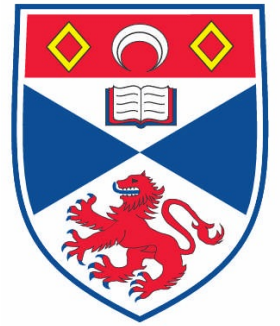
Latin Books Published in Paris, 1501-1540

Sophie Mullins



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Abstract

This is a study of the Parisian Latin book industry in the first four decades of the sixteenth century. It challenges the assumption that the Reformation brought about a profound change in the European print world. Luther's engagement with a mass audience is believed to have led to an increase in the number of vernacular publications produced by printers throughout Europe. This was not the case in Paris. Parisian booksellers traded on their established expertise with certain genres, such as theological texts, educational books, and works by classical authors, to maximise their readership both in Paris and farther afield.

Working in close proximity inspired the Parisian bookmen to unity and collaboration rather than enmity and direct competition. When printers, booksellers and publishers collaborated they were able to undertake bigger and riskier projects. Such projects might have involved testing new markets or technologies (such as Greek or music printing), or simply producing a book which required a high capital investment. The familial unity extended to the widows of printers, some of whom were able to capitalise on this and build substantial businesses of their own. This high level of collaboration and the continued focus on the established Latin market give the Parisian book world its very specific character. It also helped Paris build an international reputation for high-quality books.

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Acknowledgments

Thanks is due to all the professors, lecturers and tutors who taught and inspired me at the universities of East Anglia, Lausanne, Cambridge and St Andrews. At East Anglia Joad Raymond was an especially generous and influential advisor.

The decision to move from Cambridge to join the Universal Short Title Catalogue project was made easier by the welcome I received during the interview. This atmosphere of friendship and academic generosity persists in the project team, and this thesis benefits from the thoughtfulness of team members past and present. Sara Barker has provided valued friendship and advice, particularly concerning classical authors in translation. Alexander Wilkinson helped towards an understanding of the different approaches to editions and states. Philip John and Graeme Kemp provided technical support and keen debate. Natasha Constantinidou gave me John Harthan's *Books of Hours*, which is now a much-treasured possession. She also translated a number of Greek colophons into English. A conversation with Matt McLean about Joachim Vadian provided a new perspective on the printer Chrétien Wechel. Prior to relocating to the University of Rennes, Malcolm Walsby was a knowledgable second supervisor. Arjan van Dijk has been very generous in adding to my academic library. I have also been inspired by the huge variety of papers given at the annual Book History conferences held at the University of St Andrews. Beyond the university, the librarians at the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal (Paris), the Archives nationales (Paris), and the Bibliothèque royale de Belgique (Brussels) were especially helpful.

The person to whom most acknowledgement is due is my supervisor Andrew Pettegree who has gone beyond the call of duty more times than I can recall. His home is a second home to his graduate students, and his family graciously welcoming. His office door has always been open and his insightful advice freely given. Jane Pettegree

also read the final text and her input was very much appreciated. Being a part of the book project family is an honour and I am grateful to the Arts and Humanities Research Council for the funding that allowed me to join it.

My own family have offered much-appreciated assistance: Jean-Michel and Suzy Haziza welcomed me into their home in Paris for months at a time whilst I was on research trips. The final and most profound thanks go to my parents, Alan and Elizabeth Mullins, who have provided unstinting support in what must have seemed a never-ending journey. I owe them everything.

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Abbreviations and Conventions

Livres, ***sous*** and ***deniers*** made up the 'money of account' in sixteenth century France. One *livre* (*l*) equalled 20 *sous* (*s*), which in turn equalled 12 *deniers* (*d*). In sections where these terms are used frequently they have been abbreviated. Alongside these was the gold coin, the *écu d'or soleil*, which rose in value over this period from 36*s* 3*d* in 1498 to 40*s* in 1516 and 45*s* in 1533.[1]

Descriptions of the **major bibliographic sources** appear in the text. These works are then abbreviated in both the text and footnotes. The Universal Short Title Catalogue is abbreviated to the USTC. FB (followed by a reference number) refers to the four-volume printed bibliography of French books and books printed in France before 1601.[2] Moreau, when used as a reference, is an abbreviation for the five-volume inventory of Parisian books printed between 1501 and 1540.[3] Where Renouard appears in the discussion concerning bibliographies of Parisian books, the reference is to his six-volume bibliography.[4]

In quotations taken directly from sixteenth-century sources, the **transcription convention** is diplomatic: i, j, v and u are unchanged. Where abbreviations have been expanded, square brackets indicate the additional letters.

The majority of books and manuscripts used in the preparation of this thesis reside in Parisian **libraries and archives**. References to the Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF) denote the François-Mitterrand site of the BnF as opposed to the Richelieu (which is cited: Richelieu). The Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal (Arsenal) and the Archives

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[1] David Potter, *A History of France, 1460-1560. The Emergence of a Nation State* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1995), p. xvi.
[2] *French Vernacular Books. A Bibliography of Books Published in the French Language Before 1601*, edited by Andrew Pettegree, Malcolm Walsby and Alexander Wilkinson (Leiden: Brill, 2007); *Books published in France before 1601 in Latin and Languages other than French*, edited by Andrew Pettegree and Malcolm Walsby (Leiden: Brill, 2011).
[3] Brigitte Moreau, *Inventaire chronologique des éditions parisiennes du XVIe siècle,* 5 vols. *1501-1540* (Paris*:* Imprimerie municipale, 1972-2004).
[4] Philippe Renouard, *Imprimeurs et libraires parisiens du XVIe siècle* (Paris: 1964-95).

nationales (AN) make up the other two key collections in Paris. The collection at the Bibliothèque royale de Belgique (Brussels) was a rich source for Parisian books and many of the photos were taken there.

Chapter 1: Introduction

This is a study of the printing industry of Paris, and specifically that part of the book trade devoted to the traditional language of scholarship, Latin. Paris was one of the great cities of Europe and printing developed there quickly. But no one could have predicted the particular way in which the Parisian book world dealt with the primary challenge of the new industry: making money from the production, distribution and sale of the new printed books.

As a centre of trade and industry Paris had certain inherent advantages. The city was home to one of Europe's leading universities, the kingdom's largest law court, the Parlement of Paris, and, intermittently, the royal court. All would prove to be large consumers of books. France also had a large population of potential readers of vernacular books. But against this the city was somewhat removed from the major centres of technological innovation in the first years after Gutenberg's invention began to make its impact. For the first half century of print, the incunabula age, Italy and Germany, the two first heartlands of print, commanded the largest share of production. They were also responsible for the most significant technical innovations as the new printed book evolved towards maturity. In France Lyon, France's second city, was better placed geographically to profit from these developments. It was only towards the end of the fifteenth century that Paris began to turn out the sophisticated and eye-catching books that would characterise its contribution to print in the following half century.

This dissertation concentrates on this crucial period of industrial, commercial and technical innovation in the first four decades of the sixteenth century. Sometimes known as the post incunabula age, this period has attracted a great deal less attention than the fifty years after the invention of printing. Compared to the microscopic efforts to track, date and identify every fragment of print undertaken in the fifteenth century,

bibliographical interest in the succeeding era has been far more broad-brush and sporadic.[1] But this is a period that for Paris at least merits particular attention. Previously somewhat peripheral in the European geography of print Paris now emerged as the fulcrum of a number of significant developments. This was the era when the book took its final mature form, and Parisian printers were in the forefront of significant organisational and technical developments that allowed publishers finally to balance artistry, profit and the supply of a diverse and demanding market. To do this Parisian publishers devised innovative mechanisms for sharing the market among a carefully structured cartel of leading families: a form of industry organisation more developed here than elsewhere in Europe. In the process individual firms were able to develop particular specialisms that gave them dominant roles in the market in large parts of Northern Europe. It was a singular triumph for French industry in a market that, in the case of Latin books, was inherently transnational.

The arrival of print in Paris

Paris was the largest city in France, with the highest density of population both within the city walls and in the immediate environs at the dawn of the sixteenth century. It was emerging as one of the most vibrant and bustling cultural and economic centres in Europe. The population of France had imploded in the century spanning 1350 to 1450. However, infant mortality rates began to drop from the middle of the fifteenth century to around 30 percent. Diseases and plagues became less prevalent (although leprosy, so successfully reduced in the early sixteenth century, was replaced by syphilis) and the population began to rise.[2] In other towns, such as Lyon, the population doubled in size in fifty years (20,000 in 1450 and 40,000 in 1500). The populations of both

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[1] The fifteenth century is covered by the *Incunabula Short Title Catalogue* (ISTC) and the unfinished but thorough Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke (GW).
[2] David Potter, *A History of France, 1460-1560. The Emergence of a Nation State* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1995), p. 9.

Rouen and Bordeaux trebled to 60,000 over the same time period. By 1560 the population of Paris had reached a staggering 300,000.[3] The high population density in the 100-200km zone around Paris led to an exodus from this area into the city itself.[4]

Whilst the threat of plague sent the wealthier among the urban population scurrying for the countryside, famine or lack of land or work impelled the rural population in the other direction. The exodus from the cities forced by plague led to only a small and temporary increase in the rural population and the situation was reversed when the refugees moved back as the danger passed. Naturally by this time the urban population was smaller. However when the rural population abandoned hope of living off the land, they moved into an overpopulated city which was already struggling to cope with the large population, the scarcity-induced price inflations, lack of resources and mountains of waste. The French capital, with its medieval infrastructure, was bursting at the seams of the old city walls, walls which provided little defence.[5]

There was, though, room for anyone who could bring the new technology of printing to France. In 1458 Charles VII (1422-1461) had despatched Nicolas Jenson (one of the best coin engravers in France) to Mainz to steal the technology that was allowing Johannes Gutenberg to mass-produce books.[6] The mission was not a success. Jenson remained working for Johann Fust and Peter Schoeffer for four years. Clearly this was longer than required; indeed he only left when the city was sacked, and France

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[3] Ibid., p. 10 There is some discrepancy in population figures, Abel Hugo provides the following (after Dulaure): 1313: 49,110; 1474: 150,000 and 1590: 200,000. Note that the last figure would have seen a drop of 100,000 between 1560 and 1590. See Abel Hugo, *La France pittoresque, ou description pittoresque, topographique et statistique des départements et colonies de la France* (Paris: Delloye, 1835), vol. 3, p. 122. Jacques-Antoine Dulaure, *Histoire physique, civile et morale de Paris* (Paris: Bureau des publications illustrées, 1842; 7th edition), vol. 2.

[4] Jean Jacquart, 'Le poids démographique de Paris et de l'Ille-de-France au XVIe siècle', in *Paris et L'Ille-de-France au temps des paysans* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1990), pp. 227-235.

[5] Barbara B. Diefendorf, *Beneath the Cross: Catholics and Huguenots in Sixteenth Century Paris* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), p. 10.

[6] Anatole Claudin *Histoire de l'imprimerie en France au XVe et au XVIe siècle* 4 vols. (Nendeln: Kraus, 1976), vol. 1, p. 11.

was not his first choice of destination.[7] By 1470 a 'Nicolaus Jenson', most likely the Frenchman, was actively printing in Venice.[8] It was in the same year that the technology finally reached France, but not through Jenson. With the new French king, Louis XI (1461-1483), less interested in printing, it fell to the rector of the university to bring printing to Paris.[9] Jean de La Pierre had realised that both the professors and students of his university would profit from the new invention. Together with his colleague, Guillaume Fichet, he appealed for printers to come to the University of Paris. His cry was heeded by Michel Friburger, Ulrich Gering and Martin Crantz.[10]

By the end of 1470, their first book was printed in France. It was the *Epistolae Gasparini*, a quite attractively-produced collection of letters by the fourteenth century Italian grammarian Gasparin de Pergame, with borders illuminated by hand on the first page.[11] A large proportion of the incunabula books printed in Paris were similarly aimed at particular aspects of the university curriculum, a curriculum which did not, at that point, include any teaching in, or on, Greek or Hebrew.

By May 1473 Friburger, Gering and Crantz had left the Sorbonne and set up a workshop on the Rue Saint-Jacques, the street that would have housed, though not all simultaneously, some 84 printers by the end of the sixteenth century. The Rue Saint-Jacques ran along the front of the Sorbonne, from the southern city wall, at the Porte Saint Jacques, to the Petit Pont. The Petit Pont then crossed the river, where, to the right, the Rue Neuve ran all the way down to the centre of Paris herself: Notre Dame. In 1500 this walk would have taken you through the heart of the Parisian book world. Printing, as other trades, settled primarily in a distinct quarter of the city. This was centred around

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[7] Lotte Hellinga, 'Johann Fust, Peter Schoeffer and Nicolas Jenson' in *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* vol. 78 (2003), pp. 16-21. See also Lotte Hellinga, 'Nicolas Jenson et les débuts de l'imprimerie à Mayence' in *Revue Français d'histoire du livre*, 118-121 (2003), pp. 25-53.
[8] The USTC records 106 Venetian titles for Jenson between 1471 and 1482. He does not appear under that name elsewhere.
[9] Claudin *Histoire de l'imprimerie en France*, p. 11.
[10] Ibid., pp. 17-18.
[11] Ibid., p. 24.

the Rue Saint-Jacques, the main thoroughfare for students and professors heading to and from the university. Thus one of the key markets was also a captive one.

By the start of the sixteenth century, Paris was already teeming with printers, compositors, correctors, publishers and booksellers. What had begun slowly, with three men working from within the university, was becoming one of the largest, most well-organised and successful centres of print in Europe. In Paris in 1500 there were five printers, 39 printer-booksellers, and 25 booksellers, making a total of 69 separate businesses in the book industry.[12] This number does not include the compositors, pressmen, proof-readers, shop assistants (where booksellers had multiple bookshops), scribes or apprentices. Assuming an average of five men per team and one press per printer, this brings the total print community to at least 220. The subsequent dramatic growth of this community is illustrated by the fact that within 38 years there were more workmen than there had been in 1500 employed by just two printers: Guillaume Godard and Guillaume Merlin had 13 or 14 presses by 1538, and they were by no means the biggest print outfit of the day.[13]

The new trade had the very great advantage that it could build on the established structures of the manuscript trade. These structures helped to reinforce and support the new printing industry through its early years. Internally the trade was organised around the hierarchical relationships between master, journeyman and apprentice. Externally the book trade could rely on a long-established connection with leading Parisian

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[12] Calculations after: Philippe Renouard, *Répertoire des imprimeurs parisiens, libraires et fondeurs de caractères, correcteurs d'imprimerie depuis l'introduction de l'imprimerie à Paris (1470) jusqu'à la fin du XVIe siècle* (Paris: Minard, 1965); Brigitte Moreau, *Inventaire chronologique des éditions parisiennes du XVIe siècle. 2, 1511-1520 / d'après les manuscrits de Philippe Renouard* (Paris: Imprimerie municipale, 1977); Jean Müller, *Répertoire bibliographique des livres imprimés en France au seizième siècle: Dictionnaire Abrégé des Imprimeurs/Éditeurs Français du seizième siècle* (Baden-Baden, 1970); Louis Desgraves, *Répertoire bibliographique des livres imprimés en France au seizième siècle* (Baden-Baden: Heitz, 1968); Alain R. Girard, *Catalogue collectif des livres imprimés a Paris de 1472 a 1600: conservés dans les bibliothèques publiques de Basse-Normandie / par Alain R. Girard et Anne Le Bouteiller* (Baden-Baden: Bouxwiller, V. Koerner, 1991).

[13] David T. Pottinger, *The French Book Trade in the ancien régime, 1500-1791* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1958), p.112.

institutions, in particular the university. The whole was bound together by the brotherhood of St John the Evangelist, which had been confirmed by Royal Charter in 1401. The hierarchy of relationships between master and employee may have been common to most trades in France of the period, but the details were specific to the art of printing. The most specific inheritance from the 1401 charter was the idea of a brotherhood, which had been a powerful ethos bonding together those who worked with manuscript books. It became an underlying principle to which the industry subscribed long before it took on any official status in relation to the printing industry. Working and worshipping together the industry had such a familial feel that the journeymen believed themselves to be missing out. In Lyon this led to strikes, with the journeymen declaring "above all other Arts, the Masters and Journeymen are or ought to be only one body together, like a family and fraternity".[14]

As printing outgrew its manuscript beginnings, and it did so very quickly, it retained its privileges. By 1500 an estimated 13 million books had been published throughout Europe.[15] Although the printing houses were no longer located in university premises, the printing industry still profited from a close institutional connection. In practical terms, this meant exemption from taxation and from service on the city watch. For many years the craft also continued to enjoy royal favour: in 1485 Charles VIII reiterated the printers' tax exemption status for perpetuity, and in 1513 Louis XII accepted their protest against paying the military gift which all other trades were expected to give.[16]

The decision in 1485 may have been an attempt to put the incipient print industry on firm financial foundations. Charles VII had foreseen the importance of printing in

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[14] Natalie Zemon Davis, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1965; reprinted 1998), p. 3.
[15] Peter Burke, 'The circulation of knowledge' in John Jeffries Martin *The Renaissance World* (London: Routledge, 2007), p. 192. Paris data from Müller, *Répertoire bibliographique*, pp. 57-58.
[16] Pottinger, *The French Book Trade,* pp. 117-118.

1458 when he sent Jenson to Mainz. Perhaps Charles VIII had realised that he needed to support printing in its infancy in order for the French industry to keep pace with international rivals. He may have been mindful of the fact that the earliest front-runners were exclusively German.[17] Whatever his reasons, printing did indeed grow with extraordinary rapidity in France and, before long, the trade was managing its own affairs.

Before Gering, Freiburg and Crantz arrived in Paris, even before Charles VII sent Jensen on his quest, there had been a three-hundred-year-old book industry in Paris. On the Île de la Cité (the river island at the bottom of the Rue Saint Jacques), scribes and illustrators were hard at work on pre-commissioned, individual masterpieces. The roads leading back up the hill to the Sorbonne still bear the traces of the old trade. About a third of the way up, on the right, the narrow rue de la Parcheminerie passes alongside the Église Saint-Séverin. Whilst the manuscript book industry was largely focused around the island with some movement towards the Sorbonne, the printed book industry began at the Sorbonne and moved out, first towards the Île de la Cité and then spreading further afield.

During these years high quality Parisian manuscripts found their way into many aristocratic collections across northern Europe. The new printing industry made good use of these established trade routes whilst also attempting to break into the home market for both pious literature and academic works. The latter was always going to be easier: the students of the university and colleges required books, preferably quickly and cheaply. Pious laymen and women were also prepared to invest in books, normally in their case laying out a rather larger sum for a small number of precious books. This part of the market was traditionally well served by the manuscript industry. The vast

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[17] Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin, *The Coming of the Book*, trans. David Gerard (London: Verso, 1976), p. 167.

majority of surviving printed books of hours from this period are illuminated, illustrated and often also rubricated.[18] The earliest ones looked like manuscript books, but would have been much cheaper. In addition to the average layperson, for whom the purchase was a significant outlay, there was a small market for high-end one-off works of art. The printer Antoine Vérard immediately saw how to combine the two markets: his method was part business, part art. The type was only set up once but Vérard employed paper or parchment (vellum) depending on the level of luxury required for particular customers. Each copy could then be customised to the needs of the customer with the appropriate level of embellishment and decoration.

Vérard demonstrated how a particularly imaginative individual could adapt the leading characteristics of the manuscript book to the new technology, but it was the specific qualities of the industry as a whole that made Paris one of the most important and successful centres of print in the sixteenth century. The location within Paris, the extant structures from the manuscript industry and the fraternal atmosphere were all significant in creating the industry. However, Paris was not alone in Europe but had to compete with other new centres of print.

Paris and her place in the European book world

At the dawn of the sixteenth century Paris was established as one of the major printing centres in Europe. Along with Paris, Cologne, Leipzig, Strasbourg, Augsburg, Lyon, Milan, Venice and Rome had each produced more than 1,000 titles by 1500 (figure 1.1).[19] Printing presses were set up in many other towns, but only a small number flourished.[20] The first, second and third centres of print to be established -

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[18] Several examples of inventories after death, where the sole book is a book of hours, are explored in chapter four. A number of inventories after death can be found in the Archives nationales: MC étude XLIX and MC étude XXXIII. These are from the Minutier Central and the notary was Pierre Crozon.
[19] All figures are *circa* as many early editions were undated. Data extracted from the *Incunabula Short Title Catalogue* online.
[20] A useful survey of press survival in one area of France is: Malcolm Walsby, *The printed book in Brittany, 1484-1600* (Leiden: Brill, 2011).

Mainz, Bamberg and Strasbourg - reflect the fickle nature of the early industry with Mainz and Bamberg, the two creative centres of innovation, producing 419 and 150 respectively, while Strasbourg, the international centre of trade, had turned out 1158 titles by 1500.[21] Looking ahead over the next four decades, the decades studied in this thesis, Mainz produced a further 499 titles, Bamberg 120 and Strasbourg 3972. This pattern of a movement from smaller experimental centres of printing towards consolidation in the larger cities became the established practice of the sixteenth century. Between c.1470 and 1500 Paris had produced some 2,800 titles. A statistical analysis of the industry over the next four decades forms the foundation of Chapter two. Chapter three then considers two of the major publishers whose businesses began in the incunabula age and expanded into the early sixteenth century. With them we see the strong elements of continuity between the industry established in the fifteenth century and continuing into the period when Paris established such a dominant role in so many areas of the supply of books in northwestern Europe.

[21] Also extracted from the *Incunabula Short Title Catalogue* online.

Figure 1.1. Centres of print exceeding 1,000 titles by 1500

Major factors affecting a town's success in the incunabula era included accessibility, its wealth and the number of educational and religious establishments. Paris was well-endowed in all these areas. Three major trade routes met in Paris. The first ran from Brugge via Paris, Orleans, Angoulême, Bordeaux and Madrid before forking east and west just north of Córdoba to continue towards the ports of Sanlúcar de Barrameda and Roquetas de Mar, from there following the coastline in both directions. The second ran from Paris to Vienna via a number of smaller towns: Chalons-sur-Marne, Toul (near Nancy), the hinterlands of Strasbourg and Ulm, Augsburg, and Linz. This route was transected by two other important north-south trade routes, crossing at Alpirsbach (30 miles from Strasbourg, 35 miles from Stuttgart) and Augsburg. The third route ran southeast out of Paris through Saint-Florentine, branching at Le Creusot to pass either side of Cluny, one branch heading on to Avignon via Lyon, the other passing

through Chambéry on the way to Milan.[22] Whilst these trade routes themselves often did not follow rivers, they passed through major towns and intersected at points along key rivers (the Seine, the Loire, the Guadalquivir, the Tagus and the Danube).

With the cathedral of Notre Dame at her heart, Paris was also packed with smaller religious houses and churches. The cathedral and the Palais de Justice then, as now, dominated the Île de la Cité, but in the sixteenth century they shared the island with fifteen parish churches and two priories.[23] It was the combined audiences of clerics, pious laypeople, officials and lawyers which attracted so many booksellers to the island. In the first four decades of the sixteenth century bookmen working here included Guillaume and then Jacques Nyverd, Josse Bade, Denis Janot, the Trepperel, Jean Jehannot, Simon Vostre, Pierre Roffet, Gilles de Gourmont, Charles L'Angelier and Geoffroy Tory.[24]

The pressure of space meant that most booksellers on the island had to content themselves with a simple stall rather than a shop. However the richest - including the publisher Antoine Vérard - owned or rented property on the island or one of the bridges leading to it. Vérard sold books from Saint-Jean L'Évangéliste on the Pont Notre-Dame (leading to the left bank and the university quarter). This was a prime location: after the bridge collapsed in 1499 Vérard moved back into a new shop on the bridge as soon as it reopened, this time at a new address, at the Moulin-Vert.[25] Gilles Hardouyn did likewise, although not until 1517.[26] The other bridge crossing to the left bank, the Petit

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[22] Drawn from a comparison of Charles Estienne's *La guide des chemins de France* (Paris: Charles Estienne, 1552) and Greg Prickman, *The Atlas of Early Printing*, an online resource http://atlas.lib.uiowa.edu.
[23] Barbara Diefendorf, *Beneath the Cross: Catholics and Huguenots in Sixteenth Century Paris* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), p. 11.
[24] Philippe Renouard, *Imprimeurs Parisiens*, *Libraires, fondeurs de charactères et correcteurs d'imprimerie à Paris (1470) jusqu'á la fin du XVIe siècle* (Paris: Librairie Claudin, 1898), p. 394-5, 399 and 418.
[25] Renouard, *Imprimeurs Parisiens*, p. 404; Philippe Renouard, *Documents sur les imprimeurs, libraires, cartiers… ayant exercé à Paris de 1450 à 1600* (Paris: H. Champion, 1901); An. H 1778, f. 11v, quoted in Renouard, *Documents*, p. 29.
[26] Ibid., p. 175.

Pont, housed Pierre Vidoue, Jacques Ferrebouc, Jean Bienayse, Guillaume Anabat, Geoffroy Tory and Guichard Soquand.

Booksellers with bookshops or stalls on the island included Guillaume Eustace (two locations: 'in vico judaico intersignio duorum Sagittario[rum]' and 'in palacio regio tertio pilari'),[27] and Gailiot I du Pré ('venundanturque apud dictum du pre in regali palatio parisiensi sub secundo pilari').[28] Colophons in books printed for du Pré sometimes included both the address of his main bookshop and of his stall within the Palais de Justice. One, printed by Bertholt Rembolt also included the printer's address:

> Venu[n]datur Parisius ab m[a]g[ist]ro Bertholdo Re[m]bolt in sole aureo vici diui Jacobi. [et] in edibus Gallioti du pre supra ponte[m] nostre d[omi]ne vulgariter a la Gallee dor: necno[n] etia[m] i[n] sua officina sub s[e]c[un]do pilari palatij Regij.[29]

Books sold within the courtyard of the Palais de Justice were often chosen for the specific local market. A good example is Pietro Tomasi's *Compendium juris civilis breviarium fertilissimum* which was sold by Galliot du Pré 'in Palacio Regio sub secundo pilari: aut supra Pontem diue virginis Marte' in 1516.[30] Bumping elbows with Eustace and du Pré at the Palais de Justice were Denis Janot ('in palatio regio, ad primam & secundam columnam,'),[31] Germain Hardouyn ('ante Palacium

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[27] Colophon of Juan de Torquemada, *Tractatus contra principales errores perfidi Machometi et Turchorum sive Sarracenorum* (Paris: expensis Guillaume Eustace, 1510), FB 89334, f. lvi. Also on title page: 'Venundatur Parisius in vico judaico sub signo duorum sagittariorum aut in palacio regio tertio pilari'. A similar formulation is to be found in Bonifacius VIII, *Textus sexti decretalium libri absque omni menda, editi et nuperrime correcti, una cum summariis* (Paris: [Raoul Cousturier] Guillaume Eustace, 1509), USTC 180412: 'Venundantur Parisius in vico Judaico, sub intersignio Duorum Sagittariorum, necnon et in Palatio regio sub tertio pilari'.

[28] Colophon of Jean Lecoq, *Questiones fructuosissime ac practicabiles per arresta supreme senatus Parisiensis curie auditis partium allegationibus decise una cum pluribus aliis constitutionibus seu prefate curie statutis* (Paris: Galliot du Pré, 1514), USTC 181491. Another title, printed for du Pré by Bertholt Rembolt included three addresses, Rembolts and then the shop and stalls of du Pré.

[29] Colophon of Bernardus Compostellanus, *Lectura aurea in primum librum decretalium* (Paris: Berthold Rembolt, Galliot du Pré, 1516), USTC 144529.

[30] 'Venales inuenies Parisiis apud Galliotum du pre: in Palacio Regio sub secundo pilari: aut supra Pontem diue virginis Marte' colophon of Pietro Tomasi, *Compendium juris civilis breviarium fertilissimum: cum plurimis item excellentiorum doctorum sententiis ac dictis memorandis novissime elaboratum. Addito huic operi judicum speculo* (Paris: Galliot du Pré, 1516).

[31] Colophon of Jean Longueval, *Nova et facilis declaratio, in legem imperium, subtitulo de jurisdictione omnium judicum in pandectis* (Paris: Denis Janot apud Arnoul & Charles L'Angelier, 1539), USTC 147661.

ad intersignium diue Margarete'),[32] Antoine Vérard, Arnoul & Charles L'Angelier, Hémon Le Fèvre and Guillaume & Jacques Nyverd.[33]

Whilst this arena was dominated by booksellers specialising in works of popular piety and jurisprudence, the nearby rue Saint Jacques was home to a wider range of printers, publishers and booksellers. This road, running through the heart of the university quarter, rapidly became the primary home of the book industry in Paris. The importance of this long street (the rue Saint Jacques) is discussed at greater length in chapter three. In the sixteenth century the university's theological faculty, at the Sorbonne, was the highest profile academic establishment in France. The area around the Sorbonne was also home to a large number of colleges. At least twenty-nine colleges were used to identify the location of bookshops, as in the colophon of Marcus Junianus Justinus, *Historia ex Trogo Pompeio, quattuor et triginta epithomatis collecta:* 'quae venalia reperies apud Franciscum Regnault in vico Sancti Jacobi sub signo divi Claudii et apud Egidium Gormont ante Cameracense collegium commorantem'.[34] The university and colleges of Paris contributed to a large academic market; the university alone housed two or three thousand staff and students.[35] This was an era when the expansion of educational institutions was fueled by a keen interest in the renovation of the educational curriculum. These educational reform initiatives are considered in chapter five, which also looks at how the printing industry capitalised on the business of education.

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[32] Colophon of *Hore dive virginis Marie secundum usum Romanum otaliter ad longum cum multis suffragiis* (Paris: opera Gilles Hardouyn, pro Germain Hardouyn, 1510), USTC 143625.
[33] Renouard, *Imprimeurs Parisiens,* p. 401-402.
[34] Marcus Junianus Justinus, *Historia ex Trogo Pompeio, quattuor et triginta epithomatis collecta. Lucii Flori epithomata quattuor quam cultissima in decem Titi Livii decadas. Sexti Ruffi, consularis viri, ad Valentianum Augustum de historia Romana opus dignissimum* (Paris: apud François Regnault & Gilles de Gourmont, 1502), USTC 186549.
[35] Norman John Greville Pounds, *An Historical Geography of Europe: 1500-1840*. Vol. 2 (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1979), p. 29.

The wealth of Paris was partly a result of its importance as a centre of trade but also because it was home to the machinery of state (such as the Palais de Justice). It was vibrant and diverse but also socially progressive. Women enjoyed greater freedom to work than in much of the rest of Europe. The combination of increasing access to education, and the expectation that women would take over the workshop or bookshop if they were widowed, meant that the death of the patriarch did not lead to the closure of the business and the curtailment of a dynasty. This was no egalitarian world of gender equality, though, and many women chose to remarry and relinquish their hold on the business. However, women like Charlotte Guillard and Yolande Bonhomme became famous and well-respected printers in their own right. This will be explored in chapter six which also looks at how men outside of the industry broke into what had, by the 1530s, become a dynastic and nepotistic industry. For Michel de Vascosan, marrying into the industry was helpful but a willingness to take up a previously unsuccessful corner of the market was vital, at least at first.

Ultimately the success of the Parisian Latin printing industry came down to the books themselves. The challenge of this thesis was how to devise an appropriate structure for the analysis of over ten thousand bibliographically-distinct items. This dissertation has, as these preliminary remarks suggest, chosen to focus on a number of the most interesting representative careers among the several hundred printers active during this period. But it has been underpinned by an analysis of the whole corpus of work published during these years, an analysis attempted here for the very first time. This has led to some surprising discoveries.

Following the data trail

This thesis began as part of the fundamental bibliographical work of the Universal Short Title Catalogue Project at the University of St Andrews. This ongoing project

continues to highlight many potential avenues for bibliographical research, leading to many new insights and in some cases the whole-scale revaluation of critical aspects of the book trade. The cases of Jean Petit and Antoine Vérard in this dissertation will illustrate how the study of key figures in the industry benefits from a more complete and holistic account of publishing output.

Before the USTC, the major bibliographic resource for Parisian printing in the period 1501-1540 was a five-volume chronological inventory of editions, compiled by Brigitte Moreau. Moreau in turn based her work on the researches of Philippe Renouard, using the manuscripts and card indices which he bequeathed to the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris.[36] The major problems faced by the user of Moreau's volumes - such as the silent compression and collation of states into single editions - will be considered in Chapter 2. Here it may suffice to note that of the 14929 Parisian Latin titles in the USTC database for the period 1501-1540 (the same period covered by the inventory), only 10945 have been assigned a Moreau reference.[37]

The work undertaken for this thesis and by the USTC team has in this way greatly enhanced our knowledge of the complete corpus of works published in Paris in this period. Here, of course, we have had access to resources which were not available either to Renouard or Moreau. Most notably, the very recent digitisation of large numbers of library catalogues has allowed us to incorporate into the USTC database previously unknown copies and many previously undiscovered editions. However, the use of these resources also poses challenges. In particular it is the case that in the first century of printing many books were published undated. The practice of dating books developed at a different pace in different parts of Europe but Paris seems to have been particularly

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[36] Brigitte Moreau, *Inventaire chronologique des éditions parisiennes du XVIe siècle, 1501-1540* 5 vols (Paris: Imprimerie municipale, 1972-2004). After Moreau's death in 1994 her notes were used to complete the series by Geneviève Guilleminot-Chrétien, Monica Breazu, Stéphanie Öhlund-Rambaud and Marie-Josèphe Beaud-Gambier.

[37] Data from the USTC Project database 27 August 2013.

slow to have adopted as a general practice the addition of a date to the title page. Sometimes this omission is compensated by a colophon at the end of the book which gives the printer's address and the date on which the project was finished. But the colophon was not a universal practice, and in incomplete copies, is often missing. For this reason, many books in bibliographies are recorded as undated (s.d.) or, more perilously, have been allocated inferred dates by bibliographers or library staff. Not all these inferred dates can be relied upon. Two copies of the same book can have been allocated quite different dates by their current holders. Where dates have been inferred, there is also a natural tendency to allocate a book to an approximate date in a decadanol or half-decadanol year: c.1500, c.1510, c.1515 and so on. This means that in these years any statistical totals are out of all proportion larger than in the surrounding years. A book is far more likely to receive an inferred date of 1510 or 1515 than of 1511 or 1516. For this reason in the chronological analysis of Latin printing in Chapter 2 a five-year moving average has been applied to the data to try to ameliorate this bias. The raw data is presented alongside by way of comparison.

While the conclusions of this dissertation are underpinned by this data analysis, it was obviously necessary to choose particular sub-strands of this large corpus to investigate in more detail. The choice of subjects did evolve significantly during the course of my research. At the outset I was inclined not to look at religious books or female printers. Religious books were complex and already well-known to scholarship, whilst female printers did not figure largely in Moreau. On both counts I was to be proven wrong. Books of hours and other liturgical works now form the basis of Chapter 4 and female printers are considered in Chapter 6. In the first case the data itself made clear that books of hours, breviaries and missals formed the backbone of the Parisian book industry. It is the one genre of books which was common to almost every printer,

publisher and bookseller in Paris. Previous studies focusing on books of hours have not placed them within this larger framework. The female printers on the other hand did not shine out of the data: they were buried under 'veuve de...' or left out completely. However, they were very present in the notarial records, engaging in the day-to-day business of the Parisian print world. The earliest printed accounts of the printing industry also highlighted the particular role of a number of powerful and successful female printers in Paris. Two in particular stood out: Yolande Bonhomme and Charlotte Guillard. With up to fifty years in the business and their names proudly displayed on the title pages of their books, the relative lack of attention given to them in modern accounts of early printing is rather extraordinary. Both have been the subject of individual articles but neither is mentioned in *The Coming of the Book*, the seminal work to which most students of early French printing reverently turn. This text, published in 1958, was heralded at the time as a foundation stone of modern bibliography and has continued as a fundamental text until very recent times.[38] Despite its elegance and often penetrating insights, it is, of course, based on a far less coherent knowledge of overall printing outputs than is now possible in the digital age. Even so, Febvre and Martin's neglect of the female role in the book industry is striking. This can now be corrected. In particular, the ability to search an electronic database for all occurrences of 'veuve' (and variants) makes this an exciting area for further research.

Over the course of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the printing industry witnessed a gradual shift from publishing in Latin to the increasing use of vernacular languages. One of the fundamental issues addressed by this thesis will be the extent to which this shift can be discerned in a print community like Paris, dominated up to this

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[38] Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin, *L'apparition du livre* (Paris: Les éditions Albin Michel, 1958).

point by the market for serious and scholarly books. The data analysed in chapter 2 reveals that, in Paris, Latin clung on to its dominance more securely and for longer than it did in other major European towns and cities. However the way ahead was not smooth. The number of Latin titles printed in Paris rose consistently until 1512. There followed a seven year plateau, a very deep crisis and finally, importantly, a recovery. Significantly, the crisis was also mirrored by a decline in vernacular titles, and was therefore attributable to other factors such as the troubled economy. However despite the dominance of Latin over vernacular throughout the period the gap began to close by the end of the third decade.

As the buzz of religious reform electrified Europe, the printing industries in many towns turned their attention to short, exciting vernacular texts which debated religious reforms or informed on civil unrest. Unlike scholarly Latin works, they were quick and cheap to produce and gave a rapid return. For much of Europe this did lead to an increase in vernacular publications at the expense of Latin and other scholarly languages. In contrast, in the years to 1540 Paris held on to the market in books in the scholarly languages. Consequently, the level of Latin printing in Paris (1501-1540) was high compared to the rest of Europe: 66% of books printed in Paris were in Latin, whilst across Europe this number was 56%.[39] This thesis examines several aspects of the Parisian printing industry to try to unravel why, and how, Latin printing flourished for so long.

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[39] Figures from the USTC. Paris, Latin, 1501-1540: 9,623; Europe, Latin 1501-1540: 44,044; Paris, not Latin: 14,507; Europe, not Latin, 1501-1540: 35,067.

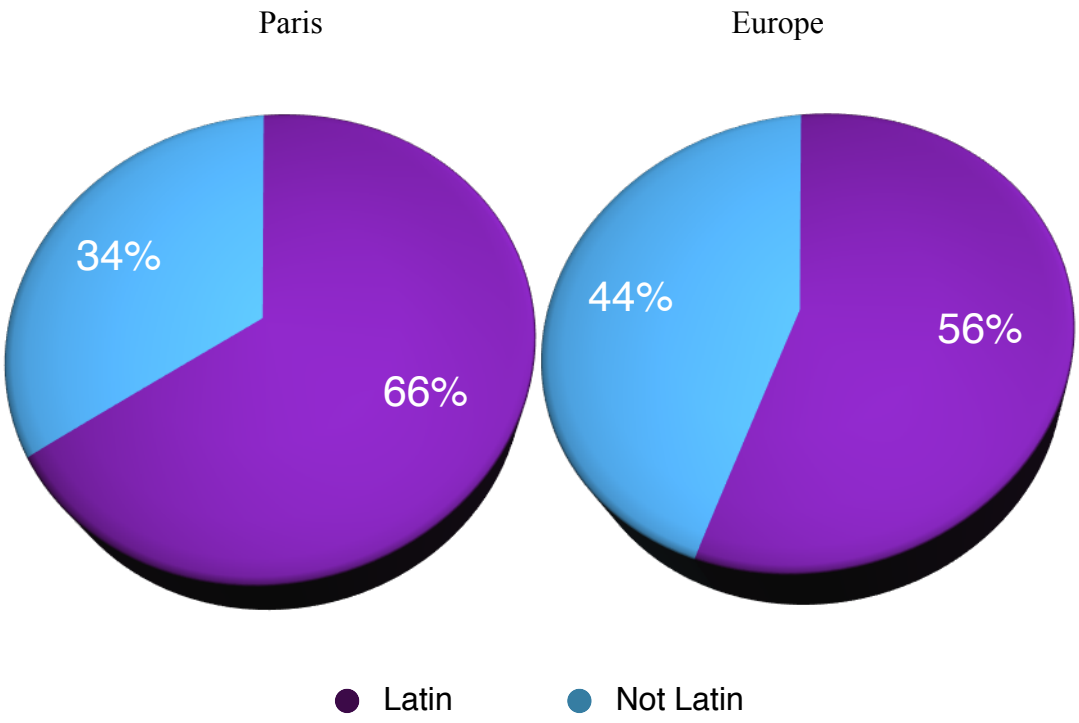

Figure 1.2: Latin publications versus all other languages in Paris and Europe

In addition to the data analysis available through the USTC and examination of the books themselves, this thesis has also been able to make use of the extensive archival material which survives for the book industry of sixteenth-century Paris. Particularly helpful have been the records of notaries who recorded the various legal transactions between members of the book trade and registered the value of stock at the point that a bookshop or printer's business passed from one owner to another, usually as a result of the death of the previous holder. Many of these records are gathered together in the Minutier central des notaires de Paris, reorganised as a separate collection in the Archives nationales in 1932. Even before this, a representative sample of these records were collated and transcribed by Ernest Coyecque at the end of the nineteenth century.

Ernst Coyecque, was a nineteenth-century French erudite whose archival searches have provided a useful source of information. Coyecque found the archives of Parisian notaries un-catalogued and dedicated his scholarly life to ensuring their long-term survival. The manuscripts were first intended for the Archives Départementales (AD 75) but Coyecque facilitated their transfer to the Archives nationales and had them filed by

notary. Coyecque's summaries were printed in seven separate articles under the title 'Inventaire sommaire d'un minutier Parisien pendant le cours du XVIe siecle' in the *Bulletin de la société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France* between 1893 and 1894.[40] Whilst a fine and useful source it contains no references (since the sources had yet to be catalogued), but it is now possible to track down some of the original manuscripts through the notary in question. There is, quite deliberately, very little correlation between Philippe Renouard's *Documents sur les imprimeurs* and Coyecque's summaries; Renouard does not record documents concerning the 'petite bourgeoise parisienne'.[41]

Coyecque's records have been exceptionally useful in helping reconstruct the relationships between different printers often linked by family relationships although not always sharing the same name. In particular Coyecque's work helped reveal the extent to which women not necessarily identified on the title pages of books were in fact publishing books in their own right. In addition, I was able to consult several *cartons* of the original documents in the Archives nationales. These helped greatly in developing my understanding of the daily business lives of key figures in this thesis. Two of these sources were especially useful: the censier of the church of Sainte-Geneviève-du-Mont and the accounts of the Commanderie de Saint-Jean-de-Latran.[42] The church of Sainte-

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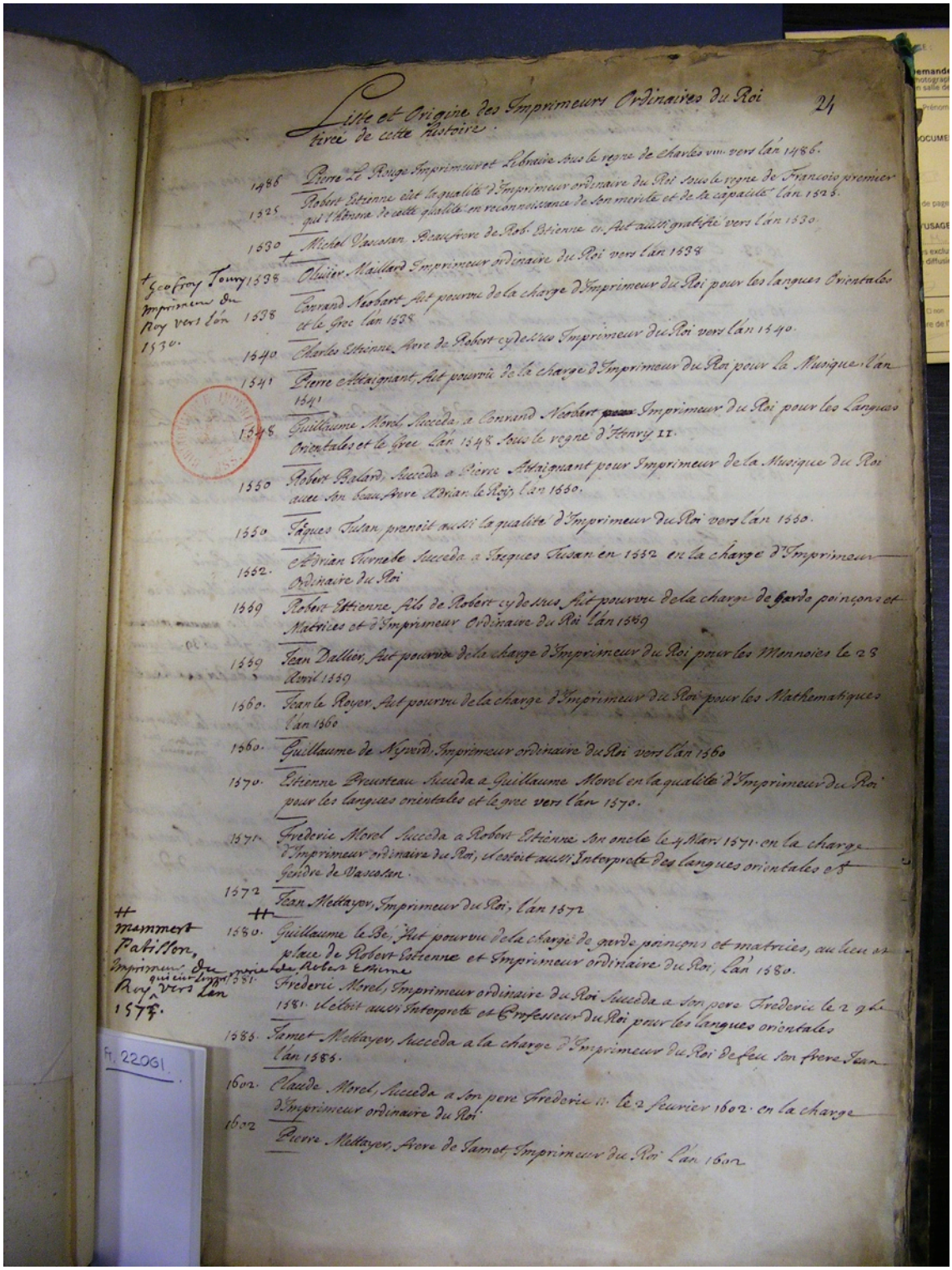
[40] Ernest Coyecque, 'Inventaire sommaire d'un minutier Parisien pendant le cours du XVIe siecle (1498-1528. Jean Crozon)' in *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France* (Paris: H. Champion, 1893, vol. 20), pp. 40-58; Coyecque, 'Inventaire sommaire d'un minutier Parisien pendant le cours du XVIe siecle (IX. 1er avril 1522 – 11 mai 1523. Pierre Crozon)' in *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France* (Paris: H. Champion, 1893, vol. 20), pp. 114-136; Coyecque, 'Inventaire, sommaire d'un minutier Parisien pendant le cours du XVIe siecle (XIII. 6 April 1526-18 June 1527 – Pierre Cròzon)' in *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France* (Paris: H. Champion, 1894, vol. 21), pp. 39-57; Ernest Coyecque, 'Inventaire, sommaire d'un minutier Parisien pendant le cours du XVIe siecle (XIV. 24 April 1527 – 11 April 1528 – Pierre Cròzon)' in *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France* (Paris: H. Champion, 1894, vol. 21), pp. 77-94; Ernest Coyecque, 'Inventaire sommaire d'un minutier Parisien pendant le cours du XVIe siecle (XV. 13 April 1528 – 27 March 1529 – Pierre Cròzon)' in *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France* (Paris: H. Champion, 1894, vol. 21), pp. 147-184 ; Ernest Coyecque, 'Inventaire sommaire d'un minutier Parisien pendant le cours du XVIe siecle (July 1529 – February 1530 [Pierre Cròzon]' in *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France* (Paris: H. Champion, 1894, vol. 21), pp. 205-216.
[41] Philippe Renouard, *Documents sur les imprimeurs* (Paris: Champion, 1901), pp. i, vii.
[42] The full series covers An S 1649 to S 1655.

Geneviève-du-Mont, situated around 200m east of the rue Saint Jacques, was surrounded by bookshops and print workshops. The accounts of the Commanderie de Saint-Jean-de-Latran were also important as they owned a number of properties on the rue Saint Jacques.[43] At the Richelieu, there are useful extracts from the registers which were drawn up at a later date. These give useful pointers (such as the information on the *imprimeurs du Roi*) and contain some broadsheets which might otherwise have been lost. There are, though, no references to pinpoint the original documents from which these extracts were taken. However, these remain important resources of fairly exoteric information, as can been seen in figures 1.3 and 1.4.

[43] For example, François Regnault rented the maison de l'Ange from la Commanderie de Saint-Jean-de-Latran. Archives nationales S 5119/3, f. 4v.


Liste et Origine des Imprimeurs Ordinaires du Roi tirée de cette histoire. 24

1486 Pierre le Rouge Imprimeur et Libraire sous le regne de Charles VIII. vers l'an 1486.

1525 Robert Estienne eut la qualité d'Imprimeur ordinaire du Roi sous le regne de Francois premier qui l'honora de cette qualité en reconnoissance de son merite et de la capacité. l'an 1525.

1530 Michel d'Ascosan Beaufrere de Rob. Etienne a Fait aussi imprimer vers l'an 1530.

† Geofroy Tory Imprimeur du Roy vers l'an 1530.

1538 Olivier Maillard Imprimeur ordinaire du Roi vers l'an 1538.

1538 Conrard Neobart Fut pourvu de la charge d'Imprimeur du Roi pour les langues Orientales et le Grec l'an 1538.

1540 Charles Etienne Frere de Robert cy dessus Imprimeur du Roi vers l'an 1540.

1541 Pierre Attaignant Fut pourvû de la charge d'Imprimeur du Roi pour la Musique l'an 1541.

1548 Guillaume Morel Succeda a Conrard Neobart ~~pour~~ Imprimeur du Roi pour les Langues Orientales et le Grec l'an 1548. Sous le regne d'Henry II.

1550 Robert Ballard Succeda a Pierre Attaignant pour Imprimeur de la Musique du Roi avec son beau Frere Adrian le Roy, l'an 1550.

1550 Jaques Dusan prenoit aussi la qualité d'Imprimeur du Roi vers l'an 1550.

1562. Adrian Turnebe Succeda a Jaques Dusan en 1552 en la charge d'Imprimeur ordinaire du Roi

1569 Robert Etienne Fils de Robert cy dessus Fut pourvu de la charge de Garde poinçons et Matrices et d'Imprimeur Ordinaire du Roi l'an 1569

1569 Jean Dallier Fut pourvu de la charge d'Imprimeur du Roi pour les Monnoies le 28 Avril 1569

1560. Jean le Royer Fut pourvu de la charge d'Imprimeur du Roi pour les Mathematiques l'an 1560

1560. Guillaume de Noyers Imprimeur ordinaire du Roi vers l'an 1560

1570. Etienne Prevosteau Succeda a Guillaume Morel en la qualité d'Imprimeur du Roi pour les langues orientales et le grec vers l'an 1570.

1571. Frederic Morel Succeda a Robert Etienne son oncle le 4 Mars 1571. en la charge d'Imprimeur ordinaire du Roi, il estoit aussi Interprete des langues orientales et Garde de Vascosan.

1572 Jean Mettayer, Imprimeur du Roi, l'an 1572

†† Mammert Patisson, Imprimeur du Roy vers l'an 1575.

†† 1580. Guillaume le Be, Fut pourvu de la charge de garde poinçons et matrices, au lieu et place de Robert Estienne et Imprimeur ordinaire du Roi, l'an 1580.

1581. Frederic Morel, Imprimeur ordinaire du Roi Succeda a son pere Frederic le 2 de 1581. il estoit aussi Interprete et Professeur du Roi pour les langues orientales

1585. Jamet Mettayer, Succeda a la charge d'Imprimeur du Roi de feu son frere Jean l'an 1585.

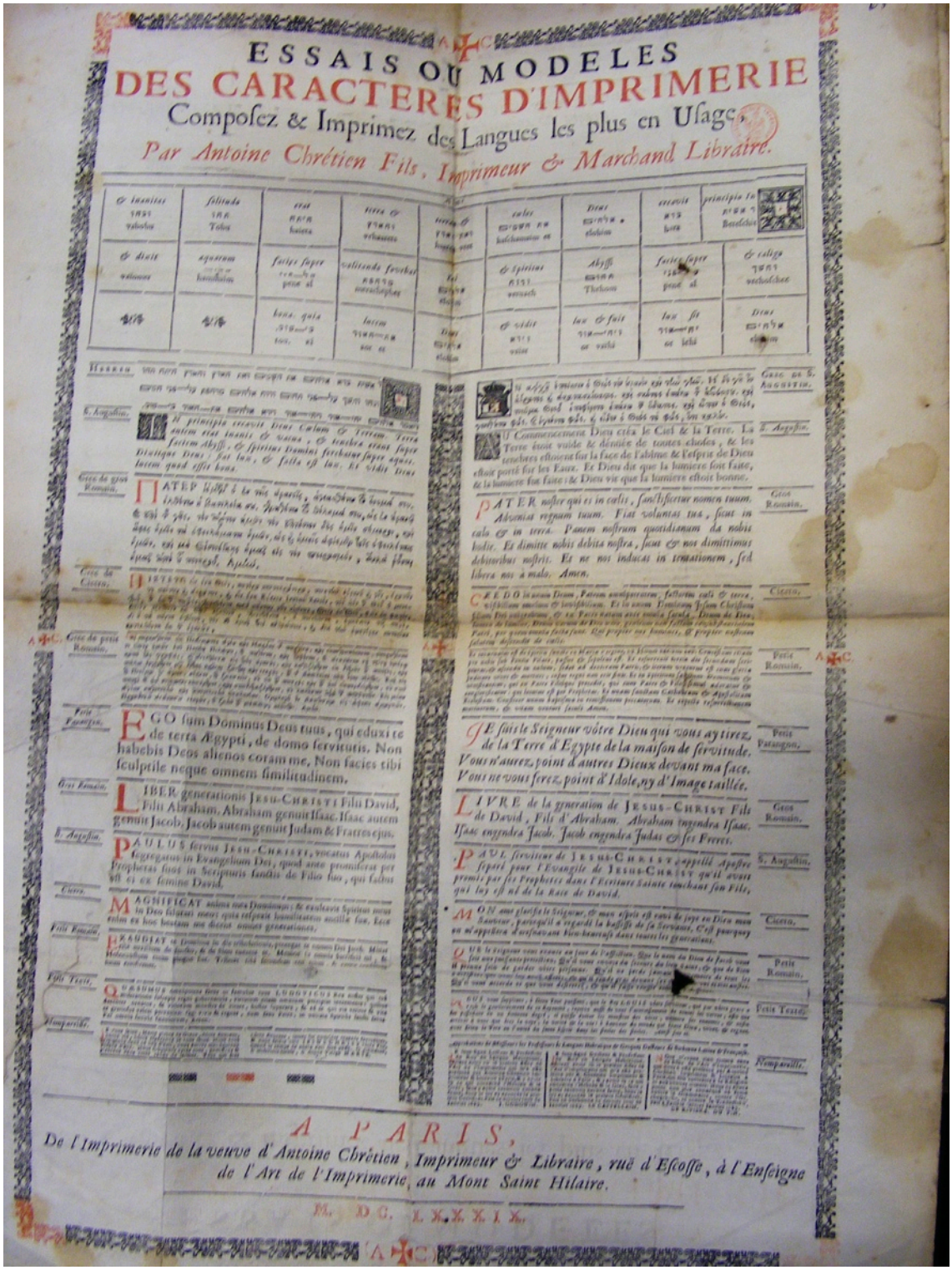
1602. Claude Morel, Succeda a son pere Frederic II. le 2 Fevrier 1602. en la charge d'Imprimeur ordinaire du Roi.

1602 Pierre Mettayer, frere de Jamet Imprimeur du Roi l'an 1602

fr. 22061.

Figure 1.3: Liste et origine des Imprimeurs Ordinaires du Roi tirée de cette histoire.[44]

[44] Richelieu, fr. 22061, f. 24.


ESSAIS OU MODELES
DES CARACTERES D'IMPRIMERIE
Composez & Imprimez des Langues les plus en Usage.
Par Antoine Chrétien Fils, Imprimeur & Marchand Libraire.

A PARIS,
De l'Imprimerie de la veuve d'Antoine Chrétien, Imprimeur & Libraire, ruë d'Escosse, à l'Enseigne de l'Art de l'Imprimerie, au Mont Saint Hilaire.
M. D.C. LXXXIX.

Figure 1.4: Essais ou Modèles des Caractères d'Imprimerie (Paris: veuve d'Antoine Chrétien, 1689).[45]

From the data, the archives and the books themselves, a small cohort of bookmen and women increasingly attracted attention. They were remarkable for the beauty of

[45] *Essais ou Modèles des Caractères d'Imprimerie* (Paris: veuve d'Antoine Chrétien, 1689) inserted in Richelieu, fr. 22061.

their books, the international spread of their networks of buyers and sellers, their domination of a particular genre or their ability to rise to the top of their field in spite of their gender. The industry flourished partly through the dynamism and ingenuity of these exceptionally talented individuals. But they could not have succeeded had they not been able to find a place in a wider community which was exceptionally well organised and carefully regulated. Critically, this was not regulation imposed on the industry from without but a series of self-regulatory practices devised by the bookmen themselves. This is evident in the sophisticated mechanisms they devised to prevent the market becoming saturated with too many copies of the same books. It is rare to find two printers in competition with each other producing the same works in the same year, even when these books were not protected by privileges.

However, the reputation of Paris - and it was a fine one - rested on the shoulders of the famous few. Men such as Antoine Vérard, Jean Petit and Josse Bade have their places in this thesis but so too do those whose reputations have not survived the intervening years: Charlotte Guillard and Yolande Bonhomme for example. This thesis pays tribute to the exceptional quality of men and women who built what by 1540 was recognised as one of the most distinguished parts of the European book trade.

Chapter II. Printing in Paris, 1501-1540

Having it both ways: from the deconstruction of the individual copy to putting print runs in context

A bibliometric analysis of printing in Paris between 1501 and 1540 has not been attempted before for want of a sufficient quantity of quality data, or a complete survey of printed books. This chapter will attempt to situate the new statistics for Paris within their historical context. This approach (deferentially) emulates that of Lucien Febvre and the wider *Annales* School, which from the late 1920s changed the discipline of history in France.[1] Febvre went on to apply this method to book history. In 1958, the posthumous publication of his *L'Apparition du livre* (completed by Henri-Jean Martin) saw a paradigm shift in the approach to book history. Prior to this, mainstream bibliographers focused on the construction of the book, the *individual* book, and book historians divorced their observations from the wider events.[2] Febvre and Martin took a different approach, examining the emergence of print in a pan-European, historical context. This largely abandoned the deep textual and bibliographic analysis which their predecessors had applied to individual copies.

They did not, though, abandon the more macroscopic, archival research and were consequently able to postulate the average size of a print run, and show how this

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[1] Lucien Febvre (along with Marc Bloch) was one of the founder members of the journal *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale* (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1929-present). They sought to break down barriers between subject disciplines and within history itself (such as historians of antiquity, medievalists and modernists) through greater interdisciplinary communication. The new approach is outlined in brief in the address to their readers in the first volume: Lucien Febvre and Marc Bloch, 'A Nos Lecteurs', *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale.* Vol. I (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1 Jan 1929), pp. 1-2. Enrico Castelli Gattinara described the *Annales* as inaugurating 'une pratique historique sans précedent' in his *Les Inquiétudes de la raison: épistémologie et histoire en France dans l'entre-deux-guerres* (Vrin: Éditions de l'EHESS, 1998), p. 181. See also Peter Burke, *The French Historical Revolution: The Annales School, 1929-89* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990), pp. 21-25.

[2] For example see Ronald B. McKerrow, *An introduction to bibliography for literary students* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1927). Much anglophone scholarship has followed this trend: Philip Gaskell, *A new introduction to bibliography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972) and then D. C. Greetham, *Textual scholarship, an introduction* (London: Garland, 1992), both of which do much the same as the other and as McKerrow.

differed from one country to another.[3] They acknowledged that print runs varied enormously, but showed through a series of examples that the numbers increased dramatically from around the 1490s. Inclusion of individual examples of print runs allowed them to prove that the numbers we might expect in the sixteenth century should not be projected back into the incunabula period. In the early 1470s the Rome-based printers, Sweynheym and Pannartz exceeded the usual 100 to 150 copies with a 300 copy run of Donatus and suffered for their overconfidence.[4] Within a few decades a print run of 100 to 150 copies would not just seem small but no longer be economically viable. As print runs increased and techniques improved, printers were able to lower the cost of the finished product, thereby increasing their potential customers. Further, those involved in the printing industry benefited from improved access to investment capital and financial instruments which reduced pressure on cash flow.[5] The average print run settled at around 1,000 to 1,500.[6]

What Febvre and Martin were unable to do in the 1950s was to relate these insights regarding the business management of printing enterprises to specific data on

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[3] Uwe Neddermeyer, *Von der Handschrift zum gedruckten Buch: Schriftlichkeit und Leseinteresse im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit. Quantitative und qualitative Aspekte*. (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1998); Joseph A. Dane, *The Myth of Print Culture: Essays on Evidence, Textuality, and Bibliographical Method (Studies in Book & Print Culture)* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), pp. 43-46. An 'Average' incunabula print run is surprisingly controversial. Neddermeyer collected over 160 pieces of evidence of numbers in the incunabula period in German regions, yet, referring to it, Dane observed 'we still do not have a useful body of statistical evidence here'. His concerns centered on whether the statements of numbers of 'exemplars' constituted an entire print run or simply the numbers required by a given individual. Whilst this may be true of this data set, examples given later in this thesis - in particular those concerning books of hours - are more precise. In Chapter four Henri Terbroug, a merchant bookseller of Arnheim, is seen commissioning 650 copies of a Missal from Didier Maheu and Jean Kerbriant but prohibiting them from making more copies for the duration of a year. This tells us both that the print run was 650 copies only (far less than the postulated average) and that printers were known to print extra copies, competition the Arnheim bookseller does not want. See also Jan Luiten van Zanden 'Explaining the Global Distribution of Book Production Before 1800' in Martin Prak and Jan Luiten van Zanden (eds), *Technology, Skills and the Pre-Modern Economy in the East and the West* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), p. 335-6; and Eltjo Buringh and Jan Luiten Van Zanden, 'Charting the "Rise of the West": Manuscripts and Printed Books in Europe, A Long-Term Perspective from the Sixth through Eighteenth Centuries', *The Journal of Economic History* (Vol. 69, Issue 02, June 2009), p. 415.

