and signed in a formal manner. However, some *lettres patentes* began with the words “nos amé et feal,” which was similar to the heading of “de par le roi” and in this respect, resembled the structure of a *mandement*. These letters were rare but served their purpose as an official letter from the king without any impact on the legal system. An example is the *lettres patentes* of Henry III that called the French nobility to arms to fight alongside the king against the League.<sup>56</sup>

### *Lettres de jussion*

*Lettres de jussion* prove that the sixteenth century was a period of development and evolution in the relationship between the crown and parlements. Similar to an edict, a *lettre de jussion* was unique because only kings issued this type of letter. It was written in the same formal style but its command was always the same: to order a court to register an act. On 20 July 1581, Henry III created *lettres patentes* that made it

---

<sup>52</sup> *Lettres patentes de la royne mere du roy portants commission pour la poursuite* (Paris: Frédéric Morel, 1578). BnF: F 46861 (15).

<sup>53</sup> *Lettres patentes en forme d'edict et declaration de monseigneur le duc de Mayenne* (Rouen: Martin Le Mégissier, 1589). BnF: F 47170 (7).

<sup>54</sup> *Lettres patentes d'abolition de ce qui c'est faict a Paris* (Paris: Robert Nivelles). BnF: LB35 378.

<sup>55</sup> Charles de Lorraine (Duc de Mayenne) *Lettres patentes de monseigneur le duc de Mayenne* (s.l.: s.n., ca. 1593). Amiens BM: H 2684/4 (15).

<sup>56</sup> *Lettres patentes du roy, par lesquelles est mandé à tous nobles tant de sa maison* (Tours: Jamet Mettayer, 1589). BnF: F 46889 (12).

illegal for commoners to claim the status of nobility in Normandy.<sup>57</sup> For over two years, the *cour des aides* in Rouen refused to register it, probably on the grounds that it challenged local customs and would strip particular nobles of their titles, creating more revenue for the king because nobles were exempt from certain taxes. In response, on 2 March 1584, the crown produced a *lettre de jussion*, a letter of express command, ordering them to register the letter patent in their court. Over a month passed before the *lettres patentes* was registered on 12 April 1584.<sup>58</sup>

A *lettre de jussion* was a product of the tension between the crown and courts. This was especially true in regard to the crown's relationship with the highest court, the Parlement of Paris. The magistrates' aspiration to fashion themselves a stronger institutional role created an undercurrent of tension behind the conduct of government business during the course of the century. Sometimes the conflicts would have a distinctive ideological element, while on other occasions, they represented the routine competition for influence that can be observed in all evolving systems of government. The influence of Parlement was limited by its constrained constitutional role. The only real power any parlement had was to delay the registration of an unpopular act or offer a remonstrance. When the sovereign court opted for the former, a *lettre de jussion* was sent by the king. This legal letter ordered a court to register a specific royal act because its registration was overdue. As a last resort, Parlement might compel the king to appear in person to settle disputed laws or cases. Therefore, this letter could easily contain the threat of a *lit de justice*, where the sovereign would come in person and, in this case, ensure the entry of an act into the court's records. This procedure was despised by members because the king would monitor their movements and procedures. Any individual challenge from the magistrates would be noted and a *parlementaire* could incur the crown's disfavour, which may include banishment from the sovereign court.<sup>59</sup> In this instance, the king would always prevail. However, it was understood that the necessity of such a personal presence reflected the king's authority and prestige. It was not a process that could be invoked regularly and was only used under extreme circumstances.<sup>60</sup>

---

<sup>57</sup> *Lettres patentes du roy par lesquelles fait deffences à toutes personnes roturiers* (Rouen: Martin Le Mégissier, ca. 1584), sig. A4r. BnF: F 46867 (12).

<sup>58</sup> Ibid.

<sup>59</sup> In 1559, *conseiller* Anne du Bourg was removed from Parlement and was later tried and burned for heresy.

<sup>60</sup> A good example of a *lit de justice* was the uneasy process for the registration of the Concordat of Bologna in 1516. See R. J. Knecht, *Francis I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 51-65.

A *lettre de jussion* was often seen as a supplement to the royal act in question and the grand seal was placed on yellow wax on simple queue.<sup>61</sup> In its printed form, it was added after the main text of the royal act. Only two *lettres de jussion* were printed as royal acts by Henry III—one in 1577 and another in 1583. The first pamphlet appears incomplete because the dates were replaced with blank spaces.<sup>62</sup> The second pamphlet contains two *lettres of jussion* ordering the *chambre des comptes* to register an edict that added a conservator and guard of the king's fiefs and domains to each of the *bailliages* and *sénéchaucées*. The edict was created in May 1582 but was registered in Parlement the following year on 7 March 1583.<sup>63</sup> It was registered and applied in the *chambre* five months later on 20 August.<sup>64</sup>

### *Ordonnances du roi*

Ordonnances were general laws that were issued by any authority figure ranging from the king to a local governor. Ordonnances from the king were entitled *ordonnances du roi*, which differed in meaning from *ordonnances royaux*, the name that dominated the front pages of royal acts printed before the 1540s. The title words *ordonnances royaux*, encompassed collections of various decrees issued by the king including *édits*, *lettres patentes*, *declarations*, and *ordonnances du roi*. However, after 1540, *ordonnances du roi* became a term used by the king himself to designate the issue of a collection of general rules and regulations. The title *ordonnances royaux* kept its broad meaning into the second half of the sixteenth century, but was used only in rare instances when publishers put out their own collections of royal acts of the sort familiar in the first half of the century.

The six most important ordinances before 1601 are listed below. These ordinances represented an attempt at a comprehensive reform of the legal code. The diagram above demonstrates that unlike edicts, ordinances were frequently reprinted, sometimes years after their first promulgation.

---

<sup>61</sup> *Edict du roy contenant le doublement du droict des petits sceaux* (Lyon: Guichard Jullieron et Thibaud Ancelin, 1595), sig. B3v. BnF: F 46896 (3).

<sup>62</sup> *Lettres de jussion du roy a tous ses justiciers et officiers* (Paris: Fédéric Morel, 1577). BnF: F 46854 (1).

<sup>63</sup> *Edict du roy contenant l'erection and establissement d'un office de conservateur* (Paris: Fédéric Morel, 1583). BnF: F 46871 (17).

<sup>64</sup> *Lettres de jussion et declaration sur l'edict du roy de la creation d'un conservateur* (Paris: Fédéric Morel, 1583). BnF: F 46875 (22).

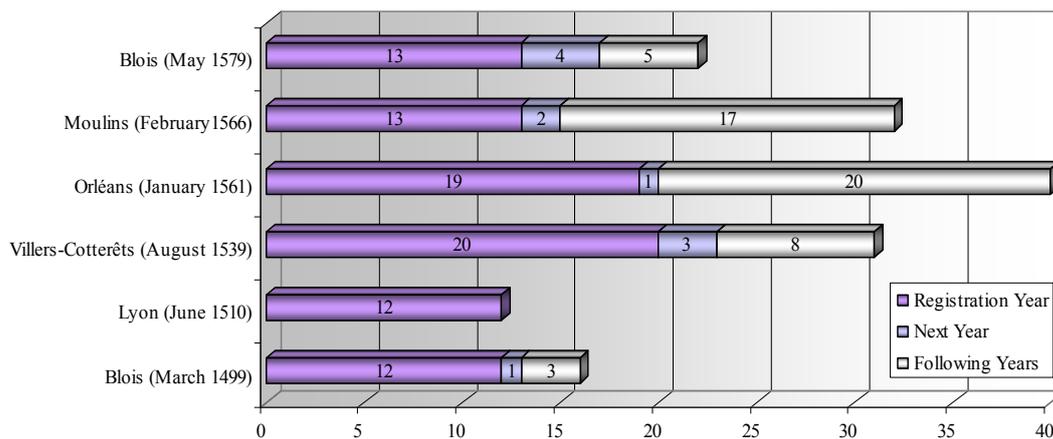


Figure 2-10: Major ordinances of reform before 1601.

This is simply because royal ordinances can change a significant part, or several parts, of the justice system—becoming that in practice more permanent than any edict which was a single new law. In other words, a king could issue an edict of pacification, stating that Protestants had certain privileges, and then revoke it by stripping away the privileges. But in the case of ordinances, they were harder to revoke because they covered so many different aspects of the judicial system. For example, the Ordinances of Villers-Cotterêts changed the structure of the lower courts incorporating the Edict of Crémieu of 1536 into its configuration. To reconstruct something as large as the entire configuration of the lower courts could only be done through ordinances because they involved so many parts of the judicial skeleton.

In their printed form, ordinances generally followed the structure and style of an edict. Similarly, they followed the same long path that an edict took to reach the public sphere. However, this was not always the case. In one case in 1595, Henry IV issued an ordinance regarding the supervision of the relief of farmers that greeted the public with “the king wishes” instead of “de par le roi.”<sup>65</sup> In addition, not every ordinance was verified in Parlement. For example, Henry III issued an ordinance that ordered the lords, gentlemen, and soldiers to take arms under the cross or white scarf without having submitted it to Parlement.<sup>66</sup>

<sup>65</sup> *Declaration du roy du pouvoir de monseigneur le duc de Montmorency pair et connestable de France* (Lyon: Guichard Julliéron et Thibaud Ancelin, 1596). BnF: F 46891 (18).

<sup>66</sup> *Ordonnance du roy par laquelle sa majeste ordonne sur peine de la vie* (Tours: Jamet Mettayer, ca. 1589). BnF: F 46889 (11).

Sometimes another institution co-authored an *ordonnance du roi*. For example, the crown often issued ordinances with the *cour des monnaies* on coinage. A section of the ordinance, usually the first, was promulgated by the king, and the rest of the act was written by the court along with pictures of coins and their descriptions. In pamphlet form, these ordinances were the bulkiest of all royal acts and could easily amount to 160 pages in octavo.

In addition, certain governing bodies issued *ordonnances du roi* on behalf of the king. On these occasions, the king wrote a letter to a local magistrate authorizing him to perform a special task that required public support. On 1 April 1594, the *prévôt de Paris* issued an ordinance in the king's name against religious blasphemers.<sup>67</sup> In January 1588, the *sénéchaussée* of Lyon also issued an *ordonnance du roi* on the execution of edicts, in particular, the Edict of Reunion of 1585.<sup>68</sup> Instead of the signature of king's secretary these edicts were signed by local officials. In the case of Lyon, the lieutenant general Baltazar de Villars issued and signed the act.<sup>69</sup>

These ordinances issued by other authorities amounted to some 30 per cent of the total. In this category, may be included ordinances issued by the *châtellel*,<sup>70</sup> the *cour des monnaies*,<sup>71</sup> and the Parlement of Paris,<sup>72</sup> as well as individuals such as the *prévôt de Paris*,<sup>73</sup> the duke of Montpensier,<sup>74</sup> the prince of Condé,<sup>75</sup> and the queen mother.<sup>76</sup>

---

<sup>67</sup> *Ordonnance du roy et de monsieur le prevost de Paris* (Lyon: Claude Morillon, 1594). Lyon BM: Rés. 314898.

<sup>68</sup> *Ordonnance du roy et de messieurs les gens tenants le siege presidial à Lyon* (Lyon: Jean Pillehotte, 1588). BnF: F 47168 (4).

<sup>69</sup> *Ordonnances du roy contenans les reiglemens des ouvriers en draps d'or, d'argent et de soye de la ville de Lyon* (Lyon: s.n., 1596). BnF: F 46899 (10).

<sup>70</sup> Prévôt de Paris, *Ordonnance de la police generale pour l'execution de l'edict faict par le roy sur le reglement des soyes et habillemens* (Paris: Frédéric Morel, 1583). Aix, Bibliothèque Méjanès: Rec D 22 (19).

<sup>71</sup> Cour des Monnaies, *Ordonnance de la cour des monnaies sur le descry des douzains, dizains, pieces de six blancz et trois blancz rongnees* (Paris: Veuve Jean Dallier, 1575). BnF: F 36363 (2).

<sup>72</sup> Parlement of Paris, *Ordonnance de la cour de paretment par laquelle sont faittes defenses* (Paris: Frédéric Morel, 1574). BnF: F 47080 (12).

<sup>73</sup> Prévôt de Paris, *Ordonnance du prevost de Paris ou son lieutenant par laquelle son deffenduz à toutes personnes* (Paris: Frédéric Morel, 1588). BnF: F 47161 (28).

<sup>74</sup> Jérôme de Châtillon, *Ordonnances de monseigneur le duc de Montpensier* (Lyon: Jean de Tournes). BnF: F 13784.

<sup>75</sup> *Ordonnances et reiglemens pour la discipline militaire* (La Rochelle: Pierre Haultin, 1577). Aix, Bibliothèque Méjanès: Rec D 3 (996).

<sup>76</sup> Catherine de Medici, *Ordonnance de la royne mere du roy regente en France* (Lyon: Michel Jove, 1574). BnF: F 46847 (2).

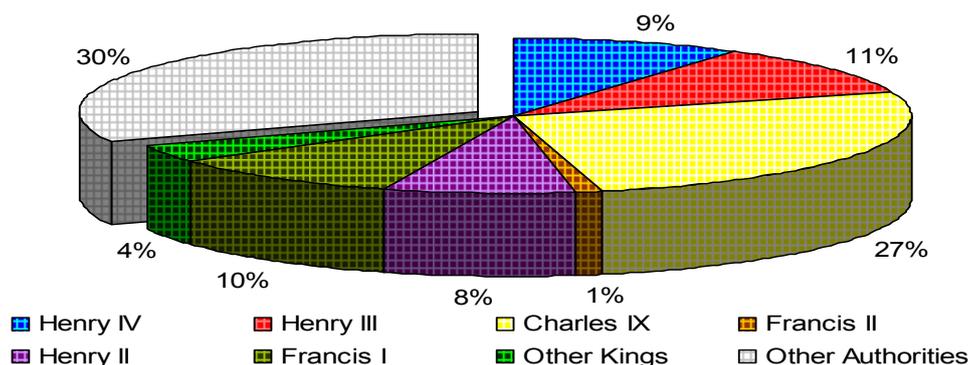


Figure 2-11: Printed ordinances by sources.

Thus, ordinances issued by the king alone accounted for only 70 per cent. Once again, Charles IX was responsible for more than any other king in the sixteenth century with 27 per cent. Henry III was a distant second, with only 11 per cent of all *ordonnances du roi*. During the reign of Francis I, a mix of *ordonnances royaux* and *ordonnances du roi* comprised a tenth of the total. Ordinances of Henry II comprised 8 per cent of the total corpus. Henry IV, however, only contributed 9 per cent by the turn of the century.

### *Déclarations du roi*

Declarations were versatile royal acts that allowed the king to speak freely and elaborate on a known subject. Anyone ranging from an angry citizen to the king could issue a declaration because they were not laws. However, royal declarations could have the force of law, and thus were registered in the Parlement of Paris, especially in the cases where they elaborated on an edict. These declarations were distributed in the same manner as edicts. Other declarations that were not legislative royal acts appeared more like *mandements* or a simple communication by the king that was then cried immediately to the town. They were often sealed using yellow wax on double queue.<sup>77</sup> Occasionally, they were sealed in green wax, as in the case of the declaration of the felonies of the duke of Mayenne in 1589, or on yellow wax with a simple queue as in the case of the declaration on the creation of new officers in Soissons.<sup>78</sup>

<sup>77</sup> Barbiche, *Les institutions*, 68.

<sup>78</sup> *Declaration du roy contre les villes rebelles par laquelle elles sont destituees de tous privileges* (Tours: Jamet Mettayer, 1589), sig. B3v. BnF: F 46889 (7). *Declaration du roy par laquelle il ordonne que les officiers du bureau de recepte generale* (Paris: Mamert Patisson, 1596), sig. A4v. BnF: F 46898 (27).

The crown saw the declaration as a flexible act, issued at the king's discretion. Some declarations were statements made by the king, such as public announcements of the war against Spain in January 1595 and the war against the duke of Savoy in August 1600.<sup>79</sup> Other declarations, such as Henry III's declaration on the execution of the Edict of Union of 1585, elaborated on known edicts and usually addressed the entire kingdom. In 1594, Henry IV addressed his declaration to the *cour des aides* because he was moving them back to Paris from Tours. Declarations could also elaborate on the privileges given to a specific individual. In Fontainebleau in 1595, Henry IV issued a declaration concerning the authority of the prince of Condé as lieutenant general of Paris.<sup>80</sup>

However, the problem with declarations was that people did not view them as having the same weight as edicts. To address this concern, it appears that some declarations were written in the form of an edict during the reigns of Henry III and IV. A declaration created in the form of an edict was made under the jurisdiction of the Châtelet de Paris regarding first instances and court cases in 1572.<sup>81</sup> The printers in Sens publicized the submission of the town to Henry IV in 1594 in the form of an edict.<sup>82</sup> This is notable because the suppressions of other towns were entitled "Edict et declaration du Roy sur la reduction de la ville [name of town] en son obeissance." This suggests that for the momentous events the term "declaration" was not regarded as of sufficient weight. Hence, L'Estoile properly termed the "Reduction of Paris" a declaration, while Frédéric Morel printed it as an edict and declaration.<sup>83</sup> Although the issue of propaganda will be developed further in the last chapter, it is important to note that some royal acts were more esteemed than others.

The declaration was rarely used as the heading of a royal act before the reign of Charles IX, so 96 per cent of all royal declarations were printed after 1560, with 46 per cent printed in the last decade of sixteenth century under Henry IV. What the chart below shows very clearly is the extensive use of declarations by other authorities. This

---

<sup>79</sup> Gustave Brunet et al., *Mémoires-journaux de Pierre de L'Estoile: édition pour la première fois complète et entièrement conforme aux manuscrits originaux*, 11 vols., vol. 7 (Paris: Librairie des bibliophiles, 1875), 11, 379.

<sup>80</sup> *Declaration du roy pouvoir de monsieur le prince de Conty* (Paris: Jamet Mettayer, 1595). BnF: F 46897 (4).

<sup>81</sup> *Declaration en forme d'edict pour les auditeur du Chastellet de Paris* (Paris: Jean Richer, 1577). BnF: F 46843 (17).

<sup>82</sup> *Declaration du roy en forme d'edict sur ce qu'il a pleu à sa majesté accorder aux habitans de sa ville et cité de Sens* (Sens: Jean Savine, 1594). BnF: F 46893 (8).

<sup>83</sup> Brunet et al., *Mémoires-journaux de Pierre de L'Estoile*, 187-97.

represents a larger proportion of the total than the ordinances discussed above. The reasons for their being issued were much the same.

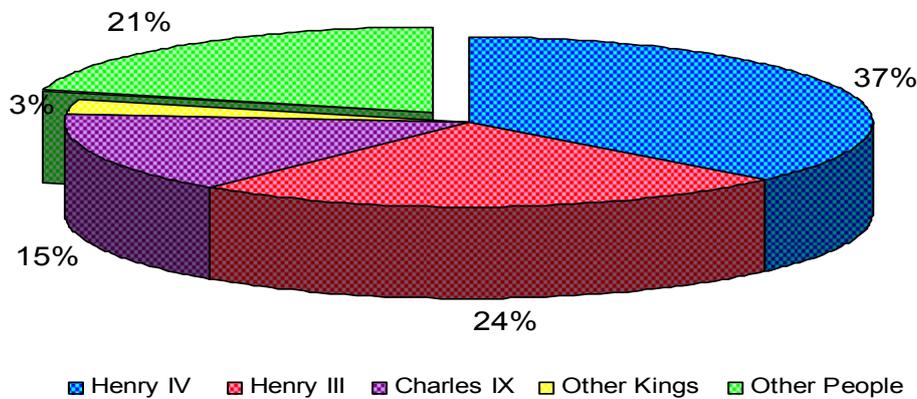


Figure 2-12: Division of declarations issued by sources.

### *Lettres du roi*

*Lettres du roi* appeared most often in a similar form as *déclarations du roi*. However, unlike the declarations, they were usually addressed to a specific group or individual. The subject of a letter could have been anything from a personal opinion of the king to a royal order. These letters may have had the force of law, depending on their content, and thus were registered in a sovereign court. From here, they were disseminated and printed as broadsheets, entering the public consciousness through oral and visual presentations throughout the town. Depending on the letter, sometimes green waxes were used for seals, while at other times no seals were employed.<sup>84</sup>

Personal letters, sometimes known as *lettres closes*, were intimate in nature but could be just as authoritative because they came directly from the crown. These letters required the king's signature at all times. Royal letters of a personal nature were published for several reasons. Sometimes, an authority figure would print royal letters that were publicized as a royal act because they contained a command or wish. Turning a royal will into a personal favour made it difficult to disqualify these letters as a royal act because the difference was so miniscule. In total, letters made up nearly 8 per cent of the total number of printed acts. Figure 2-13 is of a printed personal letter from Henry IV to the count of Brissac, written on 7 October 1599. The king wanted to

<sup>84</sup> *Lettres du roy contenant confirmation des articles accordez par sa majesté* (Paris: s.n., 1598), sig. A4v. BnF: F 46904 (17).

postpone the meeting of the General Estates until 1 December. According to the postscript, it was read on 22 October, most likely by Brissac himself or his lieutenant.

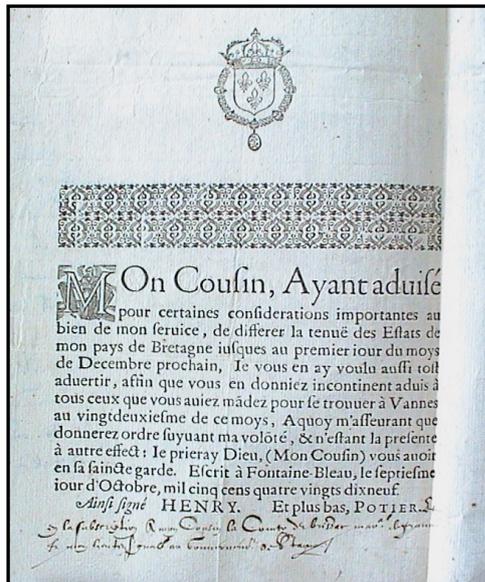


Figure 2-13: A printed broadsheet from Henry IV to the count of Brissac.<sup>85</sup>

The form of royal letters, as shown above, could deviate from the usual structure for royal acts. The king's title or name did not necessarily come first. Sometimes the recipient was addressed immediately. Furthermore, dating and location often began as "Escrit" instead of "Fait" or "Donné." This demonstrates, along with the signature of a *secrétaire des finances*, that it contains the main elements needed to consider it an act of the king.

### *Arrêts du roi*

Judicial resolutions, or *arrêts*, were issued by the king, his *conseils*, or a judicial court. *Arrêts* were official judgments and were registered by their issuing court. Most *arrêts* printed in the sixteenth century were issued by the parlements of France. The other 12 per cent of those found in the Book Project were issued by the king, who intervened occasionally in the judicial process of the courts by pronouncing his own judgments. These were sealed in yellow wax on a simple queue.<sup>86</sup> Royal *arrêts*

<sup>85</sup> *Mon cousin ayant aduifé pour certaines considerations importantes au bien* (Rennes: Michel Logeroys, ca. 1599). Rennes AM: Liasse 9.

<sup>86</sup> *Arrest et edict du roy contenant revocation de creation de cinquante nouveaulx secretaires* (Paris: Veuve Nicolas Roffet, 1594), sig. E3v. BnF: F 47025 (19).

comprised only 2.4 per cent of all royal acts. These arbitrations in court proceedings occurred in his personal court, the *grand conseil*.

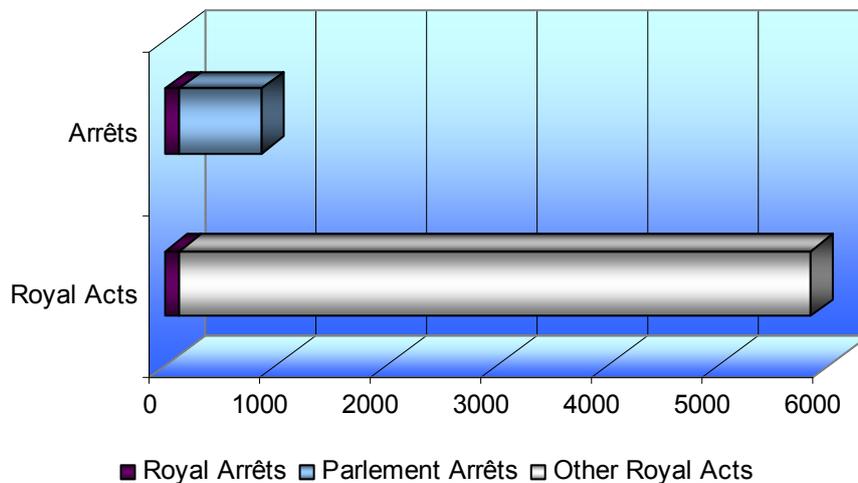


Figure 2-14: Printed royal *arrêts* compared against parlement *arrêts* and other royal acts.

The chart above offers two comparisons. In the first column, royal *arrêts* are shown as a proportion of the total number of *arrêts*. In the column below, royal *arrêts* are shown in the context of the total number of the royal acts.

The *grand conseil* was established in 1497 and travelled with the king until Henry III fixed its location in Paris. As the king's personal court, it had authority over the whole kingdom and was able to overturn any decision given by a court. However, it only intervened in the judicial process at the king's request. Such instances included when Parlement appeared inequitable in its judicial resolutions or when Parlement and another sovereign court disputed. However, the call to intervene demanded extraordinary circumstances and was not part of the regular process of appeals or the dissemination of a royal act.<sup>87</sup>

The driving forces behind the *grand conseil*, however, were the king's *conseils*.<sup>88</sup> Records of their duties and activities were ambiguous and scarce. During the sixteenth century, they had various names and were used interchangeably: *conseil du roi*, *privé*, *étroit* and *d'État*, the last of which was recognized as the original central *conseil* under Henry III.<sup>89</sup>

<sup>87</sup> *Lettres patentes du roy portants nouvelle commission à maistre Anthoine Arnauld* (Paris: Robert Estienne, 1566). BnF: F 46830 (1).

<sup>88</sup> Potter, *The French Wars of Religion*, 93.

<sup>89</sup> Doucet, ed., *Les institutions de la France au XVIe siècle*, 135.

Any intercessions made by the king and his *conseils* were recorded in their own registries and forwarded to the Parlement of Paris. Although most *arrêts* were decreed through the style of an edict, some were printed as extracts. Here, the court provided a brief judicial summary of the proceedings of the case, including its resolution.

### Other *Actes Royaux*

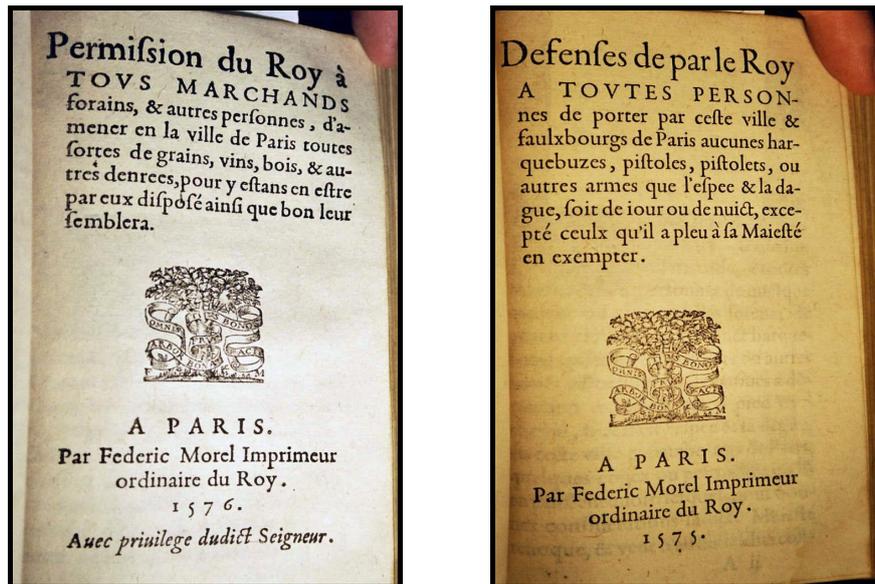


Figure 2-15: Royal acts without the usual titles.<sup>90</sup>

There are several types of printed royal acts that were not called *édits*, *ordonnances*, *lettres patentes*, *declarations*, or *mandements*. Instead, the pamphlets called them commissions, permissions, *défenses*, instructions, *ampliations*, or *inhibitions du roi*. For example, the *Commission expediee par le roy* was issued on 18 June 1563 and printed in Paris,<sup>91</sup> Rouen,<sup>92</sup> and Lyon, although the Lyon edition was entitled *Lettres de commission*.<sup>93</sup> Sometimes these variants could be seen as shortened titles where the printers preferred not to include the usual words of letters, declarations, or ordinances. They are simply another form of expression and can be seen to have the

<sup>90</sup> *Permission du roy à toues marchands forains et autres personnes* (Paris: Fédéric Morel, 1576). BnF: F 46850 (14). *Defense de par le roy a toutes personnes de porter par ceste ville* (Paris: Fédéric Morel, 1575). BnF: F 46848 (14).

<sup>91</sup> *Commission par le roy pour envoyer par les provinces de ce royaume certaines commissaires* (Paris: Robert Estienne, 1563). BnF: F 46824 (4).

<sup>92</sup> *Commission expediee par le roy pour envoyer par les provinces de ce royaume* (Rouen: Martin Le Mégissier, 1563). Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève: 8o Z 1121 inv. 3262 (5) Rés.

<sup>93</sup> *Lettres de commission du roy sur l'execution de l'edict de la pacification des troubles de ce royaume* (Lyon: Pierre Merant, 1563). BnF: F 46824 (5).

same authority as any royal declaration or ordinance.<sup>94</sup> Similarly, royal acts could be headed "defence," a term used in pronouncements made by both the king and by local authorities. For example, François de Vieilleville, *maréchal de France*, wrote a *défense* on behalf of the king to the town of Lyon, prohibiting the use of epithets such as Papist or Huguenot.<sup>95</sup> Below are two pictures of royal acts with unorthodox titles.

Most *défenses* were promulgated by the king. On 20 May 1575, Henry III prohibited the general public from carrying weapons and guns.<sup>96</sup> This order was signed by the king and his secretary, Claude Pinart. Royal acts entitled "inhibitions" and "instructions" were also rare but, nonetheless, were given as a reminder of existing laws. These acts did not require any registration in a sovereign court because they were not new. For example, the following was promulgated on 25 September 1574 and structures itself as a typical royal act containing the signatures of Henry III and Pinart:

97

Inhibitions & defenses || DV ROY, A TOVTES || personnes, de faire tirer ou trans- || porter hors son Royaume, par || eauë ny par terre, aucuns bleds, ou || autres grains, sans l'expres congé || & permission de sa Maiesté. || [printer's device] || A PARIS. || Par Federic Morel Imprimeur || ordinaire du Roy. || 1574. || Auec Priuilege dudict Seigneur.<sup>98</sup>

Here, the king prohibits citizens from taking wheat or other grains outside France. However, no court registration is mentioned in the printed act because an edict on the same subject was promulgated the previous year on 20 October 1573 and registered in Parlement the following November.

EDIT DV ROY || SVR LE FAIT DE LA || police de son Roiaume, par la- || quelle sa Maiesté defend à tous || marchans & autres, de ne trāspor- || ter bleds, hors du Roiaume, sur || peine de confiscation decorps & || de biens: ensemble l'arrest de la || Court, fait sur iceluy: publié en || ladite Court le Lūdy xxij. iour || de Novembre, 1573. || [typo. ornament] || A PARIS, || Par Iean Dallier, demourant sur le pont || S. Michel, à l'enseigne de la Rose blanche. || 1573. || AVEC PRIVILEGE DE LA COVRT.<sup>99</sup>

<sup>94</sup> *Ordonance du roy contenant inhibitions et defenses à toutes personnes d'achepter* (Paris: Robert Estienne, 1567). BnF: F 46833 (26).

<sup>95</sup> *Defences de par le roy et monseigneur de Vieilleville mareschal de France* (Lyon: Benoît Rigaud, 1563). BnF: F 47158 (11).

<sup>96</sup> *Defenses de par le roy a toutes personnes de porter par ceste ville* (Paris: Frédéric Morel, 1575). BnF: F 46848 (14).

<sup>97</sup> *Inhibitions et defenses du roy a toutes personnes de faire tirer ou transporter hors son royaume* (Paris: Frédéric Morel, 1574), sig. A4r. BnF: F 46847 (14).

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, sig. A1r.

<sup>99</sup> *Edit du roy sur le fait de la police de son royaume par laquelle sa majesté defend à tous marchans et aultres* (Paris: Jean Dallier, 1573). Le Mans, Médiathèque Louis Aragon: J 207 (11).

Furthermore, only two known pamphlets began with the word *Instructions*. These were printed in 1563 and 1587 without any supplementary information indicating that they were not registered in a sovereign court.<sup>100</sup>

The final types of royal acts were treaties and articles. These included both foreign and domestic truces and stipulations. Unlike other decrees, this information dealt more with the status of France, outlining the mutual obligations of the leaders and relevant parties, rather than a general law. Truces usually came in the form of *déclarations* and *mandements du roi*. As declarations, they were registered in Parlement like any other legislative royal act. Chapter six provides examples of the declarations of the war against Spain and the Treaty of Vervins which concluded the war; a *mandement* was published that ordered the publication of the peace.<sup>101</sup> In addition, there are at least eighty known royal acts headed *articles* in the Book Project, which constitute less than 2 per cent of the total editions. More than three-quarters of these editions were printed during the reign of Henry IV, beginning in 1589.

*Sommaires* were similar to the collected works discussed in the first half of this chapter but were fixed around a single subject. Rather than collecting and publishing each act in its entirety, editors summarized them, then printed the summaries in a pamphlet or book. The picture below is of a pamphlet that summarizes financial royal acts, edited by Francis Garrault, a general *conseiller* in the *cour des monnaies*.

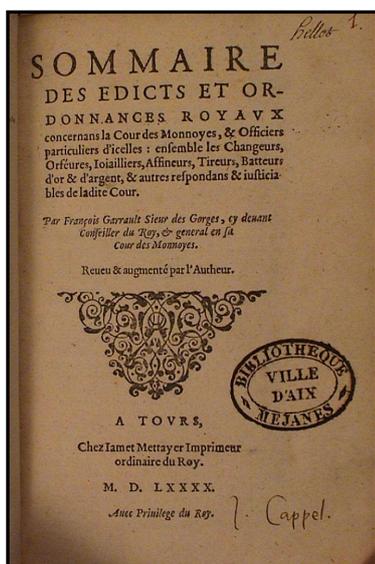


Figure 2-16: A pamphlet on financial royal ordinances gathered and summarized by Francis Garrault, *conseiller* of the king and general in the *cour des monnaies*.<sup>102</sup>

<sup>100</sup> For example, see *Instruction que le roy entend et veult estre suyvie et gardée de point en point* (Paris: Jean Dallier, 1563), sig. B2v. BnF: F 27579 (4).

<sup>101</sup> See chapter six, figure 6-34.

<sup>102</sup> Francis Garrault, ed., *Sommaire des edicts et ordonnances royaux* (Tours: Jamet Mettayer, 1590). BnF: Résac. F 26260.

Legal councillors also provided commentaries on specific acts by copying or summarizing an act and then publishing their notations, either alongside the act or at the end. Illustrated below (figure 2-17) are the commentaries on the Ordinances of Moulins of 1566, written by Philebert Bugnyon in Lyon and René Dedrain in Paris.

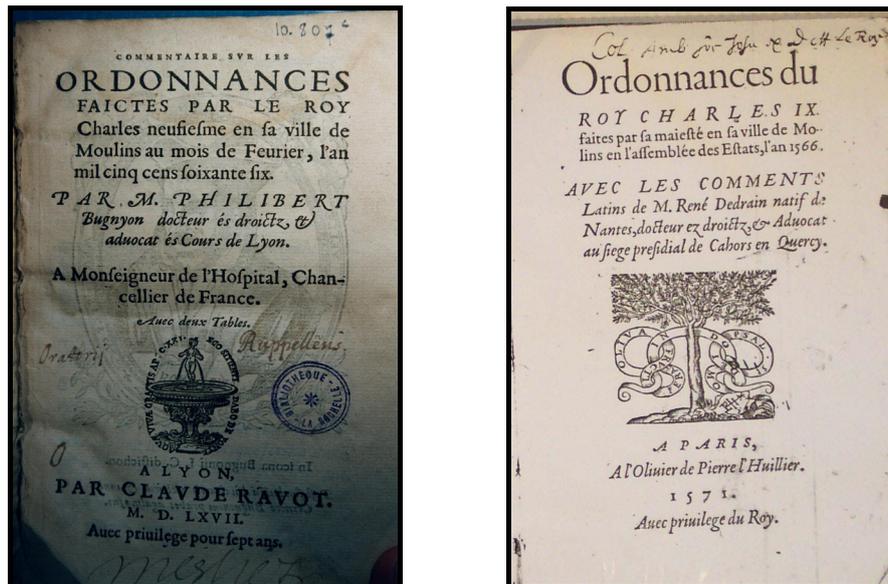


Figure 2-17: Commentaries on the Ordinances of Moulins of 1566.<sup>103</sup>

*Commentaires* on royal acts had no jurisdiction or force of law. They were published as part of the ongoing dialogue on political affairs and could be used as references or instructional material. Edited volumes, summaries, or commentaries on royal acts were usually printed in Lyon and Paris, where the legal culture flourished through the town's large printing industry.

### Other Types of Legal Documents

During the course of the sixteenth century, many other political and legal discourses were published in France. The development of the legal system, and particularly the French wars of religion, encouraged a wide ranging debate which led to many pamphlets being published both by supporters of the king and by critics of royal

<sup>103</sup> Philebert Bugnyon, *Commentaire sur les ordonnances faictes par le roy* (Lyon: Claude Ravot, 1567). La Rochelle, Médiathèque Michel Crépeau: 10807c. René Dedrain, *Ordonnances du roy...en sa ville de Moulins en l'assemblée des estats l'an 1566* (Paris: Pierre L'Huillier, 1571). Amiens BM: J 416.

policy. However, these pamphlets did not have the force of law. Remonstrances, harangues, requests, complaints, summaries, and commentaries fall into this category, as they discussed and debated points of policy and administration. Legal works, such as *factums*, *mémoires judiciaires*, and *brevets* were another part of the judicial system that made increasing use of print in the sixteenth century. Both *factums* and *mémoires judiciaires* were written arguments, while briefs, or *brevets*, were notes from cases.<sup>104</sup> However, although these documents formed part of the judicial process, they were not part of official royal business and the propagation of the royal will.

Up to 70 per cent of legislative works printed in the sixteenth century were issued by the crown. With the exception of local laws, only one category was not controlled by the monarchy. More than half of the *arrêts* known by the Book Project were issued by the Parlement of Paris. The total increases to 58 per cent if *grands jours* are added to the decisions of the Parisian court. Provincial parlements constituted another 17 per cent of printed rulings.

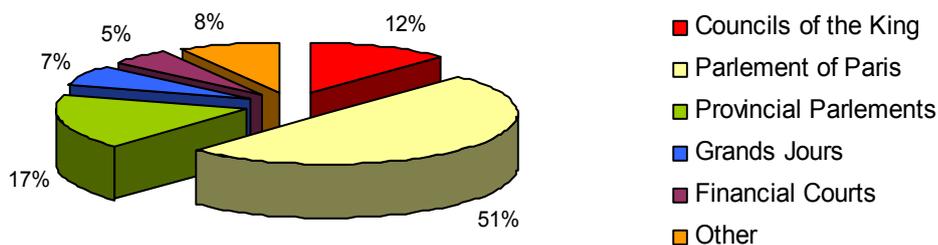


Figure 2.17: Division of sources of printed pamphlets entitled *arrêts*.

Thus, nearly three-quarters of the total number of printed editions of *arrêts* were issued by the parlements of France in the sixteenth century. Such rulings included cases regarding tolls for travelling through the king's forests and using waterways. Parlement settled and declared disputes over toll prices and locations.

The publication of royal acts outnumbered other works of jurisprudence in the sixteenth century. Customary laws were printed and applied locally as *coutumiers*. However, the number of such *coutumiers* published, although significant, was easily dwarfed by the number of royal edicts. Approximately five hundred customary laws were published throughout France, compared with a thousand titles that began with

<sup>104</sup> Bell, *Lawyers and Citizens*, 31.

“Arrest” and five thousand editions of royal acts that passed through printing presses. The other legal source, Roman law, was rarely published. Fewer than thirty books on the Justinian Code were published in France in the vernacular.<sup>105</sup> Among those edicts that were printed in French, 5 per cent were issued by other sovereigns—the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V, Philip II of Spain, the pope, and the duke of Savoy, Emmanuel-Philibert. In contrast, more than 1,600 editions of edicts were given by the king of France. Ordinances issued by the French monarchs comprised 70 per cent of printed editions. Only 4 per cent of the published *lettres patentes* were not issued by the king, but by a group that included Charles V and Catherine de Medici. Over the century, more declarations were issued by the kings of France than any other group or individual and the royal total amounted to 670 printed editions. However, other authorities were responsible for 38 per cent of the declarations printed. Other groups that issued legislative works were semi-autonomous institutions such as the *grand chancellerie*, which headed other established government groups including the *grand conseil*, the *chambre des comptes*, *requêtes de l’hôtel*, the *chambre du trésor*, *cour des aides*, *cour des monnaies*, and the Parlement of Paris.<sup>106</sup> Any of these courts and administrations could issue decrees, declarations, rulings, acts, ordinances, and letters because they all derived their authority from the king. The chart below summarizes the total number of decrees found in the Book Project.

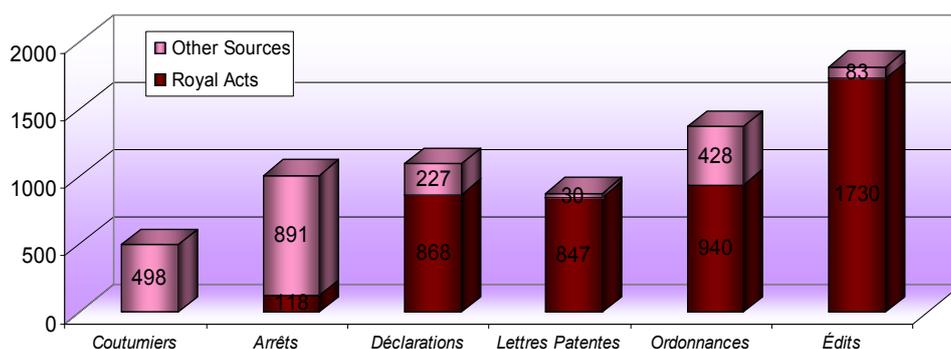


Figure 2.18: Different types of legislative works.

<sup>105</sup> Justinian Code. *Sommaire des douze livres du code de l'empereur Justinien* (Angoulême: Olivier de Minieres, 1598). Bordeaux BM: J 1011. Jacques Buchereau, ed., *Les institutes imperiales de Justinian*, trans. Guy de La Roche (Paris: Guillaume de La Noüe, 1580). London, British Library: 706 a 26. For another edition of the same work printed by Jean Poupy in Paris see BnF: Résac. F 37713. Johannes de Humbert, *Explications françoises sur tous les titres des neuf premiers livres du code de Justinian* (Caen: Macé Bonhomme, 1558). No surviving copy. See Sybille von Gültlingen and René Badagos, *Bibliographie des livres imprimés à Lyon au seizième siècle*, vol. 8 (Baden-Baden: V. Koerner, 1992), 112, no. 225.

<sup>106</sup> Doucet, ed., *Les institutions de la France au XVIe siècle*, 110.

The king was the supreme legislator of early modern France and published more acts than any other group or individual. His decrees dominated the number of printed editions of judicial works after 1538, when *ordonnances royaux* were divided into several types of acts: *édits*, *ordonnances*, *lettres patentes*, *déclarations*, *mandements*, and others. Each type had distinctive qualities. The most controversial acts, with serious ramifications, were edicts, which were printed more than any other royal act and issued only by the king. *Ordonnances* and *lettres patentes du roi* trailed behind, each accounting for only half the number of editions. Although other sources of jurisprudence were printed, recent additions to the law and changes made by the king surpassed them all.

## CHAPTER THREE

### THE PRINTING OF ROYAL ACTS

---

Not every royal act was printed. Royal acts were issued in the hundreds, if not thousands yearly, depending on what the king and his councils saw fit to promulgate to the kingdom. However, only a very small proportion of the acts issued by the royal *chancellerie* during the first half of the sixteenth century were actually printed: less than 2 per cent of the total. These startling statistics are based on the information available in the *Collection des ordonnances des rois de France* (CORF), a monumental work published by the *Académie des sciences morales et politiques* from 1887 to 1908 for Francis I, and again in 1979 for the royal acts of Henry II from 1547 to 1552. Their most recent publication, released in 1991, contain the royal acts for Francis II. This short title catalogue endeavours to list every royal act issued by the crown in the sixteenth century. So far the editors have compiled a total of 39,482 decrees from the entire sovereignty of Francis I (1515-1547), part of Henry II's rule (1547-1552) and the short reign of Francis II (1559-1560). Their project continues to catalogue the rest of the sixteenth century.

The comparison of *Collection des ordonnances* to my database, French Royal Acts Database (FRAD), demonstrates first and foremost that the number of printed decrees pales in comparison besides the thousands of royal acts issued in the sixteenth century.<sup>1</sup> According to the French Book Project of St Andrews (FVB), an average of 262 books was published per year from 1515 to 1552: this figure includes every book printed in the vernacular during the same years, not just impressed royal acts. In contrast, the crown produced an average of 1015 royal acts per year, or 254 decrees signed by the king's secretaries every three months.<sup>2</sup> It is clear from these bare statistics that even had there been a market for every royal act—and many were very

---

<sup>1</sup> FRAD was extracted from the database of the French Vernacular Book Project of St Andrews (FVB), which endeavors to catalogue every book printed in the French language before 1603. FRAD therefore catalogues every royal act printed in French that is known to FVB.

<sup>2</sup> Data given by CORF. I added all the number of royal acts listed in the *Collections des ordonnances des rois de France*. Académie des sciences morales et politiques, *Collection des ordonnances des rois de France: catalogue des actes de François Ier*, 10 vols. (Paris: Impr. nationale, 1887-1908). Académie des sciences morales et politiques., *Catalogue des actes de Henri II*, 6 vols., *Collection des ordonnances des rois de France* (Paris: Impr. nationale, 1979). Marie-Thérèse de Martel, ed., *Catalogue des actes de François II*, 2 vols., *Collection des ordonnances des rois de France* (Paris: Editions du CNRS, 1991).

specific in their purpose, directed to an individual or corporation—then the printing industry in France could still not have coped with this level of output. This is demonstrated in the graph below.

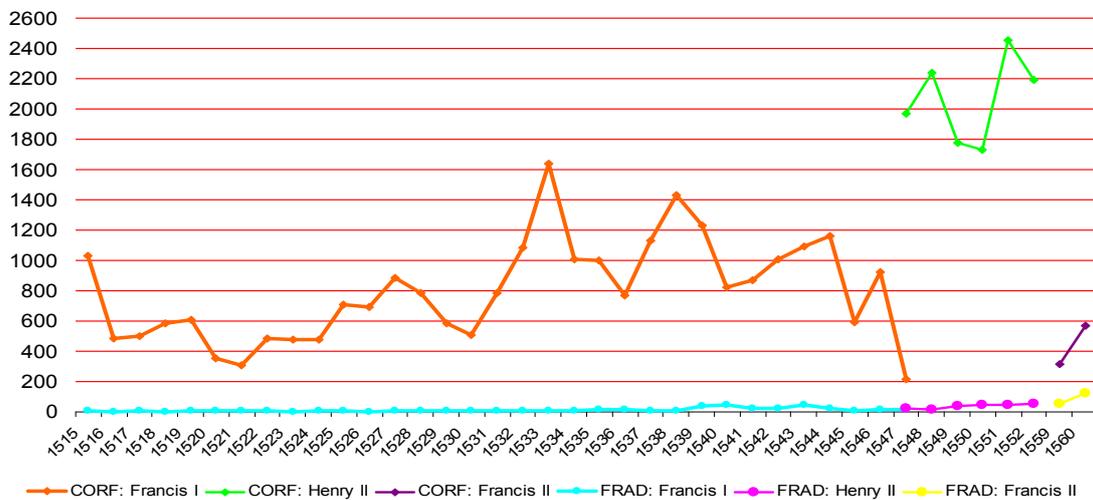


Figure 3-1: A comparison between the number of royal acts that were issued by the crown (CORF) and the number of acts that were printed (FRAD).

If one examines the number of royal acts reign by reign, *Collection des ordonnances* lists a total of 26,238 royal acts issued by the crown under Francis I alone, or an average of 840 decrees per year of his rule.<sup>3</sup> For Henry II, 12,359 decrees are listed between his accession in 1547 and the conclusion of the published volumes in 1552. On average, Henry II promulgated 2181 acts per year. Francis II produced 885 issued acts during his brief reign which was five days short of seventeen months, which averaged of 625 acts per year.<sup>4</sup> Most of these decrees were *lettres patentes*, commissions, confirmations, privileges, or terse commands from the crown usually given to an individual or a specific group; they also included royal acts granted by the regent during the king's absence.<sup>5</sup> My database records a total number of 374 editions of French royal acts in the French vernacular during the reign of Francis I and 229 published under Henry II up to 1552. As stated, this constitutes less than 2 per cent of the total corpus of royal acts issued between 1515 to 1552. In contrast, the 177 bibliographically distinct printings of royal acts during the short reign of Francis II represent 20 per cent of the royal acts issued during this reign.

<sup>3</sup> 6985 of these acts were not dated therefore is not included in the chart.

<sup>4</sup> That is, 885 books divided by 17 months, then multiplied by 12.

<sup>5</sup> The years of Francis' absences from France were 1515-6, 1521, 1524, 1525-1526.

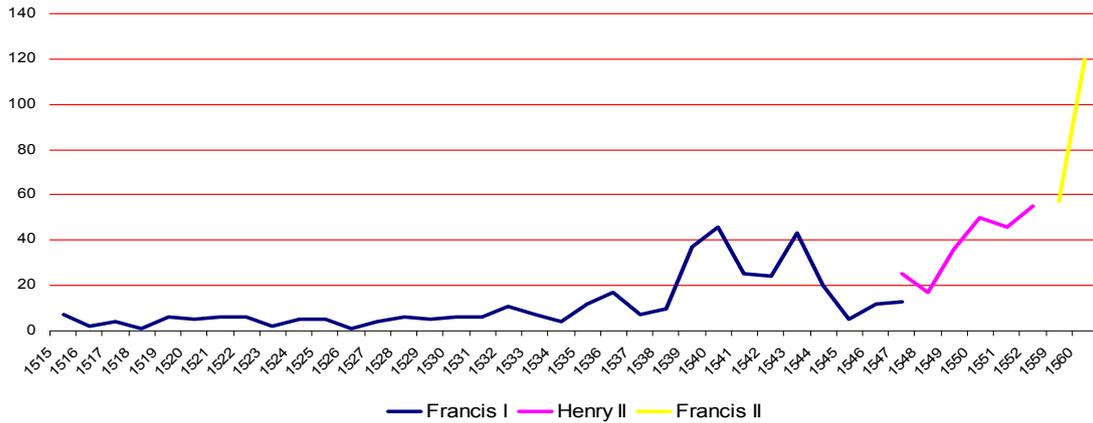


Figure 3-2: Number of printed royal acts (enlargement from figure 3-1).

These figures must be treated with some caution. For Francis II, for instance, one might conclude that since *Collection des ordonnances* registers 885 royal acts issued for this short reign and that there were no fewer than 177 printed editions, far higher proportion of the total number of edicts issued were now being published. This is probably true, but the exact proportion cannot be calculated by a simple comparison. Such a comparison does not take account of the fact that some edicts were published many times. French printers published thirty-nine editions of royal acts in 1539, but twenty of these were reprints of the same ordinance: the Ordinances of Villers-Cotterêts.



Figure 3-3: Lyon edition of the Ordinances of Villers-Cotterêts printed by Thibaud Payen in 1539. This book contains four royal acts on the reformation of the French justice system. The supplemental acts refer to the lower courts.

1. Ordinances of Villers-Cotterêts (August 1539)
2. Edict of Compiègne (October 1539)
3. Edict of Fontainebleau (23 November 1539)
4. Edict of Crémieu (19 June 1536)

On the other hand, some printed editions contain several edicts in a single pamphlet. Naturally, these would register as a single book in the Book Project but register as several decrees in *Collection des ordonnances*. For example, in his edition of the Ordinances of Villers-Cotterêts, Thibault Payen printed three other edicts and sold them as a single book. In the Book Project, it counts as one book; in *Collection des ordonnances*, this book contains four issued acts. Most of these additional decrees were already published as single decrees. In the case of Payen's book, each act was printed separately as a pamphlet by other printers at another point in the sixteenth century. These reflections apply even more obviously to the collections of edicts which form such a large part of the printed output of French royal acts in the first half of the century, as we have already seen.

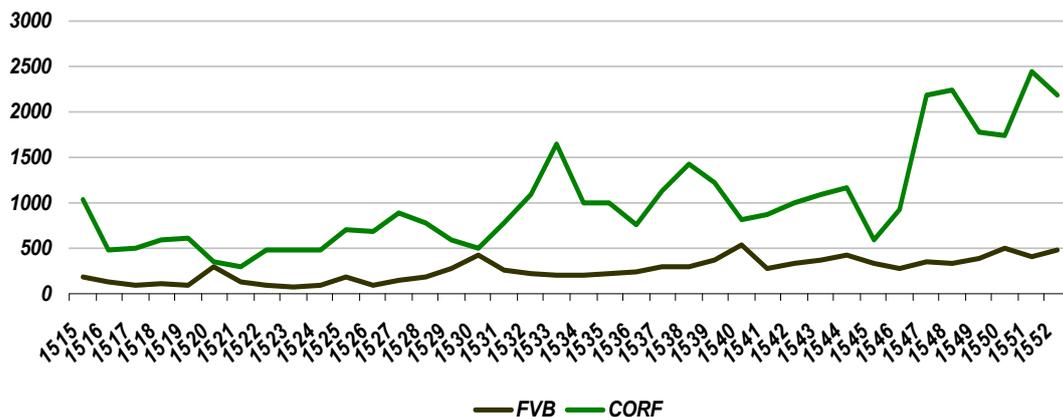


Figure 3-4: Comparison between FVB and CORF from 1515-1552.

These complications should not, however, deflect us from the essential point: the number of royal edicts printed falls far short of the total number of acts issued by the royal *chancellerie*. The early printing industry did not print every issued decree and lacked the capacity to do so. This is clear if we compare the total number of books printed and the number of acts issued. What is interesting to note are the years such as 1520, 1530, 1540, etc. Figures for these years are slightly misleading because the dating of those books during those years are not absolute but circa dates estimated by bibliographers which explains the spikes; they have a higher number of estimated publication dates than others. In 1520, for example, 227 books out of 297 prints are approximate dates and 250 out of 432 books are estimated to have been printed around 1530. Printers had the tendency to omit publication years from the fifteenth century

until the 1540s. Thus, in 1540, 201 books out of 530 works were rough dates and in 1550, 120 out of 502 publications had approximated dates. The French printing industry had an average output of 262 works in the vernacular per year. This total output was smaller by a factor of three than the average number of royal acts issued during these years.

From the beginning of the printing press in France, roughly 50,000 editions were printed up until the end of the sixteenth century; over 6,000 of these were royal acts, or 12 per cent of the entire corpus of vernacular printed books. The graph below compares the number of printed works in the French vernacular and the number of those works which were royal acts. This section will show how much of the book market was taken by royal acts.

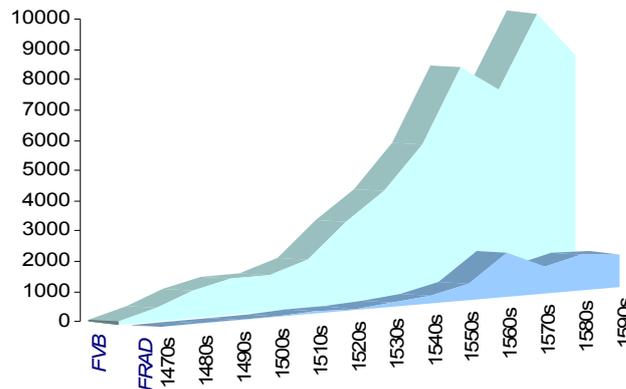


Figure 3-5:  
The rise in print.

As the printing industry grew to produce more books in the vernacular, so too, the number of printed royal acts burgeoned with the book trade. However, over time, the number of printed acts also began to take a larger share of the market. The incunabulum age witnessed only a small number of published edicts, though rising towards the end of the century thanks to the popularity of Ordinances of Blois in 1499. This was the most reprinted incunabulum in a single year and the most reprinted act under Louis XII. The number of printed edicts increased overall in the first three decades of the sixteenth century but dropped slightly during the 1520s. The comparatively large number of printed editions in the 1510s can be attributed largely to the popularity of the Ordinances of Lyon of 1510 of which a dozen editions were printed around 1512, after its registration in Parlement. The 1530s saw a large surge in the count of printed edicts, almost tripling the number from the previous decade from 45 to 119 books. This increase was paralleled by the overall increase in the activity of

the printing industry, which saw the production of a total of 1581 vernacular books during the 1520s and 2721 vernacular books during the 1530s. 1540 witnessed the most decrees printed in a single year during the reign of Francis I, and the percentage of printed royal acts increased further in the late 1540s under Henry II. The printing of royal acts continued to grow both in numbers and proportion under the second Valois-Angoulême king during the 1550s and then climaxed in the 1560s under Charles IX. The height of market share was reached during the 1560s, when royal acts constituted almost 20 per cent of books published, but this share fell again in the reign of Henry III.

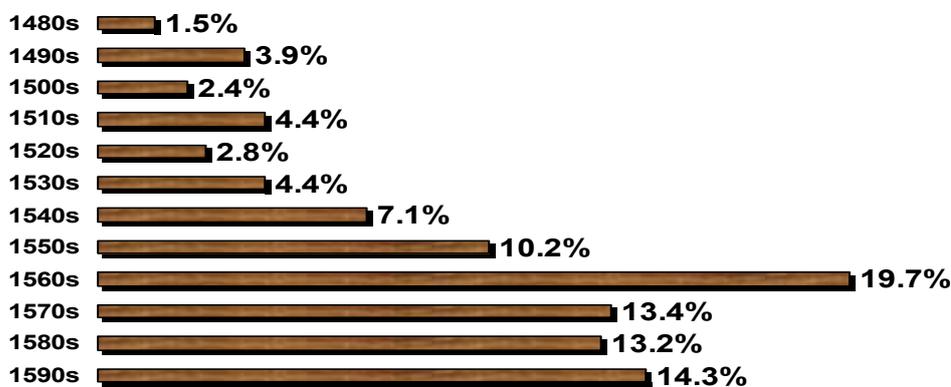


Figure 3-6: The market share of printed royal acts in the French vernacular book industry in each decade.

The last Valois king printed fewer acts than his older brother, Charles IX. Printing royal decrees hit an all time low in the second half of the sixteenth century during the exile of Henry III from Paris and the controversial accession of Henry IV during the years between 1588 and 1594. Political circumstances affected the publication of royal acts which resulted in a lower market share in the 1590s comprising 14.3 per cent of the total number of printed books published in the last decade. Most of these acts, or 78 per cent (843 out of 1085 books), were printed from 1594 to 1598.

If the information above is redistributed by kings instead of decades, it illustrates a slightly different perspective. Printing began in France under Louis XI, and 198 vernacular books are known from this period. Five of them, or 2.5 per cent, are royal acts. The printing industry continued to grow under Charles VIII but the publishing of royal acts constituted only a tiny proportion of this activity (2 per cent). The publication of significant measures such as the Ordinances of Blois and Lyon in the reign of Louis XII accounted for the modest rise in the proportion of print activity

taken by the publication of royal acts. But royal acts did not make up a much greater proportion of the greatly increased printing activity of the reign of Francis I. The reign of Henry II witnessed a double transformation. In the first place, the medium for the publication of royal acts switched from the large folio collections which were the dominant form of output in the first half of the century to the increasing publication of individual edicts in pamphlet form. In this form, edicts also began to take up a far larger share of the overall market for printed books. Edicts constituted almost 10 per cent of books published during the reign of Henry II and a full 15 per cent of books published in the reign of Francis II.

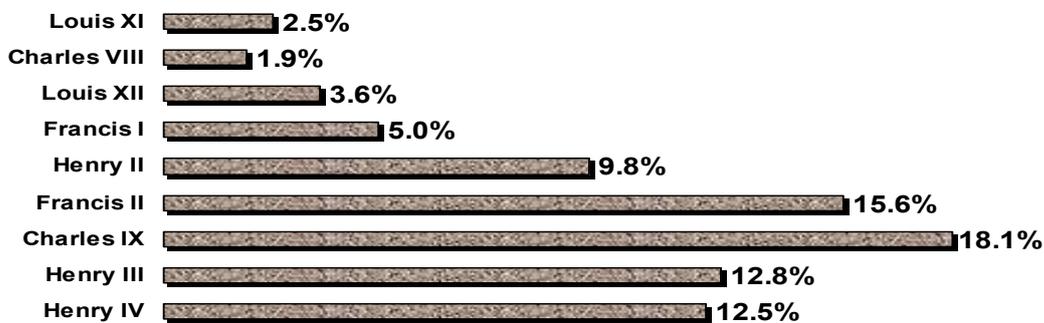


Figure 3-7: The market share of printed royal acts in the French vernacular book industry under each king.

The surge of publication of royal acts under Charles IX is dramatically illustrated by these figures and clearly forms part of the campaign on the part of the king and his *chancelier*, Michel de L'Hôpital, to restore control of the kingdom after the first of the wars of religion. After this, the publication of royal acts as a proportion of all vernacular printing fell back but it still represented a healthy 12 per cent in the reign of both Henry III and Henry IV. In the case of Henry IV, if one only considers the years from 1594 to 1600, the proportion rises to 15.6 per cent.<sup>6</sup>

The combination of both graphs demonstrates that the height of the book trade for royal ordinances occurred during the reign of Charles IX in the 1560s. Michel L'Hôpital created royal printing houses which served the crown and their purposes, wresting control over the book trade away from the Sorbonne and the Parlement of Paris.<sup>7</sup> Keeping the industry under tighter royal supervision was a priority for the

<sup>6</sup> Henry IV conquered Paris in March 1594.

<sup>7</sup> Denis Pallier, "Les réponses catholiques," in *Histoire de l'édition française*, ed. Henri Jean Martin and Roger Chartier (Paris: Fayard/Cercle de la Librairie, 1989), 340.

young king. The religious wars and the convocations of the Estates-General contributed to the high number of printed pamphlets and books on law. While this proportion fell under Henry III, his successor, Henry IV, understood the power of the press. He exhibited his acuity in the publication of his royal acts after he defeated a Leaguer town that questioned his authority. Every subjugation was printed immediately, and if a town had a printer, it was printed locally. This will be demonstrated in later chapters when we consider printed accounts of Henry IV's reductions of French towns.

Why were edicts printed? In her study of the Parisian printing industry of the post-incunabula age, Elizabeth Armstrong suggests four reasons: either the printer funded his own venture or he took orders from publishers, other printing houses, or clients.<sup>8</sup> With regard to royal acts, the initiative in publication almost invariably came either from the printing community itself or from the authorities issuing the decree: the crown or parlement. The rare exceptions to this tended to be where local recipients printed copies to make them more widely known in their own vicinity. The archbishopric of Rouen often paid Louis Bouvet, the local publisher, to print copies of the king's letters to the church.<sup>9</sup> In 1518, the bishop paid him twenty-six sols per thousand.<sup>10</sup> The church paid Bouvet sixteen sols to print 1600 copies of *Certaines lettres du roy* in the following year.<sup>11</sup> They continued to hire Bouvet in the next decade.<sup>12</sup>

With regard to the printing of royal acts, the sixteenth century can be divided into two broad periods: from 1500 to 1560 and from 1560 to 1600. The first sixty years was an age when printers played the largest role in determining what was printed and circulated for profit and the crown rarely intervened. However, the situation changed rapidly when the crown appointed a printer to print royal acts after 1560. Although Henry II understood the power of print, he failed to make significant changes to how the industry published decrees until he granted a ten-year privilege to Jean Dallier to publish royal ordinances on money in April 1559. After Charles IX had ascended to

---

<sup>8</sup> Elizabeth Armstrong, *Robert Estienne, Royal Printer; an Historical Study of the Elder Stephanus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954), 165.

<sup>9</sup> None of these letters survive but comes from their accounting books.

<sup>10</sup> Louis Desgraves and Josef Benzing, *Répertoire bibliographique des livres imprimés en France au seizième siècle*, 30 vols., vol. 14 (Baden-Baden: V. Koerner, 1968), 67, no. 6.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 4, 67, no. 8.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 70, no. 23.

the throne in 1560, he created an *imprimeur du roi* who published royal acts on the crown's behalf in 1561. Though the market to print royal acts was strong and viable, the crown played a larger role in determining what was circulated in the public arena by having royal printers publish what the king wanted to see in print.

Despite this highly significant development, the commercial profit motive continued to play a large role in stimulating the exceptionally large number of royal acts printed during these years. This can be demonstrated statistically by comparison of the number of acts printed by a recognized *imprimeur du roi* and those by other printers. The latter group was responsible for nearly two-thirds of all the royal acts printed in the last forty years of the sixteenth century.<sup>13</sup>

For printers, the trade in royal acts was particularly beneficial because of the multilayered nature of the market. The first point of sale was the copies provided directly to the royal authorities, which were then sent out to local administrations. These were the edicts printed either without a title page or sometimes with gaps for dates to be added, and often the few surviving copies contain manuscript annotations or the signature of the responsible *secrétaire d'État*. One may surmise that the few copies that survive in this form were part of a much larger original production. This process having been completed, however, there was also a lucrative secondary market in sales to local officials, members of the legal profession, and even private citizens. Booksellers and publishers played the largest role in determining what was sold for public consumption before 1560. It was perfectly plausible, for instance, that local magnates would wish to have copies of edicts relating to land law and prosperous urban haberdashers might wish to have copies of acts relating to sumptuary legislation. We know that thematic collections of this sort were prized at the time because royal acts often survived bound together in this form. Sometimes the printers would themselves create such thematic collections by reprinting together several edicts published over a course of years on a particular issue.

Booksellers sold royal acts to at least three groups of customers: members of the legal community, those with particular interests in a specific class of legislation and interested consumers, who usually purchased royal acts to read about news and the activities of the crown. More general features of the market for books are examined by Roger Chartier, who investigated the average-sized town of Amiens from 1503 to 1576

---

<sup>13</sup> See chapter six, figure 6-2.

to show which occupations purchased the most books. According to his findings, 94 per cent of all medical doctors owned books compared to the 73 per cent of all lawyers and 72 per cent for the nobility and the same of the clergy. However, Chartier also shows that lawyers owned more books than any other profession—their libraries consisted of an average number of thirty-seven books compared to the average thirty-three books in libraries of doctors. Members of the textile and business industries purchased 13 per cent of books sold.<sup>14</sup> Unfortunately, Chartier fails to mention how many doctors or lawyers there were in Amiens because that would ultimately determine the overall demand for books among each occupational group. For example, if there were twice as many lawyers than doctors then most books would have been purchased by lawyers and visa-versa.<sup>15</sup>

The first two groups purchased royal acts for information that related to their occupation or institution. Members of the legal community provided booksellers with a healthy source of income especially for legal books of all types and sizes. They bought large reference works such as the published *ordonnances du roi*, and they also purchased pamphlets to keep abreast of recent developments. They acquired these books because they were relevant and necessary to their profession. No doubt, legal professionals were the most important group for the collections of ordinances that as we have seen dominated the printed output of royal acts in the first half of the sixteenth century.

In some ways, the members of the legal community were the ideal customers, not least because they also purchased books other than those with a narrow professional relevance. Secondly, as a community, they gathered around government buildings and in parlements and other courts.<sup>16</sup> These were hotspots for bookstores, where every person who walked by was a potential customer, and it explains how bookshops clotted the streets around and in judicial centres. Parisian booksellers began to build shops

---

<sup>14</sup> Roger Chartier, *The Cultural Uses of Print in Early Modern France*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987), 146-47.

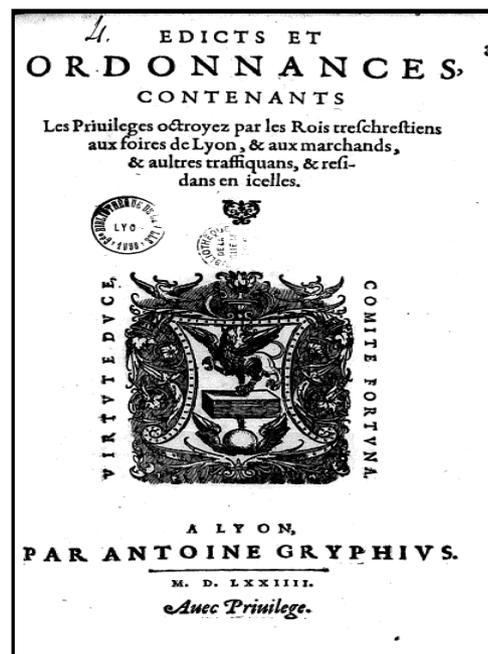
<sup>15</sup> To develop the example further, if Amiens had 200 lawyers and 100 doctors in residence then 146 lawyers had a total of 5402 books (200 lawyers x 73% = 146 lawyers who purchased books; 146 lawyers x 37 books per library per person = 5402 books). In contrast, out of 100 doctors, 94 doctors purchased a total of 3102 books (100 doctors x 94% = 94 doctors who purchased books; 94 doctors x 33 books per library per person = 3102 books).

<sup>16</sup> Lucien Paul Victor Febvre and Henri Jean Martin, *The Coming of the Book: The Impact of Printing 1450-1800*, trans. David Gerard (London: Verso, 2000), 176-77.

around the university but eventually, more successful printing firms sprawled around the *Palais* and surrounding area.<sup>17</sup>

The second and third groups of potential purchasers consisted of people outside the legal sphere. They provided a smaller, more particular market. Booksellers targeted specific established business groups when they published royal acts through single pamphlets or through collections. Members of France's commercial classes would have purchased royal acts regulating their own businesses. Regulations on silk affected the dressmakers and haberdasheries. Edicts on wheat affected the baker and their prices affected everyone who bought bread. Innkeepers and owners of lodging and other housing establishments were constantly supervised by the monarchy for public safety, health and for religious reasons. Often edicts of this nature were issued in small handy collections. Figure 3-8 shows a collection of edicts relating to fairs sold in this manner. Particularly popular and of wide circulation among France's commercial classes were edicts on coinage. Books on legal currency were published to prevent counterfeit money from circulating in the kingdom. When the *cour des monnaies* proclaimed a new ordinance on behalf of the crown, a printed edict was necessary to alert consumers to the new regulations. The crown granted Jean Dallier the sole right to print these ordinances during the second half of the sixteenth century.

Figure 3-8: *Recueil* of royal acts regulating the fairs of Lyon from Philip VI to Charles IX, printed by Antoine Gryphius in Lyon, 1574.<sup>18</sup>



<sup>17</sup> Ibid., 176.

<sup>18</sup> *Edicts et ordonnances contenant les privileges* (Lyon: Athoine Gryphius, 1574). Lyon BM: Rés 366010.

The third group of buyers were interested in royal acts for general information. They usually purchased individual pamphlets which were inexpensively available during the sixteenth century.

The best available evidence suggests that the cheapest pamphlets (that is, books that comprised up to one folded sheet of paper, eight pages in quarto and sixteen in octavo) cost the equivalent of one or two pence in most currencies. This brought books well within the range of most people with any level of disposable income. In the same period an artisan might earn 8d for a day's work, so the purchase of a pamphlet represented the cost of three or four hours' work. A pamphlet might be exchanged for a chicken or a pound of wax.<sup>19</sup>

Chapter three demonstrated how royal acts in pamphlet form became more popular in the second half of the century as the market for printed royal acts expanded and as edicts and pamphlets in general found a wider public.

The fact that edicts were proclaimed publicly gave shrewd local printers the ideal opportunity to gauge likely demand for a printed edition. If any new proclamation created buzz and fanfare, a respectable printer could apply for a privilege to print it. Later in the sixteenth century, trusted printers of the king, *imprimeurs du roi*, had the sole right to print royal acts after their registration in Parlement and their sales were protected and stable. The crown was prudent in granting privileges for their decrees not only because of the prestige that comes with a royal name but especially for the sake of accuracy. Only the best printers had the right to publish.<sup>20</sup> If the publishers chose their products correctly and met public demand, they made solid profit. Sometimes, printers underestimated this demand, which would require them to reprint the act a second and sometimes, third time.

However, not every reprint was caused by inaccurate sales projections. Calculating demand based purely on the number of bibliographically distinct issues and states can be misleading because a second print run can also follow a grave mistake, causing an aborted first run. When Frédéric Morel printed erroneous information by naming the wrong secretary as a signatory of a *mandement*, he had to print a second version with this information corrected. A *mandement* printed in Paris by Frédéric Morel in 1586 survives in at least three versions. Their title pages are nearly indistinguishable as demonstrated by the three transcriptions below. The first and last

---

<sup>19</sup> Andrew Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 159. Mark U. Edwards, *Printing, Propaganda, and Martin Luther* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1994), 16.

<sup>20</sup> Armstrong, *Robert Estienne*, 139.

editions are identical in their title page. The second one contains an error in the year of print, which omitted a “D”, adding an extra “L” near the bottom.

1. MANDEMENT || DV ROY TOVCHANT || l’execution de ses Edicts prece- || dens contre ceux de la nouvelle || opinion. || [printer’s device] || A PARIS, || Par FEDERIC MOREL Impri- || meur ordinaire du Roy. || M. **D.** LXXXVI. || Auec Priuilege dudict Seigneur.<sup>21</sup>
2. MANDEMENT || DV ROY TOVCHANT || l’execution de ses Edicts prece- || dens contre ceux de la nouvelle || opinion. || [printer’s device] || A PARIS, || Par FEDERIC MOREL Impri- || meur ordinaire du Roy. || M. **L.** [sic] LXXXVI. || Auec Priuilege dudict Seigneur.<sup>22</sup>
3. MANDEMENT || DV ROY TOVCHANT || l’execution de ses Edicts prece- || dens contre ceux de la nouvelle || opinion. || [printer’s device] || A PARIS, || Par FEDERIC MOREL Impri- || meur ordinaire du Roy. || M. **D.** LXXXVI. || Auec Priuilege dudict Seigneur.<sup>23</sup>

Inside the pamphlets are more glaring discrepancies. The first two editions were dated 20 May 1586, issued in Paris, and signed by the king’s *secrétaire d’État*, Pierre Brulart. In the third, although the body of the royal act is the same, at the end, a blank space was given in lieu of a day followed by the month and year: *Donné à Paris, le [blank space] jour de mai, l’an de grace mil cinq cens quatre-vingt-six.*<sup>24</sup> The other two both have the correct date, 20 May in the printed copy. Furthermore, this last version also stated that the *mandement* was signed not by Brulart, but by Claude Pinart, the secretary who supervised royal affairs in northern France, including Paris and the Île-de-France.<sup>25</sup> If a royal printer, or any official, had to take a guess as to who would sign the *mandement*, Pinart would have been the likely choice because the *mandement*’s contents concerned his department. However, during this time, Pinart was most likely occupied with preparations for his long journey with Catherine de Medici to see the king of Navarre. Throughout Pinart’s absence from the royal court, Brulart supervised Pinart’s department in addition to his own, which consisted of eastern France and the Holy

---

<sup>21</sup> *Mandement du roy touchant l’execution de ses edicts precedens* (Paris: Fédéric Morel, 1586). BnF: FZ 2339.

<sup>22</sup> *Mandement du roy touchant l’execution de ses edicts precedens* (Paris: Fédéric Morel, 1586). BnF: F 46882 (23).

<sup>23</sup> *Mandement du roy touchant l’execution de ses edicts precedens* (Paris: Fédéric Morel, 1586). BnF: F 46882 (10).

<sup>24</sup> *Mandement du roy touchant l’execution de ses edicts precedens* (Paris: Fédéric Morel, 1586), sig. A3r. BnF: F 46882 (9). This edition contains blank spaces where the day and month should have been and it was said to have been signed the secretary, Claude Pinart. In a completed edition, it was acknowledged that it was signed by Brulart and the proper issued date was given on A3r. See BnF: 46882 (10) for a completed version.

<sup>25</sup> N. M. Sutherland, *The French Secretaries of State in the Age of Catherine de Medici* (London: University of London Athlone Press, 1962), 37.

Roman Empire.<sup>26</sup> This gross error by Morel is an anomaly. He was a highly profiled and respected royal printer whose work was trusted not only in France but also abroad in England and the Netherlands. But it does lead to a multiplication of different surviving states which may not represent a genuinely different edition in a commercial sense.

Even when we are dealing with genuinely separate editions, one must exercise a degree of care in interpreting the reasons for their popularity. Sometimes the initiative for widespread printing will have come from the authorities themselves. For instance, in the case of some of the most widely reprinted edicts to be studied in the last two chapters of this work, the flurry of provincial reprints clearly resulted from a conscious effort on the part of the crown to spread knowledge of the edict throughout the kingdom.

Privileges were awarded to some of the printing industry's most distinguished printers. Michael Vascosan received permission to print edicts in 1561 after he proved himself as an excellent printer.<sup>27</sup> The right to print royal acts was eagerly sought after by publishers and printers and jealously guarded. The crown did not name an official printer of royal edicts until 1561 and at this stage this did not inhibit other printers from also publishing their own editions of the same act. It was only in 1566 with the Ordinances of Moulins that the king decreed that any printer wanting publish a royal act required specific permission to do so.<sup>28</sup> Until this point, anyone had the right to print a royal act.

A privilege granted by the authorities allowed the printer to have the monopoly on printing a particular book, or in this case, decree, for a set time. The French Project database records that less than half, 47 per cent, of the books printed in the French vernacular before 1601 noted a statement of privilege, either mentioned on the title page or given in summary inside the book. In the specific case of royal acts, however, 70 per cent of printed decrees assert a privilege. The pie chart below shows who granted these privileges. The largest section relates to books where the privilege is known only from a brief statement on the title page, which gives no clue as to who had granted it. Other segments of the diagram show the proportions granted by the king,

---

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> Armstrong, *Robert Estienne*, 139.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., 155.

the parlement, or the *prévôt* of Paris, where this information is given in more detail somewhere in the text.

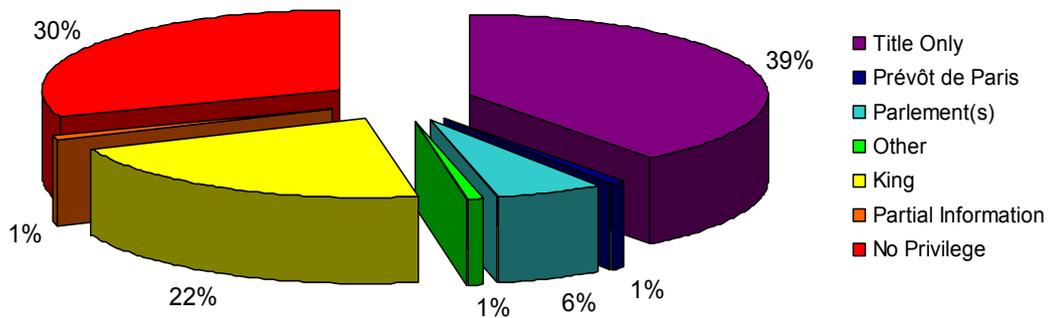


Figure 3-9: The issuers of privileges to print royal acts.

The title page statement of privilege came in several forms. The earliest form was the Latin, *cum privilegio*, and this was sometimes used even when the text was in French. This Latin formula was progressively replaced by the vernacular equivalent: *avec privilege*. If the royal act was printed by command from an authority, it would state: *par commandement*. This short statement on the title page is all the information available in half the editions published with the affirmation of a privilege. In other cases, the privileges are given in more detail. Usually, the formal document is summarized in a largely formulaic statement which gives the name of the privilege holder, identifying the granting authority and states the length of time for which the privilege is granted and sometimes the penalties applying to any breach. The three most common authorities granting privileges were the king, the parlement and the *prévôt de Paris*. A small number of privileges were granted by other financial courts, such as the *chambre des comptes*, *cour des aides* and *monnaies*. We also have scattered records of occasional privileges granted by provincial town councils, government departments such as the *département des eaux et forêts*, and other ruling individuals such as the dukes and governors.

The images below are examples of two of Jean Dallier's privileges. The one on the left is an extract from a privilege of the Parlement of Paris. The one on the right is a title page that demonstrates where he received his privileges to print decrees concerning coins and money. Unlike the other courts of the government, the *cour des monnaies* was able to issue ordinances on fiscal matters on the king's behalf. Similarly, it was able to issue privileges so that Dallier's privilege, though it issued by the *cour*

*des monnaies*, was treated like a royal privilege until it was ratified in the *chancellerie*. Dallier was awarded a ten year privilege to print royal edicts by Henry II on 23 April 1559, a privilege confirmed by Francis II the following year.<sup>29</sup>

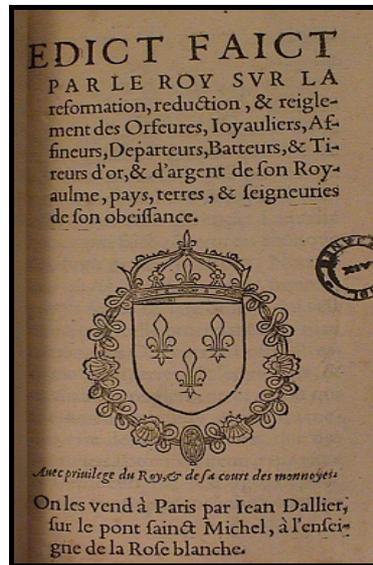
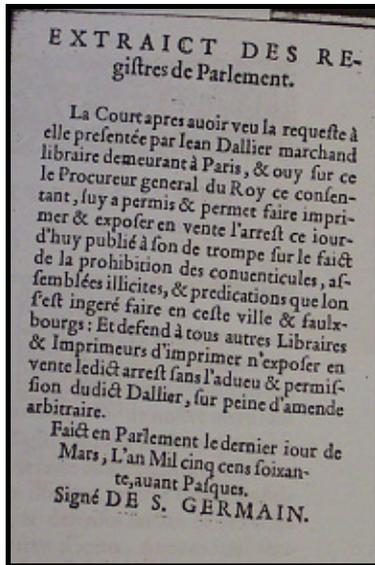


Figure 3-10: Examples of privileges issued by other branches of government. Left: An extract of Jean Dallier's privilege from the Parlement of Paris.<sup>30</sup>

Right: Jean Dallier's title page that states royal privilege through the *cour des monnaies*.<sup>31</sup>

The crown issued more privileges than any other branch of government. These constitute 22 per cent of those editions where the privilege is given in detail; one may surmise that the crown was also responsible for a large proportion of the privileges noted on the title page in abbreviated form. This dominant role was, however, established only in the second half of the century. In February 1566, Charles IX issued the Ordinances of Moulins, which stated in article seventy-eight that all privileges and permissions for books required the grand seal. This implied that the *chancellerie* was the only governing branch that had the authority to issue privileges. The intent was probably to have a single body organize and issue privileges to minimize the problems of conflicting claims and to increase the crown's revenue from printers applying for

<sup>29</sup> *Ordonnance du roy contenant le poirs et pris des especes d'or et d'argent* (Paris: Jean Dallier, 1565), sig. A1v. Aix, Bibliothèque Méjanes: Rec D 714 (23). See the section on Dallier later in this chapter.

<sup>30</sup> *Declaration du roy sur le fait et police de la religion* (Paris: Vincent Sertenas and Jean Bonfons, 1562), sig. B2v. Paris, Bibliothèque Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français: Rés. 9990 (1).

<sup>31</sup> *Edict fait par le roy sur la reformation, reduction, et reiglement des orfeure* (Paris: Jean Dallier, 1554/5). Aix, Bibliothèque Méjanes: Rec D 714 (9).

privileges.<sup>32</sup> In practice, this diminished the number of books issued by other governing branches but did not stop them from granting them altogether. Thus the parlements and a very few other courts, such as that of the *sénéchaussée* of Lyon, continued to award privileges in the following decades.

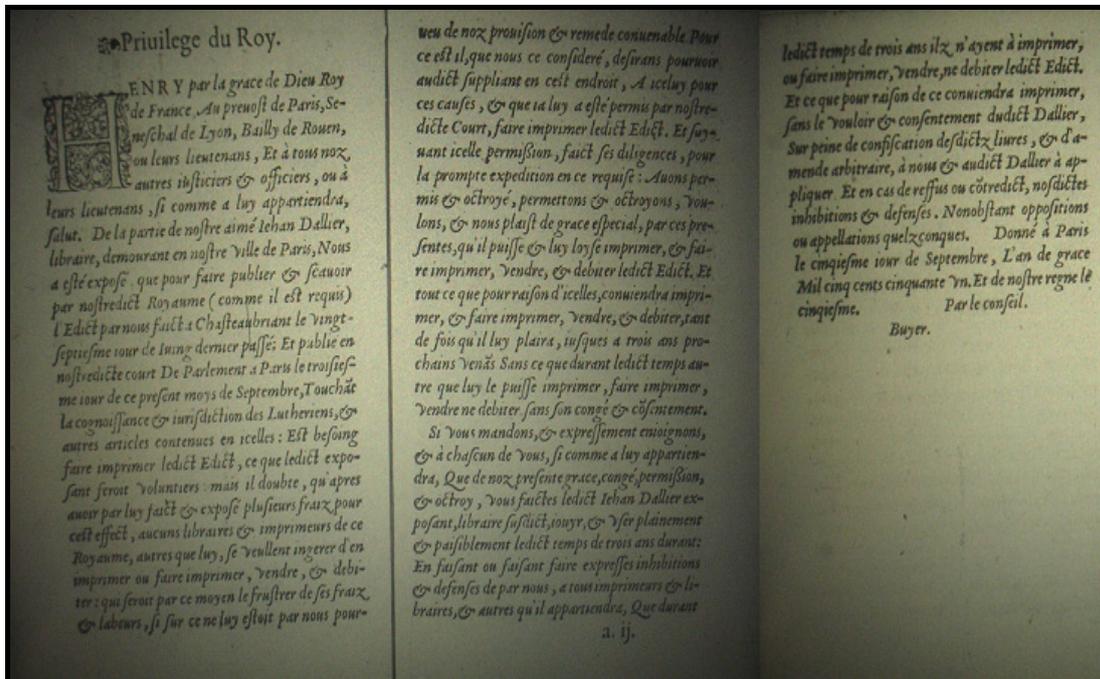


Figure 3-11: A full transcription of a royal privilege to Jean Dallier.<sup>33</sup>

The graph below demonstrates the relative numbers of privileges granted by the parlement and the king over the course of the century. Until 1550, parlements issued more privileges than the crown. This applies particularly to the Parlement of Paris. The Parlement retained approximate parity with the crown until about 1560. By the end of the decade, however, the crown had pulled substantially ahead and from this point on the crown was responsible for issuing the lion's share of privileges that applied to royal acts.

<sup>32</sup> Athanase Jean L. Jourdan, Decrusy, and François-André Isambert, *Recueil général des anciennes lois françaises: depuis l'an 420 jusqu'à la révolution de 1789.*, 28 vols., vol. 14 (Paris: Belin-Leprieur, 1829), 211-12.

<sup>33</sup> This was printed in Dallier's copy of the Edict of Châteaubriant (1551). Robert O. Lindsay and John Neu, eds., *French Political Pamphlets, 1547-1648; a Catalog of Major Collections in American Libraries* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969).

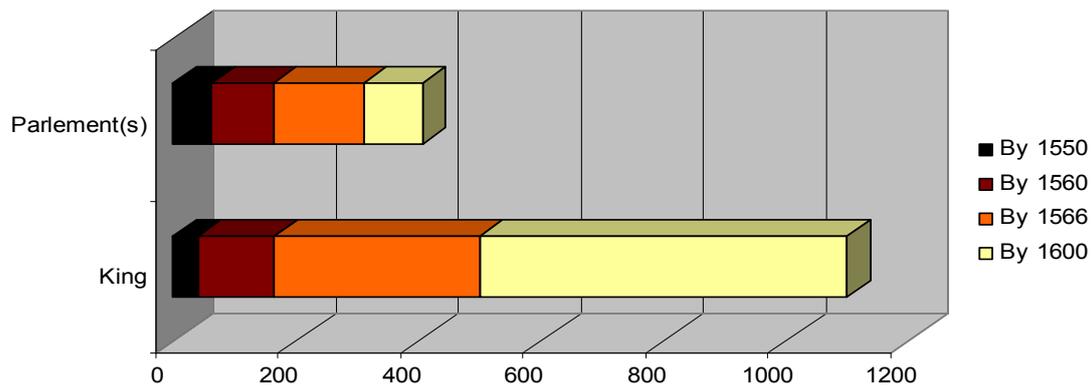


Figure 3-12: Privileges issued by the king and parlements.

The issuing authority benefited financially from granting privileges. Elizabeth Armstrong comments

Book-privileges cost the Crown nothing to give....The official fees for drawing up the document and for the use of the seal provided the fund from which they were paid, and a proportion of the fee might even be payable direct to them, e.g. 1s out of a 6s fee to the notary concerned. Secretaries and clerks could also expect some perquisites. Few transactions of this kind went through in the sixteenth century without some customary gift to an official.<sup>34</sup>

After applicants received their privileges, a document was written and sealed and sent to the *prévôt de Paris*, or whoever was in charge of the local law enforcement, to implement the privilege.

Privileges for royal acts were not merely a form of proto-copyright. They also gave assurance that the text published was an authentic copy of the act.<sup>35</sup> This is especially the case for the *congés* granted by the *prévôt de Paris*. Located in the Châtelet, the *prévôt* issued a form of permissions to booksellers and printers called *congés* for a short period of time. In the sixteenth century, Guillaume Sanxon was the first printer known to obtain a *congé* from the *prévôt* to publish the treaty between Louis XII and Henry VIII signed on 8 August 1514; two months later the French king married Henry VIII's sister, Mary Tudor of England. Sanxon received the privilege from the *prévôt* to print the peace on 17 August 1514 and held it for eight days.

The very short space of time for which this privilege was valid is in itself revealing. As a protection of a business venture, a privilege so short would have been

<sup>34</sup> Elizabeth Armstrong, *Before Copyright: The French Book-Privilege System, 1498-1526* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 27.

<sup>35</sup> For an excellent introduction to early modern French privileges see Elizabeth Armstrong's *Before Copyright*. *Ibid.*, 112.

largely meaningless as competitors could print their own edition only one week later. Here the *congé* seems specifically intended to emphasize the official character of the printed version of the text. In this way, the Paris authorities ensured that important news was shared with a wider public in terms they carefully controlled.<sup>36</sup>

To apply for a privilege from a local court was easier than obtaining a privilege from the king and his peripatetic court. If publishers had access to the crown's itinerary, they had to travel to wherever the king was temporarily stationed to receive a royal privilege. Thus, instead of making the journey to acquire a royal privilege, booksellers often applied for a privilege in their neighbourhood courts. The only problem with receiving a provincial court's privilege was that it did not apply to the rest of the kingdom; only the king's privilege had that power.

Even in Paris, printers particularly active in the production of legal texts would often have to apply for privileges to number of different bodies. In 1515, the bookseller-printer Galliot du Pré applied for separate privileges from the Parlement of Paris and the crown in a matter of a few days. Du Pré was an experienced applicant and had been awarded privileges for the two to three years prior to 1515 from both branches of the crown and Parlement.<sup>37</sup> On 24 April 1515, Galliot du Pré renewed a three-year privilege to print *Le grant coustumier de France* under Francis I.<sup>38</sup> Three days earlier, on 21 April, he received a privilege to print *Les ordonnances et status royaux des feuz roys* from the Parlement of Paris.<sup>39</sup> On other occasions, printers sought privileges neither from the parlement nor from the king but from another specific court. The *cour des aides* granted the privilege for *Ordonnance faicte par le roy pour asseoir coctiser et imposer a la taille les francs archiers de ce royaume....Publiee & enregistree en la court des aydes a Paris...* on 11 January 1536 to Jean de La Garde. Jacques Nyverd received a privilege from the *cour des monnaies* on

---

<sup>36</sup> Andrew Pettegree, "The Growth of a Provincial Press in Sixteenth-Century Europe" (paper presented at the Stenton Lecture, Reading, England, 23 November 2006). Jean-Pierre Seguin, "L'information a la fin du XVe siècle en France. Pièces d'actualité imprimées sous le règne de Charles VIII", *Arts et traditions populaires*, 4, 1956, pp. 309-330, 1-2, 1957, pp. 46-74.

<sup>37</sup> According to Armstrong, Galliot du Pré first privilege was from the Parlement of Paris dated 6 September 1512. He received his first privilege from the crown on 18 November 1513. Henri Louis Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise; recherches sur les imprimeurs, libraires, relieurs et fondeurs de lettres de Lyon au XVIe siècle. Publiées et continuées par J. Baudrier*, 13 vols., vol. 1 (Paris: F. de Nobele, 1964), 214, 46.

<sup>38</sup> *Le grant coustumier de France et instruction de practique et maniere de proceder* (Paris: Galliot du Pré, 1515), sig. ã1v. Beaune BM: B 50.

<sup>39</sup> *Les ordonnances et status royaux faictz par les trescrestiens roys de France* (Paris: Galliot du Pré, 1516), sig. A1v. Toulouse BM: Rés. D XVI 559.

19 April 1540 to print *Edict du roy sur le poix des monnoyes*.<sup>40</sup> These occasions were relatively rare and only occurred when the printers were publishing the edicts of these specific courts.

The practice of granting privileges in France began in 1507 and the first privilege for royal acts followed three years later in 1510. *Les ordonnances royaulx les feuz roys* was printed by Guillaume Eustace of Paris whose bookshops were located on *rue de la Juifrie* at the sign of the *deux sagittaires* and at the *Palais au troisième pilier*.<sup>41</sup> Most printers interested in selling political tracts and information set up bookshops around judicial centres to optimize their sales from the legal community. *Les ordonnances royaulx* is a two-volume set of collected royal acts printed in the French vernacular and Latin. *Cum privilegio* was impressed on the second half of the set before the Latin text began. The book was issued a privilege by the *chancellerie* on 28 April 1510.<sup>42</sup>

Colophons could also be an additional source of privilege information. In the first century of print, the colophon located at the end of the text was a frequent alternative to the printer noting his name and address on the title page. Sometimes, the printer took advantage of the opportunity the colophon provided to include a summary of the privilege. In fact, colophons were only infrequently used in royal acts. I have found only 231 colophons in more than 5000 printed royal acts. Two-thirds of them, 147 out of 231 colophons, were in editions printed between 1530 to 1560. In 1511, Jean Petit printed *Sensuyent les lectres pate[n]tes du roy nostre sire octroyees sur la reformation des poix mesures et aulnages du hault & bas pays Dauvergne* in Paris. In the colophon, he noted the day he printed the act, 20 May 1511, and stated that he had a two-year privilege to print the decree:

¶ Jmprime a Paris le vingtiesme iour de may. || Mil.CCCCC.xi. pour Jehan petit libraire de lu= || niuersite dudit lieu: avec le priuilege de non les im= || primer de deux ans: comme il appert par le coustu= || mier dudit pays.<sup>43</sup>

However, upon further inspection, the privilege was given to Petit to print *Les coutumes du hault et bas pays d’Auvergne*, which contained a few royal acts. The

---

<sup>40</sup> *Edict du roy sur la mise et poix monnoyes* (Paris: Jacques Nyverd, ca. 1540), sig. [ ]2r. Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève: 4o F 739 inv. 1249 (1) Rés.

<sup>41</sup> *Les ordonnances royaulx les feuz roys* (Paris: Guillaume Eustace, 1510), sig. A1r. Médiathèque d’Oléans: Rés. B 1482 (1).

<sup>42</sup> Armstrong, *Before Copyright*, 240.

<sup>43</sup> *Sensuyent les lectres patentes du roy nostre sire octroyees sur la reformation* (Paris: Jean Petite, 1511), sig. [ ]4r. Bibliothèque Communautaire et Interuniversitaire de Clermont-Ferrand: Reserve R 5323 (2).

*lettres patentes* that were included in the *coutumier* were also printed separately as *Sensuyuent les lectres patentes*.<sup>44</sup> Petit, in this case, abused the privilege, which was granted to the book and not to the individual acts therein. Although this misuse seems to have passed undetected, Petit did apply and was granted the right to print a royal act the following year by the Parlement of Paris and published the Ordinances of Lyon of 1510.

Few privileges were granted before an edict's registration in Parlement; the exception was when the king interfered to grant a privilege before its day in court. However, most early sixteenth century printers were given privileges after registration, usually in the Parlement of Paris, and sometimes this involved a considerable wait. For example, *parlementaires* were not content with Louis XII's new supplement to Ordinances of Blois of 1499 and delayed its registration. It was registered nearly two years later in the Parlement of Paris on 12 May 1512 after the king attended his *lit de justice* before the high court in April 1512. Jean Petit acquired the privilege to print the ordinances eight days after its registration in Paris. He asked for four years but received two years of privilege.<sup>45</sup> Although printers may have known about a particular royal act, they often waited for its registration in their local parlement to obtain a privilege. In this case, Petit waited almost two full years to print the second most republished act of Louis XII. Furthermore, only one edition out of three of Petit's copies contains the privilege which suggests that the other two may have been printed before the privilege was awarded. Interestingly, this decree was printed four more times in Paris by Guillaume Nyverd, who did not place his name, any privilege information or any connection with Petit in his publications.<sup>46</sup> Therefore, it is difficult to discern whether Nyverd printed the decree four times before its imminent registration in Parlement, before he was aware of Petit's privilege, whether he simply ignored the privilege, or whether he was contracted by Petit.

Outside Paris, the Ordinances of Lyon of 1510 were printed in Angers, Lyon and Toulouse. Because Petit's privilege did not emanate directly from the king but from the Parlement, others were able to obtain a separate privilege to print the book for circulation in other jurisdictions. Jean de Clauso obtained a privilege from the

---

<sup>44</sup> Armstrong, *Before Copyright*, 243.

<sup>45</sup> *Les ordonnances royaulx nouvellement publiees a Paris* (Paris: Jean Petit, ca. 1512), sig. a1v. Cambridge University Library: F151 b 4 6.

<sup>46</sup> His woodcuts and typographical ornaments implicate him but the circumstances are ambiguous because the well-known printing house of Nyverd had a tendency to omit publication years more than other respectable printers in his class.

parlement in Toulouse, probably in late May 1512, after their registration there, to print the same decree, making Clauso the first non-Parisian printer to receive a privilege to print a royal act.<sup>47</sup> Petit and Clauso were the only two printers who claimed any privilege concerning the Ordinances of Lyon.

The desire to obtain a privilege, either to protect an edition from piracy, or demonstrate the publication's official status, was strong. This led, inevitably, to a degree of falsification. Not all the privileges claimed were legitimate. The title page of *Les Ordonnances royaulx faictes par les feuz treschrestiens roys de France* states that it was printed in 1523 by Jacques Maréchal in Clermont.<sup>48</sup> The following page explains that Maréchal received a royal privilege on 3 March 1523 for three years. However, H.L. Baudrier, the esteemed bibliographer of early printing in Lyon, questions the privilege; he considers it a fabrication because the Maréchal family, including Jacques, printed solely in Lyon until the 1550s.<sup>49</sup> Furthermore, with this exception, the printing house of Maréchal did not print royal acts. This suggests that this edition is very probably a counterfeit under a false address and also very likely a false privilege.

As the sixteenth century wore on, the printing of French royal acts spread throughout the kingdom. More provincial towns were printing royal acts. The most reprinted royal incunabulum, the Ordinances of Blois of 1499, was printed in Paris eleven different times before 1500 and there are also a number of editions where the place of printing is not given. Some of these anonymous editions may plausibly have been printed outside the capital. In the case of Ordinances of Lyon of 1510, we know definitely of editions published in the provinces. After its registration in Parlement in 1512, it was printed seven times in Paris, twice in Lyon, once in Angers and Toulouse, and there is one edition whose origins cannot be identified. Thus, a total of three towns, excluding Paris, printed Louis XII's second most important set of ordinances. Rennes and Rouen joined the ranks in publishing the Ordinances of Villers-Cotterêts of 1539, creating a total of five towns outside Paris involved in printing these critical legal codes.

---

<sup>47</sup> *Les ordonances royaulx nouvellement publiees a Paris* (Toulouse: Jean de Clauso, ca. 1512), sig. C4r. Lyon BM: Rés. 373480.

<sup>48</sup> Henri Louis Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise; recherches sur les imprimeurs, libraires, relieurs et fondateurs de lettres de Lyon au XVIe siècle. Publiées et continuées par J. Baudrier.*, 12 vols., vol. 11 (Paris: F. de Nobele, 1964), 413-15.

<sup>49</sup> This is the only recorded instance of Jacques supposedly printing in Clermont. All his other works were printed in Lyon. *Ibid.*, 414-15.

It was the responsibility of the local authorities to publish new laws, whether this was through crying them on the streets or having them printed locally. Surviving account books from local archives record the financial transactions that occurred on such occasions between the town councils and local printers. The town of Amiens, for example, paid Jean Grolin to print ninety-five placards for *Les ordonnances et les taxations faictes par mes dicts seigneurs sur le faict des hostelains et cabaretiers* in 1532.<sup>50</sup> They were probably referring to what Jacques Nyverd's pamphlet called *Les ordonnances faictes par le roy nostre sire sur le faict des hostellers tauerniers et denrees quilz vendent* issued on 13 June 1532.<sup>51</sup> In October 1551, the Parlement of Bordeaux paid François Morpain to print an edict concerning the punishment of heretics, better known as Edict of Châteaubriant (27 June 1551).<sup>52</sup> Surprisingly, some towns tried to have royal acts printed for free. In Toulouse, an entire print run of fifty copies was commissioned by the city council for a royal ordinance concerning commercial activity in Languedoc, dated 14 November 1551 from Paris. At first, local magistrates attempted to have it printed without providing any compensation to the printer. After this failed, Guion Boudeville, who received the town's privilege, printed the royal ordinance the following year.<sup>53</sup>

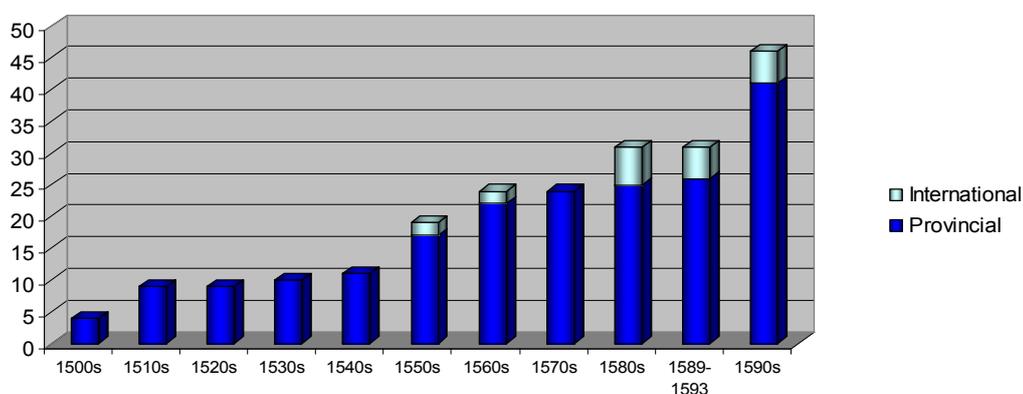


Figure 3-13: The number of towns outside Paris that printed royal acts.

<sup>50</sup> Desgraves and Benzing, *Répertoire bibliographique*, 9, no. 2.

<sup>51</sup> *Les ordonnances faictes par le roy nostre sire* (Paris: Jacques Nyverd, ca. 1532). Autun BM: Rés. M 2039 (9).

<sup>52</sup> Desgraves and Benzing, *Répertoire bibliographique*, 18, no. 5.

<sup>53</sup> Guion Boudeville's privilege stated that the commissioners of Toulouse requested fifty copies because no one else would do it for free. *Les ordonnances...sur le faict des hostellers* (Paris: Jacques Nyverd, ca. 1532), sig. A1v. Toulouse BM: Rés. DXVI 201 (1).

The first half of the sixteenth century saw a very slow rise in provincial print. During the 1500s, only four towns printed royal acts outside Paris: Lyon, Rouen, Toulouse, and Saint-Nicolas-de-Port, which is located in the duchy of Lorraine. Lyon, Rouen, and Toulouse continued to print royal acts in the subsequent decades while other towns participated periodically. A total of nine towns printed royal acts in the 1510s and in the 1520s. Angers, Caen, and Saint-Nicolas-de-Port along with Lyon, Rouen, and Toulouse contributed in both decades while Avignon, Bordeaux and La Réole appeared during the 1510s and disappeared. In the 1520s, they were replaced by Limoges and Poitiers.<sup>54</sup> Ten provincial towns printed decrees in the 1530s, seven if you exclude the usual three: Lyon, Rouen, and Toulouse. They were Angers, Avignon, Bordeaux, Dijon, Nantes, Rennes, and Vannes. Aix, Avignon, Dijon, Nantes, and Rennes continued to print ordinances during the 1540s but the others were replaced by Bourges, Poitiers, Tours, and Troyes.

The second half of the sixteenth century saw a sharp rise in the number of places outside Paris printing royal acts. Several towns began to be more consistently involved in the 1550s: Angers, Blois, Bordeaux, Bourges, Caen, Dijon, Poitiers, Reims, Rennes, and Tours printed acts in every decade until the end of the century. From the 1560s onwards, Le Mans, Orléans, and Troyes had three to five printers who published royal declarations and ordinances. Most other towns participated in circulating royal acts intermittently: Agen, Aix, Avignon, Angoulême, Chartres, Clermont, Cahors, Châlons, Douai, La Rochelle, Langres, Limoges, Montauban, Metz, Melun, Nantes, Nancy, Nevers, Sens, and Saint-Denis. The towns of Nîmes and Dole printed one act each during the entire sixteenth century in 1567 and in 1588 respectively.<sup>55</sup> A few towns were slightly more active during the 1590s: Montpellier, Niort, and Périgueux. However, during the last decade, additional towns which had never printed decrees printed at least one from 1594 to 1600 on the king's orders to establish peace within their areas: Abbeville, Auxerre, Grenoble, Marseille, Riom, Saintes, and Tournon.

French edicts also had an international audience. Although these foreign reprints fall outside the scope of this study, French acts were often translated into a local language such as German, Dutch, and English. Some were printed abroad in the

---

<sup>54</sup> We have already mentioned the likelihood that the edict purportedly printed in Clermont in 1523 was using a counterfeit address. See page 121.

<sup>55</sup> *Les ordonnances lois statutz et edictz royaux* (Nîmes: Antoine Gouzet, 1567). Avignon BM: 8o 49337. *Ordonnances declarations et interpretations* (Dole: Jean Poivre and Jean Ravoillot). BnF: Rés. F 1293.

original French. Antwerp printed more royal acts in the French vernacular than any city outside France and the Low Countries printed more French edicts more than any region in Europe; the cities of Brussels, Delft, Ghent, Leiden, Middleburg, the Hague, and Mons published and sold them for an international market. During the 1580s, London printers began printing royal acts in the French vernacular.<sup>56</sup> Among other Protestant cities, Basle printed a declaration from Henry IV on his accession to the throne circa 1589 and *recueils* of the edicts of pacification were printed in 1599 by the city-state of Geneva and the town of Zweibrücken, Germany.<sup>57</sup>

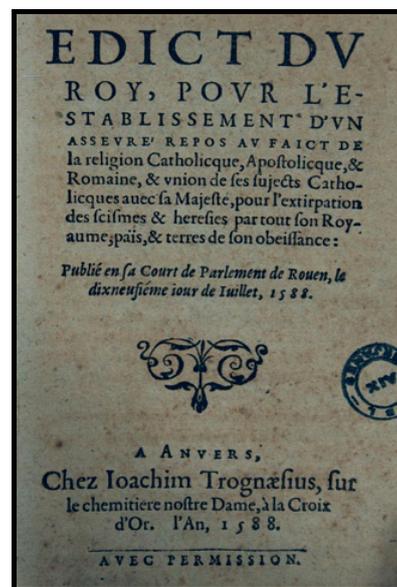
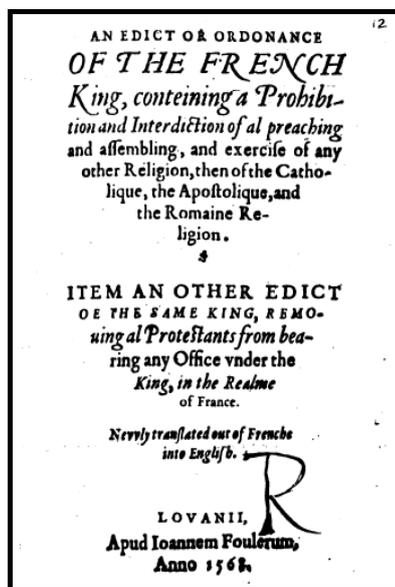


Figure 3-14: French edicts of revocation printed abroad.

Left: An English translation of the Edict of St Maur of 1568.<sup>58</sup>

Right: The Edict of Union of 1588 printed in Antwerp in French.<sup>59</sup>

As the number of provincial towns that possessed printing presses burgeoned, the number of printers involved in the printing of royal acts also rose. Paris began the century with twenty printers who published royal acts. After decades of fluctuating numbers, the capital ended the century with twenty-eight printers involved in this

<sup>56</sup> *Déclarations tant du Roy... que du Roy de Navarre sur la treve accordée entre leurs majestez & touchant le passage de la riviere de Loire* (London: Richard Field, 1589). Oxford, Bodleian Library: 80 M 277 (12) Th.

<sup>57</sup> The following are examples from each town: Pierre du Bellay, ed., *Recueil des edicts de pacification, ordonnances et declaration* (Geneva: Jacques Chouet, 1599). BnF: F 29066. *Edict du roy et declaration sur les precedens edicts de pacification* (Deux-Ponts: Caspar Wittel, 1599). Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek Bern: Bong V 261 (11). *Harangue et declaration faite par le roy* (Basle: s.n., ca. 1589). Paris, Bibliothèque Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français: Rés. 550302.

<sup>58</sup> *An Edict or Ordonance of the French King* (Louvain: s.n., ca. 1568). Oxford, Bodleian Library: 80 O67 (12) Th.

<sup>59</sup> *Edict pour l'establissement d'un assure repos au faict de la religion catholique* (Antwerp: Joachim Trognaesius, 1588). Aix, Bibliothèque Méjanes: Rec D 17 (9).

aspect of the publishing trade. In contrast to this relative stability, the numbers of those involved in provincial towns increased.

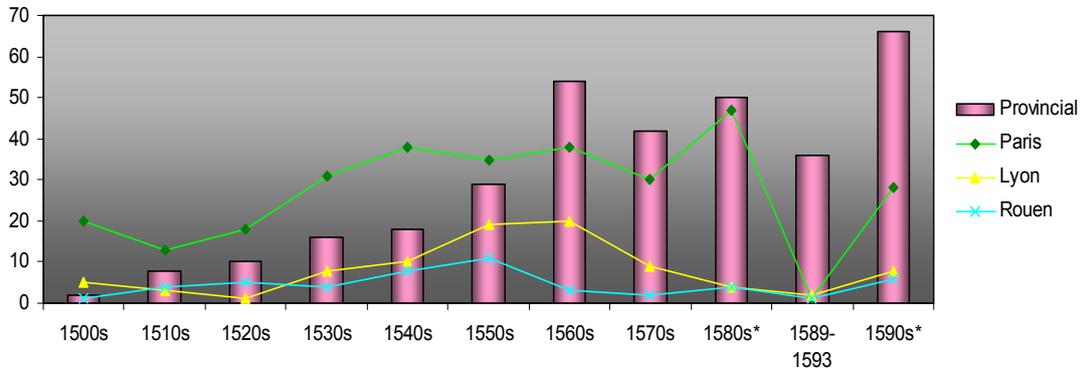


Figure 3-15: The number of printers in each town.  
 \*Notes: 1580s = 1580-1588; 1590s = 1594-1600.

If we put aside Lyon and Rouen, there were only two printers involved in publishing royal acts during the first decade of the sixteenth century. The chart below illustrates the number of printers in Paris, Lyon, Rouen, and elsewhere involved in printing royal acts. By the end of the century, this had mushroomed to sixty-six. Lyon and Rouen started with five and one printers respectively and concluded with eight and six printers by the end of the century. It appears that as more provincial printers were established, it became less necessary to print large numbers of editions in the principal printing centres for distribution throughout the kingdom. If anything, potential purchasers preferred local editions since these could then include relevant local information (such as when an edict had been proclaimed in their own town).

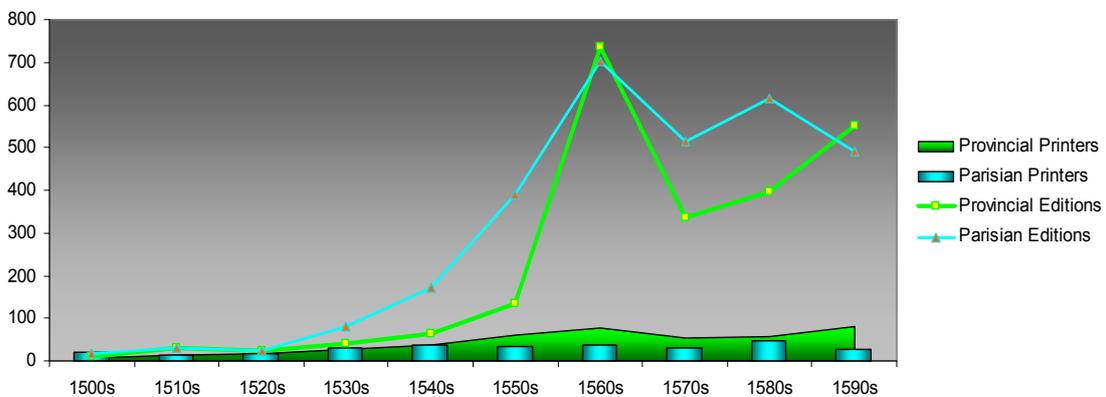


Figure 3-16: A comparison between the number of printed decrees to the number of printers.

Nevertheless, Paris undoubtedly remained important in the national market and the number of printers in Paris involved in printing royal acts remained relatively stable: individual printers in Paris often printed many more editions. In consequence, Parisian presses normally printed more editions of French royal acts than all the rest of the kingdom put together. Figure 3-16 above demonstrates that by the end of the century, Parisian printers, although fewer in number since the 1550s, published more decrees than the rest of France except during the 1560s and the 1590s. During these decades, Parisian printers printed fewer acts compared to their collective, provincial counterparts by around forty and sixty more royal acts respectively.

In the last decade, from 1594-1600, for every one Parisian printer there were almost three provincial printers but one Parisian printer published an average of 17.5 decrees while one provincial printer published almost seven editions. The chart below (figure 3-17) compares the number of acts printed in Paris, Lyon, Rouen, and the rest of provincial France.

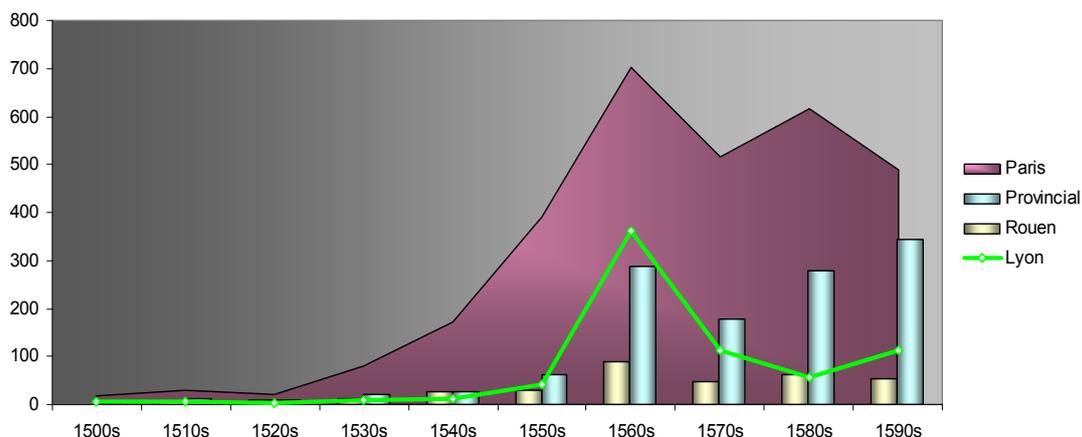


Figure 3-17: The number of printed decrees in Paris, Lyon, Rouen, and other places.