[4] Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin, *The coming of the book,* David Gerard trans. (London: Verso, 1976), p. 217.

[5] More businesses were able to produce print runs of 1,000 or more. This brought the cost of books down (see below).

[6] Febvre and Martin, *The coming of the book*, p. 218.

the volume of production. More specifically, they did not spell out how directly the format and length of books impacted on their viability and likely success. Preparing a text for printing took time, so the higher the number of copies, the greater the return, provided that those who had invested in the project could wait long enough for that return. The higher the number of copies, the more materials such as paper and ink were required, and consequently the higher the cost. A clear way to reduce the cost without reducing the number of copies of an edition was to make the book smaller, and thus use less paper. This was achieved through the use of new, smaller, more compact type and by minimising the white space around the text.

The two major factors in the process of printing an edition were time and money. Time of course was intrinsically linked to money. The difficulty was in creating the right balance: extra money spent at the outset allowed for the purchase of more ink and paper, which could then be used to produce a larger print run. This saved man hours at the compositional level - the type need only be set once - but it increased the hours spent working the press itself. Pressmen were not only paid for their work but were entitled to food and wine too, a further expense to be met prior to any return for the printer. Once printers had money to invest, it made commercial sense to add vineyards to their property portfolios, as did the printer Simon de Colines (see chapter five).[7] Strategies such as these were necessary as although a smaller print run required less investment than a larger one, it increased the unit cost. However, whether or a printer or publisher could engage in a long print run for a given edition depended on several factors at both the beginning and end of the process (figure 2.1). If money or materials were provided he could consider a longer print run; if not, it might depend upon how quickly he expected to sell the books afterwards.

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[7] An: S//5120/4 ff. 4v, 18v, 35v.

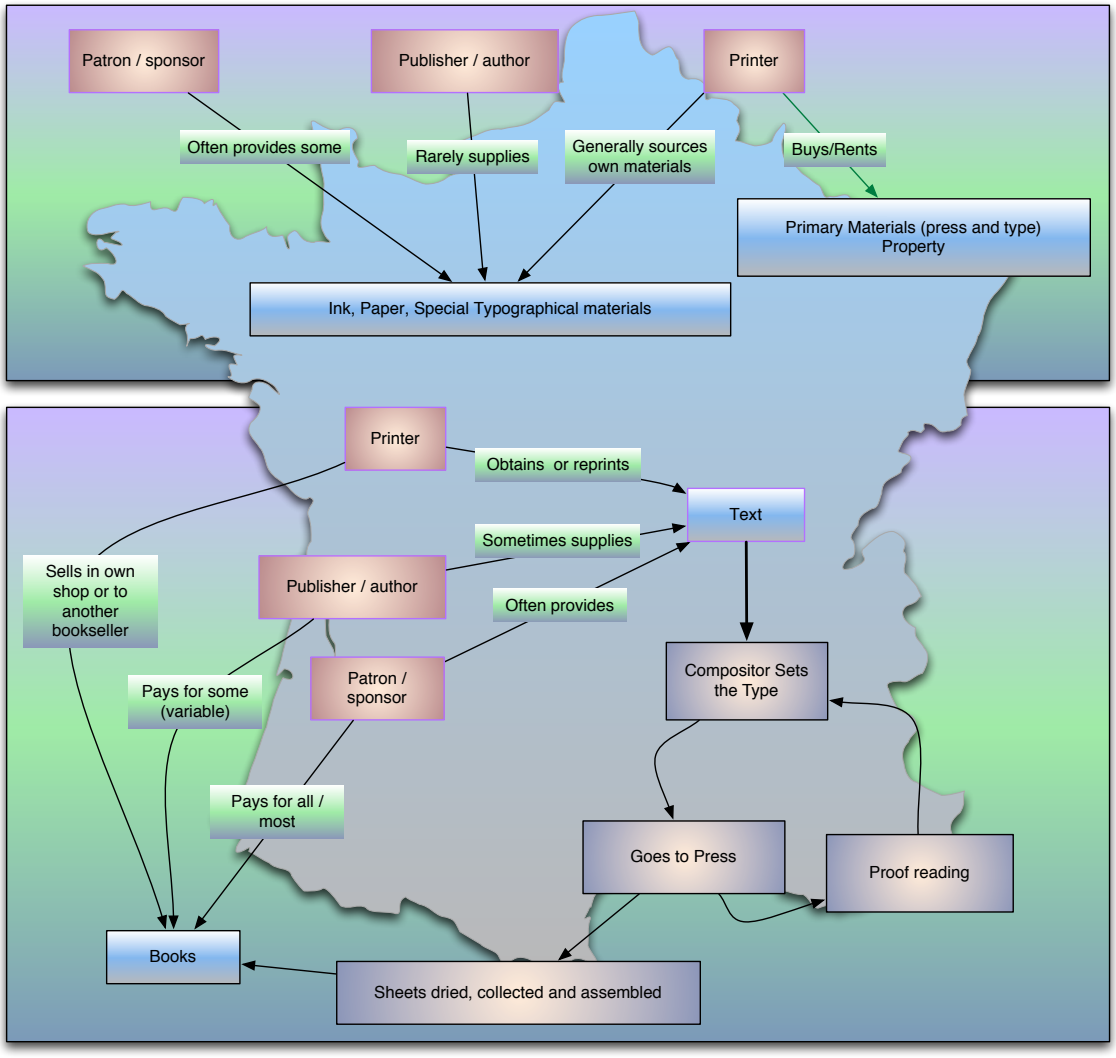

Figure 2.1: Processes of Print

We might assume that working on commission was the best option for a printer; that is, producing the whole edition for a particular patron or client. However, in these cases the number of copies required was generally fixed at a relatively modest level. Some contracts came with a stipulation prohibiting the printer from producing extra copies for a fixed duration. This was more common where the patron or sponsor was providing the text, or was a bookseller protecting his sales.[8] These contracts were fairly low risk as the patron or sponsor - in addition to sometimes providing ink or paper - agreed to purchase all or most of the books. However, most of these contracts - quite naturally - went to successful, well-established printers who were not the most in need.

[8] See Chapter four.

That said, repeat business with patrons or sponsors was extremely welcome to female printers in their early years of widowhood.

The more flexible contracts were often those contracted with an author or bookseller. These generally involved sharing the costs, making the overall risk greater, but there was also a greater potential for profit if the book proved to be a bestseller like Clément Marot's *L'Adolescence clementine*. The bookseller Pierre Roffet secured a three year privilege for this work, which was printed for him by Geoffroy Tory.[9] The quick succession of reprints - over 50 between 1532 and 1540 - demonstrates its success.[10] *L'Adolescence clementine* was an exception however; more often the printer would be left with a number of slow-selling books and consequently a slower return on his investment.

The choice of whether to work alone or with others was, for printers, a complicated one. A printer could of course chose to carve a solo path, enjoying the freedom to alter the text, the type, the format and the size of the print run as he saw fit. This route, with its high risk and slow return, was usually only taken for books within tested markets. Where there was a higher perceived risk, or where a printer was embarking on a project that represented a significant innovation in the market, Parisian printers worked in partnerships. The very first printers to work in Paris had worked together: these were the three printers from Germany recruited by the University of Paris in 1470. The earliest presses were situated within the university walls and largely followed the dictates of the university, producing works specifically dictated by the

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[9] The first edition was printed 12 August 1532 by Geoffroy Tory for Pierre Roffet [USTC 12687], a second edition followed on 13 November 1532 [USTC 73922]. Both displayed the privilege on their title pages. There is also a probable edition of the same year by Antoine Augereau. It is listed in Claude Mayer, *Bibliographie des oeuvres de Clément Marot publiées au XVIe siècle* 2 vols. (Geneva: Droz, 1954) and consequently appears in Moreau's *Inventaire Chronologique des éditions Parisiennes* and the USTC. However no actual copies have been inspected. Given that the three-year royal privilege pre-dates it, it seems likely that either the date - 30 October 1532 - is inaccurate, or it was printed in partnership with Roffet.

[10] After Roffet's death his widow had more copies printed by Louis Cyaneus (sometimes referred to as Blaubloom).

existing curriculum. As more presses moved out or set up beyond the university walls its direct influence diminished. Consequently the printers faced greater risk but also further opportunities. They found ways to reduce their costs and spread the risk with more compact books and co-operative publishing, but every edition was an investment (and therefore risk) for someone. Those able to build up their capital through careful planning and wise investments beyond their own industry (vineyards, property etc) were most successful.

Printers who paid close attention to the appropriate format and length of their editions generally did better in the long term. Throughout his career Josse Bade printed both very short and very long works. At least 50 editions printed by Bade required two sheets of paper or fewer to print each copy, but just as many required a hundred sheets of more.[11] When students of bibliography speak of sheets they mean the number of sheets of paper required to make the requisite number of pages once folded. One sheet of paper in folio equals two leaves or four printed pages and one sheet of paper in sectodecimo (16o) equals sixteen leaves or thirty-two pages. In this way, if the format is known along with either signatures, foliation or pagination it is possible to calculate the number of sheets required to make each copy. This allows us to estimate with some precision the number of days' work that would be required to complete any particular project, calculated on the basis that a single press could complete 1,400 copies of both sides of a single sheet in a day's work.[12] This calculation of the total size of books in terms of sheets is therefore as essential to understanding the output of a particular press as the raw number of projects or editions. For this reason, reference to the number of

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[11] There are at least this many: the foliation and/or signature data for 94 records (of Josse Bade) remains incomplete at this stage.
[12] Jean-François Gilmont, *Jean Crespin un éditeur réformédu XVIe siècle* (Geneva: Droz, 1981), pp. 50-51.

sheets in books and their formats, folio, quarto or octavo, will recur throughout this dissertation.

In the first part of the sixteenth century, editions of the works of Cicero made up a substantial part of the market. Their success may be partly attributed to the skill with which printers varied their size and format to fit the particular needs of the very diverse readership of Cicero's works. To around 1513, most editions of the works of Cicero were large collected works numbering a hundred leaves or more and generally in quarto or folio. In 1513 Guillaume Le Rouge printed a little *Synonimorum libellus* for Denis Roce.[13] It required just one and a quarter sheets of paper per copy. In the 1530s François Gryphe printed a number of individual Ciceronian orations as well as longer works by Cicero and other authors. In 1538 he printed ten editions of Cicero, four of which were individual orations and all of which were quartos. But as well as the Ciceros and other short works like Virgil's *Bucolica* (18 leaves in quarto) he printed larger works like Agricola's *De inventione dialectica libri tres*.[14]

Short books provided quick return for small investments, thus providing the necessary liquidity to underwrite the production of larger works which took longer to produce. Few printers printed only large, expensive volumes and most were engaged also in a variety of genres. In this way they were able to sustain a business through a period of expanding opportunity while weathering intermittent storms brought about by adverse factors external to the printing industry such as the heavy cost of foreign wars and periods of consequent economic difficulty.

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[13] Marcus Tullius Cicero, *Synonimorum libellus* (Paris: Guillaume Le Rouge, Denis Roce, 1513), ff. [20], 8o. FB 61062. There exists another, earlier, Roce edition but the date is inferred. FB 61035.
[14] Rudolf Agricola, *De inventione dialectica libri tres* (Paris: [Charlotte Guillard], François Gryphe, 1538). FB 51996, ff. [12] 228 [6], 8o.

Statistical analysis of printing in Paris, 1501-1540

The Universal Short Title Catalogue project has attempted to create as full as possible a record of publishing in the first one hundred and fifty years after the invention of printing. This encompasses not only a record of each book but the aspiration that the record should be as full as possible. That is, it records important physical features in a book such as format and collation along with information on privileges and dedications and where possible the location of all surviving copies. Obviously some of this information will only be available if those making these descriptions have access to very high quality bibliographical records or describe the book with book in hand. Not all of the books listed will have been described with this level of completeness, meaning that for some we lack valuable information such as the colophon and fingerprint. Whereas the colophon was an intrinsic physical feature of the book itself, used by the printer to record those involved in the project and its date of completion, the fingerprint is a modern device used by bibliographers as a way of recording and matching copies in different libraries. The colophon in particular provides a specific level of information which has been particularly useful in close analysis of the Paris book trade, on the printer, the location of the printing shop and date.

The case for a bibliometric analysis of printing in this period does not just rest on the fact that the data now exists. The sheer size of the corpus means that it is also the clearest way to see where the most potentially fruitful future research should be carried out. The data is the backbone of this thesis, from which all other chapters emerge. However, the use of statistics in history has been hotly debated over the last five or six decades. In the 1950s those who argued for a general model for the use of quantitative statistics in history puzzled over method and theory but took for granted that the field in question was economic history. Such terms as ‘econometric history’, ‘cliometrics’ and

the attempt to establish a 'new economichistory' are telling in this respect.[15] All this was inspired by the founding of the francophone *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale* by Lefevre and Bloch.

Just as historians of the 70s and 80s struggled with, and fought over, the balance between theoretical and quantitative methods in the study of groups and individuals, so any analysis of book production must consider the genres of books as well as the individual editions. Until very recently the discipline of book history concentrated very heavily on the individual and often rarest and most valuable books rather than necessarily putting these in their wider commercial context. This is most obviously true in the study of books of hours which were so often customised and beautified for specific customers. This emphasis on the most spectacular and beautiful examples of the printer's art also of course converges with the interests of the antiquarian book trade.

The turn towards more statistical work was not uncontested. It was believed that an over-reliance on quantitative analysis led to errors, particularly due to the methods used, such as sampling, or reliance on individual-level data.[16] Consider for example the purported 24,000-copy print run of Erasmus'*Colloquies*, an edition which was printed by Simon de Colines in 1527.[17] It was a single occasion and the information came from Erasmus himself, which naturally raises suspicion.[18] Compared to other known print runs a figure this high seems quite implausible. The evidence of the books surrounding this edition also draw the claim into question: Simon de Colines printed other books in 1527. In 1527 Colines was focusing on his Bible series, notable amongst which was the

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[15] John R. Meyer and Alfred H. Conrad, 'Economic Theory, Statistical Inference and Economic History', *Journal of Economic History,* Vol. 17, No. 4 (Dec., 1957), pp. 524-544; Jean Marczewski, 'Quantitative history', *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 3, No. 2, Reappraisals (Apr., 1968), pp. 179-191.
[16] Marczewski, 'Quantitative history'. p. 217.
[17] Lefevre and Martin, *The Coming of the Book*, p. 218. Desiderius Erasmus, *Familiarium colloquiorum opus nunc recognitum magnaque accessione auctum* (Paris: Simon de Colines, 1527). FB 69352. The foliation for this edition is presently unknown; however the work was around ff. 270+ in octavo and this was a 24mo.
[18] Barbara Laslett, 'Beyond Methodology: The Place of Theory in Quantitative Historical Research', *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 45, No. 2 (Apr., 1980), pp. 214-228.

large Old Testament volume *Pentateuchus Moysi, Genesis Exodus Leuiticus Numeri Deuteronomium. Josue liber Iudicum Ruth*, a sectodecimo of over 400 leaves.[19] Of course this example is extreme, and anyone familiar with Erasmus would see it for the self-aggrandising exaggeration it was. However, it illustrates the necessity of placing individual phenomena in a wider context. The methods used in analysing the data, such as the use of a five-year moving-average, have been carefully considered to avoid precisely the kinds of concerns raised by unexplained irregularities in the data such as this.

No formal, single method for bibliometric analysis enjoys universal acceptance.[20] However, the well-tested methods of the USTC project team applied to the bibliographical corpus now seem to offer a robust analytical framework. The introduction to *French Vernacular Books*, the first of the series of print bibliographies that accompany the USTC, lays out these working principles.[21]

Bibliographical Background

The major bibliographic works concerned with the Parisian printing industry extended beyond the working lives of their instigators. Philippe Renouard's marvellously detailed, printer-by-printer alphabetically-arranged survey reached only as far as the letter 'C'.[22] As well as being a loss to scholarship, it meant that neither text nor author faced or solved the problem of editions undertaken by two or more printers together - a notable and important feature of the Parisian industry. When Brigitte Moreau began her chronological survey based on the manuscripts of Philippe Renouard,

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[19] Saint Jerome (trans.), *Pentateuchus Moysi, Genesis Exodus Leuiticus Numeri Deuteronomium. Josue liber Iudicum Ruth* (Paris: Simon de Colines, 1527), ff. [8] 493 [= 439] [1], 16o. FB 57460.
[20] Robert William Fogel, 'The Limits of Quantitative Methods in History', *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 80, No. 2 (Apr., 1975), p. 336.
[21] Andrew Pettegree, Malcolm Walsby and Alexander Wilkinson (eds.), *French Vernacular Books. A Bibliography of Books Published in the French Language Before 1601* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), pp. vii-x; xv-xvi.
[22] Renouard, Philippe, *Imprimeurs et libraires parisiens du XVIe siècle* 6 vols. (Paris, 1964-95). There is a further stand-alone volume on Jean Loys.

she chose to include far less detail in the hope of seeing it through to completion. She had guided four of the five volumes of the *Inventaire chronologiques des éditiones Parisiennes du XVIe siècle* through the press before she died in 1994. The project was continued, and a further eight years later the final volume was published taking the survey through to 1540.

The *Inventaire chronologique* is, nominally, a chronological short-title catalogue of books printed in Paris between 1500 and 1540. It also contains books printed outside Paris for Parisian booksellers and those printed in Antwerp with false Parisian imprints. Moreau's work was largely derived from the index files bequeathed to the *Bibliothèque national de France* by Philippe Renouard. A chronological survey solved the problem of where to put shared editions. However the working method adopted by Moreau was to put all states of a shared edition under a single entry. This conflation is not signalled or elucidated, making it impossible to untangle the sometimes complex business relationships between printer, publisher and bookseller. The majority of Paris printers also sold books, for obvious practical reasons. Consequently when referring to Moreau's *Inventaire* it is not possible to discern which of two - or more - printer-booksellers was responsible for printing any particular one of the copies listed without further investigation.

The standard used in the USTC and its cognate published desktop short-title catalogues (*FB*) is to include all the information contained in the title-page imprint and the colophon (where this information exists). The inclusion of '*chez*', '*pour*', '*apud*', '*in officina*' etc allows the user to establish the relationships between the bookmen. Where an edition is known to exist in more than one state (i.e. with separate title pages with differing imprints or devices) these have been recorded as separate, bibliographically distinct items. This does mean that a small cohort of the additional items in the database

are not strictly 'new' editions, but variations on editions known to Moreau. Since both keep the reference to Moreau's *Inventaire* it is still possible - for our purposes - to establish how many new editions - unknown to Moreau - are in the database.[23]

The USTC is therefore forging a path between two standards of bibliography: going beyond the more superficial method of the Moreau volumes but not quite as deep as Renouard. The process of personally inspecting copies of every edition was part of the original French Book Project method. In the digital era data can evolve as more information becomes available and over time the USTC will be able to provide the precision of Renouard with the breadth of more wide-ranging bibliographies. The USTC is already a more complete record of the period than either survey and, indeed, includes the data contained in both.

At the turn of the sixteenth century the practice of including a publication date on the title-page was not universal. The colophon was the more usual place for the date (presumably following manuscript tradition), but there were still some editions which had neither a date on the title page nor a colophon. Whilst some bibliographers (particularly those following a chronological scheme) chose to ignore the problem and leave out undated editions, others provided an estimated date. The value of such estimates varies from the reliable, such as Philippe Renouard who dated by the state of the printer's device or other typographical features, to the fairly random and unreliable dating of the non-specialist. No librarian can be expected to have detailed knowledge of the typographical materials of an entire library collection spanning many thousands of

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[23] As confirmation of separate states requires the visual inspection of copies - either online or in person - it is likely that more exist than are currently in the database. Working back from Andrew Pettegree's mathematical calculation which suggests very high numbers of lost editions, it is probable that there are also many more lost states. Pettegree's calculation uses the data from *French Vernacular Books*. For Latin books, which tended to be more substantial, the number of losses may well be lower. However the statistical chance of a sixteenth-century French book surviving today is 0.25%. This is based on the number of surviving books per edition and a postulated print run of between 300 and 1,400 per edition. Andrew Pettegree, Malcolm Walsby and Alexander Wilkinson, *FB. French Vernacular Books. Books published in the French Vernacular before 1601* (Leiden: Brill, 2007).

books printed over hundreds of years. Certainly an approximate date is better than no date (and no record) at all, but it brings up two issues: multiple copies of one undated edition may be recorded (by different people) under widely disparate dates. A number of these were identified and reunited in the course of preparing the USTC. But in other cases two issues of one edition recorded under widely varying titles and given approximate dates may not have been recognised as the same book.

The second and for us far more serious issue that arises from the problems of dealing with undated books is that most cataloguers, looking to assign an approximate year, pick a decadanol or half decadanol year. Any attempts at analysing the rate of book production are therefore derailed by the sudden peaks at 1505, 1510, 1515 etc. The best solutions to this problem are mathematical. LOG10 could be used to flatten out all the data, thus making the general trend visible, though that leaves only the general trend and smothers the detail. The best option is to calculate a moving average which is large enough to smooth out the inaccuracies (the decadanol and half decadanol peaks) but small enough to retain the genuine deviations. The raw data has a distinct five-year cycle, a 'regular periodicity' but it is a false one.[24] A five-year moving average accounts for cyclical changes. Whilst it removes these regular fluctuations it reveals the irregularities in a way that the raw data does not.

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[24] Roderick Floud, *An introduction to quantitative methods for historians* second edition (London: Metheun 1979), p. 117.

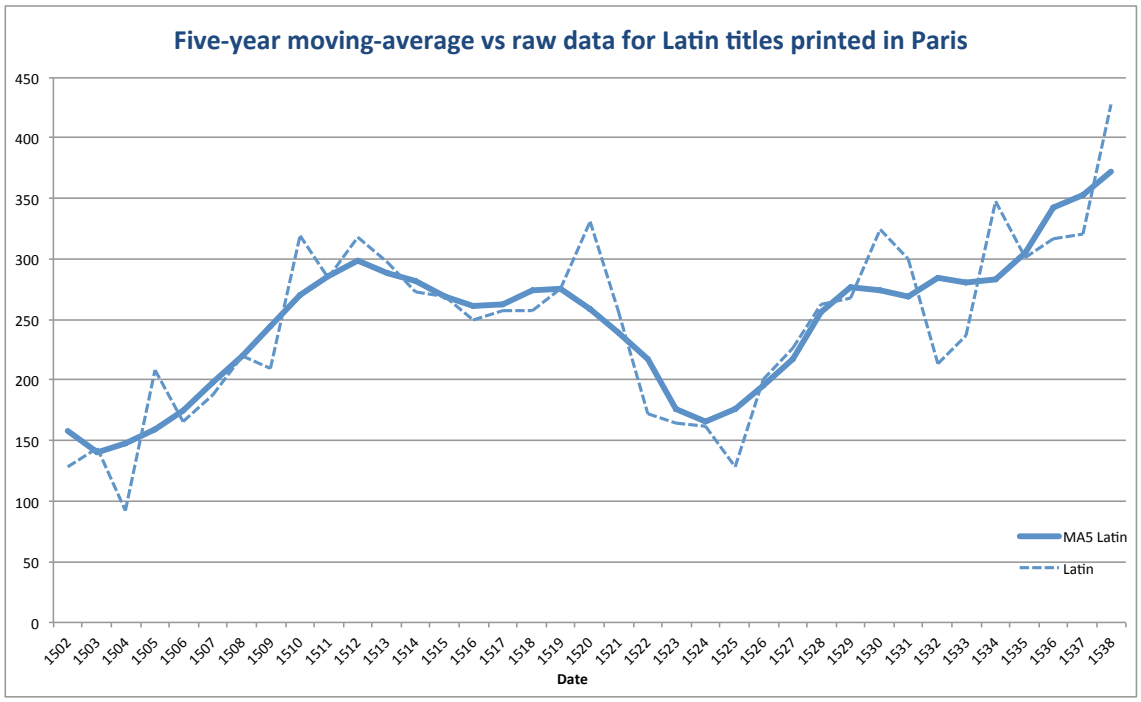

Figure 2.2: Graph comparing five-year moving average and the raw data for Latin titles printed in Paris

The five-year average for a given year is calculated by totalling the data for that year and the two immediately preceding and following it and establishing the average for that data set.[25] The five-year moving average provides a sense of periodisation and long-term change, whilst the raw data highlights the short-term fluctuations.

But of course, Latin books did not exist in isolation from French books. Before moving on to analysing the data it is important to consider the Latin book's share of the market in relation to the vernacular. As the variation in publication cycles is much greater in the case of the French books than that of the Latin, the centred five-year moving average shows their relation more precisely than the raw data.

[25] We cannot know if assigned dates trend forwards or backwards from their true date. Therefore a centered moving average presents itself as the most satisfactory solution.

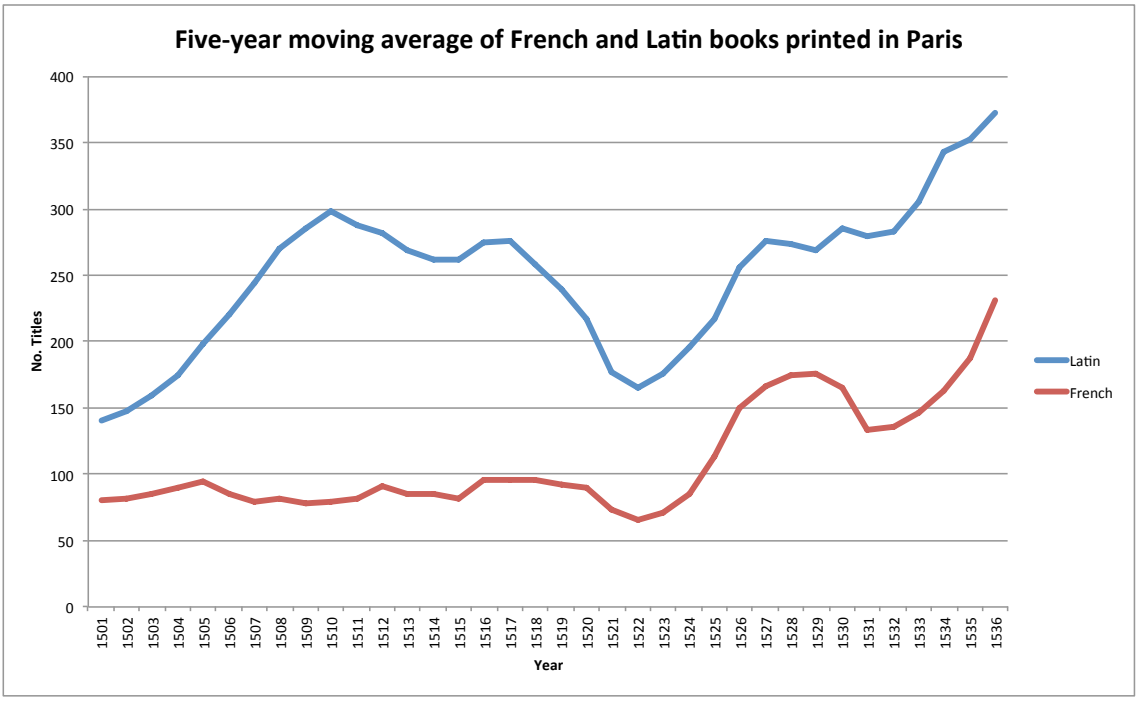

Figure 2.3: Graph showing five-year moving average of French and Latin titles

Whilst vernacular printing was largely unaffected by the great increase in production during the first decade of the sixteenth century from this point on major fluctuations in production seem to affect both the Latin and vernacular trades. After the deep crisis of the early 1520s, whatever was responsible for the rise and fall of Latin book production had the same impact on the vernacular. The exception was the very first decade of the century when the concentration on producing Latin works may have blunted the interest in furnishing books for the vernacular market. In contrast the steepening curve of vernacular production towards the end of the period under study is a harbinger of the relationship between Latin and vernacular production in the second half of the sixteenth century when the rise of vernacular production would be very much at the expense of Latin output. The period 1570 to 1590 has been analysed by USTC-member Philip John, who found that there were 7,496 French editions published during these years compared to 2,455 Latin. However, as has been suggested, the raw numbers of editions alone can be somewhat misleading. In this later period twice as much paper was used to print a Latin book as a French one: the French corpus required 175,768

sheets of paper, the Latin 120,954, so the divergence between these two parts of the market was not as dramatic as at first appears.[26]

The increasing demand for vernacular books undoubtedly contributed to the decline in the production of Latin books in the second half of the 1530s. Prior to this the impact of vernacular books on the output of Latin was limited. This is clear when presented as a stacked chart:

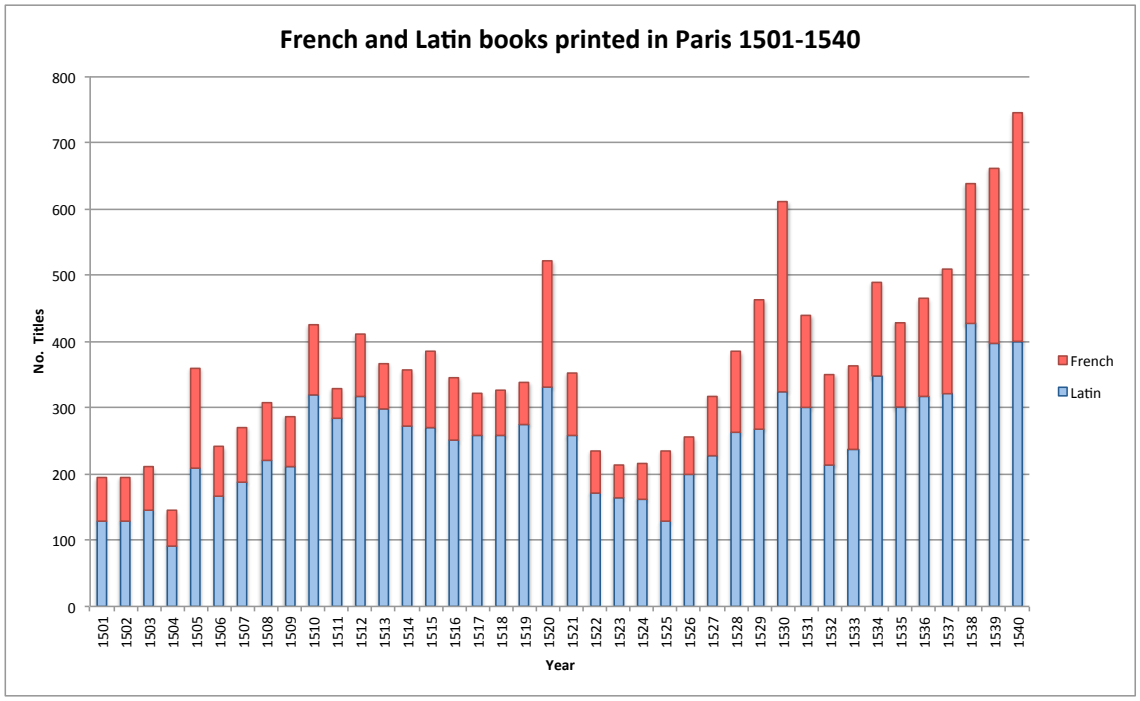

Figure 2.4: Stacked bar chart of French and Latin books printed in Paris 1501-1540

Chronological analysis

Once the half-decadanol and decadanol biases have been smoothed out using the five-year moving average, Latin book production in Paris can be seen to fall into five distinct periods. The transition from one stage to another, particularly where it involves a decline in production, is only partly explained by the factors intrinsic to the development of the industry itself. External factors also impact on book production.

[26] Philip John, 'Publishing in Paris, 1570-1590: A bibliometric analysis', PhD thesis (University of St Andrews, September 2010), p. 68.

Period	Date range	Average (MA5)	Average	Key Features
I	1501-1512	208.85	200.58	Consistent rise
II	1513-1519	273.26	268.57	Plateau
III	1520-1529	217.92	217.1	Descent, crisis, recovery
IV	1530-1534	278.16	284.8	Plateau
V	1535-1540	343.15	360.5	Rise

Figure 2.5: Table of the average number of titles over five periods

The restraint shown by Louis XII, the 'father of the people' during his reign (1498-1515) allowed for relatively low levels of taxation. At the turn of the century the *taille* plummeted from 3.9 million *livres* per year under Louis XI to 2.3 million *livres*.[27] From 1501-1512 there was a consistent and rapid increase in the year-by-year production of Latin books. These were years marked by a clear confidence in the market and an apparent increase in purchasing power among likely clients. New printers emerged and those established in the fifteenth century expanded their production. The overall increase in output brought about an increase in the number of presses operated, a demand for new fonts of type and an increased requirement for paper and ink. Printers took on more apprentices and journeymen to help with the increasing workload.

Warfare in this period was distant and profitable. Battles were fought in Italy and successes included the - extremely profitable - capture of Milan. In a later alliance with Maximilian I, Louis relinquished his claim in exchange for 900,000 florins.[28] On the home front, political stability was maintained despite the lack of a male heir. The betrothal of Louis's daughter Princess Claude to François d'Angoulême (the king's second cousin) was formalised 21 May 1506.[29] As well as securing the future of France,

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[27] R. J. Knecht, *The rise and fall of renaissance France 1483-1610* second edition (London: Blackwell, 2001), p. 56.
[28] Knecht, *The rise and fall of renaissance France*, p. 54.
[29] On the deliberations concerning her marriage see Paul Lacroix, *Louis XII et Anne de Bretagne: chronique de l'histoire de France* (Paris: G. Hurtrel, 1882), pp. 333-334; Knecht, *The rise and fall of renaissance France*, pp. 53-56.

the King also made significant improvements to the structures of both government and judiciary.[30]

Applying the five-year moving average to this period is particularly useful: the raw data suggests a dip in 1504 which the smoothed data does not. This is relevant because the dates immediately preceding and following contain 271 inferred dates. This does not necessarily imply that some of these might more accurately be attributed to 1504 (a year containing only 40 inferred dates) but their presence artificially inflates the data either side.

The early years of Louis's reign allowed the printing industry to flourish. However, in the final years before his death on 1 January 1515 events abroad, and then at home, took a turn for the worse. Louis suffered major defeats in Italy which coincided with an English invasion in the North of France.[31] The invaders were joined by an imperial army and together they besieged Thérouanne.[32] By 23 August the town had surrendered.[33] On yet another front the Swiss had laid siege to Dijon, where Louis La Trémoïlle signed the Treaty of Dijon on Louis's behalf. Louis rejected the treaty outright as the payment agreed by La Trémoïlle was extortionate.[34]

The death of Louis's wife Anne on 9 January 1514 caused him such distress he withdrew from public life for over a month, seeing only his two daughters.[35] With no male heir, the pressure to establish and secure the succession increased. Claude was married to François d'Angoulême on 18 May of that year.[36] Louis died just a little over seven months later. When Francis I ascended the throne France had not so much as a

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[30] Knecht, *The rise and fall of renaissance France*, p. 56.
[31] Bernard Quillet, *Louis XII, le père du peuple* (Paris: Fayard, 1986), pp. 240-94.
[32] David Potter, *A History of France, 1460*-1560 *(*St Martin's Press: New York, 1995), p. 260; Knecht, *The rise and fall of renaissance France*, p. 64-65.
[33] Knecht, *The rise and fall of renaissance France*, p. 65.
[34] Paul Lacroix, *Louis XII et Anne de Bretagne: chronique de l'histoire de France* (Paris: G. Hurtrel, 1882), p. 620. Laurent Vissière, *Louis II de La Trémoille: 1460-1525* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2008).
[35] Paul Lacroix, *Louis XII et Anne de Bretagne*, p. 618-9.
[36] Knecht, *The rise and fall of renaissance France*, p. 65.

foothold in Italy, but this did not diminish the desire to return.[37] However, having long relied on cavalry - which were no longer effective without large numbers of infantry - France had to hire mercenaries from abroad. Since Louis's refusal to ratify La Trémoille's Dijon Treaty, Swiss mercenaries were no longer an option. Francis had to look to Germany to fill his ranks.

Unlike his more cautious predecessor, Francis led his troops into Italy. Snatching victory from the jaws of defeat, he reversed the loses suffered at the end of Louis's reign.[38] France's luck seemed to be about to turn. When Francis was invited to submit his candidacy for the Imperial Election (after the death of Maximilian I in Jan 1519) he accepted. Tentative steps were taken towards reconciliation with the Pope, and he initially offered to back Francis for the election. However, the election had nothing to do with luck, or even popularity, and everything to do with money. Francis effectively wasted 400,000 *ecus* in bribes which turned out to be too small. As it became clear that Charles V had the deepest coffers, Pope Leo X abandoned Francis.

In this period of military, political and financial turbulence the printing industry suffered. The unprecedentedly high levels of production from 1501 to 1512 may have led to market saturation. Particularly in a period of economic uncertainty, a bookseller with a full shop was unlikely to commission new editions, preferring instead to buy new books in small numbers. This would reduce one source of investment in new editions, thus limiting the wholesale market for new books. The consequence of this was seven years of stagnation as the industry reached its sustainable limit. The first four years of this plateau were the worst suggesting the combined effects of turbulent times and over production in the first decade. The market began to pick up again over the final three years of this period of retrenchment.

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[37] Knecht, *The rise and fall of renaissance France*, p. 80.
[38] Ibid., pp. 82-83.

The impact of external events on an industry only just beginning to recover can be seen more dramatically in the years between 1520 and 1529 when production fell back to turn-of-the-century levels. This third decade is also, perhaps, the most interesting; the production of Latin books in Paris plunged into what can only be called a crisis. During the crisis years (1522-1525), French and Latin books combined did not get close to the average output of Latin books alone in the previous decade. The fact that this phenomenon appears in both the five-year moving average and the raw data tells us not only that the period itself (1520-1529) experienced a longer-term problem, but also that within this period sat a short-term crisis (1522-1525) profound enough to impact on the trend line of the whole decade.

This cannot be explained by market saturation alone. There were no reports of shortages of paper, ink or other materials, nor floods, fires or plagues.[39] The industry's ability to adapt to changing circumstances gave it some buoyancy when the Sorbonne began restricting certain religious texts in the wake of its 1521 condemnation of Luther. Some printers continued to produce religious texts which walked a precarious line in their interpretation of the decrees; in this they enjoyed the support of the King. However this support was dependant on his presence in the kingdom. When he was away fighting foreign wars they were very much on their own. In 1526 for example, in Francis's absence, the very definition of heresy was expanded to encompass whatever the theology faculty chose. Lutheran works had been circulating in Paris since February 1519 when John Froben, a printer in Basle, had dispatched to the city a number of copies from his very successful collected edition of Luther's early works.[40] However,

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[39] The plague was in fact waiting in the wings. It reached epidemic proportions from 1529-33. Jean Noel Biraben, *Les hommes et la peste en France et dans les pays européens et méditerranéens (*Paris: Mouton, 1976), vol. 2, p. 111; Vanessa Harding, *The Dead and the Living in Paris and London, 1500-1670* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002). p. 25.
[40] Knecht, *The rise and fall of renaissance France*, p. 115.

most Parisian printers exercised more circumspection about what they would print themselves and avoided the harsh punishments meted out in other cities like Lyon.

As we have seen, Francis's desire to become Holy Roman Emperor required deep coffers, but his funding campaign was conducted largely in May 1519. By 28 June 1519 it was all over; Charles V had been elected. However, raising the 400,000 *ecus* had weakened France economically and the failure to secure the election had diminished foreign confidence. Rebuilding the image of France - and her monarch - required grand, expensive shows of status and power: the famous meeting of Francis and Henry VIII at the Field of the Cloth of Gold is one example. The difference between the approaches and priorities of Francis and his predecessor are nowhere more apparent: Francis spent almost as much on the peacock-like display for Henry VIII (200,000 *livres*) as Louis XII had *earned* annually from his domains (230,000 *livres*).[41]

Francis I spent freely in the pursuit of glory and reputation. Whilst he is well known for his largess towards the arts he also spent heavily on the Italian wars. The French economy was squeezed to the point where it would certainly have affected the disposable income available for the purchase of books.

In this period Francis relied heavily on his finance minister Semblançay. Jacques de Beaune, sire of Semblançay was a persuasive financial genius; a *gens des finances* under Louis XII. He accepted the job of squeezing every *sou* from the people of France during the crisis of the 1520s. He raised some two million *livres* in 1521 and 1522,[42] but Françis was already in debt to moneylenders to the tune of another million *livres*.[43] The crisis had arisen as, despite his best efforts, Semblançay was struggling to draw together sufficient funds to pay the French gendarmerie and foreign mercenaries heading for

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[41] Knecht, *The rise and fall of renaissance France*, pp. 62 & 69
[42] Ibid., pp. 69-70
[43] Ibid., p. 94.

Milan. Believing he was following instructions, Semblançay began selling everything, from land and titles to any gold and silver in churches that was not screwed down (and some which was).[44] Finally, having bled dry all available sources, he dipped into the private royal accounts, an act which, though apparently done in good faith, set him on the road that ended with a noose (Francis stripped him of his title thus removing his right to the quicker death by beheading).

It could be argued that the capture of Francis I at Pavia in 1525 was the best thing that could have happened to the French economy, putting an end to the costly wars and removing the high cost of keeping Francis I in the extravagant manner to which he was accustomed. The people most at risk from Semblançay were, predominantly, those who had ready money: exactly the kind of people whose investments had been powering the rise of printing in Paris. Whilst there may have been some reduction in the amount of money people had available to purchase luxuries such as books, it is the impact of the loss of investment that undoubtedly did the most damage to the printing industry. Investment in folios, the largest and often the most expensive books to produce, dropped rapidly. This is reflected in the reduction in number of folios produced: 85 in 1521 to 24 in 1523. Quarto, the next largest format, fell from 102 to 59 over the same period. Production of octavo (roughly quarter the size of the folio and half the size of the quarto), sectodecimo and 24mo books remained steady. In 1521 printers went a step further in reducing the size of the books with the first 32mos.[45]

The printing crisis caused by France's economic chaos was deep and significant, yet it was also relatively short-lived. The imprisonment of Francis by the Spanish halted the Italian wars. The pressure to refill the war chest was eased, thus freeing up money for investments. Investors began to put their money back into what they clearly felt was

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[44] Ibid., p. 70.
[45] Further explanation of formats follows below.

a sure bet. It is remarkable that the industry went from producing 128 Latin editions in 1525 to 200 in 1526, then 325 in 1530. The five-year moving average shows complete recovery by 1529.

The years 1530-1534 represent a period of recovery and stabilisation. These years are represented by a plateau on the five-year moving average chart but the raw data presents a different picture with an apparent drop in production in 1532-1533, with recovery the following year. This drop in production is certainly not as severe as the precipitate fall in 1525; 214 editions were produced in 1532 as against 128 in 1525. It may also not represent an overall reduction in activity. 1532 saw a dramatic fall in the number of octavos and a rise in the number of folios. These folios included two sets of biblical commentaries; those of Josse Bade each containing around 250 leaves (one leaf is two pages) and that of Pierre Vidoué 404 leaves. Didier Maheu's Thomas Aquinas weighed in at over 300 leaves and Antoine Augereau produced a 900-page behemoth with his *Historiarum naturae* of Pliny. The fact that these printers were concentrating on these very considerable projects may explain why the raw number of editions dipped during these years.

After a little shuffling of format the Parisian printing industry continued its seemingly unstoppable rise in production of Latin books. However, the ascent of the vernacular was even faster between 1535 and 1540 and there loomed an impending religious catastrophe. The rumbling discord which would eventually lead to the Wars of Religion (1562-1598) began with the Affair of the Placards in 1534. The people of Paris and several other major French cities woke on 18 October 1534 to find anti-Catholic posters strewn around their streets (and apparently on the door of the king's bedchamber). Catholic authors loyal to the king took to the press to denounce heresy creating a burst of activity for a number of Parisian printers. In these years printers were

able to mix and match; pause the printing of a large, expensive project to run off a few hundred pamphlets, then continue with the long-term project but with cash in their pockets. Consequently Latin printing did not fall away immediately in response to a rise in vernacular printing, but its rate of increase began to slow. The figures for the last three years of the decade are revealing:

Date	Latin	French
1538	427	211
1539	397	264
1540	400	345

Figure 2.6: Table comparing number of Latin and French titles 1538-1540

In this final period the production of Latin books began to level off before embarking on its longterm fall.

Development of the book

Sixteenth century paper was made by hand. Rags were first boiled, then mashed into a pulp and blended with water before being poured over the surface of a rectangular frame. The mesh of the frame consisted of fine, closely aligned wires transversing lengthways, and thicker, more widely spaced wires running widthways. The impression left in the paper by the thicker wires is the ‘chainline’. Chainlines can help to distinguish between formats where the book in the larger format has been heavily trimmed post-production. The chainlines on a broadsheet run widthways.

A folio (2o) is formed when a broadsheet is folded once creating two leaves, or four pages (which are the same thing). The chainlines consequently run vertically. Folding this folio in half again creates a quarto (4o) with horizontal chainlines, folded again it becomes an octavo (8o) with vertical chainlines, and so on for sectodecimo (16o), 32o, and 64o.

At this stage in the development of the industry very few books were printed in duodecimo (12mo), a complex format associated mostly with literary works. Indeed, many of the books identified as 12mos in catalogues turn out on inspection to be heavily-trimmed octavos, and sometimes large 16os. As their numbers are small (no more than 2 in a single year) and their identification so doubtful, they will be excluded from this analysis which will concentrate on folio, quarto, octavo and sectodecimo. 24mo, 32mo and 64mo will be discussed but not represented on the charts as their numbers are very small.

Format	Leaves (ff.)	Sheets per 100 ff.
Broadsheet	1	100
2o	2	50
4o	4	25
8o	8	12.5
16o	16	6.25

Figure 2.7: Number of leaves and sheets by format

As a general rule, the smaller the format, the more complicated the composition, with pages which will eventually sit far apart being printed next to one another on the form. A 32o has 32 pages printed on each side of the paper. The entire sheet was printed in two impressions, one on each side, so the compositor, the man responsible for setting the type, would need to set up 32 non-sequential pages at a time.

For an experienced compositor this would become second nature, although still intricate, but the extra time taken to compose the smaller formats would have been more than made up for with the savings in paper. Advances in typography meant that small format books could contain a considerable amount of text, as evidenced by Simon de Colines's 16o bible series (from 1523). The charts presented below show clearly the increasing preponderance of octavo in the publication of Latin books in Paris. The data is presented in two charts, one with raw data, the other as a five-year moving-average,

as before. The more detailed analysis of format that follows preserves the periodicity described above with the crisis years separated from the periods of growth and consolidation.

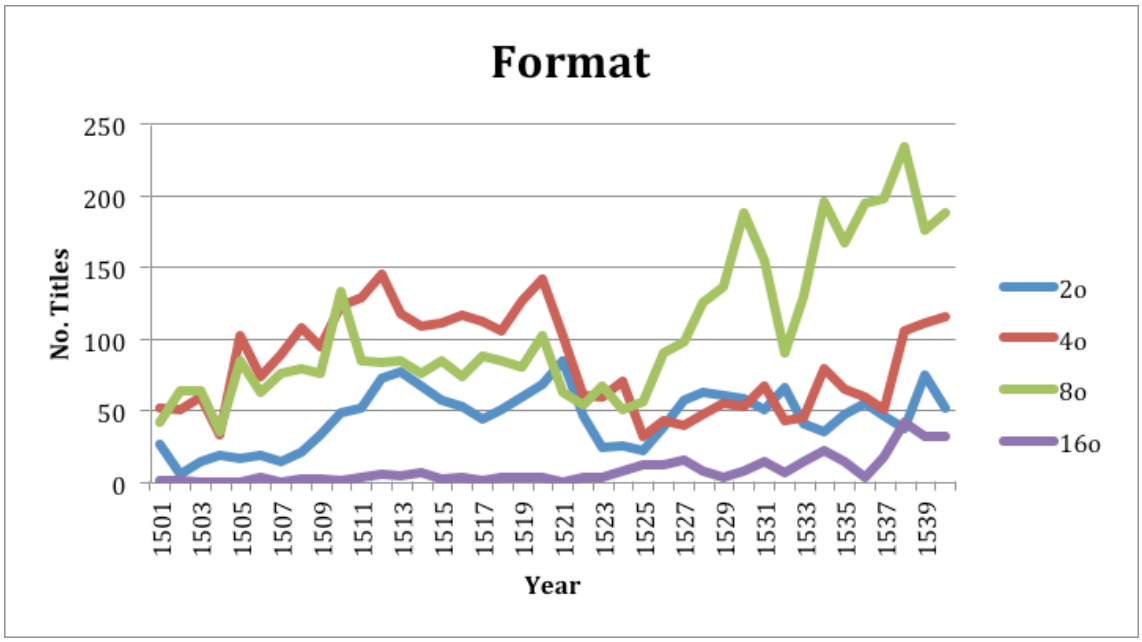

Figure 2.8: Graph showing number of titles in each format by year

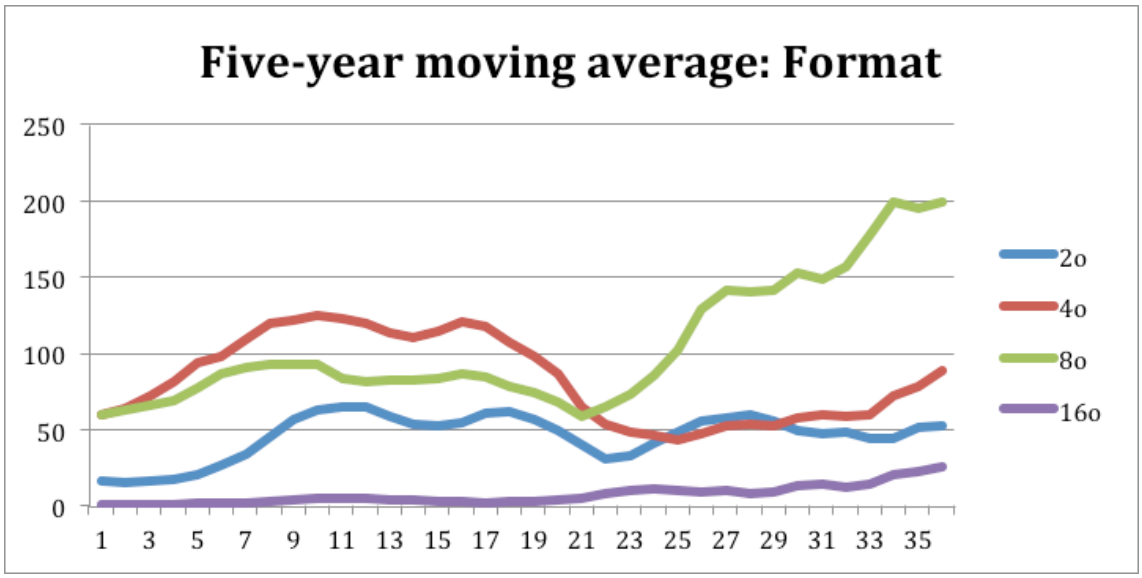

Figure 2.9: Graph showing number of titles in each format by year by five-year moving average

	Av. 2o	Av. 4o	Av. 8o	Av. 16o
I: 1501-1512	**28.83**	**88.17**	**74.58**	**1.67**
II: 1513-1519	**58.43**	**113.71**	**82.57**	**3.57**
IIIa: 1520-1521	**76.50**	**122.00**	**83.00**	**1.5**
IIIb: 1522-1525	**29.75**	**55.25**	**57.75**	**6.75**
IIIc: 1526-1529	**55.25**	**46.00**	**113.25**	**9.75**
IV: 1530-1534	**50.40**	**57.40**	**152.60**	**13.20**
V: 1535-1540	**52.33**	**84.17**	**193.83**	**23.67**

Figure 2.10: Table of average number of titles by format over five periods (the third period is divided).

The vast majority of Latin books printed between 1501 and 1512 were in quarto and octavo: on average 88.17 titles and 74.58 titles respectively. The larger folio format saw limited use especially during the first part of this period. Even in the years after 1506 the production of folios only averaged 28.83 titles per year. The smallest format at that time - sectodecimo - was barely used at all with fewer than two titles per year on average.

The plateau years (1513-1519) witnessed the major French defeat in Italy and the invasion of northern France in 1513; the end of the reign of Louix XII and the beginning of that of Francis I in 1515. This period marks the beginning of a long run of stability for the octavo (82.57 editions per year 1513-1515), which was to develop into the predominant format of production from the 1530 onwards. The quarto held its position as the dominant format of the first two decades of the century. Folio, on the other hand, remained quite an unstable format, peaking in 1513 and then diminishing continuously to 1517 before climbing again to 1521. In the earlier decades many of the folio Latin books were *belles lettres*; later, they were predominantly religious books. This suggests two things: that people were not as keen to buy large format Latin *belles lettres* as printers and publishers had assumed initially, and that there was always a market - both of individuals and institutions - for large format theological texts. Often these were weighty tomes with substantial commentaries for which this was the most

appropriate format. Jacques Lefevre d'Étaples's commentary on the (Vulgate) Gospels (Illustrations 2.1 and 2.2) is a typical example.[46]

Figure 2.11: Title page, Jacques Lefevre d'Etaples, *Commentarii initiatorii in quatuor evangelia* (Paris: Simon de Colines, 1522)

[46] Jacques Lefevre d'Etaples, *Commentarii initiatorii in quatuor evangelia* (Paris: Simon de Colines, 1522), f. [6] 377, 2o. USTC 184251. Copy from La Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, Brussels vB 2366 A ILP.

Figure 2.12: Jacques Lefevre d'Etaples, *Commentarii initiatorii in quatuor evangelia* (Paris: Simon de Colines, 1522), ff. 281v-282r

In 1520, just before the period of financial crisis, quarto and octavo formats reached 142 and 103 editions each. By 1521 this had dropped to 102 and 63 respectively. This descent was not immediately marked in the folio format, which rose from 68 to 85 in 1521. The number of folio *belles lettres* had dropped but the number of religious books in folio had increased; there was also a more even spread across the genres than there had been in the first decade. However, as the crisis deepened in 1522, production of folios fell much further (by percentage) than that of octavo books. In this period the production of books in octavo was buoyed up by the continued demand for small devotional texts and educational books. Perhaps the most interesting change came in the sectodecimos, a format which had been little used before the crisis. From 1520-1521 they averaged 1.5 per year. During the crisis (1522-1525) this had jumped to 6.75 per year; in the early recovery period this reached 13.20 and by 1535-1540 it was

23.67. Although these are relatively small figures, the increase is striking. Faced with poorer customers, printers and publishers apparently tried to use less paper and lower the costs. The cost of an unbound, unillustrated book was determined by the number of sheets of paper required to make it. If a book is costed by the amount of paper required, it stands to reason that the more economically printed the book the greater the profit for the printer. Consequently this move towards sectodecimos may suggest that it was the purchasers who were short on cash more than it was the printers. The quarto never again reached its pre-crisis levels as the octavo took over as the predominant format.

The first signs of recovery came in the form of an increase in octavos and in sectodecimos. In 1526 there were 91 octavos (unprecedented) and 12 sectodecimos; in contrast the previously most popular formats, folio and quarto, fell to 39 and 43 editions respectively. The precipitate fall in the production of folios represents a significant cutting back on projects which required the most substantial capital and the longest period before a printer would see a return on his investment. This progressive withdrawal from publication in folio necessarily impacted far more heavily on Latin than French output.

From 1530 to 1540, the octavo was the predominant format. Over 50% of all books printed in the final decade were in octavo. Between 1530 and 1534 there were 763 octavos (252 folios, 287 quartos, and 66 sectodecimos). Gradually the way in which the Parisian industry published its books had changed. Over the period 1501-1540 overall, 46.2% of the books were published in octavo, 33.9% in quarto, 13.6% in folio and 5.6% in sectodecimo. The octavo, popular with collectors and convenient for a wide range of genres had established the supremacy that it would not relinquish for the rest of the sixteenth century.

Content

The range and variety of the books published in Paris during these years can be further explored if we refine the foregoing analysis of format with a more detailed description of content. As we will discover in succeeding chapters, not all Parisian publishers were engaged in all sections of the market; some became true specialists. But collectively the city's publishing industry was able to cater for every aspect of the rapidly developing book trade in these years. To facilitate analysis, the 10,000 separate editions published during these years have been divided into seven broad categories, with an eighth as a catchall for the rest: *belles lettres*; classics; educational works; jurisprudence; music; religious and other. Music is important as a representative of the industry's willingness and capacity to change and innovate. It required the design, creation and purchase of completely new specialist sets of type. Although for this reason it is retained as a separate category, the number of editions is very small and this category is not included in the further analysis which follows.

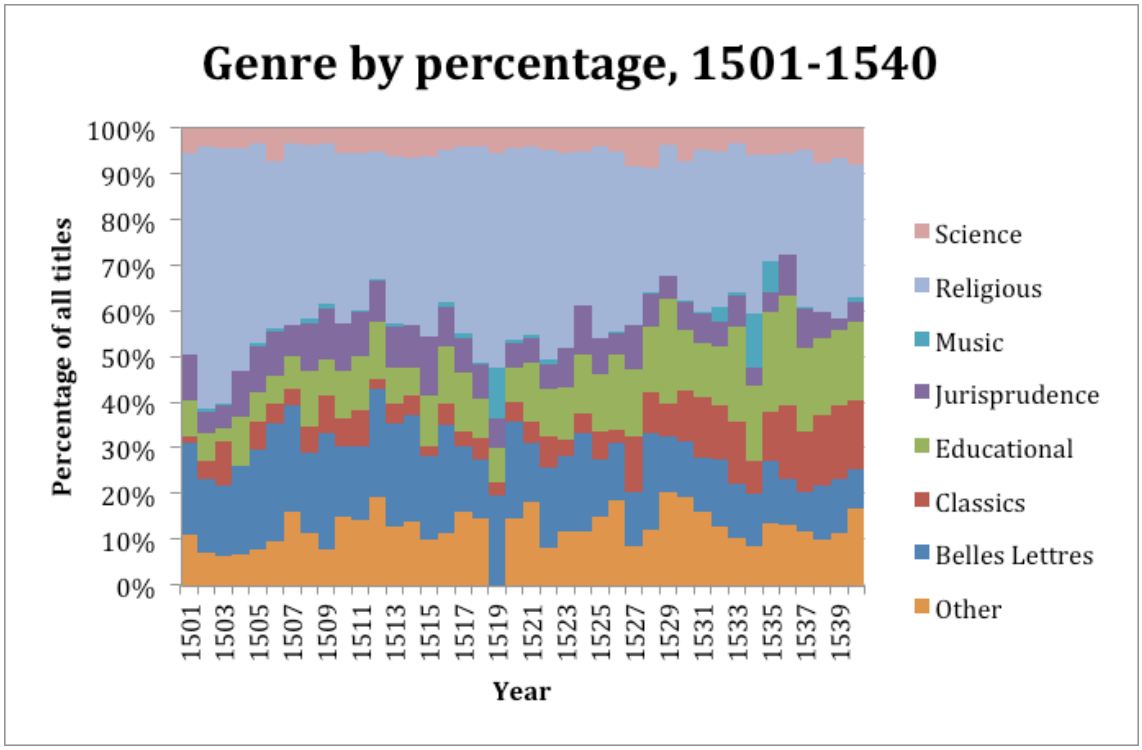

Figure 2.13: Changing percentages of genre 1501-1540

Belles Lettres

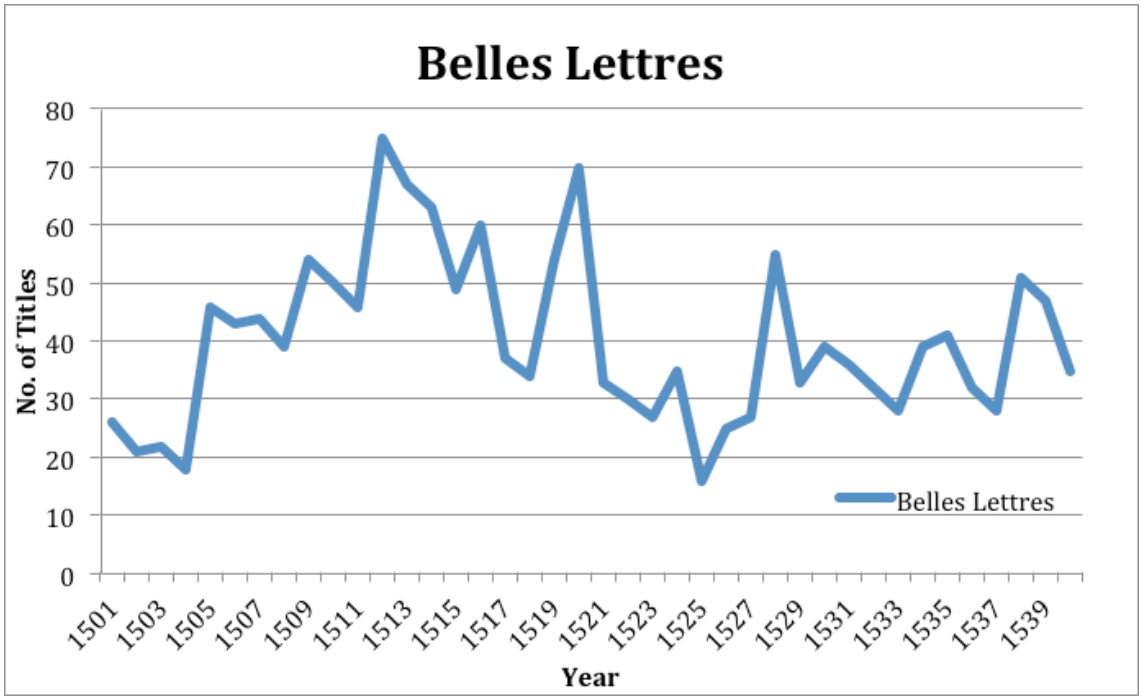

Figure 2.14: Number of titles of the *belles lettres* genre, 1501-1540

Belles lettres, including literature, history and philosophy, accounts for the second largest proportion of works in this period with a total of 1,607 editions. There was a strong performance in the early years with 470 editions between 1501 and 1512, representing 20.2% of all works in this period. From here onwards it was a downhill trajectory; in period II (1513-1519) they accounted for 19.3% of the market; the crisis years (1520-1529) saw a drop to 16.4%; during the fourth phase (1530-1534) the share of the market had declined further to 12.4%. 234 editions in the *belles lettres* genre were published in the last five years of the fourth decade, but this represented only 10.9% of all books published.