The publication of royal acts in Paris (a total of 3272 editions before 1601) clearly exceeds its nearest rivals: Lyon (720) and Rouen (314). Le Mans, Poitiers, and Tours were the next largest centres to print royal acts, each producing 100, 145, and 172 different copies. Interestingly, only Paris and Rouen had parlements while Lyon, Tours, Poitiers, and Le Mans were principal cities in their regions (respectively Lyonnais, Touraine, Poitou, and Maine). Although Toulouse played a consistent role in printing royal acts decade after decade, the presses published fewer than a hundred royal acts that we have been able to document during the course of the century.

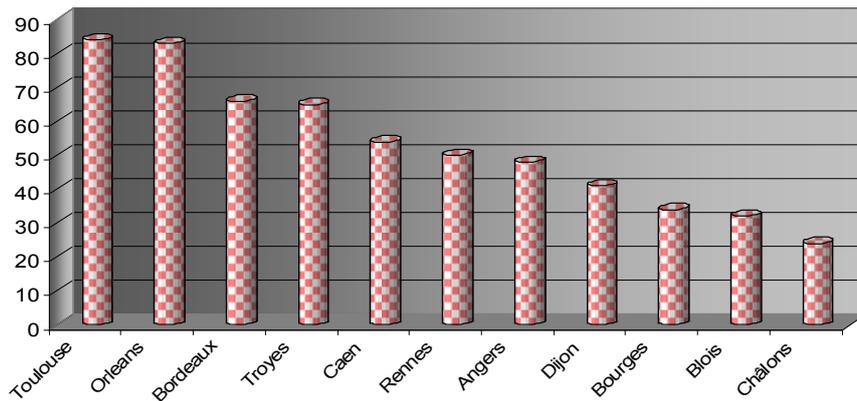


Figure 3-18: Towns that printed between twenty to ninety royal acts.

Seven cities produced forty-five to eighty-five books: Toulouse, Orléans, Bordeaux, Troyes, Caen, Rennes, and Angers. Four cities printed less than forty-five acts but more than twenty: Angers, Bourges, Blois, and Châlons. Metz, Chartres, Aix, and La Rochelle generated ten to twenty decrees per *ville*. Angoulême, Langres, Nantes, Avignon, Montauban, Cahors, Reims, St Denis, Clermont, Limoges, and Montpellier produced five to ten acts each. Amiens, Nancy, Sens, Perigueux, Niort, Nevers, Melun, Douai, Saint-Nicolas-de-Port, and Agen printed two to four royal acts. A dozen French towns printed one decree during the entire sixteenth century: Abbeville, Chambéry, Dole, Grenoble, La Réole, Marseille, Nîmes, Riom, Saintes, Tournon, Vannes, and Vitré.

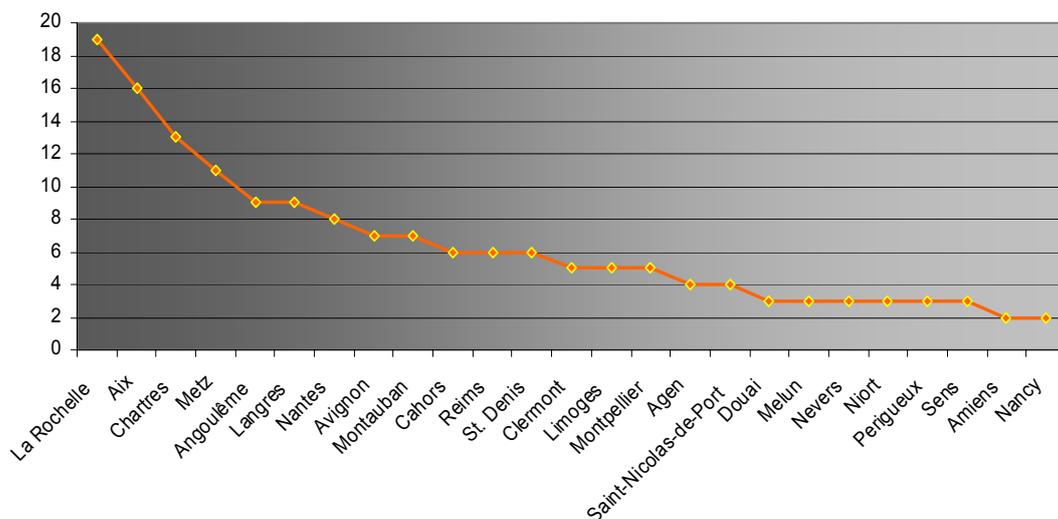


Figure 3-19: Towns that printed more than one royal act but less than twenty.

Returning to Paris, a handful of printers, or 2 per cent of 298 printers involved in the publishing of royal acts in the capital, published 62 per cent of the total produced. In other words, six men published an average of 314 decrees while other Parisian printers printed an average of four acts during the sixteenth century. If a family in the printing business were treated as one printer, who in essence acted like their own publication company, then six publishing houses printed 81 per cent of all royal acts printed in Paris during the entire century. Outside Paris, the average level of production was quite close to the average of the Parisian printers who fall outside these major consortia. Here, the average was a little over five decrees throughout the sixteenth century. The only exceptions were located in the towns of Lyon and Rouen: Benoît Rigaud printed 31 per cent of the total number of royal acts printed in Lyon, and three generations named Martin Le Mégissier published 66 per cent of printed royal acts in Rouen.

This chapter has provided a general overview of the publications of royal acts during the sixteenth century. In the first section we were able to demonstrate that only a very small proportion of the acts and decrees issued by the crown were printed during the sixteenth century. This could hardly have been otherwise, given that the royal *chancellerie* sealed on average over one thousand acts per year during the course of the century. Inevitably, those that found their way into print were acts that commanded wide public attention: new laws of general application or those pertaining to particular groups. In the first half of the century, the crown was prepared to leave the choice of which edicts to print to the printers themselves. Most choices were in any case obvious; it is no surprise that the most frequently printed royal acts in the first half of the century were major royal ordinances such as the Ordinances of Villers-Cotterêts of 1539.

From the middle of the century, however, the royal authorities began to intervene far more actively. The publication of royal acts was increasingly shaped and controlled by the grant of specific privileges to favoured *imprimeurs du roi*. But the edicts published by such favoured royal printers remained a surprisingly small proportion of an increasingly buoyant market. The French wars of religion stimulated both an increase in the level of legislative activity and wider public interest in obtaining copies of successive royal acts. Increasingly, this activity encompassed not only the print industry of the capital but of an increasing number of provincial printers.



## CHAPTER FOUR

### PRINTERS OF ROYAL ACTS

---

Printers of royal acts were not always *imprimeurs du roi*. They began as entrepreneurs who were attracted to royal promulgations in hopes of increasing the profits from their presses. They eventually found a niche in the market and profited from publishing the king's edicts and ordinances. With each successive generation, the development towards official printers became more pronounced. The initial entrepreneurs faded away, replaced by more specialized presses that became the dominant force in printing edicts. After 1560, the kings were appointing official printers for their decrees and by the end of the century, instead of one *imprimeur du roi* to print royal acts, there were four in Paris, and several others in provincial towns who printed on behalf of the crown. This chapter will discuss the men and women who printed royal acts before 1601.

During the incunabula age, French printers experimented with a wide range of genres from the standard school texts, scientific and medical books, to works of literature. It is therefore not surprising that printers, publishers, and booksellers were quick to discern a potential market in government affairs. It is difficult to say who initiated the process: did the authorities contact the printer for their own purposes or did printers approach them first looking for more business? Printers certainly had much to gain, but often could not publish on their own. To print a text's first edition was a risky undertaking and something that few printers could afford without a financier. It is therefore highly probable that the initiative to print many of these documents came from those in authority rather than being a spontaneous commercial venture on the part of the printers.

Although the first printed royal act was the Treaty of Arras of 1482, the first legal work to be printed was a *coutumier*. It was highly probable that *greffiers* hired Johannes de La Tour and Gerhardus Moreil of Angers to print the *Coustumes d'Anjou*

*et du Maine* around 1476, the earliest known printed work of judicial business.<sup>1</sup> The king often commissioned *greffiers* and other clerks to research, draft, and publish local customs for the courts.<sup>2</sup> La Tour printed a revised edition the *Coustumes d'Anjou* in around 1494.<sup>3</sup> In 1480, Louis XI issued an edict for every province to send their *coutumiers* to the *chancellerie*.<sup>4</sup> Guillaume Le Fèvre printed *Les coutumes et establissements de Bretagne* on 25 September 1480 in Paris probably in response to the edict.

Towards the end of the fifteenth century, both the crown and the Parlement of Paris hired printers to publish royal ordinances. In August 1499, the Parlement paid a hundred *livres parisis* to the Parisian printers Jean Bonhomme and Gervais Coignart to print a hundred bound copies of ordinances "to be sent out to royal officers throughout the kingdom."<sup>5</sup> This is the earliest proof of a governing body hiring a printer to print a royal act for government business.

Early printed decrees were probably also published with the help of other official bodies such as the Parlement of Toulouse. In 1491, Johannes Siber (also known as Jean Sybert) and Michel Topie, who worked with Jacques Haremerck, printed ordinances regulating the administration system in Languedoc, issued on 28 December 1490 in Moulins (see figure 4-1).<sup>6</sup> At first glance it appears that it was printed in Toulouse, especially in light of the text below the second page, which is the registration date in the local parlement. However, it is more likely that the highest court in Languedoc hired a Lyon printer, or two, for this task. In this case it was Michel Topié. Lyon was geographically closer than Paris and certainly possessed more competent printers than Toulouse, where the printing industry remained small.

---

<sup>1</sup> Coutumes. *Coutumes d'Anjou et du Maine* (Angers: Jean de La Tour and Jean Morel, ca. 1476). Angers BM: Incunables Rés SJ 380 format: In 8. This edition is incomplete.

<sup>2</sup> Athanase Jean L. Jourdan, Decrusy, and François-André Isambert, eds., *Recueil général des anciennes lois françaises: depuis l'an 420 jusqu'à la révolution de 1789*, 28 vols., vol. 11 (Paris: Belin-Leprieur, 1827), 244.. See articles 94-95.

<sup>3</sup> Anjou. *Les stilles et usages de proceder en la court laye es pays d'Anjou* (Angers: Johannes de La Tour, ca. 1493). London, British Library: IA 42496.

<sup>4</sup> Coutumes. *Les coutumes et establissements de Bretagne* (Paris: Guillaume Le Fèvre, ca. 1480), sig. z7r. BnF: Rés. F 2188, z7r. Paul Murray Kendall, *Louis XI: "The Universal Spider"* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1971), 349.

<sup>5</sup> Elizabeth Armstrong, *Before Copyright: The French Book-Privilege System, 1498-1526* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 35.

<sup>6</sup> *Les ordonnances faictes par le roy* (Toulouse: s.n., ca. 1490). BnF: Rothschild 105.

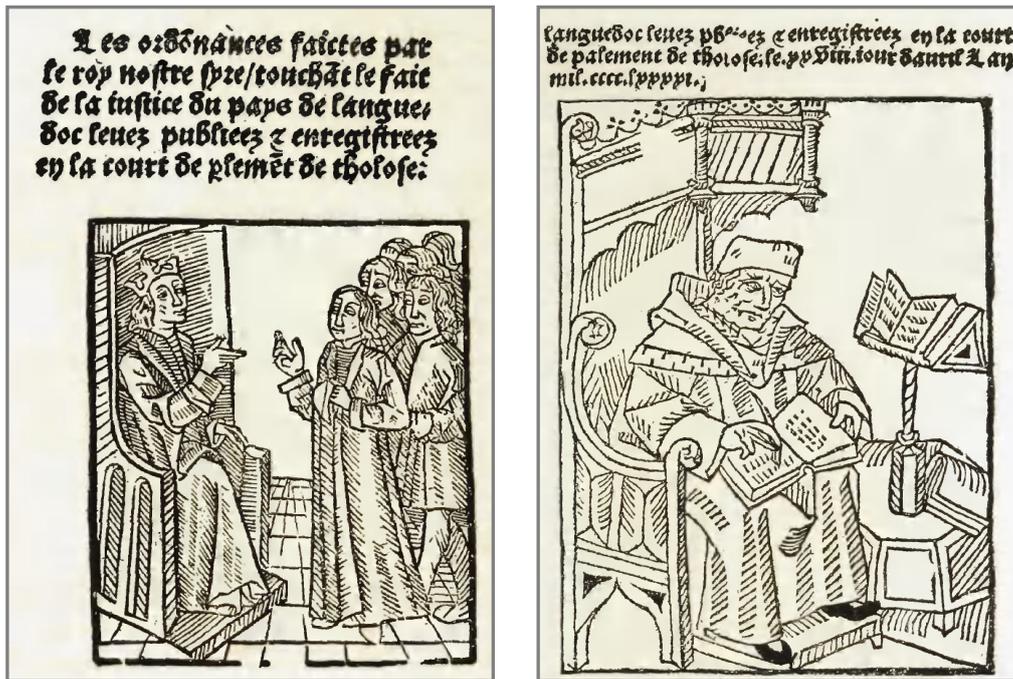


Figure 4-1: The first two pages of the Ordinances of Moulins of 1490: A1 recto (left) and A1 verso (right). It was probably printed by Michel Topié and Jacques Heremberck of Lyon.<sup>7</sup>

Toulouse was a proud city with the oldest provincial parlement in France (est. 1443) and it is no surprise that it was one of the first towns to print royal ordinances through Lyon, if the latter promised a better edition than the local industry.

Heremberck had a short-lived career printing in the French vernacular from 1488 to 1491. Topié printed one more decree on coinage, the first known pecuniary royal act. It was published around 1494.<sup>8</sup> Of the printers of early Lyon edicts, Jean Sybert was the only one who continued to print in the sixteenth century, by which time Toulouse had its own printer, Jean Grandjean, who was prepared to print royal acts.<sup>9</sup>

Outside Paris, royal acts were printed during the incunabula period in Lyon, Rouen, Ghent, Lantanec and Angers. As we have already seen, Johannes La Tour of Angers was the first printer to publish any legal text, the *Coutumier d'Anjou* of 1476,

<sup>7</sup> *Les ordonnances faictes par le roy* (Toulouse: s.n., ca. 1490), sigs. A1v-A1r. BnF: Rothschild 105. According to Rothschild, M. Desbbareaux-Bernard attributes the impression to Jehan de Guerlins, who printed in Toulouse between 1491-1494. Cf. Deschamps, *Dictionnaire géographique*, 1248. This does not necessarily contradict Jean Muller, who states that Guerlins printed from 1519-1521, but this does contradict the ISTC, which attributes this piece to Michel Topié and Jacques Heremberck via Peligry 266. James Rothschild and Emile Picot, *Catalogue de livres composant la bibliothèque de feu M. le baron James de Rothschild*, 5 vols., vol. 1 (Paris: D. Morgand, 1884), 60-62.

<sup>8</sup> *A tous ceulx qui ces presentes lettres verront or Lettres du roi sur le fait des monnaies* (Lyon: Michel Topié, ca. 1494). Toulouse BM: Inc. Lyon 162.

<sup>9</sup> Jean Müller, *Dictionnaire abrégé des imprimeurs-éditeurs français du seizième siècle* (Baden-Baden: Heitz, 1970), 22, 112.

and he printed a royal act at least once in 1493.<sup>10</sup> The following year, Étienne Larcher in Nantes and Jean Crés in Lantenac printed the royal ordinances of May 1494 that were directed to Brittany's *chancellerie*. Printed below is a chart which shows towns that printed royal acts before 1501.

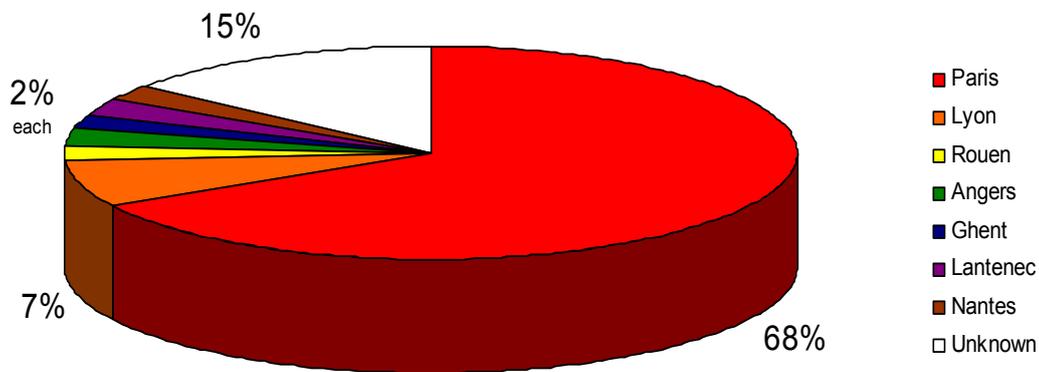


Figure 4-2: Royal incunabula divided by towns.

The first known printed royal act was the second treaty signed at Arras by Louis XI and the duke of Austria, Maximilian of Habsburg. It was signed on 23 December 1482. The treaty was published by the Parisian printers Antoine Caillaut and Louis Martineau, and also Guillaume Le Talleur, who printed Rouen's only royal incunabulum. These editions were printed after the signing of the treaty either late in 1482, after 23 December, or early 1483. Antoine Caillaut had begun printing in the 1480s on rue St Jacques at "l'enseigne de l'homme sauluaige."<sup>11</sup> He printed mostly religious works, but he was one of the first, if not the first, printer to expand into political books. After he printed the Treaty of Arras of 1482, he printed at least two more royal acts for Charles VIII and continued to print until 1510.<sup>12</sup> Among those who printed the treaty, he is the only one whose business survived into the sixteenth century. Not much is known about the other printers including Louis Martineau, who printed a pseudo-Aristotelian book and another book by Petrus de Alliaco.<sup>13</sup> Martineau

<sup>10</sup> *Ordonnances royaulx* (Angers: Johannes de La Tour, ca. 1493). London, British Library: IA 42495.

<sup>11</sup> Pasques. *La grant confession de pasques* (Paris: Antoine Caillaut, ca. 1491), sig. a6r. London, British Library: IA 39501. Translated as "at the sign of the savage man."

<sup>12</sup> Müller, *Dictionnaire abrégé*, 57. *Le lit de justice* (Paris: Antoine Caillaut, ca. 1488). New York, Morgan Library and Museum: PML 52439. *Les ordonnances royaulx* (Paris: Antoine Caillaut, ca. 1492). Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine: Inc 621 (2).

<sup>13</sup> Pseudo-Aristoteles, *Le secret des secretz* (Paris: Louis Martineau, ca. 1484). Bordeaux BM: not available. Petrus de Alliaco, *Censuivent les sept degres de leschelle de penitance figures* (Paris: Antoine Caillaut, Louis Martineau and Geoffroy de Marnef, ca. 1585). London, British Library: IA.39354.

disappeared from the vernacular book industry entirely. La Talleur also vanished among the list of printers after seven years of printing that included the publication of four *coutumiers* of Normandy and three other books. Arend de Keyser in Ghent also printed the Treaty of Arras in 1483. Interestingly, this is Ghent's only printed royal act in our database.

France's capital and first city, Paris, printed more books and royal acts than any other city in France. Paris boasted the second largest printing industry in Europe in the sixteenth century. Only pressmen in Venice out-published the Parisians. Jean Trepperel, Pierre Le Dru, and Antoine Caillaut, as mentioned before, printed three decrees each in Paris before 1501. Jean du Pré, Antoine Vérard and André Bocard printed two decrees and four others published at least one royal act after 1488: Étienne Jehannot, Jean de Marnef, Jean Petit, and Philippe Pigouchet. Most of these men continued to work in the printing industry in the sixteenth century except Jehannot, who was probably replaced by Jean Jehannot; their blood relationship is assumed from their surnames and the timing of Étienne's departure and Jean's arrival, which occurred at the turn of the century when Étienne's name ceased to appear on books.<sup>14</sup> The man who printed the most royal incunabula was Pierre Le Caron, a printer-bookseller, who printed royal acts from 1494 to 1499 and had two bookstores in Paris of which one was at the *Palais* "pres la premiere porte de l'entree."<sup>15</sup> He is known today to have printed at least thirty-five books in the French vernacular from 1490 to 1503, which included ten royal acts. He worked with Bocard, Jehannot, and other printers and booksellers.

In making these statements, one has, of course, to exercise a degree of caution because many of these earliest royal acts were printed, like a high proportion of incunabula, without a stated printer's name. For the most part, however, modern bibliographical scholarship has succeeded in assigning most of these works to a printer or publisher, often on the basis of woodcuts or typographical materials used repeatedly through a whole series of editions. In consequence, only eight of the forty-one royal acts dating from the incunabula period cannot be tentatively assigned to a particular printer.

---

<sup>14</sup> Last known print by Étienne Jehannot was printed around 1500. *L'examen de conscience pour congnoistre a bien* (Paris: Jacques Moerert and Estienne Jehannot, ca. 1500). Paris, Ecole nationale supérieure des Beaux-arts: Masson 1. Jean Jehannot began printing in 1498. Müller, *Dictionnaire abrégé*, 58.

<sup>15</sup> Pierre Le Caron calls himself a "marchant libraire" in 1494. See Alain Chartier, *Les faiz maistre Alain Charetier* (Paris: Pierre Le Caron, ca. 1494), sig. K6r. Lyon BM: Inc 497.

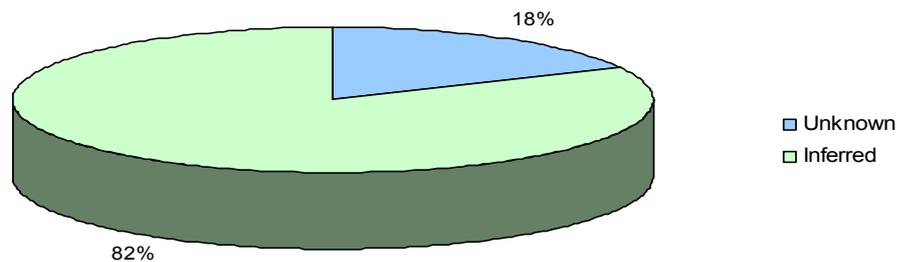


Figure 4-3: Royal incunabula divided by known printers.

Before the 1560s, the crown rarely ordered printers to copy decrees for widespread distribution and public sale. The crown treated the book industry like any other commercial activity and regulated it when it appeared appropriate and necessary. The crown had very little interaction with the new technology during its infant years. Louis XI showed his confidence in the new invention by granting citizenship without charge to three immigrant printers, Ulrich Gering, Michael Friburger, and Martin Crantz, in 1475.<sup>16</sup> In late December 1482, the king made provisions to print the Treaty of Arras.<sup>17</sup> There is no indication that Charles VIII intervened to publish any decree. His successor, Louis XII, probably made provisions to publish the Ordinances of Blois in 1499 and the Ordinances of Lyon of 1510; they were his most reprinted acts. Francis I ensured that the Ordinances of Villers-Cotterêts of 1539 was the most reprinted decree thus far in the history of print, with at least twenty publications in its first year. With the exception of these instances, the book industry was viewed as an economic engine rather than a tool for political propaganda. Francis I strengthened the relationship between printers and the crown by establishing personal printers to satisfy his educational and cultural tastes; in this he followed the example of the University of Paris, which contracted printers and booksellers for their own purposes. *Imprimeurs du roi* became the king's personal printers, whose posts were created literally for the monarch's pleasure and not for official business. For example, under Francis I, the king's printers rarely printed royal acts. Not a single printer who held the title of *imprimeur du roi* printed an edition of the Ordinances of Villers-Cotterêts of 1539, despite this being the most frequently reprinted act of Francis' reign. Instead, the

<sup>16</sup> Rudolf Hirsch, *The Printed Word: Its Impact and Diffusion: Primarily in the 15th-16th Centuries* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1978), II, 114.

<sup>17</sup> Kendall, *Louis XI*, 360.

crown hired a bookseller, Galliot du Pré, to publish the ordinances, something that will be discussed in detail later in this chapter. The initial purpose of an *imprimeur du roi* was not to print royal acts but rather print books that interested the king.

Reflecting his broad interests, Francis I appointed different printers who specialized in various subjects including mathematics, music, and a variety of languages, such as French, Greek, Hebrew, Latin, and Chaldean. Only two of his printers ever printed royal decrees. Geoffroy Tory is considered to be the first *imprimeur du roi* and he began to advertise his appointment on his editions in 1531.<sup>18</sup> Although Tory is viewed as the first *imprimeur du roi*, Olivier Mallard's edition of Tory's *Champ fleury*, printed at Tory's print shop, states on the title page that Mallard was the first *imprimeur du roi*.<sup>19</sup>

[woodcut border] || CHAMP || FLEVRY. || Auquel est contenu Lart & Science de || la  
deue & vraye Proportion des Lettres || Attiques, quon dit autrement Lettres || Antiques,  
& vulgairement Lettres Ro- || maines Proportionnees selon le Corps || & Visage humain.  
|| Ce Liure est Priuilegie pour Dix Ans || Par Le Roy nostre Sire. & est a vendre a ||  
Paris a la Rue de la Luifuezie a Lensei- || gne du Pot Casse par M. Oliuier Mal- || lard,  
Libraire & Imprimeur du Roy. || [Tory's printer's device] || PRIVILEGIE POVR DIX  
ANS.<sup>20</sup>

Regardless of who was the first to bear the title, Tory was the first to print a royal decree. Tory printed one royal act, *Ordonnances du roy nostre sire, sur lestat des tresoriers, et manymment des finances*, twice in 1532; the privilege for this decree came from the financial courts and not the king.<sup>21</sup> When Tory died sometime before December 1533, Mallard took over his workshop after marrying Tory's widow.<sup>22</sup> The next time Mallard called himself an *imprimeur du roi* was in 1538.<sup>23</sup> He died in 1545 without printing a single royal act. In the years following, others began to advertise their privileged relationship with the king as they were appointed.

Denis Janot became an *imprimeur du roi en la langue française* in 1540. He printed about five hundred other books in Paris in the French vernacular. In all, he

---

<sup>18</sup> Xenophon, *Economic de Xenophon* (Paris: Geoffroy Tory, 1531). Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek: QuH 116 (1).

<sup>19</sup> How Tory's successor was able to call himself the king's printer as early as 1529 is a mystery. The date might be a typo except Tory died around 1533, thus to state to print a book on Tory's behalf, say, in 1539, does not seem plausible as well.

<sup>20</sup> Geoffroy Tory, *Champ fleury* (Paris: Olivier Mallard, 1529), sig. C4v. London, British Library: C 31 k 5.

<sup>21</sup> *Ordonnances du roy nostre sire sur lestat des tresoriers* (Paris: Geoffroy Tory, 1532). BnF: Rés. F 1894.

<sup>22</sup> Philippe Renouard, *Documents sur les imprimeurs, libraires, etc... ayant exercé à Paris de 1450 à 1600* (Paris: H. Champion, 1901), 265.

<sup>23</sup> Plutarch, *Recueil des haultz et nobles faitz de plusieurs femmes vertueuses* (Paris: Olivier Mallard, 1538), sig. i2v. BnF: Rés. J 3231.

printed eleven royal acts, six of which were printed after he received his royal post. Among the six, five were printed with or for other booksellers: once for Alain Lotrian, Galliot du Pré, and Jean Canivet, and twice for Jean Longis.<sup>24</sup> He was replaced by Thomas Gaultier around 1553, who probably died that year.<sup>25</sup> The latter did not print any decrees nor did he print anything after 1553.

More information about the *imprimeur du roi* can be gleaned from archival evidence. Court records state that Francis I nominated Robert Estienne (I) on 24 June 1539 to become an *imprimeur du roi* and gave him a yearly salary of 100 *écus*, or gold crowns, as the king's printer in the languages of Hebrew and Latin.<sup>26</sup> Estienne may have been contracted earlier by the king either on a per project basis or as regular printer of Hebrew and Latin, but it was not until 1540 that Estienne began to style himself "typographi Regii" on his books.<sup>27</sup> The king was also interested in printing Greek books and so he ordered his treasury to pay 225 *livres tournois* to Claude Garamond, a type caster, to craft Greek characters for Estienne.<sup>28</sup> Further provisions were made in 1544 by the king on this matter: Estienne, as author, editor and printer, had to publish his own Greek works with the types financed by the king for a duration of five years and he had to use the Greek characters for five additional years, using the equipment for a total of ten years.<sup>29</sup> Therefore, the benefit of becoming a king's printer was not only to be associated with the highest power in the kingdom but, on practical level, it included a yearly wage, free equipment, and privileges. This Robert Estienne did not print any royal decrees. Instead, his son, by the same name, became the first *imprimeur du roi* contracted to print royal acts in 1561.

---

<sup>24</sup> *Extraict de toutes les ordonnances royaulx* (Paris: Alain Lotrian, ca. 1544). Le Mans, Médiathèque Louis Aragon: J 80 197 (2). *Les loix, statutz et ordonnances royaulx* (Paris: Galliot du Pré, 1544/5). Bourg-en-Bresse BM: 23597. *Edict du roy sur le fait des notaires et tabellions* (Paris: Denis Janot and Jean Canivet, 1543). Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève: 8o F 884 inv. 4159 (9) Rés. *Ordonnances du roy nostres sire sur le fait de ses finances* (Paris: Denis Janot and Jean Longis, 1544). Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève: 8o F 837 inv. 4111 (4) Rés. Another edition is found in London, British Library: 8228 aa 54 (2\*).

<sup>25</sup> *Edict du roy sur le fait des notaires et tabellions* (Paris: Denis Janot and Jean Canivet, 1543). Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève: 8o F 884 inv. 4159 (9) Rés. François Philippe, trans., *Le livre des prières communes* (London: Thomas Gaultier, 1553). Oxford, Bodleian Library: Douce C P Fr f 1553.

<sup>26</sup> Académie des sciences morales et politiques, *Collection des ordonnances des rois de France: catalogue des actes de François Ier*, 10 vols., vol. 6 (Paris: Impr. nationale, 1887-1908), 584. Académie des sciences morales et politiques, *Collection des ordonnances des rois de France: catalogue des actes de François Ier*, 10 vols., vol. 8 (Paris: Impr. nationale, 1887), 683.

<sup>27</sup> Robert Estienne, *Les declinations des noms et verbes* (Paris: Robert Estienne, 1540). Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek: 53 5 Gram (2).

<sup>28</sup> Académie des sciences morales et politiques, *Catalogue des actes de François Ier*, 246.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 6, 741.

In addition, Francis I appointed Parisian men as royal printers. Jean de Tournes was the first non-Parisian *imprimeur du roi* appointed by Henry II.<sup>30</sup> He established himself as such in Lyon in 1559 and printed one *mandement* in 1560.<sup>31</sup>

As mentioned earlier, the royal printers were not usually involved in printing acts prior to 1561. When the crown was interested in circulating royal acts in the first half of the sixteenth century, the *conseil privé* called on successful bookseller-publishers to execute their orders. By the end of Francis I's reign in 1547, four of the monarchy's *imprimeurs* and two *relieurs du roi* had printed a total of thirty-six royal acts. Other printers undertook such work on a commercial basis, and produced and financed most decrees; Jean André (54 editions), Jacques Nyverd (49), and Galliot du Pré (41) published more royal acts than any other individuals before the reign of Henry II. The government relied on these booksellers to print and circulate royal acts and awarded privileges to the most well-respected, accomplished printers and publishers whose works were regarded as of the highest calibre. Each man was a *libraire juré* of the University of Paris and owned a second bookstore located in the Palais in Paris. Both du Pré and André had several more shops in Paris and the family of Nyverd acquired more boutiques later in the century. None of these men claimed to be an *imprimeur du roi* but their families had been printing or selling books since the fifteenth century, making them the most experienced tradesmen in the industry. Jean André took over the bookstores of the Vérard family by marrying Marié Vérard. The Vérard family had begun printing in the fifteenth century, and owned four to six shops when André controlled them by 1534.

The house of du Pré was an established name by Galliot's time, which helps explain why the royal court of Francis I chose du Pré to publish his most famous decree. However, not much is known about du Pré's family except what is stated on his books. He probably inherited and learned his skills and business from Jean du Pré (I), who began printing in Paris around 1484 on rue St Jacques at the two signs and died twenty years later in 1504.<sup>32</sup> In 1505, Nicolas du Pré and the widow of Jean du Pré printed one book each in the French vernacular, and by 1506, Galliot du Pré began establishing himself as a printer and bookseller. His first vernacular book was printed in 1514, and

---

<sup>30</sup> Guillaume Guérault, *Hymnes du temps et de ses parties* (Lyon: Jean de Tournes, 1560), sig. A2v. Oxford, Bodleian Library: Douce G 537.

<sup>31</sup> *Mandement pour l'assemblée des états de son royaume* (Lyon: Jean de Tournes, 1560). BNF: F 46820 (8).

<sup>32</sup> Heures, *Ces presentes heures a l'usage de Romme* (Paris: Jean du Pré, 1488/9). London, British Library: IA 39821.

was sold in his boutique in *la grande salle du Palais au second pilier vers la chapelle où l'on chante la messe de messieurs les présidents*. André was located at the first pillar in the same location.<sup>33</sup> Galliot's first book of royal acts was printed in 1515: *Les ordonnances & status royaux des feuz roys*.<sup>34</sup> That same year he began advertising his other bookstores. One was located at the first pillar of the Palais, another was closer to the cathedral of Notre Dame à l'enseigne de la Galère d'or, on the other side of the Ile-de-la-Cité.<sup>35</sup> He eventually acquired another shop at the third pillar of the Palais, near *la Madeleine*. In terms of his family, he was probably the head because of his longevity and successful productivity; his shops were eventually taken over by other du Prés. Jean du Pré (II) operated on *la rue des Porees à l'enseigne de St Sebastien*, near the college of Cluny between 1517 and 1522 but, he, or another Jean du Pré (III), opened the boutique at second pillar in the Palais in 1539.<sup>36</sup> The ambiguities regarding the relationships between these members of the du Pré family stem from the lack of documentary information to corroborate what appears on title pages and in colophons. Thus the name of Jean du Pré, which appeared before the fifteenth century, continued to appear a century later although the first Jean died around 1504. We know from printed title pages that Galliot (II) and Pierre du Pré were brothers and operated the bookshop at the first pillar in the Palais during the 1560s after Galliot (I) retired.<sup>37</sup> Finally, Philippe and Denis du Pré, whose relations were equally obscure, maintained the family business into the next century, accumulating over a hundred years of experience in the printing industry. The Nyverd family continued to print royal acts until 1574.

There were at least two forms of sixteenth-century networking for these printing families. The above paragraph demonstrates the first of these, which was about creating family ties and dynasties that enhanced their business over time by establishing a strong name in the industry and expanded the business through family members. There is also the second form, that is, the printer-to-printer networking where different publishing

---

<sup>33</sup> Translated as the Great Hall of the Palais at the second pillar towards the chapel where the mass of the Presidents are sung.

<sup>34</sup> Coutumes, *Ce son les coutumes du pays et conte du Mayne* (Paris: Pierre Cochery and Alexandre Chouen, 1535). BnF: Rés. F 1658.

<sup>35</sup> Polanus, *Les croniques de France*, Robert Gaguin, ed. (Paris: Galliot du Pré, 1515). BnF: Rés. L35 16.

<sup>36</sup> Jean Gerson, *Le livre intitulé internelle consolation* (Paris: Jean du Pré, ca. 1520), sig. V6r. Chantilly, Musée Condé: III F 67.

<sup>37</sup> Antonio de Guevara, *Histoire de Marc Aurele*, trans. R.B. de Grise, ed. N. de Herberay (Paris: Pierre et Galliot du Pré, freres, 1565). Aix, Bibliothèque Méjanès: Rés. Q 76.

houses throughout France cooperated to print a single decree. This second form is best explained by using the Ordinances of Villers-Cotterêts of 1539 as an example.

The Ordinances of Villers-Cotterêts of 1539 were the most widely printed royal act during the first half of the sixteenth century and the third most widely published act throughout the century. The crown chose Galliot du Pré to print Francis I’s greatest contribution to the justice system. Furthermore, it is important to note that Galliot du Pré was given the privilege before the royal act’s registration in Parlement, which was a rare situation. Francis I granted du Pré the privilege on 28 August 1539 in Villers-Cotterêts; it was registered on 6 September, nine days later. In this case, the king clearly intervened to ensure that his ordinances were circulated in the public sphere and he probably commanded du Pré to produce it on such a grand scale that the decree would be difficult to ignore.

As the most widely published act before 1550, the Ordinances of Villers-Cotterêts of 1539 illustrate the importance of the second type of networking: printer to printer. At least twenty different editions of the ordinances were produced in 1539 and manufactured by a total of fourteen different printers and booksellers in at least six different towns: Paris, Lyon, Angers, Rennes, Rouen, and Toulouse.

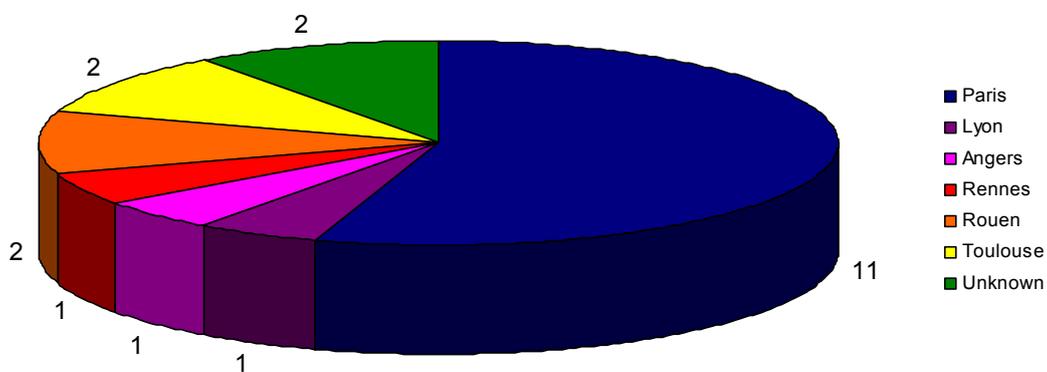


Figure 4-4: Geographic distribution of the Ordinances of Villers-Cotterêts of 1539.

In addition to his own publications, du Pré co-produced the work with two other major Parisian bookseller-publishers: Jean André and Jean Bonhomme. Du Pré and his partners hired at least three more printers to print the ordinances in Paris: Nicolas Cousteau, Denis Janot, and Estienne Caveiller. Altogether, they printed at least ten

different Parisian editions in 1539 in various sizes: folios, quartos, and octavos.<sup>38</sup> Not a single edition was printed by an *imprimeur du roi* during the first year of publication of the Ordinances.<sup>39</sup>

Du Pré also collaborated with printers outside Paris. Louis Bouvet sold local Rouen copies printed by Abraham Guenet, who printed at least two editions in association with du Pré that same year.<sup>40</sup> Editions printed by local printers in Angers by Jean Varice and in Toulouse, printed by Nicolas Veillard and sold by Thomas de Fert, also mentioned du Pré in their editions.<sup>41</sup> Jean Georget printed the Ordinances in Rennes for du Pré and the local bookseller, Jean Lermangier.<sup>42</sup> This implies that du Pré contacted these printers and shared his privilege for national production. Such a broad network was important, especially in terms of privileges. To know a respectable Parisian printer who was willing to allow them to publish under the terms of his privilege assisted provincial printers to publish local editions and share in their profits. Furthermore, these connections allowed Parisian printers to establish a network of sales and enhance their reputation elsewhere in the kingdom.

Henry II understood the power of printing, not least because of its part in the spread of Protestantism. While his most notorious interventions in the printing industry focused on curbing the distribution of Protestant books, he also made increased use of the press for the promulgation of royal acts. An average of forty-seven royal acts were published per year under Henry, a sharp increase on the production of royal acts during the reign of Francis I which averaged a little over eleven books per year. In this respect, the last years of Francis' reign, when the output of royal acts averaged twenty-six books per year, represents a transitional period.

---

<sup>38</sup> There is a questionable eleventh edition owned by a private collector printed by the L'Angelier brothers in Paris. It probably is not a copy of the Ordinances of Villers-Cotterêts (1539) although it is advertised as such in Brigitte Moreau and Philippe Renouard, *Inventaire chronologique des éditions parisiennes du XVIe siècle*, 6 vols., vol. 5 (Paris: Service des travaux historiques de la ville de Paris, 1972), 392, #1348.

<sup>39</sup> Denis Janot became an *imprimeur du roi* around 1540.

<sup>40</sup> *Ordonnances royaux sur le fait de la justice et abréviation* (Rouen: Louis Bouvet and Abraham Guenet, 1539). BnF: VELINS 1857.

<sup>41</sup> *Ordonnances royaux sur le fait de la justice et abréviation des process* (Lyon: Thibaud Payen, ca. 1539). BnF: Rés. F 618 (2).

<sup>42</sup> See the colophon in *Ordonnances royaux sur le fait de la justice et abréviation des proces* (Rennes: Jean Georget and Jean Lermangier, 1540). BnF: Rés. F 2211.

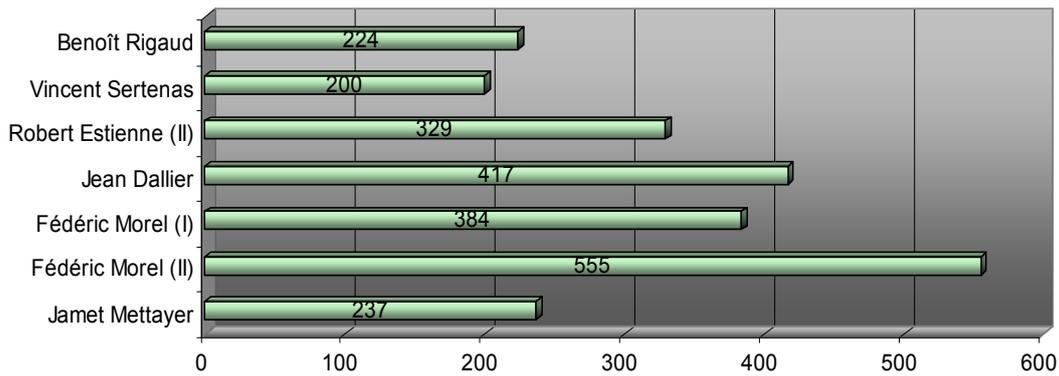


Figure 4-5: Individuals who printed two hundred or more royal acts.

The large bookseller-publishers who dominated the publication of royal acts under Francis I were replaced by smaller, more specialized printers under Henry II. From 1544 to 1560, Vincent Sertenas printed over 170 royal acts, of which seventy-five were printed on behalf of Jean Dallier since 1551. When he died in 1562, Vincent Sertenas had published two hundred decrees. He was not an *imprimeur du roi* but nevertheless he was the sixth most prolific producer of royal acts in the entire sixteenth century. Sertenas single-handedly printed more decrees than any royal printer except Robert Estienne (II), the Frédéric Morels, and Jamet Mettayer. When he died around 1562, Jeanne Bruneau, his widow, controlled the business. The fascinating circumstance with Bruneau was that she printed books both as Sertenas' widow but also in her own name, Jeanne Bruneau, daughter of Parisian bookseller Laurent Bruneau. Most widows who published, humbly submerged their identities beneath their husband's name in their publications despite their competence and lineage. Bruneau was bolder than the others by using her full maiden name on the title pages of her books. She printed four royal acts, three as Sertenas' widow and the last one was published under her own name in 1565. Norment Vincent, her son-in-law, succeeded her in 1576.

Jean Dallier was the second most industrious printer of royal acts before 1560. From 1541 to 1560, he published almost two hundred decrees: 191 books. In total, Dallier published 417 royal ordinances and edicts by his death in 1574. This made him the second most productive publisher of royal acts throughout the whole century, behind only Frédéric Morel (II). The house of Dallier published over five hundred government publications, including the ordinances issued exclusively by the *cour des monnaies*. In the centre of his title pages, he often placed either royal arms or his own

devices, which were woodcuts of roses representing his location on *le pont St Michel à l'enseigne de la Rose blanche* in Paris. Not a single book stated that he was an *imprimeur du roi*, although Dallier received a number of privileges specifically relating to his work printing the decrees of the Paris courts. The crown, the Parlement, *cour des monnaies*, and *cour des aides* issued privileges to Dallier concerning fiscal matters from 1540 to 1574. The *cour des monnaies* issued privileges to Dallier as early as 1550.<sup>43</sup> The *cour des aides* followed in 1552 and he split the privilege with Gilles Corrozet.<sup>44</sup> On 23 April 1559, he was awarded a ten year royal privilege to print ordinances on money. However, the sudden death of Henry II forced him to renew his licence under Francis II, who confirmed it on 30 July 1559. He returned to the *chancellerie* two years later when Charles IX ascended the throne, and the same privilege under Henry II was validated on 27 March 1561. Similar to an *imprimeur du roi* who printed general decrees, the financial courts would have sent their ordinances to Dallier after registering them and like an *imprimeur du roi*, he would have been dependent on the court's decision on what ordinances were sent for public consumption rather than applying for a privilege for every ordinance he chose to publish.



Figure 4-6: Printer devices of Jean Dallier and his widow.

Between the years 1559 to 1569, Dallier printed over two hundred edicts and ordinances. Royal edicts on money were excellent sellers and Dallier had an enviable monopoly. Shortly before Dallier's privilege expired, Guillaume Nyverd (II) obtained a privilege from the *chancellerie* to print decrees on coinage. Nyverd's privilege stated that printers were not allowed to sell his books without permission, which included

<sup>43</sup> *Ordonnance faite par le roy sur la fabrication* (Paris: Jean Dallier and Pierre Haultin, ca. 1550), sig. A4v. Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek Bern: Bong V 354 (7).

<sup>44</sup> *Edict du roy nostre sire sur l'establissement de la second chambre de la court des aides* (Paris: Jean Dallier, 1552), sig. A1v. Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève: 8o F 884 inv. 4159 (25) Rés.

pictures of money, heraldic devices, and other illustrations.<sup>45</sup> But the *cour des monnaies* decided to renew Dallier's privilege the following year in July 1570, and this was approved by the king himself in September. Dallier also announced that printers did not have the right to "tailler, pourtraire, pocher ne graver aucunes figures desdites monnoies, tant de France qu'estrangers" and continued to print until his death in 1574.<sup>46</sup> The widow of Dallier maintained the family tradition to print monetary ordinances and other edicts with Nicolas Roffet from 1574 to 1580. For reasons unknown, neither Roffet nor Dallier's widow enjoyed the same privileges Dallier had under Charles IX and his predecessors. Dallier's shop was taken over by Roffet in 1580.

Eight families printed over two hundred decrees in the sixteenth century. Two were the families of Dallier and Sertenas, already discussed. Benoît Rigaud will be treated later. There were five other family dynasties, and combined with the three already mentioned, they produced 50 per cent of the total number of printed acts before 1601. These family combinations were an important part of the Parisian publishing industry. Families used to enter into marriage to protect their economic interest in a competitive market. Widows, who continued their husbands' businesses, were also often members of distinguished printing families in their own right. For example, the widow of Denis Janot, the king's printer in the French language, was Jeanne de Marnef, probably from the publishing house of Marnef.<sup>47</sup> Denise Girault was married to Guillaume Cavellat of Paris but she was formerly from the printing family of Girault, who were also located there.<sup>48</sup> The Le Roys began printing in Paris in the fifteenth century and their Jeanne married Nicolas Roffet.<sup>49</sup> The most revealing marriage for this study is probably the marriage of Frédéric Morel and Jeanne de Vascosan, the daughter of Michel de Vascosan and niece of Robert Estienne (I).<sup>50</sup> All three men were printers of the king and their combined houses contributed 23 per cent of the total

---

<sup>45</sup> *Ordonnance du roy sur le prise et valeur des escuz sol* (Paris: Guillaume Nyverd, 1570), sig. A1v. Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal: 8o S 5811 (8).

<sup>46</sup> *Ordonnance du roy pour le reiglement general de ses monnaies* (Paris: Jean Dallier, 1572), sigs. Q2r-Q3r. BnF: Z FONTANIEU 220 (13).

<sup>47</sup> Pierre Boaistuau, Claude de Tesserant, François de Belleforest, R. Hoyer, et al., *Histoires prodigieuses extraictes de plusieurs fameux autheurs*, trans. François de Belleforest (Paris: Guillaume Cavellat, 1598), sig. A1v. Oxford, Bodleian Library: 8o alpha 244 (1) BS.

<sup>48</sup> Jean Manguin, *Les figures de l'apocalypse de Saint Ian* (Paris: Estienne Groulleau, 1547/8), sig. A2r-A2v. London, British Library: 554 a 5.

<sup>49</sup> *Lettres patentes du roy sur la prolongation de delay* (Paris: Veuve Nicolas Roffet, 1587), sig. B3v-B4r. BnF: F 46885 (1).

<sup>50</sup> Philippe Renouard, *Imprimeurs & libraires parisiens du XVIe siècle* (Paris: La Bibliothèque nationale, 1982), 199.

corpus of printed royal acts throughout France. Only three decrees from the Estienne house were printed before 1550; thus, their combined total represented almost 1350 books printed in the second half of the sixteenth century.<sup>51</sup>

The situation in Lyon was rather different. Benoît Rigaud printed in Lyon from 1555 to 1597 and printed royal acts from 1560 to 1594, printing at least 224 decrees on *rue mercière*. He had one of the largest presses in Lyon, printing over 1500 books in his lifetime. Second to Rigaud in Lyon was Michel Jove, who printed 160 royal acts from 1571 to 1580. The diagram below shows the family names that were associated with more than two hundred decrees before 1601.

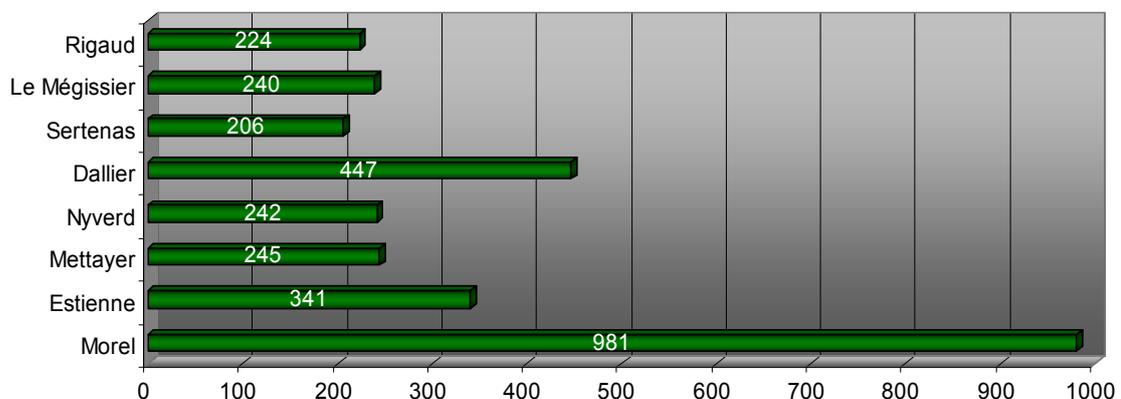


Figure 4-7: Families who printed over two hundred royal decrees in the sixteenth century.

The town of Rouen was home to the only family of multigenerational printers who published over two hundred decrees outside Paris. No other family printed more royal acts outside Paris. Printers who invested their business in publishing royal acts bequeathed their trade to their son until one member became an official king’s printer. Then the title was bestowed to the next generation. Three generations named Martin Le Mégissier printed and sold books in Rouen during the sixteenth century. Their boutique was located “au hault des degrez du Palais.”<sup>52</sup> Martin Le Mégissier (I) began printing royal acts in 1548 but it was his son who became an *imprimeur du roi* (in 1566) and he printed almost two hundred decrees. Thirty years later, in 1596, Martin Le Mégissier (III), continued as the king’s printer in Rouen into the seventeenth century. Their combined total accounts for 223 out of 291 royal acts published in Rouen.

<sup>51</sup> Michel de Vascosan printed around a dozen royal acts.

<sup>52</sup> *Ordonnances faictes par le feu roy françoys* (Rouen: Martin Le Mégissier, 1548). BnF: Rés. F 171 (176).

Of the Parisian families who printed a high volume of royal acts, the Nyverds were one of the oldest and the first among them to print a royal decree. Guillaume Nyverd (I) began printing royal acts in 1506. The business was inherited by Jacques in 1514. By this time, they had a bookshop on *rue de la Juifrie à l'enseigne de St Pierre* and at the *première porte du Palais*. Jacques became one of the top three printers to publish decrees before 1550 although he himself was never an official printer of the king. His widow maintained the business in 1548 and continued to apply for royal privileges until Guillaume (II) began printing in 1558. By 1550, the family had printed sixty-six royal decrees, which accounted for 27 per cent of their work on the king's acts. Guillaume (II) became an official *imprimeur du roi* in the French language in 1566. By the 1570s, the Nyverds had several shops in and around the Palais: *sur les degrés par où on va en la grand-salle du Palais; dans la cour du Palais et en son hôtel rue de la Tannerie, près le pont Notre-Dame; en la cour du Palais, joignant la première porte du côté de la grand-salle*. They also sold books *à l'enseigne du Bon Pasteur, à la Tête de Boeuf* and *au bout du pont aux Meuniers, vers le Grand Châtelet*. They ceased printing royal acts when Henry III ascended the throne, probably failing to renew their privilege. In total, the family printed 242 decrees, 176 after 1550.

The houses of Le Mégissiers and Nyverds were successful as a whole. However, individually they could not compete with the single printers who were also members of the printing industry's royal elite. Three families had members who were appointed *imprimeurs du roi* to print royal acts in Paris: the Estiennes, Morels, and Mettayers. Unlike his grandfather, Charles IX mixed business and pleasure by creating a new type of *imprimeur du roi* who printed royal acts in 1561. Robert Estienne (II) took this new position seriously and printed over three hundred different editions in less than a decade. His publications reflect the new duties of this role rather than commercial choice. He printed, as all *imprimeurs du roi* did, what the king wanted to see in print.

After Estienne left for Geneva, Frédéric Morel (I) replaced him and the title remained with the family into the seventeenth century. During Henry III's exile, several more printers began printing on the king's behalf and joined Morel (II) as *imprimeur du roi*; most continued to print for Henry IV. Jamet Mettayer was the first and most successful of these.

Family reputation played an important part in coveting the title. The family of Robert Estienne had a long tradition of service to the crown. The printing business had started with his grandfather, Henri Estienne, who began printing in Paris in 1502. He succeeded Jean Higman as a printer and bookseller in Paris. Henri never printed royal acts nor was he a royal printer such as his second and third sons: Robert (I), also known as the Elder Stephanus, and Charles. Robert was Francis I's official printer of Hebrew, Greek and Latin, but the Elder Stephanus is mostly remembered for his works on the Bible using the original languages and his conversion to Protestantism. After Francis' death, Robert moved to Geneva in 1550. His younger brother, Charles, took over the family business and acquired Robert's goods in 1554. Although he was trained as a medical doctor, he became the king's printer in Latin and Hebrew. His financial debts, however, landed him in the Châtelet prison in 1564 which ended both careers.

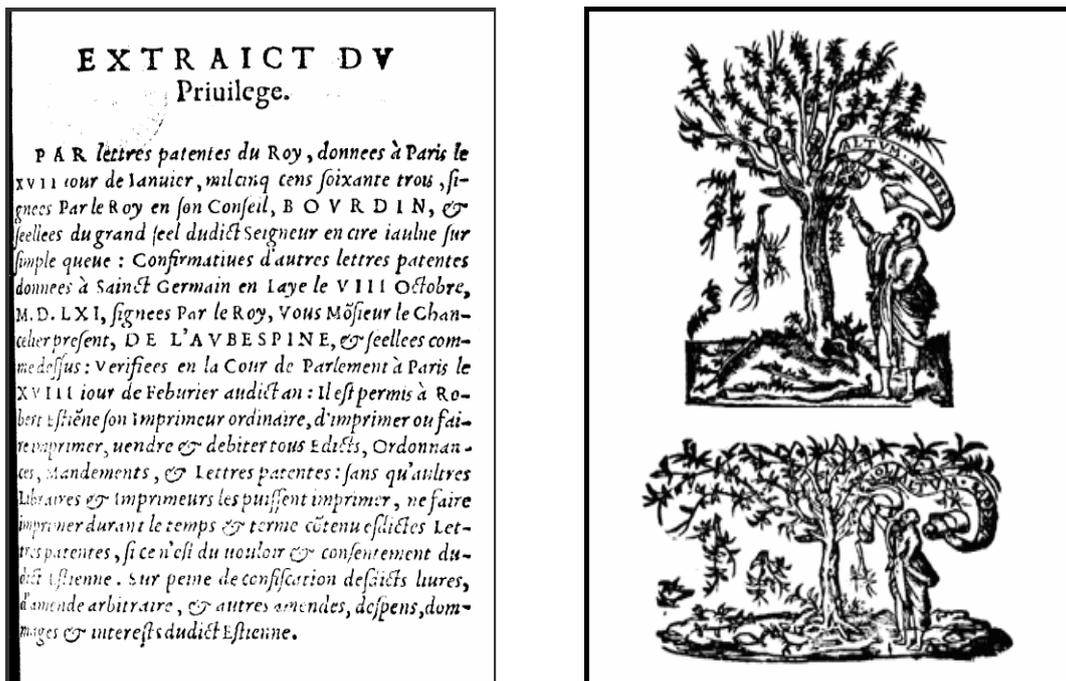


Figure 4-8: A typical privilege for Robert Estienne in the 1560s (left) and the Estienne printer devices (right).<sup>53</sup>

After his father moved to Geneva, Robert Estienne (II) began publishing in 1555 and took over the Estienne presses after his uncle's downfall. He received his royal privileges on 8 October 1561, which were confirmed again on 17 January 1563. These allowed him to print "Edicts, Ordonnances, Mandemens et Lettres Patentes" of

<sup>53</sup> *Ordonnance du roy sur le fait et reglement de la police* (Paris: Fédéric Morel, 1572), sig. C3v. Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève: 80 F 334 inv. 2674 (15) Rés.

the king and he became the first official printer to print royal acts. During the 1560s, he produced at least 325 royal acts, more than any individual thus far. His royal acts were reprinted nationally and he worked with printers throughout France: in Orléans, he worked with Eloi Gibier; in Rouen, with Martin Le Mégissier (II); and in Poitiers, with Nicolas Logerois. He eventually converted to Protestantism and like his father, he moved to Geneva in 1570. He died the following year. His presses were taken by his widow, Denise Barbé, who then married Mamert Patisson on 20 January 1574.<sup>54</sup> Patisson became a king's printer in the 1570s. Estienne's legacy continued despite his departure. Figure 4-9 illustrates the last known printed decree by Estienne in 1569 and a false imprint from Avignon, probably by Pierre Le Roux, who used similar devices.