In the years when the market was more healthy *belles lettres* did extremely well, yet when the industry faced its first serious crisis it was the genre that took the most dramatic hit. This was because *belles lettres* were a discretionary purchase for better economic times. Further analysis reveals that the second period (1513-1519) might be considered more successful than the edition numbers suggest as the percentage of folios

increased at the expense of smaller formats. Folios accounted for 19.1% of the genre in the first years, and this rose to 30% when production flattened out. In the crisis years the percentage of *belle lettres* in folio decreased to 26.2%, although this is not as much as might be expected, whilst the production of quarto books slumped and octavo, in this case as expected, increased to 32.6%.

Although not always beautifully made, a folio edition in this format might have been considered a luxury as it did not serve the same practical purpose as, for example, a book on medicine or legal practice. Although the three formats were fairly close in numbers (90 folios, 131 quartos, 112 octavos) and accounted for 96.8% of the genre, the first 16o and 24mo editions of *belles lettres* appeared in the second decade. In fact 1521 saw the first Latin 24mo to be printed in Paris. 12 of the 14 24mos were printed by Pierre Vidoué.

As a 'luxury' genre, it is unsurprising that the numbers of *belles lettres* published in Latin (the language of erudition) began to decline. In the final decade the drop in overall percentage was matched by a plunge in the number of folios and quartos. By switching to octavo (62% 1535-1540) and 16o (4.3%, up from less than 1%) printers and publishers were accepting that Latin was rapidly becoming the more or less exclusive domain of the erudite genres. Consequently classical, educational and religious books took larger shares of the market than *belles lettres* in the final years, and educational, legal and religious books accounted for nearly all of the folios (78%).

Classical Books

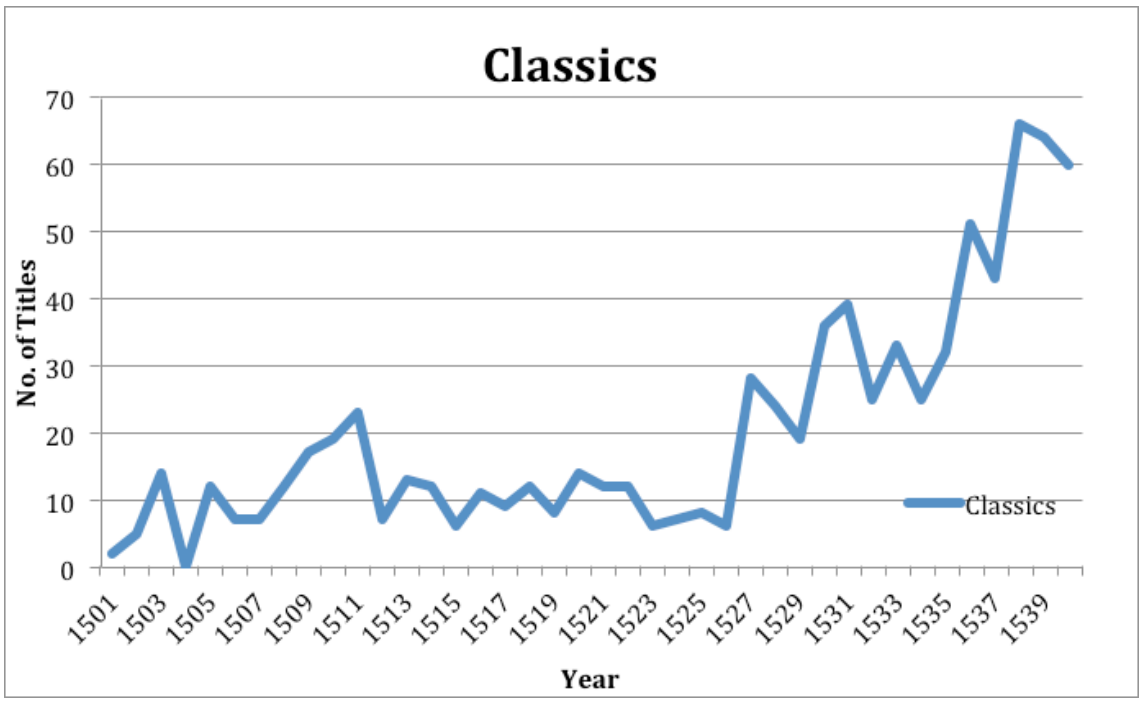

Figure 2.15: Number of titles of the classics genre, 1501-1540

The publication of works by authors of the classical period has always been seen as a staple of the early European print trade. In this respect a graph of the output of the Parisian industry during these four decades presents a quite unexpected picture of relatively low production followed by a rapid increase towards the end of the period. Overall, however, publication of the Greek and Roman authors is a good deal lower than our instinctive perception of the importance of the classics in humanist scholarship would have led us to believe. There were 806 classical works printed over the four decades. This figure does not compare favourably with the 3,562 religious works, the 1,315 educational works, or even the 1,607 *belles lettres.* The reason for this was the exceptionally low level of involvement of the Parisian industry in the publication of classics in the first part of the century. Classical works accounted for just 5.1% of all works printed between 1501 and 1512. The steadily rising influence in Paris of humanists such as Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples and Guillaume Budé may help to explain

the later success of the genre but the early lack of interest is surprising. Certainly the rise of humanism helps explain why classics were one of the few genres to take a larger share of the market in the crisis years. Conversely the markedly slow start of the printing of Latin classics suggests that humanism did not in fact gain a real foothold in Paris until as late as the end of the 1520s.

Within this genre, the first two decades saw a predominance of quarto (58.8% and 46.5%), then, on entering the crisis years, a shift to folio (40.3%), which was utterly reversed between 1530 and 1534 with 50.6% octavo. This swung back in favour of quarto in the final five years, with folio down to 6.7%. The apparently larger share of the overall market (14.7%) in terms of editions should therefore be tempered by the fact that over 90% of classical works were published in quarto and octavo.

Educational Books

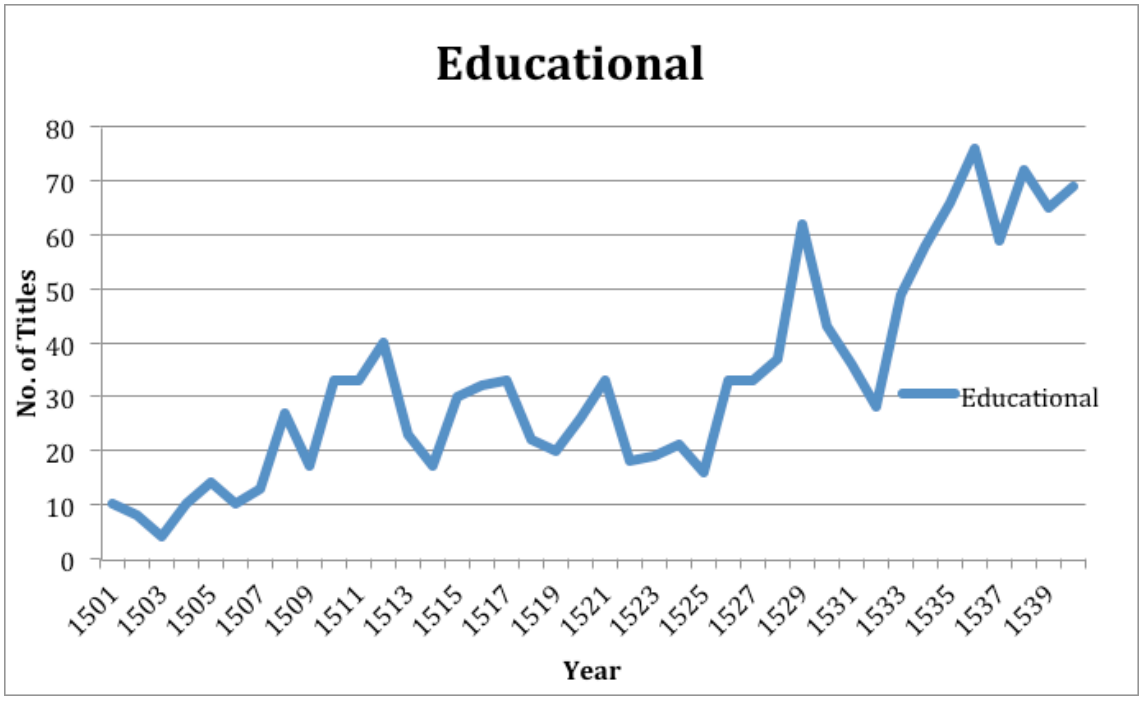

Figure 2.16: Number of titles of the educational genre, 1501-1540

Educational books held a fairly consistent position throughout the four decades. The first two decades saw a rise and consolidation that fits the general trend in this

period; however the crisis years had little negative impact on this share of the market, reflecting the fact that educational books were not generally a luxury. Publishers would have been confident of reasonably quick returns and booksellers confident of shifting stock in Paris, the site of one of the preeminent sixteenth century universities. That said, the early switch to publication in octavo with a rise from 10.5% in 1513-1519 to 40.9% between 1520 and 1529 suggests that in this respect the Parisian printing industry proved adept in juggling the demands of the market at times of more straightened finances. From this point on the folio never recovered, accounting for just 4.2% of educational books between 1535 and 1540. The octavo had clearly proven exceptionally popular amongst students and academics, reaching 341 editions in the final five years, some 85% of all formats. This in part reflects the fact that travel was necessary for most university students and luggage would have to have been kept to a minimum; but it also reflects the lighter weight of their money bags.

Students and academics did not completely corner the educational book market, as dictionaries and writing guides (including compendia of letter templates) would have appealed to merchants and other businessmen. Even courtiers might have found uses for rhetorical manuals and writing guides. Many of them did have to travel and a pocket-size book would not only have been of practical use, but also a form of entertainment on long journeys.

Jurisprudence

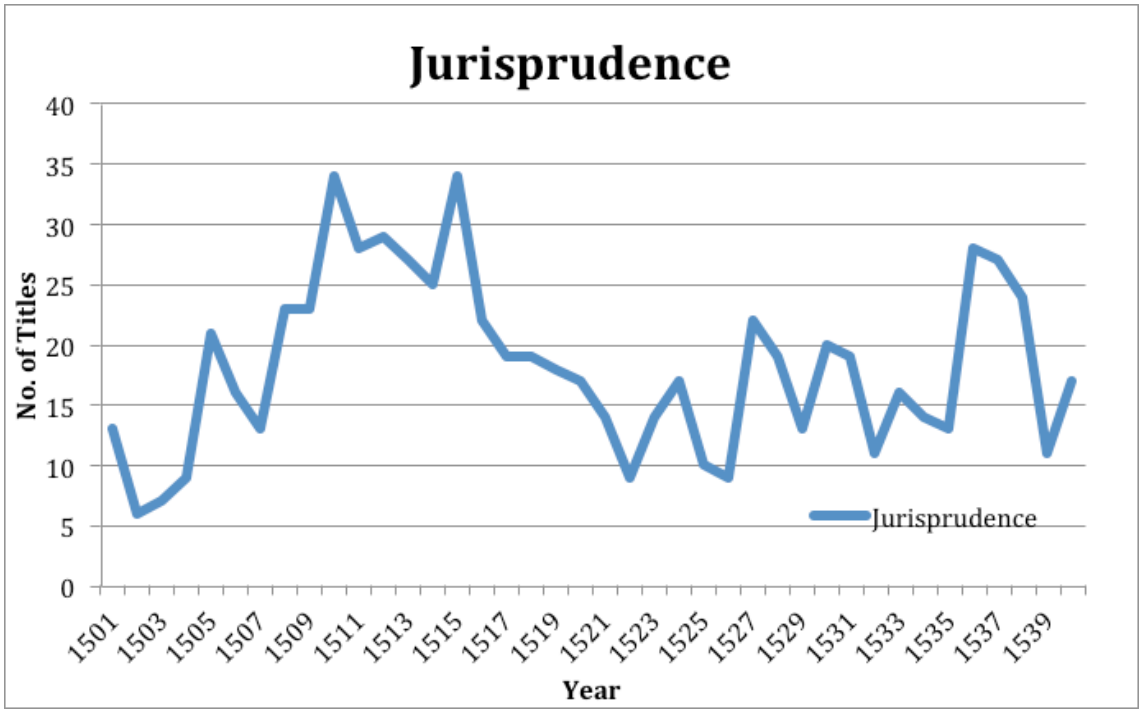

Figure 2.17: Number of titles of the jurisprudence genre, 1501-1540

Legal books were unlikely to have entertained many on long journeys, but knowledge of recent edicts and customs of different areas would have essential to merchants as well as those engaged in the legal trade. However for most merchants vernacular translations would have been more appealing. The large early output of legal books in Latin seems to have, to some extent, satisfied later demand. Although there would still be a market for interpretations, large volumes of Canon and Roman law would presumably have lasted many years, and once the investment had been made buyers would not generally need to replace these volumes.

Whilst contemporary jurisprudence consisted more generally of short works, the great volumes of Canon and Roman law were leviathans, printed in folio with phenomenally small, tightly-packed print. The title pages start as they mean to go on. To the modern eye, used to left-to-right scanning and spaces between words and lines, these title pages look complicated, excessive, colourful and messy, with blocks of text

in different, interlocking shapes. They hark back to manuscript days, perhaps deliberately evoking a sense of gravitas through the historic.

The gradual reduction in the overall percentage of works of jurisprudence from 9.1 (1501-1512) to 5.5 (1535-1540) suggests that this was a part of the market where repeat editions of very substantial works were unlikely to be economically viable. This was also a share of the market, like *belles lettres*, where an increasing proportion of the market was being taken by vernacular publications. In the case of jurisprudence, this would have been particularly the case where merchants were the customers. In addition a north-south divide in legal practice (customary law in the north, Roman law in the south) allowed Lyon to emerge as the market leader for substantial works on Roman law. Enterprising publishers, like Jean Petit, adapted to this circumstance by establishing bookshops in Lyon.[47]

Religious Books

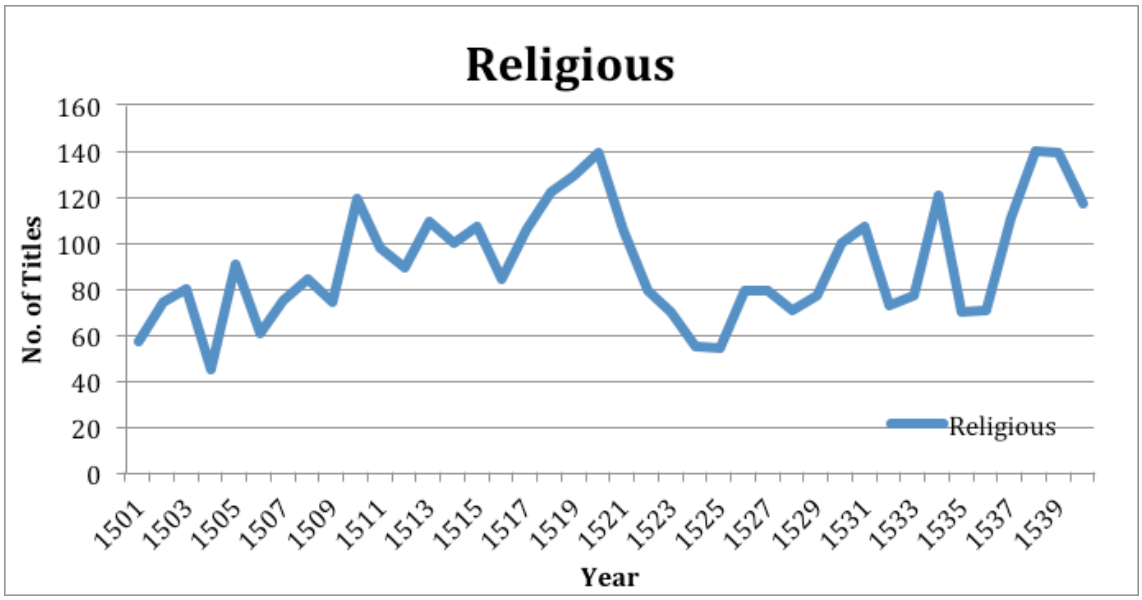

Figure 2.18: Number of titles of the religious genre, 1501-1540

[47] David Potter, *A History of France, 1460-1560* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1995), pp. 5-6; R. J. Knecht, *The Rise and Fall of Renaissance France, 1483-1610* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996), pp. 2, 58-59.

Ephemeral or substantial, controversial or conventional, popularist or elitist, vernacular or Latin; religious books encompass a very wide area of the book market in what was latterly a turbulent period in religious affairs. The peak of production in 1520 marks the beginning of an era of high controversy with Luther's pamphlets circulating in Paris, and vehement responses following hard on their heals.

The early decades, though, are distinguished by a lack of controversy, with the production of religious books being dominated by a mixture of devotional works and books of hours, including the exquisite octavos of Thielman Kerver and the 25 octavo and quarto hours of Antoine Vérard. Vérard's commissions included hours for the use of Bourges, Paris, Poitier, Rome, Salisbury and Tournon, strongly hinting at an international market for his works. These were, if his own laudatory prefaces are to be believed, snapped up by the great and the good of his day. His patrons included Charles VIII, Louis XII, Louise de Savoy, Francis I, Anne de Bretagne and Charles d'Angouleme.[48]

Vérard's sixteenth-century *who's-who* of customers indicates that works of popular piety were equally popular amongst the elite as in the bourgeois dwellings of Paris. Indeed, before the vernacular Bible, if homes had only one book it was usually a book of hours. Even for the semi-literate the illustrations in these books would have been attractive in themselves.

Whilst religious works remained the most popular genre every year except 1536 the number of editions published remained at a relatively static level. From the near-40% share of the market in the first two decades they drop to just over 30% in the final decade. This fall in the overall proportion was a result of the increase in vernacular

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[48] Mary Beth Winn, *Antoine Vérard, Parisian publisher, 1485-1512* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1997), pp. 474-481.

religious works. Without this increase Latin religious books might well have continued to maintain their early high market share.

Scientific Books

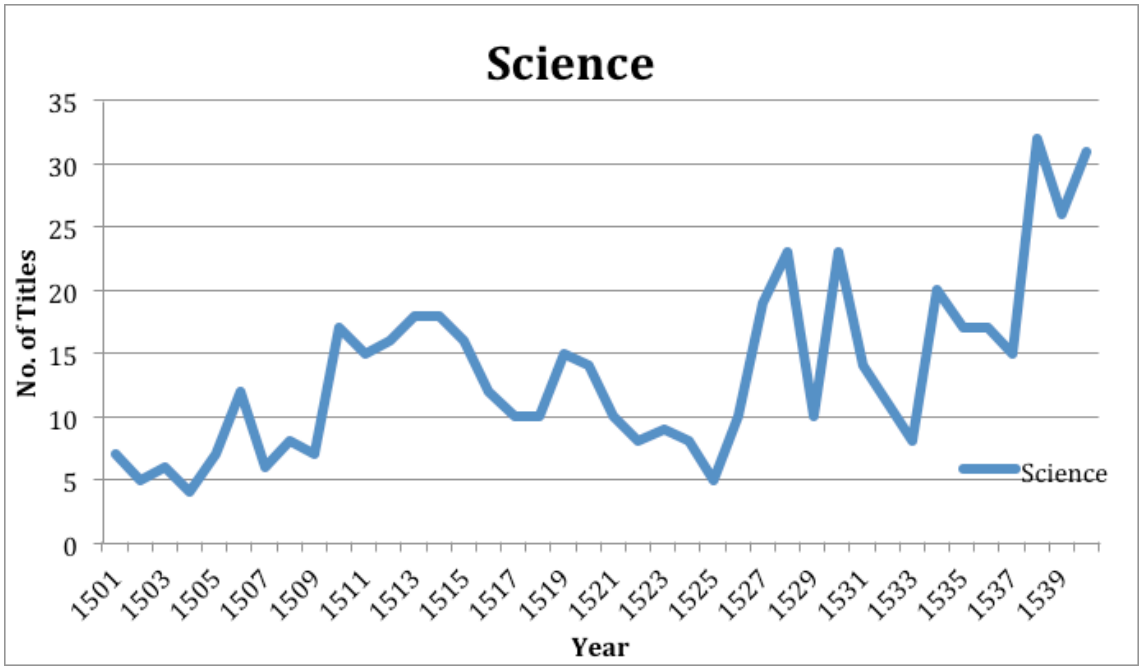

Figure 2.19: Number of titles of the scientific genre, 1501-1540

Science never accounted for more than 6.4% of the market, although the general trend was towards higher levels of production. This low share of the market is surprising given that we include here medicine, natural philosophy and mathematics amongst other sub-genres. This was a largely uneventful period for scientific publication.

It is possible that this was an area where the Paris industry was particularly inclined to caution. This was a relatively small market but one where books often required especially heavy investment in diagrams and illustrations all of which would have had to have been specially designed. Many books of this genre are close to works of art, displays of technical wizardry, sometimes with fold out pages which open up to reveal intricate models of new scientific theories or instruments. In this case, therefore, it might have been cheaper, particularly with Latin books, to import from established

centres of scientific printing, such as Venice, Basel and Nuremberg. This was a part of the book market that was especially transnational and dominated by a small number of specialist firms.

Conclusions

With the sole exception of scientific books, where Paris seems not to have made deep inroads into the international Latin trade, Parisian printers were able to make a very substantial contribution to the production of Latin books in a wide range of fields. Nevertheless, we can discern very clear movements in the market as production shifted between different areas of the marketplace. In the first years of the century, 1501-1512, religious books in octavo and *belles lettres* in quarto commanded the largest share of the market. In this period quarto was the primary format for most genres. Religious octavos aside, the other genres had a fairly even overall split between folio and octavo. The second period, 1513-1519, saw the continued dominance of religious books in general and religious octavo in particular. The *belles lettres* quarto was still also successful by comparison but it was tempered by the increasing number of folios in this area of the market. Educational works in quarto made their first intrusion into this class of heavyweights during this period.

The crisis years (1522-1525) showed a general levelling out as many printers hedged their bets, putting a little on everything but not at the expense of the apparently unstoppable religious octavo. The adjustments in production during these years reveal an industry taking precautions but not at the expense of innovation. However, in the period of recovery that follows in the early 1530s there was a further shift towards the octavo, with increased use of smaller formats. The increasing use of octavo for educational texts was the breakthrough success of the years of recovery, exceeding all but the religious octavo. The publication of educational works in octavo continued at a

healthy level into the final period, although, as a genre, religious books continued to take the largest share of the market. The publication of books in the new smaller formats, 16o and 24mo, became far more general in this period, and books in most genres were available in all five formats.

Overall between 1501 and 1540 we can observe four key characteristics of the Latin book world of Paris. The first inescapable aspect is the importance throughout the period of the production of Latin religious literature. This remained a bedrock of the industry despite the development of other genres and a substantial increase in vernacular publication towards the end of the period. The second, linked development, is the impact on the book industry and particularly on the production of religious books of external events. This is true of the financial constraints imposed by Francis I's wars and consequent disruptions to the French economy, but also of the reverberations caused by the German Reformation. The distribution in France of Luther's pamphlets in the 1520s and the Affair of the Placards in 1534 inevitably had consequences for the French publishing industry notwithstanding the fact that the vast majority of Parisian printers remained resolutely loyal to the established Catholic faith. The third discernible trend in production was the increasing switch to smaller formats in all parts of the book world during and after the financial crisis of the 1520s. This reflected the desire to reduce the capital investment and to expand the potential market. The final trend, which spans the forty-year period, is a progressive diversification of the market as a whole. By the 1530s no single genre accounted for more than 30% of the market. Collectively these four developments demonstrate both the financial power of the Parisian industry and its resilience in the face of frequently challenging economic and political circumstances.

Chapter III: Bold Beginnings

Antoine Vérard and Jean Petit, two turn-of-the-century Parisian publishers

"Ils impriment, simplement, ce qui se vend le mieux"[1]

Printing in Paris did not begin with the new century; rather the industry had been growing steadily over a thirty-year period in the last decades of the fifteenth century. In order to fully understand printing between 1501 and 1540 it is necessary to be aware of what came before. Publishers like Antoine Vérard and Jean Petit who worked through the final decade or so of the incunabula period and into the sixteenth century make ideal case studies for an examination of this interface. They help to explain how the business methods adopted from the outset allowed the Parisian printing industry to become one of the most successful in the world within just a few decades of its inception.

Studies of publishing in Paris in the early sixteenth century frequently focus on Antoine Vérard. Vérard's high-quality work and busy workshop have attracted the attention of scholars from a number of different disciplines: art history, literature, and bibliography.[2] Art historians have examined a number of individual printed books as if they were unique manuscripts.[3] Those whose interests lie with literature have generally focused on a single genre and bibliographers have carefully described the corpus of his known work. Notwithstanding this level of scholarly interest it is still possible to add substantially to our understanding of Vérard's workshop practice particularly if we

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[1] Lucien Febvre on early Parisian printers in *Vivre l'histoire* (Paris: Robert Laffont, 2007, reprinted 2009), p. 769.
[2] Jules Renouvier, *Des gravures en bois dans les livres d'Antoine Verard* (Paris: Auguste Aubry, 1859). Renouvier divides his analysis into books of hours, devotional works, danse macabre, histories, science, translations of ancient poets, poetry and chivalry.
[3] See for example: Mary Beth Winn, 'Vérard, Meckenem, and Manuscript B.N. fr. 1686, ' *Romania* 430-431 (1987), pp. 288-344; Charles Lenormant, 'Remarques sur un livre publié par Antoine Vérard' (*Louenges Louis XII*), in *Bulletin du bibliophile et du Bibliothécaire*, 1840, pp. 139-144; Auguste Bernard, 'Anthoine Vérard et ses livres à miniatures au XVe siècle' in *Bulletin du bibliophile* (Paris: October 1860); Frederick Richmond Goff, 'Antoine Vérard and his woodcut of Jerusalem' *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* (1973), pp. 344-350; Mary Beth Winn, 'Vérard's Hours of February 20, 1489/90 and their biblical borders' in *Bulletin du bibliophile* (no. 2, 1991), pp. 299-330

place it within the broader context of the Parisian publishing industry of his day. The best evidence is contained within the books themselves. Even though John Macfarlane created a bibliography of Vérard's work as early as 1900 the number of known editions has increased since that time; furthermore, the availability of powerful database software makes a more detailed analysis possible for the first time.[4]

Vérard's industry contemporary Jean Petit has not been given the weight and reverence that has been traditionally given to Vérard. But in fact Petit was the most prolific publisher in Paris around the turn of the sixteenth century and continued to hold a leading position in the book world of Paris and northern France well into the sixteenth century. The sheer volume of his output gives him a share in most of the principal parts of the Parisian book world, Latin and vernacular. But his career has never been documented with anything like the care and attention given to Vérard. Disagreements exist between biographers and within their works over the most basic aspects: how long was his career? In this particular instance confusion arises because at some point Jean Petit worked in collaboration with his son also named Jean. It is not entirely clear due to this confusion of names, at what point, if at all, Jean II Petit took over the print shop or even if he died before his father. Establishing a separate corpus for the two men has so far eluded bibliography.

This chapter seeks to draw together the multi-disciplinary strands of Vérard research while directing more attention to that part of his work in which scholars have thus far shown far less interest: the books he published in large volume and for a mass market. The second part of the chapter will turn its attention to the careers of Jean I and Jean II Petit. By considering together these two prolific publishing houses we will be

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[4] John Macfarlane, *Antoine Vérard* (London: Bibliographical Society at the Chiswick Press, 1900)

able to offer a vivid demonstration of the means by which the Parisian trade captured such a large and varied market both in the city itself and far beyond.

Antoine Vérard: "Marchant libraire et bourgeois de Paris"

Publisher of books for Europe's elite, Antoine Vérard had one of the highest profiles of all sixteenth century publishers. His career spanned almost three decades, from his first book (a book of hours) in 1485 to his last in 1513. Famed as a producer of courtly literature and popular piety, the majority of his publications were in the vernacular. On 16 July 1512 Vérard published Guillaume Pepin's *Speculum aureum super septem psalmos penitentiales*, and on 24 July he published Nicole de la Chesnaye's *Liber auctoritatum recenter compilatus*. These two titles had previously been regarded as his final works. Mary Beth Winn noted the irony of his final work being in Latin when the large proportion of his work had been in the vernacular. However his last work was indeed a French one. Alain de Lille's *Les paraboles* bears the colophon: 'Cy finist les paraboles de maistre Alain, imprime a Paris ce xx jour de mars mil cccc quartre vingts et douze, par Anth. Verard'.[5] Before the adoption of the Gregorian calendar in France by Charles IX in 1564, the new year began at Easter. This dating practice was known as the *style de France*. Consequently 20 March 1512 was in fact 20 March 1513, making this the last known work. Vérard may have died later that year, and certainly before 26 August 1514 when a royal privilege was granted to Guillaume Eustace to reprint 'feu' Anthoine Vérard's *Chroniques de France*.[6]

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[5] Brunet I 124; FB 324. No known surviving copies.
[6] Mary Beth Winn, *Anthoine Vérard, Parisian publisher 1485-1512* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1997), p. 28 (hereafter: Winn, *Vérard*).

By the end of his career he had produced a corpus of works that would make him one of the most studied of all the early bookmen in the Paris industry.[7] Despite this, very little is known about his life. His date of birth is unknown, but his death occurred sometime between 20 March 1513 and 26 August 1514. He was named a *libraire-juré* in 1504, an office he resigned in 1508*,* allowing André Bocard to take up the position (there were never more than 24 *libraire-jurés* in Paris at any one time).

With his wife, Germaine Guyart, he had five children. Of the three sons, Barthélemy, presumably the eldest, inherited his business and sold books from two of the shops Vérard had established on the Île de la CitéÎle de la Cité. There may have been considerable stock left as Barthélemy put his name to only three new publications, all folios, before his death, which occurred some time before 1528.[8] The other sons Claude and Guillaume, retreated to the abbeys of Clairvaux and Saint-Denis respectively, whilst their sisters Marguerite and Jeanne seem to have married outside the book trade.

Whilst Renouard, Duval and Macfarlane unearthed a handful of documents relating to Antoine Vérard, the majority of the evidence we have for the facts of his life lies within the books he produced. The information in the colophons and other paratextual elements is certainly more contemporary than the documentary evidence, which mostly relates to events after his death. We must though remember that Antoine Vérard was an accomplished self-fashioner, and the colophon was one of many arenas where he shaped his image.[9] The invention of moveable type led to an increasing awareness of self and of the potential for the construction of self within specific social spheres. This conception and construction of a socially acceptable 'self' reached its

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[7] John Macfarlane outlines and discredits a variety of proofs for noble heritage in the introduction to his monograph of the works of Antoine Vérard.
[8] Renouard, *Répertoire des imprimeurs Parisiens* (Paris: M. J. Minard, 1965), p. 425
[9] Stephen Greenblatt formalized the idea of 'self fashioning' in his 1980 book *Renaissance Self Fashioning* (London: The University of Chicago Press, 1984).

apogee in 1528 with the publication of Baldassarre Castiglione's *The Book of the Courtier*.[10] If a single poem could be 'sent forth to perform the bidding of its master,' printing allowed the author to send forth an army of proxies.[11] In Vérard's efforts at self-fashioning, even the style of the address given in the colophon was subject to alteration. It is possible that the Saint Severin address used from 1499 to 1500 was in fact the same as the Petit Pont address used from 1500 to 1503. The Petit Pont address may have been more fashionable or recognisable: Parisians would certainly have known the location of the major bridges. Alternatively he may have been trying to direct potential business to approach his shop in a way that avoided the shop of a competitor.

The colophons of the books tells us that he began with a bookshop on the Pont Notre-Dame, the bridge between the Île de la Cité and the north bank of the Seine. He also had a stall at the Palais de la Cité, by the first pillar in front of the Sainte-Chapelle. He then established further shops along the rue Neuve Notre-Dame and on or near the Petit-Pont and/or Saint-Severin.

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[10] First printed in a 122-leaf folio at the Aldine press: Baldassarre Castiglione, *Il libro del cortegiano del conte Baldesar Castiglione* (Venice: Aldo Manuzio & Andrea Torresano, April 1528).
[11] Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self Fashioning* (London: The University of Chicago Press, 1984), p. 142. See also pp. 142-143 on the court lyrics' escape from its author through appropriation for an example of a work's potential to spread.

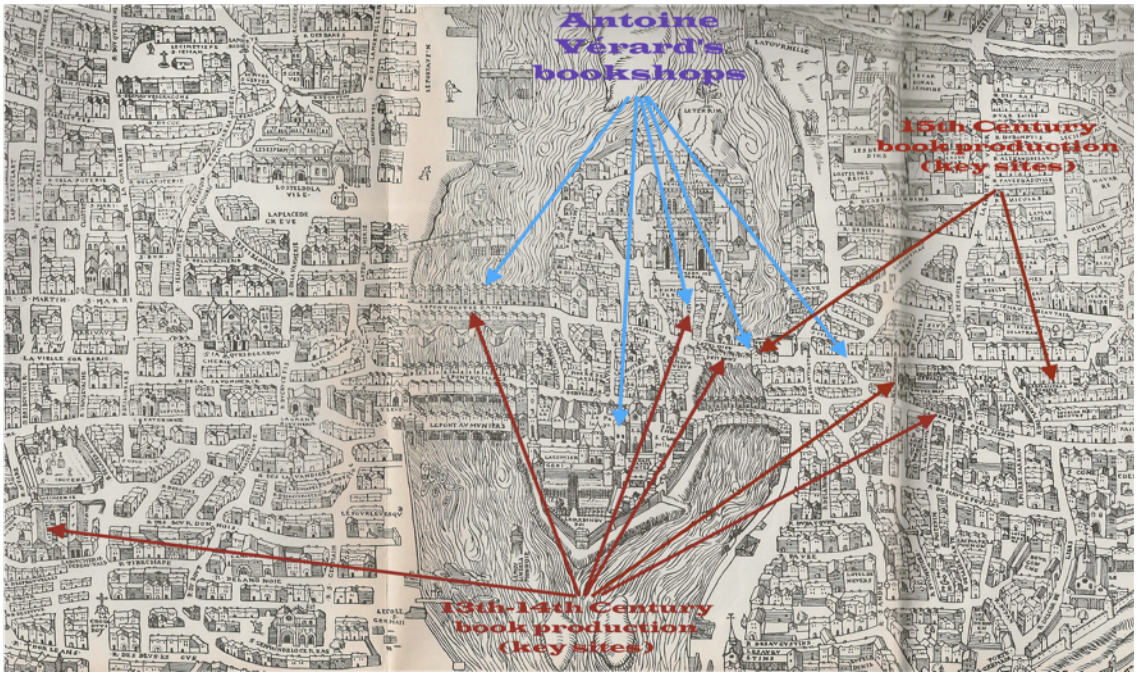

Figure 3.1: Antoine Vérard's bookshops, 13-14th century book production areas and key areas for the printing and sale of books in the 16th century, superimposed onto a section of the 1552 map of Paris by Olivier Truschet and Germain Hoyau.[12] Addresses, left to right (blue arrows): the Pont Notre-Dame 1485-1499; Palais / Saint Chapelle 1485-1503; Rue Neuve Notre-Dame 1503-1512; Petit Pont, near the rue Saint Jacques 1500-1503 (possibly the same as the next); Saint Severin, near the Petit Pont 1499-1500 (possibly the same as the preceding).

The focus of his operations was very much the Île de la Cité; the move towards the Petit Pont end of the rue Saint Jacques was made out of necessity rather than choice when the Pont Notre-Dame collapsed on 25 October 1499.[13] He pitched his business, which began with printed books that looked like manuscripts, in the historic centre of manuscript book production. Manuscript book production did not come to an abrupt halt in the 1470s. The transition was gradual: as premises became available printers and booksellers moved in. The two industries in this transitional phase had a large measure

[12] Truschet and Hoyau's map is sometimes called the 'Bâle' map as the first copy to surface in modern times was found among unclassified documents at the library of the University of Bâle. A facsimile of the map can be found as an insert in Renouard's *Repertoire*. A high-resolution digital version (along with the story of how it was found) is available through Northwestern University Libraries on 'Picpus, Walled Garden of Memory: Digital Archives', http://picpus.mmlc.northwestern.edu/mbin/WebObjects/Picpus.woa/wa/displayDigitalObject?id=1082

[13] Philippe Renouard, *Documents sur les imprimeurs, libraires, cartiers… ayant exercé à Paris de 1450 à 1600* (Paris: H. Champion, 1901); Arch. Nat, H 1778, f. 11v, quoted in Renouard, *Documents*, p. 29. For a fuller account of the incident and its aftermath see Jacques-Antoine Dulaure, *Histoire physique, civile et morale de Paris*, vol. 2 (Paris: Bureau des publications illustrées, 1842), 7th edition, pp. 92-93. It was not the only bridge to succumb to the Seine; the Pont-aux-Meuniers also fell. See Dulaure, *Histoire de Paris*, p. 95.

of common ground, sharing bookshops, paper merchants, binders and illustrators - and of course customers. The new areas they colonised (the rue Saint Jacques for example) remained the domain of the new industry whilst the old manuscript areas were only gradually and partially colonised.

The printed book industry spread out from its foundation in the Sorbonne, choosing for itself areas of high footfall, near schools, churches and university buildings. Where possible, booksellers and printers chose premises most suited to their specialist area if they had one, and most did. For example, booksellers targeting the academic market mostly settled in the area around the Sorbonne, particularly along the rue Saint Jacques. The locations of Vérard's shops suggest that he had limited interest in the educational market; this is also reflected in his preference for the vernacular over Latin. His production suggests that his interest was primarily in courtly literature, a view born out by the studies of Vérard's works focused on the presentation copies provided for patrons.

Vérard's reputation as a great Parisian publisher has focused on the exquisitely illuminated illustrations of the presentation copies. He became known as a producer of exclusive, high quality books. In producing the first catalogue of Antoine Vérard's publications, John MacFarlane suggested that the woodcuts on which this reputation rested were actually quite crude. However the evidence (below) is that they were perhaps a little ahead of their time. Furthermore they were highly regarded by the English booktrade. A woodblock engraving from *L'Art de bien vivre et de bien mourir* (Paris: Vérard, 1493) was used in London editions of the Shepherd's Kalendar throughout the sixteenth century and halfway through the seventeenth. The final known use was by Thomas Ibbitson in 1656.[14] Vérard certainly had a keen interest in the

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[14] J. Ph. Berjeau, 'French engravings of Antoine Vérard used by English printers' in *The Bookworm: A literary and bibliographical review*, vol. 4 (London, 1869), p. 120.

woodcuts he used, he may even have been involved in their design; at what level though, it is hard to tell.[15]

Figure 3.2: woodcut from Jean Molinet, *L'art et science de rhethoriques pour faire rigmes et ballades* (Paris: Antoine Vérard, 1493)

The illustration in figure 3.2 is taken from a larger woodcut in Jean Molinet's *L'art et science de rhethorique pour faire rigmes et ballades*, and depicts Antoine Vérard presenting a rubricated presentation book to a patron.[16] The depth is well depicted and attempts have been made at shading. The figures' facial features are well crafted, their eyes not the lemon-shaped black holes of many a lesser craftsman of the time.

These high-quality illustrated works have been to this point the primary and almost exclusive focus of work on Vérard. However, Vérard was very much a man of two sides. For the student of the Parisian book industry Vérard is remarkable not only for the quality of the works he published but also by the sheer volume. The work of establishing the full corpus of works published by Vérard is ongoing. Mary Beth Winn in her study of 1997 identified some 280 editions published by Vérard. *French Vernacular Books* listed 410, a figure which rises to 450 when the purely Latin editions

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[15] Whilst Vérard's own name or initials are sometimes to be found in the background of the woodcuts in his books, he was notoriously keen on appropriating every aspect of the book's production. He could have asked to have it included or even added it afterwards.

[16] Jean Molinet, *L'art et science de rhethoriques pour faire rigmes et ballades* (Paris: Vérard, 1493); FB 38077

are taken into consideration.[17] Even bearing in mind this increase, this was no 'gargantuan enterprise', nor even 'an enviable record for any publisher' as Winn would have it.[18] Jean Petit, for example, produced more than twice as many editions over the same period.

As was the practice of the time amongst most publishers, Vérard had a small number of printers whom he repeatedly employed and a larger number from whom he commissioned occasional editions. His closest associates from the outset were primarily printer-booksellers with offices on the rue Saint Jacques, including Jean Du Pré (active 1481-1504, also *libraire-juré*), Antoine Caillaut (1483-1506) and Étienne Jehannot (1495-1497/8).[19] Pierre Levet (1485-1503) had offices on the rue Saint Jacques (1485 onwards) and at St-Germain-des-Prés (from 1494).[20] Pierre Le Rouge, a calligrapher, illuminator and printer has left no record of his address, though his son Guillaume was later situated along the rue Saint Jean de Lateran. Le Caron was likewise based near to one of Vérard's offices on the Île de la Cité. Vérard went a little further afield when working with Jean Marchant (active 1504-1516) whose office was on the rue Clopin (now Clovis). A small road, the rue Clopin was about one kilometre east of the rue Saint Jacques parallel to the Sorbonne.

Vérard's offices were very central, based on and around the Île de la Cité. His printers and business partners were located between his offices and the port Saint Jacques to the south. Vérard, a very hands-on publisher, would have walked up the hill from the Île de la Cité and been able to visit all of his main partners. His route would

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[17] Some of the editions listed in FB contain both French and Latin.
[18] Winn, *Vérard*, p. 9, quoting Mongan's introduction to *Le Chevalier Délibéré*, xiii.
[19] Renouard, *Répertoire*, pp. 65, 130-131, 218; Claudin, *Histoire de l'imprimerie*, II, p. 241.
[20] Renouard, *Répertoire*, p. 279; Claudin, I, p. 413.

also have taken him up to and beyond the Sorbonne. This walk, forty minutes at a brisk pace, kept him up to date with the printing industry and the intellectual life of the city.[21]

His practice of either having books printed without the name of the printer or expunging the printer after printing gained him an unsavoury reputation as a ruthless businessman whilst also making the work of future bibliographers a great deal harder. The printer is not named in well over half of his publications. It has never been fully explained why Vérard went to these lengths to remove the name of the responsible printer. It may possibly be because of his wish that his publications should resemble as closely as possible the high quality manuscripts which would already grace the collection of many of his richer clients.

Ruthless or not, Vérard was clearly an astute businessman. The works he published fell into two main categories: religious works and courtly literature. This later category is itself quite diverse, and includes the chronicles, histories and classical works that his aristocratic clients collected, as well as works of imaginative fiction. These two, fairly wide, genres constituted the bulk of his publications from the very beginning of his career: his first book was a book of hours; his second was Boccaccio's *Decameron*.[22]

Books of both types were produced in two specifications: simple, monochrome paper editions and handcrafted, illustrated copies on vellum. As was typical for most publishers in Paris, the bulk of his business was made up by the mass produced paper copies. Vérard split his stock between his establishments to maximise footfall. Evidence for this can be found in the numerous colophons which assert that the book can be bought at more than one location, for example: 'sur le po[n]t nostre dame a limage

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[21] The route from the Île de la Cité up the rue Saint Jacques, visiting the side streets that would have interested Vérard, was walked in August 2011 and took 35 minutes.

[22] Winn, *Vérard*, pp. 15-16. Winn transcribes the colophon of the Hours, noting that Vérard was already a bookseller with two bookshops. Renouvier describes the woodcuts of the early Hours in *Des gravures en bois dans les livres d'Antoine Verard*. They were, he writes, inferior to those of other 'Hours' specialists like Vostre and Kerver, pp. 13-14 in particular but, more generally, pp. 12-22; and also pp. 23-25 for works of devotion.

sainct iehan le uangeliste et tena[n]t bouticle au palais du Roy nostre sire deuant la chapelle…'[23]

The difference between Vérard and the average Parisian publisher was his great success with his second method of production, the one on which his reputation has since been built. Vérard quickly insinuated himself into the royal court and the affections of a number of wealthy, noble patrons. For them he produced high cost, exclusive, vellum copies. Once the type had been set up for an edition he was able to produce both types of books for the effort of one. This, incidentally, might explain why some have considered his woodcuts crude. They too served two purposes. The monochrome version in figure 3.2 (from 1493) contrasts sharply with illuminated examples despite the quality of the woodcut itself being the same. The examples in figure 3.3 come from a 1504 French and Latin hours for the use of Bourges:[24]

[23] Pietro de Crescenzi, *Le livre des prouffîtz champestres* (Vérard, Paris: 1486), J3r; FB 71037.
[24] [Heures – Bourges] (Paris: Vérard, 1504); FB 29002. Copy held in the reserve of the bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 8- T- 2529.

Figure 3.3: page and title page from [Hours for the use of Bourges] (Paris: Antoine Vérard, 1504)

In this way Vérard was able to pursue simultaneously two business models which might normally be regarded as very different. The mass-produced copies began to recoup the expense of their printing from the day of publication onwards. The vellum presentation copies, on the other hand, were phenomenally expensive to produce. Vellum was produced from the skin of unborn or very young calves: roughly one sheet per side, so only 2 sheets per calf. The 68-leaf (unmarked) quarto edition of the *Contemplations* of Augustine presented to Louise de Savoie required 17 sheets of vellum, or eight and a half calves. Even so, a 68-leaf quarto is a relatively small book. The relationship with a patrons required the printer to present such volumes as 'gifts' and then wait, hoping for payment. This was a risky enterprise which required the client to stay on good terms with patrons and keep a keen ear cocked for news of a debtor's

death. The death of the young count of Angoulême on 1 January 1496 prompted Vérard to send an itemised account to Angoulême's young widow, Louise de Savoie.[25]

Louise de Savoie, daughter of Philippe de Bresse and Marguerite de Bourbon and mother to Marguerite de Navarre and Francis I was a bibliophile. She identified herself with the punning motto 'libris et liberis', either in the dative or ablative this means by, with, to or for books and children. Whilst in politics she was ruthless, hounding the unfortunate Semblançay all the way to the gallows, she was a generous and protective patron of the arts. She was born on 11 September 1476 and wed Charles d'Orléans, the count of Angoulême on 16 February 1488. By 12 September 1494 she had provided Charles with their second child, a son and the future king of France. Within two years of the birth of Francis she was widowed and Antoine Vérard was chasing up monies owed. Mary Beth Winn transcribed this account in her biography of Vérard. She identified the inventory as one of the most important documents of the time, and rightly so.[26] The itemised account separates the costs involved into the constituent parts: the decoration and miniatures, the parchment and binding, even the verses and stories within. The total bill came to 207 *livres*, 10 *sous*, 10 *deniers*. Considering the sum it is unsurprising that the bill is itemised. Vellum presentation copies truly were luxury goods: for the princely sum of 207*l* 10*s* 10*d* Charles had received just five books. By comparison, Vérard later paid 200 *livres* for a house with gardens and land at Beauregard near Ponthoise.[27]

After Charles' death Vérard began producing luxury vellum copies of his editions for Louise, seventeen in total. Fifteen of these were adorned with miniatures depicting Louise, nine of which also featured Francis and four the 'humble bookseller' himself

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[25] Winn, *Vérard*, p. 21.
[26] Mary Beth Winn, 'Louise de Savoie, ses enfants et ses livres: du pouvoir familial au pouvoir d'État' in Kathleen Wilson-Chevalier (ed.), *Patronnes et mécènes en France à la Renaissance* (Saint-Étienne: Publications de l'Université de Saint-Étienne, 2007), pp. 251-281. The account is fully transcribed in Winn, *Vérard*, pp. 471-472 from the manuscript in the BNF (BN Ms. fr. 8815, ff. 27v-28)
[27] Mary Beth Winn, *Vérard*, pp. 22-23

delivering the book by hand. Of course Vérard did not rely on a single rich patron: he also produced luxury copies of his editions for Charles VIII, Louis XII, Anne de Bretagne, Henry VII, Francis I, Anne de Beaujeu, Jean d'Albret, Georges d'Amboise and Madeline d'Amboise.[28]

Whilst the majority were luxury editions, the books sent to Henry VII were simple paper copies, reflecting Vérard's more *laissez faire* attitude to England. Vérard's forays into the English market were largely unsuccessful. His English version of the *Art of good living and dying* was translated by the Scotsman, Thomas Lewyngton, and was consequently in a heavy Scots dialect largely incomprehensible to Londoners, his target audience.[29] Aside from the cheap productions for Henry VII the English court remained outside his key circle of patrons.

When not producing special presentation copies Vérard concentrated on introducing courtly literature to a wider buying public. Yet even these far less lavishly illustrated or illuminated books draw heavily on the established traditions of manuscript production. The earliest examples are, in terms of design, indistinguishable from contemporary manuscripts. They have no indices or tables and the title page is often very basic. Figure 3.4 is the first page of the 24 December 1486 edition of *Les cent nouvelles nouvelles*:[30]

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[28] Listed in Winn, *Vérard*, pp. 474-481.
[29] Julia Boffey, 'Wynkyn de Worde, Richard Pynson, and the English printing of texts translated from French' in Jennifer Britnell and Richard Britnell (eds), *Vernacular literature and current affairs in the early sixteenth century* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000).
[30] *Les cent nouvelles nouvelles* (Paris: Antoine Vérard, 1486), FB 9611. Image from Gallica: http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k111062h/f3.image.r=.

Figure 3.4: First page (sig. a2) of *Les cent nouvelles nouvelles* (Paris: Antoine Vérard, 1486).[31]

Gradually a more recognisably modern title page emerges, but still at this point very basic (illustration 3.5 is from 1493).

[31] *Les cent nouvelles nouvelles* (Paris: Antoine Vérard, 1486). From Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Réserve des livres rares, RES-Y2-174, online: ark:/12148/bpt6k111062h.

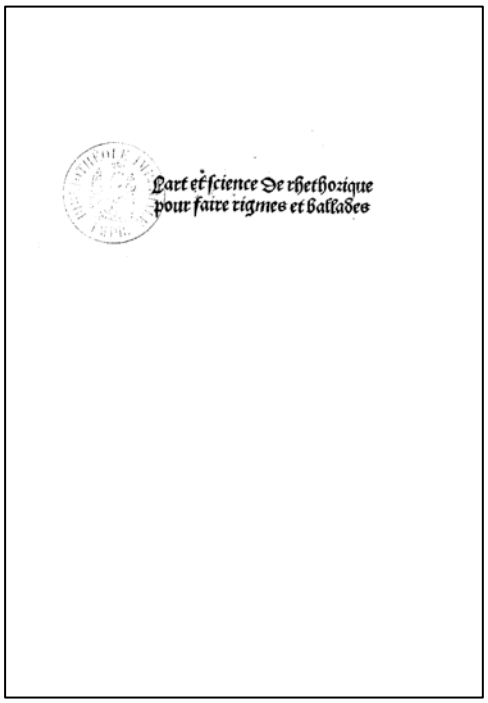

Figure 3.5: Title page of Jean Molinet, *L'art et science de rhetorique pour faire rigmes et ballades* (Paris: Antoine Vérard, 1493).[32]

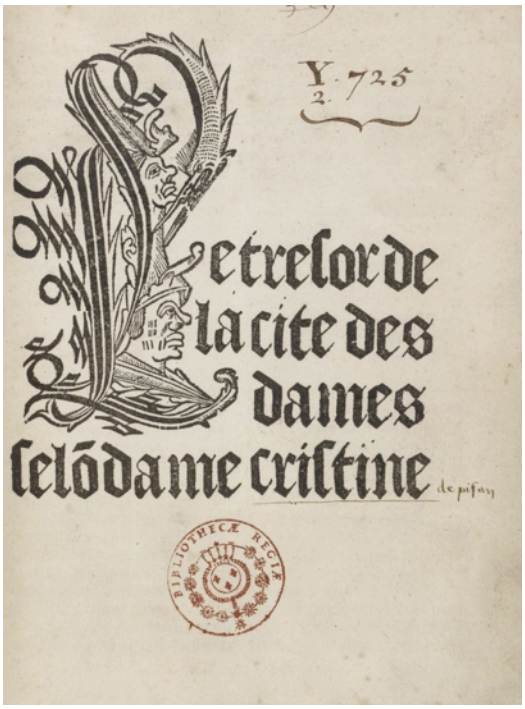

Figure 3.6: title page of Christine de Pisan, *Le Tresor de la cite des dames* (Paris: Antoine Vérard, 1497).[33]

[32] Jean Molinet, *L'art et science de rhetorique pour faire rigmes et ballades* (Paris: Antoine Vérard, 1493). From Bibliothèque nationale de France, RES-Ye-10, online: ark:/12148/bpt6k110660b.
[33] Christine de Pisan, *Le Tresor de la cite des dames* (Paris: Antoine Vérard, 1497). From Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Réserve des livres rares, RES-Y2-186, online: ark:/12148/btv1b86000706.

This morphs via a title page with an illuminated first letter (figure 3.6 was published in 1497) to a title page with title and privilege (figure 3.7, 1508).

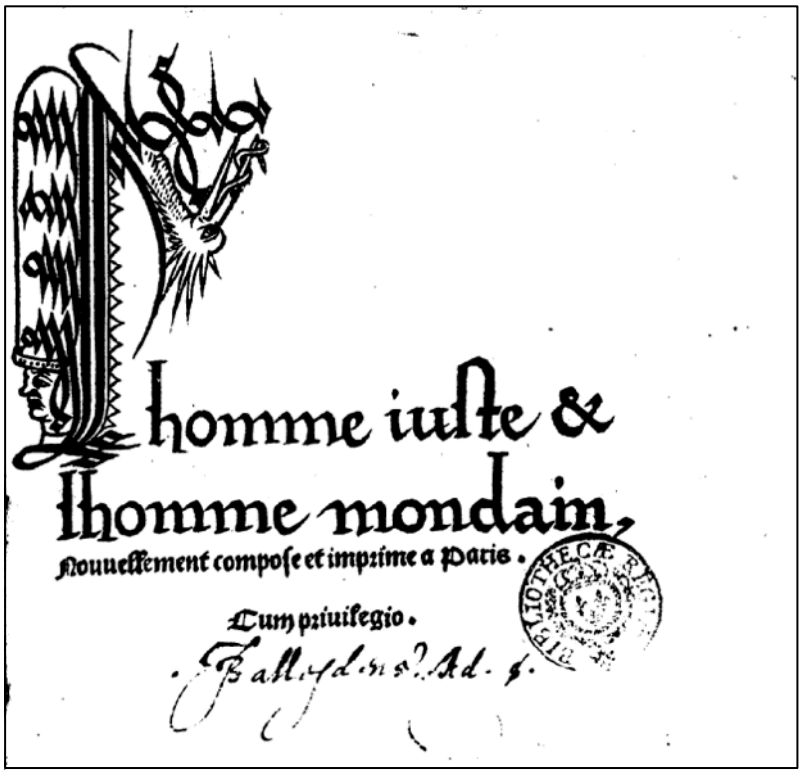

Figure 3.7: Title page of Simon Bougouyn, *L'homme iuste et lhomme mondain, nouuellement compose et imprime a Paris cum priuilegio* (Paris: Antoine Vérard, 1508).[34]

Vérard's penultimate production in 1512 demonstrates how far the development of the title page had advanced in these two decades. It lists the author, the title, contents and privilege information. The inclusion of a 'explanatione dictionu[m]' (listed on the title page) shows that despite Vérard's desire to stay close to the manuscript tradition, he was willing to adapt in order to appeal to the widest possible audience for his publications.

This adaptability is also seen in his use of modern, effective business solutions. Having insinuated himself into the royal court he found a willing ear for his request for a privilege. Privilege (a form of copyright) was generally only requested in Paris in this

[34] Simon Bougouyn, *L'homme iuste et lhomme mondain, nouuellement compose et imprime a Paris cum priuilegio* (Paris: Antoine Vérard, 1508), Bibliothèque nationale de France, Rés. Yf-125, online: ark:/12148/bpt6k70568d.

period for particularly expensive editions, usually for ventures where a great deal was at risk or where much time and effort had been put into the production; as for instance the acquisition of copy, translation (including into Latin from other modern and ancient languages) and editing.[35] In 1508 Louis XII granted Antoine Vérard a privilege for three years, applicable to the first edition of every book he produced. The penalty for any printer infringing this privilege was the confiscation of the books concerned. This was unprecedented in Paris, and such an all-encompassing monopoly was unprecedented in France.[36] The high level of cooperation amongst members of the Parisian printing industry explains their limited use of privilege; they were able, as we will see, to limit competition by informal agreements. Either Vérard was an exceptionally cautious businessman (the detailed inventory of Angoulême's account supports this possibility) or he was not on good terms with his colleagues. Whilst the fact that he became a *libraire-juré* in 1504 suggests that he must have enjoyed some respect, he resigned the post in the same year as he was granted the privilege. It is tempting to suggest that the two events point to a great parting of the ways; the expunging of printers from colophons cannot have endeared him to them. Further, the fact that his daughters married outside the industry hints at a basic failure to integrate.

The privilege does though prove that the publisher who was so famous for his one-off vellum productions did care about mass-market selling. It first appeared in Vérard's 1508 edition of the Pauline epistles with a gloss by an Augustinian doctor of philosophy. Completed on 17 January 1507 (i.e. 1508 new style):

> Et a le roy no- || stre sire donne audit verard lectres de pri- || uilege et terme de trois ans pour vendre & || distribuer ledit liure pour soy rembourser || des fraiz et mises par luy faictes. Et def || fend le roy nostredit seigneur a tous

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[35] Elizabeth Armstrong, *Before Copyright: The French Book-Privilege System 1498-1526* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).
[36] Jean Treschel's privilege was granted for a single work.

inpri || meurs libraires & autres du royaulme de || france de non imprimer ledit liure de trois || ans sur paine de co[n]fiscatio[n] desditz liures.[37]

Figure 3.8 shows an example of a colophon with the privilege, followed by Vérard's device. It comes from the edition of *l'homme juste* (figure 3.7 is the title page of the same work):

Figure 3.8: colophon of Simon Bougouyn, *L'homme iuste et lhomme mondain* (Paris: Antoine Vérard, 1508)[38]

[37] FB 5321, quoted in full in Macfarlane, 84, p. 41
[38] Verso of final printed leaf. Simon Bougouyn, *L'homme iuste et lhomme mondain, nouuellement compose et imprime a Paris cum priuilegio* (Paris: Antoine Vérard, 1508), Bibliothèque nationale de France, Rés. Yf-125, online: ark:/12148/bpt6k70568d.

An aspect of his publication that is immediately clear from the example above was his attitude to publicity. The size of the device (in comparison to the text) and the symbolism are striking. In both the devices that Vérard made or had made for him, his own initials are held aloft in a heart by two falcons; hovering just above them two angels hold the arms of the king of France with a large crown above. The whole ensemble is raised above flowers within a poorly cut border. The finer the book, the more the device was embellished. A beautifully illustrated, heavily illuminated vellum book of hours from the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal in Paris demonstrates this (figure 3.9):

Figure: 3.9: Device of Antoine Vérard, 1504.[39]

[39] *Heures en latin et en français à l'usage de Bourges* (Paris: Antoine Vérard, 1504), USTC 34064. Arsenal, Rés. 8. T. 2529.

This bold self-presentation was also reflected in the paratextual materials of Vérard's books. These were littered with references to Vérard. His name and initials frequently appeared as acrostic poems, possibly of his own composition. The illustrations, which did not feature Vérard himself, were occasionally lettered with his initials. Whilst these kinds of linguistic strategies are not unknown amongst printers and booksellers of this period, the sheer volume, frequency and lack of subtlety suggest a concerted campaign of self-promotion.

His efforts to smother the printer may have, as I have suggested, been in part an effort not to spoil the manuscript illusion, but when his attitude towards authors is taken into consideration the matter becomes less straightforward. Aware of the reputation of Antoine Vérard, the young Jean Bouchet, arriving in Paris from Poitier, approached him with a sheaf of poetry. Antoine Vérard saw something in the young man's work and published his *Regnars traversans les voyes perilleuses* in 1503. Forever mindful of sales figures, Vérard chose to imply that the creator of the new work was the best-selling author Sebastian Brant.[40] If that was not unscrupulous enough, he then added some other works, belonging to neither man.[41] Bouchet's work did indeed prove popular and enduring: Michel Le Noir reprinted it the following year, still falsely attributing it to Brant, and his son Philippe reissued it in 1522.[42]

If neither the author nor the printer were responsible for the creative heart of the work, then who was? The answer, rather predictably perhaps, is Antoine Vérard. The more he wanted a book to be identified with him the more he imposed himself upon it. The presentation copies, for example, often have additional prefatory material, which provided Vérard more space for self-publicity. Some of the early books without title

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[40] Winn, Vérard, pp. 78-9.
[41] Ibid.
[42] FB 6638; FB 6656.

pages bear only one name: that of Antoine Vérard. He made the bookseller the first and last port of call, the ultimate and only reference. Vérard was ambitious; his publishing strategy and insistent presentation of his own identity suggests that he aspired to be the monopoly provider of this sought of courtly literature.

His iconographic self-representation began, from the outset, with his choice of sign: the patron saint of the book industry, Saint John the Evangelist. He positioned his shops in areas where his potential clients would go on other business. This was also following the practice developed in the manuscript book trade for which Paris had gained international renown. This self-representation was, though, closely connected to the most effective exploitation of the Paris market. English language books intended for sale only in England did not promote Vérard, they bore neither his devices nor his address. They were also, incidentally, a consummate failure.

Some of Vérard's books were produced using his own type and materials. Many of the woodcuts were his own. One of his earliest books featured just one woodcut, used ten times. For once it is an image of the author Boccaccio and not Antoine Vérard:

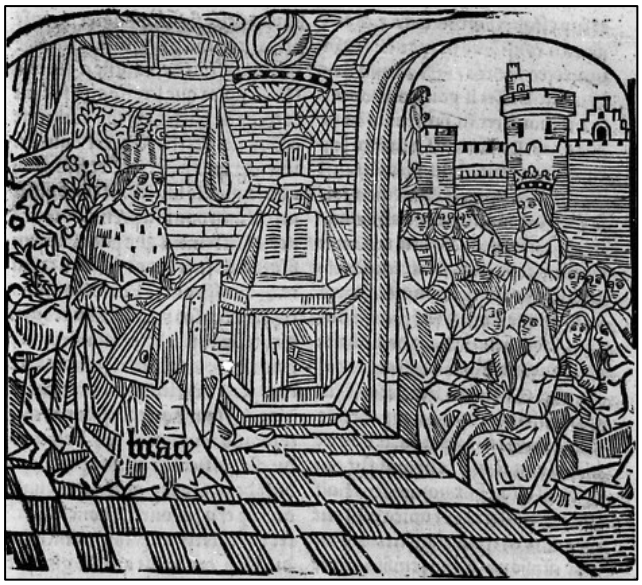

Figure 3.10: Boccaccio, *Decameron* (Paris: [Du Pré] pour Vérard, 1485).

The success of Vérard in projecting his image was proven first of all within the trade when he was elected a *libraire-juré* and then outside the trade by the fact that he became the publisher of choice for any ambitious young author. The strength of his position as primary supplier to the royal court proves that he was the iconic figure of courtly literature. But there was another side to Antoine Vérard: a producer of works of piety, books of hours in particular. He was perfectly positioned to enter this busy market with his specialisation in printing on vellum and his preference for manuscript-style design. However, his religious works constituted a very small, Latinate, proportion of his publications and may have been an act of personal piety. The fact that roughly one year before his death he gave a dozen or more books to the monastery at Clairvaux supports this, as does the eventual destinations of his two sons.[43]

Antoine Vérard was a far more complex individual than his reputation for obsequiousness and ruthlessness might otherwise suggest. Ultimately, though, he must be judged on what he has left to us: he steered 450 editions through the presses and produced exquisitely crafted vellum copies of a number of them for members of the great noble and royal families of his time.

His attitude to publicity and use of iconography reveal a concerted effort to cater to, and be attractive to, the mass-market as well as the great and the good. His success in doing this can be judged by the wealth he accrued over his career. His acquisitions included properties in Tours, Beauregard (near Ponthoise), Manchecourt, and Orsay; vineyards in Clamart, Cachant and L'Hay; and of course the shops, stalls and residence in Paris.[44]

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[43] Winn, *Vérard*, p. 29.
[44] Winn, *Vérard*, pp. 16-40.

Jean Petit

Head of one of the most prolific publishing houses of all time, one which had been involved in 2,000 editions by 1540, Jean Petit was the son and grandson of Parisian butchers.[45] The family butcher shop was located on the rue Saint Jacques where the young Jean could hardly have failed to notice the progressive invasion of the new industry. The rue Saint Jacques appears to have been a fairly diverse shopping street before the influx of booksellers and printers gradually monopolised it. Jean Petit's first address was at the golden lion on the rue Saint Jacques near the Mathurins, but when he purchased the maison de la Fleur-de-Lys from the mercer Macé de Vielxmont on the rue Saint-Jacques between the sign of 'l'omme sauvaige' and 'l'ymaige sainct Laurens', the document states that his neighbour, under the sign of the wild man, was 'Henry Berthelin boulenger'.[46] The document was dated 24 February 1508 (= 1509 n.st.); prior to this, between 1483 and 1493, the neighbouring bakery had been the address of printer/bookseller Antoine Caillaut. The property returned to the printing industry the same year as Jean Petit purchased the shop next door. The new occupant was fellow *libraire-juré* Regnault Chaudière.[47]

Jean Petit appears to have worked closely with his son Jean II Petit, but bibliographers have struggled to distinguish their precise roles in the corpus of works attributed to the family. Philippe Renouard has Jean II Petit outliving his father, but this was not the case. The dates of activity provided in Renouard for Jean I Petit are

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[45] Renouard, *Repertoire*, pp. 339-340.
[46] Archives Nationales S 904 f° 107r-v. Vielxmont appears also as Vielzmont within the same document.
[47] Chaudière began his career on the rue Saint Jacques under the sign of the wild man in 1509. Philippe Renouard, *Répertoire des imprimeurs Parisiens* (Paris: M. J. Minard, 1965), p. 77.

1492-1530, with the dates for Jean II Petit from 1518-1540.[48] The same work has the elder Petit publishing a volume to be sold at two addresses, one in Lyon the other in Paris, in 1551, many years after he was presumed dead. This Paris/Lyon volume does exist but it was published in 1511, not 1551. Similarly post-mortem, Renouard has Jean II setting up a branch in Toulouse, three years after his death.

Renouard's assumption appears to have been that Jean II was named *libraire-juré* only after the title was freed up by the death of his father, hence the 1530 cut-off point for the elder Petit. However, a document of 11 April 1526 names Petit the elder and Petit the younger as '*libraires jurés*' (both of the golden lion on the rue Saint Jacques).[49] Notaries are meticulous with the titles and descriptions of their subjects.[50] The problem with the two Jeans is that if they did indeed undertake printing projects separately there is no obvious evidence on or within the books themselves. For example, we might expect to find the frequent formulation 'honesti viri' appearing in the colophon in the plural as 'honestorum virorum', and it does, but never referring only to Jean Petit(s). In the 21 colophons I found in the plural every one is an edition shared with other printers.[51] Evidence from the *Minutier Central* suggests that where there is only one Petit involved in a financial transaction it is the elder.[52] From this we might conjecture that the elder Petit remained at the helm of the publishing house.

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[48] Ibid., pp. 339-341.
[49] Ernest Coyecque, 'Inventaire, sommaire d'un minutier Parisien pendant le cours du XVIe siecle (XIII. 6 April 1526-18 June 1527 – Pierre Cròzon)' in *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France* (Paris: H. Champion, 1894, vol. 21), p. 40. Coyecque's summaries are split within the volume of the Bulletin, the first (1526-1527) is at pp. 39-57, the second (24 April, 1527 – 11 April 1528) at pp. 77-94.
[50] For example, in a document of 24 February 1509 (n. st.) relating to a house sale Petit is named as 'l'un des quatre principaux libraires-jurés de l'Université' (Arch Nat S 904 f·107).
[51] Usually following a word meaning at the expense of, 'honesti viri' is a genitive singular meaning a distinguished or honest man. SNs: 182571; 142918; 112561; 180124; 143640; 143738; 143869; 143781; 143849; 180723; 143936; 144209; 144114; 183304; 209534; 144558; 144817; 144977; 145391; 209837; 209838.
[52] Ernest Coyecque, 'Inventaire, sommaire d'un minutier Parisien pendant le cours du XVIe siecle (XIV. 24 April 1527 – 11 April 1528 – Pierre Cròzon)' in *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France* (Paris: H. Champion, 1894, vol. 21), p. 83.

The confusion sown by the difficulties distinguishing father and son also extends to other family relationships. Oudin I Petit (active 1540-1572), who was assassinated in July 1572, just before the Saint Bartholomew's Day massacres, could not have been the son of Jean I, as stated in Renouard. His mother's third marriage was to Jacques I Kerver, the same Kerver who was widowed by Jean II Petit.[53]

Jean I Petit was such a titan within the industry it is perhaps unsurprising that a son growing up in the shadow of so great a name should have lost his identity to the centuries. And yet, the Petit family device bore the humble motto 'Petit a Petit' (or 'little by little'), a maxim Jean did not apply to his business. He was directly involved in a remarkable 17.7% of the books published in Paris in Latin during his career. Of the 2,000 publications published under the Petit name before 1540, 96% were printed in Paris (84% Latin, 12% French) and 4% were printed elsewhere. Hereafter, for simplicity (and by necessity), references to 'Petit' refer primarily to Jean I Petit but acknowledge the existence and probable involvement of Jean II.

The Petit publishing house focused on three main areas: religion, jurisprudence and humanism. The octavo religious book formed the foundation of his Latin printing in Paris (448 editions). Appealing to popular piety, these books were immensely successful and although sometimes expensive to produce they promised a guaranteed return. Including all formats the Petits were involved in the production of 785 religious editions, some 22% of this lucrative market. Petit's involvement in the legal market was even greater; he was a named bookseller or financier for 30% of the Latin legal works published in Paris between 1501 and 1540. However, for many such projects the large upfront costs of the 300/400-leaf folio legal tomes were shared amongst several booksellers. Petit was also involved in the production and sale of humanist works:

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[53] Archives nationales, minutier central, *MC etude LXXIII carton I*.

classics, educational books and *belles lettres*. He published more first editions than anyone else in the Parisian book world in this period.[54]

Paris and beyond

A fundamental element in the success of the Parisian publishing industry was the high level of collaboration. One aspect of this was the shared edition. Jean Petit's 2,000 editions involved over 100 different printers and booksellers in Paris and beyond.[55] Figure 3.11 reveals the breadth of Petit's network.

Editions shared between multiple booksellers allowed for the publication of large or complex works. Further, money could be pooled to go beyond the material costs and employ erudite, and increasingly famous, editors and translators, or specialists such as linguists, mathematicians, surgeons or musicians. Whilst sharing the costs (and risk) of a publication suited everyone, for Petit it also allowed him to stock his shops with a very extensive selection of his own books.

Petit was not only involved in shared editions within the Paris industry, but also with other large printing centres in France. The shared editions expanded Petit's circle of acquaintance; through them he had access to more selling networks. This opened up a key market outside Paris: Lyon. It is also possible that the arrival in Paris from Lyon of Josse Bade in 1499 increased his business links with the town. Bade had worked as a corrector for Jean Treschel, then several other printers in Lyon after Treschel's death, before relocating to Paris at the turn of the century.[56] Petit was an early promoter and later friend and colleague of the great humanist scholar-printer.

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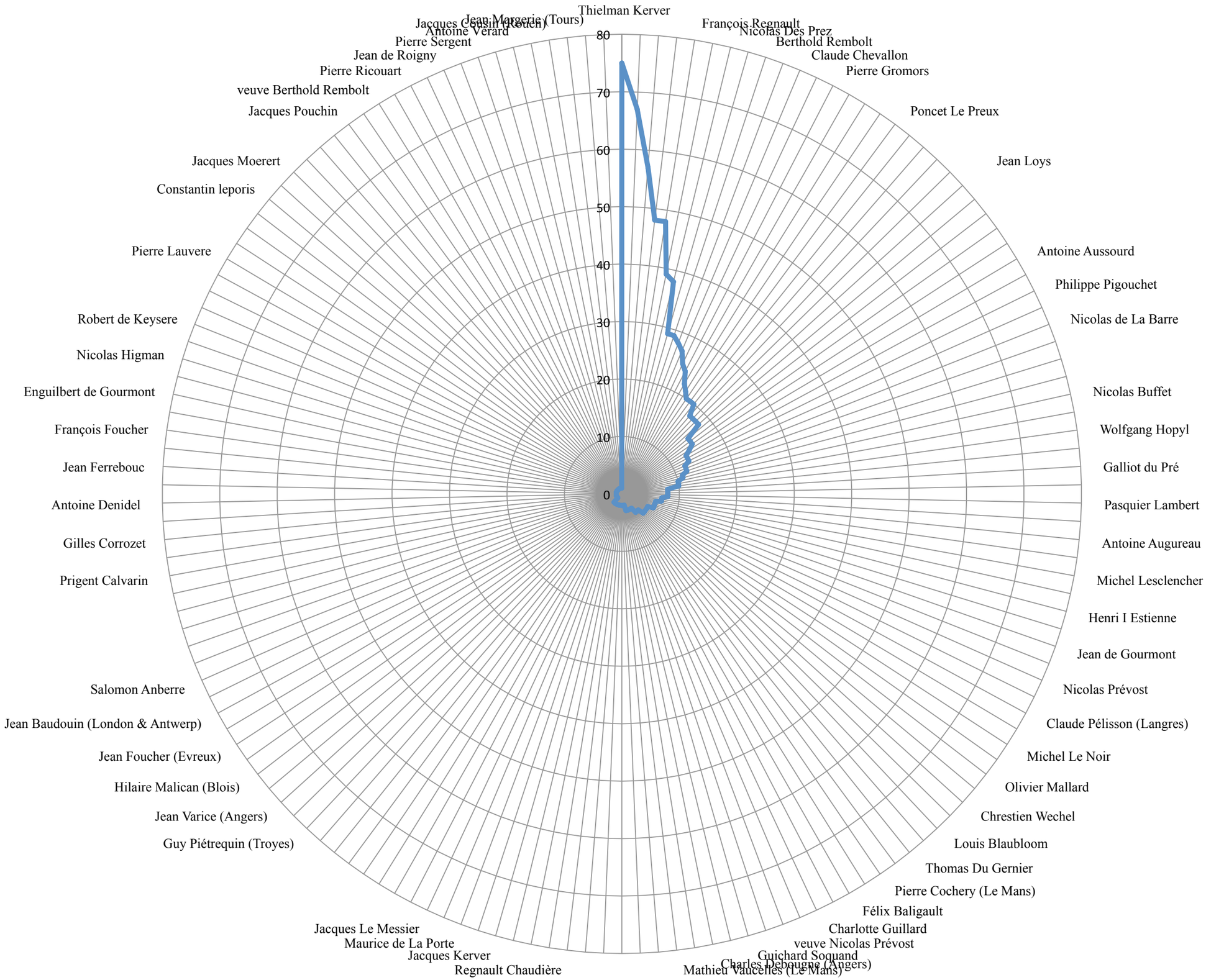
[54] Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin (David Gerard trans.), *The coming of the book* (London: Verso, 1976), p. 121.
[55] Please see foldout illustration.
[56] Febvre and Martin, *The coming of the book*, p. 147; Renouard, *Imprimeurs Parisiens*, pp. 13-14.

Figure 3.11: Diagram of Petit's connections and volume of output with each



Lyon was second only to Paris in the early sixteenth-century French print world and the two cities produced the vast proportion of books published in France in the early decades of printing.[57] The technology arrived in Lyon three years after the introduction of printing to Paris via the university. The early focus was on vernacular publications, leaving the Parisians to what they did best in the early years: Latin.[58] Lyon had no university, no parliament and no court structure – although the court was often there[59] – but it did have a large merchant class, an expanding population, the elite of the legal world and four international fairs every year.[60] For a publisher of Petit's standing, a presence at one of the world's largest sixteenth-century book fairs was essential. The Lyon book fair began as an adjunct to the spice and silk fairs before emerging as a commercial event in its own right. The geographical location of Lyon made it an obvious choice for an international fair. Books from Italy travelled into France (and onward to England) via the town; they also travelled in the opposite direction, from Germany and France, through Lyon to Italy.[61]

Medieval Lyon had been an Italianate town, a crossover point for Italians and consequently an access route to the Italian market. The Florentines had established a prosperous banking industry there, with branches of all the major banks *in situ*.[62] At the exact moment that the financial crisis of the 1520s struck France, Jean Petit commenced

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[57] Jane McLeod, *Licensing Loyalty: Printers, Patrons, and the State in Early Modern France* (Pensylvania: Penn State University Press, 2011), p. 18; in *Labour, Science and Technology in France, 1500-1620* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), Henry Heller explains that, economically, the relationship was reversed with Lyon the more important. Paris did though have the larger population.
[58] Malcolm Walsby, *The printed book in Brittany, 1484-1600* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), p. 37.
[59] The importance of the presence of the court to a publisher goes beyond the courtly market to the obtaining of privileges, see Elizabeth Armstrong, *Before copyright* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 32, 57 & 69. Armstrong charts Petit and others chasing the court around France.
[60] Natalie Zemon-Davis, 'A trade union in sixteenth-century France'… p. 50; Jane McLeod, 'Licensing Loyalty: Printers, Patrons, and the State in Early Modern France' (Pensylvania: Penn State University Press, 2011), p. 18; R. J. Knecht, *The Rise and Fall of Renaissance France, 1483-1610* (Blackwell: Oxford, 1996), p. 6.
[61] Nicole Howard, *The book: the life story of a technology* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2005), pp. 75-77.
[62] David Sutherland, *The Lyons contrapunctus*, part I (Madison: A-R editions, 1976), p. x.

his major period of Lyon printing. He had works printed in Lyon but also printed in Paris to be sold in – or via – Lyon. His primary focus was on legal texts.

Petit's involvement in Lyon came in two stages. The first stage, to around 1520, saw Petit involving a Lyonnais bookseller in an average of 2.4 publications a year.[63] This is of course a small number relative to his overall production, but it is reasonably consistent. From 1521 he entered a new phase, having books printed in Lyon for sale there and in Paris. He averaged six such publications a year to 1540. There were three periods of peak Lyonnais activity: 1521-1522, 1525-1527 and 1534-1536. The first two occur during the financial crisis of the 1520s, the second during the phase of consolidation that followed the crisis.

During Francis I's years of Spanish captivity (1525-1526) the theology faculty took the opportunity to break up the Meaux group of evangelical sympathisers and condemn (from August 1526) translations of the Bible. From this point on all religious works in the vernacular had to be submitted for approval before publication.[64] Some printers and publishers shifted their operations, or parts of them, away from Paris, and Petit's new venture fits within this pattern. His engagement with Lyon, however, seems to have had more commercial motivation. He was not trying to publish or sell the kinds of books that could have attracted adverse attention from the authorities.[65] Most likely the presence of foreigners – Italians in particular – and access to foreign markets both by established trade routes and through book fairs, allowed the Lyon market greater stability during the French financial troubles.[66]

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[63] Jean Petit and Jean Cabiller (Lyon) sold copies of editions, which were printed predominantly by Thielman Kerver, but also, less frequently by Josse Bade and Berthold Rembolt.
[64] Francis Higman, 'Le domaine Français, 1520-1562', in Jean-François Gilmont (ed.), *La réforme et le livre, l'europe de l'imprimé (1517-v. 1570)*, pp. 108 and Higman, *Censorship and the Sorbonne* (Geneva: Droz, 1979), pp. 25-27 and pp. 77-80.
[65] For example, Angelo Poliziano, *Opuscula* (Paris: Henri I Estienne for Jean Petit, 1516). There is no reason though to read back Oudin Petit's protestantism onto his ancestors. The Petits were pursuing their humanist agenda in the relations with the Meaux circle.
[66] On the Lyon markets and Italians in Lyon see Andrew Pettegree, *The French book in the European book world* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), pp. 98, 216.

A keen businessman, Petit was aware of the shades of difference between the printing industries of Paris and Lyon. In contrast to his Parisian business model, Petit worked with a very small circle of printers: Hugetan, Cabiller and Mareschal. He focused on two medieval Italian authors, publishing 28 editions by Bartolus de Saxoferrato and 27 by Niccolò Tedeschi. Bartolus de Saxoferrato (1313-1357) was an Italian professor of medieval Roman law, and Tedeschi (1386-1445) was Benedictine, archbishop of Palermo and also a professor of law. Theological works accounted for 46.7% of all the editions Petit was involved in (everywhere), jurisprudence just 12.5%. Lyon enjoyed a similar level of fame for great tomes of jurisprudence – 300 or 400 leaf folio colossi – as Paris enjoyed for theological works. Every book Petit published in Lyon between 1521 and 1527 was a folio, and all bar three of those were by one of the two aforementioned medieval Italian jurists. The other three were to type: three works of Justinianus. This specialist area had previously been a mainstay of Venetian and Florentine printing, but the injection of Parisian capital into the Lyon trade helped it to develop a world-renowned reputation in the field.[67]

The finances of the Petit publishing house apparently weathered the crisis of the 1520s. Consequently, for the large folios (from which the Parisians were shying away during these years) Petit turned to Lyon. There are two reasons why Petit could have wanted to develop this part of his business: it enabled him to add these thoroughbreds of jurisprudence to his stable, and to take on a potential money-spinner. It was, though, only a money-spinner for a man who had enough to invest in long-term projects. Beyond mere necessity caused by the financial crisis there were obvious benefits to printing these works in Lyon rather than Paris. The two towns served different aspects of the legal market: medieval and civil law was printed in Lyon for a Lyonnais market,

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[67] Malcolm Walsby, 'Introductory essay' in Andrew Pettegree and Malcolm Walsby (eds), *French Latin Books* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), pp. 6, 15.

and canon law was printed in Paris *for* Lyon. But, of the two, Lyon had a more established reputation for legal printing; the printers were able to use the expertise and experienced editors from Italy. Lyon publishing houses had already done the background work, acquiring the copy to print from, and had established connections with Italy that Paris did not have.[68] Further, the market for texts of jurisprudence had split because there were different legal systems in the north and south of France, customary law in the north, Roman law in the south.[69]

For his ventures in Lyon Jean Petit entered into partnerships to undertake complex works of jurisprudence and this allowed him to build his stock, his reputation and his wealth. The same strategy of working in partnership with others in the industry could also be employed in Paris and elsewhere in northern France. This was particularly the case with his publication of religious texts.

Humanist Piety

Religious printing was the single biggest market in Paris in the first four decades of the sixteenth century, so it is unsurprising that 22% of Petit's publications were religious texts. However, Petit was able to bring to bear both his experience as a scholarly publisher and his larger business strategies to make a distinct contribution even in this crowded and well-developed market. Petit developed a lucrative line in books destined not for the local market but for export. A good example is provided by a missal for the use of Salisbury published in 1516 which involved no fewer than four Parisian printers and booksellers. The collaborative nature of this project allowed

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[68] Malcolm Walsby, 'Introductory essay' in Andrew Pettegree and Malcolm Walsby (eds), *French Latin Books* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), p. 6; Jane McLeod, *Licensing Loyalty: Printers, Patrons, and the State in Early Modern France* (Pensylvania: Penn State University Press, 2011), p. 18.
[69] R. J. Knecht, *The Rise and Fall of Renaissance France, 1483-1610* (Blackwell: Oxford, 1996), p. 2. See pp. 58-59 on custom law development and p. 112 for an account of Budé's attack on the *Corpus Juris*. David Potter, *A History of France, 1460-1560* (St Martin's Press: New York, 1995), pp. 5-6, argues that the distinct north/south divide should not be considered as written versus oral as the latter was progressively codified into a fixed legal code.

Kerbriant, Adam, Petit and Bienayse to do what Antoine Vérard could not: establish a position in the English market.

Sharing editions with other publishers and printers increased the pool of typographic materials that could be used in a single production. In 1516 Jean Petit, Jean Kerbriant and Jean Adam were involved in the production of four missals for the use of the Cistercians, for Paris, for Salisbury and for Rome. Adam and Kerbriant were the printers for all four with Petit easing the significant outlay required by providing investment capital. Petit shared the expense of the missal for Paris with Salomon Anberre and that of Salisbury with Jean Bienayse. The Salisbury missal from this busy year is lavishly adorned throughout its 300 leaves.[70]

Figure 3.12: Illustrations in *Missale ad usum insignis ac preclare ecclesie Sarum.*[71]

In addition to the ornamental features the book also contains a number of bars of musical notation. The music is the incipit of the Gregorian chant for the Requiem Mass;

[70] The main text covers the first 156 leaves after the eight prefatory leaves (including a calendar and full page woodcut). This is followed by two further sections separately foliated ff. 72 and ff. 63 [1].
[71] *Missale ad usum insignis ac preclare ecclesie Sarum una cum dicte ecclesie institus, consuetudinibusque nuper elimmatissime impressum; adjectis pluribus que in ceteris desiderant; tabula tetiam perpulchra secundum menies distincta demonitras* ([Paris], Jean Kerbriant & Jean Adam impensis Jean Petit & Jean Bienayse, 1516), USTC 139084.

the words below ‘Hostias et preces tibi Domine offerimus’ (Lord, we offer to you sacrifices and prayers) are from the offertory.

Figure 3.13. Musical notation in *Missale ad usum insignis ac preclare ecclesie Sarum.*[72]

Unlike the text, composed with moveable type, the music has been printed with woodblocks. The evident technical difficulties this has caused the printers (see below) was apparently no deterrent. There was an intrinsic connection between music and religion in the sixteenth century. Religious music was a medium shared by all regardless of class or education.[73] A missal without music might have seemed strange to some, and yet, whilst religious books were popular from the outset in Paris, printed music took longer to become established. The predominant trend, where there was music at all in the early decades, was that books should contain the occasional bar or perhaps a full page of music. Prior to the arrival of Pierre Haultin and the emergence of Pierre Attaignant as a specialist printer of musical works a solution to the problem of musical

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[72] *Missale ad usum insignis ac preclare ecclesie Sarum una cum dicte ecclesie institus, consuetudinibusque nuper elimmatissime impressum; adjectis pluribus que in ceteris desiderant; tabula tetiam perpulchra secundum menies distincta demonitras* ([Paris], Jean Kerbriant & Jean Adam impensis Jean Petit & Jean Bienayse, 1516), USTC 139084.

[73] Reformers were keen to use this medium to spread their message, see Francis Higman, ‘Le domaine Français, 1520-1562’, pp. 141-147; and Andrew Pettegree, *Reformation and the culture of persuasion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 40-75.

notation had eluded the Parisians and musical printing in consequence remained an undeveloped field.[74]

Pierre Attaignant commenced his music-printing career in Paris in 1527, using type cut by Pierre Haultin, who had begun working in Paris in 1525.[75] The French were not alone in their initial inability to solve the problems posed by music. By the 1490s most printers had given up on moveable type, resorting to woodcuts. In Italy, Ottaviano dei Petrucci surged ahead of the field at the turn of the century but his method involved multiple impressions.[76]

Adam and Kerbriant have here got the worst of both worlds: using woodcuts they were not able to set up the page for a single impression. The most likely reason for this is that the type and the woodcuts were of different heights. For the small amount of music in this edition they must have seen double impression as an obvious solution. However, as newcomers to the trade they were punching above their weight. In the example (above and below) they have used either two or three impressions: one to print the music (notes and staves together), another to print the text in black and a third to print the rubricated letters.

Here the text in black ‘lo ria’ has been printed a fraction too low in relation to the musical notation and the rubricated ‘G’ is lower still, impinging on the notes. Whilst this reveals their inexperience it is also representative of the larger problem.

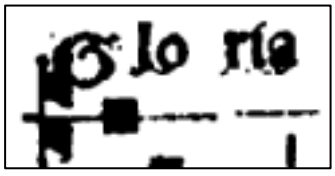

Figure 3.14: Problems of double impression

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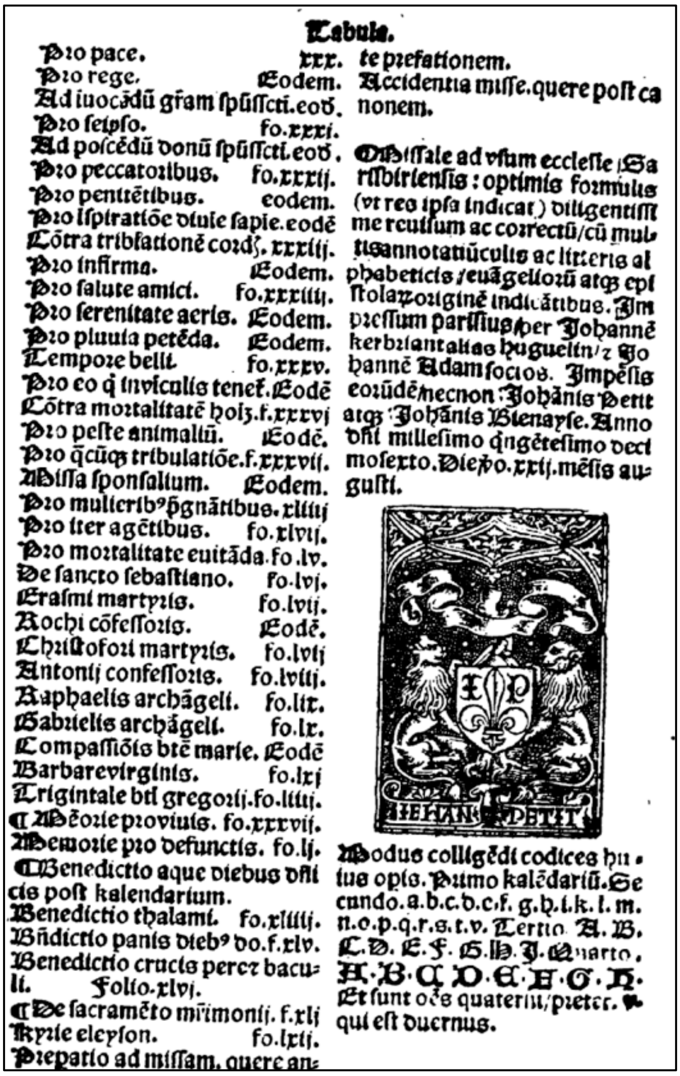
[74] Alan Durant, *Conditions of music* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1985), pp. 98-99.
[75] Waldo Selden Pratt, *The history of music: a handbook and guide for students (Classic Reprints)* (Forgotten Books, 2010), p. 115.
[76] Jeremy L. Smith, *Thomas East and music publishing in Renaissance England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 19; on the ingenious solution see Andrew Pettegree, *The book in the Renaissance* (London: Yale University Press, 2010), pp. 172-176.

Apart from dropping the ‘G’, the two printers have not produced anything less elegant, from a technical point of view, than anyone else in Paris was managing at that time. Both Adam and Kerbriant were only just beginning their printing careers in 1516, but they already possessed a considerable amount and variety of typographic materials and woodcuts. Approaching Petit for investment was a wise choice since he could offer both money and experience. For Jean Petit the new venture would have been attractive since it offered him the opportunity to work in partnership with two ambitious and innovative craftsmen. Adam was a type founder and he and Kerbriant were to lead illustrious careers as specialist printers of liturgical texts, missals in particular.

In some ways, even here, they were moving ahead of the tide: this missal has taken from the scholarly book all the apparatus that makes it more useful and usable for the reader. An early feature, illustrated below, was the ‘tabula’. The most common translation for this Latin noun would be a writing board, such as a wax tablet or wooden slate, alternatively a list. In any case it was a word fitting to its context, and came to mean something akin to an index.



Tabula.

Pro pace. xxx.
Pro rege. Eodem.
Ad inuocãdũ grãm spũsscti.eod.
Pro seipso. fo.xxxi.
Ad poscẽdũ donũ spũsscti.eod.
Pro peccatoribus. fo.xxxij.
Pro penitẽtibus. eodem.
Pro inspiratiõe diuie sapie.eodẽ
Cõtra tribulatiõnẽ cordis. xxxiij.
Pro infirmo. Eodem.
Pro salute amici. fo.xxxiiij.
Pro serenitate aeris. Eodem.
Pro pluuia petẽda. Eodem.
Tempore belli fo.xxxv.
Pro eo q̃ in vinculis tenet.Eodẽ
Cõtra mortalitatẽ hoiũ.f.xxxvj
Pro peste animaliũ. Eodẽ.
Pro qcũqz tribulatiõe.f.xxxvij.
Missa sponsalium. Eodem.
Pro mulierib⁹ pgnãtibus.xliiij
Pro iter agẽtibus. fo.xlvij.
Pro mortalitate euitãda.fo.lv.
De sancto sebastiano. fo.lvj.
Erasmi martyris. fo.lvij.
Rochi cõfessoris. Eodẽ.
Christofori martyris. fo.lvij
Antonij confessoris. fo.lviij.
Raphaelis archãgeli. fo.lix.
Gabrielis archãgeli. fo.lx.
Compassiõis btẽ marie. Eodẽ
Barbare virginis. fo.lxj
Trigintale btĩ gregorij.fo.liiij.
¶ Memorie prouiuis. fo.xxxvij.
Memorie pro defunctis. fo.lj.
¶ Benedictio aque diebus dñi cis post kalendarium.
Benedictio thalami. fo.xliiij.
Bñdictio panis dieb⁹ do.f.xlv.
Benedictio crucis perez bacu- li. Folio.xlvj.
¶ De sacramẽto mrĩmonij. f.xlj
Kyrie eleyson. fo.lxij.
Preparatio ad missam. quere an- te prefationem.
Accidentia misse.quere post ca nonem.

Missale ad vsum ecclesie Sarisbiriensis: optimis formulis (vt res ipsa indicat) diligentissime reuisum ac correctũ/cũ multis annotatiũculis ac litteris alphabeticis/euãgeliorũ atqz epistolarũ originẽ indicãtibus. Impressum parisius/per Johannẽ kerbriant alias huguelin/z Johannẽ Adam socios. Impẽsis eorũdẽ/necnon Johãnis Petit atqz Johãnis Bienayse. Anno dñi millesimo qngẽtesimo decimosexto. Die.xo.xxij.mẽsis augusti.

Modus colligẽdi codices hu(ius) opis. Primo kalẽdariũ. Secundo.a.b.c.d.e.f.g.h.i.k.l.m.n.o.p.q.r.s.t.v. Tertio A.B.C.D.E.F.G.H.J. Quarto. AA.BB.CC.DD.EE.FF.GG.HH. Et sunt oẽs quaterni/preter. qui est duernus.

Figure 3.15: Tabula and colophon of *Missale ad usum insignis ac preclare ecclesie Sarum.*

This page also shows clearly another important technical feature of complex early books. Below Petit's device is a list of signatures. This would allow a bookseller or binder to assemble the pages correctly. In this case we know that most, if not all, copies of this edition were destined for England. The most economical method of shipping would be to bale up the pages, unbound. On arrival they might be bound or simply assembled and stitched together ready for the buyer to take them for binding in a livery of their choice. It is of course possible that some missals, breviaries and hours were very cheaply bound, and then used to destruction. For some the purchase of the book itself was a nearly unaffordable act of personal piety. The owners of books of hours in Renaissance England included members of parliament, alchemists and lawyers, but also

clerics, students and butlers.[77] The presence of the list of signatures – not a universal feature of Parisian books in 1516 – alongside the absence of foliation suggests at least that the book was to be assembled far from its press.

Other modernisations quickly followed as the printed book forged a path away from its manuscript predecessor. Whilst the 1516 Salisbury missal lacked a title page many books of its time bore them, along with paratextual features: prologues relevant to the text, foliation and indexes. If Vérard's religious books were an act of personal piety, for Petit, humanist books were his passion. Even the religious books he published and sold had humanist leanings: they were learned works of popular piety, which discreetly encouraged a scholarly approach. This suited Jean Petit's capitalist humanism perfectly.

Jean Petit's humanist agenda is evident in 500 of his 2,000 editions: he published 112 educational works, 107 classical Latin editions and 306 editions of *belles lettres*. He drew into his cultural sphere some of the greatest minds of his generation (Josse Bade, Jacques Lefevre d'Étaples, Erasmus) and published many works that had not previously been seen in print. Described by Febvre and Martin as 'one of the main sources of the diffusion of humanism in Paris'[78] he strengthened links with the university, becoming a *libraire-juré*.[79] His track record of successful shared editions naturally encouraged others to work with him and this certainly helped him produce these genuinely new works. He was also involved with a number of editions new to France. The first Latin edition of Lucius Apuleius's *Golden Ass* in France was printed in Paris under the sign of Sainte Agnes to an unidentified printer. This printer was probably based along the rue de Carmes, a road running parallel to the rue Saint-Jacques, about 200m to the east.[80] Two

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[77] Data drawn from the database of the *Private Libraries in Renaissance England* project. http://plre.folger.edu.
[78] Fevre and Martin, *The coming of the book*, p. 121.
[79] In a document of 24 February 1509 (n. st.) relating to a house sale Petit is named as 'l'un des quatre principaulx libraires-jurez de l'Université de paris' (Arch Nat S 904 f^{o} 107^{r}).
[80] Apuleius, *De asino aureo* (Paris: Collegium Italorum, 1510).

states of this work are known, and the one in the Beinecke Library has the device of Jean Petit.[81] Although the edition edited by Beroaldo had been available in northern Europe for some time, the Parisian text was newly adapted by Robert de Keysere. Originally from Ghent, Keysere had studied in Paris in the 1490s, returned to Ghent at the turn of the century, then headed back to Paris in 1508.[82] It was from the Collège de Tournai in 1510 that he penned the introduction to the new Paris edition. By this time he was head of the establishment and had strong links with both Jean Petit and Josse Bade.

Jean Petit's legacy to humanism spread beyond his own direct sphere of influence: he nurtured and established arguably the greatest humanist printer of the sixteenth century, Josse Bade. Initially employing him as a corrector, Petit soon set him up as a printer.[83] Bade showed his esteem for his patron by adopting as his first sign 'leunculis aureis', a little gold lion, in deferential tribute to his patron's larger silver lion.[84] Bade printed 237 editions for Jean Petit, 102 of which he also edited, including a series of classical editions with works by Livy, Cicero and Horace.

Petit appears to have interfered less in the production and contents of the books he sold than Vérard. However they remain recognisably his. Although Petit does not obtrude himself as an authorial presence in the way that we commonly see with Vérard his distinctive printing device appears in many of the books published for him even by printers who were themselves distinguished figures in the Paris book world. Examples are his collaborations with André Bocard and François Regnault (figs 3.16-3.18).

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[81] Julia Haig Gaisser, *The Fortunes of Apuleius and the "Golden Ass": A Study in Transmission and Reception (Martin Classical Lectures)* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), p. 258; the other state is held by the British Library.
[82] Peter G. Bietenholz (ed.), *Contemporaries of Erasmus* (London: University of Toronto Press, 1985), (vol. 2), p. 258.
[83] Henry-Jean Martin, *The history and power of writing* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), p. 243.
[84] See for example, Francesco Ottavio Cleofilo, *Libellus de coetu poetarum ab Ascensio mendis pluscullis tersus et diligenter explanatur* (Paris: Josse Bade for himself and Jean Petit, 1503). From title-page: '… venundatur e regione collegii Italici sub Leunculis aureis. & in vico sancti Iacobi sub Leone argenteo' and colophon: 'Ex edibus Ascensianis. Nonis octobribus Anni 1503' SN.182567.

3.16. Giovanni Battista Spagnuoli, *Parthenice Mariana* (Paris: André Bocard for Jean Petit, Jean de Coblenz, Jean Alexandre (Angers), 1502).[85]

[85] SN 180063, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal 4-BL-1998 (1).

3.17. Giovanni Battista Spagnuoli, Parthenice secunda, sive Catharinaria (Paris: [André Bocard] for Jean Petit, Jean de Coblenz and Jean Alexandre (Angers), 1502).[86]

Figure 3.17 illustrates a particularly complex collaboration extending outside Paris to the bookseller Jean Alexandre in Angers.

[86] SN 142827; Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal: 4- BL- 1998 (2).

3.18. Flavius Josephus, *Praeclara opera* (Paris: François Regnault, Jean Petit, 1519).[87]

It seems impossible that any man, even with a son to help, could have been involved personally in over 2,000 publications. The most obvious explanation is that he was not. Petit was the spider at the centre of the web; printers knew what he wanted and he only worked with like-minded printers. Renouard has identified 24 devices and also part of a title border as belonging to Jean I Petit, and to Jean I and Jean II working together.[88] Unfortunately, for it would provide a very neat solution, his identification of some devices with only the elder Petit and others with both cannot be relied upon. We know his dating of their lives to be inaccurate. The primary difference between the

[87] SN 145077; bibliothèque de l'Arsenal: Fol – H – 691.
[88] Philippe Renouard, *Les marques typographiques Parisiennes des XVe et XVIe siècles*, quatrième fascicule (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1928), pp. 282-291. Devices: Renouard 880 to Renouard 904.

devices Renouard differentiates in this way is the exchange of a leopard for a lion on the right hand side and the tied knot linking the initials becoming a fleur-de-lys.

Illustrations 3.19 and 3.20, closely to scale, demonstrate this:

3.19. Giovanni Battista Spagnuoli, *Parthenice Mariana* (Paris: André Bocard for Jean Petit, Jean de Coblenz, Jean Alexandre (Angers), 1502)

Colophon (RR8r):

Finis huius operis diligentius rursus ||
impressi opera. M. Andreae Boccardi ||
Anno. M. CCCCCII. Ad calendas Iunias. ||

Device ref.: Renouard 881

Edition ref.: SN180063; Moreau I 89 122

Copy: 4- BL- 1998 (1) (Arsenal)

3.20. Flavius Josephus, *Praeclara opera*
(Paris: François Regnault: Jean Petit, 1519)

Colophon (LL7v):

impressum Parrhisij, per Antonium Bonnemere ; opera & impensis Francisci Regnault & Iohannis Petit, 1519 penultima Maij

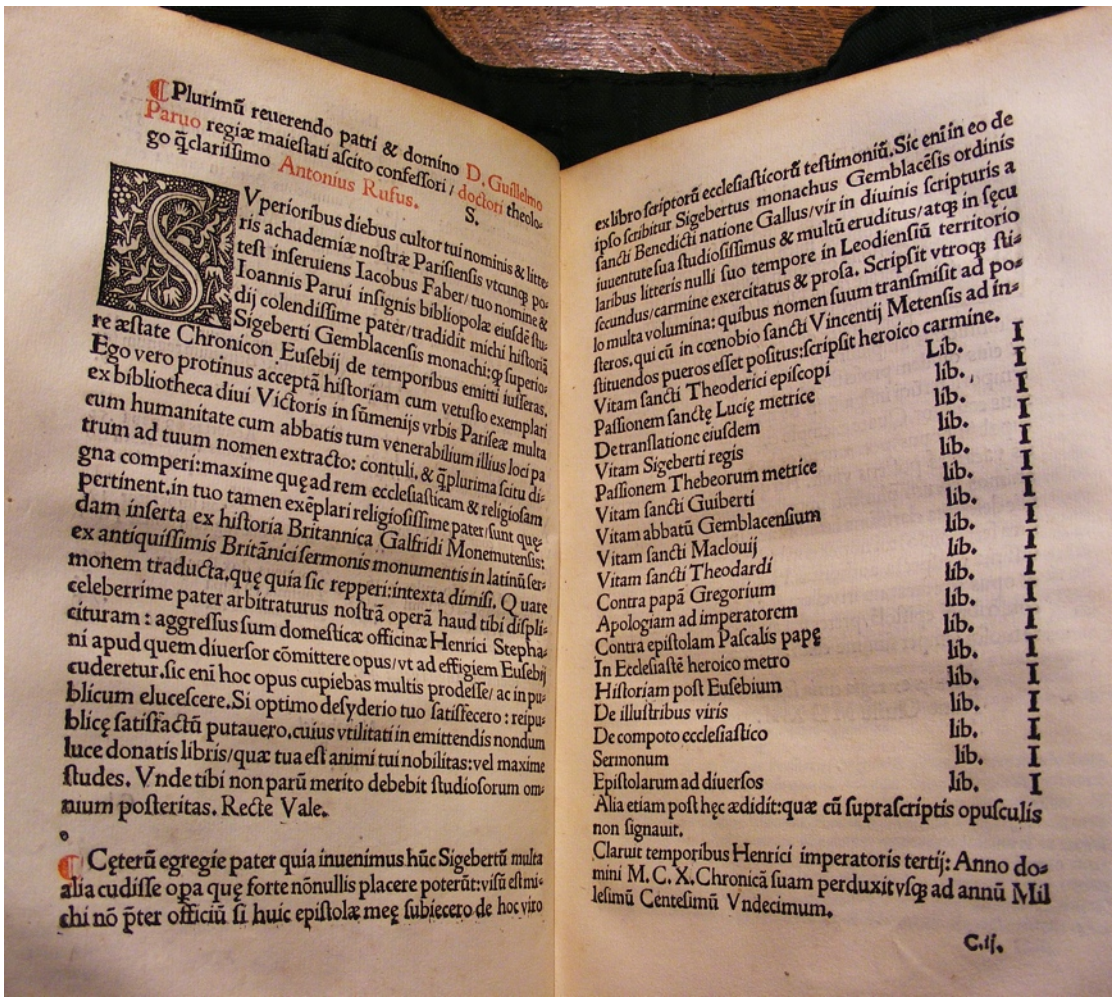
Device ref.: Renouard 888

Edition ref.: Moreau II 2107; SN 145077

Copy: Fol – H – 691 (Arsenal)

In fact Petit's devices underwent a general evolution rather than an abrupt change that might have signified the increasing involvement of his son in an edition that Renouard suggests. Many of these devices have a long career and suggest simply that Petit, or the Petits, were involved in up to 24 projects at once. That said, there is evidence that he was more deeply involved in the production process than simply providing the finance. The Estienne *Chronicon* is a case in point: printed in 1513, it is packed with annotation and comment (see figures 3.21 and 3.22).[89]

[89] Sigebertus de Gembloux, *Chronicon ab anno 381 ad 1113, cum insertionibus ex historia Galfridi et additionibus centum et tres sequentes annos complectentibus, nunc primum in lucem emissum* (Paris: Henri Estienne for Jean Petit, 1513); SN 144079.



¶ Plurimũ reuerendo patri & domino D. Guillelmo Paruo regiæ maiestati ascito confessori / doctori theologo q̃clarissimo Antonius Rufus. S.

Superioribus diebus cultor tui nominis & litteris achademiæ nostræ Parisiensis vtcunq; posteſt inseruiens Iacobus Faber/ tuo nomine & Ioannis Paruí insignis bibliopolæ eiusdẽ studij colendissime pater/tradidit míchí historiã Sigeberti Gemblacensis monachi:q̃ superiore æstate Chronicon Eusebíj de temporibus emitti iusseras. Ego vero protinus acceptã historíam cum vetusto exemplari ex bibliotheca diuí Victoris in sũmenijs vrbis Parisiæ multa cum humanitate cum abbatis tum venerabilium illius locí patrum ad tuum nomen extracto: contuli, & q̃plurima scitu dígna comperí:maxime quę ad rem ecclesiasticam & religiosam pertinent.in tuo tamen exẽplarí religiosissime pater/sunt quędam ínserta ex historía Britannica Galfridi Monemutensis: ex antiquíssimís Britãnicí sermonis monumentis in latinũ sermonem traducta,quę quía sic repperi:íntexta dímísi. Quare celeberrime pater arbitraturus nostrã operã haud tibí displicituram : aggressus sum domesticæ officinæ Henrici Stephaní apud quem díuersor cõmittere opus/vt ad effigiem Eusebij cuderetur.sic enì hoc opus cupiebas multis prodesse/ ac in publícum eluceſcere.Si optimo desyderio tuo satisfecero : reipublicę satisfactũ putauero,cuius vtilitatí in emittendís nondum luce donatís libris/quæ tua est animí tuí nobilitas:vel maxime studes. Vnde tibí non parũ merito debebit studiosorum omnium posteritas. Recte Vale.

¶ Cęterũ egregie pater quía inuenímus hũc Sigebertũ multa alía cudísse opa quę forte nõnullis placere poterũt:visũ est mihí nõ p̃ter officiũ si huic epistolæ meę subiecero de hoc viro

ex libro scriptorũ ecclesiasticorũ testimoniũ.Sic enì in eo de ipso scribitur Sigebertus monachus Gemblacẽsis ordinis sancti Benedicti natione Gallus/vir in diuinis scripturis a iuuentute sua studiosissimus & multũ eruditus/atq; in sęcularibus litterís nulli suo tempore in Leodiensiũ territorio secundus/carmine exercitatus & prosa. Scripsit vtroq; stilo multa volumina: quibus nomen suum transmísit ad posteros,qui cũ in cœnobio sancti Vincentij Metensis ad instituendos pueros esset positus:scripsit heroico carmine.

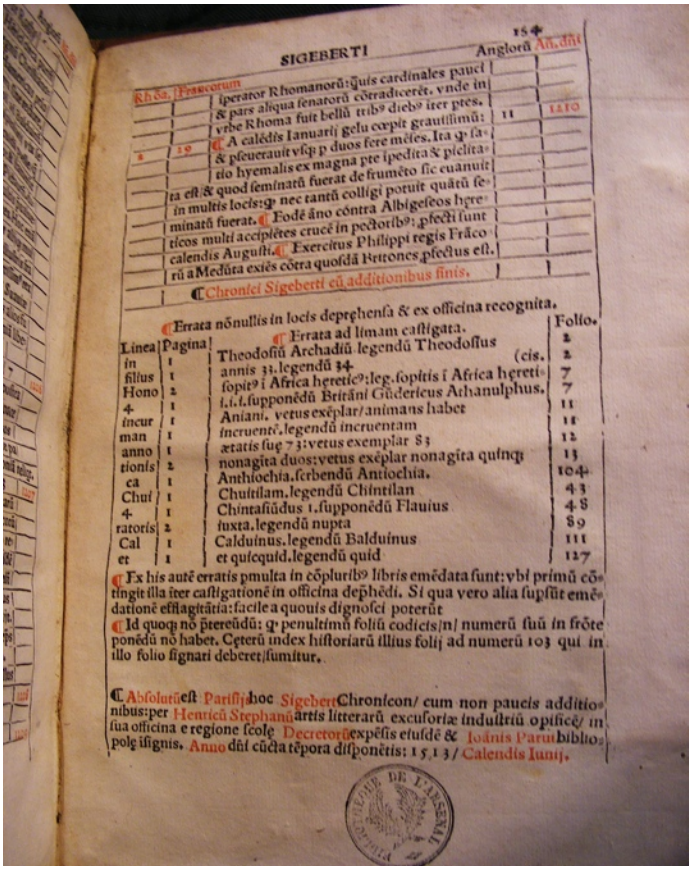
Vitam sancti Theoderici episcopi	lib.	I
Passionem sanctę Lucię metrice	lib.	I
De translatione eiusdem	lib.	I
Vitam Sigeberti regis	lib.	I
Passionem Thebeorum metrice	lib.	I
Vitam sancti Guiberti	lib.	I
Vitam abbatũ Gemblacensium	lib.	I
Vitam sancti Maclouij	lib.	I
Vitam sancti Theodardi	lib.	I
Contra papã Gregorium	lib.	I
Apologiam ad imperatorem	lib.	I
Contra epistolam Paschalis papę	lib.	I
In Ecclesiastẽ heroico metro	lib.	I
Historiam post Eusebium	lib.	I
De illustribus viris	lib.	I
De compoto ecclesiastico	lib.	I
Sermonum	lib.	I
Epistolarum ad diuersos	lib.	I

Alia etiam post hęc ædidit:quæ cũ supradictis opusculís non signauit.

Claruit temporibus Henrici imperatoris tertij: Anno domini M.C.X.Chronicã suam perduxit vsq; ad annũ Millesimũ Centesimũ Vndecimum.

C.ij.

Figure 3.21: Introduction to Sigebertus de Gembloux, *Chronicon ab anno 381 ad 1113, cum insertionibus ex historia Galfridi et additionibus centum et tres sequentes annos complectentibus, nunc primum in lucem emissum* (Paris: Henri Estienne for Jean Petit, 1513)


SIGEBERTI 154 Anglorū An. dñi

Rhōa. Francorum

iperator Rhomanorū: quis cardinales pauci
& pars aliqua senatorū cōtradicerēt. vnde in
vrbe Rhoma fuit bellū trib9 dieb9 iter ptes. 11 1210
A calēdis Ianuarij gelu cœpit grauissimū:
& pseuerauit vsq; p duos fere mēses. Ita q sa-
tio hyemalis ex magna pte ipedita & pclita-
ta est/& quod seminatū fuerat de frumēto sic euanuit
in multis locis: q nec tantū colligi potuit quātū se-
minatū fuerat. Eodē āno contra Albigeseos hęre-
ticos multi accipiētes crucē in pectorib9: pfecti sunt
calendis Augusti. Exercitus Philippi regis Frāco-
rū a Medūta exiēs cōtra quosdā Britones pfectus est.

Chronici Sigeberti cū additionibus finis.

Errata nōnullis in locis deprehensa & ex officina recognita.

Errata ad limam castigata.

Linea	Pagina		Folio.
in	1	Theodosiū Archadiū legendū Theodosius (cis.	2
filius	1	annis 33. legendū 34	2
Hono	2	fopit9 i Africa heretic9: leg. fopitis i Africa hereti-	7
4	1	i.i.i. supponēdū Britāni Gūdericus Athanulphus.	7
incur	1	Aniani. vetus exēplar/animans habet	11
man	1	incruentē. legendū incruentam	11
anno	1	ætatis suę 73: vetus exemplar 83	12
tionis	2	nonagita duos: vetus exēplar nonagita quinq;	13
ca	1	Anthiochia. scrbendū Antiochia.	104
Chui	1	Chuitilam. legendū Chintilan	43
4	1	Chintasiūdus i. supponēdū Flauius	48
ratoris	2	iuxta. legendū nupta	89
Cal	1	Calduinus. legendū Balduinus	111
et	1	et quicquid. legendū quid	127

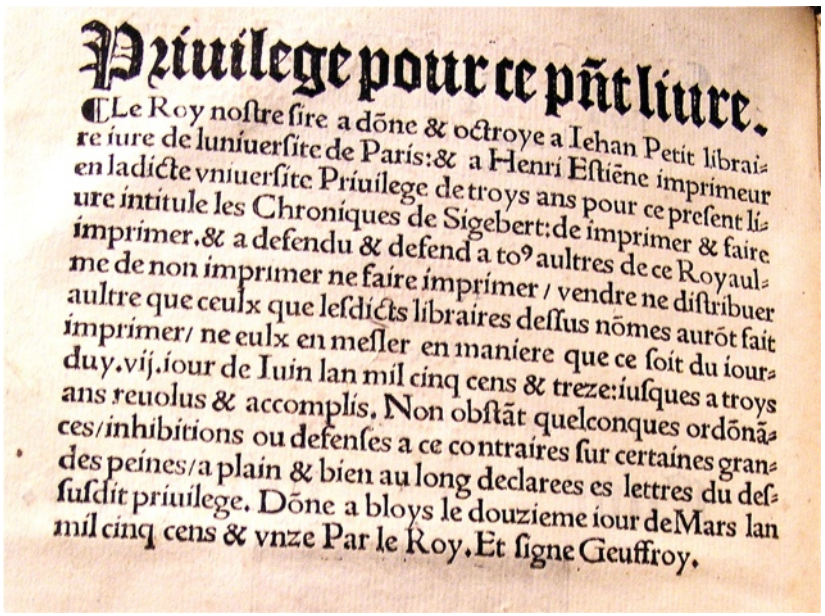
Ex his autē erratis pmulta in cōplurib9 libris emēdata sunt: vbi primū cō-
tingit illa iter castigationē in officina dephēdi. Si qua vero alia supsūt emē-
dationē efflagitātia: facile a quouis dignosci poterūt

Id quoq; nō ptereūdū: q penultimū foliū codicis/n/ numerū suū in frōte
ponēdū nō habet. Cęterū index historiarū illius folij ad numerū 103 qui in
illo folio signari deberet/sumitur.

Absolutū est Parisijs hoc Sigebert Chronicon/ cum non paucis additio-
nibus: per Henricū Stephanū artis litterarū excusoriæ industriū opificē/ in
sua officina e regione scolę Decretorū expēsis eiusdē & Ioānis Parui biblio-
polę isignis. Anno dñi cūcta tēpora disponētis: 1513/ Calendis Iunij.

Figure 3.22: Tables in Sigebertus de Gembloux, *Chronicon ab anno 381 ad 1113* (Paris: Henri Estienne for Jean Petit, 1513)

The typographical intricacy of this text, combined with the extensive, and most probably expensive, editorial work is tacitly acknowledged by the existence of a privilege. The privilege, copied out in full on the verso of the title page, had been granted by the king to Jean Petit and Henri Estienne:



Priuilege pour ce pñt liure.

Le Roy noſtre ſire a dõne & octroye a Iehan Petit librai-re iure de luniuerſite de Paris: & a Henri Eſtiẽne imprimeur en ladicte vniuerſite Priuilege de troys ans pour ce preſent li-ure intitule les Chroniques de Sigebert: de imprimer & faire imprimer. & a defendu & defend a to⁹ aultres de ce Royaul-me de non imprimer ne faire imprimer / vendre ne diſtribuer aultre que ceulx que leſdicts libraires deſſus nõmes aurõt fait imprimer/ ne eulx en meſler en maniere que ce ſoit du iour-duy. vij. iour de Iuin lan mil cinq cens & treze: iuſques a troys ans reuolus & accomplis. Non obſtãt quelconques ordõnã-ces/inhibitions ou defenſes a ce contraires ſur certaines gran-des peines/a plain & bien au long declarees es lettres du deſ-ſuſdit priuilege. Dõne a bloys le douzieme iour de Mars lan mil cinq cens & vnze Par le Roy. Et ſigne Geuffroy.

Figure 3.23: Full text of the privilege for Sigebertus de Gembloux, *Chronicon ab anno 381 ad 1113* (Paris: Henri Estienne for Jean Petit, 1513)

Whilst our modern understanding of copyright might lead us to assume that Petit had a direct, artistic role, that was not necessarily the case. More so than the humanist printers of the next chapter, Jean Petit was a highly astute businessman. The privilege prohibits anyone else from selling or distributing the book for three years, enough time for Petit and Estienne to recoup the expenses of production. Perhaps Jean Petit was just as ruthless a businessman as Antoine Vérard.

Two sides of the same coin?

Jean Petit and Antoine Vérard have been recorded by history as very different men, but their careers have a great deal in common. They both successfully crossed the interface between the manuscript book world of the fifteenth century and the burgeoning world of print. Vérard approached this changing world with a foot in the past, Petit with an eye to the future. In pursuing their strategies both were prepared to show patience; their willingness to opt for long-term, as opposed to short-term gain, a factor vital to their successes. In turn, this ability to take risks translated to a willingness to experiment with new directions or technologies. Vérard's foray into the English

market was a failure, but Petit's involvement in a complicated venture with two new printers – also for the English market – developed into a longer partnership. Vérard's offerings to the English were of higher typographical standards but were fatally undermined by his employing a Scotsman as translator. Petit's choice of Latin was either wiser or luckier.

The high typographical standards in Vérard's publications, and the splendour of some of their vellum copies has sometimes drawn analysis towards the minutiae rather than the whole corpus of his work. It is only in the context of a bibliographic project of the scale of the USTC that the full measure of Vérard's achievement can emerge and the same is true of Petit: the former as a publisher who truly cared about the mass market, the latter as the most prolific Parisian publisher of the early sixteenth century. Whilst there is now more information available about the books they published, neither man's biography is satisfactorily complete. This is especially the case with Jean Petit in relation to his son Jean II. Some factual errors have been corrected here but the elder Petit remains an elusive personality; he certainly lacked Vérard's obsessive need to place himself at the heart of the story. Perhaps Vérard and Jean I Petit's very different backgrounds were decisive in this very different self-perception. Vérard had origins in the manuscript book industry and connections with royalty. Jean Petit was the son of the sons of butchers. This, too, tells us much about the book industry at this time of growth and experimentation. The early years of the Parisian printing industry were a time when a bakery could become a bookshop and two men of very different backgrounds could become great publishers through their ability to adapt and their willingness to take risks.

Chapter IV: Affordable Piety

The previous chapter examined the religious and courtly books published by Antoine Vérard and looked at how he maximised his market (and profits) by using two different types of production. His reputation was built on the personalised copies printed on vellum and hand finished for his wealthiest clientele. But he did not ignore the mass market cheaper, paper copies. This bifurcation is also characteristic of one of the most important parts of the Paris market: the output of missals, breviaries and books of hours. The production of books of hours long predated the introduction of printing. Aristocratic customers commissioned works of great beauty and iconographic complexity: the *Très riches Heures du Duc de Berry* is the most famous example.[1] But the fifteenth century also witnessed the beginnings of something approaching a mass market for books of this type. In the first century of print this became a mainstay of the Paris market. A number of Paris printers, Thielman Kerver, the Hardouyn brothers, Wolfgang Hopyl and Didier Maheu, became specialists in this field.

This was one area in which Paris also became a major exporter of books, supplying liturgical books for dioceses across northern France and beyond. The strength of this market was a principal foundation of Parisian firms' domination of the market-place in smaller towns and cities around France, a commercial supremacy signalled by the production of books by Parisian publishers for consortia of local booksellers. The market for liturgical and devotional books will demonstrate that for all the emphasis of studies of printing on innovation and new beginnings, traditional markets were equally important to the commercial vitality of the industry.

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[1] John Hartham has drawn together some very fine manuscript and printed books in his *Books of Hours and their owners* (London: Book Club Associates, 1977).

A most precious and singular possession

In the first four decades of the sixteenth century books of hours were sometimes printed in astonishingly high print runs, often, it has been claimed, 'in several thousand copies.'[2] This volume output was of course critically important to the health of Parisian bookmen but this chapter will approach the subject from a slightly different perspective. Commissions and transactions within the book trade and beyond show that the printers of Paris served a wide area to the north and east of their home market. Largely ignoring national boundaries, books were targeted at specific ecclesiastical areas by usage (i.e. a book of hours for the use of Liège).[3] It is a commonplace – one that is addressed below – that if a family owned only one book it was a book of hours. But unlike the educational book market, treated in the following chapter, which saw a high turnover of books which went through many editions, a book of hours was not the sort of purchase that most owners would expect to make more than once. For many families the purchase of their book of hours was a seminal event, a significant expense.

In this corner of the market printers such as Thielman Kerver, the Hardouyn brothers, Wolfgang Hopyl and Didier Maheu were able to build on an established manuscript market; they also expanded this market well beyond France's borders. Although they cannot be said to rival Vérard's high-end production, the amount of colour in an otherwise predominantly black and white market is astonishing. A sustained effort to find a completely monochrome copy of a book of hours went unrewarded – even one with just a coloured calendar – but surely they must have existed? Paris certainly had the facilities to process large numbers of illuminations and illustrations, but even making full use of the earlier manuscript business networks, print

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[2] Henri-Jean Martin, *The History and Power of Writing* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, New edition, 1995), p. 238.
[3] On usage, see 'rich history of the book of hours' below.

runs of several thousand – if this really was the norm – would have pushed capacity. Were they simply used to destruction?

The rich history of the Book of Hours

The history of the book of hours is one of steady transformation with a key text at its core: the Little Office of Our Blessed Lady. This text is thought to have been created by Benedict of Aniane in the eighth or ninth century, and was a medieval addition to the breviary.[4] The breviary itself guided the reader through the Divine Office from which the clergy prayed, but it was from the psalter that the book of hours would most directly descend.[5]

As literacy began to rise in the thirteenth century the desire for and use of prayer books increased. Perhaps for reasons of speed or cost, the laity began to commission shorter versions of the weighty psalter.[6] The contents of the book of hours eventually settled on a typical format although there remained variation throughout the sixteenth century. Variation for books of hours, breviaries and missals was generally defined by the 'usage'. Usage itself was defined by tradition within a given area (the ecclesiastical institutions within a diocese for example): thus a missal for the use of Paris would contain the order of services used within the diocese of Paris. Authority for each 'use' accrued over time. From a practical point of view, this ensured that each chapter of a particular congregation - the Carthusians or Benedictines - were part of the same worship tradition.[7]

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[4] Roger S. Wieck, 'The Book of Hours', in Thomas J. Heffernan and E. Ann Matter (eds), *The Liturgy of the Medieval Church*. (Michigan: Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, 2005, 2nd edition), p. 431; John Harthan, *Books of Hours and their owners* (London: Book Club Associates, 1977), p. 12.
[5] Virginia Reinburg, *French Books of Hours: Making an Archive of Prayer c. 1400-1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).
[6] Weick, 'The Book of Hours', p. 432.
[7] Even after the Council of Trent adoption of a common usage was not universal. Robert Hayburn, *Papal legislation on sacred music* (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1979), p. 34.