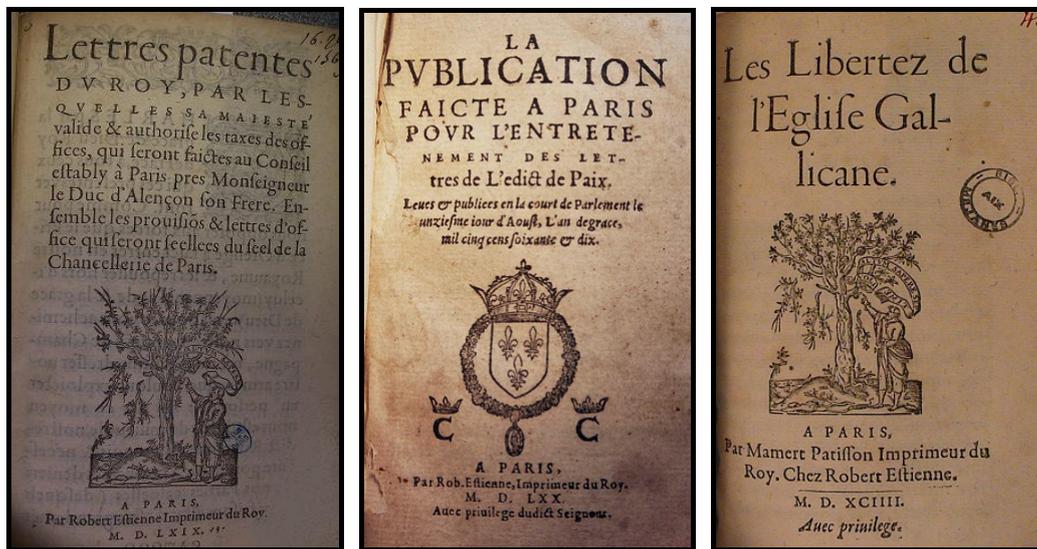


Figure 4-9: The last printed act from Robert Estienne (left) and possible false imprints from Avignon (middle) and the continual use of the Estienne name by Mamert Patisson (right).<sup>55</sup>

In 1571, Frédéric Morel (I) replaced his cousin by marriage, Robert Estienne (II), as the king's printer of royal acts on 4 March 1571. He was the husband of Jeanne de Vascosan, whose mother was an Estienne. Morel began printing in 1557 and was not related to Guillaume Morel, the king's printer in Greek who began printing around the same time. In total, the elder Morel published almost four hundred decrees, the third

<sup>54</sup> Mamert Patisson was originally a corrector for Robert Estienne (II). See Philippe Renouard, *Répertoire des imprimeurs parisiens, libraires, fondateurs de caractères et correcteurs d'imprimerie : depuis l'introduction de l'imprimerie à Paris (1470) jusqu'à la fin du seizième siècle* (Paris: M. J. Minard, 1965) pp. 334-335.

<sup>55</sup> *Lettres patentes du roy par lesquelles sa majesté valide* (Paris: Robert Estienne, 1569). Paris, Bibliothèque Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français: Rés. 902743. *La publication faicte a Paris pour l'entretienement des lettres de l'edict de paix* (Paris: Robert Estienne, 1570). La Rochelle, Médiathèque Michel Crépeau: 11018c. Pierre Pithou, *Les libertez de l'église gallicane* (Paris: Mamert Patisson, 1594). Aix, Bibliothèque Méjanès: Rec D 540 (4).

largest number for printers of royal acts. His son, Fédéric Morel (II), continued the family business after the elder Morel became ill in 1581 and the title of king's printer transferred to the younger Morel on 2 November that same year.<sup>56</sup> He retained the position until 1602 when the third generation of Fédéric Morel assumed the family business as a printer for the king. Although the title was often passed from father to son, not every family member was deemed a king's printer. Claude Morel, the younger brother of Fédéric Morel (III), also printed on rue St Jacques *à la fontaine* towards the end of the century but did not gain the title *imprimeur du roi* until it was awarded to him in 1625 after his brother retired.



Figure 4-10: Printer devices of the Morel family.

The younger Fédéric Morel (II) published more decrees than any individual since the beginning of print in France, with over five hundred copies, and the house of Morel printed more royal acts than any family, nearly a thousand books and pamphlets in this genre alone. For nearly three full decades, the Morels enjoyed a very privileged position. More than any of the printers mentioned thus far, the name “Fédéric Morel” became an internationally recognized brand in the printing industry in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. More copies of royal acts were made from Morel editions than any other printer. For example, English translations of French edicts claimed to have been copied from a Morel edition. Printers in France both in Paris and the provinces used the Morel copy as the authoritative version in print and copied it for local retail. Figure 4-11 below contains two title pages of printed acts that were transcribed from a Morel edition. It was not sufficient enough to claim a local copy was transcribed from

<sup>56</sup> *Edict de la survivance et privileges accordez par le roy aux huissiers sergens à cheval du Chastelet de Paris* (Paris: Fédéric Morel, 1587), sig. A3r. BnF: F 46885 (14).

a Parisian copy but rather from a specific printer who was a printer of the king. Both the initial printed copy of a royal act and its subsequent local editions claimed authenticity, accuracy, and government approval by invoking the name of the king's printer. Printers, merchants, and customers began subscribing to the idea of a brand name through the editions of Robert Estienne, but it was not until the 1570s that the names of Frédéric Morel and Martin Le Mégissier became international trademarks on royal acts. Le Mégissier's work was particularly influential in London and the Low Countries because of Rouen's connections to these cities.

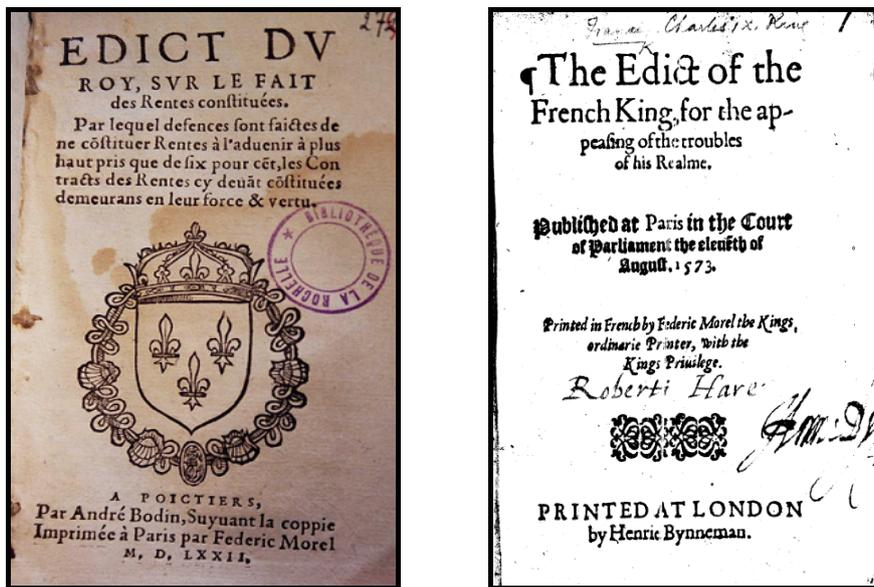


Figure 4-11: Printed acts transcribed from a Morel edition.<sup>57</sup>

Similar to the dynasties created by *libraires* who had had roots in the book industry since the fifteenth century, Parisian *imprimeurs du roi* were able to establish themselves as permanent members of the printing community by the second half the sixteenth century. The expansion of provincial pressmen and the king's naming of royal printers outside Paris around 1560 paved the way for a new network with the Parisian printer as its leading member. This is probably best exemplified during the Leaguer years, when the Holy Catholic League, led by the Guises, took over Paris and forced Henry III into exile in 1588. It was during this time that the king's loyal printer, Jamet Mettayer, followed him out of Paris to Blois and to Tours and then back to Paris under Henry IV.

<sup>57</sup> *Edict du roy sur le fait des rentes constituées* (Poitiers: André Bodin, 1572). La Rochelle, Médiathèque Michel Crépeau: 2726c. *The Edict of the French King for the Appeasing of the Troubles of His Realme* (London: Henric Bynneman, ca. 1573). London, British Library: C 122 b 20 (1).

Jamet Mettayer began printing in the French vernacular around 1573 in Paris with Mathurin Challenge. They printed books for the Dallier bookshop at the sign of the white rose. By 1577, Mettayer owned a shop in Tours where he became an *imprimeur ordinaire du roi* and began printing edicts there. He was among a small number of printers who travelled and printed in several towns. Jean Petit was one of the earliest French printers who had boutiques in several cities by 1511: at Paris on *rue St Jacques à la l'enseigne de la fleur-de-lis d'or* and in Lyon on *rue mercière devant St Antoine*.<sup>58</sup> During the 1550s, Philippe Bourgoignon had two boutiques in Brittany: one in Nantes and another in Rennes.<sup>59</sup> Jacques Rousseau printed in Agen and Cahors during the 1580s and 1590s, and was an official printer for the university in Cahors.<sup>60</sup>

Mettayer travelled between Paris and Tours; his publications state that he was in Tours in 1577 and 1580-1581; and he was in Paris during the years of 1573-1575, 1578-1579, 1581/2-1588 where he occasionally printed as Jean Mattayer. By 1578, he had his own bookshop in Paris at *l'image de St Jean devant le collège de Laon près les Carmes* and a second boutique *près les boucheries St Geneviève* in 1583, where he printed mostly religious books, with three edicts until 1588, when he began to co-print political pamphlets with Frédéric Morel and Pierre L'Huillier, a *libraire juré*. His opportunity to demonstrate his loyalty came when Henry III absconded from Paris on 12 May 1588. Jamet Mettayer followed the royal court out of Paris leaving his son, Pierre, to manage the Parisian businesses. The king's leading printer, Frédéric Morel, also stayed behind for reasons unknown; he probably was unable to leave his presses or perhaps the king's printers decided that Mettayer was the best candidate to follow the king since he had experience of printing in many cities. Printing at the house of Estienne since 1574, Mamert Patisson became an *imprimeur du roi* in 1578. He too remained in Paris during the Leaguer years but his press became largely inactive. He printed only three books in the French vernacular between 1589 and 1594.

---

<sup>58</sup> Coutumes, *Les coutumes du hault et bas pays d'Auvergne* (Paris: Jean Petit, 1511). Bibliothèque Communautaire et Interuniversitaire de Clermont-Ferrand: Reserve R 5323 (1). Jean Petit's son, by the same name, left Paris and established a press in Rouen around 1530. Philippe Ernest A. Renouard, *Imprimeurs parisiens, libraires, fondateurs de caractères et correcteurs d'imprimerie, depuis l'introduction de l'imprimerie à Paris (1470) jusqu'à la fin du seizième siècle avec un plan de Paris sous Henry II par O. Truschet et G. Hoyau* (Paris: M.J. Minard, 1898), 341.

<sup>59</sup> *Ordonnances, edictz et arrestz publiez en la court de parlement de Bretagne* (Nantes: Philippe Bourgoignon, 1558). Musée des Beaux-Arts de Caen: Mancel 947 (3).

<sup>60</sup> Parlement de Paris, *Arrest de la cour de parlement contre Jean Chastel* (Cahors: Jacques Rousseau, 1595). Toulouse BM: Rés. D XVI 81 (1). *Lettres patentes du roy sur la convocation du ban et arriereban de sa gendarmerie* (Agen: Jacques Rousseau, 1594). Bourges BM: E 753 (5/22).

Fédéric Morel printed thirty-five books from 1589 to 1592, an all time low for the house of Morel, but he continued intermittently to advertise himself as an *imprimeur du roi* on his title pages. This may have been detrimental, perhaps even life-threatening, as many Parisians became strong supporters of the League, and those identified with the king's cause ran the risk of serious violence.<sup>61</sup> Not a single royal decree was printed in Paris during Guise rule. Instead, Leaguer printers, such as Rolin Thierry and Nicolas Nivelles, acted as important printers on behalf of the king's enemies.

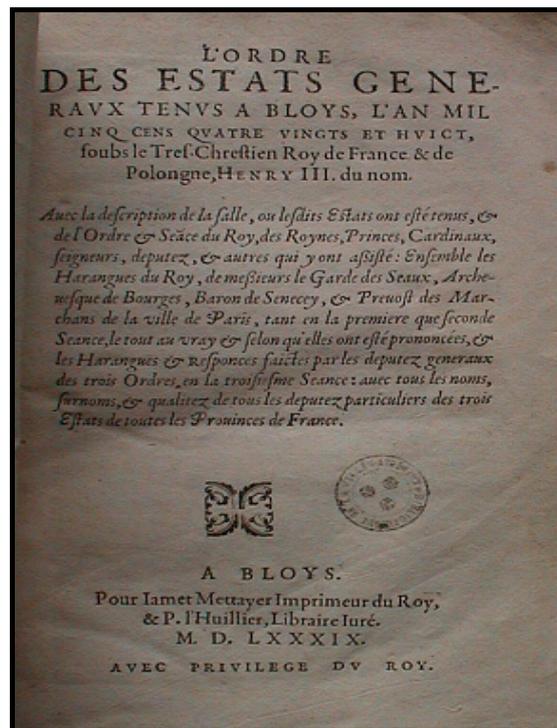
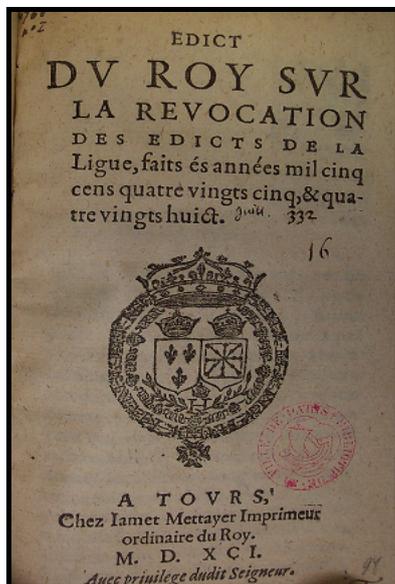


Figure 4-12: Jamet Mettayer editions during the king's exile in Tours (left) and in Blois with Pierre L'Huillier (right).<sup>62</sup>

Henry III first escaped to Chartres but eventually settled in Blois in September 1588, where he remained until the end of February the following year.<sup>63</sup> Mettayer began printing for the king at Blois with Pierre L'Huillier and in collaboration with the town's printer, Barthélemy Gomet, probably using his shop on *rue de la puits du*

<sup>61</sup> Nancy L. Roelker, ed., *The Paris of Henry of Navarre, as seen by Pierre de L'Estoile; Selections from His Mémoires-Journaux* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1958), 171. See the last section in chapter one on town criers.

<sup>62</sup> *Edict du roy sur la revocation des edicts de la Ligue* (Tours: Jamet Mettayer, 1591). Nantes, Musée départemental Dobrée: 684. *Estates Generaux, L'ordre des estats generaux tenus a Blois* (Blois: Jamet Mettayer et Pierre L'Huillier, 1589). Grenoble BM: E 12683 (1).

<sup>63</sup> The king was in Chartres since May 1588, moved to Rouen late June, moved back to Chartres early August and settled in Blois by mid-September. He left Blois for Tours in early March 1589. In mid-May, he left Tours and traveled to Chatellerault and Beaugency until he met the king of Navarre in early August at the camp in St Cloud, where he was assassinated.

*Cartier*. Gomet later became Blois' first *imprimeur du roi*.<sup>64</sup> In an edict issued in February 1589, the king set up a royalist government in Tours to counter Paris. When the king moved to Tours in the early days of March 1589, Mettayer followed. On rare occasions, Gomet assisted him in Tours and printed a few other government documents in his own name there. In addition to Gomet, Mettayer used the services of another local printer, Zachery Griveau, who also became an *imprimeur du roi* in 1589 and remained a strong printer in the town.<sup>65</sup> Gomet returned to Blois later in 1589 but he probably died soon after, as his name disappeared from vernacular prints. In 1593, his widow resurrected the family name and continued to print in Blois as an *imprimeur du roi*. The title was probably transferred to her; she may have been the first woman to become a royal printer.<sup>66</sup>

Printing partners Jean Richer and Claude Montr'oeil also followed the king from Paris to Blois and then to Tours. They moved back to Paris in 1594. In total, ninety royal acts were printed in Tours from 1589 to 1593, producing more than every provincial town during this time. The next highest total is nineteen editions published by the town of Châlons.

When Henry IV subjugated Paris in 1594, Mettayer left Tours and returned to Paris. In 1594, he travelled between Tours and Paris, where he began to work immediately with L'Huillier and Morel. L'Huillier ceased printing after 1589 when Mettayer left for Tours but in 1593 he settled in St Denis as a *libraire ordinaire du roi*. In 1594, he moved to Paris. These three men and Patisson became the *imprimeurs et libraires ordinaires du roi* during the 1590s under Henry IV. When the four men worked together on a single project, they printed as *imprimeurs et libaries ordinaires du roi* and placed their names either in the colophon or in the privilege. On two occasions all four printers were used to print the same act: the Articles of Truce, issued on 23 September 1595 in Lyon, and the Edict of Nantes issued in April 1598. Most of the time, they printed alone or in collaboration with any of the other three. Mettayer

---

<sup>64</sup> *Declaration du roy pour la remise de l'assemblee generale des princes, cardinaux, ducs et pairs* (Blois: Barthélemy Gomet, 1589). Blois BM: LI 113.

<sup>65</sup> *Instruction du roy aux gouverneurs et lieutenans generaux de ses provinces* (Tours: Zachery Griveau, 1589). Nantes BM: 280431 aa. *Declaration du roy sur l'attentat, felonnie et rebellion du duc de Mayenne* (Tours: Zacharie Griveau, 1589). BnF: F 46888 (4).

<sup>66</sup> *Imprimeur du roi* was printed on every one of her book printed from 1593 to 1599. For example, see *Lettres patentes du roy portants deffences aux prevosts des mareschaux* (Blois: Veuve Barthélemy Gomet, 1599). Blois BM: LI 93.

and L'Huillier often worked together; they produced over 105 editions and they printed with Morel eighteen times during the 1590s.

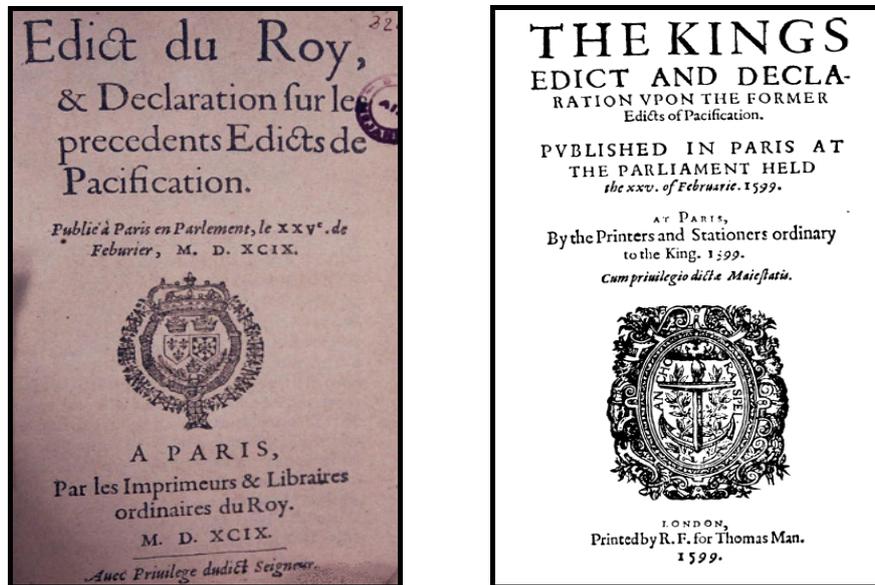


Figure 4-13: The Edict of Nantes printed by the *imprimeurs et libraires ordinaires du roi* (left) and a London copy (right).<sup>67</sup>

On their own, Mettayer produced twenty-eight acts and L'Huillier printed sixteen decrees; Morel was still the leading printer with 182 decrees. With the exception of the two royal acts mentioned above, Patisson worked alone and printed over fifty decrees during the 1590s. Thus the last generation of sixteenth century *imprimeurs du roi* had evolved into something like a company; they now printed more political pamphlets and decrees than other forms of literature. This was a far cry from Francis I's original intention for his *imprimeurs du roi*.

During Leaguer rule, provincial printing houses demonstrated their utility as Parisian printers became hostages in their own city. Outside Tours, twenty-four provincial presses supported the king from 1589 to 1593: Agen, Angers, Blois, Bordeaux, Bourges, Caen, Cahors, Châlons, Chartres, Clermont, La Rochelle, Langres, Le Mans, Lyon, Melun, Metz, Nevers, Orleans, Poitiers, Reims, Rennes, Rouen, Saint-

<sup>67</sup> *Edict du roy et declaration sur les precedents edicts de pacification* (Paris: Imprimeurs et libraires ordinaires du roy, 1599). Aix, Bibliothèque Méjanes: D 2855 (1). *The Kings Edict and Declaration Upon the Former Edicts of Pacification* (London: Richard Field for Thomas Man, 1599). San Marino, Huntington Library, Art Collections and Botanical Gardens: 61438.

Denis, and Troyes.<sup>68</sup> Out of these towns, Châlons and Caen printed the most decrees with nineteen and thirteen respectively. Three towns printed twelve royal acts: Blois, Le Mans and Metz. The rest published fewer than ten.

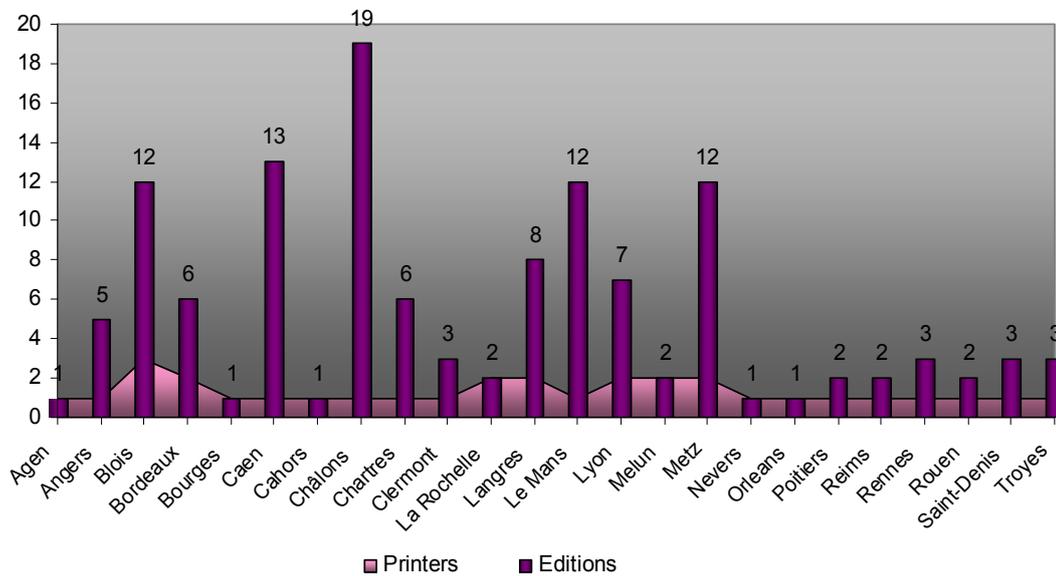


Figure 4-14: Provincial editions and printers from 1589 to 1593.

Most royal printers were loyal to the king. However, two appeared either ambivalent or duplicitous. Jérôme Olivier printed over forty decrees in Le Mans and almost forty more after he became the town's royal printer in 1578. However, in 1589, he printed at least two pamphlets as a League printer and then began printing again as an *imprimeur du roi* until 1593, when he abandoned the title on his title pages. He died shortly thereafter. His widow continued to print in Le Mans from 1595 to the end of the century without using his previous privilege as the king's printer. How Olivier was able to manoeuvre between two camps is something of a mystery, but his allegiance to the king appears more sincere; he had printed at least a dozen royal acts between 1589 and 1593. This contrasts with the case of Jean Moreau of Troyes.

<sup>68</sup> Jean Janson also printed a royal act in Nancy, the capital of the duchy of Lorraine, which was not a part of France in the sixteenth century. *Articles accordez entre les sieurs deputez pour sa majesté, et sieur de Bassompierre député pour monseigneur de Lorraine* (Nancy: Jean Janson, ca. 1593). Universitätsbibliothek Bern: Bong V 265 (14).

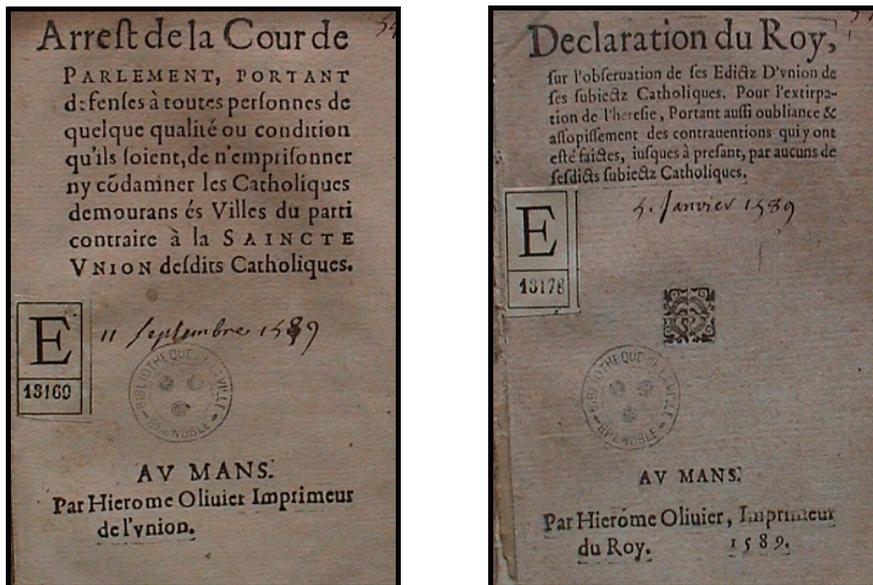


Figure 4-15: Jérôme Olivier printed for the League (left) and the king (right).<sup>69</sup>

There was something more duplicitous about Jean Moreau, who supposedly began printing for the king in 1588 but became a printer for the Holy Catholic League in 1589. Like Olivier, he continued to claim the role of a king's printer the following years despite continuing to print pro-Leaguer pamphlets. Moreau used his position to print anti-royal pamphlets, and printed only eight royal acts, four of which were printed in the 1590s. Whether this suggests that Moreau was more of a businessman or a man of religious conviction is hard to say. By 1593, he too had retired his post as an *imprimeur du roi* and vanished from the vernacular industry after 1595.

Only one printer was unrepentant: Jean Pillehotte. He was never a king's printer but printed almost a hundred royal acts in Lyon since 1571. He began printing in the vernacular with Michel Jove in 1571 and continued to print with him until 1580. Together, they produced thirty-nine royal acts. Jove was the second most prolific printer of royal acts in Lyon and printed 120 decrees without Pillehotte since 1555 on rue Merciere. He also owned a bookshop near the church of St Antoine and à *l'enseigne du Jesus* by 1575 where he worked with Pillehotte. Jove died around 1580, which is probably how his partner acquired the business. As a zealous Catholic, Pillehotte began printing for the League as their printer in Lyon in 1589. Unlike the king's printers, he continued to publish on behalf of the Catholic League as late as 1594.

<sup>69</sup> Charles de Lorraine (duc de Mayenne), *Discours abrege du combat des armées de monseigneur le duc de Mayenne* (Le Mans: Jérôme Olivier, ca. 1589). Grenoble BM: E 13170. *Declaration du roy sur l'observation de ses edictz d'union de ses subjectz catholiques* (Le Mans: Jérôme Olivier, ca. 1589). Grenoble BM: E 13178.

His last contribution to royal decrees was in 1593 when he printed the truce made between Henry IV and the duke of Mayenne. Pillehotte continued to print in the vernacular to the end of the century.

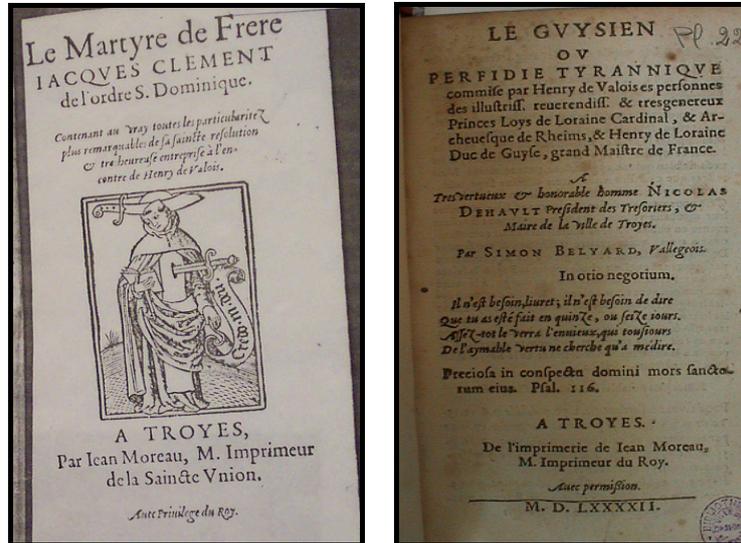


Figure 4-16: Jean Moreau, a king's printer, printed more Leaguer books than royal acts.<sup>70</sup>

The next generation of Lyon printers who printed royal acts were *imprimeurs du roi*: Thibaud Ancelin and Guichard Julliéron. As a team, they published almost seventy royal acts during the 1590s and Ancelin printed twenty more decrees without Julliéron. After the family of Le Mégissier of Rouen, they became the second largest *imprimeurs du roi* to print royal acts outside Paris.

By the end of the sixteenth century, seventeen French towns had an *imprimeur du roi*: Aix, Angers, Blois, Bordeaux, Bourges, Caen, Châlons, Chartres, Dijon, Le Mans, Lyon, Orléans, Poitiers, Rennes, Rouen, Tours, and Troyes. In Angers, Antoine Hernault and his son, Jean, and Simon Millanges of Bordeaux were each responsible for thirty editions. Claude Guyot did not begin printing decrees until he became an *imprimeur du roi* and printed twenty-four acts in Châlons, nineteen during the siege of Paris and six more afterwards. In Blois, Barthélemy Gomet printed nine royal acts in Blois and five more in Tours. His widow printed three more during the 1590s. Pierre Cheron was also appointed as a printer in Blois before the turn of the seventeenth century. Bourges had one *imprimeur du roi*, Pierre Bouchier, but Maurice Lévez also

<sup>70</sup> Charles Pinset, *Le martyre de frere Jacques Clement de l'ordre S. Dominique* (Troyes: Jean Moreau, ca. 1589). Lunel BM: L 133 (1). Simon Bélyard, *Le guysien ou perfidie tyrannique commise par Henry de Valois* (Troyes: Jean Moreau, 1592). Châlons-en-Champagne BM: Pl 222 (1).

contributed to royal publications in the last decade. In Caen, Bénédict Macé, Jacque Le Bas, and his widow printed for the king from the 1570s to the end of the century. Jacques Le Bas also called himself an *imprimeur du roi* for the province of Normandy. They succeeded Estienne Thomas who printed in Caen during the 1560s. Dijon's printer, Jean des Planches, began working for the king in 1590 although his name had been seen on books since 1559. In Orléans, the Hotot brothers, Fabian and Saturnin, became the king's printers around 1597 after printing royal acts since 1585. They succeeded Eloi Gibier, who had not been a king's printer but a printer who had often worked with Robert Estienne (II) during the latter's period in Paris. The town of Poitiers possessed several royal printers, but it was Jean Blanchet who last held the position before 1600. In Rennes, Michel Logeroys succeeded Julien du Clos in the 1590s, although du Clos preferred to call himself a printer *pour le roi* since 1574.<sup>71</sup> Jean Collet followed Jean Oudot who probably replaced Jean Moreau as the king's printer in Troyes.

Most of the towns listed above are located in northern France with the exception of Aix, where Jean Tholosan became an *imprimeur du roi* in the late 1590s, Bordeaux and Lyon. Not every parlement town had an *imprimeur du roi*. Toulouse, for example, was neglected by the crown. However, the Parlement of Toulouse had a strong presence, and printers continued to apply to the parlement for local privileges, rather than the king. The house of Colomiés dominated the number of locally printed decrees after the 1550s and printed 70 per cent of the total number of printed decrees in the Languedoc capital but they were content to remain as the official printers of the town and university. Grenoble printed only a single royal act throughout the whole century in 1599.<sup>72</sup>

The types of printers who dominated the printing of royal acts changed during the reigns of each king. Under Francis I, most decrees were printed by large bookseller-publishers such as Jean André, Galliot du Pré, and Jacques Nyverd. They were superseded by smaller but more ambitious printers who had a keen interest in printing decrees, such as Vincent Sertenas, and Jean Dallier. These men flourished under Henry II, and Jean Dallier became the second most prolific printer of royal acts

---

<sup>71</sup> *Edicts et ordonnances royaux publiees et receues au pays et duché de Bretagne* (Rennes: Julien du Clos, 1574). Angers BM: J 775 (2).

<sup>72</sup> *Ordonnances d'Abbeville sur le fait de la justice et abbreviation des procez au païs de Dauphine* (Grenoble: Antoine Blanc, 1599). Grenoble BM: V 708.

under Charles IX. It was Charles who took the significant step of appointing *imprimeurs du roi* to print *édits, ordonnances, mandements et lettres patentes*. Robert Estienne (II) was the first man to receive the honour and paved the way for the *imprimeurs du roi* to become an important presence in the production of royal acts. He printed over three hundred of the king's acts in less than a decade. He was succeeded by Frédéric Morel, his cousin by marriage, in 1571, who printed almost four hundred decrees in ten years. In 1581, he then passed the torch to his son, who became the most dynamic printer to produce royal decrees with over five hundred editions. Benoît Rigaud was the exception on many levels. He was not the king's printer, nor was he Parisian, nor did he father another generation of royal printers. He alone printed or supervised over 220 decrees from 1560 to 1594 in Lyon.

Over the next decades, more *imprimeurs* were appointed by the king in the provinces. Many provincial printers demonstrated their loyalty to the crown during the exile of Henry III and were rewarded with the king's favour in the 1590s. The few who joined the opposition party, the Holy Catholic League, ceased to print royal acts and their privileged role as the king's printer was lost by 1594. Thus, the position of *imprimeur du roi* took on a new meaning after Henry IV conquered Paris. The title was more politicized, associated with the king and his purposes. Royal editions became more like official documents and royal propaganda. They were a far cry from the books on biblical languages, music, and mathematics that were the staple activities of the royal printers under the Renaissance king, Francis I. *Imprimeurs du roi* were, instead, the royal printers of a new Bourbon dynasty.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### ROYAL ACTS PRINTED BEFORE 1561

---

Since the introduction of the printing press in Paris in 1470, the production of printed royal edicts and ordinances was slow compared to the last forty years of the sixteenth century (see figure 5-1 below). These last two chapters will focus on the subjects of printed royal acts and reveal the most popularly published act of each king. This chapter will focus mainly on royal acts printed before 1561, which comprised less than 20 per cent of the total number of royal acts published before 1601. Firstly, the categories of printed subjects will be discussed, followed by a brief examination of the period before 1515. Then the subjects of royal acts printed during the reign of Francis I will be explored, along with a discussion of his most popular decree. The same studies will be presented for the reigns of his son and grandson, Henry II and Francis II.

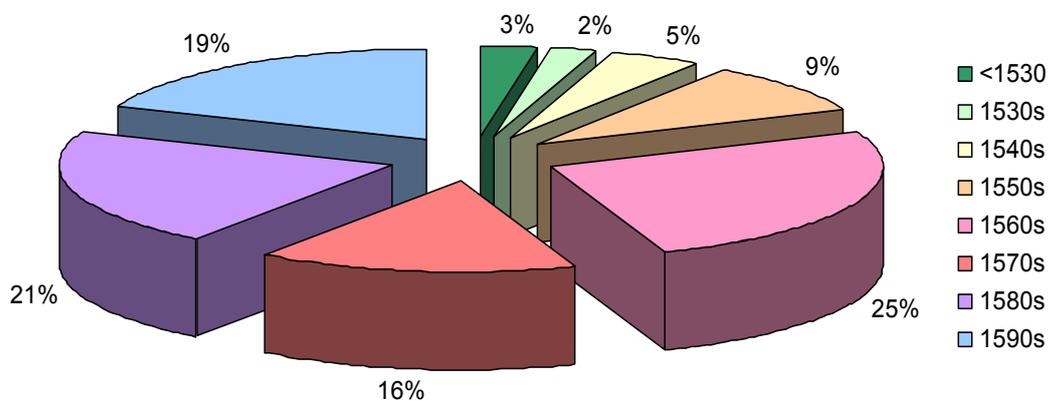


Figure 5-1: Printed royal acts divided by decade.

In comparison to other major categories, decrees on trade were printed relatively infrequently during the sixteenth century. A brief study of commercial regulations will be presented at the end of this chapter. The next chapter will provide examples for the rest of the major categories.

## Categories

I created ten divisions to categorize royal acts that were printed in the sixteenth century. My categories were based on Pierre Rebuffi's divisions in his edited volumes, *Les edicts et ordonnances des roys de France*, printed in 1566.<sup>1</sup>

Large Volumes	Military
Commercial and Industrial	Religious
Civil	Royal Domain and Household
Financial	Miscellaneous
Judicial	Unknown

Every royal act should fall into one of the above categories, if not several categories. For example, a royal act that changed the judiciary process would fall under 'Judicial' as it pertains to the judicial system.

However, not every royal act was easily classified because royal acts overlapped and affected other categories sometimes with a single sentence. For example, the Edict of January (1562) addressed members of the printing industry with this reference:

Voulons en outre, que tous imprimeurs, semeurs et vendeurs de placartz et libelles diffamatoires, soient punis pour la première foys du foüet, et pour la seconde de la vie.<sup>2</sup>

Printers, troublemakers, and vendors associated with defamatory placards and other libellous statements were whipped as their punishment and repeat offenders were punished by death. This is where a complication arises: should the Edict of January, whose main purpose was to limit the rights of Protestants, also be considered a commercial decree because it also briefly addressed the printing industry?

To minimize the number of categories allocated to each royal act, the main purpose of every promulgation determined its category. Thus, anti-Protestant edicts were considered as religious decrees although some of them affected other categories. For example, the Edict of Châteaubriant of 1551 issued several new laws to eradicate Protestantism in France. Some of these regulations were imposed on the book industry. No one was allowed to print, possess, or sell a censored book. Every book required the

---

<sup>1</sup> I divided book two of Pierre Rebuffi's volume into finances and royal domain so that I can focus on financial acts. Pierre Rebuffi, *Les edicts et ordonnances des roys de France* (Lyon: Claude Sennaton, 1566). BnF: Résac. F 2006.

<sup>2</sup> Athanase Jean L. Jourdan, Decrusy, and François-André Isambert, *Recueil général des anciennes lois françaises: depuis l'an 420 jusqu'à la révolution de 1789.*, 28 vols., vol. 14 (Paris: Belin-Leprieur, 1829), 128, no. 13.

name or mark of its printer; and each book must also state the author, place, and publication date; translations of the New Testament, commentaries, and other books about theology required approval from the faculty of theology. The *chancellerie* and courts were not allowed to grant privileges and permissions to print theological books that were not approved by the Sorbonne.<sup>3</sup> However, the edict's main purpose was to eradicate Protestantism in France, making the Edict of Châteaubriant a religious royal act. Therefore, the Edict of Châteaubriant is categorized as a religious edict and has not been considered a commercial decree despite its effects on the printing industry. Otherwise, the main subject becomes lost in a sea of technical meaninglessness. If the Edict of Châteaubriant were also considered a commercial decree because of its references to the printing industry, then it must also be considered a civil act as well as a judicial one because of the other laws contained in it. Under a fussy classification system, the judicial category would immediately become the most popular subject throughout the sixteenth century because most royal acts affected the justice system.<sup>4</sup>

Thus, for the sake of general understanding, each royal act was categorized according to its basic purpose. For example, how should one categorize the following edict?

EDICT DV ROY, || VERIFIE EN LA || COVR DE PARLEMENT, || par lequel est déclaré, tout Li- || brairie exempte de traicte, || imposition foraine, refue, || domaine forain, hault || passage, & autres || droicts. || A ORLEANS, || Par Eloy Gibier, Imprimeur & || Libraire iuré de l'Vniuersité. || 1578.<sup>5</sup>

Is it a commercial decree? Should it go under financial legislation because it exempts bookshops from certain taxes? Should it go under every heading? If it is checked under every category, its fundamental significance is lost: royal privileges for booksellers. In this complicated case, it was categorized by its primary purpose, to list privileges for booksellers, which falls under regulating commercial activities. Other related categories, such as the exemption from foreign taxation, were considered as minor points.

It is difficult to simply allocate a category to a royal act without knowing the subject's historical importance and how it relates to other promulgations. For example,

---

<sup>3</sup> Athanase Jean L. Jourdan, Decrusy, and François-André Isambert, *Recueil général des anciennes lois françaises: depuis l'an 420 jusqu'à la révolution de 1789.*, 28 vols., vol. 13 (Paris: Belin-Leprieur, 1828), 193-97, no. 7-22.

<sup>4</sup> Few royal acts that would not fall under a judicial decree were *mandements* and some declarations such as a military call to arms or declaration of war.

<sup>5</sup> *Edict du roy verifié en la cour de parlement par lequel est déclaré, toute librairie exempte de traicte* (Orléans: Eloi Gibier, 1578). BnF: Rés. F 1563 (67).

the tax on the sale of salt, known as the *gabelle*, was a very specific source of income for the crown. Thus, the edict below was categorized as a financial royal act because the law concerned the tax accrued from selling salt.

[fleuron] Edict du Roy faitt || Sur la forme et maniere de leuer son droict de || gabelle/ du sel qui sera vendu/ troque ou || esch~age en ses royaulme/ pays/ terres et || seigneuries de son obeissance. Faict || au moys de May/ Lan de grace || Mil cinq cens quarante || et trois. || [handcoloured coat of arms of archbishop of Lyon] || [fleuron] Auec priuilege. || On les vend a Paris sur le pont saint || Michel a lenseigne de la Roze blanche || par Estienne Roffet/ dict le || faulcheur/ relieur || du Roy.<sup>6</sup>

The transportation, storage and selling of salt without reference to its tax, however, were royal acts concerning commerce and industry.

After reading over five thousand titles of printed royal acts, the following outline explains each category in fuller detail by providing short explanations and some examples under each heading. The subcategories are merely helpful examples, used as guides, and do not represent a complete list of subheadings.

I. Large volumes were books of royal acts that were compiled and generally presented as legal references. Some books were short title catalogues of royal acts. Others compiled and transcribed entire edicts and ordinances on a certain topic, such as commercial regulations regarding the fairs at Lyon. Any book that consisted of several royal acts fell into this category.

II. Commercial and industrial royal acts concerned laws that regulated trade and people's livelihoods.

A. Businesses

1. Lodgings, Restaurants, and Entertainment

- a. Hotels
- b. Inns and taverns
- c. Cabarets
- d. Restaurants

2. Food Merchants

- a. Food stores
- b. Bakeries and patisseries
- c. Groceries
- d. Butcheries
- e. Fishmongers
- f. Luxury food items

3. Shops (non-edible)

- a. Bookstores
- b. Cloth and clothing
- c. Arts and crafts
- d. Hardware
- e. Furniture

4. Artisans and Professional Services

- a. Lawyers
- b. Medical doctors
- c. Carpenters
- d. Smiths
- e. Haberdashers

---

<sup>6</sup> *Edict du roy sur la forme et maniere dee leuer son droict de gabelle du sel* (Paris: Étienne Roffet, ca. 1543). Lyon BM: Rés. 373584.

- B. Transportation of Goods
  - 1. Police
  - 2. Procedure
  - 3. Import
  - 4. Export
- C. Agriculture and Mining
- D. Storage and Processing
  - 1. Warehouses
  - 2. Containers
  - 3. Mills
- E. Measurements, Weights and Prices
- F. Goods
  - 1. Food
    - a. Salt
    - b. Wheat and grain
    - c. Meats and fish
    - d. Wine and alcohol
    - e. Spices
    - f. Vegetables
  - 2. Non-edible
    - a. Wood
    - b. Furniture
    - c. Clothing
    - d. Books
    - e. Silk
    - f. Weapons & Fire Arms
- G. Markets & Fairs
- H. Guilds
- I. Wages and Employment

III. Civil acts regulated the general public and the kingdom's basic infrastructure. Religious acts would normally fall under this classification but they were important enough to be separated into their own category.

- A. Security
  - 1. Police
  - 2. Right to bear arms
- B. Health
  - 1. Sanitation
  - 2. Diseases, illnesses
  - 3. Hospitals
- C. Dress Codes
  - 1. Clothing
  - 2. Other physical appearances, including how to wear beards
- D. Poor, Peasantry, Non-privileged
- E. Family and property
  - 1. Income
  - 2. Personal property and goods
  - 3. Birth
  - 4. Marriages, weddings, children
  - 5. Wills and death
- F. Violent Crimes against Property and Individuals
  - 1. Stealing
  - 2. Rape
  - 3. Murder
  - 4. Vandalism
  - 5. Duels
- G. Urban Development
  - 1. Roads
  - 2. Bridges
  - 3. Buildings, housing

- 4. Ports
- H. Civil Governments and Police

IV. Religious acts regulated the affairs of the Catholic church and other religions in France, including Protestantism. Education was also included in this category because of the religious influences of the universities.

- A. Catholic Church
  - 1. Pope
  - 2. Clergy
  - 3. Church property
  - 4. *Dîmes*
  - 5. Councils
- B. Protestants
  - 1. Edicts of pacification
  - 2. Anti-Protestant royal acts
- C. Universities

V. Financial acts managed the kingdom's pecuniary activities and courts.

- A. Tax
  - 1. Collecting
    - a. Collectors
    - b. *Élections*
  - 2. Ordinary
    - a. *Ban et arrière-ban*
    - b. *Rentes*
  - 3. Extraordinary
    - a. *Gabelle*
    - b. *Aides*
    - c. *Taille*
      - i. *Personnelle*
      - ii. *Réelle*
    - d. *Taillon*
    - e. *Crue*
    - f. *Péages*
    - g. *Décimes*
- B. Coinage and Minting
- C. Changes in Financial Institutions
  - 1. Procedure
  - 2. Offices and departments
  - 3. Payments and salaries
  - 4. Authority and jurisdiction

VI. Judicial acts encompassed important ordinances of reform and decrees that centred around the general judicial process and courts.

- A. Procedure and process
- B. Offices, courts and chambers
- C. Payments and salaries
- D. Authority and jurisdiction
- E. General ordinances of reform

VII. Military orders and decrees concerned the armed forces, their equipments and posts.

- A. Changes in Military
  - 1. Procedure
  - 2. Offices, departments, and troops
  - 3. Payments and salaries
  - 4. Authority and jurisdiction
- B. War
  - 1. Declarations
  - 2. Treaties
  - 3. Reductions of towns

- 4. Call to arms and to disband
- 5. Billeting and deployment
- C. Military Equipment
  - 1. Weapons, artilleries
  - 2. Horses and other animals
  - 3. Fortifications
- D. Military Crimes
- E. Police
- F. Governorships
- G. Nobility<sup>7</sup>

VIII. Promulgations concerning royal domain and household concerned the king's lands, natural resources and his personal household from servants to family members.

- A. Department of Water and Forests
  - 1. Changes in the department
    - a. Procedure
    - b. Offices
    - c. Payments and salaries
    - d. Authority and jurisdiction
  - 2. Laws and regulations concerning their jurisdiction
    - a. Hunting
    - b. Lumber
- B. Fiefs and *Arrière-fiefs*
- C. Personal Employees
  - 1. Guards
  - 2. Servants

IX. Miscellaneous acts were decrees whose subjects did not fall under the regular categories listed above.

- A. Correspondence to Non-French Officials
  - 1. Foreign dignitaries
  - 2. Clergy
  - 3. Female nobility
- B. Others

X. Ambiguous acts were unexamined royal acts which were unidentifiable by their titles and catalogue descriptions. Most of these works were documented at one point but became missing or lost over time.

## Before Francis I

As mentioned in chapter four, the first printed royal act was the second treaty signed at Arras between Louis XI and the archduke of Austria, who later became the Holy Roman Emperor, Maximilian I. The Treaty of Arras was signed on 23 December 1482, which settled the disputed area of Burgundy through marriage of the dauphin, Charles, to the archduke's daughter, Margaret.<sup>8</sup> According to Paul M. Kendall, “[Louis

---

<sup>7</sup> See book three in Pierre Rebuffi, *Les edicts et ordonnances des roys de France* (Lyon: Claude Sennaton, 1566), sig. \*3r. BnF: Résac. F 2006.

<sup>8</sup> *Philippes de Creuecueur seigneur desquer des et de Jannoy conseiller* (s.l.: s.n., ca. 1482). Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève: OE XV 754 (1) Rés. It would have taken at least two and a half weather-friendly days to travel from Arras to Paris.

XI] saw to it that the provisions of the treaty were spread far and wide by a recent invention, printing.”<sup>9</sup> The treaty survives in at least five editions: two copies were printed in Paris, one in Rouen, one in Ghent (printed in 1483) and one without a known place or printer. It was Louis XI’s only act to be printed contemporaneously: he died from a cerebral haemorrhage on 30 August 1483. The chart below accounts for the number of royal acts printed during the reigns of Louis XI and his successor, Charles VIII.

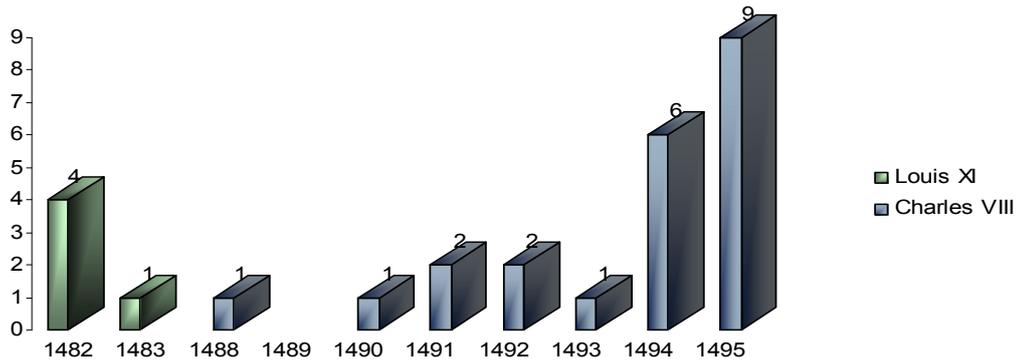


Figure 5-2: Royal acts published during the reigns of Louis IX and Charles VIII.

Any act promulgated before this time that would appear in print would be a later reprint. For example, the earliest dated royal act printed as a single pamphlet was Charles VII's Edict of Saumur, which was issued on 15 March 1430 to regulate commercial activity on the Loire river. Eloi Gibier published this decree in 1580 in Orléans.<sup>10</sup> It was reprinted later in 1598 by Fabian Hotot from the same town.<sup>11</sup>

Most royal acts printed during the incunabulum age were produced during the reign of Charles VIII, Louis XI’s son and successor. Charles VIII ruled for fifteen years, from which we have twenty-two royal publications between the years of 1488 and 1495. At least ten royal acts were published letters written to various individuals during the king’s military campaigns in Italy. It is very plausible that French citizens found the king’s letters newsworthy and autobiographical.<sup>12</sup>

The number of printed royal acts continued to grow under the reign of Charles’ successor, Louis XII: an average of 4.4 royal acts was printed per year from April 1498

<sup>9</sup> Paul Murray Kendall, *Louis XI: "The Universal Spider"* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1971), 360.

<sup>10</sup> *Edict du roy...pour les marchans frequentans la riuere de Loire* (Orléans: Eloi Gibier, 1580). Aix, Bibliothèque Méjanes: Rec D 328 (4).

<sup>11</sup> *Edict du roy...pour les marchans frequentans la riuere de Loire* (Orléans: Fabian Hotot, 1598). Mediathèque d’Orléans: H 13853 (2).

<sup>12</sup> Andrew Pettegree, "The Growth of a Provincial Press in Sixteenth-Century Europe" (paper presented at the Stenton Lecture, Reading, England, 23 November 2006).

to the end of 1514. This is compared to an average of 1.5 royal acts printed per year during the reign of Charles VIII. The chart below (figure 5-3) accounts for the number of books on royal acts printed during the reign of Louis XII.

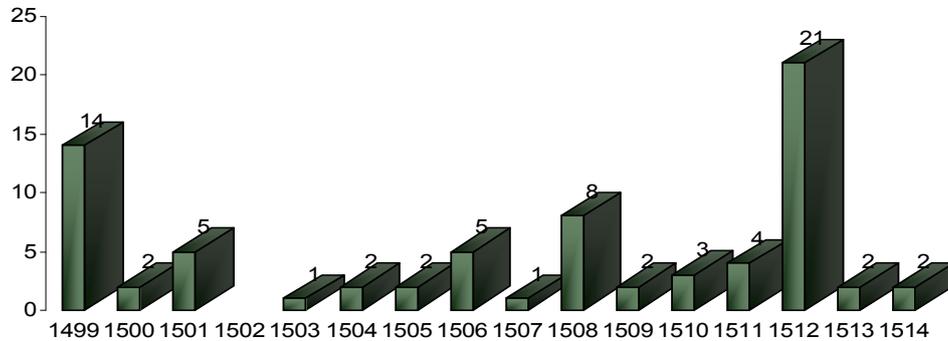


Figure 5-3: Royal acts published during the reign of Louis XII.

The most reprinted act from the reign of Louis XII was the Ordinances of Blois issued in March 1499. It was printed a dozen times in 1499, twice in the following year, and published twice more after 1500. This total also makes the Ordinances of Blois the most reprinted royal act printed in the French vernacular during the incunabulum period, with fourteen editions printed before 1501. In 1499, ten out of twelve books contain the generic title *Les ordonnances royaux* and most editions contain the date of registration in the Parlement of Paris on the title page, e.g. *le 13 jour du mois de juin le 1499*, as pictured in figure 5-4 (below). Two other editions gave it another title: *La nouvelle ordonnance*. In addition, most of these copies included a *lettre patente* created on 13 June 1499 with *Les ordonnances royaux* of March 1499. This additional letter modified a few of the points made in the Ordinances of Blois, such as the rights of a naturalized man to hold offices and benefices.<sup>13</sup> Bibliographers have attempted to attribute particular editions to specific printers by examining devices or woodcuts, because the publications of the Ordinances of Blois lacked a printer's name and year of printing. The illustration below is an example of a royal act that omitted its printer's name. According to previous bibliographical study, nearly every edition of the Ordinances of Blois printed in the incunabulum age was published in Paris. Only one

<sup>13</sup> *Les ordonnances royaux* (Paris: Étienne Jehannot, ca. 1499), sig. d6r. BnF: NUMM-111295. Sheila Edmunds, "From Schoeffer to Vérard: Concerning the Scribes Who Became Printers," in *Printing the written word : the social history of books, c. 1450-1520*, ed. Sandra L. Hindman (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991), 38.

edition's publisher is uncertain, although it may have associations with the bookshops of Jean Petit in Paris and Jean Alexandre in Angers.<sup>14</sup>



Figure 5-4: The Ordinances of Blois of 1499, most likely printed by Pierre Le Caron.<sup>15</sup>

The events leading up to the Ordinances of Blois of 1499 began in the summer of 1498 when the crown proclaimed an unpopular edict to police disruptive and poor university alumni, who burdened Paris with their loitering and unemployment.<sup>16</sup> The edict's unpopularity forced Louis XII to lead a band of soldiers from Blois to mollify Paris at the mayor's request. The king refused to retract his decree, and reinforced it in 162 articles in March 1499 from Blois. However, this time he was able to appease the faculty and students of the Sorbonne by providing new benefits, including a law that forced vacated benefices to be registered with the university so that graduates could occupy them.<sup>17</sup> Furthermore, his ordinances touched upon the justice system. The ordinances stated that law professionals should try more cases instead of nobles, who often lacked a legal education. The king also expanded the rights of the accused, such

<sup>14</sup> *Ordonnance sur la réformation de la justice et l'utilité générale du royaume* (s.l.: s.n., ca. 1499). BnF: Res F 2344. Bibliographical notes in the notice in the BnF, no. RBNF33810347, states: Imprimé avec les mêmes caractères que le coutumier d'Anjou et du Maine, publié pour Jean Petit, à Paris, et pour Jean Alexandre, à Angers. Manquent le titre et la fin de la déclaration du 13 juin 1499.

<sup>15</sup> *Les ordonnances royaulx* (Paris: Pierre Le Caron, ca. 1499). BnF: NUMM-111295 (or Rés F. 980).

<sup>16</sup> Frederic J. Baumgartner, *Louis XII* (New York, NY: St Martin's Press, 1994), 95-97.

<sup>17</sup> *Les ordonnances royaulx* (Paris: Pierre Le Caron, ca. 1499), sigs. A2v-A3r. BnF: NUMM-111295.

as limiting torture and speaking in the vernacular during trials.<sup>18</sup> His perspicacity regarding judicial protocol was best expressed in this decree. The creation of the ordinances was praised by his contemporaries.<sup>19</sup>

The second most reprinted royal act under Louis XII was the Ordinances of Lyon of June 1510. They complemented the articles in the Ordinances of Blois of 1499. In addition, the Ordinances of Lyon undermined papal powers; they were intended to provoke Pope Julius II, who was against the Louis XII's expropriations of Milan and Naples. The articles emphasized the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges of 1438, which allowed French kings, rather than the Holy See, to appoint to benefices. Parlementaires usually supported the Pragmatic Sanction because it fostered Gallicanism, but for reasons that are unclear, the Ordinances of Lyon were not registered in Parlement until 27 April 1512 through a *lit de justice*.<sup>20</sup> After their registration in Paris, the ordinances were printed a dozen times around 1512. A summarized version was also printed in the same year.<sup>21</sup>

Thus, from 1482 to 1514, nine financial ordinances, six judicial decrees, an ordinance on labourers, two on commercial weights and measures, another decree on the police and guard of Paris, and a dozen military related acts, including treaties between France and other sovereign states, were published. In addition, the two most reprinted acts of Louis XII, the Ordinances of Blois of 1499 and Lyon of 1510, were printed a dozen times within their first year of registration in the Parlement of Paris.