Abbé Victor Leroquais, the great authority on manuscript books of hours, described the contents as belonging to one of three elements: essential, secondary and accessory texts.[8] The essential elements were almost always present and the secondary were generally there too but the accessory texts varied by location and individual needs.

The essential texts (extracted from the breviary)

The Calendar

The Little Office (or Hours) of the Virgin

The Penitential Psalms

The Litany

The Office of the Dead

The Suffrages of the Saints

Secondary texts

Sequences of the Gospels

Obsecro te

O intermerata

The Hours of the Cross

The Hours of the Holy Spirit

The Hours of the Holy Trinity

The Fifteen Joys of the Virgin

The Seven Requests to the Saviour

Accessory texts were extracted from the Psalter and 'miscellaneous prayers'[9]

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[8] Victor Leroquais, *Les livres d'heures manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale* 3 vols. (Mâcon: Protat frères, 1927), vol. 1, p. xiv.
[9] Harthan, *Books of Hours,* pp. 14-15.

A ‘typical’ Book of Hours comprised (primary texts underlined):

Calendar

Sequences of the Gospels

Obsecro te

O intermerata

The Hours of the Virgin

The Hours of the Cross

The Hours of the Holy Spirit

Penitential Psalms

The Litany

The Office of the Dead

The Suffrage of the Saints[10]

The decision to purchase a book of hours arose from a complex and variable network of social, cultural and religious factors. The book of hours was a tool for prayer, a symbol of wealth or a carefully considered piece of personal piety. For a monk it was predominantly a tool, for a wealthy tradesman a symbol of his status and, for those for whom the purchase consumed the larger part of their disposable income, it was primarily an act of personal piety. Before printing made books of hours more affordable lay readers may have purchased small religious paintings, crucifixes or relics. Indeed, inventories compiled after death listed books of hours with religious objects as opposed to with any other books (if there were any).[11]

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[10] Ibid., p. 15.
[11] Andrew Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 158.

The inventory after the death of Jacques Danier 'seigneur de Cernay' illustrates this very effectively. His parchment book of hours, valued at 24 sous (and therefore almost certainly finely illustrated and bound) is listed before his other possessions, which are followed by seven books of civil and canon law.[12] A decorative (the binding was adorned with pearl buttons), historiated, illustrated manuscript hours valued at 64 sous was the only book of Robine Yon.[13]

One historian has suggested that it was 'bibliographic envy' that inspired many laypeople; they wanted a book 'that paralleled the use and function of the breviary'.[14] It is certainly very evident that the technical developments that made possible a vastly increased supply of devotional texts - the increased availability of paper and high quality woodcuts - coincided with an era when personal devotion was increasingly expressed through a steady increase in laypeople's direct investment in their church and personal religion.[15] Purchasing a book of hours was just one of the ways lay people articulated their desire for a closer access to God.[16]

As well as providing contact with God through intercessory prayers, books of hours held other practical uses. They provided a place to store safely pilgrim badges and relics as well as personal information such as family births and deaths (*livres de raison*).[17] The calendar, which opens almost every book of hours (if it is not there it has most probably been lost) acts as a key to the texts explaining which prayers are to be said on which days. It is also a guide to the day of the week and important Church

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[12] Ernest Coyecque, 'Inventaire sommaire d'un minutier Parisien pendant le cours du XVIe siecle (Pierre Crozon)' in *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France* (Paris: H. Champion, 1893, vol. 20), p. 49. A number of inventories after death can be found in AN MC étude XLIX and AN MC étude XXXIII by Pierre Crozon.
[13] Ibid., p. 51. Robine Yon was married to Robin Fauquet, 'maître maréchal et bourgeois de Paris'.
[14] Wieck, 'The Book of Hours', p. 434.
[15] Eamon Duffy, *Marking the Hours: English People and their Prayers, 1240-1570* (Yale: Yale University Press, 2007), p. 55.
[16] Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars, traditional religion in England 1400-1580* (Yale: Yale University Press, 1992, second edition, 2005), pp. 233-234.
[17] Reinburg, *French Books of Hours,* p. 7.

festivals.[18] Almost all printed calendars are colour-coded, with the principal festivals (Christmas, Easter…) highlighted in gold, the days designated to the Apostles and chief saints in red and the minor saints and feast days in black.[19] Earlier manuscript hours (to circa 1400) alternate red and blue as a decorative feature rather than a system of coding, but gold was still used to pick out the most important festivals.[20] Since the calendar was perpetual, moveable feasts (those depending on the date of Easter) were not included.[21]

The most popular section of the book of hours was the Office of the Virgin, indeed not only was it an integral text within the book, it also existed unaccompanied in separate editions. These were designed for a variety of different 'uses' (textual variations resulting from local monastic tradition) including those of Rome, Salisbury and Utrecht.[22] Consisting of matins, lauds, prime, terce, sext, none, vespers and compline, this 'little' office provided a complete daily round of prayer.[23] In England, where many Parisian prayer books were destined, there is evidence that lay people grasped this new opportunity for frequent devotion enthusiastically:[24]

> Although they all attend Mass every day, and say many Paternosters in public (the women carrying long rosaries in their hands, and any who can

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[18] Wieck, 'The Book of Hours', pp. 439-440.
[19] Harthan, *Books of Hours*, pp. 15-16. The term 'red-letter day' derives from this – Wieck, 'The Book of Hours', p. 440.
[20] Wieck, 'The Book of Hours', p. 440.
[21] Ibid., p. 440. This included all those connected to the Passion, Resurrection, Ascension and Pentecost.
[22] *Horae beatae Mariae virginis* ([Paris: Simon Vostre], 1506). The collation (beginning at 'a') helps to confirm that this was intended to stand alone. FB 67332. See further: *Officium beatae Mariae virginis* (Paris: Jean Philippe voor Willem Houtmart (Leuven), 1513), FB 67399; *Horae beatae Mariae virginis secundum usum insignis ecclesie Pariensis* (Paris: s.n., [1513]), FB 67238; *Horae beatae Mariae virginis* (Paris: por Yolande Bonhomme, [1527]), FB 67175; *Horae beatae Mariae virginis secundum usum Romanum, totaliter ad longum sine requirere* (Paris: Germain Hardouyn, 1539), FB 67502; *Hore intemerate beate virginis Marie secundum usum Romanum* (Paris: Thielman Kerver, 1503), FB 67311; *Hore beate virginis Marie secundum usum Romanum* (Paris: Antoine Vérard, [1503]), FB 67307; *Hore beate virginis Marie ad usum Sarum* (Paris: [Guillaume Le Rouge: Antoine Vérard, 1503]), FB 67578; *Hore beate virginis Marie secundum usum Romanum* (Paris: Guillaume Eustace & Jean Barbier, 1507), FB 29539; *Officium beate virginis marie secundum usum Sarisburiensis ecclesie* (Paris: s.n., 1510), FB 68622; *Hore beate virginis Marie ad usum Trajectensem (*Paris: Wolfgang Hopyl, 1513), FB 67679; *Hore beate virginis Marie secundum usum Romanum* (Paris: Nicolas Higman Jean de Brie, [1515]), FB 67408; *Horae beate virginis Marie secundum usum Romanum* (Paris: Nicolas Higman, Guillaume Eustace, 1516), FB 67413; *Hore beate virginis Marie secundum usum Sarum* (Paris: arte Nicolas Higman impensis Simon Vostre, 1520), FB 67598; *Hore beate virginis Marie* (Paris: Thielman Kerver, 1520), FB 67169.
[23] Wieck, 'The Book of Hours', p. 450.
[24] Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 210-211.

> read taking the office of Our Lady with them, and with some companion reciting it in the church verse by verse, in a low voice, after the manner of churchmen) they always hear mass on Sunday in their parish church, and give liberal alms.[25]

When the Office of Our Lady is within the book of hours it is generally followed by the Penitential Psalms and the Litany. The Penitential Psalms are a sevenfold plea for forgiveness for the dead, which also helps the living to avoid sinning.[26] The Litany is equally passionate, crying out for help and mercy: *Kyrie eleison, Christe eleison, Kyrie eleison…*[27] The Office of the Dead and the Suffrages of the Saints follow the Litany. The Saints round off the essential elements with their promise of hope of intercession on behalf of the dead.[28]

The book of hours became a bestseller of the early decades of printing in France. It took only a few modifications to perfect it for the new medium. But longevity was built into its design: with one book per family passed down through the generations, its sales figures were set for a steady decline.

The complex market for books of hours, breviaries and missals

In the first years following the invention of printing, printers and would-be printers flocked to Paris from across Europe. In later years the books were to follow the opposite course. The title pages of liturgical books hint at their intended destinations: *Horae ad usum Andegavensem* (hours for the use of Angers); *Missale ad usum diocesis Leodiensis* (missal for the use of the diocese of Liège); *Breviarium Saresberiense* (Salisbury breviary) etc.

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[25] The Venetian ambassador, Trevisan in 1497: *A Relation, or Rather a True Account, of the Island of England... about the year 1500*, trans, Charlotte Augusta Sneyd (London: Camden Society, 1897), p. 23; Laquita Mae Higgs, *Godliness and Governance in Tudor Colchester* (Michigan: The University of Michigan Press, 1998), p. 67.
[26] Wieck, 'The Book of Hours', p. 454-456.
[27] 'Lord have mercy, Christ have mercy, Lord have mercy.' Harthan, *Books of Hours*, p. 17; Wieck, 'The Book of Hours', p. 456.
[28] Harthan, *Books of Hours*, p. 18.

The following map highlights presents a graphic demonstration of the scope of this business. Marked are all the places for which Parisian firms undertook the printing of a missal, breviary or book of hours in the years between 1501 and 1540. The influence and reach of the master printers of the French capital is evident; only Venice could match this astonishing trade in liturgical works for distant jurisdictions. To some extent the two great cities had divided the European book trade between them.[29] Perhaps because of the Venetian publishers' firm grip on this other part of the market, the Parisians looked north, never, or hardly ever, south. Most of the orders were for jurisdictions in France, but the reputation of the Paris book world reached as far north as Denmark and Sweden. There is a fair smattering of low countries uses and some in Germany - all concentrated in the north and west.

[29] Andrew Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), p. 68: Map of Publication of Missals in fifteenth-century Venice.

Figure 4.1: Map showing intended uses for liturgical works printed in Paris, 1500-1540

This raises the question of why so many books were being printed for areas of France and Europe that often had perfectly adequate presses of their own. A curious example is the case of Henri Terbroug of Arnheim: Terbroug ordered 650 missals for the use of Liège from Didier Maheu and Jean Kerbriant. That case and others will be considered later in this chapter.

The trade in liturgical books was a part of the book trade which had the deepest roots in the manuscript era. As observed in chapter three, manuscript book production was focused around the Île de la Cité and in the area just east of the rue Saint Jacques; it

was in this area, densely populated with churches, that many of the printers focusing on devotional and liturgical books located their businesses.

Following orders: Thielman Kerver, Didier Maheu and the continuing influence of Jean Petit

Like the earliest printers in Paris, Thielman Kerver was of German descent. He was very likely aware of Gutenberg's invention some years before he moved to Paris as he hailed from Coblenz, 38 miles north west of Mainz. Thielman Kerver was first and foremost a printer of religious books. 78% of his 434 Latin editions consisted of books of hours, breviaries and other religious texts (commentaries and theological works). Overwhelmingly focusing on books of hours, he printed 104 between 1500 and 1540, with a further eight outside of those dates. Most of his books of hours were for the use of Rome but he also printed, probably to order, hours for the uses of Chalon-sur-Saône, Cambrai, Le Mans, Liège, Salisbury and the Carthusians.

Whilst it looks like some printers took quite a chunk of the market, the printing of hours, breviaries, diurnals and missals for holy orders, such as the Carthusians, was not the monopoly of a single printer. Like everything else in the Parisian printing world, many had a hand in it. Working together – if only in the sense of pooling money – on large orders was not unusual. However once a connection had been made with a particular order, be it through a printer, publisher or bookseller, it was rarely broken. Kerver remained the primary printer for the Carthusians, Cistercians, Cluniacs and Premonstratensian orders throughout his career. Such connections meant that printers like Kerver – and the Hardouyn brothers who will be considered later – were able to continue concentrating on the devotional book market even when it was in decline: their established relationship with clients deterred potential competitors.

Kerver's connection with the Cistercian Order was primarily mediated through the brothers Enguilbert, Geoffroy and Jean de Marnef. They produced a diurnal for the Cistercians in 1501, breviaries in 1508 and 1515, and a missal with Wolfgang Hopyl in 1515. Kerver also worked with Hopyl on a 1510 breviary for the Cluniac Order, a reprint of his 1503 edition prepared for them. The Cluniacs turned to him again in 1514 for another set of breviaries and then to his widow in 1528. Kerver also printed breviaries for the Praemonstratensians in 1505, 1507 (with Simon Vostre), and 1514. Again, his widow continued the connection, printing a final set in 1525.[30] Most of these editions printed for religious orders were in octavo. The exceptions were the missals, which were in folio, as was usual for a book which was intended for liturgical use in church. The diurnals for the Carthusians and Cistercians were in the smaller sectodecimo format.

Kerver was not the only printer with this kind of very specific clientele. The breviaries for the Benedictine Order at Bursfeld Abbey were printed in Paris by Didier Maheu. Louis Hornken and Gottfried Hittorp acted as intermediaries as both had bookshops in Paris and Cologne. The Celestinians obtained breviaries through Jean Petit in 1507 and 1515. Indeed, it was bookseller-publishers like Jean Petit who were at the heart of most of these connections.

Once a printer or publisher had fulfilled such a contract they seemed to have been happy to keep quantities in stock until they were needed. We see this particularly in the inventories taken to value the stock of deceased printers. A document drawn up in the wake of the death of Didier Maheu's wife reveals he had 87 copies of the 1519 breviary

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[30] Ubertino da Crescentino (ed.), *Breviarium Premonstratense* (Paris: Yolande Bonhomme, 1525), FB 66597.

for the use of the Benedictine Order at Bursfeld in his shop.[31] There were others stockpiled, such as the 143 copies of the breviary for the use of Thérouanne (32 bound, 110 unbound and 1 illuminated). Interestingly these liturgical works specific to a particular order seem to have received the same valuation as a more generic order for the use of Rome. The breviaries for the use of the Benedictine Order at Bursfeld were valued at 21 *livres* and 15 *sous*, or 5*s* for each unbound copy. The same value was given for an unbound breviary for the use of Rome, of which there were eight left in the shop.[32] A bound copy of the Rome breviary was valued at 7*s* and the illuminated breviary printed by André Bocard at the expense of Didier Maheu, Jean Petit and Jean de Bois-Yvon for the use of Thérouanne was valued at 10*s.*[33] In short this equates to 5*s* for an unbound breviary, 7*s* for a bound one and 10*s* for an illuminated copy.

Jean Petit can usually be found at the centre of big business productions, those requiring a large capital outlay. For the Thérouanne order he joined forces with Didier Maheu and Jean de Bois-Yvon to pay André Bocard to print a breviary for the use of Thérouanne even though they had fulfilled a similar order the previous year. This case is puzzling. Had the cooperative wildly underestimated their market in 1506? If so, had the three booksellers all been involved in that edition too because they thought it was a precarious venture which might not see returns? It would certainly be uncharacteristic of Jean Petit to get involved in something so small, precarious or otherwise, unless of course the three men had had a long term plan from the outset: testing a new (for them) market.

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[31] Coyecque, Ernest, 'La librairie de Didier Maheu en 1520. Supplément aux cinq librairies Parisiennes sous François Ier (1521-1529)' in *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France* (Paris: H. Champion, 1894), vol. 21, p. 199. A transcription of: AN MC Étude CXXII/297; *Breviarium reverendum patrum ordinis divi Benedicti* (Paris: Didier Maheu: Gottfried Hittorp, 1519), USTC 183902.
[32] *Breviarium secundum verum usum matris ecclesie Romane noviter impressum* (Paris: Didier Maheu, Jacques Ferrebouc, 1518), USTC 183807.
[33] *Breviarium insignis ecclesie Morinensis, novissime castigatum* (Paris: André Bocard, Jean Petit, Didier Maheu & Jean de Bosco-Yvon, 1507), USTC 186627.

A small number of Parisian publishers (and they alone) had ventured into the Thérouanne market in the incunabula period. A breviary was produced by Pierre Le Rouge or Jean Du Pré (probably the latter) in 1488, a missal by Jean du Pré in 1491 and a book of hours by Philippe Pigouchet for Simon Vostre in 1498.[34] Thérouanne, a French enclave within the Holy Roman Empire was destroyed in 1553 by the troops of Charles V. The fact that it was geographically within the Empire in the first half of the sixteenth century belies its size and power. It was held by a number of important and influential bishops: Philipp of Luxembourg (1496-1513), François de Melun (1513-1521), John, Cardinal of Lorraine (1521-1535) and François de Créquy (1535-1537). This perhaps explains the rise in influence of Thérouanne over the nearby monastery of Sithiu, which had been dominant throughout the medieval period.[35] Recent work by Bernard Delmaire and others has revealed that at its apogee it expanded over some 6,000 km^2 and consisted of 531 parishes.[36]

Maheu's 32 bound copies (and one illuminated and bound) could therefore easily have been sold to those higher up the ecclesiastical hierarchy whilst the 110 unbound copies could have been intended for more mundane liturgical use. Unbound copies could be cheaply bound or bound at a later date when more money was saved up for the purpose.

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[34] *Breviarium Morinense* (Paris: [Pierre Le Rouge or Jean Du Pré], 1488), USTC 202641. Jean Du Pré is the more likely candidate as the Missal proves he has connection in the area. Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke (the catalogue of incunabula by the Staatsbibliothek of Berlin) agrees, see GW 05407; *Missale Morinense* (Paris: Jean du Pré, 1491), USTC 201092; *Horae ad usum Taruennensem. Commemoratio animae cuiuslibet defuncti* (Paris: Philippe Pigouchet, Simon Vostre, 1498), USTC 202223.

[35] Karine Ugé, *Creating the Monastic Past in Medieval Flanders* (York: York Medieval Press, 2005), pp. 23-24.

[36] Bernard Delmaire 'La géographie paroissiale du diocèse de Thérouanne (XIVe-XVIe siècle): approche cartographique' in Benoît-Michel Tock and Jeff Rider (eds), *Le diocèse de Thérouanne au Moyen Âge. Actes de la journée d'études tenue à Lille, 3 mai 2007* (Arras: Commission départementale d'histoire et d'archéologie du Pas-de-Calais, 2010), pp. 149-180.

A Family Business for a Family Book

To say that Gilles, Germain and Jean Hardouyn specialised in books of hours is an understatement; Gilles and Germain printed them, their brother Jean a '*maître doreur*' and bookseller decorated and embellished them with gold leaf.[37] Of the 100 Latin editions printed by Gilles and Germain between 1499 and 1541 only two were not books of hours.[38] The two exceptions were also religious books: Pierre Haguelon's *Sermones de sanitate tuenda* and an edition of the *Hortulus animae*.[39] Their specialisation went deeper; 89 of the 100 editions were hours for the use of Rome. They also printed three hours for the use of Salisbury, two Offices of the Virgin (technically only part of a book of hours as explained above), two hours exulting the Virgin and four hours for the use of Paris. The Paris hours were printed in 1505, 1526, 1528 and 1540.

The Hardouyn held a dominant position in what was, in truth, a declining market. The output of liturgical works and books of hours declined steadily in the first four decades of the sixteenth century. Partly this was because they were books intended to be cherished and carefully preserved. And while the Reformation controversies would not have impacted directly on this very traditional market, there is evidence from many parts of Europe that the onset of the Reformation had a very negative impact on a diversity of forms of pious giving and investment. As we have seen the purchase of a book of hours fell very much into this category.

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[37] AN Série Y 3466 f. 340.
[38] In addition Jean Hardouyn was a named bookseller on four editions printed by Pierre Levet between 1499 and 1500. His absence on title pages and in colophons after those dates ties in with going into business with his brothers.
[39] Hortulus animae, *Hortulus anime per pulchris ac odoris fosculis decoratus in quo anima fidelis Christi amore languida* (Paris: Didier Maheu Germain Hardouyn, Pierre Ricouart, 1532), FB 74393; Pierre Haguelon, *Sermones de sanitate tuenda* (Paris: Gilles Hardouyn, 1524), FB 73353.

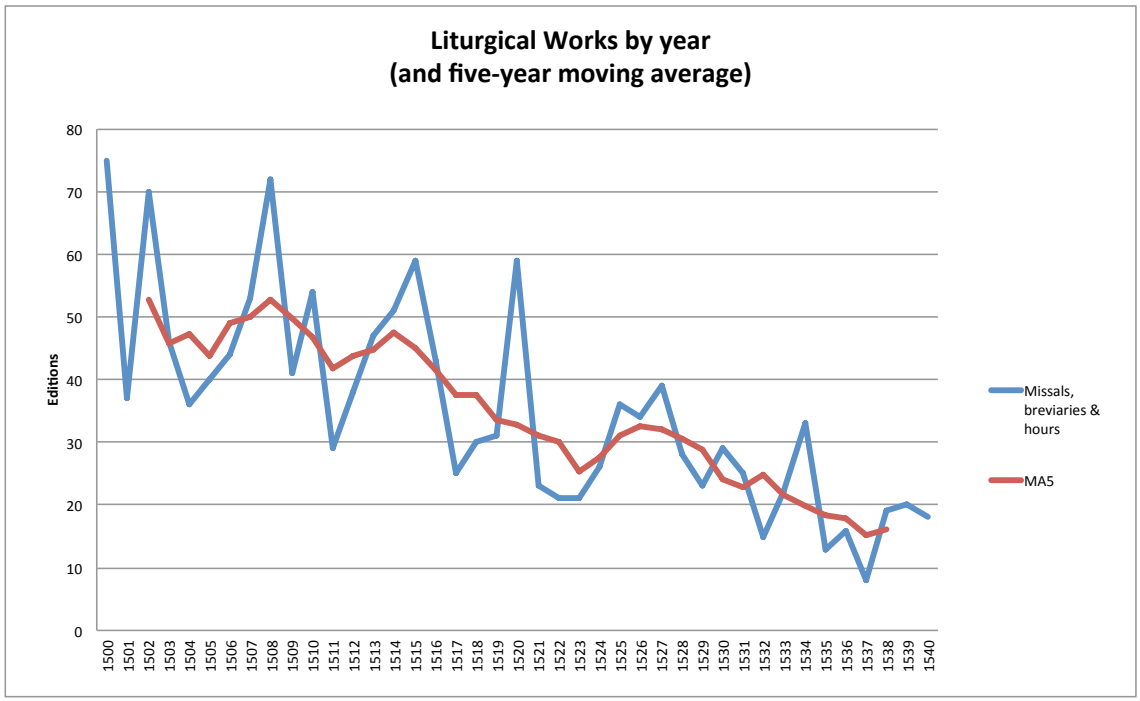

Figure 4.2: The declining sales of liturgical works by year

The Hardouyn worked with one foot in the past, their shop on the Pont-Notre-Dame literally bridging the old manuscript and new printed book trades.[40] They made their living from reprinting the same books over and over again. They did, occasionally, make the typical claim to novelty – in reality this often turns out to be little more than an extension to the almanac – but by and large (with some exceptions), from the 1520s they stuck with simple titles like *Horae ad usum Romanum*. One of the rare exceptions is the 1540 hours for the use of Paris. In general they chose simply to issue a reprint of an earlier edition. However this is not to say that they were not paying due care and attention to the text: the three versions of the 1528 hours for the use of Rome attests to this.[41]

The Hardouyn hours are known for being high quality, yet theirs was not a niche market. Their books utilised the manuscript book production techniques of the previous

[40] The rent passed down from their father and was set to be taken over by Isabeau Moussart – wife of Gilles – and her children. Philippe Renouard, *Documents sur les imprimeurs, libraires, cartiers… ayant exercé à Paris de 1450 à 1600* (Paris: H. Champion, 1901), p. 122: AN Série Q 1/1099 f. 197v.
[41] *Hore beate Marie virginis secundum usum Romanum* (Paris: Germain Hardouyn, [1528]). USTC 184784, USTC 184785 & USTC 184786 have minor typographical differences reflecting corrections made during the printing process.

century whilst taking advantage of the cost-cutting benefits of printing. Each book (at least those which have survived) was first printed and then hand-finished with gold leaf in their workshop. They followed the same basic idea as Antoine Vérard – to combine old business practice with new technology – but reached a different result. Instead of adding a small number of extremely fine copies to a large print run, the Hardouyn produced a large number of fine copies at a relatively low cost. By concentrating exclusively on one corner of the market and bringing much of the production in house they were able to reduce their costs whilst simultaneously refining their product.

Commissions without borders and international trade: Didier Maheu and the Bishop of Senlis

As we have seen, a printer working in this field was unlikely to embark on a print operation without either a defined market or a commission. They might be approached by a bookseller or booksellers from Paris or further afield. Or they might receive a commission from an individual who required a few hundred copies of a religious book, the contents of which they were able to dictate. This is precisely what happened on 17 August 1524, when the bishop of Senlis commissioned 400 missals from Didier Maheu, for which he would pay 350 *livres tournois*.[42] The missals, for the use of Senlis, were to follow a precise template – both in terms of content and design – which was provided by the bishop. Senlis is about as far from Paris as Meaux, and its bishop was as interested in having personal involvement in printing projects as Guillaume Briçonnet (bishop of Meaux) had been.

The bishop of Senlis in 1524 was the theologian Arthur Fillon. Fillon had gained his license in theology 20 years earlier, finishing at the top of his class. His doctorate

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[42] Coyecque, Ernest, 'Inventaire sommaire d'un minutier Parisien pendant le cours du XVIe siecle (IX. 1er avril 1522 – 11 mai 1523. Pierre Crozon)' in *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France* (Paris: H. Champion, 1893), vol. 20, pp. 132.

was awarded three months after that on 22 April 1504.[43] His career progressed rapidly; he became canon of Évreux the year his doctorate was awarded, then curé of Saint-Maclou, where he jointly oversaw the long-awaited completion of the 89-year-long reconstruction of the little chapel.[44] He then added to his growing responsibilities the offices of canon of Rouen and vicar-general of Cardinal, Georges d'Amboise (archbishop of Rouen), before being elected to the bishopric by the cathedral chapter in 1522.[45] Fillon was also a favoured representative of the Estates to the King (first Louis XII, then Francis I), and consequently, he became a favourite of king Francis himself. [46] However, his popularity in ecclesiastical and royal circles does not seem to have particularly impressed the university. In September 1521 they chose, somewhat apologetically, Briçonnet over Fillon for the role of *conservateur des privilèges apostoliques* despite Fillon being the King's preferred candidate:

> Die Lunae 2 Septemb. Comitiis habitis exposuit Rector supplicationes Episcoporum Meldensis & Silvanectensis pro Munere Conservatoris, quorum neuter aderat. Lectae sunt ibidem ternae litterae Regiae in gratiam & idoneitatem persuadere conatus est, incapacitatemque Guillelmi Briçonneti Episcopi Meldensis. Verum, ut legitur in Actis Universitatis, non fuit auditus, & Magistri Facultatum se leuauerunt & ad sua loca se restraxerunt ad deliberandum super huiusmodi electione. Quippe verita Universitae, ne emendicato favore Regio sibi deiceps eligendi Conservatoris libertae eripertur, seu quia Meldensis longè pluribus abundabat meritis, unanimi Facultatum consensu elegit ipsum in Conservatorem, ita referentibus pro Facultate Artium Rectore, pro Medicina M. Du Monceam

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[43] James K. Farge, *Biographical register of Paris doctors of theology 1500-1536* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1980), p. 165. Farge has drawn from Émile Picot, *Artus Fillon, chanoine d'Évreux et de Rouen, puis évêque de Senlis* (Évreux, 1911).
[44] Linda Elaine Neagley, 'The Flamboyant Architecture of St.-Maclou, Rouen, and the Development of a Style,' *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol. 47, No. 4 (Dec., 1988), pp. 377-378.
[45] Ibid., p. 165.
[46] E. Coüard-Luys, 'Intervention royale dans l'élection d'Arthur Fillon, évêque de Senlis in 1522' in *Mémoires de la Société académique d'archéologie, sciences et arts du département de l'Oise 11* (1882), pp. 601-635.

Decano, pro Consultissima Facultate M. Gallichier, & pro Theologica Odoüart.[47]

It appears that just as Thérouanne was large enough to absorb 429 breviaries the year after a previous imprint, so Arthur Fillon was sufficiently well connected to afford the 350 *livres tournois* necessary to commission an edition, which he then personally distributed in his diocese. For the folio missal, *Ad Dei omnipotentis laudem Missale ad usum et consuetundinem insignis ecclesie Siluanectensis* there is no discussion of payment by day or by form.[48] Contracts relating to books yet to be printed generally stipulated payment in terms of the number of days work required, calculated according to the length of the book and the number of sheets that could be completed in a day. For example a missal for the use of Liège (which will be considered below) was billed at 35 *sous tournois* per day of four forms printed 650 times each.[49] In the light of Fillon's apparent wealth, his position and influence, the exacting instructions to Didier Maheu are hardly surprising.

The movement of books: François Regnault

The contract with Fillon is a very unusual survival; it is comparatively seldom that we are able to describe the origins of a publishing project in such detail. It brings home the extraordinarily large sums of money required to bring to fruition these complex and lavish publishing projects. To flourish in this part of the Parisian market often required that publishers and booksellers be able to put their hands on very considerable sums of

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[47] Du Boulay, *Historia universitatis parisiensis* 6 vols (Paris: Petrus de Bresche, 1673), PDF available online: http://www.documentacatholicaomnia.eu/25_90_1601-1678-_Du_Boulay.html *Documenta Catholica Omnia*, p. 129-130.

[48] Ecclesia Catholica - Missale – Senlis, *Ad Dei omnipotentis laudem Missale ad usum et consuetundinem insignis ecclesie Siluanectensis* (Paris: Didier Maheu, 1524), USTC 184430; Ernest Coyecque, 'Inventaire sommaire d'un minutier Parisien pendant le cours du XVIe siecle (IX. 1er avril 1522 – 11 mai 1523. Pierre Crozon)' in *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France* (Paris: H. Champion, 1893), vol. 20, p. 133.

[49] USTC 184700; i.e. in this instance the compositor sets out the pages, which are then tied into one form. The pressman then places the form on the press and runs off 650 copies. This process is repeated four times per day. These 2,600 impressions would require 1,300 sheets of paper.

investment capital. This much is clear from another unusual survival, a contract for the purchase of stock concluded between two wealthy bookmen, Jean Frellon and François Regnault. On 12 March 1522 Regnault commissioned Frellon to provide him with 800 books, in lots of 100 or 200. Although these represent very sizeable consignments, several of the titles mentioned in this contract cannot be traced in any surviving copy.

The lost editions include the *Somma angelica* (of which Regnault requested 100 copies), Franciscus Lichetus, *Opera* (of which Regnault requested 100 copies), and Tancretus Bononiensis, *Opera* (of which Regnault also requested 100). In addition there were no Frellon/Regnault editions of the *Breviarium Romanum* 'en petit vol.' (of which Regnault requested 200 copies) although this could describe an octavo printed by Kerver. There was also no Frellon/Regnault edition of Joannis Major, *Quartus sententiarum* but there was a folio edition by Le Mesnier printed in 1521. Two of the requests were for works printed for Jean Frellon: John Bassol *Opera, in quatuor sententiarum libros* (Paris: Nicolas des Prez sumptibus François Regnault; venundantur Jean Frellon, [1516]) (again, 100 for Regnault) and Johannis Duns Scotus, *Commentaria In duodecim libros metaphisice Aristotelis cum duplici textu Argiropili et Boecii* (Paris: Pierre Vidoue for Jean Frellon, 1520) (another 100 requested by Regnault).

For these books, which were mostly in folio, Regnault was to pay 500 *livres tournois*. What remains unclear is where he planned to sell them. Regnault had business interests in Paris, London and Rouen; he may have been dividing his time between Paris and Rouen, then perhaps travelling on to London or Southampton.[50] Colophons in the books printed at his expense in Rouen describe him as 'an honest bookseller' of the

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[50] Elizabeth Armstong posits that booksellers of Paris and Rouen would have used both London and Southampton in 'English Purchases of Printed Books from the Continent 1465-1526,' *The English Historical Review*, Vol. 94, No. 371 (Oxford University Press: Apr., 1979), p. 275-6.

University of Paris, or even just an honest man 'Impensis honestissimi viri Francisci Regnault'.[51] He certainly had a shop in Paris but there is limited evidence of actual retail space in London or Rouen.[52] The 70 colophons I have examined only list his address on the rue Saint Jacques in Paris. His involvement with the English book market was primarily through the Cologne bookseller Franz Birckman in London (Birckman's headquarters were in Antwerp but he also had bookshops in London and Cologne) and through Pierre Olivier in Rouen.[53]

In total, Regnault published five breviaries for the use of Salisbury, three of which were printed in Paris, two in Rouen. In addition he published five books of hours for the use of Salisbury, one printed in Rouen the others in Paris. There were also two missals for the use of Salisbury (Paris and Rouen one a piece) and a Gradual for Salisbury use printed in Paris. Quite understandably, a strong proportion of his liturgical books destined for the English market were printed in Rouen.

In chapter three we saw how Antoine Vérard tried - and failed - to gain a foothold in the English market. Using a more nuanced and culturally-sensitive approach, François Regnault had considerable success. He had a keen sense of the expectations and desires of his clientele. His Parisian publications for Salisbury use are amongst his grandest. In this they conform to the image of the Paris book industry as creators of some of the finest books in Europe. An example of this is his 1534 folio missal for the use of Salisbury. It is an extravagant and very English book.[54] The title page has at its

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[51] For example: Gratianus, *Decretum aureum* (Rouen: Pierre Olivier: François Regnault,1519 (=1520)), f. 412, USTC 145043; or 'impensis honesti viri Francisci Regnault, alme Universitatis Parisiensis librarii' in the colophon of Johann Herolt, *Sermones de tempore et sanctis* (Rouen: Pierre Violette: François Regnault, 1513) f. 348 USTC 111392.
[52] Renouard, *Répertoire des Imprimeurs Parisiens* (Paris: M. J. Minard, 1965), pp. 362-634.
[53] Magnus Williamson, 'Affordable splendour: editing, printing and marketing the Sarum Antiphoner (1519-20)' *Renaissance Studies*, vol. 26, no. 1, p. 70; E. Gordon Duff, *The Printers, Stationers and Bookbinders of Westminster and London from 1476 to 1535* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1906), 194–6 and 217–18.
[54] Ecclesia Catholica - Missale – Salisbury, *Missale ad usum ecclesie Sarisburiensis. M.D.xxxliij* (Paris: impressum François Regnault, 1534) USTC 139185.

centre the Royal Arms of England, the Tudor rose and Saint George slaying the dragon. An elaborate border surrounds these woodcuts: the top panel depicts God, the four corners symbolise the four evangelists, the side panels are scenes from the life of Christ and the base shows Christ and his disciples (with Judas absent) at the Last Supper. The copy in the St Andrews University Library was donated to the university within 30 years of printing.[55]

Whilst it is natural to assume that these woodcuts were made in Paris, given their English theme it is possible that they were made in England and sent to Paris. This was certainly the case for some booksellers' devices, such as that in Wolfgang Hopyl's diurnal for Salisbury use which has been examined closely by David Shaw.[56] The absence of this device (representing the bookseller Henri Jacobi) in Renouard's great *Répertoire* suggests that continued explorations by bibliographers like Shaw could yield further examples.[57] Other printers and booksellers of London - William Bretton and Joyce Pelgrim - were also involved with Henri Jacobi's Parisian trade.[58] That said, the quality of the woodcuts in the St Andrews missal do suggest they were the work of a Parisian shop. At this date the capacity of English publishers to acquire locally woodcuts of this quality was very limited, and they were far more likely to look to French or Flemish workmen for work of this quality and iconographic sophistication.[59]

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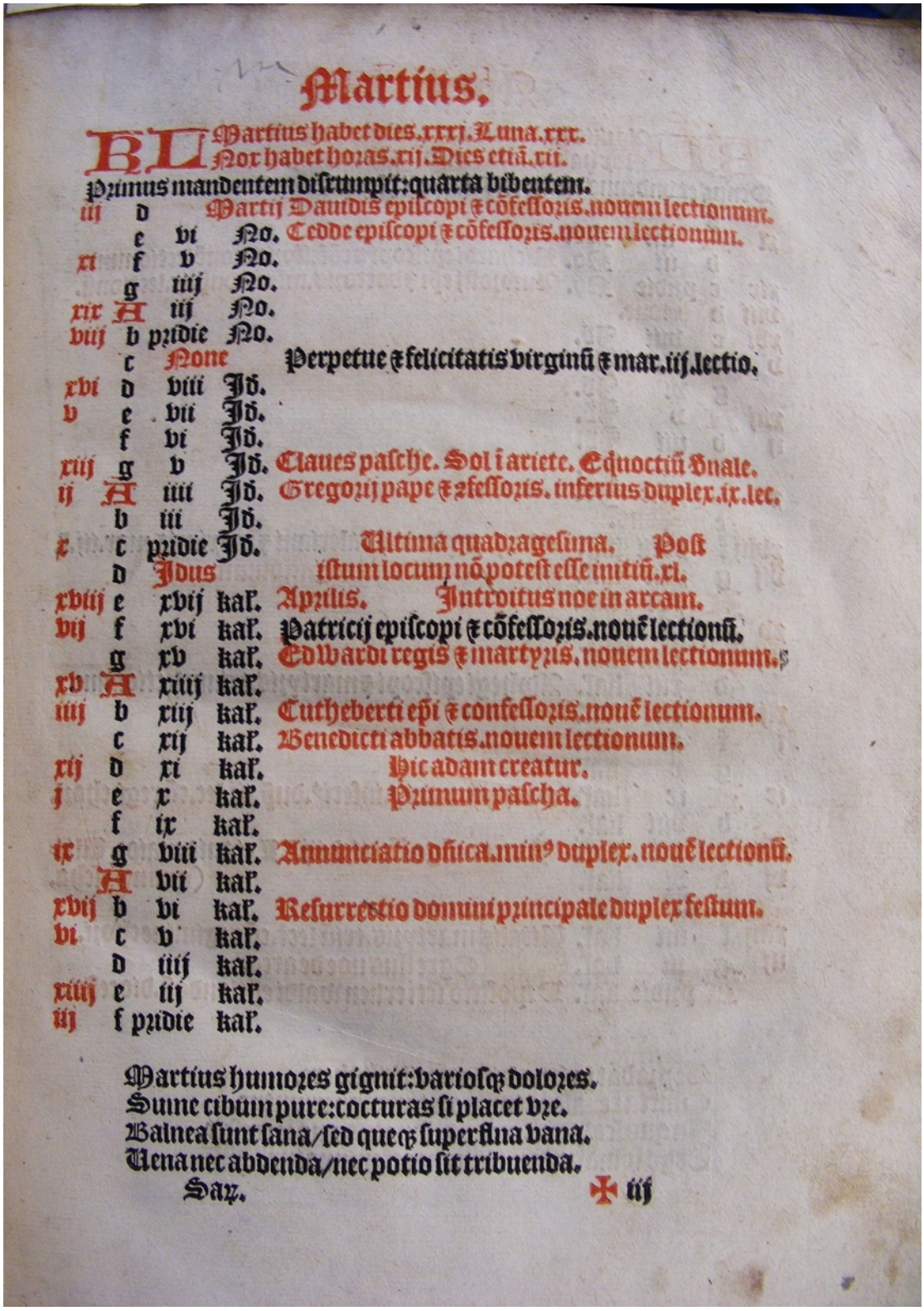
[55] It was presented by John Stewart, commendator of the priory of Coldingham, who died in 1563. Roy BX2015.S2B34; on the arrival of printed books from abroad see Elizabeth Armstrong, 'English Purchases of Printed Books from the Continent', pp. 274, 275-276, 277, 280, 281, 284, 285 and 289.
[56] David Shaw, 'Bibliographical Note: An English bookseller's device used in Paris in *c.* 1512' *The Library*, 7th series, vol. 11, no. 4 (December 2010). The device: Ronald B. McKerrow, *Printers' & Publishers' devices in England & Scotland 1485-1640* (London: 1913), p. 20 and plate 57. See also: E. G. Duff, *A Century of the English Book Trade* (London: 1905, repr. 1948), p. 14; STC, III, p. 21.
[57] Philippe Renouard, *Répertoire des imprimeurs parisiens, librairies, fondeurs de caractères, et correcteurs d'imprimerie depuis l'introduction de l'Imprimerie à Paris (1470) jusqu'à la fin du XVIe siècle* (Paris: 1965), p. 214; Shaw 'Bibliographical Note', p. 470.
[58] C. Paul Christianson, 'The rise of London's book-trade', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, vol. 3: 1400-1557, edited by Lotte Helinga and J. B. Trapp (Cambridge, 1999), p. 142.
[59] For examples see Ruth Samson Luborsky and Elizabeth Morley Ingram, *A Guide to English Illustrated Books, 1536-1603* (Tempe: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1998).

Figure 4.3: Title page of *Missale ad usum ecclesie Sarisburiensis. M.D.xxxliij* (Paris: impressum François Regnault, 1534)

The St Andrews missal is a work of quite astonishing craftmanship. There is the typical calendar, complete with advice on the humours but lacking gold leaf:



Martius.

BL Martius habet dies.xxxj.Luna.xxx.
Nor habet horas.xij.Dies etiã.xii.

Primus mandentem disrumpit:quarta bibentem.

iij d Martij Dauidis episcopi ⁊ cõfessoris.nouem lectionum.
e vi No. Ceddæ episcopi ⁊ cõfessoris.nouem lectionum.
xi f v No.
g iiij No.
xix A iij No.
viij b pridie No.
c None Perpetue ⁊ felicitatis virginũ ⁊ mar.iij.lectio.
xvi d viii Id.
v e vii Id.
f vi Id.
xiij g v Id. Claues paschæ. Sol i ariete. Æquoctiũ vnale.
ij A iiii Id. Gregorij pape ⁊ cõfessoris. inferius duplex.ix.lec.
b iii Id.
x c pridie Id. Ultima quadragesima. Post
d Idus istum locum nõ potest esse imtiũ.xl.
xviij e xvij kal. Aprilis. Introitus noe in arcam.
vij f xvi kal. Patricij episcopi ⁊ cõfessoris.nouẽ lectionũ.
g xv kal. Edwardi regis ⁊ martyris.nouem lectionum.
xv A xiiij kal.
iiij b xiij kal. Cuthberti epi ⁊ confessoris.nouẽ lectionum.
c xij kal. Benedicti abbatis.nouem lectionum.
xij d xi kal. Hic adam creatur.
j e x kal. Primum pascha.
f ix kal.
ix g viii kal. Annunciatio dñica.minꝰ duplex.nouẽ lectionũ.
A vii kal.
xvij b vi kal. Resurrectio domini principale duplex festum.
vi c v kal.
d iiij kal.
xiiij e iij kal.
iij f pridie kal.

Martius humores gignit:varioscz dolores.
Sume cibum pure:cocturas si placet vre.
Balnea sunt sana/sed quecz superflua vana.
Uena nec abdenda/nec potio sit tribuenda.
Say. ✠ iij

Figure 4.4: 'March' from *Missale ad usum ecclesie Sarisburiensis. M.D.xxxliij* (Paris: impressum François Regnault, 1534)

The use of red ink is generally reserved for embellishment, but at times strays into extravagance:

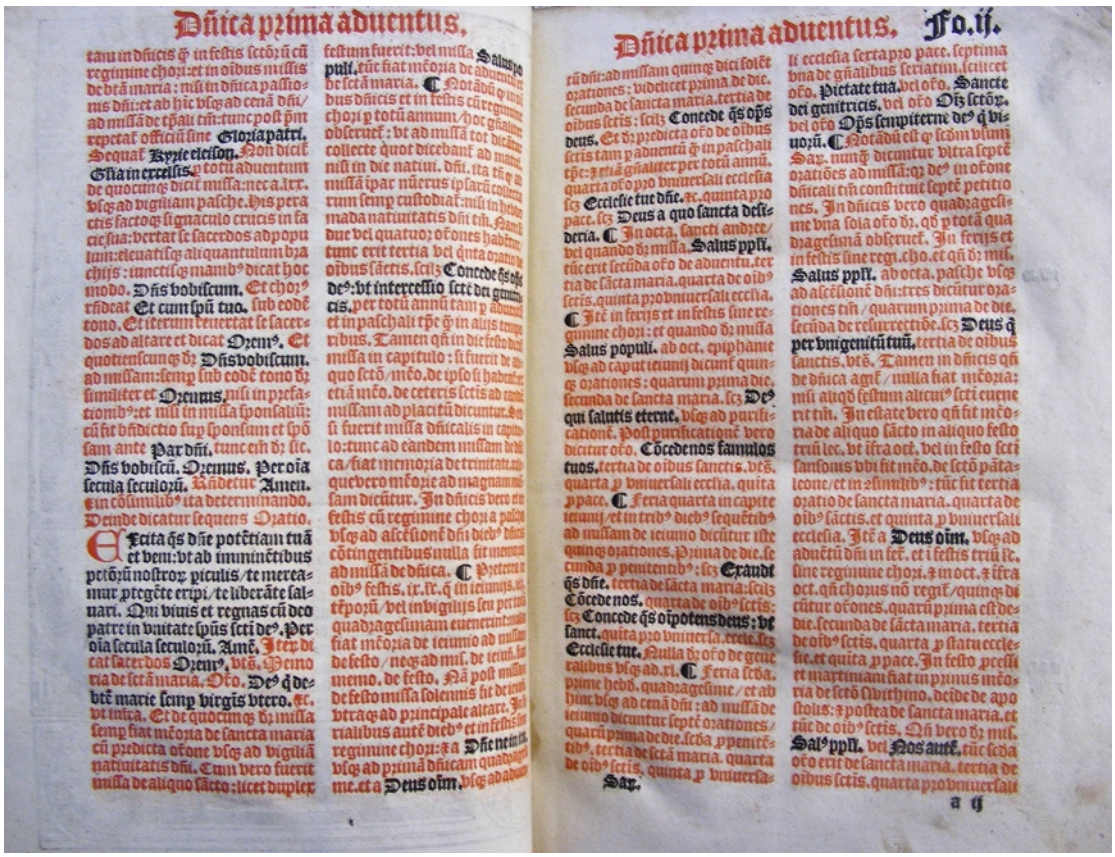


Figure 4.5: Rubrication in *Missale ad usum ecclesie Sarisburiensis. M.D.xxxliij* (Paris: impressum François Regnault, 1534)

The music and text sit comfortably together; each line of musical notation is made up of seven small blocks, not always precisely aligned. Though on a 'grand scale', this is not quite the 'virtuoso typesetting' described by Magnus Williamson in his close examination of Hopyl's *Antiphonale ad usum ecclesie Sarum politissimis imaginibus decoratum* (printed at the expense of Franz Birckman for sale in London). Hopyl and Regnault did though use the same – or similar – type for musical notation, Hopyl using 14 small blocks across a full page to Regnault's seven over a half page.[60] Each sheet containing red and black ink would require two impressions, each one containing music

[60] Williamson, Magnus, 'Affordable splendour: editing, printing and marketing the Sarum Antiphoner (1519-20)' *Renaissance Studies,* vol. 26, no. 1, p. 68.

(rubricated) up to three or four depending on the skill of the compositor and the technicality of the page.

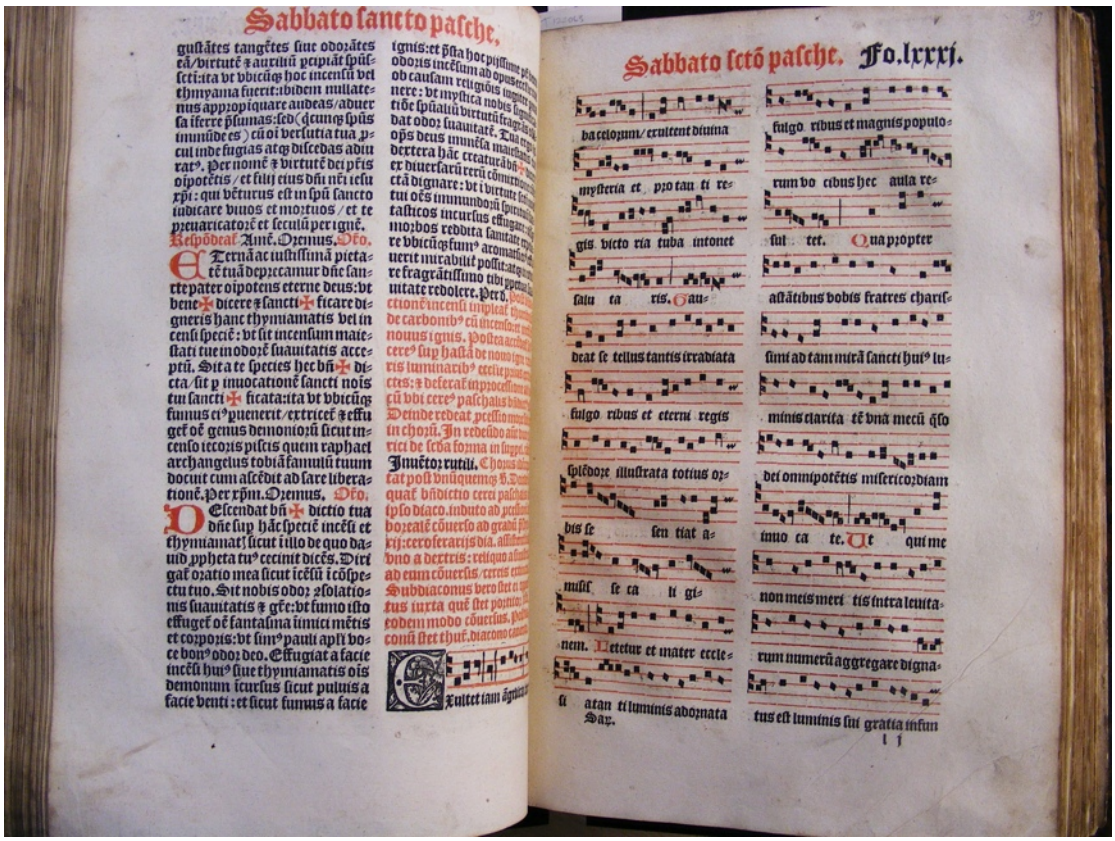


Figure 4.6: Rubricated text and musical notion in *Missale ad usum ecclesie Sarisburiensis. M.D.xxxliij* (Paris: impressum François Regnault, 1534)

The contractions at the end of the lines require a fairly high standard of Latin from the singers.

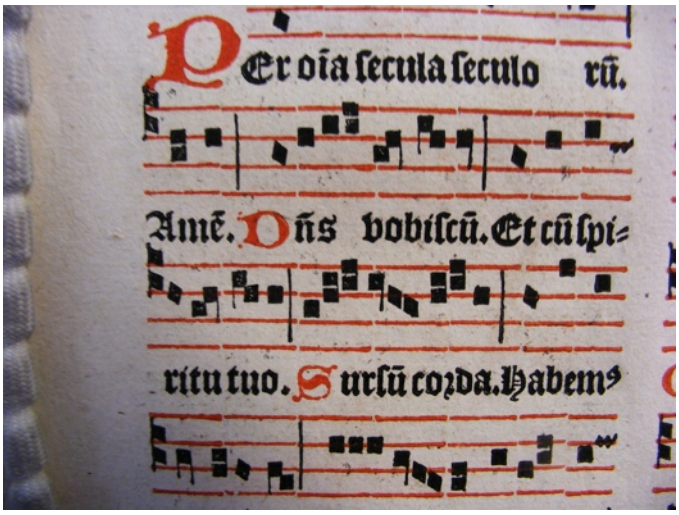


Figure 4.7: Contractions within the musical notion in *Missale ad usum ecclesie Sarisburiensis. M.D.xxxliij* (Paris: impressum François Regnault, 1534)

Slight alignment issues, not easily identified with the naked eye, aside, this is a finely made book with a plethora of initials, historiated initials and woodcuts of all sizes.

Figure 4.8: Woodcut of St Andrew in *Missale ad usum ecclesie Sarisburiensis. M.D.xxxliij* (Paris: impressum François Regnault, 1534), part II, f. I

Figure 4.9: Woodcut and illuminated letter in *Missale ad usum ecclesie Sarisburiensis. M.D.xxxliij* (Paris: impressum François Regnault, 1534), Part II, f. lxi^{v}

Figure 4.10: Woodcut and illuminated letter in *Missale ad usum ecclesie Sarisburiensis. M.D.xxxliij* (Paris: impressum François Regnault, 1534), Part II, f. xl

As would be expected in a work of 304 leaves, many woodcuts make repeat appearances:

Figure 4.11: Repeated use of the same woocuts in *Missale ad usum ecclesie Sarisburiensis. M.D.xxxliij* (Paris: impressum François Regnault, 1534)

The Canon, below, is offset against a full-page image of the Crucified Christ, by contrast, Saint Andrew, above, occupies a quarter page. Of the many other images

throughout, the majority sit within the text. As is typical, the Canon has been printed on parchment (the rest of the St Andrews copy is otherwise on paper), perhaps to protect against heavy use. The Canon in the St Andrews copy has in fact required some recent care (seen below), as has the binding, evidence of use more than neglect.[61]

Figure 4.12: Parchment insert of the Canon in *Missale ad usum ecclesie Sarisburiensis. M.D.xxxliij* (Paris: impressum François Regnault, 1534)

Overall this is a fine edition, partially Anglicised but still proud of its Parisian origins

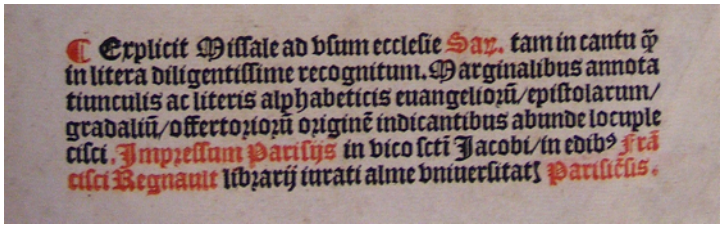


Figure 4.13: Rubricated colophon in *Missale ad usum ecclesie Sarisburiensis. M.D.xxxliij* (Paris: impressum François Regnault, 1534)

[61] The binding was repaired in March 1961 by DC and Son. The binder's note has been pasted onto the back board.

The presence of this book in St Andrews, so close to the date of publication, is a further demonstration of the extraordinary reach of the market developed by Parisian bookmen across north western Europe, from Scotland to Denmark and Sweden. Their exceptional ability to undertake such complex and lavish books, and to underwrite the necessary costs, gave the Paris industry a clear supremacy in a market where print had mastered the considerable technical difficulties of a type of book where the manuscript era had set a demanding standard for aesthetic quality and design complexity.

Louis Royer and merchants for the Spanish Market

Whilst Regnault's coup with the English market (and the Scottish) was impressive, a Parisian bookseller sending books to Spain was even more so. Lyon was much nearer to Spain and consequently supplied far more books to the country than Paris did. Yet one little-known Parisian, Louis Royer, achieved some success with books printed by Thielman Kever, and later Kerver's widow, Yolande Bonhomme. However they were not sent directly to Spain (Royer was unlikely to have had the necessary contacts). Instead they would be purchased by a middle man.

Louis Royer, a merchant bookseller and bourgeois of Paris agreed to send 1,200 books of hours to Guillaume Bellandeau, merchant of Tours.[62] The books, following Roman usage, were in Spanish: *Las horas de nuestra Señora*.[63] There was a time lapse between printing (7 May) and the visit to the notary with Bellandeau (27 October), which may hint at some of the difficulties of this very unusual project. Spanish books were printed in Paris, but not in large numbers: nine books of hours, a life of Lazarillo de Tormes, Antonio de Guevara's didactic, pseudo-historical novel *Libro aureo de Marco Aurelio*, and a *Tabla de Cebetes en Castellano* form the full corpus of Spanish

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[62] Ernest Coyecque, 'Inventaire, sommaire d'un minutier Parisien pendant le cours du XVIe siecle (XIII. 6 April 1526-18 June 1527 – Pierre Cròzon)' in *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France* (Paris: H. Champion, 1894), vol. 21, pp. 50-51.

[63] Ecclesia Catholica - Horae – Roma, *Las Horas de nvestra Señora [segun la orden Romana]* (Paris: Yolande Bonhomme: [Louis Royer], 1526), USTC 184579.

books printed in Paris in the first four decades of the sixteenth century. Half of these books (all Hours) were printed by Thielman Kerver and, after his death, his widow Yolande Bonhomme. The notary recorded few details, the only conditions being that the books were in Spanish and that 14 *livres* and ten *sous tournois* would be paid per 100 copies.

Louis Royer does not feature heavily in any bibliography: only eight books have been attributed to him as a bookseller (six hours for the use of Rome, one for Tours and an edition of *Le quinze effusions*) but he serves as a caution against measuring a man's career by what has survived the centuries. There may have been one or two more editions, since lost to us, and there were certainly others which he played a key role in bringing to the market – the Spanish hours being an example of that.[64]

Renouard suggests that Royer's career began in 1515 and lasted until his death in 1524 when his widow succeeded him.[65] She worked under the name of the first husband she had survived, as veuve de Jean de Brie and, publishing in French, added works by Luther and Ambroise Paré to her stable. This did little to extend Louis Royer's legacy. In addition, of Royer's seven children only one was male and he altered his name.[66] Jean Le Royer was born in the year of his father's death; so was not in a position to take over the shop. Widows like Agnès Sucevin were often left their late husband's shop and stock, making them highly desirable to single men within the trade, or those, like Josse Bade, looking to start up a business of their own. Agnès Sucevin was a widow with resources: she passed de Brie's shop and stock on to Louis Royer in 1524.

Despite his apparent lack of importance in the industry, an inventory made 6 days after the death of Louis Royer on 1 February 1528 mentions woodcuts and other

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[64] Printed by Yolande Bonhomme see footnote above.
[65] Renouard, *Répertoire*, pp. 384-385.
[66] The small addition of 'Le' to Royer changed his position in bibliographies, marooning his father under 'R'.

printing materials – perhaps de Brie's via his widow – as well as a number of expensive pieces of art, primarily pious in subject. He also had a fine book of hours on parchment, which was historiated and illuminated.[67]

Returning to his son in 1554 we find a royal printer of mathematics, working on the rue Saint Jacques, as his father had done. Louis Royer is nowhere called a printer, always a merchant bookseller, but his possessions at death and the subsequent career of his young son all suggest that, although not a printer, he was involved in the printing side of the industry as well as the bookselling.

Royer appears to have commissioned the Spanish Hours from Yolande Bonhomme and held on to them for nearly six months before selling them on. Bonhomme was too astute a printer to print without a buyer, so it is probable that Royer had agreed to foot the bill and despatch the books to their Spanish customer. In the early sixteenth century the demand for books in Spain exceeded the output and many books arrived from nearby Lyon, but also from Paris, Antwerp, Basel and Venice.[68] Royer may have had the Tours merchant Bellandeau in mind or have been approached by him in advance – the time lapse being explained by Bellandeau's absence from Paris. The limited number of Spanish language books published in Paris obscures the true number of books travelling out of France to Spain as Latin, being a *lingua franca*, offers no clues to its destination. We can though be fairly sure that a number of the Latin hours for the use of Rome were destined for the Iberian peninsular.[69]

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[67] Ernest Coyecque, 'Inventaire sommaire d'un minutier Parisien pendant le cours du XVIe siecle (1498-1518. Jean Crozon, 1518-1528. Pierre Crozon)' in *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France* (Paris: H. Champion, 1893), vol. 20, p. 56.
[68] William Pettas, 'A sixteenth century Spanish bookstore: the inventory of Juan de Junta', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* (New Series, Vol. 85, No. 1 (1995)), p. 1.
[69] There are certainly many in the major collections, but a full survey of their provenances is beyond the current study.

Provincial Markets

The foreign markets discussed above, in Spain, England, Scotland and northern Europe were important for Parisian bookmen, who also enjoyed strong sales across the northern border in the low countries. But the most important external market by far was in France itself. Paris printers and booksellers played a dominant role in the supply of books to cities and towns across a wide swathe of northern France. The extent of this trade can be concealed by the fact that it is often the names of their local clients, rather than the Parisian providers which are printed on the title page. But the Parisian suppliers were absolutely crucial.

In 1518 Jean Kerbriant, Jean Adam and Jean Bienayse worked together to print a breviary for the use of Nantes.[70] On 26 February it was agreed that 700 copies would be purchased by a cooperative of booksellers, Olivier Gannereau and Antoine Papolin of Nantes and Charles de Bougne a bookseller of Angers.[71] Earlier in the century Guillaume Larcher, a publisher based in Nantes, had printed a missal for the use of Nantes in Nantes itself but it was nearly nine decades before the next Latin missal was printed there. So in 1518 the three Nantes booksellers looked towards Paris. However in 1520 they gave their business to Merlin Morin of Rouen, when, along with Michel Papolin, they put up the money for the *Missale ad usum insignis ecclesie Nannetensis*.[72] Although they seem to have been perfectly happy with the 1518 breviary they did not always look to Paris to commission liturgical books, although Paris supplied the majority of Nantes' liturgical books.[73] However they did return to Paris for a reprint of

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[70] *Breviarium Nannetense* (Paris: Jean Adam, Jean Bienayse & Jean Kerbriant [for] Olivier Ganereau & Antoine Papolin (Nantes), [Charles de Bougne (Angers)], 1518).
[71] Ernest Coyecque, 'Inventaire sommaire d'un minutier Parisien pendant le cours du XVIe siecle (1498-1518. Jean Crozon, 1518-1528. Pierre Crozon)' in *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France* (Paris: H. Champion, 1893), vol. 20, p. 43.
[72] *Missale ad usum insignis ecclesie Nannetensis* (Rouen: Michel Morin: Antoine Papolin (Nantes), Michel Papolin (Nantes), Olivier Gannereau (Nantes), Robert Gannereau (Nantes) & Charles de Bougne (Angers), 1520), USTC 111330.
[73] Of the seven missals and breviaries for the use of Nantes (1501-1588) four were printed in Paris. Two were printed in Nantes and one in Rouen.

the 1518 breviary in 1524. That reprint may have been a very large print run as Paris's Enguilbert de Marnef and Robert Gannereau joined them in the enterprise, bringing the total number of booksellers funding the venture to five.