## Francis I

Despite the gradual advancement of book production, Francis I contributed very little to help the dilatory transition from manuscript to print in royal business. His own library at Blois demonstrated a general lack of interest in printed books. There is some conjecture that he attempted to address the situation through the Ordinance of Montpellier, issued on 28 December 1537, but it obviously failed. The Ordinance of Montpellier stated that every copy of a newly published book was required to be

---

<sup>18</sup> Baumgartner, *Louis XII*, 95-97.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> Although there is a possibility that Parlementaires felt that it was very poorly written especially in comparison to its predecessor. See Ibid., 202-03.

<sup>21</sup> *Sommaire des ordonnances faites à Lyon au mois de iuin l'an 1510* (s.l.: s.n., ca. 1512). Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek: 29 Z 30.

deposited in his library at his chateau in Blois.<sup>22</sup> Yet according to a 1544 book inventory of Blois, the king possessed a meagre 109 printed works compared to 1,785 hand-copied books.<sup>23</sup> In 1538, the year after the Ordinance of Montpellier was promulgated, the French Book Project calculates that at least 309 books were printed in the French vernacular. Clearly, if the recent ordinance had been intended to ensure that a presentation copy made its way to the king's library, French printers had chosen not to comply.

Royal acts printed during the reign of Francis I were limited in number, although a significant shift in the printing of royal acts occurred during the 1530s as mentioned in chapter two: single decrees were printed as pamphlets rather than published in large volumes of several or more royal acts. Thus, this section on Francis I will be divided into two parts. The first part will briefly deal with the start of Francis' reign from 1515 to 1529. The second part will further discuss the subjects of published decrees during the rest of his reign and examine his most reprinted royal act, the Ordinances of Villers-Cotterêts of 1539.

From 1515 to 1529, the book industry printed a total of sixty-six editions of royal acts. The number of printed promulgations fluctuated each year. The highest number of editions published in one year was in 1519 with eight publications. On the other hand, only one book is estimated to have been published in 1518, which was the lowest number of editions published in a single year. These statistics are illustrated below (figure 5-5).

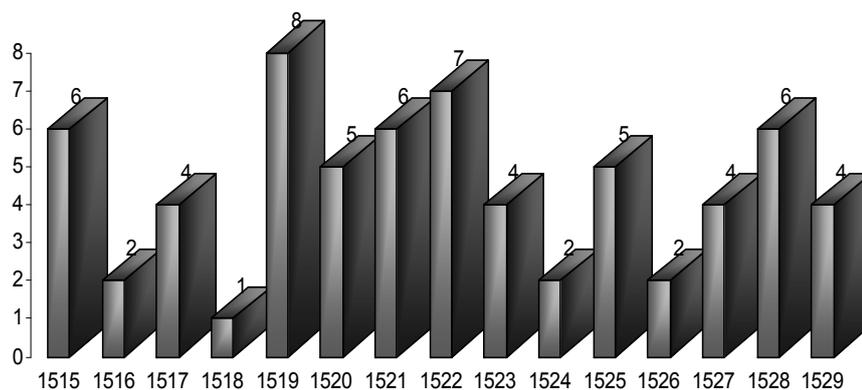


Figure 5-5: The number of printed books of royal acts from 1515 to 1529.

<sup>22</sup> Académie des sciences morales et politiques, *Collection des ordonnances des rois de France: catalogue des actes de François Ier*, 10 vols., vol. 3 (Paris: Impr. nationale, 1887), 426, #9476.

<sup>23</sup> R. J. Knecht, *Francis I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 272.

Royal acts on the subject of the king’s domains, of miscellaneous, and of ambiguous or undeterminable topics represent 8 per cent of the total number of books printed from 1515 to 1529. Royal acts that dealt with financial issues comprised of 5 per cent and edicts on the judicial system comprised 6 per cent of editions published before 1530. The chart below divides royal acts printed during these first years into their categories. Promulgations on religion were published and constituted 9 per cent of the total number of printed royal acts. Military acts were the second most published genre with 14 per cent of royal acts printed during the first years. The largest category of subjects was large volumes of collected royal acts. These large collections comprised 58 per cent of the total number of royal acts printed during the first fifteen years of Francis’ reign.

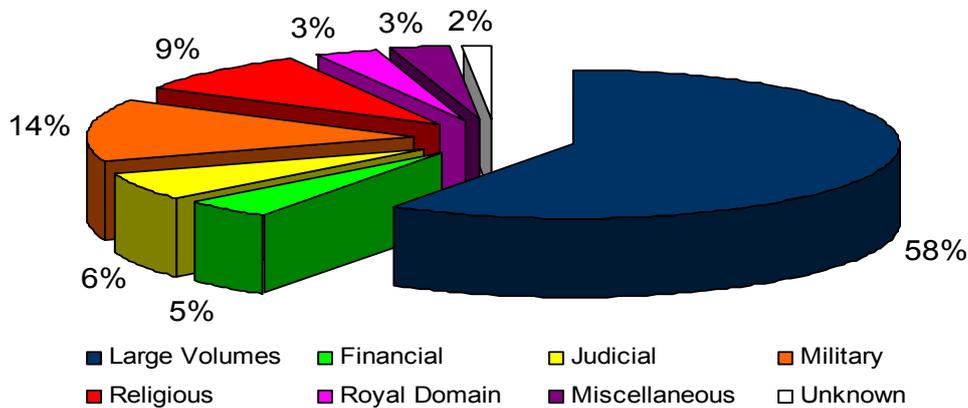


Figure 5-6: Printed royal acts from 1515-1529 divided by their subjects.

The preponderance of these large collected editions was unique to this period. Booksellers did not profit from large compendiums to this degree in subsequent decades. Two examples of these books are pictured in figure 5-8. Within this category of compilations, the more specific nature of these volumes is explored further below (figure 5-7). From the editions printed as large books of collected royal acts, 61 per cent were catalogues of edicts and ordinances issued by Francis I and his predecessors.

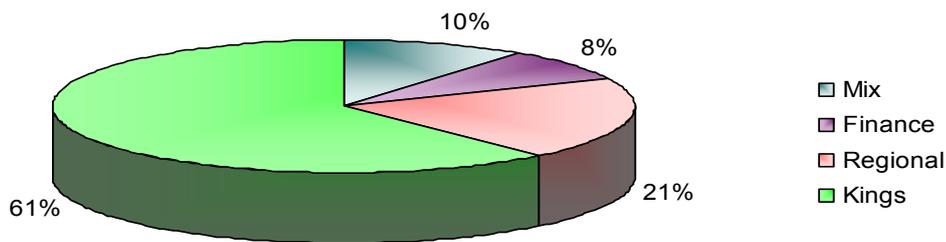


Figure 5-7: Large volumes of royal acts from 1515-1529 divided by types.

Compendiums usually divided the acts by subjects. Three volumes, or 8 per cent, were strictly financial decrees promulgated by several kings, divided into their fiscal subheadings such as ordinary and extraordinary taxes. Compilations of royal acts registered in a specific province constitute 21 per cent of the total number of large tomes of royal acts. Four books that collected more miscellaneous acts created 10 per cent of these compilations.



Figure 5-8: Collected works of financial ordinances printed by Galliot du Pré (left) and a collection of miscellaneous decrees printed by Alain Lotrian (right).<sup>24</sup>

<sup>24</sup> *Sensuyent les nouvelles ordonnances...sur le fait des eaues/ forestz chasses gabelles/ tailles/ guerres* (Paris: Alain Lotrian and Denis Janot, ca. 1519). Schaffhausen Stadtbibliothek: Kast. 52 (2). *Recollection et accumulation des ordonnances royales* (Paris: Pierre Vidoué and Galliot du Pré, 1522/3). Autun BM: SR 372.

The presses during the second half of Francis' reign were more prolific in the production of royal acts than in the first half. The highest number of royal acts printed during the entire reign was in 1540. Forty-six editions were published that year. Thirty-seven royal acts were printed in the previous year. On the other hand, the nadir during the second half of Francis' reign was in 1534: two editions were produced. The second lowest count of printed royal acts during this later period was in 1545, with five publications. These numbers are demonstrated in the chart below. The average number of royal acts printed from 1530 to March 1547 was 17.3 publications per year. This is a sharp increase from the first fifteen years, when an average of 4.4 royal acts was printed per year.

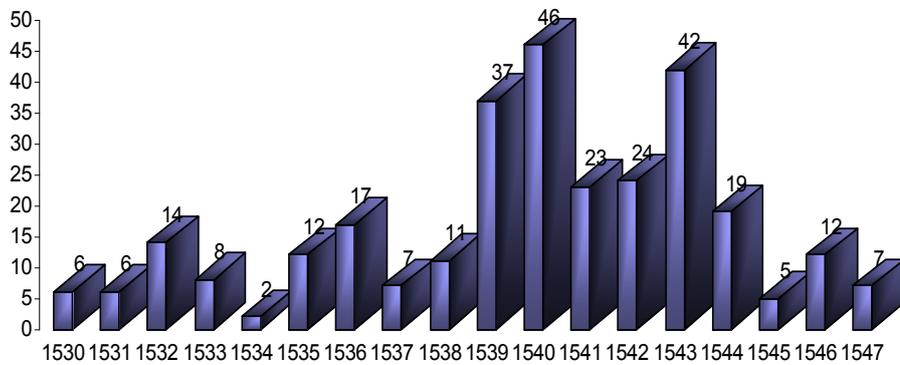


Figure 5-9: The number of printed royal acts from 1530-1547.

By the 1530s, reprinting the same royal act became common and their numbers helped increase the number of printed decrees. This in turn decreased the proportion of large volumes that collected royal acts into a single book. The pie chart below illustrates the shift from large collections during the 1530s.

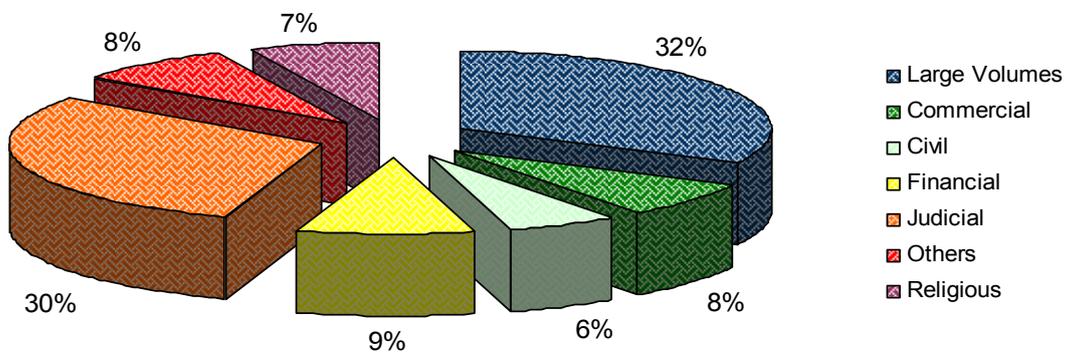


Figure 5-10: Printed royal acts from the 1530s divided by subjects.

Collections of royal acts compiled into large volumes constituted nearly a third of the total number of decrees printed during the 1530s. This is a significant drop from the first fifteen years of Francis' reign. In contrast, most other categories comprised less than 10 per cent of the total number of published acts. Promulgations on the kingdom's finances, commercial decrees and religious policies comprised 9 per cent, 8 per cent and 7 per cent respectively. Civil laws constituted 6 per cent of the total count of printed royal legislation. Other acts, including edicts on forestry and personal letters, composed 8 per cent of the total number of printed royal acts during the 1530s. The only exceptions were large compendiums, as mentioned earlier, and acts on the judicial process. The king addressed the judicial system several times during the decade. One example is the Edict of Crémieu, issued on 19 June 1536. Here is an instance of an unpopular edict that was registered ten months later in Parlement in April 1537 and printed twice in 1538. This edict "threatened municipal independence,"<sup>25</sup> because it restructured the lower judiciary system and created more royal courts rather than local ones.<sup>26</sup> Despite its unpopularity, the king continued to restructure his courts in the following years.

The printed circulation of judicial acts culminated in August 1539 in the promulgation of the Ordinances of Villers-Cotterêts (figure 5-11 below). The publication of these ordinances helped the judicial category to become the second largest printed category during the 1530s. The Ordinances of Villers-Cotterêts were the most reprinted act during the reign of Francis I. As mentioned in chapter four, Galliot du Pré and his associates published the decree throughout France. Together, at least twenty editions were printed in 1539, and nine of them were printed outside Paris. The ordinances were printed three more times the following year and eight more times in subsequent years. The last sixteenth century copy was published in 1586 in Rouen by the royal printer, Martin Le Mégissier.<sup>27</sup> These publications made the Ordinances of Villers-Cotterêts the most widely published decree in the first half of the sixteenth century and the third most reprinted royal act in the entire century.<sup>28</sup>

---

<sup>25</sup> S. Annette Finley-Crosswhite, *Henry IV and the Towns: The Pursuit of Legitimacy in French Urban Society, 1589-1610* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 6.

<sup>26</sup> Roger Doucet, ed., *Les institutions de la France au XVIe siècle*, 2 vols., vol. 1 (Paris: A. et J. Picard, 1948), 266-67.

<sup>27</sup> *Ordonnances royaulx sur le fait de la justice et abbreviation des procez* (Rouen: Martin Le Mégissier, 1586). Rouen BM: Norm 257 2 (1).

<sup>28</sup> See the last chart in chapter six, figure 6-50.



Figure 5-11: The Ordinances of Villers-Cotterêts of 1539 printed by Nicolas Cousteau (left) and a reprint from 1584 by Simon Millanges in Bordeaux (right).<sup>29</sup>

R. J. Knecht states that these ordinances were the king’s most important contribution to the justice system:

Probably the most important royal ordinance issued by Francis... best remembered for 4 out of 192 clauses: that French instead of Latin be used in legal documents, that registers of births and deaths be kept by all parish priests, that in a criminal case, the accused be denied counsel and that all confraternities be abolished.<sup>30</sup>

Although kings before and after Francis I have redesigned the judicial system, no set of ordinances was more influential and all-encompassing in the sixteenth century. The articles addressed every major institution in France from the Catholic church to the guilds and the judicial courts. Furthermore, the ordinances were often printed with other recently promulgated edicts on the judicial system as references, such as the Edict of Crémieu of 1536, which redesigned the lower, judicial courts.

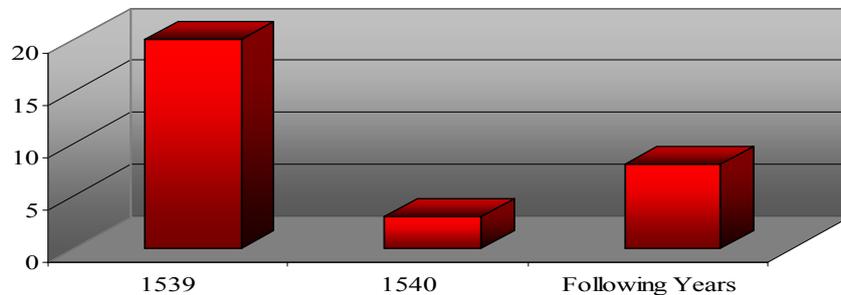


Figure 5-12: The number of editions of the Ordinances of Villers-Cotterêts of 1539.

<sup>29</sup> *Ordonnances royaulx sur le fait de la justice et abbreuiation des proces* (Paris: Galliot du Pré et Jean André, 1539) Amiens, Bibliothèque Centrale Louis Aragon: J 316. *Ordonnances du roy...sur le fait de la justice et abbreuiation des proces* (Bordeaux: Simon Millanges, 1584). Bordeaux BM: J 2857 (1).

<sup>30</sup> Knecht, *Francis I*, 358.

Presses continued to publish more royal acts during the 1540s. Nearly 180 editions of royal acts were printed between 1540 and the king's death on 30 March 1547. The 180 editions nearly rivalled the combined totals from previous years: 120 royal acts were printed during the 1530s, and sixty-six books were published from the start of his reign to 1529. During the 1540s, royal acts on France's justice system increased and outnumbered the other categories. Publications on the judicial system constituted 23 per cent of the total number of printed decrees during the last years of Francis' reign. Financial ordinances constituted 17 per cent, and military decrees comprised 16 per cent. Royal acts that regulated the commercial industry in France composed 13 per cent of the total number of decrees printed during the 1540s under Francis I. Civil laws accounted for 9 per cent of printed royal edicts and ordinances. Compendiums that listed royal acts were no longer the leading category. They were now the sixth largest type during this last period, constituting 7 per cent of the total number of printed royal acts as seen the chart below. Religious edicts and ordinances equal the percentage of large volumes with 7 per cent. They were followed by ordinances on the king's domain and household, which comprised 5 per cent of royal acts printed from the 1540s during the reign of Francis I. Other promulgations that did not belong to the other categories composed 3 per cent of the number of printed royal acts.

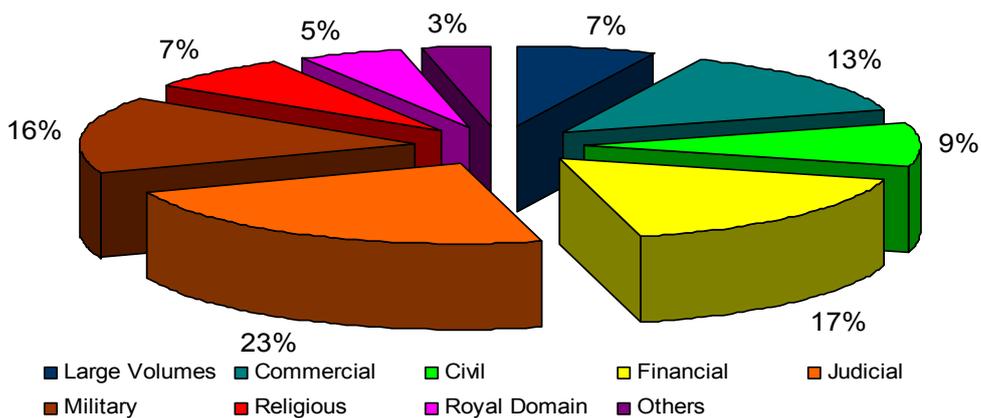


Figure 5-13: Printed royal acts divided by subjects from 1540 to 1547.

## Henry II

The number of printed royal acts increased during the reign of Henry II. Publications in the 1550s were double those of the previous decade: over five hundred editions were produced during the 1550s, and almost 250 royal acts were printed during the 1540s. This growth is shown below in comparison to the overall number of books printed in the French vernacular during the same period.

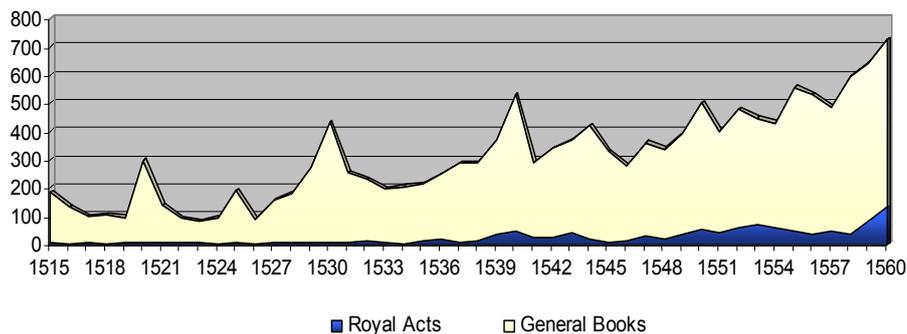


Figure 5-14: Growth in printing vernacular books and royal acts from 1515-1560.

Furthermore, as figure 3-7 in chapter three demonstrates, printed royal acts nearly doubled their share of the vernacular market during the reign of Henry II, from 5 per cent to nearly 10 per cent. Although the number of Parisian printers who printed royal acts did not increase during the 1550s, the number of Parisian editions rose dramatically. During the 1540s, thirty-eight printers in Paris published royal acts, and thirty-five Parisian printers produced them during the 1550s. Thus fewer printers were producing more decrees. The number of editions, on the other hand, rose. During the 1540s, over 170 royal acts were published in France's chief city, and nearly four hundred royal acts were printed in Paris a decade later. In addition, the number of provincial editions grew as more towns participated in printing royal acts. The number of towns increased from twelve during the 1540s, including Lyon and Rouen, to nineteen during the 1550s.<sup>31</sup>

The overall expansion in printing royal acts, however, does not reflect a steady increase in production. The number of printed editions fluctuated each year. The height of royal publications, during the reign of Henry II, was in 1553 with over

---

<sup>31</sup> See figure 3-16.

seventy printed decrees. In the following year, the number dropped to sixty editions, which became the second highest point of production. The nadir, on the other hand, was in 1548, which had fewer than twenty printed decrees. The first and last year of Henry's sovereignty also printed small numbers of royal acts, resulting in the second and third lowest productions, respectively, during his reign. The graph below (figure 5-15) illustrates these fluctuations.

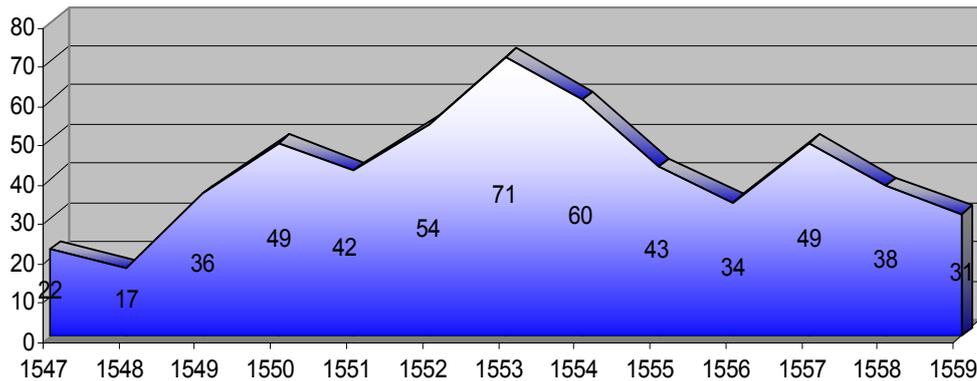


Figure 5-15: Royal acts published during the reign of Henry II.

Over five hundred royal acts were printed from 1547 to 1559. From these publications, the most popular topic was finance, which accounted 22 per cent of printed royal acts. Financial ordinances were followed by edicts on the judicial process, which comprised 20 per cent. Military decrees constituted 14 per cent of the total number of royal acts printed during the reign of Henry II. Laws enacted to regulate commerce and to control the kingdom's religious activities comprised 12 per cent of printed promulgations each. Royal acts compiled into large volumes composed 8 per cent of the total count of royal decrees as seen below. Civil acts, decrees concerning royal domain and other acts that did not fit the regular categories constituted, respectively, 5 per cent, 4 per cent, and 3 per cent of the total number of royal acts printed during the reign of Henry II.

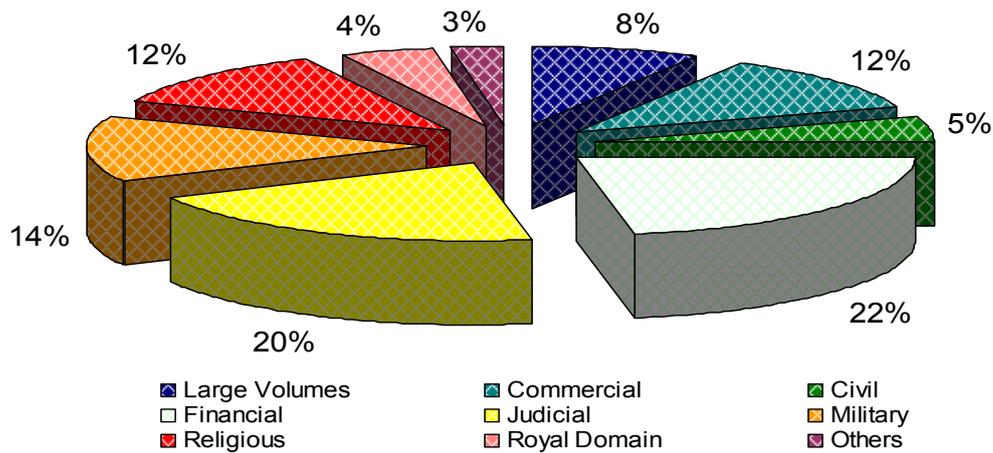


Figure 5-16: Printed royal acts during the reign of Henry II divided by subjects.

The most reprinted royal acts under Henry II were the Edict of Saint-Germain-en-Laye of 1550 on church benefices, and the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis of 1559. In June 1550, Henry II issued an edict before the convocation of the council of Trent. He distrusted Pope Julius III. By proclaiming the Edict of Saint-Germain-en-Laye, he affirmed the rights of the Gallican church. In addition, French legal matters were to be resolved through French courts, including the resignations of benefices, and ecclesiastical financial transactions were to be conducted in France and not Rome. In 1550, the edict was printed in eight editions. Jacques Kerver published four editions in Paris for the boutiques of Vincent Sertenas and Gilles Corrozet. Two more editions were published for Sertenas' shop alone. Corrozet had one more edition published without Sertenas. One was printed anonymously. In 1551, Jean des Planches published two editions in Dijon. Sertenas had it published once more in 1555. The edict was published in eleven editions altogether.

The treaty that concluded the Italian wars against the Habsburgs was also published in eleven editions. The Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis was signed on 3 April 1559 by Henry II and Philip II of Spain. Royal orders to publicize the peace were issued three days later. The treaty was published twice in Antwerp (figure 5-17a) and in Paris, three times in Lyon, and once in Poitiers (figure 5-17b), Reims, Rouen, and Tours. Unfortunately, during the celebration of the treaty, Henry II was mortally wounded in a jousting accident and died on 10 July 1559.



Figure 5-17: The Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis printed in Antwerp (left) and in Lyon (right).<sup>32</sup>

## Francis II

Francis II was fifteen years old when he inherited the kingdom of France from his father. As a young king, he was heavily influenced by the Guises, a powerful political family in France. But Francis was also a physically weak man, who was prone to illnesses. He ruled for almost seventeen months, and died from a prolonged illness on 5 December 1560.

During his brief reign, the number of royal acts printed in the vernacular burgeoned. In 1559, over fifty decrees were published, and over 130 decrees were printed in the following year. The editions printed in the provinces assisted the overall number of royal publications. In 1560, these provincial editions began to reduce the gap between official promulgations printed in and outside Paris, so that, by 1561, provincial editions outnumbered royal acts printed in Paris.

<sup>32</sup> *Copie. Des articles et du traicte de la paix* (Antwerp: Jean Mollins, ca. 1559). Universiteitsbibliotheek Gent: Acc 1172. *La paix, faicte entre treshault et trespuissants princes Henry II* (Lyon: Nicolas Edoard, 1559). Aix, Bibliothèque Méjanès: Rec D 9 (1476). The top of the title page has been cropped off.

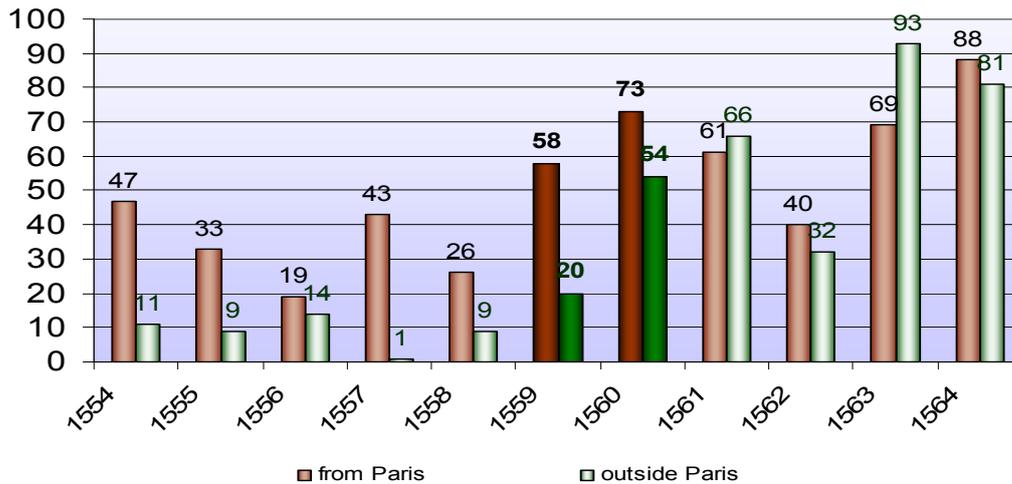


Figure 5-18: A comparison printed royal acts printed in and outside Paris from 1554 to 1564.

Furthermore, for the first time, royal acts that centred on the religious state of the kingdom outnumbered the publications of other subjects, constituting 28 per cent of the total number of decrees published during the reign of Francis II. Judicial acts followed behind and comprised 24 per cent of printed acts. Military decrees and civil regulations produced 17 per cent and 15 per cent, respectively, of the royal corpus. Commercial promulgations and royal concerns on the kingdom's finances composed 8 per cent and 5 per cent of published royal acts. Other acts that did not fall under the regular categories generated 3 per cent of the total number of published decrees produced under Francis II. These percentages are shown below.

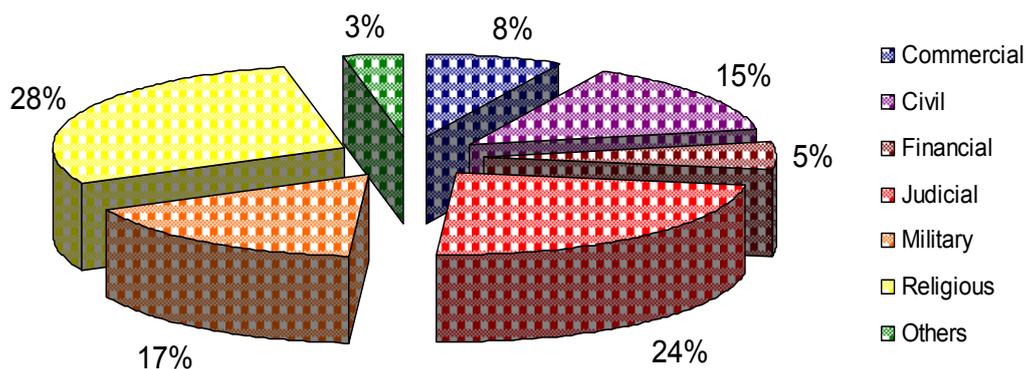


Figure 5-19: The printed subjects of royal acts under Francis II.

The most printed decree issued by Francis II was the Edict of Amboise, which was issued in March 1560. It was promulgated after the Conspiracy of Amboise, a failed attempt to kidnap the king away from the Guises, who were determined to eliminate their political and Protestant enemies. In the Edict of Amboise, the king offered clemency to heretics if they recanted their religion and lived as good Catholics. He blamed Protestant and Genevan influences for their actions.<sup>33</sup> There are eight known editions of this edict. It was printed five times in Paris: two editions were printed for the bookshops of Dallier and Sertenas, two copies were printed only for Dallier, and it was printed once by Nyverd. Outside Paris, it was printed once in Blois, Lyon, and Poitiers. Two editions are pictured in figure 5-20 below.

Despite their efforts, the Valois-Angoulême kings failed to destroy the religion that seceded from the Roman Catholic church. The promulgation of edicts was only one way to communicate and control the public. The other way to rule the kingdom was to use brute force. The future civil wars were inevitable. If the king wanted to eliminate Protestantism, he had to do it militarily.



Figure 5-20: The Edict of Amboise of 1560 printed in Paris (left) and in Poitiers (right).<sup>34</sup>

<sup>33</sup> Jourdan, Decrusy, and Isambert, *Recueil général des anciennes lois françaises*, 23.

<sup>34</sup> *Edict du roy contenant la grace et pardon pour qui par cy devant ont mal senty de la foy* (Paris: Vincent Sertenas et Jean Dallier, ca. 1560). Paris, Bibliothèque de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme française: Rés. 12618. *Les lettres patentes du roy...contenans pardon, remission et abolition generale[sic]* (Poitiers: Nicolas Pelletier, 1560). La Rochelle, Médiathèque Michel Crépeau: 2670c. 'Les' is missing from the top of the title page because it was trimmed off.

## Sixteenth-Century Commercial Regulations

This next section will touch briefly upon regulations on commercial activity. Regulations on agriculture and industry were printed but not in the same quantities as other subjects. Although not a single commercial act was printed ten or more times, several topics repeat themselves over the century. The commodity appearing most often in French publications was salt because it appeared both in commercial edicts and financial decrees through the *gabelle*. Over a hundred editions were printed on the subject of salt and the *gabelle* from Francis I to Henry IV.

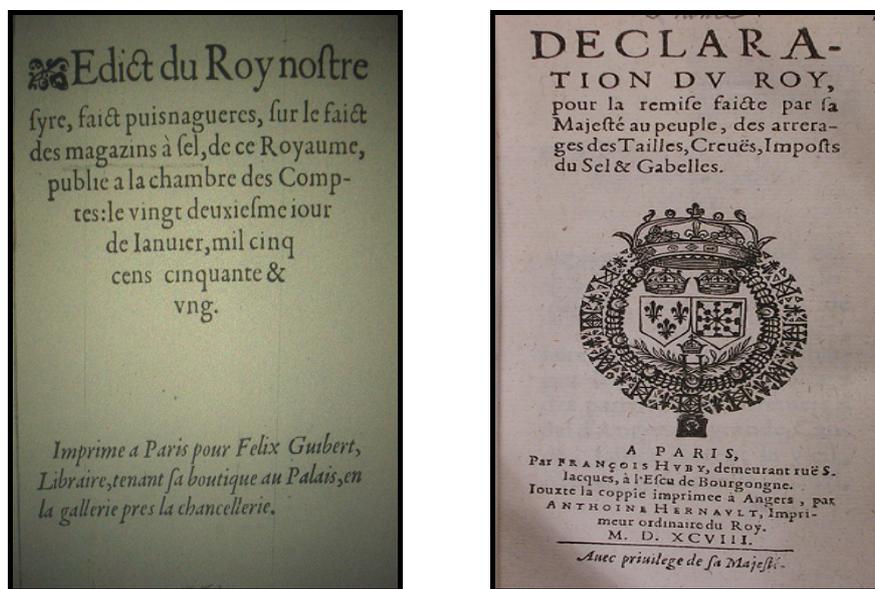


Figure 5-21: An edict on stores that sell salt from Francis I (left) and a financial declaration on various taxes from Henry IV including the *gabelle* (right).<sup>35</sup>

Although the textile industry was strong in France, agriculture was perhaps even more important, at least in sales, because regulations on wheat and grain were printed over thirty times during the sixteenth century. They ranged in subject from their harvest to their transportation and sale.

The most important manufacturing business was the cloth trade, in which drapers exported fabric throughout Europe. Paris was the centre of this industry, but other cities in Picardy, Normandy, Champagne, Berry, Poitou, and Languedoc also

<sup>35</sup> *Edict du roy...fait puisnagueres sur le fait des magazins à sel* (Paris: Felix Guybert, ca. 1552). Princeton University Library: (Ex) HJ5755.S2F3. *Declaration du roy, pour la remise faicte par sa majesté au peuple des arrearages des tailles* (Paris: François Huby, 1598). Universitätsbibliothek Bern: Bong V 261 (9).

participated in its production.<sup>36</sup> Nearly thirty publications were printed throughout the century on *draps*. These royal acts were edicts and ordinances controlling the manufacture, transport and sale of goods.

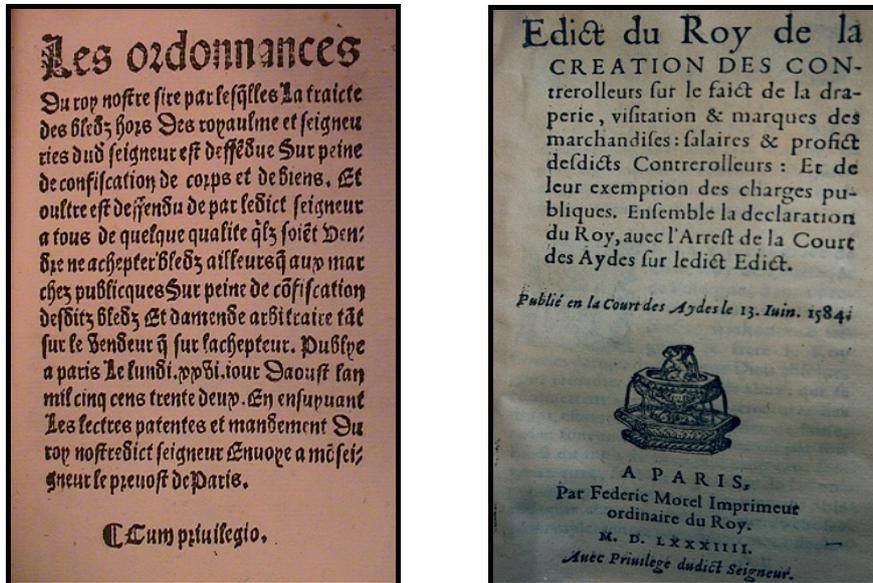


Figure 5-22: Ordinances on exporting wheat issued by Francis I (left) and on *draps* issued by Henry III (right).<sup>37</sup>

Printed regulations on commercial and agricultural activities included ordinances on taverns, inns, and hotels. Although these regulations make up a tiny proportion of the whole, they still made a considerable impact at the time. The famous diarist, Pierre de L'Estoile, commented on the commercial provisions of the Edict of Blois, issued on 4 July 1577.<sup>38</sup> The edict created tax collectors for taverns and inns. He stated:

Le jeudi 4e juillet, le Roy, par un édict publié ce jour et enregistré en la Cour de parlement, érigea tous les hosteliers et cabaretiers de son royaume en estat et offices formés, espérant de ceste érection toucher une grande somme deniers.<sup>39</sup>

According to L'Estoile, the king issued the edict in order to extract more money from these businesses.

<sup>36</sup> Henry Heller, *Labour, Science and Technology in France, 1500-1620* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 11.

<sup>37</sup> *Les ordonnances du roy...par lesquelles la traicte des bledz hors des royaulme* (Paris: Jacques Nyverd, ca. 1532). Autun BM: Rés. M 2039 (8). See privilege on sig. [1]2r for printer information. *Edict du roy de la creation des contrerolleurs sur le fait de la draperie* (Paris: Fédéric Morel, 1584). La Rochelle, Médiathèque Michel Crépeau: 10847c.

<sup>38</sup> *Edict du roy, sur le fait des hostelleries, cabarets, et tavernes ordinaires* (Paris: Fédéric Morel, 1577). BnF: F 46855 (1).

<sup>39</sup> Brunet et al., eds., *Mémoires-journaux de Pierre de L'Estoile*, 193.

Among this group of royal acts regulating commercial industry were edicts and ordinances on the book trade. It would be neglectful not to discuss the few royal acts that regarded books. Laws that regulated the book trade were published throughout the century. Sometimes they were promulgated as articles in large edicts or sets of ordinances that encompassed several topics. For example, as mentioned in chapter three, the Ordinances of Moulins of 1566 regulated the book trade in articles seventy-seven and seventy-eight where book publication warranted the grand seal of the *chancellerie*.<sup>40</sup> There was also the Edict of Châteaubriant of 1551, which listed several regulations for the book industry among other items to eradicate Protestantism in France. The examples provided so far were regulations that were placed in famous royal acts, which were printed multiple times in the sixteenth century. Promulgations that centred on the printing industry, however, were either not printed or rarely reprinted. One edict that was not printed, for example, pertained to *le métier d'imprimeur*. It was issued by Francis I on 31 August 1539 from Villers-Cotterêts.<sup>41</sup> The St Andrews Book Project has not traced a printed version of this law.

However, those royal acts that were printed were rarely published in more than two editions. The Book Project records twenty-two editions of royal acts in total that were created to oversee the book trade throughout the sixteenth century. Seven of the twenty-two publications introduced laws that regulated the paper industry. The first *lettre patente* on paper was issued on 25 November 1549. It was printed by Charles L'Angelier in Paris. The *lettre patente* regulated the manufacture of paper in the kingdom. In the second half of the century, an edict that regulated watermarks on paper was printed anonymously in Paris in 1555. More *lettres patentes* were issued on 8 November 1563 to manage the production of paper. To postpone taxes on paper, *lettres patentes* were introduced on 14 August 1565. Each royal act was printed twice by Robert Estienne during the 1560s except one. Jean Saugrain published *lettres patentes* on the *surséance de l'impôt sur papier* in 1565 in Lyon. The last royal act printed on the subject of paper was published in 1581 by Frédéric Morel. The ordinance prohibited the export of paper and cards without paying proper taxes and fees.

---

<sup>40</sup> See footnote 28 and 33 in chapter three.

<sup>41</sup> Académie des sciences morales et politiques, *Collection des ordonnances des rois de France: catalogue des actes de François Ier*, 10 vols., vol. 4 (Paris: Impr. nationale, 1887-1908), 36, no. 11168.

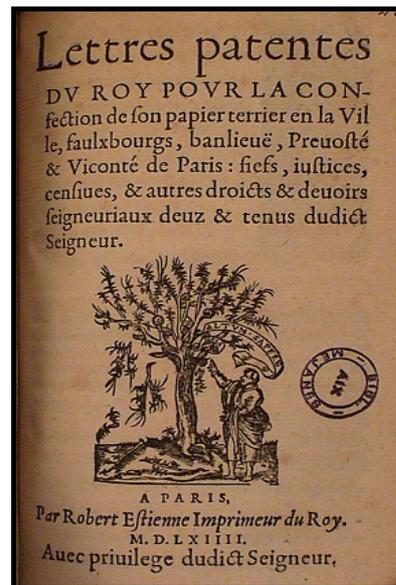
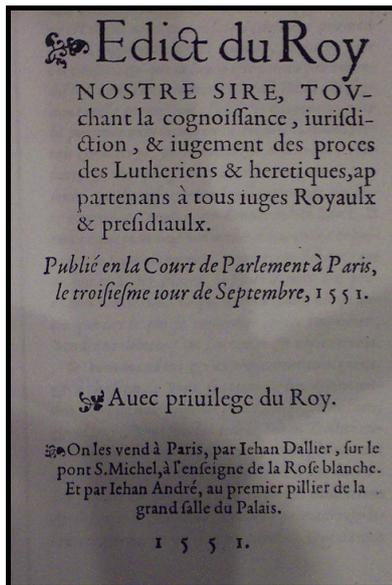


Figure 5-23: The Edict of Châteaubriant of 1551 (left) and a royal act on paper (right).<sup>42</sup>

Other royal acts printed on the book trade concerned printers, booksellers, and their businesses. The earliest of these publications was printed around 1530 in Paris, although no surviving copy exists. It was entitled *Les privileges des libraires et marchandz de livres*, issued on 9 April 1513 by Louis XII in Blois. The catalogue of Baron James de Rothschild records a printed version of this edict which appears to be a single sheet separated from a larger edition.<sup>43</sup> The privileges granted by Louis XII were reprinted during the reign of Charles IX and sold in Paris at the shop of Jérôme de Marnef, located *au Mont Saint Hilaire, à l'enseigne du Pélican*.<sup>44</sup> This later edition also contained confirmations of the privileges by subsequent kings.

Two more royal acts on the printing industry were published before 1550. Four years after Francis I issued a reformation of printing on 11 September 1544, Henri II promulgated an arrêt on the matter with his *grand conseil*.<sup>45</sup> The pamphlet was printed as a *titre de départ*; it was printed anonymously.

<sup>42</sup> *Lettres patentes du roy pour la confection de son papier terrier en la ville* (Paris: Robert Estienne, 1564). Aix, Bibliothèque Méjanes: Rec D. 278 (23). *Edict du roy...touchant la congnoissance, iurisdiction et iugement des proces des Lutheriens* (Paris: Jean André, 1551). Lindsay and Neu, eds., *French Political Pamphlets*, 5, no. 36.

<sup>43</sup> James Rothschild and Emile Picot, *Catalogue de livres composant la bibliothèque de feu M. le baron James de Rothschild*, 5 vols., vol. 3 (Paris: D. Morgand, 1884), 347, no. 2547 (107a).

<sup>44</sup> *Ordonnance des privilèges donnez par le roy Loys douziesme...aux libraires, relieurs...avec la confirmation des roys François I, Henry II et Charles IX* (Paris: Jérôme de Marnef, ca. 1560-1574). BnF: Ms. Français-22061 (1). The exact publication date is currently unknown.

<sup>45</sup> The arrêt was issued from Lyon on 1 October 1548. *Arrest du grand conseil donné sur le reformation de l'imprimerie* (s.l.: s.n., ca. 1549), sigs. A1r, B3r. Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève: 8o F 919 inv. 4194 (4) Rés.



Figure 5-24: The Edict of Fontainebleau of 1547 (left), and a catalogue of censored books (right).<sup>46</sup>

To control the spread of Protestantism, the Edict of Fontainebleau was issued on 11 December 1547. It required that every religious book to obtain approval by the Sorbonne. The Edict of Fontainebleau was printed once in Paris by Jean André in the same year of its promulgation.<sup>47</sup> The catalogue of censored books, on the other hand, was published repeatedly from 1544 to 1556; newly published books created by Protestants and their sympathizers were continually added to the list of banned books.

The most reprinted royal act concerning the book trade declared that bookshops were exempted from taxes, tolls, and other laws. The edict was issued by Henry II on 23 September 1553 from Saint-Germain-en-Laye. It was published four times in Orléans: twice in 1553, once in 1578, and in 1594. It was also was published as a *titre de départ*.

The second most reprinted royal act on the printing industry was issued by Charles IX in May 1571 from the town of Gaillon. The edict was printed once in Lyon and twice in Paris. Morel's only edition was printed at the king's behest, and an anonymous printer copied Morel's transcription in Paris.<sup>48</sup> They were all entitled *Edict*

<sup>46</sup> *Edict fait par le roy...sur les livres censurés par la faculté de theologie de Paris* (Paris: Jean André, 1547). Bibliothèque de Toulouse: Rés. D XVI 431 (8). Sorbonne, *Le catalogue des livres examinez et censurez par le faculté de theologie* (Paris: Jean Dallier, 1551). Le Mans, Mediathèque Louis Aragon: Th 4942.

<sup>47</sup> *Edict fait par le roy...sur les livres censurés par la faculté de theologie de Paris* (Paris: Jean André, 1547). Bibliothèque de Toulouse: Rés. D XVI 431 (8).

<sup>48</sup> *Edict du Roy sur la reformation de l'imprimerie* (Lyon: Michel Jove et Jean Pillehotte, 1571). London, British Library: 5423 h 10 (1). *Edict du Roy sur la reformation de l'imprimerie* (Paris: Frédéric Morel, 1571), sig. B4v. *Edict du Roy sur la reformation de l'imprimerie* (Paris: s.n., 1571). BnF: F 46840 (18).

*du roy sur la reformation de l'imprimerie*. Charles IX augmented this edict with a declaration issued on 10 September 1572.<sup>49</sup> The declaration was published as a *titre de départ*.

The last two printed royal acts that focused on printers were published by Frédéric Morel. The first *lettres patentes* were issued by Henry III on 12 October 1586 from Saint-Germain-en-Laye. The letters placed conditions on building printing presses, outlined the duties of printers to their presses and equipment, and reiterated the law that every book required a privilege.<sup>50</sup> The second and last *lettres patentes* were issued from Paris by Henry IV on 20 February 1595. They confirmed the privileges of professionals and skilled workers, including *imprimeurs*.<sup>51</sup> Although more decrees were issued, only a handful was actually printed.

The kings of France had a very small, personal role in the overall production of printed royal acts before 1561. However, when they intervened, they became important catalysts for large publications, as the Ordinances of Villers-Cotterêts of 1539 demonstrate. With the exception of a few examples of royal intervention, royal acts that circulated in the public sphere were chosen by printers, publishers, and booksellers. Before 1561, these acts constituted almost 20 per cent of royal acts printed before 1601. The trend to print for profit continued in the last forty years of the sixteenth century. This will be discussed in the following chapter.

---

<sup>49</sup> *Declaration du roy sur l'edict concernant la reformation de l'imprimerie* (s.l.: s.n., ca. 1572). BnF: F 46843 (26).

<sup>50</sup> Rothschild and Picot, *Catalogue de livres composant la bibliothèque de feu M. le baron James de Rothschild*, 350, no. 2554 (108 g).

<sup>51</sup> *Lettres patentes du roy pour la confirmation des privileges octroyez par ses predecesseurs roys* (Paris: Frédéric Morel, 1595). BnF: F 46896 (10).

## CHAPTER SIX

### THE LAST FORTY YEARS

---

Religious wars ravaged France during the last forty years of the sixteenth century. The crown attempted to pacify civil conflicts through edicts and ordinances, but without physical enforcements they were often empty words. Furthermore, the publications of more popular decrees indicated an erratic and indecisive monarchy. New policies and laws were supplanted by other initiatives, sometimes within weeks. The constant changes in legislation did not bode well with the Parlement or with the people.

This last chapter will focus on royal acts that were printed in the last forty years of the sixteenth century. It will emphasize promulgations that were printed in more than ten editions instead of following documents that historians consider “important.” This will facilitate the examinations of more popularly published royal acts and their topics.

Before discussing popular printed acts, this chapter will discuss the reason for a sudden increase in royal acts after 1560. Then it will discuss widely printed decrees by topics. As a result of studying more popularly printed edicts and ordinances, this chapter will also unveil the most reprinted royal acts published before 1601.

The number of royal acts printed multiplied after 1560. Although the number of editions fluctuated each year, the combined total from the last four decades of the sixteenth century is over five times the total of all the editions printed before the reign of Charles IX. The chart below demonstrates the high volume of royal acts printed in the last four decades of the sixteenth century. The small purple squares in the graph signify a change in rulers: 1560, 1574, and 1589. Only three years in the last four decades produced fewer than fifty printed editions of royal acts. They were all in the early 1590s before Henry IV subjugated Paris in 1594. The nadir was in 1592, when sixteen royal acts were published. The previous year saw the publication of slightly over forty editions. In 1590, fewer than forty royal promulgations were printed.

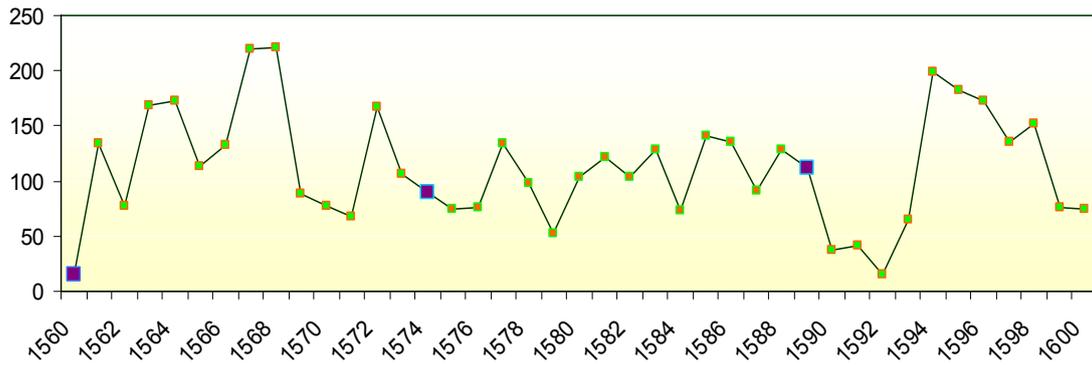


Figure 6-1: The number of printed royal acts from 1560 to 1600 starting from the reign of Charles IX.

On the other hand, the top three years produced over two hundred editions each. The height of royal publications was in 1568 with nearly 230 printed royal acts. The previous year, 1567, saw slightly over 220 editions. The third highest peak was in 1594. A little over two hundred royal acts were published in that year. The other years, subtracting the three highest and lowest points, saw an average of 108 royal acts per year.

Paris was the primary centre of printing in France and accounted for over 49 per cent of royal acts published from 1560 to 1600. Over 2300 royal acts were published in Paris during this period. The large number of printed decrees can be attributed to the creation of an *imprimeur du roi* of royal acts in 1561. The three most prolific printers who held this position were located in this chief city: Robert Estienne (II), Frédéric Morel (I) and his son, Frédéric Morel (II). Together, they published more editions of royal acts in the last forty years of the sixteenth century, with nearly 1300 editions, than the entire printing age before 1561, which accounted for nearly 1100 editions. In addition, three more men were appointed to share this position in Paris in the late 1570s: Jamet Mettayer, Mamert Patisson, and Pierre L’Huillier. Their combined total, along with the editions of Estienne and the Morels, produced over 1500 printed royal acts. Their entire production as *imprimeurs du roi* constituted 32 per cent of royal decrees printed in the last four decades. Nearly 65 per cent of those acts published in Paris were printed by them.

*Imprimeurs du roi* had the luxury of choosing which act they wanted to publish after its registration in Parlement and after they fulfilled their obligations to publish other documents at the king’s request. Thus, Parisian publications in the later half of

the century represented a mixture of royal command and the business interests of printers and booksellers.<sup>1</sup>

Other printers had a chance to publish royal acts rejected by the *imprimeurs du roi*, or they could wait for the privileges on popular royal acts to expire.<sup>2</sup> A hundred other, regular, Parisian printers published a combined total of more than eight hundred royal acts during the same period. These decrees constituted 35 per cent of royal promulgations printed in France's commercial centre, or 17 per cent of royal acts published after the death of Francis II.

Royal printers in the provinces also had first choice over which royal acts to publish in their towns. However, unlike Parisian royal printers, they were not mandated to publish as many decrees on behalf of the king, nor did they create a large impact in printed edicts and ordinances as their counterparts in Paris. Nearly 800 editions, 17 per cent of printed decrees from 1560 to 1600, were printed by forty-one *imprimeurs du roi* in eighteen towns.<sup>3</sup> Over 1100 royal acts were printed by regular printers in the provinces, most of whom were the official printers of their towns and local universities.

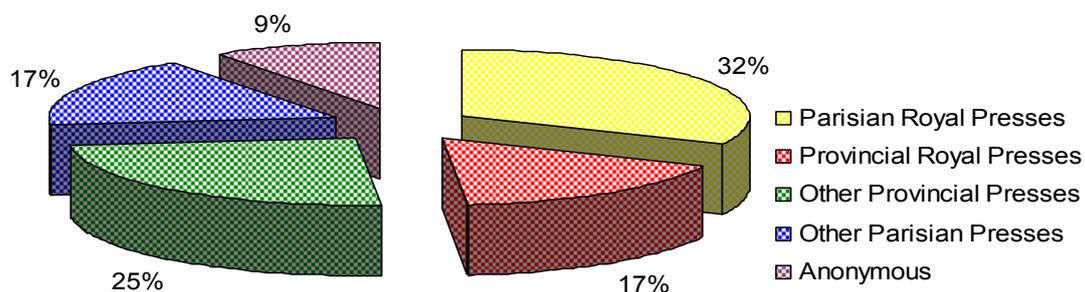


Figure 6-2: Printed royal acts divided by royal and regular presses from 1560 to 1600.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For example, printing on behalf of the king is probably best demonstrated with the *mandements du roi* printed after 1559. Nearly 67 per cent of all *mandements* were printed in Paris and 24 per cent of the total corpus of *mandements* were published anonymously. Most anonymous works were printed as broadsheets and *titres de départ*, which suggest that they were printed for private use and not public sale. Most *mandements* printed in Paris were printed by an *imprimeur du roi* or other reliable printers who often published royal edicts such as Jean Dallier. The only other printer who published *mandements* in Paris was Guillaume Linocier, whose title pages state '*par commandement*,' which suggests that he was ordered to publish the royal act by an unnamed higher authority. Thus, it appears that *mandements* were published by the king's orders if not by another ruling authority.

<sup>2</sup> Some privileges expired after three months.

<sup>3</sup> The number of printers and editions include the publications of Pierre L'Huillier in Saint-Denis and Jamet Mettayer in Blois and Tours. The figures also represent the total number of royal acts published during each printer's career and not just when they held the position of royal printer.

<sup>4</sup> 'Anonymous' refers to the anonymous places of publication, which comprised of 440 editions of royal acts.

The chart above divides number of royal acts published between regular and royal printers in and outside Paris. Nearly 42 per cent of royal acts printed in the last four decades were produced in the provinces.<sup>5</sup> Thus, another main factor that helped swell the number of edicts and ordinances during this period was the growing participation of provincial presses in publishing royal acts. By the 1560s, the number of provincial editions rivalled the number of royal acts printed in Paris. By the end of the century, provincially printed royal acts outnumbered Parisian editions.<sup>6</sup>

Provincial presses, regardless of their royal status, often reproduced decrees already in circulation in Paris or royal acts that pertained to their local area. For example, printers in Orléans published royal acts such as the Edict of Paris of 1568, which was printed in Paris and abroad.<sup>7</sup> Orléans printers also transcribed royal acts that were particularly important to that area. In this case, Eloi Gibier, followed by the Hotot brothers, published royal acts that concerned tolls in the Loire river. This was a subject that was printed solely in Orléans.

Prior to 1560, most reprints were published in Paris, where the same printer would publish a royal act multiple times because of its popularity. For example, the famous Edict of Châteaubriant of 1551 was published five times in Paris by Jean Dallier and once in Dijon by Jean des Planches. After 1560, a number of royal acts were published in Paris and republished several more times in the provinces. For popular decrees, provincial royal acts doubled the number of published acts in Paris. For example, the Edict of January of 1562 was published five times in Paris and five more times in the provinces: Lyon, Toulouse, Rouen and twice in Poitiers. Thus, the combination of the appointment of royal printers in Paris and the increased number of regional presses printing royal acts were together responsible for the increase in the number of royal acts printed in the later half of the sixteenth century.

### Major Ordinances of Reform

The most reprinted type of decrees of the sixteenth century belongs to the major ordinances of reform. The purpose of these ordinances was to renovate the judicial

---

<sup>5</sup> The last sections of chapters three and four focused on the growing importance of presses and printers outside Paris.

<sup>6</sup> See chapter three, figure 3-16.