Mathurin de Fresnes a bookseller of Sens commissioned a book of hours for the use of Sens from the Parisian printer Nicolas Higman on 25 May 1524. Fresnes would pay Higman 30 *sous tournois* per day for which Higman's printing house printed 750 copies of 3 forms (2250 sheets per day). Fresnes also requested the inclusion of the *Statuta synodalia* and that the whole be printed in 'lettres bâtardes'.[74] Higman's liturgical books, edited by Nicolas Du Puy, were known in Sens by his earlier (1515 and 1519) breviaries for the use of the diocese, one of which – newly revised – hints at an earlier edition which did not come down to us.[75] There are likewise no surviving copies of the 1524 books of hours for Fresnes.

The merchant bookseller, printer and bourgeois of Paris, Nicolas Prévost made a similar contract with two booksellers.[76] This time one was the Parisian Ambroise Girault, the other Macé Virois of Issoudun. Of particular interest is the stipulation that the work be completed by 15 April, six days before Easter Sunday. If the booksellers were expecting an upsurge in sales of missals at Easter then Macé Virois must have been confident that the books could be shipped from Paris to Issoudun – within the diocese of Bourges, very close to Bourges itself – within six days.[77] The two booksellers split the cost of the missal for the use of Bourges; they also provided the paper and the red and black ink. They agreed to pay 40 *sous tournois* for 600 copies each of four

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[74] Ernest Coyecque, 'Inventaire sommaire d'un minutier Parisien pendant le cours du XVIe siecle (IX. 1er avril 1522 – 11 mai 1523. Pierre Crozon)' in *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de Paris et de I'Ile-de-France* (Paris: H. Champion, 1893), vol. 20, p. 131.
[75] *Breviarium secundum usum Senonensem noviter revisum* (Paris: Nicolas Higman: Simon Vostre, 1515), USTC 183523; *Breviarium Senonense emendatum et revisum cura et studio* (Paris: Nicolas Higman, 1519), USTC 186841.
[76] Transcribed in Ernest Coyecque, 'Inventaire, sommaire d'un minutier Parisien pendant le cours du XVIe siecle (XIII. 6 April 1526-18 June 1527 – Pierre Cròzon)' in *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France* (Paris: H. Champion, 1894), vol. 21, pp. 42.
[77] A moveable feast, Easter Sunday in 1527 was on 21 April.

forms a day. This is a higher output than had been expected of Higman two and a half years earlier. This could reflect the fact that as the work was in red and black ink some sheets required two impressions.

However, eight months later the expectation of the number of sheets that could be printed per day had risen again – from 2,400 to 2,600. They must have achieved this either through more efficient techniques or through an increase in the number of presses and personnel in each printing house. Virois and Girault were though paying more, for a lower output, than a distant colleague would pay the following year.

Henri Terbroug, a merchant bookseller of Arnheim, agreed a fee of 35 *sous tournois* per day for 650 copies of four forms for a missal for the use of Liège in 1527.[78] He supplied the printers – Didier Maheu and Jean Kerbriant – with paper. This was, like the Bourges missal, rubricated, and required by a specific date (by Saint Rémi, whose feast day is 1 October). Rather in the style of the bishop of Senlis, they were to follow the text of the copy provided by Terbroug. There is no indication as to which copy this was, though it was most probably based on one of Wolfgang Hopyl's earlier folio missals, which had dominated the market since 1508.[79]

Terbroug was by no means a naïve partner in this enterprise: in the 19 June 1527 contract with Maheu and Kerbriant he specified that they must not reprint the same work for the duration of a year. The bookseller was also at pains to insist that the work had been updated and corrected: 'iam recens repurgatum'.[80] Maheu and Kerbriant did

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[78] Ernest Coyecque, 'Inventaire, sommaire d'un minutier Parisien pendant le cours du XVIe siecle (XIV. 24 April 1527 – 11 April 1528 – Pierre Cròzon)' in *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France* (Paris: H. Champion, 1894), vol. 21, pp. 81-82.

[79] Hopyl's missals were printed in 1508, 1509, 1513, 1515 and 1523 – all in folio bar 1509, which was in octavo. His associates in these ventures included Geoffroy de Marnef and Franz Birckman, the latter working from London and Cologne. In addition there was a single incunable edition by Jean Higman in 1499 and later two editions without named printers in 1517 and 1557 (both folios) and one by Jean Hérouf for Valerianus Noël of Mons in 1527 (an octavo). A detailed examination of the text of the Hopyl editions and of the Maheu/Kerbriant is beyond the remit – and capacity – of the current study.

[80] See title page of *Missale ad usum insignis ecclesie Leodiensis jam recens repurgatum* (Paris: Jean Kerbiant and Didier Maheu: [Henri Terbroug], 1527), USTC 184700.

print two other missals together in 1527, one for the use of Evreux, the other for Clermont-Ferrand – St Flour.[81] Both were in partnership with provincial booksellers. The combination of what seem quite small print runs and Terbroug's insistence that they not reprint the same work suggests that printers may have made a habit of running off a few hundred additional copies when they had a commission. Terbrough was clearly determined that this should not happen in his case.

Not all liturgical books were for specific local uses. Books for the use of Rome were used in a wide variety of locations and those for specific religious orders were also supplied to religious houses all over Europe. An example is the presence of a breviary for the use of the Cistercians in a Spanish bookstore, which could have been Thielman Kerver's *Breviarium Cisterciense*.[82] Often, although not always, the booksellers of a particular region looked to Paris for all of their liturgical and devotional works.

Unlike their counterparts in Nantes, all the Liège Latin missals, hours and breviaries of the sixteenth century were printed in Paris. This may explain why Terbroug of Arnheim looked to Paris for his missals, although why he was involved with Liège remains a mystery.

Wolfgang Hopyl was also heavily involved in this part of the market. He was succeeded by his son in law Nicolas Prévost.[83] Prévost followed Hopyl in both style and content, often reprinting Hopyl's editions multiple times with limited, or no, changes.[84] Prévost had inherited Hopyl's fine woodcut decorations along with the press and appears to have had instruction in how best to use it, although a lack of confidence

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[81] *Missale ad consuetudinem insignis ecclesie Ebroicensis* (Paris: Jean Kerbriant & Didier Maheu: Jean Petit (Paris); Jean Foucher (Evreux) & Louis Bouvet (Rouen), 1527) USTC 184698; Thomas Duprat (ed.), *Missale ad laudatissimam ecclesiarum Claromontis ac sancti Flori consuetudinem tersissime repurgatum* (Paris: Jean Kerbriant Didier Maheu; Jean Petit; Jean Durand (Clermont-Ferrand), 1527), USTC 184697.
[82] William Pettas, 'A Sixteenth-Century Spanish Bookstore: The Inventory of Juan de Junta,' *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, New Series, Vol. 85, No. 1 (American Philosophical Society, 1995), p. 41.
[83] Williamson, 'Affordable Splendour', p. 68.
[84] Ibid., p. 71.

might be detected in the whole scale reproduction of Hopyl editions. Nevertheless he was trusted with new liturgical projects: mid June, 1529, Prévost agreed to a detailed, but small, printing job for Nicolas Musnier, director general of the order of the Holy Trinity.[85]

Prévost was to print a little over 300 copies of a missal for the use of the order of the Holy Trinity, which was to include a history of the order. The text for the history was to be provided by Musnier but it was left to the printer to source and buy the paper, parchment and ink (red and black is specified).[86] Payment was set at three *denier tournois* per sheet printed on paper and six *denier tournois* per form on parchment. 300 copies were to be printed on paper and six or seven on parchment. The leeway given for the parchment copies is peculiar; it may reflect perceived difficulties in acquisition or indecision on the part of Musnier. The parchment copies would most probably have been intended as gifts or presentation copies, so it is strange that Musnier did not know how many he needed, but then it would also be strange to find a printer of Prévost's standing unable to procure parchment for a seventh copy. There is almost certainly more to their agreement than was written down by the notary. A more probable situation is that Musnier had a particular cost in mind: if the parchment was relatively cheap he would be generous with his gifts, if not Prévost was to hold back. In any case, and as has been the case for many of these contracts, many of the smaller details – which must have been thrashed out between the parties – were not specified in the notarial records.

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[85] Ernest Coyecque, 'Inventaire, sommaire d'un minutier Parisien pendant le cours du XVIe siecle (XV. 13 April 1528 – 27 March 1529 – Pierre Cròzon)' in *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de Paris et de I'Ile-de-France* (Paris: H. Champion, 1894), vol. 21, p. 183.

[86] This is not explicitly stated and can therefore be assumed as it is only mentioned when the bookseller is providing the materials to the printer. Further in this instance, Musnier is not directly involved in the book trade and cannot therefore be assumed to have the necessary contacts (nor the experience) to order paper and ink. The payment per sheet is also higher when printing on parchment, implying that Prévost was footing the cost of the materials.

The detail provided by these transactions is extremely useful in drawing out the typical trading practices of printers, publishers and booksellers. They help towards an understanding of how the Paris industry spread its scope beyond the city walls after once the home market was more or less satisfied.

Paris's good reputation dating back beyond the incunabula period into the era of medieval manuscript production certainly assisted this astonishingly wide spread. The willingness of Parisian publishers to take risks with new markets, together with the wisdom to reduce the risk by spreading jobs among several businesses gave them greater flexibility. In addition relationships with religious orders and with those towards the top of the ecclesiastical hierarchy were carefully nurtured and guarded from competitors. Commissions formed a vital part of the market for devotional printing but the mass market was also important. This wider market also involved expensive books; these copies may have been for a less specific market, but they were not cheap. Indeed the poor man's version of the book of hours was not so much a book as a pamphlet: the little booklet of the Office of our Lady.

The presence of the theology faculty at the Sorbonne may have added further authority to the devotional books of Paris in an increasingly volatile age. In reality of course, prior to the 1520s censorship of religious books, the theology faculty had little influence over the content of these books. It was to the increasing personal piety and religious self-awareness of the laity we can attribute the strong desire to own books of hours.

Despite the efforts of the industry to adapt, the devotional book market declined. The very internationalism which had helped the books flourish - and had worked so well for other genres - endangered these catholic devotional works. Both the rise of Protestantism in neighbouring countries and the instability it introduced into the market

meant a decline in orders from Paris. However the single biggest limitation in the devotional book industry was that the books were designed for perpetuity; their very quality meant that those who had undertaken the expensive purchase would cherish a book that was passed down through the generations as a treasured family possession. It is for this reason that so many have come down to us today: a monument to a print industry of extraordinary technical, and commercial, sophistication.

Chapter V: The Business of Education

The Reformation and French educational reform

The pressure for educational reform began in the second half of the fifteenth century, the movement reaching its zenith at the dawn of the sixteenth. Increasing appeals for change were powered by more than just the rising debate between scholasticism and humanism. Prior to the emergence of new municipal schools there had been no real demand for 'mass education'. Getting an education was a largely private affair of the sons (and sometimes daughters) of the very rich, or a religious vocation. The wealthy could employ a tutor for their children but the poor had to look to the church. The church's limited resources stretched to a handful of scholarships. The expectation was that the scholar would progress into the church; schooling generally involved leaving home but the scholar was typically expected to return to his parish upon completion, or to enter a monastery.

Europe-wide appeals for reform from humanists such as Desiderius Erasmus, Jacques Lefèvre d'Etaples and Juan Luis Vives followed in the footsteps of such intellectual pioneers of the fifteenth century as Lorenzo Valla. They petitioned, primarily, for specific reforms of the curriculum but also for changes in pedagogical methods.

It is no coincidence that the interest in educational reform occurred in parallel with the religious reformation of the sixteenth century: 'Les influences nouvelles qui pénétraient la pensée religieuse et la vie morale, devaient transformer également l'éducation.'[1] Just as the religious reformation experienced a number of false starts,

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[1] Pierre Imbart de La Tour, *Les origines de la Réforme. Vol. 3: L'Évangélisme, 1521-1538* (Paris: Hachette et Cie, 1914), p. 357. Trans: 'the new influences, which penetrated religious and moral life, also had to transform education'. Modern historians examining early modern education look more at general movements and ideas, the 'erudites' of the late-19th and early-20th centuries spent their careers rifling through archives and detailing facts. Hence the importance of Pierre Imbart de La Tour and Ferdinand Buisson (below).

with those responsible for them quickly labelled as heretics or sectarians, so did the reform of education.

Carried by the printing press, Italian humanism began to spread north and west. Since the most cosmopolitan towns had the most successful printing presses, they had the best access to humanist texts. Consequently it was in these towns that the first thriving communities of humanist scholars grew up. In France, Paris and Lyon were at the vanguard, but their influence quickly spread to the smaller towns. The increasing interest in education, or more precisely mass education, saw towns such as Nîmes (around 240km south of Lyon) and Amiens (around 130km north of Paris) inviting teachers from elsewhere, especially Paris. Before this time masters were partly itinerant, moving on to a new town or village when they had exhausted the supply of pupils. The number of children whose parents wanted, and could afford, to have their children educated in a given place was limited. In addition the church levied charges on the master.

The final trigger to act on the suggestions for educational reform was, in many towns, financial. A master offering teaching had charges levied against him for doing so. Both the Church and local authorities felt that they should be the beneficiaries of this fee. Arguments began to boil, both over the money and, by natural progression, control over the masters and the content of their lessons. In Amiens (1477) and Rouen (1469) the two sides fought bitterly for hegemony.[2]

Town and city authorities solved the crisis by setting up their own schools. These free schools were under local authority, not ecclesiastic, control. A consequence of this was that they chose what would be deemed a humanistic curriculum, for the new schools had a new purpose. The children to be schooled were not destined for a life in

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[2] George Huppert, *Public Schools in Renaissance France* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1984), pp. 4-6.

the Church but a life as *gens biens*. The principal at Amiens explains: 'Tout le monde a intérêt que les jeunes gens soient bien instruits, quelque vacation qu'ils prennent avec le temps.'[3]

Ultimately the purpose of education was the desire to create a very particular kind of society. The role of education was to Christianise, moralise and instil culture in the young, whilst also equipping them with the skills required for life. Emanating from first century calls for change when Seneca complained 'Non vitae, sed scholae, discimus' (we do not learn for life but for school), this Christian cultural morality was further developed by writers such as Rabelais who saw education as total personal development.[4] For boys this meant the capacity to exercise their profession well, whilst girls had to be capable of both good household management and of raising Christian children.[5] Indeed the teaching methods of the church were easily adapted to other fields of learning, the repetitions of the catechism for example proved the perfect pedagogical tool.

The belief that education could create a new society, and the desire for such a society, did not occur in isolation from the moves towards religious reform. These parallel processes led to a reconceptualization of personal reform. In addition to a restoration of the spiritual self through baptism, confession and faith, there was a personal reformation of the intellectual and moral self through education. Therefore any attempt to separate religious and educational reforms, when the two occur

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[3] Jean Descaurres, *Oeuvres morales et diversifiées* (Paris: 1584) quoted in George Huppert, *Public Schools in Renaissance France* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1984), p. 32.
[4] Seneca, Richard Gummere (ed.), *Ad Lucilium Epistulae Morales* 106.12, vol. 3 (London: William Heinemann, 1925), p. 222. See also Seneca's assertion that 'otium sine litteris mors est' (leisure without study is death) in Seneca, Richard Gummere (ed.), *Ad Lucilium Epistulae Morales* 82.3/4 (London: William Heinemann, 1920), vol. 2, reprinted 1962, p. 242. In Rabelais's gritty, filthy satire of the education of Gargantua, the giant is taught first by a typical medieval sophist, with disastrous results, then by a renaissance humanist teacher.
[5] Roger Chartier and Dominique Julia and Marie-Madeleine Compère, *L'éducation en France du XVIe au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Société d'édition d'enseignement supérieur, 1976), pp. 3-4; for further information on the educational changes of women within religious establishments c. 1530 and girls in schools 1520-1540 ('une éducation plus moderne de l'esprit') see Pierre Imbart de La Tour, *Les origines de la Réforme. Vol. 3: L'Évangélisme, 1521-1538* (Paris: Hachette et Cie, 1914), pp. 349-352.

simultaneously, is meaningless. If the masses are to read the Bible, they must first learn to read.[6] The complicating factor was a perception that a humanist education would predispose children towards Protestantism. For all this, the fear of evangelisation did not prevent staunch Catholics from sending their children to humanist schools, nor did it prevent Catholic municipalities, who had declared themselves against the new heresies, from setting them up.[7] In 1537 Nîmes brought in Ymbert Pécolet, a man known for his involvement in the new religion.[8]

Just as there was an expanding market for masters of the liberal arts who had gained their qualifications in Paris, there was an expanding market for textbooks.[9] With rising numbers of children in education at the turn of the century it is perhaps unsurprising that the number of active universities in Europe rose from 66 in 1500 to 84 in 1540.[10] The university itself was of course not a new phenomenon, Bologna, the first university in Europe was founded in the twelfth century; Paris, Montpellier, Oxford and Cambridge followed a few decades later at the beginning of the thirteenth century. However it was in the sixteenth century that European universities experienced the most significant changes in teaching practices and curricula.

These changes are typically considered within the frame of the printing-expedited spread of humanism, and the hunt for textual integrity spurred on by the cry '*ad fontes*' (to the sources). The involvement of humanism and humanist texts in schools induced fear of evangelisation; some university scholars felt the same anxiety but also feared for their very way of life, their way of thinking.

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[6] Pierre Imbart de La Tour, *Les origines de la Réforme. Vol. 3: L'Évangélisme, 1521-1538* (Paris: Hachette et Cie, 1914), p. 55.
[7] Imbart de La Tour, *Les origines de la Réforme*, p. 359.
[8] Ibid., p. 359.
[9] Huppert, *Public Schools in Renaissance France*, pp. 15-16.
[10] A total of 73 institutions had been founded by 1500 but some had been merged together, others suppressed. See Willem Frijhoff, 'Patterns' in Hilde de Ridder-Symoens (ed.) *A History of the University in Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), vol. 2 p. 95.

It was against this tumultuous backdrop that three educational reformers, all humanists, all highly respected and all widely read across Europe entered into a debate over which authors and texts should be used for teaching. At the centre of this debate was the question of which texts were both useful and suitable for young minds, and which were either no longer useful, or potentially harmful. The new humanist academics were, potentially, in a perfect position to implement these changes within the university walls. By looking at the impact of the proposed reforms on the Parisian book market we can see the extent to which they did.

Educational reform and the Paris printing industry

At the forefront of the increasing interest in educational reform in Europe at the beginning of the sixteenth century were three writers: Desiderius Erasmus (1466-1536), Jacques Lefèvre d'Etaples (c. 1460-1536) and Juan Luis Vives (6 March 1492- 6 May 1540).[11] They wrote treatises on the methods of education and supplied recommended syllabi, but despite the high publication figures enjoyed by these authors, their syllabus recommendations were not always acted upon.

There is much to be gained from in-depth, literary studies of individual (and collective) works on educational reform from this period, but whilst they tell us about the theories of their authors they do not tell us if they led to any real changes in practice.[12] Manuscript marginalia, both in the books containing the suggested curricula and in the suggested books themselves, are interesting but limited, and statutes relating

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[11] Harry Vredeveld, 'The Ages of Erasmus and the Year of his Birth', *Renaissance Quarterly* 46 (1993), pp. 754-809. The date of Erasmus' birth is much debated. Erasmus' own contemporaries' estimates ranged from 1464 to 1468. 1466 seems more likely as Erasmus' later claim to Pope Leo X that he was only 16 when made to enter Steyn monastery (making his year of birth 1467) was designed to highlight his youth. Vredeveld outlines the cases for all the possible dates before concluding with 1466. However Erika Rummel still opts for '1466/67' in her *Erasmus* (London: Continuum, 2004), p. 2; for Jacques Lefèvre d'Etaples, see Guy Bedouelle *Lefèvre d'Etaples et l'intelligence des écritures* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1976) and for Juan Luis Vives, Carlos Noreña, *Juan Luis Vives* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1970).

[12] Dorothy Gabe Coleman, 'L'exemplaire de Virgile de 1539 que possédait Montaigne', *Bulletin de la Société Internationale des Amis de Montaigne*, 6e série 1-2 (1980), pp. 61-66.

to the curricula in the arts faculty in Paris are few and far between.[13] Indeed university statutes relating to the curriculum were updated only very rarely: the curricula for the arts faculty apparently remained unchanged from the arrival of printing at the university until the final decade of the sixteenth century.[14]

Inventories of goods after death, where they exist, can give us some clues. In Coyecque we find the 'inventory of the goods of François Besnon, scholar of Paris, native of England'.[15] Besnon's death in 1528 was a cause for concern for the lieutenant criminel de la Prévôté de Paris but a happy chance for the book historian as it included an inventory of his 'library':

> 30 mai. – Inventaire de biens de François Besnon, écolier à Paris, natif d'Angleterre, trouvés dans la maison de Michel Cheverier, notaire et praticien en cour d'église; l'inventaire est dressé à la requête du lieutenant criminel de la Prévôté de Paris.
>
> Bibliothèque: Lexicon grecum, Ambroise Callepinus, Cicéron, Théodore, chronique de Philippe de Commines, Démonsthène, Horace, Virgile, Térence; Salluste «de conjuratione Katherine» ; livre en grec intitulé : « Exf… Pramatisse [sic for Gramaticæ ?] » « Progymnasmata gresse [*sic* for grecæ] literature », « Urbany grammatisse [*sic* for grammaticæ] institucione », « Celestinum », « les faiz maistre Allain Chartier ».[16]

Because this scholarly bookshelf is a snapshot in time – books owned by a young student away from home – it can be presumed that these were among the books required for scholarly studies at the University of Paris in 1528. We do not know which year of studies François was in but the presence of Greek texts is interesting: the study of Greek

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[13] Laurence Brockliss, 'Curricula' in *A History of the University in Europe,* vol. 2, p. 563.
[14] Laurence Brockliss, 'Curricula' in *A History of the University in Europe,* vol. 2, p. 563.
[15] Coyecque, 'Inventaire sommaire d'un minutier Parisien pendant le cours du XVIe siecle (1498-1528. Jean Crozon)' in *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France* (Paris: H. Champion, 1893), vol. 20, pp. 56-57.
[16] Ernst Coyecque, 'Inventaire sommaire d'un minutier parisien pendant le cours du XVIe siècle (1498-1600)' in *Bulletin de la société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France,* A20 (Paris: H. Champion, 1893), pp. 56-57.

has been considered the preserve of more advanced students at this point, with the Collège de France yet to be founded. The Greek books here appear to focus on rhetoric, studied by younger university students, rather than medicine and sciences, studied later in the curriculum. Studying Greek authors in Greek was a luxury – perhaps not one appreciated by the students – most likely inspired by the humanist spirit of returning to the sources. It also represented a very brief moment in the history of French university education where students were required to have a working knowledge of the language. This period began with the tentative printing of the first Greek texts in Paris in 1507, and reached its apogee in the 1530s with Francis I's newly founded Collège de France (for Hebrew, ancient Greek and mathematics). By the end of the century Henry IV had decided to substitute the Greek (language and authors) of the early decades for translations of Arabic authors: a return to a different kind of source.[17]

Reform, in theory

The educational agenda of Paris became the model for other French towns and villages looking for the best education for their sons and daughters. Consequently an examination of the relationship between the three reformers' suggestions and the changing Paris book market should prove very revealing both for Paris and for French education. If there can be such a thing as a general trajectory in sixteenth-century educational reform, it is away from Aristotelian logic and towards Ciceronian rhetoric. Aristotle, long time favourite of the scholastics was largely written off by reformers like Martin Luther as 'the blind, heathen master', a 'wretched man'.[18] Luther's dislike of Aristotle most probably stemmed from early exposure through the Church, an unhappy

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[17] Amédéé Dechambe (ed.), *Dictionnaire encyclopédique des sciences medicales* (Paris: G. Masson, P. Asselin, 1864), vol. 1, pp. iv-v.
[18] Martin Luther, *An Open Letter to The Christian Nobility of the German Nation Concerning the Reform of the Christian Estate, 1520* (section 25). Project Wittenberg online text from the edition translated by C. M. Jacobs, *Works of Martin Luther* (vol. 2) (Philadelphia: A. J. Holman Company, 1915), http://www.ProjectWittenberg.org/pub/resources/text/wittenberg/luther/web/nblty-07.html.

time for the young Luther. The conception of Aristotle as older learning and Cicero as newer allowed for an alignment with the new and old churches. More precisely, advocating an increased concentration on Cicero could be seen as a by-product of rising calls for reform of the church. It is though only part of the debate; after all Etienne Dolet – one of the few French printers who were burnt at the stake before the century's midpoint – was an enthusiastic scholar of Aristotle, although he did not print him.

Therefore, the precise proscriptions and prescriptions of authors and texts expounded by Vives, Erasmus and Lefèvre took place within a wider framework spanning the intellectual networks of Europe; it was a hot topic amongst those forming new religious groups, amongst educators, the elite and intellectuals. Greek, Hebrew and French formed a small subset of the reading lists, but Latin was the dominant force. Consequently, improving the acquisition of good Latin became a key focus of educational reformers. Learning Latin was not simply a case of learning grammar, syntax and vocabulary, though these were certainly integral elements, it was also an introduction to the storehouse of knowledge that was one of the objects of learning the language.

The education of children, both male and female, was a theme Erasmus returned to again and again throughout his works not only in his *De Ratione Studii*. Education, religion, politics and morality were the cornerstones of Erasmian philosophy; each found its place, small or large, in his works. One leads to another: without a good ruler a country descends into chaos. A prince who takes his country to war is immoral; if he is well educated he will be more inclined to peace. A peaceful country is a prosperous one, which can afford to educate its children.

The Erasmian Latin curriculum – taken predominately from his *De Ratione Studii* – was a wide one. Grammar was covered through Diomedes, Donatus, Gaza and Perotti.

Later Quintilian and Cicero were used to study the theory of wit.[19] Hyginus dispensed astronomical wisdoms, whilst Hesoid and Boccaccio provided a correct genealogy of the gods.[20] The works of Ovid and Homer were best for mythology and Pomponius Mela, Pliny and Ptolemy gave students a basic grasp of geography, and were important in aiding students' understanding of the topography of the Bible.[21] Chretien Wechel's 1530 edition of Mela emphasises this aspect by using a woodcut border on the title page depicting biblical scenes: the temptations of Jesus in the desert from Mathew 4 and the opening chapter of the gospel of John, the word made flesh.[22] Plato, Plotinus and Theophrastus rose to the challenge of philosophy and Aristotle to dialectic.[23] Finally, Ambrose, Basil, Jerome and Origen would help with the study of theology.[24]

Erasmus, Lefèvre and Vives disagreed on certain authors but agreed that there should be a steady progression from basic Latin towards more advanced grammar and more complicated ideas. Thus a student might progress from Cicero's letters to the Church Fathers for example. However, the choice of author was, occasionally, dictated by the perceived morality of the work. Erasmus is aware of this but considers a prefatory warning enough to protect the delicate minds in his care.[25] Lefèvre on the other hand may have preferred his students stray no further from the Church Fathers than Aristotle, and to be very careful with Cicero. Even Aristotle required some caution: in the extensive annotations accompanying the 1526 edition of *Politics* Lefèvre

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[19] Desiderius Erasmus, *De Ratione Studii*, tr. Craig R. Thompson (London: University of Toronto Press, 1978), pp. 670, 690.
[20] Ibid., p. 674.
[21] Ibid., p. 673; and Hilmar M. Pabel, 'Retelling the History of the Early Church: Erasmus's "Paraphrase on Acts"' *Church History*, Vol. 69, No. 1 (Cambridge University Press, March, 2000), pp. 63-64.
[22] SN 146131.
[23] Erasmus, *De Ratione Studii*, p. 673 & 670.
[24] Ibid., p. 673.
[25] Ibid., p. 683.

generally provides him with fine, upstanding chaperones like Francesco Filelfo.[26] But it was Cicero who was considered the best author to start with by Vives and Erasmus.

Indeed, the very high output of Cicero (432 Parisian editions between 1501 and 1540) is particularly interesting in the light of the fact that the three important humanists failed to agree on the appropriateness of using Cicero for language training. Erasmus awarded Cicero – at least to start with – almost the same reverence that Lefèvre reserved for Aristotle. The quality of language made it worthy of imitation, and it was a useful guide to the theory of wit and literary criticism. Vives recognised the quality of the Latin, which he found to be most natural, and good for beginners (letters first, orations later) but warned that it was not suitable for 'vainglorious' boys.[27] He did though describe picking the letters of Caecilius over those of Cicero as 'a choice almost criminal'.[28] Lefèvre recognised the importance of Cicero to the academic syllabus but from a stylistic perspective not a moral one. Ciceronian rhetoric could be used to praise God in ever more exultant language.

The fundamental difference between the approaches of teaching Latin of Lefèvre and Erasmus is that they had different ends in mind. An example of this is that Erasmus suggested Aristotle for instruction in dialectic and philosophy, Lefèvre for natural philosophy, ethics, politics, economics and – most importantly – to reach 'a higher end and a happier leisure'.[29] Lefèvre's deep commitment to religion dictated his approach to academia: he (partly or wholly) rejected Cicero, Ovid, Suetonius, Terence, Juvenal, Martial and Plato as pagan and likely to induce heresy. The Church Fathers were to be the prime vehicle of instruction, along with the pagan Aristotle whose hand, Lefèvre

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[26] See for example Jacques Lefèvre d'Etaples, *Politicorum libri octo commentarii* (Paris: Simon de Colines, 1526), f. 132v.
[27] Juan Luis Vives, *De tradendis disciplinis,* trans. Foster Watson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1913), p. 125.
[28] Ibid., p. 134.
[29] Jacques Lefèvre d'Etaples *Politicorum libri octo commentarii*, f. 133r.

insisted, was guided by God: 'Quae omnia summus Aristoteles persentiens et divino beneficio justus.'[30]

This somewhat defensive remark indicates a certain brittle sensitivity at a time when the educational reform agenda and religious reform were often elided in the view of critics. The extent to which the humanists' hands were guided by the necessity to display their orthodoxy in the face of scholastic and theological attacks (particularly from the Parisian theologian Noël Bèda) is not easy to ascertain. Accusations of heresy were compounded by claims that the humanists were straying into territory where they were not qualified. Biblical commentaries, even editions of the Church Fathers, were not welcomed by those who felt that grammarians should stay in the lowly arts faculty and leave the heavyweight theology to those qualified to deal with it. This argument fell rather flat when directed at Erasmus who did in fact have a doctorate in theology.

Lefèvre was more cautious than Erasmus in his suggestions because he was more vulnerable to attack. One of his closest working relationships was with the Estienne/ Colines printing house.[31] Perhaps fortunately Lefèvre did not work with Henri I Estienne's son Robert when he was in Paris. Robert was less cautious than Colines and ultimately fled Paris and France for fear of prosecution or worse.

Humanism and Business

The impact of the Estienne and of Colines on educational reform, and their relationships with men like Lefèvre should not be underestimated. The great Estienne printing dynasty was at the heart of the educational book market in Paris and (later) Geneva throughout the sixteenth century. Simon de Colines, as replacement head of the

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[30] Preface to the paraphrases of the *Eight Books of Aristotle* (Paris: Jean Higman, 1492). Reprinted in Eugene Rice (ed.), *The Prefatory Epistles of Jacques Lefèvre d'Etaples* (London: Columbia University Press, 1972), p. 4.

[31] Of the 166 editions to 1540, Henri I Estienne printed 55, then his successor 39 (57%). Robert Estienne printed none. The Colines editions were predominately 2os and 8os, neatly serving two markets whilst the Estienne ones were mostly folios.

household between the death of Henri I Estienne and the coming of age of his sons, has a distinctive place in this narrative. His meteoric rise from peasant stock to becoming one of the leading Parisian publishers of the early sixteenth century speaks volumes of the French education system. Colines was a key figure in the evolution of Parisian printing, experimenting with both format and typography.[32] One of his innovations was creating what Renouard termed the 'value' edition, specifically aimed at the student market.[33] His interest in the educational book market was clear: he had worked in the Estienne shop on the rue Saint-Jean-de-Beauvais (near the law school) from 1520 to 1525 but moved up the road, closer to two important colleges (the Collège de Beauvais and the Collège de Presles) in 1526.[34] In the sixteenth century these were prestigious and important tributaries of the University of Paris. Just as graduates of Paris were attractive to schools across France, such Collèges caught the attention of the great men of the sixteenth century: by 1543 Pierre de La Ramèe (Ramus) was the principal of the Collège de Presles.[35]

The precincts of these colleges were an excellent location for a bookshop specialising in the educational book market. Colines' decision to move his premises had little to do with a supposed parting of the ways with Robert Estienne, although Robert became more the disciple of Lefèvre than apprentice to his stepfather as he was drawn towards evangelism.[36] Unlike Henri I Estienne, though, Simon de Colines' involvement in humanistic education was tempered by the fact that he was first and foremost an

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[32] Philippe Renouard, *Bibliographie des Éditions de Simon de Colines 1520-1546* (Nieuwkoop: B. de Graaf, 1894, reprinted 1962), p. 440.
[33] Ibid.
[34] Ibid., pp. 444-445; and Michael Maittaire, *Historia Typographorum aliquot Parisiensium vitas et libros complectens* (London: Christopher Bateman, William Bowyer, 1717), pp. 4-5.
[35] Victor Carrière, 'Pierre de La Ramée et la principalité du Collège de Presles', *Revue d'histoire de l'Eglise de France*, XXVI (1940), pp. 238-242. Other sources cite 1545 as the start date .
[36] Kay Amert, 'Intertwining strengths: Simon de Colines and Robert Estienne,' *Book History*, Vol. 8 (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2005), pp. 1-10. Nicolas Barker saw – in addition to the 'breach' – a 'reluctance to capitalize [on] Colines' expansionism', which is not born out by Robert Estienne's own expansionism. p. 8. A lack of collaboration with Colines on Robert's part is also no proof of a breach since of the 639 editions printed before his departure for Geneva only 3 have evidence of collaboration.

innovator and a businessman. In the 1530s he began buying strips of vineyards, half an acre at a time, most probably to grow the wine he was required to provide for his workers.[37] He managed the Estienne contacts on the one hand but also had a knack for seeing when new opportunities would yield results: he created new, affordable compact volumes whilst maintaining the higher end market with quality type and woodcuts, and learning from other publishers near and far. Consciously following in the footsteps of the Venetian publisher, author and paradigm of renaissance humanism, Aldo Manuzio (active c.1494-1529), Colines made a decisive move in 1528 to adopt the octavo format as his predominant modus operandi.

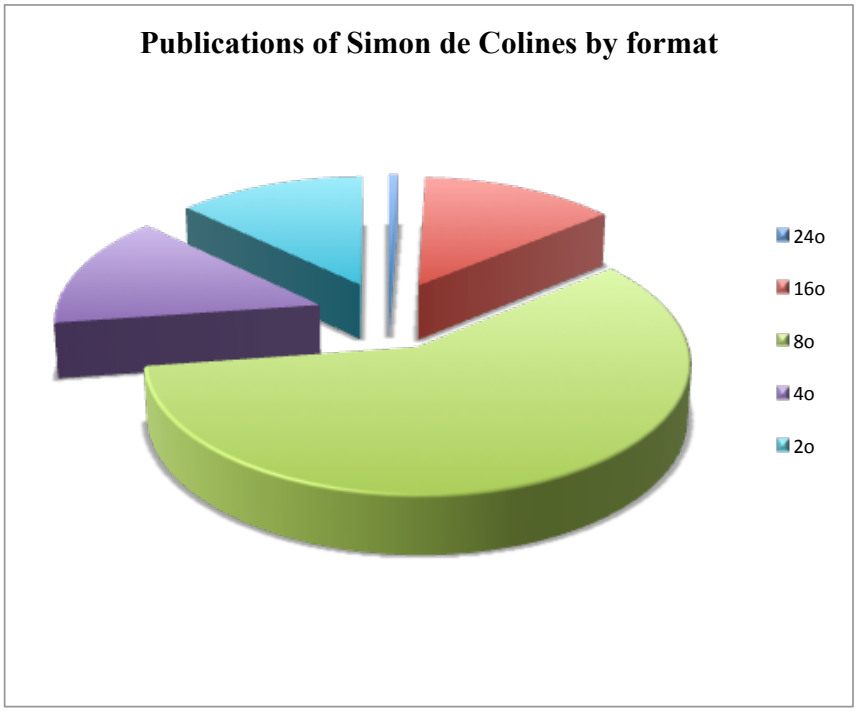

Figure 5.1: Publications of Simon de Colines by format

Colines had been increasing the proportion of octavos emanating from his press in line with the overall Parisian trend in the two years before this, but the decisive jump in 1528 was a step ahead of the market.

[37] Archives nationales: S//5120/4 ff. 4v, 18v, 35v.

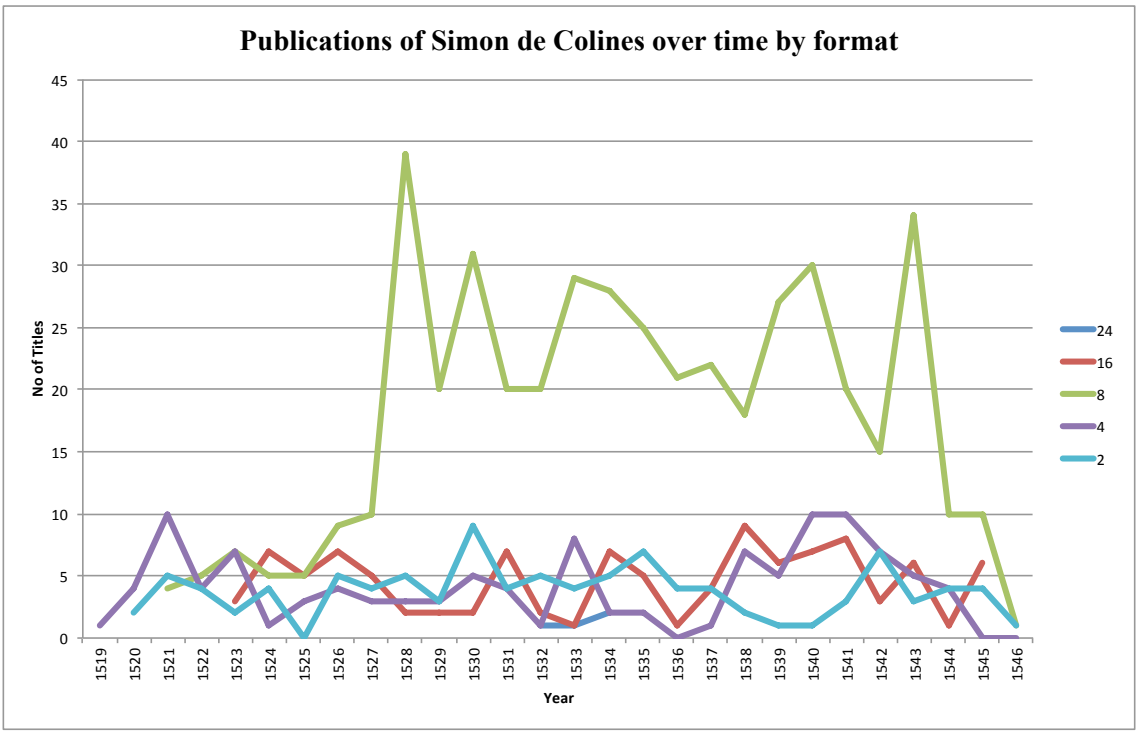

Figure 5.2: Publications of Simon de Colines over time by format

His move also came before the market had fully recovered from the early twenties market crash:

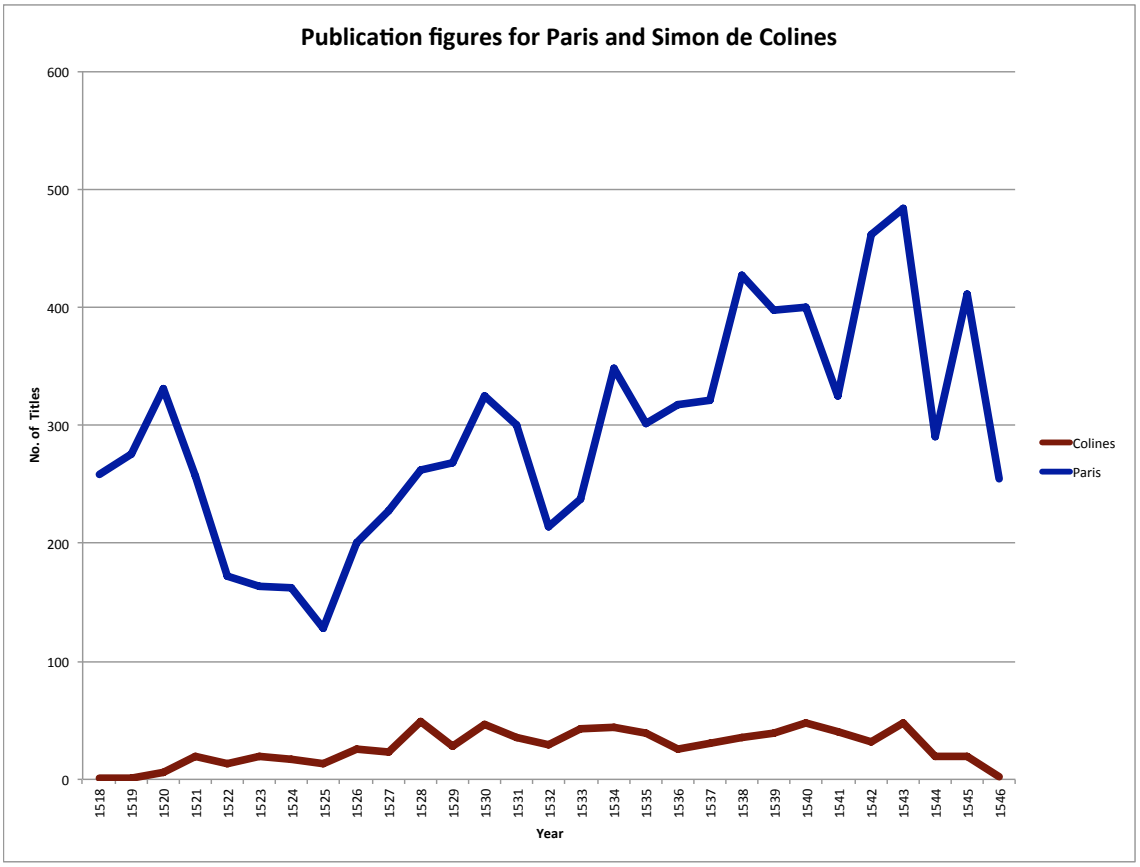

Figure 5.3: Comparison of Latin titles printed in Paris and those by Simon de Colines

Henri I Estienne had laid the foundations on which Simon de Colines built an extraordinary business. To ensure its success he created new type, one of which, the Nonpareil Roman [45], had an x-height of just 0.9mm.[38] There has been some discussion over whether or not Colines made the type himself: the scholarly consensus supports Vervliet's conviction that, whilst there is 'no hard evidence… four contemporary sources seem to reflect Colines' work as a punchcutter'.[39] The printer himself claimed the type for his own in the colophon of *Introductiones in terminos*.[40] Whilst some of his publications have Aldine-like, minimalist title pages, those of the books in which he felt the most pride are graced with finely crafted borders such as that of the *Introductiones* (and *De Natura Stirpium*):

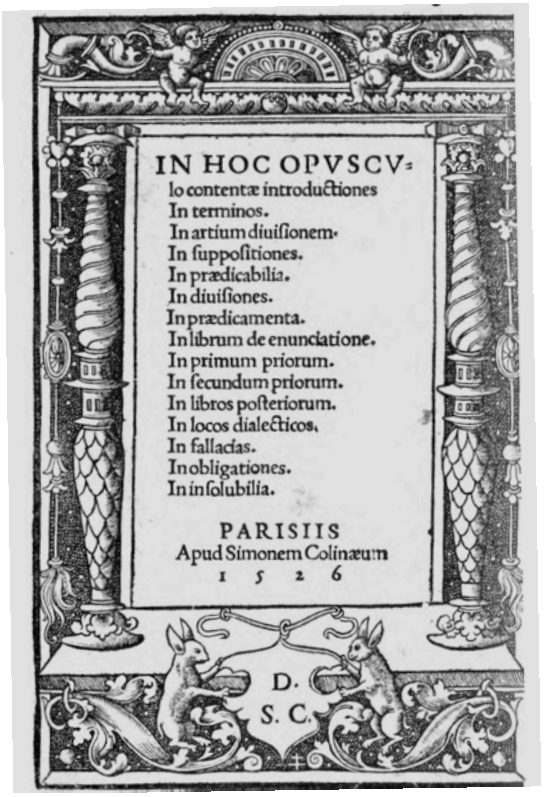
IN HOC OPVSCV-
lo contentæ introductiones
In terminos.
In artium diuiſionem.
In ſuppoſitiones.
In prædicabilia.
In diuiſiones.
In prædicamenta.
In librum de enunciatione.
In primum priorum.
In ſecundum priorum.
In libros poſteriorum.
In locos dialecticos.
In fallacias.
In obligationes.
In inſolubilia.
PARISIIS
Apud Simonem Colinæum
1 5 2 6
D.
S. C.

Figure 5.4: Title page of *Introductiones in terminos* (Paris: Simon de Colines, 1526)

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[38] In use from 1533. Hendrik D. L. Vervliet, *The Palaeotypography of the French* Renaissance, vol. 1 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), p. 211.
[39] Nicolas Barker, 'The Aldine Roman in Paris, 1530-1534', *The Library* s. 5 – XXIX, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1974), pp. 9-10; William Kemp, 'Supplementary Notes on the First Aldine Romans Used by Augereau and Francis Gryphius in 1531', *The Library* s. 7 – III (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 289; Vervliet, *Palaeotypography*, vol. 1, p. 6.
[40] Josse Clichtove, *Introductiones in terminos* (Paris: Simon de Colines, 1526).

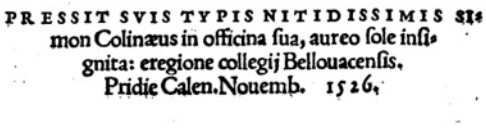
PRESSIT SVIS TYPIS NITIDISSIMIS SI-
mon Colinæus in officina ſua, aureo ſole inſi-
gnita: eregione collegij Bellouacenſis.
Pridie Calen. Nouemb. 1526.

Figure 5.5: Colophon of of *Introductiones in terminos* (Paris: Simon de Colines, 1526) claiming the type as his own, f. 170v.

Colines has been praised for the quality of the type he employed in his own time and ours; in 1538 the poet Hubert Sussaneau described his type as the 'most beautiful', and Vervliet describes Colines as 'France's foremost letter-engraver in the 1520s.'[41] The range of type is also important, from the large decorative fonts to the tiny compact fonts suitable for the younger eyes and shallower pockets of students. This market-straddling strategy is similar to that of Antoine Vérard. Although Colines was intensely focused on particular genres he maintained variety both in the type of books produced and their projected audience. This increased the number of prospective consumers but more importantly it protected him from the fluctuations of the market. His investments – vineyards, houses – in other sectors indicate that this was important to him. This diversification strategy would be entirely consistent with Colines also engraving his own type.

Vervliet has identified 16 Roman types, 5 Roman titlings, 4 Italic types and 3 Greek types as belonging to, and used by, Simon de Colines.[42] Whilst his later Roman titles would be bolder, one of his earliest is light and clear. He used this long-primer font for the title pages of his early Galen editions:[43]

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[41] Hubert Susannaeu, 'Ad Simonem Colinaeum,' *Ludorum Libri* (Paris: Simon de Colines, 1538), ff. 23v-24r. 'pulcherrimis typis'; Hendrik D. L. Vervliet, *The Palaeotypography of the French Renaissance*, vol. 1 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), p. 150.
[42] Vervliet, *Palaeotypography*, vol. 1, p. 96.
[43] Claudius Galen, *De differentiis febrium libri duo* (Paris: Simon de Colines, 1523). Copy from BnF microfilm: NUMM- 53729. http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k53729c.

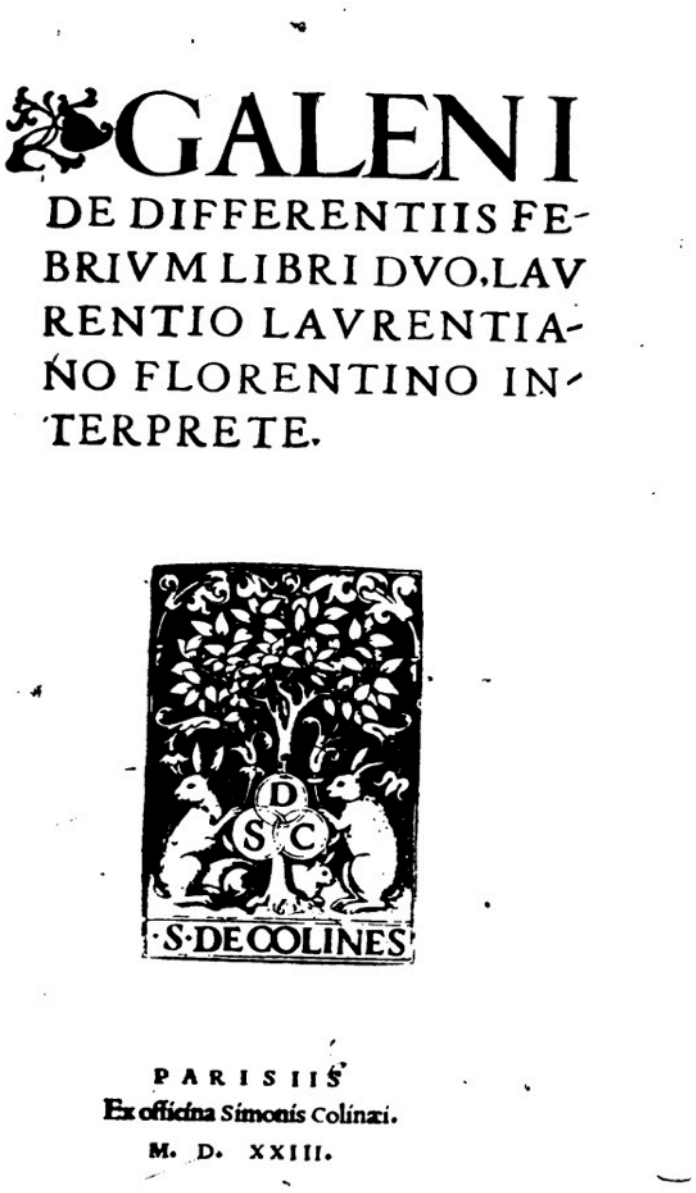
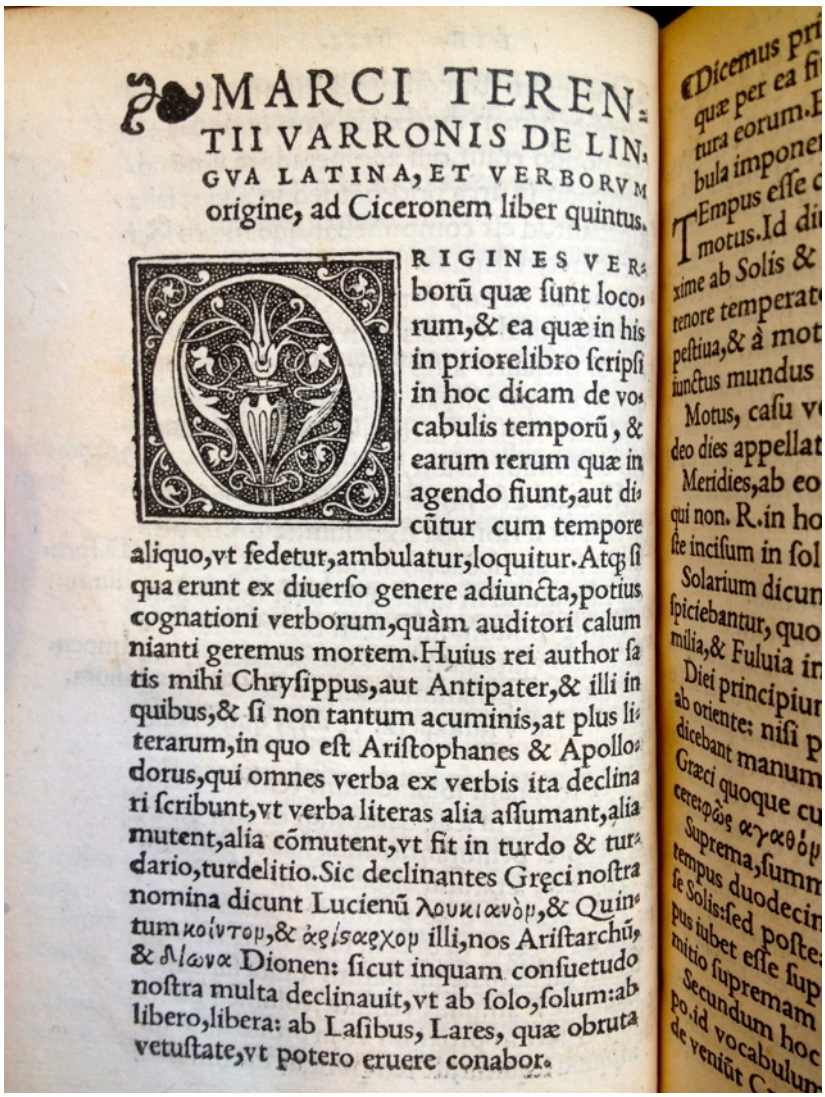

GALENI
DE DIFFERENTIIS FE-
BRIVM LIBRI DVO. LAV
RENTIO LAVRENTIA-
NO FLORENTINO IN-
TERPRETE.
D
S C
·S·DE COLINES·
PARISIIS
Ex officina Simonis Colinæi.
M. D. XXIII.

Figure 5.6: Title page of Galen, *De Differentiis Febrium libri duo* (Paris: Simon de Colines, 1523)

Colines' new types of 1525 and 1526 suggest he was preparing for the shift to smaller formats discussed above. His second small pica Roman [R 73] is first found in books printed in 1525 and the Minion Roman [R 49] from 1526.[44] The 1529 edition of Marcus Terentius Varro's *De Lingua Latina* makes use of the small pica Roman for the main body of the text and the marginalia (figures 5.7, 5.8 and 5.9).[45] It is an example of what Renouard termed a 'value' edition despite its elegantly understated use of woodcut

[44] Vervliet, *Palaeotypography*, pp. 78-79.
[45] Marcus Terentius Varro, *De lingua Latina ac verborum origine conscripsit, fragmenta de analogia libri tres* (Paris: Simon de Colines, 1529), USTC 146030. Copy in private ownership.

initials for each new book and useful seven-leaf index (double enumerated to indicate recto/verso).


MARCI TEREN-
TII VARRONIS DE LIN-
GVA LATINA, ET VERBORVM
origine, ad Ciceronem liber quintus.

ORIGINES VER-
borũ quæ ſunt loco-
rum, & ea quæ in his
in priore libro ſcripſi
in hoc dicam de vo-
cabulis temporũ, &
earum rerum quæ in
agendo fiunt, aut di-
cũtur cum tempore
aliquo, vt ſedetur, ambulatur, loquitur. Atq; ſi
qua erunt ex diuerſo genere adiuncta, potius
cognationi verborum, quàm auditori calum
nianti geremus mortem. Huius rei author ſa
tis mihi Chryſippus, aut Antipater, & illi in
quibus, & ſi non tantum acuminis, at plus li-
terarum, in quo eſt Ariſtophanes & Apollo-
dorus, qui omnes verba ex verbis ita declina
ri ſcribunt, vt verba literas alia aſſumant, alia
mutent, alia cõmutent, vt fit in turdo & tur-
dario, turdelitio. Sic declinantes Græci noſtra
nomina dicunt Lucienũ Λουκιανὸν, & Quin-
tum κοίντον, & ἀριστάρχον illi, nos Ariſtarchũ,
& Δίωνα Dionen: ſicut inquam conſuetudo
noſtra multa declinauit, vt ab ſolo, ſolum: ab
libero, libera: ab Laſibus, Lares, quæ obruta
vetuſtate, vt potero eruere conabor.

Figure 5.7: small pica Roman, woodcut initial, Roman titling and Greek type in Marcus Terentius Varro, De lingua Latina ac verborum origine conscripsit, fragmenta de analogia libri tres (Paris: Simon de Colines, 1529), f. 30v

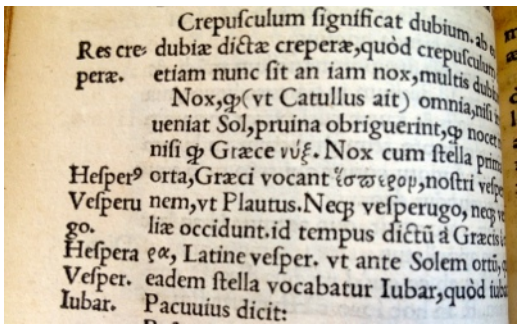

Crepuſculum ſignificat dubium. ab
Res cre- dubiæ dictæ creperæ, quòd crepuſculum
peræ. etiam nunc ſit an iam nox, multis dubi
Nox, ϙ (vt Catullus ait) omnia, niſi
ueniat Sol, pruina obriguerint, ϙ nocet
niſi ϙ Græce νύξ. Nox cum ſtella prim
Heſperꝰ orta, Græci vocant ἕσπερον, noſtri veſp
Veſperu nem, vt Plautus. Neq; veſperugo, neq;
go. liæ occidunt. id tempus dictũ à Græcis
Heſpera ϱα, Latine veſper. vt ante Solem ortũ
Veſper. eadem ſtella vocabatur Iubar, quòd iub
Iubar. Pacuuius dicit:

Figure 5.8: marginalia and Greek type in Marcus Terentius Varro, De lingua Latina ac verborum origine conscripsit, fragmenta de analogia libri tres (Paris: Simon de Colines, 1529), f. 31v

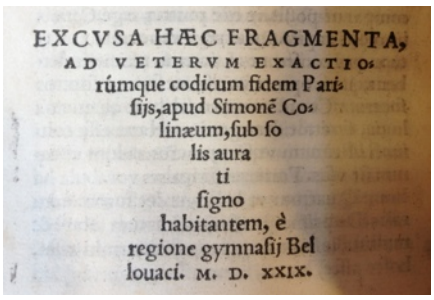

EXCVSA HÆC FRAGMENTA,
AD VETERVM EXACTIO-
rúmque codicum fidem Parí-
ſijs, apud Símonẽ Co-
linæum, ſub ſo
lis aura
ti
ſigno
habitantem, è
regione gymnaſij Bel
louaci. M. D. XXIX.

Figure 5.9: Colophon (before the index) in Marcus Terentius Varro, De lingua Latina ac verborum origine conscripsit, fragmenta de analogia libri tres (Paris: Simon de Colines, 1529), f. 102v

In this we see Colines as a man who took prudently calculated risks. He improved his odds through innovations and was cautious with the expensive volumes, producing on average only 3.8 folio editions per year. His biggest risk was perhaps the remarkable *De natura stirpium* of 1536.[46] This first edition of the comprehensive botanical knowledge of Francis I's own physician, Jean Du Ruel, was 1,020 pages long and perfectly crafted – and recognised as such in the century immediately following by his first biographer.[47] The detailed, specially commissioned title-page woodcut boldly asserts the printer's importance, intertwining the author, the King – who granted its privilege – and the printer, whose Tempus device is integrated into the bottom right corner of the design.

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[46] Jean Du Ruel, *De natura stirpium libri tres* (of the Nature of plants) (Paris: Simon de Colines, 1536) USTC 147052.

[47] Michael Maittaire, 'Vita Simonis Colinæi,' *Historia Typographorum aliquot Parisiensium vitas et libros complectens* (London: Christopher Bateman, William Bowyer, 1717), p. 5 'Alios autem multo pulchriores & Romanos & Italicos, quos nunquam Henricus Stephanus aut alius (quod sciam) Parisiensis typographus introduxerat, sibi comparasse nemo dubitabit; qui intuebitur Ruellium de Natura Stirpium 1536, aliosque plurimos, quorum elegantiam nullus lector potest satis mirari.' Philippe Renouard also recognised the craftsmanship: 'L'exécution de ce volume est de tout point parfaite' *Bibliographie des éditions de Simon de Colines 1520-1546* (Nieuwkoop: B. de Graaf, 1894, reprinted 1962), pp. 267-269.

Figure 5.10: Title page of Jean Du Ruel, *De Natura Stirpium libri tres* (of the Nature of plants) (Paris: Simon de Colines, 1536)

Colines did not often take on projects of this size and complexity. It is interesting to compare the *De Natura* with other of his works listed in the catalogue published by Colines himself in his lifetime. 231 books listed by Colines in his *Libri in officina*

Simonis Colinaei (Paris: Simon de Colines [1544]) can be matched with surviving works. In each case by examining these copies we can calculate the number of sheets of paper required for each copy.[48] Across his whole inventory Colines charged fairly standard prices according to the length of the book, so many *deniers* per sheet. The *De Natura* represents a deviation from his standard practice. The average Colines book required 27 sheets of paper and cost the purchaser an average of 2.53 *deniers* per sheet.[49] This level of pricing was consistent with other Paris printers but it is higher than Jean-François Gilmont and Hans-Joachim Bremme found for late 1540s and 1560s Geneva.[50] The mode for a Colines book was lower than for his average book, weighing in at 8 sheets and costing 2 *deniers* per sheet (e.g. 1*s* 4*d* for a 64-leaf octavo); this was most likely a combination of what most customers wanted and could afford, and what provided Colines with the most reliable source of continuous income. *De natura stirpium* cost 50*s*, making it one of Colines' most expensive books printed on paper.[51] At least one copy, now in the Bibliothèque national in Paris, was printed on vellum.[52] This may have been a presentation copy; its value would have been close to that of a small house. Herd rather than head would have counted the number of calves required.

This volume reflects Colines' long-standing interest in the sciences, of which his Galens are a showpiece. Between 1520 and 1546 Colines printed 51 editions of various works of the second century Roman physician. These works extend from reasonably cheap octavos to lavish folios. They stretched from requiring just 2.25 sheets of paper to 85.5 per book and cost between 1*s* and 18*s*. This range is normal for Colines, and most publishers, as the shorter works were used to bankroll the larger ones; however, the lack

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[48] 231 books were matched to titles where the foliation and/or signature was known along with the format. From this data the number of sheets was calculated.
[49] Simon de Colines *Libri in officina Simonis Colinaei* (Paris: Simon de Colines [1544]).
[50] Jean-François Gilmont, *Jean Calvin et le livre imprimé* (Geneva: Droz, 1997), p. 291; Hans-Joachim Bremme, *Buchdrucker und Buchhändler zur Zeit der Glaubenskämpfe. Studien zur Genfer Druckgeschichte, 1565-1580* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1969), pp. 31-32.
[51] Ibid.
[52] Bibliothèque nationale de France: Velins – 506 and Velins – 507.

of correlation between the number of sheets and the cost of the book is unusual. The price of the books was between 1.12*d* to 3*d* per sheet. Colines did sometimes, though not always, under-price especially long books and overprice short ones – a necessary business strategy accommodating both profit and affordability. There is however a correlation between the Greek-language Galens and the cost per sheet: they are more expensive (3.53-4.29 *d*/sheet). They are though also relatively short (3.5-6 sheets); the price premium is part of Colines' market strategy. This becomes clear when his other Greek books are taken into account. The Greek New Testament of 1534 for example is close to the average price (by sheet). Colines appears to have viewed his Galens as a separate entity, a series perhaps, which would pay for itself in the long run. He tested the market with two editions in 1523 and a third in 1526, but it was not until 1528 that these works became a key part of his production strategy; he published 10 works of Galen in that year alone (20.4% of his entire year's production). This pattern of testing an untapped area of the market and then dominating it – as he did with the octavo - clearly worked for Colines.

Colines pursued a resolute course through the educational book market of Paris but it is hard to see whether he was responding to market demands or shaping them. Did students have money spare to buy books beyond the syllabus? Were lecturers' choices affected by browsing? To what extent the suggestions of educational reformers affected Colines' choice of authors is also difficult to establish. Figure 5.11 shows the number of titles printed of the suggested authors in *De Ratione Studii* before it was printed and figure 5.12 shows the response after it was printed.

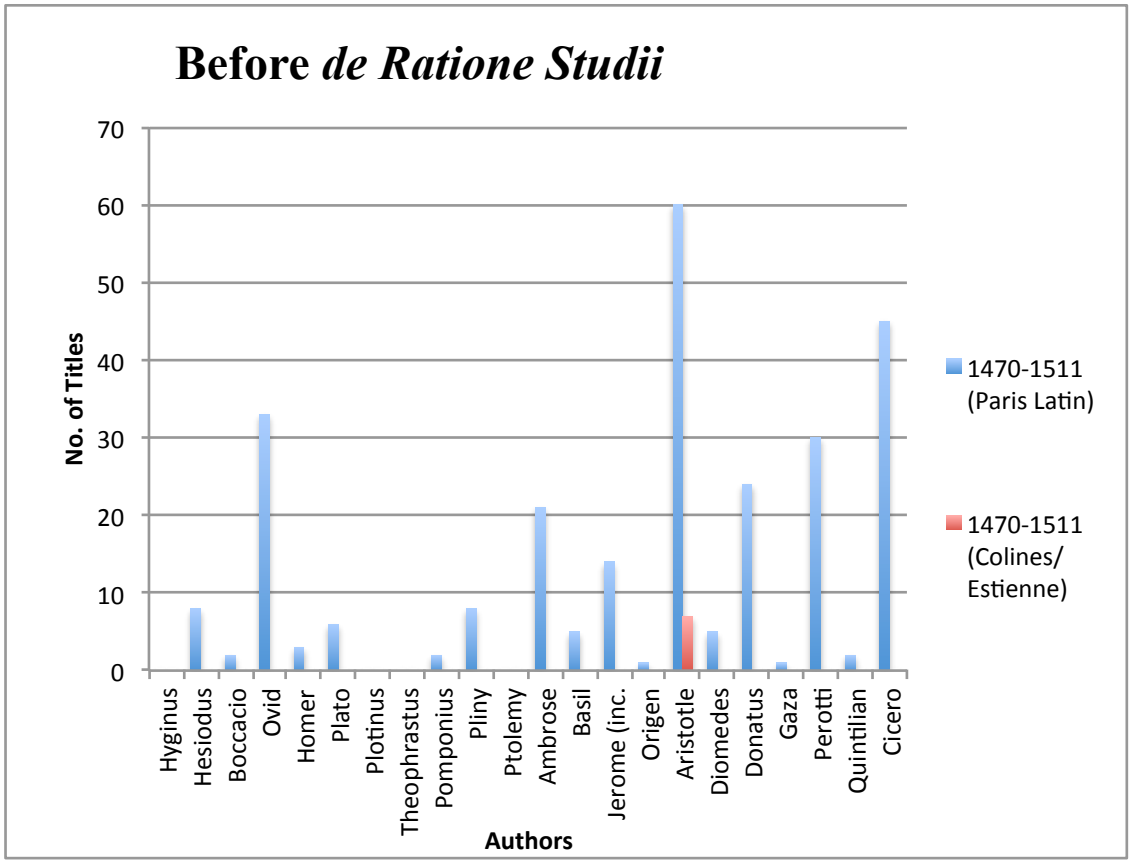

Figure 5.11: Output of authors suggested in the *De Ratione Studii* prior to publication

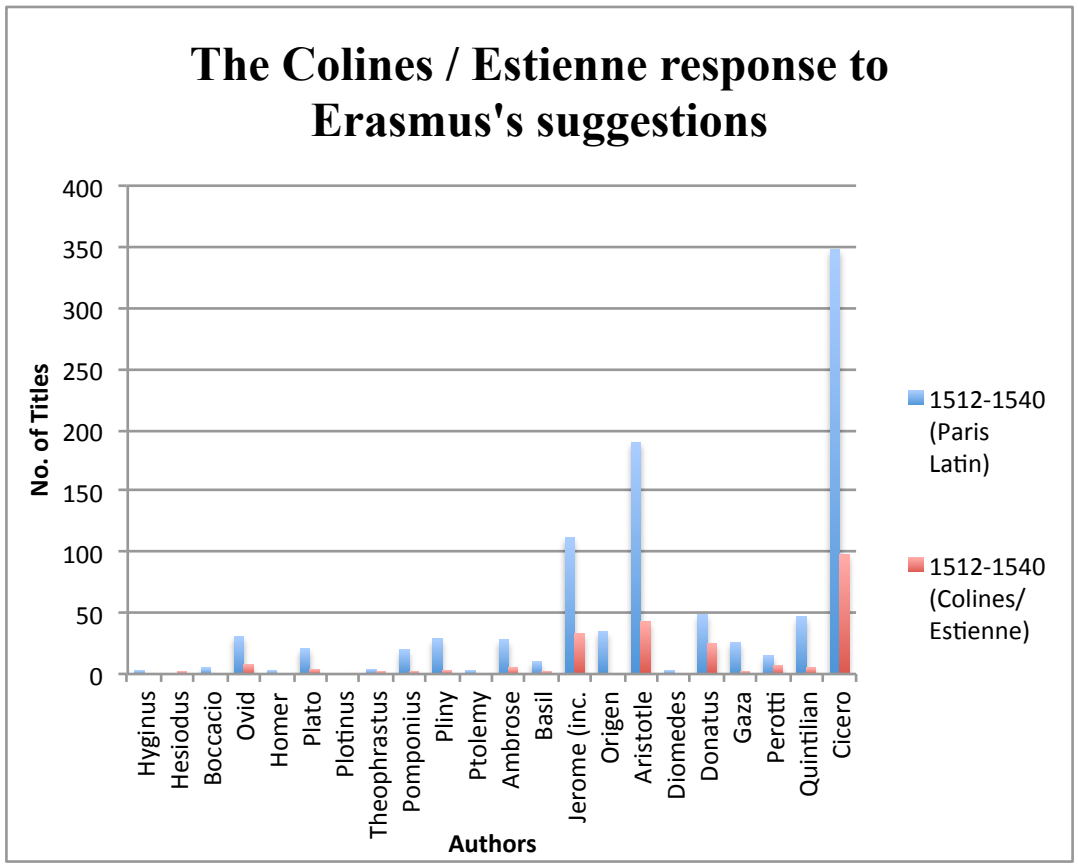

Figure 5.12: Output of authors suggested in the *De Ratione Studii* after publication

A wise publisher would certainly be keen to get books on his shelves before students came in asking for them rather than weeks or months later. The close connection of the Colines publishing house and Erasmus reinforces the theory that they were following such a strategy.

Colines's final commercial initiative was a series of small format Bibles (including parts) published between 1523 and 1543. In this 20-year period he printed 70 Bibles (including parts) in Latin and 8 in French; this accounts for a little over 10% of his total output for those years. The early Colines Bible parts are cleanly printed with a fine roman type, often with subtle adornments: little woodcuts of the corresponding evangelists and decorative first letters for the first pages of each book of the Gospels for example.[53] In other cases the title page (and occasionally the whole) is rubricated.[54] First used for the Psalms of 1523, the woodcut 'B' (*beatus*) containing David playing the harp was recycled through the reprints (1524, 1528 and 1535) but remained in good condition. Colines engraved new typefaces for the forthcoming Bible series: a Bourgeois Roman that could smuggle 20 lines of type into 6.3cm and two sets of Roman titling, one on two-line Brevier, the other on two-line Long Primer.[55] By cramming the New Testament onto 22 sheets of paper he could sell it for 6 *sous* and make a profit.[56] These books are clearly destined to be two things: carried around and cherished.

In his position as a *libraire-juré* Colines could have had access to manuscripts held in the Sorbonne library; his stepson Robert apparently did.[57] Robert claimed to

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[53] [Bible] *Evangelium Jesu Christi* (Paris: Simon de Colines, 1523). USTC 145596.
[54] [Bible] *Liber psalmorum cum tenoribus ad recte proferendum aptissimis* (Paris: Simon de Colines, 1528). USTC 145962; [Bible], Jacques Lèfevre d'Etaples (ed.), *Psalterium David, argumentis fronti cujuslibet psalmi adjectis, Hebraica et Chaldaica multis in locis tralatione illustratum* (Paris: Simon de Colines, 1524). USTC 145674.
[55] Vervliet, *Palaeotypography*, pp. 75-76.
[56] Since the New Testament of 1532 was listed at 6 sous in the c. 1544 catalogue and had 352 leaves including the 16 prefatory ones the cost per sheet was 0.75 denier per sheet above average.
[57] Robert Estienne (ed.), *Biblia* (Paris: Robert Estienne, 1527), ff. 1-10. USTC 181045.

have used the official *Sorbonicum Correctorium* (the Sorbonne's corrections of the Bible translations) in the preparation of his Latin Bible.[58] Robert was the editor of Colines' first edition of the New Testament (1522-23) and of a 1523 edition of the Gospels but Colines switched to the text of Saint Jerome for editions from 1524.[59] Lefèvre remained an important editor throughout. Almost all of these works were printed with Saint Jerome's preface.

In this arena of religious books we find the great educators writing pedagogical books and at the centre, engaged in an elaborate dance between controversy and propriety is Simon de Colines. As a result he both frustrated the Sorbonne and disappointed reformers. His choice of authors from polar extremes of the religious divide was, in the words of Jeanne Veyrin-Forrer, 'fort éclectique'.[60] And so it is through the figure of Simon de Colines that we can see the turbulent relationship between the two threads of educational and religious reform. With 818 Latin editions between 1518 and 1546, it is tempting to view his books as a microcosm of the Parisian Latin printing industry, but in reality his focus was primarily on educational texts, particularly the Latin classics. In this he was maintaining the humanist agenda of his predecessor, whose widow – Guyonne Viart – he married.[61] His inherited connections were largely budding or established humanists. Confirming the fears of those who had looked the other way as they pushed their children through the doors of humanist schools, a small but important minority of these connections later embraced evangelism, or at least flirted with it. Jacques Lefèvre d'Etaples, it transpired, was one of the latter

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[58] Elizabeth Armstrong, *Robert Estienne, Royal Printer* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954; reissued 2011), p. 12; Par. Lat. 15554 referenced in Armstrong.
[59] For summary of dates and editions see Philippe Renouard *Bibliographie des éditions de Simon de Colines 1520-1546* (Nieuwkoop : De Graaf, 1962), pp. 33-34.
[60] Jeanne Veyrin-Forrer, *Introduction* in Fred Schreiber (ed.) *Simon de Colines: An annotated Catalogue of 230 Examples of his Press* (Utah: Friends of the Brigham Young University Library, 1995), p. xxi
[61] Guyonne Viart was previously widowed by Jean Higman, a fact reflected in one document where she is referred to as 'v[euve] de Jean Higman' when she was most recently widowed by Estienne. *Archives Nationales* CXXII, 1026 (6 June 1527).

and most likely among the influences on young Robert Estienne who fled Catholic France for Protestant Geneva after his stepfather's death.

The story of Colines and Lefèvre began in Paris and reached its climax in Meaux in 1521 with the commencement of Guillaume Briçonnet and Lefèvre's *Commentarii initiatorii in quatuor Evangelia*; a work which was to prove as troublesome for its authors as for its printers. Guillaume Briçonnet, Bishop of Meaux from 1516 to 1534, was an experimental reformer. Not an evangelist, Briçonnet was nevertheless responsible for bringing together a group of evangelical reformers who would greatly trouble those trying to prevent a French reformation. As this reforming initiative span out of control he turned against the very circle he had been instrumental in creating.[62] His experiment was still in its more optimistic days when his invitation came to Lefèvre in Paris, asking him to join him in Meaux where he would write the *Commentarii* under Briçonnet's supervision. Colines sent with him a printing press, equipment and workmen from his own shop, along with Robert Estienne.[63] The project commenced before November 1521 and the introductory commentaries on the four gospels were published before 10 June 1522, at which point the whole caravan of compositors and pressmen, the printing press and founts returned to Paris.

However, with the Reformation gathering momentum through print in Germany, and the beginnings of a climate of fear and suspicion that the Reformers were infiltrating France, the mechanisms of censorship came into gear. Responsibility for censorship in sixteenth century France fell with the King, the *Parlement* and the university. The theology faculty at the University of Paris were especially quick to tighten their control of their printing industry.

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[62] Jonathan A. Reid, *King's Sister - Queen of Dissent: Marguerite of Navarre (1492-1549) and her Evangelical Network* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), pp. 151-153.
[63] Philippe Renouard *Bibliographie des éditions de Simon de Colines 1520-1546*, Nieuwkoop, De Graaf, 1962, p. 457 ; Henri-Jean Martin, 'Le temps de Robert Estienne' in *Histoire de l'édition français (tome I)*, Roger Chartier and Henri-Jean Martin (eds) (Paris: Promodis, 1982), pp. 231-232.

The university had been able to exert considerable control over the Parisian printers in the earliest years of printing. The first presses were set up within the university walls, but as the printers had spread further down the Rue Saint-Jacques and across Paris, so they had outgrown the need for the protection offered by the university. This meant that they had, at least for a while, more freedom to respond to the market. But the Rector resorted to legal measures in an effort to control the content of books. He persuaded Francis I to instruct *Parlement* to prohibit printers from printing books (in Latin or French) concerning the Christian faith or the holy scriptures without first handing them over to the authorities for inspection.[64] Failure to do so would incur a hefty fine and banishment from Paris.

> Ne libros in vulgari aut latino fidem christianam aut interpretationem sacrae scripturae concernentes, imprimant quin prius illi per facultatem theologiae aut illius deputatos visi fuerint.[65]

The new legislation, in combination with hostile reports of his sermons, had attracted unfavourable attention to the bishop of Meaux. The 377-leaf folio *Commentarii* created in Meaux under the direct influence of the bishop had Colines' name in the colophon ('impensis Simonis Colinaei') despite having been printed by proxy.[66] On 10 June 1523 a bailiff arrived to question Colines. Colines pleaded innocence, pointing out that the book in question had been printed in Meaux, not Paris, and had been started before the legislation came in. This last point was probably true as Gottfried Hittorp and Eucharius Cervicornus of Cologne had got their edition through

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[64] Francis Higman, *Censorship and the Sorbonne: A bibliographical study of books in French censured by the Faculty of Theology of the University of Paris, 1520-1551* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1979), p. 23.
[65] Quoted in Higman, p. 23. Also Albert Labarre, *La répression du livre hérétique dans la France du XVIe siècle* (Genève: Librairie Droz, 2003), p. 26 and Charles Jourdain, *Index Chronologicus Chartarum Pertinentium ad Historiam Universitatis Parisiensis* (Paris: Hachette, 1862), p. 326. Archives Nationales, series X 1A and X 2A.
[66] Jacques Lefèvre d'Etaples, *Commentarii initiatorii in quatuor evangelia* (Meaux: Simon de Colines, 1522), f. 377^{v}.

the press by 1521.[67] Colines claimed to have just nine copies and handed over one for investigation. The case went to court but timely intervention by the king (possibly at the instigation of Marguerite de Navarre, a sympathist of the Meaux circle) led to the book, its author Lefèvre, and Colines being acquitted.[68]

That Colines was believed in the first instance, and that the suspiciously low eight remaining copies were not confiscated (even before the intervention of the King), speaks volumes for the status of the printer in an ever more volatile environment. Colines appears to have distanced himself from the (increasingly) openly evangelist circle soon after this – indeed this is where claims of his quarrel with his stepson emanate.[69] Lefèvre was frustrated by the direction taken by the Colines publishing house; he believed that Colines only published 'sordid' works and claimed Robert Estienne felt the same way.[70] Meaux may have been only a few kilometres from Paris but the difference in pressure to conform would have been considerable. Although Colines continued to print Bibles, he made himself too busy to print new works coming out of Meaux, and on 13 October 1524 he hammered a nail in the coffin of their friendship as the final pages of Josse Clichtove's *Antilutherus* rolled off his presses.[71] The *Antilutherus* was not especially popular: there are only two known editions, the Parisian and another in Köln.[72] Assuming that Colines did not reissue the *Antilutherus*,

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[67] Jacques Lefèvre d'Etaples, *Commentarii initiatorii in quatuor evangelia* 2 vols (Cologne: Gottfried Hittorp: Eucharius Cervicornus, 1521), ff. [6], 206; 275 [=267]. USTC 623373.
[68] Jeanne Veyrin-Forrer, 'Introduction' to Fred Schreiber, *Simon de Colines, an annotated catalogue of 230 examples of his press, 1520-1546* (Utah: Brigham Young University Library, 1995), pp. xlix-l.
[69] Jacques Lèfevre d'Etaples wrote from Meaux to his acolyte Guillaume Farel on 6 July 1524 that Robert Estienne had written to him concerning what Colines was publishing. It would seem that Robert was disappointed by his stepfather's decision to fall in line with the authorities but there is no mention of a quarrel. On the contrary it is all rather secretive, a discussion behind Colines' back. Without Robert's letter to Lèfevre of course it remains hearsay. The letter to Farel is printed in Aimé-Louis Herminjard, *Correspondence des réformateurs dans les pays de langue Française* (Paris: Michel Levy frères, 1866), vol. 1, pp. 219-228.
[70] Lèfevre, letter to Farel, 6 July 1524 in Herminjard, *Correspondence des réformateurs*, p. 227 '…ut nihil nisi sordidum emitti possit.'
[71] Josse Clichtove, *Antilutherus, tres libros complectens* (Paris: ex officina Simon de Colines, 1524), USTC 145636.
[72] Josse Clichtove, *Antilutherus judoci clichtouei neoportuensis* (Köln: apud Peter Quentel, 1525) VD 16 C 4189.

and its Europe-wide unpopularity suggests that a reprint is highly unlikely, then he had enough copies left to warrant including it in his catalogue of c. 1544. It was also fairly cheap at 12 sous for a 190-leaf folio; around 1.5 deniers a sheet was below average (2.53) for Colines' books.

Beyond Business

Heterodox not only in religion but also in academic style, Lefèvre had departed from scholasticism (though not from Aristotle), insisting on an inter-textual criticism which encouraged wide reading. He believed that a good humanistic foundation was required before proceeding to the Scriptures (which could then be understood correctly). However, Lefèvre's humanism was tempered by religious concerns.

Colines' and Lefèvre's views on appropriate texts overlapped in the same way as a Venn diagram. Amongst the scholarly editions to be produced by Colines were Erasmus' commentary on Ovid in 1526 (reprinted in 1539); the *Opera* in 1529, with the *Amatoria* and *Metamorphoses* also sold as separate books (possibly others were too, since each had its own title page) in the same year; the *Metamorphoses* again in 1537; the *Orations* of Cicero in 1532 and 1533; Erasmus' translation of Suetonius' *Duodecim Caesares* in 1527 and 1535; and finally, in 1540, Colines co-produced a Greek edition of the works of Plato with Jean Loys.

First and foremost on Lefèvre's curriculum was Aristotle, both as an author to read and as a guide to intellectual method. After Aristotle had been thoroughly absorbed, the student should 'turn to a reverent reading of Scripture, guided by Cyprian, Hilary, Origen, Jerome, Augustine, Chrysostom, Athanasius, Nazianzen, John of Damascus and other fathers.'[73] Reading the Scriptures with the Church Fathers was a

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[73] Lefèvre, *Politicorum libri octo* (Paris : Henri Estienne, 1506), pp. 123^{v}-124^{v} quoted in Eugene Rice, 'The Humanist idea of Christian Antiquity: Lefèvre d'Etaples and his Circle' in *Studies in the Renaissance*, vol. 9 (1962), pp. 126-127.

departure from the orthodox approach of reading the Scriptures through them, by proxy. Indeed the 1551 Edict of Châteaubriant was to outlaw printing both the Bible and works of the Church Fathers in the vernacular. So Lefèvre's approach was a move forward since it explicitly told the students to read the Scriptures but it did not go so far from traditional educational methods as to incite extensive criticism. If the students were to form their own opinions and readings then Lefèvre stopped short of saying so. This caution left his students with a drearier curriculum than those of Erasmus or Vives. There is little sense here of the need to 'delight' the students or to teach them through play or imitation as seen in the suggestions of Vives in *De tradendis disciplinis* (On handing down the disciplines):

> exercebuntur iusionibus id etiam acumen retegit et mores naturae potissimum inter aequales et sui similes ubi nihil singet sed omnia exibunt naturalia[74]

Although he encouraged readers to amuse their students on occasion, Vives generally saw poetry, particularly Virgil, as leisure time 'spice' (pithily put: 'non ut alimentum, sed ut condimentum'), whilst Erasmus placed Virgil second on his suggested authors in his *De ratione studii*.[75] Yet despite the fact that Erasmus had recommended it in 1511 and Vives in 1531, the publication figures between 1501 and 1540 show that there were only 105 editions (81 Latin) of Virgil printed in Paris. This was in comparison to the 459 editions (422 Latin) of/on Cicero, 473 by Erasmus (453 Latin), 138 (all Latin) by Despautère and 108 (105 Latin) of Lefèvre. The discrepancy between humanist recommendations and the publishing reality highlights the

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[74] Vives, Juan Luis, *De disciplinis, libri XX* (Cologne: Johann I Gymnich, 1532), p. 265 trans: [Children] should be commanded in play, for that reveals their acumen and characters, especially amongst their age group and those who are like them where nothing is feigned but all is natural. USTC 667155.
[75] Vives, *De disciplinis libri XX* (Cologne : Johann I Gymnich, 1532), p. 300 'not as nourishment but as spice'; Desiderius Erasmus, *De ratione studii, ac legendi interpretandique auctores,* Craig R. Thompson (ed.) *Collected works of Erasmus. Literary and Educational writings 2: De Copia / De Ratione Studii* (London: University of Toronto Press, 1978), p. 669.

importance of bibliographical number crunching: the high esteem placed on Virgil by writers such as Erasmus and Vives has led to the progression into fact of what is in reality myth. In the palimpsest of historical narrative, repetition has granted Virgil greater importance than he perhaps had, and the same is true of Tacitus.[76] Virgil was undoubtedly important among a number of significant scholars, and an influence on notable renaissance poets, but the publication figures suggest that this popularity was not universal.[77]

Some of the most popular books may simply have amused and delighted their readers: those which came in bite-sized Latin, such as Erasmus' *Adages*; or those which could be mined for witty phrases with which to pepper letters and conversation, such as Cicero. Histories were a vital part of a humanist's education, and according to Vives the best method of teaching history was to split it into chunks, proceeding from ancient history to the present. The choicest author was Pomponius Mela, whose *De situ orbis* (also printed under the title: *Cosmographia*) was printed in Paris – between 1500 and 1540 – a grand total of 14 times. The first edition was by Enguilbert de Marnef for Jean Petit and edited by Geoffroy Tory. That first edition only required 11 sheets of paper to print, but until 1530 it was always a joint venture.

The mass production of knowledge sounded the death knell for ancient authors such as Pomponius Mela whose works promised little of practical use and a plethora of obvious errors. The 14 editions show that the teachers and educational establishments of Paris were exercising their newfound freedom of choice. Mela's *De situ orbis* was a composite of fact and fictions; a map-less textual geography which discourses on

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[76] Kay Amert places Virgil and Cicero side by side in 'Intertwining Strengths: Simon de Colines and Robert Estienne', p. 6.
[77] On his influence:, Marcial J. Bayo, *Virgilio y la pastoral española del renacimiento (1480-1550)* (Madrid: Gredos, 1970); Gilbert Highet, *The Classical Tradition: Greek and Roman Influences on Western Literature* (London: Oxford University Press, 1949, reissued 1985), p. 155; Colin Burrow, 'English Renaissance Readers and the *Appendix Vergiliana,*' *Proceedings of the Vergil Society* 26 (2008), pp. 1-16.

anything from the minutiae of the everyday lives of foreign peoples to the mountains and lakes of a nation. It was the geographical equivalent of the commonplace book with a little of everything but no consistency of form.[78] Yet it held some appeal in the niche market of travel memoir and curiosa with its tall tales of distant places and their peoples.

However there may have been a deeper undercurrent at work and Vives may have been party to it. One attempt at re-marketing the work as a scholarly volume had a slight whiff of controversy; in 1530 Chretien Wechel (*libraire-juré* and printer 1522-1554) produced a large folio volume (142 sheets) with an extensive commentary by Joachim Vadian.[79] That Wechel chose to reissue an unpopular work in such an expensive edition is of interest but it is Vadian's commentary that warrants attention here. It is a commentary that entirely dwarfs the text. The first fourteen pages (below) are not an introduction; the smaller font is the commentary:

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[78] Matthew Mclean has described the advances of contemporary geographers in his *The 'Cosmographia' of Sebastian Münster: describing the world in the Reformation* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007). On Mela, see pp. 59-60.

[79] Pomponius Mela, *De Orbis situ libri tres, accuratissime emendati, una cum commentariis castigatioribus et multis in locis auctioribus factis,* edited by Joachim Vadian (Paris: Chretien Wechel, 1530), FB 83516.

MVNDI IN PARTES QVATVOR DIVISIO.

MVNDI IN PARTES QVATVOR DIVISIO.

Omne igitur hoc[a] quicquid id est, [b] cui mundi, coeliq; nomen indidimus, vnum est,[c] & vno ambitu se, cunctaq; amplectitur.[d] Partibus differt: vnde sol oritur, oriens nuncupatur, aut ortus: quo demergitur, occidens, vel occasus:[e] qua decurrit, meridies: ab aduersa pte, septetrio. Huius medio[f] terra sublimis,

cingitur vndiq; mari:[a] eademq; in duo latera, quae hemisphaeria nominantur, ab oriente diuisa ad occasum,[b] zonis quinque distinguitur. Mediã aestus infestat, frigus vltimas. Reliquae habitabiles paria agunt anni tempora, verũ non pariter. Antichthones alteram, nos alteram incolimus. Illius situ ob ardorẽ intercedentis plagae incognito, huius dicendus est.

4 POMPONII MELAE.

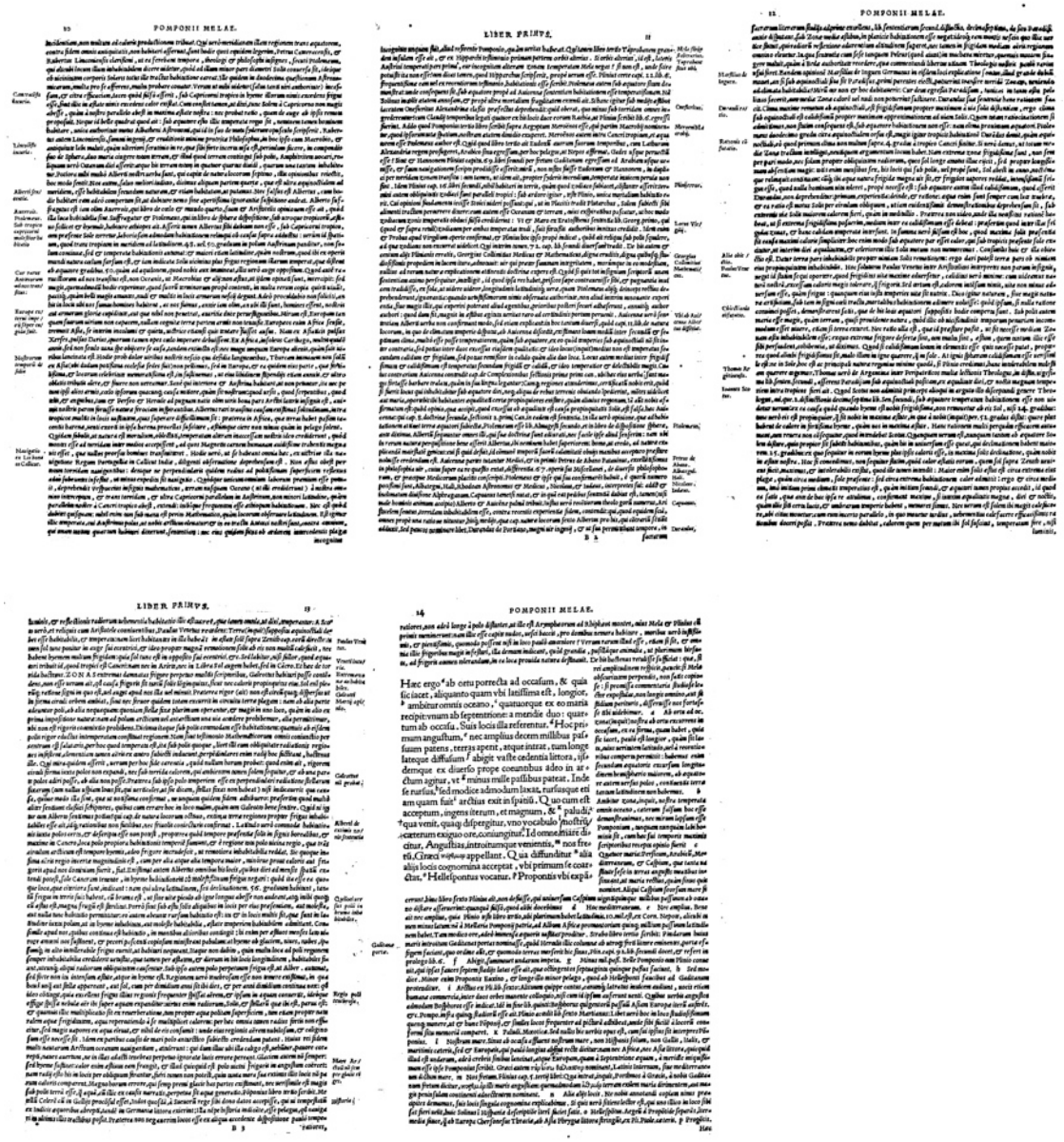

Figure 5.13: Pomponius Mela, *De Orbis situ libri tres, accuratissime emendati, una cum commentariis castigatioribus et multis in locis auctioribus factis*, edited by Joachim Vadian, (Paris: Chretien Wechel, 1530)

Wechel's purpose in publication, and his customers' desires when purchasing the Vadian edition, may have had very little to do with the purported work in question. Vadian was a humanist and a Protestant who believed Luther was a humanist and that Lutheranism and humanism were deeply connected.[80] He also believed in conversion by persuasion: his edited works were another arena in which to espouse his views of the pope and of Catholicism in general. This was less a textual geography than a polemical

[80] Kurt Stadwald, *Roman Popes and German Patriots: Antipapalism in the politics of the German humanist movement from Gregor Heimburg to Martin Luther* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1996), p. 153.

rallying cry. He believed in a sort of theological geography: certainly the Bible should not be read without an understanding of the Earth.[81] In the *De orbis situ* he traces the steps of the apostle Luke through the landscape of Mela.[82]

The Sorbonne did not insist on prior inspection of outmoded geographies, just new religious works. It is entirely possible that Vives had this specific edition in mind when he suggested reading Mela. Wechel, though, was taking a risk, perhaps a bigger one than Simon de Colines and Robert Estienne had taken with their commentary on the Gospels. Whilst it is not always the case that the father and son will share religious inclinations, it is perhaps of interest that Wechel's son André had to flee Paris in 1572 in the wake of the St Bartholomew's Day massacres.

This case recalls the fact that humanism in education was increasingly perceived as being swept along by the rising tide of evangelism. Does it call into question what exactly Vives was trying to do with his curriculum suggestions? If Vives was actively trying to influence the religious inclinations of young minds we might expect more clues in his curriculum. However, the peculiar choice of Mela for history aside, he has very precise roles for each of his many authors, of which Mela was only one on a wide-ranging curriculum. He begins with language: for 'the rules of the first rudiments of language' he covers all bases, suggesting Donatus, Nicolaus Perottus, Sulpitius Verulanus, Antonius Nebrissensis, Aldus Manutius and Philip Melanchthon.[83] Figures of speech should be studied in Quintilian, Diomedes, Mancinellus or Despauterius, and history from Livy, Cornelius, Tacitus and Sallust.[84]

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[81] Matt Mclean, *The 'Cosmographia' of Sebastian Münster: describing the world in the Reformation'* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), p. 111.
[82] Irena Backus, *Life Writing in Reformation Europe: Lives of Reformers by Friends, Disciples and Foes* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), p. 62; Pomponius Mela & Joachim Vadian (ed.) *De Orbis situ libri tres, accuratissime emendati, una cum commentariis castigatioribus et multis in locis auctioribus factis* (Paris: Chretien Wechel, 1530), USTC 146131.
[83] Juan Luis Vives, *Introductio ad Sapientiam… epistolae duae de ratione studii puerilis* (Paris: Simon de Colines, 1527), ff. 60. (BN Res z 2059).
[84] Juan Luis Vives, *Introductio ad Sapientiam'*, ff. 59-60.

Vives may have been progressive in some areas but he thought nothing of expurgation: 'obscene passages should be wholly cut from the text'. He even went as far as to ask 'would it then be a crime if Tibullus or the *Ars Armandi* of Ovid perished?'[85] However, some of the works of Ovid were acceptable to him, the *Metamorphoses* for example, as were the epigrams of Martial. Erasmus found both to be perfectly suitable, but Lefèvre felt that they were best avoided. This level of disagreement would suggest an answer to the problem of why their advice was not always reflected in the book market. There were areas on which the three great humanists did concur. All three agreed that Aristotle, Caesar, Cato, Donatus, Horace, Jerome (naturally), Perotti, Pliny, Quintilian, and Erasmus (who modestly concurred) were decent authors. The works of these authors combined accounted for over 1,000 editions printed in Paris between 1501 and 1540. However, the authors named by Lefèvre as best avoided were printed almost 500 times over the same period; 359 of those were Cicero alone. Of all books in Latin (not just the Ancients) Cicero's share of the market was 4.9%. By comparison, Martial's share was 0.1%. In fact, only five authors held more than 1%: first was Cicero; second Erasmus with 3.4%; third Lefèvre with 2.4%; fourth Aristotle with 2.1%; and fifth Despauterius with 1.5%. Another five had over 0.5%; in descending order: Ovid, Virgil, Melanchthon, Bude and Horace.

The works of Erasmus, Vives and Lefèvre combined made up 6% of the Parisian output. About 450 editions, printed in average print runs of 500-800, implies roughly 225,000 to 360,000 copies printed in Paris between 1501 and 1540. The combined weight of their views on educational reform (which also tended to slip into the prefatory materials of books not otherwise concerned with education) was heavy. Yet their works sold almost as many as those they promoted, and as we have seen, the authors Lefèvre

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[85] Ibid., p. 128.

advised his readers to avoid were amongst the most frequently printed in the first half of the century.

Managing this vast market was complex for those involved in the production side. For all the importance of influential texts by men like Erasmus and Vives, publishers had to be conscious that taste could be fickle and hard to predict. Most devised strategies to limit their exposure to sudden fluctuations in demand. Most Parisian publishers worked in complex networks, sharing the cost, the work and the risk of editions. When looking at the most popular Latin authors of the first four decades of the sixteenth century, a network of collaboration between the printers is readily apparent: a network since they were not only printing together and sometimes sharing type and other materials, but they were also *not* printing at the same time. Over the 40-year period, as far as we know from surviving exemplar, there are very few instances of two printers printing the same work in the same format independently.

An analysis of Parisian editions of Virgil from 1531-1540 illustrates this: generally the separate works are only printed once a year, but in 1537 there were three editions of the works. They were, however, targeting very different groups: Guillaume Le Bret and Nicolaus Buffet brought out an octavo; François Regnault an illustrated sectodecimo and Robert Estienne a 24mo. The only other Virgil that year was a reprint (from the previous year) of François Gryphe's quarto edition of the *Aeneid*. In 1538 no one produced the *Aeneid*, but Gryphe added matching quartos of the *Bucolics* and *Georgics*. The most consistent production was of the complete works, which came out every year but 1534. Following a ten-year low, the period from 1531 to 1540 was the most prolific, with 24 editions. The first five of these years saw three octavos and a folio edition of the works, with one fallow year. The first and last editions were by Jean Petit (with André Bocard in the 1531 edition) and the middle two were by Robert

Estienne who followed his folio of 1532 with an octavo in 1533. François Gryphe, Simon de Colines and Robert Estienne were committed Virgilians, and continued to print the collected and individual works throughout the second half of the decade. Notable amongst their publications are the compact 24mo of Estienne in 1537 and Colines' octavo *Opera* designed specifically for schoolchildren which was completed in 1540.

From 1538 the number of printers venturing into Virgil began to increase. Jean Macé printed three quartos in 1539: an *Opera*, an *Aeneid*, and a *Georgics*. Presumably the two editions of the *Bucolics* (one quarto, one octavo) from the preceding year were still in the bookshops. However his *Georgics* and *Opera* must have sold well as he reprinted them the following year. Although Virgil seems to have gained in popularity only very slowly and only with the concerted effort of printers to produce his works in a variety of formats, there seems to have been limited demand for vernacular editions. In 1540 no fewer than nine printers and publishers worked together to produce a single vernacular edition, albeit a lavish illustrated folio.

The percentage of all books printed in Paris in 1540 in French was – at 35.8% – the second highest it had been in forty years. With just 54.8%, Latin had hit its lowest point. From 1500 to 1540 Latin had accounted for 70-80% of the annual output of books in Paris, with peaks exceeding 80% in consecutive years between 1511 and 1513 and then between 1517 and 1520 and in 1523 and 1526. In 1540, Parisian printers produced 268 Latin editions, while French books jumped from 143 to 175 between 1539 and 1540.

Latin was at the cornerstone of education from an early age. To be *sine litteris* - 'without letters' - meant to be without Latin. If you were one of the few who could read French but not Latin you would still be classed as *sine litteris*. And yet the audience for

Latin went beyond schoolboys and students. Affordability combined with accessibility gave Latin books greater appeal to those who had left the educational system before university. They may have chosen to purchase – and read – a book, be it for leisure or self-improvement. Later seen as puff and posturing, the humanist style was in vogue not only in response to the vagaries of fashion itself but also because eloquence in speech and letters had productive results. Amongst the most successful printers and publishers of the sixteenth century were the humanist-minded and humanist-trained. The Estienne family spoke Latin at the dinner table and Josse Bade was a respected humanist author in his own right.

That Cicero was far and away the most popular author of the early sixteenth century tells us something about both the readers and the educators. To put this into perspective, despite the wide ranging syllabus recommendations and the printing industry's ability to promote novelty, almost 1 in 3 Latin editions of the Ancients printed in Paris in 1539 was a Cicero.[86] This begs the question: since exportation cannot account for figures that high, who was buying these books? There are several possible explanations here: Cicero was the main official teaching aid; Cicero was the text of choice for autodidacts or for those looking to polish their Latin as his work was far more pleasurable to read than any other available text; or Cicero was the received style, from the letters of Francis I to a student writing home for money.

This last option suggests that Cicero was read more for the quality of his Latin than for what he had to say. A key aspect of humanism was using education in the liberal arts to facilitate participation in public life. It was considered a basic human moral and social responsibility: as Jean Descaurres said, it is in everyone's interest to educate the young. Rhetoric was one of the surest ways to enhance one's position in

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[86] Brigitte Moreau, *Inventaire chronologique des éditions parisiennes du XVIe siècle, V, 1536-1540* (Paris*:* Imprimerie municipale, 1977).

society: the ability to persuade, and to delight whilst so doing, was paramount. In the earliest years of the sixteenth century (and some decades before) Cicero was considered by almost all scholars to be the perfect rhetorician: a model fit for imitation. To be able to speak like the greatest orator of all time could open doors to important positions and grant access to patronage and money. In addition, authorship was beginning to grow into a profession: a craft that could be sold. But authors were yet to be recognised as the most important part of the process of book creation and so patronage was often essential. Authors, translators, printers and publishers used the prefaces of their books to talk their way into the houses of the rich, even into the royal courts. Vives himself was granted a position within the English Court and Lefèvre the French. With the advent of the French king's new *Collège des Lecteurs Royaux* there were also new and lucrative positions opening up as teachers and also as official printers to the King. The epithet *Imprimeur du Roi* was potentially highly lucrative, and proudly displayed on title pages. The patronage of the king himself, though, was worth more than money. It offered security against accusations of heresy, as was the case with Colines and Lefèvre, when Francis I stepped in on their behalves.

As the works of Cicero grew in popularity amongst those seeking a style with which to impress potential patrons, they fell in the estimation of Erasmus. In his *Ciceronianus* Erasmus publicly fell out of love with those who adhered too closely and exclusively to Cicero, consequently tarring Cicero himself with the same brush. He was not the first to criticise Cicero though: Lorenzo Valla's fifteenth century *Elegentiae linguae latinae* criticised Cicero, redirecting his readers towards Quintilian. However, Quintilian did only slightly better in terms of publication figures than Pomponius Mela.

Guillaume Budé's *Institutions du Prince*, dedicated to Franis I, claimed on the contrary that Cicero was the father of Latin eloquence. He proved his point by

borrowing large chunks directly from the *De Oratore*. Erasmus' *Ciceronianus* of 1528 failed to do to Cicero (or more precisely his largely-Italian promoters) what he intended. The number of editions of Cicero printed in Paris increased significantly despite the fact that this new work satirised those, Budé included, who believed Cicero to be preeminent amongst Latinists. It would, insisted Erasmus, be 'a loss to scholarship' if imitators drew exclusively from Cicero.[87]

The *Ciceronianus* is a strange and bitter work, characteristic of those moments when Erasmus lashed out – in print and in public – with petty accusations. It went beyond satire: Erasmus also implied that Budé and others were pagans, worshipping the books of Cicero above those of God. However Budé's printed references to Erasmus are complimentary and the letters between them had been mutually admiring. Even the *Ciceronianus* itself failed to stem the flow of Cicero through the streets of Paris and beyond; his early reputation was difficult to reverse and the print shops continued to produce the works the public had been taught to demand. The printers and publishers too seemed to have stopped listening.

It is certainly a measure of the importance of educational reform that so many of the age's leading authors gave themselves to the production of influential texts of this subject. But my investigations of the Paris book industry would suggest that this influence was quite specific in nature. There was an increase in the number of different authors available, inspired perhaps by the astonishingly wide-ranging curriculum suggestions. There may also have been an effort to push Virgil onto an initially unwilling public. Ultimately though the engagement of printers and publishers in educational reform was regulated by profit and censorship.

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[87] Erasmus, *Dialogus Ciceronianus* (Lyon, 1531), p. 150, cited in J. H. M. Salmon, *Renaissance and Revolt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 32.

The humanist agenda certainly helped stimulate a general increase in reading and a curiosity for a lettered erudite literature only partially understood. But the specific recommendations made by Vives, Lefèvre and Erasmus were not necessarily followed. Rather, those making their way in the thicket of learning tended to reach for familiar points of navigation. This helps explain the stubborn popularity of many well-known works, even when the erudite had moved on.

Chapter VI: Later Revolutions

Delaying destiny

Earlier chapters have looked at how Paris built a successful Latin printing industry and what steps were taken to find advantage from change, both technological change within the industry and change prompted by external events. This chapter will look at how the industry coped with what was to become the beginning of the end for Parisian Latin printing in the late 1530s. The prospects for printers in France were good: the economy had stabilized, and Francis I, returned from his internment in Madrid, was busily reaffirming his status as *le père et restaurateur des Lettres.* The declaration of peace between Francis I and Charles V in June 1538 forecasted (incorrectly as it turned out) an end to a very costly war. In Paris, the plague, a near-triennial occurrence, had dissipated and the effects of the 1529-33 epidemic diminished.[1] The plague was not to return at full force until 1553 when it ravaged the city once more.[2]

While the nation's prospects appeared good at the end of the 1530s many of the printing industry's most famous men had aged and died. Others had fled in the face of prosecution brought about by increasing religious censorship. For those printers who had built both their reputation and their back catalogue - those easy reprints of classic best sellers - on the great, perpetual language of Latin, there was surprise in store. Increasingly, the presses of Paris were being put to the service of vernacular publications, publications which required less highly educated pressmen and could be produced more quickly and economically. In 1538 the number of Latin titles published in Paris reached its apogee and outnumbered vernacular two to one. By 1540 Latin production had stalled at some four hundred titles compared to close to three hundred

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[1] Vanessa Harding, *The Dead and the Living in Paris and London, 1500-1670* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 25.
[2] Jean Noel Biraben, *Les hommes et la peste en France et dans les pays européens et méditerranéens (*Paris: Mouton, 1976), vol. 2, p. 111.

and fifty in the vernacular. The steady growth of a vernacular-reading population would mean that in the longterm the only way forward was to increase the number of vernacular titles printed, but this shift was at first resisted and delayed by many of the top publishing houses. This was especially true for those serving the scholarly market along and around the rue Saint-Jacques, a small number of whom began, perhaps optimistically, to add Hebrew and Greek type to their stock.

The great success of the first decades of printing in Paris was founded on the close family connections which became steadily more intricate as sons and daughters married within the industry. However a sometimes overlooked aspect of the rise of some of the famous printing and publishing dynasties is the fact that the patriarch quite often died before his eldest son had come of age. In these situations some widows sold off the business assets, like Jeanne Poullas, the widow of Nicolas Desprez.[3] Others took over for a matter of months or years before remarrying (generally within the industry), like Claire Dimmance, probably France's first female printer. A small number positively embraced the new challenge and never relinquished their control. Even during her second marriage, Charlotte Guillard's mark can be seen on the books printed by her and her new husband Claude Chevallon. The books bore the device of Bertholt Rembolt (under which Charlotte had printed before her remarriage).

A similarly positive attitude towards change is evident in Gilles de Gourmont who embraced Greek printing alongside Latin, despite being more of a publisher and bookseller and only occasionally a printer. Following Gourmont was Michel de Vascosan who became one of the first royal printers in 1530, officially specialising in

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[3] Jeanne Poullas agreed to hand over a certain quantity of matrices and punches to Guillaume Josse doctrue régent in the theology faculty in exchange for 60 *livres*. Ernest Coyecque, 'Inventaire sommaire d'un minutier Parisien pendant le cours du XVIe siecle (IX. 1er avril 1522 – 11 mai 1523. Pierre Crozon)' in *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France* (Paris: H. Champion, 1893), p. 127.

Greek and Hebrew titles. This was in response to a very particular emerging market encouraged by the Collège de France.

Widowhood: La Liberté?

> 'La liberté des femmes est grande à Paris; elles sont fort entendues aux affaires commerciales'[4]

It is difficult to discern the true nature of female involvement in the sixteenth century book trade; it requires both a judgement of the contemporary understanding of the role of women and knowledge of the lived reality. Academic interest in the matter peaked in the 1980s with forensic archival searches before moving into a wider discussion of gender over the next twenty or so years.[5] A reviewer of Axel Erdmann's *My Gracious Silence* suggested that the two schools of scholarship have not always sat comfortably together: 'less relevant to readers interested in attitudes toward women of the time is the book illustrated by a woman or *those produced by women in the book business*'.[6] Less relevant? It is precisely the existence of women in the book trade which reveals genuine attitudes - the lived reality - beyond literary tropes and gender themes. Of course interest in gender, specifically gender differences, *was* an issue in the sixteenth century, perhaps in response to women who - like Yolande Bonhomme and Charlotte Guillard - challenged traditional gender roles. A natural consequence of this was an increase in literature on the theme. Lyndan Warner wrote of a France teeming with lively debate on the 'ideas of man and woman'.[7] She looked at the portrayals in literature and law: the

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[4] Théodore Zvinger, *Methodus Apodemica in eorum gratiam qui cum fructu in quocunque tandem vitae genere peregrinari cupiunt* (Basle: Eusebius Episcopius, 1577), extracted in J. Cousin 'État de Paris au XVIe siècle', *Mémoires de la Société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France* (Paris: H. Champion, 1875), p. 111.

[5] Beatrice Hibbard Beech, 'Yolande Bonhomme: a renaissance printer,' *Medieval Prosopography* (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications), vol. 6, no. 2, 1985, and Susan Broomhall, *Women and the Book Trade in Sixteenth-Century France* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002). Unfortunately Broomhall moved on to other projects.

[6] My emphasis. Mary Kay Conyers Duggan, 'Review: My Gracious Silence: Women in the mirror of 16th Century Printing in Western Europe', *Libraries and Culture* (Vol. 39, No. 1, Winter 2004). pp. 95-96.

[7] Lyndan Warner, *The Ideas of Man and Woman in Renaissance France: Print, Rhetoric and Law* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2011).

rising tide of the *querelles des femmes* (a loosely grouped collection of literature discussing, sometimes quarreling over, the questions concerning women) and the rhetorical legalese of the law courts. Hers is a persuasive argument for a renewed interest in the *nature* of women in sixteenth century France. But the *roles* of women remain troublesome.

Chapter 5 considered the increasing access to education for both men and women, where we saw that the purpose of female education was to assist them in raising good Christian children and practicing successful household management.[8] Nevertheless there is evidence to suggest that some women, especially those of more wealthy families, received an education beyond this remit. Certainly women in courtly circles read literature in the vernacular, although encouragement to read was not always accompanied by encouragement to write.[9] In addition there were women of the merchant class with a fair understanding of Latin and with decent business skills, at least in the printing industry. It is the latter who will be considered in this section. Increased access to education may have been one of the keys to the success of a number of the widows who were thrown into business by the death of their husband capable of success.

Both the law and the guild system allowed women - or rather widows - to take over a deceased husband's business.[10] Precedent was also on their side as women had worked in the manuscript book trade in the 13th and 14th centuries, although Susan Broomhall believes that they remained 'on the edges of the trade'.[11] It is often assumed

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[8] See Evelyne Berriot-Salvador summarises this as 'l'éducation de la vraie Chrétienne' and 'l'éducation maternelle' in her *Les femmes dans la société Française de la Renaissance* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1990), pp. 61-90.
[9] Broomhall, *Women and the Book Trade*, pp. 14-15; 'to promote absorption of ideas through reading, but not to encourage composition', p. 16.
[10] Beatrice Hibbard Beech, 'Yolande Bonhomme', p. 79.
[11] It is not entirely clear what she means by 'the edges of the trade' as she also writes that they worked as booksellers and stationers and some women were well known illuminators. See Broomhall, *Women and the Book Trade*, p. 45.

that when a woman took over a printing house she did two things: slavishly reprint her husband's bestsellers, and get remarried as soon as possible.[12] For many women this may have been, by and large, the case.[13] Legally they were entitled to work in their late husband's profession, to continue the family business, but practically they may have faced a number of challenges, their own confidence in their ability to run the shop on their own being one of them.[14] Theirs was not an age of emancipation; printing was open to them more by accident than by design. Crafts which were controlled by guilds generally allowed widows to take over the business in the event of their husband's death; although printing was a new trade, its origins in the manuscript book trade brought these historical privileges into play.[15] Because the printing trade expanded so rapidly it also grew faster than the laws to govern it.

However impressive women such as Charlotte Guillard and Yolande Bonhomme were, in legal documents they were still referred to as the widow of their husband. Certain women, Yolande Bonhomme for example, seem to have absorbed their husbands' professional titles by proxy, but this was not typically the case.[16] Women were expected, although not legally obliged, to hold the reins only until they either found a new husband or until a suitable male heir came of age. This allowed them to

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[12] The first comments on Charlotte Guillard are often along the lines that she followed the 'politique éditoriale' of her husband, and 'complète le catalogue'. Rémi Jimenes, 'Pratiques d'atelier et correctiones typographiques à Paris au XVIe seicle. L'édition des œuvres de Saint Bernard par Charlotte Guillard' in Christine Bénévent, Annie Charon, Isabelle Diu et Magali Vène (eds), *Passeurs de textes: imprimeurs et libraires à l'âge de l'humanisme* (Paris: Écoles des Chartes, 2012), p. 218.

[13] France's first female printer printed just five books, Antoine Vérard's widow also printed five. Agnès Sucevin, the widow of Jean de Brie (seen remarrying in chapter four) printed only one book before moving on, the same is true for Claude, the widow of Jean Saint-Denis and the widow of Jean Barbé, Catherine. Many others produced a small number, fewer than ten, and just a few printed a solid body of work: Macée Trepperel, Charlotte Guillard and Yolande Bonhomme.

[14] As seen in the previous chapter, female education provided women with the skills to run a household not a business. However there were exceptions. Both Broomhall and Davis have claimed that women learnt to read whilst hanging up sheets to dry. This seems somewhat ambitious. Broomhall, *Women and the book trade*, p. 53; Natalie Zemon Davis, 'Printing and the people' in Natalie Zemon Davis, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France, eight essays* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1987; reprinted by Cambridge: Polity Press, 1998), p. 213.

[15] Martha. W. Driver 'Women printers and the page, 1477-1541', *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* (Mainz: Verlag de Gutenberg-Gesellschaft, 1998) vol. 73 , pp. 151-152.

[16] Yolande Bonhomme is referred to as 'veuve de Thielman Kerver, libraire juré en l'Université et bourgeois de Paris'. This is more information than required for identification purposes.

keep the family from hardship and prevented firms and businesses from falling into ruin. Women were accepted in certain jobs: maids, fruit sellers etc. and some guilds were solely for women (wigmakers, linen makers, cheese and butter vendors).[17] Yet in the case of printing, the combination of physical labour and intellectual challenge required to run a press seemed to some to make this an unsuitable profession for women. Robert I Estienne had grown up surrounded by educated females (even the female servants spoke Latin); his son Henri II Estienne had not.[18] The young Estienne was amongst those who complained of 'little women' disgracing the art of printing.[19] The derogatory epithet 'mulierculae' suggesting he had strong feelings on the subject. Such opinions may not have been widespread as some female printers seem to have worked well with their male counterparts, Charlotte Guillard and Yolande Bonhomme amongst them.

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[17] Henry Heller, *Labour, Science and Technology in France, 1500-1620* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 42.
[18] On the educated servants see chapter 5. Nicole Estienne 'mixed in literary circles' and was a published poet, Broomhall, *Women and the book trade*, p. 53.
[19] Henri Estienne, *Epistola qua respondet de suae typographiae statu* (Geneva: Henri II Estienne, 1569), p. 56 'Hoc enim ad cumulandam huius artis ignominiam restabat ut etiam mulierculae eam profiterentur...'.

What's in a name? 'Veuve feu Jehan du Pré', Charlotte Guillard and Yoland(e) Bonhomme

The first female printer in France with whom there is an extant book overtly connected was Claire Dimance, widow of Jean Du Pré, who printed five titles between 1505 and 1507.[20] Her name does not appear on the title page of a single book. The first book after Jean Du Pré's death was a book of hours for the use of Paris. It bore his device on the title page but the colophon told a different story 'par la veuve feu Jehan du Pré demeurant au dit Paris en la grand rue saint Jacques a l'enseigne des deux cygnes près Saint Severin'.[21] What little is known of Dimance's printing activities suggests that she had no intention of doing more than traversing the gap between marriages: reprint and remarry. This was the apparent response of around half of the known widows but not all.[22] Two women stand out amongst their peers, both for the number of books published under their direction, and for their extensive involvement in the book trade and in Parisian life. Charlotte Guillard and Yolande Bonhomme were renowned enough to be marketable, for their own names to appear on the title page. Bonhomme in particular has a strong presence in the notarial records and parish registers as

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[20] A first search of the USTC database brought up books printed by the widow of Jean Trepperel in [1501] FB 2570, [1502], FB 38896, [1506] FB 23732, [1508] FB 48692, [1508] FB 12873, and several in [1510] FB 6642, FB 37608 and 24983. In addition there was a 1510 edition with an incorrectly inferred printer. All the inferred dates were changed to [1511], the date of Trepperel's probable death (after Renouard, *Répertoire*, pp. 413-414 and Claudin, *Histoire*, II, p. 151). Such minor errors can occur easily, especially in the case of widows who were often printing under their husband's name for some months after his death (perhaps expecting a remarriage or simply following tradition). It is also possible that, in a project as large and all-encompassing as the USTC that errors repeated from catalogue to catalogue will slip through the careful checking procedures as was the case with another of the supposed veuve Trepperels: the veuve Trepperel in 1507 (FB 38942) was not an inferred date or printer. Subsequent investigation showed that there were in fact two editions of the same work, one in 1507 printed by Jean Trepperel and a second later reprint by his widow. The copy of the second edition which was seen by a member of the USTC team at the bibliothèque de l'Arsenal in Paris was lacking the title page and so the book was compared to other known editions. The edition in the Fairfax Murray catalogue appeared to fit the bill. However the two editions diverged at the colophon, which unfortunately only the bibliographer working in the library recorded from her copy (the full description from the catalogue was not transcribed). Hugh Wm. Davies, *Catalogue of a collection of early French books in the library of C. Fairfax Murray*, no. 392, p. 556. Claire Dimance was the first known printer for whom an extant work exists containing mention of her involvement. It is possible that there were other female printers before her who printed under no name at all, or whose books have not survived.

[21] *Heures a l'usaige de Paris* (Paris: veuve Jean du Pré, 1505 [=1506 n.s.]) USTC 26084, q8v.

[22] Listed with their works in Axel Erdmann, *My Gracious Silence: Women in the Mirror of C16th Printing in Western Europe* (Lucerne: Gilhofer & Ranschburg, 1999), pp. 227-80.

businesswoman and matriarch, and through material donations to the Catholic church. Guillard's reputation rests less on contemporary archive records than early writers on the trade who were sufficiently impressed by her unusual career to sketch her biography.

Little is known of Charlotte Guillard's origins or date of birth. It is assumed that she did not come from a printing family but married into the trade.[23] Entering the trade as an outsider would become less common as the number of printers increased (and had families, in particular marriageable daughters). Her first husband was the well-connected Berthold Rembolt of the *Soleil d'Or*, whom she married in 1502. By 1502 Rembolt had been printing in Paris for eight years. They were married for around 16 years before she was widowed, which was easily long enough for her to grasp the rudiments of the trade. A woodcut included in Rembolt's 1513 edition of the works of Saint Bernard depicts a rare image of the printer with his wife. This hints at Guillard's already established role within the family business:

[23] Joseph Dumoulin, 'Charlotte Guillard, imprimeur au XVIe siècle', *Bulletin du Bibliophile et du bibliothécaire* (Paris: Techener, 1896), p. 579; of her origins, Renouard merely observes that she married around 1502. Renouard, *Répertoire des Imprimeurs*, p. 189.