<sup>7</sup> See figure 6-9 for a list of towns.

process and ruling structures to meet the needs of the state.<sup>8</sup> Before 1601, six ordinances changed France's juridical development significantly: the Ordinances of Blois of 1499, of Lyon of 1510, of Villers-Cotterêts of 1539, of Orléans of 1561, of Moulins of 1566, and of Blois of 1579.

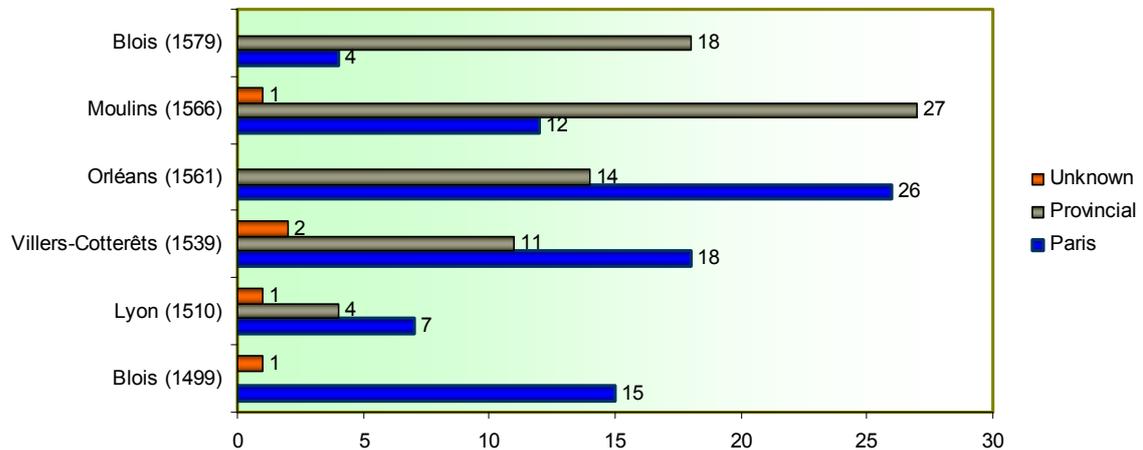


Figure 6-3: Important ordinances of reform printed before 1601 divided by location.

The most reprinted acts of the sixteenth century were the Ordinances of Orléans and Moulins, with forty editions each. They were based upon important meetings convened under Charles IX.<sup>9</sup> The Ordinances of Orléans were issued after the meeting of the Estates-General which concluded in January 1561. The purpose of the conference was to replenish the royal treasury, but very small concessions were made to the crown by the three estates. The most helpful measure that alleviated some of the king's debt was the contribution of the clergy, who were pressured by the other two estates into paying a substantial amount to the crown. Although the royal treasury may not have benefited much from the 150 articles in the Ordinances of Orléans, the points were important enough for lawyers and other members of the legal community to take notice of them.<sup>10</sup> For example, Joachim du Chalard, an *avocat* in the *grand conseil* in Limosin, published his commentaries on the Ordinances of Orléans in 1562.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Bernard Barbiche, *Les institutions de la monarchie française à l'époque moderne, XVIe-XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1999), 64.

<sup>9</sup> The General Estates of Orléans, however, was summoned by Francis II. He died several days before it began.

<sup>10</sup> J. Russell Major, *The Estates General of 1560* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1951), 113.

<sup>11</sup> Joachim du Chalard, ed., *Sommaire exposition des ordonnances du roy Charles IX* (Paris: Lucas Breyer, 1562). BnF: Résac. F 18993.

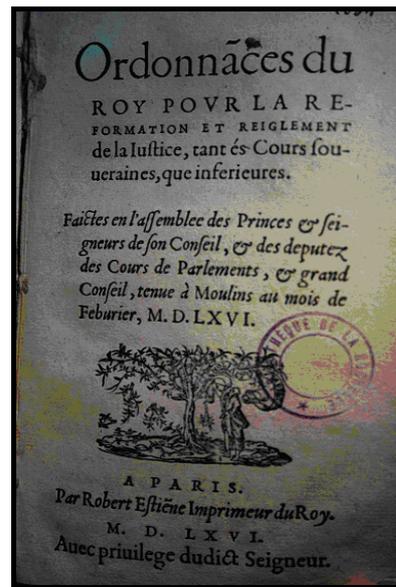
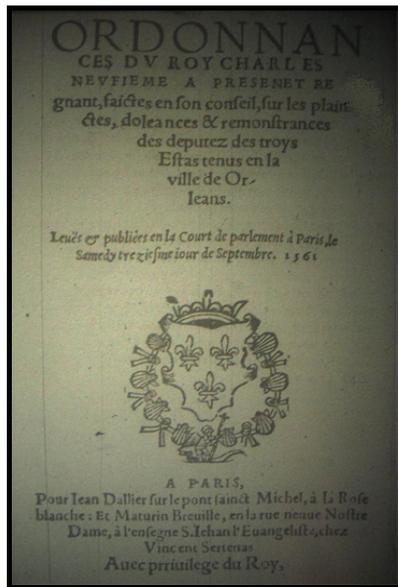


Figure 6-4: The Ordinances of Orléans of 1561 (left) and the Ordinances of Moulins of 1566 (right).<sup>12</sup>

The Ordinances of Orléans were published seventeen times in 1561. Jean Dallier and Mathurin Breuille shared the privilege for their publication. They printed the ordinances at the house of Vincent Sertenas in nine editions.<sup>13</sup> Nicolas Chesneau also published the decree twice with privilege. It was also printed by Jacques Le Fèvre and anonymously in Paris. In Lyon, Dallier and Breuille shared their privilege with Claude Depreaux, who published the ordinances twice.<sup>14</sup> They were also printed in Poitiers, Troyes and Le Mans. The following year, they were printed once more *chez* Sertenas and by other Parisian printers, Alpharar de Recquemont, and Jean Farramont. Between 1563 and 1590, the ordinances were published in twenty more editions.

The Ordinances of Moulins, issued in February 1566, share the top spot for the most reprinted royal act in the sixteenth century. They were created after the meeting of France's notables, which included members of the royal family, nobility, royal councils, and important magistrates in the parlements. In most of the eighty-six articles,

<sup>12</sup> *Ordonnances du roy...faites en son conseil, sur les plaintes, doleances et remonstrances des deputez des troys Estats* (Paris: Chez Vincent Sertenas pour Mathurin Breuille et Jean Dallier, ca. 1561). Robert O. Lindsay and John Neu, eds., *French Political Pamphlets, 1547-1648; a Catalog of Major Collections in American Libraries* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), 20, no. 244.. *Ordonnance du roy pour la reformation et reiglement de la justice* (Paris: Robert Estienne, 1566). La Rochelle, Médiathèque Michel Crépeau: 2684c.

<sup>13</sup> *Ordonnance du roy...sur les plaintes, doleances et remonstrances des deputez tryos [sic]* (Paris: Vincent Sertenas, Mathurin Breuille, et Jean Dallier), sig. H4r. London, British Library: 503 e 20 (1).

<sup>14</sup> *Les ordonnances du Roy Charles IX... faictes en son conseil sur les plainctes, doleances, et remonstrances des deputez des trois estatz* (Lyon: Claude Depreaux pour Mathurin Breuille et Jean Dallier, 1561). BnF: Rés. F 1981. *Les ordonnances du Roy Charles IX... faictes en son conseil sur les plainctes, doleances, et remonstrances des deputez des trois estatz* (Lyon: Claude Depreaux pour Mathurin Breuille et Jean Dallier, 1561). Bibliothèque de Genève: Db 673.

Charles IX addressed the judicial process from the parlements to the lower courts. The king also addressed the printing industry in articles seventy-seven and seventy-eight as mentioned in chapter three: seditious publications were prohibited and new books were required to obtain privileges from the *chancellerie* before publication.

The Ordinances of Moulins were published thirteen times in their first year of promulgation and twenty-seven times in the following years. In Paris, the ordinances were published in three editions in 1566: twice by Robert Estienne and once by Jean Dallier. They were printed nine more times in Paris between 1567 and 1585.

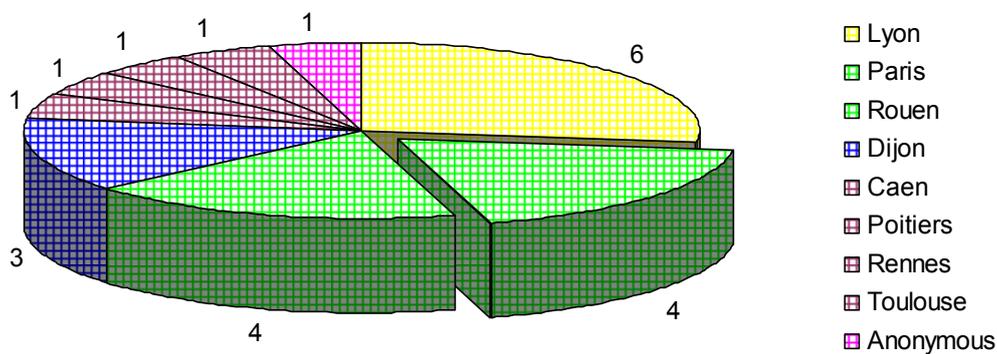


Figure 6-5: The number of editions of the Ordinances of Moulins of 1566 printed in 1566 and 1567.

For the first time regarding important ordinances of reform, more provincial editions were printed than Parisian publications.<sup>15</sup> The Ordinances of Moulins were published outside Paris in ten editions in 1566. Sixteen more editions were printed in subsequent years. Only one edition was published anonymously in 1567. Figure 6-5 shows where the various editions of the Ordinances of Moulins were published in the first two years of their institution. The first two years are used to indicate their immediate popularity among printing presses.

Two years after another meeting of notables at Blois, Henry III issued ordinances of reform in May 1579 from Paris.<sup>16</sup> The Ordinances of Blois comprised 363 articles. As the fourth most reprinted set of ordinances, they were published in twenty-two editions. The first eight-eight points dealt with the rights of the Gallican church over against the promulgations of the Council of Trent, and included regulations

<sup>15</sup> See chapter two, figure 2-17 for commentaries on the Ordinances of Moulins (1566).

<sup>16</sup> The Ordinances of Moulins (1566) was created from another meeting of notables.

on church benefices and marriages.<sup>17</sup> The middle section outlined the administration of justice. The second to last section concerned the military. They concluded with taxes and other financial concerns.<sup>18</sup>

As printers in Paris published fewer editions of the Ordinances of Blois of 1576, the number of provincial copies multiplied.<sup>19</sup> The second Ordinances of Blois were printed a total of twenty-two times before 1590.<sup>20</sup> They were registered on 25 January 1580 in the Parlement of Paris, and were printed seventeen times within the first two years after their registration. Figure 6-6 demonstrates their wide circulation in 1580 and 1581. Each town outside Paris published one to two editions. Only Fédéric Morel published more with three editions: one in 1580 and two more in 1581. The last edition was published in 1587 by Martin Le Mégissier in Rouen.<sup>21</sup>

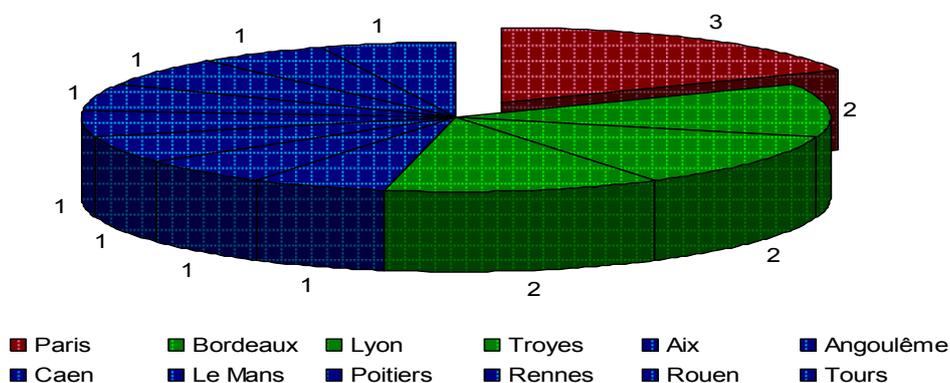


Figure 6-6: The number of editions of the Ordinances of Blois of 1576 printed in 1580 and 1581.

### Valois Edicts of Pacification and Other Religious Acts

The most popular reprinted topic during the reign of Charles IX was religious pacification. Edicts of pacification were royal attempts to quell religious strife during the religious wars. However, these edicts halted conflicts only for a brief time before

<sup>17</sup> Barbiche, *Les institutions*, 65.

<sup>18</sup> Athanase Jean L. Jourdan, Decrusy, and François-André Isambert, *Recueil général des anciennes lois françaises: depuis l'an 420 jusqu'à la révolution de 1789.*, 28 vols., vol. 14 (Paris: Belin-Leprieur, 1829), 380.

<sup>19</sup> This raises the question of whether a form of supply and demand was observed by the printing industry as local copies increased and Parisian editions decreased. There seems to be a correlation but exactly how it works out can only be surmised at this point.

<sup>20</sup> This first Ordinances of Blois of major reforms were issued in 1499 by Louis XI.

<sup>21</sup> *Ordonnances du Roy...sur les plaintes et doleances faites par les deutes des estats* (Rouen: Martin Le Mégissier, 1587). Rouen BM: Norm 257 2 (9).

hostilities renewed between Protestants and Catholics. In the last forty years of the sixteenth century, edicts of pacification were printed in more than 150 editions.<sup>22</sup> The most popular reprint of this type was the Edict of Poitiers of 1577, which outlined the Peace of Bergerac. Unlike other edicts of pacification, the Edict of Poitiers of 1577 was reprinted several more times when Henry IV reinstated the edict through a declaration issued on 15 November 1594 at Saint-Germain-en-Laye. Including these later reprints, the Edict of Poitiers was printed a total of twenty-six times. If the Edict of Poitiers of 1577 had not been renewed in 1594, the Edict of Amboise of 1563 would have been the most reprinted edict of pacification, with twenty-one editions.

Editions of the edicts of pacification printed in the provinces outnumbered Parisian editions with the exception of the Edict of Nantes of 1598. All four royal printers appear to have banded together to publish the Edict of Nantes in multiple editions. The chart below demonstrates the strength of provincial editions during the reigns of Henry IV and the last Valois kings.

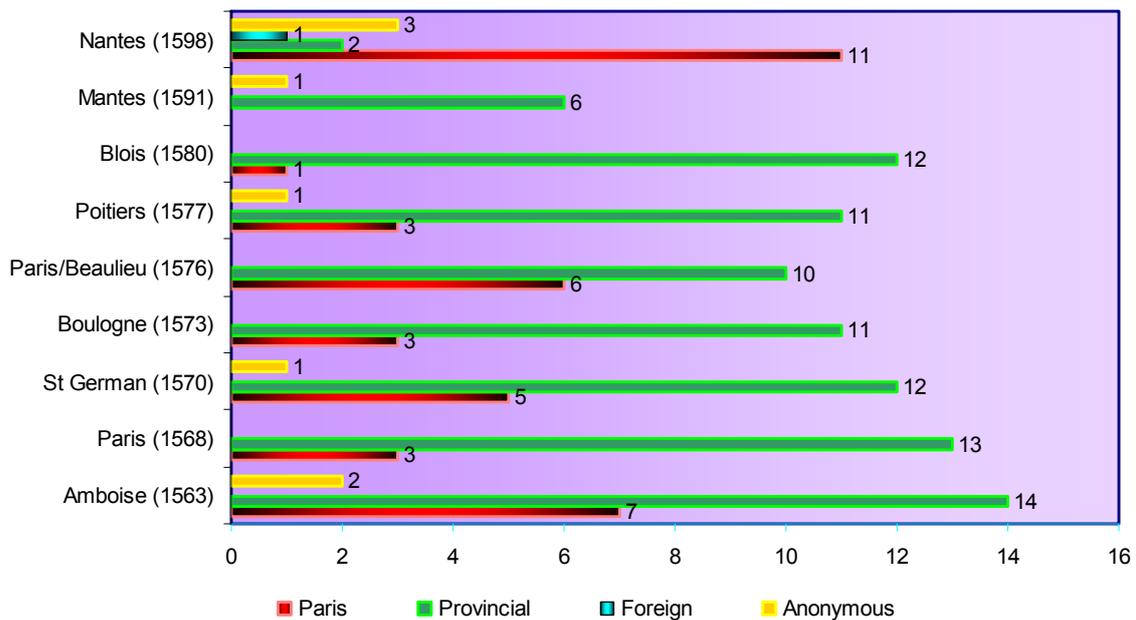


Figure 6-7: A comparison of Parisian and provincial editions of the edicts of pacification.

<sup>22</sup> Excluding the Edict of January (1562).

The first of these edicts was issued from Saint-Germain-en-Laye on 17 January 1562.<sup>23</sup> More popularly known as the Edict of January, it made a few concessions to the growing movement. As N.L. Roelker summarized:

...[Protestant] services inside private houses, for the household only, could be held inside town limits; public assemblies, by day, would be tolerated outside them (provided that the local seigneur gave his permission and that nothing contrary to scripture or to the Nicene Creed was said); royal officers might attend these assemblies and indeed were most obliged to do so, because their permission was required for consistories to be held and because their presence was safeguard against harassment of the participants. Catholics as well as Protestants were forbidden to hold armed assemblies and priests were forbidden to incite violence in their sermons...<sup>24</sup>

Furthermore, Protestants were forbidden to build churches, collect tithes, hold assemblies inside city limits at any time, harbour criminals, publish or distribute illegal books and destroy church property.<sup>25</sup> At first, the Parlement of Paris refused to register the Edict of January after its public reading a week after it was issued, but eventually magistrates conceded its registration on 6 March.<sup>26</sup>

The Edict of January was printed a dozen times in 1562.<sup>27</sup> It was printed five times in Paris. Four editions were printed by Robert Estienne. Charles L'Angelier also printed the act through a privilege granted on 22 January by François de Montmorency, the governor of Paris and Île-de-France.<sup>28</sup> It was printed twice by Jean de Marnef in Poitiers and once in Lyon, Rouen and Toulouse. Three further editions were printed anonymously.

Unfortunately, the edict's registration came too late. On 1 March 1562, Huguenots were slaughtered by the duke of Guise and his men after the duke found Protestants worshipping illegally in a barn nearby a church at Vassy.<sup>29</sup> The news of the massacre reached Paris around 8 March, two days after the registration of the Edict of January.<sup>30</sup>

After the massacre at Vassy, civil war erupted when the Huguenot leader, Gaspard II de Coligny, *amiral de France*, fled from Paris. Under his leadership,

---

<sup>23</sup> Technically, the Edict of January (1562) was not an edict of pacification because it did not stop a religious war. However, it was a preemptive decree to prevent civil disobedience after the failure of the Colloquy of Poissy in 1561.

<sup>24</sup> Nancy L. Roelker, *One King, One Faith: The Parlement of Paris and the Religious Reformations of the Sixteenth Century* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1996), 263-64.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 263.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 267-70.

<sup>27</sup> See chapter two, figure 2-6 for illustrations of the Edict of January.

<sup>28</sup> *Edict du roy...faict par le conseil et advis de tous les parlemens de ce royaume* (Paris: Charles L'Angelier, 1562), sig. C4r. BnF: F 46822 (7).

<sup>29</sup> François de Lorraine was the duke of Guise.

<sup>30</sup> Roelker, *One King, One Faith*, 270.

Huguenot forces seized Orléans, Lyon, Rouen, and other strategic towns throughout France. During the towns' recapture by royalist forces, the king of Navarre, Antoine de Bourbon, died in Rouen, and the duke of Guise was killed in Orléans in 1563. The latter's death sparked what N.M. Sutherland calls "the Guise-Châtillon vendetta from the time of the murder of François duc de Guise at Orléans on 18 February 1563, for which his family publicly blamed the admiral."<sup>31</sup> The house of Guise increased its determination to eradicate Coligny and Protestantism in France.<sup>32</sup> Their fortitude prevented any hope for lasting amity. The queen mother, on the other hand, took the opportunity of the duke's death to negotiate peace through Anne de Montmorency, *connétable de France*, and his Protestant nephew, Gaspard de Châtillon, *comte de Coligny*. Thus the Edict of Amboise, issued on 19 March 1563, was created to quell the religious battle in France. R.J. Knecht summarized a few of the points from the Edict of Amboise:

[The Edict of Amboise] conceded freedom of conscience to the Huguenots throughout the kingdom, but regulated their right of worship according to social status. Noblemen with rights of high justice were allowed to worship freely on their estates while those with inferior rights could worship in their homes. Protestant worship was allowed in all towns held by the Huguenots before 7 March and in one town per *bailliage*. They were forbidden to hold services anywhere in Paris or the surrounding *vicomté* and *prévôté*, although residents were allowed to return home. Property taken from Catholic church was to be returned.<sup>33</sup>

In the end, the treaty became unpopular on both sides. Jean Calvin believed that the Louis I de Bourbon, prince of Condé, used the Protestant cause to serve the prince's personal interests by catering to the nobility. As far as Calvin was concerned, the Protestants were betrayed.<sup>34</sup> On the other side, most Catholics hated any form of toleration. Each parlement took turns evaluating the edict and the king had to issue several *lettres de jussion* to coerce them to register the act. Townspeople threw mud at their local criers when they publicized it.<sup>35</sup>

---

<sup>31</sup> N. M. Sutherland, *Princes, Politics and Religion, 1547-1589* (London: Hambledon Press, 1984), 157-65.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>33</sup> R. J. Knecht, *Catherine de Medici* (London: Longman, 1998), 93.

<sup>34</sup> Jean Calvin, "Letter 640: To Bullinger. Treaty of Amboise--Strictures on this Treaty Concluded by the Prince of Conde without the Approbation of Coligny and the Principal Protestant Chiefs. 8 April 1563, Geneva," in *Selected Works of Jean Calvin*, ed. Jules Bonnet (Albany, OR: AGES Software, 1998).

<sup>35</sup> Henri Martin, *Histoire de France, depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'en 1789*, 4 ed., 17 vols., vol. 9 (Paris: Furne, 1855), 160. Knecht, *Catherine de Medici*, 93-94.

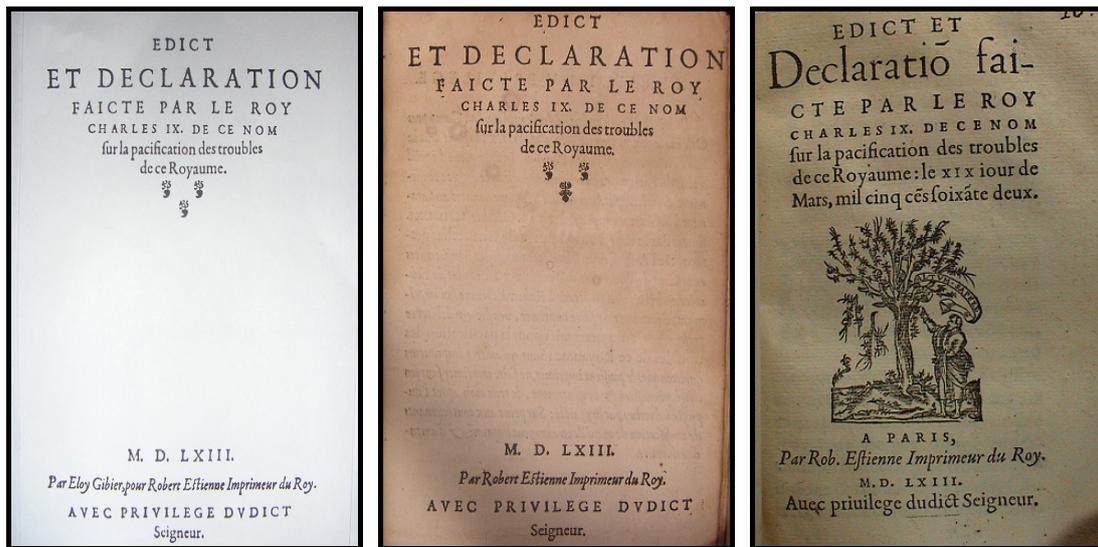


Figure 6-8: The Edict of Amboise of 1563 printed by Eloi Gibier of Orléans (left), and by Robert Estienne in Orléans (middle) and Estienne's later edition in Paris (right).<sup>36</sup>

The Peace of Amboise was written in the form of an edict and was printed in nineteen editions in its first year of promulgation. Robert Estienne received a special privilege signed by the king's secretary Claude de L'Aubespine on 25 March 1563 at a camp near Orléans. This provided Estienne with three months to produce and circulate the pamphlet.<sup>37</sup> He worked with Éloi Gibier, an official printer in Orléans, who had a local monopoly over printing royal acts and tolls on the river Loire in the area.<sup>38</sup> Together they printed four editions of the Edict of Amboise. Estienne then printed the act five more times in Paris. Martin Le Mégissier also printed it four times. In Lyon, however, it was produced once by Benoît Rigaud in 1563 and then again in 1564.<sup>39</sup> François Pomar also printed the decree in Chambéry in 1563.<sup>40</sup> Other publications were printed anonymously. Estienne and Rigaud printed the peace again in 1564. Its last publications were in 1568, when it was printed by Gibier and also by Jean Damien in Troyes.

The religious wars complicated and endangered the safety of civilians. The crown was in its second conflict against the Protestants when Charles IX issued *lettres*

<sup>36</sup> *Edict et declaration faicte par le roy...sur la pacification des troubles de ce royaume* (Orléans: Eloi Gibier pour Robert Estienne, 1563). Universitätsbibliothek Bern: Bong V 248 (19). *Edict de pacification faict par le roy pour mettre fin aux troubles* (Paris: Frédéric Morel, 1577). Le Mans, Médiathèque Louis Aragon: J 207 (5).

<sup>37</sup> *Edict et declaration faicte par le roy...sur la pacification des troubles de ce royaume* (Paris: Robert Estienne, 1563), sig. C4v. BnF: F 46823 (9).

<sup>38</sup> Louis Desgraves, *Éloi Gibier, imprimeur à Orléans (1536-1588)* (Genève: Droz, 1966).

<sup>39</sup> Mack P. Holt, *The French Wars of Religion, 1562-1629* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 53.

<sup>40</sup> *Edict et declaration faict par le roy...sur la pacification des troubles* (Chambéry: François Pomar, 1563). Grenoble BM: E 28536.

*patentes* from Paris on 10 December 1567. They outlined the punishments of Huguenots and the seizure of their goods. The letters were published nine times in their first year of promulgation: four times by Estienne, once by Dallier, twice by Nyverd in Paris and once in Poitiers. They were printed at least once in Lyon and Avignon in subsequent years. However, once the king realized that the conflict was a stalemate, the Peace of Longjumeau was issued on 23 March 1568.

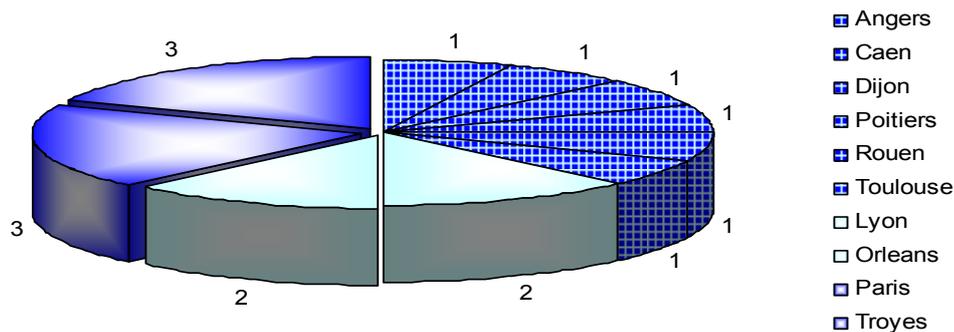


Figure 6-9: Various printing locations of the Edict of Paris of 1568 within its first year of legalization.

The Peace of Longjumeau was promulgated in Paris. Its edict is known as the Edict of Paris of 1568. It ended the second religious war, which lasted a year and a half.<sup>41</sup> The peace reaffirmed the Edict of Amboise of 1563. It also called for the disarmament of Protestants, which Coligny obeyed in good faith despite his own misgivings.<sup>42</sup> In return, the king agreed to advance the sum owed to the Protestants' allies, who were hired to fight against the crown.<sup>43</sup>

In 1568, ten towns printed the Edict of Paris: Angers, Dijon, Poitiers, Rouen, Toulouse, and Caen printed the decree once; Lyon and Orleans printed it twice. Jean Damien printed three editions in Troyes. In Paris, Robert Estienne printed two editions and a third copy was printed anonymously. In contrast to the previous edict of pacification, the Edict of Paris was printed in fewer numbers, sixteen times, but in more places. The Edict of Amboise, on the other hand, was printed in five towns a total of twenty-one times in its first two years of institution.

<sup>41</sup> James B. Wood, *The King's Army: Warfare, Soldiers, and Society During the Wars of Religion in France, 1562-1576* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 20.

<sup>42</sup> Knecht, *Catherine de Medici*, 117.

<sup>43</sup> Wood, *The King's Army*, 21.

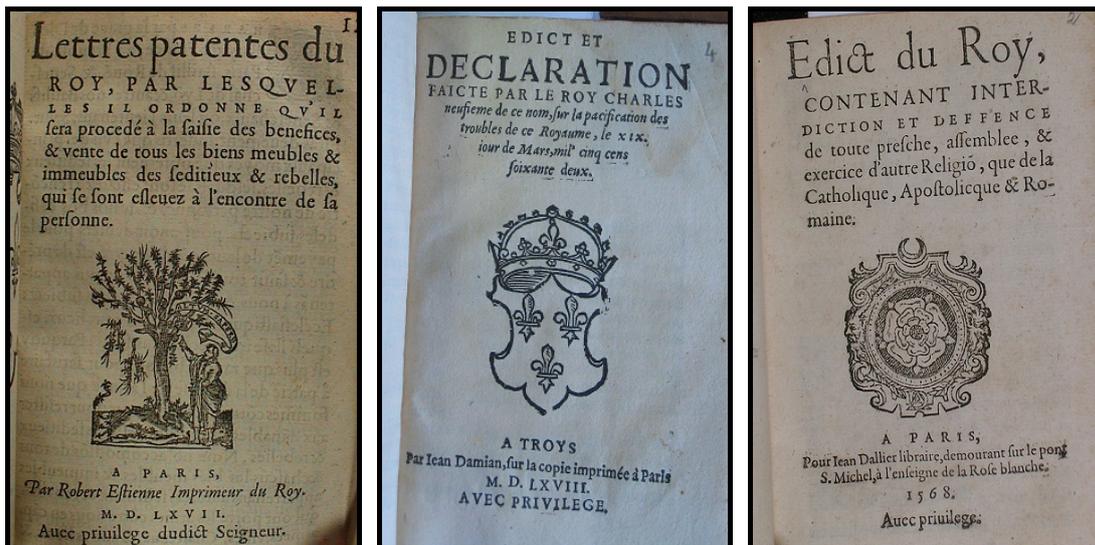


Figure 6-10: *Lettres patentes* of Paris of 1567 (left), the Edict of Paris of 1568 (middle), and the Edict of St Maur of 1568 (right).<sup>44</sup>

Charles IX kept his army stationed around Paris and other strongholds, which made the unarmed Protestants nervous. In the summer of 1568, their leaders withdrew from court and took refuge in La Rochelle. The king decided to crush the Huguenots at La Rochelle before they had had the chance to gather allies or a sufficient armed force. This began the third civil war.<sup>45</sup> In September 1568, Charles IX revoked the Peace of Longjumeau and reinstated more severe measures through the Edict of St Maur. According to N.M. Sutherland, the Edict of St Maur

...may be regarded as Lorraine's justification and apology. It chiefly consists of a long, partisan preamble rehearsing, from the extreme catholic point of view, all the troubles in France since the death of Henry II, while the edict proper, which follows, was very simple.<sup>46</sup>

This support of the extermination of Protestants and the return of all citizens to the Roman Catholic church was one of the first edicts of suppression engineered by the Guises.

The Edict of St Maur was printed in twelve editions in 1568. Printers in Le Mans, Lyon, Rouen, Tours, and La Rochelle published the act at least once. Two editions were produced from Troyes and five editions were printed in Paris by Jean

<sup>44</sup> *Lettres patentes du roy par lesquelles il ordonne qu'il sera procedé à saisie des benefices* (Paris: Robert Estienne, 1567). Bibliothèque Historique de la Ville de Paris: 550012 (11). *Edict du roy sur la pacification des troubles de son royaume* (Troyes: Jean Damien, ca. 1568). Avignon, Médiathèque Ceccano: 80 337 (4). *Edict du roy contenant interdiction et deffence de toute presche, assemblee, et exercice d'autre religion* (Paris: Jean Dallier, 1568). Kantonsbibliothek St Gallen: Ga 9444 (2).

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>46</sup> N. M. Sutherland, *The Massacre of St Bartholomew and the European Conflict, 1559-1572* (London: Macmillan, 1973), 91-92.

Dallier. At this point, Estienne's own publications began to diminish in number.<sup>47</sup> In 1569, he printed one more financial royal act. From then on, he published books on French grammar until he moved to Geneva the following year.<sup>48</sup> His role in printing royal acts was usurped by Jean Dallier until Frédéric Morel replaced Estienne as an *imprimeur du roi* of royal acts on 4 March 1571.

Undoubtedly, the last war should have eliminated the Protestants, but they were assisted by the English.<sup>49</sup> Therefore, another edict of pacification was issued to halt another conflict. The Edict of St Germain was promulgated in August 1570. This edict took a full year to negotiate.<sup>50</sup> It created four *places de sûreté* for two years: La Rochelle, Montauban, Cognac, and La Chréité-sur-Loire. Protestants were permitted to worship in two appointed towns per *gouvernement*. They were still banned from Paris and its surrounding area. Other rights pertaining to their livelihood were restored, including property, offices and the prohibition to discriminate on religious grounds in schools and hospitals.<sup>51</sup>

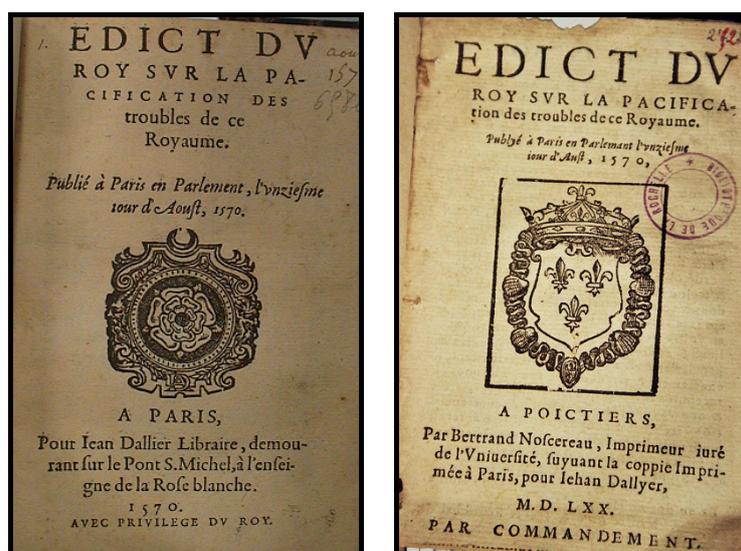


Figure 6-11: The Edict of St Germain of 1570 printed by Jean Dallier in Paris (left) and its copy by Bertrand Noscereau in Poitiers (right).<sup>52</sup>

<sup>47</sup> It is possible that his own Protestant sympathies began emerging.

<sup>48</sup> *Lettres patentes du roy par lesquelles sa maiesté valide et autorise les taxes des offices* (Paris: Robert Estienne, 1569). Oxford, Bodleian: 8o L 5 (54) Jur Seld. To see an example of a book on French grammar, see Robert Estienne, *Traicté de la grammaire francoise* (Paris: Robert Estienne, 1569). Le Mans, Médiathèque Louis Aragon: BL 8o 566.

<sup>49</sup> Spain was occupied by their own domestic problems. Philip II was not able to help the Guises. Sutherland, *The Massacre of St Bartholomew and the European Conflict*, 106.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 114-15.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, 118-19. Knecht, *Catherine de Medici*, 290.

<sup>52</sup> *Edict du roy sur la pacification des troubles de ce royaume* (Paris: Jean Dallier, 1570). Reims BM: P 2903 (1). *Edict du roy sur la pacification des troubles de ce royaume* (Poitiers: Bertrand Noscereau, 1570). La Rochelle, Médiathèque Michel Crépeau: 2722c.

The Edict of St Germain was printed eighteen times in a dozen towns within its first year of promulgation and registration in 1570. One edition was printed in the towns of Angoulême, Bordeaux, Caen, Clermont, Dijon, Lyon, Poitiers, Rennes, Rouen, and Toulouse. Jean Lecoq and Nicolas Luce published it twice in Troyes.<sup>53</sup> Jean Dallier published five editions in Paris. Dallier received his privilege from the king on 11 August 1570.<sup>54</sup>

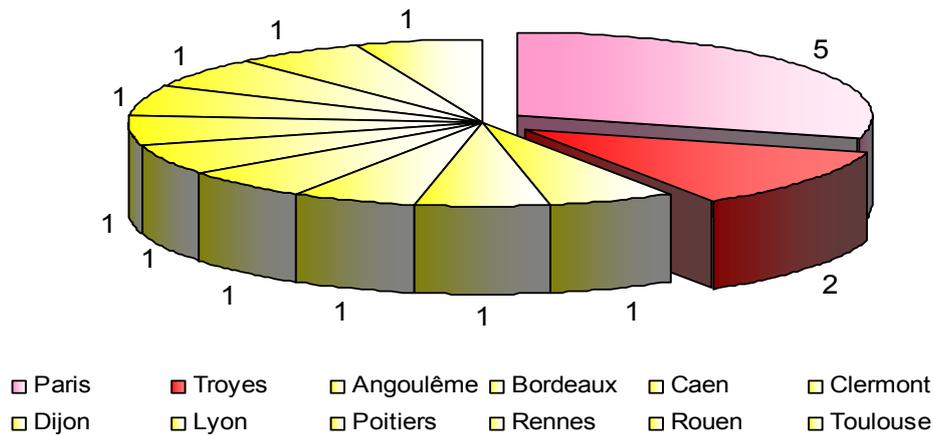


Figure 6-12: Various printing locations of the Edict of St Germain of 1570 within its first year of legalization.

Two years later, this turbulent phase of the religious wars reached its climax in the St Bartholomew’s Day Massacre. While leading members of the Huguenot nobility were gathered in Paris for the marriage of the king of Navarre and the sister of the Charles IX, Margaret, a failed attempt to assassinate Coligny set off a more general attack. The St Bartholomew’s Day Massacre began on 24 August 1572 with the deaths of over forty Protestants in Paris. Then the violence spread throughout France.<sup>55</sup> The king issued a declaration on Coligny’s death on 27 August 1572. Ten editions of the declaration were printed: seven from Jean Dallier, and two from Lyon’s printer, Michel Jove, and one Bordeaux transcription that was printed by Pierre de Ladime.

The large number of Protestants killed by other civilians is estimated to be in the thousands.<sup>56</sup> This sparked the fourth civil, war which was mostly fought outside

<sup>53</sup> *Edict du roy sur la pacification des troubles de ce royaume* (Troyes: Jean Lecoq, ca. 1570). BnF: Z THOISY 480 (26). *Edict du roy sur la pacification des troubles de ce royaume* (Troyes: Nicolas Luce, ca. 1570). Troyes, Médiathèque de l’Agglomération Troyenne: FF 10 3684 (3/5).

<sup>54</sup> *Edict du roy sur la pacification des troubles de ce royaume* (Paris: Jean Dallier, 1570), sig. F4v. Carpentras, Bibliothèque Inguimbertaine: M 169 (16).

<sup>55</sup> Holt, *The French Wars of Religion*, 76-77.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, 80.

the city of La Rochelle.<sup>57</sup> The royal assault on La Rochelle was thwarted by the strong fortifications that have been built up around the port city over the previous years. Then it became necessary to call a truce when the duke of Anjou had to be released from his military duties to take the Polish crown: he was elected as the king of Poland on 10 May 1573.<sup>58</sup> Thus, the Peace of La Rochelle was negotiated and its edict was issued from Boulogne-sur-Seine in July 1573.<sup>59</sup>

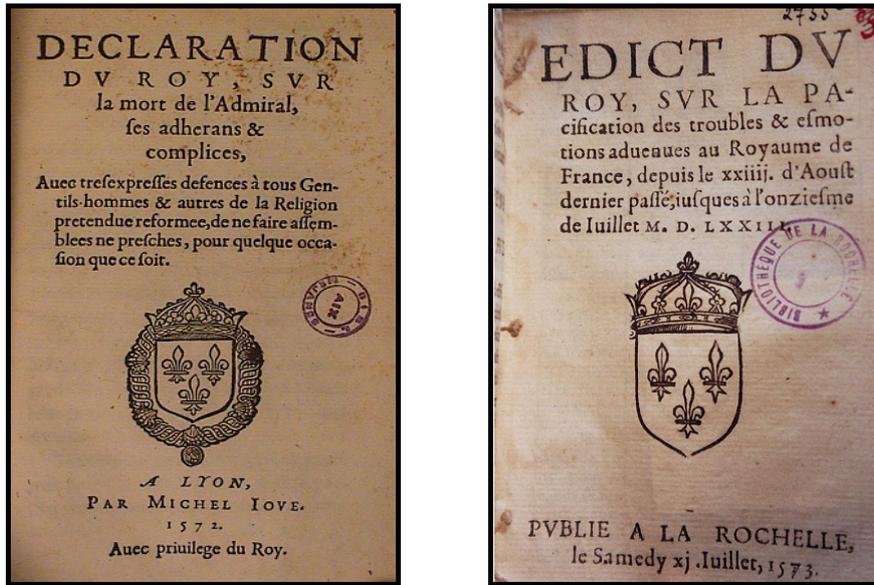


Figure 6-13: The declaration of the death of Coligny, *amiral de France* (left), and the Edict of Boulogne of 1573 (right).<sup>60</sup>

The Edict of Boulogne of 1573 restored limitations placed on Huguenot worship as stated in the Edict of St Germain of 1570. The peace was printed fourteen times in 1573 and was not reprinted in subsequent years. The city of La Rochelle printed the edict anonymously in three editions. Michel Jove printed the act in twice in Lyon, while Fédéric Morel printed three editions in Paris. Other towns published it once: Bordeaux, Caen, Douai, Rouen, Toulouse, and Troyes.

<sup>57</sup> Wood, *The King's Army*, 29.

<sup>58</sup> Knecht, *Catherine de Medici*, 167-68, 290.

<sup>59</sup> Wood, *The King's Army*, 29-33.

<sup>60</sup> *Declaration du roy sur la mort de l'admiral ses adherens et complices* (Lyon: Michel Jove, 1572). Aix, Bibliothèque Méjanes: Rec D 9 (1590).

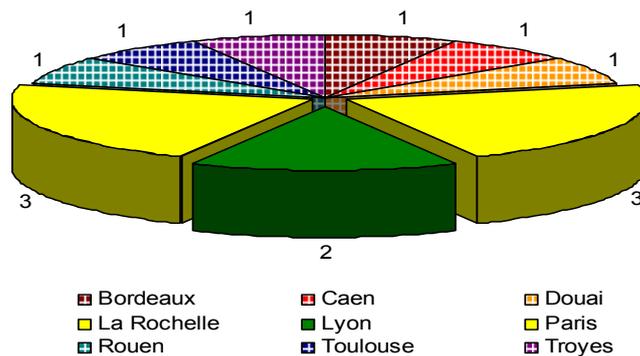


Figure 6-14: Various printing locations of the Edict of Boulogne of 1573 within its first year of legalization.

Undoubtedly, the massacre in 1572 left Protestants distrustful of the monarchy, as royalists were well aware. When Huguenot horsemen were spotted near the royal court in Saint-Germain-en-Laye, the crown thought the Protestants were plotting to free the king of Navarre, Henri de Bourbon, and the duke of Alençon, the king’s youngest brother, from captivity. Thus, fighting erupted in the last week of February 1574. Three months later, in late May, Charles IX died.

France was in the middle of its fifth religious war when the new king, Henry III, issued letters from Cracow, Poland on 17 June 1574. He appointed his mother as the regent of France until he arrived from Poland to claim the French throne. Despite his return on 5 September, military hostilities continued to devastate France. It was only when Huguenot forces threatened an attack on Paris that the king issued the Peace of Monsieur in May 1576.<sup>61</sup>

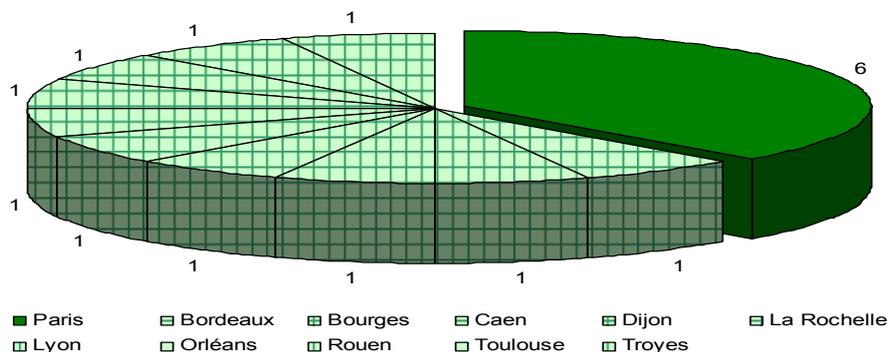


Figure 6-15: Various printing locations of the Edict of Beaulieu of 1576 within its first year of legalization.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., 34.

The Edict of Paris or Beaulieu of 1576 was printed sixteen times in eleven different towns throughout France. Paris was the only city that published it more than once with six editions printed by Morel. The rest were printed in Bordeaux, Bourges, Caen, Dijon, La Rochelle, Lyon, Orléans, Rouen, Toulouse, and Troyes.

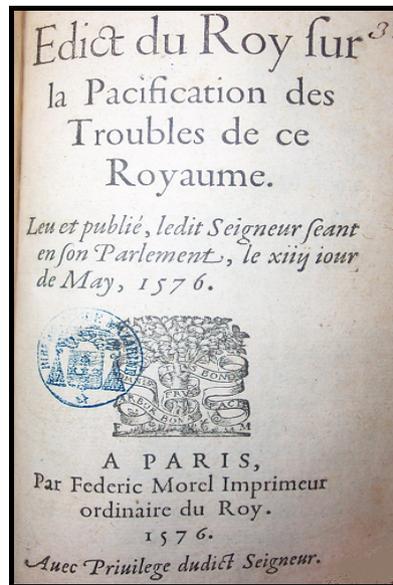


Figure 6-16: The Edict of Beaulieu of 1576.<sup>62</sup>

The edict made large concessions to the Protestants by allowing free worship in France except in Paris and its adjacent areas. Bi-partisan courts were introduced to settle cases between Protestants and Catholics and eight *places de sûreté* were created in the provinces of Dauphiné, Guyenne, Languedoc, and Provence. The king also summoned the General Estates to meet later that year.<sup>63</sup>

The new privileges bestowed upon the Huguenots made the crown appear weak, and public support—especially in Paris—dwindled as citizens mocked the king's piety and power.<sup>64</sup> Thus, the Peace of Monsieur was celebrated in Paris "without the joy of the people."<sup>65</sup>

Henry III was determined to unify the kingdom under a single religion, but circumstances such as a lack of funds prevented him from fulfilling his goals. In 1576,

<sup>62</sup> *Edict du roy sur la pacification des troubles de ce royaume* (Paris: Fédéric Morel, 1576). Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine: 34613 82 (8).

<sup>63</sup> Knecht, *Catherine de Medici*, 291.

<sup>64</sup> Philippe Erlanger, *Henri III* (Paris: J. Tallandier, 1973), 260-62.

<sup>65</sup> In fact, this edict was also cried to the public on 8 May before its registration in the Parlement on 14 May 1576. See Gustave Brunet et al., eds., *Mémoires-journaux de Pierre de L'Estoile: édition pour la première fois complète et entièrement conforme aux manuscrits originaux*, 11 vols., vol. 1 (Paris: Librairie des bibliophiles, 1875), 130-31.

the king attempted to address the problem by convoking the General Estates in Blois but he was unsuccessful: the three estates were hesitant to replenish the royal treasury. Then the sixth religious war erupted after the duke of Anjou seized La Charité-sur-Loire from the Protestants on 2 May 1577. Several months later, the Peace of Bergerac concluded this war on 17 September in Poitiers.

To undo the damage caused by the Peace of Monsieur in public opinion, the Peace of Bergerac placed more limitations on Protestant worship. Protestants could only hold services in one town per *bailliage*, and the area around Paris, that prohibited Protestant worship, was expanded. Half the tribunals set up previously for bi-partisan cases were revoked, but eight Protestant safe havens were retained.<sup>66</sup>

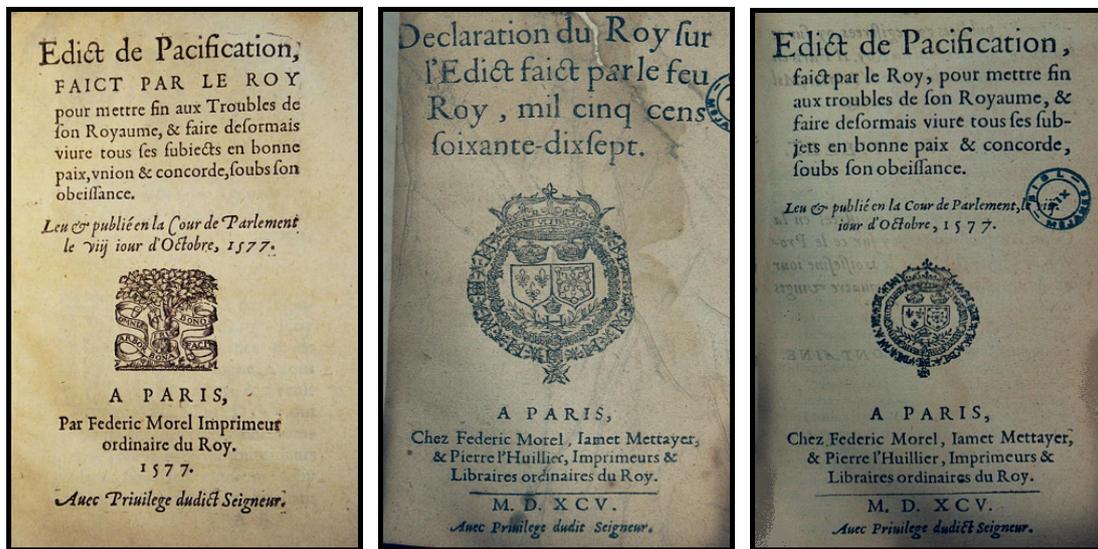


Figure 6-17: The Edict of Poitiers of 1577 (left) and the reestablishment of the Edict of Poitiers in 1594 (middle) and its attachment (right).<sup>67</sup>

The Edict of Poitiers of 1577 restated points listed in the Peace of Bergerac. It is the most frequently reprinted edict of pacification in the sixteenth century, with fifteen editions published in its first year and at least four more in subsequent years. This means that during its earliest years, its publication did not exceed that of other edicts of pacification, nor was it published in as many different places.<sup>68</sup> One edition

<sup>66</sup> Knecht, *Catherine de Medici*, 190, 291.

<sup>67</sup> *Edict et declaration fait par le roy...sur la pacification des troubles de ce royaume* (Paris: Robert Estienne, 1563). La Rochelle, Médiathèque Michel Crépeau: 11026c. *Edict et declaration fait par le roy...sur la pacification des troubles de ce royaume* (Paris: Robert Estienne, 1563). Aix, Bibliothèque Méjanès : Rec D 8 (295) et (296).

was printed in Bordeaux, La Rochelle, Le Mans, Montauban, and Rouen. Printers in Lyon, Poitiers, and Tours published it twice and Morel printed three editions in Paris.

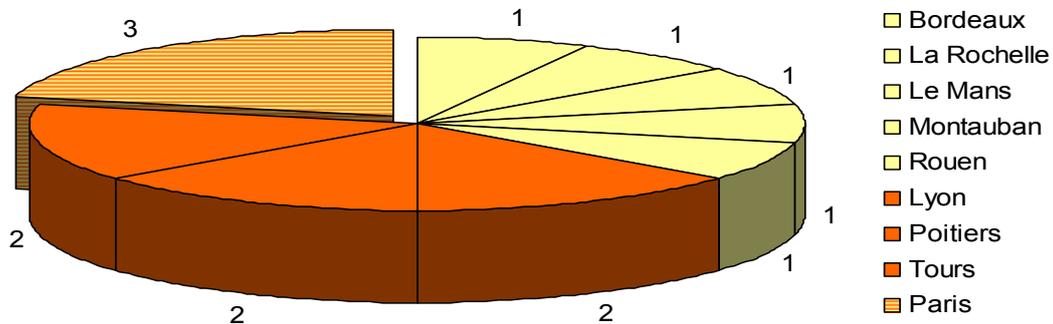


Figure 6-18: Various printing locations of the Edict of Poitiers of 1577 within its first year of legalization.

When the edict was reinstated by Henry IV on 15 November 1594, it was published at least seven more times. With the exception of one edition, all the others were printed by the Parisian *imprimeurs du roi*. The exception was an edition printed in Montauban by Pierre Haultin in 1595.<sup>69</sup> This amounts to twenty-six editions in all.

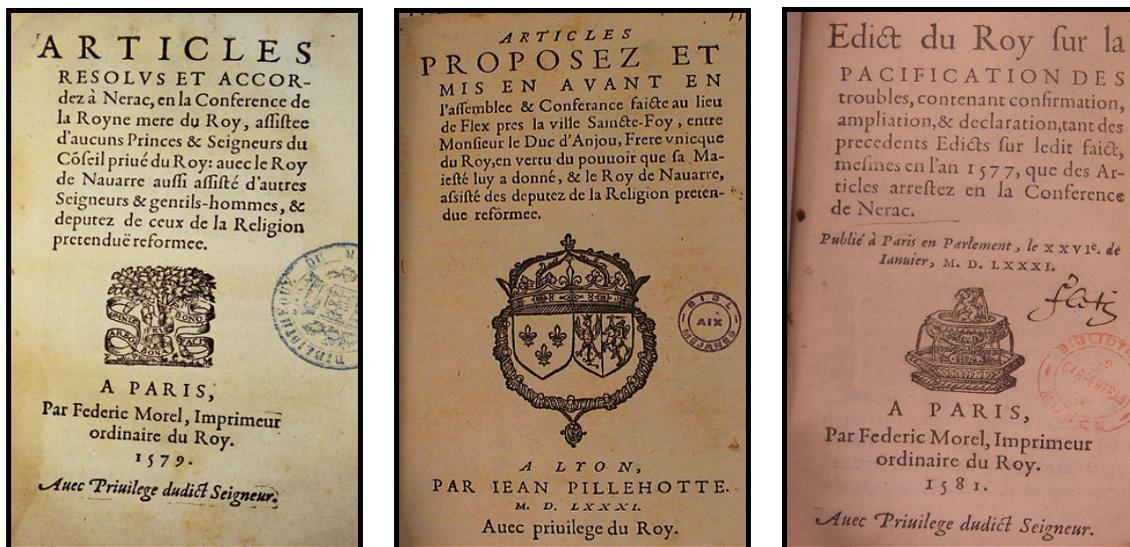


Figure 6-19: The Treaty of Nérac of 1579 (left), Articles of Flex of 1580 (middle), and the Edict of Blois of 1580 (right).<sup>70</sup>

<sup>68</sup> In fact, according to Pierre L'Estoile, the peace was publicized then registered the next day and then cried again with fireworks and cannonades. See Brunet et al., eds., *Mémoires-journaux de Pierre de L'Estoile*, 218.

<sup>69</sup> *Declaration du Roy sur l'Edict faict par le feu Roy, 1577* (Montauban: Denis Haultin, 1595). Private Collections: Forestié (Montauban) 32.

<sup>70</sup> Catherine de Medici, *Articles resolués et accordez à Nerac* (Paris: Fédéric Morel, 1579). Le Mans, Médiathèque Louis Aragon: J 207 (6). *Articles proposez et mis en avant en l'assemblee et conferance faicte au lieu de Flex* (Lyon: Jean Pillehotte, 1581). Aix, Bibliothèque Méjanès: Rec D 9 (1181). *Edict*

Following the Edict of Poitiers of 1577, more compromises and meetings were attempted by the crown in 1579 and in 1580. The queen mother's last considerable effort for religious harmony was published in the articles of Nérac, where she met leading Protestants to pacify the southern region of France. In addition, another set of articles was promulgated from the conferences at Flex and Coutras, which the king of Navarre, duke of Anjou, and Henry III attended. These last efforts were combined to create the Edict of Blois, issued in December 1580. The edict confirmed the Treaty of Nérac and articles created from the conferences at Flex and Coutras.

The Edict of Blois was printed thirteen times in 1581. Five editions were published with the articles of Nérac: Simon Millanges, the king's printer in Bordeaux, printed four editions and Pierre Ladime published a copy in Bordeaux. Coutras and Nérac were under the jurisdiction of the Parlement of Bordeaux, which can explain the high interest in there. The edict was also published twice in Lyon. Presses in Paris, Montauban, Tours, Toulouse, and Blois produced one edition each.

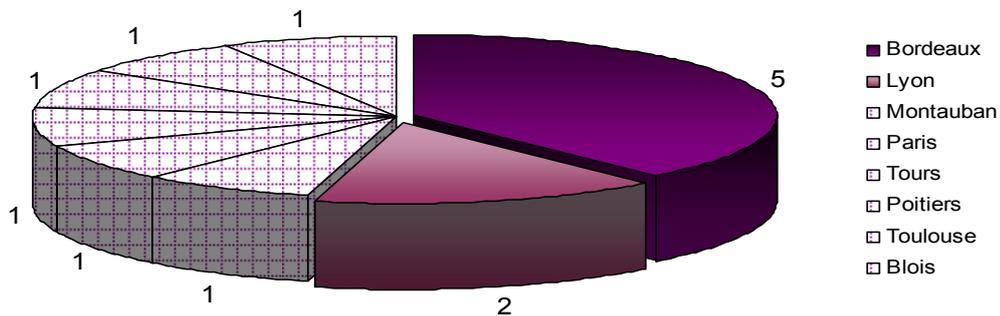


Figure 6-20: Various printing locations of the Edict of Blois of 1580 within a year after its registration.