Figure 6.1: Bottom right, Bertholt Rembolt and Charlotte Guillard from St Bernardus Claraevallensis, *Opus preclarum suos complectens sermones de tempore de sanctis et super cantica canticorum* (Paris: industria Berthold Rembolt venundantur Jean Petit, 1513).[24]

Guillard had a brief solo career before marrying Claude Chevallon in 1520. Chevallon moved into the *Soleil d'Or* with her and there is some evidence to suggest that she maintained a degree of control over the presses. Her name appears on the books she printed between the death of Rembolt and her marriage to Chevallon, but after her marriage the books still bore Rembolt's device - which had been Guillard's during her first widowhood - with Chevallon's name. Beatrice Beech found several contracts bearing both Chevallon's and Guillard's names and suggested that this hinted at a more

[24] USTC 144157. Image from http://www.garamond.culture.fr/fr/page/les_femmes_dans_les_metiers_du_livre.

equal partnership. However, there are also plenty of contracts which are solely in his name.[25]

Guillard was widowed for a second time in 1537 when Chevallon was 57 or 58.[26] In developing her subsequent career she focused on religious books and often worked in partnership with booksellers or family members. Guillard had a long association with her brother-in-law Guillaume Desboys. Close to one fifth of her production was undertaken in association with him. This included 18 editions of various works of Justinian in a range of formats (folio, quarto and octavo). This partnership with Desboys was obviously very beneficial to her but nepotism worked both ways: she gave employment to her niece's fiancé, Sébastian Nivelle.[27] She also fulfilled the role her former husband might have had when she gave 200 gold écus to another niece, Perette Aubert, as a marriage gift.[28] She had no direct inheritants but recognised the assistance of Desboys by bequeathing him the *Soleil d'Or* after her death.[29]

Charlotte Guillard, 'femme célèbre dans l'imprimerie', features in the majority of the early works on the Parisian printing industry.[30] The creation of Charlotte Guillard 'femme célèbre' was started, quite modestly, by the printer herself in the preliminaries to Jacques Toussain's *Lexicon graecolatinum*, which she printed in 1552.[31]

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[25] See Ernest Coyecque, 'Inventaire, sommaire d'un minutier Parisien pendant le cours du XVIe siecle (XIII. 6 April 1526-18 June 1527 – Pierre Cròzon),' in *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France* (Paris: H. Champion, 1894, vol. 21), pp. 47-48 (13 August 1626 contract with Jean Petit); Coyecque, Ernest, 'Inventaire, sommaire d'un minutier Parisien pendant le cours du XVIe siecle (XV. 13 April 1528 – 27 March 1529 – Pierre Cròzon),' in *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de Paris et de I'Ile-de-France* (Paris: H. Champion, 1894), vol. 21, pp. 150-151 (27 May, 13 June & 25 Oct 1528; 11 & 12 Jan 1529) and pp. 172-174 (21-22 March 1529). The later as a witness to an affray. Depositions taken from Nicole Thoreau (a priest), Claude Chevallon, Nicolas Prêvost (printer) and Thipaine Auger (veuve de Jean Gillois). Charlotte was not present.

[26] In the deposition (above) Chevallon was listed as 50 years old.

[27] Dumoulin, *Charlotte Guillard*, p. 582.

[28] Dumoulin, *Charlotte Guillard*., p. 583.

[29] Ibid., p. 583.

[30] André Chevillier, *L'origine de l'imprimerie de Paris: dissertation historique et critique* (Paris: Jean de Laulne, 1694), p. 148.

[31] Jacques Toussain, *Lexicon Graecolatinum, ingenti vocum accessione, locupletatum, scriptorumque laudatorum auctoritate plurimis in locis illustratum, et a vitiis quibus scatebat vindicatum* (Paris: Charlotte Guillard & Guillaume Merlin, 1552), USTC 151147. Digital copy available: http://www.bvh.univ-tours.fr/Consult/index.asp?numfiche=597.

Commentators have identified this as her most important edition.[32] In her piece 'to the reader', after the usual creation story of the book (elaborating on how and why it was the best it could be), she added that her own long experience as a printer also helped towards its completion. Her own *fifty years*: 'tum mea etiam quae hosce quinquaginta annos continuous hoc imprimendi munus vobis administro...'.[33] This preface is especially important as it is the only known preface signed by Guillard herself.

A century and a half later she had not been forgotten. André Chevillier's 1694 work *L'origine de l'imprimerie de Paris: dissertation historique et critique* mentions her on several occasions.[34] She appears both as widow and as woman in her own right. He wrote that she surpassed all of her gender in the practice of the 'grande art'.[35] The implication here, of course, is that there were enough of her gender practicing the art for her surpassing them to warrant mention. Her status was such that Fédéric Morel was introduced by Chevillier as a former corrector for 'cette illustre Veuve'.[36] Although her widowhood is mentioned again here, towards the end of the book she is a well-enough established figure to appear as simply 'Charlotte Guillard'.[37] In his 1717 work on six major Parisian printers, Michael Maittare also mentioned Guillard as the former employer of one of his printers, Fédéric Morel.[38]

In 1896 Joseph Dumoulin was the first modern historian to claim that Guillard was at the top of her field not only for her 'érudition personelle' but also for the 'superbes éditions' coming out of her press.[39] He noted that neither Maittaire nor

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[32] Dumoulin, *Charlotte Guillard*, p. 580.
[33] Charlotte Guillard, 'Carola Guillard candidis lectoribus', prefatory material to Toussain, *Lexicon Graecolatinum*. Unfoliated. sig. a2v. Signed on 28th September 1552.
[34] Chevillier, *L'origine de l'imprimerie de Paris*, pp. 148-150. See also pp. 97-8, 195, 256, 297, 392 & 435.
[35] Ibid., p. 148.
[36] Ibid., p. 195.
[37] Ibid., p. 392.
[38] Michael Maittaire, *Historia Typographorum aliquot Parisiensium vitas et libros complectens* (London: Christopher Bateman & William Bowyer, 1717), p. 82. This edition is available in facsimile from ECCO. 'Carola Guillard in suâ nobili officinâ typographicâ operi curando & repurgando praefecerat...' p. 82.
[39] Dumoulin, 'Charlotte Guillard', p. 579.

Chevillier gave her more than a few lines in their works.[40] However, as we have seen, those few lines were laudatory. It was not until later years that the presence of female printers was actively denied: one confused bibliographer altered imprints to change her gender which he believed to be a mistake.[41] However, more recently Guillard has tended to receive greater critical attention than either of her husbands.

The same cannot be said of Yolande Bonhomme who has been eclipsed in modern scholarship by her husband Thielman Kerver. Unlike Guillard, Bonhomme did not provide a handy statement of the number of years she had been engaged in the printing trade; consequently the only years which can be accounted for were those in which she signed her books. Any inferences drawn from this will underestimate her true involvement: a small number of books were sold under the Kerver imprint even after his death and there is no evidence that she worked with Kerver prior to his death. Evidence for her probable involvement in the day to day running of the Kerver printing house lies in the success of her post-Kerver career. Short careers - where imprints were still issued under the ambiguous 'at the house/press of...' - could be lost to history altogether, as was nearly the case of London's 'Widow Warwick'.[42]

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[40] Maittaire might be excused as his 1717 work focused on only six printers: Simon de Colines, Michel Vascosan, Guillaume Morel, Adrien Turnèbe, Frédéric Morel and Jean Bienné. Michael Maittaire, *Historia Typographorum aliquot Parisiensium vitas et libros complectens* (London: Christopher Bateman & William Bowyer, 1717), p. 82. This edition is available in facsimile from ECCO. In his life of Frédéric Morel he wrote that Morel began his career as the corrector for Guillard: 'Carola Guillard in suâ nobili officinâ typographicâ operi curando & repurgando praefecerat', p. 82.

[41] A similar fate would befall Françoise de Louvain and her daughter Marie L'Angelier when their books were attributed to their late husband/father. Broomhall, *Women and the book trade*, p. 52; M. Simonin, 'Trois femmes en librairie: Françoise de Louvain, Marie L'Angelier, Françoise Patelé (1571-1645)' in D. de Coucelles and C. Val Julián (eds) *Des femmes de livres: France et Espagne, XVIe-XVIIe siècles* (Paris: École des Chartes (1999), p. 173.

[42] There is proof of a widow (Warwick) printing in 1527 but no extant books for any female printers before 1540 when Elizabeth Pickering commenced work - see Barbara Kreps, 'Elizabeth Pickering: The first woman to print law books in England, and relations within the community of Tudor London's printers and lawyers', *Renaissance Quarterly*, vol. 56, no. 4 (Winter, 2003), pp. 1053-4. Pickering printed for 10 months before remarrying (a lawyer).

Yolande Bonhomme, a woman of 'incomparable independence' was one of two daughters of the printer-bookseller Pasquier Bonhomme.[43] Her family's involvement in the book trade has been traced back to the fourteenth century.[44] One of her three brothers, Jean, took over the family business after Pasquier's death and Yolande married the printer Thielman Kerver.[45] After the death of her husband she took on both the direction of the business and that of head of the household. She began amassing property and land in Paris and the provinces and filling her homes and *hôtels* with family and tenants. In addition to her sons she had various members of her extended family living with her at different times, including an aunt and her brother Jacques (a priest). Bonhomme was a woman of contrasts: generosity to her family acting as a counterpoint to the ruthlessness that saw her evicting five families of tenants in one go.[46] Her sons' marriage contracts were generous but suggested a slight distrust (revealed again at the end of her life): one received £2,300 worth of books and paper.[47] This was not something which could be frittered away but could become the foundation of a business.[48]

There was some ambiguity in her religious life and some questions remain unanswered. The persona she painted was of a pious catholic. In the autumn of 1539 she commissioned Gilles de Saulty to decorate a tomb near one of her provincial properties, paying him 20 écus for the job.[49] She also commissioned an 8ft cross for the Church of

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[43] Annie Parent-Charon, 'A propos des femmes et des métiers du livre dans le Paris de la Renaissance', Dominique Courcelles & Carmen Val Julián (eds), *Des femmes et des livres, France & Espagnes, XIVe-XVIIe siècle* (Paris: H. Champion, 1999), p. 145.
[44] A. Claudin, *Histoire de l'imprimerie* vol. 5 (Paris: 1905), pp.171-172; Beech, p. 80.
[45] Renouard, *Répertoire des imprimeurs Parisiens*. pp. 43-44.
[46] Beech, 'Yolande Bonhomme', p. 86: MC. LXXIII,10, 9 July 1547.
[47] She notarised all her possessions before her death and redrafted her will at least five times. Beech, 'Yolande Bonhomme', p. 87. MC. LXXIII, 5, 20 June 1543; MC. LXXIII, 2, 20 September 1541; MC. LXXIII, 5, 20 February 1544/45; MC. LXXIII, 9, 20 January 1546/47; MC. LXXIII, 11, 8 December 1547; MC. LXXIII, 16, 9 May 1550; and Beech, 'Yolande Bonhomme', p. 89, MC LXXIII, 21, 19 August 1555. She also changed executors and took steps to avoid lawsuits amongst her inheritors. Beech, 'Yolande Bonhomme', p. 89: MC. LXXIII, 11, 8 December 1549 and MC. LXXIII-21, 19 August 1555.
[48] Her general business dealings mean this cannot be explained away as her having been rich in materials and cash poor.
[49] Beech, 'Yolande Bonhomme', p. 87: MC. LXXIII, 1, 18 September 1539.

the Mathurins, near to her printing house.[50] She employed a priest as a corrector - her brother was a priest too - and produced numerous books of hours, breviaries and missals.[51] However two incidents draw into question her commitment to the catholic faith. Whilst the majority of her dealings and transactions were marked by an exceptional level of caution, she knowingly or otherwise rented three rooms to a Lyon-born Lutheran, Jean Vaugris.[52] His confession came to light as a result of his ultimely death at Nettancourt, Lorraine in 1527. A number of heretical books were found in his rooms, rooms owned by Yolande Bonhomme.[53] Vaugris had been granted citizenship of Basle in 1524 and travelled back and forth frequently, along with annual visits to the Frankfurt book fair.[54] It is therefore possible that the authorities were aware of his death before Bonhomme, so if she did know he was a Lutheran she may not have had the opportunity to remove the offending titles. Vaugris was one of the foremost Lutheran booksellers in France so Bonhomme must have had - at the least - an inkling.[55] In addition to housing a Lutheran she went on record to assert that she was definitely a catholic no matter what she might say in the final moments of life.[56] She then proceeded to lay out very clear and precise instructions for a catholic funeral complete with 'candles, torches and holy water, and *de profundis* over her grave.'[57]

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[50] Beech, 'Yolande Bonhomme', p. 87: MC. LXXIII, 14, 18 November 1549.
[51] Ibid., pp. 87-88: MC. LXXIII, 1, 215v 22 December 1540; MC. LXXIII, 8, 12 September 1546.
[52] Henri Naef, *Les Origines de la Réforme a Genève: La cité des évêques - l'humanisme les signes précurseurs* (Geneva: Alex. Julien, 1968), p. 399; Peter G. Bientenholz, *Basle and France in the sixteenth century: the Basle humanists and printers in their contacts with Francophone culture* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1971), p. 35
[53] Beech, 'Yolande Bonhomme', p. 86.
[54] Peter Weidhaas (edited and translate by Carolyn Gossage & Wendy A. Wright) *A History of the Frankfurt Book Fair*, p. 41 (Ontario: Dundurn Press, 2007). Originally published in German: *Zur Geschichte der Frankfurter Buchmesse* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 2003); Bientenholz, *Basle and France in the sixteenth century*, p. 31.
[55] Lucien Febvre, *Le problème de l'incroyance au XVIe siècle: la religion de Rabelais* (Paris: 1947) reprinted (Paris, Éditions Albin Michel, 2003), p. 269.
[56] Beech, 'Yolande Bonhomme', p. 89.
[57] Beech, 'Yolande Bonhomme', p. 88: MC. LXXIII, 2, 20 September 1541; MC. LXXIII, 5, 20 February 1544/45; MC. LXXIII, 9, 20 January 1546/47; MC. LXXIII, 11, 8 December 1547; MC. LXXIII, 16, 9 May 1550.

If this threw a shadow over her it did not affect her business. Under the direction of Yolande Bonhomme the Kerver publishing house narrowed its focus. Bonhomme jettisoned 75 authors previously published by her husband, only adding five new ones. But this should not be seen as a battening down of the hatches, as another aspect of the business was expanded. She increased both the numbers and geographical breadth of Kerver's liturgical and devotional printing. Of the hours, breviaries, diurnals and missals 18 of Kerver's editions did not see a reprint but Yolande established 35 new combinations (i.e. a breviary for Sens or a missal for Meaux), eight of which were reprinted two or three times in her lifetime.[58] Indeed there were three editions of the new (to her publishing house) psalter for the use of the benedictines at Fontevrault.

Bonhomme was adept at establishing new business networks in towns near and far and then nurturing them. She formed a connection with John Growte of London producing three editions of a sectodecimo English language Salisbury primer for him in consecutive years from 1532 to 1534. Her success in producing an anglophone text - when English was a rare tongue in Paris - can be measured by the fact that Growte employed her for the task on two further occasions.[59] Likewise her new ventures in France saw multiple reprints or even new uses undertaken by the shop: when adding the diocese of Meaux to her portfolio she produced both a missal and a breviary. The benedictines at Fontevrault had a new book of hours (which was later reprinted), a missal, a collection of offices, another of orations and a psalter. For the Dominicans (Ordo Praedicatorum) she produced a breviary, three editions of a book of hours and a missal. There is nothing accidental in her approach; these are sustained business endeavours carried out over a number of years. Success in an arena as geographically

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[58] Breviaries: Autun (2 editions), Reims (2), Tournai (2); Hours: Dominican (3); Missals: Poitiers (2), Vannes (2); Psalters: Benedictines (3), Salisbury (2)

[59] As seen in chapter 3 this was a feat beyond even the great Antoine Vérard who employed a Scot for the task and lived to regret it.

diverse as this required a network of booksellers beyond the rue Saint Jacques. Yolande Bonhomme printed books for booksellers from Nantes, Vannes, Antwerp, London, Rouen, Besançon, Angers, Köln, and Le Mans. Her popular religious works suggest further connections not reflected on title pages or colophons.

Naturally she also kept up old connections with printing families, even where the original contact had passed on. Between 1515 and 1516 Charlotte Guillard's first husband, Berthold Rembolt joined Thielman Kerver in publishing three editions from his great series of Justinian folios. In 1541, after both Kerver and Rembolt were deceased, their widows worked together on a grand folio ten-part *Opera* of Augustine. The same year saw two shorter, octavo versions of two individual titles of Augustine (*de praedestinatione sanctorum... de bono perseverantiae* and *de doctrina christiana*) printed by Jacques Kerver. Nearly sixty percent of Bonhomme's editions were solo endeavours but this still left plenty of space for collaborations both with colleagues in the Parisian trade and further afield. Like her former husband, the two primary Parisian collaborators were Jacques Kerver and Jean Petit.

If a certain self-assurance can be detected in her book production, it can also be seen in her wider business practices. On 11 January 1527 she renewed the rent on her workshop and family home on the rue Saint Jacques for six years at a cost of 24 *livres tournois* per year.[60] This is roughly equivalent in value to 420 short (20-30 leaves) folios or 90 octavo breviaries. In addition to this on 14 June the same year she signed a four-year lease for the shop at the sign of the unicorn on the same street.[61] This was a little more expensive at 30 *lt* per year. Not only does this reveal that she had liquid capital but

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[60] Ernest Coyecque, 'Inventaire, sommaire d'un minutier Parisien pendant le cours du XVIe siecle (XIII. 6 April 1526-18 June 1527 – Pierre Cròzon)' in *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France* (Paris: H. Champion, 1894), vol. 21, p. 52.
[61] Coyecque, Ernest, 'Inventaire, sommaire d'un minutier Parisien pendant le cours du XVIe siecle (XIV. 24 April 1527 – 11 April 1528 – Pierre Cròzon)' in *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France* (Paris: H. Champion, 1894), vol. 21, pp. 78-79.

also that she was prepared to lock herself into longterm agreements, albeit ones which protected prime retail space whilst also avoiding future inflation.[62] Impressive as this is it does pale in comparison to the ninety-nine year lease taken out by Bertholt Rembolt and Charlotte Guillard.[63] Such a deal suggests not only that Rembolt was convinced that were he to die first Guillard was perfectly capable of continuing the business; it also provided her and future generations with prime retail space for the longterm future. It was of course not always possible to prepare for everything the future might hold: Bonhomme was twice taken to court over her husband's previous actions (or inactions). On 21 March 1521 Kerver had lost his claim of ownership of the maison du Gril: Yolande settled the case on 30 September 1523.

In all cases the affairs of the deceased had to be tidied up, as was seen when Didier Maheu's wife died. But in the case of widows there was likely to be particular pressure from those to whom the husband had been indebted or with whom there was unfinished business of any kind. Widows intending to continue the family business would be wise to settle accounts quickly; their reputation had to be secured instantly if the business was to succeed. Their situation was in this way different from that of a young man starting out who would build up a business and his reputation more gradually. After clearing outstanding debts and resolving other problems, the outward manifestation of a woman's intention to continue the business was more subtly played out upon the books themselves. The stages of laying claim to a business were multifaceted. The first stage was to pretend that nothing had changed (the ambiguity of imprints 'at the house of...'); the second was an acknowledgement of a temporary situation through widowhood; the third was printing under their own name and the

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[62] The fact that the second rent was for a shorter period of time may reflect the fact that the owner was also a bookseller (of Bâle) who may have been keeping his own options open.
[63] Beatrice Beech, 'A sixteenth-century business woman' *Renaissance Quarterly*, vol. 36, no. 3 (Autumn, 1983), p. 346 citing Philip Renouard, *Documents sur les imprimeurs*, p. 235 AN MM 281 f.98v.

fourth was to masculinize the female name. Later bibliographers may have turned Charlotte Guillard into Charles Guillard but Yolande Bonhomme changed herself into Yoland Bonhomme.

Such responses to the changing times were adaptations caused by necessity, but if some women found themselves in the choppy waters of sixteenth-century business 'by chance not choice' there were men who threw themselves into the deep untested waters of novelty.[64] As vernacular, popular printing rose a small number of printers and publishers held steadfast to the mast of learned languages. Gilles de Gourmont was at the vanguard, publishing the first wholly Greek texts in France, and thus adding a small niche to his already established and expanding business. Michel Vascosan redefined 'niche market' when he started his career by publishing in Greek.

The pedestrian arrival of Greek in Paris

Greek printing took several decades to cross the Alps from Italy to France. At first the French were content for the Italians to dominate the international market because it was uninvitingly small: popular in Italy, study of (and in) the Greek language was limited in France. The Italians, and especially Aldus Manutius, solved many of the problems of Greek typography and French printers like Josse Bade and Simon de Colines took advantage of this.[65] However, they owned comparatively little Greek type before the 1520s and used it only for occasional words or paragraphs. Sometimes those words were chosen because they were either difficult to translate or they were inserted simply for the appearance of erudition.

By 1505 Josse Bade was stretching his limited stock to cover complete passages in an academic edition of the New Testament. Still he was aware of the limitations both

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[64] Beech, 'Charlotte Guillard,' p. 346

[65] William Parr Greswell, (E. Greswell, ed), *A view of the early Parisian Greek press: including the Lives of the Stephani; notices of other contemporary Greek printers of Paris, and various particulars of the literary and ecclesiastical history of their times* (Oxford, S. Collingwood, printer to the University for D. A. Talboys, 1833) vol. I, On Italians pp. 2-10, On Aldus Manutius printing sole Greek texts, pp. 11-14.

of the amount and quality of the type he had at his disposal, and indeed split the risk of the edition with the publisher Jean Petit.[66] Parisian publishers were innovators and strategic risk-takers but at this early stage, no printer saw a potential market for works entirely in Greek. Sourcing and buying enough type, along with the need to secure the pressmen and editors with the necessary skills to work in the language, purely in the hope that the appetite for Greek would meet the output, was a risk too great, even for them. Even Jean Chappuis, a prolific editor and early humanist authority on Canon Law required outside assistance for his *Institutiones Imperiales*.[67] Yet within a couple of years something very significant had happened to shift the balance.

Gilles de Gourmont: *exceptionnellement* imprimeur or imprimeur *exceptionnel*?

One of the most noteworthy early Greek printers in France was Gilles de Gourmont (1499-1532/3). Whilst his name crops up in almost every account of early Greek printing in France, he is better known as a publisher and bookseller. Renouard's description reads thus: 'Gourmont (Gilles de), libr.-juré, exceptionnellement impr. 1499-1533'.[68] The majority of his imprints read 'apud' but there are a few with '*in aedibus*' and '*opera*'; it is, though, difficult to pinpoint exactly which of his titles he printed and which he published.[69] To complicate matters, contemporary descriptions repeatedly refer to Gourmont solely as a bookseller: in 1526 he is a 'marchand libraire

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[66] Lorenzo Valla, *In Latinam Novi Testamenti interpretationem ex collatione Grecorum exemplarium adnotationes apprime utiles* (Paris: in aedibus Josse Bade venundantur Jean Petit, 1505), USTC 143044, Greswell, *A view of the early Parisian Greek press*, p. 15.

[67] Mary E. Sommar, *The Correctores Romani: Gratian's Decretum and the Counter-Reformation Humanists* (Münster: LIT Verlag, 2009), p. 72 describes Chappuis as one of the 'major earlier Humanist editors of the *Decretum*'. On Chappuis requiring assistance see Greswell, *A view of the early Parisian Greek press*, p. 16. Chappuis claims he was assisted by Georgius Hermonymus. The edition in question is Justinianus I, *Argumentum institutionum imperialium immiscentur congruenter textui summaria notabiles sane apponuntur additiones* [i.e. Institutiones Imperisales] (Paris: per veuve Berthold Rembolt, 1519), FB 76067.

[68] Renouard, *Répertoire des Imprimeurs*, pp. 177-179.

[69] 'in aedibus' can of course refer to the house/establishment of a bookseller but it is more commonly used to convey that the book was made there and can be purchased there. A notable example of Gourmont using 'opera' is on the Francis Tissard translation of Homer's *Batrachomyomachia* in 1507. FB 74105. See below.

et bourgeois de Paris.'[70] His civic duties also point towards him being a bookseller: on 5 May 1522 he was called upon to value the books of Robert Calier a merchant apothecary.[71] Whilst being asked to value books might point towards being a bookseller, it does not preclude his having been a printer. However in 1522 he was also one of several specialists called in to value the complex estate of Didier Maheu (after the death of Maheu's wife, Jeanne Corset). His job was to value the books, the task of valuing the *imprimérie* fell to Jean Adam, a printer/bookseller since 1516.[72] These clues along with other occasions where we find him buying large numbers of books all suggest that Renouard was only selling Gourmont a little short as an occasional printer.[73] He was first and foremost a bookseller/publisher but also an active printer.

An active but occasional printer is not the most likely candidate to become France's first Greek printer. His early years were spent selling other people's books and his name was so rarely upon them that bibliographic records suggest far less involvement than he may have had.[74] Gourmont's career had begun with a single title to his name in 1499, followed by another five titles in 1502. There was a further hiatus between the second half of 1504 and 1506, at which point he began producing more titles in conjunction with his brothers, Robert and Jean (with individual imprints and collective ones). Initially the brothers had eschewed working together; this was most likely a risk-reduction strategy (assuming fraternal loyalty would stretch to an

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[70] 29th August 1526 when he enlisted one of his pupils/wards, the son of Jean de La Porte, as a choristor at Saint Benoît-le-Bien-Tourné. Coyecque, Ernest, 'Inventaire, sommaire d'un minutier Parisien pendant le cours du XVIe siecle (XIII. 6 April 1526-18 June 1527 – Pierre Cròzon)' *in Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France* (Paris: H. Champion, 1894), vol. 21, p. 48.
[71] Coyecque, Ernest, 'Inventaire sommaire d'un minutier Parisien pendant le cours du XVIe siecle (1498-1518. Jean Crozon, 1518-1528. Pierre Crozon)' i*n Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France* (Paris: H. Champion, 1893), vol. 20, p. 50.
[72] Coyecque, Ernest, 'La librairie de Didier Maheu en 1520. Supplément aux cinq librairies Parisiennes sous François Ier (1521-1529)' in *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de Paris et de I'Ile-de-France* (Paris: H. Champion, 1894, vol. 21), p. 199.
[73] Coyecque, Ernest, 'Inventaire sommaire d'un minutier Parisien pendant le cours du XVIe siecle (IX. 1er avril 1522 – 11 mai 1523. Pierre Crozon)' in *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France* (Paris: H. Champion, 1893), vol. 20, p 125.
[74] There is perhaps an argument for considering all the Gourmont brother's works as one collective business empire, however they worked from separate premises.

emergency loan if one of them got in trouble). Robert had produced only one title with Gilles in 1502 and joined Jean and Gilles de Gourmont with Jean Petit (as publisher) on the 1506 *Horologium devotionis circa vitam Christi* (three variants exist).[75] Jean de Gourmont had only published one book under his own imprint prior to 1506, then four in 1506 in conjunction with Gilles de Gourmont.[76] None of them enjoyed particularly distinguished careers as publishers or printers in the early years, preferring to sell the books of others, but their increasing willingness to work together, combined with a steadily increasing output, suggests that their lot was improving. The fortunes of the brothers were interconnected and it is extremely likely that there was some fluidity of ownership and use of printing equipment; it is possible - probable even - that Gilles de Gourmont did not own a press outright but used one of Robert's or Jean's. The occasional use of a collective imprint - 'the Gourmont brothers' - combined with the relative paucity of titles indicates this. Indeed, prior to 1507 Gilles de Gourmont only put his name to an average of two titles per year. However, 1507 saw something of a watershed moment in his printing career, with eleven titles produced under his imprint.[77]

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[75] Thomas a Kempis, *De vita et beneficiis salvatoris Jesu Christi* (Paris: per Gilles de Gourmont & Robert de Gourmont, 1502), 8o, FB 88411. Bertholdus, *Horologium devotionis circa vitam Christi* (Paris: per Jean & Robert de Gourmont & Jean Petit, 1506), 8o, A-F8, G4, ff. [52], FB 57162; Bertholdus, *Horologium devotionis circa vitam Christi* (Paris: per Jean & Robert de Gourmont: Gilles de Gourmont, 1506), same format, collation and foliation, FB 57164; Bertholdus, *Horologium devotionis circa vitam Christi* (Paris: per Jean & Robert de Gourmont, 1506.), same format, collation and foliation, FB 57163.
[76] Maffeo Vegio, (Francesco Filelfo & Guillaume Houvet (eds), *De educatione liberorum aurei libri sex* ([Paris]: apud Jean de Gourmont, 1505), 4o, ff. [190], FB 90165; Johannes Gerson, *Opusculum tripertitum; de preceptis decalogi, de confessione et de arte moriendi* (Paris: Gilles & Jean de Gourmont, 1506), 8o FB 71966; Pedro Cijar (Pietro Aymerich ed), *De potestate Pape tractatus et votorum commutatione in redemptionem captivorum noviter impressus* (Paris: per Jean de Gourmont pro Gilles de Gourmont, 1506), 4o, a-h6, ff. [48], FB 62450; Saint Johannes Chrysostomus (Michael Ariño, Saint Augustine & Saint Bernardus Claraevallensis eds), *Sermones praeclarissimi. Liber primus de compunctione cordis. Liber secundus de compunctione cordis. De reparatione lapsi. Sermo de penitentia* (Paris: per Jean de Gourmont pro Gilles de Gourmont, 1506), A-N8, ff. [104], FB 75336; Giovanni Boccaccio, (Joannes Theodoricus Bellovacensis ed), *De casibus illustrium virorum libri novem quum historiis adsatim cognoscendis tum praeclare instituendis hominus moribus longe utilissimi* (Paris: Jean de Gourmont, 1506), AA-BB6 A-R6 S8, ff. [12] CXVII [= CIX] [1], FB 58264.
[77] Five of which are inferred dates, four by Moreau/Renouard and the fifth by the USTC. This number is not though aberrant but set his standard output: 1508 saw 12 titles,1509 13, and 1510 and 1511 numbered 13 and 10 respectively.

He had by then acquired a full set of Greek type, which he used to print five (possibly six) titles including, rather sensibly, a Greek alphabet.[78] But after such a long intermission between the beginning of hellenophone printing (in Italy) and this sudden move by Gourmont in 1507 it is necessary to consider what - or who - could have triggered it. To say it was entirely due to the presence in Paris of François Tissard may not be an exaggeration. François Tissard arrived in Paris in the summer of 1507, shortly after receiving his doctorate in civil and canon law from the University of Bologne.[79] In Paris he took up a job teaching Greek at the Collège de Boncour (around 400m from the rue Saint Jacques and 500m from Gilles de Gourmont's bookshop on the (then) rue Saint-Jean de Latran (now rue de Latran).[80] On his arrival he found that Greek books in Paris - printed and manuscript - were both expensive and in short supply.[81] Impetus to print was limited but, buoyed by the optimism of Tissard, patrons were brought on board. The *Alphabetum Graecum* (of which Tissard was the editor) was produced under the patronage of prince Francis (the future King Francis I) and Jean d'Orleans, then archbishop of Toulouse.[82] There had been a limited number of hellenophones in Paris, and a dearth of those capable of writing and editing Greek to a high level; or indeed any level, as was shown by the inaccuracies of early books containing just the occasional Greek word or paragraph. François Tissard was also passionate about improving knowledge of the Greek language in Paris and making more Greek books available (both in terms of number and price).[83] Of Gourmont's first Greek books Tissard was the

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[78] The possible sixth has been attributed to Gourmont and given the inferred date of 1507. FB 74855. Greswell, *A view of the early Parisian Greek press*, believes the set of type was cast in Paris by 1507. The type itself had been available in Paris since 1503. Hendrik D. L. Vervliet, *The Palaeotypography of Renaissance France. Selected papers on sixteenth-century typefaces* (Leiden: Brill, 2008) vol. 2, p. 368.
[79] Ernest Jovy, *François Tissard et Jérôme Aléandre. Contribution à l'histoire des origines des études grecques en France*. (Genève: Slatkine, 1971), p. 23.
[80] Gerald Sandy, *The Classical Heritage in France* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), p. 52. Gourmont moved to the rue Saint Jacques in 1518.
[81] Ernest Jovy, *François Tissard et Jérôme Aléandre*, p. 17
[82] Greswell, *A view of the early Parisian Greek press*, p. 19
[83] Greswell, *A view of the early Parisian Greek press*, p. 17

named editor of four and very likely involved with the others. Gourmont's first year of Greek printing, bearing in mind his previous average of two titles a year, is worth outlining in full:

I. *Musaei antiquissimi poetae de Leandri & Herus Amoribus* (Paris: in aedibus Gilles de Gourmont, 1507), 4o, ff. 8.[84]

II. Alphabetum Graecum, *Alphabetum Graecum, regulae pronunciandi Graecum, sententiae septem sapientum, opusculum de invidia, aurea carmina Pythagorae, Phocylidae poema admonitorium. Carmina sibyllae Erithreae de judicio Christi venturo. Differentiae vocum succincta traditio*, edited by François Tissard (Paris: apud Gilles de Gourmont, 1507), 4o, ff. 26.[85]

III. Homerus, *Batrachomyomachia,* edited by François Tissard (Paris: opera Gilles de Gourmont, 1507), 4o.[86]

IV. Hesiodus, *Erga kai ēmerai*, edited by François Tissard (Paris: Gilles de Gourmont, 1507), 4o.[87]

V. Manuel Chrysoloras, *Erōtēmata. Grammatica*, edited by François Tissard (Paris: Gilles de Gourmont, 1507), 4o.[88]

VI. Isocrates, *Pros Nikoklea peri basileias logos. Pros dēmonikon logos parainetikos. Exhortatio ad Demonicum Eiusdem Oratio de regno ad Nicoclem* ([Paris, Gilles de Gourmont, 1507]), 4o.[89]

Prior to this, from 1499, Gourmont had been predominantly a publisher and bookseller, albeit one working with printers as illustrious as François Regnault. Whilst he was involved in classic staples such as Thomas a Kempis's *De vita et beneficiis salvatoris Jesu Christi* (which appeared in over 250 European editions between 1473

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[84] Antoine-Augustin Renouard, *Catalogue de la bibliothèque d'un amateur, avec notes bibliographiques, critiques et littéraires* vol. 2 (Paris: L'imprimerie de Crapelet, 1819), p. 187.
[85] FB 52737
[86] FB 74105
[87] FB 73787 [inscribed to Jean Morelet, secretary to Louis XII]
[88] FB 60955
[89] FB 74855

and 1600) he also printed what was then purported to be a letter of Amerigo Vespucci on the 'new world', the *Mundus Novus*, in 1503.[90] His preference was towards learned works but his tastes were unclear or unformed before 1507.

Gourmont's move into the *mundus novus* of Greek books was neither a runaway success nor can it be judged a failure. Numerically it does not compare well against his Latin output (figure 6.2). It is interesting to note that an increase in Greek does not usually equate to a corresponding reduction in Latin publishing (1529 is an exception). The trend lines show that there was in fact an increase in Latin, Greek and vernacular titles over Gourmont's career.[91] This chart is not stacked and therefore exposes the fact that in years where Gourmont chose to print Greek books he was also printing more Latin books. The 1529 anomaly might suggest that preparations for the Collège de France (founded 1530) were underway.

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[90] Thomas a Kempis, *De vita et beneficiis salvatoris Jesu Christi* (Paris: Gilles and Robert de Gourmont, 1502), 8o, FB 88411; Amerigo Vespucci, *Mundus Novus* (Paris: Gilles de Gourmont, 1503), 8o, ff. 8, FB 90593.

[91] The colour-coordinated trend lines show that from Gourmont's presses there was a slight decline in Latin between 1499 and 1536 and a slight overall increase in Greek titles.

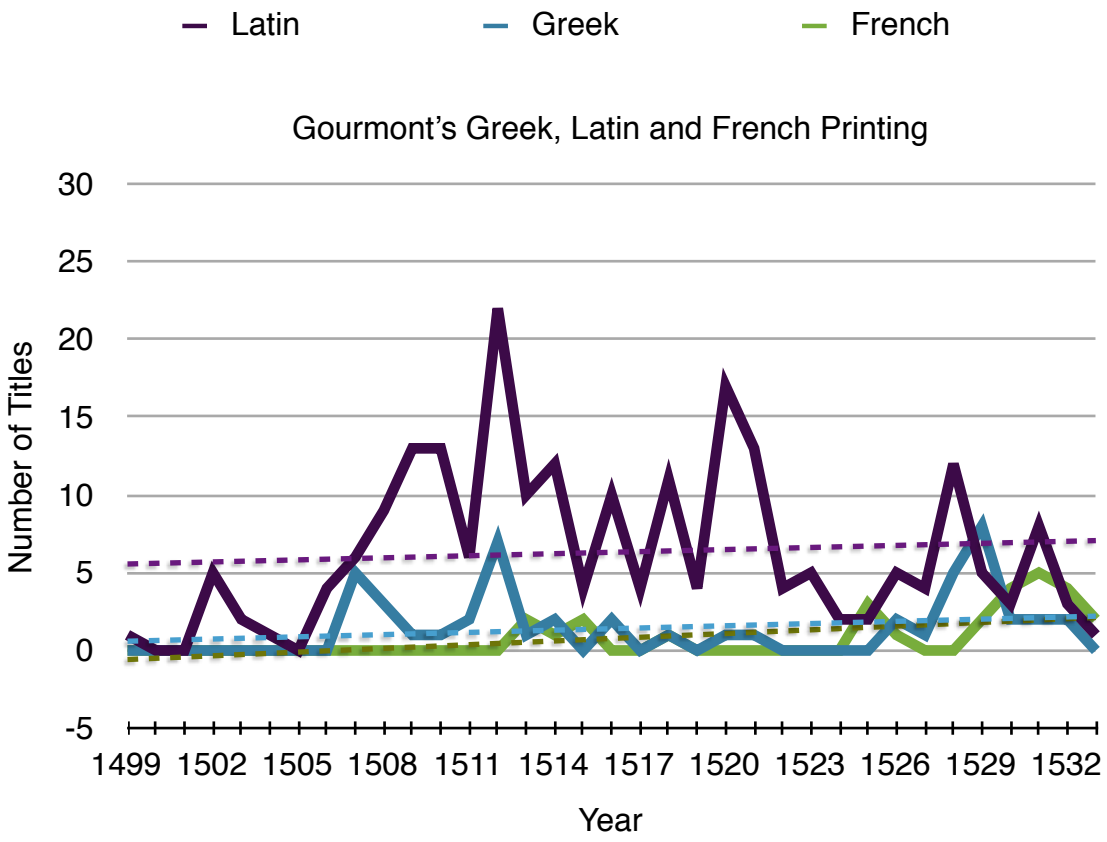

Figure 6.2: Comparison of Gourmont's Greek and Latin printing

Having persuaded Gourmont that Greek books were the way forward, Tissard returned to Italy in July 1508, giving up on his Parisian experiment.[92] The fact that his Greek lessons were an extra cost for the impecunious Parisian students may explain his failure.[93] The reduced demand steadied Gourmont's Greek output until 1512 when he was flooded with Hellenistic optimism once more. Again this seems to have been prompted by another Greek tutor from Italy: Girolamo Aleandro had been editing Greek books for Gourmont since 1509, but in 1512 he was elevated to the post of Recteur of the University of Paris.[94] Before that though he was hardly unknown, having been invited to Paris by Louis XII who supplied him with a pension of five hundred gold crowns.[95] Despite his rise from principal of the Collège des Lombards to Recteur of the

[92] Gerald Sandy, *The Classical Heritage*, p. 53
[93] Gerald Sandy quotes a letter from a son to his father pleading for money to take up lessons with (presumably) Tissard: 'I ask you to send me a monthly installment of my allowance so I can take some Greek learning home'. Allen, 1907, Collège de Boncour
[94] Greswell, *A view of the early Parisian Greek press*, p. 22
[95] Greswell, *A view of the early Parisian Greek press*, p. 22

university he still found time to edit all seven of Gourmont's Greek books in 1512 (using at least one to bemoan the substandard Greek fonts he had to use).[96] Aleandro was one of the seven editors of the massive, 830-page folio *Lexicon Graeco-Latinum*, which was published in conjunction with Mathieu Bolsec on 13 December 1512.[97] It was the same year which also saw Gourmont make the first major upgrade to his Greek type: the breathings and accents became part of the main body of the text rather than as a separate entity and some contractions were added.[98] The correlation between Gourmont's output (in the early years) and the texts known to have been edited or translated by either Aleandro or Tissard can be seen in figure 6.3 (1506-1522). They had very little direct influence after 1521.

[96] Gourmont must have been thrilled with this complaint in the preface of the *Lexicon Graeco-latinum* (see following footnote). Annie Parent-Charon, 'Humanism and typography: The Grecs du Roi and the study of the Ancient World', p. 7, H. George Fletcher, *Printing for Kingdom, Empire, and Republic: Treasures from the archives of the Imprimerie Nationale* (New York: Oaknoll Press, 2011), pp. 7-20.
[97] Two variants exist, one with Bolsec's device, the other with Gourmont's. Both devices are within a frame belonging to Josse Bade whose press may have been used. Girolamo Aleandro, Michel Boudry, Charles Brachet, Yves Cavellat, Jean Conneau, Michael Hummelberg & Jean Robin (eds) *Lexicon Graeco-latinum multis et preclaris additionibus locupletatum* (Paris: Gilles de Gourmont apud Mathieu Bolsec), FB 77670 (Bolsec) and FB 77669 (Gourmont).
[98] Vervliet, *The Palaeotypography of the French Renaissance*, vol. 2, p. 368.

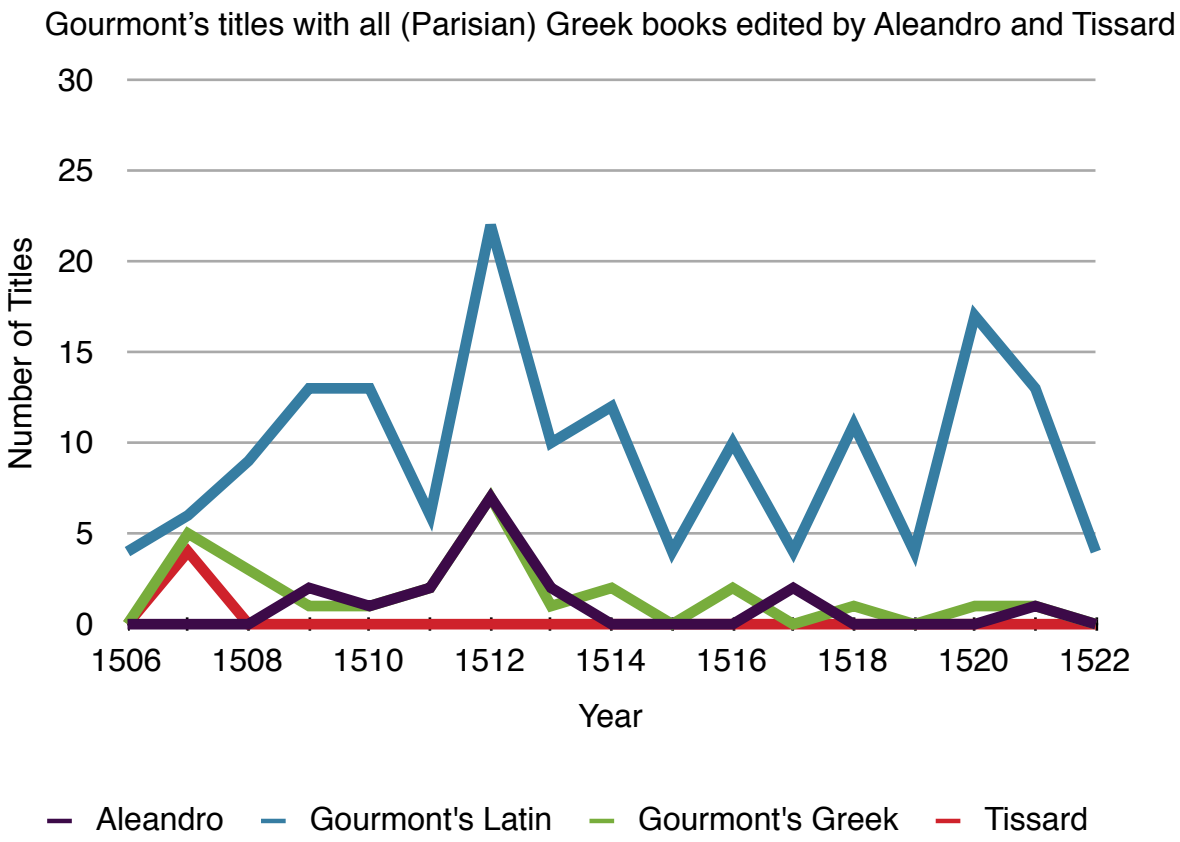

Figure 6.3: Gourmont's titles compared to all Greek books edited by Aleandro and Tissard

After 1512 the number of Greek titles was extremely low. From 1522 to 1525 Gilles de Gourmont did not put his name to a single title (figure 6.2). Gourmont's final and most concerted effort at Greek printing came towards the end of his career: he took up the mantle again in 1526, his output peaking in 1529 (figure 6.2). It is tempting to suggest that the presence in Paris of Jean Chéradame - the editor of his Aristophanes and scholar of some renown ('un hébraïsant à tendances mystiques') - might have influenced Gourmont.[99] However there is not the same level of personal connection as there had been with Tissard and Aleandro. Furthermore one might have expected Gourmont to treat the assurances of individual, highly passionate scholars with a pinch of salt by then. It is more likely that this time Gourmont was spurred on by several

[99] A Hebraist with mystical tendencies. Lucien Febvre, *Le Problème de l'incroyance au XVIe siècle, la religion de Rabelais* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1947), Electronic edition: http://classiques.uqac.ca/classiques/febvre_lucien/probleme_incroyance_16e/febvre_incroyance.pdf (edition created 20.12.2006 by Jean-Marc Simonet), p. 93.

scholars and tutors. He had, by September 1526 (perhaps earlier), risen to the prominent position of 'marchand libraire juré en l'Université et bourgeois de Paris'.[100]

Gilles de Gourmont broke into new waters but did not open the floodgates: Greek printing was not an avenue many Parisians felt it expedient to explore. Tracking the development of Gourmont's career against that of the major Greek scholars in Paris at the time establishes significant parallels and it is clear that these scholars both spurred him on and supported his efforts. One can see why hellenist scholars regarded Gourmont as a suitable potential partner. He was clearly an accomplished printer and a well-established member of the Parisian book world but was not yet fully focused on any particular niche. Printing the *Mundus Novus* in 1503 also showed that he was willing to test new markets. Gourmont did not exactly start a new trend, but more and more printers and publishers began dipping their toes into the hellenophone waters. Josse Bade continued to print his Greek/Latin hybrids; Pierre Vidoué printed the occasional Greek text (generally with Gourmont); from 1528 Simon de Colines printed a fair number of bilingual texts, and from 1529 Chrestien Wechel joined in. Common to all these printers was an established business prior to their commencing Greek printing. But in 1530 a printer arrived, as if from nowhere, and did it all in reverse.

Imprimeur du Roi: 'honnorable homme sire michel de vascosan marchand libraire'

The immense risk involved in diverting a successful publishing business into Greek printing in early sixteenth-century Paris may have deterred all but the boldest of Parisian publishers. Previously, where there had been risk - books of hours for the English market, music imprints - there had been limited individual exposure. The

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[100] Ernest Coyecque, 'Inventaire, sommaire d'un minutier Parisien pendant le cours du XVIe siecle (XIII. 6 April 1526-18 June 1527 – Pierre Cròzon)' in *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France* (Paris: H. Champion, 1894), vol. 21, pp. 49-50.

occasional print run of English hours was not going to bankrupt the wealthy Vérard if it went wrong (which apparently it did) and there were many instances of four or five businesses working together on riskier projects to spread the risk of lost investment. Printing in Greek, though, was a different proposition. It required the purchase of a very large set of new type: diacritical marks, accents, breathing, in various combinations and all in an entirely new alphabet. Gilles de Gourmont had broken new ground both in printing Greek texts and improving their textual and aesthetic quality. For Gourmont, there were two factors critical to his success: the collaboration of hellenophone editors and a sound business on which he could build. Michel de Vascosan had a much larger pool of potential editorial staff, in part thanks to Gourmont's dogged progress of the early decades. However, he was not diverting a successful publishing business, he was starting out from scratch with Greek books. In his debut year he produced four titles: one Latin, one bilingual Latin-Greek and two Greek. 1533, his first full year as a publisher, saw 17 titles.

Given the nature of the Parisian printing industry - dynastic, nepotistic, well-ordered and finely delineated - breaking into it as late as 1532 must have been a tall order. Vascosan's initial contacts may have been garnered through influential humanists - this would help to explain his choice of texts - and later he was a revered 'scholar printer' so well-integrated within the industry that his final resting place was alongside Josse Bade and the Morels.[101] But his connection with Josse Bade may have begun before his printing career started. His first and only device belonged to Josse Bade (Silvestre 774, Renouard 24) and he never had one made for himself, although there has been confusion with Morel's later Fountain device, which he used after he took over

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[101] Colin Clair, *A history of European printing* (London: 1976), p. 159 quoted in Michel Magnien, 'Des presses humanistes au service du vernaculaire? Le cas Vascosan (vers 1500-1577)' in Christine Bénévent, Annie Charon, Isabelle Diu et Magali Vène (eds.), *Passeurs de textes: imprimeurs et libraires à l'âge de l'humanisme* (Paris: Écoles des Chartes, 2012), p. 134.

Vascosan's shop.[102] Archival evidence for the early life of Vascosan is superficial. We know he married Catherine Bade, one of Josse's daughters, but we do not know if it was before or after he set up as a printer.

The logical path of conjecture leads us to assume that the marriage was arranged before he set up on his own, and that print materials (Greek type in particular) formed part of the dowry. Given the marriages of the other Bade daughters (to Jean de Roigny, Robert I Estienne and Jacques Du Puy) Bade must have held him in some regard. Before becoming a printer, Vascosan was a *libraire-juré* (named in 1527) but there is no evidence of even the most occasional printing before 1532. With a boost from his father-in-law he landed running in 1532, setting off as he meant to go on, both in terms of the projects he took on and his aspiration that this should be work of the highest standard. Everything from the paper to his choice of authors and editors was and were of the highest quality.[103] He was in every way following very precisely in his father-in-law's eminent footsteps. Unfortunately, this included his selection of Greek type.

There were several Greek typefaces in use in Paris in the first few decades of the sixteenth century. The first was reportedly locally made (and used by Josse Bade, Henri Estienne and Jean Marchant among others) but later types were, predominantly, imported from outside France.[104] By 1520 Josse Bade, Robert I Estienne and several others had upgraded to a new, German type possibly by Peter II Schoeffer.[105] It was this type that Vascosan was using in 1533. As Bade had acquired a second Greek type in 1521 made by Jean Vatel it is possible that his first type Greek type was passed on to Vascosan. The speed with which printers - wealthy ones at least - bought new Greek

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[102] Renouard states that he had no personal device. Philippe Renouard, *Imprimeurs Parisiens*, p. 411. Greswell appears to confuse the later Morel device with that of Vascosan, describing 'a fountain, delineated with superb and appropriate ornaments'. This perfectly describes Morel's device. Greswell, *A view of the early Parisian Greek press*, p. 122.
[103] Michel Magnien, 'Des presses humanistes au service du vernaculaire?' p. 134. Magnien also suggests that the type was high quality but others - including Vervliet (see below) have said otherwise.
[104] Vervliet, *The Palaeotypography of the French Renaissance*, vol. 2, p. 368.
[105] Ibid. p. 370.

type hints more at dissatisfaction with what they had than at excitement at the new.[106] For his part, Robert I Estienne purchased Colines's 1521 Greek type and then added Augereau's 1532 Greek around 1535. This Aldine-influenced type was later adopted by Michel de Vascosan, perhaps having admired it at his step-brothers' workshop.[107]

Having married into the Bade family Vascosan had got more than a wife and a dowry; he had become part of the interconnected network of Paris' finest printing families. As well as the potential advice and assistance at the beginning of his career, and at this point it is fair to assume his wife would have been a source of knowledge, having grown up in the Bade family, he had access to other social circles. In 1525 Robert Estienne, his stepbrother, was named 'imprimeur ordinaire du roi' under Francis I and in 1530 Vascosan was likewise elevated.[108] This placed them in a select group: Pierre Le Rouge was the first 'imprimeur ordinaire du roi' in 1486, Geoffroy Tory was named in the same year as Vascosan, Olivier Maillard and Conrad Neobar eight years later.

The choices of 'imprimeur ordinaire' reflect the differing priorities of Charles VIII and Francis I. Charles's choice of Pierre Le Rouge, an illuminator, calligrapher and printer, was very much looking back to the manuscript era whilst embracing the future. In Francis's choices there is also evidence of the extent of the influence of family connections within the printing industry, even in royal appointments. He began by making Robert I Estienne his official printer in Hebrew and Latin, both scholarly languages important in the study of theology. Next was Geoffroy Tory, who had worked as a corrector for Gilles de Gourmont and then Henri I Estienne. Tory was an engraver and typographer who specialised in books of hours. After his royal appointment he

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[106] 'During the first four decades of the sixteenth century, the leading centres in Greek type design were Venice and Basle, not Paris or Lyons. At that time, French Greek typography lagged behind technically as well as aesthetically'. Vervliet, *The Palaeotypography of the French Renaissance*, vol. 2 p. 365.
[107] Ibid., p. 380.
[108] BnF Richelieu, Fr. 22061, f. 24r.

printed a small number of texts on royal matters (ordinances, royal epitaphs) but was also the first printer of Clément Marot's *L'adolescence Clementine* in 1532.[109] For this he was granted a three year privilege which was proclaimed on the title page. For good measure the colophon reminded would-be privilege breakers that he was 'Maistre Geofroy Tory, Imprimeur du Roy'.[110] Francis I was an enthusiastic supporter and patron of Clément Marot.

Olivier Maillard had business connections with both Gilles de Gourmont and Geoffroy Tory and later married Tory's widow, Perrette Le Hullin.[111] He also sold books of hours and the writings of Clément Marot. Next came Conrad Neobar of Cologne who was named royal printer in oriental languages and Greek in 1538, the same year in which he became a French citizen.[112] Neobar was married to the niece of Charlotte Guillard, Edmée Tousan.[113] It is easy to see one printer recommending the next (friend or family) to the eager Francis I, father of letters and promotor of scholarship. It is also easy to see how marrying into the right printing or publishing family could elevate a new printer into the highest ranks, even if he was an outsider in either business or nationality.

By marrying one of Josse Bade's daughters Vascosan was vaulting up the hierarchy. This might help to explain how he was able to start off printing in Greek and survive an unenthusiastic market. His longterm survival, though, meant abandoning Greek and focusing on expanding his business with vernacular texts. His business flourished and by 1548 he was in a position to buy part of his shop (with Antoinette

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[109] Clément Marot, *L'adolescence Clementine* (Paris: Geoffroy Tory vend Pierre Roffet, 1532), FB 36586.
[110] Ibid., f. 4r.
[111] Renouard, *Imprimeurs Parisiens*, p. 291.
[112] BnF Richelieu, Fr. 22061, f. 24r; Renouard, *Imprimeurs Parisiens*, p. 322.
[113] Renouard, *Imprimeurs Parisiens*, p. 322.

Regnault, widow of Honoré Chevalier, a baker) from the butcher Jean Hemon and his wife Pasquette Boutevilain for 1,200 *livres tournois*.[114]

The King was less willing to abandon Greek as it continued its faltering progress, and in 1541 came up with a new solution: he would commission a new Greek type - the 'Grecs du Roi' from the famous punchcutter, Claude Garamont. Garamont would work alongside Robert Estienne and Angelos Vergikios.[115] This followed on from a larger typographical revolution begun in the 1530s, when Gothic type was exchanged for Roman, and embraced over the following decades in Paris.[116] This was a sensible solution as the major complaint throughout the previous decade had been about the poor quality of the type. The only question was would the bookmen of Paris buy (and use) this new type or continue doing what they did best and embrace evolution as an old, reliable friend but continue cherry-picking the best that tradition had to offer. At the close of the fourth decade of the sixteenth century there was no clear answer and printers were still embracing Greek cautiously, at arm's-length: even Francis I's royal printers kept churning out traditional books of hours.

Conclusion

As we have seen, the first decades of the sixteenth century had been filled with optimism and opportunity. The Parisian printing industry had weathered the financial and political storms of the 1520s, which were caused, in part, by royal debt and higher taxes. The rising tide of religious dispute and violence had yet to have any real impact on the people of Paris, but that was about to change. Increasing engagement in religious controversy boosted vernacular printing in the 1530s as Latin printing hit a ceiling.

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[114] AN S 904 f. 101v.
[115] Raymond Blanchot, *L'art du livre à l'imprimerie nationale des origines à nos jours* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1951), pp. 3-4; Vervliet, *The palaeotypography of the French Renaissance*, vol. 1, p. 158.
[116] Vervliet, *The palaeotypography of the French Renaissance*, vol. 1, p. 150.

Whilst Paris was socially and economically robust, many of the print-world's great entrepreneurs and businessmen had died, often leaving women at the helm. Counter to the claims of historians of later centuries, these women did not always sell up or remarry as soon as possible like Jeanne Poullas. On the contrary, some went on to greater success than their husbands ever achieved. A number, possibly a quite considerable number, had brief or peripheral involvement which is now hard to prove: instances like that of the widow Warwick and the legion of '*veuves*' hiding in colophons strongly suggest this. The fact that there was a contemporary debate, or '*querelle*' about the role of women also hints at increasing involvement of women in all walks of life, perhaps the result of their increasing access to education. The printing industry seems to have been particularly well suited to women and their inclusion, generally, was seen as beneficial. The presence of Bertholt Rembolt's wife, Charlotte Guillard, in the woodcut representing his business and the appearance of more established women in title page imprints certainly indicates this. As of course does the fact that women were buying and selling property in their own right and in some cases expanding their trade networks, as did Yolande Bonhomme when she added new orders, diocese and even national church traditions to her books of hours.

But while women were flourishing, the trend of established businesses relying on reprints of their back catalogue of Latin classics was becoming problematic. 1538 was the last big year for Latin publication as it began to be squeezed by the increasingly popular vernacular book trade. Though no doubt everyone could see the change - indeed most adapted by adding vernacular works to their stock - not everyone accepted it. Rather than wholly embracing the emerging popular market they retreated further into the scholarly world with Greek (and later Hebrew) texts. In this they were encouraged and supported by Francis I. Royal patronage was necessary as, completely contrary to

their early grasp of the Latin market, they had left the Greek market to the Italians. When they did make their first tentative steps they had little impact, or at least not a positive one. The poor quality of their typography and even worse Greek was often remarked upon.

Francis I was not the only one prodding them towards the Greek market; he himself had been encouraged by enterprising Greek scholars from Italy. These same scholars persuaded printers like Gilles de Gourmont that the market was there and that they would help with the editions. They did help with the editions but the market did not immediately materialise and getting hold of good Greek type remained a problem. Francis I would later help with that too.

In this problematic but potentially lucrative market lay the opportunity for someone to break into the otherwise competitive Parisian printing industry and Michel de Vascosan did just that. But even with the assistance of a famous and well regarded father-in-law and knowledgable wife he eventually abandoned Greek printing and moved into the newly flourishing vernacular market. The importance of family connections within the industry, in Vascosan's case acquired through marriage, were of the upmost importance. Even when Francis I was elevating and supporting printers - often with the specific aim of improving a particular area, like Greek of Hebrew printing - the select few all shared close family ties. In all things in the Parisian printing industry, from the inclusion of women to the struggle with Greek, family connections remained the hub around which their world spun.

Conclusion

This thesis has drawn upon a number of individual booksellers, printers and publishers who serve to illustrate different aspects of the industry. Whilst their individual successes are remarkable it was the collaborative nature of this very flexible network of bookmen that really contributed to the continued success of Latin books in Paris.

Paris was primed for success even before printing arrived. It took some years to get the first printers set up in Paris but once the technology had arrived the industry expanded rapidly. Early printers were able to draw upon the reputation of the Parisian manuscript book industry. They also took advantage of the manuscript industry's networks. Antoine Vérard made the furthest incursion into their market with his luxury, manuscript-style courtly and religious books. Vérard was an astute businessman with a keen interest in advertising and self-fashioning. He bought properties in areas inhabited by the old manuscript book industry and made sure everyone knew where his shops were.

The Parisian printing industry was extremely rich with great breadth and depth of genre and styles, yet many printers and publishers chose to specialise in particular books. Jean Petit, for example published mostly religious, legal and humanist texts. 78% of Thielman Kerver's Latin editions consisted of missals, breviaries and books of hours. The Hardouyn brothers went even further: 98% of their books were books of hours. Liturgical books were a popular specialisation but they were also printed, published or sold by the vast majority of bookmen in Paris. The events of the previous century combined with increasingly religious volatility to make books of hours especially desirable. This was a market which stretched beyond Paris, making the strongest incursions into the north east of France. Liturgical books printed in Paris were

even destined to travel as far north as Sweden, Denmark and Norway and to Spain in the South. Success with these markets was not always guaranteed. Antoine Vérard failed to adapt to the English market and made no real incursions, but later François Regnault developed a nuanced, culturally-sensitive approach. From the outset, Parisians understood the need to adapt to the market. As the century progressed, the Parisians became quicker to adapt to the desires of different dioceses and countries.

Liturgical books were a key part of the Latin book industry in Paris, but so too were books for the schools, colleges and university. The birth of printing in France coincided with widespread educational reform and increasing literacy. Humanism was an innate ally of both. The printing industry had a natural affinity with humanism and with educational reform. Humanist printers like Josse Bade and the Estienne family were at the vanguard. They were especially keen on working with humanist educators and writers to produce more accurate versions of classical texts alongside new works. Humanism did not gain easy entry into the university but its precepts were beginning to infiltrate the colleges, which later fed their humanist-educated students into the university system. However the statistical evidence is that humanism did not truly infiltrate Paris until the 1520s. Humanist teachers from Italy even made several attempts to improve the teaching of Greek in Paris but, initially, they faced too many obstacles.

The early failure to establish Greek printing in Paris was one of several attempts at change which failed at the first endeavor. Other cases included the early attempts to export to the Anglophone market and experiments with musical typography. Individuals within the industry were willing to try new ventures but they almost always did so in collaboration with others. In this way projects which failed did not destroy a printer or publisher, and those which did well eventually benefitted several print houses. This is an important aspect of the Parisian industry.

Most of the printers, booksellers and publishers inhabited distinct, heavily-populated areas of Paris. The bookshops and workshops nestled, shoulder to shoulder, amongst churches and colleges. Despite this, or because of it, printers rarely set out in direct competition with their neighbours. Privileges were generally only applied for in cases where there was considerable risk. The extensive commentaries in Sigebertus de Gembloux, *Chronicon ab anno 381 ad 1113* (Paris: Henri Estienne for Jean Petit, 1513) for example, would have meant a large financial outlay.

Furthermore, they were willing to collaborate on larger projects. There was considerable flexibility in how these collaborations were made up. They consisted of differing combinations of booksellers, printers and publishers. High levels of collaboration meant that Jean Petit was able to put his name to over two thousand titles during his career, working with over one hundred printers and booksellers.

The strength of the Latin book industry in Paris derived from its history and location but also the willingness of its printers and publishers to innovate and to take calculated risks. These risks, though, were ameliorated by the remarkable levels of collaboration between the printers, publishers and booksellers of Paris, male and female.

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