Over the years, the Holy Catholic League gained considerable public support, especially in Paris. The movement for a united Catholic France was led by the Guises. By 1585, the king was under intense pressure from the leaders of the League, who demanded the repression of the new religion. Henry III imposed his 'good will' on his kingdom through a declaration (see figure 6-24a). The first publication of this type was printed in 1576. It was published five times. The king issued another one in April 1585. He wanted the wars to cease with combatants relinquishing their arms. This second declaration was printed a dozen times: four editions were published by Fédéric

---

*du roy sur la pacification des troubles* (Paris: Fédéric Morel, 1581). Carpentras, Bibliothèque Inguimbertaine: M 709 (10).

Morel, and printers in Troyes, La Rochelle, Le Mans, and Lyon published it once. The declaration was also published anonymously three times, of which one edition was printed in Paris. Outside France, it was published once in Leiden.

Without public support, Henry III was coerced to revoke his treaties with the Protestants under Leaguer pressure. The Treaty of Nemours was signed between the king and the League on 7 July 1585. In the same month, the king issued his Edict of Reunion from Paris, in which he banned the Protestant religion.<sup>71</sup>

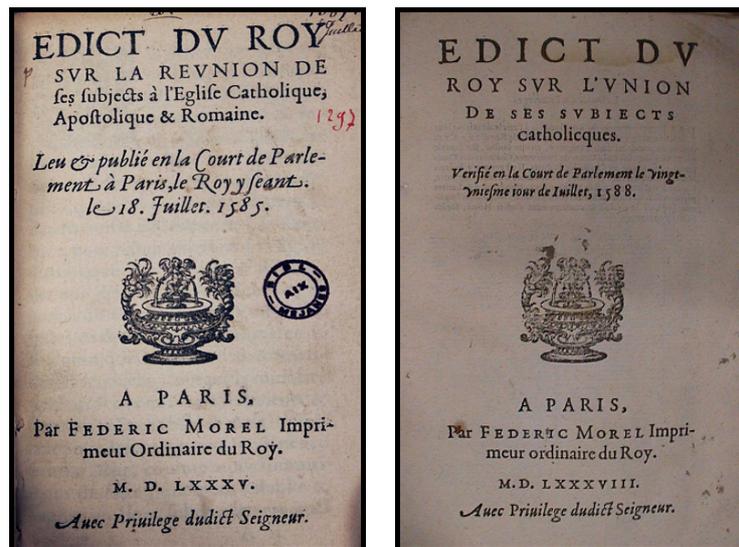


Figure 6-21: The Edict of Reunion of 1585 (left) and the Edict of Union of 1588 (right).<sup>72</sup>

The promulgation of the Edict of Reunion instigated another religious war. Meanwhile, the League's popularity continued to rise as the king's authority weakened. On 12 May 1588, the leading members of the League seized Paris, forcing the king to flee to Chartres. In June, Henry III capitulated before the League: he officially recognized the faction as an institution, handed over the *places de sûreté*, published the articles created by council of Trent, and gave the leaders two armies to fight against the Huguenots.<sup>73</sup> In the following month, he met them in Rouen where he issued the Edict of Union of 1588, which reinforced Catholicism as France's only religion, prohibiting any other religion. The edict marked the League's complete power over the crown.<sup>74</sup>

<sup>71</sup> Robin Briggs, *Early Modern France, 1560-1715* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), 27.

<sup>72</sup> *Edict du roy sur la reunion de ses subjects à l'eglise catholique, apostolique et romaine* (Paris: Fédéric Morel, 1585). Aix, Bibliothèque Méjanes: Rec D 1 (1297). *Edict du roy sur l'union de ses subiects catholicques* (Paris: Fédéric Morel, 1588). Le Mans, Médiathèque Louis Aragon: J 207 (2).

<sup>73</sup> Ivan Clouas, *Catherine de Médicis* (Paris: Fayard, 1979), 587.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, 588.

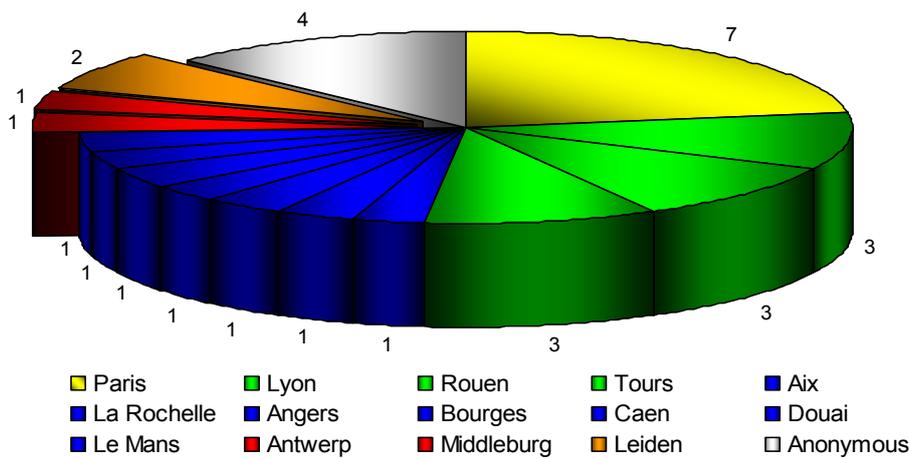


Figure 6-22: Various printing locations of the Edict of Reunion of 1585 within a year after its registration.

The most reprinted edicts of the sixteenth century were essentially created by the League. The Edicts of Reunion of 1585 and Union of 1588 were printed thirty-one times in their first year of promulgation. The Edict of Reunion was printed in Paris by Fédéric Morel in seven editions. Printers in the towns of Lyon, Rouen, and Tours published three editions each. Four editions were published anonymously. The act was also published once in six more towns: Aix, La Rochelle, Angers, Bourges, Caen, Douai, and Le Mans. In France, it was transcribed in a total of nine different towns. Outside the kingdom, the act was published once in Middleburg and Antwerp, and twice in Leiden. The edict was not reprinted in subsequent years.

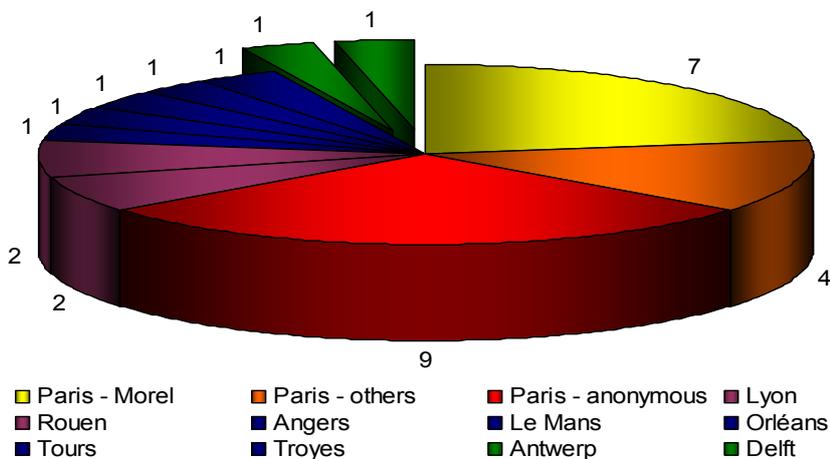


Figure 6-23: Various printing locations of the Edict of Union of 1588 within a year after its registration.

The Edict of Union of 1588 was printed in fewer towns but appeared just as many editions because presses in Paris produced it on a popular scale with twenty editions. Seven editions were published by Morel and nine were printed anonymously in Paris. Four other printers in Paris published one edition each: Gilles du Bois, Claude Guyot, Jean Girard, and the future official printer of the League, Nicolas Nivelles. In Lyon and Rouen, the edict was printed twice and one edition was printed in the towns of Angers, Le Mans, Orléans, Tours, and Troyes. Outside France, Joachim Trognaesius and Albert Henry published an edition in Antwerp and Delft, respectively. Although Parisian presses responded positively to the Edict of Union, other French towns appear to have been hesitant to publish the act.

During the king's exile, one decree was published eighteen times in 1588. Its origins, however, are specious. After the king fled to Chartres, a declaration on the king's will was published, mostly in Paris by the publishing house of Roffet, who claimed to have transcribed it from a copy made in Chartres. According to Parisian copies, the declaration itself discussed how the king desired the inhabitants of Paris to conserve the city and not start any bloodshed. He wanted them to keep the peace.

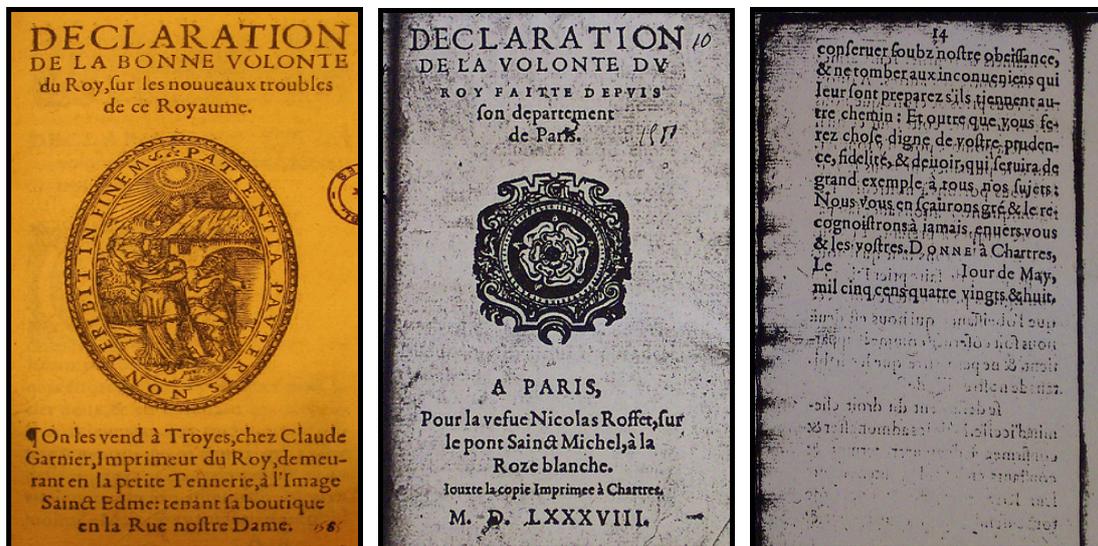


Figure 6-24: Henry III's *declarations de la volonte*. *Déclaration de la bonne volenté* of 1585 (left), the Leaguer's *Déclaration de la volenté du roi* of 1588 (middle) and its missing dates (right).<sup>75</sup>

<sup>75</sup> *Declaration de la bonne volonte du roy* (Troyes: Claude Garnier, ca. 1585). Aix, Bibliothèque Méjanès: Rec D 185 (6). *Declaration de la volenté du roy* (Paris: Veuve Nicolas Roffet, 1588), sigs. A1r, B3v. Paris, Bibliothèque-Musée de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français: Rés. 13966 (10).

Although Henry III issued declarations on his will in the past, this one is sufficiently problematic for us to question its authenticity. The first reason for caution is that it lacks many of the customary features of a true royal act. It is printed without a date of issue and without the customary endorsement of a royal secretary. It also was not printed by Frédéric Morel or other royal printers. We also do not know of any copy printed in Chartres itself. On the contrary, those printers who published the act can be considered pro-League printers. Jean Pillehotte became a printer for the Catholic League in Lyon.<sup>76</sup> In addition, Pierre Ménier, who published the declaration twice, copied books from Rolin Thierry, a League printer, during this period.<sup>77</sup> Antoine Sallé was a book peddler and financed a copy of this act. However, the books he commissioned were divisive: they were harangues, remonstrances and complaints against the king and the poor state of France.<sup>78</sup> Nothing is known about last known printer, Geoffrey Perichet, except that he published books only in 1588 at *des murs du Palais, au chef saint Jean*.<sup>79</sup>

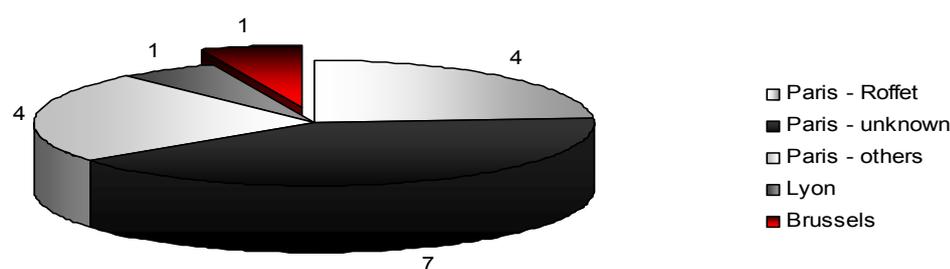


Figure 6-25: The geographic distribution of *Déclaration de la volonté du roi* of 1588.

With the League settled in Paris, the king decided to take his revenge. He summoned another meeting of the General Estates at his chateau in Blois in October 1588. During the affair, Henri de Lorraine, duke of Guise, was assassinated. The king also imprisoned the duke's younger brother, Louis, the cardinal of Guise. The cardinal was later executed in December that year. There was a huge outcry in Paris with the duke of Mayenne, Charles de Lorraine, swearing revenge.

<sup>76</sup> *Declaration de la volonté du roy faite depuis son departement de Paris* (Paris: Antoine Sallé, 1588). BnF: Résac. LB34 465 (E).

<sup>77</sup> For example, see Matteo Zampini, trans., *De la succession du droict et prerogative de premier prince du sang* (Paris: Pierre Ménier, 1589). Châlons-en-Champagne BM: AF 20885.

<sup>78</sup> For example, see *La harangue faict au roy par la noblesse de la France* (Paris: Antoine Sallé, 1586). BnF: Résac. LB33 363 A. Charles de Bourbon (Cardinal de Bourbon), *Remonstrance faicte au roy et la royne mere, par messieurs les cardinaux* (Paris: Antoine Sallé, 1586). BnF: Résac. LB34 299 A.

<sup>79</sup> *Declarations de la volunte [sic] du roy faictes depuis son department de Paris* (Paris: Geoffrey Perichet). BnF: Résac. LB34 465 A.

After eliminating the leaders of the Guises, the crown became openly hostile towards the League. The most reprinted decree during the Leaguer years under Henry III was the declaration made against the duke of Mayenne, the duke of Aumalle, and their associates, issued in February 1589 from Blois. The declaration was printed sixteen times: once in Bordeaux, Middleburg, and Tours, twice in Blois, and three times in Metz, and eight copies were published anonymously.

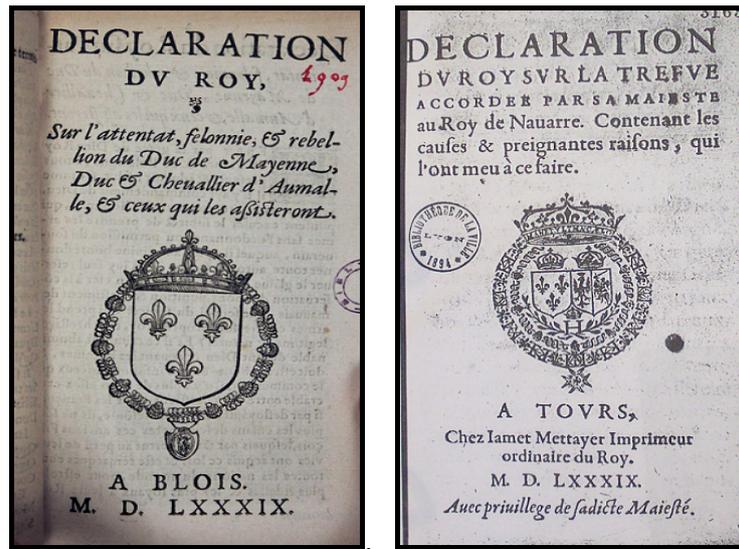


Figure 6-26: Declaration against the duke of Mayenne (left) and the truce with the king of Navarre (right).<sup>80</sup>

Henry III was determined to seize Paris by force. He was reconciled with the king of Navarre and joined forces with the Huguenots. Their truce was issued as a declaration on 26 April 1589. The declaration was published ten times. Five editions were printed in Tours. Jamet Mettayer and Barthélemy Gomet published two editions each. Local printer Zacharie Griveau printed one edition. It was also published in Poitiers by Aimé Mesnier and in Caen by Jacques Le Bas. Two editions were published anonymously, with one of two pamphlets stating its origins from La Rochelle. It was also printed once in London by Richard Field.

By late July, Huguenot and royalist armies were camped in Saint-Cloud, located about six miles from Paris. However, in a twist of events, a Dominican monk named Jacques Clément assassinated the last Valois king. The king died on 2 August 1589.

<sup>80</sup> *Declaration du roy sur l'attentat, felonnie, et rebellion du duc de Mayenne* (Blois: s.n., 1589). Aix, Bibliothèque Méjanes: Rec D 1 (1909). Jamet Mettayer is credited for its publication. *Declaration du roy sur la trefve accordee par sa maieste au roy de Navarre* (Tours: Jamet Mettayer, 1589). Lyon BM: Rés. 316342.

## Henry IV and his Provincial Editions

The king of Navarre inherited the throne of France when the French crown was in exile. Royal plans to conquer Paris were postponed. The new king had to assess his position among the royalists because his religion was problematic for the Catholics. According to their religion, Protestants were heretics. Henry's first declaration on the matter was promulgated on 4 August 1589 from Saint-Cloud, but he needed more than mere words to claim the crown and reunite France. He had to take the crown by force. The opportunity to demonstrate his military skills came when the duke of Mayenne and his troops confronted the new king at Arques. Henry IV defeated the League's army on 21 September 1589, and then again in the following year at Ivry on 14 March. However, the siege of Paris failed in subsequent months so the new king revised his plans to conquer other Leaguer towns.

At this point, the publication of royal acts reached its nadir after 1560. The lack of royal publications from Paris contributed significantly to this drop: not a single Parisian press printed a royal act during Leaguer rule. Frédéric Morel, who remained in Paris during this period, ceased to print decrees until 1593.<sup>81</sup> Without Parisian presses, reprints of royal acts dwindled to fewer than ten editions. For example, Henry IV issued another edict of pacification in July 1591 from Mantes. He revoked all the edicts of the League including the Edicts of Reunion and Union and reinstated toleration.<sup>82</sup> It was published in seven editions: twice in Châlons, twice in Tours, once in Metz and Langres, and one anonymous publication.<sup>83</sup>

The largest number of editions of any single decree during this time was nine. From Chartres, Henry IV declared that the General Estates summoned by the duke of Mayenne was illegal on 19 January 1593. The declaration was published in seven towns: two editions were printed in each of the towns of Châlons and Chartres, and one edition was printed in Caen, Langres, Lyon, Nevers, and Tours.

---

<sup>81</sup> He and his presses published very few books during this period.

<sup>82</sup> Michael Wolfe, *The Conversion of Henri IV: Politics, Power, and Religious Belief in Early Modern France* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), 106.

<sup>83</sup> See Introduction, figure 0-1 for pictures of the Edict of Mantes (1591).

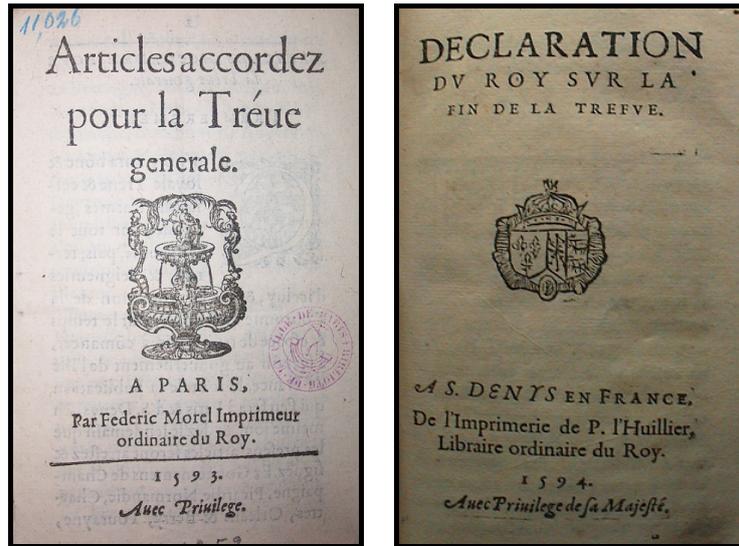


Figure 6-27: The General Truce of 1593 (left) and the End of the General Truce (right).<sup>84</sup>

However, months later, the most popularly published act during the reign of Henry IV was issued. The General Truce between Henry IV and the duke of Mayenne was signed between Saint-Denis and Paris on 31 July 1593. The truce was printed in twenty-two editions. For the first time since 1588, Morel was able to print a royal decree without fear of reprisal. He published three editions. *Imprimeurs du roi* in the royalist town of Tours also printed the decree in three editions: Jamet Mettayer printed two and Zachary Griveau one. Pierre L'Huillier, who was based in Saint-Denis as a *libraire du roi*, published the truce twice. The widow of Jean de Foigny published two editions in Reims. She most likely copied Morel's edition.

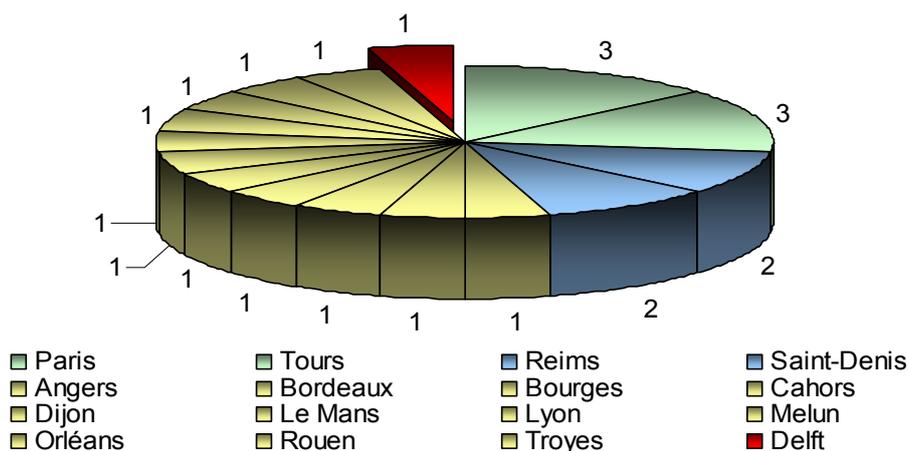


Figure 6-28: Various printing locations of the General Truce of 1593 published that year.

<sup>84</sup> *Articles accordez pour la tréue generale* (Paris: Fédéric Morel, 1593). Bibliothèque Historique de la Ville de Paris: Rés. 550352. *Declaration du roy sur la fin ed la trefve* (Saint-Denis: Pierre L'Huillier, 1594). Bibliothèque Historique de la Ville de Paris: Rés. 550054 (5).

Printers in Angers, Bordeaux, Bourges, Cahors, Dijon, Le Mans, Lyon, Melun, Orléans, Rouen, and Troyes published the truce once (see above figure 6-28). It was also printed abroad in Delft. Thus, sixteen towns printed twenty-two different editions of the truce. It was the most widely published royal act before 1601. No royal act was printed in more places.

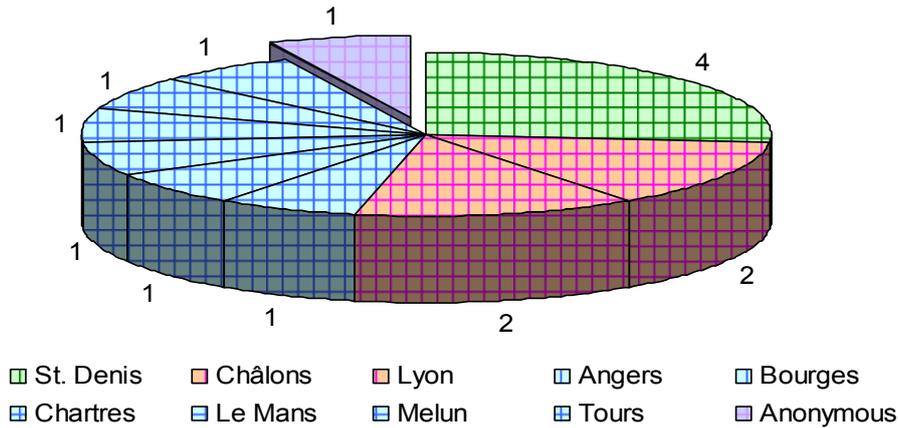


Figure 6-29: Various printing locations of the End of the General Truce of 1593 published that year.

In December 1593, the king issued *Declaration du roy sur la fin de la trefve*. Fifteen editions were printed outside Paris. Pierre L’Huillier in Saint-Denis printed the declaration four times; Lyon and Châlons published it twice; Angers, Bourges, Chartres, Le Mans, Melun, and Tours published the declaration once; and one copy was printed anonymously. It was not printed in Paris.

### Henry IV and his Military Achievements

To restore his authority over his kingdom, Henry was obliged to effect the surrender of towns that had first declared for the League, either by military conquest or persuasion. When a town submitted to his authority, the king was well aware of the value to his cause of making this more widely known. The military campaigns of Henry thus produced what was essentially a new class of edicts, which were published in large numbers in the last decade of the reign. These reductions laid out terms of the town’s surrender and implicitly encouraged other towns to follow suit. The first of these subjugations to be celebrated in print celebrated the submission of Chartres in

1591. Another declaration, in 1592, concerned the town of Épernay.<sup>85</sup> However, Frédéric Morel and the other *imprimeurs du roi* found themselves working full time after the capitulation of Paris on 22 March 1594.<sup>86</sup> The text of the reduction was almost always printed in the town concerned if this place had a printing press at all. But the news was also more widely disseminated through editions published in other places. This is illustrated in the chart below. The first column shows the number of reductions which were printed in a particular town (for instance, Angers published eight of these tracts). The second column shows the number of times an account of the reduction of that particular town was published; so we see that while Nantes only one published one such reduction (see figure 6-31b), the account of the reduction of Nantes was published on fifteen separate occasions. Brittany was the last stronghold of the League, and Philippe-Emmanuel de Lorraine, duke of Mercoeur, commanded Leaguer forces in the region. He surrendered to the king in January 1598, and the edict of Nantes' capitulation was issued by the king in March 1598 from Angers.

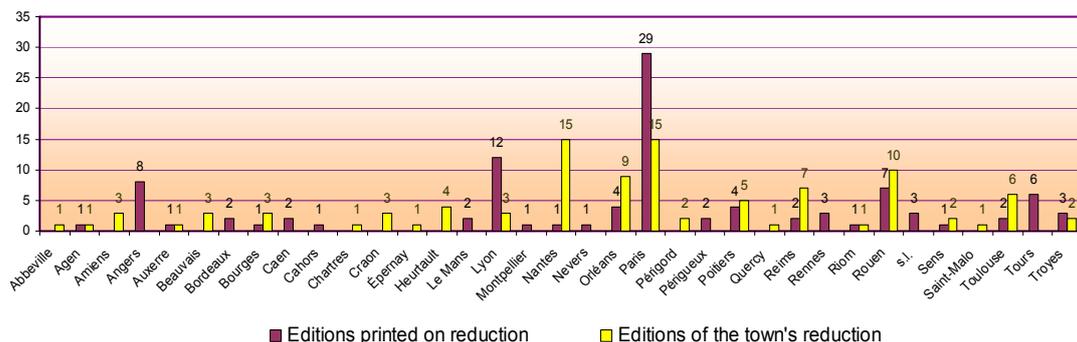


Figure 6-30: The geographic distribution of the towns of reduction.

The following month, in April 1598, the king issued the famous edict of pacification, the Edict of Nantes. It contained ninety-two articles that explained the co-existence between Protestants and Catholics.<sup>87</sup> It also contained secret articles that were not published with the edict, which made special concessions to individual towns and people. Although the edict did not permit free worship for Protestants throughout the kingdom, it did allow them to practice the religion by increasing the number of

<sup>85</sup> Louis Desgraves and Josef Benzing, *Répertoire bibliographique des livres imprimés en France au seizième siècle*, 30 vols., vol. 1 (Baden-Baden: V. Koerner, 1968), 68, no. 14, Lindsay and Neu, eds., *French Political Pamphlets*, 1591, no. 752.

<sup>86</sup> Holt, *The French Wars of Religion*, 159-61.

<sup>87</sup> Mack P. Holt calls the Edict of Nantes a temporary settlement and not “a systematic policy of toleration.” See *Ibid.*, 163.

*places de sûreté* and locations to worship. It also recreated the bi-partisan chambers that settled religious conflicts in judicial courts. Its unpopularity probably forced the royal printers in Paris to ensure its public circulation. The edict was published eleven times in Paris. It was printed once in five other towns: Blois, Bordeaux, Rouen, Toulouse, and Zweibrücken, Germany.<sup>88</sup> Two publications were printed anonymously. In all, it was printed in eighteen editions: seventeen different copies were printed in 1599 and once in 1600.

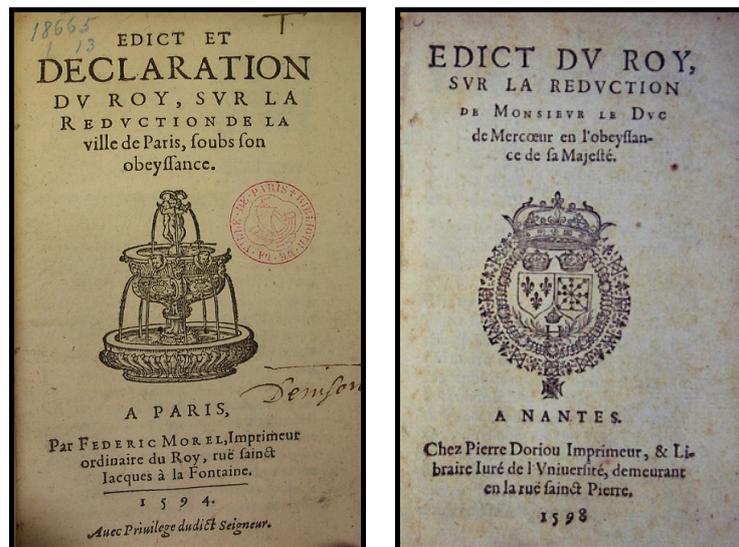


Figure 6-31: Edicts of reduction of Paris (left) and Nantes (right).<sup>89</sup>

Henry IV's popularity grew after several important events: his final conversion to Catholicism, his coronation at Chartres, and his military conquests. He persuaded Catholic moderates to negotiate peace between the crown and obstinate Catholics. After his triumphant entry into Paris in 1594, he offered forgiveness to the leaders and sympathizers of the Catholic League. The new Bourbon king restored the monarchy in Paris. On 17 January 1595, the king felt confident enough to declare war on Spain. This united the French against a foreign enemy, who continually supported seditious activities against the crown. The declaration of war was printed fifteen times.

<sup>88</sup> Also known in the French as Deux Ponts.

<sup>89</sup> *Edict et declaration du roy sur la reduction de la ville de Paris* (Paris: Fédéric Morel, 1594). Bibliothèque Historique de la Ville de Paris: Rés. 550522. *Edict du roy sur la reduction de monsieur le duc de Mercoeur* (Nantes: Pierre Doriou, 1598). Nantes, Musée départemental Dobrée: 719.



Figure 6-32: The opening war against Spain of 1595 (left), the Treaty of Vervins of 1598 (middle), and the *mandement* to publish the Treaty of Vervins (right).<sup>90</sup>

Three years later, Philip II of Spain wanted to end the conflict. He was seventy-one years old with a depleted treasury. The Treaty of Vervins was signed on 2 May 1598 and its proclamation was printed in two forms. The first form of publicity was issued on 10 June 1598 from Saint-Germain-en-Laye. A *mandement du roi* ordered the publication of the treaty throughout France. The second proclamation was the treaty itself, which was printed in fourteen editions.

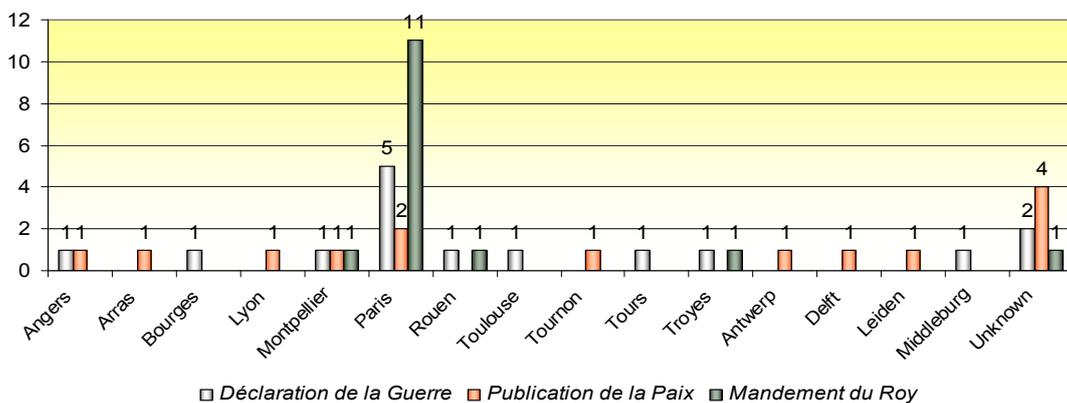


Figure 6-33: The geographic distribution of royal decrees on the war against Spain.

<sup>90</sup> *Declaration de la volonté du roy sur l'ouverture de la guerre contre le roy d'Espagne* (Rouen: Martin Le Mégissier, 1595). Aix, Bibliothèque Méjanès: Rec D 8 (299). *Articles accordez entre les deputez du roy, et ceux du roy d'Espagne à Vervins* (Tournon: Michel Claude). Aix, Bibliothèque Méjanès: Rec D 42 (198). *Mandement du roy pour la publication de la paix generale* (Rouen: Raphaël du Petit Val, 1598). Aix, Bibliothèque Méjanès Rec D 8 (309).

The chart above shows royal acts concerning Spain published in the 1590s. The opening of the war and the treaty were published mostly in the provinces. In contrast, the *mandement* was published mostly in Paris, with all of the eleven editions printed by one or more of the *imprimeurs du roi*: Morel, Mettayer and L’Huillier.

### Other Frequently Printed Royal Acts

This section will focus on popularly published royal acts that are not as well known today as the previously discussed topics in this chapter. Popularly printed financial, judicial, and civil royal acts in ten or more editions will be considered. Among these acts, the most reprinted act was financial: the Ordinance of Saint-Germain, issued on 17 August 1561. It established the weights and prices of gold and silver for monetary purposes.

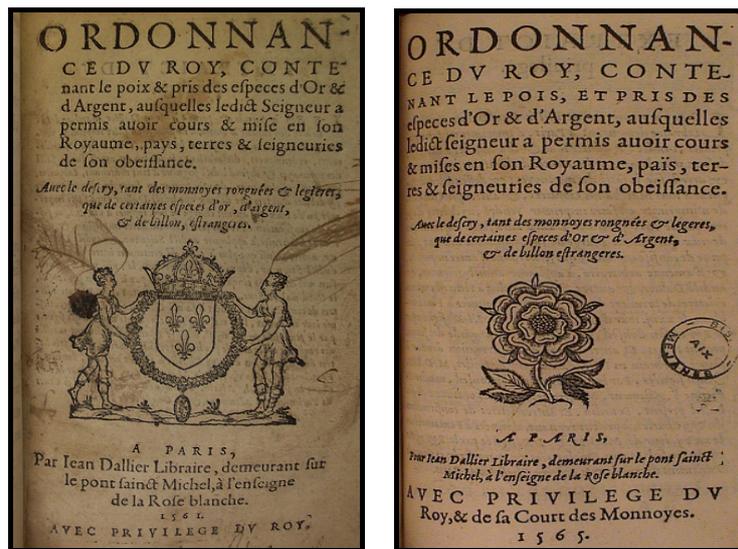


Figure 6-34: Ordinance of St Germain of 1561 (left) and its republication (right).<sup>91</sup>

Altogether, this ordinance was printed eighteen times between 1561 and 1568. In its first year, it was published in at least seven editions. Jean Dallier, who possessed the privilege for this ordinance, produced three editions, and Antoine du Rosne published two versions in Lyon.<sup>92</sup> Printers in Bordeaux and Rouen published one edition in each

<sup>91</sup> *Ordonnance du roy contenant le poix et pris des especes d’or* (Paris: Jean Dallier, 1561). Bibliothèque Historique de la Ville de Paris: Rés. 550518 (2). *Ordonnance du roy contenant le poix et pris des especes d’or* (Paris: Jean Dallier, 1565). Aix, Bibliothèque Méjanas: Rec D 714 (23).

<sup>92</sup> *Ordonnance du roy contenant le poix et pris des especes d’or* (Paris: Jean Dallier, 1561), sig. A1v. London, British Library: 603 a 10 (1).

town. In 1564, it was republished with additional letters from the *cour des monnaies*.<sup>93</sup> Two editions were published in Paris by Dallier and Guillaume Nyverd. Jacques Colomiès in Toulouse also printed the act. The following year, du Rosne published it twice, another copy was reprinted by Dallier and Colomiès, and it was published by Enguilbert de Marnef in Poitiers. In 1566, du Rosne printed two more editions and the last copy was made by Étienne Thomas in Caen in 1568.

Fiscal edicts and ordinances were important sellers during the sixteenth century because they applied to businesses and anyone who was interested in the value of money. The four most republished acts on fiscal matters are shown below. The reissue of the Ordinance of St Germain in 1564 through the *cour des monnaies* assisted its republication in subsequent years, making it the most reprinted ordinance on the subject of money.

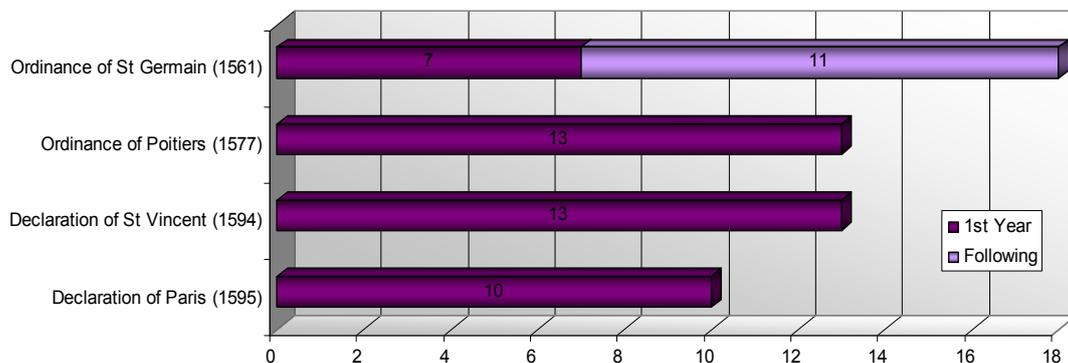


Figure 6-35: Top five fiscal acts printed before 1601.

Henry III promulgated a general ordinance on money in September 1577. Previously, only three ordinances were published on the subject during his reign. They were issued on 7 July 1574, 31 September 1575 and 15 September 1576. Each ordinance was published a few times.

However, the Ordinance of Poitiers was published thirteen times in 1577: eight times by Dallier's widow in Paris, twice in Lyon by Jove and Pillehotte, and once in Rouen, Caen and Troyes. It was sealed like an edict.<sup>94</sup> The Lyon edition was printed by Michel Jove and Jean Pillhotte. Their edition listed twenty-six articles in its first

<sup>93</sup> Three letters from the *cour des monnaies* were dated 17 February 1562, 27 August 1563 and 12 September 1564. See *Ordonnance du roy contenant le pois et pris des especes d'or* (Paris: Jean Dallier, 1565), sigs. D1r, N2r, P2r, and R3r. Aix, Bibliothèque Méjanes: Rec D 714 (23).

<sup>94</sup> Sealed in green wax with red and green silk. *Ordonnance du roy sur le fait et reiglement general de ses monnoyes* (Lyon: Mochel Jove et Jean Pillehotte, 1577), sig. E3v. BnF: NUMM- 52162.

forty pages and the next sixty pages consisted of pictures of French and foreign coins (see figure 6-36).<sup>95</sup>

Traditionally, as demonstrated with Charles IX and Henry III, the kings of France issued ordinances that pictured money. However, printers did not publish an ordinance of this kind during the reign Henry IV. Instead, the first decade of Bourbon rule was dominated by the need to restore confidence in the royal finances. Thus the most widely printed financial decree under Henry IV was the Declaration of St Vincent (1594), on the arrears of *rentes*, or government bonds, which the crown issued to procure more funds for the treasury.

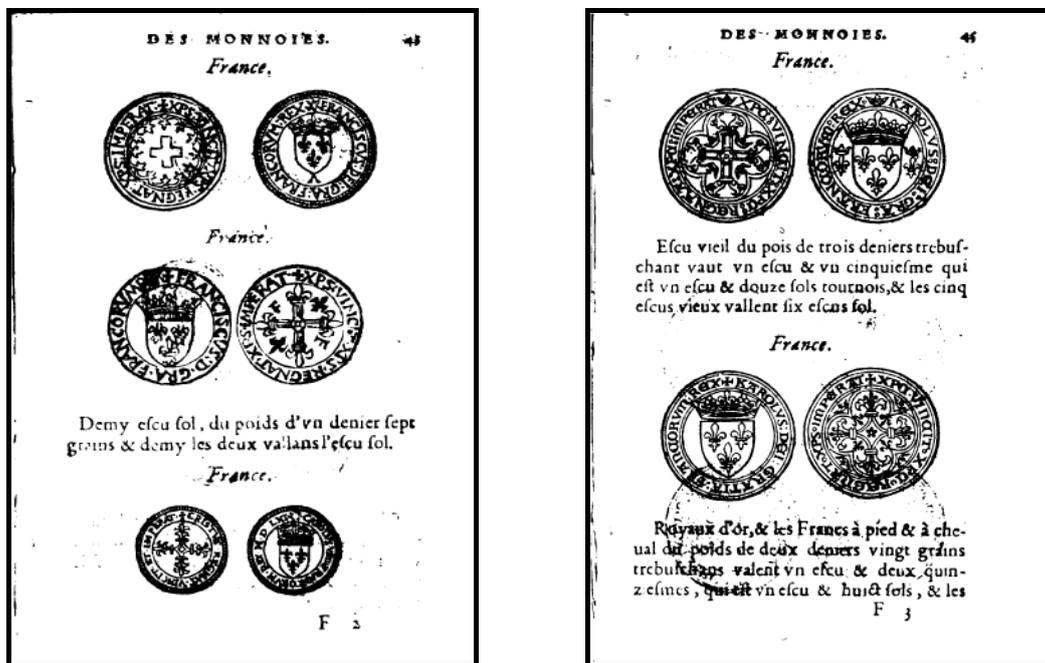


Figure 6-36: French coins pictured in the Ordinance of Poitiers of 1577.<sup>96</sup>

Henry IV's goal was to settle royal debts accumulated by his predecessors, which included paying the interest incurred from *rentes* to their purchasers. The Declaration of St Vincent addressed this. It was issued on 8 July 1594 at a camp in the abbey of St Vincent, located near Laon. It was published in five editions by Frédéric Morel, who produced a sixth pamphlet with Jamet Mettayer and Pierre L'Huillier.

<sup>95</sup> *Ordonnance du roy sur le faict et reiglement general de ses monnoyes* (Lyon: Mochel Jove et Jean Pillehotte, 1577). BnF: NUMM- 52162. In this edition, A-E4 contained articles. F-M4, N2 contained illustrations and explanations.

<sup>96</sup> *Ordonnance du roy sur le faict et reiglement general de ses monnoyes* (Lyon: Mochel Jove et Jean Pillehotte, 1577), sigs. F2r, F3r. BnF: NUMM- 52162.

Mettayer and L’Huillier also printed an edition without Morel. Outside Paris, it was printed once in Lyon, Angers, Blois, Langres, Dijon, and Troyes.

The following year, on 16 April, the king issued a declaration from Paris on the payments of *rentes*. It was published ten times. Morel published two editions alone, and published three more with Mettayer and L’Huillier. Printers in the towns of Bourges and Troyes printed two versions each. Jean de Preys in Langres published one edition.

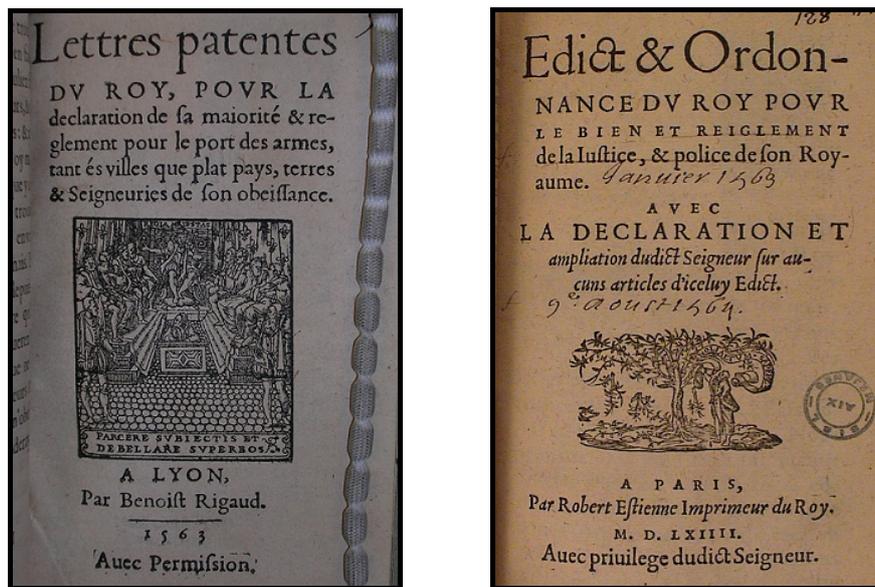


Figure 6-37: The Declaration of Rouen of 1563 (left) and the Edict and Ordinance of Paris of 1564 (right).<sup>97</sup>

One of the most important events in the life of Charles IX was marked by a declaration on 16 August 1563 in Rouen: the king was declared old enough to rule without supervision. It was a controversial decree for several reasons, including the fact that the crown decided to use the Parlement of Rouen to act as the principal court to declare his majority instead of the Parlement in Paris. The king, now in his majority, was able to use his authority to repel Parlement’s complaints. Alongside the declaration of his majority, the king also addressed civil problems and forbade citizens from carrying weapons, as measures of public safety and security.

The declaration of the majority of Charles IX was printed fifteen times. In its first year, it was published at least ten times. Robert Estienne printed two editions and

<sup>97</sup> *Edict et ordonnance du roy pour le bien et reiglement de la justice* (Paris: Robert Estienne, 1564). Aix, Bibliothèque Méjanas: Rec D 80 (4). *Lettres patentes du roy pour la declaration de sa maiorité* (Lyon: Benoist Rigaud, 1563). Zentralbibliothek Zürich: XVIII 190 (9).

Guillaume Nyverd printed one edition in Paris. Martin Le Mégissier published two editions in Rouen. Three editions were produced by Benoît Rigaud in Lyon and Nicolas Logerois printed one declaration in Poitiers. Another publication was anonymously printed. It was printed five times in subsequent years. The last edition was printed around 1567 by Le Mégissier in Rouen.

In a judicial ordinance created in November 1563, Charles IX issued another *Ordonnance sur l'abréviation des proces*.<sup>98</sup> It was published thirteen times. Robert Estienne produced three editions: once in 1563 and twice in 1564. In 1563, it was also published in Tours by Jean Borreau. The following year, it was published eight times outside Paris: three times in Lyon by Benoît Rigaud, twice in Rouen by Martin Le Mégissier, and once in Dijon, Le Mans, and Caen. Rigaud published a fourth edition in 1565.

The ninth most reprinted royal act before 1601 was issued by Charles IX in January 1564. The Edict and Ordinance of Paris contained articles that accompanied the Ordinances of Orléans of 1561 on the judicial system and safeguarding the kingdom. They were printed twenty-one times. In their first year of promulgation, the edict and ordinance were published nine times. Robert Estienne printed five editions. Bertrand Noscerau produced two editions. Benoît Rigaud and Jean des Planches printed the edict and ordinance once in Lyon and Dijon, respectively. The following year, they were printed in Le Mans and Poitiers. From 1567 to around 1583, they were published ten more times.

Royal edicts also addressed administrative matters such creation or abolition of royal offices. An edict from Blois (see figure 6-38a below) established a *contrôleur des titres* for each *siège royal* that managed *rentes*, contracts, testaments, and other documents made between two parties in June 1581. In this case, the edict was printed ten times. Frédéric Morel published six editions: three in 1581, two in 1582, and one in 1586. It was also printed by Martin Le Mégissier in Rouen in 1584 and 1587.<sup>99</sup> In 1581, it was published once by Jacques Bouchet of Poitiers and Marin Chalumeau in Le Mans. No single office was more frequently discussed in printed administrative decrees of this type.

---

<sup>98</sup> *Ordonnance du roy sur l'abréviation des proces* (Paris: Robert Estienne, 1563). BnF: F 46825 (16).

<sup>99</sup> The Parlement of Rouen did not register the decree until June 1584. See *Edict du roy contenant la creation et erection de contrerolleurs des tiltres* (Rouen: Martin Le Mégissier, ca. 1584), sigs. C3v-C4v. BnF: F 46867 (6).



Figure 6-38: Edict of Blois of 1582 (left) and Edict of Paris of 1583 (right).<sup>100</sup>

One civil royal act stands apart from other decrees in its category. It was not uncommon for kings to regulate how citizens dressed. On 24 March 1583, Henry III issued an ordinance from Paris that dissolved a previous edict that prohibited commoners from sporting luxurious clothes that were worn by the nobility (see figure 6-38b). Ten editions of this royal act were published. Seven editions were printed by Fédéric Morel. Jean Pillehotte of Lyon, Eloi Gibier of Orléans, and Pierre Boizateau of Poitiers also published the ordinance once each.

### The Subjects of Printed Edicts

During the reign of Charles IX, printers reproduced more royal acts on religious strife more than any other subject. Edicts of pacification, their revocations, and declarations made for or against Huguenot leaders together constituted 29 per cent of the total number of printed decrees from the beginning of December 1560 to the end of May 1574. The second most popularly printed subject was judicial. It comprised 24 per cent of royal acts published during the reign of Charles IX. The ordinances of reform and other related acts contributed significantly to this count. Financial and military related decrees took 12 and 11 per cent, respectively, of the corpus of published ordinances and acts. Edicts and declarations that regulated the public and

<sup>100</sup> *Edict du roy contenant creation d'un contrerolleur des tiltres* (Paris: Fédéric Morel, 1582). Grenoble BM: F 16234. *Ordonnance du roy pour le reglement et reformation de la dissolution et superfluité qui est és habillemens* (Paris: Fédéric Morel, 1583). Carpentras, Bibliothèque Inguimbertaine: M 57 (16).

commercial activity comprised 9 per cent each. Other acts, such as letters from the king, laws concerning the king's forests and acts with subjects that did not fall under the regular categories, comprised 6 per cent of royal acts printed from 1560 to 1574.

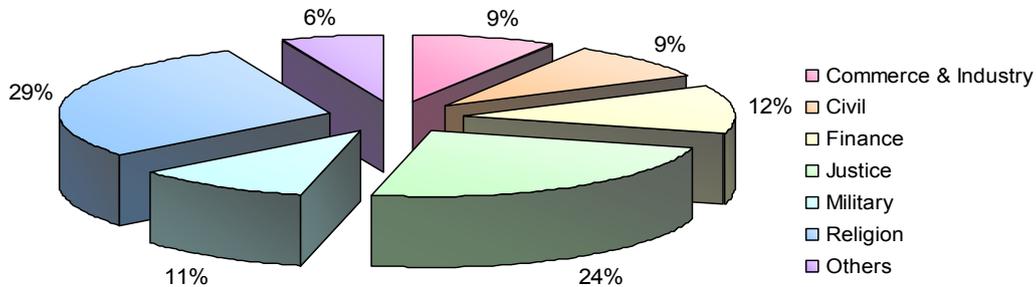


Figure 6-44: Royal acts divided by subjects during the reign of Charles IX.

The royal printing industry flourished under Charles IX more than any other king in the sixteenth century. A quarter of all the royal acts printed before 1601 were published in the 1560s. This same decade accounted for nearly 20 per cent of the overall share in the vernacular book industry, which, again, was more than at any other time in the sixteenth century.

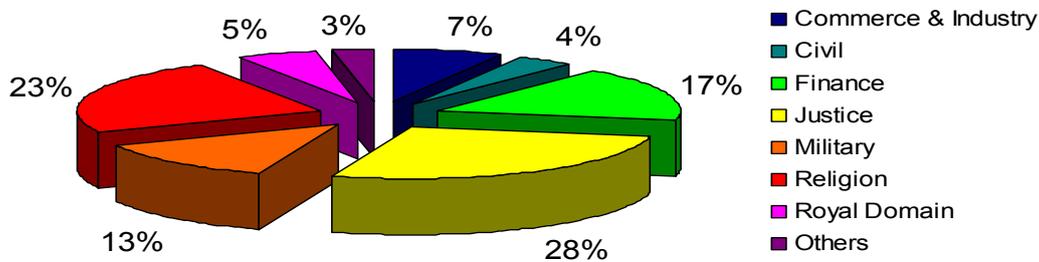


Figure 6-45: Royal acts divided by subjects during the reign of Henry III.

This share could have persisted or increased during the 1570s but the difficulties of Henry III's reign prevented further progression. Under Henry, the combination of fewer edicts of pacification and constant administrative changes led to the rise in judicial edicts and a decrease in the number of religious acts, which comprise 28 per cent and 23 per cent respectively of the total number of printed decrees published under Henry III. This was followed by financial ordinances, which fell to 17 per cent. Royal acts concerning the military contributed 13 per cent of printed decrees. Subjects that

composed less than 10 per cent of printed decrees were commercial regulations (7 per cent), acts on the royal domain (5 per cent), and others which included letters and decrees with irregular categories (3 per cent).

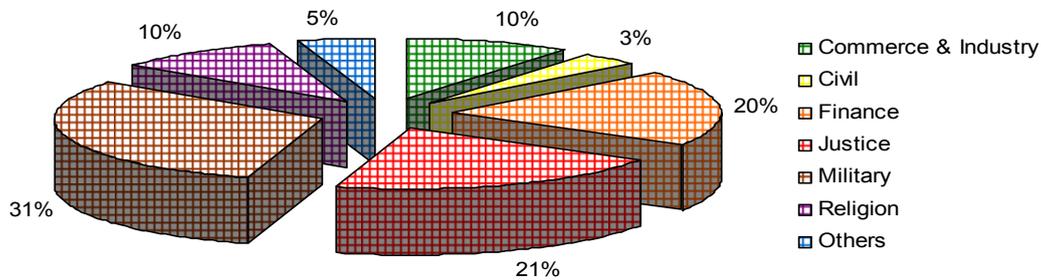


Figure 6-46: Royal acts divided by subjects during the reign of Henry IV.

The last decade of the sixteenth century saw more publications on military-related acts than any other genre. Military acts composed nearly 31 per cent of royal acts printed during the reign of Henry IV. Judicial and financial acts composed 21 and 20 per cent respectively while edicts and ordinances on religion constituted 10 per cent of printed acts published since August 1589. Henry IV may have begun with a huge task, but his political and military prowess overcame most obstacles. He not only restored the monarchy but managed to issue a royal act that pacified the kingdom through the Edict of Nantes in 1598.

The publication of royal acts multiplied dramatically in the last forty years of the sixteenth century. The two main catalysts for this 500 per cent increase were the creation of the *imprimeurs du roi* in Paris and the participation of more provincial presses that printed royal acts. *Imprimeurs du roi* in Paris were responsible for 20 per cent of royal acts printed before 1601. Provincial presses, including their royal printers, produced over 33 per cent of printed royal acts. Other regular printers and anonymous publications provided over 1200 editions in the last forty years of the sixteenth century.

The most reprinted decrees before 1601 were the Ordinances of Orléans of 1561 and the Ordinances of Moulins of 1566, with forty editions each. These were followed by the Ordinances of Villers-Cotterêts of 1539 and the Edicts of Reunion of 1585 and Union of 1588. Each of these royal acts appeared in thirty-one editions. The sixth most popularly printed act was an edict of pacification, the Edict of Amboise of 1563

with twenty-three publications. The Ordinances of Blois of 1579 and the General Truce of 1593 between Henry IV and the duke of Mayenne were printed twenty-two times each. Finally, the Edict and Ordinance of Paris of 1564 was published in twenty-one editions.

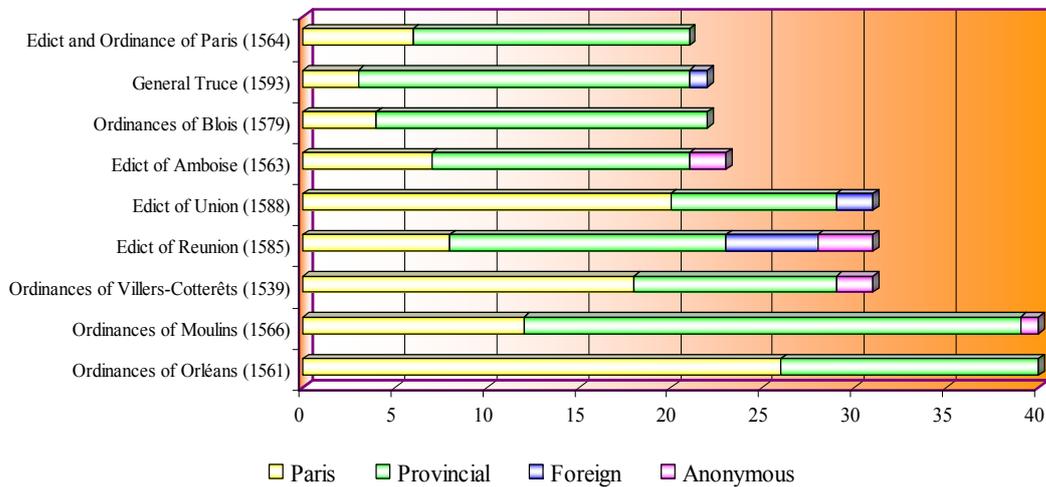


Figure 6-47: Royal acts printed in more than twenty editions before 1601.

The confluence of Parisian and provincial presses was important if a royal act were to be widely known throughout the kingdom. In the years when this system was most under threat, that is, in the early 1590s, the number of royal acts published dropped dramatically. The victory of Henry IV allowed the restoration of a true nationwide system for making the king’s will widely known. In this respect, it is surely significant that the general truce agreed between Henry IV and the duke of Mayenne in 1593 was published in fifteen French towns and once abroad in Delft.

This was an era where the conflict and disruption of the religious wars created a restless search for peace and the need to address the underlying causes of social disharmony. It is no surprise in this context that the most reprinted category among royal acts before 1601 consisted of ordinances of reform, with over 160 publications. Edicts of pacification followed closely behind, with over 150 editions. Town reductions were published over a hundred times. However, the edicts that were published in the most places were the edicts of pacification. Twenty-five towns outside Paris published these edicts at one time or another: Angers, Angoulême, Blois, Bordeaux, Bourges, Caen, Châlons, Clermont, Dijon, Douai, La Rochelle, Langres, Le Mans, Lyon, Metz, Montauban, Orléans, Poitiers, Rennes, Rouen, Toulouse, Troyes,

Chambery (Savoy), and Zweibrücken (Germany). Town reductions were published in twenty-three towns outside Paris: Agen, Angers, Auxerre, Bordeaux, Bourges, Caen, Cahors, Le Mans, Lyon, Montpellier, Nantes, Nevers, Orléans, Périgueux, Poitiers, Reims, Rennes, Riom, Rouen, Sens, Toulouse, Tours, and Troyes. Popular royal acts concerning the duke of Mayenne were also published in eighteen towns outside Paris and two towns in the Low Countries during Leaguer rule: Angers, Blois, Bordeaux, Bourges, Châlons, Chartres, Cahors, Dijon, La Rochelle, Le Mans, Lyon, Melun, Metz, Orléans, Reims, Rouen, Saint-Denis, Tours, Delft, and Middelburg. These acts were the Declaration of Blois of 1589 against the felony of the duke of Mayenne and his associates, the General Truce of 1593, and its termination in 1593.



## CONCLUSION

---

The purpose of this thesis was to provide a survey of French royal acts printed before the seventeenth century. It was discovered that not every issued decree was printed, but rather a handful of acts were chosen for profit by booksellers, publishers, and printers. The king intervened occasionally in a royal act's reproduction in the book trade. His printers, both in Paris and in the provinces, produced 39 per cent of royal acts printed before 1601. Most these royal acts were printed in multiple editions of the same promulgation.

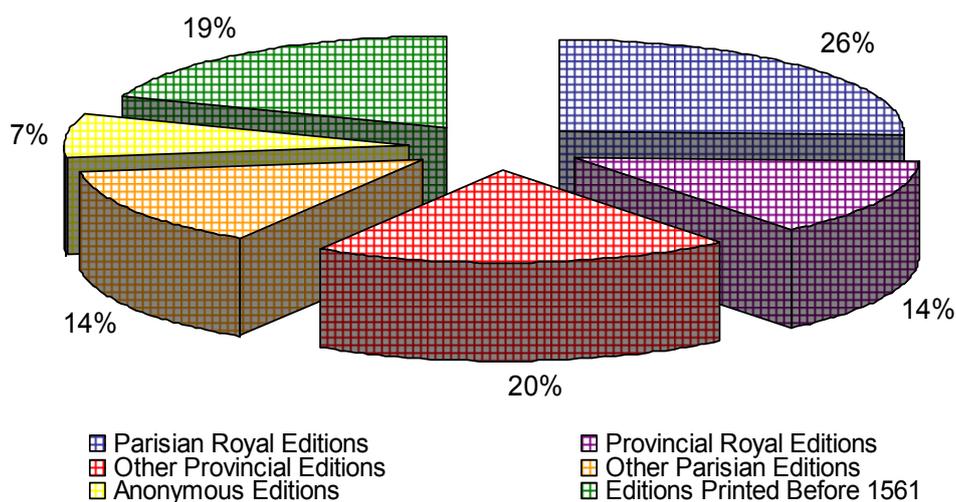


Figure 7-1: Royal acts printed before 1601.  
Royal acts published after 1560 were divided by Parisian and provincial editions.

Acts were often printed to satisfy public demand, but printers also published decrees for the king or local authorities as part of the official dissemination process for royal acts. When this occurred, they were hired by the crown and courts. Published acts were often mixed with manuscript copies. In the first two chapters, different areas of royal business were revealed. Chapter one outlined how the French crown communicated with the public: documents were sent systematically through official channels. New laws were sent from the *chancellerie* to the Parlement of Paris, to other sovereign courts, to the *baillages* and *sénéchaussées*, to smaller, municipal courts in

adjacent towns, and to the town crier, who proclaimed the acts to the public. The effectiveness of the medieval structure of dissemination allowed the new industry to participate intermittently between stages of transmission. For example, a printer could be employed by the crown to publish decrees sent to the Parlement of Paris, or local communities could hire a printer to publish broadsheets for local publicity. Therefore, by 1601, two important transitions had yet to take place. Presses had not yet replaced the hand-copying method to duplicate royal acts—they only supplemented this process—and printing had not yet changed the chain of communication between the crown and the people.

The types of royal acts were discussed in chapter two. The various headings of royal acts and their implications were studied through their diplomatic languages and structures. The formal, official form warranted serious consideration from citizens and had to be registered in local courts. Edicts were always issued in this style because they were new laws established by the king. *Lettres patentes* and ordinances usually employed this form as well. *Lettres patentes* were usually specific in nature, and were granted to a single individual or group. Ordinances were general laws, which could deal with a variety of subjects in a single proclamation. The *cour des monnaies* was the only court that had the authority to issue monetary ordinances in the king's name. In contrast, sometimes the king preferred to speak in a terse manner. Declarations, *mandements*, and general letters usually embraced a less formal tone that often began with “de par le roy.” They were usually simple explanations, legal interpretations, or commands. The shorter structure usually implied that the king did not consult his advisors on the matter. Sometimes declarations, *mandements*, and letters took the more ceremonial form. Then they were treated and registered like a new law. In the category of jurisprudence, royal acts were the most published texts, superseding other juridical books including ancient legal codes and court rulings.

The third and fourth chapters focused on the printing industry. The third chapter discussed the general context of publishing royal acts. It was demonstrated that the vernacular printing industry published a fraction of the instructions issued by the king. The percentage of printed acts fluctuated every year. On the other hand, royal acts constituted 12 per cent of the market share in the vernacular printing industry before 1601. Royal acts chosen for public sale were valued commodities as the high number of privileges indicates. It was only a matter of time before provincial presses

discovered the potential income from printing popular royal acts or from being steadily employed to print them on behalf of the town.

Chapter four focused on the printers who made significant contributions to the publication of royal acts before 1601. Before the reign of Henry II, Jean André, Jacques Nyverd, and Galliot du Pré were established booksellers and the leading publishers of royal acts. However, around the middle of the sixteenth century, respectable printers with smaller businesses began dominating the numbers of published decrees. The most important of these men was Jean Dallier, who was the second largest publisher of royal acts before 1601. Then the appointments of *imprimeurs du roi*, who specialized in the publication of royal acts, replaced the medium-sized printers as top publishers. Three men who held this position were extremely prolific: Robert Estienne (II), Frédéric Morel (I), and his son, Frédéric Morel (II). Frédéric Morel (II) became the largest producer of printed royal acts before 1601. Outside Paris, royalist printers became especially important during the crown's exile, as few others were involved in the production of royal acts in France during this period. Royalist printers were rewarded by becoming provincial *imprimeurs du roi*, if they had not already held this title before the king's exile in 1588.

The last two chapters focused on the subjects of published decrees and the most popular decrees printed under each king. Chapter five discussed royal acts published before the reign of Charles IX, which constituted less than 20 per cent of promulgations printed before 1601. The most reprinted incunabulum was the Ordinances of Blois of 1499 issued by Louis XII. However, the most widely distributed decree before 1560 was the Ordinances of Villers-Cotterêts of 1539 issued by Francis I. These ordinances were also the third most republished royal act in the sixteenth century. The publication of the Edict of Saint-Germain-en-Laye of 1550 on church benefices, and the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis of 1559, became the most published royal acts during the reign of Henry II. During the reign of Francis II, Protestantism became a larger problem for the crown. Thus, the Edict of Amboise of 1560, which granted clemency to abjuring Protestants, became the young king's most reprinted royal act.

In contrast, 80 per cent of royal acts printed before 1601 were published after the death of Francis II. Chapter six focused on more popularly printed royal acts in the last forty years of the sixteenth century. The major ordinances of reform were the most reprinted topic and the Ordinances of Orléans of 1561 and Moulins of 1566 were the most republished royal acts before 1601. The Edicts of Reunion of 1585 and Union of

1588, along with the Ordinances of Villers-Cotterêts of 1539, were the third most reprinted royal acts in the sixteenth century.<sup>1</sup> The most widely published topic was the edicts of pacification followed by town reductions in the 1590s. However, the royal act that was published in the most towns was the General Truce of 1593 signed between Henry IV and the duke of Mayenne. The Edict of Reunion trailed slightly behind.

The most reprinted category was judicial, constituting a quarter of royal acts printed before 1601. This was followed by religious acts, which comprised 22 per cent of printed decrees. Financial and military promulgations comprised 15 per cent each of the total number of publications. Other royal acts, which were not categorized under more specific headings, comprised 8 per cent of the number of printed decrees. This category included large volumes, letters of the king, royal acts on forestry, etc. The smallest portion of 7 per cent of printed acts belongs to civil laws. The chart below demonstrates these percentages.

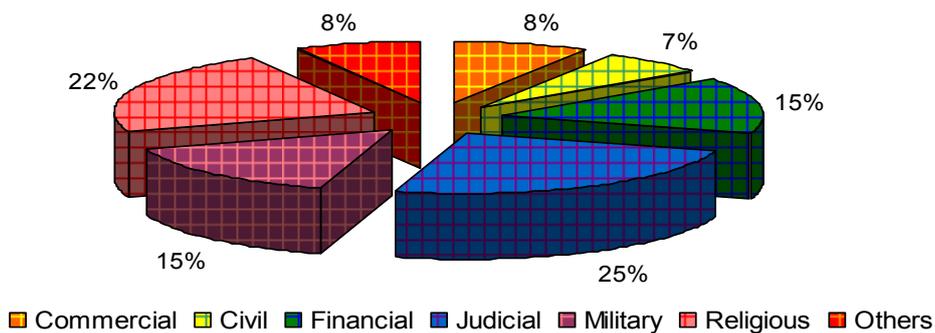


Figure 7-2: Royal acts printed before 1601 divided by categories.

These conclusions could not have been drawn without the data extracted from the French Vernacular Book Project of St Andrews. The data will be developed into a catalogue of printed royal acts that follows this thesis. It is the largest, most expansive compendium of royal acts printed in French before 1601.

<sup>1</sup> See figure 6-48.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY ONE**  
PRIMARY SOURCES (EXCLUDING ROYAL ACTS)

---

- Alliaco, Petrus de. *Censuivent les sept degres de leschelle de penitance figures* (Paris: Antoine Caillaut, Louis Martineau, and Geoffroy de Marnef, ca. 1585). London, British Library: IA.39354.
- Du Bellay, Pierre, ed. *Recueil des edicts de pacification, ordonnances et declaration* (Geneva: Jacques Chouet, 1599). BN: F 29066.
- Bélyard, Simon. *Le guysien ou perfidie tyrannique commise par Henry de Valois* (Troyes: Jean Moreau, 1592). Châlons-en-Champagne BM: Pl 222 (1).
- Boaistuau, Pierre, Tesserant, Claude de, Belleforest, François de, et al. *Histoires prodigieuses extraictes de plusieurs fameux auteurs*, trans. François de Belleforest (Paris: Guillaume Cavellat, 1598). Oxford, Bodleian Library: 8o alpha 244 (1) BS.
- Book of Commons. *Le livre des prieres communes*, trans. François Philippe (London: Thomas Gaultier, 1553). Oxford, Bodleian Library: Douce C P Fr f 1553.
- Bourbon, Charles de, Cardinal de. *Remonstrance faicte au roy et la royne mere, par messieurs les cardinaux* (Paris: Antoine Sallé, 1586).
- Brunet, Jacques-Charles. *Manuel du libraire et de l'amateur de livres*. 5e à originale entièrement refondue et augm. d'un tiers par l'auteur. ed. 6 vols. Vol. 6. Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1865.
- Buchereau, Jacques ed. *Les institutes imperiales de Justinian*, trans. Guy de La Roche (Paris: Guillaume de La Noüe, 1580). London, British Library: 706 a 26.
- . *Les institutes imperiales de Justinian*, trans. Guy de La Roche (Paris: Jean Poupy, 1580). BN: Résac. F 37713.
- Bugnyon, Philibert. *Commentaire sur les ordonnances faictes par le roy* (Lyon: Claude Ravot, 1567). La Rochelle, Médiathèque Michel Crépeau: 10807c.
- Bullinger, Heinrich. "Briefe des jaures 1535." In *Heinrich Bullinger Briefwechsel*, edited by Rainer Henrich Hans Ulrich Bächtold, Kurt Jakob Rüestchi. Zurich: University of Zurich, 1992.
- Calvin, Jean. "Letter 284: To Bullinger. Edict of Chateaubriand, in France-Attacks on Calvin in Geneva: 15 October 1551, Geneva." In *Selected Works of Jean Calvin*, edited by Jules Bonnet. Albany, OR: AGES Software, 1998.

- . "Letter 640: To Bullinger. Treaty of Amboise--Strictures on this Treaty Concluded by the Prince of Conde without the Approbation of Coligny and the Principal Protestant Chiefs. 8 April 1563, Geneva." In *Selected Works of Jean Calvin*, edited by Jules Bonnet. Albany, OR: AGES Software, 1998.
- Du Chalard, Joachim, ed. *Sommaire exposition des ordonnances du roy Charles IX* (Paris: Lucas Breyer, 1562). BN: Résac. F 18993.
- Chandieu, Antoine de. *Responses aux calomnies contenues au discours* (Lyon: s.n., 1563). BN: NUMM- 70729.
- Chartier, Alain. *Les faiz maistre Alain Charetier* (Paris: Pierre Le Caron). Lyon BM: Inc 497.
- Châtillon, Jérôme de. *Ordonnances de monseigneur le duc de Montpensier* (Lyon: Jean de Tournes). BN: F 13784.
- Estienne, Robert. *Les declinations des noms et verbes* (Paris: Robert Estienne, 1540). Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek: 53 5 Gram (2).
- . *Traicté de la grammaire françoise* (Paris: Robert Estienne, 1569). Le Mans, Médiathèque Louis Aragon: BL 8o 566.
- Dedrain, René. *Ordonnances du roy...en sa ville de Moulins en l'assemblée des estats l'an 1566* (Paris: Pierre L'Huillier, 1571). Amiens BM: J 416.
- France. Anjou. *Les stilles et usages de proceder en la court laye es pays d'Anjou* (Angers: Johannes de La Tour, ca. 1493). London, British Library: IA 42496.
- France. Cour des Monnaies. *Ordonnance de la cour des monnaies sur le descry des douzains, dizains, pieces de six blancz et trois blancz rongnees* (Paris: Veuve Jean Dallier, 1575). BN: F 36363 (2).
- France. Coutumes d'Anjou. *Coutumes d'Anjou et du Maine* (Angers: Jean de La Tour and Jean Morel, ca. 1476). Angers BM: Incunables Rés SJ 380 format: In 8.
- France. Coutumes d'Auvergne. *Les coutumes du hault et bas pays d'Auvergne* (Paris: Jean Petit, 1511). Bibliothèque Communautaire et Interuniversitaire de Clermont-Ferrand: Reserve R 5323 (1).
- France. Coutumes de Bretagne. *Les coutumes et establissemens de Bretagne* (Paris: Guillaume Le Fèvre, ca. 1480). BN: Rés. F 2188
- . *Les jouables coutumes du pays et duché de Bretagne visitées* (Nantes: Antoine Papolin, ca. 1532). BN: Rés. 8o Z DON 594 (87).
- France. Coutumes de Bourgogne. *Les ordonnances royaulx constituées es parlemens du duché de Bourgoingne* (s.l.: s.n., ca. 1492). BN: Res P F 2 (2).

- . *Les ordonnances royaulx constituees es parlemens du duchie de Bourgoingne* (Lyon: Claude Davost, 1508). Lyon BM: Rés. B 492165 (2).
- France. Coutumes de France. *Le grant coustumier de France et instruction de practique et maniere de proceder* (Paris: Galliot du Pré, 1515).  
Beaune BM: B 50.
- France. Coutumes du Maine. *Ce son les coustumes du pays et conte du Mayne* (Paris: Pierre Cochery and Alexandre Chouen, 1535). BN: Rés. F 1658.
- France. Estates General. *L'ordre des estats generaux tenus a Blois* (Blois: Jamet Mettayer et Pierre L'Huillier, 1589). Grenoble BM: E 12683 (1).
- France. Medici, Catherine de. *Articles resolu et accordez à Nerac* (Paris: Frédéric Morel, 1579). Le Mans, Médiathèque Louis Aragon: J 207 (6)
- . *Ordonnance de la royne mere du roy regente en France* (Lyon: Michel Jove, 1574). BN: F 46847 (2).
- France. Parlement de Paris. *Arrest de la cour de parlement contre Jean Chastel* (Cahors: Jacques Rousseau, 1595). Toulouse BM: Rés. D XVI 81 (1).
- . *Ordonnance de la cour de parlement par laquelle sont faites defenses* (Paris: Frédéric Morel, 1574). BN: F 47080 (12).
- France. Prévôt de Paris. *Ordonnance de la police generale pour l'execution de l'edict fait par le roy sur le reglement des soyes et habillements* (Paris: Frédéric Morel, 1583). Aix, Bibliothèque Méjanes: Rec D 22 (19).
- . *Ordonnance du prevost de Paris ou son lieutenant par laquelle son deffenduz à toutes personnes* (Paris: Frédéric Morel, 1588). BN: F 47161 (28).
- France. Sovereign. Charles IX. *The Edict of the French King for the Appeasing of the Troubles of His Realme* (London: Henrie Bynneman, ca. 1573). London, British Library: C 122 b 20 (1).
- . *An Edict or Ordonance of the French King* (Louvain: s.n., ca. 1568). Oxford, Bodleian Library: 8o O67 (12) Th.
- France. Sovereigns. Henri IV. *The Kings Edict and Declaration Upon the Former Edicts of Pacification* (London: Richard Field for Thomas Man, 1599). San Marino, Huntington Library, Art Collections and Botanical Gardens: 61438.
- . *Harangue et declaration faite par le roy* (Basle: s.n., ca. 1589). Paris, Bibliothèque Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français: Rés. 550302.
- Garrault, Francis, ed. *Sommaire des edicts et ordonnances royaux* (Tours: Jamet Mettayer, 1590). BN: Résac. F 26260.
- Gerson, Jean. *Le livre intitulé internelle consolation* (Paris: Jean du Pré, ca. 1520).

- Chantilly, Musée Condé: III F 67.
- Guérault, Guillaume. *Hymnes du temps et de ses parties* (Lyon: Jean de Tournes, 1560). Oxford, Bodleian Library: Douce G 537.
- Guevara, Antonio de. *Histoire de Marc Aurele*, trans. R.B. de Grise, ed. N. de Herberay (Paris: Pierre et Galliot du Pré, freres, 1565). Aix, Bibliothèque Méjanès: Rés. Q 76.
- Henri III. *La harangue faict au roy par la noblesse de la France* (Paris: Antoine Sallé, 1586). BN: Résac. LB33 363 A.
- Heures. *Ces presentes heures a l'usage de Romme* (Paris: Jean du Pré, 1488/9). London, British Library: IA 39821.
- Humbert, Johannes de. *Explications françoises sur tous les titres des neuf premiers livres du code de Justinian* (Caen: Macé Bonhomme, 1558). No surviving copy. See Gültlingen, Sybille von, and Badagos, René. *Bibliographie des livres imprimés à Lyon au seizième siècle*. Vol. 8 (Baden-Baden: V. Koerner, 1992).
- Jourdan, Athanase Jean L., Decrusy, and François-André Isambert. *Recueil général des anciennes lois françaises: depuis l'an 420 jusqu'à la révolution de 1789*. 28 vols. Paris: Belin-Leprieur, 1829.
- Justinian. *Sommaire des douze livres du code de l'empereur Justinien* (Angoulême: Olivier de Minieres, 1598). Bordeaux BM: J 1011.
- Lorraine, Charles de, Duc de. *Edict et ordonnance de Charles...duc de Calabre* (Lyon: Benoît Rigaud, 1587). BN: FZ 1838.
- Mayenne, Charles de Lorraine, Duc de. *Discours abrege du combat des armées de monseigneur le duc de Mayenne* (Le Mans: Jérôme Olivier, ca. 1589). Grenoble BM: E 13170.
- . *Edict et declaration de monseigneur le duc de Mayenne* (Lyon: Jean Pillehotte, 1589). Aix, Bibliothèque Méjanès: Rec. D 9 (209).
- . *Lettres patentes de monseigneur le duc de Mayenne* (s.l.: s.n., ca. 1593). Amiens BM: H 2684/4 (15).
- . *Mandement de monseigneur le duc de Mayenne* (Troyes: Jean Moreau, ca. 1591). BN: LE15 3.
- Des Masures, Louis. *Chant pastoral sur le partement de France et lien-venue en Lorraine* (Lyon: Jean de Tournes, 1559). Nancy BM: Rés. 11201.
- Maugin, Jean. *Les figures de l'apocalypse de Saint Ian* (Paris: Estienne Groulleau, 1547/8). London, British Library: 554 a 5.
- Medici, Catherine de. *Remonstrance faicte au roy et la royne mere, par messieurs les*

- cardinaux* (Paris: Antoine Sallé, 1586). BN: Résac. LB34 299 A.
- Paris. *La publication faicte a Paris pour l'entretienement des lettres de l'edict de paix* (Paris: Robert Estienne, 1570). La Rochelle, Médiathèque Michel Crépeau: 11018c.
- Paris. Sorbonne. *Le catalogue des livres examinez et censurez par le faculté de theologie* (Paris: Jean Dallier, 1551). Le Mans, Mediathèque Louis Aragon: Th 4942.
- Pasques. *La grant confession de pasques* (Paris: Antoine Caillaut, ca. 1491). London, British Library: IA 39501.
- Pinset, Charles. *Le martyre de frere Jacques Clement de l'ordre S. Dominique* (Troyes: Jean Moreau, ca. 1589). Lunel BM: L 133 (1).
- Pithou, Pierre. *Les libertez de l'église gallicane* (Paris: Mamert Patisson, 1594). Aix, Bibliothèque Méjanès: Rec D 540 (4).
- Plutarch. *Recueil des haultz et nobles faictz de plusieurs femmes vertueuses* (Paris: Olivier Mallard, 1538). BN: Rés. J 3231.
- Polanus. *Les croniques de France*, Robert Gaguin, ed. (Paris: Galliot du Pré, 1515). BN: Rés. L35 16.
- Pseudo-Aristotles. *Le secret des secretz* (Paris: Louis Martineau, ca. 1484). Bordeaux BM: missing.
- Quentin, Jean. *L'examen de conscience pour congnoistre a bien* (Paris: Jacques Moerert and Estienne Jehannot, ca. 1500). Paris, Ecole nationale supérieure des Beaux-arts: Masson 1.
- Rebuffi, Pierre, ed. *Les edicts et ordonnances des roys de France* (Lyon: Claude Senneton, 1573). BN: Résac. F 2006.
- Tory, Geoffroy. *Champ fleury* (Paris: Olivier Mallard, 1529). London, British Library: C 31 k 5.
- Xenophon. *Economic de Xenophon* (Paris: Geoffrey Tory, 1531). Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek: QuH 116 (1).
- Zampini, Matteo, trans. *De la succession du droict et prerogative de premier prince du sang* (Paris: Pierre Ménier, 1589). Châlons-en-Champagne BM: AF 20885.



## BIBLIOGRAPHY TWO

### SECONDARY WORKS

---

- Académie des sciences morales et politiques. *Collection des ordonnances des rois de France: catalogue des actes de François Ier*. 10 vols. Paris: Impr. nationale, 1887-1908.
- Académie des sciences morales et politiques. *Catalogue des actes de Henri II*. 6 vols, *Collection des ordonnances des rois de France*. Paris: Impr. nationale, 1979.
- Antoine, Michel. *Le dur métier de roi: études sur la civilisation politique de la France d'Ancien Régime*. Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1986.
- Armstrong, Adrian. *Technique and Technology: Script, Print, and Poetics in France, 1470-1550*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Armstrong, Elizabeth. *Before Copyright: The French Book-Privilege System, 1498-1526*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- . *Robert Estienne, Royal Printer; an Historical Study of the Elder Stephanus*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954.
- Armstrong, Megan C. *The Politics of Piety: Franciscan Preachers During the Wars of Religion, 1560-1600*. 1 ed. New York, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2004.
- Bakos, Adrianna E. *Images of Kingship in Early Modern France: Louis XI in Political Thought, 1560-1789*. London: Routledge, 1997.
- Bakos, Adrianna E., and J. H. M. Salmon. *Politics, Ideology and the Law in Early Modern Europe: Essays in Honor of J.H.M. Salmon*. Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 1994.
- Barbiche, Bernard. *Les institutions de la monarchie française à l'époque moderne, XVIe-XVIIIe siècle*. Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1999.
- Barbier, Frédéric, and Henri Jean Martin. *Le livre et l'historien: études offertes en l'honneur du Professeur Henri-Jean Martin*. Genève: Droz, 1997.
- Baudrier, Henri Louis. *Bibliographie lyonnaise; recherches sur les imprimeurs, libraires, relieurs et fondateurs de lettres de Lyon au XVIe siècle. Publiées et continuées par J. Baudrier*. 13 vols. Paris: F. de Nobele, 1964.
- Baumgartner, Frederic J. *France in the Sixteenth Century*. New York, NY: St. Martin's Press, 1995.

- . *Henry II, King of France 1547-1559*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1988.
- . *Louis XII*. New York, NY: St. Martin's Press, 1994.
- Bautier, Robert Henri. *Chartes, sceaux et chancelleries: études de diplomatique et de sigillographie médiévales*. 2 vols. Paris: École des chartes, 1990.
- . *The Economic Development of Medieval Europe*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1971.
- Bell, David Avrom. *Lawyers and Citizens: The Making of a Political Elite in Old Regime France*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994.
- Benedict, Philip. *Cities and Social Change in Early Modern France*. London: Routledge, 1992.
- . *Reformation, Revolt and Civil War in France and the Netherlands 1555-1585*. Amsterdam: Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1999.
- . *Rouen during the Wars of Religion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.
- Bercé, Yves Marie. *History of Peasant Revolts: The Social Origins of Rebellion in Early Modern France*. Translated by Amanda Whitmore. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990.
- . *Revolt and Revolution in Early Modern Europe: An Essay on the History of Political Violence*. Translated by Joseph Bergin. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987.
- Bernard, Auguste Joseph. *Geofroy Tory, peintre et graveur, premier imprimeur royal, réformateur de l'orthographe et de la typographie*. 2 ed. Paris: Librairie Tross, 1865.
- Blanc-Rouquette, Marie Thérèse. *La presse et l'information à Toulouse, des origines à 1789*. Toulouse: Association des publications de la faculté des lettres et sciences humaines, 1968.
- Bonney, Richard. *Economic Systems and State Finance*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995.
- . *The European Dynastic States, 1494-1660*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991.
- . *The King's Debts: Finance and Politics in France 1589-1661*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981.
- . *The Limits of Absolutism in Ancien Régime France*. Aldershot: Variorum, 1995.

- . *The Rise of the Fiscal State in Europe, c.1200-1815*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.
- Bourquelot, Felix, ed. *Mémoires de Claude Haton: contenant le récit des événements accomplis de 1553 à 1582, principalement dans la Champagne et la Brie*. 3 vols. Vol. 1. Paris: Imprimerie impériale, 1857.
- Bourquin, Laurent, ed. *Mémoires de Claude Haton*. 3 vols. Vol. 3. Paris: Editions du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, 2005.
- Briggs, Robin. *Communities of Belief: Cultural and Social Tension in Early Modern France*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989.
- . *Early Modern France, 1560-1715*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977.
- British Library. *The Illustrated ISTC on CD-ROM*. Primary Source Media in association with the British Library, Reading.
- . *Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in France and of French Books Printed in Other Countries from 1470 to 1600 Now in the British Library*. London: British Library, 1986.
- Britnell, Jennifer, and R. H. Britnell. *Vernacular Literature and Current Affairs in the Early Sixteenth Century: France, England and Scotland*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000.
- Brown, Cynthia Jane. *Poets, Patrons, and Printers: Crisis of Authority in Late Medieval France*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995.
- Brunet, Gustave, Aimé Louis Champollion-Figeac, Eugène Halpen, P. L. Jacob, Charles Read, Philippe Tamizey de Larroque, and Édouard Tricotel, ed. *Mémoires-journaux de Pierre de L'Estoile: édition pour la première fois complète et entièrement conforme aux manuscrits originaux*. 11 vols. Paris: Librairie des bibliophiles, 1875.
- Burg, André Marcel. *Catalogue des livres des XVe et XVIe siècles*. Haguenau: Bibliothèque Municipale de Haguenau.
- Calmette, Joseph. *Le grand règne de Louis XI*. Paris: Hachette, 1938.
- Cameron, Keith. *From Valois to Bourbon: Dynasty, State and Society in Early Modern France*. Exeter: University of Exeter, 1989.
- . *Henri III, a Maligned or Malignant King?* Exeter: University of Exeter, 1978.
- Caplan, Jane, and John C. Torpey. *Documenting Individual Identity: The Development of State Practices in the Modern World*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001.

- Castelot, André. *François Ier*. Paris: Perrin, 1985.
- Cavallo, Guglielmo, and Roger Chartier, eds. *A History of Reading in the West*. Translated by Lydia G. Cochrane. Oxford: Polity Press, 1999.
- Chartier, Roger. *Cultural History: Between Practices and Representations*. Translated by Lydia G. Cochrane. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1988.
- . *The Cultural Uses of Print in Early Modern France*. Translated by Lydia G. Cochrane. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987.
- . *Forms and Meanings: Texts, Performances, and Audiences from Codex to Computer*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995.
- . *Lectures et lecteurs dans la France d'Ancien régime*. Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1987.
- . *On the Edge of the Cliff: History, Language, and Practices*. Translated by Lydia G. Cochrane. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997.
- . *The Order of Books: Readers, Authors, and Libraries in Europe between the Fourteenth and Eighteenth Centuries*. Translated by Lydia G. Cochrane. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994.
- Chartier, Roger, Alain Boureau, and Cécile Dauphin. *Correspondence: Models of Letter-Writing from the Middle Ages to the Nineteenth Century*. Translated by Christopher Woodall. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997.
- Charvet, P. E., Philip John Yarrow, Robert Niklaus, John Fox, and I. D. McFarlane. *A Literary History of France*. 6 vols. London: Benn, 1967.
- Chevillier, André. *L'origine de l'imprimerie de Paris: dissertation historique et critique*. Paris: J. de Laulne, 1694.
- Chrisman, Miriam Usher. *Lay Culture, Learned Culture: Books and Social Change in Strasbourg, 1480-1599*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1982.
- Clair, Colin. *Christopher Plantin*. London: Cassell, 1960.
- . *A Chronology of Printing*. London: Cassell, 1969.
- . *A History of European Printing*. London: Academic Press, 1976.
- . *A History of Printing in Britain*. London: Cassell, 1965.
- Claudin, A. *The First Paris Press; an Account of the Books Printed for G. Fichet and J. Heynlin in the Sorbonne, 1470-1472*. London: Printed for the Bibliographical Society at the Chiswick Press, 1898.

- Claudin, A., and Paul Lacombe. *Histoire de l'imprimerie en France au XVe et au XVIe siècle*. Paris: Impr. nationale, 1900.
- Cloulas, Ivan. *Catherine de Médicis*. Paris: Fayard, 1979.
- . *Henri II*. Paris: Fayard, 1985.
- Cohen, Esther. *The Crossroads of Justice: Law and Culture in Late Medieval France*. Leiden: Brill, 1993.
- Coleman, Joyce. *Public Reading and the Reading Public in Late Medieval England and France*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Collins, James B. *Classes, Estates, and Order in Early Modern Brittany*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- . *Fiscal Limits of Absolutism: Direct Taxation in Early Seventeenth-Century France*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1988.
- . *The State in Early Modern France*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Crapelet, Georges Adrien. *Robert Estienne, imprimeur royal, et le roi François Ier: nouvelles recherches sur l'état des lettres et de l'imprimerie au XVIe siècle*. Paris: Crapelet, 1839.
- Crick, Julia C., and Alexandra Walsham. *The Uses of Script and Print, 1300-1700*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Crouzet, Denis. "Henri IV, King of Reason?" In *From Valois to Bourbon: Dynasty, State and Society in Early Modern France*, edited by Keith Cameron, iv, 177. Exeter: University of Exeter, 1989.
- . *La nuit de la Saint-Barthélemy: un rêve perdu de la renaissance*. Paris: Fayard, 1994.
- . *La sagesse et le malheur: Michel de l'Hospital, Chancelier de France*. Seyssel: Champ Vallon, 1998.
- . *Les guerriers de Dieu: la violence au temps des troubles de religion, vers 1525-vers 1610*. Seyssel: Champ Vallon, 1990.
- Dane, Joseph A. *The Myth of Print Culture: Essays on Evidence, Textuality and Bibliographical Method*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003.
- D'Avray, D. L. *Medieval Marriage Sermons: Mass Communication in a Culture without Print*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.

- Davies, Hugh William, and Charles Fairfax Murray. *Catalogue of a Collection of Early French books in the Library of C. Fairfax Murray*. 2 vols. London: Priv. print, 1910.
- Deschamps, Pierre Charles E., Jacques Charles Brunet, and Pierre Gustave Brunet. *Manuel du libraire et de l'amateur de livres par J.C. Brunet. Supplément, par P. Deschamps et G. Brunet*. 2 vols. Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1878.
- Desgraves, Louis. *Éloi Gibier, imprimeur à Orléans (1536-1588)*. Genève: Droz, 1966.
- Desgraves, Louis, and Josef Benzing. *Répertoire bibliographique des livres imprimés en France au seizième siècle*. 30 vols. Baden-Baden: V. Koerner, 1968.
- Diefendorf, Barbara B. *Beneath the Cross: Catholics and Huguenots in Sixteenth-Century Paris*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991.
- . *Paris City Councillors in the Sixteenth Century: The Politics of Patrimony*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1983.
- Diefendorf, Barbara B., Carla Alison Hesse, and Natalie Zemon Davis. *Culture and Identity in Early Modern Europe (1500-1800): Essays in Honor of Natalie Zemon Davis*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1993.
- Dolan, Frances E. *Whores of Babylon: Catholicism, Gender, and Seventeenth-Century Print Culture*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1999.
- Dooley, Brendan Maurice, and Sabrina A. Baron. *The Politics of Information in Early Modern Europe*. London: Routledge, 2001.
- Doucet, Roger. *Étude sur le gouvernement de François Ier dans ses rapports avec le Parlement de Paris*. Paris: E. Champion, 1921.
- . *Les bibliothèques parisiennes au XVIe siècle*. Paris: Picard, 1956.
- , ed. *Les institutions de la France au XVIe siècle*. 2 vols. Paris: A. et J. Picard, 1948.
- Drummond, H. J. H., ed. *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed on the Continent of Europe, 1501-1600, in Aberdeen University Library*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979.
- Dumoulin, Joseph. *Vie et oeuvres de Frédéric Morel, imprimeur à Paris depuis 1557 jusqu'à 1583*. Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1969.
- Duquesne, Jean, and Michel Antoine. *Dictionnaire des gouverneurs de province sous l'ancien régime: novembre 1315-20 février 1791*. Paris: Editions Christian, 2002.
- Duranti, Luciana. *Diplomatics: New Uses for an Old Science*. Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 1998.

- Edmunds, Sheila. "From Schoeffer to Vérard: Concerning the Scribes Who Became Printers." In *Printing the Written Word: the Social History of Books, c. 1450-1520*, edited by Sandra L. Hindman, xii, 332. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991.
- Edwards, Mark U. *Printing, Propaganda, and Martin Luther*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1994.
- Eisenstein, Elizabeth L. *The Advent of Printing: Historians of Science Respond to Elizabeth Eisenstein's The Printing Press as an Agent of Change*. Montreal: Graduate School of Library and Information Studies McGill University, 1987.
- . *Print Culture and Enlightenment Thought*. Chapel Hill, NC: Hanes Foundation Rare Book Collection/University Library University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1986.
- . *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early Modern Europe, Volumes I and II*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- . *The Printing Revolution in Early Eodern Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.
- Erlanger, Philippe. *The Age of Courts and Kings: Manners and Morals 1558-1715*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1967.
- . *Henri III*. Paris: J. Tallandier, 1973.
- . *St. Bartholomew's Night: The Massacre of Saint Bartholomew*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1962.
- Evennett, H. O. *The Cardinal of Lorraine and the Council of Trent: A Study in the Counter-Reformation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1930.
- Farr, James R. "Popular Religious Solidarity in Sixteenth-Century France." *French Historical Studies* 14, no. 2 (1958): 192-214.
- Febvre, Lucien Paul Victor. *Notes et documents sur la Réforme et l'Inquisition en Franche-Comté; extraits des archives du Parlement de Dole*. Paris: H. Champion, 1912.
- . *The Problem of Unbelief in the Sixteenth Century, the Religion of Rabelais*. Translated by Beatrice Gottlieb. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982.
- Febvre, Lucien Paul Victor, and Lionel Bataillon. *A Geographical Introduction to History*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1974.

- Febvre, Lucien Paul Victor, and Peter Burke, ed. *A New Kind of History: From the Writings of Febvre*. Translated by K. Folca. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973.
- Febvre, Lucien Paul Victor, and Henri Jean Martin. *The Coming of the Book: The Impact of Printing 1450-1800*. Translated by David Gerard. 2 ed. London: Verso, 2000.
- Finer, Samuel E. "State- and Nation-Building in Europe: The Role of the Military." In *The formation of national states in Western Europe*, edited by Charles Tilly and Gabriel Ardant, 84-164. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1975.
- Finley-Crosswhite, S. Annette. *Henry IV and the Towns: The Pursuit of Legitimacy in French Urban Society, 1589-1610*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Franklin, Julian H. *Jean Bodin and the Rise of Absolutist Theory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973.
- . *Jean Bodin and the Sixteenth-Century Revolution in the Methodology of Law and History*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1963.
- Fuchs, Joseph, and Madeleine Lang. *Gutenberg et les débuts de l'imprimerie à Strasbourg, 5e centenaire de la mort de Gutenberg, 1468-1968, exposition organisée par les Archives et la Bibliothèque municipales de Strasbourg à la Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire, du 2 au 17 mars 1968*. Strasbourg: Bibliothèque nationale et universitaire, 1968.
- Garrisson, Janine. *Catherine de Médicis: l'impossible harmonie*. Paris: Payot, 2002.
- . *Henry IV*. Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1984.
- . *L'édit de Nantes et sa révocation: histoire d'une intolérance*. Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1985.
- . *L'édit de Nantes: chronique d'une paix attendue*. Paris: Fayard, 1998.
- . *Les protestants au XVIe siècle*. Paris: Fayard, 1988.
- Garrisson, Janine, and Richard Rex. *A History of Sixteenth-Century France, 1483-1598: Renaissance, Reformation and Rebellion*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1995.
- Geremek, Bronislaw. *The Margins of Society in Late Medieval Paris*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
- Gilmont, Jean François. *Jean Calvin et le livre imprimé*. Genève: Droz, 1997.
- . *Le livre & ses secrets*. Genève: Droz, 2003.

- . *The Reformation and the Book*. Translated by Karin Maag. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998.
- Girard, Alain R., and Anne Le Bouteiller. *Catalogue collectif des livres imprimés à Paris de 1472 à 1600: conservés dans les bibliothèques publiques de Basse-Normandie*. Baden-Baden: V. Koerner, 1991.
- Goldschmidt, E. Ph. *The First Cambridge Press in its European Setting*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1955.
- . *Medieval Texts and Their First Appearance in Print*. London: Printed for the Bibliographical society at the University press Oxford, 1943.
- Gray, Floyd. *Gender, Rhetoric and Print Culture in French Renaissance Writing*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Greengrass, Mark. *Conquest and Coalescence: The Shaping of the State in Early Modern Europe*. New York: E. Arnold, 1991.
- . *France in the Age of Henri IV: The Struggle for Stability*. 2nd ed. London: Longman, 1995.
- . *The French Reformation*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1987.
- Gültlingen, Sybille von, and René Badagos. *Bibliographie des livres imprimés à Lyon au seizième siècle*. Vol. 8. Baden-Baden: V. Koerner, 1992.
- Haebler, Konrad, and Lucy Eugenia Osborne. *The Study of Incunabula*. New York, NY: The Grolier Club, 1933.
- Halasz, Alexandra. *The Marketplace of Print: Pamphlets and the Public Sphere in Early Modern England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Hall, David D. *Cultures of Print: Essays in the History of the Book*. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1996.
- Hamon, Philippe. *L'argent du roi: les finances sous François 1er*. Paris: Comité pour l'histoire économique et financière de la France, 1994.
- Hanawalt, Barbara, and David Wallace. *Medieval Crime and Social Control*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1999.
- Harding, Robert R. *Anatomy of a Power Elite: The Provincial Governors of Early Modern France*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1978.
- Harris, Robin. *Valois Guyenne: A Study of Politics, Government, and Society in Late Medieval France*. London: The Royal Historical Society, 1994.
- Heidecker, Karl Josef. *Charters and the Use of the Written Word in Medieval Society*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2000.

- Heller, Henry. *Iron and Blood: Civil Wars in Sixteenth-Century France*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991.
- . *Labour, Science and Technology in France, 1500-1620*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Hellinga, Lotte, and J. B. Trapp. *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Henneman, John Bell. *The Medieval French Monarchy*. Hinsdale, IL: Dryden Press, 1973.
- Higman, Francis M. *Piety and the People: Religious Printing in French, 1511-1551*. Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1996.
- Hindman, Sandra, ed. *Printing the Written Word: The Social History of Books, c. 1450-1520*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991.
- Hindman, Sandra, and James Douglas Farquhar, ed. *Pen to Press: Illustrated Manuscripts and Printed Books in the First Century of Printing*. College Park, MD: Art Dept. University of Maryland, 1977.
- Hirsch, Rudolf. *The Printed Word: Its Impact and Diffusion: Primarily in the 15th-16th Centuries*. London: Variorum Reprints, 1978.
- Holt, Mack P. *Aristocracies and Urban Elites in Early Modern France: A Tribute to Ellery Schalk*. Alfred, NY: Historical Reflections, 2001.
- . "Attitudes of the French Nobility at the Estates-General of 1576." *The Sixteenth century journal* 18, no. 4 (Winter, 1987): 489-504.
- . *The Duke of Anjou and the Politique Struggle During the Wars of Religion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.
- . *The French Wars of Religion, 1562-1629*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- . *Renaissance and Reformation France, 1500-1648*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- Holt, Mack P., and J. Russell Major. *Society and Institutions in Early Modern France*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1991.
- Isnard, Albert, ed. *Catalogue général. Actes royaux*. 7 vols. Vol. 1. Paris: Min. de l'instr. publ. et des beaux-arts, 1910.
- Jacquart, Jean. *François Ier*. Paris: Fayard, 1981.

- James, Alan. *The Navy and Government in Early Modern France, 1572-1661*. London: Royal Historical Society, 2004.
- Jones, George William. *A Distinguished Family of French Printers of the Sixteenth Century, Henri & Robert Estienne*. London: Linotype & Machinery Ltd, 1929.
- Jones, Michael. *Between France and England: Politics, Power, and Society in Late Medieval Brittany*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003.
- . *The Creation of Brittany: A Late Medieval State*. London: Hambledon Press, 1988.
- Jouhaud, Christian. "Readability and Persuasion." In *The Culture of Print: Power and the Uses of Print in Early Modern Europe*, edited by Alain Boureau and Roger Chartier, viii, 351, [16] of plates. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1989.
- Jourdan, Athanase Jean L., Decrusy, and François-André Isambert. *Recueil général des anciennes lois françaises: depuis l'an 420 jusqu'à la révolution de 1789*. 28 vols. Paris: Belin-Leprieur, 1829.
- Kendall, Paul Murray. *Louis XI: "The Universal Spider"*. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1971.
- Kim, Seong-Hak. *Michel de L'Hôpital: The Vision of a Reformist Chancellor during the French Religious Wars*. Kirksville, MO: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, 1997.
- Kingdon, Robert McCune. *Church and Society in Reformation Europe*. London: Variorum Reprints, 1985.
- . *Geneva and the Coming of the Wars of Religion in France, 1555-1563*. Genève: Droz, 1956.
- . *Geneva and the Consolidation of the French Protestant Movement, 1564-1572: A Contribution to the History of Congregationalism, Presbyterianism and Calvinist Resistance Theory*. Genève: Droz, 1967.
- . *Myths about the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacres, 1572-1576*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988.
- . *Transition and Revolution: Problems and Issues of European Renaissance and Reformation History*. Minneapolis, MN: Burgess Publishing Company, 1974.
- Kleinschmidt, Harald. *Understanding the Middle Ages: The Transformation of Ideas and Attitudes in the Medieval world*. Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell, 2000.
- Knecht, R. J. *Catherine de Medici*. London: Longman, 1998.
- . *Francis I*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982.

- . *The French Civil Wars, 1562-1598*. Harlow: Longman, 2000.
- . *French Renaissance Monarchy: Francis I and Henry II*. 2nd ed. London: Longman, 1996.
- . *The French Wars of Religion, 1559-1598*. 2nd ed. New York: Longman, 1996.
- . *Renaissance Warrior and Patron: The Reign of Francis I*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- . *The Rise and Fall of Renaissance France, 1483-1610*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Blackwell, 2001.
- Le Clech, Sylvie. *Chancellerie et culture au XVIe siècle: les notaires et secrétaires du roi de 1515 à 1547*. Toulouse: Presses universitaires du Mirail, 1993.
- Le Fur, Didier. *Louis XII: un autre César*. Paris: Perrin, 2001.
- Le Roy Ladurie, Emmanuel. *The French Peasantry 1450-1660*. Translated by Alan Sheridan. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1986.
- . *Histoire du Languedoc*. 1st ed. Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1962.
- . *The Peasants of Languedoc*. Translated by John Day and George Huppert, ed. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1976.
- . *The Royal French State, 1460-1610*. Translated by Juliet Vale. Oxford: Blackwell, 1994.
- Lemonnier, Henry. *Charles VIII, Louis XII, François Ier et les guerres d'Italie, 1492-1547*. Paris: Tallandier, 1982.
- Lindsay, Robert O., and John Neu, ed. *French Political Pamphlets, 1547-1648; a Catalog of Major Collections in American Libraries*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969.
- Lloyd, Howell A. *The State, France, and the Sixteenth Century*. London: George Allen & Unwin, 1983.
- Major, J. Russell. *Bellièvre, Sully and the Assembly of Notables of 1596*. Philadelphia, PA: American Philosophical Society, 1974.
- . *The Estates General of 1560*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1951.
- . *Representative Government in Early Modern France*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1980.
- . *Representative Institutions in Renaissance France, 1421-1559*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1960.

- Major, J. Russell, and International Commission for the History of Representative and Parliamentary Institutions. *The Deputies to the Estates General in Renaissance France, Etudes présentées à la Commission internationale pour l'histoire des assemblées d'Etats ; 21*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1960.
- Mann, Alastair J. *The Scottish Book Trade, 1500-1720: Print Commerce and Print Control in Early Modern Scotland*. East Linton: Tuckwell, 2000.
- Martel, Marie-Thérèse de, ed. *Catalogue des actes de François II*. 2 vols, *Collection des ordonnances des rois de France*. Paris: Editions du CNRS, 1991.
- Martin, A. Lynn. *Henry III and the Jesuit Politicians*. Genève: Droz, 1973.
- Martin, Gérard. *L'imprimerie*. [1. éd.] ed, "*Que sais-je?*" *Le point des connaissances actuelles*, no. 1067. Paris,: Presses universitaires de France, 1963.
- Martin, Henri. *Histoire de France, depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'en 1789*. 4 ed. 17 vols. Paris: Furne, 1855.
- Martin, Henri Jean. *The French Book: Religion, Absolutism, and Readership, 1585-1715*. Translated by Paul Henry Saenger and Nadine Saenger. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996.
- . *Histoire du livre*. Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1964.
- . *The History and Power of Writing*. Translated by Lydia G. Cochrane. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1994.
- . *Print, Power, and People in 17th-Century France*. Translated by David Gerard. Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow, 1993.
- Mayer, Claude Albert, and Dana Bentley-Cranch. *Florimond Robertet (?-1527): homme d'état français*. Paris: H. Champion, 1994.
- McFarlane, I. D. *The Entry of Henri II into Paris, 16 June 1549*. Binghamton: Center for Medieval & Early Renaissance Studies, 1982.
- . *Renaissance France, 1470-1589*. London: E. Benn, 1974.
- Mentzer, Raymond A., and Andrew Spicer. *Society and Culture in the Huguenot World, 1559-1685*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Michaud, Hélène. *La grande chancellerie et les écritures royales au seizième siècle: 1515-1589*. Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1967.
- Mulgan, Catherine. *The Renaissance Monarchies, 1469-1558*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

- Müller, Jean. *Dictionnaire abrégé des imprimeurs-éditeurs français du seizième siècle*. Baden-Baden: Heitz, 1970.
- Musson, Anthony. "Law and Text: Legal Authority and Judicial Accessibility in the Late Middle Ages." In *The Uses of Script and Print, 1300-1700*, edited by Julia C. Crick and Alexandra Walsham, xiv, 298. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Naphy, William G., and Penny Roberts. *Fear in Early Modern Society*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997.
- Orbén, A. P., and Marco Mostert, ed. *Spoken and Written Language: Relations between Latin and the Vernacular Languages in the Earlier Middle Ages: Papers from the Second Utrecht Symposium on Medieval Literacy, Organized by the Pionierproject Verschriftelijking, Utrecht, 24-26 June 1999*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2003.
- Ormrod, W. M., Margaret Bonney, and Richard Bonney. *Crises, Revolutions and Self-Sustained Growth: Essays in European Fiscal History, 1130-1830*. Stamford: Shaun Tyas (an imprint of 'Paul Watkins'), 1999.
- Pallier, Denis. *Recherches sur l'imprimerie à Paris pendant la Ligue, 1585-1594*. Genève: Droz, 1975.
- Petrucchi, Armando, and Charles Radding. *Writers and Readers in Medieval Italy: Studies in the History of Written Culture*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995.
- Pettegree, Andrew. *Emden and the Dutch revolt: Exile and the Development of Reformed Protestantism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992.
- . "Genevan Print and the Coming of the Wars of Religion." Paper presented at the Robert Kingdon's Geneva and the Coming of the Wars of Religion: A Retrospective after 50 years, University of St. Andrews, Scotland, 18 November 2006.
- . "The Growth of a Provincial Press in Sixteenth-Century Europe." Paper presented at the Stenton Lecture, Reading, England, 23 November 2006.
- . *Huguenot Voices: The Book and the Communication Process During the Protestant Reformation*. Greenville, NC: East Carolina University Dept. of History College of Arts and Sciences, 1999.
- . *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Pettegree, Andrew, Paul Nelles, and Philip Conner. *The Sixteenth-Century French Religious Book*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001.

- Pettegree, Andrew, Malcolm Walsby, and Alexander Wilkinson, eds. *French Vernacular Books: Books Published in the French Language before 1601*. Leiden: Brill, 2007.
- Philippe, Jules Pierre Joseph. *Origine de l'imprimerie à Paris, d'après des documents inédits*. Paris: Charavay frères, 1885.
- Pollard, Alfred W., and Donald Goddard Wing. *Early English Books Online* Bell & Howell Information and Learning, 1999 [cited September 2006]. Available from <http://www.lib.umi.com/eebo>.
- Potter, David. *A History of France, 1460-1560: The Emergence of a Nation State*. New York, NY: St. Martin's Press, 1995.
- . *War and Government in the French Provinces: Picardy, 1470-1560*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- Racaut, Luc. "The Cultural Obstacles to Religious Pluralism in the French Wars of Religion." In *The Adventure of Religious Pluralism in Early Modern France: Papers from the Exeter Conference, April 1999*, edited by Keith Cameron, Mark Greengrass and Penny Roberts, 321, [1]. Oxford: Peter Lang, 2000.
- Raymond, Joad. *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Renouard, Philippe. *Documents sur les imprimeurs, libraires, etc... ayant exercé à Paris de 1450 à 1600*. Paris: H. Champion, 1901.
- . *Imprimeurs & libraires parisiens du XVIe siècle*. Paris: La Bibliothèque nationale, 1982.
- . *Imprimeurs parisiens, libraires, fondateurs de caractères et correcteurs d'imprimerie, depuis l'introduction de l'imprimerie à Paris (1470) jusqu'à la fin du seizième siècle avec un plan de Paris sous Henry II par O. Truschet et G. Hoyau*. Paris: M.J. Minard, 1898.
- . *Répertoire des imprimeurs parisiens, libraires, fondateurs de caractères et correcteurs d'imprimerie : depuis l'introduction de l'imprimerie à Paris (1470) jusqu'à la fin du seizième siècle*. Paris: M. J. Minard, 1965.
- Reynolds, Beatrice. *Proponents of Limited Monarchy in Sixteenth-Century France: Francis Hotman and Jean Bodin*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1931.
- Richardson, Brian. *Print Culture in Renaissance Italy: The Editor and the Vernacular Text, 1470-1600*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Roberts, Penny. *A City in Conflict: Troyes During the French Wars of Religion*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996.

- Roelker, Nancy L. *One King, One Faith: The Parlement of Paris and the Religious Reformations of the Sixteenth Century*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1996.
- . *Queen of Navarre; Jeanne d'Albret, 1528-1572*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1968.
- , ed. *The Paris of Henry of Navarre, as seen by Pierre de L'Estoile; Selections from His Mémoires-Journaux*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1958.
- Rothschild, James, and Emile Picot. *Catalogue de livres composant la bibliothèque de feu M. le baron James de Rothschild*. 5 vols. Paris: D. Morgand, 1884.
- Rouse, Richard H., and Mary A. Rouse. *Manuscripts and Their Makers: Commercial Book Producers in Medieval Paris, 1200-1500*. 2 vols. Turnhout: Harvey Miller, 2000.
- Saenger, Paul Henry, and Michael Heinlen. "Incunable Description and Its Implication for the Analysis of Fifteenth-Century Reading Habits." In *Printing the Written Word: The Social History of Books, c. 1450-1520*, edited by Sandra L. Hindman, 225-258. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991.
- Salmon, J. H. M. *The French Religious Wars in English Political Thought*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1959.
- . *The French Wars of Religion: How Important Were Religious Factors?* Boston, MA: DC Heath & Company, 1967.
- . *Renaissance and Revolt: Essays in the Intellectual and Social History of Early Modern France*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
- . *Society in Crisis: France in the Sixteenth Century*. London: Methuen, 1979.
- Sauzet, Robert, and Jacqueline Boucher. *Henri III et son temps: actes du colloque international du Centre de la Renaissance de Tours, octobre 1989*. Paris: J. Vrin, 1992.
- Sawyer, Jeffrey K. *Printed Poison: Pamphlet Propaganda, Faction Politics, and the Public Sphere in Early Seventeenth-Century France*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1990.
- Scève, Maurice, and Richard Cooper. *The Entry of Henri II into Lyon: September 1548*. Tempe, AZ: Medieval & Renaissance texts & studies, 1997.
- Seguin, Jean Pierre. *L'information en France, de Louis XII à Henri II*. Genève: Droz, 1961.
- Seward, Desmond. *Prince of the Renaissance: The Life of François I*. London: Constable, 1973.

- Shennan, J. H. *Government and Society in France, 1461-1661*. London: Allen & Unwin, 1969.
- . *The Parlement of Paris*. 2nd ed. Phoenix Mill: Sutton, 1998.
- Smith, Elizabeth Bradford, and Michael Wolfe. *Technology and Resource Use in Medieval Europe: Cathedrals, Mills, and Mines*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997.
- Steinberg, S. H. *Five Hundred Years of Printing*. 3d ed. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1974.
- Strayer, Joseph Reese. *The Administration of Normandy under Saint Louis*. Cambridge, MA: The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1932.
- . *The Reign of Philip the Fair*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1980.
- . *The Royal Domain in the Bailliage of Rouen*. London: Variorum Reprints, 1976.
- Strayer, Joseph Reese, and Charles Holt Taylor. *Studies in Early French Taxation*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1939.
- Sutherland, N. M. *The French Secretaries of State in the Age of Catherine de Medici*. London: University of London Athlone Press, 1962.
- . *Henry IV of France and the Politics of Religion: 1572 - 1596*. Bristol: Elm Bank, 2002.
- . *The Huguenot Struggle for Recognition*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1979.
- . *The Massacre of St Bartholomew and the European Conflict, 1559-1572*. London: Macmillan, 1973.
- . *Princes, Politics and Religion, 1547-1589*. London: Hambledon Press, 1984.
- Taylor, Craig. "War, Propaganda and Diplomacy in Fifteenth-Century France and England." In *War, Government and Power in Late Medieval France*, edited by Christopher Allmand. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000.
- Tedeschi, Martha. "Publish and Perish: The Career of Lienhart Holle in Ulm." In *Printing the Written Word: The Social History of Books, c. 1450-1520*, edited by Sandra L. Hindman, 41-67. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991.
- Tessier, Georges. *Diplomatique royale française*. Paris: A. et J. Picard, 1962.
- . *La diplomatie*. Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1952.

- Tingle, Elizabeth. "Stability in the Urban Community in a Time of War: Police, Protestantism and Poor Relief in Nantes during the French Wars of Religion, 1562–89." *European History Quarterly* 36, no. 4 (2006): 521-547.
- Tyson, Gerald P., and Sylvia S. Wagonheim, ed. *Print and Culture in the Renaissance: Essays on the Advent of Printing in Europe*. Newark, DE: University of Delaware Press, 1986.
- Watt, Tessa. *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- Watts, Derek A., Keith Cameron, and Elizabeth Woodrough. *Ethics and Politics in Seventeenth-Century France: Essays in Honour of Derek A. Watts*. Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1996.
- Wolfe, Michael. *Changing Identities in Early Modern France*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997.
- . *The Conversion of Henri IV: Politics, Power, and Religious Belief in Early Modern France*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993.
- Wood, James B. *The King's Army: Warfare, Soldiers, and Society During the Wars of Religion in France, 1562-1576*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- . *The Nobility of the Election of Bayeux, 1463-1666: Continuity through Change*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1980.